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File Folder TRIP OF PRESIDENT REAGAN TO IRELAND, NORMANDY, AND THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT [1 OF 4]

FOIA F01-037

Box Number OA17071

THOMAS HACHEY

1

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
27323	REPORT	REPORT	1	5/21/1984	B1
		D 7/12/2006	***F01-054/1#8; R 11/6/2015 M428 #27323***		
27324	REPORT	REPORT	1	3/7/1984	B1
		D 7/12/2006	***F01-054/1#9; R 11/6/2015 M428 #27324***		
27325	REPORT	REPORT	1	5/21/1984	B1
		D 7/12/2006	***F01-054/1#10; R 11/6/2015 M428 #27325***		

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET
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Collection: ADVANCE, OFFICE OF ~~THE~~ PRESIDENTIAL: ~~Trip Records~~ SERIES IV : G-7 SUMMITS
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File Folder: Trip Book: Trip of Pres. Reagan to Ireland, Normandy and the London Economic Summit June 1-10, 1984 (Green Binder) (1of4)
Date: 8/25/2004

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. bio	1p., whole	5/21/84	B1, B3
2. bio	1p., whole	3/7/84	B1, B3
3. bio	1p., whole	5/21/84	B1, B3

RESTRICTIONS

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B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
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B-7d Release could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source [(b)(7)(D) of the FOIA].
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B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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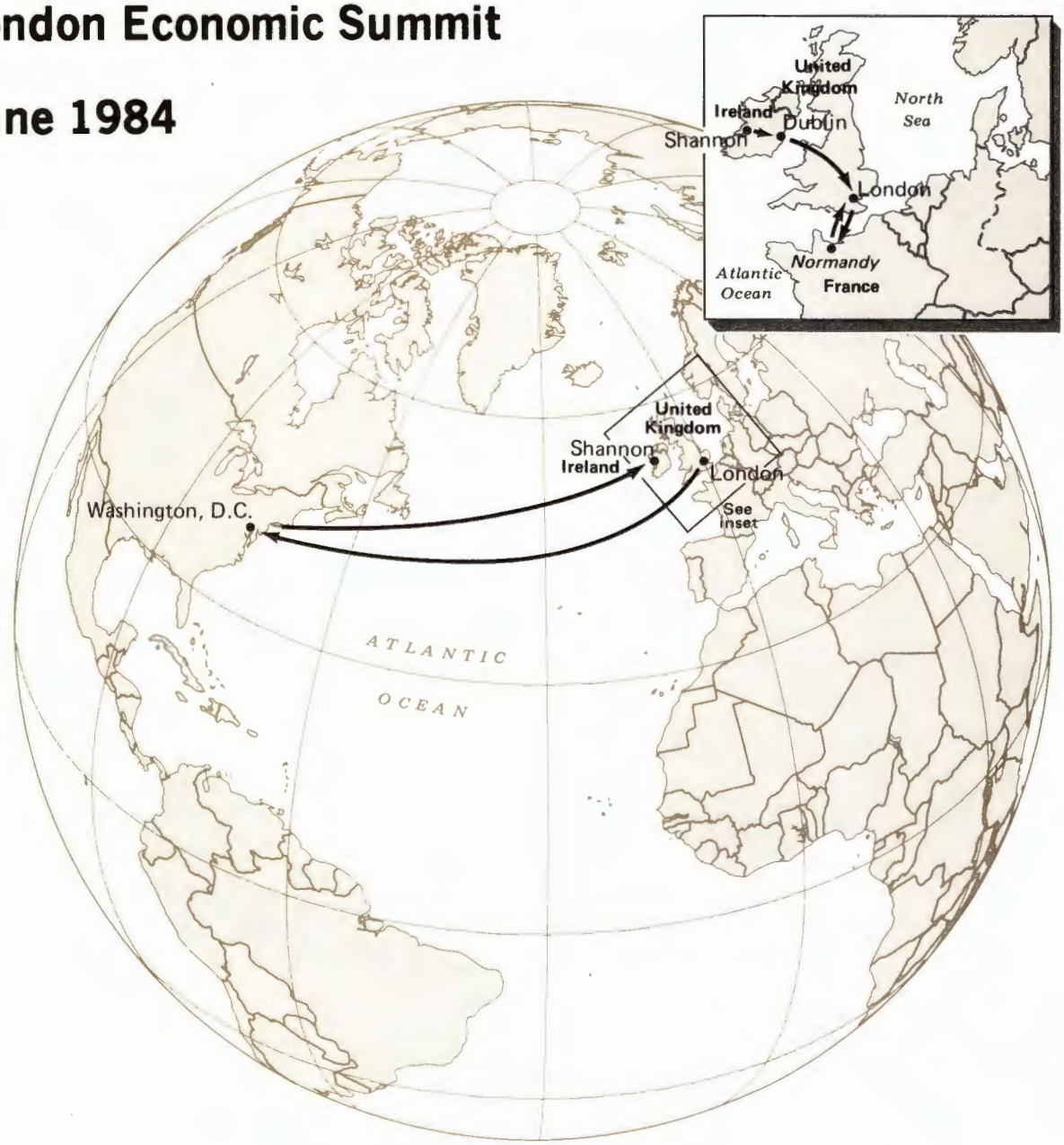
THE TRIP OF PRESIDENT REAGAN TO IRELAND, NORMANDY, AND THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT

June 1-10, 1984

The Trip of President Reagan to Ireland, Normandy, and the London Economic Summit

June 1984



From/To	Statute Miles
Washington, D.C. (Andrews Air Force Base) to Shannon, Ireland	3,330
Shannon, Ireland to Dublin, Ireland	140
Dublin ,Ireland to London, England	295
London, England to Normandy, France	180
Normandy, France to London, England	180
London, England to Washington, D.C. (Andrews AFB)	3,710

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN'S TRIPS ABROAD DURING HIS PRESIDENCY

MEXICO: Juarez - January 5, 1981. Met with President Jose Lopez-Portillo.

CANADA: Ottawa - March 10-11, 1981. Met with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

CANADA: Ottawa, Ontario; Montebello, Quebec - July 19-21, 1981. As a participant in the Economic Summit met with:

- Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada
- President Francois Mitterrand of France
- Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany
- Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini of Italy
- Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki of Japan
- Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom
- Mr. Gaston Thorn, President of the European Communities Commission

MEXICO: Cancun, October 21-24, 1981. As a participant in the International Meeting on Cooperation and Development, met with:

- President Jose Lopez-Portillo of Mexico
- Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr of Austria
- Colonel Chadli Bendjedid, President and Secretary General of the National Liberation Front of Algeria
- Justice Abdus Sattar, Acting President of Bangladesh
- Ambassador Ramon Saraiva Guerreiro, Foreign Minister of Brazil
- Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada
- Premier Zhao Ziyang, Premier and Vice Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, China
- President Francois Mitterrand of France
- Vice Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany
- President Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham of Guyana
- Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India
- Minister of Foreign Affairs Simeon Ake of the Ivory Coast
- Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki of Japan
- President Alhaji Shehu Shagari of Nigeria
- President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines
- Crown Prince Fahd, Deputy Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia
- Prime Minister Thorbjorn Falldin of Sweden
- President Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania

- Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom
- President Luis Herrera Campins of Venezuela
- President Sergej Kraigher of Yugoslavia
- Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations

JAMAICA: Kingston - April 7, 1982. Met with Prime Minister Seaga and Governor General Glasspole.

BARBADOS: Bridgetown - April 8, 1982. Met with:

- Prime Minister Vere C. Bird, Sr. of Antigua and Barbuda
- Prime Minister J.M.G. (Tom) Adams and Governor General and Mrs. Deighton Ward of Barbados
- Prime Minister M. Eugenia Charles of Dominica
- Premier Kennedy A. Simmonds of St. Christopher-Nevis
- Prime Minister R. Milton Cato of St. Vincent and the Grenadines

FRANCE: Paris - June 3, 1982. Met with:

- President Francois Mitterrand of France
- Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy
- Mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac

FRANCE: Versailles - June 4-6, 1982. As a participant in the Economic Summit met with:

- Prime Minister Wilfried Martens of Belgium, EC Presidency
- Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada
- President Gaston Thorn, European Communities Commission
- President Francois Mitterrand of France
- Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini of Italy
- Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki of Japan
- Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom
- Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany

ITALY: Rome and The Vatican - June 7, 1982. Met with:

- President Sandro Pertini of Italy
- Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini

THE VATICAN:

- His Holiness Pope John Paul II

UNITED KINGDOM: London - June 8-9, 1982. Met with:

- Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and HRH The Duke of Edinburgh
- Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY: Bonn - June 10, 1982. Met with:

- Chancellor Helmut Schmidt
- President Karl Carstens
- NATO Secretary General Josef Luns of the Netherlands

Berlin: June 11, 1982. Met with:

- Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany
  Federal Republic of Germany
- Governing Mayor Richard von Weizsaecker, FRG

MEXICO: Tijuana - October 8, 1982. Met with President-Elect Miguel de la Madrid.

BRAZIL: Brasilia; Sao Paulo - November 30 - December 3, 1982. Met with:

- President Joao Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo
- Governor Jose Maria Marin

COLOMBIA: Bogota - December 3, 1982. Met with President Belisario Betancur.

COSTA RICA: San Jose - December 3-4, 1982. Met with:

- President Luis Alberto Monge
- President Alvaro Magana of El Salvador

HONDURAS: San Pedro Sula - December 4, 1982. Met with:

- President Roberto Suazo
- Brig. General Jose Rios Montt, President of Guatemala

MEXICO: La Paz - August 14, 1983. Met with President Miguel de la Madrid.

JAPAN: Tokyo - November 9-12, 1983. Met with:

Emperor Hirohito
Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone

KOREA: Seoul - November 12-14, 1983. Met with President Chun Doo Hwan.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA:

Beijing, Xi'an, Shanghai - April 26 - May 1, 1984.
Met with:

- President Li Xiannian
- Premier Zhao Ziyang
- General Secretary Hu Yaobang
- Chairman Deng Xiaoping

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S MEETINGS WITH WEST EUROPEAN AND JAPANESE LEADERS

1981-1984

President Mitterrand France	1981 - July 12	Washington, D.C.
	- July 19-21	Ottawa, Canada
	- Oct. 18-19	Yorktown, Va.
	- Oct. 21-24	Cancun, Mexico
	1982 - Mar. 12	Washington, D.C.
	- June 3	Paris, France
	- June 4-6	Versailles, France
	1983 - May 28-30	Williamsburg, Va.
	1984 - Mar. 21	Washington, D.C.
Queen Elizabeth and The Duke of Edinburgh United Kingdom	1983 - Mar. 1-5	California
Prime Minister Thatcher United Kingdom	1981 - Feb. 25	Washington, D.C.
	- July 19-21	Ottawa, Canada
	- Oct. 21-24	Cancun, Mexico
	1982 - June 4-6	Versailles, France
	- June 8-9	London, UK
	- June 10	Bonn, FRG
	- June 23	Washington, D.C.
	1983 - May 28-29	Williamsburg, Va.
	- Sept. 28-30	Washington, D.C.
Prime Minister Trudeau Canada	1981 - Mar. 10-11	Ottawa, Canada
	- July 9	Washington, D.C.
	- July 19-21	Ottawa, Canada
	- Sept. 17-18	Grand Rapids, Mich.
	- Oct. 21-24	Cancun, Mexico
	1982 - June 4-6	Versailles, France
	- June 10	Bonn, FRG
	1983 - Apr. 28	Washington, D.C.
	- May 28-30	Williamsburg, Va.
	- Dec. 15-16	Washington, D.C.
Chancellor Kohl Federal Republic of Germany	1982 - Nov. 15	Washington, D.C.
	1983 - Apr. 15	Washington, D.C.
	- May 28-30	Williamsburg, Va.
	1984 - Mar. 3-6	Washington, D.C.
Chancellor Schmidt Federal Republic of Germany	1981 - May 21	Washington, D.C.
	- July 19-21	Ottawa, Canada
	1982 - Jan. 5	Washington, D.C.
	- June 4-6	Versailles, France
	- June 10	Bonn, FRG
	- June 11	Berlin

Prime Minister Nakasone Japan	1983 - Jan. 18 - May 26-28 - May 28-30	Washington, D.C. Washington, D.C. Williamsburg, Va.
Prime Minister Suzuki Japan	1981 - May 7 - July 19-21 - Oct. 21-24 1982 - June 4-6	Washington, D.C. Ottawa, Canada Cancun, Mexico Versailles, France
President Sandro Pertini Italy	1982 - Mar. 25 - June 7	Washington, D.C. Rome, Italy
Prime Minister Craxi Italy	1983 - Oct. 19-21	Washington, D.C.
Prime Minister Fanfani Italy	1983 - May 25-28 - May 28-30	Washington, D.C. Williamsburg, Va.
Prime Minister Spadolini Italy	1981 - July 19-21 1982 - June 4-6 - June 7 - June 10 - Nov. 3	Ottawa, Canada Versailles, France Rome, Italy Bonn, FRG Washington, D.C.
Gaston Thorn, President Commission of European Communities	1981 - July 12 - July 19-21 1982 - June 4-6 1983 - Apr. 21 - May 28-30	Washington, D.C. Ottawa, Canada Versailles, France Washington, D.C. Williamsburg, Va.

TIME CONVERSION TABLE

Washington, D.C. (DST)	Dublin London	Normandy
0	+5	+6
0600	1100	1200
0700	1200	1300
0800	1300	1400
0900	1400	1500
1000	1500	1600
1100	1600	1700
1200	1700	1800
1300	1800	1900
1400	1900	2000
1500	2000	2100
1600	2100	2200
1700	2200	2300
1800	2300	2400
1900	2400	*0100*
2000	*0100*	*0200*
2100	*0200*	*0300*
2200	*0300*	*0400*
2300	*0400*	*0500*
2400	*0500*	*0600*
0100	*0600*	*0700*
0200	*0700*	*0800*
0300	*0800*	*0900*
0400	*0900*	*1000*
0500	*1000*	*1100*

+1 day

NOTES ON GIFTS AND CUSTOMS

GIFTS

As set forth in 22 CFR Part 3, the Foreign Gifts Act specifies that employees and members of their families may accept and retain a gift tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy from foreign governments or their representatives if it is of "minimal value," which is currently defined as a retail value in the United States, at the time of acceptance, of $140 or less. However, an employee may accept a gift valued at over $140 only if to refuse it "would likely cause offense or embarrassment or otherwise adversely affect the foreign relations of the United States," and even then such a gift is deemed to have been accepted on behalf of the United States and, upon acceptance, becomes the property of the United States. Any such gift must, within 60 days after acceptance, either be deposited for disposal with the recipient's employing agency, or, subject to the approval of the employing agency, deposited with that agency for official use. For Department of State employees, the depositary is the Office of Protocol.

The Attorney General may bring a civil action in the U.S. District Court against any employee who knowingly has solicited or accepted a gift from a foreign government not consented to by the revised statute, or who has failed to deposit or report such a gift as the law requires. A penalty may be assessed in such a case in any amount not to exceed the retail value of the gift improperly solicited or received plus $5,000.00.

CUSTOMS

Everyone will be expected to fill out a customs declaration form to be returned to the steward just prior to returning to a U.S. point of entry. You will need to note on the declaration when:

- The total fair retail value of articles acquired abroad exceeds $400, or if acquired in American Samoa, Guam, or the U.S. Virgin Islands, $800.
- More than 1 liter (33.8 fl. oz.) of alcoholic beverages, 200 cigarettes, or more than 100 cigars are included. Or if returning from American Samoa, Guam, or the U.S. Virgin Islands: more than 4 liters (135.2 fl. oz.) of alcoholic beverages, 100 cigars, and 1,000 cigarettes.
- Some of the items are not intended for your personal or household use, such as commercial samples, items for sale or use in your business, or articles you are bringing home for another person.

- Articles acquired in the U.S. Virgin Islands, American Samoa, or Guam are being sent to the United States.

- A customs duty or internal revenue tax is collectible on any article in your possession.

NOTE: "Courtesy of the Port" does not mean you do not have to fill out a declaration or that you will not have to pay customs duty. Your declarations will be reviewed by customs officials at the U.S. point of entry and you will be billed for any dutiable items purchased.

Prohibited and Restricted Articles

Some items must meet certain requirements, require a license or permit, or may be prohibited entry. Among these are:

• Absinthe • Biological material • Books protected by American copyright if unauthorized foreign reprints • Candy, liquor-filled • Copies of gold coins if not properly marked • Electronic products subject to radiation emission standards • Firearms & ammunition • Food, drugs, and certain other items not approved by FDA • Fruits, plants, vegetables & their products • Hazardous articles (e.g., fireworks, dangerous toys, toxic or poisonous substances) • Lottery tickets • Meats, poultry & products (e.g., sausage, pate, canned items) • Motor vehicles not conforming to safety and emission standards • Narcotics & dangerous drugs including medicine containing same • Objects of Central and South American pre-Columbian Indian cultures • Obscene articles & publications • Pets (e.g., dogs, birds, turtles, monkeys) • Seditious or treasonable matter • Trademarked items (e.g., certain cameras, watches, perfumes) • Switchblade knives • Wildlife (birds, fish, animals) & endangered and protected species (e.g., pheasants; furskin; feathers, eggs, or skins of wild birds; articles from reptile skins, ivory, and whalebone).

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY
SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL
ON THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE
May 18, 1984

The Briefing Room

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: The summit is the tenth in a series, and I think most importantly, they have been a useful link for consultations on Western economic concerns as well as political topics.

I think while there has been an inevitable tendency to look for immediate results from these meetings, I think that history has demonstrated that probably the most important by-product has been the opportunity for the heads of government of the Western industrialized -- the most important Western industrialized democracies -- to discuss in a fairly intimate surroundings what's -- the concerns that are uppermost on their minds.

We think that, in the last year, since Williamsburg, which we thought was a major success, that progress has been made on international economic consensus, largely as a result of the growing convergence of economic policies that the President first advocated at the Ottawa summit in 1981.

The economic conditions in the summit countries today contrast significantly with those prevailing before Williamsburg last year. Most importantly, of course, the U. S. recovery has surpassed optimistic predictions in 1983.

And the strong recession-induced protectionist pressures in the United States and other industrialized countries have largely been checked.

In other words, the major industrialized countries have successfully resisted pressures for protectionism, and that has aided the recovery, which is underway in the United States and, now, in other Western countries.

And, finally, U. S. and Western European tensions over economic relations with the Soviet Union have largely abated. The kind of debate the grew up, say, at Versailles, after Versailles, and disagreements over issues like the pipeline have abated, and there's a growing consensus on East-West economic relations.

At the summit in London, the economic objectives, I think, can be stated as follows:

We want to promote policies that will assure the non-inflationary recovery in the Western industrialized countries.

We want to make sure that that non-inflationary recovery which is now apparent spreads to the rest of the world.

We think that if we can sustain growth, non-inflationary growth, within the industrialized world, that the growth of the developing world I suspect could average some 4.5% annually between 1985 and 1990.

Of course, that would go a long way to solving some of the current debt problems and other economic difficulties that the developing world is facing.

Secondly, we want to maintain and expand the open trading and financial system. We want to reaffirm the strong commitment made at Williamsburg and earlier to resist protectionism. We want to reach early agreement on a new trade round to achieve comprehensive trade liberalization. We'd like to encourage further work in appropriate institutions to promote market-oriented economic adjustment. We want to work for continuing organization

of economic adjustment. We want to work for continuing management of debt problems under a five-point strategy. Current strategy is based on flexible case-by-case approach. And we believe it needs to be reinforced, not replaced. This is the theme that Don Regan has been emphasizing in this week's OECD ministerial in Paris.

We believe that our current debt strategy has shown its merits over the last year in coping with the most difficult debt crisis, such as Argentina.

We want to encourage greater coordination between the IMF and the World Bank to ensure that lending and adjustment policies are consistent. We want to help deal with African economic problems. And, as you know, we have proposed an African Economic Policy Initiative. And we would welcome other countries joining in on that initiative.

And, finally, in the economic area, we will also seek agreement to continue cooperative work in COCOM. That's the coordinating committee of Western countries, Japanese, NATO, OECD and the International Energy Agency in order to obtain a broadened consensus on economic and security implications of East-West economic relations. That, very briefly stated is the -- the economic objectives.

Now, on the political side, I think those of you who have covered summits in the past know that while the formal agenda focuses on economic issues, there is time for discussions of political issues. Normally, the meals where the heads are together is usually given over to political discussions. We expect that pattern to be followed this year.

And there -- we will probably break down the political discussions into three broad catagories. First, East-West relations and security questions. Secondly, the Middle East and -- including, for example, Iran-Iraq. And another third category would be other regional issues.

Just a few themes, again, and then I'll let you -- I'll be happy to answer your questions. We'd like to demonstrate --

Q Do what, sir?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We'd like to demonstrate, as we did last year at Williamsburg, that the interests of the summit seven democracies are both convergent and global; that these countries -- the countries represented at the summit have common political and security interests; that, since Williamsburg, a successful implementation of INF deployment in Europe; a concerted response to the Soviet downing of the KAL airliner; and the common consultations which are now taking place over Iran and Iraq -- I think all reflect the growing convergence and commonality of international concerns of those countries represented at the summit.

In other words, we hope to demonstrate that Japan, Europe and North America can work together successfully. There has been some debate in recent months over the question of whether

there is a refocus of the U.S. interests and concerns toward Asia, away from Europe. We will want to underline the fact that the United States has global interests, is a global power, doesn't choose between Asia and Europe and can have strong ties with both. We believe that the NATO Alliance is healthy. And here, just to remind you that there will be a NATO ministerial meeting of the NATO Foreign Ministers on May 28, 29 and 30th -- that's --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- 29, 30, 31 --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Thank you -- 29, 30, 31, just prior to the London summit. And the President will be participating in that ministerial meeting. So, we think that that will demonstrate a strong cohesion, solidarity within the Alliance and is, as I said, a useful prelude to the summit in London.

In addition to the strength of the NATO Alliance, obviously, the U.S. relationship with the Pacific Basin is growing, a very strong economic and political relationship. So our real interest with the summit, as in other meetings, is to foster a growing trend of consultation and cooperation at a variety of levels.

Now, you recall that last year at Williamsburg, the heads of government decided that they would release a statement on security and arms control. That was a decision taken at Williamsburg and as -- at this moment there is no plan, other than to have an extensive discussion of political issues, to release a similar statement or another statement. So there could be that possibility. Once the heads get there, they may decide that they want to release something publicly, but the real focus or emphasis would be on confidential consultations.

I just might add one thing which I neglected to add, and that is that in addition to those sort of broad subject areas in the political area that I mentioned, the East-West, Middle East, Iran-Iraq, and other regional issues, there will be a discussion on international terrorism. It has been traditional that the subject of terrorism be discussed at these summit meetings. And in view of the fact that the British are hosting this meeting and their recent episode in St. James Square, with the episode, or the incident there, it's clear that this will be a subject on the agenda.

Q To what extent do you think Central America will be discussed, and what is the President prepared to say there?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I know that the President will be prepared to address Central America. And if it is -- there's an interest in discussing that when they do move to other regional issues, I'm sure it will be discussed. The President --

Q Several of these nations have been rather critical of our policy there. Surely, they'll want to discuss it, won't they?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm not aware of the kind of criticism that you're referring to --

Q France.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: When we had a visit recently from President Mitterrand, Central America was addressed. But I'm not aware of any sharp public criticism. We have differences with all of the countries on nearly every regional issue, but -- and I'm sure the subject will probably come up and there will be a discussion on it. I'm not aware of criticism.

Steve?

Q Last year, it was the U.S.'s initiative that there be a statement on security issues, I believe. This year, obviously, with the British being the host, there might not be that role to play for U.S. initiative, but what's our -- what would the U.S. or what would the President like to see coming out of --

Q Lecture the Dutch.

Q -- this summit? For example, what would be your view about reaffirmation --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Our view is that you need something to say. And I think we won't know, Steve, until the heads of government get together at the first meeting and kind of discuss various issues. And a lot of things can happen between now and then. And I don't think anybody is interested in pre-judging what they want to say to the public.

One of the things we have consistently tried to do -- and I think most of the other governments participating in the summit are trying to do -- is not try to over-structure these meetings where people, where leaders talk from points that bureaucrats have produced for them -- where they have an opportunity to really address what's on their mind. And I think that as a result, I think if there were something worth saying and there was an agreement by all the heads that it should be said, then perhaps we would see something. But at this stage, we haven't identified any specific issue area that looks like a candidate.

Moreover, as you pointed out, the British hosts will probably want to take the lead if anyone desires to do something like this.

The real emphasis -- let me just go back to this -- the real emphasis on these meetings is not so much on producing statements or communiques. The real emphasis is trying to create an intimate atmosphere where heads of government have an opportunity to talk about problems face to face.

Q Well, can I just follow? I mean, last year -- last year's statement, strictly speaking, substantively, did nothing but reaffirm existing policies. So it was felt that there was a need to do that because of the climate in Europe and to send a message to --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, strictly speaking --

Q -- to Moscow.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: -- that's not correct because what it reaffirmed was a decision taken by the military arm of NATO. At the summit, there were two important countries that are not affiliated. What we had in that statement was a decision by the French government to support that December '79 deployment decision, and you also had a decision by the Japanese government to support that and to also endorse language that talked about security being -- or looking at security on a global basis.

Q Well, what I'm asking is what is your sense of the climate in Europe and of the attitude toward the Soviet Union -- of the Soviet Union toward the negotiations that might be clarified by a joint statement?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, you mean if I -- I could give you my own personal views, but I have no way of knowing what the heads of government would think. I think that --

Q Well, what are your views?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think that regardless of whether there is any statement or not -- and I don't -- as

I said before, I doubt very much there will be at this stage. But I think there is agreement by all our close allies that the West, as a whole, and the Japanese want to pursue a strategy of being ready and open for a dialogue with the Soviet Union, that we want to maintain our cohesion, we want to maintain a military balance. But we're prepared to talk to the Soviet Union. And I think there's a desire that the Soviet Union come back to the negotiating table and negotiate in good faith.

Q With interest rates on the rise here in the United States and the strength of the dollar again rising in world money markets, do you expect the same kind of criticism of interest rates here, federal deficits and the pressure that was put on the U.S. last year to intervene in world money markets?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think that -- On the first question, I don't -- I mean, on the last question, I don't think there will be -- we don't see the same push, for example, in the International Monetary Conference, the sort of idea that the French were advocating a year ago.

I think there clearly will be some discussion of interest rates. There will be a discussion of the deficit. But I think the important point -- and I tried to highlight it in talking about the international economic issue -- is that the U.S. economy is growing, that we are beginning to see growth in other industrialized economies, that that is the solution to the economic problems, not only of the industrialized world, but the less developed world, and that it has been U.S. growth which offers a real opportunity for other economies to also grow.

And, for example, you mentioned the budget deficit, but an equally important factor is the trade deficit, which has given, for example, other competitors to the United States a real opportunity to expand their trade.

So I think that there will certainly be discussions of deficits and interest rates. But the -- I think what people will want to focus on, more than anything else, is how to sustain non-inflationary growth, which has been a key Reagan administration goal in every summit. And we've seen over the last three years, quite candidly, is a growing convergence on that strategy by all of our major economic partners.

There's a basic consensus now on major economic policy and on the need for non-inflationary growth.

Q What is the President prepared to tell the other members of the summit in regard to the deficits, on what kind of progress, or lack of progress --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think mainly what he will want to say is what we have been saying here. And that is that we would like, of course, to bring the deficits down and we have a program for doing that.

I don't think we will also say that it is a mistake to blame the interest rates purely on the deficit, that much of it has to do with some uncertainty in the financial community over whether or not we can sustain a low rate of inflation.

John.

Q The fact is that at Williamsburg there were talks going on in Geneva. This is the first summit -- or the first of these summits that has taken place without any realistic hope of any kind of progress in Soviet-American relations. How much flack do you expect to get on that issue?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think we'll get very little because I think that they, like us, believe that it is the Soviet Union's fault that there are no negotiations going on. I mean, we didn't walk away from the Geneva negotiating table. They did. They walked away because we started the deployment of some missiles; but we were ready and willing to negotiate, and did negotiate for two years while the Soviet Union deployed over a hundred SS-20 missiles.

So we're under no pressure and expect to be under no pressure either in the NATO Ministerial Meeting, that will be held here at the end of the month, or in London, to make any concessions to return to the negotiating table.

I think everyone recognizes that we should negotiate without pre-conditions.

Q Do you expect that the waffling by the Dutch on the deployment of the missiles will impact -- will have any impact on how the allies of

the summit will treat the medium range missile issue?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I'm -- you know, now you're getting into questions about what these heads are going to focus on. It's not clear that they're going to spend very much time on the INF issue.

I mentioned East-West relations and security questions. It's impossible to predict. But my own personal view is, no, that it's clear that with or without the Dutch, that the Alliance is going to go forward with the deployment of those missiles in the absence of an arms control agreement. At the same time, we're ready to begin those negotiations the minute the Soviet Union is prepared to return to the table.

Chris?

Q Obviously, as you say, a lot can happen between now and then, but based on the situation in the Persian Gulf now, how important do we see it that there be a unified and public statement by Europe, North America, and Japan about a common policy on the Persian Gulf? And secondly, are we satisfied in terms of our current consultations on that that Europe is on board with the United States in terms of both diplomatic and military moves?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We have had intense consultations, first of all, with the allies on Iran and Iraq. Those consultations have been going on for several months. So this is not something that we have just geared up in the last week or so. We have worked particularly closely with those countries that have some ability to influence developments in the region. Countries that have some military capability, for example. We have worked very closely with the countries in the region itself.

I suspect that the subject of Iran and Iraq will clearly come up at the summit. They will want to address the subject. But to talk again about a public statement, just let me say this very clearly -- we have no plan at this time for any public statements covering either Iran or Iraq, or any other subject. The key to a successful summit, in our view, is that the heads of government have an opportunity in a fairly informal atmosphere to address issues and to do it candidly.

Q If I can follow up, though. I mean, I think there is some sense that at this point, the European allies are not prepared necessarily to support -- or at least there is some doubt about whether they're prepared to support the U.S. militarily, if not diplomatically, in that area. I mean, do we feel it's important that they --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Prepared to do what?

Q Whatever would be needed in terms of military action to keep the Gulf open.

Q He's talking about would we go to war?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: There's certainly no signs of that. I mean, you're asking me to speculate on what countries might do in certain circumstances and that's a dangerous thing. There's certainly no signs that I can see that we have any fundamental differences with any of our close allies on the situation in the Gulf.

Q And in terms of what they're prepared to do along with us to keep the Gulf open?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATON OFFICIAL: I'm simply saying that we have had very intensive consultations, I think very useful consultations on the subject. And, again, I don't see any important differences between the United States and its close allies.

Q Either militarily or diplomatically?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: That's correct.

Q What's the possibility of a statement -- what do the British want in terms of a statement on terrorism, do you know?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Again, I'm not even aware of their desiring a statement on terrorism. I think that we traditionally -- and I'm glad, so that I can clear this up again -- traditionally, the subject of terrorism has been discussed at the summit meetings. We expect the subject to come up again, but we have no plans, and we're not aware of any plans for a statement.

Q If I can follow up on terrorism in a different sense -- I mean, between the IRA and Libya, I wonder is there any extraordinary security that's going to be under -- in effect in London to protect all of the leaders?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think that by definition, anytime that you get the seven heads of the world's largest industrialized democracies together, you're going to have fairly extraordinary security precautions.

Q But do you think there's any -- particularly in view of the IRA and Libya?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm not aware of anything emanating especially from those two concerns.

Q Will you be sharing with the other allies the new U.S. policy on terrorism, and will you be discussing efforts of active defense?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: We have -- I think -- I don't think, actually, that that kind of detail is -- would be addressed at the heads of government level. We have had discussions with our close allies on the subject of terrorism, explaining our views and listening to theirs.

Q Do you have any political objectives from the Irish trip?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I think that --

Q Yes, we sure do. (Laughter.) They're here.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, I have objectives. I have objectives which are -- you can laugh about it, but the fact is that as the Irish become -- take on the Presidency of the European Community on July 1st. It just so happens that the European Community is facing some very difficult problems, as you probably know, over the question of their budget, over the question of their expansion, possible expansion of the European Community, as well as the on the question of where European political cooperation will go. And so, I think it's very timely, in fact, to have a dialogue with President Hillery and the Prime Minister FitzGerald on the question of how they plan to exercise their leadership role in the Community.

Q There's talk about rather massive demonstrations timed for the President's visit. What kind of intelligence do you have on that, whether you think there will be any embarrassment concerning his visit there?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, there are a lot of small groups that would, I think, like to take advantage of the President's visit, in both Ireland and Britain, to embarrass the President. We don't think they will succeed. I will remind you that we had a fairly formidable demonstration in Bonn in the summer of 1982 on the whole question of nuclear missiles. It did not prevent that NATO summit from ending successfully. We doubt that any demonstrations in London will hamper the meetings. There will probably also be some demonstrations in Ireland on the subject of Central America, but, again, I think that -- they will not have any real impact on the success of the visit.

Q You mentioned the EC's problems on their budget. Is -- In practical terms, their disarray over their budget and their agricultural policy, does that throw up a roadblock on progress on protectionism and some of the other issues that have been discussed in the past? In other words, is the U.S. restrained from being able to take on some of these issues because of the divisions?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, we're not restrained -- In a sense, Steve, I'm glad you asked that question because I should remind everyone that in addition to the seven heads of government, that the President of the EC Commission also participates in these meetings and that is Gaston Thorn. You'll recall that he was at Williamsburg -- but what it does is that it creates, potentially, because the Europeans -- the EC is facing a budget crisis. They are sometimes tempted, in order to raise money to take protectionist measures, for example, against -- their exports of U.S. agricultural products. We're concerned that if they take such steps that Congress will retaliate and we could have a situation where this -- our effort to sustain economic growth and expand trade could be set back by growing tariff barriers. And so we have maintained a dialogue with the community on this subject. And so far, I think, we have staved off a trade war between the United States fairly successfully -- the United States and the EC. And we hope to continue to do so.

Q When Kohl was here, he pushed for a summit, a get-acquainted summit, and he did feel that some concessions should be made. Has there been some prior agreement not to ask the U.S. for any concessions in terms of easing East-West tensions? Is that all fixed in the -- concrete?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I just want to emphasize, I don't see any major disagreements between the United States and its closest allies --

Q They don't all agree in the way the U.S. has performed in the East-West --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, they may not; but what I'm trying to say is I don't see any major disagreements between the United States and its key allies on the question of what our posture should be at this stage toward the Soviet Union.

In other words, I'm not aware of any call from any major ally, and I was just in Europe chairing a meeting on this subject earlier this week -- any call for the United States to make negotiating concessions to bring the Soviets back to the table. They, like us, believe that that would be a sign of weakness rather than strength and that if we were to begin making concessions, the Soviet reaction would not be to come back to the table, but to wait us out with the hope that this would then stimulate further concessions, that -- I think there is genuine agreement that we need to be firm, but at the same time be open to negotations.

Q But the question was on --

MR. SIMS: -- the last one.

Q -- the summit. The question was whether -- this subject of a U.S.-Soviet summit. You say, no -- negotiating concession; but that's not a negotiating concession.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: No, no, on the question of a summit, I'm not aware of any calls, any public or private calls at this time, for a U.S.-Soviet summit. Now, if you ask me, do you think it's likely that Chancellor Kohl or some other leader might in private conversation with the President raise this, I don't know. It's a subject that could come up.

Again, the purpose of the meeting is to allow these people in a confidential atmosphere to have a pretty free-wheeling discussion and to raise those things that are on their mind.

Q Are you aware of any call by our allies for Reagan to lower his rhetoric?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I think that they're all -- they're very happy with the way the President is talking about U.S.-Soviet and East-West relations. His definitive statement on this was his January 16th speech where he said he wanted to move the relationship to one of constructive cooperation. And I don't think you've seen very many examples of excessive rhetoric on our side.

What I would point you toward is the Soviet press which has recently begun calling George Shultz a "dim-wit", comparing U.S. leadership to Adolf Hitler, and they recently called me "a petty snooper".

Q What? Nooo. (Laughter.) That's an outrage. (Laughter.)

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President Reagan

America's Foreign Policy Challenges for the 1980s

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United States Department of State
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Following is an address by President Reagan before the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C., April 6, 1984.

I'd like to address your theme of bipartisanship with a view toward America's foreign policy challenges for the 1980s.

IDEALISM AND REALISM

Two Great Goals

All Americans share two great goals for foreign policy: a safer world and a world in which individual rights can be respected and precious values may flourish.

These goals are at the heart of America's traditional idealism and our aspirations for world peace. Yet, while cherished by us, they do not belong exclusively to us. They're not "made in America." They're shared by people everywhere.

A Troubled World

Tragically, the world in which these fundamental goals are so widely shared is a very troubled world. While we and our allies may enjoy peace and prosperity, many citizens of the industrial world continue to live in fear of conflict and the threat of nuclear war. And all around the globe, terrorists threaten innocent people and civilized values. And in developing countries, the dreams of human progress have, too often, been lost to violent revolution and dictatorship.

Quite obviously, the widespread desire for a safer and more humane world is—by itself—not enough to create such a world. In pursuing our worthy goals, we must go beyond honorable intentions and good will to practical means.

Key Principles

We must be guided by these key principles.

Realism. The world is not as we wish it would be. Reality is often harsh. We will not make it less so if we do not first see it for what it is.

Strength. We know that strength alone is not enough, but without it there can be no effective diplomacy and negotiations; no secure democracy and peace. Conversely, weakness or hopeful passivity are only self-defeating. They invite the very aggression and instability that they would seek to avoid.

New Economic Growth. This is the underlying base that ensures our strength and permits human potential to flourish. Neither strength nor creativity can be achieved or sustained without economic growth—both at home and abroad.

Intelligence. Our policies cannot be effective unless the information on which they're based is accurate, timely, and complete.

Shared Responsibility With Allies. Our friends and allies share the heavy responsibility for the protection of freedom. We seek and need their partnership, sharing burdens in pursuit of our common goals.

Nonaggression. We have no territorial ambitions. We occupy no foreign lands. We build our strength only to assure deterrence and to secure our interests if deterrence fails.

Dialogue With Adversaries. Though we must be honest in recognizing fundamental differences with our adversaries, we must always be willing to resolve these differences by peaceful means.

Bipartisanship at Home. In our two-party democracy, an effective foreign policy must begin with bipartisanship, and the sharing of responsibility for a safer and more humane world must begin at home.

AMERICAN RENEWAL

Restored Deterrence: "American Leadership Is Back"

During the past 3 years, we've been steadily rebuilding America's capacity to advance our foreign policy goals through renewed attention to these vital principles. Many threats remain, and peace may still seem precarious. But America is safer and more secure today because the people of this great nation have restored the foundation of its strength.

We began with renewed realism—a clear-eyed understanding of the world we live in and of our inescapable global responsibilities. Our industries depend on the importation of energy and minerals from distant lands. Our prosperity requires a sound international financial system and free and open trading markets. And our security is inseparable from the security of our friends and neighbors.

I believe Americans today see the world with realism and maturity. The great majority of our people do not believe the stark differences between democracy and totalitarianism can be wished away. They understand that keeping America secure begins with keeping America strong and free.

When we took office in 1981, the Soviet Union had been engaged for 20 years in the most massive military buildup in history. Clearly, their goal was not to catch us but to surpass us. Yet, the United States remained a virtual spectator in the 1970s, a decade of neglect that took a severe toll on our defense capabilities.

With bipartisan support, we embarked immediately on a major defense rebuilding program. We've made good progress in restoring the morale of our men and women in uniform, restocking spare parts and ammunition, replacing obsolescent equipment and facilities, improving basic training and readiness, and pushing forward with long-overdue weapons' programs.

The simple fact is that in the last half of the 1970s we were not deterring, as events from Angola to Afghanistan made clear. Today we are, and that fact has fundamentally altered the future for millions of human beings. Gone are the days when the United States was perceived as a rudderless superpower, a helpless hostage to world events. American leadership is back. Peace through strength is not a slogan, it's a fact of life. And we will not return to the days of handwringing, defeatism, decline, and despair.

We have also upgraded significantly our intelligence capabilities—restoring morale in the intelligence agencies and increasing our capability to detect, analyze, and counter hostile intelligence threats.

Economic Recovery

Economic strength, the underlying base of support for our defense buildup has received a dramatic new boost. We've transformed a no-growth economy, crippled by disincentives, double-digit inflation, 21.5% interest rates, plunging productivity, and a weak dollar, into a dynamic growth economy, bolstered by new incentives, stable prices, lower interest rates, a rebirth of productivity, and restored our confidence in our currency.

Renewed strength at home has been accompanied by closer partnerships with America's friends and allies. Far from buckling under Soviet intimidation, the unity of the NATO alliance has held firm, and we are moving forward to modernize our strategic deterrent. The leader of America's oldest ally, French President Francois Mitterrand, recently reminded us that: "Peace—like liberty—is never given . . . the pursuit of both is a continual one . . . . In the turbulent times we live in, solidarity among friends is essential."

A Stark Contrast

Our principles don't involve just rebuilding our strength; they also tell us how to use it. We remain true to the principle of nonaggression. On an occasion when the United States, at the request of its neighbors, did use force—in Grenada—we acted decisively but only after it was clear a bloodthirsty regime had put American and Grenadian lives in danger and the security of neighboring islands in danger. As soon as stability and freedom were restored on the island, we left. The Soviet Union had no such legitimate justification for its massive invasion of Afghanistan 4 years ago. And today, over 100,000 occupation troops remain there. The United States, by stark contrast, occupies no foreign nation, nor do we seek to.

Though we and the Soviet Union differ markedly, living in this nuclear age makes it imperative that we talk with each other. If the new Soviet leadership truly is devoted to building a safer and more humane world, rather than expanding armed conquests, it will find a sympathetic partner in the West.

In pursuing these practical principles, we have throughout sought to revive the spirit that was once the hallmark of our postwar foreign policy—bipartisan cooperation between the executive and the legislative branches of our government.

Much has been accomplished, but much remains to be done. If Republicans and Democrats will join together to confront four great challenges to American foreign policy in the 1980s, then we can and will make great strides toward a safer and more humane world.

FOUR GREAT CHALLENGES

Challenge Number One

Challenge number one is to reduce the risk of nuclear war and to reduce the levels of nuclear armaments in a way that also reduces the risk they will ever be used. We have no higher challenge, for a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. But merely to be against nuclear war is not enough to prevent it.

For 35 years, the defense policy of the United States and its NATO allies has been based on one simple premise: we do not start wars. We maintain our conventional and strategic strength to deter aggression by convincing any potential aggressor that war could bring no benefit, only disaster. Deterrence has been and will remain in the cornerstone of our national security policy to defend freedom and preserve peace.

But, as I mentioned, the 1970s were marked by neglect of our defenses, and nuclear safety was no exception. Too

many forgot John Kennedy's warning that only when our arms are certain beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt they will never be used. By the beginning of this decade, we faced three growing problems: the Soviet SS-20 monopoly in Europe and Asia; the vulnerability of our land-based ICBM [intercontinental ballistic missile] force; and the failure of arms control agreements to slow the overall growth in strategic weapons. The Carter Administration acknowledged these problems. In fact, almost everyone did.

There is a widespread, but mistaken, impression that arms agreements automatically produce arms control. In 1969, when SALT I [strategic arms limitation talks] negotiations began, the Soviet Union had about 1,500 strategic nuclear weapons. Today, the Soviet nuclear arsenal can grow to over 15,000 nuclear weapons and still stay within all past arms control agreements, including the SALT I and SALT II guidelines.

The practical means for reducing the risks of nuclear war must, therefore, follow two parallel paths—credible deterrence and real arms reductions with effective verification. It is on this basis that we've responded to the problems I just described. This is why we've moved forward to implement NATO's dual-track decision of 1979, while actually reducing the number of nuclear weapons in Europe. It is also why we have sought bipartisan support for the recommendations of the Scowcroft commission and the "build-down" concept, and why we've proposed deep reductions in strategic forces at the strategic arms reduction talks (START).

Without exception, every arms control proposal that we have offered would reverse the arms buildup and help bring a more stable balance at lower force levels. At the START talks, we seek to reduce substantially the number of ballistic missile warheads, reduce the destructive capacity of nuclear missiles, and establish limits on bombers and cruise missiles below the levels of SALT II; at the talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), our negotiators have tabled four initiatives to address Soviet concerns and improve prospects for a fair and equitable agreement that would reduce or eliminate an entire class of such nuclear arms. Our flexibility in the START and INF negotiations has been demonstrated by numerous modifications to our positions. But they have been met only by the silence of Soviet walkouts.

At the mutual and balanced force reduction talks in Vienna, we and our NATO partners presented a treaty that would reduce conventional forces to parity at lower levels. To reduce the risks of war in time of crisis, we have proposed to the Soviet Union important measures to improve direct communications and increase mutual confidence. And just recently, I directed Vice President Bush to go to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to present a new American initiative: a worldwide ban on the production, possession, and use of chemical weapons.

Our strategic policy represents a careful response to a nuclear agenda upon which even our critics agreed. Many who would break the bonds of bipartisanship, claiming they know how to bring greater security, seem to ignore the likely consequences of their own proposals.

Those who wanted a last-minute moratorium on INF deployment would have betrayed our allies and reduced the chances for a safer Europe; those who would try to implement a unilateral freeze would find it unverifiable and destabilizing, because it would prevent restoration of a stable balance that keeps the peace; and those who would advocate unilateral cancellation of the Peacekeeper missile would ignore a central recommendation of the bipartisan Scowcroft report and leave the Soviets with little incentive to negotiate meaningful reductions. Indeed, the Soviets would be rewarded for leaving the bargaining table.

These simplistic solutions, and others put forward by our critics, would take meaningful agreements and increased security much further from our grasp. Our critics can best help us move closer to the goals we share by accepting practical means to achieve them. Granted, it is easy to support a strong defense; it's much harder to support a strong defense budget. And granted, it is easy to call for arms agreements; it's more difficult to support patient, firm, fair negotiations with those who want to see how much we will compromise with ourselves first. Bipartisanship can only work if both sides face up to real-world problems and meet them with real-world solutions.

Challenge Number Two

Our safety and security depend on more than credible deterrence and nuclear arms reductions. Constructive regional development is also essential. Therefore, our second great challenge is strengthening the basis for stability in troubled and strategically sensitive regions.

Regional tensions often begin in long-standing social, political, and economic inequities and in ethnic and religious disputes. But throughout the 1970s, increased Soviet support for terrorism, insurgency, and aggression, coupled with a perception of weakening U.S. power and resolve, greatly exacerbated these tensions.

The results were not surprising: the massacres of Kampuchea followed by the Vietnamese invasion; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; the rise of Iranian extremism and the holding of Americans hostage; Libyan coercion in Africa; Soviet and Cuban military involvement in Angola and Ethiopia; their subversion in Central America; and the rise of state-supported terrorism.

Taken together, these events defined a pattern of mounting instability and violence that the United States could not ignore. And we have not. As with defense, by the beginning of the 1980s, there was an emerging consensus in this country that we had to do better in dealing with problems that affect our vital interests.

Obviously no single abstract policy could deal successfully with all problems or all regions. But as a general matter, effective regional stabilization requires a balanced approach—a mix of economic aid, security assistance, and diplomatic mediation tailored to the needs of each region.

It is also obvious we alone cannot save embattled governments or control terrorism. But doing nothing only ensures far greater problems down the road. So we strive to expand cooperation with states who support our common interests, to help friendly nations in danger, and to seize major opportunities for peacekeeping.

Perhaps the best example of this comprehensive approach is the report and recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. It is from this report that we drew our proposals for bringing peaceful development to Central America. They are now before the Congress and will be debated at length.

I welcome a debate. But, if it's to be productive, we must put aside mythology and uninformed rhetoric. Some, for example, insist that the root of regional violence is poverty but not communism. Well, three-fourths of our request and of our current program is for economic and humanitarian assistance. America is a good and generous nation. But, economic aid alone cannot stop Cuban and

Soviet-sponsored guerrillas determined to terrorize, burn, bomb, and destroy everything from bridges and industries to electric power and transportation. And neither individual rights nor economic health can be advanced if stability is not secured.

Other critics say we shouldn't see the problems of this or any other region as an East-West struggle. Our policies in Central America and elsewhere are, in fact, designed precisely to keep East-West tensions from spreading, from intruding into the lives of nations that are struggling with great problems of their own. Events in southern Africa are showing what persistent mediation and an ability to talk to all sides can accomplish. The states of this region have been poised for war for decades, but there is new hope for peace. South Africa, Angola, and Mozambique are implementing agreements to break the cycle of violence. Our Administration has been active in this process, and we will stay involved, trying to bring an independent Namibia into being, end foreign military interference, and keep the region free from East-West conflict. I have hope that peace and democratic reform can be enjoyed by all the peoples of southern Africa.

In Central America we've also seen progress. El Salvador's presidential elections express that nation's desire to govern itself in peace. Yet the future of the region remains open. We have a choice: either we help America's friends defend themselves and give democracy a chance or we abandon our responsibilities and let the Soviet Union and Cuba shape the destiny of our hemisphere. If this happens, the East-West conflict will only become broader and much more dangerous.

In dealing with regional instability, we have to understand how it is related to other problems. Insecurity and regional violence are among the driving forces of nuclear proliferation. Peacekeeping in troubled regions and strengthening barriers to nuclear proliferation are two sides of the same coin. Stability and safeguards go together.

No one says this approach is cheap, quick, or easy. But the cost of this commitment is bargain basement compared to the tremendous sacrifices we will have to make if we do nothing or do too little. The Kissinger commission warned that an outbreak of Cuban-type regimes in Central America will bring subversion closer to our own borders and the specter of millions of uprooted refugees fleeing in desperation to the north.

In the Middle East, which has so rarely known peace, we seek a similar mix of economic aid, diplomatic mediation, and military assistance and cooperation. These will, we believe, make the use of U.S. forces unnecessary and make the risk of East-West conflict less. But given the importance of the region, we must also be ready to act when the presence of American power, and that of our friends, can help stop the spread of violence. I have said, for example, that we will keep open the Strait of Hormuz, the vital lifeline through which so much oil flows to the United States and other industrial democracies. Making this clear beforehand—and making it credible—makes such a crisis much less likely.

We must work with quiet persistence and without illusions. We may suffer setbacks, but we must not jump to the conclusion that we can defend our interests without ever committing ourselves. Nor should other nations believe that mere setbacks will turn America inward again. We know our responsibilities, and we must live up to them.

Because effective regional problem solving requires a balanced and sustained approach, it is essential that the Congress give full, not piecemeal, support. Indeed, where we have foundered in regional stabilization, it has been because the Congress has failed to provide such support. Halfway measures—refusing to take responsibility for means—produce the worst possible results. I'll return to this point when I discuss the fourth challenge in just a few minutes.

Challenge Number Three

Expanding opportunities for economic development and personal freedom is our third great challenge. The American concept of peace is more than absence of war. We favor the flowering of economic growth and individual liberty in a world of peace. And this, too, is a goal to which most Americans subscribe. Our political leaders must be judged by whether the means they offer will help us to reach it.

Our belief in individual freedom and opportunity is rooted in practical experience: free people build free markets that ignite dynamic development for everyone. And in America, incentives, risk taking, and entrepreneurship are reawakening the spirit of capitalism and strengthening economic expansion and human progress throughout the world. Our goal has always been to restore and sustain noninflationary worldwide growth, thereby ending for good the stagflation of the 1970s, which saw a drastic weakening of the fabric of the world economy.

We take our leadership responsibilities seriously, but we alone cannot put the world's economic house in order. At Williamsburg, the industrial countries consolidated their views on economic policy. The proof is not in the communique; it's in the results. France is reducing inflation and seeking greater flexibility in its economy; Japan is slowly, to be sure, but steadily—we will insist—liberalizing its trade and capital markets; Germany and the United Kingdom are moving forward on a steady course of low inflation and moderate, sustained growth.

Just as we believe that incentives are key to greater growth in America and throughout the world, so, too, must we resist the sugar-coated poison of protectionism everywhere it exists. Here at home, we're opposing inflationary, self-defeating bills like domestic content. At the London economic summit in June, I hope that we can lay the groundwork for a new round of negotiations that will open markets for our exports of goods and services and stimulate greater growth, efficiency, and jobs for all.

And we're advancing other key initiatives to promote more powerful worldwide growth by expanding trade and investment relationships. The dynamic growth of Pacific Basin nations has made them the fastest growing markets for our goods, services, and capital. Last year, I visited Japan and Korea, two of America's most important allies, to forge closer partnerships. And this month I will visit the People's Republic of China, another of the increasingly significant relationships that we hold in the Pacific. I see America and our Pacific neighbors as nations of the future, going forward together in a mighty enterprise to build dynamic growth economies and a safer world.

We're helping developing countries grow by presenting a fresh view of development—the magic of the marketplace—to spark greater growth and participation in the international economy. Developing nations earn twice as much from exports to the United States as they received in aid from all the other nations combined.

And practical proposals like the Caribbean Basin Initiative will strengthen the private sectors of some 20 Caribbean neighbors, while guaranteeing fairer treatment for U.S. companies and nationals and increasing demand for American exports.

We've recently sent to the Congress a new economic policy initiative for Africa. It, too, is designed to support the growth of private enterprise in African countries by encouraging structural economic change and international trade. We've also asked the Congress to increase humanitarian assistance to Africa to combat the devastating effects of extreme drought.

In building a strong global recovery, of course, nothing is more important than to keep the wheels of world commerce turning and create jobs without renewing the spiral of inflation. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is a linchpin in our efforts to restore a sound world economy and resolve the debt problems of many developing countries.

With bipartisan support, we implemented a major increase in IMF resources. In cooperation with the IMF, we're working to prevent the problems of individual debtor nations from disrupting the stability and strength of the entire international financial system. It was this goal that brought nations of north and south together to help resolve the debt difficulties of the new democratic Government of Argentina.

Because we know that democratic governments are the best guarantors of human rights, and that economic growth will always flourish when men and women are free, we seek to promote not just material products but the values of faith and human dignity for which America and all democratic nations stand—values which embody the culmination of 5,000 years of Western civilization.

When I addressed the British Parliament in June of 1982, I called for a bold and lasting effort to assist people struggling for human rights. We've established the National Endowment for Democracy, a partnership of people from all walks of life dedicated to spreading the positive message of democracy. To succeed, we must oppose the doublespeak of totalitarian propaganda. And so we're modernizing the Voice of America and our other broadcasting facilities, and we are working to start up Radio Marti, a voice of truth to the imprisoned people of Cuba.

Americans have always wanted to see the spread of democratic institutions, and that goal is coming closer. In our own hemisphere, 26 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are either democracies or formally embarked on a democratic transition. This represents 90% of the region's population, up from under 50% a decade ago.

Trust the people, this is the crucial lesson of history and America's message to the world. We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole possession of a chosen few, but the universal right of men and women everywhere. President Truman said, "If we should pay merely lip service to inspiring ideals, and later do violence to simple justice, we would draw down upon us the bitter wrath of generations yet unborn." Let us go forward together, faithful friends of democracy and democratic values, confident in our conviction that the tide of the future is a freedom tide. But let us go forward with practical means.

Challenge Number Four

This brings me to our fourth great challenge: we must restore bipartisan consensus in support of U.S. foreign policy. We must restore America's honorable tradition of partisan politics stopping at the water's edge. Republicans and Democrats standing united in patriotism and speaking with one voice as responsible trustees for peace, democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law.

In the 1970s we saw a rash of congressional initiatives to limit the president's authority in the areas of trade, human rights, arms sales, foreign assistance, intelligence operations, and the dispatch of troops in time of crisis. Over 100 separate prohibitions and restrictions on executive branch authority to formulate and implement foreign policy were enacted.

The most far-reaching consequence of the past decade's congressional activism is this: bipartisan consensus building has become a central responsibility of congressional leadership as well as of executive leadership. If we're to have a sustainable foreign policy, the Congress must support the practical details of policy, not just the general goals.

We have demonstrated the capacity for such jointly responsible leadership in certain areas. But we have seen setbacks for bipartisanship, too. I believe that once we established bipartisan agreement on our course in Lebanon, the subsequent second guessing about whether to keep our men there severely undermined our policy. It hindered the ability of our diplomats to negotiate, encouraged more intransigence from the Syrians, and prolonged the violence. Similarly, congressional wavering on support for the Jackson plan, which reflects the recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, can only encourage the enemies of democracy who are determined to wear us down.

To understand and solve this problem of joint responsibility, we have to go beyond the familiar questions as to who should be stronger, the president or the Congress. The more basic problem is: in this "post-Vietnam era," Congress has not yet developed capacities for coherent, responsible action needed to carry out the new foreign policy powers it has taken for itself. To meet the challenges of this decade, we need a strong president and a strong Congress.

Unfortunately, many in the Congress seem to believe they're still in the troubled Vietnam era, with their only task to be vocal critics and not responsible partners in developing positive, practical programs to solve real problems.

Much was learned from Vietnam—lessons ranging from increased appreciation of the need for careful discrimination in the use of U.S. force or military assistance to increased appreciation of the need for domestic support for any such military element of policy. Military force, either direct or indirect, must remain an available part of America's foreign policy. But, clearly, the Congress is less than wholly comfortable with both the need for a military element in foreign policy and its own responsibility to deal with that element.

Presidents must recognize Congress as a more significant partner in foreign policymaking, and, as we have tried to do, seek new means to reach bipartisan executive-legislative consensus. But legislators must realize that they, too, are partners. They have a responsibility to go beyond mere criticism to consensus building that will produce positive, practical, and effective action.

Bipartisan consensus is not an end in itself. Sound and experienced U.S. foreign policy leadership must always reflect a deep understanding of fundamental American interests, values, and principles.

Consensus on the broad goals of a safer and more humane world is easy to achieve. The harder part is making progress in developing concrete, realistic means to reach these goals. We've made some progress. But there is still a congressional reluctance to assume responsibility for positive, bipartisan action to go with their newly claimed powers.

We've set excellent examples with the bipartisan Scowcroft commission, bipartisan support for IMF funding, and the bipartisan work of the Kissinger commission. But it's time to lift our efforts to a higher level of cooperation; time to meet together, with realism and idealism, America's great challenges for the 1980s.

We have the right to dream great dreams, the opportunity to strive for a world at peace enriched by human dignity, and the responsibility to work as partners, so that we might leave these blessed gifts to our children and to our children's children.

We might remember the example of a legislator who lived in a particularly turbulent era, Henry Clay. Abraham Lincoln called him "my beau ideal of a statesman." He knew Clay's loftiness of spirit and vision never lost sight of his country's interest, and that, election year or not, Clay would set love of country above all political considerations.

The stakes for America for peace and for freedom demand every bit as much from us in 1984 and beyond—this is our challenge.

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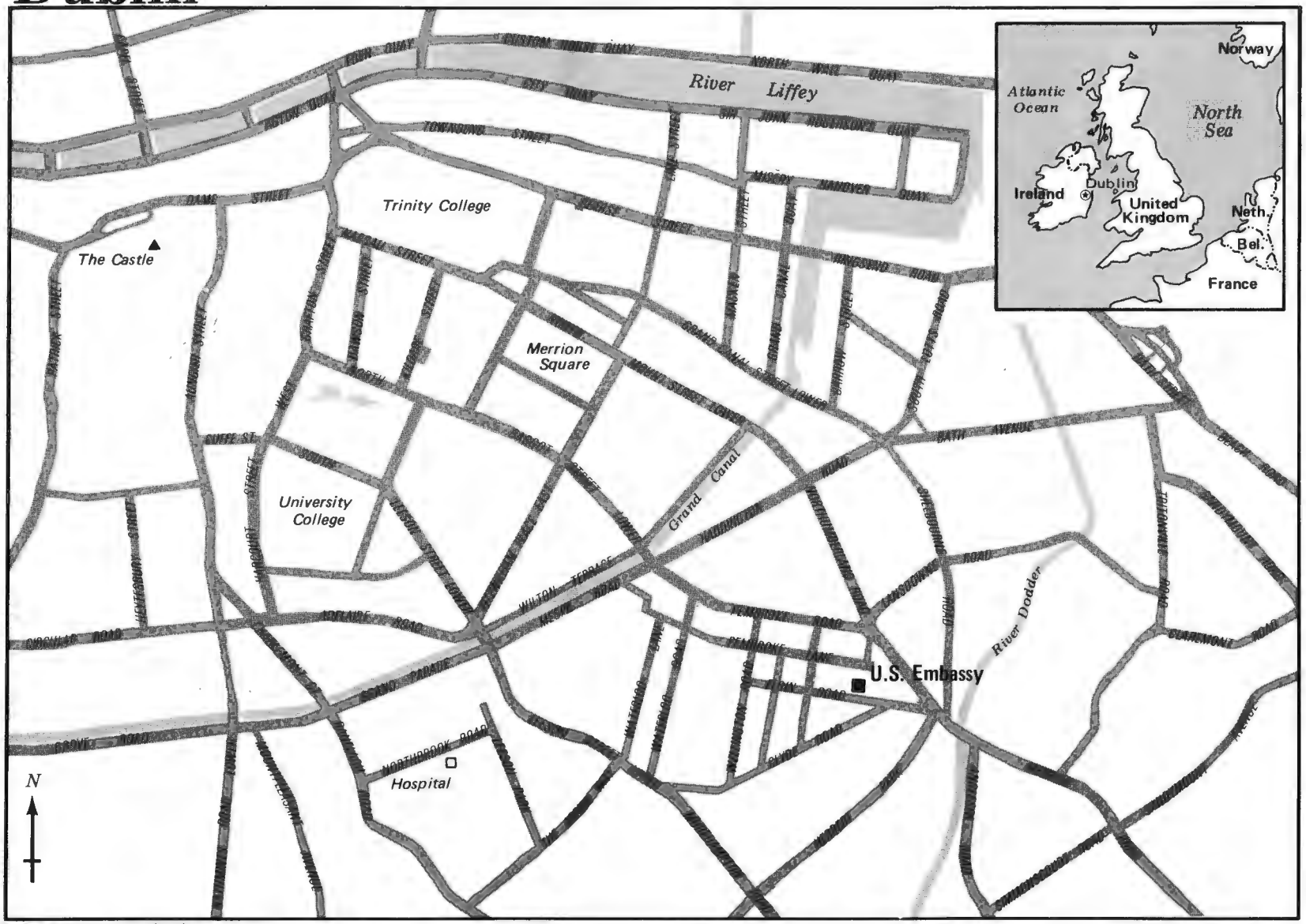
Dublin



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IRISH POUND CONVERSION TABLE AT £ = $1.19

(£ = 100 pence)

POUND TO U.S. DOLLARS		U.S DOLLARS TO POUND	
£	U.S.$	U.S.$	£
0.10	0.12	.10	0.08
0.25	0.30	.25	0.21
0.50	0.59	.50	0.42
0.84	1.00	1.00	0.84
1.00	1.19	1.19	1.00
5.00	5.93	5.00	4.22
10.00	11.86	10.00	8.43
50.00	59.30	20.00	16.86
100.00	118.60	50.00	42.16
150.00	177.90	100.00	84.32
250.00	296.50	200.00	168.63
300.00	355.80	300.00	252.95
400.00	474.40	400.00	337.27
500.00	593.00	500.00	421.59

NOTE: ALL U.S. DOLLAR VALUES ARE ROUNDED TO NEAREST U.S. CENT. VALUE OF POUND FLUCTUATES DAILY ACCORDING TO CURRENCY MARKET CONDITIONS.

May 27, 1984

IRELAND SITE INFORMATION

Dublin - Dublin, one of the oldest cities in the world founded around 970 A.D. by the Vikings, has a population of about a million people. The name originates from the Irish "Dubh Linn" which means black pool.

Dublin Castle - This was the centre of British rule in Ireland and it dates from the 13th century. The State Apartments, which were the home of the viceroy, are worth a visit. The castle has lately been venue for the sessions of the new Ireland forum.

Leinster House - The seat of houses of the Oireachtas (Parliament), the Dail (Lower House) and the Seanad (Upper House), has been Leinster House since 1922. The original building is of three storeys and is rectangular in shape, one hundred and forty feet long by seventy feet deep, with a circular bow projecting on the north side. The design is typical of the period in Ireland. It has been claimed that it formed a model for the design of the White House. The architect of the White House, James Hoban, had studied architecture in Dublin in the 1780's. The designer of Leinster House was the architect Richard Cassels, who came to Ireland from Germany about 1727.

Deerfield - Deerfield, the residence of the U.S. ambassador, dates from 1776. It is surrounded by 70 acres of private grounds, in the midst of Europe's largest park, the Phoenix Park. It has been called Deerfield since March 1981.

Aras An Uachtarain - This is the home of the Irish President. Like the residence of the ambassador of the United States, it is located in the Phoenix Park. This was originally a ranger's house which dated from the mid-eighteenth century which the famous architect Johnston refurbished as the Viceregal Lodge. The house has been the President's residence since the establishment of the state.

Ballyporeen - Ballyporeen, Co. Tipperary is a village at the foot of the Knockmealdown-Kilworth Mountains in the heart of Ireland's dairyland. The village, and its environs, are steeped in history. It is, of course, the area from which President Reagan's ancestors hailed. It is also famous for the celebrated "Mitchelstown Caves". Of these, Desmond's cave is famous because the Earl of Desmond sought refuge there only to be betrayed in 1601. The Eastern Chamber is the largest cave in Ireland.

Ashford Castle - Built over a period of thirty years by Lord Ardilaun in the 19th century, Ashford Castle, Cong. Co. Mayo incorporates in its castellated facade the remains of a 13th century De Burgo Castle and the original Ashford House, built in the style of a French chateau. In more recent years, Ashford has been renovated and luxuriously appointed to create one of Europe's premier castle hotels. It has a fairy-tale setting on the shores of beautiful Lough Corrib, the second largest lake in Ireland, with its hundreds of islands, bays and coves.

Galway - Galway is the principal town in the province of Connacht. It is a market and industrial town as well as a renowned educational center. It celebrates its quincentennial as a mayoral city this year.

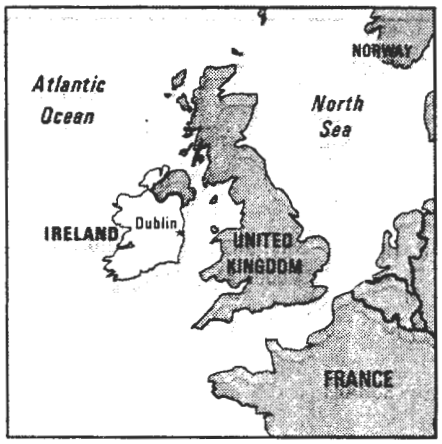
University College, Galway - On December 30, 1845, letters patent were issued incorporating it under the name of "Queen's College, Galway". The college was opened for students in 1894. By the Irish Universities Act (1908), the college became a constituent of the National University of Ireland (NUI). The college expanded rapidly during the sixties, and a new building program was undertaken.

background notes

Ireland

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

May 1984



Official Name:
Ireland

PROFILE

People

Nationality: *Noun*—Irishman, Irishwoman. *Adjective*—Irish. **Population** (1981 census—prelim.): 3,443,405. **Annual growth rate:** 1.1%. **Ethnic groups:** Celtic, with English minority. **Religions:** Roman Catholic 94%, Anglican 4%. **Languages:** English, Irish (Gaelic). **Education** (8.7% of GNP): *Years compulsory*—10. *Attendance*—91%. *Literacy*—99%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—12.4/1,000. *Life expectancy*—72 yrs. **Work force** (1979): *Agriculture, forestry, and fishing*—26%. *Manufacturing*—19%. *Commerce*—15%. *Construction*—7%. *Transportation*—5%. *Government*—4%. *Other*—24%.

Geography

Area: 70,282 sq. km. (27,136 sq. mi.); slightly smaller than W. Va. **Cities:** *Capital*—Dublin (pop. 525,360; about 1 million in metropolitan area or one-third the total population). *Other cities*—Cork (136,269), Limerick (60,721), Galway, Waterford, Kilkenny. **Terrain:** 17% arable, 51% meadows and pastures, 3% forested, 2% inland water, 27% waste and urban. **Climate:** Temperate maritime.

Government

Type: Parliamentary republic. **Independence:** 1921. **Constitution:** December 29, 1937.

Branches *Executive*—president (chief of state); prime minister (head of government). *Legislative*—bicameral National Parliament: House of Representatives (Dail—pronounced "doyle"), Senate (Seanad—pronounced "SHEN-ad"). *Judicial*—Supreme Court.

Administrative subdivision: 26 counties.

Major political parties: Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, Labor Party. **Suffrage:** Universal over 18.

Defense: 2% of GNP.

Flag: Three vertical bands—green, white, and orange from left to right. Green represents the Gaelic and Norman-Irish tradition; orange refers to the role of William of Orange and the Protestant tradition; and white symbolizes peace and understanding between the two communities.

Economy

GNP (1983 est.): $16.5 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1983): 0%. **Per capita income:** $4,750. **Inflation rate** (CPI): 10.5% in 1983.

Natural resources: Zinc, lead, natural gas, barite, copper, gypsum, limestone, dolomite, peat, silver.

Agriculture (10% of GNP): Cattle and dairy products, potatoes, barley, sugar beets, hay, silage, wheat.

Industry (32% of GNP): Food processing, beverages, electronics and data processing, engineering, textiles and clothing, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, and construction.

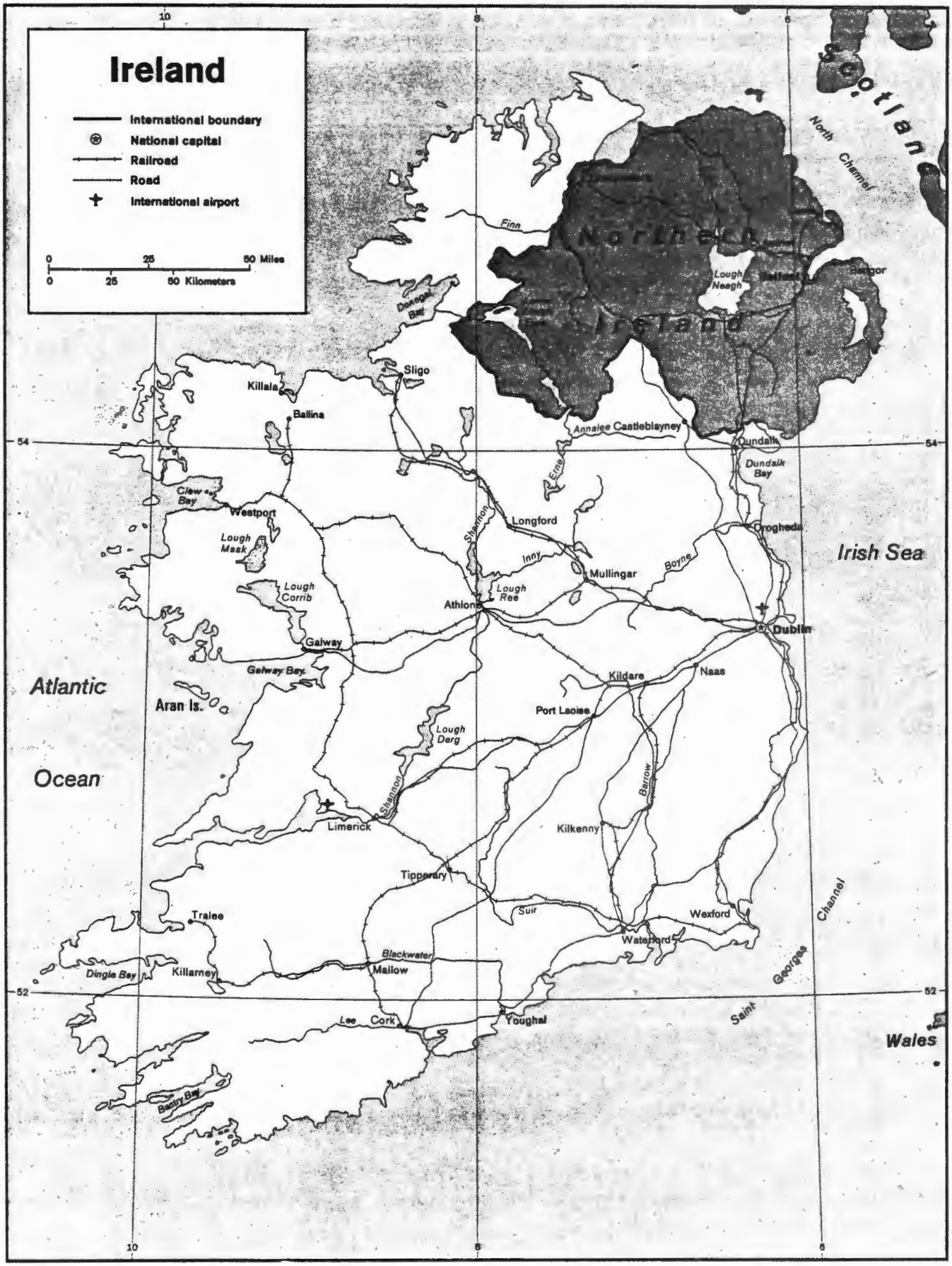
Trade (1983): *Exports*—$8.7 billion—computer equipment, chemicals, meat, dairy products, machinery. *Major markets*—UK 36.9%, other EC countries 32.1%, US 8.1%. *Imports*—$9.2 billion: grains, petroleum products, machinery, transport equipment, chemicals, textile yarns. *Major suppliers*—UK 45.3%, other EC countries 22.0%, US 14.8%.

Exchange rate (1982 avg.): 0.80 Irish pounds = US$1.

Economic aid received: European Regional Fund—$82.6 million (1982); European Social Fund—$91.5 million (1982); *US aid*—none. *Economic aid sent* (1983): $37.6 million or 0.23% of GNP.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and many of its specialized agencies, Council of Europe, European Community (EC), OECD, GATT, IMF, World Bank, INTELSAT.


Ireland
International boundary
National capital
Railroad
Road
International airport
0 25 50 Miles
0 25 50 Kilometers
Scotland
North Channel
Northern Ireland
Republic of Ireland
Finn
Lough Neagh
Belfast
Bangor
Donegal Bay
Sligo
Killala
Ballina
Annalee
Castleblayney
Dundalk
Dundalk Bay
Clew Bay
Westport
Lough Mask
Lough Corrib
Shannon
Erne
Longford
Inny
Mullingar
Boyne
Drogheda
Irish Sea
Athlone
Lough Ree
Dublin
Galway
Galway Bay
Atlantic
Ocean
Aran Is.
Kildare
Naas
Port Laoise
Lough Derg
Barrow
Limerick
Kilkenny
Tipperary
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Suir
Wexford
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Dingle Bay
Killarney
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Georges
Saint
Lee
Cork
Youghal
Wales
Bantry Bay
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52
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8
6

PEOPLE AND HISTORY

The Irish people are mainly of Celtic origin. Ireland's only significant minority is of Anglo-Norman origin. English is the common language, but Gaelic is also an official language and is taught in the schools. A national literature in Gaelic is reemerging. Anglo-Irish writers—including Swift, Sheridan, Goldsmith, Burke, Wilde, Joyce, Yeats, Shaw, and Beckett—have made a contribution to world literature in the past 300 years disproportionate to the island's population, influence, and wealth.

What little is known of pre-Christian Ireland comes from a few references in Roman writings, Irish poetry and myth, and archeology. The earliest inhabitants—people of a mid-stone age culture—arrived about 6000 B.C. when the climate had become hospitable following the retreat of the polar icecaps. About 4,000 years later, tribes from southern Europe arrived and established a high Neolithic culture in which gold ornaments and huge stone monuments figured prominently. This culture apparently prospered, and the island became more densely populated. The bronze age people who arrived during the next 1,000 years produced elaborate gold and bronze ornaments and weapons.

The iron age arrived abruptly in the fourth century B.C. with the invasion of the Celts, a tall, energetic people who had spread across Europe and Great Britain in the preceding centuries. The Celts, or Gaels, and their more numerous predecessors divided into five kingdoms in which, despite constant strife, a rich culture flourished. This society was dominated by druids—priests who served as educators, physicians, poets, diviners, and keepers of the laws and histories.

Tradition maintains that in A.D. 432, St. Patrick and his followers arrived on the island and, in the years which followed, worked to convert the people to Christianity. Probably a Celt himself, Patrick preserved the tribal and social patterns of the Celts, codifying their laws but changing them only when they conflicted with Christian practices. He also introduced the Roman alphabet, which enabled the Irish monks to preserve parts of the extensive Celtic oral literature.

Druidism collapsed in the face of the tireless presentation of the new faith by Patrick and his successors, and Celtic scholars soon excelled in the study of Latin learning and Christian theology in the monasteries Patrick established. Missionaries from Ireland spread news of this flowering of learning, and scholars from other nations came to Irish monasteries to escape the strife then ravaging the rest of Europe. The excellence and isolation of these monasteries helped preserve Latin learning during the Dark Ages. The arts of illumination, metalwork, and sculpture flourished under the new system and produced such treasures as the Book of Kells, ornate jewelry, and the many carved stone crosses which dot the island.

This golden age of culture was interrupted by 200 years of intermittent warfare with waves of Viking raiders who plundered monasteries and towns even as they made their own contribution by establishing Dublin and other seacoast towns. The Vikings were defeated eventually, but even though the Irish were free from invasion for 150 years, petty clan warfare continued to drain their energies and resources.

In the 12th century, Pope Adrian IV granted overlordship of the island to Henry II of England who began a struggle between the Irish and the English which was to continue for more than 800 years and which has had effects lasting to the present day. The Reformation exacerbated the oppression of the Roman Catholic Irish, and, in the early 17th century, Scottish and English Protestants were sent as colonists to the north of Ireland and around Dublin.

From 1800 to 1921, Ireland was an integral part of the United Kingdom. Religious freedom was recovered in 1829, but armed struggle for political emancipation continued intermittently into the 20th century.

The Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 established the Irish Free State of 26 counties within the Commonwealth of Nations and recognized the partition of Ireland. The six predominantly Protestant counties of northeast Ulster chose to remain a part of the United Kingdom with limited self-government. A significant minority of Irishmen repudiated the treaty settlement and among other things advanced the concept of "external association" with the Commonwealth as an alternative to dominion status. Their opposition led to a civil war (1922-23), won by the pro-treaty forces.

In 1937, a new Irish constitution was enacted, and the last link with the British Crown was removed when the Irish Government repealed the External Relations Act in 1948. The government formally declared Ireland to be a republic on Easter Monday 1948. However, it does not normally use the term "Republic of Ireland," which tacitly acknowledges the partition, but refers to the country simply as "Ireland."

GEOGRAPHY

The country of Ireland occupies about five-sixths of the island of Ireland; the other one-sixth is Northern Ireland, part of the United Kingdom. The island is separated from Great Britain by the Irish Sea and consists of an undulating central plain almost surrounded by coastal highlands. The soils of this fertile central plain consist of glacial drift left by the polar icecap which covered almost all of Ireland in the last ice age.

Southwesterly winds from the North Atlantic Drift provide Ireland with the mild, moist climate which accounts for its famous greenery. Temperatures average 4.4°C (40°F) in winter and 15°C (60°F) in summer and rarely fall below freezing or rise above 21°C (75°F). Rain and dampness are common, with May, June, and September usually the sunniest months.

GOVERNMENT

Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic state with a parliamentary system of government. The president is elected for a 7-year term and can be re-elected only once. In carrying out certain constitutional powers and functions, the president is aided by the Council of State, an advisory body. On the prime minister's advice, the president also summons and dissolves the Dail (House of Representatives).

The president appoints a prime minister the leader of the political party, or coalition of parties, which wins the most seats in the Dail. Executive power is vested in a Cabinet whose ministers are nominated by the prime minister and approved by the Dail.

The bicameral National Parliament consists of a Senate (Seanad Eireann) and a House of Representatives (Dail Eireann). The two together are known as the Oireachtas (pronounced "or-ROCK-tas"). The Senate is composed of 60 members—11 nominated by the prime minister, 6 elected by the national universities, and 43 elected from panels

Travel Notes

Clothing: Because the climate is cool and damp, woolen clothing is worn most of the year.

Health: Ireland has competent specialists in all fields of medicine and dentistry. Community sanitation is generally good; tapwater is potable.

Telecommunications: Telephone and telegraph services are fair. Dublin is five standard time zones ahead of the eastern US.

Transportation: Regular flights leave the US for Dublin via Shannon or London. Excellent direct commercial services exist between Dublin and most other major European cities.

of candidates established on a vocational basis. The Senate has power to delay legislative proposals and is allowed 90 days to consider and amend bills sent to it by the Dail. The Dail wields the actual power in the National Parliament. It has 166 members popularly elected to a maximum term of 5 years under a complicated system of proportional representation.

Judges are appointed by the president and can be removed from office only for misbehavior or incapacity and then only by resolution of both Houses of Parliament. The ultimate court of appeal is the Supreme Court, consisting of the chief justice and five other justices. The Supreme Court can also decide upon the constitutionality of laws if the president asks for an opinion.

Local government is administered by elected county councils and in the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford by county borough corporations. In practice, however, effective authority remains with the central government.

Principal Government Officials

President—Patrick J. Hillery
Prime Minister—Garret FitzGerald
Deputy Prime Minister—Dick Spring

Cabinet Ministers

Agriculture—Austin Deasy
Defense—Patrick Cooney
Education—Gemma Hussey
Energy—Dick Spring
Environment—Liam Kavanagh
Finance—Alan Dukes
Foreign Affairs—Peter Barry
Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking Affairs) and Fisheries—Paddy O'Toole
Health and Social Welfare—Barry Desmond
Industry, Trade, Commerce, and Tourism—John Bruton
Justice—Michael Noonan
Labor—Ruairi Quinn
Public Service—John Boland
Transport and Communication—Jim Mitchell
Attorney General—Peter Sutherland
Leader of Parliamentary Opposition and of the Fianna Fail Party—Charles Haughey

Ambassador to the United States—Tadhg O'Sullivan
Ambassador to the United Nations—Robert McDonagh

The Irish Embassy in the United States is at 2234 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20008 (tel. 202-462-3939).

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

In the November 1982 elections, no one party won enough seats to form a government in its own right. By early December, however, Fine Gael (70 seats) and Labor (6 seats) had, as from June 1981 to January 1982, agreed to form a coalition government. That government, with Fine Gael leader Garret FitzGerald again as Prime Minister (Taoiseach), was formed on December 14, 1982. Presidential elections were scheduled for late 1983, but no one was nominated in opposition to the incumbent, Dr. Patrick J. Hillery. Under Irish law, Dr. Hillery was deemed to have been re-elected and began his second 7-year term on December 7, 1983.

The continuing problem of Northern Ireland is a key political issue in Ireland today. The six counties of Northern Ireland, an integral part of the United Kingdom, comprise about 1 million Protestants and about 500,000 Catholics. The conflicting aspirations and traditions of Nationalists and Unionists complicate the search for a solution.

The three major Irish political parties—Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, and Labor—have called for eventual unification of Ireland but only if this can be accomplished peacefully and with the consent of the people of Northern Ireland. Irish governments and political leaders have also consistently condemned terrorism and violence in Northern Ireland. Recent Irish prime ministers have maintained close consultations with the British Government.

ECONOMY

Ireland has been affected by the worldwide recession. After several years at the top of the growth league within the European Community (EC), the gross national product (GNP) stagnated from 1981-83. The 1983 GNP totaled $16.5 billion or $4,750 per capita. Still one of the least developed countries in the EC, Ireland has two serious economic problems—unemployment and inflation. Unemployment is running at 16%; with one of the youngest populations in Europe—almost 50% under age 25—this is likely to remain a difficult situation. Inflation, as measured by the consumer price index, surged to 20% in 1981, but since has declined to about half this level in 1983.

Until the mid-1950s, the Irish economy was largely agrarian. Consecutive governments over the past two decades have promoted rapid industrialization, and various inducements have attracted a significant amount of industrial investment from overseas sources, especially the United States. Industrial output provides 32% of GNP and about 29% of the nation's jobs. Important industries include chemical products, mines and quarries, textiles, metals and engineering, food, beverages, and tobacco products. Agriculture, which contributed 10.4% to the 1981 GNP, employs 17.1% of the work force and indirectly provides opportunities for additional tax revenue and employment through processing primary products.

International commerce is crucial to Ireland's economic welfare, both for imports of essential goods—petroleum products and capital goods—and for national income, as exports produce over 50% of GNP.

Labor

Ireland has a tradition of spirited trade union activity, reflected in the 94 member unions of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU). The ICTU and many Irish trade unions are island-wide, with members and affiliates in Northern Ireland. A number of Irish unions are offshoots of British unions.

One-quarter to one-third of all trade union members belong to public sector unions and work for the Irish Government. As in the United States, laws and regulations inhibit the right of public sector employees to strike, but these have not been consistently enforced.

For the past 10 years, employee-management relations have been conducted under the umbrella of a national understanding on wages designed to impose restraints and guidelines upon labor actions and wage settlements. The effectiveness of this arrangement has been debated widely, however, and negotiations on such an understanding between unions, management, and government are deadlocked.

Investment

U.S. firms have been particularly important to the growth and modernization of Irish industry over the past two decades by providing new technology, export capabilities, and employment opportunities. In the period 1960–83, more than 300 manufacturing projects sponsored by U.S. firms began production in Ireland. Total U.S. investment in Ireland at the end of 1982 was more than $3 billion. The largest single area is chemicals and related products, but U.S. investors are prominent in electronics and data processing, chemicals, banking, and hydrocarbon exploration and development.

Many U.S. businesses find Ireland an attractive location to manufacture for the EC market inside the EC customs area. The availability of a well-trained, English-speaking work force and relatively moderate wage costs have been important factors. The government has sought aggressively to attract export-oriented foreign manufacturing and service industries, good long-term growth prospects under an imaginative financial incentive program, including capital grants and favorable tax treatment, and a corporate income tax rate for all manufacturing firms of 10%.

In his March 17, 1982 statement, President Reagan noted the important role U.S. industry has played in strengthening the Irish economy. The President has encouraged the U.S. private sector to continue to assist in creating more job opportunities in Ireland, North and South.

Trade

In 1983, trade between Ireland and the United States amounted to $2.1 billion, a 17% increase over 1982. U.S. exports to Ireland totaled $1,360 million, an increase of 9.3% over 1982 and 14.8% of Ireland's total imports. The range of U.S. products includes office machinery and data processing equipment, machinery and parts, electrical equipment, animal feedstuffs, and chemicals.

Although economic growth in Ireland has slowed temporarily, excellent sales opportunities still exist for U.S. producers in Ireland. Export-Import Bank financing and the presence of major U.S. banks in Ireland facilitate marketing by U.S. suppliers.

Irish exports to the United States topped $700 million in 1983, an increase of 22% over the 1982 total. Exports to the United States represent 7.1% of all Irish exports and include alcoholic beverages, chemicals and related products, electronic and data processing equipment, electrical machinery, textiles and clothing, and glassware.

Tourism

Tourism is one of Ireland's principal industries. Some 2.3 million people visited Ireland in 1982 and spent $710 million. In 1983, some 300,000 Americans visited Ireland contributing more than $120 million to the Irish economy. Increasing numbers of Irish citizens have visited the United States in recent years, but the strong dollar has discouraged visitors in the past 2 years.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Since gaining independence in 1921, Ireland has been active in international affairs, first as a member of the League of Nations and, since 1955, as a member of the United Nations. Ireland has contributed officers and men of its defense forces to UN peacekeeping units in the Middle East, West New Guinea, the Belgian Congo (now Zaire), Cyprus, and Lebanon. Irish foreign aid to developing countries in 1984 is declining.

Neutrality forms the basis of Ireland's security policy. Ireland was neutral in World War II, and in 1949 it refused to join NATO.

Since joining the EC in 1973, Irish foreign policy has shifted from a concentration on relations with the United Kingdom to relations with Europe in general. Strong supporters of the ideals of European unity, the Irish have worked to strengthen the powers and democratic processes of the European Parliament at Strasbourg.

In recent years, Ireland has increased its diplomatic relations around the world. It established relations with the Soviet Union in 1974, with China in 1979, and, since 1975, with five Arab countries.

DEFENSE

The Irish Defense Forces total about 15,000. The army, with a strength of 13,000, is the largest service by far, with the air force and navy together accounting for fewer than 1,800 personnel. Irish defense expenditures of $289 million in 1981 represent less than 1.9% of GNP.

Supreme command of the defense forces is vested constitutionally in the president. However, actual control of military affairs is exercised by the government through the defense minister, who is advised by the Council of Defense.

Further Information

These titles are provided as a general indication of material published on this country. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

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U.S.-IRISH RELATIONS

U.S. relations with Ireland are based on common ancestral ties and on generally similiar values and political views. The United States seeks to maintain and strengthen the traditionally cordial relations between the people of the United States and Ireland.

The Irish Government has welcomed President Reagan's St. Patrick's Day statements, which have reaffirmed U.S. policy on Northern Ireland. The President has emphasized that the United States will continue to condemn all acts of terrorism and violence. The President has also renewed his call to all Americans to question closely any appeal for financial or other aid from groups involved in the Northern Ireland conflict to ensure that contributions do not end up in the hands of those who perpetuate violence, either directly or indirectly. President Reagan has noted the important contribution toward economic and social progress represented by American industrial investment in Ireland—North and South—and he has pledged to maintain the U.S. commitment to facilitate the growth of such job-creating investment.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Robert F. Kane
Deputy Chief of Mission—John A. Boyle
Administrative Officer—John L. Caruso
Consular Officer—Manuel Guerra
Economic-Commercial Officer—E. Mark Linton
Political Officer—W. Alan Roy
Public Affairs Officer—John L. Dennis
Defense Attache—Col. Carl Finstrom
Agricultural Attache—Pitamber Devgon

The U.S. Embassy in Ireland is at 42 Elgin Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4 (tel. 688-777). ■

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27323

Patrick John HILLERY **IRELAND**

President
(since December 1976)

Addressed as:
Mr. President

©

Despite his public avowals that he would retire after completing his first seven-year term as President in December 1983, Patrick Hillery yielded to the pleas of Ireland's three major political parties and nominated himself for a second term. Because there were no other candidates, he was deemed "elected," as provided for in the Irish Constitution. Hillery, a former country doctor, is a Fianna Fail politician with over 30 years of political experience. Before assuming his present post, he had served since 1973 as a vice president of the Commission of the European Communities, with responsibility for social affairs.

Educated at University College, Dublin, Hillery followed his father into medical practice. In 1951 he was one of the youngest members of his party to enter the Dail (lower house of parliament). Hillery held various Cabinet portfolios between 1959 and his EC assignment, including those of Education, Industry and Commerce, Labor, and Foreign Affairs. One of the few early Irish "Europeanists," he was responsible for negotiating Ireland's entry into the Common Market in 1973. When he was appointed to the EC Commission that same year, he resigned from the Dail.

Hillery, 61, is a prize-winning golfer who also enjoys swimming, fishing, and painting. Married to the former Maeve (Mary) Finnegan, who is also a medical doctor, he has a son and a daughter.

CR M 84-12824
21 May 1984

27324

Garret Michael FITZGERALD **IRELAND**

Prime Minister
(since December 1982)

Addressed as:
Mr. Prime Minister

©

Garret FitzGerald is heading his second Fine Gael-Labor coalition government; he had served previously as Prime Minister during June 1981-March 1982. FitzGerald was unanimously elected leader of Fine Gael in 1977, after the party had suffered the worst electoral defeat in its history. Since then the party's fortunes have improved dramatically: in the November 1982 election to the Dail (lower house of Parliament), its share of the vote was the largest it had ever received. A member of the Dail since 1969, FitzGerald served during 1973-77 as Foreign Minister (a post his father, Desmond, had held during the 1920s and 1930s).

FitzGerald holds a law degree from University College in Dublin and a Ph.D. in economics from King's Inn, also in Dublin. During 1947-58 he worked as a researcher and schedules manager for Aer Lingus, the Irish national airline. FitzGerald served as a lecturer in political economy at University College during the next 10 years. He was elected to the Senate in 1965. Since entering the Dail he has served as opposition spokesman on education, finance, and Northern Ireland.

FitzGerald, 58, is the author of several books. He has also been an economic consultant and a correspondent for *The Economist* and other publications. Married to the former Joan O'Farrell, he has two sons and a daughter.

CR M 84-11326
7 March 1984

27325

Peter BARRY **IRELAND**

Minister for Foreign Affairs
(since December 1982)

Addressed as:
Mr. Minister

Peter Barry has served as deputy leader of the Fine Gael Party since 1978. According to the press, he coordinated Fine Gael strategies, finances, and organization during the preparations for the 1981 general election. First elected to the Dail (lower house of Parliament) in 1969, Barry has served as Minister for Transport and Power (he was responsible for introducing restrictions on energy supplies during the 1973-74 oil crisis), for Education, and for the Environment. While Fine Gael was in opposition during March-November 1982, he was party spokesman on energy.

Barry was educated at Christian Brothers' College in Cork. Like his father, he is a tea importer, wholesaler, and taster. He served as lord mayor of Cork during 1970-71. In 1975 Barry visited Canada and the United States to promote tourism in Ireland. He visited Washington in 1983 for St. Patrick's Day.

Barry, 55, is married and has six children.

CR M 84-12828
21 May 1984

ROBERT F. KANE
AMBASSADOR TO IRELAND

Robert F. Kane was appointed Ambassador to Ireland in March 1984. Before his appointment, Ambassador Kane was a senior director of a California law firm. From 1971 to 1979, Ambassador Kane served as a Justice on the California Court of Appeal.

Ambassador Kane was born in Colorado in 1926. He received an AA from San Mateo Junior College in 1948, studied at the University of Southern California, and received an LL.D. from the University of San Francisco in 1952. He served in the U.S. Navy from 1944 to 1946.

JOHN A. BOYLE
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, DUBLIN

W. ALAN ROY
COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, DUBLIN

E. MARK LINTON
COUNSELOR FOR ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS, DUBLIN

MANUEL R. GUERRA
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COUNSELOR FOR ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS, DUBLIN

SIDNEY T. TELFORD (resident in London)
REGIONAL SECURITY OFFICER, DUBLIN

PITAMBER DEVGON
COUNSELOR FOR AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS, DUBLIN

JOHN L. DENNIS
COUNSELOR FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS, DUBLIN

COL. DAVID E. THOMPSON, USA
OFFICE OF THE DEFENSE ATTACHE, DUBLIN

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

GENEOLOGICAL INFORMATION
ON RONALD WILSON REAGAN

IN AMERICA

Ronald Wilson Reagan, 40th President of the United States, was born February 6, 1911 in Tampico, Whiteside County, Illinois. He is the youngest of two sons (elder brother J. Neil) of John Edward and Nelle (Wilson) Reagan, the father a first generation Irish Catholic, the mother an Irish/English/Scottish background Protestant.

Research shows that they married on November 8, 1904, at the Catholic church of the Immaculate Conception, Fulton, Illinois. 1900 U.S. Census records indicate John Regan (sic), Ronald's father, born July, 1883 in Illinois, father born in England, dry goods salesman, lived with his aunt Margaret (Reagan) Baldwin, wife of dry goods merchant Orson G. Baldwin in Bennett, Iowa, she being listed as born April 1856 in England. Both parents born in Ireland, immigrated 1858. Nelle Wilson in Fulton, Illinois, born July 1883, the youngest of seven children of English-born Mary Wilson, widow of a man born in Scotland.

The history of the family in America, using conventional vital records, census, leads back to the earliest record of the family in the 1860 U.S. Census listing the household in Carroll County (northwest Illinois). Michael Reagan was a farmer, owning real estate worth $1,120. His wife was Catherine (Mulcahy) and they had children: Thomas (age 7), John (age 5), Margaret (age 3), all three born in England, and William (age 1), born in Illinois. There was also a later daughter, Mary, born in 1865, not listed. Michael and his wife were listed (ages approximate) as aged 25 and 30, and both born in Ireland. Additionally, they had living with them, Nicholas Reagan (age 35) and John P. Reagan (age 30) who were both laborers born in Ireland.

Researchers believe that the family had immigrated in 1858, and the most probable route was via Montreal and the Great Lakes, Canada being like Ireland, immigration was easier by that route.

IN ENGLAND

English research had been conducted on the family by using knowledge obtained in America that the Reagans had had three children born there. The marriage record was found of Michael Reagan (son of Thomas, a deceased laborer) and Catherine Mulcahy (daughter of Patrick, a laborer), married on October 31, 1852 at St. George's Catholic Cathedral in Southwark, South London. Both gave their address as Bexley Street in Peckham (an Irish community). Witnesses included Nicholas Regan (sic). Michael

could sign his name, and he signed "Reagan"; neither Catherine nor Nicholas could write and the priest entered Nicholas's name as "Regan" (the more usual spelling). The baptism registers of the church recorded their son Thomas born before their marriage on May 15 and baptised on May 16, 1852, and their son John (Ronald Reagan's grandfather), born on May 29 and baptised on June 4, 1854.

The English census of March 30, 1851, listed both Michael Reagan and Catherine Mulcahy as aged 21 and 28 respectively, and both born in County Tipperary, Ireland.

IN IRELAND

Researchers were able continue the process of tracking the Reagan family by:

-- seeking Michael Reagan, born in County Tipperary (circa 1829/30).

-- knowing he named his eldest son Thomas and his eldest daughter Margaret, by old Irish custom they expected him to be a son of Thomas and Margaret (the custom being to name the eldest son and daughter of a marriage after the husband's parents). This was corroborated by the marriage record in England, naming Michael's father as Thomas. Also, they suspected that he had brothers John and Nicholas.

There are in the Public Records Office, Dublin, lists of householders (for tax purposes) of the period 1825-30. Searching this for the entire county of Tipperary, produced a list of places where Reagan/Regan/O'Regan householders were living at the period when Michael and his brothers were born.

The next task by researchers was to relate these places to Roman Catholic parishes (since the records sought are parish registers). This produced a list of 15 Catholic parishes where Reagans/Regans/O'Regans were then living; also, for certainty, adjoining parishes were searched as well, making a total of 27 parishes.

In the entire county of Tipperary there was only one Michael Reagan/Regan/O'Regan born in about 1829/30, and corroborated in Catholic registers with certainty by the fact that his parents were Thomas and Margaret and he had an elder brother, John. In the registers of the Catholic parish of Ballyporeen, there are recorded as the children of Thomas and Margaret (Murphy) O'Regan of Doolis, a townland in the parish.

The spelling Reagan is generally unknown in modern Ireland, and such a spelling appears in no Irish telephone directory . The local version is Regan (or O'Regan, the "O" prefix being often dropped) and pronounced "Reegan." Since literacy in this family

was marginal, spelling variants are to be expected: "Reagan" was how Michael spelled his name in London in 1852.

# # #

(Source: Debrett Ancestry Research)

SIGNATURE
January 1984

RON REAGAN TRACES THE PRESIDENTIAL FAMILY TREE

One of 40 million Americans with roots in Ireland, the First Family's scrivener looks for his own in the "luminous green world."

They say that in Ireland there is more history to be unearthed in a single acre than in a square mile of any other country. Exaggeration, to be sure, the kind of good-humored hyperbole overheard in countless pubs, nonetheless containing a kernel of truth. The remains of Ireland's long and often painful history litter the landscape. Each of the 32 counties has its castle, rath, roofless medieval abbey or prehistoric dolmen. Every bog and glen echoes the names of the ancient races—Fir Bolg, Milesian, Tuatha Da Dannan. The island has been overrun by Vikings,

Farmers, beer and barnyard gossip at Cullen's town fair, County Cork.

Photographs by Andy Levin/Black Star

Danes, Normans, Scots and, not least but hopefully last, the English. All have left their marks on the people and land, but all, with the exception of the English in Ulster, have been assimilated or repelled. War, famine and blight have scattered Ireland's children from Perth to Boston. Still, the country remains secure in its national identity and proud of its tumultuous past.

All history, however glorious or remote, reflects the unique chronicles of ordinary individuals. Today, more than 40 million Americans can claim greater or lesser roots in Ireland's past. Many are interested in the particulars of their own family history. I am one. When I was eight or nine, my father told me that the name Reagan was Irish and this, among other things, was what we were. At the time I knew nothing of my genealogy beyond the name of my grandparents. Irishness in the abstract sense, however, was immensely appealing. During a particularly manic stage, I even formed a club open to other children professing Irish heritage. We had no activities to speak of—we just sat around feeling good about ourselves.

Very slowly, and only as I grew older, did I become interested in my family's history. I pictured time as a long, curving corridor and wondered if I were to roam its musty length knocking on all doors marked Reagan or Regan, who would answer. My curiosity quickened when Debrett's, the genealogical tracing organization in England, provided my father with the paternal side of his family tree. Here at last were names attached to real people, confirmed dates of lifetimes and, frustrating at the time, actual places to visit. Naturally when the opportunity finally arose to travel to Ireland, I was more than eager.

The story I unearthed is brief but intriguing. Early in the 1800's in a small township called Doolis, three miles west of the slightly larger Ballyporeen in County Tipperary, a young man named Thomas Regan married a woman named Margaret Murphy. Between 1816 and 1829 they had six children. The youngest, a son, they named Michael. In the late 40's or ear-

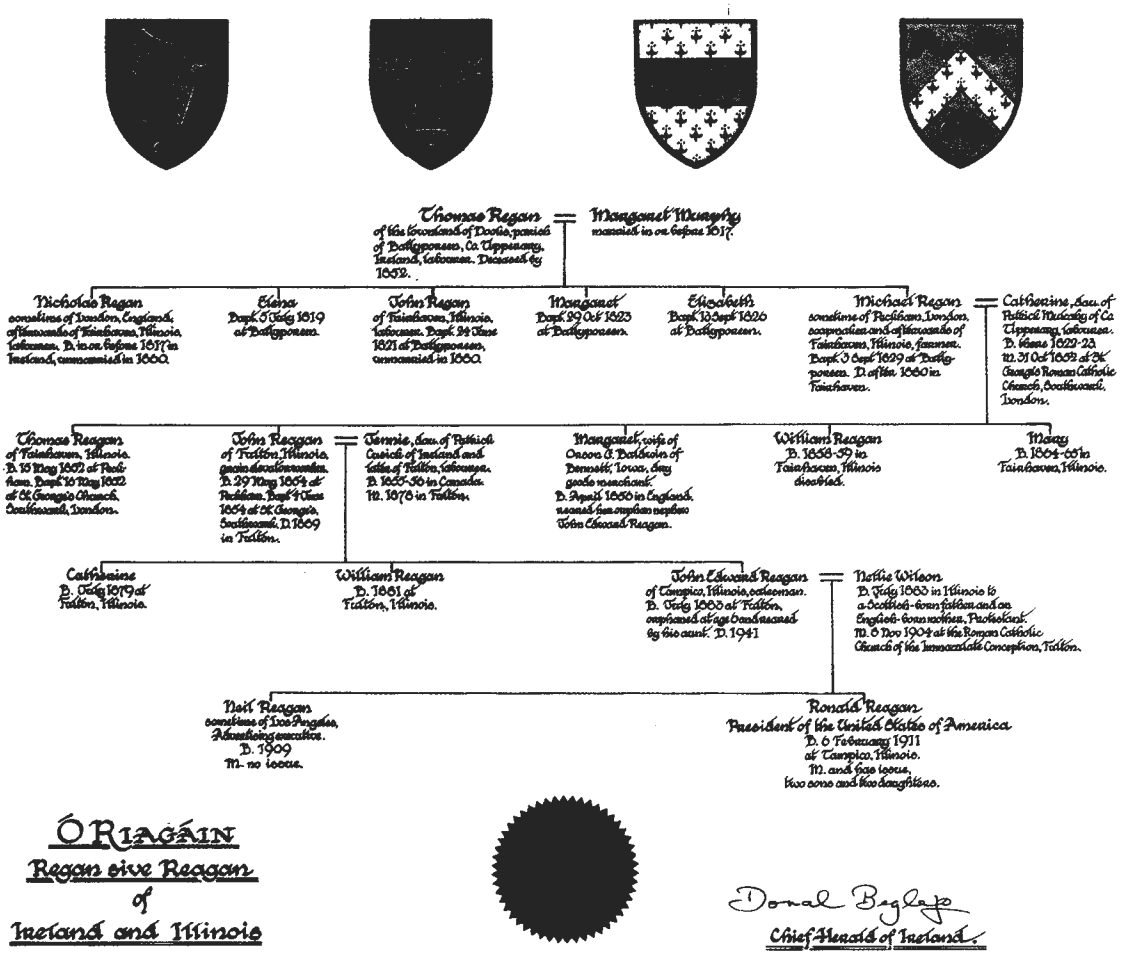
The President's ancestor Michael Regan was baptized in the Church of the Assumption in Ballyporeen (right) in 1829. Genealogical research in the archives of Dublin's Irish National Library (below) can prepare the way for documents such as the Reagan family tree (opposite page).

ly 50's, at the height of the potato famine, Michael left for England, where his name was changed to Reagan, and married a Tipperary girl, Catherine Mulcahy. Gathering up their family, including second son John, they moved to America in 1858, reaching Illinois via the St. Lawrence River and Canada. John, married to Jennie Cusick, died young in a farming accident but not before fathering one daughter and two sons. John and Jennie's youngest son was John Edward. He remained in Illinois, became a shoe salesman and married Nellie Wilson. Their youngest son, my father, born in 1911, was named Ronald.

On my journey to explore the beginnings of this genealogical record, I flew over Ireland's western coast. It was dawn and I felt myself crossing into an unexpectedly luminous green world. "Emerald Isle" may be trite but it's no publicist's invention. Ireland is one of the few places on earth that looks better than its postcards. Castles are visible from the air. A blue-gray web of mist lies over the fields and farms, swirls around the soft hills and collects like a pearly run-off in the ravines and gullies between. "So few roads," says my wife, Doria, and that is true. What lanes there are look like cattle paths (the accuracy of this impression we will soon discover). In this Eden I'll learn something about the way a genealogical trace is conducted and, hopefully, a few new facts about my own family.

In Dublin, as in the rest of Ireland,

"I pictured time as a long, curving corridor and wondered if I were to roam its length knocking on all doors marked Reagan, who would answer."



1829 baptismal entries in a Tipperary church reveal the earliest known record of the Reagans' Irish roots.

first things come first and the widely acknowledged priority is a trip to the local pub for a pint of ale. In just such a place over just such a pint we meet Paddy Derivan, our guide for the next few days. He proceeds to educate us regarding the finer points of Ireland's national beverage, Guinness. There is the creaminess of the head to be considered, the dark, melted licorice color and the smoky subtlety of its flavor. Most important, though, is the sociability it promotes.

Now fully acclimated, we set off for our next appointment with Tom Lindert, who researched the Irish bough of my family tree for Debrett's. Tom, American born, arrived in Ireland seven years ago, became interested in genealogy and never left. He whisks us off to the office of Donal Begley, who, as chief herald, is primarily concerned with family crests. Both Tom and Donal stress, above all, the importance of working backward carefully. Anyone interested in tracing his roots should collect as much recent data as he can before venturing deep into the past. Anything from gravestones to old family Bibles can be useful. The more specific information, the better. Approaching a professional genealogist or the archives of Ireland's National Library saying, "My name is Murphy and my people emigrated in the 19th century," will leave you a very long way from Tipperary.

In my own family's case, the research proved blessedly straightforward, as far as it went. Well-kept records (birth and death certificates, marriage licenses, etc.) in Illinois leave a clear paper trail leading from my father to his father, his grandfather and eventually to Michael Regan. As Donal Begley put it, "There are three times in a man's life when he leaves a trace of himself: birth, marriage and death." U.S. census data and an Illinois death certificate indicate my great-great-grandfather Michael was born in Ireland, had three children in England, came to America in 1858 and had two more children. From there, the research jumps the Atlantic. Michael's age and county of birth, Tipperary, turn up in an English census, and English General Registration records tell us he married Catherine Mulcahy, seven years his senior, on October 31, 1852, in St. George's Catholic Church, London. The wedding ceremony took place five and a half months after the delivery of their first son.

At this point, names become important. It is Irish tradition to name the first son and daughter after their paternal grandparents. Michael and Catherine named theirs Thomas and Margaret. Therefore, when the trail crossed the channel into Ireland and dropped into Tom Lindert's lap, he knew what to look for: Michael Regan, born 1829 or 1830 in County Tipperary of parents Thomas and Margaret.

The Tithe Applotment, compiled between 1824 and 1830, and Griffith's Valuation of the 1830's and 1840's, both housed in Dublin's National Li-

brary, are the most complete records of tax-paying Irish householders from that era. The former reveals nine Catholic parishes in Tipperary containing Regans but only one, in Ballyporeen, lists a Michael born at the right time. Baptismal records in the trust of the parish curate, Father Eanna Condon, show him christened on September 3, 1829, by parents—you guessed it—Thomas and Margaret. His brothers and sisters are listed as well, excepting eldest brother Nicholas, who was baptized before the records were started in 1817.

Can my family be traced further back? Donal and Tom are skeptical. In the 18th and 19th centuries, and certainly before, Ireland's populace was not regularly surveyed. Records undertaken, often concerning taxes paid to English landlords, did not always survive. So savagely repressed were Catholics of that time that church records are scarce. Furthermore, Thomas Regan was pitiably impoverished. Rich men may leave monuments behind; poor men tend to disappear. To travel further into the past, if possible, would take months of painstaking research.

Just how painstaking and obsessive such research can be, we learn upon reaching the Public Record Office. Here, along with well-filed documents, are crates of unsorted land surveys, ships' logs, etc.—the accumulated records of centuries. Amidst the stacks we meet another American who, for the better part of two months, has been searching for ancestors. He is engaged to be married, he tells us cheerfully, but two weeks ago he phoned his bride-to-be and asked her to postpone the wedding. He couldn't abandon his search. Now, he looks like a kid at Christmas, for the relative in question has just been located on an 18th-century document.

Such victories are unusual but not

"Holding this book, I am as close as I will come to touching the lives of my Irish ancestors."

Downtown Ballyporeen: "Signposting in Ireland is less a science than an art."

continued from page 43

unheard of. Unfortunately, we haven't time on this trip for marathon research. We must satisfy ourselves with a trip to the homeland, Ballyporeen, and a look at the baptismal record.

We meet Father Eanna Condon at Kilcoran Lodge, a centuries-old hunters' retreat a few miles from Ballyporeen. Kilcoran was in operation during Thomas Regan's day, but it is unlikely that he ever saw the cozy wood-paneled interior. It was an exclusive enclave of wealthy, landed gentry who would have deemed the impecunious laborer unworthy to sweep the halls.

Father Condon is, by now, quite used to people inquiring after the famous baptismal records. "Of the world's 15 leading newspapers," he confides, "I've been interviewed by 11." After lunch, we set off for Ballyporeen, our route taking us through a pastoral labyrinth of hedgerows, stone walls and overhanging trees. Father Condon warns us about driving in the countryside. "Signposting in Ireland is less a science than an art. During World War II, the nation feared invasion and pulled up all the road signs to confuse the Germans. When the war ended, they were replaced rather haphazardly. In the event of another war, they won't have to be removed to create confusion."

Near a field indistinguishable from its neighbors except by a large tree in the near corner, we slow down. Here, Father Condon explains, a thatched-roof church once stood. It burned down in the 1820's but in its time, Thomas Regan's time, it served the surrounding communities. Almost certainly, this was where Thomas married Margaret. Judging by its size, the magnificently spreading tree was a sapling on that wedding day over 167 years ago. Today, not a cornerstone of the old chapel remains.

Ballyporeen is a small town of about 300 citizens that seems to have collected around the spot where one road collides perpendicularly with another. To the north are the Galtee Mountains; to the south, the Knockmealdowns. Surrounding them are hundreds of acres of rolling pasture, much of it reclaimed from bog. An 1830 survey found in Dublin's National Library identifies Ballyporeen as a village "containing 113 houses and 513 inhabitants." The survey concludes, "Fairs are held on May 12th, August 21st and December 17th. There is a mineral spring of some repute." Near the center of town stands the Church of the Assumption, erected in 1828. Just inside its doors, the baptismal font where Michael Regan was christened has left a scar on the floor where it once stood. There were no pews in the old days, Father Condon informs us. Parishioners stood, often a thousand or more at a Mass, to commune with God.

On the road to what was once Doolis (in Gaelic, "Dubhlios" or "dark fairy fort"), there stand the remains of a far older chapel. Templetenny, the "Church of the Marsh," was in ruins by the early 1700's. Today, gravestones sink into the sod where families once worshiped. Like the long-abandoned farmhouses that dot the countryside, they offer mute evidence of Ireland's black times. During the potato famine of the 1840's, millions perished. Tales of entire families, decimated in a period of months, are here carved in stone. A decent burial was by no means assured. Seumas MacManus in *The Story of the Irish Race* recounts the horror: "Some Poor Law Unions, unable to provide coffins for all who died destitute, hit on the expedient of using one coffin with a hinged bottom. Corpses were often simply wrapped in straw for burial. People driving after night sometimes drove over the dead who had dropped on the road." With luck, Thomas may have ended up in the Templetenny graveyard. I find myself fervently hoping he is here, anonymous beneath the grass.

> "Saying, 'My name is Murphy and my people emigrated in the 19th century,' will leave you a very long way from Tipperary."

A reminder of happier moments, the baptismal record is kept in Father Condon's tidy house. "Too large a house for one man," he sighs as we settle into a study fragrant with wood smoke. The book is remarkably well preserved. What were once loose leaves were bound in leather around 1890 by a resident priest. The pages are yellow, the ink faded, but Father Martin Redmond's Latin script still reaches us from 1829—"Michael, filium Thomas Regan et Margaret Murphy de Doolis." Holding this book, I am as close as I will come to touching the lives of my Irish ancestors.

People generally prefer the nobler aspects of their personal histories. Alas, there are gentlemen and rogues, hills and bogs in everyone's past. My father, for instance, was immensely pleased when told that the ancient Regans once guarded a high pass in the Slieve Bloom Mountains, not far from Dublin. Their motto: "The Hills Forever." He promptly had such a sign made for his own hilltop ranch. Unfortunately, his informant had the wrong clan in mind. The Regans who watched the hills were one of the Four Tribes of Tara while ours are Dalcassian in origin. A more realistic, if grittier, picture emerges from the diary of a 19th-century traveler in Doolis. "I followed into a shaking morass across which there is a precarious avenue of stepping stones surrounded by filthy quagmires. . .my pioneer went almost to the knees in water." Not for everyone are the lofty peaks. No wonder Doolis has long since been abandoned. We'll make a new sign for the ranch—perhaps "Muck up to the knees."

It may be that all this running after the past is a peculiarly American madness. We are, after all, a nation of immigrants a considerable distance from our roots. If we had stayed on, working the land our fathers did, instead of flinging ourselves across oceans, perhaps we would take our histories for granted. But the past casts its spell and we persist in our curiosity.

Before leaving Ireland, I return to the site of the thatched-roof church. Of all the places we've visited, this, for me, holds the greatest fascination. I stand under the big tree looking out over the green pastures. The soft rain falls and the air holds the sweet incense of peat fires. I try to see what Thomas saw when he emerged from the church with his new wife and looked toward a bleak, deadly future. But no ghosts arise. His vision and world, like his bones, are dust beneath the soil. I am happy nonetheless. If, as Shelley wrote, history is "a cyclic poem written by Time upon the memories of man," I am satisfied to remain a small verse in an ongoing epic. □

Son of President and Mrs. Reagan, one-time dancer Ron Reagan, now a magazine journalist, has written for Geo *and* Parade.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed for Release
until 6:00 A.M. (EDT)

May 31, 1984

TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S
FOREWARD FOR
THE IRISH TIMES MAGAZINE

For many Americans, coming to Ireland is like coming home. That is certainly true in my case. My great, great grandfather, Thomas Reagan, lived in the town of Doolis, Ballyporeen, in the county of Tipperary. His youngest son Michael, and Michael's son John, who was my grandfather, emigrated to the United States.

Nancy and I look forward to visiting Ballyporeen to see the church records of my ancestors and to meet family members and friends. We hope to make new friends while enjoying traditional Irish hospitality and savoring the beauty of this precious land.

In a way, my visit to your country is the story of Irish-American relations come full circle. My ancestors, like so many of their compatriots, left Ireland to seek a new beginning in a young and growing country. These Irish immigrants helped to build America with their bodies, their intellect and their love of beauty and culture -- and their sense of humor, I should add. They wrote one of the most remarkable success stories in American history. The United States owes much to these men and women for their many contributions to our society in the arts, literature, drama and countless other fields.

Today, some 40 million of my fellow Americans -- including 14 other U.S. Presidents -- trace their roots to Ireland. As an Irish-American, I am honored to represent the United States as I return to a dynamic and growing country that is America's gateway to Europe.

America's friendship with the people of Europe is nowhere closer than with the people of Ireland. The respect and affection that the people of America have for your country are deep and sincere, founded upon the most durable bonds of family and common values.

I can personally say that we "Sons of Ireland in America" are proud of our Irish heritage of individualism and of our tenacious love of freedom.

Our two countries share many deeply held values, not the least of which are justice and peace. We have a common heritage of government by popular consent and of respect for the rule of law. Irishmen and Americans share other values too: importance of the family, deep religious beliefs, respect for individual rights and an abiding commitment to political, social and economic opportunity.

We have learned over the centuries since the first large party of Irish immigrants arrived in America in 1621, that peace, prosperity and freedom are the keys to the future, not only for ourselves, but also for our children. Ireland can be proud of its contribution to international peacekeeping and of its role in reducing international tensions.

Speaking for my country, I can say that Americans believe that the tide of history is a freedom tide, and that the values of freedom, democracy and independence that we have developed over the centuries will endure beyond the lives of all of us here today.

The history of friendship between the Irish and American peoples is a long one. I hope that my visit to Ireland will serve to honor and to strengthen that long tradition of friendship.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release March 16, 1984

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD OF IRELAND
IN AN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

The State Dining Room

1:27 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: There'll be a question about me being Irish since I came up here without this -- (laughter) -- the day before St. Patrick's Day.

I know we all enjoyed Mr. Dowling, and I wish he hadn't had to shorten the program.

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. FitzGerald and ladies and gentlemen. I want to say how delighted that Nancy and I are to have you and Mrs. FitzGerald here today. I know you've been to America a good deal and you're acquainted with us. But we're very proud that you could be our guest on your first visit here as Prime Minister.

And we're especially happy to have you visiting at such an appropriate moment. Tomorrow is a great day in America, a day of bagpipes and shamrocks and a day when everyone is Irish or, as the saying has it, wishes they were. (Laughter.)

In the United States, especially, the impact of the Emerald Isle on our culture and history is enormous. America is today, because of the Irish, a richer, brighter, freer, and, yes, a bit noisier country than it otherwise would have been. Virtually all Americans feel a surge of pride when they hear expressions like the "Fighting 69th," or the "Fighting Irish of Notre Dame."

I have to pause for a second. I've already told this to some of you, but I have to tell the rest because I know that Father Hesburgh is here in the room someplace from Notre Dame. Back in the days of the great Knute Rockne when Notre Dame was the giant of the football world, it was between halves one day at a game when the officials came into the locker room and said to Rockne that the other team was complaining that the Notre Dame players in the pile-ups were biting them. (Laughter.) And he said, "We can't fine, of course. And, Rock, what do you think we should do?" And Rock says, "Tell them next year to play us on Friday." (Laughter.) (Applause.)

But so many of our great public figures are of Irish ancestry -- from the man considered by many as the father of the American Navy, John Barry, to our first heavyweight champion, John L. Sullivan, to the great tenor, John McCormack, to a couple of Presidents of the United States, and, yes, even to the current Speaker of the House. (Laughter.) (Applause.)

In fact, the secret wish disclosed the other day by my friend, Tip O'Neill, is an indication of the hold that Ireland has on all of us here in the States. This is a nation where the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives aspires to someday be Ambassador to Ireland. (Laughter.) Tip, what about day after tomorrow? (Laughter.)

Mr. Prime Minister, I was explaining to Tip only a few moments ago, though, seriously, why I thought that appointment was impossible, and perhaps, knowing your countrymen as you do, you'll agree with me. Tip, the Irish aren't looking for Speakers, they're looking for listeners. (Laughter.)

Well, Mr. Prime Minister, the joshing we do here is in the best Irish tradition. It makes light of what are sometimes serious political differences. But I think there's one point on which the Speaker, Senator Kennedy, myself, and the other Irish-American leaders here are united -- our admiration for the efforts that you're making to bring peace and stability to Ireland. (Applause.)

We support your personal mission in America to end the tragically misguided support of some here for terrorist elements in Northern Ireland. (Applause.)

Now, you know, Mr. Prime Minister, I've been told by one of your countrymen that the Reagan family line goes back as far as the great 11th century warrior king, Brian Boru. If it's true, I'm exceedingly proud. But, sometimes, like you, I wonder what our brave ancestors -- those who fought so gallantly over so many centuries against such hopeless odds -- what they would say about the valor of people who commit acts of violence and prey on the innocent, sometimes maiming and killing innocent women and children.

Your words have been very direct on this point, Mr. Prime Minister. You have reminded those in this country who provide assistance to Northern Ireland's terrorists that they are assisting in violence and murder. Let me assure you that the vast majority of Irish-Americans join you today in condemning support for those who preach hatred and practice violence in Ireland. (Applause.)

But there's another part of your mission to America, Mr. Prime Minister, which is perhaps more fitting to today's festive atmosphere and more important over the long run. And that is the message of hope that you bring us. We're especially heartened by your own efforts, as well as your colleagues', in the New Ireland Forum and the British government as they seek a democratic and peaceful reconciliation of Ireland's diverse traditions. As we know, the high level dialogue between Ireland and Britain has been renewed, and the groups promoting reconciliation and economic cooperation -- groups like Cooperation Ireland -- are also bearing fruit. For our part, we shall continue to encourage American firms to invest in Ireland, North and South, in ways which promote prosperity and both traditions.

Some time ago a former American ambassador told me of a weekend retreat, where politicians from the various Irish traditions met together for a frank discussion of the differences that separated them. And it was a good weekend. Those who'd never talked of such matters before were able to speak and listen to each other in a spirit of understanding. And on the bus back home, they laughed and sang songs. The spirit of friendship bloomed. And when they got off the bus, the spirit somehow seemed to evaporate. And after hearing this story, I told our ambassador to take them a message, and I think it bears repeating.

Mr. Prime Minister, I express your sentiments, sir, and those of our own people, and of the people of both parts of Ireland, when we say to all those who struggle with the problem of peace in Ireland: "Please get back on the bus." (Laughter.)

From my discussion with you this morning, Mr. Prime Minister, I know how deeply you're committed to this effort. I assure you the hopes and prayers of the American people go with you. Peace and good cheer have never left Irish hearts. And, so, we look to days of peace and harmony to come, when every day we may say what is said on St. Patrick's Day: "O Ireland, isn't it grand you look --/ like a bride in her rich adornin'?/ and with all the pent-up love of my heart/ I bid you top of the mornin'." (Applause.)

But, now, may I ask all of you here to join me in a toast to our friends, Prime Minister and Mrs. FitzGerald, and to the warmest and best friendships, Ireland and the United States.

(The toast is offered.) (Applause.)

PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD: Thank you, Mr. President, for those warm, encouraging and heartening words which I think will bring comfort and, as you said, cheer to all our people in Ireland.

Joan and I and all of us from Ireland are very grateful to you and Mrs. Reagan for your warm welcome. Your splendid hospitality in this beautiful and historic setting, provided by an Irish architect, James Hoban.

There's always a special friendliness about the American welcome that makes the visitor, and especially the Irish visitor, feel very much at home. We like to think that this is an aspect of the American character that derives from the Irish part of your heritage. (Laughter.) No other country has a warmer place in Irish hearts than the United States, nor is any people prouder than we are

of the contribution our forebearers have made to the development of this great nation, and has been made, indeed, by the 43.7 million of them who are still working hard at it. (Laughter.)

It's sometimes forgotten that the Irish ethnic tradition in American society, historically has had two strands. The better known today is the predominantly Roman Catholic tradition of the immigration that swelled to huge proportions after the great famine of the 1840's. A strong tradition, indeed, it was, and still is. The deep and positive influence in American society.

But it was not the only, nor the earliest, tradition which the Irish brought to these shores. Most of the early Irish immigrants were Protestants, very many of them from what is now Northern Ireland. Such were eight of the nine men of Irish birth or descent who signed the Declaration of Independence. And such were the great majority -- and here I beg leave, sir, in your own house to correct you -- the great majority of the dozen American Presidents -- I think you said "a couple," -- (Laughter.) -- of established Irish origin. I know that the rest of them just never got around to tracing their roots properly. (Laughter.)

In America, Irishmen of these two great traditions of Ireland have worked together to shape this wonderful country. We in Ireland hail them all with equal pride. But in one part of Ireland these two traditions have not yet come to terms with each other. Within Northern Ireland the two Irish traditions are sharpened into separate identities which have confronted one another in mutual, and sometimes violent, antagonism.

With this tragic situation, we in the south, cannot remain unconcerned. For these people, Catholic and Protestant, Nationalist and Unionist alike, are our own people. Their troubles are ours. And in the solution of their problems we have a crucial role to play, one that must be undertaken in the spirit of openmindedness and generosity. To reconcile the conflicting identities of the two traditions in Ireland and to suggest new political structures that could accommodate both of them are the main tasks to which we, in the four political parties of Irish Constitutional Nationalism, North and South, representing 70 percent of the people of Ireland, have dedicated ourselves through the unique deliberations of the new Ireland forum.

In undertaking this task, Mr. President, let me say how much we in Ireland value the encouragement which in your own words today you, yourself have given to this cause of Irish reconciliation. Together with the support of other great Irish-American political leaders, some of them with us today here -- Speaker O'Neill, Senator Kennedy, Senator Moynihan, so many others -- who have given us comfort and heart and courage to continue with our work.

It was the great Abraham Lincoln who wrote, "Among free men, there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet." He answered, A century and more ago, the claim by certain violent men in our Ireland to take power with a ballot box in one hand, and an armalite rifle in the other.

When the Irish people come together, it will be in one way only; in peace by agreement under structures devised for the security of all the island's people and for the advancement of all their interests. And we know, and you've made it explicit today, Mr. President, that in our efforts to promote that process, we have your support and encouragement.

May I turn to your forthcoming visit with your wife to Ireland. Already, this visit is the subject of conversation and excitement throughout the length and breadth of the land. We know how much you cherish your Irish heritage and how much you are looking forward in that tiny village in County Tipperary which, as I said to you, fortunately has a wide main street to accommodate all the people who'll be there when you come -- (laughter) -- from which your great grandfather stepped out bravely one day to face the world, as my own grandfather did also, to the same place, London, a decade later from a place not seven miles away from Ballyporeen.

My father returned to Ireland half a century later to take part with my mother in the movement for Irish freedom. It's because they came back seventy years ago that I shall be there with Joan to welcome you and your wife on the 2nd of June next when you return for this visit to the land of your ancesters -- the first of several -- the last -- not the last -- one of a number of such visits. (laughter.) There have been others before and there will, I hope, sir, be others in the future also. Believe me, you'll receive a warm Irish welcome on that day and the succeeding days that you spend with us.

A cead mile failte -- as we say in Ireland -- a hundred thousand welcomes.

Mr. President, I've already presented you with some shamrock. We had a little difficulty -- I tried pinning it on, but partly because of my concern to make sure I didn't actually physically assault the President of the United States by sticking a pin in him -- (laughter) -- I totally failed. The President took over the job himself and did it very neatly and quickly. (Laughter.) But if I might formally present you with a bowl of our shamrocks so there will be some to go around to the whole family. (Laughter. Applause.) I've done --

THE PRESIDENT: I have something for you.

PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD: Something for me? Oh, good. (Laughter.) Do I put this on? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you don't have to -- there. (Laughter. Applause.)

PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD: How does it look? I take my hat off to you now. (Applause.)

Now, I've done precisely what the President did, only he remembered in time -- I left my glass behind. I wonder if you'd just let me have the glass for the toast. This is the absent-mindedness which gets me into trouble occasionally. (Laughter.)

Now I want us all to raise our glasses to that happy day on the 2nd of June next, to Irish-American friendship, and to the President and Mrs. Reagan.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

BACKGROUND BRIEFING
BY SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL
ON THE VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER FITZGERALD

March 16, 1984

The Briefing Room

2:04 P.M. EST

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: As you could tell, I think the first thing to note is that a visit by the Irish Prime Minister is not a normal event. I will get to the business of the meetings, but there was a good deal of good cheer, a good quota of good stories in the various meetings.

Q Who was the guy who was supposed to be the entertainment up there? (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't know.

Q God -- I want to applaud whoever had the foresight to shorten the program -- (laughter) -- for which the President apologized.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I don't have anything to do with that.

Q That came up in the elevator. (Laughter.)

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: But, no, I'd like to say a little bit about the meetings themselves because -- First of all, Garret FitzGerald is a very interesting and intelligent politician. He is a man with a great deal of experience. He has been a Foreign Minister for a number of years. He's been the leader, he's been the Prime Minister of Ireland, not just now but earlier on. So, he has a great deal of experience.

And he has views on a number of issues. He was very interested in listening to both the President and, earlier this morning, the Secretary of State talk about East-West relations. He was interested in the future of the U.S.-Soviet dialogue and is very supportive of U.S. efforts to improve relations with the Soviet Union and, I think, listened at length to the President talk about his hopes in this area.

FitzGerald is also interested in Central America and in a visit last spring that the Vice President paid to Dublin. There was a discussion then, and, again, the President and the Secretary of State were able to talk about Central America, both the concerns we have over the future of Nicaragua and concerns about

internal developments there, as well as our hopes for the election process in El Salvador. And, again, we think that the Irish, who have their own lines of communications, mainly in terms of their religious links through missionaries to the area, have some views. And, so, it was a good exchange, no disagreements or debates, but it was a good discussion.

As some of you know, the Irish will take over the Presidency of the European Community in July. And they are on the verge of making some important decisions on such questions as the Community budget, the future of the common agricultural policy, and they have important implications for trade ties between the United States and Europe, so there was a discussion of those subjects.

And, of course, the question of Northern Ireland came up. There, I think, for obvious reasons, the Prime Minister took the lead in explaining their views on that very controversial subject, a sensitive question. The President applauded efforts that the Irish Prime Minister had taken recently to improve lines of communication with London. The Anglo-Irish summit -- process of summits -- there was a meeting last November, and he described his discussions with Mrs. Thatcher. I think the plans are for another meeting to take place this spring. And we strongly endorse an Anglo-Irish dialogue over the question of Northern Ireland.

And the Prime Minister was also able to explain what was happening in the new Irish forum. And our response, as the President said in his toast, is that we are heartened by any efforts to improve communications, not only between London and Dublin but between the various communities and traditions in northern Island itself.

So I think those were the main issues. So I'd be happy to try to answer your questions.

Maybe let me add just one thing and that is that while the Irish economy is mainly agricultural based, the Irish have made real progress in recent years in attracting American investment to Ireland, particularly in the high technology area and the President was able to say that we would do what we could to encourage that development.

Q Any talk about further U.S. efforts to stop the in -- flow of arms from the -- into Ireland from the U.S.?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, yes, there is complete agreement between the United States and the government of Ireland on the need to undertake efforts to stop that flow of arms and we are prepared to cooperate in every way we can to see that that happens.

Q Is there any new -- a stepped-up effort or any new discussions of -- you know, working groups --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Well, we think we have the policy and the programs in place. It just requires consistent follow-up.

Q Is there any legislation that needs to be formulated to improve on that?

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: I'm not sure. But I don't think there is.

Q Everything's in place --

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL: Right. We believe it is. And -- something we're very dedicated to doing. It requires the cooperation of the courts, of course, and it requires the cooperation of private American citizens. But I think you heard in both the remarks of the President and the Irish Prime Minister there are very strong feelings that people who, for misguided reasons, think by giving aid to terrorist groups that somehow they're serving the interests of Ireland are dead wrong.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

BACKGROUND

IDA Ireland
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

Established by the Government of Ireland to promote industrial development
200 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017 Telephone (212) 972-1000 Telex 126673

CONTACT: David O'Sullivan
IDA-Ireland (New York)
(212) 972-1668

SUMMARY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Republic of Ireland

-- In recent years Ireland has been transformed from a predominantly agricultural economy into one of the fastest growing, most stable industrial nations in Western Europe. The primary factor behind this rapid pace of change has been new overseas industrial investment, largely from the United States.

-- American corporations represent more than half of all overseas industrial investment in Ireland. Names among the more than 350 U.S. companies whose facilities dot the Emerald Isle's countryside include: Ford, General Electric, Westinghouse, Emerson Electric, Atari, Hallmark Cards, Apple Computer, Merck & Company, Wang Laboratories and many more.

-- More than $4-billion has been invested in Ireland by American companies, 90 percent of which has been committed since 1970.

-- Ireland continues to have one of the highest reinvestment rates of any economy in the world. In the period 1977-1980, Ireland's total investment ratio has been over 28 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) compared with 18 percent in the United States over the same period. In 1981 it rose even further -- to 30 percent of GDP. This high reinvestment rate reflects Ireland's commitment to sustaining an environment favorable to future rapid economic growth.

-- The average annual increase in U.S. industrial investment in Ireland over the past four years has been 41 percent -- three times the average increase in the European Economic Community as a whole. Over the past two years almost one new American plant per week has opened in Ireland. Indeed, one in every two U.S. corporations investing in green-field facilities in Europe is selecting Ireland.

-- More than 130 of the leading and most dynamic electronic companies in the world are manufacturing products in Ireland. The Emerald Isle is now the second largest supplier of complete computer hardware systems to Great Britain, ahead of West Germany and France.

-- Ireland is now the 12th largest exporter of pharmaceutical products in the world. Exports in this sector have grown from $24 million in 1970 to over $750 million in 1980.

-- Since 1960 Ireland's Gross National Product has grown at an average annual rate of over 4 percent. The export of manufactured goods from Ireland in 1981 was three times the recorded volume of 1971. In 1981, despite almost no growth in the volume of world trade, Ireland expanded manufactured exports by 11 percent in real terms over the previous year.

-- Seventy-four percent of the profits that American companies earned from 1974 through 1980 have been reinvested in Ireland -- one of the highest reinvestment rates in the world.

-- The Industrial Development Authority (IDA) of Ireland is an autonomous state agency whose mission is to provide industrial incentives to companies to locate factories in Ireland. The IDA offers a maximum 10 percent profits tax rate for manufacturers, guaranteed to last until the year 2000; capital grants of up to 50 percent of the cost of fixed assets in an investment project; the full cost of training new workers; a program of loan guarantees, interest subsidies and lease-based financing, and duty-free access to the European Common Market.

-- Ireland's export earnings per capita are considerable -- equivalent in 1980 to $8,587 per employed worker compared with $3,521 for the United States and $6,124 for the United Kingdom.

-- Ireland has the youngest population structure in Western Europe. Over half the population in Ireland today is under 25 years of age and over a third is under 18 years of age. Ireland's aggressive development policies introduced in the 1960's have halted emigration and led to net immigration for the first time in a century and a half.

NORTHERN IRELAND

The Northern Ireland problem has centered on the question of whether Catholic nationalists should continue to remain a minority (40 percent) in Northern Ireland or the Protestant unionists, by coercion or consent, should become a minority in a federal or united Ireland. To many observers, resolution of the problem seems as distant as at any time in the last decade. However, both the Irish and British Governments, and the principal political parties in the Republic, generally agree that any change in the status of Northern Ireland should come about within a democratic context, and with the support of a majority of the people in the North.

In 1972, Britain suspended majority (Protestant) self-rule in the North, and now governs the Province through a Northern Ireland Secretary. Successive British governments have developed proposals for a return to self-rule combined with power-sharing between the two communities, which could open up potential avenues toward Irish unity. All such efforts have failed. In 1982, a Northern Ireland Assembly was elected, but is boycotted by nationalists, who complain that the British plan failed to provide guarantees for power-sharing or any "all-Ireland dimension." Some Protestant Unionists also are refusing to participate in the Assembly, complaining that London has not taken a serious stand against IRA terrorism.

Despite the traumatic events of recent years, little fundamental in Northern Ireland has changed, though the level of violence continues to decline. The major internal forces remain locked in political combat, with little movement toward consensus. Within the nationalist community, there has been some shift of electoral support away from the democratic, constitutional nationalists (SDLP) toward the nationalism of Provisional Sinn Fein (PSF), the political wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

The Irish Government is deeply concerned by trends in the North, especially by the political rise of Provisional Sinn Fein; by the continued deadlock on constitutional issues; and by the stagnation of the Northern Ireland economy (unemployment approaching 25 percent).

US policy encourages the two communities in Northern Ireland, their elected leaders, and the governments of the Irish Republic and of the United Kingdom to work toward a peaceful resolution of the conflict. In successive St. Patrick's Day statements, President Reagan has also encouraged US firms to consider further job-creating investment in both parts of Ireland and pledged that the US will continue efforts to end any American link with the violence in Northern Ireland.

NEW IRELAND FORUM

In May 1983, Prime Minister FitzGerald convened in Dublin a "New Ireland Forum," a congress of democratic nationalist political parties from both parts of Ireland to study problems and prospects for achieving Irish unity. In the Forum process, FitzGerald aimed to create a consensus among nationalist parties as to how the goal of Irish unity should be approached by his government.

The Forum held both public and private sessions, with the announced objective of consulting on "the manner in which lasting peace and stability could be achieved in a new Ireland through the democratic process and to report on possible new structures and processes through which this objective might be achieved." Since most Protestant unionists inferred that the "new structures" and "new relationships" implied movement toward Irish unity, their political parties declined to participate.

The Forum report issued May 2, 1984, was described by Prime Minister FitzGerald as "an agenda for possible action," rather than a "blueprint for the island." The Forum report indicated that a unitary state "freely negotiated and agreed to" by the people of Northern Ireland, as well as of the Republic, is the preferred model for a new Ireland. The report gave recognition to the Unionist identity of Northern Protestants and expressed unqualified opposition to violence.

The Irish Government has called upon the British Government to consider the report in a positive spirit and respond to it in due course. The British have welcomed what they say are positive elements in the report, criticized other sections, but indicated that their response to it will await careful study.

The US has applauded the hard work and effort which went into the preparation of the Forum report. We have 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.


UNITED KINGDOM
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0 50 100 150 Kilometers
International boundary
National capital
Road
International Airport
Shetland Islands
Orkney Islands
Hebrides
Inverness
Aberdeen
SCOTLAND
Perth
Forth
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Clyde
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
North Channel
Londonderry
Belfast
N. IRELAND
Newcastle
Isle of Man
Sligo
IRISH SEA
Aire
Leeds
Liverpool
Manchester
Holyhead
DUBLIN
Galway
IRELAND
Trent
Norwich
Birmingham
Severn
Limerick
Shannon
St. George's Channel
WALES
ENGLAND
LONDON
Killarney
Cork
Swansea
Cardiff
Bristol
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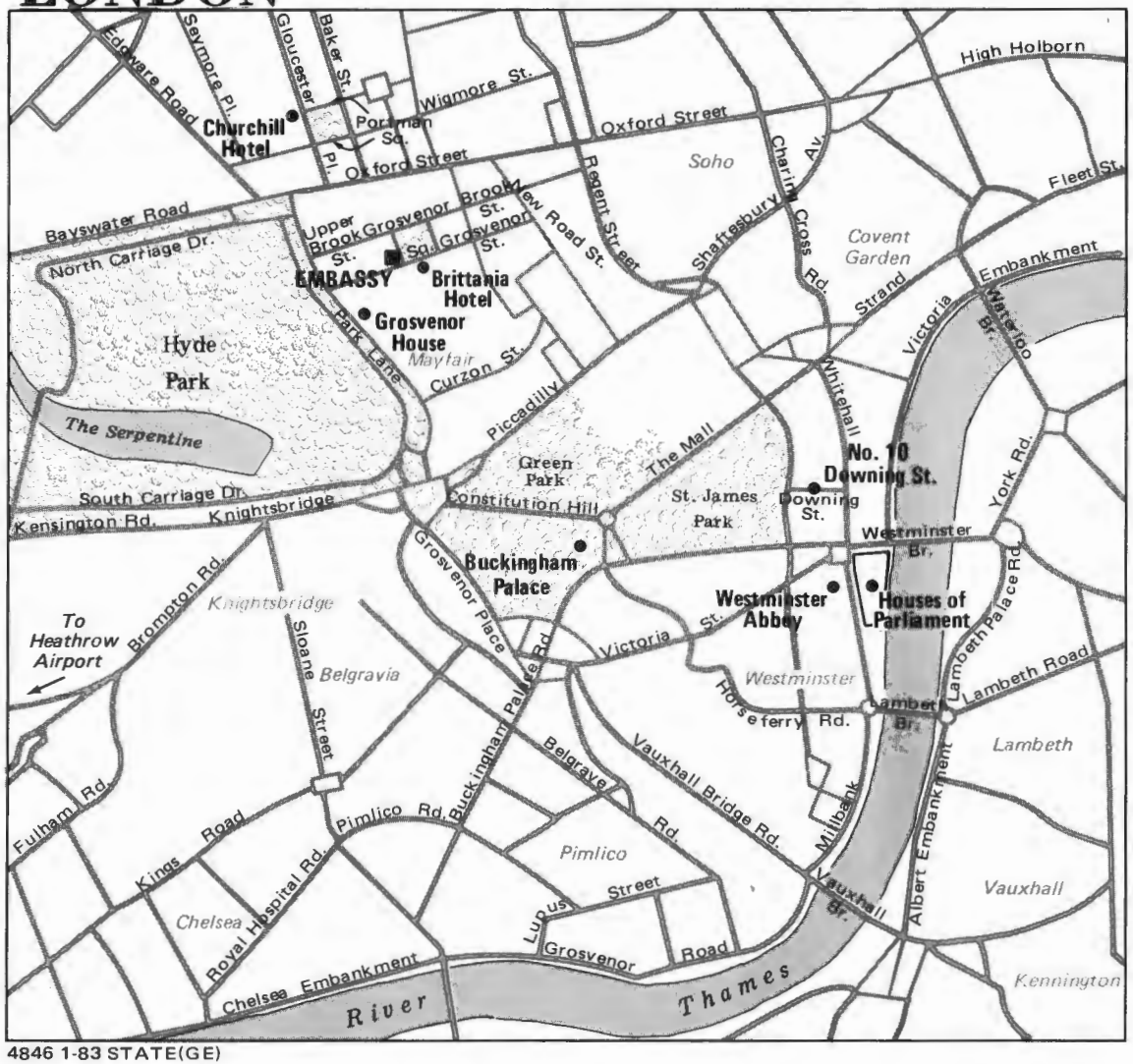
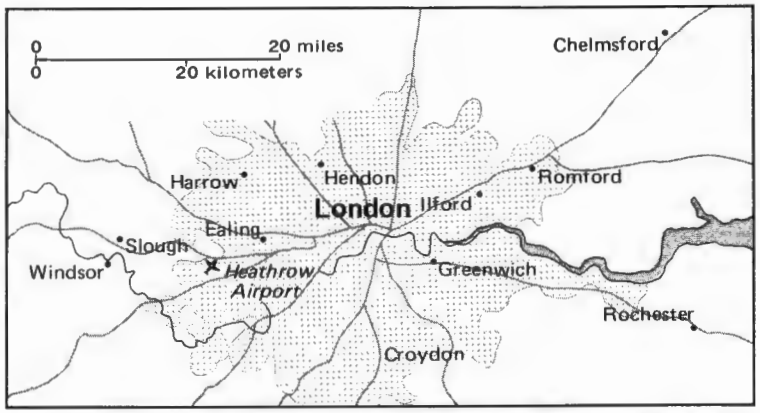
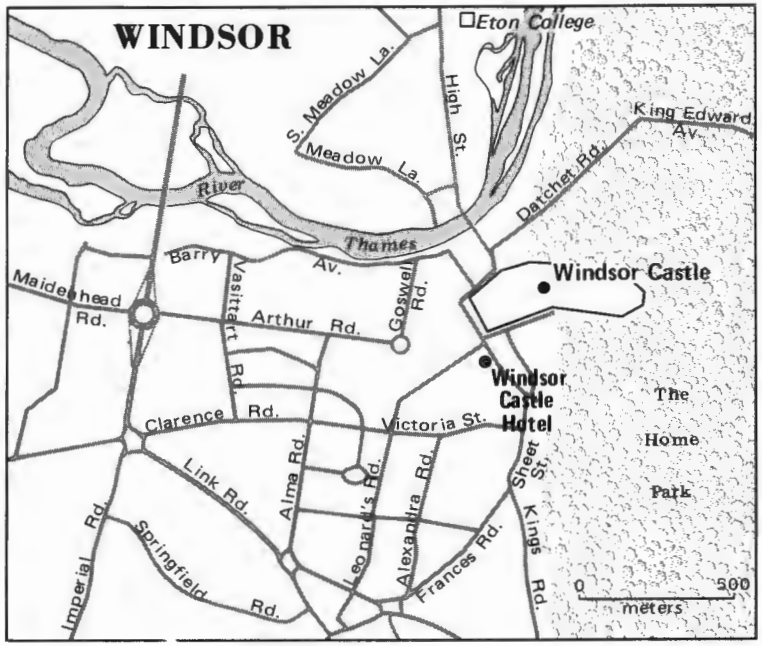
LONDON







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UNITED KINGDOM POUND CONVERSION TABLE AT £ = $1.46

(£ = 100 pence)

POUND TO U.S. DOLLARS		U.S DOLLARS TO POUND	
£	U.S.$	U.S.$	£
0.10	0.15	.10	0.07
0.25	0.36	.25	0.17
0.50	0.73	.50	0.34
0.68	1.00	1.00	0.68
1.00	1.46	1.46	1.00
5.00	7.30	5.00	3.42
10.00	14.60	10.00	6.85
50.00	73.00	20.00	13.70
100.00	146.00	50.00	34.25
150.00	219.00	100.00	68.49
250.00	365.00	200.00	136.99
300.00	438.00	300.00	205.48
400.00	584.00	400.00	273.97
500.00	730.00	500.00	342.47

NOTE: ALL U.S. DOLLAR VALUES ARE ROUNDED TO NEAREST U.S. CENT. VALUE OF POUND FLUCTUATES DAILY ACCORDING TO CURRENCY MARKET CONDITIONS.

May 27, 1984

LONDON SITE INFORMATION

Winfield House - A Georgian-style home situated off the outer circle of Regent's Park, about one mile north of the Chancery. It has been the official residence of American ambassadors to the Court of St. James's since 1954. It was given to the U.S. Government for that purpose by the American heiress, Barbara Hutton.

The residence was built in 1937 for Miss Hutton and named in memory of her maternal grandfather, Frank Winfield Woolworth. Miss Hutton lived at Winfield House from 1937-39 with her husband, Count Haugwitz Von Reventlow, and their son, Lance.

The first U.S. envoy to occupy the residence was Winthrop W. Aldrich, who served in London from 1953-57. Ambassador Aldrich played a major role in planning its restoration and adaptation.

The residence has three storeys and 35 rooms and is reminiscent of an English country home, few of which remain in metropolitan London. It stands on 12 acres leased from the crown in one of London's historic and most attractive parks. Regent's Park itself is a crown holding and once served as Henry VIII's hunting forest.

The site of Winfield House has its own history. A villa was built there in 1825 for the Marquis of Hertford. Known as St. Dunstan's, it was designed by the noted architect, Decimus Burton. The American banker, Otto Kahn, acquired the property in 1912. On the outbreak of World War I, he donated it to the British Government. It was used by a charity for the rehabilitation of servicemen blinded in the war, until 1927. St. Dunstan's was little used thereafter, and suffered extensively from a fire in 1936. Shortly thereafter, Miss Hutton acquired the crown lease; and construction of Winfield House began.

Important restoration work was carried out by Ambassador and Mrs. Walter Annenberg in 1969. They completely restored and modernized the residence, creating the elegant reception rooms downstairs.

Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Price have occupied Winfield House since November, 1983.

The Orangery, Kensington Palace Gardens - When the summit leaders arrive in the United Kingdom, they will be transferred directly from the airport to Kensington Palace Gardens in West London. There the Prime Minister will greet them in the Orangery.

In 1689, when William III and Mary II were searching for a country retreat, Kensington was still a small village. They bought a house there, and asked Christopher Wren, architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, to rebuild and enlarge the property. This done, the house was renamed Kensington Palace. Their successor to the throne, Queen Anne, decided to build an Orangery in the palace grounds. The architect was probably Sir John Vanburgh, although it has also been ascribed to Nicholas Hawksmoor. Its red brick was designed to highlight the color of the exotic orange grove within, a luxurious symbol of warmer climates. Unfortunately, the British weather proved too much for the fruit; instead, Queen Anne used the Orangery for taking tea and for her glittering summer supper parties.

With the generous aid of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, the Orangery has recently been restored to something of its former glory.

St. James's Palace - St. James's Palace, which adjoins St. James's Park, stands at the bottom of St. James's Street, and is separated from Marlborough House (built by Sir Christopher Wren for the first Duke and Duchess of Marlborough) by the road from the mall to Pall Mall. The palace was begun by King Henry VIII in 1532 on the site of a hospital for leper women, founded at about the time of the Norman Conquest. It was named after the patron saint of the hospital: St. James the Less, Bishop of Jerusalem.

St. James's Palace was the official London residence of the monarch between 1698 (when Whitehall Palace was destroyed by fire) and 1837, when Queen Victoria made Buckingham Palace the center of court activities. Before 1698, it was mainly given over to lesser members of the royal family and their adherents. Mary Tudor, however, lived there in preference to Whitehall Palace, and St. James's was the birthplace of Charles II, James II, Mary II and Queen Anne.

Among the many historic events that took place at the palace was the reception by Queen Anne of the English and Scottish commissioners on completion of the negotiations for the Treaty of the Union of England and Scotland, which came into force in 1707.

Representatives of foreign powers are still accredited to the Court of St. James's, since the palace has continued as the official London residence of the court and contains the offices and residences of the Lord Chamberlain and other court officials. The traditional ceremony of proclamation of a new sovereign takes place here. However, court functions are now seldom held at St. James's.

Guildhall - Guildhall is the administratve center of the city of London, which extends over an area of one square mile in the heart of London. The city is administered by the corporation of the city of London, a local government authority whose origins go back beyond legal memory. The main administrative and executive body within the corporation is the Court of Common Council, which consists of the Lord Mayor, 24 other aldermen (who have a court of their own) and 130 common councilmen; the court of aldermen is the only surviving example in England of a municipal second chamber. The present Guildhall, the home of the city corporation, dates from the fifteenth century. The great fire of London (1666) did much damage but the building was immediately restored. Incendiary bombs during World War II severely damaged the Great Hall in 1940 but it was restored and the roof reconstructed in 1954.

Beneath Guildhall is the largest medieval crypt in London. It is divided into two parts, of which one, the West Crypt, is believed to be pre-fifteenth century. Historic events have taken place in the Great Hall and today it is the scene of many ceremonies, including the Lord Mayor's banquet. It is in Guildhall that heads of state are welcomed and entertained, and where the city, representing the whole nation, accords its thanks to political leaders, philanthropists and distinguished public servants who have rendered outstanding services to their country.

Buckingham Palace - Buckingham Palace has been the London residence of British monarchs since Queen Victoria was crowned in 1937. Its 600 rooms and adjoining gardens occupy some 45 acres in the heart of London.

The palace occupies the site of Buckingham House, built by the Duke of Buckingham. King George III bought the house in 1762 as a town dwelling for Queen Charlotte. The construction of the present palace, started in 1821, was carried out to the design of the architect John Nash, commissioned by King George IV.

The colorful ceremony of changing the guard takes place most days at 11:30 a.m. When the Queen is in residence, the royal standard, her personal flag, flies at the palace masthead.

Lancaster House - Lancaster House, which is situated adjacent to St. James's Palace overlooking the mall, is a notable example of a great London mansion of the period spanning the end of the Georgian era and the beginning of that of Queen Victoria. It was begun in 1825 for the 'grand old' Duke of York, second son of King George III. On his death two years later, the lease of the house was sold to the Marquess of Stafford (who later became the Duke of Sutherland), and the house, finally completed in the 1840's, became known as Stafford house. Throughout the nineteenth century, it was the scene of many glittering social and political gatherings. In 1912, the remainder of the lease was bought by Sir William Lever (later the first Viscount Leverhulme), who renamed the building after the royal Duchy of Lancaster, his native country. Lord Leverhulme presented the lease of the property to the nation for the joint purposes of providing a new home for the London Museum (which remained at Lancaster House from 1914 to 1946) and a center for government hospitality.

The main design of the house and most of the decoration, which is a particularly fine example of the nineteenth-century revival of French eighteenth-century styles, were the work of Benjamin Dean Wyatt. Between 1838 and 1843, Sir Charles Barry (the architect of the Houses of Parliament) was employed to decorate the great staircase hall, which is the most splendid of its kind and date in England.

Lancaster house is the scene of many official entertainments and international conferences. These have included a number of conferences marking important stages in the constitutional development of commonwealth countries.

Number Ten Downing Street - Number Ten Downing Street has been the official residence and office of the British Prime Minister since 1732 when the house was accepted from King George II by Sir Robert Walpole in his official capacity as first Lord of the Treasury. The house is one of three in Downing Street that remain of a street of private houses built by Sir George Downing who obtained the lease on the site, partly through royal favor, in 1680. (Sir George was a nephew of the first governor of Massachusetts, one of the first graduates of Harvard University, and the holder of high office under both Cromwell and King Charles II.) His other two surviving houses are at 11 Downing Street, the official residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and at 12 Downing Street, the ground floor and basement of which are used as offices for the government Whips.

When Walpole left in 1742, the extent and character of the house was much as it is today. Most British Prime Ministers since Walpole have used 'Number Ten' as their private as well as their official residence.

background notes

United Kingdom

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

January 1984

Official Name: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

PROFILE

People

Noun: Briton(s). **Adjective**: British. **Population** (1980 est.): 55.9 million; 1986 projection, 56.4 million. **Annual growth rate**: Negligible. **Ethnic groups**: British, West Indian, Indian, Pakistani. **Religions**: Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian. **Languages**: English, Welsh, Gaelic. **Education**: *Years compulsory*—12. *Attendance*—nearly 100%. *Literacy*—99%. **Health**: *Infant mortality rate*—13.3/1,000. *Life expectancy*—males 70 yrs., females 76 yrs. **Work force** (about 26.3 million in Dec. 1982): *Agriculture*—1.6%. *Manufacturing and engineering*—30.4%. *Construction*—5.6%. *Mining and energy*—3.1%. *Services*—59.3%.

Geography

Area: 244,046 sq. km. (94,226 sq. mi.); slightly smaller than Oregon. **Cities**: *Capital*—London (metropolitan pop. about 6.7 million in mid-1981). *Other cities*—Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool, Bradford, Manchester, Edinburgh, Bristol, Belfast. **Terrain**: 30% arable, 50% meadow and pasture, 12% waste or urban, 7% forested, 1% inland water. **Climate**: Generally mild and temperate; weather is subject to frequent changes but to few extremes of temperature.

Government

Type: Constitutional monarchy. **Constitution**: Unwritten; partly statutes, partly common law and practice.

Branches: *Executive*—monarch (chief of state), prime minister (head of government), cabinet. *Legislative*—bicameral Parliament: House of Commons, House of Lords. *Judicial*—magistrates' courts, county courts, high courts, appellate courts, House of Lords.

Subdivisions: Municipalities, counties, parliamentary constituencies, province of Northern Ireland, and Scottish regions.

Political parties: Conservative, Labour, Liberal, Social Democratic, and small Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Irish parties. **Suffrage**: British subjects and citizens of the Irish Republic resident in the UK, 18 yrs. or older.

Central government expenditures (1982): $182 billion.

Defense (1982): 6.2% of GDP.

Flag: The red, white, and blue Union Jack combines crosses of the patron saints of England (St. George), Scotland (St. Andrew), and Ireland (St. Patrick).

Economy

GDP (1982): $353 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1982): 1%. **Per capita GDP** (1982): $6,309. **Avg. inflation rate** (1982): 8.6%.

Natural resources: Coal, oil, gas (North Sea).

Agriculture (2.2% of GDP): Cereals, livestock, livestock products, fish.

Manufacturing (24.8% of GDP): Steel, heavy engineering and metal manufacturing, textiles, motor vehicles and aircraft, construction, electronics, chemicals.

Trade (1982): *Exports*—$86 billion: machinery and transport equipment, petroleum, manufactures, chemicals. *Major markets*—EC, US, Sweden, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Switzerland, South Africa. *Imports*—$88.3 billion: machinery and transport equipment, manufactures, foodstuffs, petroleum, chemicals. *Major suppliers*—EC, US, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland.

Exchange rate (June 1983): 1 UK pound = US$1.55.

Fiscal year: April 1–March 31.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and its specialized agencies, NATO, European Community (EC), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), INTELSAT.

PEOPLE

The population of the United Kingdom was estimated at 55.9 million in 1980, about 3.4 million more than in 1961 and a sevenfold increase since 1700. Its population is the fourth largest in Europe (after the U.S.S.R., the Federal Republic of Germany, and Italy), and its population density is one of the highest in the world. Almost one-third of the population lives in England's prosperous and fertile southeast, with population declining in the more rugged areas to the north and west. The population of the United Kingdom is predominantly urban and suburban.

The contemporary Briton is descended mainly from the varied ethnic stocks that settled there before the end of the 11th century. A group of islands close to the European Continent, the United Kingdom has been subject to many invasions and migrations, especially from Scandinavia and the Continent, including Roman occupation for several centuries.

Under the Normans—Scandinavian Vikings who had settled in northern France—the pre-Celtic, Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Norse influences were blended into the Briton of today. Although the Celtic languages persist to a small degree in Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, the predominant language has long been English, a blend of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French.

The high literacy rate in the United Kingdom (99%) is attributable to the introduction of public primary education in 1870 and secondary in 1900. In 1981, nearly 11 million students attended educational institutions, most of which are publicly financed in whole or in part. Education is mandatory from ages 5 through 16.

The Church of England (Episcopal), with 27 million baptized members, is the largest church.

GEOGRAPHY

The United Kingdom lies off the northwest coast of the European Continent, separated from it by the English Channel, the Strait of Dover, and the North Sea. At the closest point, England is 35 kilometers (22 mi.) from France. Its capital and largest city is London, with a metropolitan population in 1981 of about 6.7 million.

Scotland is north of England. Its lowlands, about 97 kilometers (60 mi.) wide, divide the farming region of the southern uplands from the granite highlands of the north. Edinburgh (pop. 419,000) is Scotland's capital. Glasgow (762,000), one of the United Kingdom's great industrial centers, is Scotland's largest city.

Wales borders England to the west and is almost entirely hilly and mountainous. Its largest city is Cardiff (274,000).

Northern Ireland occupies the northeast corner of Ireland across the North Channel from Scotland. Its capital and largest city, Belfast, has an estimated population of 346,000.

Because of prevailing southwesterly winds, the climate of the United Kingdom is temperate and equable. Temperatures range from a mean of about 5°C (40°F) in winter to about 16°C (60°F) in summer. Average annual rainfall is 80–102 centimeters (35–40 in.), distributed relatively evenly throughout the year.

HISTORY

The Roman invasion in 55 B.C. and the subsequent incorporation into the Roman Empire stimulated development and brought Britain into a more active relationship with the rest of Europe. After the Romans' departure, the coun-

try was vulnerable to other invasions periodically until the Norman conquest in 1066. Norman rule effectively ensured Britain's safety from further invasion and stimulated the development of institutions, both new and indigenous, that have since distinguished British life. Among these institutions are a political, administrative, cultural, and economic center—London; the development of a separate but established church; a system of common law; distinctive and distinguished university education; and representative government.

Union

In its earliest history, Wales was an independent kingdom that thwarted invasion attempts from England for centuries. The English conquest succeeded in 1282 under Edward I, and the Statute of Rhuddlan established English rule 2 years later. To appease the Welsh, Edward's son (later Edward II), who had been born in Wales, was made Prince of Wales in 1301. The tradition of bestowing this title on the eldest son of the British monarch continues today. An act of 1536 completed the political and administrative union of England and Wales.

Scotland was also an independent kingdom that resisted English invasion attempts. England and Scotland united under one crown in 1603, when James VI of Scotland succeeded his cousin Elizabeth I as James I of England. In the ensuing 100 years, strong religious and political differences divided the kingdoms. Finally, in 1707, England and Scotland agreed to unite under the name of Great Britain. At this time, the Union Jack became the national flag.

The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1170 began centuries of strife. Successive English monarchs sought to impose their will on the Irish, whose cause was finally defeated in the early 17th century, when large-scale settlement of the north, from Scotland and England, also began. After this defeat, Ireland was subjected, with varying degrees of success, to control and regulation by Britain. The legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland was completed on January 1, 1801, under the name of the United Kingdom. However, armed struggle for political independence continued sporadically into the 20th century. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 established the Irish Free State, which left the Commonwealth and became a republic only after World War II. The six northern and predominantly Protestant Irish counties have remained an integral part of the United Kingdom.

British Expansion

Begun initially to support William the Conqueror's (c. 1029–1087) holdings in France, Britain's policy of active involvement in European affairs endured for several hundred years. By the end of the 14th century, foreign trade, originally based on wool exports to Europe, had emerged as a cornerstone of national policy. The foundations of sea power—to protect British trade and open up new routes—were gradually laid. Defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 firmly established Britain as a major sea power. Thereafter, its interests outside Europe grew steadily.

Attracted by the spice trade, British mercantile interests spread first to the Far East. In search of an alternate route to the Spice Islands, John Cabot reached the North American Continent in 1498. Sir Walter Raleigh organized the first, short-lived British colony in Virginia in 1584, and permanent British settlement began in 1607. During the next two centuries, alternately in contest and concord with its European neighbors, Britain extended its influence abroad and consolidated its political development at home. The territorial foundation of the 20th-century British Empire, with the principal exceptions of parts of Africa and India, had already been laid by the time of the Boston Tea Party in 1773.

Great Britain's industrial revolution, which developed with impressive force at the time of the American colonies' independence, greatly strengthened its ability to oppose Napoleonic France. By the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, the United Kingdom was the foremost European power, and its navy ruled the seas. The peace in Europe allowed the British to focus their interests again on more remote parts of the world, sometimes at the expense of European rivals. During this period, the British Empire reached its zenith. British colonies, effectively managed, contributed to the United Kingdom's extraordinary economic growth and strengthened its voice in world affairs. Even as the United Kingdom became more imperial abroad, it continued to develop and broaden its democratic institutions at home.

20th Century

By the time of Queen Victoria's death in 1901, however, the tide had turned. Other nations, including the United States and Germany, had developed their own industries; the United Kingdom's comparative economic advantage had lessened and the ambitions of its rivals had grown. World War I drastically depleted British resources and consequently undermined the United Kingdom's ability to maintain the preeminent international position of the previous century. As its independent power base weakened, it began to build the close ties with the United States that characterize its present policy.

Britain's control over its empire loosened during the interwar period. Ireland, with the exception of six northern counties, broke away from the United Kingdom in 1921. Nationalism became stronger in other parts of the empire, particularly in India and Egypt. In 1926, the United Kingdom completed a process begun a century earlier and granted Australia, Canada, and New Zealand complete autonomy within the empire. As such, they became charter members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, an informal but closely knit association that succeeded the empire. Throughout the interwar period, moreover, the British economy continued to lose ground to competitors.

World War II sealed the fate of the British Empire. Unable to maintain control, the United Kingdom began the process of dismantling the empire in 1947. Most of the colonial units have now been granted independence.

GOVERNMENT

The unwritten British Constitution is based partly on statute, partly on common law, and partly on the "traditional rights of English people." Constitutional changes may come about formally through new acts of Parliament, informally through the acceptance of new practices and usage, or by judicial precedents. Although Parliament has the theoretical power to make or unmake any law, in actual practice the weight of 700 years of tradition restrains arbitrary actions.

Executive government rests nominally with the monarch but actually is exercised by a committee of ministers (cabinet) traditionally selected from among the members of the House of Commons and, to a lesser extent, the House of Lords. The prime minister is the leader of the majority party in the Commons, and the government is dependent on its support.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom represents the entire country

Big Ben and the Union Jack.

and can legislate for the whole or for any constituent part or combination of parts. The maximum parliamentary term is 5 years, but the prime minister may ask the monarch to dissolve it and call a general election at any time. The focus of legislative power is the 650-member House of Commons, which has sole jurisdiction over finance. The House of Lords, although shorn of most of its powers, can still review, amend, or delay temporarily any legislation except money bills. Only a few of the some 1,200 members attend regularly. The House of Lords has greater leisure than the House of Commons to pursue one of its more important functions, the debate of public issues.

The judiciary is independent of the legislative and executive branches of government but cannot review the constitutionality of legislation.

The separate identity of each of the kingdom's constituent parts is taken into account. Welsh affairs, for example, are administered at the national level by a cabinet minister (the secretary of state for Wales), with the advice of a broadly representative Council for Wales. Scotland continues, as before the union, to employ different systems of law (Roman-French), education, local government, judiciary, and national church (the established Presbyterian Church of Scotland). In addition, most domestic matters are handled by separate government departments grouped under the secretary of state for Scotland, who is also a cabinet member.

"Devolution," the transfer of power to local authority, has long been an issue in Scotland. The inconclusive results of a referendum on devolution held in March 1979—33% in favor, 31% against, 36% not voting—have reduced the issue's political significance. The Scottish National Party continues to call for Scottish independence, however.

When the Scottish devolution referendum was proposed, Welsh voters were given a similar proposition; they voted it down by almost four to one. A linguistically based Welsh national movement and a small Welsh political party are active.

Until March 1972, Northern Ireland had its own Parliament and prime minister, although the British Government retained ultimate responsibility. The Northern Ireland Parliament was suspended in March 1972, when, in response to deteriorating security and political conditions in the province, direct rule from London was established through a secretary of state for Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is represented by 17 members in the House of Commons.

Principal Government Officials

Head of State—Queen Elizabeth II
Prime Minister—Margaret Thatcher
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs—Sir Geoffrey Howe
Chancellor of the Exchequer—Nigel Lawson
Secretary of State for Defense—Michael Heseltine

Ambassador to the United States—Sir Oliver Wright
Ambassador to the United Nations—Sir John Thompson

The United Kingdom maintains an embassy in the United States at 3100 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20008 (tel. 202-462-1340). Consulates general are at Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Seattle, and consulates are at Dallas, San Juan, and St. Thomas.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The Conservative Party, under Margaret Thatcher's leadership, first came to power following general elections on May 3, 1979. Mrs. Thatcher's government was reelected on June 9, 1983, with a large working majority of 397 seats in the 650-member House of Commons. The Conservative Party program calls for a shift of resources from the public to the private sector, accompanied by fiscal and monetary restraint, and strongly supports Britain's role in the European Community (EC) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The Labour Party holds 209 seats in the House of Commons. Under the leadership of Neil Kinnock, the official leader of the opposition, the Labour Party has challenged the Conservative Party's policy directions and adopted policies favoring unilateral nuclear disarmament, withdrawal from the EC, further nationalization, and substantially increased public spending to combat unemployment.

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) was formed in March 1981, primarily by ex-Labour moderates in response to a leftward shift in Labour Party policies following the 1979 general elections. The SDP contested the 1983 election in alliance with the Liberal Party, which has been out of office, except in coalition with more powerful parties, for more than 50 years. The SDP/Liberal alliance, offering an alternative to the two larger parties, did not "break the mold" of British politics as they had hoped, but did make a strong showing, winning 25.2% of the popular vote, as compared to the Liberal total of 13.8% in 1979. However, due to the existence of single-member election districts, the alliance parties hold relatively few seats in Parliament (Liberals 17, SDP 6). The two parties, while retaining separate identities, intend to continue their electoral alliance and will push for the introduction of some form of proportional representation.

Of the remaining 21 seats contested in 1983, Northern Ireland accounts for 17, which in recent years have gone to

local rather than to national parties. The nationalist groups in Scotland and Wales account for 4. The Communist Party, numerically and politically insignificant except in certain sections of the trade union movement, holds no seats in Parliament.

ECONOMY

The United Kingdom is one of the world's foremost trading nations, ranking fifth in world trade; its exports of goods and services represent about 27% of the gross domestic product (GDP). It takes more than 7% of the world's exports of primary products and contributes slightly more than 9% to the major manufacturing countries' exports of manufactured goods. As an international financial center, London is unrivaled. In recent years, the domestic economy has had to cope with rapid increases in inflation and unemployment and a growing need to revitalize industries.

Britain is an important trading partner of the United States. In 1982, the value of British exports to the United States was $11.6 billion, and the value of British imports from the United States was $10.2 billion. The United Kingdom has received about 13% of total U.S. foreign direct investment and, next to Canada, is the largest single recipient of such investment. U.S. direct investment in the United Kingdom was valued at $28.6 billion in 1980.

The United Kingdom experienced a marked increase in economic growth in the 25 years following the end of World War II, although at a slower rate than most other industrial countries. However, since 1970 the economic growth rate has slowed. Local factors as well as the oil price shocks of 1973–74 and 1979 and the deep recession in 1980–81 contributed to the decline.

The 1980–81 recession in the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries hit Britain especially hard, resulting in a 3% drop in GDP in 1980. The recession reached its nadir in the spring of 1981, with modest recovery since. GDP rose 1.2% in real terms in 1982. Consumer spending has also recovered and was rising at a 3% annual rate in the first quarter of 1983. Inflation slowed to 6% at the end of 1982 and continued to decline in the first half of 1983. Industrial production rose slightly in 1982 but remains 9% below the 1979 level. Gross fixed investment increased 3.5% in 1982 but has not yet returned to mid-1970s levels. Unemployment continues to decline and is approaching 13%. The decline in sterling from $2.40 to $1.55 by June 1983 improved British competitiveness in world markets but has not fully closed the gap with Britain's European trading partners.

The Conservatives' goal is to reduce the role of government in the economy and moderate the growth of the money supply. The government has succeeded in reducing the budget deficit, but at a high cost to unemployment. Following the 1983 election, the government has

Travel Notes

Clothing: Fall and winter clothing is needed from about September through April; spring and summer clothing is useful the rest of the year.

Health: Good medical facilities are available. Living conditions are generally excellent, with no unusual health hazards.

Telecommunications: London and nearly all UK localities have an automatic dial-through telephone system. Cities in the US and Western Europe also may be reached by direct dialing. Internal and international services are efficient. London is five time zones ahead of eastern standard time.

Transportation: The UK is a crossroads for international air and shipping routes and is also accessible by highway and train from points throughout Europe. Rail, air, and bus transportation in the UK is excellent, and travel between all points is quick and easy. Rental cars are available. Traffic moves on the left.

Northern Ireland's Parliament building.

The Royal Albert Hall, one of the largest and most famous concert halls in the world.

continued its cautious monetary and fiscal policies introduced during Prime Minister Thatcher's first term of office, while turning increasing attention to structural obstacles that hamper Britain's economic performance.

As Britain has become a major net exporter of oil, it has run a substantial surplus in balance of payments, but the surplus dropped from $9.3 billion in 1981 to $6 billion in 1982 and is likely to shrink further in 1983 as net oil exports are unable to offset the decline in non-oil exports. Britain's dependence on imports will also contribute to a worsening trade balance, especially if the current economic recovery accelerates. Britain is not in OPEC but pegs its oil prices closely to those of OPEC.

Agriculture and Industry

Agriculture in the United Kingdom is intensive, highly mechanized, and efficient by European standards but produces only about 60% of Britain's food requirements because of climatic factors and a shortage of suitable land. Only 1.6% of the work force is engaged in farming. Livestock and dairy farming account for the greater part of production.

British industry is a mixture of publicly and privately owned firms. Several important industries are publicly owned—steel, railroads, coal mining, shipbuilding, certain utilities, and most civil aviation. Nationalized industries account for about 11% of the gross national product (GNP) and about 18% of total fixed investment. The share of the manufacturing industries in capital expenditure was 14% in 1978.

Government agencies primarily responsible for economic policy are the Treasury and the Departments of Trade and Industry, Energy, and Employment. The Confederation of British Industry is the central body representing British industry, serving as an important communications channel between government and industry.

Energy Resources

Exploration and development of North Sea oil and gas resources have progressed rapidly since 1969. Britain is a net exporter of oil and produces about 80% of its natural gas needs. Much of the development of North Sea hydrocarbon resources has been by foreign—primarily U.S.—companies under license. Domestic coal and nuclear facilities are also important energy resources.

Labor

At the end of 1982, the United Kingdom had 20.7 million workers. In 1983, the total number of trade unionists affiliated with the Trade Union Congress (TUC), Britain's major trade union federation, was 10.5 million, organized into 106 unions. The economic recession has caused a substantial decline in trade union membership. The United Kingdom has more than 400 associations and unions, but 94% of union members are organized in TUC affiliates. More than 50% of trade union members subscribe to political levies, which are channeled mainly into the Labour Party.

Unemployment in the United Kingdom has risen steadily since the 1974–75 recession and has soared since 1980. In May 1983, it had reached 3,049,351 (12.8%) before seasonal adjustment, an increase of 1.7 million since June 1980 when the unadjusted rate was 6.9%. Uemployment levels vary regionally, with Northern Ireland suffering levels of more than 17% for most of the past 3 years. Although the rate of increase has been quite sharp in more prosperous areas (e.g., London and southeast England), the rates are significantly higher in the industrial regions of Scotland, northern England, and southern Wales. Traditional industries in these areas are shipbuilding, coal mining, and certain branches of heavy engineering and metal manufacturing. The industrial West Midlands, the heartland of Britain's auto industry and traditionally a high employment area, has been among the hardest hit.

Early in 1974, industrial relations were transformed by the newly elected Labour government. This change was highlighted by the repeal of the Conservative government's highly controversial industrial and economic legislation—the 1971 Industrial Relations Act and the counterinflation program—and the emergence of the social contract between the Labour government and the TUC as the means to fight inflation and to reform the social and industrial sectors. The essence of the social contract was that, in return for government action to promote social and economic equity, the trade unions would operate a voluntary restraint on incomes.

The Conservative government elected in May 1979 formulated some significant new policies on industrial relations. A law against secondary picketing and aspects of the closed shop was passed, followed by further legislation on trade union immunities, additional closed shop restrictions, and compensation for unfair dismissals. The manifesto on which the government was reelected in 1983 promised additional legislation on ballots for strike action, union leadership elections, and political funds operated by unions.

Foreign Assistance

The United Kingdom's aid program to developing countries includes loans and grants, technical assistance, budgetary support, and contributions to international agencies which provide financial aid and technical assistance.

Although the British aid program is global, about 70% goes to Commonwealth countries. The major recipients in recent years have been Commonwealth countries of Africa, South Asia, and the Caribbean, particularly India, Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Pakistan, Sudan, and Kenya. Britain recently reopened its aid program to Grenada.

Total official development assistance in 1979 amounted to $1.6 million, or 0.45% of the GDP. The British aid program is administered by the Ministry of Overseas Development, an agency of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DEFENSE

The prime minister and the cabinet, under the ultimate control of Parliament, have supreme responsibility for defense matters. The secretary of state for defense and his or her deputies, the ministers of state for defense, report to the prime minister. The chief of the Defence Staff is the senior military officer; each service has its own chief of staff, but there are no individual service ministers.

The United Kingdom is a key member of NATO. Pay raises have brought military salaries in line with those of the civilian work force and have not only encouraged service members to remain but have also improved recruitment prospects for new members.

Britain is one of NATO's major European maritime powers. The 60,000-member Royal Navy is in charge of Britain's independent strategic nuclear arm, four Polaris missile submarines. Defense of U.S. reinforcement and resupply of Europe is one of the Royal Navy's major tasks. The Royal Navy provides commando units for amphibious assault and for specialist reinforcement forces in and beyond the NATO area.

The British Army, with a strength of 160,000 including 5,700 women, provides for the ground defense of the United Kingdom through its participation in NATO. The British Army of the Rhine (BAOR), a major element of

The Houses of Parliament beside the Thames. The light near the top of Big Ben shows that the House of Commons is still in session.

NATO's forward defense strategy, has 53,000 soldiers stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany. The BAOR is directly responsible for a 65-kilometer sector of the vital central region.

The Royal Air Force (RAF) has about 90,000 men and women in uniform. Although in recent years its combat capabilities have been reduced because of budget cuts, the RAF remains an elite, professional flying force.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The United Kingdom has few military commitments outside Europe but retains substantial economic and political interests in all parts of the world. It is a charter member of the United Nations (with a permanent seat on the Security Council) and belongs to most of its specialized agencies.

The United Kingdom serves as an important member of NATO by providing a significant share of the defense of NATO's central region and by meeting the NATO goal to increase defense expenditure annually in real terms by 3%.

At the same time, the United Kingdom desires to work for relaxation of tensions between East and West. It seeks progress on arms control and disarmament and has taken a leading role in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. It has adhered to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Limited Test Ban Treaties. The United Kingdom has supported the United States strongly in negotiating strategic arms reduction with the Soviets and participates with other allies in negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe.

As its global commitments have been reduced, Britain has sought a closer association with Europe, culminating in its entry into the EC on January 1, 1973. The first European Parliament election, held in June 1979, provided an even larger margin of victory for the Conservative Party than the general elections a month before. Out of 81 seats, the Conservatives won 60 (50.5% or votes cast) compared to Labour's 17 seats (33%). Northern Ireland parties and the Scottish National Party captured the remaining four seats. The voter turnout for the European Parliament election was considerably lower than for the general election, however—32.6% compared to 76%.

The Commonwealth of Nations*

Almost all of the former British colonies have become independent members of the Commonwealth. Although weakened by economic and political nationalism, the Commonwealth offers the United Kingdom a voice in matters concerning many developing countries. Moreover, the Commonwealth helps to preserve in those countries many institutions deriving from British experience and models, such as parliamentary democracy.

*Members are: United Kingdom, Australia, The Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Botswana, Canada, Cyprus, Dominica, Fiji, The Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Nauru, New Zealand, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Swaziland,Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Western Samoa, and Zambia.

U.S.-U.K. RELATIONS

The United Kingdom is one of the United States closest allies, and U.K. foreign policy emphasizes a close relationship with the United States. Bilateral cooperation reflects the common language, ideals, and democratic practices of the two nations. The relations were strengthened by the United Kingdom's alliance with the United States during both World Wars and the Korean conflict.

The United Kingdom and the United States continually consult on foreign policy issues and global problems. The United Kingdom supports the major foreign and security policy objectives of the United States.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Charles H. Price II
Minister (Deputy Chief of Mission)—Edward J. Streator, Jr.
Minister for Economic Affairs—Michael Calingaert
Counselor for Political Affairs—Richard L. McCormack
Counselor for Consular Affairs—Robert W. Maule
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Further Information

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CHARLES H. PRICE II
AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

Charles H. Price II was appointed Ambassador to the United Kingdom in 1983. Before his appointment, he served as Ambassador to Belgium, and in October 1983 President Reagan nominated him as a member of the board of directors of the Legal Services Corporation.

Ambassador Price was born in Kansas in 1931. He attended Wentworth Military Academy, and served in the U.S. Air Force from 1953 to 1955.

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