

## NATIONAL ARCHIVES

### IRELAND



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TONQ FROM WASHINGTON  
FOR PSM FROM J SHARKEY

PLEASE COPY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LILLIS

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FOLLOWING IS DRAFT

REPORT ON VISIT OF MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO WASHINGTON  
2ND - 4TH MAY 1984.

THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR. PETER BARRY, T.D., USED THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. FROM 2ND - 4TH MAY TO CALL ON WASHINGTON AND TO BRIEF LEADING FIGURES IN CONGRESS, IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND SENIOR MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES ON THE REPORT OF THE NEW IRELAND FORUM.

2. THE MAIN ENGAGEMENTS IN WASHINGTON WERE AS FOLLOWS:

- (I) MEETING WITH SPEAKER THOMAS P (TIP) O'NEILL AND SENIOR STAFF
- (II) LUNCH WITH A CROSS SECTION OF PROMINENT WASHINGTON MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES: THOSE ATTENDING WERE:
  - MR MICHAEL PAKENHAM, DEPUTY EDITOR, PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
  - MR MICHAEL KILIAN, EDITORIAL WRITER AND COLUMNIST, CHICAGO TRIBUNE
  - MR MICHAEL GETLER, LONDON BUREAU CHIEF, WASHINGTON POST
  - MS VIRGINIA HAMILL, FOREIGN DESK, WASHINGTON POST
  - MR MICHAEL MORAN, FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT, NEW YORK TIMES
  - MR DAVID SHAPIRO, EUROPEAN EDITOR, MACNEIL/LEHRER REPORT

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Comments

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(XIII) MEETING WITH THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND AMBASSADOR  
PRESENT: DEB. INDUSTRY CHIEF, SENATOR

- MR CARL HARTMAN, FOREIGN EDITOR, ASSOCIATED PRESS
- MR JIM ANDERSON, STATE DEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENT, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
- MR OSWALD JOHNSON, LOS ANGELES TIMES
- MR BRIAN HEALEY, WASHINGTON PRODUCER, CBS EVENING NEWS
- MR ERIC SIEGEL, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO
- MR JEFF ROSENBERG, NATIONAL EDITOR, NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO
- MR ALAN MCCONAGHA, FOREIGN DESK, WASHINGTON TIMES
- MS MARY LOU FORBES, ASSOCIATED EDITOR, WASHINGTON TIMES
- MR ROBIN KNIGHT, EUROPEAN REGIONAL EDITOR, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT
- MR DON KIRK, FOREIGN EDITOR, USA TODAY.

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN, MR. [Name] PRESENTED A REPORT ON THE NATIONALIST POPULATION OF THE ISLAND OF IRELAND AND SOME 75 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OF IRELAND AS A WHOLE. HE HIGHLIGHTED THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE REPORT AND IN PARTICULAR THE IMPORTANT PROVISIONS IN CHAPTER 5. HE ACCENTUATED IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT THE PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT TO PERSUADE THE AMERICANS TO LEVER BRITAIN INTO ENDORSING THE REPORT. HOWEVER, AS THE REPORT MADE CLEAR, THE SITUATION IN IRELAND DID REQUIRE THE URGENT ATTENTION OF THE UNITED STATES AS WELL AS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IF MATTERS WERE NOT TO GET OUT OF CONTROL. THE PROBLEM OF ALLEGATIONS THE RISE OF IRA IN THE SOUTH. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN CONVERSATION WITH [Name] HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MUST MAINTAIN THEIR POLICY OF ENCOURAGING THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO COOPERATE IN SOLVING A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

ALL WHO THE AMBASSADOR MET WERE IMPRESSED BY THE AMBASSADOR'S REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN IRELAND WHICH HE HAD BEEN IN THE POSITION OF VISITING THE ISLAND FOR THE FIRST TIME. HE STATED THAT THE REPORT WAS A VERY IMPORTANT POSITIVE REPORT AND THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE NOTICE OF THESE MATTERS AND BEARING A CONSIDERABLE APPROACH FROM LONDON IN THE MATTER.

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR ALSO STATED THAT HE HAD BEEN IN CONTACT FOR SOME TIME WITH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE MATTER AND THAT HE WAS ALSO A PERSONAL INTEREST



(III)

MEETING WITH THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND: AMONG THOSE PRESENT WERE MAJORITY WHIP TOM FOLEY, SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY, CONGRESSMEN EDWARD BOLAND (D-MASS) JIM HOWARD (D-NJ), JIM SHANNON (D-MASS), BRIAN DONNELLY (D-MASS), BILL COYNE (D-PA), FRANK MCCLOSKEY (D-IND), BEN GILMAN (R-NY), SAM GEJDENSON (D-CONN), JOE EARLY (D-MASS). ON BEHALF OF THE MINORITY LEADER, BOB MICHEL (R-ILL), WALTER KENNEDY, DEPUTY SERGEAT AT ARMS AND BILL GAVIN, SENIOR POLICY ADVISER, ATTENDED.

AMONG THOSE OTHERS REPRESENTED BY SENIOR STAFFERS INCLUDED SENATORS MOYNIHAN, DODD AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, DANTE FASCELL.

(IV)

MEETING WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE DAM, ATTENDED BY ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS JOHN KELLY, MESSRS M. WEYNICK AND M. BARRY, NORTHERN EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT, D/STATE, AND MR P. SOMNER, WHITE HOUSE NSC.

THE AMBASSADOR AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY STAFF ACCOMPANIED THE MINISTER ON ALL ENGAGEMENTS.

3. IN HIS OVERALL PRESENTATION IN WASHINGTON, THE MINISTER DREW ATTENTION TO BACKGROUND TO FORUM REPORT, THE FACT THAT IT WAS AN INTER-PARTY AGREEMENT REPRESENTING OVER 90 PERCENT OF THE NATIONALIST POPULATION OF THE ISLAND OF IRELAND AND SOME 75 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OF IRELAND AS A WHOLE. HE HIGHLIGHTED THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE REPORT AND IN PARTICULAR THE IMPORTANT PROVISIONS IN CHAPTER 5. HE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT THE PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT TO PRESS THE AMERICANS TO LEVER BRITAIN INTO ENDORSING THE FORUM REPORT. HOWEVER, AS THE REPORT MADE CLEAR, THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND DID REQUIRE THE URGENT ATTENTION OF THE BRITISH AS WELL AS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IF MATTERS WERE NOT TO DETERIORATE (E.G. THE PROBLEM OF ALIENATION, THE RISE OF SINN FEIN, ETC.). THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY DAM, HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE U.S. AUTHORITIES WOULD MAINTAIN THEIR POLICY OF ENCOURAGING THE IRISH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS TO COOPERATE IN SEEKING A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

ALL WHOM THE MINISTER MET WERE EAGER TO HEAR HIS VIEWS ON THE BRITISH RESPONSE WHICH HAD BEEN GIVEN WIDE CIRCULATION IN WASHINGTON BY THE BRITISH EMBASSY. MR. BARRY EXPLAINED THAT INEVITABLY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD FELT OBLIGED TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OFFERED IN THE REPORT. HOWEVER, THE BRITISH STATEMENT ALSO CONTAINED IMPORTANT POSITIVE ELEMENTS (INORSD IN THIS REGARD IT WAS MORE POSITIVE THAN EXPECTED) AND IT WOULD BE THE INTENTION OF THE IRISH SIDE TO AVAIL OF THESE IN SEEKING A MORE REFLECTIVE AND CONSIDERED APPROACH FROM LONDON IN THE PERIOD AHEAD.

IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONING, THE FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO GAVE SOME GENERAL INDICATIONS OF POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTACT FOR ANGLO-IRISH DISCUSSION IN THE MONTHS AHEAD (E.G. THE NFONTAINBLEU EURO-SUMMIT). THERE WAS ALSO A GENERAL INTEREST ON THE PART OF THOSE WHOM HE MET ON THE COMMENTS MADE BY MR HAUGHEY, THE LEADER OF FIANNA FAIL, ON THE UNITARY STATE MODEL.



4. POINTS RAISED ADDITIONALLY BY JOURNALISTS AT THE MEDIA LUNCH INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

- (I) THE CONCEPT OF CONSENT AND MODALITIES FOR OBTAINING CONSENT VIZ DISTINCTIONS AS BETWEEN PASSIVE AND ACTIVIST INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CONSENT DOCTRINE
- (II) THE ROLE OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN THE 'REPUBLIC IN ESTABLISHING PROGRESS TOWARDS A NEW IRELAND
- (III) THE CURRENT IRISH VIEW ON THE UNIONIST VETO E.G. WHETHER THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE IN THE 1973 ACT ALSO INVOLVED A VETO ON INTERNAL CHANGE IN POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN NORTHERN IRELAND
- (IV) THE PRECISE IMPLICATION OF THE REFERENCES IN THE FORUM REPORT TO THE DANGEROUS SITUATION WHICH WOULD PREVAIL IF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM WAS NOT ADDRESSED URGENTLY VIZ THE SHORT AND LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF FURTHER MINORITY ALIENATION, THE RISE OF SINN FEIN, SHARPENED POLARISATION, AND DESTABILIZATION.

5. AT THE MEETINGS WITH THE SPEAKER AND THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND (IN ADDITION TO POINTS REFERRED TO IN PARA THREE ABOVE) THERE WAS OBVIOUS INTEREST IN THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS AND PARTICULARLY THE EFFECTS OF THE FORUM CONSENSUS ON THE EURO-CANDIDACY OF JOHN HUME. THE MINISTER EXPLAINED THAT JOHN HUME WAS LIKELY TO FACE A STRONG CHALLENGE FROM PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN BUT THAT ALL THE PREDICTIONS WERE THAT MR HUME WOULD BE RE-ELECTED TO HIS EUROPEAN SEAT.

THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND WERE ALSO ANXIOUS TO ENSURE THAT BRITAIN SHOULD NOT INTERPRET THEIR INTEREST IN THE FORUM PROCESS AS MERELY A PASSING ONE. THEY RECOGNISED THAT THE BRITISH DID REQUIRE TIME TO DIGEST THE REPORT BUT SENATOR KENNEDY IN PARTICULAR FELT THAT IN THE WEEKS AHEAD THERE SHOULD BE SOME APPROPRIATE RENEWAL BY THE FRIENDS OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE FORUM. THEY WERE OF COURSE AWARE OF THE SENSITIVITIES OF MANAGING THEIR APPROACH AND ANXIOUS TO AVOID A POSITION WHICH WE MIGHT FEEL TO BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN RELATION TO ANY ONGOING ANGLO-IRISH DISCUSSIONS. IN THIS BROAD CONTEXT, THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE DONNELLY-FOLEY BILL ON THE FORUM WHICH HAD ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE CO-SPONSORSHIP. SHOULD AN EFFORT BE MADE TO HAVE THIS PASSED IN THE HOUSE THROUGH A SUSPENSION PROCEDURE WHICH WOULD PRECLUDE AMENDMENTS BUT WHICH WOULD REQUIRE A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY FOR PASSAGE? OVERALL, HOWEVER, NO DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS WERE DRAWN ON THE COURSE OF ACTION TO BE FOLLOWED IN THIS REGARD. SENATOR KENNEDY DID REMARK THAT PROCEDURES FOR PASSAGE OF A BILL IN THE SENATE (GIVEN NOT LEAST THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY) WOULD BE MORE COMPLICATED THAN IN THE HOUSE.

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THE STATEMEN MADE BY THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND ON THE FORUM REPORT AS WELL AS THE PARALLEL STATEMENTS BY SENATOR KENNEDY AND SPEAKER O'NEILL HAVE ALREADY BEEN FORWARDED TO THE DEPARTMENT.

IN CONCLUDING THE MEETING, MAJORITY WHIP TOM FOLEY ASKED THAT THE CONGRATULATIONS OF THE FOI BE PASSED ON TO ALL THE FORUM LEADERS AND THAT THEIR GOOD WISHES BE CONVEYED TO THE TAOISEACH, DR. GARRET FITZGERALD, WHOM THEY HAD MET MOST RECENTLY IN WASHINGTON.

6. IN GREETING THE MINISTER, DEPUTY SECRETARY DAM, APOLOGISED FOR THE FACT THAT SECRETARY SHULTZ WAS UNAVAILABLE, POINTING, OF COURSE, TO THE CHINA VISIT AND THE OTHER FACTORS WHICH REGRETTABLY AROSE. THE MINISTER EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF THE SECRETARY'S TOUGH SCHEDULE AND FOR HIS OWN PART APOLOGIZED THAT LONGER NOTICE OF THE VISIT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE. THE MINISTER INDICATED THAT THE PURPOSE OF HIS CALL WAS TO EXPLAIN THE BACKGROUND TO AND MAIN ISSUES ARISING FROM THE NEW IRELAND FORUM REPORT AND OFFERED DAM A GENERAL PRESENTATION IN THIS SENSE. IN CONCLUDING HIS PRESENTATION (SEE PARA THREE ABOVE FOR OVERALL EMPHASIS AND BALANCE) THE MINISTER SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT U.S. WOULD CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AND THE TWO TRADITIONS IN IRELAND TO PROCEED WITH SOME HASTE IN THE PROCESS OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION ON THE ISLAND OF IRELAND.

"WE CANNOT ANY LONGER SUFFER THE HEMORRHAGE OF BLOOD, GOOD-WILL AND DISPLACED RESOURCES CAUSED BY THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE."

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY THANKED THE MINISTER FOR HIS PRESENTATION. THE U.S. HAD BEEN FOLLOWING THE FORUM PROCESS FAIRLY CLOSELY. HE REAFFIRMED THE U.S. POSITION AS ONE WHICH SAW THE PROBLEM AS BEING FUNDAMENTALLY FOR THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO SOLVE. THE U.S., HOWEVER, WAS INTERESTED IN A SOLUTION AND ANXIOUS TO ENCOURAGE A SOLUTION AND FOR ITS OWN PART WOULD BE GREATLY HEARTENED IF A SOLUTION WERE FOUND. THE MINISTER EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THIS AND ALSO FOR THE VARIOUS ENCOURAGING REFERENCES THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAD MADE TO INVESTMENT IN IRELAND. AT THIS STAGE, MR JOHN KELLY, ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY INTERVENED TO RECALL THE INVESTMENT MISSION WHICH HAD COME FROM NORTHERN IRELAND AND SAID THAT "WE (THE US) HAVE AN INTEREST IN GETTING U.S. INVESTMENT IN THERE". MR. KELLY ALSO REFERRED TO THE CORK-FORD ISSUE AND THE MINISTER EXPLAINED SOME OF THE BACKGROUND, AND PARTICULARLY THE EMOTIONAL CONTEXT IN WHICH THE ISSUE WAS PERCEIVED. MORE GENERALLY, HE DREW ATTENTION TO THE HELPFUL ROLE OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT AS A CRUCIAL SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT THROUGHOUT IRELAND.



THE MINISTER ALSO REVIEWED AT SECRETARY DAM'S REQUEST, THE NEXT STEPS TO BE TAKEN FOLLOWING THE FORUM'S REPORT, VIZ THE NEED TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE WITH BRITAIN AND TO CATCH MRS THATCHER'S ATTENTION. DAM REPEATED THE ADMINISTRATION'S INTEREST IN ENCOURAGING THAT DIALOGUE. "WE THINK ITS IMPORTANT". THEY WOULD MOREOVER "CONTINUE TO FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY, TO ENCOURAGE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND TO WORK ON OTHER THINGS E.G. INVESTMENT." THE MINISTER AGREED THAT THIS WAS IMPORTANT.

DAM ALSO RAISED THE ISSUE OF CONSENT WHICH RECEIVED PARTICULAR MENTION IN THE REPORT. "HOW DO YOU GET CONSENT?" THE MINISTER REPLIED, INTER ALIA, BY REFERENCE TO SECTION 5.3 OF THE FORUM REPORT VIZ THE NEED THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS CREATE THROUGH DISCUSSIONS THE FRAMEWORK AND THE ATMOSPHERE NECESSARY FOR RECONCILIATION AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

IN CONCLUSION, DEPUTY SECRETARY DAM THANKED THE MINISTER FOR HIS CALL AND HIS BRIEFING AND HE CONFIRMED THAT IT WAS THE INTENTION OF THE DEPT OF STATE TO ISSUE A STATEMENT ON THE MINISTER'S VISIT. THE TEXT OF THIS STATEMENT HAS ALREADY BEEN FORWARDED TO THE DEPARTMENT. IT WILL BE RECALLED IT CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING FINAL SENTENCE:

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HE EXPRESSED OUR HOPE THAT THE FORUM PROCESS AND THE FORUM REPORT WILL STRENGTHEN ANGLO-IRISH COOPERATION IN RESOLVING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM AND IN FURTHERING RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES.

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END OF MESSAGE