

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, 1994

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1398

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. ND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Smith re: Gerry Adams Visa (2 pages)	01/06/1994	P1/b(1)
002. cable	[Duplicate of 001] (1 page)	01/06/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	Ambassador Smith to Nancy Soderberg re: Gerry Adams Visa (2 pages)	01/05/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
004. cable	re: Gerry Adams Visa Issue (2 pages)	12/23/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005. cable	re: More On a Visa for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	12/23/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
006. cable	re: Senator Kennedy's and My December 30 Meeting with Prime Minister Reynolds (2 pages)	01/04/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
007. cable	re: Prime Minister Reynolds Recommends... (3 pages)	12/22/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
008. cable	re: DFA on Northern Ireland (5 pages)	12/22/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
009a. memo	Nancy Soderberg to Tony Lake et al. re: Jean Smith's Role (2 pages)	10/21/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
009b. cable	re: Promoting Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland (3 pages)	10/08/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
009c. cable	re: Promoting Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland (3 pages)	09/22/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
010. cable	re: Promoting Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland (3 pages)	10/23/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1661

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]
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- 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]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011a. memo	[Duplicate of 009a] (2 pages)	10/21/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
011b. cable	[Duplicate of 009b] (3 pages)	10/08/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
011c. cable	[Duplicate of 009c] (3 pages)	09/22/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
012a. memo	[Duplicate of 009a] (2 pages)	10/21/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
012b. cable	[Duplicate of 009b] (3 pages)	10/08/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
012c. cable	[Duplicate of 009c] (3 pages)	09/22/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023

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RETURN TO
NANCY SODERBERG

10/22

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

NANCY WOULD
LIKE TO GET
BACK TO STATE
TODAY IF POSSIBLE.

THX.

BROOKE

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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001. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Smith re: Gerry Adams Visa (2 pages)	01/06/1994	P1/b(1)
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IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM *Pls keep on file -*

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: FILE PRIVACY_IN SIGLER SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<DTG> 051332Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO WHITE HOUSE

~~SECRET~~ 051332Z JAN 94 PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

FM AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH, DUBLIN 001

TO THE WHITE HOUSE, FOR NANCY SODERBERG IMMEDIATE

SUBJECT: VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

REFS: A. 93 STATE 38742

B. DUBLIN 0025

C. 93 DUBLIN 7396

D. 93 DUBLIN 7366

E. 93 DUBLIN 7365

1. NANCY, I UNDERSTAND THAT YOU HAVE BEEN OUT OF TOWN AND THAT YOU MAY NOT BE FULLY AWARE OF THE REFERENCED MESSAGES REPORTING ON MY CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS, JOHN HUME AND OTHERS ON THE QUESTION OF WHAT WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE MAY WELL BE AN IMMINENT REQUEST BY GERRY ADAMS FOR A VISA TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSE. THE LATTER MESSAGE FROM STEVE OXMAN WAS I ASSUME CLEARED BY THE NSC. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO INDICATION TO THAT EFFECT. THE MESSAGE DOES REFER TO THE PRESIDENT'S DECEMBER 22 COMMENTS TO THE IRISH TIMES. IT DOES NOT ADDRESS, HOWEVER, THE STRONGLY EXPRESSED VIEW OF PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS AND JOHN HUME THAT ADAMS IS SINCERE IN HIS QUEST FOR PEACE. NOR DOES IT ADDRESS THE FACT THAT REYNOLDS FEELS MAJOR SHOULD NOT HAVE A PROBLEM WITH ADAMS RECEIVING A VISA AT THIS TIME.

REYNOLDS AND HUME ARE CONVINCED THAT ADAMS IS THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN CONVINCE ALL IRISH AMERICANS TO SUPPORT THE JOINT DECLARATION. THEY BELIEVE THIS SUPPORT COULD BE INSTRUMENTAL IN PUSHING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD.

2. THE IRISH PRESS RAN AN EDITORIAL YESTERDAY ON THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S INTERNAL DEBATE OVER EASING THE BROADCASTING BAN ON SINN FEIN AND THE IRA WHICH EXPRESSES MOST PERSUASIVELY THE REASONS WHY NOW IS THE TIME TO ALLOW GERRY ADAMS TO BE HEARD AND TO BE MADE TO ANSWER HIS CRITICS. I QUOTE: THE FATE OF THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION -- AND THE PEACE HOPES IT HAS RAISED -- DEPEND PRIMARILY ON THE RESPONSE OF THE PROVISIONALS. IT IS SELF-EVIDENTLY ABSURD THAT WHILE THE DEBATE ON WHAT THAT RESPONSE MIGHT BE, AND WHY, DOMINATES NATIONAL RADIO AND TV, THOSE WHO CAN BEST ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BEING POSED ARE DELIBERATELY EXCLUDED. SUCH CENSORSHIP IS NOT JUST SELF-DEFEATING IN THAT IT DENIES THE PUBLIC INFORMATION TO WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED -- IT IS ALSO

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-E(2.20)
KBH 7/11/2023

~~SECRET~~

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

DAMAGING TO THE PROSPECTS OF THE DECLARATION BEING ACCEPTED.

ONE OF THE MAIN AIMS OF THE INITIATIVE IS TO BRING THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN FROM THE COLD AND PERSUADE IT TO ABANDON ITS CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE. ALLOWING ITS REPRESENTATIVES ACCESS TO THE AIRWAVES IN THE PRESENT DEBATE WOULD FURTHER THAT PROCESS IN HELPING TO END THE PROVOS' SENSE OF ISOLATION, EVEN IF IT IS SELF-IMPOSED. END QUOTE.

3. THIS ARGUMENT APPLIES EQUALLY TO THE VISA ISSUE AND I URGE THAT WE TAKE PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS' AND JOHN HUME'S RECOMMENDATIONS SERIOUSLY. I AM SENDING THIS MESSAGE DIRECTLY TO YOU IN THIS CHANNEL BECAUSE I HAVE HAD NO INDICATION FROM YOUR OFFICE THAT YOU HAVE SEEN MY MESSAGES AND THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED HIGH LEVEL CONSIDERATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE. I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR RESPONSE IN THIS CHANNEL AS WELL. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE AND I FIRMLY BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE PRO-ACTIVE IN THIS CASE AND NOT APPEAR TO BE RESPONDING TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE AFTER THE ISSUE HAS BEEN SEIZED UPON BY THE IRISH AMERICAN LOBBY. I REALIZE THAT EVERYONE IS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE UPCOMING TRIP TO BRUSSELS BUT AS WE EXPECT TO HEAR FROM ADAMS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, I WOULD APPRECIATE A RESPONSE PRIOR TO THE TRIP. THANKS AND BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY AND HOPEFULLY PEACEFUL NEW YEAR.

SMITH

DECL OADR

#1332

NNNN

<MSGID> M0810822

~~SECRET~~

cleared 12/29/13 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ORIGINAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AUTH WON DRAFT WON
CLEAR 1 WON 2 WON
3 _____ 4 _____ 5 WON
6 _____ 7 WON 8 WON

EUR/NE:KSTEPHENS:DKS
12/23/93 78027 SENEUK 2806
EUR:SOXMAN

P:LBUTLER
NSC:
CA/VO/L/C:LYONTZ
EUR:MAPETERS

EUR/NE:MPARMLY
S/S:
S/S-0:
L/CA:RHENDERSON

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2011-0355-F(2.21)
KBH 7/11/2023

EUR, EUR/NE

IMMEDIATE DUBLIN

IMMEDIATE LONDON

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR SMITH FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY OXMAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, CVIS, EI, UK

SUBJECT: GERRY ADAMS VISA ISSUE

REF: A} DUBLIN 7365 {NOTAL} B} DUBLIN 7366
C} DUBLIN 7396 {NOTAL}

1. THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIMELY REPORTS ON YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS, SEAN O'HUIGINN, AND JOHN HUME {REFTELS}. WE AGREE WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS THAT ISSUANCE OF A VISA SHOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF BEING HELPFUL TO THE PEACE PROCESS. THAT IS THE CLEAR MESSAGE BEHIND THE PRESIDENT'S DECEMBER 22 COMMENTS TO THE IRISH TIMES, WHERE HE LEAVES NO DOUBT THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO REVIEW THE ISSUE IN LIGHT OF GERRY ADAMS' RESPONSE TO THE REYNOLDS-MAJOR INITIATIVE.

2. THE NEXT STEP IS UP TO GERRY ADAMS. [IF HE RENOUNCES VIOLENCE AND TAKES STEPS TO JOIN THE POLITICAL PROCESS, WE WILL BE PREPARED TO TAKE A NEW LOOK AT THE RATIONALE FOR A WAIVER THE NEXT TIME HE APPLIES FOR A U.S. VISA.] GRANTING GERRY ADAMS A VISA IS ONE OF THE MOST VISIBLE PIECES OF LEVERAGE WE HAVE TO USE WITH SINN FEIN/PIRA TO ENCOURAGE THEIR JOINING THE PEACE PROCESS. WE WANT TO BE SURE, AS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

SEAN O'HUIGINN PUT IT SO APTLY TO YOU, THAT WE "MAXIMIZE REWARDS." WE HOPE THE CARROT OF A U.S. VISA WILL PROVIDE ADDED INCENTIVE TO GERRY ADAMS TO MOVE AWAY FROM VIOLENCE. YY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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2011-0355-F (2.22)
KBN 4/11/2023

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 231646Z DEC 93

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4232

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 007396

NODIS

PLS PASS URGENTLY TO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR NANCY SODERBERG
FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: MORE ON A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

REF: (A) DUBLIN 07366

(B) DUBLIN 07364

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

2. I TALKED WITH JOHN HUME THIS MORNING (DECEMBER 23), WHO
SAID, IN REGARD TO A VISA FOR SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS
(REF. A), THAT THE TIMING WAS NOW RIGHT AND THAT IT WOULD
HELP THE PEACE PROCESS TO GIVE HIM ONE. HUME HAS OBVIOUSLY
CHANGED HIS MIND IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS (REF. B).

3. "THE IRISH TIMES" CARRIED A SHORT ITEM ON THE FRONT
PAGE THIS MORNING WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT:

THE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT, MR. GERRY ADAMS, IS EXPECTED TO
REAPPLY FOR A US VISA AFTER PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID IN
YESTERDAY'S "IRISH TIMES" THAT HE WAS PREPARING TO REVIEW
POLICY ON DENYING MR. ADAMS A VISA (ARTICLES FAXED TO
EUR/NE ON DECEMBER 22). MR. ADAMS SAID YESTERDAY: "THE
POLICY OF CENSORSHIP, BY VISA DENIAL, OF SINN FEIN MEMBERS
HAS BEEN A MAIN POLICY PLANK OF SUCCESSIVE US
ADMINISTRATIONS IN THEIR PARTISAN SUPPORT FOR BRITISH
GOVERNMENT POLICY IN IRELAND.

"THIS, I AM NOW INFORMED, IS UNDER REVIEW. I WILL BE
TESTING THE PRECISE MEANING OF THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE ON
THE BACK OF AN APPROPRIATE INVITATION TO SPEAK IN THE
UNITED STATES. IRISH-AMERICAN SUPPORTERS OF FREEDOM,
JUSTICE AND PEACE IN IRELAND ARE TO BE CONGRATULATED FOR
FOCUSING THE US ADMINISTRATION'S ATTENTION ON THE CONFLICT
IN IRELAND."

END TEXT.

4. I HAVE ALSO BEEN HEARING FROM CONTACTS, WHO CITE NEW
YORK IRISH-AMERICANS AS THEIR SOURCES, THAT ADAMS PLANS TO
APPLY FOR A VISA, POSSIBLY IN DUBLIN, IN THE VERY NEAR

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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FUTURE, POSSIBLY ON DECEMBER 29.

5. ALL OF THIS SUGGESTS THAT EVENTS ARE MOVING FASTER THAN EVEN I ANTICIPATED IN REF. A, MY REPORTING ON MY CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS YESTERDAY. AS A RESULT, I AM INCREASINGLY CONVINCED THAT NOW, DURING THIS CHRISTMAS TIME OF PEACE, WE SHOULD REMOVE OUR BLINDERS, STEP AWAY FROM THE ACCEPTED WISDOM OF HOW TO DEAL WITH GERRY ADAMS AND TAKE A MORE CREATIVE, PRO-ACTIVE APPROACH. HE IS ALREADY TALKING "SECRETLY" WITH THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS. IN ADDITION PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS AND NOW JOHN HUME HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO ME THAT THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT ADAMS IS MAKING A GENUINE GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO BRING ALL SIDES OF THE IRA TOGETHER TO FORM A CONSENSUS FOR PEACE. (THE DELAY IN ACCEPTING THE JOINT DECLARATION IS NOT TACTICAL ON ADAMS PART BUT RATHER DEMONSTRATES THE DIFFICULTY OF BRINGING ALL THE DISPARATE ASPECTS OF THE EQUATION TOGETHER.) THEY ALSO AGREE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS CAN BE ENHANCED BY ADAMS BEING EXPOSED TO PRESSURE FROM THE U.S. AND IRISH-AMERICANS TO ESCHEW VIOLENCE AND WORK FOR REAL PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

6. AS I HAVE ARGUED BEFORE, I BELIEVE IT IS SIMPLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO CONTINUE TO KEEP ADAMS OUT OF THE U.S. INSTEAD, WE SHOULD ISSUE A STATEMENT MAKING IT CLEAR THAT A WAIVER WILL BE GRANTED BECAUSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S BELIEF THAT THIS WILL FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS. THIS WOULD PLACE THE ONUS SQUARELY ON ADAMS TO DELIVER PEACE.

7. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE AND WE SHOULD SEIZE THIS RARE OPPORTUNITY TO CREATIVELY MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FURTHER BY PLACING THE OBLIGATION ON GERRY ADAMS AND THE IRA TO BRING PEACE AT THIS TIMELY, SEASONAL MOMENT. PLEASE SEND YOUR RESPONSE NIACT IMMEDIATE AS THE EMBASSY'S COMMUNICATION'S UNIT WILL BE CLOSED UNTIL DECEMBER 29.

SMITH

BT

#7396

NNNN

<MSGID> M0797277

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SODERBERG

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

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 041527Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4265

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1694

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 000025

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT FROM
AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: SENATOR KENNEDY'S AND MY DECEMBER 30 MEETING
WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS

REF: (A) LONDON 22924

(B) BELFAST 00268

(C) DUBLIN 07365

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

2. SENATOR KENNEDY AND I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS
ON DECEMBER 30. HE SAID THAT:

-- HE WAS NOT/NOT DISCOURAGED BY SINN FEIN/IRA COMMENTARY
FOLLOWING THE DECEMBER 15 JOINT DECLARATION. IT WOULD
PROBABLY TAKE UNTIL THE END OF JANUARY FOR THEM TO CONTACT
ALL THEIR "CELLS" AND TO BUILD THE NECESSARY CONSENSUS.

-- ADAMS HIMSELF IS THE PRODUCT OF AN IRA SPLIT AND WILL
THEREFORE BE CAREFUL TO AVOID CAUSING ANOTHER.

-- HE (REYNOLDS) WOULD BE WORRIED IF SINN FEIN/IRA RHETORIC
WERE THE SAME AT THE END OF JANUARY.

-- SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS IS WORKING FOR PEACE AND
SHOULD GET A U.S. VISA. REYNOLDS ADDED THAT JOHN HUME

AGREED WITH HIM: ADAMS SHOULD NOW GET A VISA. REYNOLDS
FEELS THAT IT SHOULD NOT CAUSE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER MAJOR
ANY DIFFICULTY.

-- ADAMS CAN EXPLAIN THE SITUATION TO IRISH-AMERICAN
GROUPS AND GET THEIR UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FOR PEACE. SUCH AN
ENDORSEMENT WOULD BE IMPORTANT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY LEADER JIM MOLYNEAUX HAD SENT HIM
A LETTER (WHICH HE SHOWED US) IN SUPPORT OF THE JOINT
DECLARATION. IN THE LETTER, MOLYNEAUX SAID THAT HE HAD
SOME DIFFICULTIES WITH THE DECLARATION BUT THAT, IF THE TWO
GOVERNMENTS HELD FIRM, THEY COULD WIN.

-- MAJOR HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY THE MASSIVE SUPPORT THE
JOINT DECLARATION HAD RECEIVED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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WAS DELIGHTED BY HIS UPSWING IN THE POLLS AS A RESULT.

-- PRESIDENT CLINTON'S STATEMENT HAD BEEN ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL; ITS TIMING WAS PERFECT.

-- DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY LEADER IAN PAISLEY HAS BEEN MARGINALIZED FOR THE TIME BEING.

-- DESPITE THAT 40 PERCENT OF MI5 IS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE BRITISH DO NOT/NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE. MAJOR NEEDS TO BE TOLD HOW THE IRA WORKS. HE HAD NEVER BEEN TO THE NORTH UNTIL THIS LAST TRIP.

-- (IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S QUESTION), HE (REYNOLDS) WAS UNAWARE OF ANY INTELLIGENCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND PROVIDED BY THE USG. THEREFORE, THE IRISH HAD TO USE THEIR OWN.

-- HE (REYNOLDS) HAD TOLD MAJOR THAT NORTHERN POLICEMEN WHO VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

(REYNOLDS WAS QUITE EMPHATIC ABOUT THIS.) "YOU CAN'T TALK ABOUT PEACE AND THEN HAVE POLICEMEN KILLING CIVILIANS."

-- THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) HAS BEEN SUPPORTIVE BUT DOES NOT WANT TO INTERFERE.

-- ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION HAVE NEVER BEEN A PROBLEM SINCE THEIR INTRODUCTION IN 1937 AND THEY ARE NOT/NOT ONE NOW. SMITH

BT

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<MSGID> M0809779

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (2.24)
KBH 4/11/2023

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 221833Z DEC 93

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4218

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 007366

NODIS

PLS PASS URGENTLY TO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR NANCY SODERBERG
FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, CVIS, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS RECOMMENDS ISSUANCE OF
A VISA TO SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS

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

2. I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS ON DECEMBER
22 TO DISCUSS NORTHERN IRELAND IN LIGHT OF THE DECEMBER 15
JOINT DECLARATION. HE SAID THAT:

-- IT WOULD BE FINE WITH HIM IF SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY
ADAMS RECEIVED A VISA, BUT THAT WAS UP TO THE U.S.

-- A VISA SHOULD BE GIVEN ON THE BASIS OF BEING HELPFUL TO
THE PEACE PROCESS.

-- ADAMS COULD BRING THE IRISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY WITH HIM.
IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THE PEACE PROCESS TO HAVE ALL
AMERICANS BEHIND THE JOINT DECLARATION.

-- ADAMS IS TRYING HARD AND IS BEING VERY SUPPORTIVE OF THE
PEACE PROCESS.

-- BOTH MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND HE ARE QUITE CONSCIOUS OF THE
DANGER OF A SPLIT IN SINN FEIN/IRA AND SO ARE BEING CAREFUL
TO TOUCH ALL BASES IN THE SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS.

-- THE SINN FEIN/IRA CONSULTATION PROCESS WILL PROBABLY
LAST UNTIL THE END OF JANUARY OR THE BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY.

-- ADAMS WILL ENGAGE IN SOME POSTURING FOR POLITICAL
REASONS, BUT THIS IS NOTHING TO BE ALARMED ABOUT.

-- JOHN MAJOR AND THE UNIONISTS WILL NOT/NOT BE A PROBLEM
IN REGARD TO A VISA FOR ADAMS. ALL WANT PEACE. HE
(REYNOLDS) WOULD DO THE SAME FOR MAJOR IF CIRCUMSTANCES
WERE REVERSED.

-- IRA PRISONERS WANT PEACE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE HEAD
OF THEIR PRISONERS' GROUP AT THE MAZE PRISON.

-- RATHER THAN "AMNESTY," THE PHRASE "TERM REDUCTIONS" WILL
BE USED IN REGARD TO EARLY RELEASE OF PRISONERS FOLLOWING
PEACE.

-- ONE REASON FOR THE CONTINUATION OF SINN FEIN/IRA

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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CONSULTATIONS AT LEAST UNTIL THE END OF JANUARY IS THEIR DESIRE TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS IN REGARD TO SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT, WHICH MUST BE RENEWED OR LAPSE ON JANUARY 19.

-- HE (REYNOLDS) HAS ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST SECTION 31; THE GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY NOT/NOT RENEW IT.

-- IT WOULD BE NICE IF PRESIDENT CLINTON COULD VISIT IRELAND NEXT JUNE, OR EVEN IN JANUARY, IF, BY CHANCE, PEACE HAS ALREADY BEEN ESTABLISHED. HE (REYNOLDS) UNDERSTANDS THAT IT MIGHT BE EASIER FOR THE PRESIDENT TO COME IN 1995.

-- IT WOULD BE BETTER, ON THE OTHER HAND, IF SPEAKER FOLEY AND OTHER INTERESTED AMERICANS POSTPONED POSSIBLE VISITS UNTIL AFTER PEACE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

-- IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE IRA WILL NOT AGREE TO A DEMAND THAT THEY SURRENDER ALL THEIR WEAPONS -- THEY HAVE NEVER DONE SO IN IRISH HISTORY.

-- OBVIOUSLY, THEY WILL HAVE TO GIVE UP SEMTEX AND HEAVY WEAPONS.

COMMENT

3. CLEARLY, THE PERCEPTION HERE IS THAT A VISA FOR ADAMS WOULD HELP THE PEACE PROCESS BY DEMONSTRATING THAT HIS MORE RESPONSIBLE AND FORTHCOMING POSITION HAS REAPED BENEFITS. A VISA WOULD ALSO REMOVE THIS QUESTION FROM THE IRISH-AMERICAN AGENDA, WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD, HOPEFULLY, LEAD TO A UNANIMOUS, PUBLIC CHORUS OF IRISH-AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS, SOMETHING THAT THE NATIONALISTS, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, FEEL IS IMPORTANT. THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN TALKING WITH THE IRA, AND THE IRISH HAVE DONE SO INDIRECTLY. THEY WILL, ACCORDING TO REYNOLDS, LIFT THE BROADCASTING BAN ON SINN FEIN NEXT MONTH. THUS, IT NOW APPEARS TO BE THE RIGHT TIME TO PREPARE THE GROUNDWORK TO ALLOW US PROMPTLY TO GIVE ADAMS A VISA WHEN HE REAPPLIES. THIS GESTURE WOULD DEFINITELY HELP THE PROCESS OF FINDING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SHOULD ADAMS, AS IS POSSIBLE, REQUEST A VISA IN DUBLIN, WE WOULD RECOMMEND A WAIVER OF HIS INELIGIBILITY AND AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE HIM ONE IMMEDIATELY. (FYI: WE HAD HOPED TO DISCUSS THIS RECOMMENDATION WITH JOHN HUME BUT WERE UNABLE TO REACH HIM. HE TOLD ME TWO WEEKS AGO THAT GIVING ADAMS A VISA WOULD

HAVE, AT THAT MOMENT, "MADE HIM TOO IMPORTANT.")

4. IT WOULD SEEM THAT DENYING ADAMS A VISA AT THIS TIME WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. THE PRESIDENT IS PERCEIVED TO BE DOING EVERYTHING TO GET THE PEACE PROCESS MOVING. IF HE MOVES QUICKLY ON THE VISA ISSUE, IT WOULD BE A POSITIVE STEP SINCE IT WOULD HELP SUSTAIN THIS MOMENTUM. SMITH

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 05

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KBH 4/11/2023

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 221724Z DEC 93

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4215

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1681

RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 007365

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT FROM
AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: DFA ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: (A) LONDON 22525

(B) DUBLIN 07306

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

2. SUMMARY. SEAN O'HUIGINN, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, SAYS THAT THE BEST THING AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY IRISH-AMERICANS, CAN DO NOW IS PUBLICLY TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR THE JOINT DECLARATION AND THE PEACE PROCESS. THE IRISH WOULD WELCOME A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AT ANY TIME; HOWEVER, THEY APPEAR NOT/NOT TO WANT VISITS BY OTHER OUTSIDERS AT THIS TIME. NEITHER GOVERNMENT WANTS A SPECIAL ENVOY NOW, AND IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER SINN FEIN/IRA HAS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE TO GIVE GERRY ADAMS A VISA. SINN FEIN'S

CONSULTATION PROCESS WILL LIKELY BE LENGTHY; MEANWHILE, THE IRISH WILL TALK WITH THE BRITISH ABOUT THE TALKS PROCESS IN JANUARY. DEALING WITH THE ISSUES OF AN AMNESTY AND DISARMING THE IRA ARE "DOWN THE ROAD" AT THE MOMENT. END SUMMARY.

MEETING WITH SEAN O'HUIGINN

3. I MET WITH SEAN O'HUIGINN, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, ON DECEMBER 21 TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN THE WAKE OF THE PROMULGATION OF THE DECEMBER 15 JOINT DECLARATION. HE WAS GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC.

THE U.S. ROLE

4. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ABOUT WHAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE DOING, O'HUIGINN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT AND SAID THAT EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR THE JOINT DECLARATION FROM PROMINENT AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY IRISH-AMERICANS, WOULD BE JUST RIGHT AT THIS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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POINT. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE WORLD BE SEEN TO REGARD THE JOINT DECLARATION AS "HONORABLE." THE MESSAGE SHOULD CONSISTENTLY BE THAT THE DECLARATION IS USEFUL IN FACILITATING A SWITCH TO THE POLITICAL MODE. IT IS IMPERATIVE TO AVOID DISTRACTIONS AND THE CREATION OF THE IMPRESSION THAT ALTERNATIVES, E.G., MEDIATION BY OUTSIDERS, EXIST.

5. POSITIVE AMERICAN INTEREST, O'HUIGINN STRESSED, IS MOST HELPFUL. IN FACT, HE SAID, PRESIDENT CLINTON IS THE REASON THAT PRIME MINISTER MAJOR WENT AS FAR AS HE DID. VISITS?

6. ALTHOUGH O'HUIGINN SAID THAT A VISIT BY THE PRESIDENT OR SPEAKER FOLEY WOULD BE WELCOME AT ANY TIME, HE IMPLIED THAT, EXCEPT FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE IRISH WOULD PREFER THAT OTHERS LEAVE THE PEACE PROCESS TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS FOR THE TIME BEING. O'HUIGINN STRESSED THAT THE IRISH WANT A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. O'HUIGINN ADDED THAT PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS HAD WRITTEN THE PRESIDENT TO INVITE HIM TO VISIT IRELAND. A SPECIAL ENVOY?

7. O'HUIGINN CONTINUED THAT NEITHER GOVERNMENT SAW ANY NEED FOR A SPECIAL ENVOY AT THIS TIME. DOWN THE ROAD A WAYS, DEPENDING ON HOW THINGS WENT, AN ENVOY MIGHT BECOME A GOOD IDEA, BUT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WANTED TO RUN WITH THEIR BILATERAL INITIATIVE AND SEE THE RESULTS BEFORE CONSIDERING ANYTHING ELSE.

A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS?

8. O'HUIGINN WAS INITIALLY EVASIVE WHEN I ASKED HIM ABOUT A VISA FOR SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS, SAYING THAT IT WAS A MATTER FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE. WHEN I PRESSED HIM, HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE GOOD TO "MAXIMIZE REWARDS," IMPLYING THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER SINN FEIN/IRA HAD RENOUNCED VIOLENCE TO GIVE ADAMS A VISA. "PEACE WOULD CHANGE EVERYTHING."

SINN FEIN/THE IRA

9. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT THE SINN FEIN/IRA WAS CLAIMING THAT THE JOINT DECLARATION HAD LEFT THE "UNIONIST VETO" INTACT. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, ON THE OTHER HAND, MAINTAINS THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PROCEDURES AND THE REALITY OF THE UNIONIST POSITION: ONE MILLION OF THEM LIVE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND CANNOT BE IGNORED. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO FORCE A SETTLEMENT ON THEM. TO REJECT THE CONCEPT OF UNITY BY CONSENT WOULD BE TO REJECT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY. A WAY MUST BE FOUND TO BRING ALONG THE INHABITANTS OF THE CATHOLIC GHETTOS IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 007365
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT FROM

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: DFA ON NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST AND DERRY, WHERE FEELINGS RUN HIGH AND AN ISOLATIONIST MENTALITY EXISTS. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS TOLD SINN FEIN/IRA THAT MORE FIGHTING WILL SIMPLY DELAY A UNITED IRELAND.

THE JOINT DECLARATION

10. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, O'HUIGINN CONTINUED, BELIEVES THAT THE DECEMBER 15 JOINT DECLARATION IS A REASONABLE EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH. THE IRISH WOULD HAVE BROUGHT THE BRITISH EVEN FURTHER IF IT HAD BEEN POSSIBLE TO DO SO. THE DOCUMENT FULLY RECOGNIZES IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION, WITH THE ONE CONDITION OF CONSENSUS. IT IS NECESSARY AT ALL COSTS TO AVOID "DUPLICATION," I.E., CREATING THE SAME SITUATION IN A UNITED IRELAND AS EXISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND: AN ALIENATED MINORITY. THE JOINT DECLARATION IS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF A SOLUTION.

NEXT STEPS

11. O'HUIGINN BELIEVES THAT THE SINN FEIN/IRA CONSULTATION PROCESS WILL BE LENGTHY, EXTENDING OVER WEEKS AND MAYBE EVEN OVER MONTHS. ON THE ONE HAND, ADEQUATE CONSULTATION IS IMPORTANT SINCE IT LESSENS CHANCES OF A SPLIT IN THE IRA. IN THAT REGARD, IT WOULD BE IN NOBODY'S INTEREST IF YOUNG HOTHEADS REPLACED GERRY ADAMS AND THE REST OF ITS PRESENT LEADERSHIP. ON THE OTHER HAND, LONG CONSULTATIONS ARE FRAUGHT WITH PERIL. ONE OR TWO INCIDENTS COULD PROVOKE PROTESTANT PARA-MILITARY RETALIATION OR UNIONIST REJECTION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION.

12. IF SINN FEIN/IRA IN EFFECT REJECTS THE JOINT DECLARATION, O'HUIGINN CONTINUED, THEY WILL HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THEY ARE INCAPABLE OF RELATING TO THE WIDER IRISH COMMUNITY AND WILL BE ISOLATING THEMSELVES. THEY WILL SHOW THAT THEY ARE NOT SERIOUS AND THAT THEY WANT TO CONTINUE THE VIOLENCE. SO FAR, THEY HAVE AVOIDED PURELY SECTARIAN WARFARE, AND SO, HOPEFULLY, WILL OPT FOR PEACE. THE TALKS

13. BOTH GOVERNMENTS, O'HUIGINN NOTED, WANT TO MAKE A RENEWAL OF THE TALKS ON NORTHERN IRELAND CENTER-STAGE. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT HOSTILE TO THE BILATERALS BEING CONDUCTED BY BRITISH JUNIOR MINISTER MICHAEL ANCRAM BUT CONSIDERS THEM A FAILURE. CONCENTRATING ON TRIVIA, THEY AMOUNT TO NOTHING MORE THAN A "TEA PARTY." ANCRAM IS RAPIDLY LOSING CREDIBILITY. WHAT IS NEEDED IS A TABLE AT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 04 OF 05

WHICH ALL CAN SIT WITHOUT LOSS OF DIGNITY AND AT WHICH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CAN "BREAK SOME HEADS," IF NEED BE, TO SECURE A SETTLEMENT. THE IRISH WILL TALK WITH THE BRITISH IN JANUARY ABOUT RESTARTING THE TALKS PROCESS.

14. O'HUIGINN OBSERVED THAT THE IRISH ARE WILLING TO USE THE 3-STRAND FORMAT BUT BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY TO "GO DEEPER" THAN BEFORE. FOR INSTANCE, "PLAUSIBLE" NORTH/SOUTH INSTITUTIONS HAVE TO BE CREATED UNDER STRAND 2 IF A SETTLEMENT IS TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATIONALISTS. THEY WOULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY INTERNAL STRUCTURES ALONG THE LINES OF WHAT THE UNIONISTS WANT. BUT, IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE PEACE IF THE TALKS ARE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS. THE IRISH DO NOT/NOT VIEW THE PEACE AND TALKS PROCESSES AS RIVALS; THEY ARE SIMPLY REALISTIC.

15. IF SINN FEIN/IRA REJECTS THE PEACE PROCESS, O'HUIGINN COMMENTED, THERE IS NOT MUCH MORE THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CAN DO. THEY WOULD PROBABLY DECIDE TO TALK WITH WHOEVER IS WILLING TO LISTEN.

THE FORUM

16. THE FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION, O'HUIGINN REITERATED, WAS INCLUDED IN THE JOINT DECLARATION AS AN INCENTIVE TO SINN FEIN/IRA TO CONTINUE THE PEACE PROCESS. THE FORUM IS INTENDED TO PROVIDE SINN FEIN WITH AN IMMEDIATE POLITICAL PLATFORM BOTH TO OCCUPY IT AND TO EDUCATE IT. IT WILL GIVE SINN FEIN A CHANCE TO "LEARN HOW THE IRISH THINK."

JOHN HUME

17. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY LEADER JOHN HUME STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE JOINT DECLARATION. HE IS WORRIED ABOUT BEING ECLIPSED POLITICALLY IF THINGS GO WRONG, BUT HE WILL AT LEAST BE ABLE TO SAY THAT HE TRIED.

HE BELIEVES THAT THE DECLARATION BASICALLY REFLECTS SINN FEIN'S AGENDA. HUME HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH ADAMS AND

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 007365
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT FROM
AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: DFA ON NORTHERN IRELAND

WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS.

AN AMNESTY?

18. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT AN AMNESTY IS "DOWN THE ROAD," BUT SOMETHING WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE TO BE DONE. THE WORD ITSELF, HE CAUTIONED, IS SOMEWHAT MISLEADING, SINCE WHAT EVENTUALLY HAPPENS IN THIS REGARD MAY HAVE A DIFFERENT

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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LABEL. THE BRITISH ARE LIKELY TO INSIST THAT ANY AMNESTY BE IMPLEMENTED IN PIECEMEAL FASHION UNDER COVER OF A WELTER OF REGULATIONS. THE REASON FOR THIS INSISTENCE IS THE POLITICAL DANGER FACING PRIME MINISTER MAJOR, WHO MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO ALIENATE TORY BACK-BENCHERS, "TIGERS IN LONG GRASS," STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF "LAW AND ORDER." (MAJOR MAY ALSO BE IN TROUBLE IN JUNE IF THE TORIES DO BADLY IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS.) IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT THE BRITISH HAVE COMPLAINED ABOUT STATEMENTS ABOUT AN EVENTUAL AMNESTY BY VARIOUS IRISH POLITICIANS OVER THE WEEKEND. THE PRESENCE OF GENUINE PSYCHOPATHS AMONG PRISONERS CANDIDATES FOR AN AMNESTY IS ANOTHER PROBLEM. WHATEVER IS DONE, THE CREDIBILITY OF SENTENCING MUST BE MAINTAINED, OR IRA RECRUITMENT WILL SOAR.

DISARMING THE IRA

19. THIS IS ANOTHER STEP, O'HUIGINN SAID, WHICH IS "DOWN THE ROAD." IT IS NECESSARY, HOWEVER, IF PEACE IS TO ENDURE. THE TIMING AND MANNER DEPEND ON "THE DYNAMICS OF PEACE." AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IS THE ATTITUDE OF "GHETTO CATHOLICS" IN THE NORTH, WHO HAVE COME TO DEPEND ON THE IRA FOR PROTECTION AGAINST FROM PROTESTANT INCURSIONS. IT MAY EVEN BE POSSIBLE DISCREETLY TO FUSE THE TWO ISSUES OF AN AMNESTY AND GUNS IN SOME FORM OF STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS.

MAYHEW

20. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND SIR PATRICK MAYHEW HAD BEEN SO DAMAGED BY HIS HANDLING OF THE ISSUE OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT CONTACT WITH THE IRA THAT HE HAD LITTLE CREDIBILITY. "IRAQ-GATE" MIGHT ALSO BECOME A FACTOR IN HIS FATE. MAYHEW HAD SEEMED OUT OF SORTS LATELY. IT MIGHT JUST BE THAT HE WAS JEALOUS OF MAJOR'S HIGHER PROFILE ROLE ON NORTHERN IRELAND; BUT, OTHER FACTORS MIGHT BE RESPONSIBLE. ALTHOUGH MAYHEW IS QUICKER ON HIS FEET, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE PETER BROOKE WAS MORE THOUGHTFUL. MAYHEW HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN "INTEGRATING" THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE ISSUE OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND THEREFORE DOES NOT/NOT HAVE A "COHERENT" VIEW OF IT. SMITH

BT

#7365

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File —
Ireland

we agreed to 3-4
a yr. Inform Smith
informally. m.

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9765

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D C 20506

December 14, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: JENONNE WALKER

FROM: JANE E. HOLLY

SUBJECT: Travel of Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith to Northern Ireland

In your November 4 discussion with members of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs, you indicated a desire to have Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith travel more frequently to Northern Ireland. Smith's travel outside of her jurisdiction for political purposes was an extremely contentious issue, resolved earlier this year by a decision of Secretary Christopher (with ~~your concurrence~~) to have her make on the order of two to three trips per year.

no. overruled
+ we didn't
push.

Since arriving in Dublin on June 21, Smith has made two trips to Northern Ireland: once in August (to Derry as John Hume's house guest), and once in September to Belfast. She hopes to go again in February; the Embassy is finalizing her plans. State is inclined to approve her trip.

Increasing Smith's travel and visibility beyond that agreed and planned should make sense in the current context. Major and Reynolds have already met twice in December and plan another meeting to issue a joint statement that all hope will provide important impetus to renewing the political dialogue and achieving a sustained cessation of violence. We, of course, want to be active in constructive ways to maintain the positive momentum and not permit things to be derailed. In this context, (and not surprisingly) State feels strongly that the program of travel agreed by you and Christopher should remain intact -- not least because they believe official cross-border travel by Ambassadors seems to create more problems than it solves, and this is not the time to send mixed messages.

It is important that our efforts help keep the parties focused on moving forward in the search for peace and meaningful dialogue; a judicious increase in Smith's travel may be one way to do just that. But rather than undertake a formal review of the issue with an eye toward institutionalizing that increase, you may want to encourage State to take a liberal view, on a case basis, of her requests to visit Northern Ireland. If you want a formal decision to increase Smith's travel frequency beyond that agreed and planned, you will have to revisit this issue directly with Secretary Christopher.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

TL- I don't think its worth reopening formally.
If you can get Chris to agree to more, we
could tell Jean that we'll push in a case by

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By M. NARA, Date 4/24/08

141-0155-1

Return to BROOKE DARBY

—

11/5

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Tony -

1

Nancy wanted
you to have
the attached
on Jean Kennedy Smith.

Brooke

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ attachment

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (2.24)
KRM 4/11/2023

October 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY LAKE
SANDY BERGER
BRUCE LINDSEY

FROM: NANCY SODERBERG

SUBJECT: Jean Smith's Role

Attached are two cables, one from Jean Smith objecting to the State Department having limited the scope of her recent visit to Northern Ireland and a draft cable to Jean defining her role.

Jean sees her role as one that includes an active role in Northern Ireland, in her view, in order to keep the President informed. She states that "part of my mandate is to provide the President with my best advice on the situation [in Northern Ireland] and on how best the United States might help the international efforts to promote peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. . . . President Clinton has made it clear that he expects me to advise him on whether or not to send a peace envoy or a fact-finding mission to Northern Ireland."

The attached guidelines proposed by State will probably annoy Jean. To me, they seem about right, perhaps a bit narrow. It suggests limiting visits to the North "to approximately one every six months." I might say "one or two" every six months to give her some flexibility. In discussing the issue with State, they feel pretty strongly about keeping it to "approximately one" and I don't think we should fight it.

You should know that Jean attended a trial of an individual accused of attempted murder without the authorization of State. That action undercut her effort to push for a more independent role.

She will probably want a more formal purpose relating to Northern Ireland in defining her role as a policy advisor. As currently defined in the draft cable, her policy role is limited to the Republic and keeping the President and the State Department fully informed of the views of leaders and public opinion in the Republic of Ireland on the issues of Northern Ireland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ attachment
Declassify on: OADR

10/22 *[initials]*
This arose from
Selco from Jarroff
looking for White
House guidance on
how to handle Smith.
I think we should tell
State it is their call
(whatever modification
we suggest)
This does
not become
an issue
b/w JKS and
Dro Pra.
[initials]

Given Jean's specific reference to the envoy and Northern Ireland conflict, it might help smooth things a bit if we added to the end of that paragraph, "including the advisability of a U.S. Special Representative to Northern Ireland and other initiatives to promote peace in Northern Ireland." State seemed fine on this in my informal discussions.

I've discussed Jean's expectations with Senator Kennedy's office and they support the general outlines of State's proposal.

If you agree, I'll suggest this slight modification to State and give White House approval to the guidelines.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'93 OCT 18 A9:27

B

S/S #

*Sandy
vers.
C*

MESSAGE NO. 106981 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ No. Pages 3
FROM: STEPHEN OXMAN EUR 647-9626 6228
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION CABLE (DRAFT) ON PROMOTING
PEACE & RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>NANCY SODERBERG</u>	<u>NSC</u>	<u>456-2224</u>	
	<u>channel</u>		
	<u>1 am</u>		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: _____

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: W Date: 12/21/16
2011-0355-P

S/S Officer: 80

EYES ONLY FOR

NANCY SODERBERG

DRAFT~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EUR/NE:JFTEFFT/EUR:MAPETERS
10/08/93 79626 SEEUR 1766
THE SECRETARY

P:PTARNOFF
S/S:

EUR:SAOXMAN

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (2.27)
KBM 7/11/2023

IMMEDIATE DUBLIN

NODIS
FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN
- NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: DUBLIN 5293

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DEAR JEAN,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT TELEGRAM ON YOUR ROLE IN
PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
IN LIGHT OF YOUR COMMENTS, WE HAVE REVIEWED OUR
UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE ROLE OF OUR AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN IN
CONNECTION WITH NORTHERN IRELAND, AS WELL AS PAST
PRACTICES.

3. FIRST, I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE DECISION TO ASK
YOU NOT TO MEET WITH POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE NORTH DURING
YOUR LAST VISIT REFLECTED OUR BEST JUDGEMENT OF WHAT WOULD
BE APPROPRIATE IN THE PREVAILING CIRCUMSTANCES. WE
APPRECIATED YOUR COOPERATION IN ADHERING TO THAT
GUIDANCE. IF ASKED, HOWEVER, WE WOULD HAVE NOT HAVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~**DRAFT**

DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

AGREED TO YOUR ATTENDING THE TRIAL OF THE PEOPLE ACCUSED OF ATTEMPTED MURDER FOR ATTACKING AN ARMY PATROL. //

4. WITH REGARD TO FUTURE VISITS, I BELIEVE YOU SHOULD LIMIT THEM TO APPROXIMATELY ONE EVERY SIX MONTHS. SINCE 1982 YOUR PREDECESSORS VISITED ONCE OR TWICE PER YEAR, AND THESE WERE PRIVATE VISITS. THEY WERE ARRANGED BY THE AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL IN BELFAST, SUBJECT TO THE APPROVAL OF OUR AMBASSADOR IN LONDON. THESE PRIVATE VISITS BY YOUR PREDECESSORS INCLUDED MEETINGS WITH A RANGE OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FIGURES, AS WELL AS VISITS TO PROJECTS FUNDED BY THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND (IFI). THESE VISITS PROVIDED A MEANS OF FAMILIARIZING OUR AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN WITH NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES AND ENHANCED THE AMBASSADOR'S ABILITY TO WORK WITH SENIOR REPUBLIC OF IRELAND OFFICIALS. //

5. A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN FREQUENCY OF SUCH VISITS, PARTICULARLY BY AN AMBASSADOR AS VISIBLE AS YOURSELF, WOULD SEND A CONFUSING SIGNAL, IN LIGHT OF THE EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH TO RESTART THE TALKS, AND THE CURRENT VIEW OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT BECOME A DIRECT PARTICIPANT EITHER BY SENDING A SPECIAL ENVOY OR SOME OTHER MEANS. CLEARLY WE NEED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH ALL PARTIES, BUT WE CAN DO THAT THROUGH OUR CONSULATE GENERAL IN BELFAST AND OUR EMBASSY IN LONDON AS WELL AS OUR EMBASSY IN DUBLIN. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN PARTICULAR, REMAINS SENSITIVE TO THE TIMING AND SUBSTANCE OF VISITS TO NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE U.S. AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN.

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-- KEEPING THE PRESIDENT AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT FULLY INFORMED OF THE VIEWS OF LEADERS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND ON THE ISSUES OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- ENCOURAGING THE GOI TO PURSUE A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

-- ENGAGING AND EXPLAINING TO PUBLIC OPINION IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND USG VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- TAKING THE LEAD IN FOLLOWING IFI ACTIVITIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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7. I APPRECIATE YOUR COMMITMENT TO OUR GOAL OF RESOLVING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM, AND I WILL CONTINUE TO WELCOME YOUR INSIGHTS AND VIEWS ON IT. WITH BEST REGARDS.YY

DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~SECRET~~ SSN: 8750 MSGID: M0616787

OAASZYUW RUEHCAA8750 2650155-SSSS--RHEHNSC.

ZNY SSSSS ZZH

O 220156Z SEP 93 ZFF5

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

FM: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: ****

INFO: NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE IMMEDIATE 8765

*9/27 Nancy - (300-...)
Read your
recommendation on
how to ~~handle~~
~~handle~~ handle
this.
(SSR)*

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 288750

NODIS

FOLLOWING **DUBLIN** 05293 DATED 21 SEP 93 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.

QUOTE

~~SECRET~~ **DUBLIN** 05293

NODIS

PASS THE WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC - TONY LAKE

DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY
SMITH

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN
IRELAND

1. ~~SECRET~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ON MARCH 17, IN ANNOUNCING HIS INTENTION TO APPOINT
ME AS AMBASSADOR TO IRELAND, THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED HIS
STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE JOINT EFFORTS OF THE IRISH AND
BRITISH GOVERNMENTS TO PROMOTE THE NECESSARY DIALOGUE TO
BRING ABOUT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN NORTHERN
IRELAND. HE ALSO SAID HE WOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH
THE SITUATION IN IRELAND. CLEARLY THE MOST IMPORTANT
PART OF MY MANDATE IS TO PROVIDE THE PRESIDENT WITH MY
BEST ADVICE ON THE SITUATION HERE AND ON HOW BEST THE
UNITED STATES MIGHT HELP THE VITAL EFFORTS TO PROMOTE
PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

3. IN THIS REGARD I HAVE ALREADY TRAVELED TWICE TO
NORTHERN IRELAND; VISITED THE EMBASSY IN LONDON FOR TALKS
WITH AMBASSADOR SEITZ AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY
MAYHEW (WHO INCIDENTALLY ENCOURAGED ME TO VISIT NORTHERN

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (2.28)
KBH 4/11/2023

IRELAND, BUT TO BE "EVENHANDED" IN MEETING WITH BOTH COMMUNITIES); ATTENDED A TWO DAY SEMINAR IN CAMBRIDGE ON NORTHERN IRELAND SPONSORED BY THE BRITISH-IRISH ASSOCIATION; AND HAVE RECEIVED A NUMBER OF VISITORS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND HERE AT THE EMBASSY AND MY RESIDENCE. THE COMMON THREAD RUNNING THROUGHOUT THESE MANY AND VARIED CONTACTS IS THE BURNING DESIRE OF EVERYONE FROM POLITICIANS TO SOCIAL WORKERS, CLERICS TO BUSINESSMEN, ARTISTS TO CIVIL SERVANTS TO FIND PEACE AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO TRADITIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. JUST AS EMOTIVE IS THE STRONGLY EXPRESSED DESIRE TO HAVE THE UNITED STATES PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE DIALOGUE WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD TO RECONCILIATION.

4. DURING MY VISIT TO BELFAST, THE CONSUL GENERAL ORGANIZED A MEETING OF WOMEN FROM BOTH COMMUNITIES PROMINENT IN A VARIETY OF FIELDS, INCLUDING BUSINESS, ACADEMIA AND COMMUNITY WORK. FOR MOST OF THEM IT WAS THE FIRST OCCASION THEY HAD EVER HAD TO MEET WOMEN ENGAGED IN SIMILAR WORK IN NEIGHBORING COMMUNITIES. THEIR HEARTFELT GRATITUDE FOR OUR BRINGING THEM TOGETHER WAS GENUINE AND DEMONSTRATES THE VALUE OF OUR ROLE IN PROMOTING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES. THEY URGED ME TO RETURN OFTEN AND CONTINUE TO REACH OUT TO BOTH COMMUNITIES. ONE OF THEM, JANE MORRICE, HEAD OF THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES IN BELFAST, COMMENTED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE LUNCH THAT IT HAD BEEN THE BEST POLITICAL DISCUSSION SHE HAD PARTICIPATED IN IN THIRTY YEARS. FOLLOWING ANOTHER MEETING, IAN PAISLEY, JUNIOR, SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN GENUINELY WORTHWHILE TO TALK WITH ME GIVEN MY INTEREST IN THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT I WOULD RETURN OFTEN. FINALLY, THE BELFAST TELEGRAPH, A MODERATE UNIONIST NEWSPAPER WITH THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WELCOMED MY VISIT IN AN EDITORIAL SEPTEMBER 15 AND POINTED OUT THAT ALTHOUGH MY OFFICIAL REMIT EXTENDS ONLY TO THE BORDER, I HAVE A LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN NORTHERN IRELAND, CITING HOW INTERTWINED ARE THE POLITICS AND ECONOMY OF THE TWO PARTS OF THE ISLAND AND THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND WHICH I AM "ENTITLED TO EXAMINE".

5. GIVEN THIS REACTION TO MY VISITS, I FIND THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW ME TO MEET WITH POLITICAL LEADERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AS CONVEYED TO ME IN LONDON BY AMBASSADOR SEITZ AND BY TELEPHONE WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY OXMAN DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND. PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE EXPECTS ME TO ADVISE HIM ON WHETHER OR NOT TO SEND A PEACE ENVOY OR A FACT-FINDING MISSION TO NORTHERN IRELAND. ONE CAN NOT DO

THIS UNLESS, AND I QUOTE FROM THE AFOREMENTIONED BELFAST
TELEGRAPH EDITORIAL, ONE GETS " AS ROUNDED A PICTURE OF
THE SITUATION AS POSSIBLE. THAT SHOULD INCLUDE LOCAL
POLITICIANS, ESPECIALLY UNIONISTS WHOSE CASE HAS OFTEN
GONE BY DEFAULT, PARTICULARLY IN AMERICA." VAGUE
REFERENCES TO "SENSITIVE MOMENTS" AND THE SENSITIVITIES
OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DO NOT OUTWEIGH MY MANDATE FROM
THE PRESIDENT NOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S
COMMITTMENT TO PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN
~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 STATE 288750

NODIS

NORTHERN IRELAND. PERHAPS THIS WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE
TIME FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY TO REMIND THE
EUROPEAN BUREAU AND THE EMBASSY IN LONDON OF THIS
REALITY. REGARDS.

SMITH UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

BT

#8750

NNNN

DIST:

<^DIST>

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG
SIT: FILE HOLL SUM SUM2 WALKER WHSR_SPECIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 26, 1993

MEMO TO TONY

FROM: NANCY *W*

You asked who made the decision not to accept Bruce's request.

According to Sandy Vershbow, he discussed it with Dan Russell in Peter Tarnoff's office. Russell gave Tarnoff the original cable and Bruce's suggested edit and he thinks that Tarnoff discussed it with the Secretary.

The Secretary had cleared on the earlier language.

FYI, Bruce told me to "suggest" not "insist" on his suggestion.

Do you want me to follow up in *no* any way?

OK

October 25, 1993

→ NS'

MEMO TO: Files

FROM: Nancy Soderberg

RE: Ambassador to Ireland's mandate

Attached is a cable sent by State to Ambassador Smith outlining her role. At NSC request, State added the phrase, "including on the question of a possible U.S. Special Representative and other initiatives to promote peace in Northern Ireland."

At Bruce Lindsey's request, I suggested State change the wording relating to visits to Northern Ireland from "approximately one every six months" to "approximately two to three every year." State did not accept this request and went with the original language.

FYI, Ambassador Smith is in town this week.

cc: Anthony Lake
Sandy Berger
Bruce Lindsey

who made that decision?

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

10-26-93

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SSN: 4665 MSGID: M0681917

OAACZYUW RUEHCAA4665 2962141-CCCC--RHEHAAX.

ZNY CCCCC ZZH

O 232132Z OCT 93 ZFF5

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

FM: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: ****

INFO: USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 0000

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (2.29)

K8H 4/11/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE **324665** TOSEC 170387

NODIS

CORRECTED COPY (ADDED CAPTION)

FOLLOWING SECSTATE **324665** DTD 23OCT93 SENT ACTION

DUBLIN REPEATED FOR YOUR INFORMAIOTN 23OCT93

QUOTE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE **324665**

NODIS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN

- NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: DUBLIN 5293

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AGREED TO YOUR ATTENDING THE TRIAL OF THE PEOPLE ACCUSED OF ATTEMPTED MURDER FOR ATTACKING AN ARMY PATROL.

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UNQUOTE WHARTON

BT

#4665

NNNN

DIST:

<^DIST>

SIT: NODIST WHSR_SPECIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ attachment

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (2.30)

KBH 7/11/2023

October 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY LAKE
SANDY BERGER
BRUCE LINDSEY

FROM: NANCY SODERBERG

SUBJECT: Jean Smith's Role

Attached are two cables, one from Jean Smith objecting to the State Department having limited the scope of her recent visit to Northern Ireland and a draft cable to Jean defining her role.

Jean sees her role as one that includes an active role in Northern Ireland, in her view, in order to keep the President informed. She states that "part of my mandate is to provide the President with my best advice on the situation [in Northern Ireland] and on how best the United States might help the international efforts to promote peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. . . . President Clinton has made it clear that he expects me to advise him on whether or not to send a peace envoy or a fact-finding mission to Northern Ireland."

The attached guidelines proposed by State will probably annoy Jean. To me, they seem about right, perhaps a bit narrow. It suggests limiting visits to the North "to approximately one every six months." I might say "one or two" every six months to give her some flexibility. In discussing the issue with State, they feel pretty strongly about keeping it to "approximately one" and I don't think we should fight it.

You should know that Jean attended a trial of an individual accused of attempted murder without the authorization of State. That action undercut her effort to push for a more independent role.

She will probably want a more formal purpose relating to Northern Ireland in defining her role as a policy advisor. As currently defined in the draft cable, her policy role is limited to the Republic and keeping the President and the State Department fully informed of the views of leaders and public opinion in the Republic of Ireland on the issues of Northern Ireland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ attachment
Declassify on: OADR

10/22 ~~DR~~
This arose from
telco from Jarroff
looking for White
House guidance on
how to handle Smith.
I think we should tell
State it is their call
(2) whatever modification
we ~~propose~~ suggest
This does
not become
the issue
b/w JKS and
Pres.
~~DRB~~

Given Jean's specific reference to the envoy and Northern Ireland conflict, it might help smooth things a bit if we added to the end of that paragraph, "including the advisability of a U.S. Special Representative to Northern Ireland and other initiatives to promote peace in Northern Ireland." State seemed fine on this in my informal discussions.

I've discussed Jean's expectations with Senator Kennedy's office and they support the general outlines of State's proposal.

If you agree, I'll suggest this slight modification to State and give White House approval to the guidelines.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'93 OCT 18 A9:27

B

S/S #

*Sandy
Vrs.
C*

MESSAGE NO. 106981 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ No. Pages 3
FROM: STEPHENS OXMAN EUR 647-9626 6228
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION CABLE (DRAFT) ON PROMOTING
PEACE & RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>NANCY SODERBERG</u>	<u>NSC</u>	<u>456-2224</u>	
	<u>clearing</u>		
	<u>trans</u>		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: _____

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: NY Date: 12/31/16
2016-0355-F

S/S Officer: SO

EYES ONLY FOR

NANCY SODERBERG

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AUTH _____ DRAFT _____
 CLEAR 1 _____ 2 _____
 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
 6 _____ 7 _____ 8 _____

DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EUR/NE:JFTEFFT/EUR:MAPETERS
 10/08/93 79626 SEEUR 1766
 THE SECRETARY

P:PTARNOFF
 S/S:

EUR:SAOXMAN

**DECLASSIFIED
 PER E.O. 13526
 2011-0355-F (2.31)
 KBH 4/11/2023**

IMMEDIATE DUBLIN

NODIS
 FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~SECRET~~ SSN: 8750 MSGID: M0616787

OAASZYUW RUEHCAA8750 2650155-SSSS--RHEHNSC.

ZNY SSSSS ZZH

O 220156Z SEP 93 ZFF5

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

FM: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: ****

INFO: NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE IMMEDIATE 8765

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(2.32)
KBN 4/11/2023

9/29 Nancy - (Sodan)
Read your
recommendation on
how to ~~handle~~
handle
this.
(SST)

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 288750

NODIS

FOLLOWING **DUBLIN** 05293 DATED 21 SEP 93 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.

QUOTE

~~SECRET~~ **DUBLIN** 05293

NODIS

PASS THE WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC - TONY LAKE
DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY
SMITH

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EI, UK

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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 STATE 288750

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SMITH UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

BT

#8750

NNNN

DIST:

<^DIST>

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG

SIT: FILE HOLL SUM SUM2 WALKER WHSR_SPECIAL

Tony: —

You didn't answer
this document.

Page 2 approve
or disapprove.

mary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ attachment

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY LAKE
SANDY BERGER
BRUCE LINDSEY

FROM: NANCY SODERBERG

SUBJECT: Jean Smith's Role

Attached are two cables, one from Jean Smith objecting to the State Department having limited the scope of her recent visit to Northern Ireland and a draft cable to Jean defining her role.

Jean sees her role as one that includes an active role in Northern Ireland, in her view, in order to keep the President informed. She states that "part of my mandate is to provide the President with my best advice on the situation [in Northern Ireland] and on how best the United States might help the international efforts to promote peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. . . . President Clinton has made it clear that he expects me to advise him on whether or not to send a peace envoy or a fact-finding mission to Northern Ireland."

The attached guidelines proposed by State will probably annoy Jean. To me, they seem about right, perhaps a bit narrow. It suggests limiting visits to the North "to approximately one every six months." I might say "one or two" every six months to give her some flexibility. In discussing the issue with State, they feel pretty strongly about keeping it to "approximately one" and I don't think we should fight it.

You should know that Jean attended a trial of an individual accused of attempted murder without the authorization of State. That action undercut her effort to push for a more independent role.

She will probably want a more formal purpose relating to Northern Ireland in defining her role as a policy advisor. As currently defined in the draft cable, her policy role is limited to the Republic and keeping the President and the State Department fully informed of the views of leaders and public opinion in the Republic of Ireland on the issues of Northern Ireland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with
~~SECRET~~ attachment
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (2.33)
K8H 4/11/2023

*Dismissed
w/ NES
R*

Given Jean's specific reference to the envoy and Northern Ireland conflict, it might help smooth things a bit if we added to the end of that paragraph, "including the advisability of a U.S. Special Representative to Northern Ireland and other initiatives to promote peace in Northern Ireland." State seemed fine on this in my informal discussions.

I've discussed Jean's expectations with Senator Kennedy's office and they support the general outlines of State's proposal.

If you agree, I'll suggest this slight modification to State and give White House approval to the guidelines.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'93 OCT 18 A9:27

B

S/S #

Sandy
vers.
CMESSAGE NO. 106981 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL No. Pages 3FROM: STEPHENS OXMAN EUR 647-9626 6228
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)MESSAGE DESCRIPTION CABLE (DRAFT) ON PROMOTING
PEACE & RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

TO: (Agency)

DELIVER TO:

Extension

Room No.

NANCY SODERBERG NSC456-2224clearancetransfFOR: CLEARANCE ☐ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: _____

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: NJ Date: 11/31/11201-0355-FS/S Officer: SOEYES ONLY FORNANCY SODERBERG

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AUTH _____ DRAFT _____
CLEAR 1 _____ 2 _____
3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____
6 _____ 7 _____ 8 _____

DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EUR/NE:JFTEFFT/EUR:MAPETERS
10/08/93 79626 SEEUR 1766
THE SECRETARY

P:PTARNOFF
S/S:

EUR:SAOXMAN

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (2.34)

KRM 4/11/2023

IMMEDIATE DUBLIN

NODIS
FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN
- NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: DUBLIN 5293

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DEAR JEAN,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT TELEGRAM ON YOUR ROLE IN
PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
IN LIGHT OF YOUR COMMENTS, WE HAVE REVIEWED OUR
UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE ROLE OF OUR AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN IN
CONNECTION WITH NORTHERN IRELAND, AS WELL AS PAST
PRACTICES.

3. FIRST, I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE DECISION TO ASK
YOU NOT TO MEET WITH POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE NORTH DURING
YOUR LAST VISIT REFLECTED OUR BEST JUDGEMENT OF WHAT WOULD
BE APPROPRIATE IN THE PREVAILING CIRCUMSTANCES. WE
APPRECIATED YOUR COOPERATION IN ADHERING TO THAT
GUIDANCE. IF ASKED, HOWEVER, WE WOULD HAVE NOT HAVE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

DRAFT~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

AGREED TO YOUR ATTENDING THE TRIAL OF THE PEOPLE ACCUSED OF ATTEMPTED MURDER FOR ATTACKING AN ARMY PATROL.

4. WITH REGARD TO FUTURE VISITS, I BELIEVE YOU SHOULD LIMIT THEM TO APPROXIMATELY ONE EVERY SIX MONTHS. SINCE 1982 YOUR PREDECESSORS VISITED ONCE OR TWICE PER YEAR, AND THESE WERE PRIVATE VISITS. THEY WERE ARRANGED BY THE AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL IN BELFAST, SUBJECT TO THE APPROVAL OF OUR AMBASSADOR IN LONDON. THESE PRIVATE VISITS BY YOUR PREDECESSORS INCLUDED MEETINGS WITH A RANGE OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FIGURES, AS WELL AS VISITS TO PROJECTS FUNDED BY THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND (IFI). THESE VISITS PROVIDED A MEANS OF FAMILIARIZING OUR AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN WITH NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES AND ENHANCED THE AMBASSADOR'S ABILITY TO WORK WITH SENIOR REPUBLIC OF IRELAND OFFICIALS.

5. A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN FREQUENCY OF SUCH VISITS, PARTICULARLY BY AN AMBASSADOR AS VISIBLE AS YOURSELF, WOULD SEND A CONFUSING SIGNAL, IN LIGHT OF THE EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH TO RESTART THE TALKS, AND THE CURRENT VIEW OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT BECOME A DIRECT PARTICIPANT EITHER BY SENDING A SPECIAL ENVOY OR SOME OTHER MEANS. CLEARLY WE NEED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH ALL PARTIES, BUT WE CAN DO THAT THROUGH OUR CONSULATE GENERAL IN BELFAST AND OUR EMBASSY IN LONDON AS WELL AS OUR EMBASSY IN DUBLIN. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN PARTICULAR, REMAINS SENSITIVE TO THE TIMING AND SUBSTANCE OF VISITS TO NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE U.S. AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN.

6. WITH RESPECT TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUE, YOU ARE, OF COURSE, A KEY POLICY ADVISOR AND WE GREATLY VALUE YOUR:

-- KEEPING THE PRESIDENT AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT FULLY INFORMED OF THE VIEWS OF LEADERS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND ON THE ISSUES OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- ENCOURAGING THE GOI TO PURSUE A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

-- ENGAGING AND EXPLAINING TO PUBLIC OPINION IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND USG VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- TAKING THE LEAD IN FOLLOWING IFI ACTIVITIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~**DRAFT**

DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

-- COORDINATING WITH EMBASSY LONDON SO AS TO PRESENT A COHERENT PICTURE TO FOREIGN INTERLOCUTORS OF USG VIEWS ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUE.

7. I APPRECIATE YOUR COMMITMENT TO OUR GOAL OF RESOLVING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM, AND I WILL CONTINUE TO WELCOME YOUR INSIGHTS AND VIEWS ON IT. WITH BEST REGARDS.YY

DRAFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~SECRET~~ SSN: 8750 MSGID: M0616787

OAASZYUW RUEHCAA8750 2650155-SSSS--RHEHNSC.

ZNY SSSSS ZZH

O 220156Z SEP 93 ZFF5

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

FM: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: ****

INFO: NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE IMMEDIATE 8765

9/29 Nancy - (Soderberg)
Read your
recommendation on
how to ~~handle~~
~~handle~~ handle
this.
(SST)

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 STATE 288750

NODIS

FOLLOWING **DUBLIN** 05293 DATED 21 SEP 93 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.

QUOTE

~~SECRET~~ **DUBLIN** 05293

NODIS

PASS THE WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC - TONY LAKE

DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY
SMITH

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN
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