

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



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TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON
FOR ASST SEC NELIGAN FROM AMBASSADOR

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IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS - YOUR C7

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| <p>CODED MESSAGE IMMEDIATE URGENT CONFIDENTIAL DATE 6/1/80 T 0900 INITIALS <i>LS</i> <i>acc</i></p> |
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THE PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO PROVIDE UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION AND ASSESSMENT ABOUT THE CAUCUS. IN THE TIME AVAILABLE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO PREPARE A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF OUR OVERALL STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN DEALING WITH THE AMERICAN DIMENSION IN ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS AND, IN ANY EVENT, THAT TOPIC WOULD SEEM MORE APPROPRIATE FOR DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK.

2. YOU ALREADY HAVE ON FILE INFORMATION ABOUT EARLY CAUCUS LINKS WITH THE PROVISIONAL IRA AND, IN PARTICULAR, STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR THE PROVISIONAL IRA MADE BY FR MCMANUS AND DR O'BRIEN. AS THE MINISTER CORRECTLY OBSERVES STATEMENTS WERE MADE MAINLY INBEFORE 1977. YOUR ATTENTION IS, HOWEVER, DRAWN TO THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR WHICH SUPPORTING DOCUMENTATION IS ALSO AVAILABLE ON DEPARTMENTAL FILES. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE INFORMATION SHOWS CONTINUING LINKS BETWEEN THE CAUCUS AND NORAIID AND YOU ARE OF COURSE AWARE THAT NORAIID LEADERS CONTINUE TO ACKNOWLEDGE PUBLICLY THEIR LINKS WITH THE PROVISIONAL IRA. FOR EXAMPLE FLANNERY, REPORTED IN THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 28 AUGUST 1979 QUOTE WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PROVISIONAL IRA IN ITS FIGHT TO GET THE BRITISH OUT OF NORTHERN IRELAND. THE MORE BRITISH SOLDIERS WHO GO BACK IN THEIR COFFINS THE SOONER IT WILL BE OVER UNQUOTE. IT IS ALSO RELEVANT TO ADD THAT THE U.S. SECURITY AUTHORITIES WHO ARE IN CONTINUING CONTACT WITH THEIR IRISH OPPOSITE AGENCIES, BELIEVE THAT NORAIID IS THE U.S. AGENT FOR THE PROVISIONAL IRA. THE US ATTORNEY GENERAL IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN COURT PROCEEDINGS TO FORCE NORAIID TO REGISTER ACCORDINGLY.

3. THE FOLLOWING RECENT NORAIID/CAUCUS LINKS ARE BROUGHT TO YOUR ATTENTION:

- (A) OF THE NINETEEN MEMBER CURRENT EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE CAUCUS EIGHT ARE KNOWN TO HAVE PUBLIC LINKS WITH NORAIID EITHER BY WAY OF SERVING ON NORAIID COMMITTEES OR SPEAKING AT NORAIID FUND-RAISING FUNCTIONS:
- (B) ONE MEMBER OF THE CURRENT EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE CAUCUS, JAMES O'GARA, WAS CONVICTED IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1973 OF FOUR CHARGES INVOLVING ILLEGAL PURCHASE OF WEAPONS. THE GARDAI WERE INVOLVED IN THE CASE AND CAN PRESUMABLY MAKE AVAILABLE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

- (C) THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK CHAPTER OF THE CAUCUS, DENIS DILLON, IS PROMINENTLY IDENTIFIED WITH NORAID E.G. MEMBER OF HONORARY COMMITTEE FOR NORAID DINNER JANUARY 1979, SPEAKER NORAID DINNER NEW YORK DECEMBER 1979:
- (D) AMONG THOSE PUBLICLY ACTIVE WITH THE CAUCUS IN CLEVELAND, DETROIT, MINNEAPOLIS/SAINT PAUL AND CHICAGO AT PRESENT ARE OFFICERS OF NORAID CHAPTERS IN THE SAME CITIES:
- (E) THE 1978 PRESIDENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND CHAPTER OF THE CAUCUS HAS BEEN HONOURED AS NORAID'S QUOTE MAN OF THE YEAR UNQUOTE:
- (F) THE CURRENT QUOTE MASSACHUSETTS COORDINATOR UNQUOTE OF THE CAUCUS IS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CHAPTER OF NORAID:
- (G) THE FEBRUARY 1977 VISIT TO BOSTON OF NORA CONNOLLY O'BRIEN WAS JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE CAUCUS AND NORAID:
- (H) AT LEAST TWO CAUCUS CHAPTERS VIZ. NEW JERSEY AND ILLINOIS HAVE FORMALLY BROKEN WITH THE WASHINGTON OFFICE AND DECLARED THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO NORAID:
- (I) IN A REPORT DATED 14 SEPTEMBER 1979 PREPARED FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY MARTHA CRENSHAW OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, SHE CONCLUDES (PAGE 24) THAT SIZABLE FUNDS FOR THE IRA AND INLA QUOTE COME FROM THE IRISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, CHANNELLED THROUGH NORAID AND THE IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS UNQUOTE. NO INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE IS AVAILABLE TO US IN SUPPORT OF THAT CONCLUSION AND IT IS DRAWN TO YOUR ATTENTION ONLY TO INDICATE THE PERCEPTION OF THE CAUCUS IN INFORMED CIRCLES IN THE UNITED STATES.

4. THE CAUCUS CONTINUES TO SEEK A ROLE FOR THE PROVISIONAL IRA IN ANY U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION. NOT ONLY DO THEY CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR U.S. VISAS FOR PROMINENT PROVISIONALS TO COME HERE TO PRESENT THEIR CASE TO CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE BUT FR MCMANUS IS ON RECORD (RTE JULY 1978) AS SAYING QUOTE UNLESS THE HARD MEN, THE FIGHTING MEN ARE SOMEHOW PART, A PART OF THE SOLUTION AND PART OF THE SEARCH FOR THE SOLUTION, THERE IS GOING TO BE NO PEACE UNQUOTE. CONGRESSMAN BIAGGI INCIDENTALLY MADE THE VERY SAME POINT TO THE FORMER TAOISEACH AT THE LATTER'S NOVEMBER MEETING WITH THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. LEAVING ASIDE THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES, THE CAUCUS IS BEST KNOWN IN POLITICAL CIRCLES HERE FOR ITS CONTINUING EFFORTS TO PUSH FOR PROVISIONAL IRA REPRESENTATION AT ALL CONFERENCE TABLES, BE THEY BRITISH, IRISH OR AMERICAN.

5. YOU ARE AWARE OF THE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY THE CAUCUS IN RELATION TO SUCCESSIVE IRISH GOVERNMENTS AND OFFICIAL IRISH REPRESENTATIVES HERE. FURTHER DETAILS, INCLUDING INFORMATION ABOUT HARRASSMENT NOT ONLY OF OFFICIALS BUT OF THEIR FAMILIES CAN BE GIVEN NEXT WEEK, IF DECIED. DURING THE FORMER TAOISEACH'S VISIT, THE CAUCUS WERE INVOLVED IN PICKETING HIM AT LEAST IN NEW YORK AND BOSTON AND POSSIBLY ELSEWHERE. THEY ALSO CIRCULATED TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, TO MAJOR U.S. MEDIA AND TO PROMINENT U.S. OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN THAT VISIT A MEMORANDUM ENTITLED QUOTE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE. THE MEMORANDUM STATES, INTER ALIA QUOTE THERE HAS BEEN NO CONCRETE OR EFFECTIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY DUBLIN TO REMEDY THE DOCUMENTED ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY ITS POLITICAL POLICE - THE SPECIAL BRANCH - SINCE IT WAS FIRST CITED BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN 1977. REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION INEVITABLY RESULTS IN THE INHUMANE AND DEGRADING TREATMENT OF SUSPECTS BY POLICE. THERE IS ALSO A SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT THAT IS REPRESSIVE IN ITS PROCEDURES. THESE LAWS AND COURTS FLAUNT A DISREGARD FOR DUE PROCESS OF LAW AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNQUOTE. INDEED IT IS EVIDENT THAT IN RECENT MONTHS THE CAUCUS DEVOTED MORE OF ITS ACTIVITIES TO ATTACKING THE POLICIES AND PERSONNEL OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT THAN IT DID TO HIGHLIGHTING ANY ASPECT OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION AND IN CONTRAST TO THE ATTENTION WHICH IT DEVOTED TO THE FORMER TAOISEACH'S VISIT, THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF CAUCUS ACTIVITY RELATED TO PRIME MINISTER THATCHER'S VISIT A FEW WEEKS LATER.

6. IN REGARD TO THE OVERALL POSITION OF THE CAUCUS IN U.S. POLITICS NOTHING HAS HAPPENED TO CHANGE THE ASSESSMENT PROVIDED FOR THE BRIEF FOR THE FORMER TAOISEACH'S VISIT. THEIR INFLUENCE IN CONGRESS IS CONFINED TO A HANDFUL OF REPRESENTATIVES, PRIMARILY BIAGGI, HAMILTON FISH, WOLFF AND GILMAN, WHO HAVE CREATED MINOR WAVES OF PUBLICITY, MAINLY IN IRELAND, BUT WHO HAVE NOT SO FAR DELIVERED FOR THE IRISH NATIONALIST CAUSE ANYTHING OF SUBSTANCE. THE EFFORTS OF THE CAUCUS AND ITS CONGRESSIONAL ALLIES IN RECENT YEARS HAVE NOT PRODUCED EITHER THE CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, THE PEACE FORUM OR THE VISA HEARINGS. BIAGGI HAS LITTLE MORE TO SHOW FOR HIS IRISH EFFORTS THAN AN INVITATION TO THE WHITE HOUSE DINNER FOR THE FORMER TAOISEACH AND THE PROMISE OF SOME ORGANISED SUPPORT FROM IRISH ORGANISATIONS IN NEW YORK IN ANY EFFORT HE MIGHT MAKE TO ADVANCE HIS POLITICAL CAREER TO A STATE-WIDE ELECTED OFFICE. IN CONTRAST, THE FOUR HORSEMEN HAVE, INITIALLY BEHIND THE SCENES, AND MORE RECENTLY IN A PUBLIC MANNER, SUCCEEDED IN MAKING IRISH AFFAIRS A SERIOUS ISSUE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. THE 18 DECEMBER 1979 STATEMENT FOLLOWING THE CARTER-THATCHER MEETING HAS ALREADY BEEN BROUGHT TO YOUR ATTENTION AND YOU ARE, OF COURSE, ALSO AWARE OF THE ROLE OF THE FOUR HORSEMEN IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S AUGUST 1979 STATEMENT. IT IS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT THEIR ROLE, INCLUDING THEIR SAINT PATRICK'S DAY STATEMENTS IN RECENT YEARS, HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT AND HELPFUL INFLUENCE ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION.

7. AS FOR THE FUTURE, THERE IS, OF COURSE, NO GUARANTEE THAT THE FOUR HORSEMEN WILL RETAIN THEIR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY ON IRELAND AS DECISIVELY AS THEY HAVE DONE IN RECENT YEARS. KENNEDY'S PRESIDENTIAL BID OBVIOUSLY WEAKENS HIS INFLUENCE ON POLICY FOR THE MOMENT BUT O'NEILL'S POSITION HAS CONSIDERABLY STRENGTHENED AND HIS INFLUENCE AT LEAST FOR THE REST OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S CURRENT TERM WILL BE DECISIVE. HE IS NOT, HOWEVER, A YOUNG MAN AND THE DAILY PRESSURES OF BEING SPEAKER ARE ENORMOUS. WHILE THERE IS NO SPECULATION ABOUT HIS RETIREMENT, THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS DOING SO IN THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS CANNOT BE RULED OUT AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF HIS BEING REPLACED BY AN EQUALLY INTERESTED AND INFLUENTIAL FRIEND OF IRELAND'S IS REMOTE. WHATEVER HAPPENS, HOWEVER, THOSE WHOM WE ARE LIKELY TO FIND HELPFUL IN U.S. PUBLIC LIFE WILL NOT COME FROM THE SMALL GROUP NOW IDENTIFIED WITH THE CAUCUS BUT FROM THOSE WHO HAVE ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH THE FOUR HORSEMEN E.G. IN THE 1979 SAINT PATRICK'S DAY STATEMENT.

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BY CONTRAST WITH ITS FAILURE TO INFLUENCE U.S. POLITICIANS THE INFLUENCE OF OE CAUCUS IN THE ORGANISED IRISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IS CONSIDERABLE AND MUST BE SEEN AS A SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT. DEPUTY BLANEY'S VISIT WAS AN INDICATION OF THE EXTENT OF CAUCUS INFLUENCE - THE FUNCTIONS ORGANISED FOR HIM IN NEW YORK, BOSTON AND CHICAGO DREW LARGE CROWDS MAINLY FROM THE GRASS ROOTS BLUE COLLAR ORGANISATIONS SUCH AS THE AOH, GAA AND THE COUNTY ASSOCIATIONS.

9. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CAUCUS IN THE UNITED STATES MEDIA HAS BEEN NIL AND INDEED THE ORGANISATION HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY IDENTIFIED BY THE MAJOR U.S. MEDIA AS A GROUP LINKED WITH THE PROVOS. WHILE IRISH OFFICIALS HAVE IN SOME CASES ASSISTED IN THE MEDIA EXPOSURE OF THE CAUCUS, IT IS IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN MIND THAT SOME MAJOR MEDIA (NEW YORK TIMES, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, ETC) HAVE INDEPENDENTLY INVESTIGATED AND CONCLUDED THAT THE CAUCUS WAS NOT WHAT IT CLAIMS TO BE VIZ. A U.S. ORGANISATION CONCERNED ONLY WITH HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRELAND. ANY CHANGE IN OUR ATTITUDE TO THE CAUCUS WOULD NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT A LIKELY NEGATIVE REACTION TO SUCH A MOVE ON THE PART OF SOME OF THE MEDIA HERE.

10. A SEPARATE MESSAGE WILL BE SENT ABOUT THE OTHER MATTER REFERRED TO IN YOUR C7 VIZ. POSSIBLE VISIT BY MINISTER FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH SPEAKER. LATTER IS CURRENTLY OUT-OF-TOWN BUT AM SEEING HIS SENIOR AIDE TOMORROW.

END OF MESSAGE