

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Working File, 1995

Staff Office-Individual:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	John Major to POTUS (2 pages)	03/29/1995	P1/b(1)
002. email	Kathleen Stephens to APNSA Special Assistants re: Northern Ireland [Immigration and Nationality Act] (1 page)	03/11/1995	P1/b(1) , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
003. cable	re: USG Support for Northern Ireland Peace Process (4 pages)	02/15/1995	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
004. cable	re: Northern Ireland Framework Document Virtually Complete, But Can It Be Sold to Unionists? (2 pages)	02/03/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, 1995

2011-0355-F
rs1703

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Darby, M. Brooke

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Darby, M. Brooke; Hawkins, Ardenia R.; Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Baker, James E.; Stephens, Kathleen D.
Subject: Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, March 02, 1995 6:08PM

DOJ informed me today that Kiernan Staunton is free to leave and re-enter the United States. They have agreed to re-open his case, and while it is open, he retains his green card status and can come and go. Assume you will inform Bruce Morrisson. Otherwise, I can. If Morrisson wants confirmation, he can speak to DEputy General Counsel of INS, Paul Virtue.

One important note: Staunton lost his green card status last time because he failed to show up for an INS hearing. He claims he missed his hearing because his lawyer was incompetent and he was not informed of the hearing. On that basis, he is being given a rehearing. INS points out that if he travels, he better make sure he does not miss his rehearing.

- Donaldson - OK.

3 New - working

Kiernan.

IMMEDIATE

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Irish cables

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 06

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: BRANSCUM NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 281137Z FEB 95

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7287
INFO RUEHBL/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 3366
RUEHL.AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 2729
RUSNNOA/USGINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 000994

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: SINN FEIN'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE: A LOW-KEY AFFAIR

1. SUMMARY. RETURNING TO THE SYMBOLICALLY-IMPORTANT MANSION HOUSE IN DUBLIN AFTER A FORCED ABSENCE OF FOUR YEARS, SINN FEIN HELD ITS ANNUAL NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE THIS PAST WEEKEND. PARTY PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS AND VICE PRESIDENT MARTIN MCGUINNESS WERE PREDICTABLY CRITICAL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, BUT IN CONCILIATORY REMARKS, APPEALED TO UNIONISTS TO JOIN THEM IN ALL-PARTY TALKS. THERE WAS LITTLE DISCUSSION OR DEBATE ON THE JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, BUT ADAMS NOTED APPROVINGLY THAT THE "ETHOS" OF THE DOCUMENT WAS AN "ALL-IRELAND" ARRANGEMENT. MCGUINNESS SAID THAT SINN FEIN WOULD INSIST ON DELIVERING ITS ANALYSIS OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT TO THE "HIGHEST LEVEL" OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT: "THE TIME FOR HIDING BEHIND CIVIL SERVANTS HAS GONE." SURPRISINGLY, THERE WAS LITTLE DISSENT EXPRESSED AT THE CONFERENCE ON THE LEADERSHIP'S HANDLING OF THE PEACE PROCESS, INDICATING THAT ADAMS HAS A FAIRLY SECURE MANDATE TO CONTINUE HIS CURRENT POLICY. END SUMMARY.

SETTING

2. SINN FEIN HELD ITS ANNUAL ARD FHEIS (NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE) ON FEBRUARY 25-26 AT THE MANSION HOUSE IN DUBLIN, THE RESIDENCE OF THE CITY'S LORD MAYOR. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME IN FOUR YEARS THAT SINN FEIN HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO USE THE MANSION HOUSE, WHICH IS SYMBOLICALLY IMPORTANT AS THE PLACE WHERE, IN 1919, THE FIRST DAIL EIREANN (IRISH PARLIAMENT) MET AND DECLARED IRISH INDEPENDENCE FROM

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 06

BRITAIN. THE DUBLIN CORPORATION IN 1991 PROHIBITED SINN FEIN FROM USING THE VENUE, BUT REVERSED ITS DECISION LAST FALL IN RECOGNITION OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE. THE CONFERENCE DREW MORE THAN 600 DELEGATES, AS WELL AS A LARGE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA CONTINGENT. IN ADDITION TO EMBOFFS, CONGRESSMEN PETER KING (R-N.Y.) AND BOB MENENDEZ (D-N.J.) WERE ON HAND TO OBSERVE TO THE PROCEEDINGS.

3. THERE WAS A NOTICEABLE CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE FROM LAST YEAR'S ARD FHEIS, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN A SMALL, CRAMPED COMMUNITY CENTER IN TALLAGHT, A BLIGHTED SUBURB WEST OF DUBLIN. IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT SINN FEIN WENT TO CONSIDERABLE LENGTHS THIS YEAR TO PORTRAY ITSELF AS A POPULAR, MAINSTREAM PARTY. THE DAIS WAS ATTRACTIVELY DECORATED; THE BACKDROP FEATURED A WHITE DOVE CARRYING A TRI-COLOR RIBBON ALONGSIDE THE SLOGAN "CREATE PEACE, UNITE IRELAND." THERE WERE NONE OF THE CLOSED, SECRETIVE SESSIONS THAT CHARACTERIZED PREVIOUS NATIONAL CONFERENCES, AND PARTY DELEGATES WERE NOTICEABLY MORE MEDIA FRIENDLY. THE POLICE AND SECURITY PRESENCE WAS ALSO CONSIDERABLY REDUCED, ALL OF WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO A RELATIVELY RELAXED AND LOW-KEY ATMOSPHERE.

OPENING SPEECH

4. VICE PRESIDENT MARTIN MCGUINNESS OPENED THE CONFERENCE BY FIRST CONGRATULATING THE IRA FOR ITS AUGUST 31 CEASEFIRE, WHICH HE SAID WAS "CRUCIAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND THREW THE OPPONENTS OF IRISH FREEDOM INTO COMPLETE DISARRAY." HE SAID THAT THE CEASEFIRE DECISION HAD COME FROM A "STRONG, UNITED, AND UNDEFEATED ARMY OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS" AND WAS "WISE, BRAVE AND AUDACIOUS."

5. MCGUINNESS THEN CALLED ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO "RELINQUISH ITS ILLEGAL TERRITORIAL CLAIM OVER OUR SIX NORTHEASTERN COUNTIES." HE SAID THE BRITISH HAVE TO "LEAVE OUR COUNTRY FOR GOOD" SO THAT "ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, BRITISH AND IRISH, FREE OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, CAN DECIDE THEIR OWN FUTURE TOGETHER." THE PUBLICATION OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT LAST WEEK, HE SAID, CONFIRMED "WHAT REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN SAYING ALL ALONG," NAMELY THAT

"PARTITION HAS FAILED, THAT THE SIX-COUNTY STATE HAS FAILED AND THAT BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND HAS FAILED." LATER IN THE SPEECH, MCGUINNESS ROASTED BRITAIN FOR ITS "MINIMALIST AND

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 06

BEGRUDGING" RESPONSE TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND FOR FAILING TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF "IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS." HE ALSO CALLED ON THE BRITS TO "DISMANTLE THE BATTERY OF REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION" IN NORTHERN IRELAND, SUCH AS THE PREVENTION AGAINST TERRORISM ACT, AND TO DISBAND THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY, WHICH HE SAID WAS A GROUP OF "KILLERS, COLLUDERS AND BULLYING THUGS."

6. WHILE REMAINING CRITICAL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, MCGUINNESS MADE AN OBVIOUS EFFORT TO REACH OUT TO UNIONISTS. NOTING THAT PETER ROBINSON OF THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY HAD CALLED THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT AN "EVICTION NOTICE," MCGUINNESS SAID: "HE IS WRONG. UNIONISTS DON'T HAVE TO LEAVE. THEIR HOME IS HERE IN IRELAND AND WE WANT THEM TO STAY. THERE IS ONLY ONE PLACE THAT PETER ROBINSON MUST GO TO. HE MUST GO, WITH ALL THE UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 000994

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: SINN FEIN'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE: A LOW-KEY AFFAIR

REST OF US, TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE." MCGUINNESS WENT ON TO SAY THAT REPUBLICANS WERE WILLING TO "ACT WITH GENEROSITY TO OUR FORMER POLITICAL OPPONENTS": "WE ARE NOT LOOKING FOR A VICTORY OVER UNIONISTS OR OVER ANYONE ELSE. WE WANT TO BE INCLUSIVE, TO BUILD AN IRELAND WHERE ALL CAN BE EQUAL AND FREE FROM OPPRESSION. WE WANT TO, INDEED WE MUST, MAKE FRIENDS WITH THESE PEOPLE BECAUSE THEY ARE AS MUCH A PART OF THIS ISLAND'S FUTURE AS WE ARE; WE MUST BUILD IT TOGETHER AS EQUALS."

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

7. SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS PREDICTABLY SOUNDED MANY OF THE SAME THEMES IN HIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS. WHILE AS CRITICAL AS EVER OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, HE WAS ALSO QUITE CONCILIATORY TOWARD UNIONISTS: "I WOULD APPEAL TO UNIONISTS TO ENGAGE FULLY IN THE SEARCH FOR A LASTING PEACE. I TOO AM AN ULSTERMAN. WE DON'T NEED BRITISH MINISTERS TO RULE US. WE ARE WELL ABLE TO AGREE ON OUR OWN FUTURE. I APPEAL TO UNIONISTS TO BRING YOUR HOPES AND YOUR DREAMS, YOUR CONCERNS, YOUR FEARS TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE AND LET US ALL, AS EQUALS, SEEK TO FIND WAYS TO PERSUADE EACH OTHER OF OUR GOOD INTENTIONS -- LET US TOGETHER AGREE THE DEMOCRATIC BASIS ON WHICH WE CAN ALL LIVE ON THIS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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ISLAND IN PEACE."

8. DURING THE SPEECH, ADAMS ALSO IMPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SINN FEIN COULD EXPERIENCE SIGNIFICANT DIVISIONS AS THE PEACE PROCESS CONTINUES. HE PROPOSED THAT THE PARTY HOLD A NATIONAL REVIEW CONFERENCE WITHIN THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS "AS A MEANS OF IMPROVING OUR COLLECTIVE POLITICAL COHESIVENESS AND UNITY." ADAMS SAID THAT WHILE "OUR PRINCIPLES HAVE NOT AND MUST NOT CHANGE," THE PARTY'S "STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES, OUR STRATEGY AND OUR TACTICS MUST BE ROOTED IN OBJECTIVE REALITY."

FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT

9. AS EXPECTED, THERE WAS NO DEBATE, DISCUSSION, OR DETAILED COMMENT ON THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, ALTHOUGH ADAMS NOTED APPROVINGLY ON THE SECOND DAY OF THE CONFERENCE THAT THE "ETHOS" OF THE DOCUMENT WAS AN "ALL-IRELAND" ARRANGEMENT. HE ALSO TOOK A POSITIVE VIEW OF THE DOCUMENT IN HIS KEYNOTE SPEECH, SAYING THAT "THE PUBLICATION OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT BY LONDON AND DUBLIN SHOULD NOW CLEAR THE WAY FOR INCLUSIVE PEACE TALKS AND THE NEXT PHASE OF THIS PROCESS."

10. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, MCGUINNESS LAID DOWN A MARKER THAT SINN FEIN WOULD INSIST ON DELIVERING ITS RESPONSE ON THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT TO "THE HIGHEST LEVEL" OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. IN A REPORT TO THE ARD FHEIS ON PROGRESS IN EXPLORATORY TALKS WITH BRITISH CIVIL SERVANTS, MCGUINNESS CLAIMED THAT THE ONLY REMAINING ITEM ON THE AGENDA WAS A SINN FEIN DEMAND FOR EARLY RELEASE OF IRA PRISONERS. HE SAID THAT ONCE THIS ISSUE HAD BEEN DISCUSSED, SUBSTANTIVE TALKS BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND BRITISH MINISTERS ON THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT SHOULD BEGIN: "WE, AND MANY OTHERS, EXPECT THAT THESE BILATERAL TALKS WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE COMING WEEKS. THE TIME FOR HIDING BEHIND THEIR CIVIL SERVANTS HAS GONE. THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR AND PATRICK MAYHEW MUST MEET WITH SINN FEIN SOON."

DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS

11. RESPONDING TO FEBRUARY 26 COMMENTS BY MAYHEW ON A BBC TELEVISION PROGRAM, MCGUINNESS ALSO CRITICIZED THE BRITISH

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 05 OF 06

STANCE ON THE DECOMMISSIONING OF WEAPONS, SAYING THAT IT WAS SIMPLY "AN EXCUSE TO DELAY ALL-PARTY PEACE TALKS." MCGUINNESS SAID THAT DURING HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH BRITISH CIVIL SERVANTS, HE HAD CHALLENGED THEM TO "SHOW US AN EXAMPLE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD OF A CONFLICT RESOLUTION SITUATION WHERE ONE PARTY WAS REQUIRED TO SURRENDER ITS WEAPONS." HE CLAIMED THAT THEY COULD NOT. HE WENT ON TO REPEAT HIS ASSERTION THAT SINN FEIN WAS IN NO POSITION TO HAVE THE IRA SURRENDER ITS ARMS: "WE HAVE TOLD (BRITISH CIVIL SERVANTS), JUST IN CASE THE REALITY HAS ESCAPED THEM, THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE BRITISH ARMY HAS NOT DEFEATED THE IRA; THE IRA HAS NOT SURRENDERED; THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD NOT EVEN REMOTELY EXPECT SINN FEIN TO DELIVER ON THAT SURRENDER FOR THEM."

LITTLE DISSENT

12. NEAR THE END OF THE CONFERENCE, ADAMS SOLICITED VIEWS FROM THE FLOOR ON HOW SINN FEIN SHOULD PROCEED WITH THE PEACE PROCESS. SURPRISINGLY, THERE WAS LITTLE DISSENT; UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 000994

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: SINN FEIN'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE: A LOW-KEY AFFAIR

ONLY A HANDFUL OF DUBLIN DELEGATES CRITICIZED THE CURRENT STRATEGY. IN ANNOUNCING THAT HIS PARTY CUMANN (BRANCH) WOULD ABSTAIN ON A SERIES OF MOTIONS SUPPORTING THE PEACE PROCESS, JOHN HUGHES OF DUBLIN SAID: "OUR BASIC MINIMUM DEMAND IS THE COMPLETE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM OUR COUNTRY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS WILL NOT, AND INDEED CANNOT, ACHIEVE THIS MINIMUM DEMAND." APPARENTLY SPEAKING FOR MOST AT THE CONFERENCE, A DELEGATE FROM NORTHERN IRELAND RESPONDED: "THEY ARE ENTITLED TO SAY WHAT THEY WANT BUT, REMEMBER, THEY LIVE IN DUBLIN. IT'S EASY TO TELL OTHERS TO TAKE UP THE CUDGELS AND FIGHT THE OLD FIGHT."

13. SO WHILE AN INFORMED DEBATE HAS NOT YET TAKEN PLACE WITHIN SINN FEIN ON THE PEACE PROCESS, AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PARTY APPARENTLY TRUSTS THE LEADERSHIP TO DO THE RIGHT THING. BUT ADAMS' CALL FOR A NATIONAL REVIEW CONFERENCE LATER THIS YEAR INDICATES THAT HE WILL NOT BE COMPLACENT ABOUT MAINTAINING STRONG PARTY SUPPORT FOR HIS POLICIES. HE REALIZES THE MOST DIFFICULT STAGE OF THE PEACE PROCESS IS STILL TO COME.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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SMITH
BT
#0994

NNNN
<MSGID> M1537359

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 16

Nancy:

TL talked with Amb Crowe
today; made notes on attached
cable.

Thought you might find of
interest. I have put cy in
TL's mtg folder for UUP
Delegation on Feb 21.

(P.S. I knew I wd never get
away with 15 mins but you
can't blame me for trying --
TL agreed to 15 mins; no doubt
knowing the same.)

Wilma

✓
Wilma
return

Hall, Wilma G.

From: Vershbow, Alexander R.
To: @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
Cc: /R, Record at A1
Subject: Crowe's Latest on Fundraising ~~SECRET~~
Date: Wednesday, February 15, 1995 6:00PM

For TL/SB - FYI

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~SECRET~~ DTG: 151807Z FEB 95

FM: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4777
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 2574

~~SECRET~~ LONDON 002495

EXDIS

DEPT FOR U/S TARNOFF, A/S HOLBROOKE AND A/S RYAN

NSC FOR LAKE AND SODERBERG

FROM AMBASSADOR CROWE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PTER CVIS UK EI
SUBJECT: USG SUPPORT FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS

1. ~~SECRET~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. WITH AGREEMENT ON THE ANGLO-IRISH JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT (JFD) LIKELY WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK, THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) THREATENING TO JOIN IAN PAISLEY'S DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY (DUP) IN REJECTING THE JFD OUTRIGHT, UNREST AMONG PRO-UNION TORY BACKBENCHERS, AND BRITISH MINISTERS PROBABLY SOON TO ENTER TALKS WITH SINN FEIN, WE ARE ENTERING WHAT MAY BE THE SINGLE MOST TRYING PERIOD OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. WE CAN HELP THE PROCESS SUCCEED BY GIVING WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND MAINTAINING PRESSURE ON IRISH REPUBLICANS TO MAKE THE IRA CEASEFIRE IRREVOCABLE. THE MOST URGENT PRIORITY, HOWEVER, IS TO REASSURE UNIONISTS THAT THEY ARE NOT BEING SOLD OUT, WHILE WARNING THEM THAT A REFUSAL EVEN TO NEGOTIATE WOULD CARRY HEAVY COSTS.

3. BASED ON OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE HMG-SINN FEIN TALKS, WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO LIFT THE FUNDRAISING BAN IN THE NEAR FUTURE IN A WAY THAT ADVANCES THE PROCESS, AND WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE PRINCIPLES TONY LAKE SET FORTH. BUT LIFTING IT AT A TIME WHEN THE PEACE PROCESS RESTS ON A KNIFE'S EDGE WOULD UNDERMINE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, ENRAGE UNIONISTS, AND DIMINISH PROSPECTS FOR AN OVERALL AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

PROCESS AT A CROSSROADS

4. THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS HAS HIT AN

*BC -
Lunch with Hard.
Cabinet meeting. Some
disagreement. Decided
to persist.
Be tough with
Unionists.*

2-16-95

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.39)
KBH 4/11/2023

~~SECRET~~

UNUSUALLY ROUGH PATCH, AND THE SITUATION MAY GET A GOOD DEAL MORE TURBULENT IN THE WEEKS TO COME. INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT MAY BE PUBLISHED AS EARLY AS LATE NEXT WEEK. THE SELECTIVE AND INFLAMMATORY LEAK OF PORTIONS OF THE DOCUMENT HAS SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED MODERATE UNIONISTS, AND PROBABLY LOCKED THE UUP INTO AT LEAST PRO FORMA REJECTION OF THE DOCUMENT WHEN IT IS PUBLISHED. THAT DOESN'T NECESSARILY MEAN THE UNIONIST PARTIES WON'T EVENTUALLY ACCEPT IT AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT GETTING TO THAT POINT WILL TAKE TIME AND EFFORT. THEY (AND A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF SUPPORTERS ON THE TORY BACKBENCHES) ARE IN A VERY SKITTISH MOOD. AND IF THE UUP WITHDRAWS ITS TACIT SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT, MAJOR WILL HAVE EVEN LESS NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY THAN BEFORE.

5. ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE, TALKS WITH SINN FEIN HAVE MADE INCREMENTAL PROGRESS AT BEST. THE ATMOSPHERE HAS WARMED A DEGREE OR SO, BUT ON THE CRITICAL ISSUE OF DISARMAMENT SINN FEIN HAS GIVEN NOTHING EXCEPT A WILLINGNESS TO LISTEN TO (BUT NOT ACCEPT) A BRITISH PROPOSAL, AND A VAGUE UNDERTAKING TO USE WHATEVER INFLUENCE IT MIGHT POSSESS IN A "POSITIVE" WAY AT A TIME OF ITS CHOOSING. AND IT HAS THREATENED TO END THE DIALOGUE UNLESS MINISTERS JOIN IT SOON. THE BRITISH ARE LIKELY TO AUTHORIZE A JUNIOR MINISTER TO TAKE PART, ON THE NOMINAL GROUNDS THAT SINN FEIN HAS AT LEAST "ADDRESSED" THE ARMS QUESTION. BUT MOVING FROM DIALOGUE TO ALL-PARTY TALKS WILL REQUIRE MUCH MORE -- ALMOST CERTAINLY PHYSICAL REMOVAL OF SOME OFFENSIVE WEAPONS FROM IRA CONTROL.

6. WHEN THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT IS PUBLISHED, IT IS LIKELY TO DRAW FIRE FROM SEVERAL QUARTERS -- UNIONISTS, NATIONALISTS AND TORY EUROPHOBES. THIS IS ONLY TO BE EXPECTED, GIVEN THE SENSITIVITY OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED AND THE LONG HISTORY OF ANGLO-IRISH CONFLICT. ALL PARTIES WILL BE ASKED TO MAKE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES.

THE USG ROLE

7. DURING THIS CRITICAL PERIOD, THE USG CAN BEST SUPPORT THE PROCESS IN THREE WAYS:

- GIVING THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT OUR WHOLEHEARTED AND UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER TALKS AND THE ONLY FEASIBLE WAY FORWARD;
- MAINTAINING MOMENTUM FOR PEACE BY OFFERING SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC BENEFITS, WHILE WARNING THAT THERE WILL BE NO UNDERSTANDING FOR RENEWED VIOLENCE; AND
- AVOIDING ACTIONS THAT COULD JEOPARDIZE THE GENERAL PROCESS.

8. IN THE LATTER REGARD, THE NEW FACTOR IN THE EQUATION IS THE DANGER OF UNIONIST AND TORY BACKBENCH REJECTION OF THE JFD. WE MUST ENSURE THAT WE NOT UPSET THE DELICATE PROCESSES NOW UNDERWAY BY MOVING TOO SOON TO LIFT THE BAN ON FUNDRAISING, A STEP WHICH WOULD EXACERBATE TENSIONS BY REINFORCING THE UNIONIST VIEW OF A CONCERTED EFFORT TO DRIVE THEM ONTO A PATH THAT LEADS

INEXORABLY TOWARD A UNITED IRELAND.

9. HMG'S HOPE IS THAT THE COMBINATION OF MINISTERIAL ENGAGEMENT AND PUBLICATION OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT WILL INDUCE THE IRA TO MAKE SOME GESTURE TOWARD DISARMING. THERE ARE REASONS TO BELIEVE THAT THIS MIGHT HAPPEN. SINN FEIN AND THE IRA ARE UNDER SEVERE PRESSURE TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING SOME OFFENSIVE WEAPONS: JOHN HUME HAS CALLED FOR IT, THE UNIONISTS WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THEM UNTIL IT HAPPENS, AND WE HAVE ESTABLISHED IT AS A CONDITION FOR FUNDRAISING AUTHORIZATION. IF WE REMOVE ONE OF THESE SOURCES OF PRESSURE BEFORE THE IRA HAS TAKEN ANY SUBSTANTIVE STEP, WE WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE IRA INTRANSIGENCE AND ENRAGE UNIONISTS.

10. MOST OBSERVERS HERE HAD PREDICTED SINCE THE CEASEFIRES THAT THE SINGLE MOST CRITICAL AND DELICATE STAGE OF THE PEACE PROCESS WAS LIKELY TO COME BETWEEN CHRISTMAS AND EASTER. THIS ASSESSMENT WAS BASED LARGELY ON THE IDEA THAT RISING REPUBLICAN DISILLUSIONMENT WOULD INCLINE THE IRA TO RETURN TO VIOLENCE. THOSE FEARS HAVE EASED SOMEWHAT. ADAMS CLAIMS, AND APPEARS, TO BE UNDER RELATIVELY LITTLE PRESSURE FROM IRA HARDLINERS AT PRESENT. THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE OVERALL PROCESS NOW COMES FROM THE FEARS -- SOME UNDERSTANDABLE, OTHERS DELIBERATELY INDUCED -- OF THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. IF MODERATE UUP LEADERS CANNOT CONVINCE THEIR PARTY TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE JFD, THE POLITICAL SIDE OF THE PEACE PROCESS WILL SUFFER A SEVERE AND PROBABLY PROLONGED SETBACK, AND THE RISK OF A RETURN TO VIOLENCE WILL RISE SHARPLY.

11. THE BRITISH, THE IRISH AND WE ALL NEED TO USE THE COMBINATION OF CARROTS AND STICKS AT OUR DISPOSAL TO ENCOURAGE THE PARAMILITARIES AND PARTIES AFFILIATED WITH THEM TO ESCHEW VIOLENCE FOR GOOD, WHILE DISSUADING THE UNIONISTS FROM ABORTING THE ONLY GAME IN TOWN. WE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE FORMER BY MAINTAINING OUR REASONABLE AND DEFENSIBLE POSITION ON FUNDRAISING FOR A LITTLE LONGER, AND TO THE LATTER BY SENDING AN EQUALLY TOUGH MESSAGE TO THE UUP DELEGATION VISITING WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK THAT THEY CAN EXPECT NO UNDERSTANDING FROM US IF THEY BLOCK PROGRESS ON THE BASIS OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. WHAT WE MUST AVOID AT ALL COSTS IS PRECIPITATE UNILATERAL ACTION THAT WOULD UNDERMINE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS AND INCREASE UNIONIST ALIENATION. CROWE

BT

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EMBASSY OF IRELAND

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

FAX

10 MARCH 1995

TO WHITE HOUSE FROM IRISH EMBASSY
FOR NANCY SODERBERG FROM MICHAEL COLLINS

Further to our telephone conversation yesterday, I now attach slightly revised letter which incorporates specific reference to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.

I also attach the text of these Articles for your information.

Best wishes.

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN

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EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

9 March 1995

Dear National Security Adviser

You enquired about the commitment in the new Framework for Agreement to constitutional change on the Irish side as part of a new agreement.

The Document deals with constitutional change on both sides by setting out the results each Government will seek to achieve.

Paragraph 21 envisages changes to the Irish Constitution in three very significant respects:

- (a) change will fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland. (This principle, to which the Irish Government are committed in the Joint Declaration and other instruments, would thereby become entrenched as part of our fundamental law).
- (b) change will be such that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted. (This change, involving both Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution, is intended to meet a long-standing unionist demand).
- (c) change will also enable a new agreement to be ratified to include, as part of a new and equitable dispensation for Northern Ireland, recognition of the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland.

The pledge to remove any such jurisdictional or territorial claim of legal right over the territory of Northern Ireland is unprecedented for any Irish Government since the Constitution was

enacted - the Sunningdale Agreement and the Anglo-Irish Agreement were designed not to require such change. The commitment under (c) above would not be legally permissible under the present terms of the Irish Constitution and so, again, would represent a major shift.

I trust the above clarifies the situation.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely


Dermot Gallagher
Ambassador

Anthony Lake Esq
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
WASHINGTON DC 20500

Article 2.

The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.

Article 3.

Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that Parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect.

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22 February 1995

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT

Attached is the following material relating to the above:

- 1. Joint Framework Document, "A New Framework for Agreement"**
- 2. Summary of Framework Document**
- 3. Remarks in Belfast by Taoiseach (Prime Minister), Mr John Bruton, TD, on launching Framework Document**

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT

A shared understanding between the British and Irish Governments to assist discussion and negotiation involving the Northern Ireland parties

1. The Joint Declaration acknowledges that the most urgent and important issue facing the people of Ireland, North and South, and the British and Irish Governments together, is to remove the causes of conflict, to overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted.
2. Both Governments recognise that there is much for deep regret on all sides in the long and often tragic history of Anglo-Irish relations, and of relations in Ireland. They believe it is now time to lay aside, with dignity and forbearance, the mistakes of the past. A collective effort is needed to create, through agreement and reconciliation, a new beginning founded on consent, for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands. The Joint Declaration itself represents an important step towards this goal, offering the people of Ireland, North and South, whatever their tradition, the basis to agree that from now on their differences can be negotiated and resolved exclusively by peaceful political means.
3. The announcements made by the Irish Republican Army on 31 August 1994 and the Combined Loyalist Military Command on 13 October 1994 are a welcome response to the profound desire of people throughout these islands for a permanent end to the violence which caused such immense suffering and waste and served only to reinforce the barriers of fear and hatred, impeding the search for agreement.
4. A climate of peace enables the process of healing to begin. It transforms the prospects for political progress, building

on that already made in the Talks process. Everyone now has a role to play in moving irreversibly beyond the failures of the past and creating new relationships capable of perpetuating peace with freedom and justice.

5. In the Joint Declaration both Governments set themselves the aim of fostering agreement and reconciliation, leading to a new political framework founded on consent. A vital dimension of this three-stranded process is the search, through dialogue with the relevant Northern Ireland parties, for new institutions and structures to take account of the totality of relationships and to enable the people of Ireland to work together in all areas of common interest while fully respecting their diversity.
6. Both Governments are conscious of the widespread desire, throughout both islands and more widely, to see negotiations underway as soon as possible. They also acknowledge the many requests, from parties in Northern Ireland and elsewhere, for both Governments to set out their views on how agreement might be reached on relationships within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands.
7. In this Framework Document both Governments therefore describe a shared understanding reached between them on the parameters of a possible outcome to the Talks process, consistent with the Joint Declaration and the statement of 26 March 1991. Through this they hope to give impetus and direction to the process and to show that a fair and honourable accommodation can be envisaged across all the relationships, which would enable people to work constructively for their mutual benefit, without compromising the essential principles or the long-term aspirations or interests of either tradition or of either community.

8. Both Governments are aware that the approach in this document presents challenges to strongly-held positions on all sides. However, a new beginning in relationships means addressing fundamental issues in a new way and inevitably requires significant movement from all sides. This document is not a rigid blueprint to be imposed but both Governments believe it sets out a realistic and balanced framework for agreement which could be achieved, with flexibility and goodwill on all sides, in comprehensive negotiations with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland. In this spirit, both Governments offer this document for consideration and accordingly strongly commend it to the parties, the people in the island of Ireland and more widely.
9. The primary objective of both Governments in their approach to Northern Ireland is to promote and establish agreement among the people of the island of Ireland, building on the Joint Declaration. To this end they will both deploy their political resources with the aim of securing a new and comprehensive agreement involving the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland and commanding the widest possible support.
10. They take as guiding principles for their co-operation in search of this agreement:
 - (i) the principle of self-determination, as set out in the Joint Declaration;
 - (ii) that the consent of the governed is an essential ingredient for stability in any political arrangement;

- (iii) that agreement must be pursued and established by exclusively democratic, peaceful means, without resort to violence or coercion;
 - (iv) that any new political arrangements must be based on full respect for, and protection and expression of, the rights and identities of both traditions in Ireland and even-handedly afford both communities in Northern Ireland parity of esteem and treatment, including equality of opportunity and advantage.
11. They acknowledge that in Northern Ireland, unlike the situation which prevails elsewhere throughout both islands, there is a fundamental absence of consensus about constitutional issues. There are deep divisions between the members of the two main traditions living there over their respective senses of identity and allegiance, their views on the present status of Northern Ireland and their vision of future relationships in Ireland and between the two islands. However, the two Governments also recognise that the large majority of people, in both parts of Ireland, are at one in their commitment to the democratic process and in their desire to resolve political differences by peaceful means.
12. In their search for political agreement, based on consent, the two Governments are determined to address in a fresh way all of the relationships involved. Their aim is to overcome the legacy of division by reconciling the rights of both traditions in the fullest and most equitable manner. They will continue to work towards and encourage the achievement of agreement, so as to realise the goal set out in the statement of 26 March 1991 of "a new beginning for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands".

13. The two Governments will work together with the parties to achieve a comprehensive accommodation, the implementation of which would include interlocking and mutually supportive institutions across the three strands, including:

- (a) Structures within Northern Ireland (paragraphs 22 and 23) - to enable elected representatives in Northern Ireland to exercise shared administrative and legislative control over all those matters that can be agreed across both communities and which can most effectively and appropriately be dealt with at that level;
- (b) North/South institutions (paragraphs 24-38) - with clear identity and purpose, to enable representatives of democratic institutions, North and South, to enter into new, co-operative and constructive relationships; to promote agreement among the people of the island of Ireland; to carry out on a democratically accountable basis delegated executive, harmonising and consultative functions over a range of designated matters to be agreed; and to serve to acknowledge and reconcile the rights, identities and aspirations of the two major traditions;
- (c) East-West structures (paragraphs 39-49) - to enhance the existing basis for co-operation between the two Governments, and to promote, support and underwrite the fair and effective operation of the new arrangements.

Constitutional Issues

14. Both Governments accept that agreement on an overall settlement requires, inter alia, a balanced accommodation of the differing views of the two main traditions on the

constitutional issues in relation to the special position of Northern Ireland.

15. Given the absence of consensus and depth of divisions between the two main traditions in Northern Ireland, the two Governments agree that such an accommodation will involve an agreed new approach to the traditional constitutional doctrines on both sides. This would be aimed at enhancing and codifying the fullest attainable measure of consent across both traditions in Ireland and fostering the growth of consensus between them.
16. In their approach to Northern Ireland they will apply the principle of self-determination by the people of Ireland on the basis set out in the Joint Declaration: the British Government recognise that it is for the people of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish; the Irish Government accept that the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.
17. New arrangements should be in accordance with the commitments in the Anglo-Irish Agreement and in the Joint Declaration. They should acknowledge that it would be wrong to make any change in the status of Northern Ireland save with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. If in future a majority of the people there wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, the two Governments will introduce and support legislation to give effect to that wish.

18. Both Governments recognise that Northern Ireland's current constitutional status reflects and relies upon the present wish of a majority of its people. They also acknowledge that at present a substantial minority of its people wish for a united Ireland. Reaffirming the commitment to encourage, facilitate and enable the achievement of agreement over a period among all the people who inhabit the island, they acknowledge that the option of a sovereign united Ireland does not command the consent of the unionist tradition, nor does the existing status of Northern Ireland command the consent of the nationalist tradition. Against this background, they acknowledge the need for new arrangements and structures - to reflect the reality of diverse aspirations, to reconcile as fully as possible the rights of both traditions, and to promote co-operation between them, so as to foster the process of developing agreement and consensus between all the people of Ireland.
19. They agree that future arrangements relating to Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland's wider relationships, should respect the full and equal legitimacy and worth of the identity, sense of allegiance, aspiration and ethos of both the unionist and nationalist communities there. Consequently, both Governments commit themselves to the principle that institutions and arrangements in Northern Ireland and North/South institutions should afford both communities secure and satisfactory political, administrative and symbolic expression and protection. In particular, they commit themselves to entrenched provisions guaranteeing equitable and effective political participation for whichever community finds itself in a minority position by reference to the Northern Ireland framework, or the wider Irish framework, as the case may be, consequent upon the operation of the principle of consent.

20. The British Government reaffirm that they will uphold the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland on the issue of whether they prefer to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland. On this basis, they reiterate that they have no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. For as long as the democratic wish of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change in its present status, the British Government pledge that their jurisdiction there will be exercised with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people of Northern Ireland in their diversity. It will be founded on the principles outlined in the previous paragraph with emphasis on full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights and freedom from discrimination for all citizens, on parity of esteem, and on just and equal treatment for the identity, ethos and aspirations of both communities. The British Government will discharge their responsibilities in a way which does not prejudice the freedom of the people of Northern Ireland to determine, by peaceful and democratic means, its future constitutional status, whether in remaining a part of the United Kingdom or in forming part of a united Ireland. They will be equally cognizant of either option and open to its democratic realisation, and will not impede the latter option, their primary interest being to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among the people who inhabit the island. This new approach for Northern Ireland, based on the continuing willingness to accept the will of a majority of the people there, will be enshrined in British constitutional legislation embodying the principles and commitments in the Joint Declaration and this Framework Document, either by amendment of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 or by its replacement by appropriate new legislation, and appropriate new provisions entrenched by agreement.

21. As part of an agreement confirming the foregoing understanding between the two Governments on constitutional issues, the Irish Government will introduce and support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution to implement the commitments in the Joint Declaration. These changes in the Irish Constitution will fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland and demonstrably be such that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted, while maintaining the existing birthright of everyone born in either jurisdiction in Ireland to be part, as of right, of the Irish nation. They will enable a new Agreement to be ratified which will include, as part of a new and equitable dispensation for Northern Ireland embodying the principles and commitments in the Joint Declaration and this Framework Document, recognition by both Governments of the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland.

Structures in Northern Ireland

22. Both Governments recognise that new political structures within Northern Ireland must depend on the co-operation of elected representatives there. They confirm that cross-community agreement is an essential requirement for the establishment and operation of such structures. They strongly favour and will support provision for cross-community consensus in relation to decisions affecting the basic rights, concerns and fundamental interests of both communities, for example on the lines adumbrated in Strand 1 discussions in the 1992 round-table talks.

23. While the principles and overall context for such new structures are a recognised concern of both Governments in the exercise of their respective responsibilities, they consider that the structures themselves would be most effectively negotiated, as part of a comprehensive three-stranded process, in direct dialogue involving the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland who would be called upon to operate them.

North/South Institutions

24. Both Governments consider that new institutions should be created to cater adequately for present and future political, social and economic inter-connections on the island of Ireland, enabling representatives of the main traditions, North and South, to enter agreed dynamic, new, co-operative and constructive relationships.
25. Both Governments agree that these institutions should include a North/South body involving Heads of Department on both sides and duly established and maintained by legislation in both sovereign Parliaments. This body would bring together these Heads of Department representing the Irish Government and new democratic institutions in Northern Ireland, to discharge or oversee delegated executive, harmonising or consultative functions, as appropriate, over a range of matters which the two Governments designate in the first instance in agreement with the parties or which the two administrations, North and South, subsequently agree to designate. It is envisaged that, in determining functions to be discharged or overseen by the North/South body, whether by executive action, harmonisation or consultation, account will be taken of:

- i the common interest in a given matter on the part of both parts of the island; or

- ii the mutual advantage of addressing a matter together;
or
- iii the mutual benefit which may derive from it being administered by the North/South body; or
- iv the achievement of economies of scale and the avoidance of unnecessary duplication of effort.

In relevant posts in each of the two administrations participation in the North/South body would be a duty of service. Both Governments believe that the legislation should provide for a clear institutional identity and purpose for the North/South body. It would also establish the body's terms of reference, legal status and arrangements for political, legal, administrative and financial accountability. The North/South body could operate through, or oversee, a range of functionally-related subsidiary bodies or other entities established to administer designated functions on an all-island or cross-border basis.

26. Specific arrangements would need to be developed to apply to EU matters. Any EU matter relevant to the competence of either administration could be raised for consideration in the North/South body. Across all designated matters and in accordance with the delegated functions, both Governments agree that the body will have an important role, with their support and co-operation and in consultation with them, in developing on a continuing basis an agreed approach for the whole island in respect of the challenges and opportunities of the European Union. In respect of matters designated at the executive level, which would include all EC programmes and initiatives to be implemented on a cross-border or island-wide basis in Ireland, the body itself would be responsible, subject to the Treaty obligations of each

- 13 -

Government, for the implementation and management of EC policies and programmes on a joint basis. This would include the preparation, in consultation with the two Governments, of joint submissions under EC programmes and initiatives and their joint monitoring and implementation, although individual projects could be implemented either jointly or separately.

27. Both Governments envisage regular and frequent meetings of the North/South body:

- to discharge the functions agreed for it in relation to a range of matters designated for treatment on an all-Ireland or cross-border basis;
- to oversee the work of subsidiary bodies.

28. The two Governments envisage that legislation in the sovereign Parliaments should designate those functions which should, from the outset, be discharged or overseen by the North/South body; and they will seek agreement on these, as on other features of North/South arrangements, in discussion with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland. It would also be open to the North/South body to recommend to the respective administrations and legislatures for their consideration that new functions should be designated to be discharged or overseen by that body; and to recommend that matters already designated should be moved on the scale between consultation, harmonisation and executive action. Within those responsibilities transferred to new institutions in Northern Ireland, the British Government have no limits of their own to impose on the nature and extent of functions which could be agreed for designation at the outset or, subsequently, between the Irish Government and the Northern Ireland administration. Both Governments expect that significant responsibilities, including

meaningful functions at executive level, will be a feature of such agreement. The British Government believe that, in principle, any function devolved to the institutions in Northern Ireland could be so designated, subject to any necessary savings in respect of the British Government's powers and duties, for example to ensure compliance with EU and international obligations. The Irish Government also expect to designate a comparable range of functions.

29. Although both Governments envisage that representatives of North and South in the body could raise for discussion any matter of interest to either side which falls within the competence of either administration, it is envisaged, as already mentioned, that its designated functions would fall into three broad categories:

consultative: the North/South body would be a forum where the two sides would consult on any aspect of designated matters on which either side wished to hold consultations. Both sides would share a duty to exchange information and to consult about existing and future policy, though there would be no formal requirement that agreement would be reached or that policy would be harmonised or implemented jointly, but the development of mutual understanding or common or agreed positions would be the general goal;

harmonising: in respect of these designated responsibilities there would be, in addition to the duty to exchange information and to consult on the formulation of policy, an obligation on both sides to use their best endeavours to reach agreement on a common policy and to make determined efforts to overcome any obstacles in the way of that objective, even though its implementation might be undertaken by the two administrations separately;

executive: In the case of these designated responsibilities the North/South body would itself be directly responsible for the establishment of an agreed policy and for its implementation on a joint basis. It would however be open to the body, where appropriate, to agree that the implementation of the agreed policy would be undertaken either by existing bodies, acting in an agency capacity, whether jointly or separately, North and South, or by new bodies specifically created and mandated for this purpose.

30. In this light, both Governments are continuing to give consideration to the range of functions that might, with the agreement of the parties, be designated at the outset and accordingly they will be ready to make proposals in that regard in future discussions with the relevant Northern Ireland parties.
31. By way of illustration, it is intended that these proposals would include at the executive level a range of functions, clearly defined in scope, from within the following broad categories:
- sectors involving a natural or physical all-Ireland framework;
 - EC programmes and initiatives;
 - marketing and promotion activities abroad;
 - culture and heritage.
32. Again, by way of illustration, the Governments would make proposals at the harmonising level for a broader range of functions, clearly defined in scope (including, as

appropriate, relevant EU aspects, from within the following categories:

aspects of -

- agriculture and fisheries;
- industrial development;
- consumer affairs;
- transport;
- energy;
- trade;
- health;
- social welfare;
- education; and
- economic policy.

33. By way of example, the category of agriculture and fisheries might include agricultural and fisheries research, training and advisory services, and animal welfare; health might include co-operative ventures in medical, paramedical and nursing training, cross-border provision of hospital services and major emergency/accident planning; and education might include mutual recognition of teacher qualifications, co-operative ventures in higher education, in teacher training, in education for mutual understanding and in education for specialised needs.
34. The Governments also expect that a wide range of functions would be designated at the consultative level.
35. Both Governments envisage that all decisions within the body would be by agreement between the two sides. The Heads of Department on each side would operate within the overall terms of reference mandated by legislation in the two sovereign Parliaments. They would exercise their powers in accordance with the rules for democratic authority and

accountability for this function in force in the Oireachtas and in new institutions in Northern Ireland. The operation of the North/South body's functions would be subject to regular scrutiny in agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland and the Oireachtas respectively.

36. Both Governments expect that there would be a Parliamentary Forum, with representatives from agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland and members of the Oireachtas, to consider a wide range of matters of mutual interest.
37. Both Governments envisage that the framework would include administrative support staffed jointly by members of the Northern Ireland Civil Service and the Irish Civil Service. They also envisage that both administrations will need to arrange finance for the North/South body and its agencies on the basis that these constitute a necessary public function.
38. Both Governments envisage that this new framework should serve to help heal the divisions among the communities on the island of Ireland; provide a forum for acknowledging the respective identities and requirements of the two major traditions; express and enlarge the mutual acceptance of the validity of those traditions; and promote understanding and agreement among the people and institutions in both parts of the island. The remit of the body should be dynamic, enabling progressive extension by agreement of its functions to new areas. Its role should develop to keep pace with the growth of harmonisation and with greater integration between the two economies.

East-West Structures

39. Both Governments envisage a new and more broadly-based Agreement, developing and extending their co-operation,

reflecting the totality of relationships between the two islands, and dedicated to fostering co-operation, reconciliation and agreement in Ireland at all levels.

40. They intend that under such a new Agreement a standing Intergovernmental Conference will be maintained, chaired by the designated Irish Minister and by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. It would be supported by a Permanent Secretariat of civil servants from both Governments.
41. The Conference will be a forum through which the two Governments will work together in pursuance of their joint objectives of securing agreement and reconciliation amongst the people of the island of Ireland and of laying the foundations for a peaceful and harmonious future based on mutual trust and understanding between them.
42. The Conference will provide a continuing institutional expression for the Irish Government's recognised concern and role in relation to Northern Ireland. The Irish Government will put forward views and proposals on issues falling within the ambit of the new Conference or involving both Governments, and determined efforts will be made to resolve any differences between the two Governments. The Conference will be the principal instrument for an intensification of the co-operation and partnership between both Governments, with particular reference to the principles contained in the Joint Declaration, in this Framework Document and in the new Agreement, on a wide range of issues concerned with Northern Ireland and with the relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland. It will facilitate the promotion of lasting peace, stability, justice and reconciliation among the people of the island of Ireland and maintenance of effective security co-operation between the two Governments.

43. Both Governments believe that there should also be provision in the Agreement for developing co-operation between the two Governments and both Islands on a range of "East-West" issues and bilateral matters of mutual interest not covered by other specific arrangements, either through the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council, the Conference or otherwise.
44. Both Governments accept that issues of law and order in Northern Ireland are closely intertwined with the issues of political consensus. For so long as these matters are not devolved, it will be for the Governments to consider ways in which a climate of peace, new institutions and the growth of political agreement may offer new possibilities and opportunities for enhancing community identification with policing in Northern Ireland, while maintaining the most effective possible deployment of the resources of each Government in their common determination to combat crime and prevent any possible recourse to the use or threat of violence for political ends, from any source whatsoever.
45. The Governments envisage that matters for which responsibility is transferred to new political institutions in Northern Ireland will be excluded from consideration in the Conference, except to the extent that the continuing responsibilities of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland are relevant, or that cross-border aspects of transferred issues are not otherwise provided for, or in the circumstances described in the following paragraph.
46. The Intergovernmental Conference will be a forum for the two Governments jointly to keep under review the workings of the Agreement and to promote, support and underwrite the fair and effective operation of all its provisions and the new arrangements established under it. Where either Government considers that any institution, established as part of the

overall accommodation, is not properly functioning within the Agreement or that a breach of the Agreement has otherwise occurred, the Conference shall consider the matter on the basis of a shared commitment to arrive at a common position or, where that is not possible, to agree a procedure to resolve the difference between them. If the two Governments conclude that a breach has occurred in any of the above circumstances, either Government may make proposals for remedy and adequate measures to redress the situation shall be taken. However, each Government will be responsible for the implementation of such measures of redress within its own jurisdiction. There would be no derogation from the sovereignty of either Government; each will retain responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction.

47. In the event that devolved institutions in Northern Ireland ceased to operate, and direct rule from Westminster was reintroduced, the British Government agree that other arrangements would be made to implement the commitment to promote co-operation at all levels between the people, North and South, representing both traditions in Ireland, as agreed by the two Governments in the Joint Declaration, and to ensure that the co-operation that had been developed through the North/South body be maintained.
48. Both Governments envisage that representatives of agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland may be formally associated with the work of the Conference, in a manner and to an extent to be agreed by both Governments after consultation with them. This might involve giving them advance notice of what is to be discussed in the Conference, enabling them to express views to either Government and inviting them to participate in various aspects of the work of the Conference. Other more structured arrangements could be devised by agreement.

49. The Conference will also be a framework for consultation and coordination between both Governments and the new North/South institutions, where the wider role of the two Governments is particularly relevant to the work of those institutions, for example in a coordinated approach on EU issues. It would be for consideration by both Governments, in consultation with the relevant parties in the North, or with the institutions after they have been established, whether to achieve this through formal or ad hoc arrangements.

Protection of Rights

50. There is a large body of support, transcending the political divide, for the comprehensive protection and guarantee of fundamental human rights. Acknowledging this, both Governments envisage that the arrangements set out in this Framework Document will be complemented and underpinned by an explicit undertaking in the Agreement on the part of each Government, equally, to ensure in its jurisdiction in the island of Ireland, in accordance with its constitutional arrangements, the systematic and effective protection of common specified civil, political, social and cultural rights. They will discuss and seek agreement with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland as to what rights should be so specified and how they might best be further protected, having regard to each Government's overall responsibilities including its international obligations. Each Government will introduce appropriate legislation in its jurisdiction to give effect to any such measure of agreement.
51. In addition, both Governments would encourage democratic representatives from both jurisdictions in Ireland to adopt a Charter or Covenant, which might reflect and endorse

agreed measures for the protection of the fundamental rights of everyone living in Ireland. It could also pledge a commitment to mutual respect and to the civil rights and religious liberties of both communities, including:

- the right of free political thought,
- the right to freedom and expression of religion,
- the right to pursue democratically national and political aspirations,
- the right to seek constitutional change by peaceful and legitimate means,
- the right to live wherever one chooses without hindrance,
- the right to equal opportunity in all social and economic activity, regardless of class, creed, gender or colour.

52. This Charter or Covenant might also contain a commitment to the principle of consent in the relationships between the two traditions in Ireland. It could incorporate also an enduring commitment on behalf of all the people of the island to guarantee and protect the rights, interests, ethos and dignity of the unionist community in any all-Ireland framework that might be developed with consent in the future, to at least the same extent as provided for the nationalist community in the context of Northern Ireland under the structures and provisions of the new Agreement.

53. The Covenant might also affirm on behalf of all traditions in Ireland a solemn commitment to the exclusively peaceful resolution of all differences between them including in relation to all issues of self-determination, and a solemn repudiation of all recourse to violence between them for any political end or purpose.

Conclusion

54. Both Governments agree that the issues set out in this Framework Document should be examined in the most comprehensive attainable negotiations with democratically mandated political parties in Northern Ireland which abide exclusively by peaceful means and wish to join in dialogue on the way ahead.
55. Both Governments intend that the outcome of these negotiations will be submitted for democratic ratification through referendums, North and South.
56. Both Governments believe that the present climate of peace, which owes much to the imagination, courage and steadfastness of all those who have suffered from violence, offers the best prospect for the Governments and the parties in Northern Ireland to work to secure agreement and consent to a new political accommodation. To accomplish that would be an inestimable prize for all, and especially for people living in Northern Ireland, who have so much to gain from such an accommodation, in which the divisions of the past are laid aside for ever and differences are resolved by exclusively political means. Both Governments believe that a new political dispensation, such as they set out in this Framework Document, achieved through agreement and reconciliation and founded on the principle of consent, would achieve that objective and transform relationships in Northern Ireland, in the island of Ireland and between both islands.
57. With agreement, co-operation to the mutual benefit of all living in Ireland could develop without impediment, attaining its full potential for stimulating economic growth and prosperity. New arrangements could return power, authority and responsibility to locally-elected

representatives in Northern Ireland on a basis acceptable to both sides of the community, enabling them to work together for the common welfare and interests of all the community. The diversity of identities and allegiances could be regarded by all as a source of mutual enrichment, rather than a threat to either side. The divisive issue of sovereignty might cease to be symbolic of the domination of one community over another. It would instead be for decision under agreed ground-rules, fair and balanced towards both aspirations, through a process of democratic persuasion governed by the principle of consent rather than by threat, fear or coercion. In such circumstances the Governments hope that the relationship between the traditions in Northern Ireland could become a positive bond of further understanding, co-operation and amity, rather than a source of contention, between the wider British and Irish democracies.

58. Accordingly the British and Irish Governments offer for consideration and strongly commend these proposals, trusting that, with generosity and goodwill, the peoples of these islands will build on them a new and lasting agreement.

SUMMARY

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT

These proposals:

- reaffirm the guiding principles of self-determination, the consent of the governed, exclusively democratic and peaceful means, and full respect and protection for the rights and identities of both traditions.
- provide for an agreed new approach to traditional constitutional doctrines on both sides
 - The British Government will propose changes to its constitutional legislation, so as to incorporate a commitment to continuing willingness to accept the will of a majority of the people living in Northern Ireland, and a commitment to exercise their jurisdiction with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people of Northern Ireland, in a way which does not prejudice their freedom to determine Northern Ireland's constitutional status, whether in remaining a part of the United Kingdom or in forming part of a united Ireland;
 - the Irish Government will introduce and support proposals for changes in the Irish Constitution, so that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted, and so that the Irish Government recognise the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status;
- commend direct dialogue with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland in developing new internal structures;
- propose a North/South body, comprising elected representatives from, and accountable to, a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament, to deal with matters designated by the two Governments in the first instance in agreement with the parties;
- describe ways in which such a body could work with executive harmonising or consultative functions, by way of authority delegated to its members by the Assembly;
- envisage that all decisions within the North/South body would be by agreement between the two sides;

- set out criteria for the designation of functions, and suggest a range of functions that might be designated from the outset, for agreement with the parties;
- envisage the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament being able, by agreement, to designate further functions or to move functions already designated between the three categories;
- envisage that the body will have an important role in consultation with the two Governments in developing an agreed approach for the whole island in respect of the challenges and opportunities of the European Union;
- envisage a Parliamentary forum, with representatives from new Northern Ireland institutions and the Irish Parliament to consider matters of mutual interest;
- envisage a new and more broadly based Agreement between the British and Irish Governments to develop and extend co-operation;
- envisage a standing Intergovernmental Conference which would consider matters of mutual interest, but not those transferred to new political institutions in Northern Ireland;
- envisage that representatives of agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland may be formally associated with the work of the Conference;
- provide for a complementary undertaking by both Governments to ensure protection for specified civil, political, social and cultural rights.

These proposals do not provide for joint authority by the British and Irish Governments over Northern Ireland. They do not predetermine any outcome to the Talks process. Agreement by the parties, and then by the people, is the key.

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN

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EMBASSY OF IRELAND

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE TAOISEACH (IRISH PRIME MINISTER),
MR JOHN BRUTON, TD, AT BELFAST LAUNCHING OF
JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT -

22 FEBRUARY, 1995

Today's new framework for agreement is a landmark event in the affairs of this island.

The two Governments are presenting to the political parties in Northern Ireland, and to the Irish and British peoples, a document which is the most detailed expression to date of our views on the subject of Northern Ireland.

The Prime Minister and I hope that the Framework Document will receive calm and measured consideration over the days and weeks ahead.

It is an important and serious text, offered as an aid to discussion and negotiation. It presents our best judgement of what might be an agreed outcome from future talks involving the two Governments and the political parties.

We commend it to the parties for their careful consideration and we look forward to discussing it in detail with them at the earliest opportunity.

May I at this point pay a special tribute to my colleague the Tánaiste and his officials and to the Northern Ireland Secretary of State Patrick Mayhew and his team. Their determined efforts over many months have brought us to today's new framework for agreement.

The proposals which it contains are, we believe, balanced and fair and threaten nobody. No party need fear this document.

To the nationalist and republican people, the document:

- reaffirms that the British Government have no selfish, strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland and that they will uphold the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland on the issue of whether they prefer to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland
- says that the British Government will enshrine in its constitutional legislation the principles embodied in this new framework for agreement by the amendment of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 or by its replacement by appropriate new legislation

- It will also be important to nationalists that both Governments consider that new institutions should be created to cater for present and future political, social and economic inter-connections within the island of Ireland. These institutions will enable representatives of the main traditions, North and South, to enter agreed relationships. This is the purpose of the North/South body proposed in this document.

To the unionist and loyalist people, I would point out that the document commits the Irish Government to ask the electorate to change the Irish Constitution. The change proposed will address Articles 2 and 3 in the following ways:

- it would remove any jurisdictional or territorial claim of legal right over the territory of Northern Ireland contrary to the will of its people
- it would provide that the creation of a sovereign united Ireland could therefore only occur in circumstances where a majority of the people of Northern Ireland formally chose to be part of a united Ireland.

It is also important to unionists that the document also contains a recognition by both Governments of the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland.

The proposals will challenge the two traditions on this island but it will do so in an even-handed way. Neither tradition need fear its contents. As I have emphasised at every appropriate opportunity, it is a framework for discussion and not a blueprint to be imposed over the heads of anyone. Its purpose is to facilitate, not pre-empt, dialogue. At the end of the day, the people of both North and South respectively will have the final say.

The document is our carefully considered response to many suggestions, from the parties and others, that it would be helpful to have the view of the two Governments as to what might be an agreed outcome from future talks.

We are asking the parties to come and talk to us, openly and candidly, about these proposals. We believe that, taken in the round, they offer a basis for structured discussions leading to a new agreement.

We believe that they do. It is our hope that the political parties, having given them the attention they deserve, will take a similar view.

There can be no doubt about the enormous desire on the part of the ordinary public - here, in the rest of Ireland and in Britain - for the earliest possible resumption of political dialogue.

The ending of all campaigns of paramilitary violence last autumn has created an unrivalled opportunity for such dialogue to take place with a reasonable prospect of a successful conclusion.

I join the Prime Minister in appealing to all the parties concerned to grasp this opportunity.

The Framework Document is our judgement of how things can best be taken forward. We have, in our view, the best opportunity in a generation for a lasting political settlement. We owe it to the peoples of both of these islands to put that opportunity to the test.

03/08/95 10:12
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NO.

DATE:

9 MARCH 1995

TO:

THE WHITE HOUSE

FOR:

MR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM:

AMBASSADOR GALLAGHER

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVERING SHEET: 2
TRANSMITTED FROM FAX NUMBER: (202) 232-5993

Copy of Tánaiste's statement follows for information.

007/007/00 10710
AMBASÁID NA hÉIREANN

(202) 462-3939



EMBASSY OF IRELAND
2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

**STATEMENT BY THE TÁNAISTE (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER)
AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR DICK SPRING, T.D.**

THURSDAY, 9 MARCH, 1995

I welcome today's statement by the President of Sinn Féin acknowledging that the decommissioning of weapons is among the important issues which must be addressed, and confirming that his party is now ready to include this issue among the matters they look forward to discussing in dialogue with British Ministers with a view to their resolution. I believe this encouraging development ought to bring both sides significantly closer together on this difficult but vitally important subject.

It is appropriate too that this opportunity should be taken to express the gratitude of the Irish Government to President Clinton for his continuing interest in progress in Ireland and even-handed support for the peace process. The keen interest of the US Government and Congress at every level, and their awareness of the importance of all the issues involved, was very evident in my recent visit to Washington, where all these issues were raised and discussed in detail at every level. President Clinton's support for peace and reconciliation in Ireland is evident too in his generous invitation to all the political leaders in Northern Ireland to join him in the White House on St Patrick's Day, at the reception he is hosting in honour of the Taoiseach.

CC Mary Ann P.
return

Statement by the Taoiseach, Mr. John Bruton, T.D.

The Taoiseach, Mr. John Bruton, T.D., has expressed his sympathy for the family of Karen Reilly on this day when the agony of the loss of their daughter has been brought home to them once again. In the case of all prisoner releases, the sensitivities of victims should be borne in mind.

The Taoiseach has already made his position on the Private Lee Clegg case very clear. He told the British Prime Minister that all those convicted of serious offences should be treated equally before the law and by executive action.

// The Taoiseach now expects the British authorities to apply the same approach to all other similar prisoner cases, both loyalist and republican.

3 July, 1995.

Mrs Breidge Gadd Chief Probation Officer



Probation Board For Northern Ireland

PRESS RELEASE

STATEMENT FROM THE CHIEF PROBATION OFFICER

Breidge Gadd, Chief Probation Officer for Northern Ireland tendered her resignation as a full member of the Life Sentence Review Board to Sir John Chilcot, Chairman of the LSRB following the meeting of that Board in June.

In a statement she said, "I have been a full member of the Board for the past ten years and during that time there were many times when I disagreed with Board recommendations.

"However the reviewing of a case at the June meeting was in my view a major deviation from principles of practice and procedure used previously by the Board. Because of this unprecedented situation I considered I had no option but to tender my resignation as a full member of the Life Sentence Review Board. Not to have done so would, in my view, have compromised our position with client groups, that serious adjudicated crime must be met with appropriate retribution.

"The Probation Board for Northern Ireland has been kept informed and in discussions with the Chairman of the Life Sentence Review Board I have indicated my willingness to adopt a similar role as professionals from other disciplines and act as an advisor to the Life Sentence Review Board when cases which have a direct involvement with PBNI are being considered."

Breidge Gadd

80-90 North Street, Belfast BT1 1LD

Telephone No. (01232) 252400 Fax No. (01232) 252470

The aim of the Board is to help prevent re-offending



C. Curran Chairman

Press Release

STATEMENT FROM THE PROBATION BOARD

The Chief Probation Officer, Mrs Breidge Gadd, has kept the Probation Board informed of her discussions with the Chairman of the Life Sentence Review Board and her decision to offer her resignation as a member. The CPO has been a professional appointee to the LSRB and as such not a representative of PBN I. The Chairman of LSRB, the Board and Mrs Gadd agree that she will continue as professional probation advisor to the LSRB.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

STATEMENT FROM SEANUS MALLON MP NEWRY & ARMAGH 3rd July 1995

Newry & Armagh MP Seamus Mallon has warned that this morning's release of Private Lee Clegg could have serious implications both for the ongoing peace process and for the fundamental primacy of the rule of law.

Mr Mallon said, "This is a clear example of an executive decision being taken with complete disregard for judicial process, due process, or any other normal processes of the law. The Secretary of State has made a fundamental mistake by responding to a populist campaign by disregarding the demands of natural justice. The decision to release Private Clegg in circumstances where his conviction has been confirmed by every court in the land is not only a dreadful insult and slight to the family of his victim but it also undermines the integrity of the entire legal and judicial system.

The conduct of the Secretary of State over the last number of weeks adds up to little more than a cynical exploitation of the problems in Northern Ireland to try and resolve problems within the Tory Government.

In the process Sir Patrick Mayhew is merely laying in store greater difficulties for any future Secretary of State or Prime Minister to deal fairly even handedly and courageously with all of the demands of negotiating a peace in Ireland. There is no doubt that the position of all other prisoners must now be reviewed.

The Secretary of State has succeeded in making a laughing stock of a penal system already discredited by Birmingham and Guildford and other cases. He has brought the political process into total disrepute by cynicism of this magnitude, and he has seriously compromised the authority not only of the High Court and the Appeal Courts, but even the House of Lords. Today's decision will have eroded much of the confidence that the community had that this Government could manage to contribute to a successful peace process. That process can live without any more body blows like today's".

as PST
AS 12 July
S/Sec Dllg
F. Murray
P. T. Moran
S. D. O'Brien
T. Dalton
J. O'Brien
A. J. L. O'Brien
A. J. W. O'Brien
C. H. O'Brien

URGENT -

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- S Varskhan

- N. Solovay

MEDIA REACTION REPORT, LONDON, WEDNESDAY MARCH 15 1995**A. BROADCAST MEDIA****NORTHERN IRELAND / CLINTON-ADAMS ROW**

The news that president Clinton had sent a letter to John Major outlining his position on Northern Ireland, and that Gerry Adams was pressed in a meeting with NSA Lake last night on the decommissioning of IRA arms, was running at or near the top of the news agenda this morning. On the whole the coverage was of a more positive note than in previous days.

Speaking on BBC Radio's Today program this morning, former foreign secretary Lord (formerly Geoffrey) Howe said he understood John Major's apparent refusal to take a phone call from president Clinton:

"I think the decision to accord Gerry Adams the treatment he has been receiving in Washington this week must be seen as insensitive and lacking understanding of the problem. It is quite clear that the state department and, I would think, the American embassy in London consistently have been saying that this is not the way in which to respond to this problem, and I think that when suddenly it breaks in this fashion, it is quite understandable that John Major, as many other people in this country, should feel dismayed, affronted and that the whole thing has been unhelpful. ...

"I can well understand John Major's anger -- I think it is important now that they have re-established contact by letter, to try yet again to persuade the U.S. president of what must happen, namely, sustained pressure on Adams and his followers to move now towards decommissioning arms in a way that begins to contribute reality to that side of the peace process."

On the same program, the 8.0-0 a.m. news bulletin led with the issue.

The link announcer said:

"The Clinton administration has told Gerry Adams that it wants the decommissioning of IRA weapons to begin soon. The message was conveyed by a senior administration official at a meeting in Washington last night."

Washington correspondent Jeremy Harris said:

"The notion that Mr Clinton's controversial St Patrick's Day handshake with the Sinn Fein leader later this week will turn into a personal arm-twisting session by the American president finds scant support among White House officials. They still expect the encounter to be mainly a limited exchange of social pleasantries. It seems that whatever direct pressure the Clinton administration wishes to bring to bear on the Sinn Fein leader was exerted last

night."

Chief political correspondent John Sergeant said from Amman, where he is travelling with the prime minister:

"Mr Major and Mr Clinton are expected to talk directly to each other after the prime minister returns to London later today. It has been revealed Mr Clinton wanted to speak to Mr Major last Saturday. ... British officials are playing down suggestions of a diplomatic snub. ...

"But what is described as Mr Clinton's 'constructive' reply will now make that conversation easier. Mr Major wants maximum pressure to be exerted on Mr Adams to commit Sinn Fein to the decommissioning of weapons, and officials believe the U.S. administration now fully supports the British view that the ball is in Sinn Fein's court."

B. TODAY'S MAJOR NEWS STORIES

1. NORTHERN IRELAND / CLINTON-ADAMS ROW
2. MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS / IRAQ

C. SUMMARY

1. NORTHERN IRELAND / CLINTON-ADAMS ROW

The visit of Gerry Adams to the U.S. continues to feature on the front pages of all the serious papers, but this time the focus has shifted to what is seen as an 'extraordinary rift' between John Major and Bill Clinton, following reports of an unreturned phone call from the White House to Downing Street. The conservative Times, in particular, voices a fear that there is an 'erosion of goodwill' between the UK and the U.S., and says: "Many now believe that tectonic plates in the relationship have moved." The same paper commented:

"The (British) government ... now believes, at least with the Clinton White House, that the present administration neither cares what others think nor listens to bushed diplomacy. Playing hardball is an American political metaphor; it is a game John Major is learning fast."

But on the Adams visit itself, there is a more positive note, with the news that Gerry Adams has been pressed on IRA disarmament by NSA Tony Lake. One paper calls on president Clinton to tackle this issue in public when he meets Gerry Adams on Friday.

2. MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS / IRAQ

The liberal Guardian reported:

"Syria and Israel last night agreed, under intense U.S. prodding,

to resume their suspended peace negotiations. At Syrian insistence, the talks in Washington will also be attended by U.S. officials.

"The Israeli ambassador, Itmar Rabinovich, and Syria's envoy Walid al-Muallem, would renew negotiations 'within the next few days', the U.S. secretary of state, Warren Christopher, announced at the end of an exhausting six-day shuttle which culminated in a day of tortuous diplomatic activity. ... (Mr Christopher was) clearly relieved. ... But any talk of major breakthrough last night was muted by knowledge that enormous pitfalls remain in the way of a final peace deal involving an Israeli pullback from Golan."

D. HEADLINES

1. NORTHERN IRELAND / CLINTON-ADAMS ROW

"RIPT DEEPENS OVER ADAMS VISIT TO U.S." (Times lead front page report)

"EROSION OF GOODWILL FEARED IN WHITEHALL" (Times front page commentary)

"MAJOR IN ULSTER SNUB TO CLINTON" (D.Tel front page report)

"CLINTON TRIES TO DEFUSE ROW OVER ADAMS INVITATION" (F.T. lead front page report)

"CLINTON TRIES TO HEAL RIFT WITH DEAR JOHN LETTER" (Guardian front page report)

"MAJOR'S PHONE 'SNUB' TO CLINTON PLAYED DOWN" (Independent front page report)

"MAJOR'S PHONE SNUB TO CLINTON" (Daily Mail lead front page report)

"ST. PATRICK'S DAY CHALLENGE" (Daily Mail editorial)

"OVER TO ADAMS" (D. Express editorial)

"MAJOR SNUBS CLINTON PHONE CALL TO NO. 10" (D.Express report)

"GOOD TO TALK" (Sun editorial)

2. MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS / IRAQ

"SYRIA AND ISRAEL AGREE TO RESUME PEACE NEGOTIATIONS" (Guardian report)

"PUTTING ISRAEL ON THE SPOT" (Guardian editorial)

"MAJOR ATTACKS GROWTH OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS" (D.Tel report)

"MONITORING IRAQ" (F.T. editorial)

E. TEXT

1. NORTHERN IRELAND / CLINTON-ADAMS ROW

The conservative Times said in its lead front page report, under the headline 'Rift deepens over Adams visit to U.S.':

"The deepening rift between Britain and America was exposed last night with the disclosure that John Major has kept president Clinton waiting for four days to talk about the Gerry Adams visit to Washington. ...

"Sources in Washington believe that a furious Mr Major has been trying to punish Mr Clinton for ignoring the advice of Number 10 and Sir Patrick Mayhew, the northern Ireland secretary, not to give the Sinn Fein president the red carpet treatment.

"But Mr Major's firm stand achieved success last night when Mr Tony Lake, Mr Clinton's national security adviser, met Mr Adams at the White House for 30 minutes and 'strongly urged' him to follow through on his promise of talks with the British on the decommissioning of both IRA and loyalist arsenals. Mr Adams was reported to have reacted positively and indicated that things were moving pretty quickly. ...

"The president's inability to make contact with Mr Major was considered extraordinary in diplomatic circles, given the sophistication of modern communications. Last night it emerged that unable to talk directly to Mr Major, Mr Clinton had faxed the prime minister what American officials described as a 'conciliatory' letter designed to repair the extraordinary open rift.

"However, Mr Clinton's letter failed explicitly to respond to a key demand that Mr Major had made in his letter -- that the president should press Mr Adams during their two meetings this week to start decommissioning the IRA's arsenal."

The same paper also carried the following commentary on its front page, under the headline 'Erosion of goodwill feared in Whitehall':

"John Major's angry rebuff to president Clinton over the Gerry Adams visit highlights a deepening concern in Whitehall that the row is much more than another example of a spat between friends. Many now believe that tectonic plates in the relationship have moved.

"British and American interests are diverging so fast, officials believe, that it is becoming difficult to recognize the common ground that for more than 40 years made the Anglo-American relationship uniquely close. The changes have been exacerbated by the Clinton administration, especially in the quarrels over Bosnia and Ireland. But officials believe that unless a supreme effort is made to get relations on a better footing, the goodwill that bound

the two countries together may be eroded for ever.

"Officials have been holding intensive talks, throughout Whitehall, to analyze what has gone wrong. The main concern is that without a solid political relationship, not only will transatlantic co-operation become more fraught, but that burgeoning trade relations between Britain and America may suffer. ...

"In two areas co-operation is still unparalleled: defense and intelligence. But these are less vital after the collapse of communism in Europe, and are overshadowed increasingly by divergent world views. Continuing disagreement, especially with Congress, over Bosnia has been largely to blame.

"The row over Mr Adams' visit is not unprecedented. ... What has changed is that the British government is now more ready to speak out. Previous quarrels were always played down for fear of antagonizing Washington and losing the unique access to American decision-making at an early stage. The government values this early input, but now believes, at least with the Clinton White House, that the present administration neither cares what others think nor listens to hushed diplomacy. Playing hardball is an American political metaphor; it is a game John Major is learning fast."

The conservative Daily Telegraph said in a front page report:

"Mr John Major has kept president Clinton waiting for five days for a telephone call to resolve their differences over Northern Ireland, it emerged last night. Downing Street confirmed that the prime minister had decided he would not speak to Mr Clinton until he returned later today from his visit to Israel and Jordan -- despite indications that the president had tried to contact him during the Middle East tour. ...

"Although Downing Street and the White House attempted to play down suggestions of a snub, the delay was seen in diplomatic circles as confirmation of Mr Major's irritation over the way Mr Clinton had rejected his plea not to allow Mr Gerry Adams to raise funds during his visit to Washington. ...

"Diplomatic relations between the two countries are now at a low ebb. Contacts between British officials and their U.S. counterparts in Washington are said to be 'tetchy'. It is highly unusual for a British prime minister to leave such a delay before returning a call from the U.S. president."

The independent Financial Times said in its lead front page report:

"President Bill Clinton yesterday moved to defuse the row with the UK government over his controversial invitation to Mr Gerry Adams to a White House reception at the end of the week. The U.S. president sent a faxed letter to Mr John Major, the prime minister, which is understood to say that the U.S. shares Mr Major's concern

that Sinn Fein should begin practical steps now towards the decommissioning of arms by the IRA. ...

"A British government official last night described Mr Clinton's reply as a 'good constructive response'. ... The fax follows two attempts by Mr Clinton to speak to Mr Major on the telephone. ... A British government official said the decision to delay the conversation was in no sense a snub."

The liberal Guardian said in a front page report:

"President Clinton began a tentative effort at mending fences with Britain yesterday when he ended a tense game of diplomatic cat and mouse with John Major.

"The president attempted to soothe strained Anglo-American relations by sending a letter to Mr Major which British officials described as constructive.

"The Clinton administration also inched closer toward Britain's position on IRA disarmament when Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, strongly urged Gerry Adams to move forward on the issue in a meeting at the White House last night, U.S. officials said.

"The letter came after nearly five days of failed efforts by the two leaders to talk to each other. The White House insisted it had tried unsuccessfully to make contact at the weekend with the prime minister, currently on a visit to the Middle East.

"Mr Major was forced to deny that he had snubbed Washington by refusing to take a phone call from the president. ...

"Mr Lake had been expected to do little more than reiterate the U.S. position that progress toward IRA disarmament was essential. The administration had signalled that it was satisfied with Sinn Fein's announcement last week that the organization was willing to discuss IRA disarmament, despite British demands that the IRA show substantial progress on arms first. Mr Lake told Gerry Adams yesterday that he should move beyond that March 8 statement 'sooner rather than later'."

The centrist Independent reported on its front page:

"Government sources last night sought to play down evidence of a deepening rift in John Major's relations with Bill Clinton after it emerged the prime minister had delayed for at least five days in replying to a telephone call from the White House. ...

"Denying a snub to Mr Clinton, senior government sources said Mr Major could not take the call because he had to prepare for his meetings in Jerusalem, Gaza and Amman. ...

"The officials insisted the procedure was normal, but the failure

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of the two world leaders to talk directly on the telephone for five days underlines the strains in their relations. The affair will overshadow Mr Major's visit to Washington on 2-4 April. Officials travelling with the prime minister said the fax (from president Clinton) had been 'very constructive'. They also pointed to remarks by the assistant secretary of state, Dick Holborough (sic) as chiming with the prime minister's view on Sinn Fein. ...

"In Washington, the White House yesterday again went about pretending that all was well in relations with Britain. 'They simply didn't connect,' a White house spokesman said. He added the phone call was for no special reason, the president simply wished to 'chat'."

The conservative tabloid Daily Mail said in its splash front page lead, under the headline 'Major's phone snub to Clinton':

"John Major refused to take a phone call from president Clinton in the icy build up to Gerry Adams's American visit. His rebuff showed the extent of the rift which has opened up over Washington's red carpet welcome for the Sinn Fein leader. ...

"Downing Street claimed last night that no snub was intended. But that was not how the incident was being viewed across the Atlantic. ... Last night, there was a belated attempt to patch things up. The prime minister tried to play down the phone call incident, saying: 'I have been fairly mobile. If he has been pursuing me, I am sure he will find me soon. We will make sure he does.

"But his lighthearted words hid an intense irritation at the way the Adams affair has overshadowed his visit to the Middle East. The scene is set for a chilly encounter when Mr Major flies to Washington in a fortnight. ...

"The appearance of the White House fax suggested Mr Major's brinkmanship may have won a slight concession. But there was a further insult last night when the Clinton administration appeared to claim credit for peace in Ulster.

"Secretary of state Warren Christopher named Northern Ireland as a country where 'American engagement has helped bring peace and reconciliation to lands long torn by strife'.

"The claim appeared in a contribution to the 25th anniversary edition of the Carnegie Endowment's journal, Foreign Policy, long regarded as virtually a manual of administration thinking. Mr Christopher listed places where he said the U.S. is trying to advance democracy and human rights. The implicit smear that Ulster lacks both is compounded by the other countries listed, including Haiti, Angola, Mozambique, Cambodia and South Africa."

The same paper editorialized, on yesterday's announcement of troop withdrawal from Northern Ireland :

"It is part of the peace dividend and tangible evidence of the goodwill of Her Majesty's government, which has absolutely no intention of keeping more soldiers in the province than the security of its citizens demands.

"Elsewhere, in sickening contrast, Gerry Adams is milking Irish-American audiences for cheap cheers and hard cash with Sinn fein's traditional slogan of 'British troops out'. Just when is he going to deliver?

"The IRA has not renounced violence. It still has all its bombs and guns; still runs its protection rackets; still beats up those in the Catholic community to whom its bully boys have taken a dislike.

"On Friday, Adams will party with president Clinton. This is the Bill and Gerry show -- that tastiest of publicity coups for Sinn Fein -- which our prime minister, to his fury, signally failed to prevent taking place.

"If the pathetic president of the U.S. could summon up any pretense of statesmanship, he might yet do something to retrieve the situation.

"Instead of fawning on Adams, Clinton could put this apologist for terror on the spot. Publicly, speaking to camera, the president could proclaim that the onus is now on the IRA to surrender a substantial share of its arsenal.

"Never mind the wearing of the green in the White House. Let us see the color of the Semtex still concealed in caches on both sides of the Irish border.

"That is what the war-weary people of Ulster want. That should be president Clinton's St Patrick's Day challenge to Gerry Adams."

The conservative tabloid Daily Express editorialized:

"The timing of yesterday's announcement that 400 men ... are being withdrawn from Northern Ireland might have been better. For coming only a day after Gerry Adams demanded the removal of troops from the province, it must inevitably seem like a further concession to the IRA, without any matching gesture. This could fuel further hardline loyalist opposition to the way the peace process is progressing.

"Nevertheless, it is a decision to be welcomed and the fact that the army is delighted with the move should confirm its wisdom. ...

"Sooner or later though, future troop withdrawals should be made dependant on the IRA handing over its weapons. Giving something for nothing is not often a good idea. Especially when it is the IRA doing the taking."

The same paper reported:

"John Major has delivered an extraordinary snub to Bill Clinton in the row over Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams. He said he was too busy to take a call at Downing Street from the U.S. president on Saturday. ...

"Diplomats found the prime minister's behavior highly unusual and said it must have been intended as a calculated snub. ... One senior source said Mr Major was showing his displeasure with the president and getting his own back for some high-handed treatment by Mr Clinton in the past. ...

"Senior diplomats believe there now appears to be a serious lack of trust between the prime minister and the president. There are fears that the two leaders are squaring up for a damaging showdown on Northern Ireland when they meet on April 2. "

The conservative tabloid mass circulation Sun editorialized:

"It must have been one heck of a shock for the president. For several hours, Bill Clinton phoned John Major to talk about Gerry Adams -- only to be told: Sorry, he's unable to take your call.

"Good for Major. It's high time Clinton had his ego dented. The way he is letting Adams get the red carpet treatment in the States makes people in Britain feel sick.

"If you want to know more, Mr Clinton, just ring the Sun. We'll always take your call."

(reproduced in full)

2. MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS / IRAQ

The liberal Guardian editorialized:

"John Major is only the second head of government to go to Gaza since the new Palestinian National Authority (PNA) was set up last year. The other was the Turkish prime minister in November. More should be heading in the same direction as soon as possible. There are good reasons for visiting this struggling Palestinian territory without having to convey unqualified approval of Yasser Arafat. On the day that Warren Christopher holds out fresh hopes of a breakthrough in the frustrated Middle East peace talks, Mr Major's aid initiative may seem rather more limited. Yet hopes for a Syrian deal have ebbed and flowed often enough and the status quo, if they fade again, is tolerable enough. It takes no great insight to see that the Israeli-Palestinian equation is in a far more hazardous condition. A more modest diplomatic investment in this area could produce a much more valuable return. ...

"Mr Major's argument that the Palestinians 'need to see real improvement in their lives' if their support for the peace process to be made is hardly controversial. Indeed many Israeli officials are willing enough to concede the point, saying however that

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Israeli public opinion would not permit the border to remain open as long as terrorist attacks may recur. The logic is self-defeating, and governments which have good relations with Israel should say so in friendly but clear dissent."

The conservative Daily Telegraph reported:

"Mr John Major attacked Israel over its expansion of settlements in the occupied territories yesterday after talks in Gaza with Mr Yasser Arafat. The prime minister, who handed over 50 Land Rovers and Ford Transit vans to the Palestinian police, announced an extra seven millions pounds in aid to his hosts. He repeated his call for Israel to lift the closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which prevents most Palestinians from seeking work in Israel and also issued a forthright denunciation of the spread of the Jewish settlements, saying it contravened the Israeli-Palestinian autonomy agreement signed in 1993. ...

"Greeted at the border with a hug from Mr Arafat, continually addressed by the chairman as 'your excellency', the prime minister was welcomed like minor royalty in a banana republic. The package of bilateral aid reflects Britain's view that unless the Palestinians see an immediate improvement in their daily life it will be difficult to sustain popular support for the peace process.

"It is also tied directly to practical projects to forestall criticism that international aid is being wasted through bureaucratic incompetence. 'We are seeking to ensure the money goes where it will help most,' Mr Major said. ...

"Mr Major received unexpected backing for his quest for peace in Ulster yesterday when Mr Arafat endorsed the government's strategy in Northern Ireland. Mr Arafat, once reviled by the west as a supporter of terrorism, stopped short of openly condemning the Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams, but came close to suggesting it was time for the IRA to lay down its arms for good."

On Iraq, the independent Financial Times editorialized:

"Iraq itself -- or rather Mr Saddam's regime, which should not be equated with the country it so grossly misgoverns -- is deploying a two-pronged strategy to get sanctions lifted. One prong appeals to commercial self-interest, and was evident in the gathering of international oil executives in Baghdad last weekend, at which mouthwatering concessions were hinted at. The other, addressed to world public opinion, has been quite successful in getting bishops, intellectuals and retired politicians in the west to wax eloquent on the sufferings endured by the Iraqi people.

"It is grotesque that anyone can still be taken in by this humanitarian pose, coming from a regime which is itself, directly and indirectly, the cause of all the suffering it claims to be so anxious to alleviate. The fact is that food and medicine have been

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exempt from sanctions throughout, and that the regims could easily pay for them. If it needs more it has only to sell oil under the terms of resolution 706, which allows it to raise \$1.6bn, provided the use of it to purchase and distribute humanitarian goods is monitored by the UN -- conditions the U.S. is now offering to make 'less intrusive'.

"More genuine dilemmas lie in wait. Those who want sanctions lifted need to think how they will cope with the disruption of the oil market which the sudden return of a major producer will cause, especially the destabilising effect on neighboring oil producers, and how far an unrepentant (even triumphant) Mr Saddam can really be welcomed back as a member of the regional and global communities. Those whose half-admitted aim is his downfall, on the other hand, need a clearer strategy both for bringing that about and for ensuring that Iraq itself does not disintegrate in the ensuing chaos."

END OF MEDIA REACTION REPORT

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United States Information Service

Embassy of the United States of America
24 Grosvenor Square
London W1A 1AE England

TELEFAX MESSAGE

(TELEFAX 071/491-2485)

From:

G. JORJA

To:

NSC

Forward to:

KATHY STEVENS

Pages to follow:

11

Comments:

USIS LONDON MEDIA
REACTION REPORT FOR MARCH 15
as requested



EUROPEAN DIRECTORATE

TO:

Nancy Soderbag

Phone

Fax Phone

CC:

Date

3-7-95

Number of pages including cover sheet

FAX

FROM:

Katy Stephens

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

OEGB, ROOM 368

WASH, D.C. 20506

Phone

202-456-9151

Fax Phone

202-456-9150

REMARKS:

☐ Urgent☒ For your review☐ Reply ASAP☐ Please CommentNancy: As discussed;

- ① State to Justice Memo listing names for waivers, including Donaldson,
- ② Justice to State memo approving draft memo,
- ③ Cable on Donaldson + others not included in memo,
- ④ Info on N.I and Irish political parties.

Del -
pls get copies -
this is all that
came in.

The Political and Economic Situation in Ireland

Following the break-up of the Fianna Fail-Labor coalition over the appointment of Attorney General Harry Whelehan to the High Court, a "rainbow coalition" government took office on December 15. Headed by John Bruton and the Fine Gael party, it also includes Labor and the small Democratic Left. The government has a total of only 85 seats in the 166-member Dail, as compared with 98 seats for the previous coalition.

Bruton's administration will continue the basic thrust of the previous government's policies on Northern Ireland--which have widespread support in Ireland--and will find it easier to reach agreement with Britain. Of the two largest parties in Ireland, Fine Gael--the descendent of the side that agreed to peace with Britain in the early 1920s--is less associated with nationalism and will find it less difficult to make concessions on largely symbolic matters. Bruton, himself, was among the first Irish politicians to suggest that the Irish constitution, which lays claim to Northern Ireland, be amended to state that this could come about only with the consent of the majority in the North.

A Bruton-led government will have more credibility among the Unionists, but might have more difficulty selling any agreement in the Republic if nationalist members of Fianna Fail snipe at it from the opposition. Fianna Fail and Reynolds, in particular, had developed a close relationship and a good deal of credibility with Sinn Fein; in his absence, a cessation of hostilities might have been much more difficult to reach. At this stage of the peace process, Reynolds's presence may be less important.

The Northern Ireland question is not a major issue in Irish politics. During the 1992 general elections, it was hardly mentioned. An October 9 opinion poll showed high levels of dissatisfaction with then-PM Reynolds (52 percent) and FM Spring (60 percent), despite their successes in N. Ireland. In the same poll, Sinn Fein won the support of only 2 percent and in a by-election in November got only 3 percent of the vote. Finally, during the just-ended political crisis in Dublin, Labor rejected arguments for retaining the Fianna Fail-Labor coalition in order to provide continuity for the peace process.

Current composition of the Dail

Fianna Fail	66
Fine Gael	47
Labor	32
Progressive Democrats	9
Democratic Left	6
Greens	1
Independents	7



Irish Political Parties

Fianna Fail--Derives from the side that lost the civil war in 1922, when it opposed agreement with the UK establishing Irish Free State; it sees itself as the party of Irish nationalism. First took power in 1932 under Eamon De Valera and dominated Irish politics until recently as the near majority party. It abandoned its policy of governing alone only in 1989, when it entered a coalition with the Progressive Democrats. Recently, its policies have been economically conservative, but it has a strain of populism and long supported government ownership of--and subsidies to--various firms. Leader--Bertie Ahern.

Fine Gael--The descendant of the winning side in the Irish Civil War, less traditionally "green." The party of small-town shopkeepers and notables, traditionally the second party after Fianna Fail. Gerrit Fitzgerald (PM in the mid-1980's) tried to turn it into a Social Democratic party on the continental model, but without notable success. Fitzgerald signed Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985. Leader (and new Taoiseach/PM)--John Bruton.

Labor--Originally Socialist party on European model, now moderately leftist. Favors expansionary, interventionist economic policy, objects to privatization. No strong position on N. Ireland, but Spring would see the achievement of peace as a feather in his cap, as well as something desirable in its own right. Leader (and Tainiste/Deputy PM and Foreign Minister)--Dick Spring.

Progressive Democrats--Split from Fianna Fail in the 1980s to protest its "wink and a nod" approach to governing. Most pro-free market party. Leader--Mary Harney.

Democratic Left--Socialist successor to Sinn Fein Workers' Party. Highly critical of Provisional IRA's violence. Leader (and Minister for Social Welfare)--Proisias De Rossa.

waivers requested by the Department of State should be granted to any of the listed aliens, upon application, on the same terms as have been agreed upon with respect to Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams. On this basis, an eventual application by any of the listed aliens could be processed expeditiously by appropriate officers of the Department and of the Immigration and Naturalization Service without a requirement for direct communication between the Secretary and the Attorney General in each individual case.

UNCLASSIFIED



Kenneth C. Brill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

JUSTICE, including the draft Memorandum to Terry Samuels, Director of Executive Secretariat, Department of Justice from Kenneth C. Brill (copy attached), should be granted non-immigrant visas on the same terms as the visas granted to Sinn Fein leader, Gerry Adams. This agreement is expressly conditioned upon the parties' adherence to the peace process in Northern Ireland.

Copy; Vice.Pres. Gore. Ambassador Crowe.
Senator Newt. Gingrich. Senator Jesse Helms
Ms Nancy Soderberg.

16 Ascot Park
Newtownards.
N.Ireland. BT 23 4AZ.
9 March 1995.

The US Secretary of State.
Dear Sir,

NORTHERN IRELAND

(The Framework Document's Hidden Agenda).

I noted your exuberant support for Dick Spring and Mr Mayhew's US briefing on the Framework Document, and wish to express my concerns at your inexcusable failure to appreciate the serious objections of the majority Protestant community of N.Ireland; and I believe, a high percentage of the Catholic population. A major concern is that the drafting of the Framework Document was wholly carried out without reference or consultation with the elected representatives of the Protestant population of N.Ireland. The second is that the principal 'drafters' of the Document are predominantly either English, S.Irish, or N.Ireland Catholics, who have no personal, spiritual, or political motivation to promote the maintenance of the Union, the interests of the Protestant people, or the continuity of the Reformed Faith. I have also copied you a letter to Mr Gore on 16 Sept 94 addressing many of the concerns. Mr Gore has not acknowledged my communication, sent via Ambassador Crowe.

Protestant concerns and suffering in N.Ireland have been disdainfully treated and misrepresented in America, because of the dominating influence and intransigence of Catholic Irish-Americans towards Ulster Protestants, and British democratic institutions in Ulster. It is pertinent to mention that the alleged Protestant 'oppressors' in N.Ireland come from the same Scots/Irish background that gave America 25% of its Presidents; many of its pre-eminent generals and entrepreneurs; the founder of the US Presbyterian Church; and five of the legislators who signed the US Declaration of Independence. They also were foundation members of the US Republican Party. N.Ireland also warmly welcomed and took excellent care of America's armed forces personel, an action condemned vehemently by the Irish Republic's De Valera, and Catholic Irish-Americans.

It is therefore most hurtful to us that you continue to exhibit preference and praise upon Eire's anti WASP democracy politicians, whose predecessors declared a Nazi supporting 'neutrality'; and whose clerics campaigned to keep America out of the war, to ensure Hitler defeated Britain. As a 'reward' for their pro German 'neutrality' De Valera and Archbishop Mc Quaid confidently expected Hitler to 'unite Ireland'. Hitler's pre-war Concordat (deal) with the Vatican had guaranteed the continuity and authority of the institutions of the Catholic Church. De Valera's published memoirs reveal his post war plans for a 32 County Catholic State, by an 'Exchange of Populations' programme. This was to expel the Protestants from N.Ireland and replace them with exiled Catholics. The 'final destination' of the Protestants is not clarified.

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The key point, Mr Secretary, is that the Irish Rebellion of 1916 was not about liberating the

Irish people, but to overthrow the Reformed Faith 'heresy', and replace Puritan Bible based democracy with Rome's political/ecclesiastical authority. It was also to effect the demise of the Protestant people, and break the allegiance to a British (Protestant) Monarchy. This is clearly affirmed both in the published account of Count Plunket's visit to the Vatican for a Papal blessing on the rebellion; and the subsequent 90% exodus of the Protestant population of Eire since Irish Independence. It should also be noted that not all the S.Irish Catholic people considered themselves to have been 'liberated' from British Protestant 'oppression', as 30% of the Catholic population of Eire has also emigrated. 3.5 million live more happily under British Protestant ethos Rule in England; and the US has a claimed 40 million who have no intention of exchanging their USA WASP founded democracy for a singular Irish Catholic State governed indirectly by Maynooth's bishops. It is also opportune to state that emigration from Eire is five times that of N.Ireland, with a comparative population ratio of only 2:1.

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This Catholic ascendancy in Eire should not be surprising, as earlier European history records the Inquisition, and the expulsion of Moors, Jews, and Hugeneot Protestants from Spain, France, and Holland. Thousands of Dutch Protestants settled in Delaware, USA, after fleeing from Europe. Having successfully brought Eire under Vatican authority, the concentration has been, for over three decades, to assimilate N.Ireland. The Ulster 'Civil Rights' campaign was used to launch the 'hidden agenda' of the Vatican and Maynooth. Brits Out means (almost) everything Protestant out; ethos; culture, and people; as has been 98% achieved in Eire, Spain, Portugal, France. In contrast, under the alleged oppressive 'Protestant ascendancy' in Ulster, the Catholic population has **increased** from **25%** to **40%** since Eire's Independence.

There is absolutely nothing in the Framework Document that proposes any actions in the Irish Republic to promote the return of the 22% population of Protestant people and ethos. Eire reflects the 'normal' scenario in all majority Catholic countries, viz; minorities become extinct or of minute irrelevance. N.Ireland Protestants have no historical or current evidence, either in the now 98% Catholic Eire, or in other predominantly Catholic nations of the world, to believe that their Puritan culture and Faith would be protected or encouraged in a majority Catholic society. The Puritan doctrines of Faith alone and Free Grace can never be reconciled with Rome's (unscriptural) Pardon, Penance and Purgatory. The triple crown of the Papacy **claims** supreme authority over all earthly Monarchs, **Presidents**, and peoples, and expects and demands primary allegiance. Two pertinent examples are when Irish Prime Minister Costello sacked his Health Minister, Dr Noel Browne, on the orders of the bishops of Maynooth, who rejected his improved Health Programme for the Irish people. The second was the unilateral scrapping of the Anglo-Irish 1920 Ireland Act in 1937, by De Valera and Archbishop Mc Quaid who replaced it with an illegal non negotiated constitution. **A similar betrayal is certain with any 'agreements' based on the Framework Document.**

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It is also normal to expect, as you have experienced historically, and presently, to find people fleeing from persecution or social deprivation to a better democracy. Unlike the Mexican border however, there are no queues of destitute and oppressed citizens from N.Ireland at the

border with Eire seeking legal or illegal residency in the Irish Republic. Neither are there disenchanted citizens at Belfast ports and airports, fleeing from what Mr Haughey termed erroneously 'The Nightmare North'. It is also not from Ulster's Catholics that pleas for 'Green Cards and Morrison Visas, are heard; but from the disillusioned citizens of Dick Spring's undemocratic and impoverished Republic. Catholic Irish-Americans will shortly parade throughout America on 17 March, with many wearing divided loyalty badges declaring 'American by birth but Irish by the grace of God'. They will be demanding Brits Out of Ireland, but will not demand British Rule to be replaced with the most democratic Constitution in the World; that of the USA; which, according to Eire's Dr Teeling, has provided an entrepreneurial ethos absent in Eire's clerical controlled State. The reason for Catholic Irish-American lack of fervour for this obvious liberating proposal is easily stated. Presently in N.Ireland and S, Ireland Religious controlled educational institutions are funded by the State. N.Ireland State Schools are open to ALL denominations, and Catholic Schools are also built, maintained, and funded by the State, but administered by the Catholic hierarchy. A USA Constitution in Eire or N.Ireland would prohibit such State funding and clerical interference in State education; hence no effort to advocate US democracy in ANY part of Ireland by Catholic Irish-American activists.

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In a reverse situation Mr Secretary, how would the people of the States of New England, or Virginia view the prospect of being assimilated by the State of Mexico, and their WASP culture neutralised (called harmonisation in the Framework Document), to accommodate the aspirations and cultural identity of Latinos? Why do you have a Proposition 187 in California? because of the Latino economic and 'cultural' threat to the predominant WASP democracy established by the Pilgrim Fathers and continued by their descendants. **N.Ireland is a little 'New England' being unjustly and deliberately vilified because it is one of the few remaining countries which upholds the supreme authority of the Scriptures and has a strong evangelical Protestant witness.** The Reformed Faith supports the US Constitution in that **All men are equal under God;** but the Scriptures also inform us that **all men are solely accountable to God, and not Church or Bishop, as erroneously claimed, taught, and imposed upon its adherents by the Catholic Church..** The annexation of N.Ireland will remove it and its people from the United Kingdom and its Puritan constitutional links such as the National Reformed Faith Church; the Canon Law of the Westminster Confession of Faith; and a Puritan Monarchy oathed to preserve the Reformed Faith. When President Robinson expresses her embarrassing but sincere concern and support for the fears of the Protestant citizens of N.Ireland, you can be assured that she is one of the two genuine S.Irish Catholic political voices, with Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, who are being honest about the Framework Document. It is a delayed death sentence to WASP culture in N.Ireland.

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Might I also comment to the effect that I do not totally share the present euphoria over 'more dollars for Ireland'. The Protestant ethos shuns any concept of begging or charity and there is a danger of creating a 'gimme' society which is not conducive to or compatible with the Puritan Work Ethic. **Eire, however is expert at the 'gimme more' policy, as one of the**

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greatest exploiters of EU funds; and is identified as one of The 'Poor Four' of Europe. Why should N.Ireland sacrifice its position as part of one of the three richest nations and contributors to the EU, by 'uniting' with one of the 'beggars of Europe'?

I would refer to my letter to Mr Gore and suggest that Democratic and Republican Senators and Congressmen who consider themselves related to WASP culture should be concerned that a N.Ireland scenario is clearly developing in the USA, and endangering the Constitution. The high influence of Irish Republican Irish-Americans and the increase in Hispanic and Latino immigration into Florida and California are indisputable evidences of a planned major 'cultural' identity activity to undermine the WASP ethos and democracy. Cardinal O'Connor has publicly stated that *"the St. Patrick's Day parade is a Catholic event, sponsored by a Catholic organisation, to celebrate a Catholic life, the life of the patron saint of Ireland and New York....who above all else preached the teaching of The Church"*. I had assumed that the parade was an Irish non religious demonstration, not a Catholic parade which disrupts New York city. How many Irish-American Protestants will be at the White House on the 17th??

John Hume has demanded 'equal' recognition of the cultural 'aspirations' and Irish Catholic identity of the minority population in N.Ireland, rather than accept the democratic declaration of the ballot box, and encourage the Catholic population to support the generous and excellent British institutions, which he as a British MP, took the oath to do. Mr Hume is also fervently implementing his Maynooth training and motivation by beguiling the Protestant majority into a Catholic ascendancy united Ireland; without one change in Eire's constitution or institutions that would provide assurance that 90% of us will not migrate like our Southern co-religionists.

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One must therefore expose Dick Spring and John Hume's motives; and their insincerity towards the Protestant ethos in N.Ireland, (or America), as they have not promoted them in Eire. They are all silent as death about the most obvious solution to restoring true democracy to the Irish Republic; encouraging the return of a plural culture to Eire; removing the genuine fears of the Protestants in N.Ireland, and facilitating IMMEDIATE co-operation with Unionists on Cross Border issues. I again refer to advocating a U.S.A. Constitution for Eire or/and a United Ireland. This will test the sincerity of John Hume and Dick Spring as to whether they are genuinely interested in implementing true democracy or are supporters of Cardinal O Connor and his colleagues in Rome and Maynooth; who seek to extend their mandate over N.Ireland. They are making good progress in America. Alister Cook, the Letter from America radio commentator mentioned recently that Boston was 85% Catholic, and 100 years ago was almost 100% Protestant 'Brahmins'.

Perhaps Mr Gingrich will publicly ask Mr Bruton at the White House on the 17th to support a 32 County United Ireland with a **non modified** USA Constitution. It has provided superior democracy to all US citizens, including 40 million Irish. He could also affirm that it will reduce the tide of immigrants from S.Ireland, restore the entrepreneurial society identified by Dr Teeling; and provide a proven, acceptable foundation for united Ireland discussions.

Yours most sincerely
G. M. Auley.

16 Ascot Park
Newtownards
N.Ireland
BT 23 4AZ.

16 September 1994

The US Ambassador to the UK
The US Embassy.
London

Dear Sir,

NORTHERN IRELAND and VICE PRESIDENT GORE.

Mr Gore stated in Eire recently that N.Ireland was top of the USA's Foreign Affairs agenda. He also indicated his personal interest in understanding Unionist concerns. The attached letter and attachments to Mr Gore identify those concerns. Perhaps you will ensure that Mr Gore receives this letter at an early moment. Your own perusal of the subject matter would be appreciated. I have also proposed a democratic resolution to the concerns, which should be acceptable to both religious communities in Eire and N.Ireland, and the majority of Irish-American population. I doubt, however that it will be supported by the political and religious leaders of Irish 'unity'; or those who seek to unite Ireland through violent means. It would also be appreciated if you forward a copy of the communication to the US Foreign Affairs Committee.

Yours respectfully,



C. Mc Auley.

Copies. .HM Private Secretary.
.The Prime Minister.
.The Foreign Secretary.
.Sir Patrick Mayhew.
.Baroness Thatcher
.Mr Norman Lamont MP
.Mr Peter Robinson MP.

.The US Ambassador to the Republic of Ireland
.The US Ambassador to the United Kingdom.
.The UK Ambassador to the Republic of Ireland.
.The UK Ambassador to the USA.

16 Ascot Park
Newtownards
Northern Ireland
BT23 4AZ.

16 September 1994

The Vice President USA.
The White House. Washington DC
Dear Mr Gore,

NORTHERN IRELAND. (The Facts; The Fiction; and The Future.)

I noted your media broadcast support for Mr Reynolds and have reciprocated with a Protestant and Unionist viewpoint from N.Ireland, where I have resided by choice, for over 60 years, as do 99% of Ulster's Catholic population. We have all chosen to live in the UK rather than, apart from vacation visits, reside in the less favourable domain of 'Irish culture', the Irish Republic; Most 'of age' N.Ireland and Mainland based Irish Catholics also like to hold British passports, in addition to being able to obtain an Irish passport. My Protestant Reformed Faith religious affiliation is the basis, I believe, of true spiritual freedom, but has not gained me any State benefits or privileges that are not available to my Catholic countrymen. Equal opportunity is available for all who are prepared to work hard and practice good citizenship, as in any democratic country. I, like many Catholics and Protestants, had humble beginnings, one of 7 children, who survived the 'hungry thirties', and, in later years, achieved a management position through hard work, enthusiasm, and grasping opportunities. N.Ireland's educational system is also the best in the UK, open to all, with financial assistance if required; and, excluding terrorist activities, Ulster's crime rate is the lowest in Europe, and insignificant compared to many cities and States in the USA..

Ulster's law abiding Protestants and Catholics are not impressed by the Reynold's/Hume/Adams 'jubilation' over the claimed 'cessation of violence'; a phrase subtly devised by Mr Hume, to facilitate equating, as a 'legalising' Nationalist ploy, the actions of HM legitimate security forces with those of terrorism. Mr Reynolds also refers to 25 years of Republican terrorism as "the armed struggle" or "military operations"; and your public support for him indicates you have been misled by his unjustified credibility expressed for violent rebellion. **Your imminent invasion of Haiti to put down armed rebellion against a claimed democratically elected President magnifies the hypocrisy of the USA's conciliatory attitude and recognition of those guilty of similar behaviour in N.Ireland.** You also did not press for firm evidence of a 'permanent' end of Republican terrorism by insisting on the surrender of guns and 'cemtex'. For a true perspective of the 'cease-fire' might I refer you to the published comments of one of N.Ireland's most eminent lawyers, and that internationally respected Southern Irish man, Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien.

As a Southern Baptist, your comments display a disturbing rejection of of the apostle Paul's injunction to the citizen-saints of Rome, (Romans 13); **"Let every soul be subject unto the**

higher powers. The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. Rulers are the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye needs must be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake" For 25 years, as happened previously in Eire, there has been violent rebellion against the democratically elected '**powers ordained of God**' in N.Ireland, in accordance with the terms of the jointly agreed 1920 Ireland Act. It is pertinent to mention that the Eire Protestants did not seek to overthrow the government after the secession of the 26 counties. They accepted the establishment of a 26 county Republic and migrated rather than live in a country whose political and clerical leaders actively planned and effected the demise of the Puritan ethos and people. Fourteen Protestant TD's in the Eire Dail in the late 1920's are now reduced to one; 90% of Eire's Protestants have migrated; and the last Protestant ethos hospital in the Republic, the Adelaide, has just been 'amalgamated' and lost its unique identity and provision, particularly for women, as it was the only remaining Eire hospital free from Catholic ethos 'impositions'.

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Your remarks, though with good intent, are, in reality; as are Mr Reynolds; (who has gone off to stir up more anti-British support from Australia's 'separatist' Irish-Australian Prime Minister Keating), unjustified interference in the internal affairs of the UK, Would you not be angry and offended if foreign governments took it upon themselves to discuss and propose solutions to America's 'Racial' problems, or the political, economic, and social concerns, resulting from the expanding influx of Hispanics to Florida and California, from Cuba, Haiti and Mexico?. N.Ireland's place within the UK was affirmed, rather than established; by the 1920 internationally recognised Ireland Act, between the leaders of the Irish rebellion; the British government; and the representatives of HM subjects of N.Ireland. It is Eire which deceitfully signed the Act to expedite its Independence, then ignored its terms, and in 1937, Mr De Valera and Archbishop Mc Quoid replaced the 1920 Act with a new unilateral declared Eire Constitution, without consultation or approval of the representatives of the people of N.Ireland or G.Britain. The new Constitution included illegal claims to territorial jurisdiction over HM territory of N.Ireland. What would your reaction be if Spain or Mexico wrote into their Constitution territorial jurisdiction over California; or Canada claimed Alaska? Mr Reynolds is therefore to be condemned rather than commended for his government's illegal actions in discarding the 1920 Act and claiming HM territory.

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The people in N.Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, have voted frequently and consistently, by large majorities, to remain citizens of the UK, and over 3 million Eire citizens and offspring have also settled on the UK Mainland, indicating that a S.Irish population that equates almost to the total population of the Irish Republic of 3.5 million, have a preference for British democratic rule, social justice, and opportunity, unavailable in the country of their birth. The Irish Republic is democratically, economically, educationally and socially far behind Ulster. It continues to 'export' 30% of its Catholic population, and has also, by design, effected the migration and demise of 90% of its 1922 Protestant population of almost 800,000). It is not now, as in 1920, a plural society, but recognised internationally as a strong conservative 98%

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Catholic state. N.Ireland, in contrast, while maintaining a nominal (and diminishing) Protestant majority, (60:40) has not only maintained a plural society, but the Catholic population is increasing rapidly; unusual for any country noted for oppression of its minorities or social injustice, like Cuba, Haiti or Mexico, whose oppressed are risking death and exploitation as they flee for refuge, democracy, and opportunity in the USA. It is also significant that, in spite of alleged discrimination and social inequality in N.Ireland, the migration from the Irish Republic v N.Ireland is 5:1, yet the population ratio is only 2:1.

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British subjects of both communities benefit greatly from British economic investment, including financing of Church controlled educational establishments, which would not be permitted under US legislation. The standard of living and quality of life in Ulster is also superior to that of the Irish Republic, resulting in negligible migration of Protestant or Catholic populations of N.Ireland to Eire. Ulster's citizens are not pleading for USA 'green cards' and Morrison Visas, as do the disenchanted citizens of Eire; who are migrating, in tens of thousands, to what the Irish Republic's Dr Teeling describes as the entrepreneurial Puritan ethos democracies of the UK and USA. It is therefore most hypocritical for millions of Catholic US Irish-Americans, many of whom ungratefully describe themselves on St Patrick's Day as "Americans by birth and Irish by the grace of God"; also the S.Irish Catholic millions who have chosen Puritan democracy and improved the quality of their social and economic standing in the UK; to agitate and campaign to integrate Ulster with the 'failed entity' of the Irish Republic. If they are not courageous enough to express their devotion, confidence, and preference for 'Irish Catholic Democracy', by returning to the 26 counties, it is grossly impertinent to demand N.Ireland's 1.75 million Protestant and Catholic British citizens to join a 26 county Irish Republic; and disgracefully unjust, if three million S.Irish citizens would retain the privileges of British citizenship by remaining in G.Britain.

7

N.Ireland's Protestant and Catholic citizens are at a crisis point, as the trend to 'uniting Ireland' gains impetus through political terror, not the ballot box; particularly with the serious consequences of a united Ireland under the 1937 Irish Constitution; and government by the bishops of Maynooth, in conjunction with their submissive representatives in the Dail. Such an event will lead to, over the following 70 years, or less, a repeat of the migration of 90% of Ulster's Protestants, and 30% of its Catholic population; for identical reasons as caused it in Eire, viz; the expansion of the authority of the Catholic hierarchy and a 32 county Catholic majority. For current evidence of the unchanging and undesirable authoritarianism of the Catholic hierarchy I would refer you to the Leader of the London Times re the Cairo Conference.

8

It is not without significance that John Hume, an ardent 'separatist', trained for the priesthood at Maynooth, and is most supportive of hierarchical authority; whose bishops ordered Irish prime minister Costello to dismiss his Cabinet Minister of Health, Dr Noel Browne; because this noble gentleman sought to introduce improved health and welfare legislation for the Irish

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people, which did not have the approval of, and diminished the controlling authority of the hierarchy in Health and Social institutions.. **Mr Costello sacked Dr Browne on the premise that the Government could not oppose the authority of 'the Church'**. For details of this matter and other disturbing Maynooth activities that rightly create fears in Protestant and Catholic citizens of N.Ireland, I would courteously request that you read Dr Browne's biography, aptly named, **Against The Tide**.(1987).

It is topical to mention that the Catholic religious ethos ascendancy in Eire and endangering N.Ireland has already historically been effected in most countries of Europe and S.America, Minority religions which expand in majority Protestant countries do not experience the same privilege once the Catholic 'ascendancy' gains political and religious authority. They invariably diminish to a 'token' ineffective and 'submissive' minority, to provide an international picture of 'tolerance'. Britain had to protect its Protestant heritage by legislation, because of the unending efforts of European nations and monarchs to quench the spiritual liberties obtained from the Reformation. The Protestant succession to the British Monarchy and the Act of Settlement are also now being disputed and change advocated, by those who wish to effect the demise of the Protestant ethos or/and re-establish the deposed Stuart Line ascension to the British throne, whom the Vatican recognises as the 'legitimate' heirs. The Bull of Excommunication of Elizabeth I has never been revoked. //

Had the Spanish Armada conquered Britain, and the Gunpowder Plot been successful, or had King James defeated William at the Boyne, then Ireland would never have been divided, neither would it have been independent from the UK; but united under a continuing Catholic monarchy and Hierarchy, intent upon the demise, as in Ireland, of the Protestant faith and its adherents. In Canada there is currently increasing migration of the 'Anglo-fones' from Quebec due to the 'Separatist' activities of the French language and Catholic 'cultural' advocates, who wish to break the link with the British Monarchy, because of the historical Protestant (liberating and uniting) ethos. It was the 'Separatist' actions of Catholic Croatia, whose Independence was immediately recognised by the Vatican, and enforced upon the EC by its devoted servant Chancellor Kohl, which led to the civil war in Yugoslavia. //

The USA, which has protected its democracy from 'state religion' interference, is also now experiencing a planned 'creeping' religious and cultural change. The Anglo Saxon Puritan ethos is being eroded through the increasing influx and expansion of particularly, the Hispanic and Irish migrant populations and descendants. Their effective influence, as they gain political strength, is manifested clearly in what Alister Cook described in a recent broadcast letter, in which he referred to the power of the President's "Irish kitchen Cabinet"; orchestrating US policy via a president who was educated at a Jesuit run university. Their objective, I suggest, re N.Ireland, has less to do with 'liberating' the minority population, than to continue the objectives of the Counter Reformation programme of the Catholic hierarchy, and De Valera, viz; the establishment of another 98% Catholic country; Ireland.

It is the US Irish political and religious 'caucus' that is demanding the exodus of the British (Protestant) presence. **There is no parallel Irish-American programme to campaign for the return of the 14 Protestant TD's to the Irish parliament or the 700,000 Protestants to the 26 Counties.** The Irish parade that blocks Fifth Avenue on the 17 March does not show a **democratic** attitude to either Catholics and Protestants of N.Ireland, by displaying a second banner in addition to the only 'legal' banner; 'BRITS OUT OF IRELAND', which should read; 'WE WANT A USA CONSTITUTION FOR IRELAND', or 'WE WANT IRELAND TO BE THE US 52nd STATE', like Alaska or Hawaii. Such obvious democratic actions will not be suggested by the White House 'Irish Kitchen Cabinet', as the implementation of a USA Constitution in the Irish Republic or a in a united Ireland, would displace the authority and power of the Catholic Hierarchy. A USA Constitution prohibits interference by religious orders in State education, and institutions; and prohibits financial assistance to 'denominational' educational establishments; an essential for the survival of a church which does not encourage the exercise of 'Free Will' in matters of conscience, salvation, moral issues; or 'family planning'.

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As a Southern Baptist, and therefore a Reformed Faith adherent, you subscribe to the supreme authority of Holy Scripture being above that of edicts of men or prelates. You also fully value the vital importance to national and personal civil and religious liberty of the Apostle Paul's injunction to the Galatians. **"Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage"** (Galatians 5;1) You have, therefore, Mr Gore, in addition to political actions to 'appease' the 'Irish Caucus', a more important 'divine' accountability and responsibility to defend (and propagate) The Reformed Faith gospel; rather than support Catholic motivated actions which will lead to its further demise in Northern and Southern Ireland. The USA owes its origins and greatness, and democracy, through the faith and devotion, and propagation of the Holy Scriptures, brought by the Pilgrim Fathers and maintained by their descendants. Had a Mayflower 2 reached S. America, you may not have had the Hispanic 'invasion' of the southern states of the USA. A US writer has recently suggested a WASP solution to the problem.

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You have also an important historic responsibility to maintain an independent British Ulster in the event of future international conflict, because of Eire's treacherous 'neutrality' in W.War 2. N.Ireland warmly welcomed the US forces assembling for D Day, while De Valera strenuously opposed this essential decision. In the USA there was extensive public campaign by Irish-Americans to prevent the US coming into the 1939/45 war to assist G.Britain and N.Ireland. Another major debt of gratitude is owed by the USA to the Puritan Scots-Irish from N.Ireland, who supplied 25% of its presidents; famous generals and political reformers; and the founder of the US Presbyterian church. Unlike the S.Irish the Scots/Irish became 'full' (rather than what Mr Roosevelt referred to disparagingly as 'hyphenated') Americans. They forgot about Ireland; which, for both communities who migrated from North and South; was unable to provide them with a prosperous future. The present Irish-Americans appear more active in seeking additional visas to get Eire citizens into America than encouraging them to

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stay in or 'return home' to Eire. Perhaps they have a 'hidden agenda' to maximise the voting strength of the Catholic Irish-American population, to further their political and 'cultural' power objectives, not only in the UK, but also the USA!! If De Valera could unilaterally replace the 1920 Ireland Act when Eire gained political independence, and Irish 'roots' Paul Keating is intent on changing the Australian Constitution; and the Quebec 'separatists' replace the Canadian Constitution; all with Puritan ethos principles of democracy; you should be concerned about the danger to the US Constitution from Irish-American activists. Their response to my undernoted proposal to adopt the USA Constitution for the Republic of Ireland will be an indicator as to their true loyalty to the Constitution.

In conclusion Mr Gore, might I request you to test the sincerity of Mr Reynolds and the Eire government (including Maynooth), in seeking a democratic solution to the 'Irish problem' created by the Irish Republic; by requesting them to scrap the illegal 1937 Constitution and implement, in the Republic of Ireland, the Constitution of the greatest democracy in the world, the USA; with no 'Amendments'. This will ensure civil and religious liberty for all; give no favours to any religious denomination; and create Dr Teeling's entrepreneurial society, which will stop the Irish migration and hasten the return of the 'exiles' from the US and UK. We can be confident that the 40 million Irish-American citizens of the USA would not object to their great USA democracy being made available to their 3.5 million kin in S.Ireland. At a later date, when US democracy has been **seen** to have been implemented in Eire, discussions could be opened with the people of N.Ireland, to determine their democratic response to joining a United Ireland under a USA type Constitution.

This proposal should also be put formally to the US Irish-American caucus. If they reject it then it will confirm a 'hidden agenda'; to promote the objectives of the Catholic hierarchy, (rather than the welfare of the Catholic people); and to ignore the democratic rights and genuine fears of Ulster's Protestants and Catholics. It will also confirm their support for what Mr De Valera proposed to the US Foreign Minister to Eire, David Gray, in 1943. viz; the establishment of a 32 County Irish Catholic State through his "exchange of populations" programme; i.e. The return of Exiled Irish Catholics in exchange for the expulsion of Ulster's Protestants. (ref T Ryle Dwyer's book; De Valera. (p273) A negative response from the Irish-American caucus will also confirm that they, at heart, do not fully support, for America, the democratic merits and values of the civil and religious liberties expressed in the US Constitution; particularly in the strict separation of Church and State in the political, educational, and social institutions of the nation.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF FREEDOM.

Yours most respectfully,

Mr) C. Mc Auley.

ATTACHMENTS TO LETTER TO THE US SECRETARY OF STATE

(From Mr C. Mc Auley. Newtownards. N.Ireland 9 March 95)

- A. Summary of the 12 US (WASP) Presidents whose ancestors came from N.Ireland.**
- B. Summary of 45 US generals and other famous founders of the United States. from N.Ireland. (43 were WASPS).**
- C Copy of the published account of Count Plunkett's visit to the Vatican to declare the Irish Republic's devotion to the Holy See and 'the interests of (*the Catholic*) religion'; and to receive a Papal Apostolic Benediction on the Rebellion.**
- D. Copy of recent Irish Times column expressing concern ref the "*less than transparent utterances*" of the church Hierarchy in Eire which N.Ireland Protestants will have to live with if the harmonisation programme of the Framework Document is implemented.**
- E. President Robinson's expressed concern for the effect of the Framework Document's erosion of the Protestant and British identity.**
- F. The Irish Republic identified as one of the Poor Four countries of the EU; which RECEIVED 2.4 billion ecus in 1992. The UK CONTRIBUTED 3 billion ecus.**

For the numerical identified attachments please refer to the attachments to letter to Vice President Gore September 1994.

GENEALOGISTS have not yet closed the file on the Presidents from Ulster and it is possible that **Monroe, Truman, Eisenhower, and even more recent incumbents of the Presidency, may one day find a place on this distinguished roll.**

Scores of other names of famous Ulstermen who helped build the New World still have a special resonance today. The list is long. There were at least 25 Revolutionary generals, including **Henry Knox** and, at sea, there were men like **Johnston Blakely**, scourge of the British Navy in the 1812 war. But the early colonists were men of many parts. Soldiers were frequently also statesmen, and a frontiersman could be a soldier, a statesman and a man of letters too, often in that order but sometimes all three at once. There were no 'specialists' in those days, and most of the men listed here had more than one string to their bow.

There were political leaders like **James Logan**, who emigrated from Lurgan in 1699 and helped found Pennsylvania (he was also a distinguished scholar and scientist), **Arthur Dobbs**, Governor of North Carolina, who encouraged emigration from Ulster to that State, **Thomas Nelson**, Governor of Virginia and a signatory of the Declaration of Independence, **David Holmes**, first Governor of Mississippi, and **John Calhoun** who fought a rearguard action to uphold the declining power of the South. And there were judges like **Thomas Knox Gordon**, the last royal Lord Chief Justice of South Carolina.

There were the bankers like **Thomas W Lamont** of J P Morgan, **William Knox** who founded the Central Bank of Alabama, **Alexander Brown**, the Ballymena linen merchant who became a Baltimore millionaire—and **Patterson and Oliver**, another two big merchant names in early 19th-century Baltimore. Merchant princes like the **Stewarts** in New York were Ulstermen and so were the **Armours** in Chicago, **Andrew McNally** of Rand McNally, and the three young men from Newry, County Down, who founded the famous Chicago store of **Carson, Pirie and Scott**—not forgetting **Timothy Eaton** from Ballymena, County Antrim, who built Eaton's Stores in Toronto.

The Nevada millionaire, **James Fair**, was a County Tyrone man, and **John Burnside**, the Louisiana sugar planter, came from Belfast. **Samuel Sloane** from Lisburn developed the Lackawanna Railroad; **Frederick Stanton**, the Natchez cotton king, was an Ulsterman and so was **J Paul Getty**. The **Barbour** brothers of Barbour



Gen. James Shields
1806-79



Stephen Foster
songwriter 1826-64



Arthur Dobbs
state governor 1689-1765

Mills, Paterson, New Jersey, mixed textiles and politics, and the town itself is named after **William Paterson** who was born in County Antrim in 1745.

There were engineers like **Cyrus Hall McCormick**, **Harry Ferguson**, the tractor inventor, and **Robert M Dalzell** who designed modern grain elevators when he wasn't building mills. There were doctors like **Ephraim McDowell** who pioneered surgical gynaecology.

There were men of letters like the Orientalist **Charles Johnston** who also edited the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, writers like **Mayne Reid** who wrote some of the earliest children's books and a score of novels about the



Gen. Sam Houston
1793-1863



Horace Greeley
newsman 1811-72



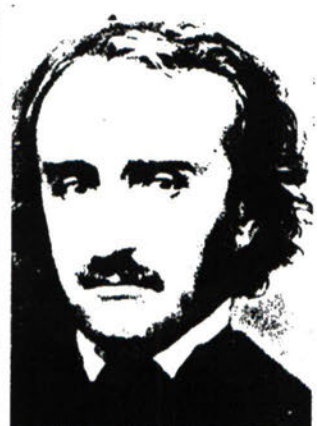
John Dunlap
printer 1747-1812

Wild West, **David Ramsay** who produced a history of the American Revolution, **Frances Hutcheson** from Armagh who wrote about the right to resist tyranny, **Samuel McClure** who pioneered the newspaper syndicate service, and **William Gilmore Simms**—the greatest writer produced by the South before the Civil War. **James Adair**, best known as a frontiersman, wrote a history of the American Indians, published in 1775.

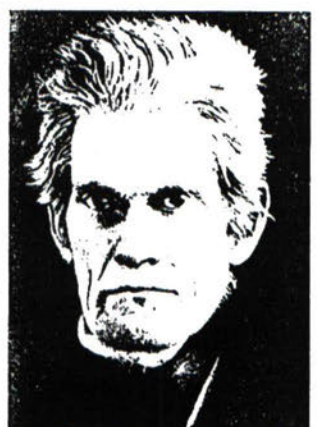
There were the educators like **Thomas Hunter** from Ardglass, County Down, who founded Hunter College, New York—the first free women's college to give degrees, and **Moses Waddel** who



Gen. Stonewall Jackson
1824-63



Edgar Allan Poe
writer 1809-49



John Calhoun
Southerner 1782-1850

founded the famous academy at Willington; Moses's son, **John Waddel**, founded the University of Mississippi. The parents of the mathematician and classical scholar, **John McClintock**, who was also a theologian, emigrated to Philadelphia around 1800.

There were the outstanding men of religion like **Francis Makemie** who founded the American Presbyterian Church, and **John Rodgers**, first Moderator of the first General Assembly, **Cardinal McCloskey**—the first American Cardinal, and **John Joseph Hughes**, the first Catholic Archbishop of New York, who built St Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue.

COUNT PLUNKETT MAKES MOVING DISCLOSURE

In Two-Hour Audience His Holiness Told of Plans for the Rising

TO-DAY, thanks to George Noble Count Plunkett, THE IRISH PRESS is able to make one of the most stirring disclosures ever given to the Irish people.

It is that when the Easter Week Rising was decided upon, the Executive of the Irish Volunteers, acting as the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, sent the Count as Envoy to the Pope—then Benedict XV.

The Count revealed to His Holiness the plans of the leaders of the Insurrection, and the Pope was deeply moved when told that the date had been fixed. Count Plunkett pledged the Irish Republic to fidelity to the Holy See and the interests of religion. Thereupon His Holiness, says Count Plunkett, in his statement published below, "conferred His Apostolic Benediction on the men who were facing death for Ireland's liberty."



COUNT PLUNKETT.

In 1920 Count Plunkett returned to Rome for the beatification of Oliver Plunkett, as Envoy of the Government of the Republic of Ireland. He was welcomed by Benedict XV, not only as a kinsman of the martyr, but as the Representative of the Irish Republic.

This historic disclosure coincides with the meeting to-day between the Irish leader—one of those on whom Benedict's blessing was conferred in Easter Week, and Benedict's successor, Pius XI.

BENEDICTION FOR VOLUNTEERS

THE following is the full statement sent to us by Count Plunkett:— THE EDITOR.

The Irish Press

"I have heard that it is denied that I went to Rome immediately before the Rising in 1916 to communicate with His Holiness Pope Benedict XV. I had no desire to publish information that, at the time, was not intended for the Press; but now I must disclose certain facts in the interests of truth.

"About three weeks before the Rising, I was, through my son Joseph, commissioned by the Executive of the Irish Volunteers (the Provisional Government), to act as their Envoy on the Continent. One task given me I need not particularise here. When it was carried out, I went on to Rome, according to my instructions.

"There I was received in private audience by His Holiness; for nigh two hours we discussed fully the question of the coming struggle for Irish Independence. The Pope was much moved when I disclosed the fact that the date for the Rising was fixed and the reasons for that decision. Finally, I stated that the Volunteer Executive

pledged the Irish Republic to fidelity to the Holy See and the interests of religion. Then the Pope conferred His Apostolic Benediction on the men who were facing death for Ireland's liberty.

"Mr. John MacNeill will remember that he signed the commission given to this (unnamed) Republican Envoy to Rome. Some members of the Irish College in Rome will not have forgotten my visit there in 1916. On my return to Rome, in 1920, the same Pope congratulated me on representing the Republican Cabinet, when the Republic was functioning, as well as the Martyr's family on the occasion of the beatification of Oliver Plunkett.

"Back in Dublin on Good Friday, 1910, I sent in my report of the results of my mission, to the Provisional Government. In the General Post Office, when the fight began, I saw again the portion of that paper relating to my audience with His Holiness in 1916.

"G. N. COUNT PLUNKETT.
"Ascension Thursday,
1933."

President Robinson expresses her concern about 'genuine fears' of unionists in North

From Joe Carroll,
in Osaka

SPEAKING on the last day of her State visit to Japan, the President, Mrs Robinson, has expressed concern about the "genuine fears" of unionists in Northern Ireland that the Framework Document could be seen to "undermine" their sense of identity.

"The fear of the ground shifting, the fear of a takeover, is undermining a sense of identity. If somebody tried to undermine our sense of identity, if somebody said to us that Ireland should join the Commonwealth tomorrow, think of the ripples of fear that that would produce," the President said here.

In an interview with *The Irish Times* in the Presidential suite on the 27th floor of the Royal Hotel, in Osaka, she remarked on how Japanese media were especially interested in events in Ireland and the publication of the Framework Document during her visit.

Mrs Robinson said that, if she were in Ireland, she would be conscious that it was a "particularly sensitive issue" and "I would be very slow to comment" on it.

"But outside Ireland, when you are paying a State visit on behalf of your country, you can't not comment in an appropriate way and I gave a lot of thought to finding the appropriate language to do it."

When it was a question of issues which have the "potential to be politically divisive within Ireland or in relation to North-South relations, it's all the more important to be very thoughtful — it's all you can do."

"I have no difficulty in answering for the importance of the Framework Document and I am encouraged to do that as a further step in the process."

Asked by this correspondent about the comparison with the time of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, when as a senator she resigned from the Labour Party in protest against the non-consultation of unionists, she replied: "This is a very different situation — both my own situation and the way the Framework Document has evolved. I'd hate to have to explain the differences to a foreign journalist."

Asked what were her feelings about the Framework Document in the light of

her reservations about the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the President replied: "I would not answer that as somebody who can bring to it their own political judgment on a document of that kind. I don't mean that in any sense other than it is a Framework Document put forward by the two governments. What I think my past record shows is a real sensitivity towards the fears and anxieties and the need to listen and work through that sense of how the ground may be shifting."

Making it clear that she was speaking about the fears of unionists that "the ground may be shifting", she went on: "I retain that sensitivity and I have no hesitation in using appropriate occasions to express that sensitivity but the document and the whole work that has gone into it over a period of two years is a process that has deeply involved successive governments and I as President, externally and internally, support the work of successive Irish governments in that sense."

When it was pointed out to her that the unionists seemed to be having the same attitude of distrust to the Framework Document as to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the President said that she

was not going "to be drawn into a political context".

But she hoped that she could "remain in close contact in a much more informal way with those who are outside the political process but very politically aware — the community groups, church leaders and various others."

Speaking with great emphasis, the President went on: "We have to build trust. We have to listen to, understand and respect, respect the fears. When fears are as genuine and deeply-rooted as that, if we don't respect them, we have not understood."

President Robinson said that to dismiss such fears "means there has not been a genuine understanding. That is not to say that all fears are justified. Fears are very much a matter of mental attitude and can only be overcome by building up trust. But not to take fears seriously is disrespectful, in my view."

The President recalled her address to the Houses of the Oireachtas recently on the theme of "Cherishing the Irish Diaspora". She explained: "I tried to open up an avenue of thought about our sense of Irishness and how it can be all the stronger if it can embrace those on the

island for whom their own sense of personal identity is more British than Irish."

The President then went on to emphasise the fears of unionists when she said: "The fear is very genuine. The fear of the ground shifting, the fear of a takeover, is undermining a sense of identity. If someone tried to undermine our sense of identity, if somebody said to us Ireland should join the Commonwealth tomorrow, think of the ripples of fear that would produce... if someone said we should join a unit with Britain tomorrow."

When this correspondent suggested that people in the Republic could have a similar fear if Article 2 of the Constitution were to be removed, the President said emphatically: "Yes, that is the case. There is a genuine fear. It is not easy."

Asked how she had found the attitude of her Japanese hosts to the Northern Ireland situation, the President said: "I think there is a genuine feeling that if this particular thorny issue could be resolved, that would be very important in a European context. They see it as a

blight on peaceful relations in the European Union and therefore it would be very positive if it were to be resolved."

"I have noted that it is part of their understanding of modern Ireland that they don't see the island of Ireland as a separate unit, full stop. They very much see Ireland as a partner in the EU."

The President said that for the Japanese the EU is "the real economic unit in our part of the world that they relate to in a very conscious way and they are aware that Ireland is an enthusiastic member."

"In that context, the Northern Ireland conflict has been hard to understand as a religious and other sort of civil war going on. I am sure that it has deterred Japanese visitors from Ireland and that the opposite will be the effect if the peace is consolidated."

Speaking of her nine-day visit overall, President said that it had "worked well" as a visit where she had tried to balance showing genuine interest in Japanese culture with promoting trade and investment. For Japan, the cultural side was extremely important.

fires opening shots in battle of EC budget

Jacques Delors begins his fight to find them unhappy to continue subsidising Mediterranean countries, **the Brock** writes from Strasbourg

Community's make or break signs which the

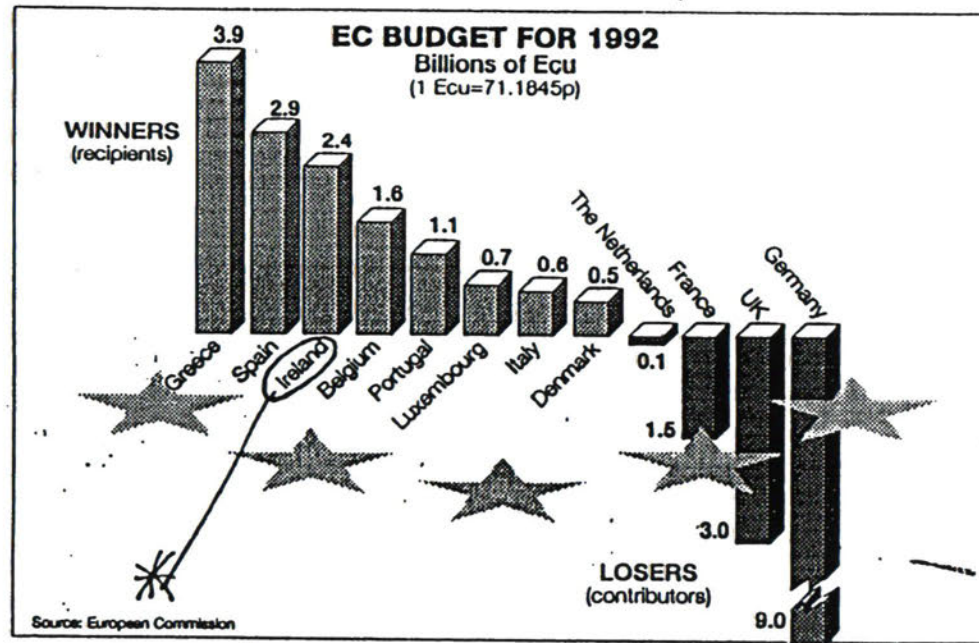
nts lay out in ch as the Maas- economic and which was for- fast week. European Act of ten and agreed The budget substance took bruising sum- Margaret That- ss request for er money para- munity for sev- he 1980s. With budget to run ar until 1997, ins, M Delors' alled the BBQ irish Question)

he arguments and forth on the ost no real facts m down. The has suggested dget and done calculations on plex revenue- les will need to

be adjusted for the EC to break even. National governments started work on the backs of envelopes and on computer models yesterday. EC leaders will wrangle at their summer summit at Lisbon and perhaps settle the bottom lines at the Christmas summit in Edinburgh.

Who gains and loses will be altered by such imponderables as the outcome of the beleaguered Gatt world trade talks, how quickly or slowly Europe's economies grow, and how many rich Scandinavian states join the EC before 1997. Assumptions and figures will change from now until at least year's end.

The Commission suggests that EC spending will grow by 6 per cent a year for the next five years. The British rebate will be unpopular with more countries this year because several rich northern countries besides Britain and Germany may well become permanent net payers to the EC budget.



signed in abnormal circumstances," Henning Christopherson, the finance commissioner, said this week. "It was the only country other than Germany with a deficit. If France, Italy, Denmark and Holland will now have deficits too, the philosophical reason for this concession will cease to exist."

That jealous aside gives a vivid flavour of the kind of campaign that is likely to be waged against Britain's bud-

get deal this summer. But the argument is weak and unlikely to win. Mrs Thatcher's fight was against the lopsided system of farm subsidy which was designed before Britain entered the Community and biased against it. As Tristan Garel-Jones, a Foreign Office minister, was quick to point out here yesterday, the rebate can only be changed by a unanimous decision of all 12 EC governments. A Labour

would fight for "our money" at least as hard as the Tories. "No new sources of revenue should be discussed at this stage," Glyn Ford, Labour's European parliament leader, said yesterday. Not even Mr Garel-Jones went that far.

In 1992 the British rebate is worth about £1.4 billion, bringing the government's payments to Brussels down from £3.5 billion to £2.1 billion. The rebate is very likely



Delors: a numbers man to his fingertips

of agreeing a more tightly coordinated foreign policy, bigger subsidies for Portugal, Greece, Spain and Ireland, and reform of the already horribly expensive common agricultural policy.

But governments retain a wide discretion to cut costs. Straining to meet the harsh requirements of convergence towards monetary union at the end of the century and battered by recession, they may not feel so ready in future to spoonfeed Mediterranean economies and uneconomic farmers as they have been in the past.

● Paris: M Delors would be the strongest Socialist candidate in a French presidential poll, but Jacques Chirac, the conservative mayor of Paris, would beat him, according to a poll yesterday.

The BVA market research company sketched four possible scenarios for second-round run-offs in presidential elections scheduled for 1995. It showed M Delors, whose Brussels role has saved him from being tainted by a series of domestic scandals involving the Socialist party, would win a run-off against Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the centre-right leader. (Reuters)

RITE AND REASON A Humpty Dumpty approach to language

IRISH
Times
25/2/95

Some Catholic Church leaders have been less than transparent in their public utterances, writes Patsy McGarry

IT WAS a scornful Humpty Dumpty who told Alice, in *Through the Looking Glass*, "when I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less." "The question is, who is to be master — that's all."

Writing to *The Irish Times* on January 21st, Father Kevin Hegarty, the former editor of the Catholic Church's *Intercom* magazine, referred to Humpty Dumpty's remark. He was insisting he had been removed from his post with the magazine, while the church authorities insisted he had not. The clash prompted Father Hegarty to conclude "words only mean what we want them to mean".

Many church leaders seem to have adopted this Humpty Dumpty approach to language. For instance, Cardinal Cahal Daly, in a *Sunday Independent* interview published on New Year's Day, took exception to the use of the word "power" where church structures are concerned.

"The system we do have is a good system of decentralisation of authority — I don't like the word power," he said.

Nor does he like the word "control" where church involvement in education is concerned. He prefers "democracy". "I don't see it as control," he said. "I see it as responsibility and service to a community which in its great majority prefers to choose Catholic schools. That is an exercise in democracy."

When questioned on the church's stance during various referendums, he insisted: "We have never asked that church legislation should be embodied in civil legislation." Yet, discussing divorce, he agreed what he was saying could be read as a recommendation to vote against any constitutional change on the issue. "If that be so, so be it," he said.

Then there was the case of Father Marcel Van de Ven, Abbot General of the Norbertine Order, of which the jailed paedophile priest, Brendan Smyth, is a member. Towards the end of October, Father Van de Ven met Cardinal Daly in Rome. On Sunday October 23rd, Father Van de Ven told *The Irish Times* he had not met Cardinal Daly. He said: "I did not speak to him [Cardinal Daly] on the phone. I never spoke to him. Perhaps they know that I have been trying to contact him. I will try again this evening." He had tried to contact Dr Daly "three times in the last few days", but the cardinal was "busy at the synod".

Later that same day Father Van de Ven changed his mind. Contacted by *The Irish Times* again, he confirmed that he had indeed met Cardinal Daly, at the Irish College in Rome, on the previous Wednesday. He explained his *volte face* as follows: "According to the protocol of the church, I should not say anything before the cardinal. The cardinal has the first word. It was not a lie from my side, but I wanted to know if the cardinal had spoken to you already. I spoke to him on the phone this evening again, and I asked him, 'Is it known that we met?' and he said, 'Yes, it is known'. I hope you do not consider that as a lie, but I wanted to be sure that the cardinal had spoken to the press."

As it transpired, not only had Father Van de Ven met Cardinal Daly the previous Wednesday, but he had also spoken to him by phone on Saturday, October 22nd, the day before his conversations with *The Irish Times*.

THEN there has been the manner in which church spokesmen have handled Bishop Jeremiah Newman's treatment for illness. Dr Newman went to the US last July. According to church spokesmen at the time, the bishop had "back trouble" and his whereabouts in the US were unknown. On November 27th, the *Sunday Independent* quoted two unnamed bishops as saying Dr Newman was being treated for alcoholism. One said: "Please God he can be cured because it (drink) was killing him."

In the same newspaper, Professor Ronan Fanning of UCD said: "That Bishop Newman was an alcoholic had been an open secret in political and journalistic circles, and not just in Limerick, for years." The Catholic Press and Information Office, however, continued to insist on Dr Newman's "back trouble" and that his whereabouts in the US were unknown.

Yet on December 29th, it was reported that Dr Newman had been visited at his US clinic by his two diocesan vicars general. On the following day, December 30th, the Bishop of Achonry and the Hierarchy's spokesman, Dr Thomas Flynn, was quoted in *The Irish Times* as saying that Dr Newman "had been suffering from back pain". About eight years before, he explained, Dr Newman had hurt his shoulder in a bathroom fall on a visit to Africa and had never fully recovered. Asked whether this complaint "had been compounded by an alcohol problem and if this had been one of the reasons for him going to the US", Dr Flynn replied that the bishop had gone there for "a whole complex of reasons". The Catholic Press and Information Office still insists it is unaware of the nature of Dr Newman's illness.

Speculation on the use of a word in an episcopal statement led to a near falling out between one bishop and the Bank of Ireland last summer.

Following an article in the *Big Issues* magazine last June, a Northern bishop wrote to the Bank of Ireland in Derry threatening the removal of diocesan accounts. The Bank of Ireland is a major sponsor of the magazine.

The article questioned the use of the word "organised" in a statement by the auxiliary Bishop of Derry, Dr Francis Lagan. Rejecting claims that local priests had done nothing about child sex abuse complaints, Dr Lagan said he had never been made aware of "organised child sex abuse" in the city. The *Big Issues* speculated whether the bishop's wording "might be a cute way of avoiding admitting that he had been told about sex abuse ... but hadn't realised it was of an 'organised' sort".

Church leaders might do well to contemplate what became of Humpty Dumpty.

Patsy McGarry is a freelance journalist.

ATTACHMENTS TO LETTER TO VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE.
(from Mr C. Mc Auley. Belfast. September 1994.)

SUMMARY.

- Att. 1. Irish Times column on Eire's poverty and emigration.**
- Att. 2. Stay British letter from N.Ireland Catholic.**
- Att. 3. IRA 'Cease Fire' Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien's 'TIMES' column.**
- Att. 4. Historical and current evidence of Anti Protestant attitudes in Eire.**
- Att. 5. US visas and bishops' concern over Ireland's high emigration; (highest from Eire); five times that of N.Ireland.**
- Att. 6. Statistics on N.Ireland's higher investment in essential Quality of Life factors compared to Eire.**
- Att. 7. Dr Teeling's criticism of Church for extinguishing 'Entrepreneurial' ethos in Eire.**
- Att. 8. TIMES Leader on continued objectionable authoritarianism of Papacy.**
- Att. 9. Intransigence of John Hume, by Irish History Professor John Murphy.**
- Att. 10. John Hume; influenced by Maynooth; by Paddy Devlin ex S DLP.**
- Att. 11. King James imposition of Catholicism upon the United Kingdom, which led to the call to Prince William of Orange and the Battle of the Boyne; and the need for Constitutional protection of the liberating Puritan ethos; in Throne and Church; to protect civil and religious liberties for all.**
- Att. 12. 17 March; 'Catholic Religious Demonstration', ref. Cardinal O'Connor.**
- Att. 13. WASP solution to detrimental effects on USA from emigration.**
- Att. 14. Comments on Eire and Ulster by USA Minister to Eire, David Gray.**
- Att. 15. The 1920 Ireland Act. Some of the 'Agreed' Clauses lost through Eire's illegal unilateral declared 1937 Constitution.**

'No realistic hope of new US immigration laws' says Heckler

THE US Ambassador to Ireland, Mrs Margaret Heckler, said yesterday that there was no realistic hope that the US Congress would pass any legislation in the near future which would take into account the problems of illegal Irish immigrants in the US.

Speaking at the opening of the Patrick MacGill Summer School at Glenties, Co Donegal, she also warned against emigrants from Ireland entering the US illegally. "I must say bluntly that it is foolhardy for anyone to consider illegal entrance into the United States, particularly in light of the punitive sanctions enacted in the 1986 Immigration Act," she said.

Mrs Heckler said that she had met Senators and former colleagues in the House of Representatives to discuss the prospects for two immigration reform Bills which may allow more Irish immigrants into the US. The House Bill provided for a continuation of the Donnelly visa programme, projecting and additional 50,000 such visas over the next five years.

While these visas are open to people of all nationalities, the experience was that because of the strong interest in emigration from Ireland, the Irish took up 40 per cent of the places allocated under the Donnelly scheme.

Mrs Heckler also said that the BIRD (Bi-national Industrial Research and Development) programme between Ireland and the US should be agreed on by negotiators from both countries within the next few weeks.

"The BIRD has already flown once — and gloriously — between the United States and Israel and we want it replicated in other countries," Mrs Heckler said. The programme will involve linkages between US and Irish companies and Mrs Heckler said that an important prerequisite to the success of the venture was that no political pressure should be allowed in the selection of companies for inclusion in the programme.

SUMMER SCHOOLS

● SEAMUS MARTIN reports on the opening day of the annual Patrick MacGill Summer School, which has as its theme "Emigration, Employment and Enterprise."

Speaking on the themes of emigration, employment and enterprise, the Rev Bob Gilmore, of the Irish Chaplaincy in Britain, said that emigration from Ireland was "not an act of God."

"It is not the lot of Irish to be the migrant workers of the world. Emigrants do not return to stimulate an economy with their skills. 'Big Mac' economies do not need skilled people," he said. Emigration, he said, was caused by lack of development in the Irish economy.

"The characteristics of an underdeveloped economy are high levels of unemployment, high levels of debt, emigration, hopelessness, poverty and excessive wealth in the hands of a few." In this context Fr Gilmore said that it was ironic that in 1988 we witnessed the opening of the first Rolls Royce agency in Ireland.

Irish migration was not a case of bright young graduates leaving Ireland to do well in their careers. In the US today the pattern of employment of the young Irish illegals was similar to those of the last century: 54 per cent of the women were engaged in child care or care of the elderly, 28 per cent were waitresses, 14 per cent worked in offices and 77 per cent of the men worked in the construction industry.

According to a survey conducted in 1985 by the Action Group for Irish Youth in London, four out of five of the emigrants to Britain came from cities, suburbs or towns, with 42 per cent of the total coming from the Dublin area.

Fr Gilmore called on the Government to set up a commission to monitor migration at source. He also called for constitutional recognition of Irish emigrants, as at any one time in the past

century more than a third of the Irish population had lived abroad. Net emigration would continue, he said, at an average of 30,000 per year for the next decade, and in the year 2011 it would still be running at 18,000 per annum.

Senator John A. Murphy said that Irish people tended to be ambivalent about emigration, because it helped to make a ramshackle but pleasant society viable for some of us and it removed potential agents of trouble. Emigration was, he said, a national humiliation and the greatest indictment of independent Statehood. "It exposes the hollowness of our claim to control our own destinies."

It was a particular irony of Irish history, Senator Murphy said, that under a "native Government trumpeting the virtues of economic nationalism, hundreds of thousands of young Irish men and women from the 1930s to the 1950s should have had to seek a living in the despised land of the erstwhile oppressor.

"De Valera's golden phrase, 'No longer shall our children, like our cattle, be brought up for export', perished almost as soon as it was uttered," he said.

Mr Brendan Walsh, of the Department of Political Economy at University College, Dublin, told the school that there were compelling reasons for expecting that the rate of emigration would in fact remain high. Among the most important of these were demographic pressures which included: the fact that the potential increase in the population of working age will be high for some years to come; the migratory networks set up abroad by Irish residents to support emigrants; the fact that Irish economic growth had not tended to be very employment-intensive; and low after-tax income.

Even though there was a case to be made that emigration might drop considerably in the near future, he felt that it was reasonable to assume that a significant net outflow of population would continue for some years to come. Emigration was part of the price our families and our friends paid for our relative poverty, our locational disadvantages and our past mistakes of economic policy.

'Catholics should say no'

WE listen to Sinn Fein saying that the time has not yet arrived to make a decision about the Declaration, when they have not the slightest intention of doing that.

The British Government, Mr Major and Sir Patrick Mayhew, the DUP, UUP, SDLP and Alliance parties should form a structure of government for the civilised people of Northern Ireland and forget about Adams, McGuinness and their few supporters who don't want peace.

If a structure of assembly or government was formed there

would be no room for Sinn Fein because the people they represent only want chaos and destruction.

The SDLP, who are supposed to represent the nationalists, but I am one of a large number of Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland they don't represent. That is because I don't believe in a united Ireland. I say without fear that any decent, law-abiding RCs would regret that.

They might as well jump into the Atlantic, as join with Reynolds, Spring etc. I say to law-abiding RCs, stick by your Protestant neighbours, the exemplary RUC and Army, in a province where you have a livelihood and your bread and butter, rather than join with a Government unable to support itself, never mind six more counties.

Wake up Catholics of Ulster. Stick to what you have got. Say no to a united Ireland, with a firm voice.

ULSTER IS BRITISH,
Belfast.

'Government should stop confusing progress towards peace with progress on nationalist agenda'

Major must thwart IRA secret plot for civil war

THE IRA ceasefire — for that is all it is — seems likely to be quite protracted. It will certainly continue into November, bar the odd incident such as the IRA armed outbreak at Whitewater Prison.

It will continue as long as the British continue to make concessions to the general nationalist agenda and to specific IRA demands such as the opening of border roads and the ending of security patrols in nationalist areas. Once the British Government runs out of concessions, the days of the ceasefire will be numbered.

There is a widespread illusion that the IRA has turned its back on violence for good because experience and the persuasive power of Gerry Adams have convinced them that violence is futile. If that is so, why does the IRA hang on to its weaponry? Why indeed does the Irish Republican Army remain in existence at all?

The IRA's political objectives remain what they always were: "Brits out", followed by a united Ireland. What does the IRA hope to gain during the ceasefire period in the way of "peace dividends" — that is,

To suppose that the IRA has turned its back on violence is a dangerous illusion, argues Conor Cruise O'Brien. He urges the Prime Minister to defy the Dublin-Washington axis

in movement toward its objectives?

It hopes to gain seven things: a prestigious and politically advantageous association with the Clinton Administration; a stranglehold over the Dublin government; concessions from the British Government under pressure from Clinton; destabilisation of Northern Ireland by "peaceful demonstrations"; provocation of the Protestant paramilitaries; collision between the Protestant paramilitaries and the British Army and, as a result, British withdrawal.

Let us look at these seven things in turn. First, the American dimension. In their repeated meetings with Bruce Morrison, who is known to be close to President Clinton, the Sinn Fein leaders learnt that the President was anxious to

get an IRA ceasefire so that he could claim to have achieved peace in Ireland. That would help the beleaguered Democratic candidates in the mid-term November elections.

And what would Sinn Fein get out of it? An unrestricted US visa for Gerry Adams for starters, with the propaganda bonanza that would open up for Sinn Fein's

agenda

version of the peace process. As well as that, presidential commitment to that version and presidential pressure on the British to supply further concessions to the nationalist agenda.

Then the Dublin dimension. We are authoritatively assured that no secret deal was done. Of course not. There are no such things as secret deals. But there are confidential understandings established through trusted intermedia-

ries. In this case, the confidential understanding was that if the IRA would only announce some kind of ceasefire, the Dublin government would immediately declare that it was equivalent to the permanent cessation of violence required by the Downing Street declaration. Sinn Fein would be (and has been) immediately admitted to the Taoiseach's forum for reconciliation, with the bonus that Sinn Fein's participation would shut the Unionists out (and does so).

At the London end, dividends are more meagre. Sir Patrick Mayhew has indicated that the new "framework for peace" expected next month will include "cross-border institutions with executive powers". But Unionists won't work cross-border institutions and the Government is unlikely to try to work them with nationalists only. Britain will not, voluntarily, provide concessions of the magnitude required by the IRA unless the IRA can prove that Northern Ireland is ungovernable without them.

That is what the remaining four out of the seven "dividends" are all about. As the dividends are almost entirely



Adams, Reynolds and John Hume: is John Major being squeezed out of the picture?

in the future, I refer the reader to the "possible chronology" on this page, which is of course a schedule of disaster. Yet the worst possibilities — British withdrawal and civil war — can still be averted. The first thing necessary is to dissipate an intellectual confusion. *The Government must stop confusing progress towards peace with progress down the nationalist agenda.*

It ought to be self-evident that the two kinds of progress are in contradiction. At the end of a nationalist agenda is a united Ireland. The Unionist

majority in Northern Ireland refuses to be incorporated in a united Ireland; that has been the *raison d'être* of Unionism for more than 100 years. If a united Ireland is to come, it will have to be imposed on Unionists by force. So progress down the nationalist agenda is progress towards civil war.

The Unionists have assurances from both Dublin and London that there will be no constitutional change without their consent. John Major seems puzzled that these assurances somehow fail to reas-

sure. He ought not to be puzzled. Large political changes drastically affecting the Unionist position have already been made without Unionist consent. The same is true, and even more blatantly, of the "cross-border institutions with executive powers". Nobody supposes that such institutions have any serious contribution towards peace. Dublin wants them as a symbol of progress towards a united Ireland.

Some of the kinds of development sketched in my possible chronology are probably

unavoidable by now. But something can be done even now to avert the ultimate disaster: fighting between Loyalist paramilitaries and British troops followed by British withdrawal and civil war.

To avert that the Unionist community needs to be convinced, and soon, that it is not about to be sold down the river. That can be accomplished by a single, simple declaration from the Prime Minister as follows:

That the people of Northern Ireland will be consulted about any arrangements affecting them in any future agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the government of the Republic of Ireland, if a majority of the members of Parliament representing constituencies in Northern Ireland requests such consultation.

That would do the trick as far as the majority of the population of Northern Ireland is concerned. It would dry up support for the Loyalist paramilitaries. For the IRA it would be a serious setback to its programme of destabilisation.

Dublin, of course, would protest loudly. Washington would no doubt wish to follow suit. But I suspect that a British Government which was seen to stand up to the Dublin-Washington axis would gain rather than lose in the esteem of the British public.

Talks countdown, page 1

Chronology to take Ulster towards bloodbath and British withdrawal



Clinton: Adams reception?

Conor Cruise O'Brien writes: I fear that a chronology along these lines is now probable rather than just possible.

September-October 1994: Increasing friction between security forces and nationalist population in Northern Ireland. Patrolling of Nationalist areas ends. October: Loyalists, angered by cessation of patrolling, attack Catholics. Sinn Fein urges nationalists not to retaliate. "Breakaway" groups do retaliate. Unionists declare refusal to work cross-border institutions. British Government acquiesces. Trium-

phal success of Gerry Adams tour of United States. Clinton receives Adams at White House.

November 1994: Adams calls on British Government to declare intention to withdraw from Northern Ireland and to set date. British Government rejects demands. "Spontaneous" nationalist demonstrations break out demanding withdrawal.

December: Street fighting on a large scale between Catholics and Protestants. Loyalist paramilitaries kill Catholics. IRA officially holds to "complete cessation of military operations" and earns

great international kudos. "Breakaway" groups do retaliate. The Nationalist street demonstrations escalate. By Christmas, business life of Belfast brought to a standstill.

January 1995: IRA announces that unless British Government stops Loyalist attacks on Catholics by January 15 it will reluctantly be compelled to resume military operations by January 31. Albert Reynolds, John Hume and Adams issue joint statement calling on British Government to resist "men of violence", all from Loyalist side.

February: IRA ceasefire now officially at an end. Under American pressure, British Government orders search of Unionist areas for arms and explosives. Loyalist paramilitaries fire on British troops. IRA resumes attacks on troops.

March: Prime Minister tells Commons Britain's presence in Northern Ireland can no longer serve any useful purpose since it rejected by virtually entire population of Northern Ireland. Withdrawal of troops will begin immediately and be completed by April 30.

March-April: Full hostilities be-

tween IRA and Loyalist paramilitaries result in heavy casualties in both communities. Catholics move out of Protestant-dominated areas and Protestants out of Catholic areas. Ethnic cleansing by both sets of paramilitaries. Refugee population of half a million. Fatal casualties of perhaps 10,000. Unionists declare independence. Nationalists declare united Ireland.

May-June: On completion of British departure, troops of Republic cross border and occupy Catholic majority area. Civil war ends in stalemate with smaller but entire-

ly Protestant Northern Ireland. July-August: Government of Republic discredited by failure to protect Catholics or to attain unity of Ireland. Group of army officers places government under arrest, announces provisional government and continuance of armed struggle against Britain and "puppet state" Northern Ireland.

December 1995: Explosions in London, Birmingham, Manchester and Portsmouth. IRA acknowledges responsibility. Relations between Dublin and London broken off but resumed under American pressure.

BELFAST TELEGRAPH BT

11/8/92

ust 1, 1992

CHURCH Page

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Does the South really care about Protestants?

ON MAY 12 1922 the recently-elected Archbishop of Dublin, J A F Gregg, led a small deputation, representing the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, to meet Michael Collins and W T Cosgrave, leaders of the new provisional government of the Irish Free State.

Officially their meeting was to "ask advice as to the best way in which the fears of the people of the Church of Ireland could be allayed" and to assure the new administration that they were in support of law and order.

It was not a superfluous initiative. Only a fortnight before, eight Protestants in the village of Dunmanway in West Cork, had been taken from their homes and shot dead.

Permitted

When the deputation had its meeting with Collins and Cosgrave, the agenda, in fact, was much more frank than the official statement suggested. For what they asked the new Free State's leadership was whether the people of the Church were to be permitted to live in Ireland; if it was desired that they should leave the country.

As a direct result, Kevin O'Higgins (who, like Collins, was to die shortly afterwards at Republican hands) made a speech in the Dail assuring the Protestants that they were "part and parcel of the nation and we wish them to take their share of its responsibilities."

Gregg's Synod colleagues

BY OUR RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

caution. It was a time when every one of the coastguard stations were burned merely because they were manned by British officials.

Deputation

Just three weeks after Gregg's deputation had met Collins and Cosgrave, the aged and much regarded Dean of Leighlin in Co Carlow, John Finlay, seeking to play the peace-maker, entertained to dinner in his home a party of Sinn Fein officers.

A few days later, allegedly to test his political sympathies, he was trapped into similarly receiving another party disguised in British uniforms. For this he was dragged from his home by his guests later the same evening, June 12 and done to death on his front lawn.

The next day a bomb was thrown outside the offices of the Church of Ireland on St Stephen's Green in Dublin. Country houses of well-to-do Protestants were systematically gutted. Arrangements were made to receive refugees in England.

At this point you are entitled to inquire — so what? Do not we all know that the Free State was born in blood? It may well be so. But it is also true that, in a real sense, Gregg's question of May 12, 1922 still stands. Does the South really care whether its Protestant remnant survives?

Connection

In the 1920s with the

seemed inevitable. The Church of Ireland, it is true, had done well out of Disestablishment in 1869. The Roman Catholic hierarchy had pressed for it. So had the free Churches in England; and it is as well that they did.

For, just before the first of the Land Acts took effect, transferring large holdings in lots to the tenantry, it was a richly-endowed Church which had to be compensated. As a result, within 15 years of the break, it had amassed a capital fund of £6.5m — a vast sum in the 1880s.

But in 1922 everything seemed at risk. In the election a year later, though, 14 Protestants were returned to a Dail of 153 seats, a fair representation in the circumstances. But by the 1940s the 14 had shrunk to four; by 1977, to two; and now there is only one.

Well-behaved

The Protestants are now a mere remnant. They say little — as Protestants. In fact they are embarrassingly well-behaved. Their Catholic fellow-citizens say that this is because they are so fairly treated. The more cynical incline to the view that they know which side their bread is buttered.

But from time to time they do make a stand, as at present — when there is an issue of principle at stake. Just now it is the survival of the services provided by the last remaining teaching hospital south of the border under independent

gone, to be closed or merged. The Adelaide, so the plan goes, is also to be merged — in a new, much larger institution proposed for the west Dublin suburb of Tallaght. Assurances have been given that the Adelaide's ethos will be preserved.

This is a coded way of saying that the services (almost) uniquely provided by the Adelaide, such as sterilisation for women, would continue. Negotiations have been going on for two years. Nothing has emerged.

Conclusions

The outcome of the affair is important, north and south. From it Protestants on this side of the border will draw their own conclusions as to how seriously they should regard the renewed aspirations within the Republic towards a more liberal society, ie, one taking account of the convictions of citizens other than those who are practising Roman Catholics.

Speculation has it that a bitter battle is going on behind the scenes within Mr Reynolds' government between ministers conscious of the pledge that has been given and others being put under extreme pressure from conservatives who would not wish to have the Adelaide's ethos predominating in the new hospital.

It is a prime example of the sort of issue which will have to fall within the ambit of any new British-Irish agreement. There is a view on the issue up here all

IRISH TIMES 12 JAN 1990

US visas issued to 10,000 last year

IRISH applicants received more than 10,000 US immigrant visas during the 12 months ending last September 30th. Over 9,000 were issued from Dublin, making the US Embassy in Ireland the largest US immigrant visa operation in Europe, according to figures announced by the embassy yesterday.

The vast majority of the visas, almost 9,000, were issued under the Donnelly (NP-5) visa programme, with almost 300 Irish-born applicants receiving Donnelly visas elsewhere in the world. Thus, Irish applicants received more than 60 per cent of the 15,000 Donnelly visas issued worldwide in the 1989 fiscal year.

The 1989 total of visas issued in Dublin is nearly triple the 1988 figure of just over 3,000, while in 1986, less than 900 immigrant visas were issued. Although citizens from 36 countries were eligible to apply, Ireland has been the major beneficiary of the Donnelly programme.

The embassy has also issued 49 visas under a second special immigrant programme, which began in October last. Another 231 have been notified that they are eligible to participate and a further 308 Irish participants are on a reserve list.

Bishops 'shattered' by emigration figure

THE Catholic bishops in the Republic said yesterday that they were "completely shattered" at the rate of emigration and warned that the figure of 46,000 released by the Central Statistics Office for Emigration was net — the real total was over 60,000.

The Bishop of Galway, Dr. Eamon Casey, the bishop's spokesperson on emigration, said he was concerned about the "great sense of complacency" in the Republic towards emigration and criticised the government's handling of the

— By —
Mary Carolan

issue.

"We thought that the government were doing something about the situation, but the facts show that they are not," Dr. Casey said, demanding immediate support for the voluntary emigrant advice centres and changes in economic policy to keep people at home.

"We are renegeing on our people. If they have to go, the least we owe them is to provide facilities and information that will equip them properly," he said.

Fr. John Gavin, secretary of the Church's Commission on Emigrants, told The Irish News that the figures issued by the CSO were only the tip of the iceberg.

"The real figure for first-time leavers would be around 60,000," Fr. Gavin said, "and that excludes people leaving the North, whom we estimate to be in the region of 12,500 each year, making a total from the country of over 72,000 people."

Those emigrating now came from all sorts of backgrounds, he said. "Over 10 per cent of those seeking accommodation in our hostel in London, Conway House, would be Northern Protestants, and as our hostel is a

Catholic one, they must be fairly desperate."

The emigration figures drew attacks on the government yesterday from all quarters.

"Fundamental tax and social welfare reform is the only way to transform the unemployment picture and thus emigration," said Jim Mitchell of Fine Gael, who claimed that emigration was being ignored because emigrants were denied the vote and saved the exchequer more than IRC300m each year in unemployment, housing, health and education costs.

For Labour, Mervyn Taylor said there was clear evidence that the Programme for National Recovery had been "built on the back of the misery of young people forced to leave their country and their families behind."

But the Republic's Minister for Justice, Ray Burke, stoutly defended his government's record. Mr Burke predicted that emigration would fall and said that the government hoped to provide opportunities "for people who want to work at home."

The country had hit a peak, he said. The figures were disappointing and distressing, the highest since 1958, but there had been "a dramatic change in the economy" and things would improve.



KEENAN
DAY 1,239

* MIGRATION RATIO SOUTH/NORTH. 5:1

Visa programme to favour Irish living in US

By Brian Rohan,
In New York

THE United States' long-awaited Irish visa programme is set to begin in June on a first-come, first-served basis, and it is likely to favour Irish people who are already living in the United States rather than those who are still in Ireland, it was announced yesterday. The programme, named the "Morrison" programme after US Congressman Bruce Morrison, will secure at least 48,000 visas for applicants from the Irish Republic over the next three years, at a rate of 16,000 a year. However, Irish applicants already in the United States will probably have an advantage in getting the

Morrison visas, not only because of the strong community efforts there but also because applications will only be accepted through the mail, and on a first-come, first-served basis.

As it was done in the 1987 "Donnelly visa" programme, the US State Department will be announcing an application period sometime in June, in which all applications must be sent to a Post Office Box in Washington DC. This period would most likely be no longer than a couple of weeks, and any applications which are postmarked before or after the eligible dates will not be considered.

For an aspiring applicant currently living in Ireland, the

lengthy mailing period to the US would be a disadvantage, but that disadvantage can be sidestepped if an arrangement was made by a friend in the US in the applicant's name.

It was also announced that multiple applications would be allowed, and that notification of interviews for the visas, which would eventually lead to the coveted green cards being sent out by late summer. There will be no fee for applying. In addition to the 48,000 visas for the Irish Republic, the Morrison programme will set aside 72,000 visas for 36 other countries, including the United Kingdom. Applicants from Northern Ireland are eligible to compete for the UK visas.

US visas 'cannot be guaranteed'

THE US embassy in Dublin made it clear yesterday that Irish people seeking visas to work in America under the new Morrison immigration programme can register themselves without difficulty.

It was not necessary to use an attorney, travel agent or other third party, it said. Any third party offering to help could not guarantee successful registration.

Formal regulations for the programme will be ready in about a month. The Immigration Act of 1990 will guarantee a minimum of 48,000 visas for Irish people over three years beginning October 1991. There will be three annual mail-in draws.

The embassy said that letters of registration submitted to the Washington DC address must be accompanied by a written offer of employment for one year from a person or business in the United States.

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JOHN SIMPSON

Opinion

North-south comparisons

comparisons and contrasts, north and south.

Almost inevitably, a north/south comparison focuses on the different degrees of autonomy when one area, the north, is a region of a larger state with only limited local decision making within the fiscal and monetary policies of the United Kingdom, and the other, the south, has the degree of discretion which comes with being an independent state, even if it is circumscribed by the implications of EU membership and the implications of international market forces as they affect interest rates and monetary policy.

Perhaps the surprise is that so many of the main economic trends north and south show that, despite 25 years of the troubles, the overall divergences in economic performance have not been large. However, some of the components of change have diverged sharply. In manufacturing industry, output in the south has doubled in a period when it has, at best, been static in total in the north.

The opposite trends can be found in the scale and impact of Government spending. As illustrated by the public sector employment figures, the north has enjoyed a higher level of public spending over the last 30 years, or more, and this spending has increased faster in the north over the past two decades, thus widening the gap.

This comment is probably being read at the same time as details of the new UK Budget are being absorbed. One of the critical elements is the permitted level of public spending in the north.

Whatever the changes, the principles of parity and the acceptance that Government spending in the north does not need to be matched by local taxes or local borrowing, mean that public sector spending will still be considerably higher than in the south.

Economists from the south have a close interest in this feature. In part, it is a genuine cause of economic differences, north south. In part, it leads to a discussion of the effects of dependence on the financial transfers from the UK Exchequer: is this subvention so large

that it adversely affects economic incentives in the private sector?

In part, it raises the question in a north south comparison of what would happen if the transfers were radically reduced, although the causation of such a reduction is not always outlined. Moving closer to the politics of the transfers, such arithmetic feeds a debate about the economic consequences of the north no longer being supported at all by the United Kingdom Exchequer.

The scale of, and the differences in, public spending levels north south are quite significant. The NIERC paper calculates that, excluding the costs of law and order, and debt interest on borrowed money, government spending in the south was, in 1990, only 74pc of the levels in the north.

More detailed figures for particular areas of government spending were analysed for 1991. On the basis of spending in pounds per head of the population, some of the big differences were:

	North	South
Social security	1319	829
Health	731	445
Education	735	375
Housing	160	88
Industry, etc	300	203

Only in agriculture (which is misleading because this sector is proportionately more important in the south) and transport did the figures for the south come close to those for the north.

Professor Bob Rowthorn, University of Cambridge, produced a novel idea from his conclusions about the state of the economy in the north. Put very briefly, he pointed out that the large public sector in the north was providing a large number of jobs, paid on the same salary scales as in England which, for the better paid public servants (and he included University professors in this group), actually created a significantly higher standard of living for them in Northern Ireland.

Since he believes one of the main social and economic issues is the need to



■ KENNETH CLARKE: Would he concede degree of regional discretion?

alleviate the problems of the long-term unemployed, then Professor Rowthorn asked why there should not be a local (extra) tax on the better paid who are enjoying higher living standards in the north, to finance schemes to offer special work for the long-term unemployed.

Would such a scheme get support from the local community? And would Kenneth Clarke be prepared to see a degree of regional discretion?

Fair employment: the other forces at work

By OUR CORRESPONDENT

THE HEAD of one of the Republic's most successful clothing manufacturing companies declared not long ago that he was convinced that the Irish tended to be poor businessmen because the vast majority of them were Roman Catholics.

He had two key qualifications for making this potentially explosive statement. He is a Catholic himself and he is also an expert who has made a wide study of business at home and abroad.

Dr. John J. Teeling, chairman of the Glen Abbey Group and lecturer in business administration at University College, Dublin, said that the Republic could produce artists, runners and doctors, but—apart from rare exceptions—no entrepreneurs.

He claimed that the most successful businessmen tended to come from outside the 26 counties.

Enterprise

He sought an explanation in what he called the strong anti-materialism of Roman Catholicism. He said it had played a major role in extinguishing Irish entrepreneurship. Catholicism, he said, had a number of anti-business philosophies.

On the other hand, Protestantism had a work ethic reflected in the fact that Catholic countries tended to have a lower level of development than their surrounding Protestant neighbours.

In Ireland, of course, the Catholic natives were dis-

criminated against for centuries by a ruling class from outside. The result, as Dr. Teeling allowed, was to drive the most enterprising abroad. Now the Irish in America had the highest per capita income of any ethnic group.

Appetite

But that does not demolish his salient argument. I quote it because historically I agree with it. I quote it also because our legislators who are seeking to make us good by act of parliament—in particular by applying a mixture of mathematical and religious tests to the labour force, of every commercial concern—should be aware that there are other forces at work other than the merely sectarian.

The fact that the engineering industry of Northern Ireland is dominated by Protestants has comparatively little to do with the twelfth of July, but it has a great deal to do with the fact that they are Protestants. The greatest weakness of the professional proponents of what is termed fair employment is their failure to show even the most marginal understanding of this absolutely fundamental strand of local history.

Industry, particularly the engineering industry in Northern Ireland, is dominated by Protestants because it is overwhelmingly their creation. Virtually all

of it they brought here from outside Ireland. It began with the French Protestant refugees who fled from the persecution of Louis XIV.

The linen industry they established soon created an appetite for mechanisation. Scots engineers, eyeing this new market a mere 20 miles across the narrows off the Mull of Kintyre, soon began to cater for it. And so the Huguenots acquired new partners in the Presbyterians.

Among the Scots was the original James Mackie who came over to set up flax-spinning machinery in Drogheda. He was offered a job as manager in what was to become the Albert Foundry in Belfast. He did well, but cannily declined the offer of a partnership soon afterwards.

He had come to the conclusion that all was not well with the company. When it failed, as an employee he could not be held liable for the debts. In 1858 he took it over and started up on his own account.

Daunting

Samuel Davidson went out to Assam about the same time to seek his fortune in the tea industry armed only with a purse from his father containing 20 gold sovereigns. He did not think much of the way they dried the tea, so he patented a new machine. By 1890 the company, by set up back

home in Belfast to make it, was supplying three-quarters of the world market.

A matter of weeks ago his old company was taken over again—by a new generation of Scots engineers.

Edward Harland came from Yorkshire, his financier, Gustav Wolff, from Hamburg, with their successors later collaborating with Short Brothers from Kent. And so on. The Irish Catholics had been pouring into Belfast, fleeing in desperation from the disastrous famine in the west, from the early 1850s. But by that time the Protestant citizens of Belfast already had their industrial bandwagon moving rapidly into top gear.

They had developed the habit of employing their own kind—largely because there were comparatively few Catholics within the city and partly because the Protestants understood each other and what they were about. It is what Dr. Teeling calls the Protestant work ethic.

Its results in Belfast may have created daunting problems which we must now seek to alleviate. But let's not kid ourselves that these are solely the results of the sectarian rowdies on the fringe who tend to give the Orange festival in July a threatening face.

For good—or ill—it runs much more deeply than that. If the operators of the new code are to have anything to show for their labours, they would be well advised to take a browse through the business history of north-east Ulster.

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THE POPE'S DIVISIONS

The Catholic cause has been damaged in Cairo this week

The Vatican has suffered a painful lesson in its political limitations over the past few days. At the International Conference on Population and Development it stands accused of extreme self-partiality and a total want of consideration of others. As a traditionalist institution, it should be aware that such failings have often been punished in international affairs. The Pope's emissaries have succeeded in transforming a conference with broad and urgent aims into a sterile colloquy on abortion. The Vatican has brought itself no good by this.

Much of the attention in Cairo — in public as well as in private — is now focused on the trajectory and objectives of Vatican diplomacy. Sharp questions have already begun to be asked: what is the Vatican's precise place at conferences of this nature, the aims of which are to mould new policy in such domestic spheres as education, employment and healthcare? Is it appropriate for the representatives of a religious institution, albeit one that enjoys international personality, to be accorded such high profile at a gathering of nation states? And conversely, if the Catholic religion is present, why not the whole gamut of the world's faiths?

The depth of feeling apparent in the rejection by the majority of the Vatican's methods at Cairo suggests that there may well be a reassessment of the Vatican's international role. Baroness Chalker, Britain's Minister of Overseas Development, has been trenchant in her criticism of the position taken by Mgr Renato Martino, the Pope's representative. Even Iran, with which the Vatican sought to make shameless common cause, has accepted its responsibility to deal with overpopulation.

Often, in its long mercurial history, the diplomacy of the Vatican have been in open

conflict with secular international interests. But this is perhaps the first occasion on which the Vatican has been in opposition to such a monolith of shared belief. Since the end of the papacy's efforts to control Europe through clout and clients, its diplomacy has concentrated on the strengthening of its ties with local churches and the advancement of peace. The diplomacy of states, however, is calibrated only by national interest; and where there is a powerful coincidence in the perception of national interest, or where the interests of a single state are thought to be inseparable from the interest of the sum of states, a wall of reason is erected which cannot easily be breached.

The Vatican, in attempting to breach this wall, may be committing an historic error. It has come to Cairo as the standard-bearer of an ethical system, claiming to provide a framework of moral norms which all other nations ought to accept and within which their domestic policies ought to operate. This incursion into the internal affairs of states is a product of the Vatican's historical discomfort with the concept of the nation-state, dating back to the Peace of Westphalia. The evolution of the law and identity of nations was influenced irreversibly by that Peace of 1648, which was vilified memorably by Pope Innocent X as "null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane and empty of meaning for all time".

Since the Peace weakened the authority of the Vatican's universal dominion, such anguish was inevitable. There lurks the ghost of Westphalia in Mgr Martino's dogged stand in Cairo: yet like Pope Innocent X before him, Pope John Paul II cannot resist the tenacity of purpose of the nation-state. There is still time for the Vatican to recognise its own limitations.

IN the aftermath of the disclosure of the Duisburg talks, more and more people in the Republic are asking if there is an intransigence in the SDLP which is yet another obstacle to peace in Northern Ireland.



In this major contribution to the debate, JOHN A. MURPHY writes: "The really startling question is whether the reasoning of the SDLP leader himself on the national question is not flawed in a number of respects and out of tune with changing realities."

At the Fianna Fail Ad-Fheis this weekend, there will be the customary and cosmetic rhetoric about completing the party's first national aim, "the political independence of a united Ireland as a Republic."

At last year's gathering, a highly regarded party member declared (with reference to reconciliation gestures after Enniskillen) that they would have no truck with the "poppy." At a ritual graveside commemoration not so long ago, another party stalwart condemned my partitionist views, and roundly asserted that "the people of Ireland" would never relinquish their rightful claim to national unity.

This windy nationalist posturing is now more than ever out of touch with reality. When these people hear John Hume (whom they much admire) saying "our attitude to the future is paralysed by our obsession with the past", do they ever think that his remarks apply to them as much as to the Unionists and the IRA?

But the really startling question is whether the reasoning of the SDLP leader himself on the national question is not flawed in a number of respects and out of tune with changing realities.

In the last month or so John Hume has made full use of an unusual series of media opportunities to explain his policies at length to the people of the Republic. As a committed European, he is given to arguing that the divided people of the North should take a leaf out of the remarkable book of Franco-German reconciliation.

If, so goes the reasoning, these two great nations after centuries of animosity can now walk hand in hand (a famous Mitterrand-Kohl symbolic gesture) why cannot the troubled North emulate their example?

I find the analogy entirely unconvincing, since the French and Germans can live in peace territorially apart and sepa-



Hume rule?

and that the concept of partition *per se* is unnatural and immoral.

Unionists could appeal to history and geography to argue with equal plausibility that the British Isles form a natural archipelago, and that Irish nationalists are unreasonable in not wanting to discuss how to share this archipelago with the great majority of its inhabitants!

John Hume's second large assumption is that "the rest of the people of the island" (other than the Unionists) comprise a homogeneous nationalist community sharing the same culture and the same objectives.

This ignores the fact that the people whom he and Gerry Adams represent, i.e. the Northern Nationalists, have been shaped by quite different historical forces (especially since Partition) from those which influenced the "Southern" nationalists who are now the citizens of the Republic.

In speaking for his own people, John Hume is mistaken in thinking that he also speaks for us here.

Today, there is no real community of interests, no real temperamental or cultural affinity, between Northern Nationalist and Twenty-Six County citizen. The Southern perception of fellow-Catholics north of the Border is different only in degree from the Southern perception of the Unionists.

A very common Southern view now is that, irrespective of religion or allegiance, the Northern species is different and difficult, if not ungovernable. Allied to that is the feeling that fundamentally the Humes and the Mallons have much more in common with the Molyneuxs and the Magennis (Ken as well as — perhaps more than! — Martin) than they have with politicians and people south of the Dundalk-Sligo line.

This brings me to what I consider the fundamental flaw in Hume's approach — his reluctance to consider the problem in Northern Ireland terms, and his refusal to admit that the "piece of earth" which is the heart of the problem is the North itself.

What Unionists and Nationalists really have to decide is how to share the North together, and how to live there cheek by jowl. After all, all the Unionists ask from the "rest of the island" is that they be left alone by us. They do not want to share Cork or Galway, nor do we hanker after Portadown.

While appearing to woo the Unionists, Hume has also to watch his ass (in the vulgar but graphic American phrase) where Sinn Féin is concerned.

Thus it is that this most sophisticated and cosmopolitan of Irish (and of European) politicians feels forced to employ parochial strategies to buttress constitutional nationalism against erosion by Sinn Féin. Hence his difficulty in assenting to any suspensionist move in relation to the

about the North — from bafflement to exasperation to a longing to be shut of it all — but there is little sign of an eager aspiration to unity.

Now comes a *Sunday Life* survey in Northern Ireland whose findings will surprise nobody but the politicians.

Seventy-one per cent of respondents want the North to remain part of the United Kingdom. 57% of Catholics favour this option, with the North having its own power-sharing assembly, and 73% of Protestants also support devolution. 63% overall were in favour of the Duisburg talks (including 84% of Alliance and SDLP followers, 83% of Sinn Féin, 55% of Official Unionists and 49% of the DUP).

So the electoral sky didn't fall when the Duisburg story broke, despite the politicians' fears. But what really comes through loud and clear is the passionate longing of the people in the North for more political dialogue and some kind of consensus, within the constitutional status quo.

The findings also seem to confirm the views of that most perceptive and honest of Northern observers/participants, Fr. Denis Faul, who has repeatedly said that if Catholics get justice and fair play in all departments they won't worry too much about the constitutional position.

If the miracle of consensus could happen in the North, would there not be an enthusiastic response in the Republic, and a readiness to withdraw the offensive territorial claim?

An all-Ireland political arrangement is not necessarily a good thing in itself. It emerges as the outcome of a long process of peaceful relations, well and good. But it may well prove neither necessary nor desirable in an Ireland at peace.

These are the realities of the national question behind the tired old shibboleth of a united Ireland, the Taoiseach's hypocritical gesture of invitation to the Unionists, and John Hume's sophisticated but flawed analysis.

● John A. Murphy is Professor of Irish History at U.C.C.

"Today, there is no real community of interests, no real temperamental or cultural affinity, between Northern Nationalist and Twenty-Six County citizen."

rate, in their respective sovereign states, whereas warring Unionist and Nationalist are destined to share inextricably the same narrow ground, and so must seek their salvation with infinitely greater difficulty and in a fundamentally different manner.

Moreover, the optimistic predictions about the general beneficial effects of the EEC on the essential Northern problem have never been fulfilled.

Perhaps the point that Hume makes most often is the need to work out an accommodation whereby "the relationship between the Unionist people and the rest of the people on this island" may be decided.

The nub of the problem, according to him, is that the Unionists have never faced up to the question of how they are to "share this island," this "piece of earth" with the other inhabitants of Ireland. (This is an oblique way of postulating the inevitability and the correctness of a united, or at least, a federal Ireland and it implicitly depicts the Unionists as unreasonable for not accepting this.)

Hume has used the "sharing this island" concept so often that it is now being earnestly parroted by our own politicians. I heard Gerry Collins, the Minister for Justice, using it the other day in the Seanad.

In the first place, this idea accepts a basic nationalist myth — that the island of Ireland is a natural, if not divinely ordained, political entity in its own right.

"A very common Southern view now is that, irrespective of religion or allegiance, the Northern species is different and difficult, if not ungovernable."

workings of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, though many people in the South would understand the desperate Unionist need to save face with their own followers.

Hume's offer to negotiate outside the Agreement is disingenuous, since that would still expose the Unionists to the charge of abjectly dropping their anti-Agreement stance.

Meanwhile, what do the peoples of Ireland really want and when will they be allowed to express themselves? Short of referenda or single-issue elections, we have to rely on the cumulative evidence of polls North and South.

These suggest that plain people everywhere in Ireland accept neither threadbare rhetoric about unity nor Unionist not-an-inchery nor yet the sophisticated arguments of Mr. Hume.

Numerous Southern polls have plumbed a wide range of popular feeling

JOHN HUME was a one time student for the priesthood and former school teacher. He had come to initial prominence through setting up the Credit Union movement in Ireland, a beneficial savings and saving system for all communities, which enabled them to by-pass the stranglehold-like grip of the mainstream banking system and the moneylenders.

John was a deeply complex man and probably the most intellectually able among us. His mind could grasp the strategic elements of each issue, and he could write up the material in precise language.

From the outset of our relationship I had misgivings about him and doubted the strength of his loyalty to us as a group. He had a tendency to satisfy the most powerful and influential people among those we encountered and go off into his huddles with these pacers and opinion-formers.

Editors of important newspapers and TV programmes were those most regularly engaged with these special findings, which laid the foundation-stones for his later reputation as a political visionary and fixer extraordinaire.

For John, nothing ever stood still. He was always moving, pushing for change, usually on a constitutional position. Nationalists in particular and Protestants in general never seemed to trust him in those early days and indeed still don't. He only wanted to work in a system when it was going wrong. As our cohesion developed he led our group away from Stormont on several occasions.

I allowed myself to be dragged into these boycotts and walk-outs, sometimes reluctantly, for reasons of unity, but deep down I harboured doubts because I believed that outside parliament there is no place for a democrat.

THAT'S the posture that gunmen thrive on, interpreting it as a mandate, and in the descent into chaos that was enveloping us at that time I calculated it was dangerous posture.

It showed me that, despite its apparent radicalism, Hume was cast from the stuff that old nationalists were made of. That appears to me still to be his greatest weakness and although it is by far the best nationalist politician since Wee Joe Devlin, his potential has been blighted by this defect.

I was tipped off about activities of John Hume which threatened to undermine the principles on which I thought any new party must be constructed.

What I had learned from a friendly Catholic lawyer was that John Hume had been at a weekend meeting in Donegal designed to form a political party. I found this very surprising, because Hume was heavily involved in the talks the civil rights grouping were having with a view to a broad-based party.

What surprised me most was that none of our group were invited to come to the meeting, or were even informed of it, which, we heard later, had been attended by middle-class Catholics, mainly from Derry. I could smell that the Knights of Columbanus were probably involved.

WE were angry with Hume, for it was not the first time we had felt he was pursuing his own agenda.

In the June election he had supported the nomination of Eddie McAteer, the leader of the Nationalist Party, against the nomination of Claude Wilton for the Derry seat at Westminster.

We believed that McAteer had no chance but that Wilton had. He was a popular figure in Derry, completely non-sectarian and generously liberal in outlook, and respected by all sides. He was likely to get the Catholic vote and many Protestant votes, just the sort of cross-community support we were aiming to attract as the political bedrock of our new party.

The more I thought about it the more I saw Hume's action that weekend as divisive.

In such a party he would have been the undisputed leader, whereas Gerry Fitt, as the most experienced and senior politician among us, with a seat at Westminster, was the obvious leader of our intended party.

I was, of course, completely hostile to the church dabbling in party-making and politics anyway. After all, it was their misguided meddling which had enabled the Provos to get started, and I was highly critical of how elements of the church and priesthood, over the years, had played a conservative, anti-socialist role, supporting the status quo and opposing any attempt at a radical rethink or restructuring of society.

Poorly thought-out and irrelevant sermons delivered from Sunday pulpits signally



Speaking out: John Hume, Gerry Fitt, Austin Currie and Paddy Devlin in 1975.

BY PADDY DEVLIN (FORMER LSD)

failed to address the issues of equality or morality that mattered to ordinary people. There was no reference to the issue of deprivation, the lack of jobs, poor housing, extortionate mortgage rates, excessive rents or the wave of violence, robbery, social security fiddling and corruption that the Provos ultimately unleashed.

Austin Currie must have received the same word from the Donegal meeting as I did, for we independently issued separate statements that Monday morning, saying that we were forming a new political party immediately and that Gerry Fitt would be leader of it.

As events turned out, we were quite right to protect the momentum of our initiative and head off any alternative plan by Hume, for we soon learned that he had also met the National Democratic Party and members of the Nationalist Party, with a view to getting them to join his own political party.

Gerry Fitt and I were conscious that Hume and his Derry group portrayed us as difficult socialist politicians, and used us as ogres to influence voters against our stances on political issues. Hume's efforts were easily defused after Austin Currie, Ivan Cooper and Paddy O'Hanlon all sided with me and Gerry.

It always seemed to me that Hume's work in trying to get a party established was influenced by Cardinal Conway who, though he was broad-minded in many ways, was deeply conservative, and recognised the need for something more effective to replace the demoralised nationalists but safer and more predictable than the sort of radical agenda we envisaged.

Hume had undoubtedly developed a big reputation in church circles, building the Credit Union throughout Ireland, something the Knights of Columbanus had simultaneously claimed credit for. He was also a leading member of the Derry Catholic middle class and must have seen 'revolutionaries' from black Belfast, like Gerry and me, as some sort of potential plague.

It is interesting to look back and see how these flawed strands, pragmatically built into the structure of the new party at the time, ultimately buckled and led to our departure.

AT that time Hume quickly realised that we had pre-empted him, abandoned his moves and immersed himself in the ongoing situation.

The full creed for the new party had still not been finalised and meetings went on behind closed doors for another period until a full statement of the aims and objectives of the organisation could be agreed.

One of the thorniest issues was just what the name of the new party should be. Currie and Hume felt it should be called the Social and Democratic Party, but Fitt and I held out for the word 'Labour' to be included. As far as we were concerned, this was vital, for, apart from our commitment to socialism, the description was necessary to attract voters in Belfast, where nationalist issues had taken second place to social ones since 1942.

I further pointed out that the word 'Labour' should come after 'Democratic' rather than before 'Social' to prevent us from being called the LSD Party — I knew what the punters and our future political enemies could do with that variation.

James II's popery



James II—Protestants dismissed

SR—Miss Elizabeth Devereux (April 2) says it is "disputable" that James II tried to force Roman Catholicism on this country. May I, therefore, remind her of what cannot be denied—that he filled the Corporations with Catholic officials, dismissed 300 Protestant officers and 5,000 soldiers from their regiments and replaced them by Papists, he then appointed four Roman Catholic lords to the Privy Council, and Jesuits were quartered at several colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

When the clergy began to preach against popery, they were dismissed from their livings. He then appointed four Roman Catholic lords to the Privy Council.

Some of the colleges were turned into Roman Catholic seminaries, where Mass was said daily. Twelve Earls were then deprived of their Lord Lieutenancies and others of their military commands.

C. V. ATKINS
Weybridge, Surrey.

An Irishman's Diary

A COUPLE of political and legal heavyweights are trying to save New York's St Patrick's Day Parade from its friends — who continue to bicker over who should march up Fifth Avenue and behind what banner on March 17th.

The city's new police commissioner, Raymond Kelly, has allotted the parade permit to an independent committee whose members include Charles J. ("Joe") Hynes, the district attorney of Brooklyn, and Paul O'Dwyer, a former New York City Council president. Both are veteran civil rights lawyers.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) has held the lease on the parade since 1853, when anti-immigrant feeling ran high in New York and the Irish were, as one newspaper put it, "deplorably clannish, misguided and prone to violence".

Despite rows and riots down the decades, the parade's future seemed reasonably assured until two years ago, when the AOH vetoed the application of the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organisation because there was "no room for them" in the line of march.

When Mayor David Dinkins extended the parade permit time "to make room" for the couple of dozen marchers of the ILGO, other reasons were offered for the ban. These boiled down to the fact that the petitioners' lifestyle was contrary to the teachings of the Catholic Church and the march was a Catholic parade.

In a secular age, in a secular city, this argument was not acceptable. The parade committee was backed by Cardinal John O'Connor, who took the salute from the steps of St Patrick's Cathedral fronting Fifth Avenue after the grand marshal and other dignitaries went down on one knee and kissed his ring.

"Finally, the gay group was told that its members could march if they melted into other groups and did not carry their banner, which is a familiar request to all who have ever been forced to deny what they are, closeted by the will of the majority," wrote Anna



Cardinal O'Connor: "St Patrick's Day parade is a Catholic event".

Quindlen, a columnist for the *New York Times*.

In the two years since that first confrontation over the morality of the St Patrick's Day parade and its marchers, the issue could not be solved. Frank Beirne, the parade committee chairman, was censured by the national AOH, which last week decided to drop its sponsorship of the march because of threats of law suits.

Cardinal's Stand

Cardinal O'Connor has not backed down either. His weekly newspaper, *Catholic New York*, declared in an editorial: "The St Patrick's Day parade is a Catholic event, sponsored by a Catholic organisation to celebrate a Catholic life — the life of the patron saint of Ireland and the patron saint of New York, a saint who above all else preached the teaching of the Church."

"Homosexual activity is diametrically opposed to Church teaching. A group that joyously proclaims its homosexuality is not welcome in this celebration and, indeed, has no place in it. It is as simple as that."

"Long ago, in a time when the people of this city genuinely

got along with one another, such an obvious explanation would not have been needed. The Church, after all, has a right to teach its own doctrine, and to assume, quite reasonably, that anyone wishing to be associated with a Church event would do so without insulting it."

There the matter rested until Police Commissioner Kelly gave the parade permit to the newly-formed independent committee to sort out. Joe Hynes, the Brooklyn DA, and Paul O'Dwyer were handed a pretty hot potato, despite their familiarity with New York's exotic brands of ethnic and religious strife.

Their first decision has been — the cardinal's view to the contrary notwithstanding — that the St Patrick's Day parade in New York is a political, not a religious occasion, and marchers will be permitted to carry any banner they want stating their views. Until now the only banner allowed was "England Get Out Of Ireland".

The New York Civil Liberties Union is taking a surprising position. It supports the AOH. It says Mayor Dinkins has no right to interfere with a march which the Hibernians have established their right to control in the past 140 years. It is their parade and they can ban anyone from it constitutionally if they choose.

"Our entire system of free expression rests upon the proposition that government must remain neutral with respect to the expressive activities of its citizens," the Civil Liberties Union said.

Neutrality Principle

"City officials would clearly violate this neutrality principle if they were to deny a parade permit to an organisation because they disagree with the group's views or beliefs, no matter how unpopular, controversial, or politically incorrect these beliefs may be."

The St Patrick's Day battle is far from over.

SEAN CRONIN

Suddenly the buzz-word is Wasp

Charles Bremner reports from New York on the return of Anglo-Saxon values as the 'Me' years fall from favour

For the past two decades, Americans have become ever more sensitive to their origins. As the melting pot has given way to the "gorgeous mosaic", as Mayor David Dinkins of New York calls it, the country has become so defiantly hyphenated that, according to fashionable doctrine, American culture no longer exists. Instead, the United States is held to be a collection of minorities: Italian-Americans, Afro-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Native-Americans, women, gays and so on, each entitled to preserve and defend a "valid" culture of its own.

Only one group has been excluded from this argument — English-Americans, or, to use the unfelicitous acronym, the Wasps (for White Anglo-Saxon Protestants). Nobody has ever bothered about discrimination against Wasps. But now, after years of ridicule, there are signs that Wasps are putting aside their reticence and doing what they abhor: drawing attention to themselves.

The Wasp reaction was simmering well before George Bush entered the White House, but his New England pedigree and sense of *noblesse oblige* were certainly

factors, and they have been boosted by the way he has led the country into a just war and recruited Britain to his team.

Anglo-Americans, though not a majority, have long been a popular target because they were deemed to be the ruling class. With their ethics of work and public service, they forged the original American character and, until the 1950s, set the model for everyone else. It is important, incidentally, to distinguish between the culture of the Wasp and the British character. The Wasp shares the old English view that "the body is to be exercised, not pleased", but the Wasp has a stronger streak of Calvinism and a greater commitment to success.

Since the 1960s, almost every evil and flaw in American society has been laid at the door of the Wasp: Wasps are unfeeling, prejudiced and inhibited; they cannot dance; they dislike sex. Norman Mailer wrote that cancer was the Protestants' "last contribution to

civilisation". Jackie Mason, the New York Jewish comic, raises laughs with his line that Wasps are the only ones who do not have cockroaches because they keep no food in the house. Woody Allen films frequently ridicule uptight Wasps. So negative was the stereotype that Mr Bush, the arch-Wasp, struggled in his 1988 campaign to depict himself as anything but.

Over the past year or so, however, the reaction against the greed and selfishness of the Eighties has sent people back to the old Wasp values of good manners, honesty and service. Cinema-goers are queuing to see a highly sympathetic treatment of old-fashioned Waspdom, *Mr and Mrs Bridge*, starring Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward. Now, the Wasp reaction has found an unabashed champion in Richard Brookhiser, a young writer — only part Wasp — from that un-Anglo city, New York. *The Way of the Wasp, How it Made America and How it Can Save it. So to Speak*

amounts to a manifesto, albeit somewhat tongue-in-cheek, for a return to an Anglo-American ascendancy.

America has failed, of late, because it abandoned the tenets of Anglo-American culture that, for better or worse, made the country, says Mr Brookhiser. Anglo-Saxon Protestants "wrote the rules; everyone else played by them. If America had been founded by Frenchmen or Spaniards... it would be a different place now and a worse one." If so many Latinos still flood northwards, Asians eastwards and Europeans westward to settle in America, he argues, it is to enjoy the fruits of Waspdom.

Mr Brookhiser tries to demolish the view of the Wasps as an upper-class elite from the East Coast, ploughing through history to show that their outlook pervaded all levels. The qualities, he says, can be summed up as conscience, anti-sensuality, industry, use, success and civic-mindedness. Admirable

Wasp behaviour could be seen, for example, in Benjamin Franklin's meticulous timetables for putting his days to maximum use. It can also be found in the famous reproach of Dorothy Bush when young George ran home to boast that he had hit a home run in baseball. "How did the team do, dear?" she asked.

In the "Me decades" of the Sixties, Seventies and Eighties, says Mr Brookhiser, America pursued unWaspish values of self, ambition and gratification. The pursuit of gratification, he adds, has had its most dramatic effects not on the upper classes but on the lowest: urban poverty, crime, illiteracy and all the other evils could be cured by the imposition of Wasp values.

America can best help the millions of immigrants again pouring in by presenting them with "a clear sense of what they should become." Waspification is their road to success.

As recently as a couple of years ago, it would have been hard to imagine anyone willing to publish such anathema. The fact that no one has so far tried to arrest Mr Brookhiser or prosecute him is a sign that times are changing.

14

EXTRACTS FROM "ULSTER AND THE IRISH REPUBLIC"

By Mr David Gray, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO EIRE 1940 to 47.
(Author; William A Carson.)

(Page 2 of Preface)

"After Pearl Harbour, N. Ireland became, as of course, our ally. The American government sent troops there by arrangements with the British government, not that of Eire. The people of N. Ireland welcomed us and afforded us bases and help and friendship when we needed these things. Mr De Valera, on the other hand, complained of our action, and maintained a neutrality which served only Hitler's objectives. It barred the Allies from use of Eire's strategic Ports, reserved for the common defence under the Anglo Irish Treaty, and in 1938 given to Mr De Valera's Government "without strings" under the "gentleman's agreement" with Prime Minister Chamberlain".

(Page 5 of Preface)

"The accumulating evidence supports the view that, even before the fall of France in 1940, De Valera believed that Hitler would win the war, and that in payment for keeping the allies out of the Eire ports he would obtain N. Ireland on his own terms. This would have enabled him to invoke his formula "Exchange of Populations", expel 800,000 Ulstermen, and invite in an equal number of "Exiles".

DAVD GRAY
UNITED STATES MINISTER TO EIRE 1940 to 1947

IRELAND ACT 1920

Sir, — Here is a real breakthrough. A Fianna Fáil Taoiseach proposing in 1992 that a round table North-South-British conference should have on its agenda the return of the 26 counties to the United Kingdom, the restoration of the British monarch as head of state, and Home Rule parliaments in Dublin and Belfast.

That is what the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 decreed, and it is that Act that Albert Reynolds wants on the agenda. That should make for an interesting discussion, and early agreement with the unionists, certainly when Article 1 (i) comes up:

"... There shall be established for Southern Ireland a parliament to be called the parliament of Southern Ireland, consisting of His Majesty, the Senate of

Southern Ireland and the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and there shall be established for Northern Ireland a parliament, etc., etc. . . ."

The unionists will have no difficulty with Article 75 either: "... The supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof".

Well, at least it's a new approach. Or could he be confusing the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 with the Ireland Act of 1949, or is he just confused? — Yours, etc.,

DENNIS KENNEDY.

Mornington,
Belfast BT 7.

IRISH TIMES 28 FEB 1992

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN
TELEPHONE: (202) 462-3939
FAX: (202) 232-5993



EMBASSY OF IRELAND
2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NO.

DATE: 9 MARCH 1995

TO: THE WHITE HOUSE

FOR: MR ANTHONY LAKE, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER

FROM: AMBASSADOR GALLAGHER

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVERING SHEET: 3
TRANSMITTED FROM FAX NUMBER: (202) 232-5993

Letter follows, as promised.

2. Nationalist territory consist
of all Ireland
3. Pending reintegration! ⁱⁿ
laws enacted by ~~Irish~~ parliament
only apply to R.

AMBASÁID NA hÉIREANN

TELEPHONE: (202) 462-3939

FAX: (202) 232-5993



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

9 March 1995

Dear National Security Adviser

You enquired about the commitment in the new Framework for Agreement to constitutional change on the Irish side as part of a new agreement.

The Document deals with constitutional change on both sides by setting out the effect each Government will seek to achieve.

Par 21 envisages change to the Irish Constitution in three very significant respects:

- (a) change will fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland (this principle to which the Irish Government are committed in the Joint Declaration and other instruments, would thereby become entrenched as part of our fundamental law);
- (b) change will be such that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted;
- (c) change will also enable a new agreement to be ratified to include, as part of a new and equitable dispensation for Northern Ireland, recognition of the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland.

The pledge to remove any such jurisdictional or territorial claim of legal right over the territory of Northern Ireland is unprecedented for any Irish Government since the Constitution was

enacted - the Sunningdale Agreement and the Anglo-Irish Agreement were designed not to require such change. The commitment under (c) above would not be legally permissible under the present terms of the Irish Constitution and so, again, would represent a major shift.

I trust the above clarifies the situation.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D. Gallagher', with a horizontal line underneath it.

Dermot Gallagher
Ambassador

Anthony Lake Esq
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
WASHINGTON DC 20500

C + return.

To R

Kathy Stephens
Sandy P.

Sinn Féin's latest

Friends of Sinn Féin
1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 307
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: (202) 331-7886
Fax: (202) 331-8117

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: NANCY SODERBERG

FROM: MAUREO KEANE

RE: AGENDA RE TALKS WITH BRITISH MINISTERS

DATE: 3-28-95

In the event of problems with transmission please contact Kieran Clifford (202) 331-8776.

ENCLOSED

1. LETTER FROM MARTIN MC GUINNESS, MARCH 28, IN RESPONSE TO BRITISH LETTER OF MARCH 24.
2. THE BRITISH AGENDA WITH ONE INSERTION FROM US ON DEMILITARISATION
3. COPY OF AGENDA 16 JANUARY - AGREED BETWEEN BRITISH AND S.F. WHICH INCLUDES THE ISSUE OF

26-MAR-95 SUN 16:16 BELFAST REPUBLICAN PRESS P.01



28 March 1995

Quentin Thomas
Northern Ireland Office
Whitehall
London

A Chara

Thank you for your letter of March 24.

In my letter to you of March 21 I welcomed the willingness of the British government to end its ban on ministerial involvement in dialogue with our party and expressed my view that we can now move into a productive dialogue with ministers which will encompass a detailed and thorough discussion of all the relevant issues. Sinn Féin wishes to engage in serious, substantive and constructive discussions with British ministers on all these issues with the aim of seeking their resolution. As we have agreed in our dialogue up to now, no issue should be excluded from these discussions.

Consequently, we agreed, with a few minor adjustments, the agenda proposed by you.

It was my view that we would then move quickly into meetings with ministers without further delay. I was, therefore, surprised and disappointed to learn from journalists that British ministers were refusing to become involved in meetings. The fact that you informed the media of this without first communicating with me is a clear breach of trust. If we adhere to basic ground rules for the dialogue between us then it is possible to make progress. However, on this occasion, you quite clearly acted in bad faith.

Unfortunately your formal response to my letter with its rejection of our agenda was also a disappointment.

We were surprised and concerned that you had excluded demilitarisation from the agenda as an issue for discussion. This runs contrary to our agreed position that either side can raise any issue which it feels is important or relevant. It is unrealistic to talk about a viable peace process which does not involve demilitarisation. It is all the more perplexing that you wish to exclude this issue from discussion as demilitarisation has been discussed at every meeting between us. In fact, the issue of demilitarisation was on the agreed agenda for our meeting of 16 January 1995 and was referred to in your press release following our meeting of 7 February 1995. It is therefore logical and necessary that the issue continues to be addressed in our dialogue.

26-MAR-95 SUN 16:17 BELFAST REPUBLICAN PRESS P.02

Your letter, and the accompanying proposed agenda, suggests that the meeting with ministers can proceed only if we accept both the agenda as outlined by you and also your understanding of the matters included on the agenda. This is not, in my view, the proper way to approach dialogue. These are bilateral talks - the agenda must reflect the concerns of both sides in the talks. Each side can then approach the discussion on the basis of their own analysis and understanding of each item. It is the purpose of the dialogue, and not the agenda, to seek a shared understanding of the problems and the ways in which they can be resolved.

In our dialogue you are, of course, free to raise and discuss any aspect of the items set out in the agenda and to explain your understanding of them. This is the purpose of the dialogue and as I have already pointed out Sinn Féin does not wish to exclude any item from discussion. On the contrary we wish to engage in serious, substantive and constructive discussions with British ministers on all the relevant issues with the aim of seeking their resolution.

I suggest that we put this unfortunate episode behind us and that we now proceed on the basis of the enclosed agenda which includes all six issues suggested by you and the one issue which we additionally wish to raise. To assist movement towards our meeting and to avoid unnecessary disagreements, we are proposing that none of these issues be included on the agenda in a prescriptive way.

The most urgent and important issue facing us all is to remove the causes of conflict, overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted; to achieve a lasting peace through a negotiated settlement. Sinn Féin believes that this can best be achieved through the creation of a functioning Irish democracy based on the right of the Irish people to national self-determination. Sinn Féin engages in these, and all other discussion, on the basis of our republican analysis and armed only with our democratic mandate. We have a responsibility and a right to raise all issues which affect our electorate.

It is essential, therefore, that the British Government ends its discriminatory treatment of Sinn Féin and our electorate by according Sinn Féin equality of treatment with other democratically mandated political parties. I trust that on this basis and with agreement on the enclosed agenda we can now move directly into meetings with British Government ministers. I will suggest dates for this first meeting when I talk to you today.

I look forward to an early response.

Is Mise

PP Suobhan O'Hanlon

MARTIN MCGUINNESS

AGENDA FOR MEETING 16 JANUARY 1995

1. Record of meeting ✓
2. Written response to opening statements ✓
3. Economic meeting ✓
4. Prisons ✓
5. Demilitarisation
6. Equality of treatment ✓
7. Future workplan
8. AOB
9. Date of next meeting

de commissioning?

CLAR/AGENDA

1. Demilitarisation including the decommissioning of arms
2. Prisons
3. Economic and social issues
4. Irish language
5. Framework Documents
6. Policing and justice
7. AOB
8. Date of next meeting.

[Handwritten scribbles and marks at the bottom of the page]

NANCY SODEBERG.

FROM

MAUREEN KEANE

DRAFT

PRESS STATEMENT

EXPLORATORY DIALOGUE * 7 FEBRUARY 1995

REF. MARTIN McGuinness Letter.
MARCH 28.

1. A further meeting between the Government and Sinn Fein was held today.

2. Sinn Fein repeated their view that the direct involvement of Ministers in the exploratory dialogue was essential to maintain the momentum of the peace process and to addressing the key issues successfully in this dialogue. In response the Government side explained that Ministers would continue to review the progress of the dialogue meeting by meeting and would judge their own active participation on the basis of the progress that had been made and on whether their own involvement might assist in achieving the successful outcome they seek.

3. The discussion of possible ground rules for the inclusive talks process ^{which} began at the meeting on 1 February^{was} continued. This was on the basis of the attached paper tabled by the Government side setting out in some more detail its view on some issues concerning future multi-party talks, and Sinn Fein's response to it.

4. There was also a full and frank discussion of ~~a number of issues concerning~~ ways in which the causes of the conflict might be resolved and some of the practical consequences of the ending of violence including decommissioning of arms. Sinn Fein reaffirmed that they were a political party with an electoral mandate which had neither arms nor involvement in paramilitary activity. (Nonetheless) Sinn Fein repeated their view that (on this issue, as on others) all sides had influence and that, for their part, they would use such influence as they had, in their own way, positively to help create the environment in which all guns could be removed from Irish politics.

5. On this understanding the Government side made a number of points on the modalities of arms decommissioning. The Government side also acknowledged the relevance of other confidence building elements in respect of political issues, loyalist arms and security force measures and deployments. [Sinn Fein emphasised the need to address the issue of demilitarisation across the board and in the context of steps towards a political settlement involving fundamental change.]

6. The two sides confirmed that they would next meet on Thursday 9 February when Prisons issues would also be on the agenda. The Government side proposed further meetings at dates to be arranged, which Sinn Fein is to consider.

NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

7 February 1995

03/09/95 00:17

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S.F.PRESS CENTRE

P.01

1

The following is the text of a statement issued to our office
8 March 1995

Responding to media speculation that British Ministers will meet with Sinn Féin, Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin President, said:

"It is accepted that the most urgent and important issue facing us all is to overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted; to achieve a lasting peace through a negotiated settlement. Considerable progress has been made so far. This progress must be consolidated. Everyone concerned to achieve a lasting peace must apply themselves to this task, which can only be accomplished by dialogue, through inclusive discussions and negotiations involving all parties with an electoral mandate. Everyone must be at the table and every issue must be on the table. All parties must be accorded equality of treatment. The British government must uphold, not undermine the democratic rights of all sections of the electorate.

decommissioning → It is in this context that progress can be made on the whole range of relevant issues - justice, discrimination in employment, prisoners, political and constitutional matters and demilitarisation. Demilitarisation requires movement on a range of issues including repressive legislation, prisoners, and weapons.

The Taoiseach, Mr Bruton, has correctly stated that there cannot be a single issue agenda and the Tánaiste, Mr Spring, in a recent timely intervention, warned that to make the decommission of weapons a precondition was 'a formula for disaster'.

4

This is my position also. At the same time, Sinn Fein has consistently argued for the permanent removal of all guns from Irish politics.

We have consistently stated, over a protracted period, that we seek a complete demilitarisation of the situation; that we seek the removal forever of all guns - British, unionist, loyalist and republican - from Irish politics.

Everyone has an influence over the present situation. The collective application of that influence can transform the political climate and put an end to the failures of the past.

Our position on this matter is transparent. We wish to use our influence on all matters, in a positive way and with the aim of advancing the peace process.

I welcome therefore the suggestion that the British ministerial ban on contact with Sinn Fein may be ended.

There cannot be a single issue agenda and including decommissioning,

On all the matters referred in para 2 and
Sinn Fein representatives will enter into discussions with British Ministers *on the basis* of our mandate and our analysis. *should* No issue ~~will~~ be excluded from these discussions. We look forward to discussing all matters with a view to their resolution."

CRIOCH

END

Including the issue of handing over ~~the~~ weapons.

and we are prepared to discuss the issue of decommissioning of weapons at such a meeting

President's March 17, 1995 Statement:

"I call on all those who still resort to violence to end the beatings, the intimidations, the shootings. To those who have laid down their arms, I ask you now to take the next step and begin to seriously discuss getting rid of these weapons so they can never be used again, and violence will never again return to the land. I welcome the statement by Sinn Fein, reiterating its readiness to include the issue of weapons in the talks with the British government. It must be included, and progress must be made."

In answer to a reporter's question about how soon IRA/Sinn Fein might take the "next step," the President said,

"Well, I know that it couldn't come soon enough for me. And this whole business about weapons decommissioning is, obviously, critical to the completion of the process."

In Tony Lake's March 14 meeting with Gerry Adams, Lake made the following points:

-- Strongly and repeatedly urged that Adams move on decommissioning. We said we accepted Adams' March 8 statement as an important step. Disturbed that McGuinness/McLaughlin subsequently appeared to be stepping away from it. Heard that the British want to meet on the 16th and next week send a minister. We've taken some hits; our credibility is at stake. Every day you don't respond to this issue the more we're asked whether you will. The sooner you move on this the better, preferably this week. Respond to the British proposal as soon as possible.

-- Noted British announcement of troops being transferred from Northern Ireland to mainland; significance of timing -- British going forward with it despite unhappiness with Adams' statement, trip. Urged that Sinn Fein/IRA take similar confidence-building measures. Suggested some arms might "appear" somewhere as token of good intentions; might stimulate loyalists to similar steps. Lengthy discussion of regarding such steps as confidence-building rather than "disarmament."

-- Pushed hard on need to complete accounting arrangements for fundraising. Detailed discussion of our expectations and how we would follow up.