

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



Reference Code:	2014/32/1966
Creation Date(s):	October 1984
Extent and medium:	4 pages
Creator(s):	Department of Foreign Affairs
Access Conditions:	Open
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cc 608
A.I. Sullivan
Ambassador Sullivan

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON
FOR ASST SEC LILLIS FROM AMBASSADOR
UUUARNDHBYHJOZ 01=800=00'2)0=2WODNXLMBH

TELEX
CONFIDENTIAL

Secretary
Subj: AB go news (incl. not)

VFDSA *be inclined to discourage AB & Connor*
from his intention unless in person, but say: Telegram with proposal

ACCOMPANIED BY CG FLAVIN I CALLED ON SATURDAY ON ARCHBISHOP JOHN J
O'CONNOR OF NEW YORK, OUR INTERVIEW LASTED ALMOST AN HOUR AND WAS *from 13*
QUITE REASSURING. *on the whole, I think*

2. I TOLD THE AB THAT HE AND HIS BROTHER BISHOPS WOULD BE VERY *the*
WELCOME INDEED IN IRELAND, NOT ONLY BY THE IRISH HIERARCHY BUT ALSO *from*
BY THE GOVERNMENT AND I MENTIONED IN PASSING THE INFORMAL INVITATION *for*
WHICH HAD BEEN EXTENDED TO THEM ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT TO LUNCH
OR DINNER DURING THEIR STAY IN DUBLIN. *intention of the AB*

3. THE AB EXPRESSED HIS THANKS AND CONFIRMED THAT HE EXPECTED TO
LEAVE FOR IRELAND ON 29 OCTOBER AND THAT HE WOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY
THREE OTHER BISHOPS, MOST REV JAMES MALONE OF YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO,
MOST REV J FRANCIS STAFFORD, AUXILIARY BISHOP OF BALTIMORE AND MOST
REV MARK HURLEY OF SANTA ROSA, CALIFORNIA (SEE COMMENT BELOW ON THE
LAST NAMED).

4. THE AB MENTIONED THAT THE DELEGATION WOULD BE VISITING NORTHERN
IRELAND AND REMARKED THAT HE FOUND THE REPORT OF THE NEW IRELAND
FORUM A MOST INTERESTING AND HELPFUL DOCUMENT IN STUDYING THE
SITUATION THERE. I SKETCHED OUT FOR HIM THE ORIGIN AND THE CORE OF
THE PROBLEM, LAYING EMPHASIS ON THE EXISTENCE OF THE TWO TRADITIONS
IN IRELAND AND OUR GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT THE ONLY POSSIBLE APPROACH
TO A SOLUTION WAS THROUGH THE RECONCILIATION OF THESE TWO TRADITIONS.
I MENTIONED THE WORK OF THE FORUM AND THE PROCESS OF DIALOGUE
BETWEEN THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS TO WHICH IT HAD GIVEN RISE.
WE HAD YET TO RECEIVE A CONSIDERED OR DEFINITIVE REPLY FROM THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE PROPOSALS IN THE FORUM REPORT, WHICH
DESCRIBED THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND WHAT
HAD TO BE DONE IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH THEM. IT WAS NECESSARY TO
CONVINCE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF THESE REALITIES AND REQUIREMENTS,
SINCE ANY POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS DEPENDANT ON THEIR RECOGNITION OF
THE VALIDITY OF THE ASPIRATIONS AND IDENTITIES OF BOTH COMMUNITIES.
WE WERE NOT UNHOPEFUL THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WERE MOVING TO
SUCH A POSITION AND WE WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT THEY NOW
ACCEPTED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CONCERNS VOICED BY OUR GOVERNMENT ON
THE POSITION OF THE MINORITY IN THE NORTH, SOMETHING WHICH
THEY HAD NOT DONE PREVIOUSLY. WE FELT THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHERN
IRELAND INCLUDING THE RAPID ALIENATION OF THE YOUNGER ELEMENT IN THE
POPULATION FROM THE INSTITUTIONS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY
THE COURTS AND THE POLICE, HAD PRODUCED A SITUATION WHERE MRS THATCHE
R
MIGHT NOW FEEL THAT THE PROBLEM WAS LIKELY TO WORSEN UNLESS ACTION
WAS TAKEN ABOUT IT.

5. I ALSO MENTIONED THE NATURE OF SINN FEIN AND IRA POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THEIR AMBITIONS IN THE ALL-IRELAND DIMENSION AS EXPRESSED IN DANNY MORRISON'S WELL-KNOWN PHRASE, THEIR DISRESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE AND THEIR REJECTION OF THE APPEAL MADE BY THE POPE DURING HIS VISIT TO IRELAND. THE AB ENQUIRED HOW MANY OF THESE PEOPLE WERE MARXISTS, AND I DREW THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN AND THE IRSP AND BETWEEN THE PIRA AND THE INLA. THE PROBLEM WHICH AROSE FOR THE ARCHDIOCESE WAS, I FELT, DUE TO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AGENTS OF THE PIRA IN THIS COUNTRY. THE AIM OF NORAID, OF WHICH MARTIN GALVIN WAS THE PUBLICITY OFFICER, WAS TO RAISE THE PROFILE OF AGITATION OVER NORTHERN IRELAND IN THIS COUNTRY AND THEY WERE QUITE RUTHLESS IN THE MEANS THEY EMPLOYED FOR THIS PURPOSE.

6. THE CG REMARKED THAT OF COURSE THE MAIN OPPORTUNITY FOR NORAID TO DRUM UP PUBLICITY WAS ON ST PATRICK'S DAY, WHEN IRISH AFFAIRS TRADITIONALLY BECAME A FOCUS OF THE MEDIA IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS MEDIA ATTENTION HAD INCREASED IN RECENT YEARS, NOW ASSUMING A COAST-TO-COAST DIMENSION, AND NORAID SAW IN IT A POLITICAL PLATFORM AND A MEDIUM FOR MAJOR DEMONSTRATIONS. RECENTLY NORAID HAD BEGUN A PRACTICE OF ORGANISING VISITS TO IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH, WHERE THEY INCITED AGITATION WHICH COULD BE EMPLOYED FOR THE PURPOSE OF THEIR PROPAGANDA IN THIS COUNTRY. AN EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS THE RECENT VISIT OF THE EMERALD SOCIETY POLICE BAND WHICH HAD CAUSED US CONSIDERABLE PROBLEMS AND HAD GIVEN RISE TO PROTESTS NOT ONLY AT POLICE LEVEL BUT AT THE HIGHEST GOVERNMENT LEVEL IN IRELAND.

7. I REMARKED THAT ANOTHER EXAMPLE WAS OF COURSE THE NORAID VISIT ORGANISED BY MARTIN GALVIN AND THE RESULTING FATAL INCIDENT OF 12TH AUGUST, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY NOT ONLY DEMONSTRATED GALVIN'S TOTAL DISRESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE, BUT ALSO MADE HIM A PUBLIC FIGURE AND POSSIBLY ELIGIBLE FOR NOMINATION AS A GRAND MARSHALL OF NEXT YEAR'S ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE, EVEN IF HE DENIED THIS AMBITION.

8. THE AB AGREED WITH THE POINTS WE HAD MADE AND SAID THAT OUR REMARKS WERE VERY HELPFUL TO HIM. HE SAID THAT LAST YEAR EFFORTS HAD BEEN MADE TO INVOLVE HIM IN THE ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE, BUT HE HAD AVOIDED THIS ON THE GROUNDS THAT HE HAD NOT YET BEEN FORMALLY INSTALLED. UNFORTUNATELY, HE ALSO HAD TO TURN DOWN AN INVITATION FROM THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST PATRICK, WHO WERE A WELL-DISPOSED GROUP, SINCE HE COULD NOT REJECT ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER. HE CLAIMED THAT HIS ATTITUDE TO THE PARADE WOULD BE EXACTLY THE SAME AS THAT OF HIS PREDECESSOR, THE LATE CARDINAL COOKE, BUT IN FACT IT IS CLEAR FROM WHAT HE THEN HAD TO SAY THAT IT WILL BE MUCH FIRMER, INASMUCH AS HE PROPOSES TO TAKE A PUBLIC POSITION LONG BEFORE THE PARADE IS ACTUALLY HELD. THE AB SAID THAT IF ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO EXPLOIT THE PARADE FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES HE WOULD NOT BE ASSOCIATED WITH IT IN ANY WAY. HE MIGHT EVEN CONSIDER DOING AWAY WITH THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY MASS. "IN ITS PRESENT FORM".

9. AB WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THIS PROBLEM PRIOR TO ASSUMING HIS PRESENT FUNCTIONS, THAT HE REMAINED CONCERNED ABOUT IT AND THAT HE HAD ALREADY TAKEN SOME STEPS TO LET HIS VIEWS BE KNOWN. DURING THE PAST WEEK HE HAD INVITED FOR AN INTERVIEW AN INDIVIDUAL WHO WOULD HAVE A SAY IN THE SELECTION OF THE GRAND MARSHAL AT NEXT YEAR'S PARADE AND HE WAS SATISFIED THAT THIS PERSON WOULD HAVE A BENIGN INFLUENCE ON THE OUTCOME. WITH A VIEW TO HIS VISIT TO IRELAND HE HAD ASKED THAT A MEETING BE ARRANGED

WITH "A CROSS SECTION" OF VIEWS ON THE IRISH QUESTION. (COMMENT: THIS EXPLAINS THE ENQUIRIES RECEIVED BY CG NY FROM THE ARCHDIOCESE FOR THE NAMES OF SUCH PERSONS, INCLUDING PERSONS OF RADICAL VIEWS AND EVEN MEMBERS OF NORAD). THE AB EXPLAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THIS WAS SO THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO SAY WHEN HE CAME BACK FROM IRELAND, AT WHICH TIME HE WOULD CERTAINLY BE EXPECTED BY THE MEDIA TO COMMENT ON HIS FINDINGS, THAT HE HAD GIVEN EVERY OPPORTUNITY OF EXPRESSION TO THOSE OF DIFFERING VIEWS.

10. THE AB ALSO MENTIONED AN UPCOMING MEETING OF THE AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY (KEVIN CAHILL'S GROUP) WHICH HE THOUGHT MIGHT BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE HIS VIEWS KNOWN IN SUCH A WAY AS TO LEAVE NO DOUBT AS TO WHERE HE STOOD. "I AM BETTER KNOWN FOR TAKING A VIEW ON THINGS, RATHER THAN NOT TAKING ONE" SAID THE AB WITH A SMILE

THIS OF COURSE WAS AN ALLUSION TO HIS CONTROVERSIAL EXCHANGES WITH GOVERNOR CUOMO AND REPRESENTATIVE GERALDINE FERRARO, THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, OVER ABORTION, BUT IT COULD ALSO BE INTERPRETED AS AN ALLUSION TO THE FACT THAT HIS PREDECESSOR REFUSED TO REVEAL HIS STAND UNTIL THE ACTUAL DAY OF THE PARADE AND EVEN THEN INTRODUCED A NEW ELEMENT OF UNCERTAINTY BY INTERVIEWING FLANNERY BEFORE THE PARADE TOOK PLACE.

I THANKED THE ARCHBISHOP FOR THE HELPFUL CLARITY WITH WHICH HE HAD EXPLAINED HIS ATTITUDE, WHICH I THOUGHT WOULD BE VERY WELCOME TO OUR AUTHORITIES. I REPEATED MY FEELING THAT HE AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WOULD RECEIVE A GREAT WELCOME IN IRELAND WHICH OF COURSE HAD A SPECIAL LINK WITH THE UNITED STATES IN ECCLESIASTICAL FIELD AND PARTICULARLY WITH THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK. IT MIGHT BE AS WELL FOR HIM TO KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT WHEN HE VISITED NORTHERN IRELAND HE WOULD BE EXPOSED TO DIFFERING VIEWS ON THE TRAGIC PROBLEM WE HAD DISCUSSED, INCLUDING DIFFERING VIEWS AMONG THE CLERGY. IN ALL PROBLEMS INVOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS AND VIOLENCE, ESPECIALLY SITUATIONS WHICH HAD GONE ON FOR A LONG TIME AS THIS ONE HAD, FRUSTRATION OFTEN LED WELL-INTENTIONED PEOPLE, INCLUDING PRIESTS, TO ADOPT ATTITUDES BASED MORE ON EMOTION THAN ON A CAREFUL REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS CONCERNED. ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS OF COURSE TO BE FOUND IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE AB AGREED, AND HE ALSO SHARED OUR VIEW THAT THE FORUM REPORT REPRESENTED THE DEEPEST, MOST OBJECTIVE AND MOST FAR REACHING STUDY OF THE PROBLEM WHICH HAD SO FAR BEEN CARRIED OUT BY IRISH NATIONALISTS. HE REPEATED THAT IT WAS A GREAT HELP TO HIM IN GRASPING THE COMPLEXITIES INVOLVED. HE THANKED US FOR OUR VISIT AND ASKED US TO ASSURE OUR AUTHORITIES THAT HE WAS VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO VISITING IRELAND.

12. IF I MAY VENTURE A COMMENT ON THIS INTERVIEW, WHILE IT IS OF COURSE VERY ENCOURAGING TO FIND THAT ARCHBISHOP O'CONNOR SHARES OUR VIEWS ON THE ABUSE OF THE ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE AND ON THE HARM DONE BY NORAID AND OTHER AGENTS OF THE IRA IN INFLAMING IRISH-AMERICAN OPINION, I WOULD BE CONCERNED THAT HE MIGHT PROCEED TOO ENERGETICALLY TO MAKE HIS VIEWS KNOWN AND GIVE RISE TO A CONTROVERSY WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF RAISING THE LEVEL OF AGITATION IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF NORAID. AS I AND CG NY (WHO SHARES THIS VIEW) HAVE EXPLAINED IN PREVIOUS REPORTS, NORAID IS MUCH MORE CONCERNED WITH THE VOLUME OF THAT PUBLICITY. EVEN THOUGH 90 PERCENT OF THE EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE OF 1983 CONDEMNED THE APPOINTMENT OF FLANNERY, NORAID WAS QUITE HAPPY WITH THE RESULT BECAUSE OF THE AGITATION WHICH IT PRODUCED. THERE WOULD THEREFORE BE SOMETHING TO BE SAID FOR CONVEYING DISCREETLY TO THE AB THAT HIS VIEWS MIGHT MORE EFFECTIVELY BE EXPRESSED TO THOSE CONCERNED ON PRIVATE RATHER THAN IN PUBLIC.

13. ANOTHER MATTER WHICH PREOCCUPIES US IS THAT BISHOP MARK HURLEY OF SANTA ROSA, CALIFORNIA, WILL BE A MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION. BISHOP HURLEY HAS PARTICIPATED IN AT LEAST ONE MEETING OF THE IRISH AMERICAN UNITY CONFERENCE AND WAS DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS AT THE TIME BY CONSUL GENERAL DORAN OF SAN FRANCISCO:

"BISHOP HURLEY IS A RATHER EMOTIONAL IRISH-AMERICAN WHO IS FRIEND OF BISHOP EDWARD DALY OF DERRY, AND WHO VISITS JOHN HUME EACH TIME HE IS IN DERRY. SHE SUPPORTED THE IRISH FORUM AT AN EARLY STAGE AND WAS COOPTED TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OVER A YEAR AGO. HIS SECRETARY IS MONSIGNOR TOM KEYES, BROTHER OF A SDLP COUNCILLOR. WHILE RESOLUTELY OPPOSED TO THE IRA, HIS PERSPECTIVE IS STRONGLY ANTI-BRITISH AND IN HIS CONCERN FOR CATHOLIC CIVIL RIGHTS HE HAS NO UNDERSTANDING FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. CONSEQUENTLY HIS RHETORIC CANNOT BE CONSIDERED TO BE HELPFUL TO THE CAUSE OF RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. ON THE OTHER HAND HE IS WELL DISPOSED TOWARDS US AND WE MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH HIM IN THE HOPE OF TEMPERING HIS VIEWS."

14. WE SHALL TAKE AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY OF ASCERTAINING FROM CG SAN FRANCISCO HER OPINION OF BISHOP HURLEY'S PRESENT OUTLOOK AND THE LIKELY EFFECT OF HIS PRESENCE ON THE DELEGATION. IN THE LIGHT OF THAT WE SHALL CONSIDER WHETHER HIS VIEWS MIGHT BE MODERATED, PERHAPS BY A WORD FROM AB O'CONNOR OR OTHER DELEGATION MEMBERS.

15. MEANWHILE WE HAVE NOT YET, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, RECEIVED A REPLY TO OUR INVITATION TO THE DELEGATION TO HAVE LUNCH WHILE IN DUBLIN, BUT WE EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO LET YOU HAVE THIS REPLY IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

16. WE ARE COPYING TO PHUN FOR INFORMATION OF MINISTER AND CG NY

END