

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Ireland Misc.

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1398

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50	2	4	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. chart	re: Northern Ireland: Parties in Conflict (1 page)	02/00/1996	P1/b(1)
002. paper	re: Northern Ireland Chronology: 12-16 May 1996 (1 page)	05/00/1996	P1/b(1)
003. memo	Nancy to Tony re: [Reynolds Adams Meeting] (2 pages)	09/06/1994	P1/b(1) KSH 6/14/2023
004. talking points	re: Talking Points for Use with John Hume (1 page)	08/00/1994	P1/b(1)
005. telecon	re: Telephone Call Between Nancy Soderberg and Gerry Adams, October 1, 1994 (6 pages)	10/03/1994	P1/b(1) KSH 6/14/2023

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Ireland Misc.

2011-0355-F

rs1670

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Neither Bruce, Niall or Joe could be here today. They all, however, agree with the thoughts expressed in this document and have signed off on it.

1. We are at a crisis. Support for the Republican Movement is at an all-time low in the United States since the peace process began. The new "special relationship" between Blair and Clinton may well dictate US policy on Northern Ireland for the next three years. There is, more than ever, the need for a strong Irish-American lobby in these circumstances. Unfortunately, post-Lurgan, even committed political friends like Rep. Peter King and Rep. Tom Manton are hacking away. The situation is dire.
2. We need a new cessation to rebuild the American dimension. Despite all the dreadful events of the past week and the potential for huge disruption in the weeks ahead, a small window of opportunity still exists. Our advice -- and conviction -- is that the Republican Movement must grasp it.
3. We believe that the new British government has displayed good faith in its handling of the North so far. Despite Lurgan, the Blair government has not walked away from its offer. We believe the reason for that is, mainly, that Blair needs Clinton more than he needs the Unionists, and Clinton has made clear his commitment to peace in Ireland. "Peace in Ireland is an article of faith in my family" he told the British Cabinet.
4. It was Sinn Fein leadership that largely created this political opportunity. Republican leaders must now seize the moment before it passes.
5. The IRA is being asked to call a ceasefire so that Sinn Fein can enter negotiations that will end in May 1998 by which time the shape of a settlement -- or of another impasse -- will be clear. It is a remarkable opportunity to shape the future with the Irish government and SDLP at your side, supported by Irish America and Clinton's influence on Blair. No amount of bombs or bullets could attain the same result in the same period, or probably ever. We would have no further confidence in the strategic thinking of the Republican Movement if this opportunity were not grasped.
6. Lurgan has led to renewed suspicions that militarist thinking is now dominant in the Republican Movement. If this is so, your friends and advocates need to be told the truth. We have upheld every part of the bargain we signed with you in the lead-up to the first cessation. We believe we are again at a defining moment. Unless the Republican Movement grasps this opportunity for talks and expanded political influence and adopts the unarmed strategy our role seems to be over.

Bruce Morrison
Chuck Feeney
Joe Jamison
Niall O'Dowd

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: NR DATE: 1/4/16

23 June 1997

201-055-8

DRAFT

SUPPORTING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS:

Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland

The Special Advisor shall advise the President and Secretary of State on economic initiatives to support the peace process in Northern Ireland. He shall be appointed by the Secretary of State for a period of up to 130 days. The duties of this position shall be:

- o To oversee the organization of the White House Conference on Trade and Investment. The Special Advisor will work with the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), the Irish and British governments, private business leaders and U.S. companies, and other relevant individuals and organizations.

Emphasis should be placed on partnership with the private sector.

The Conference shall promote investment in order to foster economic development in Northern Ireland and in the bordering counties of the Republic of Ireland.

- o To establish a dialogue with the European Union, its member states and other appropriate countries to encourage continued cooperation in the economic development of Northern Ireland and the border counties.

This will be accomplished, in part, through overseas travel as appropriate.

- o To consult with the IFI and the Congress, and others as appropriate, to help strengthen and target its programs to provide maximum support to the peace process.
- o To coordinate the efforts of all U.S. government agencies that are promoting economic development in Northern Ireland and the border counties, placing priority emphasis on attracting private sector investment.

SPECIAL ADVISER FOR ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN IRELAND

Appointment:

Like William Gray, the Special Adviser to the President and Secretary on Haiti, the Special Adviser for Economic Initiatives in Ireland would be appointed by the Secretary, not the President. This does not raise issues that would otherwise apply to Presidential Appointees on outside income. The title would still be, as in the case of William Gray, Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary.

Personnel and Staffing:

The State Department can support, on a limited appointment, an assistant to the Special Adviser. This assistant will be brought on board using temporary Schedule C authority, in 120 day increments, with a limit of 240 days at a salary not to exceed 6% of current salary. The prospective assistant will need to complete an employment package to include a SF-171 and SF-86 (Conflict of Interest form) and will be subject to the same ethics rules as cover all salaried Department of State employees.

The State Department also anticipates providing a secretary to support the office and a Foreign Service Officer to assist the Special Adviser as appropriate.

Administrative Set-Up:

Executive Office space will be available for the Special Adviser and staff on the seventh floor of the State Department. The office is fully equipped with computer terminals, secure and non-secure telephones, fax and a television.

A reserved parking permit will also be available for the Special Adviser as well as a non-reserved permit for one staff member. (Parking costs are roughly \$18 per month.) The Department can also provide a cellular telephone and pager for the Special Adviser and pagers for any staff members who need them.

Ethics Issues:

The following summarizes a number of considerations that should be taken into account in the appointment of a Special Adviser for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. This summary proceeds on the following assumptions:

- (1) that the individual will not receive a government salary; and

(2) that the work required of this individual will be short-term (i.e., completed within approximately six months) and temporary or intermittent in nature (i.e., not requiring full-time continuing work). Therefore he will not be expected to work more than 130 days over the next year.

If these assumptions change, more stringent ethics requirements may apply.

Appointment

If an individual is expected to perform temporary duties for not more than 130 days in one year, that individual is considered to be a Special Government Employee. The Department's principal authority to appoint individuals to uncompensated positions is 5 U.S.C. 3109, the authority for appointing experts and consultants. Because the Special Adviser for Economic Initiatives in Ireland would be expected to perform operating functions on behalf of the Department, he would need to be appointed as an expert rather than as a consultant. To be appointed as an expert he must qualify as a person with excellent qualifications and a high degree of attainment in his professional, scientific, technical, or other field. An expert generally is regarded as an authority or as a practitioner of unusual competence and skill by other persons in the profession, occupation, or activity.

Any person appointed as a special government employee would be subject to the Standards of Ethical Conduct and other requirements and policies governing the actions of Executive Branch employees. These statements contain such requirements as rules governing gifts and use of government cars and other government property. If a former Member of Congress were appointed as a special government employee, he would continue to be subject to any post-government rules resulting from that service. The post-government constraints of 18 U.S. C 207(e), however, would not interfere with a former member's duties on behalf of the Executive Branch since that law exempts representations by former Members of Congress made on behalf of the United States.

Financial Interests

Before appointing an individual to this position, his financial interests would need to be evaluated to determine whether they pose a conflict of interest. Under applicable criminal laws, an employee may not act on official matters in which he has a financial interest. Financial interests include not only stocks and bonds and limited partnerships that the individual has attributed to him (including those of his spouse or minor children), but also the interest of any organization with which the individual is affiliated as an officer, employee, general partner, or director. An individual also has attributed to him the financial interests of any organization with whom the individual is negotiating or has an arrangement concerning prospective employment.

A case-by-case review is required of each holding to determine whether a conflict of interest may exist. In making this determination, the Department would compare the

financial interests attributed to the individual with the scope of the proposed duties of the Special Adviser to see if any overlap exists. Conflicts of interests are generally cured by asking the individual to terminate the interest, although in special cases other remedies may be possible. For example, if the individual held Ford Motor Company stock, was serving on the board of Ford Motor Company, or had an arrangement for future employment with Ford Motor Company, and Ford Motor Company was seeking the Department's assistance with respect to investment in Ireland, the holding of this interest in Ford Motor Company would create a conflict of interest; divestiture would likely then be required.

OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES

Several requirements apply to outside activities, and they are discussed more fully below. In addition, a special government employee is generally barred from representing another person before the United States, 1) for the first sixty days of his employment, on matters he has actually worked on as a government employee and, 2) for the remaining period of his service as a special government employee, on matters pending before the department or agency in which he is serving.

Foreign Government Income

The Emoluments Clause of the Constitution (Art. 1, Sec. 9, Cl.8) bars a person holding any office of profit or trust under the Constitution from accepting any emolument from a foreign state, without the consent of Congress. Thus an individual appointed to the position of Special Adviser could not receive any income from a foreign government or a foreign political party, either directly or through a general partnership, while serving in this government position. With certain exceptions, a similar ban exists on retaining foreign gifts. The Justice Department has expressed the view that income from a foreign corporation owned or controlled by a foreign government should also be considered subject to this ban. In addition, a Special Government Employee may not serve as an agent of a foreign principal unless the Secretary of State certifies that such employment is required in the national interest.

Outside Income

A Special Government Employee may not receive any outside compensation for teaching, speaking, or writing that relates to his official duties. Teaching, speaking, or writing related to official duties if:

- (a) the activity is undertaken as part of the employee's official duties;
- (b) the circumstances indicate that the invitation to teach, speak or write was extended primarily because of the employee's official position rather than his expertise on the particular subject matter;

(c) the invitation was extended by a person who has interests that may be affected substantially by the performance or non-performance of the employee's official duties;

(d) the information conveyed through the activities draws substantially on ideas or official data that are non-public information; or

(e) the subject of the activity deals in significant part with any matter to which the employee is currently assigned or has been assigned during the previous one-year period as a Special Government Employee.

Since the Special Adviser would not be a Presidential appointee, he would be able to receive outside income for outside employment and activities that do not relate to the employee's official duties and do not create the appearance of a conflict of interest.

Political Activities

Under the Hatch Act Reform Amendments of 1993, an employee may not engage in political activity:

- (1) while the employee is on duty;
- (2) in government buildings; or
- (3) using any vehicle owned or leased by the United States Government.

In addition, an employee:

- (1) may not solicit or receive a political contribution from any person (except in limited cases involving labor unions);
- (2) run for the nomination or as a candidate for election to a partisan political office; or
- (3) solicit or discourage the participation in political activities of any person who has business before the Department.

Although these requirements apply to a Special Government Employee only when he is on duty, the Department's policy may require a more circumspect approach. As a matter of long-standing policy, the Department has limited the participation of its non-career employees in partisan campaigns. During the last election, for example, the Secretary barred non-career employees from engaging in any campaign role that involved direct contact with the electorate.

Post-Government Constraints

The Special Adviser, after leaving the position, would face certain restrictions on post-government activities. He would not be able for the life of the matter to represent another person before the United States in connection with a particular matter involving a specific party in which he participated personally and substantially as a government employee and in which the U.S. either is a party or has a direct and substantial interest. In addition, he would face a similar ban for two years in connection with particular matters actually pending under his official responsibility, even if he did not participate personally and substantially. He would also face a one-year ban on representing, aiding or advising another on the basis of non-public information concerning an ongoing trade or treaty negotiation in which he participated personally and substantially during his last year in government.

The additional post-government rules imposed by President Clinton apply only to full-time, non-career appointees who would be paid at a rate of Executive Level V or higher.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 1, 1994

SUPPORTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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

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

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

The promise of peace will allow Americans to build on the strong business, trade, political and cultural links we already enjoy with Ireland, north and south. The United States is the most important source of internationally mobile investment in Northern Ireland and in the Republic. Forty U.S. companies are already operating in Northern Ireland, providing some 9,000 jobs. In addition, the Administration strongly supports the International Fund for Ireland, which funds a broad range of economic and social development projects.

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

White House Conference for Trade and Investment

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

Commerce Secretary Brown to attend Belfast Investment Conference

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

Increased funding for the IFI*

The President is committed to continued strong U.S. support for the International Fund for Ireland. In addition to our planned obligation of almost \$20 million to the Fund in Fiscal Year 1995, we will seek Congressional concurrence to increase IFI funding by an additional \$10 million in Fiscal Year 1996 and in Fiscal Year 1997, for a total of about \$30 million each year. This increase will bring the total commitment of this Administration to the Fund to roughly \$100 million. The IFI has steadily strengthened and adjusted its programs and management over the years. We expect such progress to continue. This additional funding will support the IFI in undertaking the vital new initiatives that are needed to consolidate the gains of peace in Northern Ireland and the border counties and to build cross-community economic and political cooperation. We will work with it to strengthen its programs even further and particularly to address such entrenched problems as the high rates of long-term unemployment in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

Department of Commerce programs

The President has directed the Department of Commerce to

enhance our cooperation with Northern Ireland in science and technology, especially through strengthened collaboration with our Manufacturing Extension Partnerships and other programs to encourage technological innovation. The Commerce Department will also establish a Business Information Center for Trade and Investment and review other ways to promote business opportunities in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

The Department of Commerce will also initiate a business intern training program to bring managers and business technical experts to train with U.S. companies. This program will expedite the learning of advanced management and production skills and begin operating in Fiscal Year 1996 with approximately \$1 million in bilateral economic assistance funds. It will help improve the productive abilities of industry in Northern Ireland and the border counties and will also generate increased business between U.S. firms and companies in Northern Ireland -- creating more jobs both there and here.

USIA programs

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

National Endowment for Democracy

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

U.S. Agency for International Development

The President has asked USAID to explore ways to work with the IFI to increase the impact of its business enterprise program on small and micro-enterprises. Thomas A. Dine, USAID Assistant Administrator for Europe and the New Independent States, will travel through Northern Ireland and the border counties beginning November 19 to review existing IFI programs and determine whether approaches used by USAID elsewhere may have application in Northern Ireland.

Trade and Development Agency

The U.S. Trade and Development Agency will lead a technical delegation to Northern Ireland to identify infrastructure and industrial projects that represent mutually beneficial trade and

investment opportunities. Depending upon the findings of the delegation, future activities might include the funding of feasibility studies and/or the sponsorship of reverse trade missions.

A Continuing Commitment

We will continue to look for opportunities to support the efforts of the British and Irish governments and of democratic leaders in Northern Ireland to build on peace. We encourage the millions of Americans who want to contribute to peace in Ireland to do the same.

#

POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

PARTY LEADERSHIP

Party

Party Leader

Ulster Unionist Party

James Molyneaux, MP

Social Democratic and
Labour Party

John Hume, MP

Democratic Unionist Party

Ian Paisley, MP

Sinn Fein

Gerry Adams

Alliance Party

John Alderdice

Conservative Party

Sir Norman Fowler, MP

Ulster Popular
Unionist Party

Sir James Kilfedder, MP

Workers' Party

Tom French

Independent Unionists

Natural Law Party

Noise Abatement

Independent

Labour and Trade Union

Independent Progressive
Socialists

Loony Green

(Based on: Whitaker's Almanack 1994.)

GERRY ADAMS' SCHEDULE

Saturday, September 24th - Arrive Boston

Saturday, September 24th Evening - Hartford, Connecticut

--Democratic Party Convention Dinner w/Dodd

Sunday, September 25 - travel to New York City

Monday, Sept. 26 thru Wednesday morning, Sept. 28 - New York

--Mtg w/Irish Community (3,000-4,000 people) Major Speech

Wednesday PM, Sept. 28 - Boston

--Mtg w/Irish Community (2,000 people) reprise of earlier speech

Thursday, Sept. 29 - Cleveland

--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people?) reprise of earlier speech

Friday, Sept. 30 - Detroit

--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people?) reprise of earlier speech

Saturday, Oct.1 - Philadelphia

--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people) reprise of earlier speech

Sunday, Oct.2 - Rest Day

Monday, Oct. 3 thru Tuesday, Oct. 4 - Washington

--Mtgs w/Black Caucus, Hispanic Caucus, the 2 Irish Caucus' as well as Senators Kennedy, Moynihan and Dodd

--Mtgs w/Administration officials tbd

--rest of Washington visit would be private

Wednesday PM, Oct.5 departure for San Francisco

--Mtg w/Irish Community (1,000-1,500 people)

Thursday, Oct.6 - Los Angeles

--Major speech to the World Affairs Council (200 people?)

Friday, Oct.7 - Return Home



CITY OF BOSTON • MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

Raymond L. Flynn

Michael P. Quinlin

Mayor's Liaison to
Boston's Irish Community

Nancy Soderberg
Special Assistant to the President
& Staff Director
Ground Floor
White House
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Nancy:

"Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore" very much looks forward to engaging in a constructive dialog with the Clinton Administration about the Five Recommendations on Irish Issues, enclosed herewith.

Please don't hesitate to request further clarification or elaboration on the material.

Sincerely,


Michael P. Quinlin
Mayor's Office

"IRISH-AMERICANS FOR CLINTON/GORE"

FIVE RECOMMENDATIONS ON IRISH ISSUES

February 1993

Raymond L. Flynn
Mayor of Boston
Co-Chairman

Bruce A. Morrison
Former Conn. Congressman
Co-Chairman

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May 1, 1995

Deliverables: USIA Programs

The President has instructed the United States Information Agency to expand its programs in Northern Ireland in view of the changing political climate,

- (1) increasing **exchanges of persons**, as well as
- (2) planning **speakers and seminars** on such topics as **conflict resolution**.
- (3) In addition, USIA will open its grant competitions in such areas as **conflict resolution** to allow American non-profit organizations to submit proposals for projects in Northern Ireland to support the momentum for peace and reconciliation.

1. USIA has increased the **exchanges of persons** as follows:

- The number of **FY '95 International Visitor participants** from Northern Ireland has almost doubled over those in FY '94. (n.b. One of the more prominent Northern Irish citizens to participate was Mr. Ian Paisley, Jr., who in February, 1995, participated in the International Visitor Program's three-week Multi-Regional Project entitled "Grassroots Democracy").
- Working closely with FCS, USIS London and USIS Dublin are planning a special **International Visitor project on Business Development** which will bring a small group of government and business leaders with business researchers to the U.S. for a month-long program to study business and community development here in FY '96.
- Through USIA's Voluntary Visitor program, USIS Dublin has facilitated study trips to the U.S. for five groups of community leaders (primarily women) from Northern Ireland and the border counties to discuss **community development issues, family programs and programs for the disabled**.
- Also through the Office of Voluntary Visitors, USIA arranged for the **visits of Lord Mayor Hugh Smyth of Belfast and Lord Mayor John Gromley of Dublin** to the United States together (Washington D.C., Baltimore, Boston) with a small group of advisors.

2. In support of **seminars on conflict resolution** in Northern Ireland, USIS London has provided a grant to the Northern Ireland Mediation Network to support a program for John Paul Ledorak to speak on conflict resolution at the University of Ulster.

USIS London will provide a grant of \$10,000 to provide for six American experts to attend and address the **Foundation for a Civil Society Project on Justice in Times of Transition** conference in Belfast. The Foundation for a Civil Society, in collaboration with the University of Ulster Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity (INCORE) plans a conference to be held in Belfast in June 1995, bringing conflict resolution practitioners from various areas of civil conflict throughout the world (South Africa, Central America and the Mideast) to discuss methodologies. Proposed American speakers are: **Lloyd Cutler**, former White House Counsel, **Raymond Kelly**, former Police Commissioner of New York City; **James LeMoyne**, United Nations Political Advisor for Peace Processes; **Joseph V. Montville**, Senior Associate and Director Conflict Resolution Project, CSIS; **Timothy Phillips** from the Foundation for a Civil Society; and **Harold Saunders**, former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

USIA is exploring the possibilities of providing funding for a high-level Administration official to address the conference under the U.S. Speakers Program.

3. In January, 1995, USIA's Office of Citizen Exchanges issued a Request for Proposals from U.S. NGOs for projects on **conflict resolution** for Northern Ireland. In response to the RFP, a number of excellent proposals are under consideration for funding. Among the proposals are:

- **Fordham University Law School, in collaboration with the Center for Study of Conflict at the University of Ulster** (and University of Limerick), proposes a program for the development of grass-roots, community-based dispute resolution for Northern Ireland (\$123,420).

- **Ireland Institute of Pittsburgh** proposes a program of advanced training in conflict resolution/mediation skills to 24 Northern Ireland community relations practitioners associated with the **Northern Ireland Community Relations Council**, the Center for Creative Communication in Derry, and the Conflict Mediation Network at the University of Ulster (\$115,562).

In addition to the activities listed above, USIS Dublin and USIS London closely collaborate on increased USIS programming for Northern Ireland and the border counties. Other significant areas of increased activities are **academic exchange programs, cultural programs and media support for US official delegations.**

Academic Exchanges

At the most recent meeting of the U.K.-U.S. Fulbright Commission, the issue of increased recruitment from Northern Ireland featured prominently on the agenda. Special private sector funding is being sought for one or two chairs in fields relating to peace studies. Fulbright Commissions in both Ireland and the U.K. are investigating the possibility of nominating a representative from Northern Ireland to sit as an ex-officio member of both boards.

Queen's University of Belfast has requested a Fulbright professor to teach American Politics, and internships on Capitol Hill for Political Science students through USIA's office of Academic exchanges. USIA's Information Bureau arranged for a series two-way digital video conference between the students of Queen's University and students at the University of Maryland, to further supplement Queen's University's very active exchanges programs with the United States.

Cultural Programs

USIS London will provide grant funds to support the Ulster American Folk Park for programs this summer commemorating the 150th anniversary of the potato famine. USIS will fund the participation of an American bluegrass group at the annual summer festival.

Atlantic Bridges will receive up to \$10,000 from USIS London as seed money to produce a six-part series of 20-minute video programs about Ulster Irish immigration to the United States and the impact and experiences of the Irish immigrants.

Public Affairs Support

To assist in the significant expansion of USIS activities in Northern Ireland, USIS London has expanded their staff by adding a full-time FSN employee at the U.S. Consulate General in Belfast. This individual will work closely with the ACAO for Exchanges in London, who is responsible for USIS programs in Northern Ireland.

In support of the White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland, USIS London and USIS Dublin have scheduled press background briefings for influential media in London, Belfast and Dublin. USIA's Bureau of Broadcasting has scheduled a Worldnet interactive Dialogue program with Senator George Mitchell and Commerce Secretary Brown to highlight the conference, following-up on the very successful "scene-setter" Worldnet Dialogue with Secretary Brown in December.

National Endowment for Democracy

The National Endowment for Democracy is a Congressionally-funded organization which provides grants to institutions for the support of programs which foster the development of political parties and the democratic political process overseas. NED works with a number of non-profit program agencies, representing organizations from across the U.S. political spectrum.

In Northern Ireland, the NED is funding a program by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Under this program, NDI held a successful party training program in September, 1994. A series of 10-12 focus groups are planned for June 1995 to demonstrate how survey research can be used by political parties. Parties invited to take part in the focus group training program are SDLP, UUP, DUP, Alliance, Sinn Fein, UDP and PUP. NDI anticipates a second multiparty training seminar in September, 1995.

NED will provide support funding for the Project for Justice in Times of Transition conference in Belfast in June, 1995 (produced by the Foundation for a Civic Society).

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File

	NAME	STATE	OCCUPATION/REASON FOR INVITE	RECOMMENDED BY
	AKEY, Steven L.	DC	Dept. of Transportation, Ass. to the Sec. & Dir. of Public Affairs	CABINET
A	ALBRIGHT, Madeline K.		U.S. Rep to the UN	
	BAILEY, Sue	MD	Doctor	POL
A	BAKER, Charlie			
	BANE, Mary Jo	DC	Dept. of Health and Human Services, Ass. Sec. for Children and families	CABINET
	BANNISTER, Robert D.	DC	Senior Staff V.P., National Association of Home Builders	POL
	BARNICLE, Tim	DC	Dept. of Labor, Ass. Sec. for Employment and Training Administration	CABINET
	BARRIE, Robert W.	DC	O'Connor and Hannan	POL
	BARRY, John		Electrical Workers	ICKES
	BEATTY, Mike	CO	Chair, Colorado Democratic Party	POL
	BELIVEAU, Cynthia Murray	ME	She and her husband, Severin, are Maine political operatives; brother is a Catholic priest	POL
A	BIDEN, Sen.		Senate Foreign Affairs Committee (#2 Dem)	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	BIRMINGHAM, Tom	MA	State Senate President	POL
	BLAIR, Robert	DC	Partner, Manatt, Phelps & Philips	POL
	BLANCHARD, Chuck	AZ	Brown & Bain, State Senator	POL
	BOERGER, Mary	MD	Senior Fellow; Ireland-U.S. Political	CABINET
	BOGGS, Robert	OH	Senate Minority Leader	IGA
R	BORSKI, Rep. Bob			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	BOWERS, John		Longshoremen	ICKES
	BOWLER, Kathleen K.	CA	California Democratic Party	POL
A	BOYLAN, Francis Jerry	IN	One of the original fundraisers for Clinton/Gore; an Irish immigrant - selection #1 for the DLC	DLC
	BOYLE, Mary O.	OH	Board of County Commissioners, President	CABINET
	BRADY, Bob	PA	Chair of Philadelphia County Democratic Party	POL
A	BRADY, Jim	LA		INTGVL AFFAIRS
	BRESLIN, Michael	NY	Albany County Executive	POL
	BRISTOL, George L.	TX	President, GLB Inc.	POL
R	BROOKS, Rev. John E.		President, Holy Cross	
	BROPHY, Susan	DC	Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs	CABINET
A	BROWNER, Hon. Carol M.		Administrator, EPA	CABINET
R	BROWN, Secretary Ron	DC	Secretary of Commerce	LEGIS AFFAIRS, CAB
	BUCKLEY, Raymond	NH	Demo State Rep.; Deputy Min Ldr, State House & Former Executive Director, State Party	POL
A	BULGER, William	MA	President of the Massachusetts State Senate	INTGVL AFFAIRS/OPL
	BURNS, Ken	NH	Filmmaker	POL
	BURROWS, Stephen J.	MO	Anheuser-Busch International, Inc. President	CABINET

	BURTON, John	CA	State Assemblyman	POL
R	BYRD, Sen.		Ranking member of Senate Appropriations	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	BYRNE, Brendan "Tom" Jr.	MA	Former Governor, Current State Party Chair	POL
R	BYRON, Rev. Bill	DC	Jesuit Community, Georgetown University.	OFL
A	CAFFERTY, Margaret	MD	Exec. Director of the Leadership Conf. of Women Religious	OFL
	CAIN, Madeline	OH	Mayor of Lakewood	POL
	CALLAHAN, John	DC	Dept. of Health and Human Services, Ass. Sec. for Management and Budget	CABINET
R	CALLAHAN, Rep.		Chairman of House Foreign Operations Subcommittee	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	CAMPBELL, Jane	OH	House Assistant Minority Leader	IGA
A	CAMPION, Chuck			
	CANNON, Carl		Baltimore Sun	PRESS
A	CAREY, Hon. Hugh	DC	Executive Vice Pres., W.R. Grace and Company	LEGIS AFFAIRS/OPL/OFL/CAB
	CAREY, Ron		Teamsters	ICKES
	CARNEY, Jay		Time Magazine	
A	CARR, John and Linda	DC	US Catholic Conference Sec. Department of Social Development and World Peace	OFL
	CARY, Margaret	CO	Regional Administrator, Dept. of Health and Human Services	POL
	CASEY, James	NH	Labor Ldr, Exec Comm Member & Kerry '92 Supporter	POL
	CASHIN, Bill	NH	Manchester Alderman, VP of CMC Hosp. & Early Clinton Supporter	POL
	CASHMAN, David	ME	State Representative: Bangor Irish community leader	POL
R	CHRISTOPHER, Secretary			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	CLEARY, Ed	NY	President of NY AFL-CIO	POL
A	CLOUGH, Hon. George	MI	President, Ancient Order of Hibernians	OPL
	CODE, Larry	MA	Irish community leader	POL
	COLEMAN, Elizabeth	GA	Maidenform Worldwide, Chairman and Chief Executive Offi	CABINET
	COLLINS, Tim	NY	Generous DNC contributor	QUINN
	CONDON, George		Copley	PRESS
	CONEWAY, Peter R.	TX	Goldman Sachs	POL
A	CONNELLY, John, and guest	PA	Chairman and CEO, J. Edward Connelly and Associates. Fortune 500 member, extremely active in Catholic charities. Supports the DNC and the efforts of the national Health Care Campaign. He is of strong Irish heritage. Although he was invited to the State dinner, he is one of our most significant supporters and will remain so in the coming years.	DNC, POL
	CONNLEY, Jerry Jr.	ME	Former State Senator	POL
	CONNOR, Marty	NY	Minority Leader of State Senate	POL
	CONROY, Donald Patrick "Pat"	SC		CABINET
	COONY, Steve	CA	COS, Senator Bill Lockyer	POL
A	CORRIGAN, Jack	MA		?
A	COSGROVE, Mr. and Mrs. John P.	DC		

A	COSTELLO, Cong. Jerry	IL		INTGVL AFFAIRS
	COSTELLO, Francis	MA	chair of Irish Americans for Clinton in Mass.; wrote letter wanting to help the President's efforts in Ireland.	HERNREICH
	COSTELLO, Frank	MA	Former Joe Kennedy staffer	POL
	COULSON, Beth	AR	?	POL
	CRATTY, Carol		CNN	PRESS
	CROFT, Caroline	DC	U.S. Information Agency, Acting Director, Office Arts America	CABINET
	CROTTY, Paul	NY	Corporation Counsel of New York City, and very important in the Irish community.	POLITICAL AFFAIRS
	CROWLEY, Joseph	NY	Assembleman; Queens Irish leader	POL
A	CUOMO, Andrew	VA	Kerry is co-hosting party in support of Mrs. Clinton this mo	QUINN
A	CURLEY, Jennifer	DC	U.S. Department of State Office of Protocol, Escort Officer	CABINET
	CURRAN, Joe	MD	Attorney General	INTGVL AFFAIRS, POL
	CUSHING, Michael	DC	Office of Personnel Management, Chief of Staff	CABINET
	CUTRIN, Danny	CA	St. Council of Carpenters	POL
R	DALEY, Richard and Maggie	IL	Mayor of Chicago. The mayor will become the President of the U.S. cConference of mayors in 1996, and he leads a city with a large Irish population.	INTGVL AFFAIRS
A	DALEY, William	IL	Partner, Meyer Brown and Platt	POL & CABINET
	DANIEL-DAVIS, Laura	DC	Dept. of Interior, Director of Scheduling	CABINET
	DANSMORE, Edward	NH	1st District Chr, former Cong Cand, WH Del., Conf on Sml Bus & Bookstore Owner	POL
R	DASCHLE, Sen.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	DESLER, James	DC	Department of Commerce	CABINET
	DiGIACOBBE, Marilyn	DC	Office of Public Liaison. Associate Director	CABINET
A	DINGELL, John and Debbie	VA	Strong supporter	QUINN
	DODD, Sen.	CT	Senator	LEGIS AFFAIRS, POL
	DOLAN, Jay	IN	Donor requests to attend the event.	GIFT UNIT
R	DOLE, Sen.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	DONAHUE, Mr. Thomas	DC	Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO	CABINET, ICKES, POL
A	DONILON, Tom			
A	DONLEY, Sister Rosemary		Executive VP, Catholic University of America	
	DORITY, Doug		FCW	ICKES
	DOUGHERTY, Bill	CA	1992 Rep. for Clinton; Veteran; Attorney	POL
	DOUGHERTY, Jill		CNN	PRESS
	DOWD, Maureen		New York Times	PRESS
	DOWNEY, Tom and Chris	DC	Tom is a good friend of the Vice President's and Chris is co-hosting a party in support of Mrs. Clinton this month	QUINN
	DOYLE, James	WI	Attorney General	IGA
	DRINAN, Reverend Robert		Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center	
	DRIVER, Mike and Mary	CO	Attorney, Patton, Boogs & Blow	POL
	DUFFY, Dennis	DC	Dept. of Veterans Affairs. Ass. Secretary for Policy & Planning	CABINET
A	DUFFY, Joe & Wexler, Ann	DC	U.S. Information Agency, Director	CABINET

A	DUFFY, Michael		Time Magazine	
	DUNFEY FREIBURGER, Eleanor	NH	Dunfey Clan Representative	POL
	DUNFEY, David	ME	Head of NE GSA; his father was part of recent Ireland delegation	POL
	DUNFEY, John P. "Jack"	NH	New England Citizens Circle, Chairman	CABINET
	DUNFEY, Julie	NH	Dunfey Clan Representative	POL
A	DUNFEY, Mr. Bob		Director, The Dunfey Group	
A	DUNFEY, Mr. Jerry		The Dunfey Group	
A	DUNFEY, Mr. John		Chairman, The Dunfey Group	
	DURKIN, John	NH	Former U.S. Senator, but lives most of the time in Wash. are	POL
	DuVAL, Fred	DC	Deputy Chief of Protocol, Department of State	POL
	DWYER, Thomas	MA	Dwyer & Collora; MA Finance person; Irish leader	POL
A	EISNER, Sister Janet	MA	Emmanuel College, Office of the President	
	ELLIOT, Michael		Newsweek	PRESS
R	EVANS, Dan	WA	Chief of Staff to Senator Murray	POL
	FARLEY, William	IL	CEO, Fruit of the Loom	LEGIS AFFAIRS, IGA
R	FARRELL, Mr. & Mrs. Jack		The Boston Globe	
	FASSETT, Thom White Wolf	DC	United Methodist Church, General Secretary Board of Chur	CABINET
	FEERICK, John D.	NY	Fordham University School of Law, Dean	CABINET
R	FITZGERALD, Michael	IA	State Treasurer. he will likely run for Governor of Iowa in 1998. It is important to include people from Iowa to White House events; and since he is the only statewide Democrat left in that state, it would be beneficial to include him in this event. He is of Irish descent.	DNC/INTGVL
A	FITZPATRICK, Joe and guest	VA	DNC member and local/state organizer; former Virginia State Senator; He is of Irish descent. His wife died very recently and it would be very nice to invite him to this event.	DNC
	FLAHERTY, Charles	MA	Speaker of the House	IGA, POL
	FLANIGAN, Finula	CA	Irish Actress	POL
	FLANIGAN, Grania	CA	Finula's sister, heads Irish film festival	POL
A	FLYNN, Ambassador Raymond		U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican	
A	FLYNN, William and Margaret	NY	Chairman of the Board, Mutual of America.	LEGIS AFFAIRS, CAB
	FOLEY, Eileen	NH	Demo Mayor of Portsmouth & Key Pro Lifer	POL
A	FOLEY, Tom and Heather	DC	Appointee to Indian Gaming Commission	POL
	FORAN, John	CA	Former State Senator	POL
	FOWLER, Don			
A	GALLAGHER, Chris	NH		INTGVL AFFAIRS
	GALVIN, William	MA	Secretary of the Commonwealth	IGA
	GARDE, Maureen	MA	DNC Deputy Political Director	POL
	GARRITY, Susan		Irish Echo	PRESS
	GEARAN, Mark	DC	Director of The Peace Corps	CABINET
R	GEPHARDT, Rep.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	GILLILAND, Lukin T. Jr.	TX	Owner, 50/50 Restaurant	POL

A	GILMAN, Rep.		Chairman of House International Relations Committee	LEGIS AFFAIRS
R	GINGRICH, Speaker	DC	Speaker of the House	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	GLYNN, Thomas	DC	Department of Labor, Deputy Secretary	CABINET
	GRAHAM, John	NJ	Fairview Associates	POL
	GREGOIRE, Christine	WA	Attorney General	POL
	GRIEVES, Brian J.	NY	The Episcopal Church, USA Reverend Canon	CABINET
R	GRIFFIN, Bob	MO	Speaker of the House	INTGVL AFFAIRS
	GRIPPEN, Timothy	NY	Broome County Executive	POL
	GUINEY, Elaine	MA	1992 Clinton/Gore State Director	POL
	HAGAN, Tim	OH	Commissioner of Cuyahoga County	POL
	HALE, Marcia	DC	Director of White House Intergovernmental Affairs Office	CABINET
A	HAMILTON, Rep.		Ranking member of House International Relations Committee	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	HANEY, Franklin L.	DC	Executive Offices	POL
	HANEY, William M.	MA	Molten Metal Technology, Inc.	POL
	HANLEY, Kate	VA	Chairman of the Board of Supervisors	IGA
	HANLEY, Larry	NY	President of ALGWU local	POL
	HANNA, John	CA	Attorney, Horton, Barbaro & Reilly; Ore. Co. Foundation	POL
	HANSON, Duncan	KY	Presbyterian Church, Coordinator for Ecumenical Relations	CABINET
R	HARKIN, Sen.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	HARRIGAN, Sean	CA	UFCW	POL
A	HARTIGAN, Neil	IL	Partner, Gardner, Carton and Douglas	POL, CABINET
A	HATFIELD, Sen.		Chairman of Senate Appropriations	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	HAYDEN, Tom	CA	State Senator	POL
R	HELMS, Sen.		Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	HENNING, Jack	CA	AFL-CIO	POL
	HENNING, Patrick	CA	Active in Catholic church and in labor movement	POL
	HERMAN, Alexis	DC	Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison	CABINET
R	HICKEY, Cardinal, James	DC	Archdiocese of Washington	OFL
	HIGGINS, Kitty	DC	Secretary of CABINET Affairs, Assistant to the President	CABINET
	HOGAN, John	DC	Department of Justice, Chief of Staff	CABINET
	HOGAN, Shawn	NY	Mayor of Hornell	POL
A	HOLBROOK, Ambassador Richard and Mrs.	DC	Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, State Department.	NSC
	HOOG, Tom	DC	Chairman, Hill & Knowlton	POL
	HUNT, Terry		AP	PRESS
	HYNES, Charles Joe	NY	Brooklyn District Attorney	POL
R	HYNES, Thomas	IL	Assessor of Cook County	INTGVL AFFAIRS, POL
A	JAMISON, Joseph	NY	Executive Director, Irish-American Labor Coalition	LEGIS AFFAIRS/OPL

	JENNINGS, Jerry	NY	Mayor of Albany	POL
	JENNINGS, Joe	NY	COS to Albany Mayor Jennings	POL
	JOYCE, John		Bricklayers	ICKES
A	KANE, Annette and Joe	DC	She is head of council of Catholic women.	OFL
	KANE, Dan	NY	President of local 111 teamsters	POL
	KARPAN, Kathy	WY	Former Secretary of State, Karpan & White Law Offices	POL
	KEATING, Richard F.	DC	V.P. for National Affairs, Anheuser Busch	POL
	KEEFE, Joe	NH	NH Demo Party Chair, Lawyer & Kerrey '92	POL
A	KEELER, Cardinal, William	MD	Archdiocese of Baltimore	OFL
	KEENER, Mary Lou	DC	Dept. of Veterans Affairs, General Counsel	CABINET
	KELLEY, Frank	MI	Attorney General	IGA
A	KELLEY, Mr. Dick	AR		
	KELLY, Bernie	CA	Active in San Francisco Irish Community	POL
	KELLY, Paul	RI	State Senate President	POL
A	KELLY, Peter and Susan	CT		INTGVL AFFAIRS
	KELLY, Peter D. III	CA	Attorney, Kelly & Ryan	POL
R	KENNEDY, John Jr.			
A	KENNEDY, Sen. Edward	DC		INTGVL AFFAIRS
	KENNEDY, Amb. Jean K. Smith			
	KENNEDY, Caroline			
R	KENNEDY, Cong. Joseph	DC		INTGVL/LEGIS
R	KENNEDY, Cong. Patrick			
R	KENNEDY, Mrs. Robert (Ethel)	VA		
	KENNEDY, William	NY	New York State Writers Institute, Novelist and Director	CABINET
R	KENNELLY, Rep.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	KENNEY, Larry and Phyllis	WA	He is on the governor appointed Tax Board, Past Chair of the Washington State Labor Council and was an early supporter of the President.	POLITICAL AFFAIRS
R	KEOUGH, Mr. & Mrs. Donald	GA	Chairman of the Board, Allen & Company	CABINET
	KERRY, David	ME	Former State Senator; owner of popular Irish pub	POL
R	KERRY, Sen. John	ME	Former State Senator; political person for Cardinal O'Connor	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	KIELY, Kathy		Arkansas Democrat Gazette	PRESS
A	KING, Jim	DC	Director, OPM	CABINET
	KING, John	NH	Demo State Senate Minority Leader & '92 Clinton Supporter	POL
	KING, Mike and Susan	DC	Susan is the new Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at La	QUINN
A	KING, Rep. Peter			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	KING, Thomas	NH	Former Manchester Police Chief; Early Clinton Supporter & Demo Activists	POL
A	KIRK, Paul	MA	Former DNC Chair; MA fundraiser	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	KNIGHT, Peter S.	DC	Wunder, Diefenderfer	POL

	LADER, Philip	DC	Administrator	CABINET
	LAMM, Dick and Dottie	CO	Former Governor	POL
R	LAW, Cardinal, Bernard	MA	Archdioces of Boston	OFL
	LAWLOR, Richard	CT	Irish Community Leader	POL
A	LEAHY, Sen.		Ranking member of Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee	LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	LEAVY, Rev. Matthey K.		Chancellor, St. Anselm's College	
	LEE, Philip	DC	Dept. of Health and Human Services, Ass. Sec. for Health	CABINET
	LeHANE, Chris	ME	Counsel's Office; Maine State Director in 1992	POL
A	LEONARD, Thomas	PA	Trustee, Dilworth, Paxton, etal.	OPL
	LEYDEN, John		Public Employees at the AFL	ICKES
A	LINNON, Robert	DC	National President, Irish American Unity Conference	OPL
	LITTLE, Mark		RTE	PRESS
R	LUGAR, Sen.		Senate Foreign Affairs Committee (#2 Rep)	LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	LYONS, Jim	CO	Rothgerber Appel Powers and Johnson/US Observer to the International Fund for Ireland	INTGVL/LEGIS
A	LYONS, Thomas	IL	Cook County Chairman	POL
	MACKAY, Buddy	FL	Lt. Governor	IGA
R	MADIGAN, Hon. Michael	IL	House Minority Leader	INTGVL AFFAIRS
R	MAHONEY, Cardinal, Roger	CA	Archdiocese of Los Angeles	OFL
A	MALLOY, James	MO	Chairman and CEO, Smurfit Packaging Corp.	LEGIS AFFAIRS
R	MALLOY, Rev. Edward A.		President, The University of Notre Dame	
A	MALONE, Bishop, James	OH	Diocese of Youngstown	OFL
	MANN, Ed	CT	Senator Dodd's CT State Director	POL
A	MANTON, Tom	NY	Congressman, and very important in the Irish community.	POLITICAL/LEGIS
	MATHEWS, Harlan	TN	Farris Mathews	POL
A	MATTHEWS, Chris	DC	Press, San Francisco Examiner	PRESS
	MAULDIN, Jerry	AR	President & CEO, Entergy Co.	POL
	McAFEE, Flo	DC	Office of Public Liaison, Special Assistant to the President	CABINET
	MCATEER, Davitt	DC	Dept. of Labor, Ass. Sec. for Mine Safety and Health	CABINET
A	McAULIFFE, Terry	DC	President, American Capital Management	POL & CABINET
	McCABE, Kevin	NY	Chief of Staff to Speaker of the City Council	POL
	MCCAFFREY, Barry	DC	Office of National Drug Control Policy, Director (Nominee)	CABINET
	McCANN, Jack	CA	IBEW	POL
A	McCANN, James	NY	President, 800-Flowers	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	McCARRICK, Theodore E.	MA	Archbishop of Newark	POL
A	McCARATHY, Colman	DC	Press	PRESS
	McCARATHY, Leo	CA	Former Lt. Governor	POL
A	McCONNELL, Sen.		Chairman of Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee	LEGIS AFFAIRS

R	McCUE, George	OH	Crabbe, Brown, Jones, Potts & Schmidt	POL
	McDERMOTT, Rep.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	McDONALD, Tom	OH	Arter & Hadden	POL
	McDONOUGH, Robert	CA	Remedy Temp	POL
	McEACHERN, Paul	NH	Early Clinton Supporter, Lawyer & Portsmouth Sch Brd Me	POL
	McENENY, Jim	NY	Assemblyman in Albany; established sister-city status between Dublin and Albany	POL
A	McENTEE, Mr. & Mrs. Gerald W.		President, American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	ICKES
	McENTREE, Gerald	DC	AFL-CIO, International President	CABINET
A	McGEE, Elizabeth	DC	Director, Communications and Development, National Association of Police Organizations	OPL
	McGOWAN, Gerald S.	DC	Lucas, McGowan, Nance & Gutierrez, Partner	CABINET, POL
	McGOWAN, Pat	ME	SBA Regional Director for Northeast	POL
	MCGRAW, Darrell	WV	Attorney General	IGA
A	McGRORY, Mary	DC	Press	PRESS
	McGUIRE, John	MA	McGuire & McGuire, P.C.	POL
	McGUIRE, Paddy	OR	Department of Interior	POL
	MCLARTY, Mack	DC	Counselor to the President	CABINET
	McLAUGHLIN, Brian	NY	President of Central Labor Council	POL
	McLELLAND, Stan	TX	Valero Energy Corp.	POL
	McMAHON, Patrick	CA	Request came from the COS office	COS
	MCMAHON, Ricia	DC	Office of National Drug Control Policy, Deputy Chief of Staff	CABINET
	McMANAMON, Edward J. III	NJ	McManamon & Scotland	POL
	McMANUS, Doyle		LA Times	PRESS
	McNAMARA, Ed	MI	Wayne County Executive	POL & CABINET
	McNULTY, Michael	NY	Congressman	POL
	McQUILLAN, Larry		Reuters	PRESS
	MENARD, Joan	MA	Assistant Majority Whip in State House; State Party Chair	POL
	MENINO, Tom	MA	Mayor of Boston	POL
	MILLER, Bob	NV	Governor of Nevada	IGA
	MITCHELL, Doug	MT	State Director, Senator Max Baucuc	POL
A	MITCHELL, Senator George and Mrs.	DC	Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Economic Initiatives in Ireland.	NSC/INTGVL/LEGIS
	MITCHELL, Valery	NH	Grassroots Captain & Early Clinton Supporter & Jim was Pres. Appointee to NH Agric.	POL
R	MOAKLEY, Rep. Joe			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	MONAHAN, John	DC	Dept. of Health and Human Services, Dir. of Intergovernmental Affairs	CABINET
A	MONAN, Monsignor Donald J.	MA	President, Boston College	OPL
	MONROE, T. Ark	AR	?	POL
	MONTRONE, Paul	NH	Fisher Scientific International	POL
	MOORE, Jack F.	DC	President, Int'l Brotherhood of Electric Workers	POL

	MOORE, James E.	NY	President, Conti Financial Services Corporation	POL
	MOREHOUSE, David	DC	Office of National Drug Control Policy, Dir. Communications	CABINET
	MORGAN, John	FL	Morgan, Colling & Gilbert	POL
A	MORRISON, Hon. Bruce	CT	Chairman, Americans for a new Irish Agenda	OPL
R	MOYNIHAN, Sen.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	MULCAHY, Mr. Dennis	NY	National Chairman, Project Children	CABINET
	MULREADY, Sheila	CT	Irish Community Leader	POL
	MUNDY, James F.	PA	Raynes, McCarty, Binder, Ross & Mundy	POL
	MURPHY, Bill	NY	Staten Island District Attorney	POL
	MURPHY, Patrick	ME	Irish Community Leader: husband of Victoria Murphy	POL
R	MURPHY, Thomas	GA	Speaker of the House	INTGVL AFFAIRS
	MURPHY, Thomas J., Jr.	Pa	City of Pittsburgh, Mayor	CABINET, POL
	MURPHY, Victoria	ME	State Party Chair	POL
R	MURRAY, Monsignor, James		Executive Director, Catholic Charities, Irish Outreach	OPL
	MURRAY, Patty	WA	Senator	POL
R	MURTHA, Rep.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	NEAL, Rep. Richard			LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	NEWMAN, Mr. Paul		Newman's Own Inc.	
	NOLAN, Jean	DC	Dept. of Housing and Urban Dev., Ass. Sec. for Public Affairs	CABINET
A	NYHAN, Mr. and Mrs. David		Associate Editor, Boston Globe	
R	O'BANNON, Frank	IN	Lieutenant Governor. He is the President of the National Association of Democratic Lieutenant Governors. He is running for Governor of Indiana in 1996, and will probably oppose Dan Quayle. He is Irish.	DNC/INTGVL/DLC
	OBEY, Rep.		Ranking member of House Appropriations	LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	O'BRIEN, David	DC	Department of Labor	INTGVL AFFAIRS
R	O'BRIEN, Francis	DC	Dewey Square Group	INTGVL AFFAIRS
A	O'BRIEN, Lawrence, and Mrs.	DC	Active DLC and PPI Roundtable member	DLC
A	O'CLERY, Mr. & Mrs. Conor	MD		
R	O'CONNER, Cardinal, John	NY	Archdioceses of New York	OFL
A	O'CONNOR, Pat and Evie	MN	Strong financial supporters of the President, the Vice President and the DNC. He coordinated the visit of Ireland's Prime minister to Minnesota, and he is very active in the Irish Community.	POLITICAL AFFAIRS
	O'DONNELL, Gene	NY	Brooklyn Assistant District Attorney	POL
A	O'DONNELL, Hon. Bob	PA	Early supporter. Submitted by Lazar Palnick/ early supporter and friend of 1st lady.	OPL
A	O'DONNELL, Kirk	DC	Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer, and Fold. General Counsel to Tip O'Neill.	OPL
	O'DONOGHUE, Joe	CA	Head, San Francisco Residential Bldg. Assoc.; Active Irish cultural center	POL
A	O'DONOVAN, Rev. Leo	DC	President, Georgetown University	OPL
R	O'DOWD, Mr. Niall	NY	Publisher, Irish America Magazine	CABINET
	O'DWYER, Brian	NY	Emerald Isle Immigration Center, Chairman	CABINET, POL

	O'DWYER, Pat	NY	Important National Irish activist; her husband is Paul O'Dwyer, who is a major Irish figure--he is confined to a wheelchair, so Pat does most of his speaking engagements	POL
	O'GRADY, Pete	OH	Pete O'Grady & Associates	POL
	O'HANLON, John	DC	Raffaelli, Spees, Springer & Smith	POL
	O'HARA, James	MD	Dept. of Health and Human Services, Associate Commissioner Public Affairs	CABINET
	O'LEARY, Anne	ME	WH Fellow's Office; father is Maine's AFL-CIO President	POL
	O'LEARY, Charlie "Chick"	ME	President of AFL-CIO	POL
	O'LEARY, John	ME	Attorney; FOB; CG Authorized Rep. in ME in 1996	POL
	O'MALLEY, Martin	MD	City Councilman in Baltimore; former Mikulski staffer	POL
A	O'NEILL, Mrs. Thomas P.	MD	She has five children who are all actively involved in Irish issues: Tommy, Kip, Susan, Rosemary and Michael. She recommends that they be invited as well.	LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	O'NEILL, Christopher (Kip) and wife			
	O'NEILL, Richard	CA	DNC Trustee. Former CDP Chair	POL
A	O'NEILL, Rosemary			
A	O'NEILL, Susan			
R	O'NEILL, Tommy and wife			
	O'NEIL, Dan	NH	Former Alderman, Grassroots Captain & Early Clinton Supporter	POL
R	O'REILY, Dr. and Mrs. Anthony		President and CEO, HJ Heinz and Company	
	PALMER, John		NBC	PRESS
A	PELL, Sen.		Ranking Member of Senate Foreign Relations	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	PERRY, William	DC	Secretary of Defense	CABINET
	PETERSEN, Chris and Michelle	VA	?	POL
A	PINKERTON, Sister, Catherine	MD	Network	OFL
	PITTENGER, Elizabeth	PA	President's Commission on Mental Retardation	POL
A	POPE, Martha and guest	DC	Executive Assistant to Senator Mitchell, State Dept.	NSC
	POSTEL, Henry J. "Hank"	MD	Presbyterian Church USA Northern Ireland Working Group Chairman	CABINET
	POUND, John P.	NM	Attorney, Herrera, Long & Pound	POL. CABINET
A	QUINN, Jane Bryant	DC	Press, Newsweek	PRESS
A	QUINN, Mr. and Mrs. Paul		Fleet Financial	
A	QUINN, Mr. Thomas Henry		O'Connor & Hannan	
A	QUINN, Rep. Jack			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	REARDON, Terry	CA	Staff, Senator Jim Costa; Former Chair Irish forum	POL
	REDMOND, David	ME	Former COS to former Gov. Brennan; Portland Irish community leader	POL
	REED, Jack	RI	Congressman	POL
	REED, Mary Lou	ID	Assistant Minority Leader	POL
	REILLY, Daniel P.	MA	National Conference of Catholic Bishops Chairman	
A	REILLY, John and Margaret Warner		International Policy Committee	CABINET

R	RILEY, Joseph	SC	Mayor of Charleston. Served as President of the National Conference of Democratic Mayors from 1992-1994. He will be a key player in SC in 1996. He is Irish. He ran for Governor in the primary, and is good friends with Chairman Fowler.	DNC/INTGVL
A	RILEY, Mr. and Mrs. Pat	NY		
A	RILEY, Richard	DC	Secretary, Department of Education	DNC
R	RIORDAN, Richard and guest Nancy Daly	CA		INTGVL AFFAIRS
A	ROBBINS, Ms. Liz		Liz Robbins & Associates	
	ROGAN, Bob	VT	Governor Dean's Deput Chief of Staff	POL
	ROONEY, Phillip B.	IL	WMX Technologies, Inc. President	CABINET
A	RUSSERT, Tim & Maureen Orth	DC	Bureau Chief, NBC News	PRESS
A	SALLET, Johnathan		Commerce Department Coordinator of Ireland Conference Executive Director, National Association of Police Organization. President's most ardent supporter during Crime Bill debate and 100,000 cops and assault weapons ban.	LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	SCULLY, Robert	DC		OPL
A	SCULLY, Steve	DC	Press, C-Span	PRESS
	SCULLY, Thomas A.	DC	President, Federation of American Health Systems	POL
	SEIGEL, Fred	MA	Beacon Energy	POL
	SHANNON, Larry	WA	American Trial Lawyers Association	POL
A	SHANNON, Mrs. Elizabeth	MA		
	SHEAHAN, Mike	IL	Cook County Sheriff	POL
	SHEA, Michael	CO	FOB	POL
	SHEFFIELD, Bill	AK	Former Governor	POL
R	SHIELDS, Mark & Ann	DC	Press	PRESS
R	SHRIVER, Seargant			
	SMITH, Elizabeth		AFT	ICKES
R	STAFFORD, John	NJ	Chairman, President and CEO, American Home Products	LEGIS AFFAIRS
A	STEPHENS, Doris and guest	DC	Director for European Affairs, NSC	NSC
	STRATTON, Mike	CO	Chairman, Public Decisions	POL
A	SULLIVAN, Chris	VA	International Brotherhood of Police Officers, and integral in Crime bill efforts.	OPL
	SULLIVAN, Mike	WY	Former Governor	POL
	SWANN, Richard	FL	Chairman of the Board, Swann, Hadley & Alvarez	POL
A	SWEENEY, John	DC	Service Employees International Union	OPL
	SWEENEY, Patrick	OH	House Minority Leader	IGA
R	TARNOFF, Hon. Peter and Mrs.	DC	Under Sec. of State for POLITICAL AFFAIRS, State Dept.	NSC
	THOMPSON, H. Brian	VA	Chairman and CEO, LCI International	POL
	THORNBERRY, BJ	DC	Department of Interior, Deputy Chief of Staff	CABINET
A	TONER, Robin	NY	The New York Times	
A	TOWNSEND, Kathleen	MD	Lieutenant Governor. She is a Kennedy, and thus an obvious person to include in any White House event, particularly a St. Patrick's Day celebration.	DNC
	VAN SHURA, Mary Ester	PA	Ran Western PA for Clinton/Gore in 1992	POL

	VOGEL, John	DC	Dept. of Veterans Affairs, Under Secretary for Benefits	CABINET
	WALDLAW, Bill	CA	California C/G Chair '92 - Chief Counsel for Cardinal Mahoney and Counsel to Arch Dioceses of LA	POL
A	WALSH, Mr. and Mrs. Ken		US News & World Report	
R	WALSH, Rep.			LEGIS AFFAIRS
	WEAVER, A. Vernon	DC	Watergate South	POL
	WHITE, John	DC	Department of Defense, Deputy Secretary	CABINET
A	WHOLEY, Michael, and Rep. Sally Kerns	MA	C/G '92 National Field Director and MA state rep. spouse.	DLC
A	WILLIAMS, Mr. and Mrs. Brian			
A	WILSON, Rep.		Ranking member of House Foreign Operations Subcommittee	LEGIS AFFAIRS
	WISELY, Jim	CA	Consultant, Assemblyman Richard Katz	POL

bcc: Nancy Soderberg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 12, 1996

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NOTE TO: THE FIRST LADY

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS

Kitty

As promised, here is the rhyme Seamus Heaney delivered at Fordham's commencement fourteen years ago. He advises reading the first two pages and the last two stanzas. Enjoy!

VERSES FOR A FORDHAM COMMENCEMENT

by

Seamus Heaney

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

MAY 23, 1982

Alumnae, alumni, graduates,
Laymen, laywomen, Jesuits
And other orders,
Doctors, bachelors and masters,
Parents ~~and guests~~ ^{guests} bishops, ~~sisters~~,
And whoever else old Fordham musters
Within her borders:

I rise to rise to the occasion
And not disgrace my art or nation
Because, although
The honour of this high degree
Is done to my name and to me,
It's done to poetry equally
And Ireland also.

By now you've gathered from the rhymes
And the tune being played upon the lines
That these are stanzas;
Yet so far you have felt no pain,
Confusion has not dimmed your brain,
In fact the meaning's made more plain
As sight by lenses.

For clarity's what verse is good for.
It is a kind of *aide-memoire*,
A metronome
That ticks beneath the pace of talk
As feet convey you when you walk,
Shuttling on and shuttling back
On speech's loom.

And though it's often rhetoric,
It can be casual and domestic,
It can be quaint.
Its rules are strict, yet curiously
You keep its rules and find you're free
To say all that you need to say
Without constraint.

Verse comes from *versus*, meaning turns
At the ends of lines, and Robert Burns
Was master o' it:
Whether in dialogue with a mouse
Or in the Sabbath meeting house
Discoursing with the common louse
On a lady's bonnet—

And when my speaker's mind was blank
Burns was the man I had to thank
For inspiration.
Like dancers on a barn-dance floor
His jaunty stanzas called for more.
He said the poet was to the fore
In every nation.

In ancient Ireland, poems of praise,
In Languedoc, ballades and lays,
In Greece, the epic;
In Rome, the epistle and the ode;
In Japan, *haiku*; ~~in~~ Wales, *cynghannedd*;
Even the Britons, smeared with woad,
Spoke verse in public.

And so, to mark commencement day,
I thought, why not the USA?
Why not recite
A formal ode for graduates
On learning and how it relates
To life, how it disseminates
Sweetness and light.

Inspire me, then, didactic muse,
Beyond clichés and pompous views
Of art and science,
To be *dulce et utile*,
To speak sweetly and usefully
About the world and th'academy
And their alliance.

Or is it not a misalliance,
Ivory towers in a world of violence
And corporate money.
Are college walls perhaps a door
Shut on the workers and the poor
While the privileged and the few ignore
The unwashed many?

Do we not mystify the facts
And milk the taxpayer of his tax
By the illusion
That our minds serve much higher ends
Than bending backs and blistered hands?
How much of common good depends
On education?

In other words, dear graduates,
How do we justify our fates
As an upper crust
With handfuls of credit cards and dollars
In hands as pale as our white collars?
The question makes me want to holler
All flesh is dust.

It makes me say such status symbols
Are trivial as sewers' thimbles
And just as hard
For they can form a callous shell
Against the little pricking needle
Of other people's need, and kill
The feeling heart

But here, perhaps, I should explain
I was the eldest child of nine
And I have brothers
Who barkeep, schoolteach—and don't write.
One labours on a building site.
One milks a herd morning and night
And in all weathers.

My father bargained on fair days.
My mother's father worked the railways
And linen mills.
One uncle drove a rural breadvan.
One aunt was more farmhand than woman.
One who became an enclosed nun
Worked in hotels.

So part of me half stands apart
Beyond the pale of books and art
And is not moved
Until they justify their place
And win their rights and can keep face,
Until their value for the race
Is really proved.

Poetry even, that I love best,
Was put severely to the test
In recent years
By guns in streets, bombs on the tracks
Human flesh in plastic sacks,
Excremental prison blocks
And astonished tears

On the streets of Derry and Belfast
At bombers burst in their own blast,
At restaurants
Exploding with their clientèle,
At berserk police like hounds of hell,
Shots fired at the funeral,
The country rampant.

In face of which who can believe
What will survive of us is love,
As the poet says?
And this is far from the whole story.
There is the nuclear armoury
To blight the earth to a dead berry
Hung in space.

So the manuscript, the drawing board,
The microscope, the Bronze Age hoard,
The library,
That studious concentrated hush
When the bird of mind flits from its bush
And sings its truths like a wise thrush
Inspired and merry—

Long college years cloistered with books
And microfilms and cards and stacks
Of dictionaries,
Warm afternoons in lecture halls,
Nostalgic walks past ivied walls,
And extra-mural bacchanals
Seem luxuries,

Seem at times escapes, evasions
Of evil times, the fates of nations,
 But only seem
Because, that evil be withstood,
These acts of mind are kindling wood
To fire the beacons of that good
 Eternal dream

The dream that mind's enlightenment
Will restore man as he was meant
 To be before
His mind was darkened by the Fall.
Or, if that is too pat and doctrinal,
Say instead that man's survival
 In his brute nature

Is not the goal of history
But rather man's self-mastery
 And then, transcendence.
Say understanding civilizes,
Wakens responsibilities,
Promotes ideas of peace and justice
 And demotes vengeance.

Which is why, before the first college
Was built on earth, the men of knowledge
 Were sacrosanct:
Magi, druids, seers and augurs,
Brehons, temple priests, witch doctors
And a thousand other characters
 Long since defunct.

They all had place and influence,
They were, as 'twere, both shrinks and gurus,
 They all had tenure.
Then so had the philosopher.
Aristotle taught Alexander
So the king of kings learnt to revere
 That learned senior.

Yet between the intellectuals and
The powers that be on sea and land
 Conflict's assumed.
In any educated forum
The index of banned *liberorum*
And the church's power to censor 'em
 Will be condemned.

3.
As will the case of Galileo.
But even popes with names like Leo—
 I love the rhymes—
Men orthodox and autocratic
Who would keep the sum of knowledge static,
Men stern and anti-democratic
 And behind the times,

They too praised liberal pursuits,
Employed artists and Jesuits
 And blessed the hermits.
Home decoration was their game.
Their employees soon made their name.
Raphael's and Michelangelo's fame
 Was great as Kermit's.

So even though some torturers
and SS men were connoisseurs,
 In general
History implies equation
Between the good and education.
An unselfish self-cultivation
 Is the ideal.

And here "unselfish" must be stressed.
No good emerging with the best
 Qualifications
If that is going to make you proud
And cut you off from the usual crowd,
Your neighbours, say, vulgar and loud,
 Your poor relations.

The diapers that you first dressed in
And now your cap and gown of ermine,
 which, would you say,
Will mean the more at the very end?
Those powdered folds pinned tight around
Your little backside, or this grand
 Scholar's regalia?

All of us are amphibious
Between our universities
 And where we come from.
No one gets born in a campus bed.
Even the trendiest School of Ed.
Has never weaned or bathed or breastfed
 Or cleaned a bum.

No co-ed dorm supplies the joys
Of an attic full of dusty toys
 And old dolls' houses.
No faculty of engineering
Repeats the thrill of tinkering
With model planes, that hankering
 To fly with aces.

It seems illiterate solitude
Is the first place where the true and good
 Awakens in us.
The later freedom we call *leisure*
Cannot supply that buried treasure
Which is the basis and the measure
 Of personalities

And which we name *imagination*,
A word I cite with much elation
 And some unease
Because it can sound slight and airy,
An entry in the dictionary,
A bubble word. Yet while I'm wary
 I realize

I still want to declare its great
Sustaining force, early and late,
 From youth to age.
It does not just mean fancy thoughts.
Accountants, lawyers, graduates
In medicine, as well as poets
 Using language—

All need its salutary power.
All men and women must beware
 Who would deny it
And go against their childhood's grain
And dry up like earth parched for rain.
They'll grow mechanical and then
 No drug or diet

No health-farm, clinic, yoga course,
No mantra *om*, no *Star Wars* force
 Will compensate
For what is lost when the mind divides.
Even science now concedes
The brain has two conjugal sides,
 The left and right.

That have to marry intuition
To the analytic reason
 For psychic balance.
Head sleeps with heart, begets a creature
Free yet cornered in its nature.
To be your whole self, you must mate your
 Brains and glands.

So scholarship and art must be
Fragrant with personality
 And moral feeling.
Distinction's not an ego-trip.
Good luck helps many to the top
Yet once up there you still can slip
 And keep on falling.

Everything flows, an old Greek said.
Nothing's secure. Gold's only lead
 When you stop to think.
On your way up, show consideration
To the ones you meet on their way down.
The Latin root of *condescension*
 Means we all sink.

Let self-will be anathema.
Let the hierarchy and Mafia
 Join hand in glove
To doom and excommunicate
Whoever's not compassionate,
Whoever will not contemplate
 The world through love.

So now, together, *gaudeamus*,
Because, as sure as my name's Scamus
 To-day's the day
For *homo ludens'* revelry
Ad majorem gloriam dei.
Rejoice then, and as jazzmen say,
 Take it away

Onwards towards the sasparilla,
Jack Daniels, Bushmills, Schlitz and Miller,
 The dry martini—
And if the drier types demur
Or if your dates object, declare
You were prescribed *whiskey galore*
 By *Doctor Heaney*.

Nancy

Don't know whether you
saw today's leader in the
Times! I thought you'd
like the headline!

Philippe 1st Dec.

BEFORE NANCY

A woman who might have changed Irish history

BEFORE NANCY

A woman who might have changed Irish history

This week, Westminster is celebrating the 75th anniversary of the election of Nancy Astor, the first woman MP to take her seat in the House of Commons. Since her success in the Plymouth Sutton by-election in 1919, fewer than 170 women have been elected MPs; parity of representation between the sexes, though still far off, would almost certainly have been further away had Lady Astor not made such a distinctive contribution to the life of the House.

Few appreciate, however, that she was not the first woman elected to the Commons. That honour had already fallen to Constance Markievicz, the "Red Countess of Dublin", who was chosen to represent St Patrick's Division, Dublin, in December 1918. As a prisoner and a member of Sinn Féin, Markievicz was both unable and unwilling to take her seat at Westminster. Like the other 72 Sinn Féin candidates who won seats in the election, she refused to accept the legitimacy of Parliament, swearing allegiance instead to the First Dail where she was — at least on paper — Minister of Labour.

While Lady Astor was an instinctive reformer, Markievicz was a natural fire-brand and revolutionary. "That woman's days were spent in ignorant goodwill," wrote Yeats, "Her nights in argument/Until her voice grew shrill". In spite of her aristocratic origins, she took easily to the life of the rebel and was the only uniformed woman officer in the Easter 1916 rising.

Spared the death sentence because of her sex, she later became a fierce opponent of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and was imprisoned once again during the civil war. At her funeral in 1927, 100,000 Irishmen marched the streets of Dublin in honour of their militant heroine.

It is interesting to speculate on the course Anglo-Irish history might have taken had the politics and strategy of Sinn Féin been so different in 1919 that Markievicz had taken her seat. Though her fiery temperament would not have endeared her to the male club of Westminster, she would certainly have been a powerful figure in this large group of Sinn Féin members. It is arguable that the republican movement would have been in a much stronger position within Parliament than outside it and hopelessly divided. The outcome might have been a drift towards Home Rule rather than partition. At the very least, the voice of the Orangeman would not have gone unchallenged in the House of Commons.

This, of course, is mere conjecture. In practice, Markievicz set a trend for abstention which became one of the most foolish articles of the Sinn Féin creed. She also urged her fellow countrymen to pick up the gun. "Now I say that Ireland's freedom is worth blood and worth my blood," she told the Dail in 1921, "and I will willingly give it for it." In that awful pledge were the seeds of the Troubles which her fellow countrymen are still struggling to end.

Ck to
R +
Return



Edward M. Kennedy

U.S. Senator for Massachusetts

315 Russell Senate Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20510

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DATE/TIME: _____

TO: NancyRECEIVING FAX#: 456-2560FROM: Trina Varzo/ Foreign Policy 224-2638NUMBER OF PAGES
INCLUDING COVER: _____

COMMENTS:

Draft 20/7/94 aguz Gaeilge.

A Chairde,

I nGaeilge

We have come far since we last met. Over the last 12 months we have seen the most intense period of political activity around the core political issues since the conflict burst open 25 years ago. In all of this the role of this party has been central.

We have come a long way together since we last met at the Ard Fheis in February. Indeed the last year has seen many new political developments which have advanced the peace process. This party has played, and continues to play, a significant role in sustaining this momentum for democratic change and peace.

The enthusiasm with which this conference has extensively discussed the peace process has been both positive and a source of encouragement.

This has been an important conference. The debate today was comprehensive and constructive and is evidence of the strength of commitment and political maturity of our membership.

We discussed the emergence in the past year of the Irish Peace Initiative and we have in a proper and democratic manner agreed our position on the Downing Street Declaration.

The Downing Street Declaration

The Declaration was the response by the two governments to the developing Irish Peace Initiative.

From their perspective the Declaration was an important development.

From our perspective it marked a stage in the evolving peace process. In its positive elements it suggests a potentially significant change in the approach of the governments to resolving the conflict in Ireland and we welcome this.

But it does not deal adequately with some of the core issues and this is crucial.

Demilitarisation

I am always mindful of the terrible tragedy of this conflict and of the heavy price paid by all of our people, in lives lost and scarred, in justice denied and in families separated.

Peace demands change. Fundamental change. An end to conflict will require process of demilitarisation. This is not solely the responsibility of republicans. Indeed the British government, representing the political wing of the largest armed faction in our country has the central responsibility

I have pointed out many times Sinn Féin's willingness to play a constructive role in this matter. But this cannot be a one way street. Sinn Féin has a duty to our electorate north and south and we are committed to upholding their rights.

As Irish Republicans we remain totally committed also to our objective of ending British rule in our country.

In the course of my Ard Fhais speech earlier this year I pointed out that we have a clear view of what is required to achieve a lasting peace founded on democratic principles. It has been clearly demonstrated that we have a viable peace strategy capable of moving the situation in that direction.

I pointed out that Sinn Féin should attempt to advance the peace process by "bringing into play, in a very direct way, what we have to offer. Theoretically, what we have to offer is our electoral mandate, our total commitment to establishing a lasting peace in our country and whatever political influence we have to secure a political package so that the IRA can make judgements in relation to the future conduct of its armed campaign."

The reality is, however, that the IRA will take its own counsel on this. I am not the IRA but we have helped to formulate proposals which have been enough to move the IRA publicly to say that, "if the political will exists or can be created, it could provide the basis for peace"

I welcome Thursday's statement by the IRA leadership. The begrudgers and kneejerkers have chosen to dismiss it as rhetoric. However I interpret it as a clear commitment that, if the proper conditions can be created, the IRA will be flexible.

That is the challenge facing all of us, and particularly those who have invested time and energy in the search for a peace settlement.

It is particularly a challenge for the leadership of Sinn Féin. It is one we will not shrink from. That is to create the conditions in which the IRA can act upon its clearly stated commitments and others will act upon their responsibilities so that a negotiated settlement can be agreed, and the people of Ireland can leave conflict behind us and build a lasting peace...

This is our firm intention as we leave this conference. We are determined to build upon the progress that has been made and to bridge the gaps which still clearly exist. We are determined to move the peace process steadily forward, towards a democratic, negotiated settlement and towards a just and lasting peace in our country.

1800 words.

possible. It has the authority and it has the real power to change this situation. To make the nightmare a dream. To make the dream a reality.

A new future

At this important juncture in the evolving peace process I call upon the British government and the British people to seize this opportunity for peace and not to squander it.

I call upon the British government to adopt a democratic approach which tilts the balance away from the negative power of veto towards the positive power of consent, of seeking consent, of considering consent, of negotiating consent.

I call upon the British government to join with us in making a new future. To forge a new relationship between the peoples of these islands based on mutual respect for each other. With the United Irishmen we assert:

"As to any union between the two islands, believe us when we assert that our union rests upon mutual independence. We shall love each other if we are left to ourselves. It is the union of mind which ought to bind these nations together"

I want to also appeal to the Unionists. The unionist leadership must develop the ability to look to the future, to stand on its own feet, to lead its people forward, independent of the veto which can be, at any time, taken from them by the British government.

On behalf of those represented by Sinn Féin, and also, I believe the wider nationalist family acknowledge I the need to reach out to our political opponents in the ranks of unionism. Despite the wrongs that have been inflicted by Unionists upon us or indeed that we have inflicted upon the unionists, there is a need to heal the wounds. This can only be done by a new beginning; with everyone as equals freed from the patronage of a government whose intentions you distrust, even more than we do

The success of other peace accords shows that the necessary dynamic to move out of conflict must be found in the framework, the time-scale, the processes and the objectives of a peace process, and all of these essential elements must be based upon principles which are founded firmly in democracy and justice.

Sinn Féin, has recommitted itself today to constructing this foundation by building on the positive elements of the Downing Street Declaration and by seeking to overcome the difficulties; in short by bridging the gaps between what has so far been developed and what is necessary to secure a just and lasting peace in our country.

The search for agreement

When SDLP Leader John Hume and I agreed that an internal settlement is not a solution and that the "Irish people as a whole have the right to national self-determination", we went on to say that "not all the people of Ireland share that view or agree on how to give meaningful expression to this". Mr Hume and I accepted that "the task of reaching agreement on a peaceful and democratic accord for all on this island" is "our primary challenge". This remains the challenge facing both governments and all the political parties. But the one fundamental element to this question is that the British government has no right to dictate to the people of this island how we should do this.

British government's responsibility

Both now and in the future, just as in the past, the attitude of the British government is crucial. British government policy has failed in Ireland. It has failed to defeat the desire for freedom. It has failed to satisfy the unionists. It has failed even to meet Britain's own requirements. More importantly it has failed to bring peace.

British interference has never been a benign influence in Irish affairs. It has brought misery and division. It has fomented conflict and suffering. This must change.

We need to put all of it behind us. The London government must accept its responsibility to pro-actively create the conditions which will make this

Endorsement

I am mindful that this conference has reaffirmed its commitment to our peace strategy and endorsed the measures taken by this leadership to advance it.

Your confidence places an onerous responsibility on us. We have been in a high risk phase of our struggle. A culture of resistance has developed in the quarter of a century that this struggle has endured. A few years ago I urged all involved to develop that culture of resistance into a culture of change, to engage our opponents politically and intellectually and to seize the political initiative. This has been a new and still developing area of struggle in which all of us must play our part.

Piece 1 nGaeilge.

We are totally committed to winning the peace and I can assure you that we will endeavour with your help and guidance, to achieve the political objectives which we have set ourselves. Our struggle is united, confident, and strong.

A step in the Process

The Downing Street Declaration is a step in the peace process. We must look forward to the next steps. These must deal in a fundamental way with the core constitutional issue as well as the secondary issues. Our views on these are a matter of public record. The urgent need to resolve the core issues which create and sustain the conflict demands that the situation is moved beyond the Downing Street Declaration, and that it is addressed in a more through-going way. It is our earnest intention to do just that.

In this we and the two governments are at one. We are all agreed that the Declaration is a step not a solution.

Indeed it could be said that even in the short time since the Declaration was launched the political situation has moved on beyond it. We are in a new and evolving situation and no-one can turn the clock back.

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BC-IRISH-REACTION (SCHEDULED)

SEARCH FOR N. IRELAND PEACE GOES ON DESPITE REBUFF

By Alan Wheatley

LONDON, July 25 (Reuter) - Angry and disappointed, Britain and Ireland vowed on Monday to keep searching for an end to the Northern Ireland conflict despite the refusal of the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, to accept their peace plan.

At a special conference on Sunday, 800 Sinn Fein delegates said the blueprint was a step towards peace but was unacceptable in its present form because it contained "negative and contradictory elements."

Although Sinn Fein denied it had rejected December's "Downing Street Declaration," its response fell far short of the unambiguous "Yes" sought by the authors of the plan, British Prime Minister John Major and Irish Premier Albert Reynolds.

"Sinn Fein do not have a veto over there. We are determined to press ahead with the political process," a spokesman for Major said.

"It's a tremendous disappointment and a very great shame and disgrace that they are not prepared to give up violence," said Sir Patrick Mayhew, Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary.

London and Dublin have offered Sinn Fein a part in negotiations over Northern Ireland's future if Irish Republican Army (IRA) guerrillas end their violent 25-year campaign to oust Britain from the province and reunite it with Ireland.

Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring, also admitting to disappointment with the outcome of the conference, said Sinn Fein was isolating itself by refusing to accept the peace plan.

"Their leadership and the rest of us must be living in different worlds if they see what happened yesterday as a positive development," he said.

But Sinn Fein leaders, in an attempt to head off criticism of the party's stance, said measurable progress had been made toward a political settlement and it was now up to Britain to keep up the momentum.

"The peace process isn't dead. It's very much alive," Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams told reporters in the Irish town of Letterkenny, where the conference was held.

Adams said the main stumbling block was the effective veto over political change wielded by Northern Ireland's Protestants, who make up 60 percent of the population and want to maintain the province's 300-year-old links with Britain.

"Sinn Fein has identified the need for consent of all

sections of our people," Adams said. "The British government has got to create a level playing pitch."

In London, Sinn Fein's chairman in Northern Ireland, Mitchel (eds: correct) McLaughlin, called on Britain to resume direct talks with Sinn Fein without preconditions on the disputed parts of the peace plan.

If questions about the Protestant veto and Britain's ultimate policy aims for Northern Ireland could be answered, the IRA might be induced to abandon violence, he said.

"If these issues can be addressed, we believe that we would go a significant distance, and possibly the required distance, to convince the IRA that there is an unstoppable momentum towards the establishment of agreed political structures in Ireland," McLaughlin said.

But the reponse from Major's office was blunt. "The essential condition for holding exploratory talks with Sinn Fein is that they should give up permanently violence and support for violence," his spokesman said.

REUTER

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BC-IRISH-IRELAND

IRISH GOVERNMENT DISAPPOINTED BY SINN FEIN VOTE

DUBLIN (Reuter) - The Irish government said Monday it was disappointed in a decision by the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein to basically reject an Anglo-Irish blueprint for peace in Northern Ireland.

Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring said Sinn Fein was only pushing itself out of mainstream talks.

"They are bringing political isolation on themselves," he told Britain's Press Association news agency.

"Their leadership and the rest of us must be living in different worlds if they see what happened yesterday as a positive development."

A foreign ministry spokesman said no one was surprised by Sinn Fein's decision. "But the initial reaction is one of disappointment," he said.

Sinn Fein delegates Sunday called the declaration, which called on the IRA to lay down its arms, a step in the peace process but said it was no solution.

The plan offered Sinn Fein a place at peace talks if the Irish Republican Army, stopped fighting British rule in Northern Ireland.

"We had hoped they would find enough in the declaration to declare a cessation of violence," the foreign ministry spokesman said. The Irish and British governments would continue to meet and try to find a solution for Northern Ireland, he added.

Irish opposition Fine Gael Party leader John Bruton said he thought the IRA had no intention of ever ending the violence.

"The British and Irish governments should now recognize that it was a mistake to waste time with Sinn Fein and proceed immediately to try to get talks on the future of Northern Ireland going again between parties that do not use violence," he said.

"We have lost two years because of this mirage of Sinn Fein's cessation of violence."

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The Sinn Fein response: For now, more Ulster strife

By Kevin Cullen
GLOBE STAFF

The war will go on in Northern Ireland.

That, in essence, was the answer delivered to the British and Irish governments yesterday by Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army.

While some had held out hope for a dramatic departure from the depressing and lethal status quo in Northern Ireland, the republican movement's response to the Anglo-Irish declaration issued last December was expected and predictable.

Rather than give a "yes" or "no" answer, Sinn Fein said it liked some elements of the declaration and disliked others. At a party conference in Letterkenny, in the Republic of Ireland, Sinn Fein's leaders insisted its response was not negative.

And while not exactly thriving, the peace process is not dead. The two governments had left some maneuvering room. Albert Reynolds, the Irish prime minister, has repeatedly stressed that the whole document did not have to be endorsed to keep the initiative alive.

But both governments expressed hope that Sinn Fein would at least endorse the concept of a cease-fire, hoping that limited cease-fires might lead to a permanent one. Conspicuously absent from any of the republican speeches during the conference yesterday or in communiqués of the past two weeks, was any talk of a cease-fire.

The Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, insisted that any talk of a cease-fire was up to the IRA, not Sinn Fein.

While republicans make distinctions between the IRA and Sinn Fein, most other people do not. A British government official scoffed

at a motion carried at yesterday's
conference that said Sinn Fein was

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**Gerry Adams
tried to be
upbeat: 'Sinn
Fein is convinced
that, despite the
inadequacies of
the declaration,
the potential to
build upon a real
peace process
still exists.'**

still committed to the peace process.

"A real commitment to peace would be to stop killing people," the official said.

The Irish government, however, appears to be more willing to give Sinn Fein some breathing room, to break down the hard-line elements in the movement honed by a quarter-century of political and sectarian conflict. Just how far the Irish government is prepared to go to appease the republican movement, however, will be determined by the political fallout of the next few weeks.

Reynolds told reporters in Dublin that he had picked up "some positive signals" from Sinn Fein's response.

been more intimately involved in the process, was less optimistic. Spring told RTE, Ireland's national broadcast service, that "there has not been a great deal of progress."

"There are some positive noises. But I think it will be a disappointment for many people," he said.

Speaking to about 800 party members in Letterkenny, Adams said the Anglo-Irish declaration that the governments contend is the blueprint for establishing a peaceful political environment contained some "negative and contradictory elements."

Adams tried to be upbeat, adding: "Sinn Fein is convinced that, despite the inadequacies of the declaration, the potential to build upon a real peace process still exists."

Still, some observers of the conflict that has taken more than 3,000 lives in a country of just 1.5 million people believed the declaration, or Sinn Fein's response to it, would mark a major change in the way it was being fought at ground level.

In recent interviews, influential republicans suggested they view the indefinite veto that the mostly Protestant unionists hold over any constitutional change in Northern Ireland as too bitter a pill to swallow in exchange for embracing the declaration, even though it would afford them a seat at the negotiating table.

"What would there be to negotiate?" a senior republican in Belfast asked this month.

One of the motions passed by the delegates yesterday said: "Unionists cannot have a veto over British policy or over political progress in Ireland."

Irish and British civil servants, meanwhile, will buddle again soon to see whether there is any way to get the other political parties to agree on new government institutions, with or

Reynolds' deputy leader, ~~Mr.~~
Spring, who as foreign minister has without Sinn Fein.

R-98%

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Irish Independent

Monday, July 25, 1994

IRA campaign to continue as hardliners triumph

for an end to the IRA
of violence receded last
flowing the hardline stand
y Sinn Féin at the Letter-
meeting the outcome of
Unionists claimed, had
stated by the Provisionals
Army Council.

ment will still await a separate
l response from the leaders of the
ary organisation but little hope
ins of acceptance by them of the
Street Declaration.

The IRA Army Council is expected to
deliver its verdict on the Declaration within
the next three weeks in what may prove to
be the final move in the delicate process to
end violence.

In recent weeks both the Taoiseach
and Tanaiste have been publicly stressing
they are not interested in any temporary
ceasefire — even one of several months
duration — and this was reiterated again by
Mr Spring last night.

He said a temporary ceasefire would be
"totally unacceptable" and in his initial
response to the Sinn Féin convention the

By BRIAN DONLIS and
DOMINIC CUNNINGHAM

Taoiseach stressed the need for all paramili-
tary organisations to stop the killing.

Mr Reynolds' remark that "a positive
decision on this is the real test of the will to
move the situation forward" is seen as a
direct reference to the decision facing the
leadership of the IRA.

Speculation of a temporary IRA cease-
fire lasting about three months has
increased in over recent weeks and this was

given further credence last night by Sinn
Féin's Martin McGuinness, who said the
IRA also had to make a contribution to the
process.

Security services for both governments
have spent the past seven months trying to
assess and gauge the mood and opinions
within the IRA on the terms of the Declara-
tion.

According to some sources they believe
the margin of difference on whether the
Declaration could be accepted as the basis
for moving forward and ending violence is
too close to enable a decisive move to be
taken.

Since the process began the leadership
of the IRA have been exceptionally anxious
to avoid a split with all the implications it
would carry for violent funding among for-
mer members of the same organisation.

Last night some sources were interpret-
ing Mr McGuinness's remarks that they
were working on ways to bridge the gaps
that existed as signs that those favouring
peace needed further concessions to bolster
the momentum to end the violence.

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

005 P04

Sinn Féin says No to Declaration

By GENE McKENNA, STEPHEN O'BRIEN and BRIAN DOWLING

SINN Féin last night effectively rejected the Downing Street Declaration, dashing the peace hopes of the Irish and British governments seven months after it was signed.

The 800 delegates were to give the party's definitive response to the Declaration at their meeting in Letterkenney, Co. Donegal. However, they stepped away from the pending political talks and voted to pursue their own agenda as a route to peace.

Following seven hours of debate, they passed three crucial motions which rejected the Declaration as falling short of "a real peace process".

• **Three-Page-Special on the Sinn Féin conference — Pages Six, Seven and 13**

In an immediate response Taoiseach Albert Reynolds said the response came as "a real surprise" but he detected there were some positive signals as he sought to end the killing.

While Mr Reynolds said an end to violence was the "real test" he warned that the governments in Dublin and London would not be held up in their work to produce a framework to reopen political talks — they would not wait for decisions by paramilitary organizations.

Taoiseach and Foreign Affairs Minister Dick Spring described the outcome to the convention as "disappointing". His initial reaction was that it did not represent a great amount of progress. People had been hoping Sinn Féin would accept the Declaration as the best way forward. He insisted that both governments would stand by its terms.

Only the opening and closing sessions of the Sinn Féin convention were open to the media and the delegates voted in secret on the proposals from the party's own committee.

The motions spoke of "bridging the gap" between the Hume-Adams plan and the Declaration but rejected the continuation of the unilateral veto.

Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams, who was given a rousing reception, said the Declaration was an important development for the two governments but from Sinn Féin's perspective marked merely "a stage" in the evolving peace process.

Government spokesmen in Dublin pointed out that the Taoiseach had never presented the Declaration as a solution but as a set of principles. Considerable progress had been made in talks to date, including dealing with nationalists' rights and the Government of Ireland Act, they said.



• Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams wipes his brow, as Martin McGuinness applauds, following his closing address to delegates at yesterday's conference.

Pictures by Brian Farrell

Mr Adams said there was now a challenge for his party's leadership to advance the process to create the conditions in which the IRA could act upon its clearly stated commitment to be flexible. But an end to conflict required a process of demilitarisation in which the central responsibility rested with the British government — "the political wing of the largest armed faction in our country".

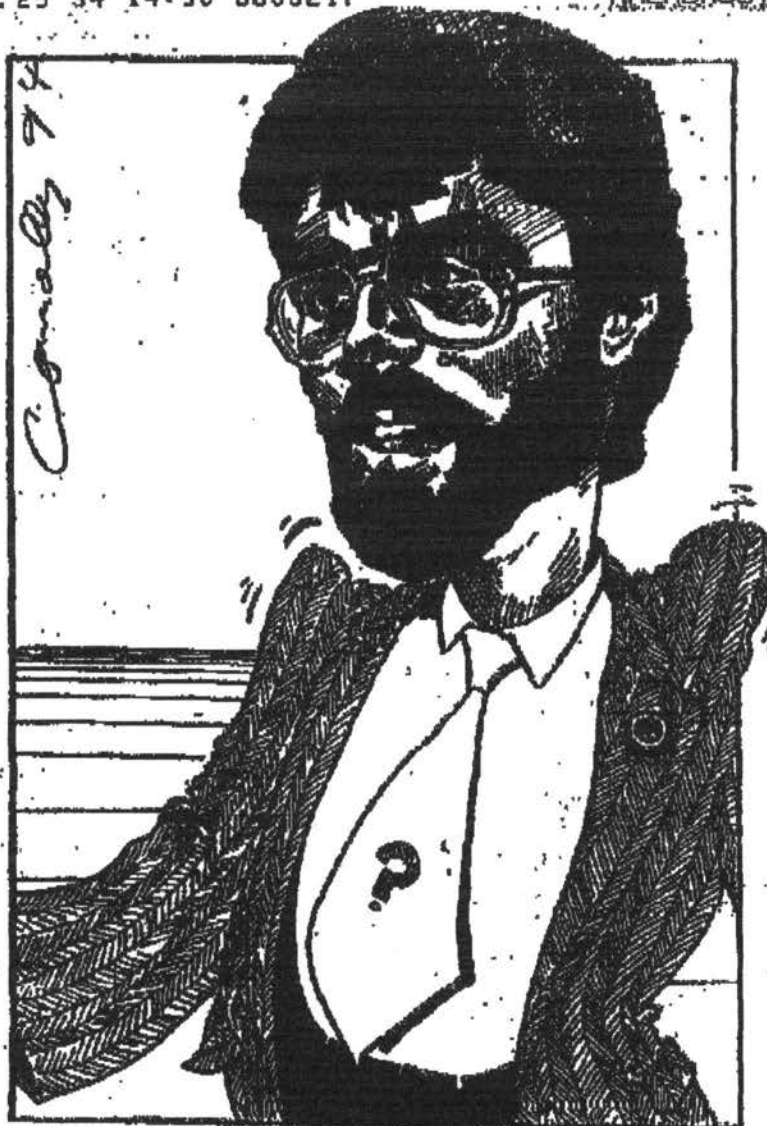
The party's vice-president Pat Doherty told the Irish Independent: "The next step for Sinn Féin is to put a political programme together to allow the IRA respond in the way they saw they would respond." "Conflict resolution" would be "a delicate and painful exercise" that was going to take some time.

Irish Independent, Monday, July 25, 1994

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AMEMBASSY, DUBLIN

005 P06



Sinn Fein
have revealed
themselves
as nothing
more than a
cat's paw of
the IRA.

Lord Holme

to move the IRA publicly to say that "if the political wing exists or can be created, it could provide the basis for peace."

FOR the supposed leader of the supposed political wing of a movement to refer to its possible creation, must be unique. The simple explanation is that offered by the British Liberal Democrat spokesman on Northern Ireland, Lord Holme, that "Sinn Fein have revealed themselves as nothing more than the cat's paw of the IRA." Or to change the metaphor, that the IRA pulled the strings in Limerick through.

There is, however, another possible explanation: that the creation of the political wing refers not to its present existence but to its entry into constitutional politics, and that this would coincide with bringing about what Mr Adams called "the conditions in which the IRA can act upon its clearly stated commitments."

Some delegates — who were taken aback by the media perception of their votes as a rejection of Downing Street — and some observers read this as a reference to an IRA ceasefire. And in Dublin last night, despite severe criticism from the opposition parties as well as in Britain and the North, the government continued to hold to its view that a cessation of violence could come about in a matter of weeks.

But this cessation might not be permanent. It might take the form of a temporary ceasefire during which Sinn Fein would seek to enter formal talks on conditions other than those laid down in the Declaration, and try to wring further concessions from both governments. That would create an immensely difficult situation, and could well cause tensions between Dublin and London.

Even on the most optimistic

DURING the period between the Hume-Adams agreement at the end of September and the signing of the Declaration on December 15, there was considerable speculation as to the proportion of IRA members required to make a permanent cessation possible. Estimates ranged as high as 85pc, but politicians with good contacts, especially in border areas, thought this possible to achieve. They were encouraged by reports, prevalent for years, of "war-weariness" in the IRA coupled with a Sinn Fein desire to enter constitutional politics. These reports undoubtedly had some connection with the lengthy though ultimately abortive contacts between the British government and Sinn Fein-IRA.

It was widely believed that the extent of the nationalist gains made by Mr Reynolds in Downing Street took the Provisional movement by surprise, leaving it at something of a loss about how to respond. However, the first signs of an unfavourable response appeared quickly, when IRA prisoners on

that he still had a chance of persuading a sufficient proportion of the IRA to abandon violence. In particular, both governments supplied clarification, demanded by Sinn Fein, of points in the Declaration. According to informed guesses, a majority of the IRA — possibly as high as 70pc — favoured a cessation of violence, but Mr Adams reacted angrily when the RUC Chief Constable, Sir Hugh Annesley, lent public support to this theory.

Throughout the period politicians and journalists close to the scene, in London and Belfast as well as in Dublin, increasingly thought it unlikely that Sinn Fein would accept the Declaration or that the IRA would abandon violence. Mr Reynolds, Mr Home and Cardinal Cahal Daly continued to display a surprising degree of optimism, but the opposition parties in the Dail grew more and more restive. Among their concerns was Sinn Fein's unceasing presentation of themselves as a peace party.

This breach with reality reached

★
Amos

Continuing public made hard-line
statements at meetings at a number
of locations in the North.

In the months that followed,
Dublin and to a lesser extent
London made numerous efforts to
help Mr Adams on the assumption

at highest point in Letterkenney
yesterday when Mr Adams
welcomed a statement from the
IRA leadership pledging a positive
approach to the peace process and
went on: "We are not the IRA but
we have helped to formulate
proposals which have been enough

reading. It looks as if the
Letterkenney conference has moved
the peace process back rather than
forward. More than seven months
after the signing of the Declaration,
Sinn Féin appear unwilling, or
perhaps unable, to speak the
normal language of politics.

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

005 P08

Irish Independent, Monday, July 25, 1994

Lost chance for peace

THE view taken by the ordinary decent person of the proceedings of the Sinn Fein special delegate conference yesterday must surely be one of disgust and indignation.

Not content with refusing to withhold their support from the vile crimes committed by the IRA, Sinn Fein have had the effrontery to cast on themselves, and indeed on the IRA, the mantle of peace-lovers and to blame other forces for standing in the way of a peaceful Northern settlement. Their ability to distance themselves from the truth is breathtaking.

Let us recall the realities. Most of the killing and destruction over the last sad 25 years has been the work of the IRA. And the campaign continues — despite cast-iron guarantees for the rights of Northern nationalists, despite British acceptance of the Irish right of self-determination, laid down in the Downing Street Declaration last December.

There never was any moral or political justification for the violence. Since December, there has not been the shred of a pretext.

Sinn Fein in rejecting the terms of the Declaration, and the IRA in continuing their murder campaign, are not fighting an imperialistic, oppressive British foe. They are setting themselves against the clear wishes of the Irish people North and South, to whom the Declaration is acceptable and the violence deplorable. It is they, rather than the British or the unionists, who constitute the greatest threat to Irish democratic rights.

They will say that their decisions yesterday do not constitute outright rejection; that the IRA may soon call a ceasefire; that both groups really want peace. But their actions belie their words.

After seven months of equivocation, the spectacle they presented to the country yesterday was one of delegates, and a leadership, manipulated by the gun-men. Can the country be wrong in so viewing it? Concealed in the insolent talk of peace only on their terms, were there the "positive signals" the Taoiseach thought he observed?

At this late stage, the people of Ireland do not want "positive signals", hair-splitting or prevarication. They want an immediate and permanent cessation of violence. That was the only message they wanted to hear from Letterkenny. They have not heard it yet.

● The next phase of the peace strategy should be based on advancing the Hume/Adams peace initiative.

● Downing Street Declaration marks a "further stage in the peace process".

● However, it also contains "negative and contradictory elements" that leave a gap to be bridged before "a real peace process" can be built.

● While the Declaration claimed Britain had "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland", it did not address Britain's political interest.

● The British have no right to determine how we exercise the right to national self-determination — this is a matter for the Irish people.

● The Declaration contains an implicit commitment to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution, yet there is no matching reference by the British government to the Government of Ireland Act.

● Unionists cannot have a veto over British policy in Ireland.

● The British government should join the "persuaders" to persuade the unionists that their future lies with the rest of the Irish people.

● There should be a new constitution of Ireland with a charter of values.

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

005 P09

Irish Independent, Monday, July 25, 1994

Spring: most people will be dejected

TANAISTE Dick Spring said last night many people would be disappointed by the Sinn Féin response.

People wanted to see an end to the violence and move towards the establishment of democratic politics on the whole island. "This is not going to happen obviously in relation to what happened today."

He had hoped that the Letterkenny meeting would bring "a clear end to the armed conflict."

"That is not there. There are some positive noises but I think it will be a big disappointment to most people."

Other political leaders responded with anger more than disappointment. Fine Gael's John Bruton said the judgment of Taoiseach Albert Reynolds and Mr Spring had to be questioned — they had invested so much effort in a process which yielded no return. "Mr Reynolds should not have buried so much of his limited political capital in a dialogue with an organisation as irrational, deviant and unrepresentative as Sinn Féin."

On the Taoiseach's own account, the peace process had been going on since April 1992; throughout this period all other attempts to develop political dialogue had been sidelined. "It is doubtful if there was ever much prospect of rational dialogue with an organisation like Sinn Féin, which for years has supported the absurd idea that the best way to achieve Irish unity was to kill some of the people with whom unity was being sought."

Mr Bruton said that after months of prevarication it now appeared the IRA campaign would continue. He was sad and surprised that our political leadership had fallen for the tactics adopted by Sinn Féin and the IRA. "I doubt whether Jack Lynch would have fallen for this and it is questionable if even Mr Haughey would have done so."

Any progress that might have been visible over the



● Dick Spring

By BRIAN DOWLING
Political Staff

group which supported killing people to achieve unity.

Reacting to the claim by Mr Adams that his movement still wanted to advance the peace process, the Fine Gael leader described this as classic tactics by a revolutionary group which always held out the prospect of peace while seeking to "break the will of governments to give yet further concessions." "The sadder the better that our political leaders realised and accept that Sinn Féin and the IRA are not interested in peace. Their primary interest is in victory for themselves," he added.

Progressive Democrats leader Mary Harney described the Sinn Féin decision as "unacceptable."

past seven months.

She urged both governments to press ahead now with plans for a framework for talks between the North's constitutional parties, with the aim of devolved government on a power-sharing basis. The clear lesson for both Dublin and London was that they should concentrate on bringing constitutional middle-ground politicians together.

If a political agreement could be reached between the constitutional parties which was underpinned by North-Republic institutional links and changes to Articles two and three, then any security measures necessary, including internment as a last resort, should be used if paramilitaries continued with violence.

Democratic Left leader Pádraig Kirby said Sinn Féin's effective rejection of the Declaration was the inevitable outcome of seven months of double-speak and phony demands for consultation and clarification.

The Progressive Democrats' North spokesman Michael McDowell said Sinn Féin effectively wanted the Declaration replaced with the Hume-Adams agreement to undermine the principle of consent for change.

"Any moves in this direction would be a recipe for civil war and a threat

past two years was squandered because the Government directed all its attention to an unrepresentative

not surprising -- the party had led both the Irish and British governments "up the garden path" for the

like conflict. The bottom line for the IRA is they want peace on their terms alone," he added.

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

005 P10

(Irish Independent, Monday, July 25, 1994)

Tactic is killing: Mallon

By DOMINIC CUNNINGHAM

SILP deputy leader Seamus Mallon said last night it was becoming clear both Sinn Féin and the IRA were prepared to use continuing violence as a negotiating weapon.

Even what was said at the conference "IRA violence will continue as a negotiating tactic, rather than cease totally to provide a context of peace within which a resolution could be sought," he added.

Ulster Unionist Party security spokesman Ken Maghin said "the IRA Army Council had decided what the response was to be and the conference was merely forced on the delegates by circumstances."

However, he repeated his earlier prediction that the IRA will "sooner or later" declare a three-month ceasefire. "It is the only action they have to some sort of process -- although I believe it is not enough, and the British government is resolute on that also," said the MP.

The conference was a "non-event," commented Ulster Unionist MP David Trimble, adding: "It proves IRA/Sinn Féin

are not interested in peace. And it puts the ball firmly in the court of the British and Irish Governments to take the necessary steps to suppress their terrorist campaign."

East Belfast MP Peter Robinson said the conference result was a renouncement to the folly of British premier John Major, who believed he could gain something from giving concessions to the IRA.

"Their trade is killing -- they know no other. They have gained concessions by violence and will continue to murder," said the DUP deputy leader. "Now, with the IRA demanding more, the British government will engage in the usual phoney posturing and empty rhetoric."

"Already, the worms in the Northern Ireland Office are working out how they might meet the IRA's latest demands."

"The Downing Street Declaration represents three quarters of what nationalists have demanded. The IRA will settle for nothing less than the whole cake."

And Mr Adams was certain he could wring more concessions from the British government, Mr Robinson said.

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The motions adopted by the delegates . . .

THE following is an abridged version of the three motions debated at yesterday's Sinn Féin conference.

Advancing the Irish Peace Initiative

The basic principles of this initiative are:

- That the Irish people as a whole have the right to national self-determination;
- That the exercise of national self-determination is a matter for agreement between the people of Ireland;
- That both governments should commit themselves, in consultation with all other parties, to a process to achieve this, within an agreed timeframe;
- That an internal Six-County settlement is not a solution;
- That the consent and allegiance of unionists are essential ingredients if a lasting peace is to be established;
- That the nationalists cannot have a veto over British policy or over political progress in Ireland;
- That the British government must join the process;
- That the London and Dublin governments have a major responsibility to secure political progress.

We recognise the delicate stage the peace process has now reached. We restate our commitment to building the conditions for demilitarisation as part of the search for a lasting peace settlement.

Progress and political implications

The Downing Street Declaration is not, nor do its authors claim it to be, a peace settlement and it clearly does not contain all of the elements which made up the Irish Peace Initiative. It does mark a further stage in the peace process.

The Downing Street Declaration also

reflects a development in political analysis. It contains many important political implications.

In the context of our commitment to creating a democratic settlement, Sinn Féin willingly acknowledges these. For example:

- The statement in Paragraph 1 that "the most urgent and important issue is to remove the causes of conflict";
- The British government for the first time in such direct terms addresses in Paragraph 4 the right of the people of the island of Ireland alone to exercise our right to self-determination;
- The clear recognition that present structures and policies have failed and implicitly, a recognition that change — political and constitutional — is necessary if a satisfactory and permanent settlement is to be achieved;
- The significance of the British government's decision on six occasions in Paragraph 4, as well as Paragraph 5, to define any permanent agreement in the context of the island of Ireland;
- The support expressed by both governments for "healing divisions" and the statement that this can only come about, "through agreement" and "co-operation at all levels";
- The acknowledgment (Paragraph 1) that the Downing Street Declaration is in itself a peace process but the "starting point of a peace process designed to culminate in a political settlement";
- The positive role envisaged for Europe;
- The formal inclusion of Peter Brooke's assertion that Britain has "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland".

Negative and contradictory elements

But the Downing Street Declaration also contains negative and contradictory elements. Some of these are:

- In asserting that it has "no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland" it must be noted that there is no mention of Britain's political interest, selfish or otherwise;
- In addition, Britain's constitutional

guarantee to the union is at variance with its statement of disinterest;

● Having directly addressed the right of the people of the island of Ireland to self-determination, the free exercise of that right is qualified by the assertion in the same paragraph that the right must be exercised "by agreement between the two parts [of Ireland] respectively . . . on the basis of consent freely and concurrently given . . ." and by the reaffirmation in Paragraph 2 of "Northern Ireland's statutory guarantee";

● The British have no right to determine how we exercise the right to national self-determination — this is a matter for the Irish people;

● Time and time again in the declaration, the veto is reiterated;

● The Downing Street Declaration is also replete with reassurances to the unionists, which is nowhere matched by any recognition of the rights of nationalists;

● When questioned by Sinn Féin about the coercion of nationalists the British government said that the question "is based on assumptions which have no foundation in reality";

● The declaration contains an implicit commitment to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution. There is no matching reference by the British government to its constitutional claim as embodied in the Government of Ireland Act;

● The denial of nationalist rights is not addressed in the Downing Street Declaration;

● Nationalists are locked into the British state against their wishes — their consent was never sought. The right to give or withhold consent was not and is not extended to nationalists.

New constitution

Sinn Féin reaffirms its commitment to the civil and religious right of all of the Irish people. We recognise that unionists have democratic rights which not only can be upheld but must be upheld in an independent Ireland.

We believe that those democratic

rights would be greatly strengthened in an independent Ireland.

Sinn Féin has long accepted that northern Protestants have fears about their civil and religious liberties and we have consistently asserted that these liberties must be guaranteed and protected.

We seek to be part of the building of a society which can reflect and uphold the diversity of all our people. Our vision is of a free Ireland, a peaceful Ireland, a unity of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter with all citizens, guaranteeing the civil and religious rights of all other citizens.

Sinn Féin seeks a new constitution for Ireland with a charter of rights.

Issues of immediate concern

Sinn Féin is determined to build on the positive achievements of the past 18 months by pressing ahead with the peace process. In addition, we will also look at more specific, short-term and intermediate-term objectives to develop the potential which the peace process has already provided for addressing issues of immediate concern. This means winning and maintaining support for the neglected nationalist people at every level, ensuring parity of esteem and equality of treatment and co-operating with others to secure international support for the following objectives:

- That there is no return to unionist domination;
- That Sinn Féin activists must be able to represent our electorate in conditions of peace, free from harassment and the threat by loyalist death squads;
- That the right of women and of Gaelic must be fully recognised;
- An equality of status for the Irish language, including funding, must be secured.

There must be an end to:

- Censorship laws;
- Job discrimination;
- The underlying sectarian bias in the allocating of economic investment;
- Repressive legislation;
- Collusion between Britain's state forces and loyalist death squads at all levels.

07-25-94 09:50AM P012 #45

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Idish Independent, Monday, July 25, 1994

JUL 25 '94 15:00 6603217

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

005 P17

THE IRISH TIMES, Monday, July 25, 1994

Reynolds sees 'some positive signals' from SF conference

By Mael Mairé Tynan,
Political Reporter

IN A surprisingly upbeat initial reaction to the Sinn Féin convention decision, the Taoiseach, Mr Reynolds, has taken a far less negative view than other politicians, saying he sees "some positive signals" from the national delegate conference.

His remarks, issued shortly after the conference ended in Letterkenny, contrasted with the pessimistic view of the Taoiseach, Mr Spring, who said many people who had hoped to see an end to the armed conflict from this conference would be very disappointed with Sinn Féin's response. Not a great deal of hope had emanated from the party's deliberations, he said.

Both Mr Reynolds and Mr Spring indicated that the British and Irish governments will continue to press ahead with constructing a framework document in spite of Sinn Féin's stance.

Calling on all paramilitary organisations to stop the killing and "end all community strife", the Taoiseach said a positive decision on this was the real test of a will to move the situation forward. The governments would not be waiting on any decisions by paramilitary organisations.

According to the Taoiseach — "pending detailed analysis of the statements made and resolutions passed at the convention" — the reservations expressed about the Downing Street Declaration, coupled with recognition that it represents an important step forward, come as no real surprise at this point.

"But the only way to solve the outstanding problems is by political debate within the democratic process", Mr Reynolds said. He had never mentioned the declara-



Mr Reynolds: his remarks contrasted with the pessimistic view of the Taoiseach.

predicted for several months, and senior sources last night said that, in spite of pessimistic signals before the Letterkenny meeting, a "glimmer" of hope had existed in Government circles that Sinn Féin might actually respond more favourably.

At the Sinn Féin convention held in Donegal, other political reaction carried a tone of resigned disappointment as well as strong condemnation, with the main opposition parties uniting to predict a continuation of the IRA campaign.

The SDLP leader, Mr John Hume, who is in France on holiday, could not be contacted, but his deputy leader, Mr Seamus Mallon, said Sinn Féin's formal position seemed at least to a rejection as was possible.

They made the point that the declaration did not deal ade-

quately with the Hume/Adams document as it was in the Downing Street Declaration, he added.

"It is also significant that every other nationalist political party in Ireland has accepted and supported the Joint Declaration yet Sinn Féin says it has not dealt adequately with the core issues. Is the Government wrong? Is the SDLP wrong? Is Labour wrong? Is Fine Gael wrong? Are they not adequately representing the views of the nationalist people?" Mr Mallon asked.

Sinn Féin's refusal to call on the IRA to stop its campaign or to distance itself from violence was surely a body blow to the vast majority of people who know that until violence ceases, the party cannot be involved in proper negotiations.

The Fine Gael leader, Mr John Bruton, said it was doubtful if there was ever much prospect of rational dialogue with an organisation like Sinn Féin which, for years, has supported the absurd idea that the best way to achieve Irish unity was to kill some of the people with whom unity was being sought.

"Mr Reynolds should not have buried so much of his limited political capital in a dialogue with an organisation as irrational, deviant and unrepresentative as Sinn Féin," Mr Bruton said.

The leader of the Progressive Democrats, Ms Mary Harney, said Sinn Féin's verdict was deeply regrettable but not surprising and the priority now lay in constitutional talks in order to devise a power-sharing settlement to the conflict.

Strongly criticising Sinn Féin, the leader of Democratic Left, Mr Proinsias De Rossa, said the party had effectively opted out of the democratic process. The res-

tion as a solution but rather as an
"starting point" which to build.

An a la carte response by Sinn
Fein to the declaration had been

quately with the core issues, in-
cluding self-determination he
said. However, self-determina-
tion was dealt with in exactly the
same way in Paragraph Five of

ponse was the inevitable culmina-
tion of seven varied months of
double-speak "coupled with pho-
ney demands for consultations
and clarifications".

6603217

07-25-94 09:50AM POLY #45

September 6, 1994

To: Tony
From: Nancy *NP*

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 Phillipa.

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

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004. talking points	re: Talking Points for Use with John Hume (1 page)	08/00/1994	P1/b(1)

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456-
9460

Gerry Adams -- Tues pm.

Martin

PAT ~~FEANOR~~ TAEANOR - exec. of Seán Fein;
frequent trips. Member of proscribed
organization b. in South. Irish passport.

INS -
Joe

Cahill → Treasurer to 1920, printer '36 Boy
scouts (illegal) 1938 joined IRA, 42 - 2UC murder
7 1/2 yrs in prison. Plumber; bombings; shootings.
1957 interned. Foreman, 7 kids, 8 yrs haircuts
73 - arms & explosives "Claudia" from Libya
ring leader of operation - do me an honor
75 on medical

1970 - US, NY - revoked b/c lied on passed
75 - medical treatment / holiday. Last of old
guard. 1970's not engaged in

84 false passport

Mike Parnely. illegally in 1980's.

Announce peace This week, totally private visit.
all have agreed; objective was against of a
divided people.

011. 353 77. 82376]

Asst. A.G. level
strongly
against.

"duration"

Recognizing the potential of the current situation & in order to enhance the democratic peace process & 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. ① ... We believe that an opportunity to secure a just & lasting settlement has been created. we are entering a new situation in the spirit of determination & confidence. ... ② a solution will only be found as a result of inclusive negotiations. ... ③ We are entering a new situation, a situation which requires more imagination, commitment & energy from Republicans than at any time in the past 25 yrs. ④

NOTES from T.S. Two central themes:

- ① complete cessation of the mil. campaign
- ② looking out to a direction & make the peace process a reality.

Bill Flynn; Home; T.S;] not part of declaration; internal problem they've been trying.

Complete satisfied; total.

→ John Major 1 hour - Major astounded.
Huntington.

Brendan Scannel's office - Dermott.

~~EMK~~

Bill Barry 4pm tomorrow.

Major Huntington.

776 2020(508) EMK

TL think it makes sense; want their view;
time sensitive, tell cover + only cover.

Aerting

Morrison - conveyed to Adams in fully need to
be clear, either ending armed struggle or not.
In our meeting, Adams said permanent.

PM/Ireland → complete ceasefire, permanent,
Bill Hyatt; → new situation, great prize.
big blast intell reports.
Greenstock -

Reynolds very enthusiastic, decision taken along right lines, complete certainty, democratic process, not chapter & verse, thought score, made clear has to be permanent end, nothing else enough; he felt this was what going for. Bitch process yet still delicate; let us know as soon as have more. Always optimistic in past; no firm collateral; look at strut - need to look at strut; keeping an open mind.

Waiting to see; no clear sense; have what Albert saying; no firm collateral
Home also

[Skeptical; doubt best thing to do;
no support from own readings + past experience
think it would be a mistake.]

not clear yet what will do or when, catches, keep an open mind; not certain giving us a bit crucial; see once see real; couldn't.

011.1930.4433. Philippa.
66.89.612.1464

253-1
[01.6688998.] Dennis
660-5227 h.

→ 8350771 Dermott Home

Mayhew - Tercott.

Reynolds

6602384.

P.M. 011-353-1-6789385 Declan Ingleby.

Major over the moon, call him directly.
hasn't happened in 70 years.

6713302. Dermott

- potential for a peaceful & democratic solution exists.

- ~~the~~ 10, very positive;

44004.

Home 265-321. h

Convicted in 1980 of membership. Detained in July of 1994, while in car it was attacked by PIRA.

John Hogan [514-2927] Justice.

Mark Richards -
freeh.

⇒ my objection

h. Jus 514-5800,

Taenoff -

30th of Sept. Oct 3rd Chinese V.P.

① 25+26 yest Tues/Wed Thurs. Frid 5th, Mond
30 12 3rd.

Bob Lyne

saw our dilemma, understood position; if go ahead
won't dump, say consulted ^{made} ~~our~~ judgment.
didn't think need to talk to P.M.;
understood position. if wrong; won't go either way.
not;

frame conditions that if don't fruit up → will
leave.

Chris + Anne

8

207-864-3653 Steins/Tony

Itinerary - Inlcey, anonous. 3-4 days
ny, Boston, Buffalo, 4 days.

Talbott. under protest, Talbott objected
Freeh.
will call. INS.

1. China - Oct 3 vs. Sept 30. we want
the 3rd.

Justice - John Hagan / Mark Richards.
Mark told FBI.

4

Freeh - Thanks for heads up.

very strongly; very adverse to anti terrorist
efforts, what may be correct re: ceasefire,
base objections on past. Understand politically
diff decision;

Wouldn't say don't have concerns @ concerns,
esp. misrepresentations + what he did when
he returned. [i.e. continued terrorist activity]

View him as a terrorist under those circumstances.

Increase coverage, doing that, presence here.
at Adams 9's opportunities.

[Mitchell; Moakley. Joe.]

4pm
2 1/2

anything remotely near that
we're away with a hat.

will you have notice of final position

part of freedom
desire for peace
wound a lot & justly settled
for the future

① At this historic ^{moment} the leadership salutes
& commends ^{our activists} supporters of last 25 yrs.
- our struggle seen who have sustained the
struggle fully past 25. Your sacrifices demonstrate the

② Determine the injustice will be removed
note D. S. D. is not a solution, or
so now was it presented as such by its authors.
[a set of principles].

③ Anby the B. Govt facing up to its
responsibilities. [discrimination]
It is our desire to contribute to that climate which will

④ Urge everyone to enter ^{enhance the prospects}
for success.

testament to republican struggle.

"It's over."

We urge everyone to approach this new situation
energy & patience.
determination +.

⇒ 3 units need to be spoken to.
risk of.

Press - no such things will happen.
No press.

If not - tied up; Moments decisions;

Not sure - support not forthcoming.

I'm 100% behind this.

353.1
66.00.955 Reynolds.

immediate departure:

① no fundraising.

~~expenses~~ ~~insurance~~ added

② If we would ^{refund} immediate departure if the anticipated amount by the IRT does not reflect a cut to the total cessation of isolation (3) or debate itinerary provided to Dennis.

Mark Richards 301 439-55455

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Adams:

Thank you for your letter of October 1 to President Clinton requesting a meeting with the US Administration to discuss the peace process.

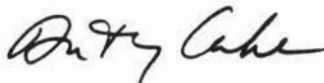
As you know, long-standing US policy has been to prohibit contacts between US officials and Sinn Fein officials. Since the announcement by the IRA of the ceasefire last August, however, that policy has been under review. I am pleased to inform you that in light of that historic announcement and the peace brought about by the IRA over the last month, the President has decided to lift the ban on contacts with Sinn Fein officials so that a dialogue with US officials can begin.

We invite you to begin the dialogue early this week while you are in Washington. Consistent with customary practice, the dialogue would begin at a meeting with US officials at the Department of State. Several White House officials would also participate. This meeting would be the beginning of a process of engagement with Sinn Fein that would increase as events progressed in Northern Ireland toward peace.

It is our hope that we can assist in assuring the IRA ceasefire remains for good and irreversible and that we can assist in bringing others who continue to use and support violence to cease to do so. During the meeting, we would expect to discuss ways to assist Sinn Fein in solidifying support for the political process, how best to assist in promoting talks under the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation proposed by Prime Minister Reynolds as well as the round-table talks convened by the Irish and British governments aimed at reaching a lasting and just agreement with all involved parties. We would also expect to discuss a normalization of relations with Sinn Fein party officials as progress is made and to solicit your views on tangible ways the United States can help promote trade, investment and economic prosperity in Northern Ireland.

Your role in bringing about the IRA ceasefire was a courageous step forward for peace which will benefit all the people of Northern Ireland. I look forward to your entering a dialogue with the United States to advance the goal of a lasting peace.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Anthony Lake", written in a cursive style.

Anthony Lake

October 3, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

FROM: BROOKE DARBY

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation: Telephone Call Between
Nancy Soderberg and Gerry Adams (1st Official
Contact Between U.S. Official and Sinn Fein
Representative)

3:25 - 4:15 P.M., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1994

- Hi, Nancy Soderberg here.
- Yeah, nice to meet you by phone.
- Likewise, how's the trip going?
- Who do you think was behind the murder attempt and other....?
- When was that?
- Yeah, it's something I've been following for a long time when I was with Senator Kennedy's Office -- plastic bullets and shoot to kill. It's something people here have a long standing issue with the British over.
- Yeah, he told me about it.
- OK, I'll pass that on.
- I think he has every intention of continuing to do that.
- This is a very naughty thing.
- Let me tell you where we are on your trip to D.C. I know you've been talking to Niall (O'Dowd) -- who has been great. He's really first class and can keep things to himself -- which is all too rare.

I think he's filled you in on where we are on the meeting. It's problematic. What we trying to do is balance your needs with those of the British and the Unionists so we can push all sides to move forward to help those who have taken courageous steps, including yourself.

-- This should have been handled differently.

You got some misinformation in the beginning.

-- We didn't get into the process until your trip was already planned. It was important for you to keep to your original itinerary but it was not the best timing for us.

-- It is hard for you to understand our nuances of bureaucracy.

-- We wanted to try to keep our strong support of you and our good relations with the Unionists and British to allow us to push them forward.

-- What was important was that you maintained your timeframe and we appreciated the political sensitivities of the British and Unionists given the short timeframe between timing since the ceasefire.

To keep the British from going off the deep end, we needed you to come and to calibrate the reciprocity of who you'd see in D.C. with the distance from the ceasefire -- the longer away you get from the ceasefire, the higher level the visit. You would be received at a level commensurate with how long it is away from the ceasefire.

For you to come for 2 weeks with your itinerary, be received by Members of Congress, meet with people at State and from the White House, announce the lifting of the ban.....

-- The President's goal is to support you strongly and keep us in a position to push the British when we need to.

-- I appreciate that.

-- That's true, right.

-- That's why we were thinking your visit would be further down the road so we could work it out ahead of time.

-- I would have wanted to avoid this situation.

-- The context of how the people here view the situation -- that's the fundamental problem and why we want to put distance at receiving at this level. There needs to be a time lag between coming to the White House and renouncing violence.

-- . Let me tell you the politics.

- There is a strong culture in the U.S. against those involved in violence.

It was two years from the time the PLO announced violence that they came here.

- It was a major heavy lift to get the visa.
- That's not how people look at it here.
- Yes, you've done what we asked and made a courageous step forward.
- Here, the ultimate prestige presence is the prestige of walking through the White House doors needs to be calibrated as part of a process we're getting moving.
- We've done a lot getting you here, lifting the ban, getting you meetings with Administration officials. We support you politically and are sending strong support and visible acceptance.
- This is part of a process. First you get received officially. We went through this with the President last night. He said we can do more next time -- that this is part of a process.
- We know the problem is with the Unionists and with Hume having met with the President. But the Unionists are seen as not involved in violence.
- I said we should have had this done 3 weeks ago and told people that we wanted to avoid this kind of discussion.
- There are a couple of ways to look at this. Part of it is how the press is playing it up because we haven't been able to say what we're doing.
- I think this situation is unfortunate but we are where we are. We spend about six hours yesterday on this. None of us are comfortable on this but we're trying to make the best of it.
- Niall has been extraordinarily helpful.
- With respect to how we play this -- I want to announce the ban is lifted on talking to Sinn Fein and the meeting with you at the State Department in a White House press release. They'll be regular meetings in Belfast and Dublin and dialogues with you directly. You'll be able to present your

case at the State Department. It will be useful for you to develop a dialogue with the State Department who does the diplomacy (not just with me).

- My only rebuttal is that I understand the situation. But this is the beginning of the relationship and of a process. You have the support of the White House and we are pushing the other parties.
- We got jammed on your planning your trip before we could work it.
- Tony Lake negotiated with Major on how to keep them on board. It is important to coordinate your trip with making decisions on where and by whom you'd be received. To go back against the British will undercut us in going back to the British on some of the things you may need.
- They're in a bind.
- This should have been worked out well before you got on a plane.
- I did. I was pretty clear.
- I heard the Belfast thing didn't go too well. Niall mentioned that, which is unfortunate.
- In Val's defense, that was State's formal instructions -- he had no choice.
- We wanted to clearly work out the fundraising issue before you got here.
- My best advice is -- this is a bad situation. It's unfortunate and should have been avoided. But now you have 2 choices: to agree to a meeting or not.

If you agree, we can talk to the Unionists and Major and keep Alderdice away. We can make a big deal of lifting the ban and the meeting with White House and State people, including the Vice President's National Security Advisor.

The Vice President has been very helpful. Without him, you wouldn't have gotten the visa in February.

- It is a worse negative to have no meeting. They can say they've won -- that there's friction between us.

- Or we can say this is part of a process. We can get our press operation to make this a big deal.
- You don't want to minimize the magnitude of your walking in the doors of the State Department and letting our press operation work it.
- I recommend announcing this as soon as possible. I can't say anything now. I don't want to say anything until you've agreed.
- The difference is and this is where you have credibility -- they have had a dialogue with us for some time, so they have meetings with us at a higher level.

But this is a first step and we can the press to spin this. This is the first time we've talked to you in 25 years. That's no minor action.

- I understand the problems with the Unionist access.
- You're beginning to change perceptions. This is the first stage in a process that will continue.

The President said yesterday that we will do more next time and I think he means it. You have a friend in moving forward.

- You shouldn't minimize the fact that we want a chip for going back to the British --- to say that we've held up our end and now you do your part.
- I was very straightforward with Niall on this and I was hopeful we could change this.

But the reality is that everything was set in stone when...

- He is from the same hometown as Tony Lake -- he's been very helpful in talking to Tony about this.
- We aren't going to do anything until you're comfortable with it.
- Saturday.
- All I would say -- let me leave you with -- let's start it on Monday and we can build from there.
- I think we can do that with this meeting: lifting the ban and make clear that's exactly what we're doing.

- Likewise.
- You should talk to me later and I'll fill him in.
- You should know that we spent a lot of time going back and forth on this.
- I've been formally prohibited from talking to you until today.
- OK.
- Let me give you a number for this evening if you want to talk again (gave home number). I'll be here 'til 6:00 and then home.
- We can talk later tonight or tomorrow morning.
- I'm going to talk to him right now.
- I called you.
- Do you want to set a time to talk again, or just when you're ready?
- I'll leave it with you and let me know what you want to do.
- If you want to do it tomorrow, it would be helpful to formally announce whatever we agree on.
- Do you mean to lift the ban without addressing the meeting?
- We announce....
- It would be helpful for you if we announced the ban without addressing the meeting.
- OK, let me see if we can do that.
- Is there someone I can talk to while you're at the reception?
- Historic first contact.
- I'll let him know either way -- I'll go talk about it right now.