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Visit of Speaker Wright

USA

March 1988

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JIM WRIGHT
TEXAS
SPEAKER

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Office of the Speaker

Washington, DC 20515

July 27, 1988

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The Right Honorable
Margaret Thatcher, FRS, MP
Prime Minister
House of Commons
London SW 1, England

Dear Madam Prime Minister:

Thank you ever so much for the gracious hospitality accorded to me and my associates on our recent visit to the United Kingdom.

Especially am I grateful for the interesting and useful visit I had with you. You were kind to grant me this time in your crowded schedule.

Through the courtesies of you and Speaker Weatherill and the many other interesting and hospitable people I met in London, I acquired many insights that will be useful to me here in Congress as I seek to foster even closer relations between our two great Atlantic democracies.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jim Wright
The Speaker



He Burn

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

8 July 1988

I should be grateful if you could arrange for the Embassy in Washington to send on the enclosed photographs to Speaker Wright. As you will see, the Prime Minister has dedicated them.

C. D. Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PM



free DT

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

6 July 1988

MEETING WITH SPEAKER WRIGHT

I enclose a copy of my note of the meeting between the Prime Minister and Speaker Wright for your personal information.

C. D. POWELL

His Excellency The Honourable Charles H.
Price II

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING RECORD!

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

4 July 1988

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH SPEAKER WRIGHT

The Prime Minister had a talk this morning with Speaker Wright. Speaker Wright was accompanied by the United States Ambassador and by Mr. Marshall Lynam, his Chief of Staff. The talk lasted some forty minutes.

The Gulf

The Prime Minister referred to the accidental shooting down of an Iranian airliner in the Gulf on 3 July by a United States' Navy ship. It was a very unfortunate accident, but we fully accepted the right of forces engaged in such hostilities to defend themselves.

The Trade Bill

The Prime Minister said that we watched discussions in Congress about a Trade Bill with some anxieties. We should never forget that in the 1930s we had gone the wrong way and cut down trade. Speaker Wright said that the Trade Bill currently before the House was completely different from Smoot-Hawley. It was not product or country specific. Rather, it set a general standard, inviting other countries to treat American goods in the same way that America treated theirs. It was intended to support an expansionist not a contractionist trade policy. The present Bill was in fact very little changed from its predecessor and he expected there to be strong bipartisan support for it. He predicted that it would be signed by the President.

Agriculture

The Prime Minister referred to the drought in the United States and the difficulty caused for farmers. Speaker Wright said that the aim of agricultural policy in the United States was to keep change to a reasonable rate and stem the flow of family farmers off the land. The Prime Minister suggested that encouragement of light industry and small businesses in agricultural areas was the best way to achieve this.

Democratic Politics

The Prime Minister enquired about the prospects for the Democratic Convention. Speaker Wright said the Convention was more predictable than any Democratic Convention had ever been. Governor Dukakis would have a virtually free hand to choose his own Vice Presidential candidate. Jesse Jackson would probably succeed in getting some amendments to the Democratic Party platform accepted, but there was unlikely to be any major change. The platform was relatively bland and certainly less specific than in earlier years.

In reply to a question from the Prime Minister about the nature of party politics in the United States, Speaker Wright said there was a tendency on the part of the public not to identify with political parties, which they saw as corrupt and old-fashioned. People liked to think of themselves as independents, choosing between candidates. Relatively little attention was paid to party platforms. They were like railway platforms: you got in on them but you didn't go anywhere on them. Presidential candidates tended to keep their speeches general and inspirational. They were victims of the tyranny of words. Although it was hard to credit, both parties now did a lot of polling to see which words had the best resonance with the public, and then encouraged their candidates to use them. Politicians had become slaves to professional Public Relations.

International Issues

The Prime Minister said that the United Kingdom was the United States' most devoted friend and ally. She constantly reminded people how much we owed the United States. Although Europe was rapidly gaining in strength, it should never be seen as a third force between the Super Powers: it must remain a vital partner to the United States in the Western Alliance. There was a tremendous change taking place on the world scene and particularly in the Soviet Union, which offered opportunities such as we had not had before. She really felt that freedom was on the offensive. We should support Mr. Gorbachev because there would never be a better leader in the Soviet Union from the West's point of view. His boldness was remarkable. She did not believe that there would be a START Agreement during the remainder of President Reagan's term of office: a number of the technical issues were proving more difficult than expected. But she assumed such an Agreement would be an early priority for the new Administration. It would be very important, too, for an incoming Administration to move rapidly on the Middle East situation. Each new Administration had tended to need a learning curve of eighteen months to two years. But the situation was too tense and volatile to allow this. Whoever won the election, it would be very important not to have a gap in Middle Eastern policy and this meant that both candidates should have their ideas clearly worked out in advance. On international economic questions, there was good co-operation between the Economic Summit Seven. But whichever candidate won in the United States, his Administration would have to

tackle the deficit early on.

South Africa

Speaker Wright said that there was a tendency on the part of American politicians to want to teach everyone else their business and this applied particularly on South Africa. The Prime Minister said that she very much hoped that the Democratic Party would not go the way of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions. The people who were doing most to improve the lot of black South Africans were the big corporations with their programmes of mixed housing and training. If the United States supported comprehensive sanctions, it would lose influence and leverage. Speaker Wright said that people tried to demonstrate how liberal they were by pressing for sanctions. It was only realistic to acknowledge that a Democratic Administration would impose sanctions on the United States own trade with South Africa, although he hoped that they could be dissuaded from trying to compel others to follow suit. The Prime Minister commented that a lot of restraint would be needed.

Governor Dukakis

Speaker Wright said that it was possible - although not certain - that Governor Dukakis might want to visit Europe after the Democratic Convention. It would be very helpful for him to hear what the Prime Minister had to say on the major issues. The Prime Minister said that, were Governor Dukakis to make such a visit, he would be welcome and she would be very willing to receive him.

I am copying this letter to Alex Allan (H.M. Treasury), Neil Thornton (Department of Trade and Industry), Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence) and to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

C. D. POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



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RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE SPEAKER
OF THE US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MR JIM WRIGHT, AT 1015 ON MONDAY
4 JULY 1988

PRESENT

Secretary of State
Mr Tim Eggar
Private Secretary
Mr David Burns
Mr Mark Pellew, Washington
Mrs Edna Ackers, COI

Speaker Jim Wright
Mr Charles Price, US Ambassador
Mr Ray Seitz, US Embassy
Mr Kim Pendleton, US Embassy
Mr Marshall Lynam, Chief of Staff
Colonel McKeown, USAF Escort Officer

SHOOTING DOWN OF IRANIAN AIRLINER

1. Welcoming Speaker Wright, the Secretary of State drew attention to the Prime Minister's statement, and said that we understood how the incident had come about. Speaker Wright expressed his appreciation of the line taken by the Prime Minister. It was one of those unavoidable tragedies, a clear case of mistaken identity. The plane had been heading directly for the USS Vincennes and the "head-on configuration" was the hardest to identify. The cruiser was in the middle of an engagement with Iranian Boghammer boats and there had been only a few seconds for judgement. The Secretary of State and the Speaker discussed the difficulties of identification, drawing on their wartime experience. Both hoped that the Iranian response would be restrained but recognised that they needed to "fasten seat belts" against the likelihood of turbulence in the immediate future.

US ELECTION

2. The Secretary of State drew attention to the article in the latest Economist which argued that both candidates were underestimated and both were good. From personal experience of the US, he was well aware of the unpredictability of Presidential campaigns and impressed by the open process by which a President was chosen. Speaker Wright considered that the 1988 election was winnable by either party. It would be a contest up to the end. Both candidates were highly intelligent and accomplished. By suffering defeats in their careers, both had become better people: these defeats imbued them with "useful caution". The US Presidential election system had its good and bad sides. As a product of the House, he favoured a system which provided for more measured and less rapid ascent to positions of power. Nonetheless, the Presidential campaign provided a comprehensive examination of a candidate. It was a terrible two-year trial. There was a tendency for the press to develop a fad, build up a candidate and then cut him down. Sometimes

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journalists seemed to write principally for the approval of their peers in the press world. The Secretary of State commented that the loudest cheers at the recent Soviet Party Congress were for the delegate who attacked the Soviet press! The Speaker commented that during a visit to Kiev in 1987, he had been struck by his conversations with Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Ukrainian Party. The latter had spoken of the progress in the Soviet Union towards encouraging criticism. When the Speaker had warned that this might not be the boon which the Russians expected, Shcherbitsky had simply not understood. He remarked that he had been struck by how quickly the Russians on that occasion had responded to a wish of some members of his party to visit the Chernobyl area.

3. The Secretary of State said that it was unfortunate that a TV interview he had given had implied that he preferred one candidate over the other. He had thought he had given a balanced answer but clearly, in the light of subsequent reports, he had been too optimistic. If this had appeared to come out the wrong way, he wanted the Speaker to know that it had not been intentional and HMG looked forward to working with whichever candidate the US electorate chose. The Speaker said he had had similar experiences. He quite understood.

NORTHERN IRELAND

4. The Secretary of State thanked the Speaker for his help in the Congressional handling of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, MacBride legislation etc. He could not stress enough how important this issue was for us. The Prime Minister and he had been either side of that part of the Grand Hotel in Brighton devastated by the IRA terrorist bomb in 1984; and both felt deeply and personally whenever there was a new terrorist action. That there should be a focus of terrorism on these islands was terrible. The problem had its roots in history. The Anglo-Irish Agreement was itself of historic importance. It provided a framework within which the problem could be "managed" in the best sense of that word - ie tended and moulded so that the differences on either side could be reduced. The Agreement made clear that both the UK and the Republic accepted that there could be no change in the status of the North without the consent of the majority acting in a democratic framework. In response to the Speaker's question about the minority, he said that HMG's objective was "to diminish the sense of alienation" (as Garrett Fitzgerald had put it - although we would not necessarily use the word alienation). We had tried devolution but that had not been successful. We were now tackling, step by step, the various elements of unfairness and discrimination. We had made major changes in the police force. The Republic itself acknowledged the better policing of marches. 4 out of 10 judges were Catholic. There were no more "supergrass" trials. Another approach was the

promotion of fair employment legislation to build confidence on the part of the minority community. The Secretary of State believed that this would answer points made by the Speaker about denial of opportunity and promotion of affirmative action programmes. The Speaker said that there were many in Congress with close ties to Ireland and the Irish government and they held frequent talks with Mr Haughey and other Irish leaders. There was a very strong desire on the part of the US Congress to find an accommodation regarding Northern Ireland. It was incomprehensible to most Americans that so many years had passed without some understanding being reached between the communities and between the British and Irish governments. Although his own experience was not on all fours with the situation in Northern Ireland, he was well aware of how such differences could persist. As a Southerner, his own mother had spoken of her feelings against the Yankees. It took 90 years from the ratification of the 13th and 14th Amendments for attitudes to change. Indeed it was only over the past 30 years that the strength of feeling between the North and South, and between black and white, had abated. The Secretary of State accepted that many outsiders found it hard to understand why terrorism should continue in Northern Ireland in the way that it did. One reason was that the situation had acquired a momentum of its own, developing its own martyrs etc. He had experienced at first hand the bitterness of Watts County in the US in 1967. 10 years later he had been struck by a completely different atmosphere - by the confidence and sense of belonging of black people in that very area. There had been a sea change in a decade. Yet, while we and the Irish read the same books and shared the same jokes, there was no simple solution to the problem of Northern Ireland. While Mr Haughey abhorred violence, it was hard to generate the combined effort against terrorism which we would like to see. Despite their best efforts, both British and Irish governments acknowledged that there was no simple political trick by which the situation could be solved. He appealed to the Speaker that, if the British and Irish governments sometimes got things wrong, "not to shoot the pianist". We needed the help of all our friends. Ambassador Price added that what Northern Ireland most needed was investment. He had been struck during his many visits by the efforts being made. The UK legislation now before Parliament went a long way to meeting the situation: some indeed argued that it went too far. However it was not easy in, for example, a mainly Catholic city like Londonderry for people to be told that a certain quota of the jobs should be given to Protestants. The \$125 mn which Congress had appropriated for the International Fund was extremely important. The Fund was doing very well and directing the funds to specific areas where unemployment was high. The Speaker commented that arbitrating quotas was extremely difficult. The important task was to abate the bitterness and economic hardship by jobs and investment. US investors did not fully understand the situation in Northern Ireland. They were hesitant both about the potential violence and about employment regulations.

5. The Secretary of State said that he wanted to thank the Speaker once again for his efforts over Northern Ireland matters, not least over the Extradition Treaty. On Northern Ireland generally, we had to accept that we were in for a long haul. Thanking the Secretary of State, Speaker Wright said that he had promised his predecessor, Tip O'Neill, that he would continue Mr O'Neill's support for the International Fund. He undertook to sustain the US effort and to impress on his successor (who would probably be Congressman Tom Foley) to do the same.

6. Thanking the Secretary of State, the Speaker invited him to call when next visiting the US.

7. The meeting ended at 1055.

North America Dept
4 July 1988

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PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH SPEAKER WRIGHT

You are to see Congressman Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, on Monday. He is a Democrat and ranks third in the United States behind the President and the Vice President. But of course the role of Speaker is rather different in Congress: he is in effect the Democratic Party leader in the House.

It is Speaker Wright's first visit to the United Kingdom. We have not had much to do with him so far. But should Dukakis win the Election, he is likely to have an even more prominent role than now. He will also chair the Democratic Convention in Atlanta in mid-July. You met him very briefly at the time you addressed the Joint Session of Congress in 1985.

You should be aware that a number of charges of impropriety have been made against Speaker Wright which are the subject of an investigation. They include allegations of improper lobbying, improper use of campaign funds and disguised election contributions. The considered judgement of the Embassy in Washington - and many others - is that the charges are an embarrassment but will not prove politically fatal.

Mr. Wright will arrive with his wife and two friends, a Mr. and Mrs. Short, who will stay for a photocall and a very brief word before the main meeting.

There are five topics which you might cover in your talk with him.

Presidential Election Prospects

You will want to ask him how he sees the prospects in the Presidential Election campaign and what the policies of a Democrat Administration would be. Antony Acland reports that the view is getting round in the United States that the

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British Government are openly pro-Bush and this is causing some resentment in the Dukakis camp. It stems mostly from the Foreign Secretary's unfortunate remarks on television which led to a formal protest by Dukakis's Campaign Manager. But Antony tells me that some of your private comments to senior American officials (particularly Jim Baker) are being quoted in Washington. It would be useful if you could underline to Speaker Wright that we look forward to working closely with the next President, whoever he is. You might add that if Mr. Dukakis or his senior advisers wish to visit the UK before the election, they will of course be very welcome and you would try to see them (as of course you would Mr. Bush).

Northern Ireland

Speaker Wright is apparently proud of his Irish forebears and likely to have rather dodgy views on Northern Ireland. You will want to tell him what the reality of the situation in Northern Ireland is, in particular the scale and the brutality of PIRA terrorism, while at the same time reaffirming support for the Anglo-Irish Agreement. You might also say that you hope that neither party in the US Presidential election will make Ireland into a campaign issue: this could only make it more difficult to solve the basic problems there. We have been grateful for US support for the International Fund for Ireland.

South Africa

This is another area where you will need to explain the facts of life. Speaker Wright supports the Sanctions Bill currently before Congress, which is objectionable not just because it provides for sanctions, but because it also has extra-territorial provisions which could require the US Government to take action against British companies trading with South Africa. You will want to point out the inherent contradiction between breaking all links with South Africa on the one hand and hoping to retain influence and play a regional role in Southern Africa on the other.

Trade and Economic Issues

You might ask how he sees the prospects for the US Trade Bill (this is a new version, replacing the one vetoed by President Reagan). You might also point to the positive results of the Toronto Economic Summit on international trade issues, including agriculture.

Burden Sharing

This is an important issue in Congress. You will want to say that we recognise the importance of the problem. Our own record is a good one (defence spending up by 20 per cent in real terms). It is probably not feasible to expect NATO to come up with much more in the way of additional resources: rather we should concentrate on getting better value for money through collaboration, greater efficiency and so on.

This is probably all there will be time for, although you might also like to discuss the outcome of the Soviet Party Conference which should be concluded by then. Two points which Speaker Wright may raise are:

- the Philippines, where he may seek support for the American proposal for a "mini-Marshall plan" to aid economic recovery;
- and Central America, where he sponsored a Nicaragua peace initiative (of a rather naive sort).

C.D.P.

Charles Powell

1 July 1988

CONFIDENTIAL

CCPC
LBP



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 July 1988

Dear Charles,

Visit of Speaker Wright

Thank you for your letter of 18 June, and for agreeing to a photocall involving Mrs Wright and the Speaker's travelling companions, prior to Speaker Wright's call on the Prime Minister. Our investigations have not unearthed any connection between Mr and Mrs Short and the current charges of impropriety laid against Speaker Wright. You will have seen Washington's report of 15 June (copy attached) on the Ethics Committee investigation. Although the President has since advocated an independent enquiry, the general view remains that, while the charges are an embarrassment, they will not prove politically fatal. The Speaker himself remains adamant that he has done nothing unethical nor illegal.

As Speaker, Wright wields great power. Constitutionally, he ranks third only behind the President and Vice-President: in terms of raw political power, he ranks a clear second. His role is more partisan than that of our own Speaker, equating to a combination of Speaker, Leader of the House, and Party Leader.

This is Speaker Wright's first visit to the UK in any official capacity and I attach the programme and a CV. Whilst he is the guest of Mr Weatherill, we have arranged the visit because of Speaker Wright's expected pivotal role on the Hill in coming years, and the feeling in our Embassy in Washington that we are less close to him than they would like. Accordingly, our objective is to establish a rapport between him and UK Ministers and a closer working relationship between his staff and the Embassy (for this reason a member of Chancery will be accompanying the Wright party on all calls except that at No 10). So far as we are aware, the Prime Minister has met him only once - and then fleetingly - when she addressed the Joint Session of Congress in 1985. At that time, he was House Majority Leader.

/The

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The call on the Prime Minister will be a useful opportunity to hear the Speaker's views on the Atlanta convention in mid-July (which Wright will be chairing); Dukakis' choice of running mate; and Democratic prospects for November. My letter of 16 June set out our initial thoughts on the possible policies of a Dukakis Administration, and we hope shortly to send you the Embassy's views on the Democratic Party platform. The Speaker's call would provide a good opportunity to dispel the prevailing impression that HMG is favouring the Republicans in the election. The Prime Minister may wish to stress that we look forward to working closely with either candidate and that Mr Dukakis and his senior advisers would be very welcome in the UK.

Otherwise, we suggest that the Prime Minister focus on a small number of issues where the attitude of Congress will be important to UK interests - burdensharing; the Trade Bill and economic issues; and South Africa.

BURDENSARING

In the face of Congressional and budgetary pressures on US forces in Europe, the US Administration charged Deputy Defense Secretary Taft to prepare a report by December on the current situation on burdensharing and how it could be improved. He saw the Prime Minister in May and appears to have been convinced that the issue needs to be treated collectively within the Alliance rather than between the US and the Europeans. At the May DPC, NATO Defence Ministers commissioned a further report which can be taken into account in Taft's. The Prime Minister might reaffirm to Speaker Wright that we recognise the importance of the problem, in both intra-Alliance and US domestic terms; and see this as the right approach. She might also argue (as she did to Taft) that, although defence inputs should not be ignored, they are not a sufficient guide (our own defence spending is up by 20% in real terms since 1979, and stands now at 4.7% of GDP - but some of the Europeans could do more); and, since there is little chance of substantial increases, we should concentrate on improving use of existing resources, eg, by transferring tail to teeth, by increasing competition and collaboration in defence procurement, and by getting more benefit from French and Spanish resources. Although the Europeans

/already



already do a lot, we recognise that we must be prepared in future to do more. But if the Americans want to test the Europeans' will to strengthen our contribution, they should look, for instance, at our ability to achieve the relocation of the 401st Tactical Fighter Wing to Italy, or to fix arrangements for the substantial Spanish military contribution.

TRADE BILL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

The Prime Minister might ask about prospects for the US Trade Bill. Current indications are that the House will soon pass a Bill containing provisions to force countries with large trade surpluses to open their markets to US exports. An earlier version was vetoed by President Reagan on 24 May and, although overridden in Congress, the veto was sustained by the Senate. The Bill had many of the more protectionist elements removed, but a number of objectionable provisions remain, including those relating to export controls which could harm co-operation in COCOM. The possibility of a worse protectionist Bill in 1989 remains.

The Prime Minister may wish to draw attention to our belief that EC/US disputes, particularly over agricultural issues, should not be allowed to get out of hand because of the damage that would be caused to the Uruguay Round negotiation. She might also like to ask about the attitude of a potential Democratic administration to domestic and international economic issues. We understand that Governor Dukakis would be likely to make the domestic economy his first priority. He would need Congressional support for any action. Whoever is in the White Houses will need to deal with US inflation, which may be picking up, and the budgetary position which will possibly be deteriorating once more by the end of the year. Helpfully, Dukakis has not ruled out tax increases to tackle the budget deficit and strongly favours measures to improve tax compliance. Dukakis will be inclined to favour continued international cooperation to reduce imbalances. But he may be ready to see the dollar fall. A Democratic administration would likely follow a softer line on Latin America and other middle-income debtors.

/South Africa



SOUTH AFRICA

The Prime Minister could usefully outline our policy on South Africa. She may wish to highlight the potential contradiction in US policy between withdrawing from South Africa through additional sanctions and disinvestment, and seeking (rightly) to influence it on important regional questions such as Angola and Namibia. Speaker Wright supports the Dellums/Wolpe sanctions bill now in Congress. It would be worth reminding him that EC Member States have expressed serious concern at its objectionable extra-territorial provisions. US sanctions against UK firms would put us under serious domestic pressure to retaliate against US companies here.

NORTHERN IRELAND

The Prime Minister will need no reminding, that with the 40-50 million Americans claiming Irish descent (including Speaker Wright who speaks proudly of his forebears), events in Northern Ireland and developments in Anglo-Irish relations have an important bearing on our relationship with the USA and could feature in the election campaign. There has been adverse reaction in the US to recent events. The Foreign Secretary will have touched on the subject and the lunch being hosted by Mr King on 4 July will of course be the prime opportunity for us to get our points across. But the Prime Minister may wish to reassure Speaker Wright that both British and Irish Governments remain fully committed to the Anglo-Irish Agreement as a means of promoting the struggle against terrorism and of advancing the interests of the minority community.

It may also be worth reiterating that we are grateful for the support of the US for the International Fund for Ireland. It has been invaluable for the continuation of a programme of projects, and we hope this will continue. We would be glad of any influence Speaker Wright can bring on a decision for a further US contribution. We would also appreciate Speaker Wright's assistance in countering the MacBride campaign, which is a deterrent to investment in Northern Ireland.

/Other

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OTHER ISSUES

One further issue that may arise is the Philippines. Speaker Wright may seek support for an American proposal for a "mini-Marshall" plan to aid economic recovery in post-Marcos Philippines. It is very much a Congressional initiative, supported by the Administration. Our own position is that we are willing in principle to participate. The UK's own contribution is likely to be modest, but that from the EC as a whole could be substantial. Private sector investment will play an important role.

I am copying this letter to Peter Kitcatt in the Speaker's Office, David Watkins (NIO) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Lowes,
L. Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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MY TELNO 1317 : SPEAKER WRIGHT'S VISIT TO THE UK

SUMMARY

1. HOUSE ETHICS COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION IS CAUSING SPEAKER WRIGHT SOME POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENT, BUT IS NOT LIKELY TO AFFECT HIS PLANS TO VISIT LONDON.

DETAIL

2. SPEAKER WRIGHT'S REPUBLICAN OPPONENTS IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN TRYING FOR SOME TIME TO EMBARRASS HIM POLITICALLY. THEY RESENT THE HIGH-HANDED WAY IN WHICH HE HAS SOMETIMES CONDUCTED THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE, TO THE PARTISAN ADVANTAGE OF THE DEMOCRATS (UNLIKE THE CONSENSUS-SEEKING APPROACH OF HIS PREDECESSOR, SPEAKER O'NEILL). THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO DRAW SOME FIRE AWAY FROM ATTORNEY-GENERAL MEESE (AND THUS MITIGATE THE QUOTE SLEAZE FACTOR UNQUOTE AS AN ELECTION ISSUE) BY ATTACKING SPEAKER WRIGHT, THE NATION'S HIGHEST RANKING DEMOCRAT, WHOSE FREE-WHEELING POLITICAL STYLE EVEN HIS FRIENDS ADMIT CAN SOMETIMES LAY HIM OPEN TO ACCUSATIONS OF QUESTIONABLE JUDGEMENT.

3. THE SPECIFIC ALLEGATIONS AGAINST WRIGHT (ON WHICH WE HAVE SENT PRESS CUTTINGS TO NAD) WERE BROUGHT INITIALLY BY 72 REPUBLICAN HOUSE MEMBERS, LED BY CONGRESSMAN GINGRICH (R-GEORGIA), AND JOINED LATER BY COMMON CAUSE, A LOBBY GROUP WHICH ADVOCATES GREATER OPENNESS IN GOVERNMENT. THEY INCLUDE ALLEGATIONS OF IMPROPER LOBBYING ON BEHALF OF A LOCAL TEXAS OIL COMPANY AND INTERVENTION IN A MATTER BEFORE THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT FOR TEXAS OIL AND GAS CORPORATION : QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER CAMPAIGN FUNDS AND GOVERNMENT RESOURCES WERE USED IN THE WRITING OF A BOOK BY THE SPEAKER : HIS USE OF A CONDOMINIUM OWED BY THE SON OF A BUSINESS ASSOCIATE, AND QUESTIONS OF UNDUE INFLUENCE ON BEHALF OF STRUGGLING TEXAS SAVINGS AND LOANS BANKS. POTENTIALLY THE MOST DAMAGING ALLEGATION, AND THE ONE WHICH HAS RECEIVED MOST PUBLIC ATTENTION HERE, CONCERNS THE LEVEL OF ROYALTIES WHICH WRIGHT IS RECEIVING FOR HIS BOOK : THIS IS SAID TO BE A DISGUISED REFUND OF CAMPAIGN EXPENSES ON ELECTION MATERIAL PREPARED BY THE SAME PUBLISHER.

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4. THE AFFAIR MOVED A STAGE FURTHER ON 11 JUNE WHEN THE HOUSE ETHICS COMMITTEE ANNOUNCED THAT, ON THE BASIS OF ITS PRELIMINARY ENQUIRIES, IT HAD UNANIMOUSLY DECIDED TO PROCEED TO A FULL INVESTIGATION. WRIGHT HIMSELF WELCOMED THIS DECISION, WHICH WAS AS EXPECTED (AND WAS THE LEAST THAT THE BIPARTISAN COMMITTEE COULD DO IN ORDER TO AVOID BEING BRANDED AS A TOOL OF THE DEMOCRATS). THE COMMITTEE HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO CALL IN AN OUTSIDE COUNSEL (WHICH IS EXPECTED) OR TO PROCEED WITH THE INVESTIGATION USING ONLY ITS OWN STAFF.

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ACLAND

YYYY



VISIT OF SPEAKER OF THE US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY 1 JULY

2050 Arrive LHR from New York. Stay at the Berkshire Hotel

SATURDAY 2 JULY AND SUNDAY 3 JULY

Sightseeing; Saturday Lunch, Connaught Hotel; Evening, supper, Follies

MONDAY 4 JULY

1015-1055 Call on Foreign Secretary
1100-1130 Call on Prime Minister, (preceded by photo call with Mr and Mrs Wright and Mr and Mrs Short)
1140-1200 Initial courtesy call/coffee with the Speaker,
1215-1430 Lunch hosted by Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
1430-1600 Visit to the Cabinet War Rooms
1615-1655 Call on Rt Hon John Wakeham, Lord President
1700-1730 Call on Rt Hon David Steel
1915 Speaker's Dinner

TUESDAY 5 JULY

0930 Visit College of Arms, to approve Coat of Arms.
1030-1130 Tour of House of Commons
1130 All Party meeting in the House organised by the British American Parliamentary Group.
1230 British American Parliamentary Group Executive Committee - drinks on the Terrace followed by Lunch in the Harcourt Room
1420 Speaker's procession
1430-1530 Prime Minister's questions
1530-1615 Call on Rt Hon Neil Kinnock,
1620-1700 Call on Rt Hon Gerald Kaufman,
1930 Dinner hosted by the US Ambassador Charles Price

WEDNESDAY 6 JULY

1425 Depart from LHR

RESTRICTED

HON JAMES C WRIGHT JR (D TEXAS)

SPEAKER, US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

In the US system, the Speaker wields great power. His role is more partisan than that of our own Speaker, equating to a combination of Speaker, Leader of the House, and Party Leader.

Jim Wright was born in 1922 in Fort Worth, Texas. Educated at Weatherford College and the University of Texas. Served in the Army Air Corps in World War II and received the Distinguished Flying Cross and Legion of Merit.

Member of the Texas State Legislative 1947-49. Youngest Mayor in Texas, (Weatherford), 1950-1954.

Elected to the House of Representatives for Fort Worth, Texas, 1955 and is currently serving his 17th consecutive term. Active in the fields of foreign affairs, economic development, water conservation, education and energy. House majority leader 1976-1987. Sworn in as Speaker (the 15th this century) in January 1987 of the historic 100th Congress.

Wright is known for his dogged determination and hot temper (he is a former boxer). Has faced a difficult job in filling the shoes of former Speaker Tip O'Neill. But although a different personality, he has still pursued O'Neill's vigorous style of leadership with considerable success. Currently facing allegations of financial impropriety, over which the President has called for an independent inquiry: the current view is that this will be embarrassing but not politically fatal.

Wright is a prolific writer, and has four books and many articles to his credit.

Married to Betty in 1972. Has 4 children from previous marriage. Presbyterian.

RESTRICTED



USA: Visit of Speaker.
Wright mar 88

OG2APV



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

18 June 1988

VISIT OF SPEAKER WRIGHT

Thank you for your letter of 17 June about the charges of impropriety being levelled in Congress at Speaker Wright and their possible implications for his visit here. I agree that any move to call off the visit must come from him.

I see no difficulty with the proposed addition of Mrs. Wright and Mr. and Mrs. Short, provided that the latter are not involved in any way in the current charges of impropriety. Subject to that, I suggest they come for the photocall at the beginning.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

B86

RESTRICTED

②



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 June 1988

Rice Minister

You will wish to be aware of this.

CDP 17/6

Dear Charles,

Visit of Speaker Wright (1-6 July)

/ You will have seen the attached telegram from the Embassy at Washington commenting on the charges of impropriety currently being levelled at Speaker Wright and recommending that the visit go ahead. In many ways it would be better if his visit to London were not to go ahead. But it would have to be for him, not for us, to call it off. On the assumption that he will not in fact do so, we are continuing to firm up the plans for his programme.

Yes
ms We will send you briefing for the call on the Prime Minister at 11.00 on 4 July. With regard to that call, Speaker Wright's office have asked whether it will be at all possible to arrange for Mrs Wright, and a couple of friends accompanying the Wrights - Mr and Mrs Short - to be greeted by the Prime Minister either immediately beforehand or afterwards. We would not press the case for the friends. But we know that it would give the Wrights great pleasure if a few minutes could be found for a photocall including Mrs Wright, perhaps just before the Wrights leave No 10 at 11.30 (since Mrs Wright is to join her husband at that point for their joint call on the Speaker at 11.40).

However,

L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/No 10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

CONFIDENTIAL

141263
MDHIAN 3547

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 1519
OF 152350Z JUNE 88
INFO ROUTINE NIO LONDON, NIO BELFAST, BIS NEW YORK

MY TELNO 1317 : SPEAKER WRIGHT'S VISIT TO THE UK

SUMMARY

1. HOUSE ETHICS COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION IS CAUSING SPEAKER WRIGHT SOME POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENT, BUT IS NOT LIKELY TO AFFECT HIS PLANS TO VISIT LONDON.

DETAIL

2. SPEAKER WRIGHT'S REPUBLICAN OPPONENTS IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN TRYING FOR SOME TIME TO EMBARRASS HIM POLITICALLY. THEY RESENT THE HIGH-HANDED WAY IN WHICH HE HAS SOMETIMES CONDUCTED THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE, TO THE PARTISAN ADVANTAGE OF THE DEMOCRATS (UNLIKE THE CONSENSUS-SEEKING APPROACH OF HIS PREDECESSOR, SPEAKER O'NEILL). THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO DRAW SOME FIRE AWAY FROM ATTORNEY-GENERAL MEESE (AND THUS MITIGATE THE QUOTE SLEAZE FACTOR UNQUOTE AS AN ELECTION ISSUE) BY ATTACKING SPEAKER WRIGHT, THE NATION'S HIGHEST RANKING DEMOCRAT, WHOSE FREE-WHEELING POLITICAL STYLE EVEN HIS FRIENDS ADMIT CAN SOMETIMES LAY HIM OPEN TO ACCUSATIONS OF QUESTIONABLE JUDGEMENT.

3. THE SPECIFIC ALLEGATIONS AGAINST WRIGHT (ON WHICH WE HAVE SENT PRESS CUTTINGS TO NAD) WERE BROUGHT INITIALLY BY 72 REPUBLICAN HOUSE MEMBERS, LED BY CONGRESSMAN GINGRICH (R-GEORGIA), AND JOINED LATER BY COMMON CAUSE, A LOBBY GROUP WHICH ADVOCATES GREATER OPENNESS IN GOVERNMENT. THEY INCLUDE ALLEGATIONS OF IMPROPER LOBBYING ON BEHALF OF A LOCAL TEXAS OIL COMPANY AND INTERVENTION IN A MATTER BEFORE THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT FOR TEXAS OIL AND GAS CORPORATION : QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER CAMPAIGN FUNDS AND GOVERNMENT RESOURCES WERE USED IN THE WRITING OF A BOOK BY THE SPEAKER : HIS USE OF A CONDOMINIUM OWED BY THE SON OF A BUSINESS ASSOCIATE, AND QUESTIONS OF UNDUE INFLUENCE ON BEHALF OF STRUGGLING TEXAS SAVINGS AND LOANS BANKS. POTENTIALLY THE MOST DAMAGING ALLEGATION, AND THE ONE WHICH HAS RECEIVED MOST PUBLIC ATTENTION HERE, CONCERNS THE LEVEL OF ROYALTIES WHICH WRIGHT IS RECEIVING FOR HIS BOOK : THIS IS SAID TO BE A DISGUISED REFUND OF CAMPAIGN EXPENSES ON ELECTION MATERIAL PREPARED BY THE SAME PUBLISHER.

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MDHIAN 3547

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ACLAND

YYYY



10 DOWNING STREET

CF

Pl. keep w

priv. meeting

with him.

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CONFIDENTIAL

141263
MDHIAN 3547

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
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TELNO 1519
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MDHIAN 3547

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ACLAND

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CONFIDENTIAL



✓
CPC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

18 April 1988

Dear Lyn.

VISIT OF SPEAKER WRIGHT

Thank you for your letter of 18 April about the visit of Speaker Wright. On present form the Prime Minister could see Speaker Wright from 1100-1130 on 4 July and you may therefore offer him a call that day.

I am copying this letter to Peter Kitkatt in the Speaker's Office and David Watkins (Northern Ireland Office).

Yours mark.
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Charles Powell'.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 April 1988

Visit of Speaker Wright

In Tony Galsworthy's letter of 4 March we gave possible dates for the proposed visit by Speaker Jim Wright to the UK, and recommended a call on the Prime Minister. As you know, the dates suggested in that letter fell through, but we now have a firm go-ahead on a formal Speaker to Speaker visit in London on 4 and 5 July. The Parliamentary day will be on 5 July.

In view of the Speaker's expected pivotal role on the Hill in coming years (particularly on Northern Ireland) - and the feeling of our Embassy in Washington that we are less close to Mr Wright than they would like - we very much hope that a call on the Prime Minister may be possible on 4 July. The Foreign Secretary hopes to see him at 10.00 a.m. that day.

We would be grateful for your early comments on the possibility of such a call.

I am copying this letter to Peter Kittcatt in the Speaker's office and David Watkins in the Northern Ireland Office.

Done over

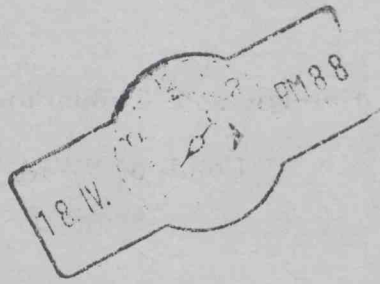
Alan [Signature]

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

USA : Speake Wright, Mar 88



091143Z

COMMENT

CONFIDENTIAL
FM WASHINGTON
TO DESKBY 090830Z FCO
TELNO 611
OF 090012Z MARCH 88
INFO PRIORITY NIO(L), NIO(B)
INFO ROUTINE DUBLIN

YOUR TELNO 448 (NOT TO ALL) : SPEAKER WRIGHT'S VISIT

1. WHEN MR STANLEY CALLED ON THE SPEAKER ON 8 MARCH HE SPOKE AS SUGGESTED IN YOUR TUR.
2. IT BECAME CLEAR IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION THAT SPEAKER WRIGHT WOULD REALLY PREFER HIS VISIT TO BE ON A FULL SPEAKER-TO-SPEAKER BASIS AND AT A TIME WHEN THE PRINCIPAL PEOPLE ARE AVAILABLE IN LONDON. HAVING CONSULTED HIS DIARY WRIGHT SUGGESTED THAT, AS THE MAY/JUNE DATES WERE NOT VERY CONVENIENT FOR US, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO COME BETWEEN 1 AND 5 (OR POSSIBLY 6) JULY, OVER THE INDEPENDENCE DAY RECESS. HE HAD IN MIND SPENDING 2-3 DAYS IN IRELAND (INCLUDING NORTHERN IRELAND), THEN GOING ON TO LONDON ON ABOUT 3 JULY.
3. GRATEFUL TO KNOW IF THESE REVISED DATES WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR MR WEATHERILL AND OTHERS CONCERNED. IT WOULD ALSO STILL BE USEFUL TO KNOW ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER ON 27 MAY (YOUR TUR) SO THAT THIS CAN BE OFFERED AS A FALL-BACK ALTERNATIVE IF THE LATER DATES DO NOT PROVE CONVENIENT.
4. SPEAKER WRIGHT WAS SOMEWHAT HESITANT ABOUT THE JULY DATES BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE (AND AS YET UNFORESEEABLE) COMMITMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION (OVER WHICH HE IS LIKELY TO HAVE TO PRESIDE) IN MID-JULY. BUT HE IS CLEARLY KEEN TO VISIT THE UK SOON, AND IF WE CAN GIVE HIM A FIRM INVITATION FOR 1 TO 5/6 JULY I THINK THERE IS A PRETTY GOOD CHANCE THAT HE WILL COME THEN.

ACLAND

YYYY	
ADVANCE	3
HD/NAD	1
HD/INFO V	1
RESIDENT CLERK	1
MAIN	47
LIMITED	8
NAD	5
INFO/VISITS	15
RID	5
PRU	1
PS	7
PS/MRS CHALKER	1
PS/LORD GLENARTHUR	1
PS/MR EGGAR	1
PS/PUS	1
MR GILLMORE	1
MR FEARN	1

ADDITIONAL	2
NIO CENTRAL SECRETARIAT (N IRELAND OFFICE) (SIL)	0
MR KITCATT	1
SPEAKER'S OFFICE	1

[WRAGG]
[BARLOW]

091144Z

COMMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO

TO DESKBY 081500Z WASHINGTON

TELNO 448

OF 081400Z MARCH 88

YOUR TELNO 563: SPEAKER WRIGHT'S VISIT

1. NO 10 ARE STILL WORKING ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER ON 27 MAY BUT WILL NOT HAVE AN ANSWER UNTIL THIS EVENING (LONDON TIME) AT THE EARLIEST AND PROBABLY NOT UNTIL TOMORROW. WE WILL PASS THIS TO YOU BY TELEPHONE AS SOON AS IT IS AVAILABLE. IF SUCH A CALL CAN TAKE PLACE (AND WE CANNOT PREJUDGE THIS) MR WEATHERILL MAY ALSO BE ABLE TO MAKE SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS TO RECEIVE SPEAKER WRIGHT ON A COURTESY CALL THAT DAY. WITH PARLIAMENT IN RECESS THIS IS CLEARLY NOT THE RIGHT TIME FOR THE FULL SPEAKER TO SPEAKER VISIT FOR WHICH WE HAD HOPED AND FOR WHICH MR WEATHERILL HAS ISSUED AN INVITATION.

2. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE SUGGEST THAT MR STANLEY:

(A) EXPLAIN THAT WE LOOK FORWARD TO ARRANGING FOR HIM TO TAKE UP THE SPEAKER'S INVITATION AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME WHEN PARLIAMENT IS MEETING.

(B) FORMALLY INVITE HIM DURING HIS FORTHCOMING TRIP TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND, EXPLAINING THE SORT OF PROGRAMME WHICH THE NIO CAN ARRANGE.

(C) SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO MEET MR WRIGHT AND THAT WE HAD HOPED TO ARRANGE A CALL DURING HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT. HOWEVER IT APPEARS SHE TOO WILL BE TRAVELLING OVERSEAS AT THAT TIME. WE ARE STILL JUGGLING WITH DIARIES AND IF SOMETHING CAN BE ARRANGED MR STANLEY WILL LET THE SPEAKER'S OFFICE KNOW LATER THIS WEEK. IF SUCH A MEETING DOES NOT PROVE POSSIBLE THE PRIME MINISTER WILL LOOK FORWARD TO RECEIVING HIM ON HIS NEXT VISIT.

HOWE

YYYY

MAIN 47

LIMITED 8

NAD 5

INFO/VISITS 15

RID 5

PRU 1

PS 7

PS/MRS CHALKER 1

PS/LORD GLENARTHUR 1

PS/MR EGGAR 1

PS/PUS 1

MR GILLMORE 1

MR FEARN 1

ADDITIONAL 2

NIO CENTRAL SECRETARIAT 0

(N IRELAND OFFICE)

(SIL)

MR KITCATT 1

SPEAKER'S OFFICE 1

[WRAGG]

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT OF SPEAKER WRIGHT

The Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Jim Wright, is to visit the United Kingdom from 27 May to 1 June. You have agreed in principle to see him. However, Friday 27 May is a Regional Tour (East Anglia). And on Sunday 29 May you depart for Poland, returning late on Tuesday 31 May. Wednesday 1 June is still during the Recess and you may wish to be at Chequers.

The request is that you should see Speaker Wright either on 27 May or on 1 June. I would imagine that you would rather leave 1 June clear in case you do wish to be at Chequers. May we therefore offer Speaker Wright a time late on Friday 27 May - say, 1830-1900 - when he could come in for a drink? I presume that, as you will be leaving for Poland on the Sunday, you would want to return to Number 10 after the Regional Tour that Friday.

Charles: Have put this in the diary - with you write to the FO?
6.30-7.00 on Friday 27 May.

14.9/3

Yes no

Tessa

~~Tessa~~

MRS. TESSA GAISMAN

8 March 1988

Thx you
✓ On
28/3

Charles
Yes - he is
coming on
4th July
1100 - 1130.

14.
28/3

Can you find
out from FCO, please,
where we stand on
this. I think
Speaker Wright was
going to change his
date.

082

DASAIZ

CONFIDENTIAL



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

4 March 1988

*Agree to see
Speaker Wright?*

Dear Charles

*CDP
4/3*

Yes

Visit of Speaker Wright

We have been working for months to encourage the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Jim Wright, to visit the UK. After several false starts, he is to travel to Ireland and the UK from 27 May-1 June (the order can be reversed). This is the only time in the next few months that he can come to Europe.

The timing is far from ideal for us. Parliament will be in recess for Whitsun; the Foreign Secretary will be out of the country from 27 May to 5 June; and the Prime Minister will likely be on an overseas visit from 29-31 May.

Even so, we consider that it would be right to try and land Speaker Wright while we can. This view is strongly supported by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and our Ambassadors in Washington and Dublin. As the major power-broker on the Hill, the Speaker is important to us for many reasons, particularly Northern Ireland. The Embassy at Washington do not consider that we are as close to him as we would like to be, or were with the former Speaker, Tip O'Neill. They hold strongly that even a short informal visit would be helpful in strengthening our relationship. Such a visit would include time in Northern Ireland, where the NIO assure us a suitable programme can be arranged.

While recognising the real difficulties, we very much hope that it will be possible for the Speaker to pay a short call on the Prime Minister, either on 27 May (he would probably fly in that morning) or the morning of 1 June (before he takes off for Washington).

Should this be possible, we would like to pass an invitation from the Prime Minister to Speaker Wright when Mr John Stanley calls on him on 8 March to discuss Northern Ireland issues. Apart from helping Mr Stanley on what might be a difficult mission, early action of this sort would help pre-empt conflicting Irish invitations, eg from Mr Haughey, whom Speaker Wright will almost certainly see in Ireland.

I am copying this letter to Peter Kitcatt in the Speaker's Office and David Watkins in the Northern Ireland Office.

*Yours ever
A C Galsworthy*

(A C Galsworthy)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



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