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UNDER/ SEC 28/11  
- 2 NOV 1992  
CENT SEC

13131

FROM: D BROOKER  
SIL DIVISION  
30 OCTOBER 1992

*It - see -  
draft 30/10.*

- cc PS/Ministers(L+B) -B
- PS/PUS(L+B) -B
- PS/Mr Fell -B
- Mr Ledlie -B
- Mr Thomas(L+B) -B
- Mr Loughran -B
- Mr Bell(L+B) -B
- Mr Alston -B
- Mr Wood(L+B) -B
- Mr Cooke(L+B) -B
- Mr D J R Hill(L+B) -B
- Mr Farr, RID, FCO -B
- Mr Powell, Washington -B
- Mr Caine -B

ASST SEC - 7 NOV 1992  
CENT SEC

*cc Mr Watkins*

PS/Secretary of State(L+B) -B

GOVERNOR CLINTON: APPOINTMENT OF A US PEACE ENVOY

- 1. cc Mr McNeill NIB
  - 2. Mr Nagels
- H&Z 2.11*

The Secretary of State has asked that we have a line to take ready, on the appointment of a US peace envoy, should Governor Clinton be elected President next week.

2. It might be useful for the Secretary of State to see the attached note from Mr Powell in the Washington Embassy which gives a preliminary analysis of what lies behind Clinton's statements on Northern Ireland and how firmly attached he is to individual issues, not only a peace envoy but his encouragement for the MacBride principles, a visa for Gerry Adams and human rights issues. It is, of course, impossible to say with any certainty how hard Clinton would want (or be driven by political expediency) to press individual issues but he clearly could have made something of a stronger pitch on Northern Ireland if he had wanted to. He seems to be pitching his intentions towards the lower end of the scale of what might be regarded as necessary to keep the important Irish/American lobby on side.

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On the appointment of a peace envoy he has left himself some possible room for manoeuvre. In the attached letter to Bruce Morrison, for example - Morrison being the National Chairman of Irish-Americans for Clinton - Clinton says that an envoy "could" be a catalyst for securing peace. (The Embassy stress, incidentally, that the Morrison letter should be viewed as a campaign statement in the last few days of a hotly contested election rather than a statement of Government policy). On MacBride it is not surprising that he should be lending his general support to the principles so as to establish his credentials with his Irish/American constituents, but an earlier declaration that he would "ask all State Governors to take a look at adopting them" does not necessarily amount to a dynamic strategy. He seems to have given a fairly clear commitment to give a visa to Gerry Adams, but even there he might have left himself an escape route by indicating in an earlier statement that his general base-line will be to allow visas to "elected officials from a Government recognised by the US". His line on Doherty is, again, direct pandering to the Irish/American vote but he might be working on a hunch that the chances of another Doherty case are remote. His comments on human rights are fairly non specific. Officials intend to review the US scene generally, should Governor Clinton be elected, and we will, of course, come back to the Secretary of State with any relevant conclusions or advice on handling.

4. Taken in the round there is no doubt, however, that despite the apparent flexibility of some of his terminology Clinton has been more forthcoming to the Irish-American nationalist constituency than we would ideally have wished. While none of his statements amounts to an unequivocal commitment it would be prudent to anticipate that we will face at least some difficulty with a Clinton administration. It could in particular, be difficult to get Clinton off his theoretical support for a peace

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ivoy and MacBride. The Ambassador has also made clear to Clinton's senior foreign policy adviser the likely political effect in Britain if Clinton makes references to wanton abuses by the Security Forces without setting it in the context of the terrorist campaign of the IRA and protestant paramilitaries.

5. As to the appointment of a peace envoy, the line which the Embassy has been taking with Mr Clinton's advisers is that Northern Ireland is part of the UK; solutions to Northern Ireland's problems cannot be imposed from outside; for new arrangements to work they must have the support of local politicians and their communities; political development is being actively addressed by means of the current political talks; the arrangements for those talks, which bring together the British and Irish Governments and the four main constitutional parties in Northern Ireland, are the right way to ensure that all the relevant interests are taken into account; hence it would be wrong to interfere with the talks at this stage. This is very much in line with the position which the Taoiseach has taken in recent weeks, and, of course, with the Secretary of State's own remarks at the Party Conference earlier this month. In short, as long as the current political dialogue keeps going in some discernible form we should not have any difficulty in arguing strongly against an envoy. It will be harder if there is a complete breakdown.

6. What remains unclear is whether Clinton would try to appoint an envoy whether or not the British and Irish Governments were in favour of one; that seems unlikely, but if the talks come to nothing and Clinton comes under strong domestic pressure it might be conceivable. We will therefore review the position in the light of the way that the talks come to a conclusion over the next week or so.

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In the meantime I attach some material on which the Secretary of State can draw. The Embassy have asked me to emphasise that in any public comments on the Clinton campaign Ministers should be astute to avoid any indication that we are in contact with Clinton's advisers (and, by extension, have seen the Morrison letter).

(Signed)

D BROOKER  
SIL DIVISION  
30 OCTOBER 1992

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GOVERNOR CLINTON: NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES

Lines to take

A Peace Envoy

- There have been many suggestions over the years for external agencies to get involved in Northern Ireland, for the generally constructive purpose of trying to bring an end to Northern Ireland's difficulties.
  
- The Government has long held the view, however, that the future peace and stability of the Province lies essentially in the hands of its own people; to my mind, this is illustrated by the way that the main constitutional parties, from both sides of the community, have come together in the current political talks. No initiative will make headway in Northern Ireland without the support and agreement of the people.
  
- The key thing is for the present political initiative to continue and succeed. I do not think that an external envoy would help [or, indeed, be welcomed by people generally in Northern Ireland].
  
- (And if the talks fail? We will have to see what situation we are in at the time. The prospects for progress and peace in Northern Ireland lie in the hands of Northern Ireland's own people.)
  
- Are you saying you are against a peace envoy? What I am saying is that the primary task obviously must be to make progress in the talks which are under way and nothing should distract from that.

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(If asked about Clinton's other pronouncements on MacBride, visa for Adams etc - I have, of course, seen reports of what Governor Clinton has said. We will have to wait and see what his intentions are. Naturally there will be exchanges between our two governments about issues of common interest following the change of administration).

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