

Irish Migration Studies in Latin America

Society for Irish Latin American Studies

VOLUME 3 - NUMBER 6
November - December 2005



Juan D. Perón and Eva Duarte at Plaza de Mayo, 1951
(*Archivo General de la Nación*)

Editor: Edmundo Murray
Associate Editor: Claire Healy

www.irlandeses.org
ISSN 1661-6065

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Politically Incorrect: Irish Argentines in the Early Peronist Period,</i> by Carolina Barry	69
<i>The Irish in Falkland/Malvinas Islands,</i> by Edmundo Murray	77
<i>José Luis [Joe] Baxter (1940-1973), activist and revolutionary</i>	80
<i>John William Cooke (1920-1968), politician and ideologist of the Peronist movement</i>	83
<i>Edelmiro Julián Farrell (1887-1980), army officer and president of Argentina</i>	85
<i>Ernesto [Che] Guevara (1928-1967), physician and revolutionary</i>	87

Politically Incorrect Irish Argentines in the Early Peronist Period

By Carolina Barry [1]

The popular movement led in the 1940s by Juan Domingo Perón (1895-1974) promised to improve social welfare and to give political control to the labouring class. "Peronism" was thus resisted by the landed elite of the Rural Society and other conservative organisations. Although the Irish community in Argentina has been frequently depicted as being part of the landowning "estancieros", several Irish names can be identified among the supporters of Perón.

Introduction

The Irish in Argentina have always been committed to the social interests of their receiving community. At all times they have been motivated to bring about their efforts, skills and dedication, and to involve in diverse organisations created through the Argentine history. Irish surnames began mushrooming in Argentine culture, science, medicine, literature, education, justice and the rural business. Furthermore, regardless their ideological standpoint, the participation of the Irish in political affairs was frequent and significant.

The "Admiral Brown Club" of 1879 was the first political initiative of the Irish in the country, together with other members of the local English-speaking community. Their aim was to organise the aspirations of the Irish Argentines towards the election of candidates to national, provincial and municipal posts. The Club was chaired by Eduardo Casey (1847-1906), with Fr. Patrick Joseph Dillon (1842-1889) acting as its first secretary. In 1880 Dillon was elected MP to the provincial parliament of Buenos Aires with the Club's support. Some years later the Admiral Brown Club was restructured so as to accept members from any ethnic origin. Fr. Dillon was elected MP to the national parliament for Buenos Aires, where he was appointed to chair the Constitutional Affairs committee. The *Southern Cross*, an Irish paper founded by Fr. Dillon in 1875, became a public gallery and supported among other things the separation of Buenos Aires city from the province.

From the beginning, the *Southern Cross* stated its political principles, "the tone of the paper will be liberal (like the Freeman of Dublin). The paper will not adhere to any particular party in this country". [2] However, the Irish community adhered to a greater array of ideologies than the liberal one. As Sabato and Korol described in their book, they gradually integrated into the broader society and joined its new organisations (Sabato and Korol 1981: 151). For instance, Juan Dillon (1819-1887) - not directly related to Fr. P.J. Dillon - was elected senator to the Buenos Aires parliament for the Autonomist Party during three uninterrupted periods. In 1874, during the presidency of Nicolás Avellaneda, Juan Dillon was appointed member of the National Constitution amendment committee.

There were members of Irish families in the 1890 and 1893 revolutions. Juan A. O'Farrell (1866-1942) was MP for the Radical Civic Union party (UCR) and during several years he chaired the party's provincial committee for Buenos Aires. Eduardo Tormey (1848-1912) was MP for National Civic Union and major of Capilla del Señor. Miguel Zacarías O'Farrell (1868-1947) was elected senator and municipal commissioner in Suipacha with governor José Luis Cantilo. Guillermo Sullivan (1888-1927), MP for UCR, led together with his brother Santiago the rebels of northern part of Buenos Aires province during the revolution of January 1905. Among the members of the *anti-personalist* group,[3] Guillermo O'Reilly (d. 1966), MP for the Federal Capital in 1920-1924, supported the divorce law and for this reason fell from President Hipólito Yrigoyen's favour (*Iushistoria USAL*, 1 November 2004).

Other Irish Argentines who played a significant political role were the brothers Kennedy. In January 1932, Roberto (1884-1960), Mario (b. 1888) and Eduardo Kennedy (b. 1880) led a popular uprising in La Paz, Entre Ríos province, which served as a model to the upcoming mass movement led by Juan Domingo Perón (1895-1974), a movement generally known as *Peronism*. [4] The three brothers Kennedy failed in their attempt against the dictator José Felix Uriburu but were later pardoned. Estanciero and MP Fran-

cisco Morrogh Bernard of the Patriotic League in Entre Ríos developed important tasks in the conservative group.

In the nationalist caucus, Santiago G. O'Farrell (1861-1926) was one of the founding members of the Argentine Patriotic League. [5] In 1904 O'Farrell was elected MP and would be re-elected for two more terms, but failed as presidential candidate. Tomás J. Barry was a member of the executive committee in the Nationalist Party which, according to the author Zuleta Alvarez was in fact a conservative organisation (Zuleta Alvarez 1975: 195). Many nationalist newspapers included Irish Argentines in their staff. In 1918-1920 Guillermo Sullivan contributed to *Revista Nacional*, a paper edited by Mario Jurado and Julio Irazusta, members of the avant-garde of nationalism. In 1920-1921 Beltrán Morrogh Bernard edited *Signo*, a Catholic-nationalist publication. In 1928-1930 the zoologist Emiliano MacDonagh (1896-1961) contributed to the Catholic nationalist papers *Criterio* and *Número*.

The different responsibilities held by Irish Argentines in the Radical party, as well as in nationalist and conservative political organisations have been identified by other authors. However, the participation of Irish Argentines in the early Peronist period (1945-1955) has been frequently neglected. In this period, characterised by important changes in the Argentine history, men and women with Irish ancestry were not only simple supporters but also key leaders of the Peronist power structures.

It is difficult to understand the extent by which the Irish Argentines adhered or not to Peronism. There were multiple reasons for the Irish Argentines to support the movement, and each person had their own purposes. However, there are two factors that may be significant for this support. First, the early alliance between the Grupo de Oficiales Unidos (GOU) – a secret organisation of military officers and others with nationalist and pro-Axis sympathies – and the Catholic hierarchy. Second, the overt backing obtained by Perón from the Catholic bishops in 1946 during the electoral campaign. Therefore, the Catholic church stated its position against the electoral alliance among the Radicals, Communists and Socialists. Moreover, before the elections the bishops issued a statement warning "Catholics not to vote for any candidate who supports the separation of church and state, the suppression of legal warrants to religions and, especially, of the religious oath of office, school laicism, and legal divorce" (Llorente 1980: 291). According to Llorente, many parish priests in the provinces proclaimed from the pulpit their open support of the Peronist alliance. Perón wished to obtain the Catholic support, and he promised to preserve religious teaching in schools. This was already ruled out by the government of June Revolution, [6] and as under-secretary of labour and social welfare, Perón claimed that his administration was modelled by the Catholic social teaching. Indeed, major newspapers published an advertisement signed by the Christian Popular Union (one of the organisations standing for Perón) recruiting new members "to defeat the spirit of totalitarianism, and to rise the Cross of Christ's over the people" (*La Epoca*, 22 January 1946).

Another factor was the support of some Radical groups to the Peronist campaign. They shaped an electoral coalition with the Labour and Independent parties, which succeeded in raising Juan D. Perón to the top post. It is likely that among those Radicals there were some Irish Argentines. It is remarkable that a 1946 editorial of the *Southern Cross* paper referred to Col. Perón's rally as a *successful* campaign. The editor John Gaynor observed that Perón's supporters have obtained a major victory that was unusual in the country's political history. However, he exposed some concern regarding the experience of the Labour union leaders, who had "no experience in the practical job of public administration" (the *Southern Cross*, 29 March 1946). The same claim was exposed by Gaynor for the Radical supporters of Perón in the *Junta Renovadora*, which was the cause of the first significant break in the Peronist coalition (Mackinnon 2002: 39).

A popular movement with revolutionary social aspirations – as was the one led by Juan Perón – was not compatible with a community traditionally linked to landowners' interests. Several of the Irish Argentines were members of the landed elite, whose principles and values were better represented by Radicalism. Furthermore, in 1946 elections the Argentine Rural Society (including several Irish Argentine among its members) supported the Democratic Union, i.e., the coalition opposing Perón. However, conscious or not of the political incorrectness of their choice, Irish Argentine men and women joined the ranks of the Peronist movement on account of the strong initial backing of the Catholic church, the break in the

Radical party, the support obtained from Nationalist and Conservative groups, and their individual interests. [7] To illustrate the relation of these persons with the movement I will describe the roles and positions held by some Irish Argentines in the early Peronist period.

Irish *Descamisados* and *Compañeros* [8]

Among Latin Americans of Irish ancestry, Edelmiro Julián Farrell (1887-1980) reached the highest political responsibility in one of the region's countries after the independence period. Tenth son of Juan Farrell (b. 1846) and Catalina Plaul (1852-1917), and grandson of Matthew Farrell (d 1860) of Barracas al Sur (a popular neighbourhood of Buenos Aires), Edelmiro Farrell was an active member of the *Grupo de Oficiales Unidos* (GOU). On 4 June 1943 a military coup led by general Pablo Ramírez appointed Farrell as minister of war, and later as vice-president. In February 1944, Ramírez was deposed by the pro-German GOU after announcing that Argentina would comply with US requirements against the Central Powers. On 12 March 1944 the vice-president and minister of war Edelmiro Farrell took over as president and stayed on power until 1946.

In this position, Farrell was among the group of officers that supported Col. Juan D. Perón's raise to Argentine presidency. Farrell's identification with Perón among the working classes could be gauged on 17 October 1945, when a jubilant crowd of 300,000 *descamisados* began singing "Farrell y Perón / un solo corazón". [9] Furthermore, before Perón's famous speech on that opportunity, Farrell addressed the labourers "with the deep emotion that the president of this nation feels before a working crowd like this one. Once again, here is the man who thanks to his dedication and determination has managed to win everybody's heart, Col. Perón." (*La Nación*, 18 October 1946). During the elections of 24 February 1946, Edelmiro Farrell ironed out any difficulties Perón could encounter to reach the first office. A series of government decrees were approved by Farrell (allegedly under Perón's influence), by which there were increases in general salaries, paid holidays to most labourers, redundancy pays, as well as the creation of a mandatory Christmas bonus. On 4 June 1946 Juan D. Perón was sworn president by Edelmiro Farrell.

Juan Isaac Cooke (1895-1957) is another Irish Argentine who supported and actively worked with the Peronist rule in the early period. A distinguished Radical leader in Buenos Aires province, during the World War II Juan Cooke advocated the support to the Allies. Within the goal to involving Radical politicians in the June Revolution, Edelmiro Farrell appointed Juan Cooke as minister of foreign affairs. Consequently, Cooke was banished from the Radical Party. In 1945, Juan Cooke, Eduardo O'Donnell and other Radical leaders founded the Unión Cívica Radical "Junta Renovadora". [10] This was one of the three groups supporting Juan Perón's candidature in 1946 elections. For this reason the opposition derogatorily labelled Junta Renovadora as "The Collaborationists" (in association with the Nazi supporters in Europe). Juan Isaac Cooke was elected MP to the national parliament and later ambassador to Brazil.

Better known than Juan Isaac Cooke is his son, John William Cooke (1919-1968). After graduating at the school of law, John W. Cooke began his political career at twenty-five. Together with his father, he was elected MP for UCR Junta Renovadora. In spite of John W. Cooke's inexperience he was appointed to chair the parliamentary committee of constitutional affairs. In addition to this, John Cooke was the secretary of the Peronist group of MPs and later, member of *Partido Unico's* executive committee. [11] In his speeches and writings Cooke maintained a nationalist and anti-imperialist stance. He did not accept Perón's offer in 1955 to chair the technical affairs secretariat, and was appointed instead to audit the Peronist Party in the city of Buenos Aires. When the Peronist administration was challenged by rumours of a coup d'état, John Cooke boldly suggested to create armed militias so as to involve the people in the regime's defence. After the coup of 1955 that toppled Perón's government (the so-called *Revolución Libertadora*), J.W. Cooke was appointed Perón's only proxy and he would "entitle *compañero* John William Cooke, who is now jailed for his loyalty to our cause and our movement, to represent myself in any circumstance or political activity. His decision will be my decision, and his word will be my word. I acknowledge Mr. Cooke as the only person with powers to chair the Peronist people in and outside of Argentina. His decisions will bear the same value as my own decisions. In case I die I hereby delegate my powers on Mr. Cooke." Once Perón was exiled in Madrid, John William Cooke was the most important

leader of Resistencia Peronista, the movement created to resist the military rule. Cooke's ideology strongly influenced the leftist groups within Peronism, as well as another militant with Irish origins, Rodolfo Walsh (1927-1977), who in the 1970s would be a high rank officer of Montoneros, the Peronist armed guerrilla.

Other Irish-Argentine Peronists include Alberto Rocamora O'Gorman (1912-2004), a great nephew of ill-fated Camila O'Gorman. [12] Rocamora O'Gorman developed a long career in politics and as university professor. In 1946 he was elected to MP to the national parliament, and in 1952 had a legal power of attorney from the Eva Perón Foundation. Two years later he was appointed to the chairmanship of the Lower House. Later in 1974, during Isabel Perón's term, Rocamora O'Gorman was responsible for the home office. Up to his death in 2004 he chaired "Club 45", a group of Peronist leaders of the early period. Among the Peronist supporters of the nationalist group members, Guillermo Patricio Kelly (1922-2005) [13] was an important player up to recent times. Kelly joined the pro-Nazi Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista (ALN) "after 17 October 1945, when I was a businessman ... and I heard in the street the people singing *Patria sí, colonia no* [14]." In 1953 Kelly overthrew ALN's head Ramón Queraltó. After the revolution of 1955, Kelly was jailed, but fled from the prison in Río Gallegos together with other fellow-inmates, including John William Cooke and Héctor J. Cámpora (who would be president in 1973-1974). Arturo Saenz Kelly was appointed administrator of Buenos Aires province by the military government of 1943-1946, and was a candidate to MP for the Labour Party in 1946.

Francisco Morrogh Bernard, a rural landowner in Entre Ríos was one of the influential conservative leaders who in 1946 supported the Peronist crusade. The conservatives feared less the Peronist menace than a Radical victory. They were convinced that Juan D. Perón's charismatic leadership would maintain the labouring class under control. In Córdoba, the Peronist leader Horacio Rivas O'Neill maintained that "more than a political materialisation of popular determination, Perón is the people itself. Therefore, within the collective mysticism Perón means the totality of ideological beliefs and patriotic promptings" (*Córdoba*, 10 March 1951). In La Plata there were three Irish Argentines in the Peronist forces, Luis F. Reilly, appointed to the party's committee in 1947, Aníbal O'Grady, who chaired Partido Único's finance committee, and Guillermo Murphy, member of the sectional executive committee in 1951. Finally, the historian and journalist Luis Alberto Murray (1923-2002), great-grand son of a farmer from Co. Longford, was a Peronist intellectual of the early period. Together with Fermín Chávez, José María Castiñeira de Dios, José María Rosa and Osvaldo Guglielmino, Murray was a member of the Peronist intelligentsia or "front firing line" of theorists. During the early period he contributed to *Crítica* newspaper and to *Democracia* (partial to Evita Perón). Murray's texts were characterised by the use of a subtle and intelligent irony. He prided on his Irish ancestry and claimed that his wits and unusually harsh character came from his ancestors.

Two of Perón's ministers of agriculture bore Irish family names, Carlos Alberto Emery (b. 1904), minister from August 1947 to June 1952, and Carlos Alberto Hogan [15] from 1953 to 1955. The agronomist Carlos A. Emery was a member of the Society of Holando-Argentino (Holstein) Breeders, and in the 1930s worked for the dairy company La Vascongada. Emery devised the agricultural production in the lands owned by the Argentine army, and was an enthusiastic promoter of the country's ecological map. Carlos A. Hogan, a notary public, encouraged the role of technicians, the protection of agriculture and natural resources, and the promotion of research and technical co-operation (*Mundo Agrario*, February 1953). Furthermore, Hogan worked on the establishment of the National Institute of Agricultural Technology (INTA), which would open in 1956 after the fall of Perón.

Irish, Peronist Women

The role of women in Argentine politics was signalled by the new participation of professionals and labourers in the first decades of the twentieth century. The most important background was Dr. Cecilia Grierson Duffy (1859-1934), first Argentine physician among women and one of the first members of the Socialist Party. Cecilia Grierson Duffy was a well-known suffragist and a pioneer of women's rights, who advocated of civil and political reform to challenge gender discrimination in politics and education. Other

woman who engaged in political activities was Toby Anderson, who in July 1946 represented Córdoba province to the first Meeting of Radical Women and was one of the keynote speakers.

In Argentina, the massive involvement of women in politics was characterised by the lack of experience and solid social barriers. Two organisations of the early Peronist period created by Juan D. Perón's wife Evita – the Eva Perón Foundation and the Peronist Women's Party – represented a productive context for the participation of Irish Argentine and thousands of other women.

One of them, the nurse Amanda Allen held significant responsibilities in the welfare administration led by Evita. The Eva Perón Foundation was established on 8 July 1948. On a relatively short time, a significant administrative structure was created throughout the whole country, reaching the most remote places. Amanda Allen was in the qualified staff of physicians, social workers, and teachers working for the Foundation. The Foundation's social goals supported as well the political aim of bringing Perón closer to the labouring people. The para-governmental structure – legally considered a private organisation – was integrated into the official power network only on an informal manner, and was not limited by institutional or political restrictions. Therefore, it was entirely under Perón's control.

Eventually, the Foundation went beyond the geographical boundaries and extended its medical and social relief plans to other Latin American countries sending ambulances, nurses, clothing, food and medicines. After the earthquake of August 1949 in Ecuador, the Foundation sent six FAMA [16] planes carrying food, clothing, medicines, instruments, physicians and nurses. Amanda Allen was a member of the aid team travelling in one of the Foundation buses when it fell on a cliff with a result of several wounded. Moreover, on the flight back to Buenos Aires, the plane set fire in Castilla and four crew members died. Amanda Allen escaped but was seriously wounded. Other staff member, the officer Guillermo MacLoughlin was also wounded. Both were awarded by Perón and Evita in a public homage at Colón theatre of Buenos Aires. One of the most important works of the Foundation, "Ciudad Infantil", [17] was named after Amanda Allen in spite of the toponymic fashion taking place during this period, by which the majority of public institutions, cities and even provinces were renamed before the president and the first lady. [18]

Other Irish Argentine women had different roles in the political activity of this period, including Catalina Allen, Norma Egan, Nila Lloyd, and Margarita Wellington O'Berty. They were members of the first significant women's mobilisation in Argentina. In 1945 Bulina G. O'Neill was a member of the Women's Organisation Unit in the Labour Party. In July 1949 Eva Perón created the Women's Peronist Party to channel out the political movement of women after the proclamation of the suffrage act of 1947. The party was chaired by Evita and was fundamental to Juan D. Perón's electoral victory in 1951.

The Peronist Women's Party was established on 26 July 1949 with a basis of twenty-three delegate census takers – one from every province or national territory – who were appointed directly by the party's president. One of these delegates was Catalina Allen. Their first assignment was to take the census of Peronist women in the country. The delegates represented Eva Perón and followed her in the organisation's hierarchy. Evita portrayed this group of "very young women ... My assistants were tireless social workers, fervent Peronists with no time to themselves, and fanatic supporters of Perón's cause. I required from them great sacrifices, like leaving their homes and jobs. Virtually, they left their lives to start with a new, different, intense and difficult one. Those were the women I needed, untiring, fervent, fanatic... Our venture required brave women, willing to work day and night" (Perón 1951: 291).

Catalina Allen was assigned to Buenos Aires, the most populated and important province for the elections, which at that time has a potential size of 1.2 million women voters. In a time when it was unusual for women to give public speeches, Catalina Allen was an earnest speaker. When she took charge of her new responsibilities, using elements of the religious discourse, Allen noted that "the only thing we wish and aspire to is to become authentic, loyal and disinterested missionaries of Perón's Justicialist teaching, and to be followers of our distinguished leader Evita, who personifies the essence and identity of the Peronist women's movement" (*El Laborista*, 6 November 1949). Allen was responsible for the organisation of the new party in the Buenos Aires province, a task involving the promotion of new memberships and the opening of "basic units" (regional working groups) composed exclusively of women. Additionally, she

appointed sub-delegates who, in their turn, would lead individual women basic units. There were at least two basic units in every district, therefore Catalina's work must have been extremely burdensome. Everyday work included taking census of the district, promoting memberships, preaching the Peronist doctrine, giving talks and organising meetings. Furthermore, Catalina Allen would implement special courses for women as well as research the social needs in the province, so that the party would network with Eva Perón Foundation. Thanks to the toilsome efforts of Catalina Allen and her colleagues, sixty-three per cent of the women constituency in Buenos Aires voted for Peronist candidates. For unknown reasons Allen was not appointed MP candidate, and after the elections she cut herself off politics for ever.

Sub-delegates worked in the neighbourhood trying to attract new members to the party. There were over 3,600 sub-delegates throughout the country, some of them with Irish roots. Nila Lloyd (b. 1922), a social worker and nurse graduated from the Red Cross, chaired up to 1955 a basic unit in the significant constituency of Belgrano (1940 Chenault street). In 1949 Margarita Wellington de O'Berty was appointed sub-delegate in San Antonio de Areco. However, she did not succeed on meeting the high expectations of skills and efforts and therefore she was considered redundant. O'Berty was replaced by Norma Egan, who was directly appointed by Eva Perón. [19] Egan went to visit the Foundation headquarters in search of a job, and in an audience with Evita "the *Señora* asked me many things and told me that she needed my services to support the political activity" (author's interview with Mrs. Egan). In the region of San Antonio de Areco, with an overwhelming rural population, Egan travelled through the *campes* driving a Land Rover jeep. Landowners and *estancieros* "knew me well, since my father owned a herd of horses and my aunts were the local teachers. One of them was the schoolmistress and they helped me with my job." Norma asked for authorisations from the *estancieros* and then addressed the wives of cattle hands and labourers. "I used to tell them how pretty she [Evita] was, and that people usually left [the Foundation offices] with gifts and machines ... and they were delighted ... I explained that they would live better and asked them to help us with their votes." In order to get new memberships Norma Egan "went to the public houses and ate salami with a glass of wine, or sipped *maté* when visiting the families." After seven months of intense and successful work in San Antonio de Areco, Evita appointed Norma Egan as MP candidate to the provincial parliament of Buenos Aires. Influenced by their gender-biased view of political activities, when they learnt the news the men of Areco "got mad at me and wanted to kill me ... But I replied that that was granted by Eva Perón." On 11 November 1951 Norma Egan was sworn MP with the first group of elected women in the province.

This brief account of Irish-Argentine men and women who played significant political roles in the early Peronism is a short illustration of their involvement in politics. Understanding their interaction with the larger context of the country's history may help to establish an adequate background to the later participation of thousands of Irish and other immigrant families in the last Peronist period (1973-1976) and the subsequent Dirty War derived of the conflict between the military forces and diverse guerrilla groups. Due to feuds and rancours that are frequently prevalent among Argentines even in present times, there is a particular scarcity of primary sources in many periods of the country's history. Hence, it is our duty to reassemble the pieces, and I hope that family or personal acquaintance with those who had other political roles will help to complete these neglected stories.

Notes

[1] Carolina Barry graduated in Political Science (University of Buenos Aires), and is a PhD candidate at Universidad Católica Argentina. Her major research interests include women's roles during the early Peronist period in Argentina (cbarry@fibertel.com.ar).

[2] Circular issued by Patrick J. Dillon in November 1874 to announce the launching of the *Southern Cross*.

[3] Within the Radical party, the "anti-personalist" group opposed to Hipólito Yrigoyen's practise of giving the party a personal character.

[4] Also known as *Justicialism*.

- [5] The Argentine Patriotic League stressed the transcendental values of Argentine nationality.
- [6] On 4 June 1943 a military uprising led by GOU officers – among them, Juan Domingo Perón – interrupted the period of conservative amendments initiated in 1930, and started significant and lasting reforms with profound effects in the Argentine society.
- [7] At this time, there were significant social discontinuities within the Irish Argentine community. Some of the Irish families managed to acquire land and joined the local elite of *estancieros*, and a few among them reached privileged positions. However, several settlers were salaried and would be living in dependent conditions, several of them employed by the wealthier group of Irish landowners. This gap would be best identified chronologically, since the most successful immigrants generally arrived in Argentina before the 1860s, so they could take advantage of active migration networks and of the wool economic cycle in order to purchase their holdings. Generally speaking, those who arrived later, especially after the 1870s, and their children would never advance from the employee status and were better inclined to support Peronism than their employers.
- [8] *Descamisados* (shirtless) was used by J.D. Perón referring to his supporters, especially those belonging to the labouring class. *Compañero* (comrade) was the general identification of any supporter of the Peronist party.
- [9] Farrell and Perón, only one heart.
- [10] Among these Radical leaders was Jazmín Hortensio Quijano, who would latter be appointed Vice-President by Juan D. Perón.
- [11] *Partido Único de la Revolución Nacional* was the former name of the Peronist Party, which was a coalition among the Labour Party, the Independent Party and UCR Junta Renovadora.
- [12] Camila O'Gorman (1828-1848), executed on 18 August 1848 after eloping with her lover, the Catholic priest Uladislao Gutiérrez.
- [13] Guillermo Patricio Kelly was the son of Guillermo Kelly (d. 1935), a physician, grandson of Enrique Kelly (1857-1926), and great-grandson of Irish-born Daniel Kelly (1830-1908) and Luisa White. Daniel Kelly, landowner and real state agent in Las Flores, contributed to the *Standard* newspaper with the penname "Dick".
- [14] Yes to our country, not to a colony.
- [15] Coghlan 1987: 484.
- [16] Flota Aérea Mercante Argentina.
- [17] Children's city.
- [18] La Pampa and Chaco provinces were renamed "Eva Perón" and "Presidente Perón" respectively. La Plata, capital city of the Buenos Aires province, was named "Eva Perón".
- [19] Norma was the first child of Miguel José Egan (1894-1959) and Elena O'Donnell (d. 1968), and granddaughter of Tomás Egan (1854-1905) and Ellen Brady (1862-1929) of San Antonio de Areco. Norma Egan married Victor Acuña (Coghlan 1987: 303).

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The Irish in Falkland/Malvinas Islands

By Edmundo Murray

The Falkland Islands (in Spanish, *Islas Malvinas*) are an archipelago in the South Atlantic, about 600 kilometres off the coast of Argentina. The islands were first occupied in 1764 by the French, who handed over their settlement to the Spanish naval flotilla on 1 April 1767. British ousted the French settlers, and the French sold their claim to Spain. In 1820 Argentina claimed sovereignty as Spain's successor and have disputed Britain's claim to the islands since 1833. There may have been Irishmen among the crew of John Davies's ship the *Desire* when he discovered the Islands in 1592, or in the *Welfare* of John Strong, the first man to land on the Falklands/Malvinas in 1690. But if so, we have no record of their names.

The first recorded Irish visitor was Commander William Farmer, born in Youghal, Co. Cork in 1732, who commanded the sloop *Swift* in West Falkland (*Gran Malvina*) waters in 1770 and was obliged to evacuate Port Egmont by a much larger Spanish force. The next Irish name in Falklands/Malvinas history is that of William Dickson of Dublin who was storekeeper for Louis Vernet's colonists, and was entrusted with the care of the British flag by Captain Onslow after he landed at Port Louis in 1833. Dickson was among those murdered by the gauchos led by Antonio Rivera on 26 August 1833.

The first Falklands/Malvinas census, that taken by Lt. Governor Richard Moody in 1842 noted five colonists born in Ireland. But the Irish population was to increase sharply with the arrival of the military pensioners in 1849. A large proportion of the Victorian army came from Ireland and the 1851 census counts seventy-four persons of the Irish nation: fifteen were military pensioners and many of the rest their wives and children.

During the late 1840s, the second official in the Islands was the Magistrate, William Henry Moore, who had left his practice (and his wife) in Belturbet, Co. Cavan, and armed with a testimonial signed by many of the Dublin legal establishment, arrived in Port Louis in March 1845. Moore was a caricature provincial lawyer: argumentative, self important, on the make and a heavy drinker. He argued violently with the first two governors, Moody and Rennie, and the former reported to London on 25 June 1846: "there are many Irishmen here, Mr. Moore is an Irishman, and the observation has been made that we have a 'Daniel O'Connell' among us." Moore eventually returned to London on leave in 1849, and in a remarkable own goal, was discovered offering legal advice to a company in dispute with the Colonial Office. He was sacked and disappears from view in a minor post in the Customs.

Since the late 1830s some Irish began sheep-farming in the Falkland/Malvinas Islands. Among others, Thomas [*Devil*] Murray (b. 1854) owned a large flock which he sold a few years later to purchase land in the continent. Most of these Irish were Catholics, but other Catholics in the islands were English, Chilean, French and from other countries. A fundamental part of the life of Catholic islanders was the presence of priests among them. The islands were (and still are) jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide in Rome. In 1857 they wrote to Cardinal Wiseman, archbishop of Westminster, and to Cardinal Alessandro Barnabo, Secretary of Propaganda Fide, to ask for a priest to attend their souls. The archbishop of Buenos Aires, Dr. Mariano J. Escalada, requested Anthony Fahy O.P. (1805-1871) to find a solution for the islanders, and he proposed that a priest from Buenos Aires visit them once every seven years. That same year, Fr. Lawrence Kirwan visited the islands and organized a committee to build a chapel and obtain land for a cemetery. Among the committee members were P.D. Lynch, Thomas Havers, Christopher Murray, and Patrick Maguire. In 1861, land was acquired to build a Catholic chapel. In 1865 Fr. Patrick J. Dillon (1842-1889) visited the islands. At that time there were about 200 Catholics and they had no priest. Fr. Dillon spent a few months among them and administered the sacraments. In 1872 Fr. William Walsh

made a short visit to the islands and before the end of the year he was gone on his way to his diocese of Brisbane in Australia.

Fr. James Foran was the first resident priest, and was fundamental in establishing a Catholic position in the islands. He arrived in October 1875 and, after receiving permission from ecclesiastical authority, from 1880 to 1886 he spent half the year on the islands and the other half on the mainland. On 15 June 1873, Stella Maris chapel in Port Stanley had been completed by the islanders, and later Fr. Foran moved it to a better location. Fr. Foran also started a school for Catholic children in the islands. When Fr. Foran finally left the islands in April 1886 he travelled direct to Buenos Aires and eventually returned to England. After 1888, the Catholics of the Falkland/Malvinas Islands were attended by the Salesian Fathers, beginning with Fr. Patrick J. Diamond, who arrived on 19 April 1888 in Port Stanley together with Mgr. José Fagnano.

Fr. Diamond was able to continue on the work which was carried out by Fr. Foran. Fr. Diamond built the parish priest house and directed the children's school. He also baptized *sub conditione* over twenty-five Protestant adults. Fr. Diamond was followed in 1890 by Fr. Patrick O'Grady, who had been in Argentina since 1884. Fr. O'Grady replaced the old chapel by a new building, which opened in 1899. Other chaplains were Fr. Mignone, who remained in the islands until 1937, and Irish-born Fathers Drumm and Kelly. In addition, other priests assisted the resident clergy, including Mgr. Santiago M. Ussher in 1930, the Passionists Fr. Domingo Moore and Fr. Santiago Deane, and the Pallotine Fr. Celestino Butterly. The Salesian sisters *Hijas de María Auxiliadora*, among them Sister Mary Jane Ussher, established a mission in the islands and remained there for many years.

However, the Irishman who made the greatest impact on the history of the Islands was certainly Lowther Brandon, a Church of Ireland clergyman from Carlow who became Colonial Chaplain in 1877. A man of faith and drive, he was remarkable for tackling the social problems of Stanley in a series of practical steps. He founded the first savings bank, established abstinence societies to combat drunkenness, and launched the *Falklands Islands Magazine*, which he type set and printed himself. He rode tirelessly around his broad parish, dragging after him a pack horse (*carguero*) laden with his magic lantern for shows to the camp settlements. Brandon also served as Inspector of the Government Schools and was a constant advocate of better teaching for children in camp. He returned to Ireland in 1907 and died in Slaney, Co. Wicklow in 1933.

Another Irishman in a senior post in government was Doctor Samuel Hamilton from Dublin who arrived in the islands in 1879 and served there for twenty-five years, returning to Ireland to retire. Prominent explorers who visited the Islands included Captain Francis Crozier, from Banbridge, Co. Down, who commanded one of the ships (*Terror*) on the Antarctic expedition of 1841-3 and Sir Ernest Shackleton, born in Athy, Co. Kildare, who visited Stanley on numerous occasions on his way to Antarctica or returning. Another explorer, the Irish yachtsman Conor O'Brien called at Stanley and his boat remained in use in Falklands/Malvinas waters until she was returned to the Irish Maritime museum.

Two British governors came from Ireland, Thomas Fitzgerald Callaghan from 1877 to 1880 and Sir Cosmo Haskard, who served from 1964 to 1970 and has retired to Ireland. A third governor, Sir James O'Grady (1931 - 1935), was the son of an Irish family living in England. He started life as a jobbing carpenter, moved into trade union politics, was sent on a diplomatic mission to Bolshevik Russia and was finally appointed colonial governor, first to one of the Australian states and then to the Falkland/Malvinas Islands.

During the opening decades of the twentieth century, the conflict between Argentina and England for the control of the Falkland/Malvinas Islands gained a wider awareness among the Irish in Buenos Aires and other provinces. The controversial and nationalistically opinionated *Fianna* newspaper never missed an opportunity to attack Britain's occupation of the islands. The integration process of Irish Argentines to a larger and wider society signified that most of them felt that their loyalty was towards Argentina rather than Britain. Miguel L. Fitzgerald (b. 1926) perhaps best epitomized that general Irish-Argentine attitude, when twice flying from the mainland to the islands in 1964 and 1968. On both occasions he landed near Stanley, raised the Argentine flag and with accompanying journalists tried (unsuccessfully) to interview

British authorities. Nothing was achieved by these individual actions, but they do reveal the increasing nationalistic feelings of the Irish Argentines towards the adopted country of their forefathers. In August 1966, another Irish Argentine, Eduardo F. McLoughlin (b. 1918) a former Air Force officer, was appointed Argentine ambassador to Britain; he would remain in London until 1970. Following Argentine policy, McLoughlin interfered with a British plan to hand sovereignty over to Falkland/Malvinas islanders before 1982, which would have opened the way to a pacific settlement of the conflict.

The Falkland/Malvinas War (2 April - 14 June 1982) began when the Argentine military junta sent warships to land a party of scrap dealers on South Georgia with the intention of reclaiming the Falkland/Malvinas Islands. A full scale military invasion followed. Attempts by the UN, the US, and Peru to secure a peaceful resolution to the conflict failed. Britain dispatched a task force comprising some thirty warships, two aircraft carriers, assorted fleet auxiliaries, the *Canberra* (a requisitioned passenger liner), Ro Ro ferries and container ships to recover the islands. The ten-week conflict claimed the lives of nearly 1,000 British and Argentine servicemen and civilians, and ceased with the surrender of the Argentine forces on 14 June. The British victory contributed to the downfall of the Argentine military dictatorship. Argentina officially declared a cessation of hostilities in 1989.

Irish and Irish-Argentine soldiers were among those who fought in both sides of the war. Translation was one particularly skilled service rendered by many Irish Argentines during the Falkland/Malvinas War. Private Ronnie Quinn translated messages and Private Miguel Savage facilitated communications with the islanders and, after the surrender, onboard the *Canberra*. In the immediate aftermath of the Argentine invasion, Major Patricio Dowling acted as interpreter during the meeting with Governor Rex Hunt at his official residence. Dowling hatred of all things British was remarkable and he was later sent back to the continent in disgrace for overstepping his authority.

The Falkland/Malvinas War was a turning point for the identity of most Irish Argentines. After decades of being *ingleses* and living voluntarily isolated in their own country, Irish Argentines finally began to feel truly Argentine.

Edmundo Murray

Acknowledgements

Adapted with kindest permission from the publisher from my entry in Jim Byrne, Philip Coleman and Jason King (eds.), *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics and History* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, forthcoming 2008). I am extremely thankful to David Tatham and Edward Walsh for adding substantial information to my research, and to Carlos Connell, Tomás Fox, Ronnie Quinn and Miguel Savage for their recollections of Falklands/Malvinas War.

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José Luis [Joe] Baxter (1940-1973), activist and revolutionary

Baxter, José Luis [Joe] (1940-1973), activist and revolutionary, was born on 24 May 1940 at El Moro stud farm in Marcos Paz (Buenos Aires province of Argentina), the son of Joseph Baxter (1888-1952) and his wife María Luisa, *née* Denaro (1910-1996); they also had a daughter, Mary, born in 1947. A professional race horse trainer, Joseph Baxter was born in London and emigrated to Argentina, probably with his Irish-born father Joseph Baxter (*sen.*), who found employment in a cattle ranch in Buenos Aires. The family had an Anglo-Irish protestant background.

Joe Baxter learnt English as his first language, and was a skilled horse-rider at an early age. He was sent to elementary school in the English School of Córdoba, where he used to receive visits from his family every two weeks. At ten, Baxter had an accident in the school and broke his elbow. For this reason, he would not be able to move correctly the right arm. One of those physical types inclined to be rather corpulent, Joe was nicknamed *El Gordo*.

When Joe Baxter's father Joseph died in 1952 the family relocated to Buenos Aires and lived in the district of Villa Urquiza (Alvarez Thomas avenue). Mrs. Baxter had to work as children's nurse to supplement the family's income. Joe was sent to another English School in Lomas de Zamora, where he received a tuition grant and assisted younger pupils. Baxter was a good student and became a keen reader of adventure novels, history, and poetry. At fifteen, Baxter entered Instituto Martínez school of Buenos Aires, which was a mediocre secondary school. Joe had plenty of time to hang around the political debate meetings at Café Paulista together with pupils of Salvador and San Agustín Catholic schools. He was fascinated by their nationalist discourse and became an enthusiastic pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic activist. He rejected the Argentine bourgeois ideology that supported the fall of Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1852, and was against the conventional political practises.

After the Soviet occupation of Hungary in November 1956, Baxter joined the Nationalist Union of Secondary Students (UNES), a high-school student branch of the right-wing Catholic organisation Tacuara, led by Alberto Ezcurra Uriburu (1937-1993). Joe Baxter was an enthusiastic supporter of the weekly nationalist paper *Azul y Blanco*. Two years later, he was appointed Tacuara's secretary-general. At the same time, he was studying in the School of Law and, thanks to his English skills, was working as international operator in the state-owned telephone company. His political activities, on top of the frequent meetings, included violent raids against the URSS consulate, synagogues and other Jewish institutions. In spite that Tacuara was inspired by Catholic priests and modelled after Primo de Rivera's Falange in Spain, Joe Baxter was distrustful of any religious ideology. He described himself as a nationalist and anti-imperialist. An admirer of the poet Ezra Pound, Baxter published in 1959 the poem "Nüremberg" in *Tacuara* publication. He supported a strong militarization of the movement. After the demonstrations during the visit of Dwight Eisenhower to Argentina in February 1962, Joe Baxter was imprisoned together with other nationalist activists. In prison he met Guillermo Patricio Kelly (1922-2005), with whom he disagreed ideologically, and José Luis Nell (1941-1974), who would be his companion during years.

When the Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticós visited Argentina in 1962, Joe Baxter was captivated with Castro's revolution and its anti-imperialist challenge to the United States. Owing to the creation by Fr. Julio Menvielle of Guardia Restauradora – a Catholic segment within Tacuara – the organisation split and Baxter and others set up Tacuara Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNRT). Therefore began Joe Baxter's metamorphosis from fascism to Marxism, a transformation which would be shared by several

members of his generation. In his view, the Peronist labour structure was necessary to attain the national revolution. As an illustration of his ambiguous and complex ideological development, when policemen raided his house in Villa Urquiza, they were bewildered by portraits of Hitler, Mussolini, and Fidel Castro decorating his bedroom.

By 1963 Joe Baxter was a full-time political activist. He admired Algeria's nationalist revolution and rejected anti-Semitism. At the same time, his group received arms from Peronist army officers and was planning radical operations to finance their activities, which included among others a planned invasion to Falkland/Malvinas Islands. Although he did not play a direct role (but was implicitly concerned) in the raid to the bank labour union's hospital Policlínico Bancario on 29 August 1963 - the first urban guerrilla operation in Argentina - Joe Baxter was responsible to launder part of the booty in Brazil in 1964.

That year was the start of Baxter's international career. From Brazil he travelled to Madrid and met Juan Domingo Perón at his house. Perón introduced him to Héctor Villalón, a businessman with good connections in Cuba, China and Egypt. Baxter then moved to Algeria and Egypt and worked with several revolutionaries. To avoid the Argentine authorities, he settled for some time in Uruguay and transformed Tupamaros revolutionary group into an urban guerrilla organisation. In 1965, he received training in northern Vietnam. During a sudden attack he ignored the withdrawal order and fired on the enemy, being awarded for this action. Baxter also travelled to China to receive military and ideological training.

In 1966 Joe Baxter entered clandestinely in Argentina, and the following year went to Cuba thanks to his network with Tupamaros organisation. In Havana he married Ruth Arrieta, daughter of a Bolivian nationalist officer. Joe Baxter was in Paris during the Fourth International of 1968, where he represented the Trotskyist groups. In these circumstances Baxter met Rubén P. Bonnet, Luis Pujals and Mario R. Santucho, who would be founding members of the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP), a Trotskyist terrorist organisation in Argentina. After the hijacking of Fiat Argentina's chief executive Oberdan Sallustro that year, Baxter broke with ERP and created other radical groups like Leninist Trend and Red Fraction. By the early 1970s he was living in Chile with his wife and daughter Mariana, born in 1968 in Cuba.

Joe Baxter died on 11 July 1973 when the Boeing 707 of Varig Airlines, en route to Rio de Janeiro, attempted an emergency landing near Paris Orly airport killing 123 passengers. He was travelling on a false passport and carried with him \$40,000 dollars, presumably to support the fighting of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua. Joe Baxter was buried beside his father and mother at the British cemetery of Chacarita in Buenos Aires. The stone that marks his grave carries the inscription *El no quiso nada para sí* (he wanted nothing for himself).

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to the journalist Daniel Gutman for his review of the entry, corrections and additional information. The greater part of the records provided in this biography have been taken from Gutman's book *Tacuara: historia de la primera guerrilla urbana argentina* (Buenos Aires: Vergara, 2003). I am also thankful to Alberto Pérez Iriarte and Juan José Santos for the photographs of Joe Baxter and the family tombstone.

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John William Cooke (1920-1968), politician and ideologist of the Peronist movement

Cooke, John William [Juan Guillermo] (1920-1968), politician and ideologist of the Peronist movement, was born on 14 November 1920 (although 1919 has also been suggested) at 50th street between 4th and 5th in La Plata, capital city of the Buenos Aires province. John William and David Cooke were sons of Juan Isaac Cooke (1895-1957) and María Elvira Lenci. The son of Panama-born dentist Genaro William Cooke, Juan Isaac Cooke was a distinguished member of the "Junta Renovadora" faction within the Radical Civic Union party, which supported Juan Domingo Perón's standing in the 1946 presidential elections. Cooke's father Juan Isaac was minister of foreign affairs, national MP, and ambassador to Brazil.

From his early age John William Cooke was familiarised with political debate, so it was natural for him to be a politically committed student in the secondary school. He studied in the school of law at University of La Plata, and graduated in 1943. During his student years Cooke joined the Radical forces of the Intransigent University Union, as well as FORJA (Fuerza de Orientación Radical de la Joven Argentina), an important nationalist and anti-imperialist political hub of its time. In 1946, at the early age of twenty-five, he was elected MP for Junta Renovadora and would continue in parliament up to 1951. Cooke was appointed secretary of the Peronist group of MPs and member of the Executive Committee of Partido Único (a coalition of the Labour Party, the Independent Party and "Junta Renovadora" which would become the Peronist Party). The Antitrust Act was one of the parliamentary projects submitted by John W. Cooke. In opposition to his own political party, he voted against the Chapultepec Act and the San Francisco Convention of 1945, which he considered against national sovereignty. Cooke co-authored with Ricardo Guardo one of the constitutional amendment projects that was proposed for voting. Additionally, he was professor of political economics and constitutional law at the University of Buenos Aires.

In 1950 John William Cooke joined the Juan Manuel de Rosas Historical Society, the most important meeting point for revisionist historians in the country, and in 1954 was appointed its vice-president. He edited the weekly paper *De Frente* and adopted a national stand opposing to the contracts with Standard Oil Co. After a failed revolt against Perón in June 1955, Cooke was offered the post of secretary of technical affairs, but refused and was therefore appointed to head the Peronist Party in Buenos Aires. Owing to the unstable political context he recommended the organisation of popular militias to defend the democratic regime against a *coup d'état*.

The coup took place on 16 September 1955, when the so-called Revolución Libertadora, led by Eduardo Lonardi overthrew the Peronist rule. Juan D. Perón exiled in Paraguay and later in Venezuela and Spain, the Peronist Party (and even the word "Perón") being banned. John William Cooke escaped and went into hiding for a time until was seized and imprisoned in Buenos Aires and later in Patagonia. On 2 November 1956 Perón wrote the famous letter that entitled John W. Cooke, "who is now jailed for his loyalty to our cause and our movement, to represent myself in any circumstance or political activity. His decision will be my decision, and his word will be my word" (Perón to Cooke, 2 November 1956). Perón appointed Cooke his political envoy, a responsibility held by Cooke until 1959, and the Peronist movement's head in case of Perón's death.

After 1955 John William Cooke became a key player of "Resistencia Peronista", the organisation created to recover the democratic government from the military rulers. From the prison, Cooke led different efforts among students and workers, including strikes, sabotage and operations using home-made bombs. In 1957 Cooke and other Peronist activists escaped from the prison of Río Gallegos and settled in Chile. That year John William Cooke married Alicia Graciana Eguren (1924-1977), writer and professor of literature who would be abducted on 26 January 1977 by an Argentine Navy death squad and become one of *desaparecidos*.

The correspondence with Juan D. Perón was initiated in 1957 and ceased in 1966, when their relations began cooling off. John W. Cooke was one of the negotiators of a secret pact between Perón and the leader of Unión Cívica Radical Intransigente's (UCRI) Arturo Frondizi, who in the 1958 presidential

elections obtained the Peronist votes in exchange for several appointments and other concessions to the Peronist movement. Once in power - acting between military and labour union pressures - Frondizi was reluctant to fulfil his commitment and a series of strikes were organised. In January 1959 Cooke was an active leader in the actions against the privatisation of Lisandro de la Torre meat-packing plant. After this he was banished to Uruguay.

John William Cooke had an influential part in the creation of the first Argentine rural guerrilla, Uturunco group, in the province of Tucumán. The group was responsible for the attack and capture of a police station in Christmas 1959. In 1960 John William Cooke settled in Havana and established a lifetime relation with Ernesto *Che* Guevara. On 17 April 1961 Cooke participated of the battle at Playa Girón (or Bay of Pigs, as it is referred to in the United States). Cooke wanted to make Peronism known in Cuba, and to bring the Cuban revolution to Peronism. A project arranged by Cooke in 1962 included Fidel Castro's proposal to Juan D. Perón so as he could permanently reside in Cuba. However Perón failed to answer Castro's invitation.

One of Cooke's revolutionary undertakings was Acción Revolucionaria Peronista. In 1962 he and Che Guevara backed the People's Guerrilla Army of Jorge Ricardo Massetti, which engaged in attacks in Salta until 1964. In 1967-1968 Cooke organised guerrilla groups at Taco Ralo. When Che Guevara went to Bolivia, Cooke was fighting in the Argentine side of the border presumably to unite with Guevara's forces. In his last years, John William Cooke had a radical perspective which included direct action. He was an important theorist within the left wing of the Peronist movement. Cooke's ideology was popular and inspiring among Argentine and other Latin American activists, in particular those who recognised labour movements like Peronism as the most efficient channels for class struggle and the fastest approach to attain the dictatorship of proletariat. Many of his books were published or reprinted posthumously, among them *La lucha por la liberación nacional. El retorno de Perón. La revolución y el peronismo* (Buenos Aires: Granica, 1971), *Correspondencia Perón-Cooke* (Buenos Aires: Papiro, 1972), *Apuntes para la militancia* (Buenos Aires: Schapiro, 1973), and *Peronismo y revolución. El peronismo y el golpe de Estado. Informe a las bases* (Buenos Aires: Granica, 1973).

John William Cooke died of cancer on 19 September 1968 at the Hospital de Clínicas of Buenos Aires.

Edmundo Murray

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Edelmiro Julián Farrell (1887-1980), army officer and president of Argentina

Farrell, Edelmiro Julián (1887-1980), army officer and president of the Argentine Republic in 1944-1946, was born on 12 February 1887 in Villa de los Industriales (Lanús, Buenos Aires). He was the tenth son of Juan Farrell (b. 1846) and Catalina Plaul (1852-1917), and grandson of Matthew Farrell (d. 1860) of Co. Longford and Mónica Ibañez.

Edelmiro J. Farrell joined the army in 1905 and graduated as second lieutenant of the infantry regiment. He spent most of his career in Mendoza, where he specialized in mountaineering fighting units. In 1924 Farrell traveled to Italy to receive special instruction with the Alpine regiments of the Italian army. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1927, colonel in 1931, and general in 1941, being appointed director of the military mountaineering school. For his brilliant career Farrell was awarded the "Cóndor de Oro" medal.

Being a major general, Farrell was one of the main figures of the military *coup d'état* of 4 June 1943 led by Pedro Pablo Ramírez. They replaced the discredited administration headed by Ramón Castillo by general Arturo Rawson. Rawson was succeeded by Ramírez, who appointed Farrell to the war ministry. When Vice-President rear admiral Sabá Sueyro died, Farrell was named in his stead. In February 1944, general Ramírez was deposed by a pro-German military coup after announcing that Argentina would comply with the requirements of the United States against the Axis. The Vice-President and minister of war Edelmiro J. Farrell took over as president, being sworn on 12 March 1944.

A leading figure of Farrell's administration was Col. Juan D. Perón (1895-1974). It was Perón who became the most powerful man in Argentina, by cornering such appointments as Vice-President, minister of war, head of the labor and welfare secretariat, and chairman of the council for post-war planning. Perón was a member of a secretive group of officers who came to be known by the *United Officers Group* (GOU), which was supported by Farrell. They were strong supporters of the Central Powers, sympathizing not only with the war efforts of Germany and Italy but also with the social model that Hitler and Mussolini had introduced in their countries (Franco's Spain was another source of inspiration). These officers conformed to a long tradition of nationalism, contempt for democracy, anti-Semitism and pro-Germanism in the Argentine army. Perón, as Farrell before, spent time in Italy to receive training, and was deeply impressed above all with the personality and social policies of Mussolini. Both officers found in European fascism the magic formula which they believed could turn Argentina into an influential nation capable of asserting its independence against the most powerful countries.

The end of the war and hopes for better times led to a dramatic rise in labour disputes. Civil war was in the air, and Farrell began to realise that the hour of defeat was near at hand. The pressure became too great, the controversial Vice-President Juan Perón was forced to resign and was arrested on 12 October 1945. But Perón was no longer just an army officer, he was also Argentina's foremost labour leader. Union leaders and young officers loyal to Perón began, with Eva (*Evita*) Duarte's help, to mobilize resistance. The moment of truth for Farrell came on 17 October 1945, when the working population of Buenos Aires took the streets *en masse*, filled the Plaza de Mayo in front of the presidential palace, and demanded Perón's release. Farrell took the opportunity of resuming control of the situation. Perón was instantly released, reinstated in all his appointments and enabled, from the balcony of the presidential palace, to address a jubilant crowd estimated at 300,000 persons. This was the victory of the Argentine poor, *descamisados* ("the shirtless") and the despised *cabecitas negras* ("small black heads") had now become a force to reckon with in Argentina's history.

In July 1945 Farrell announced that a presidential election would be held in February 1946. Perón was the obvious candidate and, with 54 per cent of the votes cast, he had defeated the candidate of the united opposition. Farrell gave place to Perón, who was sworn new president on 4 June 1946.

Edelmiro Farrell's nationalistic ideology and love of Argentine folkloric music and dance - he was a skilful guitar player - led him to enforce live musical performances before film projections in movie theatres. In Buenos Aires, some shows were very good and several in the middle-class with immigrant origins became

interested in national music. Farrell retired from active service in 1947 and played a significant role in the accomplishment of municipal self-government for his home neighbourhood, Lanús. He spent his last days in Buenos Aires, where he lived in the Kavanagh building of Plaza San Martín, and died on 31 October 1980.

Edmundo Murray

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Ernesto [Che] Guevara (1928-1967), physician and revolutionary

Guevara, Ernesto [Che] (1928-1967), physician and revolutionary, was born on 14 June 1928 in the city of Rosario, Argentina, the eldest son of Ernesto Guevara Lynch (1900-1987) and Celia de la Serna (1906-1967). Ernesto Guevara Lynch's mother was Ana Lynch (1861-1947), born in San Francisco, California, where her father Francisco de Paula E. Lynch (1817-1886) was the consul of Buenos Aires. The Lynchs were an influential family with branches in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Among their members were soldiers, politicians and intellectuals, like the Chilean rear admiral Patricio Lynch Zaldívar (1824-1886), and the Argentine distinguished writers Benito Lynch (1882-1951) and Adolfo Bioy Casares (1914-1999).

Ernesto (*jun.*) suffered from respiratory conditions, so the family moved in 1932 to Altavracia, in the central province of Córdoba, which offered a mild and dry weather. Ernesto Guevara's brothers and sisters Roberto, Celia, Ana María, and Juan Martín were born in Córdoba. Ernesto was sent to Córdoba city to study at Dean Funes national school. In 1947 Ernesto Guevara entered the school of medicine at the University of Buenos Aires, and graduated in 1953. During this period he traveled throughout Latin America, including Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela.

The year of his graduation Ernesto Guevara went to Guatemala and got acquainted with Antonio *Ñico* López Fernández and other revolutionaries who worked for the president Jacobo Arbenz. A CIA-military coup toppled Arbenz, and Guevara settled in Mexico in 1954. In July 1955 he enrolled in Fidel Castro's *Granma* expedition, which left Tuxpan on 25 November 1956 and landed a week later in Cuba. The rebels were defeated, but on 17 January 1957 overpowered the regular army in Uvero (a battle that Guevara considered the maturity of the revolution). In June 1957 Guevara was appointed chief of the rebels' fourth regiment, which arrived the following year at Camagüey. By yearend they occupied the city of Santa Clara and finally entered in Havana on 2 January 1959. Guevara was awarded the Cuban citizenship, and that year was appointed president of the national bank. In 1955 Ernesto Guevara married Hilda Gadea and they had a daughter, Hilda Beatriz. He married again in 1959, his second wife being Aleida Marsh, and they had four children, Ernesto, Camilo, Celia, and Aleida. In 1961 Ernesto Guevara became minister of industries.

Between 1960 and 1965 Ernesto Guevara traveled in commercial missions to countries in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to increase Cuban international trade, foster ideological dialogue, and support a military alliance against the threat of the United States. He also represented Cuba in international conferences and bodies. Guevara resigned to his official appointments, left Cuba on 3 October 1965 and arrived in Bolivia with an Uruguayan passport and under the name of Adolfo Mena González. He joined the local guerrilla in November and after an encounter in Quebrada del Yuro he was seriously injured. On 9 October 1965 Ernesto Guevara was executed in Higuera together with other six rebels. His body was discovered in 1997 and the remains were buried in Cuba.

On the belief that successful revolutions were only possible with the material support of well-organized armies, Guevara developed the primacy of military struggle and the guerilla *foci*, by which cumulative attacks over relatively small targets would develop the people's revolutionary awareness. Privately, he was critical to the Soviet Union and claimed that the world's northern hemisphere, including the US and the USSR, exploited the southern hemisphere. He was enthusiastic about the Vietnamese revolution and urged his comrades in South America to create "many Vietnams". Among Guevara's published works are *The Bolivian Diary*, *Guerrilla Warfare*, *The African Dream: The Diaries of the Revolutionary War in the Congo*, and *The Motorcycle Diaries*.

In Ireland and other places of the Irish Diaspora, Ernesto Guevara's life and thinking is sometimes linked with his Irish ancestry. However, Guevara's family and cultural connections with Ireland were far and remote. Two centuries and six generations of an ethnically mixed family separated Guevara from his ancestor Patrick Lynch, born in 1715 in Lydican Castle, Co. Galway, and member of a merchant family

prominent in Jamaica and elsewhere in the West Indies. Patrick Lynch left Ireland in the 1740s and after traveling throughout the Americas settled in Buenos Aires in 1749 and established a successful merchant business. There is no evidence that Ernesto Guevara identified with Irish culture, though his father observed that Ernesto was descended from "Irish rebels" (interview by I. Lavretsky, 1969). However, Guevara was conscious of his roots, in particular the mixed cultures of his family. In an early diary with notes about his 1950 trip to the Argentine northern provinces, he recorded that 'the well-shaked mix of Irish and Galician [blood] flowing through my veins' had an influence in his determination to cross a desert in Santiago del Estero (Guevara Lynch 1988: 331). Nevertheless, Ernesto was proud of his Argentine origin and his Cuban nationality, and regarded himself as Latin American. One other possible source of misinformation was an interview on 13 March 1965 by the journalist Arthur Quinlan. Guevara was on his way back to Havana from Prague, and the Cuban Airlines aircraft developed mechanical trouble and landed at Shannon airport. According to Quinlan, Guevara spoke in English and talked of his Irish connections through the name Lynch. He went with friends to Limerick and stayed in the Hanratty's Hotel on Glentworth Street. Most likely, this was the closest connection that *Che* Guevara had with Ireland.

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