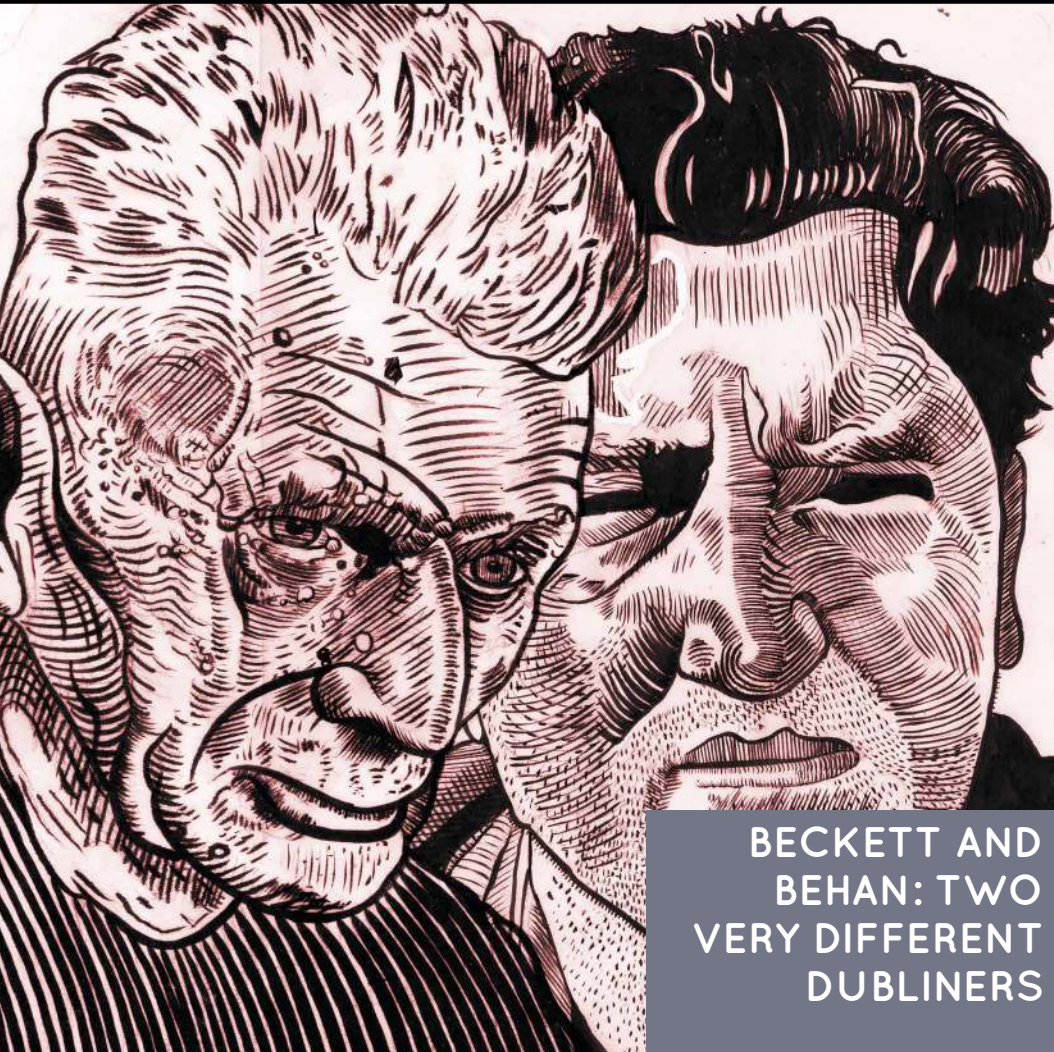


# rabble

we are rabble  
feck the regime

Issue #12 Summer 2016. Published Whenever.



BECKETT AND  
BEHAN: TWO  
VERY DIFFERENT  
DUBLINERS

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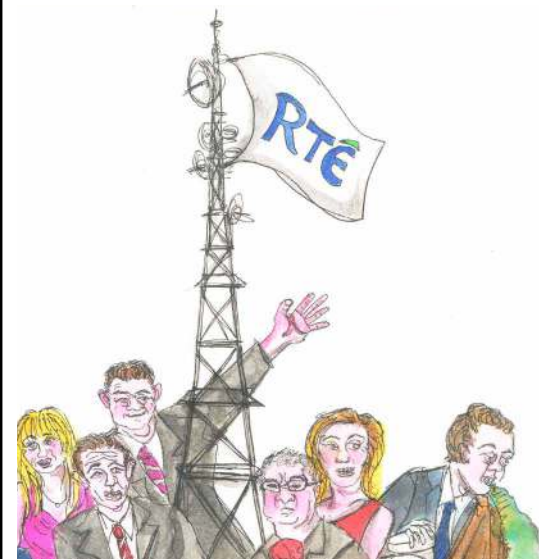
A straight up look at why  
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## Luas

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tram strikes in the capital...*



## Story?

HOWDY FOLKS. RABBLE'S BACK WITH THAT FRESH SMELLING PRINTY EDITION JUST IN TIME FOR SUMMER. SINCE YOU LAST CAUGHT UP WITH US THERE'S BEEN A GENERAL ELECTION, A MONTH OF HARANGUING OVER THE FORMATION OF THE NEXT GOVERNMENT, THE ACCELERATED GROWTH OF AN UNPRECEDENTED HOMELESS CRISIS, MORE POLICING SCANDALS, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF SO MUCH MORE LABOUR UNREST THAT 2016 ALREADY HAS MORE THAN A WHIFF OF 1913 ABOUT IT.

How's that for recovery Enda?

The two month long negotiations were no more about forming a government than turkeys are for Christmas. Rather we got a Tweedle Dee minority government backed up by Tweedle Dum who were all about constructing a parliament that suppressed the formation of any significant opposition. Despite Fine Gael getting a measly 25 per cent of first preference votes, we have Fianna Fáil both propping up their programme of government and still retaining the title of the main opposition party.

Bankers Ted.



## WWW.RABBLE.IE

Head over to our website for a scroll around. It's a space for us to spew out a variety of content on an irregular basis. Expect everything not fit for print, random musings, rabble rousing ranting, tidbits of culture and a whole lot more...

With the two month long back and forth discussions going on something in the manner of Roger Federer playing squash by himself, even the mainstream media began to lose interest, the same lads who cream themselves at even a sniff of an election. The media gave fuck all scrutiny of the obvious lack of any programme for government, no scrutiny of the fact that the electorate offered a resounding rejection of Fine Gael's austerity mode political and barely batted an eyelid at the rhetoric of stability and recovery that was being choked out by Fine Gael pre-election.

So rabble once again is here to dust down the dictionary and cut through the bullshit.

Stability (NOUN): Firmness or steadiness of character. The state of being stable.

We've offered our dictionary to Enda et al but they struggle with even the simplest definitions. Or as our good friend George Orwell might put it simply struggle with the truth, "political language...is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."

So this issue, rabble is once here to cut through the daily dose of bullshit you receive from the mainstream media.

If you want to stick two fingers up to "modern luxurious apartments" and "glorious 4 bedroom homes" profiled in the Times, support rabble. We scrutinize the toxic relationship between property, government and media. Not rely on it.



{EYE}

### Glimpses Of A Lost World.

Dragana Jurisic's journey as a photographer began when her family apartment was consumed with fire, taking with it her father's output as a die hard amateur photographer. She was left with nothing but fleeting memories of her childhood in war torn Yugoslavia. She speaks of how "on that day I became one of those 'refugees' with no photographs, with no past. Indeed, my memories of the events and people I encountered before that Sunday in September 1991 are either non-existent or very vague." Jurisic's reponse to this, a book called Yu: The Lost Country, has been raved about far and wide. It's a journey through the former Yugoslavia retracing a route set by Anglo-Irish writer Rebecca West in the late 1930's and it's full of other-worldly glimpses. The photo above was taken outside Starigrad in Croatia and shows a man waiting for an ambulance to pick up a boy killed by a car. Describing the moment of capture she states "there's a dandelion by the road. I take a picture. Don't know what else to do. More screams. The old man standing in front of me bends over and picks up the flower. Gently, he blows."

Head over to [draganajurisic.com](http://draganajurisic.com) for more work.

### HIGHLIGHTS

p6. In our rabble babble section, Jamie Goldrick catches up with Risteard O'Domhnaill to talk about his new film Atlantic...

p8. Seamus L. Moore takes a look at RTE and sets out to answer the age old question of "why is RTE so shite"?

p12. Sean Finnan spoke to Smári McCarthy, one of the organisers of the IMMI and also one of the founders of the Icelandic Pirate Party ...

p20. Alan O'Brien takes a look at two Dubliners whose whose backgrounds couldn't contrast anymore entirely...

p22. In his review of the Fine Gael-led coalition, Shane Ragbags takes us through how the Irish eventually learnt to hate the regime.

p24. Martin Leen looks at how new rental realities are killing art spaces...

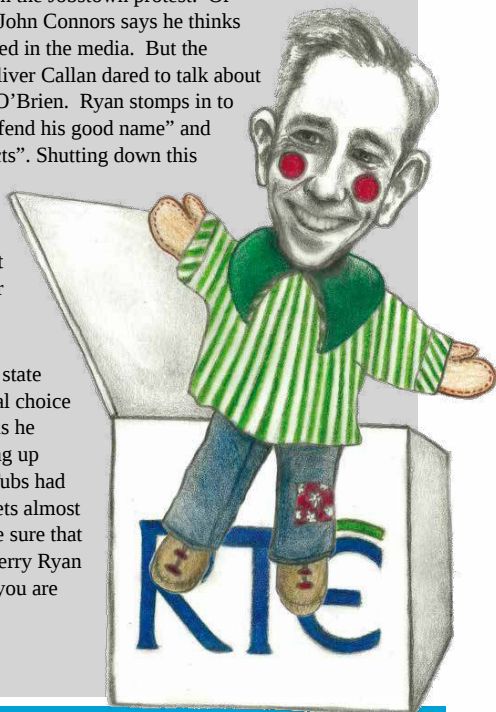


## Gombeen #12

PEOPLE DON'T GET CORRUPTED BUT THEY DO GET DECEIVED. THE GOMBEEN HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED FROM THE DAYS OF COLLECTING THE LANDLORD'S RENT TO NOW SOWING REGIME ILLUSIONS.

The monster propaganda machine (RRR T EEEE!!) has no more important role within it than to anchor the Late Late. The host, the self-confessed nerd, the Blackrock boy, the Peter Pan of Donnybrook, known to us as Ryan Tubridy, is there to tell us what we should think. Witness Tubridy's hostile trial by video of Paul Murphy on the Jobstown protest. Or him bristling in disbelief when John Connors says he thinks Travellers are not fairly portrayed in the media. But the greatest example came when Oliver Callan dared to talk about the business dealings of Denis O'Brien. Ryan stomps in to say that DOB "is not here to defend his good name" and "big companies win big contracts". Shutting down this momentary outbreak of truth from the funnyman. A West Wing fan, Ryan, knows the power of manipulation, and that the system is operated by clever fellows like him, in smart suits.

His deep DNA links to the institutional ruling party of this state Fianna Fáil, makes him a natural choice as the regime gombeen. For this he is handsomely rewarded, picking up €723,000 in 2011. Eventually Tubs had to take a pay cut, He now pockets almost half a million a year, and we are sure that the voice of his dead mentor, Gerry Ryan is there with him whispering, "you are worth it".



### ABOUTUS.

rabble is a non-profit newspaper from the city's underground. It's collectively and independently run by volunteers. rabble aims to create a space for the passionate telling of truth, muck-raking journalism and well aimed pot-shots at illegitimate authority.

Ask us out at [www.rabble.ie](http://www.rabble.ie)



## The Last Screening.

THE TELLY ONLY HAD TWO CHANNELS WHEN EOIN O'MAHONY LEFT CORK FOR THE BIG SMOKE. HE TELLS RABBLE HOW HE TRIED TO HIDE THE WHACK OF BENJY WITH GAULOISES AND ANGSTY FRENCH FILLUMS IN THE SOON TO BE DEMOLISHED SCREEN CINEMA.

I had a real fondness for the Screen. When I was rent from the Real Capital of Ireland to Dublin in the late 1980s, the 84 from my far flung suburb ended up on the top of Pearse Street. I spent hours on the concrete anti-riot space in the front of the Screen waiting for that infrequent bus home.

This is not an appeal for the retention of the building as some kind of heritage. It stands on ground once occupied by the Theatre Royal, itself the object of much hand-wringing by Georgian Society types over the built environment in the late 1960s.

The entire block of buildings between Hawkins Street and Townsend Street and Apollo House is slated for demolition and reconstruction. The Screen cinema building is a reminder not only that Dublin is locked into these cycles of capital formation but also that a collective pursuit called "cinema's best days" are behind it. Smaller features are finding it harder to get screened.

In the days before the IFI, the Screen was an arthouse cinema. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Screen (once The New Metropole) showed more foreign language flicks than most other places. Swapping Hollywood fare for Polish and French productions made it pleasingly less glamorous.

Too far from O'Connell Street and Stephen's Green, the Screen was out of the way. Overshadowed by the sickest building in the country, Hawkins House, the Screen is positioned in a nowhere space. The grey facade, brightened only in recent years by neon, was a commitment to something other than the usual fare. The building didn't matter: the film did.

The entire area was once a vital crossroads and the effective edge of the Norse city. The Long Stone was the boundary marker, east of which is now largely reclaimed land. John

Speed's 1610 representation of the city shows nothing of value east of where Trinity College is located.

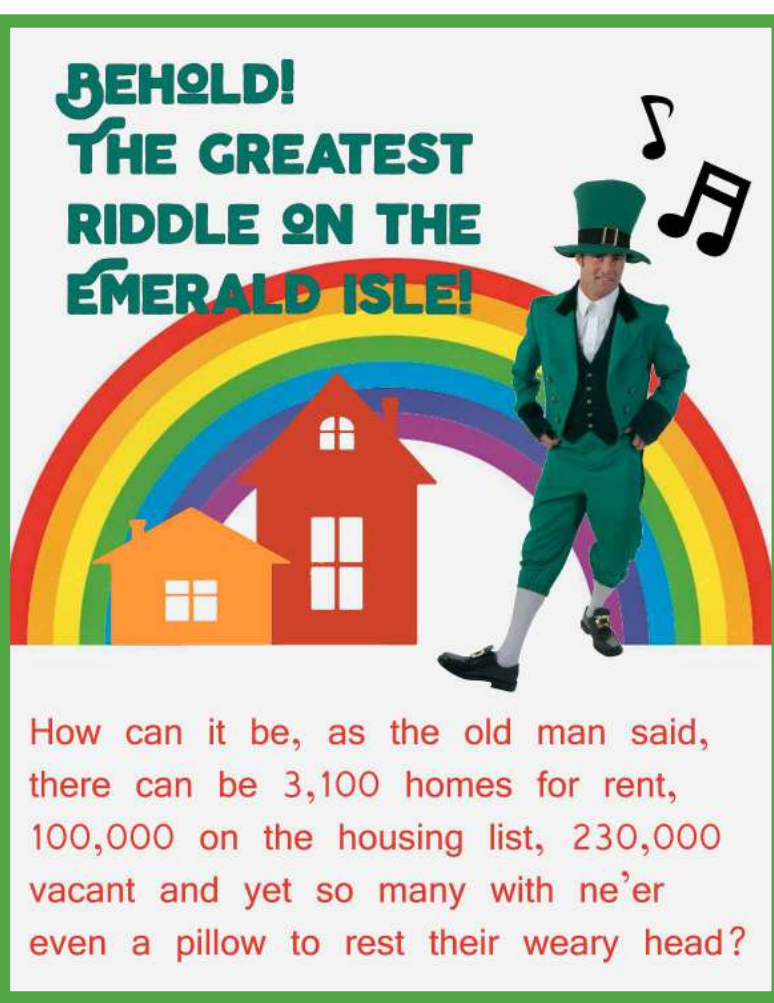
Speed's map shows a hospital where the Department of Health now administers a crumbling public healthcare system. Until the late 1950s, the Crampton Memorial marked a crossroads: the commercial city lay west of this point, the docks and fishing village of Ringsend to the east.

College House (1974) on Townsend Street, Hawkins House (1962) and the Screen (1972) were all the product of the imagination of Thomas Bennett (b.1887). The British colonial powers did much to erase the old city since 1757. It was Bennett that was brought across the sea in his dotage to echo the New Town movement of post-war British reconstruction in Dublin. After all, who could trust the independent natives to redesign a city block?

The brutalist exterior stands in contrast to the claustrophobic lobby. Going up the intimate stairs deceptively implies that the building was entered through some kind of basement. The two screens were comfortable and small. The suited ushers and torchlights survived after others had gotten rid of theirs. One rakish ticket checker kept an eye on proceedings with an efficiency that bordered on menace. The Screen was a cinema for pretentious college types like me who wanted to be treated like a grown up.

It had enough self-confidence not to acknowledge the O'Connell Street columnated cinema glitz. Surrounded by drab office buildings, coming here for cinema made it feel more like a political project than an effort at visual distraction. The Screen never invited you in, but it was where you wanted to go and see a movie.

Photo by Paul Reynolds.



How can it be, as the old man said, there can be 3,100 homes for rent, 100,000 on the housing list, 230,000 vacant and yet so many with ne'er even a pillow to rest their weary head?

## A QUICKIE WITH...



SIMON PRICE SAT DOWN WITH GALWAY'S FEBRUARY AND MARS TO TALK ABOUT THEIR HEADY BREW OF INTERGALACTIC SPACE FUNK AND PSYCHEDELIC ROCK AND ROLL.

So Mojuba Records putting out a spacey record from Galway, how did that happen?

We were playing the same festival as Don Williams, Drop Everything out on Inis Oírr. He expressed an interest so we passed on some music and he wanted to sign it. He actually heard us by accident during our soundcheck. Out on the island in the sunshine it really clicked. I think it was initially planned for his other label Wandering, which is more out there but when we were in Berlin finishing off the recordings last summer, he said it would be coming out on Mojuba as part of their tenth anniversary releases.

Definitely a vote of confidence in your music that such a well respected house label would take a left turn from what they are more usually known for.

We never set out to be a particular kind of band as such, just started vibing with the machines and we always appreciated music you could dance to. Dire Straights, Fleetwood Mac even. Where there was attention paid to the rhythm section. So not necessarily housey rock as this is a very electronic record. But upbeat and danceable is something we think is important.

And you actually sat down to make a full album in the traditional sense?

We had about five tracks finished and two went on the EP so the rest became the start of the album. We were at it morning till night in houses out in Headford, Carraroe and then out to this plush state of the art recording complex in Berlin with high ceilings, grand pianos and the whole lot. And we had John Daly working with us the whole way through. Recording first of all and then on production. He was as much part of the process. One third of the sound.

How has the reaction been so far?

Yeah good. Record is selling very well even by today's standards and we've had a lot of love from radio and that. So it's all just our preparation now, hone the craft. Our set up is kind of technical so if you're moving synthesisers and drum machines around the place you want it to be done properly.

The Febuary and Mars debut album is out now on Mojuba Records. They bring their live show to the Sugar Club on July 9th.

# rabble

Produced by the rabble editorial army council.

**Words:** Alan O'Brien, Bit Thompson, Donal Fallon, Eoin O'Mahony, James Beggan, Jamie Goldrick, Martin Leen, Móg Kavanagh, Oireachtas Retort, Paddy Ferris, Rashers Tierney, Sean Finnan, Shane Ragbags and Simon Price.

**Illustration:** Daniel Greenhaig, Brian Burke, Paddy Lynch, Thomas McCarthy, Darren Masterson, Patrick Murphy, Katie Blackwood, Luke Fallon, Daragh Lynch, Matt Hedigan, Ronan O'Hanlon and Mice.

**Photography:** Paul Reynolds, Jamie Goldrick and Bit Thompson.

**Layout Lackies:** Rashers Tierney, Daragh Lynch and Bit Thompson.

**Distro Fairies:** Ails y'allis. Yiz are stars.

**Legends:** All of us for putting out TWELVE FUCKING ISSUES!



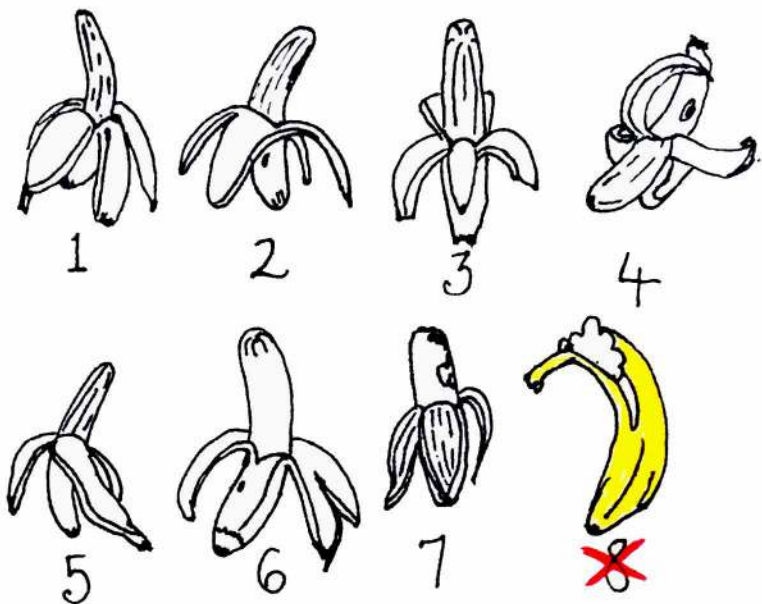
## The Black Death

After the success of his first book, *Witches Spys* and *Stockholm Syndrome*, Fin Dwyer is back with that 'difficult second' book. In his new opus he throws his

gaze over one of the darkest days in Irish history, the Black Death. Chirpy stuff. You can pick it up at [irishhistorypodcast.com](http://irishhistorypodcast.com), or follow on Twitter at @irishhistory.



EMARE



Repeel the Eighth.



OUR SOCIAL MEDIA PAGES HAVE BECOME SOMETHING OF A SPEAKERS' CORNER FOR ALL SORTS OF JIBBERING ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT BOO HA. THIS IS OUR LITTLE ATTEMPT AT HIGHLIGHTING SOME OF THE GREAT AND GOOD, THE WHIMSICAL AND THE DOWNRIGHT HILARIOUS SHITE YOU LOT POST.

**On news that Simon Harris is to be Minister of Health.**

A 29 year old with a degree in journalism from an IT is running the most important ministry in this country. The one that deals with life and death. Let that sink in for a minute.

- Rowan Clarke

**On Ryanair's Micheal O Leary debunking climate change.**

Man on an emission.

- Sean Thomas Gallagher

**On the Healy Raes, standing on top of a car outside Leinster House, blocking traffic with Danny playing the accordion.**

Is this what politics means to these two gobshites. People are dying on hospital trolleys because of choices made by politicians and these moronic parasites jump and dance around the place. They are a joke act. And as a person from Kerry, I can only apologise to the rest of Ireland for the moronic choices of the electorate here in Kerry

- Sheila Daly

**On Donald Trump defending the size of his penis.**

He may not have a big penis, but if elected as President, he will Fuck the entire world.

- Official Crumlin Shopping Centre

**On Pat Kenny engaging in shameless Dole Bashing on Newstalk.**

Well, clearly the major problem with our country's finances isn't €63bn worth of bank debt, but a handful of deadbeats scamming the system for a couple of hundred euro. That's me told.

-Richie Smith

**On the infamous video of Alan Kelly getting re-elected**

Sad sad day for Irish people when a gimp like this gets re-elected, what are the people of Tipp thinking.

-Dougje Esox

**On Fine Gael's Kate O Connells election video.**

She claims to be a business person but admits to buying assets at the worst possible time and then complains that the government didn't know what they were doing? This hardly screams competence to me, Kate!

-Stephen Ray

**On our report on Pegida getting run out of Dublin.**

I wonder how frightened bystanders would be to see fascists chase muslims, blacks, gays, jews or whoever they felt empowered to attack, down the street. As indeed they would as that is the nature of fascism. Too many bystanders, that seems to be the problem and that is all it takes for fascism to take hold. If it did take root here what would all these bystanders say then, 'who will stand up against these fascists?' perhaps. It's starting to look a lot like 1916, when the bystanders of that time roundly condemned those who stood up against those who would oppress us.

- Elaine O Sullivan

Where was this level of intensity and passion when the banks and government were bending people over?

- Damien Moore

**On that article on the hipster-bourgeoise and the Luas strike.**

All workers don't support the Luas workers, but those who don't are the ones who fall victim to the ISA, reading and believing pure rubbish printed in newspapers that pride themselves in bringing 'The Truth', to the unsuspecting masses. All the TV stations produce the same drivel and misinformation through their news and talk shows. TV and Radio hosts who supposedly are not allowed to voice their opinion bring on guests to do it for them. The total bias seen on RTE regarding Irish Water is a perfect example.

- Lorcan Conroy



GET IN TOUCH  
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## Last Futures

Sick of hearing the powers that be spew out the worn mantra that "there is no alternative"? Well, Derry lad Douglas Murphy examines

the graveyards where the visionaries of the 1960's and 70's ended up in as a result. And in the process resurrects their thought against the

sewer of austerity speak we hear daily. It's called Last Futures, look it up.



# STOP THE trams!

WHILE LUAS CROSS CITY WORK CONTINUES APACE IN DUBLIN, THERE WAS A NOTICEABLE ABSENCE OF LUAS TRAMS AT TIMES. THE RECENTLY SETTLED INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE BETWEEN TRAM DRIVERS AND THEIR EMPLOYER GREW PROPER BITTER AT TIMES, YET AS DONAL FALLON FINDS IT'S CERTAINLY NOT THE FIRST MAJOR STRIKE INVOLVING DUBLIN'S TRAM DRIVERS.

While much has changed in recent decades, some things haven't – there was nothing new about some of the discourse around the recent Luas dispute, depicting workers as overfed and underworked.

If anything would surprise Dubliners of old about the current dispute, it is perhaps the fact there are tramlines at all. When the last Dublin United Tramways Company route closed in July 1949 (the No.8 to Dalkey, for any pub quiz aficionados) many believed they were waving goodbye to a form of public transport for ever.

In the Sunday Independent, one writer made it clear that "I am sorry for the demise of the trams, but as a motorist I just cannot weep for them. They had become an incorrigible block to modern traffic, holding always, as they did, the middle of the road... Yet, the trams are dead, and it is time for them to lie down." By the 1940s, the tram seemed a relic of the past.

In Irish labour history, the tram will always be synonymous with the most iconic and defining labour dispute to date. It was the men of the Dublin United Tramway Company who walked away from their posts at 9:30am on 26 August 1913, pinning the red hand badge of their union to the uniforms. Newspapers decried the radical 'syndicalism' of James Larkin, and his attempts to build a radical general union, yet the employers of the city demonstrated a grá for syndicalism of their own kind.

One after the other employers followed the lead of William Martin Murphy, the owner of the tramway system, until a point where four hundred employers were locking workforce until they consented to leave their union. Not unlike the contemporary dispute, Murphy's DUTC attempted to present the workers as being in conflict with the public, by inconveniencing the masses. He stated his hope "that the public will help us by assisting in giving into custody anyone interfering with the company's men

or damaging their property", before boldly predicting "a stampede of the strikers to get their jobs back before it is too late." That stampede never came, and the bitter dispute dragged into 1914, before a crushing defeat.

Post-independence, the tram strike of 1935 witnessed eleven weeks of unrest in the city, when three thousand workers from the DUTC walked away from the trams and buses of the city. The DUTC operated both services with a virtual monopoly, a private enterprise controlling a vital public service. On paper, the dispute emerged from the unfair dismissal of a single bus driver, though in reality there were longstanding issues of bitterness and contention in the workplace, with one conductor complaining that "you could be sent home if you turned up without shaving, thus losing a day's pay." The presence of William Lombard Murphy on the board of the DUTC certainly wouldn't calm tensions.

Son of the 1913 tycoon, the younger Murphy retained interests in many of the same industries (print media and transport among others) that had helped his father prosper. For Seán Lemass, Minister of Commerce and Industry, the dispute proved something of a nightmare. He accused the drivers of "deliberately embarking on a policy of causing the maximum degree of public inconvenience", though effective industrial action by its nature causes inconvenience.

Lemass attempted to circumvent the dispute, with the state providing alternative transportation. Lorries driven by army personnel appeared on the streets, and so did the chalked slogan "don't use the army lorries – you're scabbing if you do." In an ill-conceived form of sympathetic action, IRA Volunteers were ordered to fire on the wheels of these lorries – a highly dangerous act, which transport historian and trade unionist Bill McCamely

has rightly noted "turned out to be a liability and hurt the workers' cause." Newspapers filled up with advertisements for bicycles, and Gardai complained that the theft of bikes was reaching epidemic levels. The 1935 tram drivers ultimately succeeded in winning concessions from the DUTC, something which their predecessors could not boast.

If Larkin was the shadowy figure responsible for disputes in the early twentieth century, the finger of blame didn't move too far as the twentieth century progressed. During a transport dispute in 1962 which saw Dublin Bus drivers on the picket lines, the Sunday Independent pointed towards Communist Party infiltration, believing that in Ireland there were a thousand active communist agitators, who were "led by some 20 Moscow-trained exports." While the Spanish Civil War veteran and committed Communist Michael O'Riordan was a bus conductor at the time, rumours of a red coup on the Dublin transport system were greatly exaggerated. No doubt he and his comrades could only dream of a day when such a news report was true!

Industrial action, for any worker, is the last course of action. While Luas drivers may enjoy relatively good working conditions and wages, such conditions are won over time, and defended. The tramlines laid down in recent months may be new, but the industrial dispute on the sidelines is anything but.

Illustration by Luke Fallon.







Oh Danny  
Boy

Danny Healy Rae, the big thick  
eejit is really in the business of  
making the Green Party look good  
again after he got up after Eamonn  
Ryan and argued that “God above

is in charge of the weather and we  
here can’t do anything about it”.



JAMIE GOLDRICK CAUGHT  
UP WITH RISTEARD O  
DOMHNAILL TO TALK ABOUT  
HIS NEW FILM ATLANTIC. HE  
EXPLAINS HOW THE ROOTS  
OF THIS PROJECT STARTED  
IN ROSSPORT WHILE FILMING  
THE PIPE, HIS EXPERIENCE  
WITH CROWDFUNDING,  
AND THE STRUGGLES OF  
FINDING BROADCASTERS FOR  
POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES.

To finance the film, you raised a  
substantial amount of funding through  
crowdsourcing. Would you be in a  
hurry to go this route again, do you see it as a  
sustainable way to make films?

It is very difficult, there is a lot of time involved.  
We put a good six weeks work into it, plus  
preparation. For the amount we wanted to raise, the  
best thing to do is to go get broadcast or film fund  
funding. We raised 56k in total. Yes, I would go  
back to crowdfunding, but for smaller projects.

The film has three distinct stories in it. You  
tell an incredibly complex story from three  
perspectives. Was there pressure just to keep the  
total time at 75 minutes?

This started off the back of The Pipe, that was a  
local intimate story of the community at the centre  
of the Corrib Gas controversy. I wanted to tell the  
bigger political story about Ireland’s oil and gas,  
so I started looking offshore and going out with

fisherman, this opened my eyes to the parallels  
giveaways that were happening in Irish fishing  
and definitely an even bigger scandal. For some  
context, I looked to Norway and Newfoundland,  
similar coastal communities. The story just got  
bigger and bigger and bigger. It’s such a dense and  
huge and information heavy doc, you can’t stretch it  
out past 75 minutes as you may lose audience. The  
documentary could have been 3 hours long.

What is happening in the sea, seem to be  
a reflection of what is happening globally  
today. For example, current species collapse is  
currently more rapid than when the dinosaurs  
became extinct, rainforests are being felled at an  
extraordinary rate, the global target for reduced  
carbon in the atmosphere becomes less realistic  
everyday. Is it fair to say that capitalism is the  
the problem? Can a successful Green movement  
tackle these issues without tackling capitalism  
head on?

Human nature is the problem, capitalism is a  
manifestation of human nature, the greed of people  
created and facilitates, there has to be change. The  
problem is, and look at history, if we are waiting  
on people to become less corrupt, to make our  
lifestyles more sustainable before they have to,  
it just doesn’t happen, change has come about  
when we hit catastrophe point. We are tweaking  
and rearranging deckchairs on the Titanic really,  
like just look at our own politicians, and their  
response or lack of response to climate change.  
We are a country that could benefit massively  
from technologies and responses to deal climate  
change, low population density, massive renewable  
resources, it all comes back to short term politics.

There is a non-economic value to fishing for  
the coastal Atlantic communities, values that  
are bound up in history, tradition and meaning.  
These values do not hold any currency for the  
super-trawlers and those invested in them. Can  
these two perspectives be reconciled?

There can be, it all goes back to having a  
transparent democracy, oversight, and the right  
ownership. There is a justification for super-  
trawlers, but they should be managed. Thousands  
of small boats can overfish the ocean too. Laws  
should benefit the people. The current laws are  
benefit to the very powerful and that is the problem.  
The share of fish that Irish fisherman can catch  
is scandalous, it’s somewhere around 12%. Now  
remember when our economy collapsed and the  
rug was pulled out from under the banks, it was the  
Irish people who bailed out the banks. Laws were  
changed very quickly, laws were changed because it  
is necessary. Look at what Newfoundland did, they  
changed laws. There is no agreement that can’t be  
renegotiated. These companies are so powerful, it  
won’t be an easy struggle. You will definitely have  
a winner and a loser in this, and the loser being the  
big companies, their lobbying power is massive.  
So it’s hard to see a resolution for that reason.  
Rebalancing will benefit coastal communities but it  
will be hard, very hard to achieve.

In your opinion, what would be an ideal  
situation for the coastal communities of Europe?  
And what would be the best way to get there?

Fishing can sustain a foundation of coastal  
communities but we shouldn’t just think of it as  
about fishing. Look at Castletownbere in Co Cork.  
What an incredible place to live, imagine not only  
fishing but marine tech, marine biology, marine

tourism operating there. These places should be  
booming.

Is it a struggle making films that highlight  
uncomfortable truths in society? You mentioned  
that you are having trouble finding a broadcaster  
for Atlantic. You appear to have taken on the  
label of ‘activist-filmmaker’, do you find this  
term restrictive?

It is a struggle, I’m four years at this, doing  
something that should of taken about a year. There  
is a constant of trying to scrape money, going here  
and there basically cap in hand to different bodies  
looking for some kind of funding. I work separately  
as a cameraman. The documentaries don’t sustain  
me. There is definitely not enough support for these  
kinds of documentaries, the same way there is not  
enough support for investigative journalism for  
stories that are uncomfortable to the establishment.

Uncomfortable stories for government bodies or  
broadcasters, can create a lot of hassle and work.  
I think in a time when territorial broadcasters  
are losing ground to digital and online, there is a  
need to take some risks. Filmmakers all over the  
country looking to produce good content are getting  
knocked down because the stories would not make  
the lives of the broadcasters any easier. I think this  
is a big problem.

I don’t know why there is no interest in Irish  
broadcasters to show this story. It has been the most  
successful project on the Irish crowdfunding site  
Fundit.ie to date. There is massive support out there  
and a big demand to see this film yet it hasn’t been  
covered properly by the media.

Check out [theatlanticstream.com](http://theatlanticstream.com) for more.



# THAT’S ALL FOLKS

ROY SCRANTON RECKONS THAT CARBON-BASED-CAPITALISM HAS LED US  
DOWN THE PATH OF NO RETURN. JAMIE GOLDRICK CAUGHT UP WITH HIM  
AND HAD A NOT-SO-POSITIVE CHAT ABOUT HIS BOOK LEARNING TO DIE IN THE  
ANTHROPOCENE.

You open your book with scenes from Baghdad  
after the American invasion, and describe  
how the ‘grim future’ that you saw in Iraq  
was now coming home in the form of climate change.  
You mention that you marched against the invasion in  
Iraq but then ended up serving in Iraq yourself, how  
did this come about?

I talk about Baghdad at the beginning of the book for  
several reasons. First, it’s a way to hook readers: it offers  
violence, war, an exotic locale, and a strong narrative  
voice. Second, Baghdad after the American invasion offers  
a vision of our own future: a modern, secular city reeling  
from catastrophic damage, sliding into ethno-nationalist  
strife while Big Oil’s hired army--by which I mean here the  
US Army--protects the petroleum industry’s assets. Third,  
being a hired thug in Baghdad gave me the opportunity  
to reckon with my mortality--a problem we all must face  
sooner or later. We need to understand that civilizations die  
too, just like people, and not even humanity lasts forever.

I didn’t march against Iraq before the war but after,  
though before I joined the army I had been an activist and  
even protested Bush in 2002. The main reason I joined the  
military was because I was a college dropout working in  
food service and living in poverty with little prospect of  
turning things around on my own, and my teeth had been  
messed up in a bike accident. So I joined the army for the  
job, dental care, and college money. I also joined because,  
after 9/11, I wasn’t as sure that American imperialism was  
as evil as I had assumed it was, and I wanted to see what  
George Orwell called “the dirty work of empire” out where  
it happened, to judge for myself whether or not it was  
worth it.

The answer, in case you’re interested, is no, it’s not. The  
Iraq War was part of the immense boondoggle the US  
has been running in the Middle East for decades, which  
involves oil, weapons sales, and propping up both the  
inhumane Israeli occupation of Palestine and the brutal  
tyrants who run Saudi Arabia, and no part of that is worth  
the vast destruction, suffering, and death the US unleashed  
on the people of Iraq.

So how would you describe what is known as the  
Anthropocene?

The idea behind the term ‘Anthropocene’ is that we  
have entered a new epoch in Earth’s geological history,  
one characterized by the advent of the human species as a  
geological force. The biologist Eugene F. Stoermer and the  
Nobel-winning chemist Paul Crutzen advanced the term in  
2000, and it has gained acceptance as evidence has grown  
that the changes wrought by global warming will affect  
not only the world’s climate and biodiversity, but its very  
geological structure. In another way, it helps us understand  
that the post-Renaissance division in Western culture  
between “Man” and “Nature” is no longer tenable, and must  
be abandoned.

You identify carbon based industrialisation as the  
defining factor of the emergence of the Anthropocene,  
and argue that global decarbonisation is irreconcilable  
with global capitalism. Would the term ‘the  
Capitalocene’ not make a more fitting label for this  
epoch?

No, it would not. Capitalism’s not the problem: carbon is.

It’s carbon-fueled capitalism that is destroying the world.  
As awful as capitalism can be, it’s not what’s going to kill  
us. Humanity could live on Earth for millennia more being  
just as brutal and unjust as the Ancient Greeks were, and  
even capitalism could go on for centuries and centuries  
just like it is, except for the fact that we’ve destabilized the  
planet’s geophysical rhythms by transferring millions of  
tons of carbon from underneath the Earth into the seas and  
skies.

You describe how carbon based capitalism gave  
power to the working classes through societies reliance  
on labour intensive carbon extraction such as mines.  
Concessions given to the disempowered down through  
history have been made through violent means. You  
critique marches and petitions as being non-effective.  
Is this book then to be read as a call to action for the  
disempowered to ready themselves for the coming  
storm?

My point about the ways that energy production gives  
rise to political infrastructure was made to help illustrate  
why political technologies that worked for a coal-driven  
economy, such as strikes, marches, petitions, and mass  
democracy in general, no longer work in a primarily  
oil-driven economy. The difference is in how power  
flows through society, and the fact that oil needs far fewer  
workers than coal did, which means far fewer people are  
actually involved in producing power, so only a tiny elite  
can actually leverage control.

Sometimes I like to fantasize about the disempowered  
rising up to take control from the elites who run global  
capitalism, sure, but my book isn’t about feeding that  
fantasy or giving it form. My book is about coming to  
terms with reality. To adapt the famous phrase from  
Friedrich Engels and Rosa Luxemburg, carbon-fueled  
capitalism stands today at a crossroads between barbarism  
and barbarism.

What would you say to those on the left currently  
organising for a more egalitarian society?

I would say that the struggle for peace, compassion, and  
reflection must go on in full knowledge of the fact that it is  
doomed to fail.

What would you say to the techno-utopians of the  
day? Has this blind belief in technology and progresses  
blinded us to contemporary global realities?

Progress and techno-utopianism are dreams fueled  
by cheap energy. With coal and oil, we’ve developed  
technologies that let us fly through the air, feed the world,  
and put men on the moon. It’s completely rational to  
believe that we’re powerful enough to do almost anything  
we might imagine. The problem is that our power comes  
from burning carbon, and continuing to burn carbon  
is going to destroy the conditions for contemporary  
civilization and possibly for human life as we know it long  
before we’ll develop the technologies needed to save us.

Learning to Die in the Anthropocene: Reflections on the  
End of a Civilization is out now on City Lights books.





Be The Holy

Sick of staying in overpriced hotels when travelling to the Holy Land? AirBnB are to the rescue so! Offering accommodation on Illegal Jewish settlements on occupied

Palestinian territory. It's a sharing economy, for some.



# THE REGIME'S SHIP OF FOOLS

MOST OF US ARE FAMILIAR WITH RTÉ'S BIAS, BE IT THROUGH COSYING UP TO GOVERNMENT QUARTERS, LAMBASTING SINN Féin, OR CONSTANT UNDER REPORTING OF ANTI-WATER CHARGE PROTESTS. SEAMUS L MOORE TAKES A LOOK AT THEIR ROLE AND SERVICE AS THE NATIONAL PUBLIC BROADCASTER AND SETS OUT TO ANSWER THE AGE OLD QUESTION OF “WHY IS RTÉ SO SHITE”?

Noel Curran, the outgoing Director General at RTÉ, recently delivered a speech at DCU lamenting cuts to the public broadcaster. He spoke of the vital need for RTÉ's dual funded model to continue in order to provide “a full, quality service at low public cost”. Now Montrose is only less than 5km from the centre of Dublin, but for all intents and purposes, he may as well be living on another fucking planet.

RTÉ was always there in the background growing up: The Den, The Works, Glenroe on TV, Gerry Ryan, Pat Kenny and Joe Duffy on the radio. Sights and sounds that Irish households grew up with.

Some friends and contemporaries may even still watch it to take the piss. It's never too far away, from familiar jingles during your visit home or in the next waiting room you find yourself in. Whatever our changing engagement with the national broadcaster, there's one constant on the tip of everyone's tongue “why is RTÉ so shite”?

The ills and shortcomings of the broadcaster can be found in the dual-funded model that RTÉ has been based on since 1961. A funding model between the public service broadcasting of the BBC and the commercial stations of the US was chosen.

The Television Authority's first Director General of choice was Irish-American Catholic Eric Roth who came from the world of commercial networks in the US. Roth's preference for importing Cold War subsidised American shows at the expense of

indigenous material was indicative of the financial struggles and lack of confidence within the new station in 1961. This was the compromised foundation RTÉ was built on. By 1980 RTÉ was showing more imported programmes than any other broadcaster in the European Community.

RTÉ, the sole broadcaster on the island naturally became so dominant that it was scaring away potential investors in the emerging game for contracts in commercial TV and radio licenses. The 1988 Broadcasting Act, introduced by the disgraced Ray Burke solved this and other problems for the Fianna Fáil led government. RTÉ's maximum advertising broadcast time was halved from 15% to 7.5%. This also served to undermine RTÉ's apparent agenda against the Charlie Haughey led Fianna Fáil Government of the day. These restrictions on advertising were repealed in 1993, yet the incident points to the precarious position that the broadcaster holds. Commercially independent, yet all the while subject to the whims of the government of the day.

This leaves us with a national broadcaster surviving on one hand in a restricted commercial sense and on the other with an onus and obligation to serve as a public broadcaster. This compromise explains the current state of the broadcaster today which is personified by...

I'm not going to name-names but RyanTubridyKathrynThomasJohnMurrayMarianFinucanJoeDuffyBrendanOConnor.

The fact that these same few personalities are left masterfully segwaying across different subject matter just plays the taxpayer for an idiot.

There is a cost-cutting and lazy managerial culture in RTÉ that gives primacy to filling time-slots over sourcing presenters with specialised knowledge or funding good quality investigative material.

RTÉ is full of jacks of all trades and masters of none. The same individuals get paid an extortionate amount year after year, some in fact get paid more than heads of state. In the grand scheme of things though, with the cost to commission a one-hour investigative documentary running at €60,000, the €416,000 that Joe Duffy received in 2014 does not seem so outrageous. Thus the blandness and vacuousness of RTÉ's performers is merely a symptom of an underfunded and cash strapped organisation.

The prevalence of light inoffensive banter is a nod to the lazy and commercially sensitive vision that characterises anything the broadcaster touches. Sure

there are exceptions, like the Rubberbandits 1916 special, or Pat Collin's Living in a Coded Land, but these get buried in late night slots. Where is Richie O'Donnell's new film Atlantic? It's the highest ever crowdfunded Irish film and asks difficult yet important questions on the exploitation of our natural resources- certainly not on RTÉ.

This is what the captive Irish viewer has had to put up with down through the years, usually coped with by uttering a disparaging remark, or a resigned shrug.

This apathy becomes more tangible and irritating once individuals start to deal with RTÉ on a professional basis. Ciaran Moore of Dublin Community TV, a not-for-profit community television channel, cites numerous difficulties he had with RTÉ:

“A key problem was the fundamental difference in ideas of media between community or alternative media and commercial or public broadcasting (which operates from a fairly purely commercial viewpoint in these matters). We made films to show people and wanted to be able to repeat the broadcasts and share with other non-profit and community channels without having to pay further license fees. RTÉ and commercial outlets see media as an asset you create and extract rents from. So we always had problems licensing their content as they couldn't understand our 'business model' or why we couldn't afford to pay fees according to their structures”.

Ciaran explained how RTÉ made things difficult when DCTV wanted to use archive material from Today Tonight for a documentary on the Concerned Parents Against Drugs movement. The footage highlighted an anti-republican bias held by the national broadcaster.

Even though the RTÉ Archive department is considered independent and producers are told this when looking to purchase footage, a non-transparent process exists whereby sensitive footage is subject to restrictions.

There is something deeply wrong about RTÉ using publicly funded equipment to capture events and then insisting on selling it back with restrictions to communities when they wish to use it in a non-commercial endeavor. Yet this is the end result of the compromise of having a public service broadcaster, operating in the commercial sphere.

Ciaran succinctly pointed out that “it's difficult to find any real notion of a public good in RTÉ, let

alone have them apply it to the archives they built and hold on behalf of the people here”.

Of course for RTÉ this is the best of both worlds, the dual funded model ensures that a revenue stream is enabled, but also ensures it's one that can be censored and restricted to protect their brand. Viewers and civil society lose out because of the inaccessibility of the material and the difficulty and restrictions around sourcing anything which RTÉ may deem sensitive.

RTÉ's overtly commercial bent is mirrored internally by its behaviour towards it employees. A common trend among staffers (ex and current) that I have talked to is the spread of rolling contracts throughout the organisation. Taken in conjunction with their use of the highly controversial Jobsbridge scheme, this repeatedly points to an organisation with an onus on profit rather than public service.

In fact, RTÉ is especially willing to bend over backwards for the sake of 'objectivity', when it may affect their commercial interests. We saw this when RTÉ pathetically handed over €85,000 to the Iona Institute over the PantiGate affair.

Ryan Tubridy nearly shat himself on the Late Late show when Oliver Callan mentioned Denis O'Brien's name. Fairness and objectivity at RTÉ, but only if you can afford to sue.

So what are to we make of all these accounts, as anecdotal and vague as they may appear? A conflicting picture of the broadcaster develops. On one hand, as a lame duck organisation, paralysed by an ineffective funding mechanism.

Yet on the other hand, and to those on the outside, RTÉ appears as a ‘big fish in a little pond’ that can throw its weight around anyway it sees fit, and its long suffering license payers will just have to put up with it.

But not for long. As a more digitally literate population emerges and alternative modes of entertainment and news present themselves, RTÉ will find itself struggling to stay relevant.

One thing's for sure, in these uncertain times RTÉ will continue to look after itself.

Illustration by Mice.

A lame duck organisation, paralysed by an ineffective funding mechanism that serves the interest of an inner circle very well indeed...







WHEN OUR OBERSTURMFÜHRER FOR PROPERTY DEVELOPERS, SIMON COVENEY DESIGNATED THE FORMER GAS BOTTLE PLANT A STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT ZONE, THERE WAS PLENTY OF CELEBRATORY HOO HA IN THE MEDIA FOR THE 3,000 HOMES PROMISED AS PART OF THE SCHEME. HOWEVER FAR FROM BEING AN ANSWER TO THE CAPITAL'S HOUSING PROBLEM, A LITTLE DIGGING WOULD LEAD ONE TO UNCOVER THIS NEW SDZ REPRESENTS A BREWING TRIUMVIRATE OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION, VULTURE FUNDS AND TECH SECTOR WORSHIP THAT IS QUICKLY RESHAPING OUR CITY.

Dublin needs houses and by god, the regime is going to deliver them conjured up through the utterance of a magical formula known as an SDZ. Despite much media flatulence about the major regeneration happening in the Docklands (usually attributed to the presence of the ever shiny tech sector) this SDZ term is bandied about with little explanation. Plainly put in the legislative language that birthed the whole thing, it's an area "where, in the opinion of the Government, specified development is of economic or social importance to the State."

Whatever about recent talk of 3,000 houses, when it comes to the whole Docklands area we're talking about a legally mounted framework that represents the state's geo-spatial desire to attract financial and tech capital to the city of Dublin. Secondary of course to this, is a huge array of knock ons as our lived environment and culture gets reshaped in the aftermath of this game of corporate seduction. Just think of the ratcheted up recovery rhetoric and rents that drove even Paypal Ireland boss Louise Phelan to complain.

On the surface, nothing signifies our courting of international capital more than a grinning Enda Kenny ringing the NASDAQ bell at the Web Summit alongside its founder Paddy Cosgrave. This astonishing piece of marketing was digitally bounced to the iconic sign in the heart of Times Square and broadcast into the NASDAQ studio itself. It perfectly surmised the state's foreign direct investment strategy in recent years, just as the Web Summit fecking off tempered it for the cynics.

If a place like the Digital Hub in the south inner city, was a planned intervention by state actors to attract tech companies, then the successful haul of big fish like Facebook and Google led to the unplanned development of a digital cluster desperate for office space in the south Docklands area of the city. The state had to start learning the art of accommodation.

Cian O'Callaghan works in Maynooth Geography Department and looks at the intersection between industry and how the city

structures itself to attract investment. Referring to the firms setting up in the South Docklands area he said:

"This grouping seems to have developed without a formal policy targeting the area as a tech hub. However, since the grouping has developed, the IDA, NAMA, and others have influenced urban policies such as the Strategic Development Zone in Docklands to continue to make the area attractive to international tech companies. So far, this has mostly been about fast-tracking the delivery of 'Grade A' office space, rather than about necessarily catering to the employees of the companies."

Let's take a glimpse into some of the forces driving older SDZ's like those in the North Lotts and Grand Canal Dock, two other planning schemes approved in 2014. Dublin City Council explicitly set out their higher level working themes by citing how:

"Google and Facebook not only employ thousands of people but have put the Docklands on the international map. The Docklands SDZ area is ideally placed to promote for the full range of international, national, and local enterprise, by virtue of the variety of sites available, the proximity to the city centre, a unique waterfront setting, and the potential for collaboration with employers in the area."

The announcement of the Poolbeg West SDZ is just the latest in a line of these regeneration projects on speed. The upshot of this is excited talk of a new city on the Liffey, with plans announced for 3,000 homes on the glass bottle site as part of the Poolbeg SDZ being the latest bait for coverage generous to the regime in the middle of a housing crisis.

However, the lack of any firm commitment to actual affordable housing as part of the scheme leaves residents of Ringsend and Irishtown feeling like they are being pushed out. As one Ringsender involved in local organising said:

"For too long we have been a dumping ground for Dublin and DCC (waste treatment plant, incinerator, Docks) and so on. Then

in come Google and Facebook, no local jobs, house prices going through the roof, crazy rents all our young people forced out of our community our village is disappearing."

Poolbeg West is not the first SDZ in the city. Back in May 2013, DCC and the Dublin Docklands Development Authority held a conference on the future of docklands with the tagline of "a community for all."

It was described as "a core component of the SDZ consultation process" for the area. Rather ironically, given that cuddly conference title, Dr Andrew MacLaran of Trinity College Dublin completely slammed the whole SDZ for having precisely the opposite effect.

"So, we have this fast tracking of development - one of which is in front of you now - which in my view will remove the rights of third party appeal from anybody," he said at the time.

"Therefore the very delineation of this Strategic Development Zone is problematic to me," continued Dr MacLaran, "because it zones out Sheriff Street, East Wall, Ringsend and Pearse Street".

Elsewhere MacLaran has gone as far as to call the Docklands site a delimitation, "clearly gerrymandered to exclude concentrations of poor indigenous Docklands residents."

Extreme language. Having now retired from Trinity college, I reached out to MacLaran to see if his opinions had changed in the three years since the conference.

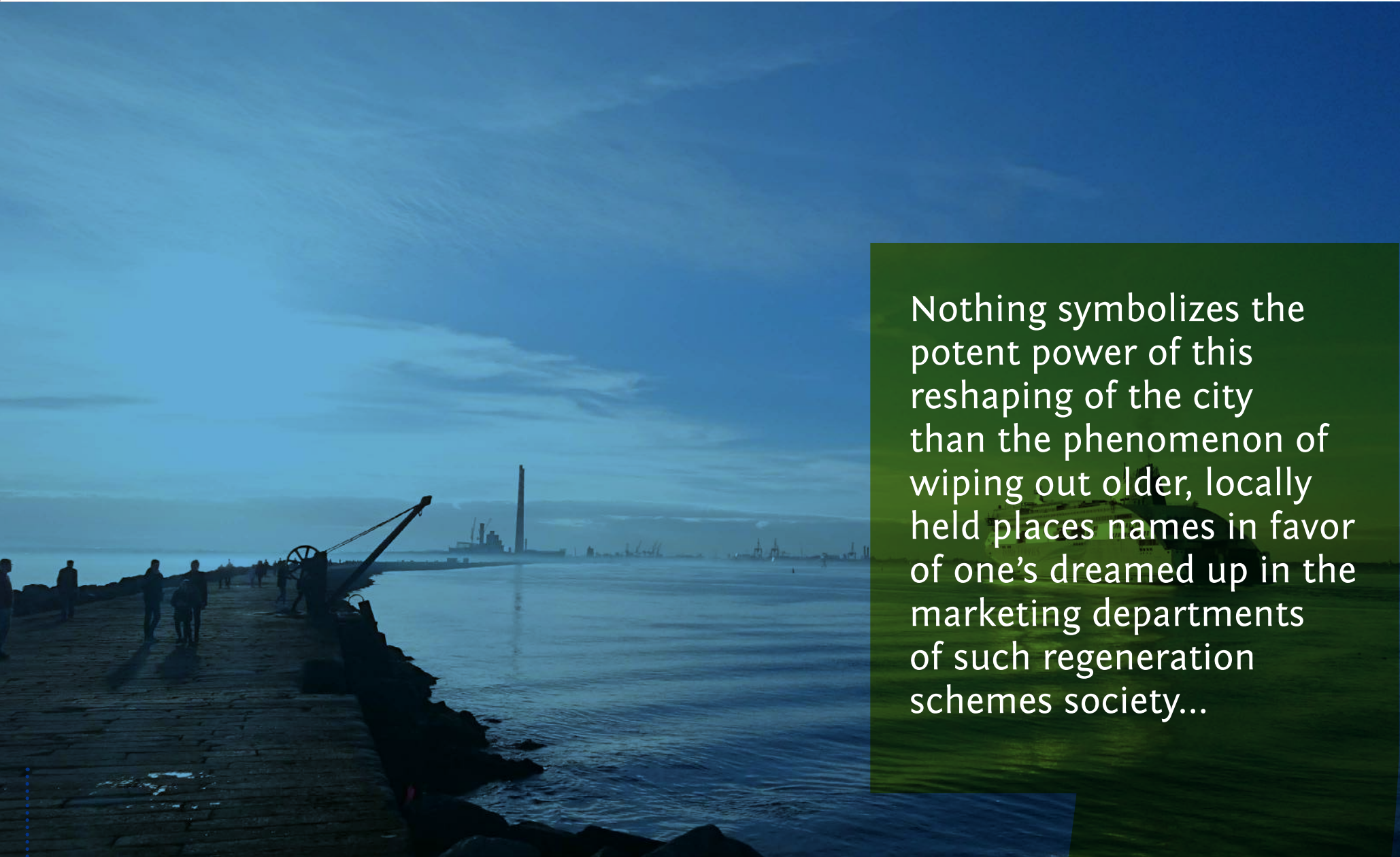
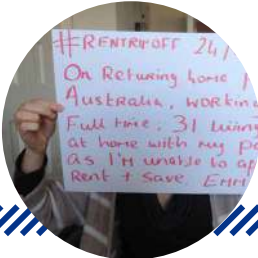
"I would not change anything in the presentation. If anything, had I had more time, I would have included more examples and greater detail of how working-class communities have been poorly treated in comparison to the feather-bedding of business and property capital."

"It's not just the tech sector though. If you look at the take-up of space in the docklands over the years, legal, financial and other business services have been very important. The high-tech sector just happens to be the flavour of the month."

## #rentriponff

The Dublin Tenants Association has an online campaign highlighting abuses in Ireland's rental sector and they want you to get involved.

With Twitter as a platform they're sharing storied from tenants about the abuses of power and wealth that sees Ireland's renters under increasing pressure to avoid homelessness.



Nothing symbolizes the potent power of this reshaping of the city than the phenomenon of wiping out older, locally held places names in favor of one's dreamed up in the marketing departments of such regeneration schemes society...

developers and getting loans repaid for the state. However, if its brief was changed, it has enough land already zoned and, if emergency legislation was introduced, we could build houses quite quickly on it."

It's damn hard to discern anything too exact on how all these houses are going to come about. Even if NAMA were to get down and dirty and build the units themselves, a look at the residential portfolio of gaffs it boasts about on its website might give some inference of what we can expect. It deals in developments in places like Honeypark in Dun Laoghaire and marketed at €670,000, Malahide's Coill Dub fetches €445,000 or there's the "absolute luxury" ones at Hazel Brooke Square in Churchtown for anywhere between €450,000 to €695,000. This is hardly houses for the people is it? NAMA after all is profit driven.

"The SDZ in conjunction with NAMA is a blueprint for being ridden roughshod," ex-Trinity professor MacLaran says, "I would also say that if you sup with the devil, use a very long spoon".

So, who is this devil? Well, there's a number of ways NAMA can deliver on its residential programme, one of these includes working with debtors on commercially viable jobs or the outright sale of sites for development. Or as it's December SDZ and Residential Delivery update put it "NAMA may enter into joint ventures with other credible, well-capitalised platforms to develop sites".

Project Wave might be a good insight into that route, whereby a 2.2 hectare site on North Wall Quay is being developed. NAMA keep a freehold lease on it but a subsidiary of Singapore's Oxley Holdings Ltd put up the dosh to develop it alongside Seán Mulryan's Ballymore Properties. Oxley Holdings specialises in clients described as "young and trendy home buyers and entrepreneurs who

value quality living and a finer lifestyle" and is lead by a former cop struggling to throw off his image as "the shoebox king" back home.

Nothing symbolizes the potent power of this reshaping of the city than the phenomenon of wiping out older, locally held places names in favor of one's dreamed up in the marketing departments of such regeneration schemes.

This rebranding of the map is evident on a quick scan of some of the websites of those leading out in the so-called Silicon Docklands. For one there's that much talked about new SOBO district based on Windmill Lane and Sir John Rogerson's Quay.

Unfortunately, our media giddily goes along with this. Take for example RTE news reporting on the rezoning of the Glass Bottle site in Ringsend, when they opted for the development led term Poolbeg West rather than just plainly stating it was in Ringsend. Something which is pissing locals off no end.

For Mark Price who works teaching drawing to students out in UCD's School of Architecture, this plays itself out in even the style of buildings being developed.

"You can see very much with the kind of architecture, the kind of housing, the kind of buildings. Just the very style of this stuff, its hermetically sealed looking stuff. It doesn't meet the street at all. Talking of a social mix in the glass bottle site in Ringsend is complete bullshit and completely disingenuous, what does that mean? How would 90% of tech workers or whoever else it's going to be, the unaffordable 90%, how are they going to be mixing?"

If a new city is being built on the Liffey, the next obvious question is for whom?



Sick of the draconian restrictions on accessing the notorious TTIP documents, Ming Flanagan decided to video the whole process and put it up on the

net. He's been pressured to take it down, and being the bauld boy he is, he's giving them the two fingers. The documents have since been leaked, sickener.



# I imagine A DIGITAL MEDIA SAFE HAVEN...

IN 2009, WIKILEAKS RELEASED A CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENT LISTING ICELAND'S KAUPTHING BANK'S EXPOSURE TO MEGA LOANS. THE BANK HAD LOANED BILLIONS TO A GOLDEN CIRCLE OF MAJOR SHAREHOLDERS AND ATTEMPTED TO MANIPULATE ITS SHARE PRICE. THE STATE BROADCASTER, RUV, WAS GAGGED FROM REPORTING THE WIKILEAKS EXPOSÉ. AS A RESULT A RADICAL INITIATIVE CALLED THE INTERNATIONAL MODERN MEDIA INSTITUTE RECEIVED UNANIMOUS SUPPORT IN PARLIAMENT. [SEAN FINNAN](#) SPOKE TO SMÁRI MCCARTHY, ONE OF THE ORGANISERS OF THE IMMI AND ALSO ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE ICELANDIC PIRATE PARTY.

**Ireland's national broadcaster was gagged last year and lives in perpetual fear of one of our wealthiest businessmen. Ireland isn't alone in this new wave of oppression of the press though, is it?**

Things have been getting pretty bad all over Europe for a while now. Have you seen what's going on in Poland right now? A new government took over after elections a couple of months ago under the lead of Beata Maria Szydlo. It's the Law and Justice Party which will tell you what political angle they come at things from. They've adopted new media laws which are modelled very strongly on the Hungarian ones from 2011 highly restricting media movement and putting heavy fines on publications that are considered to be 'unfair' or whatever.

Then they did the double whammy thing of media law and constitutional change - intended to cement their power and guarantee it.

**Turning Iceland into a haven for reporters, a "Switzerland of Bits", could you tell our readers a bit about the history of IMMI and how such a radical proposal got passed in parliament?**

So the project started in 2009 as a series of conversations with various free speech activists and so on in Iceland. We decided that the best way to try and strengthen the media rights, the free speech rights and also transparency would be to cherry pick the best things from different countries around the world and make a big proposal for legislative change.

We worked on that until the end of January 2010 and then it got entered into the parliament on February 1. We decided not to make it a bill because bills are very hard to get through especially as our main sponsor at the time was Birgitta Jónsdóttir who was in a minority party (she and I and various others co-founded the Icelandic Pirate Party in 2013).

But in that project we put IMMI forward as a "parliamentary resolution proposal" to hand the project over to the government to come up

with bills on these current issues. On the 16 June that year the parliamentary resolution proposal went through the parliament unanimously - a rare thing.

**Ireland's position within the EU denies us the chance to follow Iceland's lead. Does the EU, in fact, hobble the rights of journalists?**

The EU can be used to protect these rights as well in a way that a lot of the really bad stuff that's happening in the UK and in Hungary, Poland whatever... some of the worst of it has been prevented by EU law. So it's both an asset and a problem.

I think what every country can do is make certain changes internally. Fix libel law so, for instance, telling the truth isn't considered libellous. Guarantee freedom of information in the 'third generation' sense. The first generation (of freedom of information is) where you're allowed to ask for any document but you need to typically ask for exactly the document you want and you don't necessarily know which documents exist. The second generation said 'ok you can ask for any document and here's a list of the documents'. The third generation is, since we have this list why don't we just make it clickable and publish everything a priori unless there's a specific reason to hold it back. Currently Norway is the only country that has that kind of third generation law.

**You were one of the founders of the Icelandic Pirate Party. Can you tell me how the Icelandic Pirate Party is connected to IMMI and what is the idealism behind the party?**

A lot of the people who were involved with IMMI to begin with were also involved in the founding of the Pirate Party. But the Pirate Party stands for a whole lot more than just IMMI. IMMI is very focused on media, on publication, on free speech and transparency whereas the Pirates are trying to approach the entirety of politics from a somewhat different holistic model of understanding politics.

The comparison I have made is that in the 1940's we saw the beginnings of social democracy movements and they basically took the entirety of politics and started to look at it through the lens of public welfare. Then in the late 50's, early 60's you started to see green movements popping up. They started off as just environmentalist movements but then they started to re-align to become mainstream political movements and saw the entire world through the lens of environmentalism.

Because our understanding is in order for you to have democracy as we understand that term you need to have two things: you need first off to have the information that is required of you to be able to make good enlightened decisions and secondly you need to have the authority to make decisions. If either one of those things is missing then you have something other than democracy.

Once you start to look at the entire world that way then it becomes a question of how do you guarantee people the greatest amount of control over their own lives and how do you guarantee people the greatest amount of information upon which to make good decisions. Turns out that that small bit of logic goes through everything we talk about. I like it, it's pretty cool.

**Across Europe anti-austerity groups have been trying to protect what was, rather than attempting to appropriate power by rethinking how society operates. Would you say the Pirate Party is different?**

Yeah, I've got friends in groups like Podemos and these various, mostly anti-austerity parties and I totally agree with what they're trying to do but that the end result is something like trying to keep social democracy on life-support instead of making something new. They aren't really looking too hard at the economics of what modernity looks like because we've got raging populations, we've got massive migration of people all over the world, more globalization of the economy, Europe is no longer the industrial centre of the world that it once was so you know, what is left?

And the answer cannot be let's just bring everything back here and start up the factories again, close the borders and you know dump all the money in the healthcare system because that doesn't solve the fundamental problem.

**With the recent Panama Papers leaks it seems that journalism is increasingly becoming a conduit for leaks where it's the actual means of taking information, of taking uncensored data that is providing the momentary shock to the establishment. Is this where you see journalism going?**

It's tricky. To some degree journalism is about that, speaking truth to power and making sure that authorities are accountable. But there's also more to journalism than that. There's a degree to which it is a form of analysis of the current social condition and understanding society and making sure that analysis is disseminated through society.

Looking for the structures, that's what I do for a living. I work with an organisation that is [analysing] data to discover large scale corruption and organised crime. And the reality of that is right now it is really, really difficult to do that. It is incredibly expensive work and the reality is everybody gets excited about a big data leak. We worked on the Panama Papers and we got record traffic. It was excellent but now we're two weeks down the line and everything is back to normal and nobody cares anymore.

So either it continues to get less funding and the entire thing becomes a competition about clickbait, how many clicks can you get and how much advertising can you sell or there needs to be some good economic mechanism which quality journalism is funded alongside a change in these assumptions.

*For more on the International Media Initiative check out their website at [immi.is](#)*

We worked on the Panama Papers and we got record traffic. It was excellent but now we're two weeks down the line and everything is back to normal and nobody cares anymore...



What does a pipe smoking French Marxist philosopher and the pied-piper webshite of Dublin's hipster bourgeoisie have in common? Why

the ideological state apparatus of course! We drafted in media lecturer Henry Silke to dust off some heavy tomes and probe Lovin Dublin's

obsession with shitting on the recent Luas strike.



Martin Leen caught up with asylum seeker Lucky Khambule to discuss the realities and frustrations of living under the Direct Provision system in

2016. Head over to rabble.ie to hear him outline the steps some of those seeking asylum have taken to ensure their voices are heard.



# TALKING TO G.O.D.

INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALIST GEMMA O'DOHERTY HAS GARNERED A REPUTATION AS A TENACIOUS OLD-SCHOOL REPORTER. SHE'S CURRENTLY CHAMPIONING THE CASE OF MARY BOYLE, A SIX-YEAR-OLD DONEGAL GIRL MISSING SINCE 1977. RASHERS TIERNEY CAUGHT UP WITH O'DOHERTY AFTER HER APPEARANCE AT THE JOURNALISM IN CRISIS CONFERENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIMERICK BACK IN APRIL.

*In your keynote to the conference, you said the role of a journalist is to be an "outsider" and to go home after a day's work in the Dáil. Could you explain what you mean exactly by this?*

Good journalism can't be done in a pack. That's what happens in Leinster House and within crime reporting. We have very close connections between the police, power and the press in Ireland - incestuous relationships - and that is really damaging to the public interest and democracy.

When you have reporters and editors out socialising with guards, that is the wrong way to go about journalism.

That's when journalism turns into PR and we have an awful lot of that in Ireland. We saw in Britain and in the Leveson Report how these toxic relationships between power, the police and the press are so harmful to the public interest and in particular to people who have been through traumatic experiences and who were victimised by the press.

*You spoke about certain people in RTÉ seeing it as their role to rehabilitate people who had been disgraced in the eyes of the public. Can you point to some examples?*

For example, the likes of Bertie Ahern has been wheeled out recently to comment on the formation of government and there would be large cohorts of Irish people who would believe that he didn't fully disclose his own private business dealings and that he left office in disgrace and was also responsible, with his colleagues, for a lot of the economic pain people are suffering.

And yet he is wheeled out as this great statesman whose opinion is one that we should all be listening to. RTÉ also wheel out yesterday's men and women who have been rejected by the electorate and are ignoring the new voices that have been voted in by the public as people they want to see bring about change that is needed.

We have a lot of new TDs in the Dail now but I'm not hearing their voices particularly strongly on RTÉ or other establishment outlets, and there is something very wrong with that.

*You've been moving into documentary filmmaking as a method for investigative journalism. What's prompted this?*

Print journalism is sadly on the decline and this is an obvious route for reporters like me. There's this notion that investigative journalism costs a lot of money, I disagree with that. In Ireland, there are so many stories that haven't been told, so many victims who have never had the chance to tell their story, be they victims of state abuse or very vulnerable children in foster care, being left in vulnerable situations.

So really nowadays a journalist like me, for example, who's worked mainly in print it's very, very exciting that we have the opportunities through the internet to get our stories out directly.

Irish people are telling us their stories, victims who have not been believed by the establishment media, by the gardai, who have had doors slammed in their faces - we can now tell their stories through the internet and we can cut out the middle man, and it usually is a man, stopping us from telling these really important stories of public interest.

*You made that point in Limerick about the myth of the cost of investigative journalism, possibly as a reaction to some of the fatalism in UL. Is a bus fare and good shoes all you really need?*

We have to see what these people are learning in journalism college. Are they being taught the old fashioned characteristics like being dogged and putting the public interest first rather than licking up to those in power? Are those characteristics being drummed into them?

You know to be tenacious and to fight for your story and to have rat-like cunning and all the old Fleet Street traditional qualities but combining that with your smartphone, your iPad or your Mac, using the facilities on those tools to just reach out directly.

Every single village and town in Ireland has a story that has not been told. And it will be a story of huge public interest.... and that's a lot to do with the fact that our mainstream media are simply not allowed to cover many stories of corruption.

It's not expensive and if you've got a really important good story you can get it out there and if it's good, it will spread and that is the big fear of the internet among those who would try to silence people who are exposing corruption. That is their big fear and they don't know how to contain it.

The downside of Twitter and Facebook is that it has caused too

many journalists to turn into commentators and there's not enough reporters just out doing old fashioned digging.

So that's an area we have to watch, so that the internet doesn't become a talking shop for journalists. That it is used to tell other people's stories through the internet, stories that affect the public.

*The cops have served warrants and seized journalists' AV material, photos from demonstrations etc - Eamon Farrell of PhotoCall Ireland said it was an effort to turn the media into "an extension of the eyes and ears of the state" - how much of a game changer is that?*

Journalists see how vulnerable they are and if they don't have support of management behind them, when disgraceful things like that happen and gardai attempt to seize their material, they are in a very vulnerable position - but they are also very grown up people, they need to stand their ground.

They need to make choices, is it journalism they want to be in or is it PR? Journalists themselves need to start standing up for the profession when they are targeted by elements within the state, even if they don't have the support of their bosses, or else get out of the profession. One thing that struck me recently was the assault of a cameraman in Talbot St, I believe it was an RTÉ cameraman. He was allegedly assaulted by a garda. There should have been an enormous outcry from RTÉ management but I didn't hear it if there was.

I challenged RTÉ on that. I challenge RTÉ on an awful lot on things but I never get any proper answers. Journalists need to stand up against those who would destroy our profession and turn it into spin doctoring. They are not doing that. I know when I was fired, there was virtually a tiny handful of people within the profession who supported me. Most of them were from Britain ironically. Journalists only have themselves to blame in many regards for what is happening to the profession and that so many of them are now ridiculed in the public eye.

Illustration by Daniel Greenhalgh



When you have reporters and editors out socialising with guards, that is the wrong way to go about journalism...





{PROTEST}

By the summer of 2015, an old quip from an Athenian protestor broadcast on RTÉ that the Irish didn't protest was a distant memory. As it turned out, resistance had to rebuild itself anew outside of the old channels and the officialdom safety-valves built up over the last century...

"BYE-BYE"  
BURTON  
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BOAT



We Are Winning!

## HOW THE IRISH WENT PROTEST MAD.

IT FEELS LIKE A LIFETIME AGO THAT BRIAN COWEN SLURRED HIS WORDS ON THE RADIO, THE IMF LANDED AND BERTIE GOT COLLARED OUTSIDE THE DAIL SIGNALLING THE BOOTING THEY WERE ABOUT TO GET. WELL IT'S NOT BEEN A LIFETIME, BUT IT HAS BEEN AN "ELECTORAL CYCLE" AS THEY CALL IT. IN THIS REVIEW OF THE FINE GAEL-LED COALITION, [SHANE RAGBAGS](#) TAKES US THROUGH HOW THE IRISH EVENTUALLY LEARNT TO HATE THE REGIME.

Since the 2011 election, we've somehow gone from the biggest majority in the history of the state - to the first ever minority government. This year the Civil War parties couldn't muster 50% of the vote between them. If we witnessed one historic "riot in a ballot box" in 2011, we've now witnessed two in succession. So, what happened?

"Labour's way" turned out in fact to be Frankfurt's way. And pepper spray, as the chant went. Also: evictions, a housing crisis, bank bailouts and bonfires of the meagre social supports people have to pay for it all. A visit to Brussels reversed the election pledge that they would not give one more red cent to the bondholders, and made a new one that they would pay anything, in full and on time.

In their first budget billions more were cut, including an increase in student fees and a new household charge. The Jobbridge scam was launched, leading a whole new programme legitimising unpaid and precarious labour.

The student movement had already been cleared off the streets by Gardai on horseback, while Labour and the trade union leadership had joined the government, pulling a lot of the NGOs in with them. People had already been robbed at source for things like the USC, their wages taken away in social partnership agreements, their jobs let go at a rate of thousands per week. Resist? How?

But a property tax on top of bubble-era mortgage debt only highlighted the contradiction of a new property tax to pay for services that no longer existed. It needed a subtler man than Phil Hogan to impose this while billions upon billions were being poured into toxic banks. In effect, it was going to the bondholders of course.

So people mad as hatters across the state self-organised to not pay the charge, creating new networks of resistance independent of the officialdom. Several important protests took place such as at the Labour Ard Fheis in Galway, the Fine Gael Ard Fheis in Dublin, the 2012 budget protest with DCTU. It created the environment where public sector workers could reject the latest social partnership stitch-up - the same week Margaret Thatcher died! Jelly and ice cream were had in celebration, though a new deal was later

forced through.

Future Labour senator David Begg and ICTU had been forced to call a demoralising protest of their own to keep a lid on things - it was, remarkably, in support of the government's non-efforts at debt renegotiation. In the end, the state had to ditch the charge and take the property tax through Revenue from 2013. The campaign was smashed, but opposition to the regime was shown to be possible. Blood had been drawn.

2012 was the anniversary of the X-Case ruling which had mandated the state to provide for abortion in cases that a pregnancy caused a threat to the woman's life. Twenty years of governments including Fianna Fáil, the Progressive Democrats, the Greens, Fine Gael, Labour and gombbeen independents had managed to successfully ignore the ruling. In the spring, Clare Daly, one of several new leftwing TDs elected in 2011, put forward the first ever X-Case legislation which Fine Gael and the nominally pro-choice Labour Party batted away.

Towards the end of the year, Savita Halappanavar, tragically died in a Galway hospital for want of exactly such measures. It sparked an intense movement of protest across the state and shone international attention on the constitutional abortion ban. Eventually the government were forced into legislating a characteristically cruel means of access to life-saving abortions, but a new generation of pro-choice activists intent on repealing the 8th amendment had emerged.

By now, we had entered the centenary of the Irish revolution and the Dublin Lockout of 1913. A "Lockout" themed protest took place in September drawing together groups that said 'No' to Austerity. A group in Cork had inspired other groups in Dublin and elsewhere to protest weekly against the debt. A protest in Wicklow in the summer of 2013 managed to stop Bertie returning to pick up the Coillte forests for his vulture fund mates. A modest "People's Assembly" protest to welcome the returning Dail a couple of weeks later modelled on the successful Coillte protest brought these together.

As 2014 got going, the defeat of the household charge campaign had started to wear off as resistance networks approached a critical mass. The summer local and European elections helped re-politicise the atmosphere. The government

would ultimately take such a hit that Eamonn Gilmore would have to retire as Labour Party leader and Tánaiste, for Joan Burton.

In August, another tragic case of a woman being effectively denied a life-saving abortion was revealed. Migrant Y was a resident in a Direct Provision centre, and her case highlighted the intersections between the patriarchal Irish state and its contribution to the Fortress Europe border regime. The pro-choice coalition returned to the streets with its demand for a referendum to repeal the 8th amendment, alerted to the institutional racism of the state.

And at this time Direct Provision centre residents themselves, losing years of their lives interned under threat of deportation waiting for their applications to be processed, had enough. They took control of almost half of the centres insisting that the system of Direct Provision and deportations should be abolished, and they at last be let participate in Irish life. In a contender for their most shameful moment, the Labour Party in government would use their relationship with NGOs to diffuse these protests with the promise of "reform" which never came.

Lockouts at Greyhound Recycling drew confrontation in Dublin, which replicated the spirit of effective direct action in the Paris Bakery occupation which preceded it. Both successful. In the Spring, some organisers of the "People's Assembly" protest held a conference opposing water charges and privatisation while people in Ballyphehane started to block Denis O'Brien's water meter installers. This spread to Limerick and Dublin where blocking water meter vans had the benefit of lessons from the earlier blocking of Greyhound trucks driven by scabs.

The conference had called for a broad anti-water charges protest for after the election, initially in August, then September before settling on the Saturday before the budget in October. In the Autumn, blocking of meter installation and vans, street meetings and local protests had engulfed working class areas. These all came together in that October 10 protest where 100,000 more people turned up than even the organisers themselves had expected.

The government was rocked and scrambled in the days before the budget to withdraw cut after charge after cut to the point where they tried to sell it as

fiscally "neutral"! They went so far as to declare Austerity was over! Neither true, obviously, but the eejits had demonstrated to the whole country that organised resistance works.

So, of course, they went protest mad everywhere.

Two similarly massive and self-organised protests in the following two months meant that the government's support in opinion polls collapsed. Hundreds of thousands joined together to say "fuck the regime" and engaged in mass protest and a boycott movement that has all-but sunk water charges.

Come the summer of 2015, an old quip from an Athenian protestor broadcast on RTÉ that the Irish didn't protest was a distant memory. As it turned out, resistance had to rebuild itself anew outside of the old channels and officialdom safety-valves built up over the last century. It was well symbolised by the image of Fr Ted kicking Bishop Brennan up the arse which went viral in celebration of the Marriage Equality referendum result.

When the election came around, the old Two-and-a-Half party system of replacing tweedle-dum Fianna Fáil with tweedle-dee Fine Gael and Labour was gloriously dumped. Only that the movement was demobilised by the autumn, could it claw a little back in the zombie resurrection of the undead Fianna Fáil.

This was consummated in the vote to suspend water charges and kick them to a committee, hopefully never to be seen again. Enda is back as Taoiseach, but not for long. They're dropping unpopular measures like pay-by-weight recycling, the broadcasting charge, Jobbridge and promising goodies at the rate of a minority regime that knows it's fucked.

All-in-all we've had nearly a decade of mass unemployment, emigration and record levels of enforced deprivation - and Fine Gael-Labour masterminded the last 5 years of it. In response, to recall a memorable The Week in Politics from February 2011, the "ragbags and misfits" have exacted some measure of revenge by clearing half of them and their political system out.

Photos by Jamie Goldrick







Huge sums are paid to consultancies to manage and advise on tax avoidance. What if these strategies were made available to non-corporate

individuals and organisations? Her project, the Troika Fiscal Disobedience Consultancy does just that, and offers actual tax avoidance strategies borrowed

from international finance services to non-corporate organisations. Caitriona Devery caught up with Nuria Gueill to see what it was all about for rabble.ie



# On Beckett and Behan Two F-ing Bs

OPEN ANY ENCYCLOPAEDIA ON IRELAND AND INVARIABLY YOU WILL FIND TWO OF DUBLIN’S FINEST WORDWEAVERS, SAMUEL BECKETT AND BRENDAN BEHAN, EITHER ON THE SAME PAGE OR OPPOSITE PAGES EYEBALLING ONE ANOTHER. [ALAN O'BRIEN](#) TAKES A LOOK AT TWO DUBLINERS WHOSE BACKGROUNDS COULDN'T CONTRAST ANY MORE ENTIRELY.

Beckett spent his childhood in the sleepy-affluent and sheltered area of Foxrock. Behan, had his formative years in the overcrowded Dublin metropolis of the 1920s and hungry 30s. Beckett’s education was of the highest standard a well-to-do Protestant family could expect; attending Miss Elsners Academy, the Royal Portora, Enniskillen and Trainers. While Behan’s education was of the highest standard a working-class family with Irish-republican politics (that was as much of a staple diet as tea, bread and margarine) could expect; attending William Street Convent, St. Canices Christian Brothers, Bolton Street Tech and Jail.

And yet they had their similarities along with their contrasts, such as the honour of having their work banned in Ireland thusly guaranteeing them international fame. Also similarly, both responded to the rise of fascism in Europe. Behan with the IRA; where he volunteered and was accepted to go with Frank Ryan’s International Brigade to Spain (he was aged just 15 years having lied about his age) only to have his mother furtively destroy the letters of acceptance before he laid his eyes on them. Years later Behan claimed to have been deported from Spain after a journalist asked him what he would like to see most while on his visit to the country? Behan answered, “Franco’s funeral”.

And Beckett was amongst a group of writers asked to write their opinion on what was occurring in Spain regarding the Civil War, he wrote simply, “UPTHEREPUBLIC!”. Further to this, during World War II, Beckett joined the French Resistance; which he characteristically played down as a paltry and unimportant role (however, unimportant enough for him to have to go into hiding). Commenting on his decision to join, he said, “You just couldn’t stand with your arms folded”. And interestingly both had their plays introduced to Ireland by the same theatre producer, Alan Simpson and his Pike Theatre Club. Simpson

was a break away from the regular Dublin literary elite who Behan described as “the large and formidable body of people who had once had a play done at the Abbey”.

Those Dublin literary elites were where Beckett and Behan’s contrasts couldn’t become more downright absolute. The majority of the literati revered Beckett. He was a man to be seen with about town. A living genius. While all along, Beckett was repulsed by a large percentage of them. Commenting specifically on the literati in a letter to his friend the poet Tom MacGreevy (the man who was with Joyce at his deathbed), he said, “I dislike the whole lot without exception. I’ll drink in Phibsboro or in my rooms. Or I’ll stop smoking or drinking.”

Dublin had an artistically stifling effect that was a fertile pasture for inducing a nervous breakdown, and it also had the affect of turning Beckett into a snob, something he admonished himself for, stating “...if the heart had not put the fear of death into me, I would be still boozing and sneering and lounging around and feeling that I was too good for anything else.” Like Joyce he legged it to France, where above all else he could speak free and easy. Working for ‘the master of language’ Jem Joyce as his personal secretary, undoubtedly had a profound influence.

Behan however, only received the same literati’s begrudging and jealous acceptance after the success in New York of The Quare Fellow beforehand he had been generally dismissed. The snobbery Behan endured is perhaps reflected best in this comment relating to him that appeared in The Irish Times and said: “There are persons of bourgeois respectability in the city of Dublin who nourish a secret unease. It is that one day they may be proceeding on their middle-class way, chatting smoothly with their employer or their bank manager, when suddenly across the street will come a loud and ebullient “View-haloo” followed by a colourful and uninhibited commentary on things in general.”

While Dublin’s snobbish high-brow hoards practiced feeble rejection/acceptance regarding the raconteur-writer, New York’s embraced him with vigour. The rakish, alcoholic, boisterous behaviour that dirtied-his-bib in Dublin was accepted (if not expected) from New York artistic quarters and Behan made quite the impression on them; his prowess there as a playwright expressed in New York poet Frank O’Hara’s poem The Day Lady Died reflecting the regard in which he was held.

Yet before he tasted, essentially devastating-success, and in similar vein to Beckett, Behan found Dublin to be artistically stifling and tried Paris. While there, in his own testament in Confessions of an Irish Rebel, he worked as a painter/decorator, wrote porn and facilitated sex-workers (basically he spent the day on the gargle in a café where American tourists would often frequent and make a phone-call if a prostitute’s service was enquired after).

Then Beckett and Behan’s two spheres of existence came into one another’s orbit. It goes in Anthony Cronin’s biography of Beckett that one night Sam and Suzanne Beckett were laying in bed in their apartment in the rue de Favourite, when they heard a crashing of some sort at their front door. On investigating, they found a dishevelled bloodstained suit, containing an over-imbibed Brendan Behan.

Beckett bade Behan entrance to his home and sat for a few hours drinking whiskey and listening to his anecdotes, until he managed to discontinue the visit as he had rehearsals for Godot starting that very morning. The Becketts were quick in recognising his knock in the subsequent weeks and generally avoided future midnight drinking-bouts. Beckett didn’t hold any animosity though. If he had, he hardly would have posted bail for him when jailed for being drunk and disorderly (Behan said he “paid what I owed them, and he took me away, and he gave me 10,000 francs and a double brandy and a lecture on the evils of drinking”) nor corresponded to Alan Simpson congratulating him on the success the production of The Quare Fellow

was enjoying while asking to be remembered “to the new O’Casey”.

Their contrasts were many but none more noteworthy or intriguing than the contrasts of their drama. Beckett’s dark existentialism portrays the human condition through a mixture of stark, debased, pitiful, afflicted, and severe individuals. Their worlds are often simple, often dull, decayed, and sometimes unwonted. Many of his characters reflect an older order whose values and beliefs were debunked and them suffering the trauma that goes with such debunking. The World Wars had put the pedal to metal regarding modernity, and a large swathe of the older orders were left in the dust asking deep introspective questions, such as could it be that God is not really there?

Behan’s drama is dark and politically-charged subject-matter, yet sympathetic to humanity portrayed and palatable to ordinary people through utilising a crucial ingredient. One that cannot be learned fully or copied adequately in universities, as it’s an ingredient that serves as a coping-mechanism for an entire class that is the blackness of working-class humour. Laughter is a free anti-depressant and therefore affordable and used freely by the non-hegemonic classes when dealing with their traumas. And this calibre of comedy flowed freely in most of Behan’s work while counterbalanced with a well-crafted and empowering pathos.

One can only imagine what the two would make of our nowadays? It’s more than possible they’d be graciously impressed with the Irish for passing the Equality Referendum, but what would they say about Ireland being the first country in Europe where the people decided and asserted overwhelmingly that a gay couple can marry, but a woman must embark on a pilgrimage to somewhere within that continent in order to obtain a legal abortion illegally? It’s ripe for imagination. And finally and most importantly, it’s likely Behan would embrace the smiley emoji, but what the fuck would Beckett make of it?





# Monkey Magne

GUERRILLA STUDIOS STAKES A CLAIM TO BE THE STUDIO FOR UNDERGROUND BANDS IN DUBLIN. BIT THOMPSON CAUGHT UP WITH JOHN ‘SPUD’ MURPHY AND ASKED WHY THEY SET UP A RECORDING STUDIO WHEN THE ARSE HAS FALLEN OUT OF THE INDUSTRY.

**Well, how's it going? So tell me how youse got started in the recording business?**

Well it started when I was in a band called Ilya K and we'd won the Murphy's Live competition. We went around pricing studios and they were mad expensive. We all had a background in engineering and said "Fuck that, let's set up a studio in the gaff. We already have some stuff and we can take our time and do it our own way."

So we did that and the first people to come in were Los Langeros and we did the Ilya K album, this was all in Cork by the way, then we had Percolator down and got on really well with them and that's when I met Ian and asked him to help out and learn a bit on the job before starting into a college course. But even then, even with all the weird or leftfield bands there wasn't that much music. That was just before the crash and there was still a bit of money about but it was crap. We were still getting paid in cans of Galahad for doing the Picnic.

**So I guess the setting up of a recording studio was born from necessity?**

Yeah. The first focus was really to do the Ilya K album and take it from there. We'd a little cottage where most of the band lived and we recorded everything there. I was offering to lend a hand in studios just to get some more knowledge. So it was probably a

necessity on a couple of different fronts.

**And were youse actively seeking out bands to record or how does that work?**

We just kept getting asked to do more and more recordings as the word got around. We're not trying to rip anybody off and I was working in a studio in Cork, so all that money was going back into building up Ilya K/Guerilla studios and maybe people just got wind of that and bought into that type of idea.

So, bands like Ten Past Seven and Percolator saw that the main interest was the sound and equipment rather than just making a bit of cash. We're lucky enough, so far, to be involved with a great underground scene so a lot of the stuff we've done is stuff we're really interested in and love so that we put everything we have both in terms of time and care, into making the best possible recordings for who we work with.

**This was all in Cork, yeah? How did youse end up in Dublin?**

Yea, so Ilya K split and that studio got divided up but there was all these other spaces we could still use, but it was basically pouring all the gear into my van and bringing it to where it was needed. So I was recording stuff all over and mixing it in my room.

Yea, so the mobile studio was interesting as we were doing all the weird shite, everything from string quartets to drummers to orchestras and shit so there was a lot of experience to

be gained. But everything was mobile and we were just after bringing out Katie Kim's Cover and Flood and we wanted to get the next album done. But I was driving from Cork to Dublin the whole time to rehearse with her and it was costing a fortune and was really impractical so I was like, "Fuck it, I need to move to Dublin."

**How difficult was it to find a space to set up in Dublin?**

I had a few contacts and there was a friend who met someone about taking over a huge space in Rathmines. It seemed to be a goer and Anna was going to run a café out of it and a gig space for ambient stuff, film screenings and we'd be set up in the rest. It was some cleaning/security company.

We had started cleaning out the room and getting it ready and I was chasing yer man for a set of keys and after ages they just got back and said you're not allowed to do it anymore.... Shit!

We had just got a gaff in North Strand so we were freaking out. We were back on Daft that night and by chance there was a place just off North Strand, a few streets from the gaff, that came up. It was the cheapest by half, everything else was €1,200 or more a month and out in the suburbs. It was part of a garage in an arch underneath a train line. So we took it and burnt through all my money setting it up which probably took about 4 months!

There was a huge backlog of stuff due to all the delays. Crayonsmith was

supposed to be recorded in Rathmines and there was probably a year's worth of mixing from the mobile days to be done... fuckin' nuts... So we had to bring stuff back to Cork just to get stuff done whilst the studio was being built and it was absolutely mental, mental, probably one of the worst times in my life...

**Now yizzer set up, in a fairly unlikely location, was it tough to get people into record?**

We had stuff lined up. Hands Up Who Wants to Die, The Jimmy Cake, the next Katie Kim album was there. All within the first few months of being in the arch. There was nothing there really, a table, a kettle and that's about it and we just had to get on and track all this stuff. That's after we had cleaned up all the oil and garage shite and divided the place into three rooms. There was so much pressure that as soon as there was four walls with a roof on it we just had to go for it. We had to just go with and try to improve the place as we went along.

**Apart from doing regular long form recording you've also done some live recordings and there's been a good few videos shot in the studio, tell us about some of that?**

Yea, so, we had known Sean Zissou from before and it turned out he was living on the same street and after a few pints the idea was hatched to do some videos in the space. We did The Jimmy Cake thing live, that was a twenty minute track. And that led to

doing videos for The Practice Tapes with bands like Orchestre Tout Puissant Marcel Duchamp, Ten Past Seven, Don Vito, Molossus and a load more like Underline which was a three band live set that ran for over hour.

**So what does the future hold for Guerilla Studios?**

Well I guess that the music that we're into and the stuff that we record are on the periphery and wouldn't generally get that much airplay on national radio so it's fairly underground. So far we've really been lucky to work with some great bands in that particular scene and we have some idea of what those bands want and we try to record things to the highest possible standard. Because the development of the studio has been quite organic and we take our time over each tracking and mixing we're still building this thing and investing in the space and the gear. It means that right now it's more a labour of love than a steady income.

I guess what we're trying to do is develop along with the underground and expand the spaces and relationships and get more Irish music heard, both inside and outside Ireland. I'd say that the studio is probably seventy five percent. For the future, I guess, we have to strike the right balance between getting paid for doing the things we love and turning around more recordings but for now we have to keep the day jobs to pay the bills...

*Check them out at guerrillasounds.com*

There was so much pressure that as soon as there was four walls with a roof on it we just had to go for it. We had to just go with and try to improve the place as we went along...



# goodbye TO BERLIN

SMITHFIELD SQUARE'S GENERATOR HOSTEL IS FULL WITH INTERNATIONAL VISITORS. YET IT'S HARD TO SHAKE THE FEELING THAT SOMETHING IS MISSING. FOR A FEW YEARS THROUGH THE GLOOM OF THE RECESSION THERE WAS A HOPE THAT SMITHFIELD HAD THE POTENTIAL TO BRING SOMETHING OF THE VIVACITY OF BERLIN TO DUBLIN. MARTIN LEEN BELIEVES YOU CAN KISS THAT HOPE GOODBYE AS THE NEW RENTAL REALITIES ARE KILLING ART SPACES.

These are not simply just “art spaces” they are also important community centres, works-spaces and educational facilities...

There was a sense of grassroots DIY activity around the place. Block T and The Complex brought energy and people to the area. Up around the corner Flatpack Studios and the Joinery held gigs, exhibitions and happenings.

You could stroll down by the fruit market and catch some performance art in The Market Studios. With the closure of Block T in Smithfield on March 30 all of these places for one reason or another will be gone, some gone from the area, some gone for good.

Block T having been in Smithfield for over 6 years had to move out because they could not get a long term lease and could not grow or indeed invest in the space with any guarantee. They since found another home in Basin View, Dublin 8 but it involves a big rebuilding process and another huge investment of capital to refurbish the building via a gofundme campaign. The Complex had to move because their building was taken over by NAMA who wanted to put a Tesco there. The Joinery had to close because of the precariousness of running a not for profit arts space year after year.

Smithfield and Stoneybatter have become gentrified, rents are going up and there is no room for the organisations that brought life back to this place. This problem is not just confined to Dublin 7.

Broadstone Studios in Harcourt Street closed after 18 years when their landlord sold the property, Moxie Studios in Dublin 2, the Mabos Project on Hanover Quay and The Factory. The list goes on.

Louise Marlborough of PrettyvacanT says “There is no easy solution to the closure of art space and studios. In 2009 I saw an opportunity and set up PrettyvacanT Dublin, but it was born out of the economic and property crisis. The closures are part and parcel of the economic cycle. Unless this is broken or challenged and I believe this will continue to happen - the economy improves and property is in demand, prices rise and one of the first casualties are arts organisations, studios and groups etc. It is an ever repeating cycle.”

Running an independent art space is an unstable business, with the space itself in many ways being the most insecure. During a recession, spaces for arts organisations, are easier to find. The opposite is true in ‘recovery’.

Naomi Murphy and Marisa Denker are Connect the Dots, an organisation that brings diverse stakeholders together over a common cause or issue. Over the last year and a half they have focused on the use of vacant space in the city. Naomi says:

“It was easiest right after the economic crash, because it was a bit more flexible, there were more spaces that were a bit cheaper to get into. Now, with the economy going up, people realise that

they can actually get ‘real’ commercial people to come in. Many alternative places have closed.”

While funding will always be an issue for arts organisations Connect the Dots found that they also face other obstacles such as a lack of supportive and flexible infrastructure in terms of advice, champions, transparent information and clear processes to encourage the growth of new initiatives and current projects. The ad hoc nature of their set-ups often leaves creative spaces vulnerable to sudden changes or to authorities, thus making economic viability and resilience challenging.

Naomi feels an issue is, “space not being valued as an important asset to the community. What’s come out of a lot of the discussions at Connect The Dots is that there are few ‘champions’ and little or no legislation that protects spaces that may not have direct fiscal benefits to the city, but do amazing work for the community and provide an important creative space for an area that would otherwise have none.”

While Dublin City Council provides some support through its Arts office, new grassroots organisations often find it difficult to find support. Louise says, “I think there is plenty that government and local authorities can do but I have seen little or no evidence of this. Arts and culture needs to be valued and nourished, especially at the early stages e.g. fledgling organisations, artist led

spaces etc. They often cannot generate income but contribute in other ways to the fabric of the city.”

These are not simply just “art spaces” they are also important community centres, works-spaces and educational facilities. Laura Down of Block T feels that “It is important to recognise that creative self-expression is integral in everyone’s life. Creativity is a part of sustainable living, and not just a separate domain that no-one outside arts industry is able to access or understand. I would hope that in years to come government officials, developers, representatives of the creative industry and community workers can come together and re-define how creative organisations and art centres are supported and utilised.”

Louise didn’t feel that “there was much support from government and local authorities. I spoke to and met with many Departments and organisations and although they were supportive in principle their actions were lacking.”

Surely this is something that the council can help with. Dublin City Arts Officer runs a Vacant Spaces Initiative, but at the moment there are 350 artists on the waiting list and only 2 places became available last year. There are so many empty buildings around that could be used, many of them owned by NAMA who according to both Naomi and Louise are very difficult to penetrate. There are also some practical measures that can be taken by the council to help.

Naomi says “Commercial rates are a big problem for arts organisations. These are rates paid to a council for non-domestic space. Many alternative spaces have closed in the last year or so because it was not sustainable for them to pay the rates.”

A start to getting to where Laura is talking about is actually taking the social dividend promised by Nama. That needs political will but it’s clear the consensus of the current regime is to marginalise the Arts further and bundle it together with Rural Affairs, Rural Development and The Gaeltacht in a new mutant department. Meanwhile the council rejects motions that call for new developments to allocate a small percent of their space to cultural use. Naomi says: “The city needs to be inspired a bit by other examples in similar sized cities. It needs a really well thought out strategic plan, informed by citizens, and to then have an open door policy (more of a ‘yes, and how can we help’, then a ‘no, but..’).”

As Laura told me when it comes to such spaces: “There is enough evidence of their social and economic impact available to form a thorough case study which could act as a catalyst for a real cultural reform in Ireland. And I trust we are ready for it.”

*Look up Block T’s Go Fund Me page to make a donation.*







{FILM}

# FLIPPING THE SCRIPT

WOMEN ARE NOTORIOUSLY UNDERREPRESENTED IN FILM, BOTH IN FRONT OF, AND BEHIND THE CAMERA. MOG KAVANAGH TAKES A LOOK AT SOME FESTIVALS AND FILM MAKERS BUCKING THE TREND IN IRELAND.

In The U.S. in 2014, of the top 700 theatrical releases, women accounted for a mere 13% of directors, 18% of editors and 13% of writers. And the sad fact of the matter is that over the past two decades things have been getting worse.

Women in Film and Television Ireland, a voluntary body run by film and TV professionals state: “Our closest neighbours in Directors UK report that only 8% of all working directors are female. This represents a significant year on year decline. We are at an all-time low.”

Why does it matter? Film and television contribute significantly to shaping our culture and society. It is concerning then, if women don’t have equal access to creating film and television, then they don’t have equal access to power and influence.

On the other side of the camera the lack of complex interesting female characters is damaging, because to put it simply, it’s hard to be what you can’t see.

Female characters in film are too often portrayed as one-dimensional love interests, or are entirely absent altogether.

And aside from being damaging to the identity and outlook of female audiences, it’s also just plain boring and annoying. Women are just as capable of being witty, funny, bad ass, or adventurous, so why is it so rarely shown on screen?

Recently in Ireland there’s been something of a renaissance in film with two Irish productions receiving Oscars (Brie Larson winning a Best Actress Oscar for Lenny Abrahamson’s Room, and Ben Cleary winning Best Live Action short for Stutterer), and Lobster and The Queen of Ireland getting wide releases.

This has drawn a lot of focus on Irish film resulting in a lot of coverage in the media locally and internationally. While these wins have cast Irish film into the spotlight, there are interesting things happening within Irish film itself. In a microcosm of a movement that is happening from Hollywood to Bollywood and beyond, women are pushing themselves to the fore in film production.

There have been a number of individuals and groups, rising to prominence here, that are championing women in film. The Feminist Film Festival Dublin are one such group.

Founded by Karla Healion in 2014 as a fundraiser for Sasane, a Nepalese women’s charity that supports victims of sex trafficking. The festival, now in its third year and growing steadily, knits a love of film with feminist ideas with interesting results.

The festival aims include counteracting the misrepresentation of women, supporting women filmmakers, and bringing fresh perspectives, stories and experiences of women to a wider audience through film.

The most recent festival included screenings, talks, a short film

competition and a panel discussion.

One of the speakers at the Feminist Film Festival was Lelia Doolan, who is no stranger to stirring things up in terms of representation and misrepresentation.

Doolan famously resigned from RTÉ, in protest against their political policies. Doolan’s film Bernadette, Notes of a Political Journey, was screened at the Feminist Film Festival to a packed out audience, and is an absolute must see.

She is now, along with Tracy Geraghty, building a cinema in Galway.

“Right now, if you want to see an Irish-made film you mostly have to make a three-hour drive to Dublin,” Doolan says.

The Picture Palace is due to open soon, with some kitting out of the space left to do. Doolan recently co-curated an event with a group MNÁ 2016, where four Irish films made by women were shown, alongside talks from such greats as Hilary Dully, Anne Crilly, Margo Harkin and Pat Murphy.

This gives a glimpse into what to expect for the programming when the Picture Palace opens its doors. Promising!

Doolan was the first female artistic director at the Abbey Theatre, her influence there must have waned after she left, as recent events would imply. At the end of 2015, with the announcement of the Abbey’s centenary programme, it was glaringly obvious that women had been overlooked. Only one out of the ten plays in the programme was written by a female.

When the issue was raised, the director of the theatre, Fiach Mac Conghail responded with a very dismissive “them’s the breaks”.

This phrase is now the very apt title of a feature documentary which is currently in production. The documentary, directed by Sarah Corcoran and produced by Sarah Barr and Aoife Kelly, follows the heartwarming events that unfolded after the unveiling of the Abbey’s centenary programme. Masses of women got together, and through various meetings and actions, demanded the recognition they deserve within the arts.

Sarah Corcoran spoke about what drove her to make this film: “Once we saw the passion erupting from the Abbey stage and its audience members back in November, it seemed like an obvious choice to make the film.”

She continues to explain: “As a majority female team of filmmakers, we’ve a vested interest in addressing gender inequality in the Arts. Since #WTF, we’ve already started seeing a spillover into other areas such as the Irish Film Board announcing their six point plan to address the gender imbalance in Irish Film, and we’re passionate about the impact it will inevitably have”.

When asked what advice she’d give to other filmmakers Sarah

recommended “to go along to as many female driven film events as possible and meet like-minded people who might be interested in pursuing a film project with you.”

She mentioned two well received events in particular. The first a Q&A at ADIFF with director Rebecca Daly about her second feature, Mammal, which received accolades on its cinema release. The second was a screening of Robert Altman’s 3 Women, followed by a critical conversation between artist Jesse Jones and Alice Butler of the IFI and Karla Healion of Feminist Film Festival.

Two timely and interesting women-helmed projects took place this year. The first is Terminal by Natasha Waugh. A topical short film about two women who meet in an airport as they travel to England to receive the healthcare they cannot get in Ireland. The second is The Betrayal, by Kamila Dyndna and Natasha Waugh, it is a short drama about LGBT relationships and online harassment.

The Betrayal has the backing of a DCU based research group specialising in sexuality studies, EROSS.

Natasha had this encouragement for aspiring female filmmakers: “We’re fighting the fight, and have a long way to go but its not all bad. There is plenty of positive discussion happening on this at the moment. It’s a good time to try and turn a negative into a positive, so be part of change, be vocal and proactive.”

One opportunity to do just that was at Deep Focus: Women in Film Festival at Triskel Arts in Cork in May. Programmed by Fiona Hegarty, Naoimh Ni Luanaigh, Tara Brady and Chris O’Neill, the festival brought “the finest feature, documentary and short films from around the world [by] female directors who tackle a wide range of subjects with unique and distinctive voices”.

O’Neill says: “It is not only timely but also long overdue to be hosting a festival dedicated to female filmmakers”.

The festival opened with a screening of The Violators from novelist turned director Helen Walsh. Starring Lauren McQueen as Shelly, a parentless teen trying to get by in a dreary Cheshire housing estate. Women are making spaces for themselves in Irish cinema and as a result Irish cinema is becoming a more welcoming place for women. This reflects wider trends that show films directed or produced by women tend to have more women in the crew overall.

It’s not just about getting women jobs either (while that is important), it’s all key to women’s voices and experiences being better represented in wider society. And let’s not forget that having new voices and experiences can only lead to fresher, more diverse and more interesting cinema.

WOMEN ARE MAKING SPACES FOR THEMSELVES IN IRISH CINEMA AND AS A RESULT IRISH CINEMA IS BECOMING A MORE WELCOMING PLACE FOR WOMEN.







IN MANY WAYS IRELAND PUNCHES ABOVE ITS WEIGHT WHEN IT COMES TO DANCE MUSIC. STRUGGLING AGAINST RESTRICTIVE LICENSING LAWS, EXORBITANT RENTS, HARSH DRUG POLICIES AND A GENERAL IGNORANCE OF ELECTRONIC MUSIC AND CLUBBING BY THOSE IN OFFICIALDOM, THE SCENE IS STILL KICKING. HOWEVER, YOU COULD GO OUT EVERY WEEKEND AND NEVER SEE A WOMAN DJING. JAMES BEGGAN CHATS TO TWO COLLECTIVES CHANGING ALL OF THAT.

EVE began with a basement party in the South William Bar. Those involved had discussed the idea and the lack of women out DJing but hadn't acted on it before August 2015. Jess tells me:

"I wanted myself and my friends to be given a chance to show that we were worthy of the music 'scene' in Dublin - when you're first starting out as a DJ - whether male or female, it's very hard to get yourself noticed, especially in a small city such as Dublin where most nights already have their fill of residents."

The scene can be intimidating and those who take a step further to pursue their passion can find it difficult to get a hearing. Gash Collective is another initiative aiming to change it up. Gash was started on International Women's Day by Cork based producer ELLLL. Motivated by her own experience and that of others, she told us:

"It's been my experience that women in Ireland are both underrepresented and underestimated in electronic music. I was getting more and more frustrated with the massive gender gap in event lineups. Negative and undermining attitudes towards

women in the industry in general."

The situation in Ireland isn't unique and a look at festival and club line-ups or label rosters across the world doesn't make for pleasant reading. ELLLL spoke of how some international groups influenced her:

"Discwoman have definitely been influential and the success of other collectives across Europe too, Siren in London, Apeiron Crew in Copenhagen etc. The Female Pressure organisation was also a big inspiration behind the collective. The support and solidarity you get from being part of a network like that is very encouraging."

Of course line-ups are only the most visible part of the problem, having support structures and space to hone skills and taste is a huge benefit of a collective. For Jess:

"EVE has provided the girls who have played for it so far with more confidence in themselves as DJs. It allows us to explore our music properly and mature as DJs as we go along. Eve provides girls with a comfortable environment where they are able to take control of the nights that they are playing at which I think in itself is a confidence booster."

ELLLL also has similar hopes for those involved

in Gash Collective. Along with creating a community and doing gigs to showcase the talent out there, she wants to pass on the skills needed to get started.

"I want to set up DJ and production workshops to encourage girls to get involved. The numbers of girls involved in production and music technology in particular are worryingly low. Similar women's initiatives have shown great solidarity and approached me to work together with them to host events/workshops in the future."

Developing an alternative infrastructure along with a more welcoming scene and increased visibility is vital. However with that visibility, promoters are prone to propagating, as Nightwave and Lauren Martin have cautioned, the "Female DJ" gimmick. Collectives like Eve and Gash play a part in creating a new audience and expanding the scene, while also preventing others detracting from their ability. To that end, ELLLL says:

"I'm working on getting a series of mixes off the ground focusing on different DJs, producers, promoters etc. There'll be a feature about each person relating to their music and what they're up to on the GASH website too. We've also got a once

a month radio show starting on Radio na Life (last Saturday of every month)."

The response to both collectives so far as been really positive, however, there is definitely room for improvement, as Jess says:

"I think that more females still need to get booked to come to play in Dublin and I think that more girls should be given chances to prove themselves at the bigger gigs in the city. It's quite a daunting prospect getting up in front of a room of people to play music - which is already a very personal thing. But I think it is even worse for a girl as there seems to be this stigma attached to female DJs of 'can they do it?' and 'oh my god it's a girl DJ' when someone takes the time to look up and see who is providing the music."

Perhaps with new groups pushing the boundaries and demanding change, the makeup of Ireland's dance music scene is already shifting. Eve themselves have begun a 'takeover' in the Opium Rooms hosting an all-woman line-up. For Jess,

"This is a huge achievement - we have gone from practicing in our rooms to playing in one of the biggest clubs in Dublin in just under a year."



There's so much room for exploitation, for over-exposure, so much power implicit in the filming and in the edit....

CAOIMHE BUTTERLY IS AN IRISH ACTIVIST WHO HAS BEEN WORKING WITH REFUGEES ACROSS EUROPE. OVER THE PAST YEAR SHE HAS STARTED MAKING SHORT FILMS WITH AND ABOUT THE PEOPLE SHE HAS MET THROUGH THIS WORK. MOG KAVANAGH CAUGHT UP WITH HER TO FIND OUT MORE.

**Can you tell me a bit about the background to these films. Had you visited these locations before filming?**

Prior to exploring film as a medium, I had been working for over a year with those on the move. I helped to organise the logistics for small mobile medical teams in Greece, the Balkans and Calais and worked with solidarity structures while there as a volunteer interpreter and extra pair of hands.

I had also lived in Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon for over ten years, working with community development projects, so I speak Arabic- which was really useful in terms of trying to accompany (practically and emotionally) refugee and migrant communities.

Because of that, before going back to Lesbos to film *The Sea Between Us*, I had a good sense of the activists and volunteers I wanted to interview and during our time there we also met Ilham, Aisha, Sahar, Mohamed and all of the other folks who are featured in the documentary.

In the cumulatively fourteen years I spent working in Latin America and the Middle East, I have a total of six photos. I'd write about what I was witnessing, and about some of the incredibly strong, nuanced and brave community organisers I worked with, but a camera just felt too invasive. But over the past year, I've re-assessed that and have come to a place- within myself- that recognises that if done from a place of solidarity and accountability, it can be a powerful medium for archiving, providing a platform for more in-depth reflection, for advocacy and for enduring solidarity.

**What made you want to share these stories?**

The injustice of the situation. Witnessing the response of EU member states- which has had cohesion only around a policy of militarisation of borders and containment of people- it was so clear that these policies have direct causality with the deaths of thousands of people who have drowned or suffocated in the backs of lorries because of a lack of a safe and just means of passage. I also was deeply frustrated by the one-dimensional framing and portrayal of those on the move- either as objects of threat (in a right-wing narrative) or as subjects of pity or grief. I wanted to build a visual space where the multiple subjectivities of people on the move could be glimpsed- both as vulnerable victims of circumstances and conflicts that they had no control over but also as strong, enduring, nuanced, deeply compassionate survivors. And as an intersectional feminist, my focus was on trying to give a platform to some of the powerful women we met along the way, and subtly challenge reductionist stereotypes while doing so.

**There are some very intimate moments in these films, could you talk a bit about the ethics of capturing such moments on film versus the importance of documenting them?**

I sent the first and second cut of both films to everyone interviewed for both to get their feedback before doing the final cut. Their response was, in Samar's words "We laugh and cry and laugh and cry everyday in this situation- it's our reality". I got permission from all those in the footage to use the two boat landing scenes of *The Sea Between Us* and the closing scene of *The Border* (where Samar is crying for a few seconds before she speaks of their endurance and resolve and demand for freedom of movement and the right to live in peace). At the time of the edit I thought it was an important context to build for the interviews that followed- a glimpse of the distress in order to convey how powerful their strength, composure, humour and fragile hopes were as they spoke.

It's a fine line though. There's so much room for exploitation, for over-exposure, so much power implicit in the filming and in the edit. It was something that as, a solidarity activist I was deeply conscious of and as an archivist/rookie documentary-maker I was on a learning curve with. I hope- and believe- that the consent and trust relationship went beyond the interviews- in peoples' long distance participation in the edit.

But, having said that, I re-edited *The Sea Between Us* last week into a 22 minute version and cut out the seconds of vulnerability and just focused on the strength of the interviews. And that's the version I'll be screening, so my own jury is still out on whether even consent for footage to be used is enough. I now have long-distance friendships established with those featured in the four films and am trying to support them in terms of legal and solidarity networks where they ended up- in countries of destination or in limbo in camps in Germany. So, perhaps they don't feel the same confidence they might have with a more conventional journalist to say that they only want to be framed in their resilience, not their pain- because of the friendship and humble support. But I hope, if I continue with film as a medium, that the trust built up allows participants to be honest about their own boundaries, in terms of how they're represented and how they represent themselves. Self-agency is fundamental and is something that I hope was felt throughout.

**How has the reception been so far?**

Very positive. I think in a context where those on the move are oftentimes only portrayed in such a highly-mediated, reductionist way, having the time to sit and hear the hopes and frustrations and strength and pain that people carry with them, impacts viewers. That was the intention at least- to provide a visual platform for the stories of those making these incredibly difficult journeys and those working in solidarity with them to be better understood. And hopefully that witness can be used to raise awareness, widen empathy and catalyse more practical, enduring solidarity- with those seeking refuge and the humiliation they face- and also with the undocumented, those living through the injustice of Direct Provision and those struggling against ongoing racism in other contexts.

Look up *The Sea Between Us* on Vimeo.






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By Brian Burke

A RUDE AWAKENING FROM THE NATIONAL BROADCASTER HAS LEFT OUR HERO IN A TIZZY, AS HE REALISES THAT HE IS THE FOCUS OF A NATIONWIDE MANHUNT FOR "THE MAN WITH TWO PINTS," ONE OF WHICH ENDED UP BEING DEPOSITED OVER THE TAOTSEACH'S HEAD. WHAT'S MORE, HE HAS JUST REMEMBERED HIS MONDAY MORNING DOLE MEETING...

FUCK!

CAN'T YOU CALL IN SICK OR SOMETHING?

THEY GROW UP SO FAST...

NOT TOO FAR UP THE ROAD...

THE FUCKING PISS? ALREADY???

PHEW! THANK FUCK!

GET IN, YOU FUCKING LINGER.

JESUS BAL YOU SEEK LIKE YOU'RE IN AN AWFUL FUCKING RUSH. WHERE YOU OFF TO, LIKE?

EH, NAVAN ROAD. THE DOLE OFFICE.

YOU'RE COMING WITH ME.

AH, FOR FUCK'S SAKE BAL YOU'LL DO NO SUCH THING. YOU FUCKING SCROLLING FUCKING CUNT.

take five

01

CONNOLLY SHOT GLASSES

Carroll's brand of sheep clutching, flat cap wearing Guinness swilling leprechauns is hardly going to turn its eye to the rising with any sensitivity. If chocolate bar proclamations weren't bad enough, one can only imagine what our lost labour leader Connolly would have thought of his mustachioed visage ending up emblazoned across a cheap shot glass. Well we don't have to wonder too hard, Connolly was an avowed pioneer and so dismissive of the demon drink it's believed he legged it to the states in 1903 sickened by his comrades wasting subscriptions money on liquor.

02

THE MAYO TAPESTRY

You might have forgotten that awful banner strewn from the Bank of Ireland on College Green but we haven't. We christened it the Mayo Tapestry on social media, after all Kenny's bloody own Department ordered it. The banner, which featured a range of constitutional nationalists like Henry Grattan, Daniel O'Connell, Charles Stewart Parnell and John Redmond, provoked confusion and conniptions among even those of us that spent most our Junior Cert carving Mitsubishi symbols into the desk. What's so cash innu about this whole charade? Well, it goes to show what a racket those bastards in power are running. That's your cash monies being wasted with revisionist nonsense shoring up their rule.

03

THE BUTCHER'S APRON

Those that went out in 1916 did so in a fiercely desperate attempt to rid Ireland of the presence of the Butchers' Apron. From Connemara lamb to Fermanagh Black Pig, butchers all over the country were shamelessly cashing in on the blood of those shed to sell on a few auld sossies. €19.16 for a leg of lamb? These victuallers really have made mincemeat out of our heroes memory. With all this talk of blood sacrifice, these cash-ins cut a little too close to the bone.

04

TOPAZ

Ambiguous posters adorned Topaz stations throughout the country with a caption reading "1916-2016 celebrating the beauty and heritage of our land and the achievements that shaped modern Ireland". How do we even begin deciphering this cryptic message? Topaz of course are experts in signifying one thing and doing another, all very neatly encapsulated by their greenwashed branding. To some, Topaz the gemstone is associated with healing and friendship, so what better name to give to a fossil fuel extracting multinational! In this light, we can take their 1916 message to read "TBH, we don't give a fuck about 1916, just stop here and spend some money, bitches."

05

CONNOLLY ON AIB

James Connolly would have loved for the banks of Ireland to be nationalised. So, imagine a 1916 era republican, ushered away on the eve of the rising to our shiny present. The very thought of seeing Connolly's image on the very building where rebels seized a telegram machine and told the world of the republic. Surely this heralded the victory of the people over the financial institutions. Hardly. Imagine explaining to this quantum leaping soul, that true the bank has been nationalised, yet to the backdrop of a bailout and the socialisation of private debt by NAMA.

TMSV

"Neither Rua nor TMSV are messing around at all right now." - Juno

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# Responsible Types

THE PROTRACTED PANTOMIME OVER GOVERNMENT FORMATION HAS SOMEWHAT OVERSHADOWED THE GRAVITY OF WHAT OCCURRED IN FEBRUARY'S GENERAL ELECTION. WITH REGIME SUPPORT AT HISTORIC LOWS, OIREACHTAS RETORT LOOKS AT HOW SOME MIDDLE GROUND COMMENTATORS CONTINUE TO DISMISS THE MOVEMENT AGAINST IRISH WATER.



As soon as ballot boxes opened in February it quickly became clear that voters had delivered a kick in the teeth that neither politicians nor their media priests had predicted. The result genuinely came out of the blue for Ireland's ruling class and we should be proud that none of them could attend 1916 events with their head held high.

While most of us settled into a blissful 70 days of no government, the future of Irish Water quickly emerged at the centre of political horse trading. A fact that was met with utter disbelief by the very same individuals and organisations that called the election so wrong. For most of 2015 the only people raising the issue were those opposed to charges. With an election looming, the government were keen to avoid Irish Water, hoping spin around the budget and recovery would see people fall back into line. While media feasted on controversy around Siteserv, they did little to acknowledge that the scandal only came to light because of our movement. The Eurostat ruling and boycott came as hammer blows but even as late as February, public broadcaster RTÉ failed to include any question of water in their TV general election debates.

The pro-abolition majority since elected to Dáil Éireann remains scarcely reflected in the media. Joe Duffy went into overdrive while newspapers published dozens of identical whiny columns with no counter view. It should come as no surprise that most commentators found in their heart more righteous anger over the potential abolishment of water charges than they ever mustered in opposition to austerity. We have seen a slight of hand where, invariably, it is government being faced down by ordinary citizens, rather than the manner in which Irish Water was established,

that is branded as "everything wrong with Irish politics". That several commentators also framed government inability to impose measures on an unwilling population as "a failure of politics" is telling. This misdirection passes for serious analysis. The official script remains the same with absolutely no consideration for the questions our movement has posed.

On the more sensational side the general theme is "wah wah, why are we still talking about water when there is homelessness and a broken health service". This refrain has been repeated across hours of broadcast, opinion columns and letters pages. Part of this is motivated by finding themselves on the losing side and part is an unspoken unease that voters were dictating the political agenda. Underlying all of this though is the fear that protesting works.

Irish Water had been the centrepiece of a grassroots movement that was pivotal not just in annihilating the government but in reshaping expectations for years to come. This fact remains carefully unacknowledged however and even before the fate of charges has been settled, the counter revolution has begun.

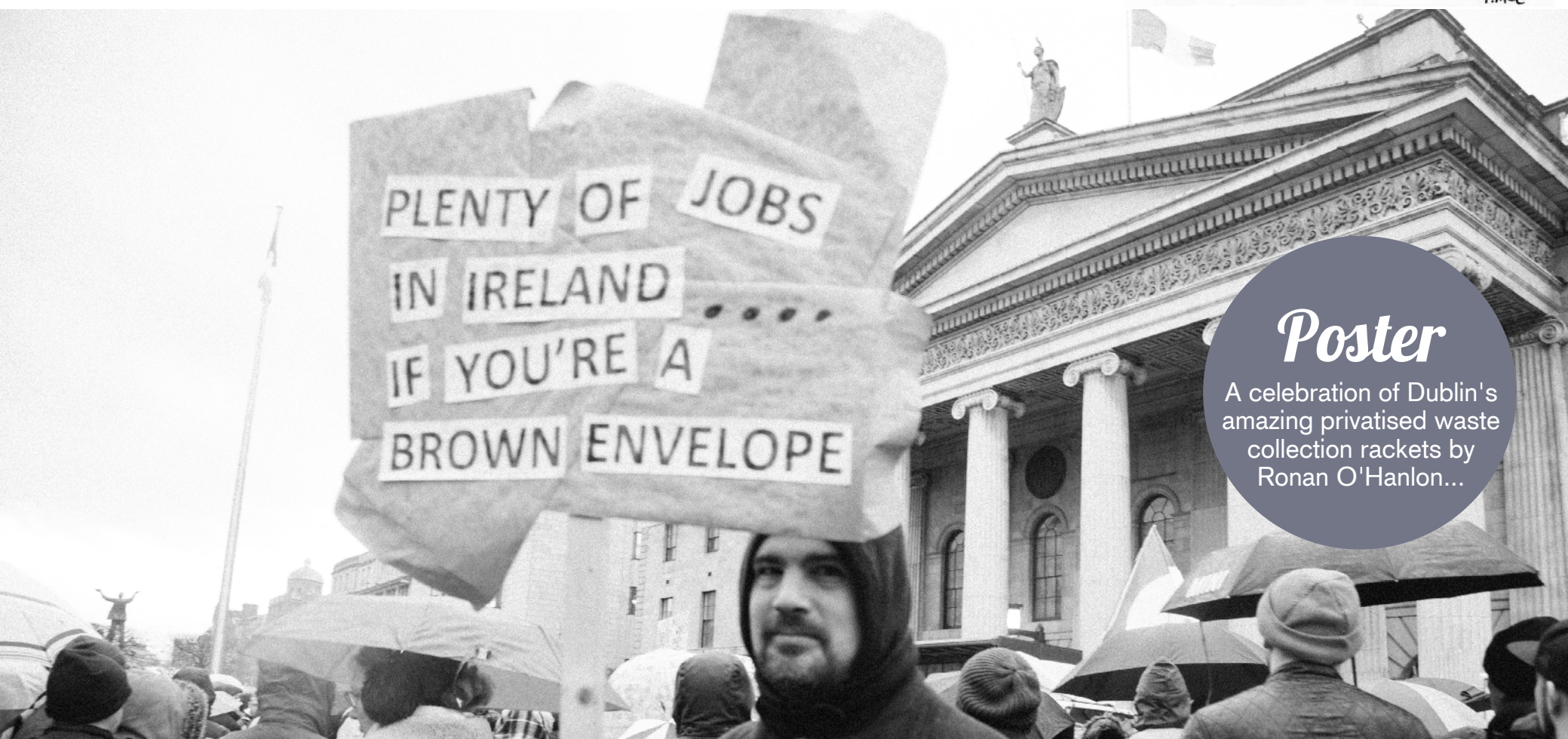
The intention is to divide people by playing on ignorance, fear and slander. Alternatives are dismissed as populism because the opposite of course is continued elitism. There are those intent on the continued plunder of resources and rights of those who live here but they cannot succeed without the compliance of a soft middle who are appealed to as mature adults while infantilising protesters, their demands and politics, as nothing more than an unruly tantrum.

Supporters of the regime seek to paint themselves as responsible, as informed, as law abiding democrats prepared to stand up and do the

right thing in contrast to the feckless ne'er-do-well rouges of protest rabble. See most recently when the European Commission leaked a statement for RTÉ to spin before Lynn Boylan had a chance to publish her work. Olivia O'Leary on radio claimed paying her bill was itself a protest at how the country has been mismanaged. These people have quite literally just been betrayed by Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil on the issue but carry on believing the fairytale about upgrades, affordability and no privatisation. Fools and their money are easily parted and as we head into a sham consultation period it will become evermore clear that the primary objective, far from conservation or public service, is to establish a revenue stream that can be extracted on the pretence of water.

So to the adults we say this. There is nothing clever about complying with Irish Water. There is no reason to believe, given the details of its establishment, that Irish Water was going to work even if it was intended to. There is no evidence that Phil Hogan, Denis O'Brien and a team of parasite consultants are on a mission to save the environment. There is nothing responsible or reasonable about carrying on with a fiction when in full position of the facts. No credibility with awareness of in whose interest this state is run that Irish Water is going to be different.

These same responsible ones did not see the protests coming. These informed ones did not see the election coming either. Having continued to delude themselves in an effort to deceive us, these reasonable people are only opportunistically waking up to what has happened in housing, in health, when the rest of us, having withstood the coercion of politicians, media, gardaí and masked security men, already see the same coming for water.



## Poster

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