
The Burning Towers

A Twenty-First-Century Re-Imagining of Leda's Terror

by Erich Simmers

*A shudder in the loins engender there
The broken wall, the burning roof and tower
And Agamemnon dead.
—W.B. Yeats, “Leda and the Swan”*

WHAT IMAGES DO THESE LINES EVOKE? A mythic rape, the collapse of an ancient civilization? Post-colonialism has become the predominate lens through which the W. B. Yeats's poem “Leda and the Swan” is examined, but have scholars pushed the reading far enough? Is it possible to see the attack on the World Trade Center in the burning tower? Can the reader imagine wires dangling from “the vague terrorized fingers” of a hooded Abu Ghraib prisoner? These are provocative claims beyond what Yeats could have intended, but the context of “Leda and the Swan” is not so removed from the conflict and terror of the present era. In fact, the use of terrorism and the labeling of acts as terror can also readily be seen in the anti- and post-colonial atmosphere of 1910s and 1920s Ireland. By exposing the connections

between the poem's original context and modern conceptions of terror, we can interrogate the post-colonial paradigm and connect literature with the execution of the War on Terror.

"Leda and the Swan" has always provoked intense responses from its readers. When the poem first appeared in 1914, readers viewed the images of rape as a challenge to the traditional sexual mores of Irish Catholicism in the 1920s.¹ The critical response to the poem ranges from the formalist, to the psychoanalytic, and the feminist. Although post-colonial readings have come to preoccupy the poem's readers, post-colonial theorists were slow to include Ireland into their discourse. In the library of Cooper Union, I came across a cart labeled "used books, twenty-five cents" where I found a first-edition copy of *The Empire Writes Back*. The text encompassed a broad range of issues that preoccupied post-colonial theorists of the time of writing, 1989. However, Ireland was not among the laundry list of post-colonial states, which included even the United States and Canada. Despite England's centuries-long occupation of Ireland, its status as a former colony had been ignored. My suspicion is that the hidden nature of its colonization was a result of the gap between the more "modest" English expansionist ventures prior to the nineteenth century Imperialism and *the* British Empire upon which the sun never set. Although this is outside the scope of this essay, the gap is a result of technology's impact on both the influence and perception of Imperialism. Post-colonial theorists view the British Empire of the nineteenth century as unique in human history for the expansiveness of its reach as well as its power over its subjects, and prior historical empires occupy a somehow less significant place in the view of the academy.² In a similar way, Ireland's anti-colonial and post-colonial struggles bridge past views of atrocities committed in revolutionary struggles and present conceptions of terrorism.

Gradually, scholars came to acknowledge that the Ireland in which Yeats wrote "Leda and the Swan" had been engaged in anti- and post-colonial conflict. Seamus Dean first introduced the concept of a post-colonial Ireland in his book *Celtic Revivals*, and Edward Said's article

“Yeats and Decolonization” pushed further, linking Ireland’s colonial domination with that of other post-colonial nations. While some such as Denis Donoghue have been critical of an oversimplified view of a unified colonial experience among nations, the common threads of violent anti-colonial resistance and post-colonial cultural articulation constitute a shared experience for many post-colonial nations that transcends geography and race. Many of the states that Said connects to colonial resistance (including but not limited to Ireland and Palestine) have been connected to the notion of violence in yet another way: terrorism.

Of course, the term “terrorism” carries a pejorative connotation, the application of which can itself be a propaganda tool, but let us suspend our preconceptions to explore the word and its implications. The word has its origins in political intimidation of the Jacobin movement in Revolutionary France, and the notion has been applied to varied acts of political violence and coercion. Without question, political cartoons contemporary to “Leda and the Swan” from England, Ulster, and the rest of Ireland express this notion of violent political coercion often portraying armed strongmen threatening violence if their demands are not met.³ Often, groups that lack military strength to assert their political aims use terrorist tactics to offset a military disadvantage and to make themselves and their threat appear stronger than it is.⁴ When Irish Republican Army volunteers initiated the Anglo-Irish War, Irish Republicans knew that conventional war with the English was not winnable. Those who had witnessed the defeat of the Easter Uprising, which Yeats captures in “Easter 1916,” looked for an alternative to expel English dominion from Ireland. Among the IRA volunteers at the Postal Office was a young captain, Michael Collins. Witness to the military failure of the Uprising, Collins understood the expediency of terrorist tactics and began formulating guerilla strategies during his detainment immediately following the Uprising.

In 1919, sporadic violence expanded into the Anglo-Irish War. While selective application of the multitudinous definitions of terrorism can either include or exclude almost every act of warfare as terrorism, Col-

Collins's effective use of ambush, assassination, targeting of civilians including journalists, and the use of clandestine, non-uniformed combatants to affect political change matches most definitions of terror. His strategy aimed "to provoke governmental overreaction, to discourage dissent, or simply to intimidate and thereby enforce compliance with their demands," and it was successful.⁵ As the British violence escalated, public support for the terrorist tactics increased dramatically. Meanwhile, the British faced increasing costs in casualties and materiel in a seemingly unending conflict, which was a source of criticism at home and abroad. After nearly two years of fighting, an uneasy truce resulted in the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. For Collins, the treaty was a partial step towards complete victory. To the treaty's opponents, it was an undesirable concession when further military action could bring total victory now. The IRA became divided into pro- and anti-Treaty factions, and conflict became unavoidable. When opponents of the treaty took control of Four Courts in Dublin, Collins accepted the British offer of artillery and laid siege to the building in a jarring echo of the Easter Uprising. The Irish Civil War had begun, and pro- and anti-Treaty IRA members turned the terrorist tactics of revenge killings and assassination that they had used against the British on each other. By 1923, the pro-Treaty faction had won, although many of their leaders, including Collins himself, had been killed.

While armed conflict had ceased, the embers of the Irish Civil War still burned beneath the ashes while Yeats composed "Leda and the Swan" in September 1923. In the months following the end to civil war, anti-treaty opposition was reorganizing its political resistance "away from the molestation of the Free State's police, army and secret services."⁶ A senator at the time, Yeats believed the "reign of democracy" had come to an end, promising government violence from above.⁷ Between 1919 and 1923, Yeats had witnessed two great "descents" of political violence: one from the British and a second from the Irish Free State. In his poem, Yeats writes that when the Swan attacks Leda, he does so with "great wings still beating / Above the staggering girl."⁸ This vio-

lence from above is even stronger in the 1924 version of the poem in which the bird “hovers” above its victim and “descends” to rape her.⁹ The mythic sexual assault of Leda has echoes throughout Irish history, but Leda’s pregnancy links back to another violent birth described in Yeats’s poem “Easter, 1916,” in which the poem announces, “A terrible beauty is born.” It is not unimaginable to associate a sexualized violence to the Easter Uprising: when the captive insurgents were marched through Dublin en route to a detention camp, an English officer Captain Lee Wilson ordered three men—Tom Clarke, Willie Pearse, and Edward Daly—to be stripped and beaten in front a crowd of jeering protestors.¹⁰ Another biographer portrays a drunk Wilson “mercilessly prodding” Clarke.¹¹ Collins would never forget the act and had Wilson assassinated years later. The image of a British officer assaulting a helpless, unarmed victim is one that mirrors many aspects of Irish colonial domination. For this reason, it is no surprise that the Swan raping Leda is such an accessible image for top-down colonial violence upon a disempowered victim in which rape itself is an act of terror perpetrated on the Irish people.

The violence figured above in this “sudden blow” is one of two violent movements in the poem. The second is the “shudder in the loins” by which Leda becomes impregnated.¹² This second event echoes the second violent movement in the years leading up to 1923: the Irish Civil War. Much as the impregnation of Leda creates a violent hybrid, so does the treaty, which ended the Civil War create the hybrid of the post-colonial Irish Free State. Yeats was conscious of this violent conception in “Leda.” In a 1925 letter, Yeats viewed the poem as a “classic enunciation [sic].”¹³ The choice of the word “annunciation,” a revelation of divine conception, is specific to two historic moments: the terrorist violence of 1920s Ireland and the mythic fall of Troy, which are analogous in the poem. Leda’s impregnation, unlike the Catholic annunciation, is a terrorist act. Yeats uses this very vocabulary, describing the “vague terrified fingers” of Leda.¹⁴

However, this rape gives birth to Castor and Pollux who represent a mixed parentage of mortal and divine. If the “divine” is associated with

the British victimizer and the “mortal” is associated with the Irish victim, the divine twins take on a hybrid identity that complicates the Irish post-colonial identity seen in “Leda and the Swan.” Said connects the interdependent nature of anti-colonial resistance in which he borrows Fanon’s description of “bourgeoisies that were partly formed and to some degree produced by the colonial power” who come to replicate old colonial structures in their newly independent nation states.¹⁵ A similar analogy could be made through the psychoanalytic model. Copying the violence of colonial oppression, post-colonial peoples enter into a pattern that echoes that of victims of sexual abuse, through which violence is repeated in successive generations. Castor and Pollux follow this pattern, perpetrating the abduction and rape of successive women including those who they would make their wives. An act of terror is a premeditated, hyperrational act, which—much like rape—sets at its mission an assertion of power via an act of terror.

With the divine twins, this violence takes on a political character. Terrorism is something that can both be employed against the state to overthrow it, but it can also be employed by the state. In this sense, the terrorism of “Leda and the Swan” follows Walter Benjamin’s concept of “law-creating” and “law-preserving” violence.¹⁶ In raping Leda, this act of violence assumes a “law-maintaining” character in its perpetuation of colonial domination in Ireland. However, the rape also serves as a “law-creating” role with the birth of Leda’s twins. This dual-natured terrorism is the creational moment of a new, anti-colonial state born out of a colonial one. This dual character leads itself cycles of violence on the behalf of and against the state. Even as a product of state-sponsored terror, Castor and Pollux would go on to engage in an embryonic, state-sponsored terrorism, which included the dismembering of Queen Astydameia and the ravaging of her country Iolcos after she had offended a monarch with whom they were allied.¹⁷ There is a connection between the monarch who is offended and his revenge impulse, which follows the violence that was occurring contemporary to “Leda and the Swan.” The violence of Castor and Pollux mirrors the Anglo-Irish War and the Irish

Civil War in which revenge killings were common under the guise of maintaining the anti-colonial or colonial state.

As a metaphor for the Anglo-Irish conflict, the twins' would-be hybrid Irish-English identity complicates the simple reading of hierarchical, colonial violence. When read with Yeats's poem in mind, the twins have access to the Swan's inheritance, a power to enact violence. Much as the poem is an "annunciation" of Castor and Pollux, the poem is also an annunciation of the Irish Free State. While the bestial figure of British colonialism initiates a history of violence, its Irish progeny must take responsibility for the violence that they consequently unleash on the world. When the poem asks if Leda "put on his knowledge with his power," Yeats leaves no doubt that *power* has been secured; that is, Leda and her progeny have the power to enact the same violence that had been perpetrated against her.¹⁸ When the Anglo-Irish Treaty is signed, the Irish Free State became a self-governing dominion of the British Empire with an exclusive right to exercise sovereign violence within the boundaries of the Irish Free State. However, it remains unclear whether "knowledge" is coupled with this power. Once this power is inherited, post-colonial violence takes on a shared parentage. While the former colonized people might mimic colonial structures of violence, it is the figure of Ireland that gave birth to these terrorists. Whatever violence they create is now *Irish* as well as English.

When anti-treaty forces rejected the Anglo-Irish Treaty, it was the Irish that continued the cycle of violence. The Irish Civil War became the violent expression of the struggle for post-colonial identity. Through their fight, like Castor and Pollux, the Irish progeny of English colonial violence, resisted the epistemology inherited through the Anglo-Irish Treaty. This model extends beyond the violent actions within Ireland's anti-colonial struggle. The whole of Ireland has now acquired a hybridity through the import of English, the metamorphosis of Ulster into a state that sees its national allegiance as Anglo-Irish, and those such as Yeats himself whose ancestry is mixed. However, anti-treaty forces reject this hybrid state and seek an Ireland and an Irishness that is whole and

unified to the exclusion of any British “knowledge.” This means rejecting the epistemology that the Anglo-Irish Treaty represents: cooperating with British legal structures in writing the treaty, acknowledging that the territory of Ireland now has a mixed and divided character reflected in the boundary between the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, and maintaining a link to the colonial power through the Irish Free State’s dominion status.

In this way, the Irish Civil War can thus be seen as a conflict over the new epistemology of the Irish people, in which Ireland can either accept or reject a conception of Irishness that includes the residual effects—this mixed parentage—of colonial domination. When reading this history against Yeats’s poem, it becomes obvious that by rejecting the admission of any hybridity, the anti-treaty faction’s only recourse is to exercise not the Swan’s knowledge but his *power*. Here, the anti-treaty opposition embraces terrorist violence in its assertion of post-colonial identity. To counter this, the pro-treaty forces embrace the hybrid epistemology and must put down the rebellion, in order to establish the legitimacy of the new state. The conflict between the opposition of knowledge and power can be seen in its ultimate result: “the broken wall, the burning roof and tower / And Agamemnon dead.” The “broken wall” is the rupture of the established boundary between Irish and English, through which the hybrid is created. It is a strategic barrier, representing both successful invasion and failed defense. When the anti-treaty faction of the IRA occupied the Four Courts, Collins as the leader of the pro-treaty forces had to assert an Irish identity that mimicked old colonial structures. When Collins accepted an offer of British artillery and bombarded his former comrades and countrymen, who were fortified within the Four Courts, he finalized the break in the wall, admitting the colonial influence into the new Irish identity. News of the smoking dome of the Four Courts, which stood out against the landscape, could well have influenced Yeats’s reimagining of Troy’s “burning roof and tower.”

As with any hybridity, elements of the indigenous culture are erased. This is particularly true of the occupation of the Four Courts. As the

anti-treaty insurgency withdrew from their position, they booby-trapped the adjacent Public Records Office and the basement Archives, which contained nearly a thousand years of records and artifacts from Irish history. The resultant explosion destroyed irreplaceable pieces of their cultural heritage in a sort of cultural suicide attack.¹⁹ In their effort to resist the admission of the colonial influence into their new Irish identity, the anti-treaty forces had been willing to sacrifice the unique cultural identity that they sought to save. At this moment, the anti-treaty IRA replayed the same colonial violence that had created Ireland's hybrid identity in the first place, and acted as a metaphorical rape of Leda upon its cultural heritage. The violence only succeeded in further admitting the colonial influence, rather than expelling it, exacerbating the untenable position of resistance to the hybrid identity. The Free State government, legitimated by Anglo-Irish Treaty, had to respond. More than ever, the Irish Free State and England were interdependent. The anti-treaty Irish promised to overthrow the government and renew hostilities with Britain in order to expel any British influence including that of Northern Ireland. The success of the Irish Free State now coincided with British interests, and London lent support of artillery, armor, and materiel to secure victory for the Free State. The conflict would cost more lives than the Anglo-Irish War, and the final stages of the Civil War were marked with brutal terrorist violence that would cement a bitter divide in Irish politics that still continues into the present day.

The final result of the Civil War, in the words of "Leda and the Swan," was of "Agamemnon dead." Much of the leadership on both sides was assassinated, including Michael Collins. Just as Agamemnon had led the Greeks to victory during the Trojan War, Collins had beaten the British and asserted more independence than Charles Parnell's unsuccessful Home Rule plan. Agamemnon and Collins share a similar family history of rape and violence, one of myth and one of Irish colonial domination. Although he used terrorist tactics, Collins was willing to engage in a democratic discourse once that avenue was available. Collins viewed the treaty as an expedient step towards independence, but he

feared signing it to be signing his death warrant. Unwilling to accept the democratic processes inherited from the British, the Civil War began and Collins was assassinated shortly thereafter. Like Agamemnon who was killed at the hands of his wife and Castor's and Pollux's sibling, Clytemnestra, Collins was also the victim of his own national household. Collins had been able to "put on the knowledge" of the colonial domination in his democratic articulation of the Irish Free State, but the "power" of colonial and anti-colonial violence's lasting legacy of terrorism had at last been visited upon him.

What purpose does it serve to connect the terrorism of the Anglo-Irish War and the Irish Civil War with the "Global War on Terror?" In the years preceding and following the writing of "Leda and the Swan," Yeats had lost faith in the democratic process. Although he might not share the vocabulary of the contemporary discussion of terrorism, the violence of "Leda" shares all the characteristics of terrorism. With this reading, the poem becomes an interrogation of the anti-democratic nature of terrorism, and the self-perpetuating cycle of colonial and post-colonial violence. Today, it is necessary to explore the events of the past as they are captured in literature and history in order to construct models for dealing with the present crisis of global terrorism, itself a legacy of colonial and post-colonial violence.

"Leda and the Swan" was decades ahead of theoretical explanations of post-colonial violence, including the seminal *The Empire Writes Back*. Equating the political and psychological affects of colonialism to rape, Yeats expresses the cyclical violence incarnate in the mimetic violence of post-colonial trauma. The crisis of the poem is the tension between the "power," the right to enact violence assumed in a post-colonial state, and "knowledge," the epistemological framework of the colonial presence. Like a rape victim, the colonial subject experiences a hybridity: part of the original is lost and part is gained. The terror of the experience cannot be undone, and successful resistance depends on the incorporation rather than the expulsion of the hybrid. Collins' acceptance of the Anglo-Irish treaty exemplifies the success of using this hybridity to the advan-

tage of the colonized. By 1932, all British dominions including Ireland were given independence (except Canada, which maintained its links to Britain), and Collins' former opponents including Eamon de Valera acknowledged they had been wrong in rejecting the treaty.²⁰ However, Yeats would not know this at the time of writing "Leda." The post-colonial future of Ireland still seemed very uncertain.

Asserting the "knowledge" and "power" (the epistemological and authoritative structures), of the colonial force has its advantages. Yeats's vision of the colonized people as a rape victim describes a scenario in which the psychological damage cannot be undone. This contradicts Ngugi wa Thiong'o who describes the imposition of colonial epistemologies in similar psychological terms but comes to a very different conclusion. Ngugi observed the English imperialism subverting the colonized culture through establishing English language and literature. In the case of Ngugi's Kenya, British colonial authority did more damage with "the blackboard" than "the bullet" through the imposition of English language instruction.²¹ At the time, state schools had forbidden school children from speaking indigenous languages. In the same way that Leda takes on the knowledge of the Imperial Swan, students faced a violence similar to this sexualized violence that left a lasting psychological effect, and created a new hybrid-Kenyan people. Ngugi recalls the corporal punishment for languages spoken other than English, which included "three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks."²² This kind of colonial abuse echoes the real-life experience of 1916 Uprising veteran Tom Clarke. (Other obvious contemporary connections in the Global War on Terror can be seen in the prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib Prison.) Through the imposition of these English epistemological frameworks, Kenyans had to define themselves in English terms.

However, "Leda and the Swan" reveals problems with the process of psychic decolonization. First, Ngugi's analysis implies that the mind *can* be decolonized. On the contrary, Yeats's rape analogy denies that effects of colonization can be undone, creating a legacy of recurring violence much like the victims of sexual abuse. Moreover, Ngugi's attempt to use

language and literature to “decolonize” the post-colonial culture cannot escape use of Western paradigms. One such example is his desire to translate the works of Western thinkers.²³ Furthermore, his incorporation of Marxism into his post-colonial strategy shows the lasting impact of Western epistemology on his consciousness. Recent post-colonial analyses such as Robert J. C. Young’s *White Mythologies* challenges Marxism as a Western paradigm, which may or may not be “relevant,” to borrow Ngugi’s term, to colonized people. More importantly, Yeats’s rape paradigm problematizes whether or not it is *advantageous* to decolonize the mind even if it were possible. With the Irish Free State, it was the incorporation of the Western epistemologies that created an autonomous and legitimate Ireland. Ngugi’s use of Marxism even though he resists any incorporation of the colonial presence shows how necessary Western epistemologies may be to defeat Western colonialism. Often, the selective incorporation of colonial values such as capitalism and colonial expansion is an effective strategy.

Ultimately, Ngugi’s strategy for post-colonial identity recovery neglects the role of violence in establishing the legitimacy of a state. In “Decolonise the Mind,” Ngugi emphasizes the “spiritual subjugation” rather than the “physical subjugation” of colonialism.²⁴ However, his own examples show that violence is the first necessary step in establishing and maintaining the structures of colonialism; while language and literature may be the vessel for the mind’s colonialism, Ngugi shows that these colonial educational systems must be maintained with violence.²⁵ The consequence of this reality is that the colonizer’s cannon is more powerful than Ngugi’s canon, and the force of violence must accompany the establishment of a post-colonial literature whether it be the expelling of irrelevant writers from the country’s canon or a coup d’état of Colonial administration. However, establishment of a post-colonial literature and governance cannot help but include elements of the colonial presence if it is only a response to previous elements. Simply put, it is impossible to return to a pre-colonial condition. Any strategy of resistance must incorporate Yeats’s “knowledge” (colonial epistemologies)

and “power” (colonial violence) in order to establish a *new* post-colonial identity. This is why Ngugi calls upon writers and educators to create a new literary canon. The violence of colonial occupation had overwritten elements of any “original” canon, opening gaps that must be filled anew with a translation of old, and new cultural values.

When composer Karlheinz Stockhausen infamously described the Twin Towers fiery collapse as “the greatest work of art that is possible in the whole cosmos,” he misidentified art as a source of power.²⁶ His comment reflects the attempt of the artist to appropriate the power of violence. However, the ultimate source of power is the ability to enact violence, and the sign of an autonomous state is one that has the exclusive right to enact violence as evidenced by Collins’s assertion of this authority in the Irish Civil War. Literature does *not* substitute for violence; it does *not* hold greater strength. Lettricchia and MacAuliffe’s *Crimes of Art + Terror* shows art’s attempt to usurp for itself a position of power over violence. “Since about 1800,” Lettricchia and MacAuliffe write, “the serious artist is the *would-be* criminal violator of the order of things, and his role remains consistently romantic because the social conditions, for all of its vast changes since Wordsworth, remain, according to serious artists, in deep structural ways, what it was in Wordsworth’s day” [emphasis added].²⁷ *Crimes of Art + Terror* is accurate in that the “serious artist” is a would-be appropriator of the power of violence, but Lettricchia and MacAuliffe ignore the imbalance of power between the artist and the terrorist when they describe the “incestuous relationship between killers and writers.”²⁸ Literature must have behind it the force of violence to assert itself.

Art is not impotent, however. It can magnify the affects of violence, spur successive acts of violence, and expose or camouflage its effects. W. B. Yeats had witnessed a country “mastered by the brute blood of the air,” a period when terrorism had become a part of Ireland, and he set about interrogating Ireland’s uncertain acquisition of England’s “knowledge” and “power.” Here, Lettricchia and MacAuliffe could not be more wrong about Yeats’s artistic motives. They assume that as a poet “Yeats

is enthralled with the transformation of the respectable and the polite and the boring into insurgents—a change very like that undergone by the suicide hijackers of September 11.”²⁹ In the case of “Leda and the Swan,” Yeats is concerned with a more complicated portrayal of the hybrid of victim and victimizer creating an endless succession of violence. The poem does not “memorialize the violence that inspired it.”³⁰ Rather, the poem uses violence to interrogate ideas of “knowledge” and “power.” Therefore, the power of art lies not in its ability to create “life-giving literary violence” but rather as a mimesis of violence that can expand the effects of violence or limit them.³¹

Lettricchia and MacAuliffe’s over-aestheticized interpretation of the role of the artist both denies the actual effect of art and literature to influence an act of violence and ignores the real consequences of producing literature and language. The gauge of “higher art” is not merely its verisimilitude to the “most intense moments” of history or its aesthetic beauty.³² There must also be an accounting for how art either amplifies the effects of terror or diminishes them. Stockhausen’s account of the attack on the Twin Towers was itself a creative act that, by accident or design, served to remove the events of 9/11 from any critical framework. To make a piece of art or literature one-hundred percent aesthetic is to deny its effects on the world around it and its capacity for violence. The artist must acknowledge the power to either use the effect of terror to extend or resist the act of violence, because his or her art has the possible consequence of extending or limiting an act of terror.

W. B. YEATS’S “LEDA AND THE SWAN” reveals a critical paradigm through which terrorist violence can be explored. Its images of sexualized violence in anti- and post-colonial art constitute a precedent for the inevitable portrayals of terrorist violence from every possible angle ranging from the decapitations of hostages like Nick Berg or the prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib Prison. Creators of such representations now must make artistic choices of how they should appropriate the violence of terrorism. Does the artist assume a position

alongside the terrorist? Does he or she take the position of the Western power? Yeats's model provides a strategy to interrogate both positions by creating a hybrid of the two, which reveals the necessity of each to take responsibility for the enduring cycle of terrorist violence. "A terrible beauty" *has* been born, a hybrid of colonial and anti-colonial violence. This new child reflects a hybrid neocolonialism that we still grapple with today: the colonialism of Western intervention in the Middle East, and the colonialism of expansionist Islamic extremism. Both parties must acknowledge the true parentage of this worldwide conflict before any resolution can be achieved. ❁

NOTES

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- 3 Roy Douglas, et al., *Drawing Conclusions: A Cartoon History of Anglo-Irish Relations, 1798-1998* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1998).
- 4 National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, "Terrorism," MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base, www.tkb.org/Glossary.jsp (22 December 2005).
- 5 MIPT.
- 6 John M. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution, 1921-1936: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 145-146.
- 7 Foster, 363-364.
- 8 William Butler Yeats, "Leda and the Swan," *The Tower* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 52; Thomas R. Whitaker, *Swan and Shadow: Yeats's Dialogue with History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 51.
- 9 *To-Morrow*, 2.
- 10 John M. Feehand, *The Shooting of Michael Collins* (Dublin: Mercier P, 1981), 23-24.
- 11 T. Ryle Dwyer, *Big Fellow, Long Fellow: A Joint Biography of Collins and de Valera* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 31, 123-124.
- 12 Yeats, *The Tower*, 107-108.
- 13 William Butler Yeats, *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (New York: Octagon, 1980), 709.

- 14 Yeats, *The Tower*, 51.
- 15 Said, 7-8.
- 16 Walter Benjamin, "Critique of Violence," *Reflections* (New York: Schocken, 1986), 287-290.
- 17 "Castor and Pollux," *Wikipedia*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Castor_and_Pollux (24 December 2005).
- 18 Yeats, *The Tower*, 51.
- 19 "The Irish Civil War," *Wikipedia*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Irish_Civil_War (24 December 2005).
- 20 "Anglo-Irish Treaty," *Wikipedia*, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Irish_Treaty (24 December 2005).
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- 22 Ngugi, 1131.
- 23 Ngugi, 1129.
- 24 Ngugi, 1130.
- 25 Ngugi, 1131-1132.
- 26 Frank Lettricchia and Jody MacAuliffe, *Crimes of Art + Terror* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 6.
- 27 Lettricchia, 18.
- 28 Lettricchia, 2.
- 29 Lettricchia, 18-19.
- 30 Lettricchia, 1-2.
- 31 Lettricchia, 18-19.
- 32 Lettricchia, 57-58.