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3314W 27-11-87

P N Bell Esq
SIL Division
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Your reference

Our reference

Date 24 November 1987

Dear Peter,

*cc Secretary
in Embassy
in Washington
The person is
sneaking up.*

IRISH ISSUES AND THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

*for 1/12/87 2/12/87
also see letter to have
united we
unifying
1/12/87*

1. I hope you will not find the enclosed copies of an article in 'The Irish People' ("a weekly newspaper advising readers of the harshness of the British misrule in occupied Ireland") and of an item in 'The Irish Lobby' (the organ of Fr Sean McManus's Irish National Caucus) too alarming. Although they emanate from the extreme greenfringe of Irish-America, they are a sign of things to come as the 1988 elections approach, and candidates compete for the votes of the 44 million Americans who claim Irish descent.

2. As I discussed with Stephen Leach on the telephone last week, I should like to recommend to the Ambassador that he write to each of the (12) main Presidential candidates, registering the British Government's interest in, and responsibility for, Northern Ireland, and describing our policy in a number of key areas. Taking my cue from Assemblyman Dearie's menu for his Irish-American Presidential Issues Forums, I suggest the Ambassador's letter, or preferably its enclosure(s), might touch on the following subjects:

- (a) the Anglo-Irish Agreement;
- (b) the International Fund for Ireland;
- (c) UK/US extradition issues, including the supplementary treaty;
- (d) fair employment (depending on our policy at the time); and
- (e) the administration of justice.

3. Rather than covering all the subjects in one pantechinon letter, a neater way of traversing this waterfront would be for the Ambassador to write a relatively brief letter (possible

/draft

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/ draft enclosed) covering a separate briefing booklet/pack. We understand that the COI are in the process of revising the booklet entitled "Northern Ireland: A Brief Survey", and they hope that this will be ready in a month. If this is so, and if you judge the revised booklet to be suitable, then it would seem to us to be a serious candidate for enclosure. Otherwise, we should need to produce something tailor-made; and we should obviously need separate self-contained briefs, in digestible form, on any of the subjects not covered in the booklet.

X 4. Perhaps you could let me know soon what you think of this, and what you and the COI think may be possible. The pressure on candidates is likely to be most intense during the primary campaigns in the early months of 1988, particularly around March (Super Tuesday and St Patrick's Day) and April (the New York Primary). We should therefore aim to get this material to the candidates no later than the beginning of the year if it is to be in time to influence the formation of their positions.

Yours ever,

Sheward

S L Cowper-Coles

cc:

(with enc)

T J B George Esq, RID, FCO
R J S Muir Esq, Information Dept, FCO
P J Fowler Esq, NAD, FCO
R Bone Esq, RD, FCO
R Wilson Esq, DED, BELFAST *Wilson*
Chancery, DUBLIN

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DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1 +

FROM: H M Ambassador

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

Your Reference

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

PRIVACY MARKING

..... In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

TO: The Hon George Bush
George Bush for President Campaign Headquarters

Copies to:

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND

1. As you know, Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, and responsibility for the province's affairs at home and overseas thus falls to the British Government.

2. As the Presidential election campaign develops, you and your fellow candidates will no doubt be asked to declare your position on issues affecting the people of Northern Ireland. I am writing now to register the British Government's interest in the stands which you may take on those issues, and to offer our help in briefing you and your staff on the situation in Northern Ireland.

3. I enclose a short booklet describing a number of key Northern Ireland issues, and hope that your staff will not hesitate to be in touch with mine should you require any further information.

Enclosures - flag(s).....

Caucus Blasts Bush, Babbitt & Du Pont Stands on Irish Issues

Washington, D.C. June 4, 1987—The Irish National Caucus is asking all presidential candidates (1) to support Irish Unity and (2) to support the Mac Bride Principles.

To date, three candidates have responded—Vice President George Bush, Mr. Pete Du Pont and Mr. Bruce Babbitt.

"All three positions are terrible," said Fr. Sean McManus, Irish National Caucus National Director. "All three refused to support the Mac Bride Principles."

"Vice President Bush," explained Fr. McManus, "wrote a two page response and never once mentioned the words 'England' or 'Britain.' He simply refers to Ireland as if it were not divided and part of it—the six counties—not under British rule: 'The internal problems currently facing Ireland,' writes Mr. Bush, 'can only be solved through the concerted and cooperative efforts of all the people of Ireland ...The people of Ireland are proud and they possess many skills, but

these skills cannot be used to bring about economic recovery so necessary in Ireland as long as the blood shed continues.'

"I find," commented Fr. McManus, "That to be a very condescending and ill-informed statement."

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH ON THE MAC BRIDE PRINCIPLES:

"The Vice President's position on the MacBride Principles" said Fr. McManus, "is equally unsatisfactory. This is what he says:

"With regard to the MacBride Principles, I do not believe that they will solve the long history of employment discrimination nor would they improve the long-term economic outlook for Ireland. It seems to me that you would want to improve the economic and investment climate rather than creating uncertainty and restrictions on business. If the Irish can bring about certainty, predictability and safety to their coun-

try, then the climate for investment, both foreign and domestic, will be greatly improved. Economic development is one way towards reconciliation as it will bring Irishmen together to work on a common and non-sectarian goal. This may be hard for some but necessary when we look at the future of Ireland.' "

MR. BRUCE BABBITT RESPONDED AS FOLLOWS:

"I support Irish unity, achieved through consent and based on reconciliation of all the people of Ireland. The Anglo-Irish accord has provided a positive start in helping the two communities of Northern Ireland overcome some of their differences. I would urge both the British and Irish governments to continue their efforts and build upon past progress toward peace and reconciliation."

"I am deeply committed to safeguarding human rights in Northern Ireland, as elsewhere. The United States Government should support elimination of employment discrimination and provision of greater job opportunities and job security for Catholics, in the manner preferred by the elected leaders representing the Catholics in Northern Ireland."

"Mr. Babbitt's position," said Fr. McManus, "is also unsatisfactory. To say that the U.S. should support the elimination of discrimination in the manner preferred by the elected leaders representing Catholics is to pass the buck. Americans have a corporate and investment responsibility to stop U.S. dollars subsidizing discrimination in Northern Ireland."

"Furthermore," added Fr. McManus, "many elected representatives of the Catholic community support the MacBride Principles."

Dukakis— Only Presidential Candidate to Support MacBride Principles:
Governor Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts has written to the Caucus pledging his support of the Principles. He is the only Candidate so far who has done so. Here is his letter in full:

Michael S Dukakis

June 1, 1987

Father McManus
Irish National Caucus
413 East Capital Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Father McManus:

Thank you for your letter expressing an interest in my position on issues related to Ireland.

I support the MacBride Principles, because I believe that the elimination of intolerance and discrimination throughout the world should be an objective of American foreign policy. I believe, as well, that the United States should do whatever it can, consistent with the MacBride Principles, to encourage economic investment and growth in Northern Ireland.

I also support the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985, which I believe provides the framework within which progress towards the resolution of Irish issues may best occur. The cause of peace can only be advanced, however, by reaching out to groups who have been the targets of discriminatory practices in the past. This approach has worked well in our own country, for example, where federal regulations similar in concept to the MacBride Principles have allowed us to increase dramatically the representation of women and minorities in employment.

Thank you once again for your letter and for your kind interest in my views.

Sincerely,

Michael S. Dukakis

MR. DU PONT DID NOT STATE HIS POSITION ON IRISH UNITY.

This is his position on the MacBride Principles: "Thank you for your good letter of February 5, concerning the need to work against discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland."

"I fully share your conviction that such discrimination is unacceptable, and I was pleased to see in the materials you enclosed a report indicating the Du Pont Company plant in Ireland has an excellent record in this regard."

"With respect to what additional steps need to be taken, I believe we must be careful to learn from the mistakes we've made here in the United States in dealing with our civil rights problem. In particular, numerical quotas are a very unwieldy and intrusive means of ensuring equal protection, and I would be very reluctant to endorse legislation that could lead to the use of quotas in enforcement."

"Readers can see," said Fr. McManus, "that all three candidates have a very poor position on the Irish issue. Irish-Americans should simply not stand for this. They should let these candidates know immediately their positions are not acceptable."

"As we receive the positions of other candidates we will rate them and make them public. Now is the time for Irish-Americans to let their voices be heard," Fr. McManus concluded.

Dukakis seems to see MacBride as advocating affirmative action of the US type!

PRESIDENTIAL FORUMS

New York State Assemblyman John C. Dearie reported eight out of twelve presidential candidates have responded to the Irish-American community's invitations to participate in the 1988 Irish-American Presidential Issue Forums, but while each has indicated a willingness to participate, all have cited scheduling conflicts plus travel focus in earlier primary states which prohibit confirmation of specific dates until mid-January.



John Dearie

"The tone of each candidate's response has basically been positive to the concept of participation in presidential forums on Irish-American issues but the original plan to hold monthly forums with individual candidates seems virtually impossible given their campaign's logistics and focus on early primary states, not including the latter New York, Massachusetts and other east coast states beginning about mid-March," Dearie explained.

The Bronx lawmaker, who has spearheaded the political ap-

proach to force presidential candidates into directly responding on a five-point Irish-American political agenda, noted he expects a presidential forum prior to the New York State Primary, now scheduled for April 19th, to be held approximately two weeks before Primary Day.

"By sending official invitations to each campaign last August, we have succeeded in putting on notice each candidate and his scheduling team that the Irish-American community will be demanding candidates address the issues of top priority relative to our ethnicity, and their responses to date appear encouraging," Dearie indicated.

Eight presidential candidates have responded to date. Among the Democratic candidates were: Senator Joseph Biden (Del.); former Governor of Arizona, Bruce Babbitt; Senator Albert Gore (Tenn.); Senators Paul Simon (Ill.); and Governor William Clinton of Arkansas. Senator Biden has since dropped out of the race, and Governor Clinton did not become a candidate.

Among the Republican candidates who have responded are: Senator Robert Dole (Kans.); Congressman Jack Kemp (NY); Peter DuPont (Del.); and former Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

The candidates who have not responded to date are: Vice President George Bush, Democratic Congressman Richard Gephardt and Rev. Jesse Jackson.

The five dominant priority

issues which make up the Irish-American political agenda: The Appointment of a US Special Envoy to northeast Ireland; the MacBride Principles of Fair Employment; United States Immigration and Visa Policies; the US-UK Extradition Treaty and US Aid to Ireland.

Dearie has indicated that he will continue to keep in contact with all candidates' campaign itineraries, and will continue to update the Irish-American leaders on the progress of organizing one major presidential forum in the late March time-frame.

The general format of the Irish-American Presidential Forum will consist of a ten-minute opening statement by the candidate, followed by addressing himself to the five items on the Irish-American political agenda for approximately twenty minutes. A cross-section of Irish-American leaders from the six participating states representing their respective national organization will then pose a series of questions to the candidate.

Sponsoring organizations are: The Ancient Order of Hibernians; Irish-American Unity Conference; Grand Council of Emerald Societies; United Irish Counties; American-Irish Congress; Irish-American Labor Coalition; Irish Northern Aid; Gaelic Leagues; Westchester Irish Committee; American-Irish Political Education Committee; Irish Immigration Reform Movement and other affiliated groups.