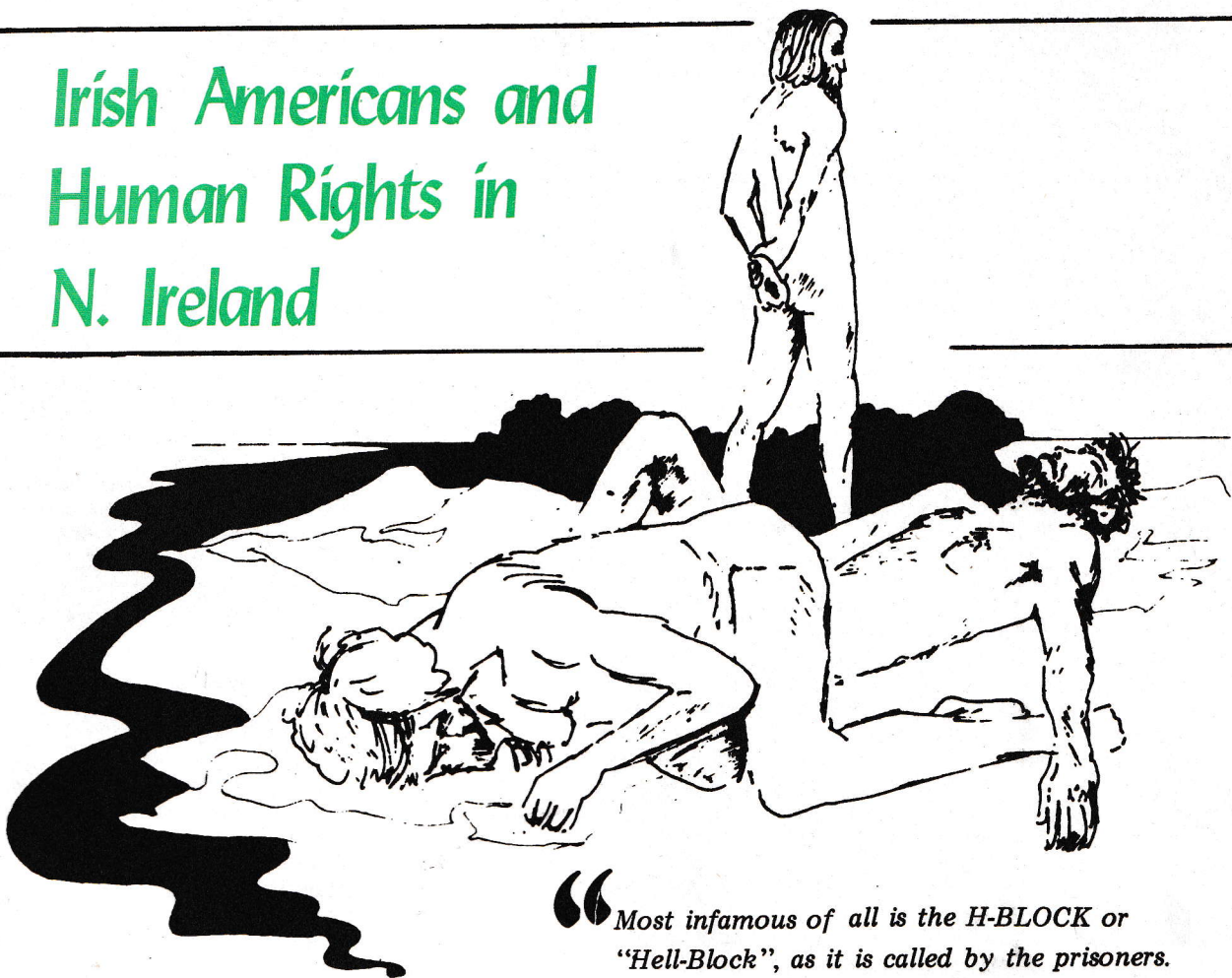


THE SLEEPING GIANT

*Irish Americans and
Human Rights in
N. Ireland*



“Most infamous of all is the H-BLOCK or “Hell-Block”, as it is called by the prisoners. Its inmates, known as “Blanketmen,” have been clothed only in blankets and towels since 1976, when British Courts declared that IRA suspects were no longer to be given Special treatment as Political Prisoners.”

JACK ANDERSON, *Washington Post*

BY FR. DENIS FAUL

FR. RAYMOND MURRAY

IRISH AMERICANS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN N. IRELAND

FR. RAYMOND MURRAY

On the first of August 1978 I received a telegram from William Gallagher, Philadelphia, asking me if I could speak at a N.Ireland Human Rights Symposium at Villanova University, Philadelphia on October 7th. Having spoken to him on the telephone and hammered out details when he came to Ireland, I finally decided to go, satisfied that it was important that violation of human rights by the British Government in Ireland should be known in the United States.

Father Denis Faul and I had attended the Annual Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Killarney in June. They showed extreme interest in the question of human rights in Ireland eagerly buying up some eight hundred of our books. Father Faul addressed the Convention briefly and we had a three hour session with the chaplains and Bishop Kevin McNamara of Kerry. We had compiled our book **The Castlereagh File** at the request of American public representatives, Irish-American groups and individuals. In fact the book was subsequently reprinted in Baltimore by the Irish National Caucus. This and the interest shown in the Amnesty Report of June 1978 combined to make us realise the tremendous potential in the power of the Irish in America. They had been starved of information on the Irish situation. Irish diplomatic efforts in the past few years was very weak. Add to this the disgraceful way the Hibernians were treated by the Irish Government and the Irish media, particularly radio and television, and one can understand that the Irish Americans deserved an apology. They could not be kept in the dark any longer.

WASHINGTON

Just as I made my preparations to go to Philadelphia I received a phone call from Mrs Rita Mullan, Washington. Rita was one of the pillars of the Association for Legal Justice in Belfast for many years. At present she is organiser of the Irish National Caucus and will be working full-time organising for a year. She advised that I come out a week earlier to meet Congressmen in Washington. I agreed.

Rita and I spent four days 9-12th October meeting Congressmen and their aides, making appointments, and walking the corridors of power. That in itself was a revelation to me, that I could land in Washington on Sunday 8th, and next day meet Congressmen at a period at end of term when they are busiest. It is a compliment to democracy in the United States. When I think of the disinterest in Dail Eireann and Westminster in the Irish problem I can not but marvel that there are more than a quarter of all the Congressmen in the House of Representatives who are members of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on Irish Affairs, 116 of them. In 1977 the Irish National Caucus requested Congressman Mario Biaggi of New York to chair an "Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs". Though closely allied with the Caucus, the Committee now stands strong on its own feet.

Part of our strategy in visiting the Congressmen was to reaffirm those already on the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee that they were on the right lines, that there was gross violation of human rights in N. Ireland in proportion to its size, that Britain should be brought to task in the United States where it enjoyed so much money patronage, and that since President, Senate, the House of Representatives has committed themselves so deeply to human rights in the world they should bring Britain to heel for her violations.

A human rights study prepared by the Congressional Research Service at the request of Congressman Donald M Fraser chairman of the Subcommittee of International Organisations, was printed in 1977, under the title - "**Human Rights in the International Community and in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1945-76.**" It contains the following summary:-

I. HUMAN RIGHTS TRADITION— PAST AND PRESENT

Before 1945 any human rights question was considered to be a matter between a nation state and the persons within its territory. As issues of domestic jurisdiction, they were beyond the reach of international law. In early U.S. domestic practice human rights were not considered a proper subject of U.S. treaty-making powers. Moreover, the Federal Government was generally denied jurisdiction in such matters because they were considered within the purview of the State within the U.S. federal system.

World War II marked the start of a revolution in the development of new approaches to human rights issues. Today, international legal practice accepts the protection of human rights as a matter of international concern. The 1969 report of the Special Committee of Lawyers for the President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year 1968 confirmed the acceptance in the United States of human rights as a proper subject of U.S. treaty-making. In addition, the enactment of substantial civil rights and welfare legislation at the national level has nullified the view that human rights are matters exclusively within the purview of the State within the U.S. federal system.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one of the most widely accepted statements identifying basic human rights. It was not intended to place legally binding obligations but to set forth a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." The declaration was conceived as the initial part of an international bill of rights in which the human rights covenants or treaties would constitute the binding portion. The two covenants—on civil and political rights and on economic, social, and cultural rights—were adopted in 1966 and came into force in 1976.

The U.N. Charter asserted fundamental obligations for the United Nations and for U.N. member states to protect human

rights. At the same time article 2(7) of the Charter set forth the principle of non-intervention by the United Nations in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. This article has frequently been cited as an obstacle to the implementation of the human rights provisions of the Charter.

II. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ACTION TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1970 the United Nations established, within its Human Rights Commission, various procedures for the treatment of petitions from individuals or groups identifying violations of human rights in U.N. member states. All deliberations and reports, however, are maintained in private, closed meetings; documents are kept confidential, and actual progress is difficult to assess.

Two other U.N. bodies that receive and consider petitions on human rights questions do maintain a clear policy of publicity. The Committee of 24, formally the Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the Special Committee on Apartheid each consider petitions directly, adopting resolutions that recommend action to governments.

The U.N. General Assembly and Security Council, as well as the Economic and Social Council, have responded to the complaints of governments on the actions of other governments in the human rights area. The question of what powers U.N. bodies should have in matters concerning such issues as the human rights situation in Chile, however, remains unresolved. In this case the stumbling block appears to be article 2(7) on nonintervention. A U.N. Working Group established to investigate and examine the situation has not yet been allowed entry into Chile.

A third area of U.N. activity on human rights protection is the development of treaties to implement the Charter articles relating to human rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Three U.N. instruments adopted in the mid-1960's envision some form of implementation machinery. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination has been in force since 1969. A Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was created under this Convention. The second instrument is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which entered into force on March 23, 1976. A Human Rights Committee, created in September 1976, is provided for in the covenant. The third instrument is the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, in force since January 3, 1976. The U.N. Economic and Social Council is the implementing organ named in this treaty. All three conventions provide for the submission of reports from the state parties on their implementation of the convention. These reports are considered by the relevant committees. The first two treaties also provide an optional mechanism for the receipt and consideration by the committee of communications from individuals and groups from the parties accepting this procedure.

Four U.N. specialized agencies have a particular interest in the protection of specific human rights. This report singles out the International Labor Organisation (ILO) as having probably the most effective program of international human rights implementation.

The 1950 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms established one of the most elaborate systems for the protection of human rights. Under the convention a European Commission of Human Rights and a European Court of Human Rights were established. Any contracting party to the convention may refer to the Commission an alleged violation by any other party. In addition the committee has jurisdiction to receive private applications from "any person, nongovernmental organisation or group of individuals." This last element was made optional and has been accepted by 13 of the 18 states which are party to the convention. In practice, interstate applications have rarely been lodged with the Commission. The overwhelming majority have been individual applications.

The keystone of the inter-American system for the protection of human rights is the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which was created under the Organisation of American States and now reports to the OAS General Assembly on any cases of gross violations of human rights.

The Permanent Arab Commission on Human Rights, established by the Council of the League of Arab States in 1968, has not conducted any human rights investigations other than those concerning the rights of Arabs in occupied territories. An African Commission on Human Rights, proposed to be established under the Organisation of African Unity, has not yet been created.

III. HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The United States does have treaty obligations to promote the protection of human rights. Articles 55 and 56 of the U.N. Charter require U.N. member states to promote human rights and to take joint affirmative action on human rights issues. As a member of the International Labor Organisation, the United States is obligated to promote economic security and equal opportunity in its labor practices without regard to race, creed, or sex. Under the OAS Charter the United States is bound to respect the rights of the individual. However, of the 40 human rights treaties now in force, the United States has ratified only 10:5 U.N. treaties and 5 OAS human rights treaties; there are at least 30 human rights treaties the United States has not ratified.

Human rights issues compete with various other considerations during the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. The most fundamental consideration is that of the national interest and what actions policy-makers perceive to have the most advantageous impact on U.S. national interests. The linking of some human rights issues with other international problems sometimes makes resolution more difficult. The impact of intervention of any form—a public statement might be viewed by some nations as intervention—is measured against national interest perceptions. There is also some sensitivity to the possibility that other countries will in turn charge the United States with human rights violations. One issue is whether the United States should maintain a single human rights standard against which all nations—big and small, friend or foe, neutral or our most important national security partners—will be measured and will be identified as human rights violators. Another question is whether the United States should take on the task of moral policeman for

the world, especially when United States and Western concepts of human rights are in some respects significantly different from the human rights priorities of other nations and cultures.

It is in the area of approach that efforts to maintain a single standard, if there can be or should be such, diminish. Different countries, different cultures, different priorities, and different U.S. national interests, may require different U.S. responses. These include:

- (a) Quiet diplomacy;
- (b) Public denunciation (statements to press; speeches);
- (c) Requests that an international organisation take action;
- (d) Application of economic sanctions or arms embargo;
- (e) Cut off or reduction of economic and/or military assistance; and
- (f) Action limiting or affecting U.S. diplomatic representation..

The congressional response to human rights violations in other countries has been to assure greater attention to these violations and to the role of human rights in U.S. foreign policy considerations both through its investigative and legislative functions. The Foreign Assistance Acts of 1973 and 1974 both included sections aimed at linking the receipt of foreign assistance to the protection of human rights. The International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 strengthened the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act in the human rights area. The International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976 called for the establishment within the State Department of a Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs who would have primary responsibilities for maintaining information on the status of human rights in other countries and for reporting to the Congress through the Secretary of State on human rights practices.

CONGRESSMEN AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRELAND

It was easy to confirm Congressmen Lester Wolff, Benjamin Gilman, Senator DiConcini on the human rights issue. They are deeply concerned about human problems and have a love for Ireland. Congressmen Joshua Eilberg and Hamilton Fish had been to Ireland in September and had come back converted. On that occasion they made comments to the press. A long interview with them was reported by Fionnuala O'Connor in the *Irish Times*, 2nd September 1978. Mr Eilberg said that special status would end the deplorable conditions in H Block - "I believe there should be some form of special status for those convicted of politically-motivated crime." Mr Eilberg and Fish made several requests to visit Long Kesh, once personally to Mr Don Concannon, the Minister responsible for prisons. They had all been refused. They were given photographs and verbal descriptions on H-Block by the N.Ireland Office. Mr Fish suggested that H-Block should be thrown open to the world's press. Mr Concannon made no

reply to that. Mr Eilberg commented—"It is absolutely obvious that what was shown in those photographs does not represent the conditions of those prisoners living on the blanket in the Maze". He said the prisoners had been railroaded into this form of protest; they had no other way of protesting to which anyone would listen.

On the no-Jury Diplock Courts Mr Fish said—"I hear from very responsible members of the establishment that these prisoners are guilty. Then we talk to Bishop Daly and others of the clergy who give us names of those whom they are absolutely convinced are innocent. Where does that leave an observer? I did say to Mr Concannon that this issue was terribly important as a symbol in the US - H BLOCK. If there was no torture there, it would serve the interests of Great Britain to open it up to the world press.

On Amnesty and human rights Mr Eilberg said—"The Amnesty report pointed out that of the many convicted, most convictions have been obtained by coerced confessions with no witnesses. I say to you that the draconian laws here have contributed to the general deterioration of human rights. I think our administration should offer an initiative in human rights here and now."

Mr Fish said he believed that the United States and President Carter could not be selective in their condemnation of abuses of human rights:-

"We have heard expressions of condemnation of the violence of the Provisional IRA. We have never heard a condemnation of the violence of the British Army - we can't tolerate any form of violence."

Mr Eilberg on maltreatment:- "We are impressed with the fact that so many people have been brutalised by the police and that no complaints have been followed through in terms of action taken against the police themselves. Complaints against the Army have also gone unrecognised."

On British withdrawal, Mr Eilberg said—"We've heard everywhere people requesting that the British get out of N.Ireland."

Mr Fish on American initiatives:- "This is a moral issue and we must have an initiative in the here-and-now. We cannot continue our present posture - absolutely dead in the water. We come away with the conviction that the US must play a role. Everywhere it has been mentioned to us that of referee, guarantor, honest-broker."

On conditions in N. Ireland generally and Belfast in particular, Mr Fish said—"It's worse than Saigon in '68, Army patrols are much more visible; Americans are not aware of that. There is a situation of immediate economic need to which the US can address itself now, not following a political resolution."

Mr Eilberg: "We've seen Turf Lodge and Ballymurphy, it's like a battlefield. I feel sorry for the people who live there and are growing up there. I can easily imagine the resentment of people who have to live there. I am afraid that civil strife will continue as the new generations who are very bitter develop."

When they came back to the United States Congressmen Eilberg and Fish sent the following letter to President Carter:—

NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND
INTERNATIONAL LAW

JOSHUA EILBERG, PA., CHAIRMAN
ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN, N.Y. HAMILTON FISH, JR., N.Y.
SAM B. HALL, JR., TEX. HAROLD S. SAWYER, MICH.
ROBERT E. HARRIS II, VA.
BILLY LEE EVANS, GA.

Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

BARNER J. CLINE, COUNSEL
ARTHUR P. ENORES, JR., COUNSEL
MARTIN H. BELSKY, COUNSEL
ALEXANDER B. COOK, ASSOCIATE COUNSEL
FRANCES F. CHRISTY, LEGISLATIVE ANALYST

September 13, 1978

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Having recently returned from a visit to Northern Ireland, we feel obligated to bring to your attention certain observations on U.S. policy towards this area which deeply concern us.

Our observations are based on in-depth interviews with and written materials supplied by citizens from both confessional sides, lawyers, clergymen, U.K. government officials, Catholic and Protestant paramilitary leaders, and political party leaders.

We came away convinced that the United States could assume a very significant role in resolving the problems that have plagued the six counties of Northern Ireland for centuries.

We believe that the events in the last ten years which have led to bloodshed, terrorism, and suppression of human rights make it necessary for the United States to act promptly to prevent the continuation of this unstable situation.

With very few exceptions, we were told that the United States is the only country which could take a neutral position as an "honest broker" or guarantor to bring all factions together, i.e. the Government of the United Kingdom, the Government of the Irish Republic, and the Protestant and Catholic factions within the area, to devise an equitable peaceful political solution.

We are of the opinion that a political solution cannot be achieved in the near future without the United States acting as a catalyst by extending its good offices to all parties.

We make this observation fully cognizant of your statement urging peace in Northern Ireland on August 31, 1977.

We also feel it our duty to bring to your attention reports of serious violations of human rights being experienced by the people of Northern Ireland.


The Northern Ireland (Emergency Provision) Act of 1973 and its various subsequent amendments enacted by the British Parliament have greatly eroded the basic common law principle of due process. The people of Northern Ireland are being subjected to warrantless searches and arrests, prolonged detention without charges, harsh interrogation methods, and non-jury trials in which a single judge sits alone imposing long-term sentences.

Frankly, Mr. President, we were appalled at these conditions and by the "armed camp" atmosphere we encountered.

We firmly believe the entire situation in Northern Ireland warrants the immediate attention of our government.

We would sincerely welcome the opportunity to elaborate on our findings to you at your convenience.

Sincerely,


HAMILTON FISH, JR.
Ranking Member


JOSHUA EILBERG
Chairman



Congressman Hamilton Fish and Rev. Fr. Raymond Murray.

I had a long session with these two Congressmen and Mr Regis and Cline. Rita Mullan and I filled them in on four main points they put to us—Why does Britain want to stay in the North of Ireland? What is the fifty year perspective of N.Ireland? What is the attitude of the SDLP and Mr John Hume to H Block, prison conditions, emergency Laws?

One of the main objectives of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on Irish Affairs is to hold Congressional hearings on Britain's violations of human rights in N.Ireland. There were Congressional Hearings in 1972. But of late hearings

have been vetoed. It seems certain now that they will be heard in the new Congress in the new year. Mr Lester Wolff who will probably replace Clement J. Zablocki as chairman of the Committee on International Relations, has given an election guarantee that he will have hearings on N.Ireland.

In June 1978, Congressman Mario Biaggi, Senator Kennedy, and Governor Carey called for an investigation into charges that prisoners in N.Ireland were being brutalised by the police, following the Amnesty Report. Senator Kennedy urged the creation of an independent special prosecutor to look into the charges and said the British Government should

not be placed in the compromising position of investigating itself. Congressman Mario Biaggi said he would ask House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill to schedule hearings on the report. In June Mr Biaggi requested a special order in the House of Representatives and presented to the Congress the Amnesty International Report on N.Ireland. This was published in Vol. 124, No.109 of the **Congressional Record**. Similarly in October Congressman Gilman took down the background of Fr Raymond Murray with the intention of reading extensive sections of the pamphlets by Fr Murray and Fr Denis Faul into the **Congressional Record**.

On the other part Rita Mullan and I went to the offices of Senator Daniel Moynahan and Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill. Our object was to re-educate them into the changing situation in Ireland. The "St.Patrick's Day Initiative" has been a failure. There has been no agreement among politicians in the north of Ireland even with the promise of

U.S. financial aid. There is now no mention of power-sharing and the SDLP have moved on to a withdrawal policy. However the "St.Patrick's Day initiative", backed by Mr John Hume and the Irish diplomatic corps is part of history. Unfortunately it left important Irish leaders like Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Daniel Moynihan, Governor Hugh Carey of New York, and Mr Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives, out in the cold as far as Ireland's problem is concerned. Mrs Rita Mullan and I urged a change of attitude pointing out the violation of human rights and the deplorable conditions of the prisons. We went to see the new Irish Ambassador to the United States Mr Sean Donlan and emphasised to him the power of the Irish family at home and abroad working on this issue, regretting the frustrating policy of silence of the Irish Government towards the Irish-Americans. We called for a stronger line on the part of the Republic of Ireland on the problems in the north.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF AD HOC CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE FOR IRISH AFFAIRS

Congressman Mario Biaggi has made several trips to Ireland over the past decade. At the Committee Meeting on October 12th he announced his intentions of going to Ireland

during the week of November 12th "as a last step before a final decision is made regarding the sponsorship of a peace forum by the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs".



Congressman Mario Biaggi chairing the Committee meeting, 12 October, 1978



A general view of Congressmen at the Committee meeting, 12 October, 1978

This meeting was attended by 18 members and a reception hosted by the Irish National Caucus to honour the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on the occasion of their first anniversary drew 32 House Members.

The Agenda for the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs on 12th October 1978 was as follows:-

1. Opening comments by Chairman—Announcement of forthcoming trip to Ireland.
2. Recognition of members present for opening statements.
3. Presentation by Father Raymond Murray of Association for Legal Justice on Human Rights in Ireland.
5. Read letter by Sean McBride.
6. Recognise Tom McNabb for comments etc.

Congressman Biaggi said—"I have been requested by a number of leading Irish American Organisations, including the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Irish National Caucus to visit Ireland and meet directly with the various groups who have expressed an interest in participating in an American based peace forum. I have agreed and am planning an extensive round of meetings with a cross section of groups to assess the viability of the peace forum proposal. The Ad Hoc Committee, if it were to sponsor a peace forum, would do so as an entirely neutral body. We would provide the opportunity for groups to meet outside of Ireland to present and listen to various peace proposals. The forum would be limited to those groups with specific peace proposals which

include a cessation of violence and the means to implement their proposal." Biaggi indicated that he would "monitor the status of selected human rights cases by working closely with Fathers Denis Faul and Raymond Murray of the Association for Legal Justice." "The continued deplorable conditions in a number of Irish prisons distresses me and I hope to have an opportunity to deal with this matter on my trip," Biaggi continued. Biaggi indicated that he would seek to consult with Administration officials in advance of his trip.

Congressmen Eilberg and Fisher gave extensive reports, the burden being on Congressman Eilberg to go into the background of the selective denial of passports on the part of the administration. It was interesting to hear that the IRA is not a proscribed organisation in the United States, which makes the denial of passports to Irish political parties difficult to understand.

The visit of Congressman Biaggi in November is something that will have to be written up later. He is to be accompanied by Congressman Benjamin Gilman. Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien, Director, Irish National Caucus, Mr Bob Bateman, A.O.H. Liaison with the Irish National Caucus, and Mr Bob Blancato, aide to Mr Biaggi, will arrive some days before them to make arrangements. It is significant that President Carter who made promises to the Irish National Caucus before election spoke on violations of human rights at an election rally in New York on 2nd November and mentioned the case of N.Ireland for the first time. Mr Biaggi and Mr Blancato also arranged to see Mr Andrew Young, United States Representative at the United Nations before coming.

REMARKS OF REVEREND RAYMOND MURRAY BEFORE THE AD HOC CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE FOR IRISH AFFAIRS AND LEADERS & MEMBERS OF THE IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS - WASHINGTON DC, UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES - October 12th 1978.

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Members of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs, leaders of the Irish National Caucus, I am proud and happy to be here today speaking about human rights in a country where President, Congress, Senate and Judges are committed to the cause of human rights in theory and practice. They have proven that they can solve problems of the gravest legal and social kind by legal and political means. They have shown to the world the meaning of open and democratic government. They have reconciled the people of America around the ideal of honesty, fair-play, and civil rights for all without factional and sectional violence on any large scale.

In contrast I wish to draw your attention to the sufferings that have been endured over the past seven years by a group of up to 5,000 men and women who have been imprisoned in the North of Ireland. All of them come from the poor areas of Northern Ireland. The vast majority of them are Catholic. They are the Irish poor and they have suffered gross violations of human rights. Many of them are the third and fourth generation of unemployment contrived by sectarian British Governments and bigoted Unionist Administrations. They have suffered internment, torture and the shanty-town prison huts of Long Kesh with its sewer-type H-Block. They have suffered the full vigour of emergency laws and special courts, maximum sentences. Against this whole-sale arrest and imprisonment of young Irishmen, we must set the astonishing fact that in the ten-year period 1968-1978 no British soldier or policeman in N.Ireland has served a single day in jail for shooting dead sixty innocent people, torturing eight hundred people, using inhuman and degrading treatment on arrested persons.

What can you do? I appeal to you on three counts: The Truth must be told; Justice must be done; Human Rights and Human Dignity must be respected.

THE TRUTH MUST BE TOLD

1) Machinery should be set up so that the truth from Ireland can be circulated in Washington and read by Congressmen, Senators and key pressmen. I would urge most strongly that the media in the United States break the wall of silence on violations of human rights in N.Ireland.

2) More Congress people should visit Ireland. Come officially as Mr. Joshua Eilberg and Mr. Hamilton Fish did. I welcome the news of Congressman Biaggi's coming visit and his mention of the proposed Peace Forum. Come through your Consul, Mr Stout, in Belfast; but tour the ghettos and get the worms-eye view - Turf Lodge, Ballymurphy, the Markets, the Short Strand, the New Lodge Road.

This is not the primrose tour of Mr Roy Mason, Secretary of State. You will not hear about H-Block prison conditions or the killings of Leo Norney, Majella O'Hare, and Brian Stewart from the British or Irish Embassies.

JUSTICE MUST BE DONE

1) Justice must be done. You must back up the Amnesty International Report on N.Ireland, published in June 1978, with all the power of the Congress. Call for a public inquiry into the tortures in N.Ireland, the prosecution of the torturers and the rescinding of all statements taken under oppressive circumstances and by oppressive methods in Castlereagh Police Interrogation Centre and other police centres.

2) I am addressing many lawyers and pillars of the law steeped in the traditions of the common law. I would like your Committee to investigate the Emergency Provisions Act (N.Ireland 1973), the Diplock Courts, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and thereby restore the rule of law to N.Ireland.

HUMAN RIGHTS & HUMAN DIGNITY MUST BE RESPECTED

1) The constant and particular interest of American Congressmen and Senators is necessary to scrutinise all legislation in N.Ireland in the field of human rights. This not only to establish independent procedures to end torture and ill-treatment of persons, but to examine the whole area of jobs, housing, the routing of Orange processions, sectarianism in provincial and local government.

2) The particular interest and assistance of American Congressmen is required to secure the full development of all our people in accordance with their human dignity so that they be allowed to enjoy true religious liberty, full development of Irish culture, and all the resources of Ireland by the Irish people.

In contrast to the number of the population in N.Ireland - which is 1½ million - or in proportion to the adult male Catholic population, the number of grave violations of human rights have been greater in N.Ireland each year since 1971 than in any other country in the world.

The United States Government has shown itself gravely concerned about human rights in Russia, Haiti, Sierra Leone, South Africa. We in Ireland find it difficult to understand why a President and his Congress refuse to make a clear and explicit statement condemning the well-documented and well-proven violations of human rights in N.Ireland over the last seven years. Have the Americans got some inferiority complex in regard to the British? Is the British influence in

America so strong that it can pressure the freedom-loving Americans to ignore the catalogue of tortures? It is my opinion that the Irish people are not sufficiently united in speaking out with one voice for human rights for Irish people and for other people. We are a small race in the world compared to Arabs, Indians, Japanese, Chinese. We are sufficiently small to regard ourselves as a family. It is a poor and unworthy family that fails to defend its weaker members, those who are sick, in trouble or in prison. A family weakens itself by showing division if it fails to speak up for its members who are in need or who are experiencing violations of their basic human rights. What we want is to have the Irish in Ireland, the Irish in Britain, and the Irish in the United States of America - all thirty million of them - speaking with one united voice for human rights in Ireland and in the world. The Irish National Caucus has given us the lead - the people at home, the prisoners and underprivileged there are pinning their hopes on them. The federation of Irish in Britain are now also being inspired by their goals.

We Irish are a people dedicated to the highest spiritual and cultural values. When we speak with united voice, we will leave on one side leaders of violence who want exclusive control of prisoners and their relations for political reasons and on the other side certain Marxist elements who want to eliminate the decent middle of the road Irish family men and women and leave only a rump of wild talkers. We want the broad spectrum of Irish people and their friends, in Ireland, in Britain, and in the United States to come together as a united family demanding decent standards for all people and especially for prisoners and the poor. In saying this I do not mean that this is an exclusive American-Irish issue. It is an American issue - it is a humanitarian issue. I am heartened that this is personified in your Committee. The man who chairs this Committee has a most unusual Irish name - Mario Biaggi - and already I have experienced warmth and interest of Congressmen of Jewish, Italian and British descent, to name only a few. This is a tribute in itself to our modern world. Everyman is my brother.

MEMBERS, AD HOC CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE FOR IRISH AFFAIRS

Mario Biaggi (D-NY) Chairman	Clarence D. Long (D-Md)	Joseph M. Gaydos (D-Pa)
Peter W. Rodino (D-NJ)	James H. Scheuer (D-NY)	Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif)
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Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D-NY)	Harold C. Hollenbeck (R-NJ)	Joseph G. Minish (D-NJ)
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William R. Cotter (D-Ct)	Walter E. Fauntroy (D-DC)	Paul E. Tsongas (D-Mass)
Edward P. Beard (D-R.I.)	Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif)	Morgan F. Murphy (D-Ill)
Bruce F. Caputo (R-N.Y.)	Ralph H. Metcalf (D-Ill)	Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif)
John J. Fary (D-Ill.)	Bill Green (R-NY)	Robert W. Edgar (D-Pa)
Jerome A. Ambro (D-NY)	Sen. Dennis DiConcini (D-Ariz)	William J. Hughes (D-NJ)
Silvio O. Conte (R-Mass.)	Tennyson Guyer (R-Ohio)	Fred B. Rooney (D-Pa)
Charles B. Rangel (D-NY)	Dawson Mathis (D-Ga)	Gus Yatron (D-Pa)
Antonio Borja Won Pat (D-Guam)	Hamilton Fish (R-NY)	Newton I. Steers, Jr. (R-Md)
Matthew J. Rinaldo (R-NJ)	John Wydler (D-NY)	Thomas A. Luken (D-Ohio)
Leo C. Zeferetti (D-NY)	Jack Kemp (R-NY)	Ronald A. Sarasin (R-Ct.)
William F. Walsh (R-NY)	Melvin Price (D-Ill)	John J. Cavanaugh (D-Nebr)
Gladys Noon Spellman (D-Md)	Michael Harrington (D-Mass)	Elliott H. Levitas (D-Ga)
Stephen J. Solarz (D-NY)	Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa)	William M. Brodhead (D-Mich)
Joe Moakley (D-Mass)	Philip Burton (D-Calif)	James J. Blanchard (D-Mich)
Bruce F. Vento (D-Minn)	J. Herbert Burke (R-Fla)	Paul Findley (R-Ill)
Norman F. Lent (R-NY)	Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn)	David E. Bonoir (D-Mich)
Anthony Toby Moffett (D-Conn)	Edward Pattison (D-NY)	Harold S. Sawyer (R-Mich)
David W. Evans (D-Ind.)	Thomas J. Downey (D-NY)	Frederick W. Richmond (D-NY)
Marty Russo (D-Ill)	Mary Rose Oaker (D-Ohio)	Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich)
Herbert E. Harris III (D-Va)	Doug Walgren (D-Pa)	Louis Stokes (D-Ohio)
Lawrence Coughlin (R-Pa)	Edward P. Boland (D-Mass)	Parren J. Mitchell (D-Md)
Raymond F. Lederer (D-Pa)	Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill)	John E. Cunningham (R-Wash)
Berkley Bedell (D-Iowa)	Joseph A. Le Fante (D-NJ)	William Moorehead (D-Pa)
Richard Nolan (D-Minn)	Benjamin A. Gilman (R-NY)	Cardiss Collins (D-Ill)
Daniel J. Flood (D-Pa)	James Collins (R-Tex)	John Krebs (D-Calif)
Samuel S. Stratton (D-NY)	Margaret M. Heckler (R-Mass)	Doug Applegate (D-Ohio)
John P. Murtha (D-Pa)	Ronald M. Mottl (D-Ohio)	Robert Giaimo (D-CN)
George M. O'Brien (R-Ill)	Charles J. Carney (D-Ohio)	
Andrew McGuire (D-NJ)	Robert A. Young (D-Mo)	

October, 1978

SUBMISSION TO MARYLAND STATE SENATE

Fr. Brian Brady, Fr. Denis Faul, and myself have been interested in the question of human rights for the past ten years. We sent the following document to a committee of Maryland State Senate on 16th February 1978. It sums up an argument that the American people should be interested in the violation of human rights in N.Ireland:—

Reverend Father Brian Brady, St. Joseph's College of Education, Andersonstown, Belfast.

Reverend Father Denis Faul, St. Patrick's Academy, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.

Reverend Father Raymond Murray, Parochial House, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

We are three Catholic priests living and working in N.Ireland. It is our sad experience that the human rights of the Catholic people to whom we minister are neither respected nor protected. Since August 1971 the violations of these rights have been taking place on a massive scale.

By our reckoning, the United Kingdom Government, which is fully responsible for the administration of the area, is acting consistently in violation of fifteen of the Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNO) (See Appendix 1). We believe that its present policy of seeking a military victory over subversive elements in the population cannot ensure lasting peace. The tactic of meeting insurgency with counter-insurgency leads to the massive violations we have noted.

The vicious circle of violence in N.Ireland is but a symptom of the underlying injustice in the political structures. It is useless to seek violent military solutions to basic political problems. Our aim over the past seven years has been to stop the violations of human rights and campaign for a society in which the political structures would ensure protection for rights and freedoms. Thus the grievances which give rise to subversive violence and the response of further repressive violence would be removed and lasting peace established.

The method which we have used to work towards our objective could be described as a truth-campaign. We have documented abuses of the law by the various agencies of the U.K. Government - army, police, public prosecutors, prison officials, etc.—and publicised them. Our purpose has been to alert the consciences of people interested in human rights all over the world to what is happening to an oppressed Catholic people in N.Ireland. It is our hope that those who are so informed will use their influence, either directly with the British Government, or indirectly through legislators in their own countries, to have the present policy of violating human rights stopped. In this way a beginning can be made in the direction of establishing political structures which will ensure justice and freedom for the people we serve.

May we outline very briefly some of the activities and projects which have formed part of our truth-campaign:

—We have supplied affidavits and other evidence to the Government of the Republic of Ireland for its case against the U.K. Government before the European Commission and Court in Strasbourg (1971-1978) concerning violations of human rights in N.Ireland.

—In February 1972, Fathers Brady and Faul attended the Kennedy-Ribicoff hearings on N.Ireland in Washington D.C. Father Faul was called to give oral evidence.

—Fathers Brady and Faul attended and addressed the inaugural meeting of the British Institute of Human Rights in London in 1973 on the subject of violations of human rights in N.Ireland.

—Father Faul addressed the congress of Amnesty International in Paris in 1974 on the use of torture in N.Ireland.

—All three of us submitted written evidence and gave oral testimony before Lord Gardiner's Commission of Inquiry into the operation of emergency legislation in N.Ireland in 1974.

—Father Brady was called to Strasbourg in July 1975 as a witness for the Irish Government.

—Fathers Faul and Murray have published many information leaflets and booklets on violations of human rights in N.Ireland. These publications have dealt with

*unlawful killings e.g. **MAJELLA O'HARE** and **LEO NORNEY**

* police brutalities e.g. **BRUTALITIES** and **THE HOODED MEN**

* internment e.g. **THE SHAME OF MÉRLYN REES**

THE INIQUITY OF INTERNMENT,
WHITELAW'S TRIBUNALS and many other topics.

It is impossible at short notice, and in a brief submission, to put your committee fully in the picture regarding detailed violations of human rights in N.Ireland. We are happy to note your interest and we hope that your efforts to inform your legislation of the true facts will be crowned with success. The real success would be an end to the practices of which we complain.

We respectfully submit that American government at all levels - city, county, state and federal - and the American people as a whole should be actively concerned about the human rights situation in N.Ireland for the following reasons:

1. It is a moral imperative on all of us to be concerned about violations of human rights wherever such violations occur. The reality of the brotherhood of man imposes that obligation on all.

2. The credibility of President Carter's campaign for human rights demands that nations friendly to the USA, such as the United Kingdom, be not exempted from the pressures of that campaign when they violate human rights.

3. The United States, as one of the United Kingdom's principal financial guarantors, is in a particularly advantageous position to exert effective political pressure on the British Government for a change in present political and military strategies in N.Ireland. Until these strategies are changed, there will be no adequate protection for human rights and fundamental freedoms of Catholics living there.

4. The large Irish and Irish-American population in the United States has a particular obligation under the virtue of pietas, and a particular right as citizens, to use its political power to achieve justice for their kith and kin in Ireland.

5. There is evidence that a previous exposé in the USA of what was happening in N.Ireland, namely the Congressional hearings of 1972, did have a catalytic effect on the political situation. One month later, in March 1972, Prime Minister Heath prorogued the N.Ireland Parliament. Unfortunately, the full opportunities for the establishment of just political structures offered by the proproagation were not grasped. Your interest now could give a new dynamic to the present

stalemate situation and hopefully the opportunity would not be let slip this time.

6. The British Government feels that it can ignore with impunity the recent verdict of the European Court (January 18th 1978) which condemned it for inflicting "inhuman and degrading treatment" on arrested persons in N.Ireland, because the Court has no effective machinery for the implementation of its decisions. It is unlikely that similar condemnations from the United States Federal Government and/or a significant number of state legislatures could be ignored with the same impunity.

May we finish by congratulating you on your decision to investigate the sad situation in N.Ireland. We hope and pray that you will follow through with your present initiative at both state and federal levels. There could be no more appropriate celebration of the coming feast of St. Patrick than a shedding of light on what is really happening to the suffering Catholics in N.Ireland. We dare to suggest that such a witnessing to the truth would be much more fitting than any of the customary activities one sees on March 17th, activities which relate to an Ireland no longer in existence, if it ever did exist.

BREAKING THE WALL OF SILENCE

Philadelphia

The Symposium on Human Rights in N.Ireland was held in Villanova University Law School organised by the Philadelphia Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights in N.Ireland. The programme was as follows:-

Honorable Joseph R. Glancey, Chairman
Welcoming Remarks

Honorable Joshua Eilberg
An Objective Viewpoint

Father Raymond Murray
Chaplain, Women's Prison, Armagh,
Co-Author "The Castlereagh File"
Violations of Human Rights in Northern Ireland 1968-1978

Allister Logan, Esquire, Defender of Tortured Prisoners
Irish Prisoners in Britain

Dr. Rona Fields, Author of "Society under Siege"
Psychological Aspects

Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien, Director Irish National Caucus,
Washington D.C.
The Policy of the Irish National Caucus

Dr. Dennis J. Clarke, Author "The Irish in Philadelphia"
What can we do now?

This symposium was a great success. It is hoped that the different papers will be published. I had already printed mine under the title Violations of Human Rights in Northern Ireland 1968-1978. It was very useful to give copies to all the Congressmen, press, TV, papers, and interested parties.

Chicago, Pittsburg, Boston, New York

My travels in fourteen days took me also to Chicago, Pittsburg, Boston, and New York. This involved public lectures, press, radio, and TV interviews. Perhaps the highlight of these was an address to Boston City Council where they passed a resolution commending me for work on behalf of Irish human rights. It was an opportunity to speak of the killings by British forces, torture, Diplock Courts, degrading prison conditions. Councillor Raymond L. Flynn proposed the resolution on behalf of Irish Human Rights. Significant too was a meeting between Fr. McManus, Teddy Gleason and myself. Mr Gleason promised to bring up the question of H Block at the International Transport Federation in Vienna. A demonstration in support of human rights in N.Ireland on the steps of the Supreme Court of New York on 13th October was addressed by Denis Dillon, Attorney General, Nassau County, Fr. McManus and Fr. Murray. We were privileged too to meet in Boston John W. McCormack former speaker of the House and inform him of the Irish situation.

Here I must add a word about the Irish National Caucus, more details of which are below.

The Irish National Caucus is a well-known respected organisation. It is not living in "1916". It knows the contemporary issues, its personnel are intelligent and they know how to use the "American system". Certainly it is held in high regard in the Congress. I see the fact that Mrs Rita Mullan is working full-time on salary for the Caucus as a most important development and positive proof that the Caucus will get things done. It is of course a non-violent organisation. Glad to say it has weathered unjustified attacks from Ireland.

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

Mrs Rita Mullan and I visited the Department of Social Development and World Peace, United States Catholic Conference, Washington. We gave Fr. Bryan J. Hehir an account of our experiences of the violation of human rights in N.Ireland. He listened to us patiently but informed us that it was their policy only to act at the behest of the Episcopal Conference of a particular country. This has prompted Fr. Faul and I since to send literature to many of the Irish Bishops and I have written to Bishop John McCormack, Secretary, Irish Episcopal Conference relating our visit to Fr. Hehir and asking the Irish bishops to use their good offices and influence with the United States Catholic Conference and their committee for International Justice and Peace so that Americans get a true and balanced picture. The publication **Northern Ireland: A Religious Conflict** published by the Office of International Justice and Peace, United States Catholic Conference was defective. The inhumane treatment of prisoners wasn't even mentioned in it. Bishop Thomas Drury of Corpus Christi, Texas, is dedicated to alleviating the harsh conditions of Irish prisoners in N.Ireland and Britain. It is easy to see that a Bishop from Ireland who would visit the United States would have the status and contacts to impress on the American public the urgency of alleviating the situation. The opportunity should be seized as soon as possible.

IRISH GOVERNMENT AND THE IRISH CHURCH

One of the things that becomes obvious on a "two-way" trip like this is the paper wall. Britain has collared a lot of the media and the truth has not got out, although it is beginning to seep through and Irish Americans are awakening. They will soon use their influence and pressure. I think the Irish Government and the Irish Church can do more to tell the truth to the Americans and end the deplorable conditions suffered by the people of N.Ireland. I put many of my impressions in a letter which Fr. Faul and I had published in **The Irish News, The Irish Times and Irish Independent**. This letter which I print here we sent also to all the TDs in Dail Eireann along with the pamphlet **Violations of Human Rights in Northern Ireland 1968-1978** and our latest pamphlet on H Block. I also wrote a personal letter to the Taoiseach Mr Jack Lynch. Our letter was as follows:-

Parochial House,
ARMAGH.
25th October, 1978.

Dear Sir,

The end of the first decade of violence in N.Ireland has provided an opportunity to assess the violations of human rights that have taken place during the years 1968-1978. The atrocities of the IRA and the Loyalist paramilitaries have been very well publicised at home. They have been voiced abroad by Irish people and by international newsagencies which are almost exclusively inspired, supplied, and controlled by the British.

We have felt it our duty as Irish priests to see that the world gets a balanced picture of the violations of human rights in N.Ireland. We have had the sad task of recording the killing of over 60 innocent people by the British Army and the RUC, the torture and brutal ill-treatment of 800, the imprisonment without trial of 3,000, the arrest and detention under emergency powers of over 8,000, a whole series of campaigns of inhuman treatment inflicted on prisoners. We have sent many publications abroad and have travelled abroad, the latest being Fr. Murray's tour of American cities, to try and tell this story in order to rectify the balance. We appreciate the good work done by the Irish Government and the lawyers in the human rights case in Strasbourg. But similar kind of action is needed to be carried on and sustained over years. We feel that the Irish Government could end the gross violation of human rights in the north of Ireland by using its full powers of diplomacy and publicity especially in the U.S.A. The picture that has emerged there is the lop-sided picture given by the British. We have discovered that to tell the truth of the continuing ill-treatment of poor Catholics in N.Ireland in America in no way helps the promotion of violence in Ireland. It has aroused non-violent groups like the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the National Caucus, the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee on Irish Affairs to take positive action by lobbying and publicity. The sleeping giant of Irish Americans and their friends is awakening.

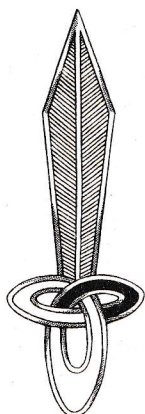
We are anxious that Irish Americans should act as an ethnic body to support the cause of human rights in Ireland and America. They contain a great number of talented people, many of whom have joined the Irish National Caucus, attorney generals, judges, university professors, lawyers, doctors, clerics, actors, authors, prominent labour leaders. The great energy, drive and imagination of the Irish Americans have never been used until now in a unified fashion to help the Irish family in Ireland, Britain and the U.S.A. to proclaim and demand respect for Christian values and fundamental human rights.

We would like Irish public figures to realise that this tremendous fund of good-will, intelligence, and a sincere desire to act non-violently is not being utilised to the full for the welfare of Ireland north and south. We would like a more positive and trusting attitude to go forth from Ireland to all Irish groups in America whose avowed intention is to act non-violently. In this way we can put an end to the waste of the best energies and talents of Irish people in America. Other nations and other ethnic groups and alien philosophies are profiting by this dis-unity and distrust among the family of Irish people. More importantly the poor unfortunate Catholics of N.Ireland are bereft of a very strong voice for human freedom and human rights.

Signed:

Fr. Denis Faul
Fr. Raymond Murray

We are indebted to our friend Martin Higgins, A.O.H., New York, a great Irishman, for his generosity towards the publication of this booklet.



THE IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS

The Irish National Caucus was established in 1974. It aims to make human rights for Ireland an American issue, legally and morally. It is a federation of all major Irish-American organisations in the United States. On September 28th, 1974, the President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, John M. "Jack" Keane, convened a meeting in New York of all major Irish - American Organisations. On February 18th, 1975, at the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO Convention in Bal Harbour, Florida, labour hosted a luncheon for the Irish National Caucus. The Executive Council of the Caucus and representatives from several states attended.

The luncheon was chaired by Thomas W. "Teddy" Gleason, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO and Secretary/Treasurer of the Irish National Caucus. This meeting of over 400 labour leaders was briefed on the Irish situation by Fr. Sean McManus, Boston, National Co-ordinator of the Caucus, and John M. Henning, former Ambassador to New Zealand, former Undersecretary of Labour and Deputy National Co-ordinator for the Caucus. After the luncheon, an Executive Session of the AFL-CIO officially endorsed The Irish National Caucus. This impressive broad-base of national support decisively launched the Irish National Caucus as a political interest group.

Co-founders of the Irish National Caucus, Fr. Sean McManus and Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien for some time had felt that an organisation was needed that would persuade Americans to apply a single standard on international human rights. Their ambition was that the new organisation would



Hon. John M. "Jack" Keane, National President of A.O.H., Chairman of the Board of The Irish National Caucus.



Most Rev. Thomas J. Drury, DD, LLd, Bishop of Corpus Christi, Vice-Chairperson of The Irish National Caucus.



Hon. Paul O'Dwyer, Pres., N.Y. City Council, Vice-Chairperson of The Irish National Caucus.

1975

bring the violations of human rights to every level of American life, governmental, Congressional, ecclesiastical.

In 1975 McManus and O'Brien led a Caucus delegation to the Vatican.

In 1976 the Caucus made human rights an issue in the Presidential election. Jimmy Carter met with the Caucus six days before he was elected, 27th November 1976. He promised the Caucus: "It is a mistake for our country's government to stand quiet on the struggle of the Irish for peace, respect for human rights and for unifying Ireland."

In 1977 the Caucus wrote a reply to the paper **Northern Ireland: A Religious Conflict?**, issued by the committee of the International Justice and Peace, United States Catholic Conference, and sent it to every bishop and cardinal in the United States.

In 1977 the Caucus initiated the founding of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs. One year later it has 116 members.

The Caucus is organised in the following states of the US:- New York, Mass., New Jersey, Washington DC, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Arkansas, Connecticut, Minnesota, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Washington, California, Arizona, Texas, Kentucky, Oregon, Kansas, Georgia, Maine, Ohio, North Carolina.

In some of these states the Caucus has four or five chapters. It would be true to say that the Caucus has focused more attention on the Irish problem in the United States than any other organisation in the past ten years.

National Office

National Coordinator

Rev. Sean McManus C.S.S.R.

National Director

Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien

National Organiser

Rita Mullan

Secretary Treasurer

Bernadette O'Reilly-McAuliffe.

Executive Board

Rev. Sean McManus, C.S.S.R.

Chairman

Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien

Rita Mullan

Bernadette O'Reilly-McAuliffe

Most Rev. Thomas J. Drury.

John M. "Jack" Keane

Thomas W. "Teddy" Gleason

Daniel O'Kennedy

Liam Murphy

Gabriel Kennedy

James O'Gara

Martin Higgins

John McBride

Dr. Charles McCafferty

Timothy Scannell

David Burke

Michael Costeloe

Anthony McKeown

Thomas McNabb



(From left to right) Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien (CAUCUS Information Director), T. W. "Teddy" Gleason (President, ILA), Rev. Sean McManus (CAUCUS Coordinator), George Meany (President, AFL-CIO) and Sean Walsh (CAUCUS National Director).

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IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS "HUMAN RIGHTS FOR IRELAND"

The Irish National Caucus is an United States - based organization dedicated to making the violations of human rights in Ireland by the British Government AN AMERICAN ISSUE, LEGALLY AND MORALLY.

By its work, the Irish National Caucus not only helps the Irish in Ireland, but, also, the Irish in the United States. No ethnic group can preserve its identity, heritage or culture if it is not strongly attached to, and concerned for, its homeland. If the Irish in the United States ignore their roots and are indifferent to the oppression of their brothers and sisters in Ireland, they are in effect destroying their identity - not to mention their humanity - and plunging headlong towards extinction as an ethnic group.

Because of the Irish National Caucus, there has been a NEW AWAKENING* among the Irish in the United States. They realize that the twin objectives of the Irish National Caucus are, in fact, inseparable principles. One cannot be truly Irish, one cannot be truly aware of one's identity, if he or she is indifferent to justice and peace, freedom and dignity, in Ireland. And this is why all leading Irish-American organizations have endorsed the Irish National Caucus.

The Irish National Caucus is an exclusively American - based organization. It has no foreign principal. It, therefore, does not support - morally or financially - any particular group in Ireland. All Caucus monies remain within the United States to fund its non-violent campaign of human rights for Ireland.

* The Irish National Caucus hopes that this NEW AWAKENING will be reflected among the Irish throughout the world. The Irish must be one united family concerned about the freedom and dignity of each person in Ireland. We ARE our brother's keeper!

APPEAL TO AMERICANS

Fr. Denis Faul on American Radio

What disappoints me is that the American people are not prepared to stand up to the British. The American politicians seem to have an inferiority complex in regard to the British, even your President. He won't name Britain as one of the countries violating Human Rights.

Is it because they speak the same language as you that you have this inferiority complex? Is it because they have Kings and Queens and Dukes and Earls and Lords and you have none? Is it because you are only a country since 1770?

We have no inferiority complex. We know we have all descended from kings and we don't worry about the British. Why are you afraid to upbraid them? Why are your congressmen and your senators afraid to speak out the truth about the killings and the tortures as carried out by the British and the R.U.C. here?

You may say "What are the I.R.A. doing?" Of course, terrorist acts. That is quite true in many cases and I do condemn them most sincerely and always have. But they are Outlaws and we do not expect much from outlaws, but what I am telling you about is the way the Inlaws behave - the Inlaws, the people who should be keeping the law, the people who are getting my tax money to keep the law and who are using methods that are the outrage of humanity - inhuman treatment.

Yet why isn't the American Government speaking up about these things? What's the use of speaking about Brazil and Chile and Russia when you are not speaking up here? I could appeal to the American Catholics. Now there are 6 million Jews in America and good luck to them - when Israel is attacked you hear them speak loud and clear all over America.

There are 30 million Irish in America and they make very little noise indeed. I am not asking you to support any paramilitary group or terrorist group or I.R.A. group or anything else - by no means - what I am asking you to speak up about is the violation of basic Human Rights in Northern Ireland and speak up in such a way that the British Government will have to listen.

The British Government is depending on you to support them in every way. You should make it an essential condition of this support that the British Government cease to violate Human Rights in N.Ireland as she's done in the last 7 years, cease to torture people and cease to put the products of this torture into inhuman camps like H Block's Long Kesh where there are now 312 men suffering cruel and inhuman and degrading treatment in the most difficult of prison conditions that have been seen since the Korean War.

Perhaps you weren't so proud of your own previous behaviour in Korea, neither were the British, but these poor unfortunates in H Block, some of them are 18 months some 24 months "on the blanket" in an empty cell 24 hours per day, deprived of reading material, writing material, deprived of physical exercise in filth and squalor and dirt. Nothing but a mattress, a wet mattress, some of them have not even that, clad in a blanket.

I have seen it myself. The dirt on the walls is encrusted dirt. Now the British tried to break them when they refused to work and they refused to wear the prison clothes. The British confined them to cells 24 hours per day, took away all reading material, wireless, T.V., all mental stimulation and physical

exercise, which I consider was perfectly ill-legal for the British to do. They were not entitled to do that. Archbishop O Fiaich pointed out how everything necessary for a man, for his human development, his mental stimulation, his physical recreation, his physical exercise should be granted to him. The British were thinking they would break these young men. But they did not break them, and they have endured this for 18 months, some of them for 2 years like Kieran Nugent. He will come out in another year having completed a full sentence of 3 years without a day of remission, having beaten the British system and beaten it hollow.

No British prisoner could ever do it. No American prisoner could ever do it but these unfortunate products of discrimination, torture, Diplock Courts, foul and filthy legal procedures - these fellows have done it. At least give them credit for that.

Some of them were convicted on statements outlining crimes they had never committed. Taken under conditions of torture, cruel, degrading and inhuman treatment in the Castlereagh and other places. They shouldn't have been in gaol at all. The men in fact, the men who tortured them are the men who should be in gaol. And why are they not in gaol? Because British Law was always one-sided. And let me tell you something about Ireland.

We Irish people, we have never invaded anybody's country. We have never stolen anybody's wealth and land and we have never taken away anybody's culture, religion. We have never driven the people to the farthest extremes of the land. We have never tortured people. We have never put people in gaol without trial. Yet, Britain has done all these things in Ireland, done them for centuries and is doing them today.

When are they going to cease? They will continue because the thirty million people in America won't speak out about it. That's why they won't cease.

I love the British people in their own country. I admire them in their own country but they lose all sense of rationality and decency when they come over here and they send over the most undesirable types of people to administer their army and their government.

Now Pope John said that peace is based on truth, justice, freedom, and charity. Now I'm telling you the truth—Britain has had a Paper Wall around Northern Ireland for too long. I'm telling you the truth. Over 1000 people tortured, 3,000 interned without trial, 312 "on the blanket", 3,000 in Long Kesh. How many of these are the products of poverty, bigotry contrived by the British Administration for many years to maintain their rule here of Divide and Conquer?

And there are people in Long Kesh at the moment, let me assure you, both Catholic and Protestant who should not be there, who are innocent, who are convicted wrongly.

Now we want the truth told all over America about these people. You'll get the truth in our booklets and leaflets. You'll get the truth in the Amnesty International report of June 1978. We want justice. We want proper courts. We don't want Diplock Courts.

Freedom. We would like freedom. We don't want British soldiers coming into our houses. Wrecking the houses. Using filthy language to our women folk.

We want Freedom. Freedom to go the road, not stopped by the U.D.R., told to take off our shoes and stockings and to

stand at the side of the road while our young people are insulted by these U.D.R. Just because they are Catholics because they bear the honourable names O'Neill and O'Donnell and MacLaughlin and Bradley and MacNeill and MacDonnell. Names like Murray and MacNally and MacHugh and Hughes. Names that have been in Ireland for over 2000 years, before the British or any foreigner put his foot in the country. Honourable names of Irish Chiefs and Kings going back to before the time of St. Patrick. These young men bearing these names have to stand at the side of the road without shoes or stockings to be insulted by minions of the British Army.

We want Freedom. Freedom to go about our work in

JACK ANDERSON

U.S. TO WORK FOR IRISH PEACE?

WASHINGTON—The fratricidal conflict in Northern Ireland has claimed hundreds of lives and millions of dollars in property damages over the past decade. Another victim of violence has been the British system of justice. Frustrated by their inability to impose a political settlement on Ulster, the occupation forces have established a special standard of justice for those suspected of terrorist acts against the British troops.

Human rights violations, reported to us by a number of reliable sources, have put Northern Ireland on an unenviable par with some of the most barbarous regimes of communist commissars or tinhorn Latin American dictators. The British are trampling on the rights of Irish citizens in a manner reminiscent of Oliver Cromwell's iron-fisted rule more than three centuries ago.

As we have reported in the past, responsible sources have provided us with documented cases of repression and torture by British security forces. Respected international organisations have also compiled solid evidence of the inhuman treatment accorded Irish prisoners.

Despite all this and despite a campaign promise to speak out on human rights violations in Northern Ireland, President Carter so far has ignored the protests of individuals and organisations concerned about the British army's abuses in the strife torn land.

But now critics with more political clout have urged the president to speak out on the situation. Outraged by first hand evidence they have obtained on a recent fact-finding tour of Ulster, Reps. Hamilton Fish R.N.Y., and Joshua Eilberg, D.Pa., sent a private letter to Carter asking that he do something about human rights outrages in Northern Ireland.

At the center of the controversy is the Long Kesh prison, a forbidding concrete fortress on the outskirts of Belfast. It is there that hundreds of Irish prisoners live in conditions of indescribable filth and physical deprivation.

Most infamous of all is the "H" Block, or "hell block" as it is called by the prisoners. Its inmates, known as "blanket men", have been clothed only in blankets and towels since 1976, when British courts declared that IRA suspects were no long to be given special treatment as political prisoners.

The few outsiders who have been allowed into H Block report that the walls are encrusted with rotting food, the floors are littered with excrement and an overpowering odor of decay is all-pervading.

peace, and we want charity. We want to live with our Protestant neighbours and live with all the people of this country in peace and that can only be done when the invader goes away, when the British go away and leave us in peace. We can get on very well with our Protestant neighbours and they can get on very well with us.

But as long as you have these British in doing their best to interfere there will be no truth, freedom, justice in this country.

So I shall ask you to raise your voices and use your voices and lend me your voices and convey these truths to your congressmen and to your President and to use your influence to solve our problems.

We need your help.

One respected religious leader compared the horrors of H Block to the "tiger cages" of Vietnam, where American-trained South Vietnamese captors interrogated prisoners, or the North Vietnamese torture cells where American POWs were brutally mistreated.

Indeed Rep. Fish concluded that the conditions at Long Kesh are "worse than Saigon in 1968".

Hundreds of Irish prisoners in H Block, many of them still in their teens, were put there for signing confessions often extracted under torture by British security forces. Under the emergency suspension of Britain's honored legal system, anyone arrested may be held incommunicado for as long as seven days without even a formal charge.

It is estimated that perhaps 75 percent of the political prisoners in Long Kesh have been convicted by uncorroborated statements or forced confessions made in Stalin-like kangaroo court procedures.

British officials tried to persuade the visiting congressmen and other dignitaries that Long Kesh is a model prison whose inmates are treated with dignity in an up to-date, humanely run facility. Almost no one swallows the official British line, however.

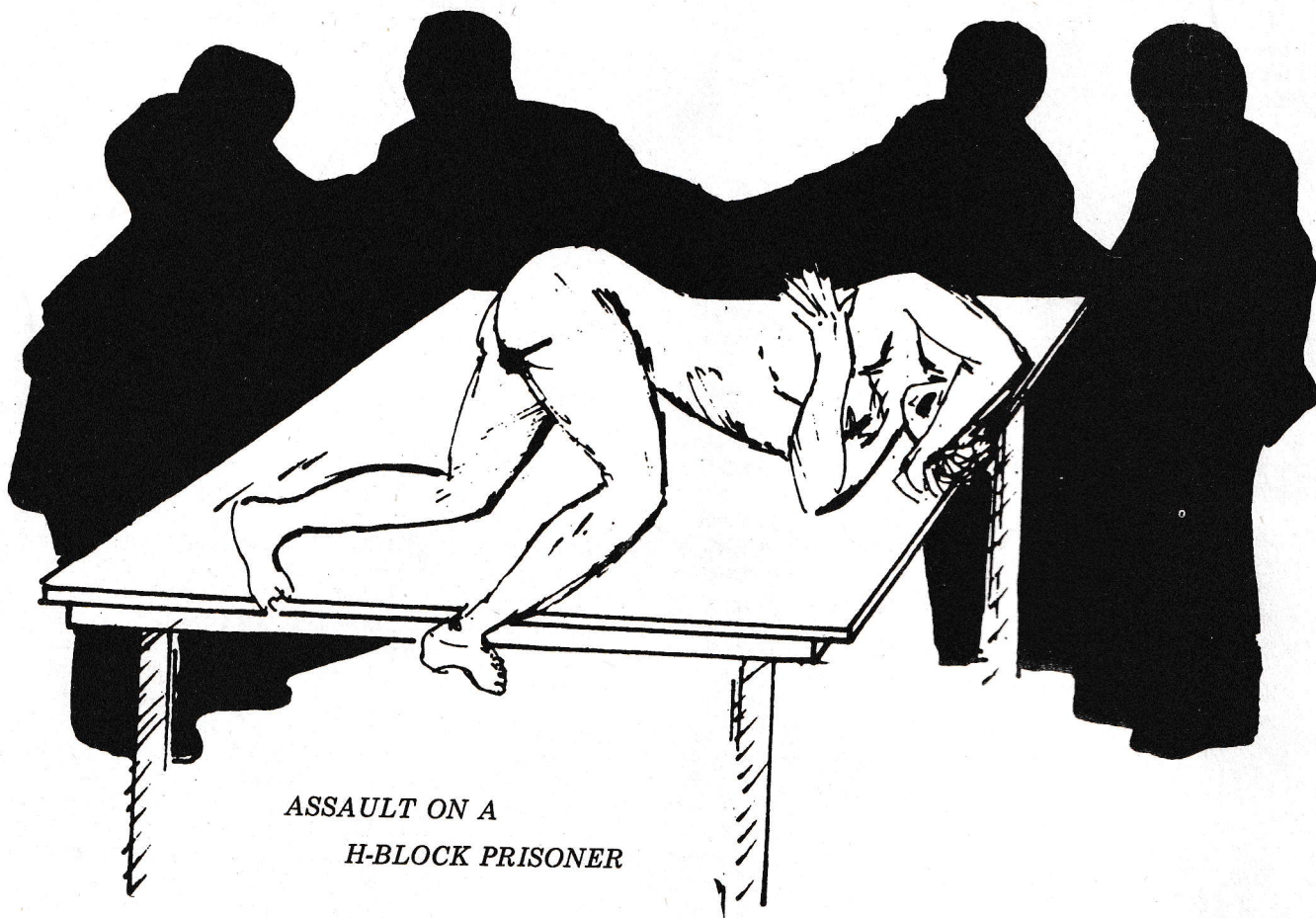
Several Ulster women have come to us with pathetic tales of the mistreatment being visited upon their husbands and sons, some as young as 16. They have been begging Congress for help, believing along with thousands of Northern Irish that only United States intervention can bring an end to Ulster's horrors.

An Ad Hoc Irish Committee of 119 members has been formed in Congress. But the committee's attempts to publicise the outrages being committed in Northern Ireland, along with the efforts of the Irish National Caucus, have been blocked by House Speaker Tip O'Neill and other congressional leaders who are reluctant to offend our British ally.

The initial letter from Fish and Eilberg was bucked to the State Department, whose bureaucratic response infuriated the lawmakers.

They fired off a second note to the president, in which they cited "incontrovertible evidence that the Northern Irish people, both Catholic and Protestants, earnestly and sincerely plead for United States assistance in achieving political and social stability."

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ASSAULT ON A
H-BLOCK PRISONER

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JACK ANDERSON,
Washington Post