

FOIA MARKER

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

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records
Subgroup/Office of Origin: Records Management - SUBJECT FILE
Series/Staff Member:
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 21689
Scan ID: 077772SS
Document Number:

Folder Title:
CO081

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
S	83	5	6	3

071772 SS

COO81

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nancy -

I discussed this letter
with the President this
AM - he asked me to
drop it off so he could
read it when he leaves
town (on vacation, we hope!)

Thanks - good to see
you.

Q

Thurs. Aug 17
7:15 pm

Tony
W. Strain
B.

COUDERT BROTHERS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

GARY HART
OF COUNSEL
9785 MAROON CIRCLE, SUITE 210
ENGLEWOOD, COLORADO 80112
TEL: 303 649-4656 FAX: 303 649-9760

August 4, 1994

President William Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The author of this letter, who shares a long-standing concern for peace in Ireland, also shares a profound conviction that time and circumstances now provide a unique opportunity for the United States to assume a more vigorous, though not necessarily more highly visible, role in helping achieve peace on that troubled island.

The confluence of historic circumstances is this:

First, despite nationalist frictions, the world is clearly in a condition for settlement of long-term disputes. The evidence is staggering. The end of the Cold War and reconciliation between the U.S. and Russia. A Middle East peace agreement and a working relationship between Israel and the Palestinians. The first democratic elections and the inauguration of a black majority government in South Africa. German reunification. The end of hostilities in Central America. Ireland is a glaring exception, principally because the parties cannot move further by themselves;

Second, the parties in Ireland managed to negotiate an important but vague Joint Declaration, but may presently be stuck and too exhausted to go further without help. The British people are paying billions of pounds a year on Northern Ireland and know their economy cannot continue to carry this burden. After a brief burst of energy with the announcement of the Joint Declaration last December, the bilateral negotiating process has again become stalled. Although Sinn Fein has recently announced that it will not embrace the Downing Street declaration at this time, there is some optimism that the IRA is prepared to consider a cease fire of some sort in order to allow the peace process (such as it is) to remain alive. For its part, the British government recently announced the transfer of 30 IRA prisoners from incarceration in Britain to incarceration in Northern Ireland. This was a clear humanitarian gesture and is regarded as a signal of potential amnesty in the event of peace;

1. 8/14 CL: TONY LAKE

2. PRESIDENT

NEW YORK
PARIS
WASHINGTON
LONDON
BRUSSELS
HONG KONG
SINGAPORE
SÃO PAULO
SAN FRANCISCO
BEIJING
SYDNEY
LOS ANGELES
SAN JOSE
SHANGHAI
TOKYO
MOSCOW
BANGKOK
JAKARTA

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/22/94

President William Clinton
August 4, 1994
Page 2

Third, there is clearly an opportunity for a good-faith, third-party mediator. The Prime Ministers of Ireland (Reynolds) and the U.K. (Major) are nearing the boundary of their political authority and may be incapable, without outside prodding and pressure, of making further concessions;

Fourth, given its 40 plus million Americans of Irish descent and its long and successful role as mediator in the Middle East, the United States has political precedents and diplomatic authority to seek to bring about a permanent resolution of Ireland's troubles. (Please recall your controversial promises during the campaign to appoint a "peace envoy" to Northern Ireland. Active and interested Irish-American groups remain committed to seeing this promise fulfilled.)

Given the "opportunity for a new departure" described in the Joint Declaration, the author believes the United States should undertake the following initiatives:

1. After consultation with all parties, you should appoint a "personal representative" to observe, monitor and report to you on the progress of further peace negotiations, with an emphasis on seeking new formulas to facilitate progress. (The designation "special envoy" should not be used since it is too laden with political baggage).
2. You should privately recommend to the parties that your representative chair or facilitate the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation called for in the Joint Declaration. No public announcement should be made.
3. Your representative should be knowledgeable of Ireland's history and culture, respected by the parties, totally committed to the endeavor, and operate with low visibility (talking seldom, if ever, to the press).
4. Your representative should operate as a neutral mediator or arbitrator using recognized principles of international dispute resolution.
5. Through the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, this representative should: (a) isolate and prioritize barriers to resolution; (b) propose alternative solutions; (c) suggest new structures and institutions; (d) help prepare proposed constitutional and statutory amendments; (e) seek to establish time tables for actions; (f) facilitate Forum for Peace and Reconciliation meetings through agenda-setting; (g) hear and resolve complaints.

President William Clinton
August 4, 1994
Page 3

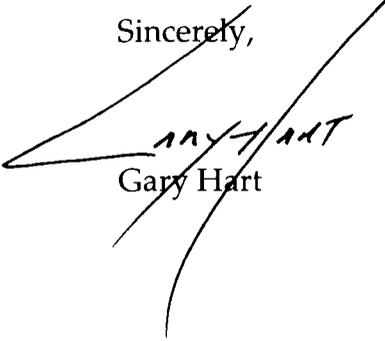
6. The goal of your representative should be to draft an overall settlement agreement with time tables that recognize the long-term nature of the settlement.
7. This presidential representative should report regularly to the President, but operate within the National Security Council chain of command, and brief State and concerned members of Congress.
8. Necessarily, your representative should regularly visit London, Dublin and Belfast as an on-going intermediary (following the Middle East example) and should principally operate as a "hollow log" receiving and transmitting messages and providing political deniability for experimental proposals by the parties.

Mr. President, I am keenly aware of traditional British diplomatic resistance to proposals of this sort. But I believe very strongly nonetheless that, given world-wide trends toward reconciliation and given the intractable resistance of narrow interest on both sides, the British government might, even while publicly protesting, secretly welcome U.S. involvement as quiet mediator. Moreover, I believe that British views may be changing and can be solicited at a senior ministerial but informal level. I have a long-term personal friendship with Chris Patton, Governor-General of Hong Kong, who formerly held the Ministerial portfolio to Northern Ireland and is one of Prime Minister Major's closest friends and advisors.

The Joint Declaration, by recognizing the right of the Irish people "to exercise their right of self-determination ... to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish," has set the stage for final unification when demographics produce a Catholic majority in the North. Now what is required is a formal Agreement of Peace and Reconciliation to ratify this consensus.

On behalf of the United States and the Irish people, you as President can and should seek to arbitrate and negotiate this Agreement.

Sincerely,



Gary Hart

GH/gmcg

cc: James M. Lyons