

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-IRA Ceasefire, August 31, 1994

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1397

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
49	1	3	1	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Crowe (2 pages)	08/31/1994	P1/b(1)
001b. cable	[Duplicate of 001a] (1 page)	08/31/1994	P1/b(1)
002a. memo	Nancy to Tony re: Reynolds/Adams Meeting (2 pages)	09/06/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
002b. memo	Nancy Soderberg to Leon Fuerth re: Message from Major re: Reynolds Meeting (2 pages)	09/06/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
003. telecon	re: Telecon Between President Clinton and British Prime Minister Major (2 pages)	08/31/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-IRA Ceasefire, August 31, 1994

2011-0355-F

rs1667

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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September 6, 1994

To: Tony
From: Nancy 

Rod called me after you left. See attached.

In addition he said "Reynolds is in danger of destabilizing the process by shaking Adams' hand 6 days after the cease-fire."

They also learned of the Reynolds-Adams meeting through the press which really pissed them off. They hope we don't give Adams the red carpet treatment when/if he comes and asked that he not come the week of October 10-15 during their party conference. I said Adams had tentatively indicated a desire to come the week of September 19. Rod said he understood the pressures on us to let Adams come and the best time from their perspective would be the last week of September. He also asked if we could make the visa conditional on Adams saying the cease-fire is for good, it's over, etc. I said we'd been urging Adams to go further towards permanent but I wasn't sure about linking it to the visa.

Generally, Rod would prefer that we wait until either Adams says more or they have more evidence that the situation on the ground has changed. I said we are in no hurry and will work closely with them on it and keep them fully informed on visa requests and decisions.

I asked what the earliest would be that Unionists could come to the US, he said he wasn't sure when Molyneaux would return; he thought two weeks but in any case other Unionists could come. We talked about the need to keep Hume involved and that it might make sense to have the Unionists, Hume and then Adams visit the U.S.

Rod's off to Holland and Belgium but asked that we stay in touch through Phillippa.

UPDATE 9/7

Leon Fuerth called to relay the details of his meeting with Reynolds. Reynolds thinks Major is stalling for time because he was caught off guard. Seems to have little sympathy for his politics. The VP offered to call Molyneaux and had a good conversation with him from AF2. The VP suggested a private

Reynolds-Molyneaux meeting while they are both in Australia later this month. Molyneaux said he'd give it some thought and let us know if he wants us to broker it. The VP asked Molyneaux what the reaction would be to an Adams visa and Molyneaux replied, "it would be very negative, people would be incensed."

Leon thought it was fine if you followed up with a call to Molyneaux to invite him to the US and to reference the VP's conversation.

Lastly, Sandy Berger got a read out last night of Crowe's call with the President. Generally the same points as Rod's only Major apparently told Crowe it could be very difficult if we let Adams come anytime before their party conference. Rod has told me just not during or in the week preceding.

cc: SB, Stevens, Vershbow

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 6, 1994

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (2.56)
KBH 4/11/2023

MEMO TO: Leon Fuerth

FROM: Nancy Soderberg *NS*

RE: Message from Major re: Reynolds meeting

John Major's national security advisor (or the equivalent) Rod Lyne called me tonight at 8pm (i.e., very late his time) to send several points to the Vice President regarding his meeting with Reynolds.

They are generally concerned about bringing the Unionist community on board and feel the series of Irish-US-Sinn Fein meetings and contacts are exacerbating the angst level in the Unionist community. We had the Clinton-Spring meeting, the Reynolds-Adams-Hume meeting and now the VP-Reynolds meeting -- but no Unionist meeting. While we have made a point about reaching out to the Unionists (TL called Molyneaux, Crowe met with him and we've invited him to D.C.), there have been no public meetings. They ask that the VP low-key the meeting to the extent possible.

As you probably know, the Brits have been pushing Adams to say the word permanent. You will hear from Reynolds that Adams has come pretty darn close -- especially following today's statement with Reynolds, Hume and Adams saying they are all "totally and absolutely committed" to peace. The Brits feel they need a bit more (i.e., "it's over for good") from Adams. Reynolds is probably losing patience with the Brits but their problems with the Unionists is real. We've privately been pushing Adams to do more. The Brits ask that you urge Reynolds to push Adams to go a bit further so they have something real to take back to the Unionists. To the extent the VP's statement following the meeting can use the "it's over for good/permanent" terminology the Brits would appreciate it. FYI, the Brits are also watching the IRA activity on the ground and while there are still come problems they are seeing positive signs.

The Brits are concerned about cooperation with the Irish following the IRA cease-fire. They generally want a higher level of cooperation. They are not as upbeat as Reynolds about the cease-fire and point out that many tough issues remain, not least of which is their need to bring the Unionists along. They are

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

upset that Reynolds shook Adam's hand only six days after the cease-fire -- they prefer to wait and be sure the situation on the ground is real.

The British request was basically "get word to the Vice President's party to be cautious about what comes out of the meeting. And don't sign up to anything."

I asked if anything in particular would be helpful for the VP to say if he got asked and Lyne replied:

"Urge the IRA to make it permanent, reach out to both sides, this is only the early days, we need to consolidate the cease-fire and ensure that the balance of the cease-fire has been preserved."

Hope this is helpful. Also, Crowe (and I suppose Smith) would appreciate a read out as soon as feasible.

Feel free to call me this evening at home (202-232-3198) or through the White House operator if you want to discuss anything further.

You all made us proud in Cairo and I'm glad those Hizbullah's didn't get you! Look forward to seeing you upon your return. Lot's of great issues await you -- enjoy the Irish one while you can!

Source: REUTER

Subject : IRELAND'S DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO SEE CLINTON@

a1260LBY432reulb

u a BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING 08-31 0071

^BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING (REPEAT)@

^IRELAND'S DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO SEE CLINTON@

EDGARTOWN, Mass, Aug 31 (Reuter) - Irish Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring will meet President Clinton on Friday on the resort island of Martha's Vineyard, where Clinton is vacationing, the White House announced Wednesday.

Spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said Spring, who is also the Irish foreign minister, will meet Clinton to talk about ``the cessation of hostilities'' and the ``ongoing peace process'' in Northern Ireland.

MORE

Reut14:03 08-31

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED NWSID: R1026278

SOURCE: REUTER

a1288LBY442reulb

u a BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING 08-31 0166

^BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING -2 EDGARTOWN@

Myers, asked whether there would be a summit meeting soon between Clinton, British Prime Minister John Major and Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds, said ``There are no plans for a summit. I wouldn't rule it out, but there are no plans at this time."

Reynolds had told Irish state radio earlier Wednesday that he could meet with Clinton and Major soon to underpin the peace process in **Ireland**. Earlier Wednesday, the Irish Republican Army declared a ceasefire in its campaign to end British rule of Northern **Ireland**.

Myers said that Clinton, in telephone calls to Major and Reynolds Wednesday, had ``congratulated them for their courage and vision in pursuing peace in **Ireland**. They both thanked the president for his contributions."

Myers said the meeting with Spring would be ``fairly informal," in keeping with the setting and the fact that the president was on vacation. She had no other details. ``He's just confirmed he's able to come and we're working out the details."

REUTER

Reut14:16 08-31

DIST:

<^DIST>

SIT: NODIST

Source: REUTER

Subject : ADAMS ASKS BRITAIN TO FREE PRISONERS, CUT TROOPS@

a0793LBY255reulb

u i BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND 08-31 0069

^BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND URGENT@

^ADAMS ASKS BRITAIN TO FREE PRISONERS, CUT TROOPS@

BELFAST, Aug 31 (Reuter) - Gerry Adams, leader of the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein, urged Britain on Wednesday to free Irish nationalist prisoners and withdraw troops from Northern Ireland in response to the IRA's truce announcement.

Addressing a Belfast crowd, he said Britain must take decisive steps. "This means demilitarisation of the situation, it means prisoners home from England," he said.

MORE

Reut10:01 08-31

Source: REUTER

Subject : BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND -2 BELFAST@

a0803LBY259reulb

u i BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND 08-31 0094

^BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND -2 BELFAST@

"Demilitarisation" is Sinn Fein's term for the withdrawal of British troops which were deployed on the streets of Northern Ireland 25 years ago.

Adams told the cheering nationalist crowd the IRA's announcement on Wednesday that from midnight (2300 GMT) it was ceasing its war against British rule was a "historic and bold and decisive initiative."

"The onus is now on (British Prime Minister John) Major to seize this moment," he said.

There are some 400 Irish republican prisoners in Northern Ireland who Adams said should also be released.

REUTER

Reut10:10 08-31

Source: FBIS

Subject : Ireland: Foreign Minister Welcomes IRA Cease-Fire Announcement

FBIS 045

UNCLAS 7F

Ireland: Foreign Minister Welcomes IRA Cease-Fire Announcement
LD3108112694 Dublin RTE Radio One Network in English 1030 GMT 31
Aug 94

[Interview with Dick Spring, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by unidentified program announcer; place not given -- live]

[Text] [Announcer] On the line now is the Tanaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dick Spring. Tanaiste, is this an historic day?

[Spring] Yes I certainly believe that it is. The announcement that there is a complete cessation of military operations and an end to violence in Northern Ireland I think is very significant for the people north and south.

[Announcer] And are you concerned, as has been pointed out or been suggested by (Finton O'Toole) and, for example, also by Conor Cruise O'Brien, that the word permanent does not appear in the IRA statement, that they refer to a complete cessation of violence but not a permanent cessation of violence?

[Spring] The government are going to meet to consider that statement now, but as far as we're concerned I believe that it will meet the requirements of the government as a complete cessation of military operations, and they have given instructions accordingly. I believe that there is the opportunity to ensure that this is the permanent cessation of violence that we want on this island. It's unconditional, and I think that's extremely important.

[Announcer] What's the next step for the government?

[Spring] Well the government are going to meet to respond to this. I assume that the Dail will have to consider this in the course of the afternoon, obviously in consultation with the opposition parties. I would hope that what happens now is that this peace opportunity that exists will be availed of by all sides and that there will be a period of calm and reflection. After all we have been striving, indeed successive governments have been striving for many years to take the bomb and the bullet out of Irish politics. That opportunity is there now and I hope that we can succeed in what we set out to do.

[Announcer] Obviously republicans are going to want to see some movement, some political movement on demilitarization. And now clearly you can have no part in any, quote-unquote, demilitarization. But what about political movement? What about the forum for reconciliation and peace and Sinn Fein involvement in it?

[Spring] Obviously I think we now look at what was said in the Downing Street Declaration and everything is happening on the basis of the Downing Street Declaration, what was said in relation to the forum for peace and reconciliation. We obviously will have consultation with the opposition parties in relation to looking at the structures that are necessary. But I believe we have to move slowly and steadily in relation to what's happening. It is obvious that we want to have a period of calm and reflection, and we want to make sure that this opportunity that now exists to ensure that violence is not part of Irish politics is fully availed of. And there will be consultation between the parties here in Dail Eireann [House of Representatives] and I would hope that arising from that we can come to some agreements in relation to the forum.

[Announcer] Now in an interview with David Davenport, our northern editor, yesterday, Gerry Adams essentially threw down the gauntlet to the British Government. Will the Irish Government be moving to get the British Government to treat this sympathetically, to look at the issue of prisoners sympathetically, to look at the issue of -- quote-unquote -- demilitarization sympathetically?

[Spring] As I was saying, we have to look at all these issues in due course. I don't think it's a question of throwing down the

gauntlet to the British Government. The British and Irish Governments have been working very steadfastly in relation to this matter, certainly since this government was formed and indeed prior to that by previous governments. We have the determination to work together to solve the problem on this island, and we will continue to do that. And that requires the cooperation of all the parties on this island and hopefully now we will have all those parties, one more party as a democratically mandated party on this island.

[Announcer] Now the Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds, wanted to achieve peace, wanted to achieve an IRA cease-fire before proceeding with the essentials of a political agreement in relation to Northern Ireland, sir. He would appear to have achieved that. But the frame of talks which have been going on, how long, or how close, rather, are the two governments to agreement on the four central areas of the negotiations -- the internal arrangements, the north-south arrangements, the Dublin-London arrangements and, particularly, the constitutional arrangements?

[Spring] Significant progress has been made in relation to the framework document. And also of course it has been the government's consistent view that the prospects for a successful conclusion of talks would indeed be greatly enhanced in an atmosphere of peace. Now that atmosphere is being created today. And we will continue to work on the framework document, and obviously hope that we can have the balanced accommodation which would be honorable to all sides. And I would hope that can be done as a matter of, with speed, and within a matter weeks?

[Announcer] And what about articles two and three? Are articles two and three being energetically discussed at the moment [words indistinct]?

[Spring] I think it is well understood that the constitutional issue, indeed the institutional issues and cross-border issues -- these are all on the table and these will be subject to discussion between both governments.

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NNNN

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED NWSID: R1026230

SOURCE: REUTER

a1250LBY429reulb

r i BC-IRISH 08-31 0389

^BC-IRISH LEADALL@

^IRA CEASEFIRE WINS ACCLAIM, SUSPICION@

LONDON, Aug 31 (Reuter) - The Irish Republican Army, one of the most tenacious of Europe's guerrilla organisations, declared a ceasefire on Wednesday that prompted both acclaim and suspicion.

Northern **Ireland's** Protestant leaders said they feared Britain had struck a secret deal with the IRA behind their backs and stood ready to betray the majority community. London denied it.

Protestant death squads who kill Roman Catholics at random to terrorise the community from which the guerrillas draw support, gave no hint that they would match the IRA step.

On often-bombed Belfast streets, there was joy in Catholic ghettos and grim resignation in Protestant strongholds.

U.S. President Bill Clinton was unambiguous in his response, saying it marked a new era for Irish people.

In Dublin, Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds welcomed the move, the first fruit of a joint peace initiative he and British counterpart John Major launched last December.

The Anglo-Irish Downing Street Declaration offers Sinn Fein a seat at peace talks and an end to its isolation three months after Europe's most formidable guerrilla army silences its Kalashnikov rifles and home-made mortars.

A jubilant Reynolds promised in a triumphant speech to parliament that there was "no hidden agenda."

Major said he was encouraged by the ceasefire statement but needed to know it was for good if Sinn Fein, the IRA's political voice, wanted to join talks. He denied any secret deal.

"Once we have that I think we can move forward," Major said.

Privately, British officials acknowledged that if the IRA proved over the next three months or so that it could hold to a ceasefire, that would probably count as permanent.

Initial euphoria quickly gave way to political reality though as Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, demanded freedom for IRA prisoners and a withdrawal of British troops.

"Injustice must be ended, demilitarisation must begin immediately," he said. "All political prisoners must be released. The British government must immediately recognise Sinn Fein's democratic mandate."

Hardline Protestants such as Ulster Unionist Party leader James Molyneaux grudgingly welcomed the ceasefire declaration but said it made no mention of the IRA handing over an estimated 300 tonnes of arms.

REUTER

Reut13:59 08-31

DIST:

<^DIST>

SIT: NODIST

Source: FBIS

Subject : UK: Major Wants IRA 'To Make Clear' Cease-Fire 'Permanent'

FBIS 111

UNCLAS 7E

UK: Major Wants IRA 'To Make Clear' Cease-Fire 'Permanent'

LD3108181494 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1713 GMT 31 Aug

94

[By PRESS ASSOCIATION political correspondent Sian Clare]

[Text] John Major tonight urged the IRA to make clear its ceasefire is permanent. Today's statement was "a very great chance for peace", he said. But "we need to be sure that the cessation of violence isn't temporary. It isn't for one week or one month, but it is a permanent cessation of violence".

The Prime Minister insisted: "I'm not hung up on a particular word. I am hung upon the concept of it being permanent. I don't mind how it is expressed. I don't mind if it is said that the armed conflict is over, that the days of violence are gone for good."

He told ITN [Independent Television News]: "I don't mind how it is expressed. But I do need to know that violence has ended for good and it isn't a temporary ceasefire."

Mr Major spelled out the process that would follow, as set out in last December's Downing Street declaration, if the ceasefire was for good.

"What we propose is that after there has been a permanent renunciation of violence and a period in which that has been shown to be true because there has been no violence, we can enter into talks about how to bring Sinn Fein into the democratic process."

"Now I cannot do that, no British Government can do that, under the possible duress of then returning to violence if they don't get their own way."

Mr Major described the declaration, agreed between London and Dublin, as "a route map" to end violence and bring Sinn Fein back into the democratic process.

He said of the IRA ceasefire: "It may be that their statement does mean it is permanent." But "what I am saying is that that isn't what they have actually said. I hope they will make it clear that it is permanent. I very much hope it is".

The Prime Minister added: "All I am saying is make that clear and the moment you make that clear, we can really move forward."

The Prime Minister, speaking from inside Downing Street, also made clear there had been no behind-the-scenes maneuvers to achieve the ceasefire. "There have been no secret deals, no secret understandings. The clamour that there has been about that has been total hogwash," he said, referring to fears stoked up by some Unionists.

Mr Major also denied there had been any sell-out by the Government to the bombers. "It's very unwise to raise those fears and quite unnecessary. The joint declaration sets out very clearly what the position is," he said.

He pledged: "Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. For so long as the people of Northern Ireland wish to remain part of the United Kingdom, they will do so with the full support of this Government and, I would hope, all future Governments."

Mr Major told BBC1's six o'clock news the clock would not actually start ticking on Sinn Fein's qualification for a political role until clarification on the word "permanent".

"The moment I am clear in my mind that this is a permanent end to violence, then the clock starts ticking."

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31 AUG 1840z sc

NNNN

Faxed
8/31
@ 3:45

OFFICE OF THE STAFF DIRECTOR
National Security Council
456-9471

FAX TO: NANCY SODERBERG 011-507-268-771
FROM: BROOKE DARBY
DATE: 8/31

COMMENTS:

SOC's are classified so I'm
sending them separately

Pages (including cover): 13

Nancy - Max Robinson had already called
Andrew ^{last week} to discuss moving the mtg from
the 30th. Ricki ~~is~~ said emphatically "No!";
she doesn't want to start the week w/
a difficult mtg. She said this timing had
been considered and rejected. Andrew didn't
raise Saturday w/ Ricki because Max
said we might not be back by then.

Do we need to raise Saturday w/ Ricki?
Pls. advise on how you want to proceed.
(Andrew is handling)
(Just a reminder, I'm out of the office 'til
Tuesday - or call if you need me over
weekend + Labor Day.)



GERRY ADAMS

President of Sinn Féin

51/55 Bóthar na bhFál, Béal Feirste BT12 4PD

To:

Messrs. Bruce Morrison,
Bill Flynn,
Chuck Feeney,
Niall O'Dowd,
Joe Jamison.

September 7, 1994.

A chairde,

I trust this note finds you all well.

I am sure you will agree with me that the impact of the recent initiative has been positive and provides an unprecedented and tangible opportunity to move the situation in the direction of a negotiated settlement.

President Clinton's comments have been very helpful, as have the comments of Vice President Gore today.

It is of course regrettable that the British government have been dragging their heels. But hopefully the enormity of what has happened will have the appropriate effect in the short term.

It is of course important that the new situation is consolidated and the momentum maintained to move things forward.

This is particularly the case in the U.S.A.. My views on the importance of public and political opinion in the U.S.A. on the peace process are well known to you. For that reason it is important to Sinn Féin that there be an immediate and effective conduit for information and opinions to and from the U.S.A.. Kieran Staunton of New York is, for us, ideally suited for that role. Unfortunately a problem with the Immigration and Naturalisation Service prevents him, given the travel requirements of the task, from taking up the role.

I would therefore ask you to use your good offices in an attempt to resolve this situation. Success in this would be most helpful to what we are all attempting to achieve.

Is mise le meas,

G. Adams,
President of Sinn Féin.



10 DOWNING STREET

Press Notice**STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER**

The Downing Street declaration offered an opportunity for peace.

It calls for a permanent end to violence and offers a balanced opportunity for all to play a full part in the future political life of Northern Ireland.

The IRA have declared a complete cessation of violence. I am greatly encouraged by this, but we need to be clear that this is indeed intended to be a permanent renunciation of violence, that is to say, for good.

If it is, then many options are open. If they are genuinely and irrevocably committed to use only peaceful and democratic methods in the future, then we shall respond positively, as we said in the Joint Declaration. Let words now be reflected in deeds.

31 August 1994

Telephone 071-930 4433

END

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 31, 1994

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I welcome today's watershed announcement by the IRA that it has decided to end the 25-year campaign of violence and pursue the path of peace. While much work remains to be done, the IRA's decision to join the political process can mark the beginning of a new era that holds the promise of peace for all the people of Northern Ireland.

I have just spoken with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland and Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom to congratulate them for their persistent efforts to bring this day about. Their joint resolve to end the violence and pursue a negotiated settlement has been crucial to the progress made to date. Their historic Joint Declaration last December, together with the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985, have built the foundation for the new hope we have today. I am pleased that the United States has been able to contribute to this process of reconciliation.

We join with the governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom in the hope and expectation that today's step will help bring a lasting and just peace to Northern Ireland. I urge the IRA and all who have supported it to fulfill the promise of today's announcement to end the use and support of violence, just as we continue to call on all parties who have sought to achieve political goals through violence to cease to do so. There must be a permanent end to the violence.

The United States continues to stand ready to assist in advancing the process of peace in Northern Ireland. We hope that both traditions -- Unionist and Nationalist -- will support the only real avenue to peace, that of a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

Source: AP

Subject : r i PM-NIreland-Statement 08-31 0347

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r i PM-NIreland-Statement 08-31 0347

PM-NIreland-Statement,0327

Text of IRA Announcement of Cease-Fire

With PM-Northern Ireland

EDS: Oqlaigh na h-Eirann is Irish for Irish Republican Army

DUBLIN, Ireland (AP) _ Text of the cease-fire announcement by the Irish Republican Army (Oqlaigh na h-Eirann) today:

``Recognizing 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 Oqlaigh na h-Eirann 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 crossroads, the leadership of Oqlaigh na h-Eirann 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 commitment to 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 new situation with energy, determination and patience.''

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Recognizing the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the peace process and

underline our definitive commitment to its success, the leadership of the IRA has decided as of

midnight there will be a complete cessation of military operations. All our units have been

instructed accordingly. At this historic ^{cross-roads} ^{of the IRA} ~~crossing~~, the leadership ~~solves~~ and commands our volunteers, ^{and the political prisoners} ^{against all odds} ^{courage, determination and} other activists and supporters who have sustained the struggle for the past 25 years. Your sacrifices ^{have} demonstrate ^{that} the spirit of freedom and the desire for peace, based on a lasting and just settlement,

cannot be crushed. We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has

been created. We are entering a new situation in the spirit of determination and confidence that

the injustices will be removed. We note that the Downing Street declaration is not a solution, nor

was it presented as such by its authors. A solution will only be found as a result of inclusive

negotiations and by the British government facing up to its responsibilities. It is our desire to

contribute significantly to that climate which will enhance the prospect for success. We urge

everyone to approach this new situation with energy, determination and patience.

Notes from T. S. Two central themes:

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

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PS only give to
SB if he loses his
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Press.

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- Foley
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DRAFT IRA
Start. to
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Joint call for
Fair Employment
+ Incentive

E.U.

1. o Convene a Presidential Conference on Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The President would speak at the conference along with Cabinet level officials from Ireland and the UK.

-- The Catholic Bishops Conference and Presbyterian Church U.S.A. are in the process of organizing a conference for Spring 1995).

-- As an alternative to an immediate conference, the President could throw his support behind the above conference.

2. o Commerce Secretary Brown could lead a delegation of U.S. corporate investors to Northern Ireland to encourage investment and trade.

\$375m.

I.B.

-- Emphasis of visit would be on creating jobs both in Northern Ireland's economically depressed areas as well as the U.S.

Loans

3. o Increase the annual U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland (IFI)

Annual contribution is 19.6 million. Any increase from State's budget would likely involve a decrease in other crucial programs -- Turkey and Andean Counter-narcotics.

6m
short
for '95.

4. o Alternatively, or in addition, launch an effort to "reinvent" IFI, streamlining its administration and retargeting its efforts to take account of the new circumstances

One key objective would be to increase fund disbursement so the positive effect of monies already programed can be seen on the ground quickly.

Establish a mechanism whereby private U.S. citizens, corporate foundations and NGOs/charities can contribute to the IFI.

Consider increasing the cross-border elements of IFI, in consultation with the UK and the Irish Republic.

Feim fund.

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5. o Encourage Overseas Private Investment Corporation to increase funds available to support firms investing in Northern Ireland.
6. o Propose to Congress a loan guarantee program for Northern Ireland and the Republic that would include guarantees for investments by governmental entities and private foundations in infrastructure development, housing, and the construction of health and medical facilities (i.e., clinics.)
- o Propose legislation providing U.S. tax exemption over a five-year period for U.S. subsidiary companies operating in Northern Ireland which participate in a career opportunities program for persons from economically disadvantaged areas.
- While the corporate tax rate for N.I. is higher than the Republic and a U.S. exemption would mean less than it does to companies investing in the Republic, it would bring Northern Ireland in line with the present exemptions for investment in the Republic.
- o Under USIA auspices, open an "America House" in Belfast and promote programs designed to bring the communities together.
- o Dramatically increase the funding for Northern Ireland in the various USIA-administered International Visitor Programs.
- o Refocus the targets for the \$2.5 million increase in the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) budget that already has been set aside for the NDI.

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INTERNAL WORKING DOCUMENT

Northern Ireland

The President has repeatedly promised to do everything possible to support the peace process in Northern Ireland. There is wide expectation in Ireland and the United Kingdom that the United States will provide substantial financial assistance to Northern Ireland in the event a genuine political settlement is reached. Given tight budgets and domestic concerns about exporting American jobs, we will have to be creative in devising programs that will be both politically saleable with the Congress and provide real assistance to Northern Ireland in building a new political and social order. We will also have to move quickly to capitalize on the momentum of a political breakthrough. There follow a number of ideas or programs we might consider in putting together a Presidential program to support Northern Ireland.

1. Convene a Presidential Conference on Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland, similar to the ones being organized for Eastern Europe and South Africa. The President would speak at the conference along with the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and Ireland. The conference would bring together private businessmen from the U.S., Northern Ireland, Ireland and Great Britain.

The Catholic Bishops Conference and Presbyterian Church U.S.A. are in the process of organizing an investment conference for the Spring of 1995 to promote investment opportunities in Northern Ireland. The Administration could, as one alternative, throw its support behind this conference and feature the President as a keynote speaker. (see attached proposal).

2. Increase the annual U.S. Contribution to the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) to \$60 million for two years.

IFI Chairman McCarter recently said in Washington that he was confident he could spend triple the annual U.S. contribution of \$20 million to the IFI.

3. Announce that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation would undertake a commitment of \$200 million to support U.S. firms investing in Northern Ireland.

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4. Propose legislation providing tax exemption over a five year period for U.S. subsidiary companies operating in Northern Ireland which participate in a career opportunities program for persons from economically disadvantaged areas. (Program proposal attached.)

5. Announce that the President will propose that Congress provide the National Democratic Institute an additional \$2.5 million to fund programs for the development of young political leaders. In addition, or alternatively, the President could announce additional financial support for USIA IVP programs or contributions to the International Executive Service Corps.

6. Announce that the United States will create under USIA auspices an "America House" in Belfast to bring together the Protestant and Catholic communities in programs designed to promote a tolerant multi-ethnic society. An America House would build on the tradition that our Consul General's residence has for many years provided the venue for politicians of all political stripes to meet and discuss common problems. The America House could sponsor political discussions led by American experts on development of multi-ethnic societies, as well as cultural events designed to bring diverse groups together to participate jointly in musical, dramatic or other productions.

Finally, the President could announce that he will visit Northern Ireland to dramatize his support for the peace settlement reached by the parties. This could be done at a trade conference or at a Rose Garden ceremony honoring the Prime Ministers of Ireland and Great Britain and the political leaders of Northern Ireland who have reached agreement on a political process or settlement in the North.

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UNCLASSIFIED**PRIVATE SECTOR/ECCLESIASTICAL INVESTMENT INITIATIVE**

(Preface: The following program was an EUR/NE suggestion to Jerry Powers of the Catholic Bishops Conference and John Duffy representing the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in response to their search for ideas about where next to take the Joint Call for Fair Employment and Investment. The proposal was met with enthusiasm by them and is currently being pursued.)

Concept: An Investment Conference jointly sponsored by an ad hoc consortium of American subsidiaries in Northern Ireland and American and Irish Ecclesiastical signatories to the Joint Call for Fair Employment and Investment. The conference would emphasize a practical presentation of investment opportunities from the vantage point of other American companies currently doing business in Northern Ireland. The target attendees would be potential U.S. investors in manufacturing, services, marketing and distribution.

Timing: Hold an Investment Conference for Northern Ireland in a U.S. location, such as Washington, in the Spring of 1995 (possibly late March to take advantage of the post-March 17 heightened U.S. interest in Ireland and Northern Ireland).

Components and Structure: The conference would open with key note presentations by Northern Ireland Secretary of State Sir Patrick Mayhew and Irish Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring. A possible brief appearance by the President or Secretary of State would be desirable.

The first series of presentations would be "testimonials" by American companies currently operating in Northern Ireland. The companies, Ford, Short Bros., Du Pont, Seagate, Fruit of the Loom, among others, would focus their remarks on perceived obstacles or disincentives to American investment in Northern Ireland such as the security situation, tax considerations, resource availability. The predicate of the presentations would be that these "blue chip" companies are there because it is profitable for them to be there.

The second series of presentations would address specific issues such as, inter alia, taxation, recruiting, employment regulations, infrastructure, location, security, market, community-relations and import/export regulations. The presentations would be made by specialists in each area.

The final presentations would include Ecclesiastical signatories to the Joint Call who would focus on the history and current status of fair employment in Northern Ireland and the impact they have on successful business operations. The presentation would be complemented by testimonials from the ad hoc consortium who are supporters of the Joint Call.

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EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVE AND TRAINING PROGRAM

Concept:

A tax incentive program for U.S. subsidiary companies operating in Northern Ireland which would provide immediate entry level job/career opportunities to employable youths from economically depressed areas.

Method:

Provide a five year exemption from liability for U.S. tax payments by U.S. subsidiary companies operating in Northern Ireland upon satisfying the following conditions:

for every 25 persons employed in Northern Ireland by a U.S. subsidiary, said subsidiary would accept one applicant from the Northern Ireland Career Opportunities Program for a minimum one year period.

The Northern Ireland Career Opportunities Program:

U.S. subsidiaries seeking to take advantage of a five-year tax moratorium would register with the International Fund for Ireland identifying total employee strength, under the supervision of the U.S. observer to the IFI. The International Fund would determine the total number Career Opportunity positions using a 25 to 1 formula (25 employees to 1 Career Opportunity position).

Using the International Fund for Ireland's established Disadvantaged Areas Initiative Program as a model, employable youths from the identified disadvantaged areas would apply for appointment to an Career Opportunities position with a subscribing U.S. subsidiary operating in Northern Ireland.

The IFI would review application packages which would include the application, academic records from the last three years, and a personal statement addressing career interests. Applications would be ranked ordered by IFI staff and assigned to each position available.

Subscribing companies would be required to hire the applicant in an entry-level apprenticeship position for a minimum period of one year. The program would provide experience in at least two significantly different areas of company operations. At the end of the first year, the company will evaluate the

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employee and determine whether to offer to the apprentice a career position or release him/her. Each year until the end of the five year tax moratorium (or unless a subscribing company drops out of the program), the subscribing company would be required to recertify its employee strength and take on new a new Career Opportunity candidate.

At the end of each year of participation in the program, the company would have to file a report on the applicant and, using supplied criteria, evaluate his suitability for a six-month U.S. training program in the field the apprentice has demonstrated aptitude in. The reports would be reviewed by the Ferris Foundation (or similar entity) and a number chosen to participate in the IFI funded six-month U.S. training program. Career Opportunity candidates selected to receive the training program would be offered placement in a subscribing U.S. subsidiary upon completion of the six-months. The training program would be operated using the J-2 visa program under the auspices of A.I.D.

The Training program would be financed by the U.S. government in the form of an increase in IFI funding. If the program selected 100 Career Opportunity candidates for training at an approximate cost of \$20,000 per Career Opportunity candidate, \$2 million of a projected increase in U.S. IFI funding of \$40 million per year, would be designated for use for this program under the IFI's Wider Horizon's initiative. The Training Program would be operated by an independent foundation such as the Ferris Foundation (Georgetown University).

Impact:

With approximately 300 U.S. subsidiaries operating in Northern Ireland with over 20,000 employees, it would be possible to enroll as many as 1,000 to 1,200 program candidates within one year of the program's inauguration. Over a five year period, the program could have enrolled over 6,000 employable youths from disadvantaged areas in Northern Ireland assuming no growth rate in the number of U.S. subsidiaries investing in Northern Ireland. Tentative projections of U.S. investment growth in Northern Ireland in the event of a peace agreement suggest as many as 10,000 youths enrolled in the program at the end of five years.

The five year moratorium will attract U.S. investment in the event of peace, since companies will want to maximize their tax advantage. At the same time, the program will show a quick and visible U.S. commitment to addressing Northern Ireland unemployment: a key factor in resolving political unrest in the event a peace agreement is reached.

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Questions to be Answered:

1. Is there a legal conflict with GATT?
2. Are there other sources of funding for the Training Program?
3. Is there reason to expect that tying tax exemption to investment in the Apprentice Program would prove to be a disincentive to U.S. subsidiary investment?

(Caveat: The UK tax rate is currently 33 percent on corporate profits. The USG taxes the difference between the UK obligation and the U.S. rate: 3 percent in the case of Northern Ireland. A moratorium on U.S. taxes at 3 percent would, in fact, provide no incentive at all since the cost burden of the Career Opportunities program would be substantially greater than the proposed tax relief. The Republic of Ireland taxes at a 10 percent rate yielding a 26 percent margin which enabled Senator Moynihan's tax/investment bill to have some impact for investment in the Republic.

If, through a joint conference agreement, the Major government were prepared to ask Parliament to reduce the tax rate for Northern Ireland to 10 percent (in the spirit of economically related cross-border institutions which they say they support), this would level the investment playing field for the entire island of Ireland and provide a sufficient U.S. tax margin to make the Career Opportunities Program work. Discussions to feel out HMG on this matter should be initiated soon.)

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Submitted to
Nancy by
British Embassy

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE: WHAT NORTHERN IRELAND NEEDS

INWARD INVESTMENT

US Tax Concessions

1. In the experience of the Industrial Development Board, taxation is a key determinant for US corporations investing overseas. A U.S. tax concession on repatriated profits for US firms willing to train long-term unemployed from disadvantaged areas would be welcome.

An Investment Conference

2. An investment Conference involving major U.S. corporations could be beneficial. A clear signal from the President that the Administration wanted to see increased investment in Northern Ireland would be significant.

BELFAST AND LONDONDERRY INITIATIVES

3. The British Government is working towards partnership arrangements - involving the public, private and community sectors - in Belfast and Derry. U.S. assistance targetted on these partnerships and the Action Teams which lead them would make an immediate impact on the tackling of local problems. It is crucial that the parts of Belfast and Derry which bore the brunt of the terrorism to quickly see a tangible change on the ground.

IFI FUNDING

4. An increase in the International Fund for Ireland funding would be welcomed. Ways could be found to expedite the rate of spending.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Long Term Unemployment

5. The British Government proposes to launch a major programme of work to provide community-based jobs for thousands of the long-term unemployed, including a significant training element. This would start with experiments in the most disadvantaged areas as soon as possible.

Green Cards

6. An allocation of 25,000 green cards specifically for Northern Ireland residents living in disadvantaged areas would help to tackle the long term unemployment problem.

EDUCATION

Springvale Campus

7. There is a proposal to establish a new University Campus at Springvale, stretching between North and West Belfast, spanning both Catholic and Protestant areas. This would be designed not only to meet Higher Education needs but also to have a regenerative impact on the surrounding depressed areas - in both cases drawing in and benefiting both sides of the community. As yet no funding has been found for this project.

Integrated Education Trust Fund

8. Additional resources for the independent Education Trust Fund would enable it to support a faster growth rate of new independent schools. New integrated schools rely on the Trust Fund for their initial capital and its existing funds are almost completely committed.

BUSINESS EDUCATION

9. An expansion of the existing Business Education Initiative which provides business training in the United States for graduates would have a major impact on the Northern Ireland economy.

INFRASTRUCTURE

Road and Rail Connections

10. We have the capacity to bring forward quickly substantial capital projects to include upgrading rail connections and road works which would: provide jobs, improve infrastructure, make certain depressed areas more attractive to investors and tourists and improve North/South trade links. U.S. assistance would be welcome.

Housing

11. Certain areas continue to suffer from an acute housing need which, because of public expenditure constraints, it is hard to meet. Extra resources for housing, channelled through the voluntary sector, would be welcome. We would also be keen to find new ways of encouraging private sector housing for inner city areas.

Sponsored Air Service Between U.S. and NI

12. Temporary financial support to stimulate increased direct air service from the U.S. to Northern Ireland would provide a welcome boost for tourism.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

13. Sponsorship of research by the U.S. government and U.S. companies at Northern Ireland Institutions, eg Queens University and University of Ulster would be welcome.

14. The establishment of a Medical Research Institute linked to the Belfast teaching hospitals would be welcome.

ARTS/TOURISM/SPORTS

15. We need greater provision for the arts and tourism. This might include a concert hall for Derry, sponsorship of visits by world class entertainers, and a major center for sporting excellence.

Irish #'s

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Mark Richards - Justice h. 301.439.4555

Alank 703.893 - 5319

364.4108 Sreshan

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Larry Robinson - Crowe

Val Marknez - Cm general.

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House of Commons

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon Between President Clinton and British Prime Minister Major

NOTE TAKERS: Katherine O'Loughlin, Anne Alexander, Ted Seigny and Thorn Turner

DATE/TIME: 31 August 1994, 0804-0809 EDT

Prime Minister Major: Hello, is that you Bill?

President Clinton: Yes, hello.

Prime Minister Major: Sorry, you suddenly disappeared. How are you?

President Clinton: I'm fine. I hope you are pleased with the statement. I know it is not everything you wanted. It shows the courage and vision you have all shown. I hope everything works out.

Prime Minister Major: It looks very promising, doesn't it? It doesn't say quite what we hoped, but Adams may say that in the press conference. The comment on the cessation of violence is a very good thing. What we need him to say is that it is a permanent thing, but this is the most encouraging we've seen.

President Clinton: I'm very encouraged by the events. I want to work with you and Albert on this. Lake tried to call Molyneux yesterday.

Prime Minister Major: I'm meeting with him in a couple of hours.

President Clinton: I've been speaking with Crowe and keeping up on this. I hope the Unionist Community will support it. We have been developing an assistance package designed to reach out to the communities. We need to work together on this. We must be in lock step.

Prime Minister Major: Well that's very kind of you. I appreciate what you've done, what you're doing and what you've just said. We only hope that the last half step will be taken in the press conference. I understand their difficulty in using the word "permanent" because it's a British word, but we hope they can say it in another way.

President Clinton: Well, I'm going to issue a statement this morning, but I wanted to talk to you first. It welcomes the ceasefire, but stresses that it has to deliver what is promised.

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Prime Minister Major: Well I think that is immensely helpful. I've issued a preliminary statement that the IRA has put out a declaration of cessation of violence but it needs to be made permanent. ...I think your statement is very helpful.

President Clinton: Good.

Prime Minister Major: Well Bill, that is tremendous. I'm very grateful. We must keep in touch on this. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

President Clinton: I'll proceed. Let me know if there is anything I can do. I've been in touch with Crowe and he will be in touch with you. We'll keep working on our side to help both sides make this thing work.

Prime Minister Major: Good to hear from you.

President Clinton: Great John. Goodbye.

Prime Minister Major: Take care. Goodbye.

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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon Between President Clinton and Irish Prime Minister Reynolds

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

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

Prime Minister Reynolds: Hello.

President Clinton: Hello, Albert?

Prime Minister Reynolds: Yes, Mr. President.

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

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

President Clinton: It is a happy day.

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

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

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

President Clinton: I'm very happy.

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

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E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By M NARA, Date 7/4/11

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President Clinton: You have handled it brilliantly.

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

President Clinton: Goodbye.