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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Visit of Irish Prime Minister Reynolds: Handling Northern Ireland (2 pages)	03/13/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
002. cable	re: My December 2 Meeting with Prime Minister Reynolds on Northern Ireland (2 pages)	12/02/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
003. report	re: Irish Prime Minister Reynolds in Washington (3 pages)	03/15/1994	P1/b(1)
004. report	re: U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	12/17/1993	P1/b(1)
005a. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Your Meeting with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland (7 pages)	03/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
005b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Meeting with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland (3 pages)	03/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
005c. memo	Strobe Talbott to POTUS re: Meeting with Irish Prime Minister Reynolds (2 pages)	03/14/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
005d. report	re: Biography (2 pages)	06/24/1992	P1/b(1)
005e. report	re: Biography (2 pages)	05/03/1993	P1/b(1)
005f. report	re: Biography (1 page)	03/11/1993	P1/b(1)
006a. memo	From Anthony Lake re: Meeting with Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds (5 pages)	03/17/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
006b. memo	Warren Christopher to POTUS re: Meeting with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland (2 pages)	03/15/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

2011-0355-F
rs1690

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of
an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of
financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information
concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C.
2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006c. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Meeting with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds (3 pages)	03/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
006d. paper	re: Northern Ireland (2 pages)	03/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
006e. paper	re: The Joe Doherty and Gerry Adams Cases (1 page)	03/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
006f. report	re: Biography (2 pages)	03/11/1993	P1/b(1)
006g. report	re: Biography (1 page)	03/15/1993	P1/b(1)
006h. report	re: Biography (1 page)	03/15/1993	P1/b(1)
006i. report	re: Biography (1 page)	03/11/1993	P1/b(1)

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1347

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1993

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (3.59)

KRM 4/11/2023

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT: Visit of Irish Prime Minister Reynolds: Handling
Northern Ireland

Purpose

To decide whether to appoint a fact finder for Northern Ireland.

Background

Last month's visit of Prime Minister Major served as a lightning rod for Congressional requests that you raise with him Northern Ireland, including British human rights abuses. (The Dodd letter is at Tab A.) The Reynolds visit has redoubled this interest. One issue requiring a Presidential decision is that of a special envoy to the Northern Ireland talks. You endorsed the idea during the campaign and the British and Irish governments -- as well as Irish american groups that supported you -- are watching your actions on the issue closely. We, along with the State Department, recommend you make a policy decision on the issue prior to your meeting on March 14 with Prime Minister Reynolds. The advent of St. Patrick's Day will spark a new round of inquiries into your position and you will be seeing a variety of public officials with an interest in the issue.

To some members of the Irish-American community appointing a special envoy would be a litmus test of your campaign pledge. Mayor Flynn and former Congressman Morrison strongly support the idea. (Their letter as well as your October 23, 1992 letter to Morrison are at Tab B.) The British (and perhaps our Embassy in London) have pushed the idea of appointing Speaker Foley as a fact finder rather than sending an envoy. Foley has not been asked by the USG to undertake this mission and has been fending off a persistent British press.

British abhorrence of the idea of an envoy is not surprising. However, they have promoted the idea of a Foley fact finding mission as a way to finesse your campaign pledge. (They also view Foley as a close friend of Britain.) The Irish Government itself has been unenthusiastic about an envoy -- even a fact finder -- although they have not raised the issue publicly. Their ambassador believes that quiet, high-level input by the U.S. with Britain and Ireland could facilitate progress. (He

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Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cites the example of Reagan's discussions with Thatcher in 1984 that the Irish believe helped to pave the way for the 1985 Anglo-Irish Accord.) Moreover, both the British and the Irish want to ensure that any public U.S. role does not become a political football in the May municipal elections in Northern Ireland, nor give the Unionists in the North an excuse to refuse to resume negotiations.

Suggested Approach: While, on the surface, a fact finder could finesse your campaign pledge, we fear it would only raise public expectations of follow-up initiatives after Foley reports to you on his trip. It runs the risk of angering your Irish-American supporters who may see the idea as backsliding. We, along with the State Department, feel that the best approach would be one based on the following themes:

- Your Administration is deeply interested in the situation in Northern Ireland.
- The Northern Ireland issue will remain part of our agenda with Great Britain and with Ireland.
- Before your Administration decides to undertake any initiative -- including appointing a fact finder -- you will weigh it against one standard: whether it would contribute to the talks and to ending the tragedy. To that end, you have already consulted fully with Britain and Ireland on our ideas, and will continue to do so.

You previewed this approach at your February 24 press conference with Major. Reynolds' endorsement of your approach could help alleviate domestic political pressure on you.

If you agree with this approach, we can draw up an appropriate press statement to be issued after Prime Minister Reynolds' visit, as well as a response to Flynn and Morrison.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to shelve the idea of appointing a Presidential fact finder on Northern Ireland at this time but continue to express your willingness to send a U.S. representative to Northern Ireland in the future if such a step would advance the cause of peace.

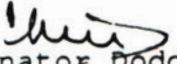
Approve _____ Disapprove _____

A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 5, 1993


Dear Senator Dodd:

Thank you for the letter which you and your Senate colleagues sent me on the issue of human rights in Northern Ireland. I want you to know that the discussion of human rights in Ulster is, and will continue to be, part of my Administration's political dialogue with the British Government. I conveyed our concerns to Prime Minister Major in the course of a good discussion of the situation in Northern Ireland.

As for specific initiatives, let me reiterate what I said at the conclusion of my first meeting with the Prime Minister: if there is some way that the United States could make a constructive contribution to a political settlement, we would do so. Ultimately, however, it will be up to the parties themselves to bring to an end the tragedy in Northern Ireland.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd
United State Senate
Washington, DC 20510

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
CONGRESSMAN

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0702

0973

February 22, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to urge you to raise the subject of human rights in Northern Ireland during your upcoming visit with British Prime Minister John Major.

We appreciate your many statements in support of peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, such as your suggestion that the United States send an envoy to help mediate a political solution to the conflict. Indeed, it is our hope that such statements presage a significant change in U.S. policy toward Northern Ireland. With over 3,000 dead in "the Troubles" since 1969, such a change is urgently needed.

We continue to condemn the violent actions of the Irish Republican Army, a clandestine paramilitary organization that has waged a relentless and bloody war against British rule in Ulster. The ruthless tendencies of the IRA were underscored once again in the past few months, in the course of a violent bombing campaign during the holiday shopping season.

But another element in the conflict stands out as deeply troubling: the continuing human rights abuses of the British security forces. These abuses, long documented by the State Department and organizations like Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch, have only served to fuel and extend the conflict. We believe the hour has come for the United States to end its long tradition of silence on this very important subject.

Perhaps the most serious charge of human rights abuse in Northern Ireland concerns the use of lethal force. The actions of security forces continue to suggest a de facto "shoot-to-kill" policy, such as the recent shooting of an 18-year-old Catholic youth, Peter McBride, while he was reportedly running away from police. According to human rights monitors in Belfast, there have been 350 killings by security forces since 1969 but only 33 officers charged for such killings -- and only two convicted.

Grave concerns have also been raised about the protection of civil liberties in Northern Ireland. Under the Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, for example,

The President
February 22, 1993
Page Two

authorities have wide discretion to make arrests without a warrant and to detain suspects. In addition, the use of jury trials can be suspended in certain cases and a suspect's right to remain silent is often limited. These practices are in clear violation of accepted international standards.

Finally, there have been serious allegations of collusion between British security forces and Loyalist paramilitary factions such as the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force. These allegations were brought to light by the recent case of Brian Nelson, a British army agent who was accused of giving UDA officials detailed military intelligence that was later used to carry out attacks on suspected IRA members. In the last two decades, Loyalist paramilitary groups have accounted for roughly 800 deaths, including 38 of the 84 terrorism-related killings recorded in 1992.

We recognize that the British Government has taken some positive, if belated, steps to end some previous injustices in Northern Ireland. We note, for example, the overturning of the wrongful convictions of the "Guildford Four" and the "Birmingham Six," along with the establishment of a Royal Commission to examine the justice system. However, recent events such as the shooting of Peter McBride and the Brian Nelson episode raise serious questions about the commitment of British security forces to true and lasting reform.

In short, we look to the British Government to take further steps to improve the human rights climate in Northern Ireland -- and we look to the Clinton Administration to encourage those changes. We value the long-held friendship between the United States and Great Britain, and we are committed to seeing that friendship endure. But we believe this "special relationship" also carries with it a special responsibility: to engage in an honest and forthright manner with one another about the protection of human rights and the preservation of civil liberties.

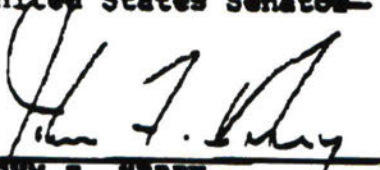
We have no illusions about the conflict in Northern Ireland or the many violent, disparate forces that shape it. But of one thing we are utterly confident: the discussion on human rights in Ulster must not be removed from the political dialogue. British human rights abuses may not be the sole cause of the violence in Northern Ireland. But reform of those abuses, in our view, must be an integral part of the solution.

The President
February 22, 1993
Page Three

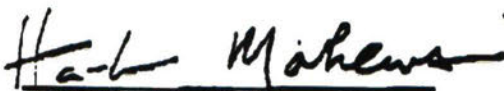
We hope you will keep this principle in mind during your upcoming meeting with Prime Minister Major. We appreciate your attention to our concerns and your longstanding interest in the difficult question of Northern Ireland, and we look forward to working with you in the future on this very important issue.

Sincerely,


EDWARD M. KENNEDY
United States Senator


JOHN F. KERRY
United States Senator

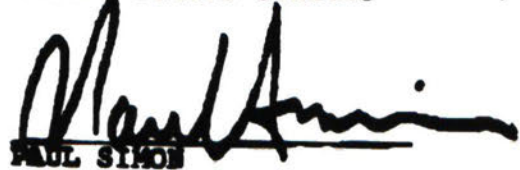

PAUL WELLSTONE
United States Senator


HARLAN MATHEWS
United States Senator


HARRIS WOFFORD
United States Senator


JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN
United States Senator


CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
United States Senator


PAUL SIMON
United States Senator


RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD
United States Senator


ALFONSE M. D'AMATO
United States Senator


DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN
United States Senator


ARLEN SPECTER
United States Senator

B



October 23, 1992

The Honorable Bruce A. Morrison
2 Whitney Avenue, Suite 700
New Haven, CT 06510

Dear Bruce:

Let me extend my thanks to you for your support and leadership as Chairman of Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore. Your commitment to the goals we all share -- a Democratic victory in November as well as a better life for all Americans -- has made a real difference.

I want to send my warm greetings and hearty thanks to all of you gathered together this evening in support of our campaign. The support of the Irish American community is crucial to our election effort and I am grateful for your support.

In addition, let me recognize an individual who has provided tireless support for our ticket and who has made a real difference in the struggle for peace in Northern Ireland, Boston's distinguished Mayor, Ray Flynn. And it is a special honor for all of us to have the valued support and guidance of a good friend of Democrats and Irish-Americans everywhere, Paul O'Dwyer.

The lasting contributions of the Irish-American community are what have helped make this country strong. And I am pleased that today President Bush signed into law a Congressional resolution designating March 1993 as "Irish-American Heritage Month." Because Ireland has given so much to our country, we owe a special debt in return. We commend the Democratic leaders in Congress who acted to end the long history of discrimination against Ireland and other nations in our immigration laws. And we will work to ensure that political considerations do not hinder the workings of our courts in asylum cases.

Senator Gore and I share the goal of all Irish-Americans for peace in Northern Ireland. We believe that the United States must reflect this concern more effectively in its foreign policy. We condemn the violence and bloodshed which has scarred Northern Ireland and oppose all attempts to achieve political goals through terror and violence. We call on peoples of nations throughout the world to end their financial support for those who seek to gain their goals by violence.

We are encouraged by the current talks between the constitutional parties of Northern Ireland and the British and Irish governments. A Clinton Administration will take a more active role in working with the leaders in these nations to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the conflict. A permanent and peaceful solution to the crisis in Northern Ireland can only be achieved if the underlying causes of the strife and instability are dealt with vigorously, fairly and within a time-frame that guarantees genuine, substantial, and steady progress. I believe the appointment of a U.S. special envoy to Northern Ireland could be a catalyst in the effort to secure a lasting peace.

We believe that the British Government must do more to oppose the job discrimination that has created unemployment levels two and a half times higher for Catholic workers than Protestant workers. There can be no lasting settlement in Northern Ireland until such discrimination is ended. The MacBride Principles set forth appropriate guidelines for investment to help achieve these goals.

We also believe that the British Government must establish more effective safeguards against the wanton use of lethal force and against further collusion between the security forces and Protestant paramilitary groups.

The people of Northern Ireland have endured more than two decades of bloodshed and devastation. More than three thousand citizens have died in the continuing violence. A realistic solution to the suffering can be achieved only through political negotiations and the consent of the people, not by further acts of violence.

Senator Gore and I look forward to working with you in the years ahead to achieve these goals and bring peace and justice to Northern Ireland. But we must also join together in the fight for a better America.

It is time to renew our hope for the future of this nation, our faith in the American people and our vision for the kind of country we can build together. Al Gore and I have a plan to rebuild America.

Our plan reflects the concerns of the Irish-American community who understand the value of family, hard work and community. We will create thousands of new jobs, by among other things, supporting small business and encouraging private investment in America. Our plan seeks to reward people who work hard and play by the rules, by reforming welfare as we know it. We have a strong anti-crime approach based around support for expanded community-based law enforcement. And we will control the health care costs that are currently crippling our economy and provide insurance for the 35 million people without it.

Perhaps most important of all, Al Gore and I will make education a top priority, replacing rhetoric with results. Our

plan calls for lifetime learning based around educational opportunity. We know that education of the next generation is one of the most important aims of government. Our young people must be prepared to compete in the global marketplace.

With your help, we will win on November 3 and have the opportunity to rebuild America together.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly stylized font. The "B" is large and loops around the "i". The "Clinton" part is also cursive, with the "t" having a small loop.

Bill Clinton

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the many Irish-Americans across this nation who worked for your election, and who are encouraged by your knowledge of and commitment to creating a constructive U.S. policy in regard to Northern Ireland, we are pleased to present to you a set of recommendations drafted by "Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore."

Using your letter of October 23, 1992 to the Irish-American community as a blueprint, we have solicited the opinions of Irish groups, human rights advocates, academicians, government officials, and business people on the best way to replace senseless violence with peace, justice, and reconciliation for the people of Northern Ireland, and to provide economic opportunity for both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. We were also invited to brief your transition team in Little Rock on January 13, 1993.

We hope to meet with you and your staff soon to begin a dialogue which helps shape your important St. Patrick's Day message in March. We are optimistic that these recommendations represent the center of gravity for the more than 44 million Americans of Irish descent in the United States.

You have the full support and high expectations of thousands of Irish-Americans who have rallied behind "Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore" on the campaign trail, Mr. President. We are committed to sustaining and strengthening that support, as we embark with you on an historic opportunity to effect positive and lasting change to Northern Ireland.

Sincerely,

Raymond L. Flynn
Mayor of Boston
National Co-Chairman,
Clinton for President

Bruce A. Morrison
Attorney-At-Law
Former Connecticut Congressman

Co-Chairmen, Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore

Northern Ireland

FOR

**Clinton
Gore**

February 5, 1993

Dear Irish-American Leader:

Please find herewith a set of recommendations to President Bill Clinton from the Irish community in the United States.

These recommendations have been gathered and shaped from the opinions of Irish-Americans and Americans of good will from throughout the United States, and represent the critical ways in which American policy can have a constructive impact on improving the political, social, and economic landscape in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

After several discussions and meetings with leading Irish groups and individuals from across the United States, plus a meeting in Little Rock with officials from the Clinton transition team, we have been instructed to submit this document to the Clinton Administration, and to begin to engage in a discussion about how best to implement these recommendations into the overall foreign policy guidelines now being developed in Washington.

We ask for your support of our efforts, in the spirit of unity, and urge you to contact President Clinton, members of Congress, as well as your local elected officials. It is important that the Irish agenda does not once again get pushed to the background in the coming months. We cannot afford another four years of U.S. inaction on the very difficult and troubling conditions which exist in Northern Ireland.

With your support, we will work constructively with the Clinton Administration, and with all political points of view, to address how best to have a positive influence on bringing peace, justice and economic opportunity to the people of Northern Ireland.

Sincerely,

Raymond L. Flynn
Mayor of Boston
National Co-Chairman,
Clinton for President

Bruce A. Morrison
former Connecticut Congressman

Co-Chairmen, Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore

"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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Statement of Purpose	1
Five Recommendations on Irish Issues	2
I. Special Envoy to Northern Ireland	4
II. Misuse and Abuse of the American Justice System	5
III. Human Rights in Northern Ireland	7
IV. Immigration Standards for the Irish	9
V. The MacBride Principles and Economic Investment	10

"IRISH-AMERICANS FOR CLINTON/GORE"

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

February 1993

Irish-Americans for Clinton/Gore (IACG) was created in 1992 in an effort to mobilize the support of Irish-Americans and others concerned with Irish issues. Its members are for ending the senseless violence in Northern Ireland and replacing it with peace, justice, and economic opportunity, for fair American immigration laws for the Irish, and increased cooperation between the Republic of Ireland and the United States.

Co-chairs of the IACG are former Connecticut Congressman Bruce Morrison and Boston Mayor Raymond L. Flynn.

The blueprint for IACG is Bill Clinton's letter to Bruce Morrison and the Irish-American community on October 23, 1992, where, in addition to opposing terrorism and violence of any kind, he outlines the following:

- . Appointment of a Special Envoy to Northern Ireland
- . Elimination of foreign interference in the American Judicial system
- . Attention to human rights abuses in Northern Ireland
- . Continuation of visa opportunities for Irish citizens and
- . Support of the MacBride Principles and economic investment in Ireland.

Since November 1992 the IACG has solicited input from elected officials, policymakers and diplomats, academicians, human rights advocates, and business people on the best way to contribute to an American policy of peace, justice, and economic development in Northern Ireland. The IACG is hopeful that a renewal of the peace talks in Northern Ireland will include every point of view, and will result in a resolution which is ultimately determined and endorsed by all of the people of Ireland.

The IACG is not affiliated with any other organization. Its role is to facilitate the genuine good will of all Americans who believe in a just resolution of the problems besetting the Irish and the Irish-American communities.

###

I. SPECIAL ENVOY TO NORTHERN IRELAND

For the past decade, Irish-Americans have united around the need for a Special Envoy to Northern Ireland, an area suffering from one of the world's most ancient animosities, with its focal point of dispute vacillating among sovereign nations (Great Britain and Ireland), national identities (British versus Irish) and religions (Protestant and Catholic).

Mindful of the constructive role that Envoys have played in mediating disputes that appear intractable — from the Middle East and Vietnam to South Africa and Bosnia — Irish-Americans believe that the United States, given its special alliance with Great Britain and Ireland, can spearhead a purposeful series of negotiations leading to an agreeable resolution of issues that divide Northern Ireland.

This role is consistent with the larger global responsibility which the United States and the United Nations have assumed in the post-Cold War era: to mediate ethnic and political strife throughout the world. Increasingly, elected officials, factional leaders, clergy, physical force proponents and ordinary citizens are sitting down together — often through the influence of the United States — attempting to break political deadlocks that drain the economic, cultural, and social vitality of these nations.

Northern Ireland, with a history of failed initiatives, stalled peace talks, and the crude violence of rage, is poised for redemption from the failures of history. Its people yearn for a mechanism which holds the promise of peace, justice, and reconciliation.

The United States, charged with the task of helping to guide global reconstruction, can provide the framework, expertise, and commitment required to begin the process of peace in Northern Ireland. A Special Envoy is the mechanism to begin this task in earnest.

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315 P17

During the Presidential campaign, Bill Clinton stated that he would not interfere with the Judicial branch of government, and further, that he would have allowed Joe Doherty to have the hearing repeatedly ordered for him by the federal courts. President Clinton can satisfy his own campaign pledges and a fundamental concern of the Irish-American community through the following actions:

- Cessation of the persecution of Irish-Americans by the careful selection of State and Justice Department leaders
- Respond to direct requests from the British government for the State Department to undertake costly and concentrated investigations of law-abiding Americans and Irish aliens by giving U.S. criminal justice concerns priority
- Renegotiation of the US/UK Supplementary Extradition Treaty to reflect American ideals and principles, and to effectuate the repatriation of William Quinn
- Request the British government to grant credit to Joe Doherty for the nine years of imprisonment he served in the U.S. at the behest of the British government.

III. HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Human rights abuses in Northern Ireland, especially by the British government and security forces, are a major cause for concern among Irish-Americans. A number of respected agencies, including Amnesty International, the Helsinki Conference, and the European Court for Human Rights, have documented these abuses, especially over the past 25 years. Yet the State Department's annual report, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, continually understates and minimizes these abuses. This suggests that the U.S. government does not consider the problems in Northern Ireland documented by responsible human rights agencies to be equal to those of other nations.

A more specific, comprehensive, and detailed profile of Northern Ireland's human rights abuses must as a matter of international equity be documented by the State Department reports, addressing the following issues:

- * Extracting confessions by torture and emotional stress
- * Altering or withholding material evidence
- * Using one-judge, no jury courts (Diplock)
- * Using paid perjurers
- * Employing a shoot-to-kill policy by security forces
- * Using plastic bullets
- * Excessive strip searching of women prisoners
- * Collusion between security forces and loyalist paramilitaries
- * Threatening and intimidating lawyers.

The proliferation of abusive security operations violate the civil rights of Northern Ireland citizens: destructive house searches without warrants; holding prisoners incommunicado without benefit of legal counsel for up to seven days; situating spy posts in nationalist locales; and harassing workers engaged in political activities.

Finally, the United States must apply in an outspoken and evenhanded manner its policy regarding human rights standards throughout the world. This policy, if applied unequivocally, will reinforce the need for fundamental changes in how Northern Ireland is governed, and will ease the perception which Irish-Americans have that the State Department is an indifferent observer to the human rights problems in Northern Ireland.

IV. IMMIGRATION STANDARDS FOR THE IRISH

The plight of Irish immigrants living illegally in the United States during the 1980s was largely abated through the Donnelly and Morrison visa programs, which set aside thousands of visa slots for the Irish.

The Clinton Administration should encourage the major effort now underway to extend the Morrison Visa program beyond its three year limit, which ends in 1993.

In a separate vein, the Irish-American community is disturbed that a number of prominent Northern Ireland leaders, notably but not exclusively from Sinn Fein, have consistently been denied visas to visit the United States. Despite recent amendments to the United States Immigration Act, specifically the Frank Amendment to the Immigration Act of 1990, denial of entry to the United States on ideological grounds is still being used to bar Northern Ireland citizens.

Visa denial on ideological grounds is contrary to the Free Speech principles of the United States. It also deprives U.S. citizens of their right to hear differing points of view. The policy of exclusion of Irish activists has even extended to depriving members of Congress from hearing such individuals. Absent a threat of unlawful activities in the United States, there is no justifiable reason to deny these people visas.

The Clinton Administration is urged to uphold the spirit and letter of the law, as defined in the Immigration Act of 1990.

V. THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES AND ECONOMIC INVESTMENT

Since 1985, legislation has been enacted in 13 states and over three dozen municipalities requiring pension fund investments and public entities to adhere to the MacBride Principles. Similar legislation is pending in a number of jurisdictions and in the U.S. Congress. Unlike the anti-apartheid movement, the MacBride campaign does not call for U.S. corporate divestment from Northern Ireland. Investment is encouraged provided strict anti-discrimination standards are upheld. Increased investment is an important component of any effort to promote employment equality.

The MacBride Principles - consisting of nine fair employment, affirmative action principles - are a corporate code of conduct for U.S. companies doing business in Northern Ireland. Statistics from Northern Ireland's Fair Employment Commission (FEC) confirm that Catholics are two and one-half times more likely to be unemployed than Protestants in Northern Ireland, a ratio that recent FEC reports show has not changed over the past decade.

The MacBride campaign has focused the attention of the British and Irish governments on the need for change in this area and was instrumental in persuading the British government to adopt a stronger anti-discrimination statute in 1989. However, current British law does not permit the full-blooded affirmative action which has been successful in promoting broader economic participation among women and minorities in the U.S., and which is necessary if employment inequalities are to be adequately redressed. The Clinton Administration, as a matter of policy, should support statutory changes in the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act to allow for such affirmative action along the lines suggested by the British Labour Party.

In addition, the Administration should examine the actions of two U.S. agencies who have impeded the ratification of the MacBride Principles:

- * Since 1985, the State Department has lobbied intensively against city, state, and federal enactment of MacBride Principles legislation. This lobbying must cease.

- * In a recent change in policy, the Securities and Exchange Commission has held that shareholders no longer can put resolutions dealing with equal employment opportunity matters on corporate annual general meeting ballots. SEC officials have indicated that shareholder activism specifically relating to Northern Ireland is a target of this new policy. The Clinton Administration's SEC appointees must act to restore fundamental shareholder rights in this area.

In addition to the MacBride Principles, the Clinton Administration can take a number of positive steps to help ensure that economic development takes place in both parts of Ireland.

- * Reform the International Fund For Ireland (IFI) so that it more effectively stimulates job creation in both communities and among both traditions in Northern Ireland. Political screening of IFI grant applications must be abolished, and a right of appeal must be established. The Clinton Administration should state its willingness to increase the U.S. contribution to IFI above the current \$20 million a year if there is accompanying political progress toward peace, justice, and reconciliation.

- * Support economic investment in Irish infrastructure projects which have the goal of more closely integrating the economies of north and south, and preparing the island economy to compete effectively in the single market of the New Europe.

- Support proposals to create a Belfast-Dublin economic corridor to provide an additional stimulus for growth.
- Urge our allies in the European community to target increased structural fund money to Ireland, North and South, to enhance cross-border economic progress.

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PAGE 01 OF 02

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EXDIS

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

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: MY DECEMBER 2 MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
REYNOLDS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: STATE 361755

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

2. I MET WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS ON
DECEMBER 2 TO MAKE THE DEMARCHE REQUESTED REFTTEL AND TO
DISCUSS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN REGARD TO NORTHERN IRELAND
IN THE RUN-UP TO HIS DECEMBER 3 MEETING WITH BRITISH PRIME
MINISTER JOHN MAJOR.

3. THE PRIME MINISTER DISCLOSED TO ME THAT HE HAD HAD A
45-MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH MAJOR AFTER THE NOVEMBER 26
TABLING OF AN UNSATISFACTORY BRITISH DRAFT OF A JOINT
STATEMENT. COMMENTING THAT THE BRITISH STILL REGARDED
IRELAND AS A COLONY, REYNOLDS SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD MAJOR
THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE A SUMMIT ON BRITISH TERMS SINCE
HOLDING ONE ON THAT BASIS WOULD GUARANTEE ITS FAILURE. IT
WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE NONE. MAJOR HAD FINALLY RELENTED,
AGREEING TO A SERIES OF WORKING MEETINGS AND TO PROCEEDING
ON THE BASIS OF THE IRISH DRAFT WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN ON
THE TABLE FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. REYNOLDS ADDED THAT HE HAD
SHOWN THE IRISH DRAFT BOTH TO CHURCH OF IRELAND PRIMATE
ROBIN EAMES AND TO A PERSON CLOSE TO PROTESTANT PARA-
MILITARIES, BOTH OF WHOM HAD SAID THAT HE SHOULD GO FORWARD
WITH IT.

4. NOTING THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHY MAJOR WAS WAFLING,
REYNOLDS SAID THAT HE PLANNED TO ASK HIM IF HE HAD MADE A
DEAL WITH THE UNIONISTS LAST JULY. THAT THE BRITISH DRAFT
TABLED ON NOVEMBER 26 WAS SKEWED TOWARDS THE UNIONISTS AND
THAT THE BRITISH HAD KEPT THEIR CONTACTS WITH SINN FEIN/IRA
SECRET FROM THE IRISH SUGGESTED THE EXISTENCE OF ONE. THE
BRITISH WERE KEY, REYNOLDS ADDED, SINCE THE PROVOS WERE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

INTERESTED IN DEALING WITH THEM RATHER THAN WITH THE UNIONISTS. IRISH REUNIFICATION WAS UNIMPORTANT AT THIS TIME; THE IMPORTANT THING WAS PEACE. THE NATIONALISTS AND THE UNIONISTS WOULD HAVE TO AGREE IF IT WERE TO OCCUR.

5. IN LIGHT OF RECENT REVELATIONS, REYNOLDS BELIEVES SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND SIR PATRICK MAYHEW MAY BE FORCED TO RESIGN. THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL TELL WHETHER HE CAN WEATHER THE STORM. REYNOLDS WOULD PREFER THAT MAYHEW GO, GIVEN HIS STRONG UNIONIST BIAS. (SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME SHARES THIS VIEW OF MAYHEW, WHOM HE DESCRIBES AS A "CORK UNIONIST.")

6. THE PRIME MINISTER CONTINUED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD SAID EXACTLY THE RIGHT THINGS IN HIS CALL TO MAJOR AND DID NOT/NOT NEED TO SAY MORE AT THIS TIME. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER A STATEMENT BY PROMINENT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS URGING BOTH GOVERNMENTS AND GERRY ADAMS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE WOULD BE USEFUL, REYNOLDS CONCURRED, ADDING THAT IT WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL AND THAT I COULD USE HIS NAME IN THIS REGARD.

7. REYNOLDS THEN SPONTANEOUSLY SUGGESTED THAT, AS SOON AS SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS AGREED TO A CESSATION OF VIOLENCE, HE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES. REYNOLDS FEELS THAT ADAMS IS ANXIOUS TO MAKE CONTACT AND BE PART OF THE PROCESS. SMITH

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. report	re: Irish Prime Minister Reynolds in Washington (3 pages)	03/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

2011-0355-F
rs1690

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. report	re: U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	12/17/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

2011-0355-F
rs1690

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]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

As of 3/17/94

SCENARIO FOR VISIT OF
IRISH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS
March 17, 1994

11:20 a.m. Prime Minister Reynolds and party arrive at the West Lobby and are greeted by the Deputy Chief of Protocol, Fred DuVal, who will escort Prime Minister Reynolds to the Cabinet Room to sign the guest book. (A military cordon will line the drive).

11:22 a.m. The Deputy Chief of Protocol escorts Prime Minister Reynolds into the Oval Office, via the hallway entrance and makes introductions. White House Photographers/TV enter the Oval for brief photos (3 minutes).

11:25 a.m. Meeting begins.

<u>U.S. Participants</u>	<u>Irish Participants</u>
The President	Prime Minister Reynolds
Vice President	Dermot Gallagher,
Anthony Lake	Ambassador
Peter Tarnoff	Patrick Teahon, Secretary
Jean Kennedy Smith,	General of the Prime
Ambassador	Minister's Department
Jane Holl, NSC	Sean O'Huiginn, Assistant
notetaker	Secretary General,
	Foreign Ministry
	Martin Mansergh, Special
	Advisor to the Prime
	Minister, notetaker

11:45 a.m. Meeting ends. The President and Prime Minister Reynolds remain in the Oval Office. Other meeting participants are escorted into the Roosevelt Room.

11:47 a.m.. The President escorts Prime Minister Reynolds into the Roosevelt Room. (The President stands to the left of the Podium, Prime Minister Reynolds in front of the Podium.)

11:48 a.m. Prime Minister Reynolds presents the President with the traditional bowl of Shamrocks.

11:50 a.m. The President accepts the Shamrocks and Press Availability begins.

12:00 a.m. Press Availability ends.

12:05 a.m. The President and Prime Minister Reynolds depart the White House for the South Lawn where they board the Presidential Motorcade enroute to Capitol Hill.

12:10 p.m. The President and Prime Minister Reynolds enroute to Capitol Hill to attend Speaker Foley's St. Patrick's Day Lunch.

12:30 p.m. Lunch begins.

1:35 p.m. Lunch ends. The President bids farewell to the Prime Minister and departs Capitol Hill enroute to the White House. (Prime Minister Reynolds has meetings on the Hill.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT:

Your Meeting With Prime Minister Albert Reynolds
of Ireland

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (3.61)
KBH 4/11/2013

Purpose

To reaffirm the strong state of U.S.-Ireland relations and to underscore the U.S. commitment to the efforts of the Irish and British governments to negotiate a settlement to the Irish question.

Background

Key Points

- Affirm the strong state of U.S. Irish relations; confirm Administration support for FY95 funding of the International Fund for Ireland at FY94 levels (approximately \$20 million).
- Acknowledge the contributions of Irish-Americans in the United States.
- Affirm U.S. support for the Joint Declaration and the efforts of the Irish and British governments for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Praise Reynolds role in the process.
- Commend Ireland's global commitment to humanitarian and peacekeeping operations.

By the time you meet with Prime Minister Reynolds on Thursday, he will have already been in the United States for five days. He will have divided his time between New York and Chicago, attending a number of Irish-American events and meeting with prominent figures -- including Mayor Daley of Chicago. He appeared on "Larry King Live" Tuesday evening. Reynolds will also have a number of meetings on the Hill and will attend a black tie dinner given by the American Ireland Fund. Following his stay in Washington, Reynolds will fly to Hartford to attend the John F. Kennedy Trust Dinner; he will return to Ireland, via the Bahamas, on March 22.

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

You have three events scheduled with Reynolds: the traditional presentation of the Shamrocks preceded by a brief Oval Office meeting; jointly attending Speaker Foley's St. Patrick's Day lunch; and the White House celebration of Ireland Thursday night preceded by a private meeting in the residence.

Northern Ireland and The Anglo-Irish Peace Process. The peace process in Northern Ireland is at a critical stage. Reynolds' and Major's December 15 Joint Declaration remains for Dublin and London the basis for resolving the conflict. The Joint Declaration provides the framework for resolution of the Northern Ireland conflict by offering a seat at the table for all parties who renounce violence as a means of obtaining political ends and by both Britain and Ireland conceding key points on the Irish question. Most significantly, the Declaration documented British recognition that London had no strategic interests in keeping Northern Ireland as part of the UK and that unity with the Republic of Ireland was a possible future for Northern Ireland, if that was the majority's choice. For its part, the Irish government accepted that any change in the status of Northern Ireland required the consent of the majority of the North (where Protestants make up a majority of the population).

Violence by the IRA and Loyalist paramilitaries has continued, although the IRA appears to have stopped killing civilians -- it has confined its attacks to policemen and British soldiers. Various loyalist groups are responsible for nearly twenty-five attacks since January 1 that have resulted in six Catholic deaths. For its part, the IRA has been credited with nearly forty-one attacks and the deaths of two policemen this year. This past weekend, it claimed responsibility for a recent string of inert mortar attacks on London airports. It is not clear whether the bombs were meant to go off -- if they had, they could have inflicted serious damage and casualties. The British believe the bombs were intended to detonate but failed for mechanical reasons. John Hume believes it was an effort by IRA hardliners to flex their muscles and remind the British of what they are capable.

The British and Irish Governments have sought to maintain the initiative in the peace process with recent proposals which build on the Declaration. Most recently in meetings on February 19 and March 10, the British and Irish governments both strongly reiterated their support for the Joint Declaration and agreed on the goal of restarting the "Three-Strand" talks (parties in Northern Ireland, UK-Ireland, and North and South Ireland). For now, however, John Molyneaux and his mainstream Ulster Unionist Party have refused to participate in such talks saying that nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.

The British and Irish governments refuse to talk to Sinn Fein until it has renounced violence. The British are also insisting on a three month cessation of violence from the IRA as a condition of talks, although they have softened the timetable somewhat. In addition, the European elections in June will be an opportunity for Unionist Ian Paisley and the hardliners to

criticize the Joint Declaration and thus it is unlikely the Three-Strand talks can resume until after the elections in June.

One option Reynolds is pursuing on a very close hold basis is to host an all Ireland Forum for Peace and Reconciliation as called for in the Joint Declaration. The British want Reynolds to move forward now, putting pressure on Adams to renounce violence and join the talks. Reynolds prefers to wait a bit in the hopes that Adams will move forward to renounce violence and join the talks. There is also a possibility that Adams could obtain a cease-fire, without actually renouncing violence and join the Forum talks thus implicitly recognizing the Joint Declaration. You should probe Reynolds on his plans and how you can be helpful. While the Unionists would not participate, such a Forum would keep a process alive until the Three-Strand talks could resume in the Summer. It would also give the British some leeway in talking to Sinn Fein and bringing the Unionists along if a cease-fire or renunciation of violence were forthcoming.

Since visiting the U.S. in January, Adams continues to equivocate on the Joint Declaration and the issue of violence. In its first official statement since the Joint Declaration, Sinn Fein issued a March 13 statement praising the Hume-Adams talks, saying the IRA "is prepared to be flexible in exploring the potential for peace. All concerned should leave no stone unturned," and criticizing the negative stance of the British. Some have criticized the statement claiming "our commitment and our unity of purpose remain steadfast" as a veiled endorsement of the IRA bombing campaign, although others interpret the statement as pure equivocation and mish-mash.

In a radio interview just before a second attack on Heathrow, Adams said that such instances should serve as a reminder that core issues have not been resolved: "...every so often there will be something spectacular to remind the outside world [that] the tragic signs of conflict are ongoing." However, Adams refused to agree that these incidences represented a setback to the search for peace and called on Dublin and London to engage in a direct dialogue with Sinn Fein. Both governments so far have refused to do so, saying flatly that Sinn Fein must first renounce violence. Sinn Fein in return says it will not renounce violence until the British clarify the Joint Declaration and agree to direct talks. Those close to Adams continue to believe Adams is working hard to avoid a split in the IRA and to move the organization in the right direction. Others believe he is simply playing for time. The next few months should tell.

Moving forward in this climate will not be easy, but there are some hopeful signs: although the IRA has not rejected violence outright, Adams and Sinn Fein have made some encouraging statements about the Joint Declaration. And while the Unionists have, for the moment, rejected Three-Strand talks, they have begun to discuss holding a forum of their own (which could later be incorporated into wider talks).

The Paul Hill Trial. After serving fifteen years for the 'Guildford Pub' bombing in 1974, Paul Hill (who is married to Robert Kennedy's daughter Courtney) was released from prison in 1989. The convictions of Hill and the other 'Guildford Four' defendants were overturned on appeal when the police were shown to have used torture to gain confessions. Their story is now the subject of a new film, "In the Name of the Father." Hill is currently appealing a separate charge that he was an accomplice to the murder of a British Army soldier. He claims his conviction was predicated on a confession made under duress. The trial, attended by a number of the Kennedy family, raised a good deal of media attention. It concluded earlier this month and a decision by the magistrates will be made in the next several months. Reynolds is unlikely to raise this issue, but you may field questions from the media. You should refuse to comment on this ongoing case.

U.S.-Irish Relations. The International Fund for Ireland. The International Fund for Ireland (IFI) was established by the British and Irish governments in 1986. With the U.S., the EU, Canada and New Zealand as contributors, the Fund's objectives are to promote economic and social advancement in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland through grants and loans to communities and businesses. The IFI's popularity has steadily grown within both Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland.

Last year was the first year a U.S. Administration requested funding for IFI (\$19.6 million). Previously, funding of IFI had always been at the initiative of Congress. The proposed FY95 funding for the Fund in the Foreign Assistance request was put in at \$15 million -- this reduction was one of many adjustments in foreign assistance allocations necessary to accommodate new foreign assistance priorities, including assistance to the Palestinians, without requesting additional overall funding. However, the cut was not vetted on the Hill or at the White House and House Speaker Foley reacted very negatively to news of the reduction.. Senator Kennedy and Representative Obey also expressed concern. State has thus committed to restoring FY95 IFI funding to \$19.6 million, and we expect you to announce the full funding at Speaker Foley's lunch on St. Patrick's day. (By comparison, the EU gave about \$16.8 million to the Fund in 1993 and spent about \$224 million last year on major infrastructure projects in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland).

Immigration Issues. Visa Waiver Pilot Program. The Visa Waiver Pilot Program (VWPP) was established by the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 and expanded under the Immigration Act of 1990. The VWPP permits nationals of designated countries to apply for admission to the U.S. as visitors for business or pleasure for up to ninety days without having to obtain nonimmigrant visas. Ireland's current nonimmigrant visa refusal rate of four percent (and that of Portugal and Greece) is well above the legislatively mandated two percent limit for inclusion in the program and, given Ireland's unemployment statistics, is likely to remain well above this limit for some time (although it

has dropped from 7% in 1988). In addition, Italy is expected to become ineligible shortly. The pilot program comes up for review in September and the Irish are pushing for all EU countries to be eligible. Irish supporters on the Hill (Kennedy and Mazzoli) are reviewing the issues and are hopeful they will be able to work the issue out. Reynolds should be aware, however, of the tough immigration mood on the Hill.

Soccer World Cup Visas. The Irish had hoped for a "one time" visa waiver to allow Irish citizens to travel to the U.S. for the World Cup finals this summer. The Irish government concedes that probably twenty percent of such visitors would likely overstay and understand it is virtually impossible to get Congress to pass the necessary statute. Reynolds may raise with you the possibility of a "one time" visa waiver but we are not prepared to do so given concerns in Congress that a large number would remain illegally in the U.S. Ambassador Smith has done a good job of putting in place special procedures to ensure that visa applications are given to all legitimate football fans, including many who would not otherwise qualify. While the Irish would prefer a visa waiver, they seem satisfied with our assurances that we will work to avoid embarrassments and to be as inclusive as possible.

INS Pre-Inspection. INS began a pre-inspection program at Shannon International airport in Ireland in 1988 for international passengers traveling to the United States. This operation began as a pilot project to provide greater convenience for passengers and a law enforcement tool which would detain ineligible entrants before they arrived at a U.S. port of entry. The program has been enormously popular with the Irish government.

A joint State Department/INS IG team audit of operations at Shannon in 1993 found that law enforcement benefits did not justify the expense of the operation and recommended that the pre-inspection operation be closed. The Irish government reacted negatively to the IG report and has formally asked the Department of Justice to continue pre-inspection. The principal Irish argument maintains that pre-inspection is vital to the economic survival of financially troubled Aer Lingus airline and that pre-inspection in Dublin would enhance visitor travel to Ireland. The Irish government fears that if pre-inspection were now to be ended, it would become a serious internal political problem. INS is preparing to meet with Irish government officials in Dublin during the latter half of March. If Reynolds raises this issue you should respond that we are looking at it and understand its importance to Ireland.

The EU Presidency. Dublin will assume the EU presidency in the second half of 1996 and will chair the Inter-Governmental Conference which will conduct a major overhaul of the Union. In anticipation of this role, Ireland has engaged in the EU's evolving Common Foreign and Security Policy and has taken observer status in the Western European Union. Thus at the time of greatest introspection on security institutions, the EU will

have as its President its only member not in NATO. You may want to draw out Reynolds on the direction of Dublin's thinking regarding the evolving relationship and relative roles of the WEU, NATO, CSCE and other organizations for Europe headed into the next century.

Libya. Ireland has recently shown a greater interest in cultivating relations with Libya, due to a combination of commercial interest and a desire to maintain the flow of information from Qadhafi to Ireland and the UK on Libya's extensive former involvement with the IRA. Prime Minister Reynolds privately informed Senator Kennedy that Ireland would be willing to host the trial for the Pan Am 103 bombing suspects. Reynolds further indicated that he would be willing to solicit Qadhafi's reaction before a formal offer was made to the UN. We have told Kennedy that Libya must make the two suspects available for trial in the United States or Scotland, as mandated by the Security Council. Reynolds has kept his ideas on this issue very close hold -- indeed, none among his staff may know of his thoughts. Thus, if he raises this issue at all, he will likely do so only if an opportunity presents itself to speak with you alone. We have provided contingency points for your use which acknowledge, but deflect, Reynolds' offer. These are the same points you have used in conversations with Kennedy on this issue.

Somalia. The Irish are extremely active worldwide in humanitarian affairs. Ireland has contributed an 80-man military transportation unit to the UNOSOM. It is one of the smallest contingents and among the most recent in Somalia. The Irish arrived at the beginning of last September and intend to stay a full year, barring casualties or a downturn in the quality of UNOSOM's management. The decision to stay (in part, at our urging) while others are leaving around the same time as our own March 31 departure, was affirmed by the cabinet on February 22. The Irish take pride in outlasting the other Europeans; their decision to stay is also symbolically important to the UN, as the Irish presence will, in a small way, ease UNOSOM's heavily Third World Character after March 31.

Aside from Ireland's military involvement in Somalia, two Irish non-governmental agencies -- Irish Goal and Irish Convern -- are active in humanitarian assistance. They are actively supported by the Irish government and the Irish people, and the U.S. has provided more than \$1 million to support these two agencies through the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. The murder by Somali bandits in January of a young Irish woman who worked with Irish Goal became a national issue and a public relations nightmare for the government. The Irish are in a position to take an independent view of UNOSOM's military and humanitarian performance -- and are critical of both.

Your remarks for Speaker Foley's luncheon and the evening celebration will be forwarded under separate cover.

Attachments

Tab A	Points to be Made
Tab B	Memorandum from the Acting Secretary of State
Tab C	Scenario
Tab D	Remarks
Tab E	Background Papers
Tab F	Bios
Tab G	Press Qs and As

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS OF IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355 - F (3.62)

KRM 4/11/2023

Northern Ireland and the Anglo-Irish Peace Initiative

- I admire the determination and courage you have shown in pursuing your peace initiative with John Major. I remain committed to supporting you in your efforts to carry forward the Downing Street Declaration.
- We share your revulsion over the continued violence in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. I was especially appalled by the mortar attacks on the London airports.
- We will continue to urge Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein and the IRA to renounce violence and join the political process within the Framework of the Joint Declaration.
- It is important to keep a peace process moving. While it appears the Three-Strand talks will be hard to hold until after the June elections, it might be possible to hold talks in the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation. Do you plan to move forward on them?
- What do you see as Sinn Fein's strategy regarding the peace process? Is a cease-fire a possibility?
- We are concerned about the seeming isolation of the moderate Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). UUP leaders are expected to visit next month and we will ensure they have a number of high level meetings to encourage their engagement in the Downing Street process. Is there anything else we can do to help ensure Unionist cooperation?

International Fund for Ireland

- I remain as committed to maintaining U.S. support for the Fund as one sign of our commitment to help in resolving the Northern Ireland problem.
- While almost every assistance account saw some reductions this year, we are working with Congress to assure that past years' funding levels of the IFI are maintained. I intend to announce that we will maintain our current level of nearly \$20 million for FY95 at the Speaker's lunch.

Visa Waiver Program

- On Irish Eligibility: I appreciate Ireland's interest in inclusion in the visa waiver program and I know Congress will be reviewing the issue this fall.
- Frankly, it is a tough climate up there on this issue but I will be sure we do what we can.

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Declassify on: OADR

- On World Cup Visas: We are pleased that Ireland will be with us this summer to compete in the World Cup. We will continue to work closely with your Government to assure that as many Irish citizens as possible who wish to attend will be able to do so.
- If Pressed: Frankly, we will not be able to extend a "one time" visa waiver for the World Cup as it would require new legislation but we will try and be as inclusive as possible.

INS Pre-Inspection

- Our immigration authorities will meet later this month to discuss how we can satisfy your interest in extending this program. I'll be sure and take a look at it.

Ireland and the EU

- We look forward to working with you when Ireland assumes the Presidency of the European Union in 1996 and welcome the increasing role Ireland is playing.
- You know we have long been strong supporters of European integration and remain committed to strong, united Europe.
- I look forward to staying in close touch with you as European architecture evolves.

Bosnia

- We are very pleased with the progress on the Bosnian-Croatian talks and are pointing toward a signing ceremony here in Washington on March 18.
- The next step will be to engage the Serbs in a dialogue to determine their political links to the Bosnian Federation and eventual confederation with Croatia.
- Territorial issues are also an important priority -- the Bosnian Serbs will have to make concessions.

Somalia

- I am grateful for Ireland's ongoing commitment to the peacekeeping force in Somalia, as well as to Ireland's continuing humanitarian efforts. Ireland's proud tradition in these areas is an example to all countries.

Pan Am 103 Trial (If raised privately)

- I appreciate your interest in resolving the Pan Am 103 issue and the international community has made clear to Qadhafi, through the decision of the United Nations Security Council, the steps which Libya must take to respond.

- The two Libyan suspects must be made available for trial in the United States or Scotland, as mandated by the Security Council. If Qadhafi is truly interested in ending the present situation in which Libya finds itself isolated from the global community, he knows what must be done. I must tell you, however, that we have seen no such indication.
- While I appreciate your interest in trying to move the process forward, our sense is that any such effort to expand trial locations would simply delay the process.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1994

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Strobe Talbott, ST Acting
SUBJECT: Meeting with Irish Prime Minister Reynolds

I. SETTING

Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds comes to Washington unchallenged domestically. Written off politically by many pundits only a year ago, he presently faces no domestic political rival. Most opposition parties (and even his coalition partners) are relatively weak in comparison with his Fianna Fail group. Moreover, Reynolds and his party do not face parliamentary elections until 1996.

The economy is doing well by almost any criterion: GDP is expected to maintain the 1993 2.5% growth rate this year; inflation is low (1.5% in 1993); and the balance of trade in goods and services is in substantial surplus. (Relative Irish prosperity is largely a product of EU membership, including direct transfers of structural funds to the Irish.) There remains the Achilles heel of unemployment (at 16% the second highest in the EU), but that chronic problem is not an immediate political liability. Reynolds can even bask in some of the glory of the Irish soccer team making the World Cup competition. (Reynolds will almost surely be back in the U.S., and in Washington, for the opening round of the Cup in June.)

The positive domestic picture notwithstanding, Reynolds' agenda has a potential pitfall in the Northern Ireland issue. By pressing the Downing Street Declaration with John Major, Reynolds is playing a high-profile but high-risk game; he could be hurt domestically (although not as much as Major) if it flops. He continues to work closely with his British counterpart. Both leaders remain firmly behind the Declaration as the sole viable framework for resolving the issues in the North and, despite some differences in tactical emphasis, can be expected to stick to that stance.

Reynolds will want to give you his sense of where the process stands and where he thinks it can go from here. The Irish feel the process is at a crossroads, given the refusal of Sinn Fein to endorse the Declaration and the increasingly cool approach of the Unionists as well. At the same time, the two Governments feel there is little to be done until after the

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June European Parliament elections. Reynolds is genuinely appreciative for what you have done to date, and will probably not press for you to become more engaged for now. Dublin, however, has always been quicker than London to see a role for the U.S. on Northern Ireland, recently through a visa for Gerry Adams, or earlier through a special envoy. If Reynolds senses the peace process has stalled, he might be tempted to ask for U.S. help. (In early December, Reynolds planned to ask you to urge John Major to show flexibility; agreement on the Declaration obviated that need.) Our challenge has been to encourage the two main protagonists to work with each other instead of focusing on us. Reynolds will welcome your assurances that we stand ready to help in any way he and John Major think appropriate. Given the self-isolation of the Unionists, he will be pleased that we will speak to Unionist leaders in April when they visit Washington.

Reynolds will raise with you extending our non-immigrant visa waiver program to Ireland. This reflects Irish irritation that Ireland, source of one of our largest ethnic communities, is being excluded from something most other West Europeans now enjoy. Ireland's 6% visa refusal rate is 4% higher than the legally-mandated level for inclusion in the waiver program. On the plus side, the Irish have benefited from other special visa programs, more than any other Europeans, and have received almost 75,000 immigrant visas since 1987. There are concerted efforts on the Hill to pass legislation extending the waiver program to all EU countries, including Ireland. Both State and INS have stressed to the Hill that extension of the program would have broader security and resource implications. Reynolds may seek your support.

Like other Europeans, the Irish are taking a hard look at their role in post-Cold War Europe. Ireland plays a role in the EU and even in UN peacekeeping to a degree more than proportionate to its size. As EU President in 1996, Ireland will chair the Inter-Governmental Conference that will conduct a major overhaul of the Union. That event will also confront Ireland with examining its future defense stance. Irish Foreign Minister Spring has already done much thinking on this, and will publish a "White Paper" on it next year seeking to educate the traditionally neutral Irish population on the need to accept a role in European security. Reynolds has been less seized with the issue, but by raising the question, you will underline our interest in where the Irish come out.

II. TOPICS

- o Reiterate U.S. admiration for Reynolds' courageous stance on Northern Ireland, and underscore our willingness to help in any way he and John Major consider appropriate.
- o Hear out his appeal on the visa waiver, and emphasize our desire to work with Congress in being responsive, while noting we have our own domestic concerns.
- o Ask how he sees future European architecture discussions in the EU proceeding, especially on security arrangements.

As of 3/16/94

SCENARIO FOR VISIT OF
IRISH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS
March 17, 1994

11:20 a.m. Prime Minister Reynolds and party arrive at the West Lobby and are greeted by the Deputy Chief of Protocol, Fred DuVal, who will escort Prime Minister Reynolds to the Cabinet Room to sign the guest book. (A military cordon will line the drive).

11:22 a.m. The Deputy Chief of Protocol escorts Prime Minister Reynolds into the Oval Office, via the hallway entrance and makes introductions. White House Photographers/TV enter the Oval for brief photos (3 minutes).

11:25 a.m. Meeting begins.

U.S. Participants

The President
Vice President
Anthony Lake
Peter Tarnoff
Jean Kennedy Smith,
Ambassador
Jane Holl, NSC

Irish Participants

Prime Minister Reynolds
Dermot Gallagher,
Ambassador
Patrick Teahon, Secretary
General of the Prime
Minister's Department
Sean O'Huiginn, Assistant
Secretary General,
Foreign Ministry

11:45 a.m. Meeting ends. The President and Prime Minister Reynolds remain in the Oval Office. Other meeting participants are escorted into the Roosevelt Room.

11:47 a.m. The President escorts Prime Minister Reynolds into the Roosevelt Room. (The President stands to the left of the Podium, Prime Minister Reynolds in front of the Podium.)

11:48 a.m. Prime Minister Reynolds presents the President with the traditional bowl of Shamrocks.

11:50 a.m. The President accepts the Shamrocks and Press Availability begins.

12:00 a.m. Press Availability ends.

12:05 a.m. The President and Prime Minister Reynolds depart the White House for the South Lawn where they board the Presidential Motorcade enroute to Capitol Hill.

12:10 p.m. The President and Prime Minister Reynolds enroute to Capitol Hill to attend Speaker Foley's St. Patrick's Day Lunch.

12:30 p.m. Lunch begins.

1:35 p.m.

Lunch ends. The President bids farewell to the Prime Minister and departs Capitol Hill enroute to the White House. (Prime Minister Reynolds has meetings on the Hill.)

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

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

It is a privilege to accept the bowl of shamrocks the Prime Minister has presented on behalf of the people of Ireland. This bowl, these shamrocks, represent the values and rich heritage our nations share. From the earliest days of this republic, the American Dream has so often been a story of Irish-American achievement. In our politics and our poetry, the rich green hues of Ireland have been woven into the fabric of American life.

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

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

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

Across this nation today, in parades and classrooms and churches, Americans are rejoicing in the kinship and unique friendship between our nations. Tonight, Prime Minister Reynolds and I will join what promises to be a lively celebration of Ireland at the White House with Irish-Americans from across the country. I look forward to that celebration, and I look forward to working with the Prime Minister, on St. Patrick's Day and every day, in pursuit of peace and prosperity for both our peoples.

Ireland At Home

Albert Reynolds' government, which took office in January 1993, is a Fianna Fail-Labor coalition that replaced a Fianna Fail-Progressive Democrat coalition government -- also headed by Reynolds -- which fell in November 1992 as a result of a corruption scandal. Even though Reynolds' party lost heavily in those elections, Reynolds maneuvered adroitly to keep his party in government and himself as Prime Minister. In the 1992 elections, Labor doubled its seats in Parliament, resulting in a modest left-right split in Irish politics. Both traditional leading parties (Fianna Fail and Fine Gael) lost substantially. Key issues dominating Ireland's domestic agenda include dealing with 16% unemployment (while keeping inflation and government spending under control) and social issues such as divorce and abortion that continue to divide Ireland as tensions rise between its rural, Catholic, socially conservative society and its urban, secular, more modern population.

Ireland's President Mary Robinson recently concluded a private visit to the U.S. Elected as the Labor candidate to a seven-year term in December 1990, she is exceedingly popular, although her position is constitutionally circumscribed (e.g., she must get Cabinet approval for all trips and speeches). Nevertheless, Robinson has taken a more activist role than most of her predecessors, especially on social issues.

The Irish economy has generally performed well since 1987, posting positive real growth each year. In 1993, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by about 2.5 percent, fueled primarily by continued strong growth of exports. The balance of trade in goods and services remained in substantial surplus. Inflation was very modest at about 1.5 percent. The outlook for 1994 is for continued modest economic growth (with the GDP expected to increase by about 2.5 percent -- better than most European economies). The trade balance is expected to remain well in surplus. Unemployment, however, has remained a stubborn problem in Ireland. The rapid growth in Ireland's work force which characterized the 1980's and early 1990's is expected to continue through the end of the century. The Irish economy has not been able to create jobs fast enough to keep pace.

Irish-British Relations

Relations between the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain are the best they have ever been and are likely to stay good. Symbolic of improved Anglo-Irish ties was Irish President Mary Robinson's May 1993 call on Queen Elizabeth, the first meeting ever of the Irish and British heads of state. Two events account for the steady improvement that has occurred over the past two decades: the 1973 accession to the European Community (now Union) of the UK and Ireland and the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985.

Membership in the EU has given Dublin and London a new framework for interaction -- and often cooperation -- and has helped Ireland move out of the long shadow of Great Britain to become a player in its own right on the larger European stage. Even more important for Irish-British relations, the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement institutionalized a regular Dublin-London dialogue on Northern Ireland and significantly accorded Dublin a British-recognized voice in the future of Northern Ireland. It was, in part, because of the growing cooperation between London and Dublin that Prime Ministers Reynolds and Major began a series of intensive consultations on Northern Ireland which culminated in the Anglo-Irish Joint Declaration of December 15, 1993.

Improved relations notwithstanding, memories are still strong of Ireland's eight centuries of subservience to the English Crown and of the bloody war of independence followed by civil war in the 1920s. Scratch the surface and one still often finds Irish resentment and English condescension. It takes determined political leadership to keep cracks from forming in the joint Irish-British approach to Northern Ireland. But lack of progress on Northern Ireland, or even a certain level of Anglo-Irish discord over what to do next, poses little threat to the overall health of the Anglo-Irish relationship.

International Issues

The EU. Among the benefits that have accrued to Ireland through its membership in the EU, perhaps none is greater than the EU's "cohesion" funds -- used to promote convergence of development of Europe's poorer regions with more prosperous areas. The Irish are frank in admitting that the receipt of these funds constitutes a principal interest in the EU. Reynolds himself noted last November that "by any definition, the funds coming to Ireland (from the EU) are enormous and will make a tremendous contribution to our development." There has, however, been an ongoing attack of conscience in Ireland over what detractors call a "begging bowl mentality," since only Spain, Portugal and Greece enjoy similar EU funding levels.

Elsewhere in EU matters, the Irish have been active in reform of the EU Common Agriculture Policy that provides heavy subsidies for Europe's farmers and has been at the basis of many U.S.-EU trade disputes. Ireland's then-commissioner to the EU, Ray MacSharry, was the architect of the very difficult CAP reform last year. Farming is important for Ireland as with other EU countries -- notably France, and Dublin sought compensation for cuts in EU subsidies negotiated during the Uruguay Round.

Ireland supports deeper political and economic integration of the Union as a means to establish a place for Ireland in Europe apart from the UK but generally cuts a low profile -- and usually aligns with France -- within the EU in areas outside its immediate economic interest. However, it has repeatedly stated that it holds to the EU's principle of solidarity and cohesion on all external issues, despite its own traditionally neutral foreign policy.

Bosnia. The Irish have 30-40 citizens on the ground in Bosnia as part of UN and EU operations. They are also active in the private relief funds. The bulk of their operations are aimed at Croatia because of the links with the Catholic Church. Reynolds may ask you where things stand in the negotiations.

Middle East. U.S. governments have for years pressed the Irish government to permit the opening of an Israeli embassy in Dublin. Last year, Foreign Minister Spring -- at the urging of Ambassador Smith -- agreed to the opening in Dublin of an Israeli embassy and the opening of a PLO office. The target date for the opening of the Israeli embassy is March 30, but this date might slip. The PLO has the necessary permissions to open its office at any time, but we understand funding might be a problem.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005d. report	re: Biography (2 pages)	06/24/1992	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

2011-0355-F
rs1690

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]
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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).

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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005e. report	re: Biography (2 pages)	05/03/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

2011-0355-F
rs1690

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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005f. report	re: Biography (1 page)	03/11/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

2011-0355-F
rs1690

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PRESS QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR
THE VISIT OF
PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS OF IRELAND

NORTHERN IRELAND: PEACE INITIATIVE

Q: What more can the U.S. government do to assist in the Anglo-Irish peace initiative?

A: -- I strongly support Irish and British governments efforts to promote peace through the framework of the Joint Declaration.

-- We join the Irish and British governments in urging the Sinn Fein and the IRA to renounce violence and participate in the talks. We also send a similar message to the Unionists.

-- The United States stands ready to assist in any appropriate way.

Q: Do you think the British government should offer the clarification of the Downing Street Declaration that Sinn Fein seeks?

-- Both Prime Minister Reynolds and British Northern Ireland Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew have elaborated in some detail on the principles of the Declaration.

UNIONIST REJECTION OF JOINT DECLARATION

Q: Do you think the recent rejection of the Downing Street Declaration by the Unionists has scuttled the peace initiative?

A: -- We continue to share the hope of both Prime Minister Reynolds and Prime Minister Major that all the parties in Northern Ireland will recognize that the framework of the Downing Street Declaration is their best chance for a lasting peace.

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND

Q: Has the United States reduced its contribution to the International Fund for Ireland this year, as the Irish press has reported?

A: -- The U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland has not been reduced. I will work with the Members of Congress to ensure it will remain at the current level of approximately \$20 million.

If pressed:

- During the course of our normal Foreign Assistance package review, all established commitments from the previous year were examined as we looked at ways of providing new assistance without increasing our overall Foreign Assistance request.
- The Fund was part of that review but I have taken steps to ensure its continued funding at current levels.

GERRY ADAMS VISA

Q: Was the decision to give Adams the visa a mistake?

A: -- No, I stand by the decision as an appropriate one to help advance the cause of peace.

-- We still do not know whether Adams will do the right thing and join the path of peace but I know we have done what we can to press him to do so.

Q: Prime Minister Reynolds reportedly pressed the Administration hard to give Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams a visa. Did you discuss the issue with PM Reynolds? What did he say?

A: -- In deciding on whether to grant Mr. Adams a visa waiver, we consulted closely with both the Irish and British Governments.

-- I am not going to go into those private discussions. I think the Prime Minister would agree that we all share the hope that the tragic problems in Northern Ireland will be resolved peacefully.

Q: Will you give Gerry Adams a second visa to visit the United States?

A: -- I am not going to speculate on whether Mr. Adams would be permitted to return to the U.S. He has not applied.

-- Gerry Adams was issued a visa on January 31 for a limited stay in the U.S. because I believed it would help advance the cause of peace in Northern Ireland.

-- I continue to hope that Sinn Fein and the Provisional Irish Republican Army will renounce violence and accept the December 15 Joint Declaration.

Q: What about appointing a Special Envoy to energize the talks?

A: -- This is an idea we keep open. For now, however, we think that the movement in the past several months warrants full U.S. support.

-- As I have said repeatedly, the United States strongly endorses the Joint Declaration and the efforts of Prime Minister Reynolds and Prime Minister Major to bring peace and reconciliation to Northern Ireland.

-- I again call on all those who continue to use violence to achieve their aims to reject that course in favor of a peaceful dialogue within the framework of the Joint Declaration.

VISA WAIVER PROGRAM

Q: Ireland has been long interested in participating in the U.S. visa waiver program, and yet despite the close ties between our two countries, Ireland is still not eligible for the program. Why not? Is the U.S. going to change its policy on this question?

A: -- The issue really isn't one of changing policy, it is a matter of law. The terms of the visa waiver program were carefully considered by Congress before enacting the legislation.

-- The Irish government has registered its concern that Irish football fans be permitted to come to the U.S. for this summer's World Cup finals. We're working hard to help make this possible.

EUROPEAN SECURITY ISSUES

Q: Ireland is the only member of the European Union not also in the NATO Alliance. Do you plan to discuss European security issues with Prime Minister Reynolds? What is the Irish stance vis-a-vis the Western European Union?

A: -- Yes, we expect to discuss general European security issues, and European integration more generally.

-- Ireland has an active interest in these issues. As you know, they will assume the Presidency of the European Union during the second half of 1996.

-- As an EU member, Ireland is one of our partners in seeking to bring an end to the conflict in former Yugoslavia, and in promoting stability and economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe.

- As far as the Irish position on the Western European Union is concerned I would direct your question to Prime Minister Reynolds.

MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Q: Ireland only recently established full diplomatic relations with Israel after a period of great reluctance and still has no Israeli Embassy in Dublin. Is the Irish Government out of step with the U.S. on their approach to Middle East questions? Do you plan to discuss the Middle East with Prime Minister Reynolds? What is the status of the PLO office?

A: -- Yes, I will be discussing this with the Taoiseach. Ireland has long played an active role in the Middle East as exemplified in their contribution to the UNIFIL forces in Lebanon.

-- We have no fundamental disagreements with the Irish government in Middle East policy. As a member of the EU, Ireland stays in close touch with us on Middle East questions.

-- I understand that the Israelis hope to have an embassy operating by the end of this month, although the definitive answer would come from Mr. Reynolds. For our part, we are very pleased with the inauguration of full ties between Israel and Ireland.

-- We understand the PLO does not plan to open an office in the near term. They continue to represent themselves to the Government of Ireland through their representative in London.

TRADE ISSUES

Q: The United States and Ireland were often in disagreement over trade issues, especially agriculture, in the Uruguay Round negotiations. With the conclusion of the GATT talks, are our trade differences with Ireland behind us?

A: -- We have frequently exchanged views with Dublin on trade issues.

-- The Irish government has been fully supportive of the terms of GATT. We now look forward to support by Ireland and the other eleven members of the EU for ratification and implementation of the Uruguay Round Agreement.

-- We will work with the Irish government to promote EU implementation of the Blair House Accord and follow-up on outstanding audio-visual issues.

- As you know, we had about \$6 billion in total annual trade with Ireland in 1993. I am sure the Taoiseach shares my desire to see that expanded.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Q: The recent Amnesty International report on Northern Ireland criticizes the British government for the purposeful killing of civilians by the army and police and collusion between Loyalist paramilitary groups and police intelligence. Earlier there were complaints about the policy of detention without charge and interrogation without representation or witness. What has your administration done to deal with these human rights grievances?

A: -- The issue of respect for human rights is a key element in the effort to forge a lasting, just peace.

-- I discussed the situation in Northern Ireland with Prime Minister Major during his recent visit and we will continue to work for progress on this important issue.

-- As our own human rights reports underscore, this Administration places great importance on the issue of human rights and we will not hesitate to highlight those areas where improvements can and should be made.

MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES

Q: You endorsed the MacBride Principles of fair employment during the campaign. A number of states have enacted such legislation but the U.S. Congress has not. Is your administration prepared to support the enactment of MacBride legislation in the Congress?

A: -- I certainly support fair employment laws which eliminate discrimination against any class of people and have said the MacBride Principles set forth appropriate guidelines for investment to help achieve these goals.

DRAFT

Statement by The Friends of Ireland
St. Patrick's Day, 1993

On this St. Patrick's Day, the Friends of Ireland in the United States Congress join with all Irish Americans, and indeed Irish people everywhere, in celebrating Irish heritage and in calling for renewed efforts to achieve peace, reconciliation, and justice in Northern Ireland. We welcome the Prime Minister of Ireland, An Taoiseach Albert Reynolds, to Washington and look forward to working closely with him, and with the Deputy Prime Minister, Tanaiste Dick Spring, in seeking ways to achieve these ends over the coming years.

We also take special note of the recent gains made by the women of Ireland. The historic election of President Mary Robinson in 1990, the victories of twenty women in the recent parliamentary elections, and the appointment of the first woman to the board of directors of the International Fund for Ireland are all developments which will enhance the important role of women in the political life of Ireland.

Our concern for a peaceful and just solution in Northern Ireland springs not only from our personal commitment to Ireland but also from our awareness of the exceptional contributions that generations of Irish men and women have made to the building of this nation. The recent census records 44 million Americans who claim Ireland as the home of their forebears. It reminds us how significant an impact that small island has had on our nation and how disproportionate it has been to its size. It is a source of great sadness, therefore, that this celebration of our common Irish heritage is overshadowed by the continuing tragedy of violence in Northern Ireland.

On this day of Irish affection and friendship, the Friends of Ireland warmly welcome and endorse last year's round-table talks between the Irish and British governments and the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland. We reiterate our full support for the earliest possible renewal of such talks, and their ambitious objective of bringing about a new beginning for relationships within Northern Ireland, within Ireland, and between Ireland and the United Kingdom. The people of Northern Ireland today are crying out for an end to the bitterness and hatred of the past. They demand a political agreement that can bring an end to the violence. They know there can be no real political progress without genuine dialogue between those of all traditions who seek a constitutional way forward towards solving the problems of Ireland.

We unreservedly condemn the violence of the IRA, loyalist paramilitaries, and all paramilitary groups, whatever their political persuasion. Violence begets only more violence and, with it, a cycle of reprisal and revenge. We abhor the violence perpetrated by terrorists through their indiscriminate bombing and shooting campaigns and the misery they bring to ordinary people's lives. Such

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

violence fosters division, bitterness, and distrust. It seeks to destroy the bridges between the two communities which are an essential avenue to a peaceful political compact by Irish men and women of all political persuasions or allegiances. We are convinced that terrorism will never bring justice and peace and so urge all terrorists to lay aside their arms if they truly wish to achieve their goals.

While recognizing that the primary responsibility for resolving the problems of Northern Ireland lies with the Irish and British governments as well as the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland, the Friends believe that the United States can play a constructive role in advancing the political process. We enthusiastically welcome the interest that President Clinton has shown in Irish affairs, and we join with him in offering our support as the people of Ireland search together to find a way forward. We share the view of the Taoiseach that the constructive interest and support of the President and Congress of the United States has the potential to be uniquely helpful. There should be thorough consultation to ensure that this concern is structured in the most effective and helpful manner possible.

The Friends of Ireland attach great importance to the continued and active implementation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement by the two governments. The Agreement, and in particular the role in Northern Ireland assigned to the Irish Government under it, has introduced a new dynamic into the situation through its effort to give formal recognition to the legitimacy and status of the political, economic, and social aspirations of the nationalist community. The Agreement should remain in force until transcended by new arrangements acceptable to the two governments and the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland.

We also continue to have serious concerns involving human rights. The abuses which have been documented by Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch include incidents involving the use of lethal force by the security forces, collusion between these forces and loyalists paramilitary groups, harassment of young nationalists by the British Army, and the denial of basic civil liberties. Such abuses must end, specific cases of abuse must be independently investigated, and those responsible must be punished.

Confidence in the forces of law and order, and in the impartial administration of justice, is fundamental to the construction of a just and peaceful society in Northern Ireland. We strongly urge the British Government to put in place a series of measures to respond to the lack of confidence which so clearly exists in the nationalist community. A first step in this direction would be to ensure that all military patrols which come into contact with the public are accompanied by experienced and trained police officers, as agreed in the 1985 arrangements between the two governments.

The British Government should also work to implement the recommendations made in reports by Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch, and

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

most recently, by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and the Committee on the Administration of Justice which is based in Northern Ireland.

In addition, an end to discrimination in employment would help greatly to establish hope and confidence among the nationalist community, especially the young people. We are encouraged by the terms of the 1989 Fair Employment Act and support its implementation with all necessary powers to redress decades of discrimination.

The Friends are convinced that new investment from overseas can also be a positive catalyst for change. We are very pleased that Congressional support for the International Fund for Ireland has enabled it to play a constructive role in economic development, especially in the disadvantaged areas of both Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic. In fostering economic and social progress, and building a record of success through cooperation and incentive, the Fund is providing a measure of real hope for those who have suffered the most from the conflict in Northern Ireland. It has, most importantly, become a concrete force for reconciliation and healing through the creation of thousands of permanent jobs and with them, a constructive alternative for those who otherwise might have chosen the path of violence.

We believe the International Fund for Ireland with its independent Board jointly appointed by both governments can be a model for other efforts of cooperation and confidence-building between the two great traditions and the two political communities of Ireland. We welcome such initiatives that offer the prospect of reinforcing reconciliation among the Irish people.

It is now critical that both communities reach out to, and further reassure, one another. The Irish and British governments have the central responsibility to encourage and develop this process. In doing so, they will have our full and enthusiastic support. As Friends of Ireland, it is our dearest wish to see all of Ireland at peace, reconciled, and newly energized, free from the dissensions of the past, playing its full, distinctive, and dynamic part on the European and world stage.

On this St. Patrick's Day, the Friends of Ireland in the United States Congress join friends of Ireland everywhere in urging all parties to make special efforts this year to bring about peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

15 March 1993

Nancy:

Attached is a first draft of the Presidential statement following the meeting with Reynolds.

- I left a copy with Jeremy.
- The sections highlighted in bold are drawn from John Hume's draft you sent to Jenonne last week.

By

Draft Public Statement

I am delighted to welcome Prime Minister Reynolds to the White House today on the occasion of St. Patrick's day. The values and common heritage the Irish and American peoples share was never more in evidence than today, and I accept the bowl of shamrocks from the people of Ireland to the people of the United States.

The Prime Minister's visit is an opportunity not only to recall our kinship, but to work together on issues of critical importance to both of our countries. We just concluded a good meeting which covered a lot of issues, and I benefitted from the Prime Minister's advice and counsel.

We discussed the importance of bringing the Uruguay Round to a successful conclusion. We reviewed the humanitarian relief effort in Somalia. Let me take a moment here to extend to the family of Valerie Place the heartfelt condolences of the American people over her death. Her dedication will always serve as an inspiration to us as we seek to extend the hand of comfort to victims of strife and deprivation.

The Prime Minister and I discussed the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland. **I congratulate both the British and Irish governments in their joint efforts to promote the necessary dialogue to bring about a just and lasting peace.** We agree that such an outcome cannot be coerced or imposed. Violence condemns generations to harvest the seeds of bitterness, not peace. **Nor can the problem be resolved in the language of victories or defeats. It must be resolved in the language and spirit of compromise and conciliation.**

I told the Prime Minister we stand by to do what we can when we can to help assist in bringing peace to Northern Ireland. The road ahead will not be easy. My discussions with Prime Minister Reynolds, as with Prime Minister Major, were the first of many we shall have between our governments as we offer our assistance in trying to bring an end to the tragedy.

Let me close by saying that the special ties of culture, history, and friendship between the United States and Ireland mean a great deal to me, and to the American people. I know these ties will prove of great benefit to both our countries as we work together to face the challenges ahead.

Barry - I
have more on
this - pls
phone
you

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/9

Jenoune -

We need to draft a
Presidential St. Patrick's

SMIT. Here's a draft from
our Irish leader, John Hume. I
like it but would take out
Irish only reference, perhaps.

Also, can we get an interagency
Recommendation on issue of special
envoy? I'd recommend we just
continue to say we'd be prepared
to do so if helpful.

Need by Thurs. CAB.

N'S

Hone

The links between the United States and Ireland are clearly evident and very deep. There is therefore a natural and serious concern at the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland. I congratulate both governments involved, the British and the Irish, on their joint efforts to promote the necessary dialogue that will bring lasting peace.

The United States and my office in particular are clearly willing to offer both governments any assistance that they would regard as helpful.

As President of the United States, I believe that I speak for the vast majority of Americans in saying that I would like to see a lasting agreement between the people of Ireland North and South as to how they share the island together. I would offer any assistance that would contribute to that objective.

I note with interest that the British government has made it clear that if such an agreement was to take form of Irish unity it would legislate for it. That would be the outcome that most Americans would like to see but we agree with both the British and Irish governments that such unity can only be achieved by agreement.

The tragically divided people of Ireland will never be united by any form of force or coercion. The terrible violence being used by some organisations only deepens the divisions among the people. I would call on all such organisations to cease their campaigns of violence

and to use their energies together with everyone else on the island in the difficult but necessary task of breaking down the barriers of distrust which go to the heart of the problem. The problem will not be resolved by victories or defeats but by respect for differences and the full accommodation and respect for the identities of both sections of the divided Irish people. If such a peace process were to take place, then the US would give every possible assistance.

March 17, 1993

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Ricki Seidman, Nancy Soderberg
FROM: Carter Wilkie, Communications Research
SUBJECT: Proposed talking points on parades

"I have always believed that we need to be more inclusive and tolerant of others as individuals."

[Do not get into debating the separate cases.]

NEW YORK

According to Kevin Thurm and Jennifer O'Connor, the campaign took no position on the New York parade last year. Research found no quotes from Clinton on this matter in Nexis.

A judge has ruled that because the parade is privately organized and religiously affiliated, the sponsors may decide which groups participate. The Ancient Order of Hibernians says that homosexuals may march in their parade as individuals, but that they may not march as an interest group behind a banner that is in conflict with Church teaching. They say that people in the parade should keep their private lives to themselves. After being supported by Mayor Dinkins last year, the "Irish Lesbians and Gays" will march in their own separate parade this year. (Judges have barred Muslim protesters from Hasidic events in Brooklyn before.)

BOSTON

A judge has ruled that homosexual groups may participate in this public event because the Boston parade coincides with a local public holiday, Evacuation Day, commemorating the British retreat from Boston in the Revolutionary War. The parade route is through South Boston, a very self-protective, conservative, Irish enclave that angrily resisted forced school busing in the 1970s. Mayor Flynn (of South Boston himself) supports the participation of all groups, provided that they adhere to the rules of the sponsors as applied to every organization equally.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

17-Mar-1993 10:47 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

M. Brooke Darby

(DARBY)

FROM:

Barry F. Lowenkron
(LOWENKRON)

SUBJECT:

Gays-St. Patricks

Please pass to Nancy Soderberg:

According to Naussbaum, the NY courts issued an injunction preventing the city of New York from ordering the Hibernians to include the gay group in their parade. Apparently, the gays will have a separate parade.

CC: Records

(RECORDS)

**Statement Regarding Your Meeting with
Prime Minister Reynolds
March 17, 1993**

I am delighted to welcome Prime Minister Reynolds

(An Tee-Shuk) to the White House today on the occasion

of St. Patrick's day. We both share a love of music and a

love of Ireland and I am looking forward to working with

him in the years ahead. I accept with honor this bowl of

shamrocks from the people of Ireland to the people of the

United States and will proudly display it in the White

House as a symbol of the shared values and common

heritage of the Irish and American peoples.

The Prime Minister's visit is an opportunity not only to recall our kinship, but also to work together on issues of critical importance to both of our countries. We just concluded a good meeting which covered important issues, and I benefitted from the Prime Minister's advice and counsel.

We discussed the importance of bringing the Uruguay

Round to a successful conclusion. We reviewed the

humanitarian relief effort in Somalia, including the

generous contributions of Irish citizens working in such

organizations as Concern and UNICEF. Let me take a

moment here to extend to the families and friends of

Valerie Place and Sean Devereux the heartfelt condolences

of the American people over their tragic deaths. Their

dedication in these relief efforts in Somalia will serve as an

inspiration to us as we seek to extend the hand of comfort

to victims of strife and deprivation.

The Prime Minister and I also discussed the continuing tragic conflict in Northern Ireland that has cost 3,000 lives over the last two decades. I congratulate both the Irish and British Governments for their joint efforts to promote the necessary dialogue to bring about a just and lasting peace and want to underscore my strong support for that important goal. We agree that such an outcome cannot be coerced or imposed and that those who resort to violence cannot be tolerated. Violence condemns generations to harvest the seeds of bitterness, not peace. Nor can the problem be resolved in the language of victories or defeats.

**It must be resolved in the language and the spirit of
compromise and conciliation.**

I told the Prime Minister the United States stands ready to do what we can to help in bringing peace to Northern Ireland. We are a nation of diversity and are prepared to help bring an end to the longest ranging ethnic conflict in Europe. Our support for the International Fund for Ireland is an important demonstration of our commitment to encourage investment and economic growth and to advance the cause of peace and tolerance. The road ahead will not be easy.

**My discussions with Prime Minister Reynolds, as with
Prime Minister Major, were the first of many we shall
have between our governments as we offer our assistance
in trying to bring an end to the troubles.**

Let me close by saying that the special ties of culture, history, and friendship between the United States and Ireland mean a great deal to me, and to the American people. Last night, the Prime Minister and I joined together in singing "When Irish Eyes are Smiling."

Today, we pause to renew our ties to Ireland and the challenges ahead. And just let me add that Ireland has a friend in the White House not just on St. Patrick's Day but all 365 days of the year.

Jean Kennedy Smith

It is a special pleasure to have the occasion of Prime Minister Reynold's visit here today to announce my intention to nominate as Ambassador to Ireland a distinguished individual as Irish as Americans can be, Jean Kennedy Smith. I can think of no individual who better captures the bonds between Ireland and the United States or who will work harder to advance the relationship between us.

In many ways, Jean has already served as an unofficial international ambassador. Since she founded Very Special Arts two decades ago, she has travelled tirelessly throughout the United States and the world. Very Special Arts provides opportunities for the disabled in the creative arts in all 50 states and over 50 countries, including Ireland.

As a testament to her success, a play from her Young Playwrights Program in Dublin will open shortly off Broadway. I know first hand Jean's achievements from the Arkansas Very Special Arts program and remember well when Hillary joined her in Arkansas for the competition to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the White House.

**The people of the United States will be proud of our new
Ambassador and I wish her Godspeed as she assumes her
new post.**

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting With Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds, 11:00 -- 11:45 am, Wednesday, March 17, 1993

Your meeting with Prime Minister ("Taoiseach" -- pronounced Tee-Shuk) Reynolds will be divided into three parts:

1. A half hour meeting in the Oval Office.
2. A fifteen minute press availability during which the Prime Minister will present you with the traditional bowl of shamrocks.
3. A luncheon on the Hill hosted by Speaker Foley in honor of St. Patrick's day. Prime Minister Reynolds has been invited to drive with you to the Hill for the luncheon.

The briefing package contains:

Scenesetter

- NSC Scope Paper
- Memorandum from Secretary of State

Talking Points

Q's and A's

Press Statement

Background Papers

PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
The Vice President
Warren Christopher, Secretary of State
Mack McLarty, Chief of Staff
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Barry F. Lowenkron, NSC (notetaker)

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Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *nm* NARA, Date *1/6/15*
2016 0355-F

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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Ireland

Prime Minister Albert Reynolds
Padraig OhUiginn, Secretary-General, Prime Minister's Office
Sean OhUiginn, Assistant Secretary for Anglo-Irish Affairs,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Dermot Gallagher, Ambassador

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (3.64)
KBM 4/11/2023

MEETING WITH
IRISH PRIME MINISTER ("Taoiseach") ALBERT REYNOLDS

DATE: March 17, 1993

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 11:00-11:45 a.m.

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

I. PURPOSE

To demonstrate the importance we attach to close relations with Ireland.

KEY POINTS

- Solicit Reynolds' views on Northern Ireland including how the U.S. can be helpful in moving the talks forward.
- Express willingness to send a U.S. representative to Northern Ireland at the appropriate time if such a step would help move the peace process forward.
- Reiterate your goal of ensuring equitable tax laws on U.S. corporations overseas, while reassuring Reynolds that under your tax proposal Ireland would still maintain a favorable environment for U.S. subsidiaries.
- Inform Reynolds that you intend to ask Congress to support full funding for the International Fund for Ireland.
- Reassure Reynolds that you will support efforts to help the Irish on immigration to the U.S.
- Affirm your intention to seek fast track authorization from the Congress to conclude the Uruguay Round, while emphasizing that you will not support reopening the Blair House agreement.
- Brief Reynolds on your current thinking on Somalia and your determination to support greater UN peacekeeping efforts in general.

II. BACKGROUND

In the past, St. Patrick's day festivities have not been the major event between the Executive branch and Ireland, they have been the **only** event. The reasons have to do with the traditional U.S. foreign policy agenda which has stood in

contrast to Irish concerns. East-West relations, NATO Alliance management, and other key components of our global foreign policy have had little if any resonance on Irish affairs; conversely, immigration, economic assistance, and the future of Northern Ireland have fallen more to the Congress in its dealings with Ireland.

Your Presidency is helping to end that division. Reynolds knows that this trip will not be confined to the ceremonial presentation of the bowl of shamrocks, but rather, it will be an opportunity to discuss issues of key concern to Ireland which had previously been the exclusive domain of the Congress. This could rebound to his advantage politically: having won re-election -- albeit with a reduced majority (and forced into a coalition with the up-and-coming Labor party) -- Reynolds will be eager to demonstrate that his meeting with you is a substantive one. (He returns to the U.S. in April to solicit private investment in Ireland and to raise funds to pay off the \$6 million party debt from the last election.) Moreover, to the extent we can engage Reynolds on such issues as GATT and Somalia, we can broaden our agenda with Ireland, and reduce the intense and exclusive domestic focus on such issues as Northern Ireland and the MacBride Principles.

Northern Ireland

Topping Reynold's list will be Northern Ireland. The heavy -- and public -- speculation about your intention to appoint Speaker Foley as a fact finder has left the Irish wondering whether they were going to be presented with a fait accompli worked out between your Administration, the Speaker and the British. The Irish Government welcomes your interest in Northern Ireland, believing that quiet, high-level U.S. efforts with the British can produce results. But, unlike members of the Irish-American community, they are chary of any high profile initiatives which they fear could derail progress in the talks. At the same time, Reynolds is keen to avoid being perceived as soft on Northern Ireland, and, as a result, announced in his March 14 speech in Los Angeles that he would, "welcome and value the concept of sending a peace envoy" if the U.S. decided to propose one. (Reynolds is also mindful of Foley's criticism of Irish-American lobbying on the issue. In a March 11 interview in the Irish Times, the Speaker was quoted as saying that your Administration should not keep its campaign promises on Northern Ireland if they were the wrong thing to do.)

You could tell Reynolds that you raised Northern Ireland with Prime Minister Major, including the issue of human rights abuses in the north. You could reiterate the essential points of your policy toward Northern Ireland:

-- It will remain on your agenda with Britain;

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- Any initiative will be evaluated against the standard of whether it could help facilitate the talks aimed at ending the tragedy; and,
- The Irish government will be consulted fully.

You will find Reynolds receptive to this message. In addition, we recommend you solicit Reynolds' views on how best the U.S. can contribute to ending the conflict. Securing his public endorsement of your approach at the press availability following your meeting will be critical to alleviating domestic political pressure on you to publicly "do something" now on Northern Ireland.

Tax on U.S. Subsidiaries

Low Irish corporate taxes, and current U.S. tax provisions which tax profits of U.S. subsidiaries only when they are repatriated by the parent company, have encouraged over 400 U.S. companies to build factories in Ireland. Congressman Rostenkowski has proposed doing away with tax deferrals on overseas profits of U.S. subsidiaries. Your Administration's proposal is less onerous, calling for taxation of profits only when they remain passive assets (i.e., not invested in plant or equipment) and these assets exceed 25% of total assets of the overseas subsidiary. Reynolds is concerned that even this proposal could cause U.S. businesses to relocate elsewhere in Europe, driving up the already high unemployment rate in Ireland. We recommend that you tell Reynolds that your goal is to ensure that U.S. tax laws are equitable; that you will remain sensitive to Irish concerns about unemployment; and that under your proposal Ireland would still attract investment by U.S. companies because deferrals would continue on profits that are actively reinvested in plant and equipment.

Immigration

Reynolds will not want his visit dominated by Northern Ireland, but will want to cover other important Irish issues. Chronic unemployment in Ireland (17%) has led to continuation of the historical pattern of Irish immigration to the U.S. The current Immigrant Visa Program had allocated 16,000 slots via a lottery for the Irish each year over the three year period, FY92-94. Reynolds may ask for continuation of the program. However, that program is due to end in 1994, to be replaced by the Permanent Immigrant Visa Diversity Program beginning in 1995. Unless Congress establishes another special allotment for Ireland, fewer visas will be available for Irish immigration. We recommend you tell Reynolds that your Administration will make every effort to address Irish immigration concerns, but eschew specifics.

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International Fund for Ireland

The 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement gives Ireland a voice in the North in return for reaffirmation that the status of the North will only be changed according to the will of the inhabitants. To help demonstrate support for the Agreement, we have contributed \$210 million through FY 93 to the International Fund for Ireland (established in 1986). (The Fund is managed by a board appointed jointly by the British and Irish Governments, and including observers from donor countries.) Funding for the program in the past originated with the Congress, not with the Executive Branch. If Reynolds raises the Fund, you should say that your Administration is committed to seeking full funding from the Congress and will for the first time include a request for this funding in the Administration's budget.

EC -- Trade Issues

On trade, Ireland has been a major beneficiary of the EC's agricultural policy. Thus, Dublin has regularly supported the French in the EC debates on the Uruguay Round, including its continued criticism of the Blair House agreement. Moreover, as one of the poorer countries of the EC, Ireland is slated to receive nearly \$12 billion in transfer payments over the next six years -- the main reason for the overwhelming approval of Maastricht in its June 1992 referendum. Reynolds is concerned that our operational definition of "fair" trade will amount to protectionism and retaliation against the EC. You can tell him that you have no intention of re-opening the Blair House accord (and that the EC should stick to its part of the bargain) and that you intend to work hard to complete the Uruguay Round.

Peacekeeping-Somalia

The Irish see UN peacekeeping as a way they can stay involved in world affairs without eschewing their traditional neutrality. As such they have participated in twelve UN peacekeeping operations, and have pledged to provide a 60 person/22 truck unit as part of the UNOSOM II operation in Somalia. (Irish President Mary Robinson traveled to Somalia last fall and wrote to Boutros Ghali and the leaders of the members of the Security Council to highlight the magnitude of the problem and pledge Irish support.) However, while the Irish support the greater emphasis you are placing on peacekeeping, they worry that the classic definition of UN peacekeeping is being blurred to allow for "peacemaking" operations under Chapter VII of the UN Charter ("Peace Enforcement"). This has caused them to have second thoughts about participating in UNOSOM II.

These doubts have been reinforced by the February 22 death of Valerie Place, an Irish citizen working in Somalia for Concern, a private Irish relief organization. (An Irish national working for UNICEF, Sean Devereux, was killed in

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January.) The Irish worry that aid worker protection is inadequate, and could worsen under a peace enforcement regime.

You could express your Administration's sympathy on the deaths of Place and Devereux, give Reynolds your assessment of the Somali effort (including the timetable for withdrawal of U.S. forces), and urge him to follow through on the Irish pledge. More broadly, we recommend you stress to Reynolds the necessity for providing the UN a range of capabilities to deal with such crises in the future.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1993

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(365)
KBH 4/11/2023

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Warren Christopher *W.C.*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds
of Ireland

I. SETTING

- Reynolds' visit is based on the long-standing custom that a senior Irish minister presents a bowl of shamrocks to the President on St. Patrick's Day. This tradition also gives Reynolds an opportunity to pursue Irish interests during his first visit here as Prime Minister.
- Despite ethnic, cultural, and political ties, Ireland's neutrality and support for the EC's Common Agricultural Policy can lead to policy differences.
- A sober, even bland personality, Reynolds was a successful entrepreneur in the dancehall and dog food businesses. He is now trying to repeat that success in politics--but with mixed results to date.
- He comes to the U.S. having pulled off a minor political miracle earlier this year. Despite his Fianna Fail party's loss of seats in last November's election, his own lack of political popularity, and a widespread feeling in Ireland that it was time for a change, he managed to retain his position as Prime Minister in the new government formed in January.
- On the other hand, the new Fianna Fail-Labor coalition faces daunting economic problems, especially an unemployment rate approaching 20 percent. A currency crisis, which ended in the devaluation of the punt, and Digital Equipment Corporation's recent decision to close an 800-worker plant in Galway give the impression of a government in disarray. Recent polls have shown it to have little popular support.
- In these circumstances, Reynolds would like to take home some positive responses from the U.S. on high-visibility issues, such as Northern Ireland or U.S. investment.

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- 2 -

- Reynolds will seek some assurance that the U.S. will remain involved in Northern Ireland and will ask about the status of a U.S. special envoy. He will not wish to oppose something he believes you support and may see the idea as a way of exerting pressure on the British. At the same time, the Irish are concerned that if not arranged properly, the envoy could alienate the Unionists and scuttle the political talks.
- Reynolds's visit offers you the chance to make clear to him your commitment to European security and an active leadership role for the U.S.
- Reynolds may also raise the death of the Irish aid worker in Somalia and ask for more protection for those workers. He is also likely to ask you to help promote more U.S. investment in Ireland and may raise the status of ongoing trade negotiations.

II. TOPICS

- Affirm our common ties and values, as epitomized by the annual tradition of the St. Patrick's Day presentation of shamrocks.
- Confirm your support for peace, justice, and reconciliation in Northern Ireland and for friendship between Ireland and the UK.
- Express your backing of the Northern Ireland talks process and seek Reynolds's thoughts on what the U.S. might usefully do to aid the process.
- Express the U.S. government's belief that the International Fund for Ireland is doing an excellent job in promoting reconciliation through economic and social development.
- Lay out your views on key international economic issues, especially the Uruguay Round, and urge Ireland's cooperation within the EC in promoting an agreement in the Uruguay Round.
- Express your appreciation for the courageous efforts of Irish aid workers in Somalia and assure Reynolds that UNITAF is doing everything it can in difficult circumstances to provide for their security.
- Bring Reynolds up to date on the latest developments in Bosnia and urge Irish support within the EC for a peaceful solution based on the Vance-Owen plan.

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (3.66)
KBH 4/11/2013

U.S.-IRISH RELATIONS

- Welcome. I'm delighted that we can meet to celebrate St. Patrick's day.
- I view our meeting as more than a celebration. It's an opportunity for us to work together.

NORTHERN IRELAND

- We are willing to do what we can to help resolve the problem of Northern Ireland.
- Ultimately it is up to the people of Northern Ireland to work out a settlement and bring the tragedy to an end. But, where we can help we will do so.
- I remain prepared to send a U.S. representative to Northern Ireland if such a step would be helpful.
- I discussed Northern Ireland with Prime Minister Major, including the violence and the human rights problems.
- I want to benefit from your views as well.
- My approach to Northern Ireland is based on three principles:
 - First, Northern Ireland will remain on my agenda with Prime Minister Major.
 - Second, any steps we take must be measured against one standard: whether they contribute to ending the tragedy in Northern Ireland.
 - Third, I am committed to full consultations with your government as well as with the British Government.

TAX ON U.S. SUBSIDIARIES IN IRELAND

- I appreciate your concern about maintaining a favorable environment for U.S. investment in Ireland.
- Under our proposal, I can meet my goal of ensuring that our tax laws are equitable, while still protecting a favorable investment climate for Ireland.
- U.S. subsidiaries abroad would still be able to defer taxes on profits reinvested in plant and equipment.

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Declassify on: OADR

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IRISH IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S.

- I understand the current AA-1 Visa Program has been well received in Ireland and that many Irish men and women are taking advantage of it.
- These new immigrants will make a substantial contribution to their new home, as well as to closer U.S.-Irish relations.
- It has not yet been determined which countries will qualify to participate in the Permanent Diversity Immigrant Visa Program for 1995, but we expect Ireland to be among them.
- I expect Ireland to qualify in the new Visa Program set to begin in 1995.
- We will continue to do what we can to support Irish desires to emigrate to the U.S.

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND

- We are pleased with the efforts of the International Fund for Ireland, to help promote intercommunal activities and economic development.
- We agree that in the final analysis investment and economic development are the indispensable foundation for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland and between North and South.
- This year, the Fund will have the Administration's full support. I intend to ask the Congress to allocate continued funding of the program and will ensure these funds are part of my budget request.

GATT/URUGUAY ROUND

- On February 26, I publicly underscored our commitment to a prompt and successful completion of the Uruguay Round.
- We need to complete the Dunkel text and market access negotiations in manufacturing, agriculture and services.
- I am committed to bringing the Round to an early, successful conclusion, and I will be seeking renewal of fast-track authority to allow us to conclude the negotiations.
- Agriculture is a difficult issue for all of us. However, we believe the Blair House agreement represents a balanced package of benefits and concessions that should allow us to move forward.
- I hope you can join your EC colleagues to develop quickly the regulations necessary to implement the various provisions of the Blair House accords.

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PEACEKEEPING

- We appreciate the important contributions that Ireland has made to international peacekeeping over the years.
- The Secretary General's report, An Agenda for Peace is an important contribution to the discussion of what can be done to enhance the UN's role in preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace enforcement. It's essential that the UN be well-equipped to do all of these things as circumstances require.
- The U.S. joined with other Security Council members last fall in encouraging member states to identify military assets or capabilities that could be made available to the United Nations on short notice. I fully endorse that action, and we are currently reviewing our policy to determine how the U.S. can best contribute to UN peacekeeping.
- My Administration will examine closely the Secretary General's other suggestions for invigorating the UN and assuring it the means, both political and financial, to take effective action in dealing with conflict situations.

SOMALIA

- Please convey my personal condolences to the family, friends, and colleagues of Irish Concern worker Valerie Place. Her death, as well as the death of Sean Devereux, are reminders of the courage and dedication of those who work to ease the suffering of others.
- Ms. Place exemplified the type of leadership that Irish Concern has given in its efforts toward humanitarian assistance in Somalia and elsewhere.
- I want to assure you that the coalition will maintain its close working relationship with all relief agencies and do what it can to provide security for their personnel.
- We welcome your government's continued support for a strong UNOSOM II mandate and look forward to your participation in UNOSOM II.
- Our aim is to complete the transition from UNITAF to UNISOM II by May 1.
- However, we will keep quick reaction forces and several thousand logistical support personnel in Somalia for some months to come to ensure the success of the operation.

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PRESS Q'S AND A'S FOR REYNOLDS VISIT

Q. Do you plan to appoint a "Special Envoy" on Northern Ireland?

- A. -- I am glad to have had the opportunity to discuss the entire Northern Ireland issue with Prime Minister Reynolds, as I had done with Prime Minister Major last month.
- I have benefitted greatly from both of their views.
- I told Prime Minister Reynolds that my policy toward Northern Ireland will rest on three principles:
- First, it will remain an important issue for discussion between the United States, Great Britain and Ireland.
- Second, any proposals we make will be judged against the standard of whether they can contribute to bringing about an end to the tragedy in Northern Ireland. The goal is to promote peace and reconciliation.
- Third, we will consult fully with both Britain and Ireland.
- As you know, the Northern Ireland talks were adjourned last fall, and we hope they can be resumed soon.
- **I am prepared to send a U.S. representative at the appropriate time if the parties believe such a step would advance the cause of peace.**
- Ultimately, I believe, that it is up to the people in Northern Ireland themselves to bring about an end to this tragedy. I want them to know that the United States will stand with them to help in any way it can.

Q: What is the Administration position on the International Fund for Ireland?

A: -- We support the International Fund for Ireland as a concrete expression of our interest in peace, justice, and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Since 1986, the United States has appropriated \$210 million for the Fund and we have been pleased with its emphasis on aid to the most disadvantaged areas of Northern Ireland and the border regions of the South.

-- We have also been pleased that other countries and the European Community have made increased contributions in recent years.

(If Asked)

Q: Will you be proposing continued support for the Fund in your aid request to the Congress?

A: -- I intend to support the necessary appropriations for the Fund for FY '94.

-- For the first time, the Administration's budget will include a request for this funding.

-- The Fund's activities have been exemplary, and the parties need our full support.

Q: Will the Administration grant a visa to Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams?

A: -- Until Mr. Adams applies again for a visa, the question is moot.

Q: What is your position on the MacBride Principles?

A: -- The U.S. supports efforts to promote investment and fair employment in Northern Ireland.

-- As many observers point out, areas of high unemployment are also those with high levels of terrorist violence.

- Investment by American companies, especially in Catholic areas of high unemployment, would reduce the current imbalance, in which Catholics are more than twice as likely as Protestants to be unemployed, and help reduce terrorism.
- As for the MacBride principles themselves, we fully support their non-discrimination and full-employment objectives. At the same time, we need to remain sensitive to arguments that enacting them into law could discourage much-needed investment and job creation.

Q: What has the U.S. done to ensure the protection of aid workers in Somalia?

- A: -- First, let me repeat the personal condolences I have already expressed to the Prime Minister and through him to the family, friends and colleagues of Irish Concern worker Valerie Place, as well as UNICEF worker Sean Devereux who were both killed in Somalia.
- Their courage and dedication were an example for all, and their legacy of kindness and friendship will live on.
- I assured Prime Minister Reynolds that the U.S.-led coalition will maintain its close working relationship with all relief agencies and do what it can to provide security for their personnel.

Q: Will you appoint Jean Kennedy Smith as Ambassador to Ireland?

A: I've nothing to announce at this time.

Draft Public Statement

I am delighted to welcome Prime Minister Reynolds to the White House today on the occasion of St. Patrick's day. The values and common heritage the Irish and American peoples share was never more in evidence than today, and I accept the bowl of shamrocks from the people of Ireland to the people of the United States.

The Prime Minister's visit is an opportunity not only to recall our kinship, but to work together on issues of critical importance to both of our countries. We just concluded a good meeting which covered a lot of issues, and I benefitted from the Prime Minister's advise and counsel.

We discussed the importance of bringing the Uruguay Round to a successful conclusion. We reviewed the humanitarian relief effort in Somalia. Let me take a moment here to extend to the family of Valerie Place the heartfelt condolences of the American people over her death. Her dedication will always serve as an inspiration to us as we seek to extend the hand of comfort to victims of strife and deprivation.

The Prime Minister and I discussed the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland. I congratulate both the British and Irish governments in their joint efforts to promote the necessary dialogue to bring about a just and lasting peace. We agree that such an outcome cannot be coerced or imposed. Violence condemns generations to harvest the seeds of bitterness, not peace. Nor can the problem be resolved in the language of victories or defeats. It must be resolved in the language and spirit of compromise and conciliation.

I told the Prime Minister we stand by to do what we can when we can to help assist in bringing peace to Northern Ireland. The road ahead will not be easy. My discussions with Prime Minister Reynolds, as with Prime Minister Major, were the first of many we shall have between our governments as we offer our assistance in trying to bring an end to the tragedy.

Let me close by saying that the special ties of culture, history, and friendship between the United States and Ireland mean a great deal to me, and to the American people. I know these ties will prove of great benefit to both our countries as we work together to face the challenges ahead.

Background Papers

Northern Ireland

Irish Immigration to the United States

The International Fund for Ireland

The Doherty and Gerry Adams Cases

The MacBride Principles

Ireland: Political and Economic Scene, U.S.
Investment in Ireland and Ireland in the EC

Biographies

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NORTHERN IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0375-F(3.67)
KBH 7/11/2023

Irish Role

Concern for the minority Nationalist community in the North and a residual desire for unification of the island remain deeply embedded in the consciousness of the citizens of the Republic. While Northern Ireland was scarcely mentioned in the November 1992 election campaign, the current Irish government, and especially Deputy Prime Minister/Foreign Minister Spring, have made early resumption of the negotiations and settlement of the Northern Ireland problem a high priority. In early March, Spring gave a notably conciliatory speech reaching out to Unionists. For Dublin, a settlement in the ongoing political talks on Northern Ireland would remove an irritant in Anglo-Irish relations, improve the lot of the Nationalists in the North, and reduce the prospect of terrorist violence spreading south. Nevertheless, the GOI has to tread cautiously because it believes the public would only support concessions on the Republic's constitutional claim to the whole island of Ireland in the context of an overall settlement.

The Irish have come far towards recognizing the validity of the Unionist community. However, they tend to overestimate the extent to which HMG can force an agreement on the Unionists. The GOI sees the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 as an example of how the two governments can together impose a settlement. By contrast, HMG sees it as an incomplete success in that the Unionists did not support the agreement.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement

The Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed on November 15, 1985 by PM Thatcher and PM Garret FitzGerald. It can be seen as essentially giving Ireland an agreed role in the affairs of the North (and thus a voice in protecting the Catholic community there) in return for an affirmation that the status of Northern Ireland will only be changed in accord with the will of its inhabitants.

Ireland secures its role in the North through the Intergovernmental Conference, which normally meets about once every six weeks at the level of Irish Foreign Minister-British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to discuss political, security, and legal matters and cross-border cooperation. In general, the Irish use the meetings to raise concerns about discrimination against Catholics and problems in the administration of justice (use of excess force, harassment by security forces), while the British urge greater cooperation in fighting terrorism.

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Status of the Talks

Because the Unionists did not accept the Anglo-Irish Agreement, it could not form the basis of devolved government in Northern Ireland. Thus at HMG initiative, new political talks were launched bringing together for the first time the four constitutional parties in the north and the two governments. These talks contain three "strands" -- devolved government in Northern Ireland, relations between North and South in Ireland, and ties between the UK and Ireland. While they succeeded in identifying some areas of common ground, they broke off in November without agreement.

The major issues are: 1) who will exercise executive power in Northern Ireland; 2) Dublin's role in Northern Irish affairs; and, 3) the Unionists' demand that Ireland revise its constitutional claim to the North.

Informal talks continue and formal sessions may resume, more likely after the May municipal elections in Northern Ireland. The Unionists continue to insist on the Irish side giving up its constitutional claim to the entire island as a condition for going back to the negotiating table -- a position unacceptable to the Irish.

Human Rights

Human rights issues have become a key concern in Northern Ireland. The issues transcend specific incidents and point to a pattern of collusion between British security forces and Loyalist factions as well as an environment of intimidation and fear. Excessive force (including "shoot to kill" practices), harassment by security forces (stopping people unnecessarily or conducting arbitrary and disruptive house searches), unfair detention (holding people for up to seven days without trial) and trials without juries have been prevalent.

U.S. Policy

Over the years, U.S. policy on Northern Ireland has been based on four themes:

- Support for peace, justice and reconciliation, including support for the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the Northern Ireland talks.
- Condemnation of terrorism from all quarters and actions to counter terrorists: asking Americans not to make financial contributions to terrorist organizations, extraditing convicted terrorists, preventing arms shipments to terrorists.
- Support for human rights, including equal employment opportunity and fairness in the administration of justice.
- Support for the International Fund for Ireland (\$210 million appropriated through FY93).

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IRISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Immigration is an important bilateral issue between the United States and Ireland. Interest in immigration, both legal and illegal, is keen in a country with high unemployment and many ties to the United States.

The immigration issue has played a visible role in Irish politics, with senior Irish officials lobbying in Congress and elsewhere for more generous treatment of Irish nationals under U.S. law.

Prior to 1965, the quota for Irish immigration to the United States under the National Origins Laws was 17,756 per year. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 eliminated the national origins quotas and required immigrants to compete for visas on a hemispheric (later changed to worldwide) basis.

In 1987, the NP-5 Immigrant Visa Program was established. Under this special program, which ran from 1987 to 1991, a total of 52,239 additional immigrant visa numbers was allocated to natives of countries considered adversely affected by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Natives of Ireland were allocated 18,563 of these numbers.

The Immigration Act of 1990 created a new diversity immigrant visa program, the AA-1 Program, also for the benefit of those nationalities adversely affected by the 1965 Act. The program runs from fiscal years 1992 through 1994. Of the 40,000 immigrant visas provided annually under this program, 16,000 -- 40% of the total -- are reserved for natives of Ireland.

Legal Irish immigration to the United States greatly increased from 902 immigrants in 1981 to 10,333 in 1990. After a temporary decline in 1991, the number of legal Irish immigrants is expected to exceed 16,000 in 1992, due in large part to the AA-1 Program.

Beginning in 1995, the AA-1 Program will be replaced by a Permanent Immigrant Visa Diversity Program for which countries will be selected annually according to a complex formula set forth in the Immigration Act of 1990. Ireland is expected to be included in the 1995 program, but, under current law, it would not receive any special treatment.

Under the Permanent Diversity Program, no one country can be allocated more than 7% of the 55,000 visa numbers available. Therefore, unless Congress establishes a new special allocation of visa numbers for Irish nationals, fewer immigrant visas will be available for the Irish under the Permanent Diversity Program than under the AA-1 Program.

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White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By W NARA, Date 4/6/15

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THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND

U.S. support for the International Fund for Ireland is a tangible expression of the U.S. policy favoring peace and reconciliation through economic progress in Northern Ireland and along the border in the Republic. The Fund was established in 1986 as a way of showing U.S. support for the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Since then, the Congress has appropriated about \$20 million annually, for a total of some \$210 million for the Fund. Other donors are Canada, New Zealand and the EC. The former have given small amounts; the EC has been contributing about \$18 million annually since 1989.

The Fund concentrates on community regeneration projects (e.g., rehabilitation of derelict facilities), employment generation, training, and the encouragement of community-based private enterprise in Northern Ireland and in six border counties of the Republic. Increasingly, it is focussing on disadvantaged areas, such as West Belfast and remote towns along the border.

The Fund is administered by a board appointed by the British and Irish Governments, and includes civil servants from both countries as well as observers from donor countries. (The U.S. has one observer to the board who briefs AID on board meetings and actions.)

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

In the past, the U.S. Executive Branch has not proposed appropriations for the Fund because of financial constraints, a sense that the Fund had sufficient funds for the projects identified, and a belief that other donors should do more. Rather the monies were put in AID legislation by Congress, which has consistently -- especially on the House side -- supported the Fund. Under your Administration we intend to take the initiative and ask Congress to appropriate funding for the Fund.

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THE JOE DOHERTY AND GERRY ADAMS CASES

2011 - 0355 - F (3.68)
RBM 4/11/2023

The Doherty Case. Joe Doherty is a PIRA member convicted in 1981 of murdering a British Army officer in Northern Ireland. Just before the conviction was handed down, he escaped to the U.S. where he was picked up in 1983 and remained in jail for almost nine years, while his case was being fought in the U.S. courts. A British extradition request was rejected by a District Court judge on the grounds that his offense was political. The USG then attempted to deport him for having entered the country under false documentation. Doherty asked to be deported to Ireland instead of the UK but, after those two countries signed an extradition treaty, requested asylum in the United States. The case went to the Supreme Court, which ruled that the Attorney General had the discretion to deport Doherty without further hearings. In January 1992, Doherty was deported to the UK, and he is now in prison in Northern Ireland.

The British authorities have turned down Doherty's request that he be given credit for time served in the U.S. Some Irish-American groups, for whom Doherty was a major cause celebre, have asked the USG to intervene. The U.S. has no current legal or jurisdictional interest in the Doherty case.

The Doherty case has had little publicity in Northern Ireland and even less in Ireland. We do not expect Prime Minister Reynolds to raise the issue.

Gerry Adams Visa Issue. Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams has been turned down for visas several times in the past few years -- most recently in 1991. Under the Immigration and Nationality Act, he is excludable because we believe he has participated in planning terrorist activities as a member of the PIRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army) Council, which directs terrorist actions.

To overcome his ineligibility, Adams would need a waiver -- granted by the INS at the recommendation of the State Department. It would be inconsistent with our counter-terrorism policy to do so now, especially since Sinn Fein is losing support. (Adams was defeated in the 1992 Parliamentary election.) In addition, Sinn Fein has still not abandoned its support of violence.

A current complication in the Adams case is the request by the defense in an extradition case in California that Adams testify. The Justice Department would resist paroling Adams into the country on the grounds that Adams' testimony is not germane in an extradition hearing. Even if it were, he could make it by deposition.

Despite rumors that he might apply for a visa after the Clinton Administration took office, Adams has still not done so. Until he does, the question of his admissibility is moot. Neither the British nor the Irish governments would favor us granting Adams a visa. Reynolds is not expected to raise it during his visit.

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THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES

The MacBride Principles are a set of nine principles aimed, according to their proponents, at fighting religious discrimination in employment in Northern Ireland. They are modeled on the Sullivan Principles, the affirmative action code for companies in South Africa. The campaign to have these principles enacted into law is in large part driven by the fact that in Northern Ireland Catholic males are two and one-half times as likely as Protestant males to be unemployed and many large firms have histories of discrimination.

The Irish government has hesitated to take a clear position on the issue. It is unwilling to oppose principles that are unobjectionable on their face or to take on the Irish-American backers of the MacBride campaign. On the other hand, the GOI recognizes that MacBride legislation could discourage investment in Northern Ireland. In a March 12 article in the Irish Times Reynolds is quoted as supporting the MacBride principles, the first such statement of support by an Irish government official of which we are aware. Nevertheless, we do not expect he will raise the issue the U.S. government.

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IRISH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCENE

Irish Political Scene. The current government, which took office in January, is a Fianna Fail (FF)-Labor coalition headed by Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and Deputy Prime Minister (and Foreign Minister) Dick Spring. It replaced an FF-Progressive Democrat (PD) government, also headed by Reynolds, which was forced to call elections in November 1992 when the PDs left the government over charges and counter-charges of corruption. Even though FF lost heavily, Reynolds maneuvered adroitly to keep his party in government and himself as Prime Minister.

The most notable development in the 1992 election was the doubling of Labor's seats (with the two traditional leading parties, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, incurring significant losses) which may presage a shift to a long-heralded left-right split in Irish politics. The key political issues in Ireland are:

- how to deal with 17% unemployment while keeping inflation and government spending under control; and,
- social issues such as divorce and abortion that are dividing Ireland as it moves from a rural, Catholic, socially conservative society to an urban, secular, modern one similar to the rest of Europe.

The Head of State of Ireland is President Mary Robinson, who was elected as the Labor candidate to a seven-year term in December 1990. Her position is constitutionally highly circumscribed (e.g., she must get Cabinet approval for all trips and speeches), but she has taken a more activist role than most of her predecessors.

Irish Economic Scene. Since 1987 the Irish economy has been reasonably healthy with growth every year, relatively low inflation, and a decline in the government deficit. This trend continued in 1992, as inflation remained a modest three percent, while real GNP grew by about 1.5 percent and real GDP by about 2.8 percent, fueled by a continued strong growth of exports. Investment was weak, however, reflecting high interest rates.

A series of national economic pacts, negotiated by representatives of the government, labor unions, employers, and farmers, is considered responsible for the climate of moderate wage increases, improvement in GOI's fiscal position, low inflation and reductions in days lost to strikes. Although the new government is committed in its government program to cutting unemployment, it is expected to continue the stringent budgetary policies of its predecessors.

The two major failures of the Irish economy have been the weakness of the Irish punt and high unemployment. After five months of attempts to keep the punt within its narrow-band range in the EC's Exchange Rate Mechanism, the Irish Government was

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forced on January 30 to devalue by ten percent against the other ERM currencies. The devaluation was caused by the decline of the pound sterling, which hit Irish exports to the key UK market, and high German interest rates. It was a severe blow to the Government, which had shown considerable satisfaction that Ireland had been able to remain with the front rank of Europe, while the UK had fallen behind.

Unemployment, which stands around 17 percent is the other key problem area. Although employment has remained stable, the rapid growth of the workforce due to a high birth rate 15-20 years ago and recessions in the UK and the U.S. have led to a sharp rise in unemployment over the past several years.

U.S.-Irish trade: Two-way trade totals \$5.5 billion. The U.S. has enjoyed a bilateral trade surplus with Ireland in recent years, due primarily to imports of U.S.-origin intermediate materials by U.S. manufacturing subsidiaries located in Ireland.

U.S. Investment in Ireland: There are currently some 370 U.S. subsidiaries, employing 47,000 people, doing business in Ireland. U.S. direct investment in Ireland totaled \$7.4 billion at the end of 1991.

Most U.S. investments are in the chemical, metalworking, and engineering sectors. In recent years, the Irish government has encouraged investment by computer-related firms, and companies such as Apple, Intel, Motorola, Lotus and Microsoft have facilities in Ireland. On the other hand, the recent decision of Digital to shut down its manufacturing plant was a blow to Ireland resulting in a loss of 800 jobs.

In 1992, 24 U.S. companies announced investments in Ireland, totalling \$370 million. Almost all are in the manufacturing sector. There was a fall-off in the second half of the year, which may reflect the poor economic climate in Ireland during the last four months of 1992. In dollar terms, the amount of investment in 1992 was almost twice as high as in 1991.

Among the firms announcing new investment were companies in medical equipment, electronics, auto components, and publishing. Those companies announcing expansion plans included AT&T (electronics R and D), Fruit of the Loom (clothing), and Proctor and Gamble (cosmetics).

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006f. report	re: Biography (2 pages)	03/11/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Reynolds, 1993/1994

2011-0355-F
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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]
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- 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]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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006g. report	re: Biography (1 page)	03/15/1993	P1/b(1)

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ADDRESS BY THE TAOISEACH, MR ALBERT REYNOLDS, T.D.

TO THE IRISH ASSOCIATION, DUBLIN CASTLE,

MONDAY, 10 JANUARY 1994 AT 5.30 PM

I am very grateful for the opportunity of addressing this Association at this time. The Irish Association was founded in 1938 by Hugh Montgomery and other public-spirited Unionists, who were deeply concerned at the dangerous gulf growing between the two traditions in Ireland, and the alienating effect on the Northern minority of overtly discriminatory policies and public statements. They also wished to reassure their own Irish identity, as Unionists. He was of the opinion that there is but one people on this island - the Irish people. Montgomery took a long-term view in an address in 1939 to Irish university students. He said that some effort should be made to remove the obsession of the past in Ireland, and he believed that social unity would leave constitutional and political questions to solve themselves. There was a duty to combat misrepresentation and intolerance, and encourage greater social interaction between North and South. These are very similar to views I have expressed myself. Unfortunately, Hugh Montgomery's foresight was greater than his influence.

In more recent times, the Irish Association has concentrated its efforts more on trying to bring about a greater understanding of the Unionist position among those from a Nationalist or Republican background. I believe the Association has provided a useful forum for meeting, debate and discussion between people of different traditions.

Nearly a month has passed since the Joint Declaration between the British Prime Minister and myself was issued. As is generally known, this initiative in its origins was an Irish one, and in its final form it reflects in a balanced way the principal concerns and interests of all sections of the community. It provides a framework for the peaceful and democratic resolution of differences. It does not purport to provide a political settlement for the Northern conflict, or to provide answers to some complex questions. These are clearly a matter for round table negotiation between the two Governments and the democratic parties.

The Declaration is not a solution in itself. It is only the first step on the road to peace and justice. We want everyone to choose the path to peace and to turn away from the cul-de-sac of violence. It is only a first step in a process that, after a cessation of violence, can evolve into a full democratic dialogue for agreement, when all parties, including Sinn Fein, will be involved in full-scale negotiation, and where everyone will have an opportunity to contribute to finding agreement. I want to see normal life to return to both communities in Northern Ireland.

The purpose of the Joint Declaration is to provide a basis for a just and lasting peace and a permanent end to violence. It has attracted an exceptionally wide consensus of support, including most of the constitutional parties. It enjoys a 97% support rating in the Republic, according to a recent opinion poll. It is reasonable to infer from the reaction of the Loyalist paramilitaries that they would accept it as a basis for peace, provided the Republican paramilitaries accepted it. This confirms my long-held contention that, if the Republican paramilitaries ceased violence, the Loyalist paramilitaries would also cease.

The historic nature and importance of the Declaration has, however, I regret to say, not yet been fully appreciated.

The Joint Declaration, if accepted as a basis for peace and implemented by all, spells an end to the coercion or attempted coercion of either community, whether Nationalist or Unionist.

The spirit of coercion has been a potent cause of most of the violence found in Irish history over the past 450 years. The coercion made necessary by the denial of Irish democracy and the national right of self-determination was substantially responsible for rebellions between 1798 and the War of Independence, and for the ultimate failure of many brave and honourable constitutional Nationalist movements in between.

Throughout this century, the Unionists of Northern Ireland have feared that they would be politically or physically coerced by the weight of the Nationalist majority throughout the entire island into some form of united Ireland against their will. The Unionists have felt under siege, and uncertain about their future, as if the history of the 17th century were repeating itself. This fear in turn has led the Unionist community or

sections within it to rely on the threat of violence, and sometimes the frightening reality of violence, to ward off the destiny they fear. As a consequence, the Nationalist community within Northern Ireland has been subjected to many forms of coercion down to the present time.

All of this coercion has ensured that we have remained a divided people. The challenge to all of us is to heal that division. Violence and coercion will only drive us further apart. Peace will bring us closer together.

The Joint Declaration makes it clear on behalf of the Irish Government, with the endorsement of all the constitutional nationalist parties, that it would be wrong to impose a united Ireland, in the absence of the freely given consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. Likewise, the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority in Northern Ireland. Both Governments accept that Irish unity would be achieved only by those who favour this outcome persuading those who do not, peacefully and without coercion or violence. I have also expressed a willingness, in the context of an overall settlement and as part of a balanced constitutional accommodation, to support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution, which would fully respect the principle of consent. I have expressed that readiness, even though I believe the acceptance of the principle of consent on the part of the Irish Government is already clear and unequivocal. As expressed in Article 1 of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, it has been found to be fully compatible with Articles 2 and 3 by our Supreme Court.

Unlike the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the terms of the Joint Declaration have been accepted by responsible Unionist opinion, despite some understandable reservations. Significantly, the Ulster Unionist leader, Mr Jim Molyneaux has declared a willingness to work with all those who fully subscribe to the Declaration.

If on foot of the Joint Declaration all violence were to cease, it would mean for Unionists that the siege was over. The benefit and significance of that for everyone is that, because their fundamental democratic rights are protected, there could be no basis for any resort in future to violence or threats of violence to block political progress or

agreement arrived at, through the democratic process. The Joint Declaration is a Charter for Democracy in Ireland.

If one looks back over the century, one sees that Home Rule was blocked, any form of all-Ireland institution was blocked, the equality and advancement of Nationalists within Northern Ireland was blocked, Sunningdale was blocked, and the Anglo-Irish Agreement was to a considerable extent frustrated, by the threat or reality of a resort to extra-constitutional means. If removal of any threat of coercion or basis for it directed against Unionists means that any attempt by people acting in their name to impose a veto by physical force on agreement between Unionist and Nationalist or on any form of political progress is lifted, then this represents a huge advance. It would remove one of the principal stumbling blocks to a political settlement and to a full recognition of the rights and identity of Nationalists within Northern Ireland. It is important to note that the requirement for a consent of a majority is related by the Declaration to the constitutional issue. It does not mean that all forms of political progress or other decisions by the two Governments are subject to a similar block.

All this would be the subject of discussion and negotiation, when the Joint Declaration has been accepted and peace has been established in our island.

It has been said that national self-determination is linked to peace. This principle, which is the foundation stone of Irish independence, is clearly stated in Article 1 of the Irish Constitution, which begins: "The Irish nation hereby reaffirms its inalienable, indefeasible and sovereign right to choose its own form of Government, to determine its relations with other nations". The Joint Declaration for the very first time contains explicit British acceptance of the right of self-determination of the people of Ireland as a whole North and South. The Irish people have themselves freely determined, both in the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and now in the Joint Declaration endorsed unanimously by the Dáil, that unity would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. The Irish people themselves have freely accepted the attachment of this condition to the exercise of self-determination. It is not imposed from outside. No Irish Government could bypass the principles either of our own Constitution on self-determination, or of the Anglo-Irish Agreement on consent, in breach of

our international obligations. Both documents have been found to be fully compatible by the Supreme Court, as I believe are both principles.

The Hume-Adams public joint statement of 24 April clearly stated that the exercise of self-determination is a matter for agreement between the people of Ireland. That principle is spelled out in the Joint Declaration by the British Government, when they "agree it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish".

Acceptance of the principle of consent is central to democracy. It is not possible to insist that self-determination must have a guaranteed and predetermined outcome. The Irish people today do not want the British Government to coerce a deeply unwilling Northern majority into a united Ireland against their will. The attempted application of self-determination without the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland would clearly amount to coercion, and would be a certain recipe for huge future political and economic instability. In the final appendix to Brendan O'Brien's book on the Long War, a paper from a Republican source admits that a declaration by the British that they proposed to withdraw by a given date would create 'a situation of great tension and danger - and, unquestionably, violence'. That is precisely what we wish to avoid. The principle of self-determination cannot and should not be turned into a framework for the coercion of either the Unionist or the Nationalist population. No example can be found anywhere in a long divided country of the application of the right of self-determination, except in the way set out in the Joint Declaration. It is the Irish people, not just the British Government, who have clearly accepted and endorsed the principle of consent.

In terms of Republican doctrine, this is nothing new. There has long been a view, dating back to the independence struggle in the early 1920s that a policy of trying to force or coerce the North into the Free State would not work. The thinking and the intention behind the 1920 Government of Ireland Act was that unity would evolve over time. Some were prepared to say that if the North was to join the 26 counties, it must be voluntarily, and that the South must become economically attractive.

I too have long believed in the silent forces of mutual interests, of economic persuasion, and increased social interaction to bring about the union of Ireland. The gulf of separation, created in part by a militant approach, has hitherto largely prevented those forces from operating. They cannot operate in an atmosphere of attempted coercion.

The Joint Declaration for the first time makes the British and Irish Governments persuaders for an agreement between the people of Ireland North and South. This is not something just stated by me. It has been stated by the Co-Chairman of the British-Irish Parliamentary Body, Peter Temple-Morris. Both Governments are solemnly committed to promote cooperation at all levels, and will work together to achieve an agreement, which will embrace the totality of relationships. The role of the British Government is to encourage, facilitate and enable the achievement of such agreement over a period, and to legislate for it.

I would like to see an early restart to the wider talks process, in order to pursue agreement that would represent the most fruitful way forward. Much play is made of the British guarantee to Unionists. But equally in this Declaration, again for the first time, there is an explicit, rock-solid British guarantee to Nationalists, that the British Government will uphold the wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland, in the event that they choose to support a sovereign united Ireland. They explicitly acknowledge and agree to support the right of the Irish people to come together in whatever form they choose. They promise to legislate for that. They also disclaim, as they have not always done, any selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. In other words, British imperialist interest in Ireland is dead, even if we still have to resolve some of its legacy. The President of your Association and historian Dr. John Bowman has described the document in the Irish Times as "the most separatist British Government declaration in two centuries".

It is interesting to note that recently revealed Government records show that Seán Lemass as Taoiseach sought from the British "a clear statement by British political leaders that there would be no British interest in maintaining partition when Irishmen want to get rid of it". He also told President Kennedy privately that he would like the British Government to welcome agreement between the Irish people. The Joint Declaration not only meets those requirements, but in many respects goes well beyond them.

In that regard, I welcome the endorsement sent to me from the National Treasurer and 1994 National Convention Chairman of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America, Thomas E Gilligan. When he congratulated both Prime Minister Major and myself on the bold step our Governments have taken in searching for peace in Northern Ireland, he described the Joint Declaration as "a giant step towards this end", and "certainly the most dramatic advancement in the last 72 years". He goes on to state: "the recognition of the British Government, that it is for the people of Ireland alone to settle their differences, should enable all parties to use this thoughtfully composed document as a starting point towards peace".

It can always be legitimately debated with any agreement, as to whether it is a sufficient basis to be going on, or whether there was or is a possibility of negotiating more. That happened with Home Rule, and with the first Anglo-Irish Treaty. But no one should fall into the trap of repeating the tragic history that led to the civil war that marred the birth of this State.

The situation that I see now is as follows. For over 20 years there has been a prolonged military stalemate that has stifled most of the possibilities for political and economic progress.

There are no military victories on either side, nor on the basis of past experience does any side have any reason to expect one. It is generally agreed that there is no prospect of any material change in that situation. It should be clear that there will be no surrender on any side, Loyalist, Republican or by the British or Irish Governments, and surrender terms are not acceptable to any side. It is totally unrealistic for anyone to expect peace on that basis. There can only be a mutual process of demilitarization through confidence-building on all sides. Continued violence and conflict is not merely evil. It is futile. What is needed therefore is a basic framework of democratic principles for peace and political progress, that apply equally and impartially to both communities, which will allow a permanent cessation of violence on all sides.

The paramilitaries on both sides see themselves as soldiers, in an honourable war, fighting for what they hold dear in their own way, and not as criminals. Society and the State on both sides of the border deem otherwise. But I agree with John Hume that peace will require

moral courage and statesmanship of a high order from all those who lead both the Republican Movement and the Loyalist paramilitaries. The greatest service they can perform for all the people of Northern Ireland is to support the democratic process, and to recognize that, within an agreed and assured democratic framework for constitutional decision-making, further resort to the gun either now or in the future is wholly out of place. This is the way in which the killing can be halted.

The Joint Declaration incorporates a statement of six rights that are important to Loyalist organizations. These rights belong to everyone, and are accepted and supported by the Irish Government. Equally, the British Government in the Declaration now clearly recognize the legitimate rights of the Nationalist community, the lack of recognition of which has been the *raison d'être* of much Republican violence.

Demilitarization of the situation on all sides will bring about an end to coercion. I have already spoken about the Unionist fear of coercion. For Nationalists, it has been a continuing reality. For 50 years they were coerced into a State, to which they felt they owed no allegiance. They were coerced, when they protested about the denial of civil rights. Over the past 26 years, the people of deeply Nationalist areas have felt coerced by the security forces, leading to a lack of confidence in, and support for, the administration of justice.

The Nationalist nightmare, as it has been called, or Nationalist alienation can be ended much more easily and effectively in conditions of peace. The Irish Government will insist in the Anglo-Irish Conference and in all future negotiations on the right of the Nationalist Community to equality, and to recognition of their identity. We will not allow any one-sided oppressive system to be reestablished. The Irish Government are absolutely committed to ensuring that there is no return to the bad old days.

At the same time, Nationalists throughout Ireland and Unionists must now seek to establish a better relationship of trust, understanding and co-operation. We must get away from the zero-sum mentality, which is evident even in recent comment. Unionist support for the Declaration has been cited as a reason, why it should be regarded as suspect by Nationalists. Similarly, some Unionists regard any expression of Nationalist identity and aspirations as illegitimate and as a threat to them.

We have all to recognize that any promising future for the people of this island, not just a united or agreed Ireland, needs to be based on broad agreement and compromise between the different traditions and communities.

Our best future should be decided pragmatically not ideologically in the light of prevailing possibilities, without necessarily abandoning any long-term vision which we hold dear. In the 1790s there was a natural tension between the ideals of the United Irishmen and the Defenders. One tried to bridge different traditions, while the other represented the interests of only one community. Subsequently, Irish Republicanism often tried to live up to the highest ideals, but has sometimes succeeded in only paying lip-service to them.

The spirit of the Joint Declaration has been to try and strike a generous balance between the two communities and traditions, and to provide a new starting point for a more constructive shared future. Republicans everywhere must decide in the period ahead whether they are more United Irishmen or Defenders. The task ahead is surely to practise real Republicanism and reach out to the other tradition, and begin in earnest the task of reconciliation, not allowing ourselves to be discouraged by the inevitable rebuffs along the way.

In today's interdependent world there is no absolute sovereignty, and no absolute unity. We already have a degree of unity on this island, cultural, sporting and even economic. Let us seek to persuade our Unionist compatriots to enlarge that sphere of unity, in a way that does not threaten their future or their identity. Let us also recognize that as a counterpart we, living in this part of Ireland, and in a State that has reached a fair degree of maturity, will need to develop a more balanced and friendly relationship with our neighbouring island than was perhaps possible in the past. We have achieved much. There is no cause to feel any lingering post-colonial inferiority. It should cost us nothing to accept and respect other traditions and other influences. Let us look forward to an Ireland that will blend in a balanced way the best in the political traditions of Republican separatism, of constitutional nationalism, and of Unionism in all their diversities. Let us also capitalize on the great international goodwill that would exist for an Ireland that is working together in new peace and harmony.

Apart from building relationships, our most immediate priority will be to repair the enormous economic damage that 25 years of the Troubles have caused to both parts of the island. It would make sense to do some of this together. We also need to realize the potential of the Single Market within Ireland, which restores one of the positive economic features of Ireland under the Union. Gone are the customs barriers and the many manbuilt distractions that the economic border sustained. Soon the border will be just a memory. Ireland North and South is an attractive country for investment, for high quality tradeable products, and for tourism. We have the skilled people. Together, Ireland North and South can make an even bigger impact on a world, that stands waiting to help and support us to set aside our centuries old conflict.

I have no doubt that there will be a large peace dividend for the whole island. Trade, investment and tourism will flow to a much greater extent. Northern Ireland will benefit in particular, and policies can be more effectively applied to tackling high unemployment in deprived areas in cities and in border areas. The highest priority will be given to restoring all cross-border links, and re-opening cross-border roads.

All these subjects will be topics for discussion and negotiation in renewed, wider and deeper political talks. These talks will include in their remit the establishment of North-South institutions, as set out in the Declaration, which would enable the people of Ireland to work together in all areas of common interests. They will also be on the agenda of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, which I propose to establish in consultation with interested parties.

We are in a very difficult and delicate period, when critical decisions, that could affect our future for a very long time to come and perhaps forever, have to be taken. While we have every right to be impatient with continued violence, we must be patient over serious deliberation. I never said or believed the full response would be early or swift. Reasonable patience is not an unseemly price to pay, if the reward we all seek is peace. The unwavering momentum for peace will endure. I believe the Declaration offers in particular a sufficient basis for the Republican Movement to participate fully in the next stages of the peace process. I recognize that for them it is a momentous and historic decision requiring real leadership, courage and conviction to give their

movement new direction. The beginning of every new journey holds some fears. These fears can be overcome. The priority must be the protection of human life.

The Irish Government recognize and acknowledge the integrity of all electoral mandates and the rights of all sections of the electorate to freely choose their representatives. But it should also be recognized that we have a duty as an elected Government to protect the integrity of the democratic system as a whole.

The Irish Government want to be as helpful as possible to all sides, to provide continuing clarification to the best of our ability to resolve genuine perplexity, but without putting in question the achievements and balance of the Joint Declaration, which deals very clearly with many of the central issues.

Both Governments and both Prime Ministers have gone further than ever before in our history to solve the age-old problems that afflict us and to provide a framework for an honourable peace all-round in Ireland. We should recognize that it is potentially the most important statement of principle and intention by both Governments in critical policy areas over the past 70 years. What may be hardest to grasp is that it provides important protections to both Unionists and Nationalists at the same time. In place of a history of coercion, democracy will have primacy for the first time in their relations with each other.

I would appeal to those with whom the ultimate decision for peace now lies. Do not let this opportunity pass. Do not because of the weight of the past, or because of very natural instincts, condemn the people of either community to another generation of suffering. Over the next generation we must share a determination to achieve an enduring settlement that will result in a new and agreed Ireland.