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Lillis

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON
FOR LILLIS FROM SHARKEY

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT BY SENATOR MOYNIHAN ON HIS
PROPOSAL IN INTRODUCING THE RESOLUTION IN THE SENATE TODAY.

MR PRESIDENT,

I AM TODAY INTRODUCING FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE SENATE A
CONCURRENT RESOLUTION EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE CONGRESS
THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD---

APPOINT A HIGHLY QUALIFIED AND APPROPRIATELY
EXPERIENCED SPECIAL ENVOY TO INVESTIGATE AND
REPORT HOW BEST THE UNITED STATES COULD
ACTIVELY ASSIST THE GOVERNMENTS OF IRELAND
AND GREAT BRITAIN AND THE COMMUNITIES IN
NORTHERN IRELAND TO ARRIVE AT AN EARLY,
JUST AND PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE PRE--
SENT CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

SENATORS KENNEDY, DODD, CRANSTON, METZENBAUM JOIN ME AS
COSPONSORS OF THIS RESOLUTION.

THE INITIATIVE FOR SUCH A PROPOSAL HAS COME FROM THE IRISH-
AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN NEW YORK STATE. THERE, IN THE COURSE
OF A SERIES OF PUBLIC FORUMS AT WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES
FOR OUR PARTY'S NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT IN 1984 HAVE APPEARED,
A QUESTION HAS BEEN PUT TO EACH OF THEM, ASKING IN EFFECT,
"WOULD YOU SUPPORT THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL ENVOY FOR
NORTHERN IRELAND?" M

BELIEVING THAT THIS IDEA SHOULD NOT BE PRESERVED UNTIL AFTER
THE 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, I PRESENT IT TODAY IN THE FORM
OF A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION, THAT THE SENATE MIGHT MOVE QUICKLY
TO A FULLER DISCUSSION OF THE MERITS OF THE PROPOSAL. I AM
HOPEFUL CONGRESS CAN DEVELOP A CONSENSUS WITH RESPECT TO HOW
THE UNITED STATES COULD CONTRIBUTE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER
TO THE RECONCILIATION AMONG THE COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

THE UNITED STATES HAS A LONG AND ON BALANCE POSITIVE EXPERIENCE
OF SENDING SPECIAL ENVOYS TO ESTABLISH AND DEVELOP THE GROUNDS
FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE AMONG PARTIES AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER.
IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT WE SHOULD OFFER TO DO SO IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

THAT THERE IS AN AMERICAN DIMENSION TO THE TRAGEDY OF NORTHERN IRELAND IS INDISPUTABLE. THERE IS A QUESTION, HOWEVER, WHETHER THE UNITED STATES CAN MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONTINUING CONFLICT THERE. MORE THAN 2,000 PERSONS HAVE DIED IN THE LAST DECADE OF VIOLENCE AND STRIFE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, CONFLICT THAT IS SUSTAINED BY CONTINUING POLITICAL STALEMATE.

THE STALEMATE MUST BE RESOLVED BY THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND THEMSELVES, IN COOPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. OUTSIDE POWERS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, CANNOT IMPOSE SOLUTIONS OR INSIST ON DEFINING THE SHAPE OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT.

IN THE NEW IRELAND FORUM LAUNCHED IN JUNE OF THIS YEAR UPON THE INITIATIVE OF GARRET FITZGERALD, THE IRISH PRIME MINISTER, THE MAJOR IRISH NATIONALIST PARTIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND AND IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE JOINED TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF IRELAND. THERE IS FRESH INITIATIVE AND NEW HOPE THAT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS CAN BE DEVELOPED TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT. IN COMPANY WITH AN EXPANDED ANGLO-IRISH DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON AND DUBLIN, THIS IS MORE PROPERLY THE FORUM IN WHICH SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE CAN BE DEVELOPED AND PRESENTED.

JUST AS THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE COOPERATED FULLY IN THE BATTLE AGAINST TERRORISM, SO THEY MAY BE EXPECTED IN THE PROPER CIRCUMSTANCES TO COOPERATE IN THE SEARCH FOR A BROADER SETTLEMENT THAT WILL RECONCILE THE TWO GREAT TRADITIONS IN IRELAND.

YET AMERICANS ALSO HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO ASSIST IN EVERY CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. AS PRESIDENT JOHN F KENNEDY SAID TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT ON JUNE 20, 1963, DURING HIS HISTORIC VISIT TO HIS ANCESTRAL HOMELAND,

...NO NATION, LARGE OR SMALL, CAN BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF OTHERS NEAR OR FAR.

INDEED THIS WAS THE THEME OF EACH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S SAINT PATRICK'S DAY PROCLAMATIONS, WHICH I HAD THE HONOR TO DRAFT. IN 1962 PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID

...OURS IS A NATION FOUNDED, SUSTAINED, AND NOW PRESERVED IN THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY. NONE MORE THAN THE IRISH CAN ATTEST THE POWER OF THAT CAUSE ONCE IT HAS GRIPPED A NATION'S SOUL.

IT IS WELL TO LIVE LIBERTY, FOR IT DEMANDS MUCH OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIVE BY IT. LIBERTY IS NOT CONTENT TO SHARE MANKIND.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL ENVOY TO ACTIVELY SEARCH, THROUGH COMMUNICATION WITH ALL THE INTERESTED AND RESPONSIBLE PARTIES, FOR MEANS THROUGH WHICH THE UNITED STATES COULD ASSIST IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IS CONSISTENT WITH, AND BUILDS UPON, THE OFFICIAL STATEMENTS OF RECENT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS.

IN HIS FAMOUS ADDRESS TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT IN 1963, PRESIDENT KENNEDY REMINDED US ALL OF THE INTERLOCKING HISTORIES OF IRELAND AND AMERICA. KENNEDY RECALLED THE MISSION OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT IN 1772:

IT WAS NEITHER INDEPENDENT NOR FREE FROM DISCRIMINATION AT THE TIME, BUT FRANKLIN REPORTED ITS MEMBERS "DISPOSED TO BE FRIENDS OF AMERICA." "BY JOINING OUR INTEREST WITH THEIRS," HE SAID, "A MORE EQUITABLE TREATMENT ... MIGHT BE OBTAINED FOR BOTH NATIONS."

OUR INTERESTS HAVE BEEN JOINED EVER SINCE FRANKLIN SENT LEAFLETS TO IRISH FREEDOM FIGHTERS. O'CONNELL WAS INFLUENCED BY WASHINGTON, AND EMMET INFLUENCED LINCOLN. IRISH VOLUNTEERS PLAYED SO PREDOMINANT A ROLE IN THE AMERICAN ARMY THAT LORD MOUNTJOY LAMENTED IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT THAT "WE HAVE LOST AMERICA THROUGH THE IRISH."

IN 1977, PRESIDENT CARTER NOTED THAT THE DESPARATE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTRIBUTED MATERIALLY TO THE DESPAIR THAT RESULTED ALMOST DIRECTLY IN SUPPORT FOR, OR ACQUIESCENCE IN, THE VIOLENCE OF TERRORISM.

ON AUGUST 30, PRESIDENT CARTER SAID:

IT IS NATURAL THAT AMERICANS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONTINUING CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE KNOW THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE THERE REJECT THE BOMB AND THE BULLET. THE UNITED STATES WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORTS PEACEFUL MEANS FOR FINDING A JUST SOLUTION THAT INVOLVES BOTH PARTS OF THE COMMUNITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND PROTECTS HUMAN RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES FREEDOM FROM DISCRIMINATION ...

... IT IS STILL TRUE THAT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WOULD CONTRIBUTE IMMEASUREABLY TO STABILITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND SO ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR INCREASED INVESTMENT. IN THE EVENT OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO SEE HOW ADDITIONAL JOB-CREATING INVESTMENT COULD BE ENCOURAGED, TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

THIS YEAR, IN A STATEMENT AT THE IRISH EMBASSY HERE IN WASHINGTON DC, PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN, WHO TRACES HIS FAMILY'S ROOTS TO THE VILLAGE OF BALLYPOREEN IN COUNTY TIPPERARY, ALSO INDICATED THE WILLINGNESS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION TO SUPPORT THE PROCESS OF PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE REFERRED EXPLICITLY TO THE HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS ON IRELAND, WHEN HE SAID:

I'VE PREVIOUSLY SPOKEN ABOUT OUR CONCERNS OVER THE VIOLENCE IN IRELAND AND DO NOT NEED TO EITHER ELABORATE, NOR IN ANY WAY DETRACT FROM WHAT I AND MY PREDECESSORS IN THIS OFFICE HAVE ALREADY SAID, OTHER THAN TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN MY SUPPORT FOR A JUST AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF IRELAND AND MY STRONG CONDEMNATION OF ALL ACTS OF TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE. AS I'VE SAID BEFORE, WE BELIEVE THAT A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF IRELAND CAN BE FOUND ONLY IN A PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION.

HE THEN CALLED UPON:

PEOPLE EVERYWHERE TO TURN AWAY FROM THE MORAL BANKRUPTCY OF THE MEN OF VIOLENCE AND TO HELP OR HEED, INSTEAD, THE CALL FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION THAT IS THE TRUE MESSAGE WHICH ST PATRICK HIMSELF FIRST BROUGHT TO IRELAND.

IT IS VERY MUCH IN THIS TRADITION OF PRESIDENTIAL EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN FOR IRELAND, AND SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS OF PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THAT I AM TODAY INTRODUCING THIS RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL ENVOY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND.

I WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT MY COSPONSORS AND I DO NOT INTEND THAT AMERICANS SHOULD INTERVENE AND ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE SOLUTIONS. OUR PURPOSE IS QUITE SIMPLE TO STATE THAT WE BELIEVE THE U.S. SHOULD BE ACTIVELY OFFERING TO ASSIST THE GOVERNMENTS OF IRELAND AND GREAT BRITAIN IN THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS.

WE DO, HOWEVER, THINK IT PAST TIME THAT THE UNITED STATES ENGAGED MORE ACTIVELY IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SHOULD OTHERS AGREE, I WOULD BE HAPPY TO LIST THEM AS COSPONSORS OF THE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION.

I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT THAT THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION BE PRINTED AT THIS POINT IN THE RECORD.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

THE FOLLOWING IS THE PRESS RELEASE ACCOMPANYING THE RESOLUTION AND STATEMENT:

FROM THE OFFICE OF SEN D P MOYNIHAN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 5 1983