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3. UNITED STATES REACTIONS



# Irish Independent

104

THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1984

Price 40p (35p stg. in N.I. and Brita

10 Irish Independent, Thursday, May 3, 1984

Blueprint  
for a New  
Ireland



## Offer full backing of U.S., Kennedy tells Reagan

From RICHARD LAY in New York  
SENATOR Edward Kennedy yesterday appealed to President Reagan to use his visit to Ireland next month as an opportunity to 'offer the full assistance of the U.S.' to seek peace in the North.

The Senator, still mourning the death of his nephew, David, flew from Palm Beach to Washington to make his passionate appeal after reading the Forum report.

He said: "It is the most promising initiative toward peace in more than a

decade of violence and conflict in Northern Ireland.

"In a sense, the document is a declaration of inter-dependence for a future in which Catholic and Protestant, Nationalist and Unionist can respect each other's aspirations and live and prosper together in a better Ireland. The Report may well be the last best chance to break the intensifying cycle of killings and violence in Northern Ireland and achieve true reconciliation between the two great traditions of that land.

"I hope that all sides to the conflict in Dublin and London, in Derry and Belfast, will give this opportunity for peace a

chance and I also hope that President Reagan, in his visit to Ireland next month, and in his talks with British and Irish leaders, will offer the full assistance of the U.S. in achieving this long-sought goal."

Prominent Irish-American politician House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill echoed the sentiments of Senator Kennedy. He said the prospects of bringing peace and reconciliation to Northern Ireland had been enhanced significantly by the release of the Report.

The Report demonstrated that there is a way forward in Ireland through political and Constitutional means rather than through violence.

The political parties in Ireland, who participated in the Forum, had proved how serious they are about building a new Ireland and bringing an end to death and destruction that has plagued Northern Ireland since 1968.

Mr. O'Neill said it was up to the British Government and the Unionists to consider the Report with open hearts and open minds. Permitting the status quo in Northern Ireland to continue was simply intolerable.

Senator Daniel Moynihan of New York State said he wanted time to study the Report before making comment. Today, he is addressing a Friends of Ireland meeting and will make his views known.

The State Department in Washington said that President Reagan stood by the comments he made on Ireland during the recent visit of the Irish Premier.

But the Report was attacked by New York lawyer Martin Galvin, who is official spokesman for the Irish Northern Aid Committee.

Mr. Galvin said it was apparent to them and it would become increasingly apparent to all Americans that the Forum offered nothing to those who have suffered so long under British Army terrorism, religious discrimination and other inherent aspects of British occupation, save perpetuation of that suffering.

## US welcome for study's findings

### Paisley's poster 'gimmick'

By PADDY REYNOLDS

THE ATTEMPT by Rev. Ian Paisley to steal some of the limelight from the Forum Report by leading five DUP colleagues on a trip, in the dead of the night, to Dublin to post up a Loyalist Proclamation to post up a Loyalist "Proclamation" at the GPO was branded a "gimmick" yesterday.

Mr. Paisley and his colleagues including two fellow MPs, Mr. Peter Robinson and Rev. William McCann, put up posters which showed a Union Jack above the words "Ulster is British" and then went on to Leinster House.

There he left two anti-Forum letters, each containing a copy of the poster, for the Taoiseach and Mr. Haughey. The Garda on duty recognised him and accepted the letters saying: "Is it yourself?"

Fellow European M.P., Official Unionist Mr. John Taylor, said yesterday: "Mr. Paisley's gimmicks are always amusing but they are one-night wonders. Just like the firearms certificate display he put on when he launched his third force on an Antrim mountainside, they make no contribution to a political settlement. Worse still, they encourage people in Britain to dismiss Ulster Loyalists as a joke."

There are distinct signs that Mr. Paisley is losing his appeal. Not only did his trip to Dublin receive little publicity in the North's media but his call on Loyalists to make Forum Day one to remember by flying their Union Jacks was a flop.

Only a few flags were to be seen

From NIALL O'DOWD  
LEADING Irish-Americans yesterday welcomed the Forum Report and hoped it would be a basis to end violence in Northern Ireland.

In his statement House Speaker Thomas 'Tipp' O'Neill said: "The prospects for bringing peace and reconciliation to Northern Ireland have been enhanced significantly by the release of the Report of the New Ireland Forum. The Report demonstrates that there is a new way forward in Ireland through political and constitutional means rather than violence."

"The political parties of Ireland who participated in the Forum have proved how serious they are about building a new Ireland and bringing an end to the death and destruction that has plagued Northern Ireland since 1968."

"Now it is up to the British Government and the Unionists to consider this Report with open hearts and open minds. Permitting the status quo in Northern Ireland to continue

is simply intolerable," he said. Senator Edward Kennedy has called on President Reagan to "offer the full assistance of the United States" in attaining the goals laid out by the Forum.

Sen. Kennedy said in a statement issued shortly after the Report was released in the United States that he hoped "that President Reagan in his visit to Ireland next month and in his talks with British and Irish leaders" would bring up the offer of U.S. assistance.

Kennedy also said that "the Report of the New Ireland Forum is the most promising initiative towards peace in more than a decade of violence and conflict in Northern Ireland."

"In a sense, the document is a declaration of inter-dependence for a future in which Catholic and Protestant, Nationalist and Unionist can respect each other's aspirations and live and prosper together in a better Ireland."

Mr. James Delaney, chairman of the Irish American Unity Conference based in San

Antonio, Texas, welcomed the Report and said: "I am delighted it is finally out. While I have not seen the contents, I hope it addresses the issues of national reunification and the healing process that must be begun." Delaney added that he was anxious to see the economic data and evaluation from the Report.

Fr. Sean McManus of the Irish National Caucus said that the Report was an interesting document and went on: "I am glad that Charles Haughey forced Garret FitzGerald to opt for the unitary state."

"I believe that FitzGerald would have opted for joint sovereignty. It is good that all four major parties are now on record favouring a united Ireland, but the really important question is what will the FitzGerald Government really do?"

The office of Congressman Mario Biaggi, head of the Irish Ad Hoc Committee in Congress, said they welcomed the publication of the Report, but were waiting to study it before making any statement.



## US welcome for Forum report

THE report of the New Ireland Forum has been warmly endorsed by prominent Irish-American politicians who have urged the British Government and Unionists to look at its recommendations "with open hearts and minds".

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Tip O'Neill, the Friends of Ireland Group and 53 U.S. Congressmen have all welcomed the report, variously describing its findings as "a specific agenda for peace" and "a unique opportunity to achieve real progress toward peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland".

As part of the Government's major diplomatic efforts to gather international support for the Forum report, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Peter Barry, arrived in the USA yesterday. He has

already met with Tip O'Neill and with the Friends of Ireland group.

Reacting to the Forum report, Mr. O'Neill said: "The prospects for bringing peace and reconciliation to Northern Ireland have been enhanced significantly by the release of the report of the New Ireland Forum". Calling on the British Government and Unionists to consider the report with "open hearts and open minds", Mr. O'Neill said that it would be intolerable to allow the status quo to continue.

Following a meeting with key Washington media personnel, Minister Barry met with the Friends of Ireland Congressional Group, including Senator Edward Kennedy. In a statement, the group described the Forum report as a historic and hopeful document which should be reviewed by the British Government and Northern political leaders.

# Barry wins backing in Washington

THE MINISTER for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Barry, on his U.S. visit to follow up the Forum report, met the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Tip O'Neill, yesterday.

Mr. Barry briefed him on the report and Mr. O'Neill reiterated his view that the prospects for bringing peace and reconciliation to the North had been enhanced significantly by it.

"Now it is up to the British Government and the Unionists to consider this report with open hearts and open minds. Permitting the status quo in Northern Ireland to continue is simply intolerable," he said.

## Encouraged

Mr. Barry also met the Friends of Ireland congressional group in the offices of Congressman Thomas Foley of Washington State. The meeting was attended by, among others, Senator Edward Kennedy.

In a statement after the meeting they said they were encouraged by the report and strongly urged the British government as well as all political leaders in Northern Ireland, to review its findings and recommendations with an open mind and an open heart.

The leaders of the diverse Nationalist political parties in both parts of Ireland had spoken together in their condemnation of the violence, in their willingness to put aside past passions and divisions, and in their support for a new Ireland achieved by consent, the statement said.

X "Above all, the report is

historic — and hopeful — document because of the unprecedented commitment made by nationalist leaders in Ireland, North and South, to provide full and fair protection for the rights and aspirations of the Unionist community".

"We look forward to President Reagan's visit to Ireland next month as an important and timely opportunity to advance the peace process begun so well by this remarkable report".

Mr. Barry also welcomed the resolution introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman Donnelly and Foley.

The resolution called on political parties in the North, the British government, and the Irish government, to review the findings and recommendations in the spirit of dialogue and hope.

## Civil war

Speaking earlier at a press lunch, Mr. Barry warned that Ireland could be heading for a civil war. "We could drift into civil war in the not too distant future," he said.

Mr. Barry said it would be five or six weeks before talks on the proposals started between Britain and Ireland. But Mrs. Thatcher was concerned, he said, and "feels something needs to be done".

He denied that he had come to the U.S. to persuade President Reagan to influence the British, noting that

*Irish Press*  
4.5.1984.



# THE IRISH TIMES

No. 29,222

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1964

Price 6p incl. VAT  
4p netting area

## Wide coverage in US papers

From Sean Cronin,  
in Washington

LEADING American newspapers gave extensive coverage to the report of the New Ireland Forum. The *New York Times* allotted it a full column, the *Washington Post* had a reference to its inside story on page one, the *Wall Street Journal* carried it in its world news front-page column, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Washington Times* put it on page one.

"In today's report, the nationalist parties acknowledged for the first time since the Irish civil war of 1922-'23 that Unionists in Northern Ireland were British and had a right to remain so in a political framework that protected their cultural heritage," the *New York Times's* Jon Nordheimer wrote from Dublin.

The *Times* headline read: "Nationalists urge a new Irish State. Party chiefs in the North and South ask fresh political steps to end partition." As a tailpiece it ran two paragraphs of a Reuters report out of Washington, that the recommendations were endorsed by Tip O'Neill, the Speaker of the House, and Sen. Edward Kennedy.

The *Wall Street Journal* said: "The New Ireland Forum called for reunifying the island, partitioned since 1921. Dublin a year ago set up the political group, which offered two other options aimed at ending British-ruled Ulster's sectarian and political violence: A federal setup with parliaments in Belfast and Dublin, or joint London-Dublin authority over the North."

The *Washington Post's* story by Kerry Dougherty noted: "The Forum in its 42-page report sharply assailed British policy in Northern Ireland, asserting that 'crisis management' is London's only policy in the province."

The *Philadelphia Inquirer's* Jan P. Shoemaker reported the Rev. Ian Paisley's "no surrender" defiance and his drive to Dublin to pin a poster on the door of the GPO saying "Ulster is British."

The *Baltimore Sun's* report from staff correspondent Hal Piper in Dublin said that Mr Prior did not specifically rule out the third model offered in the report, "joint authority" of the British and Irish Governments over Northern Ireland, but that Charles Haughey rejected it absolutely.

# THE IRISH PRESS

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1984

The Truth in

## DUP launch campaign in Washington

LESS THAN 24 hours after the Forum revealed its report, loyalists in the North yesterday announced plans to launch a counter propaganda campaign which will be aimed mainly at the United States and London.

Yesterday the deputy leader of the D.U.P. Mr. Peter Robinson, and Mid-Ulster M.P., the Rev. William McCrea, left for Washington where they plan to lobby politicians and journalists.

Next Tuesday, they will be followed by Official Unionist Assemblyman and party secretary Mr. Frank Miller, and the chairman of the party executive, Mrs. Hazel Bradford.

Also yesterday, the D.U.P. leader, the Rev. Ian Paisley, launched the D.U.P.'s answer to the Forum Report, "The Unionist Case," characteristically blazoned with the union jack.

The document accuses London and Dublin of trying to gradually integrate the North with the Republic. It calls for the military defeat of the I.R.A. as the only way to bring peace and stability.

Dublin, it declared, had nothing to offer the North and it warned that even if Northern Ireland was "expelled" from Britain, it would not countenance any form of unity with the South. The document described joint sovereignty as "a political purgatory."

The chief whip of the DUP, Mr. Jim Allister, said it was vital that unionists realised that an international campaign was going to be launched by nationalists in the Forum to try and force Irish unity "down the throats" of Ulster unionists. He declared that unionists would not be cajoled, coerced or conned by "the blarney from the Forum".

Official Unionist secretary, Mr. Frank Miller, denied that his party's decision was a panic one. "We are reflecting the assurance and self confidence of the unionist community.

"It is that which enables us to say to the nationalist community and to the world at large, that we can be generous and flexible in helping nationalists arrive at an accommodation and an acceptable place within our society."

Official Unionist Assemblyman, Mr. Robert McCartney, who addressed Tory backbenchers at Westminster yesterday, claimed that the whole Forum exercise had been based on the mistaken premise that the only solution was a united Ireland and that the only area of discussion was what form that should take.



# Report will strengthen Anglo-Irish ties, says US

From Seán Cronin,  
in Washington

THE US State Department yesterday applauded "the hard work and effort that has gone into the preparation of the (New Ireland Forum) report," and suggested that it "will strengthen Anglo-Irish co-operation in resolving the Northern Ireland problem and in furthering reconciliation between the two communities."

The statement was issued following a meeting between the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Barry, and the Deputy Secretary of State, Dr Kenneth Dam, which an Irish official described as a "full and detailed exchange."

Mr Barry had no comment on the meeting but Irish officials were clearly pleased that Dr Dam seemed aware of the contents of the report, observing that anything which opened up prospects of peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland is welcome.

Clearly, however, the Administration is waiting for a full British Government response to the report before involving itself further in the matter.

Dr Dam did observe that British comments so far seemed to "regret" elements of the report, to which Mr Barry replied that such could be expected but that there were also "positive elements" in the British response.

The State Department communiqué said: "The Irish Foreign Minister, Peter Barry, this morning met with Deputy Secretary Kenneth Dam to brief him on the report of the New Ireland Forum issued May 2nd in Dublin."

"The Deputy Secretary expressed his appreciation to the Foreign Minister for the briefing and applauded the hard work and effort that has gone into the preparation of the report."

"The Deputy Secretary assured the Foreign Minister that we will give the report full and careful study. He expressed our hope that the Forum process and the Forum report will strengthen Anglo-Irish co-operation in resolving the Northern Ireland problem and in furthering reconciliation between the two communities."

In a comment on US investment in Ireland, Dr Dam repeated President Reagan's St Patrick's Day statement about encouraging American investment.

An official of the US Department of Commerce told *The Irish Times* that no discussions are taking place regarding such investment, because that is not the responsibility of the Department. "There is a policy disposition to encourage investment in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland," he said. "But there are no specific programmes as such."

# BRITAIN TO GET U.S. VIEW Reagan will back Forum

By NEIL O'DOWD

**PRESIDENT REAGAN** is now expected to discuss the New Ireland Forum report when he meets the British Premier, Mrs. Thatcher, in London in June, according to a senior US State Department official.

The official, who declined to be identified, said that the U.S. looked on the Forum report as "a positive development", and that President Reagan would be addressing the implications of the report on his Irish trip.

Mr. Reagan will be mindful of the report when he speaks to Mrs. Thatcher. The US State Department development on the New Ireland Forum came after a 30-minute meeting between Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Barry, and the US deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Kenneth Dam, in Washington. Mr. Dam is the highest ranking officer that Mr. Barry could have met, as the Secretary of State, Mr. Schultz, had just returned from China and was unavailable.

Following the meeting a statement was issued by the State Department which said: "Mr. Barry this morning met with Mr. Dam to brief him on the report of the New Ireland Forum."

Mr. Dam assured Mr. Barry that the US government would give the report "full and careful study." He expressed the hope that "the Forum process and the Forum report will strengthen Anglo-Irish co-operation in resolving the Northern Ireland problem, and in furthering reconciliation between the two communities."

The warm reception given to the Forum report by the State Department comes as a surprise. In the past they have been reluctant to make any public statement that could be construed as taking sides.

However, on this occasion, they have expressed enthusiasm for the report, which, they say, "looked at the reality," and also further stated that "the whole process (of the Forum) was very useful and constructive." This goes further than previous occasions, when they were inclined towards reticence.



4. OTHER REACTIONS



# THE IRISH TIMES

Price 45p incl. VAT

THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1984

No. 39,831 SPECIAL

## Welcome from Church of Ireland

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, in a statement on the Forum report, said it considered that those involved in the New Ireland Forum had made a serious attempt to examine the problems in Irish society, and that it welcomed the publication of "much interesting and valuable material and statistical data".

The statement continued:

"The specific proposals advanced by the Forum must be examined in detail to see how far they reflect the principles put forward by the Church of Ireland in the documents submitted to the Forum and in the subsequent oral presentation of December 8th 1983.

"We would reiterate the reasons why we accepted the invitation to appear before the Forum.

"(1) To examine the real problems, suspicions, divisions, and fears in Irish society, to contribute to the achievement of lasting

peace and stability, to reconcile divisions and to enable people to live together in peace and harmony. (2) To encourage dialogue on the part of individuals and organisations of all kinds, social, political, cultural and religious. (3) To express our concern about violence, housing, family life, drugs, alcoholism, unemployment, poverty and our hope for peace and the development of persons in community as children of the family of God.

"The Church of Ireland is conscious of its obligation not only to its members but also to the wider community. No lasting reconciliation can emerge without dialogue and without respect for one another's views.

"Instant comment on the Report of the Forum is highly undesirable and irresponsible. After careful examination a detailed comment will be prepared".



# THE IRISH TIMES

No. 37,802 SPECIAL

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1984

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## MEP greet Forum report

By John Cooney

MR NIELS HAAGERUP, author of the report by the European Parliament which advocated a new attempt at power-sharing in Northern Ireland, last night welcomed the New Ireland Forum report and called for greater co-operation between the Irish and the British Governments.

"I don't think Mrs Thatcher and the British Government can ignore the Forum's report," he said in an interview with *The Irish Times* before he addressed a meeting in Trinity College, Dublin, organised by the Irish Association.

But Mr Haagerup, whose report dismissed the possibility of a unitary state in the foreseeable future, said he could not discuss the Forum's recommendations. The European Parliament, he explained, had been barred from examining the constitutional dimension of the Irish problem.

The Danish MEP noted, however, that the Forum had looked at not just a unitary state but had added other possibilities such as federation and joint authority. The Forum had also said it was willing to consider other views.

Mr Haagerup said the Forum, as the work of the main nationalist parties, had shown a new and open approach to understanding the Unionist position. It was, he said, a constructive step in opening up dialogue with Unionists, to whom he appealed to study the report.

Mr Haagerup, who is taking up a key job with the Foreign Relations Council of Denmark, said he would ask a special committee of the European Parliament to discuss the Forum and its report later this month; he had invited the SDLP leader, Mr John Hume, to attend this meeting.

Earlier, Mr Haagerup, who had given two lectures in Northern Ireland, met Mr Hume and invited him to address a meeting of the Foreign Relations Council in Copenhagen. Mr Haagerup said his report may have helped to prepare European public opinion for an appreciation of the importance of the Forum's recommendations for a new Ireland. The nationalist parties had spent a long time discussing the ways of approaching unity, and he considered that both Mrs Thatcher and Unionists should study it intensely.

Mr Haagerup welcomed, in particular, the idea of setting up an institution which would bring together members of the democratically-elected bodies, North, South and in Britain. His report, he said, had stressed the importance of action being taken now to resolve the problem in Northern Ireland, and he hoped the Forum report would be another reason for the British Government to enter into talks with Dublin.

# THE IRISH TIMES

Price 40p incl. VAT  
40p sterling area

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1984

No. 39,832 SPECIAL

## Papers in Paris praise report

From Anne Sington,  
in Paris

INITIAL reaction in France to the Forum's proposals was sympathetic but realistic. The majority of Paris newspapers failed to produce immediate comment but will probably do so within the next few days.

*Le Figaro* led its international coverage with a substantial report in which it described the tone of the Forum's conclusions as "moderate and constructive", and stressed that they were "in no way constraining". Despite "customary prudence and reserve" the paper considered the report had not been badly received in London. It said that the necessity for "a more searching dialogue" was recognised in the British as well as in the Irish capital.

On the question of the North's higher living standards, its correspondent commented: "This makes it easier to understand a little better why the Unionists are in no hurry to cut the umbilical cord joining them to the United Kingdom". However, he made the point that "in giving Catholics and

moderates the hope of a peaceful solution to the Irish problem, the participants in the Forum have also sought to limit the influence of Sinn Fein".

*Le Monde* devoted its front-page editorial to the report. Headlined "Hopes for a new Ireland", this made it clear such hopes were regarded as far from immediate. See-sawing between positive and negative reflections, the article raised at the outset the question of whether the Forum was really a major event. "Why give so much publicity to what is after all only a study document, emanating moreover from only one of the parties to the Irish conflict, the Catholic community".

It at once answered its own question. The event, it said, was of importance because "for the first time Irish people have made the effort to approach these matters with cool heads". This, it considered, was no mean achievement "in a region where mentalities are so strongly marked by the past that, for many people, history seems to have come to a halt in 1920".

# Forum 'a seed of hope,' priests told

THE PRESIDENT of the National Conference of Priests of Ireland, the Rev Seamus Ryan, said last night that many people who were vehemently opposed to abortion voted "no" in the recent Referendum "to express their unwillingness to go back again to an Ireland whose laws and mores would be dictated by the bishops."

Father Ryan also told the annual meeting of the NCPI, which continues in Sworth, Co Dublin, until next Wednesday, that the New Ireland Forum's report was a seed of hope for an end to the "terrible and ghastly" Northern Ireland situation.

Over the next few days the conference will also be debating a number of motions, among them one from the Cashel regional branch of NCPI calling for the release of Nicky Kelly from prison in view of "the public disquiet and the length of time" he has already served.

There is also a motion "opposed in principle" to the Criminal Justice Bill, "in particular to those sections which give to the Gardaí the right to detain for questioning." Another motion expresses concern about the "marked bias" in content "inimical to the doctrines and moral principles of Catholicism" in the national broadcasting media.

Fr Ryan told delegates that for priests and politicians there must be a temptation to despair about Northern Ireland, but the work of the New Ireland Forum merited appreciation.

Since it was the report of the Nationalist tradition on this island, it was hardly to be expected that everybody would agree with it, he said. But at least "it merits an equally thoughtful and similarly researched response from the unionists and from the British. The important thing is that some

seeds of hope have been planted."

He said there was also a debt of gratitude owed to the Forum for the occasion when the Catholic bishops entered into a "full, frank and honest dialogue" with the politicians. It was a sign of a church entering into dialogue with the world, not just delivering documents to it from on high.

However, Fr Ryan said the Church should also do a great deal of thinking about its self image. Despite all the "lovely language of Vatican II," the prevailing image of the Church in the minds of most Irish Catholics 20 years later was highly institutional.

The Church was still very much understood in terms of mitred bishops, dogmas and laws which imposed heavy demands on conformity. People might have been accustomed to this in a paternalistic society, but today a much more critical look was taken of all institutions, and the Church was no exception.

To large numbers of young people, and perhaps to many not so young, the Church sadly appeared as an oppressive institution, with its laws designed to stifle rather than to liberate and set free.

"It was an attitude which came to clear expression in the recent vote on the abortion Referendum. Many people who were vehemently opposed to abortion still voted 'no' to express their unwillingness to go back again to an Ireland whose law and mores would be dictated by the bishops. Shades of the mother and child scheme were still with us even 30 years later . . ."

He believed, however, that the appearance of the bishops at the Forum and the manner in which they did so, was a sign that the Church had not stood still in Ireland and that things were changing.



8410605

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN  
FREEDOM FOR ALL IRELAND

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY  
1813 N. 45th Street  
Pennsauken, New Jersey 08110



# ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA

INCORPORATED

Organized in New York City, May 4, 1836

March 30, 1984

Hon. Ronald Reagan  
The President of the United States  
White House  
Washington, D. C. #20500

Mr. President:

How could you possibly be acquiescent to the granting of a \$150 million dollar contract to Short Bros. of Belfast, Ireland with their flagrant anti-Catholic policy? How do you explain this to over 60 million Catholic tax payers?

*only 44  
mill total in  
US*

And must we continue to subsidize the British as we have for so many years while they use NATO to train troops to be used against Catholics in Northeast Ireland?

Prime Minister Fitzgerald on his recent visit and with his usual nearsightedness said that there are two sides to the War in the North. If the extremists on both sides would stop fighting there could be peace. What he meant was: that if the Catholics would continue to be Irelands docile niggers (I use the word in its correct text), then there could be peace. He is not being realistic. The young people will not suffer the indignities that their parents and grandparents did. At least they won't suffer docily. I wouldn't either; would you Mr. President?

I will welcome a reply.

Respectfully,

*Joseph E. Montgomery*

Joseph E. Montgomery Chairman  
Freedom For All Ireland Committee



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 12, 1984

Mr. Joseph E. Montgomery  
1813 N. 45th Street  
Pennsauken, New Jersey 08110

Dear Mr. Montgomery:

I am responding to your letter of March 30 to the President regarding Northern Ireland and the recent award by the US Air Force of a \$150 million contract to Short Brothers of Belfast.

First, I should note that the Air Force decision to award the contract to Shorts was made strictly on the technical merits of the competing aircraft, in terms of which aircraft would best meet the various requirements of the Air Force.

Regarding the view that Shorts should not have been granted the contract because of allegations of employment discrimination, I would point out that the religious and elected political leaders of both communities in Northern Ireland itself have hailed the Shorts contract. Catholic community leaders, in particular, have stated that the contract "will be greeted warmly by everyone who has the well-being of the North's community at heart," since unemployment in Northern Ireland overall is above 22 percent of the workforce (even higher in the Catholic community).

The Irish Government has also expressed its pleasure that Shorts won the business, on the basis that the new business will benefit both communities in the North and increase chances for reconciliation between them. The Irish state airline, Aer Lingus, itself operates Shorts aircraft.

The Department understands that Shorts' reputation as a "Protestant employer" in East Belfast for decades discouraged many Catholics from applying for employment at the firm. This, in turn, created severe imbalances in the pattern of employment at the firm. However, it appears that this situation is changing. The company's board of directors has declared publicly that "the employment and manpower policy of the company is to appoint persons to positions solely on the basis of merit and capability, without regard to religious belief or political opinion." The company is also registered with the Fair Employment Agency (FEA) as an "Equal Opportunity Employer," pledged to promote and to protect equality of opportunity.

Since 1976, the FEA has dealt with only three complaints against Shorts, only one based on anti-Catholic discrimination. In all three cases, the FEA ruled that there was no unlawful discrimination.

In April 1983, Shorts and the FEA agreed on an affirmative action program, by which the company is obliged to recruit more actively Catholic employees. Shorts efforts have included recruitment campaigns at Catholic schools and advertising in the Catholic press. According to press reports, the first FEA affirmative action report on Shorts indicates that, over recent months, an individual Catholic applicant is more likely than his Protestant counterpart to be hired by the company. While it cannot be concluded that such a trend necessarily will continue, the public attention focused on Shorts and the prospect that the firm will hire some 600 persons as a result of the Air Force contract suggest that both communities stand to gain from the contract. This explains why the people who live in Northern Ireland have welcomed the contract.

Regarding your statement about US subsidization of Britain, there is no such subsidization. On the contrary, the United Kingdom hosts some 30,000 US military personnel at various facilities in Britain, contributing to the security of both the United States, Britain, and our other NATO partners.

I am enclosing for your information various background papers on the Northern Ireland situation, including statements of policy by President Reagan and Prime Minister FitzGerald. Also enclosed are statements by Pope John Paul II and Bishop Cahal Daly (Catholic Bishop of Belfast) regarding the immorality of violence in the Northern Ireland context.

Please let me know if I can provide you or members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians further information or additional copies of these enclosures.

Sincerely,

Michael T. Barry  
Officer-in-Charge  
Ireland/Northern Ireland

Enclosures:  
As stated



76  
Irish-Am's

5: ~~30~~<sup>45</sup> - 10:00. ← Range of time.

Ethnic data from 80 election.

Fernandes

Mike Creedon (D-Mass).

→ If Pres goes to Ireland must go to his homeland.

Mike Creedon.

Clowes Club → very exclusive Irish  
↓ Boston aristocracy.

Tommy Joyce - lobbyist.

- Conservative - Rep.
- Irish Catholic

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## Presidential Candidate Issues Statement to Irish Caucus

WASHINGTON, D.C. — January 2, 1984 — Democratic Presidential Candidate Gary Hart has issued the following statement on Ireland to the Irish National Caucus:

"The complex and centuries-old socio-economic divisions in the North of Ireland cannot be healed overnight, nor can they be cured by force of arms, by violence, or by short-sighted neglect.

"Admittedly, the search for a solution often appears hopeless, but this is only because the wrong questions are being asked. The debate should no longer center over who is responsible for this or that violence; condemning symptoms does nothing to cure the disease. One must instead ask how it is possible to eliminate the very cause of the violence in order to secure a just and lasting solution to the conflict.

"All electoral initiatives in the past have failed for one fundamental reason: they have not taken into account the democratic wishes of the people of Ireland as a whole.

"The best way, and in fact, the only way to establish a lasting peace is within a democratic All-Ireland context. Regardless of long fostered socio-economic divisions, the fact must be recognized that Ireland is essentially one nation. With the ac-

ceptance of this historical fact, the first step on the road to a long overdue peace in that troubled land will have been taken.

"As Americans, we share rich cultural and political ties with the peoples of Britain and Ireland; we are therefore in an ideal position to encourage, as a common friend, a peaceful and just resolution. It is my sincere wish that in these years ahead the United States will seize upon this opportunity to play a noble role in ending this tragic conflict, and in creating a new spirit of cooperation between the great peoples of both islands."

In responding to the statement, Fr. Sean McManus, National Director, said: "We welcome Mr. Hart's strong position on Ireland. It is an excellent statement. We urge Irish-Americans to keep asking of all presidential candidates their position on Ireland."



# Candidates Polled On 'Special Envoy'

## Glenn and Hollings Reply to Montgomery

The seven presidential candidates have now all responded to Assemblyman John C. Dearie's request for their position regarding his proposal for the United States Government to appoint a Special Envoy for Northern Ireland with their answers reflecting a full spectrum from "yes" to "no".

The most objective analysis of the candidates' responses falls into four classes, Hart, Mondale, Hollings saying "yes", Glenn indicating "possibly", Cranston indicating "probably not," and McGovern, Askew replying "no," Dearie explained.

Over the past months, at presidential forums organized by the New York State Democratic Committee under the direction of its Chairman, William Hennessy, and the forums coordinated by James Cunningham, Dearie coordinated a statewide effort to have prominent Irish-American leaders in each locality where the candidates appeared individually to address the identical question at each of the seven sites.

Interestingly, the Northern Ireland Special Envoy proposal was the only question asked at each forum as part of what Dearie has described, "a critical effort to force the issue of Northern Ireland into the presidential campaign of 1984."

The precise question asked was: "The New York State Legislature and over 150 Irish-American Organizations have endorsed a resolution calling on the United States Government to be more directly involved in the search for peace in Northern Ireland. Specifically, to that end, we are calling on President Reagan to appoint a Special Envoy to Northern Ireland, similar to the Special Envoys currently at work in Central America and in the Middle

East. Our specific question is, as President of the United States, would you appoint a Special Envoy to Northern Ireland for the purpose of more directly involving the U.S. Government in the search for peace in that part of the world?"

The candidates' key phrases in their response could be best summarized as follows:

Senator Gary Hart in Buffalo—"I would (appoint a Special Envoy) and frankly I don't think we should be particularly concerned about British reaction."

Former Vice-President Walter Mondale—"If the appointment of an emissary (Special Envoy) could help, of course we should do it, and I would be prepared to do that as President of the United States."

Senator Ernest Hollings in Mineola—"Yes, I would appoint a Special Envoy."

Senator Alan Cranston in White Plains—"I am not certain that the appointment of an American Special Envoy to Northern Ireland is the way to be most constructively involved in that (peace) effort."

Senator John Glenn in Syracuse—"If we can play an intermediary role that would be a new approach to this thing, I certainly would be for it."

Former Governor Reubin Askew in Albany—"I don't think that I would appoint a Special Envoy."

Former Senator George McGovern in Ithaca—"No, it's a British problem and one more area where we do not belong."

Reacting to the candidates' responses, Dearie indicated that as with President Reagan's negative response issued through the State Department last week, he accepted these as "initial benchmark responses against which we hope to strengthen the candidates who said yes, convince the uncertain and convert the opposed."

Eleanor Casey of Dearie's office, who listened to the tape recordings of all the presidential forums, pointed out several additional interesting comments that were made by the various candidates.

Cranston observed, "I favor the United States seeking to use its prestige and strength to bring about peace wherever peace is violated. I think we could be doing more to seek peace in Northern Ireland although I am far from clear and haven't found anyone else to get me a clear picture of exactly how that peace could be achieved. Although I do feel that American diplomacy should be used in intelligent and creative ways to seek to bring peace in Northern Ireland."

Former Senator McGovern expan-

ding on his answer noted, "I am not happy with the Envoys to Central America and the Middle East."

Askew commented that, "I have long felt as a person who prided himself in his own Irish heritage, that there has to be some constructive and appropriate role that this Government can play to try to help bring an end to the bloodshed, fighting and bitterness in Northern Ireland."

Senator John Glenn further stated, "I'd want to see the proposal though, and I wouldn't want to send someone just to say we sent someone over there. I don't think that would accomplish much. But if we had a program worked out that we thought could possibly bring peace, had some indications of parties over there that it might be successful..."

Senator Hart added, "While we would not be arriving with the answers, or have any guarantee of a solution, I would hope that our special relationship with both English and Irish could make suggestions on our part more acceptable. Ireland's continued torment calls out for solution. We should not hesitate to lend a hand."

Casey pointed out that the entire effort to force candidates into addressing the Northern Ireland issue and not ignoring that troubled region as had occurred in the 1980 campaign, pointed to another Askew observation: "When Presidents come into power, it's (Northern Ireland) always viewed as an internal

problem, and yet, if the great Polish people of this country can exert some influence in Poland, and if my Jewish friends can exert influence upon our relationship with Israel and all, that's the way America works, then I have always felt that somewhere along the line there just ought to be an appropriate way in which we (United States) can participate consistent with no challenge to the sovereignty of the United Kingdom."

Dearie underscored the importance of getting all the candidates, at this early stage in the campaign process, to begin formulating their position, on Northern Ireland, and "as they begin hearing the question posed more and more frequently to them and evaluate the wide-spread, grassroots interest that the Irish-American community is taking in the Special Envoy proposal, I genuinely believe we will begin hearing stronger affirmative responses from all candidates even those who said no to this initial inquiry."

Dearie thanked those who attended the forum and posed the question to the candidates, calling them individually and collectively "an outstanding group of Irish-Americans, who lent their own personal credibility to making this a very successful program."

They were: Michael Hession, President, New York State Ancient Order of Hibernians; Assemblyman Richard J. Keane, Vice-President, Irish-American Legislators Society; Michael Nicholson, President, United Irish Counties; Mary Collins, Vice-President, National Ladies Auxiliary Ancient Order of Hibernians; Rochester Mayor Thomas Ryan; and Thomas McNabb, Past National President, Ancient Order of Hibernians and current Editor of the Hibernian Digest.

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN

(202) 462-3939



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

9 March 1984

*File - Irish Issues*

*Dear Mr. Rogelin*

As an up-date of the material already sent to you from the New Ireland Forum which is meeting in Dublin, I am sending you now an extract from an Irish newspaper dealing with the latest report to issue from the Forum.

The report is to be entitled "The Links Between the Legal Systems, North and South" and will be issued in a complete form in the near future. In the meantime, I hope you will find this abbreviated version of interest.

Yours sincerely

*Kevin Dowling*

Kevin Dowling  
Third Secretary

KD/msg  
Enclosure



# THE IRISH TIMES

Price 40p incl. VAT  
18p sterling area

TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1984

No. 39,754 SPECI

In a report commissioned by the New Ireland Forum Professors C. K. Boyle and D. S. Greer suggest the institution of an annual survey of Irish law — North and South — which would report developments of mutual interest.

## Legal separation

ALTHOUGH there are major areas where the law North and South is identical formal links between the two legal systems had almost ceased, according to a report commissioned by the New Ireland Forum.

The report — written by Professor C. K. Boyle, University College, Galway and Professor D. S. Greer, Queen's University, Belfast — concludes that the one reason for the separate development of the two systems has been the lack of legal scholarship and publications until the 1970s. They suggest the institution of an annual survey of Irish law, which would report developments that would be of mutual interest.

An annual volume jointly edited from a university in the Republic and from Queen's University, Belfast, could supply the need for information and hopefully stimulate further interest in Irish law. Such a volume could encompass EEC law which was likely to be a significant harmonising factor in legal development in the 1980s, the authors add.

"No legal identity can be discovered, maintained or developed without local legal literature," they say. Its absence in the past had major effects on law and practice, and with the pace of social and technological development, a failure to produce local research and writing on law would have increasing undesirable consequences. The National Board for Science and Technology and the Economic and Social Research Institute should both take a greater interest in the discipline of law and its development on the island.

Over the past 60 years, the authors say, the law and legal institutions, particularly the courts, had demonstrated a capacity to adapt to change, somewhat cautiously perhaps and with a tendency to emphasise continuity with the past. "But in the light of their history, there can be every confidence that whatever political structures are proposed for the future the courts and the legal system can adapt to and work within them," the report says.

### BREHON LAW

Reviewing the history of the legal system in Ireland, the report says that until the 12th century the country had its own system — the Brehon law. The coming of the Normans, however, resulted in "the first adventure" of the English common law, and for the next four centuries or so, common law and Brehon law competed for supremacy.

Following the Tudor reconquest of Ireland and the Flight of the Earls, the Brehon law was completely superseded, and Irish law became synonymous with the common law. However, though the official policy was to ensure that Irish common law was identical to English common law, some differences did begin to appear during the 17th and 18th centuries and by 1800, there was in some respects a distinctively Irish common law tradition which survived

and was if anything more pronounced after the Act of Union.

From the perspective of Irish nationalism, common law was an alien imposition, but efforts to shed the inherited *corpus* of law were effectively pursued only as regards the administration of law and the institutions of the legal system. The Courts of Justice Act, 1924 made a clean sweep of the old system of judicature, but the emphasis was otherwise on continuity with pre-1922 law.

While using its independence to assert external legal personality in international affairs, the Irish Free State and the Republic saw little internal legal innovation until the 1960s. Up to that period, the legal system as with Northern Ireland displayed a high degree of dependence on English legal precedent, doctrines and literature.

The catalyst of change was the Constitution; under a phase of activist judicial interpretation, the Constitution was transformed from a background political document to the central engine of legal development in the State. While the effects of constitutional interpretation have been pervasive, there was still lacking a coherent judicial theory of this phase of litigation, and something of the impetus appeared to have now gone out of constitutional development through the courts.

#### CONSCIOUS POLICY

In Northern Ireland, continuity with a pre-1920 law and court system was maintained. There was also a conscious policy of keeping in step with British legislation. Nevertheless, there was considerable scope through the devolved powers for legislation unique to Northern Ireland, and this was exercised by Stormont. While devolution in that regard was successful, it was less so in responding to grievances, and legal institutions did not develop to counterbalance the consequences of domination of the political process by one party. However, since the 1970s there had been major improvements with respect to protection of rights and freedoms under law in Northern Ireland.

In Northern Ireland, there was a conscious policy of adopting legislation from Great Britain, and in the Republic, there was equally a practice of following British legislative precedent. This happened in the fields of commercial, consumer and company law, where there were sound reasons for a common approach between all three jurisdictions.

Given the common *corpus* of statute law and common law pre-1920, and the tendency in many areas for both jurisdictions to enact laws based on British statutes, and given the dominance in the courts, North and South, of English case law since 1920, the conclusion was justified that the laws of both States had by 1972 (direct rule) differentiated from a

common base, only to a quite limited extent.

However, since 1972, a process of 'legal' integration of Northern Ireland with Great Britain, could be identified and as it had accelerated, there was an increasingly pronounced differentiation between North and South. Arguable, the 'constitutionalisation' of law in the Republic, also relatively recent, had contributed to this differentiation.

Virtually all formal links between the legal systems had died out. With the exception of joint executive agencies such as the Foyle Fisheries Commission, or the procedures established under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Acts, links between the two jurisdictions are of the informal kind. There was provision between the Inns of Court for mutual calls to the Bars of both Northern Ireland and the Republic, and there was an historical link between the two Incorporated Law Societies.

Analysis of the use of judicial decisions on the courts North and South, confirmed that the precedent of neither jurisdiction had been important for the other. Out of a total of 2,097 precedents considered in the Republics Courts between 1922-1975, 23 or 1 per cent were Northern Ireland cases. In the same period, out of a total of 297 cases referred to in Northern Ireland Courts, 9, or 3 per cent were Republic of Ireland cases. In the same period, 61 per cent and 50 per cent of cited cases were English in Northern Ireland and the Republic, respectively.

#### BOTH JURISDICTIONS

In the absence of a local legal literature the better documented system (England) would dominate the less well documented one. This has occurred in both parts of Ireland, although the beginnings of change were to be seen, reflected for example in the creation of an Irish Association of Law Teachers which included both jurisdictions.

Ironically, it was the period after the Act of Union of 1800 which saw a significant development of a distinct body of Irish law, and the continuation or introduction of a number of distinctive Irish legal institutions, particularly in relation to the administration of criminal justice.

This was made possible by the fact that although the Irish Parliaments was abolished and despite the intention to unite the two countries, there remained a separate Irish administration and with it came acceptance of the notion that Ireland was a separate problem requiring separate treatment.

During the 19th century also, the Irish legal profession began to take on a separate identity and develop its own traditions. The attorneys (solicitors) formed their own society (first in 1830, and then the Incorporated Law Society in 1852). The 1860s saw

the beginning in Ireland of the provision of legal training for intending barristers and solicitors, and in 1885, the requirement for intending Irish barristers of attending an English Inn of Court was ended.

By 1920, the Irish law and legal system had, for 300 years, been exclusively based on the English common law tradition and been developed, in general, in such a way as to preserve the similarity of the two jurisdictions. Within this general policy and given the essentially different social and economic circumstances between Ireland and England, however, there was room for some substantive legal differences and the development of some distinctive professional and procedural traditions. There was, therefore, no differences in kind; but there was a difference in degree sufficient to allow, in certain respects, the identification of a separate Irish common law tradition.

#### 1916 PROCLAMATION

The root of title of Irish constitutional authority derived from the Proclamation of the Republic in 1916 and from the Declaration of the Republic in 1919 by the first Dáil Eireann. The 1922 Constitution also provided that any legislation enacted by the Oireachtas which was inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution, could be declared void by the Irish courts. The process of political and constitutional development from 1922 to 1949 was one which sought to sever all remaining links between Dublin and London.

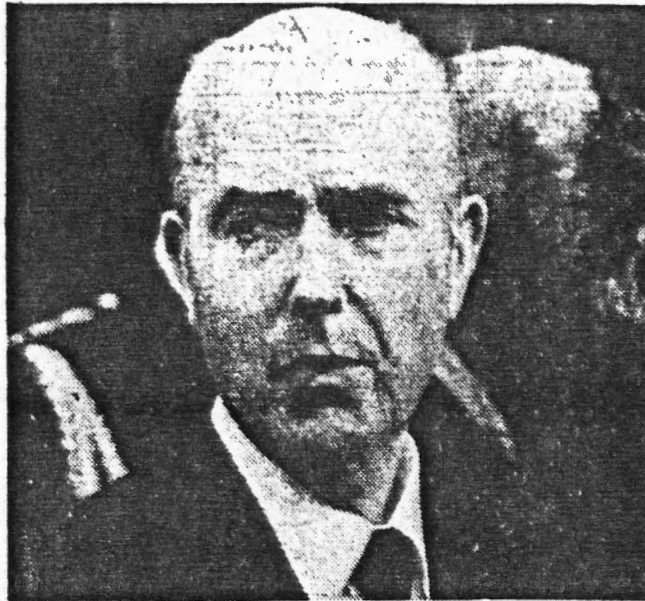
The desire in, 1920 was for a radical break with the past which was achieved by changes in the administration of law and in legal institutions and personnel.

The distinctive features of the 1937 Constitution were its religious hue and its adoption of current Roman Catholic social teaching. In particular, the Constitution in its concepts and language was imbued with Roman Catholic theory of the relationship between Man, the State, Society and the Deity.

The most striking illustrations of this reliance were in provisions concerning the family, including the formal ban on divorce. But the Constitution was also notable for its explicit formulation of fundamental rights, principles of social policy and extensive provision for judicial review. In this respect it was a progressive document for its time, and had a considerable influence on the drafting of Constitutions for other newly-emerging nations.

The full potential of the interaction of the common law tradition with the new written Constitution did not begin to be revealed until the early 1960s. Under the leadership of the then Chief Justice, Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh, the Irish judiciary entered on a period of constitution interpretation, the





*Cearbhall O Dalaigh . . . under his leadership the Irish judiciary entered a period of constitutional interpretation.*

results of which 20 years on could be said to have deeply influenced the Constitution, law and the legal system in the Republic of Ireland. Their achievement in this period, at the most general level had been to implement the Constitution. It was no longer a background document largely of political significance, but a pervasive influence over Government and citizen and over their relations with each other. By any standards, this achievement of breathing life into constitutional principles, standards and guarantees was remarkable for a small judiciary which had not been envisaged as a specialised constitutional court.

#### CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES

It was significant too that in this phase of interpretation, the courts had taken the opportunity to emphasise that the Constitution is not to be interpreted in the light of exclusively Roman Catholic doctrine or beliefs, but in terms of both Christian principles, and secular sources of the common good. Nevertheless, much work remains to be done to synthesise a coherent judicial philosophy from the activism of the past two decades.

It was from this period that a vivid contrast could be drawn between the role of the judiciary in the Republic and in Northern Ireland, developing largely from differences in their perceived function under their respective Constitutions. It was only since the mid-1960s that the significance of a written Constitution as a general source of law and as a specific basis for the protection of individual rights had become evident.

Northern Ireland's laws were a matter for two parliaments, Westminster and Stormont while in the Republic the Oireachtas had sole legislative responsibility. The bulk of legislation in the Irish State reflects that reality, particularly with respect to its revenue and administrative functions and its international commitments in terms of the incorporation of Conventions and Treaties.

In Northern Ireland, as in the South, the new legislature and courts inherited the whole *corpus* of statute and case law in force throughout Ireland immediately before Partition. But in the North, the emphasis was on continuity, not change. Thus, the Government of Ireland Act 1920 provided, for Northern Ireland, a set of legal institutions very similar to those which had existed in Ireland before 1920.

The absence of a written Constitution and its corollary — the supremacy of Parliament — had meant in Northern Ireland the protection of individual rights was a matter first for Parliament, and then for the courts, insofar as they were left by Parliament with any scope for action.

It has, however, been suggested from time to time that the Government of Ireland Act 1920 gave Northern Ireland a kind of written Constitution which could — or, indeed, should — have expanded the scope of a judicial review of legislation and of executive action and thereby conferred on the courts a more positive role in the protection of individual liberties.

This analysis went on to suggest that, for various reasons the courts failed to take proper advantage of this situation — with the result that individual freedoms in NI were less well protected than they might otherwise have been.

There are two difficulties with that analysis. The first is that the most relevant legislation — the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act 1922 — was drawn up so widely as to admit little judicial control. Secondly, it is not entirely the case that the 1920 Act provided Northern Ireland with a written Constitution in the normally acceptable sense.

#### FORMAL CONNECTION

Certainly it did not stimulate the broad kind of judicial review and purposive interpretation which written Constitutions were often intended to provide.

After 1920 there remained some degree of formal connection between the two new jurisdictions North and South. The Government of Ireland Act 1920 established a High Court of Appeal for Ireland, consisting of judges from North and South, to hear appeals from either jurisdiction. A small number of cases was dealt with in this way, but the High Court of Appeal was abolished in 1922. Under the 1922 Constitution, it was possible for an appeal to be made from the Irish courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but this power was seldom exercised and was formally abolished in 1935.

A significant connection was the creation of certain cross-Border executive authorities with powers to function in both jurisdictions, such as the Foyle Fisheries Commission, the Great Northern Railways, etc.

The formal separation of the courts in the two jurisdictions is reflected in the technical rules of precedent. Judges, both North and South, have stated that they are not formally bound to follow decisions given in the other jurisdiction. There was nothing peculiarly significant in this.

In theory, Northern Ireland judges were not bound even by decisions of the English courts, except as regards decisions of the House of Lords on appeal from Northern Ireland.

#### EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Semi-formal links between the two jurisdictions exist by reason of what might be called a new form of "external association". Both the Republic and the United Kingdom were members of the European Communities; both are therefore "bound" by EC legislation and by rulings of the European Court of Justice on issues of EC law. Similarly both countries are members of the Council of Europe and are signatories to the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; both countries recognise the right of individual petition under that Convention.

Again, both countries are members of the United Nations, which membership imposes further similar obligations on each. In relation to all three of these factors, however, it must be noted that whereas the Republic has its own international personality and is free to choose which international obligations it should accept, such obligations affect Northern Ireland only insofar as they applied to the United Kingdom as a whole.

To some extent at least failure of the law to develop is the responsibility of the legal practitioner; in any common law system, it was up to the parties to prosecute their cases and to raise the issues of fact and questions of law to be resolved by the courts. If the Irish courts had not been particularly innovative, then that to some extent may be because they have not been "pushed" by lawyers to resolve novel and imaginative arguments.



George Ford

(215) 242-5251

→ Friendly Sons of St.  
Patrick.

→ Phily is 3 yrs. old.

→ Had done it w/ Delaware  
group in past is w/ NY  
group.

→ By the end of.

→ Asking Faith Whittlesay to get involved.  
→ Would be working the Irish press.  
→ at Killiam - would push.

or Monday when  
they arrive.

Wed or Thursday of next week



Irish

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Document No. 139638 PL

July 5, 1983

To: Jonathan

From: Linas *Linas*

RE: Presentation of scroll from  
Society of the Friendly  
Sons of St. Patrick

MEMORANDUM  
LIAISON

DATE DUE BY: ASAP

Recommend the President accept for  
the following reasons:

1. The President accepted membership in the society while serving as president.
2. The group has been received by Presidents, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.
3. The President's own ethnic background is Irish.
4. There are 40 million Americans of Irish ancestry.
5. Senator Heinz requested the President agree to receive them.

Recommend Social Office arrange small reception. Invitations should go out to; Senator Heinz, Speaker O'Neill (and other Irish-American Members of Congress), Ambassador O'Sullivan, and editors of all Irish-American newspapers and radio programs.

*6. Consider with the President's education invitation (The group is composed of members of the...*

*Present scroll by Sons of St. Patrick*

	ACTION	FYI
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RAF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNDSETH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MORECI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Kije</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

RESPONSE:

→ Last Wednesday were able to get into WH early.

→ 9:30 → Look into a morning tour

→ 9:45 → Hotel Washington for Wed AM. (638-5900) Room 620.

30 + 2 committee →

Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
Assistant to the President  
Ext. 2270

*file  
Irish Am.*

November 12, 1982

It is a pleasure to send warmest greetings to the American Irish Historical Society.

As a fellow son of the Emerald Isle, I am proud of your efforts to preserve the culture and history of our Irish forebears.

Though we all have made our lives here in America, none of us can ever forget the richness of our great heritage.

I applaud the American Irish Historical Society for its dedication to the traditions of Irish culture while working to further the ideals of this nation.

My heartfelt congratulations to this year's award recipients. As last year's honoree, I know how proud you must be.

**RONALD REAGAN**

Sent to:

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Kevin M. Cahill, M.D.  
President General  
American Irish Historical Society  
991 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10028

RR:O'Silverman:displ  
cc: K.Osborne/D.Livingston/M.McManus/J.Burgess (FYI)/CF  
EVENT: NOV. 18  
Requested through Mike McManus's office

*128*



*file  
Just Answer*

R.D. #2, Box 462  
Altamont, N.Y. 12009  
March 1, 1983

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan  
President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As an ethnic American of Irish descent who worked full time on your general election campaign, I would appreciate receiving a copy of any statement or message you will issue in recognition of St. Patrick's Day, March 17. Having had your own ancestral roots traced back to the early Kings of Ireland, I am sure you can readily appreciate the significance of St. Partick's Day to all Irish American communities throughout this Nation.

As you undoubtedly know, the Ancient Order of Hibernians selected Michael Flannery to be Grand Marshall of the New York City parade. This has caused problems for many Irish Americans and all public officials. Governor Carey and Senator Moynihan have already announced they will not participate in the parade because their presence might be construed as symbolic support of the outlawed I.R.A. However, other officials as Governor Cuomo, Mayor Koch, and Senator D'Amato are presently planning to participate with the explicit understanding that they do not support the I.R.A. in any fashion. Cardinal Cooke has issued statements condemning the wanton terrorism perpetuated by the I.R.A. but has not yet decided whether he will view the march as is the custom.

Although I am not a member of your Administration, my experience in preparing similar messages for numerous ethnic events during the campaign suggests that a statement, but not your presence, would be appropriate. It should have two components. It should recognize the many contributions that the Irish have made to our society. This cultural theme would acknowledge and commend one of the largest ethnic groups in America and would implicitly indicate your appreciation of the heterogenous composition of our peoples.

The second component would be a strong condemnation of the violence and terrorism in Northern Ireland. This would separate you from any possible support of the I.R.A. and would give moral support to Senator D'Amato and to Cardinal Cooke should he decide to participate. It would be an opportunity for you to reiterate your wishes for peace through peaceful means throughout the world and thereby diminish any lingering misperceptions.

Additionally as you have previously censured some Americans for unintentionally lending credence or supporting goals antithetical to your policies, you would

President Reagan, March 1, 1983

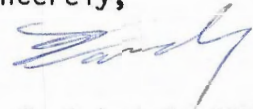
page -2-

have a platform for cautioning the public in general and the Irish in particular against unwitting financial contributions to violence and destabilizing forces. Not only would your constituency applaud you for this but so would a large segment of the Irish community.

A public statement would also tend to soften those Anglophobic Irish who do not support the I.R.A. but who disapproved of our support of Great Britain during the Falkland Islands war. It would in a sense balance, geographically and politically, the Queen's current visit to the West Coast.

While this is by no means a simple decision without drawbacks, I hope that you will once again demonstrate your firm leadership and ability to communicate by issuing a careful and appropriate message on this most Irish of all days.

Sincerely,



A. G. Gabriels III

cc:Senator Alphonse D'Amato

Jack Burgess, Special Assistant for Public Liaison

Frank Stella, Chairman, National Republican Heritage Groups Council

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: FRED FIELDING

FROM: JACK BURGESS 

This is a second inquiry from John Kelly on his allegation of the surveillance of Irish Americans by the British government through the FBI and CIA. I refer it to you, as it sounds like a legal matter, from the nature of his inquiry. I leave to your option any response you may deem appropriate.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF IRISH AMERICANS

ELLICOTT SQUARE BUILDING

BUFFALO, N. Y. 14203

May 1, 1981

Mr. Jack Burgess  
Special Assistant to the President  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

RE: Surveillance of Irish Americans  
by British government through  
FBI and CIA

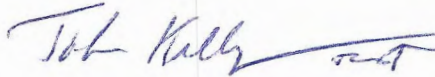
Dear Sir:

We are pleased to note from your letter of April 16th that some action is being taken in the above matter as requested in our letter of April 1st last.

One way to correct the problem is by executive order. Federal agents and employees engaging in spying activities are committing federal crimes! We do not feel the President has to make a policy decision. The Constitution and the Federal Criminal Code says he must stop these practices. Legal counsel has so advised us.

We await response to our letter, hopeful that President Reagan will not treat British Intelligence interests as superior to the Rights of American citizens.

Sincerely yours,



JOHN KELLY, Chairman  
Civil Rights Committee

JK:jas

Fred Fielding -  
"sounds like a  
legal  
matter"

get Apr. 16 from chron

letter #22 A

A 1

... letter of May 1.

912

chron #22

refer to  
Office of  
Policy Dev.



## HOW JIMMY CARTER'S CIA SPIES

### ON IRISH AMERICANS

The American CIA has been riding the backs of Irish Americans since Jimmy Carter took office. CIA surveillance of Americans is forbidden by law, but this doesn't stop that great fighter for Human Rights, who resides in the White House.

For years, the CIA--working closely with the FBI, has spied on Americans of Irish descent in purely political matters. An Irish American writing a letter of criticism to the President or the State Department--or to a newspaper, soon becomes a CIA or FBI target. All those Irish Americans speaking out against British policy in Northern Ireland are victims of these illegal practices. The U.S. Attorney General is fully cognizant of these actions, but refuses to prosecute government officials.

No one questions the fact that the FBI has a duty to investigate criminal activity--but speaking out on civil rights or on political matters is not criminal activity, except by Jimmy Carter's standards.

This problem has been investigated by the National Council of Irish Americans, which has succeeded in obtaining numerous CIA and FBI records relating to surveillance of Irish Americans. Those records show close cooperation with Scotland Yard, the RUC and Whitehall. In many cases, the CIA and FBI are used as agents of Scotland Yard to assemble information on the activities and strength of Irish groups. Irish American affairs are usually attended by FBI agents--or, at times, by local police officers, at FBI and CIA request. These activities allow the British government, which cannot operate openly in the U.S., to monitor Irish Americans and their group activities. It should be emphasized that none of this spying by government relates to gun purchases or other criminal activity, but is directed solely at the political rights of American citizens.

Intimidation is a favorite weapon. Agents are parked in cars on a victim's street and neighbors are questioned. His employer is interviewed about his political views. His business associates and co-workers are interviewed. This kind of activity is designed to embarrass and intimidate the victim into silence, and perhaps cause him to lose his job. The pattern is repeated coast to coast.

What is most interesting is the fact that the FBI has admittedly engaged in spying on Irish Americans "at the request of the British government." This admission was made to California's Senator Hayakawa when he complained to the FBI about such practices.

The campaign of intimidation has frightened a few Irish Americans into silence. However, in general, it has been a failure. The FBI and CIA now face threats of lawsuits by several Irish Americans, who have been able to obtain FBI and CIA files on their activities under the Freedom of Information Act, a Federal Law requiring the government to surrender such files on demand. Ireland has no such law.

While Jimmy Carter castigates the Russians for denying human rights to Russian dissidents, Mr. Carter is carrying out the same vicious practices against Americans of Irish Descent.



# NATIONAL COUNCIL OF IRISH AMERICANS

ELLICOTT SQUARE BUILDING

BUFFALO, N. Y. 14203

May 1, 1981

Mr. Jack Burgess  
Special Assistant to the President  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

RE: Surveillance of Irish Americans  
by British government through  
FBI and CIA

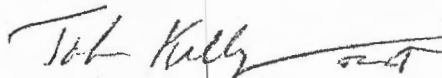
Dear Sir:

We are pleased to note from your letter of April 16th that some action is being taken in the above matter as requested in our letter of April 1st last.

One way to correct the problem is by executive order. Federal agents and employees engaging in spying activities are committing federal crimes! We do not feel the President has to make a policy decision. The Constitution and the Federal Criminal Code says he must stop these practices. Legal counsel has so advised us.

We await response to our letter, hopeful that President Reagan will not treat British Intelligence interests as superior to the Rights of American citizens.

Sincerely yours,



JOHN KELLY, Chairman  
Civil Rights Committee

Mr. Jack Burgess  
Special Assistant to the President  
White House  
Washington, D.C.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: FRED FIELDING

FROM: JACK BURGESS 

This is a second inquiry from John Kelly on his allegation of the surveillance of Irish Americans by the British government through the FBI and CIA. I refer it to you, as it sounds like a legal matter, from the nature of his inquiry. I leave to your option any response you may deem appropriate.



5  
*Jack Burgess*

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF IRISH AMERICANS**

**ELLICOTT SQUARE BUILDING**

**BUFFALO, N. Y. 14203**

April 1, 1981

President Ronald Reagan  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We urge you not to liberalize surveillance guidelines for CIA and FBI operations, as recently requested by these agencies.

Both agencies already violate President Carter's executive orders and further liberalization would only erode what few basic rights Americans still have.

As an example, the enclosed brochure outlines political surveillance of Irish Americans by both agencies in what are purely political, not criminal matters.

The facts of this surveillance have been confirmed by the Senate and House Intelligence Committees and certain Senators. The FBI has admitted to Senator Hayakawa that it spies on Irish Americans in political matters at the request of the British government. FBI and CIA records obtained under the Freedom of Information Act confirm these sordid practices.

We ask that you:

- (1) order an immediate termination of these practices;
- (2) order a tightening of surveillance practices in the U.S. against American citizens.

Americans of Irish descent are not second class citizens. Those of us who voted for you expect you to help and keep your word, and to end the above activities, which are so reminiscent of Russia or Castro's Cuba.

I await your reply.

Respectfully yours,

*John Kelly*

JOHN KELLY, Chairman  
Civil Rights Committee

JK:jas

Enc.



**Irish National Caucus, Inc.**

Fr. Sean McManus  
National Director

National Office  
205 Pa. Ave. SE • Capitol Hill  
Washington, D.C. 20003  
(202) 544-0568/0569/0570



Irish National Caucus. 1984, March 9.

→ Irish are ethnics. Great mistake for WH to figure Irish not-ethnics.

→ Why should Pres. leave monopoly to Tip & Teddy?

→ No campaign to switch them over. Philosophically.

→ The big issue is N. Ireland → Irish peace.

→ Loyalt was told that INC has access to 6.2 m.

→ Copy of Hunt's statement. Pro unity of Ireland.

→ Proposal:

(1) DENC help fund poll of Irish-Am's of Natl. Rep. Committee. Test the "waters."

(2) → President in Ireland →



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Local groups - Reasonable /  
respectable - non violence.

D.C. office → Fr. McManus,  
lip service to peace. Not

trusted. Brother is IRA  
prisoner. → Shanley could

send me papers →

→ McManus <sup>said IRA</sup> was targeting  
military targets.



Bobby  
Jareds

NO  
RESPONSE

FILE

39

Jack Burgess

WHA031(1947)(1-005532A116)PD 04/26/81 1947

81 APR 27 A 7:23

ICS IPMWGWC WSH

03121 04-26 0840P EST

PMS WHITE HOUSE DC

4-013359S116 04/26/81

ICS IPMMTZZ CSP

3057913541 TDMT FT LAUDERDALE FL 24 04-26 0738P EST

PMS PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON DC 20500

TO AVOID FURTHER BLOODSHED THE IRISH COMMUNITY OF FLORIDA REQUEST  
THAT YOU INTERVENE IMMEDIATELY ON BEHALF OF ROBERT SANDS IN PRISON IN  
NORTHERN IRELAND.

THOMAS E GILLIGAN FLORIDA STATE PRESIDENT ANCIENT ORDER OF  
HIBERNIANS AND JAMES P FRENCH NATIONAL DIRECTOR AOH



IP  
*Tosh Burgess*

WHB 102(1453)(1-018423A113)PD 04/23/81 1452

81 APR 23 P 3:08

ICS IPMWGWC WSH

05351 04-23 0221P EST

FMS WHITE HOUSE DC

4-032149S113 04/23/81

ICS IPMRNCZ CSP

6029661759 TDRN TEMPE AZ 39 04-23 1213P MST

FMS PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON DC 20500

PRESIDENT REGAN,

ON BEHALF OF THE IRISH FOUNDATION OF ARIZONA, I URGENTLY REQUEST YOUR IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION TO TRY AND CONVINCE BRITISH AUTHORITIES TO SAVE THE LIFE OF BOBBY SANDS, WHO IS NEARING DEATH ON HUNGER STRIKE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

BILL QUINN, PRESIDENT, IRISH FOUNDATION OF ARIZONA

18  
W HUGHES  
812 WILLIAM ST  
BALTIMORE MD 21230

western union Mailgram®



4-0433728113 04/23/81 ICS IPMTZZ CSP WSHB  
3013963659 MGM TDMT BALTIMORE MD 88 04-23 0411P EST

*Jack Burgess*

PRESIDENT RONALD W REAGAN  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

DEAR MR PRESIDENT

ON BEHALF OF THE IRISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN THE STATE OF MARYLAND, I  
URGE YOU TO USE YOUR INFLUENCE WITH PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER  
OF GREAT BRITAIN TO SPARE THE LIFE OF THE IRISH NATIONALISTS, BOBBY  
SANDS, DYING ON A HUNGER STRIKE IN A BRITISH COLONIAL JAIL IN THE  
NORTH OF IRELAND FOR THE ISSUE OF POLITICAL STATUS, RESPECTFULLY  
WILLIAM HUGHES STATE CHAIRMAN MARYLAND CHAPTER OF THE IRISH  
NATIONAL CAUCUS  
812 WILLIAM ST  
BALTIMORE MD 21230

16:12 EST

MGMCOMP MGM





5  
*Jack Burgess*

**Political Education Committee**  
**Ancient Order of Hibernians in America, Inc.**

**National Chairperson**  
John J. Finucane

**Co-Chairperson**  
Elizabeth Kelly

**Recording Secretary**  
Margaret Matone

**Treasurer**  
James F. Clarke

**Information Director**  
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**Regional Directors**

**Region I**  
Charles Bohan

**Region II**  
Ken Clinton

**Region III**  
Daniel Kelly

**Region IV**  
Raymond O'Connor

**Region V**  
James Shannon

**Legal Staff**  
Mark Barrett  
Professor David Lowry

April 16, 1981

Honorable Ronald Reagan  
President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

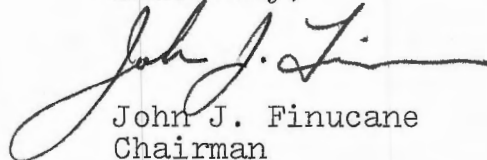
Bobby Sands, who is presently on hunger strike in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh in British occupied Northern Ireland, was recently elected to England's Parliament. His election means that the English Government has been withholding the truth from the public and possibly from your Administration. It further means, that there is great support among Northern Ireland's Catholic population for both the reunification of Ireland and the blanket protesters in their demand for political status.

For you to continue to support England's position, which is one of oppression and the denial of human rights, will definitely tarnish America's image.

We fully support the hunger strikers and the blanket protesters in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and Armagh Womens Prison in British occupied northeast Ireland and their just demand for political status.

We respectfully request that you intercede on behalf of the hunger strikers and call upon England's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to grant them political status and to declare Englands intention of withdrawing from Irish soil. Such a move, on your part, will be a show of support for justice and not terrorism.

Sincerely,

  
John J. Finucane  
Chairman

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## VIEWPOINT VIEWPOINT

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### Violence for violence sake

The IRA has claimed responsibility for the bombing of a hotel in Brighton, England in which four people were killed and 34 injured. Whoever the IRA leaders are, they certainly are operating under false colors.

An act such as that can only keep Ireland partitioned. It is an act that flies in the face of the IRA's avowed aim to reunify Ireland.

You cannot gain your end by strengthening your enemy's resolve while alienating many who would support your end if the means were sane and logical.

The end simply does not justify the means. This type of bombing campaign has never been successful. In light of this, it becomes nothing more than an exercise in violence for the sake of violence.

How can anyone support such an act in any way?