

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1996

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1398

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: British Decision on Election in Northern Ireland (2 pages)	03/20/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
001b. cable	John Major to POTUS (2 pages)	03/20/1996	P1/b(1)
002. cable	John Holmes to Tony Lake (12 pages)	03/11/1996	P1/b(1)
003. cable	John Holmes to Tony Lake (2 pages)	03/22/1996	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Crowe [partial] (1 page)	03/26/1996	P1/b(1)
005. cable	Ambassador Crowe to Nancy Soderberg (2 pages)	03/27/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
006. cable	re: Anglo-Irish Efforts to Establish Negotiating Process (6 pages)	02/21/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
007. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Meeting with David Trimble (5 pages)	04/22/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
008. report	re: Eligible Parties for Northern Ireland's Election (2 pages)	04/24/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1708

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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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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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/29

CC TO Kelly H

Brody

Marlyn -

Our friends are out
there!

no

NES.

This is being
circulated among
I - A groups to
counter the rumors
and lies.
Have Budie
clip them (and
action too).

IRISH AMERICANS SUPPORT PRESIDENT CLINTON

April 26, 1996

We, the undersigned members and leaders of Irish organizations throughout the United States wish to reaffirm our support for the President in his quest for peace in Northern Ireland. No American President in the 20th Century has devoted as much time, attention and energy to the issues that concern Irish-Americans as this President. The vast majority of Irish-Americans acknowledge a tremendous debt to the President for his active interest in bringing about a resolution to the Northern Ireland conflict and in ending the historic discrimination against Irish immigration.

President Clinton displayed tremendous courage in arranging for the issuance of a visa to Gerry Adams two years ago. This single act paved the way for the initiation of the Peace Process - the first real ray of hope in the twenty-five year old conflict in Northern Ireland.

He has demonstrated leadership and skills by virtue of his personal attention to the problem, acting through his Special Envoy, former Senator George Mitchell, but more particularly by the Presidential visit to Northern Ireland. He has gained the admiration and respect of all parties to the conflict and well merited praise worldwide for his diplomacy and courage.

Many of us, of course, do not agree with each and every position of the Administration. We each acknowledge, however, that Ireland and Irish-America has no greater friend than Bill Clinton. He has gained our trust and confidence and has unquestionably acted in the best interests of Americans generally and Irish-Americans in particular. We give him our full support in the work that he has so expertly advanced.

[Affiliations listed for identification purposes only]

AMERICAN EMBASSY, DUBLIN, IRELAND

UNCLASSIFIED TELEFAX MESSAGE

DATE: April 24, 1996 PAGE 1 of 4

TO: Nancy Soderberg

FAX NUMBER: 202 456-9460

FROM: Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith *JK*

FAX NUMBER: (353)-(1)-660-3217

PHONE NUMBER: (353)-(1)-668-8998

SUBJECT: More on the Patrick Kelly Case

MESSAGE:

Nancy: We have obtained the following "confidential" report on the Patrick Kelly case. I hope you will find it helpful in briefing the President and Tony. Best regards,

*To MAP -
your view?*

Confidential

Patrick Kelly case: Meeting with Dr. Amil Shah and Deputy Eamon Ó Cuiv

A meeting to discuss the Patrick Kelly case was held in Iveagh House on 23 April between Dr. Amil Shah, who was accompanied by Deputy Eamon Ó Cuiv and, from DFA, Colm Ó Floinn, Caroline Reeves and the undersigned. By way of background, Deputy Ó Cuiv introduced Dr. Shah as a native of Guyana and Professor of Oncology at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. The Deputy also paid tribute to the role of the Government, and in particular, this Department and Embassy London, in the case thus far. **It was stressed that information of a medical nature should be treated as confidential.**

Deputy Ó Cuiv emphasised that his involvement with the Kelly case was not on a party basis (the all-party concern in the Oireachtas was noted fully at the meeting). He had been put in contact with Dr. Shah via a mutual friend who is a native of Connemara and who now lives next door to Shah in Canada.

The main points to emerge were as follows:

- The Deputy and Dr. Shah visited Kelly in Maghaberry Prison yesterday evening. Mr. Ó Cuiv spoke with Kelly for only about 10 minutes, while Dr. Shah made a detailed medical examination of the prisoner. Dr. Shah subsequently inspected Kelly's medical files at Belfast City Hospital. (In passing, tribute was also paid to the Hospital for its handling of the case)
- Dr. Shah's latest examination of Kelly follows on from one conducted last October, and, as reported previously by Embassy Ottawa and D/Justice, came about as a result of contacts between Kelly's solicitor, Gareth Peirce, and the Home Office. (The Deputy was careful to stress that his interventions in the case have always been in consultation with Ms. Peirce). According to Mr. Ó Cuiv, Ms. Peirce now believes the relevant officials in the Home Office to be supportive of Kelly's transfer application, and that it has been implied to her that the situation would benefit from having another medical report to put before Michael Howard.
- The Deputy surmised that the need for another report has arisen because Howard was unable to grasp an overview from the sometimes conflicting reports of Kelly's condition which have emerged. He hoped that Dr. Shah's latest report will provide this overview, and Gareth Peirce is making arrangements to have it forwarded to the Home Office as soon as possible.
- Dr. Shah has kept in touch with Kelly's case since the initial examination last October via his contacts with Deputy Ó Cuiv, Gareth Peirce and Mr. Austin Currie, Kelly's surgeon in Belfast. While it is true to say that the operation on Kelly carried out last August and the lymph node removal performed last January were successful, there are broader implications to Kelly's case. The mere fact of the recurrence of the disease on Kelly's back and the presence of lymph nodes on his left armpit last October were, in Dr. Shah's opinion, ominous signs. In his view, Patrick Kelly's life is now in serious danger. Probability of a cure is put at 10-15%.

- Dr. Shah has 2 immediate concerns with regard to Kelly:

- (i) Kelly's melanoma occurred in the middle of his back, and can therefore drain right (as has occurred already) or left or proceed in both directions. Lymph glands present under Kelly's left arm during Dr. Shah's initial examination last October which were not thought by the doctor to be significant at the time, have now given cause for concern. A biopsy would be required prior to any surgery, and if found to be malignant would worsen Kelly's prognosis, given that the next most likely direction for the cancer would be his lungs.
- (ii) Recent reports of a recent deterioration in Kelly's health would appear to have stemmed from a bout of Hepatitis B which occurred in February/March rather than the cancer itself¹. Kelly has since recovered, but from further blood tests, Dr. Shah suspects that he may only be over the initial acute phase of the condition and that a chronic condition may be about set in. This would ultimately cause liver failure.

- Summarising, Dr. Shah noted that Kelly looked well, has put on weight, and felt good, but asserted that behind all this, problems are looming from both the melanoma and the hepatitis.

- Mr. Ó Floinn emphasised the close interest which the Taoiseach and the Tánaiste had taken in the Patrick Kelly case, and also the fact that we were in daily contact with the British authorities on it. In response to queries from Mr. Ó Floinn regarding (i) Mr. Currie's failure thus far to produce a report of his own examination of Kelly in early March, (ii) Kelly's current prognosis, and (iii) the availability of Dr. Shah's latest report-

- (i) Dr. Shah's contacts with Currie, previously cordial, if kept on a professional basis, suddenly came to halt approximately a month ago. The two did not meet yesterday, and Dr. Shah only became aware of the "8 March report" last week. He guessed that because Currie is a surgeon and not an oncologist like Shah, he is perhaps reluctant to stray into the area of predictions or percentages.
- (ii) **100% predictions are impossible, but predictions of likely outcomes can be made. While emphasising that the condition is in the very early stages and that things can change very quickly, Dr. Shah estimated a 60% probability that Kelly will die within the next 3 years. Prospects would improve if Kelly were to last beyond the next 2/3 years. The biggest risk is therefore in the short-term, ie, the next 6-12 months - "If anything is going to happen, it will happen then".**

¹This condition is usually spread via sexual contact, infected blood transfusions or dirty syringes, but none of these were evident in Kelly's case. The source therefore remains unknown, but it is possible that the virus was ingested orally at some stage. Dr. Shah recalled Kelly's dirty protest in Whitemoor Prison last year and presumed that he would have come into physical contact with another prisoner on the protest at the same time. It seems that the latter (Michael O'Brien) fell ill last December, and Dr. Shah suggested that it would be interesting to establish the exact nature of that illness.

(iii) Copies of Dr. Shah's report will be supplied to the Home Office via Gareth Peirce and also to this Department. Deputy Ó Cuiv again emphasised the need for confidentiality in this regard.

Deputy Ó Cuiv suggested that Kelly's transfer would have been more straightforward if he had been healthy. Michael Howard's "paranoia", he continued, had led him to fear that if Kelly was transferred and benefitted from less stringent compassionate parole criteria operating in this jurisdiction, he would be photographed "walking down O'Connell St.". The hope now is that Dr. Shah's report will enable him to "cover his back". Mr. Ó Floinn had already stated our opinion that transfer applications should be considered on their merits. While additional humanitarian concerns are another factor to be considered, Kelly's transfer should not be dependent on his precise medical condition.

From a political viewpoint, Deputy Ó Cuiv stressed that it would be crucial that a transfer proceed before the cancer has reached Kelly's lungs (whereupon it becomes incurable). Mr. Ó Floinn responded that this point was well understood, and that all relevant information regarding sentence management intentions were Kelly to be transferred has been supplied to the Home Office

Mr. Ó Floinn concluded by thanking the Deputy and Dr. Shah for briefing the Department and added that the Tánaiste would be informed fully of the information they had conveyed.

FUNDING HISTORY - INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND											
	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total
1986-Approp.	50.00										50.00
Obligated	50.00										50.00
Disbursed	50.00										50.00
1987-Approp.		35.00									35.00
Obligated		35.00									35.00
Disbursed		35.00									35.00
1988-Approp.			35.00								35.00
Obligated			35.00								35.00
Disbursed			35.00								35.00
1989-Approp.				10.00							10.00
Obligated					10.00						10.00
Disbursed					10.00						10.00
1990-Approp.					20.00						20.00
Obligated							18.77				18.77
Disbursed								19.77			19.77
1991-Approp.						20.00					20.00
Obligated							20.00				20.00
Disbursed								6.22	13.78		20.00
1992-Approp.							19.70				19.70
Obligated									19.70		19.70
Disbursed									8.42	10.28	18.70
1993-Approp.								18.70			19.70
Obligated									19.70		19.70
Disbursed										8.67	8.67
1994-Approp.									19.60		19.60
Obligated											0.00
Disbursed											0.00
1995-Approp.										19.60	19.60
Obligated											0.00
Disbursed											0.00
TOTAL - Appro.	50.00	35.00	35.00	10.00	20.00	20.00	19.70	19.70	19.60	19.60	248.60
Oblig.	50.00	35.00	35.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	39.77	0.00	39.40	0.00	209.17
Disbur.	50.00	35.00	35.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	25.99	23.20	16.95	198.14

International Fund for Ireland

The IFI was established in December 1986 by the British and Irish Governments under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. Its objectives are to promote economic and social development, and encourage contact and reconciliation between nationalists and unionists.

IFI Board of 7 members is appointed by the British and Irish Governments. The chairmanship alternates. Present chairman is Donegal businessman and CEO of Fruit of the Loom, William McCarter. As donors, the U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the EU have non-voting observers. The U.S. observer is Denver, Colorado lawyer James Lyons. The U.S. has no say in how the funds are disbursed.

The Board is supported by a Secretariat staffed by officials seconded by the two Governments and headed by Joint Directors General based in Belfast and Dublin. Government departments from the North and South acting on behalf of the IFI assist with the day to day administration of the Fund's main work programs.

Disbursements from the fund are allocated to Northern Ireland (75%) and the six counties of the Republic of Ireland that border on the North (25%).

IFI supports 3,500 economic development projects and seeks to leverage public and private sector investments. (IFI projects in the North receive matching funding from the British government.) Of the \$352 million in IFI resources committed to approved projects, another \$264 million of private and government resources have been invested. Every IFI dollar has resulted in an additional \$1.70.

IFI projects have produced nearly 29,000 jobs for young adults who might otherwise have joined paramilitary groups. Over 70% of IFI funds are spent on community development and enterprise projects in disadvantaged areas. Most of the "disadvantaged" communities in Northern Ireland are in nationalist areas.

The U.S. presently appropriates \$19.6 million annually to the IFI. In the package of initiatives for supporting peace in Northern Ireland announced last November, the President proposed an increase for the IFI of \$10 million per year over the next two years.

The U.S. was the fund's primary contributor in the 1980's. In 1989 the EU began contributing and is now the Fund's major donor. The EU contribution for 1994 was \$28 million. For 1995-1997 the EU has approved \$38 million.

Since 1986, Congress has apportioned approximately \$248 million to the Fund. The EU has contributed approximately \$108 million to date, Canada (\$7.5 million) and New Zealand (\$.7 million).

- 2 -

IFI program details:

The Fund's program sectors concentrate on community regeneration projects (e.g., rehabilitation of derelict facilities), employment generation, training and the encouragement of community-based private enterprises in Northern Ireland, and in the six border counties of the Republic of Ireland.

The Fund's program sectors consist of the following: Business Enterprise, Tourism, Urban Development, Agriculture and Rural Development, Science and Technology, Wider Horizons Program and the Disadvantaged Areas Initiative.

Success stories:

- Community Relations/Regeneration - Dairy Farm Regeneration Scheme on West Belfast's Stewartstown Road provides:
 - large supermarket
 - multipurpose civic center
 - library
 - retail stores
 - service outlets
 - job search and placement service
- Cross-Border Cooperation - Ballinamore and Ballyconnell canal Restoration Project. This activity linked the two main waterways in Ireland, the Erne and the Shannon, to develop and support important trade and business development for tourism. The program involved the interaction between the U.K. and Irish governments, the EC, three County Councils, landowners, local communities, consultants and contractors. The project presently employs 300 people. There has been a substantial boost to the local economy.
- Disadvantaged Areas Initiative - Coalisland: Local inhabitants of Coalisland formed the Coalisland District Development Association to improve the economic and social situation of the town.
- Urban Development - 30 private sector-led regeneration activities have been developed to date.

Drafted: EUR/UBI:PvanSon
SENEII 1806 x76585

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

1939

March 20, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *N*
FROM: MARY ANN PETERS *MAP*
SUBJECT: British Decision on Election in Northern Ireland

Attached at Tab I is your memorandum to the President regarding the British announcement that an election will be held in Northern Ireland on May 30. A draft press statement is attached at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Press Statement
Tab B Letter from PM Major

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 3/20/06

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By *N* NARA, Date *11/16*

201-0355-F

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONINFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: British Decision on Election in Northern Ireland

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**2011-0355-F (4.70)
KBH 4/11/2023

On March 21, Prime Minister Major will announce an election, to be held in Northern Ireland on May 30, to give political parties a mandate for the substantive talks that begin June 10. He wrote to you March 20 describing the details of the elective process and asking you to use our influence to keep all the parties, particularly John Hume's SDLP, engaged. We will draft a reply once the announcement has been made and we have an initial reaction from the Irish Government and the parties. We are working behind the scenes to help persuade Hume not to boycott the election and will be in touch with other party leaders as well.

Under the British scheme, ninety representatives will be elected by the party-list method in the 18 Westminster constituencies, five from each constituency. In addition, each of the ten largest parties will send two representatives to the elected body, for a total of 110 members. This is intended as a compromise between the constituency-based, single-transferable-vote system favored by the UUP and the province-wide, party-list system favored by Hume's SDLP and Paisley's DUP, but it is unlikely to satisfy either.

The forum that will result will not be the negotiating body, as Trimble originally wanted, nor will it have any legislative or administrative powers. It will be able to form committees and hold hearings on issues relevant to the negotiations if tasked by the negotiators. The nationalists, led by John Hume, will see the British decision as tilting to the unionist position on both the election and the forum. Hume has threatened to boycott a similar form of elections, but we hope he can be brought around.

The missing piece of the process is the ground rules for the talks, which are still under discussion with the parties. The unionists reacted negatively to a draft consultative paper on ground rules that was distributed last week, accusing the government of selling out the unionists to buy a renewed IRA

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 3/20/06

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

cease-fire. The final ground rules may eventually shift to reflect these unionist concerns and be less forthcoming on the central issue of concern to nationalists -- whether progress on decommissioning will become a de facto precondition for substantive negotiations.

Sinn Fein is likely to criticize the British decision, but we have the impression they care less about the details of the electoral method than about the nature of the talks. We hope Hume will be constructive and will be talking to him. We have also been in touch with Gerry Adams. We are still hopeful that the cease-fire can be restored, although the British announcement is likely to magnify republican distrust of HMG.

At Tab A is a draft statement we suggest Mike McCurry use at the press briefing expressing our confidence in the peace process and urging all parties to stay engaged and participate in the election.

Attachments

Tab A Draft Statement

Tab B Letter from Major

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 21, 1996

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The Administration welcomes the British Government's announcement on elections to a forum in Northern Ireland on May 30 leading to substantive talks on June 10. It represents an important step forward to the goal we all seek -- all party talks aimed at a just and lasting settlement to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

The process will elect 110 representatives to a forum, and the parties will choose their negotiating teams from the representatives elected to that forum. The forum will be time-limited and independent of the negotiations. It will be able to constitute committees and hold hearings on relevant issues but will have no direct role in the talks.

The talks on June 10 have the clear objective of reaching a comprehensive negotiated settlement as quickly as possible. We recognize, as do the British and Irish Governments, that no party will find the arrangements for the election and the forum ideal. But we believe that the political leaders of Northern Ireland agree that we must reach the important goal of talks leading to a lasting peace. The steps announced today will help achieve that goal.

The peace process in Northern Ireland is at an historic juncture. We hope that the parties will seize the opportunity to advance the process and create the bright and peaceful future the people of Northern Ireland so clearly desire and deserve. And we call again on the IRA to listen to the people and restore the cease-fire immediately. There is no place for violence in the democratic process the two governments have worked so diligently to advance.

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IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BASS BERGER COMM DOHSE FUERTH HARMON LAKE SENS SIT SODERBERG
SIT: BAKERJ HARMON HOTLINE_OUT LAKEA SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 202010Z MAR 96

FM WHITE HOUSE

TO CABINET OFFICE

INFO ////

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS

QQQQ

EYES ONLY

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING EYES ONLY MESSAGE FROM
NANCY SODERBERG TO JOHN HOLMES.

THE FOLLOWING IS A POSSIBLE U.S. STATEMENT IN SUPPORT
OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

BEGIN TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 3/20/96

MY VISIT LAST YEAR TO IRELAND DEMONSTRATED BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT
THE PEOPLE IN BOTH PARTS OF THE ISLAND OVERWHELMINGLY DESIRE A
JUST AND LASTING PEACE. I CALL ON THOSE WHO HAVE RESORTED TO
VIOLENCE TO HEED THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE AND UNEQUIVOCALLY RENEW
THEIR CEASE-FIRE. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD. FOR TOO LONG,
THE PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM VIOLENCE AND A DIVIDED SOCIETY.
NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GENERATION, THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN
IRELAND HAVE A REAL CHANCE, THROUGH INCLUSIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE
NEGOTIATIONS, TO OVERCOME THE PAST AND NEGOTIATE A FUTURE OF
HOPE, JUSTICE AND PROMISE.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ON
FEBRUARY 28 SHOWS A CLEAR WAY FORWARD TO THE BEGINNING OF
ALL-PARTY TALKS ON JUNE 10. I BELIEVE THAT PRIME MINISTERS
BRUTON AND MAJOR ARE COMMITTED TO TALKS THAT WILL LEAD AS QUICKLY
AS POSSIBLE TO A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE
DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND THE JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. I
REMAIN COMMITTED TO DO WHAT I CAN TO HELP THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND
THE PARTIES ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

I HAVE BEEN ASSURED BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE
TALKS IS A COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND THAT THE
AGENDA WILL INCLUDE ALL THE ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE DISCUSSED TO
REACH SUCH A SETTLEMENT. THEIR GOAL IS TO CREATE NEW
RELATIONSHIPS: WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND, WITHIN THE ISLAND OF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By *W*

NARA, Date *4/11/11*

2011-03-28

. IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

IRELAND, AND BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO ISLANDS. THAT IS AN URGENT TASK. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS AND ALL THE PARTIES WILL APPROACH THESE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH A DETERMINATION TO REACH A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. ALL PARTIES THAT PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST AGREE TO ABIDE BY ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AND TO USE EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. NO PARTY CAN HAVE A VETO AND THERE IS NO PREDETERMINED OUTCOME.

.
THE TALKS MUST SEEK TO CREATE A SETTLEMENT IN WHICH BOTH TRADITIONS, CULTURES AND IDENTITIES ARE RESPECTED AND TREATED EQUALLY, A SOCIETY IN WHICH DIVERSITY IS VALUED RATHER THAN FEARED AND THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION ARE A THING OF THE PAST. ANY PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO RAISE ANY SUBJECT THAT IS OF CONCERN TO ITS VOTERS. THERE ARE MANY ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED EXPEDITIOUSLY; FROM CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES TO THOSE OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO NEIGHBORHOODS AND FAMILIES, INCLUDING PRISONERS AND A POLICING SYSTEM THAT HAS THE FULL TRUST OF BOTH COMMUNITIES.

.
FROM THE DAY I TOOK OFFICE I HAVE BELIEVED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN HELPING TO PROMOTE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE AND A NEW BEGINNING FOR ALL THE PEOPLE. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES TO SEIZE THE POSSIBILITIES BEFORE US.

.
END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0137

NNNN

<MSGID> M2140583

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. cable	John Holmes to Tony Lake (2 pages)	03/22/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1708

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Crowe [partial] (1 page)	03/26/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1708

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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b(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]

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SSN: 0185 MSGID: M2148347

OAAMZYUW YELADA 0185 0860402-MNSH--YEXXWHX YEKOHR.

ZNY MMNSH

ZKZK OO SOA DE

O **260405Z** MAR 96 ZFF1 ZFF4

FM: WHITE HOUSE

TO: (b)(1)

INFO: ////

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ EYES ONLY VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS
QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING EYES ONLY MESSAGE FROM NANCY SODERBERG TO AMBASSADOR CROWE.

ATTACHED IS THE DRAFT STATEMENT WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING. WE MAY USE IT IF WE THINK IT COULD BE HELPFUL IN MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. NO DECISION YET. HAS BEEN CLEARED WITH THE BRITISH. LOOK FORWARD TO SPEAKING ON WEDNESDAY.
BEGIN TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 3/20/96

MY VISIT LAST YEAR TO IRELAND DEMONSTRATED BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT THE PEOPLE IN BOTH PARTS OF THE ISLAND OVERWHELMINGLY DESIRE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. I CALL ON THOSE WHO HAVE RESORTED TO VIOLENCE TO HEED THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE AND UNEQUIVOCALLY RENEW THEIR CEASE-FIRE. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD. FOR TOO LONG, THE PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM VIOLENCE AND A DIVIDED SOCIETY. NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GENERATION, THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE A REAL CHANCE, THROUGH INCLUSIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS, TO OVERCOME THE PAST AND NEGOTIATE A FUTURE OF HOPE, JUSTICE AND PROMISE.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ON FEBRUARY 28 SHOWS A CLEAR WAY FORWARD TO THE BEGINNING OF ALL-PARTY TALKS ON JUNE 10. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S SUBSEQUENT ANNOUNCEMENT ON MARCH 21 SETS FORTH AN ELECTORAL PROCESS THAT WILL LEAD DIRECTLY TO THOSE TALKS. WE HOPE ALL PARTIES WILL PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THIS PROCESS. I BELIEVE THAT PRIME MINISTERS BRUTON AND MAJOR ARE COMMITTED TO TALKS THAT WILL LEAD AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND THE JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. I REMAIN COMMITTED TO DO WHAT I CAN TO HELP THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

I UNDERSTAND FROM BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TALKS IS A COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND THAT THE

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F

AGENDA WILL INCLUDE ALL THE ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE DISCUSSED TO REACH SUCH A SETTLEMENT. THEIR GOAL IS TO CREATE NEW RELATIONSHIPS: WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND, WITHIN THE ISLAND OF IRELAND, AND BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO ISLANDS. THAT IS AN URGENT TASK. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS AND ALL THE PARTIES WILL APPROACH THESE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH A DETERMINATION TO REACH A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. ALL PARTIES THAT PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST AGREE TO ABIDE BY ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AND TO USE DEMOCRATIC AND EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, AS RECOMMENDED BY THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY. NO PARTY CAN HAVE A VETO AND THERE IS NO PREDETERMINED OUTCOME.

THE TALKS MUST SEEK TO CREATE A SETTLEMENT IN WHICH BOTH TRADITIONS, CULTURES AND IDENTITIES ARE RESPECTED AND TREATED EQUALLY. THEIR GOAL MUST BE A SOCIETY IN WHICH DIVERSITY IS VALUED RATHER THAN FEARED AND THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION ARE A THING OF THE PAST. THE SOCIETY MUST BE RID OF VIOLENCE OR ITS THREAT. ANY PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO RAISE ANY SUBJECT THAT IS OF CONCERN TO ITS VOTERS. THERE ARE MANY ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED EXPEDITIOUSLY; FROM CONSTITUTIONAL, SECURITY AND POLITICAL ISSUES TO THOSE OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO NEIGHBORHOODS AND FAMILIES. THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES SUGGESTED BY THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY PROVIDE A USEFUL BASIS ON WHICH TO PROCEED.

FROM THE DAY I TOOK OFFICE I HAVE BELIEVED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN HELPING TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC SETTLEMENT AND A NEW BEGINNING FOR ALL THE PEOPLE. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES TO SEIZE THE POSSIBILITIES BEFORE THEM.

#0185

NNNN

DIST:

<^DIST>

SIT: COQ HARMON SIGLER SUM SUM2

PRT: BASS BERGER COMM DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR LAKE SENS SIT{C2}
SODERBERG

SIT: PRIVACY_OUT

TIME OF TRANSMISSION:

TIME OF RECEIPT:

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

*Went out
3/25*

PRECEDENCE

CLASSIFICATION:

RELEASER: _____

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

DATE/TIME: _____

MESSAGE #: _____

FROM: **NANCY SODERBERG**

PHONE: **6-9471**

ROOM: **Grd
Flt/WW**

SUBJECT: **PHOENIX**

PAGES: **3**

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>ROOM</u>	<u>PHONE</u>
<u>LONDON</u>	<u>AMBASSADOR CROWE</u>	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
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_____	_____	_____	_____

SPECIAL DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

PLEASE DELIVER EYES ONLY FOR THE AMBASSADOR

TO: AMBASSADOR BILL CROWE

ATTACHED IS THE DRAFT STATEMENT WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING. WE MAY USE IT IF WE THINK IT COULD BE HELPFUL IN MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. NO DECISION YET. HAS BEEN CLEARED WITH THE BRITISH. LOOK FORWARD TO SPEAKING ON WEDNESDAY.

FROM: NANCY SODERBERG

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3/24/96

MY VISIT LAST YEAR TO IRELAND DEMONSTRATED BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT THE PEOPLE IN BOTH PARTS OF THE ISLAND OVERWHELMINGLY DESIRE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. I CALL ON THOSE WHO HAVE RESORTED TO VIOLENCE TO HEED THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE AND UNEQUIVOCALLY RENEW THEIR CEASE-FIRE. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD. FOR TOO LONG, THE PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM VIOLENCE AND A DIVIDED SOCIETY. NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GENERATION, THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE A REAL CHANCE, THROUGH INCLUSIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS, TO OVERCOME THE PAST AND NEGOTIATE A FUTURE OF HOPE, JUSTICE AND PROMISE.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ON FEBRUARY 28 SHOWS A CLEAR WAY FORWARD TO THE BEGINNING OF ALL-PARTY TALKS ON JUNE 10. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S SUBSEQUENT ANNOUNCEMENT ON MARCH 21 SETS FORTH AN ELECTORAL PROCESS THAT WILL LEAD DIRECTLY TO THOSE TALKS. WE HOPE ALL PARTIES WILL PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THIS PROCESS. I BELIEVE THAT PRIME MINISTERS BRUTON AND MAJOR ARE COMMITTED TO TALKS THAT WILL LEAD AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND THE JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. I REMAIN COMMITTED TO DO WHAT I CAN TO HELP THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

I UNDERSTAND FROM BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TALKS IS A COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND THAT THE AGENDA WILL INCLUDE ALL THE ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE DISCUSSED TO REACH SUCH A SETTLEMENT. THEIR GOAL IS TO CREATE NEW RELATIONSHIPS: WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND, WITHIN THE ISLAND OF IRELAND, AND BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO ISLANDS. THAT IS AN URGENT TASK. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS AND ALL THE PARTIES WILL APPROACH THESE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH A DETERMINATION TO REACH A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. ALL PARTIES THAT PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST AGREE TO ABIDE BY ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AND TO USE DEMOCRATIC AND EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, AS RECOMMENDED BY THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY. NO PARTY CAN HAVE A VETO AND THERE IS NO PREDETERMINED OUTCOME.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By *W* NARA, Date *4/11/16*

201-0355-F

THE TALKS MUST SEEK TO CREATE A SETTLEMENT IN WHICH BOTH TRADITIONS, CULTURES AND IDENTITIES ARE RESPECTED AND TREATED EQUALLY. THEIR GOAL MUST BE A SOCIETY IN WHICH DIVERSITY IS VALUED RATHER THAN FEARED AND THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION ARE A THING OF THE PAST. THE SOCIETY MUST BE RID OF VIOLENCE OR ITS THREAT. ANY PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO RAISE ANY SUBJECT THAT IS OF CONCERN TO ITS VOTERS. THERE ARE MANY ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED EXPEDITIOUSLY; FROM CONSTITUTIONAL, SECURITY AND POLITICAL ISSUES TO THOSE OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO NEIGHBORHOODS AND FAMILIES. THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES SUGGESTED BY THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY PROVIDE A USEFUL BASIS ON WHICH TO PROCEED.

FROM THE DAY I TOOK OFFICE, I HAVE BELIEVED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN HELPING TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC SETTLEMENT AND A NEW BEGINNING FOR ALL THE PEOPLE. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES TO SEIZE THE POSSIBILITIES BEFORE THEM.

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BASS BERGER LAKE SIT SODERBERG
SIT: LAKEA PASSDOWN SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 271335Z MAR 96

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO WHITE HOUSE
INFO ////

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PRIVACY CHANNELS
QQQQ

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0755-F(4.74)
KRM 4/11/2023

PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING EYES ONLY MESSAGE FROM AMBASSADOR CROWE
TO NANCY SODERBERG AT OOB.

THANK YOU FOR SENDING ME THE DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT NOW
BEING CONSIDERED. I THINK THIS IS A GOOD, BALANCED DOCUMENT WHICH
CAN HELP ADVANCE THE PROCESS. I'D LIKE TO OFFER YOU A COUPLE OF
BRIEF COMMENTS HERE AND I LOOK FORWARD TO TALKING TO YOU LATER
TODAY.

THE PHRASE "JUST AND LASTING PEACE" OR "JUST AND LASTING
SETTLEMENT" IS USED THREE TIMES. THIS PHRASE RESONATES PRIMARILY
IN THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY, WHERE IT HAS BECOME SOMETHING OF A
SLOGAN. ASSUMING ITS INCLUSION IS INTENDED TO REASSURE THAT
COMMUNITY, I AM COMFORTABLE WITH SUCH A REFERENCE AND DOUBT THAT
ONE WOULD BE CONSIDERED A BIG DEAL BY UNIONISTS. BUT WHEN IT IS
USED THREE TIMES, IT DOES BEGIN TO SOUND LIKE A SLOGAN. BRUTON
AND MAJOR USED THE TERM "LASTING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT" IN THEIR
FEB 28 COMMUNIQUE. IT MAY BE PREFERABLE TO USE THAT PHRASE IN THE
SECOND AND THIRD PARAGRAPHS, WHILE LEAVING "JUST AND LASTING" AS
IS IN THE FIRST.

PARA 3 SAYS THE GOAL OF TALKS IS TO "CREATE NEW RELATIONSHIPS"
IN THE THREE STRANDS. I THINK WE HAVE TO BE CAREFUL HERE TO REMAIN
NEUTRAL, IN LINE WITH THE NOTIONS THAT THERE IS NO PREDETERMINED
OUTCOME AND THAT WE HAVE NO PREFERRED SOLUTION. I HAVE NOT HEARD
FROM THE BRITISH THAT THE GOAL IS TO CREATE NEW RELATIONSHIPS
(ALTHOUGH THAT CERTAINLY IS IMPLIED IN THE JOINT DECLARATION).
THEY TELL ME THE GOAL OF NEGOTIATIONS IS TO "REACH AGREEMENT ON
RELATIONSHIPS AND ARRANGEMENTS" IN THE THREE STRANDS. THIS OF
COURSE WOULD INCLUDE RELATIONSHIPS WITH ANY NEW INSTITUTIONS THAT
MAY BE CREATED, BUT IT DOES NOT PRESUME THEIR CREATION. THE
LANGUAGE USED IN THE CONSULTATIVE PAPER RECENTLY ISSUED BY THE
BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS MAY PROVIDE A USEFUL MODEL.

A SMALLER POINT ABOUT PARA 3, WHICH REFERS TO RELATIONSHIPS
"BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO ISLANDS." I BELIEVE STRAND THREE
REFERS TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO "GOVERNMENTS".

IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE FINAL PARA, THE WORDS "HELP
THEM" SHOULD BE INSERTED BETWEEN "TO" AND "SIEZE". AS RECOGNIZED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

PAGE 02 OF 02

IN THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THAT PARA, WE HAVE NO DIRECT ROLE, ONLY ONE
TO ASSIST THE PARTIES.

DECL OADR.

#7441

NNNN

<^SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01

<^SSN>7441

<^TOR>960327090540 M2151117

<^DIST>

SIT: LAKEA PASSDOWN SUM SUM2

PRT: BASS BERGER LAKE SIT{C2} SODERBERG

<MSGID> M2151117

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

wp

PAGE 01 OF 06

PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMON LAKE SENS SIT SODERBERG
SIT: HARMON LAKEA NSC PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 211951Z FEB 96

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC MEDIATE 9629
INFO RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 3903
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 3728

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(4.75)
KBM 7/11/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 0P+AG AND PETERS

DEPT ALSO FOR S/IR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 2/21/15

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, UK, EI

SUBJECT: ANGLO-IRISH EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH NEGOTIATING
PROCESS; FINESSE ROLE OF SINN FEIN

REF: (A) DUBLIN 718 (B) LONDON 2105

1. CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON: 1.5(B).

2. ~~1C~~ SUMMARY. THE IRISH ARE AWAITING A WRITTEN BRITISH PROPOSAL ON THE WAY FORWARD TO AN ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THEY EXPECT IT TO FOCUS ON ELECTIONS, BUT ALSO TO INCLUDE SOME FORM OF THE IRISH PROXIMITY TALKS PROPOSAL AND, PERHAPS, ELEMENTS OF JOHN HUME'S PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-ISLAND REFERENDUM. A SCHEDULE CULMINATING IN TALKS IN MID-MAY HAS BEEN NOTIONALLY PUT FORWARD. MUCH DEPENDS ON THE DETAILS OF A PACKAGE AND THE IRISH ARE UNCERTAIN WHETHER ALL PARTIES CAN BE BROUGHT TO AGREEMENT ON THE WAY FORWARD WITHIN THAT TIME FRAME. SINN FEIN IS CRUCIAL TO RESUMPTION OF THE CEASEFIRE AND THEIR EVENTUAL PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS IS CRUCIAL TO A SETTLEMENT OVER THE LONG-TERM. HOWEVER, SINN FEIN'S NEAR-TERM ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS COULD, PERHAPS, BE FINESSED. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) I MET FEBRUARY 21 WITH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN WHO BRIEFED ME ON THE RESULTS OF THE TWO OFFICIALS-LEVEL MEETINGS WITH SINN FEIN AND ON THE STATUS OF THE ANGLO-IRISH LIAISON GROUP TALKS AIMED AT PRODUCING AN AGREED COMMUNIQUE ON THE WAY FORWARD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ALL-PARTY TALKS. WE ALSO DISCUSSED SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT MAY HAVE WITH THE GOVERNMENTS' LIKELY PROPOSAL.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 06

IRISH GOVERNMENT-SINN FEIN SUB-MINISTERIAL CONTACTS

4. ~~(C)~~ A DELEGATION OF IRISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, INCLUDING O'HUIGINN, MET WITH SINN FEIN ON FEBRUARY 16 AND 19. THE TWO GROUPS ARE LIKELY TO MEET AGAIN FEBRUARY 22. THE MEETINGS HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF THE DIFFERING AGENDAS THE TWO GROUPS BROUGHT TO THE TABLE. THE IRISH SIDE MADE CLEAR THEIR VIEW THAT THE IRA HAD VIOLATED THE AGREEMENT -- MADE CLEAR IN 1994 -- THAT THERE WOULD BE NO RESUMPTION OF VIOLENCE AS LONG AS THE PARTIES WERE WORKING SERIOUSLY TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT. SINN FEIN PUSHED THE GOVERNMENT FOR A RESTORATION OF MINISTERIAL-LEVEL CONTACTS, A MOVE THE IRISH REJECTED NOTING THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO TREAT WITH SINN FEIN ON THE SAME BASIS AS DURING THE CEASEFIRE.

5. ~~(C)~~ THOUGH BOTH SIDES AGREED IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO RESTORE THE CEASEFIRE, ADAMS INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO IMPOSSIBLE TO DO SO NOW. (ADAMS ALSO REITERATED THAT HE HAD NO PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF THE CANARY WHARF BOMB, BUT DID ADMIT THAT HE HAD EXPECTED SOME ACTION AT A LATER DATE.) HE DID SAY HE WAS WILLING TO GO BACK TO THE IRA ON ANY BASIS, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE FAR BETTER TO DO SO WITH SOMETHING IN HAND. THE IRISH POINTED OUT THAT AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE CEASEFIRE WOULD STRENGTHEN THE IRISH GOVERNMENT\$ VIS-A-VIS THE BRITISH AND LEAD TO A MORE INCLUSIVE PROCESS.

6. ~~(C)~~ THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION BRIEFED SINN FEIN ON THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS THEY SEE LEADING TO ALL-PARTY TALKS. THE IMPRESSION LEFT WITH THEM WAS THAT A FIXED DATE FOR TALKS COULD BE A KEY TO A RESTORED CEASEFIRE, BUT THAT SUSPICION OF THE BRITISH AFTER THE PERCEIVED LACK OF PR/GRESS OVER 17 MONTHS, PLUS THE MORALE DAMAGING EFFECTS ON IRA VOLUNTEERS OF A RENEWED CEASEFIRE COULD TOGETHER STILL BLOCK ANY RENEWED CEASEFIRE. IT COULD BE, HE SUGGESTED, THAT THE ACTUAL START OF ALL-PARTY TALKS WOULD BE NECESSARY.

7. ~~(C)~~ THE SECOND MEETING FOLLOWED MUCH THE SAME PATTERN, BUT THE IRISH SOUGHT TO EXPLORE SINN FEIN'S VIEWS ON THE THREE-STEP PROCESS. ACCORDING TO O'HUIGI
NN, THE IRISH
BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR SINN FEIN TO PARTICIPATE IN EVEN PROXIMITY TALKS WITHOUT A RENEWED CEASEFIRE. BUT THE IRISH BELIEVE THAT, DESPITE THEIR NEGATIVE RHETORIC, THE PARTY WOULD PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTION PROVIDED JOHN

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IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 06

HUME IS SUPPORTIVE. (THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH PAT DOHERTY'S COMMENTS TO ME LAST WEEK -- SEE REFTTEL.) TO ALL OF THIS, HOWEVER, SINN FEIN PROVIDED NO CONCLUSIVE COMMENT. MORE POSITIVELY, HOWEVER, GERRY ADAMS DID SAY HE THOUGHT THAT SINN FEIN WOULD ACCEPT THE MITCHELL REPORT'S SIX PRINCIPLES IN RETURN FOR ALL-PARTY TALKS, BUT NOT THE RECOMMENDATION FOR PARALLEL DECOMMISSIONING.

ANGLO-IRISH LIAISON GROUP

8. (C) AT THEIR SECOND POST-CANARY WHARF MEETING, THE IRISH HAD EXPECTED THE BRITISH TO TABLE A PAPER LAYING OUT THEIR
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 000899

DEPT PASS NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

DEPT ALSO FOR S/IR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 2/21/15

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, UK, EI

SUBJET: ANGLO-IRISH EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH NEGOTIATING
PROCESS; FINESSE ROLE OF SINN FEIN

VIEWS ON THE WAY FORWARD BASED ON A PROXIMITY TALKS-ELECTIONS-ALL-PARTY TALKS SCENARIO. AS THIS WAS NOT TABLED THE MEETING TENDED TO BE RATHER GENERAL AND INCONCLUSIVE. THE GROUP WILL MEET AGAIN FRIDAY AND HOPES STILL TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A COMMUNIQUE FOR RELEASE AT A SUMMIT NEXT WEEK.

-- SUBSTANCE OF THE COMMUNIQUE

9. (C) O'HUIGINN REPORTED THAT THE IRISH HAVE SENT A DRAFT COMMUNIQUE TO LONDON. IT BEGINS WITH A STATEMENT THAT THE GOVERNMENTS ARE PREPARED TO CALL ALL-PARTY TALKS BY A DATE CERTAIN (AND THE NOTIONAL DATE IS MAY 15, EIGHT WEEKS AFTER THE PROPOSED ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT NEXT WEEK). THE IRISH WOULD LIKE TO GET THIS STATEMENT AS SOLID AS POSSIBLE. THE DRAFT THEN PROPOSES PROXIMITY TALKS (IN EARLY MARCH) TO FINALIZE DETAILS OF AN ELECTION PROCESS (IN LATE APRIL OR EARLY MAY). O'HUIGINN NOTED THAT MANY OF THE OFFICIALS ENGAGED IN THE LIAISON GROUP FIND THE NOTIONAL TIME-TABLE OVERLY OPTIMISTIC, BUT SAID THAT JOHN MAJOR IS NOW CLEARLY SEIZED WITH THE URGENCY OF THE PROBLEM.

10. (C) O'HUIGINN NOTED THAT THERE WAS A BUILT IN TENSION BETWEEN THE DESIRE TO MOVE QUICKLY AND THE NEED TO ENSURE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 04 OF 06

AN INCLUSIVE PROCESS THAT WAS AGREED BY ALL PARTIES -- ESSENTIAL IF THE PROCESS IS TO SUCCEED. IF THE COMMUNIQUE IS TOO DETAILED ON THE FORM OF PROXIMITY TALKS, ELECTIONS, AND NEGOTIATIONS IT COULD EASILY MEET WITH REJECTION. IF VAGUE, THESE SAME ISSUES OF DETAIL COULD DEADLOCK PROXIMITY TALKS CALLED TO SETTLE THEM. HE OFFERED NO MAGIC FORMULA TO RESOLVE THIS CONFLICT.

-- PROXIMITY TALKS

11. (✓) AN IMPORTANT FUNCTION OF PROXIMITY TALKS WOULD BE, AS NOTED, TO AGREE ON THE MODALITIES FOR AN ELECTION AND NEGOTIATIONS (IN SO FAR AS THEY WERE NOT ALREADY AGREED BY THE GOVERNMENTS AND ACCEPTED BY THE PARTIES). THE IRISH WOULD ALSO HOPE TO INCLUDE SINN FEIN, THOUGH THEY (SEE PARA 7 ABOVE) RECOGNIZE THAT ABSENT A CEASEFIRE THIS IS PROBABLY NOT POSSIBLE. SINCE O'HUIGINN SAID THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR A CEASEFIRE BEFORE THE NOTIONAL EARLY MARCH DATE FOR TALKS ARE SLIM TO NONE, THE IMPLICATION IS THAT THE IRISH ARE PREPARED TO PURSUE PROXIMITY TALKS WITHOUT SINN FEIN PRESENT. (SOME PRESS COMMENT HAS SUGGESTED THAT, THOUGH SINN FEIN MIGHT NOT BE FORMALLY INCLUDED, OTHER PARTIES COULD AGREE TO KEEP SINN FEIN APPRISED OF THE CONTENT OF PROXIMITY TALKS AND ENSURE THAT SINN FEIN'S VIEWS ARE REPRESENTED.)

-- ELECTIONS

12. (✓) THE IRISH, O'HUIGINN REPEATEDLY STRESSED, DO NOT SEE ANY WAY AROUND ELECTIONS, THOUGH THEY REMAIN UNHAPPY WITH THE IDEA, WHICH THEY FEAR WILL CREATE A CONFRONTATIONAL ATMOSPHERE JUST BEFORE THE START OF ALL-PARTY TALKS. MOREOVER, RANK-AND-FILE SDLP AND SINN FEIN MEMBERS ECHO THEIR LEADERS' REJECTION OF ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, THE UNIONISTS WILL INSIST ON A "RITUAL REAFFIRMATION" OF THE WELL-KNOWN FACT THAT THEY HAVE A MAJORITY IN THE NORTH. JOHN MAJOR, BOTH BECAUSE OF UNIONIST PRESSURE AND TO SHOW THAT HE HAS NOT MADE CONCESSIONS TO VIOLENCE, MUST PURSUE A POLICY CONSISTENT WITH THAT BEFORE CANARY WHARF.

13. (✓) THERE ARE NOW A WIDE RANGE OF POSSIBLE FORMS WHICH AN ELECTION COULD TAKE. JOHN HUME HAS SAID ONLY THAT HE COULD SUPPORT AN ADDITION TO HIS REFERENDUM IDEA

THAT

SIMPLY ASKED VOTERS TO INDICATE WHOM THEY WOULD LIKE TO REPRESENT THEM AT ALL-PARTY TALKS. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENCIES IS POPULAR WITH THE UUP --

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 05 OF 06

-- THOUGH THE FRINGE UNIONIST PARTIES WERE NOT KEEN AT ALL ON ELECTIONS, WHICH COULD CUT THEM OUT OF THE PROCESS. O'HUIGINN INDICATED CONSIDERABLE IRISH GOVERNMENT FLEXIBILITY ON THE FORM OF ELECTIONS, BUT CAUTIONED THAT GROUPS LIKE THE UDP AND PUP MUST, IN SOME FASHION, TO BE ASSURED OF REPRESENTATION. HE PRAISED THEIR CONSTRUCTIVE AND HELPFUL ATTITUDE.

14. (✓) O'HUIGINN SAID HE FEARED THAT AN IMPASSE COULD ARISE IF HUME'S REJECTION OF ELECTIONS HARDENS. THE BRITISH ACCEPT THAT THEY MUST HAVE SDLP SUPPORT FOR ELECTIONS, BUT THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE LAST MEETING BETWEEN JOHN HUME AND JOHN MAJOR HAD BEEN VERY BAD (SEE ALSO REF B). PART OF HUME'S REASONS FOR REJECTING ELECTIONS (ESPECIALLY IN CONSTITUENCY FORM) HAS TO DO WITH PERSONALITIES AND SINN FEIN/SDLP RIVALRIES AND HUME COULD BE BLAMED FOR A STALEMATE. TO HELP FORESTALL THIS RESULT, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 000899

DEPT PASS NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

DEPT ALSO FOR S/IR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 2/21/15

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, UK, EI

SUBJECT: ANGLO-IRISH EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH NEGOTIATING PROCESS; FINESSE ROLE OF SINN FEIN

O'HUIGINN SAID THAT THE TAOISEACH AND TANAISTE INTEND TO PURSUE THE MATTER WITH JOHN HUME AT A LUNCH SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 21. BUT HE CAUTIONED THAT PRESSURE SHOULD NOT BE EXERTED ON THE SDLP UNTIL THE BRITISH HAVE PRESENTED THEIR PACKAGE AND HE ADDED THAT, THOUGH OTHERS IN THE SDLP (E.G., SEAMUS MALLON) MAY HAVE DIFFERENT VIEWS, THE PARTY AS A WHOLE WILL NOT MOVE CONTRARY TO HUME'S WISHES.

-- HUME'S REFERENDUM

15. (✓) ALTHOUGH THE TANAISTE AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN PUBLICLY SUPPORTIVE OF JOHN HUME'S CALL FOR AN ALL-ISLAND REFERENDUM ON TALKS (AND THE USE OF VIOLENCE), O'HUIGINN SAID THE IRISH ARE IN FACT LEERY OF THE IDEA. "REFERENDA," HE SAID, "ARE VERY TRICKY AND DON'T ALWAYS CLEAR THE AIR.... WE WOULD MUCH PREFER TO HAVE ONE WHEN THERE IS A WHOLE PACKAGE." HE NOTED JOHN MAJOR'S STRONG OBJECTION TO HUME'S PROPOSED QUESTION ON ALL-PARTY TALKS AS ANOTHER DIFFICULTY TO BE OVERCOME.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 06 OF 06

ROLE OF SINN FEIN

16. (C) NOTING THAT THE BRITISH APPROACH TO TALKS BEFORE CANARY WHARF HAD DAMAGED GERRY ADAMS IN THE EYES OF THE IRA, O'HUIGINN SAID THAT SINN FEIN NOW "HAD LITTLE CHOICE" IN THE QUESTION OF RESTORING THE CEASEFIRE, AS DECISIONS WERE BEING TAKEN "OVER THEIR HEADS." ADAMS, HE SAID, WAS WORKING FROM A "FRAGILE BASE" AND, THOUGH WILLING IN PRINCIPLE TO GO TO THE IRA ON ANY TERMS, WAS IN FACT WAITING TO SEE WHAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COULD PRODUCE.
SMITH

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW

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FM UPI

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Sinn Fein may participate in elections

DUBLIN, March 23 (UPI) Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams suggested for the first time Saturday that the political wing of the Catholic nationalist Irish Republican Army, would take part in Northern Ireland elections scheduled for May.

Adams hinted in a keynote speech to the two-day Sinn Fein conference in Dublin that despite reservations about the elections, Sinn Fein would participate.

''Our preference would be to boycott both the election and the elected body. However, we live in the real world,'' Adams told about 800 delegates on the first day of the conference being held at a theater in Dublin.

''We will be guided by our discussions tomorrow and by whether it is necessary to defend our vote and to uphold the rights of our electorate in the weeks and months ahead,'' he said.

Political analysts in Dublin believe that Adams and Sinn Fein may wait until the moderate nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party confirms that it will fight the elections before formally agreeing to take part.

British Prime Minister John Major announced earlier this week that elections will be held May 30 for a new 110-member forum, which is being elected as a precursor to all-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland due to start June 10.

However Britain has said that Sinn Fein cannot take part in talks until the IRA restores its cease-fire that ended Feb. 9 with the Canary Wharf bombing in London.

But in his speech Adams warned Major that Sinn Fein could not be ignored.

''John Major said today that the peace process will move on without Sinn Fein. John Major is kidding no one. John Major knows the peace process is going no where without Sinn Fein,'' Adams said, adding that Sinn Fein and its electorate should be treated on the same basis as other parties in Northern Ireland.

The all party talks due to begin June 10 are aimed at finding a lasting solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland where Catholic nationalists and Protestant loyalists are divided over whether or not to keep the link with Britain.

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UPI- 03/23/96 15:08:00

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PAGE 02 OF 02

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PAGE 01 OF 02

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FM WHITE HOUSE

TO CABINET OFFICE
INFO ////
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ VIA CABINET CHANNELS
QQQQ

EYES ONLY

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING EYES ONLY MESSAGE TO JOHN HOLMES
FROM TONY LAKE.
BEGIN TEXT:

TO: JOHN HOLMES - HOW IS THIS? I'LL CALL YOU TOMORROW.
FROM: TONY LAKE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 3/24/96

MY VISIT LAST YEAR TO IRELAND DEMONSTRATED BEYOND ANY DOUBT THAT THE PEOPLE IN BOTH PARTS OF THE ISLAND OVERWHELMINGLY DESIRE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. I CALL ON THOSE WHO HAVE RESORTED TO VIOLENCE TO HEED THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE AND UNEQUIVOCALLY RENEW THEIR CEASE-FIRE. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD. FOR TOO LONG, THE PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM VIOLENCE AND A DIVIDED SOCIETY. NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GENERATION, THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE A REAL CHANCE, THROUGH INCLUSIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS, TO OVERCOME THE PAST AND NEGOTIATE A FUTURE OF HOPE, JUSTICE AND PROMISE.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ON FEBRUARY 28 SHOWS A CLEAR WAY FORWARD TO THE BEGINNING OF ALL-PARTY TALKS ON JUNE 10. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S SUBSEQUENT ANNOUNCEMENT ON MARCH 21 SETS FORTH AN ELECTORAL PROCESS THAT WILL LEAD DIRECTLY TO THOSE TALKS. WE HOPE ALL PARTIES WILL PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THIS PROCESS. I BELIEVE THAT PRIME MINISTERS BRUTON AND MAJOR ARE COMMITTED TO TALKS THAT WILL LEAD AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND THE JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. I REMAIN COMMITTED TO DO WHAT I CAN TO HELP THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

I UNDERSTAND FROM BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TALKS IS A COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND THAT THE AGENDA WILL INCLUDE ALL THE ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE DISCUSSED TO REACH SUCH A SETTLEMENT. THEIR GOAL IS TO CREATE NEW RELATIONSHIPS: WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND, WITHIN THE ISLAND OF

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By M NARA, Date 4/11/16
2011-0355-P

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

PAGE 02 OF 02

IRELAND, AND BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO ISLANDS. THAT IS AN URGENT TASK. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS AND ALL THE PARTIES WILL APPROACH THESE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH A DETERMINATION TO REACH A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. ALL PARTIES THAT PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST AGREE TO ABIDE BY ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AND TO USE DEMOCRATIC AND EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, AS RECOMMENDED BY THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY. NO PARTY CAN HAVE A VETO AND THERE IS NO PREDETERMINED OUTCOME.

THE TALKS MUST SEEK TO CREATE A SETTLEMENT IN WHICH BOTH TRADITIONS, CULTURES AND IDENTITIES ARE RESPECTED AND TREATED EQUALLY. THEIR GOAL MUST BE A SOCIETY IN WHICH DIVERSITY IS VALUED RATHER THAN FEARED AND THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION ARE A THING OF THE PAST. THE SOCIETY MUST BE RID OF VIOLENCE OR ITS THREAT. ANY PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO RAISE ANY SUBJECT THAT IS OF CONCERN TO ITS VOTERS. THERE ARE MANY ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED EXPEDITIOUSLY; FROM CONSTITUTIONAL, SECURITY AND POLITICAL ISSUES TO THOSE OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO NEIGHBORHOODS AND FAMILIES. THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES SUGGESTED BY THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY PROVIDE A USEFUL BASIS ON WHICH TO PROCEED.

FROM THE DAY I TOOK OFFICE, I HAVE BELIEVED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN HELPING TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC SETTLEMENT AND A NEW BEGINNING FOR ALL THE PEOPLE. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES TO SEIZE THE POSSIBILITIES BEFORE THEM.

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PAGE 01 OF 05

PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR LAKE SENS SIT SODERBERG
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INFO RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 8524
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 4364
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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.76)
KRM 4/11/2013

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/22/06

TAGS: PREL PGOV UK EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MEETING WITH DAVID TRIMBLE

1. CLASSIFIED BY MICHAEL J. HABIB, MINISTER-COUNSELOR
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

2. (C) BELFAST CONGEN AND VISITING POLMINCOUNS MET
APRIL 19 WITH UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE TO DISCUSS HIS
VIEWS ON THE ELECTIONS, THE FORUM, THE OPENING OF THE
JUNE 10 ALL-PARTY TALKS AND RESTORATION OF THE IRA
CEASE-FIRE.

THE FORUM

3. (C) TRIMBLE WAS GENERALLY PLEASED WITH THE PROPOSED
FORUM AS OUTLINED IN HMG'S DRAFT ELECTION LEGISLATION
AND GROUND RULES PAPER. HE EXPLAINED THAT HIS APRIL 18
MOTION IN THE COMMONS TO KILL THE DRAFT LEGISLATION WAS
AN EFFORT TO LAY DOWN SOME MARKERS ON THE ELECTIONS
PROCEDURES RATHER THAN THE FORUM ITSELF.

4. (C) TRIMBLE RECOGNIZED THE FORUM WOULD HAVE A
LIMITED AGENDA. IN HIS VIEW, IT SHOULD BE A VEHICLE
WITH TWO PURPOSES: (1) TO TAKE EVIDENCE FROM PUBLIC
GROUPS AND (2) TO HAVE A PUBLIC DISCUSSION THAT WOULD
REFLECT THE CONDUCT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS; HE DESCRIBED
HIS CONCEPT OF THE FORUM AS THE PLIC SIDE OF THE
ALL-PARTY TALKS. HE ENVISAGED THE FORUM AS SETTING UP
COMMITTEES WHICH WOULD TAKE EVIDENCE ON NON-CONTENTIOUS
TOPICS. HE SAID HE HAD NO PRECISE AGENDA FOR THE FORUM
BEYOND THOSE POINTS. HE THOUGHT THAT IDEALLY THE FORUM
SHOULD MEET BEFORE THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN BUT ACCEPTED
THIS WOULD NOT HAPPEN.

5. (C) TRIMBLE SAID THE SDLP MIGHT DECLINE TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE FORUM. ASKED IF THIS WOULD HAVE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 05

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE UUP'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE NEGOTIATIONS, TRIMBLE SAID HE WAS VERY ANXIOUS TO AVOID A BOYCOTT OF THE ALL-PARTY TALKS. HE WOULD NOT WALK OUT OF THE TALKS IF THE SDLP REFUSED TO TAKE PART IN THE FORUM, ALTHOUGH HE ADDED THAT THE NATIONALISTS SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO GET AWAY WITH SUCH A POSITION COST FREE. HE DID NOT EXPAND ON THIS POINT. TRIMBLE STRESSED THAT HE WANTED THE SDLP TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FORUM, ARGUING THAT THERE WERE BENEFITS TO THEM IN DOING SO.

ELECTIONS

6. (X) TRIMBLE EVINced SOME CONCERN ABOUT THE UUP'S PROSPECTS VIS-A-VIS THE DUP. HE SAID HMG HAD JUST TAKEN, BUT NOT YET ANNOUNCED, A DECISION TO PERMIT THE PARTIES TO INCLUDE ON THE BALLOT THE NAME OF THEIR PARTY LEADER. HE WAS CLEARLY UPSET WITH THIS STEP AND HIS CONCERN WAS OBVIOUSLY THAT PAISLEY'S NAME WOULD CARRY WIDER COATTAILS THAN HIS OWN. HE MADE SOME VERY UNFLATTERING REMARKS ABOUT MAYHEW AND HIS WEAK LEADERSHIP. HE SAID HE HAD JUST THE OTHER DAY TOLD ANCRAM THAT THE BRITISH SEEMED TO BE PURSUING AN ELECTION SCENARIO WHICH WOULD BUILD UP THE DUP AT HIS EXPENSE. THIS WOULD CAUSE HIM TO TAKE A HARDER LINE AT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

7. (X) TRIMBLE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE TWO SMALL LOYALIST PARTIES WOULD BE AMONG THE TOP TEN VOTE GETTERS AND THEREFORE EACH RECEIVE TWO SEATS IN THE FORUM. NOTE: IN A MEETING EARLIER IN THE DAY, UDP LEADER GARY MCMICHAEL HAD TOLD US OF HIS CONCERN THAT HIS PARTY WOULD NOT BE AMONG THE TOP TEN VOTE GETTERS (HE WAS CONVINCED THE UDP WOULD NOT WIN A CONSTITUENCY) AND THEREFORE WOULD NOT BE REPRESENTED AT THE ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS ON JUNE 10. MCMICHAEL HAD ALSO COMPLAINED THAT REGISTRATION FOR THE ELECTION HAD ALREADY BEEN CLOSED EVEN THOUGH SOME 40 PERCENT OF THE POTENTIAL ELECTORATE WAS NOT REGISTERED. END NOTE

THE NEGOTIATIONS

8. (X) TRIMBLE FELT STRONGLY THAT THERE WAS A NEED TO "CHOREOGRAPH" THE OPENING OF THE JUNE 10 NEGOTIATIONS. UNLESS THIS WERE DONE IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO BE AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE WHEN THE TALKS OPEN. IF THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE, WHICH WAS HIS OVERRIDING CONCERN, WERE NOT SORTED OUT TRIMBLE SAID HE MIGHT HAVE TO FOLLOW THE DUP POSITION OF BEING IN THE BUILDING BUT NOT IN THE SAME ROOM WITH THE OTHER NEGOTIATORS.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 05

9. (C) ASKED HOW HE HOPED TO HANDLE THE OPENING DAY, TRIMBLE SAID HE WANTED A "SIMPLE, STRAIGHT-FORWARD" PROCEDURE WHEREBY ALL THE PARTIES WOULD INDICATE AGREEMENT WITH THE SIX MITCHELL PRINCIPLES ALONG WITH AGREEMENT, IN PRINCIPLE, TO PARALLEL DECOMMISSIONING AS SUGGESTED IN THE MITCHELL REPORT. ON THE LATTER POINT, BT
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 004824

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/22/06

TAGS: PREL PGOV UK EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MEETING WITH DAVID TRIMBLE

THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WOULD BE A DISCUSSION OF THE MODALITIES OF DECOMMISSIONING. "AT SOME POINT," WHICH HE WAS NOT WILLING TO DEFINE, THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE A START TO ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING.

10. (C) TRIMBLE SAID THE IMPORTANT POINT FOR HIM WAS NOT DECOMMISSIONING PER SE BUT THE DEMONSTRATED COMMITMENT TO EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS. WHILE DECOMMISSIONING WAS ONE WAY TO DEMONSTRATE THIS COMMITMENT, AN END TO IRA TARGETING AND/OR AN END TO PUNISHMENT BEATINGS WOULD BE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING A PEACEFUL COMMITMENT. TRIMBLE NOTED THAT HMG MIGHT BE "LESS FLEXIBLE" ON DECOMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE SAID MAJOR HAD TOLD HIM HE WAS TOO WEAK ON DECOMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE THOUGHT LONDON MIGHT BE MORE DEMANDING THAN THE UUP ON THIS ISSUE DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAD, FOR EXAMPLE, HEARD THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT BE THINKING OF REQUIRING REPUBLICAN AN: @ ' & SCHEDULE OF HANDING OVER WEAPONS. IN HIS MIND, MAJOR'S TOUGHER LINE STEMMED FROM BRITISH FEARS OF FURTHER BOMBING ON THE MAINLAND. "THEY WANT TO GET THE SEMTEX," TRIMBLE SAID.

11. (C) TRIMBLE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SINN FEIN/IRA WOULD IKELY BE UNWILLING TO AGREE TO HIS FORMULA ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE ALSO DOUBTED SINN FEIN WOULD AGREE TO ACCEPT THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES. EVEN IF THEY DID, IT HAD TO BE CLEAR THAT THEY COULD NOT SIMPLY PAY LIP

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 04 OF 05

SERVICE TO THE PRINCIPLES. CONSEQUENCES WOULD HAVE TO BE DRAWN, IF, FOR EXAMPLE, A PUNISHMENT BEATING OCCURRED DESPITE THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF PRINCIPLE NUMBER SIX. TRIMBLE SAID HE HOPED FOR A SERIOUS, PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION ON JUNE 10. HE HOPED THE SDLP WOULD BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT SINN FEIN, IF NECESSARY. HE THOUGHT SEAMUS MALLON WAS PREPARED TO DO SO THOUGH HE WAS LESS SANGUINE THAT JOHN HUME WOULD ADOPT AN APPROACH WHICH WOULD DROP ADAMS BY THE WAYSIDE. IN THIS CONTEXT, TRIMBLE NOTED THAT MALLON SEEMED TO BE ASSERTING HIMSELF MORE OF LATE AND THAT HIS SUDDEN ILLNESS COULD HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE PROCESS. NOTE: SEAMUS MALLON FAINTED DURING A MEDIA INTERVIEW ON APRIL 17 AND HAS SINCE BEEN HOSPITALIZED THOUGH HIS ILLNESS DOES NOT APPEAR SERIOUS.

THE CEASE-FIRE

12. (C) TRIMBLE SAID HE EXPECTS THE IRA TO LAUNCH A "BIG ONE," WHICH HE DEFINED AS ANOTHER CANARY WHARF BOMBING OR A POLITICAL ASSASSINATION, WITHIN THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. THEY WILL GIVE AS THEIR RATIONALE HMG'S ELECTION LEGISLATION BUT THEIR REAL GOAL WILL BE TO DRIVE THE BRITISH TO A MORE ACCOMMODATING STANCE ON THE OPENING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID NIO MINISTER FOR SECURITY JOHN WHEELER AGREED WITH THIS ANALYSIS. TRIMBLE CONTINUED THAT THE IRA WOULD PROBABLY KEEP A LOW PROFILE DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WHICH WOULD BEGIN IN THE SECOND WEEK OF MAY. THEY WOULD THEN DO SOMETHING BEFORE JUNE 10 THAT WOULD PROVIDE A RATIONALE FOR THEM TO TURN UP AT THE DOOR OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BUT ONLY TO SCORE POINTS RATHER THAN TO TAKE PART. SINN FEIN/IRA MIGHT FOR EXAMPLE PUT OUT THE WORD THAT THERE WAS A DE FACTO CEASE-FIRE BUT THEY WOULD NOT FORMALLY DECLARE A CEASE-FIRE. TRIMBLE CONCLUDED THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT A RETURN TO A HIGH LEVEL OF SUSTAINED VIOLENCE.

13. COMMENT: TRIMBLE CONSIDERS IT UNLIKELY THAT SINN FEIN WILL BE AT THE TABLE ON JUNE 10. HE IS PREPARED TO TALK WITHOUT THEM BUT QUESTIONS HOW FAR THE SDLP WILL PROCEED IN THEIR ABSENCE. TRIMBLE SAID HE THOUGHT A SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED AD REF 1992 WAS "POSSIBLE" -- IF THE SDLP STAYED AT THE TABLE.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 05 OF 05

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Baldwin, Kenneth

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Baldwin, Kenneth; Kessinger, Jodi
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Baker, James E.; Peters, Mary A.
Subject: RE: Note from NES re: Status of Sinn Fein office [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, February 23, 1996 3:56PM

W9

State/L view, in which I concur, is that there would be serious legal question about whether USG could require closure of Sinn Fein offices, either under existing authority or new legislation.

An analagous question was presented several years ago when we went to close the Palestine Information Office. We asserted we had authority to do so under the Foreign Missions Act, and, additionally, Congress passed independent legislation mandating the closure of the office. We proceeded to order the office closed; the order was challenged on First Amendment grounds. We prevailed, in a decision written by then- Chief Judge Ab Mikva. Mikva affirmed that Americans (and green card holders) have CONstituional right to speak in support of, and associate with, foreign entities. However, he held that they do not have the Constitutional right to serve as the agents of foreign governments or foreign political parties.

In case of Palestine Information Office, we had very strong evidence that the office was controlled by the PLO. It received its funding from the PLO and took its direction from the PLO. Moreover, there was a sister PLO office to the UN, which helped support the contention that the PIO was something like a "government" office here, not an association of Americans.

We don't appear to have the same favorable facts here. State/L understands that Sinn Fein office was formed by Americans to support Sinn Fein. It does not receive its funding from Sinn Fein, and while it coordinates with Sinn Fein, it is not directed by it.

While legal issue would be very fact driven, on these facts it appears that there would be a serious Constitutional obstacle to closing the office.

I've told State/L that was all we needed at this time.

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Kessinger, Jodi
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: RE: Note from NES re: Status of Sinn Fein office [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, February 22, 1996 09:46 AM

No one is ginning anything up. I understood NS to be asking legal question about authority to shut it down. I asked State/L for their views, as they went through this with the Palestine Information Office a few years ago. If NS wants, I can ask them to stand down but I don't think their work will stir anything up or attract any notice.

From: Kessinger, Jodi
To: Kreczko, Alan J.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Baldwin, Kenneth
Subject: RE: Note from NES re: Status of Sinn Fein office [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, February 21, 1996 07:49 PM

Nancy read this email and noted:

What is State reviewing? Whether to shut Sinn Fein's office!? I'm not looking to gin things up.

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Kessinger, Jodi
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: RE: Note from NES re: Status of Sinn Fein office [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, February 21, 1996 05:04 PM

Haven't neglected; State/L reviewing. Should have something soon.

From: Kessinger, Jodi
To: Baker, James E.; Kreczko, Alan J.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Baldwin, Kenneth; Peters, Mary A.
Subject: Note from NES re: Status of Sinn Fein office [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, February 15, 1996 10:03 AM

Alan/Jamie -

We are getting inquiries from the Hill on shutting down the office. No immediate decision, but could the Hill insist we do or push for legislation to shut it down - - a la PLO?

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Soderberg, Nancy E.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: Status of Sinn Fein office [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, February 13, 1996 08:38 PM

The Washington office was Sinn Fein's first formal one, but they had been active in NewYork through the law firm of Downes and Downes previously. They opened the office here after the ban on official contacts was lifted, BUT there is no legal reason why they could not have had an office here before that, to liaise with the Hill and the public.

Friends of SinnFein is a non--profit organization incorporated in NY. As such there are no restrictions on its rights to fundraise. The only non-US ciitizen who works there is Mairead, who is NOT ineligible for a visa . Thus , while we could reimpose the ban on official contacts with Sinn Fein, it is not in itself a terrorist or illegal organization, and there would be no basis for any other action against them.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 1 STORY

Copyright 1996 Times Newspapers Limited
Sunday Times

February 18, 1996, Sunday

WJ *IRA member*

SECTION: Features

LENGTH: 1914 words

HEADLINE: The dirty coup

BYLINE: David Leppard, Liam Clarke and Peter Miller

BODY:

The IRA was given an ultimatum by its own hardliners: we bomb or we split. It chose to bomb.

A makeshift sign outside the south Armagh village of Crossmaglen tells the reality with sickening humour: 'IRA: business as usual.' What it hides is the boardroom coup by which a few local hard men timed the reactivation of the IRA's murder machine.

The 'boardroom' was a private house in Dublin; the 'directors' leading IRA strategists. Not all knew they were about to confront a fait accompli. Since Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, had returned from Washington in November with the news that the White House expected concessions from their side, too, the hard men from the border regions had been urging a return to violence. The ceasefire was already dead in theory. Only the date of the burial remained to be fixed. On the afternoon of Friday, February 9, the gravediggers were ready.

The IRA maintains the semblance of a democratic structure. In practice, the most votes go to the faction with a bomb already in position as this one was. The men who planted it were from Co Monaghan, just down the road from Crossmaglen, part of the historic province of Ulster but not in Northern Ireland. They are said to be 'clean volunteers', men with no records. A tax disc stolen from a lorry with English number plates in South Armagh on January 15 had been transferred to a blue Ford trailer and false number plates, registration C292 GWG, had been made to match.

The lorry, packed with explosives, had already been driven across to mainland Britain via the Larne-Stranraer ferry. As the IRA met to debate an end to the ceasefire, it was waiting on waste ground at Barking in east London, ready to be primed and delivered to Docklands. There were two options: agree to an immediate resumption of violence or split the republican movement. Within a few hours, the world had their bloody answer.

The 11b Semtex bomb found last Thursday in a hold-all left in a telephone box at Cambridge Circus, in the heart of London's theatreland, was a dramatic confirmation that the IRA is deadly serious about its resumption of hostilities. The old game of teasing is back, too: the coded warning telephoned to police spoke of three devices, but only two were found and one was a dummy.



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Times Newspapers Limited, February 18, 1996

IN IRELAND, the hunt has intensified for the man police believe made the Docklands bomb: Ciaran Chambers, who jumped bail four years ago after being arrested in Dublin for possession of explosives. Chambers is thought to have built most of the IRA bombs exploded in Britain in recent years, including the mortar used to attack Heathrow.

Intelligence collated by the security services in the past week, and set against the picture of growing unrest in IRA ranks that had already been assembled before the Docklands bomb, points to a cradle of violence in the cross-border MonaghanSouth ArmaghLouth region. The warning about the bomb which devastated the South Quay area was phoned through by a woman from a public call box in Drogheda, Co Louth, not far from where the man believed to be the IRA's quartermaster-general in charge of weapons and explosives lives.

The names of the seven members of the army council who usually decide strategy are known to The Sunday Times but not all can be published for legal reasons. One of the most senior, according to security sources, is Kevin McKenna, 49, chief of staff since 1991, when he is believed to have taken over from Martin McGuinness, now Sinn Fein's chief negotiator in talks with the British government. McKenna is an IRA man straight out of central casting hard, ruthless, bitter and determined, a binge drinker with a bad heart who has in the past year told friends he is suffering from cancer.

Jailed three times in the Irish republic for IRA membership he was released once after a 41-day hunger strike he is wanted by police in the North, but lives just south of the border in the hamlet of Smithboro, Co Monaghan. There, the former bricklayer claims unemployment benefit.

The most capable military tactician in the IRA's ranks was released from jail two years ago and has since publicly declared that he wants to retire and 'put his feet up'; but there are no indications that Brian Keenan, 54, (no relation to the former Beirut hostage) has yet done so.

Keenan's involvement with the IRA goes back to the dawn of the current Troubles. He is rare in being a committed Marxist who admired the East German communist regime and travelled to Libya in 1972 to set up the IRA's first links with Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. He was arrested in Belfast in 1979 during a meeting with McGuinness, who was under RUC surveillance at the time. In his pockets were found half a Libyan banknote and a note saying: 'Brian, my brother, here is some money for you,' both part of coded recognition signals.

He was jailed for 18 years for masterminding a campaign of bombings and shootings in mainland Britain. Keenan was considered so crucial to IRA strategy that a helicopter rescue from Brixton prison was planned; it was foiled by the arrest of the plotters. During his time in prison, however, Keenan made friends among other inmates and is responsible for IRA contacts with London's East End underworld.

The whole new mainland offensive which had been in planning since last November is under the control of a Belfast man who now lives in Dublin and is head of the IRA's southern command. For legal reasons, he cannot be named, but his chief of operations can be identified: Dermot Finucane, 34, one of those who escaped from the Maze with Kelly in 1983, is still wanted in Ulster to complete



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Times Newspapers Limited, February 18, 1996

an 18-year sentence for possession of explosives.

The fact that the IRA was prepared to resume its terror campaign on a timetable dictated by hotheads reveals how determined the more 'moderate' elements in the leadership are to avoid a split. A fragmentation that would leave a hardline militant murder machine operating even during all-party talks would mean the end of the 'unarmed strategy' which Adams still says he believes is the route to success. The irony here is that Adams and others may have gone along with the resumption of violence because they believe it is the only hope of saving their long-term objective of peace with victory.

The Sinn Fein leadership has been playing on semantics: knowing that an attack was coming is not the same as knowing the date and time. The timing is what was railroaded through the Dublin meeting. McGuinness has since declared: 'I can state with my hand on my heart that I did not know there was to be an incident in London on Friday night. I am 100% certain Gerry Adams didn't know either.' But neither has denied outright that they knew an attack was planned.

All the indications are that Sinn Fein has been cultivating this cosmetic distance between itself and the IRA since December, when it became clear that the hardliners' trigger fingers were itching. Just before Christmas, and only days before he was due to meet the commission headed by George Mitchell, the former US senator, to discuss arms decommissioning, McGuinness was reported in republican circles to have stepped down from the army council. McGuinness himself, like all those believed to sit on the council, has always denied membership publicly. To do otherwise would be to admit a criminal offence.

At that time, however, it was made clear within Sinn Fein that changes in the army council were in no way to be taken as indicating a split in the ranks. The hardliners had felt it important that nobody with actual authority to surrender weapons should even meet Mitchell. Adams himself is entitled, as president of Sinn Fein, to attend army council meetings.

Throughout their interwoven history, membership of the army council and the Sinn Fein leadership has been dictated by pragmatism, as even John Major acknowledged when he declared in the House of Commons last Monday: 'As for the relationship between Sinn Fein and the IRA, I think that they are both members one of another'.

The fluidity in the republican ranks is illustrated by the fact that one member of Sinn Fein's negotiating team, **Gerry Kelly**, is not a member of the political party, but is there simply as an observer. However, though he, too, denies this, he is believed to be the IRA's liaison officer and a key member of the army council.

Kelly, 41, was given two life sentences for his part in the 1973 Old Bailey bombing, but escaped in a mass breakout of 38 IRA convicts from the Maze prison 10 years later. He was re-arrested in Holland in 1986, extradited back to Northern Ireland on condition that he not be jailed for 'political crimes', sentenced to five years for jailbreaking and released with remission in 1989. The man believed to have replaced McGuinness on the council is **Sean Murray**, known as 'Spike'. Jailed in 1982 after being caught ferrying two beer-keg bombs to Belfast, Murray was, on his release, 'credited' with developing the human bomb strategy whereby civilian workers at security bases were kidnapped,



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Times Newspapers Limited, February 18, 1996

strapped into car bombs and forced to drive them into checkpoints. Ranged against the IRA is the reactivated panoply of Britain's security apparatus, back on full alert. In Northern Ireland the security services, now reinforced by 500 extra British troops, taking the army contingent back to pre-ceasefire levels, expect an IRA attack within the next two weeks. 'I am not convinced, though, that they will want to take life in the province,' said one security source. 'They don't want to draw in the loyalists.'

Guards have been stepped up around potential infrastructure targets such as power stations, airports and railways. The government has also flown in a detachment of 30 anti-terrorist experts from the SAS, currently overstretched because of commitments in Bosnia. The force in Northern Ireland had been whittled down to six. In Britain, communities that have suffered from terrorism anonymously offered Pounds 1m for the capture of the 'clean' men from Monaghan.

IN BRITISH eyes, Adams must pull something remarkable out of the hat to shed his pariah status. In the past week, three attempts by the Sinn Fein leader to speak to British ministers got no further than their secretaries' desks. Neither Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Northern Ireland secretary, nor his ministers, Michael Ancram and Sir John Wheeler, accepted his phone calls. Privately, British officials are as pessimistic about the peace process as the IRA hardliners.

The situation is not, however, entirely hopeless. The planned elections will almost certainly go ahead. Sinn Fein sources indicate that they might be willing to take part, provided it is made clear that the result will not be any sort of legislative body but purely prove a mandate for negotiators at all-party talks.

To make that convincing would require a firm British commitment to talks within a firmly fixed timetable preferably two weeks after the vote. In that case, and only that case, in order for Sinn Fein to be allowed to the table, a new IRA ceasefire could be declared within that timetable. The peace process could yet get back on the rails. But the question is: who will be driving the train?

Additional reporting: Michael Prescott and Rory Godson in Dublin.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 29, 1996

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Department of Social Development and World Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3180 FAX (202) 541-3339 TELEX 7400424

March 6, 1996

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: John Hart
456-2896
Nancy Soderberg
456-9460
Melanne Vermeer
456-6244
Flo McAfee
456-6218
Mary Ann Peters
456-9150

FR: Jerry Powers *JP*
European Affairs Advisor
Office of International Justice and Peace
(202) 541-3196 (direct)

RE: U.S./ Ireland churches' call for prayers for NI

I enclose two calls for prayers for peace in Northern Ireland, The one call was issued by the four church leaders in Ireland for prayers on March 10; the other is from U.S. church leaders for prayers on March 17. It is not often that all the churches on both sides of the Atlantic have come together like this. The last time was the churches' Call for Fair Employment and Investment in NI. Each of us is getting the word out through our media and diocesan and parish/ congregation networks.

We hope this will be helpful.

enclosures

*keep in
file*

*To Vinca
We should
recognize in
Friday 3/15
Remarks*

CALL FOR PRAYERS FOR PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

March 5, 1996

March 17th is a day when many Americans, especially those of Irish descent, will be reflecting on the challenges of peace during this critical time for the future of Northern Ireland.

We urge Americans to offer special prayers on this day for an end to violence and progress toward peace in Northern Ireland. We make this ecumenical call in solidarity with the leaders of the four largest churches in Ireland, who have called for a day of prayer for peace on March 10th.

By joining in prayer on March 17th, Americans will be offering spiritual and moral support to the vast majority of people in Northern Ireland who yearn to be free from violence and to build a lasting and just peace.

Bishop Edmond Browning
Presiding Bishop and Primate
Episcopal Church, USA

Bishop Melvin Talbert
President
Reverend Joan B. Campbell
General Secretary
National Council of Churches
of Christ in the USA

Reverend Henry J. Postel
Chairman
Northern Ireland Working Group
Presbyterian Church, USA

Bishop Joseph H. Yeakel
President
Dr. Thom White Wolf Fassett
General Secretary
General Board of Church and
Society
The United Methodist Church

Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly
Chairman
International Policy Committee
U.S. Catholic Conference

15/8-2

THE FOUR CHURCH LEADERS (IRELAND)

His Grace
The Archbishop of Armagh
Primate of All Ireland
The Sec House
Armagh BT41 7EE

His Eminence
The Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh
Primate of All Ireland
Aps Coeli
Armagh BT61 7QY

The Moderator of the General Assembly
Church House
Belfast
BT1 6DW

The President of the Methodist Church
1 Fountainville Avenue
Belfast
BT9 6AN

29 February, 1996.

CALL FOR DAY OF PRAYER

The Leaders of the Four Main Churches in Ireland have called for a day of prayer on Sunday 10 March. They have asked that prayers for a lasting peace in Ireland and for those involved in the political process should be offered in all Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Church of Ireland and Methodist parishes and congregations on that day. They have also asked their people to regard 10 March as an opportunity to pray that all who have great responsibilities in seeking a political settlement will be guided by the Spirit of God.

The call is issued by Cardinal Cahal B. Daly, the Right Rev. Dr. John Ross (Moderator of the General Assembly), Archbishop Robin Eames and Rev. Christopher Walpole (President of the Methodist Church in Ireland).



Department of Social Development and World Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3180 FAX (202) 541-3339 TELEX 7400424

March 6, 1996

Your Eminences/Excellencies:

In solidarity with the leaders of the four largest churches in Ireland, we have joined Protestant leaders in the United States in calling for prayers for peace in Northern Ireland on the Feast of St. Patrick, Sunday, March 17. Please take whatever steps you feel appropriate to promote these prayers for peace and justice in Northern Ireland on this day.

This call for prayers is one of numerous initiatives on Northern Ireland. We have been working closely with Cardinal Cahal Daly, president of the Irish Episcopal Conference, as well as the Presbyterian Church in the United States and Ireland.

In response to the end of the cease-fire in February, I joined Cardinal Daly in condemning the IRA bombing and calling on the IRA to cease any campaign of violence and unequivocally to commit to the pursuit of peace and justice by non-violent, democratic means. We have urged leaders to find effective ways to facilitate political talks and have said that those in the republican movement who are committed to exclusively nonviolent, democratic means should not be excluded from dialogue and should not have contacts denied them. Cardinal Daly is supportive of the recent proposal of the Irish and British governments for all-party talks to begin on June 10, in conjunction with a referendum and elections. I enclose my statement on the end of the cease-fire.

I would like to call your attention to one other important program. The Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal college associations have teamed up with the N.I. Employment and Training Agency to provide one year of business education to Catholic and Protestant students from Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic. This year, 125 students are attending 60 U.S. colleges. If you think a Catholic college in your diocese might be interested, please have them contact Paul Gallagher, Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, One Dupont Circle, Washington, DC 20036, 202-457-0650.

Thank you for considering these two initiatives.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Most Reverend Daniel P. Kelly
Bishop of Worcester
Chairman, International Policy Committee

enclosure



Irish National Caucus
 Capitol Hill • 413 E. Capitol St., SE
 Washington, D.C. 20003-3810
 Tel. (202) 544-0568 • Fax (202) 543-2491

NEWS RELEASE

ATTENTION: NEWS DIRECTOR

Contact:

Fr. Seán McManus
 Phone (202) 544-0568

IRISH TIMES' SHODDY JOURNALISM

Washington Correspondent Taken to Task for "Making" Not Reporting News

O'Clery to End Career in Washington Under Cloud

Letters to the Editor, *The Irish Times*
 11-15 D'Olier Street
 Dublin 2, Republic of Ireland

April 30, 1996

Dear Editor,

Your Washington correspondent, Conor O'Clery is about to leave after a distinguished career in this city. Sadly his article "Irish-American Leaders Reject Priest's Criticism of Clinton" (April 29, 1996) has stained his credentials for accuracy, fairness, and objectivity. It breaks two cardinal rules of journalism: (1) never mislead the readers and (2) report, don't make, the news.

O'Clery's article says in effect: Folks, here is a report about a letter (signed by 100 Irish-Americans) which rejects Fr. McManus' criticism of President Clinton.

O'Clery conveniently fails to mention, however, that nowhere in the letter am I or the Irish National Caucus mentioned. Indeed, the drafters of the letter specifically decided that it would not criticize me and people who signed the letter did so on that understanding. (Neither did they intend the letter to condone President Clinton's opposition to the MacBride Principles) Furthermore, in the letter there is no mention of "priest's criticism."

Instead of dealing with the facts of the letter he purports to write on, O'Clery speaks to some anonymous source who puts a "spin" on the letter. O'Clery then proceeds to deceive the readers by giving them the "spin" instead of what the letter actually said. Is this the type of journalism the Irish Times wants to endorse?

Here is the original issue: The eleven major Irish-American organizations -- including the Irish National Caucus -- signed a letter to President Clinton. The letter expressed deep gratitude for his role in the Irish peace process but told him that we could no longer be silent about his opposition to the MacBride Principles -- contrary to his pledge. We then asked the President to reinstate his previous policy of support for the MacBride Principles.

Irish-Americans overwhelmingly support the MacBride Principles and they want the President to sign them into law. Any attempt to obscure that central fact does no service to the truth or to the President, who has done so much good for peace in Ireland. Those who try to tell President Clinton that Irish-Americans do not mind his opposition to the MacBride Principles are trying to deceive the public and the President of the United States. That should not be the function of the Washington correspondent for the Irish Times -- or of any other journalist.

Sincerely,

Fr. Seán McManus

Fr. Seán McManus,

*TO MAF
 traction*

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. report	re: Eligible Parties for Northern Ireland's Election (2 pages)	04/24/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1708

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]

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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