"The Brothers on the Walls": International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals

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“The Brothers on the Walls”

International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals

Bill Rolston

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The article considers in detail a particular aspect of the political murals painted by the republican movement in Northern Ireland, namely their references to international themes rather than solely Irish matters. These murals are seen as an instance of solidarity with people in struggle elsewhere—against imperialism and state oppression—and thus represent recognition by Irish mural painters of their affinity to liberation movements elsewhere. As such, the phenomenon points to the potential of subaltern nationalism to be progressive. Finally, the article briefly considers the difficulties facing the other main mural tradition in Northern Ireland, that of the loyalists, to engage in a similar process of recognition and solidarity.

Keywords: murals; Northern Ireland; nationalism; internationalism; solidarity

In December 1845, Frederick Douglass delivered a series of five lectures to large and enthusiastic audiences in Belfast, Ireland. At the age of 20, he had escaped from slavery and settled in liberal, proabolition New Bedford, Massachusetts. By the time he arrived in Belfast 7 years later, he was already an accomplished public speaker. His almost 2-year sojourn in Ireland, England, and Scotland was necessitated by a fear that his high public profile would draw the attention of his erstwhile owners in Maryland.

The 5 months he spent in Ireland were highly influential in Douglass’s political development. He constantly remarked in letters back to William Lloyd Garrison that he experienced no racial prejudice: “I find myself not treated as a colour, but as a man” (Aptheker, 1969, p. 120). This undoubtedly stemmed in large part from the fact that he was moving in the genteel, middle-class Protestant milieu from whence Irish support for abolition stemmed. At the same time, he was astute enough to recognize the social and political problems of Ireland at the time; the conditions of oppression experienced by
the peasantry in particular resonated with his own experience of slavery: “The same heart that prompts me to plead the case of the American bondsman makes it impossible not to sympathise with the oppressed of all lands” (Aptheker, 1969, p. 312).

Politically he was drawn to Ireland’s most famous politician, the constitutional nationalist Daniel O’Connell, rather than the more militant Young Irelanders who 3 years after his visit staged a rebellion. The reason for this is clear: The militant nationalists confined their radicalism to their own situation, seeing support for abolition as diversionary, whereas the more conservative O’Connell was genuinely internationalist in his aspirations for freedom. He refused funds for his Irish political campaigns if they emanated from American slave owners: “I want no American aid if it comes across the Atlantic stained in Negro blood” (O’Ferrall, 1991, p. 36).

Douglass returned to the United States in April 1847 after his freedom had been bought by two English abolitionists. He went on to spend a lifetime in politics, during which he never forgot his connections to Ireland; for example, he appeared on political platforms with Charles Stewart Parnell in support of Home Rule for Ireland. He died in Washington, D.C., in 1895, aged 77.

More than a century later, in 2001, New Bedford commemorated its one-time resident Frederick Douglass with a mural (Stewardson, 2001). It was funded through the Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities and local labor unions and activists. Five years later again, a similar mural was painted in West Belfast. Part of the annual West Belfast Festival, Féile an Phobail, it was funded by donations from a number of interested individuals. Alongside was a quotation from Douglass (1892/1962): “Perhaps no class has carried prejudice against colour to a point more dangerous than have the Irish and yet no people have been more relentlessly oppressed on account of race and religion” (p. 546).

Both murals were the work of one man, Belfast’s most prolific painter of republican murals, Danny Devenney.

Nor was the portrayal of this Black activist in Belfast unique. In republican areas, there have been murals depicting Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X. To first appearances, this is surprising; Belfast is, as it has always been, overwhelmingly White.

In 2004, I presented an illustrated lecture on Northern Ireland murals at the National Mural Conference in Philadelphia. Afterward, a number of astonished African American muralists asked me, “Why are the brothers on the walls in Belfast?” This article is an attempt to answer that question.
Nationalism and Internationalism

For Gellner (1964), “nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist” (p. 169). On this basis, it is easy to view nationalism simply as illness. For example, Nairn (1977) concludes,

“Nationalism” is the pathology of modern developmental history, as inescapable as “neurosis” in the individual, with much the same essential ambiguity attaching to it, a similar built-in capacity for descent into dementia, rooted in the dilemmas of helplessness thrust upon most of the world (the equivalent of infantilism for societies) and largely incurable. (p. 59)

Anderson (1991) rejects Gellner for being “so anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretences that he assimilates ‘invention’ to ‘fabrication’ and ‘falsity,’ rather than to ‘imagining’ and ‘creating’” (p. 5). Given the legacy of nationalism in the 20th century alone in terms of war, destruction, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and racial attacks, it may seem at first to be risible to see the phenomenon as in any way “creative.” But for Anderson, nationalism, as imagined community, can stretch across a range of political positions.

One way to follow through on this point is to draw a distinction between dominant or elite nationalism, the ideology of completed states, and subaltern nationalism, the ideology that exists when the nation does not exist or is deemed to be as yet incomplete. “Whereas the concept of nation promotes stasis and restoration in the hands of the dominant, it is a weapon for change and revolution in the hands of the subordinated” (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 106). This progressiveness derives from two factors: First, nationalism acts as the spur to opposition to imperialism and colonialism. And second, it can become an overarching ideology uniting those divided, often as a result of imperialism and colonialism, on such grounds as ethnicity and religion.

The progressive potential inherent in subaltern nationalism is of central relevance in the understanding of Irish republicanism. Given its goal of national liberation, republicanism is, like other national ideologies, concerned to delineate the boundaries of the nation, to define “we.” In that sense, it can be seen as narrow-minded, exclusivist, even solipsistic. At the same time, as an ideology of national liberation, republicanism has from time to time been able to look around the world and imagine a connection to others who likewise experience imperialism, colonialism, and state
repression or who struggle for national self-determination, independence, and socialism. In this sense, nationalism is inclusive.

Viewing themselves as part of a “community of resistance” (Sivanandan, 1990), republicans are open to feeling affinity to the resistance of people in communities elsewhere. The same process is captured by Pizzorno’s (1986) concept of “recognition.” Far from resulting from “rational choice,” political identities are often forged at the more basic, even emotional level. And this applies not just to individuals but also to collectives. Nor is it geographically confined.

**Recognition and Opportunity**

Republican international solidarity has from the beginning been based partly on this quality of “recognition” and partly on opportunity. Thus, Ireland’s first republicans, the Society of United Irishmen at the end of the 18th century, identified with the Enlightenment ideals of the French revolution and saw themselves as part of the international republican movement, which spread from Thomas Paine in England to the revolutionaries of France and America. But there was also from the beginning an additional reason for solidarity, summed up in the phrase attributed to Daniel O’Connell that “England’s difficulty is Ireland’s opportunity.” Thus, the United Irishmen sought military aid from England’s inveterate enemy, France. They persuaded the French to attempt an invasion of Ireland in 1798, and some leading Irish republicans, such as Theobald Wolfe Tone and Bartholomew Teeling, accompanied the French force as officers in the French army.

At times, these two bases of solidarity—recognition and opportunity—were clearly separate in the motivation of Irish republicans. Those republicans who fought with the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War did so out of ideological affinity with Spanish republicans (Doyle, 2006; O’Riordan, 2005). On the other hand, Irish Republican Army (IRA) links with Germany during World War I and, more controversially, World War II, were based less on political affinity than on siding with England’s enemies for the opportunities for resistance provided. Thus, in 1916, Roger Casement, an Irishman knighted by the British for his work in exposing the genocidal treatment of local people in the Congo under Belgian rule, attempted to raise a regiment among Irish soldiers in the British army who were prisoners of war in Germany. He later accompanied a ship filled with German arms sent to aid the planned Easter Rebellion in Ireland in 1916; he was captured and the ship scuttled.
The involvement of republicans with Germany in World War II is more problematic. IRA Chief of Staff Sean Russell traveled to Nazi Germany where he put forward an idea identical to that of Casement of raising a regiment from among Irish prisoners of war in the British army and traveled back to Ireland aboard a German submarine for military operations in Ireland. Little came of all of this; Russell died on board the submarine, and the Germans were less enthusiastic in the long run about collaboration than was the IRA. Russell and the IRA leadership of the time have been accused of everything from Nazi sympathies to political naïveté, but it is likely that, as traditionalist nationalists, their goal was to use Germany for their own ends against the common enemy, Britain. It is unlikely that Russell wished in any way to swap subjection to British imperialism in Ireland for a German equivalent.

In short, the internationalism of Irish republicans has not always been inspired by altruism. For example, when in 1879 the Irish Republican Brotherhood proposed sending 20,000 guns and military advisers to assist the Zulus in a rising against the British, it was on the grounds that the English will find it much more difficult to fight one hundred thousand Kaffirs in their immense and practically unknown country than they would the same number of Irishmen in a little Island where every nook and corner is known and which is cut up in all directions by practicable roads . . . one million cartridges placed in the hands of the Zulus would help the Irish cause more than an equivalent amount of arms landed in Ireland. (O’Brien & Ryan, 1979, p. 410)

To first appearances, there is a great sense of historical symmetry in comparing this proposal with that of the Black State Convention, which met in California in 1865 and passed the resolution that we sympathize with the Fenian movement to liberate Ireland from the yoke of British bondage, and when we have obtained our full citizenship in this country, we should be willing to assist our Irish brethren in their struggle for National Independence; and 40,000 colored troops could be raised to butt the horns off the hypocritical English bull. (Foner & Walker, 1980, p. 178)

However, there was no direct gain for newly emancipated former slaves in suggesting that they fight in Ireland; this was a straight case of recognition of commonality of the Irish and African American causes rather than a case of political opportunism.

Time and again, the generosity and altruism of Black revolutionaries in the United States in relation to Ireland is clear. To take just one more
example, Marcus Garvey attempted to organize Black longshoremen in New York to boycott British ships in support of the republican lord mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, then on hunger strike in an English jail. He sent a telegram to the priest attending MacSwiney pledging “the sympathy of 400,000,000 Negroes” (Hill, 1983, p. lxxvi).

Admiration for Ireland’s anti-imperial struggle was widespread among those—from the Americas to Asia—who themselves struggled against imperialism: Nehru in India, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, William Du Bois in the United States, Cyril V. Briggs in Jamaica, and many others. When Marcus Garvey was asked about the significance of the colors in his United Negro Improvement Association flag, he replied, “The Red showed their sympathy with the ‘Reds’ of the world, and the Green their sympathy for the Irish in their fight for freedom, and the Black—The Negro” (Hill, 1983, p. lxxxix). But this was a level of solidarity that was not always reciprocated. One paradox from the time of Frederick Douglass’s visit to Ireland has already been indicated. The radical revolutionaries known as the Young Irelanders were adamant that military action was required to end their country’s enslavement to Britain but were less than eager to take up the cause of the abolition of slavery in the United States. Their reasoning was based on a different form of political opportunism:

We have really so very urgent affairs at home—so much abolition of white slavery to effect if we can . . . that all our exertions will be needed in Ireland. Carolina planters never devoured our substance, nor drove away our sheep and oxen for a spoil . . . Our enemies are nearer home than Carolina. (O’Connell, 1990, p. 126)

It was left to the constitutional nationalist Daniel O’Connell—a Catholic (unlike most of the Young Irelanders, who were Protestant), a social conservative, monarchist, member of the British parliament, opposed to violence for political ends—to take up the cause of abolition vigorously. When slavery was outlawed in Britain, he turned his attention to the United States, to the point where he was acknowledged by abolitionists there as “the single most important supporter that American anti-slavery had in Europe” (Riach, 1976, p. 24).

The most famous of the Young Irelanders, John Mitchel, was transported to Tasmania for his part in rebellion in Ireland. He escaped from there and settled in the southern United States, where he publicly supported slavery and was eventually jailed for his views. He wrote on one occasion,
I consider Negro slavery here the best state of existence for the Negro and the best for his master; and I consider that taking Negroes out of their brutal slavery in Africa and promoting them to a human and reasonable slavery here is good. (MacCall, 1938, p. 337)

The contrast inherent in nationalism is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the contradiction of Mitchel and O’Connell: on one side, the revolutionary whose emancipatory ideals are confined to his own nation, and on the other, the internationalist who recognizes the plight of others in that of his own nation. This is a contradiction that runs through nationalism in general and is not confined to the Irish case. Nor was it confined to the middle of the 19th century. Thus, when Arthur Griffith, founder of Sinn Féin, chief negotiator with the British government in the Treaty, which ended the War of Independence, and later President of the Irish Free State, wrote the foreword to John Mitchel’s *Jail Journal*, he stated,

> Even his views on Negro slavery have been deprecatingly excused, as if excuse were needed for an Irish Nationalist declining to hold the Negro his peer in right. When the Irish Nation need explanation or apology for John Mitchel, the Irish nation will need its shroud. (Mitchel, 1913, pp. xiii-xiv)

No surprise, then, that when Marcus Garvey telegrammed Griffith to congratulate him on negotiating the Treaty, there is no indication that Griffith replied wishing Garvey success in his struggle for liberation.

**Irish Republicanism, Decolonization, and Anti-Imperialism**

During the 20th century, processes of decolonization and of state secession or creation offered potential opportunities for Irish republicans to make links, ideological or otherwise, with insurgent forces. In most cases, especially in relation to the protracted period of decolonization in Africa, the potential was not realized. Insurgents elsewhere frequently admired the Irish example. For example, Menachim Begin, leader of Irgun Zvai Leumi, identified with the Irish struggle for independence and claimed to model his guerrilla war partly on the model provided by Michael Collins, leader of the IRA during the War of Independence (Sofer, 1988, p. 109). Yitzak Shamir of the Stern Group used the nom de guerre “Michael” in tribute to Michael Collins. Collins’s former procurement officer, and later mayor of Dublin,
Robert Briscoe, was Jewish and a Zionist; he arranged for the printing of all Irgun literature and documents in Dublin and organized Irish volunteers to help the Zionist cause in Palestine directly (O’Dwyer, 1979, p. 155). But there is no evidence of links between Irish republicans and Zionism.

In other situations, direct military links did develop. In the late 1950s, there was cooperation between Irish republicans and EOKA in Cyprus. In February 1959, a small Irish republican group called Saor Uladh collaborated with EOKA on a joint prison escape bid from Wakefield prison. In the event, only one person, a Saor Uladh member, escaped (Bowyer Bell, 1989, p. 317). A similar collaboration with the IRA for a joint prison break from Wormwood Scrubs fell through when the EOKA prisoners were transferred (Bowyer Bell, 1989, p. 320).

By the time the most recent period of the Irish conflict emerged, there were many anti-imperialist struggles that provided potential for links to Irish republicanism. However, the Provisional IRA, formed in 1969 after a split with the mainstream of the IRA, known as the Officials, initially had little truck with other anti-imperialist struggles. In part, this was because of an innate political conservatism that saw the Irish struggle as explicable in Irish-only terms. But there was also the fact that one reason for the split was the Provisionals’ rejection of the pro-Moscow shift that the movement had taken in the 1960s. Thus, to begin with, the Provisional IRA’s links to international groups were based solely on opportunities for training and arms procurement. In time, as the republican movement became more radicalized with the takeover of young Northerners, there was much more acceptance of socialist ideas, anti-imperialist analysis, and solidarity links with other anti-imperialist struggles. As the movement shifted eventually in the late 1990s toward a political rather than solely military struggle for Irish independence, these links remained.

The earliest of the Provisional IRA’s connections was with Al Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), with whom they engaged in joint training in Lebanon in the early 1970s (Bowyer Bell, 1989). In 1977, a joint gun-running exercise via Cyprus was thwarted by Israeli intelligence and led to the arrest of an IRA member (Bowyer Bell, 1989).

In the late 1970s and 1980s, much more substantial links seem to have existed between the PLO and another Irish republican group, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). On one occasion, following PLO urging, the INLA bombed a NATO-linked radar station in County Cork (Holland & McDonald, 1994). In 1979, an INLA member was caught on the Greek-Turkish border smuggling guns and explosives from Lebanon,
and five INLA members went to Lebanon in an attempt to train with the PLO (Holland & McDonald, 1994).

After the bombing of Tripoli by U.S. planes in 1984, the INLA found themselves swamped with offers by Yemen to train their volunteers in Tanzania (Holland & McDonald, 1994). They were also approached by Libya with offers of more guns and explosives than their organization could absorb, so the offer was then made to the IRA. This opened the way to one of the most important sources of weaponry for the IRA in the period (Moloney, 2002). But although the logic of this connection from Libya’s point of view may have been ideological, for the IRA it was a case of opportunity rather than ideological identification. Prior to this period, in the 1970s, most of the IRA’s weaponry had come from sympathizers in the United States, purchased from commercial dealers (Holland, 1989). And after the break-up of the Soviet Union, weaponry was purchased from criminals operating in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Overall, opportunity was a better guide to understanding the IRA’s sourcing of weaponry than ideology (Guelke, 1988).

By the late 1980s and 1990s, as various factors, including the end of the Cold War, reduced the possibilities of anti-imperialist struggle and as peace processes emerged globally (Cox, 1997), the links became increasingly political rather than military. The PLO moved to deny not merely current but also previous links with Irish republicans. “We have no relations with the IRA and I would challenge anybody who can dare to say anything about it,” said Yasser Arafat (O’Boyle, 1988, p. 1). Similarly, although Irish republican fighters and those from the African National Congress’s (ANC) Umkhonto we Sizwe formerly trained together in camps in Algeria and Libya (Irish News, 17 July 1992), such links were long past as South Africa and Ireland entered peace processes in the 1990s. Nelson Mandela on a visit to Dublin in 1992 could deliver an old-style message when he praised the IRA’s “struggle for self-assertion” (Foley, De Bréadún, & Conaty, 1992, p. 4), but Billy Masethla, deputy chief spokesperson for the ANC in Britain, presented a more contemporary message: “The ANC has nothing and never has had anything to do with the IRA. . . . We do have links with organisations such as the PLO, but we never had any cooperation with the IRA, nor would we want to” (McDonald, 1990, p. 1). By the time of his next visit to Ireland in 2003, Mandela’s position had softened.

Similarly, the links between the IRA and ETA are thought to go back to the early 1970s when ETA provided the IRA with handguns and helped the IRA acquire the plastic explosive semtex (Adams Urges ETA Towards
Peace, 2007). But by the 1990s, the republican movement’s connection to Basque separatists was solely political and involved Sinn Féin urging Herri Battasuna to follow their example of engaging in peace negotiations.

During the 1970s and 1980s, there was endless scope for “terrorologists” to fantasize about the IRA’s participation in “terror international.” But beyond arms procurement and, in the early days, training, the links between Irish republicans and anti-imperialist groups elsewhere in the 1970s and 1980s failed to hold up to more sober analysis. One expert closely connected to U.S. intelligence sources probably summed up the IRA’s international military links of the time accurately: “Assertions abound that the IRA is linked with foreign terrorist organizations. At best, these links are tenuous” (Baldy, 1987, p. 61). In short, in the vast majority of cases, Irish republican links were based on opportunity rather than recognition. Even where such links were strong, there was no necessary reason to believe that Irish republicans wished to emulate the societies from which they sourced material.

For half of its period of existence to date, the Provisional IRA, formed as a breakaway organization in late 1969, tended to fit a traditionalist mold; the Irish nation is unique, therefore the struggle of the Irish nation and the outcome of that struggle cannot be determined by other nations. In short, there were weak ideological links with other revolutionary societies and groups. Halliday (1998) recalls asking the former president of Sinn Féin, Ruairí Ó Bradaigh, in 1971, about the influence on his movement of other radical movements. Ó Bradaigh replied, “We have no need of your Ché Guevaras and your Ho Chi Minhs.”

As ideology became stronger in the movement with the gradual takeover of young radicalized northerners, republicans began to move toward more explicit identification with other anti-imperialist and socialist struggles. This identification was apparent in the murals that republicans began to paint from 1981 on.

**International Themes in Republican Murals**

For most of the history of the Northern Ireland state, formed in 1920, republicans did not paint political wall murals. The reason for this was that the state was founded primarily on the bases of monopoly and exclusion, built around the goal of ensuring a unionist majority in perpetuity. The ruling party, the economic elite, the police force, and the official cultural institutions were populated solely or mainly by unionists, committed to maintaining Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom rather than part of a united Ireland.
Likewise, the streets were unionist; thus, although unionists marched triumphantly every summer and painted public murals, no such privileges were conferred on the nationalist minority.

In 1981, there was an explosion of mural painting in republican communities. The trigger was a hunger strike undertaken by republican prisoners demanding to be treated (as they had been previously) as politically motivated detainees rather than common criminals. When the strike ended, with 10 prisoners dead, the tradition of mural painting continued.

From the start, republican murals took up a range of themes: celebration of the “armed struggle” of the IRA, electoral support for the republican party, Sinn Féin, Irish history and mythology, and instances of state repression. International themes, although a relatively minor element, were tackled from an early stage.

Table 1 lists the most prominent republican murals on international themes painted in the quarter century between 1981 and 2006. Many of these related to current anti-imperialist or liberation struggles outside Europe. Thus, the 1979 victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua led to two Irish murals. In 1990, a portable mural used images taken from murals and posters in Nicaragua—such as an armed woman combatant breastfeeding her baby—along with the slogan “Nicaragua must survive.” On another occasion, muralists from Managua and Derry collaborated on a mural in 1993. Complex but information full, it carried traditional imagery from each society—such as Irish standing stones and indigenous Central American stone carvings—as well as references to the effects of mass culture on young people.

There is no evidence of direct connection, political or otherwise, between Nicaragua’s Sandinista government and Irish republicans. This was a case of ideological identification with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people for freedom from dictatorship and U.S. interference. But in at least one other instance, the links were more tangible—the Basque country. A mural in 1992 portrayed silhouetted figures, Irish and Basque flags, along with the message in Irish: “Dha chine aon choimhlint” (“Two peoples, one struggle”). A much more ambitious mural in 1997 presented four aspects of struggle in the Basque Country: women, labor, nuclear power, and armed struggle. Additional text informed the viewer, “It is not Spain nor France,” together with “Askatsuna—Saoirse” (Basque and Irish for “freedom”). The mural was an impressive 15 meters in length and was painted by three young Basque men, temporarily residing in Belfast. And in 2002, another mural acknowledged links between the youth section of Sinn Féin, Ogra Shinn Féin, and Basque youth. Together with a star in the Basque national colors and the Ogra Shinn Féin logo—a petrol bomb whose flames emerge like an Easter lily, a symbol which commemorates
# Table 1

**Republican Murals on International Themes, 1982-2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Mural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beechmount Avenue, Belfast</td>
<td>PLO and IRA insurgents, jointly holding an RPG rocket launcher. “One struggle.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Women combatants from the IRA, the PLO, and SWAPO. “Solidarity between women in armed struggle.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Beechmount Avenue, Belfast</td>
<td>Quotations from Bobby Sands, “We aim to be free,” and Benjamin Maloïse. “Tell the world freedom is at hand.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Nelson Mandela. “Happy birthday comrade,” and “Mandela. Father of Freedom. The future belongs to you.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Springhill Avenue, Belfast</td>
<td>“Free Leonard Peltier. Framed by FBI.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Westland Street, Derry</td>
<td>Portraits of Bobby Sands, Ché Guevara, and Lenin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Portable, Belfast</td>
<td>Pro-Sandinista mural. “Nicaragua must survive.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Whiterock Road, Belfast</td>
<td>A native American in full regalia. “Our struggle, your struggle.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ballymurphy Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Portraits of James Connolly, the Irish socialist revolutionary, the Mexican revolutionary leader, Emiliano Zapata, an armed IRA member and a Mexican farmworker. “You can kill the revolutionary but not the revolution.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rosnareen Avenue, Belfast</td>
<td>Silhouetted figures, Irish and Basque flags. “Two peoples, one struggle.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Butcher Street, Derry</td>
<td>Derry-Managua solidarity. Depiction of Irish and Central American stone carvings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ludlow Square, Belfast</td>
<td>An aboriginal dreamtime painting depicting indigenous hunters with boomerangs and spears. An accompanying quotation about the theft of land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Beechmount Avenue, Belfast</td>
<td>Figures in silhouette, the Irish and Catalan flags. “Free Catalonia. United Ireland.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Portraits of Steven Biko, Máire Drumm, Miriam Daly, Mairead Farrell, Leonard Peltier, Ché Guevara, Nelson Mandela, and Leila Khaled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Beechmount Grove, Belfast</td>
<td>Struggle in the Basque Country: women, labor, nuclear power, and armed struggle. “Askatsuna—Saoirse” (Basque and Irish for “freedom”).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Mural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Central Drive, Derry</td>
<td>An eagle feather, faces of children from different racial backgrounds, and an American eagle with an Irish republican tricolour in its beak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Shiels Street, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Ché Guevara, and a group of Irish republican prisoners Guevara’s writings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Hillman Street, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Leonard Peltier, with quotation from his writing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Conway Street, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Mumia Abu-Jamal. “Stop the execution.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hillman Street, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Martin Luther King Jr. “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere . . .”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Orchard Street, Derry</td>
<td>Jets firing rockets at a village and an oil rig. The rockets bear the name of Raytheon, a U.S. computer company in Derry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Rossville Street, Derry</td>
<td>A person working at a computer screen being used to target a Raytheon rocket at East Timor. “Sure we’re only making software.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>A portrait of Sevgi Erdogan, a Turkish hunger striker, who died, aged 45. “She was inspired by Bobby Sands.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Ardoyne Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Harassment of Black teenagers in Arkansas in 1957 and school girls in Belfast. “It’s black and white.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Cromac Street, Belfast</td>
<td>Portraits of Ariel Sharon—“Terrorist. Indicted for war crimes”—and Yasser Arafat—“Peacemaker. A life devoted to conflict resolution.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>An Israeli Defense Force soldier pointing a gun at a Palestinian woman. “Our day will come” in Irish—“Tiocfaidh ár lá”—and Arabic—“Yomna qadam.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Leonard Peltier; “Saoirse do Peltier” (“Freedom for Peltier”).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Andersonstown Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Links between the youth section of Sinn Féin and Basque youth. “Independence and Socialism.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Ardoyne Avenue, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Malcolm X and quotation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Freedom for Catalonia and Ireland: “Libertat Päïsos Catalans. Saoirse d’Éirinn.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The appearance of these murals coincided with efforts on the part of Irish republicans to support the Basque struggle for independence and subsequently to help broker a peace process. Thus, in 1998, Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams, who was a key political influence in political developments in Ireland, visited Bilbao in the aftermath of an ETA ceasefire to encourage the Basque separatist party Herri Batasuna to follow the Irish example and embrace a peace process.

Sometimes the murals resulted from campaigns in the North of Ireland on international affairs and then often because of a local link to those affairs. For example, two murals were painted in Derry in 2000 that related to conditions in East Timor. One depicted jets firing rockets at a village and an oil rig. The accompanying message read, “During 25 years of western government sponsored Indonesian aggression at least half of the population of East Timor was systematically wiped out.” The rockets bore the name of Raytheon, a U.S. company that had set up in Derry in 1999. The branch is involved in development of software used in military hardware Raytheon manufactures in the United States, including Tomahawk Cruise missiles (Campaign Against the Arms Trade, 2004). The two murals were part of a campaign spearheaded by FEIC, Foyle Ethical Investment Campaign (Curtis, 2003). The second mural showed a person working at a computer screen that was being used to target a Raytheon rocket at East Timor. “Sure we’re only making software,” read the accompanying message.

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Table 1 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Mural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>2004    Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Fallujah in ruins, while George W. Bush sucks the oil out of Iraq and pockets a wad of dollars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>2006    Falls Road, Belfast</td>
<td>Portrait of Frederick Douglass, quotation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: PLO = Palestine Liberation Organization; IRA = Irish Republican Army; RPG = rocket propelled grenade; SWAPO = South-West Africa People’s Organisation.

a. Photograph of mural can be viewed in Rolston (1992).
b. Photograph of mural can be viewed in Rolston (1995).
c. Photograph of mural can be viewed in Rolston (2003).
There were a number of murals that portrayed international icons, among the most frequently portrayed being Leonard Peltier—perhaps not surprisingly given his status as a political prisoner and the origin of the murals in the prison protests of 1981 (Peltier, 2000). Peltier is an American Indian Movement activist, sentenced to life imprisonment over the death of two FBI agents during an occupation at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1975. He remains in prison to this day. In 1988, a mural depicted a stylized Native American head with the accompanying slogan: “Free Leonard Peltier. Framed by FBI.” His portrait was central to a large mural painted in 1999. It carried the following quotation from his writing: “We must stand together to protect the rights of others. No child to go hungry, no woman denied the right to earn a living, no person denied health care or education, no prisoner held for political reasons.” And in 2002, Peltier’s portrait was again central to another mural. It showed him dressed in Native American regalia and urged “Saoirse do Peltier” (“freedom for Peltier”).

Again, given his international iconic status, it should come as no surprise that Ché Guevara has been portrayed in a number of Irish murals. In addition, his writings had long been popular with republican prisoners. There was thus a deep resonance in a 1998 mural painted by an ex-prisoner that depicted not only Guevara but also a group of Irish republican prisoners, one of whom was Bobby Sands, reading a book of Guevara’s writings. The mural was dedicated during the West Belfast Festival by the head of the Cuban delegation to the European Union, Alfredo Leon.

This was not the first time Ché’s image had appeared in a republican mural. Prisoners had painted murals in their cells while inside prison, and the image of Ché was a frequent topic. Outside the prison, the image of Ché first appeared in a mural in Derry in 1988. Dominated by portraits of Bobby Sands and Ché, it also portrayed Lenin addressing a crowd from the top of a tank, the only time a communist leader has appeared in an Irish mural.

Solidarity with Cuba has not been confined to prisoners. In December 2001, Gerry Adams visited Havana, met with Fidel Castro, and unveiled a memorial to Bobby Sands. Adams was subjected to a great deal of criticism in advance of the visit by some Irish Americans. Shortly before, three Irishmen had been arrested in Colombia on charges of assisting Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia guerrillas. One of the three was a Sinn Féin representative in Cuba. The debate became even more heated in the aftermath of the attacks on New York in September 2001. Irish Americans in particular felt that the last thing Irish republicans in peace mode should risk was alienating the U.S. administration by close links to Cuba.
International Themes: Palestine, South Africa, and African American Heroes

In the midst of this range of struggles and heroes referred to, there are some that have appeared with more frequency in the republican murals, and it is to them we will now turn. These are the issues of Palestine and South Africa and the representation of African American heroes.

Palestine

Politicians in the newly established state of Israel in 1948 felt an affinity with the Irish and expected that Ireland might be a close ally of Israel. However, Irish nationalists identified with the Palestinians over the Israelis. In 1958, Frank Aiken, Ireland’s foreign minister, a former IRA member, set the tone for Irish foreign policy in relation to the Middle East for decades to come. At the United Nations, he singled out the plight of the Palestinian refugees as the “greatest single obstacle” to a solution of the problems of the region (Miller, 2005). After Ireland joined the European Economic Community, later the European Union, in 1973, it not only went along with a decidedly pro-Palestinian stance of the Community but in fact was in the foreground of formulating this stance. In 1974, Ireland (along with France and Italy) supported a resolution put forward by Syria at the United Nations that the PLO be recognized as the representative of the Palestinian people in negotiations. Ireland was the last European Union member to allow Israel to open a resident diplomatic mission. In the 1990s, Irish foreign policy was skewed toward the Palestinians and particularly Chairman Arafat. Even as the peace process in the Middle East began to fall apart, Irish support for Arafat did not waver.

Irish republicans continue to be on the side of Palestinians to this day. During the annual West Belfast Festival, for example, the area is bedecked with Palestinian flags, and there are events involving Palestinian speakers. In addition, Palestine was the subject of the first identifiable republican mural on an international theme. Painted in 1982, it depicted two male insurgents, from the PLO and IRA, jointly holding aloft a Russian rocket propelled grenade launcher, a weapon that both groups used. Underneath was the slogan “One struggle.” The first documentary evidence of the flying of Palestinian flags in republican areas occurred in the same year at Rossville Flats in Derry (“The Times They Are ‘a Changing,” 1982).

The following year, 1983, a mural was painted for International Women’s Day. Inside a large circular women’s symbol were portrayed three women
combatants—from Cumann na mBan, the women’s section of the IRA, the PLO, and the South-West Africa People’s Organization in Namibia. The accompanying slogan read, “Solidarity between women in armed struggle.”

During the second intifada, in 2002, there were a number of developments in relation to pro-Palestinian murals. One mural portrayed Ariel Sharon—captioned “Terrorist. Indicted for war crimes”—and Yasser Arafat—captioned “Peacemaker. A life devoted to conflict resolution.” Another depicted an Israeli Defence Force soldier pointing a gun at a Palestinian woman. The accompanying text elaborated, “Palestine. The largest concentration camp in the world! 13 million innocent people tortured, denied their freedom.” The slogan used by republican prisoners—“Our day will come”—appeared in Irish—“Tiocfaidh ár lá”—and Arabic—“Yomna qadam.”

Meanwhile, in Derry, the spotlight was brought to bear on Palestine in a different way. The main street in the nationalist Bogside area, Rossville Street, is dominated by a series of murals painted by a group of three local men known as the Bogside Artists (2001). Their murals relate to major events and persons in the history of the conflict as it relates to Derry. The Bogside Artists view Rossville Street as an open air gallery and have been criticized from time to time by republican activists who prefer to see murals changed or removed in accordance with political developments. In May 2002, two of these murals were doctored secretly. One depicts a youth confronting a British army armored vehicle (Bogside Artists, 2001). Overnight a Star of David was painted on the front of the armored vehicle. A second mural depicts a British soldier using a sledge hammer to batter down a door (Bogside Artists, 2001). Again, a Star of David was added, this time on the end of the sledge hammer. In a statement to the local newspaper, the anonymous painters who had amended the murals stated, “Although we have a noble history of struggle here, our murals should not just become shrines to the past. The ongoing struggle for justice here is deeply connected to the struggle for justice internationally” (“Bogside Murals Depict Palestinian Struggle,” 2002, p. 1). The Bogside Artists objected at what they termed the censoring of their work and painted out the two offending amendments.

South Africa

The transitions from violent conflict in South Africa and Northern Ireland in the mid-1990s were contemporaneous. The release of prisoners, the protracted negotiations, and the pursuit of reconciliation in South Africa all resonated strongly in Northern Ireland, where the same issues were also being engaged. Consequently, there has been a great deal of interchange between
the two societies. Community activists and ex-combatants traveled in both
directions, observing developments and sharing views. Gerry Adams and
Brian Currin was joint chair of the committee charged to oversee the release
of political prisoners in Northern Ireland. Cyril Ramaphosa, then secretary
general of the ANC, was one of two international observers appointed to
oversee IRA decommissioning of weapons.

It is not surprising that identification with the struggle in South Africa
has figured in a number of Irish murals. The first appeared in 1986. It
depicted a shield and a Celtic circle, along with a slogan in Gaelic, “Beir
bua” (“We will have victory”). There were also two quotations, one from
Bobby Sands, the IRA prisoner who was first to die in the prison hunger
strike 5 years earlier, “We aim to be free.” The second, “Tell the world free-
dom is at hand,” was from Benjamin Maloise, an ANC activist hanged in a
Pretoria prison in 1985 despite a U.N. attempt to save his life. Above the
mural was the bilingual message that West Belfast was “Ceantar saor o
apartheid,” an “Apartheid-free zone.”

In 1988, there was an impressive tribute to Nelson Mandela on his 70th
birthday. Dominated by a large portrait of Mandela, the mural announced,
“Happy birthday comrade,” and added, “Mandela. Father of Freedom. The
future belongs to you.”

The portrait of Steven Biko, a leading figure in the Black Consciousness
movement in South Africa, was the central image in a 1997 mural painted
on the 20th anniversary of his death at the hands of police in Port Elizabeth.
A number of other heroes were also portrayed: Máire Drumm (vice presi-
dent of Sinn Féin, murdered by loyalists in 1976), Miriam Daly (chairper-
son of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, assassinated by loyalists in
1980), Mairead Farrell (IRA volunteer, killed by British army undercover
agents in Gibraltar in 1988), Leonard Peltier, Ché Guevara (on the 30th
anniversary of his death), Nelson Mandela, and Palestinian Leila Khaled.

An array of local muralists was involved in painting this mural, as well
as Victor Ochoa, famous for his murals in San Diego and Tijuana. Ochoa
stated in an interview that he became interested in Ireland after seeing a
film about the San Patricio Battalion, Irishmen who fought on the Mexican
side during the war with the United States (“Colour Conscious,” 1997).

African American Activists

Given the many generations of emigration, there is a strong affinity
between Ireland and the United States. That affinity partially explains why
the Irish conflict has taken on a significance in the United States, which seems disproportional. Certainly, Irish nationalist and republican leaders, from Charles Stewart Parnell in the late 19th century and Eamon De Valera in the early 20th, regarded American support as crucial in realizing their political aspirations. And support has been forthcoming, not just from Irish Americans, but also, at a crucial point in the most recent peace process, from the President himself. There is no doubt that the Irish peace process would not have developed as rapidly as it did in the mid-1990s without the intervention of Bill Clinton (O’Clery, 1996).

At the same time, there is among contemporary Irish republicans opposition to U.S. foreign policy. Rank-and-file republicans have been prominent in activities in relation to the occupation of Palestine, and the republican newspaper, An Phoblacht, has been consistently opposed to the invasion of Iraq. It is not surprising that this has transferred to mural representations. Thus, one mural, painted in 2004, depicts the ruins of Fallujah in Iraq. Alongside, George W. Bush sucks the oil out of the country and pockets a wad of dollars.

As the quotation from Frederick Douglass at the beginning of this article indicates, many Irish immigrants in 19th-century America were profoundly racist. Despite that, many African American leaders looked to the Irish example as a model for anticolonial struggle and liberation. That that solidarity was not always returned by Irish activists in Ireland and the United States is beyond doubt.

However, reciprocation became apparent in the most recent phase of political struggle in the past three decades. Irish civil rights activists in the late 1960s consciously modeled elements of their campaign on what Black Americans were doing contemporaneously. People’s Democracy, the radical political grouping formed by students in 1968, took the precedent of Martin Luther King’s march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965 as the prototype for the long march from Belfast to Derry in January 1969 (Dooley, 1998). Bernadette Devlin, the young civil rights member of Parliament, visited the United States on two occasions. In August 1969, she was presented with the keys to the city of New York by Mayor John Lindsay; she immediately passed them on to the Black Panthers (Devlin, 1988, p. 87). In February 1971, she caused a stir by visiting Angela Davis, the Black radical in jail awaiting trial for murder and kidnapping (Dooley, 1998, p. 66).

The solidarity was reciprocated. Three members of Martin Luther King, Jr.’s, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, including Juanita Abernethy, attended a Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association meeting in Belfast 2 weeks after Bloody Sunday in January 1972, when British soldiers shot dead

In recent years, there have been a number of murals that have referred to the Black struggle in the United States. In 1999, one portrayed Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther, writer, and broadcaster, sentenced to death in Philadelphia in 1982 for killing a policeman (Williams, 2002).

Also in 1999, a mural in memory of Martin Luther King, Jr., appeared. Along with a portrait were his words “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. . . . If color, religion or political opinions do make us different, misery, oppression, unemployment and exploitation make us the same” (King, 1963).

In 2000 and 2001, loyalists carried out a sustained campaign of harassment of Catholic school girls in North Belfast who had to walk a few hundred yards through loyalist territory to get to their school, Holy Cross (Cadwallader, 2004). A mural protested their treatment. On one side it depicted Black teenagers being taunted as they tried to enter college in Arkansas in 1957. On the other side was shown a young girl from Holy Cross screaming as she faces intimidation. The mural quoted a promise of the Good Friday Agreement of 1998: “Everyone has the right to live free from sectarian harassment,” and added, “It’s black and white.”

The following summer, radical U.S. muralist Mike Alewitz (Alewitz & Buhle, 2002) painted a portrait of Malcolm X in the same area, Ardoyne. It was accompanied by the words of Malcolm X (1992):

> We declare our right on this earth to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence by any means necessary. (p. 56)

The most recent mural on an African American theme is the Frederick Douglass mural with which this article began.

**Loyalists, Murals, and Internationalism**

Loyalists also look to the United States in some of their more recent murals but with a very specific purpose. Their ancestors were settled in the
northern part of Ireland in the early 17th century, but in the 18th century, America beckoned as a place with more opportunity for wealth and religious freedom. An estimated 350,000 emigrated. Known as the Scotch-Irish in their host country but as Ulster Scots in contemporary Northern Ireland, they provided scouts, generals, and adventurers to the emerging nation. A revival of this identity in recent years has led to a number of wall murals depicting Ulster Scots’s dignitaries such as Davy Crockett and President James Buchanan.

Beyond such murals, there are few international references in loyalist murals even though they represent the older mural tradition in Northern Ireland, dating back to 1908. As a “settler society” (Clayton, 1996), Ulster as imagined by loyalists may bear analytical similarity to places such as South Africa and Israel. In addition, they can easily identify with these societies, seeing themselves as victims of a sustained terrorist campaign. But these connections are not easily drawn on in popular political culture. Loyalists may fly the Israeli flag from time to time, but this is as much about repaying republicans for flying the Palestinian flag as due to sophisticated political argument. John Greg, a Ulster Defence Association (UDA) leader, recounted why the marching band to which he belonged flew the Israeli flag when passing the Bogside in Derry: “Most of the band wanted it just for a wind-up, to annoy the Bogside. But my thing is, there’s the IRA, the PLO and the ANC and I detest all three of them” (McKay, 2000, p. 97).

Politicians from the Democratic Unionist Party from time to time visited Israel to examine their counterinsurgency policies, and loyalist paramilitaries were involved in smuggling arms both from and to South Africa. In 1988, a British intelligence agent in the UDA smuggled a large amount of weapons from South Africa, and in 1989, three loyalists were arrested in Paris attempting to sell plans for a newly developed Ministry of Defence missile, produced in Belfast, to Armscor, the South African state-owned arms company. But as peace processes developed in all three societies, it became increasingly difficult for loyalists to view any parallels with their own situation. White supremacist South Africa disappeared; Israel was under international pressure to recognize the rights of the Palestinians. Translated to Northern Ireland, such examples carried unwelcome messages of the demise of unionist monopoly and of parity of esteem for republicans.

Overall, loyalism as a conservative prostate ideology has little space to use the international rhetoric and visual representation of resistance and liberation. To take one example, in 1999, some loyalists organized a long march from Derry to Portadown in support of Orange marchers seeking to parade through a nationalist area in Portadown. They likened their march to...
that organized by Martin Luther King in 1965. Congressman Donald Payne objected: “These [Orange] marches have been symbols of intimidation and oppression for Northern Ireland’s Catholic minority for over 100 years—to characterise them now as civil rights marches is particularly grotesque” (Erwin, 1999, p. 7).

As indicated earlier, the most likely visual international reference in loyalist areas is the flying of the Israeli flag. The first recorded instance is in June 2002. The UDA explained the practice:

The Protestant people of Ulster have a certain empathy with the Israelis because it is also a nation under siege. The Israeli flags only went up to show our disgust at the republican community who held meetings with Palestinian fundamentalists before they embarked on their suicide bombings. (Breen, 2007)

It is interesting that opposition to Israeli flags came from the British fascist group Combat 18, which up to that time had supported the loyalists. It announced that it was considering withdrawing that support on the grounds that it “hates all things Jewish, and surely the loyalist people of Ulster must realise this” (Breen, 2007).²

In 2002, the Israeli flag—along with the flags of South Africa and Canada—flew over a crude mural in South Belfast. Painted underneath were a swastika and the letters “KKK.”

**Terror International?**

In an era of post-9/11 fear, it would be easy to exaggerate the significance of the connections symbolized in the republican murals. A nightmare vision of a terrorist international connecting Ireland with South Africa, Palestine, Cuba, the Basque Country, and further afield could be conjured. But far from being advertisements for terror international, the international themes taken up in republican murals point to international solidarity. Looking around the world, republicans see other sites of struggle that resonate with their own experience. Similarly, there are those who have struggled against imperialism and repression or who have experienced repression and imprisonment with whom they can easily identify. Within that identification is the explanation of the brothers on the walls.

On the 25th anniversary of the Irish hunger strike, republicans staged a mass rally in Belfast on August 13, 2006. Given the occasion, it might not have been unexpected that they confine their references to solely Irish matters, perhaps even giving the appearance of an exclusivist nationalism
that has no need or desire to relate to the rest of the world. But among the most vigorous rounds of applause for those marching were for a group of Palestinian young people from Balata refugee camp in Nablus and for a group carrying a banner protesting Israeli actions in Lebanon. In his speech, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams stated,

Let no hypocrite preach to us, while they condone what is happening in the Middle East. It is a disgrace. Let the government in Dublin for once stand up to the big powers and say that small people have the right to freedom and the right to justice. (“Remembering 1981 Adams Predicts ‘Freedom’ in Our Lifetime,” 2007)

Even at this potentially most nationalist event, internationalism was never far away.

And, as often before, the sense of recognition is frequently reciprocated. In September 2005, more than 200 detainees in Guantanamo Bay went on a hunger strike. One of them, Londoner Binyam Mohammed, who had not been born at the time of the Irish hunger strike in 1981, explained his decision thus,

I do not plan to stop until I either die or we are respected. People will definitely die. Bobby Sands petitioned the British government to stop the illegitimate internment of Irishmen without trial. He had the courage of his convictions and he starved himself to death. Nobody should believe for one moment that my brothers here have less courage. (Gillan, 2005, p. 1)

Notes

1. The collaboration of international muralists such as Alewitz and Ochoa is a practical example of mutual solidarity. Los Angeles–based muralist Ruben Ortiz-Torres collaborated with Belfast republican muralist Gerry Kelly in a mural in West Belfast in 1992. In 1998, Gary Whitedeer, a Native American painter, painted a mural in Derry.

2. Remarkably, Combat 18 supports the Palestinians, presumably because they kill Jews.

References


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