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Folder Title:

Ireland-Aid/Assistance, October 1994 [1] .

Staff Office-Individual:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re. Supporting Peace in Northern Ireland. Options for Greater U.S. Support (5 pages)	10/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBN 6/14/2023
002. cable	re: DUP Deputy Leader Peter Robinson Declines... (2 pages)	10/31/1994	P1/b(1) KBN 6/14/2023
003. memo	[Duplicate of 001] (5 pages)	10/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBN 6/14/2023

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Aid/Assistance, October 1994 [1]

2011-0355-F

rs1658

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]

RE: \$20m for Ireland fund

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/11

TB Tony ✓

Give me a
copy to keep

cc Sandy ✓

Tony -

This will be an issue next week.

It's relatively painless to put in the budget and would bring wide praise from the Irish.

I can defend the money -- it's helping to reduce the violence - promote economic development + a peaceful settlement.

Congress will put it in anyway + I'd recommend we do it first.

Let's talk.

Nancy S

cc Sandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD A. CLARKE/JENNONE WALKER
FROM: RAND BEERS/BARRY LOWENKRON
SUBJECT: FY 94 Funding for Ireland

In association with preparation of the FY 94 foreign assistance budget and the St. Patrick's Day visit of Irish Prime Minister Reynolds, we have examined the issue of FY 94 funding for Ireland. For the last decade Congress has annually appropriated between \$10 and \$35 million for Ireland either separately or as part of the ESF account. FY 91 - 93 funding was \$20, \$19.704, and \$19.704 million respectively. State has never requested this funding, and Congress has added it annually.

In planning for the FY 94 budget, State, at the Assistant Secretary level, does not intend to recommend funds for Ireland, especially while aggregate funding levels continue to fall. In fact, State believes that not recommending funds for Ireland is the best way to keep the amount ultimately inserted by the Congress as low as possible. In their view, but untested in reality, if the Administration were to propose a level, Congress would increase it. Moreover, State also believes that foreign assistance for Ireland is indefensible under any of the normal categories of assistance. Ireland is a democracy, it's per capita income is above the level for development assistance, and we do not have military forces who need access in Ireland. It would be difficult for Secretary Christopher to make a case for such aid; it could make even more difficult State's already daunting task of maintaining most aid levels and arguing for increases for Russia and peacekeeping.

Against this background the question is whether to make a virtue out of necessity and have the Administration propose an Irish program this year and whether to do so in time to announce it to Prime Minister Reynolds. To do so would require that you talk soon to Secretary Christopher or Deputy Secretary Wharton. We would follow up with the State budget staff. If we proceed, \$20 million represents the right amount. Less would not be a gift to Reynolds and would probably be ignored by the Hill. We will also have to be prepared to hold the Hill to the amount we propose, lest we scrow foreign assistance further.

On balance, the lack of a compelling foreign assistance justification outweighs other factors. If we propose Irish aid, we will have to defend it; and the primary defense is for domestic political purposes. Moreover, a foreign assistance package for Ireland would not eliminate, or even reduce, the problem of a Presidential "fact finder" for Northern Ireland -- especially since Congress will allocate the funds regardless of what the Administration does.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By M NARA, Date 12/31/15
201-0355 F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

2

RECOMMENDATION

That we leave Irish funding to the Congress.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Alternatively, that you talk to Christopher or Wharton about Irish aid.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

That you talk to Christopher or Wharton in time to obtain aid before the Reynolds visit.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: \$20m for Ireland Fund

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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3/11

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Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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Approve _____ Disapprove _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IRELAND

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Priority Sectors

- Bi-communal Cooperation for Economic Development
- Social Reconciliation

U.S. Assistance (\$ Thous.)	1992	1993	1994
Development Assistance	0	0	0
Economic Support Fund	19,700	19,700	19,600
Special Assistance Initiatives	0	0	0
TOTAL	19,700	19,700	19,600

Note: Appropriations appear by fiscal year

CURRENT STATUS

The Economic Support Funds (ESF), granted to Ireland by a Congressional earmark, go exclusively to the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), a multilateral, non-partisan fund created in 1986 to promote and support grass roots efforts to reconcile the different communities in Northern Ireland and the bordering counties in the Republic of Ireland. The IFI views itself as a temporary facility to catalyze and support economic, political and social initiatives aimed at permanent reconciliation among the two communities. It disburses funds in accordance with the economic and social policies and priorities of both Irish and U.K. governments, and ensures impartiality to regions, communities and religions with regard to its board membership, administrative employment, and disbursements. Funding supports employment generation and investment promotion, with special emphasis on projects promoting communal reconciliation. U.S. funding began in 1986 to "support and promote economic and social reconstruction and development" in Ireland and Northern Ireland. The U.S. has been the largest contributor to the IFI, granting approximately \$230 million from 1986 through September 1994. The next contribution of \$19,600 is planned for FY 1995.

HIGHLIGHTS OF RESULTS

The IFI's principal efforts are directed at reducing the economic hardships of unemployment and community infrastructural decay in order to reduce the economic differences that exacerbate social disruption along religious lines. Working through sectoral program teams, the IFI has approved over 3,000 projects and disbursed \$265 million to these projects. The remainder of the total

multi-donor contributions through end of FY94 has also been committed to projects. The IFI has projects in tourism, urban development, agriculture, technology, and community development.

Innovative community relations projects have received \$4.2 million of the \$5.7 million committed for this purpose. Under a special initiative for disadvantaged areas affected by civil unrest and urban decay, IFI has disbursed \$37 million of the \$84 million committed for activities. Other urban development activities, principally commercial regeneration of town centers, have received \$32 million of the \$55 million committed for projects.

IFI has disbursed all of the \$34 million committed for vocational training of youth, and \$47 million has also been disbursed against commitments of \$63 million for small business development.

The Community Regeneration and Improvement Special Program was begun in 1990 to focus on disadvantaged rural areas and towns in Northern Ireland. It is estimated that nearly 29,000 direct and indirect jobs will be created with IFI investment. Of the 20,322 direct jobs created, almost 14,000 are in the areas of highest unemployment. Of the 8,440 indirect jobs created over 5,000 are in the most disadvantaged areas. In addition, it is calculated that the projects supported by IFI will generate over 25,000 construction jobs.

USAID/ENI/ECA
October 1994

International Fund for Ireland

- * The International Fund for Ireland (the Fund) was established in 1986 to demonstrate U.S. support for the Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- * It is a tangible expression of the U.S. policy favoring peace and reconciliation through economic progress in Northern Ireland.
- * Since 1986, Congress has apportioned approximately \$228 million to the Fund.
- * Two U.S. government priorities in its contribution to the Fund are job creation and leveraging investments. For example:
 - Since 1986, the Fund has created about 29,000 new jobs
 - In addition, construction activities have resulted in 25,000 person-years of temporary employment.
 - Of the \$352 million Fund resources committed to approved projects, another \$264 million of private and government resources have been invested. Every dollar the Fund has committed has resulted in an additional \$1.70.
- * In an effort to focus on the more disadvantaged areas of Northern Ireland, the Fund directs 70-80% of the resources available in its six program sectors to disadvantaged areas in Northern Ireland.
- * Although the U.S. is the largest donor to the Fund, other donors to the Fund include Canada (\$1 million), New Zealand (\$.5 million), and the European Community (\$108 million).
- * The Fund's program sectors concentrate on community regeneration projects (e.g. rehabilitation of derelict facilities), employment generation, training and the encouragement of community-based private enterprises in Northern Ireland, and in the six border counties of the Republic of Ireland.
- * The Fund's program sectors consist of the following: Business Enterprise, Tourism, Urban Development, Agriculture and Rural Development, Science and Technology, Wider Horizons Program and the Disadvantaged Areas Initiative.

- * The Fund is highly regarded by moderates from both the Catholics and Protestant communities, but has not been well accepted by those who oppose the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In recent years, however, even some Protestant opponents of the Agreement have come to see the Fund as a source of monies that could benefit their communities.

Success stories:

- Community Relations/Regeneration - Dairy Farm Regeneration Scheme on West Belfast's Stewartstown Road provides:
 - large supermarket
 - multipurpose civic center
 - library
 - retail stores
 - service outlets
 - job search and placement service
- Cross-Border Cooperation - Ballinamore and Ballyconnell canal Restoration Project. This activity linked the two main waterways in Ireland, the Erne and the Shannon, to develop and support important trade and business development for tourism. The program involved the interaction between the U.K. and Irish governments, the EC, three County Councils, landowners, local communities, consultants and contractors. The project presently employs 300 people. there has been a substantial boost to the local economy.
- Disadvantaged Areas Initiative - Coalisland: Local inhabitants of Coalisland formed the Coalisland District Development Association to improve the economic and social situation of the town.
- Urban Development - 30 private sector-led regeneration activities have been developed to date.

drafted ENI/ECA 10/30/94

GENERAL RESPONSES TO REP. KLUG'S QUESTIONS

When did funding for the International Fund for Ireland get proposed?

- o The Anglo-Irish Agreement Support Act of 1986 authorizes United States contributions to the International Fund for Ireland established pursuant to the November 15, 1985 agreement between the United Kingdom and Ireland.

How much have we contributed to the Fund since the first year?

- o To date, the United States Government has obligated \$210 million to the Fund. The Fiscal Year 1994 and 1995 levels will be \$19.6 million each.
- o Contributions to the Fund have been made from Canada, New Zealand and the European Community. The British and Irish governments provide all administrative costs associated with the Fund.
- o On average, the U.S. contributes only 25% of total project costs. The rest come from other donors, private investors and local government programs.

Results we have seen, if measured against the original objectives laid out in the agreements.

- o The objectives of the U.S contributions to the Fund are to 1) contribute to reconciliation between the two communities 2) contribute to job creation, new investment, and economic reconstruction on the basis of strict equality of opportunity and 3) increase respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all people in Northern Ireland.
- o IFI projects created 18,735 jobs since the Funds inception in 1986. The IFI tourist development program, one of its six investment programs, has alone created 2,636 jobs in Northern Ireland and in the Republic that would not otherwise have been created.
- o On average, 70% of IFI commitments have gone to projects in the most disadvantaged areas of Northern Ireland.
- o Out of the 2,800 IFI projects begun by the IFI's independent managers since 1986, 2 were golf courses, supported because local planners felt they created more jobs than alternative investments. IFI stopped funding golf course development in 1990.

- o The golf video was only partially funded by IFI; the Irish Tourist Board and the Northern Ireland Tourist Board also contributed funding. The purpose was to bring more tourist income and related job creation to the area.

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International Fund for Ireland
October 1994

1.U.S. Contributions

to date:	<u>\$228.7 million</u>
FY 1995 (planned)	19.6 million

2.Other Donors

European Union

to date:	<u>\$108 million</u>
FY 1995	\$ 60 million

Canada	<u>\$7.5 million</u>
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New Zealand	<u>\$0.6 million</u>
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Australia (planned FY95)	\$0.7 million
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3. Major Program Areas:

Disadvantaged Areas Initiatives (CRISP, CERS)*
Business Enterprises
Tourism
Urban Development
Agriculture and Rural Development
Science and Technology
Wider Horizons
Flagship Projects
Community Relations
Investment Companies

4. Job Creation (as of 10/94, rounded)

Directly for Fund activity:	20,300
Indirectly	8,600
Temporary (construction activities)	25,000 (person years)

5. 1

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

~~FAX TRANSMITTAL~~

To: ~~_____~~ From: ~~_____~~ # of pages: ~~_____~~

Dept./Agency: ~~_____~~ Phone: ~~_____~~

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*CRISP = Community Regeneration and Improvement Program
CERS = Community Economic Regeneration

prepared by PA /irefacts.

ENSURING ACCOUNTABILITY

3. The money -- which comes to A.I.D. -- is sent to the IFI. How does A.I.D. check to see how the money is spent? How does A.I.D. ensure accountability?

- A.I.D. reviews the IFI's Annual Reports. These reports include audited financial statements on the Fund. For the last two years,

- Coopers & Lybrand has undertaken these audits.

- A.I.D. also monitors IFI activities through site visits, and regular communication with IFI management.

- A U.S. Observer is appointed by the President. The U.S. Observer attends IFI Board meetings every two months. The White House has selected a very talented American, a former litigator, as his replacement. His name will be announced soon.

In 1989, the GAO reviewed the IFI and made 3 recommendations. A.I.D. & the IFI have accepted all 3 recommendations, and have taken actions to meet their requirements as follows.

GAO recommended that A.I.D.:

(1) request that the IFI Board further develop its capability to collect, sort, analyze & report on economic indicators of the Fund's achievements. The IFI agreed with this recommendation; since then, for example, job creation statistical tracking has been put in place.

(2) request that the IFI Board prepare a report on how the operation of the Fund complied with its intended purpose & donor wishes. The IFI Board commissioned a compliance review by Peat Marwick; this review confirmed that the Fund was meeting its intended purpose & donor wishes.

(3) review the timing for the release of U.S. contributions to the Fund. In 1992, A.I.D. initiated a letter-of-credit disbursement system for our contributions to the Fund. This ensures that USG funds provided to the IFI have been expended at the minimum rate necessary to make timely payments for projects and activities.

- Annual Presidential Certifications: A.I.D. prepares an analysis of IFI based on the information collected in site visits for a Presidential certification of compliance as required by the legislation. This constitutes a report to Congress on the degree to which the objectives of U.S. contributions to the IFI have been met.

IMPACT

What kind of results have we seen, if measured against the original objectives laid out in the agreements? Do we think that we are "getting anywhere?"

The objectives of the U.S. contributions to the Fund are to:

- contribute to reconciliation between the two communities.
- encourage new investment, job creation, and economic reconstruction on the basis of strict equality of opportunity.
- increase respect for human rights & fundamental freedoms for all people in Northern Ireland.

Evidence of Impact:

- IFI projects created ^{28,900}~~10,000~~ jobs since the Fund's inception in 1986.
- To date, on average, 70% of IFI's commitments have gone to projects in the most disadvantaged areas of Northern Ireland.

A.I.D. is currently working with the IFI to plan and undertake an impact assessment to determine which activities contribute most to reconciliation and economic development.

BICOMMUNAL SUCCESS STORIES

- Community Regeneration & Improvement Special Program provides assistance to the smaller towns & villages in the most disadvantaged areas of Northern Ireland.
- The Village of Coalisland, a former high unemployment area, formed a District Development Association to convert an old mill to a museum & host small industry.
- 26 private sector-led regeneration projects have been developed under the Fund's Urban Development Program.
- Bicommunal shopping center was set up in disadvantaged West Belfast by a Father Patty McWilliams. Includes a supermarket, bicommunal civic center, job placement service, stores, library. An investment of 15 million pounds from IFI leveraged an additional 50 million pounds from public and private investment.
- Cross-border cooperation for the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell Canal Restoration Project. Linked 2 main waterways in Ireland -- the Erne & the Shannon -- to develop & support important trade & business development for tourism.

Involved interaction between British & Irish gov'ts, the EC, 3 County Councils, 550 landowners, local communities, consultants & contractors. Project employs 300 people & construction materials are procured from both sides of the border. Has given a substantial boost to the local economy.

- In Derry, Patty Dougherty organized reconstruction of the old town that had been devastated by communal strife, & used this opportunity to train young people from both communities in vocational skills.

TOURISM

- One big cause of job loss and economic decline in Northern Ireland was a massive falloff in tourism --- from an estimated 1 million in 1968 to below 400,000 in 1972
- The Fund now considers Tourism a major growth and job-creation industry in Ireland.
- Indeed, in some counties with poor agricultural land that lack other natural resources & industry, the Fund considers Tourism the only sector that has considerable scope for job and income expansion. This judgment as to the best rate of return in terms of the Fund's criteria is made by the British and Irish program planners closest to the scene.
- But the statistics bear their judgment out: The IFI's tourism program, one of its six programs, has created 2,636 jobs in Northern Ireland and in the Republic, that would not otherwise have been created.
- On average, the U.S. contributes only 25% of total project costs. The rest comes from other donors, private investors & local government programs.

GOLF

Out of the 2,800 IFI projects begun by the IFI's independent managers since 1986, 2 were golf courses, supported because local planners felt they created more jobs than alternative investments.

(Names: the Nuremore Hotel & the Ballymascallan House golf courses).

IFI stopped funding golf course development in 1990.

The IFI did create 2,636 jobs in the tourism sector, however, out of the ~~18,000~~ new permanent jobs and ~~5,000~~ temporary jobs it has created. ^{20,300} _{8,600}

See TOURISM card and IMPACT card.

(IF ASKED): The Golf video was only partially funded by IFI; the Irish Tourist Board & the Northern Ireland Tourist Board also contributed funding. The video was a relatively small project. The purpose was to bring more tourist income and related job creation to the area. See TOURISM card.

PUBS & WINEBARS

This is only a small & incidental component of grants under the Urban Development Program, which was designed to stimulate regeneration of towns in Northern Ireland & to regenerate the local economy.

Pubs & winebars funded in the past were tourist facilities.

See TOURISM card for remaining talking points.

WIDER HORIZONS

It has been alleged that the IFI funded "junkets abroad" under the cover of the Wider Horizons Program for employment in McDonald's.

- The purpose and objectives of the Wider Horizons Program are included in the IFI's enabling legislation, as well as in the agreement between the IFI and Canada that provides for Canada's contribution to the Fund.
- These objectives are to develop an enterprise spirit and an understanding of the broader aspects of international social & business environments; the opportunity to travel outside of Ireland & meet people from different cultures was considered as ranking high in likelihood of changing attitudes. This belief was explicitly stated as one of the priorities of the Fund in its enabling legislation.
- Training abroad for young people from both communities was specifically established under the Wider Horizons Program to meet the conditions under which Canada made a contribution to the Fund.

GENERAL RESPONSE TO ALLEGED "BAD" PROJECTS**Why give funds?:**

- participate in process of economic regeneration in a part of the world that has been devastated by inter-communal strife for nearly 20 years.
- The IFI is using the U.S. contributions to the intent of Congress -
- Fund has a proven track record in meeting its objectives for economic regeneration & employment creation.
- IFI projects created ^{28,900} ~~10,000~~ jobs since the Fund's inception in 1986.
- This employment creation performance is so impressive that another A.I.D.-recipient country asked us for guidance on how to achieve similar impacts, and we put that country in touch with the Fund directly.
- Fund's Board has members appointed by both British & Irish governments, but Board acts independently of both governments.
-  - A.I.D. does not approve individual IFI projects. Projects are reviewed by British & Irish teams convened under IFI auspices, and are approved by the IFI Board. The best people to decide on priority economic growth sectors are the people closest to the problems (IFI staff & Board members).
- To date, on average, 70% of IFI's commitments have gone to projects in the most disadvantaged areas of Northern Ireland.
- U.S. only pays 25% of project costs, on average. U.S. pays 2/3 of IFI's share of costs; Canada, the 12 nations of the European Community, and New Zealand pay the remaining one-third of IFI costs. The IFI in turn only pays 3/8 of total project costs on average; the remainder is paid by the U.K. & Irish governments at the national or local levels, private sector investors, or communities' donations.

CONTRIBUTION TO RECONCILIATION

Have IFI activities prevented or reduced the incidence of violence between the two communities?

The consensus-building process of project design & implementation itself contributes to reconciliation.

The Fund says that IFI projects have never been targeted by terrorists from either side.

A.I.D. and IFI are now planning an impact assessment that will investigate whether incidence of violence has dropped in counties where IFI is active, and whether specific types of projects (or ways of implementing projects) have a greater likelihood of producing this effect.

FUND'S INDEPENDENCE

Why is the IFI Board independent?

- The 1986 treaty called for an international fund. Such funds normally have independent boards (like the multilateral development banks' boards).
- Only the parties to the 1986 treaty, the U.K. and Ireland, have veto power on the Board. These countries are the ones most affected by the Board's decisions.
- The U.S. Congress wanted to contribute to the Fund, and A.I.D. was asked to manage and oversee these contributions.

DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

SUPPORTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The United States attaches great importance to the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, both in the context of our world-wide commitment to end terrorism and to promote democratic solutions to conflicts, and because of the close bonds of history, culture and tradition our nation shares with Ireland and the United Kingdom.

We have encouraged and supported the courageous efforts of Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major to establish a new framework for peace and justice in Northern Ireland. For the first time in a generation, both Republican and Loyalist paramilitaries have declared cease-fires. Each day that passes without terrorism strengthens the hope that the bomb and the bullet are gone for good from the politics of Ireland.

I have pledged to do all I can to support the building of peace in Ireland. The United States wants to do its part to ensure that peace brings to Ireland new opportunities for job growth and economic prosperity, which in turn will help ensure that this newfound peace is a stable, permanent one.

The promise of peace will allow Americans to build on the strong business, trade, political and cultural links we already enjoy with Ireland, north and south. The United States is at present the most important source of internationally mobile investment on the island of Ireland. About forty U.S. companies operate in Northern Ireland alone. The Administration strongly supports the International Fund for Ireland, which supports a broad range of economic and social development projects.

This present opportunity for lasting peace in Ireland is the chance of a generation; it must be seized and supported. I am therefore directing my Administration to undertake the following initiatives in the coming months to increase our support for the political and economic revitalization of Northern Ireland:

- Commerce Secretary Ron Brown will travel to Belfast in December 1994 to lead the U.S. delegation to Prime Minister Major's Investment Conference for Northern Ireland, where I have instructed him to identify concrete new opportunities

Explore

2

Microenterprise

Sabat

McGinnis
C. (unclear)

for increased business links between Northern Ireland and the U.S. He will also travel to Dublin for consultations. In both cities he will prepare the groundwork for the U.S. Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland.

We will hold a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The Conference is planned for April 1995 in Philadelphia. I have instructed the Department of State to name a Coordinator to work with Secretary Brown and his staff, Irish and British governmental and private sector groups to organize and support the conference. I look forward to participating in this Conference, which will aim to show U.S. companies that sustained peace is dramatically improving business opportunities on the island of Ireland and, particularly, Northern Ireland and the border counties. I want American businesses to get in on the ground floor of these new opportunities; this will be good for us and good for Irish peace and reconciliation. **TOURISM.**

-- I am committed to continued strong U.S. support for the International Fund for Ireland. In addition to our planned obligation of almost \$20 million to the Fund in Fiscal Year 1995, I will seek Congressional concurrence to increase IFI funding by 50 percent in Fiscal Year 1996, assuring that IFI has the funds it needs for the vital new initiatives it is taking to consolidate the achievement of peace in Ireland and to build cross-community economic and political cooperation. In particular, I hope the IFI will strengthen its programs to address the entrenched problem of high rates of long-term unemployment in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

I have directed the Department of Commerce to enhance our cooperation with Northern Ireland in science and technology, especially through strengthened collaboration of our Technology Innovation Centers.

-- I have instructed the United States Information Agency to expand its programs in Northern Ireland in view of the changing political climate, increasing exchanges of persons as well as planning speakers and seminars on such topics as conflict resolution. In addition, I will ask USIA to open its grant competitions to allow American non-profit organizations to submit proposals for projects in Northern Ireland to support the momentum for peace and reconciliation.

-- I will encourage the National Endowment for Democracy, which is presently funding a political party training program in

ADD to provide technical assistance towards building program to IFI to help set up microenterprise fund in N.I.

Sherry New fund
institutions
identify new projects
to \$10m over FY 96/97

Prepared
\$10m over
96+7
depending on
input priorities
reconciliation

TDA - send for feasibility study.

John Balestrino

Northern Ireland, to seek additional opportunities to strengthen and expand its programs there.

- I have instructed U.S. government agencies with relevant expertise and experience in such areas as community banking and urban redevelopment to develop active partnerships with their counterparts in Northern Ireland.
- We will continue to look for opportunities to support the efforts of the British and Irish governments and of democratic leaders in Northern Ireland to build on and for peace. I encourage the millions of Americans who want to contribute to peace in Ireland to do the same.

#

HHS, Education.

Hill Irish Call List

Foley	supportive*
Hamilton	supportive
Gilman	supportive, more money
Manton	supportive
Moakley	supportive
McCloskey	supportive, more money
J. Kennedy	supportive, more money
R. Neal	lest message*
Obey	more money up to POTUS
Livingston	left message
McDade	no reaction
E. Kennedy	supportive, more money
Kerry	supportive, more money
Dodd	supportive, more if possible
Moynihan	supportive, more money
Biden	supportive, more money
Pell	supportive, more money
Leahy	concerned about source of \$
McConnell	no immediate reaction

*Foley may support a funding increase, but his staff did not indicate, since he is otherwise engaged; Neal's office was contacted a couple of times but with no reaction - it is likely he would support an increase once he focuses.

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

October 25, 1994

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton,

As Members of Congress who are deeply concerned about achieving peace in Northern Ireland, we support a new U.S. economic initiative package for Ireland. An early announcement of such a package would provide an incentive to the negotiating parties and hope to the people of Ireland.

It is not a coincidence that Mr. John Hume, leader of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labour Party, Ireland's Foreign Minister Dick Spring, a delegation of Ulster Unionists led by Mr. William Ross MP, and Mr. Gerry Adams, President of Sinn Fein, all major players in the peace process, have visited Washington in the last month. They see America as a friend to all sides with a unique role in promoting peace. Your inspired and courageous contribution to this historic breakthrough is clearly of enormous significance and is widely acknowledged both in the United States and in Ireland.

The new situation in Ireland, since the IRA announced its ceasefire, offers an opportunity for the United States to emphasize peace and to help rebuild all of Ireland, which has been ravaged by years of violence. All over Northern Ireland there are economic blackspots. It is clear that these areas have taken the brunt of the economic hardship and must see clear evidence of the peace dividend. In some nationalist areas, unemployment has at times reached 70%. There are families that have never seen gainful employment for generations.

Through the International Fund for Ireland and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation the U.S. has and can assist in the economic development of the deprived areas of Northern Ireland and the border counties, but much more needs to be done. Addressing the economic situation is vital to making the region open to peace.

We recognize that you have begun work on an economic package, and look forward to considering your proposal in Congress.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Schumer, M.C.



Ronald K. Machtley, M.C.

Barney Frank

Barney Frank, M.C.

Ben Gilman

Benjamin A. Gilman, M.C.

Pete King

Peter T. King, M.C.

Nita M. Lowey

Nita M. Lowey, M.C.

Neil Abercrombie

Neil Abercrombie, M.C.

Maurice D. Hinchey

Maurice D. Hinchey, M.C.

Austin J. Murphy

Austin J. Murphy, M.C.

John Joseph Moakley

John Joseph Moakley, M.C.

Robert G. Torricelli

Robert G. Torricelli, M.C.

Thomas J. Manton

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Carolyn B. Maloney

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Peter Blute

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Frank Pallone, Jr.
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Jim Oberstar
James L. Oberstar, M.C.

James T. Walsh
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CLAIBORNE PELL, SENATOR, CLAIORNE

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DELAWARE
PAUL S. SARABIAN, MARYLAND
CHRISTOPHER J. DOOS, CONNECTICUT
JOHN F. KERRY, MASSACHUSETTS
PAUL SIMON, ILLINOIS
DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, NEW YORK
CHARLES S. ROSS, VIRGINIA
HARRIS WOFFORD, PENNSYLVANIA
RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD, WISCONSIN
HARLAN MATHEWS, TENNESSEE

JESSE HELMS, NORTH CAROLINA
RICHARD S. LUGAR, INDIANA
NANCY L. KASSBAUM, KANSAS
LARRY PRESSLER, SOUTH DAKOTA
FRANK R. RAYBOW, ALASKA
HANK BROWN, COLORADO
JAMES M. JEFFORDS, VERMONT
PAUL COVERDELL, GEORGIA
JUD THURMOND, NEW HAMPSHIRE

GEORGE B. CHRISTIANSON, STAFF DIRECTOR
JAMES W. NANCE, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

October 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Tony Lake

FROM: Jerry Christianson, Staff Director, Committee
on Foreign Relations
Tom Hughes, Chief of Staff to Senator Claiborne Pell

RE: Administration proposal on assisting Northern Ireland

We have heard reports of the Administration's proposal for assistance to Northern Ireland, and in the absence of Senator Pell, who as you know, is travelling with the President, we would like to offer our reaction.

First, we welcome the focus on trade and investment, particularly the Administration's willingness to participate in the Belfast Conference on investment to be sponsored by the British Government in December. We are also very pleased that the Administration plans to organize its own investment conference in early 1995.

Second, we are disappointed that the Administration is not requesting an increase in contributions to the International Fund for Ireland. We would urge you to propose a substantial increase in FY 96 and FY 97 appropriations for the Fund -- that exceeds the current \$20 million level.

Finally, we would urge you to consider two other proposals which we understand are under discussion, but which currently are not part of the Administration's package: the creation of an Irish-American Enterprise Fund and the appointment of an economic development coordinator who would coordinate State, AID, Commerce, OPIC, and other agencies' activities in Northern Ireland. Enterprise funds are a successful element of our assistance program to Central Europe and the NIS, and could be easily adapted to the Irish case. Similarly, the appointment of a coordinator, on the model of the U.S. coordinator for assistance to Eastern Europe, could streamline the economic development process. The naming of a coordinator might serve as a good follow-on to President Clinton's previous proposal to appoint a peace envoy to Northern Ireland.

NATIONAL SECURITY
COUNCIL

ROOM 368 OEOB.

Washington D.C. 20506

FAX

EUROPEAN
DIRECTORATE

Date:

Number of pages including cover sheet:

To:

Nancy Soderberg

Phone:

Fax phone:

CC:

From:

Kathy Stephens

Phone:

202-456-9151

Fax phone:

202-456-9150

REMARKS:

☐ Urgent

☐ For your review

☐ Reply ASAP☐ Please comment



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 26, 1994

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM
UNCLASSIFIED

TO: EUR -- Richard C. Holbrooke

FROM: EUR/NE -- Paul van Son *PJS*SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: DOJ Memo on Legal Constraints on
Fundraising by Sinn Fein

You asked the Department of Justice for a memo on what was policy and what was law preventing Sinn Fein members fundraising in the United States.

As we see it, the bottom line of the attached memo is that there are no legal restrictions on Sinn Fein or Loyalist fundraising in the U.S. by members who do not need visa waivers. For Sinn Fein/Loyalist members who need a visa waiver because they are excludable, the Attorney General is expressly authorized to condition the entry of these aliens in order to control their entry and ensure their departure.

It is a policy call by the AG whether to accept or reject a State suggestion to lift any previous fundraising restrictions on Gerry Adams and other Sinn Fein members who are excludable.

AID will have their memo on IFI funding and accounting early next week.

SENEII 1394 x76585 *PJS*
Cleared: JMLekson
Info: JKornblum

11-01-94 10:11

202 647 3463

EUR-NE

003

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Legal Constraints Upon Fund Raising In Support of the PIRA and Sein Fein

During an October 24, 1994, meeting at the Department of State relating to United States-Ireland issues, several questions arose concerning legal constraints upon fund raising activities by members of Sein Fein and the PIRA in the United States. The purpose of this memorandum is to address statutory limitations upon the right of persons lawfully in the United States to engage in fund raising on behalf of these entities and the authority of the Attorney General to condition the entry of otherwise excludable aliens upon refraining from such activities.

Restrictions Applicable to Persons Lawfully in the United States

Section 120005 of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993 (to be codified at 18 U.S.C. § 2339A), makes it a crime for any person "within the United States" to provide "material support," including monetary assistance, "knowing or intending" that such assistance is to be used in preparation for or in carrying out certain specifically enumerated federal crimes involving international terrorism. Such offenses include, among others, the destruction of aircraft, hostage taking, offenses against internationally protected persons abroad, or the extraterritorial murder of United States nationals. In order to initiate a prosecution, or even an investigation, of a person providing funds to the PIRA under this statute, some evidence would have to be available that the individual is knowingly supporting terrorist related activities that violate the specific enumerated terrorism-related statutes. Fund raising activities on behalf of the PIRA and other entities that cannot be connected to such unlawful objectives are not prohibited by this statute, and, therefore, not subject to criminal sanction.

Similarly, under 8 U.S.C. § 1251(a)(4)(B), an alien lawfully in the United States is subject to deportation for engaging in terrorist activity, which includes assassination, the use of an explosive or a firearm with the intent to endanger a person or property, or the raising of funds for such activities. See 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(3)(B). This statute, likewise, provides little basis for regulating fund raising on behalf of the PIRA in the United States as it is unlikely that such activities can be clearly linked to acts of terrorism, as defined by the statute, in Northern Ireland or that the government will be able to demonstrate the requisite intent.

Restrictions Imposed Upon Excludable Aliens By the Attorney General

Under 8 U.S.C. § 1182(b), an alien who engages in "terrorist activity," as defined earlier by 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(3)(b), "shall be excluded from admission into the United States." An alien who is excludable under this provision, however, may be granted a visa and admitted temporarily as a non-immigrant upon approval by the Attorney General of a recommendation by the Secretary of State. In such cases, it directs the AG to "prescribe conditions * * * to control the admission and return of excludable aliens applying for temporary admission * * * ." 8 U.S.C. § 1182(d)(3).

Thus, 8 U.S.C. § 1182(d)(3) expressly authorizes the AG to condition the entry of certain otherwise excludable PIRA members upon desisting from any fund-raising activities in the United States, including fund-raising for humanitarian purposes that would be perfectly permissible if conducted by citizens or aliens lawfully residing in the United States. The statute does not, however, require the imposition of such a fund raising restriction. Thus, as a legal matter, the Attorney General would be free in such cases to dispense with a fund raising limitation if she considered it unnecessary to control and regulate the temporary admission of the alien.

Hill Irish Call List



Foley
Hamilton
Gilman
Manton
Moakley
McCloskey
J. Kennedy
R. Neal
Obey
Livingston
McDade

supportive*
supportive
supportive, more money
supportive
supportive
supportive, more money
supportive, more money
lest message*
more money up to POTUS
left message
no reaction

E. Kennedy
Kerry
Dodd
Moynihan
Biden
Pell
Leahy
McConnell

supportive, more money
supportive, more money
supportive, more if possible
supportive, more money
supportive, more money
supportive, more money
concerned about source of \$
no immediate reaction

*Foley may support a funding increase, but his staff did not indicate, since he is otherwise engaged; Neal's office was contacted a couple of times but with no reaction - it is likely he would support an increase once he focuses.

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

October 25, 1994

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

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It is not a coincidence that Mr. John Hume, leader of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labour Party, Ireland's Foreign Minister Dick Spring, a delegation of Ulster Unionists led by Mr. William Ross MP, and Mr. Gerry Adams, President of Sinn Fein, all major players in the peace process, have visited Washington in the last month. They see America as a friend to all sides with a unique role in promoting peace. Your inspired and courageous contribution to this historic breakthrough is clearly of enormous significance and is widely acknowledged both in the United States and in Ireland.

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We recognize that you have begun work on an economic package, and look forward to considering your proposal in Congress.

Sincerely,

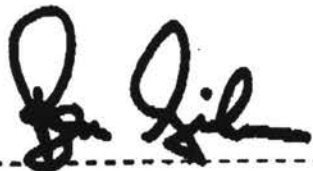


Charles E. Schumer, M.C.


.....
Ronald K. Machtley, M.C.



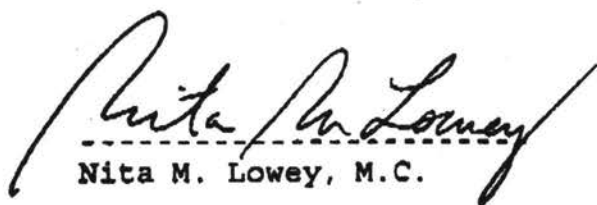
Barney Frank, M.C.



Benjamin A. Gilman, M.C.



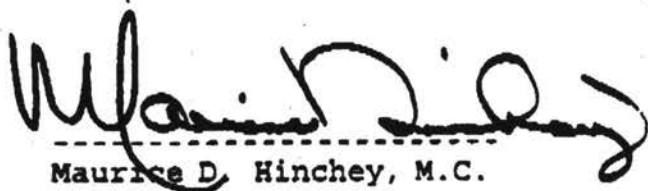
Peter T. King, M.C.



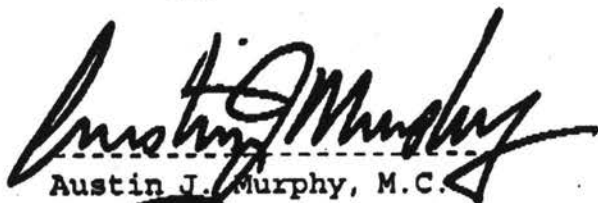
Nita M. Lowey, M.C.



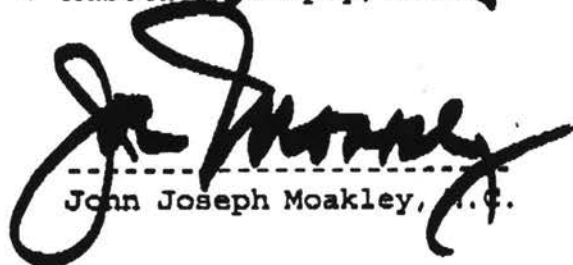
Neil Abercrombie, M.C.



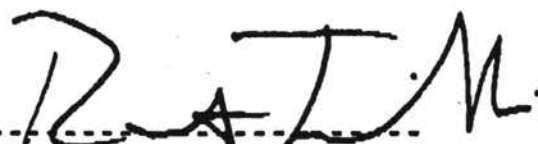
Maurice D. Hinchey, M.C.



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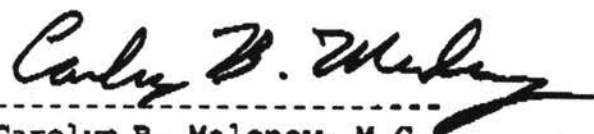
John Joseph Moakley, M.C.



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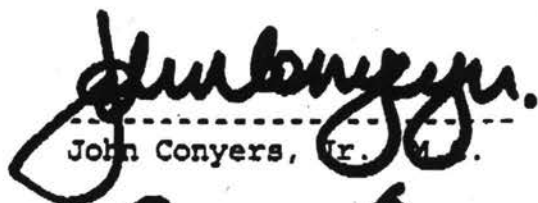
Thomas J. Manton, M.C.



Carolyn B. Maloney, M.C.



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Frank Pallone, Jr., M.C.

Jim Oberstar

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James T. Walsh

James T. Walsh, M.C.

CLAIBORNE PELL, RHODE ISLAND, CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DELAWARE
PAUL E. SARBANES, MARYLAND
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, CONNECTICUT
JOHN F. KERRY, MASSACHUSETTS
PAUL SIMON, ILLINOIS
DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, NEW YORK
CHARLES S. ROSS, VIRGINIA
HARRIS WOFFORD, PENNSYLVANIA
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JESSE HELMS, NORTH CAROLINA
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PAUL COVERDELL, GEORGIA
JUDD GREGG, NEW HAMPSHIRE

GERYLD B. CHRISTIANSON, STAFF DIRECTOR
JAMES W. NANCE, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

October 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Tony Lake

FROM: Jerry Christianson, Staff Director, Committee
on Foreign Relations
Tom Hughes, Chief of Staff to Senator Claiborne Pell

RE: Administration proposal on assisting Northern Ireland

We have heard reports of the Administration's proposal for assistance to Northern Ireland, and in the absence of Senator Pell, who as you know, is travelling with the President, we would like to offer our reaction.

First, we welcome the focus on trade and investment, particularly the Administration's willingness to participate in the Belfast Conference on investment to be sponsored by the British Government in December. We are also very pleased that the Administration plans to organize its own investment conference in early 1995.

Second, we are disappointed that the Administration is not requesting an increase in contributions to the International Fund for Ireland. We would urge you to propose a substantial increase in FY 96 and FY 97 appropriations for the Fund -- that exceeds the current \$20 million level.

Finally, we would urge you to consider two other proposals which we understand are under discussion, but which currently are not part of the Administration's package: the creation of an Irish-American Enterprise Fund and the appointment of an economic development coordinator who would coordinate State, AID, Commerce, OPIC, and other agencies' activities in Northern Ireland. Enterprise funds are a successful element of our assistance program to Central Europe and the NIS, and could be easily adapted to the Irish case. Similarly, the appointment of a coordinator, on the model of the U.S. coordinator for assistance to Eastern Europe, could streamline the economic development process. The naming of a coordinator might serve as a good follow-on to President Clinton's previous proposal to appoint a peace envoy to Northern Ireland.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ^{NO}_W

SUBJECT: Supporting Peace in Northern Ireland:
Options for Greater U.S. Support

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (2.12)
KBM 4/11/2023

Purpose

To decide upon a package of measures to support the peace process in Northern Ireland by encouraging greater job growth and investment there.

Background

Since the IRA cease-fire announcement August 31, we have reviewed options for increases in U.S. assistance to Northern Ireland to take advantage of the opportunity for peace that now exists. We have consulted with the Congress, the Irish and British governments, and leaders of Northern Irish political parties to get their views on what kind of assistance would be most helpful.

Northern Ireland is already beginning to enjoy a peace dividend. The EU has increased its annual pledge to the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) from about \$20 million to over \$24 million annually and may do substantially more to assist Northern Ireland financially. Australia has also made a modest (\$1 million yearly for five years) commitment to IFI for the first time. The longer the peace holds, the more businesses will look at investing in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic.

In that context, our options focus on promoting increased trade and investment with Ireland, particularly the north, and on supporting the IFI. The IFI remains the best way to channel the bulk of U.S. assistance to Ireland. It is trusted by both communities in Northern Ireland (including growing trust and participation from the Unionist community, which was initially skeptical), by the Irish and British governments, and by Congress. Its mandate is to do precisely what we have identified as the priority development tasks in Northern Ireland. You should be aware, however, that despite its increasingly strong reputation, IFI continues to come under occasional criticism in the media for "flaky" programs. The TV tabloid program Inside Edition is scheduled to air such a story November 3, which will

reportedly criticize questionable past IFI projects including a butterfly farm and a golf course. These are old stories and the Fund has taken steps to avoid such projects and made progress in improving its programs and image.

Options

OPIC Equity Fund: At the request of Congress, OPIC is investigating whether an OPIC-sponsored equity fund could mobilize U.S. private capital. Congress (Rep. Gilman and others) has asked for a feasibility study to determine if an equity fund not to exceed \$60 million is appropriate for both Northern Ireland and the Republic.

OPIC and OMB are opposed to an OPIC Equity Fund. OPIC says there is no shortage of capital in Ireland, that more attractive investment and loan terms are available from the British and Irish investment boards, and that there is therefore no incentive for U.S. investors to subscribe to an OPIC-administered equity fund which charges fees for doing business. Because of this, OPIC believes that it would be unable to obtain capital for a \$60 million fund. OPIC is also concerned, given other requirements, about having sufficient personnel to manage such a fund once it was announced. Supporters of the equity fund idea on the Hill and in the Irish-American business community counter that interest in a Fund does exist but that OPIC would need to be proactive to exploit it. In addition, OPIC currently has a loan guarantee program which has not been used so they oppose expanding it further.

Recommendation: That we not take any position on the OPIC proposal for an equity fund until the study is completed. In the likely event of a negative study, that we then look at ways, including through our investment conference (see below), to work with the Irish and British investment boards to encourage increased U.S. business activity.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

International Fund for Ireland: Given the lack of viability of the OPIC equity fund proposal, U.S. support for the IFI becomes even more important as a concrete demonstration of our readiness to support those who take risks for peace in Ireland, as we support those who take similar risks in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The Administration included in its budget proposals for FY 94 and FY 95 \$19.6 million per year for IFI. This was a break with previous years, when Congress, not the Administration, was the

driving force behind getting and keeping IFI funding. We suggest building on this by reaffirming our present commitment for FY 95 and seeking Congressional concurrence to a \$10 million increase spread over FY96 and FY97 (approximately \$5 million in additional funding for each year), thereby roughly matching the EU increase and keeping the level of U.S. and EU funding for the IFI on the same level.

Pros: Increasing funding for IFI for two crucial years in the peace process would provide concrete evidence of the seriousness of our engagement on this issue. Without even a modest increase for IFI, our package risks being branded by the Irish groups on the Hill and elsewhere as hollow. IFI has identified numerous important new programs which it wants to fund, including "seed money" for the building of a University of Ulster branch campus which would geographically (and psychologically) straddle the sectarian divide and provide much-needed jobs and job training in a cross-community setting. OMB and State agree to this proposed level and timing of increase.

Cons: Although IFI enjoys increasingly strong credibility on all sides in Ireland, its management and some of its projects remain vulnerable to criticism. Announcing an increase on the eve of the Inside Edition story, however bogus the "expose" is, does carry some risk, although we could hedge this by emphasizing our intent to work with IFI to further strengthen its programs and its management. Congress will be wary of another promise from the Administration on foreign aid but in our initial conversations, we believe this modest increase will be manageable. Anthony Lake has calls into Leahy and Obey. Generally, the appropriators are likely to oppose; others (Dodd, Foley, Kennedy) will strongly support.

Recommendation: That you announce your intent to seek Congressional agreement to an increase of U.S. funding for IFI of \$10 million over FY96 and 97 (for a total of roughly \$25 million per year).

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Investment Mission and Conference: This initiative promises to enjoy widespread support and attention, particularly if it is held in Philadelphia (which Senator Wofford in particular welcomes, and which also makes sense overall), and most especially if you participate by giving an opening or keynote speech. The State Department will appoint a coordinator for the conference (thereby addressing in a modified form sentiment from Joe Kennedy and others on the Hill for an "Economic Coordinator" for Ireland). The Coordinator will work with IFI (which is interested in underwriting the conference), the British and Irish

investment boards, and interested Irish-American and other private sector groups and individuals. We should consider inviting some or all of Northern Ireland's party leaders to the conference (Hume and Molyneaux for a start).

Prime Minister Major is holding an Investment Conference in Belfast in December; we propose to send Secretary Brown there and to Dublin. We may also want him to take a delegation of U.S. business leaders with him.

Recommendations:

That you agree to participate in a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland, probably by giving the opening speech, in Philadelphia in April 1995.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you announce Commerce Secretary Brown's participation in the British Investment Conference in Belfast in December 1994 and Secretary Brown's additional stop in Dublin to explore the all-island dimensions of U.S. trade and investment in Ireland, in preparation for our spring conference.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Provision of U.S. Technical and Other Expertise: We have identified numerous other ways in which U.S. government agencies might begin or expand their contacts with Northern Ireland to focus on areas of greatest importance to solidifying the peace and promoting reconciliation. These could be done within existing budgets, with strong direction from you on the priority you attach to these programs.

- The Department of Commerce has begun enhancing cooperation in the science and technology field by establishing collaboration among "Technology Innovation Centers" already set up in the U.S. and Northern Ireland. We will also discuss with them the possibility of establishing business exchange programs similar to those we have with the NIS.
- USIA will expand its programs to encourage Northern Irish participation in numerous new programs, including a new conflict resolution exchange and training project, which would give a university or organization in the U.S. funding (\$60,000-\$150,000) to fund a project in conflict resolution in Northern Ireland..
- The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is presently conducting a political party training program funded by the

National Endowment for Democracy (NED) (\$200,000 budgeted); we can encourage NED to expand it and to explore other ways to take advantage of the changed circumstances.

- HUD and other U.S. agencies could provide to Northern Ireland leaders information and training they have developed on community banking, urban development, and other areas in which they have expertise. AID is looking into providing technical assistance to IFI for development of a micro-enterprise program.
- The Trade and Development Agency will lead a mission to the region to explore business opportunities.

Summary Recommendation

That you approve the text of the announcement at Tab A. This announcement includes Secretary Brown's trip to Belfast and Dublin, your participation in a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland in April in Philadelphia, and a proposed increase in U.S. funding for IFI of \$10 million over FY96 and 97.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab A Proposed October 31 Announcement

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

SUPPORTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The United States attaches great importance to the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, both in the context of our world-wide commitment to end terrorism and our desire to promote democratic solutions to conflicts. Our close bonds of history, culture and tradition with Ireland and the United Kingdom provide us with a unique role in helping to achieve those goals.

We have encouraged and supported the courageous efforts of Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major to establish a new framework for peace and justice in Northern Ireland. For the first time in a generation, both Republican and Loyalist paramilitaries have declared cease-fires. Each day that passes without terrorism strengthens the hope that the bomb and the bullet are gone for good from the politics of Ireland.

The President has pledged to do all he can to support the building of peace in Ireland. The United States wants to do its part to ensure that peace brings to Ireland new opportunities for job growth and economic prosperity, which in turn will help ensure that this newfound peace is a stable and lasting one.

The promise of peace will allow Americans to build on the strong business, trade, political and cultural links we already enjoy with Ireland, north and south. The United States is the most important source of internationally mobile investment in Northern Ireland and in the Republic. Forty U.S. companies are operating in Northern Ireland alone. In addition, the Administration strongly supports the International Fund for Ireland, which funds a broad range of economic and social development projects.

This present opportunity for lasting peace in Ireland is the chance of a generation; it must be seized and supported. The President therefore has directed his Administration to undertake the following initiatives in the coming months to increase our support for the political and economic revitalization of Northern Ireland:

White House Conference for Trade and Investment

The President will host a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The Conference is planned for April 1995 in Philadelphia. He has instructed the Department of State to name a Coordinator to work with Secretary Brown and his staff, the International Fund for Ireland, the Irish and British governments and private sector and political groups to organize and support the conference. The President looks forward to participating in this Conference, which will aim to show U.S. companies that sustained peace is dramatically improving business opportunities on the island of Ireland and, particularly, Northern Ireland and the border counties. American businesses should be in on the ground floor of these new opportunities; this will be good for us and good for Irish peace and reconciliation.

Commerce Secretary Brown to attend Belfast Investment Conference

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown will travel to Belfast in December 1994 to lead the U.S. delegation to Prime Minister Major's Investment Conference for Northern Ireland, where the President has instructed him to identify concrete new opportunities for increased business links between Northern Ireland and the U.S. Secretary Brown will also travel to Dublin for consultations. In both cities, he will prepare the groundwork for the White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The President has also asked Secretary Brown to present the new initiatives he identifies at the White House Conference in April.

Increased funding for the IFI

The President is committed to continued strong U.S. support for the International Fund for Ireland. In addition to our planned obligation of almost \$20 million to the Fund in Fiscal Year 1995, we will seek Congressional concurrence to increase IFI funding by an additional \$10 million over FY96 and FY97. The IFI has steadily strengthened and adjusted its programs and management over the years. We expect such progress to continue. This additional funding will make available some \$50 million in U.S. funds to support the IFI in undertaking the vital new initiatives that are needed to consolidate the gains of peace in Ireland and to build cross-community economic and political cooperation. We will work with it to strengthen its programs even further and particularly to address such entrenched problems as the high rates of long-term unemployment in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

Department of Commerce programs

The President has directed the Department of Commerce to enhance our cooperation with Northern Ireland in science and technology, especially through strengthened collaboration of our Technology Innovation Centers. The Commerce Department will also establish

a business information center for trade and investment in Northern Ireland and review other ways to promote business opportunities.

USIA programs

The President has instructed the United States Information Agency to expand its programs in Northern Ireland in view of the changing political climate, increasing exchanges of persons as well as planning speakers and seminars on such topics as conflict resolution. In addition, USIA will open its grant competitions in such areas as conflict resolution to allow American non-profit organizations to submit proposals for projects in Northern Ireland to support the momentum for peace and reconciliation.

National Endowment for Democracy

The President will encourage the National Endowment for Democracy, which is presently funding a political party training program in Northern Ireland, to seek additional opportunities to strengthen and expand its programs there.

U.S. Agency for International Development

The President has asked USAID to provide technical assistance to the IFI to encourage the setting-up of micro-enterprise lending program. The President will also be instructing U.S. government agencies with relevant expertise and experience in such areas as community banking and urban redevelopment to explore ways of developing more active partnerships with their counterparts in Northern Ireland.

Trade and Development Agency

The President has directed the TDA to lead a mission to the region to explore business opportunities.

A continuing commitment

We will continue to look for opportunities to support the efforts of the British and Irish governments and of democratic leaders in Northern Ireland to build on and for peace. We encourage the millions of Americans who want to contribute to peace in Ireland to do the same. [The President has asked Ambassador Crowe in London to place a high priority on monitoring the progress of our initiatives and, in consultation with Ambassador Smith in Dublin, to report back to him and to Secretary Christopher.]

#

FAX COVER SHEET

Executive Office, U.S. Embassy Dublin
42 Elgin Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4

Telephone: (353) (1) 668-7122

Fax: (353) (1) 660-3217

Date: October 24, 1994

To: Nancy E. Soderberg

Fax No: (202) 456 9460

From: American Embassy Dublin, Dennis Sandberg

Message: Hope you find this of interest.
Dennis Sandberg

No. of pages, including cover sheet: 5

US: sitting on the fence^{Business Post}

'I think we have been helpful in bringing about the IRA ceasefire and encouraging people to the table'

From page 21

be helpful where we can. People often look to the United States to solve their problems for them. We can help but in the end people will have to do it themselves.

The US has engaged itself in situations, Haiti being the most recent example.

Yes and in the end the Haitian people are going to have to work that out too. We have had long talks with President Aristide about going back to get reconciliation among the various sectors. The difficulty has been using the analogy of the Middle East process.

If you can get the Palestinians and Israelis talking as two different people, one people in Haiti have got to be able to work out reconciliation. We've been helpful in the Middle East in bringing the parties together and in Haiti but in the end we can just nudge partners along.

In Ireland it is widely felt that the US has helped in this process.

I don't mean to minimise our role. We will take credit where we can but I think people have unrealistic expectations in many instances.

I think we have been helpful in bringing about the IRA ceasefire and encouraging people to come to the table. The influence of the US is enormous.

When the United States begins to get engaged it can help move the process along particularly in the Irish context because of the long historical relationship between Irish Americans and Ireland.

There is a close bond there and simply the right to be able to travel to this country has an enormous impact for the dialogue between the two communities.

In Ireland the concern on the part of the republicans is that the British government will drag out the process over the next couple of months and years and, more worrying, that the unionist parties will sit on their hands. What is your view on the next stage of talks?

I think there a number of issues that John Major has to deal with. He has got his own constituencies but given the progress with the loyalist ceasefire I think the momentum to begin the talks is growing.

I think there is general interest in getting to talks. Obviously time is going to solve the issue of permanency in the British government's mind.

It has been over six weeks now and as time goes by that issue



'I felt very confident on the visa, it was the right decision but you never quite know'

will become clearer for everybody involved so I'm personally hopeful that talks will begin in the not too distant future.

Last year John Hume made an important point, that the British would have to tell the unionist population that they are part of Ireland and that there would have to be a political solution within the island of Ireland however long that may take. What would your view be on that broad nationalist position?

We honestly don't have a view. That is what the talks are all about.

There is talk of a referendum in the North and an all-Ireland referendum. We honestly do not have a view on how this should be resolved and it would be inappropriate for us to start jumping into that. They haven't even started talking yet or defined the modalities of what is going to be discussed.

The US is considering extra funds to help the peace process. Is there any news as to what the allocation will be this year?

Well, we are talking with all the parties. There has been a lot of very inaccurate reporting about this. When the IRA declared its ceasefire we began talking among ourselves and with the Irish and British governments and asked people to come and visit us.

We have met with Hume, the unionists and Mr Adams and we have got discussions on what they think would be most helpful. Given our budget constraints, new money is unlikely.

What we are looking at is how we can support trade and investment. We are looking at the possibility of some trade missions either there or here and at other things that can aid investment.

Almost \$20 million goes to the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) every year from the US. Do you think that figure will remain largely the same?

We are the first administration to put this in our budget. It used to be the Congress that put this in. Now it is in the administration budget and I would expect that to continue. We are very committed to that support and I don't expect it to diminish.

But you don't expect it to increase?

Not substantially, if it does increase at all. Congress is now out of session so we haven't held too many discussions with them. There are some in Congress who've been talking of trying to give slight increases but I wouldn't start talking to the bank just yet.

There has been speculation of a doubling of the allocation to the IFI.

I don't know where that came from. I don't know how many calls I got in the past few days. We will probably have something to say on it in the next few weeks.

People are also expecting some big dramatic announcement but we are looking at how we can use the influence of the United States to help trade and investment. People who are looking for enormous aid packages are misguided.

What Ireland needs is jobs and investment in Northern Ireland. One of the primary catalysts of violence is social deprivation. You have a very well educated unemployed new generation.

They are very susceptible to entertaining themselves in unattractive means unless you give them hope and opportunities and that means a job. One of the most important things we could do is help to create some jobs which is the philosophy behind the international fund. We have been talking closely with fund officials to see what they think also.

There have been criticisms within Ireland as to how fund money is allocated.

Most of those were when the fund started off and I think they have taken good steps to correct those.

Some feel the southern border counties should get higher than the 25 per cent of the fund they receive because much of the depopulation in these regions is due to partition in the first place and the breaking up of natural economic hinterlands.

I don't get involved in that debate but overall I think they have done a terrific job.

You have played a pretty significant role in all of this. Looking back how do you feel things have progressed

over the past 18 months or two years.

We are pleased. It was a difficult decision in January on the visa issue. People have a misconception that I am the only one here making these decisions.

The entire White House was behind that decision in January. Now we have a chance of finally ending a generation of violence in Northern Ireland and further back, depending on how you look at it. My own personal interest comes from working on the bill on these issues.

You cannot work with Ted Kennedy and not become involved in issues relating to Ireland. It is also a broader issue in that this is one of the longest standing conflicts anywhere and particularly in Europe. We are working to solve Bosnia and Haiti. With the end of the Cold War, and when Arafat and Rahim can sit down and Mandela and De Klerk can sit down, there has got to be a way to negotiate this. We just started looking at it and said there has to be a way to help move this forward.

For many years the US administration, although asked by many Irish American groups to take this interest, was not prepared to do so.

Yes and I think President Clinton deserves a lot of credit for engaging in this. There were tough decisions. I felt very confident on the visa, it was the right decision but you never quite know.

What about President Clinton meeting Gerry Adams in the White House?

Well, we have just had our first meeting here. We lifted the ban with Adams.

As the relationship develops it will become broader and we haven't really made any decisions on that question nor has he indicated exactly when he is coming back. He has suggested that he will be back before Christmas.

Have you agreed to supply visas to other Sinn Fein leaders such as Pat Doherty and Martin McGuinness to enter the States?

One of the things we talked to Mr Adams about when he was here was trying to regularise the visa process and we are taking a look at that right now. There has been clearance given to Mr Doherty but McGuinness as far as I know has not applied. It is largely a Justice (Department) question as to whether they need to be informed every time there is a request and we are working through the legal issues for those people who are on our list of people who need waivers. Technically the Justice Department has to issue the waiver on the recommendation of the State Department.

Some former republican prisoners living in the US and married to American citizens have complained at the heavy-handed treatment they have been receiving from immigration officials.

I am not aware of it.

One of the explanations for this harassment is that the State Department has been traditionally very close to the British government and perhaps now that peace has broken out, these issues can be resolved.

Not if there is a legal proceeding against people who have violated our laws in some fashion which is normally what would trigger a deportation case. Not knowing the specifics it is difficult to comment.

Would you be hopeful that we will see a total demilitarisation in the North in the short term, including a withdrawal of troops to barracks, opening border roads etc?

One hopes there will be no longer a need for a large presence of military in Northern Ireland but that will take time to negotiate. We are not in a position to game out exactly how this is all going to work. You have got the demilitarisation issue, the prisoners' issue, the issue of the future of Ireland and all sorts of things that will be on the table. I think it would be inappropriate for us to try to prejudge that.

We are not sitting here gaming out the scenario. And no one has asked us to do that, and I don't think we would be inclined to if they did. No-one has come to us and said 'can you push this specific issue'. It is more that the general presence and interest of the United States since there are many people here who see for ourselves and we plan to continue it.

And you have no idea of Britain's long-term intentions in Ireland?

They would like to see peace in Northern Ireland and are very committed to the principle of consent in the North before any change is made. It is an expensive operation for them but I sense no wavering of their commitment to maintaining their support of their citizens.

As in the unionist population?

Yes.

That is one of the worrying problems for the nationalist community. The veto given to the unionist population ensures that the unionist majority will determine what decisions are made and this will hamper political progress.

Well that is the crux of the problem and I don't have a solution for it. That is why you need to get these talks. There is a fundamental difference there and I do not see the obvious way to bridge it.

President Clinton is heading into mid-term elections that look a bit rocky. If he is damaged in these elections and the Democrats lose seats in the House of Representatives and the Senate, how difficult will it make his last two years in office?

Almost every president in a mid-term election loses seats. It's a standard cycle that we go through. I've always thought that this president was a lot stronger than the press made him out to be. Interceding to see the complete fallout in the press in the past weeks with Haiti and that crisis will be if we haven't been doing things well.

People should look at Clinton's impressive record not just on foreign policy but on domestic policy. We have made a comeback on health care, we'll probably get that through by the end of the year, we will look at welfare and build on the crime bill. So we are pretty upbeat. But there is no question we are going to lose some seats in the elections.

Some people argue that the power structure in America is so oriented towards the Republicans that a Democrat president is always going to have problems.

Republican presidents have the same problems. If you look at the cycle the party in power in mid-term elections always loses seats. We are into a tough election campaign for the next few weeks. We will take losses in some areas but you will see a very strong re-election effort for candidate Clinton towards 1996. Bush had 90 per cent support mid-term and he lost the presidency. Politics is a very unpredictable sport.

The Sunday Business Post, October 23, 1994 p2
In a rare and exclusive White House interview, Frank Connolly speaks to Nancy Soderberg, the influential assistant to the US national security adviser, who explains why the US will not adopt a more interventionist role in the Irish peace process

Frank Connolly: Ireland is pretty well up there on the agenda of the Clinton administration. There have been meetings between the President and Albert Reynolds and the Taoiseach Dick Spring over the past few months. Do you think Ireland can stay at that level of importance for the duration of the presidency?

Nancy Soderberg: Sure, the president has made it a priority since the day he walked into the Oval office. Absolutely there is no question of that. It is not just the president, the vice president, Anthony Lake (National Security Adviser), the Secretary of State, the entire administration wants to see progress and to be there every step of the way.

How would you define the policy objectives of the administration in relation to Ireland?

I think there is a lot of misinformation about it, that we have an agenda or that we have in our own heads an idea of how this will evolve. Nothing could be further from the truth. Our role is to serve as a catalyst and a source of support and encouragement for all the parties and the two governments as they move the process forward.

We do not have a blueprint for how this is all going to work out or an alternate solution in our heads. We have specifically and pointedly left that to the parties themselves. I don't think anyone knows how it is all going to work out and we can't provide that for them.

Do you think American opinion would have a desired solution to the situation?

No, I don't think they do. There are different pockets of opinion in the United States that would have certain views about it. There are varied constituencies here as within the US government but I think overall our desire is to see the solution develop through peaceful means, through negotiation. Beyond that it is really not up to us.

The US has had a long-term strategic relationship with Britain. The granting of a visa to Gerry Adams earlier this year was upsetting for the British and there were blips more recently during the Adams visit. How damaging has it been for the British-American relationship?

I think the press has been more excited about it than the British government. There was a difference of tactics back in January in relation to the visa issue.

But I take issue with your characterisation of blips with the recent visit. Generally we work very closely with the British government and we kept them fully informed and consulted with them every step of the way.

I think one of the reasons you have progress is because over the last year the British and Irish governments and the US have

sent exactly the same message to the IRA or anyone pursuing violence which is "end the violence and we will be there to support you, to help put you through the process of negotiations. The whole world of acceptability opens up if you take that step."

The message was given through the members of Congress, through the Irish-American community and through the administration both privately and publicly. Anywhere they turned they saw there were new opportunities if they moved in the right direction. We have worked very well with both governments on this.

There have been the declarations by both the IRA and now the loyalist organisations but at the same time it would be premature to say that there is lasting peace in Ireland. Would you agree with that?

Sure, we all welcome the ceasefire, both the ceasefires, but the hard work of developing a lasting solution has yet to begin. Albert Reynolds is going to begin his forum at the end of the month which will begin a process among the nationalist parties of talking among themselves.

There is not even agreement among the nationalist parties on how to move forward and the forum will be helpful in that direction.

We are hopeful that the all-party round table talks will begin now that the Conservative Party conference is over. I think negotiations have already begun around the framework document and that has to progress because you cannot sit down without having worked out the modalities.

Prestonably the Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams was asking the American government to pressure the British into recognising the need for direct discussions with Sinn Féin and perhaps more importantly to seek a confrontation by the British with the fundamentals of the Irish problem which Sinn Féin would say lies in the partition of the country.

There is a fundamental disagreement between the two sides as to how the issue should ultimately be resolved but that is an issue for the negotiations. I think it is not our role to get into the middle of these discussions.

Do you think that a specific request of the US to be a guarantor or almost persuaders of the British government that they will enter discussions on the fundamentals will be taken up by the administration?

No, that is a decision they have to make. This question keeps coming up and everyone who asks it has a different interpretation of what that means. I don't think we can guarantee anything over there.

It is up to them to work it out among themselves and to achieve a lasting peace that is self-guaranteeing because of the nature of the agreement. Our role is to be there to support it and

Please turn to page 24

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Q Ireland

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To Kathy S.
Did we ever
make a decision
not to see
Robinson?
ms

CONTROLS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 017212

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

BCDY:

TAGS: PREL OVIP PGOV UK EI
SUBJECT: DUP DEPUTY LEADER PETER ROBINSON DECLINES STATE
DEPARTMENT MEETINGS; VENTS ANGER OVER LEAKS AND
"SECOND-HAND" TREATMENT OF DUP

REFS: (A) LONDON 16315, (B) LONDON 16385

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

2. PETER ROBINSON, DEPUTY LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC
UNIONIST PARTY (DUP), CALLED THE CONSUL GENERAL ON
OCTOBER 31 FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, WHERE HE WAS
CONDUCTING SOME LAST-MINUTE BUSINESS BEFORE FLYING OUT

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (2.13)
KBH 4/11/2023

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Page 1

TO THE U.S. LATER THAT DAY. ROBINSON WAS EXTREMELY UPSET OVER AN ARTICLE BY JAMIE DETTMER IN THE OCTOBER 26 LONDON "EVENING STANDARD" THAT CITED "WASHINGTON SOURCES" DESCRIBING IN SOME DETAIL HIS WISH TO SEE ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS AND SAYING THAT "CLINTON OFFICIALS ARE UNDERSTOOD TO BE WARY OF MR. ROBINSON'S MOTIVES."

3. ROBINSON COMPLAINED THAT CONFIDENTIAL AND SENSITIVE CONVERSATIONS HE HAD HAD WITH THE CONSUL GENERAL HAD BEEN SEVERELY COMPROMISED BY SOMEONE IN WASHINGTON; HE WAS ESPECIALLY UPSET ABOUT A LINE CLAIMING THE ADMINISTRATION FEARED "BEING DRAWN INTO INTERNAL DUP POLITICS." THE CG REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT SEEN THE ARTICLE; THE "EVENING STANDARD" HARDLY CIRCULATED IN NORTHERN IRELAND (EMBASSY LONDON SUBSEQUENTLY FAXED US A COPY OF THE ARTICLE).

4. THE CONSUL GENERAL THEN TOLD ROBINSON THAT, REGARDING HIS REQUEST TO SEE THE VICE PRESIDENT (REFTELS), IT DID NOT APPEAR THAT SUCH A MEETING COULD TAKE PLACE. INSTEAD, STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS AT THE DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND OFFICE DIRECTOR LEVELS WERE PREPARED TO SEE ROBINSON IN WASHINGTON ON NOVEMBER 9 OR 10. ROBINSON RETORTED THAT THIS WAS "COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE." EVERY POLITICAL PARTY IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAD ALREADY SEEN WHITE HOUSE OR NSC OFFICIALS, AND THE VICE PRESIDENT HIMSELF HAD TELEPHONED SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS. THE FACT THAT ONLY THE DUP WAS SHUNNED BY THE WHITE HOUSE/NSC MEANT THAT THE PARTY WOULD NOW "HAVE TO MAKE A PUBLIC ISSUE OVER THIS SECOND-HAND TREATMENT." MANY UNIONISTS, NOT ONLY DUP MEMBERS, WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COMPREHEND THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD PHONE "THAT TERRORIST GERRY ADAMS" BUT NO RANKING WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL WOULD EVEN SEE SENIOR LEVELS OF THE DUP.

5. THE CG RESPONDED THAT ROBINSON WOULD HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT SOME OF THE DUP'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION HARDLY HELPED MATTERS -- GOOD RELATIONS, AFTER ALL, WERE A MATTER FOR BOTH PARTIES. THE CG REPEATED THAT THE OFFER TO SEE STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WAS A GOOD FAITH GESTURE, AND THAT THE MEETING WOULD BE "NON-CONFRONTATIONAL," AS ROBINSON HIMSELF HAD CLAIMED HE WISHED ANY MEETING TO BE. THE DUP DEPUTY WAS NOT MOVED; HE WOULD NOT ATTEND ANY STATE DEPARTMENT MEETING. THE CG OBSERVED THAT, WHEN ALL WAS SAID AND DONE, THE DUP WAS THE BEST JUDGE OF ITS TACTICS AND THE TONE OF RELATIONS WITH THE USG; THE PARTY WOULD DO WHAT IT THOUGHT IT MUST AND IF THE RELATIONSHIP FRAYED IT WAS NOT BECAUSE THE USG SOUGHT SUCH AN OUTCOME. CROWE

National Democratic Institute For International Affairs

conducting nonpartisan international programs to help promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions



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September 26, 1994

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Ms. Nancy Soderberg
Special Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
National Security Council
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Nancy:

I wanted to keep you informed about our Northern Ireland project which begins this week with a seminar in The Hague, Netherlands. The seminar, the first of two planned, will convene the four constitutional parties of Northern Ireland -- the Alliance Party, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) -- to discuss the techniques of practicing modern party politics. The team of practitioners who will conduct the training include party leaders and political experts from the U.S., the Netherlands, South Africa, and Chile.

NDI's delegation will be headed by former Member of Congress Edward Feighan. Other U.S. participants will include Les Francis, Shawn Hanson of the Office of Congressman Al Swift, Debbie Willhite, and NDI Senior Associate Patricia Keefer. The program is co-sponsored by the Eduardo Frei Foundation of the Christian Democratic Appeal party in the Netherlands. I enclose the terms of reference for the first seminar, as well as an excellent briefing paper written by Padraig O'Malley, an Irish author/historian who, as you know, has served as a consultant to NDI on our Northern Ireland projects.

The project was conceived after NDI received requests -- initially through Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith -- from members of Unionist and Nationalist parties for technical assistance in the area of party building. Many party activists in Northern Ireland remember the assistance NDI provided John Hume and the SDLP from 1986-89.

Kenneth D. Wollack—President • Jean B. Dunn—Vice President for Administration & Development
Senior Associates: Patricia Keefer—Political and Civic Organization • Thomas O. Melia—Democratic Governance
Nelson C. Ledskey—Former Soviet Union • Patrick Merloe—Election Processes
Program Coordination Director: Eric C. Bjornlund
Senior Consultant: Eddie Charles Brown



This project was initially devised before any sign of an IRA ceasefire and is designed to enhance political parties' abilities to practice modern party politics. Of course, we hope that it may have as a side effect the promotion of closer cooperation among the parties. With the consent of most of the parties participating in the first seminar, including the UUP, we will take up the question of whether Sinn Fein should be invited to participate in the program at a later date, perhaps for the second seminar, which will be held in December or January. This question will be discussed on October 2, the last day of the Hague seminar.

The role you and the Clinton Administration have played has been instrumental in moving the peace process forward. We have heard very good reactions from many friends in Northern Ireland and elsewhere in Europe, and have been told that increased efforts by the U.S. to establish and maintain contacts with all sides in the political process have been helpful to the peace process. In our meeting with the UUP delegation last Friday, I let them know that NDI recognizes the importance of maintaining this approach.

Please let me know if we can be of any assistance.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ken', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Kenneth D. Wollack
President

KDW/sc
Encl.



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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September 16, 1994

TO: Agnas van Aardanna
Cees Bremmer
Piet Bukman
Ed Feighan
Les Francis
Shawn Hanson
Hans Hillen
Carlos Huneeus
Dig Ishta
Clem McCartney
Padraig O'Malley
Sam von Oostrom
Yvonna van Rooy
Jean Penders
Ris Smits
Debi Willhite

FROM: Kenneth Wollack, NDI, President
Patricia J. Keefer, NDI, Project Manager for Northern Ireland

RE: Northern Ireland: Practicing Modern Party Politics

Thank you for agreeing to participate in NDI's political party building program for Northern Ireland. While NDI began planning this workshop series in January 1994, recent political events, specifically the IRA's cease fire announcement, have further highlighted the need for such a program. Should events continue towards a political solution, parties will need to move from the practice of politics in a divided society with democratic deficiencies, to the practice of modern party politics, in which parties assume greater power and responsibility.

This workshop is the first in a series of two that will be conducted for Northern Ireland's main political parties over the next three months. The program involves four of the five major parties in Northern Ireland. Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, was not included in the original project design because of its adherence to the armed struggle. Its recent ceasefire, should it hold, creates the possibility of re-evaluating their involvement in future programs. The parties currently involved are the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), representing Catholic/Nationalists; the Alliance Party, a nonsectarian political party; and the two Protestant/Unionist parties, the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).

The following memo explains NDI's objectives for the program as well as the specific role of the team of experts. If you have any questions about the program please do not hesitate to call Pat Keefer or Kathy Toomey at NDI. Thank you again. We look forward to working with you.



I. BACKGROUND

NDI's objective in this program is to transfer organizing skills and modern political technology to political party activists from Northern Ireland. The decades of unremittent political violence in Northern Ireland have resulted in an invariable political stalemate that has eroded the region's democratic infrastructure.

An independent commission of inquiry set up by the citizens' group, Initiative '92, recently examined this issue. With input from 3,000 people through written submissions, focus groups and hearings held across Northern Ireland, the commission came to several conclusions. The commission discovered that the decline of democracy and civic standards in Northern Ireland can be associated with the withdrawal of large portions of society from the political arena. The professional, business and middle classes have "opted out" of the political process, leaving a political void in the center.¹

According to respondents to the Initiative '92 study, the failure of the citizens of Northern Ireland to participate in politics is partly linked to the issue of direct rule by the United Kingdom's parliament. Under direct rule, citizens of Northern Ireland are able to vote in British parliamentary elections but their influence over the political system is extremely limited since they are only permitted to vote for parties from Northern Ireland. The parties from Northern Ireland are consistently excluded from governing leaving citizens of Northern Ireland with no real ability to impact the British political system. In addition, Northern Ireland has no regional government structures that would present citizens with the opportunity to voice their complaints and concerns in a more centralized manner. Finally, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has extensive powers over the region while local government has little influence.

This disconnect between the electorate in Northern Ireland and the British parliament also frustrates Northern Ireland's local politics. Northern Ireland's political parties have no forums in which to develop and practice political or organizational skills. This results in a deficit of leadership and a general lack of responsiveness and accountability towards the electorate. As a result of the disorganized nature of political life, many citizens choose to join a community organization rather than a political party.

NDI's Past Work in Northern Ireland

From 1986 to 1989 NDI, in conjunction with the John W. McCormack Institute at the University of Massachusetts, conducted a political party building and leadership development project with one of Northern Ireland's constitutional political parties, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). The project was judged by the SDLP and other parties in the region to be quite important in assisting the SDLP to develop a modern political organization. Consequently, party leaders from across the ideological and sectarian spectrum

¹ See Initiative '92 poll in Tab 4.

have requested a training program for all parties that would be designed to meet the realities of today's politics in the region. Because of this earlier program work and the several people from Northern Ireland who have participated in NDI's party building programs elsewhere, the Institute has remained well informed of the changing political culture in this divided society.

Cosponsors

This program will be cosponsored by the Frei Foundation of the Netherlands and the Center for Emerging Democracies in the United States. Both organizations offer unique and complimentary resources for achieving the project's objectives. The Frei Foundation is the political development institute of the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) in the Netherlands and has been a competent partner for NDI in joint projects in Eastern and Central Europe. The participation of the Frei Foundation, representing a party that brought together Catholic and Protestant parties in the Netherlands, helps to gain the confidence and participation of the Unionist political parties. The Center for Emerging Democracies is an adjunct of the John McCormack Institute at the University of Massachusetts. The McCormack Center was NDI's partner in its previous Northern Ireland programming.

II. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the program are:

1. to help diminish the sectarian nature of politics in Northern Ireland;
2. to introduce a common political vocabulary in order to create possibilities for establishing common ground among the parties;
3. to impart to future political leaders an awareness of the responsibility of political parties to the greater good of their community.

III. PROJECT DESIGN

The agenda and design of this project have been developed in close cooperation with all the participating parties as well as the cosponsoring organizations.

Participants/Audience

This program will offer training to members of Northern Ireland's four constitutional political parties: the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the Alliance Party.

Each party has designated five participants for participation in the workshop series. Participants are mid-level and future leaders with responsibility in areas such as party

organization, campaign planning, media relations and polling. In order to achieve gender balance, NDI has requested that parties appoint at least two women as part of their five-person delegation.

One member of each political party has been appointed to a project working group. The working group's task is to advise NDI on the development of the agenda and to specify the areas in which parties have the greatest need for, and interest in, training.

A list of participants and their positions within the party will be available during the expert briefing on September 28.

Team of Experts

The team of experts will consist of political party experts from the U.S., Chile and the Netherlands. The team members were selected based on their expertise in the various workshop and consultation areas. (Biographies of the team are in Tab 2.)

The role of the team members will be to lead the plenary and workshop discussions and meet with the participants for specific consultation sessions. To assist you in preparing for your role in the project, a copy of NDI's "Tips for Trainers" is located in the front pocket of this briefing book. This document has been developed by NDI to provide advice and suggestions for training effectively and making the most of your participation in this project.

Agenda

A draft copy of the agenda follows this document. It is divided into plenary sessions, workshops and consultations. Each expert has been assigned specific roles in plenary and workshop sessions. Please consult the agenda to determine your specific responsibilities. Assignments for consultations will be made after participant registration at the workshop. Assignments for workshops and plenaries have been made based on the skills and talents of each individual trainer. If you have questions or concerns about your assignments, please contact NDI as soon as possible.

Plenaries. The workshop will consist of three plenary sessions. Each one will consist of presentations by members of the team of experts as well as a question and answer period.

- "Public Opinion Polls: Do They Reflect Public Opinion?" will involve a presentation on why and how polls work in a culture of conflict. It will also include presentation and analysis of recent polling information from Northern Ireland.
- "Political Parties in Divided Societies" will be a roundtable discussion of examples of democratic political systems in which political parties representing conflicting constituencies govern effectively. Chile and Belgium will be used as a departure point for the discussion.
- "Political Parties in Europe" will be presented by a leader of the Christian Democratic

Party (CDA) in the Netherlands. This plenary will focus on the role and function of democratic political parties in today's European political context.

Workshops. Workshops are intended to provide an opportunity for participants and trainers to interact in a small group setting, and become familiar with the subject and each other. In the past, NDI has found the most effective workshops to be those in which techniques such as role playing, case studies and others are used to convey information. Participants should be free to ask questions and comment on the material presented. Two trainers will be assigned to each workshop session. Brief descriptions of each of the workshops follow.

Planning and Strategy. The fundamentals of planning for election campaigns; what is it, who does it and how is it used. Also included will be: strategic decision making; changing the plan to adhere to political realities; the necessity of a written plan; and, planning tools, including a budget.

Membership Development and Recruitment. Focusses on techniques used by political parties to recruit members and involve them in party activities and decision-making. This session also includes specific plans of membership retention, renewal and dues structures and collection. Also, there will be a discussion of why people join political parties, become active and leave political activism.

Party Governance and Structures. Methods of leadership and development of leadership and organizational structures in political parties. These include: the authority of the executive committee; the role of parliamentary leaders; the relationship between staff and the executive; internal democratic practices; top-down/bottom-up decision making; written rules; and, the relationship between the party and other organizations, such as business, labor, community activists, professional associations and social clubs.

Women in Politics. Methods for encouraging women to be more active and involved in their party's activities and structures. Included will be: outreach and gender balance in political leadership; recruitment of women candidates; the pros and cons of women's leagues in party structures; the political debate of public policies that are gender specific; and profiling women as political activists.

Public Opinion Polls. Methods and strategies of conducting and utilizing public opinion polls in divided societies; both methodology and analysis will be explored. Addition focus will be on: how parties can make use of public opinion data in decision-making; policy development; election strategies; and message development.

Internal Party Communication. Structures and methods of communication utilized by political parties. These include: creating effective communication links between committees, branches and members; the use of meetings, newsletters, computer technology, telephone and fax; and techniques for conducting meaningful meetings,

both consultative and decision-making.

Voter Identification. Strategies for effectively securing an electoral base and identifying and expanding a party's support. These involve: techniques to identify supporters, persuadable voters and groups outside the party's electoral reach; and strategic decisions on time and resource application.

Media/Press Relations. Methods for effectively communicating the party's message through the print and broadcast media. These include: the development and maintenance of press files and contacts; effective use of press conferences, briefings and events; and distinctions between reactive and creative press activities.

Voter Contact. Techniques and strategies for conveying the party's message to potential voters. This session will explore numerous methods that can be employed to successfully communicate and target interaction with voters including door-to-door, direct mail, telephone and different messages.

Advertising. Principles for developing advertising campaigns for a political party. These include: developing an advertising message and selecting the appropriate media based on the party's needs and resources; relating the message to the audience; and the timing and stages of the advertising campaign.

Recruiting and Preparing Candidates. Methods that are employed by political parties to recruit competent, effective candidates for their ticket. Discussion will focus on: development of training programs and materials for party candidates; how to keep candidates focussed on the party's message; the distinctions between safe, marginal and losing candidates; and balancing a candidate palate -- gender, geography, age, occupation -- the personification of the party's image.

Issues and Voters. The relationship of policy positions to the interest of voters. Includes how to use issues to expand a constituency and the strategy of keeping the focus on a party's strong policy message while dealing with issues on which the party is weak.

Presentation Outline. Each workshop will last for 90 minutes. While NDI and the Frei Foundation do not wish experts to make lengthy or formal presentations, we would appreciate a brief outline of each workshop before it is presented. These outlines will be given to participants before the workshop to assist them in following the presentation. Since experts will work in pairs, we understand that outlines will not be finalized until after the expert briefing session on September 28. On that day, experts will have an opportunity to meet and finalize the format of their workshops. However, it would be appreciated if experts could send a copy of their draft workshop outlines to NDI prior to their departure for the Netherlands. The format of the outline and length is at the discretion of the individual expert, but the average length is one page.

Consultations. Each participant will be assigned a series of one-hour consultation sessions throughout the workshop. The individualized nature of these sessions provides participants with an opportunity to focus on their specific areas of interest. In addition, it assures that participants can discuss issues with trainers that they might be reluctant to raise in a multiparty workshop or plenary session.

The consultation sessions will be assigned once experts and participants arrive in the Netherlands. In order to make the most appropriate pairings, however, NDI asks both participants and trainers to identify their interests and strengths relative to the consultation topics.

Attached to the cover letter of this briefing book is a list of consultation topics. Please review the list and mark all topics for which you feel qualified to conduct a consultation. Please fax the list to Kathy Toomey at NDI as soon as possible.

While participants will be assigned eight one-hour sessions, each of the faculty members will be assigned approximately five to six consultations during the course of the workshop.

Expert Briefing Session: September 28

A briefing session for the team of experts will be conducted on September 28 in Amsterdam. The session will be attended by representatives of NDI, the Frei Foundation and the working group (referred to earlier) which is composed of one person from each party.

The session will provide experts with an opportunity to discuss the program content and format with one another and the cosponsors. It will also be an opportunity to ask questions and get to know the other trainers. A period of the day will be devoted to discussion of the workshop presentations. At this time, trainers will meet with their training partner(s) to finalize the format and content of their workshop.

Media Inquiries

In light of the sensitive and changing political events in Northern Ireland, NDI, the Frei Foundation and the four participating parties prefer to maintain a low media profile throughout the workshop. The four participating political parties have agreed to a basic informational statement to be used in the case of press inquiries, but they will not issue a formal press release. If you receive press inquiries regarding the workshop, please refer them to Ed Feighan, a member of NDI's board of directors, NDI Project Manager Pat Keefer or Jan Willem Wiggers at the Frei Foundation.

Evaluation

At the end of this workshop, NDI will ask both participants and experts to complete a workshop evaluation form. The completion and subsequent analysis of such forms are an integral part of NDI's project evaluation process. We ask that throughout the workshop, trainers consider which aspects of the project could be improved upon, what should remain the same and what changes should be made in the future.

Logistics

Mary Hill at NDI will be responsible for the logistical arrangements for this program. As you know, NDI will cover the cost of travel, meals, accommodation, local transportation and other travel related costs. A letter concerning the various logistical arrangements for this workshop is in Tab 2 of the briefing book.

Again, if you have any questions about the project or the contents of the memo, please feel free to contact NDI.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1994

Mr. President,

We have prepared the attached announcement for your event on Monday with Senator Wofford in Philadelphia.

As of 6pm, Sunday, however, Wofford was still considering whether he preferred for you to announce it later in the week so he has two days of positive stories: your visit Monday and the announcement of a Northern Ireland trade and investment conference in Philadelphia. We will let you know his preference in the morning but are ready to go if he prefers tomorrow.

Maury S.

Tom Dine Trip?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE *AL*

SUBJECT:

Supporting Peace in Northern Ireland:
Options for Greater U.S. Support**DECLASSIFIED**
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (2.14)
KBM 4/11/2023Purpose

To decide upon a package of measures to support the peace process in Northern Ireland by encouraging greater job growth and investment there.

Background

Since the IRA cease-fire announcement August 31, we have reviewed options for increases in U.S. assistance to Northern Ireland to take advantage of the opportunity for peace that now exists. We have consulted with the Congress, the Irish and British governments, and leaders of Northern Irish political parties to get their views on what kind of assistance would be most helpful.

Northern Ireland is already beginning to enjoy a peace dividend. The EU has increased its annual pledge to the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) from about \$20 million to over \$24 million annually and may do substantially more to assist Northern Ireland financially. Australia has also made a modest (\$1 million yearly for five years) commitment to IFI for the first time. The longer the peace holds, the more businesses will look at investing in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic.

In that context, our options focus on promoting increased trade and investment with Ireland, particularly the north, and on supporting the IFI. The IFI remains the best way to channel the bulk of U.S. assistance to Ireland. It is trusted by both communities in Northern Ireland (including growing trust and participation from the Unionist community, which was initially skeptical), by the Irish and British governments, and by Congress. Its mandate is to do precisely what we have identified as the priority development tasks in Northern Ireland. You should be aware, however, that despite its increasingly strong reputation, IFI continues to come under occasional criticism in the media for "flaky" programs. The TV tabloid program Inside Edition is scheduled to air such a story November 3, which will

reportedly criticize questionable past IFI projects including a butterfly farm and a golf course. These are old stories and the Fund has taken steps to avoid such projects and made progress in improving its programs and image.

Options

OPIC Equity Fund: At the request of Congress, OPIC is investigating whether an OPIC-sponsored equity fund could mobilize U.S. private capital. Congress (Rep. Gilman and others) has asked for a feasibility study to determine if an equity fund not to exceed \$60 million is appropriate for both Northern Ireland and the Republic.

OPIC and OMB are opposed to an OPIC Equity Fund. OPIC says there is no shortage of capital in Ireland, that more attractive investment and loan terms are available from the British and Irish investment boards, and that there is therefore no incentive for U.S. investors to subscribe to an OPIC-administered equity fund which charges fees for doing business. Because of this, OPIC believes that it would be unable to obtain capital for a \$60 million fund. OPIC is also concerned, given other requirements, about having sufficient personnel to manage such a fund once it was announced. Supporters of the equity fund idea on the Hill and in the Irish-American business community counter that interest in a Fund does exist but that OPIC would need to be proactive to exploit it. In addition, OPIC currently has a loan guarantee program which has not been used so they oppose expanding it further.

Recommendation: That we not take any position on the OPIC proposal for an equity fund until the study is completed. In the likely event of a negative study, that we then look at ways, including through our investment conference (see below), to work with the Irish and British investment boards to encourage increased U.S. business activity.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

International Fund for Ireland: Given the lack of viability of the OPIC equity fund proposal, U.S. support for the IFI becomes even more important as a concrete demonstration of our readiness to support those who take risks for peace in Ireland, as we support those who take similar risks in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The Administration included in its budget proposals for FY 94 and FY 95 \$19.6 million per year for IFI. This was a break with previous years, when Congress, not the Administration, was the

driving force behind getting and keeping IFI funding. We suggest building on this by reaffirming our present commitment for FY 95 and seeking Congressional concurrence to a \$10 million increase spread over FY96 and FY97 (approximately \$5 million in additional funding for each year), thereby roughly matching the EU increase and keeping the level of U.S. and EU funding for the IFI on the same level.

Pros: Increasing funding for IFI for two crucial years in the peace process would provide concrete evidence of the seriousness of our engagement on this issue. Without even a modest increase for IFI, our package risks being branded by the Irish groups on the Hill and elsewhere as hollow. IFI has identified numerous important new programs which it wants to fund, including "seed money" for the building of a University of Ulster branch campus which would geographically (and psychologically) straddle the sectarian divide and provide much-needed jobs and job training in a cross-community setting. OMB and State agree to this proposed level and timing of increase.

Cons: Although IFI enjoys increasingly strong credibility on all sides in Ireland, its management and some of its projects remain vulnerable to criticism. Announcing an increase on the eve of the Inside Edition story, however bogus the "expose" is, does carry some risk, although we could hedge this by emphasizing our intent to work with IFI to further strengthen its programs and its management. Congress will be wary of another promise from the Administration on foreign aid but in our initial conversations, we believe this modest increase will be manageable. Anthony Lake has calls into Leahy and Obey. Generally, the appropriators are likely to oppose; others (Dodd, Foley, Kennedy) will strongly support.

Recommendation: That you announce your intent to seek Congressional agreement to an increase of U.S. funding for IFI of \$10 million over FY96 and 97 (for a total of roughly \$25 million per year).

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Investment Mission and Conference: This initiative promises to enjoy widespread support and attention, particularly if it is held in Philadelphia (which Senator Wofford in particular welcomes, and which also makes sense overall), and most especially if you participate by giving an opening or keynote speech. The State Department will appoint a coordinator for the conference (thereby addressing in a modified form sentiment from Joe Kennedy and others on the Hill for an "Economic Coordinator" for Ireland). The Coordinator will work with IFI (which is interested in underwriting the conference), the British and Irish

investment boards, and interested Irish-American and other private sector groups and individuals. We should consider inviting some or all of Northern Ireland's party leaders to the conference (Hume and Molyneaux for a start).

Prime Minister Major is holding an Investment Conference in Belfast in December; we propose to send Secretary Brown there and to Dublin. We may also want him to take a delegation of U.S. business leaders with him.

Recommendations:

That you agree to participate in a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland, probably by giving the opening speech, in Philadelphia in April 1995.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you announce Commerce Secretary Brown's participation in the British Investment Conference in Belfast in December 1994 and Secretary Brown's additional stop in Dublin to explore the all-island dimensions of U.S. trade and investment in Ireland, in preparation for our spring conference.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Provision of U.S. Technical and Other Expertise: We have identified numerous other ways in which U.S. government agencies might begin or expand their contacts with Northern Ireland to focus on areas of greatest importance to solidifying the peace and promoting reconciliation. These could be done within existing budgets, with strong direction from you on the priority you attach to these programs.

- The Department of Commerce has begun enhancing cooperation in the science and technology field by establishing collaboration among "Technology Innovation Centers" already set up in the U.S. and Northern Ireland. We will also discuss with them the possibility of establishing business exchange programs similar to those we have with the NIS.
- USIA will expand its programs to encourage Northern Irish participation in numerous new programs, including a new conflict resolution exchange and training project, which would give a university or organization in the U.S. funding (\$60,000-\$150,000) to fund a project in conflict resolution in Northern Ireland...
- The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is presently conducting a political party training program funded by the

National Endowment for Democracy (NED) (\$200,000 budgeted); we can encourage NED to expand it and to explore other ways to take advantage of the changed circumstances.

- HUD and other U.S. agencies could provide to Northern Ireland leaders information and training they have developed on community banking, urban development, and other areas in which they have expertise. AID is looking into providing technical assistance to IFI for development of a micro-enterprise program.
- The Trade and Development Agency will lead a mission to the region to explore business opportunities.

Summary Recommendation

That you approve the text of the announcement at Tab A. This announcement includes Secretary Brown's trip to Belfast and Dublin, your participation in a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland in April in Philadelphia, and a proposed increase in U.S. funding for IFI of \$10 million over FY96 and 97.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab A Proposed October 31 Announcement

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

SUPPORTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The United States attaches great importance to the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, both in the context of our world-wide commitment to end terrorism and our desire to promote democratic solutions to conflicts. Our close bonds of history, culture and tradition with Ireland and the United Kingdom provide us with a unique role in helping to achieve those goals.

We have encouraged and supported the courageous efforts of Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major to establish a new framework for peace and justice in Northern Ireland. For the first time in a generation, both Republican and Loyalist paramilitaries have declared cease-fires. Each day that passes without terrorism strengthens the hope that the bomb and the bullet are gone for good from the politics of Ireland.

The President has pledged to do all he can to support the building of peace in Ireland. The United States wants to do its part to ensure that peace brings to Ireland new opportunities for job growth and economic prosperity, which in turn will help ensure that this newfound peace is a stable and lasting one.

The promise of peace will allow Americans to build on the strong business, trade, political and cultural links we already enjoy with Ireland, north and south. The United States is the most important source of internationally mobile investment in Northern Ireland and in the Republic. Forty U.S. companies are operating in Northern Ireland alone. In addition, the Administration strongly supports the International Fund for Ireland, which funds a broad range of economic and social development projects.

This present opportunity for lasting peace in Ireland is the chance of a generation; it must be seized and supported. The President therefore has directed his Administration to undertake the following initiatives in the coming months to increase our support for the political and economic revitalization of Northern Ireland:

White House Conference for Trade and Investment

The President will host a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The Conference is planned for April 1995 in Philadelphia. He has instructed the Department of State to name a Coordinator to work with Secretary Brown and his staff, the International Fund for Ireland, the Irish and British governments and private sector and political groups to organize and support the conference. The President looks forward to participating in this Conference, which will aim to show U.S. companies that sustained peace is dramatically improving business opportunities on the island of Ireland and, particularly, Northern Ireland and the border counties. American businesses should be in on the ground floor of these new opportunities; this will be good for us and good for Irish peace and reconciliation.

Commerce Secretary Brown to attend Belfast Investment Conference

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown will travel to Belfast in December 1994 to lead the U.S. delegation to Prime Minister Major's Investment Conference for Northern Ireland, where the President has instructed him to identify concrete new opportunities for increased business links between Northern Ireland and the U.S. Secretary Brown will also travel to Dublin for consultations. In both cities, he will prepare the groundwork for the White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The President has also asked Secretary Brown to present the new initiatives he identifies at the White House Conference in April.

Increased funding for the IFI

The President is committed to continued strong U.S. support for the International Fund for Ireland. In addition to our planned obligation of almost \$20 million to the Fund in Fiscal Year 1995, we will seek Congressional concurrence to increase IFI funding by an additional \$10 million over FY96 and FY97. The IFI has steadily strengthened and adjusted its programs and management over the years. We expect such progress to continue. This additional funding will make available some \$50 million in U.S. funds to support the IFI in undertaking the vital new initiatives that are needed to consolidate the gains of peace in Ireland and to build cross-community economic and political cooperation. We will work with it to strengthen its programs even further and particularly to address such entrenched problems as the high rates of long-term unemployment in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

Department of Commerce programs

The President has directed the Department of Commerce to enhance our cooperation with Northern Ireland in science and technology, especially through strengthened collaboration of our Technology Innovation Centers. The Commerce Department will also establish

a business information center for trade and investment in Northern Ireland and review other ways to promote business opportunities.

USIA programs

The President has instructed the United States Information Agency to expand its programs in Northern Ireland in view of the changing political climate, increasing exchanges of persons as well as planning speakers and seminars on such topics as conflict resolution. In addition, USIA will open its grant competitions in such areas as conflict resolution to allow American non-profit organizations to submit proposals for projects in Northern Ireland to support the momentum for peace and reconciliation.

National Endowment for Democracy

The President will encourage the National Endowment for Democracy, which is presently funding a political party training program in Northern Ireland, to seek additional opportunities to strengthen and expand its programs there.

U.S. Agency for International Development

The President has asked USAID to provide technical assistance to the IFI to encourage the setting-up of micro-enterprise lending program. The President will also be instructing U.S. government agencies with relevant expertise and experience in such areas as community banking and urban redevelopment to explore ways of developing more active partnerships with their counterparts in Northern Ireland.

Shed Tom Dine

Trade and Development Agency

The President has directed the TDA to lead a mission to the region to explore business opportunities.

A continuing commitment

We will continue to look for opportunities to support the efforts of the British and Irish governments and of democratic leaders in Northern Ireland to build on and for peace. We encourage the millions of Americans who want to contribute to peace in Ireland to do the same. [The President has asked Ambassador Crowe in London to place a high priority on monitoring the progress of our initiatives and, in consultation with Ambassador Smith in Dublin, to report back to him and to Secretary Christopher.]

and Smith

#

New York State
AFL-CIO



From the desk of

✓
JOSEPH JAMISON

To

NANCY SODERBERG

Date

Oct 24

☐ Handle

☐ As requested

☐ Comment

☒ For your info

☐ Recommendation

☐ Note and return

☐ Reply

☐ Per telephone conversation

REMARKS:



Edward J. Cleary
President

Paul F. Cole
Secretary-Treasurer

Joseph Jamison
Director of Research

October 25, 1994

Ms Page Alexander
AID
320 21st St NW
Washington DC 20523

Dear Ms Alexander:

The enclosed article by two leaders of the Committee on the Administration of Justice appeared in the Dublin *Sunday Business Post*. CAJ is recognized almost universally as the leading human rights group in the North. The article raises the question of structural discrimination in Six County employment patterns, and the impending and inadequate review of the 1989 Fair Employment Act.

The article makes an explicit reference to the Interagency Task Force chaired by Nancy Soderberg, an individual in whom many of us -- including me -- have a high degree of confidence.

While job discrimination might not appear to directly bear upon the US aid package, there is a related history of discriminatory patronage and abuse in the IFI program, soon to be expanded, which has only partly been overcome thanks to Irish-American community protest here and intelligent intervention by the Irish government whose current representative on IFI is an able and honest man.

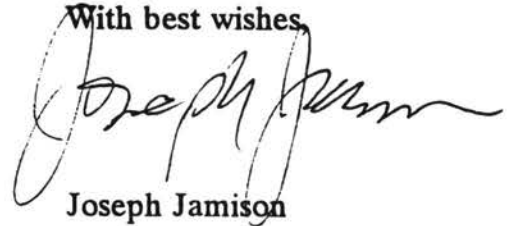
Political vetting of IFI spending by the British government appears to be still a problem. I heard many complaints from the loyalist side as well as the republican side on my last trip to the North, complaints that US aid still accommodates deep seated structural discrimination. There is a concern that the new aid proposal is moving very fast to accommodate short-term political considerations.

Since the Task Force, so far as I know, has not had any input "from below," only from Irish and British party and government leaders, has due consideration been given to the following political considerations: in conditions of general public and taxpayer hostility to foreign aid, reflected in Congress, a new US aid program will depend less on

Congressional leaders such as Speaker Foley *et. al.* and more on stable support from an organized community, both to keep the program going and to defend it in Congress? The Administration, whose Irish initiatives have been and are popular thus far, may be assuming that this aid initiative will be greeted with uncritical community acclaim. It will not, unless the fairness issues are addressed honestly and openly.

Perhaps there is an intention to do so, but the community has not heard it.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Joseph Jamison". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Joseph Jamison

JJ:cag
opeiu/153

Review must tackle disgrace of job discrimination in North

Maggie Beirne and Vincent McCormack of the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) comment on the prospects for the Review of Employment Equality in Northern Ireland and its importance for peace

Sir Patrick Mayhew recently announced the structure and timetable for a review of Northern Ireland's fair employment provisions. His statement came a week before the ceasefire, but was quite independent of it, as the British government had given a commitment to undertake such a review in 1989 when the Fair Employment Act was being debated. It did so specifically to head off a Labour opposition amendment that would have placed a statutory duty on all Northern Ireland government departments to promote equality of opportunity.

It may surprise those who accept the British government's description of the act as "the toughest anti-discrimination legislation in Europe" that it contains no such clause. In 1989, the government was forced to concede that the act would be reviewed in five years and that the review would go beyond the legislation to encompass all aspects of employment equality policy.

The Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) remains concerned both about the review's focus and its independence from government. CAJ believes that adequate protection against discrimination is a fundamental human right. A comprehensive and effective programme to ensure fair employment for all is a key requirement for a just and peaceful society. The central focus of the review must be to determine whether there have been measurable, significant reductions in the economic inequalities between the two communities, how much needs to be achieved, and how and when the government intends to bring it about.

It is often assumed, both by the media and many politicians, that such inequality is much reduced, that remaining discrimination can be accounted for by historical factors rather than current practices, and the political and human rights significance of discrimination has accordingly diminished. There is ample evidence from official sources that this is not the case.

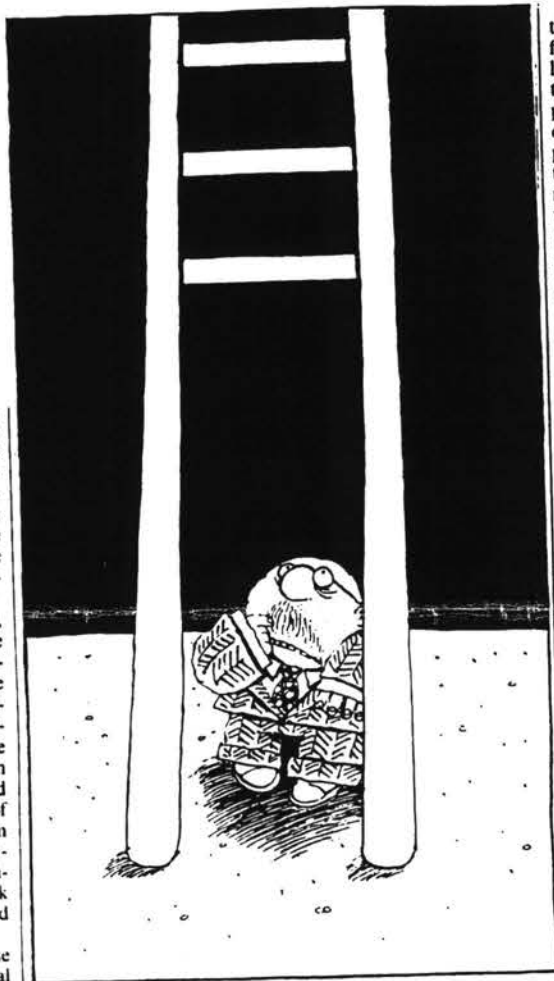
Findings from the Fair Employment Tribunal, and the disturbingly large number of out-of-court settlements, indicate

the most blatant and ugly, kind, remains a reality. The number of complaints to the tribunal has been rising in the four years since the act was introduced, with the total paid in awards and settlements to date touching £1 million, about one half by publicly funded employers.

The Eastern Health Board, which was at the time the North's largest single employer, had to pay £83,000 as the sum of awards in two cases involving Catholic women employees. In the first case completed by the tribunal in 1992 it reconvened and added a further £5,000 to its award of £20,000 to a Catholic woman for the harassment she received at the hands of EHB employees on returning to work after the tribunal had decided in her favour.

In an even more recent case against Securicor, the tribunal found that a 17-year-old Catholic woman had been subjected to "shameful, mean and sectarian treatment". In one recent 12 month period, unlawful discrimination was recorded in 19 cases, with 16 Catholic victims and three Protestants. This indicates that discrimination is still occurring and that it is not always to the detriment of Catholics. A disturbingly high number of cases has resulted in out of court settlements. The tribunal has therefore been unable to make a ruling. Some such cases have involved publicly funded bodies. The curious situation has arisen, therefore, that the public is paying to be kept in the dark; and, since the terms of such settlements are confidential, it does not even know the size of the bill.

The forthright comments of the tribunal, and the size of the awards, indicate that at least individual complaints of discrimination are being taken seriously. But a mountain of official statistics indicates that the core of the problem remains largely untouched. Probably the single most important factor which determined that the government could not avoid the introduction of new legislation was the revelation in 1987 that Catholic males were 2.5 times more likely to be unemployed than Protestants. Yet 1991 census figures show that differential substantially unchanged, with



females the figure had risen to 1.7 so overall the ratio has shown virtually no change. A notorious document leaked from within government in 1992 admitted that the new legislation was unlikely to change the differential within the decade.

The number of complaints to the tribunal has been rising in the four years since the act

Startling figures given by Professor R. Rowthorn at a seminar in Belfast just over a week ago indicate how unemployment bears heavily on both communities, but particularly upon Catholics. They indicate how dramatically Catholic disadvantage has worsened in the last 20 years. Rowthorn pointed out that between the 1971 and 1991 censuses the numbers of economically inactive had

and described this as "disguised unemployment".

He said that official figures showed that in 1991, 43 per cent of Catholic males of working age were without work, while the figure for non-Catholics was 26 per cent. Averaging figures for the late 1980s, 48 per cent of Catholic males aged 20-24 were workless - nearly one in every two - as against 26 per cent - one in four - of non-Catholics.

It is the view of CAJ - and this appears to be accepted by the Secretary of State - that the review needs to be wide ranging, going beyond a mechanical consideration of the legislation to consider how the powerful machinery of government can be mobilised to promote equality. Two measures have been introduced which have considerable potential to promote equality through government action. The review will have to consider why the results from them have been so negligible.

The first is Targeting Social Needs (TSN). This initiative was adopted in 1991 as the third spending priority, after security and the economy. Its aim is to target resources to the most disadvantaged. Since Catholics continue to suffer disproportionate disadvantage, the policy should particularly impact upon them, although it would also improve the position of the poorest Protestants.

But Mayhew will know that the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action was highly critical of the implementation of the initiative in a recent publication. NICVA pointed out that it was a potentially powerful policy; but it says that only one of 13 departments, Health and Social Services, has adopted a TSN objective, and the initiative has yet to make real impact where it is needed. There is a very strong case that any reduction in security spending resulting from a sustained end to violence should go directly to TSN programmes, and their equality impact should be monitored closely.

The second governmental initiative is known as Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment (PAFT). Precisely four years after refusing to insert such a proposal into the act, government introduced in January this year a non-statutory requirement that all its departments and agencies should follow employment equality guidelines. The review must ensure that equality indicators are used to implement and monitor departmental action under this policy, and assess how this action should impact upon inequality. TSN has been referred to as "PAFT in action". The figures we have quoted indicate just how urgent such action is.

In 1989 it was announced, and Mayhew has now confirmed, that the NIO's own Central Community Relations Unit (CCRU) would "lead and coordinate" the review. CAJ is unconvinced that such a fundamental and essential assessment of fair employment policies can adequately be overseen by CCRU, an under-resourced and understaffed department. With its central role in both PAFT and TSN it will be reviewing its own responsibilities; effectively government proposes to review itself.

Mayhew has indicated that the review will be completed and published by the end of 1995. The review presents a unique opportunity to ensure fairness and justice, which are in turn necessary to securing a durable peace in Northern Ireland. It is generally agreed that international pressure for change, particularly from the US, led to the 1989 legislation and to the present Equality Review.

As the White House committee chaired by Nancy Soderberg ponders financial aid to Northern Ireland, it will need reassurance that its dollars will be used fairly. The commitment of the NIO to economic equality will, therefore, soon be tested. Change has been too long delayed. Even if the review is thorough and independent, and even if the NIO acts on its recommendations, such changes are unlikely to have any impact before the end of the millennium. Action need not, and must not, await the outcome of the review.