



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

22 November 1995

Dear Tony,

You are not such a good prophet after all! Anyone with a knowledge of the US calendar and the Congressional problem over Bosnia could have foreseen at least twenty-four hours ago that the President would need to go up to the Hill as soon as he could after Thanksgiving. So much for the prescience of the National Security Adviser!

I gather the President was hoping to have a word on the telephone to explain things personally to the Prime Minister. Unfortunately it doesn't look as though their schedules contain a mutual window this evening. But can I assure you that the Prime Minister completely understands the reasons for the rescheduling and that you need have no worries at all about any *amour propre* at this end. Genuinely.

The Prime Minister doesn't trust me to convey this adequately to you and has insisted on writing the attached letter. I would be grateful if you could pass it to the President.

Yours ever,
Roderic

RODERIC LYNE

The Honorable Anthony Lake



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

PERSONAL

THE PRIME MINISTER

22 November 1995

Dear Bill,

Bill Crowe has just telephoned to explain that you are going to have to delay your departure for London next Tuesday; and I understand that you were hoping to call me this evening (when I am afraid I shall be out at Buckingham Palace for The Queen's annual Diplomatic Reception).

Please don't worry in the slightest about the rescheduling of your trip. As you will have seen from the message I sent you only last night, I fully understand the importance of getting Congressional support for the Bosnia agreement and the deployment of US forces. These things happen in our lives, and no one can foresee precisely when they are going to come to a head, so I assure you that, genuinely, no offence will be taken here. I am only sorry that your visit will be more of a rush, and that your first day's engagements will be lost.

We look forward to seeing you here on Wednesday morning. I think our officials are already looking at the programme together to see whether we might have a chance of having supper in Belfast on Thursday evening.

Warm regards,
Your Ever,
John

The President of The United States of America



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

15 November 1995

Dear Tony,

...

You might find the attached cuttings from the less-disreputable end of the British press worth a glance.

As the Financial Times piece records, there is a widening gap between the reality of progress on the ground in Northern Ireland and the artificial atmosphere of crisis which Sinn Fein are seeking to portray.

There is also a widening gap between the Government's response to the improving security situation (with a large number of convicted paramilitaries* about to be released from jail on licence) and the continuing violence practised by the Provisionals. There have now been 250 punishment beatings in the 14½ months since the IRA ceasefire - over 150 of them attributable to the Provisionals. I hope you will take this up with Adams. It is an obscene practice. Virtually every day brings a new, gruesome report across my desk. On Monday, for example, seven self-proclaimed PIRA members in Londonderry smashed up a house in Londonderry: while their intended victim was not there, a 67-year old woman in the house had to be taken to hospital suffering from shock. In Newry recently, eight men smashed the left arm and leg (and severed an artery) of a man who had ignored a summons to go to the local Sinn Fein office. In another incident in Newry a man had his head, chest, ribs, knees and legs beaten with a sledgehammer, and he was told to leave the town within 24 hours.

The editorials in The Times and Evening Standard reflect the very strong feeling here that we should not be panicked by Sinn Fein's crisis tactics and that "insisting that Sinn Fein - IRA begin disarmament before its representatives are admitted to all-party talks is absolutely fundamental to the future of the peace."

Yours ever,
Roderic

RODERIC LYNE

The Honorable Anthony Lake

* 88 will leave prison on Friday.

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995
FINAL**

Belfast, Northern Ireland
Londonderry, Northern Ireland

NOTE: **Baggage Call is 2:00 am. Please leave bags outside rooms.**

**Staff vans depart the Winston Churchill Hotel at 6:15 am en route location
Heathrow Airport.**

Vans depart at 6:45 am for staff needing to go the Ambassador's Residence

7:30 am **THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Winfield House
via Marine One en route Heathrow Airport
[flight time: 20 minutes]**

7:50 am **THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Heathrow Airport,
London, England**

8:05 am **THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Heathrow Airport,
London, England via Air Force One en route Aldergrove Airport,
Belfast, Northern Ireland
[flight time: 1 hour, 5 minutes]
[time change: none]**

9:10 am **THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Aldergrove Airport,
(4:10 am EST) Belfast, Northern Ireland**

Greeters: **The Lord O'Neill, Lord Lieutenant of County Antrim
The Honorable Sir Patrick Mayhew QC MP, Secretary
State, Northern Ireland
Lady Mayhew
Sir Hugh Annesley QPM; Chief Constable, Royal
Ulster Constabulary
Mr. John Craig, Chairman, Belfast
International Airport
Mr. Clifford Forsythe, MP (UUP) Antrim
Kathleen Stephens, United States Consul
General, Belfast, Northern Ireland**

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PHOTOCOPY**

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

9:25 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Aldergrove Airport, Belfast, Northern Ireland via motorcade en route the Mackie Plant [drive time: 30 minutes]

NOTE: There will be a van departing directly for the hotel along with support plane passengers.

9:55 am

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive the Mackie Plant

Greeters: Belfast Lord Mayor, Councillor Reverend Eric Smyth
Lady Mayoress Frances Smyth (DUP)
Dr. Joe Hendron, MP (SDLP), West Belfast
Mr. Cecil Walker, MP (UUP), North Belfast
Lord-Lieutenant for the County of Belfast, Col. Elliot
Wilson OBE JP

10:00 am-

10:45 am

(5:00 am - 5:55 am EST)

HOLD
THE PLANT MANAGER'S OFFICE
The Mackie Plant
Staff Contact: Tony Lake

10:45 am-

11:30 am

(5:45 am - 6:30 am EST)

SPEECH
THE FACTORY FLOOR
The Mackie Plant
Remarks: Vinca Showalter
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
OPEN PRESS

- Off-stage announcement of the First Lady and Mrs. Dougan who are then escorted to their seats by two children.
- Off-stage announcement of the President and Patrick Dougan, President, Mackie International.
- Patrick Dougan introduces person tba, a union leader.
- Person tba makes brief remarks.
- Patrick Dougan makes brief remarks and introduces two letter writing children.
- The children introduce the President.

as of 11/29/95 5:44pm

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PHOTOCOPY

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1998
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

- The President makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the President and First Lady work a ropeline.
- The President proceed to hold and the First Lady departs.
- The President departs hold, works a short ropeline with Mackie employees and departs the Mackie Plant.

11:40 am THE PRESIDENT departs the Mackie Plant via motorcade en route
The East Belfast Enterprise Park
[drive time: 10 minutes]

NOTE: The First Lady will depart for a separate event at the Women's Drop-in Center.

11:50 am THE PRESIDENT arrives The East Belfast Enterprise Park (EBEP)

11:55 am-
12:00 am PHOTO WITH THE BOARD OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUND
FOR IRELAND (IFI)
THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
The East Belfast Enterprise Park
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

- This is a photo only. No program. No remarks.

12:00 pm THE PRESIDENT proceeds on foot to the Center's Stores

Greeters: Peter Robinson, MP (DUP)
Rt. Honorable John Taylor, MP (UUP)
John Alderdice, MP (Alliance Party)

12:05 pm-
12:15 pm
(7:05 am - 7:15 am EST)

VISIT BUSINESSES AT THE EAST BELFAST
ENTERPRISE PARK (EBEP)
HOLLY HANDMADES/RENAISSANCE IRONCRAFT
The East Belfast Enterprise Park
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

- Peter Thompson, Board Chairman, East Belfast Enterprise Park introduces the President to Sonya Gorman, owner of Holly Handmades.

as of 11/29/98 5:44pm

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PHOTOCOPY

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

- Sonya Gorman presents the President with a handmade ceramic figure.
- Peter Thompson escorts the President to Renaissance Ironcraft, where he is greeted by Fiona Hunter.
- Fiona Hunter, daughter of Frank Hunter, owner of Renaissance Ironcraft, presents the President with a candlestick.

12:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT proceeds on foot to units #8 and #10 for the Roundtable.

12:20 pm-

1:00 pm

(7:20 am - 8:00 am EST)

ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION WITH TENANTS AND MANAGERS OF ENTERPRISE PARKS FROM ACROSS BELFAST

VACANT UNITS, #8 and #10

The East Belfast Enterprise Park

Staff Contact: Tony Lake

POOL PRESS

- Peter Robinson, MP, makes very brief welcoming remarks and introduces Peter Thompson.
- Peter Thompson, Chairman, East Belfast Enterprise Park introduces all the round table participants to the President and then introduces David Blevings, Manager, East Belfast Enterprise Park.
- David Blevings makes very brief remarks and initiates the round-table discussion.
- The round-table discussion begins.
- Sammy Douglas concludes the discussion and thanks The President and presents him with a painting.
- The President proceeds outside and greets tenants and their families and departs.

1:05 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs the East Belfast Enterprise Park via motorcade en route the Landing Zone at City Airport
[drive time: 10 minutes]

1:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives the Landing Zone at City Airport

as of 11/29/95 5:44pm

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PHOTOCOPY

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

NOTE: The First Lady will rejoin the President at this time.

NOTE: There will be vans to transport staff not going to Derry back to the hotel after the President departs.

1:25 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart the Landing Zone at City Airport via Marine One en route The City of Derry Airport Landing Zone, Londonderry, Northern Ireland
[flight time: 40 minutes]
OPEN PRESS

2:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive The City of Derry Airport Landing Zone, Londonderry, Northern Ireland

Greeters: Sir Michael W. McCorkell, The Lord Lieutenant of County Londonderry
Lady McCorkell
Sir Patrick Mayhew
Mrs. Mayhew
John Hume, MP/MEP
Mrs. Patricia Hume
Lord Mayor John Kerr
Lady Corita Kerr
Mr. Devine, Manager, City of Derry Airport

2:15 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart The City of Derry Airport Landing Zone, Londonderry, Northern Ireland via motorcade en route Londonderry Guild Hall
[drive time: 20 minutes]

2:35 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive Londonderry Guild Hall

Greeters: Lord Lieutenant Jim Eaton
Lady Eaton

2:40 pm-
3:35 pm
(9:45 am - 10:35 am EST)

REMARKS TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDONDERRY
THE GUILD HALL SQUARE
Londonderry, Northern Ireland
Remarks: Carter Wilkie
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
OPEN PRESS

as of 11/29/95 5:44pm

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1989
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady, accompanied by Sir Patrick Mayhew and Mrs. Mayhew, John Hume, MP/MEP and Patricia Hume, Mayor John Kerr and Lady Corita Kerr.
- Mayor John Kerr makes remarks and introduces John Hume.
- John Hume makes brief remarks.
- Mayor John Kerr introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the President and First Lady, work a ropeline and depart.

3:35 pm

THE PRESIDENT and First Lady proceed to hold

3:40 pm-
3:50 pm

**HOLD
ROOM TBA**

3:50 pm-
4:15 pm
(10:50 am - 11:15 am EST)

**RECEIVING LINE WITH THE O'NEILL FAMILY AND
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN IRELAND FUND
(AIF)
MINOR HALL
Londonderry Guild Hall
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
CLOSED PRESS/WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY**

- The President and First Lady do a receiving line.

4:20 pm-
5:00 pm
(11:20 am - 12:00 am EST)

**THE CITY OF DERRY CITY COUNCIL RECEPTION FOR
THE INAUGURATION OF THE TIP O'NEILL CHAIR FOR
PEACE STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER
GUILDHALL
Londonderry Guild Hall
Remarks: Carter Wilkie
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
POOL PRESS**

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady by Mayor John Kerr.

ms of 11/29/95 5:44pm

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PHOTOCOPY

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

- Mayor John Kerr makes welcoming remarks and introduces Loretta Brennan Glucksman, National President, The American Ireland Fund.
- Loretta Brennan Glucksman makes brief remarks and introduces Vice Chancellor Smith.
- Vice Chancellor Smith makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- Vice Chancellor Smith and Loretta Brennan Glucksman unveil the commemorative stone.
- Tom O'Neill makes brief remarks.
- The President makes brief remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the President and First Lady work a ropeline and depart.

5:05 pm-
5:10 pm

**POLICE PHOTOS
DOWNSTAIRS HALLWAY
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY**

5:10 pm-
5:15 pm

**CITY COUNCIL STAFF PHOTO
DOWNSTAIRS HALLWAY
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY**

5:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Guild Hall via motorcade en route The City of Derry Airport Landing Zone [drive time: 15 minutes]

5:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive The City of Derry Airport Landing Zone

NOTE: The following people will bid the President and First Lady farewell.

Sir Michael W. McCorkell, The Lord Lieutenant of
County Londonderry

Mrs. McCorkell

MP/MEP John Hume

Mrs. Patricia Hume

Lord Mayor John Kerr

ms of 11/29/95 5:44pm

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1992
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

Lady Corita Kerr
Mr. Seamus Devine, Manager, City of Derry Airport

5:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart The City of Derry Airport Landing Zone via Marine One en route the City Airport Landing Zone, Belfast, Northern Ireland
[flight time: 40 minutes]

6:10 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive at the Landing Zone at City Airport, Belfast, Northern Ireland

NOTE: The guests of the President will join the President's motorcade at the airport to go to the tree lighting ceremony.

NOTE: Staff attending the Christmas tree lighting meet in the lobby of the Europa Hotel at 5:45 pm to be escorted by foot to City Hall.

6:20 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart the Landing Zone at City Airport, Belfast, Northern Ireland via motorcade en route Belfast City Hall
[drive time: 10 minutes]

6:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive Belfast City Hall

Greeters: Belfast Lord Mayor, Councillor Reverend Eric Smyth (DUP)
Lady Mayoress Frances Smyth
Belfast City Executive Brian Hanna
Mrs. Sylvia Hanna

6:35 pm-
6:55 pm **HOLD**
THE MEMBERS LOUNGE (First Floor)
Belfast City Hall

NOTE: The Congressional Delegation proceeds to the reception at Queens University for the reception.

as of 11/29/95 5:44pm

CLINTON LIBRARY
PHOTOCOPY

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995
BELFAST AND
LONDONDERRY, N. IRELAND

7:00 pm-
7:45 pm
(2:00 pm - 3:45 pm EST)

**TREE LIGHTING CEREMONY
OUTSIDE BELFAST CITY HALL**

Remarks: Vinca Showalter
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
OPEN PRESS

Note: There is a pre-program.

- After holding, The President and First Lady proceed to the Christmas Tree inside the rotunda to pose for a photograph with the two winners of the "Bringing Peace to Northern Ireland Letter Writing" and The Poster Contests winners and their families.
- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady, accompanied by the Lord Mayor of Belfast, Councillor Reverend Eric Smyth and the Lady Mayoress Frances Smith.
- The Lord Mayor makes welcoming remarks and identifies the two winners of the Letter Writing and Poster Contest."
- The First Lady reads excerpts from the children's letters.
- The Lord Mayor leads the crowd in a countdown.
- The President accompanied by the two children light the Christmas tree by throwing on the switch.
- The President makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the President and First Lady, accompanied by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress work a ropeline and proceed towards the World War II Memorial Stone.
- The President and First Lady and Ambassador Crowe rededicate the World War II Memorial Stone along with Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Lord Mayor and other local officials.
- The President and First Lady proceed to hold.

7:50 pm
8:00 pm

HOLD
THE MEMBER'S LOUNGE (First Floor)
Belfast City Hall

as of 11/29/95 5:44pm

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PHOTOCOPY

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1995
LONDON, ENGLAND

- 7:30 am **THE PRESIDENT** and First Lady depart Heathrow Airport, London, England via Marine One en route The US Ambassador's Residence Winfield House
[flight time: 20 minutes]
- 7:50 am **THE PRESIDENT** and First Lady arrive the US Ambassador's Residence Winfield House Landing Zone

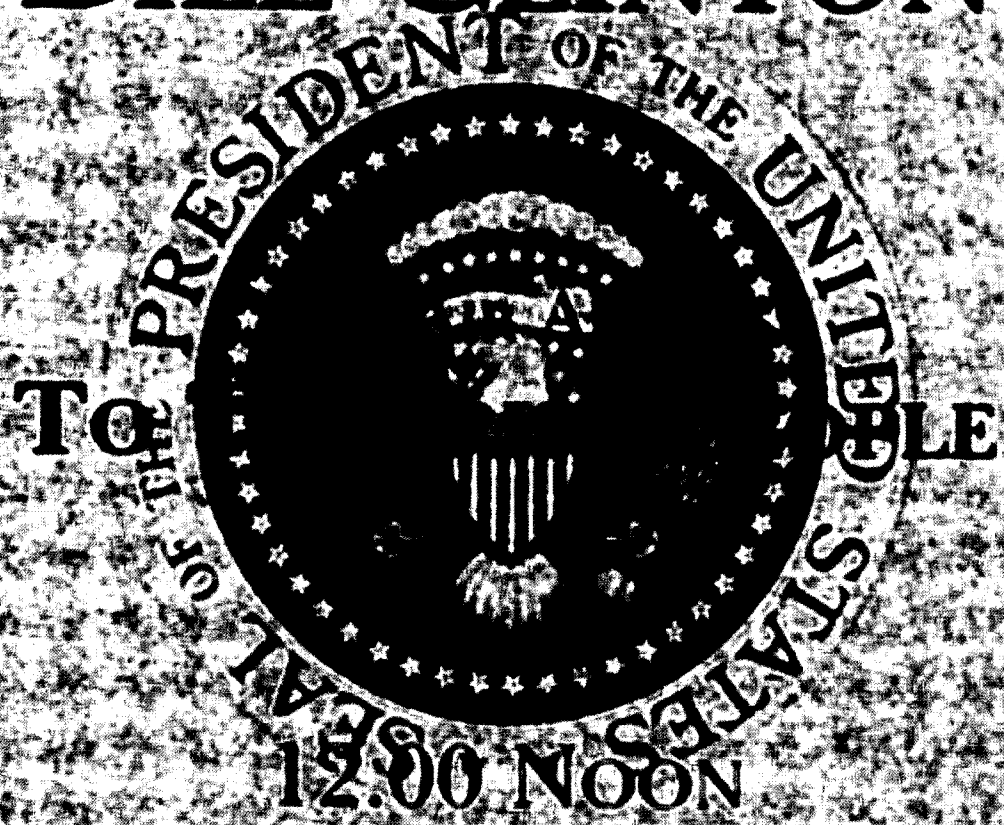
NOTE: Staff not participating in the wreath laying ceremony or the meeting with Prime Minister Major should proceed directly to the hotel via staff vans.

Staff attending the Major meeting debrief and the Parliament speech prep should proceed to the hotel. Vans will depart the hotel at 10:00 am for #10 Downing Street.

A van will depart the Winston Churchill Hotel at 11:00 am for staff attending the Parliament Speech.

- 7:55 am-
8:00 am **TREE PLANTING CEREMONY**
THE LAWN
Winfield House
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
CLOSED PRESS
- 8:20 am
(3:20 am EST) **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady depart Winfield House, via motorcade en route Westminster Abbey
[drive time: 10 minutes]
- 8:30 am **THE PRESIDENT** and the First Lady arrive Westminster Abbey
- Greeters: Prime Minister John Major
The Very Reverend Michael Mayne, Dean of Westminster Abbey

P R E S I D E N T
BILL CLINTON



FRIDAY DECEMBER 1ST 1995

BANK OF IRELAND, COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

UNCLASSIFIED

BUILDING BLOCKS: REMARKS AT BANK OF IRELAND EVENT

Sources

DCM Sandberg in Dublin (353) (1) 668-7122

Context

The rally in downtown Dublin will be the largest public event of the visit to Ireland. Approximately 60,000 to 100,000 people are expected to attend. The freedom of the city, Dublin's highest civic honor, will be conferred on the President you by Lord Mayor Sean Loftus. The Bank of Ireland occupies the former Irish houses of Parliament. The Bank purchased the premises in 1803 for 40,000 pounds.

The Freedom of the City of Dublin is an honorary award with roots in an ancient honor. From the late 12th century until 1918 becoming a "free citizen" conferred the right to vote and significant commercial privileges. The honorary freedom of the city was established in 1876. The honorary freedom of the city is granted by the Dublin City council in the form of a resolution and then conferred in a ceremony conducted by the Lord Mayor.

U.S. Presidents Ulysses S. Grant and John F. Kennedy were awarded this honor. Recent grantees include: Pope John Paul II (1979); Crown Prince (now emperor) Akihito of Japan and Crown Princess (now Empress) Michiko of Japan (1985); Nelson Mandela (1988); and Mother Teresa (1993).

Acknowledgements

The city of Dublin is hosting this event. Lord Mayor Sean Loftus who will be conferring the freedom of the city on the President should be recognized.

Setting

The Bank of Ireland building where the stage will be erected is the site of the old Irish houses of Parliament. The President will be speaking from the forecourt of the House of Lords. The crowd will assemble in an area known as College Green (actually blocked-off city streets) because of its proximity to Trinity College. The main gates of Trinity can be seen from the stage (on a diagonal beyond stage left.)

Contents

We should mention:

(1) Historic family and cultural ties between the people of Ireland and the people of the U.S. Almost 20 percent of all Americans claim some Irish ancestry: 1 percent of the Irish population holds a U.S. passport.

(2) The President's Irish-American ancestry. The Irish-American political tradition within the U.S.

- 2 -

(3) The civic honor--the freedom of the city--which has just been conveyed upon the President. (Note: For the first time in 24 years the issue of whether to bestow this honor went to a vote in the Dublin City Council. The President won, but approximately eight councillors voted no. The nays referred to the U.S. \$14.5 billion annual arms trade, the President's support for the death penalty, and the blockade of Cuba.)

(4) Contributions to the world of Irish culture, literature, poetry, and music. Ireland as a caring society that holds in high esteem family values and morality.

(5) A country that has reached out to Europe and become truly European, contributing to the rainbow of European cultures, yet has preserving its unique Irishness.

11/28/95 12pm

**The President of the United States
Address to the Citizens of Dublin
December 1, 1995**

Hello Dubliners! Hello Ireland!

Lord Mayor, I am deeply honored by the title you have given me. I am in great company today, not only in joining the distinguished previous recipients of this honor, but also in joining all of you who braved the rain to greet me. Of all the gifts Dublin could extend to any visitor, none could be greater than your wonderful Irish hospitality. Thank you.

By now, you must have heard about my family ties to Ireland. My father was descended from Ulster Scots and my mother was a Cassidy. [After cheers: It sounds as if every Cassidy in Ireland is in the crowd.]

My only regret of this trip is that my mother did not live long enough to make it with me. She would have felt at home in Ireland -- certainly in any of the small, rural towns of a size similar to the ones we grew up in America, and maybe even in this great city, although I think she would have felt more at home in Dublin's Northside than in "Dublin 4."

Though her family left Ireland long ago, my mother retained plenty of what some say are Irish traits. She was loving as well as strong willed. She worked hard as a nurse for most of her life. She held our family together through hard times. And, most of all, she loved the horse races.

I wanted to come here to College Green, but she would have wanted to go to the track at Leopardstown, the turf at Fairyhouse or the Curragh (pr. curra) in Kildare. Nothing would have impressed her more about Ireland than the fact that here you have nearly 300 racing days a year.

This beautiful country has been a mother to so many throughout the world. And nowhere more than in my country. For every person here in Ireland, ten more in the United States claim parents or grandparents or forebears born on Irish soil.

This year, 1995, marks the 150th anniversary of the time when that soil began to turn crops black in the ground, when one fourth of Ireland's people either starved from the great hunger or were lost to emigration.

I urge my fellow Americans back home to remember those who perished in the greatest human tragedy in Irish history.

And remember that in the clouds of that horrible disaster was a silver lining, one of the greatest blessings for our

country: the arrival of millions of new Americans who built our country with their brawn and climbed to the top of every profession with their brains.

As a way to commemorate the famine, I ask Irish Americans of influence, talent and means to remember those less fortunate and consider how to help others find ways to become more self-sufficient and gain tools to diversify their local economies. | ?

This thousand-year-old city has seen many events through times of tragedy and times of triumph. This is an exciting time for me to be here, a time when Ireland is more prosperous and democratic than any time in its history.

Ireland boasts the fastest growing economy in Europe. I understand that unemployment in places remains too high, but that, I hope, will change, as Ireland becomes recognized for __, __ and __.

And Irish agricultural products are still the envy of world: Irish beef and Irish Salmon, Irish butter and Irish cream. With such a rich bounty, it is no surprise that the Irish are now fortunate to consume the most calories per capita of any country in the world.

Lord Mayor, I was hoping to get the famous Irish breakfast, but I guess I'll settle for this scroll.

Today, the Irish are known to be the most charitable and generous people in the world, not just to needy neighbors in the local parish but just as surely to strangers around the globe.

When I was young and my region of the United States was living through a long struggle for black Americans to be treated fairly as equal citizens, many of those who came to help secure their civil rights were priests and sisters from Ireland.

The sons and daughters of Ireland continue to serve the world in missions of goodwill, from relieving hunger and poverty in Africa, to peacekeeping efforts, in Lebanon, __, and __.

It is a remarkable testament to the Irish sense of fairness and justice that whenever the United Nations dispatches peacekeepers to stabilize a troubled region, the Irish are always the first to hit the ground.

[recognize a noteworthy recent sacrifice]

The Taoiseach, John Bruton, like his predecessor Albert Reynolds before him, is a peacemaker. They and Prime Minister John Major deserve the world's applause for their efforts to help the people in Northern Ireland achieve a permanent peace.

The partnership the two Prime Ministers have forged on this

issue speaks a great deal about the balance and equality in relations between their two countries.

Next year, Ireland will assume the presidency of the European Union, another moment when Ireland's influence will be felt far beyond its shores.

In the medieval ages, when other lands were shrouded by darkness, Ireland's saints and scholars illuminated the Western world. And let us not forget that the twentieth century's national movements for independence and democracy began only a few steps from here in 1916.

I can imagine how life in Dublin has changed a bit since then. Americans used to learn about Dublin and Ireland from the stories of James Joyce and Sean O'Casey. Today, we learn through the stories of Roddy Doyle, the films of Jim Sheridan, the words of Paula Meehan and Nuala Ni Dhmonaill (pr. GO-null), the voices of "U2" and "The Cranberries."

For centuries, Ireland's greatest export was its people. Today, it is Irish culture. Irish music and Irish wit. You can hear it in Boston, and in New York, and all the way to Australia.

Generations ago, people saw Ireland as a colonized country, invaded by the Norse and Normans and others who came later. Today, I see a confident Ireland, whose diaspora has colonized the world as greatly as any other, an Ireland whose influence spreads far beyond its size.

A generation ago, another visitor to this city said that he sincerely believed "that your future is as promising as your past is proud, and that your destiny lies not as a peaceful island in a sea of troubles, but as a maker and shaper of world peace."

The peace in the world today, whether in Bosnia or in Belfast, is fragile. It requires the delicate touch of the craftsman who cuts crystal and the gentle care of the farmer who tends his fields and flock.

[finish with Ireland's role in Clinton agenda for peace]

Americans, along with Europeans and even visitors from Asia are drawn to Ireland to marvel at what is here:

Some of the most unspoiled landscapes in the world, from the Dingle Peninsula in County Kerry to Inishowen in Donegal.

Some of the friendliest of people, in some of the most pleasant of communities that remain close and retain their identity, even against the homogenizing barrage of destructive influences.

During times of rapid change come basic human needs for constancy and continuity, for signals of familiarity,

things like the constant Irish rain. [If raining.]

That is what Americans look for when they come here to Ireland -- not a nation frozen in time, but a land of traditions as well as innovations.

That is what Americans discover when they visit Dublin. When they spend time in Temple Bar. In Cork and Galway and all the villages in between. The beauty of Ireland is that while it remains ancient it is forever young.

Peace of the world is young peace.

as beautiful and yet as fragile as Irish crystal.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

7898

October 30, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KENNETH C. BRILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

MR. RICK YANNUZZI
Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

*Keep in
briefing file*

SUBJECT: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to the
UK and Ireland, November 27-December 2

The Department of State is requested to provide appropriate briefing materials for the President's upcoming trip to the UK and Ireland (materials for the U.S.-EU Summit in Madrid to be requested separately). This material should include but is not limited to the following:

Briefing Papers w/talking points (Please use attached format. Where speech is to be given, please so note under "Core Points.")

- First meeting with Prime Minister Major
- Lunch with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II
- Second meeting with Prime Minister Major
- Address to Parliament
- Tour/meeting with Prince Charles
- Meeting with Labour leader Tony Blair
- Dinner hosted by Prime Minister Major
- Dedication of O'Neill Chair/reception
- IFI event
- East Belfast event
- Belfast reception for political leaders
- Tree lighting ceremony
- Meeting with Irish President Robinson
- Meeting with Prime Minister John Bruton
- Meeting with Bertie Ahern
- State dinner hosted by Prime Minister Bruton
- Informal discussion with Dick Spring during golf
- Meeting with business leaders/investment event

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Andrew Sens
Reason: 1.5(b)
Declassify On:

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E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By W1 NARA, Date 1/5/16

201-0355-F

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Background Papers (one page long, unless a very complex topic, single spaced in full sentence format on plain bond paper)

United Kingdom

- Political overview
- Economic overview
- Bosnia - status of negotiating track
- Bosnia - status of IFOR planning
- Bosnia - status of reconstruction (planning)
- NI - HMG positions on peace process, decommissioning
- NI - HMG/Unionist relations
- NI - Paramilitary prisoners
- NATO enlargement/European Security Architecture
- Relations with Russia/CFE flanks
- U.S.-EU relations/transatlantic initiative
- Civair
- Other U.S.-UK bilateral issues
- Hong Kong/China
- Gulf - Iran/Iraq
- Middle East Peace Process (including Middle East Development Bank)
- Libya/PA 103
- South Africa
- Nigeria
- UN issues
- Turkey
- Cyprus
- Nonproliferation

Northern Ireland

- Political overview
- Economic overview
- Status of peace process
- Decommissioning panel/commission
- Security overview/status of cease-fire
- Private investment in Northern Ireland
- International Fund for Ireland
- Status of Washington Conference initiatives
- Political overview
- Grass-roots intercommunal ties
- Brief history since 1968

Ireland

- Political overview
- Economic overview
- NI - Irish positions on peace process, decommissioning
- NI - Irish cross-border trade and investment
- U.S. visa waiver program and IV programs
- IRA prisoner releases
- U.S. - Ireland trade and investment
- Ireland and the EU
- Other bilateral issues
- Foreign Minister Spring and Cyprus

Building Blocks for Public Statements/Speeches

November 28:

- Remarks: Wreath laying at Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
- Remarks: Reception with Embassy London staff
- Toast during lunch with the Queen
- Toast during U.S.-hosted dinner

November 29:

- Remarks: Tour of Windsor Castle/meeting with Prince Charles
- Remarks: Walking tour of downtown Windsor
- Toast/remarks during Major-hosted dinner

November 30:

- Remarks: Dedication of O'Neill chair
- Remarks at Guildhall, Derry City Hall
- Remarks during Derry Walk or City Walls/Gate photo op
- Speech at Mackie Plant/other IFI location
- Remarks: Peace line or neighborhood
- Remarks: Reception for political leaders
- Remarks: Tree lighting ceremony

December 1:

- Remarks: Arrival in Dublin
- Remarks: Tree planting ceremony
- Speech: Rally at Trinity/Bank of Ireland
- Remarks: Irish parliament/gift exchange
- Contingency remarks with Embassy Dublin staff
- Toast/remarks during GOI-hosted dinner

December 2:

- Remarks: Business/Investment event
- Toast/remarks during U.S.-hosted dinner
- Remarks: Departure from Shannon airport

Press Material (double-spaced on plain bond paper; Q's and A's should be single-spaced with double space in between each one)

- Press statement after 11/28 meeting with PM Major
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement after lunch with the Queen

- Press statement after 11/29 meeting with PM Major
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement before/after meeting with Tony Blair
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement after O'Neill Chair dedication/reception

- Press statement after community events (?)
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement after bicomunal reception/pull asides with political leaders
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement after meeting with President Robinson
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement after meeting with PM Bruton
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement after meeting with Bertie Ahern
- Press Qs and As

- Press statement after business/investment event

- Press statement after Dromoland dinner

- Departure statement

Scenesetters

- 10 Downing Street
- Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
- Westminster Abbey
- Buckingham Palace
- Winfield House
- Location for U.S.-hosted dinner (if different than Winfield House)
- Guild Hall (House of Lords)
- Custom/traditions: Address to Parliament
- Windsor Castle
- Derry City Hall
- City of Derry - Walls, Gate
- Mackie Plant/IFI site
- Peace line/walk through in neighborhoods
- East Belfast event location
- 11/30 reception location
- Belfast City Hall/site of tree lighting ceremony
- President Robinson's residence
- Location of tree planting ceremony (if different)
- Trinity College
- Bank of Ireland
- Site of President/Bruton meeting
- Irish Parliament
- Ambassador Smith's residence
- Dublin castle
- Ballybunion golf course
- Alternative venues if no gold
- Site of business/investment event
- Dromoland Castle

Materials for Mrs. Clinton


Mrs. Clinton will need papers on health care, women and children for each country to be visited. At this time Mrs. Clinton's pre-advance team is still on their sight survey and the NSC is unable to be more specific regarding her requirements. We will provided more information as soon as we can.

Biographies

Biographies of each foreign official the President will officially meet with should be provided. (Also include "baseball cards.")

Mrs. Clinton will need biographies for the spouses of foreign officials.

While the State Department bears primary responsibility for the preparation of these briefing materials, all other appropriate agencies should be closely involved in the preparation. All briefing materials are to be submitted by OOB November 15 and should include an IBM compatible diskette preferably in Word for Windows versions 2.0 or 6.0 as well as a hard copy.


Andrew D. Sens
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Sample format

MEDIA PLAN: POTUS VISIT TO UK/IRELAND/NORTHERN IRELAND

item: **POTUS interview with high profile British, Irish, and Northern Irish print and broadcast media in advance of trip**

principal: **POTUS**

details: 45 minute roundtable with print media. 3 ten minute one-on-one television interviews. All on-the-record. White House (Room TBD)

venue: **coverage by widest reaching UK/Irish/No.Irish media**

date: Friday, Nov 24 (if not sooner). Must be done before departure for Europe and preferably with time enough for print stories to run Sunday before POTUS arrival.

message:

On UK: U.S. committed to special relationship with UK. Look forward to visiting with old friend PM Major. Respect troop commitment made by UK in former Yugoslavia, look forward to working with UK (our loyal NATO partner) to monitor a workable peace agreement.

On Ireland: Irish should be proud of the accomplishments and prominence of Irish-American community -- One of the boldest and most dynamic ethnic communities in the US. Committed to repairing ethnic tensions in the region. Devoting more resources and attention to the region than any past President. Very hopeful for social and economic progress. Eager to visit ancestral homeland and legendary golf links.

purpose: POTUS sets the scene and expectations for trip which is politically sensitive both domestically and abroad.

audience: British, Irish, and No. Irish populace

contact: Jill Schuker, NSC Communications

status: proposal approved by Anthony Lake, Michael McCurry. Submitted to Scheduling 10/14

item: **roundtable with columnists/pundits**

principal: **Anthony Lake**
details: intimate backgrounder in Mr. Lake's office
venue: **national columns and television roundtables**
(Russert, McGrory, Oliphant, McCarthy, others)
date: Friday, Nov 24

message: We have high hopes for this trip on a lot of levels. We always welcome the opportunity to further solidify our relations with our British friends and to exchange views on the always improving situation in the former Yugoslavia. On Ireland, diplomatically speaking, the parties are primed for making real progress. POTUS' presence will be an important motivator -- the players respect him *that* much. Diplomacy aside, this should be a very nice opportunity for POTUS to connect with the Irish people. Time has been set aside especially to allow POTUS to explore a bit and take-in the culture and flavor of the country. He's been looking forward to this trip for quite a while.

purpose: setting the stage for important trip, influence weekend talkers
audience: domestic audience of weekend talkshows.
contact: Jill Schuker, NSC Communications
status: proposed 10/19

item: **op/ed: This Administration Cares Deeply About Future of the Region**

principal: **VPOTUS**
details: Vice President quite experienced in the region
venue: **Chicago Tribune**
date: Sunday, Nov 26

message: POTUS and VPOTUS have taken a special interest in a part of the world which is dear to so many Chicagoans. Administration's commitment has had a real impact. And we will stay engaged. VPOTUS has met with all of the key players and has trusting relationships all around.

purpose: highlight just how unusually devoted administration is to the region.
audience: Chicago's large ethnic-Irish community
contact: Jonathan Spalter, OVP Communications
status: proposed 10/16

item: **op/ed: Hope in Northern Ireland, and President Clinton's Leadership**

principal: **U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy**
details: prominent Irish-American and authority on region's troubles
venue: **New York Times**
date: Sunday, Nov 26

message: American engagement and President Clinton's leadership has helped bring the parties to this promising point. For the first time in a generation there is hope for peace and economic development. In many years of public service never seen a President (since his brother) more interested in the region and helpful to its growth.

purpose: reminds domestic audience of POTUS' unusual interest in the region.
audience: domestic audience, ethnic Irish in greater New York
contact:
status: proposed 10/16

item: **op/ed: Ireland Eagerly Awaits Arrival of American President**

principal: **Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith**
details: Favorite Daughter of Massachusetts writes home
venue: **Boston Herald**
date: Sunday, Nov 26

message: Dispatch from Ireland. The enthusiasm for Clinton's pending arrival is infectious -- and with good reason. Irish well aware of Presidents efforts on behalf of regional economic growth and social improvement. Irish consider President's visit a homecoming of sorts and compare him favorably with another young Democratic president.

purpose: reminder to New England that President Clinton appointed popular member of Kennedy family Ambassador to Ireland.
audience: New England, ethnic Irish community
contact:
status: proposed 10/16

item: **op/ed: Peace and Growth in Ireland Through Trade and Investment**

principal: **Special Advisor George Mitchell**
details: respected New England Senator reports on progress of Clinton initiative
venue: **Boston Globe**
date: Sunday, Nov 26

message: President convened Conference on Trade and Investment with the hope that a strong, revived economy would help promote the peace process -- and it has. An economy of great potential stands by ready to grow, and violence is becoming a more distant memory by the day. President Clinton's broad-based approach of reaching out to all of the parties has built a trust in the region not seen for an American President in years. Opportunities for U.S. exporters are on the rise.

purpose: remind New England of the serious, detailed, growth-oriented plan President Clinton put forward as a strategy for peace in the region.
audience: Greater Boston
contact: Martha Pope
status: proposed 10/16

item: **op/ed: Clinton's Leadership Improving Lives in Ireland**

principal: **Amb. Raymond Flynn**
details: next door neighbor and high profile Irish Catholic well known in R.I.
venue: **Providence Journal**
date: Sunday, Nov 26

message: POTUS devoted to region like no other. Irish Americans generally and any American in favor of peace and reconciliation has to be proud of the impact the U.S. has had on the region.

purpose: pat on the back for engaging on a tough issue and producing results
audience: Irish-American community of Rhode Island
contact:
status: proposed 10/16

item: **exclusive to NYC tabloid columnist on efforts to locate POTUS' ancestral home**

principal: **Nancy Soderberg**

details: nice color piece. details from column get picked up by newspaper "personality/celebrity" sections and by radio talk show hosts nationwide.

venue: **New York Post / New York Daily News / Breslin**

date: Thursday, Nov 29, on eve of POTUS arrival in Ireland

message: President Clinton considers Ireland his ancestral home and was determined to identify his clan and family seat. (Details of Cassidy clan as they are known.) He feels a special bond in his heart with the country and the people. His sketchy family history made a positive ID impossible, and was a disappointment to the President. In the meanwhile, half of Ireland has tried to claim him as theirs, which has been very heartening to POTUS.

purpose: remind Irish Americans that he shares their history/ethnicity. remind all Americans that just like them POTUS seeks his family roots, which are incomplete and uncertain -- as is true for so many Americans.

audience: Irish Americans, all Americans interested in heritage and Presidential ethnicity.

contact:

status: proposed 10/16

item: **interview with U.S. business press on economic initiatives and trade opportunities in the region**

principals: **Sec. Brown**

details: American business and industry stand to gain economically from peace

venue: **Business Week**

date: Nov. 20-23 (in time for Nov 27 newsstands)

venue: **CNBC**

date: Nov. 28-30

message: Economic growth in the region is good for U.S. industry. Stronger markets and higher employment mean wealthier consumers eager for U.S. exports. Economic growth fosters peace and reconciliation.

purpose: remind business minded Americans that POTUS always focused on expanding markets as a means to improving social conditions.

audience: domestic business community

contact: Jim Dessler, Commerce PA

status: proposed 10/16

item: **interview with U.S. business press on economic initiatives and trade opportunities in the region**

principal: **Sec. Rubin**

details: Ireland can be a growth market for U.S. exports. Social ties are already strong. It is a natural market.

venue: **Fortune**

date: in time for November newsstand release

venue: **CNN Moneyline**

Nov. 28-30

message: For a lot of reasons, Ireland is a natural market for U.S. exports, Cultural ties, common language, similar values and ideals. Peace and reconciliation means stronger markets. Stronger markets means more U.S. exports. Peace process is good for them and good for U.S.

purpose: to encourage business community to support peace process

audience: business community in U.S.

contact: Calvin Mitchell Treasury, PA

status:

item: **interview with U.S. business press on economic initiatives and trade opportunities in the region**

principal: **Amb. Kantor**

details: trade in Ireland primed to expand

venue: **Wall Street Journal, Al Hunt**

date: Nov 30

venue: **McLaughlin One-On-One**

date: for Sund, Dec. 3 broadcast

message: trade with Ireland not often focused on in media, but is key focus of U.S. trade policy. Peace only heightens our interest and opportunity for U.S. exporters.

purpose: encourage U.S. industry to consider prospects for trade in region

audience: U.S. exporters

contact: Anne Luzzatto, USTR

status: proposed 10/16

CC Jackson

7/11

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Nancy Soderberg
Billy Webster
FROM: Carter Wilkie
DATE: July 6, 1995
SUBJECT: The President's trip to Ireland

To Billy -
I do think Derry is worth
a stop if we can. Can
someone poll POTUS (Reagan +
Kennedy schedules)?

Nancy

Just a few ideas to consider when you begin to schedule the upcoming trip.

We were in Ireland when Prince Charles made his historic visit to Dublin, the first visit to Ireland by a member of the British royal family since Irish independence. The trip was the lead news story in Ireland, but it failed to generate much enthusiasm throughout the country, or even in the city of Dublin. Why? The visit was unremittingly official -- little more than an obligatory stop in the Capital before an uninspiring audience of political leaders.

The memorable trips to Ireland taken by Presidents Kennedy and Reagan demand the most ground breaking trip possible.

Two suggestions:

2) Derry. Our stay here last month leads me to believe that President Clinton would be treated to a hero's welcome. Derry is eager for international recognition of all that it has to offer, and Derry deserves it. This is arguably the most interesting city -- historically, socially, and architecturally -- in all of Ireland. A visit here would be a great boost to the morale of Derry and Catholics all over Northern Ireland, not to mention an important tip of the hat to John Hume. Derry would also make a great visual backdrop for a compelling message: William Penn, who came to America from Kinsale, at the southern coast of Ireland, mapped out Philadelphia based on the street layout in Derry. More importantly, Penn brought to America the ideas of religious tolerance and the melting pot. Penn's Quaker colony was the entry point for the majority of colonial immigrants from Ireland (mainly Protestants from the northern counties) in addition to settlers from Britain and Germany. This is a great way to get into a plea for peace and tolerance.

1) Ballycassidy, County Fermanagh. This small, rural town or village is the ancient ancestral home of President Clinton's mother's family. Such a homecoming would offer great symbolic value, not only to Irish Americans but also to people across rural Ireland and to Protestants in the North, who remain proud of all the American presidents and generals who sprang from their culture. Going off the beaten track to a place such as this would generate the enthusiasm of a 1992 campaign bus trip. Folks would come from county after county just to see the President on their home turf. Stopping in rural Ireland, near the west coast, would also be the most appropriate way to observe the 150th anniversary of the Great Famine that drove so many sons and daughters of Ireland to America's shores.

not clear we're checking

100
 put in
 Book

3

NES-

Points for Fred to
 keep in mind on
 pre-advance. For
 your additions, if any.

MAP

POINTS TO KEEP IN MIND FOR THE TRIP

--It is important for the President to make clear to the unionists that the U.S. recognizes the Protestant tradition as well as the Catholic one. The more they recognize that we are balanced, the less suspicious they will be of our role and the better the chance for an eventual political settlement.

--Given the way the schedule looks now, the best way to achieve this might be to stay overnight in Belfast --a powerful symbol of the peace the President has helped to bring about. The British might well be willing to put some people up in barracks or official quarters... Then the President could go to Andrew Jackson's homestead at Carrickfergus on Fri. morning, possibly on the way to Roslea, the Cassidy homestead. FYI: There is reportedly a plaque at Carrickfergus commemorating the formation of the Ranger battalion there in 1941.

--Another way to recognize the unionist tradition would be to lay a wreath at a WWII site, possibly near Derry. Suggest you ask Kathy Stephens for ideas if that looks possible. It is true that a WWII event will not resonate particularly with the Catholics because Ireland was neutral in WWII, but that is NOT a reason the POTUS should not do one, as we make no apologies for the fact that we fought side by side with the Brits against the Germans.

--A third way might be to visit a Protestant church for some event.

--I suggest you also encourage a possible visit by the First Lady to the Ulster American Folk Park in Omagh, possibly Thurs afternoon.

--What we are looking at for Thurs afternoon is two or more short but substantive meetings with unionist and nationalist political leaders, followed or preceded by a reception to which they all would be invited. The question of who would be invited to the meetings is a political call that will have to be made by NES and TL here. Need to preserve our options by finding a possible site, like City Hall, that would have a separate room for the meetings and space enough for the reception. None of the members of the pre-advance should communicate their preferences or assumptions about who would be invited to meetings with the President to anyone in Northern Ireland.

--NES and I are both nervous about the firmness of the Cassidy connection. There is no proof that the President's mother's forebears really came from Roslea. I have several people looking

into this to see if they can find better evidence, to avoid embarrassing press stories about a false Irish connection.

--One of articles about Roslea quoted one of the residents as saying she is not that excited about the President's visit because he is not even a Catholic and his mother was married several times. Should make sure the story from Roslea is not about how the Cassidys fell away from the Catholic Church.

--Every event should be balanced to include Protestants and Catholics (more than just token representation). Suggest you find out who would probably do the guest list for each event -- for instance, who would decide which students to invite to a roundtable in Derry. Kathy S will have to play a large role in vetting such lists.

--Dinner in Derry should be hosted by the city, rather than by an individual or private group.

RE: ACTION ITEMS FROM UK/IRELAND TRIP

- 1) Adams - Needs to accept language in Joint Communiqué with parliamentary/illegal/relevant arms/parties. Work out better channel of communication with Ancram.
- 2) Commission - Mitchell, Canadian, Fin/Scandinavia, plus staff. Try and have in place by time Joint Communiqué is announced.
- 3) Who pays for Mitchell/staff. Get UK/Ireland to reimburse?
- 4) Look at some language on Ireland in London speech. Donilon feels important to encourage Brits to take the issue seriously.
- 5) Finalize plans for Churchill ships. Crowe needs to let families know.
- 6) Set POTUS/Trimble drop by.
- 7) Set Dail remarks, themes.
- 8) Need to respond to Sean Donilon/Michael Colgan suggestion of producing a show during POTUS visit to Trinity College.
- 9) Get details on prison issue. Press for resolution before November trip.
- 10) Transfer of Prisoners convention. US party? US prisoners will be raised. Need firm position. Alan K. should update. Humanitarian flexibility? State vs. federal issue?
- 11) Patrick Kelly - cancer IRA prisoner. Irish prisoners in Britain total 27 question of respect for sentence terms.
- 12) Take note of Irish taking EU presidency fall 96/ unemployment/ecstasy drugs/famine.
- 13) Fact sheet on POTUS/US involvement in peace process.
- 14) Adams said conditions for cease-fire gone. He and McGinniss only thing holding together, especially his assurance to IRA that US believed Brits looking for a way out of Washington 3.
- 15) Social Welfare Minister request for POTUS to stop by community development project re: employment. Perhaps HRC.
- 16) Get Adams' public statement on non-violence/no threat.

- 17) Security is NI should be discrete.
- 18) Who does POTUS want to play golf with him. Tom Watson?
Tom's favorite course is Ballybunion
- 19) Kenny McClinton request for visa waiver. Convicted in 1979 for two 1977 murders. Since renounced violence, active Christian actively opposes sectarian terrorism. Early release in 1991.
- 20) In meeting, Ancram agreed commission could include a political dimension and process of decommission.
- 21) Jean does not accept prohibition on substantive meetings in NI. Said to have POTUS speak to her if there's a problem. Told me none of my business. Push? Let go?
- 22) Kathy Stephens will need 3-5 additional staff people ASAP to be able to handle the President's trip adequately, recommend do ASAP. Perhaps Canada?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS
FST
ADP

October 10, 1995

add
Carrigy
Hamp
C. White

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE MCCURRY
DON BAER
EVELYN LIEBERMAN

FROM: JOSHUA KING

SUBJECT: England/Ireland/Spain Site Survey Report

Introduction

The Site Survey to England, Northern Ireland, Ireland and Spain was excellent and the President's upcoming trip may well be his most successful visit overseas.

Presidential trips overseas divide into three categories. APECs and G-7s are meeting-centered trips and are largely a fait accompli. D-Day and V-E Day are commemoration-centered trips are emotionally charged but otherwise undramatic. The Mideast and, in this case, Britain and Ireland, are diplomacy-centered trips that involve an element of risk-taking but bring with them worldwide attention and international praise.

This trip may not share the magnitude of Nixon going to China, Reagan meeting Gorbachev in Geneva, or even the Mideast Signing in Aquaba, but to 30 million Irish-Americans whose ancestors emigrated from the counties that President Clinton will visit, the images and symbolism that this trip will generate will live for a long time to come.

Lucie Naphin will produce the minute-by-minute schedule for the President and Anne Edwards will do the same for the White House Press Corps. In this memo, then, I wish only to lay out the trip, as it stands now, in a narrative form that addresses the key intersections of President and Press. As you will see, some of the obligatory and optional events on the President's schedule play to our advantage; others do not. The schedule will surely change many times before we depart, but I wanted to provide you with a snapshot of where it stands now, where our opportunities lie, and where it may need to be fixed. As the staff meetings and planning sessions begin, use this brief as your starting point.

A note about the press

JK

Often, a trip is locked in stone before we can introduce certain elements that can enhance favorable coverage. Throughout this memo, I will mention our ideas which could advance our objective of favorable coverage.

Remember the time of year in which this trip will occur. It will have been just a few days following the return from a grueling trip to Japan that has many potential pitfalls of its own -- the situation of U.S. Forces in Japan to name just one. The staff and press corps will have scrambled to make it home for Thanksgiving and will return just in time to make the press plane departure the following Monday.

Ireland will likely be the last "good news" story before returning to the final legislative battles before Christmas. Many year-end assessments of President Clinton's standing on the world stage, and some early campaign predictions, will be formulated here. It will be time to turn on the charm.

Now, to the Trip

On Monday evening, November 27, Air Force One departs for London Heathrow. There was some talk about having the President depart early in the day, allowing for a Monday evening arrival. This would afford the President a good night's sleep before the beginning of a whirlwind schedule the next day. Most members of the team felt that taking this White House office day away from him would be impossible. Once you see how this trip evolves, you might still consider this option.

Tuesday, November 28.

Assuming that the President flies overnight, he will land in London at 7:00 am (2:00 am Eastern). There will be no fanfare and no remarks before he boards Marine One for the short hop to the back lawn of Winfield House (the residence of U.S. Ambassador Crowe). This will be very much like a South Lawn arrival, again with no remarks. The President will have about one hour to shower and freshen up before a motorcade ride to #10 Downing Street.

Prime Minister Major will host an informal breakfast meeting at #10 to get things going at 8:30 am. If Mrs. Clinton is on the trip, the British would expect her to attend. The substance level will be low, as this meeting is seen mostly as an opportunity for the two leaders to be pictured together before Prime Minister Major departs to attend the climactic Parliamentary meetings on the British Budget. Expect a pool spray of this meeting with little news.

At 9:45 am, Major and Clinton may walk the three blocks to Westminster Abbey to lay a wreath at the crypt of the Unknown Soldier, pausing briefly on their way over to admire the famous statue of Winston Churchill on the square outside

Westminster. This walk is symbolically significant because, since the IRA cease-fire, the Prime Minister has only recently been permitted by British security to again walk between #10 and Westminster. We were told that he always preferred walking, and is happy to have the opportunity to resume the tradition. This also should be a good opportunity for photographers to see the two leaders outside in the center of London in the shadow of Big Ben.

Inside Westminster, at about 9:45 am (4:45 am Eastern), the wreath laying is poignant but unremarkable. No remarks. Major will then leave the President and proceed to Parliament, allowing Clinton to continue a tour of the Abbey. Our print pool reporter should be allowed to stay with him for the tour.

At 10:15 am, the President departs Westminster via motorcade for about two hours of downtime at Winfield House.

Luncheon with Her Majesty is scheduled for 1:00 pm at Buckingham Palace. Expect the usual pomp and circumstance as Clinton inspects the dashing-clad Honor Guard outside the Palace before lunch. No remarks, but some excellent video and stills. Once inside, the President and the Royal Family will pose for photos before proceeding to the private meal. Not a lot of room for spontaneity here. It is uncertain whether this will include the often-seen picture on the Buckingham Palace balcony.

By 3:00 pm, the President is free for the afternoon until an American-hosted dinner at 8:00 pm. During this window, he may embark for an OTR around London and a brief reception and remarks (I recommend closed press) to the American Embassy community at the Chancery. This window also represents your first opportunity to schedule interviews with our press corps.

By 3:00 pm
OTR

At 8:00 pm, the President will host a dinner, the site for which is yet to be determined. The fallback option is Winfield House, but some members of the team speculated that we might want to find a splashier venue. Wherever it occurs, expect pool coverage for a receiving line and the President's toast.

The evening should end around 10:00 pm. OTRs should be discouraged.

Wednesday, November 29.

Winfield House is nestled in Regent's Park, one of London's loveliest areas and a perfect place to jog. It is also, by the way, a practice area of some of the American Football teams in the U.K., a popular U.S. export. If he is up to it, perhaps the President could jog with members of the team, thereby giving a lift to the fledgling sport.

The President's official day begins back at #10 for substantive talks with Prime Minister Major. The talks are scheduled for 90 minutes between 8:30 am-10:00 am. After a series of arrival photo opportunities, expect a pool spray with the usual question-and-answers when the leaders get down to business. The President should wave them off, saying that there will be a press availability outside #10 in the classic set-up (with the Bobby and the black #10 door) behind the leaders at 10:30 am. There will be a half hour debrief with staff before the availability. The President will need to make an opening statement following Prime Minister Major.

When Speech?
After the press availability, we are trying to arrange for a 45-minute speech prep session at #10 between 11:30 am and 12:15 pm.

Prime Minister Major will accompany the President for the drive (or walk) to Westminster for the President's speech to a joint session of Parliament at 12:30 pm (7:30 am Eastern, in time for LIVE coverage by the morning shows?).

and down
We had two options for the speech venue: the cavernous, dark Westminster Hall (capacity 2,000) or the intimate Royal Gallery, festooned with portraits of Kings and Queens past (capacity 700). We opted for the Gallery, which will look fabulous on television, much like the President's speech to young people in the Grand Place in Brussels in January, 1994. The U.S. side should have about 100 seats to allocate, the others taken up by Parliament and other British dignitaries. If the President wishes to use a tele-promp-ter, it would be easy to do.

Among the items the President is expected to highlight is our intention to christen our newest Aegis Cruiser the U.S.S. *Winston Churchill*, a move which should resonate very well with the audience. Recall that on August 9, 1941, President Roosevelt, on board the U.S.S. *Augusta*, rendezvoused for the first time with Prime Minister Churchill, on board the H.M.S. *Prince of Wales*, to sign the Atlantic Charter which signaled our two country's joint resolve to end Nazi tyranny. As Doris Kearnes Goodwin writes in No Ordinary Time, "for one brief moment, human togetherness gained ascendancy. Over the vast ship, so bright and gay with its glittering colors, there was a unity of faith of two people (Page 267. For more color on this summit, see pages 262-266)."

If we are too concerned that there are not enough "real people" in the Royal Gallery, there may be a silver lining in darkened Westminster Hall, where the last head of state to speak was Charles De Gaulle. It could be filled with a public crowd who could watch the speech on a Jumbotron. Presumably, the President would greet them following the speech with a "happy to be here" hello and a walk along the ropeline.

Finally, the President would have the option of touring the empty House Chamber, which might make an interesting photo. A pool reporter should accompany.

The President will leave Westminster by 1:45 pm for a short motorcade back to Winfield House.

With time enough to change into a Barbour Jacket and Wellies, Marine One would take off for Windsor at 2:30 pm. If he elects to rearrange his schedule, Prince Charles would be there to greet the President and guide him through the restorations that have been taking place since the recent fire destroyed parts of the home and burial place of English Kings and Queens for the past 900 years. Expect thorough pool coverage of the walkabout, which would probably include not only the castle first built by William the Conqueror after the Battle of Hastings in 1066, but the quaint surrounding hamlet as well. A joyous outing! Again, we should include a print reporter for the tour.

One note: we also looked at the meadows of Runnymede, not far from Windsor, where the King John Lackland signed the Magna Carta and where Democracy is considered to have been born. The American Bar Association put a monument there in the Seventies. There is also a monument to John F. Kennedy in an adjoining meadow. It's a peaceful and profound place, but I have trouble imagining what would justify a detour to such a remote outpost on a day as packed as this.

At 6:00 pm, back at Winfield House, the President will meet briefly with Labour Leader Tony Blair, whose stands poised to finally win elections next Spring, but don't count the Tories out yet. By way of precedent, when President Clinton met with the Labour Leader in 1994 at his guest house near Chequers, there was no pool spray. A photo op of the President greeting Blair at the door of Winfield House would suffice.

The President leaves for dinner at #10 at 6:30 pm (1:30 pm Eastern).

Through unofficial channels, we learned that Major would like to allow more-than-usual coverage for this event. A pool camera would see the greeting at the door, followed by a walk upstairs and a receiving line, followed by toasts before dinner begins. It would look good.

Press Option to think about: Upstairs at #10, which we had the privilege of touring and which is the site of the dinner, is a warm and engaging place, not unlike the residence of the White House. As a first Olive Branch to the pool, consider having Clinton and Major excuse themselves briefly from cocktails to sit down by the fireplace to answer a few questions in an atmosphere far away from the normal "Press

Availability". Perhaps not-for-camera, it would give the President a chance to reflect, in plenty of time for East Coast deadlines, on his first day on this mission for peace.

After the early dinner, expect that Major will want to bring the President out "somewhere in London". Our sense was that he wants to return the favor of their trip to Pittsburgh last year with a OTR that would be reminiscent of Clinton's trip to the Redutta Jazz Club with President Havel in Prague. To temper that, we might suggest that they first stop for an evening tour (and perhaps a Sherry nightcap) in the Cabinet War Rooms, next door to #10, where Churchill ran his government in the hardened shelter during World War II. It would resonate well.

The President will probably return to Winfield House by 11:00 pm.

Thursday, November 30.

Today, the President of the United States will visit Belfast, Northern Ireland. By walking the Peace Line between Falls Road and Shankhill Road, a veritable no-man's land where, only a year before, Protestants and Catholics were slaughtering each other but where now there has been a year of tense peace, the President will make history. The tentative cease-fire was due largely to efforts of the American administration, and President Clinton lands in Ulster perceived as a peacemaker.

But by the time this day is over, he will be a tired peacemaker.

Marine One will depart Winfield House for Heathrow Airport at 7:30 am. No remarks on departure, unless we want to make a statement in anticipation of the day's events. Something to think about.

The 747 will then fly to Belfast, a 60 minute flight. In dramatic terms, it will be similar to the President's flight into Damascus, heightened because there will be tangible results. This would be a good opportunity for the President to venture back to speak with the pool to preview his day or sit down with one of the network anchors who will be accompanying the trip. He also needs time to be briefed.

With no fanfare upon arrival, the President boards his limo for the slow drive --along the mostly deserted Peace Line that straddles the Catholic and Protestant enclaves-- to the Mackies Metal Plant. The juxtaposition of the black, Presidential Cadillac, snaking through now silent, barbed-wire walls, is a powerful image.

To make sure that network television does not miss a foot of it, I would recommend, for this segment only, that a pickup-

type truck precede the limo to film it moving forward through the Peace Line. In the event that the President does emerge from the limo to greet residents along the Peace Line -which should be anticipated- the network crew, with a high vantage point, will not have to run the half mile or so that it would take to reach the Presidential party. Admittedly, this is an unconventional approach, but it would not set a precedent, is only for this leg, and is worth the effort for this story.

Meanwhile, back in Downtown Belfast, the American Christmas "Peace" Tree, donated by the United States, stands bare in front of the ornate City Hall in the town square. From 8:00 am on, Catholic and Protestant young people of Belfast are invited to trim the tree, one at a time, with their handmade ornaments for peace. Later on, at the end of the day, President Clinton, along with some of the young people who have contributed to the tree's decoration, will flick the switch that turns on the tree's lights. It is a tradition reborn that had died during the thirty years of conflict.

Back to President Clinton, where it is 9:30 am and he has just arrived at the Mackies Plant. Mackies, an international conglomerate with a long presence in Belfast, is an industrial and political success story. The manufacturer of machinery and systems for the fibre processing and waste treatment industries, the plant was brought back from the brink and now employs about 400 people on about a 70% Protestant/30% Catholic split (reflecting the overall population mix). The original Mackie business was founded in Belfast by James Mackie to service the Irish linen industry in the 1840s. In a nutshell, today's incarnation of the company makes some of the world's best material looms and waste treatment plants. There is no seeming synergy between the two products, but they seem to produce both products well.

The CEO, Patrick Dougan, is Catholic and exudes a "leave your politics at the door" attitude. His workers know they have a good job, he says, and they know by example that if any of their Republican or Unionist tendencies are manifested on the shop floor, they'll be "out". Predictably, Dougan doesn't have any problems with his employees.

? The President tours the plant, stopping occasionally to talk to workers and watch Protestant and Catholic workers performing their jobs side-by-side.

At about 10 am, the President concludes his tour and arrives in a vacant manufacturing building which, for the day, has been turned into a Presidential speech site. Here, President Clinton will deliver his main remarks of the day to an audience of approximately 1,000, comprised of employees and other members of the community from both sides of the Peace Line.

The message, it would seem, is not unlike his theme at U.S. facilities, where with religious or racial strife behind them, worker retraining and economic opportunity gives people a chance at a new start. To move Belfast past its recent "troubles"...to bring down its soaring unemployment rate...it needs more companies like Mackies, more skilled workers, and continued investment and support from countries like the United States. The logical conclusion is that soon Northern Ireland will recognize its potential and realize that it can not afford to reopen to its violent religious and political divisions.

On the road back to Belfast Airport, beginning at 10:40 am, it is likely that the President would return to the Peace Line and emerge from the limousine to greet residents of both the Falls Road and Shankhill Road sections of West Belfast.

We'll return to Belfast later, but now, at noon, it's Wheels-Up for Derry/Londonderry (the Republicans call it Derry and the Unionists call it Londonderry -- a serious marketing dilemma, says the city's mayor, for its travel and tourism promoters). The President now flies in a C-9 as the weather is too unpredictable for helicopters and the runway is too short for the 747. Wheels down, 12:30 pm.

Why go to Derry/Londonderry? That delicate thing called balance. Whereas Belfast is seen as a Unionist bastion, Derry/Londonderry, just a few miles from the Irish border, is considered a haven for Republicans. Though both cities have seen their share of violence, Derry/Londonderry seems, from our view, to be a city working hard to share power and get along. Our meeting with the Lord Mayor was particularly moving, as was our brief tour of a bustling Rath Mor shopping center that was built with IFI (International Fund for Ireland) money on the site of a recent bus massacre. Despite occasional flare-ups, such as the closing of the ancient gates to the city by the Protestant "Apprentice Boys" last August, this is a city of hope.

It's in that spirit the President motorcades to City Hall, a beautiful Baroque building that sits astride the magnificent walled "Old City". Once inside, at about 1:00 pm, he attends a small reception for an American group (mostly from Boston) that will endow a chair in international conflict resolution in the name of former U.S. House Speaker Tip O'Neill at nearby University of Ulster at Magee College. Next door to the reception room is the ornate Grand Hall, where 500 members of the community await the President.

On to the Grand Hall at 1:45 pm (8:45 am Eastern), a room that looks and feels much like Gaston Hall at Georgetown. A splendid venue. During the team's preliminary discussions, we agreed that the President could enhance his morning message by unveiling the O'Neill chair and talking briefly

about how education and conflict resolution goes hand-in-hand with the economic progress highlighted during his morning speech at Mackies. To highlight the theme of conflict resolution, the former Unionist Lord Mayor of Derry/Londonderry will introduce the current SDLP Lord Mayor who, in turn, will introduce the President. The speech does not need to be long, perhaps 10 minutes, and should outline the themes from the morning speech. *Plan*

Outside, in the town square, an overflow crowd will be listening to the Presidents remarks. A small stage set in front of the City Hall's beautiful stained glass will allow the President to briefly acknowledge the crowd and give him the opportunity to work an extended ropeline. The President should shake his first hand by 2:45 pm.

He continues shaking hands until he reaches the stairs to the City's medieval walls. The walls, which are wide enough to drive a car on top, look like a miniature Great Wall of China and are the city's pride and joy. Derry was the last walled city built in Ireland and the only city whose ancient walls survive complete. Within the walls is the Old City, a revitalized commercial shopping district. Outside the walls, plainly visible from the ledge that the President will walk, are several square miles of working class neighborhoods that was home, until recently, to some of the worst fighting in Northern Ireland. For the pool walking with the President as he greets the residents, there are good pictures from every angle.

The President returns to the motorcade via the Old City, stopping briefly in a quaint cobblestone shopping street, bustling with newly-opened tourist-oriented shops. Turns out that the renovation of the street was financed by the IFI - American taxpayer's money at work helping to grow hope from the soil of despair. This is something that we can be proud of, and emblematic of many such projects sprouting up all over Northern Ireland that the President's schedule does not allow time to visit.

Back at the motorcade, at 3:30 pm, the President returns to the airport for the short C-9 flight back to Belfast arriving at 4:30 pm. Perhaps, before he enters the car, the President could call the pool over and offer his brief thoughts about what he has experienced in Derry/Londonderry.

By the time the President returns to Belfast City Hall, at about 5:15 pm, the streets will have been filled with townspeople, the American-donated Christmas tree fully decorated by the Belfast Youth with ornaments of peace.

Inside the Building, an impressive structure with stoutly Unionist decorations, the President attends a reception in his honor with a cross section of members of the community. Plan on 5:30 pm-7:00 pm (no remarks) with time allowed at

key intervals for brief pull-asides with leaders of the Northern Irish factions. The politics concluded, at 7:15 pm, he will sit down briefly with ~~young people representing both sides of the conflict~~. The President will discuss with ~~them~~ their letters describing their personal efforts to foster peace in Belfast. Perhaps this is a pool opportunity.

Outside, the Christmas celebration has reached a climax. At 8:00 pm, the President and his young escorts are introduced in a scene reminiscent of the President's annual appearance at the Christmas pageant on the Ellipse. After the escorts read their letters to the crowd, the President is invited to make very brief remarks (three minutes) and, with the kid's help, he flicks the switch that lights the Christmas tree. This should be the video moment of the day, well in time for Eastern deadlines. After a ropeline, the President departs.

Now at the end of his long official day, the President can do one of three things:

First, it was suggested that he stop in at a pub in East Belfast for an end-of-the-day pint in the predominantly Protestant section of town. This would be taken as a signal that, in the midst of tremendous, American-influenced change that brings legitimacy to Sinn Fein and the Catholics, the President has not lost appreciation for Unionist sentiments.

Second, it was suggested that he stop in the pub across from the Europa Hotel (his RON for the evening) where McCurry, Gearan and the White House Press Office could be holding a "reception" for the correspondents of the Irish and White House Press. The streets will likely be closed off anyway, and we could easily reserve the pub for this purpose. This is just an idea but, as in London, it would allow the President an opportunity, in a relaxed and informal setting, to reflect personally on an extraordinary day for Ireland and for peace.

Alternatively, we could use the pub as simply a pool holding space and have the President drop in spontaneously. A much smaller group.

Third, the man is tired. He could just go to bed.

Friday, December 1.

The President leaves Belfast at 8:45 am and lands in Dublin at 9:30 am. No remarks. With his arrival in Dublin, the anxiety level on the trip should subside considerably. This is a homecoming of sorts.

The first stop, halfway between the airport and downtown, is the obligatory courtesy call on the President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, at her residence in Phoenix Park. 10:00 am. The residence was built in 1751 to serve as the home of the

Unionist
stop
dinner?

Viceroy and has been the home of the President of Ireland since Independence in 1922. It is a beautiful estate.

The Program is straightforward and mostly open to pool coverage: arrival at the door, brief courtesy call, walk outside to admire the house, and walk about 200 yards to plant a tree. We can either provide our own tree or one will be provided for us. Not far from where President Clinton will plant his tree, President Kennedy performed the same ritual in 1962.

The motorcade should roll toward Dublin by 11:00 am, arriving downtown for a large noontime public rally. The event will be as boisterous as one would expect in Dublin, with all the revelry that a lunchtime crowd and local bands can muster.

We face a dilemma between two potential sites for the rally:

The first option is College Green, the usual gathering spot for large public events that is in the intersection of College and Grafton Streets. College Green is ironically named as it is neither a college nor is it green. It is, in fact, in front of the classical-looking Bank of Ireland. Don't let the names throw you off. For Dublin, this would be akin to holding a rally in Times Square. On the one hand, the public would perceive this as truly an open event; come one, come all. On the other hand, it will require deft construction to prevent a traffic nightmare.

The other option is Library Square, the Harvard Yard-like central quad of Trinity College. From a security and logistics standpoint, Library Square is the obvious choice. But in terms of its local perception, we were told by many sources that this would be seen as cloistering ourselves within the confines of the elite university. It's a valid concern, but I don't think it's that extreme, and to the U.S. viewer watching at home, it would look as much like Dublin as anywhere else.

It's a tough decision, but once the President does take the stage at noon, wherever it is, it will be a heartwarming and riotous affair, filled with local music and a key to the city from the Lord Mayor.

Side note: A visit to Trinity College would not be complete without a brief stop at the magnificent university library, home to the Book of Kells, the famous 9th century illuminated manuscript, and the equally impressive Long Room, which houses over 200,000 of Trinity's oldest books. Perhaps no single relic resonates more strongly with Irish Americans than the Book of Kells. If the President visits, a pool reporter should accompany.

At 1:00 pm, the President arrives at Government Buildings for talks with the Taoiseach, Prime Minister John Bruton. Government Buildings are a recently renovated Edwardian complex adjoining Leinster House, the House of Parliament, which is the President's next stop.

Again, the program with Bruton is straightforward: open press greeting at curbside, then a walk up two flights of stairs to the Taoiseach's private office. The Irish expect a pool spray. Here, the Taoiseach will present the President with a written lineage of the Cassidy Clan in Ireland. If the Still Photo of the Day has not yet been made by the crowds on the street, it may happen here. The press is then escorted out and the leaders sit down to a sandwich.

The senior Irish and American ministers will be meeting in a large conference room down the hall. If any time remains at Government Buildings, the leaders will join the expanded meeting for a short time. No good pictures here. Expect a "European-style" meeting photo-op -- cameras shooting into cameras.

At the conclusion of their meetings, about 2:00 pm, the Taoiseach and the President will emerge from Government Buildings to the original arrival location and hold a brief press availability. Weather permitting, it will be an outside statement and Q&A, the Taoiseach followed by the President. This will look fine and Presidential.

Though Parliament is just next door, it is tradition for visiting leaders to be greeted at curbside, actually a drive of several blocks. The President and First Lady arrive at 2:45 pm, are greeted by the Speakers of the Dail (House of Representatives) and the Leader of the Seanad (Senate), and proceed indoors for a choreographed tour.

Built in 1745 during Georgian Dublin's heyday for the Earl of Kildare, the National Parliament (The Oireachtas) is small but grand, capacity approximately 250. After introductory remarks by the speakers, the President is called on for brief remarks at 3:00 pm.

We do need a slight fix here: the plan is for the President to give his remarks on a small platform to the left of the Speakers Platform. As it stands now, it will look a little cockeyed to viewers back home. Our advance should work with the Parliament folks to see if the President can speak from the Speaker's Platform.

Finally, from 3:45 pm to 7:00 pm, the President has downtime, most likely at his overnight location, the home of Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith in Phoenix Park. During this period, he will have to pre-tape his radio address, meet with the Opposition Leader, Bertie O'Hearn (same drill as Labour Leader Tony Blair in London), and perhaps engage in an OTR in

Dublin (we looked two fabulous cathedrals -- Christ Church and St. Patrick's, both jam-packed with history and crypts.

The President is expected for dinner hosted by the Irish Government at 8:00 pm at Dublin Castle . The term "castle" is inaccurate. Though begun as such by the Vikings and continued by the Normans it is, in fact, a complicated mix of new and old; snaking corridors leading into grand, renovated ballrooms. Over an arch to the North side of the Castle yard is the Statue of Justice -- "its face to the Castle, its back to the Nation", as the Irish used to say during British Rule. Today, it is used for many government and civic events and rented by private citizens for lavish parties. The President's dinner will be in St. Patrick's Hall. The President will be called on to offer a reciprocal toast with pool coverage.

Dinner should end by 10:00 pm (5:00 pm Eastern). The President can either return to the Ambassador's residence or venture into Dublin for an OTR. The Irish, not surprisingly, have informally suggested a traditional music pub.

Saturday, December 2.

The earlier the President wakes up, the sooner he can get to Dublin Airport for the flight to Kerry International Airport and his eagerly anticipated tee-off on the majestic links of Ballybunion.

Note: The Deputy Prime Minister, Dick Spring (A.K.A. Ta'naiste), hails from Kerry and is an avid golfer. Although no invitations were issued, it seemed from our observations that Spring will be our escort from Dublin, to his hometown of Kerry, to the First Tee. I don't know what politics are involved in spending so much time with a Deputy Prime Minister, but if it is not our intention to spend the day with Spring, it should be resolved soon.

Also note that there are many permutations about how the President could travel to Ballybunion -- any combinations of planes, helicopters or cars would work, depending on the weather, our intention for OTRs, and political concerns. The following scenario is just an assumption.

The President lands in Kerry and helicopters immediately to Ballybunion, met by the president of the club, the captain, and assorted other club officials.

From Ballybunion's brochure: "With its spectacular range of sandhills sweeping down the golden shoreline of the Shannon Estuary, the land surrounding the small seaside township of Ballybunion offers the kind of terrain that many people have

come to regard as the most natural setting in the world for the royal and ancient game of golf."

I can say from personal experience that there is nothing to compare with Ballybunion. On the day that we walked the undulating links, with the Atlantic waves crashing just off the fairways, the wind whipped through our hair in gusts exceeding 50 m.p.h. You don't play Ballybunion, you survive it.

American golfing legend Tom Watson has taken a keen interest in the "Old Course" at Ballybunion and is about to design some modifications to it.

Irish golfing sensation Philip Walton played a major role last week in beating the U.S. team to win back the Ryder Cup. It was the talk of Europe, from London to Madrid.

If both Watson and Walton were available to join President Clinton and Deputy Prime Minister Spring for the round, it would make for quite a "rematch" and would resonate well on both sides of the Atlantic.

We usually go to extremes to limit the exposure of President Clinton on the golf course. In this case, it will be both difficult and unwise; difficult because much of the course sits on public roads, unwise because this is such a special day, it would be a loss to hide it from the lenses. The pool can stay well-away from the playing party while still standing by for that special moment.

After the 18th hole, the President and his party should walk over to the pool to offer their comments on the game.

With whatever daylight remains, there are many options for the President on the road to the American-hosted banquet at Drumoland Castle. The timing is impossible to tell at this point, but here is a summary of the options we looked at:

- Limerick and King John's Castle. The President could helo from the golf course to the castle, which was built by the Anglo Normans in the 13th century. It takes its name from King John Lackland, the signer of the Magna Carta (remember Rynnymead?). This is a castle-lover's castle, complete with motes and replicas of battering rams and catapults. The President could either tour or greet members of the community.

Limerick is a working class town, sort of the Liverpool of Ireland. On this Saturday, in the middle of the Christmas shopping season, it will be bustling with townspeople. The President would create a big splash if he were to go on a

streetwalk on the main thoroughfare.

- The Village of Quin, County Clare. Nestled about five miles from Dromoland Castle, Quin is a typical Irish village with a population of about 200. It is home to St. Mary's Catholic Church, the ruins of St. Fineen's, a courthouse, an elementary school with 127 students, police station, and four pubs.

Most notable is the ruins of the 15th century Franciscan friary, of which altars and tombs, a graceful tower and incredible cloister remain. This is movie-set stuff. It is reputed to be among the best preserved medieval town sites in Ireland.

- Cragganowen. Also close to Dromoland, Cragganowen is a faithful recreation of Ireland's Celtic past. It is sort of like Plymouth Plantation in Massachusetts and takes itself very seriously. Castles and thatched huts abound, as do actors in realistic Celtic dress. We surveyed the entire village, ending up at the pen of a wild boar, coincidentally known in Arkansas as a Razorback.

If we are willing to "ham" it up a bit, the folks at Cragganowen would be eager to stage a recreation of the ancient ritual of knighthood, in which the President would be made an honorary knight. Don't dismiss it out of hand. It would make great television.

Worth mentioning also is the general manager of Cragganowen, Tom Cassady who, believe it or not, looks a lot like the President and presumably is a distant relative. If we want to play the "Cassady Card", we could do it here.

- Other sites and sounds along the road. As we drove from Ballyunion back to Dromoland Castle, hardly a mile went by when we did not spot a castle, ruin or other interesting cranny. If the President were to drive, it would certainly be an eventful ride of OTRs and enthusiastic onlookers lining the sides of the narrow Irish roads.

Finally, the President arrives at Dromoland Castle and proceeds to his suite to freshen up. Though there may be some pre-program before the President's arrival, he is expected to host an American-sponsored banquet at 7:00 pm.

Just eight miles from Shannon Airport (the President's eventual point-of-departure for Spain later that evening), Dromoland is one of the most famous baronial castles in Ireland. It was the original home of the O'Briens, descendants of Brian Boru, High King of Ireland in the 10th Century. The impressive castle dates to the 16th Century. Today, it is a five-star hotel with 57 immaculate rooms. The

surrounding mote is now home to a golf course. The main ballroom looks like a quintessential medieval banquet hall.

This evening will be the United States' chance to say "thank you" to Ireland for the many memories forged during this short visit. Though little thought has gone into it at this point, dedicated effort should be made to produce an emotionally-charged, entertaining evening for the mixed Irish-American audience of about 300-400. This event will occur within deadlines for the network's Saturday evening news shows and video of the event will likely also show up for the Sunday morning shows wrap-up of the President's trip. You might see color from the event as the backbone to many print stories as well. In addition to performances from entertainers from both sides of the Atlantic, Anne Edwards suggested that we show a videotape montage of highlights from the President's trip on the projection TV in the banquet hall. A fine idea.

By 9:45 pm, assuming that the President and his guests are not gathered 'round the piano for an off-key rendition of "Danny Boy", Air Force One will be wheels-up from Shannon en route Madrid, arriving at about 1:00 am.

The President will remain overnight as a guest of His Majesty King Juan Carlos in "El Pardo", the royal palace once used as an apartment for Francisco Franco that is now a museum and a residence for visiting heads of state. Don't count on the President going right to bed, either. El Pardo is a place you can get lost in: room after gilded room of priceless Spanish tapestries and masterpieces by Spain's best-known painters.

Sunday, December 3.

So far, this trip has covered five long days, filled with emotion from dawn until long past dusk.

In contrast, the President's few hours in Spain will be businesslike and short. Because the President must be back in Washington in time for a previously scheduled event in the evening, he must be wheels-up from Madrid by 2:30 pm.

By the time we arrived in Madrid on the site survey, the Spanish Foreign Ministry had already accounted for every minute of the Presidents time while in Spain, and then some.

Here is a summary:

At 7:50 am, his motorcade departs El Pardo for Moncloa Palace, the Spanish equivalent of the West Wing, where Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez lives and works.

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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

PREC: ROUTINE CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED DTG:131413Z OCT 95

FM: AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO:
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8626

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8090
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5853
RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 3207

UNCLAS BELFAST 00403

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, OVIP (CLINTON, BILL), PGOV, UK
SUBJECT: ULSTER UNIONIST DEPUTY LEADER WARNS
CLINTON OVER VISIT

1. ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR
WARNED YESTERDAY THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT

TO NORTHERN IRELAND MUST BE EVEN-HANDED IF IT IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL. SPEAKING TO A GROUP OF UNIONISTS IN COUNTY TYRONE ON OCTOBER 12, TAYLOR SAID HE HAD READ PRESS LEAKS WHICH INDICATED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ITINERARY WOULD INCLUDE ONLY NATIONALIST AREAS OF WEST BELFAST, DERRY AND DOWNPATRICK. HE WARNED THAT SUCH A RESTRICTED VISIT "IN WHICH THE GREATER NUMBER OF PEOPLE WOULD BE IGNORED BY PRESIDENT CLINTON WOULD BE DISASTROUS." HE CONTINUED, "IT WOULD EITHER DEMONSTRATE HIS LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE REAL PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND OR A BIAS AMONG THOSE WHOM HE HAS AS HIS ADVISERS." THE UUP DEPUTY LEADER SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT CLINTON VISIT AREAS WHERE THE "MAJORITY PRO-BRITISH PEOPLE" LIVE, AND HE SUGGESTED PLACES LIKE THE SHANKILL ROAD, NEWTOWNARDS, BALLYMENA, CARRICKFERGUS AND LARNE AMONG OTHERS AS POSSIBILITIES. TAYLOR SAID HE UNDERSTOOD CLINTON'S WISH TO "BENEFIT ELECTORALLY BACK HOME" BUT REITERATED HIS CONVICTION THAT THE VISIT MUST BE PERCEIVED AS BEING EVEN-HANDED. IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

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2. TAYLOR ALSO WARNED AGAINST ANY PROTEST BY MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY AT THE VISIT. HE SUGGESTED THAT IN TERMS OF PUBLICITY, "THE ICING ON THE CAKE FOR CONSUMPTION BACK HOME IN THE USA WOULD BE A COUNTER DEMONSTRATION BY IAN PAISLEY.... "I HOPE NOONE WILL BE SO SILLY", HE SAID.

3. POST CONTINUES TO ADVISE ALL NORTHERN IRELAND AND OTHER MEDIA THAT A WIDE RANGE OF OPTIONS REGARDING THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT IS BEING CONSIDERED AND THAT NO DECISIONS HAVE YET BEEN MADE. IN RESPONSE TO DETAILED QUESTIONING, POST ADVISES THAT USG IS AWARE OF THE NEED FOR BALANCE IN THE VISIT AND IS CONTINUING TO EXPLORE ALL OPTIONS.
STEPHENS
BT
#0403

NNNN
<^SECT> SECTION: 01 OF 01
<^SSN> 0403
<^TOR> 951013125335 M1900622

FROM:
SITREPT

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: SODERBERG, NSC, PETERS, SUM2

PREC: ROUTINE CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED DTG:131401Z OCT 95

FM: AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO:
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8625

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8- AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 3206

UNCLAS BELFAST 0402

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN RESPONDS NEGATIVELY TO MAYHEW SPEECH

1. SINN FEIN'S NATIONAL CHAIRMAN MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN HAS

CRITICIZED AS A "NON-RUNNER" THE SPEECH MADE BY
SECRETARY OF STATE SIR PATRICK MAYHEW TO THE

CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE ON OCTOBER 12. IN THE
SPEECH, SIR PATRICK SAID THAT HMG AND THE IRISH
GOVERNMENT WERE WILLING TO INVITE AN INTERNATIONAL
COMMISSION TO ADVISE THEM ON THE QUESTION OF
DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS. HE ALSO PROPOSED "PRELIMINARY"
TALKS, IN WHICH ALL PARTIES COULD CONTRIBUTE, TO "PREPARE
THE GROUND FOR THE LATER ALL-PARTY POLITICAL
NEGOTIATIONS." MAYHEW REITERATED HMG'S INSISTENCE THAT
IT WOULD NOT CALL ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS AT THE MOMENT,
BECAUSE REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER PARTIES WOULD SIMPLY
NOT PARTICIPATE IN A SITUATION IF "THE SHADOW OF THE
GUNMAN OR THE BOMBER FALLS ACROSS THE TABLE." HE
INSISTED THAT THE IRA'S ARSENAL OF WEAPONS REMAINED A
"POWERFUL AND AN UNDIMINISHED THREAT." THE SECRETARY OF
STATE UNDERLINED WHAT HAVE BECOME KNOWN AS THE
"WASHINGTON REQUIREMENTS", AS A PREREQUISITE FOR ALL-
PARTY TALKS - A COMMITMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO DECOMMISSION
ARMS, AGREEMENT ON HOW DECOMMISSIONING MIGHT TAKE
PLACE, AND SOME DECOMMISSIONING AS AN ACT OF GOOD FAITH.
MAYHEW DESCRIBED HMG'S GUARANTEE TO THE PEOPLE OF
NORTHERN IRELAND TO REMAIN PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM
FOR AS LONG AS THEY WISH AS 'CAST IRON."

2. MCLAUGHLIN SAID THAT MAYHEW'S PROPOSALS COULD NOT BE
REGARDED AS A SERIOUS OR GENUINE ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE
PEACE PROCESS FORWARD, COMMENTING "THERE IS NOTHING

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NEW IN THESE SUGGESTIONS" INSTEAD, HE SAID, THE PROPOSALS WERE DESIGNED TO "GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF MOVEMENT WHERE NONE EXISTS". SUCH AN APPROACH, MCLAUGHLIN INSISTED, WAS "CLEARLY INSUFFICIENT TO BREAK THE LOGJAM. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT KNOWS THIS." HE ACCUSED HMG OF HAVING "RENEGED ON ITS COMMITMENT TO ALL-PARTY PEACE TALKS BY DEMANDING THE SURRENDER OF IRA WEAPONS AS A NEW AND ABSOLUTE PRECONDITION."

STEPHENS

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FROM:

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDONDERRY

Guild Hall Square
Londonderry, Northern Ireland

3:20 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Kerr, Mr. and Mrs. Hume, Sir Patrick and Lady Mayhew, and to this remarkable crowd. Let me say -- (applause) -- there have been many Presidents of the United States who had their roots in this soil. I can see today how lucky I am to be the first President of the United States to come back to this city to say thank you very much. (Applause.)

Hillary and I are proud to be here in the home of Ireland's most tireless champion for civil rights and its most eloquent voice of non-violence, John Hume. (Applause.) I know that at least twice already I have had the honor of hosting John and Pat in Washington. And the last time I saw him I said, you can't come back to Washington one more time until you let me come to Derry. And here I am. (Applause.)

I am delighted to be joined here today by a large number of Americans, including a distinguished delegation of members of our United States Congress who have supported peace and reconciliation here and who have supported economic development through the International Fund for Ireland.

I'm also joined today by members of the O'Neill family. (Applause.) Among the last great chieftains of Ireland were the O'Neills of Ulster. But in America, we still have chieftains who are the O'Neills of Boston. They came all the way over here to inaugurate the Tip O'Neill Chair and Peace Studies here at the University of Ulster. (Applause.) This chair will honor the great Irish American and late Speaker of the House of

Representatives by furthering his dream of peace in Northern Ireland. And I am honored to be here with his family members today.

All of you know that this city is a very different place from what a visitor like me would have seen just a year and a half ago, before the cease-fire. Crossing the border now is as easy as crossing a speed bump. The soldiers are off the streets. The city walls are open to civilians. There are no more shakedowns as you walk into a store. Daily life has become more ordinary. But this will never be an ordinary city. (Applause.)

I came here because you are making a home for peace to flourish and endure -- a local climate responsible this week for the announcement of new business operations that offer significant new opportunities to you, as well as new hope. Let me applaud also the success of the Inner City Trust and Patty Dogherty who have put people to work rebuilding bombed-out buildings, building new ones, and building up confidence and civic pride. (Applause.)

America's connections to this place go back a long, long time. One of our greatest cities, Philadelphia, was mapped out three centuries ago by a man who was inspired by the layout of the streets behind these walls. His name was William Penn. He was raised a Protestant in Ireland in a military family. He became a warrior and he fought in Ulster. But he turned away from warfare, traded in his armor, converted to the Quaker faith and became a champion of peace.

Imprisoned for his religious views, William Penn wrote one of the greatest defenses of religious tolerance in history. Released from prison, he went to America in the 1680s, a divisive decade here, and founded Pennsylvania, a colony unique in the new world because it was based on the principle of religious tolerance.

Philadelphia quickly became the main port of entry for immigrants from the north of Ireland who made the Protestant and Catholic traditions valuable parts of our treasured traditions in America. Today when he travels to the States, John Hume is fond of reminding us about the phrase that Americans established in Philadelphia as the motto of our nation, "E pluribus unum" -- Out of many, one -- the belief that back then Quakers and Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians could practice their religion, celebrate their culture, honor their traditions and live as neighbors in peace.

In the United States today in just one county, Los Angeles, there are representatives of over 150 different racial, ethnic and religious groups. We are struggling to live out William Penn's vision, and we pray that you will be able to live out that vision as well. (Applause.)

Over the last three years since I have had the privilege to be the President of the United States I have had occasion to meet with Nationalists and to meet with Unionists, and to listen to their sides of the story. I have come to the conclusion that here, as in so many other places in the world --from the Middle East to Bosnia -- the divisions that are most important here are not the divisions between opposing views or opposing interests. Those divisions can be reconciled. The deep divisions, the most important ones, are those between the peacemakers and the enemies of peace -- those who, deep, deep down inside want peace more than anything, and those who, deep down inside can't bring themselves to reach out for peace. Those who are in the ship of peace and those who would sink it. Those who bravely meet on the bridge of reconciliation, and those who would blow it up.

My friends, everyone in life at some point has to decide what kind of person he or she is going to be. Are you going to be someone who defines yourself in terms of what you are against, or what you are for? Will you be someone who defines yourself in terms of who you aren't, or who you are? The time has come for the peacemakers to triumph in Northern Ireland, and the United States will support them as they do. (Applause.)

The world-renowned playwright from this city, Brian Friel, wrote a play called "Philadelphia, Here I Come." And in a character who is about to immigrate from Ireland thinks back on his past life and says to himself, it's all over. But his alter ego reminds him of his future and replies, and it's about to begin. It's all over and it's about to begin. If only change were that easy.

To leave one way of life behind in search of another takes a strong amount of faith and courage. But the world has seen here over the last 15 months that people from Londonderry County to County Down, from Antrim to Armagh, have made the transition from a time of ever-present fear to a time of fragile peace. The United States applauds the efforts of Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton who have launched the new twin-track initiative and have opened a process that gives the parties to begin a dialogue in which all views are representative, and all can be heard.

Not far from this spot stands a statue of reconciliation -- two figures, ten feet tall, each reaching out a hand toward the other, but neither quite making it across the divide. It is a beautiful and powerful symbol of where many people stand today in this great land. Let it now point people to the handshake of reconciliation. Life cannot be lived with the stillness of statues. Life must go on. The hands must come closer together or drift further apart.

Your great Nobel Prize winning poet, Seamus Heaney, wrote the following words -- (applause) -- wrote the following words that some of you must know already, but that for me capture this moment. He said: "History says don't hope on this side of the grave, but then, once in a lifetime the longed-for tidal wave of justice can rise up. And hope and history rhyme. So hope for a great sea change on the far side of revenge. Believe that a further shore is reachable from here. Believe in miracles and cures and healing wells."

Well, my friends, I believe. I believe we live in a time of hope and history rhyming. Standing here in front of the Guild Hall, looking out over these historic walls, I see a peaceful city, a safe city, a hopeful city, full of young people that should have a peaceful and prosperous future here where their roots and families are. That is what I see today with you. (Applause.)

And so I ask you to build on the opportunity you have before you; to believe that the future can be better than the past; to work together because you have so much more to gain by working together than by drifting apart. Have the patience to work for a just and lasting peace. Reach for it. The United States will reach with you. The further shore of that peace is within your reach.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

3:30 P.M. (L)

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For Carter

President's Remarks on Derry Walls, Londonderry, Northern Ireland

Sources

Belfast Consul General Kathleen Stephens
(1232-328239 office) (b)(6) home)

Context

The President is scheduled to take a short walking tour on the City Walls, accompanied by Derry Lord Mayor Jim Kerr or other representatives of the city government, local MP John Hume, and/or a local tour guide. Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Sir Patrick Mayhew also may accompany.

Acknowledgements

None. Remarks will be informal as the President walks.

Setting

The Derry city walls are an important emblem of the city and have historical significance. Its walls have withstood three sieges, the most famous being the Great Siege of 1688 when troops loyal to Prince William of Orange withstood a siege by forces loyal to James II. This is one of the most historically evocative events in Ulster Protestant culture. The Relief of Derry, along with the Battle of the Boyne, signaled the failure of the Counter-Reformation in the British Isles, and have become symbols of the "No Surrender" attitude of today's Unionists.

Today, Derry's walls are generally viewed as encompassing a vibrant commercial and tourism center where Cityside Catholics, Waterside Protestants, and even "Southerners" from across the border in Donegal come together. Until recently, large sections of the walls were closed off for security reasons. However, earlier this year, for the first time in over 25 years, it again became possible to circumambulate the city from atop the walls. They have become one of the major tourist attractions in the city.

Contents

We must mention:

- (1) Derry as the city where the civil rights movement started in the late 1960's, in which Catholics campaigned for a fairer distribution of public housing and public sector jobs.
- (2) The city where "The Troubles" began has recovered from that negative image of violence and its walls now show off the city as one of Europe's premier "walled towns."
- (3) It is the city from which most Irish emigrants of both traditions embarked for America. (The President's ancestors most likely left for America from Derry.)

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Background

Londonderry or Derry?

The traditional and historical name for the city was "Derry." The name "Londonderry" derives from the historical association between the city and the medieval trade guilds of the City of London. At the time of the Ulster Plantation in the early 17th Century, the guilds were given a royal charter by James I to build a walled city on the banks of the Foyle. This is the origin of the "London" in Londonderry.

Nationalists will always refer to the city as Derry. Staunchly conservative Unionists will insist on "Londonderry." Since the correct legal name for the city is Londonderry, the usual pattern for speeches and conversation is of beginning with "Londonderry" and then mixing references to that and "Derry" or "the people of Derry." Persons wishing to be impartial can also refer to the city by other names such as "the city of many names," "the Northwest," "along the banks of the River Foyle," or "the maiden city." The walls of Londonderry/Derry were never successfully breached by any besieger. The President should not refer to the city as "Stroke city," a colloquial phrase referring to the punctuation separating the two halves of the city's common compound name.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN DISCUSSION WITH ENTREPRENEURS
AND MANAGERS OF BUSINESS PARKS
FROM ACROSS BELFAST

East Belfast Enterprise Park
Belfast, Northern Ireland

12:54 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I want to thank all of you, all the panelists and Mr. Thompson and your MP for the fine things that have been said. And I thank you for quoting the King James version of the Bible. I read all the more modern ones, and sometimes they're easier to understand, but they're not nearly as eloquent. So King James is still my favorite, too.

I would like to make just three points very briefly. First, in the presence of the members of Congress who are here, I want to thank them for funding the International Fund for Ireland. In the United States, it was really a congressional initiative. For many years, the President -- until I became President, no President ever even made a recommendation to spend the money because it was thought to be unusual. But I can tell you, now, even though this connection was never made before, we fund programs through the Agency for International Development around the world in countries much poorer than Northern Ireland which are essentially trying to do the same things.

We know now that if you really want to grow jobs in places where there's not a lot of capital, you have to set up a mechanism for getting capital into entrepreneurial people who may be in one or two or three or four or five-person businesses. And if you do it right, you can create an enormous, enormous number of successful businesses, and in so doing, create the demand for the products and services that will be produced.

So I think what you are doing here is really an extraordinary thing. And I want to thank the members of Congress who have consistently supported the International Fund for Ireland who are here, and to say that I hope, frankly, that you will become, as we move forward down the road to peace -- and Senator Mitchell and the others who worked so hard on the investment conference over on our side of the ocean -- and you enjoy more success, I hope you will become a model for a lot of other countries as well who are struggling to build a system of free enterprise and give their energetic people the kinds of opportunities that you have found.

We see it even in our own country -- some places that others had given up on, thought -- where there would never be any economic opportunity there again -- the most successful thing that has been done even in our own country is starting things like the International Fund for Ireland. But it works better here, what you are doing through these community groups, than almost any other place that I'm aware of in the world.

And you said it yourself, sir. I think you said you have in this consortium 200 companies with 900 employees; that's an average number of employees somewhere between four and five. But if you look at the cost -- what did you say -- 13.5 million pounds -- I think I can still do exchange rates, even though I've been -- Presidents are disabled from all practical things. (Laughter.) They don't get to buy food or drive cars or exchange money, but that's pretty low cost per job creation. And so I think that's very, very important. And I applaud all of you for what you're doing.

The second point I want to make is that the cease-fire, I'm convinced, made possible a lot of this growth. And some of you have said that. And you talked about how -- it's also changing the whole image of Northern Ireland. One of the things that I hope will come out of my trip here today is that people who have never been here will see the country in a different life. We owe that to the media, but people all over the world will be seeing this trip tonight. And they will see your whole country in a different light. They will see people like you; they will see on television. They will say, those are the kind of people I wouldn't mind being involved with. And I think that will help. But it's a real argument for continuing the peace.

And the third thing I would say is that -- you might want to ask Senator Mitchell to comment on this -- is the conference we had -- the Washington Conference -- last May. I think it's important to do more things like that, not just in the United States, but elsewhere, so that people are aware, in a tangible

way, of the grass-roots -- not only the grass-roots commitment to peace, but the extraordinary array of competence, the abilities, the ideas, that are coming out of here. Because I think -- and I think as you do that, you'll become more integrated into the global economy in a positive way and it will be more difficult for anyone to turn the clock back on you.

George --

SENATOR MITCHELL: We're planning some follow-up activities, Mr. President, in the spring of next year. And we've had, under the Commerce Department, the leadership of Ron Brown, have had a number of trade missions here and there are some American businessmen here as your guests on this trip. And I think what you have seen in just the short time you've been in Northern Ireland is what I've seen in my many previous visits this year.

The greatest resource of any community, or nation, is its people. And the people here are energetic, they're innovative, they're entrepreneurs and they're very productive. And I believe that the more and more Americans, which is, of course, our primary -- the source of our primary activities, but others, as you point out, who can be exposed to that, will recognize that there's a mutual benefit in doing business here.

I've said to all the American businessmen with whom I've met, we are not asking anyone to engage in an act of charity. There are charitable outlets and anybody who wants to make such contribution can do so there, but what we're asking people is to make a hard-headed decision in their own economic interest to engage in business activity here, and we think it's going to develop over time.

It does require a continuation of the peace process because, clearly, the absence of that -- the absence of peace will have a chilling effect. And I think that your visit here will go a long way with the -- you're the only person who can bring all of these television people here with you -- (laughter) -- and convey this message, not only around the States, but around the world, of the type of people that are here, the type of energy that's here.

And I think it also does highlight, as you and others have pointed out, the importance of agencies like the IFI, and others. New and small businesses here, as in our own country, Mr. President, just don't have access to capital, and that's what they need to get going. And these agencies make it possible.

So I've been very much impressed by my visits here, we're encouraged by the progress made as a result of our investment conference, which you organized and at which you spoke. It's slow and steady, but I think it's going to pay off in the end.

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just say, I want to leave on a little bit lighter note. When I read my notes about what all of you do, and I was preparing for this and I knew I was bringing all the -- the Ambassador for the United States to Great Britain and the British Ambassador to America, and all these other people, and especially the politicians back there, and I saw that Lynn McGregor is the owner of a company called Altered Images, and I thought to myself, she could become an overnight millionaire in Washington, D.C. -- (laughter) -- just by putting up an office. (Laughter.) We all need to alter our image a little there.

Thank you very much. Congratulations to all of you.
Thank you. (Applause.)

END

1:02 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND THE FIRST LADY
AT THE LIGHTING OF THE CITY CHRISTMAS TREE

Belfast City Hall
Belfast, Northern Ireland

7:36 P.M. (L)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much, Lord Mayor. And thank all of you. (Applause.) Tonight is a night filled with hope and peace. And for those of us gathered here throughout Northern Ireland and around the world, often it is our children who offer us the clearest and purest reasons why peace and why this peace process is so important.

In a national competition, asking students to share their hopes for a peaceful Northern Ireland in letters to my husband, two students whom you see here tonight, Cathy Harte and Mark Lennox won the top prize. We will be privilege to have them in America at summer camp this coming summer. Tonight it is my privilege to read excerpts from their letters.

This is what Cathy said: "My name is Cathy Harte and I am a 12-year-old Catholic girl. I live in Belfast in Northern Ireland, and I love it here. It's green, it's beautiful, and, well, it's Ireland." (Applause.) "All my life, I have only known guns and bombs with people fighting. Now, it is different. There are no guns and bombs."

Cathy continues: "My dreams for the future, well, I have a lot of them. Hopefully, the peace will be permanent; that one day Catholics and Protestants will be able to walk hand-in-hand and will be able to live in the same areas." (Applause.) "Catholics, Protestants, black or white, it is the person inside that counts." (Applause.) "What I hope," said Cathy, "is that when I have my own children that there will still be peace and that Belfast will be a peaceful place from now on."

Thank you, Cathy. (Applause.)

Mark Lennox is the same age as our daughter, 15. And he explains in his letter the simple ways of achieving peace. And this is what he says: "I am a 15-year-old schoolboy from Glengormley High School. I am very pleased about the chance of permanent peace in Northern Ireland and the chances of living in a secure atmosphere.

"If Northern Ireland is to have a future, then we must all learn to live with each other in a more tolerant way. Also, we must all work hard for peace and make a real effort. We will have to change our ideas and work for change. Change must mean changing our own understanding of each other. We must learn together and know more about our different traditions.

Some people want to destroy peace and the peace process in Northern Ireland." And Mark says, "We must not allow this to happen." (Applause.)

As the Lord Mayor said, in a moment the Christmas tree will be lit as Christmas trees will be lit all over the world in the days to come. This Christmas let us remember the reason behind why we light Christmas trees. Let us remember the reason for this great holiday celebration. And let us remember that we seek peace most of all for our children. May this be one of many, many happy and peaceful Christmases in Northern Ireland this year and for many years to come. (Applause.) And may God keep you and bless you and hold all of you in the palm of His hand. Thank you and God bless you.

(Applause.)

LORD MAYOR: Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have a duty to do tonight. And that is we're going to ask the President to turn the lights on. But you and I have something to do. We have to count down, 10 down to zero. So we want the count, 10, 9 -- slowly please, so that when the President gets ready I'll give you the okay and then we will have the countdown.

(The Christmas tree is lit.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.) To the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, let me begin by saying to all of you, Hillary and I thank you from the bottom of our hearts for making us feel so very, very welcome in Belfast and Northern Ireland. (Applause.) We thank you, Lord Mayor, for your cooperation and your help in making this trip so successful, and we trust that, for all of you, we haven't inconvenienced you too

much. But this has been a wonderful way for us to begin the Christmas holidays. (Applause.)

Let me also say I understood just what an honor it was to be able to turn on this Christmas tree when I realized the competition. (Laughter.) Now, to become President of the United States you have to undertake some considerable competition. But I have never confronted challengers with the name recognition, the understanding of the media and the ability in the martial arts of the Mighty Morphin Power Rangers. (Applause.)

To all of you whose support enabled me to join you tonight and turn the Christmas tree on, I give you my heartfelt thanks. (Applause.) I know here in Belfast you've been lighting the Christmas tree for more than 20 years. But this year must be especially joyous to you, for you are entering your second Christmas of peace. (Applause.)

As I look down these beautiful streets, I think how wonderful it will be for people to do their holiday shopping without worry of searches or bombs; to visit loved ones on the other side of the border without the burden of checkpoints or roadblocks; to enjoy these magnificent Christmas lights without any fear of violence. Peace has brought real change to your lives.

Across the ocean, the American people are rejoicing with you. We are joined to you by strong ties of community and commerce and culture. Over the years men and women of both traditions have flourished in our country and helped America to flourish.

And today, of course, we are forging new and special bonds. Belfast's sister city in the United States, Nashville, Tennessee, was proud to send this Christmas tree to friends across the Atlantic. I want to thank the most prominent present resident of Nashville, Tennessee, Vice President Al Gore, the Mayor, Phil Bredesen, and the United States Air Force for getting this big tree all the way across the Atlantic to be here with you tonight. (Applause.)

In this 50th anniversary year of the end of World War II, many Americans still remember the warmth the people of Northern Ireland showed them when the army was stationed here under General Eisenhower. The people of Belfast named General Eisenhower an honorary burgess of the city. He viewed that honor, and I quote, "as a token of our common purpose to work together for a better world." That mission endures today. We remain Americans and as people of Northern Ireland, partners for

security, partners for prosperity and, most important, partners for peace. (Applause.)

Two years ago, at this very spot, tens of thousands of you took part in a day for peace, as a response to some of the worst violence Northern Ireland had known in recent years. The two morning papers, representing both traditions, sponsored a telephone poll for peace that generated almost 160,000 calls. In the United States, for my fellow Americans who are here, that would be the equivalent of 25 million calls.

The response left no doubt that all across Northern Ireland the desire for peace was becoming a demand. I am honored to announce today that those same two newspapers, the Newsletter and the Irish News, have established the President's Prize, an annual award to those at the grass-roots level who have contributed most to peace and reconciliation. The honorees will travel to the United States to exchange experiences on the issues we share, including community relations and conflict resolution. We have a lot to learn from one another. The President's Prize will underscore that Northern Ireland's two traditions have a common interest in peace.

As you know -- and as the First Lady said -- I have received thousands of letters from school children all over your remarkable land telling me what peace means to them. They poured in from villages and cities, from Catholic and Protestant communities, from mixed schools, primary schools, from schools for children with special needs. All the letters in their own way were truly wonderful for their honesty, their simple wisdom and their passion. Many of the children showed tremendous pride in their homeland, in its beauty and its true nature. I congratulate the winners. They were wonderful and I loved hearing their letters.

But let me tell you about another couple I received. Eleven-year-old Keith from Carrickfergus wrote: "Please tell everyone in America that we're not always fighting here, and that it's only a small number of people who make the trouble." Like many of the children, Keith did not identify himself as Protestant or Catholic, and did not distinguish between the sources of the violence.

So many children told me of loved ones they have lost, of lives disrupted and opportunities forsaken and families forced to move. Yet, they showed remarkable courage and strength and a commitment to overcome the past. As 14-year-old Sharon of County Armagh wrote: "Both sides have been hurt. Both sides must forgive."

Despite the extraordinary hardships so many of these children have faced, their letters were full of hope and love and humor. To all of you who took the time to write me, you've brightened my holiday season with your words of faith and courage, and I thank you. To all of you who asked me to do what I could to help peace take root, I pledge you America's support. We will stand with you as you take risks for peace. (Applause.)

And to all of you who have not lost your sense of humor, I say thank you. I got a letter from 13-year-old Ryan from Belfast. Now, Ryan, if you're out in the crowd tonight, here's the answer to your question. No, as far as I know, an alien spacecraft did not crash in Roswell, New Mexico, in 1947. (Laughter.) And, Ryan, if the United States Air Force did recover alien bodies, they didn't tell me about it, either, and I want to know. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, this day that Hillary and I have had here in Belfast and in Derry and Londonderry County will long be with us -- (applause) -- as one of the most remarkable days of our lives. I leave you with these thoughts. May the Christmas spirit of peace and goodwill flourish and grow in you. May you remember the words of the Lord Mayor: "This is Christmas. We celebrate the world in a new way because of the birth of Emmanuel; God with us." And when God was with us, he said no words more important than these: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the Earth." (Applause.)

Merry Christmas, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

7:53 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE (PRIVATE)

Office of the Press Secretary
(Belfast, Northern Ireland)

For Immediate Release

November 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO EMPLOYEES AND COMMUNITY OF
THE MACKIE METAL PLANT

Belfast, Northern Ireland

11:00 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: This is one of those occasions where I really feel that all that needs to be said has already been said. I thank Catherine and David for introducing me, for all the school children of Northern Ireland who are here today, and for all whom they represent. A big part of peace is children growing up safely, learning together and growing together.

I thank Patrick Dougan and Ronnie Lewis for their remarks, for their work here, for all the members of the Mackie team who are with us today in welcoming us to this factory. I was hoping we could have an event like this in Northern Ireland at a place where people work and reach out to the rest of the world in a positive way, because a big part of peace is working together for family and community and for the welfare of the common enterprise.

It is good to be among the people of Northern Ireland who have given so much to America and the world, and good to be here with such a large delegation of my fellow Americans, including, of course, my wife, and I see the Secretary of Commerce here and the Ambassador to Great Britain, and a number of others. But we have quite a large delegation from both parties in the United States Congress, so we've sort of got a truce of our own going on here today. (Laughter.)

And I'd like to ask the members of Congress who have come all the way from Washington, D.C. to stand up and be recognized. Would you all stand? (Applause.)

Many of you perhaps know that one in four of America's Presidents trace their roots to Ireland's shores, beginning with Andrew Jackson, the son of immigrants from Carrickfergus, to John Fitzgerald Kennedy whose forebears came from County Wexford. I know I am only the latest in this time-honored tradition, but I'm proud to be the first sitting American President to make it back to Belfast. (Applause.)

At this holiday season all around the world, the promise of peace is in the air. The barriers of the Cold War are giving way to a global village where communication and cooperation are the order of the day. From South Africa to the Middle East, and now to troubled Bosnia, conflicts long thought impossible to solve are moving along the road to resolution. Once-bitter foes are clasping hands and changing history. And long-suffering people are moving closer to normal lives.

Here in Northern Ireland, you are making a miracle -- a miracle symbolized by those two children who held hands and told us what this whole thing is all about. In the land of the harp and the fiddle, the fife and the lambeeg drum, two proud traditions are coming together in the harmonies of peace. The cease-fire and negotiations have sparked a powerful transformation.

Mackie's Plant is a symbol of Northern Ireland's rebirth. It has long been a symbol of world-class engineering. The textile machines you make permit people to weave disparate threads into remarkable fabrics. That is now what you must do here with the people of Northern Ireland.

Here we lie along the peace line, the wall of steel and stone separating Protestant from Catholic. But today, under the leadership of Pat Dougan, you are bridging the divide, overcoming a legacy of discrimination where fair employment and integration are the watchwords of the future.

On this shop floor men and women of both traditions are working together to achieve common goals. Peace, once a distant dream, is now making a difference in everyday life in this land. Soldiers have left the streets of Belfast; many have gone home. People can go to the pub or the store without the burden of the search or the threat of a bomb. As barriers disappear along the border, families and communities divided for decades are becoming whole once more.

This year in Armagh on St. Patrick's Day, Protestant and Catholic children led the parade together for the first time

since The Troubles began. A bystander's words marked the wonder of the occasion when he said, "Even the normal is beginning to seem normal."

The economic rewards of peace are evident as well. Unemployment has fallen here to its lowest level in 14 years, while retail sales and investment are surging. Far from the gleaming city center, to the new shop fronts of Belfast, to the Enterprise Center in East Belfast, business is thriving and opportunities are expanding. With every extra day that the guns are still, business confidence grows stronger and the promise of prosperity grows as well.

As the shroud of terror melts away, Northern Ireland's beauty has been revealed again to all the world -- the castles and coasts, the Giants Causeway, the lush green hills, the high white cliffs -- a magical backdrop to your greatest asset which I saw all along the way from the airport here today, the warmth and good feeling of your people. Visitors are now coming in record numbers. Indeed, today, the air route between Belfast and London is the second busiest in all of Europe.

I want to honor those whose courage and vision have brought us to this point: Prime Minister Major, Prime Minister Bruton, and before him, Prime Minister Reynolds, laid the background and the basis for this era of reconciliation. From the Downing Street Declaration to the joint framework document, they altered the course of history. Now, just in the last few days, by launching the twin-track initiative, they have opened a promising new gateway to a just and lasting peace. Foreign Minister Spring, Sir Patrick Mayhew, David Trimble and John Hume all have labored to realize the promise of peace. And Gerry Adams, along with Loyalist leaders such as David Irvine and Gary McMichael, helped to silence the guns on the streets and to bring about the first peace in a generation.

But most of all, America salutes all the people of Northern Ireland who have shown the world in concrete ways that here the will for peace is now stronger than the weapons of war. With mixed sporting events encouraging competition on the playing field, not the battlefield; with women's support groups, literacy programs, job training centers that served both communities -- these and countless other initiatives bolster the foundations of peace as well.

Last year's cease-fire of the Irish Republican Army, joined by the combined Loyalist Military Command, marked a turning point in the history of Northern Ireland. Now is the time to sustain that momentum and lock in the gains of peace.

Neither community wants to go back to the violence of the past. The children told of that today. Both parties must do their part to move this process forward now.

Let me begin by saying that the search for common ground demands the courage of an open mind. This twin-track initiative gives the parties a chance to begin preliminary talks in ways in which all views will be represented and all voices will be heard. It also establishes an international body to address the issue of arms decommissioning. I hope the parties will seize this opportunity. Engaging in honest dialogue is not an act of surrender, it is an act of strength and common sense. (Applause.)

Moving from cease-fire to peace requires dialogue. For 25 years now the history of Northern Ireland has been written in the blood of its children and their parents. The cease-fire turned the page on that history; it must not be allowed to turn back. (Applause.)

There must also be progress away from the negotiating table. Violence has lessened, but it has not disappeared. The leaders of the four main churches recently condemned the so-called punishment beatings and called for an end to such attacks. I add my voice to theirs. (Applause.)

As the church leaders said, this is a time when the utmost efforts on all sides are needed to build a peaceful and confident community in the future. But true peace requires more than a treaty, even more than the absence of violence. Those who have suffered most in the fighting must share fairly in the fruits of renewal. The frustration that gave rise to violence must give way to faith in the future.

The United States will help to secure the tangible benefits of peace. Ours is the first American administration ever to support in the Congress the International Fund for Ireland, which has become an engine for economic development and for reconciliation. We will continue to encourage trade and investment and to help end the cycle of unemployment.

We are proud to support Northern Ireland. You have given America a very great deal. Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic together have added to America's strength. From our battle for independence down to the present day, the Irish have not only fought in our wars, they have built our nation, and we owe you a very great debt. (Applause.)

Let me say that of all the gifts we can offer in return, perhaps the most enduring and the most precious is the example of what is possible when people find unity and strength in their diversity. We know from our own experience even today how hard that is to do. After all, we fought a great Civil War over the issue of race and slavery in which hundreds of thousands of our people were killed.

Today, in one of our counties alone, in Los Angeles, there are over 150 different ethnic and racial groups represented. We know we can become stronger if we bridge our differences. But we learned in our own Civil War that that has to begin with a change of the heart.

I grew up in the American South, in one of the states that tried to break from the American Union. My forebears on my father's side were soldiers in the Confederate Army. I was reading the other day a book about our first governor after the Civil War who fought for the Union Army, and who lost members of his own family. They lived the experience so many of you have lived. When this governor took office and looked out over a sea of his fellow citizens who fought on the other side, he said these words: "We have all done wrong. No one can say his heart is altogether clean and his hands altogether pure. Thus, as we wish to be forgiven, let us forgive those who have sinned against us and ours." That was the beginning of America's reconciliation, and it must be the beginning of Northern Ireland's reconciliation. (Applause.)

It is so much easier to believe that our differences matter more than what we have in common. It is easier, but it is wrong. We all cherish family and faith, work and community. We all strive to live lives that are free and honest and responsible. We all want our children to grow up in a world where their talents are matched by their opportunities. And I believe those values are just as strong in County Londonderry as they are in Londonderry, New Hampshire; in Belfast, Northern Ireland as in Belfast, Maine.

I am proud to be of Ulster Scots stock. I am proud to be, also, of Irish stock. I share these roots with millions and millions of Americans, now over 40 million Americans. And we rejoice at things being various, as Louis MacNeice once wrote. It is one of the things that makes America special.

Because our greatness flows from the wealth of our diversity as well as the strength of the ideals we share in common, we feel bound to support others around the world who seek to bridge their own divides. This is an important part of our

country's mission on the eve of the 21st century, because we know that the chain of peace that protects us grows stronger with every new link that is forged.

For the first time in half a century now, we can put our children to bed at night knowing that the nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union are no longer pointed at those children. In South Africa, the long night of apartheid has given way to a new freedom for all peoples. In the Middle East, Arabs and Israelis are stepping beyond war to peace in an area where many believed peace would never come. In Haiti, a brutal dictatorship has given way to a fragile new democracy. In Europe, the dream of a stable, undivided free continent seems finally within reach as the people of Bosnia have the first real hope for peace since the terrible fighting began there nearly four years ago.

The United States looks forward to working with our allies here in Europe and others to help the people in Bosnia -- the Muslims, the Croats, the Serbs -- to move beyond their divisions and their destructions to make the peace agreement they have made a reality in the lives of their people.

Those who work for peace have got to support one another. We know that when leaders stand up for peace, they place their forces on the line, and sometimes their very lives on the line, as we learned so recently in the tragic murder of the brave Prime Minister of Israel. For, just as peace has its pioneers, peace will always have its rivals. Even when children stand up and say what these children said today, there will always be people who, deep down inside, will never be able to give up the past.

Over the last three years I have had the privilege of meeting with and closely listening to both Nationalists and Unionists from Northern Ireland, and I believe that the greatest struggle you face now is not between opposing ideas or opposing interests. The greatest struggle you face is between those who, deep down inside, are inclined to be peacemakers, and those who, deep down inside, cannot yet embrace the cause of peace. Between those who are in the ship of peace and those who are trying to sink it, old habits die hard. There will always be those who define the worth of their lives not by who they are, but by who they aren't; not by what they're for, but by what they are against. They will never escape the dead-end street of violence. But you, the vast majority, Protestant and Catholic alike, must not allow the ship of peace to sink on the rocks of old habits and hard grudges. (Applause.)

You must stand firm against terror. You must say to those who still would use violence for political objectives -- you are

the past; your day is over. Violence has no place at the table of democracy, and no role in the future of this land. By the same token, you must also be willing to say to those who renounce violence and who do take their own risks for peace that they are entitled to be full participants in the democratic process. Those who show the courage -- (applause) -- those who do show the courage to break with the past are entitled to their stake in the future.

As leaders for peace become invested in the process, as leaders make compromises and risk the backlash, people begin more and more -- I have seen this all over the world -- they begin more and more to develop a common interest in each other's success; in standing together rather than standing apart. They realize that the sooner they get to true peace, with all the rewards it brings, the sooner it will be easy to discredit and destroy the forces of destruction.

We will stand with those who take risks for peace, in Northern Ireland and around the world. I pledge that we will do all we can, through the International Fund for Ireland and in many other ways, to ease your load. If you walk down this path continually, you will not walk alone. We are entering an era of possibility unparalleled in all of human history. If you enter that era determined to build a new age of peace, the United States of America will proudly stand with you. (Applause.)

But at the end of the day, as with all free people, your future is for you to decide. Your destiny is for you to determine. Only you can decide between division and unity, between hard lives and high hopes. Only you can create a lasting peace. It takes courage to let go of familiar divisions. It takes faith to walk down a new road. But when we see the bright gaze of these children, we know the risk is worth the reward.

I have been so touched by the thousands of letters I have received from schoolchildren here, telling me what peace means to them. One young girl from Ballymena wrote -- and I quote -- "It is not easy to forgive and forget, especially for those who have lost a family member or a close friend. However, if people could look to the future with hope instead of the past with fear, we can only be moving in the right direction." I couldn't have said it nearly as well.

I believe you can summon the strength to keep moving forward. After all, you have come so far already. You have braved so many dangers, you have endured so many sacrifices. Surely, there can be no turning back. But peace must be waged with a warrior's resolve -- bravely, proudly, and relentlessly --

secure in the knowledge of the single, greatest difference between war and peace: In peace, everybody can win. (Applause.)

I was overcome today when I landed in my plane and I drove with Hillary up the highway to come here by the phenomenal beauty of the place and the spirit and the goodwill of the people. Northern Ireland has a chance not only to begin anew, but to be a real inspiration to the rest of the world, a model of progress through tolerance.

Let us join our efforts together as never before to make that dream a reality. Let us join our prayers in this season of peace for a future of peace in this good land.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:25 A.M. (L)

Handwritten notes:
Tony
Mackie
speech
(Mackie) this is too detailed but it could help

President's Speech at Mackie Plant, Belfast, Northern Ireland

Sources

Consul General Kathleen Stephens in Belfast, (1232-328239 office) (b)(6) home
Pat Dougan, Chief Executive, Mackie, Ltd.

Context

This is the major substantive statement of the President's visit to Northern Ireland. It should be modelled along similar lines to the speech the President made in May 1995 at the White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland in which the President affirmed the deep ties the U.S. enjoys to both traditions in Northern Ireland and highlighted the new opportunities for U.S. trade and investment there.

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The Mackie speech, on the occasion of the first visit ever to Northern Ireland of a sitting American President, will set the tone for continued U.S. engagement here. The President should use the occasion to 1) declare that there is no going back from the peace Northern Ireland now enjoys -- the only way is forward -- through the democratic process and 2) welcome the economic and social renaissance now underway -- and describe how the U.S. continues to support it.

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Acknowledgements

Pat Dougan should be thanked for his cooperation in making the Mackie facility available.

Setting

Mackie International, a precision engineering company known for a century-plus tradition of building the best textile machinery in the world, occupies a new site straddling the "peaceline" divide between Catholic and Protestant sections of West Belfast. Formerly a Protestant-family owned business which was one of the largest employers of Protestant workers in Northern Ireland, the company by the late 1980s was long on tradition and short on performance, unable to compete effectively in national and international markets. With substantial help from British government funds and OPIC, Mackie has reemerged as the "flagship of West Belfast industry," smaller and leaner than in its earlier days, but competitive and committed to fair employment.

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The Mackie site is a powerful one from which the President can speak about Northern Ireland's past industrial greatness and its current promise, about the importance of leaving behind discriminatory practices and bringing people together through jobs and in the workplace, as Mackie's, situated as it is on the divide in West Belfast, graphically demonstrates.

Contents

Economic progress made to date -- see attached points from IDB

A nod to Seamus Heaney, Nobel Prize winner for poetry from Derry:

Handwritten: ← see for Derry

-- perhaps the quote about "once in a lifetime the longed for tidal wave of justice can rise up, and hope and history rhyme."

Memorandum

To: Nancy Soderberg & Mary Ann Peters, National Security Council
From: Joseph Jamison
Subject: Suggestions on the Speech, the Soundbites of the President's Trip
Date: November 21, 1995

I hope Mary Ann was right when she phoned yesterday cautiously optimistic that the long-sought movement ending the stalemate has arrived. If so, it is a great achievement of the Clinton NSC, and, in particular, of Tony Lake and both of you.

Here are a few last-minute rough notes on what, to me, would be desirable messages during the President's trip. Much of this, perhaps, you already know. I assume the core itinerary, the venues, the main symbolic events have been settled by the governments and the political party leaders. I mention only those things that may still be undecided. On the plane on the December 1994 Ron Brown trip to Ireland, Kathy Stephens, for example, was kind enough to share with me some of the draft speeches of the Secretary. After discussing them, I think we improved them, and prevented some gaffes.

These are my ideas, but I suggest them to you only after consulting with community groups and trade unionists on both sides of the divide in Belfast. Many were in Washington in May.

The Speech and Its Media Impact in the USA

Many of us have been working with the DNC and the Re-election Campaign on ethnic outreach plans for 96. The media impact of the trip in Irish America is key. I know these considerations cannot be #1 on your agenda. But they are uppermost in my mind. Ignore the worry that the Tory tabloids will attack the President for "pandering" to Irish America. Of course they will. Those editorials have already been written.

Build on the good part of the President's May 1995 speech.

Inclusiveness must be a central theme of the trip, economically and politically. Develop the theme of targeting areas of greatest need together with the involvement of local communities. *The Clinton aid and trade program will target areas of greatest need.* The European Union money, for example, is being targeted using objective indicators of economic and social deprivation. It is the only way the program can underpin -- and not undermine -- the peace process. The resistance of local Northern Ireland officials with Unionist sympathies -- Baroness Denton, *et al.*, to fairness for the nationalist minority is a stubborn reality. Twenty-Six County politicians have parochial interests, too. If trade and aid go to the wrong places, it could actually *harm* the peace process. Help should go to the most deprived, regardless of political allegiance or religious affiliation.

Don't repeat the exact language of the May 1995 Washington speech; it is *not* safe ground. A repetition of what the President said at the Washington Investment Conference will be very offensive to Northern nationalists. They took it politely in Washington, on Bill Clinton's own

turf. They might not, on their own turf. There were gross distortions -- wrung by British pressure and apparently consented to by the Bruton Government -- on "decommissioning" and "punishment beatings." We have been in the soup ever since.

The offensive language was: *"Violence is diminished, but it has not disappeared. I call on all those who continue to employ violence to end the punishment beatings and the intimidation. And to all of you who are observing the ceasefire I appeal to you to take the next step and begin to discuss the decommissioning of weapons. Paramilitaries on both sides must get rid of the bombs and guns for good. And the specter of violence that has haunted Ireland must be banished once and for all."*

All sane people abhor punishment beatings. Like decommissioning, everybody knows it must be addressed by the peace process. But punishment beatings mainly arise from the absence of an acceptable community police force. In nationalist ghettos, the RUC does not function. If the British and the Unionists would allow thoroughgoing reform of the RUC, which they resist, there would be no community vigilantism in law enforcement. Vigilantism fills the policing gap. Thus, like decommissioning, punishment beatings are a symptom of the larger problem, to be dealt with by the new political structures to be created by the coming all-party talks, not an obstacle to progress, unless we foolishly make it so. Some in the North want to turn punishment beatings into the next pre-condition. This is the next trap. You must avoid it.

The Message

There was much excellent material in the President's May speech. Expand on themes of justice and fairness at the heart of change. Other useful buzz words: *equal treatment, inclusiveness, a sense of justice toward each other, development of partnerships within and between communities in Northern Ireland, etc.*

Moreover, in the Framework Document, February 1995, -- whose phrases our President should liberally borrow in his speeches -- the two governments have committed to a process of equalization of the two sections of the community in the North: *"parity of esteem, "equality of treatment," "equality of opportunity."* Much of Unionism is receptive to this. Grassroots Unionist party opinion, pragmatic Unionist business opinion and even ex-paramilitary loyalist working class leaders are miles ahead of Trimble and Paisley in sensing the inevitability of basic change. Trimble and Paisley lag behind their communities.

Themes, Imagery, Buzzwords. The President should challenge all in Ireland and Britain to become partners in peacemaking, to engage in all-embracing dialogue, to take confidence-building measures and to adopt measures to build trust in a long-divided society.

Human Rights Themes for the President's Speeches:

1. While Irish American groups were pleased by hearing the language they sought on "targeting areas of greatest need", in fact, it is moot until some inward investment actually shows up.
2. The US attaches great importance to the protection of the human rights of

everyone in Northern Ireland.

3. *Justice and fairness at the heart of change*
 - a. Express sympathy for all victims of the conflict, whether from paramilitary violence or state violence.
 - b. Say the US Administration is following closely the recommendations submitted to the Fair Employment Legislation Review submitted by the Standing Advisory Council on Human Rights
 - c. Express concern about early release of prisoners. *It would be very powerful if before or during his trip, President Clinton could announce humanitarian measures on the 12 or so US deportation cases.* I sent a memo to David Martin, General Counsel at INS on this.
 - d. Talk about US incentive packages to draw investors to areas of greatest disadvantage, loyalist and nationalist. If it can be done in the USA it can be done in the Six Counties.
 - e. Express concern about progress toward a community police service acceptable to all sections of the community.

Making The Politics of Inclusion Visible

It is also important, for Irish American consumption, that campaigning groups, community groups, human rights organizations, individuals known in Irish-America as partisans of the disadvantaged (e.g., Inez McCormack; Father Des Wilson, Oliver Kearney, etc.) are kept at the center of events and are visible "welcomers" of the President during the trip. My compliments to Martha Pope, Susan Brophy and other organizers of the May Conference in Washington who took risks by being inclusive in conditions of uncertainty. It paid off. These equality campaigners added credibility to the Conference. They were team players.

So far, I'm hearing that such advocates have been politely talked to, but not included. It is important to ensure that categories of people who are arguing for change are invited to everything, affirmed at everything and seen at everything. On the broad human rights agenda, the core invitees to be insisted upon are CAJ and ICCL -- the two key civil liberties bodies North and South. There are key community groups and leaders such as Shankill Regeneration Strategy, Clar Nua, and Inez McCormack. She, by the way, has drafted for Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith several memos on how the presence of Mrs Clinton among unionist and nationalist women's organizations can set the right tone to convey American women's support for cross-community reconciliation.

Do's and Don'ts

Do reassure the Protestant adherents of Unionism, without pandering to intransigent political Unionism, or ignoring its bigoted side. Give the Unionists respect by extolling the immense historical achievements in Ireland and America. *Find twenty seven ways to reaffirm the key principle of consens.* One possible idea: The President and Mrs. Clinton are American Protestants. Let them be Protestants in Northern Ireland. Find ways for the President to

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002. memo	Joseph Jamison to Nancy Soderberg and Mary Ann Peters re: Suggestions on the Speech (partial) (1 page)	11/21/1995	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
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reassuringly use evangelical imagery and the word "covenant," and to praise the enormous liberty-loving, pro-freedom-of-conscience, noble aspects of the Protestant political and moral legacy. In this context, praising them and appealing to the justified pride of this section of the Northern community (many US Presidents etc etc), the President should challenge them to take risks for peace and to dialogue with their fellow inhabitants of the island of Ireland.

Don't let the speech attack the MacBride Principles. It would do untold political damage among ordinary Irish-American voters. He should talk about equality of opportunity. He can even use the language of his major domestic speech reaffirming US affirmative action policies.

Don't let the speech make the mistake on punishment beatings that was made on decommissioning. A natural desire to be even-handed and to "give something to the Unionists," put us all on the hook for nine months. Many in the North have heard the President wants to emphasize punishment beatings. It cannot be done by a US President. It lets the British government off the hook regarding its failure to create a decent police force.

Don't let the President give the impression that change has already happened and that justice and fairness are the order of the day. They are not. Not yet.

Don't let his speeches ignore the human rights agenda.

Don't let them downplay the equality issue. Sectarian inequality is a bitter reality. Catholic and Protestant not on equal terms in the North. Catholics make up the bulk of the long term unemployed, and there is deep bitterness. These marginalized people become recruits of the paramilitaries.

Don't let the President appear to be captured by the British and Irish governments. Many think that golf at Ballybunion seems trivial and parochial. The President and Mrs Clinton must "go among the people" in some symbolic ways in the North in a cross community setting. I know you are working on this.

Let us hope, finally, that 26 county voters don't do something really stupid and vote to keep the ban on divorce on Friday.

Final thought on the speech: If in doubt -- on a word or turn of phrase -- trust John Hume's judgment, not that of the Dublin Government. Hume understands the North, and, above all, understands what Sinn Fein and the loyalists can live with. In Dublin, the only ones I trust are Sean O'Huiginn and Brendan Scannell. Consistently, for a year, Bruton, a well-meaning man acting according to his lights, who fancies he understands Unionism, has risked a rupture with Northern Nationalism. This has made US support for the peace process much more complicated, I think.

I urgently would like to speak with the President's speechwriter to talk about these ideas. I can be reached at my office all day 212-777-6040 or, since Thanksgiving looms, home (b)(6)

(b)(6) Keep up the good work!