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Folder Title:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: Adams Meeting (5 pages)	10/04/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
002. email	Alan Kreczko to Anthony Lake et al. re: PLO Dialogue (2 pages)	09/09/1993	P1/b(1)
003. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republic Army (3 pages)	09/28/1994	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Northern Ireland: Telephone Calls to Reynolds and Major... (2 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
004b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with Reynolds (1 page)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
004c. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with British Prime Minister John Major (1 page)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
005. notes	re: [Berger Notes on Conversation with Robin Renwick] (2 pages)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
006. cable	Roderic Lyne to Anthony Lake (2 pages)	10/04/1994	P1/b(1)
007. email	Kathleen Stephens to National Security Advisor re: Alderdice on N. Ireland (1 page)	10/04/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
008. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republican Army Actions and Intentions (4 pages)	09/16/1994	P1/b(1)
009. memo	Nancy Soderberg to Leon Fuerth re: Message from Major re: Reynolds Meeting (2 pages)	09/06/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
010. cable	John Major to POTUS (2 pages)	09/06/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, September-October 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1701

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.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) 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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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011. cable	John Major to POTUS (2 pages)	09/01/1994	P1/b(1)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Adams:

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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

Anthony Lake

Source: Reuters

Subject : IRISH-IRA

a0886

^BC-IRISH-IRA

^IRA still training despite ceasefire, paper says

LONDON, Oct 29 (Reuter) - The Irish Republican Army (IRA), which called a ceasefire two months ago, is still targeting the security forces in Northern Ireland and buildings in London's financial district, The Observer newspaper said.

Quoting authoritative police sources in Northern Ireland and anti-terrorist squad sources, the paper said IRA teams were gathering information on potential targets and then mounting dummy attacks.

The ceasefire by the IRA, which has fought for 25 years against British rule, has been matched by a truce by Protestant guerrillas who want to remain loyal to Britain as part of an Anglo-Irish peace initiative.

Intelligence and surveillance reports confirmed that the IRA's active service units remained in a "high state of readiness," the paper said.

It added that senior police sources said the IRA units were "doing all they did before the ceasefire except pull the trigger and press the detonator."

Following the ceasefire British Prime Minister John Major has decided to relax his own personal security walking back on foot from parliament in central London to his Downing Street office instead of using an armour-plated limousine.

REUTE

RB-- 10/29/94 16:36:00

To George Tenet -
Can we get the
British intel on
this & anything
else on the IRA
activities?

Contingency Talking Points for the Vice President and Gerry Adams

--As you know, long-standing US policy has been to prohibit contacts between US officials and Sinn Fein and IRA officials.

--Since the announcement by the IRA of the ceasefire last August, however, that policy has been under review.

--I am pleased to inform you that in light of that historic announcement and the peace brought about by the IRA over the last month, the President has decided to lift the ban on contacts with Sinn Fein officials so that a dialogue with US officials begins.

--We invite you to begin the dialogue this week while you are in Washington.

--Consistent with customary practice, the dialogue would begin at a meeting with US officials at the Department of State. Several White House officials would also participate.

--This meeting would be the beginning of a process of engagement with Sinn Fein that would increase as events progressed in Northern Ireland toward peace.

--Your role in bringing about the IRA ceasefire was a courageous step forward for peace which will benefit all the people of Northern Ireland.

--We look forward to your entering a dialogue with the United States to advance the goal of a lasting peace.

10-5-94

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

To: Nancy Soderberg -

Nancy - this is the State -
drafted reporting cable on
the Adams meeting. They
await your clearance. (I will
be out on Thursday but Julian
can help or you can call
direct.)

Kathy.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Date:

10/5

TO:

Kathy Stephens

OF:

NSC

PAGES (Including this cover):

FAX#:

456-9150

FROM:

Paul B. van Son
Desk Officer for Ireland/Northern Ireland
Office of Northern European Affairs
Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520

FAX: (202) 647-3463

TEL: (202) 647-6585

SUBJECT:

Adams Maty

2. SUMMARY. EUR/DAS JOHN KORNBLUM MET WITH GERRY ADAMS ON 10/4. LEON FUERTH (VP NAT SEC ADVISOR) AND NANCY SODERBERG (NSC STAFF DIRECTOR) WERE PRESENT ON THE U.S. SIDE. ADAMS PRESENTED SINN FEIN'S CORE AREAS FOR CHANGE: 1) CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL (I.E., END OF UK JURISDICTION AND BEGINNING OF IRISH; 2) DEMILITARIZATION (UK ARMY OUT); AND 3) DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS (END TO DISCRIMINATION, LANGUAGE AND PRISONER'S RIGHTS, ETC.) HE ADMITTED CHANGE IN THE FIRST WOULD TAKE TIME, BUT SAID THE OTHER TWO SHOULD HAPPEN NOW. HE WANTS IMMEDIATE TALKS WITH HMG, CALLING LONDON'S RELUCTANCE TO TALK "BIZARRE," SINCE HMG RECENTLY HAD HAD A SECRET DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN. HE BELIEVES THE ISSUE OF THE "PERMANENCY" OF THE CEASEFIRE IS "FICTITIOUS, QUITE CONTRIVED" BY HMG. SODERBERG PUSHED ADAMS TO BE HELPFUL ON THIS ISSUE SO WE COULD UNDERSCORE HIS COMMENTS TO HMG, BUT TO THE PRESS LATER, ADAMS MADE CLEAR HE IS NOT GOING TO SAY THE "P" WORD. ~~but did echo Anthony Lester's use of the word irreversible.~~

3. ADAMS USED OVER HALF THE MEETING COMPLAINING ABOUT THE PROCESS OF HIS VISA ISSUANCE, DELAYS, AND PRESS LEAKS. HE WANTS SINN FEIN LEADERS TO HAVE "PARITY OF ESTEEM" WITH OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES IN TREATMENT BY THE U.S. HE WANTS MULTIPLE ENTRY VISAS FOR SINN FEIN LEADERS PERMITTING THEM TO RAISE FUNDS TO EXPAND THE PARTY. DAS KORNBLUM EXPLAINED VISA LAWS, HOW THE PROCESS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION MEANS BUILDING ON SUCCESS, THAT THE PRESENT MEETING WAS IN ITSELF A SUCCESS, BUT WE COULD NOT GRANT ADAMS' VISA REQUESTS TODAY. ADAMS STRESSED HIS NEED TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AMONG REPUBLICANS AND BELIEVES THE BEST CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURE WOULD BE A POSITIVE U.S. RESPONSE ON THE VISA/FUNDRAISING ISSUE WHEN HE SEEKS TO COME AGAIN IN NOVEMBER. ADAMS MADE A QUERY ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND SODERBERG REPLIED THAT WE WERE EMPHASIZING PRIVATE INVESTMENT. DAS KORNBLUM STATED THAT FURTHER MEETINGS BETWEEN SINN FEIN OFFICIALS CAN BE ARRANGED THROUGH CONGEN BELFAST AND AMEMBASSY DUBLIN. END SUMMARY.

4. ON OCTOBER 4, EUR SENIOR DAS JOHN KORNBLUM OPENED THE USG DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN BY MEETING WITH ITS PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS, AND PARTY OFFICIALS RICHARD MCCAULEY, AIDAN MCATEER, MAIRIED KEANE, AND SHANNON EATON. SINN FEIN OFFICIAL KIERAN STAUNTON WAS ALSO LISTED AS A POSSIBLE ATTENDEE, BUT DID NOT COME. INSTEAD, ADAMS BROUGHT NIAL O'DOWD, THE PUBLISHER OF THE NEW YORK-BASED "IRISH VOICE" AND A MEMBER OF EX-CONGRESSMAN BRUCE MORRISON'S DELEGATION THAT MET ADAMS IN IRELAND PRIOR TO THE IRA CEASEFIRE. LEON FUERTH, ADVISER TO THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, AND NANCY SODERBERG, STAFF DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, ALSO WERE PRESENT ALONG WITH NSC EUROPEAN DIRECTOR KATHY STEPHENS AND EUR/NE DESK OFFICER PAUL VAN SON. THE MEETING LASTED FOR APPROXIMATELY 75 MINUTES.

Not true,
he was
there.

5. ON BEHALF OF SINN FEIN, ADAMS THANKED THE ADMINISTRATION AND PRESIDENT CLINTON FOR ENGAGING IN A POSITIVE AND PROACTIVE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND (N.I.). HE SAID THE MEETING MARKED NOT THE END OF A BAN ON SINN FEIN, BUT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ADMINISTRATION. DAS KORNBLUM WELCOMED ADAMS AND STATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS PLEASED THAT IT HAD BEEN ABLE TO ASSIST THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT DID NOT SEE ITSELF A MEDIATOR. IN OTHER SETTINGS WE HAD PLAYED A USEFUL ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, BUT PEACE COMES FROM THE CONVICTION OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED. ADAMS' VISIT TO THE DEPARTMENT EXPRESSES THE CONVICTION THAT PEACE IS ACHIEVABLE.

win 2
month.

SINN FEIN AGENDA

6. ADAMS STATED THAT THERE IS AN HISTORIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND N.I. WHAT SINN FEIN WANTS IS A RECOGNITION OF THE REALITY THAT HAS HAPPENED. THE PRESENT SITUATION WAS A CREDIT TO HUME, THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT, AND THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION. THE PEACE PROCESS IS UNDER NO THREAT FROM REPUBLICAN SOURCES. THE ONLY DANGER IS FROM SQUANDERING THE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. SINN FEIN IS BEING HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE IRA AND IS MAINTAINING THE PEACE, BUT THE LOYALISTS HAVE NOT STOPPED THE KILLING. SINN FEIN IS READY FOR TALKS WITH HMG AND FINDS THEIR RELUCTANCE TO TALK "BIZARRE," SINCE HMG EARLIER HAD A SECRET DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN.

7. ADAMS PRESENTED THREE CORE AREAS FOR CHANGE: 1) CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL (I.E., END OF UK JURISDICTION AND BEGINNING OF IRISH; 2) DEMILITARIZATION (UK ARMY OUT); AND 3) DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS (END TO DISCRIMINATION, LANGUAGE AND PRISONER'S RIGHTS, ETC.) HE ADMITTED CHANGE IN THE FIRST WOULD TAKE TIME, BUT SAID THE OTHERS SHOULD HAPPEN NOW.

TREATMENT IN THE U.S.: "PARITY OF ESTEEM"

8. ADAMS MADE A LONG ARGUMENT FOR TREATMENT EQUAL TO THAT OF OTHER POLITICAL PARTY OFFICIALS VISITING THE U.S. HE PROTESTED THE PROCESS OF HIS VISA ISSUANCE, DELAY IN ISSUANCE TO THE LAST POSSIBLE DAY BEFORE HIS SCHEDULED TRAVEL, THE RESTRICTIONS ON FUNDRAISING, THE HUMILIATING WAY THE LETTER WAS STAPLED INTO HIS PASSPORT, HOW THE AGONIZING VISA ISSUANCE PROCESS WAS PLAYED OUT IN THE MEDIA WITH LEAKS FROM WASHINGTON, AND THE LEVEL AT WHICH HE IS RECEIVED IN THE US.

9. DAS KORNBLUM APOLOGIZED FOR ANY DISCOURTESY, BUT MADE CLEAR IT WAS NOT INTENTIONAL. AFTER REFERRING TO STRICT U.S. VISA LAWS, HE STATED WE WERE ENGAGED IN A PROCESS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION WHERE WE MUST BUILD ON SUCCESS. WHILE THERE ARE DISCOMFORTS DUE TO THE VERY STRICT U.S. VISA LAW, ADAMS SHOULD LOOK TO TODAY'S VISIT AS A SUCCESS. AS WE PROCEED AND SEE THAT SINN FEIN IS CONTRIBUTING TO THE PEACE PROCESS, THE USG HAS AUTHORITY TO ADMINISTER THE VISA LAWS IN A SOMEWHAT LESS RESTRICTIVE WAY.

10. WHILE STATING HE WAS A GUEST AND NOT IN A POSITION TO DEMAND ANYTHING OF THE USG, ADAMS REPEATEDLY FOCUSED ON HIS NEED TO FACE THE MEDIA AFTER THE MEETING AND ASKED HOW HE WOULD BE ABLE TO SHOW THAT THE WORDS OF VP GORE HAD

BEEN REFLECTED IN THE MEETING. HE WAS ASKING FOR A MULTIPLE ENTRY VISA IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO SAY THE PROCESS WAS MOVING FORWARD AND TO BUILD THE CONFIDENCE OF THE REPUBLICAN AND NATIONALIST COMMUNITY IN IRELAND. ADAMS THEN ASKED IF HE COULD HAVE A MULTIPLE ENTRY VISA NOW. DAS KORNBLUM SAID NO AND THAT THE VISA ISSUE COULD NOT BE DECIDED TODAY. ADAMS THEN SUGGESTED HE MIGHT HAVE TO ADJOURN THE MEETING AND RECONSIDER THE SITUATION. DAS KORNBLUM EMPHASIZED THAT THIS WAS NOT NECESSARY AND ADAMS SHOULD NOT FOCUS ON THIS ONE ISSUE. FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PROCESS WOULD COME AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. SODERBERG STATED THAT ADAMS SHOULD ~~CAST IT TO THE PRESS~~ ~~THAT HE RAISED THE VISA ISSUE AND GOT A POSITIVE RESPONSE~~

*had a
positive
discussion.*

11. ADAMS SAID HE WANTED TO VISIT THE U.S. AGAIN IN TWO MONTHS. EMPHASIZING HIS NEED TO MAKE HOTEL, TRAVEL, AND SPEAKING ARRANGEMENTS IN ADVANCE, HE ARGUED FOR PARITY OF ESTEEM WITH OTHER PARTIES AND THE NEED TO FUNDRAISE LIKE OTHERS IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE GROWTH OF HIS PARTY. DAS KORNBLUM REITERATED THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS THE AUTHORITY TO RECOMMEND TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AN IMPROVEMENT OF HIS VISA STATUS, AND THIS COULD COME IN TIME AS WE BUILD ON SUCCESS. ADAMS SHOULD NOT INTERPRET THIS VISA ISSUE AS A LACK OF CONFIDENCE BY THE U.S. IN THE PEACE PROCESS. ADAMS SUMMARIZED BY SAYING THESE VISA/FUNDRAISING ISSUES WERE ALL UNDER US CONTROL AND WERE HIS IDEA OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES THAT WOULD SHOW SINN FEIN HAS THE SAME RIGHTS AS OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES.

REYNOLDS' FORUM AND THE "ALL-PARTY" TALKS

12. ADAMS SAID SINN FEIN HAD MADE A SUBMISSION TO THE FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION AND EXPECTED IT TO BEGIN BY THE END OF OCTOBER. IRISH PM REYNOLDS HAS REFERRED TO EXPANDING THE FORUM TO INCLUDE GROUPS OTHER THAN POLITICAL PARTIES (I.E., WOMEN'S RIGHTS GROUPS) AND THIS WOULD PERMIT UNIONISTS OUTSIDE OF THE UNIONIST PARTIES TO JOIN. WITH RESPECT TO THE "ALL-PARTY" TALKS, HE SAID HUME, REYNOLDS, AND MICHAEL ANCRAM OF HMG ALL RECOGNIZE THAT AN INTERNAL N.I. SETTLEMENT IS NOT A SOLUTION. THERE MUST BE AN ALL IRELAND DISCUSSION. SINN FEIN WANTS A SOLUTION THAT HAS THE CONSENT OF ALL PARTIES INCLUDING THE UNIONISTS, BUT NO PARTY SHOULD HAVE A VETO.

THE "P" WORD

13. SODERBERG ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYTHING ADAMS COULD ADD WITH RESPECT TO THE PERMANENCY ISSUE ALONG THE

LINES OF NSC ADVISER LAKE'S LETTER TO ADAMS, WHICH USED THE TERM "IRREVERSIBLE." THIS COULD HELP THE U.S. PUSH THINGS ALONG AND UNDERSCORE TO THE BRITISH THE NEED TO MOVE FORWARD. ADAMS SAID HE DIDN'T KNOW WHY HMG WAS HUNG UP ON THE PERMANANCY ISSUE. HE FELT IT WAS FICTITIOUS, QUITE CONTRIVED. PM REYNOLDS AND PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD RESPONDED POSITIVELY AND QUITE CORRECTLY TO THE IRA CEASEFIRE ANNOUNCEMENT. DAS KORNBLUM ADDED THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN WORDS THAT COULD HELP THE U.S. BEST PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS, SUCH AS A WORD THAT SHOWS AN UNBROKEN COMMITMENT TO A CEASEFIRE. ADAMS SAID THAT AS REPUBLICANS WHO WANT TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD, IT BECOMES AN INSULT TO KEEP BEING ASKED THESE QUESTIONS. THE ONUS IS ON HMG TO MOVE FORWARD. SINN FEIN'S PRIORITY IS TO SEE THAT THE CEASEFIRE IS IRREVERSIBLE. "IF ANY ONE THOUGHT THE PROCESS WAS NOT IRREVERSIBLE WOULD I BE HERE TODAY?" AT THAT POINT MCATEER STATED THE MASSIVE STEP TAKEN BY SINN FEIN TO BRING ABOUT THE DIALOGUE IS BEING OVERLOOKED. THE UK HAS MADE NO CHANGE. ADAMS SAID PM JOHN MAJOR DESCRIBED THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH AS "DECONTAMINATION" OF SINN FEIN.

U.S. AID

14. ADAMS ASKED ABOUT U.S. AID AND SAID AID SHOULD BE CONDITIONED ON SOME SET OF PRINCIPLES LIKE THE MCBRIDE PRINCIPLES IN ORDER TO INSURE NON-DISCRIMINATION. SODERBERG RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. HAD BEEN DISCUSSING INTERNALLY THIS ISSUE SINCE THE CEASEFIRE AND WE WERE LOOKING AT ENCOURAGING PRIVATE INVESTMENT WITH A POSSIBLE TRADE DELEGATION LED BY COMMERCE SECRETARY BROWN, AND AN OPIC EQUITY FUND FOR CAPITAL INVESTMENT BY U.S. FIRMS. THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND WAS OF MAJOR INTEREST AND THE U.S. OBSERVER ON THE IFI, JIM LYONS WOULD BE GETTING IN TOUCH WITH ADAMS TO SOLICIT SINN FEIN'S VIEWS ON HOW THE FUND SHOULD SPEND ITS FUNDS.

FUTURE MEETINGS

15. ADAMS ASKED ABOUT THE NEXT MEETING. DAS KORNBLUM, REFERRING TO THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT ON CONTACTS WITH SINN FEIN, SAID THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS ON APPROACHES BY SINN FEIN TO OUR DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OVERSEAS, THROUGH WHOM THESE ARRANGEMENTS ARE NORMALLY MADE. WE EXPECTED MEETINGS TO BE ARRANGED THROUGH CONGEN BELFAST OR AMEMBASSY DUBLIN. 44



10/5

cc to Tenet + rehan

To we have such

481 tapes?

no

TO: Nancy Soderberg

FAX NO: 202-456 -

FROM: Nick O'Dowd

2560

DATE: 10-05-94

SUBJECT:

PAGES TO FOLLOW: 1

COMMENTS:

Meant to fax this before,
thought you might enjoy it.

TODAY IN

New York Newsday



SUDDEN CELEBRITY

TV'S PRINCESS GRACE

Brett Butler's success brings gratification and guilt.

B3



MUSIC REVIEW

WHITNEY'S FAMILY AFFAIR

It was family night at Whitney Houston's Radio City gig.

B2



NEW NEW YORKERS

BARE MARKET

Russian ballerinas step into a new job: topless dancing.

A15

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WEATHER

Today: Partly to mostly sunny and pleasant, 74.
Tomorrow: Mostly sunny, 75.
Wednesday: Partly sunny, 75.
Thursday: Increasing clouds, chance of some rain, 74.
Friday: Breezy and humid with showers and thundershowers, 75.
Page A30

LOTTERY

NEW YORK Pick 10: 11, 17, 20, 21, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 49, 52, 54, 58, 60, 64, 66, 69, 70, 80.
Daily No.: 194. Win Four: 6946.
Saturday's Lotto: 5, 7, 10, 20, 41, 42. Supp.: 23.
Friday's Twin Five: 5, 10, 24, 28, 30.
NEW JERSEY Pick 3: 390. Pick 4: 7395.
CONNECTICUT Daily No.: 249. Play 4: 7305.
For NY Lottery results, call 1-800-822-6886 with a touch tone phone. Calls cost 80¢ a minute.

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The Worst Place For Secret Talks

The three of us have to sit down someplace that's out of the way where we won't be interrupted," said Niell O'Dowd, newsmen. It was an icy January day and he was organizing a truce in Northern Ireland. O'Dowd was speaking with a man stationed in New York by Sinn Féin, the political wing of the IRA.

"The FBI probably have got every Irish haunt hugged, chasing after missile deals," said the Sinn Féin man.

"We have to steer away from the Irish places anyway, people would recognize us," said O'Dowd.

New York is an awful place for dining out. The big problem is 10,000 decent restaurants. People have missed their actual dinners while trying to decide where to go. Fortunately, few of the Irish have this problem, since it is a known fact that they will eat practically anything, anywhere.

"I know where we can go," said O'Dowd. "That Ray's pizza right down the street from you. Famous Original Ray's."

There's a Ray on every corner in this town," said the Sinn Féin man. "You mean the one on Third Avenue near 43rd?"

That was the one. They made a date to meet in Famous Original Ray's at 7 p.m.: O'Dowd, the Sinn Féin man, and Bill Flynn, the chairman of Mutual of America. Flynn is a grandfather who drove along the back alleys of Belfast wearing a bulletproof vest because he has had quintuple bypasses and his doctors told him that a shot in the chest would finish him off. But it appears now he was in danger of being assassinated by his own flock on Third Avenue.

Flynn looked at the splashes of oil that spilled onto his plate from a half-luck pillow of cheese-type pizza-product. Peace comes dropping slow, Yeats wrote. Or was that grease?

"This isn't real pizza, O'Dowd," declared Flynn. "I'm just an amateur in all these peace talks, but I do know pizza. You have to let me take you to a real pizza place."

"We're not here for the pizza," growled O'Dowd. "I hate the stuff anyway."

The counterwoman was an Italian from Brooklyn. He glared at the Irish in their business suits. FBI — dressed-up cops. Hunting dogs. Most of the food joints in the neighborhood shut down after 5 p.m. But Famous Original Ray's stayed open later because it had a little sideline business to go with the pizza.

They apparently had about a billion dollars worth of cocaine pass through the basement during the past year. Therefore, Ray's Pizza counterwoman could care less if all his customers looked over dead from stale mozzarella poisoning.

Particularly these three Irish cops in business suits. The counterwoman strained to hear their chatter.

"We want to do something from the American side to bring the Sinn Féin and the IRA into the political process," said O'Dowd. "They can bomb British barracks for another century and that still won't drive them out. The IRA cannot win a shooting war."

War? Bombs? Guns? Words to boil the brain of the pizza man. Were these words going to blow up his head? The basement lights were dim.

fortune, never mind the ovens.

"The Irish-American role would be seen as critical," said the Sinn Féin man. "It's always been talked about, but it's never really been used. The Americans always are seen as dancing to the British piper."

"Clinton promised he'd appoint a special envoy for Northern Ireland, we could push him on that," O'Dowd said. "And he said he would give Gerry Adams a visa to come here and speak."

Gerry Adams runs the Sinn Féin and, until earlier this year, had never gotten any closer to the U.S. than County Galway because the British felt he was blowing up too many people.

The phone rang on the wall. The pizza man answered.

"Bad weather here!" he shouted into the phone. This was secret code to say he was surrounded by law enforcement. The Irish were too busy complaining to each other about the pizza to notice how their premises had affected the Italian.

"How would the visa play in Northern Ireland?" Flynn asked.

"It would be seen in a very positive light — opening the window," said the Sinn Féin man. "It would bring the IRA in from the cold."

Now the Irish became more excited. The place was empty. They began to speak loudly about all the government agencies that they would have to fight.

"We'd be opposed on a lot of fronts," half-shouted O'Dowd. "The CIA. The State Department."

"The FBI," Flynn called out. "The Justice Department."

FBI, CIA, Justice Department — the pizza man wouldn't mind putting all of them into his oven for the rest of the night. The cheap Irish paid him no mind. One slice, a cup of soda. They sat there half the night, writing on all his napkins.

The records show that after early January, when the Irish came bellowing the name of every law enforcement agency in the country, the people at Famous Original Ray's stopped using the store phone. Instead, they used a mobile phone — also wiretapped.

A few weeks later, the White House let Gerry Adams come into the country. Flynn stashed Adams at the Waldorf Astoria Towers, a stay distance from Ray's. Someone handed O'Dowd a tape recorder and suggested he keep an oral diary of the events, because if peace broke out in Northern Ireland, it would be a terrific story. O'Dowd immediately lost the recorder.

He didn't need his own tapes, it turns out. Last week, the FBI announced the arrest of the Third Avenue Famous Original Ray's. It was the best-wired pizza parlor in America. No doubt video and audio tapes captured the peace process as it unfolded in the pizza parlor.

"We thought it was the most nondescript place in town," O'Dowd said. "We ended up in the Port Knox of secret talks."



Jim Dwyer

Hawkins, Ardenia R.

From: Stephens, Kathleen D.
To: Darby, M. Brooke; Hawkins, Ardenia R.; Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @LEGAL - Legal Advisor
Subject: ban on contacts with Sinn Fein [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, October 03, 1994 3:27PM

Please pass to Nancy:

I had a phone message that you'd asked the history of the USG ban on substantive official contacts with Sinn Fein. The ban appears to have been in place since the very formation of Provisional Sinn Fein, which was formed as the political wing of the Provisional IRA sometime after PIRA was formed in January 1970 (in the aftermath of the split of the republican movement). Through the '70s, the ban on talking to Prov. Sinn Fein was not really an issue since PSF did not contest elections and was essentially indistinguishable from the Provisional IRA, which we didn't talk to because they were terrorists. The ban become more explicit and obvious (and controversial) beginning in the '80s, when Provisional Sinn Fein began to contest (and win some) elections, and when it became a more than theoretical proposition that someone might belong to Provisional Sinn Fein without belonging to Provisional IRA.



6

TO: Nancy Soderberg
FROM: Niall O'Dowd

FAX NO: 202 456
2560

DATE: 10-05-94

SUBJECT:

PAGES TO FOLLOW: 3

COMMENTS:

Jeffrey Adams : Remarks in Washington

The Clinton Administration
"This visit to Washington has surpassed all of our expectations. The series of meetings which I have had with Speaker Foley, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, Senator Joseph Biden, Chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Claiborne Pell of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee and Senate Minority leader Robert Dole, as well as many other Democratic and Republican members of the Senate and Congress, have all been extremely productive. I was particularly delighted to attend the first joint meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Ireland and the Friends of Ireland.

It is easy to shake hands with ones friends. It is not so easy to do so with an opponent. It is easy to make peace with ones friends, but not so easy with an enemy. That is the historic challenge facing us in Ireland today. The Irish poet Seamus Heaney has said - "We have a space in which hope can grow." Anyone who has travelled to Ireland will have felt that hope - it is palpable. We have to nurture it - we have to make it grow.

In his letter to me the National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake correctly described the IRA announcement of a "total cessation of military operations" as historic. This bold and courageous decision has dramatically enhanced the peace process. All our efforts must now be concentrated on ensuring that political progress is made. We want to insure that the momentum of the peace process toward a negotiated settlement is irreversible.

I welcome President Clinton's positive engagement in the peace process. He and his administration have sought to help move this peace process forward. I believe that this new era in relationships between Sinn Fein and the U.S. administration will, like my trip here in February, send a clear positive signal back to the people of Ireland and Britain who desire above everything else that this peace process succeeds.

To guarantee its success we must deal with the three core areas:
(1) The need for fundamental, constitutional and political change.

- (2) Demilitarization
- (3) Democratic rights

We believe that immediate steps to address and secure parity of esteem, equality of treatment, equality of opportunity and a rapid demilitarization of the situation by the British government are essential elements to the advancement of the peace process and the achievements of a climate in which negotiations can flourish.

To assist all of this we must build success upon success. The British government must embrace this process. It must stop fumbling with the ball - Mr. Major needs to grasp this momentous opportunity and run with it - keeping his eye at all times on the big prize - Peace. Of course, we haven't yet got peace. I would like to say we have. What we have succeeded in achieving is

taking the nationalist guns out of Irish politics. There are still British guns and Loyalist guns. These too must also be removed.

It is important that we recognize that peace is not simply the absence of conflict. Rather it is the existence of conditions in which the causes of conflict have been eradicated and where justice, equality, and democracy prevail; where agreed political structures and institutions are a substitute for political conflict; where diversity is recognized and democratically accommodated. A healing process, a process of national reconciliation is obviously a vital ingredient to the achievement of all of this.

Sinn Fein holds the view that all of this is best accommodated in a functioning national democracy in a United Ireland, where an Irish jurisdiction, through agreement, replaces the British jurisdiction in the six counties which has so manifestly failed for 75 years.

Others may have different views - let us all bring this differing opinions to the negotiating table, as equals, in an atmosphere of peace, and seek an agreement which recognizes the diversity of our people and serves their allegiance and support.

Another former prisoner Nelson Mandela is here in the U.S. That long and protracted conflict appeared intractable - it wasn't. Dialogue and negotiations and a willingness to the political risks achieved a democratic settlement.

We need to apply these same principles to Ireland. And if we are all agreed that an unprecedented opportunity for peace now exists, then those principles of inclusive dialogue and negotiation must be applied speedily. Why delay the all party talks so necessary to a permanent peace settlement. Mr. Major has said that he expects to be in discussions with Sinn Fein before Christmas - why delay why not now?

We need as part of this peace process to engage in with the Unionists.

This isn't a conflict between Catholics and Protestants. It is a conflict over political allegiance.

The Unionists are our people. I have freely acknowledged the hurt that Republicans have inflicted as part of the struggle of freedom. Irish Republicans and Nationalists have also suffered. No section of our people has a monopoly on pain - but we need to reach out to each other.

Nationalists have no intention of inflicting on Unionists that which has and still is inflicted on us. They have as much right to be on the island of Ireland as I have.

Finding agreement between us is one of the challenges facing us all. It is why the Unionists must be a part of the peace process. Their involvement and their agreement is essential to any negotiated peace settlement.

How can the U.S. help?

We are asking the U.S. to build on its pro-active role in the peace process and to apply to it democratic principles.

Look at Ireland in the same way as you looked at South Africa. Help us develop creative solutions. Help to create a diplomatic atmosphere in which political progress is inevitable and in which all parties can feel positive about success.

We need economic assistance and the encouragement of investment. Economic assistance should contribute directly to the building of peace by encouraging equality and justice. We believe that the manipulation of economic assistance and the structural discrimination which has marked job creation strategies up to the present must be ended. We believe that any aid program should be administered by a new all-Ireland body that is representative of the deprived communities where the aid is most needed.

Where the political will exists the momentum can move us all forward. The U.S. can contribute to that momentum. The U.S. can help the Unionists to understand they have nothing to fear. The U.S. can help the British government to appreciate the opportunity which exists.

Think of it - we in Ireland and Britain are two of your oldest allies - look at how we each have contributed to the building of this nation.

Think of the day when people in the U.S. do not have to take sides.

It is in your interest also that we resolve this age old conflict.

History has placed a challenge before all of us in Ireland and Britain and here in the U.S. Acting together for the common good we can transform Ireland into a democratic, prosperous and peaceful country. A permanent peace lies within our grasp. We must ensure by our efforts that this hope for peace becomes a reality, for good and irreversible.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 2, 1994

Dear Mr. Adams:

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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

Anthony Lake

HISTORY OF U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PLO

During the Reagan Administration, the U.S. opened up a dialogue with the PLO after receiving a commitment from the PLO to:

- recognize the right of Israel to exist in peace and security
- resolve all outstanding issues through peace negotiations
- renounce the use of terrorism and other acts of violence

*Can
or
frustrate*

June 1990: Presidential statement that dialogue terminated after faction of PLO made raid on Tel Aviv and PLO's failure to take adequate measures to discipline the offending faction

No U.S. meetings/written communication at any level with the PLO following termination of dialogue.

SEPT. 10, 1994: U.S. announces resumption of dialogue after the PLO signed agreement:

- * -- to recognize the right of Israel to exist in peace and security
- to accept UN resolutions 242 and 338
- * -- to resolve all outstanding issues through peace negotiations
- * -- to renounce the use of terrorism and other acts of violence
- to assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators
- to declare those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist to be inoperative and no longer valid
- to seek formal approval from the Palestinian National Council for the necessary changes in the Covenant

In Sept. 9 background briefing for press, when asked what would be necessary to have PLO rep. at signing ceremony, Indyk/Satterfield said: "If there was a resumption of the dialogue and contents, I think that would be sufficient."

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Alan Kreczko to Anthony Lake et al. re: PLO Dialogue (2 pages)	09/09/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, September-October 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1701

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]
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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]

10/1

To Neil -

This letter just arrived from
Adams. We can certainly work
out "US administration" office. Why did
he send this now?

Also, FYI, Christoph - Spring connects.
I'm out to run an errand, back @
1pm + I'll call you with text of
stuff.

Nancy

Contingency Talking Points for the Vice President and Gerry Adams

--As you know, long-standing US policy has been to prohibit contacts between US officials and Sinn Fein and IRA officials.

--Since the announcement by the IRA of the ceasefire last August, however, that policy has been under review.

--I am pleased to inform you that in light of that historic announcement and the peace brought about by the IRA over the last month, the President has decided to lift the ban on contacts with Sinn Fein officials so that a dialogue with US officials begins.

--We invite you to begin the dialogue this week while you are in Washington.

--Consistent with customary practice, the dialogue would begin at a meeting with US officials at the Department of State. Several White House officials would also participate.

--This meeting would be the beginning of a process of engagement with Sinn Fein that would increase as events progressed in Northern Ireland toward peace.

--Your role in bringing about the IRA ceasefire was a courageous step forward for peace which will benefit all the people of Northern Ireland.

--We look forward to your entering a dialogue with the United States to advance the goal of a lasting peace.

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

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

midnight ¹⁹⁷³ there will be a complete cessation of military operations. All our units have been

instructed accordingly. At this historic crossing ^{road}, the leadership ^{of the IRA} resolves and commands our

activists and supporters who have sustained the struggle for the past 25 years. Your sacrifices

demonstrate the spirit of freedom and the desire for peace, based on a lasting and just settlement,

cannot be crushed. ^{We remember all who have died, + objectives.} We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has

been created. We are entering a new situation in the spirit of determination and confidence, ^{determined that} that

the injustices ^{that created this conflict} will be removed. We note that the Downing Street declaration is not a solution, nor

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

negotiations ^{others, not least} and by the British government ^{facing up} to its responsibilities. It is our desire to

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

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

Notes from T. S. Two central themes:

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

Press.

703. 893. 539¹⁹ Hank.

364-4108 sv.

- Foley
- Moylinan.

ROUTING

To	Name and Address	Date	Initials
1	MS SODERBERG		
2	TD RL		
3			
4			
5			
6			

ACTION	FILE
APPROVAL ☒	INFORMATION
COMMENT	PREPARE REPLY
CONCURRENCE	RECOMMENDATION
DIRECT REPLY ☒	RETURN <i>→ TD RL</i>
DISPATCH	SIGNATURE

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TL
lets
discuss how
to handle
Nancy

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTSInitials: *ML* Date: *1/7/16*

2011-0355-F

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republic Army (3 pages)	09/28/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, September-October 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1701

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

Hawkins, Ardenia R.

From: Spalter, Jonathan H.
To: Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Darby, M. Brooke; @PRESS - Public Affairs
Subject: [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Saturday, October 01, 1994 11:34AM
Priority: High

PLEASE PASS TO NANCY

N-

Need some clarification. State tells me an invitation was issued to Adams through the Belfast consulate for an office director level meeting. Meanwhile, Sandy tells me a DAS-level meeting is in the works.

Could you fill me in? I'd like to figure out how best to structure our press today, and need more information.

JS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (4.16)

KRH 4/11/2023

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: Telephone Calls to Reynolds and Major, and Proposed Presidential Statement

Purpose

To congratulate Reynolds and Major for their parts in encouraging the IRA to renounce violence, and to offer continued U.S. support as the process moves forward.

Background

As hoped, the IRA issued a statement (Tab A) today pledging a total and unconditional cessation of violence. The British remain skeptical of the IRA's real commitment to peace, given the absence of the word "permanent" from its statement, and the flurry of last-minute, small-scale IRA attacks in the run-up to the statement. Reynolds is convinced that this IRA announcement is a watershed event in Irish history. Reynolds and Major do agree, however, on the need to make the most of this opening, while at the same time working hard to assure they keep the very jittery Unionists in the talks process.

It is especially important that we reach out to the Unionists and I tried unsuccessfully to reach Ulster Unionist Party leader James Molyneaux August 30 by telephone. I left word emphasizing our desire to maintain an active dialogue with the Unionist community. Molyneaux will be in London on Thursday to meet with John Major and with Ambassador Crowe. He may want to visit the United States in the near future which I assured his people we would welcome.

Attached are suggested talking points for telephone calls to Reynolds and Major to praise their roles in bring the peace process this far and to solicit their ideas on how the U.S. can continue to support their efforts. You should be aware hat Reynolds may ask you to see his Deputy Prime Minister, Dick Spring, when he visits D.C. within the next week. You met him briefly before and I would recommend you do so again. Immediately following these telephone calls, I recommend you issue a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

statement (Tab B) welcoming the progress being made toward peace in Northern Ireland. We have coordinated the language of this statement in advance with the Irish and British, as well as Ambassadors Smith and Crowe.

There is speculation in the press about what the U.S. is prepared to do to support this apparent breakthrough in Northern Ireland. We are preparing a package of options for you to consider, including such ideas as convening a Presidential Conference on Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland, increasing the annual U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Ireland and creating an "America House" in Belfast under USIA auspices. While some of these steps would require new funding from Congress or other legislative initiatives, the watershed event of an IRA renunciation of violence could provide a unique opportunity for such an initiative.

RECOMMENDATION

That you telephone Irish Prime Minister Reynolds and British Prime Minister Major and approve the issuance of the Presidential statement attached at Tab B following these telephone calls.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab A	Talking Points
Tab B	Statement

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.17)
K8H 4/11/2023

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
IRISH PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS

- I salute you for your persistence and vision in seeking to end IRA violence.
- I know from Jean Kennedy Smith that you deserve much of the credit for the breakthrough represented by today's IRA statement.
- You know better than I that the road ahead -- to a political settlement and a just peace in Northern Ireland -- remains a long, hard one.
- I stand ready to do all I can to help. I welcome your thoughts.
- I am going to be issuing a statement shortly which welcomes the IRA cease-fire but recognizes that what has been promised must now be delivered. How do you see this playing out? What can we do to keep the IRA on a peaceful track, and to prevent an upsurge in Unionist violence?
- I am especially concerned that moderate Unionist leaders such as James Molyneaux (mol-en-oh) remain engaged in the political process, and that the Unionist community remain satisfied that its voice is being heard. We put a call in to them yesterday and hope to maintain a constructive dialogue with them.
- I am also calling John Major to discuss these issues.
- The close cooperation you and John have maintained through this process has been key to its success so far. I hope you will continue to work closely together.
- We are looking at developing a package of assistance designed to reach out to both communities and we will work with you on the details.
- I understand that (Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister) Dick Spring may be coming to Washington next week. I would be pleased to meet with him to get an update on the situation.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

- Today's IRA statement is a direct result of the courage and vision you and Albert Reynolds have shown in working together for peace in Northern Ireland. I congratulate you.
- I know our decision to go ahead with the visas for Cahill and Treanor was problematic for you. I therefore appreciate all the more the close dialogue you maintained with us on the issue, and your low-key public stance.
- I am mindful of the fact that there are many risks and pitfalls still ahead. I can only encourage you to continue to work closely with Albert and to pledge that I will do all I can to support your joint efforts.
- I understand that you may be meeting with Molyneaux (mol-in-oh) later this week. Bill Crowe will be seeing him too. And Tony Lake has put a call in to him to maintain a constructive dialogue with them.
- It important to keep Molyneaux, and the Unionist community as a whole, assured that their interests will be protected as the peace process proceeds. What can we do to help?
- We are looking at developing a package of assistance designed to reach out to both communities and we will work with you on the details.
- I am going to be issuing a statement shortly which welcomes the IRA cease-fire but recognizes that what has been promised must now be delivered. How do you see this playing out? What can we do to keep the IRA on a peaceful track, and to prevent an upsurge in loyalist violence?

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.18)
KSH 4/11/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Draft Statement by the President on IRA Announcement

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

I have just conveyed my hearty congratulations to Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland and Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom for their persistent efforts to bring this day about. Their joint efforts to end the violence and pursue a negotiated settlement have been crucial to the progress made to date. Their historic Joint Declaration last December, together with the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, have built the foundation for the new hope we have today. [And we would not be at this stage today without the courageous efforts of John Hume over the last two decades to advance the cause of peace.]

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

The United States stands ready to assist in advancing the process of peace in Northern Ireland ~~[and achieving a lasting and just settlement between the two factions on the island of Ireland.]~~ We hope that both ~~traditions,~~ ^{Unionists and Nationalists,} will support the only real avenue to peace -- that of a negotiated settlement to the conflict. Each side stands only to lose by further violence; both can gain the promise of a better life and a more prosperous future for their children through a lasting and just peace. Let us work together to achieve that long overdue goal for all the people of Northern Ireland ^{and} [Ireland and Britain].

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN
(202) 462-3939



EMBASSY OF IRELAND
2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

F A X

26 SEPTEMBER 1994

FOR: MS NANCY SODERBERG
THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: MICHAEL COLLINS

Dear Nancy

I attach herewith a "non-paper" on the aid package, as discussed.

I have also sent a copy to Kathy Stephens and to the State Department.

Regards.

(TOTAL NO OF PAGES: 5)

Non-Paper

1. The ending of violence provides the opportunity for a historic new departure in Ireland. It opens up a new era in which political differences can be resolved by exclusively peaceful and democratic means.
2. The economic and social regeneration of areas which have been severely affected by the years of violence will be an essential ingredient in the consolidation of the peace process and the promotion of political consensus.
3. The most important means of guarding against any return to violence, and of combatting the problems of deprivation and alienation which contributed to it, is the provision of secure employment in areas of greatest disadvantage.
4. Given the scale of the task involved this will require an intensive programme of employment-creation measures in Northern Ireland and the border areas involving both Government driven initiatives and private industry investment.
5. Comprehensive employment creation measures will require the fullest level of coordination. One approach might be to establish a high-level Task Force for this specific purpose. Its mandate would be to prepare a coordinated and intensive programme for employment creation in the most disadvantaged areas.
6. In addition to the two Governments and representation, as appropriate, from donor Governments including the United States and the European Union, the Task Force might involve representatives of the social partners, the statutory agencies, the voluntary sector and the IFI.
7. The International Fund for Ireland is uniquely placed to respond quickly, positively and imaginatively to the new challenges and opportunities presented by the cessation of violence. While the Fund cannot supplant the role of government, its structures and catalytic nature confer on it a particular efficacy in encouraging private sector initiatives and investment.

- 2 -

Unemployment

8. A fundamental early requirement is development of policy proposals and initiatives designed to tackle the problems of long-term unemployment. Many disadvantaged areas in Northern Ireland, especially in urban areas, have unemployment levels as high as 70%. The problems experienced by such communities are multi-dimensional and a fully integrated approach is required in tackling deep-seated patterns of economic and social deprivation.

Reconciliation and Community Relations

9. Northern Ireland remains a deeply divided community. While the International Fund has in hand a number of community relations initiatives, a more concerted and intense approach is needed to foster reconciliation between the two traditions.

Innovative Human Resource initiatives (e.g. social training and community leadership programmes) urgently need to be undertaken, especially in areas of acute deprivation and high inter-community tension.

Flagship Projects

10. In the light of recent developments, there is now considerable expectation in deprived local communities that the achievement of peace will yield significant economic and social benefits. This is particularly true of local communities which have hitherto been slow to look to the Fund for assistance. In order to consolidate support for the peace process in these communities, a number of high profile flagship projects need to be developed. These could include:-
 - (i) the development of industrial space in severely disadvantaged areas with the aim of attracting inward industrial investment (both domestic and overseas).
 - (ii) assistance towards the building of a business enterprise campus and ancillary facilities in Springvale, West Belfast in conjunction with the University of Ulster and the Government.
 - (iii) Development of the Conway Mill site in West Belfast into a model Enterprise Centre. Conway Mill has to-date been denied assistance by statutory Government agencies and has become an important symbol of marginalisation for many in the nationalist community in Belfast.

- 3 -

- (iv) On a once off basis, the restoration of a number of cross border roads.

Border Counties in the South

11. The economic development of the six counties in the South contiguous to the border has been badly affected by the situation in Northern Ireland. Towns, villages and rural communities have suffered considerable economic and social dislocation as a result of the direct and indirect effects of the violence.
12. The Fund already operates an economic regeneration programme focused on these border towns and villages. However, resource constraints have imposed limitations on its ability to support substantial regeneration schemes. An increase in resources will allow it to undertake a programme involving more depth (i.e. greater concentration of resources) and breadth (involving social and training dimensions which are currently excluded).

North/South Initiatives

13. The cessation of violence creates a situation much more conducive to the development of North/South trade and general economic co-operation. The Fund can play an important role in encouraging and developing initiatives aimed at increasing North/South business co-operation: for example, joint marketing promotions overseas; import substitution initiatives; co-operation in common public purchasing and business development and mentoring schemes. Worthwhile specific initiatives that might be considered include:-
 - Development of a flagship North/South Business Centre located along the border to act as catalyst, clearing house and natural forum/venue for the conduct of cross-border business and trade.
 - Development of the Fund's pilot Inward Investment Initiative - which currently focuses on the U.S. - to include, for example, Europe and to involve other economic sectors (e.g. food and international services) beyond the present focus on manufacturing and technology.

- 4 -

- Enhanced support for joint tourism marketing initiatives. In particular, there is a need for regional promotions focusing on the twelve northern counties as well as local promotions to encourage operators in the cross-border catchment area to undertake co

Conclusion

14. The above represents very much a preliminary response as regards the development of future programmes in the context of expanded United States assistance. We will be glad to maintain close contact with the United States authorities in framing an approach that has maximum economic impact and employment generation potential as well as in fostering the goal of reconciliation within Northern Ireland and between both parts of the island.

26 September 1994

Edwin Kenich (Fuji only):

1:30 pm
NES

- extremely grateful for support of US so far
(Kenich trying to)
- persuade London to lift broadcast ban on Shin Shin. Not get too hung up on word 'permanent'. Needs not words.
- ^{has} JMA big problem w/ Unionists / some in Cox's Party.
- Pres getting message from JM tomorrow am.
- ^{US} likely to get new visa applications from Adams + McGinnis soon.
- ^{Kenich:} ~~that~~ don't do it immediately. Not that

we will not do it. Not
This week. A few weeks
before Majo can solidify.

⇒ Robin trying to get
shift in London's position
on J broadcast ban 2)
'permanent'. Personally needs
our short term cooperation.

⇒ If you want to discuss
w/ him:

898-4524 (all day) ~~if you~~

~~would like~~

Q

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	Roderic Lyne to Anthony Lake (2 pages)	10/04/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, September-October 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1701

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]
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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).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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⇒ Push for talk to
Brits directly

TALKING POINTS

Peace Process (JK lead)

for good & irreversible

- o We welcome the IRA ceasefire announcement and hope it will lead to an irreversible end to violence by all parties, not only across the sectarian divide, but also within the communities themselves. *confirms important British process forward*
- > ~~It would be helpful~~ *if you could state during your trip that the ceasefire is*
- o We support the peace process and stand squarely behind the Irish and British governments. *for good & irreversible*
- o We support the Downing Street Declaration and the principles it includes and the process it sets forward. *Irish Union*
- o We would like to see the U.K./Irish sponsored "all-party" talks commence as soon as the governments are ready with maximum participation.
- o How do you see your role in the "all-party" talks?
- o How do you see your roles in Reynolds' "Forum for Peace and Reconciliation"?
- o What are the lessons you have drawn from your trip to the U.S.?

Future Visas for Adams/Sinn Fein Officials (JK lead)

- o On visas our flexibility is limited by U.S. law. Anyone who has been placed on the list of persons we have reason to believe have engaged in terrorist activities will always need a visa, which will always require a waiver from the Attorney General.
- o It is possible that the Secretary of State may recommend to the Attorney General a waiver for a multiple entry visa valid for travel anytime within a three month period. ~~is a possibility.~~
- o A move to a multiple entry visa will be contingent on respect for the peace process and a continued ceasefire, advance notification of actual travel dates and itinerary, and adherence to any fundraising restrictions.

Fund Raising in U.S. by Sinn Fein (JK lead)

- o Lifting the restriction on fund raising in the U.S. in the immediate future would be difficult for us at this early stage of official contacts with Sinn Fein.

Future Adams' Visits (NSC lead)

- o As in the case of other political parties, we would expect contacts to take place primarily through our diplomatic representatives abroad. For now, that means our Consulate General in Northern Ireland and our Embassy in Dublin. (If asked: Whether British authorities lift restrictions on your travel to Britain is for them to decide. If they do, I am sure our diplomats in London will wish to be part of this dialogue.)
- o As the ceasefire holds and the peace process continues, our dialogue will broaden and deepen. We would expect over time that the level of your contacts with the Administration will evolve as well.

U.S. Economic Assistance (NSC lead)

- o We are actively reviewing ways we can help keep the peace process moving forward. (FYI: Nancy S. may want to intervene here.)
- o We believe that private sector investment and trade should play the key role in helping to resolve unemployment problems in the North and the Republic.
- o We support the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) as a concrete expression of our interest. One project is the Springvale university campus. What are your views on this project?
- o Let me be frank on this. We have a bleak budgetary environment for all our foreign affairs activities. You are well aware of the important role Congress plays in our democratic system. While there is widespread support for the N.I. peace process, there is also considerable Congressional reluctance to get out ahead of our European friends in terms of any economic input.

Hall, Wilma G.

From: Stephens, Kathleen D.
To: @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants
Cc: /R, Record at A1; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: Alderdice on N. Ireland [CONFIDENTIAL]
Date: Tuesday, October 04, 1994 11:14AM

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(4.21)
KSH 4/11/2023

For Nancy Soderberg and Tony Lake:

I talked to Alliance Party leader John Alderdice this morning by telephone and told him (per Nancy's guidance) that the earliest a meeting could be scheduled here would be Wednesday afternoon. I suggested a meeting with Nancy with a possible Lake drop-by. Alderdice declined and said he would leave tonight (Tuesday). Alderdice then made the following points:

—He himself had always "strenuously avoided" taking a position on the question of by whom Gerry Adams should be seen in the USG, and had always argued that this was up to the U.S. government to decide. However, Unionists were enraged by the letter and phone call to Adams. Ken Maginnis (who was part of the UUP delegation here recently) had "already roasted" the Administration. Much as moderate Unionists might want to be "understanding," the "only possible interpretation" in Northern Ireland to the announcement of a dialogue with Sinn Fein (and the way it was announced) before the Unionists and HMG itself had opened a dialogue was as "a kick in the teeth." This completely undermined the good work the Administration had done with the UUP. Ian Paisley was "triumphant," crowing that he had always warned the UUP it was naive in its dealings with the Administration.

—Alderdice claimed he would try, but found it "hard to put another gloss" on the whole issue. This latest act would be seen in Belfast and London as an intrusion on the internal affairs of another country. Alderdice advised that we "get on to State" about the safety of Val Martinez, our Consul General in Belfast; he was worried about the reaction of loyalist paramilitaries. Finally, Alderdice said, whatever the reasons here (timing, etc.) for the difficulty in obtaining an appointment at the White House, it would be interpreted only one way in Northern Ireland: two politicians representing parties of similar electoral size were in Washington, one who had always opposed violence and one who had only recently begun to distance himself from it — and look at the difference in reception.

While Alderdice's petulant tone derives in part from his disappointment at not getting the appointments he'd hoped for here, his account of Unionist anger is consistent with other soundings I've picked up. I think we'll need to do some patch-up with the Unionists and HMG. I will also ask State about security precautions at the Consulate in Belfast.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republican Army Actions and Intentions (4 pages)	09/16/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File,September-October 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1701

RESTRICTION CODES

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State draft

The United States welcomes the statement by the IRA/Sinn Fein declaring its commitment to the total cessation of violence. [POSSIBLE ADD: It is an important and positive development.] We join with the governments of the United Kingdom and of the Republic of Ireland in the hope and expectation that this step will help lead to a peaceful resolution of the problems of Northern Ireland. We continue to call on all parties, including the IRA, permanently to renounce violence as a means of achieving political ends. At the same time, the value of this statement, or of any future statement, must be demonstrated by deeds, not just words.

The United States continues strongly to support the efforts of the governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom for peace and reconciliation through political dialogue, in the context of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and the December 1993 Downing Street Declaration. We hope that today's statement reflects a recognition by the IRA that this process offers the best hope for a brighter future for the people of Northern Ireland.

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1994

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.22)
KBH 4/11/2023

MEMO TO: Leon Fuerth

FROM: Nancy Soderberg *NS*

RE: Message from Major re: Reynolds meeting

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

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

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

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

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hawkins, Ardenia R.

From: Sonenshine, Tara D.
To: Berger, Samuel
Cc: /N, NonRecord at A1; @PRESS - Public Affairs; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants
Subject: [UNCLASSIFIED] northern ireland
Date: Thursday, September 01, 1994 5:31PM

I understand that at this morning's Senior Staff meeting there was some concern raised about the lack of credit in the press for the President and the Administration's role in Northern Ireland.

Since our office spent all day yesterday calling reporters and editors around the country, I want to update you on the coverage.

1. Let me begin by saying that there is a tendency to judge coverage simply by what is in the Washington Post and the New York Times. Using that standard, we cannot claim success in persuading journalists to include in their coverage, the role of the President (and his National Security Adviser, in particular, in encouraging the Northern Ireland peace process along.

a--The New York Times did a fairly good editorial, but failed to give us public credit (despite the fact that we arranged for Sandy Verschbow and others to background the Times Editorial Page Editor yesterday on the President's role. I do, think, however, that we MAY get some credit in the Sunday Times which is doing more behind-the-scenes analysis. (We did background John Darnton for that piece.)

b- The Washington Post was very disappointing. Having walked Tom Lippman through a detailed chronology of Clinton's role (and having others background him to support the material we provided) Lippman chose to offer this gratuitous comment in his piece:

"White House aides took the unusual step of telephoning reporters to tell them how much effort Clinton and his national security adviser had invested in the Irish issue, chronicling a dozen meetings with visiting Irish and British figures over the past year."

In terms of columnists and editorial writers at the Post, we spent a good deal of time with MARY McGRORY yesterday and STEVE ROSENFELD. I am absolutely convinced that we will see a very positive McGrory column next week praising the President. McGrory will be talking to Nancy Soderberg for follow-up this weekend.

REGIONAL COVERAGE

If you use the nation as a better barometer of how we do than simply the Post and Times, the result of our calling around yesterday is far more impressive. Let me give you just a sample of the coverage:

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Article: US SAYS IT HELPED IN IRA DECISION

"Since February, Clinton and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake have pressed privately for a cease-fire. Clinton has personally talked to Major 15 times in the last month about it, officials said, and Lake held talks with officials on both sides. But the groundwork for the ceasefire may have been laid in February when Clinton, in a controversial step, granted a visa for Gerry Adams...Clinton overruled the State Department in granting the visa and was criticized by the British.

After Adams sent Clinton a letter March 31, Lake answered on behalf of the President, calling for a permanent

ceasefire and negotiations with the British.

(article goes on and on about role of White House in meetings, phone calls, etc.)

LOS ANGELES TIMES

(piece on WHY the ceasefire..."The attitude of a new Democratic administration in Washington is also believed to have been a factor. The Clinton Administration was both interested in playing a low-key role to nudge the talks forward and gained credibility as a mediator within the IRA by allowing senior republican figures to travel to the US. Trips by Adams earlier this year and by well-known IRA activists Joe Cahill and Pat Treanor this week are believed to have boosted the IRA resolve to go forward with the cease-fire. In each of these circumstances, Clinton reportedly personally approved the decision to grant the visa."

BOSTON GLOBE

Clinton role--quotes Jean Kennedy Smith in a call to Clinton. "I told him he made an enormous difference here. It wouldn't have happened without him." Smith said Clinton...had helped move the peace process by backing the issuance of US visas to IRA officials."

One day's work is not enough to re-inforce the message that this Administration and this President went to great lengths to nurture this peace process along. The visit by Spring tomorrow will certainly re-inforce the message. Jonathan Spalter is talking to Nancy Soderberg about other outreach events we can do.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. cable	John Major to POTUS (2 pages)	09/06/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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