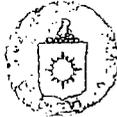

Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

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

Documents from this Mandatory Declassification Review were released in full or released in part.

Those documents released with redactions have been restricted under Sections 1.4 (c) and (d) and Section 3.5(c) of E.O. 13526.

ON - Ireland



Washington, D.C. 20505

16 December 1994

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as. foli*

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: The Economics of Peace

The attached paper was prepared by [redacted] Office of European Analysis,
for Senator George Mitchell in his capacity as Special Advisor for Economic Initiatives in
Ireland. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed [redacted]

[redacted]

The attached report is UNCLASSIFIED when separated from this cover note. [redacted]

Attachment:
As Stated

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015 - 0156 - M
7/30/15 KBM

Sean O'HUIGINN
(Phonetic: o-heh-GEEN)

IRELAND

*Ambassador to the United States
(since September 1997)*

Addressed as: Mr. Ambassador 3.5c



Respected career diplomat Sean O'Huiginn is serving in his third ambassadorial assignment and second US tour. (He was Ireland's Consul General in New York during 1980-83.) The Ambassador has been described by knowledgeable observers as one of the preeminent experts on the Northern Ireland peace process and also as one of the Irish bureaucracy's greenest (most nationalistic) members; in fact, one experienced journalist has characterized O'Huiginn as the most formidable exponent of Irish nationalism that he has ever encountered. 1.4c, 1.4d
O'Huiginn is a sophisticated, urbane, and intellectual official who is a master at conceptualizing and drafting agreements. 3.5c

3.5c
O'Huiginn as well educated, articulate, and cosmopolitan and able to hold forth impressively on medieval history, contemporary art, and international politics.

3.5c
During his tenure as head of the Department of Foreign Affairs' Anglo-Irish Division (1992-September 1997), O'Huiginn established himself as a man who prefers to work behind the scenes, according to press reports. 1.4c, 1.4d

3.5c
head of the Irish delegation to Belfast's Maryfield Secretariat, an investigative body formed under the provisions of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. While there, O'Huiginn was responsible for fielding and evaluating nationalists' complaints about civil rights

violations and harassment by Ulster security forces. Maryfield's occupants eventually came to refer to the heavily guarded facility as "the bunker," according to press reports. O'Huiginn reportedly came to be known by British officials as Dublin's "dark prince" because of his occasional brooding manner. 3.5c

O'Huiginn was born on 25 September 1944 in County Mayo (northwest Ireland). He holds a bachelor's degree from University College, Galway, and a master's degree from the University of Bordeaux. He joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1969. In addition to his two tours in the United States, O'Huiginn has served abroad as head of Ireland's CSCE delegation in Geneva (1974-76), Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1983-87), and Ambassador to Denmark (1990-91). 3.5c

O'Huiginn recently changed the spelling of his name from the original "O'hUiginn" to avoid confusing American audiences, according to press reports. He is reported to be fluent in six languages. He is married to the former Bernadette Gallagher, a sculptor and onetime broadcaster. They have two children. 3.5c

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3.5c

3.5c

2015-0156-M
7/30/15 KBM

LP 98-102894
6 March 1998

Bertie AHERN

(Phonetic: uhHERN)

IRELAND

*Taoiseach (Prime Minister, since June 1997);
Leader, Fianna Fail (since 1995)*

Addressed as: *Taoiseach (tèe-shuk)* [redacted]

He is every great Irish mother's son.

The Irish Times, November 1994

*He's the man . . . the most cunning, devious,
and ruthless of my ministers.*

*Former Taoiseach Charles Haughey,
circa 1991* [redacted]



© (1994)

Bertie Ahern, leader of Ireland's largest political party, became Taoiseach in a close vote in the Dail, the lower house of Parliament, last June. (He won the support of 85 of the Dail's 166 members.) He has since lost one of his supporters to resignation—Foreign Minister Ray Burke turned in his notice in the midst of a corruption investigation last October. Ahern has also found himself having to mollify two independent members of the Dail—who, along with the Progressive Democrats, keep Fianna Fail in power—ever since he agreed to expel Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, from Northern Ireland peace talks in February, according to press reports. (Sinn Fein's expulsion, which lasted from 20 February until 9 March, came about after the Irish Republican Army allegedly committed two murders in Ulster.) [redacted]

Ahern, at least in the view of Irish voters, has handled his duties well since June; 75 percent of the respondents to a December press poll expressed satisfaction with him. (That result reportedly made him the most popular taoiseach in over 20 years.) Throughout his tenure, Ahern has burnished Fianna Fail's credentials as Ireland's most nationalistic political party. He has been at the forefront of those calling for—and granting—measures that will build confidence in the peace process. At the same time, he also has sought to reassure Ulster unionists

The Taoiseach Up Close [redacted]

[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d Ahern is bright, relaxed, soft-spoken, and charming. He is at heart a conciliator, and his "backroom negotiating skills," forged in labor union negotiations and during service as Fianna Fail's chief whip (1980-81), reportedly served him well during the runup to the May 1997 election and as he built support in the Dail for his election as Taoiseach. [redacted]

Colleagues say Ahern is capable of "steely resolve." [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] He did a commendable job as Finance Minister (1991-94), however, laying the groundwork for Ireland's current economic "boom," according to press reports. [redacted]

that Dublin does not wish to impose a united Ireland upon them against their will. [redacted]

The Common Touch [redacted]

Ahern, a former accountant, speaks with a working-class accent, and—much like Haughey, his

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

(continued)
LP 98-102896
10 March 1998

2015 - 0156 - M
7/30/15 KBM

mentor—portrays himself as a common man, according to press [1.4c, 1.4d] reports. The press has also noted that Ahern invariably is cheerful and friendly, characteristics that have helped him to build and maintain a warm and close rapport with people across Ireland's social and political spectrum. Ahern still lives in the neighborhood where he grew up and enjoys an occasional pint of ale at a pub across the road from his office, according to press reports. He reportedly has maintained his membership in the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland, as well as the good relations he established with other Irish trade unions while serving as his party's chief spokesperson on labor and public service during 1984-87. []

Ahern has been described by Irish media observers as a devout but "pragmatic" Roman Catholic; he takes a conservative stand on social issues like contraception and abortion, according to press reports. [1.4c, 1.4d]

[]

[] Press observers have noted that Ahern is quite open about his domestic situation and that he spends considerable time with his two teenage daughters. []

Career and Personal Data []

Ahern was born in Dublin on 12 September 1951. (His father, who apparently had a

tremendous influence on him, fought for the IRA around 1919-20, according to press reports.) Bertie Ahern became known at age 13 as Fianna Fail's "director of lampposts" for his ability to emblazon his Drumcondra neighborhood with campaign posters, according to press reports. He later graduated from Rathmines College of Commerce and University College, Dublin. (He also holds diplomas in taxation, business administration, and computer studies from the London School of Economics, according to press reports.) Ahern's career as an accountant included service with the Irish Milk Board (1969-73) and Mater Hospital in Dublin (1974-87). He was elected to the Dail on his first attempt in 1977. He later served as minister of state at the Department of Defense (1980-81), opposition chief whip (1982-84), Lord Mayor of Dublin (1986-87), and Minister for Labor (1987-91). While serving as Lord Mayor, Ahern was known to work as many as 100 hours per week, and he donated his entire 1987 salary to charity, according to press reports. []

Ahern enjoys reading and watching soccer, according to press reports. He is a founding member of the Hampton Sports Club and has served as chairman of the Drumcondra Football Club. His brother, Noel, has been a member of the Dail since 1992. []

Mary McALEESE

IRELAND

President (since October 1997)

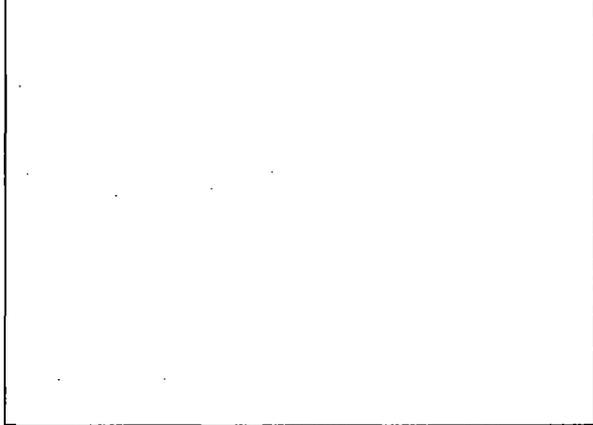
Addressed as: Madam President 3.5c

I'm an Irishwoman, nothing more, nothing less, and I'm no less an Irishwoman because I was born in Belfast.

Mary McAleese, October 1997 3.5c

Former law professor Mary McAleese lived and worked on both sides of the Irish border before she became the eighth head of state since the Republic's constitution was adopted in 1937. (She is the first northern-born holder of the largely ceremonial post.) McAleese has been characterized by the press as a woman of formidable intellect, energy, and personality. She also has been described as thoughtful, complex, individualistic, and "one of the bright hopes of her generation." McAleese's candidacy was sponsored by Ireland's governing parties, the strongly nationalist Fianna Fail and the center-right Progressive Democrats. 3.5c

McAleese promised during her election campaign that, as president, she would build bridges between the island's disparate communities—an endeavor that apparently is proving difficult for her in office. 1.4c, 1.4d



She gained considerable notoriety in December 1997, for example, by taking Communion at a Protestant church in

3.5c

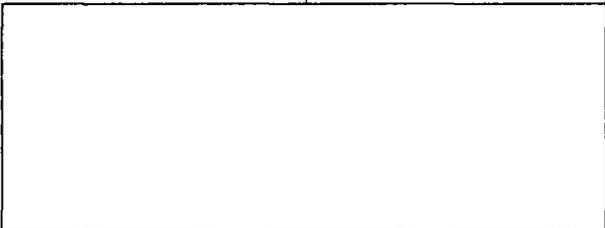


©

"She's No Mary Robinson" 3.5c

McAleese has succeeded former President Mary Robinson in two posts, those of Reid Professor of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Penology at Trinity College, Dublin (1975-79, 1981-87), and President of Ireland. As President, McAleese has found her workload compared unfavorably with that of her tireless predecessor, press reports say. As an Ulster native, she also has fought to overcome the feeling—reportedly held by many in the Republic—that she is an outsider. (Robinson, by contrast, has been called the "Joan of Arc of Dublin's chattering classes" by pundits.) McAleese's popularity rating dropped from 82 percent to a very un-Robinson-like 69 percent during November 1997–April 1998. 3.5c

Dublin, an act that many of her fellow Roman Catholics viewed as a violation of church law, according to press reports. 1.4c, 1.4d



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2015-0156-M
7/30/15 KBH

(continued)
LP 98-106797
15 June 1998

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c



EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d, EO 13526 3.5c

UNITED KINGDOM
Marjorie MOWLAM

©

(Phonetic: MOEluhm)

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
(since May 1997)

Addressed as: Secretary [3.5c]

Marjorie "Mo" Mowlam oversees the economic and political well-being of Northern Ireland's 1.5 million residents. She also serves on the National Executive Committee, the Labor Party's 29-member governing body. A former university lecturer in Britain and the United States, Mowlam is highly regarded by political allies and opponents alike for her intelligence, creativity, and charm, according to press [1.4c, 1.4d] reports. However, it is her raucous sense of humor and outspokenness--on topics ranging from her undergarments to the royal family--that reportedly have endeared her to her constituents. Mowlam is a member of the "North East Mafia," Labor members of Parliament (MPs) whose constituencies--and political leanings--are especially close to those of Prime Minister Tony Blair, according to press reports [3.5c]

[3.5c, 1.4c]

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7/20/98

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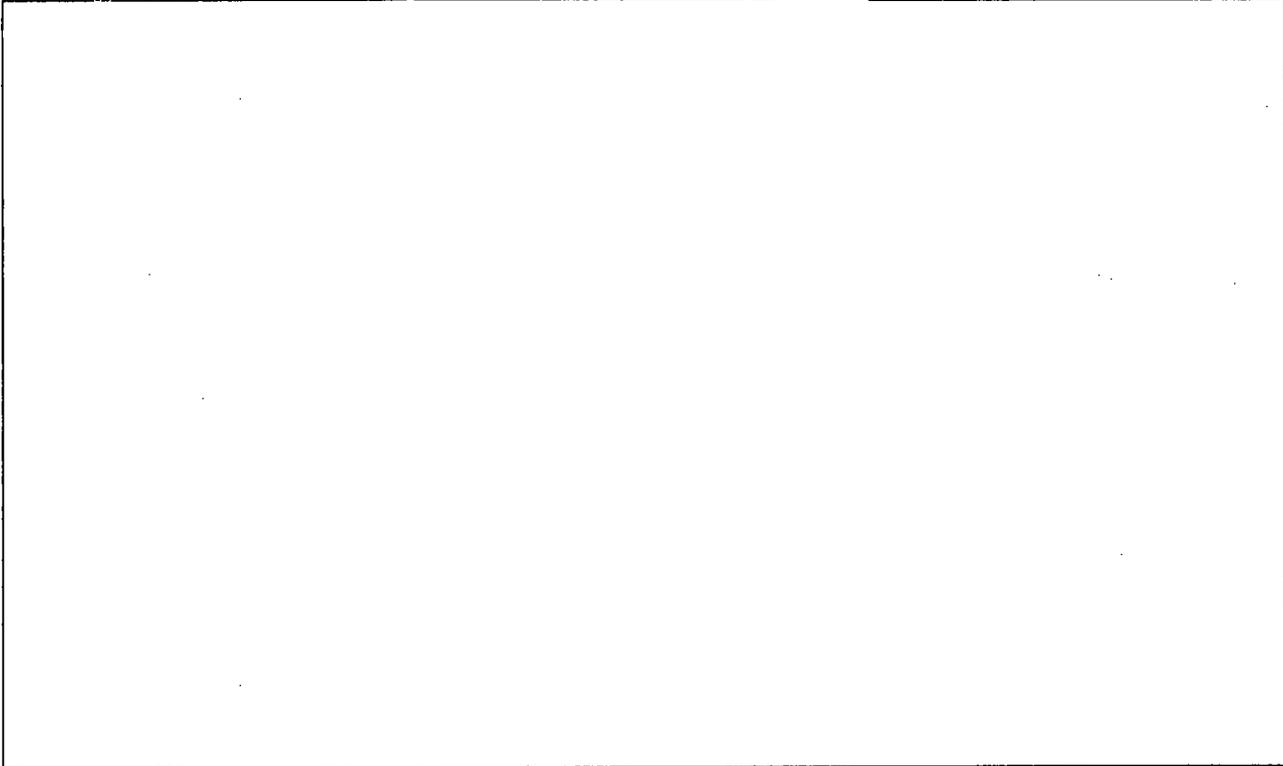
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Mowlam has made impressive strides through Labor Party ranks since first being elected to the House of Commons in 1987: she has served as a parliamentary spokesperson on Northern Ireland (1987-89), trade and industry (1989-92), and the Citizens' Charter and women (1992-93). She also was shadow secretary of state for national heritage during 1993-94 and Northern Ireland during 1994 - May 1997. The press [1.4c] note that Mowlam has emphasized women's issues and civil rights in each of her assignments. They add that she has been a staunch supporter of Labor's last three leaders as they have maneuvered the party toward the political center. The Irish press reported in late February 1998 that Mowlam and Blair have discussed her possible appointment as Labor Party chairman when the Prime Minister shuffles his Cabinet, possibly in July. [3.5c]

Mowlam actively sought the Northern Ireland portfolio during Labor's 1994 shadow cabinet election; she observed about that time that there is "something about Ulster that draws one in and then makes it difficult to withdraw." Mowlam subsequently won praise for keeping her party united behind the then Conservative government's peace efforts. She also reached out to leaders of both Northern Ireland "traditions," particularly unionists--and reportedly warned them that the status quo would not be an option if Labor came to power. During her tenure as shadow secretary, Mowlam expressed support for using international funds for job training schemes in Northern Ireland, establishing a bill of rights to help soothe both unionist and nationalist nerves, and recruiting more Catholics and women into the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). [3.5c]

Out of the Frying Pan . . . [3.5c]

Mowlam got off to a fast start as Northern Ireland Secretary last May. The first woman to hold the post, she went "walkabout" in Belfast just hours after her appointment and startled residents there with her warm and outgoing manner, according to press reports. (Much was said in the Ulster press about the contrast between Mowlam's demeanor and that of her staid and conservative predecessor, Sir Patrick Mayhew.) She also engaged in what was later described as a punishing schedule of meetings with Northern Ireland political leaders and security officials. [1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c]



Career and Personal Data [3.5c]

Mowlam was born on 18 September 1949 in Southall, Middlesex. She holds a bachelor's degree in social anthropology (1971) from Durham University. She also holds master's and doctoral degrees (1978) from the University of Iowa. Mowlam has worked as a research assistant for writer Alvin Toffler and left-wing Labor MP Tony Benn, according to press reports. She has also lectured at Florida State University (1977-78) and the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1979-83). Mowlam was an administrator with Northern College, in Barnsley, during 1984-87. She became the "surprise"--and successful--Labor candidate for the Redcar seat in the House of Commons when the incumbent officeholder announced his retirement just three weeks before the 1987 election, according to media accounts. 3.5c

In December 1996, after experiencing a twitch in one arm, Mowlam was diagnosed with a non-malignant brain tumor, according to press reports. She reportedly was treated with radiotherapy and steroids and, in November 1997, told TV presenter Sir David Frost that she was "fully back to health." 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

Mowlam enjoys swimming, travel, walking, and jigsaw puzzles. She was on the rowing team at Durham University. She has also played on parliamentary soccer and hockey teams, according to press reports. Mowlam speaks some French. She is married to Jon Norton, an investment banker. He has two daughters. Mowlam has publicly acknowledged that the two girls' "constant nagging" helped her to quit smoking. 3.5c

10 March 1998

1.4c, 3.5c