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MacBride Principles and the Presbyterian Church

When I spoke with Rev. Robert Cobain, press and information spokesman for the Irish Presbyterian Church, he handed me a copy of a report (see attached) recently prepared by the American Presbyterian Church on the MacBride Principles.

Prior to making their report, the American Church had visited Northern Ireland to study the employment problem and had talks with a variety of interested parties, including the SDLP.

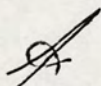
The report is reasonable and contains not unhelpful findings and recommendations. It recognises that "Northern Ireland is a divided community" and that "job discrimination is both a cause and an effect of this division". The delegation found that job discrimination is "an abiding feature of employment in Northern Ireland" and recommends "strong support for new affirmative action guidelines and legislation to establish equality of opportunity".

However, the report, recognising their need for good relations with the Irish Presbyterian Church, stopped short of endorsing the Principles. Instead, they recommend a "No" vote on the MacBride Principles, with a promise to review this stance annually in the light of progress in Northern Ireland.

Commenting on the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the report says they "are opposed to the MacBride campaign, but not necessarily to the principles of fair employment and their effective implementation".



Rev. Cobain said that the Irish Presbyterian Church would have no problem with the latter statement and, indeed, while they would not endorse the complete report they were pleased that their American Colleagues had not accepted the Principles. He said most Presbyterians recognised the need for reform and they saw the new guide and the promised legislation as a positive approach to bringing about a fairer system.



Liam Canniffe

14 December 1987

cc: Ms Anderson  
Mr. Gallagher  
Counsellors A-I  
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NORTHERN IRELAND

AND

THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES

This report was received and the conclusion and recommendations were adopted by the Committee on Mission Responsibility Through Investment (MRTI) at its meeting on September 25, 1987.

Northern Ireland is a divided community. Job discrimination is both a cause and an effect of this division. One response to job discrimination has been the MacBride Principles. These are nine equal opportunity/affirmative action guidelines patterned on the Sullivan Principles for South Africa, named after Irish Nobel Prize winner Sean MacBride, and backed with a strong campaign by the Irish National Caucus. They apply to the employment policies of U.S. based corporations doing business in Northern Ireland.

The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has been asked through its participation in the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) to support these principles and to join in bringing pressure on U.S. based corporations to adopt them. Initially supportive, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is now engaged in a reassessment of its position through its Committee on Mission Responsibility Through Investment (MRTI). To this end in August 1987 a delegation from MRTI was sent to Ireland to investigate job discrimination and the MacBride Principles as a remedy. The delegation consisted of Keith Cook, Robert Stivers, and Daniel Thomas from the Committee, William Somplatsky-Jarman from staff, and Robert Lodwick, Area Representative for Europe. The delegation spent six days in Ireland and met with over fifty people from a variety of persuasions.

In general the delegation found substantial agreement that job discrimination exists in Northern Ireland and recommends strong support for new affirmative action guidelines and legislation to establish equality of opportunity. The delegation learned to distinguish between the MacBride Principles and the political campaign to gain acceptance of the Principles. The Principles themselves as fully amplified are acceptable, but the campaign is deeply immersed in sectarian politics.



In order to avoid taking sides in a divisive sectarian conflict, the delegation therefore recommends support for the equality of opportunity practices set forth in the new Guide to Effective Practice put out in September 1987 by the Department of Economic Development and for new legislation to give effective force to these guidelines. It also recommends a "no" vote in 1988 on proxy resolutions involving the MacBride Principles, with reconsiderations of this decision during the year in light of changing conditions.

#### The Mandate and the Dilemma

The mandate for MRTI's involvement with the issue of job discrimination, the MacBride Principles, and cooperation with ICCR efforts to influence U.S. corporations in Northern Ireland comes from two sources.

The 183rd General Assembly (1971) of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. established guidelines for social investing based on the Confession of 1967 and General Assembly teachings on economic and social justice. These guidelines provide a direct mandate for MRTI to involve itself in issues of job discrimination. The preamble to the guidelines on racial justice speaks of a God who "breaks down every form of discrimination based on racial and ethnic difference...." The first of the racial justice guidelines reads: "[Church investors] should continue to seek investment in enterprises fostering the economic development of minority people in this and other nations". The second guideline on the pursuit of economic and social justice reads: "[Church investors] should constantly try to shape the decisions of enterprises in which they invest; to promote...provisions conducive to the dignity and well-being of employees...to develop employment policies and practices that do not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, religion, or class...." Also included in MRTI's mandate is responsibility for making recommendations on voting shareholder resolutions.

The 116th General Assembly (1976) of the Presbyterian Church in the United States approved Investment Policy and Guidelines for the General Assembly Mission Board (GAMB). In this policy under the heading "Social Factor Criteria" appear two principles to govern MRTI's work: "(a) recognition of human worth and dignity in employment policies and practices; (b) implementation of non-discriminatory employment and purchasing practices. This investment policy also directed the Investment Committee of the GAMB to take action on stockholder resolutions.



In addition to these mandates, MRTI must also consider the relationship of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) to other churches. For the problem at hand two relationships are significant. The first is the relationship to other churches in the U.S. through ICCR, which has been the main vehicle of ecumenical cooperation in the U.S. on social investing. MRTI has actively participated in ICCR and has appreciated the relationships developed there. In recent years the MacBride Principles have been a part of ICCR deliberations. While the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) did not initiate shareholder resolutions incorporating the MacBride Principles, it was requested by its ecumenical partners to vote in the affirmative where stock positions made this possible.

In response to a positive vote on the Principles in 1986, several letters were received from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland expressing concern. This raises the second relationship and the question of which relationship should take precedence. In order to study the matter further MRTI recommended abstaining on resolutions in 1987.

The dilemma facing MRTI and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is easily stated. On the one hand the Church wills to steward its financial resources to end discrimination and to involve itself ecumenically with other churches to concentrate the influence it has. These considerations lead to the support of the MacBride Principles.

On the other hand the Church must consider the recommendations and sensitivities of related churches, in this case the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and calculate how it can best steward its resources in any given situation. These mandates when coupled with uncertainties in Northern Ireland and the lack of support for MacBride within Ireland lead to opposition to MacBride.

The issues in this situation are complex. The intentions of the participants are impossible to assess. Yet the dilemma is focused: A "yes" or "no" on shareholder resolutions.

#### Job Discrimination

Job discrimination is an abiding feature of employment in Northern Ireland. A persistent pattern of protestant domination in higher echelons of management, in skilled jobs, and in old, established industries with the highest wages characterizes the situation. While examples of catholic discrimination against protestants do exist, and catholics do hold positions in certain industries out of proportion to their numbers in the work force, the reverse is more often the case. One particularly devastating result of this is a catholic unemployment rate twice that of protestants.



Discrimination is not the sole cause of the problem. Ireland's tortured history with catholic pitted against protestant, Irish against English, and rich against poor has bred a legacy of strife with few parallels. Sectarian divisions begat segregated living patterns. Entrepreneurs located their businesses to draw exclusively from protestant or catholic neighborhoods. Workers secured housing adjacent to factories with sectarian hiring policies. The fear of crossing through hostile neighborhoods chilled efforts to gain employment across sectarian lines. Jobs were a family affair, and information about them passed by word of mouth. A segregated school system with catholics stressing liberal arts and protestants the practical and technical arts combined with the other factors to give advantage to protestants in the technology-based basic industries of Northern Ireland and to relegate catholics to semi- and unskilled jobs.

In all this protestants tended to emerge as "winners." That they outnumbered catholics two to one and hold favored status with the British added to their advantage. And even though this inheritance of "winners" and "losers" is slowly disappearing, it leaves a legacy of bitterness which feeds sectarian strife.

In the present day discrimination is exacerbated by the decline of basic industries, lack of new investment, and continuing violence. Nearly twenty percent of the workforce is officially unemployed. In this "zero sum" atmosphere progress is difficult. Ending job discrimination in good times is tough enough. In bad times when catholic gain is perceived as protestant loss and vice versa, gains are all the more difficult.

Yet some progress has been made, especially in housing, service industries, and the civil service. Northern Ireland is a more just place today than it was a decade ago. The private sector remains a problem, however. Ending job discrimination and establishing equality of opportunity has never been a priority in the private sector. Making it a priority is a Herculean task when the parring of a firm's work force reduces oportunites for corrective action.

To reduce and eventually end job discrimination several things are needed. The first and by far the most essential priority is to check sectarian violence. Given the stated policy of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the readiness of protestants to take matters into their own hands, this is no easy task. Potential investors simply will not bring new jobs to Ireland in an atmosphere of violence. The preceived risk is too great.

The second priority is to attract new industry. Tough for Ireland in the best of times, matters are made worse by the smallness of the market, the absence of mineral resources, and the high cost of transporting finished goods. Ireland must compete with



other countries which are equally willing to offer potential investors attractive packages. The hassles of shareholder resolutions and pressure from stockholders add to the disincentives.

The third priority is an active program of affirmative action-equal opportunity. A program is in place but has heretofore been ineffective in the private sector.

The fourth priority is to find a way to accomplish the first three priorities simultaneously, for the three problems they address feed on each other. Job discrimination is food for violence. Violence makes investment unattractive. Lack of new jobs means slow progress on job discrimination.

The Irish, of course, must be the ones to address these priorities. No one else can do it for them. The role of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) should be to offer its prayers, to encourage our Christian sisters and brothers in Ireland to take up the challenge these priorities represent, and to be clear in its support for appropriate fair employment practices.

#### Efforts to Reduce Discrimination

To assess the need for the MacBride Principles and the campaign being waged in their behalf, the effectiveness of current efforts in Northern Ireland to reduce job discrimination must first be considered. Current efforts center on the Fair Employment Act of 1976, legislation which established the Fair Employment Agency (FEA) to carry out its mandates.

The FEA in Northern Ireland is responsible for promoting equality of opportunity and ending discrimination in employment. After a decade of work, reviews of the FEA's progress are mixed. As one might expect, those from the majority community find its progress satisfactory. Given the situation and FEA's mandate and resources this claim is not without foundations.

In contrast those of the minority community charge that it is a paper tiger, underfunded, understaffed, without effective enforcement power, naive in its educational approach, and inefficient in dealing with complaints. There is also foundation for these charges.

Several developments, in particular the publication of statistics in 1985 indicating continuing wide differentials in unemployment, pressure from the United States through the MacBride Campaign, and the participation of the Republic of Ireland through arrangements under the Anglo-Irish Agreement, influenced the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to assess the FEA's progress. That assessment came in September 1986 in a consultative



paper entitled "Equality of Opportunity in Employment in Northern Ireland." It confirmed that little progress had been made in the decade of the FEA's existence.

In addition to this conclusion the paper refuted a number of popularly held misconceptions and identified principles and practices which are essential to equality of opportunity in employment. The paper strongly endorsed the 'merit principle' and with equal vigor rejected quotas and reverse discrimination. The stress on merit and the rejection of quotas is in keeping with long established British tradition. To their way of thinking merit is an end in itself. To Americans with a long experience of affirmative action, this stress may seem foreign.

The concluding chapters of the consultative paper advocated beefing up the government's efforts to end discrimination and to establish equality of opportunity. The recommendations found there will appear in legislative form in October 1987, with enactment after full parliamentary process scheduled for some time in 1989.

The most significant among these recommendations is one which calls for a shift from intent to practice. No longer will firms be awarded government contracts and grants merely on the self-policed pledge that they do not intend to discriminate. They will be required to monitor the composition of their work forces and to present evidence on non-discriminatory practice. Awards and grants will be given only to firms certified to be in compliance. This is significant because the public sector subsidy of the private sector is so important in Northern Ireland. One government official estimated that this provision alone would affect sixty percent of the private sector.

Also important is the placing of the entire public sector under statutory duty to practice equality of opportunity according to procedures set out in a Declaration of Practice. Gains have already been made in certain sectors of the civil service. These gains are evidence of British seriousness, and this provision should extend them to the entire public sector.

The private sector, however, will not be placed under statutory duty to practice equality of opportunity according to the Declaration of Practice. The new and more stringent rules will apply only to the civil service. This does not mean private firms are free to practice job discrimination, which is unlawful under earlier legislation, can lead to the denial of contracts and grants, and is governed by the new Guide to Effective Practice put out in 1987 by the Department of Economic Development. Further provisions to establish an advisory unit to assist employers and a commission with separate educational and judicial functions round out the recommendations. The separation of functions was deemed necessary to increase the effectiveness of educational efforts.



The question which emerges from the consultative paper is whether these recommendations once enacted will eliminate the need for the MacBride Principles. The answer will depend in large part on the resources the FEA is given to accomplish its tasks and on the diligence with which it pursues them. That these are unknowns means the question cannot be adequately answered. Sectarian speculation has and will continue to fill the vacuum.

Supporters of a continuing MacBride campaign point to past ineffectiveness and dismiss the consultative paper as mere window dressing. Opponents of MacBride are more optimistic, some even characterizing these initiatives as a bold new direction.

These assessments are, of course, fueled by radically different perceptions of British intention. Ultra nationalists do not trust the British and insist on MacBride. Ultra loyalists are afraid the British will give away the store to the Republic of Ireland and are against MacBride and the reforms. Finding one's way in this maze of perceptual conflict is no easy task.

Which ever side is taken, there are still weaknesses in the consultative paper if vigorous affirmative action is the goal. The duty to promote equality is not laid on the private sector, only the duty not to discriminate. There is no analysis of why discrimination persists. The paper does not call for strengthening the FEA's investigative and enforcement powers. Finally, no effects will be felt for some time to come because of the deliberate pace of the legislative proceedings and the much slower pace of substantive changes in the Irish economy. The immediate needs of Ireland are...

#### The MacBride Campaign

The MacBride Principles were drafted, according to Sean MacBride himself, by Father Sean McManus and others in the Irish National Caucus. Sean MacBride consulted in the drafting and permitted his name to be used. With Sean MacBride, three leaders in Northern Ireland affixed their signatures. In 1986 an amplification was made to the principles to address several misunderstandings. The full text of the Principles with amplifications underlined reads as follows:

In light of decreasing employment opportunities in Northern Ireland and on a global scale, and in order to guarantee equal access to regional employment the undersigned propose the following equal opportunity/affirmative action principles:

1. Increasing the representation of individuals from under-represented religious groups in the workforce including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.



A workforce that is severely unbalanced may indicate prima facie that full equality of opportunity is not being afforded all segments of the community in Northern Ireland. Each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make every reasonable lawful effort to increase the representation of under-represented religious groups at all levels of its operations in Northern Ireland.

2. Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the workplace and while travelling to and from work.

While total security can be guaranteed nowhere today in Northern Ireland, each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to protect workers against intimidation and physical abuse at the workplace. Signatories must also make reasonable good faith efforts to ensure that applicants are not deterred from seeking employment because of fear for their personal safety at the workplace or while travelling to and from work.

3. The banning of provocative religious or political emblems from the workplace.

Each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to prevent the display of provocative sectarian emblems at their plants in Northern Ireland.

4. All job openings should be publicly advertised and special recruitment efforts should be made to attract applicants from under-represented religious groups.

Signatories to the MacBride Principles must exert special efforts to attract employment applications from the sectarian community that is substantial under-represented in the workforce. This should not be construed to imply a diminution of opportunity for other applicants.

5. Layoff, recall, and termination procedures should not in practice favor particular religious groupings.

Each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to ensure that layoff, recall and termination procedures do not penalize a particular religious group disproportionately. Layoff and termination practices that involve seniority solely can result in discrimination against a particular religious group if the bulk of employees with greatest seniority are disproportionately from another religious group.



6. The abolition of job reservations, apprenticeship restrictions, and differential employment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religion or ethnic origin.

Signatories to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to abolish all differential employment criteria whose effect is discrimination on the basis of religion. For example, job reservations and apprenticeship regulations that favor relatives of current or former employees can, in practice, promote religious discrimination if the company's workforce has historically been disproportionately drawn from another religious group.

7. The development of training programs that will prepare substantial numbers of current minority employees for skilled jobs, including the expansion of existing programs and the creation of new programs to train, upgrade, and improve the skills of minority employees.

This does not imply that such programs should not be open to all members of the workforce equally.

8. The establishment of procedures to assess, identify, and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.

The section does not imply that such procedures should not apply to all employees equally.

9. The appointment of a senior management staff member to oversee the company's affirmative action efforts and the setting up of timetables to carry out affirmative action principles.

In addition to the above, each signatory to the MacBride Principles is required to report annually to an independent monitoring agency on its progress in the implementation of these principles.

Positively these principles address a substantive problem of discrimination. Job discrimination is a feature of the Northern Ireland scene as the composition of the workforce, employment statistics, and evidence about traditional practice make clear. The traditional concern of Christians for social justice with its special concern for the poor applies. Whether the degree of discrimination exceeds that of other nations where no pressure is being exerted is not clear. Certainly any analogy to South Africa is misplaced.



The Principles themselves, while arguable as to intent, wording, and legality, are, as the government of the Republic of Ireland puts it, "unobjectionable." Those who take exception to them without offering alternatives concede the high ground to proponents and open themselves to the charge of advocating discrimination.

The MacBride campaign also appears to have been a major source of pressure on the British government to take more effective measures to eliminate job discrimination and promote equality of opportunity. Care must be taken here for the degree of influence and the real intent of the principles are contentious matters.

Government officials admit that the MacBride campaign was one of the developments forcing an assessment of the FEA's work. They would prefer to classify it as one of several pressures, but their preoccupation with the impact of MacBride on new foreign investment suggests a deeper influence.

Clarity is essential at this point and so also the need to move beyond simple affirmation of the MacBride campaign. Government officials and knowledgeable protestants are firm in their perception that steps towards equal opportunity, however slow, are being taken. To their mind there is no turning back. What they and many knowledgeable catholics are deeply concerned about is the effect of MacBride on new investment and jobs. The overwhelming perception is a negative: that the MacBride campaign is an added factor which has and will worsen the economic situation.

This perception may be incorrect, as MacBride proponents are... impact is widely shared and may even be self-fulfilling. Worse, a second perception quickly follows allowing opponents to dismiss MacBride and with it any forward thrust on ending discrimination. The campaign is seen as part of an effort by Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, to destabilize the economy and embarrass the British.

Some protestants are looking, of course, for any pretext to avoid sharing power and privilege. But there are morally concerned protestants who seek a more equal society and are put off by MacBride. For them the campaign is dysfunctional and even counterproductive. This is unfortunate because progress on equal opportunity desperately needs their leadership.

Supporters of MacBride reject these fears, deny the connection to Sinn Fein, and disclaim any intention to destabilize the economy or embarrass the British. They attribute the lack of new investment to violence and worldwide economic factors. The elimination of discrimination, they claim, will in fact make Northern Ireland more attractive for investment. In particular they stress the social



justice of their case and insist that the pressure must be kept up or the FEA will continue to be underfunded, understaffed, and lackadaisical toward investigation and enforcement. They see their campaign as the single most important source of pressure on the government.

Much is at stake in this point/counterpoint. On the one hand the MacBride campaign is worth supporting if in fact it has been such an effective prod; if in fact the intentions of its supporters are to end discrimination and establish equality of opportunity and outcome; if in fact the principles do not discourage new investment; and if in fact the campaign does not alienate those protestants who are more open-minded.

On the other hand the case for MacBride is less persuasive if in fact effective steps are being taken by the government at its own initiative; if in fact supporters have other political agendas which they are using the principles to achieve; if in fact the campaign discourages new investment; and if in fact MacBride stiffens opposition.

The problem, of course, is facts. This debate is not being carried on in the arena of objective fact, but in the everyday pit of subjective perception, political and sectarian conflict, and distrust. Having the wisdom of the serpent is an elementary postulate of political realism. The problem comes when wisdom degenerates into distrust, takes the way of the serpent and loses the other half of Jesus' admonition: To have the innocence of the dove. A society can survive a degree of realism, but not radical distrust.

Unfortunately, the debate over the MacBride campaign in Northern Ireland involves more than simple realism. The principles are another political football in the contest of mistrusting wills which divide Northern Ireland. However innocent and just the principles are in themselves, in the Northern Ireland and Irish-American contexts they take on added dimensions which are not so innocent.

This, of course, was also true of the American civil rights struggle to which civil rights efforts in Northern Ireland are often compared. In the American case justice was on the side of both abstract principles and the campaign for their implementation. That this is true in Northern Ireland is not as clear. To differentiate between principles and campaign, supporting the principles and being guarded about the campaign, would seem prudent.

There are other problems with MacBride campaign which should be mentioned. Sean MacBride was once the chief of staff of the IRA. He is no longer affiliated and rejects the tactics of the IRA and the political posture of Sinn Fein. Still his earlier leadership role is well remembered by the majority community and is thought by



many to continue. While MacBride's name adds clout in the United States and around the world, among protestants in Northern Ireland who must be party to any solution it is anathema. More, when his name is brought up, the discussion shifts from the real question of social justice to the spurious issue of MacBride's character and intentions. Character assassination is never pretty, but then neither is the insensitivity of those who would attach the name of a former IRA leader to a document in this context. His name adds to the counterproductive nature of the campaign and ought to be dropped, even though it is probably too late for this.

The last problem with the MacBride campaign is that it has little internal Irish support. With the exception of Sinn Fein, no major political party has endorsed the campaign, and most have rejected it. This includes other largely catholic parties. The Roman Catholic Church has made no public statement. All main line protestant churches and the Irish Council of Churches have rejected the campaign. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, representing all of Ireland, takes no position on political issues, but has seen fit to publish an alternative set of principles. Political leaders in the Republic of Ireland have been mixed in their support. What this all points to is the degree to which the MacBride campaign is a child of Irish-American politics, not Northern Ireland politics. The fact is that few citizens of Northern Ireland are even aware of the principles.

Finally, the principles themselves are not without problems. <sup>and reverse</sup> ~~discrimination~~ such as in the use of the term "minority." ~~discrimination~~ Since this point was raised, MacBride supporters have issued their amplifications which firmly keep the principles within the law. Unfortunately, opponents have conveniently overlooked this and continue to whip the dead horse of illegality.

Principle two is problematic by nearly universal agreement. Guaranteeing worker safety to and from work is not possible in the violent atmosphere of Northern Ireland. Security forces are unable to do this for their own officers. Apostles of violence are too well organized and trained.

These and other minor quibbles point to the need for some revision of the principles. Several groups have attempted to do this, but to date none has received the publicity or backing of MacBride.



### Conclusion

Simple opposition to the MacBride Principles is morally indefensible and politically unwise. The principles seek to rectify real injustices, and on this ground alone they or some facsimile deserve support. Moreover, given the slowness of past government responses, continued pressure is in order.

Yet, while advocacy of fair employment principles is desirable, support for the campaign should be guarded. Without getting into detail, there are good reasons to avoid the involvement in sectarian Irish-American politics which the MacBride Campaign represents.

Indeed there are important reasons not to join the campaign. The higher priorities of ending violence and securing new investment, which the MacBride campaign may jeopardize; efforts by the government to take corrective action by beefing up the FEA and publishing a new guide to effective practice; and increasing checks and balances through new actions by churches, labor unions, and the Republic of Ireland reduce the need for MacBride.

The relationship of the Presbyterian Church (USA) to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland must also be considered. Support of the MacBride campaign will cause a rift between the two churches. Presbyterians in Ireland are opposed to the MacBride campaign, but not necessarily to the principles of fair employment and their effective implementation.

Although Irish Presbyterians have not been in the vanguard of ending discrimination, they may be ready to move. One of the best things Presbyterians in the U. S. can do is to help them with prayer and other actions to become a force for fair employment. They have the potential for being one of the most effective advocates because of their position in the protestant majority. The best course would seem to be to keep this relationship open by voting "no" on the MacBride Principles, to monitor action by the Presbyterian Church in Ireland on job discrimination, and annually to review this stance in light of progress in Northern Ireland.

### Recommendations

The Committee on Mission Responsibility Through Investment adopts the following recommendations:

1. That the Committee on MRTI correspond with U. S. based corporations in Northern Ireland,
  - a) requesting employment policy and data on their Northern Ireland operations,



- b) urging them to adopt voluntarily the employment procedures set forth in the province's Guide to Effective Practice: Religious Equality of Opportunity in Employment, published in September 1987 to replace the original guide which was issued in 1978, and requesting information on the implementation of these guidelines, and
  - c) supporting continued or expanded employment and investment in the province.
2. That the Committee on MRTI request that the General Assembly Council concur with its recommendation that
- a) the agencies of the General Assembly support shareholder resolutions and other efforts unrelated to the MacBride Principles calling for U. S. based corporations to publish data on unemployment in their Northern Ireland subsidiaries and urging them to support equal opportunity in that region.
  - b) That all governing bodies, institutions, congregations, and members of the Presbyterian Church (USA) be urged to do practice.
3. That the Committee on MRTI promote ecumenical dialogue among U.S. religious bodies in the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility and elsewhere on the matters dealt with in the Northern Ireland Investment Task Force report, including the MacBride Principles and other fair employment principles.
4. That the Stated Clerk and other appropriate ecumenical representatives be requested
- a) to assist in communication with the Presbyterian Church in Ireland concerning means for promoting equality of opportunity and ending discrimination in both church and society, and
  - b) to assist in communication with the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland concerning similar efforts.
5. That the Committee on Social Witness Policy and the Social Justice and Peacemaking Unit be requested to study with MRTI the implications for wider church policy and strategy of continued efforts to address the economic problems of Northern Ireland through Presbyterian Church investment policy.
6. That the Committee on MRTI request that the General Assembly Council concur with its recommendation that the Presbyterian Foundation and Board of Pensions, where they hold positions, vote "no" during 1988 on shareholder resolutions favoring the MacBride Principles.