



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

September 13, 1995

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton  
The White House

Hillary,

You did an excellent job at the Beijing Conference. I really felt proud to represent the Clinton Administration to the Catholic Church in the lead up to the conference. We did it when nobody thought we could. Your staff was on the mark.

See my cable (attached) on my conversation with the Vatican's number 2 person. American Catholics should be proud of you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ray Flynn", written over the word "Sincerely,".

Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Ambassador

P.S. Please make every effort for you and Chelsea to greet the Holy Father and then attend services at the Cathedral.

UNCLAS

ROME 12327

CLANOL:

INFO: POLMIN AMB POLIT DCM EDMIN POL

Lasers:

ACTION: VAT-3

INFO: PCOPY-4 USIS

DISSEMINATION: PVAT

CHARGE: PROG

APPROVED: AMB:RLFLYNN

DRAFTED: DCM:LJNIGRO

CLEARED: POL:TROBINSON

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RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 2887

RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING IMMEDIATE 2262

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UNCLAS ROME 012327

BEIJING FOR MRS. CLINTON FROM AMB. RAY FLYNN

WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. ICKES

DEPT FOR G/CS, IO, AND EUR/WE

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/MESSAGE NO.253/95

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KWMN, PHUM, SOCT, PREL, PREF, UN, US, CH, VT

SUBJECT: VATICAN "DELIGHTED" BY MRS. CLINTON IN BEIJING

1. ARCHBISHOP GIOVANNI BATTISTA RE, THE SECOND-RANKING OFFICIAL IN THE HOLY SEE GOVERNMENT AND ONE OF THE POPE'S CLOSEST ADVISORS, TOLD ME TODAY THAT THE VATICAN WAS "DELIGHTED" BY FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S ADDRESS AT THE BEIJING CONFERENCE. RE SAID VATICAN OFFICIALS BOTH AT THE CONFERENCE AND IN ROME WERE PARTICULARLY CRATEFUL FOR HER WORDS IN SUPPORT OF THE FAMILY. "MRS. RODHAM CLINTON SPOKE VERY WELL; HER INTERVENTION WAS BEAUTIFUL", RE ADDED WITH EVIDENT ENTHUSIASM.

2. I THANKED RE FOR HIS REMARKS AND TOLD HIM IN TURN THAT THE U.S. WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE POSITIVE AND LEADING ROLE THAT PROF. MARY ANN GLENDON, THE VATICAN DELEGATION HEAD, HAD BEEN PLAYING AT THE CONFERENCE. I ADDED THAT I CONSIDERED PROF. GLENDON TO BE A RESPECTED LEGAL SCHOLAR

UNCLAS

ROME 12327

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AND WORKING MOTHER WHO SPEAKS EXTREMELY WELL ON BEHALF OF  
CATHOLICS, AND WHO HAS GARNERED RESPECT AND APPRECIATION  
FROM WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD.

FLYNN

BT

#2327

NNNN

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ROME 12327

**UNITED STATES EMBASSY  
TO THE VATICAN**

PHONE: 39-6-46741

FAX: 39-6-575-8346

**FAX COVER SHEET**TO: MELANNE VERVEER

PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

FAX: 202-456-6244

FROM: AMBASSADOR RAYMOND L. FLYNN

DATE: 8/30/95PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET 19

COMMENTS:

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~~PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL~~DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
INITIALS: JM DATE: 8/12/14

Melanne,

Following up on our conversation yesterday (also see Jesse Helms letter to Sec. Christopher) as a clear example of the type of problem I continually face.

It's true, as Jesse Helms says in his critical letter of me, that I have been relentlessly slamming the Republicans for their mean-spirited, short-sighted policies. He is also correct when he says that, "I'm publically making claims that one political party (Democrats) is better suited than another (Republican) to the Vatican's teachings on poverty and that the Vatican believes in the actions of that party (Democrat)." He also says in his letter to Sec. Christopher that, "I understand that this may not be the first questionable activity undertaken by Ambassador Flynn." He and several other right-wingers (Heritage Foundation etc.) know how effective I am with the U.S. Catholic community (see a few sample letters) and are doing whatever they can to discredit me in the press and publically. The Republicans have pressed that audits be done on me, my Embassy and even going back the past 12 years while I was Mayor of Boston. They have been playing hard ball politics with me and I've been standing tall, but alone. A friend said to me, "Why are you doing that, nobody in the White House even knows or cares?" I responded, "I care."

Other examples of how I am prevented from doing my job for the President. I was invited to attend as a guest speaker for the Gov. Alfred Smith Memorial Dinner in NYC, the Knights of Columbus Anniversary Dinner and the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick Dinner in NYC as well as address several Catholic colleges. The reason why I was denied permission to attend these important events in the U.S. was, the State Dept. said, they were either too religious, too partisan or too male Catholic. Guess who was the speaker at two of these events (which each one drew over 2,000 prominent non-Catholic and Catholic men and women)? Bob Dole. I couldn't even get a letter of congratulations from the President on the anniversary of the Knights of Columbus. I am blocked everytime I want to do what I believe is good politically for the President. I've also been urged by the Catholic Church to visit with religious people (not politicians or government officials) in Vietnam and Ireland, but my requests have constantly been denied because I'm told that I'm too well known. That sounds like the reason why I should go. The White House should tell the State Dept. to give me permission to go.

The President's vacation is over. It's time to make decisions. Some won't be easy. As the President said in his campaign, the issue is change. It still is.

I have a 1 page memo to the President which he and Hillary should read. I had thought that I would have discussed it with Hillary in Beijing.

Letting Navarro rant and rave in Beijing without someone like me correcting the record and stressing the points of common ground between the Catholic Church and the Clinton administration (as I do effectively) is a mistake. We should fight to get a N.Y.T. headline in Beijing, "Clinton and Catholic Church work together for human rights for needy women throughout the world" instead of "Catholic Church slams Clinton administration's anti-family policies."

Today's N.Y.T. talks about Hillary and Mary Ann going toe to toe with each other in Beijing. They both are professional and good at what they do, and their relationship will not be a problem. The real question is, who's going to go toe to toe with Navarro?

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P950052-1149  
 United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

July 37, 1995

The Honorable Warren C. Christopher  
 The Secretary of State  
 Department of State  
 Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have serious reservations about U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Holy See and I am unalterably persuaded that if there is to be a U.S. Ambassador posted there, the American people have a right to expect nothing but the highest standards of conduct from him or her.

Recently, I was informed that Ambassador Raymond L. Flynn sent a letter to several, if not all, of the more than 300 members of the Catholic hierarchy as well as to certain influential Catholic lay leaders requesting their comments on a speech the Ambassador gave to some American students entitled "From a War on Poverty to a War on the Poor?: The United States at a Crossroads".

I am puzzled by the rationale for circulating such a letter which appears to have been unsolicited -- and which does not appear to relate to his duties as U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See even though it was sent on official letterhead. I will appreciate the State Department's opinion on whether this letter has anything to do with Mr. Flynn's position of U.S. Ambassador or with the Pope's visit to the U.S. in October. Also, was it sent at the American taxpayers' expense as an official U.S. document?

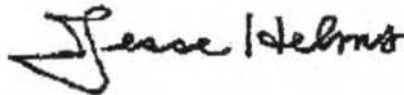
As we all know, each ambassador is supposed to represent the United States as a professional diplomat. It appears that Ambassador Flynn is making the claim in his speech that one political party is better suited than another to the Vatican's teachings on poverty, and that the Vatican "believes in" the actions of that party. What is the State Department's legal assessment of whether the Flynn letter was an appropriate communication from an Ambassador, or was it a political statement.

95005310

I understand that this may not be the first questionable activity undertaken by Ambassador Flynn. Since taking office, Ambassador Flynn has stated that he is considering another run for political office. Does Ambassador Flynn plan to remain in his post for the full three-year term?

You may wish to refer this matter to the Office of the Inspector General to advise whether Ambassador Flynn's letter to the Catholic hierarchy was appropriate.

Sincerely,



JESSE HELMS

JH:as

cc: ~~Inspector General James William Bridges~~

## ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

Office of the Archbishop

Post Office Box 1079  
Chicago, Illinois 60690

May 8, 1995

Dear Ambassador Flynn:

I deeply appreciated receiving your letter dated April, 1995, with the attached statement entitled: "From a War on Poverty to A War on the Poor?: The United States at a Crossroads," which you shared with a group of American graduate students studying in Rome.

As your Statement makes abundantly clear, there has been a striking change in prevailing thought on social and economic justice in the thirty year interval between 1965, -- the year of the historic visit of Pope Paul VI to the United States, -- and the present. "

In the present climate, it is vital that both church and government leaders recognize and exercise their responsibility to help the most neglected and least favored members of our society during these difficult social and economic times. And as Pope John Paul II will undoubtedly stress in speeches during his anticipated October visit, programs that recognize the importance of strengthening family life by respecting and promoting social and economic justice are crucial to the health and well-being of our nation.

I believe, as you do, that informal dialogue with students emphasizing the papal position on human rights such as you have initiated can be an excellent means of preparing young people to become the enlightened leaders so necessary to America's survival as a "great society" in the millennium to come.

Again, thank you for sharing your insights with me.

With cordial good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Joseph Card. Bernardin".

Archbishop of Chicago

The Honorable Raymond L. Flynn  
The American Ambassador to  
the Vatican  
U.S. Embassy Vatican PSC-59  
APO AE 09624  
Rome, ITALY



## UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

April 27, 1995

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Executive Committee

The Honorable Raymond L. Flynn  
American Ambassador  
U.S. Embassy  
Vatican PSC 59,  
APO AE 09624  
Rome, Italy

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Thank you for your recent letter. I have read your statement, "From a War on Poverty to a War on the Poor?: The United States at a Crossroads," and I share your concerns.

The United Jewish Appeal serves as an umbrella organization for 164 Jewish federations and 283 independent communities across the U.S. One portion of the funds they raise in their annual campaigns is allocated to UJA, from which those campaign dollars flow on to support humanitarian programs and social services for Jews and Jewish communities overseas, in some 50 countries worldwide. The American communities allocate the second portion of those funds to agencies and services in their own communities, with much of this local assistance provided on a nonsectarian basis. An important segment of the locally allocated campaign dollars supports the resettlement in the community of Jews in peril.

No matter how successful our communities are in raising money, the growth of the human needs in those communities -- among others, the care of the elderly and disabled, job training and the support and absorption of new immigrants -- seems always to outstrip the pace of fund raising to meet those needs. Thus, the communities tend to rely heavily on various governmental public assistance programs to supply the major share of the financial support for their social-service programs. In many cases, the federal, state and local funds far exceed the results of community campaigns.

And there are some vital community services that are *totally* funded by the federal government. Now federal, state and local governments propose to slash their social-service programs, expecting the private sector and the already-strapped local communities to fill the void. If effected, the devastating cuts they propose will probably be felt in every one of our hundreds of communities across America: in senior-citizen homes and other housing for the elderly, in day care centers, in hospitals, in clinics that counsel troubled families and individuals, and in virtually every single program and service that assists people who need the help these programs and services provide. The strands of the safety net for these vulnerable people -- the old and young; refugees and U.S. citizens; poor individuals and families; the

The Honorable Raymond L. Flynn  
April 27, 1995  
Page 2

healthy and ill; battered women and unemployed men; and every combination of these -- will be much thinner and farther apart. Many beneficiaries will fall through.

Jewish federations across the nation regard these developments with dismay. They recognize the profound depth of their dependence on government funding.

In Boston, for example -- the community you served as Mayor -- 1,300 senior citizens, half of them Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, reside in five buildings (one of them in suburban Newton) run by a nonprofit agency, Jewish Community Housing for the Elderly. The residents pay no more than a third of their income in rent, and the housing agency receives \$5.5 million in rent subsidies from the federal government. To replace these subsidies, the local federation, the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Boston, would have to increase its annual campaign -- which raised \$21 million last year -- by 25 percent!

The senior vice president of the Chicago federation, whose local agencies spent about \$224.5 million last year, approximately \$91 million of which was government money, says, "The bottom line is, we had a decent campaign and raised \$54 million last year. There's no way we can turn around and make up a 15 percent reduction (in the \$91 million)."

And the director of the Washington office of the Council of Jewish Federations says, "You would need a 230 percent increase in private donations. How do you do that when the average (annual) increase has been 2.1 percent? It's not going to happen. The federal government has a responsibility."

Your statement to the American students notes that in his visit to the U.S., Pope John Paul II will no doubt stress the Vatican's commitment to the social and economic development of the peoples of the Third World and industrial societies. You add that "Americans share this commitment to keeping a safety net under the most vulnerable in our society."

I applaud you and your efforts.

Warmest regards

Sincerely,



Rabbi Brian L. Lurie  
Executive Vice President



THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SAN FRANCISCO  
OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

445 CHURCH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94114-1799 (415) 565-3600

March 10, 1995

Honorable Raymond L. Flynn  
United States Ambassador to the Vatican  
U.S. Embassy Vatican PSC - 59  
APO AE 09624  
Rome, ITALY

Dear Ambassador Flynn,

I have received your letter of March 1, and I am deeply grateful to you for outlining in detail the proposed areas of cooperation between the United States and the Vatican in providing relief, aid and assistance to areas in the world where there is human suffering and natural disasters.

I am most grateful to you for keeping me apprised of these efforts which you are undertaking on behalf of President Clinton.

Please be assured of my prayerful best wishes for you as you continue this important and necessary work.

Asking God's blessings on you, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

*John R. Quinn*  
Archbishop of San Francisco



## ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE  
POST OFFICE BOX 26260  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

March 24, 1995

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

His Excellency  
Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See  
American Embassy (VAT)  
PSC 59  
APO AE 09624

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I write to acknowledge your letter of March 1, 1995, outlining the areas of cooperation between the Holy See and the Clinton administration, especially in response to the various humanitarian crises unfolding in various parts of the world.

The consultations you have held with Cardinal Etchegaray and Archbishop Cheli are heartening signs of a fruitful collaboration. In and through God's grace, the commitment of the Church to the poor and to the authentic development of nations remains constant even amid changing political currents. As you know, that commitment is not only a humanitarian impulse but a moral mandate flowing from the Gospel. From that same source comes the mandate to ensure that humanitarian aid does not tear down but rather builds up the moral fabric of developing societies.

Thank you for serving as a vehicle of communications and collaboration. May the Lord continue to bless your unique service to our country.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely in Christ,

*James Cardinal Hickey*  
Archbishop of Washington

*add to R to Ray Flynn*  
*more from Flynn*

September 20, 1995

Melanne Verveer  
The White House

Dear Melanne,

I thought you would like to see an example of what we were talking about recently. The right wing organizations are well aware of the important Catholic constituency in the United States and they don't like me talking to them in support of Bill Clinton and the Democratic Party. Please bring this to the attention of the First Lady.

Thanks,

Ray Flynn

The Washington Times • WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1995 / PAGE A13

# Helms questions the legality of letter by U.S. Vatican envoy

## Suggests that Flynn used position for political purpose

By Larry W. White

Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has asked the State Department whether apparently partisan activity by the U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, Raymond Flynn, is illegal.

In a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the North Carolina Republican noted that Mr. Flynn circulated a letter to the U.S. Catholic bishops promoting Clinton administration policy.

"It appears that Ambassador Flynn is making the claim in his speech that one political party is better suited than another to the Vatican's teaching on poverty; and that the Vatican believes in the actions of that party," Mr. Helms said in his July 27 letter.

"What is the State Department's legal assessment of whether the Flynn letter was an appropriate communication from an ambassador, or was it a political statement?" he wrote.

The State Department rules bar U.S. ambassadors abroad from

using their position to promote domestic politics.

Mr. Helms asked if the Flynn letter was taxpayer funded and also sent his inquiry to State Department Inspector General Jacqueline Williams-Bridgers.

On official U.S. Embassy stationery in April, Mr. Flynn sent U.S. Catholics a cover letter and a two-page speech on the Republican Congress' "war on the poor."

Mr. Flynn, for 20 years Democratic mayor of Boston, asked Catholic leaders to consider his ideas before Pope John Paul II's U.S. visit, which begins in New York City on Oct. 4.

"I have been privileged to work with the Holy See to unite the pope's concern for the poor with the Clinton administration's commitment to the most disadvantaged in our society both home and abroad," Mr. Flynn said in the speech.

When Pope Paul VI visited the United States in 1965, Mr. Flynn said in his letter, the pope found a country engaging in the War on Poverty and "pressed" President Lyndon Johnson to aid the poor.

"Pope John Paul II will find a greatly different political climate," Mr. Flynn said in the cover letter.

"In 1993, the U.S. Congress is tragically dismantling many of those anti-poverty programs that we have spent 30 years creating," he said in the speech, first given as a talk to American graduate students in Rome. "Are we now fighting a war on the poor instead of a war on poverty?"

When The Washington Times reported on the circulation of the Flynn letter to Mass. church officials confirmed that some bishops had received the material.

The Vatican's secretary of state, Angelo Sodano, now has a copy of the Helms letter, according to informed sources.

Earlier this year, the White House began an effort to reach out to the crucial Catholic vote. Democratic strategists have said.

Though Mr. Clinton received 41 percent of the Catholic vote in 1992, compared with 35 percent for President Bush and 21 percent for independent Ross Perot, Catholics swung to Republicans in the 1994 congressional races.

A Times Mirror poll found that 34 percent of white Catholics cast their House ballots for Republicans. Other surveys have shown Catholics favoring Republicans over Democrats 44 percent to 40 percent.

Mr. Helms noted that, since Mr. Flynn became ambassador, the former mayor "has stated that he is considering another run for political office."

The senator said Americans who oppose an ambassador to the Vatican on church-state grounds at least deserve a "professional diplomat" and asked if Mr. Flynn "plans to remain in his post for the full three-year term."



Sen. Jesse Helms



OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

DIOCESE OF TRENTON  
701 LAWRENCEVILLE ROAD  
POST OFFICE BOX 5309  
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY 08638-0309

March 22, 1995

Ambassador Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Embassy Vatican  
PSC-59, Box 60  
APO AE 09624  
Rome, Italy

Dear Ambassador Flynn:

I am grateful for your very informative report relative to the work that you carry out as the U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See.

Bringing help to those who are suffering under social or economic injustices is one area we can be very cooperative with those outside of the Faith and with other Governments. I am pleased to note that President Clinton is so eager to find ways to cooperate with the Holy See and the Church in these humanitarian efforts.

It was a delight to be with you at the "Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" dinner and I felt sorry for you because of the long ride you had at that late hour of night.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Most Rev.) John C. Reiss  
Bishop of Trenton

JCR/img

## ARCHDIOCESE OF SAINT PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS

226 Summit Avenue

Saint Paul, Minnesota 55102-2197

*Office of the Archbishop*

March 15, 1995

Ambassador Raymond L. Flynn  
American Embassy to the Vatican  
PSC 59, Box 60  
APO AE 09624

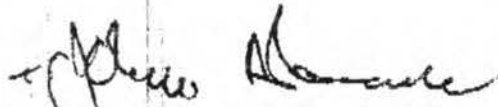
Dear Ambassador Flynn,

Thank you very much for your letter outlining your efforts to promote closer collaboration between the U.S. government and the Vatican. Your work is very valuable, and I have a great deal of admiration for your dedication and leadership on this matter.

Your initiatives in the area of coordinating humanitarian assistance efforts of the U.S. and the Vatican are particularly important. I commend you for your service to our country in this field.

I appreciate your offer to keep me informed on these matters, and I ask God's blessings on your continued good work.

Sincerely in Christ,



Most Reverend John R. Roach, D.D.  
Archbishop of Saint Paul and Minneapolis



## Office of the General Secretary

3211 Fourth Street NE Washington DC 20017-1184 (202) 541-3100 FAX (202) 541 3186 TELEX 7400424

William Cardinal Keeler, D.D., J.C.D.  
Archbishop of Baltimore  
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**General Secretary**

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**Associate General Secretaries**

March 17, 1995

The Honorable Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See  
PSC 59, Box 60  
APO AE 09624  
Rome, Italy

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

His Eminence, Cardinal Keeler, has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of March 1, 1995, outlining the recent efforts being made to improve collaboration between the U.S. Government and the Holy See in responding to humanitarian emergencies. I am also acknowledging, with thanks, the letter of the same date addressed to my predecessor, Monsignor Robert Lynch, who has just recently returned to his home diocese of Miami.

We have, of course, followed with interest the reports of the steps being taken to improve information-sharing and other forms of collaboration between the humanitarian aid and relief agencies of the Catholic Church and those of the U.S. Government.

Given the magnitude and devastating impact of many of the crises facing especially the poorest countries today, it is ever more important that maximum response be mobilized with maximum efficiency. The proposals that you and President Clinton have been advancing may well enable both governmental and non-governmental organizations to cooperate more fully in responding to today's urgent needs.

I am pleased that you are already in touch with Mr. Kenneth Hackett of Catholic Relief Services, the overseas development and relief agency of the U.S. Bishops. As you know, CRS has a long history of close cooperation with U.S. AID in the countries where both are present. New collaboration at the highest international levels can only facilitate and speed up their response to future disasters and emergencies.

Ambassador Raymond L. Flynn  
March 17, 1995  
Page 2

The present debate over the future of foreign aid is also a matter of real concern to this Conference. Our International Justice and Peace Office, the policy analysis unit of the Conference, has taken foreign aid as a priority issue this year in our advocacy with the Congress. You might wish to be in touch with the director of that office, Fr. Drew Christiansen, S.J.

In Cardinal Keeler's name, and in my own, I express our appreciation both for the work you are doing and for keeping us informed of these developments.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,



Reverend Monsignor Dennis M. Schnurr  
General Secretary



Office of the Archbishop

The Honorable Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Ambassador, Embassy of the United States  
Vatican PSC - 59, APO AE 09624  
Rome, Italy

Archdiocese of Denver  
200 Josephine Street  
Denver, Colorado 80206-4720

April 5, 1995

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am very gratified to learn of your efforts, on behalf of President Clinton and the United States government, to work more closely with the Catholic Church on issues of social and economic justice. The Vatican agencies, Catholic Charities, and Catholic Relief Services all have excellent reputations for responding immediately and effectively to humanitarian crises throughout the world. Hopefully, more formal and organized cooperation among these groups and the United States government aid agencies would serve to expedite humanitarian assistance when it is needed.

Despite the controversy surrounding whether or not humanitarian efforts contribute measurably to the stability or development of Third World countries, I completely agree with your assertion that most Americans view humanitarian relief as being in our own strategic and moral interest. The fact that this debate continues and seems to reflect an increasingly callous attitude on the part of some Americans, including Catholics, disturbs me greatly. The recent calamities in Rwanda, Sarajevo, Somalia, Mexico and other equally tragic areas should move all people to a response of compassion, not indifference. In the midst of such profound crises, we are required, out of human solidarity, to respond immediately and generously in order to relieve suffering and restore the well-being of others. Obviously, this can best be accomplished when various agencies are working cooperatively.

At this time, I have few concrete suggestions to offer in terms of organizing the collaboration; however, I will share this information with our local directors of Catholic Charities and Catholic Relief Services for their consideration.

Thank you for sharing this important information and for your work with the Vatican agencies. I pray God will continue to bless these noble efforts which assist our brothers and sisters in times of greatest need.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

J. Francis Stafford  
Archbishop of Denver

# FORDHAM

UNIVERSITY

May 26, 1995

Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Ambassador  
U.S. Embassy Vatican PSC - 59  
APO AE 09624  
Rome, Italy

Dear Ambassador Flynn,

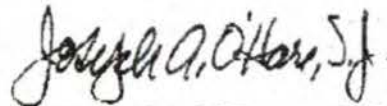
Thank you for sending me a copy of your recent address to American graduate students studying in Rome, entitled: "From A War on Poverty to A War on the Poor?: The United States at a Crossroads."

I quite agree with your contention that the debate about welfare reform in the United States has turned mean spirited, in many instances. At the present time, it has become very unfashionable to be poor in America, and the American Catholic Bishops are among the few voices with credibility who have spoken out in defense of the poor.

Still, as you note in your address, many of the efforts enacted in 1965 were "well-intentioned but poorly executed." In searching for the reform of our welfare system that all of us agree is necessary, it is unfortunate that the debate too often collapses in partisan attacks and counter attacks that pit "compassion" on the one hand against "self-reliance" on the other. I hope that we can move beyond this stalemate and follow the more far-sighted thinking of men like Pat Moynihan and others who have spoken out on the issue of welfare reform for many years.

Thank you again for allowing me to see your forthright statement on this issue.

Sincerely,



Joseph A. O'Hare, S.J.

JO'H/lg

Donald R. Keough  
200 Galleria Parkway  
Suite 970  
Atlanta, Georgia 30339

404-852-5050

Fax: 404-852-5025

March 13, 1995

The Honorable Raymond L. Flynn  
United States Ambassador  
Embassy of the United States of America  
Vatican PSC - 59  
APO AE 09024  
Rome, Italy

Dear Ambassador Flynn:

Thank you for your letter of March 1. I appreciate all you are doing  
in a very critical role.

I also appreciate being kept informed.

With respect,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'DRK', followed by a long horizontal line.

DRK:sva



## DIOCESE OF TUCSON

192 SOUTH STONE AVENUE

P. O. Box 31 • Tucson, Arizona 85702-0031  
520 - 792-3410 FAX 520 - 792-0291

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

May 8, 1995

Ambassador Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Embassy Vatican  
PSC 59  
APO AE 09624  
ROME, ITALY

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

You have graciously sent to me and to my brother bishops of the U.S. a copy of your statements to the American graduate students now studying in Rome.

May I say to you that not only do I endorse what you are saying to them, but congratulate you for saying this and saying it so eloquently. May voices like yours be heard!

For our part, we are trying to do all we can so that our beloved country does not lose its perspective in what we as Americans are all about - "true freedom and justice for all". Of course, we all pray that God will bless us and that we may continue to put our trust in Him.

May the Lord bless you and your loved ones.

Sincerely in Christ,

Most Rev. Manuel D. Moreno, D.D.  
Bishop of Tucson

sng



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

**From A War on Poverty to a War on the Poor?:  
The United States at a Crossroads**

When Pope John Paul II visits the United States this coming October to address the United Nations General Assembly on its 50th anniversary, it will be almost 30 years to the day since the historic visit of Pope Paul VI, who in 1965 became the first Pope ever to visit the U.S. and speak before the UN.

Pope John Paul II will find a vastly different U.S. from the one encountered by Pope Paul VI. In 1965, the U.S. was in the midst of establishing the "Great Society" and fighting a "War on Poverty." The U.S. was struggling to assure the most vulnerable in our society a safety net to prevent a dangerous descent into poverty and to help the poor enter the middle class. In 1995, the U.S. Congress is tragically dismantling many of those anti-poverty programs that we have spent 30 years creating. Some of those efforts were well-intentioned but poorly executed. Both home and abroad, helping the poor and disadvantaged is morally correct. Should we as a nation abandon our commitment to social and economic justice and stop helping the poor?

Are we now fighting a War on the Poor instead of a War on Poverty?

As Paul VI said during his visit to the UN General Assembly in October 1965: "We must assure a life of dignity for all people." He pressed President Johnson and the world community for a commitment to peace and to helping the poor and disadvantaged.

Throughout his pontificate, Pope John Paul II has also been in the forefront in speaking out on human rights, and on the plight of the poor from Rwanda to Sarajevo. In my position as Ambassador to the Vatican, I have been privileged to work with the Holy See to unite the Pope's concern for the poor with the Clinton Administration's commitment to the most disadvantaged in our society both home and abroad.

I have been active in the issues of social and economic justice for many years. In the almost 10 years I was Mayor of Boston and then President of the U.S.

Conference of Mayors, many city and community leaders were often publicly criticized for regularly coming to Washington, tin cup in hand, looking for money for our poor and needy constituents. That criticism never stopped us from "fighting the good fight" against the devastating budget cuts which adversely affected the life of the people of our cities from 1980 on. During no period of time did cities get hit harder by the Federal government.

The 1992 election reflected a new national consensus dedicated to turning around that insensitive policy, helping bridge the economic gap between the rich and poor, and keeping the middle class from falling into poverty.

The recent debate in the U.S. about poverty, however, has turned mean-spirited. Cutting off aid to poor families, poor working mothers, and poor children is immoral and wrong. It is an indication of how skewed the debate has become since Pope Paul VI traveled to the U.S. in 1965.

The American Catholic Bishops have spoken out publicly and clearly about the cuts to the country's welfare system that Congress is proposing this year. Pope John Paul II will undoubtedly emphasize the Vatican's commitment to social and economic development of the peoples of the Third World and industrial societies when he visits the U.S. in October. Americans share this commitment to keeping a safety net under the most vulnerable in our society and to reaching out to those around the world who are less fortunate than ourselves.

As Franklin Roosevelt said in his famous "Four Freedoms" speech in 1941, "freedom from want" is an essential goal not only of the U.S. but of the entire world community. A country that cannot educate its children, provide decent health care for its elderly, and provide jobs for its citizens cannot rightfully claim the title of "leader of the world community."

We must remember that we will be poorer as a country if, ignoring FDR's words, we fail to assist our needy and vulnerable.

Raymond L. Flynn, U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican, is the former Mayor of Boston and a past President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

*file  
Vatican***UNITED STATES EMBASSY  
TO THE VATICAN**

PHONE: 39-6-46741

FAX: 39-6-575-8346

**FAX COVER SHEET**

TO:

MELANNE VERVEER

PHONE:

FAX:

202-456-6244

FROM:

AMBASSADOR RAYMOND L. FLYNN

DATE:

1/10/96

PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET

8

COMMENTS:

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Melanne Verveer  
Office of the First Lady

Melanne,

I hope to talk to you today. 39-6-4674-3425 - WK, 39-6-4674-2003 - HM

1. The behavior of the media regarding Hillary is outrageous, but don't spend a lot of time talking or thinking about it. Many men, including men in the media, are intimidated by smart and professional women. They don't know how to deal with them or cover them. You already know that, just remember that average people are impressed with Hillary and like her and admire her.
2. I had previously told you that Senator Helms along with many right-wingers, including some Catholics, are angry with me. They think that it is unconscionable that I would be publically stating that the political and personal philosophy of Bill Clinton is closer to Catholic Church teaching than the Gingrich/Dole Republican Party. As I told you before, some conservative Catholics have warned me, but I refused to stop. Helms filed a complaint with the State Department and the Inspector General and they have recommended that I receive a reprimand from Secretary Christopher for being partisan and circumventing the State Department's clearance provisions. It appears that the report was leaked to the New York Times by Senator Helms. I work for and I am loyal to the President and will continue to stick my neck out to help the President, unless he tells me otherwise. (Copy of comments attached)
3. I've been to Bosnia several times. There is strong Catholic and religious influence throughout the area. Dick Holbrooke is completely aware of my involvement and concern. Please advise Hillary that I should be with the President on his visit to Bosnia, but it will require a call by the White House to make it happen. The timing would be helpful to me. Please advise.
4. I don't like the way we are responding to Al D'Amato. He's clever, treacherous and street-wise. Beat him at his own game. Why does Bob Bennett go out of his way to tell the T.V. audience that he has been involved in every major political corruption case in the U.S. for the past 25 years, as a lawyer of course? I know of no political corruption charges against the White House. What's he talking about? Why elevate these partisan political charges by implying that they are in the political corruption area.



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

April 1995

I was speaking recently to a group of American graduate students studying in Rome who asked me about the relationship between the Catholic Church and U.S. social and economic policy. While there is a lot of focus on philosophical differences, there is also something fundamental which often unites the beliefs of the Catholic Church and the views of the American people and government. I do not mean this in a religious sense. Rather, I mean there is common ground between the U.S. and the Catholic Church on respect for the individual and his/her role in society and on the necessity to help the most disadvantaged members of our communities.

That is one of the reasons why the current debate in the U.S. over cutting off aid to poor and working families both at home and abroad is so ironic.

Attached is a brief statement in expectation of Pope John Paul II's trip to the U.S. in October. It follows by exactly 30 years the first trip of a Pope to the U.S., when Paul VI went to the U.S. in 1965. Pope John Paul II will find a greatly different political climate; the great question being debated is not, as in 1965, whom the government can help, but instead whom it will not assist. It's easy to criticize individual anti-poverty programs, as we've seen in the demagogic pronouncements out of Washington; it's a lot harder to do the work to build programs which strengthen families and promote social and economic justice.

I call my remarks, that I share with you, "From a War on Poverty to A War on the Poor?: The United States at a Crossroads." I would welcome your thoughts and suggestions on my statement to the American students.

Sincerely,

Raymond L. Flynn  
U.S. Ambassador



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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The United States at a Crossroads**

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The American Catholic Bishops have spoken out publicly and clearly about the cuts to the country's welfare system that Congress is proposing this year. Pope John Paul II will undoubtedly emphasize the Vatican's commitment to social and economic development of the peoples of the Third World and industrial societies when he visits the U.S. in October. Americans share this commitment to keeping a safety net under the most vulnerable in our society and to reaching out to those around the world who are less fortunate than ourselves.

As Franklin Roosevelt said in his famous "Four Freedoms" speech in 1941, "freedom from want" is an essential goal not only of the U.S. but of the entire world community. A country that cannot educate its children, provide decent health care for its elderly, and provide jobs for its citizens cannot rightfully claim the title of "leader of the world community."

We must remember that we will be poorer as a country if, ignoring FDR's words, we fail to assist our needy and vulnerable.

Raymond L. Flynn, U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican, is the former Mayor of Boston and a past President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

JESSE HELMS, NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN

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United States Senate

P950052-1149

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

July 27, 1995

The Honorable Warren C. Christopher  
 The Secretary of State  
 Department of State  
 Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have serious reservations about U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Holy See and I am unalterably persuaded that if there is to be a U.S. Ambassador posted there, the American people have a right to expect nothing but the highest standards of conduct from him or her.

Recently, I was informed that Ambassador Raymond L. Flynn sent a letter to several, if not all, of the more than 300 members of the Catholic hierarchy as well as to certain influential Catholic lay leaders requesting their comments on a speech the Ambassador gave to some American students entitled "From a War on Poverty to a War on the Poor:- The United States at a Crossroads".

I am puzzled by the rationale for circulating such a letter which appears to have been unsolicited -- and which does not appear to relate to his duties as U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See even though it was sent on official letterhead. I will appreciate the State Department's opinion on whether this letter has anything to do with Mr. Flynn's position of U.S. Ambassador or with the Pope's visit to the U.S. in October. Also, was it sent at the American taxpayers' expense as an official U.S. document?

As we all know, each ambassador is supposed to represent the United States as a professional diplomat. It appears that Ambassador Flynn is making the claim in his speech that one political party is better suited than another to the Vatican's teachings on poverty, and that the Vatican "believes in" the actions of that party. What is the State Department's legal assessment of whether the Flynn letter was an appropriate communication from an Ambassador, or was it a political statement.

95005310

I understand that this may not be the first questionable activity undertaken by Ambassador Flynn. Since taking office, Ambassador Flynn has stated that he is considering another run for political office. Does Ambassador Flynn plan to remain in his post for the full three-year term?

You may wish to refer this matter to the Office of the Inspector General to advise whether Ambassador Flynn's letter to the Catholic hierarchy was appropriate.

Sincerely,



JESSE HELMS

JH-as

cc: Inspector General Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers

09/20/95

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The Washington Times \* WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1995 / PAGE A13

# Helms questions the legality of letter by U.S. Vatican envoy

## Suggests that Flynn used position for political purpose

By Larry Verman  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has asked the State Department whether apparently partisan activity by the U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, Raymond Flynn, is illegal.

In a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the North Carolina Republican noted that Mr. Flynn circulated a letter to the U.S. Catholic bishops promoting Clinton administration policy.

"It appears that Ambassador Flynn is making the claim in his speech that one political party is better suited than another to the Vatican's teaching on poverty, and that the Vatican 'believes in' the actions of that party," Mr. Helms said in his July 27 letter.

"What is the State Department's legal assessment of whether the Flynn letter was an appropriate communication from an ambassador, or was it a political statement?" he wrote.

The State Department rules bar U.S. ambassadors abroad from

using their position to promote domestic politics.

Mr. Helms asked if the Flynn letter was taxpayer funded and also sent his inquiry to State Department Inspector General Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgens.

On official U.S. Embassy stationery in April, Mr. Flynn sent U.S. Catholics a cover letter and a two-page speech on the Republican Congress' "war on the poor."

Mr. Flynn, for 20 years Democratic mayor of Boston, asked Catholic leaders to consider his ideas before Pope John Paul II's U.S. visit, which begins in New York City on Oct. 4.

"I have been privileged to work with the Holy See to make the pope's concern for the poor with the Clinton administration's commitment to the most disadvantaged in our society both home and abroad," Mr. Flynn said in the speech.

When Pope Paul VI visited the United States in 1965, Mr. Flynn said in his letter, the pope found a country engaging in the War on Poverty and "pressed" President Lyndon Johnson to aid the poor.

"Pope John Paul II will find a greatly different political climate," Mr. Flynn said in the cover letter.

"In 1995, the U.S. Congress is tragically dismantling many of those anti-poverty programs that we have spent 30 years creating," he said in the speech, first given as a talk to American graduate students in Rome. "Are we now fighting a war on the poor instead of a war on poverty?"

When The Washington Times reported on the circulation of the Flynn letter in May, church officials confirmed that some bishops had received the material.

The Vatican's secretary of state, Angelo Sodano, now has a copy of the Helms letter, according to informed sources.

Earlier this year, the White House began an effort to reach out to the crucial Catholic vote. Democratic strategists have said.

Though Mr. Clinton received 41 percent of the Catholic vote in 1992, compared with 38 percent for President Bush and 21 percent for independent Ross Perot, Catholics swung to Republicans in the 1994 congressional races.

A Times Mirror poll found that 54 percent of white Catholics cast their House ballots for Republicans. Other surveys have shown Catholics favoring Republicans over Democrats 44 percent to 40 percent.

Mr. Helms noted that, since Mr. Flynn became ambassador, the former mayor "has stated that he is considering another run for political office."

The senator said Americans who oppose an ambassador to the Vatican on church-state grounds at least deserve a "professional diplomat" and asked if Mr. Flynn "plans to remain in his post for the full three-year term."



Sen. Jesse Helms

**UNITED STATES EMBASSY  
TO THE VATICAN**

PHONE: 39-6-46741

FAX: 39-6-575-8346

**FAX COVER SHEET**TO: MELANNE VERVEER

PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

FAX: 202-456-6244FROM: AMBASSADOR RAYMOND L. FLYNNDATE: 1/10/96PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET 2

COMMENTS:

# Flynn may face reprimand for remarks on proposed cuts

By Brian C. Mooney  
GLOBE STAFF

Raymond L. Flynn, US ambassador to the Vatican, is in hot water with his State Department superiors for behaving like ... well, Ray Flynn.

Flynn's problem results from his remarks last year calling proposals to cut domestic spending on antipoverty programs "mean-spirited ... immoral and wrong." Today he faces a possible formal reprimand by Secretary of State Warren C. Christopher because the comments were not cleared by the agency in advance and created "the appearance of partisanship," which is taboo for diplomats.

In a telephone interview yesterday in Rome,

Flynn said he is sometimes frustrated by the constraints of diplomacy on his ability to speak his mind.

"But the rules are there for everybody to respect and that includes me," he said.

As mayor of Boston in the 1980s, free-wheeling Flynn made a name as a populist Democrat attacking Republican budget cuts that affected the poor and working class. He said yesterday that his current problem is primarily the result of philosophical differences with a powerful adversary, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).

Helms formally complained to Christopher in July about Flynn and called for an investigation of remarks made in a letter mailed to 1,000 US  
FLYNN, Page 24



RAYMOND L. FLYNN  
Cites differences with Helms

## Flynn faces a possible reprimand

■ FLYNN

Continued from Page 17

religious, business and civic leaders.

"It appears that Ambassador Flynn is making the claim in his speech that one political party is better suited than another to the Vatican's teachings on poverty, and that the Vatican 'believes in' the actions of that party," Helms wrote.

Accompanying Flynn's April 1995 letter was a two-page transcript of remarks he had made to American graduate students visiting Rome. In that talk, Flynn criticized the "insensitive policy" of the Reagan and Bush Republican administrations.

"The recent debate in the US about poverty, however, has turned mean-spirited," Flynn wrote at the time. "Cutting off aid to poor fam-

ilies, poor working mothers, and poor children is immoral and wrong."

Yesterday, Flynn said he and Helms have had differences dating back to his years as mayor and as president of the US Conference of Mayors. Helms, who is philosophically opposed to the United States having an ambassador to the Holy See of the Catholic Church, abstained when Flynn was nominated by President Clinton for the post in 1993.

"This is more about Jesse Helms' philosophical difference in the role government should play and the role I believe government should play in helping poor and working people," said Flynn.

As a result of Helms' complaint, the State Department's Office of In-

spector General conducted an investigation, which was completed shortly before Christmas.

Investigators recommended that Flynn be reprimanded for failing to get required advance clearance of his remarks from the State Department. He also was criticized for failure to use good judgment and creating the appearance of partisanship.

Whether Christopher will adopt the recommendation could not be determined yesterday. The State Department's press office was closed in the wake of this week's blizzard.

Harry Grill, Flynn's lawyer and adviser in Boston, said Flynn's transgressions of State Department rules were relatively minor in nature. "He was in noncompliance with the technical requirements of the State Department clearing proce-

dures for public statements," Grill said. "The ambassador has in the past and will in the future adhere to such procedures."

Known for a high-profile style while mayor of Boston, Flynn said he is still adapting to the protocol of being a diplomat.

Flynn also said he has told Clinton that he is willing to give up the Vatican post to campaign for Clinton's reelection this fall if the president thinks that will be helpful.

"I told him I'm not looking for any title or position or prominence," Flynn said. "I wanted to humbly suggest to the president that I would be willing to do whatever is helpful to him."

"The president appreciated that loyalty and said, 'Once we get started, I'll let you know,'" Flynn said.

# FAX COVER SHEET

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
42 ELGIN ROAD  
BALLSBRIDGE  
DUBLIN 4, IRELAND

Policy Management Office

PHONE: (353) (1) 668-8054

FAX: (353) (1) 667-0056

TO: *Milen Verner*  
*First Lady's office*

FAX NUMBER: *202 - 456 - 6244*

FROM: Richard Norland, First Secretary

DATE: *1/10/96*

*Ms. Verner: This supplements the cable from Belfast concerning the death of Joyce McCanton, in case you had not seen the article elsewhere.*

*I hope you are successfully digging out of the snow!*

*Best Regards,*

*Dirk Norland*

Number of Pages Including This Cover Sheet: 2

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Tireless peace campaigner, Ms Joyce McCartan (right), with the US First Lady, Mrs Hillary Clinton, during the Clinton visit to the North late last year. Ms McCartan, who died on Monday night, lost her son, Gary, and 17 relatives during the Troubles

# Death of a woman who knew 'you can't fry flags on a pan'

By Gerry Moriarty, in Belfast

EIGHTEEN members of Joyce McCartan's extended family have died violently in the North — her son, Gary, shot dead by the UVF in 1987, and 17 cousins, nephews and brothers-in-law. Loyalist paramilitaries were responsible for most of the killings, although the IRA accounted for at least one of the victims.

Joyce McCartan, who said they were all victims of random assassination, was motivated by a very simple maxim — there was no "rhyme or reason" to all the deaths inflicted during the Troubles, so something should be done.

She believed in community activism, in bread-and-butter issues, in motivating people, particularly women, and in bringing Protestants and Catholics together. A Protestant married to a Catholic, who reared her children as Catholics, she was unimpressed by the political divisions.

She felt the real enemies were poverty, sectarianism and unemployment. "You can't fry flags in a pan," was another of her maxims, as Ms Mary Clark-Glass, of the Alliance Party, recalled yesterday when paying tribute.

Ms McCartan was a warm, genial woman, with a great sense of humour. She could also be tough, hard-hitten and outspoken. In

May 1987 she was chatting to women at the Ormeau Road Women's Centre when she heard the "crack, crack" of shots. Then she heard her daughter shouting: "Mammy, Mammy." She knew immediately that it was her son, Gary, who had been murdered, 17 years old and the youngest of her eight children.

The last time *The Irish Times* was in contact with her was shortly before Christmas when the IRA killed Christopher "Sid" Johnston, allegedly for drug-dealing, not far from her Lamp Lighter cafe and community drop-in centre on the Lower Ormeau. "Oh God, it's terrible, it's just so very hard to take," was Ms McCartan's reaction. She sounded particularly weary and distressed.

"That was her reaction whenever anybody was killed," said her friend, Ms Kathleen Feenan, also a community activist. "She hated the killings."

A good comparison was drawn yesterday between Gordon Wilson and Joyce McCartan. Outwardly, they rallied against personal tragedy and campaigned against the futility and immorality of the killings. They engaged with people and with the intractable problem.

Inwardly, however, there was a hidden, wearying grief that could be seen in their eyes and in their strained facial features. As union activist, Ms Inez McCormack, said about Ms McCartan: "Her

heart was written on her face."

In the weeks before Christmas, her friends said Ms McCartan looked exhausted and frail. Shortly before Christmas she was admitted to hospital, where she died on Monday night, aged 67.

She described herself as a "family feminist". Sectarianism could be defeated by women bringing up children to understand rather than to hate "the other side", she argued over several years that stretched far back before her son's murder.

When her son was murdered, she said: "I think it's about time women in Northern Ireland took a stand. It is important that they do take a stand, with the way things are going — people getting murdered every week... And I don't care who they are, they're still somebody's son."

She was involved in establishing about 60 women's centres in the North and a youth training operation, Mornington Enterprises, on the Lower Ormeau. A native of Downpatrick, Co Down, she consistently argued that working-class people had the power to change the social and sectarian landscape.

In recent years, she received a number of honours. She was awarded an MBE by Queen Elizabeth and also received the Irish Life Pensioner of the Year title.

Last summer Queen's University Belfast awarded her an honor-

ary doctorate for her "unlimited courage, unbending conviction and great inner strength" in promoting cross-community reconciliation.

At the end of December, she played host in the Lamp Lighter cafe to Mrs Hillary Clinton during President Clinton's visit. It was a highlight in her life. "I've never had another day like this before," she said.

Mrs Clinton issued a statement yesterday praising Ms McCartan's commitment to peace and reconciliation.

"My thoughts are with her family and her friends at this time and with all of the people in Northern Ireland, whose lives she touched through her efforts for peace and reconciliation," said Mrs Clinton.

"Joyce's commitment and energy were an inspiration to me and to women and men throughout Northern Ireland, and, indeed, throughout the world. The time I spent with her in Belfast will live on with me as a very special memory of my visit to Northern Ireland."

Paying tribute yesterday, Mr Paddy Lynn, of the Workers' Party, said her death was a sad blow for the people of the Lower Ormeau, whom she had helped "so vigorously".

Mr Richard Needham, the former economy minister in the North, said he had enormous respect for Ms McCartan.

## Bruton, Spring to

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