

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 30, 1993

Dear David:

Thank you for your letter regarding a visa for Gerry Adams.

As you know, Adams has applied on several occasions over the past years for a U.S. visa, and each time, he has been refused under U.S. immigration law because of his involvement in terrorist activity. Adams' ineligibility could be waived by the Attorney General on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, but I supported her most recent decision not to do so in April of this year.

I continue to believe that we should not grant Adams a waiver. Credible evidence exists that Adams remains involved at the highest level in devising PIRA strategy. Moreover, despite his recent talks with Social Democratic and labor party leader John Hume, Adams still has not publicly renounced terrorism.

Unfortunately, recent events provide no grounds for reconsidering Adam's visa request. The PIRA's October 23 bombing in Belfast that killed ten people -- including two children -- has underscored the brutal and terrorist nature of the organization and undermined efforts to resume the political dialogue among the parties. Neither the British nor the Irish government favor granting Adams a visa.

My Administration's policy continues to support the early resumption of political talks as the most promising way to seek peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

Sincerely,



The Honorable David N. Dinkins
Mayor of the City of New York
New York, New York 10007

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 27, 1993

OCT 27 09:38

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Letter to Mayor Dinkins Regarding Gerry Adams

Purpose

To decline Mayor Dinkin's request that you grant a visa to Gerry Adams to visit New York.

Background

As you know from your campaign pledge to consider Gerry Adams' eligibility to enter the United States, the issue of a visa for Adams has been a contentious one. In March, you may remember, we conducted an extensive review of Adams' case. At that time, State, supported by the FBI, denied his request for a visa.

Over the past few months, however, Adams has engaged in direct, secret talks with John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labor party (the legitimate Catholic party in the North). The results of their discussions are reported to represent a potential breakthrough in the inter-party dialogue, but no formal plan has been made public. Dublin and London remain skeptical of the Hume-Adams talks; Adams and Sinn Fein have still not renounced terrorism. Moreover, the Shankill road bombing last weekend (in which 10 Protestants were killed -- including women and two children) has undercut any possible support for the Hume-Adams plan within the British government and probably within the Irish government. Although Adams has said that the bombing was 'wrong,' the IRA's campaign of terror clearly has not abated, and the bombing has undercut Adams' credibility as a legitimate interlocutor in the peace process.

Thus, notwithstanding Adams' role in a dialogue billed as advancing the cause of peace, the IRA -- with which Adams is inextricably linked -- continues its campaign of violence. Under these circumstances, granting Adams a visa would be criticized by many observers in this country, including moderate Irish-Americans -- such as Speaker Foley. Additionally, neither the British nor the Irish government would understand such a decision. Your letter to Dinkins outlines our position that we will not grant a waiver for Adams' ineligibility.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Dinkins at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Letter to Dinkins

Foreign Affairs

IG - Misc.

047141

RL

8391

NSC



10/29

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

October 25, 1993

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. President:

Attached is an invitation I sent today to Gerry Adams, President of Sinn Fein to visit New York City and speak to leaders of the Irish American community and others who are interested in hearing about recent developments in Northern Ireland.

I know that earlier this year Mr. Adams was denied a visitors visa to come to the United States. I also know that it was not his involvement in Sinn Fein, but other unspecified reasons which led to this decision. However, I am asking that his request for a visa be reconsidered based on recent developments in Northern Ireland.

As I am sure you are aware, in late September, Mr. Adams and John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP), announced that they had come to an agreement on a new "peace process" after five months of private discussions. This development represents one of the best prospects for peace the people of Northern Ireland have seen in many years. They should be encouraged and nurtured and every effort should be made to assist them in their efforts to find a path toward peace.

The reality is that we have entered a new era -- an era in which old animosities must be laid to rest and people must work together, side by side to embrace the common goals of peace and reconciliation. The Berlin Wall has come down, the cold war is over and a new peace has dawned in the Middle East. Surely now -- finally -- it is Ireland's turn for peace.

I think it is worth noting here how time can change attitudes. For example, when Nelson Mandela -- this year's co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize with F.W. De Klerk -- came to New York City on his momentous visit in 1990, he was still listed as a "terrorist" by the State Department. And of course, did you ever imagine, when you took the oath of office on January 20th, that within a few short months Yasser Arafat would join Yitzhak Rabin at the White House and that you would witness their historic handshake?

Just as it took great courage for the Israelis and the Palestinians to agree to work together toward peace, it took considerable bravery for John Hume and Gerry Adams to take similar steps in an effort to lead Ireland forward from its troubled past.

It is only by being open to change, that change can occur. Perhaps by accommodating a change in past attitudes to Mr. Adams, the United States can now, in some small way, make a contribution to the dreams and hopes of all who pray for peace in Ireland. I know that certain considerations, in particular the *special relationship* between Britain and the United States, will make what I ask difficult. But I am confident that you have the courage and leadership required to make this gesture and show that the United States wishes to encourage every effort at securing peace in Ireland no matter what its genesis.

Too much blood has been spilled, too many lives have been lost, and too many families have been torn apart during the 25 years of the "troubles" for the world community to remain silent any longer: we must not miss this opportunity to seize the day and nurture the dream.

With great respect, then, I urge that the State Department carefully consider Mr. Adams new visa application when it is lodged in response to my invitation for him to visit New York City. I look forward to an early and positive response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dinkins', with a stylized flourish at the end.

David N. Dinkins
M A Y O R



THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10007

October 25, 1993

Mr. Gerry Adams
President
Sinn Fein
51-53 Falls Road
Belfast, Northern Ireland

Dear Mr. Adams:

I write to invite you to visit New York City to address a group of leading Irish Americans and others concerning the situation in Northern Ireland.

We are very interested in hearing about the peace initiative being proposed by you and John Hume which, I believe, is one of the most encouraging developments the people of Northern Ireland have seen for a very long time.

I am sure that it was with considerable trepidation that you and Mr. Hume took your first steps toward working together and commend you for your courage. I look forward to the opportunity to meet you here in New York City in the very near future.

God bless you and keep you strong.

Sincerely,

David N. Dinkins
MAYOR

sent
12/11/93 9752



GERRY ADAMS

President of Sinn Féin
51/55 Bóthar na bhFál, Béal Feirste BT12 4PD

23 November 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington DC
USA

President Clinton, a chara

You are no doubt aware that a recent letter from you to David Dinkins regarding your refusal to grant me a visa in respect of his invitation to me was a subject of considerable media attention here in Ireland. I am concerned that such a letter was made a public matter, presumably by your administration. I am also concerned that you appear to be badly advised about my political position.

The content of your letter to David Dinkins contains the usual lies concocted by the British government and its agencies. I have no involvement in terrorist activity. This type of unfounded allegation is used by the British government as a cover for its real intention which is to prevent any informed debate about its involvement in Irish affairs.

It is a matter of concern, of course, that this type of propaganda should be repeated by you. It amounts to little more than a spurious excuse for censoring Sinn Fein by visa denial.

Your letter also alleges that the Dublin government influenced your decision. The Dublin government has denied this.

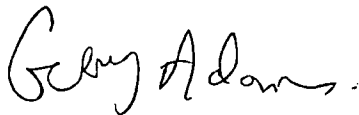
All of these matters are of concern to me, both on a political and personal level. I would be pleased if you would clarify the situation.

I would like to take this opportunity to deal with the wider issue of the Irish peace initiative. The publication of your letter came at this crucial time in Anglo/Irish affairs. It clearly sent a signal from your administration through the State Department that US policy continues to favour the failed politics of the past. This is not good enough. There is an opportunity for peace and for a negotiated settlement of the Anglo/Irish conflict. As president of Sinn Fein I am committed to helping to build a peace process. The initiative taken by SDLP leader, Mr John Hume and myself has the potential to move the situation from conflict to a lasting peace.

This opportunity should be grasped not squandered, supported not undermined. The British government are extremely reluctant to become involved in a positive way in this process. There can be no movement unless Mr Major accepts his responsibility.

The denial of visas to representatives of Sinn Fein is not helpful. Neither is the publication of letters like the one you wrote to David Dinkins. I appeal to you to review your stance on Anglo/Irish affairs. I trust you will give these matters your urgent attention.

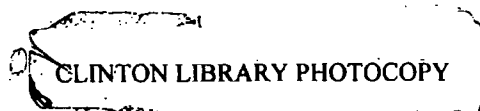
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GERRY ADAMS

CC DAVID DINKINS

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING



1 December 1994

Dear Mr Adams,

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 24 November.

The Government would like to begin this month the exploratory dialogue with Sinn Fein, on the basis which has been set out in a number of statements. The Prime Minister is glad to note the confirmation in your letter that Sinn Fein will join the dialogue. The exploratory talks will be a vital step in the process of consolidating a lasting peace in Northern Ireland through a common commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and the democratic process.

Thank you for informing us that Mr Martin McGuinness will represent Sinn Fein in these matters. Mr Quentin Thomas, Deputy Secretary at the Northern Ireland Office, will lead the team of officials representing the Government at the first meeting. He will be writing today to Mr McGuinness about the detailed arrangements, and will be proposing that the meeting should be held in Belfast on Wednesday 7 December.

Yours sincerely,
Roderic Lyne

RODERIC LYNE

Gerry Adams, Esq.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 December 1994

Dear Tony,

NORTHERN IRELAND

I told you last week, and subsequently confirmed to Nancy Soderberg, that we are moving towards an announcement about the opening of our exploratory talks with Sinn Fein.

I have today written to Gerry Adams to propose that the talks should begin on 7 December in Belfast.

The Prime Minister has explained the background in a personal and confidential message to the President. I need hardly labour the point that the exploratory talks are a further very important step forward in the peace process - indeed, the biggest of the many steps we have taken since the 31 August ceasefire.

The Prime Minister's message also deals with the International Investment Conference. This is an entirely separate issue from the exploratory dialogue. As I explained to Nancy Soderberg the other day, a totally artificial attempt has been made from certain quarters to make a political issue out of a non-political event. I hope that you will take a very robust line with those who have engaged in the wild misrepresentation which Nancy described to me.

Roderic Lyne

Roderic Lyne

RODERIC LYNE

The Hon Anthony Lake
National Security Adviser
White House



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 December 1994

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*Yours sincerely,
Roderic Lyne*

RODERIC LYNE

Gerry Adams, Esq.



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

November 23, 1994

The Honorable Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Tony:

I am writing to confirm what representatives of the Department of Justice have conveyed to the NSC staff, that we oppose lifting the visa restrictions on Gerry Adams which prevent him from raising funds while in the United States. As you know, the Department of Justice and the FBI are very concerned that funds raised by Mr. Adams might be used to purchase weapons or weapons-related items for use should the cease-fire in Ireland be terminated. Should you wish to have the benefit of the specific intelligence giving rise to these concerns, please let me know.

I understand that there is a proposal pending that would -- in a departure from the standard practice whereby the Department of State makes a recommendation to the Attorney General whether to grant a waiver -- place this issue before the President now. For this reason, I am writing to ensure that the President has my views.

Sincerely,


Janet Reno

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 1, 1994

SUPPORTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The United States attaches great importance to the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, both in the context of our world-wide commitment to end terrorism and our desire to promote democratic solutions to conflicts. Our close bonds of history, culture and tradition with Ireland and the United Kingdom provide us with a unique role in helping to achieve those goals.

We have encouraged and supported the courageous efforts of Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major to establish a new framework for peace and justice in Northern Ireland. For the first time in a generation, both Republican and Loyalist paramilitaries have declared cease-fires. Each day that passes without terrorism strengthens the hope that the bomb and the bullet are gone for good from the politics of Ireland.

The President has pledged to do all he can to support the building of peace in Northern Ireland. The United States wants to do its part to ensure that peace brings to Ireland new opportunities for job growth and economic prosperity, which in turn will help ensure that this newfound peace is a stable and lasting one.

The promise of peace will allow Americans to build on the strong business, trade, political and cultural links we already enjoy with Ireland, north and south. The United States is the most important source of internationally mobile investment in Northern Ireland and in the Republic. Forty U.S. companies are already operating in Northern Ireland, providing some 9,000 jobs. In addition, the Administration strongly supports the International Fund for Ireland, which funds a broad range of economic and social development projects.

This present opportunity for lasting peace in Ireland is the chance of a generation; it must be seized and supported. The President therefore has directed his Administration to undertake the following initiatives in the coming months to increase our support for the political and economic revitalization of Northern Ireland and the border countries:

White House Conference for Trade and Investment

The President will host a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The Conference is planned for April 1995 in Philadelphia. He has instructed the Department of State to name a coordinator to work with Secretary Brown and his staff, the International Fund for Ireland, the Irish and British governments and private sector and political groups to organize and support the conference. The President looks forward to participating in this Conference, which will aim to show U.S. companies that sustained peace is dramatically improving business opportunities on the island of Ireland and, particularly, in Northern Ireland and the border counties. American businesses should be in on the ground floor of these new opportunities; this will be good for us and good for Irish peace and reconciliation.

Commerce Secretary Brown to attend Belfast Investment Conference

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown will travel to Belfast in December 1994 to lead the U.S. delegation to Prime Minister Major's Investment Conference for Northern Ireland, where the President has instructed him to identify concrete new opportunities for increased business links between Northern Ireland and the U.S. Secretary Brown will also travel to Dublin for consultations. In both cities, he will prepare the groundwork for the White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The President has also asked Secretary Brown to present the new initiatives he identifies at the White House Conference in April.

Increased funding for the IFI

The President is committed to continued strong U.S. support for the International Fund for Ireland. In addition to our planned obligation of almost \$20 million to the Fund in Fiscal Year 1995, we will seek Congressional concurrence to increase IFI funding by an additional \$10 million in Fiscal Year 1996 and in Fiscal Year 1997, for a total of about \$30 million each year. This increase will bring the total commitment of this Administration to the Fund to roughly \$100 million. The IFI has steadily strengthened and adjusted its programs and management over the years. We expect such progress to continue. This additional funding will support the IFI in undertaking the vital new initiatives that are needed to consolidate the gains of peace in Northern Ireland and the border counties and to build cross-community economic and political cooperation. We will work with it to strengthen its programs even further and particularly to address such entrenched problems as the high rates of long-term unemployment in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

Department of Commerce programs

The President has directed the Department of Commerce to enhance our cooperation with Northern Ireland in science and technology, especially through strengthened collaboration with our Manufacturing Extension Partnerships and other programs to encourage technological innovation. The Commerce Department will also establish a Business Information Center for Trade and Investment and review other ways to promote business opportunities in Northern Ireland and the border countries.

The Department of Commerce will also initiate a business intern training program to bring managers and business technical experts to train with U.S. companies. This program will expedite the learning of advanced management and production skills and begin operating in Fiscal Year 1996 with approximately \$1 million in bilateral economic assistance funds. It will help improve the productive abilities of industry in Northern Ireland and the border counties and will also generate increased business between U.S. firms and companies in Northern Ireland -- creating more jobs both there and here.

USIA programs

The President has instructed the United States Information Agency to expand its programs in Northern Ireland in view of the changing political climate, increasing exchanges of persons as well as planning speakers and seminars on such topics as conflict resolution. In addition, USIA will open its grant competitions in such areas as conflict resolution to allow American non-profit organizations to submit proposals for projects in Northern Ireland to support the momentum for peace and reconciliation.

National Endowment for Democracy

The President will encourage the National Endowment for Democracy, which is presently funding a political party training program in Northern Ireland, to seek additional opportunities to strengthen and expand its programs there.

U.S. Agency for International Development

The President has asked USAID to explore ways to work with the IFI to increase the impact of its business enterprise program on small and micro-enterprises. Thomas A. Dine, USAID Assistant Administrator for Europe and the New Independent States, will travel through Northern Ireland and the border counties beginning November 19 to review existing IFI programs and determine whether

approaches used by USAID elsewhere may have application in Northern Ireland.

Trade and Development Agency

The U.S. Trade and Development Agency will lead a technical delegation to Northern Ireland to identify infrastructure and industrial projects that represent mutually beneficial trade and investment opportunities. Depending upon the findings of the delegation, future activities might include the funding of feasibility studies and/or the sponsorship of reverse trade missions.

A Continuing Commitment

We will continue to look for opportunities to support the efforts of the British and Irish governments and of democratic leaders in Northern Ireland to build on peace. We encourage the millions of Americans who want to contribute to peace in Ireland to do the same.

#



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

NES

From the Private Secretary

1 February 1994

Dear Tony,

GERRY ADAMS

Today's newspapers are even worse. The editorial writers and columnists have had time to do their worst. I enclose a few samples.

Adams appears to be using your television networks and the high profile of this visit as the finest platform ever granted to the IRA to justify terrorism. His mendacious words are echoing back here and in Northern Ireland and are having precisely the damaging effect of which I warned.

yours ever,

Roderic

RODERIC LYNE

P.S. I am also sending you privately a letter from Andrew Hunter MP who is the Chairman of the Conservative Party Committee on Northern Ireland. This has just come into my hand. His views are widely shared in Parliament.

Mr. Anthony Lake,
National Security Council,
The White House.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Rt Hon John Major MP
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON SW1A 2AA.

1st February, 1994.

Dear Prime Minister,

I write as chairman of our Northern Ireland committee to convey the widespread concern which has been expressed by backbenchers about President Clinton's granting of a 48-hour visa to Mr Adams, President of Sinn Fein.

While it is greatly hoped that Mr Adams will accept the terms of the Joint-Declaration while he is in the USA, it is felt that this is highly unlikely. The strong feeling on the backbenches is that President Clinton's decision has adverse implications both for the search for peace in Northern Ireland and for our 'special relationship' with the USA.

With regard to Northern Ireland, it is felt that President Clinton's decision gives undeserved credibility to Adams and the position which he has adopted. It furthers Sinn Fein-IRA's attempt to fudge and blurr its way round the central demand of the Anglo-Irish Joint-Declaration (the renunciation of violence before talks-about-talks can begin) and therefore decreases the likelihood of a positive response to the Joint-Declaration.

On a wider front, President Clinton's rejection of your reported wish that Adams should not be granted a visa has caused dismay. It is felt that this would not have happened with Presidents Reagan and Bush and perhaps indicates an undesirable turn in UK-USA relations. It is widely felt that a variety of UK interests remain best promoted by the 'special relationship' and that any weakening of this relationship is unfortunate.

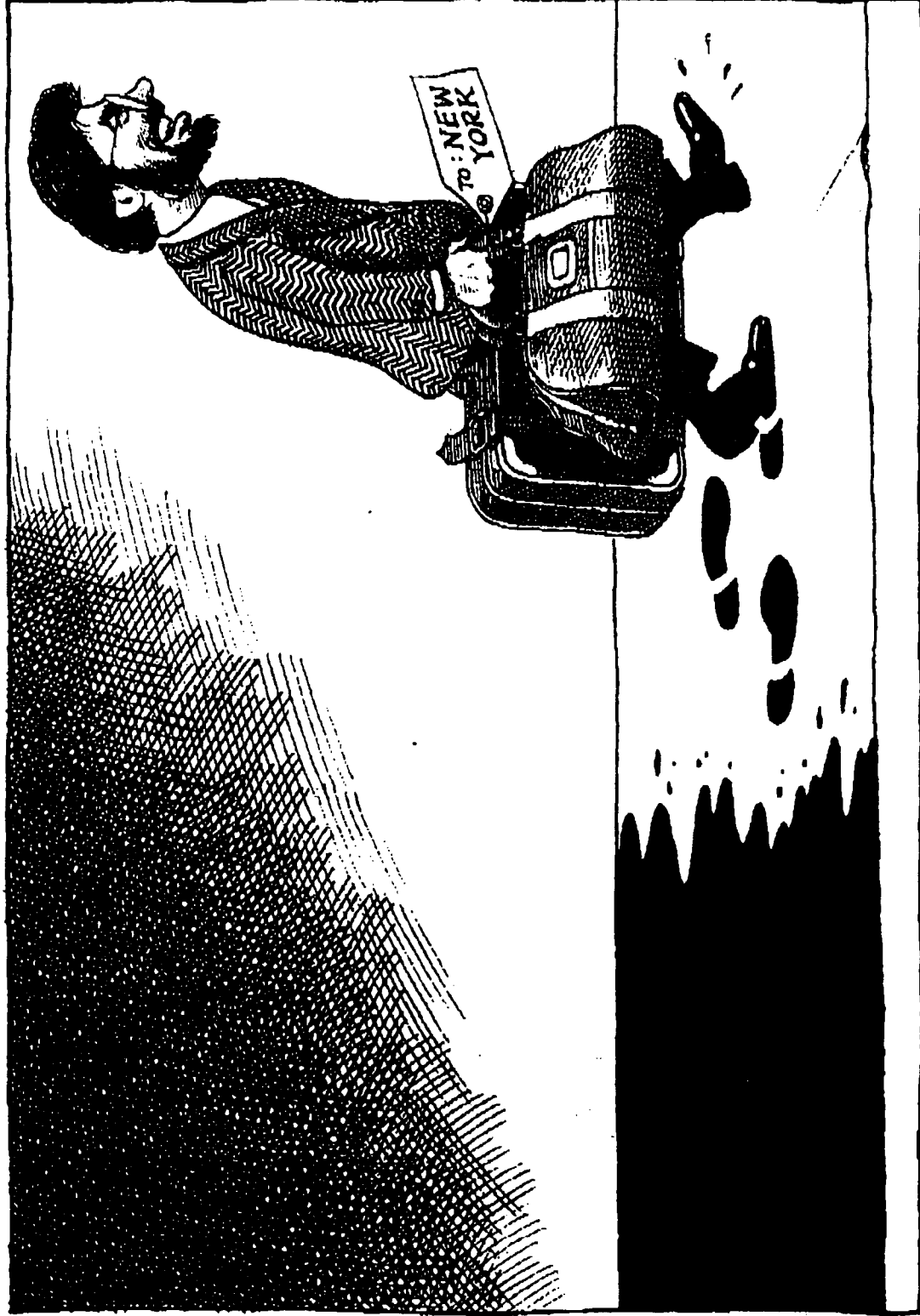
*Yrs ever,
Andrew*

Andrew Hunter MP

Copies: Secretary of State, Northern Ireland;
Whips Office (Michael Brown).

THE TIMES

TUES 1 FEB 1994



RIEID CARPIET

Peter Brookes
'94

Daily Express

OPINION

Insult from an old ally

THE self-serving decision of President Clinton to admit the Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams can only give satisfying comfort to the IRA.

It is also a weighty rebuff to the British Government and the Prime Minister.

This is a further fracture to the "special relationship" between the U.S. and Britain which has become increasingly frail since President Clinton took power.

It is virtually inconceivable that either Presidents Reagan or Bush would have delivered such an international public insult to America's oldest and closest ally. The timing of the decision, on the very eve of a visit by the Foreign Secretary, also carries with it more than a whiff of calculated insult.

The strictures attached to Mr Adams's 48-hour visa are little more than cosmetic. He is barred from travelling more than 25 miles from New York and is prevented from engaging in "direct or indirect" fund raising. Ostensibly, he is allowed in to attend a conference of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy which is non-profit making and boasts names like Dr Henry Kissinger at the top of its writing paper.

But his very presence can only excite the thoughtless passions of Irish-Americans. Sadly, many of them still tend to view Ireland through green-tinted spectacles. There is a romantic view of a little, emerald country, filled with a winsome folksiness, where aggression comes in the form of a British uniform.

Few have ever visited either the north or the south and are happy to contribute to a cause of which they understand little.

One might well take the cynical view that President Clinton has allowed Mr Adams in because it is politically useful for him to keep the large Irish-American vote content — not to mention satisfying the powerful Democrat pro-Irish lobby in the Senate. He may feel that to upset the likes of Senators Edward Kennedy and Daniel Moynihan, plus their cohorts, might prove politically dangerous.

Whatever the outcome, this visit, at a time when fire bombs are still exploding in London, is a coarse insult from a

Terrorists' supporters cash in on Adams visit to U.S.

WHY IRA EYES ARE SMILING

Irish pressure on President

DAILY MAIL FEB 01, 1994

From GEORGE GORDON in New York

IRA fund-raisers were joyfully cashing in on Gerry Adams's visit to the U.S. last night.

Before the Sinn Fein president's plane even touched down, the notorious Noraid organisation was milking his trip for every possible drop of American support.

Within hours of President Clinton lifting a 20-year ban on Adams, he had been booked on to the top-rated Larry King Live TV show.

Noraid chief spokesman Martin Galvin had also arranged private meetings with a series of wealthy IRA sympathisers, fixed talks with New York congressmen and sent out invitations to an airport press conference.

The terms of Adams's 48-hour visa specifically forbid 'direct or indirect' fund-raising. Yet, even if he never says a word, the mere presence of the head of the IRA's political wing will be a huge boost for Noraid, officially classed as a terrorist collection agency in the U.S. Galvin gloated: 'This is what we have been waiting for.'

Conference

As supporters greeted Adams with banners declaring 'Our day will come', Galvin said: 'We are going to give Mr Adams an enormous platform. The British Government's attempts to silence him have only added to the interest. After this visit there will be enormous pressure on the British to break the deadlock.'

Officially, Adams has been allowed in for a conference utilised as representing all sides of Northern Ireland opinion. A spokesman for its organisers, the privately-run National Committee on American Foreign Policy, admitted: 'I know nothing about these other meetings.'

In any case, the conference's aims are in tatters because Unionists Ian Paisley and James Molyneux have refused to share a platform with Adams.

As IRA supporters celebrated, the British Government was reduced to hoping that the Americans would put pressure on Adams to stop stalling over the Anglo-Irish declaration and announce a ceasefire. Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, coincidentally in New York visiting the United Nations yesterday, said: 'It is important that

Continued from Page One

everyone, everyone, should press Adams to play his part in bringing the violence to an end.'

Mr Hurd reflected clear Cabinet disapproval of President Clinton's decision to grant Adams a visa — after eight previous refusals — in return for a brief statement that he personally wanted to end the violence.

The Foreign Secretary said: 'I think the background is clear. Mr Adams has been and is associated with terrorist activities which are still going on.'

The British and Irish Governments made it clear that Sinn Fein could not take part in talks about the future of Northern Ireland until the violence has ceased. The violence has not ceased.'

In London, a Downing Street source said: 'We very much hope that his hosts will demand in the clearest possible terms that the IRA gives up terrorism immediately.'

As for Adams, he proclaimed that he wants the U.S. to put pressure on Britain. 'We are in a very critical phase,' he said. 'President Clinton's administration can play a very helpful and encouraging role.'

Adams told his Kennedy Airport press conference that conflicts throughout the world were being settled and asked: 'Is Ireland going to be the only situation that is unresolved?'

Asked if he would lean on

the IRA to drop their arms, he said: 'I won't lean on anyone. There are a number of armed factions in my country, and the largest one is the British Army. I want to see an end to all armed factions. I want to see a lasting peace. I urge everyone to drop arms.'

Mr Clinton's visa approval came after pressure from more than 40 republican

sympathisers in Congress, led by Senator Ted Kennedy. They reminded him of promises he made during his election campaign — including one to send a U.S. 'peace envoy' to Ulster — but quietly shelved.

Explaining his visa decision last night, the President said it was 'the appropriate thing to do' and hoped that it would advance the cause of peace.

New York Congressman Peter King claimed that Mr Clinton had always wanted to let Adams in.

He said: 'The President sees a role for himself in all this. It's like Carter and Camp David. If he can bring this off — who knows? — he might get a Nobel Peace Prize.'

Conor Cruise O'Brien
— Page EIGHT

Ban-beating Sinn Fein leader mobbed by media

Blaze of glory as US gives Adams a hero's welcome

From PETER HITCHENS
in New York

SINN Fein leader Gerry Adams last night made a triumphant entry into the U.S. after smashing through a 20-year ban.

He walked into exactly the blaze of publicity and adulation which Britain had feared he would get.

Crowds of Irish-Americans, who knew so little about Ireland that they could not even spell his name, gathered to give him a hero's welcome at New York's John F Kennedy Airport.

The prestigious CNN TV network ushered him straight on to their top talk show Larry King Live. And at least one of the major TV networks will be interviewing him this morning.

Flanked by airport police, a professor and experienced pro-IRA fundraiser Martin Galvin of Noraid, Adams breezed into an airport press conference, oozing confidence.

Praise

He batted away questions about IRA links, saying that he was not from the organisation, but from Sinn Fein.

Mr Adams talked vaguely about peace, and said the IRA was just one among several military organisations in Northern Ireland.

And he even joked about John Major, who used Britain's powerful influence in Washington to try to ban the visit, but failed.

"John Major is probably wondering how long he is going to be in government," he said.

The Prime Minister is outraged that President Clinton has given the terrorists' political wing international credibility by lifting the ban.

He wants the President to back Britain by demanding that Mr Adams renounces IRA violence during his two-



TRIUMPHANT: Adams yesterday

day visit. Relations between London and Washington have sunk to a new low over the issue.

As he arrived in New York, Mr Adams lavished praise on the President for overriding Britain and allowing him in.

And the Irish-American lobby, backed by Senator Edward Kennedy, last night rejoiced at their triumph in winning a visa for him.

"By granting the visa, President Clinton has demonstrated the United States' commitment to do our part to bring peace to Northern Ireland," said Senator Kennedy.

"After many long years, Gerry Adams can finally present his views under the light of public scrutiny here in the U.S."

As he flew to the States, Mr Adams claimed his visit would help the cause of peace. He thought America could play an influential role in resolving the Ulster conflict. "They can encourage the Brit-

IAN Paisley, leader of the Democratic Unionist Party in Ulster, accused the U.S. administration of "kowtowing" to the Boston-based Irish lobby.

"The British Government is losing every round of the battle," he said.

"This is a propaganda exercise — he might declare a very short ceasefire which will be hailed as a tremendous breakthrough."

Ulster Unionist MP John Taylor said: "It's obscene. The White House has lost all moral authority — they cannot condemn terrorism elsewhere in the world while they facilitate someone like Adams."

Leaders of the pro-Republican Irish National Caucus in the U.S. rubbed Britain's nose in the defeat. The Rev. Sean McManus, Caucus president, said: "It's a victory for Irish-Americans who believe in free speech."

ish, without taking sides, and move the situation on," he said.

Asked whether he had renounced violence, one of the stipulations for a visa reportedly laid down, Mr Adams replied: "My attitude is quite simple and straight forward — I want an end to violence."

"We are not going to squander the opportunity for peace."

He is expected to attend a conference on the future of Ireland and meetings today and tomorrow.

Some believe he is planning to announce a three-month ceasefire, a propaganda stroke designed to put Britain on the defensive in peace talks.

Our diplomats fear he will turn his visit into a powerful anti-British symbol, setting back years of patient work to undermine support for terrorism.

The granting of a visa for Mr Adams was opposed by the FBI, the Justice Department and the State Department.

Opinion: Page 8

February 12, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: JAMES BAKER^{JS}/MARY ANN PETERS^{JS}

SUBJECT: Gerry Adam's Visa

You asked whether Gerry Adams' waiver of ineligibility for a visa was conditioned on the existence of a cease-fire and/or the continuation of a peace process, such that in the event either condition was terminated, Adams' waiver would automatically be revoked by operation of law. You also asked whether a parallel condition was placed on Adams' permission to fundraise in the United States.

Adams first received a waiver of ineligibility for a visa on the basis of terrorist activities on 31 January 1994, eight months prior to initiation of a cease-fire. Adams was advised at the time this initial single entry visa was issued that fundraising was prohibited and that he was required to provide an advance itinerary. Adams subsequently received a series of three-month multiple entry visas. In March 1995 a policy decision was made to lift the fundraising prohibition.

Adams' most recent visa was issued on November 13, 1995, and is "valid if presented before" February 13, 1996. In other words, Adams' visa expires tonight at 12:01. The only express condition tied to this visa, i.e., written into Adams' passport, is the requirement to notify the FBI in advance of his itinerary.

Thus, while the decision to grant these multiple entry visas, including the most recent visa, was based on a policy predicate that a cease-fire was in effect and the peace process ongoing, neither the visa, the State Department's recommendation for a waiver, or the Attorney General's waiver itself is expressly conditioned on the continuation of a cease-fire or the peace process. Similarly, while staff recollect that the decision to lift the fundraising prohibition was more closely tied, as a policy matter, to the existence of a cease-fire, none of the underlying documents expressly conditions the fundraising permit on the existence of a cease-fire, and as noted above, the only

legally operable condition written into Adams' passport addresses advance itineraries.

Therefore, in the view of the State and Justice Departments an additional affirmative act by either the Secretary of State or Attorney General would be required to revoke Adams' visa, which expires tonight in any event, or the visas of similarly situated persons. One such person, Denis Donaldson, is currently in the United States. His itinerary indicates that he will be in the United States until March 30. His waiver expires on April 21. (State and Justice are reviewing their files to determine if other persons who fit this category are also in the U.S.).

In light of the pending expiry of his current waiver, Gerry Adams applied on February 7 for a new multiple entry waiver. This will permit the Government opportunity to review any changed circumstances and as a matter of discretion, exclude Adams from reentering the United States, or condition his reentry, for example, by imposing a fundraising prohibition. This could be done by informing Adams orally, by letter, or by written notice in his passport, making it an express condition of his visa.

While the Government could seek to enforce similar conditions on similarly situated persons already in the United States, e.g., Donaldson, by declaring them out of status and ordering them to show cause, as the PFLP case illustrates, courts are hesitant to deport on the basis of First Amendment activities. Our leverage would come from our ability to deny a future visa.

The local Sinn Fein office is staffed by people who do not require a visa waiver and therefore were never prohibited from fund-raising.

Decisions Required:

- Whether to ask Donaldson (and any similarly situated persons) to leave the country. Since the legal ground for compelling his departure is doubtful, if he is not violating U.S. law, we would contemplate asking him to do so on political grounds, indicating to him that his staying here would complicate future decisions on Sinn Fein visas.
- Whether to revoke the existing visas of other Sinn Fein representatives, or, condition any future entry on an understanding that fundraising will not be undertaken.
- Whether to grant Adams a new waiver and if so whether to reimpose the fundraising prohibition. We do not need to make a decision now. If nothing changes in the next few weeks, one option is to ask him to defer his travel

voluntarily on the grounds that putting the peace process back together requires all his attention.

- Whether to reimpose the ban on official contacts with Sinn Fein. No one has suggested doing this, and it would needlessly complicate our efforts to keep the peace process going, here and in Belfast.
- The existence of Sinn Fein's office here is not dependent on the cease-fire. We should, however, consider whether and under what circumstances we should (and could) take steps to curtail its activities.

This memorandum has been coordinated with the Departments of State (CA) and Justice (OIPR).

Sent to Neil O'Donnell Urgent Niall O'Donnell

DO NOT CIRCULATE

For White House Eyes Only!
Not For Publication

21 January 1994

FOR THE ATTENTION OF

There has been a consistent need for the international community to exercise its goodwill and influence to assist in the resolution of conflict worldwide. This is generally recognised and acted upon. It has not, however, been a factor in the Anglo/Irish conflict. This situation needs rectified. The US government in particular, can play a very positive role especially at this critical phase in the peace process. There is an urgent need to break the current deadlock and to move the situation on towards a negotiated settlement and a lasting peace. This is the context in which I am seeking a waiver of the denial of a visa to me.

As President of Sinn Fein, the development and evolution of a peace strategy has been a personal and political priority for some time. It is now the central function of Sinn Fein as a political party. A series of initiatives taken by us over the last number of years culminated in the Irish peace initiative based on proposals by myself and SOLP leader John Hume - which directly led to the current opportunity for peace.

While I have never accepted the reasons advanced to deny me a visa to travel to the US, I accept that the decision was one taken by the US administration based upon its view of the political situation at that time. This situation has now changed dramatically. Sinn Fein has been involved in protracted dialogue and contact with the British government and has co-operated with the Dublin government and Mr Hume to advance the Irish peace initiative. Only this week Dublin's censorship laws were relaxed and as a consequence, hopefully, a more open and informed climate for debate will be created.

The creation of such a climate should be encouraged, not discouraged. The continued denial of a visa to me will not only perpetuate the denial to US citizens of their right to information but it will send a negative signal to those involved in the risky and difficult business of developing a genuine peace process. Of course, the US administration will be criticised if it takes this progressive step but the risk of such criticism is a small one compared to the risks being taken by people in Ireland.

The forum proposed by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy can assist the peace process in Ireland and I am very pleased to be invited to address this forum. I commend the committee. There is no risk involved in me going to the US, to any aspect of government policy. I am going to talk about peace in Ireland and between the people in Britain and Ireland.

The US government can promote peace here without taking sides. It can do this by facilitating the forum and the National

Committee on American Foreign Policy - by pursuing the exchange of ideas and discussion and by thus actively seeking to encourage agreement.

Sinn Fein is not engaged in armed struggle. On the contrary, we seek an end to all armed actions and a demilitarisation of the conflict. The Sinn Fein leadership has been actively engaged in initiating and developing unarmed strategies for struggle. This should be encouraged not discouraged.

Geny Adams

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1994

Dear Mr. Adams:

Thank you for your letter to President Clinton of March 31. He has asked me to reply on his behalf.

As the President said publicly upon the announcement of the IRA's three day cessation of violence, we hope that Sinn Fein and the IRA will renounce violence permanently and endorse the Joint Declaration as the best path forward for peace in Northern Ireland. We have repeatedly urged all involved to end the use of violence as a means of advancing political goals; it is time for the people of Northern Ireland to resolve their differences through dialogue and negotiations. It was in that spirit that the President permitted your attendance at the peace conference in New York earlier this year.

As the end of the three-day ceasefire approaches, I urge you to work to prevent a resumption of the violence that has cost so many lives and to bring about an end to the IRA's killing once and for all. I know you have been pressing for the British government to enter into a dialogue with you. It has been pressing you for a permanent renunciation of violence and an endorsement of the Joint Declaration. In his letter sent to you yesterday, Prime Minister Major's Private Secretary Roderic Lyne set out a path for achieving the objectives you seek. Extending the ceasefire permanently could clearly lead to the dialogue outlined in Mr. Lyne's letter and I hope you will work to achieve that goal.

Again, the people of Northern Ireland have suffered the violence for too long and deserve a lasting peace. We look forward to making progress toward the important and long overdue objective.

Sincerely,



Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

Mr. Gerry Adams
President
Sinn Fein
51/55 Bothar ne bhFal
Beal Feirste BT12 4PD
IRELAND

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 31, 1994

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I welcome today's watershed announcement by the IRA that it has decided to end the 25-year campaign of violence and pursue the path of peace. While much work remains to be done, the IRA's decision to join the political process can mark the beginning of a new era that holds the promise of peace for all the people of Northern Ireland.

I have just spoken with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland and Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom to congratulate them for their persistent efforts to bring this day about. Their joint resolve to end the violence and pursue a negotiated settlement has been crucial to the progress made to date. Their historic Joint Declaration last December, together with the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985, have built the foundation for the new hope we have today. I am pleased that the United States has been able to contribute to this process of reconciliation.

We join with the governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom in the hope and expectation that today's step will help bring a lasting and just peace to Northern Ireland. I urge the IRA and all who have supported it to fulfill the promise of today's announcement to end the use and support of violence, just as we continue to call on all parties who have sought to achieve political goals through violence to cease to do so. There must be a permanent end to the violence.

The United States continues to stand ready to assist in advancing the process of peace in Northern Ireland. We hope that both traditions -- Unionist and Nationalist -- will support the only real avenue to peace, that of a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

AS REQUESTED

IRA STATEMENT

"Recognising the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the democratic peace process and underline our definitive commitment to its success the leadership of Oglaiigh na hEireann have decided that as of midnight, Wednesday, August 31st, there will be a complete cessation of military operations.

All our units have been instructed accordingly.

At this historic cross-roads, the leadership of the IRA salutes and commends our volunteers, other activists, our supporters and the political prisoners who have sustained this struggle against all odds for the past 25 years.

Your courage, determination and sacrifices have demonstrated that the spirit of freedom and the desire for peace based on a just and lasting settlement cannot be crushed. We remember all those who have died for Irish freedom and we reiterate our Republican objectives.

Our struggle has seen many gains and advances made by nationalists and for the democratic position. We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has been created.

We are therefore entering into a new situation in a spirit of determination and confidence, determined that the injustices which created this conflict will be removed and confident in the strength and justice of our struggle to achieve this.

We note that the Downing Street Declaration is not a solution nor was it presented as such by its authors. A solution will only be found as a result of inclusive negotiations. Others, not least the British Government, have a duty to face up to their responsibilities.

It is our desire to significantly contribute to the creation of a climate which will encourage this. We urge everyone to approach this situation with energy, determination and patience."

END

31 August 1994

GERRY ADAMS' SCHEDULE

Saturday, September 24th - Arrive Boston

Saturday, September 24th Evening - Hartford, Connecticut
--Democratic Party Convention Dinner w/Dodd

Sunday, September 25 - travel to New York City

Monday, Sept. 26 thru Wednesday morning, Sept. 28 - New York
--Mtg w/Irish Community (3,000-4,000 people) Major Speech

Wednesday PM, Sept. 28 - Boston
--Mtg w/Irish Community (2,000 people) reprise of earlier speech

Thursday, Sept. 29 - Cleveland
--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people?) reprise of earlier speech

Friday, Sept. 30 - Detroit
--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people?) reprise of earlier speech

Saturday, Oct.1 - Philadelphia
--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people) reprise of earlier speech

Sunday, Oct.2 - Rest Day

Monday, Oct. 3 thru Tuesday, Oct. 4 - Washington
--Mtgs w/Black Caucus, Hispanic Caucus, the 2 Irish Caucus'
as well as Senators Kennedy, Moynihan and Dodd

--Mtgs w/Administration officials tbd

--rest of Washington visit would be private

Wednesday PM, Oct.5 departure for San Francisco
--Mtg w/Irish Community (1,000-1,500 people)

Thursday, Oct.6 - Los Angeles
--Major speech to the World Affairs Council (200 people?)

Friday, Oct.7 - Return Home

Americans For a New Irish Agenda

**Bruce Morrison,
Chair**

**Press Release
For Immediate Release**

**For More Info Contact
Bill Lenahan (212) 254-9271 or
Niall O'Dowd (212) 684-3366**

ANIA To Sponsor Public Meeting with Gerry Adams

At 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday, February 1, 1994, Americans For a New Irish Agenda will sponsor a public meeting with Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams. The meeting will be held at the Sheraton New York Hotel and Towers, at 52nd Street and Seventh Avenue in the Exhibition Hall.

Former City Council President Paul O'Dwyer will introduce Gerry Adams. ANIA co-founder Bruce Morrison, will chair the meeting, which is expected to draw many leaders of the Irish-American community.

ANIA is an outgrowth of Irish-Americans For Clinton-Gore. It was formed in 1993 to press the Clinton Administration to honor its 1992 campaign pledges for a constructive new approach to US foreign policy on Ireland. The Clinton Administration's decision to grant Adams a visa is being warmly welcomed in the Irish-American community.

Mr Adams is visiting New York for a two-day period to attend a foreign policy conference and to discuss his party's perspective on the Irish peace process. Because of intense media interest, attendance is expected to be high.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

14-Jan-1994 08:26 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

M. Brooke Darby

(DARBY)

FROM:

Michael J. Waguespack
(WAGUESPACK)

SUBJECT:

TODAY'S MEETING RE GERRY ADAMS

FYI: THE FBI PARTICIPANTS AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING WITH
NANCY WILL INCLUDE: BOB BRYANT, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR --

(b)(6), (b)(7)c

REPRESENTING THE CIA/CTC WILL BE

(b)(3)

CC: Records

(RECORDS)

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By M NARA, Date 12/23/15

2011-0358-F

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: [Gerry Adams Interview] (8 pages)	01/28/1994	P1/b(1)
002a. memcon	re: [Adams Interview] (2 pages)	01/28/1994	P1/b(1)
002b. cable	re: Gerry Adams Visa Request (2 pages)	01/28/1994	P1/b(1)
003. report	[Duplicate of 001] (8 pages)	01/28/1994	P1/b(1)
004. paper	re: Gerry Adams Approach (1 page)	01/00/1994	P1/b(1)
005a. paper	re: Gerry Adams Visa Draft Options (2 pages)	01/18/1994	P1/b(1)
005b. paper	re: Gerry Adams Visa Issue (5 pages)	01/18/1994	P1/b(1)
006. email	Michael Waguespack to Darby re: Today's Meeting re Gerry Adams [partial] (1 page)	01/14/1994	P3/b(3), P6/b(6), b(7)(C)
007. email	George Andricos to Nancy Soderberg et al. re: Mike O'Neil (1 page)	02/02/1994	P1/b(1)
008. email	Julien LeBourgeois to Brooke Darby re: Note for Nancy (1 page)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1)
009. email	Richard Clarke to George Tenet et al. re: IRA (1 page)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1)
010. memo	Soderberg to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams Visa (6 pages)	12/15/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1397

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry-January 1994 [1]

2011-0355-F

rs1647

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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January 14, 1994

Mr. Gerry Adams
Sinn Fein
51 Falls Road
Belfast, BT124PD
Northern Ireland

FAX #: 011-44-232-231-723

Dear Mr. Adams:

We are pleased to confirm the plans for the National Committee on American Foreign Policy's conference on Northern Ireland. The conference will be held at 1:30pm on February 1, 1994 at The Waldorf Astoria Hotel on Park Avenue in New York City. Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke will serve as the chairman and moderator.

Each speaker will appear separately. He will be given 20-25 minutes to make his presentation, with an additional 20-25 minutes to take questions from the audience. We ask your cooperation in this matter. There need not be a debate of the various views voiced. We would appreciate a written copy of your remarks, which, with your permission, will be released to the press and published in the National Committee's newsletter.

As the conference date draws near we will provide you with the exact time of your individual presentation. We will also provide you with information regarding security and press concerns. However, we do ask that you make yourself available for the entire day on February first, so that we may arrange any desired press coverage for you and your views.

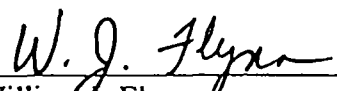
Accommodations have been reserved for you at the Waldorf Astoria on the evenings of Monday January 31, 1994 and Tuesday, February 1, 1994 as a guest of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.

In addition, the Committee is prepared to pay round-trip economy airfare for you if your party has difficulty financing your transportation costs. We will require a receipt for payment of all expenses.

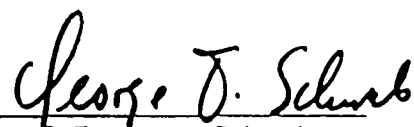
As soon as you know your travel plans, kindly notify us of your flight no., arrival airport (Kennedy, LaGuardia, or Newark), and the date and time of your of arrival. Kindly proceed to the VIP Lounge, where a representative of the National Committee will meet you and arrange your transportation to the hotel.

We look forward to welcoming you to New York City for the February 1, 1994 conference. With very best wishes.

Sincerely,



William J. Flynn
Chairman of the Board



Prof. George D. Schwab
President

Under review

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 7, 1994

NOTE TO TONY

FROM: NANCY²

FYI - attached (pg. 2) is the language on the Adams visa saying that we'll "keep the issue under review" in light of events following the Joint Declaration.

We were more explicit in the Oxman cable to Jean Smith (also attached) linking the visa explicitly to Adams' renunciation of violence and taking steps to join the political process. The latter point, however, has not been made public.

RESPONSES TO CONOR O'CLERY QUESTIONS TO THE PRESIDENT
ON NORTHERN IRELAND

Q. How has the end of the Cold War changed the special strategic relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom, and is this reflected in U.S. policy on Northern Ireland?

A. I have made clear that as long as I am President, the United States' relationship with the United Kingdom will indeed be special. Our relationship with the United Kingdom is unique and historic and we continue to share a common strategic world vision and a commitment to acting on common values. We are working closely together on issues ranging from trade negotiations to NATO reform.

U.S. policy on Northern Ireland is made in the context of the deep ties of friendship and history the American people enjoy with the peoples of both Ireland and Britain. In a time in which the headlines remind us daily of the folly of violent nationalism in Europe and, at the same time, the new hope for peace in the Middle East, I want to add America's voice, and my personal support, to the forces of peace in Northern Ireland.

Q. You have said you are prepared to work aggressively to promote efforts to achieve peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. In what way will you do this and in the future?

A. In the early weeks of my Presidency, I reviewed in detail the situation in Northern Ireland. I discussed the issue with Prime Minister Major in February and Prime Minister Reynolds in March. Taking these discussions and our own review into account, I have kept the idea of a special U.S. representative under active consideration. At the same time, I have strongly supported Irish and British government efforts to restart a serious political dialogue involving the two governments and the parties to the conflict in Northern Ireland.

I also committed the Administration to taking the initiative, for the first time, in seeking funding in our budget request for the International Fund for Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Throughout this year, we have reiterated on numerous occasions our rejection of violence by any side and our support for the political process. I again underscored publicly my strong interest in promoting peace and reconciliation on October 30 in support of the efforts of the Irish and British governments, and yet again when I met with Irish Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring November 16.

I am convinced the December 15 Joint Declaration of Prime Minister Reynolds and Prime Minister Major offers an historic opportunity to end the cycle of bloodshed. I think the best approach for the U.S. now is to continue to encourage this courageous and visionary initiative.

At this crucial time in the search for peace, let me reiterate a central message of my own statement welcoming the Joint Declaration: The time has come for all those who claim a legitimate stake in the future of Northern Ireland to stop the killing and the violence and pursue peace through constructive dialogue.

Q. What would you say to Irish-Americans who feel you have not fulfilled election promises made to them (e.g., a visa for Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams; appointment of a special envoy; raising human rights issues with Britain)?

A. I would say to them: Look at our record of engagement on Northern Ireland. Look at our support for the process which led to the historic December 15 declaration. Look at the attention we devote to Northern Ireland in our annual human rights report. And look at the extraordinary opportunity that now presents itself for peace.

Q. Given that the British Government has established ongoing contacts with Sinn Fein with a view to establishing peace, is there not a case for granting a U.S. visa to Mr. Adams now, so that Irish-Americans can hear first-hand what his peace proposals are?

A. As you know, Gerry Adams was refused a U.S. visa earlier this year. That decision followed a careful review of his case and was consistent with our own immigration laws regarding terrorist activity. We will, of course, keep the issue under review as the developing situation warrants, especially in light of events flowing from the December 15 Joint Declaration by Prime Minister Reynolds and Prime Minister Major.

Q. Do the Irish and British governments have a veto on the appointment of a special envoy? If the current peace process breaks down, would you consider appointing a U.S. envoy?

A. The Irish and British governments do not have a veto on the special envoy, nor has either of them suggested they should. However, we must work constructively with both governments in the cause of peace. In this regard, the notion of a special envoy remains very much alive. As I have said many times, the United States stands ready to contribute to peace in any appropriate way.

The December 15 Joint Declaration by the Irish and British Prime Ministers offers the best hope for progress. At this stage, we believe the U.S. energies should be directed to support progress toward peace within the framework on which the British and Irish governments are working together.

Q. Are you going to visit Ireland on your trip to Europe next June and will you visit Northern Ireland if you do?

A. I would very much like to visit Ireland during my Presidential tenure and look forward to arranging mutually convenient dates.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: Visa Waiver for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/12/1994	P1/b(1)
002. cable	re: Anticipating a Gerry Adams Visa Application (1 page)	01/12/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	re: Fergus Finlay on Northern Ireland (3 pages)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	[Duplicate of 003] (3 pages)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1)
005. cable	re: Martin Mansergh on Northern Ireland (2 pages)	01/20/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Joint Declaration (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
007. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Newspaper Claims NSC Contacts with Sinn Fein (5 pages)	08/09/1994	P1/b(1)
008. cable	re: Foreign Minister Spring and Sinn Fein Official McGuinness Comment on Peace (2 pages)	04/05/1994	P1/b(1)
009. cable	[Duplicate of 006] (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	re: Gerry Adams Fallout (4 pages)	02/02/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	re: Northern Ireland: British Paper Claims White House Official Coached Adams on Visa [partial] (1 page)	02/07/1994	P3/b(3)
012. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (3 pages)	01/29/1994	P1/b(1)

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National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1397

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry Visa Cable Traffic [2]

2011-0355-F

rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	re: Northern Ireland: HMG Seeks to Regain Initiative After Adams Visit (3 pages)	02/03/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams Visa (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	[Duplicate of 003] (3 pages)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1)
016. cable	re: DFA on Northern Ireland (5 pages)	12/22/1993	P1/b(1)
017. cable	[Duplicate of 006] (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
018. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/30/1994	P1/b(1)
019. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Initial Reactions to Adams Visa (8 pages)	01/31/1994	P1/b(1)
020. cable	[Duplicate of 010] (4 pages)	02/02/1994	P1/b(1)
021. cable	re: Request for Security Advisory Opinion... (1 page)	01/14/1994	P3/b(3)
022. cable	[Duplicate of 018] (2 pages)	01/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 9240
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Date
7 Feb 94

(b)(3)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
COMBINE: COMPLETE

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BRITISH PAPER CLAIMS WHITE
HOUSE OFFICIAL COACHED ADAMS ON VISA

REF: LONDON 1902

SUMMARY

1. (U) AS THE ADAMS VISIT FADES FROM THE FRONT PAGES,
FURTHER LEAKS FROM WASHINGTON CONTINUE TO RANKLE. IN
THE MOST DAMAGING, THE "SUNDAY TIMES" REPORTED THAT:

- "WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS" COACHED ADAMS ON WHAT TO SAY IN ORDER TO GET A VISA;
- "AN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL" INFORMED ADAMS OF "IRA" ATTACKS IN CALIFORNIA AND ELICITED A

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By NR NARA, Date 12/2/05

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CONDEMNATION; AND

-- "A WHITE HOUSE FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER" CLAIMED THAT
THE PRESIDENT "HATES MAJOR."

END SUMMARY.

ISSUE FADING

2. (LOU) WITH SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS' RETURN TO IRELAND, HIS NEW YORK VISIT HAS GENERALLY FADED FROM THE FRONT PAGES, SUPPLANTED BY FRESHER STORIES ON BOSNIA AND DOMESTIC ISSUES. BUT JOURNALISTS AND EDITORS CONTINUE TO FIND MILEAGE IN DISSECTING WHO -- ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC -- CAN BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE DECISION.

3. (U) THE SUNDAY BROADSHEETS, WHICH TYPICALLY CARRY REFLECTIVE COVERAGE OF THE BIG STORY OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK, DEVOTED A GOOD DEAL OF SPACE TO THE ISSUE. IN "THE OBSERVER," "NEW YORK TIMES" REPORTER R.W. APPLE ARGUED THAT ADAMS' CELEBRITY STATUS WOULD BE BRIEF: "THAT IS NOT THE STUFF LORENA BOBBITT WAS MADE OF -- OR OLLIE NORTH." THE "SUNDAY TELEGRAPH" CARRIED AN EDITORIAL AND A LENGTHY ARTICLE CLAIMING THAT HMG'S OWN CONTACTS WITH SINN FEIN, THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND FOREIGN SECRETARY HURD'S DIFFIDENCE WERE AS MUCH TO BLAME AS WHITE HOUSE "PIQUE" AND IRISH-AMERICAN CLOUT FOR A "MOMENTOUS EVENT" THAT "UNDID THE WORK OF MORE THAN 20 YEARS' UNUSUALLY SUCCESSFUL BRITISH DIPLOMACY."

"SUNDAY TIMES" STORY

4. (LOU) THE COVERAGE IN THE "SUNDAY TIMES" (CIRCULATION 1.2 MILLION) WAS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND POTENTIALLY DAMAGING. THIS MAY HAVE RESULTED IN PART FROM THE COINCIDENCE OF A BIENNIAL SEMINAR IN WASHINGTON FOR THE PAPER'S SENIOR STAFF AT THE SAME TIME AS THE ADAMS VISIT.

5. (U) IN A FRONT-PAGE STORY HEADLINED "ADAMS WAS COACHED BY WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS," THE PAPER CLAIMED:

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- "WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS SECRETLY COACHED GERRY ADAMS AND DOCTORED DOCUMENTS TO HELP THE SINN FEIN LEADER TO OBTAIN A VISA TO VISIT AMERICA."
- "AT KEY POINTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ADAMS AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, HE WAS CONTACTED BY OFFICIALS AND TOLD WHAT TO SAY AND INFORMED IN ADVANCE THAT THE VISA WAS LIKELY TO BE GRANTED."
- "WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS EVEN CONTACTED ADAMS TO TELL HIM OF THE PLACING OF GRENADES AT BRITISH-OWNED SITES IN CALIFORNIA SO THAT HE COULD CONDEMN THIS ACTION."
- "A WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL CALLED ADAMS IN BELFAST AND TOLD HIM THAT IF HE CONDEMNED THE ATTACK, WHICH HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT, HIS APPLICATION WOULD BE BACK ON TRACK."

6. (U) OVER TWO FULL INSIDE PAGES, "SUNDAY TIMES" WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT JAMES ADAMS ELABORATED:

- "JEAN KENNEDY SMITH ... HAD MADE AN IMPRESSIVE POWER PLAY TO CONTROL AMERICAN POLICY IN THE WHOLE OF IRELAND, ATTEMPTING TO WREST CONTROL OF POLICY IN ULSTER FROM RAY SEITZ, THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO LONDON."
- WHILE SENATOR KENNEDY'S OFFICE WAS SURPRISED TO LEARN OF PLANS FOR THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE, "KENNEDY MOBILIZED HIS WELL-ORGANIZED STAFF TO SET UP AN ASSAULT ON THE ADMINISTRATION" AND "IN PARTICULAR SOUGHT OUT NANCY SODERBERG...."
- "AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE HAD ACCESS NOT ONLY TO ADAMS'S RECORD OF TERRORISM BUT ALSO TO THE CURRENT BRITISH ASSESSMENT OF HIS INFLUENCE ON THE IRA ARMY COUNCIL, WHERE HE IS ONE OF SEVEN MEMBERS."

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- "MORE RECENTLY, OFFICIALS AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN LONDON HAD VISITED BELFAST AND BEEN BRIEFED BY BRITISH INTELLIGENCE ON ADAMS'S ROLE IN ORGANIZING AND ORDERING RECENT TERRORIST ATTACKS. THE AMERICANS WERE TOLD THAT ADAMS WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE PEACE PROPOSALS AND HAD NO INTENTION OF STOPPING THE VIOLENCE."
- ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO, FBI DIRECTOR FREEH, NSC DEPUTY ADVISOR BERGER, UNDER SECRETARY TARNOFF, AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER "ASSURED THE BRITISH OFFICIALS OF THEIR FULL SUPPORT: ADAMS WOULD NOT COME."
- "AT THE SAME TIME, LOBBYING BY KENNEDY, RAY FLYNN, ... SODERBERG AND JEAN KENNEDY SMITH WAS BEGINNING TO PAY OFF. KENNEDY HAD MADE CLEAR THAT IF CLINTON WANTED HIS VITAL SUPPORT ON HEALTH CARE AND WELFARE REFORM, THE VISA WOULD HAVE TO BE ISSUED."
- "IN CABLES TO WASHINGTON, KENNEDY SMITH SAID THAT AN ADAMS VISIT WOULD HELP THE PEACE PROCESS. SHE ALSO SAID THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WAS STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF A VISA BEING GRANTED. THIS STRETCHED THE TRUTH, AS REYNOLDS WAS LARGELY NEUTRAL ON THE MATTER AND DICK SPRING, THE IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER, ASSURED THE BRITISH THAT THERE WAS NO ACTIVE CAMPAIGN BY THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT TO GET THE VISA."
- "BY JANUARY 26, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE WHITE HOUSE WAS NOT GOING TO BE DETERRED FROM GRANTING ADAMS A VISA AND SO THE FOREIGN OFFICE AGREED A COMPROMISE" ON TWO QUESTIONS ADAMS WOULD BE ASKED.
- "ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, ADAMS WAS SUMMONED TO THE AMERICAN CONSULATE IN QUEEN STREET, BELFAST, FOR A 90-MINUTE MEETING WITH VALENTINO MARTINEZ, THE CONSUL-GENERAL. FACED WITH THE QUESTIONS, THE SINN FEIN LEADER REPLIED: "IF I ACCEPT THOSE, I MIGHT

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AS WELL RETIRE TO THE MOUNTAINS."

- "IN A CABLE TO WASHINGTON THAT AFTERNOON, MARTINEZ FIRMLY RECOMMENDED DENYING THE VISA."
- "BUT IMMEDIATELY AFTER HE LEFT THE CONSULATE, ADAMS GAVE AN INTERVIEW TO NBC NEWS.... IT WAS THIS FORM OF WORDS, RATHER THAN THOSE GIVEN TO MARTINEZ, THAT WAS RELAYED BY SODERBERG TO SENIOR OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON LATER THAT DAY."
- "A FURTHER WRINKLE TO THE DRAMA WAS ADDED ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON WHEN THREE DISARMED GRENADES WERE FOUND IN SAN DIEGO.... "FEARING THAT THE FIGHT WAS ABOUT TO BE LOST, AN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL CONTACTED ADAMS TO ALERT HIM TO THE PROBLEM. HE HAD HEARD NOTHING ABOUT THE DUMMY BOMBS, WHICH HAD RECEIVED NO PUBLICITY, APART FROM A BRIEF MENTION IN THE LOCAL SAN DIEGO PAPER. ADAMS WAS ONLY TOO HAPPY TO CONDEMN AN ATTACK HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT IF IT WOULD SAVE HIS VISA APPLICATION."
- "AS THE EXTENT OF THE COVERAGE EMERGED, IT BEGAN TO DAWN ON THE WHITE HOUSE THAT IT HAD BLUNDERED AND A DISASTER WAS UNFOLDING.... WITH RISING ALARM, BOTH THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE NSC MADE CALLS TO KENNEDY, INSISTING THAT ADAMS HAD TO MAKE A POSITIVE STATEMENT THAT COULD BE PRESENTED AS SOME KIND OF BREAKTHROUGH."
- THE PRESIDENT'S "RELATIONSHIP WITH MAJOR ... ACCORDING TO A WHITE HOUSE AIDE ... 'IS LOUSY. HE DOESN'T LIKE MAJOR AND NEVER THINKS OF ASKING HIS VIEWS.'"

7. (U) IN AN ACCOMPANYING EDITORIAL, THE PAPER CALLED THE VISA DECISION "A SHAMEFACED DECEIT," AND SAID THAT "THE FACT THAT IT MEANT SLIGHTING AMERICA'S CLOSEST ALLY AND PLUNGING THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP INTO ITS WORST

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CRISIS SINCE SUEZ COUNTED FOR NOUGHT." THE EDITORIAL QUOTED A "SENIOR PRESIDENTIAL AIDE" AS SAYING THAT "BILL CLINTON DOES NOT HAVE A GREAT FONDNESS FOR JOHN MAJOR," AND A "WHITE HOUSE FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER" AS SAYING THAT "CLINTON HATES MAJOR."

WE GET LETTERS

8. (LOU) REFTTEL REPORTED A WAVE OF ANGRY TELEPHONE CALLS TO THE EMBASSY PROTESTING THE VISA. THESE HAVE TAILED OFF, SUPPLANTED BY EQUALLY IRATE LETTERS. OF 129 RECEIVED TO DATE, TWO WERE BROADLY SUPPORTIVE AND TWO COULD BE DESCRIBED AS AMBIVALENT (ONE EXPRESSED DELIGHT AT THE THOUGHT OF U.S. TROOPS REPLACING BRITISH ONES IN IRELAND). THE OTHER 125, INCLUDING 41 FROM PEOPLE WHO DESCRIBED THEMSELVES AS LIFELONG SUPPORTERS OF THE U.S., WERE HARSHLY CRITICAL. SEITZ

END OF MESSAGE

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001. cable	re: Fergus Finlay on Northern Ireland (2 pages)	01/27/1994	P1/b(1)
002. cable	Roderic Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Sinn Fein (2 pages)	01/22/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	re: Adams' Visa (2 pages)	01/25/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	Roderic Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Sinn Fein (2 pages)	01/22/1994	P1/b(1)
005. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Initial Reactions to Adams Visa (8 pages)	01/31/1994	P1/b(1)
006. cable	re: Proposed European Union Economic Assistance Package for Northern Ireland and Border Counties (7 pages)	11/25/1994	P1/b(1)
007. cable	re: Looking for Ways to Help the Northern Ireland Peace Process: The Economic Dimension (7 pages)	09/14/1994	P1/b(1)
008. cable	re: Northern Ireland: HMG Refuses... (7 pages)	01/24/1994	P1/b(1)
009. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Sinn Fein Statements Hint... (3 pages)	01/05/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Jean Smith re: Gerry Adams Visa (1 page)	01/06/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	From Ambassador Smith re: Visa for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/05/1994	P1/b(1)
012. cable	From Ambassador Smith re: More on a Visa for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	12/23/1993	P1/b(1)

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE

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FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7658
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 7095
RUFHDB/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 5034
RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 2652
UNCLAS BELFAST 0025

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: ADAMS SAYS SINN FEIN MAY NOT RESPOND TO DOWNING
STREET DECLARATION.

1. IN A SPEECH IN WEST BELFAST ON JANUARY 20, SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS HINTED THAT IF HIS PARTY DOES NOT RECEIVE CLARIFICATION OF THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, IT MAY NOT RESPOND TO THE DOCUMENT AT ALL. "OUR INABILITY TO COME TO A DEFINITIVE ATTITUDE OR TO DECIDE WHETHER THIS DECLARATION FITS INTO THE OVERALL PEACE STRATEGY IS TIED TOTALLY TO THE ISSUE OF BRITISH CLARIFICATION. IN OTHER WORDS, THE SOONER THEY PROVIDE THIS CLARIFICATION, THE SOONER SINN FEIN CAN COME TO CONCLUSIONS," HE SAID. HIS SPEECH WENT ON: "SINN FEIN WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS AHEAD FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND FOR A LASTING PEACE IN OUR COUNTRY. WE WILL NOT ALLOW THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO SQUANDER THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE THAT STILL EXISTS DESPITE ALL MAJORS AND MAYHEWS EFFORTS TO SUBVERT IT. DEMOCRACY DEMANDS THAT BRITAIN RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE TO DETERMINE OUR OWN FUTURE IN OUR OWN INTERESTS AND ON OUR OWN TERMS."

2. ADAMS SAID THE REFERENCE TO "UNIONIST CONSENT" IN THE DECLARATION WAS A MORE COSMETIC TERM FOR THE UNIONIST VETO. "IN THIS DISTORTED CONTEXT, CONSENT SENTIMENTALIZES AND SEEKS TO LEGITIMIZE THE SIEGE MENTALITY OF THE UNIONIST SECTION OF OUR PEOPLE. THE VETO GUARANTEES UNIONIST RULE IN THE SIX COUNTIES AND NO CHANGE IN THE UNION," ADAMS SAID.

3. PART OF ADAMS SPEECH WAS BROADCAST BY THE IRISH TELEVISION SERVICE "RTE" ON JANUARY 20, THE FIRST SUCH BROADCAST SINCE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT LIFTED ITS BAN ON SINN FEIN AND THE IRA. THE SPEECH WAS MADE THE DAY BEFORE HMG RELEASED THE TEXT OF ADAMS JANUARY 7, 1994, LETTER TO PM MAJOR AND THE JANUARY 20 RESPONSE TO THAT MISSIVE FROM THE PRIME MINISTERS PRIVATE SECRETARY.

MARTINEZ

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: *SOPERBERG I TOM KENNEDY*

SIT: BLEICKEN BURGOS CLARKER FILE HOLL SUM2 VAX WALKER

FBIS 069

UNCLAS 7F

IRELAND: ADAMS INTERVIEWED BEFORE LEAVING FOR U.S.

LD3101150894 DUBLIN RTE RADIO ONE NETWORK IN ENGLISH 1300 GMT 31

JAN 94

[TEXT] THE GRANTING OF A U.S. VISA TO THE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT, GERRY ADAMS, HAS PROVOKED A PREDICTABLE STORM OF WORDS FLYING BACK AND FORTH ACROSS THE BORDER AND ACROSS THE IRISH SEA. MR. ADAMS WAS AT DUBLIN AIRPORT THIS LUNCHTIME FOR HIS FLIGHT TO NEW YORK, AND HE SPOKE TO REPORTERS, INCLUDING OUR CHARLIE BIRD.

[BEGIN RECORDING] [ADAMS] WELL, I WELCOME THE WAIVER. I THINK IT CAN ONLY HELP TO CREATE A BETTER CLIMATE. AND IT SHOWS, I THINK, A CONCERN BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO BE BETTER INFORMED ON THE SITUATION.

[BIRD] WHAT'S YOUR REACTION TO THE UNIONIST REACTION?

[ADAMS] WELL I THINK IT'S FAIRLY PREDICTABLE AND, YOU KNOW, THERE'S A CERTAIN SENSE TO IT. WHAT ARE THEY SAYING? THAT, THAT...

[BIRD, INTERRUPTING] WELL, MR. ROBINSON WAS SAYING, SORT OF, THAT THE AMERICANS WERE GIVING IN TO TERRORISM AGAIN AND THAT YOU WERE BEING PUT CENTER STAGE.

[ADAMS] THIS IS THE MAN WHO INVADED CLONTIBRET.

[BIRD] BUT WHAT'S YOUR REACTION TO HIS REACTION?

[ADAMS] WELL, I THINK IT'S NONSENSE. WHY DOESN'T HE COME AND ARGUE HIS CASE? I MEAN, WHAT ARE THEY AFRAID OF? HAVE THEY NO ARGUMENT TO PUT? ARE THEY NOT WILLING TO TAKE ANY PART IN ANY SORT OF DEMOCRATIC DEBATE?

[BIRD] NOW, WOULD YOU SEE THIS RELAXING OF YOUR ENTRY INTO AMERICA AS PERHAPS A TURNABOUT BY THE UNITED STATES ON THE PROSPECTS OF SENDING A PEACE ENVOY TO NORTHERN IRELAND?

[ADAMS] I DON'T KNOW. I MEAN THAT'S A MATTER ABSOLUTELY FOR THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION. ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT IT CAN ONLY HELP CREATE A BETTER CLIMATE. IT WILL INFORM U.S. OPINION; IT WILL ALLOW THOSE WHO WISH TO ENGAGE WITH ME. IT CERTAINLY WILL ADVANCE THE ENTIRE PEACE PROCESS AND THE UNITED STATES CAN PLAY AN INFLUENTIAL ROLE. THEY CAN ENCOURAGE THE BRITISH. THEY CAN, WITHOUT TAKING SIDES, HELP TO MOVE THE SITUATION ON. AND IF A PEACE ENVOY COMES OUT OF THAT, WE'RE FOR THAT IDEA IN PRINCIPLE.

[BIRD] THE AMERICANS SAID THAT THEY WOULDN'T LET YOU INTO AMERICA UNLESS YOU RENOUNCED VIOLENCE. ARE YOU RENOUNCING VIOLENCE?

[ADAMS] WELL, I DON'T ADVOCATE VIOLENCE. I'D LIKE...

[BIRD] ARE YOU RENOUNCING IT THOUGH?

[ADAMS] EXCUSE ME. IT ISN'T AN ISSUE AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED.

[BIRD] IT IS WITH THEM.

[ADAMS] OH WELL, IT ISN'T WITH THEM. I HAVE SPOKEN -- AND HAD A

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PAGE 02 OF 02

VERY FRANK HOUR-AND-A-HALF DISCUSSION WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THAT GOVERNMENT. AND WE EXCHANGED VIEWS, AND MY ATTITUDE TO VIOLENCE IS QUITE SIMPLE AND STRAIGHT FORWARD. I WANT TO END IT.

[BIRD] MR. ADAMS, UP TO A COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION WERE SAYING THAT YOU HAD LINKS TO PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS, AND THIS WAS THE REASON WHY THEY WEREN'T ALLOWING YOU IN.

[ADAMS] WELL, YOU KNOW I'VE NEVER CONCEDED THAT. I'M PRESIDENT OF SINN FEIN. SINN FEIN IS NOT INVOLVED IN ARMED STRUGGLE. SINN FEIN IS NOT THE IRA [IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY]. AND THE MAIN FUNCTION OF SINN FEIN AT THIS TIME, AND FOR SOME CONSIDERABLE TIME, HAS BEEN TO SEE THE BUILDING OF A PEACE PROCESS IN THIS COUNTRY. AND THAT'S WHAT I'VE BEEN ENGAGED IN FOR SOME LONG TIME, AND IT'S A MATTER OF GREAT PRIORITY FOR ME.

[BIRD] WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO SAY WHEN YOU'RE IN THE UNITED STATES? SOME POLITICIANS ARE HOPING THAT YOU WILL MAKE SOME ANNOUNCEMENT, THAT YOU WILL SAY SOMETHING THAT WILL PERHAPS MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. WILL YOU BE SAYING ANYTHING WHICH IS GOING TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD WHEN YOU'RE THERE?

[ADAMS] WELL, I THINK THE VERY FACT THAT I WILL BE THERE, THAT I CAN ENGAGE WITH AMERICAN OPINION, THAT I WILL BE INFORMING AMERICAN OPINION OF HOW THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION CAN HELP TO ENCOURAGE, WITHOUT TAKING SIDES, TO ENCOURAGE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO MOVE FORWARD. [SENTENCE AS HEARD] ALL OF THAT CAN ONLY HELP THE PEACE PROCESS. IT ALL CREATES A FAR BETTER CLIMATE. BECAUSE THE PEOPLE SHOULD NEVER BE AFRAID OF INFORMATION. [END RECORDING]

AND THAT WAS GERRY ADAMS AT DUBLIN AIRPORT.

31 JAN 1520Z SJH

NNNN

<MSGID> F0673086

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Originator: AMEMBASSY LONDON

Subject : MEDIA REACTION REPORT, LONDON, MONDAY JANUARY 31
1994
BROADCAST MEDIA
GERRY ADAMS
THE GRANTING OF A LIMITED ENTRY VISA TO GERRY ADAMS OF

SSN : 1687

JNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 12 LONDON 01687

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SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT, LONDON, MONDAY JANUARY 31
1994

BROADCAST MEDIA
GERRY ADAMS

THE GRANTING OF A LIMITED ENTRY VISA TO GERRY ADAMS OF
SINN FEIN WAS RUNNING AS THE LEAD OR SECOND LEAD STORY ON
ALL BROADCAST MEDIA MONITORED THIS MORNING.
ON BBC TV'S BREAKFAST NEWS, REPORTER MALLARY GELB SAID IN
LONDON:

"THIS DECISION BY WASHINGTON IS UNDOUBTEDLY A BLOW TO THE
(BRITISH) GOVERNMENT, WHICH HAS BEEN KEEN TO KEEP UP THE
PRESSURE ON GERRY ADAMS TO SUPPORT THE DOWNING STREET
DECLARATION. BUT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS ATTACHED
A NUMBER OF CONDITIONS. . . .

"THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT'S CHANGE OF HEART FOLLOWS TALKS
BETWEEN U.S. DIPLOMATS AND MR ADAMS IN BELFAST AT THE END
OF LAST WEEK, AND CONSULTATION WITH LONDON AND DUBLIN.

"THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS KNOWN TO HAVE PRESSED FOR
ENTRY TO BE REFUSED. NEWS OF THE VISA HAS OUTRAGED
UNIONIST POLITICIANS. . . . NORTHERN IRELAND HAS LONG BEEN
A SOURCE OF TENSION BETWEEN BRITAIN AND AMERICA. THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT RESENTS WHAT IT SEES AS AMERICA'S
ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE IN ITS BUSINESS. . . .

"MR ADAMS REMAINS BANNED FROM MAINLAND BRITAIN. THE
MAJOR CONCERN FOR THE (BRITISH) GOVERNMENT NOW IS THAT HE
WILL USE HIS SHORT TIME IN AMERICA TO PUT PRESSURE ON
BRITAIN AND RALLY SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN AND THE IRA. "
SPEAKING ON THE SAME PROGRAM, REPORTER JIM DOUGAL SAID
FROM NEW YORK:

"IT WAS PRESIDENT CLINTON HIMSELF WHO TOOK THE DECISION
TO ALLOW GERRY ADAMS INTO THE UNITED STATES, UNDER
PRESSURE FROM SENIOR IRISH-AMERICAN POLITICIANS, AND
AGAINST THE ADVICE OF HIS OWN STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT. . . . SO, GERRY ADAMS WILL NOW HAVE
THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS HIS AMERICAN AUDIENCE. THOSE
WHO BELIEVE HIS PRESENCE HERE WILL BE AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO
THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND IN PARTICULAR
JNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 12 LONDON 01687

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1994

TO THE IRA TO END THEIR CAMPAIGN OF TERRORISM, WILL
LISTEN CAREFULLY TO HIS WORDS FOR ANY SOFTENING OF HIS
APPROACH TO THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION."

1. TODAY'S MAJOR NEWS STORIES
1. GERRY ADAMS
2. BOSNIA
3. FORMER SOVIET UNION
1. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY : GERMANY, CHINA, JAPAN, UN
3. SUMMARY
1. GERRY ADAMS

MANY PAPERS REPORT THE GRANTING OF A RESTRICTED ENTRY
/ISA INTO THE U.S. TO GERRY ADAMS OF SINN FEIN. WHILE
SOME REPORTS, ALTHOUGH PROMINENT, ARE DISPASSIONATE AND
STRICTLY FACTUAL, OTHERS ARE MORE EMOTIVE, SEEING IN THE
MOVE AN INSULT TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND, PERHAPS
MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, A BOOST TO THE IRA AT A TIME WHEN THE
BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE PUTTING PRESSURE ON
THEM TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE.

THE CONSERVATIVE TIMES SAID ON ITS FRONT PAGE:

'IT IS ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE BUSH OR REAGAN
ADMINISTRATIONS WOULD HAVE DELIVERED SUCH A PUBLIC SLAP
IN THE FACE TO AMERICA'S CLOSEST ALLY."

2. BOSNIA
THE CENTRIST INDEPENDENT DEVOTED ITS OP-ED PAGE TO THE
ISSUE OF THE UN, PARTICULARLY IN BOSNIA. IT COMMENTED:
'TO HEAR UNITED STATES OFFICIALS TALK IN PRIVATE ABOUT
THEIR RISING IRRITATION WITH BOUTROS-BOUTROS GHALI, THE
UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, IT IS HARD TO ESCAPE THE THOUGHT
THAT IT WOULD BE BEST FOR EVERYONE IF HE WERE TO RESIGN.
THERE IS SIMPLY TOO MUCH AT STAKE. ... AT THE VERY
LEAST, SOME SEVERE MID-COURSE CORRECTIONS WOULD SEEM IN
ORDER, OTHERWISE HE WILL UNDERMINE HIS GREATER OBJECTIVE
OF MAKING THE UN A MORE IMPORTANT PLAYER IN WORLD
POLITICS."

JNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 12 LONDON 01687

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3. FORMER SOVIET UNION

THE WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT OF THE CONSERVATIVE DAILY TELEGRAPH, STEPHEN ROBINSON, COMMENTED:
'AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA AND THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS IS DISINTEGRATING LITTLE MORE THAN A FORTNIGHT AFTER PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RETURN FROM A SUMMIT WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN.'

1. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY : GERMANY, CHINA, JAPAN, UN
THE CONSERVATIVE TIMES COMMENTED:
'PRESIDENT CLINTON LIKES TO MODEL HIMSELF ON PRESIDENT KENNEDY, BUT SEEMS MARKEDLY LESS WILLING TO 'PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, TO ENSURE THE SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS OF LIBERALITY' AROUND THE WORLD. . . . IT HAS TAKEN HIM LESS THAN A YEAR TO RETREAT FROM THE BOLD MULTILATERALIST APPROACH TO THE WORLD'S POST COLD WAR TROUBLES THAT HE CALLED FOR DURING HIS CAMPAIGN.'

2. HEADLINES

1. GERRY ADAMS

'U.S. GRANTS ENTRY VISA TO ADAMS" (GUARDIAN LEAD FRONT PAGE REPORT)

'U.S. VISA FOR ADAMS ANGERS NO. 10" (TIMES FRONT PAGE REPORT)

'ADAMS GIVEN A VISA BY CLINTON" (DAILY EXPRESS REPORT)

'CLINTON OPENS DOOR TO GERRY ADAMS" (DAILY MAIL FRONT PAGE REPORT)

2. BOSNIA

'LOST IN A WORLD OF TROUBLES" (INDEPENDENT COMMENTARY)

'GENERALS BATTLING THE BUREAUCRACY" (INDEPENDENT COMMENTARY)

3. FORMER SOVIET UNION

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'WASHINGTON WORRIES AS CLINTON'S POLICY ON RUSSIA

UNRAVELS" (DAILY TELEGRAPH COMMENTARY)

'STRAINING UKRAINE TO BREAKING POINT" (INDEPENDENT EDITORIAL)

4. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY : GERMANY, CHINA, JAPAN, UN

'U.S. RETREATS FROM ROLE AS WORLD'S POLICEMAN" (TIMES REPORT)

'SUMO' KOHL PLAYS ROLE OF CLINTON'S HEAVYWEIGHT PARTNER" (TIMES COMMENTARY)

'CHINA AND THE GATT" (F.T. EDITORIAL)

'LACKING A GOOD DEAL" (GUARDIAN EDITORIAL)

5. TEXT

1. GERRY ADAMS

THE LIBERAL GUARDIAN SAID IN ITS LEAD FRONT PAGE REPORT:

"THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SPURNED BRITISH URGINGS AND ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD GRANT A VISA FOR THE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT, GERRY ADAMS, TO VISIT AMERICA FOR A CONFERENCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN NEW YORK THIS WEEK. THE VISA WILL ALLOW HIM TO LAUNCH A MEDIA BLITZ ON BEHALF OF THE REPUBLICAN CAUSE BUT NOT TO RAISE FUNDS. . . .

'MR ADAMS HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY DENIED ADMISSION TO THE U.S. OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS ON GROUNDS OF HIS ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORISM. ULSTER UNIONISTS AND

CONSERVATIVE BACKBENCHERS WILL BE CONCERNED THAT AMERICAN-IRISH POLITICIANS WILL GIVE HIM A PUBLICITY PLATFORM AND EFFECTIVELY CONDONE TERRORISM."

THE CONSERVATIVE TIMES' FRONT PAGE REPORT USED MORE EMOTIVE LANGUAGE:

'PRESIDENT CLINTON REBUFFED AND ANGERED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT LAST NIGHT BY GRANTING GERRY ADAMS, THE SINN FEIN LEADER, A RESTRICTED VISA TO ENTER AMERICA TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN NEW YORK TOMORROW.

'THE PRESIDENT DID SO DESPITE HIS ADMINISTRATION'S UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 12 LONDON 01687

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FAILURE TO ELICIT FROM MR ADAMS THE UNEQUIVOCAL RENUNCIATION OF VIOLENCE AND DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR THE ANGLO-IRISH PEACE EFFORT THAT IT HAD AGREED WITH BRITISH SHOULD BE THE MINIMUM CONDITIONS FOR LETTING HIM IN.

'THE DECISION COMES ON THE EVE OF THE VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY DOUGLAS HURD, FOREIGN SECRETARY, AND SEEMS CERTAIN TO RAISE NEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SO-CALLED 'SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP' SINCE MR CLINTON TOOK POWER. IT IS ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE BUSH OR REAGAN ADMINISTRATIONS WOULD HAVE DELIVERED SUCH A PUBLIC SLAP IN THE FACE TO AMERICA'S CLOSEST ALLY."

THE CONSERVATIVE TABLOID DAILY EXPRESS REPORTED:

'THE MOVE CAME ONLY DAYS AFTER JOHN MAJOR AGAIN MADE IT PLAIN HE DID NOT WANT TO SEE PRESIDENT CLINTON GIVING MR ADAMS ANY APPARENT SUPPORT. . . . DESPITE THE RESTRICTIONS IT WILL STILL BE SEEN IN WESTMINSTER AS SUPPORT FOR THE SINN FEIN LEADER AT A TIME WHEN BRITAIN IS CHALLENGING HIM TO ABANDON VIOLENCE."

THE CONSERVATIVE TABLOID DAILY MAIL REPORTED ON ITS FRONT PAGE:

"AMERICA OPENED ITS DOORS LAST NIGHT TO SINN FEIN CHIEF GERRY ADAMS. THE DECISION BY PRESIDENT CLINTON GIVES AN ENTRANCE TO MAINSTREAM POLITICS FOR THE IRA AND ITS POLITICAL MOUTHPIECE.

"IT IS ALSO A BODY BLOW TO JOHN MAJOR, THE GREATEST IN A YEAR OF INCREASING COLDNESS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND LONDON.

"HE (ADAMS) WILL GO TO NEW YORK TOMORROW FOR A CONFERENCE BILLED AS REPRESENTING ALL SIDES OF OPINION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, BUT WHICH NOW THREATENS TO TURN INTO A PARADE OF TRIUMPH FOR THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. THE VISA, HEDGED AROUND WITH RESTRICTIONS, PREVENTS ADAMS TRAVELLING MORE THAN 25 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY, BANS HIM FROM RAISING FUNDS AND ORDERS HIM TO LEAVE WITHIN 48 HOURS.

"BUT IT OVERTHROWS THE AMERICAN STANCE THROUGH THE YEARS OF TROUBLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AGAINST LETTING THE IRA'S LEADING APOLOGIST HOLD A PLATFORM IN AMERICA IN THE GUISE UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 12 LONDON 01687

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OF A DEMOCRATIC POLITICIAN. ...
THE GRANTING OF A VISA MEANS ADAMS GETS A PRIZE BEFORE
THE IRA HAVE RESPONDED TO JOHN MAJOR'S PEACE INITIATIVE
AND THE LONDON-DUBLIN JOINT DECLARATION. TERRORIST
ATTACKS HAVE CONTINUED IN ULSTER, BUT ADAMS WILL BE
ALLOWED INTO AMERICA BECAUSE HE SAID LAST WEEK THAT
PERSONALLY HE WAS AGAINST VIOLENCE."

2. BOSNIA
THE CENTRIST INDEPENDENT DEVOTED ITS OP-ED PAGE TO THE
ISSUE OF THE UN, PARTICULARLY IN BOSNIA. IT COMMENTED:
'TO HEAR UNITED STATES OFFICIALS TALK IN PRIVATE ABOUT
THEIR RISING IRRITATION WITH BOUTROS-BOUTROS GHALI, THE
UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, IT IS HARD TO ESCAPE THE THOUGHT
THAT IT WOULD BE BEST FOR EVERYONE IF HE WERE TO RESIGN.
THERE IS SIMPLY TOO MUCH AT STAKE.

'THE MAN IS HOPELESSLY EGOCENTRIC, THE AMERICANS WILL
TELL YOU. HE HAS FEW POLITICAL PR MANAGERIAL SKILLS,
THEY MOAN. HE IS NEITHER AN EFFECTIVE LEADER NOR A GOOD
BUREAUCRAT.

'AT A TIME WHEN THE UN MEMBERS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT
WORKING TOGETHER, MR BOUTROS GHALI SEEMS BETTER AT MAKING
ENEMIES THAN FRIENDS. HE RULES THE BUREAUCRACY BY
STEALTH, SCARING AWAY TOO MANY OF THE GOOD GUYS. IN THE
EXECUTION OF THE UN'S HIGHEST PROFILE OPERATIONS -- PEACE
KEEPING -- MR BOUTROS GHALI TENDS TO EXAGGERATE HIS ROLE
AND CREATE OBSTACLES WHERE THERE ARE NONE. IN SHORT, HE
IS THE WRONG MAN FOR THE JOB. ...

'TO BLAME MR BOUTROS GHALI FOR FAILING TO STOP THE WAR IN
BOSNIA WOULD BE UNJUST AND WOULD REQUIRE A GROSSLY
OVERSIMPLIFIED VERSION OF EVENTS. ALL THE COUNTRIES
INVOLVED MUST TAKE THE BLAME FOR NOT HAVING FOUND A
PEACEFUL SOLUTION. MR BOUTROS GHALI'S IMPORTANT TACTICAL
ERROR, THOUGH, WAS HIS ATTEMPT TO OVER-EXTEND HIS
AUTHORITY. THROUGHOUT THE LONG DEBATE ON WHETHER TO USE
AIR STRIKES AGAINST THE SERBS, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS
RIGHTLY SOUGHT PROTECTION FOR HIS FORCES ON THE GROUND BY
INSISTING THAT HE HAS THE FINAL SAY. BUT HE PROJECTED
HIS AUTHORITY BEYOND ITS USEFULNESS BY STILL HOLDING BACK
WHEN THE COUNTRIES PROVIDING VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE BOSNIA
IN FORCE VOTED, IN THE NATO COUNCIL, TO GO AHEAD WITH AIR
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for Mark Kearney and Dee Dee

Gerry Adams' Visa

Points for Congress and Press

- The Administration is reviewing Gerry Adams' January 14 application to attend the conference on Northern Ireland hosted by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy on February 1, 1994 in light of events flowing from the December 15 Joint Declaration by Prime Minister Reynolds and Prime Minister Major.
- In making a decision on whether to grant him a waiver of his ineligibility, it is important for us to have an understanding of his position on achieving peace in Northern Ireland.
- After consulting with the Irish and British governments, we have instructed our ~~Embassy in Dublin~~ *Consul General in Belfast* to determine whether he will publicly renounce violence and support the Joint Declaration.
- Our decision on whether to provide him a visa will depend on his response.

Additional Points for Congress (if protested as not going far enough) and for Press ON BACKGROUND:

- Adams has been trying to obtain a visa for the past decade. His ten applications since 1984 have been denied because of his continued involvement in the command structure of the IRA. Adams is currently ineligible for a visa because of his role in terrorism. The issue is whether we would issue a waiver of his ineligibility. Longstanding U.S. government policy has been to avoid substantive contacts with him, Sinn Fein and the IRA.
- Our move now represents a reaching out to Adams: we have never had a substantive conversation with him before.
- We have chosen to do this now because the Joint Declaration represents the first real opportunity in years for Sinn Fein to take a seat at the negotiating table. Our move is designed to demonstrate that we recognize that Adams has an important role to play in securing peace and we want him to move in the right direction.

GERRY ADAMS

- met w/ Consul General in Belfast
This morning to review his application
- In making our decision, we needed
to know his position on ~~the~~ violence
~~terrorism~~ and the Joint Declaration
 - Renounce Violence
 - support Joint Declaration

Dec 15
Irish / British
- conversation w/him; reviewed it
in light
- decision will depend on his response
- Reaching out to Adams. Clearly a
player. Policy for 2 decades not
to talk w/ IRA. Fact that
Consul General met w/him is
a new step.

Underscoring that he has a role to
play in Peace;
highest level conversation w/ Sinn Fein

for Mark Gearey and Dee Dee

Gerry Adams' Visa

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highest w/ Sinn Fein

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 22, 1993

Dear Chuck:

Thank you for your letter regarding the visa request of Gerry Adams and the broader question of supporting peace in Northern Ireland.

In April of this year, Gerry Adams was refused a U.S. visa because of his involvement in terrorist activity, as defined in U.S. law. That decision followed a careful review of his case. We will, of course, keep the issue under review as the developing situation warrants.

I have taken a strong and active interest in the Northern Ireland issue. My Administration took the initiative in seeking funding in our budget request for the International Fund for Ireland and we stay in regular contact with both Dublin and London who know well our desire to work constructively with them, in appropriate ways, to advance the cause of peace. Regarding the Hume-Adams peace initiative, as I have said before, we welcome all serious efforts to advance the cause of peace. Most recently, we welcomed the historic joint statement of Prime Ministers Major and Reynolds that lays out a framework for dialogue and offers the chance for all who claim legitimate stakes in Northern Ireland to pursue their goals on a path of peace. I hope that all parties in Northern Ireland will now take advantage of the opportunity for peace and will renounce and condemn terrorism as a means of achieving political ends.

I welcome the interest and insights you bring to this issue. I look forward to continuing to work together in support of our common goal of a just peace in Northern Ireland.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Charles E. Schumer
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

W04

NEW YORK

2412 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20518
(202) 225-8818

DISTRICT OFFICE
1828 KINGS HIGHWAY
BROOKLYN, NY 11229
(718) 866-8400

73-18 YELLOWSTONE BLVD.
FOREST HILLS, NY 11375
(718) 266-8200

90-18 ROCKAWAY BEACH BLVD
ROCKAWAY, NY 11863
(718) 246-8200

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

JUDICIARY
CHAIRMAN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

BANKING, FINANCE
AND URBAN AFFAIRS

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

WHIP-AT-LARGE

NEW YORK STATE
CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION
TREASURER

November 12, 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I was disappointed to read that you refused to approve an entry visa to the United States for Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams and am writing to urge you to reconsider your decision.

As I'm sure you're aware, Mr. Adams has recently launched a courageous peace initiative with John Hume, a Member of Britain's Parliament from Northern Ireland. Mr. Adams' initiative may be the best chance in years to bring an end to the violence in Northern Ireland and I believe that refusing Mr. Adams entry to the U.S. does not advance these efforts. Indeed, Mr. Adams is considered by many to be the only political leader who might be able to negotiate a peaceful solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland. Barring Mr. Adams' entry to the U.S. may be in line with the policies of London and Dublin, but it is not a policy that is likely to lead to a just and workable resolution to this conflict.

I urge you to reconsider this decision.

Sincerely

Charles E. Schumer
CHARLES E. SCHUMER
Member of Congress

93 NOV 15 P4:47

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 1995

Dear Representative King:

Thank you for writing regarding the peace process in Northern Ireland. I am grateful for your continued support for our efforts to assist the parties involved in advancing the cause of peace and reconciliation in that region.

As you know, there has been progress toward this goal over the past several months. Both the IRA and the Loyalist paramilitaries have announced and implemented cease-fires. In view of Gerry Adams' role in bringing about and maintaining the IRA's historic August 31 cease-fire announcement, we granted him waivers of his ineligibility for visas to permit him to visit the United States in October and again in December. In addition, we lifted our long-standing ban on contacts between U.S. officials and members of the Sinn Fein party; the first meeting occurred on October 4. Anthony Lake met with Mr. Adams in the White House on December 6. The State Department also received a delegation of Loyalists on October 26. State Department and National Security Council officials have met regularly over the past several months with a variety of Unionist officials, including James Molyneaux, the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party.

Our efforts to advance the search for a just and lasting peace also focus on how to promote trade, investment and economic prosperity in Northern Ireland. I have announced several specific initiatives to increase our support for the political and economic revitalization of Northern Ireland, including a White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Ireland scheduled for May 18-19 in Washington; Commerce Secretary Brown's participation as head of the U.S. delegation to Prime Minister Major's Investment Conference for Northern Ireland that was held December 13-14 in Belfast; Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell's appointment as Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Economic Initiatives in Ireland; and seeking Congressional concurrence in an increase in funding for the International Fund for Ireland of an additional \$10 million in both FY96 and 97, for a total of \$30 million each year. These initiatives are designed to advance the peace process in Northern

Ireland. Your support is appreciated and I look forward to continuing to work closely with Congress on this important endeavor.

Again, thank you for your support for advancing peace in Northern Ireland.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

The Honorable Peter T. King
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1996

Dear Senator McCain:

Thank you for your letter on the Northern Ireland peace process. Since you wrote, all of us have been dismayed and outraged by the IRA bombings in London. I have condemned these cowardly acts in the strongest terms. The cease-fire must be restored.

I have been heartened, however, by the refusal of the British and Irish Governments, the parties and most of all the people of Northern Ireland to allow the violence to derail their search for peace. On February 28, Prime Ministers Major and Bruton announced a clear path to substantive, all-party talks starting June 10. For Sinn Fein to participate, the cease-fire must first be restored. The setting of that date is a watershed for the peace process; it is what we have all been working for. On March 21, the British government announced an elective process that will lead directly to substantive negotiations on the future of Northern Ireland.

I will continue to work closely with the Irish and British Governments and the parties in support of their efforts to end the violence and bring about a just and lasting peace. In that context, I granted a visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams to visit the United States in April so he could hear directly from Irish-Americans on the urgency of restoring the peace process. Mr. Adams did not seek to raise funds during his visit here, and the Administration made clear he would be held to that commitment. He was not invited to any White House events nor did he have meetings at other government departments.

We will do all we can to help create and nurture the climate for peace to take hold in Northern Ireland, including continued support for economic and commercial initiatives aimed at creating jobs. I appreciate hearing from you on this issue, which is so important to all of us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

The Honorable John McCain
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

JOHN MCCAIN
ARIZONA

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE,
AND TRANSPORTATION
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

United States Senate

96 FEB 23 All: 28

February 20, 1996

241 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0303
(202) 224-2235

1839 SOUTH ALMA SCHOOL ROAD
SUITE 375
MESA, AZ 85210
(802) 491-4300

2400 EAST ARIZONA
BILTMORE CIRCLE
SUITE 1150
PHOENIX, AZ 85016
(802) 952-2410

450 WEST PASEO REDONDO
SUITE 200
TUCSON, AZ 85701
(520) 670-6334

TELEPHONE FOR HEARING IMPAIRED
(202) 224-7132
(802) 952-0170

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The series of bombings carried out by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in recent days is a sad reminder of just how violent and seemingly intractable the conflict in Northern Ireland is. More importantly, it underscores the moral responsibility the United States has acquired as a result of our involvement in efforts to resolve the conflict.

Any responsible approach to resolving the conflict in Northern Ireland must, at a minimum, demand that the parties to the conflict refrain from violence, especially violence aimed at civilians. We cannot ignore the murder and injury of innocent people, nor can we ignore the failure of certain parties to, at the very least, acknowledge the inhumanity of such attacks.

The leader of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams has declined to condemn the recent terrorist attacks in Britain. We should express our own outrage at Mr. Adams' reticence by, at the very least, refusing to renew his visa.

Admitting Gerry Adams to the United States under the current circumstances would indicate tacit acceptance of Mr. Adams' acquiescence in IRA terrorism. Allowing Gerry Adams to press his case diplomatically, without the slightest acknowledgement of the brutal course chosen by his allies, will demonstrate the efficacy of such tactics and ensure there is more of the same.

Sincerely,


John McCain
United States Senator

JM/wbl

Sinn Féin meeting: about - problems w/ Joint Declaration

peace process since 1986 → Hume / Adams talks. Talk

@ ceasefire, w/ condition that they can't call.

We believe the current peace process; in order to give every peace opportunity, they'll terminate campaign.

Other possible, of process, deserves an unnamed strategy.

Could sell Reynolds to reopen 1921 Treaty in partition.

Reynolds has put it on table, ^{British} ~~States~~ accepted

Very act that created partition on table.

- Everyone in group is anti-war.

- Forum talks still possible.

- 3-400 people out of work. Need to figure out what to do.

- NI: hardiness → no split. Only objection is philosophical. Obvious violence won't get anywhere. Cost of continuing high - lost Hume, Adams, Reynolds. I think violence got them started but ~~after~~ now there's a process can't stop.

10-12 from Armagh more so off. William McCray - Ulster Unionist
no one claimed. Not leadership.

- nationalist Ireland & America -

- any more? no, Smith doing

- 2-3 weeks after. Sunday or Monday. IRA.

US Role

Strong Support for US Joint Declaration in Dec.

Issuance of Adams' visa to encourage more toward peace.

met with Molyneux (T. level) to reach out to Unionists VP?

developed effective dialogue with British + Irish on need for permanent end to violence and ~~even~~ a negotiated settlement.

Assured full funding for ~~the~~ Int'l Fund for Ireland.

~~Sent public and private messages~~

Underscored privately and publicly need for the IRA to renounce violence permanently and enter the negotiations process.

Cabell USA.

Shows personal involvement with Reynolds + Major perhaps via through list of telephone calls + meetings.

Text of letter from Gerry Adams to President Clinton (dated March 31):

I trust this letter finds you well.

By now you will have learned of the initiative taken by the IRA. I have welcomed this as a positive and significant indication of goodwill and flexibility aimed at providing space for the British government to end the current deadlock. I hope the British government will seize that opportunity.

For some time now the British government has rejected the reasonable request by Sinn Fein for clarification of the Downing St. Declaration. The provision of such would of course allow Sinn Fein to conclude our assessment of the Declaration's potential to move the situation in the direction of a lasting peace based on democratic principles and to speedily come to a definitive position.

Given that the British government had been involved in protracted contact and dialogue with Sinn Fein when it did not claim to have a basis for a settlement it is illogical that they now refuse any contact or dialogue when they claim to have such a basis.

On the other hand the Dublin government has, from its perspective, provided the necessary clarification as a means to assisting the process. This is of course most welcome and helpful.

I therefore trust that the opportunity now provided is taken up by the British government and that the friends of the Irish and British peoples in the international community will encourage them to do so.

The provision of the necessary clarification in a manner which respects the legitimacy and democratic integrity of the Sinn Fein electorate and our rights as a political party would certainly assist progress.

I know that this is a serious and genuine initiative by those concerned. It must be built upon. If it fails to create the necessary momentum especially because of the British reluctance to meaningfully engage with Sinn Fein or to recognize the rights of our electorate we must then seek other ways to move forward.

We must exhaust all possibilities to advance the peace process.

I am fully committed to doing so.

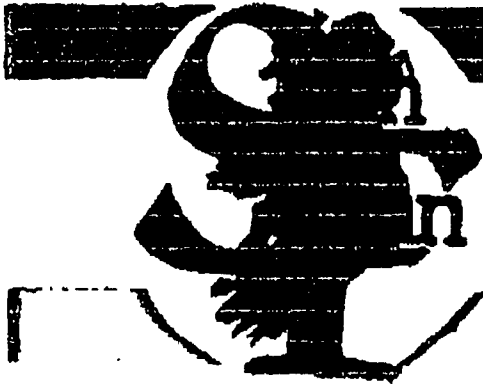
You have shown your willingness in the past to assist the peace process. The decision to grant me a 48 hour visa to enter the U.S.A. was a positive contribution to this.

I hope that you will find it possible to use your good offices again to move the whole situation on. Many thanks.

Is mise le meas,

G. Adams
President of Sinn Fein

26-JAN-94 WED 21:06 BELFAST REPUBLICAN PRESS P.01



GERRY ADAMS

President of Sinn Féin

51/55 Bóthar na bhFáil, Béal Feirste BT12 4PD

PRESS RELEASE

FROM GERRY ADAMS

DATE 28 January 1994

Responding to media inquiries about his interview with a United States official today, on the issue of his visa application to visit the US, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said:

"As the New York Times editorial has stated today, at the core of all of this is the issue of freedom of speech and freedom of information and what part the Clinton administration wishes to play in the peace process. It is my view that the US government can play a significant and positive role in encouraging the peace process by helping to create a climate which moves the situation on.

Sinn Féin has played a central and pivotal role in moving the situation from an apparently intractable conflict to one where there is now a focus on resolving the issues involved and building a lasting peace. I welcome the substantial and significant support which has been generated on these matters in the past several weeks in the United States. This is a concrete contribution to the search for peace from concerned individuals and organisations there.

Whatever the outcome of the current request for a waiver of my visa, it is clear that this issue will be won sooner or later. It is also clear that the British government have used all their influence, as in the past, to impede any progress on this or in any matter which could influence or inform perceptions about the current situation in Ireland and the British government's responsibility for the present intolerable stand-off.

Notwithstanding this, let me reaffirm my commitment to move this situation on. The prize of peace for the Irish people, and the British people, is too important and the opportunity for peace cannot be squandered. Republicans will seek, therefore, to overcome any obstacles and to be resourceful and imaginative in how we encourage and develop the peace process.

for
FET
consultant

As to the specific focus of my interview today, the Sinn Fein position and my personal position on these matters is well known.

I want to see an end to all violence and an end to this conflict. I don't advocate violence. It is my personal and political priority to see an end to the IRA and an end to all other organisations involved in armed actions. This means an end to the British army presence and the disbandment of the IRA. It means an end to the loyalist death squads. In other words, a demilitarisation of the situation.

I am willing to seek to persuade the IRA to make definitive decisions on the conduct of its campaign. I have stated on a number of occasions my willingness to go to the IRA with a proposition when such a proposition is forthcoming from the peace process.

Not only that, but Sinn Fein is actively engaged in developing unarmed strategies for republican struggle. This should be encouraged not discouraged. Indeed, despite all the difficulties Sinn Fein has now moved to a position where our main function as a political party is to build a peace process. The development of the peace process, including the Downing Street Declaration, is a response to the Sinn Fein peace strategy and to the peace initiative undertaken by myself and SDLP leader John Hume.

The Joint Declaration is described by the authors as "the first step" towards a peace settlement. Sinn Fein is committed to such a settlement and I am concerned, I am indeed anxious to be persuaded that the Downing Street Declaration can provide the basis for this. And even if this is not the case, if there is a gap between what is required and what is on offer, then we should all move to bridge that gap. I am prepared to go the extra mile.

My interview today was a useful and informative exchange and I appreciate the effort that has been made by the Clinton administration to deepen its knowledge of the situation. The US government now more clearly understands the importance of the visa issue, and how it can play a positive role in creating a better climate in which the resolution of our current difficulties can be agreed. My sole purpose in coming to the US is to advance the cause of peace and to move the process forward. The National Committee invitation presents a unique opportunity for this to be accomplished. It is not only an opportunity for me to advance my view on how peace can be created. It also, and just as importantly, presents an opportunity for others to engage with me on how best the peace process can be moved on."

CRIOSH

EASTER STATEMENT FROM THE IRA LEADERSHIP

An Phoblacht/Republican News
March 31, 1994

Easter message from the leadership of Oglai^hgh na hÉireann (IRA)
'Call on Britain to Use Opportunity'

The 1994 message from the Irish Republican Army Leadership reiterates republican commitment to Irish freedom and national self-determination and announces a three day suspension of offensive military operations next week. The IRA says it hopes the British government will use this opportunity to the advantage of both the Irish and British people.

"The Leadership of Oglai^hgh na hÉireann extends seasonal and fraternal greetings to all its friends, activists and supporters both at home and further afield.

Easter for republicans, marks a time for reflection and rededication. As we gather in groups large and small we call to mind all those who have died in the cause of Irish freedom. We especially call to mind those who have died over the past year. We extend sympathy and solidarity to all their families particularly those of Volunteers Jimmy Kelly and Thomas Begley.

Our struggle is a long, a proud and a resilient one. At this juncture as we celebrate and commemorate the 78th anniversary of the Easter Rising of 1916 we renew our republican faith and rededicate ourselves to the cause of Irish freedom.

Our objectives, which include the recognition and the exercise of the Irish people's right to national self-determination are well known. Our commitment and our unity of purpose remain steadfast.

Our commitment to peace is also a matter of public record. This is evidenced in the welcome we gave in October 1993 to the Irish Peace Initiative, its underlying principles and dynamic which emerged publicly from the Hume/Adams talks. It remains our view that this could provide the basis for peace.

Recently we reiterated the abiding and enduring nature of our commitment to the development of a genuine peace process. We stated our view that all involved should leave no stone unturned. We recognize that this commitment is shared by others but from our perspective there is little evidence that this includes the British government.

Last year in an effort to enhance the success of proposed meetings between Sinn Fein and the British government we agreed to a British government proposal to suspend operations for two weeks. In the event the British government rejected this and in so doing

closed down the potential opportunity for progress which this represented.

Our statement of March 13th reiterates our continued willingness to be positive and flexible in exploring the potential for moving the situation forward.

As further evidence of that we will unilaterally suspend offensive military actions for 72 hours from midnight Tuesday, April 5th, until midnight Friday, April 8th.

There are no conditions attached to this unilateral initiative but we hope that the British government will accept this further opportunity in the spirit in which it is offered and utilize it to the best advantage of the British and Irish people.

Making peace is a difficult business for all involved but the difficulties must be overcome. That is the responsibility of all involved but particularly the British government. We hope that the further opportunity here provided is used to that purpose and effect.

In conclusion we republicans, as we celebrate and commemorate Easter, will draw strength and inspiration from our fallen dead and will face the tasks, challenges and opportunities of the coming year with commitment and unity of purpose. Beirigh bua."

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: BEERS BURGOS FILE HOLL LEBOURGEOIS SUM2 VAX WALKER

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FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7757

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7196

RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5105

RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 2718

UNCLAS BELFAST 0130

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PREL, PINS, UK, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PIRA MORTAR BRINGS DOWN ARMY HELICOPTER

1. ON MARCH 19, A MORTAR ATTACK BY THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA) BROUGHT DOWN AND DESTROYED A BRITISH ARMY HELICOPTER AS IT HOVERED OVER A COMBINED POLICE AND ARMY BASE IN CROSSMAGLEN, COUNTY ARMAGH. AN OFFICER OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC) WHO WAS A PASSENGER IN THE HELICOPTER WAS HOSPITALIZED FOR INJURIES RECEIVED IN THE ATTACK. END SUMMARY.

2. AT AROUND 2030 LOCAL TIME ON MARCH 19, THE PIRA FIRED A MARK 15 "BARRACK-BUSTER" HEAVY MORTAR, TIMING THE ATTACK TO TAKE PLACE AS A BRITISH ARMY LYNX HELICOPTER DESCENDED FOR A LANDING AT ITS BASE IN CROSSMAGLEN. THE PROJECTILE SHATTERED THE TAIL SECTION OF THE HELICOPTER AS IT HOVERED ABOUT ONE HUNDRED FEET UP. THE PILOT CRASH LANDED THE HELICOPTER INSIDE THE BASE WHERE IT BURST INTO FLAMES. LOCAL TELEVISION NEWS PRAISED THE HEROISM OF THE THREE BRITISH ARMY CREWMAN OF THE HELICOPTER WHO, IN SPITE OF BEING INJURED THEMSELVES, DRAGGED THEIR MORE SERIOUSLY INJURED RUC COLLEAGUE FROM THE CRASH. THE ARMY CONDUCTED A CONTROLLED EXPLOSION OF THE TRACTOR BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE FIRING POINT FOR THE ATTACK. THE VILLAGE WAS SEALED AND A LARGE SECURITY OPERATION LAUNCHED BUT THE ATTACKERS WERE NOT FOUND.

3. LOCAL MP, SEAMUS MALLON, OF THE NATIONALIST SDLP, WAS QUOTED IN THE IRISH TIMES AND SHOWN ON LOCAL TV NEWS AS DECRYING THE RECKLESSNESS OF THE PIRA IN LAUNCHING SUCH AN ATTACK OVER RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL SECTIONS OF THE TOWN WHERE THE RISK OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES WOULD BE VERY HIGH. HE WAS QUOTED IN THE IRISH TIMES AS SAYING THAT PEOPLE IN THE AREA WERE REVOLTED BY THE "SYNDROME WHERE SINN FEIN SPOKESMEN TALKED PEACE IN THE MORNING AND THE IRA CARRIED OUT MURDEROUS ATTACKS IN THE EVENING."

MARTINEZ

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BLEICKEN BURGOS CANAS CLARKER FILE HOLL LEBOURGEOIS SUM2 VAX WALKER
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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 001610
LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, EI, UK, US
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING SAYS NO NEGOTIATIONS
WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS
RENOUNCED VIOLENCE

REF: (A) DUBLIN 01516
(B) LONDON 04534

1. (U) SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING HAS REITERATED THAT THERE WILL BE NO/NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE. SPRING HAS ALSO NOTED THAT "IT WOULD BE INCORRECT" TO ASSUME THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WOULD SIT DOWN WITH SINN FEIN IN THE EVENT OF A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE. REPUBLICAN "SOURCES" HAVE REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE "MOVEMENT" WOULD CONSIDER SPRING'S COMMENTS IN THIS REGARD AS THEY APPEARED IN A MARCH 20 "OBSERVER" ARTICLE. END SUMMARY.
2. (U) IRISH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER/FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING IS QUOTED IN THE MARCH 21 PRESS AS REITERATING THAT THERE WILL BE NO/NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE. "IF THEY WANT TO ENTER INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS, THAT MEANS THERE HAS TO BE A PERMANENT CESSATION OF VIOLENCE AND THAT THEY MAKE A VERY FIRM DECLARATION TO THAT EFFECT," SPRING SAID.
3. (U) A MARCH 20 "OBSERVER" ARTICLE EVIDENTLY OCCASIONED SPRING'S COMMENTS. THIS ARTICLE QUOTED FROM A YET-TO-BE-PUBLISHED INTERVIEW OF SPRING IN WHAT IS DESCRIBED AS THE NEW LEFTIST QUARTERLY "NEW CENTURY" IN WHICH SPRING REPORTEDLY SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE IRA WAS "INCHING TOWARDS PEACE" AND MIGHT POSSIBLY OFFER A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO SIT DOWN WITH THE OTHER NATIONALIST PARTIES. "THEY HAVEN'T DONE THAT YET, EITHER PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY, BUT IT SEEMS THAT'S THE WAY THEIR STRATEGY IS WORKING...IT DOESN'T LOOK AS THOUGH SINN FEIN IRA ARE PREPARED TO MAKE THE ULTIMATE DECISION TO GIVE UP VIOLENCE...IT LOOKS LIKE THEY ARE INCHING AWAY FROM

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By MM NARA, Date 4/4/06
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

VIOLENCE IN CERTAIN RESPECTS AND THAT THEY MAY WELL BE DOING THAT OVER A PERIOD OF MONTHS...I SEE VIOLENCE WITHERING AWAY RATHER THAN BEING GUILLOTINED...IF THEY OFFER A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE, WE WILL WANT TO FIN - 2-6 9! 778)\$8,& 9, 5#-5 285#975 .-(8,& -,6 :9,:389, 59 5#3.."

4. (U) SPRING, HOWEVER, HAS REPORTEDLY TOLD DUBLIN JOURNALISTS IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE "NEW CENTURY" ARTICLE THAT IT "WAS NOT A CORRECT CONCLUSION" TO ASSUME THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO SIT DOWN WITH SINN FEIN IN THE EVENT OF A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE.

5. (U) SPRING ALSO OBSERVED THAT THE MORTAR ATTACK ON A BRITISH ARMY HELICOPTER IN CROSSMAGLEN ON MARCH 19 DID NOT HELP THE PEACE PROCESS AND THAT THE HEATHROW MORTAR ATTACKS AND IT WERE DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WITH SINN FEIN/IRA'S PEACE RHETORIC.

6. (U) THE MARCH 21 "IRISH TIMES" QUOTES REPUBLICAN "SOURCES" AS SAYING THAT SPRING'S SUGGESTION IN THE "NEW CENTURY" INTERVIEW THAT THE IRA WOULD BE WILLING TO OFFER A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE IN ORDER TO JOIN NEW TALKS WAS "NEW SPECULATION THAT HAD NOT BEEN TOUCHED ON BEFORE." A "SENIOR SOURCE" SAID THAT RECENT REPORTS THAT THE IRA WAS ABOUT TO CALL A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE WERE "NONSENSE" BUT THAT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT WOULD STUDY SPRING'S COMMENTS IRRESPECTIVE OF HIS LATER CORRECTION OF THEM.

7. (U) SPRING, MEANWHILE, MET WITH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY DOUGLAS HURD IN DUBLIN ON MARCH 21. HURD WAS PARTICIPATING IN AN INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS SEMINAR ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF BRITISH EU POLICY FOR IRELAND. "SOURCES" SAID THAT THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD DISCUSS NORTHERN IRELAND AS PART OF THE POLICY OF HOLDING AS MANY HIGH-LEVEL INTER-GOVERNMENTAL MINISTERIAL CONTACTS AS POSSIBLE.

COMMENT

8. (C) SPRING'S "NEW CENTURY" INTERVIEW MAY HAVE BEEN A TRIAL BALLOON BY AN IRISH GOVERNMENT INCREASINGLY ANXIOUS TO DO SOMETHING TO FILL THE POLITICAL VACUUM CREATED BY

SINN FEIN/IRA'S DILATORINESS IN RESPONDING TO THE JOINT DECLARATION AND BY THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY'S REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN NEW 3-STRAND TALKS ON NORTHERN IRELAND. WE

WILL ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY THIS POINT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IF SPRING'S COMMENTS DURING THE INTERVIEW WERE QUOTED CORRECTLY BY THE "OBSERVER," THE LINKAGE HE MADE BETWEEN A TEMPORARY IRA CEASE-FIRE AND SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN TALKS WITH "OTHER NATIONALIST PARTIES" COULD REFER TO THE "FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION" WHICH PRIME MINISTER

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

REYNOLDS WANTS TO BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IF SO, SPRING
MAY HAVE BEEN MAKING AN IMPLICIT DISTINCTION BETWEEN
"TALKS" AT THE FORUM AND ALL-PARTY "NEGOTIATIONS" ON
NORTHERN IRELAND, WHICH WOULD OCCUR ONLY AFTER AN
UNCONDITIONAL CESSATION OF VIOLENCE. IN THAT CASE, OF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 001610

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING SAYS NO NEGOTIATIONS
WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS
RENOUNCED VIOLENCE

COURSE, MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON HOW THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CHOSE
TO DEFINE SUCH A THING. SANDBERG

BT

#1610

NNNN

<MSGID> M0946602

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D C. 20547



September 8, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR: NSC - Nancy Soderberg
FROM: USIA/WEU - John P. Harrod, Director *JPH*
SUBJECT: Possible USIS Programming to support the Peace Process in Northern Ireland

Exchanges: Expand USIS exchange activity as possible. Currently, Northern Irish grantees participate in a range of USIS exchange programs, from the International Visitor and Voluntary Visitor programs to specialized programs in American studies. USIS London currently uses about 6 International Visitor grants in Northern Ireland. A sharp increase in the coming FY is not likely. However, USIA's Voluntary Visitors' program can be expanded. The Voluntary Visitor program can organize IV-like projects for individuals and groups when international travel can be funded by other organizations, such as the International Fund for Ireland.

Projects like the border counties community worker project now in the planning by USIS (paid for by the International Fund for Ireland, organized by USIS Dublin and CG Belfast, and programmed by Voluntary Visitors) should be expanded. This IFI-funded Voluntary Visitor project will bring about 30 grantees to the U.S. in three groups for about 2 weeks each starting in October 1994.

Bottom line: Current USIS exchange programs could be expanded with IFI and other private and USG funds. Human rights, democracy, conflict resolution, and community development are promising topics for additional exchange projects.

Educational exchanges: Greater Northern Ireland participation in Fulbright academic and teacher exchange programs. Several approaches could be explored, such as including a Northern Irish representative on the Irish Fulbright Commission or seeking additional funding for a scholarship or an academic chair on a topic relevant to the peace process in Northern Ireland.

FYI: Currently potential candidates for Fulbright programs from Northern Ireland can apply either through the Irish or British commissions.

Speakers: This is an important area for expansion. Already for FY-95, USIS London has planned expanded programs in Northern

Ireland. One project in the works is a seminar on conflict resolution co-sponsored by the Peace Studies Program at the University of Ulster, likely involving a similar group from Dublin. USIS speakers will be increased in Northern Ireland, directly under USIS auspices or co-sponsored to attend the many conferences organized by universities and other groups. Important topics would be conflict resolution, community development, women and minority rights, local government, and grass roots democracy.

Cultural programs: In FY-94, USIS London began expansion in this area through small grants given to community arts organizations to promote exchange between Northern Irish artists and performers and American counterparts. In FY-95 USIS London plans to fund an American participant for the Belfast Folk Festival in August 1995. The Ulster Folk Museum has participated in the Museum Partnership program, exchanging staff with a U.S. museum. There is great potential to expand placement of American Cultural Specialists at cultural institutions and to increase facilitative assistance to museums and cultural organizations. As in other program areas, cultural programming will emphasize cross community contact.

Worldnets and Teleconferences: USIS has a satellite dish (TVRO) located at the Consulate General in Belfast and has maintained an active program of interactive dialogues for several years on a variety of subjects, including community theater and education. This capability can be utilized to put Northern Irish leaders in all fields directly in touch with their U.S. counterparts. In addition, Worldnets can link participants in Dublin, London, and Belfast.

Teleconferencing is another USIS program tool that is flexible, inexpensive, and well-adapted to fast-breaking policy issues.

Coordination between USIS London and USIS Dublin: USIS London and Dublin are working closely to coordinate their activities in a range of areas to support the peace process. The PAOs from London and Dublin will visit Belfast together in October 1994 to examine further cooperation.

Idea of an "America House": This is not feasible nor is it desirable. Program priorities can be better addressed through the means described above. In addition, permanent installations of this kind require very large resource commitments, which could be better used for program expansion.

from Peter

State -- Given Adams' continued role in terrorism, his failure to date to endorse the Joint Declaration and the strong British opposition to our issuing the visa, Secretary Christopher strongly opposes issuing the visa. He believes that it is a mistake to override London's objections on this sensitive matter at a time when we are working closely with the British on many more important subjects (e.g., P4P implementation, Bosnia, the remaining GATT issues). However, if we can come up with a proposal that the British can live with (i.e., one that gets Adams to renounce violence and accept the Joint Declaration), Secretary Christopher would not oppose us issuing the visa although he does not want the U.S. to enter into a negotiation with Adams over the terms of what he is expected to do. Furthermore, Secretary Christopher objects to our appearing to be willing to enter into the negotiations over Northern Ireland - an issue that he considers has demonstrated it is hopelessly difficult to resolve.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, INC.

215 West 40th Street • New York, NY 10018 • (212) 354-7508 • Fax (212) 575-7945



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January 14, 1994

Mr. Gerry Adams
Sinn Fein
51 Falls Road
Belfast, BT124PD
Northern Ireland

FAX #: 011-44-232-231-723

Dear Mr. Adams:

We are pleased to confirm the plans for the National Committee on American Foreign Policy's conference on Northern Ireland. The conference will be held at 1:30pm on February 1, 1994 at The Waldorf Astoria Hotel on Park Avenue in New York City. Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke will serve as the chairman and moderator.

Each speaker will appear separately. He will be given 20-25 minutes to make his presentation, with an additional 20-25 minutes to take questions from the audience. We ask your cooperation in this matter. There need not be a debate of the various views voiced. We would appreciate a written copy of your remarks, which, with your permission, will be released to the press and published in the National Committee's newsletter.

As the conference date draws near we will provide you with the exact time of your individual presentation. We will also provide you with information regarding security and press concerns. However, we do ask that you make yourself available for the entire day on February first, so that we may arrange any desired press coverage for you and your views.

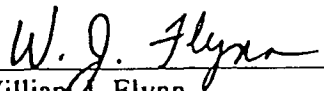
Accommodations have been reserved for you at the Waldorf Astoria on the evenings of Monday January 31, 1994 and Tuesday, February 1, 1994 as a guest of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.

In addition, the Committee is prepared to pay round-trip economy airfare for you if your party has difficulty financing your transportation costs. We will require a receipt for payment of all expenses.

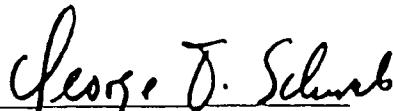
As soon as you know your travel plans, kindly notify us of your flight no., arrival airport (Kennedy, LaGuardia, or Newark), and the date and time of your arrival. Kindly proceed to the VIP Lounge, where a representative of the National Committee will meet you and arrange your transportation to the hotel.

We look forward to welcoming you to New York City for the February 1, 1994 conference. With very best wishes.

Sincerely,



William J. Flynn
Chairman of the Board



Prof. George D. Schwab
President

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

January 15, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing in support of Gerry Adams' application for a visa to visit the United States. As the leader of the Sinn Fein political party in Northern Ireland, Mr. Adams has a critical role to play in advancing the current all-important peace process in Northern Ireland.

In the past, Mr. Adams' relationship with the Irish Republican Army and his refusal to disavow its campaign of violence have been the basis for denying his visa applications. But we believe that granting a visa at this time will enhance, not undermine, the peace process.


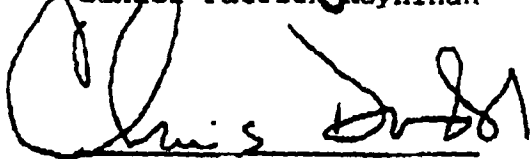
As you know, recent developments have led to the best hope in many years for an end to the bloodshed in Northern Ireland and a peaceful resolution of the conflict there. The leader of the SDLP, John Hume, has engaged in a dialogue with Mr. Adams, and the British Government itself has had contacts with the IRA. The recent widely acclaimed Joint Declaration by the British and Irish Governments has set forth proposals to encourage such dialogue and to achieve an end to the violence in Northern Ireland.


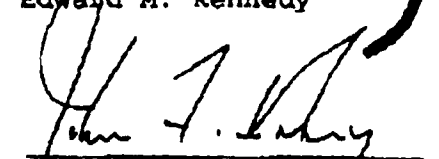
Under these circumstances, we believe that it is important for the United States to facilitate the emerging dialogue as an alternative to violence by granting Mr. Adams the right to travel to the United States. If this country is to do its part to encourage these recent developments, it must act in a timely way to encourage constructive dialogue aimed at achieving an end to the violence.

While no one can be certain that a visa for Mr. Adams will result in the IRA's accepting the conditions established by Ireland and Great Britain for participation in the peace process, the United States cannot afford to ignore this possibility and miss this rare opportunity for our country to contribute to peace in Northern Ireland.

We urge you to act favorably on Mr. Adams' request.

Respectfully,


Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Christopher J. Dodd


Edward M. Kennedy

John F. Kerry

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1994

CC to
TARA
+ netmail

Dear Mr. Adams:

Thank you for your letter to President Clinton of March 31. He has asked me to reply on his behalf.

As the President said publicly upon the announcement of the IRA's three day cessation of violence, we hope that Sinn Fein and the IRA will renounce violence permanently and endorse the Joint Declaration as the best path forward for peace in Northern Ireland. We have repeatedly urged all involved to end the use of violence as a means of advancing political goals; it is time for the people of Northern Ireland to resolve their differences through dialogue and negotiations. It was in that spirit that the President permitted your attendance at the peace conference in New York earlier this year.

As the end of the three-day ceasefire approaches, I urge you to work to prevent a resumption of the violence that has cost so many lives and to bring about an end to the IRA's killing once and for all. I know you have been pressing for the British government to enter into a dialogue with you. It has been pressing you for a permanent renunciation of violence and an endorsement of the Joint Declaration. In his letter sent to you yesterday, Prime Minister Major's Private Secretary Roderic Lyne set out a path for achieving the objectives you seek. Extending the ceasefire permanently could clearly lead to the dialogue outlined in Mr. Lyne's letter and I hope you will work to achieve that goal.

Again, the people of Northern Ireland have suffered the violence for too long and deserve a lasting peace. We look forward to making progress toward the important and long overdue objective.

Sincerely,



Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

Mr. Gerry Adams
President
Sinn Fein
51/55 Bothar ne bhFal
Beal Feirste BT12 4PD
IRELAND

Under review

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 7, 1994

NOTE TO TONY

FROM: NANCY²

FYI - attached (pg. 2) is the language on the Adams visa saying that we'll "keep the issue under review" in light of events following the Joint Declaration.

We were more explicit in the Oxman cable to Jean Smith (also attached) linking the visa explicitly to Adams' renunciation of violence and taking steps to join the political process. The latter point, however, has not been made public.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. talking points	re: Talking Points for Use with John Hume [2 copies] (1 page)	01/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1397

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry-January 1994 [2]

2011-0533-F
rs1648

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Former Language on Visa Denial

Visa to Gerry Adams

Q: During the campaign you called for granting a visa to Gerry Adams, yet your Administration just denied him one. How do you account for this contradiction?

- A: -- Mr. Adams was denied a visa in accordance with U.S. law, specifically, the Immigration and Nationality Act which bars those individuals involved in terrorist activity from entry into the United States.
- The decision to deny Mr. Adams a visa was recommended by the State Department with the full support of the Justice Department, including the FBI. I stand by that decision.
- During the campaign, I said I would consider granting a visa to Mr. Adams because he was a member of parliament and as such could be helpful to the process of bringing peace to the area.
- However, Mr. Adams is no longer a member of Parliament.

Q: Will you be discussing Northern Ireland...

Points for Congress

→ NS

The Administration is reviewing Gerry Adams' January 14 application to attend the conference on Northern Ireland hosted by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy on February 1, 1994, in light of events flowing from the December 15 Joint Declaration by Prime Minister Reynolds and Prime Minister Major.

In making a decision on whether to grant him a waiver of his ineligibility, it is important for us to have an understanding of his position on achieving peace in Northern Ireland.

After consulting with the Irish and British governments, we have instructed our Embassy in Dublin and Consulate in Belfast to approach Adams to determine whether he publicly will renounce violence and support the Joint Declaration.

Our decision on whether to provide him a visa will depend on his response.

Sandey has
attempted to
call Foley]

PROPOSED LANGUAGE FOR ADAMS

. . . you personally renounce violence and will work to that end;
and that Sinn Fein and the IRA are committed to ending the
conflict on the basis of the Joint Declaration.

Points for Congress and Press:

The Administration is reviewing Gerry Adams' January 14 application to attend the conference on Northern Ireland hosted by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy on February 1, 1994 in light of events flowing from the December 15 Joint Declaration by Prime Minister Reynolds and Prime Minister Major.

In making a decision on whether to grant him a waiver of his ineligibility, it is important for us to have an understanding of his position on achieving peace in Northern Ireland.

After consulting with the Irish and British governments, we have instructed our Embassy in Dublin to determine whether he will publicly renounce violence and support the Joint Declaration.

Our decision on whether to provide him a visa will depend on his response.

of protest as not for enough:

Adams has been trying to obtain ^{his} visa for the past decade. His ten applications since 1984 have been denied because of his continued involvement in the command structure of the IRA. ~~His persistence in seeking to obtain a U.S. visa demonstrates the importance he places on coming to this country to make his case.~~ Longstanding U.S. government policy has been to avoid substantive contacts with him, Sinn Fein and the IRA.

Our move now represents ~~a shift in policy~~ and a reaching out to Adams: we have never had a substantive conversation with him before.

We have chosen to do this now because the Joint Declaration represents the first real opportunity in years for Sinn Fein to take a seat at the negotiating table. Our move is designed to demonstrate that we recognize that Adams has an important role to play in securing peace and we want him to move in the right direction.

Sandy:

calls beyond Kennedy

DOD

Authoring your clearance of Additional Points. THESE HAVE BEEN DRAFTED BY ME + Dan Russell (of Tarnoff's office). Nancy wanted THESE DONE BEFORE my more calls were made.

You should run by Peter if you approve.

Jane

7:15

Steve Scahill - 960-0404

Mark Matthews 710-2852

Back...

visa reqs

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

January 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY

FROM: BROOKE

SUBJECT: Arafat's Renunciation of Violence

Below, please find quotes by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat on renouncing violence:

Text of letter to Prime Minister Rabin on Joint Recognition (September 9, 1993):

- "The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations."
- "The PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators."

Text of letter to Norwegian Foreign Minister Holst (September 9, 1993):

- "The PLO encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take part in the steps leading to the normalization of life, rejecting violence and terrorism, contributing to peace and stability and participation actively in shaping reconstruction, economic development and cooperation."

Comments on the killing of an Israeli settler (November 13, 1993):

- "We are distressed by and condemn the killing of the Israeli settler Mizrachi. This individual operation was carried without the knowledge of the leadership. We demand that everyone comply with what was agreed on and stop violent acts to safeguard the peace process."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE CALL TO
BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

DATE: March 19, 1995
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: TBD

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

*(TL called -
Permit Walcott
March 8)*

I. PURPOSE

To assuage some of Major's concerns about your decision to permit Gerry Adams to fundraise and to reassure him of your commitment to close cooperation with him on Northern Ireland and other issues.

II. BACKGROUND

Major and his government were angered by our decision to let Gerry Adams fundraise. They believe we gave up valuable leverage for little in return. They were equally incensed over what they perceived as inadequate consultations with them as the decision was made. Major wrote you March 10 (Tab A) reiterating British concerns that money raised in the U.S. will be used for arms or violence and that Sinn Fein will now be more reluctant than ever to take the steps on decommissioning the British say are necessary to getting the Unionists to come to the same table with Sinn Fein.

Your March 14 letter (Tab B) went a good way in assuaging Major's concerns; the British publicly termed the letter "constructive." However, Major's unavailability to take your phone call was interpreted by the British press, despite official denials, as an intentional snub.

III. AGENDA

Northern Ireland: While we have agreed to disagree with the British government on the advisability of lifting the fundraising ban now, you should make clear to Major your recognition of the risks he has taken in moving the peace process forward this far and the particularly delicate state of British relations with the Unionist community. Major has staked his fragile government on Northern Ireland, telling his Cabinet that if the government goes down he prefers it

be over "doing the right thing" on Northern Ireland than in a duel with the Europhobes.

Major is grateful for the public remarks you made along these lines during the St. Patrick's Day presentation of the shamrocks. He also appreciates the effort we have made to reach out to Unionists and loyalists; you should affirm that we will try to deepen this dialogue.

You should emphasize that we recognize the importance of Sinn Fein entering into a serious discussion of arms decommissioning with the British; we have told Sinn Fein and will continue to tell them we expect them to follow through on the public commitment they made March 8 which opened the way for us to allow Adams to fundraise. There are encouraging signs from both Sinn Fein and British sources that there could be a British minister at talks with Sinn Fein as early as next week; you should sound Major out on that.

V-E Day Travel: Major is wrestling in much the same way we are with the decision of whether to go to Moscow. He is likely to go, but he is interested in your views and plans. The British press, which is portraying the Adams fundraising decision as another sign that British views no longer count in Washington, has also seized upon the notion that you may not attend V-E Day events in London as another sign that the Anglo-American relationship is in tatters, but Major understands this is not the case. Nonetheless, he would welcome your going to London.

The Middle East: Major met with Rabin, Arafat and King Hussein during his just-concluded Middle East trip. His visit to Israel -- only the second ever by a UK Prime Minister -- went very well, helping to close a long history of troubled bilateral relations. With Arafat, he expressed concern over the economic plight of the Palestinians and noted the importance of a more active EU role in assistance efforts. In Jordan, King Hussein pressed him on the need for economic/security assistance. We understand Major will raise with you his concern, reflecting Hussein's strong urging, that a way be found to facilitate humanitarian assistance to the Iraqis.

Croatia: Tudjman's agreement with the Vice President to allow UN peacekeepers to operate in Croatia past March 31 is a breakthrough. We need to work closely with the British in New York to develop a mandate for a new UN force in Croatia.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B Your March 14 Letter to Major on Northern Ireland

Tab C Major's March 10 and previous letters to you

CONFIDENTIAL

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

Northern Ireland

- Anxious to talk with you about Northern Ireland. Appreciate your March 10 letters and the concerns you expressed about the peace process.
- Aware my decision on Adams' fundraising causing you problems with the Unionists and in your press, who are always looking to show our relations are bad. Want you to know that, whatever the British press may say, I meant what I said when you first came to meet with me in February 1993: As long as I am President, we will always have a special relationship with you.
- But close friends can disagree. I know you think we gave Adams something for nothing. I don't see it that way.
- ✓ -- We used this process to make Adams say in a very public way that he's going to address arms decommissioning in his talks with you. That seems to go at least a good way toward what Sir Patrick Mayhew said was needed.
- We are holding Adams to his public commitment. We can do that better, with more leverage, when we have the Irish-American community on our side.
- ✓ -- I reiterated on St. Patrick's Day that Sinn Fein and the loyalists need to begin seriously discussing how to get rid of the arms. Tony Lake pushed Adams hard on this when they met on Tuesday.
- I understand British officials have been in touch with Sinn Fein about resuming and possibly upgrading your dialogue to ministerial level. Where do things stand? How can we be helpful?
- I have made clear my view that a serious discussion on arms decommissioning should begin, and begin as soon as possible. But we have not, and will not be taking, positions on the method or timing of disarmament. We think that is for you to work out with the parties.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
0012-0801-M
05/26/16 KDE

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

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- We are also serious about making sure that the funds Sinn Fein raises are used to support only legitimate, legal political activity. Sinn Fein has engaged an accounting firm and we have made clear our expectation that funds will be strictly and frequently accounted for. If this privilege is abused, it can and will be taken away.
- I admire the courage and conviction with which you have approached Northern Ireland.
- I am aware that you have staked your political life on this; you have taken enormous risks. Your willingness to take these risks has made possible the extraordinary progress made so far. This fact is underappreciated on this side of the Atlantic, and I have tried to emphasize it in my public remarks.
- My decision to let Adams fundraise and invite him here is also a risk. I am going to do what I can to make sure it produces the results we both want: a permanent peace in Northern Ireland and all the parties around the table negotiating their future.
- The Joint Framework Document you and John Bruton have agreed upon is a huge step forward. I am also encouraged by the numerous steps you have taken to reduce the military presence in Northern Ireland in response to the lessened threat.
- Irish Prime Minister John Bruton make a very good impression here last week. Are you and he in accord on next steps? How can we be helpful?

Middle East

- Important U.S. and EU work together closely as peace process moves ahead. Very encouraged by results of Christopher's trip -- negotiations have been given a real push and the regional atmosphere improved.
- On Palestinian track, understandings reached between Peres and Arafat demonstrate commitment on both sides to energize the process. I know Palestinian need for economic assistance/political benefits is great. With Arafat taking steps to meet Israeli security concerns, believe Rabin committed to his side of the bargain.
- Donor community needs to redouble efforts to deliver on promised aid. We are refocusing our aid on employment generating, quick disbursing projects.

- Important progress on Syrian negotiations. Sides have agreed to resume meetings next week here. I will send Dennis Ross to region shortly to lay the ground for resumed military contacts on security arrangements. Many challenges ahead, but I am convinced both Rabin and Asad are serious. We will do all we can to help them reach a settlement.
- Know King Hussein very concerned over debt forgiveness issue. Difficult fight in Congress, but we are exerting maximum efforts; also hope to do something on military assistance side. Important we stand by King. Hope you can help further with debt.
- On Iraq, I can appreciate the importance of responding to the humanitarian crisis, even if it is the result of Saddam's ruthless policies. As you know, Ambassador Albright signaled our deep interest in renewing resolutions 706/712 which would permit limited sale of oil for purchase of food/medicine.
- Our mission in New York ready to work with yours and Argentina's to develop a plan to put these resolutions back on the Security Council table as soon as possible. We will be forward leaning on the question of quantity of oil to be sold and on ways to adequately monitor the distribution of goods inside Iraq.

V-E Day Travel

- I haven't decided whether to go to Moscow for the V-E Day events. I understand you are leaning toward attending.

Croatia

- Greatly encouraged by Tudjman's agreement with Vice President Gore to allow UN peacekeepers to operate in Croatia past March 31, when UNPROFOR's mandate expires.
- This is real breakthrough that offers good chance to head off wider Balkan war.
- Need to work closely together in New York on mandate for new UN force in Croatia.

Major's April 4 Visit

- Looking forward to seeing you here April 4. As always, we have much to talk about. Especially hope we can talk at length about how you see the situation in Northern Ireland and how we can be helpful.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 20 March 95 09:10
 FROM Stephens, Kathleen D.
 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 SUBJECT FW: PM Major 3/19 Memcon [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
 TO Beyrle, John R.
 CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
 TEXT_BODY

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
 PER E. O. 13526
 2012-0801-M 0512calle KDE

Attached is sitroom draft of Clinton-Major telcon.

From: Turner, Joe T. (Thorn)
 To: Stephens, Kathleen D.
 CC: /R, Record at A1
 Subject: PM Major 3/19 Memcon [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
 Date: Sunday, March 19, 1995 05:31 PM

[[MAJ0319.DOC : 2395 in MAJ0319.DOC]]

Kathy,

Attached is our draft Memcon. Please send us a final copy.

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 19 March 95 17:29

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME MAJ0319.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
 DECLASSIFY ON: OADR
 MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: President's conversation with British Prime Minister Major

NOTETAKERS: Deuce Martinez and Thorn Turner

DATE, TIME 19 March 1995, 1022-1044 EST

The President: Hello?

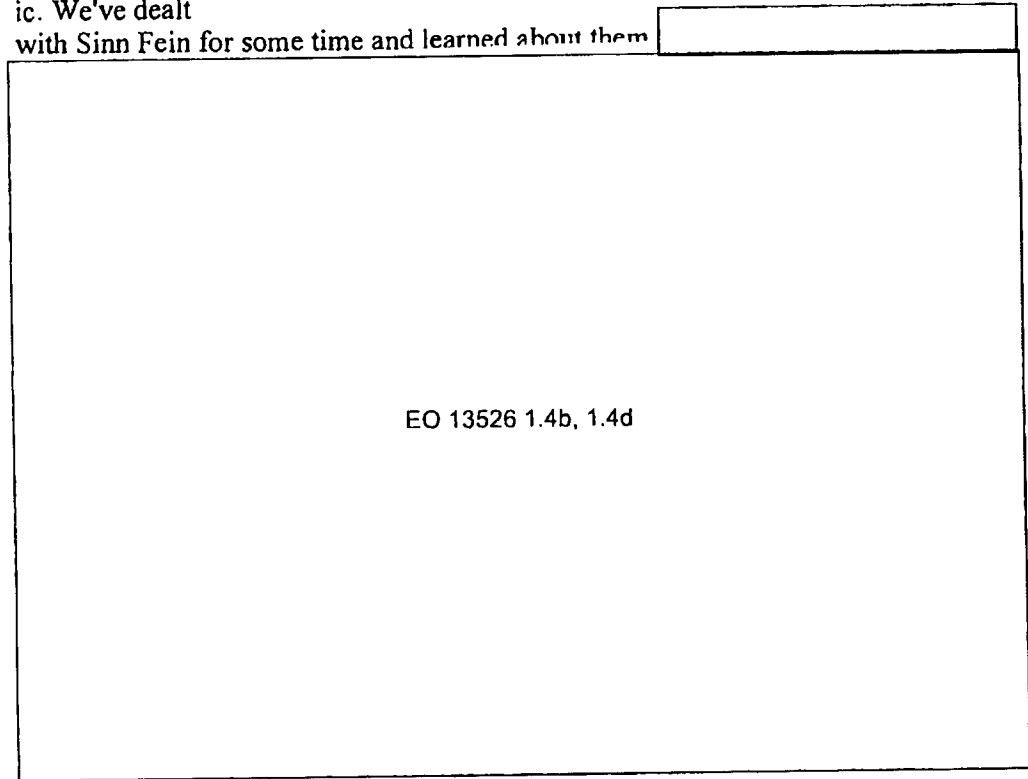
Prime Minister Major: Yes Bill.

The President: I can barely hear you. Did you have a good trip?

Prime Minister Major: Yes, the Middle East trip went very well. I would like to talk to you about Rabin, Arafat and King Hussein as well as a particular point on Iraq.

The President: I know we disagree on the trip by Gerry Adams to the U.S. We pushed him very hard on decommissioning of weapons. Irish Prime Minister Bruton did a good job holding up your end. We will continue to reach out to the Loyalists and I hope we can do more. We stressed two points: Adams must begin serious talks on arms decommissioning and made our expectations clear that funds raised by Sinn Fein must be used for legitimate purposes. On balance, the visit went well.

Prime Minister Major: I should have phoned you before the visit. I know we disagree on this. That happens from time to time, it's the nature of politics and friendships. There are several points I'd like to explain. I understand the domestic pressure you're under from the Congress and public. We've dealt with Sinn Fein for some time and learned about them



EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I'm anxious as well. I'm looking forward to your visit.

Prime Minister Major: Yes, I hope to have a crowded program. I'd like to discuss
t
he Middle East. As
you know, I met with Rabin, Arafat and Hussein, and I'd also like to look at
Russia.
They're may be a
range of other things we should discuss.

The President: Let's talk about Moscow. Are you going?

Prime Minister Major: Yes, I think so. I'd thought of not going; it might be
awkwa

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

rd to have Chechnya
veterans marching by. Given the circumstances though, it seems that less trouble
wi
ll be caused by

going. I'm about 90% sure I'm going.

The President: I'm planning on going, but please don't say anything since it hasn't
been announced yet.

However, our celebrations here are the day before. It was scheduled over a year
ag

o and the consensus is

that, due to the D-Day celebrations over there last year, I should stay here.

Prime Minister Major: I understand.

The President: I think we should go to Moscow.

Prime Minister Major: Yes, we have our own celebrations here and then I'm off
to Pa

ris and Bonn to

meet with Mitterrand and Kohl. Then I fly straight to Moscow with a very hectic
sche

dule. I will tell

Kohl I'm coming. He's been going through some tough times.

The President: I'm glad you're going. I'm going to call Kohl and tell him. I don'
t see how I can't stay
here though.

Prime Minister Major: That will be fine. Is the Vice President coming?

The President: Yes.

Prime Minister Major: Fine. He will be very welcome.

The President: We've been working with Tudjman to keep the Peacekeepers in
Croatia

beyond the 31

March deadline. He was here this week. He is antsy, but it was still a breakthroug
h and we're making

progress in Congress on the unilateral lifting of the arms embargo. I'm sure you'll
be meeting with some

of them while you're here.

Prime Minister Major: Yes, I'll press ahead.

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: We just have to keep moving ahead by inches until they get tired of killing each other.

Prime Minister Major:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: Well at any rate I think we are in better shape. I'm looking forward to a longer conversation on the Middle East during your trip. Christopher is there now.

Prime Minister Major: Yes. I think he achieved progress in Syria. The striking impression **** Rabin and Peres want to press ahead. They're in a difficult domestic situation with Likud ****.

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: We must do our part as well to help him. The House is very isolationists. They've cut some of the Jordanian aid from the budget.

Prime Minister Major: One more thing. Norma heard this also in some of her meetings. There is considerable concern toward Iraq, and they were very firm that this was a humanitarian problem, not merely support of Saddam Hussein. Before long, I expect we'll be seeing TV pictures of Iraqi families starving.

The President: But he can sell oil for food and medicine. (???)

Prime Minister Major: Yes, and he could have the sanctions lifted tomorrow if he would abide by the UN resolutions.

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I'll work on it as well and we can talk when I see you in April.

Prime Minister Major: Yes, in April and then in Moscow. Good-bye Bill.

The President: Good-bye John.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister John Major
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister John Major
Notetakers: Mary Ann Peters, Nelson Drew,
Katherine O'Loughlin, Celina Realuyo, Lyle
Harrison and Kenneth Baldwin

DATE, TIME July 14, 1995, 3:39 - 4:08p.m.
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello, John? (U)

Prime Minister Major: Hi Bill. It has been an interesting day. We just had a three-hour meeting on Bosnia and I had a livelier conversation than usual with Chirac. In our assessment, the situation looks awful. Backtracking a little bit - [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] They are presently attacking Zepa as we speak, and it is one or two days before Zepa falls. The next question is whether they will move down the eastern enclaves from Zepa to Gorazde. We judge they will, but before mounting a proper attack in Gorazde, they will have to regroup and will need at least four to five days. We have some pretty experienced people inside at Gorazde, and they tell us they probably will attack in 4 to 5 days. We expect the Bosnian government forces will defend it. We have 3-400 of our Royal Welsh fusiliers there. The question is what to do militarily and politically? I think you spoke with Chirac? (C)

The President: [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4d

Prime Minister Major: He seems to have shifted off that somewhat now. (C)

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The President: Now he wants to reinforce Gorazde. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Yes. He wants to reinforce Gorazde, retake Srebrenica and reinforce Sarajevo as well. (C)

The President: We have to do that on Sarajevo anyway. Helmut said that any of these military actions, besides defending Sarajevo or Goradze, would require UNSC action. I hadn't thought about it. He seemed to think so, at least. (C)

Prime Minister Major: They're on a peacekeeping mission. It would have to require a fairly loose interpretation of self defense. As far as Chirac is concerned... (C)

LINE DROPPED AND REESTABLISHED

Prime Minister Major: Sorry, God knows what happened there. (U)

The President: We were talking about the French point of view and the status of things. What is your thinking about it? (C)

Prime Minister Major: Regarding Gorazde, France wants to reinforce it

[Redacted]

EO 13526 1.4d, 1.4d

[Redacted] WE MUST EXAMINE THE MILITARY reality to see if it's practical. We expect our Chief of the Defense Staff, General Shalikashvili and Admiral Lanxade to meet over the weekend. (C)

The President: Lanxade asked for helicopters to support it, but they would be sitting ducks without taking out their, the Serbs, ability to shoot them down. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Thank you. Bill.

[Redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] These are the hard problems we'll have to face. Our defense minister is going to Bosnia this weekend to work out what has to be done. (C)

The President: We must stay in close touch. You know, at the time UNPROFOR seemed like the best of all the bad alternatives. (C)

Prime Minister Major: I don't have a shred of doubt that it was right. Let's not forget that the whole of central Bosnia is at peace. There is no ethnic cleansing in central Bosnia. UNPROFOR has saved 150,000 lives. That's not a negligible contribution by UNPROFOR, it's a contribution well worth having. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4d

Prime Minister Major: [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I have been in touch with my military commanders. They were all here in Washington for a military conference, except for Joulwan, who stayed behind in Europe. Actually, Admiral Boorda, EUCOM commander, who was in charge of the whole Bosnia thing before Joulwan, is here in Washington. And General Shalikashvili was there before Joulwan. Yesterday we went over it in great detail. I called Colin Powell too, to make sure of a balanced view. He said if you change the nature of the mission and decide to fight, screwing around is not an option. You must be willing to take casualties, inflict casualties and use air power, which may hurt civilians. You must decide if you think it is a sustainable strategy in the long run and are prepared to enter the war on the side of the Bosnian Muslims. I was moved by the report that 3,000 Bosnian government troops left Srebrenica without fighting -- how can you blame the Dutch? (C)

Prime Minister Major: The Dutch made a fair showing. They are not to blame at all. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I don't know who said it, but they do it all the time. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4d

Prime Minister Major: You and I have presses that help, but I have no intention to react because the stakes are higher than that. (C)

The President: I'm just going let it go. Look, I think it is very important, if possible, to hold Gorazde. If it falls, Sarajevo will be more vulnerable. It is psychologically and strategically more important. We have to look at other options. Serbia says they are not cooperating, but they have more sophisticated equipment now to shoot our planes down. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Gorazde won't go down quickly. But there are 5,000 government troops who won't hold out long against 12,000-14,000 Serbs. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I'm open to provide help, but we don't want to do anything militarily stupid. We have to have an understanding. We can't just kick the can down the road. If there is a consensus on this issue, there must be an understanding with the Bosnians. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d They do not want UNPROFOR to leave but at the same they have this [redacted] 1.4d idea to urge the U.S. Congress to lift the arms embargo here. They are telling the Congress that that is the only reason that they lost Srebrenica, because they have no heavy equipment. (C)

Prime Minister Major: They're wrong. (C)

The President: Before we make any decisions, they will have to decide what they want! (C)

Prime Minister Major: When is the vote? (C)

The President: Sometime next week. It will be a hell of a vote the first time around; unless I can figure out some alternative (C)

Prime Minister Major: Oh. (U)

The President: There are two relevant facts that are ignored: the casualty rate has gone way down and central Bosnia is at peace because of contributions made by UNPROFOR. The average TV viewer sees it. He thinks it's as bad or worse than it was in 1992. [redacted] 1.4d Those safe areas were always there at the sufferance of the Serbs, particularly when the Serbs started taking hostages. (C)

Prime Minister Major: [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I remember that well. It is not inconceivable that the lifting of arms embargo will pass by overriding my veto. Izetbegovic and Silajdzic have been lobbying Congress. (C)

Prime Minister Major: [redacted]

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: If they do I'll try to veto it and sustain it. But they are in a dream world over there. What they see is Muslims being split by sexes, ethnic cleansing on TV which they think is just as bad as in '92. There's no telling them it's different. It all helps support the lifting of the embargo movement. They see the UN failure and believe we should give the Muslims guns. They are telling Congress that if they had guns they would be kicking the crap out of them. But if the French and British leave, the American public is not willing to send U.S. troops to Bosnia. They are just kicking the can down the road. No one likes to appear weak but we are at step 10 now, not step 2. I wouldn't be alarmed by that or condition our conduct on it but if it looks like there is a certain resolve and clarity of explanation it would help me to moderate a firestorm. We'll have to act together. It will help. (C)

Prime Minister Major: I see. Let me check the timetable. The Senate votes next week, then the House. The lift wouldn't take effect until September? (C)

The President: The vote can be done in a few days and the override vote a few days after that. They can set an effective time sometime later, or even immediately. They might set a date soon, because of their perception that the UN is routed. The perception is that the U.S. is on the side of the Government and the problem is that UNPROFOR has no mandate to enter into war. (C)

Prime Minister Major: I have a pretty full report of your problems. (C)

The President: I am not hung up about vetoing it. This issue and a domestic one have me in a fun house. All the press is one way and facts are irrelevant. (U)

Prime Minister Major: I am very familiar with that. (U)

The President: Our citizens have good motives. Compassion and neo-isolationism are leading to support for lifting the arms embargo. They don't want our soldiers there, but they badmouth the UN and want to give them arms. I just want you to know what is going on. The press is playing on popular emotions in the most irresponsible way. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Yes, I understand. (U)

The President: There is a possibility it'll happen quicker than you suggest. It could be the law of our country. (C)

Prime Minister Major: I'll keep my fingers crossed. I sympathize with you about the Whitewater stuff. I'm sorry it keeps coming up. You don't need that sort of rubbish. (U)

The President: I do not understand it. They have now spent \$12 million on the investigation of a land deal I lost \$40,000 on and a \$20,000 campaign contribution. Every report says that neither I nor Hillary did anything wrong. (U)

Prime Minister Major: Yes. (U)

The President: How worried should I be about the violence in Northern Ireland? Senator Mitchell passed on your request that I make a statement that I look forward to visiting a peaceful Ireland. I will do it before the cease-fire anniversary. (U)

Prime Minister Major: There are problems on both sides. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] In the by-election, McCartney is the newly elected independent. [redacted]

1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] There has been no progress on decommissioning. We are in contact and trying to stitch a way forward. We are worried as we get closer to August 31. We are approaching the 12-month deadline. The marching season caused some problems but with less damage than expected. August 31 is the next worry date. I have had good meetings with Bruton and discussions continue. Your visit in November is vital [redacted]

1.4b, 1.4d

The President: If you need to talk on Bosnia, we'll be in touch. I'll be available. (C)

Prime Minister Major: You probably know by now we have decided to call a conference at the ministerial level next week in London to discuss the Bosnian issue and the UNPROFOR mission. I hope Warren and Perry will attend. We need to get a coordinated look at what is to happen there. (C)

The President: Yes, I will talk to them about going. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Very well. I'll be here to chat anytime. I may call you Monday after we look at the military options. (C)

The President: By the way, thank you for your decision to buy the Apaches. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Oh, yes. That did not add to my conversation with Chirac. Chirac and the French were not particularly happy about it. We felt it was the best helicopter. We made the right choice. I have not a shred of regret about it. (C)

The President: OK then, we'll be in touch. (U)

Prime Minister Major: Good-bye. God bless. (U)

The President: OK. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE CALL TO
BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

DATE: March 19, 1995

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: TBD

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

*(TL called.
Remick was right
March 8)*

I. PURPOSE

To assuage some of Major's concerns about your decision to permit Gerry Adams to fundraise and to reassure him of your commitment to close cooperation with him on Northern Ireland and other issues.

II. BACKGROUND

Major and his government were angered by our decision to let Gerry Adams fundraise. They believe we gave up valuable leverage for little in return. They were equally incensed over what they perceived as inadequate consultations with them as the decision was made. Major wrote you March 10 (Tab A) reiterating British concerns that money raised in the U.S. will be used for arms or violence and that Sinn Fein will now be more reluctant than ever to take the steps on decommissioning the British say are necessary to getting the Unionists to come to the same table with Sinn Fein.

Your March 14 letter (Tab B) went a good way in assuaging Major's concerns; the British publicly termed the letter "constructive." However, Major's unavailability to take your phone call was interpreted by the British press, despite official denials, as an intentional snub.

III. AGENDA

Northern Ireland: While we have agreed to disagree with the British government on the advisability of lifting the fundraising ban now, you should make clear to Major your recognition of the risks he has taken in moving the peace process forward this far and the particularly delicate state of British relations with the Unionist community. Major has staked his fragile government on Northern Ireland, telling his Cabinet that if the government goes down he prefers it

be over "doing the right thing" on Northern Ireland than in a duel with the Europhobes.

Major is grateful for the public remarks you made along these lines during the St. Patrick's Day presentation of the shamrocks. He also appreciates the effort we have made to reach out to Unionists and loyalists; you should affirm that we will try to deepen this dialogue.

You should emphasize that we recognize the importance of Sinn Fein entering into a serious discussion of arms decommissioning with the British; we have told Sinn Fein and will continue to tell them we expect them to follow through on the public commitment they made March 8 which opened the way for us to allow Adams to fundraise. There are encouraging signs from both Sinn Fein and British sources that there could be a British minister at talks with Sinn Fein as early as next week; you should sound Major out on that.

V-E Day Travel: Major is wrestling in much the same way we are with the decision of whether to go to Moscow. He is likely to go, but he is interested in your views and plans. The British press, which is portraying the Adams fundraising decision as another sign that British views no longer count in Washington, has also seized upon the notion that you may not attend V-E Day events in London as another sign that the Anglo-American relationship is in tatters, but Major understands this is not the case. Nonetheless, he would welcome your going to London.

The Middle East: Major met with Rabin, Arafat and King Hussein during his just-concluded Middle East trip. His visit to Israel -- only the second ever by a UK Prime Minister -- went very well, helping to close a long history of troubled bilateral relations. With Arafat, he expressed concern over the economic plight of the Palestinians and noted the importance of a more active EU role in assistance efforts. In Jordan, King Hussein pressed him on the need for economic/security assistance. We understand Major will raise with you his concern, reflecting Hussein's strong urging, that a way be found to facilitate humanitarian assistance to the Iraqis.

Croatia: Tudjman's agreement with the Vice President to allow UN peacekeepers to operate in Croatia past March 31 is a breakthrough. We need to work closely with the British in New York to develop a mandate for a new UN force in Croatia.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B Your March 14 Letter to Major on Northern Ireland

Tab C Major's March 10 and previous letters to you

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR

Northern Ireland

- Anxious to talk with you about Northern Ireland. Appreciate your March 10 letters and the concerns you expressed about the peace process.
- Aware my decision on Adams' fundraising causing you problems with the Unionists and in your press, who are always looking to show our relations are bad. Want you to know that, whatever the British press may say, I meant what I said when you first came to meet with me in February 1993: As long as I am President, we will always have a special relationship with you.
- But close friends can disagree. I know you think we gave Adams something for nothing. I don't see it that way.
- ✓ -- We used this process to make Adams say in a very public way that he's going to address arms decommissioning in his talks with you. That seems to go at least a good way toward what Sir Patrick Mayhew said was needed.
- We are holding Adams to his public commitment. We can do that better, with more leverage, when we have the Irish-American community on our side.
- ✓ -- I reiterated on St. Patrick's Day that Sinn Fein and the loyalists need to begin seriously discussing how to get rid of the arms. Tony Lake pushed Adams hard on this when they met on Tuesday.
- I understand British officials have been in touch with Sinn Fein about resuming and possibly upgrading your dialogue to ministerial level. Where do things stand? How can we be helpful?
- I have made clear my view that a serious discussion on arms decommissioning should begin, and begin as soon as possible. But we have not, and will not be taking, positions on the method or timing of disarmament. We think that is for you to work out with the parties.

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- We are also serious about making sure that the funds Sinn Fein raises are used to support only legitimate, legal political activity. Sinn Fein has engaged an accounting firm and we have made clear our expectation that funds will be strictly and frequently accounted for. If this privilege is abused, it can and will be taken away.
- I admire the courage and conviction with which you have approached Northern Ireland.
- I am aware that you have staked your political life on this; you have taken enormous risks. Your willingness to take these risks has made possible the extraordinary progress made so far. This fact is underappreciated on this side of the Atlantic, and I have tried to emphasize it in my public remarks.
- My decision to let Adams fundraise and invite him here is also a risk. I am going to do what I can to make sure it produces the results we both want: a permanent peace in Northern Ireland and all the parties around the table negotiating their future.
- The Joint Framework Document you and John Bruton have agreed upon is a huge step forward. I am also encouraged by the numerous steps you have taken to reduce the military presence in Northern Ireland in response to the lessened threat.
- Irish Prime Minister John Bruton make a very good impression here last week. Are you and he in accord on next steps? How can we be helpful?

Middle East

- Important U.S. and EU work together closely as peace process moves ahead. Very encouraged by results of Christopher's trip -- negotiations have been given a real push and the regional atmosphere improved.
- On Palestinian track, understandings reached between Peres and Arafat demonstrate commitment on both sides to energize the process. I know Palestinian need for economic assistance/political benefits is great. With Arafat taking steps to meet Israeli security concerns, believe Rabin committed to his side of the bargain.
- Donor community needs to redouble efforts to deliver on promised aid. We are refocusing our aid on employment generating, quick disbursing projects.

- Important progress on Syrian negotiations. Sides have agreed to resume meetings next week here. I will send Dennis Ross to region shortly to lay the ground for resumed military contacts on security arrangements. Many challenges ahead, but I am convinced both Rabin and Asad are serious. We will do all we can to help them reach a settlement.
- Know King Hussein very concerned over debt forgiveness issue. Difficult fight in Congress, but we are exerting maximum efforts; also hope to do something on military assistance side. Important we stand by King. Hope you can help further with debt.
- On Iraq, I can appreciate the importance of responding to the humanitarian crisis, even if it is the result of Saddam's ruthless policies. As you know, Ambassador Albright signaled our deep interest in renewing resolutions 706/712 which would permit limited sale of oil for purchase of food/medicine.
- Our mission in New York ready to work with yours and Argentina's to develop a plan to put these resolutions back on the Security Council table as soon as possible. We will be forward leaning on the question of quantity of oil to be sold and on ways to adequately monitor the distribution of goods inside Iraq.

V-E Day Travel

- I haven't decided whether to go to Moscow for the V-E Day events. I understand you are leaning toward attending.

Croatia

- Greatly encouraged by Tudjman's agreement with Vice President Gore to allow UN peacekeepers to operate in Croatia past March 31, when UNPROFOR's mandate expires.
- This is real breakthrough that offers good chance to head off wider Balkan war.
- Need to work closely together in New York on mandate for new UN force in Croatia.

Major's April 4 Visit

- Looking forward to seeing you here April 4. As always, we have much to talk about. Especially hope we can talk at length about how you see the situation in Northern Ireland and how we can be helpful.

CONFIDENTIAL

4503

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom of May 27, 1995

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister John Major
Notetaker: Nelson Drew, Deuce Martinez,
Alexander Vershbow

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: May 27, 1995, 3:50 - 4:09 p.m.
Oval Office

The President: John, Hello. (U)

Prime Minister Major: Hi Bill. I thought the conference went quite well. (U)

The President: The Irish conference -- yes. I hope your people were pleased. They can play this up. (U)

Prime Minister Major: I just spoke to Paddy Mayhew, who is in Virginia with his feet up in a bar. (U)

The President: This was the first meeting with representatives of all the political parties. The speech I gave was well-received. Adams complained a little bit. I really hit them hard. (U)

Prime Minister Major: It was an extremely good speech. I thought it all went well, save for the Unionists who were a bit silly in the way they behaved. That often happens, but they recover quickly. (U)

The President: I keep hoping that the Irish-Americans -- who were so excited -- and all the parties will see a huge peace dividend if they push farther and help you. (U)

Prime Minister Major: I think we have a better chance for peace than we ever had if we can persuade them to start decommissioning. Then we'll really be in business. (U)

The President: I agree. (U)

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Prime Minister Major: We have had the cease-fire for over 9 months without incident, and it looks like they may be serious. Every day is like money in the bank. (C)

The President: Is any of this giving you a boost at home? Are your people recognizing what's been done? (C)

Prime Minister Major: Not a bit. For most people here, Ireland is just another island. They don't really care what happens elsewhere in the world. (C)

The President: I know how you feel. Most Americans could care less about foreign policy, about what is happening outside U.S. I guess it's a blessing that people don't believe their security is threatened. (C)

Prime Minister Major: I know how you feel. It is pretty much bread-and-butter politics. I guess that is one of the benefits of the end of the Cold War. (C)

The President: It's also one of the burdens, which brings me to Bosnia. I just got off the phone with President Chirac. He had some good ideas. I suppose you might have spoken with him too. (C)

Prime Minister Major: No. I haven't spoken with Chirac personally, but I talked to Juppe yesterday. (C)

The President: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[REDACTED] Chirac said he spoke with Yeltsin today, and he thinks he's on board too. (C)

[REDACTED]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[REDACTED] he told me Yeltsin had sent Kozyrev and Grachev to Belgrade and that they may talk with the Bosnian Serbs. (C)

Prime Minister Major: As I said, I talked with Juppe. This is fairly the same line that Juppe had, and I am amenable to this. (C)

The President: Do you agree? (C)

Prime Minister Major: Basically. [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] we have a meeting here at Downing Street tomorrow with our defense people and the Foreign Secretary, and it is pretty clear what will happen. We need a better follow-up strategy. [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: Yes, a "pause" is a better word. (C)

Prime Minister Major: We need to take the advice of General Smith. I spoke with him. He was calm and relaxed. (C)

The President: He is very capable, isn't he? (C)

Prime Minister Major: Yes he is. He won't panic. He'll do fine. (C)

The President: I think airstrikes worked well earlier. We can't give up on them. But with UNPROFOR under strength and dispersed, they're sitting ducks. Currently they have no threat of airstrikes and no means to defend themselves. They need to be concentrated and to have the capacity to defend themselves. We need to make a public change to the rules of engagement. We could then have a pause in the airstrikes. (C)

I'm not hung up on the sanctions issue, but I don't want Milosevic to sucker us into lifting sanctions, and them not go all the way. Diplomatic efforts must result in mutual recognition [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] Apparently, [redacted] is prepared to reinforce. (C)

Another thing, we have to do something about the sham the Serbs have made of the weapons collection sites. It has hurt us that we never disabled the weapons. It is painful to watch Serbs come and take weapons out at will and shell civilian targets while our people watch. (C)

Prime Minister Major: [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I'm also worried that if we concentrate UNPROFOR, the Serbs may see this as a green light to take the eastern enclaves. The Bosnians say they can defend them, but we don't think they can. (C)

Prime Minister Major: They have the numbers, but not the capabilities. (C)

The President: It's the artillery threat, isn't it? (C)

Prime Minister Major:

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: There is a trade-off: if we render UNPROFOR less vulnerable and we tell them that we've changed the rules of engagement, then we would want them to know that they are more vulnerable to airstrikes. (C)

Prime Minister Major:

1.4b, 1.4d

The President: Maybe there's some way we could make more unique use of the Russian troops. Since we were in Russia, have I talked to you since then? Well, I spoke with Yeltsin for about three hours and got better feel for Yeltsin's political situation. He sees both opportunities and danger. It's complicated by the situation in Chechnya. He is in danger domestically so he does not want to look weak. If we can all give him some role in solving the situation. He could be seen as getting a pause in the bombing, and at the same time finding a role for the Russian troops that would be strategically critical to maintaining peace. Maybe we can have the Russians man the heavy weapons sites to stop the Serbs from using the weapons. If we can do this, it will help further the cause. That's just off the top of my head. It's not vetted with any of my staff. But Yeltsin believes he needs to keep the ultranationalists at bay. He's shown his strength over Chechnya, but he is worried about losing the support of friends in the West and support for reform. (C)

Prime Minister Major: I was sitting with Kohl yesterday discussing the hostages and were trying to get Yeltsin on the

phone. We heard on TV there were three hostages being held and one had been beaten up. I had side bet with Kohl that that one beaten up was Canadian and not the Russian. [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: ...if the Russians do their job fairly. (C)

Prime Minister Major: [redacted]

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] Smith
and the others will have to make the judgment. (C)

The President: I think we should think about it. Sandy Berger has just handed me a note, and he says Bosnians may not be too keen about giving a strategic role to the Russians. We should think about how we can play psychologically on the interplay between the Russians and the Bosnian Serbs and how it would affect Yeltsin's political situation. (C)

Prime Minister Major: [redacted]

[redacted]

The President: The Bosnians begin to feel good, and they get confident and launch offensives. They forget about the artillery and then go out and get the crap kicked out of them. This is compounded by the fact that the weapons collection sites are a joke. They forget the larger strategic concept. We will continue to urge the Bosnians to exercise restraint. They may have different view of a Russian role if we back it with confidence. I haven't really thought it through. It could hinge on whether Milosevic recognizes Bosnia. (C)

Prime Minister Major: It's worth looking at. I have a point regarding Chirac. [redacted]

[redacted]
EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: I didn't explore that; Chirac did not raise whole issue. I was pleased he didn't want to withdraw. I think we all understand that if there is no UN there, all hell breaks loose. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

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Prime Minister Major: I agree. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] We'll have our meeting here, and I'll have Rod Lyne call Tony Lake. Our Ministers will meet on Monday, first just the four, and then with the Russians, and then at NATO. (C)

The President: I'll be here over the weekend if you need to speak with me further. (U)

Prime Minister Major: Good-bye. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

CONFIDENTIAL

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

The President: Yes. (C)

Prime Minister Major: I was wondering if I could speak for a moment on Northern Ireland. (C)

The President: Sure. (C)

Prime Minister Major: We're coming up to an important period for Northern Ireland in the next fortnight or three weeks. There are two events: the anniversary of the IRA cease-fire and the summit I will have with John Bruton at the end of the first week of September. A lot is happening on the ground. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] I have discussed a number of things with Bruton. Probably you will discuss them with Bruton when he visits Washington in September. (C)

I believe a joint strategy can put life into the political dialogue. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] and second is to address decommissioning of terrorist weapons, not just IRA's but loyalists weapons as well. (C)

Bruton and I will be in touch about making useful progress. The essence of it is an independent commission to consider the modus operandi of decommissioning. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] I can't move away from decommissioning; it is not practical. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d

[redacted] There is quite a lot resting on this decision. (C)

What we would like is a joint commission to consist of 3 people. An American would chair; two names come to mind, George Mitchell and Tom Foley. We would approach one of them at some stage unless you would prefer we didn't. In addition to George Mitchell, Bruton would appoint one member with my approval, and I

would appoint one with his approval. We hope combined with other measures we have in mind that we could get solid progress. I would like to have their report in advance of your visit in November. This is broadly the way we are thinking. I wanted to give you a preliminary indication to see if you can live with it. (C)

The President: Actually, it sounds good. I am quite worried about how to start talks and get some progress on decommissioning. I know it is a problem for you, and we may have to have a patina of some party above the fray to handle decommissioning. Obviously we need to make progress on it. (C)

Prime Minister Major: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4d [redacted] I wanted to give you advance notice. (C)

R

The President: I appreciate it. I will talk to my people about it. It could be a way to start talks and get progress on decommissioning; you can't do one without another. (C)

Prime Minister Major: We hope to have a unilateral announcement by the British government before the end of the month. We can go ahead with that and political talks if we establish the decommissioning commission. I can bear the political heat if we get progress. The three things hang together. We'll have to defer all if we defer one. (C)

Just one other thing. Before the August 31 anniversary, I would like as many people as possible to make clear the importance of the process. If you have an opportunity to do so, it would be useful. (C)

The President: I will look for an opportunity; that would be a good thing to do. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Sorry to have disturbed your Sunday. (C)

The President: Good to hear your voice. (C)

Prime Minister Major: Please God, we can get out of the devil's brew we're in (in Bosnia). (C)

The President: We'll try to do it. (U)

Prime Minister Major: Good-bye and God bless. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

04-Feb-1994 17:45 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Calvin A. Mitchell
(MITCHELLC)

SUBJECT: Telcon to John Berry of Newsweeks re Gerry Adams

PLEASE PASS TO SANDY BERGER

Sandy,

John Berry of Newsweek, Defense and National Security Affairs writer, 626-2050, is working on a story for tonight saying that the President is angry with Senator Kennedy because Gerry Adams did not publicly denounce violence, as Sen. Kennedy promised.

Further, due to Kennedy's promise, delivered via Nancy, the President did not take the advice of Christopher, Freeh, Reno and Woolsey, but sided with Tony and asked that the visa be issued. (This is story circulating in english journalist circles, which I have tried to knock down.)

Nancy and I would like you to call John Berry before you leave for C-SPAN and give him the right stuff, and tick-tock on the decision regarding Gerry Adams. I have already spoken with the Bob Cohn of Newsweek who confirms that John is writing such a story. Thanks. Cheers. Calvin

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