**Preface to Gaeilge edition of *Psychoanalysis and Revolution***

'The dust will not settle in our time. And when it does, some great roaring machine will come and whirl it all sky high again' Samuel Beckett, 1956

The world is still in shock from the whirlwind pandemic. The manifesto proposed by Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar in *Psychoanalysis and Revolution* sees another world is possible and proposes the radical potential of psychoanalysis as a 'valuable tool' to respond to the 'shock capitalism' that feeds off the very pandemic crises that it created. Between Manchester and Mexico, sending each other drafts, Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar wrote this manifesto in lockdown. Insofar as it is not the only key text to be written under the form of some form of internment, we can make a comparison to Freud's late writings in Vienna before he fled to London from the Gestapo, Gramsci's underground Prison Notebooks, de Beauvoir and Sartre writing in occupied Paris, or even Trotsky writing in his hideout in Mexico before his murder in 1940. We can suggest that writing under such restrictions can also be translated as the impossibility of 'quarantining' the unconscious.

This manifesto is not just for the seasoned psychoanalyst or Marxist scholar but concerns and is written for us all, navigating the theory while avoiding colonising the territory with obscure psychoanalytic jargon, separating the fruits (meaning) from the labour of the reader (worker). However, there are some essential psychoanalytic tools for the reader to conceptually embrace. The manifesto talks about four key concepts of psychoanalysis: unconscious (*an neamh-chomhfhios*), repetition (an t-athfhilleadh), drive (*treallús*) and transference (*aistriú mothúchán*). Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar use the word 'subject' *(abhair)* rather than 'individual' to refer to a person. 'Individual' implies our subjectivity is not only locked in its individuality but is separate from the influence of a symbolic socio-political system. The authors, however, see the 'subject' as sharing a language and what distinguishes us is how our unconscious is shaped by the conflicts and contradictions we experience. We can be both determined and divided from each other by 'history, culture, ideology and economics'.

The colonial capitalist system *(frithchaipitlíocha*) creates 'inner' and 'social' conflicts that reproduces symptomatic expression through a 'repetition (*an t-athfhilleadh*) of sometimes self-defeating and painful patterns'. It is patriarchal ideology that attempts to discursively harness this conflict to further control subjects, enforcing 'the power of men over women and of older men over younger men' while propelling a culture of hate and fear for any form of sexuality that is not 'heteronormative' as something shameful and to be repressed. From subjects to socio-cultural events, history repeats through the enslaving of signifying chains and returns us to the place of trauma. The authors' manifesto points out that those power relations can reappear inside the clinic as what psychoanalysis call 'transference' *(aistriú mothúchán*). They speak of the liberating aspects of psychoanalysis, not to promise total freedom but to illuminate the obstructions to freedom. The task is to re-connect the personal and political dimensions of people's lives. In a similar spirit to Marx, to not only interpret but to transform!

However, the book points out that psychoanalysis can run the risk of becoming a mere 'world-view' or, in a Foucauldian sense, an idealised form of truth/knowledge. Were this to

occur, it would become part of the psy-complex of psychology, psychiatry and psychotherapies. The authors critically highlight how these individualistic modes of conceptualising symptoms only further pathologises and isolates the person. The psy-therapies arguably now perform a similar function to that of religion as the 'opium of the people' that served industrial capitalism in the mid-1800s as a way to mystify people away from the real issues of bad working and living environments while absolving powerful institutions from crucial scrutiny. In a similar way, in 20th century Ireland, religion and the Church was used as an ambivalent ideological auxiliary to the State to create what Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar refer to as the 'repressive and patriarchal normalization of desire'. Ireland has experienced a significant turbulence of ideologies, oppression, racism and sexism that not only reverberates today but is re-possessed and virtually transmitted by international BigTech organisations such as Twitter, PornHub and Facebook that are based in Ireland.

Ireland has its own history with psychoanalysis and socialist ideas. In the early 20th century, there was an early rejection of psychoanalysis by the Irish psychiatric community while it was more socialism that took root. Marx sympathised with Ireland against imperial Britain as contributing to the Great Famine (*An Gorta mór*). The famine not only caused millions to die and emigrate; the Irish language (*Gaeilge*) was also decimated. However, it could be argued that the slippage of the Irish language had been coming from the mid-1700s with the rise of the Industrial Revolution around the world. It is believed that Irish remained the majority tongue as late as 1800 but became a minority during the 19th century, as English was seen a more economically efficient way of doing business. The anglicisation of sustained colonial pressure undermined the authority of a Gaeilge culture, an important part of Irish nationalist identity. The consequences of this loss for the Irish psyche foreshadowed a revolution (*réabhlóid*), rebellion and much bloodshed in the 20th century.

The Gaelic revival in late 19th-century Ireland coincided with a fermenting nationalism that ultimately led to the Rising of 1916. It was James Connolly, a Scot with Irish roots whose image adorns the book's cover, who nurtured the blossoming of such socialist ideas as class equality and feminism. Connolly was shot by firing squad for his part as one of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Revolution, but his stamp on the Proclamation document that was read out at the beginning of the Rising was also undeniable in its speaking of 'equality', 'unfettered control of destiny', 'freedom' and 'independence'. His ideals were less nationalistic than his strategy for a synthesis to free the people of Ireland and mobilise Irish workers to end not only British imperialist capitalism, but Irish capitalism. The forms of oppressive institutions that serve the ruling class are similarly highlighted in this manifesto where people are 'colonised by ruling class values and ideology'.

When Ireland overthrew British rule, it was partitioned, and the six counties that make up 'Northern Ireland' still remain under British rule. At that time, the new Irish Republic was never in greater need of an identity, though for most people – and to the considerable regret of Connolly's supporters – it was not the Irish Gaelic language nor a socialist workers republic but the ruling class that took over from the British. One of the leaders of the Civil War, Michael Collins, expressed in *Pathways to Freedom* how our internal life too had become an expression of English civilisation, in which, having destroyed our language and given us their own, the English cursed us so that we became its slaves. But Collins was not

entirely right. The Irish have retained the sounds, rhythm and structure of the Irish language (*Gaeilge*) and have moulded the language of the oppressor into a distinctive new form.

This manifesto is concerned with the nature of language that we inhabit as human beings, understood as 'the ground of our being'. For the Irish, there is confusion similar to the melancholic experience of an ambiguous sense of not knowing what exactly was lost. The desire for the forbidden object has withdrawn, and melancholy stands for the presence of the object itself, deprived of the desire to speak Gaeilge. This may account for the resistance of some Irish to learn Gaeilge, as has been described by many, and which I myself found a torturous experience in school. The speaking of Gaelic was forbidden and banned from being taught in schools in 'Northern Ireland' for much of the 20th century. We can consider this and the denial of equal rights as a factor in the horrendous violence in the Troubles during which over three and a half thousand people died, including 1,800 civilians and the hunger strikers in the Maze prison where the prisoners began to learn and speak in Gaeilge to communicate with each other, needing this native language as a form of survival. There is still no Irish Language Act and it is the only place on the island that does not have internal legislation to protect it.

Psychoanalysis struggled to take a secure foothold in Ireland in the 20th century but enjoyed fruitful growth in the 1970s with the translation of Lacan's seminars from French by Cormac Gallagher and students of the unconscious that solidified the transmission and practice of Irish psychoanalysis. The French psychoanalyst Charles Melman claimed that the Irish know in their bones their experience of not speaking their native tongue and that the lack of the paternal signifier, the Name-of-the-Father, affects how the subject takes up a position relating to their desire and distorts the core of subjectivity of masculinity and femininity. This can result in the absence of regulation of a drive that runs through our bodies 'in an unconscious dynamic that is out of our control'. Gallagher himself considered the loss of the Irish language was something that needed to be on the agenda of analysts working in Ireland. The simple act of thinking and speaking about repressed truth is what makes us who we are. But it can be in the language that is used that can make all the difference. Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar speak about the apparatus of patriarchal power as being transmitted through discourses. If we consider the English word 'husband' it signifies patriarchal privilege, yet the Gaelic term '*fear céile*', literally 'together man' and it speaks more of a partnership based on equality and 'each otherness'.

There is not so much a Gaeilge revival stemming from the Gaeltacht regions or that being taught by the Church in a theocracy but this text hopes to join a revolution (*réabhlóid*) of new Gaeilge colloquialisms emerging from different parts of the island; a hip-hop scene (Kneecap) in the North, films (*Ciúnas* [Silence]; *Arraght* [Monster]), poetry and literature. To re-weave this work into the Gaeilge language is not to be used as a political weapon like the revolutions of the past, repeating loaded traumatic signifying chains, but for the language to create new portals for an alternative way of being; new creative ways to name and communicate with each other; new connections with nature in the wake of an ecological crisis. The word for 'home' in Gaeilge, '*sa bhaile*', does not mean 'home' in the sense of house but has a more Heideggerian resonance of 'home in the world'. Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar remind us 'we are part of the ecologically interconnected nature of this world and connected to each other, responsible for each other'. This, as they claim, is at the heart of

psychoanalysis. Before the dust settles and the machine whirls us back into ideological prisons, through this manifesto, we now know we can strive for a world in which psychoanalysis is possible but unnecessary.

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