

Ireland in Crisis?

Ireland in Crisis?:
Analyses and Proposed Solutions

Edited by

Seán Ó Nualláin, Ph.D.

CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS

P U B L I S H I N G

Ireland in Crisis?: Analyses and Proposed Solutions
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To Melanie, and for once it is true to say
“without whom this could not have come into existence”

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I also want to give warm thanks to the people who helped a stay in Berkeley, originally planned for 3 months, extend to a decade. First of all, our academic sponsors took a chance on us, and for this we are grateful. They included the late Richard Strohman and very much alive Walter Freeman, Elaine Tennant and Eve Sweetser of UC Berkeley; Neil Scott, Keith Devlin, Byron Reeves and Patrick Suppes of Stanford; special thanks are also due to Gloria Law, who extended the J-1 eligibility to new lengths; Dan Melia and Joe Duggan, who helped our music and song course through academic senate. It is at the same time humbling to consider the kindness with which we were showered and infuriating to consider the destructive behaviour of the Irish state which made that kindness necessary.

On a personal note, I regard UC Berkeley – and to only a slightly less extent, the town of Berkeley – to manifest many of the greatest qualities of America. I was able to continue at least some fraction of an academic career simply on the basis of the talks and seminars that were made open to the public, and in general was treated with courtesy and respect. It is true that we Irish are terrible grudge-holders, but we are equally fiercely grateful.

Other friends gave much of themselves with a big heart; our dear neighbours Iva and David Lee, my colleagues Hal Cox and John Kelly and of course Frances Hughes, matriarch of the Starry Plough, which fulfils the positive recommendations of this book in being simultaneously, unapologetically Irish republican in ethos and the best indie music venue in the Bay area.

INTRODUCTION

“IRELAND IN CRISIS”: THE BIRTH OF A NEW APPROACH TO IRISH STUDIES

SEÁN Ó NUALLÁIN, PH.D.

This conference had several points of origin. One was the disastrous state of Ireland, and the refusal of the Irish studies establishment to address what was staring it in the face; the now attested fact that MI5 has been involved in debauching this discourse may be the reason. In late 2011 Dr Liliane Koziol, program director of International House, Berkeley, and vice-consul of Madagascar, expressed an interest in running an Irish studies conference.

Thus, in early 2012, the following call for papers made its way around the world from my e-mail address as a simple e-mail with the subject line “Conference on Irish studies without Irish state involvement”;

“The Organizing and academic committees of the conference “Ireland in crisis” welcome submissions for

Ireland in crisis?: Analyses and proposed solutions

Date/Time; July 10 and 11 2012 8-30 am to 5pm

The location is the home room international house at UC Berkeley;

<http://ihouse.berkeley.edu/>

Please distribute to anyone who might be interested. We have already been approached by a major publishing house for publication of the proceedings. The conference chair has a good record of getting conference proceedings published with 3 such volumes already published with John Benjamins.

Organizing committee

Sean O Nuallain (CSLI, Stanford University) (Conference chair)
Liliane Koziol (program director, International house at UC Berkeley)
Jackie Fulmer (UC Berkeley)

Academic committee

Peter Glazer (Chair, Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies, UC Berkeley)
Cathal Brugha (UC Dublin)
Mary Power (English dept New Mexico)
Jacqui Fulmer (UC Berkeley)
Seán Ó Nualláin (CSLI, Stanford University)
Peter M. Toner (Professor Emeritus The University of New Brunswick)
Alison Harvey (Core Humanities Program University of Nevada, Reno)
Virginia Morris (B.A. Radcliffe) – Celtic Arts Center, LA
Micheál Ó hAodha (UL)
Carmel McCaffrey (emeritus, Johns Hopkins)
Gabriel Rosenstock

Patrons

Cathal MacSwiney-Brugha
SF Police Officer Che Heron (great-grandson of James Connolly)

Confirmed plenary speakers/performers

Ishmael Reed
Peter Glazer (Chair, Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies, UC Berkeley)
Cathal Brugha (UC Dublin)
Mary Power (English dept New Mexico)
Jackie Fulmer (UC Berkeley)
Seán Ó Nualláin (CSLI, Stanford University)
Virginia Morris (B.A. Radcliffe), Celtic Arts Center, LA
Gabriel Rosenstock
Melanie O'Reilly
Seamus Brennan (UCC)
Micheál Ó hAodha (UL)

Format

Plenaries will be interspersed with ample time for discussion with relatively “light touch” moderation.

Schedule for submission

Abstracts are to be submitted to contuirt2012@gmail.com

May 7, 2012; Deadline for submission of (max 2000 words) abstracts. They will be assessed by an appropriate program committee member

May 14, 2012; Notification of acceptance

There is absolutely no Irish state or corporate involvement in this conference, and best principles of academic freedom will be upheld.

Speakers will be added as time progresses.

Registration

Fees will be payable by cheque on the day. We currently envisage a registration fee of \$100 with \$50 discount for the unwaged. No-one will be turned away for lack of funds. Ihouse has on-site inexpensive meals, and participants can buy tickets for these at the site.

PROLOGUE

IRELAND IN CRISIS?: ANALYSES AND PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

SEÁN Ó NUALLÁIN, PH.D.

While the economic crash in 2008 Ireland was both foreseeable and not untypical for that historical year, there are many indications that recovery this time will be both more difficult and more multi-faceted than its 1990's equivalent. A related issue is the dearth of real analysis that characterizes Irish studies, which allowed the absurdities of the so-called "Celtic tiger" period to reach vertiginous heights. This conference can perhaps begin to address at least the latter issue.

Unlike the case in the 1980's, this economic crash has occurred at a time of fracture in the major national narratives. It may be the case that Irish people have had difficulty adjusting themselves to living in a state that is the result of imposed borders, versus an island that is unequivocally their home. Simultaneously, it is perhaps true that the Irish state has perfected a totalising corporatism that has replaced Roman Catholicism with neoliberalism as its dogma. What is certainly arguable is that the cultural output of the Irish, exemplified in popular music, has never been of worse quality in the history of the state, and perhaps indeed before the state came into being.

A second major difference from the 1980's crash is the vastly different economic context, both at the macro and micro levels. At the former level, the country has signed on to a set of EU agreements that restrict its ability to govern, both in fiscal and monetary terms. At the latter level, the transaction cost of simple commercial activity in Ireland has grown enormously, due both to vastly higher costs for infrastructure and labour and the incursions by the state into civil society that have made Ireland the most regulated country in the world. Paradoxically, these incursions have been accompanied by a dearth of real corporate enforcement, resulting in the rest of the world losing faith in the now surely doomed Irish stock market.

Finally, the fact that EMI was compelled to sue the Irish state to get it to conform to EU copyright law did not surprise many of those working in areas that need to protect intellectual property. The dearth of corporate enforcement is attested by the assignment of a laughably small team of investigators to the Anglo-Irish bank investigation, a tiny investment in cleaning up one of the greatest financial scandals in recent world history, and one that the head of the commercial court in Ireland has frequently criticized. In fact, may one ask whether we are living through the aftermath of a fortunately incomplete coup, one devised to destroy ancient and well-functioning aspects of civil society while placing power and money irrevocably in a very few hands?

Papers are of course welcome which disagree with any or all of the above propositions.

Four themes

Theme 1: Theater and other performing arts

A panel discussion will begin this section. It will comprise (inter alia); Virginia Morris, Director of “An claidheamh soluis” in LA, which was founded by one of James Connolly’s grandchildren

(Associate) Prof. Peter Glazer, Theater and Performing arts UC Berkeley, writer and director of musical theater Jacqui Fulmer.

It will be noted that Ireland’s only recent original off-Broadway success was tiny rough Magic’s “Improbable frequency”, a musical tinged with science and espionage, and peopled by such untypical visitors to Ireland as Schrödinger and John Betjeman, both active in their wildly different ways in WW2 Dublin. By contrast, the huge budget of “Grania” succeeded only in acting as life-support in prolonging the run. Has the lode of the “Celtic Twilight” finally been over-mined? Or was the Grania mistake precisely the opposite; that of bringing in the non-Irish writers of Les Misérables? Papers might address this kind of theme, extending it to prose and poetry, along these lines, inter alia;

- Corporatism in music; how far is IMRO to blame for the dearth in new Irish music? How destructive has its unique enclosure of the commons, involving assignment of musicians’ copyrights, actually been? Or are there other, better reasons?

- The starring role of the foul-mouthed gangster in Irish fiction and film.

Theme 2: Metaphysics and Myth in Joyce

Speakers include Mary Jane Power.

While the workaday implications of Bloom's peregrinations have been worked perhaps to death, more fundamental themes are perhaps discernible in Joyce. For example, the attack on coloniality may be perceived as being mediated through an attack on space and time itself, particularly after the "Nighttown" episode. On a more prosaic level, the occasional cartographic inaccuracies in *Ulysses* may perhaps be a reaction to the ordinance survey.

Yet the attack in Joyce's last two great works may be more fundamental still. The Citizen in "Cyclops" is secure in his identity as coextensive to, and identical with, the island of Ireland. After *Nighttown*, it can perhaps be argued that this distinction of subject and object will no longer be possible. In fact, a new way of experiencing Ireland is being proposed; one that counters classical western epistemological tenets. And so, the Bhagavad Gita is evoked in lined like "I am the dreamery creamery butter"

Yet many will recognize this as referring also to the song of Amergin. So was Joseph Campbell correct in finding tantric echoes in the *Wake*? Or is the material linking Joyce to the medieval Gaelic sagas mere fantasy?

Papers are invited which

- Explore the above, even in disagreement.
- Contextualise their argument in terms of anomie in modern Ireland.

Theme 3: Politics, technology, and the economy

Speakers include Harry McGee.

Topics include;

- Civil society and the state in Ireland; for example, do trade unions really exist in the public sector there?
- Unilateral interpretation of the Good Friday agreement by the British government, and its aftermath.
- The economization of life in Ireland; neoliberalism as the new dogma, with attendant sacrifice of political capital if reality contradicts its precepts. An example would be the health charges for pensioners.
- The destruction of the island narrative; the strange case of the Tara/M3 motorway, and the ascent of historical revisionism to state dogma.
- Ireland as Delaware in Europe; from Intel to rendition flights.

- Is political violence inevitable within the 26-county state, starting perhaps from the student fee protests or the North Mayo/ Shell oil situation?
- The obsession with paying back bondholders. Is it impossible for Ireland to relaunch its own currency?
- Are 40,000 native speakers sufficient to keep An Ghaeilge alive?

Theme 4: Ireland's Fanon?

– Terence MacSwiney and intellectual freedom

Speakers include Melanie O'Reilly and Cathal Brugha (UC Dublin), one of Terence MacSwiney's grandsons – and also a grandson of the hero of 1916 of the same name, and son of the late Ruairi Brugha, the distinguished parliamentarian.

(22u Bealtaine) Update – we regret to say that the great Mrs Macswiney-Brugha has just passed away.

As conceived of by Terence Macswiney, Intellectual freedom is neither more nor less than the right to live life by one's own lights. Therefore, academic freedom is a consequence, an assent in the academy to a practise that affects the larger society. This conference theme deals with how Intellectual freedom is being violated in Ireland, with consequences ranging from the very increase in the suicide rate for which the Iar-Taoiseach expressed a preference to a restriction of the cultural commons with a coarsening of Irish culture.

Papers are invited that deal with (inter alia);

1. The incursions into academic freedom by both the British and Irish governments, acting at times in unison. The Boston college/McIntyre case, with such interlocutors with the IRA as Ed Moloney, and Eamon McCann surely next on the firing line (perhaps literally); the botched attempt to extend Britain's recission of academic tenure to Ireland and the attempt in the Supreme court by both DCU and UCC to introduce summary dismissal, without cause, for all academics of whatever seniority.

2. The suspected infiltration of the American conference of Irish Studies by British intelligence; the attested (by Ó Snodaigh's Dail question) preference of the Irish department of foreign affairs for using Irish taxpayers' money for British studies revisionism rather than Irish culture.

3. The application of EU law, and – when not directly applicable – interpretations of EU directives to strengthen the hand of the Dublin oligarchy by massive handovers of Irish taxpayers' money to

“bondholders” (several of which did not expect to be repaid in full), and the constraining of Irish civil society.

4. The destruction of the native software and music industries in favor of mediocre foreign imports by Irish state bodies – like the failed Medialab and Science Foundation adventures; the real story of corporation tax and law in Ireland.

5. The fact that tiny Ireland has 3 of the top 20 biggest law firms in the EU is already problematic; what are the consequences of the state’s readiness to use them against its citizens for civil cases?”.

The response was immediate and very positive; it was clear that there was a hunger for free exploration of some basic themes about Irish culture and politics away from the dead hand of the Irish state. However, the consul for the Western USA made an abortive attempt to get involved; while making it clear he was welcome to attend like anyone else, an invitation he refused, we rebuffed his stated “interest” in an event that had explicitly rejected the political entity he represents.

We were aware of following in the footsteps of the great Raymond Crotty, and find that his book with this title was prescient in its emphasis on a perennial Dublin City Center oligarchy, and the likelihood that this oligarchy would use the then EEC to tighten its stranglehold on the rest of the country.

The event and the chapters of this volume

“Crisis” is used here in the sense popularized by Thomas Kuhn – predicament and simultaneously opportunity. In my 2012 book for CSP, I remarked that the 2008 crash allowed the loosening of a pathological power structure in Ireland; a near-fascist “social partnership” of business and labour under the aegis of state, and a massively-overpaid and burgeoning public service, much of it with no discernible function other than perhaps to steal from the citizenry (as we’ll see in O’Reilly et al). Bad as the foregoing is, it is also not unfair to say that the oligarchy attempted several coups; the first was the attempt to destroy democracy with an unaccountable e-voting project, which ended in fiasco; the next was the issuing of tens of billions of bank bonds that eventually took down the state.

The loans issued on foot of these bonds went disproportionately to “property developers” close to Ahern, several of whom have declared bankruptcy in jurisdictions other than Ireland, leaving the Irish citizenry on the hook for their excesses. These “property developers” were effectively our new oligarchs, with the resources to distort any aspect of

Irish society, including the political; it is almost certain that they funded even the boy bands that had otherwise inexplicable if short-lived success.

The “civil service” was transformed under Ahern, with tens of thousands of ill-defined positions being created. It is not too much of a stretch to suggest that they were there to administer privatization of the state’s resources, and to ensure that these privatizations did not involve any transparent bidding process. In the one indulgence due to Ahern, it is fair to say that this simply reiterated the events leading up to the granting of the second mobile phone license, which begat the very expensive Moriarty tribunal, and was due to Fine Gael’s corruption.

Similarly, the “civil service” was to make sure that citizens not in the loop who sought to assert very basic rights of person and property were not given such rights if what they did threatened to pose competition. There is no other plausible explanation of the depths to which the administration was willing to sink to assert the copyright theft by what looked initially like petty criminals – the O’Reilly et al piece here indicates that something far bigger was at play – or the stubborn insistence (in the face of clear facts to the contrary) that the 1997 universities act allowed the universities to act outside the law. In 2011, the incoming government had to pick up the pieces of a debauched system.

Key individuals, often nasty, brutish and short, were put in key positions in the state media, education, and state industry simply to ensure that the Fianna Fail writ was king. For example, an opportunity was lost in 2009 for Irish radio to gain huge traction in the USA through the Mistletoe music LLC/ RTE award-winning co-production “Jazz on the Bay”. Claire Duignan, then the head of radio in RTE, torpedoed this proposal, which would have gained huge and positive profile for the country. When the political winds seemed to change in 2010, she apologized for her decision; she was ousted only in 2013.

Ahern also wanted to own vast tracts of the physical land of Ireland through privatization of Coillte, the state forestry agency, through his chairmanship of a possible buyer. As of 2013, this privatization looks unlikely. It is clear that the Irish crisis is due mainly to corruption, and mainly by one political party. The solutions proposed can be of much greater breadth, universality, and ambition.

It is tempting to situate the Bertiestate in the context of the “shock and awe” doctrine of Wolfowitz and Rumsfeld, with the implicit threat to any country that defied the USA in the new dispensation. The security state was to be allowed eavesdrop in on all communications by the citizenry, and the public service debauched to the point that outsourcing was to be seen as viable even for core state functions- indeed, even for the military.

In that context, the coda to this chapter, which describes a situation in which the American embassy in Dublin was clearly stealing Irish ID's, may be seen through the lens of the Ahern administration giving complete *carte blanche* to steal everything that could not be nailed down, and to un-nail many things which were so nailed in order, in turn, to steal them.

It is not unfair to term what Ahern and his cronies, both personal and corporate, had in mind as neo-feudalism. What is particularly interesting about Ireland is the complete mess they made of it, the outstanding paper trails to governmental malfeasance of the first order that both O'Reilly et al and I will highlight, and the structures of civil society that have remained intact, which will form much of the backbone of the new Ireland.

Now to the conference itself. This short introduction will celebrate certain of the contributions that did not find their way into this book as well as those that did. The theater section featured not only Prof Watt's sage comments about the salience of Shakespeare in the Irish 19th century, but pithy contributions from Peter Glazer – who welcomed the delegates on behalf of UC Berkeley – and Virginia Morris, whose description of Brian Heron's foundation of the Celtic Arts Center in LA is featured here. This theme was continued with a showing of "The boys of St Columb's by Maurice Fitzgerald, who was involved in the production; this remarkable Derry school produced two Nobel laureates (Hume and Heaney) and a plethora of hell-raisers, muck-raking journalists, reliable civil servants, and celebrated artists.

Seamus Cain described his play about the "Conamara" community in the Midwest, and we were fortunate to have him joined in this by Bridget Connelly of UC Berkeley, who found out late in life that she too came from this background. An excerpt from Cain's Gaelic play was performed. The "Language, literature and society" theme was introduced with another contribution from Cain, featured here, on innovative Irish writers, both autochthonous and diasporic, surely part of the healing of our country.

This was continued with a talk by the great Ishmael Reed, who spoke about the melding of Irish and African-American identities exemplified by O'Connell's famed anti-racism as by Obama's convenient discovery of his Mountrath relatives. Feargus Denman, a PH.D. candidate at TCD, writes pithily here about his native language, Irish, and the unexpected ways it has helped his life in a decade in which the Irish state seemed more interested in being a testing-ground for an extreme notion of neoliberalism, with massive immigration. Micheál Ó hAodha of UL spoke via Skype, and writes well here about the language of the "travelling community" The book continues with Virginia and Seamus Cain.

Two papers brilliantly combined the themes of literature and politics. While Curraoin's (of Sanford Park, who agreed and then inexplicably and regrettably refused to host the second ICIS conference) attempt to claim Joyce for the cause of irredentist Gaelic Catholic nationalism may strike many as a bridge too far, the notion that Joyce knew Gaelic and was steeped in the myths of Gaelic Ireland, as he reputedly emphasized in his books is surely due more salience. I found the following quotes very strong and this may guide the reader;

"On one occasion he told a visiting journalist that his intention had always been to destroy the tongue, to place his gelignite at its heart and blow the English language up"

"An Ireland, re-imagined, re-spoken, rewritten into life"

"a thousand years of Germanic assault, Vikings, Normans and Saxons reduced the land which had for four hundred years been the shining beacon of intellectualism in Europe, to an illiterate, poverty-stricken shadow of its former self. A people no longer living life but dying it. A nation prepared to obliterate itself culturally and linguistically in its desperate determination to survive."

"His sympathy for de Valera or "Divilera" as he calls him and the anti-treaty position"

"She has not in truth, as Robert Emmet put it, taken her place amongst the nations of the earth. Joyce dramatizes this view of post colonial Ireland with the line:

"A little black rose a truant in a thorn tree"

"In the 'Wake' he makes use of the Irish language to encode an array of messages, messages for his own people, messages which give us a new and deeper understanding of who the writer actually is, what he actually stands for"

"Was it ever truly reasonable to suggest that a man of Joyce's undoubted and unquestionable linguistic ability would have little understanding of the Irish language?"

"During his regular visits to her, which tended to take place at Easter time, he attended the Catholic ceremonies every day"

"In the dream state of 'Finnegans Wake' neither the laws of physics or nature any longer apply. Anything is possible. The only true awareness that the dreamer has is a metaphysical one"

"If Joyce were alive today what would he say? Would he say anything? I think that, on the balance of the evidence, he might maintain that the current crisis gives us another opportunity to take a good, long look at

ourselves, a chance to tell the truth about ourselves to ourselves and thus begin the process of reconstructing ourselves as a complete, relevant and authentic European people. The fraudulence must cease. The pretence must end. We must desist from simply playing at being a nation once again.”

Victor Vargas leads us down a dark path of Yeatsian political extremism before agreeing with Eagleton that the proliferation of secret societies in Ireland cast a truly occult veil on patterns of thought there for centuries. I like the paper very much, and the following is an introduction/map to orient the reader. This will help a lot, as it covers a vast amount of ground – political, esoteric, poetic.

This is a key point from Vargas;

“What I propose is an occultizing in Irish letters whose origin can be found in the social narratives of Ireland’s tumultuous and alienating land reforms, in the almost free-for-all dynamic of burgeoning nationalism, and the waves of exiling that was the 19th century. As a whole, the writings are suggestive of aesthetic ways of reacting to dramatic social events, and not their avoidance as Eagleton has proposed.”

Secondly;

“But fearful returns and aesthetic entrancements carry social commentary. What’s intriguing about aligning the motif of deluging waves with Samkara is that it’s used not only to read the Irish social landscape indicative in Emer’s act but also read into Western aesthetic/literary developments themselves, as is suggested in considering the first part of the Samkara reference quote from above: “Ulysses, Mrs. Virginia Woolf’s Waves, Mr. Ezra Pound’s Draft of XXX Cantos-suggest a philosophy like that of the Samkara school of ancient India [...]”

And this;

“Those who say Yeats turned his back on Irish nationalism in favor of an occult system are wrong; he was always concerned with what he could offer to a burgeoning national self conception that independence seemingly necessitated. The mob was always the specter he sought to entrance.”

Finally

“Though “Ireland was riddled by secret societies and fraternities of all sorts”

Indeed, and there is some evidence that the modern mafia emerged from Italian infiltration of these transplanted societies.

It may be worth speculating that, had the 1798, 1848 or 1867 insurrections succeeded, the resulting country would perhaps have lacked this incessant search for “Celtic” roots and been more similar to the

disincarnate, alienated, year zero, political regime of France under the directorate – who after all DID invade Ireland in 1798.

As described in my 2012 book, the Rees’ “Celtic heritage” argues for the antiquity of the Irish/Indian link. It also points out, following O Duinn’s “Orthai cosanta”, that St Patrick’s breastplate reads as a word-for-word adaptation of the Chandogya Upanishad:

“The Infinite is below, above, behind, before, to the right, to the left. I am all this. This Infinite is the Self. The Self is below, above, behind, before, to the right, to the left.” (ibid. 14)

The usurpation by the catholic church in Ireland of this esoteric turn merits perhaps a book in itself, particularly as much of its language was clearly Victorian, the ethos invented by the likes of Newman and French Jansenists, and lasted up to the 1970’s.

Indeed, we now suspect that the onset of “Celtic” culture may have been the response of a threatened elite, and that complex human society had pre-existed it on the island for several millennia. The discussion of fasting qua politics is fascinating, and accords with the two papers on MacSwiney in the volume

“Politics, technology, and the economy” is summarized in an interview by Rick Revoir of Harry McGee of the mainstream Irish times; it is a snapshot of conventional thinking, mid-2012, and very important for that reason. Of course, the October 2012 relief of debt, McGee’s first theme, did not happen except in an attenuated way.

Melanie O’Reilly, together with Frank Lillis, Gaelic lyricist on the Grammy award-winning Herbie Hancock “Imagine” project, give a harrowing description of what things really were like, as does my paper on tenure. These papers are analogous to the cosmic microwave background (CMB) in that CMB elucidates conditions in the early cosmos, and these chapters shed light into the dark corners of the disturbing dystopia that was the Bertiestate. If there indeed was a coup attempt – and it is my few that there were several – there will be no memo found to this effect. Instead, we are reduced to finding indirect evidence as all organs of state are debauched – to the point that a new republic is necessary.

The O’Reilly et al narrative is tortuous in the extreme, through no fault of its writers, so here is a roadmap. Mechanical rights are vested in composers, or publishers in whom the composers cede such rights in writing, and in the presence of a lawyer. Mechanical royalties accrue due to the physical instantiation of a musical piece, on physical media (like CD’s) or electronic media (like the internet). Broadcast royalties accrue due to performance of a piece in public, including the radio and TV. Mechanical royalties in Ireland are administered through the Irish affiliate

of the British MCPS; broadcast royalties, up to the mid-1990's handled through the British PRS, were then handed over to Ireland's IMRO, which was in corrupt fashion given a monopoly in the late 90's to collect from Irish music venues, a monopoly which has closed many venues and is currently the subject of a formal complaint by the Vintners' society.

Ireland's previously formidable music business was due to several interacting components in civil society, all of which would return immediately after the corrupt forces are banished. One is the high sociability inherent in Irish culture; in effect, the pub had the social role that drawing rooms have in other cultures. (It is interesting that the early 1997-2002 neocon Fianna Fail administration kept talking up "individualization" while assaulting civil society.) Another is the strong role of song and music in Irish culture, with a very prominent oral tradition that makes most people able to hold a tune. A third is the crossroads nature of the country, between the EU and America, between the Gaelic and Anglo. The next was a set of dedicated venue owners and managers who were willing to help create a community. Last and not least was an export drive by the government; this was debauched to the point that Ireland's stands at trade fairs were outlets for contraband. Now that IMRO, supposedly a private organization but actually protected by the state as it goes about its criminal way, runs the stands, matters probably are much worse. This is a recurring pattern of contemporary Ireland; organizations like IMRO presenting themselves to the public via the format of their website (including bilingualism) as state organizations, protected by the state when caught, but actually private and very lucrative. Conversely, the "public" universities were allowed to act outside the law in the preparation for privatization.

Rory Gallagher exemplifies how it used to work; he had his massive USA success, absent any Irish music "industry", any Irish music media, and playing country blues like he grew up with it. Of course he didn't; he played the famous Irish dancehall circuit, and was managed by his brother. The Phil Lynott (he of Thin Lizzy) story is similar, and even sadder than Rory's; both, like James Joyce and Flann O'Brien, had tragic lives and died young after massive achievement. Organizations like IMRO should help prolong musicians' lives; instead, they help to kill them.

At some point, possibly as early as the 1970's, Irish criminals got together with their peer criminals in the UK, and managed to get MCPS to accept copyright assignments with no artists' signatures. The same thing seems to have happened, through the Streatham office of MCPS, to other ethnic musics. The trick was then to get the musicians to sign some kind of contract that would retrospectively validate the theft. That was done

through various ruses like telling the composer that a big publishing deal was in the offing, if only they signed their copyrights over. Then, of course, the publishing deal was a puff of smoke.

The creation of IMRO starting with a set of 1980's meetings involving some of Ireland's most notorious musical crooks, was at least partly an attempt to retrospectively legalize the earlier thefts. Musicians, in fits of misguided patriotism, would revoke their copyrights from PRS to transfer home to IMRO and Ireland, only to find that a publisher's name was now attached to their songs; indeed, to find that they had composed songs with people they didn't even know. Like a Rhinestone cowboy; yet the next trick was to interpret that IMRO listing as proof that the composer consented to the reassignment, and then bootleg the material through a state trade stand. The buyers were often very clear that they were dealing with crooks, and state-sponsored crooks at that; so music that should have been the glory of Ireland was sold at \$5 a CD through Wal-Mart and the musicians got nothing.

Nothing, that is, other than the pain of wading through the fecal morass that comprised the "regulatory" apparatus of the Bertiestate to find that dissolved companies were allowed to trade, that police investigations could be called off by a press release to a newspaper by a politician, and that the head of corporate enforcement was happy to give evidence at US Federal court that dissolved companies were allowed to trade in Ireland and the USA. What also is interesting about the O'Reilly case is the *idée fixée* that she should sign a document that would allow a dissolved company be reinstated on her back. That occurred in 1998, with the initial attempt to buy back her CD from a dissolved company; in 1999, with indemnification proposed for the company that bootlegged her material against action by a dissolved company; and remarkably, at the US Federal court mediation in 2010, when a lawyer member of Ca lawyers for the arts grandstanded that a company dissolved in 1996 needed to be included in an indemnification.

Melanie O'Reilly refused at each juncture; there is a fatal inevitability about what will happen from here as these criminals will be prosecuted. It is fair to say that Melanie stopped a juggernaut; the series of ever more restrictive conditions of IMRO membership involved signing all copyrights, past, present and future to them; the traditional music has been privatized (see my 2012 book); there were no non-criminal independent distributors left, with U2's RSL perhaps the worst "musical" exploiters of the Ahern regime; the situation suggest that a multi billion-dollar deal and permanent enclosure of the commons was in the offing. There is no way

that all this debauching of the state and hiring of expensive US lawyers was done for a few small-time crooks.

Next, the assault on academic freedom in Ireland is documented, with the participation of Ignacio Chapela at the event itself, and with it the counter-attack from Terence MacSwiney. My article on tenure has several sub-themes. The first was the attack on academic freedom in Ireland. This battle was lost at the state universities immediately that the state decided to try and create a regime in which summary dismissal of academics could occur; our action (Fanning's, Cahill's and mine), while apparently successful in court, merely postponed the inevitable. That of course is the end of academic freedom; scholarship cannot proceed in an environment in which students can see that their teacher may summarily be dismissed simply for an opinion on an academic matter. To anticipate a little, introducing such a regime is a signal that the state no longer wants to have universities.

Summary dismissal is allowed in Ireland under the initial "social partnership" legislation of 1990. This disallows strikes for "single dismissals". The unions signed up to this, allowing a ticking time bomb in industrial relations. The universities were to be the testing-ground for what the state really wanted, a regime in which there was no job security; indeed, one in which farcical "labour relations" tribunals involving utterly unqualified negotiators (like Siptu's Ms King, who represented me briefly and in a most incompetent fashion) piece together deals while the employers and state wait for their opportunity to roll around again

As it will in due course; for the moment, the attempt to identify "academic tenure" as the right to 3 months' notice actually failed, and the use of the 1990 act is considered too blunt an instrument. It is my view that our courageous fight for tenure was quixotic in the extreme; it is much better to remove the state from the loop completely in scholarship and MOOCS like Coursera and EDX allow this.

In my case, as in Melanie's, the state failed; attempts to get clarity on the legal status of the 1997 universities act met repeatedly with the insistence that the universities were responsible only to themselves. Criminal investigation of the theft of my research funds was aborted; the civil proceedings were illegally restricted to only the matter of dismissal, and only in a lower court. With respect to the press, Kitty Holland of the Irish Times followed the tenure story right from its beginnings as an industrial relations issue in 2002, interviewed me and several of the students who were victimized, and wrote absolutely nothing. Eventually, the Irish Times was effectively sued for libel by Paul Cahill, and was

forced to print a withdrawal of an allegation about him, following a correction of their account of his Supreme Court case.

Specifically, the tenure case involved an assault by the media, and indeed by members of the judiciary, at the academics involved; here, for the first time, the true story is told in full, with a timeline. Again, all relevant regulatory agencies of state failed to do their jobs. It is fair to say that what was planned was the introduction of summary dismissal at one state university, to be followed in due course by the others. Scholarship was to be debauched to being simply chap training for corporations. This model was sure to spread to other countries. We Irish nipped it in the bud, at huge costs to individuals, whose unions refused to give them support.

We are lucky indeed to have both Cathal Brugha, a lineal descendent of Macswiney, and his wife as contributors here. Both contributions are pearls beyond price; it is worth noting that MacSwiney's play "The Revolutionist" is the theme of Catherine's piece. Incidentally, with the help of CSP, I managed to correct the errors of fact that Cathal points out before "A colony once again" went to press.

Some solutions are proposed in my chapter "Reclaiming our country". It is my view that nothing less than a new republic is necessary, one based on a sophisticated understanding of national interests and authentic human needs in the context of an overly-interlinked international financial system; indeed, over-economized life in an over-financialized, globalized, and corporatized economy. It is clear both from the tenure story and the music scam that this version of the Irish state is a basket case, and some final gesture of separation from it would be salutary.

The event ended in fitting fashion with Melanie and the great Frank Martin performing a concert of Gaelic jazz.

Coda: A diplomat gone Wilde, selling our passports

With permission from CSP, this introduction has been updated after the conference in the wake of events in the US embassy in Dublin centering around the refusal of a visa to renowned Irish historian Tim Pat Coogan and thousands of others, the theft of Irish passports by the Israeli Mossad, and the otherwise inexplicable resignation in December 2012 as US ambassador to Ireland of Pittsburgh Steeler owner Dan Rooney, coupled with the immediate subsequent demission and redeployment to the plum posting in Mexico of erstwhile visa head Bradley Wilde.

We will look briefly at the now famous Tim Pat Coogan incident. It had been known for some time that the US embassy in Dublin was treating Irish applicants for visas in a harsh, abusive and arbitrary fashion. Things

came to a head only when the renowned writer Tim Pat Coogan – ironically once a lover of then American ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith – was refused a visa to undertake a book tour to promote a book whose central thesis was that the Irish “famine” was actually genocide. The Irish department of foreign affairs (FA), headed by the deputy prime minister, did nothing. Coogan was granted a visa after activism by the Irish community in the USA led to an intervention by Senator Schumer of New York. Shortly thereafter, in an environment dominated by the Benghazi affair, the US ambassador to Ireland, whom Coogan had in vain asked to intercede – Dan Rooney, inheritor of the Pittsburgh Steelers – reigned, apparently unexpectedly, and the controversial visa head, Bradley Wilde, was reassigned first to Iran and then to Mexico (source; Irish diplomatic staff).

There is a priori evidence that the consulate of the US embassy in Dublin was a rogue operation. Yet to protect ourselves, we had to go outside the Irish state; the experience of two participants at the ICIS conference ends this chapter. And so it goes for many areas of life, to the point where really all we get from the state are our passports – and, as the use of Irish passports by the Mossad indicates, these too may soon be worth less than toilet paper.

The Coogan affair

Tim Pat Coogan (TPC) is as celebrated a historian in Ireland as McCulloch is in the USA. He was also editor of the Irish Press and, as the world turns, lover of the 1990’s US ambassador to Ireland – one famously sympathetic to Irish nationalism – Jean Kennedy Smith. The 2012 US embassy could hardly have chosen a bigger target with which to make their point, nor one like TPC about to embark on a more poignant theme; that of the 1840’s famine as deliberate genocide.

Two more prefatory points; TPC had recently criticized Israel for its treatment of the Palestinians, and after the events described below involving Israeli copying of Irish passports, the controversial Bradley Wilde of Diplomatic Security Services (a recently created spook service, famously missing when needed at Benghazi) was appointed visa chief in Ireland. It was Wilde who was ultimately responsible for the refusal of a visa to TPC, and perhaps thousands of other Irish.

The US-based “Irish voice” took the case up;

<http://www.irishcentral.com/story/news/periscope/diplomats-gone-wild-at-us-embassy-in-dublin-say-concerned-irish---horror-stories-about->

how-irish-are-treated-after-famed-author-tim-pat-coogan-refused-181519941.html

Tim's own account is here;

<http://www.timpatcoogan.com/blog/>

and here;

<http://www.irishcentral.com/story/news/periscope/tim-pat-coogan-slams-american-embassy-as-kafkaesque-after-visa-refusal---responds-to-ambassador-rooney-statement-that-rules-were-followed-181668061.html>

However, there is a much bigger story, which explains why Wilde would behave like this with "America's greatest friend" as Schumer described TPC;

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jun/15/ireland-israeli-envoy-quit-embassy>

There were 8 forged Irish passports and it is clear that their REAL owners had to be briefed that their ids were stolen in the case of the Brit and Australian ones;

<http://www.dfa.ie/home/index.aspx?id=83576>

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bo1i7uJqJ_Q

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11176926>

It is consistent with the facts we have that Wilde was handing passports over to the Israelis and then denying visas to the applicant. That allows the imposters free travel in the USA as the Irish citizen will not be able to get in after a visa denial. The technology of Irish passports has improved and the Dubai ones were pre-2005, when the holograms became sophisticated;

<http://intelnews.org/2010/03/12/02-286/>

Interesting summary pointing out the Israeli curiosity here;

<http://mycatbirdseat.com/2010/05/israelis-asked-to-visit-passport-plant-here-before-dubai-killing/>

and also this;

"Nice and neutral: why Irish passports are a spook's best friend" by Tom Clonan on Sat Feb 20, 2010, in the Irish Times

Now we come to the experience that the two main organizers of the ICIS conference had dealing with the US embassy in Dublin.

Going to the US? – Avoid The Dublin Consulate (O Nuallain's Experience At the Dublin Us Embassy)

In Summary

We now know that what is going on at the Dublin embassy has been the subject of an admonishment from immigration and naturalization in

the USA. The most innocent explanation is that there is a rogue element at the Dublin embassy that has taken it on itself to refuse applicants from gifted Irish people, and to do so in an abusive and bizarre fashion.

The more likely explanation is that this abuse is toward a goal; and holding passports of Irish people with impeccable records (which is why they were cleared for O status) fits perfectly with all the data we have, in conjunction with recent events that resulted in the expulsion of an Israeli diplomat from Ireland in 2010 after it was found that the Israelis were attempting to increase their stock of Irish passports after their successful use of several such to murder Arab “terrorists” in Saudi Arabia.

Even if the “innocent” explanation is correct, the staff involved should be suspended immediately and disciplined. Many have been greatly inconvenienced, and had already paid more than \$200 in fees after \$8,000 in legal and immigration fees to get the visas approved only to find the US embassy in Dublin overturning the recommendation of the greater US immigration service and denying them entry. Even when entry is allowed, there exists now a practice – rather than a policy as they do not admit to it – of subjecting holders of passports with Gaelic names to further interrogation at the port of entry.

Prefatory Comments

Before this section begins, it is as well to make a few prefatory comments about its claims. Yes, the Dublin consulate IS the subject of formal complaints first by the greater US immigration authority and now by a team of immigration lawyers. Secondly, the way out would seem to be to avoid it for the moment and get your visa through the Parisian consulate (if you have baggage it can be left for the day at the nearby Hotel Sanguine for E 5). Thirdly, I do not think I would have made it back to the USA but for the intervention of Congresswoman Barbara Lee, who kept up the pressure, and to whom I am very grateful. Now let’s look at a very disturbing set of incidents.

The “O” visa is given to non-immigrants of outstanding ability for three years. I have been a joint holder of such a visa with the Celtic jazz pioneer Melanie O’Reilly through our US Company Mistletoe Music LLC since 2008. Before that my visa status was as a J-1 holder with Stanford and Berkeley, where I taught and researched. I have a PhD from Trinity College, Dublin. I mention all this because we have found out that the Dublin visa head, Bradley Wilde is not an ordinary diplomat; he is a special agent in the diplomatic Security service, and the events related here must be seen in this light.

I have been coming to the USA since 1989 with a passport which has my name in the Irish language; for the first time, on Oct 9 2012, I was told that Gaelic names immediately have terrorist connotations, and was initially refused entry in Miami until a full security check was done. What happened previous to that was odder still and more disturbing, and does not portend well for the future quality of Irish entry into the USA.

The consulate of the US embassy in Dublin has been the subject of formal complaint by US immigration lawyers as a result of its illegal vendetta against O visa applicants in clear violation of immigration guidelines. It does so by making the visa applicants feel that there is something insufficient about them – and indeed about their culture – which has resulted in what otherwise would be unconscionable delays in holding the passports for weeks beyond the single night (at most three) the Irish authorities recommend. It's worth noting that an individual stuck in this situation will become furious, and rightly so.

First of all, the situation obviously is absurd; appraisals carefully made by immigration in the USA are being queried and often overturned on the basis of an aggressive "interview" (really, a selective interrogation) in Dublin conducted by someone neither American nor Irish, no knowledge of Irish culture, and with imperfect English. Irish people are spending a fortune and having much time wasted.

The "Interview"

Let us look at what an "interview" normally comprises. First of all, the conditions should be equitable; there should be a computer system that works, apparently not the case (or so the interviewer said) on Aug 23 2012. The queuing system should work, instead of my being left there for over 4 hours with no food, drink or recourse to the phone without actually being called up after an abortive earlier attempt in which the computer "crashed".

I note that this is not the first time the Dublin embassy has had problems in these regards. I understand also that the embassy has recently taken it upon itself to refuse pre-approved Irish O visa holders. That should have been of interest to the two 2012 vice-presidential candidates who were both courting the ethnicity we're proud to exemplify in our music.

Even more seriously, there should be some indication as to the latitude allowed the questioner. I was asked questions about my intimate/sex life; when I correctly refused to answer, Bradley Wilde appeared suspiciously quickly to chastise me with a poor John Wayne-like admonition that I was