

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Special Representative

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1398

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
50	2	4	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. talking points	re: [Mary Robinson Talking Points Package] [incomplete copy] (1 page)	09/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
002. memo	Barry Lowenkron to Anthony Lake re: Fact Finding Visit for Northern Ireland (2 pages)	03/03/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
003. letter	Robin Renwick to Anthony Lake re: Fact-Finding Visit (2 pages)	02/26/1993	P1/b(1)
004. cable	re: March 4 Meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Tom Kitt on Northern Ireland (3 pages)	03/05/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
005. cable	re: Northern Ireland (3 pages)	02/19/1993	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]-Special Representative

2011-0355-F
rs1693

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]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 7, 1993

MEMO TO NANCY

FROM: BROOKE

RE: Special Envoy Language

You asked for exactly what the President has been saying on the special envoy to Northern Ireland issue.

The attached talking points are taken from the Robinson package.

*Pls send to
Jane & Barry L.
Syr info on
State*

Special Envoy (If Raised)

- I had good discussions with Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Reynolds on Northern Ireland. Let me reiterate what I told them, that my policy rests on three principles:
 - First, Northern Ireland will remain an important issue for discussion between my Administration, Ireland, and Great Britain.
 - Second, any proposals we make will be judged against the standard of whether they can contribute to bringing about an end to the tragedy.
 - Third, we will consult fully with both governments.
- 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 it's up to the people of Northern Ireland to bring about an end to the tragedy.

Tax on U.S. Subsidiaries In Ireland (If Raised)

- I understand your concern about maintaining a favorable environment for U.S. investment in Ireland.
- At the same time, I need to ensure that our tax laws are equitable.
- My proposal is less onerous than other ideas being considered in the Congress. Under my proposal, Ireland would still be attractive for U.S. investment because we would allow U.S. subsidiaries abroad to continue to defer taxes on profits that are actively reinvested in plant and equipment.

Gerry Adams (If Raised)

- The State Department, with the support of the FBI, declined to recommend a waiver to Mr. Adams to allow him entry into the United States. I support that decision.
- The issue was not one of free speech but of our own law regarding visas for individuals who have engaged in terrorist activity.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (3.72)
KRM 4/11/2023

WASHFAX RECEIPT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

'93 SEP -4 P2:02

B

S/S #

104583

MESSAGE NO. 104583 CLASSIFICATION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE No. Pages 1
 FROM: MAX ROBINSON S/S 647-8448 7224
 (Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
 MESSAGE DESCRIPTION CABLE TO LONDON: A SPECIAL ENVOY ON NORTHERN IRELAND.

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
NSCS	NANCY SODERBERG	456-6534	WHSITRM
	WILL ITOH		
	KRISTIE KENNEY		
	EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT		
	Walker		
	Holl		

FOR: CLEARANCE ☒ INFORMATION ☐ PER REQUEST ☐ COMMENT ☐

REMARKS: PLEASE CLEAR BY: September 6: *** MUST GO ***

This cable has instructions that Embassy London hopes to present to HMG on Tuesday, 9/7

S/S Officer:



MAX ROBINSON

CROSSHATCH

RETURN TIME-STAMPED COVERSHEET TO S/S.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INITIAL PERK

5.4

AUTH DA DRAFT RCLEAR 1 OK 2 OK3 OK 4 OK 5 OK6 OK 7 OK 8 OK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

EUR/NE:ATLIEBOWITZ:ATL
09/02/93 75669 SENEII 749
EUR:SAOXMAN

P:DARUSSELL
EUR/NE:MEPARMLY
NSCS:

EUR:JFTEFFT
S/S-S:

PRIORITY LONDON

PRIORITY DUBLIN, BELFAST

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: A SPECIAL ENVOY ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: LONDON 15996

1. THE POSITION OF THE USG ON THE QUESTION OF APPOINTING A SPECIAL ENVOY ON NORTHERN IRELAND HAS NOT CHANGED SINCE IT WAS ENUNCIATED BY THE PRESIDENT IN MARCH. AT THAT TIME AND AFTER CONSULTING WITH PM MAJOR AND PM REYNOLDS, HE SAID THAT HE WOULD KEEP THE IDEA OF A "SPECIAL ENVOY" OR FACT-FINDER UNDER CONSIDERATION.

2. HE ALSO SAID HE HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING HE COULD DO WAS TO ENCOURAGE A RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS ON NORTHERN IRELAND. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE WAY WE CAN BE MOST HELPFUL IS TO SUPPORT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' EFFORTS TO RESUME THE TALKS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. YY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Major acts over peace envoy row
The Sunday Telegraph
February 21, 1993

Washington and London acted last night to head off a growing row over President Clinton's plans to send a special envoy to Northern Ireland, as John Major prepared for their first meeting at the White House this week.

Downing Street made clear that Mr. Major will press President Clinton to think hard about his choice of envoy, fearing that selection of the wrong person would jeopardize the resumption of the stalled peace talks in the province.

The Government is particularly keen to ensure that Mr. Clinton does not pick anyone connected with the **Kennedys**, who have a record of sympathy with the Irish republican cause.

Ministers are increasingly confident that the new US administration will back-pedal on the campaign pledge to send a "peace envoy" to negotiate over northern Ireland's future, and restrict any such mission to fact-finding.

But Unionist MPs yesterday reacted angrily to reports that Tom Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, was a likely choice. Although Mr. Foley, a Catholic of Irish-American descent, is regarded as having a good understanding of the issues and is a steadfast opponent of terrorism. David Trimble, Unionist MP for Upper Bann, said the choice would be "inappropriate." He said Mr. Foley was strongly identified with Irish nationalism.

Peter Robinson, Deputy Leader of the Democratic Unionists, an MP for East Belfast, said he would refuse to meet Mr. Foley. "How can the President expect to receive an impartial report from someone who is dyed-in-the-wood in terms of his nationalist views?" he said.

But Mr. Peter Bottomley, a former Northern Ireland Minister and Tory MP for Eatham, said "Mr. Foley would be a very good choice. He would be a great friend of Northern Ireland, Ireland, and the United Kingdom."

Aides to Mr. Foley said last night they knew of no plans for him to visit Northern Ireland. "I don't believe there's any truth in it," said Tom Nide, chief of staff of the Speaker's Office in Congress.

The person handling the issue in the White House, Nancy Soderberg, staff director of the National Security Council, is known to favour the idea of a mediator. Her last post was chief foreign policy aide to **Senator Edward Kennedy**.

Another **Kennedy** aide with a strong interest in Ireland, Trina Vargo, has been seconded to work for Madeleine Albright, the US Ambassador to

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

the UN. Neither woman shares the views of the hard-line Irish National Caucus in Congress. They are closer to the position of the Friends of Ireland Group to which Mr. Foley belongs, that is sometimes critical of Britain but which wants to see a united Ireland through peaceful means.

A senior American source said yesterday that Mr. Clinton had an obligation to discharge but had not yet decided how to do it. Any envoy would confine his talks to the legal parties, implying no meeting with outlaw terrorist organizations.

Raymond Seitz, the American Ambassador to London, said the President intended sending a representative who would gather the facts objectively and report to him and to Congress.

Mr. Major will also point out to Mr. Clinton, despite sectarian violence, the murder rate in the province is only two thirds of that in the United States -- and far below that in Washington.

This week's meeting between Mr. Major and Mr. Clinton is seen in London as crucial to establishing a close working relationship. Some senior Tory politicians fear that the relationship began on the wrong foot because of Conservative Party help to the Bush election campaign, and because of the differences over the GATT trade talks, Bosnia and Somalia.

The two men are expected to discuss informally their respective domestic woes over dinner at the White House Wednesday evening, after formal talks which will cover topics including the GATT, Iraq, Bosnia, and Hong Kong.

American sources said yesterday there was an "interesting coincidence" between the President's State of the Union address last week, in which he announced spending cuts and higher taxes, and the position in Britain. "Misery loves company," one senior source said.

Gerry Adams, leader of Sinn Fein, last night welcomed Mr. Clinton's initiative. He told Sinn Fein's annual conference in Dundalk, Co. Lough: "His pre-election comments are to be welcomed. So, too, are the endeavors of those in the Irish-American Community who put Ireland on the presidential agenda."

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH FEBRUARY 23 1993

NEWS

Major acts over peace envoy row

Clinton urged to think again on Ulster choice

by David Wicks
in London and
Ambrose Evans-Pritchard
in Washington

WASHINGTON and London acted last night to head off a growing row over President Clinton's plans to pick a special envoy to Northern Ireland, as John Major prepared for his first meeting at the White House this week.

Downing Street made clear that Mr Major's closest President Clinton aide, John H. Garvey, was not the choice of envoy, fearing that a choice of someone would become a political issue.

The controversy is particularly keen to ensure that Mr Clinton does not pick anyone connected with the Kennedy, who have a record of sympathy with the Irish republicans.

Members are increasingly concerned that the new US administration will back-pedal on the campaign pledge to send a "peace envoy" to negotiate over Northern Ireland's future, and restrict any such mission to fact-finding.

But British MP John Gummer, who is a member of the House of Representatives, was a likely

choice. Although Mr Foley's Catholicism is a disadvantage, he is regarded as having a good understanding of the issues and is a successful businessman. He is a member of the House of Representatives, and the choice would be "appropriate", he said. Mr Foley was strongly denounced within Irish nationalism.

Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist and DUP for East Belfast, said he would refuse to meet Mr Foley. "Mr Foley is the President's envoy to receive an important report from someone who is not in the world in terms of his religious views," he said.

But Mr Peter Robinson, a former Northern Ireland MP, said that Mr Foley would be a very good choice. He would be a great friend of Northern Ireland, Ireland and the United Kingdom.

Although Mr Foley said last night that he was not planning to visit Northern Ireland, "I don't

know that's true," he said. "I'm not sure of it," he said.

The person handling the issue in the White House, Deputy Secretary of State, is known to favour the idea of a mediator. Her last post was chief foreign policy aide to Senator Robert Dole.

Another Kennedy ally with a strong interest in Ireland, Tim Wirth, has been nominated to work for the US State Department. The US Ambassador to the UK, Kenneth S. Goss, is also a Kennedy ally. The US State Department is also a Kennedy ally. The US State Department is also a Kennedy ally.

But while wants to see a united Ireland through peaceful means.

A senior American source said yesterday that Mr Clinton had an obligation to discharge but had not yet decided whether to do so. An envoy would replace Mr Foley as the "regional" envoy to the Irish Republic.

Richard Solis, the American ambassador to London, said the President intended sending a representative who would gather the facts objectively and report to him and to Congress.

Mr Major will also point out to Mr Clinton that, despite sectarian violence, the murder rate in the province is only one-third of that in the United States — and far below that in Washington.

This week's meeting between Mr Major and Mr Clinton is seen in London as crucial to establishing a close working relationship. Some senior Tory politicians fear that the relationship began on the wrong

foot because of Conservative Party help in the Irish election campaign, and because of differences over the Irish trade talks, Northern and Southern.

The two men are expected to discuss informally their respective domestic work over dinner at the White House on Wednesday evening, after formal talks which will cover topics including the Gulf, Iraq, Israel and Hong Kong.

Some Irish sources said yesterday there was an "understanding" between the President's State of the Union address last week, in which he announced spending cuts and higher taxes, and the position in Britain. "Many times company," one senior source said.

Mr Adams, leader of Sinn Féin, last night welcomed Mr Clinton's initiative. He told Mrs Foley's arrival in London, Co. Louth: "It is pre-election comment to be welcomed. So, too, are the endeavours of those in the Irish-American community who put Ireland on the presidential agenda."

Foreign Office — Page 11

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Senator,
FYI
original article
attached
Trina

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Ministers are increasingly confident that the new US administration will back-pedal on the campaign pledge to send a "peace envoy" to negotiate over northern Ireland's future, and restrict any such mission to fact-finding.

But Unionist MPs yesterday reacted angrily to reports that Tom Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, was a likely choice. Although Mr. Foley, a Catholic of Irish-American descent, is regarded as having a good understanding of the issues and is a steadfast opponent of terrorism. David Trimble, Unionist MP for Upper Bann, said the choice would be "inappropriate." He said Mr. Foley was strongly identified with Irish nationalism.

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Aides to Mr. Foley said last night they knew of no plans for him to visit Northern Ireland. "I don't believe there's any truth in it," said Tom Nides? chief of staff of the Speaker's Office in Congress.

The person handling the issue in the White House, **Nancy Soderberg**, staff director of the National Security Council, is known to favour the idea of a mediator. Her last post was chief foreign policy aide to **Senator Edward Kennedy**.

Another **Kennedy** aide with a strong interest in Ireland, **Trina Vargo**, has been seconded to work for Madeleine Albright, the US Ambassador to

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

"Publicity Ruins Deal on US role in Ulster"

By James Adams

The Sunday Times

2/21/93

A carefully orchestrated compromise designed to defuse tension between the British government and the Clinton administration over Northern Ireland was in tatters this weekend after the deal was made public.

Preliminary discussions between the Foreign Office and the US State Department had produced a deal that would have let Tom Foley, the Speaker of the US House of Representatives, visit Northern Ireland this summer on a "fact-finding mission." Now that the deal has been made public, it is likely that Foley will back out and the negotiations will have to begin again.

John Major, the prime minister, will discuss the issue with President Bill Clinton when they meet in the White House on Wednesday.

"It is all very unfortunate," said a Foreign Office source. "It is a lesson to everyone just what happens when outsiders try to become involved in the politics of Northern Ireland." Britain has always refused American interference in Northern Ireland. But during last year's presidential campaign, Clinton wrote to prominent members of the Irish-American lobby criticizing the "wanton use of force" by the security forces in Northern Ireland.

Clinton also suggested that Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein leader, would be allowed to visit America to lecture and raise money, and he even proposed appointing a peace envoy to produce a political solution to the conflict.

The government greeted this change from the strong anti-IRA policies of the Reagan-Bush years with considerable alarm. Envoys were dispatched to Clinton's home town of Little Rock, Arkansas, to convince his team that any interference in Northern Ireland would be unwelcome and unhelpful.

After a series of meetings with top Democratic officials, the Foreign Office thought the crisis had been defused. But at the same time, 43 million Irish Americans have been lobbying hard to make Clinton deliver his campaign promises.

In recent discussions between the state department and the Foreign Office, the idea of a "fact-finding mission" emerged as a possible compromise. Ray Seitz, the American ambassador in London, suggested Foley as the candidate to lead the trip.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Foley is a noted Anglophile and a respected elder statesman in American politics. He has been consistently tough on terrorism and has always resisted the Irish American lobby's demands for a more critical approach to British government policy in Northern Ireland.

"The priority is getting the peace talks going," said a Foreign Office source. "If the Americans want to send somebody on a fact finding mission after that, then that's fine with us. Foley is a well-respected, balanced, Irish American and he would be very welcome."

In talks with Sir Robin Renwick, the British ambassador in Washington, Foley has made clear that he would be prepared to carry out the mission but only if it could be kept low profile.

Now that Foley's plan has been exposed, it is unlikely he will accept the role of fact finder. If he does back out, this will play into the hands of the militant Irish Americans who would like to see a more anti-British figure such as Ray Flynn, the mayor of Boston, take on the job.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3/3

Nancy -

I need your help on this.
Should the memo recommend
a meeting with you, Tony &
Sandy? Should it be a
Presidential brief/action memo?

B

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

March 3, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: JENONNE WALKER

FROM: BARRY F. LOWENKRON

SUBJECT: Fact Finding Visit for Northern Ireland

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (3.73)

KBH 4/11/2023

We need to agree among ourselves on whether or not to support the idea of a special Presidential Fact Finder on Northern Ireland. Until then, I have told Richard Ralph (number three in the British Embassy) to have Sir Robin stand down in his lobbying efforts. (Sir Robin had asked for fifteen minutes on your schedule this week to talk about the issue. I told Ralph that it was premature.)

State of Play

Nancy is correct that we are being whipsawed between the Irish-American community (Mssrs. Morrison and Flynn) and the British. The Irish Government has been silent on the issue. Tom Niles and I worked out the following approach for him to take in his meeting earlier this week with Dermot Gallagher, the Irish Ambassador:

- The President is deeply interested in the Northern Ireland situation.
- Before the President decides on any initiative he will weigh it against the standard of whether it would contribute to the talks and to ending the tragedy.
- One of the ideas is to appoint a fact finder. Speaker Foley has been mentioned as a possible candidate.
- The White House has taken no decision on this whatsoever.
- The President spoke to Prime Minister Major about Northern Ireland. He intends to do so as well with Prime Minister Reynolds on the 17th so that both countries are consulted.

Foley's Views. According to State, Foley is working under the assumption that the decision rests with the White House, and he is content to wait, or, alternatively, to have the idea fade away.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

Pros vs. Cons. The idea of a fact finder could solve the President's campaign promise to appoint an envoy. On the other hand, it could be viewed as being "clever by half" -- and increase pressure on the President to have Foley head a delegation, or to make the mission a periodic, rather than a one-shot deal. It also raises public expectations as to what happens once Foley returns and reports to the President.

British views are well known. Gallagher was non-committal when Niles ran the idea by him, but the Irish are unenthusiastic. Gallagher pointed to Reagan's discussions with Thatcher in 1984 (that, in his view, helped lead to the Anglo-Irish agreement in 1985) as a model: quiet discussions at the highest levels between the US, the UK and Ireland. We do not want this issue to be injected in the May municipal elections in Northern Ireland, nor do we want to give the Loyalists the excuse to refuse to go back to the table.

Timing. If, nevertheless, we decide to go the route of a fact finder, we recommend the announcement take place after Prime Minister Reynolds' visit. In that way, the President can make the case that he consulted both the British and Irish and they both support the idea. Reynolds' support could help defuse criticism from Morrison, Flynn and others that the President was walking away from a campaign commitment.

Attachments

Tab I Renwick incoming

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. letter	Robin Renwick to Anthony Lake re: Fact-Finding Visit (2 pages)	02/26/1993	P1/b(1)

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

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IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

NS-
let's
discuss.
P2

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY KYIM LAKE SIT SODERBERG WALKER
SIT: BLEICKEN FILE SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 051142Z MAR 93

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (3.75)
KSH 4/11/2023

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1883

INFO RUFHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1003

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 01155

LONDON PLEASE PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI, US

SUBJECT: MARCH 4 MEETING WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER
TOM KITT ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: (A) STATE 063147
(B) DUBLIN 01100

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. MINISTER OF STATE (DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER) TOM KITT TOLD US ON MARCH 4 THAT, FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING'S RECENT COMMENTS TO NEW YORK TIMES JOURNALIST JAMES CLARITY NOTWITHSTANDING, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS NOT/NOT YET TAKEN A FORMAL POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF A SPECIAL U.S. ENVOY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. WE STRESSED TO KITT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MARCH 17 CLINTON/REYNOLDS MEETING IN THIS REGARD. KITT ALSO SAID THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES IN REGARD TO NORTHERN IRELAND ARE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND AN END TO VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH. HE NOTED AS WELL THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION BEFORE A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND QUESTION. END SUMMARY.
MEETING WITH TOM KITT
3. CHARGE AND POLOFF MET WITH MINISTER OF STATE (DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER) TOM KITT ON MARCH 4 TO DISCUSS NORTHERN IRELAND IN LIGHT OF THE MARCH 3 NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

JAMES CLARITY. IN THIS ARTICLE, CLARITY QUOTES FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING AS APPROVING THE IDEA OF A SPECIAL U.S. ENVOY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. WALTER KIRWAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER), AND NOEL PURCELL-O'BYRNE, FIRST SECRETARY IN THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DFA), ACCOMPANIED KITT.

KITT'S CLARIFICATION

4. WE BEGAN BY NOTING THAT SPRING IN THIS ARTICLE SEEMED TO BE TAKING A DIFFERENT LINE THAN THE ONE WHICH WE HAD BEEN HEARING FROM OUR IRISH GOVERNMENT INTERLOCUTORS AND WHICH THE DEPARTMENT HAD BEEN RECEIVING FROM THE IRISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON (REF. A) - KITT RESPONDED THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD NOT/NOT YET TAKEN A FORMAL POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF A SPECIAL U.S. ENVOY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. IT WAS NOT THAT IRELAND DISLIKED THE IDEA, KIRWAN INTERJECTED, ADDING THAT PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS WOULD RAISE IT WITH THE PRESIDENT ON MARCH 17. IF THERE WERE TO BE A SPECIAL U.S. ENVOY, KITT EMPHASIZED, ARRANGEMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE "CONSTRUCTIVE" LEST THE UNIONISTS BE ALIENATED. BUT, THE "SPECIFICS (OF THE IDEA) WERE NOT YET CLEAR."

THE GOI'S IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES

5. KITT CONTINUED THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES IN REGARD TO NORTHERN IRELAND WERE TO GET THE TALKS RESTARTED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO DIMINISH/END THE VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE NOTED, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED THE "SPECIAL POSITION" OF THE U.S. ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND QUESTION AND VERY MUCH WANTED TO "MAINTAIN U.S. INTEREST."

A "PERMANENT SOLUTION"

6. KITT AND KIRWAN STRESSED THAT PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS AND FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING WANTED A "PERMANENT SOLUTION" OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM. IN THIS REGARD, KIRWAN ADDED THAT THE BRITISH HAD A "SHORTER TIME FRAME," IMPLYING

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

THAT THEY WOULD BE TEMPTED TO ACCEPT INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS
IN LIEU OF SOMETHING LASTING.

ARTICLES TWO AND THREE OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION

7. KITT VOLUNTEERED THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT
AGREE TO AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE IRISH
CONSTITUTION BEFORE A "FINAL SETTLEMENT" OF THE NORTHERN
IRELAND QUESTION HAD BEEN REACHED. IF A REFERENDUM WERE
HELD TOMORROW, HE EXPLAINED, IT WOULD BE DEFEATED, AND IRA
RECRUITMENT WOULD SOAR.

THE CLINTON/REYNOLDS MEETING

8. WE URGED KITT AND COMPANY TO TAKE A POSITION ON THE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 01155
LONDON PLEASE PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI, US

SUBJECT: MARCH 4 MEETING WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER
QUESTION OF AN ENVOY BEFORE THE CLINTON/REYNOLDS MEETING ON
MARCH 17. KITT REITERATED THAT REYNOLDS WOULD RAISE THE
SUBJECT WITH THE PRESIDENT, NOTING THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY
TAKE TIME TO "FLESH THE IDEA OUT."

COMMENT

9. KITT'S REVERSION TO THE GOI'S STANDARD LINE ON THE
QUESTION OF A SPECIAL U.S. ENVOY SUGGESTS THAT FOREIGN
MINISTER SPRING EITHER WAS CARELESS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES
INTERVIEW OR WAS TAILORING HIS REMARKS FOR HIS AMERICAN
AUDIENCE. SPRING IS WELL AWARE OF THE PRESIDENT'S EVIDENT
INTEREST IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND WOULD NOT WANT TO APPEAR
TO BE DISTANCING HIMSELF FROM THE U.S. OVER THE IDEA OF A
SPECIAL ENVOY BEFORE THE PRIME MINISTER HAS HAD A CHANCE TO
DISCUSS IT WITH THE PRESIDENT.

TONKIN

BT

#1155

NNNN

<MSGID> M0261701

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Nancy FYI

2/20

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tony,

Nancy asked that I fill you in on the details of the Foley-Northern Ireland Issue. In brief, the idea of having Foley appointed a Presidential "fact finder" on Northern Ireland seems to have gotten a life of its own.

- The idea originated with Foley. One of his senior staff aides, Michael O'Neill, called Peter Tarnoff and suggested it. Tarnoff spoke with Tom Niles and they both agreed this could be a way to finesse the President's campaign promise on Northern Ireland. The Brits entered the picture, endorsing the idea.
- State was supposed to send over a formal memo recommending that the President support the idea. Apparently it's still sitting with Niles because State was unable to nail down final details with Foley.
- State also gave Renwick a copy of the draft statement which he then cabled back to London. The results are reflected in the attached cable.

I'm concerned that State has been negotiating this with Foley's office, and now with the British, while we have yet to see the text or even take it up with the President. Meanwhile the British press has begun asking for confirmation of the Foley appointment.

B

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

To Barry

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: BERGER DARRAGH FUERTH ITOH LAKE PUNKE SIT SODERBERG WALKER
SIT: FILE LOWENKRON SUM SUM2 WHSR SPECIAL

TO TL!

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 191420Z FEB 93

*FOR
KSA gave*

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

*Renwick a copy
of the draft
so London now
has this as
a problem.*

*Barry L. will
fill you in.
PS*

*PS I'm not wild
about the idea
anyway*

*What
me?*

NODIS

NODIS

NODIS

TO ****

INFO RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2404

RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5334

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 051115

NODIS

NSC E.O. LAKE-ITOH, CIA E.O. WOOLSEY

FOLLOWING LONDON 03073 DTD FEB 18 SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC

BEING REPEATED TO YOU FOR YOUR INFO

QUOTE: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 03073

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS ASAP TO NSC FOR NSA LAKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND

1. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. I SAW CABINET SECRETARY SIR ROBIN BUTLER THIS AFTERNOON AS PART OF MY ROUND OF MEETINGS PRIOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S TRIP TO WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK. WE COVERED THE AGENDA FOR THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT, BUT BUTLER LED OFF WITH A NEW CONCERN HERE ABOUT HOW WE HANDLE NORTHERN IRELAND.

3. BUTLER UNDERSTANDS SPEAKER FOLEY HAS AGREED TO ACT AS THE PRESIDENT'S EMISSARY ON NORTHERN IRELAND. HE UNDERSTANDS WORD OF THIS IS ALREADY LEAKING OUT IN WASHINGTON. HE HAD ALSO SEEN A COPY OF A DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH ROBIN RENWICK HAD PICKED UP AND CABLED TO LONDON OVERNIGHT.

4. BUTLER'S WORRY, WHICH I AM SURE IS SHARED BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHERS, IS THAT SPEAKER FOLEY'S

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (3.76)
KBH 4/11/2023

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

ROLE, IF IT LEAKS, WILL BEGIN TO DOMINATE THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE CLINTON-MAJOR MEETING, AT LEAST FROM THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW. THE PRESS COVERAGE HERE WILL BE ENORMOUS AND SUBJECT TO ALL SORTS OF MISINTERPRETATION.

5. IN ANY EVENT, IF THE LEAKS CANNOT BE PLUGGED, THERE CERTAINLY SHOULD NOT BE ANY OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT AHEAD OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT. PRESUMABLY THE APPOINTMENT OF THE SPECIAL EMISSARY SHOULD COME ONLY AFTER OBVIOUS CONSULTATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.

6. AS TO THE TEXT, ROBIN BUTLER WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH PHRASEOLOGY THAT SUGGESTED THE SPEAKER WOULD MAKE HIS FACT-FINDING TRIP, RETURN TO SUBMIT HIS REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT, AND THE PRESIDENT WOULD THEN DECIDE WHAT FOLLOW-UP ACTION TO TAKE. HE ADDED IT IS THIS LAST ELEMENT WHICH IS BOTHERSOME, I.E. THE IMPLICATION THAT THE SPEAKER'S TRIP IS PRELIMINARY TO A BROADER, MORE SUSTAINED AND INTRUSIVE AMERICAN INITIATIVE ABOUT THE AFFAIRS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. NOT ONLY WOULD THIS GO DOWN VERY BADLY IN BRITAIN, BUT IT WOULD LIKELY BE USED BY THE UNIONISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO BREAK OFF ANY FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN THE PAINSTAKING THREE-STRAND TALKS WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDERWAY FOR A COUPLE OF YEARS. THE UNIONISTS ARE LOOKING FOR AN EXCUSE.

7. SOME OF THE OTHER WORDING IN THE DRAFT (WHICH I HAVE NOT SEEN) ALSO CAUSES PROBLEMS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN CONDEMNING "VIOLENCE", IT IS IMPORTANT TO STATE THE ISSUE IN A WAY THAT DOES NOT SEEM ALSO TO CONDEMN THE LEGITIMATE USE OF FORCE BY THE AUTHORITIES IN THE PROVINCE, I.E., THE POLICE AND THE BRITISH ARMY.

8. DOUGLAS HURD COMMENTED TO ME A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO THAT THE NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUE AND HOW IT PLAYS IN THE PROVINCE AS WELL AS HOW IT CUTS ACROSS THE BROADER ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP WILL ALL COME DOWN TO "DAY ONE". BY THAT HE MEANT IT WAS VITAL TO GET THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

PRESENTATION -- BOTH CONTENT AND TIMING -- EXACTLY
RIGHT BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND LONDON.

SEITZ

UNQUOTE WHARTON

BT

#1115

NNNN

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