

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Working File, June-July 1994

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1398

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Ambassador Smith to Ambassador Crowe (2 pages)	07/27/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
002. memo	re: Northern Ireland (1 page)	07/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
003. memo	Nancy Soderberg to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (2 pages)	07/13/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
004. note	Roderic Lyne to Anthony Lake (5 pages)	07/08/1994	P1/b(1)
005. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: New Approach from Gerry Adams (3 pages)	07/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
006. memo	Nancy to Tony re: Ireland (2 pages)	06/23/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
007. memo	Nancy Soderberg to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (2 pages)	06/24/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
008. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: New Approach from Gerry Adams (3 pages)	07/16/1994	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]-Working File, June-July 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1699

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(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]

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: FILE SUM SUM2 WWSR_SPECIAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<DTG> 271400Z JUL 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 2218
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5827
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

***** INCOMPLETE MESSAGE *****

~~SECRET~~ DUBLIN 004085

FOR AMBASSADOR CROWE FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH
DEPT FOR UNDER SECRETARY TARNOFF
WHITEHOUSE/NSC FOR LAKE AND SODERBERG
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
REF: STATE 195220

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (3.98)
KSH 4/11/2023

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WHEN I READ YOUR CABLE, I FOUND THAT WE AGREED IN MANY AREAS ON AMERICA'S ROLE IN FACILITATING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. I LOOK FORWARD TO OUR MEETING TO EXPLORE AND DEVELOP OUR COUNTRY'S ROLE IN HELPING OUR VERY FRIENDLY HOST COUNTRIES RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

3. WE SHARE THE JOINT AND PRIMARY GOAL OF STOPPING THE VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO ENGAGE IN AN OPEN DIALOGUE WITH PARAMILITARIES OR THOSE WHO HAVE NOT RENOUNCED PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE. AT THIS TIME, HOWEVER, WE HAVE A UNIQUE WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY. THE DECISIONS OF SINN FEIN AND THE IRA, IN THE NEAR FUTURE, MAY RETARD OR ACCELERATE THE PEACE PROCESS FOR YEARS TO COME. I FEEL STRONGLY, AS DOES THE IRISH PRIME MINISTER, THAT THIS MESSAGE CAN BE CARRIED EFFECTIVELY ONLY BY PERSONS OF SUFFICIENT STANDING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY WHO WILL GAIN THE ATTENTION OF THE KEY PARAMILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. WE MUST HAVE OUR JOINT MESSAGE CARRIED BY INTERMEDIARIES WHO CAN STRESS THAT THE U.S. HAS NO PARTISAN INTEREST IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THIS CONFLICT OTHER THAN THE TERMINATION OF VIOLENCE. I THINK WE CAN SEND A MESSAGE THROUGH EMINENT AND RESPECTED AMERICANS, FROM BOTH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS, THAT THE VIOLENCE MUST STOP. IT MUST BE MADE CRYSTAL CLEAR TO THE IRA THAT CONTINUING TO ENGAGE IN TERRORISM WILL RESULT IN COMPLETE

~~SECRET~~

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

ISOLATION FROM SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES.

4. I FULLY CONCUR WITH YOUR ASSESSMENT THAT WE MUST NOT ALIENATE THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. IN FACT, WE HAVE BENT OVER BACKWARDS TO REACH OUT TO UNIONISTS. I HAVE SOUGHT OUT UNIONIST LEADERS AND ASSURED THEM THAT MY DOOR IS ALWAYS OPEN TO THEM. I WOULD HOPE WE CAN ATTRACT VISITORS TO THE NORTH WHO WILL EXPRESS CLEARLY OUR ABHORRENCE OF ALL PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE REGARDLESS OF SOURCE OR MOTIVATION.

5. I AM HAPPY TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU IN OUR JOINT EFFORTS. SEE YOU IN TWO WEEKS.

MILAS

BT

#4085

NNNN

<MSGID> M1172066

~~SECRET~~



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: 7/22/94

TO: NANCY SODERBERG / SANDY VERSHORE

OF: NSC

PAGES (including this cover): _____ FAX#: _____

FROM: John F. Tefft
Director, Office of Northern European Affairs
EUR/NE, Room 4513, U.S. Department of State

Sender's FAX: (202) 647-3463
Sender's Tel: (202) 647-5687

SUBJECT: IDEAS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

MESSAGE:

THIS IS THE PAPER MARY ANN PETERS
MENTIONED TO YOU, WHICH DISCUSSES
STEPS THE ADMINISTRATION MIGHT TAKE
TO SUPPORT A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLE-
MENT. AT THIS POINT IT IS STRICTLY
AN EUR PAPER. WE HAVE GIVEN A COPY
TO PETER TARNOFF'S STAFF, BUT PETER
HIMSELF HAS NOT YET SEEN IT. WE
SENE 5112 WOULD WELCOME YOUR REACTIONS.

[Handwritten signature]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~DECL:OADR~~

Ireland

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

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

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

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

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

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

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2008

By MC NARA, Date 1/1/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

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

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

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

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

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EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVE AND TRAINING PROGRAM

Concept:

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

Method:

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

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

The Northern Ireland Career Opportunities Program:

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

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

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

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

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2008

By J NARA, Date 11/4/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3-

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

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

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

Impact:

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

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

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~~-4-~~

Questions to be Answered:

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIVATE SECTOR/ECCLESIASTICAL INVESTMENT INITIATIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It would be constructive to press Sinn Fein to move unequivocally to reject violence as they approach their meeting toward the end of the month. They must understand that any effort to equivocate will dampen significantly any international reaction to a positive statement.

We should:

-- indicate the United States would welcome a permanent end to the violence and an abandonment of the use of violence as a means of advancing political goals. Any effort to limit the duration of such a step would be counterproductive;

-- urge the IRA/Sinn Fein to enter into negotiations to resolve the conflict;

-- regarding the visa, we should respond that, as before, if Adams takes the right step on violence and negotiations, we would be prepared to review any request. We would first have to *look closely* resolve the issue of his statements on the question of violence.

In addition, we will continue to work with the British and Irish governments to reach out to the Unionist community, to stem the unionist violence and to develop a generous package of assistance, especially private investment, once there is a political breakthrough.

PER Peter OK.

and the
purpose of any

potential trip

7/22
Neal -

Adams meeting? went well. all came away with feeling that things moving in right direction. important development in next four weeks. Premise of meeting is there would be cessation, believe prepared to do non violent strategy. IRA welcomed delegate conference - whatever short will be followed by cessation don't go for ward permanent. learned a lot from 72 hour period.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
July 13, 1994INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: NANCY SODERBERG *KS*

SUBJECT: Gerry Adams

*opk 1 ?
cleared with state?
R*

The Irish Ambassador called me back today following his discussions with the Prime Minister (they are travelling together in Minnesota). They have been conveying the message to Adams (indirectly) of the need for a cessation of violence, without getting into timeframes. If the IRA does so, "you'll get a positive response." The Ambassador felt it would be useful for us, too, to send a clear message on Adams.

Regarding the visa, they would probably be more forthcoming on the issue than the British and in fact have already more or less indicated they expect us to move positively if Adams takes the right steps. The British will want us to wait on the visa until Adams has demonstrated a period of no violence; the Irish are likely to want us to move faster.

The Irish are less hard over on what Adams has to do in order for the Forum talks to begin. While they are currently pushing for no timetable, I detect a sense that if it is something short of that (ie. a year ceasefire), the Irish are likely to start the talks anyway. It is not clear the British would. We'll have to see.

Bruce Morrison, Neill O'Dowd, William Flynn (who held the New York peace conference) and others are departing this afternoon for Northern Ireland where they will meet with senior Sinn Fein officials -- including Gerry Adams on Friday. Bruce called me today and I told him that we hoped Adams would move on a permanent ceasefire. He pushed back saying he wasn't sure Adams could do that much. I pushed back by saying that to hold out the threat of a resumption of the violence after a certain time would negate the benefits of the any announcement. The step had to be a philosophical rejection of violence as a means of advancing political objectives -- not something they will resume if the negotiations don't go their way. I didn't say much on the visa, other than we would look at it if Adams took the right steps.

The Sinn Fein party meeting is expected to be July 23-24. The Major Reynolds summit July 21.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(4.00)
KBH 7/11/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

I'd recommend I call Neil O'Dowd with a more formal response before their meeting with Adams on Friday if the President approves. He's got the most direct line to Adams. He'll be in Ireland but we have numbers.

I have not talked to State about this and the attached memo indicates that State agrees with the recommended approach. Do you want to call Strobe? Shall I give a copy to Sandy V.?

Attachment

Tab 1

Memo to the President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: New Approach from Gerry Adams

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-T (40R)
KRM 4/11/2023

On Thursday, we received a message from Gerry Adams that he is considering making a statement regarding the IRA's policy toward violence by the end of the month and wants some assurances from us. There are basically three issues involved:

Violence: Adams is mulling over several options and has asked for a reaction to the following formulas:

- 1) The IRA would announce a policy of standing down on the violence and would take no "offensive" actions. Its members would not retaliate for actions against them. They would reserve the right to defend themselves if fired upon.
- 2) They would announce a ceasefire with no comment on its duration.
- 3) They would announce a ceasefire of a 3-6 month duration.
- 4) They would announce a ceasefire of a year duration.

IRA Split: Adams appears to accept the inevitability of a split in the IRA. He says there are 10-12 hardliners that will continue to use violence and seek to undermine Adams' efforts. Part of the reason for his delay in responding to the Joint Declaration has been his efforts to avoid a split.

US Visa: Adams wants an indication from the Administration that we will grant him and other senior IRA officials a visa waiver to visit the U.S. following the announcement on violence. He wants to work with the U.S. community to shut off funds and guns to those who split off from him. He believes his opponents can be neutralized if we can cut off U.S. support (an interesting admission of U.S. support for IRA violence).

Assessment: We have been hearing for some time that Adams was considering a move on the issue of violence at the end of the month. I believe this is a serious inquiry from Adams and that he needs some guidance on how this effort will be received -- he has been taken aback in the past with the negative reaction to his statements and three-day ceasefire. He wants to make sure his efforts have the desired impact.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Of the options regarding violence, the first seems to be the most realistic. The approach that has the best chance of acceptance by the British and the Irish is to have the IRA announce a cessation of the use of violence to achieve political ends and a readiness to enter into talks about an overall settlement. Ideally, the IRA would announce a permanent end to the violence; if not, the issue could perhaps be finessed by a strong commitment to end the use of violence (with reference to timeframe) and to enter into negotiations and a demonstration of the shift from violence over a certain period of time. Irish Prime Minister Reynolds could then call the all-Irish talks (The Forum for Peace and Reconciliation) under the Joint Declaration. The IRA could then enter into talks with the Irish which could last for a period of time until the British can join.

The British have said they would need to verify an IRA ceasefire for a period of up to three months, although they have indicated some flexibility on the timing. They have also dropped the specific requirement of Adams endorsing the Joint Declaration, shifting instead to a permanent ceasefire which could then lead to direct talks.

State's view: Secretary Christopher is reluctant to put the United States in the midst of these negotiations, preferring instead to have the British and the Irish take the lead. He recommends we not respond to Adams' feeler but that we make clear to the Irish and British governments that we will continue to urge the IRA to renounce violence permanently and enter into negotiations under the Joint Declaration. Regarding another visa for Gerry Adams, he recommends we not speculate at this point.

Recommendation: This is an issue that can only be solved by the parties in Ireland, the Irish government and the British government. The United States' role should be to encourage the IRA to take the right steps and to urge the British and Irish government to be flexible and forthcoming. We should also continue to reach out to the protestant/loyalist side.

If you agree, I recommend we approach the Irish and British governments on a very close hold basis to explore with them an appropriate response to the IRA message. I recommend that you authorize me to indicate the United States would welcome a cessation of hostilities from the IRA and a commitment to enter into negotiations with the Irish and British governments for a lasting peace. Regarding the issue of duration, we would expect the cessation to be permanent but also allowing the IRA the flexibility to link the cessation of hostilities to the talks. That position implicitly enables Gerry Adams to focus on the principle of abandoning violence rather than having to state his willingness to do so permanently before the talks have produced progress. If the IRA is forthcoming, we would urge the Irish and British to enter into negotiations with the IRA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

Regarding the visa waiver, we should respond that, as before, if Adams takes the right step on violence and negotiations, we would be prepared to review any request. We would first have to resolve the issue of his statements on the question of violence.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the approach outlined above.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0855-F (4.03)

KRM 4/11/2023

~~SECRET~~

June 23, 1994

Confidence
1. Tell him of approach -
2. Respond after consulting.
Issue - tell them we
have? NO. *Adams*
3. 3 mos.?
4. How follow up?
S.T. *Adams*
1st. before

MEMO TO: Tony

FROM: Nancy *MS*

RE: Ireland

Trina Vargo in Senator Kennedy's office called me today around noon to relay the following information from Gerry Adams (via Neill O'Dowd):

Gerry Adams is prepared to make a statement regarding the IRA's policy toward violence by the end of the month and wants some assurances from us.

Violence: They are mulling over several options and have asked for some guidance from us:

1) The IRA would announce a policy of standing down on the violence and would take no "offensive" actions. They would not retaliate for actions against them. They would reserve the right to defend themselves if fired upon.

2) They would announce a ceasefire with no comment on its duration.

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IRA Split: Adams appears to accept the inevitability of a split in the IRA. He says there are 10-12 hardliners that will continue to use violence and seek to undermine Adams' efforts.

US Visa: Adams wants an OK from us to come to the US with other senior IRA officials to work with the US community to shut off funds and guns to those who split off from him. He believes they can be neutralized if we can cut off US support (an interesting admission.)

My assessment: We have been hearing for some time that Adams was considering a move on the issue of violence at the end of the month. I believe this is a serious inquiry from Adams and that he needs some guidance on how this effort will be received - he has been taken aback in the past with the negative reaction to his statements and three-day ceasefire. He wants to make sure his efforts are coordinated.

Of the options, the first seems to be the most realistic. My guess of what will sell the most is to have the IRA announce a cessation of the use of violence to achieve political ends and a readiness to enter into talks about an overall settlement. That can finesse the issue of timing while negotiations are pursued. If we can then get Reynolds to call the Forum talks under the

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Joint Declaration, talks could get underway for a period of time until the British can join.

Recommendation: I do not advise responding to the IRA without close consultation with the British and Irish governments. I'd recommend that we have Trina go back to O'Dowd and tell him that we want to consult with the British and Irish on a very close hold basis before responding. If Adams balks at that, we will be in a tough position. I'd recommend we talk to Dick Spring and Rod only and that you inform Chris only.

Regarding the visa, we should respond that, as before, if Adams takes the right step on violence and negotiations, we'd look at it. We would first have to resolve the issue of his statements on the question of violence. }

Let's discuss asap.

cc: Sandy

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (4.04)
KBM 4/11/2023

June 24, 1994

MEMO TO: Anthony Lake

FROM: Nancy Soderberg *NS*

RE: Gerry Adams

Attached is a draft memo to the President regarding a response to Gerry Adams' feeler yesterday. Since talking to you yesterday, I've learned that the Irish government is aware of the issue and is mulling it over. Most of the government is in Corfu so it will be next week before we have any indication of Irish reaction. To my knowledge, the British government is not aware of the initiative.

I have taken a crack at describing what I expect State's reaction to be -- I have not spoken to anyone about it so it is an entirely made up guess at what Christopher will say. I thought that would be easier for you to edit.

The key points for Chris are:

--We received an indirect message from Gerry Adams on Thursday. We have been told he is prepared to announce a ceasefire, or an end to offensive actions, at the end of the month. He is asking for guidance from us on the formula.

--He seems to have given up on the hope of avoiding a split and wants our help in isolating those who do not follow him in moving from violence.

--He wants some assurance that if he ends violence, he will be granted a visa to explain the new policy to the Irish - American community. He also wants to ensure US support for guns and violence ends.

--I'm inclined to discuss this very privately with the Irish and British governments and see if there is a way to respond positively to Adams' feeler.

--Like it or not, the US is a player in the search for peace. We can and should play a role in encouraging all sides to move in the right direction.

--Adams is looking for some guidance on how to move forward and be assured of support in the international community.

--He may finally be prepared to renounce violence; we should do what we can to push him in that direction.

--If you agree, I'd recommend I/we call Rod Lyne and Dick Spring to gauge their reaction. I would hope we could agree on a common position that we could urge the IRA to pursue.

--I'd suggest we indicate we would welcome a cessation of hostilities from the IRA and a commitment to enter into the negotiations with the Irish and British governments.

--If the IRA agrees to end the violence, we should urge the Irish and British to enter into talks with the IRA under the framework of the Joint Declaration.

--Regarding the visa waiver, we should agree to review it if Adams' takes the right steps on violence and negotiations.

cc: Sandy

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*
SUBJECT: New Approach from Gerry Adams

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355- F (4.05)

KBH 4/11/2013

Purpose

We received a message from Gerry Adams that he hopes to push his political party, Sinn Fein, to make a statement regarding the IRA's policy toward violence and wants some assurances from us. Sinn Fein is expected to meet on or around July 23rd. Bruce Morrison and others are travelling this week to Northern Ireland to hold talks with senior Sinn Fein officials.

Background

There are basically three issues involved:

Violence: Adams is mulling over several options and has asked for a reaction to the following formulas:

- 1) The IRA would announce a policy of standing down on the violence and would take no "offensive" actions. The leaders would not retaliate for actions against them. They would reserve the right to defend themselves if fired upon.
- 2) They would announce a ceasefire with no comment on its duration.
- 3) They would announce a ceasefire of a 3-6 month duration.
- 4) They would announce a ceasefire of a year duration.

IRA Split: Adams appears to accept the inevitability of a split in the IRA. He says there are 10-12 hardliners that will continue to use violence and seek to undermine Adams' efforts. Part of the reason for his delay in responding to the Joint Declaration has been his efforts to avoid a split.

US Visa: Adams wants an indication from the Administration that we will grant him and other senior IRA officials a visa waiver to visit the US following the announcement on violence.

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Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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He wants to work with the U.S. community to shut off funds and guns to those who split off from him. He believes they can be neutralized if we can cut off U.S. support (an interesting admission of U.S. support for IRA violence).

Assessment: We have been hearing for some time that Adams was considering a move on the issue of violence following the European elections. I believe this is a serious inquiry from Adams and that he needs some guidance on how this effort will be received -- he has been taken aback in the past with the negative reaction to his statements and three-day ceasefire. He wants to make sure his efforts have the desired impact.

It is important that the British, Irish and US press Adams to end the violence permanently. Ideally, the IRA would announce that it was renouncing the use of violence as a means of achieving political goals and that it would enter into negotiations for peace. Any IRA attempt to put a time frame on the cessation of violence will undermine the announcement and could prevent a positive British response. Assuming the IRA makes the appropriate announcement, the Irish would then call the all-Irish talks (The Forum for Peace and Reconciliation) under the Joint Declaration. The IRA could then enter into talks with the Irish which could last for a period of time until the British can join.

The British have said they would need to verify an IRA ceasefire for a period of up to three months, although they have indicated some flexibility on the timing. They have also dropped the specific requirement of Adams endorsing the Joint Declaration, shifting instead to a permanent ceasefire which could then lead to direct talks.

We have consulted with the British and Irish on how to respond and both agree it would be useful for us to send a message back to Adams on the need to renounce violence permanently and that a range of "carrots" await them in the political arena if they take the right step. These would include new international acceptance, negotiations immediately under the Forum and the possibility of eventual travel to the US.

If Adams and Sinn Fein commit to a permanent end to the violence, we may have a difference of opinion with the British on whether to give Adams and his colleagues a visa. The British will urge that we not do so right away, but rather that we insist on a demonstrated period of no violence. The Irish would support our responding positively more quickly. We can defer that decision until the time arrives.

Major and Reynolds have postponed their July 21st summit until after the Sinn Fein position is clear. They hope to work out a framework for negotiations. The British are pushing the Irish to remove the parts of their constitution which lay claim to the north of Ireland; the Irish are pushing the British to change their laws giving Westminster the final say in Northern

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Irish affairs. Positive movement on the Anglo-Irish front could help encourage a positive outcome at the Sinn Fein meeting.

Recommendation: This is an issue that can only be solved by the parties in Ireland, the Irish government and the British government. The United States' role should be to encourage the IRA to take the right steps and to urge the British and Irish government to be flexible and forthcoming. There are reports that the protestant loyalists extremists have offered to match any IRA ceasefire and we should continue to reach out to that community.

It would be constructive to respond to the indirect message we received from Adams. If you agree, I recommend, and State agrees, that you authorize me to:

-- indicate the United States would welcome a permanent end to the violence and an abandonment of the use of violence as a means of advancing political goals. Any effort to limit the duration of such a step would be counterproductive;

-- urge the IRA/Sinn Fein to enter into negotiations to resolve the conflict;

-- regarding the visa, we should respond that, as before, if Adams takes the right step on violence and negotiations, we would be prepared to review any request. We would first have to resolve the issue of his statements on the question of violence and review the purpose of any potential trips.

In addition, we will continue to work with the British and Irish governments to reach out to the Unionist community, to stem the unionist violence and to develop a generous package of assistance, especially private investment, once there is a political breakthrough.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the approach outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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The Ireland

1/94 conversation.

PAUL HILL

Joe Kennedy

Paul Hill - brother
in law - one of Guildford
4. Prison. Cleared.
Innocent.

Beaten.

Made a confession
killed Belfast constable.
Brits. gave him letter -
not back to prison. But
stain on record.

∴ Pressed for trial.
Trial next Wed. in Belfast.
JK's family there, w/ JK.
(over)

AI, Hel. Watch there.

If JK goes, inflame?

Hume raised w/ Major.
Drops charges?

Joe has said nothing.

* Mention to Brits.?

Paul - if dismissed -
he will return to US w/o
great publicity.