

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



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DATE 27-1-81
INITIALS [Signature]

C.20

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON
FOR ASST SEC NELIGAN FROM AMBASSADOR

MMNKJOV

HUME VISIT

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YOU ARE AWARE THAT HUME IS CURRENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES TO SPEAK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT AND ALSO TO ADDRESS THE NEW YORK COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. BECAUSE OF DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO NORTHERN IRELAND SINCE HIS LAST VISIT IN NOVEMBER 1980 HUME THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SPEND SOME TIME IN WASHINGTON AND DURING A FOUR-DAY VISIT LAST WEEK HE KEPT A HECTIC PROGRAMME OF APPOINTMENTS AND SOCIAL ENGAGEMENTS ALL OF WHICH WERE ARRANGED FOR HIM BY THIS OFFICE. AT HUME'S REQUEST HE WAS ACCOMPANIED AT ALL HIS MEETINGS EITHER BY MYSELF OR J SHARKEY, COUNSELLOR.

2. 19 JANUARY HE ATTENDED DINNER AT REPUBLICAN PARTY HEAD-QUARTERS MET PROMINENT REPUBLICANS MAINLY FROM MASSACHUSETTS. 20 JANUARY HE ATTENDED PRESIDENTIAL SWEARING-IN ON TICKET SECURED FROM CONGRESSWOMAN HECKLER (REPUBLICAN, MASS). HE WAS ALSO GUEST AT DINNER AND BALL SAME EVENING. WHILE THESE WERE ESSENTIALLY SOCIAL OCCASIONS, THEY DID PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY INITIAL CONTACT SENIOR PEOPLE INCOMING ADMINISTRATION INCLUDING COMMERCE SECRETARY BALDRIGE AND WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF BAKER. HUME ALSO ATTENDED DINNER GIVEN BY BRITISH AMBASSADOR BHZHHIWONQMJENK* HUNDRED DRAWN FROM CONGRESS, MEDIA, IRISH ORGANISATIONS, CLERGY AND STATE DEPARTMENT.

*
Saw
Baker

3. HUME'S MAIN MEETINGS IN CONGRESS WERE WITH SENATORS KENNEDY, MOYNIHAN, EAGLETON (DEMOCRAT, MISSOURI), DODD (DEMOCRAT, CONNECTICUT), D'AMATO (REPUBLICAN, NEW YORK), SPEAKER O'NEILL AND VARIOUS CONGRESSMEN BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS BROUGHT TOGETHER IN TWO SEPARATE MEETINGS, ONE ARRANGED BY FOLEY AND THE OTHER BY DOUGHERTY (REPUBLICAN, PENNSYLVANIA).

4. AT ALL MEETINGS HUME TOOK SOME GENERAL LINE AND BEGAN BY BRIEFING ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DUBLIN SUMMIT. HE DESCRIBED MEETING AS THE FIRST RAY OF HOPE IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION FOR MANY YEARS. IT HIGHLIGHTED RECOGNITION GIVEN BY THE BRITISH TO THE ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF IRISH GOVERNMENT AND IT COMMISSIONED JOINT STUDIES CURRENTLY UNDER WAY TO STUDY THE TOTALITY OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO ISLANDS AND TO POINT THE ROAD TO PROGRESS IN THE PERIOD AHEAD. HUME PAID TRIBUTE TO THE FOUR HORSEMEN AND POINTED OUT THAT WHAT WAS NOT HAPPENING WAS WHAT THEY HAD BEEN SEEKING FOR SOME YEARS. HUME ALSO BRIEFED ON FACTORS LEADING TO HUNGER STRIKE ENDING AND GAVE HIS VIEWS ON THE RECENT VIOLENCE INVOLVING THE MCALISKEYS AND THE STRONGES WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO THE FACT THAT POLITICAL PROGRESS WAS NOW BEING MADE AND AS SO OFTEN HAPPENED IN SUCH SITUATIONS EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES FELT IT NECESSARY TO SOUR THE CLIMATE.

5. AT MEETING WITH SPEAKER, HUME REFERRED TO POSSIBILITY MARCH VISIT BY TAOISEACH AND ASKED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING AN ADDRESS TO JOINT SESSION. SPEAKER INDICATED TRADITION OF FOREIGN STATESMEN ADDRESSING JOINT SESSIONS HAD BEEN ENDED. CONGRESS HAD COME TO RESENT THE PRACTICE AND JOINT SESSIONS WERE OFTEN VERY BADLY ATTENDED. THE LAST FOREIGN LEADER TO ADDRESS A JOINT SESSION WAS FORMER TAOISEACH COSGRAVE. AT BEGINNING OF CARTER PRESIDENCY O'NEILL HAD PUT IT TO CARTER THAT, IN FUTURE, JOINT SESSIONS WOULD ONLY BE ARRANGED FOR POLITICAL LEADERS OF CANADA AND MEXICO. HE HAD ALSO REMINDED CARTER THAT BECAUSE OF O'NEILL'S IRISH HERITAGE THAT A JOINT SESSION FOR AN IRISH HEAD OF GOVERNMENT COULD NOT BE RULED OUT. HOWEVER, THE SPEAKER WOULD CONSIDER ARRANGING ONE ONLY IF THE TAOISEACH WERE THE OFFICIAL GUEST OF THE WHITE HOUSE. BY THIS HE SEEMED TO MEAN THAT TAOISEACH WOULD HAVE TO BE EXPRESSLY INVITED BY THE PRESIDENT AS, FOR EXAMPLE, FORMER TAOISEACH LYNCH WAS IN 1979 (IT WILL BE RECALLED, HOWEVER, THAT SPEAKER WAS NOT IN FACT WILLING TO ARRANGE A JOINT SESSION DURING THE LYNCH VISIT EVEN THOUGH IT WAS A FULL-SCALE OFFICIAL VISIT). WHATEVER ABOUT PRACTICE IN THE RECENT PAST, IT IS CLEAR THAT DIFFICULTIES NOW ARISE FOR THE SPEAKER FROM THE FACT THAT THE SENATE IS IN REPUBLICAN HANDS AND HE MAY NOT ACCORDINGLY BE IN A POSITION TO DELIVER A JOINT SESSION WITHOUT AT THE LEAST HAVING TO PAY SOME PRICE IN RETURN. THE SPEAKER MADE IT CLEAR TO HUME, HOWEVER, THAT IF TAOISEACH WERE TO COME, HE WOULD ROLL OUT THE BIGGEST CARPET HE COULD AND GET TOGETHER A GROUP OF MOST IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO HEAR HIM. LIGHTLY AND IN A THROW AWAY JOcular STYLE SPEAKER EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT IF THE TAOISEACH WERE TO PAY A FORMAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN MARCH HE WOULD NOT THEN RESIGN WITHIN A MONTH AS HIS PRE-DECESSOR HAD DONE.

6. ANOTHER POINT DISCUSSED WITH SPEAKER WAS QUESTION OF U.S. ARMS FOR RUC. HUME INDICATED EXPECTATIONS THAT THATCHER DURING HER FEBRUARY VISIT WOULD PRESS FOR REMOVAL OF EMBARGO AND FEAR WAS REAL THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION MIGHT YIELD. IF THIS HAPPENED IT WOULD BE WRONG SIGNAL AT WRONG TIME. UNIONISTS AND BRITISH WOULD SEE IT AS INDICATION THAT U.S. HAD RETURNED TO AN ANGLOPHILE POSITION ON THE NORTH. EVEN IF REMOVAL OF EMBARGO WAS NOT INTENDED IN THAT SENSE IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE PERCEPTION IN IRELAND AND PERCEPTION WAS OFTEN AS IMPORTANT AS REALITY. SPEAKER SAID HE SHARED HUME'S CONCERN. REPUBLICANS, HOWEVER, WERE NOW IN CHARGE AND IT WAS NOT CLEAR HOW THEY WOULD ACT OR WHAT COULD BE DONE TO INFLUENCE THEM.

7. IN ADDITION TO GENERAL DISCUSSION WITH KENNEDY, HUME CONVEYED MESSAGE FROM TAOISEACH INDICATING OVERALL ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT MIGHT INCLUDE A DEFENCE ELEMENT AND THAT KENNEDY MIGHT ON SUITABLE OCCASIONS SO INDICATE TO REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IN THE HOPE THAT THIS WOULD ENCOURAGE PRESIDENT TO PRESSURE BRITISH MOVE TOWARDS SATISFACTORY ANGLO-IRISH ARRANGEMENT. KENNEDY QUESTIONED CLOSELY ON EXACT NATURE OF ARRANGEMENT AND IN PARTICULAR ASKED IF IT MIGHT BE WITHIN OR RELATED TO NATO. HUME REPLIED THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP WAS NOT UNDER CONSIDERATION AT THIS STAGE THOUGH THAT DID NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT THERE MIGHT BE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE ANGLO-IRISH ARRANGEMENT AND BRITAIN'S NATO MEMBERSHIP. ESSENTIAL POINT AT THIS STAGE, HOWEVER, WAS TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ANY DEFENCE ARRANGEMENT WHICH MIGHT BE WORKED OUT COULD ONLY BE CONTEMPLATED IN CONTEXT OF OVERALL ANGLO-IRISH PACKAGE OF WHICH NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION WOULD BE KEY ELEMENT.

8. AT LUNCH MEETING HOSTED BY FOLEY WHO IS NOW HOUSE MAJORITY WHIP, ABOUT 20 CONGRESSMEN WERE PRESENT AND A NUMBER OF THEM REFERRED TO THE (ORCHESTRATED RATHER THAN SPONTANEOUS) PRESSURES FROM CONSTITUENTS SEEKING FROM THEM A MORE VISIBLE ROLE ON IRISH AFFAIRS. IN PREVIOUS CONGRESS SOME HAD JOINED AD HOC COMMITTEE BUT HAD BECOME DISENCHANTED WITH ITS LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION. ARISING FROM THESE COMMENTS IDEA EMERGED THAT MEMBERS GENUINELY INTERESTED IN IRELAND SHOULD FORM OWN GROUPING AND THIS IDEA SEEMED TO GET GENERAL ENDORSEMENT. HUME WELCOMED IDEA, SUGGESTING THAT SUCH A GROUP MIGHT PROVIDE FRAMKEWORK FOR TWO WAY EXCHANGES BETWEEN PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM THE U.S. AND BOTH PARTS IRELAND AND ALLOW FOR MORE SYSTEMATIC FLOW OF INFORMATION ON NORTHERN IRELAND AND ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS. GROUPING MORE-
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~~ES IRELAND AND ALLOW FOR MORE SYSTEMATIC FLOW OF INFORMATION ON NORTHERN IRELAND AND ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS. GROUPING MORE OVER MIGHT CONCERN ITSELF WITH CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC LINKS AS WELL AS WITH CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES.~~

9. AT MEETING WITH SENATOR DODD (D-CONNECTICUT) THE LATTER SHOWED KEEN INTEREST IN IRELAND. HE HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN A HOUSE MEMBER OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE. FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS AND NOT LEAST HIS CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH KENNEDY, HE HAD DETACHED HIMSELF FROM THE COMMITTEE. HE IS NOW MEMBER OF SENATE AND ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND DURING HAIG NOMINATION HEARINGS HE POSED THE ONLY IRISH RELATED QUESTION NAMELY ON ARMS SALES TO THE RUC. (OUR TELEX C.17 REFERS). DODD IS ATTENDING THE DITCHLEY CONFERENCE AND BEFORE GOING TO ENGLAND HE HOPES TO SPEND A FEW DAYS IN IRELAND MAINLY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. DODD IS OPPOSED TO VIOLENCE BUT DURING PREVIOUS VISIT HAD LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH RUAIRI O'BRADAIGH AND HE IMPLIED THAT HE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO TAKE UP SIMILAR CONTACTS THIS TIME AROUND. HUME OFFERED TO FACILITATE DODD BUT SAID HE COULD NOT HELP HIM TO MEET IRA OR ANYONE CLOSE TO THEM. IF DODD MET SUCH PERSONS MOREOVER THERE WAS DANGER THAT POINT OF CONTACT COULD BE EXPLOITED FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES BY THE IRA. IT WAS AGREED THAT DODD WOULD LET EMBASSY KNOW TRAVEL PLANS WHEN THESE BECAME CLEAR.

10. IN DISCUSSING RUC ARMS QUESTION BASICALLY HUME MADE SAME POINTS EARLIER MADE TO SPEAKER. DODD SAID HE KNEW HAIG WELL AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO SPEAK TO HIM. HE ASKED HUME FOR AIDE MEMOIRE SETTING OUT SDLP POSITION WHICH HUME HINTED HE WOULD LET HIM HAVE. ON SUBSEQUENT PRIVATE REFLECTION HUME FELT THAT IT MIGHT BE POLITICALLY DIFFICULT TO PUT ANYTHING ON PAPER. WHILE DODD APPEARED GENUINELY INTERESTED IN JOINING NEW CONGRESSIONAL IRISH GROUPING ONE GOT IMPRESSION THROUGHOUT MEETING THAT SENATOR IS SEARCHING FOR VERY SPECIAL PERSONALIZED ROLE ON IRISH QUESTION AND HIS POSITION ON THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE CLEARLY FACILITATES SUCH A ROLE.

11. DOUGHERTY (R-PENNSYLVANIA) SET UP MEETING WITH GROUP OF COLLEAGUES MAINLY BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY REPUBLICANS AND FROM PENNSYLVANIA. TWO NEWCOMERS COYNE AND NELLIGAN QUESTIONED HUME CLOSELY ON NORAI, THE CAUCUS AND THE AD HOC COMMITTEE. ALL THOSE PRESENT HAVE ORGANISED ACTIVE CAUCUS OR NORAI LOBBIES IN THEIR CONSTITUENCIES AND WERE ANXIOUS TO HEAR HUME'S POSITION. HIS NEGATIVE REMARKS WERE WELL RECEIVED BY THOSE PRESENT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CONGRESSMAN NELLIGAN WHO SEEMS PREPARED TO ARTICULATE EXTREME "IRISH REPUBLICAN" VIEWS. HE HAS ALREADY JOINED THE AD HOC COMMITTEE AND HAS PROMISED CAUCUS THAT HE WILL PLAY ACTIVE ROLE.

12. HUME'S MEETING WITH D'AMATO TOOK PLACE AT WASHINGTON AIRPORT AND D'AMATO CLEARLY WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO SEE HUME DEBRIEF THE EXTRAORDINARY PRESSURES ON HIS TIME DURING HIS FIRST MONTH AS SENATOR. BOTH HUME AND D'AMATO SPOKE FRANKLY AND SEEMED TO ESTABLISH A GOOD WORKING RAPPOR. D'AMATO OBVIOUSLY A PRACTICAL AND ASTUTE POLITICIAN. HE APPEARED, FOR EXAMPLE, LESS INTERESTED IN BEING INFORMED ON THE CURRENT DETAILS OF ANGLO-IRISH AFFAIRS THAN IN SEEKING HELP AND ADVICE ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THE IRISH AMERICAN LOBBIES IN HIS CONSTITUENCY AND ON HIS PUBLIC IMAGE. HE WAS SEVERELY CRITICISED BY THE NEW YORK AND OTHER MEDIA FOR TRAVELLING TO IRELAND UNDER AUSPICES OF CAUCUS. D'AMATO EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD PROMISED CAUCUS LEADERS IN HIS AREA (NOT LEAST DENIS DILLON, DISTRICT ATTORNEY FOR SUFFOLK COUNTY) THAT HE WOULD VISIT THE NORTH IF ELECTED. HE HAD KEPT HIS PROMISE. HE HAD SOUGHT TO ACT RESPONSIBLY WHILE IN NORTH (HUME AGREED THAT HE HAD DONE SO) AND IT WAS HIS INTENTION ALWAYS TO ACT RESPONSIBLY. HE COULD NOT, HOWEVER, DISOWN CAUCUS, MANY OF WHOSE MEMBERS HAD WORKED HARD FOR HIM AND HE HOPED SDLP MIGHT REACH SOME ACCOMMODATION WITH CAUCUS. HUME RECOGNISED THAT THERE WERE MANY DECENT PEOPLE IN THE CAUCUS SEEKING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN IRISH AFFAIRS BUT

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CAUCUS. HUME RECOGNISED THAT THERE WERE MANY DECENT PEOPLE IN THE CAUCUS SEEKING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN IRISH AFFAIRS BUT SUGGESTED THAT THERE WERE PROBLEMS WITH THE LEADERSHIP WHO HAD IN PAST EXPLICITLY SUPPORTED IRA EVEN IF THEY HAD NOT DONE SO PUBLICLY IN RECENT TIMES. THESE LEADERS WERE IN NORTHERN IRELAND STILL REGARDED AS IRA FELLOW TRAVELLERS AND WHEN THEY TURNED UP IN IRELAND AVOIDED MEETING EITHER HUME OR ANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES. NONETHELESS HE APPRECIATED THAT D'AMATO HAD REAL CONSTITUENCY CONCERNS. IN THIS LATTER CONNECTION HUME REFERRED TO EMERGING INTEREST IN ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW CONGRESSIONAL BODY ON IRISH AFFAIRS WITH WHICH, FOR EXAMPLE, KENNEDY, MOYNIHAN AND EAGLETON MIGHT BE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED. HE ASKED IF THERE WOULD BE PARTY POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES IN D'AMATO'S ASSOCIATING HIMSELF WITH SUCH A GROUP. D'AMATO DID NOT THINK SO AND AGREED TO LOOK INTO MATTER. HE ALSO ASKED HUME TO HELP CORRECT BAD PRESS WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED IN U.S. AS A RESULT OF VISIT TO IRELAND. HUME SAID HE EXPECTED TO MEET EDITORIAL BOARD OF NEW YORK TIMES DURING HIS VISIT AND WOULD BE GLAD TO MAKE CLEAR THAT D'AMATO ACTED RESPONSIBLY IN IRELAND. BOTH MEN AGREED TO STAY IN CONTACT BUT D'AMATO OF COURSE WILL CONTINUE TO COME UNDER PRESSURE FROM CAUCUS IN HIS CONSTITUENCY AND WILL PROBABLY BE OBLIGED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THEM.

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13. IN REGARD TO A POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE TAOISEACH REFERRED TO IN YOUR C.18 WE ARE NOW ATTEMPTING TO MAKE SOUNDINGS WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION - NOT YET FULLY IN POSITION - AND AS SOON AS THESE HAVE BEEN COMPLETED A FULL REPLY WILL BE SENT.