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ROINN AN TAOISIGH

Uimhir.....

To: Mr. Kirwan, Assistant Secretary.

From: B. McCarthy.

Re: Letter from Irish National Caucus.

The Caucus wrote to the Taoiseach on 11 February alleging, inter alia, that Irish Government officials in the U.S. have been actively campaigning against the McBride Principles. The letter made specific allegations in relation to Ambassador MacKiernan and the Ambassador's comments are contained in his telex which is attached. In the light of these comments, it is understandable why the Ambassador proposed a somewhat curt reply to the Caucus letter. I would prefer the draft supplied by D/Foreign Affairs and this is submitted for consideration by the Taoiseach.

I reminded D/Foreign Affairs on an number of occasions about the need to submit a reply to this correspondence. I only received their comments this week.

Secretary to the Government.

I have amended the draft reply solely to make it for private Secretary signature, as I think it neither warranted nor advisable that the Taoiseach reply personally to the letter from Father McManus. I have, however, sought to frame the amendments so as to make it fully clear that the reply has the full authority of the Taoiseach

[Signature]
15th April, 1988.

*Kevin Darling DFA
says that no reply issued in this case.*

[Signature]
1.9.88

[Signature]
14/7/88

*Taoiseach
Draft
reply
of a point
is suggested
18/4*

*B. McCarthy
Bryan,
Could you check if the letter did issue in this case. If so, says that no action required. I presume*

*Kevin
Darling*



Irish National Caucus, Inc.

National Director
Fr. Sean McManus

Deputy National Director
Dr. Fred Burns-O'Brien

Executive Director
Rita Mullan

Secretary-Treasurer
Bernadette McAuliffe

Chairman Board of Advisors
Bishop Thomas J. Drury

Director, Irish-American Affairs
Robert J. Bateman

Director, Legislative Affairs
David McDermitt

INC Liaison in Ireland
Sean MacBride, Chairman

Congressional Friends
Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ)
Senator Al D'Amato (R-NY)
Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)
Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-HI)
Senator Lowell Weicker (R-CT)
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Rep. Brian J. Donnelly (D-MA)
Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-CA)
Rep. Joseph D. DiGuardi (R-NY)
Rep. Bob Edgar (D-PA)
Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-WASH DC)
Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr. (R-NY)
Rep. Thomas M. Foglietta (D-PA)
Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY)
Rep. Thomas E. Hartnett (R-SC)
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Rep. Thomas A. Luken (D-OH)
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Rep. Nicholas Mavroules (D-MA)
Rep. Ray McGrath (R-NY)
Rep. Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)
Rep. J. Joseph Moakley (D-MA)
Rep. Guy Molinari (R-NY)
Rep. Mary Rose Oaker (D-OH)
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Rep. Marty Russo (D-IL)
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Rep. Cally Shaw, Jr. (R-FL)
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Rep. Louis Stokes (D-OH)
Rep. Al Swift (D-WA)
Rep. Bruce Vento (D-MN)
Rep. Doug Walgren (D-PA)
Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY)
Rep. Gus Yatron (D-PA)

(Partial List)

February 11, 1988

Mr. Charles J. Haughey T.D.
Taoiseach
Office of the Taoiseach
Mount St.
Dublin 2.
Ireland.

Dear Mr. Haughey,

Through the initiative of the Irish National Caucus, legislation on the Mac Bride Principles (Bill 7-394) has been introduced in the City Council of the District of Columbia.

You are on record of stating that you are not opposed to the Mac Bride Principles and that you have not instructed any Irish Government official in the United States to campaign against them.

Because the Irish Embassy is in Washington, D.C., it will be particularly of interest to the Irish National Caucus to see if the Irish Embassy officials will campaign against the D.C. legislation on the Mac Bride Principles. We will be monitoring their activity very carefully.

We certainly hope that the Irish Embassy officials will not interfere with the D.C. legislation. Indeed, we will regard this as a test-case.

Both before and after you were elected Taoiseach, Irish Government officials in the United States have actively campaigned against the Mac Bride Principles.

For example, on one of Sean Mac Bride's last visits to the U.S. to speak to the Eire Society (April 29, 1987) you were Taoiseach. The Irish Ambassador (then and now) Mr. Padraic Mac Kernan let it be known in conversation at the Eire Society event that he was opposed to the Mac Bride Principles. One person told

(over)

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Mr. Charles Haughey
February 11, 1988

me that Mr. Mac Kernan vehemently expressed his opposition and declared his support of John Hume's position on the Mac Bride Principles.

Now that the great and illustrious Sean Mac Bride is dead, the Irish National Caucus is more determined than ever to promote the Mac Bride Principles in the United States. We see this as the most fitting memorial.

While he lived, there were many attempts to discredit the Mac Bride Principles by trying to discredit him.

And, I am ashamed to say, there is reason to suspect that this smear-campaign was - in part - orchestrated by the Irish Embassy and Mr. John Hume M.P. S.D.L.P. The first shots in this anti-Mac Bride campaign were fired by U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) - who takes his cue on Irish matters from the Irish Embassy - when he spoke to a break-fast meeting of Irish Americans and Irish American labor leaders in Washington D.C. at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel on May 7, 1985. When I challenged Senator Moynihan that he was mis-representing the Mac Bride Principles, he retorted: "You tell your readers that Mac Bride was the Nobel Peace Prize Winner. Tell them he was, also, the Lenin Peace Prize Winner, and you don't get that for nothing." It was a shocking and deliberate smear.

In follow-up conversations with his office, Senator Moynihan refused to retract his smear.

In August 1987, a Member of Congress visited Ireland on a fact-finding mission. He met with Mr. Seamus Mallon M.P. S.D.L.P. Mr. Mallon told him that he had no real trouble with the Mac Bride Principles. His trouble was that Sean Mac Bride had been given and had accepted the Lenin Peace Prize. The attempted smear again.

A few weeks before Sean Mac Bride died, elected representatives from the State of Maine visited Ireland. They met with Mr. John Hume M.P. S.D.L.P. He told them that Sean Mac Bride had been senile for years and that he was being exploited by the Mac Bride Principles. "He's an old man whom they prop-up to say what they want him to say", said Mr. Hume.

I think you will agree that this is an outrageous pattern of vilification of one of Ireland's most illustrious sons. Coupled with the scurrilous British Press commentaries on Sean Mac Bride's death, it represents a deliberately orchestrated campaign.

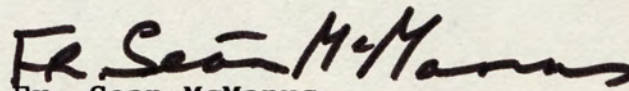
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Mr. Charles Haughey
February 11, 1988

Padraig Pearse predicted that an Irish Patriot can be more powerful in death than in life. We are confident this will apply to Sean Mac Bride. He was deeply committed to, and deeply interested in the progress of the Mac Bride Principles.

The Irish National Caucus is now more than ever dedicated to the Mac Bride Principles. It is our earnest hope that you will immediately instruct all your officials in the United States to stop opposing the Mac Bride Principles.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,



Fr. Sean McManus
National Director

To HQ From Washington

For Ann Anderson From Ambassador

Letter to Taoiseach from Father S. McManus

I would suggest a very brief reply to Fr. McManus along the following lines:

"Dear Fr. McManus,

I have your letter of February 11, 1988 with regard to the MacBride Principles.

You will wish to know that since Irish Government officials have not campaigned and are not campaigning against the MacBride Principles, there is no need to instruct them in this regard.

Yours sincerely,"

I would offer the following observations on Fr. McManus's letter:

1. Apart from its threatening tone, it is in substance mendacious and misleading. In accusing the Embassy and Messrs. Hume, Moynihan and Mallon of a "smear campaign" against the late Seán MacBride, Fr. McManus himself engages in precisely the same tactic vis-a-vis the Embassy, by suggesting that the "campaign" is being "orchestrated" by the Embassy and John Hume.
2. The ability of this or any other Embassy to induce the individuals concerned to play in tune, you may judge for yourself. However, it is as well, for the record, to point to a number of factual inaccuracies and misrepresentations in Fr. McManus's letter. First, there is the assertion that I let it be known that I was opposed to the MacBride Principles in a conversation on "29 April 1987" with an unnamed interlocutor of Fr. McManus. The occasion in question was an Éire Society Dinner in Boston on 24 April (I reported on the dinner in a minute to the Secretary on 8 May 1987). I assume that the conversation to which Fr. McManus is referring was a brief discussion between myself and Mr. Pat Doherty (who, as you know, is the original author of the Principles to which Seán MacBride later lent his name).

The conversation took place at a small reception in a room which also contained Séan MacBride and his son, Tiernan, with whom my wife and I just had a pleasant conversation. Apart from the inherent unlikelihood that anyone would attack the MacBride Principles on such an occasion, this simply was not the case. When Mr. Doherty raised the question of the MacBride Principles I told him that the Government had no difficulty with them and was not opposed to them.

3. However, it was clear that Mr. Doherty's real concern was the position of John Hume vis-a-vis the MacBride campaign in the United States (as distinct from the Principles) and in particular a report of Hume's views which had recently appeared in the Boston Globe. As I recall, Mr. Doherty was very critical of John Hume's position. I simply observed that I could understand Mr. Hume's concerns about the dangers, as he saw them, which the campaign held of disinvestment as well as his scepticism about the bonae fides of the Provisional IRA who complained about unemployment in Northern Ireland when they were attacking the Northern Ireland economy and murdering businessmen. I offered to discuss the Government's attitude to the issue of fair employment in Northern Ireland with Mr. Doherty at any time he was in Washington. I was, of course, aware of his contact with officers of the Consulate General in New York. The next day The Globe carried an account of an interview with Séan MacBride in which MacBride was very critical of Hume. This no doubt was part of what was exercising Doherty when we spoke. One may be sure that he was present at the interview and indeed had briefed Séan MacBride for it.
4. Subsequently, as you know, Doherty on a visit to Dublin, misrepresented our conversation as a "vituperative" attack on the MacBride Principles themselves and it is evident from Fr. McManus's letter that this now has been elaborated into a general conspiracy to vilify Séan MacBride and thus to oppose the MacBride Principles. Obviously this is an absurd slander or at best a paranoid fantasy.
5. Fr. McManus maintains that the "opening shots" were fired in the alleged campaign on the 5th May 1985 by Daniel Patrick Moynihan at a meeting of U.S. Labour leaders in Washington. The role of conductor of the orchestra (or firing squad) on that occasion will have to be assigned to someone in the Embassy other than myself since I had yet to arrive in Washington. The roles assigned to John Hume and Séamus Mallon in Fr. McManus's anti-MacBride orchestra are equally far fetched. However, they no less than Pat Moynihan are well able to defend themselves if need be in relation to

McManus's charges.

6. Although one can readily dismiss Fr. McManus's lurid assertions, at the same time there is a serious and unscrupulous intent behind them and it seems, also in the mind of McManus's unnamed interlocutor. This is to try to intimidate Irish officials in the United States by suggesting to the Taoiseach and his Ministers that they are not loyally carrying out Government policy. By extension of course it is also an attempt to intimidate the Government. You will have observed the minatory note struck in the letter when Fr. McManus says that the Caucus "will be monitoring the activities of the Embassy carefully" in regard to the legislation on MacBride before the D.C. City Council and that they regard "this as a test case".
7. This kind of tactic is not new (you will recall Joe Roche's efforts in the same direction last year at the time of the Tánaiste's visit to New York). They are part of the stock in trade of the Irish National Caucus, the Political Education Committee faction of the AOH, the IAUC and NORAIID. What is curious in the present instance is the internal evidence of a degree of coordination between Pat Doherty and McManus although the latter may simply be using Doherty's views as a handy stick to beat the Embassy with.
8. Obviously no credence should be given to Fr. McManus's letter, and it would be inadvisable for the Taoiseach to enter into argument with him in reply. Hence the brief draft reply set out above which I suggest is the appropriate response.

Corrigan
pe reply
1/3



Oifig an Taoisigh
Office of the Taoiseach

April, 1988.

Fr. Sean McManus,
National Director,
Irish National Caucus, Inc.

in the terms that follow

Dear Fr. McManus,

have been asked by the Taoiseach, ^{Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D.,}
I am ~~writing in~~ reply to your letter ~~to me~~ of 11 February about the McBride
Principles and other related matters.

of Ireland Taoiseach and the

The position of the Government on the McBride Principles has been made quite
clear on a number of occasions both by the ^{Tánaiste} and ~~by myself~~ and ~~our~~ ^{their}
statements have been widely disseminated by our Embassy and Consulates in
the United States.

The Ambassador and other Irish diplomatic and consular staff in the United
States promote and explain the policies of the Irish Government - as is
proper for Irish Government officials. It is not the case that they have
campaigned, or are campaigning, against these Principles.

As ~~I am sure~~ ^{no doubt} you are aware, the Government attach particular importance to
progress on fair employment in Northern Ireland and to early adoption and
implementation of adequate legislation to bring this about. ^{They} ~~We~~ have given,
and will continue to give, priority to these issues at meetings of the
Anglo-Irish Conference.

Yours sincerely,

[On carbon]

~~Taoiseach.~~

private Secretary

Private Secretary
Tánaiste and
Minister for
Foreign Affairs
for the Tánaiste's
information.
Mr. Anderson was
hand dealing
with this in your
department.

Tithe an Rialtais, Baile Átha Cliath 2.
Government Buildings, Dublin 2.

Telefón } (01) 780822
phone }

Telex 25300

Tagairt }
Reference }



AN ROINN GNÓTHAÍ EACHTRACHA
Department of Foreign Affairs

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH, 2.
Dublin 2.

12 April 1988.

Mr. Brian McCarthy,
Department of the Taoiseach,
Government Buildings,
Upper Merrion Street,
Dublin 2.

Dear Brian,

I refer to your letter of 2 March which which you enclosed a copy of a letter to the Taoiseach from Fr. Sean McManus, in which he makes various allegations about the attitude of the Embassy in Washington in relation to the MacBride Principles campaign in the United States.

On receipt of your letter we sought the observations of Ambassador McKernan. He vigorously denies that he or any other Irish Government official in the United States has been, or is, "campaigning against" the MacBride Principles - or that he has ever said or done anything to "vilify" the late Sean MacBride.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of his telex offering his comments on the McManus letter.

I am also enclosing a short draft reply which we would recommend the Taoiseach should consider issuing to Fr. McManus in reply to his letter.

Yours sincerely,

Anne Anderson.

Draft

Dear Fr. McManus,

I am writing in reply to your letter to me of 11 February about the McBride Principles and other related matters.

The position of the Government on the McBride Principles has been made quite clear on a number of occasions both by the Tanaiste and by myself and our statements have been widely disseminated by our Embassy and Consulates in the United States.

The Ambassador and other Irish diplomatic and consular staff in the United States promote and explain the policies of the Irish Government - as is proper for Irish Government officials. It is not the case that they have campaigned, or are campaigning, against these Principles.

As I am sure you are aware, the Government attach particular importance to progress on fair employment in Northern Ireland and to early adoption and implementation of adequate legislation to bring this about. We have given, and will continue to give, priority to these issues at meetings of the Anglo-Irish Conference.

Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Haughey
Taoiseach

2 March, 1988.

Ms. Anne Anderson,
Anglo-Irish Division,
Department of Foreign Affairs.

Dear Anne,

I enclose a copy of a letter of 11 February to the Taoiseach from the Irish National Caucus, concerning the Mac Bride Principles. We would be glad of your Department's advice as to the line which should be taken in replying to this letter. As an acknowledgement has not been sent, I would appreciate your views as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Brian McCarthy.

*Note Referred A. Anderson. She will
- expedite a reply
B.M. 23/3.*

*Note Copy A. Anderson again
- He will prepare response
B.M. 12/4.*