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Ireland-General Papers, 1996

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this vital city for many, many years. And in maintaining the independence of West Berlin, you play a significant role in the defense of Western Europe, the freedom of which is essential to the United States.

But in all of our long history, including particularly the history of the 19th century when there were many beleaguered garrisons, no garrison served under comparable conditions, in territories surrounding it so dangerous and with the adversaries so numerous.

So the question of course is, what is your role? Well, you know it very well. Your presence here, your lives, in fact, commit the United States of America, the several thousands of troops that are here, the several thousands of French and British troops, commit the 180 million people of the United States whose sons and brothers you are, as it commits the people of France and Great Britain.

But you are more than hostages. You are also an effective force on your own, because you are part, in a sense the arrowhead, of a

long line of your colleagues in arms who also stand guard and watch in dozens of countries stretching all around the globe. Stretched thin, even though there are a million of them, so great are our commitments, but stretched thin it is finally their determination and the will and perseverance, and perhaps most important of all the perseverance of our fellow Americans, that makes good on these commitments, and makes those countries that we have guaranteed be sure of our word. For 18 years this has been done, and it will be done in the future. And I take great pride and satisfaction in speaking on behalf of all Americans who are far away in expressing our thanks and esteem to all of you. We are proud of you and we appreciate what you are doing, and the warm welcome that all of us have received in Berlin and the Federal Republic indicates that you live among friends.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m. His opening word "General" referred to Maj. Gen. James H. Polk, U.S. Commander, Berlin.

273 Remarks at Tegel Airport, Berlin, Upon Leaving for Ireland. June 26, 1963

Mr. Chancellor:

I want to express my very warm thanks to you and members of your Government for your hospitality, your invitation, the care you have taken to make our visit useful and productive; to express our thanks to the Mayor, the city government, West Berlin, for the warmth of their welcome today.

I said yesterday that I was going to leave a note for my successor which would say, "To be opened at a time of some discouragement," and in it would be written three words: "Go to Germany." I may open that note myself some day.

I know the American people naturally wonder on occasions whether all that they

have done since the end of 1945, all the responsibilities and burdens that they have accepted, whether any of this effort is recognized and appreciated. If they had any doubts, certainly it would seem to me that the warmth of the welcome of the last 3 days which was extended through me to the American people should have ended them. And for that reason, if for no other, I am happy I came and I express my thanks to you, Chancellor, and to all the German people for the hand they held out to us.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. following farewell remarks by Chancellor Adenauer.

274 Remarks U

Mr. President:

There are many reasons to accept your generous offer to come to this country. My grandparents left this space, almost, of modern United States. No one in the history of the world has known the hemorrhage which this country has known in a period of a few years. Sons and daughters. Teachers are scattered throughout the globe, who have given this small island upon millions who have lived in the globe, who have lived and most loyal citizens they have gone to, but they have a special place in their memories. Their ancestral memories. So, in a visit to Ireland come home. In addition, Mr. President, I visit here because of you.

275 Remarks c

Mr. Mayor:

I first of all would like to thank the members of my family: my sister Eunice, my daughter, to introduce another of my family. I would like to have Ambassador McCloskey. And I would like to have the mother and father of the American people, George Meany, who has been with us. And then I would like to have only man with us who is of Irish blood, but who is of the protocol of the Biddle Duke.

See, Angie, how I am glad to be here to make this trip, as

274 Remarks Upon Arrival at Dublin Airport. June 26, 1963

Mr. President:

There are many reasons why I was anxious to accept your generous invitation, and to come to this country. As you said, eight of my grandparents left these shores in the space, almost, of months, and came to the United States. No country in the world, in the history of the world, has endured the hemorrhage which this island endured over a period of a few years for so many of her sons and daughters. These sons and daughters are scattered throughout the world, and they give this small island a family of millions upon millions who are scattered all over the globe, who have been among the best and most loyal citizens of the countries that they have gone to, but have also kept a special place in their memories, in many cases their ancestral memory, of this green and misty island. So, in a sense, all of them who visit Ireland come home.

In addition, Mr. President, I am proud to visit here because of you—an old and valued

friend of my father—who has served his country with so much distinction, spreading over the period of a half-century; who has expressed in his own life and in the things that he stood for the very best of Western thought and, equally important, Western action.

And then I am glad to be here because this island still fulfills a historic assignment. There are Irishmen buried many thousands of miles from here who went on missions of peace, either as soldiers or as churchmen, who traveled throughout the world, carrying the gospel as so many Irish have done for so many hundreds of years.

So, Mr. President, with the special pride that I feel in my own country, which has been so generous to so many immigrants from so many different countries, I want to say that I am happy to be here tonight.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Eamon de Valera, President of Ireland.

275 Remarks on the Quay at New Ross. June 27, 1963

Mr. Mayor:

I first of all would like to introduce two members of my family who came here with us: my sister Eunice Shriver, and to introduce another of my sisters, Jean Smith. I would like to have you meet American Ambassador McCloskey, who is with us. And I would like to have you meet the head of the American labor movement, whose mother and father were born in Ireland, George Meany, who is traveling with us. And then I would like to have you meet the only man with us who doesn't have a drop of Irish blood, but who is dying to—the head of the protocol of the United States, Angier Biddle Duke.

See, Angie, how nice it is, just to be Irish!

I am glad to be here. It took 115 years to make this trip, and 6,000 miles, and three

generations. But I am proud to be here and I appreciate the warm welcome you have given to all of us.

When my great grandfather left here to become a cooper in East Boston, he carried nothing with him except two things: a strong religious faith and a strong desire for liberty. I am glad to say that all of his great grandchildren have valued that inheritance.

If he hadn't left, I would be working over at the Albatross Company, or perhaps for John V. Kelly. In any case, we are happy to be back here.

About 50 years ago, an Irishman from New Ross traveled down to Washington with his family, and in order to tell his neighbors how well he was doing, he had his picture taken in front of the White House and said, "This is our summer home."

Come and see us." Well, it is our home also in the winter, and I hope you will come and see us.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. His opening words "Mr. Mayor" referred to Andrew Minihan, Chairman of the New Ross Urban Council. He later referred to business establishments of New Ross which he could see across the quay and behind the crowd.

276 Remarks at Redmond Place in Wexford.

June 27, 1963

Mr. Mayor, Chairman of the Council, Mr. Minister, my friends:

I want to express my pleasure at being back from whence I came. There is an impression in Washington that there are no Kennedys left in Ireland, that they are all in Washington, so I wonder if there are any Kennedys in this audience. Could you hold up your hand so I can see?

Well, I am glad to see a few cousins who didn't catch the boat.

And I am glad to take part in this ceremony this morning for John Barry. I have had in my office since I was President the flag that he flew and the sword that he wore. It is no coincidence that John Barry and a good many of his successors played such a leading part in the American struggle, not only for independence, but for its maintenance. About 2 months ago I visited the Battle of Gettysburg, the bloodiest battlefield in the American Civil War, and one of the monuments to the dead was to the Irish Brigade. In Fredericksburg, which was another slaughter, the Irish Brigade was nearly wiped out. They went into battle wearing a sprig of green in their hats and it was said of them what was said about Irishmen in other countries: "War battered dogs are we, gnawing a naked bone, fighting in every land and clime, for every cause but our own."

It seems to me that in these dangerous days when the struggle for freedom is worldwide against an armed doctrine, that Ireland and its experience has one special significance, and that is that the people's fight, which John Boyle O'Reilly said outlived a

thousand years, that it was possible for a people over hundreds of years of foreign domination and religious persecution—it was possible for that people to maintain their national identity and their strong faith. And therefore those who may feel that in these difficult times, who may believe that freedom may be on the run, or that some nations may be permanently subjugated and eventually wiped out, would do well to remember Ireland.

And I am proud to come here for another reason, because it makes me even prouder of my own country. My country welcomed so many sons and daughters of so many countries, Irish and Scandinavian, Germans, Italian, and all the rest, and gave them a fair chance and a fair opportunity. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is of Irish descent. The leader of the Senate is of Irish descent. And what is true of the Irish has been true of dozens of other people. In Ireland I think you see something of what is so great about the United States; and I must say that in the United States, through millions of your sons and daughters and cousins—25 million, in fact—you see something of what is great about Ireland.

So I am proud to be here. I am proud to have connected on that beautiful golden box the coat of arms of Wexford, the coat of arms of the kingly and beautiful Kennedys, and the coat of arms of the United States. That is a very good combination.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:40 p.m. His opening words referred to Thomas F. Burne, Mayor of Wexford; James J. Bowe, Chairman of the County

Council; and Frank Affairs.

After leaving New dent and his party drove farm where Patrick years. Hostess for Kennedy Ryan, third had assembled about Priest for a family

277 Remark

Mr. Mayor, members of the Council, ladies and gentlemen:

I am honored also once again to have not lost the was a beautiful woman.

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Council; and Frank Aiken, Minister of External Affairs.

After leaving New Ross that morning the President and his party drove to Dunganstown to visit the farm where Patrick Kennedy had spent his early years. Hostess for the occasion was Mrs. Mary Kennedy Ryan, third cousin to the President, who had assembled about 25 relatives and the Parish Priest for a family reunion. The President was

shown the house and was served light refreshments in the farmyard. He gave no speech but proposed a simple toast "to the Kennedys who went away and to the Kennedys who stayed behind."

The President then flew to Wexford where he laid a wreath at the Barry Memorial—a 1956 gift from the U.S. Government to the people of Ireland. He then proceeded to Redmond Place where he spoke and was given the freedom of Wexford.

277 Remarks at the City Hall in Cork. June 28, 1963

Mr. Mayor, members of the City Council, Mr. Aiken, ladies and gentlemen:

I am honored by this generous gift and also once again am reminded that the Irish have not lost their ability to speak. That was a beautiful welcome.

I would like to ask how many people here have relatives in the United States. Perhaps they could hold up their hands, if they do.

Well, I want to tell you they are doing well.

I would like to introduce two or three Irishmen who came with me. One is the pointment Secretary—the greeter at the White House, Dave Powers who has, I think, seven first cousins here and they are sitting in the front row. Perhaps he would stand up and all of his cousins. He looks more Irish than they do. Do you want to stand up and turn around so they can see you, Dave?

And then I would like to introduce to you the pastor at the church which I go to, who comes from Cork—Monsignor O'Mahoney. He is the pastor of a poor, humble flock in Palm Beach, Florida!

And then I would like to have you meet—I don't think he comes from Cork—his family—but, nevertheless, he is our Legislative Assistant at the White House who came over with us—Larry O'Brien. Perhaps he could stand up. That is his cousin from Cork who is sitting next to him.

Also, a Congressman who represents about 85 Members of the House of Representatives, who are Irish—Congressman Boland from Massachusetts who came with us.

I don't want to give the impression that every member of this administration in Washington is Irish—it just seems that way.

In any case, we are delighted to be here.

Coming in, I met four rather angry Fitzgeralds. They said they are tired of hearing about the Kennedys in New Ross—and what about the Fitzgeralds? I said that was because my grandfather, who was Mayor of Boston, John F. Fitzgerald, used to tell everybody he was from Limerick, Donegal, Donnybrook, anywhere!

I want to have another Irishman, Jim Rowley—come out here, Jim. He is head of the United States Secret Service. Those members of the Secret Service who aren't Irish are embarrassed about it, but we will make them honorary Free Men today, too, Mr. Mayor, if that is all right with you.

I want to bring you greetings today from the people of Galway, N.Y.; Dublin, N.H.; the people of Killarney, W. Va.; Kilkenny, Minn.; the people of Limerick, Maine, and the people of Shamrock, Tex.

Most countries send out oil or iron, steel or gold or some other crop, but Ireland has had only one export and that is its people. They have gone all over the United States, and the United States has been generous to them. And I think it not unfair to say that they have been generous themselves and with their sons and daughters to the United States.

What pleases me most about coming here is not only this connection which all of us in America feel with Ireland, even though time and generations may have separated us

from this island, but also because I find here in Ireland those qualities which I associate with the best not only of my own country but of all that we are trying to do and all that we are trying to be.

The world is a small place today and it is, it seems to me, important that we recognize the kinship which exists between all free people.

We are in a most climatic period, in the most difficult and dangerous struggle in the history of the world, with the most difficult and dangerous weapons which have ever been devised which could annihilate the human race in a few hours.

So I think it is important that those of us who happen to be of Irish descent who come to Ireland recognize an even stronger bond which exists between Ireland and the United States, between Europe and the United States, between Latin America and the United States, between the people of Africa, the people of Asia, between all people who wish to be free. That is the most important association; the most important kinship. And I come to this island which has been identified with that effort for a

thousand years, which was the first country in the 20th century to lead what is the most powerful tide of the 20th century—the desire for national independence, the desire to be free. And I come here in 1963 and find that strong tide still beats, still runs. And I drive from where we arrived to here and am greeted by an honor guard on the way down, nearly half of whom wear the Blue Ribbon which indicates service in the Congo. So Ireland is still old Ireland, but it has found a new mission in the 1960's, and that is to lead the free world to join with other countries of the free world to do in the sixties what Ireland did in the early part of this century and, indeed, has done for the last 800 years—and that is associate intimately with independence and freedom.

So I must say, Mr. Mayor, that when I am retired from public life that I will take the greatest pride and satisfaction in not only having been President of my own country but a Free Man of this city.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. In his opening words he referred to Sean Casey, Lord Mayor of Cork, and Frank Aiken, Minister of External Affairs.

278 Address Before the Irish Parliament in Dublin.

June 28, 1963

Mr. Speaker, Prime Minister, Members of the Parliament:

I am grateful for your welcome and for that of your countrymen.

The 13th day of December, 1862, will be a day long remembered in American history. At Fredericksburg, Va., thousands of men fought and died on one of the bloodiest battlefields of the American Civil War. One of the most brilliant stories of that day was written by a band of 1200 men who went into battle wearing a green sprig in their hats. They bore a proud heritage and a special courage, given to those who had long fought for the cause of freedom. I am

referring, of course, to the Irish Brigade. General Robert E. Lee, the great military leader of the Southern Confederate forces, said of this group of men after the battle, "The gallant stand which this bold brigade made on the heights of Fredericksburg is well known. Never were men so brave. They ennobled their race by their splendid gallantry on that desperate occasion. Their brilliant though hopeless assaults on our lines excited the hearty applause of our officers and soldiers."

Of the 1200 men who took part in that assault, 280 survived the battle. The Irish Brigade was led into battle on that occasion

by Brig. Gen. Thomas J. B. Smith, who participated in the uprising of 1848, was captured and sent in a prison ship from whence he finally came ashore in the fall of 1862, after service and gallantry in some of this most bloody struggle. The brigade was presented with a flag in the city ceremony, and gave them the motto, "Try, and Ireland Forever." Having been torn to shreds in previous battles, Capt. Smith's possession of these flags in New York City and at the Battle of Fredericksburg in the battle. Today, these gallant Irishmen and other Irish have done through the generous "69th," I would like to give flags to the people of

As you can see, the honors of the Brigade are in the hands of the Brigades, Chancellorsville, Oak Hills, Gaines Mill, Station, White Oak, Antietam, and the town of Antietam.

I am deeply honored to be here in the Free Parliament of this nation had achieved and economic stature of great grandfather men, Ross, and I might have been down there with my own President had I might be standing

This elegant building once the property of the British but I have not come to see the new relations. On my trip, I regret to find no link between the patriot, Lord Edward, however, in his family home

by Brig. Gen. Thomas F. Meagher, who had participated in the unsuccessful Irish uprising of 1848, was captured by the British and sent in a prison ship to Australia, from whence he finally came to America. In the fall of 1862, after serving with distinction and gallantry in some of the toughest fighting of this most bloody struggle, the Irish Brigade was presented with a new set of flags. In the city ceremony, the city chamberlain gave them the motto, "The Union, our Country, and Ireland Forever." Their old ones having been torn to shreds by bullets in previous battles, Capt. Richard McGee took possession of these flags on December 2d in New York City and arrived with them at the Battle of Fredericksburg and carried them in the battle. Today, in recognition of what these gallant Irishmen and what millions of other Irish have done for my country, and through the generosity of the "Fighting 69th," I would like to present one of these flags to the people of Ireland.

As you can see, gentlemen, the battle honors of the Brigade include Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Yorktown, Fair Oaks, Gaines Mill, Allen's Farm, Savage's Station, White Oak Bridge, Glendale, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Gettysburg, and Bristow Station.

I am deeply honored to be your guest in the Free Parliament of a free Ireland. If this nation had achieved its present political and economic stature a century or so ago, my great grandfather might never have left New Ross, and I might, if fortunate, be sitting down there with you. Of course, if your own President had never left Brooklyn, he might be standing up here instead of me!

This elegant building, as you know, was once the property of the Fitzgerald family, but I have not come here to claim it. Of all the new relations I have discovered on this trip, I regret to say that no one has yet found any link between me and a great Irish patriot, Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Lord Edward, however, did not like to stay here in his family home because, as he wrote his

mother, "Leinster House does not inspire the brightest ideas." That was a long time ago, however. It has also been said by some that a few of the features of this stately mansion served to inspire similar features in the White House in Washington. Whether this is true or not, I know that the White House was designed by James Hoban, a noted Irish-American architect and I have no doubt that he believed by incorporating several features of the Dublin style he would make it more homelike for any President of Irish descent. It was a long wait, but I appreciate his efforts.

There is also an unconfirmed rumor that Hoban was never fully paid for his work on the White House. If this proves to be true, I will speak to our Secretary of the Treasury about it, although I hear this body is not particularly interested in the subject of revenues.

I am proud to be the first American President to visit Ireland during his term of office, proud to be addressing this distinguished assembly, and proud of the welcome you have given me. My presence and your welcome, however, only symbolize the many and the enduring links which have bound the Irish and the Americans since the earliest days.

Benjamin Franklin—the envoy of the American Revolution who was also born in Boston—was received by the Irish Parliament in 1772. It was neither independent nor free from discrimination at the time, but Franklin reported its members "disposed to be friends of America." "By joining our interest with theirs," he said, "a more equitable treatment . . . might be obtained for both nations."

Our interests have been joined ever since. Franklin sent leaflets to Irish freedom fighters. O'Connell was influenced by Washington, and Emmet influenced Lincoln. Irish volunteers played so predominant a role in the American army that Lord Mountjoy lamented in the British Parliament that "we have lost America through the Irish."

John Barry, whose statue we honored yesterday and whose sword is in my office, was only one who fought for liberty in America to set an example for liberty in Ireland. Yesterday was the 117th anniversary of the birth of Charles Stewart Parnell—whose grandfather fought under Barry and whose mother was born in America—and who, at the age of 34, was invited to address the American Congress on the cause of Irish freedom. "I have seen since I have been in this country," he said, "so many tokens of the good wishes of the American people toward Ireland. . . ." And today, 83 years later, I can say to you that I have seen in *this* country so many tokens of good wishes of the Irish people towards America.

And so it is that our two nations, divided by distance, have been united by history. No people ever believed more deeply in the cause of Irish freedom than the people of the United States. And no country contributed more to building my own than your sons and daughters. They came to our shores in a mixture of hope and agony, and I would not underrate the difficulties of their course once they arrived in the United States. They left behind hearts, fields, and a nation yearning to be free. It is no wonder that James Joyce described the Atlantic as a bowl of bitter tears. And an earlier poet wrote, "They are going, going, going, and we cannot bid them stay."

But today this is no longer the country of hunger and famine that those emigrants left behind. It is not rich, and its progress is not yet complete; but it is, according to statistics, one of the best fed countries in the world. Nor is it any longer a country of persecution, political or religious. It is a free country, and that is why any American feels at home.

There are those who regard this history of past strife and exile as better forgotten. But, to use the phrase of Yeats, let us not casually reduce "that great past to a trouble of fools." For we need not feel the bitterness of the past to discover its meaning for the present and the future. And it is the present and the

future of Ireland that today holds so much promise to my nation as well as to yours, and, indeed, to all mankind.

For the Ireland of 1963, one of the youngest of nations and the oldest of civilizations, has discovered that the achievement of nationhood is not an end but a beginning. In the years since independence, you have undergone a new and peaceful revolution, an economic and industrial revolution, transforming the face of this land while still holding to the old spiritual and cultural values. You have modernized your economy, harnessed your rivers, diversified your industry, liberalized your trade, electrified your farms, accelerated your rate of growth, and improved the living standards of your people.

The other nations of the world—in whom Ireland has long invested her people and her children—are now investing their capital as well as their vacations here in Ireland. This revolution is not yet over, nor will it be, I am sure, until a fully modern Irish economy fully shares in world prosperity.

But prosperity is not enough. Eighty-three years ago, Henry Grattan, demanding the more independent Irish Parliament that would always bear his name, denounced those who were satisfied merely by new grants of economic opportunity. "A country," he said, "enlightened as Ireland, chartered as Ireland, armed as Ireland and injured as Ireland will be satisfied with nothing less than liberty." And today, I am certain, free Ireland—a full-fledged member of the World Community, where some are not yet free, and where some counsel an acceptance of tyranny—free Ireland will not be satisfied with anything less than liberty.

I am glad, therefore, that Ireland is moving in the mainstream of current world events. For I sincerely believe that your future is as promising as your past is proud, and that your destiny lies not as a peaceful island in a sea of troubles, but as a maker and shaper of world peace.

For self-determination can no longer mean isolation; and the achievement of national independence today means with-

drawal from the old scene with the world scene with nations can build with the powers the same kinship that Ireland has with Britain—a relationship of mutual interests. No matter how small, can be independent of others, near or far. No weaponry and commerce can realize more than human family and home.

"The world is large," O'Reilly.

"The world is large leagues two loving hearts."

"But the world is so loose on the other side."

The world is even the enemy of John. No longer a hostile power, gulfs and barriers that must remember that their enemies. Hostile it is not a ruling law. Of our time is our in of God and our corner this planet.

Some may say that to Ireland. In an age with the tramp of eagles when a handful have the power like kind—in an age when developing nations are the richest lands often of assistance—in asked, how can a nation play much of a role?

I would remind the nation, including those tries, of the words of of the English language.

"All the world owe feet high' nations. The world was the work most enduring literature from little nations.

drawal from the old status only to return to the world scene with a new one. New nations can build with their former governing powers the same kind of fruitful relationship that Ireland has established with Great Britain—a relationship founded on equality and mutual interests. And no nation, large or small, can be indifferent to the fate of others, near or far. Modern economics, weaponry and communications have made us realize more than ever that we are one human family and this one planet is our home.

"The world is large," wrote John Boyle O'Reilly.

"The world is large when its weary leagues two loving hearts divide,

"But the world is small when your enemy is loose on the other side."

The world is even smaller today, though the enemy of John Boyle O'Reilly is no longer a hostile power. Indeed, across the gulfs and barriers that now divide us, we must remember that there are no permanent enemies. Hostility today is a fact, but not a ruling law. The supreme reality of our time is our indivisibility as children of God and our common vulnerability on this planet.

Some may say that all this means little to Ireland. In an age when "history moves with the tramp of earthquake feet"—in an age when a handful of men and nations have the power literally to devastate mankind—in an age when the needs of the developing nations are so staggering that even the richest lands often groan with the burden of assistance—in such an age, it may be asked, how can a nation as small as Ireland play much of a role on the world stage?

I would remind those who ask that question, including those in other small countries, of the words of one of the great orators of the English language:

"All the world owes much to the little 'five feet high' nations. The greatest art of the world was the work of little nations. The most enduring literature of the world came from little nations. The heroic deeds that

thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. And oh, yes, the salvation of mankind came through a little nation."

Ireland has already set an example and a standard for other small nations to follow.

This has never been a rich or powerful country, and yet, since earliest times, its influence on the world has been rich and powerful. No larger nation did more to keep Christianity and Western culture alive in their darkest centuries. No larger nation did more to spark the cause of independence in America, indeed, around the world. And no larger nation has ever provided the world with more literary and artistic genius.

This is an extraordinary country. George Bernard Shaw, speaking as an Irishman, summed up an approach to life: Other people, he said, "see things and . . . say: 'Why?' . . . But I dream things that never were—and I say: 'Why not?'"

It is that quality of the Irish—that remarkable combination of hope, confidence, and imagination—that is needed more than ever today. The problems of the world cannot possibly be solved by skeptics or cynics, whose horizons are limited by the obvious realities. We need men who can dream of things that never were, and ask why not. It matters not how small a nation is that seeks world peace and freedom, for, to paraphrase a citizen of my country, "the humblest nation of all the world, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of Error."

Ireland is clad in the cause of national and human liberty with peace. To the extent that the peace is disturbed by conflict between the former colonial powers and the new and developing nations, Ireland's role is unique. For every new nation knows that Ireland was the first of the small nations in the 20th century to win its struggle for independence, and that the Irish have traditionally sent their doctors and technicians and soldiers and priests to help other lands to keep their liberty alive.

At the same time, Ireland is part of

Europe, associated with the Council of Europe, progressing in the context of Europe, and a prospective member of an expanded European Common Market. Thus Ireland has excellent relations with both the new and the old, the confidence of both sides and an opportunity to act where the actions of greater powers might be looked upon with suspicion.

The central issue of freedom, however, is between those who believe in self-determination and those in the East who would impose on others the harsh and oppressive Communist system; and here your nation wisely rejects the role of a go-between or a mediator. Ireland pursues an independent course in foreign policy, but it is not neutral between liberty and tyranny and never will be.

For knowing the meaning of foreign domination, Ireland is the example and inspiration to those enduring endless years of oppression. It was fitting and appropriate that this nation played a leading role in censuring the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, for how many times was Ireland's quest for freedom suppressed only to have that quest renewed, only to have that quest renewed by the succeeding generation? Those who suffer beyond that wall I saw on Wednesday in Berlin must not despair of their future. Let them remember the constancy, the faith, the endurance, and the final success of the Irish. And let them remember, as I heard sung by your sons and daughters yesterday in Wexford, the words, "the boys of Wexford, who fought with heart and hand, to burst in twain the galling chain and free our native land."

The major forum for your nation's greater role in world affairs is that of protector of the weak and voice of the small, the United Nations. From Cork to the Congo, from Galway to the Gaza Strip, from this legislative assembly to the United Nations, Ireland is sending its most talented men to do the world's most important work—the work of peace.

In a sense, this export of talent is in keep-

ing with an historic Irish role—but you no longer go as exiles and emigrants but for the service of your country and, indeed, of all men. Like the Irish missionaries of medieval days, like the "wild geese" after the Battle of the Boyne, you are not content to sit by your fireside while others are in need of your help. Nor are you content with the recollections of the past when you face the responsibilities of the present.

Twenty-six sons of Ireland have died in the Congo; many others have been wounded. I pay tribute to them and to all of you for your commitment and dedication to world order. And their sacrifice reminds us all that we must not falter now.

The United Nations must be fully and fairly financed. Its peace-keeping machinery must be strengthened. Its institutions must be developed until some day, and perhaps some distant day, a world of law is achieved.

Ireland's influence in the United Nations is far greater than your relative size. You have not hesitated to take the lead on such sensitive issues as the Kashmir dispute. And you sponsored that most vital resolution, adopted by the General Assembly, which opposed the spread of nuclear arms to any nation not now possessing them, urging an international agreement with inspection and controls. And I pledge to you that the United States of America will do all in its power to achieve such an agreement and fulfill your resolution.

I speak of these matters today—not because Ireland is unaware of its role—but I think it important that you know that we know what you have done. And I speak to remind the other small nations that they, too, can and must help build a world peace. They, too, as we all are, are dependent on the United Nations for security, for an equal chance to be heard, for progress towards a world made safe for diversity.

The peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations cannot work without the help of the smaller nations, nations whose forces threaten no one and whose forces can

thus help create a world where peace is threatened. Great responsibilities and smaller nations of the world have obligations as well.

A great Irish poet has said profoundly . . . in that this is an isle of the world, it will be glorious . . . when the day is come, we will have a new world."

My friends: Ireland

279 Remarks St. Patrick's Day

Mr. Mayor, faculty of great universities,

This city, these people, have certainly done much to show friendship for and honor my country. I am recipient of this outpouring of the United States, you all. I feel most grateful to you here who have the ability, but to all the people who have welcomed us to this country, which has been so much at home.

So, Mr. Mayor, I thank you for the honor you have given me and also, through you, to the people of Ireland. Nothing more pleases me than to drive after day to drive through Dublin and wave, do it.

I want to also thank you for having this association of universities. I know that and if they ever have a ball or hurling, I pray for National.

It is appropriate to form this association of education have been

thus help create a world in which no nation is threatened. Great powers have their responsibilities and their burdens, but the smaller nations of the world must fulfill their obligations as well.

A great Irish poet once wrote: "I believe profoundly . . . in the future of Ireland . . . that this is an isle of destiny, that that destiny will be glorious . . . and that when our hour is come, we will have something to give to the world."

My friends: Ireland's hour has come. You

have something to give to the world—and that is a future of peace with freedom.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m. in Leinster House before a joint session of the Seanad and the Dail. In his opening words he referred to Patrick Hogan, Speaker of the Dail, and Prime Minister Sean Lemass. He later referred to Eamon de Valera, President of Ireland, who lived for a time in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Additional details concerning the history of the flag of the Irish Brigade are set forth in a White House release issued the same day.

279 Remarks at a Civic and Academic Reception in St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle. June 28, 1963

Mr. Mayor, faculty and officials of these two great universities, ladies and gentlemen:

This city, these schools—this country has certainly done more than it should have to show friendship for my own people and to honor my country. I must say, as the recipient of this outpouring of good will for the United States, I am most grateful to you all. I feel most indebted, not only to all of you here who hold positions of responsibility, but to all the people of this city, which has welcomed us so generously, and this country, which has made us feel so very much at home.

So, Mr. Mayor, I want to thank you for the honor you have done me this afternoon, and also, through you, to express our thanks to the people of Dublin. I can imagine nothing more pleasant than continuing day after day to drive through the streets of Dublin and wave, and I may come back and do it.

I want to also say how pleased I am to have this association with these two great universities. I now feel equally part of both, and if they ever have a game of Gaelic football or hurling, I shall cheer for Trinity and pray for National.

It is appropriate to have this opportunity to form this association because Ireland and education have been synonymous for nearly

2,000 years. For so many hundreds of years this country had colleges and universities of 2,000, 3,000, and 4,000 students in the darkest ages of Europe, which served as the core, as the foundation, for what became the enlightenment and the religious revival of Europe. This country was wise enough to see in days that were past, that when it finally became independent, that it would need educated men and women.

Democracy is a difficult kind of government. It requires the highest qualities of self-discipline, restraint, a willingness to make commitments and sacrifices for the general interest, and also it requires knowledge.

My own country, in its earliest days, put the greatest emphasis on the development of education for its citizens. In the Northwest Ordinance, which was drafted by Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, it was provided that a section of land would be set aside in every 30 sections in order to educate the people. Thomas Jefferson once said, "If you expect the people to be ignorant and free, you expect what never was and never will be." And in the heights of the Civil War, when the outcome was most uncertain, and the results in doubt, the United States Congress, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, passed the Morrill Act, which estab-

lished our land grant colleges, and which set aside public land in every State in order to maintain a State college and State university. We have just recently celebrated the 100th anniversary and we now have in every one of our States universities which have educated our sons and daughters and helped make it possible to maintain self-government.

So education, these two great schools, the city of Dublin, the country of Ireland, the future of the West, all are closely intertwined. And I can assure you that there

are no honors that you could give me, as the President of the United States, than to have received the three distinctions which I hold today and shall always value.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5 p.m. His opening words "Mr. Mayor" referred to Sean Moore, Lord Mayor of Dublin.

Before his remarks the President was twice made an honorary doctor of laws (by the National University of Ireland and by Trinity College of the University of Dublin). He was also made an honorary freeman of the city by the Lord Mayor and Corporation.

280 Remarks at Eyre Square in Galway. June 29, 1963

Mr. Mayor, members of the County Council, Prime Minister, Ambassadors:

If the day was clear enough, and if you went down to the bay, and you looked west, and your sight was good enough, you would see Boston, Mass. And if you did, you would see down working on the docks there some Doughertys and Flahertys and Ryans and cousins of yours who have gone to Boston and made good.

I wonder if you could perhaps let me know how many of you here have a relative in America, who you would admit to—if you would hold up your hand? I don't know what it is about you that causes me to think that nearly everybody in Boston comes from Galway. They are not shy about it, at all.

I want to express—as we are about to leave here—to you of this country how much this visit has meant. It is strange that so many years could pass and so many generations pass and still some of us who came on this trip could come home and—here to Ireland—and feel ourselves at home and not feel ourselves in a strange country, but feel

ourselves among neighbors, even though we are separated by generations, by time, and by thousands of miles.

You send us home covered with gifts which we can barely carry, but most of all you send us home with the warmest memories of you and of your country.

So I must say that though other days may not be so bright as we look toward the future, the brightest days will continue to be those in which we visited you here in Ireland.

If you ever come to America, come to Washington and tell them, if they wonder who you are at the gate, that you come from Galway. The word will be out and when you do, it will be "Cead Mile Failte," which means "one hundred thousand welcomes!"

Thank you and goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon after receiving the freedom of the city. In his opening words he referred to Patrick Ryan, Mayor of Galway; Prime Minister Sean Lemass; Thomas J. Kiernan, Irish Ambassador to the United States; and Matthew H. McCloskey, U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.

281 Remarks.

Madam Mayor, Clergy, Council, fellow citizens:

I want to express admiration for the city of Galway, which I have heard since I came here.

I asked your district of the United States, he has sort of an elf he is very, very good county noted for?" for its beautiful work. And I said, "Well, county." And he about this county."

I want to express admiration for the Fitzgeralds. I wonder if you are up? One of them and that is a complete family.

This is the last part of the trip going to another country, going to Italy, and then to the United States. So, if I could find out here have relations. Do you think you have if you do? No wonder of them over there.

Well, I will tell you the best citizens are very well, and you are. And they are proud of good many years of them left, they are the strongest sentiment country. And I have been able to remind them of it also that here in Ireland the word "independence"

281 Remarks at a Reception in Limerick. June 29, 1963

Madam Mayor, Clergy, members of the City Council, fellow citizens of Limerick:

I want to express my thanks and also my admiration for the best speech that I have heard since I came to Europe, from your fine Mayor.

I asked your distinguished Ambassador to the United States, Ambassador Kiernan—he has sort of an elfish look about him, but he is very, very good—I said, “What is this county noted for?” and he said, “It is noted for its beautiful women and its fast horses.” And I said, “Well, you say that about every county.” And he said, “No, this is true about this county.”

I want to express my pleasure at seeing the Fitzgeralds. I wonder if they could stand up? One of them looks just like Grandpa, and that is a compliment.

This is the last place I go, and then I am going to another country, and then I am going to Italy, and then I am going back home to the United States. I wonder, before I go, if I could find out how many citizens here have relations in the United States? Do you think you could hold up your hand, if you do? No wonder there are so many of them over there.

Well, I will tell you, they have been among the best citizens and they behave themselves very well, and you would be proud of them. And they are proud of you. Even though a good many years have passed since most of them left, they still remain and retain the strongest sentiments of affection for this country. And I hope that this visit that we have been able to make on this occasion has reminded them not only of their past, but also that here in Ireland the word “freedom,” the word “independence,” the whole senti-

ment of a nation is perhaps stronger than it is almost any place in the world.

I don't think that I have passed through a more impressive ceremony than the one I experienced yesterday in Dublin when I went with the Prime Minister to put a wreath on the graves of the men who died in 1916. What to some countries and some people words of “freedom,” words of “independence”—to see your President, who has played such a distinguished part, whose life is so tied up with the life of this island in this century—all this has made the past very real, and has made the present very hopeful.

So I carry with me as I go the warmest sentiments of appreciation to all of you. This is a great country, with a great people, and I know that when I am back in Washington, while I will not see you, I will see you in my mind and feel all of your good wishes, as we all will, in our hearts.

Last night somebody sang a song, the words of which I am sure you know, of “Come back to Erin, Mavourneen, Mavourneen, come back aroun' to the land of thy birth. Come with the Shamrock in the springtime, Mavourneen.” This is not the land of my birth, but it is the land for which I hold the greatest affection and I certainly will come back in the springtime.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. at the Green Park Race Course after receiving the freedom of the city. His opening words “Madam Mayor” referred to Frances Condell, Mayor of Limerick. He later referred to his maternal grandfather, John F. Fitzgerald, onetime Mayor of Boston.

On the previous day in Dublin, as he recalled, the President had laid a wreath at Arbour Hill on the graves of leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising.

282 Remarks at Shannon Airport Upon Leaving for England.

June 29, 1963

I WANT to express my thanks to the County Council and this is where we all say goodbye.

I want to express our greatest thanks to the President of your country, your great President, to your Prime Minister, and to all the members of the government, and especially to all the people of Ireland who have taken us in.

Ireland is an unusual place. What happened 500 or 1000 years ago is yesterday, where we on the other side of the Atlantic 3000 miles away, we are next door. While there may be those removed by two or three generations from Ireland, they may have left 100 years ago their people, and yet when I ask how many people may have relatives in America nearly everybody holds up their hands.

So Ireland is a very special place. It has fulfilled in the past a very special role. It is in a very real sense the mother of a great many people, a great many millions of people, and in a sense a great many nations. And what gives me the greatest satisfaction and pride, being of Irish descent, is the realization that even today this very small island still sends thousands, literally thousands, of its sons and daughters to the ends of the globe to carry on an historic task

which Ireland assumed 1400 or 1500 years ago.

So this has been really the high point of our trip. Last night I sat next to one of the most extraordinary women, the wife of your President, who knows more about Ireland and Irish history. So I told her I was coming to Shannon, and she immediately quoted this poem, and I wrote down the words because I thought they were so beautiful:

'Tis it is the Shannon's brightly glancing stream,
Brightly gleaming, silent in the morning beam,
Oh, the sight entrancing,
Thus returns from travels long,
Years of exile, years of pain,
To see old Shannon's face again,
O'er the waters dancing.

Well, I am going to come back and see old Shannon's face again, and I am taking, as I go back to America, all of you with me. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. In his opening remarks he referred to the Clare County Council, whose members presented him with a gift of old Irish silver.

283 Farewell Messages to President de Valera and Prime Minister Lemass. June 29, 1963

To President Eamon de Valera:

I want to thank you for a visit that has been one of the most moving experiences of my life. Your gracious wife taught me the Irish word for welcome, "failte." I did not know "failte" could mean as much as you and the Irish people have made it mean for me during the past four days. I will

have the memory of this wonderful Irish welcome in my heart always.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

To Taoiseach Sean F. Lemass:

I would like through you, Mr. Lemass, to thank all of the Irish people who have made my visit such a memorable one. The

wonderful hospitality with has indeed made "come home."

Meeting so many of their leaders was particularly gratifying. I have been gratified

284 Remarks to

Prime Minister:

I am delighted to meet with you at our seventh meeting of parts of the world. I am pleased to see that the subject has changed on subjects that we have very much the same organize our life here relations between our countries with us, so that themselves living in a constructive world, and a and freedom. That is the challenge which you are discussing together in the now discuss in the session. I am particularly pleased that we will have

285 Joint Statement
Minister
June 30,

DURING the past Kennedy and Prime Minister held their seventh joint press conference to present problems. The place at Prime Minister's residence in Sussex and followed by a visit to Germany.

The United States Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, Lord Home, Secretary of State, Mr. Duncan

wonderful hospitality I have been showered with has indeed made me feel that I had "come home."

Meeting so many of the Irish people and their leaders was particularly enjoyable and I have been gratified by their sympathetic

understanding of the problems which we in the West face.

I should like you to know how much I have enjoyed the personal exchange of views and ideas I have had with you. From the bottom of my heart, God bless Ireland.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

284 Remarks Upon Arrival in England. June 29, 1963

Prime Minister:

"I am delighted to have this opportunity to meet with you again. I believe this is our seventh meeting we have had in various parts of the world. But though the geography has changed on different occasions, the subjects that we have dealt with have been very much the same; that is, how we can organize our life here in the West, our relations between our countries and those associated with us, so that our people will find themselves living in a more fruitful and productive world, and also in a world of peace and freedom. That was, of course, the challenge which you and my predecessor discussed together in the fifties, and which we now discuss in the sixties.

I am particularly glad on this occasion that we will have an opportunity to talk

about the forthcoming trip of our representatives to the Soviet Union. If we could ever bring some degree of control over nuclear matters to the world, I think we would decide that not only had all our other meetings been most useful, but all the efforts that have been made in both of our countries for so many years for peace and for order, and for sense of security—all this effort would be more than justified.

And I am particularly glad, also, Prime Minister, to have an opportunity to visit you in your home. I am very glad to be back in England again.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at Gatwick Airport. His opening words "Prime Minister" referred to Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

285 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Macmillan at His Home in Birch Grove, Sussex. June 30, 1963

DURING the past two days President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan have held their seventh meeting to discuss current problems. Their talks have taken place at Prime Minister Macmillan's home in Sussex and followed on President Kennedy's visit to Germany and Eire.

The United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, Lord Home, British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State

for Commonwealth Relations and Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Hailsham, Lord President of the Council, Mr. Thorneycroft, Minister of Defence, and Mr. Heath, Lord Privy Seal, took part in the talks at various times.

During some twelve hours of discussion the President and the Prime Minister began by hearing reports from Lord Home and Mr. Rusk about conversations which the two

NORTHERN IRELAND TIMELINE

- November 1985: Anglo-Irish Agreement established new relationship between the UK and Ireland and committed the governments to joint efforts to promote peace and stability in Northern Ireland.
- December 1993: Downing Street Declaration issued by the British and Irish Governments stated that parties that establish commitment to exclusively peaceful means and abide by the democratic process would be included in dialogue.
- January 1994: President granted Gerry Adams a visa to come to the U.S.
- August 1994: Long-time republican Joe Cahill granted visa.
- August 31, 1994: IRA cease fire announced
- October 1994: Loyalist cease-fire implemented.
- October 1994: President lifted the ban on contacts between U.S. Government officials and Sinn Fein. First contact was phone call from Vice President to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams. First meeting took place at State Department.
- December 1994: NSA Lake met with Sinn Fein leader Adams at the White House.
- December 1994: The late Commerce Secretary Ron Brown led a major trade and investment mission to Northern Ireland.
- February 1995: Joint Framework Document issued by the two governments laid foundation for all-party talks within the three-strand framework.
- March 1995: Administration removed restriction on fundraising for Adams and other Sinn Fein visitors on visa waivers. Monitoring system put in place to assure funds used for legitimate political activities.
- March 1995: Members of all parties invited to attend White House St. Patrick's Day celebration.

- May 1995:** White House hosted successful Conference on Trade and Investment in Ireland. President, Vice President and Secretaries of State and Commerce addressed the conference.
- October 1995:** President met the new leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, David Trimble, at the White House. (The President had already met the leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, John Hume.)
- November 1995:** British and Irish Governments announced the launching of the "twin track" approach for moving the peace process forward. Senator George Mitchell was asked to head an International Body to look into weapons decommissioning while preliminary political consultations took place.
- November-December 1995:** President visited the UK and Ireland including an historic visit to Northern Ireland on November 30. His visit and speeches galvanized popular support for peace.
- January 1996:** International Body issued report concluding decommissioning not feasible, recommending parties adopt Mitchell Principles of non-violence. Prime Minister Major announced election as route to all-party talks.
- February 9, 1996:** Two people died and dozens injured in the Canary Wharf bombing that followed the IRA announcement that the cease-fire was over. Bombing campaign has continued, with one further victim, an IRA member who died when a bomb exploded prematurely.
- February 28, 1996:** The two governments issued a joint communique setting June 10 as the date for all-party talks, in which Sinn Fein can participate provided the cease-fire is restored. Agreed an election would be held in Northern Ireland leading directly to the talks.
- March 1996:** Administration granted visa to Gerry Adams to hear support of Irish Americans for restoration of cease-fire. Undertook not to fundraise; not invited to White House St. Patrick's Day reception.

April 1996: British government introduced and passed legislation to hold election on May 30 to elect 110 representatives from whom parties' negotiators will be chosen. All 110 delegates will constitute an elected forum, which will have neither administrative nor legal powers.

IRELAND CHRONOLOGY

1993

April Gerry Adams visa request denied.

December 15 **Major and Reynolds announced the Downing Street Declaration.** WH issued supportive statement.

1994

January 30 Attorney General Reno granted waiver to Gerry Adams for limited visa to visit New York for 48 hours to attend conference in NY. WH issued press statement.

April **Vice President and Anthony Lake met with UUP Leader James Molyneaux and SDLP Leader John Hume.**

August 30 **Limited B-2 single-entry visas** to travel to U.S. issued in Dublin to Sinn Fein officials **Joe Cahill and Patrick Treanor** after waiver granted by Attorney General Reno.

August 31 **IRA announced ceasefire.** The President spoke to Reynolds and Major. WH issued statement by the President on ceasefire announcement.

October(?) **Vice President and Anthony Lake met with UUP delegation.**

October 1 **Nancy Soderberg calls Gerry Adams.** They speak for 45 min.

October 2 **Anthony Lake sent letter to Gerry Adams** informing him of **lifting of ban on contacts between U.S. officials and members of Sinn Fein.** Letter invited Adams to begin dialogue with U.S. officials, including WH officials, at the State Department that week.

October 3 **Announced lifting of ban on contacts between U.S. officials and members of Sinn Fein.** Also announced **Fuerth, Soderberg and Kornblum** would meet with Gerry Adams on Oct. 4. Copy

of Lake letter to Adams also released to press.

October 4	Leon Fuerth, Nancy Soderberg, Amb. John Kornblum and working-level officials from State Department and NSC met with Gerry Adams for 75 minutes at the State Department. State Department issued press release summarizing the meeting.
mid-October	Loyalist ceasefire.
November 1	Announced major initiatives re: Ireland, specifically: WH Conference for Trade and Investment; Commerce Secretary Brown to attend Belfast Investment Conference; Increased funding for the IFI; Department of Commerce programs; USIA programs; National Endowment for Democracy programs; USAID programs; and Trade and Development Agency programs.
November 25	Decision memo goes to the President on how to handle Gerry Adams request for a visa for his December 7-13 visit (fundraising restrictions, etc.)
November 30	Announced Anthony Lake had invited Gerry Adams to meet with him at the White House. Also announced Adams had been granted a waiver for a multiple entry visa valid for 90 days.
December 1	Announced appointment of Senator George Mitchell as Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland.
December 6	Anthony Lake meets with Gerry Adams at the White House (Commerce Secretary Ron Brown also briefly joined the mtg) (WH issued press release on December 6 confirming the mtg)
 <u>1995</u>	
January 11	Announced original dates for WH Trade and Investment Conference (May 18-19)

January 25

Announced new dates for WH Trade and
Investment Conference (May 24-26 at Sheraton
Washington Hotel)

Chronology & Timeline to Conference

Below you will find a chronology of events leading up to the present, and a timeline of events and tasks that need to be accomplished by the time of the Conference in the last half of May. The tasks needs to be assigned to the task forces that will be formed the middle of January. Each task force should develop its own timeline.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Item</u>
November 1, 1994	President's announcement of the White House initiative to support the peace process in Northern Ireland (NI) and the six border counties of the Republic of Ireland
November 8 & 21	Nancy Soderberg of NSC forms Interagency Working Group (IWG) on NI initiative. Planning meetings on Brown's trip and the Northern Ireland/Ireland Conference are held in White House situation room Nov. 8 and 21. Decided that Commerce will handle organizing the conference on pattern set for the Central European Conference in Cleveland.
November 22	Business Council for International Understanding (BCIU) informally contacted. They expressed interest in handling the arrangement for NI/Ireland Conference
December 1	Senator George Mitchell named Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland
December 12-15	Secretary Ron Brown Mission to NI to participate in PM John Major's International Investment Conference in Belfast and Brown's visit to Dublin, Ireland. Brown also speaks with officials in Brussels at European Commission.
December 16	Assistant Secretary Meissner and Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith participated in Irish Government Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Dublin. Former PM Albert Reynolds and new PM John Bruton as well as Jerry Adams, John Hume and James Molyneaux participated.
January 4, 1995	Martha Pope officially joins the Executive Branch

Second week
of January

Need to either announce the IWG as the central coordinating committee or form a new committee and have the IWG become a task force for a specific lists of issues. Membership of the coordinating committee needs the heads of the task forces plus other key people: Pope, Soderberg, Meissner, Sallet, Hale, Brophy, etc.

Other task forces that should be formed on an interagency basis with Martha Pope as a co-chair with the lead agency:

1. Conference Planning & Logistics - Commerce
2. Domestic Political Outreach - White House, M. Hale
3. Business Liaison - White House & Commerce
4. Communications/Public Affairs (?)
5. Legislation/Inter-Govt. - S. Brophy
6. Etc.

How support will be organized in London, Belfast and Dublin needs to be discussed. Enhanced FCO support will be needed in Belfast.

Date and location for conference selected

Make operational contact with Mayor Barry's office

Appoint advance team coordinator in Secretary Brown's office

Put together concept paper on conference with Senator Mitchell's office to present to Soderberg NI IWG group. Get Approval.

NI IWG Meeting

Briefing for Senator Mitchell

MOU for BCIU, other group

Call interagency group to work on organization of the Conference

Other task forces begin to meet

January 12-13

Presidential Conference on Central Europe in Cleveland

Third week
in January
(tentative)

Contact IDA and IDB offices in the U.S.

Begin to organize trade show

Political notification: Mayor, Congressional Delegations, binational organizations, etc.
Contact Irish and UK Embassies to formally inform them about the conference. Determine which embassies are interested in hospitality suites.

Work with Mayor's office and Irish-American organizations on evening of Irish culture

With interagency group, begin to compile names of U.S. firms to attend

Contact U.S. labor organizations

Contact interested U.S. NGOS

Fourth week
in January

Work with White House to compile list of Irish-American organizations that may wish to participate

Work with White House to begin vetting process of list of attendees other than U.S. business firms

Proposed advance trip to Europe for Martha Pope

Commerce to form Working Group on economic assistance plan
Send out announcement/instruction cable to posts.

Mid -February

Begin to work with UK and Irish Governments on lists of attendees

Develop lists of invitees that will be on observer status: EU, EBRD, EIB, IMF, IBRD, etc.

IWG to develop deliverables

Develop complete lists of U.S. conference moderators, panelists and participants from Inter-Agency working group and start vetting process.

Obtain approval for invitation letter to moderators, panelists, and general

participants from President Clinton.

Obtain approval for invitation letter to Ireland/Northern Ireland delegations from Secretary Brown/Sen. Mitchell.

February 14-18

Proposed Trip of Senator Mitchell to London, Brussels, Belfast and Dublin

Late February

Select logo for conference.

Decide on format for printing briefing book.

Have first draft of economic assistance plan for Northern Ireland and Border Counties

March 14

Follow up with conference moderators, panelists to confirm their attendance

Finalize schedule with moderator names and U.S. embassy personnel for panels. Send info to conference organizer for printing.

Send lists of finalized Irish and Northern Ireland/UK participants to U.S. Chamber, and other organizations possibly interested in assisting with immediate conference follow on activities.

Collect biographies for all conference moderators, panelists, and significant USG participants, including U.S. embassy representatives.

Late March

Receive briefing book materials from Inter-Agency working group on disk in Word Perfect format. Check over materials to ensure that they meet WHCOT expectations.

IWG: Have deliverable list for conference. Have economic assistance plan agreed to by the IWG. Assign drafting of Presidential Speech. Assign drafting of Sec. Brown and Mitchell speeches.

Send out invitations to moderators, panelists, and participants.

Receive lists of Irish and Northern Ireland/UK delegations from Irish/UK Embassies.

Determine U.S. embassy representation.

April 20

Send briefing book materials and biographies to conference organizer for printing and assembly.

Determine whether satellite links will be used to broadcast the conference to other cities. Establish viewing sites in other cities around U.S. or Ireland/Northern Ireland.

Collect DOC materials to be displayed at WHC, i.e. OEURA materials for booth.

May 18-19

Proposed conference in Washington

May-September

Follow-on trade and investment missions to Northern Ireland and Border Counties

f:\home\ireland\timerev

FACT SHEET

ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT FOR PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

EP
ASK
MSP to
update
when is (not)
rescheduled?

- President Clinton is the first U.S. President to become seriously engaged in supporting the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. He has supported those who are taking risks for peace. The results are making a difference in the daily lives of the people of Northern Ireland.

Transformation in Northern Ireland

- For over 15 months, the guns have been silent in Northern Ireland. We do not know who they are, but there are dozens of people alive today who would have been victims of violence but for the historic cease-fires of August and October 1994.
- The people there are enjoying the pleasures of a normal daily life for the first time in a generation. They can visit a pub, go Christmas shopping or go for a walk without fear.
- The Army is back in barracks; patrols are gone from the streets, checkpoints and x-ray machines have disappeared, and people are able to walk about freely.
- Foreign investors are looking with new interest at Northern Ireland as a place to do business. Unemployment is down to its lowest level in 14 years, manufacturing output is up and tourism is booming.

Active Engagement

The President has taken concrete steps to engage those working for peace in Northern Ireland.

- In January 1994, President Clinton took a political risk for peace and approved the granting of a visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams, a decision which helped bring about the IRA cease-fire.
- The IRA announced its cease-fire in August 1994; the loyalists followed suit in September.

- Visas were granted to loyalist party officials after the announcement of the loyalist cease-fire.
- In October 1994, the President lifted the ban on contacts between U.S. government official and Sinn Fein representatives. The first official contact was a phone call from the Vice President to Sinn Fein President Adams.
- The President invited representatives of all parties to attend the White House celebration of St. Patrick's Day in March 1995, where he declared that those who take risks for peace should be welcome in the White House and in our country.
- The Administration decided in March 1995 to remove the restriction against fundraising for Adams and other Sinn Fein members. We put in place a monitoring system to ensure that the funds are used for legitimate political activities in compliance with U.S., British and Irish law.

Active Support

- The Administration conducts an ongoing dialogue with representatives of both communities, and with the British and Irish governments.
- The President is in regular contact with Prime Ministers Major and Bruton.
- The Vice President and National Security Advisor first met with leaders of Northern Ireland's largest party, the Ulster Unionist Party, in 1994. Building on that relationship, the President and Vice President met with the new UUP leader, David Trimble, during his visit to Washington in October 1995.
- The President and Vice President have also held meetings with John Hume, the leader of the largest nationalist party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party.
- The Vice President has met recently with other party leaders, including Dr. Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party and Dr. John Alderdice of the Alliance Party. In September, the Vice President met with Sinn Fein President Adams.

- The President warmly welcomed the Downing Street Declaration* of December 1993, which was signed by Prime Minister Major and former Prime Minister Reynolds, and which breathed new life into the process begun by the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985.
- The President strongly supported the Joint Framework Document**, announced by the Irish and British Governments in February of this year, as the basis for future dialogue.

Trade and Business Ties

In December 1994, Commerce Secretary Brown led a major trade and investment delegation to Northern Ireland. A second delegation in October 1995 was led by Commerce Assistant Secretary Charles Meissner.

- A very successful White House Conference on Trade and Investment was held May 24-26, 1995. The President, Vice President and Secretaries of State and Commerce addressed the Conference.
- The conference offered an unprecedented opportunity for representatives of different viewpoints and parties to come together to discuss issues of common concern. It was also the first time Sinn Fein President Adams met the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Sir Patrick Mayhew.
- Among the initiatives launched by the Administration to support peace through trade and investment is an on-line business information service through the Department of Commerce and a program to bring 50 business people from Northern Ireland to the U.S. each year to enhance their management skills and foster business ties.

*The Downing Street Declaration committed both governments to work for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. In the Declaration the British Government reaffirmed that it would uphold the democratic wish of the majority of the people in Northern Ireland on whether they preferred to support the Union or a united Ireland. The Irish Government accepted that it would be wrong to attempt to impose a united Ireland in the absence of the freely given consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland. The Declaration stated that parties that establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful means and abide by the

democratic process would be included in dialogue on the way forward.

**The Joint Framework Document lays the foundation for all-party talks among the political parties of Northern Ireland and the British and Irish Governments. It is based on the need for majority consent of the people of Northern Ireland to any constitutional changes. It proposes North-South bodies, accountable to a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament, that would have a harmonizing and consultative role in matters most efficiently handled in an all-island context; e.g., agriculture, tourism. The Irish Government agreed to introduce and support changes to Articles 2 and 3 of its Constitution, to remove a territorial claim of right of jurisdiction over the North.

NORTHERN IRELAND

ISSUE

Administration support for the peace process in Northern Ireland.

ADMINISTRATION POSITION

President Clinton is the first U.S. President to become actively engaged in supporting the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. He has used American influence and the power of American ideals to encourage and support those who are seeking a just and lasting settlement to the conflict there. The President has focused Administration efforts on promoting trade and investment in Northern Ireland.

BACKGROUND

The conflict in Northern Ireland has cost over 3200 lives since "The Troubles" began over 25 years ago. In December 1993, in the Downing Street Declaration, the British and the Irish Governments committed themselves to work for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland on the basis of a new understanding between them. As part of the effort to persuade the IRA to lay down its weapons, the President approved granting a visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams in January 1994. In August of that year the IRA announced a cease-fire, followed by the loyalist cease-fire in October. The people of Northern Ireland enjoyed 17 months of peace as efforts to reach all-party negotiations on the future of Northern Ireland continued.

In February 1996, the IRA inexcusably declared the cease-fire over and planted three bombs in London, killing three people and injuring scores. The President joined Prime Ministers Major and Bruton in condemning these cowardly acts and declaring that terrorists must not be allowed to derail the peace process. On February 28 the two prime ministers announced a clear path to all-party talks starting on June 10. Sinn Fein can participate once the cease-fire is restored. To support that process the President decided to renew Gerry Adams' visa to allow him to hear from Irish Americans their support for a restored cease-fire.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- The President's unprecedented visit to Northern Ireland in November galvanized popular support for peace. Even after the tragic breach of the cease-fire, the people's abiding commitment to peace is evident in the many demonstrations and vigils for peace throughout Northern Ireland and the Republic.

- The Administration has remained in touch with all the parties in Northern Ireland, including Sinn Fein, to get the cease-fire restored and advance the peace process. The Anglo-Irish announcement of February 28 setting a firm date for all-party talks represents a milestone in the process.
- Senator George Mitchell chaired the International Body charged by the British and Irish Governments with making recommendations on weapons decommissioning. The Body's report was widely welcomed as a significant contribution to the peace process.
- In May 1995 the President hosted the White House Conference on Trade and Investment, which offered an opportunity for business, political and community leaders to discuss how to generate economic growth and create jobs to give young people a sense of hope for their future.

NEXT STEPS

- The Administration is focusing its diplomatic efforts on getting the cease-fire restored so that the talks that will begin June 10 can include Sinn Fein.
- We will encourage the parties to reach agreement on the elective process that will take place before the talks begin and on the ground rules for the talks themselves.
- The President will remain in close touch with Prime Ministers Major and Bruton as they work to advance the peace process.
- The Administration will continue its support for economic and commercial initiatives to create jobs in Northern Ireland and the border counties. To this end, the Commerce Department will hold a conference in the fall to facilitate strategic alliances and joint ventures between American firms and firms in Northern Ireland and the Republic.

To: NES
From: MAP
Subj: Attached Article from Upcoming Edition of Foreign Affairs

This article, by Joseph O'Grady of LaSalle University, argues that the Administration's break with previous policy on Northern Ireland has been motivated exclusively by electoral considerations. The illegible note on the front is from Dave Pozorski transmitting an offer by Senator Mitchell to write a rebuttal of the article (presumably for publication in Foreign Affairs). Dave asks whether we think a rebuttal is desirable and if so whether Mitchell is the person to do it.

I think the answer is yes on both counts. Without making any single statement that is wildly inaccurate, the article manages to paint a misleading and unflattering picture of the Administration's Northern Ireland policy. The other side of the story -- the effective use of the USG's diplomatic and moral influence to keep the parties and governments moving forward toward a lasting peace -- needs to be told.

Mitchell is the ideal author of a rebuttal because he is part of the Administration but has independent stature (and is not being paid.) He played the key role on two of the big achievements on NI -- the WH conference and the Mitchell commission. And, with his political background Mitchell can plausibly comment on the central thesis of the article.

I recommend we get back to Dave and tell him we would be pleased if Mitchell would prepare a rebuttal and that we will be happy to take a look at it in draft.

4/19
TO MAP

6/22



U. S. Department of State

2201 C Street, N.W.

Office Of The Special Advisor

To The President And The Secretary
For Economic Initiatives In Ireland (S/IR)

Washington, DC 20520

Date April 5, 1996

Number of pages including cover sheet 7

Subject FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARTICLE

To:

MARY ANN PETERS

From:

Dan Powers

Phone

Fax Phone

Phone

Fax Phone

(202) 736-4539

(202) 736-4535

REMARKS:

☐ Urgent

☐ For your review

☐ Reply ASAP

☐ Please comment

MARY ANN,

WELCOME BACK! HOPE YOU HAD A RELAXING LEAVE.

SENATOR MITCHELL GOT THIS ARTICLE ON APRIL 2, APPARENTLY IT'S
TO BE PUBLISHED SOON IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. MITCHELL EXPRESSED
A WILLINGNESS TO REBUT THE ARTICLE, PARTICULARLY O'BRAEN'S
CLAIM THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S BRINK WITH PAIT IRISH
POLICY IS MOTIVATED BY CRASS ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS.
IS SUCH A REBUTTAL NECESSARY / DESIRABLE FROM YOUR
POINT OF VIEW AND, IF SO, IS MITCHELL THE ONE TO DO IT?

CHEERS!

Dan

JOSEPH O'GRADY is Professor of American history at La Salle University.

[2]

An Irish Policy Born in the U.S.A.

Bush's position had long been the American policy, but by 1992 a new spirit had emerged in the Irish-American community. Both Representative Joseph Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Boston Mayor Ray Flynn condemned Bush for not taking a more active role in the Irish struggle and tried to make his policy an issue in the presidential primaries. While Bush was sidestepping any discussion of direct U.S. involvement in the Irish troubles, Clinton was campaigning for the Connecticut and New York primaries. In the midst of those campaigns, John Dearie, an assemblyman from the Bronx, was organizing a forum sponsored by Irish-Americans at which the Democratic presidential candidates would discuss Irish issues. Clinton, even after the forum was rescheduled to accommodate his schedule, said he would be unable to attend.

Neither Clinton nor his leading opponent, former California governor Jerry Brown, had shown much interest in or knowledge of Irish issues before the Connecticut primary, but its results changed that. Brown narrowly beat Clinton, 37 percent to 36 percent, and carried 40 percent of white Catholic voters, to Clinton's 35 percent. White Catholics constituted 47 percent of the voters in the primary. In an about-face, Clinton agreed to attend the Irish-American forum.

At the April 5 forum, two days before the New York primary, both Brown and Clinton said they would appoint a special envoy to Northern Ireland, pressure the British on human rights violations there, and issue a visa to Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Adams had been denied one for 20 years. They also offered to grant political asylum hearings in extra-

dition cases that involved suspected IRA members living in the United States, support a more open immigration policy, and endorse the MacBride Principles against employment discrimination in Northern Ireland. The audience could not believe their ears; they had never heard such direct statements in support of the Irish agenda from mainstream presidential candidates.

Clinton had to endorse those ideas once Brown did so. He had to make inroads among Irish and Roman Catholic voters, to whom Brown could appeal as a Catholic, a former Jesuit seminarian, and a descendant of a Tipperary clan. Whether or not his adoption of the Irish agenda gained him votes, Clinton won the New York primary, giving his campaign a gigantic boost. To ensure that he remembered his remarks at Dearie's forum, later that year its organizers created a campaign organization, Irish-Americans for Clinton and Gore.

THE FINAL PROMISES

In late October, as the presidential campaign drew to a close, Clinton, under pressure to clarify his views on Irish issues, wrote a public letter to Bruce Morrison, co-chairman of Irish-Americans for Clinton and Gore, in which he repeated his earlier promises. But he also pledged that "a Clinton administration will take a more active role" in talks on Northern Ireland and tell the British to reduce job discrimination against Catholics there and to "establish more effective safeguards against the wanton use of lethal force and against further collusion between the security forces and Protestant paramilitary groups." The letter was written with the advice of Nancy Soderberg, a former aide to Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.)

Joseph O'Grady

who was serving on Clinton's campaign staff as a foreign policy adviser.

When Clinton won the presidency, both London and Dublin were troubled because his campaign pledges pointed to a more active U.S. role in Northern Ireland. The concern in both capitals was heightened by the new president's appointment of Jean Kennedy Smith as ambassador to Ireland. She is the widowed sister of Edward Kennedy and the aunt of U.S. Representatives Joseph Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.), all of whom relied on Irish-American voters for their political success.

Smith also had personal connections to the problems in Northern Ireland. She was a friend of John Hume, the leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party there, and her niece, Mary Courtney Kennedy, was romantically involved with Paul Michael Hill, who had been convicted of bombing two pubs in England in 1974. He was released in 1989 after serving 15 years in British jails when it was revealed that the British police had tampered with evidence. On June 24, 1993, the new ambassador submitted her credentials to Irish President Mary Robinson. Three days later, Mary Courtney Kennedy married Paul Hill.

Despite his campaign pledges and the promise of a more active role for the American ambassador in Dublin, Clinton followed the traditional U.S. policy toward Northern Ireland in 1993. He twice refused to grant Gerry Adams a visa and avoided naming a special envoy. Afforded few opportunities to act on the Irish troubles, Clinton concentrated on his number one campaign pledge, to look after things at home.

A MAJOR DISAGREEMENT

By the end of that year, however, the character of the Northern Ireland dispute had changed dramatically. A series of developments, including secret talks—between Hume and Adams, between the British government and the IRA, and between Dublin and London—culminated in the Downing Street Declaration. The accord, issued December 15, 1993, declared that Britain had no economic or strategic interest in Northern Ireland and that it would allow Sinn Fein, in exchange for an IRA cease-fire, to come to the bargaining table and would begin the withdrawal of British troops from Ulster. Furthermore, the people of Northern Ireland would be given the opportunity to vote on whether they wanted to remain part of the United Kingdom.

The Downing Street Declaration led to the hastily organized announcement by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy of a conference on Northern Ireland, and representatives from all sides from the strife-torn region were invited to present their views in New York on February 1, 1994. Adams got an invitation, which gave him another chance to apply for a visa. According to a number of sources, Edward Kennedy and his ambassador sister hatched a plan to finally get Adams into the United States on New Year's Day at her official residence in Dublin.

The British government, meanwhile, had made it clear that it did not want Clinton to grant Adams a visa because Sinn Fein had not renounced the use of violence and the IRA had not formally declared a cease-fire. However, under considerable pressure from 40 members of Congress, led by Senators Kennedy and

An Irish Policy Born in the U.S.A.

Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and supported by Ambassador Smith, Clinton snubbed Britain, overruled the State Department and the U.S. embassy in London, and granted Adams a limited visa to attend the New York conference. In doing so he fulfilled his campaign pledge, but he also infuriated the unionists in Northern Ireland and, more important, the British, who angrily decried the death of the "special relationship" between America and England.

Only days before, State Department officials had said they would grant Adams a visa only if Sinn Fein renounced violence. The White House, however, hoped that the visa would clear the way for just such a declaration. To make matters worse, the quid pro quo for the visa was not delivered. During his visit to America, Adams said nothing new on the search for an end to the violence. Furthermore, within weeks the violence escalated, and the IRA closed London's main airports with bomb threats and mortar attacks. Not until a delegation of private citizens from the United States visited the Irish government in Dublin government and Adams in Belfast were all the pieces in place. On August 31, 1994, Adams announced that the IRA had issued a unilateral, unconditional cease-fire. The IRA council had voted 5-4 for the cease-fire, according to the minutes of the meeting, mainly because of the power of the Irish-American lobby, which was viewed as "not in hock to any particular party in Ireland or Britain" and because "Clinton is perhaps the first U.S. president in decades to be substantially influenced by such a lobby."

Clinton went from being a reluctant participant to an active player when he

decided, soon thereafter, to grant Adams a new visa and lift the ban on official U.S. contacts with Sinn Fein. And his involvement did not end there. Before the end of the year, he granted Adams another visa, this time for three months and multiple visits; let Adams meet with senior White House officials; appointed then-Senator George Mitchell (D-Maine) as his personal representative on Northern Ireland, charged with organizing an upcoming conference on investing there; and increased by \$10 million the U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland.

These decisions had no impact on the major stumbling block in the peace process: whether the IRA would have to disarm before any major political changes were made or the IRA and British forces would "demilitarize," in Adams' words, in tandem. But they may have helped exert pressure on the Irish and the British to produce the February 1995 elaboration of the Downing Street Declaration.

Before the strengthened declaration broke the impasse between the British and the IRA, Clinton took steps that again infuriated London. In March 1995, after another round of enormous pressure from the British not to grant Adams anything new and from the Irish-American community to do just that, Clinton not only issued Adams another visa but permitted him to open an office in Washington, raise funds in the United States, and attend a White House reception on Saint Patrick's Day in honor of the new Irish prime minister, John Bruton.

The rift between British Prime Minister John Major and Clinton, by then a large one, was somewhat eased over the next several months. Last June, Clinton an-

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Joseph O'Grady

nounced that he would visit both Belfast and Dublin in the fall and that he wanted the peace negotiations fully under way at that time. However, all-party talks were delayed through the summer by the dispute over the decommissioning of IRA arms. In August the IRA announced that it would not give up its weapons, further setting back the Irish and British governments' joint effort to get the discussions started. Not until the eve of Clinton's visit to London were Major and Bruton able to announce a new two-track agreement, which included a plan to create an international commission, headed by Senator Mitchell, that would discuss the arms issue and reopen preliminary all-party talks at the same time. Unfortunately, when Mitchell issued his report in late January 1996, Major decided to effectively ignore it and called for an election to get all-party talks started. The IRA, in turn, announced the end of the cease-fire with a bomb blast in London on February 9.

A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP?

Whatever the outcome of Clinton's efforts to bring peace to Northern Ireland (in his words) or to gain the votes of Irish-Americans in 1996 (the British view), he made them for the same reasons that gave the Irish such influence over Andrew Johnson. Johnson needed votes in critical New York City congressional races. Clinton needed votes in New York's presidential primary and, in the general campaign, Irish-American votes in New England (without which he would have lost the election) and, especially, in New York and California. Whether or not that ploy actually delivered those states remains unclear. But when he became president, Clinton did run into opposition to his

Irish initiative in both London, where it was expected, and in Dublin, where it was not. He had to quickly back away from his promises of a special envoy and a visa for Adams until the Downing Street Declaration helped open new opportunities.

Clinton's vulnerability to Irish-American political pressure increased as he suffered through a series of foreign and domestic policy setbacks, notably on health care reform. He needed the help of such Irish-American congressional leaders as Kennedy and Moynihan, and he had to give them what they wanted. But doing so would enrage the British. One White House official acknowledged when Adams' first visa was granted, "It obviously ticks off the Brits, but equally obvious, that is acceptable to a lot of us."

That attitude toward the British also figured in the decisions of Clinton officials as they formulated an Irish policy. The special Anglo-American relationship, increasingly important from the late nineteenth century on, waned in significance with the passing of the Cold War. By 1993 Clinton's advisers saw no reason why the British should receive special treatment. America's interests no longer coincided with Britain's interests, as the unfolding of the Bosnia crisis in the spring of 1992 showed. Thus Clinton's need to reach for the Irish-American vote in both 1992 and 1994 could be satisfied without any fear of causing damage to an American national interest.

Nor would anything Clinton did for the Irish-American lobby cost him votes; most Americans do not understand, nor do they care about, the troubles in Ireland. In fact, with his domestic program in shambles, by the summer of 1994 the president could hope to gain votes

An Irish Policy Born in the U.S.A.

among the general population by bringing peace to Ireland. That hope only grew in the aftermath of the Republican victory in the November 1994 elections.

Whatever happens in the upcoming race, it is now clear that the Clinton years have changed the special relationship with Great Britain. What began in the 1880s and grew in the twentieth century is no longer necessary. The new migration of the Irish from the mid-1970s to the present—generated by Ireland's economic travails and special visa programs directed toward the Irish—has reinvigorated the Irish lobby, which will continue to influence national and state elections. From 1987 to 1994, some 71,000 Irish citizens received visas. Of the 50,000 Irish immigrants now living in Boston, 20,000 are illegal. As of the 1990 census, 79,000 first-generation Irish lived in Massachusetts, and 1.6 million residents claimed some Irish ancestry. The statistical portrait is similar for California, other New England states, and New York.

Irish-Americans live in politically significant areas, and politicians will see them as a potential swing vote as long as they appear to vote as a bloc. Maintaining that cohesion will require continued leadership on the part of Irish-American politicians and, more important, an agenda that is driven by events in Northern Ireland and capable of molding and solidifying that voting bloc. Ironically, if the Clinton effort brings a final settlement of the centuries-old Irish Question, Irish-Americans will have no reason to forge an agenda that will hold their reinvigorated pressure group together. Unfortunately, the IRA's most recent decisions and actions do not indicate that the troubles of Northern Ireland will end soon. ☉

22/11/95

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***** EMB WASH

TAOISEACH'S OFFICE

FAX NO. 353 1 6764048

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PAGE

REVISED QUESTION AND ANSWER BRIEF

(A) Draft Questions and Answers for the British Government

1. Do you stand by the Washington criteria?

Yes. We cannot see a way in which to secure the necessary confidence to bring all parties to the negotiating table without a start being made to the decommissioning of illegal arms. Cooperation in the Twin-Track process requires no one to abandon stated positions.

2. Is the Washington 3 criterion within the remit of the international body?

The body is being asked to report on the arrangements necessary for decommissioning and, in particular, on, first, an acceptable method and, second, whether there is a clear commitment to decommissioning.

Problem
We have not established the body to make recommendations on when decommissioning should start. This is a matter for political judgement to be resolved by the Governments. We believe that a successful twin track process will generate momentum and increase confidence in a way which will make it easier to deal with this matter.

*Nepal
Lewyn*

- 2 -

3. Will participants in the Twin Track process be able to express their views on the Washington 3 criterion?

It is for the individual parties and participants to decide for themselves what they will say both in the preparatory talks and to the international body. It is not for us to control or censor the views of others.

We expect the international body to invite parties to submit their own analysis of the decommissioning issue and, in reaching conclusions within its remit, to consider such evidence on its merits.

4. What will your position be on the Washington 3 criterion after a satisfactory report from the international body?

Our position is well known, and the practical reasons for it are well known. It has not changed.

No one is bound in advance to accept the body's recommendations, which will be purely advisory. We shall consider carefully any recommendations it makes within its remit and give them due weight on their merits.

5. Does this mean you will not necessarily insist on the Washington 3 criterion?

The Washington criteria stem from paragraph 10 of the Joint Declaration, which requires parties to establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and show that they abide by the democratic process.

22/11/95

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TAOISEACH'S OFFICE

FAX NO. 353 1 6764048

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- 3 -

We cannot see how the necessary confidence can be secured and the requirements of the Joint Declaration met other than by a start to the process of decommissioning. We need to generate this confidence so that all the parties can go to the negotiating table in an atmosphere free from violence or the threat of violence.

Approved: jd

NOV-95 12:28 FROM: 18 DOWNING ST (CF)

10.

PAGE 1

(B) Draft Questions and Answers for Irish Government

1. Is the Body concerned with all arms, or just illegal arms?

As the Taoiseach said on 6 November, we are talking about decommissioning of unauthorised, illegal, paramilitary arms. Sinn Fein is entitled to state its aspiration in relation to demilitarisation but it is essential to make a clear distinction between legally and illegally held arms. It is one of the marks of any civil power that its army and its police have the right to bear arms to defend the existence of the State or the political entity in question. This is entirely separate from any question of illegally held arms.

2. What will be your attitude to decommissioning after a satisfactory report from the international body?

We shall consider carefully any recommendations the body makes and give them due weight on their merits. As the Taoiseach has said, we think there has got to be serious progress made on putting the guns out of commission. It is not practical to think in terms, for example, of Sinn Fein sitting down on the basis of equality with the unionists and reaching an agreement with them while guns are still in commission.

- 2 -

3. If the body reports that there is no practical reason why decommissioning should not start straightaway, will you urge Sinn Fein to implement its recommendations?

No one is bound in advance to accept their recommendations, which will be purely advisory. We shall urge all parties to approach the body with an open mind and to consider carefully any recommendations it make and give them due weight on their merits.

4. You are committed to the firm aim of achieving all-party negotiations by the end of [January/February] 1996, but what if all parties won't attend?

We believe that, with cooperation from all the parties in both tracks, that aim should prove achievable. We shall use our best endeavours to achieve it. But, as the Taoiseach has made clear, for talks to be fruitful we must have all the relevant parties at the table. Since the aim is to achieve agreement among the divided people of Ireland, there would be no point in talks at which the unionist viewpoint was not properly represented.

(C/N)jd

FAX COVER SHEET

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
42 ELGIN ROAD
BALLSBRIDGE
DUBLIN 4, IRELAND

Policy Management Office

PHONE: (353) (1) 668-8054

FAX: (353) (1) 667-0056

TO: *MARY ANN PETERS*
NSC STATE

FAX NUMBER: *202-456-9150*

FROM: *Dick Norland*

DATE: *11/21/95*

Mary Ann - The Amb. received this from Gerry Adams today - his reactions to the latest British proposal contained in John Major's letter to John Birt. Adams - Birt discussed the attached piece this evening, & SF still has concerns regarding the target date & Washington Three. Adams wanted the NSC to have this ("in late's attention"), & said the SF Rep. in Washington might also be in touch for a copy.

*Best regards,
Dick*

Number of Pages Including This Cover Sheet: 6

21 November 1995

The British draft of a proposed joint communique is much longer than previous suggested drafts. This is important only in so far as all of the additional paragraphs deal with the arms issue so that in a 12 paragraph statement, 8 paragraphs deal in detail with the arms issue, while 4 deal in a general way with the political track. The British draft also subverts the original idea of a twin track. This was to allow for simultaneous or parallel movement on both tracks. The British draft makes movement on the political track totally qualified and conditional on the second track. Furthermore, the British have clearly put lots of negotiating fat into their draft, ie they have moved back from positions already agreed. For example, the period of time between the commencement of work of an International Body and the date for commencement of talks.

The British proposals fall far short of the proposals sent to them recently by the Irish government and in some ways step back from the British governments own position prior to 6 September.

Sinn Fein has already agreed propositions between Gerry Adams and John Hume but in this paper we analyse the British draft in the context of our understanding of the Irish government's position.

1. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach met today to review progress in the peace process. After intensive efforts by both governments and with the benefit of consultations with parties in Northern Ireland the two governments agreed to launch a 'twin track' process to make progress in parallel on the (SF amendment replace the word 'decommissioning' with the word 'arms') arms issue and towards all party negotiations.

SF Commentary - with the one amendment of replacing the word "decommission" with the word "arms" this paragraph is acceptable.

The use of the word decommissioning is clearly sectional. The word itself has become highly politicised and carries the implication that the International Body will not accept submissions on of arms other than those which the British government wish to see decommissioned.

2. Both governments reaffirmed their commitment to securing the launch of all party negotiations. By way of the twin tracks, the two governments' target is to achieve this by the end of February 1996. It is the two governments considered view that, with co-operation from all the relevant parties in both tracks, that objective should prove achievable. Both governments commit themselves to working, with others, to achieve it.

SF Commentary - The target date is not acceptable so the entire paragraph would have to reworked to incorporate a date which is not conditional. In addition the target date given is a full 12 weeks after the setting up of the International Body and 6 weeks after it reports. There is no logic for this delay and it runs counter to the 6 weeks mentioned in the draft Communique for the postponed 6 September Summit and referred to in the Taoiseach's letter to John Major which quotes the joint communique as

"The two government has agreed to work together to create the conditions so that all party talks in round table format aimed at reaching an agreed political settlement based on

consent, could commence (refer to 6 weeks)."

*In the Irish Governments proposals to the British, it states,
"On a date for round table talks the Irish government's position has been, and remains, that a reasonable target date should be set with a clear commitment to make the utmost endeavours in good faith to reach it. The date should be six weeks from the international body commences work".*

Our suggested alternative is;

2. Both governments reaffirm their commitment to all party negotiations and, in consequence, have set () as the date for the commencement of substantive political negotiations, in round table format, to reach an agreed political settlement.

3. To this end, the two governments have agreed to invite the parties to preparatory talks with a remit to achieve (SF amendment - seek) agreement, acceptable to all, on what the basis, participation, structure, format and agenda for subsequent all party political negotiations should be. These talks will have an open agenda, allowing any party to raise any relevant matter, including how best the structure and format of all party negotiations, directed to addressing in a comprehensive way all the relevant relationships in a single process, can properly take account of democratic mandates and principles (SF amendment delete -, including whether and how an elected body could play a part).

SF Commentary - This paragraph is in the main OK with above amendments.

A) The first amendment replaces the requirement to "achieve agreement" in the preparatory talks, which implies a further condition to the start of all-party negotiations, with the words "to seek agreement". The British have already agreed to this amendment and it is in line with the wording in the draft communique for the postponed 6 September summit, and is high-lighted in the Taoiseach's letter to the British Prime Minister;

" The two governments have agreed to work together to create the conditions so that all-party talks in round table format aimed at reaching an agreed political settlement based on consent, could commence [refer to six weeks]. A series of meetings will now be jointly convened by both Governments with all parties to lay the groundwork for these talks. Both governments share the aim of creating conditions in which all the relevant parties will attend these talks and will participate on the most constructive possible basis. "

B) SF's second amendment would remove the explicit reference to an elected body (the Unionist-proposed assembly). It is of course the right of any party to raise any matter or to make any proposal in the preparatory talks, but it is wrong to elevate any one proposal for mention in a joint communique. Full discussion of, and any decision on, this issue is, of course, a matter for the substantive political negotiations. We propose that this reference be deleted.

4. In managing the process of preparatory talks, each (SF amendment - both) governments will build on existing exchanges and bilateral contacts, treating each party on an equal basis, and will encourage other formats for meetings with the parties and among the parties which might further the objective of the preparatory talks.

SF Commentary - This paragraph is generally OK with the one amendment of replacing each with both. The idea of separating out the roles of the two governments is clearly aimed at

*down-grading the role of the Irish government and runs counter to the wording in the draft communique for the postponed 6 September summit, ie;
" A series of meetings will now be jointly convened by both Governments with all parties to lay the groundwork for these [all-party] talks."*

5. In parallel, the two governments have agreed to establish an International Body to provide an independent assessment of the decommissioning (SF amendment - arms) issue.

SF Commentary - with the one amendment of replacing the word "decommission" with the word "arms" this paragraph is acceptable.

The use of the word decommissioning is clearly sectional. The word itself has become highly politicised and carries the implication that the International Body will not accept submissions on of arms other than those which the British government wish to see decommissioned.

6. Recognising the widely held desire to see all weapons removed from Irish politics, the two governments will ask the International Body to report on the arrangements necessary for the removal of - (SF amendment to delete - those arms and other material silenced by the statements of 31 of August 1994 and 13th October 1994 - and replace it with - *arms and other material of war*) from the political equation.

SF Commentary - this paragraph is acceptable also with the amendment above which replaces the reference to "those arms and other material silenced by the statements of 31 of August 1994 and 13th October 1994" which quite explicitly refers only to IRA and loyalist paramilitary weapons, with a more general reference - "arms and other material of war."

7. In particular, the two governments will ask the Body to:

Identify and advise on a suitable and acceptable method for full and verifiable decommissioning; and

report whether there is a clear commitment by or on behalf of those in possession of such arms to a satisfactory process to achieve that.

SF Commentary - this paragraph narrows the remit of the International Body quite explicitly to the modalities of decommissioning and to establishing that those in possession of weapons are committed to decommissioning them (Washington 1&2). This allows the British government absolute freedom to revisit their demand for a surrender of IRA weapons as a precondition to the commencement of all-party talks after the international body has reported.

The entire twin track approach was argued on the basis that it was a way around the unrealisable demand for a surrender of IRA weapons as a precondition to all-party talks. However this text anticipates SF's co-operation with an international body with the British quite explicitly retaining the option of Washington 3. This is obviously not a position we could sell.

The twin track approach is only viable if it removes all preconditions, deals with the arms issue to everyone's satisfaction and moves us into all-party talks.

In addition the second clause requires that the Body reports "whether there is a clear commitment by, or on behalf of, those in possession of such arms to a satisfactory process to achieve(decommissioning).

SF's position is that we are willing to address the issue of IRA arms in an authoritative manner. We would also address the issue of all other weapons involved in the conflict.

The Irish government position is;

"On political parties and arms the formula of the political parties "speaking to the international body authoritatively on the position of IRA/Loyalist weapons and the issue of how the arms can be taken out of Irish politics" represents a reasonable basis for moving forward.

We would therefore suggest that the two points in Paragraph 7 be reworked as follows;

SF Amendment.

7. In particular, the two governments will ask the Body to:

examine whether and in what context and manner the question of arms, now thankfully silenced, could be finally and satisfactorily settled; and

ascertain and advise the two governments on the commitment of the respective political parties to exclusively peaceful and democratic means of influencing the body politic and on their commitment to the removal of all weapons from Irish politics.

8. It will be for the International Body to determine its own procedures. The two governments expect it to consult widely, to invite relevant parties to submit their analysis of the decommissioning (SF amendment to replace the word "decommissioning" with the word "arms") issue and, in reaching conclusions on its remit, to consider such evidence on its merits.

SF Commentary - with the one amendment of replacing the word "decommission" with the word "arms" this paragraph is acceptable.

The use of the word decommissioning is clearly sectional. The word itself has become highly politicised and carries the implication that the International Body will not accept submissions on of arms other than those which the British government wish to see decommissioned.

9. In establishing the Body, the British government reaffirms its willingness to continue to take responsive measures, on the advice of the security forces, as movement on such arms reduces the threat.

SF Commentary - this paragraph is a unilateral British position and has no place in joint communique. The simple way to deal with these problems is to remove this paragraph as it does nothing to enhance the proposal.

10. The two governments have invited Senator George Mitchell to chair the body and have invited [] to serve as the other members of the Body.

SF Commentary - we have no objection to this paragraph subject to agreement on the other

members of the Body.

11. The two governments have asked the Body to submit its report to the two governments by mid-January 1996. Neither government, nor any other party cooperating with the work of the Body, is bound in advance to accept their recommendations (SF amendment to delete - , which will be purely advisory and not operational).

SF Commentary - this paragraph is acceptable with the one amendment to delete the last part of the last sentence. We believe this to be an unnecessary clause as the point is already covered and it smacks of options being kept open.

12. The two governments will consider carefully any recommendations it makes and give them due weight on their merits. (SF Amendment to delete - To this end, and to review progress in preparatory talks and towards the target date for all party negotiations, the two governments plan to meet again by mid-February 1996).

SF Commentary - this paragraph contains the new element of a meeting to consider the findings of an international body. This can only be regarded as a further device for stalling the start of all-party talks and should be removed. A meeting may be necessary, but that should be judged at the time and not written into a joint communique.

On 6, recommend to the British that they accept the Irish change of "weapons" to "arms". Recommend to the Irish that they agree to keep the British language on the arms silenced by the cease-fires and sell it to Sinn Fein on the basis that British as well as paramilitary arms have been silenced. On 7, accept the Irish insert "in the appropriate context and manner" which was accepted by the British in the draft communiqué for September 6.

FALLBACKS

1. Suggest "In parallel, recognizing the widely expressed desire to see all arms removed from Irish politics, the two governments have agreed to establish an international body to provide an independent assessment of the decommissioning issue and to report on the arrangements necessary to resolve it." The rest of 6 and all of 7 would be deleted. Alternative, drop 6 and keep 7.

2. Combine Washington 1&2 along the following lines; "In particular the two governments will ask the body to consult the relevant parties and advise on whether there is a clear commitment to decommissioning and on acceptable and appropriate arrangements to achieve that goal."

Attachments

Text of Washington 1,2,&3

Relevant paragraphs of draft communiqué

Mayhew's Washington 1,2,3 11

- 6 -

We look to Sinn Fein to provide the assurance that this is so. Following that, we need to be clear, for example, that they will join in exploring the various modalities of decommissioning of arms. This would include procedures for verification, the need for independent supervision of the destruction of arms, the different methods of decommissioning and certain practical and legal considerations.

We shall be pressing to achieve three things:

- A willingness in principle to disarm progressively;
- A common practical understanding of the modalities, that is to say what decommissioning would actually entail;
- In order to test the practical arrangements, and to demonstrate good faith, decommissioning of some arms as a tangible confidence building measure and to signal the start of a process.

5. In parallel, the two Governments have agreed to establish an International Body to provide an independent assessment of the decommissioning issue.

6. Recognising the widely expressed desire to see all arms (weapons) removed from Irish politics, the two Governments will ask the International Body to report on the arrangements necessary for the removal ~~from the political equation of arms now silenced~~ (of those arms and other material silenced by the

statements of 31 August, 1994 and 13 October, 1994 from the political equation).

7. In particular, the two Governments will ask the Body to:

identify and advise on a suitable and acceptable method for full and verifiable decommissioning; and

report whether there is a clear commitment on the part of those in possession of such arms to a satisfactory process to achieve that in the appropriate context and manner.

100

eye

Postscript.
2/22

POINTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

Bombings

- President has unequivocally condemned the bombings and expressed his sympathy for the victims and their families. Terrorists must be brought to justice.
- He called both Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton the day of the first attack to extend his sympathy.
- Agreed with them that we cannot allow terrorists to derail peace process; offered to do everything possible to assist them in continuing search for peace.
- As President's visit so graphically demonstrated, people of Northern Ireland clearly want lasting peace. No one has right to deny them that.

Peace Process

- Administration will not be deterred from its support for the peace process.
- Focus of our efforts, and those of the two governments is to restore the cease-fire and move the peace process forward. We will stay in touch with London and Dublin and with all the parties to help find a way to get the peace process back on track.
- We have no current plans to meet with Adams, but we are keeping channels open.
- Policy of Irish and British governments is to keep channels open but not to hold any ministerial level meetings with Sinn Fein until the cease-fire is restored.
- Premature to speculate on details of how the process will move forward from here. Important thing is the wide consensus among governments and parties that it must.
- Irish and British governments are working on this. Hope that Prime Ministers Major and Bruton will meet later this month.

Adams Visa/Fundraising

- First priority is getting the cease-fire restored. Have not taken any decision on Adams' visa or permission to raise funds in the U.S.

What Did Adams Know?

- We do not know who knew what and when. Adams called National Security Advisor Lake shortly before the bomb went off to say he was hearing disturbing rumors, but beyond that, it is all speculation.

Mitchell

- Senator Mitchell was in Europe on other business week of February 19. He met with Prime Ministers Major and Bruton for a discussion of efforts to get the peace process back on track.

Trade and Investment

- U.S. will continue to support economic initiatives for Northern Ireland to help create jobs there. Secretary Brown will host a trade and investment conference later this year. In long run, creating hope and a stake in the future for young people is the way to underpin a lasting peace.

1/25/96

TALKING POINTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

ACTIVE ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT

- President Clinton is first U.S. President to become actively engaged in supporting the search for peace in Northern Ireland.
- Historic visit to Northern Ireland on November 30, 1995 -- also a first -- galvanized support for peace among people of Northern Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic.
- Provided momentum to twin-track strategy for moving the peace process forward which was announced by British and Irish governments November 28.

MITCHELL BODY

- Twin track established international body, chaired by Senator George Mitchell, to look into the issue of decommissioning, in parallel with preliminary political discussions among the two governments and the parties of Northern Ireland.
- Senator Mitchell and his colleagues, General de Chastelain of Canada and Mr. Holkeri of Finland, have held two rounds of intensive consultations with relevant parties, and studied the many written submissions they received.
- They submitted their report to the British and Irish Governments on Monday, January 22. The report was made public on the 24th.
- Essence of the report is recommendation that parties commit to principles of non-violence and use of exclusively peaceful and democratic means of influencing political and constitutional decisions.
- Concept is that acceptance of these principles would address underlying concerns, assure that negotiations not held in atmosphere of threat or intimidation.
- Report also suggests a possible compromise on decommissioning of having it take place during talks, as opposed to before or after. Not a formal recommendation from the international body, but a suggestion.
- Report notes that an elective process that is broadly acceptable could play a useful role in the process.
- Also points to areas where further confidence building measures from both sides, on such issues as missing persons, prisoners, and policing, could help build trust and confidence.

- Report has made a very positive and significant contribution to the peace process. Pleased that a distinguished American, Senator George Mitchell, has played such an important role in moving process forward.
- Important that report be used to advance the process, not picked apart by the different parties. Would hope that parties would consider its recommendations seriously and with an open mind.

POLITICAL TRACK

- Political track has been proceeding while international body received submissions and prepared its report.
- In the political track, the Alliance, SDLP, and Sinn Fein have held trilateral meetings with the two governments. The UUP has maintained its dialogue with the British Government.
- Know governments are discussing range of issues, including ideas elections and further confidence-building measures, that will help reach goal of inclusive all-party talks.
- British and Irish Prime Ministers plan to hold a summit in mid-February at which next steps will be discussed.
- We encourage all parties to show leadership and good-will in actively seeking ways to move the peace process forward.
- Administration intends to remain in contact with the governments and the parties and do whatever we can to support their efforts.
- For long term, will continue to support economic regeneration in Northern Ireland to assure a bright future for its young people. Considering how best to build on the momentum generated at the White House trade and investment conference last May.
- As President has said so many times, U.S. role is not to take sides, or advocate any particular outcome. We support those who stand for peace.

(1/24/96)

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
Shamrock Presentation with Irish Prime Minister Reynolds
March 17, 1994

Good day, ladies and gentlemen. It is my pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Reynolds back to the White House today. This is the second time we have been able to spend St. Patrick's Day together, and it has been a delight.

It is a privilege to accept the bowl of shamrocks the Prime Minister has presented on behalf of the people of Ireland. From the earliest days of this republic, the American Dream has so often been a story of Irish-American achievement. I am reminded of the words of the Irish poet Thomas Kinsella, who urged that we accept "no limit but the possible." That is the spirit that brought so many Irish to our shores, and it enriches our national life still today.

In our meetings, the Prime Minister and I will speak not only of our common bonds but of our community of interests on a number of important issues. Ireland has demonstrated its global commitment to peace time and again, from its work with the United Nations in Lebanon to its peacekeeping role in Somalia. But nowhere is that commitment more in evidence today than Northern Ireland.

We have seen historic progress toward peace since the Taoiseach [TEE-shock], or Prime Minister, was here last year. That progress is in great measure the result of the vision and political courage of both Prime Minister Reynolds and British Prime Minister Major. Both have contended with considerable challenges to ensure this opportunity is not lost.

The Joint Declaration they signed on December 15 remains the best chance for a future of tolerance and reconciliation for Northern Ireland. Especially in the wake of the bomb threats against the London airports, I call upon all those who practice violence for political aims to lay down their arms. Once again, I urge those who have yet to do so to endorse the Joint Declaration as the best way forward. And once again, Mr. Prime Minister, I pledge my nation's support for this courageous peace initiative.

Across this nation today, in parades and classrooms and churches, Americans are rejoicing in the kinship and unique friendship between our nations. Tonight, Prime Minister Reynolds and I will join what promises to be a lively celebration of Ireland at the White House with Irish-Americans from across the country. I look forward to that celebration, and I look forward to working with the Prime Minister, on St. Patrick's Day and every day, in pursuit of peace and prosperity for both our peoples in the spirit of "no limit but the possible."

29 September 1995

Statement from the Irish Republican Army

Thirteen months ago the IRA announced a complete cessation of military operations. We did so to enhance the opportunity which existed, at that time, given political will on all sides, for the realisation of a just and lasting settlement.

We wish Sinn Fein every success in the current efforts to break the impasse created by the British government's new and unreasonable demand for a handing over of IRA weapons.

The entire decommission issue is a deliberate distraction and stalling tactic by a British government acting in bad faith.

John Major's government know enough of Anglo Irish history to understand that there is no possibility of disarmament except as part of a negotiated settlement. Given that history and the reality that they and their loyalist death squad allies hold the largest stock of licensed and unlicensed weapons the demand for an IRA hand over of weapons is ludicrous.

There is no possibility of the IRA meeting these demands.

The statement was signed P. O'Neill, Irish Republican Bureau, Dublin.

TL/NES

As previewed by Adams.

MAP

STMTS

POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Votes cast in the last General Election for UK Parliament
9 April 1992

Party	Num. of Votes	% of Votes
Ulster Unionist Party	271,049	34.5
Social Democratic and Labour Party	184,445	23.5
Democratic Unionist Party	103,309	13.1
Sinn Fein	78,291	10.0
Alliance Party	68,665	8.7
Conservative Party	44,608	5.7
Ulster Popular Unionist Party	19,305	2.5
Workers' Party	4,359	0.6
Independent Unionists	2,256	0.3
Natural Law Party	2,147	0.3
Noise Abatement	2,133	0.3
Independent	1,996	0.3
Labour and Trade Union	1,264	0.2
Independent Progressive Socialists	1,094	0.1
Loony Green	442	0.0
TOTAL	785,363	100.1

(Based on: Whitaker's Almanack 1994.)

08/31/94 08:28
AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN

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EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

F A X

31 AUGUST 1994

FOR: MS NANCY SODERBERG
SPECIAL ASST TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL COLLINS
POLITICAL COUNSELLOR

Attached are:-

- - Irish Government statement on IRA ceasefire
- IRA statement

(TOTAL NO OF PAGES: 4)

TRANSMITTING OPERATOR: N CES

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EMBASSY OF IRELAND

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT ON IRA CEASEFIRE

"The Government warmly welcome the decision of the IRA to end their 25 year campaign and to make a definitive commitment to the success of the democratic peace process. This momentous decision is in keeping with the overwhelming and heartfelt wish for peace of the vast majority of the Irish people over a long period, and will be greeted with enthusiasm by our friends and partners abroad.

The Government look forward to seeing the decision for peace being fully implemented on the ground, and to reciprocal action in good faith by all other groups engaged in paramilitary activity, as has been promised in the past. There is a heavy onus on all, on both Governments and all constitutional parties, to contribute actively to the consolidation of peace by a generous and flexible approach. The next step should lead to the negotiation on an all-round inclusive basis of a just and lasting political settlement between the people of Ireland North and South of all traditions.

There is now an historic opportunity to take the gun out of Irish politics forever, and to achieve a new and far-reaching political accommodation in Ireland in a transformed atmosphere. The aim of both Governments is an agreed Ireland, where the principle of self-determination is balanced by the requirement of consent.

We can also look forward to major economic benefits North and South from the establishment of peace, as well as material support for reconstruction in the North and the border regions from the US and EU.

There is now a recognition that the democratic system provides the only way forward for all groups and communities in Ireland. Both Governments are committed to the Downing Street Declaration. It has been the major catalyst for peace, and makes democracy the cornerstone of all future political development. It provides guarantees against coercion to all sections of the community. Those who have felt themselves to be under attack or under threat, whether Unionists or Nationalists, will particularly benefit from the establishment of a comprehensive peace.

All of us deeply regret the tragic loss of life on all sides of the last 25 years. We will continue to sympathise with the surviving victims, and with all the relatives and friends of those who have died. We must salute the courage and the sacrifices of those on both sides of the border who have protected the community without fear or favour in accordance with their duty and the rule of law.

The Government hope that it will now soon be possible to close forever this long and violent chapter in our history and that it will never be repeated. We must put the past behind us. The main task ahead is to build a new trust and foster a spirit of reconciliation between all the people on this island."

* * * *

31 August 1994

AS REQUESTED

IRA STATEMENT

"Recognising the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the democratic peace process and underline our definitive commitment to its success the leadership of Oglagh na hEireann have decided that as of midnight, Wednesday, August 31st, there will be a complete cessation of military operations.

All our units have been instructed accordingly.

At this historic cross-roads, the leadership of the IRA salutes and commends our volunteers, other activists, our supporters and the political prisoners who have sustained this struggle against all odds for the past 25 years.

Your courage, determination and sacrifices have demonstrated that the spirit of freedom and the desire for peace based on a just and lasting settlement cannot be crushed. We remember all those who have died for Irish freedom and we reiterate our Republican objectives.

Our struggle has seen many gains and advances made by nationalists and for the democratic position. We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has been created.

We are therefore entering into a new situation in a spirit of determination and confidence, determined that the injustices which created this conflict will be removed and confident in the strength and justice of our struggle to achieve this.

We note that the Downing Street Declaration is not a solution nor was it presented as such by its authors. A solution will only be found as a result of inclusive negotiations. Others, not least the British Government, have a duty to face up to their responsibilities.

It is our desire to significantly contribute to the creation of a climate which will encourage this. We urge everyone to approach this situation with energy, determination and patience."

END

31 August 1994

Joint Statement

SDLP and Sinn Féin

Sdip Leader John Hume

Mark Durkan

Denis Haughey

Alban Maginnis

Alex Attwood

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams

Mitchel McLaughlin

Tom Hartley

Una Gillespie

Conor Murphy

29/8/95

29th August 1995

1 The past year has seen significant and far-reaching changes which have transformed the political situation in Ireland, and brought a peaceful resolution of our problems within reach. The necessary dialogue which lies ahead, involving both governments and all parties, will be difficult. No-one should be afraid of dialogue, however, and no-one should set obstacles in the way of its commencement and development. It is the only possible way forward.

2 For a peace process to be successful it must be based upon principles which address the substantive issues and contain the dynamic to move the situation forward. Arising from the dialogue initiated by our party leaders John Hume and Gerry Adams our respective parties have recognised from the outset a number of essential basic principles;

a Peace and how it can best be achieved is the most pressing issue facing the peoples of Ireland and Britain.

b Failures in the past to settle the relationships between the peoples of both islands on the basis of a peaceful and democratic accord has led to permanent instability and continuing conflict.

c A permanent peace can only be achieved by creating institutions which have the loyalty of all sections of our people thus automatically

removing the underlying causes of conflict and instability.

d The relationships between the people of Ireland must be addressed and ultimately agreed by the people of Ireland themselves.

e We accept that the People of Ireland as a whole have a right to national self-determination. This is a view shared by the majority of the people of this island, though not by all its people. The exercise of self-determination is a matter for agreement between the people of Ireland. We are mindful that not all the people of Ireland share that view or agree on how to give meaningful expression to it. Indeed we do not seek to disguise the different views held by our own parties.

3 There is a widespread acceptance that we now have the opportunity to establish peace - it must be grasped. There is an urgent need for the commencement of all party peace talks. These are necessary for the achievement of an agreed and lasting settlement. We call upon the two governments to set a date in September to initiate this critical new phase of the peace process.

4 We both recognise that a new agreement is only achievable and viable if it can earn and enjoy the allegiance of the different traditions on this island by accommodating diversity and providing for national reconciliation.

5 We are convinced that a democratic process can be designed to lead to agreement amongst the divided people of this island which will permit for continued political evolution and provide a solid base for

peace.

6 The collective experiences of the past 75 years make it self-evident that an internal settlement in the North is not a solution, as such a solution fails to deal with all the relationships that go to the heart of the problem.

7 In 1988 both our parties agreed that in a new situation, such as that which has now been created, that we would co-operate to ensure that all people in Ireland were treated equally, that their traditions would be respected and that no section or people would feel, or be treated, as second-class citizens. To this end, delegations from Sinn Féin and the SDLP are engaged in a series of meetings intended to improve mutual understanding and to develop agreement on resolving the underlying grievances which have fuelled past conflict and towards promoting the social, economic and cultural life of all our people. Each party is equally committed to engaging with other parties on the basis of these objectives and is actively pursuing contacts to this effect.

8 Neither party seek preferential treatment or privilege for any section of our people. We seek equality of treatment before the law and parity of esteem for all traditions on this island.

9 The issues which require immediate attention and visible progress fall into three broad categories: political, economic and cultural.

Political

a The political process must be speedily advanced in a constructive and positive atmosphere. Both governments and all parties must be treated and treat with each other on an equal basis. No political party should be nor should they feel in any way excluded from the process because of contrived pre-conditions.

b One immediate objective of the peace process should be to ensure that we create an environment in which no tradition feels threatened.

c All issues, constitutional and political which go to the heart of our problem must be on the table for negotiations. Central questions are obviously the creation of institutions of order, including police and judicial services, which have the allegiance, loyalty and participation of all sections of our people and the removal of all emergency legislation. Other matters that will have to be settled satisfactorily are the questions of the prison population which has arisen from the troubles and of course the question of all arms, now thankfully silent.

Economic

d The immense support, commitment and determination to promote economic reconstruction which is now evident in so many quarters, require an energetic and concerted response from all our respective parties. The strategy for economic reconstruction must be one which is socially inclusive directing special attention at those groups and areas which have experienced and continue to experience serious social and economic disadvantage. In this context initiatives to ensure fair employment remain a high priority. Effective

affirmative action programmes to ensure its achievement, and an end to discrimination and the provision of equality of opportunity must be central.

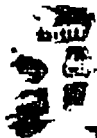
Cultural

e The cultural diversity of our people must be respected and developed on all fronts not least the Irish Language as well as sport and other cultural pursuits all of which add to the richness of our society.

10 The process of building a lasting peace is a problematic and difficult one. It will of course require courage, flexibility and imagination. Everyone has a solemn duty to change the political climate away from conflict and towards a process of national reconciliation which sees the peaceful accommodation of the differences between the people of Britain and Ireland and the Irish People themselves.

11

The coming year should be a year of opportunity and we hope a watershed year in the search for a permanent resolution to the conflict in our country.



Sinn Féin

Nuacht ráiteas/News release

For immediate release: 1/9/95

Summit of Critical Importance

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has warned the British government "not to misread the seriousness of the current crisis".

The Sinn Féin President described Wednesday's summit as of "critical importance" and reminded the Irish government that it "now shoulders the historical and political responsibility for moving the peace process decisively and urgently forward into all-party peace talks".

Mr Adams said:

"The British government must not misread the seriousness of the current crisis. Neither should either of the participants underestimate the critical importance of next weeks summit.

"The summit must produce a clear indication that all-party peace talks are to commence by a given date if this crisis in the peace process is not to deepen."

The Sinn Féin President added:

"The demand for an IRA surrender of weapons or for the IRA to co-operate with an International Commission to oversee such a surrender, as a precondition for peace talks, provides Sinn Féin with absolutely no room to manoeuvre. The British government knows this.

"There is a transparent attempt underway by the British government, through controlled leaks, innuendo, public comments and private briefings to unnerve people and set the perimeters for Chequers significantly lower than those required by the urgency of the current situation.

"These predictable manoeuvres by London must not succeed. The demand for substantial progress, arising out of the political vacuum caused by London's stalling tactics, now lies at the heart of the crisis.

Its high risk strategy is intended to stall, delay and reduce the momentum of the peace process to a point where London can take control and dictate the terms of a settlement.

Consequently there is a heavy onus on the Irish government not to allow the best chance in generations for a lasting peace to be squandered by the British government. The Irish government now shoulders the historical and political responsibility for moving the peace process decisively and urgently forward into all-party peace talks."

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Mr Adams concluded:

"This is not a game of chess. The peace process is a life and death effort to put behind us the tragedy of the past. That can only occur when all of the parties are engaged, as equals, in serious and substantive multilateral negotiations on all of the issues. This can only happen when the British government faces up to its responsibilities. The British government cannot be permitted to dictate the terms of the forthcoming summit or to create a situation where the summit delivers the British position.

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT

A shared understanding between the British and Irish Governments to assist discussion and negotiation involving the Northern Ireland parties

1. The Joint Declaration acknowledges that the most urgent and important issue facing the people of Ireland, North and South, and the British and Irish Governments together, is to remove the causes of conflict, to overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted.
2. Both Governments recognise that there is much for deep regret on all sides in the long and often tragic history of Anglo-Irish relations, and of relations in Ireland. They believe it is now time to lay aside, with dignity and forbearance, the mistakes of the past. A collective effort is needed to create, through agreement and reconciliation, a new beginning founded on consent, for relationships within Northern

Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands. The Joint Declaration itself represents an important step towards this goal, offering the people of Ireland, North and South, whatever their tradition, the basis to agree that from now on their differences can be negotiated and resolved exclusively by peaceful political means.

3. The announcements made by the Irish Republican Army on 31 August 1994 and the Combined Loyalist Military Command on 13 October 1994 are a welcome response to the profound desire of people throughout these islands for a permanent end to the violence which caused such immense suffering and waste and served only to reinforce the barriers of fear and hatred, impeding the search for agreement.
4. A climate of peace enables the process of healing to begin. It transforms the prospects for political progress, building on that already made in the Talks process. Everyone now has a role to play in moving irreversibly beyond the failures of the past and creating new relationships capable of perpetuating peace with freedom and justice.
5. In the Joint Declaration both Governments set themselves the aim of fostering agreement and reconciliation, leading to a new political framework founded on consent. A vital dimension of this three-stranded process is the search, through dialogue with the relevant Northern Ireland parties, for new institutions and structures to take account of the totality of relationships and to enable the people of Ireland to work together in all areas of common interest while fully respecting their diversity.

6. Both Governments are conscious of the widespread desire, throughout both islands and more widely, to see negotiations underway as soon as possible. They also acknowledge the many requests, from parties in Northern Ireland and elsewhere, for both Governments to set out their views on how agreement might be reached on relationships within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands.
7. In this Framework Document both Governments therefore describe a shared understanding reached between them on the parameters of a possible outcome to the Talks process, consistent with the Joint Declaration and the statement of 26 March 1991. Through this they hope to give impetus and direction to the process and to show that a fair and honourable accommodation can be envisaged across all the relationships, which would enable people to work constructively for their mutual benefit, without compromising the essential principles or the long-term aspirations or interests of either tradition or of either community.
8. Both Governments are aware that the approach in this document presents challenges to strongly-held positions on all sides. However, a new beginning in relationships means addressing fundamental issues in a new way and inevitably requires significant movement from all sides. This document is not a rigid blueprint to be imposed but both Governments believe it sets out a realistic and balanced framework for agreement which could be achieved, with flexibility and goodwill on all sides, in comprehensive negotiations with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland. In this spirit, both Governments offer this document for consideration and accordingly strongly commend it to the parties, the people in the island of Ireland and more widely.

9. The primary objective of both Governments in their approach to Northern Ireland is to promote and establish agreement among the people of the island of Ireland, building on the Joint Declaration. To this end they will both deploy their political resources with the aim of securing a new and comprehensive agreement involving the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland and commanding the widest possible support.
10. They take as guiding principles for their co-operation in search of this agreement:
- (i) the principle of self-determination, as set out in the Joint Declaration;
 - (ii) that the consent of the governed is an essential ingredient for stability in any political arrangement;
 - (iii) that agreement must be pursued and established by exclusively democratic, peaceful means, without resort to violence or coercion;
 - (iv) that any new political arrangements must be based on full respect for, and protection and expression of, the rights and identities of both traditions in Ireland and even-handedly afford both communities in Northern Ireland parity of esteem and treatment, including equality of opportunity and advantage.
11. They acknowledge that in Northern Ireland, unlike the situation which prevails elsewhere throughout both islands, there is a fundamental absence of consensus about constitutional issues. There are deep

divisions between the members of the two main traditions living there over their respective senses of identity and allegiance, their views on the present status of Northern Ireland and their vision of future relationships in Ireland and between the two islands. However, the two Governments also recognise that the large majority of people, in both parts of Ireland, are at one in their commitment to the democratic process and in their desire to resolve political differences by peaceful means.

12. In their search for political agreement, based on consent, the two Governments are determined to address in a fresh way all of the relationships involved. Their aim is to overcome the legacy of division by reconciling the rights of both traditions in the fullest and most equitable manner. They will continue to work towards and encourage the achievement of agreement, so as to realise the goal set out in the statement of 26 March 1991 of "a new beginning for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands".
13. The two Governments will work together with the parties to achieve a comprehensive accommodation, the implementation of which would include interlocking and mutually supportive institutions across the three strands, including:
- (a) Structures within Northern Ireland (paragraphs 22 and 23) — to enable elected representatives in Northern Ireland to exercise shared administrative and legislative control over all those matters that can be agreed across both communities and which can most effectively and appropriately be dealt with at that level;

- (b) North/South institutions (paragraphs 24-38) — with clear identity and purpose, to enable representatives of democratic institutions, North and South, to enter into new, co-operative and constructive relationships; to promote agreement among the people of the island of Ireland; to carry out on a democratically accountable basis delegated executive, harmonising and consultative functions over a range of designated matters to be agreed; and to serve to acknowledge and reconcile the rights, identities and aspirations of the two major traditions;
- (c) East-West structures (paragraphs 39-49) — to enhance the existing basis for co-operation between the two Governments, and to promote, support and underwrite the fair and effective operation of the new arrangements.

Constitutional Issues

- 14. Both Governments accept that agreement on an overall settlement requires, inter alia, a balanced accommodation of the differing views of the two main traditions on the constitutional issues in relation to the special position of Northern Ireland.
- 15. Given the absence of consensus and depth of divisions between the two main traditions in Northern Ireland, the two Governments agree that such an accommodation will involve an agreed new approach to the traditional constitutional doctrines on both sides. This would be aimed at enhancing and codifying the fullest attainable measure of consent across both traditions in Ireland and fostering the growth of consensus between them.

- 16. In their approach to Northern Ireland they will apply the principle of self-determination by the people of Ireland on the basis set out in the Joint Declaration: the British Government recognise that it is for the people of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish; the Irish Government accept that the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.
- 17. New arrangements should be in accordance with the commitments in the Anglo-Irish Agreement and in the Joint Declaration. They should acknowledge that it would be wrong to make any change in the status of Northern Ireland save with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. If in future a majority of the people there wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, the two Governments will introduce and support legislation to give effect to that wish.
- 18. Both Governments recognise that Northern Ireland's current constitutional status reflects and relies upon the present wish of a majority of its people. They also acknowledge that at present a substantial minority of its people wish for a united Ireland. Reaffirming the commitment to encourage, facilitate and enable the achievement of agreement over a period among all the people who inhabit the island, they acknowledge that the option of a sovereign united Ireland does not command the consent of the unionist tradition, nor does the existing

status of Northern Ireland command the consent of the nationalist tradition. Against this background, they acknowledge the need for new arrangements and structures — to reflect the reality of diverse aspirations, to reconcile as fully as possible the rights of both traditions, and to promote co-operation between them, so as to foster the process of developing agreement and consensus between all the people of Ireland.

19. They agree that future arrangements relating to Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland's wider relationships, should respect the full and equal legitimacy and worth of the identity, sense of allegiance, aspiration and ethos of both the unionist and nationalist communities there. Consequently, both Governments commit themselves to the principle that institutions and arrangements in Northern Ireland and North/South institutions should afford both communities secure and satisfactory political, administrative and symbolic expression and protection. In particular, they commit themselves to entrenched provisions guaranteeing equitable and effective political participation for whichever community finds itself in a minority position by reference to the Northern Ireland framework, or the wider Irish framework, as the case may be, consequent upon the operation of the principle of consent.

20. The British Government reaffirm that they will uphold the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland on the issue of whether they prefer to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland. On this basis, they reiterate that they have no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. For as long as the democratic wish of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change in its present

status, the British Government pledge that their jurisdiction there will be exercised with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people of Northern Ireland in their diversity. It will be founded on the principles outlined in the previous paragraph with emphasis on full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights and freedom from discrimination for all citizens, on parity of esteem, and on just and equal treatment for the identity, ethos and aspirations of both communities. The British Government will discharge their responsibilities in a way which does not prejudice the freedom of the people of Northern Ireland to determine, by peaceful and democratic means, its future constitutional status, whether in remaining a part of the United Kingdom or in forming part of a united Ireland. They will be equally cognizant of either option and open to its democratic realisation, and will not impede the latter option, their primary interest being to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among the people who inhabit the island. This new approach for Northern Ireland, based on the continuing willingness to accept the will of a majority of the people there, will be enshrined in British constitutional legislation embodying the principles and commitments in the Joint Declaration and this Framework Document, either by amendment of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 or by its replacement by appropriate new legislation, and appropriate new provisions entrenched by agreement.

21. As part of an agreement confirming the foregoing understanding between the two Governments on constitutional issues, the Irish Government will introduce and support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution to implement the commitments in the Joint Declaration. These changes in the Irish Constitution will fully reflect

the principle of consent in Northern Ireland and demonstrably be such that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted, while maintaining the existing birthright of everyone born in either jurisdiction in Ireland to be part, as of right, of the Irish nation. They will enable a new Agreement to be ratified which will include, as part of a new and equitable dispensation for Northern Ireland embodying the principles and commitments in the Joint Declaration and this Framework Document, recognition by both Governments of the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland.

Structures in Northern Ireland

22. Both Governments recognise that new political structures within Northern Ireland must depend on the co-operation of elected representatives there. They confirm that cross-community agreement is an essential requirement for the establishment and operation of such structures. They strongly favour and will support provision for cross-community consensus in relation to decisions affecting the basic rights, concerns and fundamental interests of both communities, for example on the lines adumbrated in Strand 1 discussions in the 1992 round-table talks.
23. While the principles and overall context for such new structures are a recognised concern of both Governments in the exercise of their respective responsibilities, they consider that the structures themselves

would be most effectively negotiated, as part of a comprehensive three-stranded process, in direct dialogue involving the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland who would be called upon to operate them.

North/South Institutions

24. Both Governments consider that new institutions should be created to cater adequately for present and future political, social and economic inter-connections on the island of Ireland, enabling representatives of the main traditions, North and South, to enter agreed dynamic, new, co-operative and constructive relationships.
25. Both Governments agree that these institutions should include a North/South body involving Heads of Department on both sides and duly established and maintained by legislation in both sovereign Parliaments. This body would bring together these Heads of Department representing the Irish Government and new democratic institutions in Northern Ireland, to discharge or oversee delegated executive, harmonising or consultative functions, as appropriate, over a range of matters which the two Governments designate in the first instance in agreement with the parties or which the two administrations, North and South, subsequently agree to designate. It is envisaged that, in determining functions to be discharged or overseen by the North/South body, whether by executive action, harmonisation or consultation, account will be taken of:
 - i the common interest in a given matter on the part of both parts of the island; or
 - ii the mutual advantage of addressing a matter together; or

- iii the mutual benefit which may derive from it being administered by the North/South body; or
- iv the achievement of economies of scale and the avoidance of unnecessary duplication of effort.

In relevant posts in each of the two administrations participation in the North/South body would be a duty of service. Both Governments believe that the legislation should provide for a clear institutional identity and purpose for the North/South body. It would also establish the body's terms of reference, legal status and arrangements for political, legal, administrative and financial accountability. The North/South body could operate through, or oversee, a range of functionally-related subsidiary bodies or other entities established to administer designated functions on an all-island or cross-border basis.

26. Specific arrangements would need to be developed to apply to EU matters. Any EU matter relevant to the competence of either administration could be raised for consideration in the North/South body. Across all designated matters and in accordance with the delegated functions, both Governments agree that the body will have an important role, with their support and co-operation and in consultation with them, in developing on a continuing basis an agreed approach for the whole island in respect of the challenges and opportunities of the European Union. In respect of matters designated at the executive level, which would include all EC programmes and initiatives to be implemented on a cross-border or island-wide basis in Ireland, the body itself would be responsible, subject to the Treaty obligations of each Government, for the implementation and management of EC policies and programmes on a joint basis. This

would include the preparation, in consultation with the two Governments, of joint submissions under EC programmes and initiatives and their joint monitoring and implementation, although individual projects could be implemented either jointly or separately.

27. Both Governments envisage regular and frequent meetings of the North/South body:
 - to discharge the functions agreed for it in relation to a range of matters designated for treatment on an all-Ireland or cross-border basis;
 - to oversee the work of subsidiary bodies.
28. The two Governments envisage that legislation in the sovereign Parliaments should designate those functions which should, from the outset, be discharged or overseen by the North/South body; and they will seek agreement on these, as on other features of North/South arrangements, in discussion with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland. It would also be open to the North/South body to recommend to the respective administrations and legislatures for their consideration that new functions should be designated to be discharged or overseen by that body; and to recommend that matters already designated should be moved on the scale between consultation, harmonisation and executive action. Within those responsibilities transferred to new institutions in Northern Ireland, the British Government have no limits of their own to impose on the nature and extent of functions which could be agreed for designation at the outset or, subsequently, between the Irish Government and the Northern Ireland administration. Both Governments expect that significant

responsibilities, including meaningful functions at executive level, will be a feature of such agreement. The British Government believe that, in principle, any function devolved to the institutions in Northern Ireland could be so designated, subject to any necessary savings in respect of the British Government's powers and duties, for example to ensure compliance with EU and international obligations. The Irish Government also expect to designate a comparable range of functions.

29. Although both Governments envisage that representatives of North and South in the body could raise for discussion any matter of interest to either side which falls within the competence of either administration, it is envisaged, as already mentioned, that its designated functions would fall into three broad categories:

consultative: the North/South body would be a forum where the two sides would consult on any aspect of designated matters on which either side wished to hold consultations. Both sides would share a duty to exchange information and to consult about existing and future policy, though there would be no formal requirement that agreement would be reached or that policy would be harmonised or implemented jointly, but the development of mutual understanding or common or agreed positions would be the general goal;

harmonising: in respect of these designated responsibilities there would be, in addition to the duty to exchange information and to consult on the formulation of policy, an obligation on both sides to use their best endeavours to reach agreement on a common policy and to make determined efforts to overcome any obstacles in the

way of that objective, even though its implementation might be undertaken by the two administrations separately;

executive: in the case of these designated responsibilities the North/South body would itself be directly responsible for the establishment of an agreed policy and for its implementation on a joint basis. It would however be open to the body, where appropriate, to agree that the implementation of the agreed policy would be undertaken either by existing bodies, acting in an agency capacity, whether jointly or separately, North and South, or by new bodies specifically created and mandated for this purpose.

30. In this light, both Governments are continuing to give consideration to the range of functions that might, with the agreement of the parties, be designated at the outset and accordingly they will be ready to make proposals in that regard in future discussions with the relevant Northern Ireland parties.
31. By way of illustration, it is intended that these proposals would include at the executive level a range of functions, clearly defined in scope, from within the following broad categories:
- sectors involving a natural or physical all-Ireland framework;
 - EC programmes and initiatives;
 - marketing and promotion activities abroad;
 - culture and heritage.
32. Again, by way of illustration, the Governments would make proposals

at the harmonising level for a broader range of functions, clearly defined in scope (including, as appropriate, relevant EU aspects), from within the following categories:

aspects of –

agriculture and fisheries;

industrial development;

consumer affairs;

transport;

energy;

trade;

health;

social welfare;

education; and

economic policy.

33. By way of example, the category of agriculture and fisheries might include agricultural and fisheries research, training and advisory services, and animal welfare; health might include co-operative ventures in medical, paramedical and nursing training, cross-border provision of hospital services and major emergency/accident planning; and education might include mutual recognition of teacher qualifications, co-operative ventures in higher education, in teacher training, in education for mutual understanding and in education for specialised needs.

34. The Governments also expect that a wide range of functions would be designated at the consultative level.

35. Both Governments envisage that all decisions within the body would be by agreement between the two sides. The Heads of Department on each side would operate within the overall terms of reference mandated by legislation in the two sovereign Parliaments. They would exercise their powers in accordance with the rules for democratic authority and accountability for this function in force in the Oireachtas and in new institutions in Northern Ireland. The operation of the North/South body's functions would be subject to regular scrutiny in agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland and the Oireachtas respectively.

36. Both Governments expect that there would be a Parliamentary Forum, with representatives from agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland and members of the Oireachtas, to consider a wide range of matters of mutual interest.

37. Both Governments envisage that the framework would include administrative support staffed jointly by members of the Northern Ireland Civil Service and the Irish Civil Service. They also envisage that both administrations will need to arrange finance for the North/South body and its agencies on the basis that these constitute a necessary public function.

38. Both Governments envisage that this new framework should serve to help heal the divisions among the communities on the island of Ireland; provide a forum for acknowledging the respective identities and requirements of the two major traditions; express and enlarge the mutual acceptance of the validity of those traditions; and promote understanding and agreement among the people and institutions in both parts of the island. The remit of the body should be dynamic,

enabling progressive extension by agreement of its functions to new areas. Its role should develop to keep pace with the growth of harmonisation and with greater integration between the two economies.

East-West Structures

39. Both Governments envisage a new and more broadly-based Agreement, developing and extending their co-operation, reflecting the totality of relationships between the two islands, and dedicated to fostering co-operation, reconciliation and agreement in Ireland at all levels.
40. They intend that under such a new Agreement a standing Intergovernmental Conference will be maintained, chaired by the designated Irish Minister and by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. It would be supported by a Permanent Secretariat of civil servants from both Governments.
41. The Conference will be a forum through which the two Governments will work together in pursuance of their joint objectives of securing agreement and reconciliation amongst the people of the island of Ireland and of laying the foundations for a peaceful and harmonious future based on mutual trust and understanding between them.
42. The Conference will provide a continuing institutional expression for the Irish Government's recognised concern and role in relation to Northern Ireland. The Irish Government will put forward views and proposals on issues falling within the ambit of the new Conference or involving both Governments, and determined efforts will be made to

resolve any differences between the two Governments. The Conference will be the principal instrument for an intensification of the co-operation and partnership between both Governments, with particular reference to the principles contained in the Joint Declaration, in this Framework Document and in the new Agreement, on a wide range of issues concerned with Northern Ireland and with the relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland. It will facilitate the promotion of lasting peace, stability, justice and reconciliation among the people of the island of Ireland and maintenance of effective security co-operation between the two Governments.

43. Both Governments believe that there should also be provision in the Agreement for developing co-operation between the two Governments and both islands on a range of "East-West" issues and bilateral matters of mutual interest not covered by other specific arrangements, either through the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council, the Conference or otherwise.
44. Both Governments accept that issues of law and order in Northern Ireland are closely intertwined with the issues of political consensus. For so long as these matters are not devolved, it will be for the Governments to consider ways in which a climate of peace, new institutions and the growth of political agreement may offer new possibilities and opportunities for enhancing community identification with policing in Northern Ireland, while maintaining the most effective possible deployment of the resources of each Government in their common determination to combat crime and prevent any possible recourse to the use or threat of violence for political ends, from any source whatsoever.

45. The Governments envisage that matters for which responsibility is transferred to new political institutions in Northern Ireland will be excluded from consideration in the Conference, except to the extent that the continuing responsibilities of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland are relevant, or that cross-border aspects of transferred issues are not otherwise provided for, or in the circumstances described in the following paragraph.

46. The Intergovernmental Conference will be a forum for the two Governments jointly to keep under review the workings of the Agreement and to promote, support and underwrite the fair and effective operation of all its provisions and the new arrangements established under it. Where either Government considers that any institution, established as part of the overall accommodation, is not properly functioning within the Agreement or that a breach of the Agreement has otherwise occurred, the Conference shall consider the matter on the basis of a shared commitment to arrive at a common position or, where that is not possible, to agree a procedure to resolve the difference between them. If the two Governments conclude that a breach has occurred in any of the above circumstances, either Government may make proposals for remedy and adequate measures to redress the situation shall be taken. However, each Government will be responsible for the implementation of such measures of redress within its own jurisdiction. There would be no derogation from the sovereignty of either Government; each will retain responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction.

47. In the event that devolved institutions in Northern Ireland ceased to operate, and direct rule from Westminster was reintroduced, the British Government agree that other arrangements would be made to implement the commitment to promote co-operation at all levels between the people, North and South, representing both traditions in Ireland, as agreed by the two Governments in the Joint Declaration, and to ensure that the co-operation that had been developed through the North/South body be maintained.

48. Both Governments envisage that representatives of agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland may be formally associated with the work of the Conference, in a manner and to an extent to be agreed by both Governments after consultation with them. This might involve giving them advance notice of what is to be discussed in the Conference, enabling them to express views to either Government and inviting them to participate in various aspects of the work of the Conference. Other more structured arrangements could be devised by agreement.

49. The Conference will also be a framework for consultation and coordination between both Governments and the new North/South institutions, where the wider role of the two Governments is particularly relevant to the work of those institutions, for example in a coordinated approach on EU issues. It would be for consideration by both Governments, in consultation with the relevant parties in the North, or with the institutions after they have been established, whether to achieve this through formal or ad hoc arrangements.

Protection of Rights

50. There is a large body of support, transcending the political divide, for the comprehensive protection and guarantee of fundamental human rights. Acknowledging this, both Governments envisage that the arrangements set out in this Framework Document will be complemented and underpinned by an explicit undertaking in the Agreement on the part of each Government, equally, to ensure in its jurisdiction in the island of Ireland, in accordance with its constitutional arrangements, the systematic and effective protection of common specified civil, political, social and cultural rights. They will discuss and seek agreement with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland as to what rights should be so specified and how they might best be further protected, having regard to each Government's overall responsibilities including its international obligations. Each Government will introduce appropriate legislation in its jurisdiction to give effect to any such measure of agreement.
51. In addition, both Governments would encourage democratic representatives from both jurisdictions in Ireland to adopt a Charter or Covenant, which might reflect and endorse agreed measures for the protection of the fundamental rights of everyone living in Ireland. It could also pledge a commitment to mutual respect and to the civil rights and religious liberties of both communities, including:
- the right of free political thought,
 - the right to freedom and expression of religion,
 - the right to pursue democratically national and political aspirations,

- the right to seek constitutional change by peaceful and legitimate means,
- the right to live wherever one chooses without hindrance,
- the right to equal opportunity in all social and economic activity, regardless of class, creed, gender or colour.

52. This Charter or Covenant might also contain a commitment to the principle of consent in the relationships between the two traditions in Ireland. It could incorporate also an enduring commitment on behalf of all the people of the island to guarantee and protect the rights, interests, ethos and dignity of the unionist community in any all-Ireland framework that might be developed with consent in the future, to at least the same extent as provided for the nationalist community in the context of Northern Ireland under the structures and provisions of the new Agreement.
53. The Covenant might also affirm on behalf of all traditions in Ireland a solemn commitment to the exclusively peaceful resolution of all differences between them including in relation to all issues of self-determination, and a solemn repudiation of all recourse to violence between them for any political end or purpose.

Conclusion

54. Both Governments agree that the issues set out in this Framework Document should be examined in the most comprehensive attainable negotiations with democratically mandated political parties in Northern Ireland which abide exclusively by peaceful means and wish to join in dialogue on the way ahead.

55. Both Governments intend that the outcome of these negotiations will be submitted for democratic ratification through referendums, North and South.

56. Both Governments believe that the present climate of peace, which owes much to the imagination, courage and steadfastness of all those who have suffered from violence, offers the best prospect for the Governments and the parties in Northern Ireland to work to secure agreement and consent to a new political accommodation. To accomplish that would be an inestimable prize for all, and especially for people living in Northern Ireland, who have so much to gain from such an accommodation, in which the divisions of the past are laid aside for ever and differences are resolved by exclusively political means. Both Governments believe that a new political dispensation, such as they set out in this Framework Document, achieved through agreement and reconciliation and founded on the principle of consent, would achieve that objective and transform relationships in Northern Ireland, in the island of Ireland and between both islands.

57. With agreement, co-operation to the mutual benefit of all living in Ireland could develop without impediment, attaining its full potential for stimulating economic growth and prosperity. New arrangements could return power, authority and responsibility to locally-elected representatives in Northern Ireland on a basis acceptable to both sides of the community, enabling them to work together for the common welfare and interests of all the community. The diversity of identities and allegiances could be regarded by all as a source of mutual enrichment, rather than a threat to either side. The divisive issue of sovereignty might cease to be symbolic of the domination of one

community over another. It would instead be for decision under agreed ground-rules, fair and balanced towards both aspirations, through a process of democratic persuasion governed by the principle of consent rather than by threat, fear or coercion. In such circumstances the Governments hope that the relationship between the traditions in Northern Ireland could become a positive bond of further understanding, co-operation and amity, rather than a source of contention, between the wider British and Irish democracies.

58. Accordingly the British and Irish Governments offer for consideration and strongly commend these proposals, trusting that, with generosity and goodwill, the peoples of these islands will build on them a new and lasting agreement.

SUPPORTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND
THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC AND LEADERSHIP INITIATIVES

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland

The White House Conference, which was held May 24-26, 1995 marked a successful milestone in the Administration's support for economic revitalization in Northern Ireland and the border counties of Ireland most affected by past violence. As the President emphasized during the Conference, this effort is ongoing. The President has directed the executive agencies to identify and implement initiatives to support peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

One of the partnerships cemented since the conference is between the Center for Advanced Fiberoptic Applications (CAFA), a consortium of the Massachusetts fiberoptics industry, and companies and universities in Northern Ireland and Ireland. A formal memorandum commits the parties to cooperate to create jobs and promote economic growth in Massachusetts and Northern Ireland and Ireland. The memorandum envisages development of the "Irish Information Superhighway" between Dublin and Belfast.

Another is Emerald Editions of Brunswick, Maine, a new company whose first product is a pewter cup produced in Ireland that celebrates love using the unique interpretation of the word by American artist Robert Indiana.

Office of the Special Advisor for Economic Initiatives in Ireland

In December 1994, the President appointed Senator George Mitchell as Special Advisor for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. The Office of the Special Advisor at the State Department, under Senator Mitchell's leadership, works closely with other government agencies and private entities to coordinate the President's economic initiatives. Senator Mitchell led a successful mission to Northern Ireland in July.

Management Intern Program

Funded by the International Fund for Ireland and the Department of Commerce, the American Management and Business Internship

Training Program (AMBIT) provides hands-on training assignments with U.S. firms for managers and technical experts from Northern Ireland and the border counties. The program has the dual goal of improving the management and business capabilities of the interns while enhancing commercial opportunities for U.S. firms. In FY 96, the program will bring 50 interns to the U.S.

Department of Commerce Business Information Center

The Commerce Department's Northern Ireland/Border County Business Information Center provides quick access for business to commercial information about the region via fax. Over 200 reports are available from the NBIC at (202) 501- 7488. The NBIC is now on the Internet with its own home page. The address is <http://www.itaiep.doc.gov>.

Trade and Investment Missions

The Department of Commerce led a trade and investment mission to Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of Ireland October 16-20. Nineteen U.S. firms, representing primarily the environmental technology, information technology and food industry sectors, participated in the mission. Additional trade and investment missions will be organized in 1996.

Tourism

Tourism in Northern Ireland has increased over 50% as a result of the cease-fire. To build on the potential of tourism to create jobs and foster understanding, the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration has signed a communiqué with tourism officials in Northern Ireland and the border counties to develop initiatives in tourism services, marketing and promotion.

Small Business

The Small Business Administration (SBA) has signed an agreement with the Republic of Ireland's economic development agency, Forbairt, to establish strategic partnerships between American and Irish businesses. In addition to its work with Forbairt, the SBA will be working with Northern Ireland's Local Enterprise and Development Unit (LEDU) over the coming months to explore opportunities for strategic partnerships between small businesses in the United States and Northern Ireland.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Private Sector Venture Capital Fund

A major focus of the White House Conference was the technology sector. The U.S. private sector responded with the creation of the Irish Technology Transfer Fund, which will encourage joint ventures between Northern Irish/Irish high tech companies and American companies in search of new products. The Fund will help U.S. companies remain competitive while creating jobs in Northern Ireland and Ireland. It is initially capitalized at \$30 million.

Science and Technology MOU

A Memorandum of Understanding on Science and Technology is under negotiation. It will enhance cooperation between the U.S. and Northern Ireland in the S&T field.

New International Fund for Ireland Technology Project

Following up on the White House Conference recommendation for a fund to support joint ventures in applied research between the U.S. and Northern Ireland, the IFI established a technology-based, market-driven pilot program, called Research and Development between Ireland and the United States (RADIUS), within the overall framework of the Fund's Science and Technology Program. Funding for the project in 1996 and 1997 will total approximately \$2 million.

LEADERSHIP

Visitors and Exchanges

- The United States Information Agency's International Visitor program has increased the number of invitations it issues to people in Northern Ireland to about a dozen every year. These grantees spend up to a month in the United States to enhance their understanding of U.S. values, society and culture.
- Recently USIA funded a seminar on conflict resolution co-sponsored by the Peace Studies Program at the University of Ulster in Belfast.
- With a grant from USIA, Fordham University has begun to develop a program of exchanges with the University of Ulster at Coleraine and the University of Limerick foster workable cross-community and cross-border conflict resolution strategies at the grass-roots level.

Support for Political Parties

The National Endowment for Democracy is a Congressionally-funded organization that provides grants for programs to foster the development of political parties and other civic groups. In 1994, NED funded a program through the National Democratic Institute to train political parties in Northern Ireland. This year, the NDI conducted a series of 12 focus groups to assist the political parties in understanding the use of survey research and to help them understand citizens' attitudes toward politics in Northern Ireland.

DOWNING STREET DECLARATION OF 15 DECEMBER 1993

The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach made a Joint Declaration on 15 December 1993. The Declaration, which complemented and underpinned the Talks process and the search for a comprehensive political settlement, was made following discussions between the two Governments, since early 1992, on a framework for peace. It set out constitutional principles and political realities which safeguarded the vital interests of both sides of the community in Northern Ireland. The text did not envisage, nor advocate, any particular outcome. It made clear that the consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland was required before any constitutional change could come about.

The two Governments agreed that, following a cessation of violence, democratically mandated parties which had established a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods, and which had shown that they would abide permanently by the democratic process, would be free to participate fully in democratic politics and to join in dialogue in due course between the Governments and the political parties on the way ahead.

The text both reiterated Northern Ireland's statutory constitutional guarantee and reaffirmed that the British Government would uphold the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland, on the issue of whether they preferred to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland. On this basis the British Government reiterated that they had no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland, and that, were a majority in Northern Ireland to wish it, the Government would introduce legislation to bring about a united Ireland. For their part the Irish Government accepted that it would be wrong to attempt to impose a united Ireland, in the absence of the freely given consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.

The Irish Government also confirmed that in the event of an overall settlement, they would put forward and support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution, which would fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland.

SUMMARY

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT

These proposals:

- reaffirm the guiding principles of self-determination, the consent of the governed, exclusively democratic and peaceful means, and full respect and protection for the rights and identities of both traditions.
- provide for an agreed new approach to traditional constitutional doctrines on both sides
 - The British Government will propose changes to its constitutional legislation, so as to incorporate a commitment to continuing willingness to accept the will of a majority of the people living in Northern Ireland, and a commitment to exercise their jurisdiction with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people of Northern Ireland, in a way which does not prejudice their freedom to determine Northern Ireland's constitutional status, whether in remaining a part of the United Kingdom or in forming part of a united Ireland;
 - the Irish Government will introduce and support proposals for changes in the Irish Constitution, so that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted, and so that the Irish Government recognise the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status;
- commend direct dialogue with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland in developing new internal structures;
- propose a North/South body, comprising elected representatives from, and accountable to, a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament, to deal with matters designated by the two Governments in the first instance in agreement with the parties;
- describe ways in which such a body could work with executive harmonising or consultative functions, by way of authority delegated to its members by the Assembly;
- envisage that all decisions within the North/South body would be by agreement between the two sides;

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- set out criteria for the designation of functions, and suggest a range of functions that might be designated from the outset, for agreement with the parties;
- envisage the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament being able, by agreement, to designate further functions or to move functions already designated between the three categories;
- envisage that the body will have an important role in consultation with the two Governments in developing an agreed approach for the whole island in respect of the challenges and opportunities of the European Union;
- envisage a Parliamentary forum, with representatives from new Northern Ireland institutions and the Irish Parliament to consider matters of mutual interest;
- envisage a new and more broadly based Agreement between the British and Irish Governments to develop and extend co-operation;
- envisage a standing Intergovernmental Conference which would consider matters of mutual interest, but not those transferred to new political institutions in Northern Ireland;
- envisage that representatives of agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland may be formally associated with the work of the Conference;
- provide for a complementary undertaking by both Governments to ensure protection for specified civil, political, social and cultural rights.

These proposals do not provide for joint authority by the British and Irish Governments over Northern Ireland. They do not predetermine any outcome to the Talks process. Agreement by the parties, and then by the people, is the key.

ON.I.

Joint Declaration
by
An Taoiseach,
Mr. Albert Reynolds, T.D.,
and
The British Prime Minister,
The Rt. Hon. John Major, M.P.

15 December 1993

JOINT DECLARATION

- 1 The Taoiseach, Mr. Albert Reynolds, TD, and the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. John Major, MP, acknowledge that the most urgent and important issue facing the people of Ireland, North and South, and the British and Irish Governments together, is to remove the causes of conflict, to overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted, recognising that the absence of a lasting and satisfactory settlement of relationships between the peoples of both islands has contributed to continuing tragedy and suffering. They believe that the development of an agreed framework for peace, which has been discussed between them since early last year, and which is based on a number of key principles articulated by the two Governments over the past 20 years, together with the adaptation of other widely accepted principles, provides the starting point of a peace process designed to culminate in a political settlement.
- 2 The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister are convinced of the inestimable value to both their peoples, and particularly for the next generation, of healing divisions in Ireland and of ending a conflict which has been so manifestly to the detriment of all. Both recognise that the ending of divisions can come about only through the agreement and co-operation of the people, North and South, representing both traditions in Ireland. They therefore make a solemn commitment to promote co-operation at all levels on the

basis of the fundamental principles, undertakings, obligations under international agreements, to which they have jointly committed themselves, and the guarantees which each Government has given and now reaffirms, including Northern Ireland's statutory constitutional guarantee. It is their aim to foster agreement and reconciliation, leading to a new political framework founded on consent and encompassing arrangements within Northern Ireland, for the whole island, and between these islands.

- 3 They also consider that the development of Europe will, of itself, require new approaches to serve interests common to both parts of the island of Ireland, and to Ireland and the United Kingdom as partners in the European Union.
- 4 The Prime Minister, on behalf of the British Government, reaffirms that they will uphold the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland on the issue of whether they prefer to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland. On this basis, he reiterates, on behalf of the British Government, that they have no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. Their primary interest is to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among all the people who inhabit the island, and they will work together with the Irish Government to achieve such an agreement, which will embrace the totality of relationships. The role of the British Government will be to encourage, facilitate and enable the achievement of such agreement over a period through a process of dialogue and co-operation based on full respect for the rights and identities of both traditions in Ireland. They accept that such agreement may, as of right, take the form of agreed structures for the island as a whole, including a united Ireland achieved by peaceful means on the following basis. The British Government agree that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish. They reaffirm as a binding

obligation that they will, for their part, introduce the necessary legislation to give effect to this, or equally to any measure of agreement on future relationships in Ireland which the people living in Ireland may themselves freely so determine without external impediment. They believe that the people of Britain would wish, in friendship to all sides, to enable the people of Ireland to reach agreement on how they may live together in harmony and in partnership, with respect for their diverse traditions, and with full recognition of the special links and the unique relationship which exist between the peoples of Britain and Ireland.

- 5 The Taoiseach, on behalf of the Irish Government, considers that the lessons of Irish history, and especially of Northern Ireland, show that stability and well-being will not be found under any political system which is refused allegiance or rejected on grounds of identity by a significant minority of those governed by it. For this reason, it would be wrong to attempt to impose a united Ireland, in the absence of the freely given consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. He accepts, on behalf of the Irish Government, that the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland and must, consistent with justice and equity, respect the democratic dignity and the civil rights and religious liberties of both communities, including:

- the right of free political thought;
- the right of freedom and expression of religion;
- the right to pursue democratically national and political aspirations;
- the right to seek constitutional change by peaceful and legitimate means;
- the right to live wherever one chooses without hindrance;

- the right to equal opportunity in all social and economic activity, regardless of class, creed, sex or colour.

These would be reflected in any future political and constitutional arrangements emerging from a new and more broadly based agreement.

- 6 The Taoiseach however recognises the genuine difficulties and barriers to building relationships of trust either within or beyond Northern Ireland, from which both traditions suffer. He will work to create a new era of trust, in which suspicion of the motives or actions of others is removed on the part of either community. He considers that the future of the island depends on the nature of the relationship between the two main traditions that inhabit it. Every effort must be made to build a new sense of trust between those communities. In recognition of the fears of the Unionist community and as a token of his willingness to make a personal contribution to the building up of that necessary trust, the Taoiseach will examine with his colleagues any elements in the democratic life and organisation of the Irish State that can be represented to the Irish Government in the course of political dialogue as a real and substantial threat to their way of life and ethos, or that can be represented as not being fully consistent with a modern democratic and pluralist society, and undertakes to examine any possible ways of removing such obstacles. Such an examination would of course have due regard to the desire to preserve those inherited values that are largely shared throughout the island or that belong to the cultural and historical roots of the people of this island in all their diversity. The Taoiseach hopes that over time a meeting of hearts and minds will develop, which will bring all the people of Ireland together, and will work towards that objective, but he pledges in the meantime that as a result of the efforts that will be made to build mutual confidence no Northern Unionist should ever have to fear in future that this ideal will be pursued either by threat or coercion.

- 7 Both Governments accept that Irish unity would be achieved only by those who favour this outcome persuading those who do not, peacefully and without coercion or violence, and that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland are so persuaded, both Governments will support and give legislative effect to their wish. But, notwithstanding the solemn affirmation by both Governments in the Anglo-Irish Agreement that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, the Taoiseach also recognises the continuing uncertainties and misgivings which dominate so much of Northern Unionist attitudes towards the rest of Ireland. He believes that we stand at a stage of our history when the genuine feelings of all traditions in the North must be recognised and acknowledged. He appeals to both traditions at this time to grasp the opportunity for a fresh start and a new beginning, which could hold such promise for all our lives and the generations to come. He asks the people of Northern Ireland to look on the people of the Republic as friends, who share their grief and shame over all the suffering of the last quarter of a century, and who want to develop the best possible relationship with them, a relationship in which trust and new understanding can flourish and grow. The Taoiseach also acknowledges the presence in the Constitution of the Republic of elements which are deeply resented by Northern Unionists, but which at the same time reflect hopes and ideals which lie deep in the hearts of many Irish men and women North and South. But as we move towards a new era of understanding in which new relationships of trust may grow and bring peace to the island of Ireland, the Taoiseach believes that the time has come to consider together how best the hopes and identities of all can be expressed in more balanced ways, which no longer engender division and the lack of trust to which he has referred. He confirms that, in the event of an overall settlement, the Irish Government will, as part of a balanced constitutional accommodation, put forward and support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution which would fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland.

- 8 The Taoiseach recognises the need to engage in dialogue which would address with honesty and integrity the fears of all traditions. But that dialogue, both within the North and between the people and their representatives of both parts of Ireland, must be entered into with an acknowledgement that the future security and welfare of the people of the island will depend on an open, frank and balanced approach to all the problems which for too long have caused division.
- 9 The British and Irish Governments will seek, along with the Northern Ireland constitutional parties through a process of political dialogue, to create institutions and structures which, while respecting the diversity of the people of Ireland, would enable them to work together in all areas of common interest. This will help over a period to build the trust necessary to end past divisions, leading to an agreed and peaceful future. Such structures would, of course, include institutional recognition of the special links that exist between the peoples of Britain and Ireland as part of the totality of relationships, while taking account of newly forged links with the rest of Europe.
- 10 The British and Irish Governments reiterate that the achievement of peace must involve a permanent end to the use of, or support for, paramilitary violence. They confirm that, in these circumstances, democratically mandated parties which establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and which have shown that they abide by the democratic process, are free to participate fully in democratic politics and to join in dialogue in due course between the Governments and the political parties on the way ahead.
- 11 The Irish Government would make their own arrangements within their jurisdiction to enable democratic parties to consult together and share in dialogue about the political future. The Taoiseach's intention is that these arrangements could include the establishment, in consultation with other parties, of a Forum for Peace and Reconciliation to make recommendations on ways in which

agreement and trust between both traditions in Ireland can be promoted and established.

- 12 The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister are determined to build on the fervent wish of both their peoples to see old fears and animosities replaced by a climate of peace. They believe the framework they have set out offers the people of Ireland, North and South, whatever their tradition, the basis to agree that from now on their differences can be negotiated and resolved exclusively by peaceful political means. They appeal to all concerned to grasp the opportunity for a new departure. That step would compromise no position or principle, nor prejudice the future for either community. On the contrary, it would be an incomparable gain for all. It would break decisively the cycle of violence and the intolerable suffering it entails for the people of these islands, particularly for both communities in Northern Ireland. It would allow the process of economic and social co-operation on the island to realise its full potential for prosperity and mutual understanding. It would transform the prospects for building on the progress already made in the Talks process, involving the two Governments and the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland. The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister believe that these arrangements offer an opportunity to lay the foundations for a more peaceful and harmonious future, devoid of the violence and bitter divisions which have scarred the past generation. They commit themselves and their Governments to continue to work together, unrelentingly, towards that objective.