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## INTERVIEW WITH CARDINAL TOMAS O FIAICE RADIO ULSTER. "SUNDAY NEWSBREAK" 21 JANUARY 1990

Interviewer: Since his surprise elevation to the See of Armagh in 1977 Cardinal O Fiaich, a native of Cullyhanna in South Armagh, has never striven to disguise his strong nationalist views. He forceably criticized the Government's handling of the hunger strike at the start of the '80's and has, on a number of occasions, questioned the British presence in Northern Ireland in the long term, but, at the same time, he has repeatedly condemned violence. The former historian and President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth has also been an ardent humanist promoting closer contacts between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Cardinal O Fiaich came into our studios here in Broadcasting House for a wide-ranging interview, his first major broadcast intowview feel mera than these years, in which he constituted quantions on many issues including the political future for Northern Ireland and the image he has in some Unionist quartors. I began, though, by asking the Cardinal for his response to the shooting dead of the three robbers in West Belfast last weekend.

Cardinal O Fizich: Of course, when something like that happens we usually leave it to the local bishop, at least to make the first comment, because he is usually much more knowledgeable of the facts than an outsider. So for that reason I don't want to say much about it but I felt that what Bishop Cathal Daly requested was very, very logical and was a natural kind of request to come from him because I think he made the point that it was only an enquiry under an impartial and highly respected person that would have a chance at all of being accepted by many people in that area and I think that still holds. The actual circumstances of course of what happened I have got to so simply on what appeared in the media and so on and to me I felt Bishop Daly was justified in referring to the incident as having an awful lot of ferocity about it, that is assuming that the media were correct in stating that the driver of the car was unarmed and undisguised and he seems to have been the first person who was shot. Then the two other robbers, and of course one has to emphasise that they were taking part in what was a criminal offence, but the other two then (according again, as I say, simply to the media) had been seriously wounded at least and then one particular soldier seems to have come back and poured further bullets into the two men lying on the ground. Now again that emphasises I think the point made by Bishop Cathal Daly that there is a certain amount of blurring in that kind of thing

between what one would expect from security forces and what happens on the part of criminal gangs or paramilitaries and you know I wouldn't like to see what should be a very clear distinction ... I wouldn't like to see that blurred.

Interviewer: But by calling into question the actions of the security forces it might demonstrate inability maybe to fully appreciate the conditions the security forces find themselves in in situations like that. Maybe another example of your perceived failure anyway to fully take on board the feelings of other people in this case, the views of the majority of people in Northern Ireland, I suppose might be your controversial remarks on Dublin Hospital Radio before Christmas when you said the British should say they are not going to stay here for all time. They should set a date. Now did you anticipate then the furroe those remarks was going to start.

Cardinal O Fisich: No, that was a great storm in a teacup really. In my view it was much ado about nothing. Can I say a word on the background to that programme. It was of course an internal house radio. I am sure there weren't more than 300 people listening, if that, maybe because it was made at night; probably some of the patients and some of the staff that would be all and of course when I accepted that I thought I was simply talking to a small group. It was a chit-chat kind of a show. It was light-hearted, a bit of music, mainly reminiscences, in fact nearly all of it football because the compere was the son of a famous Cavan footballer 40 or 50 years ago. And he threw an odd question about the Pope's visit and about my schooling long ago and you know travels abroad and he threw in one about Hong Kong and it was that one that led to the other question. I am not going to tell you just word for word what I said because I think what I said offended some people and I am not going to offend them today.

Interviewer: I suppose it follows on, though, from many remarks you have made over the years really concerning the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland - 'Brits out' to use the wenacular - and of course you have espoused all things Irish from the language to Gaelic sports which you are very interested in as well. And some might say in some respects you are guilty by association with those who believe in exactly the same things that you believe in but are prepared to get them by means of force.

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well I have never used the phrase by the way 'Brits out'. Never in my life, because I look upon that as an aggressive phrase and a provocative phrase and I wouldn't use it. In fact as you know, on this occasion, I didn't use it even though some of the papers then used it as a heading. But, of course, I think nobody has been as forceful ... perhaps they have been in individual condemnations but as forceful year after year, year in year out in condemnation of violence as I have been and I don't see therefore how anyone could look upon my association with some of the things you mention as being in any way compromising me with regard to my attitude towards force.

Interviewer: In which case your remarks are misinterpreted across quite a broad spectrum. I mean for example Archbishop Eames, (he is your fellow primate in Armagh of course) he said that people in public positions should "be very careful about what they say" referring to that hospital redio interview. The Unionist MP John Taylor said you had moved closer to Sinn Fein than ever before and even the SDLP indicated in the Irish News that your comments were unhelpful. So how do you respond to that fact that everyone is misconstruing your remarks?

Gardinal O Fisich: Well, no, I don't say everyone ... But I think you see that a particular custom has come up in, let's call it the media in general, in recent times that somebody makes a statement or perhaps answers a question and I always try to answer a question without fudging the issue. I answer honestly if I am asked a question, I don't try to kick for touch or anything like that as you may have noticed; and for that reason if you, perhaps, give an answer it can be just a very off-hand kind of answer, two seconds on a programme running for half-an-hour or in that particular instance for an hour, but the custom which has come up, which I don't like, is that immediately this becomes known to some branch of the media they begin to ring around to people they know will be critical of it. And they say, if it happened myself the other way round, "what do you think of what the Cardinal said?" you know and you get instant comment and I don't really believe in instant comment. And then the following day the news as it breaks is not what the Cardinal says but is what other people have said about the Cardinal; so and so raps Cardinal; or so and so slams Cardinal and that is the news from that on. I think if one makes an honest comment that he should be allowed to have it published if it is going to be published and then get people to

comment on it if they wish to comment on it. But this thing of kind of trying to get an instant comment, it really is trying to create news instead of report news.

Interviewer: But on the other hand it can't be gainsaid that you do believe that the British should withdraw from Ireland.

Gardinal O Fiaich: Yes, I believe that one day and I think it will become more and more clear when we are together in a united Europe after 1992. I think one day North and South will realise that they have more in common for instance then they have with any other part of Europe outside this island and I will not see it but I think one day North and South and Protestants and Gatholics will come together in some form or other. I am not saying it has to be, as it were, the incorporation of one part of Ireland and another. I don't see any reason why we couldn't have some kind of federal relationship between them. But I think one day that, by force of circumstances in Europe, they will be forced much closer to each other than they are today.

Interviewer: In believing that and yet having to distance yourself from those who believe the same things and want to bring them about by force would you go as far say as Bishop Edward Daly and his remarks after the bomb in Sion Mills when he branded the IRA and Sinn Fein as gangsters and said they sullied the noble ideal of Irish nationalism. How can you divide thase two when you are really after the same thing?

Cardinal O Finish: Well probably the majority of Irish people would like to see North and South linked together in some way. So that if I'm after the same things there are millions of others after the same things, you know.

Interviewer: Would you call the IRA gangsters?

Gardinal O Fisich: I have already said that many of the outrages they have committed are gangster outrages. Yes, I have and of course I have said I have used the word "sully" on occasion in fact. I don't think that the Bishop used a single adjective in his very strong denounciation at the beginning of the week. I don't believe he used a single adjective like "cruel", "ruthless", "heartless" and so on that I haven't used myself on several occasions. One thing perhaps that mightn't be noticeable is I

referred at the beginning to the fact that we usually leave it to the local bishop. Now it just so happens that in the last two years or so things have been reasonably quiet around Armagh and therefore probably I haven't been as much in the news with regard to denounciations of violence as I had been earlier. But go back in the files, say to the Darkley outrage or something like that, and you will find it very hard to get anything which was as strong a denounciation.

Interviewer: After the outrage of course there is this discussion always of who is to blame. Now you did make remarks in Duisburg in Germany in 1987 and I believe you repeated them again after the outrage at Enniskillen and to quote you said "most of the killings in the past few years have been carried out by the IRA and most of the victims were Ulster Protestants. These are the crimes in which we Catholics and the community from which they oprang must ask forgiveness from our Protestant brothers and sisters". But I think maybe some Catholics say really it is unfair to blame all Catholics for the IRA. Why should we take the blame? Well, should they?

Cardinal O Fiaich: I think there is quite a distinction between taking the blame and asking forgiveness. I used that physics for the first time in fact in Enniskillen after the terrible outrage there two years ago last November and at that time I used it, if you like, in a more exact context than in the talk in Duisburg because I said, of course, there is nothing as good for healing wounds as mutual forgiveness and since it is from the Catholic side of the fence that the outrage in Enniskillen has sprung then it is in fact the Catholics who must now ask for forgiveness for the terrible crime that has been committed and the hurt that has been inflicted on their Protestant brothers and sisters. I was thinking of that more, if you like, in the spiritual context. It was at a church ceremony and so on that I used those words and I was thinking of the tremendous opening that occurs when somebody asks forgiveness from somebody who has been grieviously wronged. It is a most healing process and that is, as it were, the context in which I was referring.

Interviewer: Now we have been looking back quite a bit, Cardinal. Can we look forward maybe. We are in 1990, the beginning of the new decade, as we are reminded constantly, and recently we had a apeech from the Secretary of State which seemed to hold out the possibility of some progress on the political front. How do you see things here after 4 years now after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. What is you prognosis for the '90's.

Gardinal O Fiaich: Well I was glad to read the Secretary of State's speech at the time. I thought it offered at least a glimmer of hope for something taking place because obviously it is the type of speech that might give the first little push towards what will ultimately be a round table conference of some kind getting all the political parties together. Of course I would love to see this happening. I think that people should be talking rather than shouting at each other and obviously there will be difficulties and it will be hard, particularly for some political leaders, to say "well okay we are going to talk" but I believe that the capabilities of Ulster politicians are certainly able to find some means without loss of principle and without in any way let's say a surrender of what they believe in their hearts. I believe it certainly should be possible for them to devise a means of getting themselves together for at least talks. I don't know if those talks would produce anything. I wouldn't be so hopeful of them producing some kind of what you might call a scheme for the government of Northern Ireland but at least it is far better to get talking.

Interviewer: You talked about your own views being full blooded earlier on.

There are plenty of full blooded unionists who still will have no truck with
the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Do you think they will accept it in the long run?

<u>Cardinal O Fisich</u>: No, I don't know that and I am not suggesting they will. But what I mean is that I think it is not beyond their ability and the ability of various political leaders on the nationalist side to devise a means whereby they can talk without any reference to the Anglo-Irish Agreement at all.

Interviewer: Now going through quite a few press cuttings before I epoke to you I noticed in the Belfast Telegraph shortly after your elevation to the Archbishop of Armagh in 1977 that you said then that in the long run it is the people of the North who will be in charge. It doesn't matter what London or Dublin say. Basically it has to be solved here. I wondered if that was still your position and if it was how does that square with your remarks down the years on British withdrawal.

Gardinal O Fisich: Well really I don't see any contradiction between the two because I am an Ulster man and I may only be slightly inside the border with Co. Louth and Co. Monaghan but I still am very proud to be an Ulster man and a Co. Armagh man and, therefore, no matter what my long term viewpoint would

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be and, what I think will likely happen perhaps in the 21st century, I still of course believe that as far as we are concerned in this century and as far as its influence and what will happen later is concerned that it must be the people of the North who will finally have their say and decide what structure of government they are able to sell to a majority on both sides of the fence.

Interviewer: And in the long run a majority within Northern Ireland who would be able to decide for themselves what they want ...

Cardinal O Fiaich: Of course, yes of course.

Interviewer: Now something that is seen by many people rightly or wrongly as being extremely linked with politics is the policing of Northern Ireland and the administration of justice and we have got the Stalker affair back in the news, the Stevens leaks enquiry is continuing and a lot of pressure is building up for the release of the Bermingham Six after the release of the Guildford Four. Now, firstly, on the police, how do you assess the RUC's performance at the moment?

Gardinal O Fiaich: Well their "acceptabilty", if I may use the word, in the nationalist community - it goes up and down all during the period when I have been in Armagh. When I came up first of all my memory is that while they always were more acceptable than the UDR, if I may put it that way, that they hadn't the full acceptability of the people of that time which was a hangover from what had happened in the earlier 1970's. I came up here in 1977 and there was still of course the whole question ..., internment was in the background. There was still a number of incidents, that things that had happened during the 1970's. I think from the early 1980's on that their acceptability began to increase particularly my memory is that one thing that helped them very much at that time was the arrests and trials of the Shankill group of paramilitaries. But then as against that, from say 1982 was it?, they began to lose a little bit of that acceptability again, particularly, with regard to the allegations of a Shoot-to-kill policy which concerned very much of course the Armagh area when six men were shot at that time. Now whether it was the police or a particular group of specially trained police or whether it was the SAS and so on never seemed to emerge very much but the police were certainly involved and as you remember one or two or perhaps more were placed on trial at one time. Then we have the Stalker Report and so on

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and the maze into which it seemed to get ultimately. It didn't improve the image of the police. But again I think from about 1985 perhaps on their very impartial policing of different July parades and so on ...

Interviewer: You are getting less complaints?

Gardinal O Fisich: Oh far less. Oh far, far less from that on. Except that of course during the last few months with the emergence of this question of the leaks and so on I think their acceptability has taken a tumble again. I have to be honest and say that. But it has been constantly in a draph up and down and up and down in my dozen years here.

Interviewer: What about the judiciary? How are they acquitting themselves in your opinion?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well I don't know if I have been following various cases sufficiently closely but I am much more in touch with some of the cases in Britain in recent times. You mentioned the Guildford Four and I have had no doubt in my mind for the last ten years that the Guildford Four were innocent. Now I wasn't as au fait for many years with the Bermingham Six case as I was with the Guildford one but I am becoming more and more convinced now to be honest because of everything that has happened let us say in the last year or so. The fact that the Special Crimea Squad of the West Midlands Police has now been put under suspension, that it was disclosed only a week or so ago that one of them had been asked to leave the force away back three or four years ago and even last week a publican in the area came on the television and said that he was going to give evidence in favour of one of the Bermingham Six and then he was dissuaded from doing so by the police. All that kind of thing and I have visited, actually in prison, I have visited one of the Bermingham Six and I was impressed by our conversation. There is nothing completely convincing in what I have said but there is a little collection of things building up in one's mind and then I went over to the Old Bailey during their appeal two years ago, in November of '87, and I sat in on the court case for two days. I was convinced at that time that the forensic evidence was of little value. What really had to be overturned if you like by the defense counsel at that time was the question of whether or not they were forced to make and sign confessions and that of course is the thing that should be examined. Now I think they deserve a re-examination.

<u>Interviewer:</u> Well what should the Government be doing, or indeed the judiciary be doing that they are not doing at the moment if you believe that these six men are still being locked up as innocents?

Cardinal O Fisich: I think the easiest thing that the Government should do now is to extend the investigation which is already going on bringing you back to the 1980's that this should be extended back to the 1970's as well because there are at least 4, possibly 5, of those now being investigated for their actions in the 1980's who were already part of the investigation team for the Bermingham Six in the 1970's. I think certainly, in the case of those, investigation should go back to the 1970's.

<u>Interviewer:</u> Of course to use your proper title it is Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh and so as you are not maybe seen to be batting just for one side what about the Armagh or UDR Four? Have you any thoughts on their case?

Camdinal O Fiaich: Yes. I have met one of them. I have visited the prison in which he is. There is another of them who writes to me from time to time. In fact I have heard from him recently. I have tried to acquaint myself not only with the case but I have spoken to a lot of people around Armagh who knew them personally, some of their own clergy for instance and so on and I am wondering that, this is only thinking out loud as it were, I am wondering if perhaps some distinction shouldn't be made between what you might call the individual four members. What really I should say perhaps is if I am convinced of course at any time that these men, or one or two of them, is innocent then I will have no hesitation in supporting a re-examination of their case, just as I have supported quite openly the cause of the Guildford and the Bermingham Six. I don't want to see anyone spending a single day in prison who is innocent and I think I have probably shown sufficiently by my visits to every prison in the North and a number of prisons in the South and some of the prisons in Britain that I am genuinely interested in the cause of the prisoners. When the Pope was in Ireland in fact, one of the things he asked the Irish bishops to do especially was to give special attention to the care of prisoners and particularly special attention to their relatives and friends who were suffering and I think, to be quite honest, I have tried to do that in the succeeding 10 years.

<u>Interviewer:</u> Let us move along now to a completely different topic, education. Now there are big changes at the moment planned in the education

system. Indeed, the Minister Dr. Mawhinney has gone ahead with the Bill which has become law and he has gone ahead really against the wishes of the Catholic Church as outlined in a recent interview by Bishop Daly. Now are you resigned to this situation in this new Education Bill especially the provision that doesn't give Catholic school trustees a veto over the transfer of the control of the school to local parents. That now is inscribed in law and there is nothing you can do about that?

Cardinal O Fiaich: I didn't hear the interview you refer to, but I could imagine what Bishop Daly would have said in it. By the way might I point out that this is the first measure as far as I know, certainly in recent years, going through the British Parliament. I know it is only an Order. It didn't go through as an Act but it was the first thing on which the British Parliament voted in which every single Northern MP whether nationalist. Official Unionist, Democratic Unionist or anything else all voted on the same side and they all voted among the "no's". I think that is worth pointing out. In fact if you had read Hansard on the occasion then at one stage Dr. Paisley said that "the Catholic Church and it is known that I am not a great admirer and so on, the Catholic Church has worked very hard for its schools" he said and I don't see why they should be discriminated about and I am very grateful to Dr. Paisley for saying that. In fact in that statement he seemed so much on the side of what the bishops were trying to achieve, was it David Alton I think it was in his reply coming immediately after Dr. Paisley, he said there seems to be new coalition emerging between the honourable gentleman and Cardinal O Fiach.

<u>Interviewer:</u> But I suppose Dr. Mawhinney and indeed the supporters of integrated education would say there are extremists on both sides.

Cardinal O Fisich: They probably would but at any rate when we issued our criticism we issued a number of documents and so on but the most recent one at the time that it was accepted by the British Parliament we concentrated mainly on two features. We pointed out that there were certain things there we liked in the Bill as for instance the inclusion of religious education as part of the programme. We pointed out that there were certain things we didn't like so much like open enrolement in all schools because we felt this might lead and was very likely to lead to some of the rather weaker schools going to the wall but we did concentrate on the one you mention and the other one, the one you mention being that according to the terms of the Order if a

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majority of parents with regard to a particular school, if they at any time wish to transfer the school from being a Catholic school to being a grant-maintained integrated school then they are entitled to do so because they are a majority but our point of course was they are a majority at a particular time, that without any reference to the parish community who built that school and probably built it at great sacrifices over a period of years through making the 50% contribution to it without any reference at all, let's say, to the situation of the school ...

Interviewer: I suppose your critics might assume it is just the Catholic Church in a rear guard action because it doesn't like seeing its power being chipped away. You don't see it like that?

Gardinal O Fisich: No, I don't at all. As a matter of fact the two points we made were the one that we were discussing earlier in other words the transfer of a school like that without any reference either to the trustees or to the local Catholic community who have built it and so on without any reference to what the other parents who perhaps next year might have a majority without any way of transferring back again. It only provides for transfer in one direction. Without any reference to all those things that a transient group of parents have the power to opt out of being a Catholic school and into being an integrated school.

Interviewer: So you are fighting the legislation still then are you?

<u>Cardinal O Fiaich</u>: Well we are unhappy about it. I am not saying what we are going to do next. We did get legal advice as appeared on the papers of course that this could prove to be unconstitutional and that it seemed to be discriminatory but I will keep my cards close to my chest today.

<u>Interviewer:</u> Now we are conducting this interview right in the middle of Church Unity week and indeed you have chosen this time to give this interview to the BBC. What is Church Unity week?

<u>Gardinal O Fisich</u>: Well it is an effort every year to pray and to, as it were, bring people together for the cause of ultimate unity between all the Christian churches and it has been going on for many years even before the Catholic Church began to take part in it. But for several years now in the

North of Ireland we have used it for get-togethers, for discussions, for sermons, for exchange of pulpits and, for instance, already now last week it would be last Thursday when it began, it goes from 18th to 25th January.

Interviewer: I said it maybe in a slightly cynical way not wishing to undermine what is going on in Church Unity week but because we have so many theme weeks these days I wonder how you could mark this one out and indeed whether it had any relevance to what is going on at the coal face of life in Northern Ireland.

Gardinal O Fiaich: Yes. I accept that of course it will pass without being noticed by many people. I accept that. But it is an effort to bring church men particularly and church attenders closer together. As I just look back last Thursday I had all the clergy of Armagh who would accept invitations to come to my house and we had morning coffee and we talked over things and so on. Then on Friday we opened a new centre for inter-church temperance movements and set up a new one in an effort to combat abuse of alcohol in all the churches and we all have a problem in that, particularly with some of our young people.

<u>Interviewer</u>: What about the role of the various Christian churches in ending violence and breaking the political empasse in Northern Ireland. Should the churches be more or less political?

Cardinal O Fisich: I think they should certainly not be more political. I believe that when any church and a political party become too closely associated then I think it is damaging to both sides. What I would like to say and I think the only roles of the churches in the whole matter of politics is to constantly emphasise what you might call the virtues that bring people together like charity and love and compassion and patience and so on and to constantly oppose things like anger and hatred and revenge. I think if the Church does that it is doing a good job.

<u>Interviewer:</u> You have another 9 years to run, I gather. 75 is the sort of age when the Pope consider retiring you. Have you any goals for the next 9 years?

Gardinal O Fisich: Well I think to come back to where we began I think my priority goal certainly still remains demonstration of peace in Northern

Ireland. That is the one I want to see and I don't know whether I am entitled to appeal once more as I have appealed so often in the past to the IRA and to indeed to all paramilitary groups for God's sake to stop the violence because not only is it getting us nowhere it is sinful, it is wrong and from the point of view of the objective it is counter-productive, because you cannot unite people with bombs and bullets. All you do is separate them still further. If you are asking for, as it were, a list of ambitions and hopes and so on I would like, for instance, I would like to see the Pope returning to Ireland but this time coming to the North, well North and South.

Interviewer: Do you think he actually will come to Northern Ireland?

<u>Cardinal O Fiaich:</u> I think if we have a peaceful situation. I think he would love to come back to Ireland again. He got a great welcome the last time and I think he would get an equally great welcome in the North.

<u>Interviewer:</u> So you think that if the Pope is going to come to Northern Ireland there is a large burden of responsibility on the Provisional IRA maybe to make it possible for him to come here.

Cardinal O Fisich: Well, I don't want to see them as it were stopping for that reason. I want to see them stopping bounded what they are doing is wrong. Then it would become a practical possibility after that.

Interviewer: Finally, Cardinal, and without wishing to appear too personal a question of deception of how you are seen by those who maybe aren't of your religion and don't support your political aims, now without wishing to sound unkind, through all the cuttings I have read there has been any number of phrases "turbulent priest", "Sinn Fein Cardinal", "The IRA Cardinal from Crossmaglen" and indeed I have noticed a quote in the 'Irish Times' it says "in the demonology of the extreme Protestant Unionist tradition the Cardinal comes pretty near the top". Why do they believe this?

Cardinal O Fisich: Well I don't know to what extent many of them believe it at all. I think going back to a point I made earlier that when you are asked to make an instant comment on some one particular thing you will make a comment of that kind. I was also described as an "evil prelate" as an "ogre". I could give you a whole litany of them myself but you have been

very accurate in what you have quoted. Side by aide with that I would claim that relationships between the clergy of the Catholic Church and the various Protestant churches have never been as close and as friendly as they are at the moment and I am not wishing to boast or anything like that but I would claim that I have helped those friendships along very much. I have helped to build them up. Our church leaders now meet very regularly, every month or two. We visit two or three of the largest cities and towns throughout the country in the year. We want to be seen together. We want to be seen able to work together and so on to give good example to our clergy and to the ordinary people.

<u>Interviewer:</u> How can you personally convince those Unionists say who do see you as the bogey man, the "Provo" Cardinal?

<u>Gardinal O Fiaich:</u> Well, I think my record over the years should be sufficient for that. You know it is very easy to tose out a term of that kind and it really means nothing in practice. But, I have hundreds of friends among the Northern Protestants, I invite many of them to my house from time to time. We usually have little get-togethers of 30 or 40 Protestants, 30 or 40 Catholics and so on and I have never experienced anything except the highest courtesy.

<u>Interviewer:</u> I wondered maybe if it was because sometimes you expressed the personal feelings you hold as the "individual" Tomas 0 Fiaich as opposed to those views which maybe you should keep to yourself if you are the Cardinal. Do you see any struggle there between the two?

Cardinal O Fisich: Well I have always made it clear of course anytime I expressed a view of that kind that this is simply my own personal view but it is not in any way a Church view. The Church has no views on all of those political questions. The Catholic Church in Ireland can live with a monarchy, with a republic with any kind or form of government, with a united Ireland or with a divided Ireland. The Catholic Church is not in any way involved in that and the same thing goes for all over the world. And one point perhaps that would be worth making is that many of my own people will disagree with my views on some questions like that. I know that I have, for instance in the Catholic Church in the Worth of Ireland, I have Catholics who are Unionists and we have to try to be answaring for them as well for those

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who might be republicans. You know I think the Church has to be a gatherer together rather than a scatterer and that somebody who is in a permanent position in the Church therefore has to be open to the views of all while, if he wishes, retaining his own personal views.