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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry-September 1994 [2]

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1397

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Mayhew Cautions... (2 pages)	10/28/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
002. cable	re: Irish Upset by Perceived British Slight... (1 page)	10/28/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
003. note	Nancy Soderberg to Sandy Berger re: Ireland (1 page)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
004. memo	Nancy Soderberg to Neal Wolin re: Northern Ireland: Sinn Fein Officials Arrive... (2 pages)	08/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005. cable	From Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Crowe (1 page)	08/31/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1397

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry-September 1994 [2]

2011-0533-F

rs1651

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- 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]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Please pass
to Nancy Soderberg.

KStg —





Irish
American

Coalition
Human Rights

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Co-Chairmen:

Thomas R. Donahue
AFL CIO

Jack Barry
IBEW

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Paschal McGuinness
President

Daniel Kane
Secretary Treasurer

Michael Mayo
Organizational Secretary

Paul O'Dwyer
Legal Counsel

Joseph Jamison
Director

Bill Langan
Assistant Director

Wednesday August 31, 1994

Contact: Joe Jamison
212-777-6040

For Immediate Release

US Labor Leaders Hall Ceasefire

The announcement of an IRA ceasefire was greeted today by leaders of the Irish-American Labor Coalition (IALC). The IALC, using its labor movement contacts with the Clinton Administration, had played a major role in winning Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams a visa early in 1994 and has continued to encourage the Clinton Administration to urge the two governments and all parties to the conflict to further political steps.

Paschal McGuinness, President of the Irish-American Labor Coalition, and who is a Washington-based top official of the Carpenters union, especially welcomed the White House decision announced today to allow republican spokesmen to visit the US and explain the decision to republican supporters in Irish America. *"It is one thing to declare a ceasefire. A ceasefire must now be consolidated and there must be proof on the ground to skeptics -- in the Six Counties and in America -- that real advances can be made for nationalists in the North, who have borne the brunt of the conflict."*

McGuinness, Co. Cavan-born, expressed concern about the immediate danger of attacks on Catholics by loyalist gunmen, mentioning the well-documented collusion between loyalist extremists and the RUC, the Northern Ireland police. *"The British government must meet its security responsibilities or there will be a great outcry internationally."*

"It is a moment of great hope that, following a ceasefire, there can be negotiated political advance. We will do all in our power to press the Clinton Administration to continue to honor its 1992 campaign pledges and rise to the challenge of the new possibilities created by republican movement's decision to seek a political path to a united Ireland."

**New York State
AFL-CIO**48 East 21st Street - 12th Fl.
New York, New York 10011
(212) 777-6040
Fax (212) 777-8422101 South Swan Street
12210-1939EDWARD J. CLERK
PresidentPAUL F. COLF
Secretary-Treasurer

© 1994



PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING TO:

NAME: NANCY SODERBERG, N.S.C.
FROM: JOSEPH JAMISON
DATE: Sept 2, 1994Total number of pages 2 including cover letter.IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL PAGES, PLEASE CALL THE
TELEPHONE NUMBER BELOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

212-777-6040

PLEASE NOTE: Our Fax Number is 212-777-8422

☐ Handle☐ Comment☐ Recommendation☐ Reply☐ As Requested☒ For your infor☐ Note and return☐ Per telephone
conversation

REMARKS:



G. Burns M.B.E. B.Sc. (Econ)
Clerk and Chief Executive



Town Hall, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, BT74 7BA.

Telephone: 0365 325050; Fax: 0365 322024

Our Ref: 1/ec

7 October 1994

Ms Nancy Soderburg
Executive Office
The White House
Washington D C
United States of America

Dear Ms. Soderburg,

I am writing on behalf of Fermanagh District Council to ask you if you would consider placing an invitation before President Clinton to visit County Fermanagh in Northern Ireland. County Fermanagh is the ancestral home of the Cassidys and I understand that the President's mother was a descendent of the Cassidy's. We even have a very well known townland here with the title of Ballycassidy.

I appreciate that this invitation to the President is one of many thousands that I'm sure he receives but, perhaps if he decides at some time to visit Ireland then he would include County Fermanagh on his itinerary. We would greatly welcome such a visit, and when he would be here, we could ask him to officially open our new Ulster Lakeland Equestrian Park which is a project nearing completion and of international appeal in equestrian terms. It is unique and of very high standards and is adjacent to Ballycassidy.

I have been speaking to Mr John Hume who agreed with me that it would be helpful to write to you.

I trust that you will give our request serious consideration, especially as in the context of reconciliation and peace, a visit by President Clinton to this area, within Northern Ireland, and alongside the

cont/....

R. E. Connor B.Sc. (Econ) D.M.S.
Director of Environmental Services

G. Knox B.A.
Direct Services Organisation

A. McGinley M.Sc.
Director of Development

T. D. Reid M.I.B.C. D.M.S.
District Chief Building Control Officer

R. A. Shaw M.I.E.H.
Chief Environmental
Health Officer

Ms N Soderburg

Border, would have a significant impact, in so many ways.

Perhaps you will let me have your comments.

Yours sincerely
Cory Burns.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE

Future Adams' Visits (NSC lead)

- o As in the case of other political parties, we would expect contacts to take place primarily through our diplomatic representatives abroad. For now, that means our Consulate General in Northern Ireland and our Embassy in Dublin. (If asked: Whether British authorities lift restrictions on your travel to Britain is for them to decide. If they do, I am sure our diplomats in London will wish to be part of this dialogue.)
- o As the ceasefire holds and the peace process continues, our dialogue will broaden and deepen. We would expect over time that the level of your contacts with the Administration will evolve as well.

U.S. Economic Assistance (NSC lead)

- o We are actively reviewing ways we can help keep the peace process moving forward. (FYI: Nancy S. may want to intervene here.)
- o We believe that private sector investment and trade should play the key role in helping to resolve unemployment problems in the North and the Republic.
- o We support the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) as a concrete expression of our interest. One project is the Springvale university campus. What are your views on this project?
- o Let me be frank on this. We have a bleak budgetary environment for all our foreign affairs activities. You are well aware of the important role Congress plays in our democratic system. While there is widespread support for the N.I. peace process, there is also considerable Congressional reluctance to get out ahead of our European friends in terms of any economic input.

PRIORITY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

To Keadley -
Could we get

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VAX VERSHBOW

State to do a background
paper on the issues relating to
the framework document. Including
text of articles 213 of Irish

<PREC> PRIORITY <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<DTG> 281636Z OCT 94

Const. + analysis of what
is at issue re act of '20.

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0008

INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 2277

~~SECRET~~ LONDON 017119

Let's discuss I'm not sure
I know what the issues are
re: the framework document +
where we go from here.

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL PGOV PTER UK EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MAYHEW CAUTIONS THAT
FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT MAY NOT BE AGREED

1. ~~SECRET~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AT BREAKFAST WITH THE AMBASSADOR OCTOBER 28,
NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY SIR PATRICK MAYHEW CAUTIONED
US NOT TO ASSUME AGREEMENT WOULD BE REACHED ON THE
ANGLO-IRISH "FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT" FOR NEW ALL-PARTY TALKS
ON THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. EVERYONE WANTED
AGREEMENT, BUT THE REMAINING PROBLEMS WERE VERY DIFFICULT.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (1.55)
KBM 7/11/2023

3. MAYHEW CONFIRMED THAT THE KEY AREAS OF DIFFERENCE
WERE OVER CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION (ARTICLES TWO AND
THREE OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION AND THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND ACT OF 1920), THE SCOPE OF NEW
CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS, AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE
EUROPEAN UNION. THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES SHOULD BE
MANAGEABLE: THEY HAD LITTLE PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE, BUT
WERE THE HIGHEST CARD REYNOLDS HAD TO PLAY, AND HE WAS
UNDERSTANDABLY HOLDING OUT FOR THE MAXIMUM PAYOFF.

4. CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS WERE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT,
MAYHEW SAID. THE IRISH WANTED TO SET UP FREE-STANDING,
NON-ACCOUNTABLE BODIES WITH EXTENSIVE POWERS. THE
UNIONISTS COULD NOT SWALLOW THIS, AND HMG ALSO HAD
PROBLEMS WITH IT. THE BRITISH IDEA WAS TO START
MODESTLY, WITH LIMITED POWERS DELEGATED TO BODIES
FOCUSING ON AREAS OF UNQUESTIONED COMMON INTEREST. AS
THESE PROVED THEIR WORTH AND UNIONISTS GREW COMFORTABLE
WITH THEM, MORE BODIES AND POWERS COULD BE ADDED. MAYHEW
WONDERED WHETHER THE USG COULD QUIETLY SUPPORT THIS
"COMMON LAW" APPROACH IN DISCUSSIONS WITH IRISH LEADERS.

~~SECRET~~

PRIORITY

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

5. FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT, MAYHEW ACKNOWLEDGED, WOULD BE A "VERY CONSIDERABLE SETBACK" TO THE PEACE PROCESS. WITHOUT A FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, THERE COULD BE NO NEW ALL-PARTY TALKS. HMG WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK BILATERALLY WITH DUBLIN AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES, AND COULD MAKE SOME PROGRESS IN INDIVIDUAL AREAS, BUT THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED IF THERE WERE TO BE A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

6. COMMENT: MAYHEW'S CAUTION IS A USEFUL ANTIDOTE TO THE CURRENT GENERAL EUPHORIA. WE STILL THINK IT MORE LIKELY THAN NOT THAT AGREEMENT WILL BE REACHED -- THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE FOR THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS WOULD BE SEVERE. BUT WE ALSO SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE MAGNITUDE OF THE REMAINING HURDLES, AND SHOULD EXPECT FURTHER LOBBYING FROM BOTH SIDES. CROWE

BT

#7119

NNNN

<MSGID> M1331698

~~SECRET~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (1.56)
KBH 4/11/2023

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VAX VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 281627Z OCT 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6475
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 2429
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005895

NSC FOR VERSHBOW AND SODERBERG FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S HOLBROOKE AND EUR/NE

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, UK, EI

SUBJECT: IRISH UPSET BY PERCEIVED BRITISH SLIGHT AT
FORUM

REF: (A) LONDON 16940
(B) DUBLIN 05843

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE FORUM FOR PEACE AND
RECONCILIATION ON OCTOBER 28 (SEPTTEL), DFA ANGLO-IRISH
DIVISION HEAD SEAN O'HUIGINN TOLD ME THAT:

-- IRISH OFFICIALS ARE "VERY UPSET" OVER BRITISH AMBASSADOR
BLATHERWICK'S AND M.P. PETER TEMPLE-MORRIS' REFUSAL TO
ATTEND THE OPENING SESSION OF THE FORUM. THE IRISH
CONSIDER THEIR REFUSAL A "SLAP IN THE FACE" SINCE IT
APPEARS THE BRITISH WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO HIGHLIGHT
THEIR DISTASTE FOR THE FORUM. (ALL MEMBERS OF THE
DIPLOMATIC CORPS WERE INVITED TO ATTEND THIS OPENING
SESSION. NO AMBASSADOR WAS UNDER ANY OBLIGATION TO SPEAK
TO PARTICIPANTS.)

-- THE IRISH DO NOT KNOW WHY MAJOR REFUSED TO ALLOW
BLATHERWICK TO ATTEND. SOME ARE SPECULATING THAT MAJOR IS
FOLLOWING A DUAL TRACK, I.E., SAYING ONE THING WHILE DOING
ANOTHER, PERHAPS FROM A DESIRE TO HOLD THINGS UP UNTIL
CLOSER TO THE NEXT BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION.

*Kathy -
Did all but
the British attend?
ms*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Mairead Keene
Sinn Féin poe in
Washington -

pass on to Sandra V
and Kathy S. to
invite formally to
meeting on Monday

Pat Gattis
- 202-662-4781 ^{5pm}
301-495-2613 ^{later after}
202-637-5000 ^{today 6pm}
ext. 5677

WASHINGTON ITINERARY
FOR
GERRY ADAMS,
PRESIDENT, SINN FÉIN

Monday, October 3:

12:30 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.

*Luncheon (Senate restaurant)
Host: Senator Alfonse D'Amato*

2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.

Newsday

3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Open

5:30 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.

*Reception
Capitol Building Room H324.
Host: Speaker of the House Thomas Foley
Friends of Ireland and Ad Hoc Committee on Irish
Affairs joint effort*

**WASHINGTON ITINERARY
FOR
GERRY ADAMS,
PRESIDENT, SINN FÉIN**

Tuesday, October 4:

10:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

*Meeting
Washington Post Editorial Board
Post Building
1150 - 15th Street, N.W.
Contact: Stephen Rosenfeld*

12:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.

*National Press Club
529 - 14th Street, N.W.*

2:30 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

*Irish American Labor Coalition
AFL-CIO Board Room
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Contact: Bill Lenehen*

4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

*Senate Foreign Relations Committee
U.S. Capitol - Room S116
Host: Senator Bob Mitchel
Contact: Brian McKeown*

6:45 p.m. - 8:30 p.m.

*AFSCME Reception
American Federation of State, County and Municipal
Employees - AFL-CIO
Loew's L'Enfant Plaza Hotel
L'Enfant Plaza S.W.*

9:00 p.m.

Larry King Show

WASHINGTON ITINERARY
FOR
GERRY ADAMS,
PRESIDENT, SINN FÉIN

Wednesday, October 5:

<i>9:00 a.m. - 9:45 a.m.</i>	<i>Congressional Women's Caucus</i>
<i>9:45 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.</i>	<i>Congressional Human Rights Caucus Congressman Lantos</i>
<i>12:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.</i>	<i>Council on Foreign Relations Carnegie International Center 2400 N Street, N.W.</i>
<i>3:00 p.m.</i>	<i>Leave for airport</i>

Proinsias De Rossa TD
5 Main Street
Dublin 11
Telephone: 8342541



10 October 1994
Phone: 789911

Ms. Nancy Soderberg,
Staff Director,
National Security Council,
White House,
Washington,
USA.

Dear Ms. Soderberg,

I understand that you are chairing a Presidential Committee on Northern Ireland. My Party which is represented in the Irish Parliament recently published the enclosed policy document.

I feel it may be useful to you and your committee to have an opportunity to read alternative views on the future of Northern Ireland.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

**PROINSIAS DE ROSSA TD.
LEADER.
DEMOCRATIC LEFT.**

encl.

SETTING A NEW AGENDA

A FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND



September 1994

INTRODUCTION

The political position in Northern Ireland has been transformed by the IRA cease-fire announced on Wednesday 31st August. For the first time for almost 25 years the organisation which has been the primary source of terrorist violence in Northern Ireland has declared an unconditional ceasefire. Although the Sinn Fein /IRA leadership has been unwilling or unable to use the word 'permanent', there are reasonable grounds for concluding that this is the intention.

It is absolutely essential to take full advantage of the unique potential which we now have to develop new political structures which will permanently free the people of Northern Ireland from the threat of terrorist violence - from any source. We now have to look to the future and not try to re-live the past. We must learn the lessons of history but not - as has happened too often in the past - become obsessed by it. The overriding priority must now be to ensure that no one else dies, that no one else is maimed.

If we are to develop the potential for progress, compromise and flexibility is required on all sides. Cherished aspirations, political ideals long held dear, will have to be moderated in favour of the greater cause of peaceful coexistence. A United Ireland is as unrealistic a proposition as a return to the old style 'Stormont Rule'.

We believe there is a growing realisation that neither traditional unionism nor traditional nationalism can provide a solution to the complex problems of Northern Ireland. This is reflected in the dramatic growth of a body of opinion, North and South, a 'third strand', which is neither nationalist nor unionist, in the traditional sense. **DEMOCRATIC LEFT** is in this category, but it is also found to varying extents in all other parties in the Dail - with the possible exception of Fianna Fail. There are clearly also those within

the SDLP and Ulster Unionist Parties who are moving in this direction.

There is an obligation on this 'Third Strand' to ensure that the current hopes for peace and political progress are not undermined by a re-run of the old battles between nationalism and unionism. This new policy document is intended to contribute towards setting a new political agenda and helping to create new political structures which will be capable of winning general cross-community support in Northern Ireland.

The fundamental principle underpinning this document is that there must be equal recognition and respect for the opposing national allegiances which have been at the heart of the conflict in Northern Ireland. It is only in this context that acceptable new political structures can be built. It will require legislative and constitutional changes on the part of both governments to give it effect.

While this document deals primarily with constitutional issues, we as a democratic socialist party are also conscious of the critical problems of poverty, unemployment and sectarianism, both as factors in the support for paramilitaries and also as social injustices in themselves. For parties in Northern Ireland to address these problems necessitates an end to the current preoccupation and conflict over constitutional issues. This document presents Democratic Left's initial contribution to that process.

Proinsias de Rossa TD
Leader
Democratic Left

P.J. McClean
Chairperson
Northern Ireland Committee
Democratic Left

September 1994

THE CONTEXT

Now that the IRA has announced a cessation of its 'military operations', the political potential of the Downing Street Declaration may be more readily realised. The significance of the Declaration and the support for it by 97 per cent of the people of the South, all the political parties in the Dail, along with the majority of nationalists and unionists in the North, should not be underestimated. Together with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the Spring Principles, and the proposal to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution, the Declaration offers the prospect of a democratic agreement that can command the support of the majority of people in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic.

People may make their own history, but they do not do so in conditions of their own choosing. We in Democratic Left - as democrats and socialists - would not choose the circumstances that we are faced with in Northern Ireland. They are however the reality in which the people of Northern Ireland must make their history. In recognising this, we seek to show a way out of the nightmare of fear and hate. The real concerns of people - not just the concerns we believe they should have - must be taken on board.

In our view what ultimately divides people in Northern Ireland is not religion, race, or ethnicity but national allegiance. Like any other society, there are many differences between people and groups in Northern Ireland. But the one difference which is at the heart of the instability, violence and terror is the division between the two different national identities. National allegiance is at the core of the issue and history shows us that suppressing national identity is disastrous. Respect for, and valuing of, national identity within Northern Ireland is the first step towards reducing the political

importance of these identities.

DOWNING STREET DECLARATION

The Downing Street Declaration recognises the legitimacy of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. It guarantees that its constitutional status can only change when a majority of its population wish it to change. Since the constitutional rights of a majority of people in Northern Ireland have therefore been recognised and are in the process of being acceded to, it is now time to formulate proposals for a truly democratic agreement which will also address the rights of the minority of nationalists in Northern Ireland. Such an agreement will require compromise within the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and between the British and Irish Governments.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

British nationality, or the 'imagined community' which is now the British nation, developed after the Revolution of 1688 and the Act of Union of 1707, and it developed in opposition to the threatening Catholic powers of Europe. It was a Protestant nationality with a Protestant monarchy, and it solidified during the 18th and 19th centuries on the basis of expanding trade and imperialism. It was the idea which united the culturally different countries of England, Scotland and Wales in one British nation.

Long after the more strident manifestations of British nationality and nationalism have declined in Wales, Scotland and England, the political discourse of 18th and 19th century Britishness is very much part of the political culture of Ulster Unionists since they continue to

be faced by the remnants of Catholic Europe, as they see it, in Ireland. The people in Northern Ireland who consider themselves as part of that British tradition must be accepted by Irish nationalists and others, as part of the British Nation and an Agreement must recognise this fact.

Modern Irish nationality developed in the context of, and in opposition to, this powerful British identity. Nationalism has deep roots in Ireland. In the Republic these roots have been modified in the more confident Irish State in latter years. Traditional Irish nationalism, however, remains stronger among many in Northern Ireland. An Agreement must recognise this fact.

THE FUTURE

We in Democratic Left will seek to influence an Agreement in such a way as to ensure that in time a politics develops in Northern Ireland where other identities such as class, gender, and political identity take precedence over national identities in determining political outcomes. We can do this by first recognising that the opposing national allegiances which these identities can give rise to have real meaning and importance for both groups. Since the right of the British-Irish is in the process of being conceded by Irish nationalism, it is time that the British state recognised that it has within its boundaries a sizeable proportion of people who do not subscribe to British nationality, and whose national identity must be respected, officially recognised and valued.

The 70 years separation from the South, the development of the welfare state, divergent social development North and South, and 25 years of terrorism have made Northern nationalists a people apart. They have potentially more in common with their fellow Northern Irish people than with their southern neighbours. The primary

objective of an Agreement should be to unite the people of Northern Ireland on the basis of peaceful co-existence by putting in place structures which will help develop a pluralist democracy.

WEIGHTED MAJORITY

As we point out later we believe that an integral part of an agreement must be the establishment of a democratic assembly in Northern Ireland with legislative, budgetary and policing responsibilities. Given the history of Northern Ireland however and the nature of the divisions, there can be no question of simple majority rule. At the same time, power sharing on the basis of national allegiance would institutionalise divisions and make the emergence of a common identity more problematic.

Democratic Left therefore proposes the concept of weighted majority decision-making at central and local levels in order to incorporate widespread community support for all major decisions.

Weighted majority decision-making would mean, for example, that for all major decisions, particularly on sensitive issues, sixty or seventy per cent support would be required to carry a decision. The exercise of power would therefore require negotiation and agreement on issues relating, for instance, to policing. A minority of extremists undoubtedly would continue to have the capacity to make difficulties but they could not block progress. If the British state concedes structures where an Irish identity can be expressed by nationalists and valued in a manner that does not undermine their neighbours, the hold of extreme nationalism on the people will wane. If the British-Irish are given their security, extremes of loyalism will decline. Any agreement that does not recognise the potency of the dual nationalism will founder.

POLICY **NATIONAL IDENTITY**

An Agreement must recognise that the community in Northern Ireland is divided in complex ways but primarily into two different national identities created by history.

An Agreement must respect and value each nationality. The Republic must recognise the British national identity of the majority, and the British state must recognise the Irish national identity of the minority.

National identity is not immutable and can and does change over time. The agreement must allow for this change, but not presuppose its direction, be that towards greater identification with Britain, with the Republic, or with Europe as a whole; or towards an indigenous Northern Ireland identity. The agreement therefore must provide for minorities of all kinds as well as majorities.

Currently both national groupings in the North feel they are under attack and so at present the expression of nationality is in some cases extreme, reactionary, and violent. The agreement must allow for - and encourage - a more benign and positive expression of nationality.

We must seek to ensure that the struggle between the nationalities in Northern Ireland is replaced by a more productive and progressive expression of nationality, as occurs in societies where nationality is not under pressure or attack.

THE MEANS

- (A) Britain should legally recognise the existence of a significant national minority - the Irish of Northern Ireland - within the British state who do not subscribe to British nationality. Their rights, values, aspirations and culture should be legally recognised, respected and valued by the State.
- (B) The Republic of Ireland should amend Articles 2 and 3 of its Constitution:
- to convert the current territorial claim into an aspiration for the unity of people in Ireland;
 - to recognise Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom;
 - to recognise the existence and rights of the British-Irish and Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland;
 - to incorporate also the principle of consent to future constitutional change.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The recent conflict developed out of a demand for Civil Rights which arose from 50 years of discrimination in jobs, housing and electoral gerrymandering. The violent response to those demands enabled the IRA to push that campaign aside and pursue through violence traditional republican objectives. The 25 years of war waged by the IRA has not diminished the original Civil Rights demands for protection of individual rights against arbitrary state power or against discrimination on the basis of religion or national allegiance.

A new constitutional framework for Northern Ireland must contain cast-iron legal protection of these rights which can be tested in court.

THE MEANS

- (1) A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland should be specifically drafted to meet the concerns of all sections of the community. The provisions must be compatible with the more general requirements of international Human Rights Conventions.
- (2) The European Convention on Human Rights should be incorporated into the law of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, and into a newly agreed constitutional framework for Northern Ireland.
- (3) Within the new constitutional framework the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973 could be extended to cover indirect discrimination as recommended by the Standing Advisory Commission on human Rights in Northern Ireland to require effective legislation be maintained against discrimination by larger employers in the private sector.
- (4) Provision should be made for measures designed to improve the position of disadvantaged groups and to encourage greater integration of the two main sections of the community notably in education and housing.

COMMUNAL RIGHTS

Measures against discrimination, however effective, may not always be sufficient to protect communities', as opposed to individuals', interests.

The Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights for Northern Ireland has already recommended that the Northern Ireland Constitution Act should be amended to impose a specific duty on all public bodies to give equal value and esteem to the 'two major communities' in Northern Ireland.

In the context of a new constitutional framework incorporating a Bill of Rights the formulations of international agreements such as (1) the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities; (2) The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages; and (3) the document of the Copenhagen meeting of the CSCE could be used to give specific protection to community rights in such areas as education, culture and language.

EMERGENCY LAWS

There should be no derogation from the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights in the event of an emergency (such as continuing serious paramilitary violence on one side or another). Members in all sections of the community would want to have a guarantee that oppressive measures could not be introduced or operated on a one-sided or abusive manner. Where such emergency powers are deemed necessary they should not be introduced except:

1. By weighted majority vote in a Northern Ireland Assembly;
2. With the explicit provision for the involvement of international monitors on the operation of any emergency powers.

RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY REFERENDUM

1. In order to entrench a new Northern Ireland Constitution and Bill of Rights it would be important that it would be endorsed by a local referendum. This would make it extremely difficult for a future British Government to repeal the Bill of Rights without the consent of the people of Northern Ireland.
2. The new Northern Ireland Constitution incorporating the Bill of Rights could be incorporated into a new British-Irish agreement so that any subsequent amendment or appeal without the consent of both governments would be a breach of the treaty, and could be challenged through the International Court of Justice.
3. The Council of Europe to be invited to play a more active role in helping to guarantee and adjudicate on individual and communal rights aspects of an Agreement.

THE STRUCTURES

Northern Ireland has suffered greatly by being governed by unaccountable Ministers from Westminster, by quangoes and by bureaucrats. There is a need for devolution, under the principle of subsidiarity, with powers being devolved to the lowest level practicable. Powers should be retained at Westminster and at regional level only where absolutely necessary.

Proposals which would provide for voluntary coalitions within a

Northern Ireland Assembly will be supported by Democratic Left providing the weighted majority principle is incorporated. However we will not support a mandatory power-sharing Assembly based on national identity and/or religious head counts since such an institution would freeze politics along present lines in perpetuity and make very difficult the emergence of normal democratic politics.

A Northern Ireland Assembly should have legislative, budgetary and policing responsibilities. The devolution of such powers should depend upon the willingness to operate the weighted majority system. The devolution of powers to subsidiary elected bodies should carry the same condition. This would protect minorities while allowing for the development of normal politics.

THE MEANS

- 1 The devolution of powers to a Northern Ireland Assembly elected by proportional representation.
- 2 Powers to be devolved would depend upon prior agreement concerning the use of weighted majority in decision making
- 3 Decision making on the basis of weighted majorities system to be instituted at all levels in specified circumstances
- 4 The devolution of all practical powers to regional and local councils on the same basis.

POLICING & JUDICIAL SYSTEM

For the success of any agreement policing must be fair - and be seen to be fair. The name RUC should be replaced by the Northern Ireland Police Service. Responsibility for policing should be devolved to a Northern Ireland assembly. Policing policy must be subject to weighted majority decision-making. The police service should be accountable to the general public, for instance by extending the Police Liaison Committees currently in existence in some areas and broadening the representation on the Police Authority. Police should also be accountable at Divisional level in order to reflect the make-up of various communities. An Agreement should provide for measures including the Diplock Courts and the Prevention of Terrorism Act to be scrapped.

THE MEANS

- (a) A reconstituted unarmed police force to be known as the Northern Ireland Police Force
- (b) Policing to be the responsibility of the Northern Ireland Assembly under a weighted majority decision-making system.
- (c) The police to be publicly accountable at central and divisional level.
- (d) An agreement should provide for special powers to be repealed.

THE WIDER DIMENSION

An internal solution in Northern Ireland is no longer sufficient. Northern Ireland is part of the island of Ireland. Britain is geographically and historically the nearest neighbour of both parts of the island. Both Britain and Ireland are part of the European Union. The agreement must reflect these realities. This cannot be done however through Joint Sovereignty. The concept of Joint Sovereignty as applied to Northern Ireland is based on elitist, anti-democratic and sectarian assumptions about nationalists and unionists in Northern Ireland which at best would deadlock the situation and at worst intensify communal conflict.

THE MEANS

- (a) Co-operation between North and South to be encouraged in those areas of mutual interest on the basis of joint boards of equal representation from North and South.
- (b) British-Irish co-operation to be further developed through the British-Irish parliamentary body which should include members of a Northern Ireland Assembly.
- (c) The Republic and Northern Ireland to relate to the EU jointly where it is in the interest of both to do so.

CONCLUSION

People do not only have national identities - they have class, gender, regional, local, religious, sporting, occupational and other interlocking and diverse identities. It is our job to help make national identity just one other enriching aspect of people's lives - not a bigoted, fascist ideology that drives people apart.

National identity is not immutable. It does change. In today's world it is changing very fast. The 'imagined community' which is the Irish nation extends far beyond the borders of the Irish state and Northern Ireland, and includes English men playing soccer and rugby for Ireland. It includes in part, the Irish diaspora in the UK, America and Australia. British nationality is also under pressure with the decline of Empire, while the re-emergence of a confident Scottish and Welsh identity may in the future transform it beyond recognition. We recognise that there are many people who do not subscribe to either of the two main national identities.

The reactionary, backward-looking remnants of old-style British and Irish nationalism, which confront each other in Northern Ireland and have the allegiance of many Catholic and Protestant working-class people, must be overcome by addressing real fears and by respecting and valuing difference.

An Agreement is needed therefore which is based on the democratic principle of consent; which provides a framework for the development of an open civil society capable of accommodating differences through democratic politics and which avoids locking people into blocs based on religion or national identity.

In such circumstances everyone could pursue their legitimate aspirations for a better society without threatening anyone else's sense of security or identity.

In such a context Democratic Left is confident that we can win significant support for our objective of a socialist society which is egalitarian, pluralist, and democratic and where there is a clear separation of Church and State.

For further information contact:

**Proinsias De Rossa TD,
Democratic Left, Kildare St., Dublin 2**

or

**Seamus Lynch, Democratic Left, 30 Floral Gardens,
Belfast, BT 367SE, Northern Ireland**

Control of the Bihac enclave is vital to the dream of Greater Serbia.

The New York Times

Moreover, Western military analysts said that among the impressive array of Serbian surface-to-air mis-

pressure to accept a settlement in Croatia that would oblige the hand back the oil-rich and Serbian-occupied part of

As Envoy, Crowe, the Old Sailor, Navigates Rough Seas

By JOHN DARNTON

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Nov. 27 — For someone who has logged 47 years in the military and become Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff through a combination of intelligence and shrewdness, William J. Crowe Jr., the Ambassador to Britain, would seem to be the right man in the right place at the right time.

Ambassador Crowe took up his first diplomatic post six months ago, a time when differences over the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina began to strain American-British relations and raise fundamental questions about the performance and purpose of NATO, which was deploying forces outside its treaty area for the first time.

If anything, those strains have worsened now that the Clinton Administration, fulfilling a commitment made to Congress, has stopped enforcing the arms embargo against the Muslim-led Bosnian Government forces in their war with the Bosnian Serbs. Recent NATO air strikes against Serbian targets in Bosnia and Croatia have shown that the alliance can function operationally but have not removed the underlying political divisions.

The unenviable task of explaining the complexities of the United States policy to its staunchest ally has fallen to Ambassador Crowe, a large ear of a man, 69 years old, who uses his military expertise and reputation as a straight-talking down-home Oklahoman as a shield and rapier in his diplomatic thrust and parry. Mr. Crowe, who retired as an admiral in 1989 after four years as head of the Joint Chiefs, is well acquainted with the Mediterranean, having served among other incarnations as Commander in Chief of United States Naval Forces Europe and NATO Commander in Chief for Southern Europe.

"I am not so sure I know what to say about Bosnia," he said in an interview in his office overlooking the

falling leaves of Grosvenor Square.

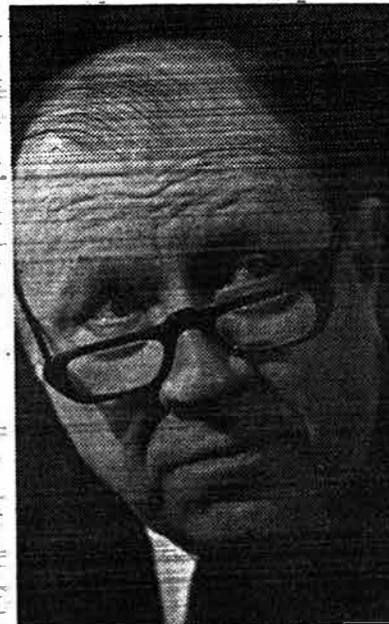
"There are no blinding insights. If there were, they would have come up by now and we wouldn't have all the arguments. What we are really talking about is a damage-limitation exercise as to what is the best answer to keep the killing down and the controversy down while we seek for time and solutions."

The difference in views between the French and British on one side and the United States on the other comes in part because the European countries have troops on the ground in Bosnia as part of the United Nations peacekeeping force. If they are seen as partisan, they would come under attack and have to be withdrawn. But it also comes from a fundamentally different perception of the conflict: the European countries look at the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and see a quagmire of countries with ancient enmities committing atrocities on all sides. Washington sees it in starker terms of right and wrong.

"I have an obligation," Ambassador Crowe said, "to try to explain what I think the American perception of Bosnia is — essentially that it's a European problem but also that the Bosnian Serbs are the aggressors, that we have countries here, no matter how fledgling they are, that have been recognized and now the aggressors are trying to upset those boundaries and have committed a lot of atrocities."

He continued: "Whether it is right or wrong, many Americans believe that the embargo unduly helps the aggressor against the aggrieved, and that we would be better off — though it would not be a perfect answer — if we lifted the embargo and, in the trite phrase, made the playing field level."

At the same time, Mr. Crowe (rhymes with now) tries to be a transmission belt in the other direction, communicating European views to Washington so that the Clinton Administration is aware that its



William J. Crowe Jr.

decisions on Bosnia can adversely affect NATO and relations with Britain, France and Russia.

"It would be unfortunate if we make some decisions back in Washington about Bosnia because we looked at Bosnia as just a discrete problem, and then discover that our decisions have a much wider impact which we didn't like or desire. And that's a possibility."

The job of go-between is not an easy one for the Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. Sometimes, British diplomats have suggested privately, Mr. Crowe is left hanging by his own Administration without enough timely information to explain a policy and damp down concerns over newspaper headlines.

Two weeks ago, for example, when the report leaked in Washington that the United States would no longer allow its ships to intercept arms shipments bound for Bosnia under the NATO operation, the American

Ambassador met with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd but was unable to explain in detail how the decision would be carried out or how it might affect intelligence gathering.

Asked about the matter, Crowe said, "I would have preferred to have had more advance notice."

The Ambassador won his post as a political debt owed President Clinton. His endorsement of Mr. Clinton during the campaign was crucial because his blessing as a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, appointed by President Reagan, helped to undercut the notion that Mr. Clinton's past as an objector to the war in Vietnam would make him unacceptable to the military.

Though he replaced a highly popular career diplomat, Raymond S. Starnes, the fact that Mr. Crowe is a political appointee carries an advantage. He can pick up the phone if he wants and call the White House — he has a direct line," said Jon Snow, a journalist and anchor on Channel 4 news. The Ambassador said he called the President sparingly, only when a crisis demanded it.

So far, he has cut a wide swath through London, emphasizing speeches that the "special relationship" between London and Washington is alive and well, using Will Rogers-type witticisms to warm up post-dinner audiences and impress newspaper editors with his bluntness and insight.

"He takes a bit of getting used to — that Oklahoma style of gruff, first and speaking later," said Emmott, editor of The Economist. "I've learned you just have to be silent and then the words start coming."

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIES

Sandy -

Here's all you should need
on Ireland. I've left a "to do history"
with Kathy Stevens who will work it
up for the press tomorrow.

I forgot to fill you in on ~~the~~ ^{the} TL pointer I
mentioned earlier. He is intrigued by Studemann's
suggestion that we correctly lift the Bosnian
arms embargo & asked that Vershow look at
it very quietly. I've conveyed to Vershow &
he'll work up a proposal.

Kathy Stevens is fully up to speed. I'll
call in.

MS

Irish #'s

Michael 703.821.6931
Collins.

Mark Richards - Justice h. 301.439.4555

Alan 703.893 - 5319
364.4108 Sreshlan

011.353.77.82376. Home in Donegal.

EMK 508.776.2020

Dennis Sandberg 011.353-1.668.8998
660.5227 h.

Residence 011.353-1.677.3506

Dermott - 835-0771. h in Ireland
671.3302

~~011~~ h 232-9305 / 3377

Larry Robinson - Cronin

Vol Martinez - Gen General.

Reynolds: w. 011.353.1.6789385 / 660.2384

Declan Inglesby

h 011.353-1.66.00.955

Hume 44504.265-321

Philippa 011.7144 930 4433 / 6689 612 / 464

James Molyneux w 011-44.232-324.601 / 011 4471 219 4520
h 011.44.8494.22545- / 4198
House of Commons

002
C. M. E.
Smith
Sandberg
Dee Dee
Michael McLurry.

-506-627-1072

Contingency Press Guidance: Northern Ireland

(IF ASKED)

Q: Were visas issued to IRA members to travel to the U.S.?

A: Limited B-2, single entry visas were issued Tuesday morning (August 30) in Dublin to Sinn Fein officials Joe Cahill and Patrick Trainor.

Q: Aren't these persons convicted ^{the peace process} IRA terrorists?

A: In accordance with our immigration law, the Attorney General authorized the State Department to waive their ^(said) ineligibilities to issue a temporary, limited visa. The purpose of their visit is to enable Sinn Fein to garner support in the U.S. for an end to violence in Northern Ireland. We hope their short visit to the United States will ^{advance} ~~forward~~ the peace process in Northern Ireland. We continue to call on the IRA and all those who ~~to~~ ^{have sought} to achieve political goals through violence to permanently and unconditionally cease to do so.

Q: Were the British consulted on these visas? Did they oppose this step, as they did the Gerry Adams visa?

A: We discussed this issue and the current efforts to end the violence in Northern Ireland with both the British and Irish governments. Our policy toward Northern Ireland continues to be based on supporting the joint efforts of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland to achieve peace and a just political settlement in Northern Ireland. You should direct your questions about their views to the respective governments.

Q: The Irish press is reporting the Administration is prepared to give \$200 million in aid to Northern Ireland if there is an IRA ceasefire. True?

A: We've made no decision on any possible ^{additional} assistance in the event of a ceasefire. The U.S. presently appropriates some \$20 million annually to the International Fund for Ireland. We will continue to be active in looking for ways to encourage and support peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

6475439

224.2417 Tina



October 23, 1992

The Honorable Bruce A. Morrison
2 Whitney Avenue, Suite 700
New Haven, CT 06510

Dear Bruce:

Let me extend my thanks to you for your support and leadership as Chairman of Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore. Your commitment to the goals we all share -- a Democratic victory in November as well as a better life for all Americans -- has made a real difference.

I want to send my warm greetings and hearty thanks to all of you gathered together this evening in support of our campaign. The support of the Irish American community is crucial to our election effort and I am grateful for your support.

In addition, let me recognize an individual who has provided tireless support for our ticket and who has made a real difference in the struggle for peace in Northern Ireland, Boston's distinguished Mayor, Ray Flynn. And it is a special honor for all of us to have the valued support and guidance of a good friend of Democrats and Irish-Americans everywhere, Paul O'Dwyer.

The lasting contributions of the Irish-American community are what have helped make this country strong. And I am pleased that today President Bush signed into law a Congressional resolution designating March 1993 as "Irish-American Heritage Month." Because Ireland has given so much to our country, we owe a special debt in return. We commend the Democratic leaders in Congress who acted to end the long history of discrimination against Ireland and other nations in our immigration laws. And we will work to ensure that political considerations do not hinder the workings of our courts in asylum cases.

Senator Gore and I share the goal of all Irish-Americans for peace in Northern Ireland. We believe that the United States must reflect this concern more effectively in its foreign policy. We condemn the violence and bloodshed which has scarred Northern Ireland and oppose all attempts to achieve political goals through terror and violence. We call on peoples of nations throughout the world to end their financial support for those who seek to gain their goals by violence.

We are encouraged by the current talks between the constitutional parties of Northern Ireland and the British and Irish governments. A Clinton Administration will take a more active role in working with the leaders in these nations to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the conflict. A permanent and peaceful solution to the crisis in Northern Ireland can only be achieved if the underlying causes of the strife and instability are dealt with vigorously, fairly and within a time-frame that guarantees genuine, substantial, and steady progress. I believe the appointment of a U.S. special envoy to Northern Ireland could be a catalyst in the effort to secure a lasting peace.

We believe that the British Government must do more to oppose the job discrimination that has created unemployment levels two and a half times higher for Catholic workers than Protestant workers. There can be no lasting settlement in Northern Ireland until such discrimination is ended. The MacBride Principles set forth appropriate guidelines for investment to help achieve these goals.

We also believe that the British Government must establish more effective safeguards against the wanton use of lethal force and against further collusion between the security forces and Protestant paramilitary groups.

The people of Northern Ireland have endured more than two decades of bloodshed and devastation. More than three thousand citizens have died in the continuing violence. A realistic solution to the suffering can be achieved only through political negotiations and the consent of the people, not by further acts of violence.

Senator Gore and I look forward to working with you in the years ahead to achieve these goals and bring peace and justice to Northern Ireland. But we must also join together in the fight for a better America.

It is time to renew our hope for the future of this nation, our faith in the American people and our vision for the kind of country we can build together. Al Gore and I have a plan to rebuild America.

Our plan reflects the concerns of the Irish-American community who understand the value of family, hard work and community. We will create thousands of new jobs, by among other things, supporting small business and encouraging private investment in America. Our plan seeks to reward people who work hard and play by the rules, by reforming welfare as we know it. We have a strong anti-crime approach based around support for expanded community-based law enforcement. And we will control the health care costs that are currently crippling our economy and provide insurance for the 35 million people without it.

Perhaps most important of all, Al Gore and I will make education a top priority, replacing rhetoric with results. Our

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Perhaps most important of all, Al Gore and I will make education a top priority, replacing rhetoric with results. Our

plan calls for lifetime learning based around educational opportunity. We know that education of the next generation is one of the most important aims of government. Our young people must be prepared to compete in the global marketplace.

With your help, we will win on November 3 and have the opportunity to rebuild America together.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Bill Clinton

Morrison & Swaine

Attorneys at Law
Whitney Grove Square
2 Whitney Avenue, Suite 700
New Haven, CT 06510

Bruce A. Morrison
Member of Congress, 1983-91
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Immigration, Refugees and
International Law 1989-91

Admitted in CT and NY

Telephone: (203) 498-0086
Fax: (203) 782-9181

FAX TRANSMISSION

Hard copy to follow by mail? No

Date: May 9, 1994

Time: 3:15

To: Nancy Soderberg

Fax No.: 202-456-2560

From: Bruce Morrison *BM*

Re: **MacBride Policy**

Number of pages (including this page): 2

Additional information: **The attached statement appears unchanged from the prior Administration despite the President's statements before and after election that he "supports the MacBride Principles." Have I missed something?**

*B-
Can you pls
put what the
President has
said?
See
attached*

If there are any problems with this transmission, please call **(203) 498-0086**.

Notice

This facsimile page and its attachments are confidential and intended exclusively for the individual or entity named above. If you are not the intended addressee, you are hereby notified that reading, disseminating, distributing, or copying this communication is unauthorized and prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please immediately notify us by telephone.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

FAX

Date:

5/3/94

TO:

Bob Nealon

OF:

PAGES (plus cover):

2

FAX #:

703-684-0153

FROM:

David F. Schafer
Desk Officer for Ireland and No. Ireland
EUR/NE-Northern European Affairs, Room 4513

FAX: (202) 647-3463 TEL: (202) 647-6585

SUBJECT:

MacBride Policy

Question: What is your position on the MacBride Principles?

Answer:

- The U.S. supports efforts to promote fair employment in Northern Ireland.
- As many observers point out, areas of high unemployment are also those with high levels of terrorist violence.
- Investment by American companies, especially in Catholic areas of high unemployment, would reduce the current imbalance, in which Catholics are more than twice as likely as Protestants to be unemployed, and help reduce terrorism.
- As for the MacBride principles themselves, we fully support

their non-discrimination and full-employment objectives.

At the same time we need to remain sensitive to arguments that enacting them into law could discourage much-needed investment and job creation.

If passed



AMBASADA NA HEIREANN

(202) 462-3939



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

FAX

26 MAY 1994

*ce +
return*

TO THE WHITE HOUSE FROM THE IRISH EMBASSY
FOR MS NANCY SODERBERG FROM MICHAEL COLLINS

Dear Nancy

As discussed, the following points might be of help.

- On the issue of the clarification of last December's Declaration by the British and Irish Governments, this matter has now been effectively concluded following the clarifications given by the British Government last week.
- It is now time, therefore, to move the peace process forward a decisive step.
- The next stage in the peace process has to be a decision by all those concerned to bring paramilitary violence to an end.
- For both Governments, a permanent cessation of violence is required so that all parties can participate fully in the shaping of a new agreed future for all the people of the island of Ireland.
- The conditions are now uniquely suitable for Sinn Fein to partake in full democratic engagement towards the realization of lasting peace in Ireland.
- The two Governments are to be commended for their joint Declaration and for their continuing persistent efforts to bring about peace and reconciliation in Ireland.
- The encouragement and support given by the United States to the efforts of the two Governments is of fundamental importance and is rock-solid.

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL, RICHARD E
ET AL

DOC DATE: 29 NOV 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: IRELAND

TERRORISM

PERSONS: ADAMS, GERRY

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM REP NEAL ET AL RE VISA TO SINN FEIN PRES GERRY ADAMS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 05 DEC 94 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: STEPHENS

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
STEPHENS

FOR CONCURRENCE
CLARKE
DARRAGH

FOR INFO
KRECZKO
LEBOURGEOIS
SCHWARTZ
SEATON
SODERBERG
TENET
VERSHBOW

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

November 29, 1994

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20005

Dear President Clinton:

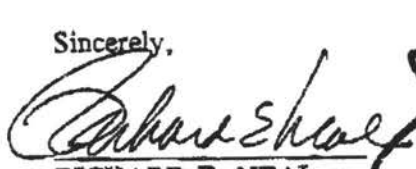
In our continuing efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Northern Ireland, we strongly urge you to grant an entry visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams to allow him to travel to the United States for one week during the month of December 1994.

As you know, there now exists an historic opportunity to end the strife and violence which has plagued the six counties of Northern Ireland for the past 25 years. As the cessation of military operations by both the provisional Irish Republican Army and loyalist paramilitaries approaches its second month, it is clear that both traditions are totally committed to a peaceful and democratic resolution to the hostilities.

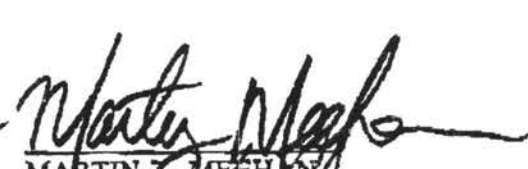
At this juncture, it is imperative that the momentum that has been established by the cease-fire be sustained and encouraged. In our opinion, denying Mr. Adams a visa at this time sends an inappropriate message to all parties at a very critical period in the peace process.

We command the courage and leadership you have demonstrated on this important issue, and we look forward to your timely consideration of this matter.

Sincerely,

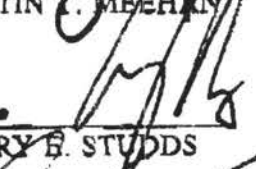

RICHARD E. NEAL


JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY


MARTIN T. MEEHAN

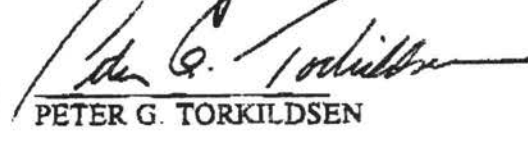

PETER BLUTE


JOHN W. OLVER


GERRY E. STUDDS


BARNEY FRANK


JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, II


PETER G. TORKILDSEN


EDWARD J. MARKEY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Attached is a copy of the letter sent to the President from Representative Richard Neal (D-MA) and others, concerning Gerry Adams. I would appreciate your assistance in drafting a response.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn Inadomi at x7500.

Enclosure

Q: What is your reaction to Prime Minister Major's announcement in Belfast that the British government now considers the IRA ceasefire to be permanent?

A: -- A very positive step which we welcome. The U.S. continues to support the efforts of Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Reynolds and of the communities and parties in Northern Ireland to pursue peace and reconciliation there.

-- In the context of the continuing cessation of violence, we hope that political talks will be able to begin soon.

Q: When will the U.S. announce what it is able to do economically to help?

A: -- We believe private sector investment is key to improving economic conditions in Northern Ireland. We are looking at ways we can be helpful to promote such investment.

-- We want to support the efforts being taken by the British and Irish governments.

11-17-94

SUBJECT: Ireland Government Falls; Peace Process on Track

Prime Minister Reynolds resigned prior to a vote on a confidence motion in the Dail. The crisis arose over Reynolds' railroading through cabinet the nomination to the High Court of former Attorney General Whelehan over the objections of his coalition partner, Deputy Prime Minister/Foreign Minister/Labor party leader Dick Spring. Reynolds had withheld information from the Dail and Spring about the Whelehan's involvement in extradition requests. Questions concerning his fitness for the the bench arose from an unusual delay in processing the extradition case of a paedophile priest to the UK. After Reynolds was shown yesterday to have mislead the Dail, Labor resigned from the coalition.

The crisis will probably delay the publication of the UK-Irish "joint framework document" by several weeks. If a general election is needed, the delay could become 2-3 months. Work will continue on the document, but a Reynolds-Major summit had been expected in early December to attempt to "cut the Gordian knot" on some of the remaining issues. Alternatively, it was becoming increasingly apparent that Reynolds may have given Gerry Adams and Sinn Fein some assurances on the joint framework document that HMG would not be able to accommodate. If that was the case, a new Irish government may not be under the same obligation and might reach a quick agreement with HMG. How Sinn Fein or IRA would react is another matter.

Reynolds has not requested a dissolution of the Dail and the Fianna Fail (Reynolds' party) and Labor will meet later today. Embassy Dublin expects Fianna Fail will elect Finance Minister Bertie Ahern as the new party leader and try to reconstitute the coalition with Spring continuing as Deputy Prime Minister/Foreign Minister. Other possible combinations would be Labor and the Fine Gael opposition party led by John Bruton. If the parties fail to form a government, a general election will have to be held, but nobody wants this now.

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ASSISTANT
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FROM: Nancy Soderberg

PHONE: (202) 456-9471

TO	FAX NUMBER	PHONE NUMBER
Pat Sarcone	224-6603	

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET 2

***** -COMM. JOURNAL- ***** DATE NOV-17-1994 ***** TIME 16:32 ***** P.1

MODE = TRANSMISSION

START=NOV-17 16:31

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***** (FAX-310 V2.12)* - 202 456 2560- *****

SANDY -
Pls show no one. NS.

Recognizing the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the peace process and underline our definitive commitment to its success, the leadership of the IRA has decided as of midnight there will be a complete cessation of military operations. All our units have been instructed accordingly. At this historic crossing, the leadership ~~s~~olutes and comm~~and~~s our activists and supporters who have sustained the struggle for the past 25 years. Your sacrifices demonstrate the spirit of freedom and the desire for peace, based on a lasting and just settlement, cannot be crushed. We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has been created. We are entering a new situation in the spirit of determination and confidence that the injustices will be removed. We note that the Downing Street declaration is not a solution, nor was it presented as such by its authors. A solution will only be found as a result of inclusive negotiations and by the British government facing up to its responsibilities. It is our desire to contribute significantly to that climate which will enhance the prospect for success. We urge everyone to approach this new situation with energy, determination and patience.

Notes from T. S. Two central themes:

1. Complete cessation of the military campaign.
2. Historic opportunity to change direction and make the peace process a reality.

Press.

703. 893. 539¹⁹ Hawk.

364-4108 JV.

- Foley
- Moylman.

DRAFT —
IRA
Announcement
to Compare.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon Between President Clinton and Irish Prime Minister Reynolds

NOTE TAKERS: Katherine O'Loughlin, Ted Seigny, Tim McGeath and Thorn Turner

DATE/TIME: 31 August 1994, 0722-0725 EDT

Prime Minister Reynolds: Hello.

President Clinton: Hello, Albert?

Prime Minister Reynolds: Yes, Mr. President.

President Clinton: It's great to hear your voice.

Prime Minister Reynolds: It's great to hear from you. Thank you very much. Our warmest thanks for all your help. This is a historic day in Ireland.

President Clinton: It is a happy day.

Prime Minister Reynolds: It's a happy day and you played such a big part. The Irish are eternally grateful. Thank you so much. It's great to have a U.S. President who was willing to help us out. It would not have been possible without your help. You took risks and made the decisions that had to be made politically.

President Clinton: I'm very happy for you. We have been working on this; we need to keep in close touch with you.

Prime Minister Reynolds: We'll stay in close touch. Our Embassy will be in touch if there's anything you need. Our Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Spring will be in U.S. on Friday if there's anything he can do. He'll be more than happy to meet with you then. I'll be mentioning it today in parliament. I'll be in the U.S. myself on 6-7 October and will go there anytime you want to seal this. It's just a few hours flight away and I'll be there anytime.

President Clinton: I'm very happy.

Prime Minister Reynolds: I'm so delighted. It's difficult when you're so far away to appreciate the impact that this has had here. There's dancing in the streets of Dublin and the entire country is celebrating this. It's such a clear statement by the IRA and all Ireland is so clearly protected.

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By M NARA, Date 12/23/15
2011-0355-F

President Clinton: You have handled it brilliantly.

Prime Minister Reynolds: Great. It's a marvelous day. The press is pouring in. This is a centuries old problem you know. It seems armed conflict has always been around. John Major is delighted too. With that Bill I won't hold you up. Thank you again. Enjoy your holiday Bill.

President Clinton: Goodbye.

AMBASÁID NA hÉIREANN

(202) 462-3939



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

31 August 1994

The Honorable Samuel R Berger
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
WASHINGTON DC 20500

Dear Sandy

As you know, the President and our Prime Minister, Albert Reynolds, spoke early this morning regarding to-day's momentous decision by the IRA to end their 25 year campaign from mid-night, and to make a definitive commitment to the democratic peace process.

As Mr Reynolds conveyed during their discussion, the deep concern, interest and active role of the President in the whole process was critical to to-day's historic decision.

Mr Reynolds also discussed with the President an immediate visit here by our Deputy Prime Minister, Dick Spring, who is also Foreign Minister (and Leader of the Labour Party in our two-party partnership Government) to express the Irish Government's appreciation to the President in person, and to convey our assessment of the new and transformed situation that now exists. The President, I understand, warmly welcomed the proposed visit.

I would greatly appreciate a word on the above as soon as possible - I would be happy to call down any time this morning.

With renewed appreciation and best personal wishes.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read 'Dermot Gallagher'. The signature is fluid and cursive, written over a horizontal line.

Dermot Gallagher
Ambassador

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (158)
KBM 4/11/2023

NEAL WOLIN FYI

FROM: NANCY SODERBERG

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: Sinn Fein Officials Arrive,
IRA Statement Predicted for August 31

Sinn Fein officials Joe Cahill and Patrick Treanor arrived in New York mid-day August 30. Cahill refused to talk to the press at the airport, saying he was on a "private visit." The visa story will likely receive extensive press treatment in Britain and Ireland tomorrow, though it will be overshadowed by the IRA announcement, if it comes tomorrow, as now expected. If the IRA statement warrants it, the President should consider issuing a statement welcoming the breakthrough and perhaps telephoning Reynolds and Major as well.

Cahill and Treanor agreed they would not engage in fund-raising in the U.S., that they would adhere to a set itinerary (which includes stops in New York, Connecticut, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago) and that they would depart immediately if the anticipated announcement by the IRA does not reflect a commitment to the total cessation of violence. In any event, their departure must take place no later than September 4.

Predictably, the visa issuances have made the Unionists, already fearful of a "British sell-out," even more jittery. I tried unsuccessfully to reach Ulster Unionist Party leader James Molyneaux today by telephone but left word emphasizing our desire to maintain an active dialogue with the Unionist community. Molyneaux will be meeting with Bill Crowe in London on Thursday.

There is speculation in the press about what the U.S. is prepared to do should there be a breakthrough in Northern Ireland. We are preparing a package of options for you to consider in such an event, including such ideas as convening a Presidential Conference on Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland, increasing the annual U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland and creating an "America House" in Belfast under USIA auspices. While some of these steps would require new funding from Congress or other legislative initiatives, the watershed event of an IRA renunciation of violence, if it occurs, could provide a unique opportunity for such an initiative.

Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith tried to reach the President by telephone today. We have talked with her on his behalf, but

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Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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should he decide to telephone her, she can be reached in Dublin at the Embassy, 353-1-6687122, or at her residence, 353-1-677-0101/3506.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EYES ONLY

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING CABLE FROM NANCY SODERBERG TO
AMBASSADOR CROWE AT OPENING OF BUSINESS WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR:

RATHER THAN WAKE YOU AGAIN, I THOUGHT I'D GIVE YOU AN UPDATE IN
WRITING. OUR VISITORS SEEM TO HAVE ARRIVED WITHOUT INCIDENT AND
SO FAR HAVE DECLINED TO TAKE QUESTIONS FROM THE PRESS. THE VISA
WAIVER LEAKED MID AFTERNOON HERE BUT THE REACTION SEEMS TO BE
FAIRLY STRAIGHT FORWARD SO FAR. I TRUST YOU RECEIVED OUR PRESS
GUIDANCE.

REGARDING THE EXPECTED ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE IRA, OUR BEST
INFORMATION INDICATES THAT IT WILL COME ON WEDNESDAY. ONCE WE
HAVE SEEN THE TEXT, THE PRESIDENT MAY WANT TO CALL PRIME MINISTER
MAJOR. ASSUMING THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS WHAT WE EXPECT, WE WILL ALSO
WANT TO ISSUE A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT AND WILL BE SURE TO
CONSULT WITH YOU FIRST.

TONY LAKE CALLED MOLYNEAUX BUT HE HAD LEFT FOR LONDON. HE HAD A
BRIEF CONVERSATION WITH THE PARTY SECRETARY JIM WILSON AND
CONVEYED THE POINTS WE HAD DISCUSSED. MR. WILSON SEEMED
DELIGHTED BY THE CALL AND INDICATED THAT SOME OF THEIR OFFICIALS
WERE IN FACT CONSIDERING A VISIT TO THE U.S. BUT THEY WERE
UNDECIDED BECAUSE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION. YOU MAY HEAR MORE IN
YOUR MEETING ON THURSDAY. MOLYNEAUX HAS NOT CALLED US BACK BUT
WE'LL LET YOU KNOW IF WE HEAR FROM HIM. WILSON SAID MOLYNEAUX
WAS IN A BUOYANT MOOD AND THAT HE PLANNED TO SEE THE PRIME
MINISTER THIS WEEK. HE MADE A POINT OF SAYING THAT MEETING IS
NOT PUBLIC.

I AM OFF TO THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW PRESIDENT OF PANAMA BUT
SANDY BERGER, SANDY VERSHBOW AND/OR KATHY STEPHENS WILL BE
HANDLING THE ISSUE AND WILL BE IN TOUCH. LET'S HOPE THINGS WORK
OUT!

BEST REGARDS,

NANCY