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## American Irish Newsletter - August 1991

American Ireland Education Foundation - PEC

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# AMERICAN IRISH NEWSLETTER

AMERICAN Irish Political Education Committee

Volume 16, Number 8

August 1991

NEWSBITS by Kathy Regan

"In the fiscal year just ended, official figures show that it cost 5,912 million pounds to fund Northern Ireland. The figure is expected to go to 6,422 [million pounds] next year and excludes the cost of keeping the British army there . . . That cost is projected to be 206 million pounds, but excludes wages . . . The cost per prisoner in the north is between 65,000 and 80,000 pounds. The running of Long Kesh cost 42 million pounds in 1989-90 - most of the money going on wages and salaries to prison service employees . . . While government withdraws resources from areas such as the National Health service, education and transport, more and more money has gone to maintaining the status quo in Northern Ireland. And for what? More to the point, for how long more?" (Irish Post, 6/6/91).... **Taking a leaf** from the book of Americans who introduced shareholder resolutions to press social justice concerns, nationalists in Belfast are planning to exercise economic pressure on companies which discriminate against them in employment. Oliver Kearney, Secretary of the Equality Working Group which published the *Directory of Discrimination*, stated, "It's clear that determined and united action from within the community is now essential to make any significant impact on this continuing abuse of human rights . . . We know we can have little influence on the most notorious discriminators such as Harland and Wolff but we can certainly squeeze building societies and banks which still boast management structures are over 90% Protestant" (*Andersonstown News*, 5/18/91).... **A plan has been decided on** to exert economic pressure on employment discriminators. A spokesman for the Equality Working Group stated, "Particularly bad offenders will be singled out for attention. We will probably write to them to ask what remedial action they intend to take to redress the religious imbalance in their workforce. If their response is unsatisfactory then we could institute a plan of action against the offender and call on the entire community to support it" (*Andersonstown News*, 6/1/91).... **Collusion between the security forces and paramilitaries is still rife**. . . In the past few days, hundreds of sensitive RUC documents have been discovered on a rubbish tip [bin] in a loyalist area of Derry. Last night they formed part of a World In Action investigation into charges that members of security forces were still passing information to loyalist paramilitaries (Irish News 6/18/91).... **In October 1989**, Barry Murray was held for seven days at Gough Barracks and did not speak to the RUC during this time. Yet, in court, the RUC produced statements (unsigned) which Barry Murray was alleged to have made while in custody. An electro-static document analysis (ESDA) test (the test which proved that confessions in the Birmingham Six case had been altered) showed irregularities on around eight pages. The judge, Mr. Malachy Higgins, stated that the notes presented by the RUC were "genuine" and said, "I am satisfied that there was no malevolent or sinister element involved in the rewriting of certain pages." That November, on the basis of these uncorroborated notes, Barry Murray was

Continued on page 2

## THE PEC HAS MOVED

Please note our new address

American Irish PEC

Fairgrounds Plaza,

Route 9W

West Haverstraw, NY 10993.

Our telephone # is the same (914) 947-2726

## PEC LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

The June 29 PEC Leadership Conference proved to be very successful. Two new programs were initiated that will certainly enhance both our work and effectiveness: an *Annual Campaign Committee* to help enhance our fundraising activities, and the development of a *Telephone Chain* for use nationally. It was also agreed to consider a regional conference to take place in the American southwest and to develop presentations for our Speakers' Bureau. Also, as a result of the conference, we are considering instituting a PEC office in the southwest to organize and coordinate activities in the western half of the US.

Members interested in assisting the *Annual Campaign Committee* should contact committee chairperson Matthew Zebatto, 225 First St., Apt. 3J, Mineola, NY 11501 or call (516) 873-8023.

How the *Telephone Chain* works is explained on page 3, *The PEC Telephone Chain*. We urge all members to read this article and to become part of the chain. The chain will enable the PEC, through its members, to mount a quick national response to pertinent issues when needed.

## PEC IRISH HERITAGE FESTIVAL

Sunday, August 25, 1991

Gates Open 10 am - Close 7 pm

Location: *Marian Shrine*

West Haverstraw, Rockland County, New York

Entertainment includes: 3 top Irish American bands, cello music and dancing, Irish Theatre, Irish Fashion Show, bagpipe music, presentations on Irish and American Irish history, and more.

Food, soda, beer and wine available at reasonable prices.

Buses will be available from Manhattan and the Bronx. For information on buses call (212) 364-3935. For information on the festival call (914) 947-2726 or write AIPEC.

Admission: \$6 per adult; \$4 for senior citizens; children under 12 accompanied by parent FREE.

PLENTY OF FREE PARKING

**FROM THE EDITOR**

*In the June Newsletter's From The Editor we stated, "The current talks in Northern Ireland offer the British government the best opportunity they will ever have for an honorable solution. If the Loyalist power-brokers say "no" to total equality for their Nationalist fellow countrymen, which we believe will happen (we hope we are wrong), Britain will have every right to wash its hands of the whole situation and declare its intent to withdraw. People of good-will world-wide will support Britain in such a move..."*

*The talks did fail and only because the Loyalist power-brokers refused to accept the Nationalist community's God-given right to equal rights.*

*We now urge the British to take that honorable step, to declare its intent to withdraw, to begin the process of democratization in Northern Ireland and to enforce its existing civil rights laws.*

*Once Britain declares these honorable and just intentions, opposition to democracy and equal rights in Northern Ireland would begin to crumble. Certainly the main body of Loyalists in Northern Ireland are not going to violate the law as they are law-abiding citizens. Those fanatics who would violently oppose justice would quickly loose any support they have. They would be terrorists with an unacceptable agenda and would be condemned by the civilized world.*

*We can all help pressure Britain through the European Community ( see Action Letter on page 6).*

**NEWS BITS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1**

sentenced to 18 years for possession of a cache of explosives he says he knew nothing about. An appeal was scheduled for May 22. However, "Police have admitted to the wife of Barry Murray that records of his disputed confession are missing...Mary Murray said, "As soon as we applied for and got permission from the Court of Appeal to do more ESDA tests and introduce it as new evidence the original interview notes disappeared. Therefore, we are being impeded from going ahead with the case. I want to know who had custody of these notes after the trial and why were they not kept in a secure place?" (Sunday News 5/5/91).

**Unionist councilors are guilty of maladministration and injustice in their ban on advertisements in the Andersonstown News.** Consequently, due to the two year ban, the *Andersonstown News* lost advertising revenue. The Council must pay the paper at least 4,000 pounds and resume advertising immediately (*Andersonstown News*, 6/29/91)....**In 1981** people throughout the world protested England's intransigence in the case of the Irish hunger strikers. Lech Walesa said Bobby Sands was a great man who sacrificed his life for his struggle. . . The East German ambassador protested at the foreign office in London and handed in a note which compared the situation in Northern Ireland with that in South Africa. . .5,000 people marched through Milan declaring "British Out". . .Sixty Portugese MP's signed a document denouncing what had occurred. "Hunger for Freedom Killed Bobby Sands" was the front page headline in Portugal's leading daily newspaper. . .In Paris there were demonstrations on eight successive evenings. . .It fell to Iran to make, perhaps, the most effective protest of all. President Bani-Saddr sent a personal message of condolence to the Sands family. He also ordered the Iranian Ambassador in Sweden to attend the funeral. The Iranian Parliament changed the name of the street in which stands the British Embassy in Tehran. Henceforth it was to be Bobby Sands Street -- and so it remains (*Irish Post*, 5/11/91)....**Re the talks:** "The problem is that the unionists have no negotiating skills, since they never had to negotiate with anyone; and they have nothing to

**The American Irish PEC**

**founded 1975**

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 Vice-President.....Albert Doyle  
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**American Irish Newsletter**

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negotiate about since they are determined to keep all power themselves and not share anything with their fellow citizens . . . Even the slightest concession to their fellow citizens would be looked on by their followers as a betrayal. They would lose votes if they acted democratically . . . The unionists are a small, vocal minority in Ireland, huddled into the northeast of the country, who have been encouraged by British force to delay the creation of democracy in this country as long as they can" (*Andersonstown News*, 5/25/91).

**HELP THE PEC RAISE FUNDS**

There are many ways members can help the PEC raise funds: selling raffle tickets for the same raffle advertised in this newsletter; run a dance or a cocktail party, etc. If you would like to help, please contact Matthew Zebatto, Annual Campaign Committee Chairman, 225 First St, Apt 3J, Mineola, NY 11501 (516) 873-8023.

**FROM THE NORTH**

by Rev Des Wilson, Director of Conway Mill, Belfast

When the British army killed Fergal Carragher at Cullyhanna in Co Armagh and wounded his brother Michael, people asked for a public inquiry into the matter. The British government refused.

But that did not mean there would be no public inquiry.

Towards the end of the nineteen seventies people in West Belfast had made their judgement about British government inquiries. Many times such inquiries were refused - and if they were set up, they proved to be whitewash operations. Someone asked the question, Why should the people not set up their own public inquiries?

And they did.

During the next few years public inquiries were set up not only by government but by local people. They examined Education, Unemployment, the killing of Sean Downes, the economics of West Belfast and other areas. There were as many public inquiries organized by local people as there were "initiatives" by the British government.

These public inquiries were short of money and other resources. Often they did not need much - the people of West Belfast were able themselves, without bringing in experts from abroad, to discuss every aspect of their education and to make suitable recommendations - recommendations which neither church nor state implemented. The one British minister who listened and insisted that the department of education should also listen and do something about what the citizens recommended was Lord Melchett, whose young years and generous spirit could not accept the corruption of the Northern Ireland system.

For Ireland in the seventies this kind of inquiry - organized by the people on their own initiative - was something new. There had been an attitude of subservience to authorities which, looking back on it now, seems to us archaic, superstitious and corrupting. As a result, the people in areas like West Belfast got more refusals from government to their requests for public inquiries than any other people in Europe - and more public inquiries organized by themselves than any other people in Europe.

So when the Carragher killing was committed by the British Army and a public inquiry refused by the government, it was natural that the people of Cullyhanna should organize a public inquiry of their own.

It was the best organized, most sophisticated, most competent public inquiry ever created by local people since the late seventies.

It is not quite correct to say that the people of Cullyhanna organized the inquiry. The Irish National Congress (INC), along with the local Justice Committee and local householders, farmers, business people, workers, organized it. International contacts were taken care of largely by the INC, local arrangements by local people.

Lawyers came from other parts of Ireland, from the United States and from foreign European countries, England, France, Germany. The media had to attend because even they could not ignore the event. The *Irish Times* and *RTE* did just as much reporting as they had to. The media coverage in general, however, was good and did not require much cooperation on their part in any case. The inquiry was conducted with dignity and competence. Actors re-enacted the killing of Fergal Carragher on the actual site where the killing occurred.

Whatever may be the results of this public inquiry organized by the people of Cullyhanna and their friends, it is now clear

that for every act of tyranny by bad government, the people are still able and willing to create a remedy. The price they have paid in order to keep their dignity in the face of tyranny has been immense.

But after so many years of cruelty by bad government, the people of Cullyhanna and their friends showed that the dignity and competence of Irish people will in the end defeat the greed, incompetence and cruelty even of the last remaining tyranny in Europe.

**THE PEC TELEPHONE CHAIN**

The purpose of the *PEC Telephone Chain* is to link interested members into a network and thereby increase the quantity of letters sent and telephone calls made, in response to the PEC's targeted requests.

While many of the actions taken by members of the Telephone Chain will be in response to messages recorded on the *PEC Telephone Hotline* (914) 429-7849, some actions will be taken in response to urgent situations that occur such as the recent Amicus Brief for Joe Doherty and the controversial Alien Terrorist Removal provision of President Bush's proposed Crime Bill.

The telephone chain has enormous potential for influencing our legislators and will provide many of our members throughout the US an opportunity to take important actions on a timely basis. It will give us real clout.

We realize that many of our members cannot afford to regularly use the *PEC Telephone Hotline*. Through the telephone chain each member would not be required to call the Hotline. A member would call the Hotline and record the message. He or she would then activate the telephone chain in their area passing on the Hotline message. Members of the chain would then write their letter or make their call. It is as simple as that. There are built in checks to assure that the chain is not broken. The member calling the Hotline is known as the **Primary Contact**.

On occasions when an immediate action is required, when the *Telephone Hotline* would not be used, the primary contacts will receive a phone call advising them of the situation and message. They would then pass on the message as though they called the Hotline.

Just think! One phone call can set off a chain reaction across the United States.

**We need you to become a important part of the *PEC Telephone Chain*.** To do so, send your name, address and telephone number(s) to Kathy Regan, 3045 Grand Concourse, Bronx, NY 10468 or call (212) 365-0213. If you would like to be a **Primary Contact** (the person who calls the *Telephone Hotline* and activates the local telephone chain, the person who would receive a phone call in urgent situations), please indicate that fact when contacting Kathy Regan.

**USE THE PEC TELEPHONE HOTLINE**

**An effective way to generate democratic action concerning issues relative to Northern Ireland.**

The Hotline is a 24 hour service. The messages, which are brief and repeated, change every Sunday night. The Hotline can be used by individuals and organizations.

**HOTLINE NUMBER (914) 429-7849**

## A PLEASANT SURPRISE

by John Finucane

In April 1991 several members of the PEC took a bus tour of New Orleans. The tour was conducted by Magnolia Tours out of Biloxi, Mississippi. One of the attractions visited was the Irish Monument which is located on the sight of the old New Basin Canal and, as it is the result of letter writing, it was quite a pleasant surprise.

The Canal, under construction from 1832 to 1838, was a successful effort to create, for the newly arrived Americans, an alternative to the Carondelet Can which was not only the sole access available to the Gulf Coast trade, but was controlled by the long-established Creole community. Built by Irish immigrants, the canal enabled the American community to sever economic and political ties with the Creoles and is considered to have been a project of greater difficulty than the Panama Canal due to the lack of technology at the time (Fleming, *The American Irish*, 69-70). For example, according to journalist Georgia Fleming, Irish workmen "dug the canal with hand shovels, excavating more than half a million cubic yards. Lacking dynamite, they used hand axes on the huge old cypress trees along the route."

Historians claim that from 8,000 to 30,000 Irish immigrants died of cholera and yellow fever contracted while building the canal, thousands of whom were buried where they fell. The conditions under which the canal was built were deemed so unsanitary and harmful that "slaves were considered too valuable to risk under such unhealthy conditions" (Fleming 69).

In 1946 the by-then unused canal was filled in, with the exception of a twenty-block area, to make way for an expressway which was completed in 1961.

In 1986 the New Orleans City Council wanted to sell off the remaining twenty-block area of the New Basin Canal for commercial development. The Council's proposal was objected to by a small but determined group of local citizens.

The group did not want the property developed. Instead, they proposed that it be left as a park and that a monument be erected there in honor of the thousands of Irish immigrants who died while building the New Basin Canal.

So the battle began. Letters of support were needed. In 1986 the New Orleans group contacted Georgia Fleming of the PEC and requested that an Action Request (our letter writing

campaign via the Newsletter that extends to all parts of the country) be placed in our Newsletter urging support for the Monument. Our members and the local community responded diligently. The City Council backed off and agreed to erect the Monument and to preserve the area as a park.

The tour guide commented that the New Orleans City Council received a lot of mail from all over the country, evidence of the extensive reach of our Action Request Program.

**Although a bit late, we congratulate our letter writers for doing their share to protect our interests.** The democratic process works when we work together!

Ed. Note: The story of the building of the New Basin Canal appears in our publication *The American Irish*, 88pp, \$2.95 + P&H. To order, use multi-purpose coupon on page 6.

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## CAN YOU BELIEVE IT?

by Sandy Carlson, Reporting from Ireland

On June 14, Cork's *Evening Echo* carried an "exclusive story" alleging Provisional IRA links with drug barons in Dublin who were trying to move into Cork. The same story appeared verbatim the next day in the *Cork Examiner* as part of a larger story on the same subject. "Security sources" were cited only once to confirm "that a bitter power struggle is on between the five main drug gangs who operate in Cork." However, according to the Republican News (AP/RN), when it challenged the *Echo's* editor, he said that the *Echo* had lifted the story from that day's *Irish Independent*.

On the same day, the *Examiner* carried two stories regarding a missing Englishman, living in Kerry, who was a former drug dealer. One story, a feature-style interview with the missing man's wife, extraneously linked the issues of the missing man and the Northern conflict by including the point that the wife, a former drug user and now a born again Christian, prays "for drug dealers and for the terrorists in Northern Ireland."

Aside from the almost verbatim stories carried in the *Echo*, the *Examiner*, and the *Irish Independent*, (although Vincent Power wrote the Cork stories and Tom Brady wrote the *Independent* story), another similarity between the stories is the dearth of specific source citations. Power's sources are "security sources" and the Gardai. Statements initiated with "it is believed . . .," "the fear is that . . .," and "there is growing evidence . . ." have no source cited. Brady's sources: "security chiefs on both sides," "one security source," "investigators," and "customs drug sources." Both articles refer vaguely to Provisional IRA activists and Loyalist paramilitaries, as well as "Dublin drug barons" without mentioning names. Such citations make independent investigations and the right to reply impossible.

According to Brady, "For years, British anti-terrorist detectives in particular have been trying to link the Provisionals with drug smuggling but have failed . . ." According to AP/RN and Sinn Fein, this is the only statement in these stories which is true.

The challenge, which is part and parcel of confronting the media about this blatant black propaganda, is that the challenger will immediately be smeared as a "Provo supporter" -- not a "truth in the media" supporter. So effective has Britain's insidious anti-Irish propaganda campaign been that anybody genuinely interested as a seeker of the truth will be stigmatized and dismissed as an anti-British paramilitary, and such is the effect that disinformation goes unchallenged.

**Ed Note:** *This kind of British propaganda via the American media has effectively kept many concerned Americans from supporting the campaign for human rights in Northern Ireland.*

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## PRESIDENT BUSH POST CARD CAMPAIGN

We now have available for all members post cards addressed to President George Bush. The message on the post card is as follows: "Please use your good office to promote the reunification of Ireland. Without your help Ireland will be the only unfree and divided nation in Europe."

It is important that there be a constant flow of mail to President Bush. The post cards will help do this.

**Every member can help get these cards signed!** Members can order cards for their family members, relatives, friends, business associates, fellow workers, or for signing at organization meetings or at public functions such as festivals, dances, etc. Every member can use them. It only costs 19 cents to mail a post card and yet they will be effective.

**HOW TO ORDER POST CARDS!** If you want just a few cards, send a self-addressed envelope with postage affixed. If you want a large number of cards send a small donation to help cover the cost of postage (4 cents per card). Write to AIPEC at Fairgrounds Plaza, Route 9W, West Haverstraw, NY 10993.

**Every member is urged to participate!**

# AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL NORTHERN IRELAND REPORT

by Albert Doyle,

Vice President, American Irish Political Education Committee

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Amnesty International (AI) is undoubtedly the leading human rights organization in the world. It has over one million members and generates substantial contributions to further its 30 year-old work, described as "an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of all prisoners of conscience, fair and prompt trials for political prisoners and an end to torture and executions." It is accredited with the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe and other international groups.

In the past those people concerned about British abuses of Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland and Britain have had difficulty in getting AI's attention -- and this difficulty included the large U.S. branch of AI. In recent years the London headquarters of AI, through its British branch, has produced a number of reports on these abuses -- including the subjects of killings by security forces, "Supergrass" trials, ill-treatment of prisoners and the SAS Gibraltar murders.

Given the international stature of AI it was thus a significant step when, in June 1991, AI's country report, "*United Kingdom - Human Rights Concerns*" focused strongly on British abuses in Northern Ireland and against Irish people in Britain. Activists on the subject have long been aware that the common perception of ordinary Americans that the British system of criminal justice was "fair" and that the only complaints were by "terrorists" or "men of violence" were not only untrue -- but spectacularly so. In fact, the British criminal justice system is antiquated, crude, heavily biased against defendants (even British defendants) and backward as compared to other democratic countries. In the case of Irish defendants the system is corrupt. It is indeed impossible for an Irish defendant to receive a fair trial in Britain, particularly if accused in a "terrorist" case. It is the outworking of a historic anti-Irish, anti-Catholic bias in Britain -- exhibited at the lowest level by the offensive "Irish jokes" ridiculing Irish people -- and at the level of the "ruling classes" (and make no mistake, Britain is ruled by this class) in the incredible bigotry and incompetence of the judiciary. In what other country could a judge dismiss a well documented claim of abuse of prisoners to obtain confessions, as did Lord Denning in the case of the Birmingham Six, by closing his eyes to this "appalling vista" since to entertain the claims would imply that "the system" was corrupt and this the good Judge simply could not even contemplate. Worse yet, what of a system which did not get upset at this action? See *Nothing But The Same Old Story -- The Roots of Anti-Irish Racism in Britain* (available through American Irish Awareness Comm \$3.95 + \$2.00 P&H, use multi-purpose coupon on page 6).

The AI report (available from AI, 322 8th Avenue, New York, NY 10001 at \$6) if nothing else, by its publication of the dreadful record of abuse, should put to rest the "few bad apples" theory that these abuses are only aberrations in an overall fair system. They established beyond a doubt that they are the system of British rule in Northern Ireland.

It is not possible to give a complete synopsis of this 66 page report in this space. Some of the topics covered are as follows:

*Systematic ill-treatment of detainees* -- The report concludes flatly, "that existing procedures and safeguards are inadequate to prevent the ill-treatment of detainees". The record is overwhelming -- beatings are routine and no one is ever punished for abusing prisoners. The system protects its own.

*The Unfair Trial* -- The denial of legal advice to detainees and convictions on the basis of uncorroborated but contested confessions are found to be wide-spread, as is the failure to provide relevant information to defense lawyers. This writer experienced

this personally when visiting with Patrick Finucane, the murdered lawyer, in Belfast. The Guildford Four, Maguire Seven and Birmingham Six cases are examined. AI's U.K. branch took a stand in these cases during their appeals.

The disgraceful "Supergrass" system is examined critically, noting that although 64 of the 65 persons convicted in these cases were acquitted on appeal, some had spent up to five years in prison -- which could have been the reason for the trials in the first place.

*Killings by security forces* -- This section of the report stops short of alleging a "shoot to kill" policy on the part of the British, as has been widely claimed, calling only for an "independent judicial inquiry." However, the special limited inquest rules in Northern Ireland are strongly rebuked and specific killings, including the murders in Gibraltar, are detailed.

Finally, the recent claims of collusion between the security forces and Loyalist paramilitaries and Britain's shocking record of derogating from European Community human rights directives is criticized.

Interestingly, although the report covers England, Wales and Northern Ireland (a separate report on Scotland is underway), it seems significant that by far the greatest number of criticisms are of official action in Northern Ireland and concerning Irish defendants in Britain, itself evidence of Britain's lower standards of justice where the Irish are concerned.

Some human rights activists, including AI members, have criticized the AI report as being "too little, too late". Indeed AI was slow to look into Northern Ireland. In the past the efforts of human rights proponents were rebuffed on the apparent grounds that the victims were not "prisoners of conscience" but were ordinary violent criminals. However, this seems to be changing. At the recent AI USA Conference in Washington, thanks to the efforts of Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four, and Professor Francis Boyle of the University of Illinois, it appears that there will be follow-up activity by AI USA.

It should also be noted that AI's London headquarters took another major step in April this year when they intervened in the Joe Doherty case. Mr. Herve Berger, Deputy Secretary General of AI, wrote a strong letter to US Attorney General, Richard Thornburgh, protesting against the actions of the US government in denying Joe Doherty's claim to an asylum hearing on the grounds of "foreign policy" considerations -- grounds clearly understood to be the Administration's political position of doing whatever the British want on Northern Ireland matters. The letter said that the executive veto of a hearing on foreign policy grounds was a "dangerous precedent".

As a human rights organization AI is fearless, honest and respected. Their support can be of great value in getting the question of British human rights violations in Northern Ireland heard in the wider American and world arena. We welcome their assistance in this campaign for justice.

**SUPPORT JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND**  
**SUPPORT THE AMERICAN IRISH**  
**POLITICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE**

For information call 800 777-6807 or write: American Irish Political Education Committee (PEC), Fairgrounds Plaza, 18 Route 9W, West Haverstraw, NY 10993

Published August 1991 by the American Irish PEC

## CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

by Stephanie Finucane

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By the end of the 1950s, the economy of Northern Ireland, based on agriculture, engineering (including shipbuilding) and textiles, was in decline and unemployment was rising rapidly in both the nationalist and loyalist communities. According to author Michael Farrell, in his book: *Northern Ireland: The Orange State*, "the number of insured employees in agriculture went down from 21,400 in 1950 to 13,100 in 1961, in textiles from 72,800 in 1951 to 56,300 in 1961, and in shipbuilding from 24,200 in 1950 to 20,200 in 1961".

Such dire economic straits only aggravated the already sectarian and regulated unemployment rampant in the nationalist community. Discrimination against the nationalists in jobs existed since the inception of the Northern statelet in 1920, which was only to be a temporary arrangement before the six-county statelet rejoined the rest of Ireland. Examples of the prejudiced attitude of the Unionist leadership of Northern Ireland can be found in the following statements: in 1934 the Northern Ireland Prime Minister Lord Craigavon said in the Stormont (NI) Parliament: "The appointments made by Government are made, as far as we can manage it, of Loyal men and women" (McCormack, V. and O'Hara, J. *Enduring Inequality: Religious Discrimination in Employment in Northern Ireland*). Of course, "loyal" meant Protestant/Unionist because the control of Northern Ireland has always been in the hands of Protestants loyal to Britain since Britain can ensure their privileged status in a society based on haves and have nots. Similarly, in 1964 Unionist senator Barnhill stated: "Charity begins at home. If we are going to employ people, we should give preference to Unionists".

With such attitudes coloring the policies of the government, it is no wonder that in Antrim in 1951, of 257 nonmanual government employees, 16 were Catholics. This means that, although 22% of the population in Antrim were Catholic, only 7.8% of the Catholic population was employed. In the same year in Derry, of the 206 nonmanual employees, 16 were Catholic. Again, 46.5 % of the population were Catholic, yet only 12.7% had jobs (McCormack and O'Hara, 19).

Therefore, when the economy was in decline in the late 1950s, it was the already jobless nationalist community that suffered the most and were laid off first. In 1961 Unionist barrister Robert Babington advised employers on how to ease the unemployment crush for Loyalists: "Registers of unemployed Loyalists should be kept by the Unionist Party and employers invited to pick employees from them. The Unionist Party should make it quite clear that the Loyalists have the first choice of jobs" (Farrel).

Government initiatives, which involved paying out "55 million pounds in grants and subsidies between 1955 and 1961" (Farrell, 228), were useless and did not reduce unemployment. By December of 1964 the government based its economic policy on the Wilson plan which aimed at attracting foreign companies to set up industries in Northern Ireland so as to absorb the unemployed. This "450 million pound plan" was determined to create a mega city out of the adjoining towns of Lurgan and Portadown in North Armagh, "to develop seven other towns as industrial growth centers, to undertake a massive road-building program including four motor ways and a 35 million pound ring road for Belfast, and to build a second University at Coleraine".

At first the outcome was successful: large international companies like Michelin, Goodyear, Du Pont, Enkalon, ICI and Courtaulds set up shop in Northern Ireland. Also, economic power was shifting from old-established family firms, (Unionist-controlled), to new American, British and continental firms. The shift was evident in the political change that tended to move away from sectarian Unionism. Best of all was that the new firms did

not discriminate against Catholics like the old family firms did. However, this came as a threat to the Loyalist working class who began to feel insecure of their and privileged status.

The Loyalists, however, did not need to worry for the new economic policies actually worsened the state of the Catholic community in the long run. Northern Ireland already had an economic imbalance between the East (Fermanagh, Tyrone and Derry) and Newry in the South, and the West (Antrim, Down and North Armagh, within 30 miles of Belfast). It was the West and the South, primarily Catholic, that "suffered from consistently higher unemployment and emigration than the East" which was overwhelmingly Loyalist.

As stated above, the mega city was to include Lurgan and Portadown, towns in North Armagh in the East and mainly Loyalist and to serve as an alternative for capital investment to Belfast, an already "congested and unhealthily overdeveloped" area (Farrel, 240). Yet these two towns are within a 30-mile radius of the "overdeveloped" Belfast. Likewise, the road-building operation involved four highways etc., for Belfast, in the East; the second University was to be built in Coleraine, "a solidly Loyalist town in North Derry". Meanwhile, Derry city already had a University, but it was an "old-established," in other words, Unionist-oriented center of learning. Similarly of the seven other towns chosen to be new "industrial growth centers," Derry was not among them. After much protest over leaving Derry out, it came out in the wash that the "Derry Unionist Party had lobbied against their own city because investment and development would swell the already growing Catholic majority to such a size that no gerrymandering could keep the city in Unionist hands". Thus, as Michael Farrell writes, the "Catholics in the West had to watch while investment and industry poured into areas of virtually full employment, while their depressed areas declined even further". Even in the East Catholics did not benefit from the industrial growth. Cordoned off in ghettos in West Belfast, the Catholics not only continued to suffer from an unemployment rate consistently higher than those of the nearby Loyalist areas, but were powerless as none of the new industry would be constructed in depressed West Belfast.

When the civil rights movement emerged in 1968, the job situation for Catholics had intensified. As Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four, reflects in his book *Stolen Years: Before and After Guildford*, when he first entered the work force at fourteen years old in 1969, "the opportunities were few. Unemployment in West Belfast was always high, even in relatively good times, and jobs for Catholics were hard to find. What work was available was as unskilled hands in the mills, as porters. . . as casual laborers on the docks . . . I heard there was work at the Ulster Linen Company at the top of Roden Street off the Donegal Road, but one glance at the building told me that it would be impossible to work there. Union Jacks fluttered threateningly from the windows, and the walls were daubed with anti-Catholic obscenities". The dire state of unemployment drove Hill to seek work and a better life in England. Little did he know what discrimination and injustice lay in store for him there.

In 1991, more than 20 years after the civil rights struggle began, civil rights still have not been achieved by the nationalists.

**JOIN OR SUPPORT** The American Irish Political Education Committee (PEC). For information call 800 777-6807.

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**BRITISH KILLING OF FERGAL CARRAHER**

by Sandy Carlson

On December 30, 1990, British army soldiers attached to the Royal Marine regiment opened fire on the car Michael Carraher was driving and Fergal Carraher was riding in. The soldiers killed Fergal and severely wounded Michael. The security force statement issued at the time reported that Michael had driven through a checkpoint, hit a soldier with the car, and carried another soldier some distance on the hood of the car. However, the same security forces were on duty the next day. In addition, Michael Carraher was never charged with these acts, although the RUC questioned him two days after the incident, as he lay in the intensive care ward of the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Civilian witnesses deny the official account of events. One witness who had been waiting in the checkpoint queue testified at the independent public inquiry of June 22-23, 1991 (at which a representative of the American Irish Political Education Committee was present) that he heard the soldiers, after the shooting, say, "Did you get a kill?" "I think so." "That's a nice one, nice one." Other witnesses have testified that one soldier indicated to Fergal Carraher the two were free to go after Fergal had spoken to him. Other witnesses corroborate this submission that the Carraher car was waved on. Witnesses say the car had pulled away at a normal speed and was immediately fired on without any warning from the soldiers.

The independent public inquiry was organized by the Cullyhanna Justice Group (local people dissatisfied with the government's handling of the matter) and the Carraher family, along with the Irish National Congress, in an effort to determine the truth about the circumstances of the shooting. "This public inquiry is a community taking on the private role of an attorney general because of the alienation of the community at large from the official judicial system," according to the Cullyhanna Justice Group. All eyewitnesses, the Dublin government, the RUC, and the British Army were invited to participate in the inquiry. However, the British government in all its civil and military manifestations have declined the opportunity to be represented. All representatives of the southern government and the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs failed to send an official representative.

The principle purposes of the inquiry are to examine the facts and circumstances surrounding the Army's extra-judicial killing of Fergal Carraher and wounding of Michael Carraher and to consider all the relevant circumstances or events pre-dating the killing and wounding. The jurists conducting the inquiry will examine the relevant laws of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland which relate specifically to the operation of the security forces in Northern Ireland.

The British Army killing of Fergal Carraher and injuring of Michael Carraher was not an isolated incident; indeed, since John Stalker's (1986) investigation into Britain's shoot-to-kill policy in the North, 68 more civilians have been killed by the security forces. Therefore, an important aspect of the inquiry is its examination of the system which allows state summary executions to go on unabated and all but ignored by the British and Irish governments. Fr. Raymond Murray made this important point in his testimony: "If the main motive and objective is to save human life, it seems fruitless to inform the RUC who themselves pursue a 'shoot-to-kill' policy and allow the British Army to take human life with impunity. The anger aroused in the people when the security forces of the state engage in ill-treatment or killing outside the law, and then protect themselves by lies, can lead people into using violence, with disastrous results for themselves

and the whole community. The Government of the United Kingdom is deaf to pleas for justice and fair play. In its report of June 1991 Amnesty International had called for an independent inquiry which should look into the legislation and regulations governing the use of lethal force, as well as into the procedures used to investigate disputed incidents. The Government of the United Kingdom has constantly refused to do this."

Without such an inquiry -- and without the active, vocal, united objection of the world community -- state intimidation will continue. In testimony submitted to the inquiry, Martin from Glassdrummond (near Cullyhanna) tells of how he was harassed by the RUC because they wanted him to work as an informer: "We can just set you up, it's very easy done. We can say you drove through the checkpoint like Fergal.' He says just before I was leaving, 'We'll have you back here in a short time unless you do what we want you to do in between.' When I was leaving they said, 'We'll see you back in here,' and he says, 'if not, we'll see you in Craigavon Hospital, in the morgue.' So I was released."

The emotional and psychological impact on a community of such harassment, abuse, and murder, however difficult to quantify, must not be underestimated. This British-orchestrated and instigated emotional devastation is the crux of the Irish national crisis. The only effective catharsis can be a removal of the source of the problem: the British-employed security forces. But the first step must be a concerted international effort to make clear to the British that their intolerable abuse of the Irish people cannot continue, that they can no longer ignore the protestations of the Irish people.

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**FROM WASHINGTON**

**US Rep Ben Gilman**, co-chairman of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on Irish Affairs, has advised us that the Senate has removed the "alien terrorist removal" provision from the Crime Bill (we congratulate all members who participated in this campaign)...Rep Thomas Manton expressed his disappointment today about the breakdown of the talks in Northern Ireland. In a statement, Manton and fellow Ad Hoc Committee Co-Chairmen **Hamilton Fish, Jr** and **Ben Gilman**, expressed their regret that leaders of the Ulster Unionist party and Democratic Unionist party seemed determined to sabotage the talks designed to end direct British rule in Northern Ireland. Manton said, "The Committee believes it is particularly unfortunate that the talks have ended without resolution given the ongoing human rights violations in Northern Ireland."

The Bipartisan Ad Hoc Committee commended Amnesty International for the recently released "*United Kingdom Human Rights Concerns*." "The Amnesty Report confirms what the Ad Hoc Committee has contended for years. Individuals in Northern Ireland have far less protection of their human rights than people in any other places under British rule. The Ad Hoc Committee Co-Chairmen concur with the Amnesty Report's view that the safeguards designed to prevent ill treatment of suspects by police in Northern Ireland have failed and there are insufficient protections to prevent unlawful killings by British Security Forces. For years, the Ad Hoc Committee has heard testimony from eyewitnesses, relatives and friends of the victims of the brutal security forces...We have also worked to free innocent people like the Guilford Four and the Birmingham Six who have been convicted through unfair trials of crimes they did not commit. Unfortunately, until now, these victims stories have been downplayed and discounted by many who believed the British Government beyond reproach. Now, an independent international human rights monitoring group has corroborated their stories..."

**ACTION REQUEST #1**  
**This is an important request!**

There will certainly be one major embarrassment to the European Community when it officially forms in 1992. That embarrassment will be the ongoing violation of civil and human rights in Northern Ireland and the continued partition of Ireland. This embarrassment will be compounded by the fact that many Eastern European nations are demanding and getting their independence from Russia. The European Community has the democratic responsibility and right to demand the same from Britain, and end to civil and human rights violations in Northern Ireland and an end to the division of Ireland.

All members are asked to write to Monsieur Jacques Delors, President of the Commission of the European Communities, Rue deLa Loi 200, B-1049, Brussels, Belgium. Members and organizations are asked to make this a **priority and continuing** campaign. Letters from the American community will certainly have an impact. Ask your family, friends, business associates, etc. to do the same.

For your convenience we provide the sample letter below. We urge that you rewrite the letter in your own words, or simply rewrite it as is. *(Be sure to affix an overseas air mail stamp.)*

address & date

Dear President Delors:

I respectfully urge that the European Community take a positive and active role in ending British human and civil rights violations in Northern Ireland and that it seek to end the British colonial presence in Ireland. Justice and democracy cannot be served as long as Britain remains there.

Sincerely yours,

---

**PEC ANNUAL DINNER DANCE**

*Honored Guests*

**Paul Hill of the Guildford Four &  
Elizabeth Logue, IAUC & Doors of Hope**

**Bishops of Tappan**

**Saturday, October 26, 1991**

**Tappan, in Rockland County, New York**

We are privileged to announce that the 1991 recipients of the PEC's Outstanding American Award will be Mr. Paul Hill of the *Guildford Four* and Mrs. Elizabeth Logue, executive officer of the *IAUC* and Director of *Doors of Hope*.

Tickets are \$40 per person (\$400 per table of 10), which includes: Hot & Cold Buffet from 8 to 9 PM, full course Prime Rib Dinner and Open Bar from 8 PM to 1 AM.

Music by

Jimmy McPhail & The Regals

Make your reservations now!!!

For reservations or further information call (914) 947-2726 days or (212) 365-0213 or (914) 947-2998 evenings.

**SURVEY RESULTS**  
**A Professional PEC Presence In Washington**

We thank all of you who responded to our recent survey concerning AIPEC having a professional presence in Washington, DC.

The vast majority of respondents: support our funding of a professional presence in Washington, DC; will make a special annual donation to support it; and most would assist in helping to raise funds to support it. Some members who expressed support for the idea, stressed concern about unity (working with the IAUC and INC) and the availability of financial support to keep such an endeavor alive. Three members did not support it as they saw it as a threat to the Irish National Caucus. One person even suggested that we were planning to undermine the work of the Irish National Caucus.

Concerning unity, AIPEC has led the way in uniting activist organizations. The best effort yet to unite American organizations concerned about human rights violations in Northern Ireland was the formation of the Council of Presidents in 1985. The *Council* is a loosely-knit forum of national organizations that meets for the purpose of working together on our issues. It was the PEC that founded the *Council*. We will continue to promote unity when we establish our professional presence in Washington.

Concerning funding, we are fortunate to have several qualified members prepared to do this work on a full-time or part-time basis and they will not require a rented office space. Our only expenses will be a reasonable salary, telephone, etc. All other PEC functions will continue to be carried out from our office in New York. Before we commit ourselves to this undertaking, we would be certain to have enough funding for at least 2 years. Much of that funding would be private, from the business world, so that it will not take away from other organizations operating in Washington.

The PEC respects the work of the Irish National Caucus in Washington, but recognizes that the Caucus alone cannot achieve all that has to be done. The PEC representative would increase the effectiveness and influence of concerned Americans in Washington, and would not have to be involved with the day-to-day work of the PEC. Our representative's time would be spent entirely on educating and influencing our politicians and media people, and networking with other human rights organizations.

**SUMMER RAFFLE**

**Please Give Us Your Support!!!**

Enclosed with this Newsletter are five raffle tickets. The tickets cost \$3 each (five tickets for only \$12). The drawing will take place at our Annual Dinner Dance on October 26, 1991.

The prizes are: 2 round-trip tickets to Ireland from New York or Boston or \$1,000 cash, and 5 \$100 consolation prizes.

Please return the stubs and your check payable to AIPEC as soon as possible in the enclosed return envelope.

Thank you for your support!

(Purchase of raffle tickets is not necessary to enter raffle.)