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AMERICAN IRISH NEWSLETTER

AMERICAN Irish Political Education Committee

Volume 14, Number 9

September 1989

NEWS BITS by Kathy Regan

In the north of Ireland 25% of the population (the majority nationalists) are social welfare claimants and 32% of all households live on a weekly income of less than £75.00. Yet the cost of fuel, food, power, footwear and clothing is higher than in England, Scotland and Wales...There is one armed member of the state security agencies for every 69 civilians. These agencies have killed over 300 mainly unarmed people in disputed circumstances since 1969...In 1988, 8500 domestic homes and premises were searched-the highest number since 1973 when 7456 were searched. (Ireland-Information Fact File, 06/89)

The 'Independent Commission for Police Complaints', established amid claims that it would thoroughly and fairly investigate and prosecute any RUC officers against whom complaints were made, has published its first annual report...Despite receiving 1678 complaints in the first ten months of its existence, only three RUC members faced disciplinary charges (AIN-PEC 6/89)...A Northern Ireland Office security expert, Eric Dalzell, puts the total number of IRA operatives in Northern Ireland at between 400 and 500 men and women, about 150 to 200 of whom carry out missions, with the others providing support such as moving arms and gathering intelligence. In 1986, army force levels were raised to 10,000 soldiers. (That's a force of approximately 20 soldiers for each active IRA operative!) "IRA suspects receive nonjury trials. That practice was introduced in 1973. 'We were forced to do it by the reasonable world,' Dalzell says. 'We had juries being intimidated...coming up with perverted verdicts. The law was being made an ass of.'" (San Francisco Chronicle, 5/7/89) What is the law now? In Diplock Courts, one judge, appointed by the government and expected to enforce government policy regardless of the rightness or wrongness of a case, delivers verdict after verdict favorable to the government.

"In the 1980's broadcast journalism, particularly the BBC, has been subject to remarkable pressure...Margaret Thatcher stacked the Board of Governors. Prospective governors, not likely to endorse the government view were not appointed. Others who were likely to chime with No. 10 [Thatcher] were given positions...The finger moved to the Independent Broadcasting Authority. It was to be abolished. Its chairman was abused for his fair-minded defense of the Thames program Death on the Rock and replaced by a businessman who has in turn been given a minder, Lord Chalfont, who is noted for proclaiming that more secrecy is needed in Britain, not less...A government White Paper on broadcasting threatens to reduce very substantially the resources available to make programs...Now, a new Official Secrets Act is on the statute book, proclaimed by the Home Secretary to be 'charter for liberty'. It gives power to government which a judge recently said was 'not available this side of the Iron Curtain'...It makes many stories that were perfectly legal to report, illegal." (The Journalist, 06/89)

At a Time to Go! conference in London, Prionsias Mac Aohghusa, a journalist and president of the Gaelic League, said that Protestants in Ireland are Irish with absolute rights. "There can never be any question that they should leave Ireland en masse." A member of the organizing committee, Peter Hain, stated, "Protestants must be made to realize that they have something to gain from all this...They must be given reassurance that there is no question of them being trampled on or

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**MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL NOTICE APPEARS
ON LAST PAGE JUST BELOW YOUR
ADDRESS LABEL.**

URGENT APPEAL TO U.S. SENATE AND PEC MEMBERS

US Senators Christopher Dodd (D-Connecticut) and Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) have introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution #62 which simply asks that Joe Doherty be granted hearings on his claims for political asylum and bail.

Joe Doherty has been imprisoned in the US without criminal charge for over six years. The Attorney General has ordered him deported to Great Britain without permitting him a hearing on his claim for political asylum, despite the specific ruling of the highest level immigration court that he be entitled to such hearing.

US SENATORS - We urge that you immediately co-sponsor Senate Concurrent Resolution #62. **PEC MEMBERS** - We urge that you immediately write or call your US Senators at their Washington, DC or local offices and urge that they co-sponsor Senate Concurrent Resolution #62. Address is U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510 - central phone # (202) 224-3121.

As of 8\9\89 there were 76 co-sponsors of House Resolution #62 introduced by Congressman Tom Manton (D-NY).

MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES UPDATE

All members in all states are asked to write to Governor George Deukmejian of California. Inform him that you support the MacBride Principles Bill and urge that he sign the Bill, AB 2443, when it comes before him. His address is State Capitol, Sacramento, Ca. 95814.

The British Labour Party, Dr. Christopher McCrudden, an anti-discrimination law specialist from Oxford University, and the [Northern Ireland] Fair Employment Trust, among others, have labelled Britain's new Fair Employment Act a failure. The British Labour Party has withdrawn its support for the Act...Dr. McCrudden, one of Europe's leading authorities on anti-discrimination law, called the act "a propaganda disaster for the British government" and accused it of reneging on promises made to toughen the law and of weakening it in the House of Lords. Oliver Kearney, Executive Secretary of the Fair Employment Trust, echoed McCrudden's position and accused the Northern Ireland Department of Economic Development (DED) of the responsibility for the blunder which he predicted would happen...MacBride activists from Wyoming, Nebraska, and Colorado met in Denver, Colorado on July 15th for a training session conducted by Tom O'Flaherty, PEC National MacBride Consultant and New Hampshire State PEC Director. After much discussion and strategy planning, all felt that their state campaigns were off to a great start...Several MacBride campaigns are now being prepared for town councils in New York State. All members are urged to introduce MacBride initiatives in their town councils...ALSO, we need colleges and universities to adopt MacBride

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FROM THE EDITOR by John J. Finucane

An observation I made on my recent trip to Ireland is that citizens of the Republic who want England out of Ireland, and there are many, have but two choices of action available to them. Either they support the IRA and Sinn Fein or they do nothing. If they support the IRA or even Sinn Fein, they are labelled by the mainstream political parties and media as supporters of violence and are subjected to harrassment and even imprisonment. Naturally, under these conditions, the vast majority does nothing. There is no longer a moderate, nationalist voice on the political scene. They have no moderate alternative - no democratic organization similar to the PEC. What they do is organize on a temporary basis around issues such as extradition. Sinn Fein often takes an active role in these movements, sometimes frightening away other participants and keeping others from joining. When such movements finish their work, whether or not successful, they dissolve.

There is more than enough concerned people in the Irish Republic to build an effective membership organization, a part from the political parties, that can work through the Republic's democratic process in support of Ireland's reunification. They realize that it is not necessary to support the IRA to oppose British colonialism.

I have spoken to several leaders in the South who have indicated an interest in forming such a moderate and independent organization. They have to use the democratic process if they are to change the government's policy of weakness. The public support of the Irish government for Ireland's reunification is critical.

OFFENSIVE SITUATIONS

by Kevin P. Murphy, Massachusetts

Thanks to PEC member Joy Sands, it has been called to our attention that a popular mystery novel has some very anti-Irish stereotypes in it. The 1989 book, *Midnight* by Dean R. Koontz has several paragraphs on pages 113 and 114 describing Northern Ireland and Irish people. This is how the Irish were described, "A couple of years ago Tessa had been in Northern Ireland, making a documentary about the pointlessness of the needless violence there, and she'd been unfortunate enough to be at a cemetery, at the funeral of one of the endless series of "martyrs" - Catholic or Protestant, it didn't matter any more, both had a surfeit of them - when the crowd of mourners had metamorphosed into a pack of savages. They had streamed from the churchyard into nearby streets looking for those of a different faith, and soon they'd come across two British plain-clothes army officers. The mob blocked the car's advance, encircled it, smashed the windows, and dragged the would-be peacekeepers out onto the pavement. Eyes wild, faces distorted with hate, grief forgotten and bloodlust embraced, the mourners had tirelessly kicked the fallen Britons...Howling and shrieking, cursing, chanting slogans that degenerated into meaningless chains of sound, mindless rhythms, like a flock of carrion eating birds, like demons...Their faces were so wrenched with hatred that they no longer looked human". The segment is too lengthy to include in its entirety in this column, but in it the Irish are labeled as cannibal like sub-human creatures. This type of stereotype is similar to the evil propaganda of Hitler's Germany against Jewish people. **Course of Action:** Write to G.P. Putnam's Sons, 200 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016. Demand that the publisher apologize and cease at once this un-American bigotry. No other ethnic group would tolerate this and neither will the American Irish.

Member Eileen Brunetto informs us of another offensive situation. A recent edition of "House Beautiful Magazine" had an ad from the 3M corporation. The ad started with a photo of a very elegant table, "The Design is English", then the second caption and photo displays a glass of whiskey stating, "The stain is Irish", then the third photo and caption states the "Protection is Scotch". The Scotch refers to a stain removing product. **Course of Action:** Write to Mr. Allan Jacobson, Chairman of the Board, 3M Center, St. Paul, Mn. 55144 or call (612) 733-1110.

ALL OFFENSIVE SITUATIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO KEVIN P. MURPHY, PO BOX 8895, J F KENNEDY STATION, BOSTON, MA. 02114.

The American Irish PEC

founded 1975

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A SPECIAL APPEAL

FROM

**THE IRISH IMMIGRATION
REFORM MOVEMENT**

Please write the following letter to your US Congressman. A personal hand-written letter will be very helpful. Please have family, friends, relatives, etc. do the same.

Please reproduce & distribute this request

Your address & date

Honorable (your congressmans full name)
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Congressman _____:

I am an American voter of Irish heritage. I urge you to encourage Congressman Bruce Morrison, chairman of the Immigration Subcommittee, to enact immigration reform legislation which would legalize the undocumented Irish in the United States and which would make the immigration system accessible to the Irish again.

I would specifically like Congressman Morrison to enact recommendations that the Irish Immigration Reform Movement might make.

Sincerely yours,
signature

FROM THE NORTH

by Fr. Des Wilson, Belfast

Twenty years after the massive invasion of the streets in the north of Ireland by British troops in 1969, great claims have been made about political progress there.

In fact, progress has been reluctant, meagre and in many cases deliberately neutralized.

For example, when the British government granted votes to all in local government (councils) elections, it took away the powers of the councils for which the people were voting. Under the pro-British unionist regime the councils had power over education, housing, welfare, etc. After the nationalists got complete voting rights the powers were taken away, leaving only control of such services as leisure and cemetery facilities.

Similarly, although there were improvements to housing, much of this was done with money from the European community, not from the British government. At the same time the anti-Catholic pogroms continued, driving Catholics from mixed areas into ghettos which were under-industrialized, under-housed and overcrowded. In one area where the British government pours enormous sums into industry (East Belfast), the Catholic population has been reduced disastrously by continuing pogroms especially since 1969.

In the pre-1969 days the Catholics were without a voice in parliament, being condemned for ever to exclusion from government (as Catholics they were not admitted to the governing party in the one party state). Today, in what some consider an improvement, the British government recognizes 60-65% of the Catholics. But, since there is no government in the north, these Catholics have no say. Also, the British government refuses to listen, speak to, accept or deal with the elected representatives of 35-40% of the Catholic people who support Sinn Fein. Further, it has made it clear that this 35-40% will never have any say in government as long as the British regime lasts.

And the British government still upholds and supports

financially and militarily those parties in the north who adamantly refuse to allow these people any power in government. The best that will be conceded, they say, is that these Catholics share responsibility for government. That is to say, the rump Catholic population will be allowed to take responsibility for what government does, but will have no power to change it or influence it. Responsibility without power.

That such a suggestion should be made by the British twenty years after the holocaust in which more than 10,000 families were driven out of their homes is almost beyond belief. Decades of cosetting, featherbedding, and bribing have led the pro-British population in Ireland to believe that it need never give in to democracy. All they have to do is hold on and democracy will be delayed for another hundred years.

Meanwhile, total control of the Catholic education system at primary and secondary levels has been given to the Catholic hierarchy. This is a change too, from the old days when the Catholic hierarchy was fighting for the right to control Catholic schools. But like every gift from the British government, it has its price. One sign of dissent on the part of the bishops and all can be taken away as easily as it was given. Education, housing, industry are still more segregated than anywhere else in the European Community.

The most significant change that has occurred is one completely outside the wishes and the control of the British government - an enormous swell of public opposition in foreign countries, including Britain itself. It came as a shock to the British government to have the *Daily Mirror* say there should be disengagement, and to have an opinion poll say that over 70% of British people thought the same way. As former British army commanders (now safely retired) said the British could never have a military victory and as withdrawal became more and more a subject of serious public debate, the morale of the troops and the politicians went down and down.

Twenty years on, the British government has conceded extremely little and diluted what little it conceded. The people have are winning!

A SOUTHWESTERN IRISH LEGACY

by Georgia West Babb, New Mexico

Amid the Indian and Hispanic towns of New Mexico stands Moriarty, named after an adventurous Irishman, Michael Timothy Moriarty. Nestled in the Estancia Valley, the small town has played host to such impressive officials as the first territorial governor of New Mexico and several archbishops. Homesteaders and a railroad highlighted this once-lush valley. How did one Irishman leave a Southwestern legacy?

His story begins in Ireland, during the harsh potato famine. Moriarty faced an assured death if he remained, or a dubious future if he left. After witnessing the death of several of the Moriarty clan, he sailed to America in 1856 at the age of 18. His story is told through his daughter, Elizabeth Woodman, in her narrative, *My Life in New Mexico*.

Her adventurous stone-cutter father emerged from a ship and was soon employed constructing fancy cornice work. He first settled near Keukuk, Iowa, but the harsh midwestern winters brought on sciatic rheumatism. Upon hearing of the warm California winters he headed west, stopping in Las Vegas, New Mexico. In the spring of 1887 he rested there for a few days, pleasantly surprised to find his cane no longer needed. Railroad officials telegraphed Governor Edmund G. Ross, who in turn sent out his surveyor son to meet the white-haired Moriarty at Lamy, New Mexico. Wined and dined with a buckboard, a roll of bedding, and kegs of water, Michael Moriarty resolved to build a new life on this prairie.

Their father's enthusiasm swayed the family and the Iowa farm became a distant site. Moriarty and tribe journeyed by train to Lamy. From there the young family migrated in a "spring wagon, carriage style, and a fine team of horses." One seasoned cowboy declared that with so much style they would scare the antelope off the prairie.

Stories of Indian attacks abounded in those days and fear struck the young "tenderfoots" when they met about thirty gun-toting Indians, who conducted a thorough examination of the outfit. Moriarty spoke a few words of Spanish to them as they shook hands and patted the horses.

Unaccustomed to the high altitude, horses and people plodded along until clouds darkened the sky. Daylight slipped into nighttime as it began to rain and Moriarty confessed he was lost. Venturing a little further, someone spotted a dark object in the distance. After lighting a match and discovering a padlocked room, Moriarty agonized about taking possession of the house. The look on his children's faces convinced him to proceed.

When the Moriartys reached their destination, they discovered the surveyor had mistakenly numbered the land and surveyed it to someone else. As Woodman relates, "The lid blew off and Father was furious. He hunted up the surveyor and demanded to know why he did such a thing." The surveyor confessed he never expected to see the Irish easterner again. Moriarty proceeded to the Santa Fe land office and promptly

straightened things out with the surveyor general, Mr. Julian. Coincidentally, Moriarty had once saved the life of Julian's brother, a judge in Indianapolis, when a man drew a gun on him during an election day fight.

The Moriartys pitched a canvas tent and settled in their new home. Logs for their permanent home were cut and dressed in the mountains and snaked down by oxen.

An event near the ranch was a spring roundup. Three thousand cattle, their owners, cowboys in big sombreros with chaps, and lariats, all "worked like trojans" branding calves for several days. Three local ranches, Two Circle, Davenport Livestock Company and Stinking Springs (later changed to Sweetwater Hills) employed several hands, but two were especially fond of the Moriartys. "Happy Jack" nicknamed the Moriartys the "Majoritys" and teased another cowboy, "Sweet William", for courting Elizabeth.

These same big ranch outfits provided yearly dances for entertainment. The Moriartys (now successful sheep ranchers) orchestrated one in the 1890's, and the tradition of dancing until sunup lived on.

Between roundups and dances, the ranchers read diligently since mail delivery was unpredictable. Mail inched its way slowly into the small towns and was sometimes at the mercy of the elements or the animals. Burros once pushed open the post office door in Buffalo Springs and ate all the letters but left the newspapers, leading the postmaster to surmise that the burros did not care for the politics of the day.

Not all adventures took place in New Mexico. Moriarty had left the docks of Los Angeles and San Francisco at least six times to rescue family members. Upon returning to New Mexico the Moriartys were told that "It was so lonesome while you folks were gone. *Muy triste!* [Very sad]. Even the roosters did not crow, they were *muy triste* too!"

Changes were sweeping through the territory as railroad financiers and engineers met in the Moriarty home and formed plans, which included naming the town after their gracious host. In 1905, the New Mexico Central Railroad was completed and the first Post Office established. Michael Moriarty was the first postmaster and judge in the town boasting his name. The 117-mile railroad linking small towns brought a wave of homesteaders who rushed to complete the required houses.

In 1912, a prominent financier telegraphed Moriarty that the President had just signed the Statehood Bill.

The town was booming and incessant demands from newcomers increased the need for merchandise and services. Children needed a schoolhouse, and education had always been a priority with Moriarty, so he solicited donations of money, material and labor. In 1907, the school bell beckoned all pupils.

Michael T. Moriarty spoke Spanish with an Irish brogue and captivated many an audience. This bold rancher was unphased by the foreboding, untamed West. He served in whatever way he could be useful, whether it was through politics, ranching, or rescuing relatives in Ireland. "The Judge" lived to be 94 years old and is buried in Moriarty.

COUNCIL OF PRESIDENTS TO MEET WITH STATE DEPARTMENT

A tentative date for a meeting between representatives of the Council of Presidents of Major Irish American organizations and the US State Department has been scheduled for October, 1989. Topics of discussion will include the MacBride Principles, Joe Doherty, Visa-Denial policy, and the Internation Fund for Ireland. There will also be a general discussion. Organizations to be represented will include; American Irish Congress, American Irish Political Education Committee, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Brehon Law Society, Irish American Unity Conference, Irish

RECYCLED PAPER PRODUCTS SLAMMED

Wide-spread media coverage was given the Golden Pit Award presented annually by the National Ethnic Coalition of Organizations (NECO) of which the American Irish PEC is a member. There are 10 winners annually.

Recycled Paper Products of Chicago, Illinois received its award for a St. Patrick's Day greeting card that shows a drunken bishop. "The award is designed to make the producer of the [offensive] materials more sensitive" said William Fugazy, the New York limousine tycoon, who is co-chairman of NECO.

NORTHERN IRELAND: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CONFLICT

by Bob Rowthorn and Naomi Wayne

Summary by Sandy Carlson

To establish peace in Northern Ireland, the British must relinquish military and political control of that territory. The British government must then ensure the immediate reunification of the north and south of Ireland by using its powers to minimize the amount of violence and economic disruption during the transition.

Withdrawal and reunification are prerequisite to establishing peace because the British presence in Ireland is the source of the conflict. The British still continue to harass the poorest and most discontented sections of the Catholic population. The British exacerbate conflict between the communities and render constructive political activity impossible by employing local Protestant security forces to suppress Catholic rebellion.

Since the British government arbitrarily established the province of Northern Ireland, all Northern Irish have suffered economically, but the Catholics have been more disadvantaged than have the Protestants. In the 1930's, the average income for a Northern Ireland family was half of the average income for a family in Britain. For every twenty unemployed men in Northern Ireland, there were seven unemployed men in Britain. This discrepancy resulted because Northern Ireland did not experience the housing boom and modernization of industry that led to economic recovery in Britain. This predicament changed for the better in the 1940's when Northern Ireland was building ships and manufacturing military supplies for the British Army.

In the 1950's, the old problems reappeared, however. The Unionist government instituted vigorous programs for the development of new industry when it was faced with the threat of Northern Ireland Protestants shifting their voting allegiance to the Northern Ireland Labor Party. Although more jobs were created, fewer people were employed than were after World War I. In addition, because agriculture was mechanized, there were fewer jobs in that sector. Instead, more jobs were created in the public services sector. Because the British governments of Heath and Wilson believed the turmoil in Northern Ireland resulted from a deficient social services industry in the province, development in this sector was a reaction to the conflict. In spite of these new opportunities, however, Catholics still had difficulty finding work. Hence, for every fourteen unemployed Catholic males there were only six unemployed Protestant males.

By the end of the 1960's, approximately 65,000 new jobs had been created with the help of government initiatives. Still, approximately twice as many Catholics were unemployed as were Protestants. This difficulty in obtaining employment that Catholics experienced resulted in part because new industry was located in Protestant areas. The British government passively supported this discrimination inasmuch as it provided finance and support services where required by private firms. As a result, the British government invested in Protestant areas and neglected Catholic areas.

Since 1973, the Northern Ireland economy has performed poorly mainly because of the Northern Ireland economic dependence on exporting to Britain, the industrial structure of Northern Ireland, the branch plant nature of the Northern Ireland economy, Northern Ireland's economic dependence on outside firms, the armed conflict and political instability of the province, and events in the world economy as a whole.

The armed struggle which escalated during the 1970s and 1980s had a tremendous economic impact on Northern Ireland. Unemployment increased as the industrial and social services sectors shrank. Margaret Thatcher, who assumed power in 1979, enforced a policy of Ulsterization (returning the responsibility of militarily controlling the Province to locally recruited

forces). At the same time, employment opportunities in the social services decreased. This change reflected the Tory view that the quality of social services was then on a par with the British social services. The Protestants suffered more losses in manufacturing because they had more of those jobs in the first place. They secured new jobs in the public services sector as the security and prison forces grew. Catholics lost few manufacturing jobs because they had few to lose. However, they gained slightly in education jobs and other public services fields.

The armed conflict thus far has resulted in the destruction or prevention of approximately 46,000 manufacturing jobs. At the same time, the conflict has led to the creation of 36,000 jobs in the public sector. Thus, the conflict has had only a minor effect on the overall level of unemployment. Rather, it has led to the redistribution of employment.

To reverse this, the British established the Local Economic Development Unit (LEDU) and the Industrial Development Board (IDB) to guide investors as well as the Fair Employment Agency (FEA) to address employment discrimination. In spite of the establishment of the FEA, however, some jobs are still inaccessible to parts of the Catholic population. In addition, Protestants hold most top managerial, professional, scientific, and technical jobs. Catholics are still overrepresented in low-paying jobs, and are therefore more prone to unemployment.

Since the economic crisis of the early 1980s, unemployment has risen for both Protestants and Catholics, but more for Catholics. Unemployment for Protestant males is on a par with what was considered normal Catholic unemployment in the early 1970s. Now the Northern Ireland Protestant unemployment level is on a par with the unemployment level in Britain, but Northern Ireland Catholic unemployment is three times the Protestant unemployment level. The Northern Ireland Protestant unemployment level is artificially low because many of the jobs are in the security forces.

To improve the economic condition of Northern Ireland, the British and Irish governments must consider two key factors: external aid and peace. Without external aid, emigration and unemployment would rise and the standard of living and social welfare would fall. Northern Ireland is guaranteed aid as long as it is a part of the United Kingdom. Therefore, continued external aid is essential to the maintenance of the Northern Ireland economy for a long time to come.

Peace would be as necessary to economic recovery as external aid. Only with peace will there be an increase in outside investment. Outside investment would, in turn, stimulate home-grown industry. The only negative economic effects of peace would be the unemployment resulting from deployed security forces and returning British troops. However, Protestants could enjoy the new jobs created by an improving economy, and peace would be bolstered by the presence of more Catholics on the security forces.

Because the United Kingdom does not have a socialist economy, the government cannot direct investment and thereby improve the industrial base of Northern Ireland. Also, over-generous subsidies remove the stimuli for competition, discourage innovation, and encourage incompetence and complacency. Therefore, the root problems of poverty and unemployment can be eradicated only by reviving the local economy and

REPRODUCE AND DISTRIBUTE

generating investment. The only viable way to achieve this would be to first establish peace.

In establishing peace to move forward, the Irish and British have four options: devolution, independence, repartition, and unity.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement, which was signed by the British and Irish governments on November 15, 1985, was an attempt at initiating the establishment of a devolved government. A devolved government would take some control from the British government, Northern Catholics would have their own elected representatives, and the advisory role of the Republic of Ireland would gradually dissolve.

The Agreement served to strengthen the Social Democratic and Labor Party and to weaken Sinn Fein (a nationalist political party) and the (IRA).

The failure of the Anglo-Irish Agreement is that it does nothing to advance the position of Catholics. To do this, the government would have to provide more jobs. But the British government cannot provide more jobs without first improving the economy. They cannot improve the economy without first establishing peace.

Another drawback of the Agreement is that it gives the all Ireland aspect priority over internal politics. The Republic of Ireland's role was meant to be temporary. This arrangement would supposedly be supplemented and then replaced by a local institution in which the SDLP would share power with the Unionists. The Republic will never willingly silence its voice in the north, however limited. In addition, the SDLP will not willingly surrender the Republic's presence since it is the only thing that gives the SDLP any status. As long as the Republic remains, the SDLP can turn to it for assistance in negotiations. In this circumstance, though, the Unionists cannot be expected to entirely trust the SDLP. In consideration of all of this, expecting a stable power sharing government between two groups would not be reasonable. By addressing the all Ireland issue without consulting local parties, the British and Irish governments have cushioned the Agreement against local opposition while at the same time perpetuating intercommunity strife.

Additionally, the Anglo-Irish Agreement cannot succeed without first drastically weakening the IRA, but the power-sharing aspiration makes this difficult. As long as the SDLP speaks out against the IRA, they will appear to be supporting the Unionists and thus alienate even some moderate Catholics. Thus, we see that the current attempt at devolution is doomed to failure.

An independent state, the second option, is likewise not practical. The British could easily vanquish any movement for autonomy through a trade embargo or economic sanctions. Such a state would still be dependent on the British economy for survival, but would have no right to British support.

Repartition of the Northern Ireland state, the third option, is not a viable option. Not only would drawing new arbitrary lines be impractical, but it would also require tremendous British enforcement. This would not be economically advantageous to the British. Also, Catholics would not willingly relocate to accommodate the Protestants.

Thus, the only viable option left is for the British to aid the establishment of a united Ireland. Reunification must be accomplished quickly to minimize bloodshed. The legislation enabling the reunification must be irreversible. The British would have to announce a date for withdrawal, preferably within the lifetime of one parliament.

Next, a constitutional conference would be established with representatives from all parties. The conference would establish a constitution and an administrative body to oversee the withdrawal.

Another vital step would be the disarming of Protestants and the disbanding of the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR). The British would have to buy the loyalty of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC, the local police force) to ensure that they

would not illegally support paramilitary loyalists. In addition, the British would have to vigorously protect the Catholics from any Protestant backlash.

To minimize the Protestant backlash, the British would have to convince the Protestants that reunification would be to their advantage. Improving the economy by coordinating the northern and southern Ireland economies, eliminating trade barriers, eliminating duplicate government efforts, and coordinating policy regarding multinational companies, would benefit all concerned. The British could ensure the effectiveness of these changes by first deploying economic resources to shore up the new state and then threatening sanctions.

In addition, the British and Irish would have to guarantee civil and religious liberties for both communities. Currently, all nationalist parties accept the need for constitutional reform as essential to unity. Such legal guarantees could be a price that Britain would demand in exchange for economic aid. Since a united Ireland would still be subject to British economic influence, the British would be in a strong position to protect the position of the Protestants.

By acting quickly and firmly, the British could ensure a relatively peaceful transition to a united Ireland.

The Northern Ireland state, which the British established against the democratically demonstrated will of the Irish people, has never experienced peace or economic stability since its inception. Any reforms instituted by the British have come too late and have done nothing to change the fact that Catholic unemployment is 2 1/2 times greater than Protestant unemployment. This unacceptable condition combined with British suppression of the discontented Catholic minority is directly responsible for the conflict in Northern Ireland. This conflict has been accompanied by the removal of civil liberties in Britain as well as in Northern Ireland. Therefore, the only way to improve the Northern Ireland economy and establish equality of employment opportunity is for the British to withdraw.

(Bob Rowthorn is Reader of Economics at the University of Cambridge. He is the author of several academic books, of which the most recent is Deindustrialisation and Foreign Trade, and has written a number of articles on the political economy of Northern Ireland. Naomi Wayne is a trade union officer in London. She has previously worked for the ITGWU in Dublin, and in Belfast as the Chief Enforcement Officer of the Equal Opportunities Commission for Northern Ireland. She is the author of Labour Law in Ireland.)

Copies of Northern Ireland: The Political Economy of Conflict are available through the American Irish Awareness Committee at \$22.50 plus \$2.50 Postage and Handling - Order #B916

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IMPORTANT EVENTS

IRISH BRIGADE

Antietam Battlefield Reburial Service
September 16-17, 1989
Antietam National Battlefield Park
Sharpsburg, Maryland

Contact: Chuck Lavery (201) 694-7792

MEDIA COVERAGE ON NORTHERN IRELAND

St. Michael's College
Colchester, Vermont
September 22, 1989

Guest Speakers

Bernadette Devlin McAleskey
Jo Thomas - journalist
Kevin Cullen - journalist

Contact: Bob Dinan (802) 863-6046

IRISH SOLIDARITY DAY

Sunday, October 15, 1989

NEW LOCATION: near Van Cortlandt Park, Bronx, NY

(full details in next Newsletter)

BOOKS AND VIDEOS, ETC.

Make checks payable to American Irish Awareness Comm.

VIDEOS

OFF OUR KNEES

Written and narrated by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

1988 marked the 20th anniversary of the struggle in Northern Ireland since the formation of the Civil Rights Movement.

This video represents the views of those who were there at the beginning, who have continued and grown with the struggle, who are determined to carry on until they have attained civil rights, justice, and freedom.

Off Our Knees celebrates the stories and aspirations of the people involved-political activists, working people, human rights campaigners--and demonstrates how and why the demands of the Civil Rights Movement for votes, jobs, housing, and an end to the Special Powers Act have developed into the demand for a United Ireland--without which true civil rights cannot be won.

Order #V1201 VHS (55 min.).....\$29.95

DUBLINERS LIVE WITH PADDY REILLY & JIM MCCANN

This video captures an evening of magic and excitement with Ireland's most celebrated folk group as they are joined by two of the country's most popular ballad singers.

Now you can experience the unique character and charisma of these talented performers on one video cassette. Enjoy the subtle humor of Ronny Drew's McAlpine's Fusiliers and Dicey Reilly...the splendid classics by Paddy Reilly in *The Fields of Athenry*, *The Lovely Rose of Clare* and *Come Back Paddy Reilly*. You'll hear Jim McCann performing *Molly Malone*, *Carrickfergus*, *Four Green Fields* and many more.

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A SONG FOR IRELAND

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You'll be moved by these talented artists performing in beautiful scenic locations dramatizing the words to each song.

Hosted by Bryan Murray, whom many will recognize as the incorrigible rogue character from PBS TV series, "The Irish RM"

Order FS-74 VHS or BETA (52 min.).....\$29.95

MacBride Principles Update continued from page 1 resolutions. To help, contact Sandy Carlson at PEC headquarters...Boston will introduce its own MacBride Principles resolution thanks to City Councillor Maura Hennigan Casey. Certainly we have a supporter in Mayor Raymond Flynn whose representative testified in New Hampshire in support of their MacBride Legislation for which we are grateful. All Boston members are urged to contact their councilpersons and urge that they support the resolution. The City Council address is Boston City Hall, Government Center, Boston, MA. 02201. Boston has considerable amounts of money invested in companies doing business in Northern Ireland...In February 1989 former US Ambassador to Britain Charles Price II wrote to Missouri State Rep Gail Chatfield at the request of Rep Joan Mathews urging she not support the MacBride Principles bill. Former NI Secretary of State Tom King recently wrote a similar letter to California Governor George Deukmejian urging he not support the MacBride Bill.

News Bits continued from page 1

bombarded with pressure." Ken Livingstone [MP] said that those who warned of a possible bloodbath following British withdrawal "failed to realize that we are already living with a blood bath." (Irish Post, 6/24/89)...*"Time To Go!* supporters have succeeded in lobbying the National Union of Mineworkers to adopt a hard-hitting motion attacking the record of successive British governments regarding Northern Ireland. The motion condemned repressive legislation, no-jury courts, alleged shoot-to-kill policies and the use of strip-searching and plastic bullets. It was claimed that Northern Ireland is being used as a 'testing ground' for policing techniques in Britain." (Irish Post, 7/22/89)

"Under the normal British legal system, suspects have the right to know the charges, the right to hear and challenge the evidence, the right to a fair hearing and the right of appeal. A suspect can apply for habeas corpus, which means that they must be released within 48 hours unless charges are brought against them. Under the PTA, after 48 hours, a 5-day extension can be granted because the Home Secretary is given the unlimited powers to decide in secret and on the basis of evidence never made known to the suspects, their lawyers or the public. Under the PTA, you do not have an automatic right to a solicitor. It is at the discretion of the police. The PTA empowers the police to use 'reasonable force' to photograph and fingerprint detainees without their consent. This can be done without a court order. Under the PTA, if detainees are released without charge, the files on them will be kept. The police are not required to provide an apology or financial compensation, or a reason for their detention. Selling posters, calendars and newspapers and wearing a badge have become criminal offenses." (Irish Post, 6/24/89)

ACTION REQUEST

We continue our campaign to urge the news media to give fair, accurate and regular coverage of the causes of violence by the nationalist community in Northern Ireland and the terrible injustice being inflicted upon Joe Doherty by the Bush Administration.

We are aware of many good news reports recently in conjunction with the 20th anniversary of British troops being sent to Northern Ireland. We cannot allow this coverage to end. It must be ongoing. The media has an obligation to the public to give fair coverage and it is our duty to continuously remind them of that responsibility. In the future you will be asked to write repeat letters. This is important as we want the news media to know that we are serious and we will not go away. Further, continuous mail will put them on the spot. It will keep them under constant pressure.

Continuous media coverage on the injustices suffered by Irish nationalists under British colonial rule will also bring severe pressure to bear on the British government to withdraw and our own government to end its support for Britain's oppressive policies in Northern Ireland which have for the most part been hidden from the American public.

Therefore, we must continue to bring pressure to bear on our news media to provide appropriate coverage. It is better to concentrate on a few media magnates than to scatter ourselves in all directions. This pressure should be ongoing. Repeat letters to the same people is certainly okay and recommended. You should use the Hotline (914) 429-7849 in conjunction with Action Requests.

COURSE OF ACTION: Write the letter below, preferably in your own words, to both; Mr. Roone Arledge, Group President News & Sports, ABC, 47 W 56 St., New York, NY 10023; and 20/20, 157 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10036. Please do not forget to include your return address and date:

Dear _____:

I urge that you make a media issue of Joe Doherty and the whole issue of British colonialism and oppression in Northern Ireland. Please address on a regular basis the issues that cause violence by the nationalist minority. Public discussion and political debate is desperately needed to resolve this ages-old tragedy. I look forward to your response on this urgent matter.

Respectfully yours,
signature

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For reservations or to take a Journal ad call (914) 947-2726 days or (914) 947-2998 evenings.

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