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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** NORTH, OLIVER: FILES

**Withdrawer**

DLB 12/28/2006

**File Folder** TERRORISM: UNITED STATES - BRITISH (08/24/1984-09/30/1984)

**FOIA**

F02-071/3

**Box Number** 14

COLLINS

22

| ID    | Doc Type | Document Description   | No of Pages | Doc Date  | Restrictions |
|-------|----------|--|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 31467 | PAPER    | IRAN<br><i>D 8/4/2008 F02-071/3</i>  | 6           | 8/24/1984 | B1           |
| 31468 | MEMO     | OLIVER NORTH TO JOHN POINDEXTER, RE: FOLLOW-UP WITH THE BRITISH ON COUNTER-TERRORISM                       | 1           | 9/6/1984  | B1           |
| 31469 | MEMO     | DUPLICATE OF #29273; JOHN POINDEXTER TO DAVID HANNAY, RE: COUNTER-TERRORISM                                | 1           | 9/11/1984 | B1           |
| 31470 | PAPER    | RE: THREAT OF ATTACK<br><i>D 8/4/2008 F02-071/3</i>  | 14          | ND        | B1           |
| 31471 | PAPER    | ARRANGEMENTS FOR SHARING<br><i>D 8/4/2008 F02-071/3</i>  | 2           | ND        | B1           |
| 31472 | PAPER    | MEETING OF THE SUMMIT SEVEN EXPERTS GROUP ON TERRORISM<br><i>R 4/10/2012 F2002-071/3</i>                   | 2           | ND        | B1           |
| 31473 | MEMO     | ROBERT OAKLEY TO LIST, RE: APPROVAL OF POSITION ON UK TERRORISM PAPER<br><i>R 8/4/2008 F02-071/3</i>       | 2           | 9/14/1984 | B1           |
| 31474 | PAPER    | SUMMIT SEVEN EXPERTS MEETING ON TERRORISM: 19 SEPTEMBER DISCUSSION PAPER<br><i>R 4/10/2012 F2002-071/3</i> | 2           | 9/13/1984 | B1           |

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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|-------|--------------|--|-------------|----------|--------------|
| 31475 | AIDE MEMOIRE | RE: FINANCING<br><i>D 10/26/2011 F2002-071/3</i> | 2           | ND       | B1           |

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|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 31468     | MEMO<br><br>OLIVER NORTH TO JOHN POINDEXTER, RE:<br>FOLLOW-UP WITH THE BRITISH ON COUNTER-<br>TERRORISM | 1                            | 9/6/1984        | B1                              |

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31469 MEMO

1 9/11/1984 B1

DUPLICATE OF #29273; JOHN POINDEXTER TO  
DAVID HANNAY, RE: COUNTER-TERRORISM

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|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 31470     | PAPER<br><br>RE: THREAT OF ATTACK                   | 14                           | ND              | B1                              |

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|-----------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 31471     | PAPER<br><br>ARRANGEMENTS FOR SHARING               | 2                            | ND              | B1                  |

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TAFS

IV

Colonel Oliver North  
NSC



*With the compliments of*  
**THE BRITISH EMBASSY**

S J Gomersall

*This is a copy of the paper  
we gave to Ambassador Sayre  
on 13 August. No action for you,*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

*but you may like to keep  
Adm. Prindexter informed.*

*Stephen Gomersall.*

Participants

1. All seven countries have now agreed to our proposal for a meeting. We would be grateful for details of the US delegation in due course. We hope that this could be limited to a maximum of three.

Venue

2. Riverwalk House, Millbank, London SW1 (same as April meeting).

Aim of the Meeting

3. The main aim will be to discuss ways of carrying forward the ideas in the London Declaration on terrorism. We also wish to take the opportunity to review previous summit declarations, in particular the Bonn Declaration on hijackings and the Venice Declaration on taking of diplomatic hostages.

Proposed Timetable and Agenda

10.00 - 12.30

Review of London Declaration

Para 6 of the London Declaration lists a number of proposals for fighting terrorism. We believe that the first item dealing with improved cooperation and coordination between police and security authorities would be best pursued on separate channels by the appropriate authorities. We propose therefore to confine discussions to the other points in the Declaration, as follows:-

- (a) the scrutiny of gaps in national legislation which might be exploited by terrorists.
- (b) review of sales of weapons to states supporting terrorism.
- (c) expulsion or exclusion of known terrorists, including those with diplomatic status, from Summit Seven countries. We have accepted the useful American suggestion that each participant should prepare a paper on recent terrorist-related abuses of diplomatic immunity in their country. We are asking each delegation to circulate a short paper, either directly or through the British Chair, at least a week in advance of the meeting.

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BY KML NARA DATE 4/10/12

1(d) scope

UK - CONFIDENTIAL

- (d) scope for improvements in implementation of the Vienna Convention.

We will also need to consider the commitment in the final paragraph of the Declaration covering further action by the Seven with the international community to prevent and punish terrorist acts.

12.30 - 14.30 Lunch

14.30 - 16.00 Discussion of the Bonn and Venice Declarations

The review of the Bonn Declaration will provide a useful opportunity to exchange views and information on a number of hijackings since the April meeting and the need for any action by the Seven. This will include discussion of the Tehran hijackings.

16.00 - 17.00 Conclusion of discussion of the London Declaration and Agreement on a Report

We believe that the group should prepare a report to Foreign Ministers for their meeting on 28 September in New York. If others agree we would aim to draft a short Chairman's report outlining the group's views on how the follow-up to the London Declaration should be handled, and the scope identified for additional cooperation amongst the Seven.

17.00 Any other business

17.30 End of meeting.

Request for Comments

4. We would be grateful for your early views on the above agenda, on how you see progress being made on the points contained in the London Declaration, and for any views on how the meeting on 19 September might be handled. More generally, we should be glad for any ideas you may have at this stage on the way ahead, future consultation, etc.

5. We are conscious of past French sensitivities about discussions of terrorism within the Summit framework, and the French desire to avoid the creation of additional machinery to deal with the subject. We have told the French Government that this meeting, which is based entirely upon the contents of the London Declaration, does not prejudice any decisions, nor betoken a British view on which aspects are most suited to multilateral action and which are not.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 14, 1984

31473

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : P - Mr. John Campbell (Room 7244)  
M - Mr. Sheldon Kryz (Room 7207)  
E - Amb. Robert J. Morris (Room 7260)  
L - Mr. Daniel McGovern (Room 6423)  
PM - Mr. Arnold Kanter (Room 7325)  
CA - Ms. Joan Clark (Room 6811)  
EB - Mrs. Elinor G. Constable (Room 6828)  
EUR - Mr. James Dobbins (Room 6219)  
A/SY - Mr. David Fields (Room 2513)  
M/OFM - Mr. James E. Nolan (Room 2105)

FROM : M/CTP - Robert B. Oakley *RO*

SUBJECT: Approval of Position on UK Terrorism Paper

The attached discussion paper, given to me at 1730 Sept. 13, is the basis for what the UK, as chairman of the Summit Seven, intends to be the report of the September 19 specialists meeting in London to Foreign Ministers for their September 27 meeting in New York. It follows the general lines of the London Summit Declaration on Terrorism and the more specific decisions taken by the European Community Foreign Ministers at their September 11 European Political Cooperation meeting in Dublin.

The individual paragraphs of the UK proposal generally accord with existing US policies or practices. They are carefully worded so as to avoid ironclad, no-exception commitments on behalf of the Summit Seven governments. By agreeing to such a report, possibly with modifications proposed by us or others, the Seven will have taken a major step toward closer coordination and cooperation on terrorism which the Administration has been urging and which the Congress and the public will welcome.

My strong recommendation is that the US agree at the September 19 London meeting to a draft statement along these lines for transmittal to and final approval by Foreign

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BY NOT NARA DATE 8/4/08

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Ministers in their meeting on September 27. If you have any suggestions for changes, M/CTP will incorporate them in a telegram which must be sent to Embassy London not later than COB, September 17.

Immediately following the London meeting, I will send the proposed report to Foreign Ministers to you for comment. If needed, I will call a meeting on September 24 to deal with any drafting problems that must be handled before the Secretary's meeting in New York.

Attachment:

Discussion Paper.

M/CTP:TEArnold  
ext. 632-8541 (0163T)

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NLRR Fo2-071/S #31474

31474

BY KML NARA DATE 4/10/12

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SUMMIT SEVEN EXPERTS MEETING ON TERRORISM: 19 SEPTEMBER

DISCUSSION PAPER

- (a) The guiding principle of the Seven is to make no concessions under duress to those who practice terrorism.
- (b) If one member of the Seven suffers a serious terrorist attack involving abuse of diplomatic immunity, the Seven will be ready to consider parallel action to bring home to the offending state the unacceptability of terrorist attacks. The nature of such steps will be decided in the light of circumstances.
- (c) In general, one government will not admit for diplomatic or any other purpose a person expelled by another partner for reasons connected with terrorism.
- (d) In conformity with their national legislation, each country will continue to give most careful consideration to contracts for arms widely used by terrorists.
- (e) Each country will examine rigorously notification of new members of diplomatic missions in its capital and will consider further what additional information to request from diplomatic missions about prospective additions to the staff other than those holding the rank of Ambassador, Defence Attaché and Consuls heading Consular Posts. In appropriate circumstances, each country is ready to use the provisions of the Vienna Convention relating to declaring a member of a mission persona non grata or not acceptable.
- (f) Each country will continue strictly to apply the provision in Article II of the Vienna Convention relating to size of diplomatic missions in its capital. They will pay particular attention to ensure that staff numbers are not excessive. They will bear in mind that when a member of staff leaves a mission, there is no presumption that a successor will automatically be acceptable.
- (g) The Seven attach particular importance to the principle that the premises of a diplomatic mission must not be used in a manner incompatible with the functions of the mission as laid down in the Vienna Convention, or by other rules of general international law or by any special agreements in force between the sending and the receiving state.

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2.

- (h) The Seven will continue to work to improve their exchange of information on the physical protection of Embassies, including where legally and practically feasible, the improvement of communication between them and coordination of contingency planning arrangements in third countries.
- (i) Consideration will be given to the question of whether it is feasible, legally and practically, to introduce measures designed to prevent improper use of the diplomatic bag.

British Embassy  
Washington

13 September 1984

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September 1984

## THE PROVISIONAL IRA AND NORAID

The Provisional IRA is the main terrorist organisation in Northern Ireland, where over 2,000 people have been killed in the troubles of the past 15 years. Its agent in the United States is NORAID, which provides it with financial (and material) support and has been condemned by successive Irish Governments.

The Irish Northern Aid Committee, known as NORAID, is the Provisional IRA's main fund-raising organisation in the United States and is the major source of IRA funds from abroad. Federal investigations have also established links between NORAID officials and illegal weapon dealers in the United States.

Support for Irish Republican extremism among the 43.7 million US citizens who claim Irish descent (1981 census) follows a long tradition. The American branch of the Fenian Brotherhood, founded in New York in 1858, largely financed Irish insurrection in the 19th century and its support reached a climax over 60 years ago. The minority of Irish Americans who now support the Provisional IRA are inspired by memories of "the Troubles" of 1919-22 and the subsequent Irish Civil War and ignore or discount later developments, or the views of those currently living in Ireland north or south.

NORAID was founded in 1970 by Michael Flannery and two other IRA veterans of the 1919-22 period. It's publicity director, Martin Galvin, a lawyer with the New York City Sanitary Department, claims that there are 92 chapters in 70 cities, that national membership is about 5,000 with a periphery of 30,000, and that the organisation has so far raised \$3 million.

Provisional IRA "welfare" channels

Flannery has always claimed that "the Irish Northern Aid Committee was organised for the sole purpose of feeding and clothing the homeless, the hungry and the naked" (11 March 1975). Money collected by NORAID is said to be remitted through the "welfare" organisation An Cumann Cabrach (ACC) in Dublin for transmission to Green Cross in Belfast.

ACC, a continuation of the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund of the 1920s, was set up in 1953 "to alleviate hardship on Republican prisoners and their dependents". It shares the Dublin address of Sinn Fein (the political wing of the Provisional IRA). Some of its officials have been convicted of terrorist crimes. Joe Cahill, a trustee of ACC and joint treasurer of Sinn Fein's Executive Committee, was sentenced to death (but reprieved) for the murder of a policeman in 1942 and was sentenced by a Dublin court in 1973 on a charge of conspiracy to smuggle arms from Libya. Desmond Ferguson, the first elected chairman of ACC, was imprisoned in 1974 for IRA membership; in 1975 the ACC

general meeting was addressed by Sean Keenan, a former Provisional IRA leader in Londonderry. ACC claims that it "subsidises the Green Cross organisation which carries out the same work in the Six Counties".

Green Cross does not advertise its correct address or telephone number, and does not publish audited accounts of any kind. It is not recognised as a charitable organisation by the tax authorities, partly because it is unable to provide any accounts and records, but also because its objectives do not meet the tax authorities' criteria for granting charitable status. (Dependents of prisoners in the United Kingdom already receive adequate social welfare provision and, therefore, supplementary payments from "welfare" organisations should not be necessary.)

The Provisional IRA and Sinn Fein move money freely between their different activities. There is no accurate audit (most of their funds are obtained illegally anyway) and money obtained ostensibly for prisoners' dependents is likely to be used to fund a terrorist atrocity. NORAIID leaders have often admitted that they have no ultimate control over the use made by their Irish "trustees" of funds collected in the United States. As the late Matthew Higgins, a director of NORAIID, said,

"we have no objection to it if they [the trustees] have money to spare. They've got to get them [weapons] from somewhere. If the overall kitty is big enough to buy weapons that's their business. We were formed for the purpose of supporting the Irish freedom movement. We still support the Provisional IRA - no ifs and buts about that...." (New York Times, 16 December 1975).

More significant is the suspicion that NORAIID's receipts are far larger than they admit, and that very large sums retained in the United States are used to finance arms purchases for the Provisional IRA.

Under the headline "Help us buy guns, SF man tells NORAIID visitors", the Irish News, Belfast, reported a speech at Coalisland by Owen Carron, Sinn Fein member of the Northern Ireland Assembly for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, in which he told a visiting NORAIID delegation that

"the need for armaments is the greatest in our struggle at the minute", and that the Republicans depend on America for "financial, moral and concrete support". He asked members of the group for their continued "concrete support" (The Irish News, 11 August 1984).

During the same visit, a NORAIID official, Richard Lawlor, said:

"I would not discourage people from sending guns here.... It's probably the moral duty of every Irish American to get them American guns to ensure democracy" (The Irish Press, Dublin, 14 August 1984).

#### IRA connexions

In April 1982, during a court case brought against NORAIID under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the US Department of Justice stated that "since its inception NORAIID has acted as the agent in this country of the Provisional wing

of the Irish Republican Army, its political arm, the Sinn Fein, and their affiliates". Among the correspondence made public at the trial were letters from NORAID saying that

- "Our support goes exclusively to the Provisional IRA and those who are working with them" (27 October 1971).
- "Our sympathies are with the so-called 'Provisional' IRA and that branch of the Sinn Fein movement which supports them.... The Committee was set up by the trustees in Ireland about two years ago.... Our funds are channelled through Joe Cahill of Belfast to be used for the advancement of the campaign in Ireland" (8 March 1972).
- "Any money you wish to donate to Northern Aid should be sent through the New York office. Joe Cahill has asked us to cooperate here as it will be a tremendous help to those at the other side. They would like to have every person there engaged directly in the struggle. This is an authentic committee, chartered by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (and the only one) to collect money for their cause. We guarantee that all monies collected will be used for that purpose" (28 February 1972).

The court found that NORAID had violated the provisions of the Act by failing to identify as its foreign principal "the Irish Republican Army, Provisional Wing". It found also that NORAID had not fully identified its officers and other groups acting for it; that it had not given the true address of its foreign principal; that it had not described properly its activities; and that it had not provided an accurate accounting of its receipts and disbursements (Federal prosecutors had argued that some money was retained to make illicit weapons purchases and the amounts transmitted to Belfast and Dublin were disputable). During the Federal investigations, Michael Flannery and two other NORAID officials invoked the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination.

A US Justice Department official said that for a decade the Department "has been trying to get people here who represent the IRA to tell the truth; they're raising money to create widows and orphans, and not to help widows and orphans" (US International Communication Agency, 19 August 1982). NORAID filed its first financial return under the Foreign Agents Registration Act in August 1984, covering the first six months of 1984.

#### Supply of arms

Since 1970, when the Provisional wing broke away from the traditional IRA, the United States has been its most important source of arms: more than 1,000 weapons (including automatic rifles, cannon and flamethrowers) and large quantities of ammunition have been purchased in the past decade. The US Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) alone "has directly traced 307 guns, primarily rifles and machine guns, to the IRA" (ATF spokesman, August 1982). Ballistic and other evidence has shown that weapons obtained from the United States have been used in some of the worst terrorist incidents in Northern Ireland.

Almost since its inception, NORAID and its officers have been mentioned in connexion with trials in the United States and Canada for arms offences and gun-running to the Republic. James O'Gara, given a five-year suspended sentence in 1973 for using a false identification to purchase arms, was an active NORAID official and co-chairman of the NORAID annual New York dinner-dance in 1976.

Joseph Myles, sentenced to two years' jail in Toronto in June 1974 for conspiracy, to export arms to the Republic, was described by police as "an executive officer of a US organisation, Northern Irish Aid" (Irish Times, Dublin, 7 June 1975). Daniel Cahalane, head of NORAID's Delaware County chapter, spent over five months in jail in 1973 for refusing to testify to a Federal Grand Jury investigating gun-running, and was convicted in June 1976 for illegally exporting arms. Neil Byrne, a NORAID member, was also convicted in June 1976 with Cahalane for gun-running. In hearing an appeal against conviction by Cahalane and Byrne, the Pennsylvania Appeal Court found that "NORAID engaged in various fund-raising activities and was also the centre of the armament purchase and transportation efforts". Francis Grady, convicted in New York on 12 March 1976 for illegally exporting arms and falsifying documents, was said in court to have formed with others a chapter of NORAID in Yonkers, New York State, in May 1970. When, in October 1979, 151 weapons originating in the United States were found in Dublin docks, the shipment was traced to an accommodation address in New York belonging to Bernard McKeon, an office holder in NORAID. In June 1983, a New York court convicted McKeon of conspiracy to export firearms.

In November 1982, after a trial in New York lasting seven weeks, Michael Flannery and four co-defendants were acquitted on charges relating to the shipment of arms to the Provisional IRA. They had been arrested in 1981 following a significant arms haul in New York, which included a 20mm cannon with shells, a flamethrower, 21 shoulder and handguns (together with 12,500 rounds of ammunition) and booby trap components. In court, the issue was whether the defendants had breached US law governing the possession of unregistered weapons and their export. The defence argued that their clients believed that they had been acting with and through a "CIA agent" and convicted arms dealer, George DeMeo, and that accordingly the accused had not violated any US law, since the US Government is exempt from the requirement to obtain permission to export weapons. The US authorities stated in court that DeMeo had nothing to do with the CIA.

Nevertheless, the defendants had admitted their roles in the operation and the case showed beyond further doubt that money raised by NORAID was being used to buy weapons for the Provisional IRA. Flannery admitted in open court that he had been involved for many years in the financing of arms deals on behalf of the IRA:

"I came [to the US] directly from Ireland. I was a member of the Irish Republican Army until I left Ireland. When I came here, there had been a general exodus of young Irishmen and women from Ireland from 1924 to 1927 and I came here purposely to organise these people, so they would be a help to the militant movement, to the IRA at home, to complete the freedom of Ireland."

Sinn Fein's main publication, An Phoblacht/Republican News (10 February 1983), referred to Flannery as "an admitted arms supplier to the IRA". In the opening statement by the defence on behalf of another defendant, George Harrison, it was stated that

"Mr Harrison has aided and abetted and supplied arms to the rebels in Northern Ireland for a quarter of a century."

In June 1982 the FBI had announced that it had broken up a million-dollar arms operation by the Provisional IRA in New York. Two men, Gabriel Megahey and

Andrew Duggan, were charged with conspiracy to purchase and export weapons and munitions, including five SAM missiles (at a cost of \$10,000 each), and AR15 and M16 rifles. The missiles were to be used against British helicopters in Northern Ireland. The FBI said that Megahey had told an undercover FBI agent that he was the Provisional IRA's leader in the United States and that his organisation had \$1 million to spend on the purchase of weapons. At the time of his arrest Megahey, an Irish citizen, was in the United States illegally and was subject to a deportation order. Duggan, a US citizen, is a member of NORAID. The FBI also arrested two Irish brothers, Colum and Eamon Meehan. In May 1983 Megahey, Duggan and the Meehans were convicted by a New York court of gun-running to the Provisional IRA.

In another case Colm Murphy, from Northern Ireland, who claims to be a representative of the Irish National Liberation Army, and Vincent Toner, from New York, were convicted in New York, in June 1983, for trying to buy a variety of weapons, including 20 M16 automatic rifles, communications equipment and SAM missiles for use against both British and Irish security forces.

### St Patrick's Day

The annual St Patrick's Day parade in New York is traditionally one of the largest in the world. But in March 1983 the appointment by the organisers of Michael Flannery as the parade's Grand Marshal, together with Andrew Duggan as an aide, caused bitter controversy. Flannery announced that

"it's definitely going to be a pro-IRA parade" (New York Times, 14 February 1983); "Nothing would make me prouder than for it to be an IRA parade" (Washington Post, 17 March).

In view of the appointment of Flannery, the Irish Government announced that its representatives would boycott the parade. An official spokesman described Flannery as

"a person who has an avowed personal involvement in sponsoring violence in Ireland and who heads an organisation which the United States courts have declared to be agents of the IRA. The IRA, which is an illegal organisation in both parts of Ireland, has been responsible for a majority of the killings which have occurred in Northern Ireland since the troubles began."

Leading Irish-American politicians also condemned Flannery's appointment and dissociated themselves from the parade. The US Federal authorities banned serving military personnel from participation in the parade (the US Army band and other units traditionally take part); 23 high schools withdrew their marching bands, and the then leader of New York's Roman Catholics, Cardinal Cooke, broke with tradition and declined to appear on the steps of St Patrick's Cathedral until Flannery and others at the head of the parade had passed. Earlier, the Cardinal had condemned IRA violence:

"...this [parade] is being interpreted as a sign of support for the Provisional IRA and its campaign to achieve political and social effects through indiscriminate violence. Indiscriminate violence - no matter what motivates it or to what end it is directed - is both futile and immoral."

At an Irish Embassy reception, President Reagan said that

"some few but vocal Americans believe that differences between Irishmen can only be solved by violence and intimidation. They are no friends of Ireland. They disgrace the principles for which both Ireland and America stand. I would urge my fellow Americans not to listen to such people."

In a statement to commemorate St Patrick's Day in March 1984 the Friends of Ireland, an all-party group in the US Congress led by such Irish American politicians as Senators Edward Kennedy and Daniel Moynihan, and Tip O'Neil, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, said that

"we renew our urgent appeal to all Americans to renounce the path of the bomb and the bullet and to reject the pleas of those who seek by word or deed or dollar to promote or condone the cause of violence."

#### NORAID visit to Northern Ireland, 1984

On 24 April 1984, during a visit to Northern Ireland, Martin Galvin said in a speech in Toome that he was encouraged by an incident in Londonderry the previous evening when a member of the security forces - an army private - was petrol bombed and shot dead. This, in the authorities' view, went beyond what was acceptable behaviour by a foreign visitor.

When it was learned that Galvin proposed to lead a party of NORAID supporters to Northern Ireland in August 1984, the Home Secretary decided to use Immigration Act powers to exclude him on the grounds that his exclusion would be conducive to the public good.

The NORAID visit was timed to coincide with the 13th anniversary of the introduction of internment in 1971 (8 August) and its participants demonstrated their support for the "armed struggle" on several occasions. (Detention without trial had been phased out by the end of 1975). On one occasion a masked and armed Provisional IRA gunman boarded the party's bus, after it had been held up at a stage-managed road block, and read a statement pledging the continuation of the terrorist campaign to cheers and applause. One member of the group was arrested during a riot and subsequently pleaded guilty to the charge of possessing a petrol bomb.

Although Galvin did not accompany the NORAID party on their visit to Northern Ireland, on 12 August the Provisionals helped him to defy the ban by arranging for him to appear alongside the Sinn Fein President, Gerry Adams, at a rally in Andersonstown in West Belfast. Galvin's appearance was a deliberate flouting of the law in circumstances calculated to provoke trouble. The police attempted to arrest him; during the disturbances which followed, a member of the public was killed and 20 other people were injured, of whom three were detained in hospital for further treatment.

The circumstances of the death are currently under investigation by the Deputy Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, with the assistance and advice of a member of HM Inspectorate of Constabulary, the body responsible for the inspection of police forces.

Amidst the controversy over this incident, Galvin's own role was widely condemned in the United Kingdom, in the Republic of Ireland and in the United

States. As the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Councillor Michael O'Halloran, said on a visit to New York in September 1984:

"Mr Galvin came and caused the death of a person for interfering in our actions in Ireland. He had no right whatsoever to come to Ireland as I have no right to come to America to stir up anything against anyone in America that will cause violence. Those types of Irish-Americans are not accepted in Ireland" (WNYC-TV, 19 September 1984).

#### The Irish Government and US fund-raising

The stand taken by the Irish Government regarding the 1983 parade in New York followed a consistent policy towards US citizens who support terrorism. Successive Dublin governments have condemned fund-raising for the Provisional IRA in the United States:

- July 1980. The then Taoiseach, Mr Charles Haughey, who remains leader of the Fianna Fail Party, said in Cork: "... there is clear and conclusive evidence that NORAID has provided support for the campaign of violence and, indeed, direct assistance in its pursuit.... It stands condemned and I appeal to all in America who have the interests of Ireland at heart, not to give this body any support, financial or moral".
- March 1983. The present Taoiseach, Dr Garret FitzGerald, said in an interview:

"There is nothing romantic about NORAID. It collects money for the IRA. The IRA buys guns with the money. The guns murder our people. Why would Americans want to destroy our society? ... we have a vicious problem on this island. We have 2,000 dead. We have 20,000 people with permanent injuries.... The onslaught is against the Irish people themselves. Ninety per cent of the victims have been Irish" (Wall Street Journal, March 1983).
- March 1984. In an address to a joint session of Congress in Washington, Dr FitzGerald said that people concerned about Ireland had a moral obligation to support peace and reconciliation - "It can be fulfilled only by a corresponding rejection of - revulsion against - the very idea of aid by way of money, or by way of weapons or by way of moral support, to any of those who are engaged in the acts of violence that are corrupting and destroying the life of a whole community" (The Times, London, 16 March 1984).
- August 1984. At the time of the arrival in the Irish Republic of the NORAID delegation, en route to Northern Ireland, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs issued a statement that

"the Government is deeply concerned at the activities of NORAID, which is an organisation which has made no secret of its support for the IRA. NORAID is an IRA front organisation and has been found to be such by the courts in the United States. It has been condemned on numerous occasions by successive Irish Governments. Delegations from NORAID are not welcome in Ireland and no member of the Government or any official will meet with them" (Irish News, 4 August 1984).

- September 1984. In a speech to prominent Irish-Americans in New York the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Peter Barry, attacked NORAID as the "agents of the IRA in the United States", saying that "... the activities of members of that organisation in this country have succeeded in doing nothing else except promote the campaign of violence, and open wounds in a horribly tense and fragile situation. One of NORAID's spokesmen even suggested that it is 'a moral duty of every American to ensure that they (the IRA) get American guns....' Let me make it clear that we, together with all other decent and concerned members of the Irish American community, have a moral responsibility to ensure that this does not happen" (Irish News, 24 September 1984).
- September 1984. After the seizure of arms and ammunition on the trawler Marita Ann off the Irish coast, the Irish Justice Minister, Michael Noonan, said he was in no doubt they had been bought with money raised by NORAID "to murder people North and South" (Daily Telegraph, London, 1 October 1984).