

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 13, 1998

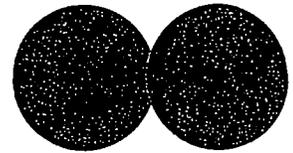
ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with Senator George Mitchell, 2-2:30 p.m., Monday, April 13, 1998



Your memorandum to the President for his meeting with Senator Mitchell is at Tab A. It covers the mood and state of play in the United Kingdom and Ireland, as well as next steps.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A

Attachment

Tab A Memorandum to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH  
SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL  
DATE: April 13, 1998  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
TIME: 2-2:30 p.m.  
  
FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M (1.06)  
KBH 7/31/2019

I. PURPOSE

To acknowledge Senator Mitchell's successful conclusion of the Northern Ireland all-party peace talks, and to discuss follow-on measures to support implementation.

II. BACKGROUND

**State of Play.** The first weekend after Good Friday's historic peace agreement went better than expected. David Trimble, with the help of the Loyalists, got a strong vote of confidence with a 55-23 margin from his party's Executive Council. Gerry Adams hit the campaign trail in IRA strongholds to sell the deal, and the Apprentice Boys (a Protestant loyal order) concurred with the Parades Commission's decision to ban today's march through the Lower Ormeau Road in Derry (traditionally a contentious event).

The negative signals are coming from the expected quarters. The right wing UK press is fretting about the prospects for all paramilitary prisoners to be back on the streets within two years. John Major is publicly supporting the view that Sinn Fein should not be admitted to the new NI government until the IRA begins disarming.

The mood is very mixed across Ireland. Kathy Stephens reported that both nationalists and unionists were hard at work over the weekend explaining the agreement to supporters and trying to minimize rifts with their parties. The "man on the street" attitude was one of quiet contemplation; there were few scenes of celebration. Press

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 4/13/08

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reaction in the south was enthusiastic at the accomplishment.

**Timeline.** A series of crucial meetings is set for this week. **David Trimble** has to face down his parliamentary group (ten members, with at least four opposed to the deal) mid-week, and then try to carry the UUP council (800 strong) on Saturday. A phone call from you to loyalist leaders Ervine and McMichael would be helpful to maintain support from that wing of unionism going into that meeting.

**Adams** also has the Sinn Fein annual convention on Saturday, with mixed reports regarding whether he will put the deal to a vote then, or delay a few weeks in order to educate the grass-roots. One issue he has to face is changing the Sinn Fein constitution to permit members to take seats in the new NI assembly.

The **referendums** are set for **May 22** in the north and south. The Irish parliament (Dail) is being brought back into session a few days early next week in order to pass the legislation necessary for this (four weeks advance notice required). The **Assembly elections** take place **June 25**, with an early July "symbolic" first meeting. From July to February, 1999, the Irish and British governments enact bits of legislation to legal force to the agreement and the institutions it created. The **Assembly and North-South Council** are formally inaugurated in February.

**Next Steps.** The National Security team will call interested members of Congress and convene a conference call with the Irish-American community to brief on the agreement.

- Four members are going to be Ireland shortly: Chris Dodd is vacationing there now; Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) leaves for Belfast on Wednesday, as does Senator Tom Harkin. Rep. Richie Neal and Peter King have been invited to attend the Sinn Fein convention Saturday.

Jim Lyons is working with us on economic initiatives and is coordinating with the agencies. Secretary Daley has developed a number of ideas to strengthen trade and investment promotion for Northern Ireland, in addition to some community development proposals.

There is a clear expectation in Northern Ireland that you are coming to visit in May. Prior to making a recommendation to you, I will coordinate with the British and Irish governments on the appropriateness of doing this in advance of the referenda. We need to be prudent in the timing and message of your visit; a too lengthy stay in either the north or south increases the risks for a negative impact on the pro-referendum campaign.

III. PARTICIPANTS

TBD.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool spray

V. SEQUENCE

TBD

## Northern Ireland Coordination Meeting

### Points to Make

- D-Day is a week away. Expect a lot of panic and confusion over the next eight days as parties and governments are forced to put on paper the positions and compromises they have avoided over last 21 months. Important that we be very careful in dealings with the parties during this period -- all contact should be via the embassies, State and/or the NSC.
- We have succeeded in convincing all the parties that we are not on any one side. Evenhandedness is the currency of our influence. Compromise of this would set back our efforts.
- Cannot predict with high confidence that George Mitchell can pull this off, but we are counting on him, on Blair and on Ahern. He could deliver on April 9, or it could drag out.
- President has personally invested heavily in this peace. Every agency here has played or can play a role in bringing the prospect of peace this far. The President is justly proud of his team, and now expects us to raise our effort to a new level. We regret that Ron Brown and Chuck Meissner aren't here to witness the results of the impressive record compiled by Commerce.
- We are fortunate, though, to have a strong team here. Jim Lyons is here by phone from Denver. Our observer to the IFI since 1993, the President appointed him last September to be George Mitchell's successor as his special advisor, responsible for coordinating the efforts of government agencies to further the President's economic initiatives to support the peace process in Northern Ireland.
- You all know Larry Butler. Jim Steinberg and I stole him from Jean Kennedy Smith last summer to take over the Ireland portfolio at the NSC.
- Ellis Mottur and Virginia Manuel bring their substantial experience with on-the-ground business initiatives in Ireland.
- Jim Gadsden is the DAS at State Department covering Ireland.
- Treasury and USIA also have important programs and persons involved in this important Administration priority.

- Purpose of today's meeting is for all of us to become reacquainted and rededicated to helping make a peace in Ireland not only possible, but permanent. We expect set up phone conferences for regular updates to maintain proper team coordination.
- In this spirit, we in the NSC look forward to working in close partnership with Jim Lyons, Ellis and the Department of Commerce and the other agencies to prepare for an intense peace implementation campaign -- this campaign will have several fronts, ranging from political contact to economic to social to public affairs.
- I have a few copies of an EXDIS message sent in by Phil Lader and Jean Kennedy Smith last week outlining their perspective on what will work in the time frame we are looking at. I also have copies of fact sheets on U.S. actions prepared in 1994 and in 1995.
- **They see two pivotal elements of a "never-again" opportunity to help the forces for peace prevail over violence in Northern Ireland: a Presidential visit and Secretary Daley's trade mission in June.**
  - No decision has been made on a presidential visit, and none will be until we see what happens in the negotiations. The President will be in Germany May 13-14 and in the UK May 15-18. Any possible visit to Ireland would be short in duration, probably measured in hours, rather than days. **I ask you not to speculate with others on chances for this trip materializing -- there are too many unknown variables.**
- There are many other things that we can be doing as a government, in addition to actions by corporate and private America, that will have a longer term, and longer lasting, impact on Northern Ireland's society.
- At this point, I would like to ask for Ellis and other agency representatives to outline the status of on-going programs for Northern Ireland and the border counties, and to suggest new initiatives. I hope this will be a provocative session in the sense of generating ideas across a broad range of areas.

Framework

Support for the peace process can be identified as short, medium and long-term measures matching the phases of the peace talks end game: from now to the actual signing; to the referendum day; to Assembly elections; and into the implementation period. The two major measures we need to work on for the near term are a Presidential visit and Secretary Daly's June trade mission.

Pre-signing

- Identify what kind of support the major nationalist and unionist parties would welcome from the United States.
- Build Congressional support for a settlement
  - Possibility of increased IFI funding => Appropriations
  - Resolution to support an agreement (resolution)
  - Keep apprised of status of talks and U.S. support

Post-signing, pre-referendum

- **POTUS visit (mid-May)**
  - Deliverables
- Encourage civic work to get out the vote (NGOs, private individuals)
- Personalities.
  - Rock Stars/entertainers (Mowlam has concert series lined up; additional U.S. entertainers could be asked to donate time for this cause -- Streisand, Celine Dion, Cosby, others)
  - Sports figures for appearances, clinics (John Elway/Denver Broncos, NBA players, U.S. golfers)
  - Business personalities (Constitute blue ribbon US-NI business committee, op-ed pieces on peace dividend, trade missions)
  - Champions for peace: Mandela, Havel, Walesa
- Ship visits (Coast Guard tall ship Eagle?)
- Public expressions of support from American groups (ads, letters, op-ed pieces)

Post-referendum, pre-Assembly elections

- Democracy support programs:
  - NED/NDI programs
  - Others
  - Emily's list for women candidates, parties
- **Commerce Department trade mission (week of June 8)**

Long term initiatives

- Strand 4 - economic initiatives
  - John Cullinane's Belfast software support center
  - Derry City - San Jose connection recently established
  - Springvale Campus founding (IFI, AIF, other sponsors)
  - Blue Ribbon business committee (see personalities above).
  - Infrastructure projects to make all of Ireland attractive to U.S. investment/tourism.
  - SBA involvement in worker retraining and small business establishment
- Strand 5 - "equality agenda"
  - Policing/Security reform -- U.S. assistance on community policing, etc.
  - Judicial reform -- U.S. assistance -- law schools, NGOs

March 25, 1998

INFORMATION

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0156-M (1.07)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland peace process:  
Follow up to St. Patrick's Day meetings

Objective

- To assemble a comprehensive package of measures we can deploy in support of the conclusion and implementation of a Northern Ireland peace agreement; and
- To outline scenarios for a Presidential visit to Ireland.

Background

As we have discussed, there follows a checklist of ideas for influencing the successful conclusion, referendum on and implementation of a Northern Ireland peace accord. In addition to drawing on Jim Lyons' projects (memo attached), I had an informal brainstorming session Tuesday with Irish and British embassy representatives, the State Ireland Desk officer and Trina Vargo to generate ideas.

Subsequently I spoke with Jim Lyons' special assistant at State (who urged that Lyons be included in all future planning). Separately, Don Bandler's contacts with David Aaron resulted in A/S Ellis Mottur holding an internal coordination meeting Thursday to review what Commerce's component agencies are, or could be, doing to support the President's economic initiative.

Adam Ingram told parliamentarians in London today that Gordon Brown is exploring with the parties possible options for a package of economic measures to be included in a special initiative to boost Northern Ireland's economy and help in the drive for a settlement.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 3/35/08

Framework

Support for the peace process can be sequenced as short, medium and long-term initiatives to match the phases of the peace talks end game: from now to the April 9 deadline; to the May 22 referendum; to late June Assembly elections; and beyond into the implementation period.

Pre-signing

- White House contact with the parties and governments
  - Seek UUP indication of what would appeal to its community if an agreement is signed.
- Calls to key Congressional members
  - Indicate support for increased IFI funding as earmarks for FY 99 (tough sell, though Kennedy and others are sympathetic). Some groundwork has been laid, but question of offsets and relative wealth of NI.)
  - Brief on status of talks
  - Early warning of initiatives that might be counterproductive (IFI/MacBride in State authorization)

*Project*

*Adopt Resolution Support King + Salsc*

Post-signing, pre-referendum

- POTUS visit (May 17 and/or May 19)
  - Break ground for Springvale campus (Jim Lyons proposal)
  - Peace celebration concert (would need high level phone calls to get some one like Streisand/Dionne)
- Civic work to get out the vote (work already begun with indigenous NGOs with NDI/IRI programs, private benefactors Chuck Feeny, Tony O'Reilly, Tom Moran, others)
- Personalities for peace -- profiled appearances and/or performances to generate cross-community interest and awareness of outside concern.

*Same Baker*

*Clare 12-10*

- ✓ Sports figures (John Elway/Denver Broncos - Belfast connection; golfers)
- ✓ Entertainers (Bill Cosby - former AIF awardee; Barbara Streisand, Celine Dionne/Titanic connection; Tina Turner; Elton John/Stevie Wonder reprise)
- ✓ Business personalities (Constitute a blue ribbon US-NI business committee -- Bill Gates, Tom Corcoran, others) *Desmond Tutu*
- ✓ International peace figures: Mandela, Havel, Walesa
  - Ship visits (Coast Guard tall ship Eagle?)
  - Encourage advertisement campaign by American interest groups ("Congratulations to people of Northern Ireland")

Post-referendum, pre-Assembly elections

- Democracy support programs:
  - NDI and IRI (not currently active) to provide neutral election support (printing)
  - Pew Foundation
  - Emily's list for women candidates, parties
- Commerce Department trade mission (week of June 8)

Long term initiatives

- Strand 4 - economic initiatives ✓
- John Cullinane's Belfast software support center ✓
- Belfast "Positively Belfast" or Friends initiative
- Derry City - San Jose connection recently established
- Springvale Campus founding (IFI, AIF, other sponsors)
- Blue Ribbon business committee (see personalities above).

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

---

**From:** Friedrich, Mary K.  
**Sent:** Monday, March 30, 1998 8:51 PM  
**To:** Butler, Lawrence E.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor  
**Cc:** Bandler, Donald K.; Blinken, Antony J.; Baker, James E.  
**Subject:** RE: NI end game -- two cables from London and Dublin with recommendations and information [CONFIDENTIAL]

Steinberg has read and on the 3rd page of the cable he highlighted the section that reads: To avoid the appearance of interference in domestic affairs the President should not explicitly endorse the Yes position And asked Is this possible?.

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Butler, Lawrence E.  
**Sent:** Friday, March 27, 1998 1:28 PM  
**To:** @NSA - Natl Security Advisor  
**Cc:** Bandler, Donald K.; Blinken, Antony J.; Baker, James E.  
**Subject:** NI end game -- two cables from London and Dublin with recommendations and information [CONFIDENTIAL]

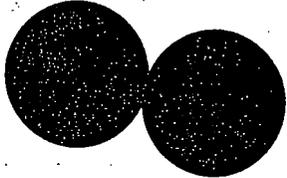
For Jim's reading

<< Message: NORTHERN IRELAND: U.S. GAME PLAN FG THE PEACE >> << Message: NORTHERN IRELAND: APRIL 9 "DECISION TIME" AT TALKS >>

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-m

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

April 3, 1998



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER <sup>D</sup>

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Briefing the President on Northern Ireland Talks

Per your request, I have prepared an information memorandum for the President on the state of play in the Northern Ireland peace talks. I will be in touch with the parties as they engage in bilateral meetings throughout the weekend and will provide another formal update on Monday morning, in addition to oral briefings for you and Jim.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum to the President

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KRM/NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.10)  
KBH 7/31/2019

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Status of Northern Ireland peace talks

Recent Developments

A building mood of optimism in Belfast was dashed by unfortunate press reports out of London that the planned release of Mitchell's draft document was being held up to allow London to consult with David Trimble. Mitchell is reported to be upset that Blair and Ahern are now openly identified as the drafters of the Northern Ireland Assembly (Strand 1) and North-South Council (Strand 2) texts. More troubling is the perception that some, but not all, parties are being given advance opportunities to scrub the documents. This contretemps is not fatal, but it complicates matters, and makes it harder to meet the April 9 deadline.

Ahern and Blair, meeting for the third straight day, had managed to hammer out in confidence most of the elements of a joint draft to give to Mitchell. They are still stuck, however, on provisions for decision-making in a new Northern Ireland assembly and wording for the North-South council. George Mitchell had hoped to present a complete draft agreement to the parties Friday night, but Blair and Ahern intervened and asked him to hold off until they meet Saturday. Mitchell sent the parties home to be on call for when the governments manage to complete work. Hume and the loyalists are reported to be threatening to play hardball in light of Trimble's influence over the Strand 2 draft.

Leaks are certain after Mitchell presents the draft. This will provoke sharp reactions, which may create problems as Mitchell solicits initial feedback from the parties. George will factor these into a synthesis draft that he wants to table on Monday,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 4/3/08

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

leaving three days to wrap up the talks. Both Blair and Ahern have indicated readiness to join the talks next week.

Ancillary developments made this week even more dramatic. The new Parades Commission defied skeptics in deciding not to allow the first contentious march of the season, Easter Monday, to go through a nationalist neighborhood. The Bloody Sunday Commission launched its work with a public meeting. On the minus side, a UN special human rights report released April 1 was very critical of intimidation of Northern Ireland defense attorneys. On the security front, the Irish police foiled a massive car bomb plot, intercepting a BMW loaded with 1,000 lbs of explosives about to board a ferry for Britain. The finger points to one of the renegade republican groups. This makes a total of four major finds of nitrate fertilizer-based explosives totaling nearly three tons since January 8.

#### Elements of the Negotiations

**Strand 1/Northern Ireland Assembly.** What is not known outside the governments is that London and Dublin are stuck on rules for decision-making in the new Assembly. Trimble (with London acting for now as his proxy) is opposed to a strong parliamentary government model, preferring a string of autonomous committees loosely linked to the elected body. This is a non-starter for the nationalists and Dublin. A consensus is building towards a hybrid where policy decisions are taken by "sufficient consensus" (a double majority of both unionists and nationalist representatives), with "secretaries" of subordinate committees empowered by the Assembly to enter into negotiations and accountable ("collective responsibility") for their (in)actions.

**Strand 2/North-South Council.** Both sides agree this institution will be based on legislation (via ratification of the peace agreement). London was checking with Trimble on the precise wording of how decisions are to be made. Trimble fears giving this institution too much power and independence given the possibility that Sinn Fein might try to spike the Assembly, leaving the Council unaccountable to the unionist majority. Consensus is coalescing around a model with "ministers" from North and South having six-to-eight "implementation bodies" dealing with discrete issue areas such as tourism, environment, etc.

**Strand 3/British-Irish Council and Council of the Islands.** London and Dublin have agreed on arrangements to increase cooperation between themselves and among the different "nations" of British and Irish islands.

**Constitutional Issues.** The agreement will have language guaranteeing equality/civil rights. Dublin has agreed on amendments to the Irish constitution (eliminating claim to NI), and the British have offered somewhat convoluted language to invalidate earlier legislation concerning NI.

**Prisoners.** A review commission will be set up, with a remit to accelerate sentence reductions for qualified persons (no guidelines mentioned at this point). Sinn Fein is said to be on board for this, though it would prefer a complete amnesty.

**Rights and Equality.** The agreement will establish a new NI Human Rights Commission, enumerate a number of rights, and state that this -- taken together with European Convention on Human Rights -- constitutes a bill of rights. An Equality Commission will be established, in addition to a joint committee of the northern and south human rights commissions. The agreement will call for negotiation of a rights charter. It also contains good language on economic and social rights, and a regional development strategy explicitly aimed at tackling divisions in Northern Ireland. It imposes a statutory requirement to promote the Irish language. Sinn Fein and SDLP are very happy with this.

**Policing.** The governments seek to establish a commission on police reform to report by fall 1999. Terms of reference are still to be drafted, but a five-year transitional period to create a proportionally representative force has been agreed. Dublin reports that Sinn Fein and the SDLP can live with this.

**Decommissioning.** Agreed language is still vague on specifics for decommissioning, envisioning a fairly long period (one to three years) for paramilitary weapons to be turned in. This could be a sticking point for the Unionists if they needed one.

March 25, 1998

INFORMATION

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0156-M (1.11)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland peace process:  
Follow up to St. Patrick's Day meetings

Objective

- To assemble a comprehensive package of measures we can deploy in support of the conclusion and implementation of a Northern Ireland peace agreement; and
- To outline scenarios for a Presidential visit to Ireland.

Background

Pursuant to your request, I have compiled a checklist of ideas for influencing the successful conclusion, referendum on and implementation of a Northern Ireland peace accord. In addition to drawing on Jim Lyons' projects (memo attached), I had an informal brainstorming session Tuesday with Irish and British embassy representatives, the State Ireland Desk officer and Trina Vargo to generate ideas.

Subsequently I spoke with Jim Lyons' special assistant at State (who strongly urged that Lyons be included in all future planning). Separately, Don Bandler's contacts with David Aaron resulted in Aaron and A/S Ellis Mottur holding internal coordination meetings Thursday and Friday to review what Commerce's component agencies are, or could be, doing to support the President's economic initiative. However, there appears to be some difficulties between Commerce and Lyons as to coordination of economic initiatives that we may have to resolve next week.

Adam Ingram told parliamentarians in London today that Gordon Brown is exploring with the parties possible options for a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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→ "influentials" ←

4/16 → James Baker + Mary DR  
→ preferential treatment  
"post office" → George Mitchell  
State Dept

"political consultants" →  
→ controversy of who to hire

package of economic measures to be included in a special initiative to boost the Northern Ireland and help in the drive for a settlement.

Framework

Support for the peace process can be sequenced as short, medium and long-term initiatives to match the phases of the peace talks end game: from now to the April 9 deadline; to the May 22 referendum; to late June Assembly elections; and beyond into the implementation period.

Pre-signing

- White House contact with the parties and governments
  - Seek UUP indication of what would appeal to its community if an agreement is signed.
- Calls to key Congressional members
  - Indicate support for increased IFI funding as earmarks for FY 99 (tough sell though Kennedy and others are sympathetic. Some groundwork has been laid, but question of offsets and relative wealth of NI.)
  - Brief on status of talks
  - Early warning of initiatives that might be counterproductive (IFI/MacBride in State authorization)

Post-signing, pre-referendum

- POTUS visit (May 17 and/or May 19)
  - Break ground for Springvale campus (Jim Lyons proposal)
  - Peace celebration concert (would need high level phone calls to get someone like Streisand or Celine Dion)
- Civic work to get out the vote (work already begun with indigenous NGOs with NDI/IRI programs, private benefactors -- Chuck Feeny, Tony O'Reilly, Tom Moran, others)
- Personalities for peace -- profiled appearances and/or performances to generate cross-community interest and awareness of outside concern.
  - Sports figures (John Elway/Denver Broncos - Belfast connection; golfers)

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- Entertainers (Bill Cosby - former AIF awardee; Barbara Streisand, Celine Dionne/Titanic connection; Tina Turner; Elton John/Stevie Wonder reprise)
  - Business personalities (Constitute a blue ribbon US-NI business committee -- Bill Gates, Tom Corcoran, others)
  - International peace figures: Mandela, Havel, Walesa
  - Ship visits (Coast Guard tall ship Eagle?)
- Encourage advertisement campaign by American interest groups ("Congratulations to people of Northern Ireland")

## Post-referendum, pre-Assembly elections

- Democracy support programs:
  - NDI and IRI (not currently active) to provide neutral election support (printing)
  - Pew Foundation
  - Emily's list for women candidates, parties
- Commerce Department trade mission (week of June 8)

## Long term initiatives

- Strand 4 - economic initiatives
  - John Cullinane's Belfast software support center
  - Belfast "Positively Belfast" or Friends initiative
  - Derry City - San Jose connection recently established
  - Springvale Campus founding (IFI, AIF, other sponsors)
  - Blue Ribbon business committee (see personalities above).
  - Infrastructure projects (Derry Dublin road, Belfast-Dublin road -- would have to be EU funded.
- Strand 5 - "equality agenda"
  - Policing reform/Security downsizing
    - early outs to establish sectarian balance (Mowlam working on, London-funded)
    - assistance on community policing, etc.
    - Phil Lader and SBA involvement in worker retraining and small business establishment
  - Judicial reform -- retired U.S. justices, law schools, NGOs

Options for POTUS visit to Ireland

**Plan A. -- pluses:** parses Ireland visit into two parts, gets two days of headlines with a day in between. **Minuses:** late arrival in Belfast on Sunday, long day for POTUS.

- Sunday, May 17 -- post-Birmingham visit to **Belfast** (two events, three hour stay), RON Chequers
- Monday, May 18 -- Chequers political meeting, US-EU summit
- Tuesday, May 19 -- London to **Dublin**, return to U.S.

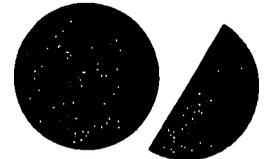
**Plan B -- pluses:** puts Ireland after all UK events, offers OTR Ballybunion event. **Minuses:** requires Ireland overnight, will increase demands on POTUS time from Hume, others.

- Sunday, May 17 -- Birmingham to Chequers, political meeting
- Monday, May 18 -- U.S-EU Summit, travel to **Belfast**, RON Dublin
- Tuesday, May 19 -- **Dublin** to Ballybunion, return to U.S.

**Plan C -- pluses:** spreads news coverage out over five days, frees up Birmingham and London time for more relaxed schedule. **Minuses:** late day for POTUS, potential for adverse events between the two visits.

- Thursday, May 14 -- Germany to **Belfast**, RON Birmingham
- Friday, May 15 -- Birmingham (bilats and G-8)
- Saturday, May 16 -- Birmingham
- Sunday, May 17 -- Birmingham to Chequers, political meeting
- Monday, May 18 -- London U.S.-EU summit, lunch, Yeltsin dinner, RON London
- Tuesday, May 19 -- London to **Dublin**, return to U.S.

December 9, 1998



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER, ACTING

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with Ambassador Michael Sullivan, Friday, December 11, 2:20-2:30 p.m.

1:45-1:55

The President has agreed to see Mike Sullivan briefly on Friday. Your briefing memo to him is attached at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I

Attachments

- Tab I Briefing Memorandum for the President
- Tab A Biography

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-m



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 12/9/08

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M (1.13)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN  
DATE: December 11, 1998  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
TIME: 2:20 - 2:30 p.m.  
  
FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

Discuss Mike Sullivan's pending assignment to Ireland as Ambassador.

II. BACKGROUND

Governor Mike Sullivan was sworn in as your next ambassador to Ireland on Tuesday by Stu Eizenstat. He plans to travel with his wife, Jane, to Dublin in January. He has already made a strong impression on the many Irish and Northern Irish officials he has come into contact with and will enjoy a very warm welcome.

He met with Jim Steinberg on Tuesday to discuss our key priorities in the Irish peace process. In addition to his regular duties, you should encourage him to continue to make Dublin a vital window to Northern Ireland, reinforcing the confidence on the island in your role in building peace, reconciliation and prosperity.

Peace process update. Following your meetings with Trimble and Adams on Tuesday, Tony Blair met with both Martin McGuinness and Seamus Mallon in London. McGuinness made largely the same argument that you heard from Gerry Adams. Trimble and Hume both sounded conciliatory notes when they arrived in Oslo for the Nobel ceremonies, picking up on your theme of finalizing the political package soon. Expectations are increasing for this happening before Christmas.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 12/9/08

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Ambassador Sullivan  
Sandy Berger, Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs (TBC)  
Jim Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs (TBC)

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photo only.

V. SEQUENCE

You will greet him the Oval Office for an official photo  
and short meeting.

Attachment

Tab A Sullivan biography

December 7, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M(1.17)  
KBM 7/31/2019

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Irish Tuesday: Your meeting with Mike Sullivan, lunch at British Ambassador and NDI-related events

You will see Mike Sullivan at 9:30, attend Chris Meyer's lunch for the eight Northern Irish leaders at 12:30, host a meeting with Trimble at 6:30 for the President's drop-by, and accompany the President to the NDI dinner. This memo covers the substance of Mike's meeting, and previews the two meal events. I will be present at all events.

The British are very concerned at the Irish American invective being aimed at Trimble for holding up the executive and North-South Council, and want badly for us to press Adams on decommissioning. They say that Blair has pushed Trimble so hard that he has a revolt on his hands among senior UUP officials; the only thing blocking rapid progress on Good Friday implementation is IRA decommissioning. **Chris Meyer will try to call to lobby that we take it easy on Trimble and lean on Adams.**

There are press reports coming in that the IRA Army Council met this weekend to discuss decommissioning (as the Irish had hinted last week). One of my sources suggested that this is in preparation for an Army Convention that would decide to pull control over weapons away from local commanders into Army Council hands as the first step towards deactivating guns.

- Tab A Sullivan swearing-in note
- Tab B UK luncheon note
- Tab C Trimble meeting note
- Tab D NDI dinner note

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TAB A

Sullivan meeting note

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.15)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Sullivan swearing in

Stu Eizenstat will officiate at Sullivan's swearing in on Tuesday. The event starts at 3 P.M. Tuesday and is in the Indian Treaty Room. There will be upwards of 150 guests, including a cross-section of Irish community leaders. Liz O'Donnell and Sean O'Huiginn will be present.

Mike plans to go to Dublin in early January. His wife, Jane, will accompany him. Sean O'Huiginn had a well-attended dinner for him last week; Senator Leahy, Senator Mack and Justice Scalia were among the guests. He has impressed all that have met him, and he has made an effort to meet members of Congress and Irish American leaders.

You will want to discuss current White House policy on Northern Ireland and brief him on how we interact with Irish officials and political leaders. You will also want to engage him on how to handle Northern Ireland from Dublin. Finally, you might mention the few non-peace process issues where the Irish have been helpful. Tab A has a briefing note for your meeting and points of emphasis.

**White House Priorities.** Sullivan is arriving in Dublin at a zenith in Irish history: the Irish economy has enjoyed an unprecedented boom that is the envy of Europe, reversing the flow of immigration (+10,000 last year). The prospects for peace in Northern Ireland have never been better. **You will want to emphasize the President's priorities of maintaining our contribution to Ireland's positive economic development (benefits are diminished pressure to emigrate, fewer demands on U.S. resources), and sustaining our partnership with Dublin on the peace process.** The newest dimension to our involvement is in assisting the development of Northern Ireland's political apparatus; creative ideas from Embassy Dublin are welcome.

**Channels of Communication.** Reinforce that while you are always available, he should feel free to contact me in urgent situations to pass messages and take action. You **should apprise him of the unique channels** we with senior Irish officials; we will make every effort to keep him in the loop. **Encourage him to cultivate Paddy Teahon, Liz O'Donnell and Dermot Gallagher** as the three most senior people involved in the Northern Ireland peace process. This is in addition to Bertie Ahern and David

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Andrews. **Welcome regular reporting** as vital to keep Washington broadly informed. **Reinforce that we work closely with State** on policy coordination; we have no secrets or special programs.

**Dublin-Ulster.** Mike is mindful of his predecessor's history; we can count on him to work cooperatively with Phil Lader. You should let him know that it **is natural for him to have some interaction with the North** -- he should familiarize himself with the layout and people to establish credibility on and understanding of the peace process. In this regard, he should be in **frequent touch with Phil Lader.**

**Key bilateral Issues.** One of Mike's goals should be to expand the range of our interaction with Dublin. Mike should exploit our political relationship for commercial advantage. Mike also needs to be alert for opportunities to secure Irish support for U.S. interests in the EU and UN: Wassenaar encryption and biotech are the most recent examples where we changed Dublin's vote at crucial moments; nuclear disarmament is an area where the Irish are a problem. Ireland is seeking a seat on the Security Council for 2000, which should offer additional, time-limited leverage.

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Tab B

UK Lunch

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.16)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Chris Meyer is hosting all of the NI leaders at his residence; there will be 85 guests. You will be seated with the Ambassador, David Trimble, John Hume, Senator Gordon Smith, David Ervine, Gary McMichael, Representative Marty Meahon, Bruce Morrison, Mary McGrory, Martha Pope and Loretta Brennan Glucksman (president of the American Ireland Fund).

Gerry Adams will be seated with Catharine Meyer, Kitty Higgins, John Alderdice, Peter King, Malachi Curran (NI labour party), Monica McWilliams (NIWC), Elizabeth Frawley Bagely, and NI Minister Paul Murphy; Bill Daley was supposed to attend but may be in Tennessee.

Meyer plans to introduce Murphy, who will make short remarks at some point during the meal.

Meahon, McGrory, and Morrison are well capable of putting tough questions to David Trimble, who did not handle himself well at dinners on Saturday and Sunday when pressed on the political logjam. **I recommend that you seek to draw David and the others, especially McMichael and Ervine, out on the positive developments in the peace process: prisoners, investment, work on the Assembly, policing and judicial reform and a reduced security threat. This could be complemented by eliciting comments on how to move the process ahead in the current situation.**

You should make a point of engaging McMichael on the role of the loyalist parties in the implementation process. McMichael, who did not win an Assembly seat, will appreciate the attention. He and Ervine should both have insights into plans by the LVF and other paramilitary groups to disarm.

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Tab C

Trimble Meeting

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0136-17 (1.17)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Objective

Tee Trimble up for the President, emphasizing that our ability to press for decommissioning, and maintain strong Irish American support, is greatly enhanced if political structures are seen to be moving forward.

Context

David is coming with Ann Smith, his UUP Washington area representative. You will be meeting with him at the same time as the cocktail part of the NDI dinner is going on. The President is scheduled to drop by from 6:50 to 7:00 P.M. Earlier in the day, I arranged for David and his kids to get a tour of the White House (part of the regular Congressional tours).

David will leave the NDI dinner with John Hume at 9:30 P.M.. to catch a ride on Tony O'Reilly's bizjet for Oslo. The urgency is that the Nobel festivities start less than 60 minutes after they land.

David's main reason for seeking this meeting is to explain David's difficulties last week in following through on the Blair deal stemmed from a promise he had made to his leadership council to consult after the shuttle diplomacy; Alistair Campbell's "it's all over but the shouting" did not go down well with Taylor and company. Since he has been here, Trimble has wisely tailored his line to suggest that the hold up is merely a glitch, while acknowledging that the timetable has slipped by at least a month. He told the National Press Club today that agreement over North-South bodies was within reach, noting, however, "The failure to make progress on decommissioning is making the atmosphere more difficult; there's no doubt about it, it is tending to poison the atmosphere."

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Tab D

NDI Dinner

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.18)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Objective

To demonstrate the President's engagement in the peace process.

Context

The President and First Lady will arrive about 8:45. The dinner will have largely been served by then and the eight leaders will have gotten their awards. You should come out to the motorcade arrival area to be with the President when he and HRC greet John Hume and walk with him to the VIP hold room. In the hold room, the President will greet the other seven leaders, as well as George Mitchell.

The President and First Lady will go out on stage where Paul Kirk will make the award presentation. The President will make his remarks, and then meet with Adams in a hold room. The First Lady will hold elsewhere for this pull aside.

Adams has been agitating to secure our support for his campaign to get Trimble to break on the executive and North-South Council. There were news reports (not coming from British intelligence services, for a change) that the IRA Army Council met over the week, so my idea of a republican "surprise" may not be farfetched. We want the President to make the point that Sinn Fein would dominate the political process were the IRA to make an unexpected move like this. We should also make sure that Adams gets the message that trying to enlist Irish Americans into his anti-Trimble campaign has the potential to backfire.

On a separate note, Sinn Fein has asked if there is a way to get one of the deportees, Charlie Caulfield, advance parole to visit his ailing parent in Ireland. This was one of the issues that Mary de Rosa and I concurred was appropriate to seek relief on as consistent with the suspension action. **I have asked Mary to check with Justice on what the options are, assuming that Adams might raise this with the President.**

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.19)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH NORTHERN IRISH LEADERS;  
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE  
AWARDS DINNER

DATE: December 8, 1998  
LOCATION: West Wing and Omni Shoreham Hotel  
TIME: 6:50-7:00 p.m./8:45-10:10 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

Demonstrate support for work of the National Democratic Institute as well as strong U.S. support for the Northern Ireland peace agreement by accepting the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs Harriman Award; encourage Northern Ireland political leaders to implement fully the Accord; and acknowledge importance of support of Irish American activists for the Accord.

II. BACKGROUND

The NDI is recognizing you and the eight Northern Ireland political party leaders with its 12<sup>th</sup> W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award. NDI selected you in recognition of your efforts to preserve and protect human rights, promote pluralist values and encourage citizens to participate actively in civic life. Your co-recipients are being honored for negotiating the Good Friday Accord. George Mitchell will make the presentation to the political leaders prior to your arrival; NDI Chairman Paul Kirk will make your presentation.

Previous Harriman honorees include Senator Mitchell, Madeleine Albright, Vaclav Havel, Thabo Mbeki, Aung San Suu Kyi, Ted Kennedy, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. You spoke at the 1993 awards dinner.

NDI is a non-profit organization that works to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. It has been active in Northern Ireland since 1985, and is deservedly proud of its ground-breaking joint visit of nationalists and unionists

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/5/08

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to South Africa last year. It has provided support for political party development, elections and civic participation. It gets most of its funding from the National Endowment for Democracy.

**Good Friday Accord.** You will see David Trimble first, joining his meeting with Jim Steinberg. Later, at the Shoreham for the NDI dinner, you will greet John Hume and walk with him to the VIP hold area to join the other leaders before you receive your award. Afterwards, you will meet privately with Gerry Adams. You should stress to all leaders our strong support for steady, unconditional implementation of the Good Friday Accord - all parts are equally important, and no one issue should hold back another.

**Trimble** is under heavy fire for backing away from the deal on the executive and North-South bodies Blair put together last week. If Trimble had been able to deliver the UUP, he would have isolated Adams on decommissioning as the only area where no progress has been made. You should stress to Trimble that failing to sort this out before Christmas guarantees that devolution will slip dangerously close to the marching season.

With **Hume**, you should seek his assessment of room for and timing of IRA decommissioning, and encourage his sustained public and private engagement with both Trimble and Adams.

In the group meeting, you should make a point of greeting loyalist leader **Gary McMichael**, who failed to win an Assembly seat but continues to support loyalist decommissioning, and **Monica McWilliams**, the sole woman in the group.

In private, you should tell **Gerry Adams** that while he is technically right that there are no interim deadlines for decommissioning or linkage to other parts of the Accord, the reality is that the Accord will not survive without the IRA clearly committing to decommissioning, and soon (there are reports of an IRA Army Council meeting last weekend that may have addressed decommissioning). You have supported Adams when he has taken risks for peace; **you need to make clear that we will look for ways of supporting him if he can help find new flexibility in dealing with decommissioning.**

III. PARTICIPANTS

Drop by with Trimble

The President

Jim Steinberg

Larry Butler, NSC notetaker

David Trimble

Ann Smith, UUP Washington representative

NDI Dinner

National Democratic Institute

Paul G. Kirk, Jr., Chairman

Kenneth D. Wollack, President

Jeanne Dunn, Vice President for Programs

Susan Brophy McGowan (dinner committee)

Northern Ireland political leaders

John Hume, Social Democratic and Labour Party

David Trimble, Ulster Unionist Party and First Minister

Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein

Lord John Alderdice, Alliance Party of Northern Ireland

David Ervine, Progressive Unionist Party

Gary McMichael, Ulster Democratic Party

Monica McWilliams, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition

Malachi Curran, Northern Ireland Labour Party

Foreign Officials

Paul Murphy, Minister, Northern Ireland Office, UK  
Liz O'Donnell, Minister, Ireland

Senator George Mitchell, All Party Talks Chairman

White House Staff

James B. Steinberg  
Lawrence E. Butler

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open press during remarks; official photo elsewhere

V. SEQUENCE

You will be greeted curbside at the Omni Shoreham by Ken Wollack, President of NDI; Jean Dunn, Vice President, NDI; and Paul Kirk, Chairman of NDI; and John Hume. They will escort you to the VIP Room where you will greet Northern Ireland VIPs and Award Winners. This will also provide you an opportunity for a brief pull-aside with Hume. You will be announced on to the stage accompanied by Paul Kirk. He will introduce you and present the W. Averell Democracy Award. Afterwards you are scheduled to meet with Gerry Adams for a brief meeting.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by NSC

Attachment

Tab A Points to make with David Trimble  
Tab B Points to Make with John Hume  
Tab C Points to Make with Gerry Adams

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.20)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETINGS WITH NORTHERN IRISH LEADERS AND  
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE DINNER

DATE: December 8, 1998  
LOCATION: Various  
TIME: 6:50-7:00, 8:45-10:00 P.M..  
  
FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

Use occasion of the National Democratic Institute Award for the Irish peace process to encourage more rapid implementation of the Good Friday Accord; urge establishment of the political structures and progress on decommissioning.

II. CONTEXT

All eight of the signatories to the Northern Ireland Good Friday Accord are in Washington to receive the National Democratic Institute's Harriman Democracy Award. With the exception of David Trimble, who spent the weekend in Washington, the other leaders were honored in Boston with the Kennedy Library's "Profiles in Courage" award Monday.

You are joining Jim Steinberg's meeting with David Trimble in advance of the NDI dinner. Later, you will greet John Hume when you arrive at the Omni Shoreham for the award event, meet briefly the other leaders, and have a private meeting with Gerry Adams following your remarks. (Trimble and Hume leave after the dinner for Oslo to receive their Nobel awards.)

**NDI Dinner**

The NDI is recognizing you and the eight Northern Ireland political party leaders with its 12<sup>th</sup> W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award. NDI selected you in recognition of your efforts to preserve and protect human rights, promote pluralist values and encourage citizens to participate actively in civic life. Your co-recipients are being

honored for negotiating the Good Friday Accord. George Mitchell will make the presentation to the political leaders prior to your arrival; NDI Chairman Paul Kirk will make your presentation. Hume and Trimble have to leave at 9:30 to catch a plane to Oslo for the Nobel ceremonies.

Previous Harriman honorees include Senator Mitchell, Madeleine Albright, Vaclav Havel, Thabo Mbeki, Aung San Suu Kyi, Ted Kennedy, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. You spoke at the 1993 awards dinner.

NDI is a non-profit organization that works to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. It has been active in Northern Ireland since 1985, and is deservedly proud of its ground-breaking joint visit of nationalists and unionists to South Africa last year. It has provided support for political party development, elections and civic participation. It gets most of its funding from the National Endowment for Democracy.

#### **Peace Process Update**

Good Friday implementation, with two exceptions, is going remarkably well. Trimble and Adams meet routinely, without fanfare. Troop levels are down to 1970 levels. Military establishments are being dismantled. The RUC patrols without armed escorts. All but one paramilitary group are observing cease-fires -- there has been only one sectarian killing since Omagh. Half of all prisoners have been released. The IRA is making noises about helping to identify the location of the remains of missing persons. The policing and justice reviews are moving forward. Westminster enacted the legislation establishing the new political institutions and human rights commission. And Tony Blair became the first British Prime Minister to address the Irish *Dail* on Thanksgiving -- to a standing ovation. Finally, the Irish President has floated the idea that Ireland might rejoin the Commonwealth.

Unfortunately, work on the political structures has become tied up with decommissioning, and Unionists are digging themselves in deep over this linkage. **Trimble** is being blamed for pulling the rug out from Tony Blair's latest all-night effort to break free an agreement on the Northern Ireland executive and North-South Council. Following a month of intense effort by various officials, Blair flew to Belfast last Wednesday. Through a series of proximity

meetings at Stormont that went to nearly 3:00 a.m., he thought he had Trimble's assent to a package that set out the number of executive council portfolios (ten) and identified eight different bodies for the North-South Council. **This would have left decommissioning as the only part of the Accord not being implemented.**

Blair departed for his summit with Chirac on Thursday, leaving Mowlam to sort out the details. In the light of day, Trimble's Unionist right wing balked at agreeing to specific North-South bodies key to Mallon and Dublin (business development and EU programs). As Trimble left for Washington Friday, he deferred to his deputy and nemesis, John Taylor, to present UUP's views. Mallon was uncharacteristically harsh on what he called double-dealing, and Blair was reported to have been spitting blood in France. UUP is, in turn, blaming overly-ambitious nationalists. **Failure to sort this out before Christmas guarantees that there will be serious slippage in the target date for devolution** (February) as legislation must be enacted in advance. The real deadline for "going live" with the new NI government is the marching season -- June. Plus, Ireland's commitment to change its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland expires in June.

**Decommissioning.** There has been no substantive progress on IRA decommissioning to point to, aside from the procedural move of naming McGuinness to the Independent Commission. He spent two hours last week with de Chastelain, showing no give, and insisting instead that the Commission simply declare that progress is being made. Hanging over this process are **two IRA statements that it will never decommission.** Sinn Fein's position, which is technically correct, is that the GFA only requires the parties to use their influence to bring about decommissioning within two years -- there are no interim deadlines and no linkage. Senior SF officials say they have no room for maneuver. There are reports that the IRA Army Council met this weekend; speculation centers on a possible first move on decommissioning, perhaps by taking control over weapons away from local commanders. If this is so, the IRA has set up a situation where a positive statement on disarming would be received as progress -- though London and the UUP say this would be insufficient. A Loyalist group, the LVF, may be the first to make a decommissioning gesture in the next few weeks.

- *It would be better if the IRA beat them to the punch, pulling a surprise on the order of its first cease-fire and Sinn Fein's acceptance of the Good Friday Accord. Both were unexpected and changed totally the political dynamic in the peace process.*
- *In private, you should tell **Gerry Adams** that while he is technically right that there are no interim deadlines for decommissioning or linkage to other parts of the Accord, the reality is that the Accord will not survive without the IRA clearly committing to decommissioning, and soon. The situation is ripe for another republican "surprise." Without movement, soon, the Accord will wither and pressure will grown to hald prisoner releases and other key measures.*
- *You have supported Adams when he has taken risks of peace; you need to make clear that we will look for ways of supporting him if he can help find new flexibility in dealing with decommissioning.*

**American dimension.** London is acutely aware that Irish America is increasingly bothered by the executive-decommissioning logjam, blames the British and Trimble for it, and is calling for forceful White House intervention. It is important that Trimble understand this perspective and its implications. **You should impress upon Trimble that we appreciate his political difficulties, but it is in his best interest, having come this far, to finish Blair's deal on the political structures --** which does not include actually starting up the executive or the North-South bodies. Doing so would bring decommissioning into sole focus as the one part of the Accord still stuck in the blocks. This enhances our leverage with the republican movement.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

#### Trimble Drop-by

The President

Jim Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the President

Larry Butler, NSC notetaker

David Trimble, Northern Ireland First Minister

Ann Smith, UUP Washington representative

#### NDI Dinner

National Democratic Institute

Paul G. Kirk, Jr., Chairman  
Kenneth D. Wollack, President  
Jeanne Dunn, Vice President for Programs  
Susan Brophy McGowan (dinner committee)

Northern Ireland political leaders

John Hume, Social Democratic and Labour Party (Greeter)  
David Trimble, First Minister  
Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein  
Lord John Alderdice, Alliance Party of Northern Ireland  
David Ervine, Progressive Unionist Party  
Gary McMichael, Ulster Democratic Party  
Monica McWilliams, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition  
Malachi Curran, Northern Ireland Labour Party

Foreign Officials

Paul Murphy, Minister, Northern Ireland Office, UK  
Liz O'Donnell, Minister, Ireland

Senator George Mitchell, All Party Talks Chairman

White House Staff

James B. Steinberg  
Lawrence E. Butler

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open press during NDI Awards remarks; official photo elsewhere

V. SEQUENCE

You will be greeted curbside at the Omni Shoreham by Ken Wollack, President of NDI; Jean Dunn, Vice President, NDI; and Paul Kirk, Chairman of NDI; and John Hume. They will escort you to the VIP Room where you will greet Northern Ireland VIPs and Award Winners. This will also provide you an opportunity for a brief pull-aside with Hume. You will be announced on to the stage accompanied by Paul Kirk. He will introduce you and present the W. Averell Democracy Award. Afterwards you are scheduled to meet with Gerry Adams for a brief meeting.

Attachment

Tab A Points to make with David Trimble

Tab B Points to Make with John Hume

Tab C Points to Make with Gerry Adams

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
DAVID TRIMBLE

~~It is an honor to congratulate you in person for the Nobel Prize. You deserve this recognition, for your courage and resoluteness and for the unionist community which bravely embraced the Good Friday Accord.~~

- Congratulations again for Nobel Prize.
- Following your efforts to frame the executive and North-South institutions.
- You have an opportunity to put the spotlight on Sein-Sinn Fein/IRA by finalizing political structures -- leaving only decommissioning in the starting blocks. Would put me and the two governments in better position to press Seinn Fein.
- Know you appreciate that the Good Friday agreement does not link decommissioning to setting up government; also know pressure on you from Taylor and others.
- Time is running out to finish your work with Seamus and Blair. Already may need to delay assembly and executive start-up. You have come too far to let this slip away; last week's Drumcree melee reminds of the pressure of the marching season and that Irish commitment to change constitution has deadline.
- I will to do my best with Sinnein Fein; decommissioning is an important principle we support. More important that guns are out of commission and will stay that way; we will not tolerate return to violence. But your people need a working government soon.
- They need your leadership -- now -- to show the way. Will you be able to finalize the political structures before Christmas?

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0156-M (1.21)

KBH 7/31/2019

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/8/08

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR PULL ASIDE WITH  
GERRY ADAMS

- It means a lot to me that we are sharing this award. You have much to be proud of; yours is a remarkable story.
- I saw Trimble earlier today to go over recent developments. Made clear our view that all parts of the Accord are equally important and all efforts need to be made to implement irrespective developments elsewhere.
- For me to help you and your constituency achieve the promise of Good Friday, I need your help on decommissioning.
- Agree completely that Accord says nothing about interim deadlines, or linkage to political structures. Blair and Mowlam also share this view.
- But the reality is deeper than the legislation. IRA has not changed its public stance that it will "never" decommission; Accord will not survive its first birthday unless Republicans are unambiguous regarding weapons.
- Both you and David have come too far to let this process slowly strangle; your futures are inextricably linked.
- Republicans have seized the initiative and energized the process twice before -- the first cease-fire and signing the Accord -- when your political opponents thought you least capable of acting.
- Know this is hard; but it is important to me and to all your American supporters. I need for you to think creatively about what you can do and how we can support you if you move forward.

**DECLASSIFIED  
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2015-0156-M (1.22)  
KBH 7/31/2019

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR GREETING WITH  
JOHN HUME

- Congratulations again on the Nobel Prize; please say hello to Pat.
- Know that Seamus Mallon was upset with UUP's reversal on Thursday; can you help him with Trimble to move this forward?
- What is your assessment of IRA intentions - are they capable of making a bold move in the next few months?
- I want to stay in touch with you as the process continues.

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**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M (1.23)  
KBH 7/31/2019

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/5/08

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

8203

December 8, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Irish Minister O'Donnell,  
Wednesday, December 9, 8:00-8:30 A.M.

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.24)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Liz O'Donnell is here representing the Irish government at the NDI dinner. She will be accompanied by Dermot Gallagher and Sean O'Huiginn. All three were also at Mike Sullivan's swearing in on Tuesday. The Irish government chose not to send Foreign Minister Andrews after last week's breakdown in Belfast; they did not want to be seen as cheering on Trimble.

- O'Donnell is the cabinet-level official responsible for the talks and will be a position to discuss in detail Dublin's thoughts on how they are moving the process along.

While Blair was meeting Taylor in London, McGuinness was in Dublin with Ahern; this is part of an agreed strategy to keep the process churning, even with the main players in Washington. Helpful signals are emerging from both camps -- Sean O'Huiginn characterized Taylor's op-ed piece on last week's difficulties as promising, while the IRA is publicly calling for information to help locate the remains of missing persons.

You will want to review the President's meetings with Trimble and Adams and seek her view on what should come next.

Attachment  
Tab A Bio

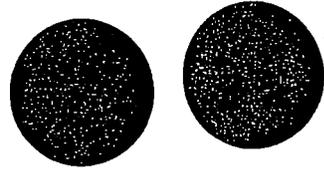
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 12/5/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

September 23, 1998



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Meeting with Irish Foreign Minister David Andrews  
-- Decommissioning and the Executive

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.24)  
KBM 7/31/2019

Andrews is coming to Washington partly to consult with the White House and the Hill on developments in the peace process, partly to demonstrate that he has high level access. Having sought an Oval session, he will be fairly cool during your meeting. He has meetings with Chris Dodd and the Friends of Ireland during the afternoon, in addition to a press luncheon.

Recent Developments

Things have been active the past two weeks. The RUC and Gardai appear to have launched a **crackdown on the CIRA**, rounding up a baker's dozen earlier this week (some may have RIRA/Omagh links). Following the weekend drumbeat of UUPers claiming that Trimble was ready to resign over decommissioning, Ahern met with both Trimble (who denied the reports) and Mowlam this week to seek a way past this issue. In the background, Holmes and Paddy Teahon have been in touch to manage the decommissioning-executive issue. The Irish have pressured London to get Trimble to relent on the shadow executive.

**Adams' public response** to the decommissioning pressure has been to offer reassuring statements of commitment to fulfil the Good Friday requirements, but stopping short of explicitly committing the IRA to decommissioning. He has gone quietly on the offensive, suggesting that IRA actions would have linkages to the outcome of police reform (presupposing that the RUC is abolished).

Press reports optimistically claim that the IRA is working quietly to identify the **burial locations** of persons abducted in the 70's and 80's. Gerry Adams met with the daughter of one abduction cases last week, promising movement soon.

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The British are scaling back their armed presence in Northern Ireland, having announced that 400 troops are going home and that the army will no longer patrol in Belfast and Derry.

**Travels to America.** Both Adams and Trimble will be in the United States in October; Trimble is plugging into the Northern Ireland investment road show that starts October 10 in New York and Adams has a series of fund-raisers October 10-17.

**Deportee Trial Update.** Charlie Caulfield was acquitted in Federal Court last week of charges of making false statements on his application for U.S. residence. The jury bought his defense that he never concealed his IRA-related conviction, which he felt was not a "criminal" offense.

**Rita O'Hare.** Rita will arrive later this month for a three week stay, with appearances in New York and a longer sojourn in Washington. She plans to supervise the Washington office (which has a number of U.S. citizen employees) from Dublin visiting regularly until Mowlam sorts out her legal situation and we issue her an H visit.

#### The Dilemma

The only reason why there is pressure now for Trimble to form the shadow executive is the **October 31 deadline** for beginning work on the North-South Council. This presumes (but does not require) the existence of Northern counterparts to Irish ministers. Trimble has suggested that he and Mallon could begin the process, but Adams has rejected that as a ploy to exclude Sinn Fein. Mallon has been clear to Trimble in private that this is not acceptable.

For Adams, the key to getting to yes on decommissioning within the IRA is to demonstrate the gains being delivered by the agreement - a working executive and north-south council, and progress on the "equality" front, inter alia, RUC and judicial reform and British military drawdowns.

Trimble has done a good job of rebuilding UUP unity, getting Donaldson back on board, and would like to get past his October party conference. He appears still to be trying to buy time for IRA decommissioning by pushing the hard choices closer to the February power transfer deadline. A review of the timetable:

- The Accord's implementing legislation will not come into effect until it receives royal assent, o/a November 9.
- Trimble may still be toying with his idea of setting up an interim Assembly committee to include Sinn Fein, to begin North-South work.
- Trimble could be induced into including Sinn Fein in the Shadow Executive if the IRA came forward with more forward leaning words on decommissioning..
- ..holding out for an actual act of decommissioning to allow the Executive to take power with Sinn Fein on board.

Points to Make

- Understand you are actively working with London to help Trimble and Adams get through the decommissioning -- shadow executive stand-off.
- The President liked Bertie Ahern's idea of broadening the lift to accomplish this. Understand from contacts with your officials that you have a different take now. Is this still viable from your perspective?
- Is there a way to describe to Sinn Fein/IRA a package of current and future developments of interest to them that would induce them to indicate how they would respond?
- Could that be translated into a tacit understanding with Trimble that would get Sinn Fein into the shadow executive?
- Would it be helpful to have the governments, including us, act as silent witnesses and arbitrators to this understanding?
- Is there a role for private Americans, as in the past?

*Mc*



*# 272179*

UACHTARÁN NA hÉIREANN  
PRESIDENT OF IRELAND

13 July 1998

President Clinton  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue North  
Washington DC  
20500  
USA

Dear President Clinton

I would like to personally thank you for your kind welcome on my recent visit to Washington; I was deeply appreciative of the time taken from your extremely busy schedule for our meeting and for the manner in which you have kept in contact since then.

Please accept my renewed thanks for all that you have done to help alleviate the situation in Northern Ireland and my congratulations for the tour de force that was China.

Yours sincerely

Mary McAleese  
President of Ireland

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

JUL 22 1998

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D C 20504

May 5, 1998

INFORMATION

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER 

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

**NOTED**

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Irish Parliamentarians,  
Roosevelt Room, Wednesday, May 6, 5:30-6 p.m.

Setting

You are meeting with Seamus Pattison, Speaker, Des O'Malley, chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, eight accompanying members of the Irish Parliament/Dail (pronounced "Doyle") and some staffers. Sean O'Huiginn and Pat Hennessy will also sit in. They are here to return Ben Gilman's visit to Dublin last fall (you briefed the CODEL prior to their departure).

They were in New York on Monday, arriving in Washington Tuesday to attend a dinner that Speaker Gingrich hosted. You are seeing them after four hours of meetings with Congressional counterparts on the Irish peace process and international issues. Sean O'Huiginn is hosting a dinner after your meeting. Thursday they meet with Ted Kennedy and possibly someone at State -- Tom Pickering had to cancel to go to London -- before a press luncheon and departure for Boston. They return to Dublin on Saturday.

The most interesting person here is **Des O'Malley** who was kicked out of Fianna Fail in 1985 and later that year founded the Progressive Democrats with Mary Harney (currently party leader and deputy prime minister). Des, a strong law-and-order man, has problems with the early release provisions of the April 10 accord.

The other interesting personality is **Michael Noonan**, who has been oft-mentioned as a successor to John Bruton as head of Fine Gael and is as pro-NATO as the Irish come. Noonan, however, got hammered in the last government when as Minister for Health he

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2015-0156-M [1.28]

KBH 07/31/2019

CONFIDENTIAL

led an abhorrent government strategy to minimize compensation payments to women dying of Hepatitis C.

Other notables are **Michael Kitt** (FF -- his better known brother is also a TD) and **Alan Shatter** (a social-policy oriented FG interested in the Middle East). The Speaker, **Pattison**, is a Labour representative and a second generation TD from Kilkenny (ancestral home of the Irish Butlers).

### Objective and Background

Your objective with this geographically diverse group is to solicit their views on the referendum (NYT Sunday edition page 1 article reported apathy in Dublin) and preparations for implementing the April 10 accord, as well as reinforcing the Administration's preparedness to support that effort. As some are from the border counties, be prepared for questions regarding U.S. economic support. You can also expect questions on, if not invitations for, POTUS travel to Ireland.

Peace process: The Dail voted unanimously to endorse the peace process and approve holding the referendum. The "no" campaign started early last week in Northern Ireland. The "yes" drive got underway at the end of the week and is reported to be flush with cash. In a heartening development, Ian Paisely has been attacking two of the most important multipliers for the "yes" campaign, accusing the G-7 business lobby of being a transmission belt for the Governments and complaining that the media is biased against him. Tony Blair will ratchet up the pace with his visit to Belfast on Wednesday with John Major.

Sinn Fein holds its special conference Sunday. Adams plans to leak on Thursday that there will be two motions to vote on; one supporting a yes vote in the referendums -- with reservations ("this is not a settlement, but a good beginning"); and another to amend the SF constitution to permit SF to take seats in the NI Assembly (requires a 2/3 majority). He clearly expects overwhelming support for this. However, the militant dissenters are active.

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.3(b)(1), 3.3(b)(6)

And there have been a number of attacks, with the only fatality so far a 32-county man shot by Gardai during an attempted armored car hold-up near Dublin. We believe that the IRA is tipping off the Irish authorities in this case, and possibly others.

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One positive sign is that the INLA's political wing, the IRSP is considering a cease-fire document -- being driven by INLA prisoners' desire to get out of the Maze early.

Points to Make

- April 10 Accord is tribute to Irish government's persistence for many years, stretching across many cabinets.
- President has great admiration for Bertie Ahern and his negotiating team, as well as for earlier work by John Bruton and his government.
- Feel we are well poised to exploit more fully our economic relationship that has grown so rapidly over past ten years to help make the peace last by extending the benefits to every level of society in every corner of Ireland.
- Interested to hear your views on how the referendum will turn out in the south and the north.
- How do you view Sinn Fein's special conference May 10 going?
- What is your estimation of the likely opposition to the agreement in the south? Do 32 Counties and other dissidents have support?
- President will visit Ireland as soon as it is mutually convenient. In meantime, he has instructed the Administration to work closely on supporting the peace implementation process.

Attachment  
Tab A Biographic profiles

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

3193

May 5, 1998

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PER E.O. 13526

INFORMATION

2015-0156-M [1.29]

KBH 07/31/2019

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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- President will visit Ireland as soon as it is mutually convenient. In meantime, he has instructed the Administration to work closely on supporting the peace implementation process.

Attachment  
Tab A Biographic profiles

Note for Jim

March 23, 1998

From Larry

Re: Your meeting with Ambassador O'Huiginn, 2 p.m., Monday, March 23

Sean is coming to get a readout on the President's and your meetings with the NI political leaders last week. You should also use this meeting to find out what the Irish plan is for the next few weeks.

**Update:** Nothing happening in Belfast today at the talks. There will be a short bilateral tomorrow at which Sinn Fein will be asked to recommit to the Mitchell principles. Trimble is expected to ask for a review of the talks, including revisiting decommissioning and looking at allegations of IRA complicity in the Portadown bomb and the Conway killing.

- There will be a meeting of Strand 2 where the parties will look at Mitchell's synthesis paper (attached).
- Additionally, the Irish and British governments will begin an intensive round of bilaterals, and produce a checklist paper of key issues for later in the week.
- The Irish has asked London to agree to produce a joint draft agreement, but there isn't consensus on timing and presentation (Chairman's draft or submission by governments).
- Anthony Cary and Pat Hennessy are meeting at State today to ask for an American EOD person for the decommissioning commission. Same request is being made to Ottawa. Our person would work with the NI authorities to become familiar with the various arms and explosives and then be on call if needed by the Commission. The Canadian would be assigned to the Republic.
- Both Ervine and McMichael made very supportive statements last week, with the former saying there was no going back to the old "Stormont" of gerrymandering and bias, that a new, radical, solution is necessary.

- Bertie Ahern and Fianna Fail cabinet members are fanning out across Ireland this week to prepare the ground for changes to the Irish constitution.
- The Garda found a 1300 IED this weekend in Dundalk. The press reports that the detonators and other technology associated with the package suggested more sophistication than the CIRA has, suggesting that someone familiar with IRA bomb technology was involved. They have three people in custody.

**Review of last week's meetings:** POTUS saw (in chron order) Adams, Trimble, Hume, McMichael and Alderdice (briefly). Sandy and you saw Mowlam, Trimble, Alderdice (just you), Adams and McMichael. Five key points emerged from the meetings:

- U.S. involvement sought for helping in the post-signing period (support for referendum, policing reform, jobs, etc.)
- Adams affirmed commitment to see talks through and with a settlement.
- Trimble not showing any flexibility on dealing directly with Sinn Fein and Adams.
- Hume was in a puzzling mood; perturbed by Trimble's allegations of non-engagement, but what else?
- POTUS visit decision premature, would consult with Dublin and London on timing and purpose before taking decision.

March 5, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER, ACTING (P)

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Paddy Teahon, March 6, 1997,  
1:30 p.m.

Context

Paddy is in the United States for investment promotion business, and is coming down to Washington solely to meet with you. He will accompanied by Sean O'Huinn. I will join you.

Update on the peace process

**Violence:** The LVF-attributed pub killings on Tuesday in Poyntzpass shocked most of Northern Ireland. This was because the two victims were Protestant and Catholic chums. David Trimble's sharp denouncement of the murders and visit with Seamus Mallon to the victims' family homes was an appreciated development. That combined with quick RUC arrests may help reduce pressure on the IRA to take revenge. There was an additional shooting of a Belfast woman that left her lightly wounded. Motivation and identity of attackers are unknown. The Irish Garda foiled two CIRA bomb attempts, seizing two large devices on the Irish side of the border, but did not make any arrests.

**Sinn Fein's status:** All indication are that Sinn Fein will be readmitted to the talks on Monday. We have not seen any more signs that Trimble will walk from the talks in protest, but we do expect some kind of symbolic protest when Adams returns. Blair's people are indicating that the Blair-Adams meeting will not take place until Thursday. Separately, Blair and Ahern spoke by phone this week on the peace process.

- You will want to tell Teahon that Adams (as all party leaders represented at the talks) is getting his visa and an invitation for the White House reception, and that we are working on a POTUS drop-by in advance of March 17. All of this is under the explicit understanding that he will be both

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eligible to participate and actually at the table before he arrives in the United States.

- You will also want to tell Teahon that we have told Adams he should find another candidate to replace Mairead Keane as the Washington Office representative; it does the peace process no good to try to bring Rita O'Hare here at this stage of the talks. It would create a difficult and unpredictable debate among U.S. law enforcement/judicial agencies. Even if she were granted a working visa, the result would draw fire from the Unionists and create a campaign for her extradition.

**The Talks:** The seven parties in the talks are making good progress, with reports of considerable work on drafting details under Strand 1 (assembly) and elaboration of ideas on Strand 2 (Irish renunciation of claims on Northern Ireland). McMichael told me on Thursday afternoon that the atmosphere in the talks is noticeably more productive without Sinn Fein's presence. Trimble continues to be difficult on trying to subordinate the N-S body to the Strand 3 Ireland-UK arrangement. Questions for Teahon is how Dublin expects the talks to go forward, in what timeframe, and at what venue. Blair and Ahern dealt last week mainly with tactics to ramp up to the expected "going to the mountaintop" final push, a la Dayton, probably in Scotland or Wales. Dublin thinks the governments should take the drafting in hand; London is fearful of premature leaks. The next few weeks will be marked by a stepped up pace of bilateral contacts, starting with the Anglo-Irish conference in Dublin earlier this week. London is pointing to a deadline of May 7 for a final agreement, with Dublin suggesting a later date in May, in order to get the referendum in place (necessary Irish legislation and public affairs rollout) prior to the onslaught of the marching season.

**Parades:** We have an unfortunate situation, only partly Mowlam's doing, with no credible nationalists on the NI Parades Commission. (Reportedly, Mowlam rejected both of Dublin's nominations, selecting instead a pair of Catholics who are seen as tainted for having professional connections to the RUC. The vacancies occurred when nationalist representatives resigned.) Parade Commission representatives are in town next week, and are being shadowed by nationalist resident group representatives McKenna and Rice. David Andrews fueled the controversy with typically unfortunate remarks criticizing the new Commission line-up. Ahern has sought to calm the situation. Nationalist and Loyal Order representatives have signaled respective unwillingness to compromise this year. It would be useful to

remind Teahon that no one benefits from stirring up emotions over the parades while the negotiations are in a critical stage.

Ahern Visit/St. Patrick's Day Events: We are inviting all of the parties represented at the talks (leaving out UKUP and DUP, assuming Sinn Fein is back), leaders and deputies plus guests, to the White House reception on March 17. Please tell Teahon, should he ask, that we have accommodated, with difficulty, Ahern's lengthy wish list of invitees from Ireland, and cannot add any more names to the list. We will finalize next week the schedule for March 17, envisioning a short bilateral meeting (tentatively set for 11 a.m.), followed by the traditional presentation of the Shamrock by the Taoiseach to the President in the morning. We also expect the President to attend the Speaker's Lunch, and, of course, host the Taoiseach and his partner at the evening reception.

Attachments

- Tab A Schedule of Events for St. Patrick's Day
- Tab B Points to Make
- Tab C Biographic Profile

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
MEETING WITH PADDY TEAHON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.32)  
KBH 7/31/2019

- Understand Ahern and Blair spoke yesterday -- any indication of when Blair will see Adams?
- What are you thinking of in terms of timetable for conclusion of the talks? Are you going to try to move to a closed venue?
- We are inviting to the St. Patrick's Day reception at the White House all the party leaders and deputies represented at the talks. This includes Adams, assuming Sinn Fein is readmitted. Working on meetings for Adams and others prior to the 17<sup>th</sup>.
- If Adams is back in talks, his next visa will be for 90 days, no fund raising restrictions.
- (If raised) Rita O'Hare has applied for a visa to work at the Sinn Fein Washington office. I told Adams he should find another candidate to replace Mairead Keane as the Washington Office representative; it does the peace process no good to try to bring Rita O'Hare here at this stage of the talks. It would create a difficult and unpredictable debate among U.S. law enforcement/judicial agencies. Even if she were granted a working visa, the result would draw fire from the Unionists and create a campaign for her extradition.
- Parades: understand concerns over make up of Parades Commission, but no one benefits from stirring up emotions over the parades while the negotiations are in a critical stage. Rice and McKenna are getting visas to visit here next week -- hope they will be constructive.
- Ahern visit: We have accommodated Ahern's lengthy wish list of invitees from Ireland, and cannot add any more names to the oversubscribed event. We will finalize next week the schedule for March 17, envisioning a short bilateral meeting (tentatively set for 11 a.m.), followed by the traditional presentation of the Shamrock. We also expect the President to attend the Speaker's Lunch, and, of course, host the Taoiseach and his partner at the evening reception.

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Declassify on: 3/05/08

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March 9, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER, ACTING (L)

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith,  
9:15 a.m. - 9:45 a.m., Wednesday, March 11.

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2015-0156-M (1.34)  
KBH 7/3/2019

Personnel: Jean will want to discuss her tenure plans with you. March 17 marks the fifth anniversary of her nomination as Ambassador to Ireland. (She also turned 70 last month. FLOTUS called to congratulate.) It is becoming an open secret that she is considering leaving, but press reaction has been restrained in comparison to last year's swirl of speculation in London. Niall O'Dowd got his hands on a joint letter of support signed by 40 members of Congress (Peter King was in the lead) for Paul Quinn's nomination and published an article on the coming scramble to replace Jean in both the Irish Echo and the new Dublin paper, Ireland on Sunday (copy attached).

Legal: Besides her future and the peace process, she is also discussing options regarding the Seitz book.

Peace Process: Jean has kept in close touch with Sinn Fein's Rita O'Hare and Father Alex Reid, the Jesuit priest who has acted as a go-between with the IRA. Based on talks with them and John Hume, she is concerned that when elections to the NI assembly become a reality, Sinn Fein will put SDLP out of business. You should seek Jean's insights into the internal dynamics of the republican and nationalist movements, as well as her assessment for how the end game should be played out. A quick review of recent developments:

- UK decision not to extradite Roisin McAlliskey evoked predictable reactions in Northern Ireland; on balance, portrays London as compassionate.
- Adams publishes significant article setting out unrealistic objectives for the talks, but admits that one outcome will not be a united Ireland. (copy attached)

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Declassify On: 3/9/08

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- Adams to meet Blair Thursday morning, then travels to United States.
- Blair told POTUS that Sinn Fein was present at Stormont Monday. I can find no corroborating evidence. Sinn Fein Washington said no one went near the talks.
- David Ervine is not yet a confirmed visitor next week. Money may be an issue. I have a number of contacts calling him to offer encouragement.

Points to Make

- (if recent Adams visa terms raised) Last month's one week visa for Gerry corresponded to his needs, had no restrictions. We have warned Sinn Fein not to take the President for granted in its assumptions and demands.
- We are working on a schedule of meetings with Adams and all party leaders. Our intent is to convey both our strong support and share a sense of urgency that all talks participants should now feel to complete the negotiations. St. Patrick's day should mark the start of the "bell lap" for the talks.
- Would appreciate your insights and recommendations for how we play next week and the next two months.
- (if asked) The idea of the President visiting Northern Ireland in May has been put forward by a number of persons. We are open to the idea, but it is premature to have any concrete plans. Circumstances would have to be appropriate. Timing of Irish referendum (May 22 -- linked to vote on EU Amsterdam treaty) is a complicating factor. Aware of Irish interest in having him visit Dublin.

March 10, 1998

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KGM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Irish Prime Minister  
Ahern

Attached at Tab I is your memorandum to the President forwarding the briefing memo and talking points for his meeting on March 17, 1998 with Prime Minister Ahern.

Concurrence by: Tom Countryman

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to the President
- Tab A Points to be Made
- Tab B Scenario
- Tab C Biographies
- Tab D Qs and As

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.35)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

DATE: March 17, 1998

LOCATION: The Oval Office

TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. KEY OBJECTIVES

- Signal U.S. support for final push towards conclusion of the Northern Ireland peace process.
- Solicit Ahern's views on additional U.S. actions that might help move the talks forward.

II. CONTEXT OF MEETING

Prime Minister Bertie Ahern is here for his first shamrock presentation, but his second visit since taking office last June. Ahern heads a minority coalition government that holds power based on deals with a number of independents. A pair of losses last weekend in by-elections has left him with a one vote majority in Parliament, but there is no appetite in the opposition to force new elections. Ahern has built a strong popular following during his first nine months in power, despite recent electoral reversals and losing his first Foreign Minister to a campaign finance scandal.

Ahern is an Irish nationalist focussed on the Northern Ireland peace process, the main subject of your meeting. Ahern helped bring about and sustain the IRA cease-fire by pressing, and supporting, Sinn Fein. He has also developed a good relationship with Tony Blair, working productively to develop drafts for the talks and urging London to go further on "confidence-building measures" for the nationalist community in Northern Ireland. He is getting results; Roisin McAliskey's extradition was squashed and Mo Mowlam published a paper Wednesday that begins preparing the ground for a successful referendum by addressing employment equality issues.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

This meeting comes at a time of hope and frustration in the peace process. Sinn Fein was invited to return to the talks last week following a 21-day expulsion from the talks due to evidence of IRA responsibility for two murders in February. (The recent mortar attack in Northern Ireland points to possible IRA defections to extremist groups.) Sinn Fein formally agreed to go back to the talks following Adams' meeting with Tony Blair last Thursday, and Adams published an article laying out his negotiating position acknowledging that a united Ireland was not going to result.

At the talks, the Unionists worked to take advantage of Sinn Fein's absence, showing surprising progress in the talks. The governments produced texts for comment in all three strands. However, Unionist and nationalist leaders are still hunkered down in traditional negotiating positions and have not yet reached agreement on key issues, such as the role of a Northern Ireland assembly and the powers of cross-border bodies.

Against this backdrop, as Tony Blair told you on the phone last week, the talks are hostage to events; an upsurge in sectarian violence by extremists since the New Year has claimed a baker's dozen of Protestant and Catholic victims in shootings and bombings. Mowlam has stated that random violence will continue right up to the referendum. The question of arms decommissioning, which had been put to the side, will become a hot and contentious topic leading up to the referendum.

Nonetheless, both the British and Irish governments feel an agreement can be reached in the next four weeks and are working to keep the talks on track. London had hoped for a May 7 date for a referendum, while Dublin has been angling for May 22 when it puts the EU Amsterdam Treaty to a vote.

Ahern, always anxious to maintain equality of access to you, will offer his view of the state of play in the talks and seek your commitment to support Dublin in the end-game, and visit Ireland if you visit Belfast in May. He would like to see a more direct U.S. role in the push for an agreement, and you should ask for his suggestions of ways that we can support the governments. You should stress that you are committed to facilitating a just and lasting settlement any way we can, but that does not undercut the process.

On global issues, while Ireland actively participates in discussions on various security and trade issues of concern to the European Union, it does not play a leading role. We were disappointed that on Iraq the (neutral) Irish openly

opposed the use of force, applauding Kofi Anan's agreement with Baghdad as a vindication of diplomacy.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See scenario at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

See scenario at Tab B.

V. SEQUENCE

See scenario at Tab B.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made  
Tab B Scenario  
Tab C Biography  
Tab D Qs and As

SUMMARY POINTS FOR MEETING WITH  
PRIME MINISTER AHERN OF IRELAND

- Remarkable opportunity -- the talks leaders will be with us this evening. Would not have happened without your efforts.
- You can count on me to work with you and Blair to push settlement across finish line. What can I do?
- Process is very vulnerable to attack. We expect IRA and loyalists to maintain cease-fires and work to prevent extremists from wrecking end game.
- Congratulate work of your Garda in intercepting CIRA bombs.
- Gerry's article signaling acceptance of talks outcome was encouraging. Does he face serious challenge, defections?
- How will next few weeks play out? Timing for referendum? What about decommissioning?
- Would consider visiting Ireland in May if circumstances are right. What is your view?

Iraq

- We are proud of Annan agreement; our combined diplomatic and military efforts made it happen. Important that all of us make clear to Saddam that UNSC decisions will be enforced.
- This past weekend's UNSCOM inspection team was allowed into some of Iraq's most sensitive sites. Is real victory, but not the end. Need to test Iraq on Presidential sites, which should happen end of month.
- Our forces will remain if there is any backsliding.

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-m (1.36)  
KBH 7/31/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 3/11/08

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.37)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Peace Process

- Remarkable opportunity -- the talks leaders will be with us this evening. Would not have happened without your efforts.
- You can count on me to work with you and Blair to push settlement across finish line. What can I do?
- Process is very vulnerable to attack. One message we are going to give privately and publicly is that we expect IRA and loyalists not just to maintain their cease-fires, but work to prevent extremists from wrecking end game.
- Congratulate work of your Garda in intercepting CIRA bombs.
- Gerry's article signaling acceptance of talks outcome was encouraging. How serious is challenge within republican movement to Adams' "political" approach?
- What is your thinking on how next weeks will play out, and timing for referendum? What plans do you have for decommissioning then?
- I will be in Birmingham May 15-17, and in London May 18. Would like to visit Ireland, but planning complicated by timing of referendum. Will it take place before Birmingham? Would try to stop in both Belfast and Dublin if I go. We'll stay in touch as talks wind up.

Iraq

- We are proud of Annan agreement; our combined diplomatic and military efforts made it happen. Important that all of us make clear to Saddam that UNSC decisions will be enforced.
- This past weekend's UNSCOM inspection team was allowed into some of Iraq's most sensitive sites. Is real victory, but not the end. Need to test Iraq on Presidential sites, which should happen end of month.
- Our forces will remain to respond to Iraqi blockage should that occur this month, next month or next year.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 3/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 17, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By ~~KBI~~ NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with Irish  
Prime Minister Ahern (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Prime Minister Ahern is provided for the information of the Secretary of State. It must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. It may also be sent to our embassy in Ireland for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (C)

*Glyn T. Davies*  
FOR: Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 4/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.43)  
K8H 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Irish Prime Minister Bertie  
Ahern (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Prime Minister Ahern

Notetakers: Larry Wright, Bonnie Glick,  
Tom Crowell, David Higgins, Jim Smith and  
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME April 7, 1998, 9:49 - 9:52 a.m. EST  
AND PLACE: Air Force One

The President: Bertie? (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: How are you? (U)

The President: I am alright. I just called to say that I'm  
sorry about your mother's death. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: I appreciate that a lot. (U)

The President: She would be very proud of you. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: Thank you very much. How are you  
keeping? (U)

The President: I'm fine. I talked to Tony Blair on Sunday  
about the marathon meeting. How is Mitchell's paper going down?  
(U)

Prime Minister Ahern: I think fairly good. Sinn Fein has made  
some points that aren't too bad, but Trimble has been fairly  
difficult all morning. I've been talking to him and Tony is  
going to meet him tonight in Belfast. I hope to go to Belfast

tomorrow, but the most negative person at the moment is Trimble.  
(S)

The President: Yes, the press is reporting that. Is there anything I can do? (S)

Prime Minister Ahern: Not yet. Trimble wants some language clarified. Some issues are more fundamental. I just think we need to narrow it down to see where he is really at. When we get a handle on that, we'll let your office know. (S)

The President: I will be available as soon as you need me. You are doing very good work. (S)

Prime Minister Ahern: We'll do our very best, Mr. President, over the next few days. Unless Trimble is very disagreeable, the text is basically agreed between Tony Blair and me. It's a question of how difficult he gets. Let's see if we can narrow it down from a dozen to a few issues. (S)

The President: Well, I'll be watching and waiting. (S)

Prime Minister Ahern: We'll keep in touch. You had a very successful trip over the past ten days. (U)

The President: Yes, it was great. Have you ever been to Africa? (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: No. I've never been there, but it was on television here all the time. I watched all your moves. It was very successful for you. (U)

The President: It was quite wonderful. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: Listen, we'll keep in touch over the next few days. I appreciate your remembering my mam. (U)

The President: Thanks, Bertie. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: Bye (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 10, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBH NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER   
THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER  
FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER   
SUBJECT: Telcon with Irish Prime Minister Ahern on  
April 7, 1998

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Prime Minister Ahern which took place on April 7, 1998.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve  Disapprove

That the attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation be filed for the record.

Approve  Disapprove

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to State
- Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.44)

KBH 7/31/2019

TELEPHONE CALL WITH  
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

DATE: April 7, 1998

LOCATION: AF-1

TIME: Between 9:15 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. EDT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 

I. PURPOSE

To express condolences for death of Ahern's mother early Monday morning and to provide encouragement for the final push in the Northern Ireland peace talks.

II. BACKGROUND

The weekend was a roller coaster of emotions as substantive negotiating was done behind the scenes on the peace agreement. London and Dublin concurred late on Sunday on a composite text for George Mitchell to work with. Sadly, Bertie Ahern's elderly widowed mother passed away early Monday (heart attack). The removal service (when the remains are brought to the church) is set for Tuesday evening and the funeral for noon Wednesday. Ahern may go to Belfast afterwards for the final push on the agreement.

The two governments passed their paper to George Mitchell. He spent Monday meeting with officials in Belfast to flesh out additional language to complete the text he intended to present to the parties Monday evening.

The British described the four Blair-Ahern meetings last week as "negotiation by proxy" (London for Trimble, Dublin for Adams) to develop a paper that would be within the ballpark of what all the parties can use as a starting point without causing any to walk out a priori. There are still many problems, including between the governments.

**Strand 1 - Northern Ireland Assembly:** Little has been agreed on what this will look like, ranging from number of members and type of executive structure -- if any. Hume

wants a parliamentary-style cabinet, with decisions being made by weighted voting of unionist and nationalist caucuses (so-called "sufficient consensus," designed to prevent a dictatorship of the majority community). Trimble, fearing that a too-powerful Assembly would weaken the Ulster-Westminster linkage, is pressing for a purely administrative body, essentially a souped-up local council run by a loose-knit collection of committees.

**Strand 2 -- North-South Council:** London sees this as the most difficult issue, with the UUP hanging tough regarding the basis for creating the council and how much authority its "implementation bodies" would have; Trimble fears that Sinn Fein might manage to sideline the NI assembly, leaving the N-S Council to function without Northern political oversight -- i.e., backdoor unification. Dublin and London have agreed that the Council should be established by respective legislation, something Trimble opposes.

- Ahern and the nationalists need a N-S Council with legitimacy to make decisions in specified areas and implement them on an all-Ireland basis in order to give up the Irish constitutional claim on the North. Failure to achieve this will leave Ahern open to charges that he is the "Michael Collins" of his generation (perpetuating partition) and is a recipe for strong opposition by Sinn Fein to a deal.
- London sees a deal being cut that includes trade-offs between the Northern Ireland Assembly and the N-S council. Trimble is reported to be moving towards Hume's demands on the Assembly to avoid having to make concessions on the Council.

The chemistry at the Stormont Castle negotiating site is reported to be very good, having rebounded from a cycle of euphoria and depression Friday when an agreed text seemed imminent, then deferred to Monday. The hard part is now coming when the parties finally get a complete proposal to negotiate on (and selectively leak, though the advantage of a late paper is that the outside critics will have little time to influence the negotiations).

**Ancillary developments:** External events continue to have an impact on the talks. The new Parades Commission defied skeptics in deciding not to allow the first contentious march of the season, Easter Monday, to go through a

nationalist neighborhood in Derry. The Bloody Sunday Commission launched its work with a public meeting. A United Nations special human rights report released April 1 was very critical of alleged RUC intimidation of Northern Ireland defense attorneys. And, the Irish police foiled a massive car bomb plot, intercepting a BMW loaded with 1,000 lbs of explosives about to board a ferry for Britain. The finger points to one of the renegade republican groups. This makes a total of four major finds of nitrate fertilizer-based explosives totaling three tons since January 8 -- one successful major bombing or mass killing could still wreck the talks.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President and Prime Minister Ahern, Ireland.

IV. PRESS PLAN

None.

V. SEQUENCE

TBD

Attachment

Tab A Talking Points

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

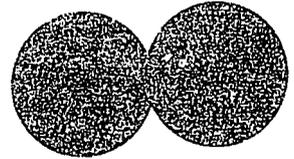
- Hillary and I were saddened to learn of your mother's death.
- I am certain your mother was proud of your accomplishments for Ireland. Your historic efforts to bring a lasting peace to the North are also appreciated here.
- Wanted you to know of my respect and high confidence in what you are doing. I am ready to help in any way you think appropriate.
- Spoke with Tony Blair late Sunday -- he sounded cautiously optimistic after your marathon meetings. How are the talks going and what are your plans for finishing them? How can we help?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2455

April 6, 1998



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER, ACTING *LB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Telephone Call to Irish Prime  
Minister Ahern -- Briefing Paper

Your memo to the President conveying background and talking points for his call to Bertie Ahern is at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Briefing memorandum for the President  
Tab A Talking Points

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2013  
By KBH/NARA, Date 7/3/2019  
2015-0156-M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify on: 4/6/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

April 6, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER, ACTING

SUBJECT: Presidential Telephone Call to Irish Prime  
Minister Ahern -- Briefing paper

Your memo to the President conveying background and talking points for his call to Bertie Ahern is at Tab I. ~~I have also attached, at Tab B, a summary of the key issues in the negotiations.~~

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Briefing memorandum for the President

Tab A Talking Points

~~Tab B Northern Ireland talks key issues~~

~~Tab C Biography~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By ~~KBM~~ NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0136-M

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

- Hillary and I were saddened to learn of your mother's death.
- Losing a beloved parent is one of life's most difficult events. Coming during Holy Easter week, I hope your faith in the resurrection will guide and comfort you.
- I am certain your mother was proud of your accomplishments for Ireland. Your historic efforts to bring a lasting peace to the North are also appreciated here.
- Wanted you to know of my respect and high confidence in what you are doing. I am ready to help in any way you think appropriate.
- Spoke with Tony Blair late Sunday -- he sounded cautiously optimistic after your marathon meetings. How are the talks going and what are your plans for finishing them? *How can*

*we help ?*

nationalist neighborhood in Derry. The Bloody Sunday Commission launched its work with a public meeting. A United Nations special human rights report released April 1 was very critical of alleged RUC intimidation of Northern Ireland defense attorneys. And, the Irish police foiled a massive car bomb plot, intercepting a BMW loaded with 1,000 lbs of explosives about to board a ferry for Britain. The finger points to one of the renegade republican groups. This makes a total of four major finds of nitrate fertilizer-based explosives totaling three tons since January 8 -- one successful major bombing or mass killing could still wreck the talks.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President and Prime Minister Ahern, Ireland.

IV. PRESS PLAN

None.

V. SEQUENCE

TBD

Attachments

Tab A Talking Points

~~Tab B Northern Ireland Talks Key Issues~~

~~Tab C Ahern Biography~~

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.45)  
KBH 7/31/2019

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE CALL WITH  
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

DATE: April 6, 1998

LOCATION: TBD

TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.46)  
KBH 7/31/2019

I. PURPOSE

To express condolences for death of Ahern's mother early Monday morning and to provide encouragement for the final push in the Northern Ireland peace talks.

II. BACKGROUND

The weekend was a roller coaster of emotions as substantive negotiating was done behind the scenes on the peace agreement. London and Dublin concurred late on Sunday on a composite text for George Mitchell to work with. Sadly, Bertie Ahern's elderly widowed mother passed away early Monday (heart attack). The removal service (when the remains are brought to the church) is set for Tuesday evening and the funeral for noon Wednesday. Ahern may go to Belfast afterwards for the final push on the agreement.

The two governments passed their paper to George Mitchell. He spent Monday meeting with officials in Belfast to flesh out additional language to complete the text he intended to present to the parties Monday evening.

The British described the four Blair-Ahern meetings last week as "negotiation by proxy" (London for Trimble, Dublin for Adams) to develop a paper that would be within the ballpark of what all the parties can use as a starting point without causing any to walk out a priori. There are still many problems, including between the governments.

**Strand 1 - Northern Ireland Assembly:** Little has been agreed on what this will look like, ranging from number of members and type of executive structure -- if any. Hume

wants a parliamentary-style cabinet, with decisions being made by weighted voting of unionist and nationalist caucuses (so-called "sufficient consensus," designed to prevent a dictatorship of the majority community). Trimble, fearing that a too-powerful Assembly would weaken the Ulster-Westminster linkage, is pressing for a purely administrative body, essentially a souped-up local council run by a loose-knit collection of committees.

**Strand 2 -- North-South Council:** London sees this as the most difficult issue, with the UUP hanging tough regarding the basis for creating the council and how much authority its "implementation bodies" would have; Trimble fears that Sinn Fein might manage to sideline the NI assembly, leaving the N-S Council to function without Northern political oversight -- i.e., backdoor unification. Dublin and London have agreed that the Council should be established by respective legislation, something Trimble opposes.

- Ahern and the nationalists need an N-S Council with legitimacy to make decisions in specified areas and implement them on an all-Ireland basis in order to give up the Irish constitutional claim on the North. Failure to achieve this will leave Ahern open to charges that he is the "Michael Collins" of his generation (perpetuating partition) and is a recipe for strong opposition by Sinn Fein to a deal.
- London sees a deal being cut that includes trade-offs between the Northern Ireland Assembly and the N-S council. Trimble is reported to be moving towards Hume's demands on the Assembly to avoid having to make concessions on the Council.

The chemistry at the Stormont Castle negotiating site is reported to be very good, having rebounded from a cycle of euphoria and depression Friday when an agreed text seemed imminent, then deferred to Monday. The hard part is now coming when the parties finally get a complete proposal to negotiate on (and selectively leak, though the advantage of a late paper is that the outside critics will have little time to influence the negotiations).

**Ancillary developments:** <sup>Exogenous</sup> ~~Exogenous~~ events continue to have an impact on the talks. The new Parades Commission defied skeptics in deciding not to allow the first contentious march of the season, Easter Monday, to go through a

nationalist neighborhood in Derry. The Bloody Sunday Commission launched its work with a public meeting. An UN special human rights report released April 1 was very critical of alleged RUC intimidation of Northern Ireland defense attorneys. And, the Irish police foiled a massive car bomb plot, intercepting a BMW loaded with 1,000 lbs of explosives about to board a ferry for Britain. The finger points to one of the renegade republican groups. This makes a total of four major finds of nitrate fertilizer-based explosives totaling three tons since January 8 -- one successful major bombing or mass killing could still wreck the talks.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President and Prime Minister Ahern, Ireland.

IV. PRESS PLAN

None.

V. SEQUENCE

TBD

Attachments

- Tab A Talking Points
- Tab B Northern Ireland Talks - Key Issues
- Tab C Ahern Biography

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

- Hillary and I were saddened to learn of your mother's death.
- Losing a beloved parent is one of life's most difficult events. Coming during Holy Easter week, I hope your faith in the resurrection will guide and comfort you.
- I am certain your mother was proud of your accomplishments for Ireland. Your historic efforts to bring a lasting peace to the North are also appreciated here.
- Wanted you to know of my respect and high confidence in what you are doing. I am ready to help in any way you think appropriate.
- Spoke with Tony Blair late Sunday -- he sounded cautiously optimistic after your marathon meetings. How are the talks going and what are your plans for finishing them?

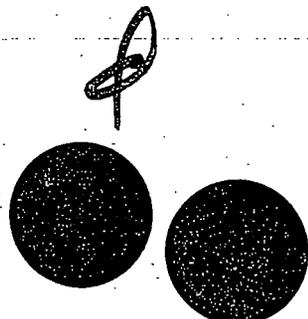
DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.47)

KBH 7/31/2019

March 17, 1998



INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER *B*

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER *B*

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, 9:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m., Wednesday, March 18.

Personnel: Jean will want to discuss her resignation plans with you. March 17 was the fifth anniversary of her nomination as Ambassador to Ireland. (She also turned 70 last month. FLOTUS called to congratulate.) She announced her resignation on Monday morning. Niall O'Dowd got his hands on a joint letter of support signed by 40 members of Congress (Peter King was in the lead) for Paul Quinn's nomination and published an article on the coming scramble to replace Jean in both the Irish Echo and the new Dublin paper, Ireland on Sunday (copy attached).

Legal: Besides her future and the peace process, she is also discussing options regarding the Seitz book.

Peace Process: Jean has kept in close touch with Sinn Fein's Rita O'Hare and Father Alex Reid, the Jesuit priest who has acted as a go-between with the IRA. Based on talks with them and John Hume, she is concerned that when elections to the NI assembly become a reality, Sinn Fein will put SDLP out of business. You should seek Jean's insights into the internal dynamics of the republican and nationalist movements, as well as her assessment of how the end game should be played out. She would also appreciate quick review of the President's and your meetings:

Points to Make

- Our intent is to convey both our strong support and sense of urgency that all talks participants should now feel to complete the negotiations. St. Patrick's day should mark the start of the "bell lap" for the talks.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 3/17/08

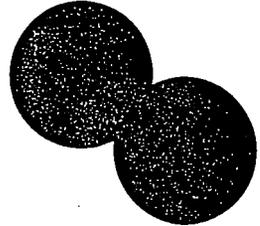
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- Would appreciate your insights and recommendations for how we play next week and the next two months.
- (if asked) The idea of the President visiting Northern Ireland in May has been put forward by a number of persons. We are open to the idea, but it is premature to have any concrete plans. Circumstances would have to be appropriate. Timing of Irish referendum (May 22 -- linked to vote on EU Amsterdam treaty) is a complicating factor. Aware of Irish interest in having him visit Dublin.

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

April 23, 1998

2015-0156-M (1.48)  
KBH 7/31/2019



INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER, ACTING 

SUBJECT: Your Visit to Belfast and Dublin,  
April 26-28, 1998

Context of Visit

The overall mood in the UK and Ireland has steadied into studied optimism as the governments and political leaders came back from Easter holidays to find things playing out better than expected -- though a pair of killings (one Catholic, one Protestant) served to remind all of the rewards of a peace deal. The ambitious timetable ahead will help keep minds focussed on the size of the challenge and minimize second-guessing and carping - though Sinn Fein has already started its Assembly election campaign by denigrating Hume and the SDLP for having kept the nationalists from getting more from the agreement.

Blair's attention on the phase of the peace process is being distracted by the Middle East, the Georgia HEU issue and EU commitments. Ahern, on the other hand, has no distractions. All parties continue to be careful on the possibility of a Presidential visit, seeking to lower expectations.

London and Belfast meetings

**Atmosphere.** The size of the (expected) unionist majority for the agreement, in addition to **parades, decommissioning and prisoner releases** are seen as the tricky parts to be dealt with over the next six months. While Trimble can count on a 70% or better UUP vote May 22, he must attract a significant share of the 40% of unionists that UKUP and DUP represent to have a real mandate. With this in mind, Blair intervened Tuesday to postpone a Northern Ireland **Parades** Commission press conference expected to announce additional bans on loyal order marches for the rest of the season, including Drumcree. With two already having been blocked, Blair, anticipating that this news might

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 4/22/08

precipitate a crisis in the Protestant community in advance of the May 22 vote, appealed to the Commission to hold off.

Blair has also had to reassure unionists and the security establishment that **paramilitary prisoners** are not going to be released unthinkingly back into society. Indeed, Westminster will have to pass special legislation to permit the government to provide advance parole. This piece, and the other laws necessary to hold the referendum and carry out London's obligations under the peace agreement, were being introduced last week.

**Paramilitary violence.** British security service representatives briefed me April 22 on their assessment of prospects for violence. Expressing a note of pragmatic optimism, they said they believe that **Sinn Fein/IRA** believe that violence no longer has any utility in advancing their political objectives and are prepared to work with the peace agreement. Further, Gerry Adams appears to have maintained his considerable authority over the rank and file -- **Jean Kennedy Smith** reported a **Father Reid-conveyed message** from Adams asking us to help fend off pressures on decommissioning while he locks in his boys (cable attached). (So far, the UUP has not played the decommissioning card to any extent, perhaps understanding the consequences if deployed too soon.) It is not certain that there will be significant defections from the IRA as the peace agreement is implemented. There will be a General Army Convention sometime after the May 22 referenda to prolong, again, the cease-fire and do other business.

The **INLA** is seen as a diminishing threat (membership at 50+ and falling), while the **Continuity Ira (CIRA)** seem to have some access to IRA munitions. The **32-County Group** has the potential for forming the nucleus of a new splinter IRA grouping, but it is far from certain that this will come about. The British are not happy that Sands was admitted to the United States, but concede that while they believe her to have been a senior IRA figure, there is no hard evidence against her and the 32-County Group's intentions are not yet clear. So far they have not been implicated in any terrorist attempts (two members are in jail for having been caught with a quantity of fertilizer explosives in a storage facility near Dublin). All the other recent bombs intercepted by the Irish police (based on real time intel) were linked to CIRA.

- The largest fear is for a "south of the border" originated spectacular attack either in the North or in Britain that shatters unionist willingness to support the peace agreement.

The LVF is reported to be close to announcing a cease-fire, responding to clamoring from its prisoners to be eligible for early releases. The British feel that as long as republican violence continues to diminish, the loyalist reactive attacks will also go away. However, with former enemies back out on the streets, we should expect some settling of scores, i.e., steady background noise of street violence that is tightly targetted.

**London meetings.** You are having lunch on Friday with outgoing NIO political director Quentin Thomas and his successor, Bill Jeffrey at Phil Lader's. Quentin was Sean O'Huiginn's and Dermot Gallagher's counterpart the past 15 years and is best placed to offer you a summing up of the peace process. You will also have a chance to build a relationship with Jeffrey, likely to be necessary as the implementation process unfolds over the next year(s). Your lunch with Tom Reid will give you a chance to educate the new Washington Post bureau chief on things Irish. His first effort from Dublin, filed Monday, had few fans here.

**Belfast meetings.** Kathy is pulling together a program that has you meeting Mowlam and Sinn Fein Sunday (both Adams and Mowlam have to be in London Monday to meet Blair), and SDLP and UUP on Monday. She will work the other party representatives into the Sunday dinner and Monday lunch. Guest list to be provided. Your objective in all encounters is to express the President's appreciation and admiration for their accomplishment on Good Friday and efforts to sell the agreement to the Northern Irish public. You will want to get their assessment for the referendum and subsequent implementation issues (where we might be helpful.) You also want to get their private opinion as to whether a Presidential visit on May 18 would be useful and non-controversial.

### Dublin meetings -- background

The Irish Dail and Seanad approved last week holding a referendum May 22 to approve the peace agreement and changing the constitution May 22, in tandem with a vote on the EU Amsterdam Treaty. Bertie Ahern and each of the government and opposition leaders received unprecedented standing ovations from all members when they were introduced to speak in support of the peace agreement. Though opinion polls show a relative small majority in favor of the agreement overall, 55%, less than a

fifth has indicated opposition. That opposition is mainly in traditionally republican areas (Cork, Limerick, the border counties and parts of Dublin). The more recalcitrant Sinn Fein/IRA figures come from those places and the 32-County people are largely a phenomenon of the Republic.

**Dublin meetings.** In a program change, Paddy Teahon is hosting you for breakfast on Tuesday morning. Dublin is now working on a dinner/meetings with opposition leaders for Monday night. At breakfast, you will be joined by Martin Mansergh (the mandarin behind the Irish peace process), Dermot Gallagher, and Tim Dalton (Secretary General of the Justice Department). The latter has been part of the Irish negotiating team and can speak to the constitutional issues, as well as security issues. Jean and political officer Dick Norland will join you. Monday night, Dick is setting up something with Labor Party leader Ruari Quinn (replaced Dick Spring) and former Prime Minister and Fine Gael leader John Bruton. If you get up early enough Tuesday, I recommend a run from your hotel (turn right) due north to Sandymount strand, turn right and run along the beach (tide permitting) south to the DART rail crossing, and back up the main road past the Embassy to the hotel (6-7 km). Your objective in Dublin is to convey the President's appreciation and admiration for their accomplishment, to draw out their assessment of referendum prospects, and to get their evaluation of the challenges to successful implementation. You will find that they completely support a Presidential visit, and have been very careful in public statements on this. You will want to establish appropriate expectations for the limited duration and scope of a possible visit (JKS will propose an ambitious program including visits to locations well outside of Dublin and multiple events aimed at establishing a Presidential legacy in Ireland).

### U.S. initiatives to support peace process

**Funding.** Everyone is going to ask you about U.S. funding. The main source of U.S. economic support is going to come in the form of billions of dollars in direct private investment -- the gift that keeps on giving in terms of job creation and sustainable prosperity. However, when you return, I will have a memo for you and Sandy to forward to the President recommending that we seek a \$10 million increase in funding for the IFI for FY2000 and FY2001. In addition to the \$20 million in the FY99 budget request, this would total \$80 million for the next three years, the pivotal period for making peace work in Northern Ireland. We have not yet solved all the budget issues

associated with this and have no assurance that we will be able to deliver -- but this at a minimum will help protect the current levels of funding, which have been under attack the past few years. We will need a decision by the President in principle to pursue this to make the bureaucracy respond.

**Springvale.** Jim Lyons was in Northern Ireland last week (you just missed him in Belfast) following up on Springvale and his community finance institution. Mowlam made the Springvale campus announcement two weeks ago, though she is still short \$17 million. We could earmark by splitting that amount from our IFI contributions and have the President announce same while in Belfast. Kathy Stephens and Embassy London are leery of having the President go to Springvale, which is in a nationalist area -- though close to the peace line -- so this may not be a viable stop at this point.

**Commerce Department.** Work continues on Secretary Daley's trade mission in early June. In addition, they are planning to create a Business Development Dialogue composed of a blue ribbon committee of U.S. business leaders. Also, the NI Silicon Valley initiative is gathering force, with a possible creation of a joint steering group composed of Silicon valley CEOs, academics and civic leaders and NI counterparts. A number of other initiatives are listed in the attached memo from Commerce.

**Exchanges and Speakers.** USIA and Embassy London are looking at setting up visitor programs (both ways) to address the various issues that will come up in implementation (community revitalization, policing, etc.)

**Vital Voices/Women's Issues.** It turns out that there is a rich harvest of women's conferences already scheduled for May 15 and May 18 where the First Lady can participate as appropriate. The First Lady's office and State are now moving out to set up their own June (or later) "Vital Voices" women's conference.

Attachments

- Tab A Talking Points
- Tab B Dublin Cable on Father Reid and Gerry Adams
- Tab C London Cable on NIO view of Peace process
- Tab D Jim Lyons' initiatives
- Tab E Commerce Department initiatives

## NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE TALKING POINTS

### FOR NIO

- Bernadette Sands entered the United States using a valid visa issued in 1991. Understand your concerns about her access to the United States, want to assure you that we are prepared not to let her return. After reception she is getting, she may not want to.
- Need your services to provide us with best available information on intentions of splinter groups, like 32 county.
- We are working with NIO office in Washington and in Belfast on ways we can help implement the peace agreement -- specific ideas are welcome. Springvale campus is a Jim Lyons project to find additional funding.
- Parades: what is the story behind the Prime Minister's appeal last week to delay a press conference on this?

### FOR ADAMS

- The President appreciated your reaffirmation to work with the agreement and is prepared to be supportive. You are going to get your deliverables on prisoners and equality agenda.
- Understand your concerns on decommissioning. But, it is an issue that cannot be deferred forever. You will have to find a way to begin this process. What are your ideas?
- When do you expect to have the one-day Sinn Fein conference to vote on the referendum?
- Question why Sinn Fein is attacking SDLP before the referendum, as happened last week? Is that helpful?

### FOR TRIMBLE

- Last Saturday's UUP council vote impressed a lot of Americans. Congratulations. How was the George Kenan Forum in Milwaukee on Friday?
- How much support do you expect from non-UUP party voters for the referendum?

GENERIC POINTS

- President asked me to convey congratulations in person and appreciation for your accomplishment on Good Friday.
- He remains committed to supporting your efforts to build the peace. Jim Lyons, the NSC, the Commerce Department and the State Department, plus other agencies, are developing initiatives for business and other areas. Welcome your own, specific ideas.
- President will be in London on May 18 and would like to visit Northern Ireland and Ireland. He doesn't want to complicate your efforts to campaign for the referendum. Do you have any ideas for things he could do during a visit that would be helpful?
- What is your assessment of the mood of the people on the referendum? What percentage of Nationalists/Unionists are likely to vote for it?
- How will the Parades, decommissioning, prisoners, and other difficult issues affect peace implementation?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ONE PRESIDENTIAL 4440

6-23-98

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1998

JUN 22 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.51)

KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
IRISH PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE

DATE: Tuesday, June 23, 1998

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 9:30 - 9:45 A.M.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 

I. PURPOSE

You are meeting President McAleese to reaffirm your continued high-level commitment and attention to the Northern Ireland peace process.

II. BACKGROUND

McAleese is making her first visit since becoming President of Ireland (a largely ceremonial position). With the exception of a minor campaign finance issue that continues to follow Prime Minister Ahern's party, political and economic life in Ireland is going exceptionally well. Implementation of the Northern Ireland peace accord is progressing better than expected and Dublin is still absorbing the implications of the latest numbers on the economy; GDP grew 9.5 percent last year, with the economy as a whole expanding by more than a third since 1993. This year will be as good, or better, than last, and inflation is still low and holding steady.

A former professor of law at Queen's University, McAleese has a reputation for intellect, energy and personality, and is still developing as a politician. An acknowledged nationalist, McAleese experienced first-hand the worst of the Troubles growing up in Belfast and has made building bridges between north and south the theme of her presidency. A surprise winner of the Presidency campaign last fall, her approval ratings fell from 89 percent to 62 percent between November and April. This was in part due to perceived differences between her and her very popular predecessor, Mary Robinson, and to a number of efforts to reach out to various groups in the North.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 6/18/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

McAleese has invaluable insights into the community divide in Northern Ireland, and, in particular, to David Trimble. She edged him out twice for positions at Queens University and that has not made her a popular figure with Unionists who have tried to brand her a Sinn Fein supporter, which she is not.

The Northern Irish go to the polls next Thursday to elect representatives to the new Assembly. The latest polling data shows UUP slightly ahead of SDLP (27 percent to 26 percent) in terms of "first preference" votes. This is good news for John Hume as there had been concerns that Sinn Fein might attract his younger voters. Paisley's DUP is at 16 percent, with Sinn Fein and Alliance at 9 percent and 10 percent respectively. How "second preferences" are likely to influence final support for parties is an unknown quantity. The biggest concern is that DUP's and UKUP's numbers may translate into the anticipated threshold number of seats (30) that could be used to thwart smooth functioning of the Assembly.

Aside from the expected maneuvering and polemics associated with early work on the Assembly following the elections, the difficult work for the next two months will be the remaining marches in the North. The first really dangerous one, the Tour of the North, went off without a hitch on Friday as the Loyal Order agreed to reroute away from nationalist areas. It remains to be seen if the next big one at Drumcree, on July 5, can be handled as well.

Mowlam selected two respected Americans for the Police Review Commission, but was criticized by Dublin and nationalists for failing to consult before making the announcement. She has assured Dublin that she will keep in closer touch, and did so with the prisoners release bill earlier this month; Blair resisted Tory demands for adding direct linkages between paroles and IRA decommissioning, which caused the first rupture in the tradition of British bipartisanship on Northern Ireland with the Tories voting against the bill on its final reading (it still passed handily).

Bill Daley had a successful visit to Dublin, Belfast, Derry and Sligo last week, with several of his 17 CEO partners announcing job-creating investment decisions. He is still getting positive press a week later for delivering the

message that more investment will follow as long as the violence is stopped.

Planning is going forward for the First Lady's Vital Voices conference, to be held in the fall in Belfast. A Mitchell team member, David Pozorsky, is working as the on-the-ground coordinator. The Irish government is being consulted during the planning phase.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Madeleine Albright  
Erskine Bowles  
Samuel R. Berger  
Leon Fuerth  
James B. Steinberg  
Lawrence E. Butler, NSC Notetaker

Irish Government

President Mary McAleese  
David Andrews, Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Ambassador Sean O'Huiginn  
Dermott Gallagher, Second Secretary, DFA  
Brian McCarthy, Secretary to the President  
Peter Ryan, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach  
Patrick Hennessy, Deputy Chief of Mission, Irish Embassy

IV. PRESS PLAN

Stills

V. SEQUENCE

TBD

Attachment

Tab A Points to Make

Tab B Biography

SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
MARY MCALEESE (ph. MACK-ah-lease)

- Delighted to welcome you to Washington.
- Congratulate people of Ireland for ratifying the Good Friday Accord.
- Congratulate your government for policies that have led to near 10 percent GDP growth last year.
- Want you to know that we will help see implementation of the accord through.
- Invite your input into planning for the First Lady's Vital Voices Conference this fall.
- Would appreciate your insights into David Trimble and his likely performance as First Minister.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
MARY MCALEESE (ph. MACK-ah-lease)

- Delighted to welcome you to Washington for your first visit.
- Congratulate you and the people of Ireland for their tremendous vote of confidence in ratifying the Good Friday Accord.
- Also congratulate your government for policies that have led to near 10 percent GDP growth last year. Tremendous accomplishment that Ireland now able offer economic opportunity for all its young people.
- Know you have experienced the best and worst of the conflict in your lifetime and would like to hear your views and ideas.
- Want you to know that we will not be complacent. We will help see implementation of the accord through and maintain strong support for Ireland.
- Invite your input into planning for the First Lady's Vital Voices Conference we are planning for Belfast this fall.
- Would especially appreciate learning your insights into David Trimble and his likely performance as First Minister.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Red 4440

June 18, 1998



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Meeting with Irish President McAleese

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

Your memorandum to the President for his photo op with Mary McAleese is at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I

Attachment

Tab I Presidential Briefing Memo

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B Biography

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 6/18/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.53)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
IRISH PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE  
DATE: Tuesday, June 23, 1998  
LOCATION: TBD  
TIME: 9:30 - 9:45 A.M.  
FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

You are meeting President McAleese to reaffirm your continued high-level commitment and attention to the Northern Ireland peace process.

II. BACKGROUND

*is here privately for the since becoming*  
~~This is McAleese's first visit as President of Ireland to the United States. She is here privately and has a heavy schedule of social and media events. She is the first person from Northern Ireland, and the second woman, to be elected to this largely ceremonial position. She comes at a time when implementation of the peace accord is going well and Dublin is basking in the glow of astounding statistics: the Irish economy has expanded by a third since 1993, 9.5% last year and indicators are for 10% this year! On the downside, Bertie Ahern is battling allegations of campaign finance sleaze.~~

*falling*  
A former professor of law at Queen's University, McAleese has a ~~strong~~ reputation for her intellect, energy and personality, but she is not ~~yet~~ an accomplished politician. ~~despite handily winning last fall's election,~~ her approval rating fell from 89% to 62% between November and April, *tripping up* ~~thanks to a series of minor trips in her efforts to deliver on her campaign pledge to build bridges between North and South. The Irish bishops took McAleese, a practicing Catholic, to task for taking communion at a Protestant church in Dublin. She shrugged this off, and invited Northern Ireland loyal order leaders to a Battle of the Boyne party on July 12 at her official residence. This was rejected as it fell on a Sunday, offending the Sabbath-~~

*by inviting N.I. loyalists to a club of the loyalist party on 22 May*

respecting Protestants. ~~Subsequently she elected to go ahead with a long-scheduled visit to a unionist town in Northern Ireland in the run-up to the May 22 referendum; her police security detail had to dodge a few Molotov cocktails from protesters while waiting outside one of her meeting locations.~~

~~As you will see from her bio,~~ <sup>has</sup> McAleese personally experienced the ~~worst of the Troubles,~~ which may account for her being an unabashed nationalist. This, plus having beaten David Trimble out for two jobs at Queens University, ~~has~~ not endeared her to Unionists.

The Northern Irish go to the polls ~~on~~ <sup>next</sup> Thursday to elect representatives to the new Assembly. No surprises are expected in relative party support, ~~(good news for John Hume),~~ though there are concerns that anti-accord parties may reach the threshold number of seats (30) needed to thwart smooth functioning of the Assembly. The first difficult march of the parade season, the Tour of the North, went off ~~Friday~~ with only minor skirmishing as the Loyal Order agreed to reroute away from nationalist areas. Next up is Drumcree on July 5.

*better* Mowlam selected two respected Americans for the Police Review Commission, but earned brickbats from Dublin and nationalists for failing to consult fully before making the announcement. She has acknowledged this lapse of judgment, ~~and reassured Dublin the British will do better in the future.~~ <sup>and did</sup> ~~She did this with the prisoners release bill,~~ ~~introduced~~ earlier this month. Blair is resisting Tory demands for direct linkages between early paroles and IRA decommissioning, despite risking a rupture of the tradition of bipartisanship on Northern Ireland in the Parliament.

Bill Daley had a tremendous visit to Dublin, Belfast, Derry and Sligo last week, with several of his 17 CEO partners announcing ~~a~~ job-creating investment decisions. He is still getting positive press a week later for delivering the message that more investment will follow only as long as the violence is stopped.

Planning is going forward for the First Lady's Vital Voice's conference, to be held in the fall in Belfast. A Mitchell team member, David Pozorsky, is working as the on-the-ground coordinator. The Irish government is being consulted during the planning phase.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
MARY MCALEESE (ph. MACK-ah-lease)

- Delighted to welcome you to Washington for your first visit.
- Congratulate you and the people of Ireland for their tremendous vote of confidence in ratifying the Good Friday Accord.
- Also congratulate your government for policies that have led to near 10% GDP growth last year. Tremendous accomplishment that Ireland now able offer economic opportunity for all its young people.
- Know you have experienced the best and worst of the conflict in your lifetime and would like to hear your views and ideas.
- Want you to know that we will not be complacent. We will help see implementation of the accord through and maintain strong support for Ireland.
- Invite your input into planning for Vital Voices Conference we are planning for Belfast later this year.
- Would especially appreciate learning your insights into David Trimble and his likely performance as First Minister.

— = Summary Points

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4440

June 18, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Meeting with Irish President McAleese

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RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I

Attachment

Tab I Presidential Briefing Memo  
Tab A Points to be Made  
Tab B Biography

*Long - this  
too informal,  
pls redraft  
w/ update*

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KRM/NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 6/18/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.54)

KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
IRISH PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE

DATE: Tuesday, June 23, 1998

LOCATION: TBD

TIME: 9:30 - 9:45 A.M.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

You are meeting President McAleese to reaffirm your continued high-level commitment and attention to the Northern Ireland peace process.

II. BACKGROUND

McAleese is here privately for the first visit since becoming President of Ireland -- a largely ceremonial position. She comes when implementation of the peace accord is going well and Dublin is basking in the glow of astounding statistics: the Irish economy has expanded by a third since 1993; 9.5 percent last year and indicators are for 10 percent this year! On the downside, Bertie Ahern is battling allegations of campaign finance ~~steal~~.

*2 very conc*  
A former professor of law at Queen's University, McAleese has a reputation for intellect, energy and personality, but she is not an accomplished politician. Despite winning last fall's election, her approval rating fell from 89 percent to 62 percent between November and April, ~~tripping up in efforts to deliver on her campaign pledge to build bridges between North and South. The Irish bishops took McAleese, a practicing Catholic, to task for taking communion at a Protestant church in Dublin. She offended the Sabbath-respecting Protestants by inviting N.I. loyal leaders to a Battle of the Boyne party on a Sunday.~~

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*put in poll date*

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III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Madeleine Albright  
Erskine Bowles  
Samuel R. Berger  
Leon Fuerth  
James B. Steinberg  
Lawrence E. Butler, NSC Notetaker

SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
MARY MCALEESE (ph. MACK-ah-lease)

- Delighted to welcome you to Washington.
- Congratulate people of Ireland for ratifying the Good Friday Accord.
- Congratulate your government for policies that have led to near 10 percent GDP growth last year.
- Want you to know that we will help see implementation of the accord through.
- Invite your input into planning for <sup>the First Lady's</sup> Vital Voices Conference this fall.
- Would appreciate your insights into David Trimble and his likely performance as First Minister.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Your call to Irish Prime Minister Ahern, May 23,  
1998, 12:05-12:15 p.m

Bertie Ahern will be at home when you call on Saturday, celebrating the (presumed) passage of the referenda in both the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland. As of Friday night, reports were that the voter turnout across the Island was ten percentage points above normal, around 75% in the north and 65% in the south. This seems to point to strong support for the Agreement -- any number 67% or higher in the North will be greeted as indicative of broad and deep support in both nationalist and unionist communities

Ahern is riding the overwhelming support in the Republic for the Agreement to an all-time popularity high -- 82% in the latest poll. You will want to acknowledge this and the deft role his government played in the referendum campaign, despite the gaffe with the Balcombe Street IRA prisoner appearance at the Sinn Fein meeting.

Finally, Irish President McAleese plans to be in Washington June 23-24. Your schedule, however, does not permit a meeting. The Vice President will also be out of town during that period.

Attachment  
Tab A Points to Make

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

- All Americans join me in congratulating your victory in the referendums yesterday, not to mention your own approval rating - 82%! You have edged Tony Blair out as Europe's most popular leader.
- Was the margin large enough in the North to impart momentum to implement the Accord's provisions?
- What is your guess about how Adams and Hume will do in the upcoming Assembly elections?
- Do you have any advice on what we ought to be doing over the next months to help? U.S. investment in Northern Ireland is already picking up and should really take off, like in the Republic.
- **(if raised)** Hope President McAleese (Mack-a-lease) has a productive first visit to the United States next month. Unfortunately I will be travelling to China about the same time and won't see her.

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

---

**To:** Bell, Robert G.  
**Subject:** RE: almost final Steinberg-London memo [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2001  
By KRY NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-17

bob -- thanks for the invite -- if I am clear of the memos for Jim's trip, I will join.

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Bell, Robert G.  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 26, 1998 11:24 AM  
**To:** Butler, Lawrence E.; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; Marty, Joseph H.; Todd, Gwennyth E.; Brown, Keirn C.  
**Subject:** RE: almost final Steinberg-London memo [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

Larry: looks good. Anne to provide you with quick insert on APL using points we had hoped POTUS would raise (but didn't) concerning Diego.

Larry, also: do you want to come down to sit in on a meeting I am having at his request at 1:30 with the Danish Embassy DCM (Sven Madsen) re "defense bases in Greenland"?

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Butler, Lawrence E.  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 26, 1998 11:14 AM  
**To:** @DEFENSE - Defense Policy; Marty, Joseph H.; Todd, Gwennyth E.; Brown, Keirn C.  
**Subject:** almost final Steinberg-London memo [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]  
**Importance:** High

<< File: 1437JSLondonglobalmemo.doc >> Focus on ILSA/IRAN, Iraq and Aegean. Anne Witowsky -- freebie chance on APL if you like. Need hyper speed turnaround, however.

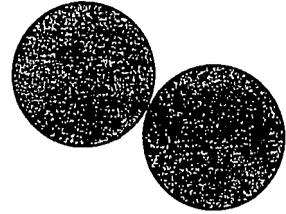
**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0156-M (1.56)  
KBH 7/31/2019

March 17, 1998

INFORMATION

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

**NOTED**

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith,  
9:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m., Wednesday, March 18.

Personnel: Jean will want to discuss her resignation plans with you. March 17 was the fifth anniversary of her nomination as Ambassador to Ireland. (She also turned 70 last month. FLOTUS called to congratulate.) She announced her resignation on Monday morning. Niall O'Dowd got his hands on a joint letter of support signed by 40 members of Congress (Peter King was in the lead) for Paul Quinn's nomination and published an article on the coming scramble to replace Jean in both the Irish Echo and the new Dublin paper, Ireland on Sunday (copy attached).

Legal: Besides her future and the peace process, she is also discussing options regarding the Seitz book.

Peace Process: Jean has kept in close touch with Sinn Fein's Rita O'Hare and Father Alex Reid, the Jesuit priest who has acted as a go-between with the IRA. Based on talks with them and John Hume, she is concerned that when elections to the NI assembly become a reality, Sinn Fein will put SDLP out of business. You should seek Jean's insights into the internal dynamics of the republican and nationalist movements, as well as her assessment of how the end game should be played out. She would also appreciate quick review of the President's and your meetings:

Points to Make

- Our intent is to convey both our strong support and sense of urgency that all talks participants should now feel to complete the negotiations. St. Patrick's day should mark the start of the "bell lap" for the talks.

- Would appreciate your insights and recommendations for how we play next week and the next two months.
- (if asked) The idea of the President visiting Northern Ireland in May has been put forward by a number of persons. We are open to the idea, but it is premature to have any concrete plans. Circumstances would have to be appropriate. Timing of Irish referendum (May 22 -- linked to vote on EU Amsterdam treaty) is a complicating factor. Aware of Irish interest in having him visit Dublin.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

1774

March 14, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with British  
Prime Minister Blair (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the  
President and Prime Minister Blair is provided for the  
information of the Secretary of State only. *let*

*Glyn T. Davies*  
Glyn T. Davies  
*FOR:* Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 3/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1774

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E.O. 13526

ISCAP Appeal No. 2013-090

Document No. 21, 10/14/2015

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair  
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Bonnie Glick, Tom Crowell,  
Joel Schrader, Jeff Rathke, James Smith  
and Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME March 9, 1998, 5:38 - 6:05 p.m. EST  
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, Bill. How are you? (U)

The President: Great. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Bill, I'm sorry to trouble you. There are a couple of things I wanted to discuss with you. First of all, the Middle East Peace Process. [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Let me tell you where we are and we may be able to do something together. You mean you have aid to facilitate some of these things? (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies

Reason: 1.5 (b,d)

Declassify On: 3/10/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Let me tell you where we are and then we'll talk about it. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
EO 13526 1.4d

[REDACTED]

I think they're really ready to go now on the airport and the industrial park, but they keep messing around with each other. I think they're afraid, each for different reasons, to go ahead. I had to put this off until the Iraq thing was resolved, temporarily, at least. What I'd like to do is give them this proposal and coordinate with you. Part of the proposal is that we want them to go ahead and finish the industrial park and get on to safe passage. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: When do you think you will put forth your proposal? (C)

The President: As soon as I can. This month; within the next two weeks. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Right. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Arafat is afraid to take a redeployment now and go to final status talks without a guaranteed third one; my view is he can always make a final deal, and more is better than less. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: I think there might be a way to do that. What I'd like to do...if I could give them the overall proposal first, then we could get together and put this to them. I think if we could coordinate that way, it would give them a way to get started on it. By putting more money on the table, it would create a -- if they're looking for a reason -- an excuse to go forward, it would be good. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Right. You reckon you will put your proposal forward in the next couple of weeks? (C)

The President: Absolutely. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Some sort of redeployment package including the other issues as well? (C)

The President: Yes. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Then we could help by having some sort of quadrilateral summit afterwards. (C)

The President: Yes. (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Yes. We're ready to go back to them and I think we have some chance of getting them to move. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister Blair: I'm set to go to the Middle East in April, early April. Obviously it would help to have something fairly concrete up and running before then. (C)

The President: We'll have something by then. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: We had a good day yesterday. They were able to go into the Ministry of Defense and get some records out which I am hopeful will resolve something one way or another. The fact that they were able to get into ministry buildings is a real reaffirmation of UNSCOM's ability to fulfill the understanding Kofi says they got. Now we have to continue to test compliance on sensitive sites, which will happen near the end of the month, but my own view is we should leave our forces there to monitor compliance and keep the integrity of UNSCOM strong. [redacted]

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d —

The President: Yes, I thought we ought to fight it off. My own view is that Saddam got what he asked and we got what we asked for, and not to politicize UNSCOM. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Yes. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Absolutely. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: That's right. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: So far I'm feeling pretty good about it. I'm keeping my fingers crossed. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Oh yeah. I saw him. I'll call him in the next few days. He doesn't want me to make this proposal, [redacted]  
[redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: They're really down, and they've got reason to be down. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I think the Palestinians are coupling redeployment with some of these other issues. By all means, if you guys in the United States can put together a big package, that's fine. Since we have so much aid tied up in this, we should try to move on smaller stuff, as well. (C)

The President: I couldn't agree more. I pleaded for a year to move on all three things. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

Let us put our proposal to them and let's see if we can get together and meet and we can push ahead. That can give them the boost to move to permanent status talks. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Right, okay, Bill, just one other thing on Northern Ireland. (C)

The President: Where are we on that? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: We're getting along, basically. [redacted]  
[redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

CONFIDENTIAL

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: You do? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d  
[redacted]

The President: We'll do that. Mo's coming too, isn't she? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, I think she is. So you can see them all. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted]

The President: Let me ask you this: have you gotten a good reaction to Straw's extradition decision? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, I mean we got a good reaction in certain quarters -- as usual, it was a good reaction in certain quarters and not so good in others, and that's just the way it is. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted]

The President: I will do my best to bang their heads together and caution them on good conduct, but attacks are likely to come from quarters none of us can control. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: You really think you can go back to the original timeframe and get something done by May? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I do. (C)

The President: When will the referendum be? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: In May. (C)

The President: When? (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Then they think they'll get a bigger turnout for their referendum, too? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: A bit of that,

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

So there it is, really, Bill. We just have to keep pushing on. (C)

The President: Alright. We'll be in touch. We'll coordinate with your people on the peace process in the next two weeks, we'll hang around in Iraq to see what happens, and I'll do what you ask on St. Patrick's Day. That's just a week from tomorrow. I'll report back if I hear anything interesting. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, okay. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

The President: How are you doing? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine, actually. (U)

The President: It looks like your economy's still pumping along. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: It is, I remember you telling me once that once the guys start coming in with good news, there are other guys telling you that it's not good news. (C)

The President: Wall Street used to go down every time the economy would grow. Now it doesn't go down as much, now that there's been such a long period without inflation. I think if you have the same experience, then soon investors and ordinary folks begin to agree, and that's good news. There's a guy at Stanford who is an economist, and who coincidentally is the son of DNC Chairman Roy Roemer. He's a bit of a libertarian, but he argues that in the technological era, in countries with open markets, the constraints of the business cycle have been considerably loosened, and you can grow more and longer. All of us are essentially underestimating productivity and the most important economic policy is not to limit the ability of technology to prod the economy. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Well, I hope to goodness he's right. (C)

The President: Me, too. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: We keep looking across the Atlantic hoping it will happen. (C)

The President: Well, I think it will. I think it's coming to you, and unemployment is way down, and you've got to stick with it. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: We have a very tough battle ahead on welfare, there are a lot of things to do there. (C)

The President: Are the Tories going to vote against you or with you? (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d
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CONFIDENTIAL

~~CLINTON~~ LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CONFIDENTIAL

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: And with the parliamentary system, it really pays off. If I could have waited another year for elections, I'd still have a majority. I think you're doing the right thing: as long as you have the muscle and juice, go ahead and go. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Well that's what I reckon. Anyway, we are testing this theory to destruction! (C)

The President: Ha! You'll be alright. I'm looking forward to Birmingham. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Well, that'll be great. We are looking forward to having you. Is Hillary well? (C)

The President: She's great. You need to decide, we all do, if anything would be served by me going to Ireland after Birmingham. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: We'll know that in the next few weeks, if

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: It is a mess. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

CONFIDENTIAL

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10

CONFIDENTIAL

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Yes, alright. Well I'll see you soon. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, Bill. All the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

March 11, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair on  
March 9, 1998

*For MKA E.O.  
per G/D/JS conversation  
3/14/98  
CJ*

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Prime Minister Blair which took place on March 9, 1998.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That the attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation be filed for the record.

Approve  \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to State

Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015 - 0156 - M1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

1774

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By ~~KBY~~ NARA, Date ~~7/31/2019~~  
2015-0156-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM J. BURNS  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with British  
Prime Minister Blair (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the  
President and Prime Minister Blair is provided for the  
information of the Secretary of State. ~~It must be distributed~~  
~~via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary~~  
~~(DAS) level. It may also be sent to our embassy in London for~~  
~~the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (C)~~

*only*

Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachment  
Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 3/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Let me tell you where we are and then we'll talk about it. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4d

I think they're really ready to go now on the airport and the industrial park, but they keep messing around with each other. I think they're afraid, each for different reasons, to go ahead. I had to put this off until the Iraq thing was resolved, temporarily, at least. What I'd like to do is give them this proposal and coordinate with you. Part of the proposal is that we want them to go ahead and finish the industrial park and get on to safe passage. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: When do you think you will put forth your proposal? (C)

The President: As soon as I can. This month; within the next two weeks. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Right. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Arafat is afraid to take a redeployment now and go to final status talks without a guaranteed third one; my view is he can always make a final deal, and more is better than less. (C)

*unclassified*

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E. O. 13526

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: I think there might be a way to do that. What I'd like to do...if I could give them the overall proposal first, then we could get together and put this to them. I think if we could coordinate that way, it would give them a way to get started on it. By putting more money on <sup>the</sup> table, it would create a -- if they're looking for a reason -- an excuse to go forward, it would be good. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Right. You reckon you will put your proposal forward in the next couple of weeks? (C)

The President: Absolutely. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Some sort of redeployment package including the other issues as well? (C)

The President: Yes. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Then we could help by having some sort of quadrilateral summit afterwards. (C)

The President: Yes. (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

The President: Yes. We're ready to go back to them and I think we have some chance of getting them to move. (C)

The President: So far I'm feeling pretty good about it. I'm keeping my fingers crossed. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted]  
[redacted]

The President: Oh yeah. I saw him. I'll call him in the next few days. He doesn't want me to make this proposal. [redacted]  
[redacted]

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d  
[redacted]

The President: They're really down, and they've got reason to be down. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I think the Palestinians are coupling redeployment with some of these other issues. By all means, if you guys in the United States can put together a big package, that's fine. Since we have so much aid tied up in this, we should try to move on smaller stuff, as well. (C)

The President: I couldn't agree more. I pleaded for a year to move on all three things. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d  
[redacted]

Let us put our proposal to them and let's see if we can get together and meet and we can push ahead. That can give them the boost to move to permanent status talks. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Right, okay, Bill, just one other thing on Northern Ireland. (C)

The President: Where are we on that? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: We're getting along, basically. [redacted]  
[redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 4, 1998

Dear Madam President:

Thank you for your very kind note. It has meant a great deal to hear from leaders like you over the past several weeks.

I continue to focus on the job I was elected to do. There is much work to be done to prepare America for the next century and to secure the blessings of peace and freedom for more of the world's people.

I look forward to working with Ireland over the coming months and years on both the Northern Ireland peace process and the many other common challenges our two nations face. You know first-hand the challenges that confront the parties to the talks. The recent violence poses real risks, but I remain committed to helping the people of Ireland seek the better future that they deserve.

Hillary and I are grateful that you took the time to write, and send our best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Her Excellency  
Mary McAleese  
President of Ireland  
Dublin

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

98 MAR 2 AMB:0

February 28, 1998

3-4-98

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Letter from Irish President Mary McAleese

Purpose

Reply to President McAleese's letter of support.

Background

President McAleese wrote a very kind letter noting you have been an outstanding friend of Ireland and she and her family are praying for you.

Your response says you are remaining focused and look forward to working with her over the coming months and years to address common challenges.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

## Attachment

Tab A Letter to President McAleese

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 23, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: EDWARD A. RICE, JR. (E)

SUBJECT: Letter from Irish President McAleese

President McAleese wrote the President a "personal and confidential" letter that I didn't think should be widely circulated. Consequently, I drafted the response in ExecSec.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum for the President  
Tab A Letter to President McAleese  
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

Dear Madam President:

Thank you for your very kind note. It has meant a great deal to hear from leaders like you over the past several weeks.

I continue to focus on the job I was elected to do. There is much work to be done to prepare America for the next century and to secure the blessings of peace and freedom for more of the world's people.

I look forward to working with Ireland over the coming months and years on both the Northern Ireland peace process, and the many other common challenges our two nationcountries face. You know first hand the challenges facing the parties to the talks. The recent violence poses real risks, but, I remain committed to helping the people of Ireland seek a better future, one that they deserve.

Hillary and I are grateful that you took the time to write, and send our best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Please email letter to Larry  
Bettler with note from me saying,

~~Larry~~

"Larry, this is the letter I called  
you about. Tim Steinberg wants  
more of an Ireland Peace process  
touch. Can you revise and  
send back? Incoming from  
McAlister was all personal  
for POWs."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Madam President:

Thank you for your very kind note. It has meant a great deal to hear from leaders like you over the past several weeks.

I continue to focus on the job I was elected to do. There is much work to be done to prepare America for the next century and to secure the blessings of peace and freedom for more of the world's people. I look forward to working with you over the coming months and years on the many common challenges our two countries face.

Hillary and I are grateful that you took the time to write, and send our best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Her Excellency  
Mary McAleese  
President of Ireland  
Dublin

Please make edits.

✓ Done

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Madam President:

Thank you for your very kind note. It has <sup>leaders</sup> meant a great deal to hear from support like you over the past several weeks.

I continue to focus on the job I was elected to do. There is much work to be done to prepare America for the next century and to secure the blessings of peace and freedom for more of the world's people. I look forward to working with you over the coming months and years on the many common challenges our two countries face.

Hillary and I are grateful that you took the time to write, and send our best wishes <sup>to you and your family</sup>.

Sincerely,

Her Excellency  
Mary McAleese  
President of Ireland  
Dublin

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Madam President:

Thank you for your very kind note. It has meant a great deal to hear from leaders like you over the past several weeks.

I continue to focus on the job I was elected to do. There is much work to be done to prepare America for the next century and to secure the blessings of peace and freedom for more of the world's people.

I look forward to working with Ireland over the coming months and years on both the Northern Ireland peace process and the many other common challenges our two nations face. You know first-hand the challenges facing the parties to the talks. The recent violence poses real risks, but I remain committed to helping the people of Ireland seek a better future, one that they deserve. *Mc*

Hillary and I are grateful that you took the time to write, and send our best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

*Mc - 10/10/97*

Her Excellency  
Mary McAleese  
President of Ireland  
Dublin

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4691

July 14, 1997

~~TOP SECRET~~  
7/16/97  
Jim  
Thoughts?  
A  
see  
late

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *N*

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS *MMP*

SUBJECT: Administration Position on "MacBride Principles"  
Provision of Draft Authorization Bill

Again this year, a provision requiring the International Fund for Ireland to abide by the MacBride Principles of Fair Employment has been added to the House version of the State authorization bill. Though it is not in the Senate version, Bill Danvers believes it is likely to be retained in conference.

The MacBride Principles are a set of nine equal employment opportunity principles for firms operating in Northern Ireland. They were promulgated in 1984 by the late Irish Nobel laureate Sean MacBride and several associates. The version of the principles incorporated in the authorization bill is at Tab A. Sixteen U.S. states and forty municipalities have enacted laws tying their investment and/or procurement policies to corporations' agreement to adhere to the MacBride Principles when they do business in Northern Ireland.

Last year the President vetoed the authorization bill containing hortatory MacBride language ("should" rather than "shall"). Though the veto was unrelated to the MacBride provision, there was an outcry among those in the Irish American community who favor MacBride legislation. In response, the President sent a letter to both AID Administrator Brian Atwood and IFI Observer Jim Lyons instructing them to discharge their duties vis-à-vis the IFI as if the MacBride language had been signed (Tab B).

The Administration must now take a position on the MacBride provision in the 1998 authorization bill, which is likely to become law. The House version uses "shall," which would make it obligatory for the IFI to apply the principles to potential recipients. As it has in previous years, the State Department recommends opposing the MacBride legislation on the grounds that:

- the IFI already insists on fair employment practices as a condition of approving projects;

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify on 7/31/97

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.6b)  
KSH 7/31/2019

- the fair employment legislation in effect in Northern Ireland is already among the toughest in the world;
- if applied widely, the MacBride Principles could deter investment in Northern Ireland; and
- business principles such as the MacBride Principles are more likely to be successful when voluntary and drafted in consultation with the business community.

The MacBride amendment was introduced by Chairman Gilman and Rep. Engel and supported in the legislative debate by Reps. King, Manton, Joe Kennedy and Chris Smith. All cited the higher unemployment rate among Catholics and the need to achieve fair employment to support the peace process. Rep. Hamilton spoke against the provision, citing the fact that the Irish Government opposes it as inimical to investment in the Northern Ireland, as does SDLP leader John Hume. (Senator Kennedy has always been skeptical about legislating the MacBride Principles.)

U.S. Observer to the IFI Jim Lyons emphasizes that the IFI is already complying with the MacBride Principles on the basis of the President's letter; his view is that there is no reason for the Administration to oppose the MacBride amendment.

That segment of the Irish American community that follows this issue believes that the President's 1996 letter to Atwood and Lyons means the Administration logically must support the MacBride provision. State, and those who oppose the provision, argue that the President's letter makes the provision unnecessary and enacting it will only serve as a red flag to the unionist community. (Even unionists who strongly favor fair employment measures resent the MacBride Principles as symbols of American efforts to dictate to Northern Ireland.)

Concurrence by: Bill Danvers *mdx*

RECOMMENDATION

While Lyons believes the IFI can comply with MacBride language regardless of whether the provision reads "shall" or "should," as a general rule "should" is preferable for the Administration. We recommend that the Administration request that the MacBride language be changed to "should," though we would make clear at the same time that we will not oppose the amendment regardless of which verb is used.

Approve *R* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab A MacBride Principles

Tab B President's Letter to Messrs. Lyons and Atwood

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.61)  
KBH 7/31/2019

July 8, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Stabilizing the Situation in Northern Ireland

There are a number of steps we should consider taking this week to help stabilize the situation in Northern Ireland and get the focus back on the peace process.

PARADES

Nationalist bitterness seems to be increasing, even as the rioting may be tapering off, in light of a leaked internal NIO document that indicates that Mowlam and others had already decided, by June 20, that they would allow the Orange march if no compromise could be reached between marchers and residents. Though Mowlam sought to explain that this was an options paper, the leaked text indicates a firm consensus had already developed and nationalists are feeling betrayed. The nationalists on the Lower Ormeau Road in Belfast, the next trouble spot, are refusing even to speak with her.

Today an Irish government official told a leading Irish American (who told me) that Mowlam is a "broken woman" who has been coopted by the police and army into seeing Northern Ireland as a security issue; he opined that the NIO document was in fact leaked by an NIO or RUC official opposed to Mowlam's policy on the peace process and has accomplished the desired effect of ruining her credibility.

Sentiment has already coalesced in the nationalist community, Dublin and among Irish American opinion-makers here that the only way to salvage any hope for the peace process is to reroute the parade planned for Belfast's Lower Ormeau Road on Saturday. "Even" the Major government rerouted the Lower Ormeau parade last year, in the wake of its disastrous policy reversal at Drumcree. Though cables from London hint that the British do plan to do the sensible thing and reroute the parade, Irish Foreign Minister Ray Burke and his officials, who met Mowlam today, came away with the impression that if the marchers and residents again fail to reach agreement, HMG will again force the parade down the road. Sinn

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 7/8/07

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MISSTEPS

Fein is telling key Irish Americans privately that this would spell the end of any chance for a ceasefire.

**Recommended Action**

1) I recommend that Jim or Sandy press John Holmes in Madrid about British intentions regarding the Lower Ormeau parade. You should point out that this is a political as well as security issue, as the nationalist community will lose all faith in the evenhandedness of the British government if the parade is forced through. To justify forcing the parades through as necessary to avoid loyalist violence sends a signal to nationalists that the British government will always side with the bigger bully.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

2) Jim or Sandy should call David Trimble and urge him to urge his unionist/Orange colleagues to take the high road now that their right to march has been upheld, and voluntarily forego marching down the Lower Ormeau Road. You should point out that regardless of who is responsible, violence in Northern Ireland is bad for everyone, and it is especially bad for tourism and business.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

**BELFAST TALKS**

At today's session, it was agreed that the vote on the Anglo-Irish strategy for handling decommissioning will be held July 23. If (big if) Trimble votes for it, then the opening session of the substantive negotiations will be held July 28 or 29; the talks would then be adjourned until September 15, when negotiations would actually begin. Trimble has submitted pages of unacceptable amendments and clarifications, which appears to indicate he will vote against the decommissioning strategy. (The two governments have an understanding that no substantive amendments will be accepted.) After Trimble receives the response of the two governments to his paper, we may want to weigh in with him again to urge that he accept the decommissioning strategy.

**PEACE PROCESS**

Bruce Morrison has been asked to Belfast this weekend for a private meeting with Gerry Adams (very close hold). Bruce opines that, among other things, Adams will ask what Bruce thinks the White House is prepared to do in the event of a ceasefire. He will let us know what transpires.

**Recommended Action**

1) If Adams has by now received the British response to Martin McGuinness' July 2 letter, then Jim should call Adams this week to reinforce our view that the June 13 aide memoire and Thomas' letter represent the best offer Sinn Fein is going to get and that the decision on Drumcree does not diminish the British desire to get a negotiated settlement. (Adams will want to be able to tell his IRA colleagues that he is still in touch with the White House.) Jim would also welcome Gerry's call for an end to the rioting. If Adams raises a visa, Jim could tell him that, like the British and the Irish, we would be forthcoming in response to a declaration of an IRA ceasefire.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

2) We should take the necessary internal decision to be able to tell Adams, when and if it becomes appropriate to do so, that he will be given a visa once a ceasefire is declared. This is something Mowlam has asked us to be prepared to do. We have previously had a policy of granting visas when a ceasefire is in effect. If you agree, Mary Ann will start drafting a decision memo.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

**CONTACT WITH IRISH GOVERNMENT**

1) The Irish say that Blair told Ahern last week that he had already met/spoken with the President six times; obviously they would welcome a phone call from the President to Ahern. I recommend seeking to schedule such a call for next week. The fact of the call would be the most important part of the message; what POTUS would say would depend on the events on the ground.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

2) If it can be squeezed in , Sandy should call Foreign Minister Burke this week.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

July 3, 1997

*MacBride*

## ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Administration Position on "MacBride Principles"  
Provision of Draft Authorization Bill

Again this year a provision requiring the International Fund for Ireland to abide by the MacBride Principles of Fair Employment has been added to the House authorization bill. Though it is not in the Senate version, Bill Danvers believes it is likely to be retained in conference.

The MacBride Principles are a set of nine equal employment opportunity principles for firms operating in Northern Ireland. They were promulgated in 1984 by the late Irish Nobel laureate Sean MacBride and several associates. The version of the principles incorporated in the authorization bill is at Tab A. Sixteen U.S. states and forty municipalities have enacted laws tying their investment and/or procurement policies to corporations' agreement to adhere to the MacBride Principles when they do business in Northern Ireland.

Last year the President vetoed the authorization bill containing hortatory MacBride language ("should" rather than "shall"). Though the veto was unrelated to the MacBride provision, there was an outcry among those in the Irish American community who favor MacBride legislation. In response, the President sent a letter to both AID Administrator Brian Atwood and IFI Observer Jim Lyons instructing them to discharge their duties vis a vis the IFI as if the MacBride language had been signed (Tab B).

The Administration must now take a position on the MacBride provision in the 1998 authorization bill, which is likely to become law. The House version uses "shall", which would make it obligatory for the IFI to apply the principles to potential recipients. As it has in previous years, the State Department recommends opposing the MacBride legislation, on the grounds that:

- the IFI already insists on fair employment practices as a condition of approving projects;

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 7/3/07

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.62)  
KBM 7/31/2019

- the fair employment legislation in effect in Northern Ireland is already among the toughest in the world;
- if applied widely, the MacBride Principles could deter investment in Northern Ireland; and
- business principles such as the MacBride Principles are more likely to be successful when voluntary and drafted in consultation with the business community.

The MacBride amendment was introduced by Chairman Gilman and Rep. Engel and supported in the legislative debate by Reps. King, Manton, Joe Kennedy and Chris Smith. All cited the higher unemployment rate among Catholics and the need to achieve fair employment to support the peace process. Rep. Hamilton spoke against the provision, citing the fact that the Irish Government opposes it as inimical to investment in the Northern Ireland, as does SDLP leader John Hume. (Senator Kennedy has always been skeptical about legislating the MacBride Principles.)

U.S. Observer to the IFI Jim Lyons emphasizes that the IFI is already complying with the MacBride Principles on the basis of the President's letter; his view is that there is no reason for the Administration to oppose the MacBride amendment.

That segment of the Irish American community that follows this issue believes that the President's 1996 letter to Atwood and Lyons means the Administration logically must support the MacBride provision. State, and those who oppose the provision, argue that the President's letter makes the provision unnecessary and enacting it will only serve as a red flag to the unionist community. (Even unionists who strongly favor fair employment measures resent the MacBride Principles as symbols of American efforts to dictate to Northern Ireland.)

*Burr*

Concurrence by: Bill Danvers

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize us to let State know that the White House has decided to support the MacBride amendment and to communicate Administration support for it to the Hill.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab A MacBride Principles

Tab B President's Letter to Messrs. Lyons and Atwood

July 14, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: MacBride Principles of Fair Employment in Northern  
Ireland

**Domestic Context**

Many in the Irish American community reacted negatively to the President's veto of the 1996 foreign affairs authorization act because it contained language they support linking U.S. funding of the International Fund for Ireland to the MacBride Principles. The conference language was hortatory; it said that U.S. contributions to IFI "should be used in a manner that effectively increases employment opportunities in communities with rates of unemployment significantly higher than the local or urban average of unemployment in Northern Ireland." Representative Engel has since introduced a free-standing MacBride bill that changes "should" to "shall."

The MacBride Principles are a set of nine equal employment opportunity guidelines for firms operating in Northern Ireland. They were promulgated in 1984 by the late Irish Nobel peace laureate Sean MacBride and several associates (Tab A). For over ten years a number of Irish American groups have campaigned to get U.S. firms doing business in Northern Ireland to commit to the Principles. The MacBride campaign has used the power of institutional investors, led by the New York city public pension funds, to get 29 U.S. and Canadian firms to subscribe to MacBride. Sixteen states and forty municipalities have enacted laws tying their investment and/or procurement policies to corporate agreement to adhere to the MacBride Principles.

Efforts to get MacBride enacted on the federal level have foundered on the unwillingness of previous Administrations to risk creating a disincentive for investment. During the campaign, the President said he did not buy the argument that MacBride and similar codes create disincentives. (In April 1992, the President said, "I like the Principles very much. I think they're a good thing, and if I were President I would ask all

state governors to take a look at adopting them. There's always that argument [that the Principles discourage business] with this kind of thing, but I don't buy it; I see the MacBride Principles as a way of helping investment because it would help stabilize the troubles in Northern Ireland.")

The Administration took the position that language linking MacBride to IFI is unnecessary because IFI already abides by fair employment principles. For most Irish Americans, however, it is federal-level recognition of their campaign that is important, not the question of whether linkage to IFI is appropriate. Among the supporters of the MacBride Principles is the Ancient Order of Hibernians, whose annual convention will be held the week of July 22.

### **Impact on IFI in Northern Ireland**

Willie McCarter, director of IFI, has privately said that any mention of the MacBride Principles is "like a red flag to a bull" to unionists. IFI has always been suspect in the unionist community because it grew out of the hated 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. In recent years, IFI has made progress with unionists at the community level, though the unionist political leadership remains skeptical. IFI of course gives money to projects to help both communities. Action by the Administration on MacBride risks setting back IFI efforts and undermining our credibility and reputation for balance in the unionist community to some degree. Jim Lyons' suggestion for increasing IFI attention to the most depressed unionist communities would mitigate this effect. Such a provision can only be included in an executive order or a letter to Lyons; we do not have enough control over the process to be sure of getting it included in legislation.

### **Options**

It is difficult to assess what the unionist reaction to different options would be, except that the more visible the President's commitment to the MacBride Principles, the more negative the unionist reaction is likely to be.

1. Do nothing. This carries no foreign policy risk but there are domestic political arguments for taking some action on MacBride.
2. Send a letter of instruction from the President to the (nonvoting) U.S. observer to IFI, Jim Lyons. The downside is that this might not put the issue to rest domestically.
3. Issue an executive order using the MacBride language from the vetoed bill. Bruce Morrison has drafted such an order (Tab B).

An executive order has the force of law and is binding on future administrations. This would be a lengthier process than sending a letter because a number of agencies would presumably have to clear the language of the order.

4. Ask a Democratic senator to sponsor an amendment to the appropriations bill that the Administration could accept, for instance using "should" rather than "shall." Janice O'Connell of Dodd's staff was argued that the next step should be taken by the President, not the Congress, so another sponsor would have to be found. We would announce our support for the amendment.

Concurrence by: Bill Danvers, Alan Kreczko

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to support an amendment to the appropriations bill containing the hortatory MacBride language from the vetoed authorization bill. (Nancy Soderberg favors this option because it gives us something positive to say on MacBride without the "overkill" of an executive order. Ambassador Gallagher, whose opinion was sought, favored this as the least likely option to affect the peace process.)

Bruce Morrison, Jim Lyons and Susan Brophy would prefer an executive order, with a letter to Lyons as their second option. They argue that only a proactive gesture by the President will put the issue to rest.

#### Attachments

Tab A MacBride Principles  
Tab B Draft Executive Order

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5753  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
*X. 21. 96*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 AUG 24 P12 : 29

August 24, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Recommended Action on the MacBride Principles

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.65)  
KBH 7/31/2019

*John  
Morrison  
7/25*

You asked for additional information on the following issues before making a decision on whether to take action on the MacBride Principles.

If you decide to send letters to Brian Atwood and Jim Lyons, suggested drafts are at Tab A. I continue to recommend that you do so. Bruce Morrison agrees that it will be well-received in the Irish American community. The British and Irish governments are satisfied it will not disrupt the peace process.

**Reaction to Smyth Extradition**

Prior to the extradition we had received several dozen letters, including ones from Members of Congress and leaders of Irish-American organizations, opposing Smyth's return to the UK. Since Smyth was extradited on August 17, we have heard from only a handful of Irish Americans, all of whom are activists from the Irish-American Unity Conference, which grew out of Irish-Americans for Clinton-Gore in 1992. These activists have suggested that the Administration take some action to offset the extradition. It would be problematic to intervene in the DOJ's handling of pending extradition and deportation cases, the issues of most concern to the activist community. Action on MacBride would be less controversial within the USG and would help satisfy Irish-American concerns.

**Senator Mitchell's Views**

Senator Mitchell agrees with us that action on MacBride will anger some in the unionist community, but he believes their reaction will be manageable. He is not concerned that a letter from you on MacBride will affect his efforts to move the Belfast peace talks forward. He does think there should be something in

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Reason: 1.5(b)

Declassify On: 8/23/06

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

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the letter for unionists; our draft letter includes a paragraph stressing that fair employment applies to both communities.

**Why Unionists Oppose MacBride**

Unionists oppose MacBride essentially for three reasons: a deep visceral opposition to what they view as outside (Irish and Irish American) interference in Northern Ireland; fear that the campaign to get U.S. investors in Northern Ireland to adhere to the Principles (and document it) deters investment; and a belief that the MacBride Principles are obsolete in the wake of the 1989 Fair Employment Act, which is recognized as one of the world's strictest.

**RECOMMENDATION**

That you sign the letters at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Atwood and Lyons  
Tab B Text of MacBride Principles

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5753

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

August 23, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Recommended Action on the MacBride Principles

Attached at Tab I is your information memorandum to the President regarding action on the MacBride Principles.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President  
Tab A Draft letter to Atwood and Lyons  
Tab B Text of MacBride Principles

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-m

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(b)  
Declassify On: 8/23/06

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7087

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

October 16, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Telephone Calls to Northern Ireland Nobel Peace  
Prize Winners

Attached at Tab I is your memorandum to the President forwarding talking points for his telephone calls to Hume, Trimble and Adams.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President  
Tab A Points to be Made

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM/NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-m

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 10/15/08

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.69)  
KBH 7/31/2019

PHONE CALLS WITH  
NORTHERN IRELAND NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNERS

DATE: October 16, 1998  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

To congratulate this year's Nobel Peace Prize winners and encourage progress on implementing the Northern Ireland Good Friday Accord.

II. BACKGROUND

The Norwegian Nobel Committee named Northern Ireland First Minister David Trimble and SDLP leader John Hume as this year's Peace Prize winners. Additionally, the positive contributions of other Northern Ireland leaders, the United States, Ireland and the United Kingdom were singled out for praise. The Committee expressed the hope that the Good Friday Accord will lead to lasting peace and that it will inspire peaceful solutions elsewhere. The medals will be handed out in Oslo on **December 10**.

We understand that the cut-off date for nominations was prior to the conclusion of the Good Friday Accord, hence the selection of just two (there could have been three) names. The Committee was aware of the political minefield inherent in this, and made a point in acknowledging the contributions of others. Nonetheless, I am sure that Gerry Adams felt snubbed by this, a feeling Mo Mowlam and George Mitchell may share to a lesser extent.

Northern Ireland is headed to another deadline on October 31, the date established for starting the North-South Council. This presupposed that the NI shadow executive would have been set-up by now. The Nobel award offers complications and an opportunity to galvanize

implementation. Today is the last day that both Trimble and Adams are here, and are expecting to talk to you.

Trimble is facing difficult UUP party events October 24 (general conference) and October 31 (executive council). As last year when he was under attack for participating in the all-party talks, he has similar challenges in the form of anti-Accord unionists. This threat has constrained him from moving forward with establishing the shadow executive absent concrete movement on IRA decommissioning. The Nobel medal could well serve as a talisman for taking yet another tough decision.

Unfortunately, Northern Ireland is still characterized by zero-sum politics. Having been overlooked by the Norwegians, Adams may feel undermined within his community. This offers you the opportunity to offer your support, which would be important to Adams just now, and challenge him to take the initiative from Trimble. He will be in the New York City area tonight and tomorrow, wrapping a week of fundraising before going to Canada (where he has a meeting with Chretien and plans to spend time with relatives).

John de Chastelain is attempting to sell a streamlined sequence to get Trimble and Adams over the current impasse. He saw both Martin McGuinness and John Taylor yesterday to outline a three step process: Trimble agrees to identify the NI Executive portfolios October 26. Between October 27 and 29, the IRA make a "credible Confidence building measure," i.e., blows up some Semtex. Trimble then invokes the so-called "d'Hondt" selection process on October 30 for Executive membership.

McGuinness said the IRA couldn't accept a commitment to make a CBM nor to a timetable, but didn't close the door. Taylor accepted the timing, but wouldn't be pinned down as to what would constitute and acceptably concrete CBM ("we'll know it when we see it"). The two men will meet with de Chastelain again on Monday.

You should work to press Trimble and Adams closer together by seeking their agreement to unilateral movement across their established redlines. In Trimble's case, the argument is to use the Nobel prize to stake out the moral high ground and validate the Committee's selection -- if there is a major falling out over the shadow executive on October 31, he's going to have an image problem on December

10 in Oslo. In Adam's, urge him to seize the initiative to demonstrate Sinn Fein's claim to peaceful intent, and use the December 10 Award ceremony to put all the onus on Trimble to have delivered the Executive if the IRA has started decommissioning.

III. PARTICIPANTS

John Hume, SDLP leader (in Derry)  
David Trimble, Northern Ireland First Minister (in Denver)  
Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein Leader (in Philadelphia today)

Attachment

Tab A Points to make

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PRIZE WINNERS

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.7b)  
KOH 7/31/2019

General Points

- Delighted with this acknowledgement for an historic accomplishment. You should be proud of your tremendous contributions that made this award possible.
- This award was for all men and women of peace in Northern Ireland, and your supporters here and around world. You join most inspiring and distinguished group of peacemakers of this century. It has been a privilege to have been a part of this with you.
- Savor this moment and hold it close, but remember that our work is not done. Much remains to translate words of Good Friday Accord into reality that people of Northern Ireland can touch and benefit from.
- With this honor comes responsibility to complete work done so far, to establish a working government, to make every citizen truly equally in society, and to take gun from Irish politics forever.

For John Hume

- There is no one more deserving of this honor than you. Thirty years of work for peace should have earned you a shelf of Nobel prizes.
- John, this may be lever we need to see if we can get Gerry and David to find common ground on decommissioning and shadow executive. What are your ideas on how I can help?

For David Trimble

- Delighted you are in Denver and that we could talk before you fly home to Belfast.
- Heard your investment roadshow has gone very well. Image of you and Seamus Mallon working together has had powerful impact on Americans.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 10/15/08

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- You have risked much personally in pursuit of peace and shown rare qualities of leadership. This award is very much a product of that.
- Prize represents an opportunity to overcome opposition within Northern Ireland to Good Friday Accord. You are never going to be in better position than this to take much needed, tough and decisive steps. With Nobel medal in your pocket you can demonstrate that decent people of unionism are committed to making peace work.
- Know difficulties in your party and with Sinn Fein regarding decommissioning. Have made it clear that decommissioning is requirement of Accord, just as establishing working government is.
- Can you use de Chastelain and this award to take next step towards shadow executive, and shift onus onto Sinn Fein to respond with a concrete act of decommissioning? Am prepared to do whatever I can to convey that message, and underline consequences, if you are able to move now on the executive.

For Gerry Adams

- Have followed your public remarks this week in the States, and appreciate your messages of support. Thank you.
- Understand that this award was based on a pre-Good Friday nomination. You have risked much for peace. This prize is very much a product of your commitment.
- Prize is timely, if you have courage to take next step. You are never going to be in a better position. You can use Nobel to demonstrate that republican movement is party of peace. Can you take next step and ask IRA if it has courage to set aside its weapons and put onus on Trimble to make Accord work?
- I ask you to find a way to destroy -- on your own -- some hardware that de Chastelain can verify afterwards. I will see rest of political developments through.

## Butler, Lawrence E.

---

**From:** Butler, Lawrence E.  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 24, 1998 3:57 PM  
**To:** @NSA - Natl Security Advisor  
**Cc:** @EUROPE - European Affairs  
**Subject:** FW: Pls pass to Jim Steinberg -- note on decommissioning ~~{CONFIDENTIAL}~~  
**Importance:** High

Jim --

From Don/Larry:

Martin Mansergh reported that Trimble in his one-on-one with Ahern was totally inflexible, and that Ahern agreed to support Mowlam's "decommissioning is a when, not an if question," and to focus on other areas to show progress. The Irish have come around to believing that Trimble is NI's weakest party leader and faces a serious challenge within the UUP ranks. They believe that Adams must be brought around to providing Trimble some concrete assurance on decommissioning and Trimble will have to accept that actual decommissioning won't happen prior to October 31 (which Dublin accepts as a real deadline).

Mansergh passed along suggested points of emphasis for our consideration:

- With Gerry: SF's position on no decommissioning linkage is correct, but must still make a good faith signal soon. UUPers have no confidence that the IRA will ever decommission. There must be roughly parallel progress in all areas under the agreement and decommissioning will open doors for substantially greater Sinn Fein participation in the process -- not to mention improve the investment climate for Northern Ireland.
- With Trimble: Actual weapons decommissioning by 10/31 will not happen and UUP does not gain by allowing the Accord to collapse as a result. Trying to get something now that you couldn't secure during the negotiations will cause blame for a collapse to fall on UUP. Your efforts to get investment into NI will be more successful as you make progress in establishing the political institutions. Just as the parade season stand off projected a negative image to investors, so do the current headlines over decommissioning and the executive. We recognize that decommissioning is an integral part of agreement and will urge Sinn Fein to provide timetables and assurances. If Sinn Fein were in the Executive and the IRA failed to decommission by summer 2000, you would be in a stronger position to push them out of government and still have a functioning political system.

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.72)  
KSH 7/31/2019

May 26, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: Post-Referendum Game Plan

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

Context

The first two good news following the NI referenda were the ending of the Harryville Catholic church protest in NI and the Irish police spoiling yet another 32-County/Real IRA bomb plot.

Objectives

- Establish the Northern Ireland Assembly
- Advance process of decommissioning
- Isolate splinter terrorist groups
- Avoid blow-up over Loyal order marches

Action Mechanisms

- Gerry Adams visit
- Northern Ireland Assembly elections -- June 25

Attachment

Tab A [Enter brief description of attachment]

NOTE FOR SANDY AND JIM

Through Don

From Larry

We talked to both George Mitchell and Niall O'Dowd this evening. Don briefed Jim on George's ideas, which are more focussed on things we can do for the end game of talks (March 17 and Dayton-style venue). He will work on Mowlam to make the suspension period as short as possible given differences between UDP and SF situations; we should continue to support that effort, including in Jim's calls to the governments.

Niall said he is getting mixed signals on how good a case the RUC has. He notes sudden reluctance of the eyewitness to testify (familiar pattern that led to the Diplock court system) and questions about early reports of ballistics match on the gun used on the drug dealer. However, he agrees that Sinn Fein is likely to be bounced and offered an idea for helping Adams, who is panicked about how a suspension will play with the Continuity Army Council and the 32-County Sovereignty Committee.

Niall suggests some nuance in the suspension, i.e., that Mowlam announce Sinn Fein is out of the plenaries and "strand" meetings, but will continue to have bilateral contacts. This is essentially what McMichael got, although the bilat contact was discrete and not publicized.

Finally, it would be helpful to moderate reactions if we got our message into the print media ASAP after a decision to suspend Sinn Fein. Would need to operationalize this on Monday.

Options:

- **POTUS/White House statement** -- preposition for Monday p.m. if SF is expelled. Points -- support for governments, affirmation of Mitchell, condemn violence, reaffirm need for inclusive talks, express hope for SF return as for UDP.
- **TV Interview** -- Steinberg or Butler on camera with Mark Little NLT 2 p.m. on Monday (to catch evening news).
- **President to answer questions** from Irish press mafia -- 30 minute session (by phone if necessary) on Tuesday or Wednesday.
- **Seek Ad Hoc Caucus joint statement** making points above (Jim to call Walsh and King)

- **New York Times** -- Anne Luzzato to seek a supportive editorial for governments' actions, urge SF to work to return, other parties for restraint, underline need for inclusive talks.

#### Calls

- Gerry Adams -- **points attached**. Plus, get Kennedy and Dodd to make supporting calls to help get the message across.
- David Trimble -- talk to him on Sunday, **points attached**.
- Paddy Teahon/Martin Mansergh - Jim is calling them.
- David Ervine -- Larry to call.
- Mowlam - suggest Jim call Sunday for last minute coordination, discuss Niall's ideas.
- Irish American leaders -- Larry to call on Monday Joe Jamison (IALC), Noreen Walsh (IAUF)

#### EmmissariesC

- Congressional representative -- ask Dodd or Walsh to go.
- Nancy Soderberg (could also make calls from here).
- The veterans -- O'Dowd, Flynn, Morrison...

POINTS TO MAKE FOR CALL TO  
GERRY ADAMS

(NOTE: Adams has spent his political career attempting to build the myth that Sinn Fein and the IRA are unrelated organizations. He views getting suspended from the talks because of an IRA action as undoing a decade of effort. Expect him to be bitter and to do anything and everything to prevent this outcome. You should be empathetic, but firm in pointing out too much at stake to walk away now.

- Understand your frustration at disparity between handling of UDP and current talk of suspending Sinn Fein from talks Monday. Realistically speaking, given UDP example, if Dublin and London have reached the conclusion IRA was involved in the killings, unlikely you will have support on Monday to stay in the talks.
- Don't know all the evidence involved, and can appreciate recent community pressure, but there is no place for bloodshed -- vigilante or for political ends.
- If Sinn Fein is asked to leave talks, we will continue to stay in touch as you work to get back in -- we think that can be relatively short if you stay on message and the IRA holds to its cease fire.
- McMichael scored a lot of points with way he managed his suspension -- appreciate difference in UFF admission of multiple killings, can be used to shorten possible SF suspension. If suspended, urge you to use suspension period to reaffirm your commitment to reenter talks and forge peace.
- We will reaffirm publicly and privately our view that peace process is best served with inclusive talks; we support conditions that permit your timely return as with the UDP. Hope to see you here on March 17.
- Next couple of weeks not likely to make major difference, real productive period will be end of March, April. You can be back in then at the key point in the negotiations.
- Want to hear your ideas on how to manage this difficult period.

POINTS TO MAKE FOR CALL TO  
DAVID TRIMBLE

NOTE: Trimble faces a potential leadership challenge at his February 21 AGM. My reading is that he will survive it, thanks in part to the IRA killings and Sinn Fein's likely expulsion from the talks. There is a real danger of triumphalism, a dominant theme in Ulster history, if Trimble piles on symbolically, making Adams' life miserable while waiting for readmission. You could well have a replay of last September's farce of Trimble threatening to abandon the talks if Sinn Fein comes back.

- Very concerned about current situation; talks are now entering decisive phase.
- Haven't seen the evidence regarding the recent killings; not taking a public position on guilt or implications, but condemn all killings as unacceptable.
- President has been in touch with both Blair and Ahern, will stand behind London and Dublin, affirm Mitchell Principles as with UDP.
- Continue to believe that peace process best served by inclusive talks. If Sinn Fein is suspended, would hope for early path back: note UDP offered return to talks after four weeks after UFF committed greater number (9 vice 2) of admitted killings.
- Having Sinn Fein, or the loyalist parties, outside will not enhance prospects for a sustainable peace in Northern Ireland
- Sinn Fein has reaffirmed its commitment to non-violence. IRA has said its cease fire is intact. This is desirable.
- Hope that all parties will be careful with their reaction should Sinn Fein be suspended, as you and the others were generous in doing for Gary McMichael.
- Counting on your leadership and sense of fair play to give Sinn Fein ramp back to the talks. People in Northern Ireland and here are paying close attention to how you and the other party leaders are handling this dangerous situation.

- Would appreciate your assessment of the situation and am open to ideas for what we can do under the circumstances to best assure peace.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Press leak

held stand (2) (→ Trimble)

SDLP pulled stand 1 (UK paper)

Major setback ←

Chair said unable to meet deadline

? how does Blair negotiate with Trimble now.

? Nationalist handball

PMs have eroded problem single handedly

Now being done "plausibly"

partial embarrassment

"No attaboys"

2 5 8  
2 5 8  
5 12 4

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Gotten - 2 hours

union act  
of 1900:

All previous  
acts merge

1. Constitutional - agreed 1925 + 70  
↳ Amendments to Irish, & British Act

2. Prisoners → [guidelines, revised 33%, 75%] sentence review  
Commissioner, [~~etc in brackets~~]

3. Decommissioning → [brackets on  
period] [1-3 years]

4. Policy → Commissionary, discuss  
of terms of reference under disc  
progress - Irish conflict / SF + SDP  
happ

5. Rights + Safeguards →  
A. Irish language agreed  
B. HR Commission.  
C. → European Convention into law,  
disc set out list of rights  
to be guaranteed

6. B-I Council - signed off

7. Residual Conference - (UK - I  
convened to look after devolved  
step - overtook Anglo-Irish.  
I - holdy back for leverage

9:30 JS - John Hurst

53 agreed doc

Unionists went public, explained S2, which was L-D agreed. Public bargaining + blackmailing, we said we have reservations, back to GM, avoid public = pressure on TB → meeting with all, except ~~FIELD~~.

His going to put something to us.

- we cannot find them (UWP) - All nationalist parties + Dublin → want an agreement, endorsed by people

10:09 Alderdice -

Nearly off the rails. Blair's arrival saved process. - Has steadied the Unionists. We've done some word changes.

Just met UWP on 51, still negativistic → DT gone up to Blair, significant dir in S2 element, now you need to produce S1

Concessions - Joining back + first  
other one - Decar, policy, pris →

SDLP, UWP, Allas is palambtonis. offer of calm, back into negotiations. UWP shell-shocked, not engaged. He wants a deal (NA Taylor). SDLP hanging back, S2 not as, what

Complain about, more than can  
be delivered. → write to fair  
FE published "the guide to  
fair assembly, safeguard →  
get "side of practice, weighted  
majority" →  
will take seats

If Blair + Butler, up + tired, is  
double?

BS  
LA

Can Irish peel back?

Couple of lists must be taken  
out - financing or implement  
bodies named - How do they  
come into being - feasible. 6-7-8  
bodies - accept it.

- Plenaries twice a year - summit,  
plus clusters better.

Get to get unions back  
John Hume is not in negotiations  
stage → lieutenant. Adams  
can't/can't negot at this. Will  
know by evening. Adams has to shift,  
will create space

→ What can we do -

Tell Irish, Sundayder you asked  
for that little extra - not a position, can of

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

? Can Trinkle sell this as a  
"radical" alternative after yesterday's  
comments?

LA → Yes

48 →

OPM  
Camera ~~Leather~~

→ Request ←

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Para 7. amendments - didn't address,  
OT put forward his own, West.  
framework leg, NIA to enact leg.  
Oral bad, paper worse

1pm local - Brits + GM wild answer,  
GM wild indicate 4pm wild  
be deadline. Stuck in net,  
real sense of pessimism

UK + Irish reached amendments, 7 of 8  
on most other areas.

Demist

- UUP - SDLP - trying up SI
- ~~Do~~ 2 hours - S2  
"back broken"
- must check text of agreement.
- Pressure → significant pressure for

Inter-related  
Policy good

Westminster → Case into being  
same time as NIA x 1000  
Jan 1, 1999. please  
Self-destructs N5 Council  
Absolute commitment.

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ahmed Moulana → Adams

[ - decentralization  
- Price  
- equality ] → extra good

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~6 am~~

Demt -

went towards UUP last night  
much - had established (impl.  
body) "semi-states" (S.I.)

UUP - NIA -

NAT - will never happen.

→ How to balance  
whether they will implement -  
Irish Times Ad -

Medent

→ AHT, IAC, IAPC.

IABO,

A for New Irish  
Agend -

→ UUP not engaged on SI  
until SZ done

→ UUP + SDLP today on SZ

→ prisoners will out quickly

Blair + Ahearne - gave us lowest read.  
Holmes + Trenchard draft / 3rd time, 4th  
time back -  
draw line

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(1)

April 9 - Thursday

Wally

2 hrs last night  
11-12 About + uwp

No leg boxes - via onerish  
Nothing pre-cooked  
in mode to deal  
Blair - Aherm.

Last night - Strand 2

UK stood back - letting Irish take  
ones on Strand 2, No work on SC.

- Guarantee on West Leg, X # of reply
- 6 via West, 4 for Assembly,  
override (6 months), UK will  
answer w/i a year.
- uwp not on board yet
- no definite sense.
- may go thru solicitation other  
issues.

Strand 1 - Assembly - Executive - M-  
~~Wally~~ <sup>Wally</sup> 10/14 impl. bodies

Ensure that executive-m-<sup>writing</sup> ~~writing~~

work tier -  
2nd tier - other annexes, joint  
decision - shorter list -  
15 items - decide in  
respect would be switch  
to harmonizing & common  
decision -

We wd be giving the soft  
input in transitional phase,  
NIA wd write leg for  
4 of 14, or we leg  
could do w/ a year.

Not parties - Rights (linguistic),  
language improvement.  
Have to preserve strength  
of policy & processes not  
trying to unravel

Duust Collogher -

KS/ UUP taking in more accommodatory  
matter & will not warg.  
there are enough ways →  
↳ UUP announced at 6 p.m. 7"  
of executive committee  
probably a good sign.

(1) Mood of citizenry - nervousness.  
Agreement this time around, or  
difficult...

→ "Blair, heavy handed tactics."  
- protestants - conservative of nerves,  
vulnerable to scare tactics

⇒ Free Women's minister  
Belfast

Ben Adams

10 AM → 10:15 PM TAFOL

→ Russia?  
Munk S/NP  
what's your

① Katwin gott about to fill

Tease search met PM Blair bfast

one more go f day.

back of the fence

② → Thurs Ad Aldedica  
Miller

Adams

→ boil down to core areas —  
to pressure essence of agreement

Drafting Strand 2 P7 area

Blair met Tromble last night  
Sundbats bethe for Alliment

→ "we actively seek red di,  
we aware of historical or opp. we  
have w: our group good  
of all app."

258870  
324279

Sean O'Hagan

→ No Salami things -

Isolat

para 7 + 8

balance N.S. not hostage, or  
totally independent  
sequencing + timing  
Wiggle room.

BA back at 3pm

"subdued pessimism.

public optimism, but privately

Lord Alton - 3:15 - 3:30 → 3:00 start calling

Adams

Nigel Wain - UK

→ pulling reaction from parties  
on all areas

- presentation of 2nd draft not  
resolved.

\* AM 1st Draft didn't command

X - community support

4/10 -

2:57 am

PUTUS - Mitchell //

- 11-12 meeting -

Basket of Amendments

① I-A euphoric - fundraisers.

② Don't make me look like a fool -  
Play it up big.Tomorrow morning - 8:30 am, I'll  
wait

I've hardly seen the baby.

Church, Clergy

GM sitting up assembly, hassle  
- Churches

CM - Come back as chair of implen.

process. **(NO)** - Don't ask me  
to do this. Some knowledge.

Martha Don - Nancy Henneck -

→ **Manday**

- Proud, lasting impact

→ Part of the ass. / Bosnian working  
out, clearing out crooks, Haiti -  
Neterajah. - High one.

1130

Pat

Dist. Norland

No verdict today

① brief Plenary - not resolved -  
No Resolution today

② JKS dinner

③ A few not meeting parties  
Marsygh at talk

353-1-478. 6075 - Press  
478-6101 ← info center  
678-6015 UK Del

Pat H

4 pm Plenary (11 am)

George Mitchell  
305 -  
935-9651  
until 3pm

2/14

George Math.

- Generally trying hard to participate in the talks.
- uncomfortable w/ democrat process - want to function role in neg process.
- close to getting something done.
- Talked to Blair:
  - + Put everybody in a remote place for a couple of days
  - + End of March / early April
  - +
- Rush to judgment. - leaks
  - Blow up with Ken Maginnis - tough on Mo.
- Call to Adams
  - encourage Mo to let back in as soon as possible.
- = March 17 -
  - Set up meeting → Not negotiate
  - POTUS convey personal interest + conviction
  - for acknowledge of the situation -
- IF it breaks down, horrible way.

Niall O'Dowd

fig leaf

Give them a way to

save face →

- out of phrase

Not out the bilateral

fear of entering into the space

Suspend them

NEO SCOP

Draft Text

Brackets → (ministerial)

Sub-ordinate  
funding issues  
since exist

(1) N-S & Council + implementation bodies  
(tourism, environ, fish, etc)

this problem - trouble arises on N-S council,  
but, if the NEA + Dail make this  
fine, but no independent personality  
by mention in Anglo. Irish treaty  
or legislation → if NEA wrecked  
by SF, no NE control over N-S  
body.

# of bodies → Nat - 12  
unions less  
state - 6 + floor

① ~~text~~ How does answer by control  
budget,

(2) Strand - 1      Union

Cabinet as committee style govt  
↳ Nat (collective responsibility)  
ministers propose to cabinet

↳ "Recipe for Macdonald"  
Committee of Secretary,

acts in his area of  
competence based on auth  
from committee

Want malfunctioning  
NEA to create  
N-S council as well

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

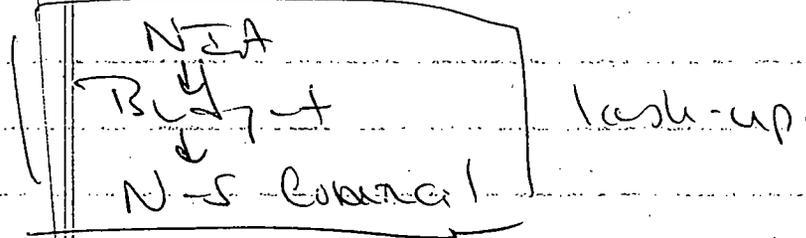
(Mitchell met UUP & SDLP to resolve technical stand! question, classes)

What ifs? Nat. Secretary, Unionist majority

IF Unionist can give or weighted majority.

Deal (Nats won't get all they want on N-S, Unionist could give more as Assembly, lead to Nat out. that N-S be fully functioning, not undercut by Unionist recalcitrance

↳ collective responsibility in NIA



Duty of Service → obligation → must come to an agreement → attend meetings, have seen to engage in good faith.

② Article 2 + 3 ↔

ARM

Martin

US officials stay  
away from Belfast  
next week



# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4/3 DUB Pump  
Sutana

① Pilgrimage

② Equality

③ Prisoners (create COMMISSION?)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (2.04)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL

DATE: April 13, 1998

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 2:00 - 2:30 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER SB

I. PURPOSE

To acknowledge Senator Mitchell's successful conclusion of the Northern Ireland all-party peace talks, and to discuss follow-on measures to support implementation.

II. BACKGROUND

**State of Play.** The first weekend after Good Friday's historic peace agreement went better than expected. David Trimble, with the help of the Loyalists, got a strong vote of confidence with a 55-23 margin from his party's Executive Council. Gerry Adams hit the campaign trail in IRA strongholds to sell the deal, and the Apprentice Boys (a Protestant loyal order) concurred with the Parades Commission's decision to ban today's march through the Lower Ormeau Road in Derry (traditionally a contentious event).

The negative signals are coming from the expected quarters. The right wing UK press is fretting about the prospects for all paramilitary prisoners to be back on the streets within two years. John Major is publicly supporting the view that Sinn Fein should not be admitted to the new NI government until the IRA begins disarming.

The mood is very mixed across Ireland. Kathy Stephens reported that both nationalists and unionists were hard at work over the weekend explaining the agreement to supporters and trying to minimize rifts with their parties. The "man on the street" attitude was one of quiet contemplation; there were few scenes of celebration. Press

reaction in the south was enthusiastic at the accomplishment.

**Timeline.** A series of crucial meetings is set for this week. David Trimble has to face down his parliamentary group (ten members, with at least four opposed to the deal) mid-week, and then try to carry the UUP council (800 strong) on Saturday. A phone call from you to loyalist leaders Ervine and McMichael would be helpful to maintain support from that wing of unionism going into that meeting.

**Adams** also has the Sinn Fein annual convention on Saturday, with mixed reports regarding whether he will put the deal to a vote then, or delay a few weeks in order to educate the grass-roots. One issue he has to face is changing the Sinn Fein constitution to permit members to take seats in the new NI assembly.

The referendums are set for May 22 in the north and south. The Irish parliament (Dail) is being brought back into session a few days early next week in order to pass the legislation necessary for this (four weeks advance notice required). The Assembly elections take place June 25, with an early July "symbolic" first meeting. From July to February 1999, the Irish and British governments enact bits of legislation to legal force to the agreement and the institutions it created. The Assembly and North-South Council are formally inaugurated in February.

**Next Steps.** The National Security team will call interested members of Congress and convene a conference call with the Irish-American community to brief on the agreement.

- Four members are going to Ireland shortly: Chris Dodd is vacationing there now; Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) leaves for Belfast on Wednesday, as does Senator Tom Harkin. Representative Richie Neal and Peter King have been invited to attend the Sinn Fein convention Saturday.

Jim Lyons is working with us on economic initiatives and is coordinating with the agencies. Bill Daley has developed a number of ideas to strengthen trade and investment promotion for Northern Ireland, in addition to some community development proposals.

There is a clear expectation in Northern Ireland that you are coming to visit in May. Prior to making a recommendation to you, I will coordinate with the British and Irish governments on the appropriateness of doing this in advance of the referenda. We need to be prudent in the timing and message of your visit; a too lengthy stay in either the north or south increases the risks for a negative impact on the pro-referendum campaign.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
The Vice President  
Madeleine Albright  
Erskine Bowles  
Samuel Berger  
James Steinberg  
Leon Fuerth  
Larry Butler

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool spray

V. SEQUENCE

TBD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2616

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20544

April 13, 1998

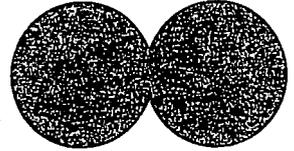
ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER 

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with Senator George Mitchell, 2-2:30 p.m., Monday, April 13, 1998



Your memorandum to the President for his meeting with Senator Mitchell is at Tab A. It covers the mood and state of play in the United Kingdom and Ireland, as well as next steps.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A

Attachment  
Tab A Memorandum to the President

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *KSH* NARA, Date *7/31/2019*  
*2015-0156-m*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 4/13/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-m (205)

KBN 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL

DATE: April 13, 1998

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 2:2:30 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

To acknowledge Senator Mitchell's successful conclusion of the Northern Ireland all-party peace talks, and to discuss follow-on measures to support implementation.

II. BACKGROUND

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The mood is very mixed across Ireland. Kathy Stephens reported that both nationalists and unionists were hard at work over the weekend explaining the agreement to supporters and trying to minimize rifts with their parties. The "man on the street" attitude was one of quiet contemplation; there were few scenes of celebration. Press

reaction in the south was enthusiastic at the accomplishment.

**Timeline.** A series of crucial meetings is set for this week. **David Trimble** has to face down his parliamentary group (ten members, with at least four opposed to the deal) mid-week, and then try to carry the UUP council (800 strong) on Saturday. A phone call from you to loyalist leaders Ervine and McMichael would be helpful to maintain support from that wing of unionism going into that meeting.

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**Next Steps.** The National Security team will call interested members of Congress and convene a conference call with the Irish-American community to brief on the agreement.

- *pull out* Four members are going to be Ireland shortly: Chris Dodd is vacationing there now; Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) leaves for Belfast on Wednesday, as does Senator Tom Harkin. Rep. Richie Neal and Peter King have been invited to attend the Sinn Fein convention Saturday.

Jim Lyons is working with us on economic initiatives and is coordinating with the agencies. Secretary Daley has developed a number of ideas to strengthen trade and investment promotion for Northern Ireland, in addition to some community development proposals.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2583

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

April 10, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2001  
By KRM/NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER 

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER 

SUBJECT: Telcon with Irish Prime Minister Ahern on  
April 7, 1998

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Prime Minister Ahern which took place on April 7, 1998.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That the attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation be filed for the record.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memo to State

Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 4/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2583

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KGH NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-17

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with Irish  
Prime Minister Ahern (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Prime Minister Ahern is provided for the information of the Secretary of State. It must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. It may also be sent to our embassy in Ireland for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (e)

Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 4/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (2.06)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Irish Prime Minister Bertie  
Ahern (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Prime Minister Ahern

Notetakers: Larry Wright, Bonnie Glick,  
Tom Crowell, David Higgins, Jim Smith and  
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME April 7, 1998, 9:49 - 9:52 a.m. EST  
AND PLACE: Air Force One

The President: Bertie? (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: How are you? (U)

The President: I am alright. I just called to say that I'm  
sorry about your mother's death. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: I appreciate that a lot. (U)

The President: She would be very proud of you. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: Thank you very much. How are you  
keeping? (U)

The President: I'm fine. I talked to Tony Blair on Sunday  
about the marathon meeting. How is Mitchell's paper going down?  
(C)

Prime Minister Ahern: I think fairly good. Sinn Fein has made  
some points that aren't too bad, but Trimble has been fairly  
difficult all morning. I've been talking to him and Tony is  
going to meet him tonight in Belfast. I hope to go to Belfast

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 4/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

tomorrow, but the most negative person at the moment is Trimble. (S)

The President: Yes, the press is reporting that. Is there anything I can do? (S)

Prime Minister Ahern: Not yet. Trimble wants some language clarified. Some issues are more fundamental. I just think we need to narrow it down to see where he is really at. When we get a handle on that, we'll let your office know. (S)

The President: I will be available as soon as you need me. You are doing very good work. (S)

Prime Minister Ahern: We'll do our very best, Mr. President, over the next few days. Unless Trimble is very disagreeable, the text is basically agreed between Tony Blair and me. It's a question of how difficult he gets. Let's see if we can narrow it down from a dozen to a few issues. (S)

The President: Well, I'll be watching and waiting. (S)

Prime Minister Ahern: We'll keep in touch. You had a very successful trip over the past ten days. (U)

The President: Yes, it was great. Have you ever been to Africa? (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: No. I've never been there, but it was on television here all the time. I watched all your moves. It was very successful for you. (U)

The President: It was quite wonderful. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: Listen, we'll keep in touch over the next few days. I appreciate your remembering my mam. (U)

The President: Thanks, Bertie. (U)

Prime Minister Ahern: Bye (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

**McEldowney, Nancy E.**

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

**From:** Butler, Lawrence E.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 08, 1998 11:23 AM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.  
**Cc:** @EUROPE - European Affairs  
**Subject:** NI Update and recommendations for Jim Steinberg ~~{CONFIDENTIAL}~~

**Importance:** High

**Message Flag:** Forward  
**Flag Status:** Flagged

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (207)  
K8H 7/31/2019

BELFAST, Northern Ireland, July 8 (UPI) Intense behind-the-scenes negotiations are continuing in Northern Ireland to end a standoff  
Please forward to @nsa

## For Jim Steinberg

Thru Don Bandler/From Larry Butler

NI Update: The press is reporting that Mowlam is saying that all sides, including Orange Order leaders, newly elected Northern Ireland government officials and Catholic leaders are meeting quietly today. This is building on Seamus Mallon's meetings yesterday, which were not productive. The sub-leaders' level civic forum idea appears stuck in limbo for the time being. Belfast saw more violence on the streets last night, but it was less than in the previous two nights. Blair is meeting with Orange Order leaders tomorrow and has made clear that he will not move to change the decision barring Orangemen from marching through the Catholic Drumcree section of Portadown.

Adams letter: I dropped a copy of Gerry's letter to POTUS off last night. The main point was to convey his statement calling for dialogue, and to suggest that POTUS consider calling Trimble to urge him to meet with the residents. You will recall that Trimble told POTUS that he should call Adams to get the residents to back down. This is not advisable at this time as Trimble is no more likely to meet with Brendan McCionnath than with Adams himself (McCionnath is a bona fide "ex" IRA prisoner); the focus now should be on the local and British leadership, who are fully engaged -- the point may come where a POTUS call is indicated, but I do not believe we are there yet. I recommend that you talk to Gerry tomorrow to acknowledge receipt of the letter and appreciation for the constructive sentiment behind the suggestion. Talking points are below.

Religious leaders: I've checked this carefully with both Belfast and Dublin. The various religious leaders have all made the usual anti-violence, pro-accommodation statements, which have predictably had minimal impact on the warring parties. Robin Eames (Church of Ireland) is very engaged behind the scenes, as are other leaders. Kathy will encourage them to continue.

Next steps: We need to assess this once Blair has had his meeting with the Orangemen. Last night's spontaneous, unauthorized marches seems to have helped channel some of the Orange anger into less violent expressions, and Monday's march may help lower the temperature to a manageable level -- this is contingent on nationalists not escalating the confrontation over Lower Ormeau road, hence the advisability of calling Gerry.

## Talking points for Adams

- President appreciated your appeal for dialogue yesterday; it got positive press play here.
- We have urged, and continue to do so, Trimble and others to sit down with Residents and other parties to talk about the dilemma presented by the parades, as John Hume was able to do in Derry last year to good effect.
- Believe that Tony Blair will stand by the Parades Commission decision on the Garvaghy Road. He will also stand by the Lower Ormeau Road decision -- Note that the Commission rerouted or placed restrictions on 17 parade routes, including Ormeau Road.
- The President is looking to you and other Nationalist leaders to exercise responsible leadership on Monday, to urge residents to be calm and not to give in to the temptation to engage in mob violence.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

*CLS  
Chow*

July 20, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER *[initials]*

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER *[initials]*

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Mo Mowlam, 4:30-5 P.M., July 22, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (2.08)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Mowlam is here for one of her regular visits to the United States. While in Washington she is meeting with members of Congress (she has an HIRC session prior to your meeting). She had originally planned to come last month but had to reschedule due to the legislative and Parades crises. She goes on to New York for an International Fund for Ireland event tonight.

Her presence gives you the opportunity to engage on British plans for implementing the Good Friday Agreement, get her assessment of threats from dissident republican groups, and discuss the President's upcoming visit. You should also remind her of our interest in British intentions regarding the three pending extradition cases and the Rita O'Hare legal situation.

President's Visit

The pre-advance team left on Tuesday and is meeting with Mowlam staff today in Belfast. The actual arrival in Ireland is dependent on the final decision on the length of the Russia visit (either September 3 or 4). One version has the President starting in Belfast, another in Dublin. In neither scenario does he spend the night in Northern Ireland. Jim Steinberg spoke to David Trimble, who agreed to arrange for the President to meet with the new NI Assembly in Belfast.

Northern Ireland Update

Parades and the Orange Order. The protest demonstration at Drumcree has completely collapsed (there are only 15 men standing shifts there) and at least three of the Orange Order's

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 7/20/08

chaplain's have quit in protest over the recent violence, leaving the Order to deal with the most serious challenge to its unity since its inception in 1795. The Order is convening all the county lodges August 1 to deal with this. The next serious march is on August 8 in Derry, but the "Apprentice Boys" order has already agreed to attend civic forum talks with residents' representatives this week. These talks were set up last year by John Hume and succeeded in preventing violence. The Drumcree proximity talks held on Sunday were broken off without a solution but participants said progress was made. At this point, this is a fairly pointless exercise.

**Good Friday Implementation.** Mowlam introduced legislation last week to implement the accord. Her goal was to complete action in the House of Commons before its summer recess, so that it can go to the House of Lords in the fall and become law by year's end. The bill enables the Assembly, the North-South bodies (structure due by October 31), and the British-Irish councils and various commissions to come into effect. Mowlam told Westminster that the bill "lays the foundation for a better future for the Northern Ireland. A new Northern Ireland governed by its people on behalf of its people." The real sticking point will be on the provisions for excluding persons from the NI executive. Blair's wording is deliberately ambiguous in order to avoid a situation where Sinn Fein can be prevented from serving on the executive in advance of real weapons decommissioning (there are reports that the IRA is preparing a token hand over of guns).

**Terrorism.** British and Irish security services foiled a 32-County bombing campaign in London last week thanks to close coordination and great intelligence. Six Irish were arrested and a variety of devices and Semtex were seized. A former U.S. NORAD official, Martin Galvin, was reported to have been in Ireland last week working on links to 32-County and the CIRA. If press reports are accurate, he is seeking to set up a counterpart organization to engage in fundraising in the United States. He is closely linked to Bernadette Sands who is a key figure in the 32-County movement. Our authorities are keeping an eye on these developments and we are not giving visas to the 32-County people.

**Misc.** The Bloody Sunday inquiry formally started this week, and reports are circulating that the IRA is considering revealing the location of the remains of the "disappeared."

Attachment

Tab A Talking Points

Tab B Biography

TALKING POINTS

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M(2.09)  
KSH 7/31/2019

- **Presidential Visit:** pre-advance team is in Belfast today working with your staff. We will stay in close touch as we develop the program. Could start either in Dublin or Belfast.
- Seek to make this visit fresh and relevant to the people's quest for peace. Have spoken to David Trimble about meeting with members of the new Assembly while in Belfast; would prefer to do this in Belfast (downtown), then have President visit smaller towns en route Dublin. *(FYI -- Stormont is not a good location -- detested by Sinn Fein and Irish Americans as symbolic of British/Unionist rule.)*
- **Parades:** Worst seems to have passed. Interested in your assessment on impact on Orange Order of the violence and resignation of the chaplains. Trimble seems to have come out of this strengthened, Paisley and Robinson weakened. Will you continue the proximity talks effort?
- **Peace Accord Implementation:** Will you be able to secure passage of the bill this summer? Understand political sensitivities of decommissioning and participation in the NI executive; how does your draft language handle this issue? Important that Sinn Fein be able to take seats so long as IRA is observing cease fire.
- **Terrorism:** Congratulate your services for thwarting London bombing campaign. Assume that the perpetrators were affiliated with 32-County group? Is that group growing as a threat to peace in Northern Ireland? Want you to know that we are not granting visas to known 32-County persons; encourage your services to work with FBI on this threat.
- Regarding prisoners and other "equality agenda" related issues, how do you envision the pending extradition cases being resolved? Rita O'Hare's outstanding warrants/charges?

7/22 - 1642

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MM - SRB

MM - Abortion + class strike

JS - FBI

MM ① 10-city tour <sup>to principle</sup>  
Gordon Brown + DeLoach NY to  
Kramer + Trinkle  
+ CBI, small, compact

→ Video - ? ? POTUS / VP

② Dissident groups -  
cannot normalize security with  
this situation. King assured  
no problems

call King  
③ Hines, no issues, fund raising  
④ designate as terrorist group  
"squeeze these bodies"

⑤ Implementation →  
has to

Sentences → End of July  
Assembly → End of Aug, turn  
to minister

prisoner release - SR - better words  
reason

Adams - Trinkle - statement  
Lantern Council by Sept

→ get done before visit

⑥ POTUS visit -  
Sid - turning out Springfield

# Clinton and Blair set to link up for peace

PRIME Minister Tony Blair will link up with President Clinton during his visit to Northern Ireland in September. Downing Street confirmed yesterday.

The two men are expected to appear side by side at a public event here as part of their continuing effort to boost the peace process and the new Assembly which resumes for crucial sessions in mid-September.

Washington said Mr Clinton would be in both Northern Ireland and Eire and was likely to be accompanied by Mrs Hillary Clinton. The trip is scheduled to follow a Moscow summit with Russian leader Boris Yeltsin.

Strong speculation in Dublin suggested the president would go to Belfast or September 4, move to Dublin the following day, and later go to Ballyvaughan, Co Kerry, for a round of golf - a trip he had taken off in 1995 on his last visit.

His trip will go ahead just a week before the Assembly is due to meet again and it is thought he will highlight and pay tribute to the roles of First Minister David Trimble and his deputy Seamus Mallon.

By NERVYN PAULEY

He will also make a point of meeting other party chiefs, including Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams.

In Dublin, a Government spokesman said Taoiseach Bertie Ahern welcomed confirmation that Mr Clinton would be travelling south - and looked forward to personally thanking him for his involvement in moves leading to the Stormont Agreement.

Secretary of State Mo Cowlam last night left for a working visit to the United States, primarily to update the US administration on the peace process.

The NIO said she would be in Washington today to meet First Lady Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, National Security Adviser Sandy Berger and his deputy Jim Steinberg, as well as the House Speaker, Newt Gingrich.

Dr Cowlam will travel to New York tonight to meet the national president of the American Ireland Fund and the city's mayor before returning to the UK tomorrow.

She said she looked forward

to welcoming President Clinton to Northern Ireland again.

"The people of Northern Ireland have achieved much on the road to peace, reconciliation and prosperity since his first visit in 1993," she said.

"I look forward to thanking him for his unwavering commitment - through good and bad - and for his continued interest."

South Down MP Eddie McGrady yesterday urged President Clinton to follow in the footsteps of St Patrick by making a pilgrimage to the saint's grave in Downpatrick.

"Patrick is seen as a beacon of light and a symbol of peace and reconciliation," the SDLP man said.

"He is honoured and esteemed by both traditions in Ireland to this very day and such a visit would reflect the desire for peace and friendly relations between the two traditions."

"What better way to cement that bond than in the area where Patrick commenced and concluded his ministry?"

But Sammy Wilson, DUP Assemblyman for east Belfast described the Clinton visit as "disastrous" and claimed it was arranged "to boost his damaged ego".

NEWS INTAKE

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POTU1 - Assembly

MM → hi risk

JS - Trimble offered

SAB - what can the POTUS offer/d for the process

MM - N) "whomph" feeling in Belfast

"Rally dodgy - too much security"

"working visit"

SAB - Need centripetal event:

Sprague

Assembly

"legitimizing capital"

JS - strengthens Trimble + Mallon

MM - no victory lap

Bats to touch with John Holmes - I

(long shared article)

SAB - Summary UP →

outdoor event

POTUS can say things useful

← Victims →

← Small business roundtable →

possible.

"But the US has contributed I think, by helping to provide the international dimension. In the economic area it has helped by pointing to the potential that exists for Northern Ireland to catch up with other industrialised societies in this new global era. More broadly it's just been having an interest, that has helped to build confidence.

"I don't think US has had a brokering role. In the political arena, our role was to add some confidence on both sides and to remind people of the bigger picture.

"I think it's easy, having lived here myself, to get so focussed in that you forget that even this small place is part of the world, part of the global economy. I think sometimes you need outsiders to remind you of that." She may refer to herself as an 'outsider' but when she talks about Northern Ireland and its people she also uses the word 'us.' Her affinity for the place was undoubtedly bolstered by the fact that her 12-year-old son James, had settled well here and was being educated at Belfast Inst.

Ms Stephens readily acknowledges that she was fortunate to be in Northern Ireland during such an historic period.

"I got so many letters from people in America telling me how lucky I was to be here at such an extraordinary time. Of course you and I might say, how naive, there are still so many problems here.

"But I think we have to keep in mind that Northern Ireland has an opportunity now." But is the average American in the street really interested in Northern Ireland? Aren't they getting weary of hearing of our problems? "It's so hard to generalise. Most Americans if you took a poll, wouldn't be able to tell you what the story is in Northern Ireland. But among people who do follow it, it has, over the last year, been a very good news story - the Good Friday Agreement and then the referendum.

"People were moved by it. They were moved by the idea that 81% of the electorate came out to vote. We never get that sort of turnout and the idea of 81% of people taking the time to vote was just so powerful." She concedes: "I think that the pictures which have emerged recently have been a setback but I think there's also an understanding that, like the settlement of conflicts elsewhere, it can be a case of two steps forward and one step back." One of her most heart-rending duties was, just before she left, to attend the funeral of the three little Quinn brothers in Ballymoney. She also handed over in person a letter from President Clinton to the children's mother.

Asked if she has any regrets about her time here she immediately focusses on the victims of violence.

"This sounds like a pious retort but I mean this sincerely. Like anyone who lives here, there are certain deaths, certain incidents which make you crumple inside. Regret sounds like too mild a word for that.

"There are things which have happened here which have chilled me to my core and that's very difficult to reconcile with." And yet she remains hopeful for the future.

She points to a recent trade mission headed by US Senator William Daley.

"If that sort of group had come here back around 1994 it would just have bowled people over. Just to get one or two of the people in that extraordinary group never mind a full plane load was a big story. Clearly it was a big event. But I think people have gotten used to it.

"Northern Ireland has moved that much further up the list of places that people DO visit, of places where people have a notion that things may not be solved, but there's something going on here. Three and four years ago it was 'hopeless, nothing will ever change there, backwater, not worth the time.' "Now there's a sense that the place is struggling with its future. But better to see that struggle than to see violence and intransigence." She adds: "I do think this is a society that has all kinds of buffers, things that prevent it spiralling down to real disaster.

"There has been unforeseeable progress in the last year. People have taken risks. Governments have taken risks. Individuals have taken risks.

"A lot's been put on the line to help reach an accommodation here and make progress. The feeling is, now is the time for people to decide if it is worth it and to move forward."

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CONFIDENTIAL

4760

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504  
July 1, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Telcons with David Trimble and John Hume, July 1, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KOM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

Attached at Tabs A and B are the Memoranda of Telephone Conversations between the President and David Trimble and John Hume which took place on July 1, 1998.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memoranda of Telephone Conversations at Tabs A and B to State.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That the attached Memoranda of Telephone Conversations be filed for the record.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to State
- Tab A Telcon with David Trimble
- Tab B Telcon with John Hume

CONFIDENTIAL

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 7/1/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4760

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KQH NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memoranda of Telephone Conversations with David  
Trimble and John Hume (U)

The attached Memoranda of Telephone Conversations between the President and David Trimble and John Hume are provided for the information of the Secretary of State. They must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. They may also be sent to our embassy in London for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (S)

Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Tab A Telcon with David Trimble  
Tab B Telcon with John Hume

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 7/1/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (2.12)  
KRM 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Ulster Unionist Party Leader  
David Trimble (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
David Trimble

Notetakers: Lyle Harrison, Jeff Rathke,  
Mariana Papadimitriou, Bonnie Glick and  
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME July 1, 1998, 7:22 - 7:28 a.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Shanghai, China

The President: David? (U)

Mr. Trimble: Yes, it is me. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

Mr. Trimble: It could be worse, but as they say, at least the  
sun is shining. (U)

The President: Have you been elected yet? (U)

Mr. Trimble: No, they haven't started and won't start until  
this afternoon; it's 12:25 and we start at 2. I don't know how  
this afternoon will go, the whole Drumcree business is  
overshadowing everything. (U)

The President: What would be the best resolution there? (U)

Mr. Trimble: It would have to be in the short term, because a  
long term solution is not in sight. But in the short term, it  
would be a dignified procession and a dignified protest with no  
violence. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 7/1/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President: But they would get to go on the route they want? (C)

Mr. Trimble: Yeah, if the (nationalists) want to mark their displeasure by having a dignified protest, that's fine. Each side will preserve its position. There is some support among the nationalists as well, and the Irish government is doing what it can to help. (C)

The President: What can I do to help? (C)

Mr. Trimble: If you could speak to Gerry Adams, because he can resolve the matter almost at will, that would be very helpful. We are also asking John Hume to act as a mediator on the matter. (C)

The President: That would be very helpful. Some of these guys are so happy they won that Parades Commission decision, but are harder than Adams. We will do what we can. (C)

I just wanted to check in with you. I was thrilled by the election and it ended up very well with you. After you said you wouldn't have won a Westminster election. (C)

Mr. Trimble: Well, mind you, if it had been a Westminster election, my majority would have been 300. Unionist anti-votes were spread among three different parties, and the whole thing was a "skin of the teeth" operation. (C)

The President: I think you're well on the way. Will you be able to hold the right coalition together? (C)

Mr. Trimble: Yes, I think so. I've thought we were going to do it at each stage, but the margins are always narrower than I'd like. (C)

The President: Is John Hume going to be the deputy minister? (C)

Mr. Trimble: We are waiting to hear from the SDLP, they are in conclave. I very much hope it will be John, not that there is any problem with Seamus. I just think it looks better with the two leaders. (C)

The President: I agree with that. I've heard rumblings that people say he shouldn't get involved in day-to-day business, but that's what he's been working on for all these years. You can't

just say you don't want to be there to do all the hard work.

~~(S)~~

Mr. Trimble: Oh, no. That's what people said to me. It sends the wrong signal showing that you're not committed to the institutions. ~~(S)~~

The President: I'll see what I can do with this Drumcree business. I want you to know I'll do what I can this afternoon. I just wanted to call and tell you I was thinking about you today. ~~(S)~~

Mr. Trimble: As always, your interest is very much appreciated.

~~(S)~~

The President: Well, we will nose around on this side and see what we can do. ~~(S)~~

Mr. Trimble: Thank you very much. Cheers. (U)

The President: Bye bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-m (2.13)  
KSH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Social Democratic and Labour  
Party Leader John Hume (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
John Hume

Notetakers: Lyle Harrison, Mariana  
Papadimitriou, Jeff Rathke, Bonnie Glick  
and Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME July 1, 1998, 7:30 - 7:35 a.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Shanghai, China

The President: John, how are you? (U)

John Hume: I'm in good form, we had a good result. (U)

The President: You sure as hell did, you did great. (U)

John Hume: Yes, we got the highest vote ever for our party.  
(U)

The President: And there was some concern that you might not  
because of all the work you did to bring in Sinn Fein, but they  
got some nice vote too. (U)

John Hume: Yes they did. In fact, the overall vote on both  
sides went up, ours and theirs. (U)

The President: I liked it, I thought it was good. Are you  
going to take the Deputy First Minister job today? (U)

John Hume: That's coming up this afternoon. I'm not going to  
take it, but I'm going to nominate one of my colleagues. I'm  
overworked, you see. I'm in the European Parliament as well;  
it's overloading and I'm having a bit of health problems because  
of overwork. So I've decided to nominate one of my colleagues.  
No one knows this yet. (U)

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Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 7/1/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President: Do you think it will be ok? Do you think he'll do all right? (U)

John Hume: Oh yes. I'll still be heavily involved as leader of the party because we will have four representatives of the party in the new government, and the unionists will have the same. (U)

The President: What are we going to do about the parade Sunday? (U)

John Hume: That's a problem I'll be discussing it with David Trimble this afternoon. He is under a lot of pressure over it, you know. (U)

The President: I know and he's worried. I think he wants a compromise and he thinks Gerry Adams can get it for him. He thinks the Irish government is amenable to it -- with some compromise where the residents agree to let them take the old route, and the marchers endure the protests as part of... (U)

John Hume: That is a very dangerous county. If the march took place, tensions would be quite impossible, you know. I was hoping to meet privately; I suggested to meet privately and talk to the Orange Order directly. I had a proposal that I thought could have been helpful, but they didn't arrange it. I'm still willing to talk. I'd make the declaration that everybody has the right and they exercise rights and responsibility. The Orange Order recognizes that march opponents oppose it because it is perceived as triumphalist. The Orange Order would exercise their right and say, "this year we won't march, to prove we are not triumphalist, but we'll march next year". That was the idea, but then the Parades Commission banned the march; that made it difficult for me. I'm going to talk to Trimble today to see what we can do to help. (U)

The President: Well, if you think there is anything I can do to help, let me know. We'll be glad to do it -- this is the first big test for you and the common policy ought to be... (U)

John Hume: We're doing our best, thanks for your offer. And well done in China. (U)

The President: Thank you, it's coming along ok. (U)

John Hume: You've gotten marvelous coverage out here in this part of the world anyway. (U)

The President: Thanks, I'm glad I came, it's a great thing. You take care now. (U)

John Hume: Ok, and listen, thanks again for everything. (U)

The President: Alright, thanks John. Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4760

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

July 6, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KRM NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-17

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memoranda of Telephone Conversations with David  
Trimble and John Hume (U)

The attached Memoranda of Telephone Conversations between the President and David Trimble and John Hume are provided for the information of the Secretary of State. They must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. They may also be sent to our embassy in London for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (✓)

*Glyn T. Davies*  
FOR: Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Tab A Telcon with David Trimble  
Tab B Telcon with John Hume

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 7/1/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504  
July 1, 1998

4760

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBH NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER (10) RB  
THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER  
FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER  
SUBJECT: Telcons with David Trimble and John Hume, July 1, 1998

Attached at Tabs A and B are the Memoranda of Telephone Conversations between the President and David Trimble and John Hume which took place on July 1, 1998.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memoranda of Telephone Conversations at Tabs A and B to State.

Approve  Disapprove

That the attached Memoranda of Telephone Conversations be filed for the record.

Approve  Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Memo to State  
Tab A Telcon with David Trimble  
Tab B Telcon with John Hume

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 7/1/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

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**From:** Bandler, Donald K.  
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 16, 1998 7:23 PM  
**To:** @NSA - Natl Security Advisor  
**Cc:** @EUROPE - European Affairs  
**Subject:** FW: NI Update for Jim Steinberg [CONFIDENTIAL]

**Importance:** High

**Message Flag:** Forward  
**Flag Status:** Flagged

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (216)  
KSH 7/31/2019

TO: JIM

Thru: Don

From: Larry

RE: Northern Ireland issues update

- JKS sitrep: Sullivan deal not final, but close -- Irish press has glommed on to this pending nomination. JKS is hearing indirectly that WH Personnel considering asking her to stay on to cover clearance/confirmation lag. You may get a call regarding advisability of having her stay into the fall (awkward for her because she is deep into goodbyes lap in Dublin with official farewell reception set for July 4, but **should be considered** given 100% turnover in Dublin and Belfast and comment that ambassadorial gap is causing regarding significance for WH priorities for Ireland).
- Parades -- glimmer of hope: The Orange Order drew up a new route for the Tour of the North this weekend (at request of Parades Commission and the Police). There were muted sighs of relief, and some whining from some hardline Unionists. I expect some protests and small-scale clashes on the day, but not on the new route. The reduces the number of really bad marches to three (July 5, 13, and August 8).
- Elections: Nine days to go and few surprises. Sinn Fein, expecting to get 16 seats, is hoping for 18 as a sign that it is attracting more voters; SDLP is expected to maintain its usual level of support -- putting to rest fears that Adams and SF would eat into its electoral base. Trimble faces a more complicated situation with UUP dissenters and UKUP/DUP. I'll have better numbers Friday.
- Prisoners Bill: Blair is ruling out changes to the bill to make tighter linkages to decommissioning. Will seek some drafting work to maintain bipartisan consensus with Tories but is prepared to forge ahead if necessary.
- Rita O'Hare: Brits are hinting at action on the warrant post-election. Jack Straw will be at a meeting with Reno shortly (venue unknown -- G-8?), which may provide some movement. In meantime, Sinn Fein knows the score (per our conversation).
- Daley: His mission is still producing positive front page news a week later ("Daley delivery of the goods for NI"). One message was driven home repeatedly in editorial coverage: stability crucial to investment. The presence of a dozen Fortune 500 CEOs was hailed as proof that U.S. cares about NI, but is not offering charity.

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Sinn Féin Press Office

44 Parnell Square

Dublin 1, IRELAND

Tel 353 1 8722609 8726932

Fax: 353 1 8733441

E-mail: sinnfein@iol.ie

## Fax Transmission

For the attention of: AMBASSADOR Jean Kennedy Smith

From the Desk of: RITA O'HARE

Number of pages to follow: 3

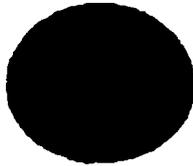
Message or Instructions if any:

**If you have any problem with the above fax transmission please contact us on the telephone numbers provided**

## CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

WEST BELFAST SINN FEIN

433000 23 JUL 1998 10:14 PM P 1



GERRY ADAMS MP  
SINN FEIN  
PRESIDENT

9 June 1998

Marjorie Mowlam MP  
Secretary of State  
Northern Ireland Office  
Stormont  
Belfast

A Chara,

Although we have had a number of meetings since Good Friday I feel compelled to formally record with you my deep and growing concern at the direction in which recent events have taken us.

In the run-up to the referendums the British government made a number of interventions, clearly intended to bolster the yes vote in the unionist community. Tactically I totally understand the rationale of these interventions and agree that the yes vote should have been strengthened where possible. But this should not have been at the expense of the nationalist community and most certainly should not have involved any departure from the letter or spirit of the Good Friday document. In my view the commitments given at that time by the British government did, in fact, depart from agreed positions contained in the Good Friday document.

The politics of the referendum campaigns were deeply damaging and this is now being compounded by developments which relate to the substance of, and mechanisms agreed in, the Good Friday document.

Despite repeated assurances throughout the negotiations and since that the UUP would engage directly with Sinn Fein, they continue to refuse to do so and are clearly under no political pressure to do so. Furthermore, their declared strategy is to exclude Sinn Fein from participation in the agreed institutions and to long finger the effective functioning of agreed institutions.

We are now concerned that the ability to exclude us from participation in the agreed institutions, which formed no part of the Good Friday position, is being written into the legislation on the assembly, particularly reference to the 4 'tests' outlined by the British Prime Minister prior to the referendums. I note that you confirmed, on Monday 1 June 1998, that these would form part of the legislation on prisoner releases and the assembly.

There has also been an absence of any meaningful consultation with Sinn Fein on any of the developments since Good Friday. This is particularly worrying in relation to the selection of the members of the Policing Commission. There is not a single representative of the nationalist community on this commission, as was promised. There is no human rights expertise, as promised. In addition there have been repeated assurances from the British government that the RUC will not be replaced which, in effect, predetermines the outcome of a supposedly independent commission.

Attempts by Sinn Fein to initiate consultation have been singularly unsuccessful. For example, Adam Ingram has refused to meet with Sinn Fein in relation to issues of demilitarisation. When we requested meetings with British officials on issues relating to the proposed assembly we were told that the appropriate forum for the discussion of these matters was in meetings with yourself.

Meanwhile, at ground level, our communities see no evidence at all of any movement towards a demilitarisation of the situation, and in some areas, particularly where the RIR and the RUC interface with our communities, harassment and deliberate provocation has increased. The handling of the Orange march in Portadown at the end of May being only one example.

The combined effect of all of this is that we believe that the agreements reached are now in danger of being unpicked. The momentum forward is in danger of being reversed. The growing concern within the nationalist community at the direction of recent events is further deepened by the approach of the marching season. The British government's approach to this issue is seen by many as a test of its commitment to equality and justice and the right to freedom from sectarian harassment.

It is essential that the current backward momentum be arrested. We need to rebuild confidence. In particular, the British government needs to engage in proper consultation. You need to ensure that your officials, some of whom are openly hostile to our party, and to the Good Friday Agreement, do their jobs professionally and properly. The constant and consistent leaks from senior circles of the civil service has to be tackled.

There needs to be proper and inclusive consultation on all the issues. There needs to be no departure from the Good Friday document. There needs to be no attempt to insert into legislation conditions or qualifications which were not part of the agreements reached. In particular the issue of decommissioning, which proved so damaging in the past, cannot be elevated into a precondition or obstacle to progress or participation. Any attempt by the British government to insert into legislation elements which were not part of the Good Friday document could only be regarded as bad faith and an abuse of its position.

Sinn Fein, in line with the agreements reached on Good Friday, expects that our membership of the executive and the Ministerial Council will be determined only by the democratic mandate we receive on June 25th.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

WEST BELFAST SINN FEIN

409300 23 JUL 1996 10:15 PM

The Sinn Fein leadership has taken considerable risks to take a united republican community to the point of endorsing an agreement which contains many deeply difficult areas for republicans. The distance we have brought our community should not be underestimated nor taken for granted. Nor is the support for the Good Friday document unconditional. The agreements reached must be implemented, both in letter and in spirit. Inclusive institutions must be created without preconditions. The mechanisms for change must deliver equality, justice and demilitarisation. They must deliver an acceptable policing service and the release of prisoners as agreed.

The entire peace process and negotiations were premised on the reality that the status quo is not an option. Tinkering with an unacceptable status quo is not an adequate response. What is required is fundamental change. That is the challenge which we all face. I hope that we can overcome recent difficulties and turn the potential opened up on Good Friday into the reality of a lasting peace settlement.

I trust that we can continue to work together towards this common objective.  
Is Mise le Meas,



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



5-7 Conway Street,  
Belfast BT13 2DA,

Paul Murphy,  
Northern Ireland Office,  
Belfast.

16 June 1998

Paul, a chara,

Given the pressures of elections and the pace of events over recent weeks, I thought it might be useful to send you a brief memo covering the points raised in our meeting of June 8. I also think that we should meet again in the next few days since many of these issues need to be sorted out within days of the June 25 elections.

I think the enclosed memo can provide us with a working agenda for our next meeting.

I will ask Siobhán to make the arrangements with your office.

Is Mise.

Martin McGuinness MP

pp. Bairbre deBrún  
signed in his absence

*B. de Brún*

44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1, Éire. Fón: 8726100/8726932 Fax: 8733441

~~CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY~~Memo, 16/6/98.Immediate Issues.

- It is our view that the Shadow Assembly should not to be sited at Stormont
  - As indicated in the agreement, there should be;
    - an early meeting of the Shadow Assembly after June 25
    - an early meeting of the Shadow Executive after June 25
    - an early meeting of the Shadow North/South Council after June 25
  - To expedite matters and prevent delay we believe that Dr. Mowlam should make an executive decision that 10 ministers be appointed by D'Hondt to the Shadow Executive
  - It is our view that, in line with the agreement, 10 substantive Departments should be developed by the shadow executive
- You promised to send us the provisional standing orders for the shadow assembly as well as further information on D'Hondt and the issue of 'Short' money.

Demilitarisation.

There has been no movement on this issue. We would like to see immediate movement on the entire range of issues.

Assembly Legislation.

There should be no mention of decommissioning or any other new elements in the legislation. Legislation on the assembly must reflect the letter and spirit of the agreement. Sinn Fein expects that our membership of the executive and the Ministerial Council will be determined by our electoral mandate alone.

The Executive.

10 members should be appointed to the shadow executive in addition to the First and Deputy First Ministers and these 12 shadow ministers should then negotiate out the number, remit and allocation of the departments.

There should be 10 meaningful departments, not simple add-ons to the existing six.

There should be an early meeting of the shadow Executive after June 25.

Other Issues relating to the Assembly

A. Needs to be inclusive at every level including the Executive.

B. Departments.

We are proposing 10 meaningful Departments as follows:

~~CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY~~

1. Education.
2. Cultural Affairs, Arts and the Irish language.
3. Equality, Community Relations and Information.
4. Environment and Transport.
5. Housing and Local Government.
6. Economic Development
7. Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry.
8. Finance and Personnel.
9. Health and Social Services.
10. Training and Employment.

C. There needs, very soon after the elections of 25 June, to be meetings of

- the Shadow Assembly
- the Shadow Executive
- the Shadow North/South Ministerial Council and regular and frequent meetings thereafter.

D. It is our view that the First and Deputy First Ministers should count in the allocation of Ministerial positions by d'Hondt.

E. Location of the Assembly - We are totally opposed to the Stormont complex as the venue for the Assembly.

F. Appointment of Chair and Deputy Chair of the Assembly - These should be elected by the members of the assembly using the cross-community mechanism. The Chair for the inaugural meeting of the Assembly should not be an Assembly member and should be independent.

G. The appointment of political advisers. All ministers should have the option of appointing political advisers into their departments.

H. We also want to talk to you about;

- The issue of emblems and symbols for the shadow and actual assembly.
- The process to be adopted should a party refuse to accept a Ministerial responsibility.
- Tax varying powers for the assembly.
- Designation of functions for transfer to Assembly, in addition to the remit of the present six Northern Ireland Departments.
- Designation of key decisions in the Assembly which need cross-community support.
- Designation of committees other than Departmental Committees.
- How junior ministers will be appointed.

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- How the Committee Chairs will be selected,
- How the Civic Forum will operate.
- Designation of the Assembly's standing orders and working practices as well as representation at inaugural North/South and British/Irish Councils.
- Training for assembly members and ministers over summer months, as mentioned by you.
- The issue of 'Short' money for parties in the assembly.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3900

W/SECRET ATTACHMENT NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

May 28, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Presidential Drop-by with Gerry Adams, Friday,  
May 29, 2:25-2:45 p.m.

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (220)  
KBH 7/31/2019

The President will join you shortly after the start of your meeting with Gerry Adams on Friday. Your points to make with Adams are at Tab I and your briefing memo for the President is at Tab II.

Context and your objectives

In the context of the June 25 elections, decommissioning is likely to be the dominant unionist point of attack on Sinn Fein, while the July marches and the equality agenda will feature high on Adams' agenda. Additionally, Adams is making predictable noises to Irish American audiences about pulling back from "consent," arguing that Britain needs to commit to pull out of Northern Ireland. The President agreed with Tony Blair to press Adams to make a symbolic start on decommissioning and offered to seek Sinn Fein's commitment to locating the remains of missing IRA victims as a psychological gesture for the families and the overall atmosphere.

You should seek to address the broader equality agenda issues with Adams before the President arrives to clear the floor for the President to engage on the more sensitive (to republicans) issues related to the IRA and next steps.

Concurrence by: Mary de Rosa

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the briefing memo at Tab II

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ W/SECRET ATTACHMENT

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/28/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Attachments

Tab I Points to make with Adams

Tab II Presidential Briefing Memo

Tab A Points to Make

Tab B Biography

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M(2.21)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS

DATE: May 29, 1998  
LOCATION: National Security Advisor's Office  
TIME: 2:25-2:45 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

Strongly encourage Adams to give Good Friday Accord implementation a boost by getting IRA to take symbolic step towards decommissioning and reveal location of remains of missing IRA victims.

II. CONTEXT

Adams has been in New York since Wednesday, attending fundraisers and giving speeches. He has been under intense public pressure from Trimble to commit to decommissioning; Trimble has told the press that he asked and you agreed to raise this with Adams. Adams is under countervailing pressure from republicans, especially U.S. supporters, to adopt a tough line with regard to Sinn Fein goals of uniting Ireland. His objectives in Washington are to help the three IRA men awaiting extradition (we are consulting with the UK as to the disposition of these cases involving escaped prisoners in light of the Accord), press for a resolution to the deportation cases (illegal entries barred by law from immigrant status -- we are developing options), and secure our support for his equality agenda objectives with London (Blair will deliver, seeks similar action from Adams).

The situation in Ireland has developed well since Saturday -- the best polls showed a 55 percent unionist majority. The typical pro-accord unionist is urban, educated and under-thirty. The two-year old Protestant protest at the Harryville Catholic Church was ended mid-week, and the Irish police proved that they are wired into the dissident IRA "32-County" group, intercepting two cars with explosives 200 yards from the NI border on Saturday. Ian

Paisley erred badly in attacking the Queen after hearing unconfirmed reports that she will visit. And, Jeffrey Donaldson discovered he couldn't have it both ways -- the UUP executive denied his bid to run for the Assembly and keep his Westminster seat.

**Missing persons:** There are at least 12 cases of missing persons presumed murdered by the IRA in the 1970's. Most, if not all, were Catholics who ran afoul of IRA "justice," meted out as summary executions much like the punishment beatings that are still going on. The unofficial British government view is that there is no obstacle to the IRA anonymously providing information that would enable the recovery of remains or how they were disposed of (under construction sites, off-shore, etc.) -- after twenty years it is unlikely in the extreme that forensic evidence would be recovered that would lead to arrest and prosecution.

- You should seek Adams' commitment to get the IRA to begin revealing the location of the remains as a humane gesture

**Decommissioning:** The IRA controls a sizeable arsenal, including SAM-7's, AK-47s and semtex. General de Chastelain heads the Independent Decommissioning Commission (IDC) that has elaborated no-fault procedures for verifying the destruction of hardware. The IRA cannot be forced into giving up weapons, as this would be perceived as surrender or giving up the struggle -- even if there is no intention to use the guns. However, there have been nuanced statements that the IRA will make its own decision on weapons.

- You should tell Adams that your discussion on decommissioning will be strictly confidential, that you seek a symbolic first step -- identifying a liaison channel between the IDC and the IRA.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Sandy Berger  
James Steinberg  
Lawrence Butler  
NSC notetaker

Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein leader  
Mairead Keane, Washington Rep  
Rita O'Hare, Publicity Officer  
Richard McAuley, Press Advisor

IV. PRESS PLAN

WH photo only

V. SEQUENCE

You will join a meeting Sandy Berger started at 2:00 p.m.

Attachment

Tab A Points to Make

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
GERRY ADAMS

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (2.22)  
K8H 7/31/2019

**Missing persons**

- Seek your help on humanitarian matter. Met number of men and women from a victims support group -- WAVES. Inspiring effort to help all persons affected by Ireland's political violence.
- Particularly struck by one mother's dilemma -- her boy disappeared twenty years ago -- this month.
- Had same feeling Memorial Day; we have disinterred remains of our Vietnam War Unknown for DNA testing to determine if son of a family that still cares to know where his body is.
- Ask as humanitarian act if you could use your good offices to begin process of locating remains or revealing what happened to them. Would have enormously positive impact in convincing Northern Ireland that war is over, start process of healing.
- We have checked confidentially, and can assure you that there would be no judicial risk in this.

**Decommissioning**

- Believe that you are committed to working by principles of Good Friday Accord. I have told you that I will work to ensure that all provisions are implemented in spirit and letter, as best I can.
- Appreciate difficulties that decommissioning presents as Good Friday accord gains credibility -- that war in Northern Ireland is truly over.
- Important to all parties, and to Tony Blair, that IRA make symbolic commitment to decommissioning. Would it be possible to establish liaison channel between Independent Decommissioning Commission and IRA as a first step?

POINTS FOR SANDY BERGER  
TO MAKE WITH GERRY ADAMS

**Political Issues**

- Past two months mark an extraordinary accomplishment -- both for you and the republican movement, and for the unionists who showed that they can face change. Clear repudiation of violence to settle differences.
- U.S. commitment is to see a change on the ground for the better, for all people in NI. President has said we will help complete funding for Springvale. Secretary Daley will raise profile of Northern Ireland's investment potential to U.S. companies.
- Appreciate that road forward, while clearly marked, has potholes. Important that we all work to protect and nurture this incredible agreement -- it may mean occasional compromise of principle to achieve a greater good -- as you demonstrated these past years.

**Equality Agenda -- United States angles**

- **Sinn Fein Visas.** We understand British Government is reviewing Rita O'Hare's legal status in light of Good Friday Accord. If warrants are dismissed, we will recommend a waiver -- if she is eligible for an L-1 visa. No commitments at this point.
- **Extradition.** This is still tied up in the courts. Understand London may be studying this in light of the Accord.
- **Deportations.** The law provides no options for administrative discretion. We are examining options but can make no commitments except that suspension will stay in effect.
- **Richard Johnson.** He is American citizen serving a sentence by a U.S. court for breaking American laws.

**Equality Agenda -- Northern Ireland angles**

- **Policing.** We will stay in touch with London regarding the composition of the police review commission, headed by Chris

Patten. (*fyi -- Irish are concerned London is moving too fast and not consulting on composition, with announcement possibly next week.*)

- **Demilitarization.** Blair told President that he is prepared to build down military presence as fast as security situation permits it. The potential threat of dissident groups and unaccounted for IRA armament has unavoidable chilling influence on scale and pace of drawdown.
- **Marching Season.** The April 10 Accord represents an important accomplishment for nationalists. Expect Sinn Fein to work creatively to help the July marches pass uneventfully -- confrontation will appeal to unsatisfied members of both communities and escalate dangerously, undo what you have risked so much for.
- **Consent.** The Good Friday accord establishes the principle that changes in the status of Northern Ireland will be agreed to by majorities of both communities. This protects your interests. Expect all parties to adhere to this democratic element -- your competition should be for hearts and minds of all residents. (*FYI Adams is reported to be telling audiences that he wants the President and Ahern to press Blair to make a commitment to leaving Northern Ireland with a fixed period of time, essentially reneging on consent as precondition for united Ireland.*)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

98 MAY 23 AM 11:50

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *A*

SUBJECT: Your call to Irish Prime Minister Ahern, May 23, 1998, 12:05-12:15 p.m.

Bertie Ahern will be at home when you call on Saturday, celebrating the (presumed) passage of the referenda in both the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland. As of Friday night, reports were that the voter turnout across the Island was ten percentage points above normal, around 75 percent in the north and 65 percent in the south. This seems to point to strong support for the Agreement -- any number 67 percent or higher in the North will be greeted as indicative of broad and deep support in both nationalist and unionist communities.

Ahern is riding the overwhelming support in the Republic for the Agreement to an all-time popularity high -- 82 percent in the latest poll. You will want to acknowledge this and the deft role his government played in the referendum campaign, despite the gaffe with the Balcombe Street IRA prisoner appearance at the Sinn Fein meeting.

Finally, Irish President McAleese plans to be in Washington June 23-24. Your schedule, however, does not permit a meeting. The Vice President will also be out of town during that period.

Attachment  
Tab A Points to Make

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

- All Americans join me in congratulating your victory in the referendums yesterday: 95 percent in the South, 71.1 percent in the north, not to mention your own approval rating - 82 percent! You have edged Tony Blair out as Europe's most popular leader.
- Do you think the Unionist margin was large enough in the North to impart momentum to implement the Accord's provisions?
- What is your guess about how Adams and Hume will do in the upcoming Assembly elections?
- Do you have any advice on what we ought to be doing over the next months to help? U.S. investment in Northern Ireland is already picking up and should really take off, like in the Republic.
- **(if raised)** Hope President McAleese (Mack-a-lease) has a productive first visit to the United States next month. Unfortunately I will be travelling to China about the same time and won't see her.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

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construction sites, off-shore, etc.) -- after twenty years it is unlikely in the extreme that forensic evidence would be recovered that would lead to arrest and prosecution.

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**Decommissioning:** The IRA controls a sizeable arsenal, including SAM-7's, AK-47s and semtex. General de Chastelain heads the Independent Decommissioning Commission (IDC) that has elaborated no-fault procedures for verifying the destruction of hardware. The IRA has made it a part of principles that they cannot be made to give up weapons, as this would be perceived as surrender or giving up the struggle -- even if there is no intention to use the guns. However, there have been statements that the IRA will make its own decision on weapons which could imply that they would be prepared to make gestures on their own.

point

- You should tell Adams about the importance that Blair attaches to making some progress in his area, such as on a symbolic first step -- identifying a liaison channel between the IDC and the IRA.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
 Sandy Berger  
 James Steinberg  
 Lawrence Butler  
 NSC notetaker

Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein leader  
 Mairead Keane, Washington Rep  
 Rita O'Hare, Publicity Officer  
 Richard McAuley, Press Advisor

IV. PRESS PLAN

WH photo only

V. SEQUENCE

You will join a meeting Sandy Berger started at 2:00 p.m.

Attachment  
 Tab A Points to Make

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
 2015-0156-NY(225)  
 KBH 7/31/2019

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (2.26)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS

DATE: May 29, 1998  
LOCATION: National Security Advisor's Office  
TIME: 2:25-2:45 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

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Adams has been in New York since Wednesday, attending fundraisers and giving speeches. He has been under intense public pressure from Trimble to commit to decommissioning; Trimble has told the press that he asked and you agreed to raise this with Adams. Adams is under countervailing pressure from republicans, especially U.S. supporters, to adopt a tough line with regard to Sinn Fein goals of uniting Ireland. His objectives in Washington are to help the three IRA men awaiting extradition (we are consulting with the UK as to the disposition of these cases involving escaped prisoners in light of the Accord), press for a resolution to the deportation cases (illegal entries barred by law from immigrant status -- we are developing options), and secure our support for his equality agenda objectives with London (Blair will deliver, seeks similar action from Adams).

The situation in Ireland has developed well since Saturday -- the best polls showed a 55 percent unionist majority. The typical pro-accord unionist is urban, educated and under-thirty. The two-year old Protestant protest at the Harryville Catholic Church was ended mid-week, and the Irish police proved that they are wired into the dissident IRA "32-County" group, intercepting two cars with explosives 200 yards from the NI border on Saturday. Ian

~~CONFIDENTIAL W/SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/28/08

Paisley erred badly in attacking the Queen after hearing unconfirmed reports that she will visit. And, Jeffrey Donaldson discovered he couldn't have it both ways -- the UUP executive denied his bid to run for the Assembly and keep his Westminster seat.

**Missing persons:** There are at least 12 cases of missing persons presumed murdered by the IRA in the 1970's. Most, if not all, were Catholics who ran afoul of IRA "justice," meted out as summary executions much like the punishment beatings that are still going on. The unofficial British government view is that there is no obstacle to the IRA anonymously providing information that would enable the recovery of remains or how they were disposed of (under construction sites, off-shore, etc.) -- after twenty years it is unlikely in the extreme that forensic evidence would be recovered that would lead to arrest and prosecution.

- You should seek Adams' commitment to get the IRA to begin revealing the location of the remains as a humane gesture.

**Decommissioning:** The IRA controls a sizeable arsenal, including SAM-7's, AK-47s and semtex. General de Chastelain heads the Independent Decommissioning Commission (IDC) that has elaborated no-fault procedures for verifying the destruction of hardware. The IRA cannot be forced into giving up weapons, as this would be perceived as surrender or giving up the struggle -- even if there is no intention to use the guns. However, there have been nuanced statements that the IRA will make its own decision on weapons, which could imply that they would be prepared to make their own decisions.

- You should tell Adams that your discussion on decommissioning will be strictly confidential, that you seek a symbolic first step -- identifying a liaison channel between the IDC and the IRA.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Sandy Berger  
James Steinberg  
Lawrence Butler  
NSC notetaker

Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein leader  
Mairead Keane, Washington Rep  
Rita O'Hare, Publicity Officer  
Richard McAuley, Press Advisor

*White called 1973 but they would be typical to make gestures on their own*

*has made it a part of principle to try cannot be made to*

*has made it a part of principle that they cannot be made to*

*about the importance of Blair's attacks to making some progress, in his area, see ss*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IV. PRESS PLAN

WH photo only

V. SEQUENCE

You will join a meeting Sandy Berger started at 2:00 p.m.

Attachment

Tab A Points to Make

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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## POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS

### Missing persons

- Seek your help on humanitarian matter. Met number of men and women from a victims support group -- WAVES. Inspiring effort to help all persons affected by Ireland's political violence.
- Particularly struck by one mother's dilemma -- her boy disappeared twenty years ago this month.
- Had same feeling Memorial Day; we have disinterred remains of our Vietnam War Unknown for DNA testing to determine if son of a family that still cares to know where his body is.
- Ask as humanitarian act if you could use your good offices to begin process of locating remains or revealing what happened to them. Would have enormously positive impact in convincing Northern Ireland that war is over, start process of healing.
- We have checked confidentially, and believe there would be no judicial risk in this.

### Decommissioning

- Believe that you are committed to working by principles of Good Friday Accord. I have told you that I will work to ensure that all provisions are implemented in spirit and letter, as best I can.
- Important that all sides take concrete steps to show that the war in Northern Ireland is truly over.
- Important to all parties, and to Tony Blair, that IRA make symbolic commitment to decommissioning. I know that this is difficult -- but we've all had to take risks for this process. I ask you to take some steps such as establishing a liaison channel between Independent Decommissioning Commission and IRA.

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M(2.27)  
KBH 7/31/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/28/08



POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
GERRY ADAMS

**Missing persons**

- Seek your help on humanitarian matter. Met number of men and women from a victims support group -- WAVES. Inspiring effort to help all persons affected by Ireland's political violence.
- Particularly struck by one mother's dilemma -- her boy disappeared twenty years ago *Ca* this month. ✓
- Had same feeling Memorial Day; we have disinterred remains of our Vietnam War Unknown for DNA testing to determine if son of a family that still cares to know where his body is.
- Ask as humanitarian act if you could use your good offices to begin process of locating remains or revealing what happened to them. Would have enormously positive impact in convincing Northern Ireland that war is over, start process of healing.
- We have checked confidentially, and can assure you that there would be no judicial risk in this.

**Decommissioning**

- Believe that you are committed to working by principles of Good Friday Accord. I have told you that I will work to ensure that all provisions are implemented in spirit and letter, as best I can.
- Appreciate difficulties that decommissioning presents as Good Friday accord gains credibility -- that war in Northern Ireland is truly over.
- Important to all parties, and to Tony Blair, that IRA make symbolic commitment to decommissioning. Would it be possible to establish liaison channel between Independent Decommissioning Commission and IRA as a first step?

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**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M  
K8H 7/31/2019

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Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 5/28/08

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~~SECRET~~

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE  
5-29-98 3900

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~W/SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

98 MAY 28 PM 11:02

WASHINGTON

May 28, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (2.29)  
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH  
SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS

DATE: May 29, 1998

LOCATION: National Security Advisor's Office

TIME: 2:25-2:45 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *JSB*

I. PURPOSE

Strongly encourage Adams to give Good Friday Accord implementation a boost by getting IRA to take symbolic step towards decommissioning and reveal location of remains of missing IRA victims.

II. CONTEXT

Adams has been in New York since Wednesday, attending fundraisers and giving speeches. He has been under intense public pressure from Trimble to commit to decommissioning; Trimble has told the press that he asked and you agreed to raise this with Adams. Adams is under countervailing pressure from republicans, especially U.S. supporters, to adopt a tough line with regard to Sinn Fein goals of uniting Ireland. His objectives in Washington are to help the three IRA men awaiting extradition (we are consulting with the UK as to the disposition of these cases involving escaped prisoners in light of the Accord), press for a resolution to the deportation cases (illegal entries barred by law from immigrant status -- we are developing options), and secure our support for his equality agenda objectives with London (Blair will deliver, seeks similar action from Adams).

**Missing persons:** There are at least 12 cases of missing persons presumed murdered by the IRA in the 1970's. Most, if not all, were Catholics who ran afoul of IRA "justice," meted out as summary executions much like the punishment beatings that are still going on. The unofficial British government view is that there is no obstacle to the IRA anonymously providing information that would enable the recovery of remains or how they were disposed of (under

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Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 5/28/08

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~~SECRET~~

construction sites, off-shore, etc.) -- after twenty years it is unlikely in the extreme that forensic evidence would be recovered that would lead to arrest and prosecution.

- You should seek Adams' commitment to get the IRA to begin revealing the location of the remains as a humane gesture

**Decommissioning:** The IRA controls a sizeable arsenal, including SAM-7's, AK-47s and semtex. General de Chastelain heads the Independent Decommissioning Commission (IDC) that has elaborated no-fault procedures for verifying the destruction of hardware. The IRA has made it a point of principle that they cannot be made to give up weapons, as this would be perceived as surrender or giving up the struggle -- even if there is no intention to use the guns. However, there have been statements that the IRA will make its own decision on weapons -- which could imply that they would be prepared to make gestures on their own.

- You should tell Adams about the importance that Blair attaches to making some progress in his area, such as on a symbolic first step -- identifying a liaison channel between the IDC and the IRA.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Sandy Berger  
James Steinberg  
Lawrence Butler  
NSC notetaker

Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein leader  
Mairead Keane, Washington Rep  
Rita O'Hare, Publicity Officer  
Richard McAuley, Press Advisor

### IV. PRESS PLAN

WH photo only

### V. SEQUENCE

You will join a meeting Sandy Berger started at 2:00 p.m.

Attachment  
Tab A Points to Make

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

---

**From:** Scott-Perez, Marilyn L.  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 21, 1998 7:00 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor  
**Cc:** @EUROPE - European Affairs  
**Subject:** RE: For Sandy and Jim ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (2.31)  
KBH 7/31/2019

Mr. Steinberg has read your e-mail and has circled the last bullet and wrote: in my opinion. I have passed Jim's note to Rob Malley also.

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Bandler, Donald K.  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 21, 1998 6:08 PM  
**To:** @NSA - Natl Security Advisor  
**Cc:** @EUROPE - European Affairs  
**Subject:** FW: For Sandy and Jim ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~  
**Importance:** High

pls forward to JBS and SRB

To: Jim/Sandy

From: Don and Larry

Re: Scheduling Gerry Adams - reclama

We note that you have turned down the SP for Adams to meet with POTUS. We assume a factor is to deny Gerry an exclusive Oval Office platform to kick off his Assembly election campaign. We concur with this and would recommend treating treating other political leaders the same way. If Hume were to drop in, however, that would present us with a dilemma.

However, Gerry will react badly to no meeting. POTUS called him twice in early morning hours to seek his help on key negotiating points, and he delivered. Our turning down a meeting now would be interpreted classically as backtracking and double dealing, and we need to maintain our equities with him. We recommend one of these alternatives:

- A POTUS phone call to Gerry next week -- congratulate him, raise some of our issues (missing persons, eventual decommissioning) and give him a chance to voice some of his issues.

and/or

- Offer a meeting with SRB -- where Sandy follows same agenda as above.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3778

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504  
May 26, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2001  
By KBL/NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

12 FR

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

B

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

LB

SUBJECT: Telcons with Prime Minister Ahern, David Trimble,  
Gerry Adams, Prime Minister Blair and John Hume,  
May 23, 1998

Attached at Tabs A through E are the Memoranda of Telephone  
Conversations between the President and Prime Minister Ahern,  
David Trimble, Gerry Adams, Prime Minister Blair and John Hume  
which took place on May 23, 1998.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memoranda of  
Telephone Conversations at Tabs A through E to State.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove

That the attached Memoranda of Telephone Conversations be filed  
for the record.

Approve  Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to State
- Tab A Telcon with PM Ahern
- Tab B Telcon with David Trimble
- Tab C Telcon with Gerry Adams
- Tab D Telcon with PM Blair
- Tab E Telcon with John Hume

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 5/26/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memoranda of Telephone Conversations with Prime  
Minister Ahern, David Trimble, Gerry Adams, Prime  
Minister Blair and John Hume (U)

The attached Memoranda of Telephone Conversations between the  
President and Prime Minister Ahern, David Trimble, Gerry Adams,  
Prime Minister Blair and John Hume are provided for the  
information of the Secretary of State. They must be distributed  
via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary  
(DAS) level. They may also be sent to our embassies in London  
and Ireland for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission  
(DCM) only. (C)

Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

- Tab A Telcon with PM Ahern
- Tab B Telcon with David Trimble
- Tab C Telcon with Gerry Adams
- Tab D Telcon with PM Blair
- Tab E Telcon with John Hume

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2001  
By KSH NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-M

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Prime Minister Ahern

Notetakers: David Higgins, Sean Rice,  
George Chastain, Joel Schrader and  
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME May 23, 1998, 12:13 - 12:16 p.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Camp David, Maryland

The President: Hello?

Prime Minister Ahern: Hello, Mr. President?

The President: Bertie, it's a great day for the Irish. You must know by name every S.O.B. that voted in the Republic.

Prime Minister Ahern: I think we got 95 percent.

The President: They broke 70 percent in the North.

Prime Minister Ahern: Well I headed out trying to get 80-20 here, but I think its going to be 95-5 on a huge vote. It's almost as good as our last election. I'm really happy about that. Yes, by our reckoning they got 71 percent. Four or five percent of the Republicans would have voted "No," but it is certainly a majority of Republicans by five percent. There is a majority of Unionists who voted "Yes," but even on the very worst case every single nationalist would have to have voted against. That couldn't have happened, so, clearly I would say five or six percent more voted "No;" but we got the Nationalists, Republicans, Irish and that wasn't bad, Mr. President.

The President: God it's wonderful. I'm happy for you.

Prime Minister Ahern: I appreciate your help. We look forward to getting you back soon.

The President: Well, if there is anything we can do to help, you let me know. I hope the assembly elections now go as well.

Prime Minister Ahern: Paisley will have to be negative.

The President: Well, I bet a lot of people who voted with Paisley will be sufficiently impressed to come over and work with this agreement.

Prime Minister Ahern: About 85 percent of the island voted "Yes." I can't think of anywhere in the world where such a clear vote has been held in the last 50 years.

The President: God, it's so touching.

Prime Minister Ahern: We appreciate all your effort Mr. President. If we didn't internationalize this, it would never have happened Mr. President. Without your support we never would have been able to stay around the table.

The President: I can't wait to come because it will be a great celebration.

Prime Minister Ahern: We'll have a good celebration.

The President: Keep in touch.

Prime Minister Ahern: Thank you, Mr. President. We look forward to seeing you get back here.

The President: I look forward to getting back. Take care, good bye.

Prime Minister Ahern: Goodbye.

-- End of Conversation --

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with David Trimble, Ulster Unionist  
Party Leader

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
David Trimble

Notetakers: David Higgins, Sean Rice,  
George Chastain, Joel Schrader and  
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME May 23, 1998, 1:01 - 1:04 p.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Camp David, Maryland

The President: David?

Mr. Trimble: Yes.

The President: Congratulations.

Mr. Trimble: Thank you very much Mr. President. Everything came through in the end with a bit of a fight, but we got there.

The President: I'm really proud of you. In the last three days everyone was really pumping hard. You got all the undecided to break for you.

Mr. Trimble: It took the whole run of the week, but I think it turned over the weekend and more people will come after the event. Even some of those who voted "No" will change.

The President: I believe that also. I've heard what Paisley is saying, but I believe a lot of people who voted "No" will say give it a chance. Do you think you got 52 percent in the Protestant elections?

Mr. Trimble: I don't know if it was as good as that. If it was a Westminster election today, I would have lost my seat. I have a problem but it will come right. I've got a few years.

The President: You did a hell of a thing and you were very brave. I want to help however I can.

Mr. Trimble: That was one thing I was quite sure of in my mind and I managed to do it. It was the right thing and I knew that it would come right in the end. There were some times last week when I wondered if we would actually make it.

The President: I just wanted to say congrats.

Mr. Trimble: I am now looking for Adams to divvy up a bit. There are a number of things he has got to do and the sooner he starts doing them the better.

The President: I will get on it. Have a wonderful day. You earned it.

Mr. Trimble: I'm heading off in 45 or 50 minutes time for the first meeting of our constituency council to plan for our first assembly election.

The President: That's great. Take care man.

Mr. Trimble: Right.

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein Leader

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Gerry Adams

Notetakers: David Higgins, Sean Rice,  
George Chastain, Joel Schrader and  
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME May 23, 1998, 1:28 - 1:32 p.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Camp David, Maryland

Mr. Adams: Hello?

The President: Gerry, congratulations.

Mr. Adams: Thank you very much; you are very kind.

The President: You guys did a great job.

Mr. Adams: I have told everyone all day that this is the beginning and we're moving to the future. Thank you for keeping faith in all this. I reflect sometimes on the first time I went there, and I think you were right then -- well done.

The President: What do you think the final Protestant vote was?

Mr. Adams: It's impossible to know. It's clear that the majority voted in favor of this, and I think it was a very sophisticated vote. Obviously people from all quarters, including Republicans had problems. I do believe this is a leap of faith into the future. I was appealing to the "No" voters that they were voting through fear and not to think about it. There will be resistance from this quarter, but we continue to stay focused and work through it.

The President: That's what I think. We have to work at it now, and look at some ways to keep everybody's faith and good spirits

up now. We need to get the process on the right track. You are in a stronger position now; with this vote; you have been validated.

Mr. Adams: 70 percent voted in favor in the north. In the south, there wasn't such a high turnout, but 92 percent in favor... to me, it's that they were voting in favor of a whole raft of future issues. I am going to talk to Blair later. I'm going to be at the White House next week, Thursday or Wednesday; I'd like to see you there. I'm going to the States for some speaking engagements.

The President: If I'm in town, I'd be glad to see you.

Mr. Adams: My sense of all this is that the people are ahead of the politicians.

The President: They often are; not just there, but everywhere. You have a good time and enjoy your celebration.

Mr. Adams: Please say hello to my wife.

The President: Sure.

[Mr. Adams passes phone to Mrs. Adams.]

Mrs. Adams: Hello?

The President: Hello. How are you? You must be feeling so good today.

Mrs. Adams: Yes. Isn't it grand. It's great to talk to you.

The President: Thank you. I'm really looking forward to keeping on with this. You must be very proud.

Mrs. Adams: Well, I'm very proud of my husband.

The President: It's nice speaking to you.

Mrs. Adams: Well, it was nice speaking to you. Thank you; bye bye.

[Mr. Adams back on line.]

Mr. Adams: Thanks for that.

The President: Okay, man.

Mr. Adams: Tomorrow, by the way, my county team, the one my son plays on, plays Donegal in Gaelic football. That will be the real test; Antrim hasn't beaten them in 15 years. That would be the ultimate miracle.

The President: Well done, and thanks again.

Mr. Adams: Good bye.

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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PER E. O. 13526

ISCAP Appeal No.  
2013-090, doc. 27  
10/4/2015

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Tony Blair (C)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: David Higgins, Sean Rice, George Chastain, Joel Schrader and Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: May 23, 1998, 1:36 - 1:46 p.m. EDT  
Camp David, Maryland

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi Bill. (U)

The President: Well, congratulations. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, thank goodness. (U)

The President: You got 71 percent. Do you know what the Protestant vote was yet? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I think it was 55 percent. (U)

The President: Do you think it was as high as that? I just talked to Trimble and he was still moaning about the vote. He sounded upbeat but he said he lost in his constituency. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Overall, the most accurate poll was 55 percent. Yes, it was about five percent of the nationalist vote that went no as well, so that brought figures down a bit. (C)

The President: I just did the math and it seems the vote is 53 percent of the nationalists and 49 percent for the Unionists. Is that about right? (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 5/26/08

Prime Minister Blair: Roughly, possibly a little higher on the Unionist side but they reckoned that probably about five or six percent of the non-Unionist voted "No" so that brought the figure down. Of the 28 or 29 percent, that will probably bring it down to about 24 percent or 23 percent. The Unionists voted "No" 23 percent, see what I mean? It probably means just the majority of the Unionists went with the resolution. (C)

The President: That is great though. God, it's great. I'm so happy. You must be ecstatic. You turned all those undecided voters -- almost 100 percent. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Again, a million thanks for what you did. It began with the interview on Sunday. From then on it began to turn. We were at one point considerably behind, although we were looking at under 60 percent. Jeffery Donaldson, who is a reasonable part of the no vote, is on TV now saying he wants to work with Trimble now. (C)

The President: I don't think Paisley can maintain the level of support. You are going to have a significant share of those people from the 25-30 percent who think the thing ought to be given a chance to go, and that will give you three out of four, or four out of five of the Unionist voters who want to see peace. (C)

The process will play out -- but we ought to get Gerry and his crowd to do a thing or two to get this off on a good footing. He's going to be here on Thursday for reasons unrelated to me to make some speeches. But he always seems to pop into the White House. If you want to have your guys tell us in the next three or four days what you want me to say I would appreciate it. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Are you going to see him yourself? (C)

The President: I don't know. I was just calling to congratulate a few of the guys and he told me about it. I have to check my schedule on whether I see him or not but we can always have the message delivered. (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4(d)

The President: He ought to chunk in some weapons pretty soon, shouldn't he? (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4(d)

The President: Yes, let me ask you something else. We had a group touring the United States and I met with them for 10-15 minutes. I am embarrassed that I can't remember their name -- I think maybe it was Waves. It was a group who had relatives killed. I think it would help if the IRA indicated where the remains are -- without exposing them. Would that help? Is there some way to do that without exposing them to criminal liability? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Sure. (U)

The President: If by Wednesday somebody can call Sandy or Steinberg to let me know what kind of presentation I can make to them if they tell where remains are and that they would not be subject to criminal prosecution. That's a human touch that might have a big psychological impact -- differentiate them from the IRA. (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4(d)

The President: I will get right on that. (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4(d)

The President: I'll hammer it hard. I thought if I can advance a specific agenda -- I will work on getting a Sinn Fein person to work on decommissioning. You just let me know if I can say to him, "I want you to tell where those remains are and whoever tells won't be subject to criminal liability." (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, I will get someone to come back to your guys in the next few days. (C)

The President: Have a great celebration. (U)

Prime Minister Blair:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4(d)

The President: I offered him a helluva deal to see if he will do it. I scraped together every penny, every pop gun I could in 72 hours. I still think there is a chance he won't do it. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: All right Bill, all the best. (U)

The President: Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with John Hume, Social Democratic and Labour Party Leader

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
John Hume

Notetakers: Cindy Lawrence, Anthony Campanella, Robert Ford, Joel Schrader and Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: May 23, 1998, 7:05 - 7:09 p.m. EDT  
Camp David, Maryland

The President: John?

Mr. Hume: Yes. Hi there, Mr. President.

The President: I just wanted to say congratulations before the day was over.

Mr. Hume: Thanks a million. Thank you for your help and support. We could not have done it without you, and we would not be where we are today.

The President: Well, I'm just thrilled. Everyone over here is ecstatic.

Mr. Hume: Very good. It was truly amazing and quite an historic day. We had 80 percent come out to vote and 71 percent voted yes.

The President: You got a slight majority of the Protestants, didn't you?

Mr. Hume: Oh, yes, right across the board. There is a great mood among the people. It was marvelous all together. There is great gratitude for all you've done.

The President: Well, thank you. It's been my pleasure. We have to keep at it and I'll do my part.

Mr. Hume: Absolutely! The months ahead will be very crucial. Politicians are now moving to work together across our divide. The real thing is working the common ground, which I call economics. Economically, both sides will be able to break down the barriers of centuries.

The President: I agree with that. Like I said, I am ready to go to work. I talked to Bertie and Tony and others.

Mr. Hume: That will be very good and encouraging to everyone. I understand that the Secretary of State (sic - Commerce) will be coming here next month.

The President: That's what I hear.

Mr. Hume: Funny, the two days he is here, I am in New York. I will be looking forward to your next visit.

The President: Yes, I'd like to come. It's a great day. It took years and years. You must feel somewhat vindicated today.

Mr. Hume: Ah, yes. It's very good. I told people the problem has not changed and neither should our approach to solve it. You know what is really interesting is the mood of the people, especially the mood of the young people. Young people are generally very cynical about politics; but their positive response in the streets -- I couldn't believe it. It was powerful. We had a special show the other night with U2, you know the pop group. Well, a young person got up on stage and said, "our generation is the one generation that has lived with the troubles our whole life. And we don't want to see another generation live through it." The statement made a tremendous impact.

The President: Oh great.

Mr. Hume: I am about to call your Ambassador, Jean Kennedy Smith. She had a great TV show last night. It was on all over. It's a pity she's leaving us.

The President: She's a good soul.

Mr. Hume: She really got down to the grass-root level in a way most ambassadors don't.

The President: Well, I'll try to pick another good one for you who will do the same.

Mr. Hume: I look forward to seeing you. Thanks a million.

The President: Thank you. Goodbye, friend.

Mr. Hume: All the best.

-- End of Conversation --

3778

The President: God it's wonderful. I'm happy for you.

Prime Minister Ahern: I appreciate your help. We look forward to getting you back soon.

The President: Well, if there is anything we can do to help, you let me know. I hope the assembly elections now go as well.

Prime Minister Ahern: Paisley will have to be negative.

The President: Well, I bet a lot of people who voted with Paisley will be sufficiently impressed to come over and work with this agreement.

Prime Minister Ahern: About 85 percent of the island voted "Yes." I can't think of anywhere in the world where such a clear vote has been held in the last 50 years.

The President: God, it's so touching.

Prime Minister Ahern: We appreciate all your effort Mr. President. If we didn't internationalize this, it would never have happened Mr. President. Without your support we never would have been able to stay around the table.

The President: I can't wait to come because it will be a great celebration.

Prime Minister Ahern: We'll have a good celebration.

The President: Keep in touch.

Prime Minister Ahern: Thank you, Mr. President. We look forward to seeing you get back here.

The President: I look forward to getting back. Take care, good bye.

Prime Minister Ahern: Goodbye.

-- End of Conversation --

## Butler, Lawrence E.

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**From:** Bandler, Donald K.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 27, 1998 9:07 AM  
**To:** @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @LEGISLAT - Legislative Affairs  
**Cc:** @EUROPE - European Affairs  
**Subject:** FW: Note for Sandy Berger re: Irish South Lawn idea [CONFIDENTIAL]

**Importance:** High

**Message Flag:** Forward

**Flag Status:** Flagged

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBH NARA, Date 7/31/2019  
2015-0156-17

Sandy --

From Larry and Don

CC: Jim Steinberg; Glyn Davies

Re: Rahm's idea for a South Lawn event

You asked us to evaluate the notion of inviting the NI leaders to a South Lawn event - and how to deconflict with NI Assembly elections. We see real problems with the time frame and practical impact on the parties. The elections are on Thursday, June 25. The parties are working feverishly to nominate formally their candidates this week. The third week of June (June 15-17) would be at the very height of the election campaign. While a high profile event at the White House might be viewed as a desirable element by **some** (not all) for enhancing an election bid, there are a number of considerations.

- Who do we invite? There are ten parties standing up candidates for the NI elections, but only eight signed and supported the accord. UKUP/DUP would attempt to capitalize one way or another. Better to let them stew in own juices.
- A trip to Washington will cost candidates two-three days of electioneering -- an extremely labor intensive, high stakes effort based around personal appearances and pressing of the flesh in home constituencies.
- For small party candidates (McWilliams, Ervine, McMichael), the cost may be prohibitive unless subsidized.
- Finally, expectations will be high for a handshake. Trimble cannot afford to touch Adams in public in advance of the elections, unless Adams has announced IRA decommissioning and an end to violence.

There isn't a good alternative for immediate post-June 25 due to press of business related to the marching season (July 5 and July 12) and vacations.

A better set of options might be to have the President visit New York for an Irish community event in June, and in the fall, bring the parliamentary leaders of the new Assembly to the United States (USIA is funding such a program via Boston College) for a kick-off event with Congress. Of course, a key related question is when the President visits Ireland -- you are in a better position to evaluate how that would fit, but a CONUS event shouldn't steal too much thunder or be too close in time.

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** Butler, Lawrence E.  
**Sent:** Tuesday, May 19, 1998 8:22 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.  
**Cc:** Butler, Lawrence E.  
**Subject:** For Sandy and Jim -- possible call to Adams [CONFIDENTIAL]

**Importance:** High

**Message Flag:** Follow up  
**Flag Status:** Flagged

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E. O. 13526

For Sandy and Jim:

2015-0156-M [2.39]

Thru: Don Bandler

KBH 7/31/2019

From: Larry Butler

Re: Call to Gerry Adams

The Unionist vote is going to be very close, with a large number of undecideds. Premature release of the IRA prisoners, their "triumphal" reception in Dublin, and overwhelming Sinn Fein and catholic support for the Accord are combining to convince unionists that if catholics like the deal, it has to bad for protestants. The most powerful message that would influence them would be if the IRA were to signal clearly that the "war is over" and that guns will be turned in.

However, the IRA continues to signal that decommissioning is not in the cards.

EO 13526 1.4c

return to violence. Adams is irate at Blair's promise to seek legislative fixes to link Sinn Fein participation in the NI Assembly/Executive to decommissioning, and complained privately that this public line is undermining his efforts to build Republican support for the Accord. He feels that he has to deal with deeply rooted Republican distrust of London, based on a well-documented historical record for British double dealing.

**It is worth calling Adams to ask him to make a public statement reaffirming Sinn Fein commitment to every provision of the Accord, including to a complete end to violence and (eventual) decommissioning by all groups ("NI at peace does not need guns and bombs"). Adams has been silent on this, and any signal in this direction would help Trimble.**

Adams will seek to complain of British perfidy (bad faith) and moan about his own efforts with his constituency. But a strong push for a new Sinn Fein statement would serve to remind Adams of his commitment to the President:

**Talking points**

- We appreciate that you went out on a limb in securing 95 pct SF support for the agreement and participation in a NI assembly that runs counter to SF principles, but that is for naught if unionists do not accept the agreement.
- You are in this together – you need a strong UUP partner to make the new institutions work. The polls are pointing the wrong way for UUP support for the accord. A weakened UUP is not in your interest – it would have to deal with a coalition of UUP dissidents, DUP and UKUP determined to undermine the new NI government.
- A statement by you on Thursday reiterating your commitment to the Accord as a whole, and in its separate elements, would undercut the unionists who claim that Sinn Fein and the IRA have not given up violence and guns.
- The President told you he would see that the important parts of the accord for your constituency are lived up to. He is asking you to reach out to the unionists to reassure them that their parts are also going to be lived up to.

## Butler, Lawrence E.

**From:** Friedrich, Mary K.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 20, 1998 5:14 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs  
**Subject:** RE: For Jim and Sandy -- POTUS radio broadcast and call to Trimble ~~{CONFIDENTIAL}~~

Don/Larry,

Steinberg has read and replies to the 1st para:

You can send the text but you shouldn't send to Barton, it should go to Powell/Campbell.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M (2.41)  
KBH 7/31/2019

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Bandler, Donald K.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 20, 1998 3:02 PM  
**To:** @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs  
**Subject:** FW: For Jim and Sandy -- POTUS radio broadcast and call to Trimble ~~{CONFIDENTIAL}~~  
**Importance:** High

URGENT response needed to para one.

FOR Jim and Sandy

Thru: Don Bandler

From: Larry Butler

Concurrence: Tony Blinken

POTUS radio message: Embassy London and No. 10 are uncertain about whether we should release the Presidential message. Acting DCM Judy Johnson is advocating a "do no harm" approach with only days left before the referendum. She tells us Philip Barton has reservations and has asked to see a text -- with your approval I'll send it. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_.

Kathy Stephens said that the President's remarks on NI have been heavily covered this weekend, and today, and seem to have been well received, albeit with the expected carping ("what is an Irish Protestant?") She doesn't see much additional ground to be gained with a new statement, and sees potential for some minor damage -- overall, more to risk than to gain, but she will not be troubled if we decide to go ahead.

Analysis: The President was very good during the taping, and was particularly effective with the no violence message. Statements from outside of Northern Ireland serve to keep the people there from having too narrow a focus. London's main concern is overexposure leading to negative impact. We disagree on the negative part, primarily because of timing -- if aired Thursday evening, the no-campaigners will not have time to react. The President has proven ability to influence people positively.

Recommendation: There are two additional steps to take before making a decision to be certain we're making the right call -- which, in our view, is to deploy the tape. Jim should call Holmes later this afternoon after we've sent advance copy. Sandy should call Trimble today, offer encouragement, remind him of your "no third bite" for Sinn Fein pledge, and ask what we can do to help his effort. End conversation by telling him POTUS will be making a statement on the accord and ask what if he has a recommendation on point(s) POTUS should emphasize.

### Points to Make with Trimble

- As you know, we are following the referendum campaign carefully. POTUS made clear with Blair this weekend he will do everything in his power to help you build on the accord.
- We are pressing ahead intensively on trade and investment promotion. U.S. business is moving quickly to take advantage of opportunities afforded by end of violence. Delighted to see new 18 million pound U.S. investment announced today for Belfast by Hughes Christensen engineering group. Also have learned that Boeing is going to announce next month during Secretary Daley's visit new investment with Short Brothers for high tech manufacturing plant.
- Have heard your and Jeffrey Donaldson's concerns over a government with Sinn Fein in it. Wanted to remind you of my promise that SF will not get a third bite at the apple with the United States, and that we will work where possible with the new NI government to ensure that every provision of your accord is lived up to -- particularly the end of violence and decommissioning.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- Is there anything you want us to do this week, and after the referendum to facilitate implementation? You saw our announcement on education and support for programs for the new institutions. Anyone we should call?
- The President plans to make one more statement before the referendum: Are there any points he could make that would help with unionists?

MEETING WITH  
PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND COLIN PARRY

DATE: 5/17/98

LOCATION: TBD

TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

To address Northern Ireland unionist concerns over the peace accord by meeting with a prominent British victim of IRA terrorism working for reconciliation and announcing a ramping up of U.S. private sector engagement in developing business opportunities in Northern Ireland.

II. SETTING

With less than a week before the referenda on the April 10 Accord, support in the Republic of Ireland is moving towards 75%. Among nationalists in the North, it is over 80%. However, Northern Ireland politics have always been characterized as zero-sum. Triumphalistic Sinn Fein support for the accord, reaction to prisoner releases and latent fear of abandonment by Britain have pushed status quo-wedded unionists towards a no vote, with 45% against, 35% for and 20% undecided. The trend on undecideds is bad, with more going to the no-camp than to yes. A strong unionist majority is a sine qua non for legitimacy of institutions created by the accord.

The adverse impact of early IRA and loyalist prisoner releases (the average middle class unionist views both groups with equal disgust) represents a real problem for Blair. A possible approach to damage control is to tangibly demonstrate association with the victims of violence melded with a vision of reconciliation and to dangle the prospect of an economic boom to reverse Ulster's half-century of decay -- the unionists are painfully aware of the Republic's reputation as the Celtic Tiger.

**Reconciliation.** Warrington, southwest of Manchester, is a poignant symbol of the tragedy of the Northern Ireland conflict. An IRA bomb in February 1993 killed two children, Tim Parry and Jonathan Ball. This atrocity spurred 20,000 Dubliners to protest the IRA action. However, the people of Warrington, led by Tim's father, **Colin Parry**, chose to channel anger into positive action. They founded the Warrington-Ireland Reconciliation Enterprise (WIRE), an umbrella organization for groups working to promote greater mutual understanding throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland. Last year, under one of WIRE's initiatives, the "Tim Parry Scholarship Exchange Program," eighteen 17-year olds from Warrington, Dublin and Belfast participated in a seven day program of workshops and sightseeing in the north and south of Ireland.

Colin Parry has become synonymous with IRA victims and reconciliation. He will talk to you of his personal tragedy and his efforts to turn evil to the benefit of good. You and Tony Blair will be able to demonstrate compassion with his personal suffering and praise his courage in seeking to eliminate the causes of conflict and save the lives of other children.

**Victims Recognition.** The British Government has been active on the victims side of things. Sir Kenneth Bloomfield issued a warmly received report last week recommending a lengthy series of measures for helping the victims of NI violence cope, ranging from having a senior person responsible for victims affairs (Mowlam appointed Adam Ingram) to funding for pain research to finding the remains of missing persons. On the latter note, the majority were **Catholic victims of the IRA** murdered for a variety of reasons.

**Private investment.** This provides a vehicle for you to articulate the opportunities to build prosperity for the better future of the children in Northern Ireland. Although unemployment in NI is at an all time low (58,000 - 8.5%), too many are employed by the State in security-related or grant-funding community work. Peace in NI will mean lay-offs -- as well as opportunities.

You started intensive U.S. engagement in job creation with Ron Brown's visit in 1995. With the April 10 Accord, you have the chance to demonstrate that we can ramp up this

effort, through American-NI business partnerships, highlighting upcoming events: Secretary Daley's 18 company trade mission; plans by Boeing Corporation to expand its involvement in Northern Ireland; an Embassy London-initiative to leverage existing ties between U.S. and British defense industries; the first meeting of the Silicon-Valley - Northern Ireland initiative steering committee; and plans for a blue ribbon business group.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

The President  
Sandy Berger  
James Steinberg  
Donald Bandler (notetaker)

Prime Minister Blair  
John Holmes  
Colin Parry

### IV. PRESS PLAN

TBD

### V. SEQUENCE

TBD

Attachment

Tab A Remarks (To be provided)

**Building Blocks for POTUS-Blair Meeting:  
Northern Ireland Private Sector Initiatives**

- Tony Blair and I met today with Colin Parry. Six years ago (1993) Colin's son, Tim, and another precious child, Jonathan Ball, died in a barbaric act of terrorism.
- Colin told us of the pain ~~he~~ that only a parent can experience; there is no loss like that of a child.
- I was equally moved by what happened next. Colin Parry rejected revenge and despair. He transformed his sorrow and anger into energy for transforming the human dimension of the conflict in Northern Ireland.
- In doing so, he honored the memory of his son, and that of many other victims of the violence.
- I want to join Colin Parry, and the many other courageous workers for reconciliation and peace in Ireland by channeling American energy to transforming Northern Ireland's economy.
- Last year, under the Tim Parry Scholarship Exchange, 18 teenagers from Warrington, Dublin and Belfast spent a week together, breaking down stereotypes and sharing their hopes and dreams for the future.
- I am sure those dreams include a future where they can work so that their children will know a better world, grow up in a society devoid of bomb and bullet.
- The leaders of Northern Ireland have done their part in working for a better future, and I salute their efforts in reaching the Good Friday agreement.
- But their work is for naught unless Northern Ireland's voters agree next Friday that the agreement provides the basis for an end to violence and for building political institutions that will provide an environment where society, business, and children can flourish.
- This summer, I am challenging America's business leaders to join the people of Northern Ireland in this effort. I equally challenge the business, labor and community leaders of

Northern Ireland to take on America's best business talent to show what Northern Ireland has to offer.

- You don't have much time. **Secretary of Commerce Daley** will arrive in Belfast on June 7. With him will be 18 senior representatives of U.S. companies, ranging from Fortune 100 Firms like Boeing and General Electric, to the small and medium size enterprises that have been the motor of America's economic dynamism and job creation the past decade.
- He, and they, will be building on a solid foundation. While he is there, Secretary Daley will visit Bombardier, where its American partner, **Boeing, expects to announce a significant** new investment in a high tech sector -- advanced composites for commercial aircraft.
- Additionally, the U.S. Embassy in London is developing an initiative to take a number of other **major U.S. firms with established defense-related business** in the United Kingdom to Belfast and Derry later in June to develop new business opportunities across a broad range of high technology manufacturing, covering aerospace, electronics and ground transportation.
- Northern Ireland is also looking at a more than a "virtual" link up with California's Silicon Valley. Susan Hammer, mayor of San Jose, is chairing an organizing meeting on June 25 of the **steering committee for the establishment of the Northern Ireland - Silicon Valley Initiative**, a business-civic partnership aimed at making Northern Ireland's ambition of becoming the Silicon Valley of the European Union a reality. The partnership programs will involve communities, companies, universities, and individuals from the two regions, targeting innovative micro-enterprises as the seeds from which larger companies and greater job creation can grow. *My Special Advisor will participate.*  
*Lyon*  
*Tim Lyons and the*
- Finally, I have asked the Commerce Department to establish by early fall a **blue ribbon committee of U.S. business leaders** to work with counterparts in Northern Ireland and the border counties. This group would provide a sustained mechanism for U.S. firms to learn about business opportunities in Northern Ireland.

## Butler, Lawrence E.

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**From:** Bandler, Donald K.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 20, 1998 3:02 PM  
**To:** @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @PRESS - Public Affairs  
**Subject:** FW: For Jim and Sandy -- POTUS radio broadcast and call to Trimble [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]  
**Importance:** High  
**Message Flag:** Follow up  
**Flag Status:** Flagged

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (1.42)  
KBH 7/31/2019

URGENT response needed to para one.

FOR Jim and Sandy

Thru: Don Bandler

From: Larry Butler

Concurrence: Tony Blinken

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

## MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

The Vice President and Lord Molyneux (former leader of Ulster Unionist Party)  
May 13, 1998  
9:30-9:50 EDT  
West Wing Office

Vice President: It's good to talk with you again. I was wondering whether you would still be talking to the common people now that you have been elevated to the House of Lords.

Lord Molyneux: It's nothing really. My estate is only two window boxes and my house. I'm not yet a member of the landed gentry.

Vice President: Well, you know I value our friendship a great deal. Our conversations during the early days of the peace process played an important role in helping us understand and reach out to all the communities of Northern Ireland.

Lord Molyneux: I've always valued the special relationship between you and me, and between our two nations.

Vice President: I also know of the continued respect that all people in Northern Ireland hold for you, and know that you have always been—and will always be—a voice for moderation and tolerance there.

What I'd like to talk to you about today is the Agreement and the upcoming referendum. You know, what you say and do will be very influential in this process.

Lord Molyneux: Well, you'll be glad to know that I'm not planning to go over the top in my remarks to the House of Lords. Tony Blair is across the road right now, and I'll be seeing him tonight. It's really a matter related to the army prisoners. You know, John Alderdice—he's a moderate man, from a moderate party. He absolutely exploded on Monday in parliament over the incident this weekend with the prisoners. He was furious, asking how could the government defend these actions. He was just seething with fury; it really took all of us by surprise. It was a real cause for concern.

Vice President: Yes, it's emotionally and practically very difficult when people are confronted with the imagery that relates to all the tragedies that have occurred. I know you are deeply familiar with the Agreement. It really is an important vindication of the basic principles you've stood for: for consent, and an absolute rejection of violence. As you know, President Clinton and I both strongly support these principles.

And I do know that there are features of the Agreement—such as the issues related to prisoners—which are difficult for you and others who are concerned about violence. I want you to know that the President and I have, and will continue to make clear that

there is no going back to violence. We will stand firmly behind Prime Minister Blair in insisting that those who want to participate in the new assembly must unequivocally reject violence in word and deed.

Lord Molyneaux: This is a very important point. I was speaking to Tony Blair about it—along the lines of the connection between getting rid of the arms belong to various groups, and the need to reject violence. Blair said he was looking for ways to strengthen this position, if the present arrangements aren't satisfactory. I told him I would support measures to strengthen his position. It's really a very difficult job for him. In fact, he had asked me, "How would you like my job for a day?" Anyway, he is thinking of doing something to help stabilize the situation.

Vice President: We have certainly made clear to Sinn Fein that there will be severe and irreversible consequences for their relationship our Administration if the IRA returns to violence.

And, it's important to remember that this Agreement—like all agreements—represents compromise. But the Prime Minister and the President are convinced that it is the only way to end the cycle of violence you've fought against all your life.

These emotional outbursts definitely test one's patience and resolve. But I think it's important to remember that it's really steady as you go.

I realize that it may be hard for you to support the Agreement in an active, open sense. But I hope that you won't allow the extremists like Ian Paisley and Robert McCartney to count you as an ally in opposing the Agreement. Steady as you go; we don't want to allow the extremists to move ahead.

Lord Molyneaux: Oh no. I have no intention of being in their camp, take my word for it. But you know, there is one more thing. Blair met with the Orange Order men recently. I was not present. Anyway, there is this feeling that the Agreement is really set in tablets of stone and that you can't vary any of it.

There may come a time when Blair needs help interpreting some of the language, and may need help in influencing Ahern and the government. He may need some degree of flexibility at some point.

Vice President: We are doing everything we can to work with Blair. It is a sensitive job he's got, and we want to back him up. Where flexibility might be required in interpreting the Agreement, it would be essential to help him get that.

And I'm hoping that you would consider focusing your public remarks on how the Agreement should be implemented to promote real peace, rather than offering a powerful voice to the "No" campaign.

Lord Molyneaux: Well, you know they've made me Patron of the Party—it's really an honorary title.

I'll tell you though, I have a feeling that during the referendum we could have some divisions that could cause difficulties during the assembly elections. I've been working hard, telling people "don't fight the wrong battle." it could prejudice the out come of the more important one.

Vice President: Well, we want to work with you to make sure that the Agreement is implemented in a way that respects the rule of law, and the voice of the people.

And we do need leaders like you to make sure that the Agreement is implemented in ways that are consistent with the principles that you and we agree on.

Lord Molyneaux: Yes, that's right.

Vice President: Thanks for taking the time to speak with me today.

Lord Molyneaux: Right. Thank you. Goodbye.

Vice President: Goodbye.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1998

**PHONE CALL TO FORMER UUP LEADER LORD MOLYNEAUX**

DATE: Wednesday, May 13, 1998

LOCATION: West Wing Office

TIME: 9:20-9:35

FROM: LEON FUERTH

**I. PURPOSE**

To help shore up UUP support for the April 10 agreement and the "Yes" campaign for the May 22 referendum.

**II. BACKGROUND**

Your early contacts with Lord Molyneux (then Sir James) were crucial first steps in the Administration's effort to reach out to the unionists and to demonstrate that the U.S. did not take sides in the sectarian conflict. Molyneux was an important voice for moderation in the early days of former Prime Minister Majors' peace efforts. Although Molyneux is now out of the day-to-day politics of Northern Ireland by virtue of his elevation to the House of Lords, he is still enormously influential among moderate unionists—particularly in the UUP, the main battleground on the referendum.

Molyneux is said to be against the Agreement privately, but has not played an active public role. It may be too much to hope to get him to be part of the "Yes" campaign, but it would be very damaging if he came out in active opposition. This is particularly so, given the existing splits among David Trimble's parliamentary colleagues in the UUP. There are rumors that Molyneux is thinking about going public in opposition very soon. Our hope is to keep him on the sidelines at the very least. Jim Steinberg spoke with John Holmes, Tony Blair's private secretary and point man on Northern Ireland; Holmes believes your call would be helpful in this process.

### State of Play vis-à-vis the Referendum

At a special party convention this weekend, Sinn Fein voted overwhelmingly to support the Agreement (331 to 19). The success of this vote was marred, however, by accompanying visual elements broadcast over local television. Members of the Balcombe Street gang—IRA prisoners imprisoned since 1975 and temporarily released from Portlaoise prison to participate in the convention—were shown jubilantly celebrating on stage. The event sent a severe chill through unionist camps and victims of paramilitary violence, causing near-term qualms about Sinn Fein's commitment to the principles of non-violence. The event also served to highlight again a contentious provision in the Agreement that permits members of various paramilitary groups to be released within two years depending on the crime committed, and providing the specific group maintains a cease-fire. A Sinn Fein spokeswoman last night formally denied that the party had deliberately staged the Balcombe Street gang's celebration, trying to downplay the whole event.

David Trimble continues to move about the countryside seeking votes for the "Yes" campaign. He is scheduled to appear this week on a television program with other party leaders to debate the merits of the Agreement. Reverend Ian Paisley has, in fact, just dropped out of the televised debate—a fact that Trimble is attempting to exploit to highlight that the extremist camps have no good alternative to the Agreement. Trimble continues to believe that he needs at 70% "yes" vote from the unionists to ensure that the extremists are sidelined.

### III. PARTICIPANTS

The Vice President

Lord Molyneux

### IV. PRESS

None

### V. ATTACHMENTS

Tab A – Talking Points

Tab B – Bio

### TALKING POINTS

- It's good to talk to you again. I appreciate your willingness to speak with me on such short notice.
- Our conversations during the early days of the peace process played an important role in helping us understand and reach out to all the communities of Northern Ireland.
- I know the continued respect that all hold for you in Northern Ireland, and know that you have always been—and will continue to be—a voice for moderation and tolerance.
- I would like to talk to you about the Agreement and the upcoming referendum. What you say and do will be very influential.
- I know you are deeply familiar with the Agreement. It is an important vindication of the basic principles you've stood for: consent and an absolute rejection of violence. President Clinton and I have strongly supported these principles.
- I understand that there are features of the agreement – such as the issues related to prisoners – that are difficult for you and others who are concerned about violence. I want you to know that the President and I have, and will continue to make clear that there is no going back to violence. We will stand firmly behind Prime Minister Blair in insisting that those who want to participate in the new assembly must unequivocally reject violence in word and deed.
- We have made clear to Sinn Fein that there will be severe and irreversible consequences for their relationship with our Administration if the IRA returns to violence.

↳ This Agreement, like all agreements represents compromise. But the Prime Minister and the President are convinced that it is the only way to end the cycle of violence that you've fought against all your life.

*in early days to put in place the new government to seek never to*

- I realize it is hard for you to support the Agreement actively. But I hope that you won't allow the extremists like Ian Paisley and Robert McCartney to count you as an ally in opposing the agreement.
  - I'm hoping that you would consider focusing your public remarks on how the Agreement should be implemented to promote real peace, rather than offering a powerful voice to the "No" campaign.
  - We want to work with you to make sure that the Agreement is implemented in a way that respects the rule of law, and the voice of the people.
- and continue steadily as you go*
- as fully respected as you are*
- sure, heart*
- We need leadership to ensure its implemented according to principle. you & we will be there if we can*
- they it seem that they will all be in favor of it. Essential those leaders*

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- We need leaders like you to make sure that the Agreement is implemented in ways that are consistent with the principles that you and we agree on.

NOTE FOR JIM STEINBERG

February 13, 1998

From Larry Butler

Re: Update on actions

1. Kennedy's Office -- Trina on board for our action plan, called back to say she had given Podesta names, per POTUS request, for possible calls on the Hill:

Walsh, Dodd and King first tier  
Manton, Neal and Gilman time permitting (I will call Mackey).

2. Dodd's Office -- talked to Janice O'Connell, took our points on board, said Dodd owed Mowlam a call back, would reinforce notion to keep SF in contact if suspended from talks, also would suggest to SF contacts to defer visit here.

3. Sinn Fein -- Dublin office contacted today. They took on board suggestion that Adams defer visit until back in the talks. Rita O'Hare told me that they will fight being pushed from talks, predicted anger in community when it happens, which she feels can be handled. Tacitly admitted IRA complicity and hinted that Sinn Fein will figure a way to handle suspension gracefully. Asked for help to quiet Trimble (today's quote -- "recent murders were over drug dealing turf".) I am planning to call Donaldson shortly.

4. Next steps:

- Jean's buffet dinner for participants Monday -- assuming SF gone from talks by then, she'll have to tell Gerry to stay away and not embarrass her. Kathy Stephens is attending. I will be in touch on Monday morning to make sure this happens.
- March 17 -- all NI invites are on hold for our review next week.
- Evidence -- my sources say you should have gotten a general report via channels today, lack detailed specifics of what precisely the British have.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 11, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Irish Minister Liz O'Donnell,  
11:45 a.m., Thursday, February 12, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M(2.47)  
KBM 7/31/2019



Context of Meeting

Liz O'Donnell, the Irish junior minister responsible for the Northern Ireland portfolio, is making her first visit to Washington. Subordinate to Foreign Minister David Andrews, O'Donnell is one of three Progressive Democrats (PD) in the Ahern cabinet, and has earned herself high marks. She has made few of the verbal gaffes that Andrews has racked up. She is young (42), a lawyer, and a late comer to politics (1991). That she is married to a Protestant from the North and sends her children to interdenominational schools in Dublin has facilitated acceptance by Unionists at the talks. Her bigger challenge was dealing with nationalists; the PD party line is very tough on republican violence. Her performance at the talks, however, reportedly has erased any concerns that, at least, the SDLP may have had.

Peace Process Background

**Situation update:** the talks are shifting to Dublin next week for three days. This week the only results in Belfast seem to be a public spat when Ken Maginnis (UUP) called Mowlam a damned liar. She has threatened to shun him until he apologizes. Unfortunately, a two week lull in violence ended with an IRA vigilante killing of a drug dealer and a presumed INLA hit on a known Loyalist paramilitary leader. This has heightened tensions in Belfast as the security services brace for possible UVF/LVF retaliation in the form of a random shooting.

You should take this opportunity to get O'Donnell to preview her objectives for the Dublin talks, as well as for her assessment

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 2/10/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

of how she plans to play out this phase of the talks process; with Strand 1 largely settled (shape of the assembly), what is likely to emerge in Strand 2 in the way of cross-border bodies?

One observer wrote that the two governments are bowling over the parties with optimism that there will be a referendum on a peace settlement in May. This reflects the poorly kept secret of "plan B," whereby Dublin and London take whatever drafting the parties have accomplished, if/when the negotiations stall, to craft a package to put to voters North and South. Does O'Donnell agree that this will be the end-game, and what would be our role in supporting this?

**Adams Visit:** You should tell her we will see Gerry Adams later this month, and are "working" on a Presidential drop-by. She, and Dublin, will be reassured by this sharing of sensitive information, particularly in the wake of the Blair visit; you can also use this to ask for her assessment of Gerry's control of the Republican movement and the risks for the IRA to abandon the peace process at its anticipated mid-March council.

**Sinn Fein v. SDLP:** Sinn Fein has been publicly hammering on Seamus Mallon, the SDLP deputy leader, forcing John Hume to appeal for a cease-fire. Some have been alarmed that the nationalist front was splintering, but the cause is more mundane and unlikely to affect nationalist solidarity. The roots in the spitting match date back to SDLP's spring British election strategy in which it cast aspersions on Sinn Fein in an effort to attract more votes. Mallon's confidential drafting of a document with Trimble in December added to Sinn Fein dislike of his political style, exacerbated by his recent verbal assaults on Sinn Fein at the talks table. You should ask O'Donnell for her assessment of the SF-SDLP dynamic in Northern Ireland, and probe for insights into SDLP internal politics -- Mallon is asserting a more dominant role, but the SDLP is losing supporters to Sinn Fein in recent by-elections.

**Presidential Travel Plans:** O'Donnell will want to hear of POTUS plans in May given extensive press coverage of Blair's comments. You should note the President's oft-expressed interest in returning to Ireland, which he expressed to Blair in the context of hope for a rapid conclusion to the peace talks. While he will be in Birmingham for the G-8 summit, we have no plans for a visit to Belfast or Ballybunion.

**St. Patrick's Day:** O'Donnell will want to preview Ahern's visit next month. Planning for the day's events is moving forward,

but we have not made specific arrangements for the expected bilaterals. Chris Meyer is hosting a lunch on March 16. The American-Ireland Fund has its gala that night. We are expecting Bertie Ahern to present the Shamrock in the morning on March 17 (time to be confirmed), with the President attending the Speaker's lunch. We are working on the guest list for the evening party at the White House, and (subject to your approval), will limit invitations for Northern Ireland to two representatives -- plus <sup>Spouse</sup> guests -- of each of the parties at the talks table. This excludes UKUP, DUP and UDP (unless readmitted), taking care of our Conor Cruise O'Brien problem of last year.

Attachments

Tab A Points to Make

Tab B Biographic Profile, Irish Times, February 7, 1998

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING  
WITH IRISH MINISTER O'DONNELL

- President and Tony Blair had useful discussions on Northern Ireland. Blair asked us to work with Adams, and others, to keep IRA cease-fire intact.
- President is prepared to do that, and will continue to reassure unionists and other parties. We are working on short meeting with Adams at end of month here in Washington. Wanted you to know this confidentially, before it becomes public.
- Would appreciate hearing your assessment of Adams' influence with the republicans. What about the expected IRA council in March? Will they keep the cease-fire and stay in the peace process?
- Talks are moving to Dublin next week. What is likelihood of McMichael coming back in this month?
- Seems that Strand 1 is pretty clear; How is Strand 2 shaping up? What kinds of cross-border bodies are you elaborating?
- How confident are you that talks will yield a paper to put to referendum by May? Is Plan B still an option? What would be our role at that time?
- President will be in Birmingham in mid-May, has a very tight schedule. Told Blair he would love to return to Belfast if things develop right, but premature to think about timing -- we have no plans at present.
- What is happening with SDLP and Sinn Fein? Can Hume calm the rhetoric down, or is this an inevitable airing of political differences? How are he and Mallon getting along? Is SDLP heading for a slide in the North?
- We are looking forward to St. Patrick's day. In addition to seeing the Taoiseach in the morning, we are working on the evening party. Plans are for a smaller contingent from Northern Ireland, a few representatives from each of the parties at the talks.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 2/10/08

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (2.48)

KBH: 7/31/2019

January 22, 1998

INFORMATION

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M (1.49)  
KBM 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER *DB*

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER *LB*

SUBJECT: Calls to Gerry Adams, David Trimble and Gary  
McMichael

Objective

Against backdrop of increasing retaliatory killings and criticism of the "headers of agreement" proposal, we recommend that either you or Jim Steinberg call Adams, Trimble and McMichael this week to **remind** them of U.S. support for all sides, **urge** prudence in public comments on the negotiations and **encourage** more robust condemnation of violence.

Background

Sharp Sinn Fein and IRA criticism of the joint British-Irish document offered to advance the talks has combined with an increased tempo of shootings, and inflammatory statements from all sides, to create a sense of crisis in the Northern Ireland peace process. In particular, Sinn Fein is feeling isolated/left out. Complicating this mix is the impact of publication of excerpts of Ray Seitz's memoirs critical of the White House's role in the peace process in 1993-94; a UUP spokesman called for an apology from President Clinton.

**Republican criticism:** Blair met with Adams Monday to hear Gerry's complaints that the joint document was biased towards the Unionist position, an interpretation fueled both by Trimble's involvement in the confidential drafting of the paper, his subsequent triumphal touting of the "headers of agreement" as meeting UUP's goals and his threats today to leave talks if headers are changed. Thursday, the IRA released a statement rejecting the headers, accusing Blair of having succumbed to the "Orange Card," and holding him responsible for resolving the

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 1/22/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

"crisis" in the peace process. While the IRA made a glaring omission in not acknowledging Dublin's role in co-drafting the paper, it did make the point that its commitment to "meaningful" negotiations was demonstrated by its continuing cease-fire. The combined effect of the Sinn Fein and IRA statements is a warning shot that the peace process is tilting towards the Unionists, and that continued pandering to Trimble and killings of Catholics jeopardizes Adams' ability to keep the cease-fire. Adams will press for a meeting with POTUS soon to bolster his position. A meeting before Blair comes would reassure Adams and Irish Americans of POTUS' commitment to process and help with "perceptions." You should impress on Adams that we strongly support his engagement at the talks, appreciates his challenges in keeping the movement behind him, and expect him to negotiate seriously to get the best deal possible. Going back to violence would not only wreck the peace process, but the lives and hopes of nationalists and unionists. These talks offer the best chance he's going to get for the foreseeable future. Progress on the critically important equality agenda won't happen under the cloud of active terrorism.

Unionists/Loyalists: It was unfortunate the headers document couldn't have been launched before Christmas. It is seen by some as caving into pressure from the Loyalists, who threatened to boycott the talks and some of whom are implicated in a spiraling round of cold-blooded murders. Since the INLA assassinated Billy Wright December 27, six Catholics and one Protestant have been killed in tit-for-tat shootings. Additionally, five or six Catholics have been injured in these attacks. RUC chief Ronny Flanagan publicly accused the UFF, linked to McMichael's UDP party, of involvement in some of the killings, including the New Year's Eve machinegun attack and yesterday's murder. McMichael is denying UFF complicity, with convenient reports circulating of defections to the LVF. The UDP could find itself ejected from the talks, which would weaken Trimble's ability to stay at the table. (One of the UUP people said that if any changes occur to the headers document, UUP will leave the talks.) Trimble should hear (1) that Ray Seitz's suggestions of Presidential bias are off-base, Trimble's meetings with POTUS and the current stage of the talks prove this, and (2) we are looking to him to provide leadership to stop the retaliatory killings by sharply condemning them and calling on Unionists to deny support to the gunmen. These talks, where he has expressed his strong support for the headers document, are the arena for working out differences between the communities and building a Northern Ireland based on law and civil rights. Peace is not a zero sum game, and additional

compromises will be required from both sides. He should be stressing positive outcomes not just for his side, but the Nationalists as well. McMichael should be urged to get Loyalist gunmen under control before things get out of control.

Points to Make**For Adams**

- Concerned by IRA statement, rejection of headers document prepared by Dublin and London. Not helpful to always put onus on London. Interested to hear your interpretation of what is behind statement.
- We welcomed the paper as a useful device for moving talks forward. We are all aware it is a waystation, not a final outcome or an agreement.
- Count on President's continued support for your engagement at the talks; appreciate your efforts in keeping up momentum in the talks process.
- President expects your team to negotiate hard to get the best deal possible; compromise is inevitable. What is your sense of next steps over next coming weeks?
- We fully expect that cease-fire will continue. Going back to violence would not only wreck the peace process, but the lives and hopes of nationalists and unionists. These talks offer the best chance you are going to get.
- Progress on the critically important equality agenda won't occur under the cloud of active terrorism.
- Cannot promise meeting with POTUS just now; will look at his schedule and call back.

**For Trimble/McMichael**

- Ray Seitz's suggestions of Presidential bias were off-base as you know from personal meeting with POTUS and our efforts on behalf of the talks.
- Concerned about unacceptable killings, could quickly escalate, threaten vital progress made so far. Look to you for leadership to stop the retaliatory violence, condemn them

publicly, call on Loyalist leaders to bring their gunmen under control and urge your community to deny them support.

- Not helpful for either side to talk of leaving negotiations. Current forum is best and only arena for working out differences between the communities and building a Northern Ireland based on law and civil rights. Peace is not a zero sum game and compromises will be required from both sides.
- Asking you, and other leaders, to pursue positive outcomes both for your party and for the other participants. Equally important to project publicly this determination to negotiate peace.
- *(for Trimble)* Know you are under a lot of pressure from within your party, appreciate your commitment to make this work. Important that you engage directly with Adams and Sinn Fein. Opportunity to bring a lasting peace too close and too important to lose.

Attachment

Tab A IRA Statement of January 21, 1998

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

February 11, 1998

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (2.50)  
KBH 7/31/2019

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Irish Minister Liz O'Donnell,  
11:45 a.m., Thursday, February 12, 1998

Context of Meeting

Liz O'Donnell, the Irish junior minister responsible for the Northern Ireland portfolio, is making her first visit to Washington. Subordinate to Foreign Minister David Andrews, O'Donnell is one of three Progressive Democrats (PD) in the Ahern cabinet, and has earned herself high marks. She has made few of the verbal gaffes that Andrews has racked up. She is young (42), a lawyer, and a late comer to politics (1991). That she is married to a Protestant from the North and sends her children to interdenominational schools in Dublin has facilitated acceptance by Unionists at the talks. Her bigger challenge was dealing with nationalists; the PD party line is very tough on republican violence. Her performance at the talks, however, reportedly has erased any concerns that, at least, the SDLP may have had.

Peace Process Background

**Situation update:** the talks are shifting to Dublin next week for three days. This week the only results in Belfast seem to be a public spat when Ken Maginnis (UUP) called Mowlam a damned liar. She has threatened to shun him until he apologizes. Unfortunately, a two week lull in violence ended with an IRA vigilante killing of a drug dealer and a presumed INLA hit on a known Loyalist paramilitary leader. This has heightened tensions in Belfast as the security services brace for possible UVF/LVF retaliation in the form of a random shooting.

You should take this opportunity to get O'Donnell to preview her objectives for the Dublin talks, as well as for her assessment

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 2/10/08

of how she plans to play out this phase of the talks process; with Strand 1 largely settled (shape of the assembly), what is likely to emerge in Strand 2 in the way of cross-border bodies?

One observer wrote that the two governments are bowling over the parties with optimism that there will be a referendum on a peace settlement in May. This reflects the poorly kept secret of "plan B," whereby Dublin and London take whatever drafting the parties have accomplished, if/when the negotiations stall, to craft a package to put to voters North and South. Does O'Donnell agree that this will be the end-game, and what would be our role in supporting this?

**Adams Visit:** You should tell her we will see Gerry Adams later this month, and are "working" on a Presidential drop-by. She, and Dublin, will be reassured by this sharing of sensitive information, particularly in the wake of the Blair visit; you can also use this to ask for her assessment of Gerry's control of the Republican movement and the risks for the IRA to abandon the peace process at its anticipated mid-March council.

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**Presidential Travel Plans:** O'Donnell will want to hear of POTUS plans in May given extensive press coverage of Blair's comments. You should note the President's oft-expressed interest in returning to Ireland, which he expressed to Blair in the context of hope for a rapid conclusion to the peace talks. While he will be in Birmingham for the G-8 summit, we have no plans for a visit to Belfast or Ballybunion.

**St. Patrick's Day:** O'Donnell will want to preview Ahern's visit next month. Planning for the day's events is moving forward,

but we have not made specific arrangements for the expected bilaterals. Chris Meyer is hosting a lunch on March 16. The American-Ireland Fund has its gala that night. We are expecting Bertie Ahern to present the Shramrock in the morning on March 17 (time to be confirmed), with the President attending the Speaker's lunch. We are working on the guest list for the evening party at the White House, and (subject to your approval), will limit invitations for Northern Ireland to two representatives -- plus guests -- of each of the parties at the talks table. This excludes UKUP, DUP and UDP (unless readmitted), taking care of our Conor Cruise O'Brien problem of last year.

Attachments

Tab A Points to Make

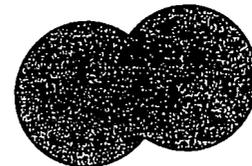
Tab B Biographic Profile, Irish Times, February 7, 1998

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504  
February 26, 1998

NOTED



INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG  
THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER  
FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER  
SUBJECT: Your Visit to the United Kingdom -- Northern  
Ireland Issues

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor  
has seen

Context

Your schedule in Belfast is at Tab A. You start Sunday afternoon there with lunch with Trimble et al., and then have a series of meeting with Alderdice, McMichael, Ervine, Adams, and finish with Hume et al. for dinner. On Friday in London, you will see Mo Mowlam from 2:45 - 3:30 p.m. That will give you a chance to get a fresh readout from the previous day's Ahern-Blair meeting in advance of Belfast.

You should be aware that Jim Lyons had his community financing seminar Thursday and Friday. He brought U.S. micro-finance experts over to begin process of showing NGOs and community organizations how to wean themselves off of dependency on EU and UK government financing for economic and social development.

Background

Violence: The bomb threat in London turned out to be a hoax; an early police report of finding two devices was an error. The code word used has been used in the past by the IRA, but apparently has been used by other groups as well. In short, the situation is ambiguous. Up north, however, things aren't so good -- but the IRA is not implicated. A letter bomb went off in a Belfast post office on Wednesday injuring several workers. It was the third such device placed in the mails recently (the other two were concealed in video tape cassettes and sent to Catholics -- one went off when the recipient was suspicious of the weight and tossed it into his backyard). Car bombs went off in Protestant villages (Friday in Moira -- Jeffrey Donaldson's hometown -- and Portadown on Sunday). They did a lot of damage and there were injuries, but no deaths. IRA has denied

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Reason: 1.5(d)  
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2015-0156-M(252)  
KBH 7/31/2019

responsibility and Continuity IRA is believed to be behind the attacks. LVF left a car bomb Saturday at an Irish border police station; it was subsequently defused. Loyalists, notably Billy Hutchinson (PUP), are making threatening noises again about retaliation. Kathy Stephens says we cannot afford to take the Loyalists for granted at this juncture.

Sinn Fein's status: Bertie Ahern met with Adams for 2 ¼ hours on Tuesday, and met with Blair Thursday for an hour. The main topic was the timing of Blair's meeting with Adams, and a game plan for the ramping up to an intensive end-game (see talks section). **You will want to ask Mowlam how that went.** Despite Trimble's and McMichael's calls for no meeting and a longer suspension period for Sinn Fein (due to expire March 9), Mowlam opposes this. Holmes told Phil Lader that Blair will see Adams shortly after March 9 and had not set preconditions (such as Adams being back at the table). This reportedly is acceptable to Dublin. Blair is not prepared to risk a Unionist or Loyalist backlash from an earlier meeting. Expectations are that Sinn Fein will be invited back to the table on March 9, but won't take up its seat until after a meeting with Blair.

- Gerry Adams was the featured speaker last Friday at the Belfast Chamber of Commerce's luncheon series featuring NI politicians. The reviews gave him points for politeness, polish and research into the topic of social economy; points were deducted for disappointing the crowd by not being provocative politically.
- Adams continues to make the point publicly that he is going back into the talks only after he sees Tony Blair. He is also reported to be planning an extensive fund-raising excursion to the United States during St. Patrick's week. **Mowlam is certain to ask about our plans for that week -- see separate section on this.**
- You will want to make the point with Adams that we are not going to issue his usual 90-day visa until we see Sinn Fein return to the table. You will also want to tell him that he should find another candidate to replace Mairead Keane as the Washington Office representative; it does the peace process no good to try to bring Rita O'Hare here at this stage of the talks, creating a difficult and unpredictable debate among U.S. law enforcement/judicial. Even she were granted a visa, the result would draw fire from the Unionists and create a campaign for her extradition.

UUP/Trimble: David continues to press for a longer suspension period for Sinn Fein, looking to his party's annual general meeting (AGM) on March 21. There is also the threat of an extraordinary session being forced via a petition drive. He has to be careful not to have the UUP council adopt positions that constrain either his negotiating mandate or even his ability to be at the talks. London reported this week that with Adams away from the table, Trimble was showing much more flexibility on Strand one and two issues. He is expected to continue this pace to see what he can get done before Adams comes back. Your points to him should focus on the looming end of this phase of the peace process, making clear that he is mistaken if he thinks a peaceful settlement can be secured with half the nationalist community not represented at the table. We can well appreciate Trimble's apprehension at negotiating with the party he identifies as his enemy, but his people, and we, are counting on him to confront history and forge a Northern Ireland where persons from both communities have a stake in peace and prosperity. No one gains from this conflict dragging on, least of all Unionism.

- On a positive note, Trimble may complain that he is hearing that Irish Americans are trying to get him excluded from the St. Patrick's Day events. You can tell him that we are inviting all of the parties participating in the talks, including the Unionists, and are looking forward to seeing him in Washington.

Hume/SDLP: Political pundits are pointing to the day when the SDLP will cease to exist. Sinn Fein's superior funding (mainly from the United States -- at least until UK campaign finance reform cuts off foreign sources), organization and appeal to youth are seen as eating into the SDLP's support base. Seamus Mallon and Brid Rodgers will join Hume at your dinner. This is important because Mallon is the negotiator and often finds himself out of step with Hume. Mallon will have excellent insights into the deals he has successfully cut with the UUP. Do watch for friction between the two. One of Hume's shortcomings is he gets distracted from the main event (e.g. inviting POTUS to address the European Parliament and trying to arrange POTUS meeting with a young American disabled person.) If Hume asks about POTUS and Strasbourg, you should tell him it won't work with this year's schedule.

The Talks: The six parties that were at the table on Monday (UDP went back in on Tuesday), following the mess in Dublin last week, actually got down to work. Trimble was prepared to see

how far he could take the negotiations with Sinn Fein on the sidelines. The Strand I talks are far along on the substance of a Northern Ireland assembly, with all the parties save Sinn Fein heading towards a consensus on proportional representation (18 constituencies @ five seats = 90 members. Understandably, Strand two, cross-border bodies is ill-defined with a number of competing ideas. Questions for Mowlam and the party leaders are how they expect the talks to go forward, in what time frame, and at what venue. Blair and Ahern dealt mainly with tactics to ramp up to the expected "going to the mountaintop" final push, a la Dayton, probably in Scotland or Wales. Mowlam should be in a position to know what HMG is thinking. Dublin thinks the governments should take the drafting in hand; London is fearful of premature leaks. The next few weeks will be marked by a stepped up pace of bilateral contacts, starting with the Anglo-Irish conference in Dublin next week. London is pointing to a deadline of Easter for a final agreement, in order to get the referendum in place (necessary legislation and public affairs rollout) prior to the onslaught of the marching season. The Orange Order, having backed down last year, is signaling a less conciliatory line for this year's marches.

St. Patrick's Day Events: We are inviting all of the parties represented at the talks (which leaves out UKUP and DUP, assuming Sinn Fein is back), leaders and deputies plus guests, to the White House reception on March 17. We will also continue the traditional presentation of the Shamrock by the Taoiseach to the President in the morning. If Mowlam hints that she would like to be invited, deflect that by noting the bilateral nature of the event and welcoming her to the evening function. Do ask Mowlam of her plans in the United States for that week (we have heard she is seeking a meeting with FLOTUS). For the party leaders, you can confirm invitations for the reception and invite them to contact me regarding appointments -- we will submit a plan to handle them all next week.

Attachments

Tab A	Schedule
Tab B	Points to Make -- London
Tab C	Points to Make -- Adams
Tab D	Points to Make -- Trimble
Tab E	Points to Make -- Alderdice
Tab F	Points to Make -- Loyalists
Tab G	Points to Make -- Dublin
Tab H	Biographic Profiles

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
MEETING WITH MO MOWLAM

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.53)  
KBM 7/31/2019

- Very interested to know how Ahern meeting with Prime Minister went. Any outcome on timing of meeting with Adams?
- What are you thinking of in terms of timetable for conclusion of the talks? Are you going to try to move to a closed venue?
- Looking forward to seeing you in Washington. What are your plans?
- We are inviting to the St. Patrick's Day reception at the White House all the party leaders and deputies represented at the talks. This includes Adams, if Sinn Fein is readmitted.
- Assuming Adams back in talks, his next visa will be for 90 days, no fund raising restrictions. What is status of campaign finance reform here? How will that affect Sinn Fein's fund raising in the U.S.?
- (if raised) Rita O'Hare has applied for a visa to work at the Sinn Fein Washington office. Is she still wanted here in the UK, and would you have to seek her extradition if she were admitted?
- Will see Adams and other leaders Sunday. Intend to stress our expectation that he is coming back to the talks -- no visa/invite without it. Also underline that there can be no more IRA violence without more consequences.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 2/25/08

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