

5/1/92

PRC 24 MacBride



- cc Mr Loughran
- Mr Cooke, SIL
- Mr Maxwell, Cent Sec
- Mr Smith, IDB
- Mr McNeill, NIB
- Mr Taggart
- Ms Mitchison

26 May 1992

TO: Mr Spence

FROM: R J Minnis

Mr McNeill

Mr MacBride

Mrs Stedman

To see please & file.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES: 8-19 MARCH 1992

Res Egan

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1. I attach for your information, and that of copy recipients, a (somewhat belated) report of the visit that Mr Taggart and I made to the US in March.
2. It is always hard to evaluate a visit such as this but from our point of view I think it was very worthwhile in terms of maintaining existing contacts, keeping in touch with the action in the US and providing an opportunity to give legislators and others a first hand account of developments in fair employment in Northern Ireland.
3. I am also sending a copy of the report, under separate cover, to Mr Goodman in the FEC.

R J Minnis

R J MINNIS

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REPORT OF A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY MR BOB MINNIS AND
MR PETER TAGGART FROM 8 TO 19 MARCH 1992

Introduction

1. In recent years there has been a series of visits to the US by officials in connection with fair employment and the anti-MacBride campaign. The last such visit was by Mr Spence in March 1991 and it was felt that the time was opportune to make direct contact again with US posts, key people in state legislatures and others in positions of influence, to update them on the implementation of fair employment legislation in Northern Ireland and to discuss the situation generally as seen from their North American perspective.
2. The programme for the trip is attached at Annex A.

Boston

3. Our itinerary in Boston began with a meeting in the Consulate General with John Owen, the recently appointed Consul General, Alan White and Terri Evans (who has replaced Ann Kanter). This provided a very useful overview of MacBride activity in the consular area (which covers Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont) and set the scene for the rest of the visit to the city.
4. We visited the State House where we had a meeting with Rep Christopher Hodgkins who chairs the Joint Committee on State Administration. In 1991 he was a signatory to the petition attached to Rep Byron Rushing's Bill dealing with both South Africa and Northern Ireland. While Rep Hodgkins was familiar in general terms with the problem of discrimination in Northern Ireland he appeared to be reasonably open-minded on the issue and welcomed the

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LETTER

update on implementation of the 1989 Act which we were able to give him. Although the meeting was relatively brief, Rep Hodgkins asked a number of questions which clearly indicated an intelligent interest in the subject matter.

5. Father Raymond G Helmick, of Boston College and the Conflict Analysis Center in Washington DC, has been known to the Department for some years as an opponent of the MacBride Principles. He came to see us in the Consulate and gave us a very perceptive insight into the Northern Ireland situation generally. He has in the past provided written testimony at MacBride hearings and he would be prepared to continue to do so where this would be helpful. However, he explained that he had difficulty in appearing in person at hearings because this would of necessity mean incurring travelling expenses which he could not meet personally and which he would feel unable to accept from HMG. Interestingly, on the day prior to our meeting, Father Helmick had had an article published in the Boston Herald in which he argued that it was due to negligence on all sides that so little had been achieved in finding a solution to the NI conflict even after 20 years (Annex B).
6. We then made a second visit to the State House where we had a meeting with Senator Paul Harold. He is a personal friend of Mr Needham and met him quite recently during a trip to the UK. We took the opportunity to outline the recent developments on fair employment (publication of information on individual firms; recent tribunal decisions; prosecutions of employers for non-compliance etc) and to emphasise that the 1989 Act not only had teeth but that they were being used. Senator Harold was more than hospitable and not only gave us a guided tour of the Senate chamber (which was in session at the time) but also spent about an hour with us

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afterwards. Clearly he is a friend at court and a most useful contact in the Massachusetts legislature. He appears to travel abroad fairly frequently so there may be further opportunities to make direct contact with him during his visits to the UK.

Augusta, Maine

7. Tuesday, 10 March was spent entirely on a trip to Augusta, the state capitol of Maine. We were met by Craig Nelson - a partner in the firm of Doyle and Nelson, Attorneys at Law - who has acted as a professional lobbyist for HMG since 1987 in opposing the MacBride campaign. Mr Nelson said that most of the legislators in Maine were tired of the MacBride issue and even the sponsors of the legislation (Messrs Cashman and Pierson) no longer appeared to be very committed to it. There was no obvious evidence of outside support from NORAID, INC, IAPEC etc. The biggest concentration of Irish Americans was in Portland but the MacBride lobby would have natural allies among French Canadians, of whom there were communities in many towns in the State.

8. Mr Nelson explained that there had been a number of recent changes in the Board of Trustees of the Maine State Retirement System and some of them were on record as saying that the Board would sue the legislature if it attempted to interfere in the Board's investment policy. This strong anti-MacBride line was endorsed later in the day when we met Bill Ross, the Investment Accounting Co-ordinator of the State Retirement System.

9. Towards the end of the day we visited the State House and met (separately) with Senator Georgette Berube, Chair of the State and Local Government Committee and Senator Beverley Bustin who sits on the same Committee. Both expressed interest in developments in

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Northern Ireland, Senator Berube recalling with some affection her past meetings with Mr Paddy Devlin. Of the 2 women, Senator Bustin would clearly be much harder to convince about HMG's determination to eliminate discrimination but she nevertheless appeared to be impressed with the enforcement action being taken by the Tribunal. (In this context the recent award of £25,000 in the Duffy case raised eyebrows not only in Maine but at virtually all our meetings throughout the States.)

10. Unfortunately calls on Ms Thurman and Ms Gray in Harvard and on Frank Costello, then liaison to Major Flynn on the Irish community, were subject to last minute cancellation. There was however a deputy for Mr Costello in the person of Bob O'Donnell, a former journalist and also a member of the Flynn team. He noted with interest our account of progress under the FE legislation and suggested that this was precisely the kind of information that well-intentioned Irish American politicians needed as a basis for countering the gross distortions commonly put about by hard-line MacBride propogandists. He saw particular value in the prospect of Bob Cooper visiting the States to brief key opinion-formers.
11. Our final engagement in Boston was a lunch with Robert F Ruggles of the General Treasurer's Office of the State of Rhode Island. Although the discussion with him ranged widely over Northern Ireland affairs his grasp of the situation appeared to be somewhat superficial.

Washington DC

12. Our visit to Washington DC was severely time-limited and in fact we were in the city for less than 24 hours. Our day began with meetings with colleagues in the Embassy, firstly with Richard Ralph, Jonathan Powell and Pamela Mitchison and, secondly, with Derek Wheeler of the NI Bureau.

13. We then met with Heidi Welsh of IRRIC. Again, like many of our meetings, this consisted of a presentation of recent developments on the fair employment front during which Ms Welsh asked a lot of questions and took copious notes. She mentioned that, along with Ken Bertsch, she intended to visit NI in the early summer and would follow-up on a number of the points we had made. Maintaining the strictly independent stance of IRRIC, she would not be drawn on where the MacBride campaign was going or any change of emphasis in its approach to the situation in NI. (While in Boston Mr Minnis had spoken at length on the telephone to Ken Bertsch. It was useful to establish both these personal contacts with IRRIC and thus keep the lines of communication open.)
14. We called on Josiah Beeman at his home in Washington DC. As Chairman of the NI Working Group of the Presbyterian Church in the USA he has a keen interest in Northern Ireland affairs and visits the Province regularly. He maintains close links with the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and referred to an impending visit to Washington by Dr Godfrey Brown and Dr John Dunlop.
15. A brief meeting was arranged with Matthew Bordonaro, the Legislative Director of the American Legislative Exchange Council. Mr Bordonaro emphasised ALEC's opposition to the MacBride campaign and was interested to learn how the 1989 Act was working. Although this was a meeting of like minds and there was no need to convince Mr Bordonaro of the justice and logic of HMG's case it was nevertheless useful to talk to him and be able to give him a first hand account of the present position.
16. Towards the end of our whistle stop tour of Washington DC we had the opportunity to meet H R Crawford, a member of the District Council of Columbia. Like all politicians he appeared to have innumerable diverse issues on his mind and clearly the MacBride legislation (Bill 9-311) was not the most important thing in his life. However, he did take the trouble while we were there to

check out its progress with one of the Committee Chairman's staff and gave us the clear impression that the Bill was going nowhere. We concluded our round of meetings in Washington DC by calling on Alexander Liebowitz in the State Department. His responsibilities in the Northern European Office include Iceland and Ireland (North and South) and he monitors all activity which is of interest to the Administration. He confirmed its opposition to the MacBride campaign and was glad to be updated on the present position from our perspective.

Detroit

17. The sole purpose in going to Detroit was to meet with Mr Bill Kelly of the Ford Motor Company. We had lunch with him and one of his colleagues in Dearborn on 13 March and he was good enough to spare us a full 3 hours of his time. This was an extremely valuable discussion in which Mr Kelly described very clearly the Ford position on MacBride, the history of the company's involvement with the proponents of the campaign, and the considerations which had led Ford to adopt its present stance. Mr Kelly made it quite clear that Ford remained implacably opposed to MacBride and had no intention whatever of coming to any agreement or "accommodation" with New York City on the issue. The company was aggrieved at the way in which the MacBride lobby continued to rake over incidents which occurred at the Belfast plant years ago and Mr Kelly felt that Ford was being subjected to a level of scrutiny and criticism - not applied to other companies - simply because of its international status and reputation. In Mr Kelly's view, some companies which had signed agreements with NYC had a much poorer fair employment record than Ford but were experiencing far less hassle from the MacBride proponents. By Ford standards the Belfast plant, with some 700 employees, is comparatively small and in the past its continued viability has sometimes been questioned at

corporate headquarters. However, Mr Kelly said that the situation had improved recently and, more importantly, he confirmed that, even though there continues to be a MacBride hassle factor, this would not be a material consideration if the company were reviewing the maintenance of its NI operation; decisions would be made only on economic grounds.

Cleveland

18. In some respects this could be described as the highlight of our trip to the United States. Mike Gathercole, HM Consul in Cleveland, had agreed to attend a meeting on Saturday, 14 March of a newly formed group in the area called the Irish Political Action Council. He was led to believe that this was to be an informal exchange of views and information on fair employment in NI. It was agreed that we would also attend in order to give an up-to-date first hand account of recent developments. In the event it turned out to be a hostile and vehemently anti-British gathering of hard line Irish Americans. Apart from Mike Gathercole, there were 3 speakers whose presentations progressively got worse and more venomous. Mr Gathercole's letter of 16 March 1992 to Pamela Mitchison provides a full and graphic account of the proceedings (copy attached - Annex C). This was an enlightening meeting from our point of view because it revealed the strength of the opposition among some Irish Americans to all things British and the alacrity with which they embraced the MacBride campaign.

New York

19. Monday, 16 March began with a breakfast meeting with Joe Jamison, the Director of Research in AFL-CIO in New York State. Again we were able to bring him up-to-date with the implementation of the 1989 Act and, by reference to the prosecution and disqualification

of employers and the awards of compensation by the FET to victims of discrimination, to illustrate that not only did the law have teeth but that these teeth were being used where necessary. Mr Jamison expressed satisfaction that this was happening but made it clear that he saw no reason why the pressure which had been put on HMG by MacBride should be eased. He was convinced that it had been a major factor in stimulating the British Government to do something about discrimination in NI and continuing to back the campaign would ensure that the issue would remain on the political agenda. He did not accept that the campaign was having, or had had, an adverse impact on the drive for new investment. Indeed he took the view that the image of NI as a place where there was religious discrimination in employment was much more damaging to the efforts of the IDB than the existence of the MacBride campaign (which in his view was contributing to the solution to the problem).

20. Following a brief courtesy call on Alastair Hunter, HM Consul General, we went to the Episcopal Church Center where we met Barry Menezes and one of his colleagues. Although Mr Menezes appeared to be fairly open minded and prepared to listen to our views, his colleague (who appeared to be advising him on MacBride) was much less amenable and indeed gave the impression of being quite hostile to HMG's position.
21. Regrettably a meeting with Emily Saltzman, the Director of Ethnic Affairs in the Office of the Governor of New York State, had to be cancelled due to other pressing political matters, but we did see Carol Emerling of American Home Products. This company came to an accommodation with New York City in January 1991 "to make lawful efforts to implement the fair employment principles embodied in the MacBride principles". Since then it has not had any shareholder

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resolutions on MacBride and the current relationship with Mr Pat Doherty in the NYC Comptroller's Office appears to be almost amicable.

22. His Eminence Cardinal O'Connor conducted mass in St Patrick's Cathedral on 17 March but in his homily he refrained from his normal practice of using the occasion to make a political statement and there was just one low-key reference to the recent extradition of Joe Doherty to Northern Ireland. Because it was St Patrick's Day it proved difficult to arrange meetings and the only person we met during the morning was Barry Spaulding of the New York State Department of Economic Development. It was clear that his involvement with the MacBride issue was largely peripheral but he took note of what we said and the contact may prove to be useful at some future date.

Chicago

23. A breakfast meeting had been arranged by HM Consul General with the Hon Neil F Hartigan, an attorney who had run unsuccessfully for local political office. He was accompanied by a colleague, David N Kay. This meeting got off to a bad start because the visitors arrived first and we had not been briefed in advance about their background or stance on MacBride. Mr Hartigan listened politely to what we had to say but conveyed the impression that fair employment in NI was not the most important item on his personal agenda.
24. After a brief meeting with James Gray of the IDB we had a detailed and profitable interview with John Maclean of the Chicago Tribune. We briefed him on the situation in NI on an unattributable basis and explained the harm that the proposed city council ordinance could do in relation to existing and potential investment.

Mr Maclean was already quite well informed about Northern Ireland affairs and was obviously keen to write an article about MacBride. This was published on 23 March (Annex D) and, together with a leading article the following day (Annex E), was generally supportive of the HMG position. The other main newspaper in Chicago is the Sun Times and there we met with Ray Coffey. In the past he too has adopted an anti-MacBride posture but it was clear that he had no plans to run any more articles in the foreseeable future. However, this was by no means a wasted visit and the maintenance of the contact with BCG was in itself a worthwhile exercise.

25. On returning to the BCG offices we had a discussion with John Baldwin who is on the staff of Alderman Preckwinkle (the Alderman himself being unable to attend). Again we emphasised the negative nature of the MacBride campaign. Mr Baldwin took the point and assured us that he would put our views to Alderman Preckwinkle in advance of the hearing of testimony on the ordinance by the Finance Committee. Our final meeting in Chicago was with Professor John Pawlikowski of the Catholic Theological Union. He had spent a considerable time in Northern Ireland over the years and was familiar with the situation. However, he appreciated the briefing on fair employment and readily agreed to write to the city council expressing his opposition to the MacBride campaign.

Conclusion

26. The main purpose of our visit to the US was to provide at first hand information on fair employment generally and, in particular, to show that the new legislation was strong and was being implemented. Recent decisions of the FET, and the fortuitous

Mr Smith to

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VISIT TO BOSTON BY
MR ROBERT KENNEDY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY
AND MR PETER FAUGREY
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, BELFAST

8 - 11 MARCH 1992

PROGRAMME

publication on the day we arrived in the States of the FEC's second
research report, helped greatly in our presentation of a robust
case on behalf of HMG. A secondary, but nevertheless important,
element was the opportunity to meet with colleagues in the various
US posts and to view the Northern Ireland situation from their
perspective. In our view, both these objectives were achieved.

Monday, 8 March 1992

- 1145..... Call at British Consulate-General for briefing followed by lunch with Consul-General (John Owen), Deputy Consul-General (Alan White) and Vice-Consul Press and Public Affairs (Ms Terri Evans).
- 1400..... *Call on Rep. Christopher Hodgkins, House Chair, Joint Committee on State Administration. Room 14, State House.
- 1515..... Meeting with Father Raymond Halaick of Boston College at the British Consulate-General.
- 1600..... Telephone Mr Ken Bertsch, IRSC. Telno: 613-339 4018.

Tuesday, 10 March

- 0800..... Depart hotel for Logan Airport with Deputy Consul-General.
- 0855..... Flight NW 1746H for Augusta.
- 0945..... Arrive Augusta and met by Mr Craig Nelson of Doyle & Nelson. Programme arranged by Doyle & Nelson.
- 1715..... Depart Augusta for Boston - NIA 1910.

/Wednesday

**VISIT TO BOSTON BY
MR ROBERT MINNIS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY
AND MR PETER TAGGART
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, BELFAST**

8 - 11 MARCH 1992

PROGRAMME

Sunday, 8 March 1992

1735..... Arrive Logan Airport on BA215.
Met by Alan White, Deputy Consul-General.
Taken to Boston Park Plaza Hotel,
64 Arlington Street. (Reservation
Number: R0308MI83G82).

Monday, 9 March 1992

1145..... Call at British Consulate-General for
briefing followed by lunch with
Consul-General (John Owen), Deputy Consul-
General (Alan White) and Vice-Consul Press
and Public Affairs (Ms Terri Evans).

1400..... *Call on Rep. Christopher Hodgkins,
House Chair, Joint Committee on
State Administration. Room 34, State House.

1515..... Meeting with Father Raymond Helmick of
Boston College at the British Consulate-
General.

1600..... Telephone Mr Ken Bertsch, IRRIC
Telno: 413-339 4018.

Tuesday, 10 March

0800..... Depart hotel for Logan Airport with
Deputy Consul-General.

0855..... Flight NW 3746H for Augusta.

0945..... Arrive Augusta and met by Mr Craig Nelson
of Doyle & Nelson.
Programme arranged by Doyle & Nelson.

1715..... Depart Augusta for Boston - ETA 1810.

/Wednesday

Wednesday, 11 March

- 0930..... Call on Senator Paul Harold at the State House.
- 1045..... *Call on Ms Cheryl Thurman and Ms Elizabeth Gray of CCSR/ACSR, Havard. 964 Holyoke Center, 1350 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge.
Cancelled
- 1145..... *Call on Mr Frank Costello, EDIC, 43 Hawkins Street, Boston.
Cancelled
- 1230..... *Lunch at the British Consulate General with Mr Robert (Bob) Ruggles, Office of the General Treasurer (Rhode Island), State House.
- 1500..... Leave British Consulate-General for Logan Airport.
- 1600..... Flight NW 1869 for Washington.

* To be confirmed

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PROGRAMME FOR DETROIT

VISIT OF MR BOB MINNIS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, AND MR PETER TAGGART,
EQUALITY DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, BELFAST TO
USA: 8-20 MARCH

PROGRAMME FOR WASHINGTON

Wednesday 11 March

Time to Arrive from Boston
be confirmed

NW 1869

ETA. 17.42.
(National)

Met by Ms Mitchison
taken to
Savoy Suites Hotel
2505 Wisconsin Ave NW
Washington DC 20007

(Ref. SA 0302)

Tel: (202) 337-9700

7 pm for Dinner hosted by Derek Wheeler, Northern Ireland
7.30 pm Bureau, 61333 Long Meadow Road, McLean, VA 22101

Thursday 12 March

NB PASSPORT NEEDED FOR IDENTIFICATION

- 9.00 am Meeting with Richard Ralph, Jonathan Powell, Pamela Mitchison, in Head of Chancery's Office, British Embassy
- 9.15 am Meeting with Derek Wheeler, Trevor Killen, Northern Ireland Bureau
- 10.00 am Meeting with Heidi Welsh, Research Analyst, Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC), Suite 600, 1755 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington DC 20006
- 11.00 am Meeting with Josiah Beeman, Beeman & Associates, 15 2nd St NE, Washington DC 20002
- 12.00 pm Meeting with Mr Matthew Bordonaro, Legislative Director, American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), 214 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington DC 20002
- 12.45 pm Lunch hosted by Mr Richard Ralph, Head of Chancery and Congressional Counsellor, University Club, 1135 16th St, Jonathan Powell and Pamela Mitchison will attend
- 2.30 pm Call on H R Crawford, Member of District Council of Columbia. Council Room 116, accompanied by Mr Powell and Ms Mitchison
- 3.30 pm Meeting with Alexander Liebowitz, Desk Officer for Northern Ireland, State Department, Washington DC 20520, Tel: (202) 647-5669
- 4.45 pm Meeting with ~~Mr Mark Froggatt~~, Executive Director, Northern Ireland Partnership-USA, PO Box 20081, Washington DC 20041, Tel: ~~(703) 661-6784~~
- ? Leave on flight from Dulles Airport to Detroit (to be confirmed)

Cancelled

Mr Smith 10

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PROGRAMME FOR DETROIT

Thursday 12 March

Arrive from Washington, taxi to: The Westin Hotel, Renaissance Center, Detroit, Tel: (313) 568-8000

Friday 13 March

12.00 pm Lunch with Mr Bill Kelly, Ford Motor Company, Detroit
Meet Mr Kelly at Reception Desk, Dearborn Inn, Oakwood Boulevard, Dearborn

(Short taxi ride from The Westin Hotel)

TRAVEL TO CLEVELAND

Taxi to:

Stouffers Hotel, Public Square, Cleveland

Saturday 14 March

9.30 am Meet Mr Mike Gathercole, HMC Cleveland at Reception Desk, Stouffers Hotel

10.00 am Accompany Mike Gathercole to the Irish Political Action Council Meeting, Lakewood, Ohio

Travel to New York

Distribution

- Mr Ralph
- Mr Powell
- Ms Mitchison
- Mr Wheeler
- Mr Killen
- Mr Minnis
- Mr Taggart
- Mr McAuley, DED Netherleigh

NEW YORK CITY PROGRAMME

BOB MINNIS AND PETER TAGGART

16TH & 17TH MARCH 1992

MONDAY 16TH MARCH

- 8.00 AM : Breakfast meeting with Joe Jamison, Director of Research, New York State A.F.L. - C.I.O. (American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organisations) - Grand Hyatt Hotel, 42nd Street.
- 9.45 AM : Call with Alistair Hunter, HM Consul General, New York. 845 Third Avenue.
- 10.30 AM : Meeting with Barry Menezes, Senior Executive Mission Operations, Episcopal Church Center 815 2nd Avenue.
- 2.30 PM : Meeting with Emily Saltzman, Director of Ethnic Affairs, Governor's Office (Albany) at No 2 World Trade Centre, 57th Floor.
Cancelled
- 4.00 PM : Meeting with Carol Emerling, American Home Products, 685 Third Avenue (43&44th)

TUESDAY 17TH MARCH

- Early AM : St Patricks Day Mass at St Patricks Cathedral, 5th Avenue.
- ~~11.00~~ ^{10.30} AM : Meeting Barry Spalding, Deputy Commissioner for International Affairs State Economic Development Dept (Albany), 1515 Broadway (44th St) 51st Floor.

St Patricks Day Parade

PROGRAMME FOR DETROIT
THURSDAY 17 MARCH
Arrive
Center, Detroit, Tel
Friday 18 March
ROBERT MINNIS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY
PETER TAGGART, PRINCIPAL
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, BELFAST

VISIT TO CHICAGO
17-19 MARCH 1992

TUESDAY 17 MARCH

13 28 Arrive Chicago-O'Hare. Tel: 312-266-1000
Taxi to Ritz Carlton Hotel

WEDNESDAY 18 MARCH

07 30 Breakfast at Ritz-Carlton (The Cafe-12th Floor)
HM Consul General
Deputy Consul General
Mr Robert Minnis
Mr Peter Taggart
Hon Neil Hartigan
Mr David Kay

09 00 Depart in official car + cab to 33 N Dearborn St

09 30 Briefing at BCG, to include James Gray Tel: 312-346-1810
10 15 Depart BCG accompanied by Mrs Cracraft (cab)

10 30 CHICAGO TRIBUNE. Interview with John Maclean.
11 05 Depart Chicago Tribune

11 15 CHICAGO SUN TIMES. Interview with Ray Coffey. Plus HMCg.
11 50 Depart Chicago Sun Times (cab)

12 00 Lunch at Yannis hosted by DCG Tel: 312-443-1000
(DCG - meet at restaurant)

14 00 Meeting at BCG with Alderman Lawrence Bloom
John Baldwin (for Ald Preckwinkle)
HMCg, DCG, VCPA

THURSDAY 19 MARCH

09 00 Depart hotel by cab for 33 N Dearborn St
09 30 Meeting with Father John Pawlikowski
Professor of Social Ethics
Catholic Theological Union
DCG, VCPA

13 15 Depart BCG in Ribaldo car Ribaldo:312-332-1221
14 00 Meeting with Alderman Eugene Schulter
1915 E Lawrence Ave Tel: 312-271-4423
Chicago IL 60640

15 00 Depart

18 00 Depart Ritz-Carlton for airport in Ribaldo car
20 30 Depart Chicago O'Hare on BA # 296

Cancelled

BOSTON HERALD
8 MARCH 92

Negligence blocks any work toward peace

Nothing seems to change in Northern Ireland, however many deaths, however much damage. The paralysis and the violence are connected, in a pattern that can be overcome.

Ask a Catholic what the problem is, and you will hear it is the British. Get the Brits out — a violent proposition, of course — and there will be no problem left. Ask a Protestant, or the British themselves, and you will hear that the problem is the Irish Republican Army. Get rid of them — that's another violent proposition, as it really means shoot them — and the problem will be all gone.

Both of these propositions are patently false, and known to be false by those who offer them. If you get rid of Brits, or IRA, or even both, the actual problem still remains untouched: namely, that two communities of people with differences of culture and outlook, who live in the same space, will still not have found ways to live together.

Currently, the tide of

RAYMOND G. HELMICK

Raymond G. Helmick, a Jesuit priest, is a faculty member in Boston College's Department of Theology. Between 1972 and 1981, he dealt closely with the Northern Ireland conflict, and worked with community and peace organizations. During the 1981 IRA hunger strike in Maze Prison, Helmick was a mediator between the British government's Northern Ireland Office and the IRA's Provisional Army Council.



murder and destruction rises again, after ebbing somewhat over the '80s. Why does the IRA offer only bombs and shootings? Basically because they can't think of anything else, and that failure of imagination argues massive negligence on their part.

I have long accepted, in the face of British claims that the IRA is unrepresentative, that it *does* truly represent the sense of grievance of the Catholic population, even though that

same population turns elsewhere when it wants a positive representation of its needs.

That gives the IRA a responsibility to have something to say to the Protestants. That they can speak only through renewed violence shows dreadful irresponsibility on their part and radically undermines their claim to be waging a just war.

The Protestants, too, know just as well that it is a communal problem with their neighbors that must be ad-

dressed. Their paramilitary groups have become far more determinedly murderous in the last year or so. They, too, have done their part to stoke the fires. And the motive for their violence, as for the truculent rejectionism of their political parties, has been to prevent any real examination of the communal problem, so as not to erode further the fabric of their waning privileges. Here, too, the pattern is negligence, a refusal to work for any mutual gains that would profit the Catholics as well as themselves.

And the British? They hold the authority of government, and so carry the central burden of responsibility. That leaves them responsible for having allowed this situation to stagnate and fester for practically a quarter-century now — much longer by other reckonings.

Inexcusable negligence! One asks if they have forfeited the right to be taken seriously. There have been enough decent Northern Ireland secretaries

now and again. Peter Brooke is one. So was James Prior. The trouble has been with prime ministers, none of whom has given this open wound enough priority to bring it to a solution.

For lack of such a determined effort, Britain has sanctioned a security policy that resembles the terror tactics of the paramilitaries themselves.

The two Northern Irish communities themselves have to address the communal problems which both have evaded by their deliberate denials. British government is responsible to bring them to it. A model can be seen in the way the United States, after many years of negligent evasion, has finally brought all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to the table to address their basic problems.

Does our U.S. government feel any urgency to demand this of the British, or is the suffering of the Irish — Catholic and Protestant — a matter of indifference to it? □



4/64/56/3/4/92 ANNEX C

BRITISH CONSULATE
55 PUBLIC SQUARE, SUITE 1650
CLEVELAND OHIO 44113-1963
TEL: 216 621-7675
TELEX 980-126 (AB BRITAIN C1v)
FAX (216) 621-2615

51/2B

16 March 1992

Ms Pamela Mitchison
Chancery
British Embassy
Washington DC

Dear Pamela,

THE MACBRIDE CAMPAIGN IN OHIO

You will recall our discussions over the last two weeks when we agreed that I would attend a meeting of the recently-formed Irish Political Action Council (IPAC) in Cleveland and take part in an informal exchange of views about current issues affecting Northern Ireland. We also arranged for Bob Minnis and Peter Taggart of the DED to come to Cleveland and attend the meeting. The ground rules for the meeting had been clearly defined in advance and are recorded in the attached copies of correspondence between me and Mr Gallagher. You might find it of interest to have an account of what transpired.

I had learned from newspaper reports that Mary Moore, founding Director of the Sinn Fein Women's Department, was in Cleveland and making speeches for her cause. In response to Mr Minnis' understandable concerns that we should avoid getting into the company of this lady, I telephoned Sean Gallagher a couple of hours before the meeting was due to begin. He assured me that she would not be present (and I found corroboration for that in a newspaper advertisement for a speech that she was to give simultaneously elsewhere in the city); and Gallagher repeated earlier assurances that we would be taking part in an informal discussion, that I could change the agenda if there was anything objectionable in it, and that there would be no anti-British rhetoric allowed.



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When we arrived just before the meeting was due to begin we were received politely and given coffee in a hall which was rapidly filling with about 150 people, the cameras from three local television stations and a reporter from the local public broadcasting service radio station. Among those present were a large number of aspiring political appointees or re-appointees, including four judges. Representative Madeline Cain, sponsor of the Bill before the Ohio House, was there; and so was Kathleen Whitford, leader of the Ohio MacBride Coalition. I was then handed the agenda (copy attached) and it was clear that I had been misled as to the purpose of the meeting. I considered leaving but decided that to do so would give the MacBride campaigners a very easy victory. Gallagher was clearly uneasy that things had turned out this way; and to his credit he made a distinct point of reminding those present that I was their invited guest and should be treated politely.

Conway and Weist both had carefully crafted, well thought-out set speeches along lines with which you will be familiar from the Senate Committee hearings in Columbus - but updated to take account of the very latest events in Northern Ireland. Each of us had ten minutes in which to put across our point of view. I considered but soon rejected the tactic of spending my ten minutes in trying to refute some of the wilder claims of the former two speakers, on the grounds that I would have come across in far too negative a way. Instead I put on a smile, thanked everybody for allowing me to be there, told them that I was at a disadvantage because the agenda was very different from the informal discussion format that I had been told to expect, and warned that, unlike the others, I had no prepared speech. I said that I did not intend, as the previous speakers had done, to look back over my shoulder at ancient and irrelevant history but rather to concentrate on today and on the future. I then tried to convey to the audience our arguments against MacBride and the case for allowing the FEA to fulfil its promise. In doing so I was able to make the point that not a single US company has signed the MacBride Principles; to describe the scale of unemployment and the relatively few new jobs needed to bring full employment to Northern Ireland; to emphasise that new jobs would allow for a faster transition to equal employment; and to underline the



Page 3

opposition within the ranks of Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland to the MacBride Principles campaign.

Patrick O'Malley was venomous and so full of hate as to be almost out of control. He delivered a diatribe which was larded with wild allegations about shooting to kill, torture, censorship, 200 years of oppression, etc., etc. He was clearly losing more friends than he was winning and the organisers tried, weakly and ineffectually, to make him sit down. I thought again at that point of withdrawing but decided that although we were clearly on a losing wicket we might as well stay the remaining fifteen minutes and try to score a few more runs during question time. And I think that I did manage to do so - including a statement about Sinn Fein's very tiny electoral support in all of Ireland and their refusal to condemn violence or terrorism (a few eyebrows seemed to raise at that point!).

In view of the circumstances in which we found ourselves I did not introduce either Bob Minnis or Peter Taggart to the audience; and I thought it better not to draw them into answering questions.

Although the majority of those present were clearly opposed to the British Government's position, they were generally polite and there were only a few who were openly hostile. The applause at the end of my presentation, and again when we left was warmer than the merely polite. (Jack Kilroy, a rabidly anti-British lawyer in Cleveland, had guaranteed the Committee that I would not show up. I think there was some appreciation from those present that I had actually attended.) I learned later, needless to say, that both the Resolutions on the agenda had been passed handsomely.

Clearly I would not willingly have agreed to take part in such a meeting - not least because I am under instructions not to do so. I intend to see to it that any future contacts with the Irish-American community in Cleveland are private rather than public. But I am not sorry that I went, because I think that several of the outcomes were positive. Had we not attended there would have been no opposing view expressed at the meeting - even if it did not alter the outcome. (Only one of the TV stations covered the story that evening. The coverage included a



statement by me explaining that the MacBride Principles were damaging to employment prospects in Northern Ireland.)

I think there was some respect for the fact that I had attended. (BP were mentioned pointedly as having declined to accept an invitation to speak - and I don't blame them!)

I think that the meeting was in some ways enlightening to Messrs Minnis and Taggart, since this was their first direct experience of the intensity of feeling and the degree of organisation with which the MacBride campaign is waged in the United States.

Sean Gallagher replied to my telephone call this morning and was apologetic for leading me into a set-up which he claimed (and I believe) was a surprise to him. He also made some fairly flattering remarks about the fact that the three of us had stayed on despite being misled. I gave him a small piece of my mind but suggested that perhaps we had all learned something from the meeting on Saturday. He has agreed to have lunch with me soon. Despite this poor start, Sean Gallagher may still be useful as a person within the Irish Community in Cleveland with whom I can discuss Northern Ireland issues and who might give me a line to others who are prepared to listen to another side of the story. He may also prove useful as a sounding board for what is going on within the Irish-American community here.

J.C. Thompson

M C GATHERCOLE
HM Consul

pp

MCG:jct

cc: Mr R Minnis, DED - Belfast
Mr F R Mingay, BCG - Chicago

BRITISH CONSULATE
RECEIVED

IRISH POLITICAL ACTION COUNCIL
11705 Detroit Ave.
Lakewood, Ohio 44107

MAR 2 1992

CLEVELAND

Mr. Michael Gathercole
British Consulate
55 Public Square
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

February, 28th 1992

Dear Mr. Gathercole,

The purpose of this letter is to inform you about the formation of a new political group titled the "IRISH POLITICAL ACTION COUNCIL". It's initial gathering was held here in Cleveland on February 17th, 1992.

Because of the tension and misunderstandings which have existed between the Irish community and the British community for a number of years over the Northern Ireland Question we feel it is important to explain why we exist and what we hope to accomplish.

This group was formed because although there are many social Irish organizations in this area, there really isn't a political group which can address Irish issues here at the local level in the Cleveland political process. We exist for that reason. Our goal is to advance the cause of Irish-Americans in our local political process.

You should be advised that we are not a bunch of lunatic radicals. Those of us who initiated this group are all members of local law enforcement or the legal community. While we recognize the issues sometimes become very emotional we don't intend to start a revolution against the Crown here in Cleveland.

We will not be limited to simply "MacBride" or "B.P." issues. We intend to get involved in local political races to improve the quality of the representation for all Clevelanders. We believe Cleveland's greatest asset is its ethnic diversity. Because of that belief, we will allow anyone to join our group and get involved in the process. Yes, even you can join.

Please consider this letter a formal invitation to come to our next scheduled meeting on March 14th, 1992 at 10:00am at Brennan's Party center at 13000 Trisket Road in Cleveland.

To allay your fears, you should be aware that my mother lived in London during the Blitz in the Second World War. She lived at 123 Ebury Bldg. Buckingham Palace Road, Victoria-London S.W. 1. In addition, I participated in a number of activities with members of H.M.S. Fife when it was in Cleveland a few years ago as Mr. Alan Parton of that ship can relate.

Therefore please consider this invitation to appear before our group. We promise you will not be harassed or in any way insulted. We feel that by increasing interaction between groups with differences real changes in attitudes can take place.

Very Truly Yours,
Sean C. Gallagher
Sean C. Gallagher

H-216-356-0750 W-443-7618

Mr Sean C. Gallagher
Irish Political Action Council
1105 Patrick Avenue
Lakewood OH 44137
Tel: 216-233-1105
Fax: 216-233-1105

As promised when we spoke on the telephone last week and again this morning, I am writing to thank you for your letter of 28 February and to confirm that I will be pleased to accept your invitation to attend a reading group on 10.00 on 14th March at 11.00 am in the Community Centre, 1105 Patrick Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio. They are Mr Bob Martin who is the Secretary in charge of many other things, the Equality Division of the Department of Economic Development, is responsible for all the employment issues in the country, and Mr Peter Baker, the senior official who is the Equality Division who is responsible for legislative issues in that Division and who would be discussing the drafting of the Fair Employment (Northern Ireland) Act 1998.

As I said (and as you kindly agreed to testify as all those some in any sense "to appear before" your committee, Robert, we will come in the hope that we can engage with you and those present in a constructive discussion which might shed some light on British policies in Northern Ireland. It is your will not mind leaving the format of the discussion open. I am unlikely to see Messrs Martin and Taylor until about 9.30 on Saturday morning and cannot, therefore, say how they might wish to address the meeting. I would expect, however, that they, like me, would prefer to keep formal presentations to an absolute minimum and to spend their time answering questions about and discussing current issues affecting Northern Ireland. Of course, none of us



BRITISH CONSULATE
55 PUBLIC SQUARE, SUITE 1650
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51/2B

9 March 1992

Mr Sean C Gallagher
Irish Political Action Council
11705 Detroit Avenue
Lakewood OH 44107

Dear Mr. Gallagher,

As promised when we spoke on the telephone last week and again this morning, I am writing to thank you formally for your letter of 28 February and to confirm that I will be pleased to accept your invitation to attend a meeting at 10.00 am on 14th March at Brennan's Party Center. I will, also as we agreed, hope to bring with me two senior Civil Servants from the Department of Economic Development in Northern Ireland. They are Mr Bob Minnis who is Assistant Secretary in charge of, among other things, the Equality Division of the Department of Economic Development, which is responsible for all fair employment issues in the Province; and Mr Peter Taggart, the senior official within the Equality Division who is responsible for legislative issues in that Division and who had much to do with the drafting of the Fair Employment (Northern Ireland) Act, 1989.

As I said (and as you kindly agreed so readily) we will not come in any sense "to appear before" your Council. Rather, we will come in the hope that we can engage with you and those present in a constructive discussion which might shed some light on British policies in Northern Ireland. I hope you will not mind leaving the format of the discussion open. I am unlikely to meet Messrs Minnis and Taggart until about 9.30 on Saturday morning and cannot, therefore, say how they might wish to address the meeting. I would expect, however, that they, like me, would prefer to keep formal presentations to an absolute minimum and to spend their time answering questions about and discussing current issues affecting Northern Ireland. Of course, none of us



Page 2

can speak for the Republic of Ireland; but we may well be able to enlighten your group as to British contacts with the Government of that Country.

You mentioned in your letter "the tension and misunderstandings which have existed between the Irish community and the British community for a number of years over the Northern Ireland Question". In doing so you seemed to imply that such tensions are present here in Cleveland. I must say that I have not been aware of them myself. Perhaps the discussions on Saturday will cover that issue.

One last point which I think I should cover in this letter. You have said that those of you who formed the Irish Political Action Council have as your cause the advancement of Irish-Americans in the Cleveland political process. I am sure you will understand that foreign diplomats (and foreign civil servants for that matter!) are expected by host governments to distance themselves from the political process. You will not be surprised, therefore, if we decline to comment on matters which are purely of local or national political interest.

I hope you will not mind that I have written quite such a long letter, but I thought it best to make these points clear before we meet, so as to avoid any misunderstandings.

I am looking forward keenly to meeting you in person next Saturday.

Yours sincerely,
Mike Gathercole

M C GATHERCOLE
HM Consul

MCG:jct

a)

IRISH POLITICAL ACTION COUNCIL
General Meeting
March 14, 1992 - 10:00 A.M.

AGENDA

- I. Opening remarks.....Steve Dever
- II. Old Business
- III. New Business
 - A. Events Committee.....Edward Patton
 - B. The Political Committee
 - 1. Steering Sub-Committee and the Endorsement Process.....Daniel Gallagher
 - 2. The MacBride Principles and Pending Local Legislation
 - a. Speaker - Neil Conway, Attorney at Law
 - b. Speaker - Roger Weist, President, Ohio State Board of Ancient Order of Hibernians
 - c. Speaker - Michael Gathercole, Representative British Consulate, Cleveland, Ohio
 - d. Speaker - Patrick O'Malley, Councilman - City of Cleveland
 - 3. Open discussion and questions concerning local legislation and IPAC's position on the MacBride PrinciplesSean Gallagher
 - 4. Voting of IPAC's position on the MacBride Principles and Pending Local Legislation (voting by paid members only)
 - a. RESOLUTION (1-92) The Irish Political Action Council formally endorses the MacBride Principles of Fair Employment for Northern Ireland.
 - b. RESOLUTION (2-92) - The Irish Political Action Council hereby supports Codified Ordinance No. 2817-91 of the City of Cleveland relating to the compliance with Fair Employment Practice in Northern Ireland and hereby urges the City of Cleveland to implement said ordinance as an instrument of peaceful social change in Northern Ireland.
- IV. Closing Remarks

Next Scheduled Meeting:
Thursday, April 9, 1992
Brennan's Triskett Party Center - 7:30 P.M.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 23 MARCH 1992

City looks at jobs plan—for N. Ireland

By John N. MacLuan

The City Council plans Tuesday to consider the MacBride Principles, a controversial set of affirmative action guidelines for foreign companies doing business in Northern Ireland.

The principles would require companies doing business with Chicago and having operations in Northern Ireland to pledge to actively recruit employees from the Catholic population of the north as well as the Protestant majority. Companies that do not include such a provision in their city contracts would have an 8 percent penalty added to their bids.

The guidelines, approved in some form by 17 states, including Illinois, and many municipalities, are opposed by the British government and a broad cross section of the Roman Catholic population in Northern Ireland.

They say they also support fair employment. But they regard the principles as redundant to Northern Ireland's fair-employment act of 1989, an interference in internal affairs and, perhaps most important, a legal hassle that could turn off potential foreign investors.

John Hume, leader of the predominantly Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party in Northern Ireland, has been widely quoted as opposing the MacBride Principles.

"My advice to our friends in the United States was and is, if you really want to help us, then encourage investment in areas of high unemployment in Northern Ireland," Hume said. "The effect of the MacBride Principles campaign, whether people like to admit it or not, is to stop investment coming in and that is bad for us."

The MacBride Principles also have much support. It comes from various directions including several Irish-American groups; the Sinn Fein political party, which represents the republican point of view; and the government of the

Republic of Ireland. Sinn Fein generally garners about 10 percent of the overall vote, including Protestants, in Northern Irish elections, compared to about 20 to 21 percent for the Social Democratic and Labor Party.

Supporters say the MacBride Principles, which have existed since the mid-1980s, helped pressure the British to go forward with the Fair Employment Act of 1989, considered radical by European standards. They say continuing the principles will keep up that pressure and result in a fairer share of jobs for Catholics.

The true cause of investor hesitation, they say, is less the specter of affirmative action than the continuing violence and sectarian strife in Northern Ireland.

"The principles are an indication of support for the idea there should be no discrimination in Northern Ireland against Catholics," said Ald. Patrick O'Connor (44th), who sponsored the measure to be considered by the Finance Committee. "We want to express that sentiment, but not make it impossible to do business."

The principles offered by O'Connor have been modified to eliminate one provision Hume and others said was unrealistic, requiring employers to guarantee the safety of their employees on the way to and from work.

Asked whether the timing of the initiative was linked to his race for the office of state's attorney, O'Connor said he has been working on the measure for some time.

"It's a good idea. It's positive legislation. A lot of members support it," he said. "If it reflects favorably on my campaign, great. Writing legislation is my job, and I'm going to continue to do it."

The principles would affect at least 17 companies with operations in Northern Ireland that do business with Chicago.

They are: Data General Corp., Digital Equipment Corp., Dun & Bradstreet Corp., Du Pont & Co.,

Exxon Corp., Federal Express Corp., Ford Motor Co., General Motors Corp., International Business Machines Corp., Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., NCR Corp., Nynex Corp., Pitney Bowes Inc., Procter & Gamble Co., Unisys Corp., United Technologies Corp. and Xerox Corp.

But large companies such as those will have less of a problem with the legislation than smaller ones, said Ray Mingay, British consul general in Chicago.

"A large company can hire lawyers and likely knows its way around City Hall," Mingay said.

"But a smaller company will ask itself, what happens next? What happens if someone takes a press report, quoting perhaps a disappointed competitor alleging discrimination, and shows it to the City Council?"

"Who determines whether that's correct? What are the guarantees of due process? We are concerned about a chilling effect on smaller companies considering investment in Northern Ireland."

One Chicago-area firm, CRL Inc. of Des Plaines, has been considering an investment in Northern Ireland but is hesitant.

"Passage of the MacBride Principles would certainly be a negative, and a fairly significant one," said Barry Carroll, an owner in CRL, a conglomerate of about 25 manufacturers. He said CRL has been considering establishing a printing subsidiary in the Republic of Ireland or Northern Ireland.

"Northern Ireland already has one of the most Draconian fair-employment laws in the world," said Carroll, who is a board member but does not represent the views of the American Ireland Fund, a non-sectarian charitable group. "What's scary about the MacBride Principles is that they're an opportunity for Sinn Fein and the IRA to keep beating their drum. It's public relations."

Carroll said his companies supply some components to firms

doing business with Chicago they might be affected by the MacBride Principles. He was concerned that if he did acquire a subsidiary in Northern Ireland would make him accountable to the City Council.

"How is it enforced? By one raising an issue or filing a complaint in the City Council? If someone does, probably you've got to convene and hold hearings. As a businessman, I don't need that sort of political entanglement."

He and others agreed that firms in Northern Ireland generally have excellent records in Catholics and Protestants.

The government of Ireland, which has engaged in talks with Britain since 1985 on Northern Ireland, finds "nothing objectionable" in the MacBride Principles, said Gary Ansburo, consul general in Chicago.

"The MacBride Principles tributed to giving teeth to the employment act in Northern Ireland," Ansburo said. The three foreign investment is real, he said, but so is discrimination.

"Pat O'Connor has been sensitive to the issue of discrimination," Ansburo said. "It's a complex issue. Discrimination is a problem and it has got to be removed."

Some supporters of the Irish republican cause say the investment debate is somewhat beside the point.

"Small companies are being squeezed out by violence," said Thea Lene, who represents the view of Irish Northern Aid, a group in the U.S. representing Sinn Fein, often accused of being a fundraiser for the IRA, a charge it denies. She has registered under protest with the Justice Department as a member of the IRA.

The fair-employment act, she said, is a "tool of British imperialism" rather than a serious attempt to deal with discrimination. MacBride Principles, he said, are sure some pressure will be kept on the British government.

CC MR MINNIS ②

NI WITNESSES

ILLINOIS FILE

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Belfast isn't the 51st Ward

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
24 March 1992

The Chicago City Council, apparently satisfied that it has eliminated unemployment and job discrimination in its own city, plans to embark Tuesday on an effort to rid Northern Ireland of those difficulties.

The council Finance Committee is scheduled to consider an ordinance that would put sharp restrictions on companies that do business in Northern Ireland and also want to contract with the City of Chicago.

The ordinance would link the ability of such companies to acquire city contracts to their behavior in the job market there. But whether applied to Northern Ireland or South Africa, this is unwise policy, and the council ought to desist.

It's hard to quarrel with the sympathies. Catholics, who are in the minority in strife-torn Northern Ireland, are far more likely to be unemployed than Protestants are. The disparity is all the more egregious because overall unemployment runs very high and politically driven violence makes many companies wary of investing there.

The City Council would force vendors who do business in Northern Ireland to abide by the MacBride Principles, a code of business conduct written by Sean MacBride, a co-founder of Amnesty International. The principles demand special recruitment and

greater hiring of members of minority religious groups, protections against intimidation and physical abuse at the workplace, special training for minority employees, and other kinds of affirmative action.

Catholics in Northern Ireland are hardly united on this. Some believe the principles drive business away and increase unemployment. Some say they are a needless appendage to Northern Ireland's own fair employment act.

The ordinance going to the council would, in effect, write the principles into Chicago's municipal code. Any company bidding competitively for Chicago business would be penalized 8 percent of its bid price if it were not in compliance.

Even the sponsor, Ald. Patrick O'Connor (40th), didn't want the restrictive language now in the ordinance. O'Connor, who has negotiated with firms that would be affected, intended to seek "good-faith efforts" at compliance—essentially a gesture. But the city's lawyers have drafted much tougher language.

At the very least, the ordinance should be rewritten so that it doesn't impose strict requirements. Even better, the council should drop the whole matter. For better or worse, foreign policy is the province of the federal government, and that's how it should stay.

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