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DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	LIST	OF PARTICIPANTS	4	3/20/1984	B6

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: March 28, 1984

TO: FRANK DONATELLI

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS *UK*
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Room 438 OEOB, Ext. 2741

- FYI
- For Your Review
- Please Return By COB today
- Comments

Frank, we have also received some inquiries from Congressional offices regarding the status of this briefing.

DRAFT

March 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR SARGEANT BILL DAVIS, APPOINTMENT CENTER,
ROOM 060

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, OPL,

SUBJECT: Possible Confrontation at White House, March
30, 1984

This memorandum is to inform you of a possible confrontation which may occur at the 17th Street entrance of the Executive Office Building on Friday, March 30, 1984.

Mr. Michael O'Finn, representing the Irish American Unity Conference, had requested an official briefing on U.S. policy toward Ireland, the U.K. and Northern Ireland. A briefing has been scheduled for 4:00 p.m. on Friday, March 30 at the Department of State (copy of letter of confirmation attached).

Unfortunately, Mr. O'Finn and his associates are insisting on a briefing at the White House (copy of Mr. O'Finn's letter of March 27 attached). It is my understanding that Mr. O'Finn and his delegation of 86 will arrive at the White House at 4:00 p.m. this Friday and will request entry into the building. You should be aware that no briefing for the Irish American Unity Conference has been scheduled at the White House.

Please feel free to contact me at x2741 should you require further information.

DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 23, 1984

Dear Mr. O'Finn:

Thank you for contacting this office with your request for a briefing for the Irish American Unity Conference on U.S. policy on Northern Ireland on the afternoon of March 30.

As I informed you over the phone, we have made arrangements for a briefing for 75 of your members at 4:00 p.m., on Friday, March 30 at the Department of State. The briefing will be given by Mr. Martin Wenick, Director, Office of Northern European Affairs and Mr. Michael Barry, Desk Officer for Ireland. Your members should arrive at the "C" Street Entrance of the State Department no later than 3:45 p.m.

If you are not able to attend, please call Mr. Barry at (202)632-1194 so that he may cancel the arrangements.

Sincerely,



Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. Michael O'Finn
Irish American Unity Conference
143 Dreyel
Lansdowne, PA 19050



27 March 84

Michael O'Finn
143 Drexel Avenue,
Lansdowne, Penna. 19050
National Representative

Dear Mr Linas Kojelis

Enclosed please find the list of persons who will be attending the White House briefings as originally scheduled by yourself. Will see you 4PM at the Executive Office Building, 17th and G Streets, N.W. Washington, D.C., on Friday, March 30, 1984.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael O'Finn". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

Michael O'Finn

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

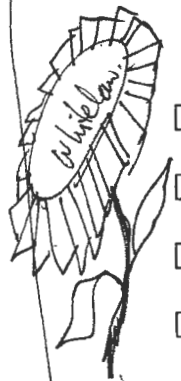
includes NORAD
First conference.
Defenders of violence.
atmosphere.
TO: I'm not sure that they were not received at
W.H. Appalled at ignorance of people involved
w. N. Ireland. Get rid of ~~the~~ band
people. Judith Brudner was
Circus
Date:
Plastic bullets.

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Room 438 OEOB, Ext. 2741



20900.

438. EOB.



- FYI
- For Your Review
- Please Return By _____
- Comments

Actinonius, ~~the~~ meeting, criminal
types, wife of Mike O'Rourke → (explosives
charges), came not for briefing, but to
make political protest. Admin has not
criticized UK HR violations, get U.K
out of N. Ireland, Did not want to
hear from us.

4/3/84

Linas - Hand-outs for members of the
Irish-American Unity Conference

MICHAEL T. BARRY

COUNTRY OFFICER FOR IRELAND / NORTHERN IRELAND

Working at the State Dept 3/30/84.

Mike

EUR / NE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, DC 20520

TELEPHONE
(202) 632-1194

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR RELEASE AT CONCLUSION OF LUNCHEON
FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1984

TEXT OF A TOAST BY THE PRESIDENT

I want to say how delighted Nancy and I are to have you and Mrs. Fitzgerald here today, Mr. Prime Minister. I know you've been to America a good deal and you are well acquainted with us. But we are very proud that you could be our guest on your first visit here as Prime Minister.

And we're especially happy to have you visiting at such an appropriate moment. Tomorrow is a great day in America, a day of bagpipes and shamrocks, a day when everyone is Irish or, as the saying has it, wishes they were.

In the United States, especially, the impact of the Emerald Isle on our culture and history is enormous. America is today, because of the Irish, a richer, brighter, freer, and, yes, a bit noisier country than it otherwise would have been. Virtually all Americans feel a surge of pride when they hear expressions like the "Fighting 69th," or the "Fighting Irish of Notre Dame." So many of our great public figures are of Irish ancestry -- from the man considered by many as the father of the American Navy, John Barry; to our first heavyweight champion, John L. Sullivan; to the great tenor, John McCormack; to a couple of Presidents of the United States and even to the current Speaker of the House.

I think there is one point on which the Speaker, Senator Kennedy, myself and the other Irish American leaders here are united: Our admiration for the efforts you are making to bring peace and stability to Ireland. We support your personal mission in America to end the tragically misguided support of some here for terrorist elements in Northern Ireland.

Mr. Prime Minister, I've been told by one of your countrymen that the Reagan family line goes back as far as the great 11th century warrior king, Brian Boru. If true, I'm exceedingly proud. But, perhaps like you, I sometimes wonder what our brave ancestors -- those who fought so gallantly over so many centuries against such hopeless odds -- what they would say about the valor of people who commit acts of violence and prey on the innocent, sometimes maiming and killing women and children.

Your words have been very direct on this point, Mr. Prime Minister. You have reminded those in this country who provide assistance to Northern Ireland's terrorists that they are assisting in violence and murder. Let me assure you that the vast majority of Irish Americans join you today in condemning support for those who preach hatred and practice violence in Ireland.

But there is another part of your mission to America, which is perhaps more fitting to today's festive atmosphere and more important over the long run. That is the message of hope that you bring us. We are especially heartened by your own efforts, as well as your colleagues' in the New Ireland Forum and the British Government, to seek a democratic and peaceful reconciliation of Ireland's diverse traditions. As we know, the high-level dialogue between Ireland and Britain has been renewed, and the groups promoting reconciliation and economic cooperation -- groups like Cooperation Ireland -- are also bearing fruit. For our part, we shall continue to encourage American firms to invest in Ireland, North and South, in ways which promote prosperity for both traditions.

Some time ago a former American ambassador told me of a weekend retreat, where politicians from the various Irish traditions met together for a frank discussion of the differences that separated them. It was a good weekend. Those who had never talked of such matters before were able to speak and listen to each other in a spirit of understanding. On the bus back home, they laughed and sang songs. The spirit of friendship bloomed. But when they got off the bus, the spirit somehow seemed to evaporate. After hearing this story, I told our ambassador to take them a message, and I think it bears repeating.

Mr. Prime Minister, I express your sentiments and those of our own people, and of the people of both parts of Ireland, when we say to all those who struggle with the problem of peace in Ireland: "Please get back on the bus."

The hope and prayers of the American people go with you. Peace and good cheer have never left Irish hearts -- and so we look to days of peace and harmony to come, when every day we may say what is said on St. Patrick's Day:

"O Ireland, isn't it grand you look --
like a bride in her rich adornin'?
and with all the pent-up love of my
heart
I bid you top of the mornin'."

Now, may I ask all of you here to join me in a toast to our friends, Prime Minister Fitzgerald and Mrs. Fitzgerald, and to the warmest and best of friendships, Ireland and the United States.

#

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
ST. PATRICK'S DAY, 1983

For those of us whose ancestors come from Ireland and for those of us who share the spirit of Irish humor, hard work and spiritual faith, St. Patrick's Day is a time of grateful celebration and much happiness.

Today is a time to honor and celebrate the enormous contribution to American life made by Irish immigrants. As frontiersmen in the American colonies and citizen soldiers in Washington's army they helped found our republic. Their ingenuity and effort built our economy, added to our spiritual values and enriched our literature. Their humor enriches life's happy moments and makes life's setbacks more bearable.

And yet our joy is tempered by the tragedy that divides neighbor from neighbor in Northern Ireland. We deeply regret that some would use this day to enlist support for more violence and conflict on that small island which is so much in our hearts today. We cannot remain indifferent to the tragedy that confronts the people of Northern Ireland and which affects the Republic of Ireland, Britain and their friends in the United States. Those who advocate or engage in violence and terrorism should find no welcome in the United States.

We condemn all such acts and oppose the forces of discord in Northern Ireland, which obstruct the process of reconciliation so essential for peace. We ask all Americans to refrain from supporting, with financial or other aid, organizations involved directly or indirectly in perpetuating violence. And we urge that those Americans--and there are many--who wish to help, lend their support and contributions to legitimate groups and organizations which work to promote reconciliation and economic cooperation.

The United States Government continues to take specific actions to hasten an end to this violence and discord by:

-- Discouraging Americans from contributing to organizations engaged in violence.

-- Arresting and prosecuting those engaged in the illegal export of arms to those groups.

-- Confiscating weapons intended for terrorists.

Next to peace and reconciliation, Northern Ireland's greatest need is for jobs to bring hope and opportunity to all its people, especially the young. American companies which have invested in Northern Ireland already employ a significant percentage of its industrial work force, making a real contribution to its well-being. This administration will continue to encourage private investment and the creation of more job opportunities in both Northern Ireland and the Republic.

We recognize that it is not for the United States to chart a course for the people of Northern Ireland, but we do have an obligation to urge our long-time friends in that part of the world to seek reconciliation between the two traditions in Northern Ireland and accommodation through democratic means. Durable, equitable solutions and peace cannot be imposed by outsiders, however well meaning. Our role, accordingly, is to support efforts by the people and governments directly involved.

So on St. Patrick's Day 1983 let us all celebrate our Irish heritage in fine style. But let us also remember those in Northern Ireland for which 1983 is one more year of terrorism and dim economic prospects--and let us rededicate ourselves to helping to bring these twin evils to an end.

On the eve of St. Patrick's Day

Irish Republicanism under the hammer and sickle

THE American view of Ulster's troubles exasperates the British, but nonetheless they endorse its most important aspect. According to the current wisdom of respectable British politicians, journalists, and much public opinion, the Provisional IRA and the INLA are simply arms of traditional Irish nationalism, part of the "age-old problem" created by English oppression of the angry tribes who wish to be rid of the Crown.

From this premise flows a conditioned mental reflex: to solve the problem, we must split the Britannic and Hibernian islands apart at last, let Ireland be "united." Having thus achieved their goal, the terrorists are bound to vanish into the political middle distance and cause no more trouble for anyone.

This amazingly blockheaded assumption skims over a number of factors, some historical, some contemporary. The first is the historical pedigree and real constituency of these cabals. From their very beginnings — not 800 years ago when the Normans went to Leinster, but in the late 1790s — violent Republican cults have never been more than a small self-conscious elite among nationalists. They have also tended to look abroad rather than to Ireland itself for sustenance and political models.

Theobald Wolfe Tone and his colleagues were buoyed up by French Jacobinism and depended upon the support of French arms. When this failed, their revolt, with almost no cogent backing at grass roots level, foundered in a morass of sectarian slaughter which negated Tone's dream of an Irish nation.

When more recent precursors of today's terrorists drew together in the 19th century they were unconcerned either with democracy or popular support, standing as they did outside the mainstream of Irish nationalism. Their aim, not shared by general nationalist sentiment, was to sever all ties with the Crown; the means to this end was to be violent insurrection, led by an elite who were ruled by a "provisional" dictator.

THIS proto-fascist approach was given ideological edge by the blood-and-soil rhetoric of Patrick Pearse, plus a false and racist myth of an 800-year-old struggle against "Saxon" invaders by a racially distinct "Celtic people" (which does not exist) to restore an "ancient Irish nation" (which never existed). The vague popular appeal of this in Ireland was given backing and force by activists in the real Republican constituency, which did and still does lie not in Ireland but across the Atlantic in the community of Americans descended from Irish immigrants.

Once Irish nationhood was

achieved, it had fundamentally British political institutions. These left no legitimate public niche for the successors to Wolfe Tone's violent Jacobin tradition. The underground existence of the IRA was sustained by an irredentism focused on Ulster and the sullen, ill-treated Catholic minority there.

At the end of the '60s Republicans in Ulster tried to repeat the strategy which had won the war for independence in the South: provocation of Crown forces into reprisals which would so affect public opinion that Ulster's tie to the United Kingdom would be broken. Despite a few public relations coups like the riot at Burntollet Bridge, Bloody

Neither the British nor the Americans take terrorist policy seriously, but for different reasons. The Left-wing nature of the Provos and the INLA is carefully screened from the mass of their American supporters, who are among the most virulently anti-Communist elements in the United States.

The image which courts their assistance is that of the simple freedom-fighter waging an 800-year-old "war of liberation" to unite Ireland. Strong emotional commitment to this goal blocks out information on the ideology and further plans of the "liberators." When offered, the facts are dismissed as British propaganda. Now and then an atrocity like the murder of Earl Mountbatten or the Harrods bombing cracks the facade, but Noraid and its cognates have had fair success in papering over these cracks.

The British case is more dangerous, because it rests on attitudes which are less *ad hoc*, more culturally ingrained. In this country the Irish are quietly despised, much as Latin Americans are despised by North American *gringos*. Under the American liberal imperative to keep hands off "poor little Nicaragua" lies a contemptuous belief that nothing those volatile, scatterbrained, disorganised Latins do could possibly harm the huge, superior (and white) United States. It is conveniently forgotten that the volatile dictator of "poor little Cuba" brought us closer than we have ever been to all-out nuclear war.

★

APART from certain segments of the Labour party who would be delighted to see a Left-wing fascist takeover in Ireland, too many of the British respond to the prospect thus: maybe the four-billion-pound burden of Ulster, plus those ferocious armed Protestants, will destabilise Ireland. So what? We're fed up with the Irish, North and South. They and their country would be, thank God, none of our business any more. A Provo-INLA government there couldn't hurt us; the Irish are too volatile, too scatterbrained, too disorganised, they're a lot of paddywhack clowns. Let them go, have done with them. If they do get the Provos they probably deserve them anyhow. Who cares what happens over there?

It has been the constant curse of Anglo-Irish affairs that the people of this island have never cared enough either about what happens over there or about the political ideas which helped it happen. This indifference has led to some extremely ugly surprises before now; if it enables these terrorists to break the British resolve at last, then not only Britain but Europe and the United States may be in for the ugliest surprise of all: at best, forced involvement in an Irish civil war; at worst a radical Left-wing satellite smack in the middle of the Western Alliance.

The true nature of IRA politics may still shock American liberalism even after its Nicaraguan and Cuban misjudgments, says

HERB GREER

Sunday and others, this gambit was frustrated, first by the disciplined intervention of the British Army and then by direct rule. A latter-day mass retreat of Terence McSwiney's famous hunger-strike was no more successful.

Meanwhile the proto-fascist Jacobins had mutated into a radically Left-wing version, the Provisional IRA and the INLA; both are committed only incidentally to a united Ireland. Their strongest loyalty is not to a nation but to a system—the Soviet-backed Left-wing fascism of the Third World, matching that of satellite regimes like Cuba and Nicaragua.

The terrorist policy is clear: first, the expulsion of Ulster from the United Kingdom; second, exploitation of the consequent unrest and economic chaos to destabilise Ireland and destroy the present system of government there; third, the imposition of a centralised single-party dictatorship rather like that which exists today in Nicaragua. This is to be achieved by the traditional techniques of assassination, random bombing, and the torture and mutilation of dissenters in the nationalist community.

Some think Ireland's Catholicism would make this impossible; but the record of the Church in preventing such coups is nil. In Nicaragua the Catholic clergy actually take part in the government, and important figures in the Irish hierarchy have openly expressed sympathy for the aims of the terrorists.

IRISH
 Irish Times
 March 29, 1983

NI 600V
 PSF/IRA



By Conor Cruise
 O'Brien

Casting the IRA figleaf aside

IN THIS space on March 8th last, I wrote an article "Death in the Afternoon" about the murder by the Provisional IRA in Serpentine Avenue, Belfast, of a policeman called Lindsey McCormick.

I also quoted a press report that Mr Owen Carron, MP, had told a British Labour gathering of his movement's intention to "destabilise the South."

Mr Carron has replied at some length in *The Irish Times* (March 18th). He does not mention Lindsey McCormick.

He directs a number of personal insults at myself, to which I shall not reply in kind or otherwise.

What I propose to take up is a matter of considerable importance to the public in this State:

The question of whether Sinn Fein-IRA (one organisation except in name) does or does not contemplate "destabilising the South."

Mr Carron describes the *Irish News* report from which I quoted as "spurious". He does not directly and specifically deny that he used the words quoted but he strongly suggests that he did not use them.

What he says is:

"Sinn Fein is not to destabilise the South. I said that Sinn Fein needed to intervene effectively in Southern politics which is a quite different proposition."

It is certainly a distinct proposition in form. Whether it would be a different proposition in practice would depend not on Sinn Fein but on the IRA: on the organ-grinder; that is to say, not on the monkey.

In any case it does not matter whether the two propositions are different or not because Mr Carron in fact used both of them. I have checked with two journalists — one in Britain and one in this country — and they confirmed the newspaper report on this point.

They heard Mr Carron call for political intervention in Southern politics. And they also heard him call for the destabilisation of the South.

I believe them and I do not believe Mr Carron's implied disclaimer.

We must never lose sight — it will be at our own peril if we do — of the fact that Provisional Sinn Fein is quite different from an ordinary democratic party. It is an integral part of a paramilitary apparatus.

Sole purpose

Doing what "the Army" wants it to do is its sole purpose in life. That has always been the case but in the past there has always been some degree of "deniability". And some people were willing — almost pathetically willing — to accept such denials at face-value, or more than face-value.

Thus during the Assembly elections the Catholic Church despite its frequent condemnations of violence refrained from advising against voting for Provisional Sinn Fein, refusing to see that that party is there only to give political violence a hat in the democratic ring.

That was obvious except to people who were very anxious not to see it even at the time of the Assembly election after Mr Danny Morrison's notorious "ballot-box and Armalite" speech.

After that the notion that Sinn Fein is something distinct from the IRA retained only the most exiguous, transparent and forlorn of figleaves.

Yet people who in other areas of their concern have shown themselves quite exigent in the matter of figleaves, found this densory specimen quite acceptable.

After the Assembly elections, however, Sinn Fein threw even that figleaf aside. They are now openly committed to "unambiguous support for the armed struggle." So at least we know where we are.

Even those of us who don't want to know where they are still have to know where they are.

Cardinal O Fiaich

Cardinal O Fiaich at the beginning of this year gently admonished Provisional Sinn Fein for the use of that unambiguous formula. They have not, however, disavowed it.

Unambiguous support for the armed struggle means total subordination to the leaders of that struggle. Sinn Fein must claim what the IRA tells it to claim and thus disclaim what the IRA tells it to disclaim. Apparently the IRA don't find it expedient just yet to talk openly about destabilising the South.

I suppose that's something.

What Mr Carron does now have to say about destabilisation — undisclaimably over his own signature — is worth a little scrutiny.

He acknowledges over his signature having said that the Colonial Six-County State has been successfully destabilised.

So at least we know what exactly to expect whenever we find "destabilisation" pointed our way in the South.

He also tells us why Sinn Fein — according to his present rendition of policy — "has no intention of de-establishing (sic) the South:

"Why? Because we have no need.

"The British presence in our country and the nefarious tentacles that stretch from it are a built-in source of instability — always have been and always will be."

What does that mean, do you think? My own guess is that it means that the IRA do indeed have contingency plans for destabilising the South and also for justifying that course, if and when they decide to embark on it.

If the IRA does start systematically murdering people in the South as now in the North, Sinn Fein is there to justify that "arms struggle" in the same way as it justifies its murders in the North by putting all the blame on the British and on those whom the IRA chooses to murder, all of whom Sinn Fein will obediently depict as agents of the British.

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

EMBARGOED UNTIL:

11 AM THURSDAY 15 MARCH

ADDRESS BY THE TAOISEACH, DR. GARRET FITZGERALD, T.D.,

TO JOINT MEETING OF CONGRESS, MARCH 15, 1984.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished members of the Congress of the United States, with the Irish hospitality for which America is famous, you have been good enough to invite me to address you in the week of Saint Patrick - Feile Phadraig in the language of the Gael. On behalf of the Irish people, close, as always, in feeling to their American cousins, I thank you for this honour.

This is the second time in eight years you have paid tribute in this way, by hearing from this dais the Head of an Irish Government, in celebration of the friendship and cousinship that binds our two peoples. The tradition is a long one, going back over a century to the year 1880, when you offered a platform to one of the first people from outside the United States ever permitted to address this Congress, the great Irish leader, Charles Stewart Parnell.

I have said that we are cousins; our countries are linked by a special relationship, not built on mutual calculations of interest, but on human links of kinship and friendship; a unique relationship founded primarily and profoundly on people. The family relationship between us extends to 44 million Irish Americans, but in this week of each year, the whole people of this great nation, our friends for 51 weeks in the year, become our cousins in spirit as we honour together Ireland's national Saint.

One of the great characteristics of the American people has always been your pride - your justified pride - in the achievements of the new nation that you have forged over several centuries in the land to which your forefathers came from the other continents of the world. That pride has sustained you in many troubles, many trials, many tragedies. It is founded on achievement and is sustained by an abiding faith in your capacity to face any challenge, and by a spirit of generous optimism.

We in Ireland also take pride in our country and in the achievements of our people. We are proud not only of the ancient origins of our race, of the survival of our people through so many struggles and hardships, of the cultural empire we have carved out in literature in the English language complementing our own ancient Gaelic tradition: we are proud also of being a mother country, a people of 5 million in their own island, but with tens of millions of children scattered throughout the world, keeping fresh the memory of their homeland, most jubilantly on this feast of Saint Patrick.

An ancient nation, we are a modern State. Modern in the sense that the present Irish State took its place in the world community a bare sixty years ago; modern also in the sense that so much of our economic

development and specifically our industrialisation, is new, created in recent decades, partly by our own native effort, but also in significant measure by investment from outside our shores. Pre-eminently, this external investment has come from the United States. Allied to the skills and dynamism of our youthful labour force, it has given us a place in the new technology of our European continent that is quite disproportionate to our size.

Our high technology industries - chemicals, electronics and, above all, computers, are the source of a dynamism which, even in the absence of export growth in other sectors, last year increased our total manufactured exports by 14% in the midst of world recession - the highest rate of export increase in Europe. Within twelve years during which two major oil crises have stopped in its tracks world economic growth, we have doubled our share of the world market for manufactures.

An ancient nation, a modern State, and a youthful people: amongst all the developed countries of the world, Ireland has the youngest population, almost one-third of our electorate being under 30. Within barely two decades the number of our young people in their twenties has virtually doubled.

There is, of course, another side to all this. Like so many other developed countries we face today a serious employment problem - the more acute because of our young population. The growth of our economy at home, as in so many other countries, has been halted by the recession of recent years - now perhaps coming to an end in response to the American recovery. For many of our people these problems have loomed large, seeming at times indeed to fill the horizon and to dim some of the hopes that the achievements of recent decades had aroused.

And there is another problem, one which constantly overshadows us - and has often touched us directly: the sombre tragedy of Northern Ireland. There is hardly a family on either side of the divided community in the North that has not known insecurity, suffering and all too often, bereavement. This is a fact that must be remembered by all those from outside Northern Ireland who claim to apportion blame or to offer simplistic solutions.

Locked into a corner of our small island, in a piece of territory a hundred miles long and sixty miles across, live one-and-a-half million people, drawn from two different Irish traditions: the ancient Gaelic, Catholic tradition stretching back through several millenia, and the Protestant tradition of those who settled from Britain in much of the north-eastern corner of our island at the same time as compatriots of theirs were settling on the eastern edge of this great continent. These two traditions in Northern Ireland have maintained their distinct identities through the centuries. Their loyalties face in two different directions - the 40% Catholic nationalist minority looking south towards their kinsmen in the Irish State, and the 60% majority looking instead towards Britain, whence their ancestors came four centuries ago.

In passing I cannot help reflecting that here in the United States people from these two separate Irish backgrounds have without difficulty given their allegiance to a common flag and a single Constitution, while on

their home ground the clash of their identities has remained undiminished by time. Thus has been created in Northern Ireland one of the most complex political problems in the world today: complex in its intensity and in the apparent irreconcilability of the two traditions within this small piece of territory. But a problem which, nevertheless, is too often viewed from outside in exceedingly simplistic terms; seen by all too many as involving no more than the end of British rule in Northern Ireland.

Would that this were indeed the only problem! Then the British and ourselves could have solved it in agreement long ago. But the real problem at the human level lies in the North itself - in the inter-relationship between the two traditions within that divided community.

Britain, with the responsibility for governing Northern Ireland, has not hitherto addressed this problem with the combination of determination and even-handedness that it requires. Nor has it given to it the priority which, as a great human tragedy, it demands. Britain has, moreover, hitherto seemed often to be preoccupied with the security symptoms of the problem, at the expense of its fundamentally political character.

But can we, for our part, in our Irish State - although we have had neither direct responsibility nor opportunity to solve this problem - truthfully say that we have done all in our power to understand and face the realities of this tragedy? Have we sufficiently tried to reach out with sympathy and understanding to both sides in Northern Ireland?

The answer can only be that not one of us, in Britain or in Ireland, is free of some measure of guilt for what has been happening in Northern Ireland. None of us has a right to seek to shift the whole of the blame on to others. Both the London and Dublin Governments have a duty now to break out of ancient moulds and attitudes and to make the necessary imaginative leap of understanding.

This moral obligation, to put Northern Ireland, its people, and their interests first, imposes itself also, I believe, upon those in other lands, such as this great United States of America, who are concerned, as I know so many of you are concerned, with this problem. It is an obligation that can be fulfilled only by the most resolute support for peace and reconciliation amongst the people of Northern Ireland. It can be fulfilled only by a corresponding rejection of - revulsion against - the very idea of aid by way of money, or by way of weapons, or by way of moral support, to any of those who are engaged in the acts of horrific violence that are corrupting and destroying the life of a whole community. And when I call for rejection of such "moral support", I necessarily include the act of making common cause for any purpose, however speciously well-meaning, with people who advocate, or condone, the use of violence in Ireland for political ends.

Let me tell you, for a few brief moments how the democratically based political parties of our State have been attempting, in conjunction with the constitutional nationalists of the SDLP Party in the North, led by John Hume, to take our responsibilities in seeking a resolution of this tragic problem. These four parties viz. the two parties in our

Government (my own Fine Gael Party and the Labour Party) together with the Opposition Fianna Fail Party, and the SDLP in Northern Ireland have between them been elected by the votes of 90% of the nationalist people of the island of Ireland and consequently represent 70% of all its inhabitants nationalist and unionist. For nine months past, our parties - the parties which aspire to Irish unity achieved by peaceful means - have been working together within the framework of a New Ireland Forum, in search of ways of bringing peace and stability to Northern Ireland and, indeed, to the whole island of Ireland.

Week after week, the Forum has been in session. We four party leaders have already met either in Committee together, or in conjunction with our fellow-members in the Forum, no less than sixty-nine times - setting aside our other differences and giving to this work our highest priority.

The Forum has been studying, and hearing personal evidence on, submissions made to us by a wide range of people and groups. These have included many that have been representative of aspects of the Protestant and Unionist tradition of Northern Ireland.

Finally, we have been seeking to find together ways by which political structures could be created in the future that would accommodate not only our own nationalist tradition which aspires to Irish unity achieved peacefully and by agreement, but also that of the unionist community in Northern Ireland.

It is our hope that we will find common ground amongst our four parties. We hope that this common ground might provide a basis upon which the Governments of Britain and Ireland, in conjunction with representatives of both sides of the community in Northern Ireland, could eventually construct a political solution. Such a solution would have to be one that would reconcile the conflicting rights and identities of unionists and nationalists: one that would render totally irrelevant those who are seeking to impose their tyranny of violence on the people of our island.

What we of the constitutional Irish nationalist tradition are attempting together is unique. It is our hope that it will find a response in Britain. There are indications already that responsible opinion in that neighbouring island has taken note of our initiative and is awaiting its outcome with growing interest. When our task is completed it will in turn be Britain's duty to do as we are doing; to review and revise its approach to the problem.

In thus telling you something of what the constitutional parties of nationalist Ireland are currently engaged upon, and of our hopes of an equally generous response from the British Government and political parties, I am frankly seeking to engage your interest in, and your commitment to, this process, which, we believe, offers a constructive alternative - the only constructive alternative - to the violence and terrorism in Northern Ireland.

I believe that you will be glad to hear a message of hope in respect of a problem which many of you must have been tempted to write off as insoluble. We know that in this Congress there are very many people

whose affection for Ireland and concern for the welfare of our island and its people are deep and strong. I know that in speaking here today I am speaking to friends of Ireland. We need the help and encouragement of our friends.

America's voice in the world is a strong one. It is a voice that is listened to. We call it in aid of our efforts, not in support of any narrow sectional interest but in support of a generous attempt to resolve once and for all the conflict of traditional identities in Ireland on a basis that will secure the interests and concerns of both sections of the community in the North - in recognition of the equal validity of the two Irish traditions. And we ask our friends in the United States that, in the context of any agreement that might emerge from our present efforts, to secure peace and stability in Ireland, they would support in a practical way its implementation.

I have not come to the United States to speak only of this problem, although you will readily understand that it looms foremost in my mind, as it must in the mind of any Irishman who has political responsibilities. We have other common interests to pursue with you, the political leaders of the United States. When I meet your President tomorrow I shall be speaking to him not alone of Northern Ireland but also of other issues, including matters concerning the relationship between the United States and the European Community, the Presidency of which Ireland will be assuming for the third time on 1st July next.

When, in January 1975, Ireland first undertook that Presidential responsibility in the Community, your Administration invited me as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland to come to Washington to discuss together the common concerns at that time of the United States and the Community. This was, I think, the first full-scale consultation between the European Community and the United States in a new process that had been decided upon during the previous year. I was happy on that occasion, to be able to play a part in bringing Europe and the United States closer together.

On this visit I shall be engaged once again upon a similar task - recognising that the common concerns of Europe and the United States are matched also by divergent interests in certain areas of commerce and finance - as also by somewhat different perceptions of the political situation in various parts of the world. It is well that together Europe and America should seek to reconcile these divergent interests and different perceptions, so far as we may be able to do so without doing violence to the legitimate interests, and the principles, of each of the partners in this relationship.

Let me revert for a moment to a festive note appropriate to the joint celebration of Saint Patrick's Day by our two peoples. I know that we are two days ahead of time and such earliness is perhaps more an American than a European characteristic, exemplified perhaps by your addiction to breakfast television, and, as I have found to my cost, working breakfasts! But I feel that no-one in the United States would object if I propose that the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day this year be a three-day affair, starting today, and culminating on Saturday - with Sunday as a very necessary day of rest before we all return to our humdrum daily activities next week!

Toward a New Ireland

Garrett FitzGerald, Taoiseach of the Republic of Ireland, will be visiting the United States this week, meeting with the Irish-American communities in New York and Washington and lunching in the White House with the nation's most prominent Irish-American. It has become something of a ritual for officials of the Dublin Government to visit the United States in the week before St. Patrick's Day, and one part of their message has also become something of a ritual. As his predecessors and he have done on other occasions, Dr. FitzGerald will urge Irish-Americans not to contribute to organizations in this country that channel such support to the paramilitary activities of the Irish Republican Army.

It is a sound, if familiar, warning. However well-intentioned, such support does not effectively advance the cause of Irish unity, which can only be secured if peace and stability are established in Ireland. The terrorist tactics of the I.R.A., who seek to gain by bombs what they have never succeeded in winning by ballots, serve only to deepen the divisions that must be overcome if Ireland is ever to be one free nation. In the words of Cahal Daly, Bishop of Down and Connor, "Violence must, after a cruel 15 years' experience, be pronounced morally and politically bankrupt."

This year, though, Dr. FitzGerald will also bring a new message, one that carries an unexpected measure of hope that a peaceful solution to the crisis in Northern Ireland may eventually be found. Since last May, all three major political parties of the Republic of Ireland (Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil and Labor) have been meeting with the nationalist party of Northern Ireland (Social Democratic and Labor Party) to explore the possibilities of new political structures that could resolve the crisis of Northern Ireland. All four of the parties involved are committed to the unification of the six counties of the North with the rest of Ireland, but they recognize that such a unification cannot be imposed on the Unionist citizens of Northern Ireland by force. As Dr. FitzGerald has pointed out, at the heart of the conflict in Northern Ireland is the existence of two identities: "the Irish/Irish sense of identity of the Nationalist minority and the British/Irish identity of the Unionist majority." The challenge that confronts the New Ireland Forum, in Dr. FitzGerald's words, is to find "structures that would accommodate both these senses of identity and thus secure peace and stability."

The dream of a united Ireland strikes deep emotional

resonances in the Irish consciousness, and it has provided a powerful theme for politicians in Ireland and on the other side of the Atlantic. It is a theme that can be cruelly exploited by those who are more impressed with its emotional appeal to their constituents than they are concerned with the pragmatic decisions that must be made in order to bring that dream closer to reality. The New Ireland Forum is significant because it represents the first time that all four nationalist political parties in Ireland have come together to search for a consensus on what the shape of a "new Ireland" could be. They have invested considerable time and energy in the process. Since last May, over 300 written submissions have been discussed in lengthy hearings that have ranged over the various constitutional, religious, economic and ideological issues that complicate the journey to a unified Ireland. By all accounts, the hearings for the most part have been characterized by a seriousness of purpose and a candor that are rarely present in meetings of longstanding political rivals.

The final report of the forum is expected within weeks. If a proposal could be developed that was unanimously supported by all four parties, who represent four out of every five people on the entire island, it would obviously be a powerful rallying point for the Irish people and a challenge to the British Government. Thus far, Britain's policy toward Northern Ireland has consisted of insisting on the right of the Unionist majority to determine their own national identity, a perfectly valid principle in itself but hardly a comprehensive view of the roots of the conflict there.

Unanimity concerning the forum's conclusions may not prove possible. Still, the report will review the different constitutional options for a new Ireland—a unitary state, a federal Ireland or joint sovereignty with Britain over Northern Ireland—in the hope that they could constitute the agenda for talks between Britain and Ireland and, eventually, between the Nationalists and Unionists in Northern Ireland. Whatever its final form, though, the report will focus on a "new Ireland," one freed from the paralysis of the past and the exhausted stalemate that keeps the children of Ireland hostage to a legacy of hatred and bitterness. The future cannot be surrendered to the myths of death; it must belong to the living.

**FRIENDS OF IRELAND
ST. PATRICK'S DAY STATEMENT
MARCH 14, 1984**

St. Patrick's Day 1984 arrives at a time of anticipation for all in the United States who are friends of Ireland and who seek progress toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Northern Ireland.

It is true that savage acts of terror perpetrated in recent months remind us of the never-ending violence that has been the reality of life in Northern Ireland since 1969. Sectarian slayings by paramilitary assassination squads, the machine gunning of a congregation at prayer, the bombing of Christmas shoppers in London, the murder of public officials and elected representatives, and other senseless assaults proclaim the festering tragedy of Northern Ireland, where killing is no respecter of frontiers. Once again, the violence crossed the border to the Republic of Ireland, where the first Irish soldier ever was slain by the Provisional IRA.

Time no longer takes the side of peace in Northern Ireland; we are mindful of the words of Yeats that "Too long a sacrifice/
Can make a stone of the heart."

We unreservedly condemn the acts of violence on both sides; we renew our urgent appeal to all Americans to renounce the path of the bomb and the bullet and to reject the pleas of those who seek by word or deed or dollar to promote or condone the cause of violence.

Despite the killing and destruction, an emerging reality of a different sort gives hope on this St. Patrick's Day to the promise of a brighter future. We have been heartened by the work of the New Ireland Forum, which convened in Dublin in May 1983. Through the courageous and painstaking efforts of nationalist political leaders, the Forum is developing new approaches to dispel the underlying causes of the violence and relieve the heavy burden borne by the Irish people in human suffering and shattered hopes for progress and justice.

We urge all political leaders in Northern Ireland to review the Forum's work with open minds and open hearts. We hope that the report and recommendations of the Forum, soon to be issued, will be the basis for a new beginning in Ireland and for genuine progress toward peace and reconciliation. At this auspicious time, as the participants of the Forum approach the end of their deliberations, we wish them success in their historic effort to conceive a future that fully protects the rights and fairly reflects the aspirations of all the Irish people and each of the communities in Northern Ireland.

We also welcome the resumption during the past year of discussions on Northern Ireland between the Irish and British Prime Ministers. We commend the growing recognition in Great Britain that the problems of Northern Ireland cannot be met by security measures alone, but require a long-term political solution, acceptable to the Irish and British Governments and to the people of Northern Ireland. We ask the British Government to give urgent and continuing priority to Northern Ireland in the coming year and to consult more closely with the Irish Government in the search for a solution. The work of the New Ireland Forum is a timely opportunity for a new and broader-based initiative to succeed.

The United States also has a role to play in facilitating the essential process of reconciliation within Ireland and between Britain and Ireland. We look forward to the visit this week by the Prime Minister of Ireland, Dr. Garret FitzGerald, his discussion with President Reagan, and his address to a joint meeting of the Congress. We hope as well that President Reagan will use the opportunity of his own visit to Ireland and Britain in June to explore the many ways -- diplomatic, political, and economic -- in which the United States can contribute to the search for peace.

As Friends of Ireland in the Congress, we renew our support for the great goal of Irish unity, and we pledge in the coming year to continue our efforts for peace and reconciliation. We intend to build on the relationships we have already developed with Ireland's political leaders, both north and south, including the links we have established with the Irish Parliament. We are heartened by the support we have received from our colleagues in Dublin whom we welcomed on their visit to America last July. We look forward to productive new exchanges in the future.

Above all on this St. Patrick's Day, we reaffirm our commitment to peace in Ireland and to a future in which all the Irish people -- from both traditions and from north and south -- will prosper and advance together. The attainment of this new Ireland is the worthy goal of all in the United States who are truly friends of Ireland.

United States Senate

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Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Christopher J. Dodd
Max Baucus
Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
Jeff Bingaman
Bill Bradley
Robert C. Byrd
Dale Bumpers
Thad Cochran
William S. Cohen
Alan Cranston
John C. Danforth
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Paul S. Sarbanes
Jim Sasser
Arlen Specter
Ted Stevens
Paul E. Tsongas
Lowell P. Weicker
Pete Wilson

House of Representatives

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Thomas S. Foley
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Roy Dyson
Joseph D. Early
Lane Evans
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Vic Fazio
Edward F. Feighan
Geraldine A. Ferraro
Edwin B. Forsythe
Barney Frank
William Frenzel
George W. Gekas
Sam Gejdenson
Bill Green
Frank Harrison
Dennis Hertel
Frank Horton
James J. Howard
William J. Hughes
Mary Kaptur
Barbara B. Kennelly
Joe Kolter
Peter H. Kostmayer
Robert J. Lagomarsino
Mel Levine
Elliott H. Levitas
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Edward R. Madigan
Edward J. Markey
Lynn Martin
Frank McCloskey
Matthew F. McHugh
Stewart B. McKinney
James F. McNulty, Jr.
Joseph G. Minish
Joe Moakley
Jim Moody
Bruce A. Morrison
Robert Mrazek
Austin J. Murphy
Henry J. Nowak
Mary Rose Oakar
Charles B. Rangel
Peter W. Rodino, Jr.
John F. Seiberling
Jim Slattery
Lawrence J. Smith
Samuel J. Stratton
Bob Traxler
Doug Walgren

'Turn away from the falsehood and propaganda of violence . . .'

Address by Bishop Cahal B. Daly, of
Down and Connor, for World Day of
Peace.



It is 17 years since Pope Paul VI established 1st. January as a day to be observed by Catholics everywhere as a World Day of Peace. Each New Year's day since then the Pope has addressed to Catholics and to all men of good will a message of peace.

Yet on this 17th World Day of Peace, war rages in many regions of the earth. We read daily about atrocities, whether perpetrated by guerrilla forces or by security forces, and news broadcasts are filled with reports of violence and repression, outrage and revenge. Here in Ireland, we look back on 15 years of violence. The world seems heedless of the Pope's voice. Even here in Ireland, some have hardened their ears and their hearts to the Pope's repeated appeals.

Yet the Holy Father does not give up. Like the prophets of the Old Testament, like St. Paul, he is determined to go on teaching Christ's message of love and peace, whether people listen or whether they do not.

"FROM A NEW HEART, PEACE IS BORN"

Pope John Paul's message for this year bears the title: "From a new heart, peace is born." He says:

It is the "heart," of men that must be renewed, in order to renew systems, institutions and methods.

The Pope's message is a call to conversion. This, he explains, is also a call to turn away from the falsehood and propaganda of violence, a call to renounce the lie that violence is the way to justice. It is a call to return to the truth. 'It is a question of renouncing violence, falsehood and hatred, of becoming — in intentions, feelings and whole conduct — a fraternal being, one who recognises the dignity and the needs of the other person, and seeks to cooperate with him or her in order to create a world of peace.'

It is the duty of a Catholic bishop to affirm and reaffirm that truth, to keep repeating that call to conversion. We must insist on this message, whether it is popular or unpopular, whether it is misunderstood, distorted or misused for propaganda purposes. A bishop may not let himself be influenced by consideration of political expediency. The bishop remembers that "He that judges him is the Lord," not opinion polls or electoral calculations.

MORAL EVIL OF PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE

The most immediate duty of an Irish Catholic bishop at this time must be to proclaim the moral evil of the campaign of paramilitary violence being waged in the name of republicanism. It is people of Catholic background who are waging this campaign. It is Catholics who provide whatever support or sympathy it enjoys. These are the people to whom a Catholic bishop is called by God to give moral and spiritual leadership.

When, as Bishop of Down and Connor, I pronounce this campaign to be morally wrong and unjustifiable, I am doing so with a responsibility and authority to which God has called me. In doing so, I am not talking politics. I am talking religion, I am proclaiming teaching that is binding on Catholics. I appeal to republican paramilitaries, I appeal to them in the name of Jesus Christ, whose servant and messenger I am called to be, to listen to this teaching. I appeal to them to turn away from violence and to develop instead non-violent strategies for justice.

I appeal to young people tempted to join paramilitary movements. They should know that they are committing themselves to gravely sinful acts. Those who give assistance, cooperation, information, 'safe houses' or shelter to people engaged in paramilitary activity share the sin of these acts.

No-one should be misled by talk of a "just war." Invocation of the "theology of the just war" by protagonists of physical force republicanism is mistaken. This much misunderstood theology was not a theology designed to justify wars. It was instead a theology intended to restrain war-making by laying down strict and narrow conditions without which no war could be justified. It was further designed to outlaw some of war's

worst excesses by strictly defining what actions in a war otherwise just were morally admissible, and what actions were morally forbidden in any kind of war. Judged by every single criterion of the traditional "just war" theology, the present physical force republican campaign is morally wrong and the operations to which it obliges its members are morally wrong.

When political organisations connected with paramilitary movements present themselves seeking votes, they offer a complex political 'ticket', including such laudable aims as social reform, housing renewal, environmental rehabilitation, redress of governmental and civic neglect. Support for paramilitary activity is rarely directly sought. A vote cast for these organisations is, however, interpreted by them as a vote for violence. Voters are obliged to remember this.

When I say this, I am not taking political sides. I am enunciating moral principle. It would be welcome if the organisations in question were to lay aside the armalite and genuinely enter the political process on the basis of argument, persuasion, negotiation and non-violent action for justice. But until they do so, those who vote for them cannot be exempt from the grave moral responsibility of being used to give a ballot box mandate for the armalite.

It is unjust and it is self-contradictory for supposedly political organisations to place voters in such a moral dilemma. They are abusing the political process. For them, politics is not, as it should be, a rational and peaceful alternative to violence. It is merely an "armed struggle" carried on by different means. It is an anti-politics.

SELF-CONTRADICTIONS OF REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARISM

In addition to the inherent contradictions involved in attempting to carry the ballot box in one hand and the armalite in the other, there are many other contradictions in present-day paramilitary republicanism. Its aim has been, and is now more clearly seen to be, to subvert the institutions of the Irish Republic, as well as those of Northern Ireland. It was fully in the logic of the movement to engage in armed attack on the Irish Army and the Garda Síochána, even if not, at a given moment, in accordance with their tactics. Republican paramilitaries have killed the first Irish soldier to die in armed combat in Ireland since the

Civil War. They have for years been flaunting the institutions, the laws and the peace-keeping forces of the independent Irish State. They have set precedents and provided models for a wave of violent crime which has scarred once peaceful areas in the quietest parts of Ireland.

One of the greatest achievements of the newly independent Irish State was that, for the first time in centuries, peace was maintained in its territory solely through an unarmed police force. For a state emerging from armed revolution and from a bitter Civil War, the decision to disarm the police was without precedent. It was an achievement of which any country could be proud. It would be retrograde if that decision ever had to be reversed. If, or in so far, as it has had now to be modified, it is Irish republican paramilitaries who are to blame. It is they who have begun to reverse the achievements of past republicans and to threaten the democratic institutions set up by the sacrifices of the dead generations. It should surely be a cause for heart-searching to paramilitary republicans and to threaten the democratic institutions set up by the sacrifices of the dead generations. It should surely be a cause for heart-searching to paramilitary republicans that it is now only they and loyalist extremists who use the insulting term "the Free State", in reference to the Republic of Ireland, whose name is honoured among the nations of the world.

Extreme loyalists and paramilitary republican activists have other characteristics in common. If ever anything is said or any proposal made which seems to offer some basis for reconciliation, some hope of reasonable settlement, both groups move in from opposite wings to discredit it and to wreck it. Indeed, in many respects, paramilitary republicanism needs extreme loyalism and vice versa. They feed each other.

Recent events have intensified revulsion against paramilitary nationalism among the population of the Republic. The blame for the discrediting of the republican cause rests with the present physical force republicans. The republican violence of the last fifteen years have severely damaged the credibility of the Irish nationalist case in the eyes of the world. The longer it continues, the more this campaign alienates the vast majority of citizens in the Republic of Ireland. If its political ex-

ponents were ever given anything like a plausible mandate to speak for the Northern nationalist community, this community could find itself isolated from its friends everywhere. Its last state would be incomparably worse than its state before the campaign began.

It was, however, not only when Garda or Irish Army soldiers were killed that paramilitary republicans began killing fellow-Irishmen. The greatest proportion of British security forces now operating in Northern Ireland are Northern Irish. By far the largest proportion of all victims of republican killings in recent years have been Irishmen. They have for the most part been unionists, acting naturally and logically in accordance with unionist principles. Milkmen have been killed on their peaceful milk rounds, post-men delivering letters, bus drivers driving children's buses, fathers before their wives and children, policemen helping school children across the road, policemen giving traffic directions. Unionist politicians have been killed. Killings such as these could not escape being called murders of opposing politicians, simply because of their political views. Indeed they could not but be perceived as sectarian murders of Protestants simply because they are Protestants. Such actions are a betrayal of historical republicanism.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Paramilitary republicans present their campaign of violence as the only way to the liberation of the most deprived sections of the Northern nationalist community from deprivation, oppression, discrimination, harassment by security forces. It is preponderantly on these grounds that they obtain such support as they receive.

It is strange that they do not see, and sad that some people do not see, that paramilitary violence only increases the deprivation, deepens the depression, and provokes the security harassment. It is the nationalist community which suffers most from paramilitary republicanism. It is Catholic communities which are its first casualties.

Some republican activists have undeniably a social conscience and a commitment to justice. But the nature of guerilla activity is such that it is the community out of which it operates which pays the price. It is the innocent who suffer.

The activities of paramilitaries increase

unemployment. The bombing of so-called "economic targets" has left both Catholics and Protestants jobless. Paramilitary operations lead by contagion to all sorts of anti-social behaviour. They produce a run-down and demoralising environment. All this is the very opposite of liberation. Violence has of its nature an anti-social "fall-out" in the neighbourhoods where it flourishes. Violence, once it is unleashed, cannot be "switched off" at will. Its momentum carries over into crime and lawlessness, destruction and joy-riding and vandalism. Drinking clubs associated with paramilitary organisations are a source of grave abuse. Children whom paramilitaries have trained in the tactics of "street rioting" will be very prone to use the same tactics to terrorise whole neighbourhoods

and to make life unbearable for the inhabitants, and especially the old. It is undeniable that crime, marital breakdown, family neglect, are all of them much more prevalent in Catholic areas now than they were before the advent of the so-called "armed struggle" for their liberation.

"Destabilisation" is a favourite word of paramilitary republicans. But it is not British institutions or official Northern Ireland institutions or unionist institutions which are being destabilised. It is Catholic communities, Catholic parishes, which are the most exposed to the effects of destabilisation. Marriage and family life in the affected areas suffer grievously. Part of the toll of paramilitarism is broken homes and uncontrollable children. Paramilitaries must agonise over the effect of their way of life on their own marriages and their own children. But these effects are the inevitable result of their campaign.

Paramilitary activity has necessitated enormous expenditure on security in Northern Ireland, and proportionately even more in the Republic. If the millions spent on security in County Leitrim and in County Mayo in recent weeks had been able to be devoted instead to economic and agricultural development in these underdeveloped counties, this would have been the fulfillment of the true republican dream. The security expenditure of recent weeks alone in the Republic could have gone a long way towards remedying educational deprivation for children in inner-city Dublin. This would be the implementation of the Democratic Programme of the first Dail Eireann. The money

which republican paramilitaries cause to be spent on security is money stolen from small farmers and from young deprived children. I need scarcely add that robberies from shops, businesses, banks and post offices by these same paramilitaries also reduce the standard of living of the community pillaged in this way. Recent studies have shown the staggering cost to both the Southern and the Northern economies and people of the campaign of violence. Violence is a major contributory factor to our island's disastrous depression.

All these effects are irremediable until the violence stops. Experience has proved to us how right Pope John Paul was when he said in Drogheda:

Violence only delays the day of justice. Violence destroys the work of justice.

POLARISATION

Paramilitary campaigns can be sustained only if passions are kept constantly inflamed and hatred enkindled. Pope John Paul in his message for today says:

Passions are sometimes fed deliberately. It is difficult for wars to start if the people on both sides do not have powerful feelings of mutual hostility, or if they are not convinced that the claims of their opponents threaten their vital interests. This explains the ideological manipulations resorted to by those with aggressive intentions. Once fighting has begun, hostility is bound to increase, for it is nourished by the sufferings and atrocities experienced by each side. Psychoses of hatred can then result.

We can see all around us in Northern Ireland the symptoms of veritable "psychoses of hatred". The unionist and nationalist communities are being driven by violence further and further apart in mutual hostility, suspicion, resentment and fear. Polarisation increases steadily in direct proportion to the violence.

Any intelligent analysis of the Northern problem would, however, demonstrate that there can be no tolerable living for either of our communities until there is reconciliation between them. Republican paramilitaries speak of "finishing once and for all the unfinished business of 1916". There is indeed unfinished business left from the period 1916 to 1922. It is the business of reconciling the unionist and the nationalist communities in North-East Ireland. It is the business of evolving a reconciled political arrangement and creating reconciling political institutions, which would permit

a peaceful and constructive coexistence. These arrangements and these institutions were never created. It is urgent to create them now. But violence makes their creation impossible.

FUTILITY OF VIOLENCE

For all these reasons — and still others could be enumerated — violence must, after a cruel fifteen years' experience — be pronounced morally and politically bankrupt. It has not advanced an inch towards achieving any of its stated objects. It has led its adherents into actions of which they would at the outset have thought themselves incapable, and which indeed some of its early leaders now deplore. Of all the methods available for securing a solution to our problems, violence is demonstrably the only one

which cannot succeed and never will succeed. Its unavoidable consequences are the exact opposite of its stated intentions.

There is no possibility of justice until the physical force campaign has been called off. The powerlessness of violence to achieve justice has been conclusively proved. The power of non-violent action for justice has not yet been really tried. The lesson of Poland's Solidarity movement and of its non-violent struggle for justice and freedom should be studied and applied to Ireland. In face of one of the most powerful and most repressive police regimes in the world, Solidarity has secured and goes steadily on securing by non-violent means concessions on human rights and freedoms and social justice which could in no other way be secured. Powerful states can respond only too effectively to violence by greater violence. What they do not know how to cope with is non-violent action by a disciplined and united community.

If the physical force campaign were called off, polarisation between our two communities would lessen rapidly and moderate opinion would be able to assert itself and to exert pressure for peace and justice. World opinion could be mobilised to press for a just political solution to the Irish problem. European and American money would be certainly made available for reconstruction. There could be a commitment by both the British and the Irish Governments to switch the monies now absorbed by security into the rehabilitation of the most afflicted areas and the creation of jobs with guarantees of fair employment, for both communities.

I have no doubt but that Padraig Pearse would long ago have called off the campaign as he did on the Saturday of Easter Week, 1916 "in order to prevent further slaughter of citizens". The signatories of the Republican Proclamation of Easter 1916 said:

We pray that no one who serves (the cause of the Irish Republic) will dishonour it by inhumanity or rapine.

What would they have said about La Mon, Abercorn, Darkley, the Birmingham pub bombings, the Harrod's bombing of Christmas shoppers? James Connolly would certainly never have countenanced the continuation of a campaign which divided Protestant and Catholic workers and which regarded Protestant working men as "legitimate targets" and bombed so-called "economic targets", leaving working class Catholics and Protestants jobless.

EFFECTS OF THE 1922 SOLUTION

But peace can come only through justice. As Pope John Paul's message puts it:

Peace is authentic if it is the fruit of justice. Peace is the work of justice, as the prophet Isaiah said: justice between social partners and between peoples. And a society is just and human if it respects the fundamental rights of the human person. Moreover the spirit of war rises and grows strong where the inalienable rights of man are violated.

It is time to face squarely the fact that justice requires new political institutions for Northern Ireland.

The tragedy of Northern Ireland is that it has never been given constitutional arrangements which are appropriate to the political composition of its population. Its unionist population is too large to be absorbed into a unitary United Ireland. Its nationalist population is too large to be absorbed into a unitary Northern Ireland. It was, however, precisely a unitary constitutional model which was devised for Northern Ireland at the creation of the state. This constitution was appropriate to the unionist part of its population, but not to its nationalist part.

Northern Ireland was defined as an integral and inseparable part of the United Kingdom, and its citizenship was defined as British. This definition coincides exactly with the definition of the Union. This in turn coincides exactly with the statement of unionist political principles.

This is a natural and just expression of unionist aspirations and a safeguard of the rights of the unionist past of the popula-

tion. But it ignores completely the aspirations and the rights of the nationalist population, which is by definition non-unionist. Under the Northern Ireland constitution, nationalists could not, while remaining nationalists, wholeheartedly endorse the constitution, which was a unionist one. They could not hope to share in government unless they exchanged their nationalist convictions for unionist ones. It is a basic injustice in a constitution that it requires a citizen to change his political party before he can share in the government of the state of which he is a citizen.

The unitary or monopolitical model of constitution on which the Northern Ireland state was created had, therefore, a fatal flaw from the beginning. Only a bi-fold or bi-polar constitutional model could have

worked or would be just to the rights of both communities and would permit reconciliation between them. This flaw was compensated in some measure in practice by an administration which made progress in many areas of government and made contributions to the common good of both communities. Yet the constitution of itself created a sense of alienation in the nationalist community. This sense was aggravated by the experience of inequality of civil and political rights and of economic opportunities, and by the experience of discrimination in employment and promotion in both the public and the private sector. The Cameron Commission officially acknowledged this, and successive reports of the Fair Employment Agency have supplied abundant documented evidence.

The anomalous nature of the constitution and state of Northern Ireland is shown by the persisting difficulty in finding a completely satisfactory name for the territory. "Northern Ireland" has obvious geographical anomalies. "Ulster," used as coterminous for the territory, is unacceptable to nationalists because it excludes three Ulster counties. "The Province" for unionists means a region of Britain. For nationalists it means part of one of the four historic Provinces of Ireland, the "Six Counties" is offensive to unionists. "Occupied Ireland" is unjust and menacing to unionists, because it suggests that Irish unionists are foreign invaders who have no rights in Ireland. The term "Northern Ireland" is the least unsatisfactory term and is becoming generally accepted. Similar difficulty notoriously attaches to the name of Northern Ireland's second city.

The difficulties of nomenclature have been trivial. They have importance, however because they highlight the existence of two communities, with different senses of historical identity and of national self-definition. Some habitual British ways of describing Northern Ireland conceal this fundamental reality. When a Government commitment is made to "maintaining the union so long as the majority of people in Northern Ireland chose to be British," it should never be forgotten that one is speaking only of unionists among the Northern Ireland population.

One is not speaking of a political majority subject to electoral swings, as in a normal democratic society. Such ways of speaking obscure the real issues. They in effect ignore the fact that two-fifths of the population do not "choose to be British". Political justice requires that, every time a guarantee and reassurance of their status and rights is given to unionists, it should be balanced by a parallel guarantee and reassurance to nationalists of their status and rights.

When, as is frequently the case, the terms "the people of Northern Ireland", or "the Ulster people", are used to name the unionist part of the population, similar obscuration of the real issue is entailed. Such terms, in effect, define the nationalist population as non-people. They deny the rights of nationalists to that which defines them as nationalists, their attachment to union with Ireland.

No less objectionable, and no less unjust, on the other hand, is the use of the term "the Irish people", when it is used, as it normally is, to refer to the nationalist population. To speak of "the Irish people's right to self-determination" is in effect to define the unionist population as non-people. It is to deny the rights of unionists to that which defines them as unionists, their attachment to union with Britain.

Established ways of speaking and thinking of the Northern Ireland situation can lead British politicians quite unconsciously to think of an to speak to the Northern Ireland population as if it coincided with the unionist part of the population. Prime Ministerial visits can be planned; itineraries arranged and speeches written, as if they were directed to a homogeneously unionist population. It can apparently be forgotten that there are grieving widows, parents and relatives of Catholic victims of sectarian assassination who need sympathy, just as do widows and relatives of slain members of the security forces.

NEED FOR A CHANGE OF HEART BY BRITAIN

A territory like Northern Ireland, with two diverse communities and lacking constitutional consensus, must be given a constitution and political institutions reflecting its diversity. A unitary constitutional model for Northern Ireland has not worked and will not work. It is unjust. It basically ignores the existence and denies the political rights of nationalists. Similarly, a unitary constitutional model for a united Ireland would not work and would be unjust. It would basically ignore the existence and deny the political rights of unionists.

The Pope's appeal for a

change of heart from which peace can be born must, therefore, be addressed to the British Government. It was Britain who devised and imposed the faulty constitution from which our present problems ultimately stem. It is Britain which has today the major responsibility for correcting its defects. Constitutional arrangements, appropriate to a bi-polar population, must be worked out as a basis for a just and permanent settlement in Ireland. This just settlement of the Irish problem must be seen as one of Britain's major national interests, and even as one of her prime responsibilities to the European and international community.

NEED FOR A CHANGE OF HEART BY UNIONISTS

A parallel appeal must be made to unionists. Republican paramilitaries seek support for violence and receive some support for violence on the basis of a claim that there is no other way of breaking the political impasse created by the intransigence of unionist politicians. They argue that politics has offered no solution and can offer no solution; that no one has offered or has any intention of offering a political alternative to violence. It is vital, in all our interests, that this claim be deprived of all credibility.

It is essential that the present political immobilism in Northern Ireland be ended. It is imperative that political leaders demonstrate their readiness to work with one another in devising political alternatives to inter-community strife. If unionists, refuse this and go on repeating out-of-date 'no surrender' slogans, violence will go on unendingly. Given constitutional forms, institutions with which both communities could identify; unionists and nationalists could join energies, talents and skills to rebuild our shattered economy and make this region a place where we could all live with pride and our young people have a future of hope.

This will not happen unless politicians face up to the challenge of change. If they do, sympathy and support could quickly be removed from the paramilitaries and reconstruction for both communities could begin. Politics is about change. It is about peaceful change in the interests of justice through consensus. Indeed, since politics is essentially a search for consensus through negotiation and discussion and reasonable compromise, politicians who merely cry "no surrender" are not properly engaged in the political process. President John F. Kennedy said:

Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

In our situation, we could paraphrase that in the words: "Those who make inter-community consensus in Northern Ireland unattainable by political means will make violence between the communities interminable."

There is urgent need for strong leadership in this direction from both the London and the Dublin Governments. The Westminster Government, to which unionists give allegiance, has the key responsibility. The present Prime Minister is in a stronger political position to give this leadership than any other. Her success in Zimbabwe is a promising precedent. If she applies her undoubted will and skill to the Irish question, a just settlement could be found and peace restored. If she as British Prime Minister were to be the architect of a settlement of the Irish question, her place in history would be secured. On her inauguration as Prime Minister, she movingly quoted St. Francis' Prayer for Peace: Lord, make me an instrument of Thy peace...

The time is ripe and the situation is favourable and this is the time and this is the opportunity when she can make that prayer come true by being an instrument of peace in Ireland.

THE CHURCHES AND RECONCILIATION

I may be accused of talking politics, not Christianity. I have, however, been talking about justice, about human rights, political rights, about the institutional conditions for reconciliation and peace. All of these are integral components of the Christian Gospel. The message of Christ is a spiritual message, a call to renewal of heart. But it has social and political consequences. It is also a call to renewal of society and its structures and institutions, so that God's reign of justice may be established

and God's will to peace and reconciliation may be made effective on Earth as in Heaven.

Renewal of hearts and renewal of society are inseparable from one another. It is neither the right nor the competence of a churchman to propose constitutional or political blueprints. But it is a responsibility as well as a right of a churchman to identify the moral parameters within which these blueprints must be framed if justice is to reign.

The Churches have indeed a particular responsibility in this renewal of hearts and of society. Only the Christian message of peace, justice and love can reconcile our two communities. The Churches must fearlessly and tirelessly proclaim that message. They must give consistent and courageous leadership in the direction of inter-community reconciliation. The ministry of reconciliation must be given pride of place in our service to Our Lord. We must form and motivate "ministers of reconciliation", clergy and laity, men and women from our Church communities, who will be what Pope John Paul calls "God's witnesses, through (their) fraternal work in all the workshops of peace".

There is an old saying: 'We pick our friends, God picks our neighbours.'

"God has placed our two communities, Protestant and Catholic, nationalist and unionist, as neighbours on this island. He place us there, not that we should be two warring communities, but that "out of the two He might create one single New Man" in Christ (cfr. Ephesians 2:15). This is the conversion to which we are invited as this New Year dawns. This is the great call from Christ to both our communities today—to make 1984 the year of conversion to Christ, the year of reconciliation, peace and justice. As Pope John Paul says today: If we celebrate forgiveness, can we fight one another endlessly? Can we remain enemies while we invoke the same living God? If Christ's law of love is our law, shall we remain silent and inert while the wounded world looks to us to join the front ranks of those who are building peace?

But person to person reconciliation is not enough. There must also be community to community reconciliation.

There must be institutional reconciliation. There must be reconciled and reconciling political institutions. It is not only hearts that need to be renewed, but also structures. To quote Pope John Paul again:

It is the "heart" of man that must be renewed, in order to renew systems, institutions and methods.

As Bishop of this strife-lacerated diocese, I make my own today the words of the Holy Father and address them to every Catholic in the diocese:

The message that I send to you is both simple and demanding, for it concerns each of you personally. It invites each one to do his or her share in the establishment of peace (in our society) without passing this duty on to others.

Prayer is an indispensable part of this work of peace. I invite each one of you and each parish community to redouble your prayers that this year may see an end to violence and a return to peace and reconciliation. Prayer is itself an exercise in reconciliation. As Pope John Paul says: 'To pray is to be reconciled with him whom we invoke, whom we meet, who makes us live. To experience prayer is to accept the grace which changes us; the Spirit united to our spirit, commits us to confirm our life with the World of God. To pray is to enter into the action of God upon history: he, the sovereign actor of history, has wished to make people his collaborators.'

"From a new heart, peace is born." Let our fervent prayer today and throughout the coming year be:

Grant to us, O Lord, a heart renewed—a renewed heart for peace. Recreate in us your own spirit, Lord—Your spirit of peace.

BUILDING BRIDGES IN A DIVIDED COMMUNITY

Talks in St. Anne's Cathedral
and in the Servite Priory, Benburb.

Tuesday, 22nd. March 1983, 7.45 p.m. (St. Anne's Cathedral)

Wednesday, 23rd. March 1983, 7.30 p.m. (Benburb)

BY BISHOP CAHAL B. DALY,
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RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL PROBLEM?

Fredrick W. Boal and J. Neville H. Douglas, of the Department of Geography in Queen's University, Belfast, in their book "Integration and Division", remark :

This strife (in Northern Ireland) ... which has lasted since 1969 ... is labelled as conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics and has been treated, in many instances, as a religious or holy war. Two points must be made at the outset - first, that the Northern Ireland problem pre-dates the existence of Northern Ireland as a political unit, and secondly, that the holy war interpretation is, at best, a vast over-simplification which enables its adherents to avoid any attempt at real understanding. (op cit. p 1).

Neither the religious nor the political analysis of the Northern Ireland problem should be developed to the exclusion of the other. Both aspects must be included in any adequate definition of our problem. Each explanation has been unilaterally developed by interested groups as part of a hand-washing exercise. I suggest that politicians have sometimes developed the "religious war" model as an excuse for opting out of their political or governmental responsibilities. Equally, however, churchmen have appealed to the political model as a means of opting out of their religious responsibilities as Churchmen. Politicians should be the last people to deny or to minimise the political elements in the conflict. Churchmen should be the last to deny its religious aspects.

MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF DIFFERENCES

There is a religious aspect to our conflict. The Churches do bear some blame for our tragic divisions and do have responsibility for pointing a way forward. The nature of our blameworthinesses may differ. The content of our responsibilities may vary. Yet the Churches should be providing a model to the wider community in that which is an essential defining characteristic of the Christian gospel, namely that it is a gospel of reconciliation. St. Augustine said that the Church is "the reconciled world". The Church should be that section of humanity which is already reconciled and can therefore be a reconciling influence in the human community. Unless the Churches are working positively and courageously for reconciliation between themselves and within society, then they are failing the Gospel of Christ. It is not that Christianity is failing; but that we are failing to be fully Christian.

Mutual acceptance of differences between individuals, and especially between communities, is a beginning of reconciliation. Each community and each Christian communion must try to accept the others as the others understand and define themselves. There must, for example, be recognition by Catholics of the fears, the suspicions, the insecurities, of Protestants. Catholics must seek to understand the historical roots of the fears and suspicions of Protestants. We must try honestly to acknowledge the faults in ourselves which foster Protestant misunderstandings and prejudices. The roots of fear and suspicion may lie in the past; but their continuance in the present must be in some measure due to what we Catholics have done or have failed to do in our understanding of our own Catholic faith and in our living of it and witnessing to it. Ecumenism is closely linked with conversion and with spiritual renewal. As we Catholics ourselves, as individuals and in our parish communities, become converted to Christ and renewed in our relationship with him, we shall at the same time become more conscious of the presence of Christ in our Protestant fellow Christians and of the work of Christ in the Protestant Churches. We shall come to see the signs of Christ's truth and power and grace in the lives of Protestants and to praise and thank Christ our Lord for them. Nothing that Christ has given to other Christian Churches or has done for other Christian communities can leave a Catholic indifferent or unmoved. We must not, St. Paul urged, preach Christ "jealously". We must "glorify the Lord Christ" wherever he is present and wherever his action is found. "There is only Christ; he is everything and he is in everything" (Colossians 3 :11). It is from the same Lord whom all Christians call our Lord that comes "whatsoever is good, whatsoever is true, whatsoever is noble and of good repute" in all our Churches and in all our traditions.

In stark contrast to this Christian ideal of reconciliation is the experience of moving through streets and neighbourhoods where happy

communities once lived, but which have been left deserted and desolate through sectarian intimidation. When one recalls that, as one researcher put it, the greatest mass movements of population in Western Europe since World War II have been brought about in Northern Ireland through sectarian intimidation, one is unable to say that religion has nothing to do with our conflict. When one sees churches that have been sacrilegiously wrecked by bombs, one takes the measure of the evil of stirring up sectarian hatred, sometimes for political ends. One primary duty of the Churches is to exorcise the evil of sectarianism from our society. This, like the wickedness of political violence, should be in our thoughts as we pray the Lord's prayer: "Deliver us from evil".

What distinguishes all Christians from an unbelieving secular world is incomparably more important than what divides us from one another. We seek for ever-growing unity, not only because of our pain at the divisions which separate us, but also because of our belief in the unity which already exists between us. As Christ increases in each Christian and in each Christian community, and as our egoism decreases, so also will the unity in Christ between ourselves and our fellow-Christians increase, so that "God may be all in us all".

Parallel with this need for recognition by Catholics of Protestant fears and suspicions, there naturally goes a need for recognition by Protestants of Catholic grievances and sensitivities. I would most earnestly ask Protestants to try to appreciate the sense of hurt and injustice which is widely felt in the Catholic community at being treated as second-class citizens and judged unfit to share fully in the political and decision-making process in their own country. I would ask Protestants to believe that it would be unjust and also impossible to expect the Catholic community to return to the status of inferior citizens which they have perceived as their lot for more than half a century.

POLITICS VERSUS VIOLENCE

The healing of Protestant fears and of Catholic grievances, the reconciliation of unionist rights and of nationalist rights, require the unconditional repudiation on both sides of violence as a political instrument. Clausewitz was profoundly mistaken when he said that war is "diplomacy conducted by other means". War is the abandonment of diplomacy. It is the suspension of the political process. Politics is predicated upon the substitution of persuasion for force. It would be immoral and unjust, as well as impossible, to attempt to coerce by force a million unionists and loyalists into a united Ireland. It would be equally immoral and unjust, and also impossible, to coerce half a million nationalists and

constitutional republicans into acceptance of exclusion from full participation, without any abjuring of their nationalist aspirations, in the responsibilities and the powers of the political process. Two thirds of a population cannot and morally may not coerce the remaining one third, nor vice versa. Full reciprocal recognition of rights and acceptance of responsibilities by both political traditions is necessary for political stability in Northern Ireland.

I shall argue later that explicit and unqualified recognition by unionists of the legitimacy of constitutional nationalism or republicanism as a valid political option within Northern Ireland is a sine qua non of a return to stability and normalcy and peace. I wish now to argue emphatically that explicit and unqualified recognition by nationalists and republicans of the rights and loyalties of unionists is a necessary condition for the return to peace and normal life in Northern Ireland. This would offer new opportunities for a cross-community consensus; but these opportunities are being put in jeopardy, and the threat comes from opposite sides. Constitutional republicanism differs, not in degree but in essence from paramilitary republicanism. They differ as persuasion differs from coercion, as dialogue with another differs from murder of the other; they differ as peace differs from war. It is time that this essential difference was publicly and finally recognised.

The opportunities for a consensus are threatened by the refusal to distinguish constitutional nationalism and republicanism from paramilitary republicanism; and by the persistent rejection of constitutional nationalism and peaceful republicanism as a legitimate and rightful participant in the political process in Northern Ireland. Peaceful and constitutional nationalism and republicanism are not an alien aggression from an outside or foreign power. They are an intrinsic part of the political reality of Northern Ireland. It is not a half million foreigners who espouse these political options; it is half a million citizens of Northern Ireland, whose right to peaceful promotion of their political aspirations is as undeniable as are the rights of the majority population to their political allegiance.

The opportunities for political consensus are threatened also and virulently by the campaign of violence by paramilitary republicans. This campaign is a blatant contradiction of the attempt by paramilitary republicanism to present itself as a political movement. This attempt is contradicted by the claim of this movement to combine two quite incompatible elements; namely the use of the armalite to coerce political opponents; and the assassination of fellow-Irishmen simply because they embrace different political convictions and translate these convictions, as is their right, into defence against physical force of the institutions embodying their convictions.

Just as unionists are fully justified in maintaining their political convictions, they are also justified in believing in the right and the duty under law to defend these political institutions against the threat of overthrow by armed uprising. There are some who choose to do so by service in security forces or in the police force. There are also people, and not all of them are unionists, who believe that in any civilised society there must be normal policing; and who therefore choose policing as a career of service to the whole Northern Ireland community. The republican paramilitary campaign of assassination of members of the U.D.R. and of the R.U.C. is equivalent to a campaign of shooting fellow-Irishmen simply because they have different political convictions from nationalists. An added enormity of this campaign is that, in the actual circumstances of Northern Ireland, it is inevitable that unionists and Protestants should regard the assassination of Protestant members of these forces as murders of Protestants because they are Protestants. It is inevitable that, particularly in border areas, the Protestant community should feel itself threatened by this campaign with expulsion from their homes and lands and businesses.

No group which engages in campaigns of this kind can honestly and credibly claim to be a true political movement. Such campaigns are also a negation of the concept of policing as a necessary protection of law and life and property and of the right of men and women to sleep in peace in their own homes and of the right of children to cross the road to school in safety - the protection of which rights by the police is a basic requisite in any society. Paramilitary republicanism and its political fronts cannot rightly present themselves as political organisations unless and until they give up the armalite, reject assassination and repudiate physical force as instruments for the advancement of their political aims.

It would be in the general interest that paramilitary republicans would fully enter the political process; but they must accept the consequences of this decision. I would like to appeal to thinking people among the republican paramilitaries. If they believe in republicanism as an ideal capable of uniting Irishmen by persuasion and in peace, they must get down to hard political thinking. This has been conspicuously lacking in their movement up to the present. They must formulate their political programme in such a way as to make republicanism credible to unionists as a formula which fully respects and explicitly guarantees the rights and the loyalties which distinguish unionism from nationalism. They must declare their readiness to accept unionists as unionists; not as a suppressed minority in a nationalist Ireland. An Ireland predicated on coercion of unionists would be an Ireland which no Irishman with a sense of justice or of patriotism should desire or could accept. It would be an affront to justice. It would be a substitution of one coercion for another. It would be the imposition on a minority in Ireland as a whole a form of coercion which nationalists are convinced was in the past imposed upon them; a

coercion which they believe prepared the ground for the present tragic conflict. Coercion in reverse would merely prepare the way for ongoing chapters of murderous conflict in the future.

If however the paramilitary republicans were to call off their campaign of violence, I am convinced that the weariness with violence and the desire for peace among both nationalists and unionists is so strong and that the instinct for fairness and justice among Protestants is so widespread that a just settlement could be agreed more quickly than the sceptics believe; and it would be a settlement which could offer a new future in peace and in hope to all our children.

AVOIDANCE OF HURTFUL LANGUAGE

Some of the language which each community almost unthinkingly uses about the other can be damaging to the hope of good relationships. Nationalists speak of "fifty years of Stormont misrule". This language has a basis in nationalists' experience; because the name is associated for them with exclusion, rejection, denial of civic and political legitimacy and equality, refusal of entry into certain areas of employment, discrimination in many sectors of social and economic life. Yet nationalists must also in fairness acknowledge that the Stormont regime had notable successes and achievements to its credit. Many of those involved at the level of administration and the public service strove to redress the basic bias which frequently was manifested at political level. At the level of administration, Catholics often experienced understanding and cooperation, particularly in the development of the Catholic school system and in the administration of social services. Under Stormont, there was notable progress in educational planning, in infrastructural development, in health care and in social welfare provision. The Republic of Ireland could learn much, in many of these areas, from Northern Ireland.

Ample evidence was given that there is in Northern Ireland real talent for political administration - evidence enough to point up the misfortune of the atrophying of that talent by the indefinite prolongation of direct rule. It is easy to understand that Stormont came to be a source of pride to unionists. It was a symbol of their security and an apparent guarantee of the permanence of their domination. The dissolution of Stormont has caused a great and unprecedented insecurity and uncertainty among Unionists. It has led to distrust of Britain, fear of the Irish Republic, suspicion of Roman Catholics and nationalists, a sense of being alone and threatened.

All this should bring no joy and no triumphalism to Catholics and nationalists. We are all fellow-countrymen, fellow-Irishmen. Ireland is the home of unionists as well as of nationalists; and no-one should feel threatened in his own home. It is the duty of nationalists and constitutional republicans to convince unionists, in word and in behaviour, that they have nothing to fear and that their suspicions are groundless. An Ireland which has no room for one million Irishmen will not have room for the remaining three million either. Such an Ireland might, in Yeats' words, have much hatred; but it will have little room for anyone to live in peace. Above all, as Christians, we know that we are brothers and sisters together and that God is Father of us all. We cannot come to our Father without our brothers and sisters, for we are their keepers; and this implies that we are also the defender of their rights and interests.

On the other hand, unionist talk about the Republic of Ireland as "a foreign country", and about nationalism or constitutional republicanism as if it were a treasonable conspiracy is deeply hurtful and injurious. The Irish Republic is not a foreign threat; its ideals and aspirations are an unchangeable part of the identity of half a million Northern Ireland citizens. The Irish Republic's concern about Northern Ireland is no foreign interference; it is an internal reality within Northern Ireland itself, embodied in the minds and hearts, the hopes and the peaceful aims of at least one third of the Northern Ireland population. To rid the language of each community of disparaging and offensive terms such as I have mentioned would be a contribution to building bridges of understanding and mutual acceptance between our communities.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

I must turn now to deal more explicitly with the political elements in our situation. I do so, because I regard these elements as potent and pervasive factors of conflict. I do so also because, so it seems to me, Churchmen and Christians generally sometimes tend to advocate a somewhat 'preachy' and sentimental concept of reconciliation, as though person-to-person relationships were independent of political institutions and structures. Insofar as politics is a certain structured and institutionalised form of coexistence and cooperation between people and groups, I believe that the Christian has the duty to permeate the structures and the institutions of society with the spirit of the Christian gospel. In this broad sense of the term, Christian reconciliation has to be effected at the political and the social levels as well as at the personal level. In this sense, I believe, with the great Protestant theologian, Karl Barth, that "every Christian sermon must be in part also a political statement". This has nothing to do with party politics; it is a direct consequence of the social


and community nature of Christianity. In the words of the Epistle of St. James, we must not "try to combine faith in Jesus Christ, our glorified Lord, with the making of distinctions between classes of people" (James 2 : 1). I suggest that it would not be stretching the meaning of St. James too far to see in that sentence a prohibition of determining political legitimacy and political rights on the basis of "distinctions between classes of people".

The authors I quoted at the beginning remark :

"The Northern Ireland problem contains strong political elements concerned with the control of power, with decision making and with the nature of the political system. (op.cit., p.3).

DIRECT RULE

We are at present in a regime of "direct rule" from Westminster. It has been argued that this regime is the "least unsatisfactory" of the feasible forms of government in present circumstances. Direct rule certainly wants to be fair-minded. It tries to be just and impartial. It is marked in practice by plenty of good intentions. Nevertheless, good intentions do not amount to good government. Direct rule has grave defects inherent in its very concept and has seriously damaging consequences in its operation.

The most obvious damaging consequence is that regional politics become paralysed and regional political parties become marginalised. Mere discussion, without any power of execution, becomes trivialised. It quickly comes to be seen as mere tokenism and is readily dismissed as irrelevant. Political unionism has become dangerously fragmented and is under a constant pull "to the right" from extremist groupings. This situation can bring no joy even to non-unionists. It bodes ill for the future of this society. 

Nationalist political parties also become marginalised. Constitutional nationalism is itself endangered as a peaceful and constitutional political movement. It should not be forgotten that the evolution of nationalism in Northern Ireland towards peaceful and constitutional methods and towards the rejection of both violence and abstention is a relatively new phenomenon in politics in Northern Ireland; a phenomenon which offered and continues to offer unprecedented opportunities for peaceful change and peaceful political movement in the direction of an inter-community political consensus, without which no political stability can be restored in Northern Ireland. It is a great tragedy of the past decade and a half that the

|| opportunities offered by the new evolution of nationalism (which to a large extent overlaps with non-violent republicanism) were not siezed. It will be a still greater tragedy if this evolution is put at risk and threatened with decline or disappearance by continuing political deadlock.

Political change and political movement are urgently needed in our situation. But real change seems to be the one thing which is carefully evaded in British official thinking and policy about Northern Ireland. I fear that an editorial which appeared recently in a quality Sunday newspaper is all too typical. The Sunday Times of 13th. March 1983, deplored the European Parliament's decision to probe into the political aspects of our problem. It suggested that the enquiry should be limited to examining Northern Ireland's economy; for then it could have gone on to subjoin political findings and have "occasioned hardly any fuss". The editorial went on to say :

Successive United Kingdom governments have acknowledged that the Republic has a legitimate interest in Northern Ireland, and have tried to find ways whereby that interest can be harmlessly expressed. E.E.C. machinery is one such way.

The editorial nevertheless thinks that the Strasbourg emissaries might well find that "the present policy is the least unsatisfactory to be had". Even if it did not so find, the writer goes on, the result would not be disastrous. He says:

If the enquiry found against the United Kingdom, there would be no corresponding public-relations reverse; since our repute on the issue is low anyway; and no action need follow because the European Parliament is powerless.

Surely this is a recipe for "not rocking the boat", for carefully avoiding anything which might call for any change or 'occasion any fuss'. Surely policies which can be recommended because they are 'harmless', or because those who advocate them are 'powerless' to change anything, constitute a refusal to tackle a political problem rather than a reasoned policy for solving it.

CONSTITUTIONALISM NATIONALISM

It seems to me that a key factor in the necessary building of political bridges is the recognition of the political legitimacy of constitutional

nationalism as an intrinsic element in the Northern Ireland political situation. Recognition of the political legitimacy of constitutional nationalism or non-violent republicanism entails the establishment of structures and institutions which enable this option to be politically expressed and to be given opportunities of sharing responsibility and power with the other intrinsic element in the Northern Ireland political scene which is unionism. If political representatives of constitutional nationalism are excluded from responsibility and political structures, it is very much to be feared that constitutional nationalism could be out-maneuvred by parties committed to violent and revolutionary nationalism and to paramilitary methods. The consequence of this could be disastrous for the hopes of peace or of political stability.

This result, if it came about, would not be due to any decision by constitutional nationalists to espouse revolutionary aims and violent methods. It would be due rather to clever exploitation by paramilitary organisations of a situation of political deadlock. When peaceful political aspiration comes up against a wall of political intransigence, then we are, at the very least, setting up favourable conditions for men and methods of violence.

I doubt that that Westminster realises the gravity of the risks attached to its present policies. In fact, I fear that there are signs of dangerous complacency in Westminster about the present political situation in Northern Ireland. New and hard thinking is urgently required. New institutions are needed, and cannot be indefinitely postponed: institutions which do not merely give a forum for repeating hackneyed political slogans but which provide some mechanism for uncoupling deadlocked positions. It would be paradoxical if Britain's rightly celebrated genius for political sagacity were to fail in respect of a territory on her own doorstep, which "the Mother of Parliaments" directly rules.

It will not do to pass the blame to Northern Ireland parties or people. Intransigent political attitudes notoriously do exist and are deplorable and disastrous. But they are not simply the fruit of ill will. They are also in part caused by inappropriate and inequitable political institutions. Political movement and the possibility of political change are of the essence of democratic politics; and political institutions which inhibit movement and change are inimical to the democratic process.

Some governmental statements seem to be based on the assumption that to recognise the existence of two identities, two national loyalties, in Northern Ireland is itself a solution; or at least they seem almost to be based on the hope that a verbal recognition of the two identities will be

accepted in lieu of a solution. But to recognise two identities is to define the problem, not to provide the solution. The logic of the two identities analysis is that political institutions must be provided which permit an allocation of proportionate political power to each of the identities; for politics is about power; power controlled by accountability, but yet real power of decision and of execution. Politics without power is mere role-playing. Failure to provide the political institutions which enable power to be exercised proportionately and responsibly by the two admitted identities comprising the population of Northern Ireland is a political failure; and primary responsibility for this political failure must be assigned to the government which alone and directly now governs the area.

This is not to detract from the responsibility of local politicians and political parties. Members of these parties in Northern Ireland are, for the most part, committed Christians and church-goers. It is the responsibility of Churchmen publicly to proclaim the duty of members of their Churches to respect the rights and convictions of others, and to concede the legitimacy of political options different from their own. As the Inter Church Report, "VIOLENCE IN IRELAND ;, in 1976, recommended :

All political leaders should be encouraged to see their task as that of reaching a just agreement with their opponents, rather than of achieving victory over them; and that to this end they should be open to any reasonable settlement proposed.

All of us who have positions of responsibility in all the Churches should examine ourselves as to whether we have engaged courageously enough and persistently enough in encouraging political leaders in this direction.

IRISH AMERICANS

I should like to add here that Irish Catholics and Irish nationalists should face up to the fact that some Irish Americans have a sadly ill-informed and out-of-date perception of the realities of the Ireland of today. In misguided concern and misplaced generosity they can be in fact aggravating Ireland's problems, prolonging Ireland's tragedy and inflicting grave damage upon Catholic as well as Protestant Irishmen and upon both the nationalist and unionist population. We must try to inform our compatriots and co-religionists in the United States as to what are Ireland's real needs today. The one thing Ireland, whether nationalist or unionist, does not need is guns. These are precisely the source of our problems, the destruction of our freedoms. The real needs of today's Ireland are acute.

American generosity could help to alleviate the deprivation which feeds violence, which in turn increases deprivation. American generosity could, by industrial investment, help to create employment; and this would have a direct bearing upon the elimination of political violence; for people, and particularly young people, if left chronically unemployed and alienated, can be more readily recruited into paramilitary organisations. American generosity could help to promote projects of genuine reconciliation in justice and respect for human rights between Protestants and Catholics, between republicans and unionists. Our American friends could help us to build an Ireland resembling that land of religious liberty, equality and tolerance under God which both Catholic Irishmen and Protestant Irishmen served so nobly to create in the United States, the land of their adoption, where they, Protestant as well as Catholic, found freedom from coercion.

Catholic groups and Protestant groups have separately visited the United States to present their respective understandings of the troubles in Northern Ireland. In this connection, I should like to suggest that it could be valuable if a joint Protestant and Catholic group were to visit the United States of America in order to talk to American audiences, in a language of truth and honesty, and yet with love and out of shared Christian concern, about the problems and the dangers which threaten us all, whether Catholics or Protestants, whether nationalists or unionists, in Northern Ireland and in the island of Ireland which Irish Americans so much love.

JOINT CHURCH CONCERNS AND PROJECTS

The Churches have each their specific share of blame and of guilt. They have also their individual and their common responsibilities and opportunities.

Firstly, I submit that much mutual religious suspicion and prejudice is due to religious ignorance. This ignorance is two-fold. It often is ignorance of the teaching of our own Church, leading to lack of full acceptance of the internal renewal in which each of our Churches has been engaged over recent decades. There is also ignorance of and therefore opposition to the ecumenical movement. It is worth remarking that the modern ecumenical movement began in fact in the Protestant Churches; but the movement has been entered with enthusiasm by the Catholic Church, particularly since the Vatican Council. There is still great need, however, for ecumenical education and for acceptance of ecumenism, not as a betrayal or as a threat, but as an opportunity for new understanding of our own truth and for the enrichment of our own religious tradition through contact with others.

All the Churches need a more vigorous campaign of adult religious education and of spiritual renewal. The closer becomes our relationship with Christ our Saviour, and the deeper our commitment to our own Church, the greater will be our respect for other believers in our one Lord. We need a systematic promotion of increasing contacts with other Christians in prayer, in worship, in Bible study and reflection. We need as Churches to engage in joint projects for the unemployed and the deprived.

We furthermore need a programme of collaboration and sharing between Catholic and Protestant schools, in complete respect for the distinctive ethos of both school systems, but in commitment to dissolve prejudices and to promote mutual tolerance, understanding and respect at school level. Catholics have a deep conviction of conscience about the need for Catholic and Church-related education; and they have made and are making costing sacrifices for their conscience in this matter. But, without any sacrifice of this conviction of our right and our duty to provide Catholic education for Catholic children, we must seek to promote increasing inter-school contacts. This is something which we Catholics in Down and Connor are committed to develop still further in the immediate future. I know that we will meet with a willing response from Protestants in the controlled schools sector.

SOCIAL CONCERN

The present economic recession now affects both the Protestant and the Catholic communities. Unemployment and emigration have become problems for Protestants as well as for Catholics. Here surely is an area where the Churches can work together. Clergy and laity of all denominations can collaborate in youth training programmes, in A.C.E. projects, in job-creating enterprises, for the benefit of all our people, especially our youth.

Northern Ireland has had a tradition of excellence in many fields of industry and of industrial and agricultural productivity. We led the world in many fields of work and had an enviable record of business acumen, efficiency and honesty. We could all take pride in Northern Ireland products. There was an outstanding tradition of work and of pride in work. There has, however, been a decline in morale and in confidence in Northern Ireland enterprise, both at managerial and at shopfloor level. The quality of work has declined. Standards of honesty in work and workmanship have deteriorated. We have witnessed helplessly a pulling-out of multi-national firms and a drastic decline in investment, from overseas and even from Britain. We are subjected to the insult of seeing depots for storage and supplies of products being transferred out of Northern Ireland into cities in England or Scotland, with damaging delays in deliveries and frustrations

in fulfilling orders. There is an undeniable falling off in business drive and in business confidence. The Churches must work together to restore morale and confidence in Northern Ireland Industry and to restore pride in Northern Ireland workmanship and products

All this is much more closely bound up than secular society would admit with moral and religious and spiritual renewal. Let the Church assume its prophetic role of proclaiming justice and preaching honesty in work and in business dealing and in promoting social responsibility, all of which are integral constituents of the Christian Gospel. Let us do this in an ecumenical spirit; for it is also an integral part of faith in Christ to believe that "if any part of the body suffers, we all suffer with it". We all constitute the one Body of Christ, and no member can be strong and healthy if the other members are weak.

The Protestant and the Catholic communities in this island are bound inextricably together by history, by geography, by economics, by our common Christian name and profession. Our communities are now at a crossroads in our destiny. We can choose the path of reconciliation and collaboration for the good of each community; or we can continue on the road of conflict for the destruction of both communities. As joint participants in this island's history, as fellow-sufferers from its conflicts; as fellow-sharers of its resources of natural beauty, of human goodness and of Christian tradition, let us choose the path of reconciliation, for this is the path of Christ. In Christ's name, let us be reconciled to one another and therefore to the Lord, the God of our fathers.

Unionism and nationalism are often presented as totally exclusive of and alien to one another. I suggest that there are broad common principles which any Christian unionist or nationalist must accept. Both unionists and nationalists must unreservedly accept the legitimacy of the opposing viewpoint and the political rights of those who hold that viewpoint. Both must respect the full human and political and civic rights, the human dignity and the civic equality of the other, and must resist infringement of those rights, from whatever source they come. Both must be committed to social justice, to equality of opportunity, to fair employment, to rejection of discrimination on political or religious grounds. Both must work for the elimination of injustice and deprivation, in whichever community it be found. Both must be concerned for the sufferings of "the other sort" as much as for their own. Both must be committed to the economic recovery of the whole of Northern Ireland, so that all its citizens may have a prospect of economic security and job opportunity in this land which we all love. As a Protestant Irish patriot once said: "Gentlemen, we have a country". It is a country of which we can all be

proud. Let us work together to build it up in justice and love, for the benefit of all its citizens. To this end, we put our trust in the Lord, "whose power, working in us, can do infinitely more than we can ask or even imagine". "To Him be glory, in the Church and in Christ Jesus, for ages of ages".

SOME TIME PREVIOUSLY, it is reported that some IRA volunteers were attacked and beaten on the Twinbrook estate by youths and this angered the local IRA unit. Mrs. George is adamant that her son knows nothing about that incident. "I heard about it, but Colin wasn't involved, I don't think he was here when it happened even. This happened, but I can't see any connection to what happened to Colin, that wasn't even mentioned."

Recently there was another "kneecapping" in Twinbrook. This time a youth was stopped in Mulberry Park on his way to work, and shot in both legs. Like Colin George and Ellen Brown he is recovering in hospital. All three can expect to spend up to twelve weeks in hospital and one or more may be unfortunate to have to use crutches for a long period and possibly even a walking stick for the rest of their life.

The IRA is not thought to have been involved in the later

Twinbrook shooting, but through Sinn Fein, the IRISH PRESS asked for clarification of the circumstances surrounding the decision to wound Colin George. No reply was given.

It was in the relatively quiet Twinbrook estate three years ago that Fr. Sean Hogan was threatened by an IRA punishment squad when he intervened to try to save a youth from injury.

Fr. Faul sees Colin George as an innocent victim in a battle for control. He says: "The attempt to exert discipline over the young, extends in a way, over the whole community. The Provos are trying to build up an atmosphere to control people. It is a form of fascism, not the only fascism of course. The Catholic community is caught between the IRA, the P.T.A. and the UDA."

"It is all very political, maybe to push the INLA out of the way, but certainly to win control. I have no doubt that this boy was innocent. He simply got caught up in a political battle between the Provos and the INLA. People have been shot by the Provos for being tough, this boy appears to have been shot for refusing to become one. This is not what would have happened ten years ago. It was manifestly unjust."

Wherever the truth lies in the shooting of Colin George, his family are adamant he was not involved in any of the unspecified offences referred to in the belated Provo statement. He lies in the Royal Victoria Hospital, one of his two legs very badly shattered, a testimony to the human suffering behind a kneecapping — just another casualty in another battle for power.

'Success at the ballot box will not change IRA policies'

Sunday Press,

March 27

THE success of Sinn Fein in the Omagh District Council by-election last week will have no effect on the party's over-all strategy. This was confirmed by Mr. Danny Morrison, of Sinn Fein, who said that there was no question of a drift "into constitutional politics by the Republican movement."

And he dismissed suggestions that a ceasefire or truce might be in the minds of some leading elements within the Republican Movement, as a prelude to participation in Dr. Fitzgerald's proposed Council For A New Ireland.

Mr. Morrison told the Sunday Press yesterday that Sinn Fein was not interested in defining the perimeters for a new Ireland or joining in the Taoiseach's forum. He said: "We said at the time that we saw the Fitzgerald proposals as a lifeline to the SDLP. It is an attempt by the establishment to support the political platform of the SDLP."

Asked about a suggestion of a possible ceasefire by the IRA, Mr. Morrison said that "Sinn Fein does not dictate policy to the IRA, nor would it attempt to. People should be aware that in the autumn of 1978 the IRA issued a major statement in which it said that it was committed to a long term struggle. It said at that time that there would be no more truces or ceasefires until the British gave a declaration to withdraw from Ireland."

Mr. Morrison continued: "As I understand it, there has been no change in that policy and while the struggle may have been extended to another front, through Sinn Fein and elections, success at the ballot box will not change IRA policies."

Mr. Morrison said that Sinn Fein's attitude towards the

Council for a New Ireland was that it was a mistake and a threat to Nationalist people. "The danger is that no matter what is defined, you give a profile for the Loyalists to knock down or whittle down bit by bit. Even if Sinn Fein was prepared to take part in the forum the SDLP would not take part because they regard us as a political threat."

With other by-elections for local council seats due in Dunganannon and Newry in the next few weeks, Sinn Fein is hopeful that the success of their Omagh candidate, Mr. Sheamus Kerr can be repeated.

Mr. Kerr was the first Sinn Fein councillor to be elected to a local Government seat for 60 years. At 21 he is one of the youngest Councillors in Ireland and while he says that he is prepared to take his seat on the council this is not considered a departure from Sinn Fein stated policy of non participation in constitutional structures in the North.

Mr. Kerr replaces an SDLP councillor who, ironically, resigned his seat because he disagreed with his party's decision to fight the Assembly elections in October.

A tale of New York . . .

Things happened last week in three cities. In New York, in response to their supporters and also to spokesmen and women of several Irish-American organizations all three Democratic presidential candidates spoke out on the Irish issue.

Walter Mondale strongly reaffirmed his support for a special U.S. envoy to Northern Ireland and said if elected President he would appoint such an envoy. Gart Hart reissued a statement on Northern Ireland he had made earlier and he too voiced support for the special envoy proposal.

In a moving statement issued last Monday, Jesse Jackson showed a solid grasp of the issues which are of concern to Irish Americans.

Of course, when they are running for office, politicians tend to tell their listeners what they want to hear. But still, when was the last time all the candidates in a Democratic presidential primary addressed issues of concern to Irish Americans? The answer to that question is never.

So, at least for now, there is reason to believe that the Irish issue may actually get an airing in this presidential election.

. . . and of Washington . . .

In Washington last weekend delegates from the Irish American Unity Conference met with officials there. They had hoped to meet with someone in the White House, but had to settle for the State Department.

That meeting, apparently, was less than satisfactory. However, we urge the leaders of the Unity Conference to persevere. They are on the right track. The administration will have to start listening to its own citizens instead of to the London and Dublin governments very shortly.

Often, particularly in election years, what happens in Washington does not count half as much as what happens in New York or Los Angeles or Houston or many other towns, big and small, across the nation.

With all three Democratic candidates speaking out on the Irish issue, it is more than likely that the Democratic Party will have a strong "Irish plank" in its platform. The Republican Party would thus ignore the issue at its own risk.

President Reagan made significant inroads into the heavily Democratic Irish vote four years ago.

But he and his campaign advisers would be wise not to take for granted that he will do the same thing in 1984, unless there is some commitment to helping settle the Northern Ireland impasse.