

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry Visa, Cable Traffic, 1994 [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1397

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
49	1	3	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: Fergus Finlay on Northern Ireland (2 pages)	01/27/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
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) KBH 6/14/2023
006. cable	re: Proposed European Union Economic Assistance Package for Northern Ireland and Border Counties (7 pages)	11/25/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
007. cable	re: Looking for Ways to Help the Northern Ireland Peace Process: The Economic Dimension (7 pages)	09/14/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
008. cable	re: Northern Ireland: HMG Refuses... (7 pages)	01/24/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
009. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Sinn Fein Statements Hint... (3 pages)	01/05/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
010. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Jean Smith re: Gerry Adams Visa (1 page)	01/06/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
011. cable	From Ambassador Smith re: Visa for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/05/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
012. cable	From Ambassador Smith re: More on a Visa for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	12/23/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry Visa Cable Traffic [1]

2011-0355-F
rs1653

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. cable	re: Senator Kennedy and My December 30 Meeting with Prime Minister Reynolds (2 pages)	01/04/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
014. cable	re: Prime Minister Reynolds Recommends... (3 pages)	12/22/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
015. cable	re: DEA on Northern Ireland (5 pages)	12/22/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
016. cable	Nancy Soderberg to Ambassador Smith re: Gerry Adams Visa (2 pages)	01/06/1994	P1/b(1)
017. cable	From Ambassador Smith re: Visa Waiver for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/12/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023

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IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

*NZS-
Should this
change our
policy?
R*

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY 1001 STEEL BLD SCORBERG

SIT: BLEICKEN FILE HOLL SUM2 VAN WOLFF

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 010955Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4430

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1765

RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

*Annual conf
in February*

***** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ *****

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 0005Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, RI, LR, US

SUBJECT: FERGUS FINLAY ON NOFIPERN IRELAND

REF: DUBLIN 00218

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. FERGUS FINLAY, PERSONAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING, TOLD US ON JANUARY 25 THAT:

-- SINN FEIN/IRA HAD APPARENTLY REJECTED THE JOINT DECLARATION AND WOULD NOT/NOT REEVALUATE VIOLENCE.

-- THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD REJECTED THE PROCESS LEADING TO THE JOINT DECLARATION OWING TO THE FACT THAT GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS GENUINELY BELIEVED IN IT. BUT, THEY HAD EVIDENTLY MISCALCULATED IN BELIEVING THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO BRING THE HARD-LINERS ABOARD WITH THEM. NEITHER HAD THE COURAGE OPENLY TO OPPOSE THEM.

-- SINN FEIN/IRA WOULD LIKELY CONTINUE INDEFINITELY TO REFLECT UPON, AND TO SEEK CLARIFICATION ABOUT, THE JOINT DECLARATION.

MEANWHILE, IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO GET REALLY STARTED AT THE END OF FEBRUARY. EVEN IF SINN FEIN/IRA REJECTED THE JOINT DECLARATION, IT WOULD REMAIN SIGNIFICANT FOR THE PROCESS OF BUILDING UP TRUST BETWEEN THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND UNIONISTS. IT WOULD BE MUCH EASIER IN THE FUTURE TO WORK TOGETHER.

-- TO ILLUSTRATE THIS POINT, FINLAY RELATED THAT SEAN O'HUIGINN, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' (DFA) ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, AND HE HAD RECENTLY TAKEN ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY MEMBERS KEN MAGINNIS AND THE MCGIMPSEY BROTHERS OUT TO EAT AT A NICE RESTAURANT JUST DOWN THE STREET FROM DFA. FINLAY ADDED THAT HE WAS IN FREQUENT CONTACT WITH UNIONISTS. SMITH

BT

#0502

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (1.61)
KRM 7/11/2023

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NNNN

<MSGID> M0846247

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 211600Z JAN 94

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

BT

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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#0025

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<MSGID> M0836401

UNCLASSIFIED

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 08

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG

SIT: BLEICKEN BURGOS CLARKER FILE HOLL SUM2 VAX WALKER

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<DTG> 311755Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6418
INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1163
~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 05 LONDON 01725
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, CASC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: INI
IAL REACTIONS TO ADAMS

VISA

SUMMARY

1. (S) INITIAL REACTIONS IN THE UK TO THE USG DECISION TO GRANT A VISA TO SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS ARE ALMOST UNIFORMLY NEGATIVE. ONLY ONE NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL HAS APPEARED SO FAR; THE GENERAL TONE OF THE REPORTING IS HIGHLY CRITICAL. HMG HAS SAID ONLY THAT THE DECISION IS AN INTERNAL MATTER FOR THE USG, AND THAT IT HOPES THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE WILL CONVINCE ADAMS TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE. PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, OFFICIALS ARE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED AND ANGRY. THE LABOR PARTY'S PUBLIC LINE IS THE SAME AS THE GOVERNMENT'S. THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS ARE PUBLICLY NEUTRAL, BUT PRIVATELY THINK WE EXACTED TOO SMALL A PRICE.

2. (S) IN NORTHERN IRELAND, UNIONISTS ARE OUTRAGED, WHILE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOR PARTY (SDLP) HOPES THE VISA WILL ENCOURAGE ADAMS TO ACCEPT THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION. SINN FEIN WELCOMED THE USG DECISION TO "DEEPEN UNDERSTANDING IN THE U.S.A." OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION, AND DENIED THAT ADAMS HAD GIVEN ANY UNDERTAKING TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE. THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP), THE LARGEST IN THE PROVINCE, HAS FROZEN RELATIONS WITH OUR CONSULATE GENERAL, WHICH HAS FIELDDED NUMEROUS ANGRY CALLS. BOTH UNIONIST PARTIES ARE BOYCOTTING THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.
CRITICAL REPORTING

3. (U) MOST BRITISH PAPERS CARRIED REPORTS OF THE USG DECISION TO WAIVE ADAMS' VISA INELIGIBILITY IN THEIR JANUARY 31 EDITIONS, BUT THE STORY APPARENTLY BROKE TOO LATE FOR EDITORIAL COMMENT IN THE MORNING DAILIES. THE "EVENING STANDARD" TOOK THE LINE THAT "THE BRITISH

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PER E.O. 13526

2011-03-55-F.(1.65)

KBH 7/11/2023

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 08

GOVERNMENT NEEDEDN'T LOSE MUCH SLEEP" ABOUT LETTING "A RATHER VERBOSE POLITICIAN WHOSE ARGUMENTS ARE NOT, TO PUT IT MILDLY, INTELLECTUALLY COHERENT" LOOSE ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. WE EXPECT MORE CRITICAL EDITORIALS TOMORROW.

4. (U) THE OTHER ARTICLES CONSISTED PRIMARILY OF STRAIGHT REPORTING OF THE DECISION, THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT, AND REACTIONS. BUT THEY ALSO NOTED THAT ADAMS HAD NOT MET THE CONDITIONS STIPULATED IN THE DEPARTMENT'S JANUARY 27 STATEMENT, AND CLAIMED THAT THE WHITE HOUSE HAD IGNORED ADVICE FROM THE BUREAUCRACY. ACCORDING TO "THE TIMES":

- "THE STATE AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENTS AND THE FBI HAD AGREED WITH BRITAIN THAT MR. ADAMS'S APPLICATION, SHOULD BE REJECTED BECAUSE OF HIS TERRORIST LINKS, AS EIGHT BEFORE IT HAD BEEN."
- "THEIR VIEWS WERE APPARENTLY OVERRULED BY THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND BY NANCY SODERBERG, THE NSC'S THIRD-IN-COMMAND."

5. (U) ALL NEWSPAPERS VIEWED THE DECISION AS A COUP FOR ADAMS AND THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA) -- "AN ENTRANCE TO MAINSTREAM POLITICS FOR THE IRA AND ITS POLITICAL MOUTHPIECE," ACCORDING TO THE "DAILY MAIL," WHICH ALSO SAID THE CONFERENCE "NOW THREATENS TO TURN INTO A PARADE OF TRIUMPH FOR THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT."

6. (U) THE PAPERS ALSO CONCLUDED UNANIMOUSLY THAT THE VISA DEALT "A BODY BLOW TO JOHN MAJOR, THE GREATEST IN A YEAR OF INCREASING COLDNESS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND LONDON" ("DAILY MAIL"). ACCORDING TO "THE TIMES," IT "SEEMS CERTAIN TO RAISE NEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SO-CALLED 'SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP' SINCE MR. CLINTON TOOK POWER." IT WAS INCONCEIVABLE, THE ARTICLE CONTINUED, "THAT THE BUSH OR REAGAN ADMINISTRATIONS WOULD HAVE DELIVERED SUCH A SLAP IN THE FACE TO AMERICA'S CLOSEST ALLY."

STIFF UPPER LIP

7. (LOU) DOWNING STREET HAS NOT ISSUED ANY FORMAL

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 LONDON 01725

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, CASC, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: INITIAL REACTIONS TO ADAMS VISA

REACTION TO THE DECISION. PRESS OFFICE OFFICIALS TOLD US THAT THEY WERE USING ONLY THE FOLLOWING LINE IN RESPONSE TO INQUIRIES:

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 08

- "WE HOPE THAT THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE WILL FIRMLY IMPRESS GERRY ADAMS THAT SINN FEIN AND THE IRA MUST END VIOLENCE IMMEDIATELY AND PERMANENTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE JOINT DECLARATION."
8. (U) BEFORE THIS LINE WAS SET IN CONCRETE, DOWNING STREET SPOKESMEN HAD ALSO TOLD REPORTERS THAT:
- "ADAMS SAID IN A STATEMENT THAT HE WANTS TO END VIOLENCE AND IS WORKING TOWARDS SUPPORTING THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, AND IT IS ON THAT BASIS THAT HE IS BEING ADMITTED, UNDER VERY STRICT CONDITIONS FOR 48 HOURS."
- "THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT ISSUE VISAS FOR ADMISSION TO THE U.S."

PRIVATE ANGER

-
9. (S) A SENIOR NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO) OFFICIAL TOLD US JANUARY 31 THAT HMG WAS DETERMINED TO AVOID PUBLIC RECRIMINATIONS, AND TO "KEEP ANY NOTE OF DISAPPOINTMENT OUT OF OUR PUBLIC VOICE." PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT DISAPPOINTMENT WOULD BE "THE MOST DIPLOMATIC WAY OF PUTTING IT. THE MOOD HERE IS THAT WITH FRIENDS LIKE THAT, WHO NEEDS ENEMIES?"
10. (S) SINN FEIN'S STRATEGY, THE OFFICIAL CONTINUED, WAS TO PROBE FOR AND EXPLOIT ANY GAPS AMONG THE BRITISH, IRISH AND U.S. POSITIONS. LONDON AND DUBLIN HAD STRUGGLED, WITH SOME DIFFICULTY, TO MAINTAIN A UNITED FRONT. AS FOR THE USG, "WE CAN UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL NEXUS IN WASHINGTON, BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT IT'S AN UNFORTUNATE DECISION. ADAMS GETS ALL THE BENEFITS OF BEING A GOOD BOY WITHOUT ACTUALLY BEING A GOOD BOY."
11. (S) SIMILARLY, AN FCO OFFICIAL DESCRIBED THE MOOD THERE AS "GLOOMY." HE SAID THE TIMING OF THE CONFERENCE, JUST AS FOREIGN SECRETARY DOUGLAS HURD VISITED WASHINGTON FOR IMPORTANT TALKS, COULD HARDLY HAVE BEEN WORSE. THE SIMULTANEOUS PRESENCE OF HURD AND ADAMS IN THE U.S. WOULD FORCE THE FOREIGN SECRETARY TO REACT TO EACH OF ADAMS' STATEMENTS IN A WAY THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE TO DO IN LONDON.
12. (S) A SENIOR AIDE TO THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED THE AMBASSADOR TO REGISTER DOWNING STREET'S PRIVATE OUTRAGE OVER THE DECISION. HE NOTED THAT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR HMG, WHICH HAD REPEATEDLY MADE ITS VIEWS KNOWN AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS IN WASHINGTON. MOREOVER, IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT ADAMS HAD NOT MET THE ADMINISTRATION'S OWN CRITERIA FOR A WAIVER. THE AIDE ALSO NOTED THAT ADAMS WAS A LEADER OF AN ORGANIZATION THAT KILLED AND MAIMED NUMEROUS BRITISH CITIZENS, INCLUDING POLICE AND

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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SOLDIERS, PUBLIC FIGURES AND CHILDREN. TO GRANT HIM A WAIVER RAN COUNTER TO OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE ANTI-TERRORISM POLICY.

13. (U) ONLY ONE CONSERVATIVE MP HAS COMMENTED PUBLICLY ON THE ISSUE SO FAR -- FORMER NORTHERN IRELAND JUNIOR MINISTER MICHAEL MATES. HE TOLD BBC RADIO THAT THE DECISION WAS "MYSTIFYING," THAT IT HANDED "AN ENORMOUS PROPAGANDA COUP" TO PIRA, AND THAT SINN FEIN HAD "LED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AROUND BY THE NOSE."

OPPOSITION PARTY RESPONSES

14. (C) THE MOST UNEQUIVOCAL WELCOME FOR THE DECISION CAME FROM LEFT-WING LABOR MP TONY BENN, WHO HAS BEEN CAMPAIGNING AGAINST HMG'S ORDER EXCLUDING ADAMS FROM GREAT BRITAIN. SHADOW NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY KEVIN MCNAMARA TOLD THE PRESS THAT "WE ARE AGAINST EXCLUSION ORDERS IN PRINCIPLE. IT IS PURELY AN INTERNAL DOMESTIC MATTER FOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AND I HAVE NO ~~SECRET~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 LONDON 01725

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TAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, CASC, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: INITIAL REACTIONS TO ADAMS VISA

VIEWS ABOUT IT." SPEAKING TO US PRIVATELY, MCNAMARA ECHOED THAT LINE, ADDING THAT "IF IT EASES GERRY ADAMS INTO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, WE WOULD WELCOME IT."

15. (C) LIBERAL DEMOCRAT NORTHERN IRELAND SPOKESMAN LORD HOLME TOLD US THAT, WHILE HIS PARTY WOULD NOT CRITICIZE THE USG DECISION, THEY WERE "NOT ECSTATIC" OVER IT. A U.S. VISA FOR ADAMS "MEANS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE" TO SINN FEIN, AND WAS WORTH A MUCH HIGHER PRICE THAN WE HAD EXACTED. HOLME SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN MIND THAT ADAMS REPRESENTED ONLY THE VIOLENT RUMP OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, WHICH HAD CHOSEN TO ENGAGE IN TERRORISM RATHER THAN WORK THROUGH THE AVAILABLE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES. ADAMS WAS "NOT A MANDELA, NOT AN ARAFAT." THE LAVISH PUBLIC ATTENTION HE WOULD GET AT THE CONFERENCE WOULD PUT HIM "TOO MUCH AT CENTER STAGE."

NORTHERN IRELAND RESPONSES

16. (U) REACTIONS IN THE PROVINCE PRODUCED NO SURPRISES, BUT SOME DEPRESSING (SEE PARA 22) AND PERHAPS OMINOUS (PARAS 25-26) FEATURES. SINN FEIN WELCOMED THE DECISION, SAYING IT REFLECTED CONCERN BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION "TO DEEPEN UNDERSTANDING IN THE U.S.A. OF HOW THE PEACE PROCESS IN IRELAND CAN BE ADVANCED." BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE, ADAMS TOLD REPORTERS THAT HE HAD

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GIVEN NO UNDERTAKING TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE (AND ACCORDING TO SOME PRESS ACCOUNTS, THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN ASKED FOR ONE), BUT THAT HE HAD HAD "A VERY INTERESTING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" WITH THE CONSUL GENERAL.

17. (C) WE HAVE HEARD NO DIRECT STATEMENT FROM SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME, THOUGH HIS ROLE IN PRESSING FOR THE VISA IS WIDELY KNOWN. SDLP MP JOE HENDRON, WHO TOOK ADAMS' WEST BELFAST SEAT IN THE 1992 GENERAL ELECTION, GAVE A QUALIFIED WELCOME TO THE DECISION. HE COULD UNDERSTAND UNIONIST ANGER, BUT FELT THAT THE VISIT TO THE U.S. MIGHT HELP ADAMS FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS.

18. (U) THE RESPONSE FROM UNIONISTS HAS BEEN UNIVERSAL OUTRAGE. DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY (DUP) LEADER IAN PAISLEY TOLD REPORTERS HE WAS NOT SURPRISED THAT "THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS GONE BACK ON THEIR DECLARED PRINCIPLES IN FAVOR OF GERRY ADAMS. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC IRISH BOSTON LOBBY WAS TOO STRONG FOR CLINTON TO RESIST." PAISLEY ALSO WROTE TO THE AMBASSADOR TO NOTE "THE OUTRAGE CAUSED IN NORTHERN IRELAND AT THE DECISION OF THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION TO GRANT A VISA TO ALLOW THE SINN FEIN/IRA LEADER GERRY ADAMS TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES TO ADDRESS A CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK."

19. (C) DUP SPOKESMAN NIGEL DODDS CALLED CONSUL GENERAL MARTINEZ JANUARY 31 TO ALERT HIM TO PAISLEY'S LETTER TO THE AMBASSADOR. HE SAID THAT, TO THE DUP, IT APPEARED THE ADMINISTRATION HAD MADE A "COMPLETE REVERSAL." HE ADDED THAT THE VISA DECISION HAD SMASHED ANY POSSIBILITY THAT THE U.S. COULD PLAY A ROLE AS AN "HONEST BROKER" IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

20. (U) ULSTER UNIONIST MP JOHN TAYLOR ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

- "THE DECISION BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO GIVE IN TO PRESSURE FROM THE IRISH LOBBY IN WASHINGTON CAME AS NO SURPRISE, BUT IT IS DESPICABLE.
- "THE IRISH MAFIA, LED BY SENATOR KENNEDY, HAVE BEEN CANVASSING THE WHITE HOUSE FOR A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS. I EXPECT NOTHING BETTER FROM SUCH PEOPLE WITHIN THE U.S.A. DEMOCRATIC PARTY. NOW WE KNOW THAT NOT ONLY DOES THE IRA GET MOST OF ITS FUNDING FOR ITS MURDER GANGS FROM THE U.S.A., BUT THE WHITE HOUSE NOW WISHES TO FACILITATE THE APOLOGISTS FOR THE IRA MURDER CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND.
- "THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND SAY TO CLINTON, 'YOU SHOULD BE ASHAMED OF YOURSELF -- NO LONGER CAN YOU CONDEMN TERRORISM ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.'"

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: INITIAL REACTIONS TO ADAMS
VISA

21. (U) UUP MP KEN MAGINNIS, WHO HAD PLANNED TO ATTEND THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE IF SINN FEIN DID NOT, TOLD REPORTERS THAT THE USG HAD "HANDED TERRORISM A VICTORY."

-- "MY UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT TWO CONDITIONS WERE BEING IMPOSED ON MR. ADAMS.... I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT HE HAS ACCEPTED EITHER OF THOSE."

-- "ONE HAS TO ASSUME THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS NOT INTERESTED IN FURTHERING THE PEACE PROCESS BUT MERELY FINDING WAYS OF PRESSURING OUR OWN GOVERNMENT TO CONCEDE TO VIOLENCE."

UNIONISTS FREEZE RELATIONS

22. (✓) UUP GENERAL SECRETARY JIM WILSON PHONED THE CONSUL GENERAL JANUARY 31 TO INFORM HIM THAT PARTY LEADER JAMES MOLYNEAUX HAD CANCELED HIS SCHEDULED MEETING WITH THE CG LATER THAT DAY, AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER FORMAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE UUP AND THE CONSULATE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THE WORD FROM "THE TOP," WILSON SAID, WAS THAT "YOU ARE NOT WELCOME HERE." THE UUP WOULD ISSUE A STATEMENT ON THE VISA ISSUE LATER IN THE DAY, AND IT WAS NOT LIKELY TO BE "OVER-POLITE."

23. (✓) THE DUP HAS NOT BROKEN RELATIONS, BUT MAY DO SO LATER WHEN IT HEARS OF THE ACTION OF THE MORE MODERATE UUP.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

24. (✓) IN A LATE-NIGHT CONVERSATION WITH THE CG JANUARY 30, MAGINNIS EXPRESSED AS MUCH UNHAPPINESS WITH THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AS WITH THE USG. THE VISA DECISION WAS AN OUTRAGE, COMING AS IT DID AFTER A VERY PUBLIC USG DEMAND THAT ADAMS HAD VERY PUBLICLY NOT MET. BUT THE CONFERENCE ORGANIZERS HAD ALSO FAILED EVEN TO REPLY TO A FORMAL REQUEST FOR INFORMATION (ON SINN FEIN ATTENDANCE) HE HAD SENT THEM A WEEK EARLIER. NOT HAVING RECEIVED AN ANSWER, MAGINNIS SAID HE NOW BELIEVED THE ENTIRE CONFERENCE HAD BEEN SET UP "IN BAD FAITH."

PUBLIC ANGER AND SECURITY CONCERNS

25. (✓) CONGEN BELFAST REPORTS THAT A POPULAR RADIO CALL-IN PROGRAM JANUARY 31 FEATURED MUCH ABUSIVE LANGUAGE DIRECTED AT THE CONSULATE. WORD HAS CIRCULATED IN NORTHERN IRELAND, VIA THAT PROGRAM AND THE RUMOR

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MILL, THAT THE CONSUL GENERAL WAS "RESPONSIBLE" FOR THE ADAMS VISA, AND THAT IT WAS ISSUED ONLY "ON HIS RECOMMENDATION" FOLLOWING THE JANUARY 28 INTERVIEW.

26. (C) THE CONSULATE ITSELF HAS FIELDDED A NUMBER OF IRATE TELEPHONE CALLS. SOME CALLERS "HOPED" THAT THE CONSULATE "DOESN'T GET BOMBED"; OTHERS EXPRESSED "CONCERN" THAT "NOTHING HAPPENS TO THE CG PERSONALLY." ONE OF THE MORE VOCIFEROUS CALLERS SAID SHE REPRESENTED "THOUSANDS" WHO WERE AWARE OF THE CG'S "INTERVENTION" ON ADAMS' BEHALF, AND THAT THE CG MIGHT DO WELL TO WATCH HIMSELF. NO CALL CONTAINED DIRECT THREATS TO CONSULATE STAFF, BUT THERE IS CLEARLY MUCH GRASSROOTS ANGER OVER THE ISSUE. THE CONSULATE HAS MADE NO COMMENT, PUBLICLY OR IN RESPONSE TO THE CALLS, REFERRING ALL INQUIRIES TO USIS LONDON AND RELEASING THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT TO THOSE WHO WANT IT.

27. (C) THE CONSUL GENERAL HAS MET WITH CONSULATE STAFF TO DISCUSS SECURITY PRECAUTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF PUBLIC ANGER. RSO LONDON PLANS TO DISCUSS THE CONSULATE'S SECURITY SITUATION WITH BELFAST POLICE OFFICIALS.

COMMENT

28. (S) UNLESS ADAMS SAYS SOMETHING IN NEW YORK THAT CLEARLY INDICATES POSITIVE SINN FEIN/PIRA MOVEMENT TOWARD THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, WE ARE IN FOR A ~~SECRET~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 LONDON 01725

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VERY ROCKY PERIOD. BRITISH MINISTERS AND MANY OFFICIALS UNDERSTAND THE FACTORS BEHIND OUR DECISION, BUT DON'T LIKE IT ANY BETTER FOR THAT. IF SINN FEIN REJECTS THE JOINT DECLARATION (AS IT WAS LIKELY TO IN ANY EVENT), IT IS INEVITABLE THAT MANY WILL SEE US AS PARTLY RESPONSIBLE. JOURNALISTS ARE LIKELY TO GIVE US A ROUGH TIME, STOKING OLD SUSPICIONS (PREDOMINANTLY BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY IN NORTHERN IRELAND) THAT THE USG SUPPORTS AT LEAST THE AIMS, IF NOT THE METHODS, OF THE IRA.

29. (C) CONGEN BELFAST'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNIONISTS HAVE SUFFERED A SHARP SETBACK. THE FACT THAT THE VISA ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE WHILE PIRA WAS ATTACKING SECURITY FORCES IN WEST BELFAST DID NOT HELP MATTERS. THE UUP MADE CLEAR TO THE CG THAT ITS BOYCOTT OF THE CONSULATE WAS PROFESSIONAL AND POLITICAL, NOT PERSONAL; THE CG WOULD BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN QUIET "OFF THE RECORD" CONTACTS WITH WILSON, A CLOSE AND VALUED CONTACT. BUT

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IT IS LIKELY TO BE QUITE SOME TIME BEFORE RELATIONS
BETWEEN EITHER OF THE UNIONIST PARTIES (WHO REPRESENT
THE MAJORITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S POPULATION) AND ANY
USG OFFICIALS RETURN TO THE EASY CORDIALITY THAT HAD
DEVELOPED IN RECENT YEARS. ?385"

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IRELAND: ADAMS INTERVIEWED BEFORE LEAVING FOR U.S.

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[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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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
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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

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USIA

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STATE FOR EUR/P AND PLS PASS ACDA/PA; EUR/PA; EUR/P/SP;

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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

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(LSECREST); B/TV/WP;
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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."

A. TODAY'S MAJOR NEWS STORIES

1. GERRY ADAMS
2. BOSNIA
3. FORMER SOVIET UNION
4. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY : GERMANY, CHINA, JAPAN, UN

B. SUMMARY

1. GERRY ADAMS

MANY PAPERS REPORT THE GRANTING OF A RESTRICTED ENTRY
VISA 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."

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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."

4. 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."

C. 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
UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 12 LONDON 01687
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SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT, LONDON, MONDAY JANUARY 31 1994

"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)

D. 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

USIA

"PERISHABLE INFORMATION - DO NOT SERVICE "

USIA FOR P/M; R/C; R/M; P/P; P/G; (RMCLELLAN); P/F; P/FW; P/FN; P/PFN; P/PPE; P/PFE; P; EU; NEA; VOA NEWS/CA; PL (LSECREST); B/TV/WP;

STATE FOR EUR/P AND PLS PASS ACDA/PA; EUR/PA; EUR/P/SP; EUR/WE; EUR/NE; IO/CU; NEA/P; EB/TT; INR/P; PM; CSD ISA FOR ILN; FOR NEA; OASD/PA;

USDOC PASS USTR/PA

WHITEHOUSE FOR NSC-WEUROPE;

USMISSION USNATO FOR USIS;

PARIS FOR USIS; UNESCO; OECD;

VIENNA PASS USDEL-CSCE;

RAF MILDENHALL FOR PA;

E.O.12356:N/A

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

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 ROUND 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

USIA

"PERISHABLE INFORMATION - DO NOT SERVICE "

USIA FOR P/M; R/C; R/M; P/P; P/G; (RMCLELLAN); P/F; P/FW;

P/FN; P/PFN; P/PPE; P/PFE; P; EU; NEA; VOA NEWS/CA; PL
(LSECREST); B/TV/WP;
STATE FOR EUR/P AND PLS PASS ACDA/PA; EUR/PA; EUR/P/SP;
EUR/WE; EUR/NE; IO/CU; NEA/P; EB/TT; INR/P; PM;
CSD ISA FOR ILN; FOR NEA; OASD/PA;
USDOC PASS USTR/PA
WHITEHOUSE FOR NSC-WEUROPE;
USMISSION USNATO FOR USIS;
PARIS FOR USIS; UNESCO; OECD;
VIENNA PASS USDEL-CSCE;
RAF MILDENHALL FOR PA;
E.O.12356:N/A
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT, LONDON, MONDAY JANUARY 31
1994

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
UN FORCE VOTED, IN THE NATO COUNCIL, TO GO AHEAD WITH AIR
UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 12 LONDON 01687

USIA
"PERISHABLE INFORMATION - DO NOT SERVICE "
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WHITEHOUSE FOR NSC-WEUROPE;
USMISSION USNATO FOR USIS;
PARIS FOR USIS; UNESCO; OECD;
VIENNA PASS USDEL-CSCE;
RAF MILDENHALL FOR PA;
E.O.12356:N/A

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

"THESE MAY SEEM SMALL MISTAKES, BUT MR BOUTROS GHALI'S STUBBORNNESS SENT COUNTERPRODUCTIVE SIGNALS TO THE UN'S DETRACTORS ON CAPITOL HILL, AND ENABLED THEM TO COMPLAIN ABOUT MR BOUTROS GHALI RUNNING U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. AT THE SAME TIME, HE MANAGED TO ALIENATE SUPPORTERS OF HIS GREAT VISION OF A MORE ROBUST UN PEACE ENFORCEMENT BY SEEMING TO BLOCK ACTION. HE DESTROYED HIS OWN POLITICAL BASE. ...

"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."

IN A SEPARATE ITEM, THE PAPER INTERVIEWED THE NEW BRITISH UN COMMANDER IN BOSNIA, ENDING THE REPORT:

"IF THE UN WANTS THE BOSNIAN OPERATION RUN EFFECTIVELY, IT SHOULD ALLOW THE GENERALS TO BE GENERALS. LT-GEN ROSE BELIEVES HE HAS THE MANDATE HE NEEDS, AND ENOUGH TROOPS. SO LET HIM TRY, CUT LOOSE FROM EVERYDAY INTERFERENCE FROM NEW YORK. IF HE FAILS, HE WILL BE ANOTHER GOBBLED-UP GENERAL. BUT AT LEAST, TO PARAPHRASE A SONG PLAYING INCONGRUOUSLY ON THE CASSETTE PLAYER AS WE SET OUT IN SEARCH OF THE LATEST REPORTED MASSACRE, 'HE DID IT HIS WAY'."

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. ...

"TO SOME IN WASHINGTON, MR CLINTON COULD BE MAKING THE SAME MISTAKE WITH MR YELTSIN THAT PRESIDENT BUSH MADE WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV: THAT IS, CONSTRUCTING UNITED STATES POLICY AROUND THE POLITICAL GOOD HEALTH AND PERSONAL GOODWILL OF A SINGLE LEADER, AND CLINGING ON TO HIM TOO LONG.

"THE DARK TURN OF EVENTS IN MOSCOW AND ELSEWHERE IN THE UNCLAS SECTION 08 OF 12 LONDON 01687

USIA

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STATE FOR EUR/P AND PLS PASS ACDA/PA; EUR/PA; EUR/P/SP; EUR/WE; EUR/NE; IO/CU; NEA/P; EB/TT; INR/P; PM;

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USDOC PASS USTR/PA

WHITEHOUSE FOR NSC-WEUROPE;

USMISSION USNATO FOR USIS;

PARIS FOR USIS; UNESCO; OECD;

VIENNA PASS USDEL-CSCE;

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E.O.12356:N/A

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

FORMER SOVIET UNION AND WASHINGTON'S INABILITY TO SHAPE THEM IS PROMPTING A REASSESSMENT OF THE POLICY AND THOSE MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR IT. ...

"ACCORDING TO THE (STROBE) TALBOTT THESIS, THE COLD WAR ENDED BECAUSE OF THE GENIUS OF MR GORBACHEV AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM. AMERICAN MILITARY RESOLVE SEEMS TO HAVE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. GIVEN MR TALBOTT'S INFLUENCE, THIS VIEW HAS BECOME THAT OF THE ADMINISTRATION, AS BECAME CLEAR WITH MR CLINTON'S COMMENTS DURING HIS EUROPEAN TOUR IN ARGUING AGAINST PUSHING NATO EASTWARDS.

"AND THAT, IN TURN, EXPLAINS WHY, WHEN THE POLES AND THE

CZECHS REQUEST PROTECTION AGAINST THEIR WORST NIGHTMARES
COMING TRUE IN RUSSIA, WASHINGTON TELLS THEM GLIBLY NOT
TO SUBSCRIBE TO 'PARANOID FANTASIES'."

THE CENTRIST INDEPENDENT EDITORIALIZED:

"AMONG THE MANY DANGERS POSED BY VLADIMIR ZHIRINOVSKY,
THE RUSSIAN NATIONALIST LEADER, IS THAT HIS EXAMPLE WILL
BREED IMITATORS. IT IS ALREADY DOING SO IN THE VOLATILE
CRIMEA, WHERE HIS FRIEND YURI MESHKOV WAS LAST NIGHT
HEADING FOR VICTORY IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. MR
MESHKOV WANTS REUNION WITH RUSSIA AND HAS TALKED OF
HOLDING A REFERENDUM ON THE SUBJECT ON MARCH 27. HE
MIGHT, THEREFORE, SPARK OFF THE VIOLENT ETHNIC BREAK-UP
OF UKRAINE THAT WAS RECENTLY PREDICTED IN AN AMERICAN
INTELLIGENCE REPORT. ...

"THE STAGE THEREFORE LOOKS SET FOR A TENSE PERIOD,
AGGRAVATED BY THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT'S RELUCTANCE TO
ENDORSE PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK'S DECISION TO SIGN AWAY THE
COUNTRY'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO RUSSIA. SUSPICION OF MOSCOW
HAS JOINED WITH DECLINING FAITH IN THE WEST TO PERSUADE
UKRAINIANS THAT THEY MUST LOOK AFTER THEIR OWN SECURITY.

"THE TRAGEDY OF THE SITUATION IS THAT IT WILL LOOK SO
UNNECESSARY IN THE EYE OF HISTORY. UKRAINE IS A LARGE
AND POTENTIALLY PROSPEROUS COUNTRY WITH A POPULATION OF
52 MILLION, PLENTY OF SKILLS, RICH SOIL, AND TRADITIONS
THAT COULD MAKE IT A BRIDGE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE WEST.
ONE DAY IT WILL BE AMONG EUROPE'S MOST IMPORTANT STATES.
ITS JOURNEY TO THAT POSITION SHOULD NOT HAVE TO BE AS
ROUGH AS IT SEEMS LIKELY TO BE."

UNCLAS SECTION 09 OF 12 LONDON 01687

USIA

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P/FN; P/PFN; P/PPE; P/PFE; P; EU; NEA; VOA NEWS/CA; PL
(LSECREST); B/TV/WP;

STATE FOR EUR/P AND PLS PASS ACDA/PA; EUR/PA; EUR/P/SP;
EUR/WE; EUR/NE; IO/CU; NEA/P; EB/TT; INR/P; PM;

CSD ISA FOR ILN; FOR NEA; OASD/PA;

USDOC PASS USTR/PA

WHITEHOUSE FOR NSC-WEUROPE;

USMISSION USNATO FOR USIS;

PARIS FOR USIS; UNESCO; OECD;

VIENNA PASS USDEL-CSCE;

RAF MILDENHALL FOR PA;

E.O.12356:N/A

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

4. 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.

"ADMITTEDLY MR CLINTON FACES A FAR MORE COMPLEX AND FAR
LESS IMMEDIATE PROBLEM THAN THE SOVIET COMMUNISM KENNEDY
CONFRONTED, BUT 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.

"SCALDED BY SOMALIA, HAITI AND BOSNIA, HIS ADMINISTRATION
HAS JUST COMPLETED A POLICY DOCUMENT THAT SETS TOUGH NEW
CONDITIONS FOR AMERICAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN
INTERNATIONAL PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS AND IS EVIDENTLY
DESIGNED TO PREVENT FURTHER OVERSEAS ENTANGLEMENTS THAT
DO NOT COMMAND SUPPORT AT HOME.

"THE CLASSIFIED 'PRESIDENTIAL DECISION DIRECTIVE' SAYS
THAT IN FUTURE THE ADMINISTRATION WILL AGREE TO
PARTICIPATE ONLY IF IT BELIEVES THAT INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY IS THREATENED, THAT A MAJOR DISASTER REQUIRES
URGENT RELIEF, OR A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS MUST
BE CONFRONTED, THE NEW YORK TIMES REPORTED AT THE

WEEKEND. ...

"THE NEW POLICY IS A FAR CRY FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CALL, DURING HIS 1992 CAMPAIGN, FOR THE CREATION OF A SMALL, PERMANENT UN 'RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE' FOR SUCH TASKS AS 'STANDING GUARD AT THE BORDERS OF COUNTRIES THREATENED BY AGGRESSION, PREVENTING MASS VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIAN POPULATIONS, PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF AND COMBATING TERRORISM'."

THE SAME PAPER COMMENTED IN A SEPARATE ITEM:

"WHEN PRESIDENT CLINTON RECENTLY COMPARED HELMUT KOHL, THE PORTLY GERMAN CHANCELLOR, AND HIMSELF TO SUMO WRESTLERS, HE MAY WELL HAVE CRACKED THE DEFINING JOKE OF 1994 : THE UNITED STATES INCREASINGLY REGARDS GERMANY AS ITS NATURAL, HEAVYWEIGHT PARTNER IN EUROPE.

UNCLAS SECTION 10 OF 12 LONDON 01687

USIAD

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STATE FOR EUR/P AND PLS PASS ACDA/PA; EUR/PA; EUR/P/SP; EUR/WE; EUR/NE; IO/CU; NEA/P; EB/TT; INR/P; PM;

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USMISSION USNATO FOR USIS;

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VIENNA PASS USDEL-CSCE;

RAF MILDENHALL FOR PA;

E.O.12356:N/A

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

"THE POINT WILL BE UNDERLINED TODAY WHEN HERR KOHL MEETS MR CLINTON IN WASHINGTON. THE RANGE OF SUBJECTS ON THE AGENDA -- FREE TRADE, ASIAN POLICY, AVIATION, VLADIMIR ZHIRINOVSKY, THE EXTREMIST RUSSIAN POLITICIAN, AND CENTRAL EUROPE -- REVEALS HOW DENSE IS THE WEB OF COMMON U.S.-GERMAN INTERESTS.

"PERHAPS IT IS TOO SOON TO SPEAK OF A 'SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP', BUT HERR KOHL'S RELATIONSHIP WITH MR CLINTON IS, NEVERTHELESS, ON A DIFFERENT PLANE FROM THAT WHICH HE HAD WITH RONALD REAGAN OR GEORGE BUSH. ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT RANG JOHN MAJOR DURING THE TENSE GATT ENDGAME LAST MONTH, HIS MOST SUBSTANTIAL DEALINGS WERE WITH HERR KOHL. ...

"IN GERMANY, AT LAST, THERE IS NOW A BIG EMOTIONAL NEED TO MAKE NEW LINKS WITH AMERICA. THE IMPENDING TROOP WITHDRAWAL ... HAS REMINDED GERMANS THAT THE U.S. NOT ONLY DEFENDED THEIR COUNTRY DURING THE COLD WAR BUT HELPED MODERNIZE IT.

"BRITAIN WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COMPETE WITH GERMANY IN SECURING A SPECIAL NICHE IN WASHINGTON. GERMAN NEWSPAPERS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE DECISIVE MOMENT WAS THE BRITISH INVESTIGATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE'S PERSONAL BACKGROUND. IT IS, OF COURSE, NOTHING OF THE SORT; AS LONG AS RUSSIA REMAINS HIGH ON THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA, GERMANY WILL BE HIS CRUCIAL PARTNER. ...

"MR CLINTON AND HERR KOHL, THE TWO GREAT TRENCHMEN AMONG WORLD LEADERS, WILL MEET TODAY NOT IN THE OVAL OFFICE BUT IN A GEORGETOWN RESTAURANT. THEY WILL DISCUSS SUCH MATTERS AS THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA AND BOSNIA'S CIVIL WAR IN FILOMENA'S, AN ITALIAN RESTAURANT FAMOUS FOR ITS GENEROUS PORTIONS THAT HERR KOHL'S UNERRING GASTRONOMIC NOSE SNIFFED OUT ON A PREVIOUS TRIP TO WASHINGTON.

"THE INFORMAL SETTING REFLECTS THE WARM RELATIONSHIP MR CLINTON HAS DEVELOPED WITH HERR KOHL. THE UNUSUAL SETTING MAY ALSO REFLECT MR CLINTON'S DESIRE TO ESCAPE FROM THE ISOLATION OF THE WHITE HOUSE WHENEVER POSSIBLE." ON CHINA, THE INDEPENDENT FINANCIAL TIMES EDITORIALIZED:

"NAPOLEON ONCE ADVISED THE WORLD TO LET THE CHINESE GIANT
UNCLAS SECTION 11 OF 12 LONDON 01687

USIA

"PERISHABLE INFORMATION - DO NOT SERVICE "

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P/FN; P/PFN; P/PPE; P/PFE; P; EU; NEA; VOA NEWS/CA; PL
(LSECREST); B/TV/WP;

STATE FOR EUR/P AND PLS PASS ACDA/PA; EUR/PA; EUR/P/SP;

EUR/WE; EUR/NE; IO/CU; NEA/P; EB/TT; INR/P; PM;

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USMISSION USNATO FOR USIS;

PARIS FOR USIS; UNESCO; OECD;

VIENNA PASS USDEL-CSCE;

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E.O.12356:N/A

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

SLEEP SINCE 'WHEN HE WAKES HE WILL MOVE THE WORLD'. BY
NOW IT IS TOO LATE. THE QUESTION FOR THE WORLD IS HOW TO
RESPOND TO THE QUAKE. ON BALANCE, THE BEST CHOICE IS TO
FACILITATE RAPID MARKET-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE
CHINESE ECONOMY. ONE IMPLICATION IS THAT CHINA SHOULD BE
ACCEPTED INTO THE GATT, ON STRICT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

"THERE IS NO DENYING, HOWEVER, THAT CHINA PRESENTS
PROBLEMS. ... CHINA IS A CORRUPT DESPOTISM. THE NOTION
OF CHINA AS AN ECONOMIC COLOSSUS UNDER ANYTHING LIKE THE
PRESENT REGIME IS BOUND TO CAUSE CONCERN. BUT RAPID
EXPORT-ORIENTED INDUSTRIALIZATION IS LIKELY TO CREATE
STRONG PRESSURES FOR POLITICAL CHANGE IN CHINA, AS IT HAS
IN OTHER EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. THIS IS WHY THE WEST
SHOULD FOCUS ITS ATTENTION OF SUSTAINING MARKET-ORIENTED
REFORMS. CHINA'S APPLICATION TO JOIN (OR, AS IT WOULD
ARGUE, REJOIN) THE GATT PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR
ACHIEVING JUST THAT. ...

"THE U.S. IS MAKING THE GRANT OF MFN TREATMENT, ITSELF
THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL GATT PRINCIPLE, HOSTAGE TO
IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS. TECHNICALLY, IT WOULD BE
POSSIBLE TO COMBINE GATT MEMBERSHIP WITH SUCH BILATERAL
CONDITIONS. BUT THEY WOULD RENDER MEMBERSHIP LARGELY
MEANINGLESS, SINCE THE U.S. WOULD NOT BE IN A SECURE
CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA.

"THERE ARE GOOD REASONS, HOWEVER, FOR THE U.S. TO MODIFY
ITS APPROACH. WITHDRAWAL OF MFN TREATMENT WOULD BE
ECONOMICALLY DAMAGING TO THE U.S. ITSELF. IT WOULD ALSO
HARM THE ECONOMIC DIALOGUE BEGUN BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AT
THE APEC FORUM IN SEATTLE LAST YEAR. BILATERAL PRESSURES
DESIGNED TO CORNER BEIJING AND FORCE CONCESSIONS HAVE
BEEN SHOWN NOT TO BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO SECURE
POLITICAL CHANGE IN CHINA. GATT, BY CONTRAST, OFFERS A
LESS TENSE BUT STILL POWERFUL MULTI-LATERAL FRAMEWORK FOR
IMPROVING CHINA'S ECONOMIC POLICIES IN A MORE MARKET-
ORIENTED DIRECTION.

"CHINA'S MEMBERSHIP OF THE GATT SHOULD THEREFORE BE
ACCEPTED, BUT SUBJECT TO A SAFEGUARDS REGIME THAT COULD
BE MODULATED TO THE STATE OF ECONOMIC REFORM. THIS WOULD
BRING CHINA INTO WHAT IS EXPECTED TO BECOME ONE OF THE
MOST IMPORTANT BODIES IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY, AS BEFITS
THE COUNTRY'S SIZE AND POTENTIAL. ...

"THE WEST CANNOT IGNORE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
UNCLAS SECTION 12 OF 12 LONDON 01687

USIA

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P/FN; P/PFN; P/PPE; P/PFE; P; EU; NEA; VOA NEWS/CA; PL
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1994
IN ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA, OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY. BUT
ITS TRADE RELATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON THE POLICIES THAT
AFFECT TRADE. IF TRADE AND ECONOMIC ISSUES MOVE IN THE
RIGHT DIRECTION, THE POLITICS WILL FOLLOW."
ON JAPAN, THE LIBERAL GUARDIAN EDITORIALIZED:
"JAPAN'S ROAD TO REFORM RUNS VERY STEEPLY UPHILL AND MAY
IN THE END LEAD NOWHERE AT ALL. ... MR HOSOKAWA STILL
HOPES TO BE ABLE TO REPORT TO PRESIDENT CLINTON THAT HE
HAS MADE PROGRESS ON POLITICAL REFORM. THAT COULD BE AS
MEANINGLESS AS THE REST OF THIS TETCHY LONG-RUNNING
DIALOGUE. LAST JULY MR CLINTON MET MR HOSOKAWA'S
PREDECESSOR TO ANNOUNCE 'AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS A
MORE BALANCED RELATIONSHIP.' LITTLE HAS SINCE EMERGED
FROM THE MUCH-PUFFED FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW ECONOMIC
PARTNERSHIP. THE PROBLEMS OF THE IMBALANCE IN U.S.-JAPAN
TRADE ONCE AGAIN PROVE TOO STRUCTURAL TO BE SOLVED BY
VAGUE PRONOUNCEMENTS. IN WASHINGTON AS IN TOKYO THE
OUTCOME MAY BE ANOTHER DEAL -- SIGNIFYING NEXT TO
NOTHING." O'BRIEN
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 07

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: GARDNER NSC STEPHENS SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 251342Z NOV 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 6630

INFO RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2484

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 006370

LONDON PLEASE PASS BELFAST

STATE PLEASE PASS TO AID FOR AA/ENI DINE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: EAID, EUN, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROPOSED EUROPEAN UNION ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
PACKAGE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND BORDER COUNTIES

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY - A PROPOSAL WILL BE MADE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION ON DECEMBER 7, 1994, AND, IF APPROVED, PRESENTED TO THE ESSEN MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON DECEMBER 9 AND 10, 1994, FOR AN ECONOMIC AID PACKAGE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. THE PACKAGE WILL INCLUDE A MODEST INCREASE IN FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND AND SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED FUNDING FOR EXISTING EU PROGRAMS IN BOTH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AREAS. THE REPORT BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL CARLO TROJAN WILL RECOMMEND A "FREESTANDING" EU BODY TO OVERSEE THE PROGRAM. THE EU COMMITMENT TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES SHOULD BE IN THE RANGE OF 100 MILLION - 150 MILLION ECU PER YEAR, IN ADDITION TO ALREADY COMMITTED STRUCTURAL AND COHESION FUNDS, FOR A MINIMUM OF THREE YEARS. END SUMMARY

3. THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH COLM LARKIN, DIRECTOR OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION OFFICE IN DUBLIN, AND BRENDAN SCANNELL, FUND MANAGER OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND (IFI) FOR THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND ON NOVEMBER 1, 1994. THE MEETING FOLLOWED A VISIT TO IRELAND BY EU ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL CARLO TROJAN, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EU TASK FORCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND ESTABLISHED BY JACQUES DELORS. ON NOVEMBER 14, 1994 TROJAN PREPARED THE FIRST DRAFT OF HIS REPORT TO THE COMMISSION OUTLINING EU GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

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2011-0355-F(1.66)

KBH 4/11/2023

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IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE PROPOSAL SHOULD BE REVIEWED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION ON NOVEMBER 29, 1994. IT SHOULD BE FORMALLY RATIFIED BY THE COMMISSION ON DECEMBER 7, 1994, AND PRESENTED BY DELORS TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR ADOPTION AT ESSEN ON DECEMBER 9 AND 10, 1994.

4. THE EU IS NOW THE MAJOR DONOR TO THE IFI CONTRIBUTING 15 MILLION ECU PER YEAR TO THE FUND. IN RESPONSE TO THE TERMINATION OF PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE EU COMMISSION ALMOST IMMEDIATELY INCREASED ITS ANNUAL DONATION TO THE IFI BY 5 MILLION ECU TO 20 MILLION ECU PER YEAR. SHORTLY AFTER THE COMMISSION ANNOUNCEMENT, MEP'S ON THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BUDGET COMMITTEE VOTED TO TREBLE THE EU CONTRIBUTION TO IFI. THE MOVE CAME AS A SURPRISE TO THE COMMISSION AND WAS THE RESULT OF LOBBYING BY ALL THE NORTHERN IRELAND AND REPUBLIC OF IRELAND MEP'S FROM AREAS RECEIVING IFI FUNDS. THE COMMISSION IS CONCERNED THAT THE IFI, WITH A RELATIVELY SMALL SECRETARIAT AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF, MAY NOT BE ABLE TO ABSORB AND PROPERLY DISTRIBUTE THIS SUDDEN DRAMATIC INCREASE IN FUNDING. CARLO TROJAN WAS SENT TO IRELAND TO CHAIR AN EU TASK FORCE CHARGED WITH PRODUCING A EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO THE CEASEFIRE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND CONVINCING THE IRISH AND UK GOVERNMENTS TO ACCEPT LESS DIRECT FUNDING TO THE IFI AS PART OF A LARGER OVERALL AID PROGRAM FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES.

5. THE COMMISSION, ACCORDING TO LARKIN, IS READY TO FUND MORE PROJECTS, VIA IFI, IN THE SOCIAL AREAS BUT IS CONCERNED WITH REACTION IN THE U.S. CONGRESS. SCANNELL SAID THE FUND WOULD COMMIT MORE FUNDS TO THE SOCIAL AREA, UNDER THE NEW COMMUNITIES IN CRISES PROGRAM, OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS. HE HOPES THAT CONGRESS WILL RECOGNIZE THE RADICALLY CHANGED ENVIRONMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND FOLLOWING THE CEASEFIRE AND RECOGNIZE THAT THE FUND HAS TO REDIRECT ITS EFFORTS TO REFLECT THE NEW SITUATION.

6. BOTH SCANNELL AND LARKIN EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER UNIONIST PERCEPTIONS THAT THE FUND FAVORS NATIONALISTS OVER UNIONISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SCANNELL SAID THE RECORD OF FUND DISBURSEMENTS PROVED THAT THE ALLEGATIONS WERE UNFOUNDED BUT RECOGNIZED THAT THE FUND HAD TO MAKE HEROIC EFFORTS TO REASSURE ALL PARTIES THAT THE FUND WAS NOT FAVORING ANY ONE COMMUNITY OVER ANOTHER. LARKIN SAID THAT TROJAN ALSO RECOGNIZED UNIONIST CONCERNS BUT CONSIDERS THEM

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UNFOUNDED.

7. LARKIN WAS ADAMANT THAT THE EU INITIATIVE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES WOULD BE A BRUSSELS CREATION REPRESENTING THE BRUSSELS' PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROBLEM AND NOT JUST A TRANSFER OF FUNDS TO THE IRISH AND U.K- GOVERNMENTS. THE COMMISSION'S PLANS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE SUBMISSIONS OF THE THREE MEP'S FROM NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPORTS OF COMMISSION OFFICIALS RATHER THAN ONLY NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ASSESSMENTS. THE COMMISSION WANTS GREATER SYNERGY AMONG THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE ECONOMIC REDEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BOARDER COUNTIES, PARTICULARLY INWARD INVESTMENT AND FINANCIAL MECHANISMS. LARKIN SAID THAT DELORS HAS RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF A REDEVELOPMENT BANK FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUING PEACE BONDS USING THE EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 006370

LONDON PLEASE PASS BELFAST

STATE PLEASE PASS TO AID FOR AA/ENI DINE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: EAID, EUN, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROPOSED EUROPEAN UNION ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PACKAGE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND BORDER COUNTIES

THE EU WAS ALSO INTERESTED IN HOW U.S. EFFORTS MIGHT DOVETAIL WITH EUROPEAN EFFORTS. LARKIN SAID A NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE BONDS DRIVE IN THE U.S., MODELED ON PAST ISRAELI BOND DRIVES, MIGHT BE COMPATIBLE WITH EIB EFFORTS. HE HOPED THAT THE U.S. FIRMS LOOKING FOR INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD CONSIDER PARTNERSHIPS WITH EUROPEAN FIRMS HAVING SIMILAR INTERESTS.

8. LARKIN SAID THE UK GOVERNMENT WANTED TO MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR EUROPEAN CONSIDERATION. THE EU REJECTED THIS AND CALLED FOR A MORE WIDE SPREAD CONSULTATIVE PROCESS THAT WOULD RESULT IN A EUROPEAN PACKAGE ACCEPTABLE TO THE MEP'S, THE U.K. GOVERNMENT, AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. TROJAN AND THE MEP'S MET WITH OVER 500 PEOPLE AND ACCEPTED ABOUT 80 PROPOSALS FOR CONSIDERATION BY BRUSSELS. THE COMMISSION'S PROGRAM WILL FOCUS ON THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

(A) URBAN AND RURAL REGENERATION - THIS WIDERANGING INITIATIVE WILL ENCOURAGE LOCAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REGENERATION BY IMPROVING THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL

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ENVIRONMENT IN URBAN AREAS, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES. IT WILL INCLUDE LANDSCAPING AND CLEARING OF DERELICT SITES. THERE WILL BE FOUR OR FIVE MAJOR URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS; PROBABLY TWO IN BELFAST, ONE IN DERRY, AND ONE IN ANOTHER LOCATION.

(B) EMPLOYMENT - THIS INITIATIVE WILL FOCUS ON THE LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED, THE YOUNG, AND THOSE DISPLACED FROM THE CONSTRUCTION AND SECURITY INDUSTRY. IT WILL SEEK TO DEVELOP EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES, INCLUDING TOURISM AND AGRI-TOURISM. THERE WILL BE A TRAINING PROGRAM IN ANTICIPATION OF FUTURE SKILLS SHORTAGES, AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR INNOVATION AND RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT LEADING TO JOB CREATION.

(C) CROSS-BORDER DEVELOPMENT - THIS PROGRAM WILL PROMOTE CROSS-BORDER DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ENHANCED TRADE, ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE, AND AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION AS WELL AS UPGRADING OF INFRASTRUCTURES, SUCH AS BORDER CROSSINGS AND NORTH-SOUTH LINKS.

(D) SOCIAL INCLUSION - THIS DRIVE WILL FOCUS ON DEPRIVED AND MARGINALIZED AREAS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES. CROSS-COMMUNITY COOPERATION WOULD BE AN OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE OF THIS PROGRAM. THIS INITIATIVE WILL INCLUDE GRASSROOTS ACTIVITIES AIMED AT INTEGRATING THE TWO COMMUNITIES AND AN EDUCATION AND TRAINING COMPONENT AIMED AT VULNERABLE GROUPS, VICTIMS, EX-OFFENDERS, AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

(E) INWARD INVESTMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT - THIS INITIATIVE WILL COMPLEMENT AND REINFORCE EXISTING POLICIES TO STIMULATE INVESTMENT AND PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF SME'S AS THE KEY TO SUSTAINABLE GROWTH AND JOB CREATION IN THE REGION.

9. THE TROJAN TASK FORCE SUGGESTS A "SPECIFIC FREESTANDING SUPPORT PROGRAM" THAT IS MULTIANNUL, COMPREHENSIVE, AND COMPLEMENTARY TO EXISTING POLICIES UNDER THE STRUCTURAL FUNDS. ALL FUNDING WILL BE IN ADDITION TO EXISTING EXPENDITURES IN THE REGION. THE PROGRAM'S BENEFITS MUST BE EQUITABLY DISTRIBUTED AMONG ALL COMMUNITIES, WHILE CONCENTRATING ON MOST DEPRIVED AREAS, AND PROGRAM IMPACT MUST BE IMMEDIATE AND VISIBLE.

10. THE TROJAN PROPOSALS WILL MAKE THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC PROPOSALS:

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(A) THE UK AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE EXPECTED TO "REFOCUS" EXISTING STRUCTURAL FUND PROGRAMS IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE THE NEW ENVIRONMENT ARISING FROM THE CESSATION OF VIOLENCE AND TAKE OPTIMAL ADVANTAGE OF COMMUNITY INITIATIVES TO ENCOURAGE SUSTAINED SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION.

(B) THE COUNCIL WILL INTRODUCE A "NEW INTEGRATED AND FREESTANDING SINGLE COMMUNITY INITIATIVE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES" TO PROSECUTE THE URBAN AND RURAL REGENERATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND CROSS-BORDER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

(C) THE COUNCIL WILL ESTABLISH A NEW COMMUNITY INSTRUMENT TO ESTABLISH AND OVERSEE THE "SOCIAL INCLUSION PROGRAM" INCLUDING EDUCATION AND TRAINING, CROSS-COMMUNITY INTEGRATION, AND IMMEDIATE PROGRAMS FOR VULNERABLE POPULATIONS.

(D) THE ENHANCEMENT, IF NECESSARY BY NEW INSTRUMENTS, OF EXISTING FACILITIES TO ATTRACT INWARD INVESTMENT AND PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT OF SME'S, INCLUDING EIB LOANS.

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LONDON PLEASE PASS BELFAST

STATE PLEASE PASS TO AID FOR AA/ENI DINE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: EAID, EUN, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PROPOSED EUROPEAN UNION ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
PACKAGE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND BORDER COUNTIES

(E) THE EXAMINATION OF APPROPRIATE ACTIONS IN OTHER COMMUNITY AREAS SUCH AS THE TRANS-EUROPEAN NETWORKS (TEN'S) PROGRAM. THIS MAY INCLUDE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEWRY-BORDER HIGHWAY.

(F) THE NEW POLICY INSTRUMENTS WOULD BE MANAGED ON AN INTEGRATED BASIS TO ENSURE COMPLEMENTARITY OF EFFORT. THE NEW INSTRUMENTS WOULD WORK CLOSELY ON CO-FINANCING PROJECTS WITH SUCH PRE-EXISTING BODIES AS THE IFI.

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11. THE COMMISSION WANTS THE EU INITIATIVE TO HAVE APPROPRIATE GRASSROOTS INVOLVEMENT IN THE SHAPING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL PROGRAMS. A SINGLE CONSULTATIVE PLATFORM IS RECOMMENDED THAT WOULD INCLUDE LOCAL REPRESENTATION FROM BOTH COMMUNITIES.

12. THE TROJAN TASK FORCE RECOMMENDS THE EU INITIATIVE TO RUN FOR FIVE YEARS, CONCURRENTLY WITH THE PRESENT STRUCTURAL FUNDS. THE FIRST TRANCHE OF COMMUNITY FUNDING WOULD BE FOR THREE YEARS AT A LEVEL OF 100 MILLION TO 150 MILLION ECU'S PER YEAR. THE COMMUNITY WOULD THEN REVIEW THE INITIATIVE AND DECIDE ON FUNDING LEVELS FOR YEARS FOUR AND FIVE. COMMUNITY FINANCING WOULD BE LIMITED TO 75 PER CENT OF PROJECTS, OR 90 PER CENT FOR PROJECTS UNDER THE SOCIAL INCLUSION PROGRAM. CO-FINANCING FROM OTHER STRUCTURES, SUCH AS IFI, COULD BE USED TO PROVIDE REQUIRED MATCHING FUNDS. FUNDING WOULD BE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TO NORTHERN IRELAND, 75-80 PER CENT, WITH THE REMAINDER GOING TO THE BORDER COUNTIES.

13. BOTH LARKIN AND SCANNELL SAID THE NEW EU INITIATIVES AND OLDER STRUCTURES, SUCH AS IFI, COULD WORK TOGETHER HARMONIOUSLY. WHILE THE IFI IS "PROJECT" DRIVEN, THE EU INITIATIVES ARE "PROGRAM" DRIVEN. BOTH FEEL THE BRITISH WILL BE UNEASY WITH THE REQUIREMENT THAT THE COMMUNITY INITIATIVE REMAIN "FREESTANDING." HOWEVER, THEY POINT OUT THAT, LIKE PRESENT STRUCTURAL FUNDS, MOST LOCAL ADMINISTRATION WILL BE UNDERTAKEN BY HOST COUNTRY CIVIL SERVANTS. THEY STRESSED THAT THE PLAN WAS ENDORSED BY ALL THE NORTHERN IRELAND MEP'S REPRESENTING THE FULL SPECTRUM OF CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY MEP IAN PAISLEY WOULD ONLY SIGN ON IF THERE WAS A FLAGSHIP PROJECT IN HIS DISTRICT. A ROAD FROM ANTRIM TO BALLYMENA WAS AGREED UPON. THE COMMISSION SEES NO NEED FOR THE ROAD, BUT CONSIDER IT A SMALL PRICE FOR PAISLEY'S COOPERATION. ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY MEP JIM NICHOLSON WAS DESCRIBED AS VERY HELPFUL.

14. BOTH SCANNELL AND LARKIN SAID THAT THE PLAN WOULD PUSH NORTH-SOUTH STRUCTURES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. THE INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE ENVISIONED BY THE EU WILL BE ON A NORTH-SOUTH BASIS. TROJAN FOUND A LOT OF SUPPORT FOR INCREASED NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE NORTHERN BUSINESS COMMUNITY. THE EU WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT ON A NORTH-SOUTH BASIS, SUCH AS THE NEW NATURAL GAS INTERCONNECTOR, UNDER

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THE TEN'S PROGRAM. THEY WILL ALSO ENCOURAGE CROSS-BORDER CONTACTS IN EDUCATION

UNDER THE ERASMUS PROGRAM AND MORE CROSS-BORDER CONTACTS FOR RURAL POPULATIONS VIA THE LEADER PROGRAM. LARKIN, SCANNELL, AND SEAN O'HUIGINN, THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ANGLO-IRISH AFFAIRS IN THE IRISH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE CROSS-BORDER ELEMENTS OF THE INITIATIVE WILL NOT OFFEND UNIONISTS.

15. LARKIN POINTED OUT THAT THE TROJAN REPORT OF THE EU TASK FORCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND WAS STILL A PROPOSAL AT THE "EUROPEAN CIVIL SERVANT LEVEL" AND HAS NOT FACED THE "POLITICAL LEVEL" OF THE COUNCIL. IT WILL BE DELORS' LAST EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND BOTH LARKIN AND SCANNELL ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE BRITISH WILL NOT LIKE THE REPORT BUT WILL AGREE TO ITS ADOPTION RATHER THAN RISK LOSING UP TO HALF A BILLION ECU OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS. SMITH

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PRT: SODERBERG

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2011-0355-F (1.67)

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<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 141545Z SEP 94

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7843

INFO RUEHDC/USDOC WASHDC

RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 2053

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 014600

COMMERCE FOR USDOC/4000/AS/IEP/CMEISSNER
AND USDOC/4200/DAS/EUR/PVARGO

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EAID, EFIN, UK, EI

SUBJECT: LOOKING FOR WAYS TO HELP THE NORTHERN IRELAND

PEACE PROCESS: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

REF: (A) STATE 244940 (B) 93 LONDON 22850 (C) LONDON
14240

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY AND PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS: EMBASSY APPRECIATES OPPORTUNITY TO OFFER ITS VIEWS ON WAYS THE USG COULD SHOW ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS OUR PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS AND HAS BEEN COORDINATED WITH CONGEN BELFAST. EMBASSY OFFICERS WILL VISIT BELFAST AT THE END OF THE MONTH TO DISCUSS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WITH A FOCUS ON WAYS TO PROMOTE PRIVATE INVESTMENT. PLEASE LET US KNOW BY COB SEPTEMBER 26 IF WASHINGTON AGENCIES HAVE ANY SPECIFIC INTERESTS THAT THEY WOULD LIKE EMBASSY OFFICERS TO ADDRESS DURING THIS VISIT.

3. OUR PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS SUGGESTS THE FOLLOWING U.S. INITIATIVES TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY AND PROMOTE JOB GROWTH:

-- INVESTMENT CONFERENCE AND MISSION;

-- INCREASED FUNDING FOR INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND (IFI) AND ACTION TO EXPEDITE IFI'S WORK AND ALLOW DIRECT PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS;

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- DIRECT AIR SERVICE FROM THE UNITED STATES;
- TOURISM PROMOTION;
- AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE; AND
- TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION.

WE DO NOT THINK IT LIKELY THE UK WOULD BE WILLING TO OFFER TAX BREAKS FOR INVESTMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

4. IN FORMULATING U.S. INITIATIVES, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK IN MIND, IN PARTICULAR THE NEED TO FOSTER TRUST AND COOPERATION FROM THE MAJORITY COMMUNITY. TO THIS END, USG SHOULD AT THIS STAGE AVOID MEASURES THAT TREAT THE ISLAND AS A UNIT OR SUGGEST THAT THE USG DOES NOT CONSIDER THE PROVINCE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE UK. THAT SAID, ENHANCED ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND (OR JOINT APPROACHES TO SOMETHING LIKE TOURISM) COULD BE A USEFUL ELEMENT IN THE REVITALIZATION OF THE REGION'S ECONOMY. END SUMMARY

UK INCOME TAX REDUCTION

5. REF A ASKED FOR OUR VIEWS ON THE PRACTICALITY OF ENCOURAGING THE UK TO OFFER A LIMITED TAX EXEMPTION OR REDUCTION ON INCOME TAX FOR COMPANIES LOCATED IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE THINK IT UNLIKELY THAT ANY SUCH MEASURE WOULD BE ENACTED FOR SEVERAL REASONS:

- THE LARGE UK BUDGET DEFICIT, CURRENTLY RUNNING AT ABOUT SIX PERCENT OF GDP, RESULTS IN STRONG RESISTANCE TO TAX CUTS OF ANY SORT.
- THERE IS ALREADY A NET UK SUBSIDY OF 4.5 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR TO THE PROVINCE, SO THERE IS LITTLE INCLINATION TO PROVIDE MORE. THIS INCLUDES OUTRIGHT GRANTS TO PROMOTE OUTSIDE INVESTMENT.
- HM TREASURY STRONGLY OPPOSES DIFFERENT TAX RATES FOR ONE DISADVANTAGED REGION SINCE THERE ARE MANY OTHER AREAS THAT COULD QUALIFY. MOREOVER, TAX BREAKS LACK TRANSPARENCY, DISTORT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND PRESENT TAX ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS.
- DIFFERENTIAL CORPORATE (OR INDIVIDUAL) TAX RATES FOR

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NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD REQUIRE FREESTANDING LEGISLATION IN THE PARLIAMENT. MP'S FROM EVERY OTHER DISADVANTAGED AREA IN THE UK WOULD CLAMOR FOR TAX BREAKS FOR THEIR CONSTITUENTS.

-- FINALLY, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT ANYTHING BUT A VERY LARGE TAX PREFERENCE WOULD HAVE ANY SIGNIFICANT EFFECT IN ATTRACTING NEW INVESTMENT. FOREIGN INVESTORS ALREADY FIND THE UK ONE OF THE MOST ATTRACTIVE SITES IN EUROPE EVEN WITH THE CURRENT CORPORATE TAX RATE OF 33 PERCENT. A REDUCTION TO THE TOP U.S. CORPORATE RATE OF 30 PERCENT WOULD ONLY PROVIDE MARGINAL BENEFIT TO U.S. FIRMS.

EXISTING INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 014600

COMMERCE FOR USDOC/4000/AS/IEP/CMEISSNER
AND USDOC/4200/DAS/EUR/PVARGO

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EAID, EFIN, UK, EI

SUBJECT: LOOKING FOR WAYS TO HELP THE NORTHERN IRELAND
PEACE PROCESS: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

6. AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE WE HAVE EXAMINED EXISTING UK INCENTIVES TO PROMOTE INVESTMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD OF NORTHERN IRELAND (IDB) OFFERS A WIDE RANGE OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE INWARD INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRY AND TRADEABLE SERVICES:

- CAPITAL GRANTS UP TO 50 PERCENT OF THE COST OF THE PROJECT;
- TRAINING GRANTS;
- RENT GRANTS UP TO FIVE YEARS; AND
- INTEREST RELIEF GRANTS TO OFFSET INTEREST COSTS.

7. FISCAL 1993-94 (APRIL 1993 - MARCH 1994) WAS IDB'S MOST SUCCESSFUL YEAR SINCE 1982 WITH 13 INVESTMENTS TOTALING 260 MILLION POUNDS STERLING (413 MILLION DOLLARS), OF WHICH IDB GRANTS ACCOUNTED FOR 64 MILLION POUNDS (102 MILLION DOLLARS).

INVESTMENT PROMOTION

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8. THE END OF VIOLENCE SHOULD ITSELF REMOVE A MAJOR IMPEDIMENT TO INVESTMENT. THE U.S. SHOULD REINFORCE THIS BY EXPLORING MEANS TO ENCOURAGE PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND JOB CREATION IN THE REGION. THE BEST WAY TO DO THIS IS PROBABLY BY MAKING BUSINESS MORE AWARE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH INVESTMENT CONFERENCES AND MISSIONS. IDB OFFICIALS CLAIM THAT FULLY 24 OF THE 38 U.S. FIRMS PRESENTLY ACTIVE IN NORTHERN IRELAND DECIDED TO INVEST THERE BECAUSE OF THE EFFORTS, BOTH PROMOTIONAL AND FINANCIAL, OF THE IDB. (THESE U.S. FIRMS EMPLOY ,000 WORKERS AND HAVE INVESTED OVER 850 MILLION DOLLARS IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS.)

9. WE BELIEVE A HIGH-LEVEL INVESTMENT CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON THIS WINTER OR NEXT SPRING WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY SPARK INCREASED INTEREST WITHIN THE U.S. BUSINESS COMMUNITY. MANY OF THE U.S. FIRMS ALREADY OPERATING IN NORTHERN IRELAND COULD SHARE THEIR POSITIVE EXPERIENCE WITH THE PROVINCE'S HIGHLY-EDUCATED AND MOTIVATED WORKFORCE. A HIGH-LEVEL INVESTMENT MISSION TO NORTHERN IRELAND FROM THE U.S. AFTER SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL. AMCHAMS AND MANUFACTURING ASSOCIATIONS IN THE U.S., UK AND IRELAND SHOULD BE MOBILIZED TO SUPPORT THESE EFFORTS.

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND

10. WE CONSIDER THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND (IFI) THE BEST WAY TO CHANNEL NEW USG FINANCIAL RESOURCES SINCE IT IS TRUSTED BY BOTH RECIPIENTS AND DONORS, INCLUDING THE CONGRESS. IT HAS PROVED ITSELF EFFECTIVE IN PUTTING RESOURCES DIRECTLY IN THE HANDS OF PEOPLE WHO KNOW THE PRIORITIES AND HAS EIGHT YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN VETTING PROJECTS AND MONITORING RESULTS. MOREOVER, IF SOME NEW FOCUS OR ACCELERATION OF SPENDING IS DESIRED, A SPECIAL FACILITY COULD PROBABLY BE CREATED FOR THAT PURPOSE. BRITISH OFFICIALS, IN PARTICULAR, HAVE CRITICIZED IFI'S SLOW RESPONSE TIME, BUT WE SEE NO REASON WHY A CONCERTED EFFORT ON OUR PART COULD NOT SPEED UP THE PROCESS.

11. IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE TO CONSIDER WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO REVISE THE IFI TO ALLOW DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INDIVIDUALS AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS. DOING SO COULD INCREASE PUBLIC AWARENESS AND SUPPORT FOR ITS ACTIVITIES.

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NEED FOR DIRECT AIR LINK WITH U.S.

12. WE HAVE BEEN STRUCK THAT IN VIRTUALLY EVERY DISCUSSION REGARDING U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROVINCE'S ECONOMY OUR INTERLOCUTORS EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR DIRECT IR SERVICE FROM THE UNITED STATES. SUCH AN AIR LINK IS WIDELY SEEN AS CRUCIAL TO ATTRACTING BOTH POTENTIAL INVESTORS AND TOURISTS.

13. CURRENTLY ONE SMALL U.S. CARRIER, AMERICAN TRANSAIR, FLIES BETWEEN BELFAST AND THE U.S. THE WEEKLY (BIWEEKLY IN SUMMER) FLIGHT FROM NEW YORK LANDS IN BELFAST, CONTINUES TO RIGA, LATVIA, AND RETURNS BY THE SAME ROUTE. NO U.K. CARRIER PRESENTLY OPERATES A DIRECT FLIGHT BETWEEN BELFAST AND THE U.S., ALTHOUGH THE U.K. COULD ADD BELFAST AS AN ADDITIONAL GATEWAY UNDER ARTICLE 6 OF THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT.

14. AIRLINE COMPANIES, OF COURSE, MUST THEMSELVES DECIDE ON COMMERCIAL GROUNDS WHETHER POTENTIAL TRAFFIC FROM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 014600

COMMERCE FOR USDOC/4000/AS/IEP/CMEISSNER
AND USDOC/4200/DAS/EUR/PVARGO

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, EFIN, UK, EI
SUBJECT: LOOKING FOR WAYS TO HELP THE NORTHERN IRELAND
PEACE PROCESS: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

OTHER U.S. GATEWAYS WOULD WARRANT SERVICE. IN THE NEXT ROUND OF CIVIL AVIATION TALKS WITH HMG, THE USG COULD RAISE THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONAL CHARTERS AND "EXTRA-BILATERAL" SCHEDULED SERVICES TO BELFAST. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO NEGOTIATE FULL 5TH FREEDOM TRAFFIC RIGHTS.

TOURISM PROMOTION

15. MOST ANALYSTS CONSIDER THE TOURISM INDUSTRY TO BE THE BEST PROSPECT FOR MUCH NEEDED NEAR-TERM JOB CREATION. TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE HAVE WREAKED HAVOC ON THE PROVINCE'S TOURISM INDUSTRY.

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16. TOURISM EARNINGS CONTRIBUTE ONLY 1.5 PERCENT TO THE REGION'S GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT, COMPARED TO 5.6 PERCENT IN THE REST OF THE BRITISH ISLES. WHILE OVER 1.2 MILLION TOURISTS VISITED NORTHERN IRELAND LAST YEAR, TOURISM OFFICIALS TELL US OF THEIR CONCERN THAT MOST WERE VISITING RELATIVES (AND THEREFORE NOT STAYING IN HOTELS) OR ON BUSINESS TRIPS. THEY EXPECT PEACE WILL GREATLY INCREASE THE NUMBERS COMING PURELY FOR HOLIDAYS, WHO NOW ONLY ACCOUNT FOR 20 PERCENT OF VISITORS, COMPARED TO 49 PERCENT IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND AND 44 PERCENT IN GREAT BRITAIN. SUCH "PURE HOLIDAY MAKERS" SPEND FAR MORE PER PERSON ON LODGING, MEALS AND SIGHTSEEING.

17. A RECENT REPORT FROM THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRY (CBI) ESTIMATES THAT THE TOURISM INDUSTRY COULD GENERATE AN ADDITIONAL 3,000 JOBS IN THE SHORT TERM AND UP TO 10,000 BY THE END OF THE DECADE, A NUMBER EQUIVALENT TO ROUGHLY HALF THE JOBS EXPECTED TO BE LOST IN THE SECURITY INDUSTRY OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

18. USG INITIATIVES IN THIS SECTOR MIGHT INCLUDE TOURISM PROMOTION AT INVESTOR CONFERENCES AND INCREASED FUNDING FOR PROJECTS, ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND, TO IMPROVE THE TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE. (WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE CONGRESS IS NEGATIVE ABOUT TOURISM PROJECTS (REF C) SO WE WOULD HAVE TO TRY AND CHANGE THEIR VIEWS ON THIS.)

AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE

19. NORTHERN IRELAND'S AGRI-FOOD SECTOR IS RELATIVELY MORE IMPORTANT THAN IN VIRTUALLY ANY OTHER REGION OF THE UK, ACCOUNTING FOR SEVEN PERCENT OF GDP AND 10 PERCENT OF EMPLOYMENT. AS A RESULT, IT IS THREE TIMES MORE IMPORTANT TO THE ECONOMY OF NORTHERN IRELAND THAN IS THE CASE FOR THE UK AS A WHOLE. AS NORTHERN IRELAND HAS A POPULATION OF ONLY 1.5 MILLION, THE AGRI-FOOD INDUSTRY RELIES HEAVILY ON EXPORTS.

20. NORTHERN IRELAND RECENTLY APPLIED FOR USDA APPROVAL FOR ITS SLAUGHTERHOUSES TO EXPORT TO THE UNITED STATES. A TEAM FROM USDA'S FOOD SAFETY AND INSPECTION SERVICE IS PLANNING TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE NEAR FUTURE. CONSIDERATION COULD BE GIVEN TO EXPEDITING THE APPROVAL PROCESS.

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21. ANOTHER POSSIBLE U.S. INITIATIVE COULD INVOLVE DEVELOPING A PROGRAM SIMILAR TO SECTION 1420 OF THE 1985 FARM BILL WHICH PROVIDES ASSISTANCE TO THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. AGRIBUSINESS ALSO SHOULD BE MADE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ANY INVESTMENT MISSION.

TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION

22. ONE AVENUE FOR ENHANCING COOPERATION IN THE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AREA WOULD INVOLVE ESTABLISHING COLLABORATION AMONG "TECHNOLOGY INNOVATION CENTERS" THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN SET UP IN THE U.S. AND NORTHERN IRELAND. MARY GOOD, USDOC UNDER SECRETARY FOR ECHNOLOGY, EXPLORED THIS POSSIBILITY DURING HER VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND IN JUNE.

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INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1113

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG REFUSES "CLARIFICATION"
BUT OFFERS "ASSURANCES"

SUMMARY

1. (U) PRIME MINISTER MAJOR AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MAYHEW HAVE AGAIN REJECTED SINN FEIN DEMANDS FOR "CLARIFICATION" OF THE DECEMBER 15 ANGLO-IRISH JOINT DECLARATION. DOWNING STREET PUBLISHED AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH SINN FEIN, IN WHICH GERRY ADAMS SOUGHT TO SCRAP THE DECLARATION AND NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF AN EARLIER IRISH DRAFT. IN A DECEMBER 20 SPEECH, MAYHEW OFFERED "ASSURANCES" TO BOTH UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS THAT THE DECLARATION MET THEIR FUNDAMENTAL ASPIRATIONS. HE STRESSED THAT THE OFFER TO SINN FEIN REMAINED OPEN, BUT THAT THE POLITICAL TALKS PROCESS WOULD CONTINUE WHATEVER ITS RESPONSE. BRITISH OPPOSITION AND ULSTER UNIONIST PARTIES SUPPORT HMG'S REJECTION OF CLARIFICATION, BUT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOR PARTY (SDLP) -- WHILE INCREASINGLY EXASPERATED WITH SINN FEIN PROCRASTINATION -- WANTS MAJOR TO CALL ADAMS' BLUFF BY PROVIDING CLARIFICATION WITHOUT RENEGOTIATION.

2. (U) HMG WANTS TO GET THE TALKS BACK INTO FORMAL SESSION SOON, AND BELIEVES DUBLIN WILL AGREE, BUT IS UNSURE WHETHER SDLP LEADER HUME WILL PARTICIPATE. WE BELIEVE IT PUBLISHED THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THAT ADAMS WANTS RENEGOTIATION, NOT CLARIFICATION. END SUMMARY.

COMMONS STATEMENTS

3. (U) JOHN MAJOR (IN PRIME MINISTER'S QUESTION TIME JANUARY 20) AND SIR PATRICK MAYHEW (IN A NORTHERN IRELAND DEBATE JANUARY 21) REITERATED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ACCEDE TO SINN FEIN CALLS FOR "CLARIFICATION" OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. MAYHEW SAID THAT "WE SHALL NOT ADD TO, OR TAKE AWAY FROM, GLOSS OR

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INTERPRET THE TEXT. IN SHORT, WE SHALL NOT CLARIFY IT BECAUSE IT SPEAKS FOR ITSELF, AND AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED IT WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO."

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

4. (U) ON JANUARY 21, DOWNING STREET RELEASED THE TEXTS OF AN UNSIGNED JANUARY 7 ADAMS LETTER TO MAJOR, AND THE JANUARY 20 REPLY BY MAJOR'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, RODERIC LYNE. TEXTS FOLLOW:

ADAMS LETTER:

MR. MAJOR, A CHARA

I AM TAKING THE UNUSUAL STEP OF WRITING TO YOU DIRECTLY REGARDING THE POTENTIALLY HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN IRELAND WHICH CURRENTLY EXISTS AND, SPECIFICALLY TO URGE YOU TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO REALIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY.

IN JOINT STATEMENTS WITH THE LEADER OF THE SDLP JOHN HUME AND IN MY OWN PUBLIC STATEMENTS I HAVE REPEATEDLY ASSERTED MY SINCERE BELIEF THAT IF ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, BUT MOST CRITICALLY YOUR GOVERNMENT, ARE PREPARED TO DEMONSTRATE COURAGE AND IMAGINATION, AN EFFECTIVE PEACE PROCESS CAN BE ESTABLISHED AT THIS POINT. IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THE POSITION PUT TO YOU IN JUNE BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS THE POTENTIAL TO MOVE US OUT OF CONFLICT AND TOWARDS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY HAS ALSO MADE ITS POSITION CLEAR. IN A STATEMENT ON OCTOBER 3 THEY SAID: "THE LEADERSHIP OF OGLAIGH NA HEIREANN WELCOMES THIS (THE HUME/ADAMS) INITIATIVE.

"WE ARE INFORMED OF THE BROAD PRINCIPLES INVOLVED WHICH WILL BE FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE DUBLIN AND LONDON GOVERNMENTS.

"IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REACTION
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TO THIS INITIATIVE SO FAR HAS BEEN NEGATIVE AND HAS FUELED UNIONIST REACTION. NONETHELESS, IF THE POLITICAL WILL EXISTS OR CAN BE CREATED, IT COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR PEACE."

YOUR PUBLIC RESPONSE TO THIS WAS AN ABSOLUTE REJECTION. ADDITIONALLY THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION SIGNED BY YOU AND THE TAOISEACH, ALBERT REYNOLDS, ON DECEMBER 15 IS

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SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT IN KEY AREAS TO THE IRISH POSITION PUT TO YOU IN JUNE. HOWEVER, IT HAS BEEN ASSERTED THAT THESE DIFFERENCES ARE NO MORE THAN SEMANTICAL AND THAT THE UNDERLYING POLITICS OF BOTH DOCUMENTS ARE IDENTICAL. REPUBLICANS ARE MORE THAN WILLING TO EXAMINE, POSITIVELY, THE VALIDITY OF SUCH AN ASSERTION. HOWEVER TO DO SO EFFECTIVELY AND ACCURATELY, FULL CLARIFICATION ON THE KEY ISSUES IS ESSENTIAL. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS, FROM 1990, BEEN INVOLVED IN PROLONGED CONTACT AND DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN. ONLY RECENTLY WAS THIS CONTACT ENDED. NOW, WHEN YOU CLAIM YOU HAVE THE BASIS OF A SETTLEMENT YOU REFUSE TO USE THESE CHANNELS, AN INCONSISTENCY WHICH MUST INCREASE REPUBLICAN DOUBTS AND SUSPICIONS. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A REAL AND LASTING SETTLEMENT HAS NEVER BEEN MORE REALIZABLE. YOUR GOVERNMENT HOLDS THE KEY IN ALL OF THIS. IT IS CRUCIAL, THEREFORE, THAT YOU CLARIFY THESE ISSUES, URGENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY THROUGH DIRECT DIALOGUE. IF PEACE IS A REALISTIC PROSPECT, AS YOU HAVE ASSERTED, THEN THE OPPORTUNITY SHOULD NOT BE LOST BECAUSE OF CONFUSION OCCASIONED BY THE ABSENCE OF OPEN AND HONEST DIALOGUE.

IS MISE
GERRY ADAMS

LYNE REPLY:

DEAR MR. ADAMS,

THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ASKED ME TO REPLY TO THE LETTER DATED 7 JANUARY WHICH, THOUGH UNSIGNED, IS ON YOUR HEADED NOTEPAPER.

AS YOU KNOW, THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE TAOISEACH MADE THEIR JOINT DECLARATION ON 15 DECEMBER. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND REFLECTED INTENSIVE WORK BETWEEN THEM IN THE PRECEDING WEEKS. YOUR LETTER SEEKS TO REOPEN ISSUES FOR RENEGOTIATION BY POINTING BACK TO A POSITION YOU SAY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT PUT FORWARD IN JUNE LAST YEAR. BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE TAOISEACH HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF RENEGOTIATION OF THEIR JOINT DECLARATION. IT PROVIDES A BALANCED FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY WHICH RECOGNIZES THE INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF BOTH MAIN TRADITIONS THAT EXIST IN IRELAND. THAT TEXT, AND ONLY THAT TEXT, IS WHAT IS AT ISSUE.

YOU ANNOUNCED THAT YOU WERE WRITING TO THE PRIME MINISTER. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE PRIME MINISTER HAS DECIDED TO MAKE THIS LETTER AND THAT RECEIVED FROM YOUR OFFICE PUBLICLY AVAILABLE.

YOURS SINCERELY,

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RODERIC LYNE

5. (U) ADAMS LATER TOLD REPORTERS THAT HMG WAS PLAYING GAMES, AND THAT RELEASE OF THE LETTERS WAS "A PATENTLY OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO FRUSTRATE A GENUINE EFFORT TO END THE STAND-OFF." HE SAID HE WAS "PREPARED TO BE PERSUADED THAT THIS CAN IN FACT BE A STEP ALONG THE ROAD TO PEACE." BUT HE DID NOT BACK OFF FROM HIS REJECTION OF CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF THE DECLARATION.

MAYHEW SPEECH

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG REFUSES "CLARIFICATION"
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6. (U) IN A SPEECH TO THE TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN DINING CLUB IN LONDON JANUARY 20, MAYHEW OUTLINED THE HISTORY OF THE TALKS PROCESS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE JOINT DECLARATION. HE ATTEMPTED TO REASSURE BOTH UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS THAT THEIR ASPIRATIONS WERE FULLY ACCOMMODATED IN THE DECLARATION. HE SPELLED OUT AGAIN THE OFFER TO SINN FEIN OF EXPLORATORY BILATERAL TALKS THREE MONTHS AFTER A DEFINITIVE CESSATION OF VIOLENCE. THE DECLARATION WOULD STAND, AND THE OFFER WOULD REMAIN OPEN, BUT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT WOULD CONTINUE REGARDLESS OF SINN FEIN REACTION. EXCERPTS:

- "POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN IRELAND HAS NEVER BEEN FAR FROM THE SURFACE, AND HAS FREQUENTLY ERUPTED. TWO TRADITIONS WITH OPPOSING NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS HAVE LONG VIED WITH ONE ANOTHER. MANY THINGS HAVE BEEN DONE THAT ARE NOW THE SUBJECT OF REAL AND GENERAL REGRET."
- "WE WILL NOT ALLOW HISTORY TO STAND IN THE WAY OF A BETTER FUTURE. WE WILL NOT ALLOW AN OFTEN BLOODY HISTORY TO RULE US FROM THE GRAVE."
- AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT "MUST BE ACHIEVED IN A WAY THAT COMMANDS WIDE SUPPORT ACROSS BOTH TRADITIONS
- THERE CAN BE NO GOING BACK TO A SYSTEM WHICH HAS THE ALLEGIANCE OF, AND IS OPERATED BY, ONLY ONE PART OF THE COMMUNITY."
- "THE JOINT DECLARATION ... IS NOT A SETTLEMENT IN ITSELF, BUT RATHER IS A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE. IT COMPLEMENTS AND UNDERPINS THE PEACE PROCESS."
- "TO THOSE WHO ASPIRE TO A SOVEREIGN AND UNITED IRELAND, THE DECLARATION SENDS A MESSAGE THAT SHOULD REASSURE. LEST THEY SUPPOSE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD PURSUE NARROW COLONIAL OR

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STRATEGIC AMBITIONS TO THEIR DETRIMENT, IT SAYS THE GOVERNMENT HAVE NO SELFISH STRATEGIC OR ECONOMIC INTEREST IN NORTHERN IRELAND."

- FOR UNIONISTS, "THE PRIME MINISTER REAFFIRMED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD UPHOLD THE DEMOCRATIC WISH OF A GREATER NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND ON THE ISSUE OF WHETHER THEY PREFER TO SUPPORT THE UNION OR A SOVEREIGN UNITED IRELAND. THE DECLARATION MAKES IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT IT IS THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND ON THIS POINT THAT ARE AND WILL REMAIN DECISIVE."
- "IT IS FOR THOSE INVOLVED IN THE TALKS PROCESS TO COME TO AGREEMENT ON THE TOTALITY OF RELATIONSHIPS, ON THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY AND CONSENT.... (THE TWO GOVERNMENTS) WILL SEEK TO CREATE A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED IN A REASONABLE TIME-SCALE."
- "WE WILL NOT ALLOW THOSE WHO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE, YET DECIDE NOT TO DO SO, TO APPLY A BRAKE TO PROGRESS."
- "WHATEVER SINN FEIN'S RESPONSE PROVES TO BE, PROGRESS IS GOING TO CONTINUE."
- "IF THE VIOLENCE ENDS, THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS THAT IT HAS NECESSITATED WILL, BY DEFINITION, BECOME UNNECESSARY. BUT IF THE VIOLENCE CONTINUES, THE WORK OF OPPOSING IT WILL OF COURSE CONTINUE WITH THE UTMOST VIGOR."
- "SINN FEIN HAVE BEEN GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO BRING PEACE TO IRELAND, BUT NEITHER THEY NOR ANYONE ELSE HAS A VETO OVER THE SECURITY AND SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND."
- "NOR DO THEY HAVE A VETO ON POLITICAL PROGRESS. THE THREE STRANDED TALKS PROCESS CONTINUES...."

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TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG REFUSES "CLARIFICATION" BUT OFFERS "ASSURANCES"

THERE IS A MOMENTUM FOR AGREEMENT, A HUNGER FOR THE DIGNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF DECIDING AND GOVERNING LOCAL AFFAIRS, A DETERMINATION TO WORK TOGETHER. SINN FEIN CAN JOIN IN, OR STAY OUT, BUT THEY CAN'T STOP IT."

- "IF SINN FEIN GRASP THIS CHANCE THEN, AS HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR, WITHIN THREE MONTHS WE CAN BE ENGAGED IN EXPLORATORY DIALOGUE. WE SET OUT THE PURPOSES OF THAT DIALOGUE IN OUR MESSAGE OF 5 NOVEMBER."

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- "THAT IS WHERE CLARIFICATION COULD BE APPROPRIATE, NOT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION BUT OF THE PROCESSES WE DESCRIBED IN NOVEMBER."
- "THERE CAN BE, AND THERE HAS BEEN, NO NEGOTIATING OF THE POLITICAL FUTURE WITH THOSE WHO USE OR JUSTIFY THE USE OF VIOLENCE."

PARTY REACTIONS

7. (U) LABOR SHADOW NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY KEVIN MCNAMARA WARMLY WELCOMED MAYHEW'S SPEECH IN THE NEXT DAY'S DEBATE, JOKINGLY ACCUSING MAYHEW OF COMING PERILOUSLY CLOSE TO BEING A "PERSUADER" FOR A UNITED IRELAND. LABOR COMPLETELY SUPPORTED THE GOVERNMENT'S REJECTION OF ANY RENEGOTIATION OF THE DECLARATION.
8. (U) BUT SDLP LEADER HUME, WHO DID NOT SPEAK IN THE COMMONS DEBATE, LATER CHALLENGED MAJOR TO "CALL SINN FEIN'S BLUFF" AND MAKE THE MEANING OF THE DOCUMENT AS CLEAR AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT RENEGOTIATING IT. SDLP MP'S HAVE SHOWN INCREASING EXASPERATION WITH SINN FEIN'S INSISTENCE ON WORKING FROM THE HUME-ADAMS PROPOSALS RATHER THAN THE JOINT DECLARATION; THEY INSIST THAT THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO ON THE KEY ISSUE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. SDLP DEPUTY LEADER SEAMUS MALLON TOLD BBC RADIO JANUARY 22 THAT "CLARIFICATION" HAD BECOME A "WEASEL-WORD." HE PRAISED THE TAOISEACH'S JANUARY 20 SPEECH, WHICH "LAID BARE (SINN FEIN'S) ALLEGATIONS THAT THE JOINT DECLARATION WAS NOT FAIR," AND SAID MAJOR SHOULD DO THE SAME -- THERE SHOULD BE "NO NEGOTIATION, NO GIVING WAY," BUT HMG SHOULD "TAKE THE ARGUMENTS OF SINN FEIN AND STRIP THEM BARE."
9. (U) ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) MP KEN MAGINNIS TOLD BBC RADIO JANUARY 22 THAT IT WOULD BE "ABSOLUTELY WRONG TO EXPAND UPON" THE JOINT DECLARATION, AND THAT CLARIFICATION WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO EXPANSION. HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA) HAD DECIDED OVER THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY (WHEN HUNDREDS OF REPUBLICAN PRISONERS WERE PAROLED) TO REJECT THE DECLARATION, AND THAT ADAMS WAS TRYING TO HIDE THIS FACT UNTIL HE COULD FIND A WAY TO SHIFT THE BLAME TO THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE OTHER PARTIES.
- PUSHING FOR TALKS RESUMPTION

10. (✓) AS IS CLEAR FROM MAYHEW'S SPEECH, HMG SEES THE JOINT DECLARATION AS A ONE-TIME COMPONENT OF A BROADER POLITICAL PROCESS OF WHICH THE THREE-STRAND TALKS CONSTITUTE THE ONGOING ELEMENT. IT DOES NOT AGREE WITH THOSE IN THE SDLP AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WHO SEE IT AS

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A MAKE-OR-BREAK CHANCE FOR PEACE.

11. (X) NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO) ASSISTANT SECRETARY JIM DANIELL TOLD US JANUARY 20 THAT HMG WAS DETERMINED TO PRESS FOR EARLY RESUMPTION OF FORMAL MULTILATERAL TALKS, AND HOPED THIS WOULD BE AGREED AT THE JANUARY 28 INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE, THOUGH THE TALKS THEMSELVES MIGHT NOT RESUME UNTIL SOME WEEKS LATER. DANIELL CLAIMED THAT DUBLIN SHARED THIS DESIRE, BUT HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME HAD NOT YET AGREED TO PARTICIPATE. HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE UUP WAS ANXIOUS TO GET THE TALKS UNDERWAY AND MAKE DEMONSTRABLE PROGRESS BEFORE CAMPAIGNING FOR THE JUNE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS BEGAN. IF TALKS WERE DELAYED TOO LONG, THE UUP MIGHT FEAR CAMPAIGN CHARGES BY DEMOCRATIC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 LONDON 01245
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG REFUSES "CLARIFICATION" BUT OFFERS "ASSURANCES"

UNIONIST PARTY (DUP) LEADER IAN PAISLEY THAT IT WAS APPEASING NATIONALISTS AND GETTING NOTHING IN RETURN.
COMMENT

12. (X) THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT DOWNING STREET'S DECISION TO PUBLISH THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS HAD LESS TO DO WITH ADAMS' ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE WOULD WRITE THE PRIME MINISTER THAN WITH THE CLEAR REVELATION IN ADAMS' LETTER THAT HE WANTED RENEGOTIATION OF THE DECLARATION RATHER THAN MERE CLARIFICATION OF ITS TERMS. THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION HAS STRONG CROSS-PARTY SUPPORT IN PARLIAMENT, BUT WE SUSPECT THE NIO FEARS THAT ADAMS' INCESSANT REITERATION OF THE NEED FOR "CLARIFICATION" BEFORE HE CAN EVEN PRESENT THE "PACKAGE" TO PIRA MAY BE PLAYING BETTER IN NATIONALIST CIRCLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE REPUBLIC AND BEYOND. SEITZ

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 00111

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: SINN FEIN STATEMENTS HINT
AT REJECTION OF JOINT DECLARATION

REF: A) BELFAST 0002, B) 93 LONDON 22924

1. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: STATEMENTS BY SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS AND VICE PRESIDENT MARTIN MCGUINNESS OVER THE NEW YEAR'S WEEKEND (REF A) CONTAINED STRONG HINTS THAT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT MAY BE PREPARING TO REJECT THE DECEMBER 15 ANGLO-IRISH JOINT DECLARATION (JD). WHILE NEITHER RULED OUT EVENTUAL ACCEPTANCE, AND BOTH STRESSED THAT CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE MOVEMENT CONTINUE, THE CONDITIONS THEY LAID DOWN FOR PEACE ARE CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE TO OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE PROCESS, AND APPEAR TO REPRESENT A REVERSION TO TRADITIONAL REPUBLICAN POSITIONS. IT MAY BE THAT THESE ARE TACTICAL MANEUVERS DESIGNED TO CONVINCE THEIR OWN ACTIVISTS THAT EVERY POSSIBLE CONCESSION HAS BEEN WRUNG OUT OF LONDON AND DUBLIN BEFORE A CEASEFIRE. BUT THE MORE LIKELY EXPLANATION IS THAT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS HAVE FOUND INSUFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR THE JD AMONG THEIR SUPPORTERS, AND ARE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR REJECTION. END SUMMARY. MCGUINNESS "BRITS OUT"

3. MARTIN MCGUINNESS' INTERVIEW IN THE DUBLIN "SUNDAY BUSINESS POST" JANUARY 2 (REF A) MARKED A SHARP REVERSION TO TRADITIONAL SINN FEIN/PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA) RHETORIC AFTER THE MOVEMENT'S INITIAL TEMPORIZING REACTION TO THE JD (REF B). MCGUINNESS DECLINED TO REJECT THE DECLARATION OUTRIGHT, NOTING THAT CONVERSATIONS WITHIN SINN FEIN/PIRA WOULD CONTINUE UNTIL LATE JANUARY AND THAT ONLY THE PIRA GENERAL ARMY CONVENTION COULD APPROVE MORE THAN A BRIEF CEASEFIRE. CONSULTATIONS WITHIN SINN FEIN HAD UNCOVERED MIXED VIEWS, BUT NOT DIVIDED 50-50. HOWEVER, HE SAID, IF THE BRITISH POSITION WAS THAT GIVEN PUBLICLY BY PRIME

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MINISTER MAJOR, THE DECLARATION WAS "WORTHLESS". THE BRITISH MUST DECLARE THEIR INTENT TO PULL OUT OF IRELAND IN A FIXED TIME SCALE, THEN WORK ACTIVELY TO PERSUADE UNIONISTS TO ACCEPT IRISH UNIFICATION.

ADAMS: "SELF-DETERMINATION"

4. IN THE FACE OF A BARRAGE OF CRITICISM, MCGUINNESS AND SINN FEIN SPOKESMEN INSISTED THAT HIS REMARKS HAD BEEN MISINTERPRETED, AND THAT HE HAD NOT SLAMMED THE DOOR ON PEACE. BUT SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS, SPEAKING TO PARTY ACTIVISTS IN WEST BELFAST DECEMBER 3, (REF A) ADOPTED A SIMILARLY OBDURATE POSITION ON ANOTHER FRONT. WHILE CLAIMING THAT THE JD RECOGNIZED FOR THE FIRST TIME THE IRISH PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, AND COULD THUS SERVE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, HE REJECTED ALLOWING A MAJORITY IN THE NORTH ALONE TO BLOCK UNIFICATION, AND SAID THERE COULD BE NO LASTING PEACE WITHOUT AN END TO PARTITION. NOT WHAT'S ON OFFER

5. ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS UNDOUBTEDLY REALIZE THAT THE "CLARIFICATIONS" THEY WANT WOULD EFFECTIVELY NEGATE THE CAREFUL COMPROMISES THAT FORM THE HEART OF THE JD. THE REDEFINITIONS THEY PROPOSE WOULD CONSTITUTE AN OUTRIGHT VICTORY FOR PIRA, AND ARE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO HMG AND THE UNIONISTS. IT APPEARS THAT THEY HAVE RETRACTED EVEN THE MODEST COMPROMISES CONTAINED IN THE HUME-ADAMS AGREEMENT, AND HAVE REVERTED TO HARDLINE POSITIONS SINN FEIN HAS ESPOUSED FOR OVER TWO DECADES. TACTICAL MOVES?

6. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE ADAMS/MCGUINNESS STATEMENTS REPRESENT FURTHER EFFORTS TO TEST THE LIMITS OF WHAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CAN ACCEPT, AND TO PROBE FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM. THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP DARE NOT LAY ITSELF OPEN TO THE CHARGE THAT IT ACCEPTED SOMETHING SHORT OF THE BEST POSSIBLE DEAL. BUT UNLIKE PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO SOUND OUT THE GOVERNMENTS' POSITIONS ON EARLY PRISONER RELEASE AND TIMING OF EXPLORATORY TALKS, THE ISSUES THEY RAISED OVER THE WEEKEND GO TO THE HEART OF
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 00111
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: SINN FEIN STATEMENTS HINT
AT REJECTION OF JOINT DECLARATION

THE JOINT DECLARATION, AREAS IN WHICH BOTH GOVERNMENTS ARE CONVINCED THEY HAVE OFFERED ALL THEY CAN.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PREPARING TO REJECT?

7. IT IS, UNFORTUNATELY, MORE LIKELY THAT THE LEADERSHIP'S INITIAL ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS WITH SINN FEIN/PIRA ACTIVISTS HAS REVEALED LITTLE SUPPORT FOR THE DECLARATION AS IT STANDS. THOSE WHO ATTEND SUCH MEETINGS TEND INEVITABLY TO BE THE MOST HARDLINE ELEMENTS, AND THERE IS LITTLE IN THE JD TO CONVINCE THEM THAT 25 YEARS OF CONFLICT HAVE PRODUCED ENOUGH GAINS TO JUSTIFY ENDING THE STRUGGLE. UNLESS SINN FEIN LEADERS GET THE MESSAGE FROM THEIR BROADER CONSTITUENCY (THOSE WHO VOTE FOR THE PARTY BUT PLAY NO ACTIVE ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE) THAT THEIR SUPPORT BASE HAS BECOME TOO NARROW TO SUSTAIN VIOLENCE, IT LOOKS INCREASINGLY LIKELY THAT THEY WILL REJECT THE JD AND HOPE THAT CONTINUED TERRORISM--PARTICULARLY IN GREAT BRITAIN--WILL PUSH LONDON INTO FURTHER CONCESSIONS.

8. IF THIS ANALYSIS IS CORRECT, THE WEEKEND STATEMENT CAN BE SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO SHORE UP HARDLINE REPUBLICAN SUPORT WHILE USING LANGUAGE DESIGNED TO CAST THE GOVERNMENTS--RATHER THAN THE TERRORISTS--AS THE OPPONENTS OF PEACE. SINN FEIN WOULD BE ABLE TO ARGUE THAT IT WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE JD IF ONLY A FEW AMBIGUITIES HAD BEEN RESOLVED, BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENTS REFUSED TO MEET IT "HALF WAY."

SEITZ

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<MSGID> M0810883

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~
CABLE TO DUBLIN VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS
FOR DELIVERY OOB 1/6 TO AMBASSADOR SMITH
FROM NANCY SODERBERG

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (1.70)
KSH 7/11/2023

DEAR JEAN:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CABLE REGARDING THE GERRY ADAMS VISA ISSUE. I'D BE HAPPY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH YOU DIRECTLY BY PHONE IF YOU WISH BUT ALSO WANTED TO RESPOND IMMEDIATELY TO YOUR CABLE.

LET ME FIRST ASSURE YOU THAT YOUR CABLES HOME RECEIVE WIDE, HIGH LEVEL AND SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. TONY LAKE, SANDY BERGER, MYSELF AND APPROPRIATE NSC STAFF EACH RECEIVE COPIES OF THEM. AS YOU MAY KNOW, TONY TAKES A STRONG INTEREST IN THE ISSUE AND IS PERSONALLY ENGAGED IN ENSURING THE U.S. DOES WHAT IT CAN TO PROMOTE PEACE AND SUPPORT THE CURRENT EFFORT. IN GENERAL, WE REVIEW MOST SENSITIVE POLICY ISSUES AND TONY AND I HAD BOTH PERSONALLY REVIEWED THE OXMAN CABLE TO WHICH YOU REFER.

REGARDING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MESSAGE, OUR SENSE IS THAT WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO MOVE ADAMS TO TAKE A STEP TOWARD PEACE BY USING THE CARROT OF THE VISA. THE CABLE WAS MEANT TO UNDERSCORE THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO TAKE A SERIOUS LOOK AT THE ISSUE GIVEN ADAMS' RECENT ACTIONS AND TO SEE HOW BEST WE CAN MAXIMIZE THE RESULTS FROM A VISA ISSUANCE. PERHAPS WE CAN PUSH ADAMS TO GO FURTHER TOWARD PEACE, PERHAPS NOT. BUT I THINK WE NEED TO EXPLORE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES BEFORE WE GIVE UP THE LEVERAGE OF THE VISA -- THERE MAY BE A CHANCE WE CAN GET HIM TO TAKE A MORE DRAMATIC, TANGIBLE STEP IN EXCHANGE FOR THE VISA.

BEFORE WE CAN MAKE A DECISION ON WHETHER OR WHEN TO ISSUE ADAMS A VISA, WE NEED TO LOOK AT THESE OPTIONS AND GET A VERY HIGH LEVEL DECISION. YOUR RECOMMENDATION TO ANNOUNCE OUR WILLINGNESS TO ISSUE ADAMS A VISA AS WELL AS REYNOLDS' AND HUME'S VIEWS ARE VERY MUCH PART OF THAT PROCESS. WE ALSO NEED TO DO SOME CONSULTING ON OUR END WITH THE IRISH AND BRITISH BEFORE MAKING ANY PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. DESPITE THE PREOCCUPATION WITH THE UPCOMING TRIP, I ASSURE YOU THAT WE ARE SEIZED WITH THE ISSUE -- ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF YOUR REPORTS THAT ADAMS IS LIKELY TO REQUEST A VISA VERY SHORTLY. FOR NOW, HOWEVER, WE THINK IT IS BEST TO STICK TO THE LINE IN THE CABLE (WE ARE PREPARED TO REVIEW THE ISSUE IN LIGHT OF GERRY ADAMS' RESPONSE TO THE REYNOLDS-MAJOR INITIATIVE) WHILE WE WORK ON GETTING A DECISION HERE.

I REGRET ANY CONFUSION ON THE CABLES. PERHAPS WE SHOULD MAKE SURE OUR CABLES TO YOU INCLUDE A BIT MORE OF OUR THINKING SO YOU DON'T HAVE THE IMPRESSION YOU ARE SENDING THINGS INTO A BLACK HOLE. IN ANY CASE, WE'LL BE SURE TO KEEP YOU POSTED AS WE WORK ON GETTING A DECISION HERE AND I HOPE YOU WILL CONTINUE TO SEND US YOUR FRANK ASSESSMENTS. THEY REALLY ARE USEFUL AND FAR FROM ANY BLACK HOLES!

I HOPE YOU HAD A WONDERFUL CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR -- ESPECIALLY WITH A VISITING BROTHER! THANKS AGAIN FOR THE CABLE AND I LOOK FORWARD TO STAYING IN TOUCH -- I DO THINK THE TIME FOR A BREAKTHROUGH IS WITHIN REACH.

WITH WARM REGARDS AND BEST WISHES FOR THE NEW YEAR, NANCY

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: FILE PRIVACY_IN SIGLER SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<DTG> 051332Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO WHITE HOUSE

~~SECRET~~ 051332Z JAN 94 PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

FM AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH, DUBLIN 001

TO THE WHITE HOUSE, FOR NANCY SODERBERG IMMEDIATE

SUBJECT: VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

REFS: A. 93 STATE 38742

B. DUBLIN 0025

C. 93 DUBLIN 7396

D. 93 DUBLIN 7366

E. 93 DUBLIN 7365

1. NANCY, I UNDERSTAND THAT YOU HAVE BEEN OUT OF TOWN AND THAT YOU MAY NOT BE FULLY AWARE OF THE REFERENCED MESSAGES REPORTING ON MY CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS, JOHN HUME AND OTHERS ON THE QUESTION OF WHAT WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE MAY WELL BE AN IMMINENT REQUEST BY GERRY ADAMS FOR A VISA TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSE. THE LATTER MESSAGE FROM STEVE OXMAN WAS I ASSUME CLEARED BY THE NSC. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO INDICATION TO THAT EFFECT. THE MESSAGE DOES REFER TO THE PRESIDENT'S DECEMBER 22 COMMENTS TO THE IRISH TIMES. IT DOES NOT ADDRESS, HOWEVER, THE STRONGLY EXPRESSED VIEW OF PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS AND JOHN HUME THAT ADAMS IS SINCERE IN HIS QUEST FOR PEACE. NOR DOES IT ADDRESS THE FACT THAT REYNOLDS FEELS MAJOR SHOULD NOT HAVE A PROBLEM WITH ADAMS RECEIVING A VISA AT THIS TIME.

REYNOLDS AND HUME ARE CONVINCED THAT ADAMS IS THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN CONVINCE ALL IRISH AMERICANS TO SUPPORT THE JOINT DECLARATION. THEY BELIEVE THIS SUPPORT COULD BE INSTRUMENTAL IN PUSHING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD.

2. THE IRISH PRESS RAN AN EDITORIAL YESTERDAY ON THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S INTERNAL DEBATE OVER EASING THE BROADCASTING BAN ON SINN FEIN AND THE IRA WHICH EXPRESSES MOST PERSUASIVELY THE REASONS WHY NOW IS THE TIME TO ALLOW GERRY ADAMS TO BE HEARD AND TO BE MADE TO ANSWER HIS CRITICS. I QUOTE: THE FATE OF THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION -- AND THE PEACE HOPES IT HAS RAISED -- DEPEND PRIMARILY ON THE RESPONSE OF THE PROVISIONALS. IT IS SELF-EVIDENTLY ABSURD THAT WHILE THE DEBATE ON WHAT THAT RESPONSE MIGHT BE, AND WHY, DOMINATES NATIONAL RADIO AND TV, THOSE WHO CAN BEST ANSWER THE QUESTIONS BEING POSED ARE DELIBERATELY EXCLUDED. SUCH CENSORSHIP IS NOT JUST SELF-DEFEATING IN THAT IT DENIES THE PUBLIC INFORMATION TO WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED -- IT IS ALSO

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2011-0355-F (1.71)

KBN 7/11/2023

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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DAMAGING TO THE PROSPECTS OF THE DECLARATION BEING ACCEPTED.

ONE OF THE MAIN AIMS OF THE INITIATIVE IS TO BRING THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN FROM THE COLD AND PERSUADE IT TO ABANDON ITS CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE. ALLOWING ITS REPRESENTATIVES ACCESS TO THE AIRWAVES IN THE PRESENT DEBATE WOULD FURTHER THAT PROCESS IN HELPING TO END THE PROVOS' SENSE OF ISOLATION, EVEN IF IT IS SELF-IMPOSED. END QUOTE.

3. THIS ARGUMENT APPLIES EQUALLY TO THE VISA ISSUE AND I URGE THAT WE TAKE PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS' AND JOHN HUME'S RECOMMENDATIONS SERIOUSLY. I AM SENDING THIS MESSAGE DIRECTLY TO YOU IN THIS CHANNEL BECAUSE I HAVE HAD NO INDICATION FROM YOUR OFFICE THAT YOU HAVE SEEN MY MESSAGES AND THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED HIGH LEVEL CONSIDERATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE. I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR RESPONSE IN THIS CHANNEL AS WELL. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE AND I FIRMLY BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE PRO-ACTIVE IN THIS CASE AND NOT APPEAR TO BE RESPONDING TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE AFTER THE ISSUE HAS BEEN SEIZED UPON BY THE IRISH AMERICAN LOBBY. I REALIZE THAT EVERYONE IS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE UPCOMING TRIP TO BRUSSELS BUT AS WE EXPECT TO HEAR FROM ADAMS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, I WOULD APPRECIATE A RESPONSE PRIOR TO THE TRIP. THANKS AND BEST WISHES FOR A HAPPY AND HOPEFULLY PEACEFUL NEW YEAR.

SMITH

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: SODERBERG

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2011-0355-F (1.72)

KBH 7/14/2023

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 231646Z DEC 93

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4232

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 007396

NODIS

PLS PASS URGENTLY TO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR NANCY SODERBERG
FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: MORE ON A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

REF: (A) DUBLIN 07366

(B) DUBLIN 07364

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. I TALKED WITH JOHN HUME THIS MORNING (DECEMBER 23), WHO
SAID, IN REGARD TO A VISA FOR SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS
(REF. A), THAT THE TIMING WAS NOW RIGHT AND THAT IT WOULD
HELP THE PEACE PROCESS TO GIVE HIM ONE. HUME HAS OBVIOUSLY
CHANGED HIS MIND IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS (REF. B).

3. "THE IRISH TIMES" CARRIED A SHORT ITEM ON THE FRONT
PAGE THIS MORNING WHICH READS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

THE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT, MR. GERRY ADAMS, IS EXPECTED TO
REAPPLY FOR A US VISA AFTER PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID IN
YESTERDAY'S "IRISH TIMES" THAT HE WAS PREPARING TO REVIEW
POLICY ON DENYING MR. ADAMS A VISA (ARTICLES FAXED TO
EUR/NE ON DECEMBER 22). MR. ADAMS SAID YESTERDAY: "THE
POLICY OF CENSORSHIP, BY VISA DENIAL, OF SINN FEIN MEMBERS
HAS BEEN A MAIN POLICY PLANK OF SUCCESSIVE US
ADMINISTRATIONS IN THEIR PARTISAN SUPPORT FOR BRITISH
GOVERNMENT POLICY IN IRELAND.

"THIS, I AM NOW INFORMED, IS UNDER REVIEW. I WILL BE
TESTING THE PRECISE MEANING OF THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE ON
THE BACK OF AN APPROPRIATE INVITATION TO SPEAK IN THE
UNITED STATES. IRISH-AMERICAN SUPPORTERS OF FREEDOM,
JUSTICE AND PEACE IN IRELAND ARE TO BE CONGRATULATED FOR
FOCUSING THE US ADMINISTRATION'S ATTENTION ON THE CONFLICT
IN IRELAND."

END TEXT.

4. I HAVE ALSO BEEN HEARING FROM CONTACTS, WHO CITE NEW
YORK IRISH-AMERICANS AS THEIR SOURCES, THAT ADAMS PLANS TO
APPLY FOR A VISA, POSSIBLY IN DUBLIN, IN THE VERY NEAR

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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FUTURE, POSSIBLY ON DECEMBER 29.

5. ALL OF THIS SUGGESTS THAT EVENTS ARE MOVING FASTER THAN EVEN I ANTICIPATED IN REF. A, MY REPORTING ON MY CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS YESTERDAY. AS A RESULT, I AM INCREASINGLY CONVINCED THAT NOW, DURING THIS CHRISTMAS TIME OF PEACE, WE SHOULD REMOVE OUR BLINDERS, STEP AWAY FROM THE ACCEPTED WISDOM OF HOW TO DEAL WITH GERRY ADAMS AND TAKE A MORE CREATIVE, PRO-ACTIVE APPROACH. HE IS ALREADY TALKING "SECRETLY" WITH THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS. IN ADDITION PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS AND NOW JOHN HUME HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO ME THAT THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT ADAMS IS MAKING A GENUINE GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO BRING ALL SIDES OF THE IRA TOGETHER TO FORM A CONSENSUS FOR PEACE. (THE DELAY IN ACCEPTING THE JOINT DECLARATION IS NOT TACTICAL ON ADAMS PART BUT RATHER DEMONSTRATES THE DIFFICULTY OF BRINGING ALL THE DISPARATE ASPECTS OF THE EQUATION TOGETHER.) THEY ALSO AGREE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS CAN BE ENHANCED BY ADAMS BEING EXPOSED TO PRESSURE FROM THE U.S. AND IRISH-AMERICANS TO ESCHEW VIOLENCE AND WORK FOR REAL PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

6. AS I HAVE ARGUED BEFORE, I BELIEVE IT IS SIMPLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO CONTINUE TO KEEP ADAMS OUT OF THE U.S. INSTEAD, WE SHOULD ISSUE A STATEMENT MAKING IT CLEAR THAT A WAIVER WILL BE GRANTED BECAUSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S BELIEF THAT THIS WILL FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS. THIS WOULD PLACE THE ONUS SQUARELY ON ADAMS TO DELIVER PEACE.

7. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE AND WE SHOULD SEIZE THIS RARE OPPORTUNITY TO CREATIVELY MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FURTHER BY PLACING THE OBLIGATION ON GERRY ADAMS AND THE IRA TO BRING PEACE AT THIS TIMELY, SEASONAL MOMENT. PLEASE SEND YOUR RESPONSE NIACT IMMEDIATE AS THE EMBASSY'S COMMUNICATION'S UNIT WILL BE CLOSED UNTIL DECEMBER 29.

SMITH

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: SODERBERG

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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4265
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1694
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 000025

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFIT FROM
AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: SENATOR KENNEDY'S AND MY DECEMBER 30 MEETING
WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS

REF: (A) LONDON 22924
(B) BELFAST 00268
(C) DUBLIN 07365

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SENATOR KENNEDY AND I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS
ON DECEMBER 30. HE SAID THAT:
-- HE WAS NOT/NOT DISCOURAGED BY SINN FEIN/IRA COMMENTARY
FOLLOWING THE DECEMBER 15 JOINT DECLARATION. IT WOULD
PROBABLY TAKE UNTIL THE END OF JANUARY FOR THEM TO CONTACT
ALL THEIR "CELLS" AND TO BUILD THE NECESSARY CONSENSUS.
-- ADAMS HIMSELF IS THE PRODUCT OF AN IRA SPLIT AND WILL
THEREFORE BE CAREFUL TO AVOID CAUSING ANOTHER.
-- HE (REYNOLDS) WOULD BE WORRIED IF SINN FEIN/IRA RHETORIC
WERE THE SAME AT THE END OF JANUARY.
-- SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS IS WORKING FOR PEACE AND
SHOULD GET A U.S. VISA. REYNOLDS ADDED THAT JOHN HUME
AGREED WITH HIM: ADAMS SHOULD NOW GET A VISA. REYNOLDS
FEELS THAT IT SHOULD NOT CAUSE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER MAJOR
ANY DIFFICULTY.
-- ADAMS CAN EXPLAIN THE SITUATION TO IRISH-AMERICAN
GROUPS AND GET THEIR UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FOR PEACE. SUCH AN
ENDORSEMENT WOULD BE IMPORTANT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
-- ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY LEADER JIM MOLYNEAUX HAD SENT HIM
A LETTER (WHICH HE SHOWED US) IN SUPPORT OF THE JOINT
DECLARATION. IN THE LETTER, MOLYNEAUX SAID THAT HE HAD
SOME DIFFICULTIES WITH THE DECLARATION BUT THAT, IF THE TWO
GOVERNMENTS HELD FIRM, THEY COULD WIN.
-- MAJOR HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY THE MASSIVE SUPPORT THE
JOINT DECLARATION HAD RECEIVED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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WAS DELIGHTED BY HIS UPSWING IN THE POLLS AS A RESULT.

-- PRESIDENT CLINTON'S STATEMENT HAD BEEN ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL; ITS TIMING WAS PERFECT.

-- DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY LEADER IAN PAISLEY HAS BEEN MARGINALIZED FOR THE TIME BEING.

-- DESPITE THAT 40 PERCENT OF MI5 IS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE BRITISH DO NOT/NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE. MAJOR NEEDS TO BE TOLD HOW THE IRA WORKS. HE HAD NEVER BEEN TO THE NORTH UNTIL THIS LAST TRIP.

-- (IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S QUESTION), HE (REYNOLDS) WAS UNAWARE OF ANY INTELLIGENCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND PROVIDED BY THE USG. THEREFORE, THE IRISH HAD TO USE THEIR OWN.

-- HE (REYNOLDS) HAD TOLD MAJOR THAT NORTHERN POLICEMEN WHO VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

(REYNOLDS WAS QUITE EMPHATIC ABOUT THIS.) "YOU CAN'T TALK ABOUT PEACE AND THEN HAVE POLICEMEN KILLING CIVILIANS."

-- THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) HAS BEEN SUPPORTIVE BUT DOES NOT WANT TO INTERFERE.

-- ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION HAVE NEVER BEEN A PROBLEM SINCE THEIR INTRODUCTION IN 1937 AND THEY ARE NOT/NOT ONE NOW. SMITH

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: SODERBERG

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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (1.74)
KBH 7/11/2023

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4218

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 007366

NODIS

PLS PASS URGENTLY TO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR NANCY SODERBERG
FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS RECOMMENDS ISSUANCE OF
A VISA TO SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS ON DECEMBER
22 TO DISCUSS NORTHERN IRELAND IN LIGHT OF THE DECEMBER 15
JOINT DECLARATION. HE SAID THAT:

-- IT WOULD BE FINE WITH HIM IF SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY
ADAMS RECEIVED A VISA, BUT THAT WAS UP TO THE U.S.

-- A VISA SHOULD BE GIVEN ON THE BASIS OF BEING HELPFUL TO
THE PEACE PROCESS.

-- ADAMS COULD BRING THE IRISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY WITH HIM.
IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THE PEACE PROCESS TO HAVE ALL
AMERICANS BEHIND THE JOINT DECLARATION.

-- ADAMS IS TRYING HARD AND IS BEING VERY SUPPORTIVE OF THE
PEACE PROCESS.

-- BOTH MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND HE ARE QUITE CONSCIOUS OF THE
DANGER OF A SPLIT IN SINN FEIN/IRA AND SO ARE BEING CAREFUL
TO TOUCH ALL BASES IN THE SEARCH FOR CONSENSUS.

-- THE SINN FEIN/IRA CONSULTATION PROCESS WILL PROBABLY
LAST UNTIL THE END OF JANUARY OR THE BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY.

-- ADAMS WILL ENGAGE IN SOME POSTURING FOR POLITICAL
REASONS, BUT THIS IS NOTHING TO BE ALARMED ABOUT.

-- JOHN MAJOR AND THE UNIONISTS WILL NOT/NOT BE A PROBLEM
IN REGARD TO A VISA FOR ADAMS. ALL WANT PEACE. HE
(REYNOLDS) WOULD DO THE SAME FOR MAJOR IF CIRCUMSTANCES
WERE REVERSED.

-- IRA PRISONERS WANT PEACE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE HEAD
OF THEIR PRISONERS' GROUP AT THE MAZE PRISON.

-- RATHER THAN "AMNESTY," THE PHRASE "TERM REDUCTIONS" WILL
BE USED IN REGARD TO EARLY RELEASE OF PRISONERS FOLLOWING
PEACE.

-- ONE REASON FOR THE CONTINUATION OF SINN FEIN/IRA

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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CONSULTATIONS AT LEAST UNTIL THE END OF JANUARY IS THEIR DESIRE TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS IN REGARD TO SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT, WHICH MUST BE RENEWED OR LAPSE ON JANUARY 19.

-- HE (REYNOLDS) HAS ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST SECTION 31; THE GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY NOT/NOT RENEW IT.

-- IT WOULD BE NICE IF PRESIDENT CLINTON COULD VISIT IRELAND NEXT JUNE, OR EVEN IN JANUARY, IF, BY CHANCE, PEACE HAS ALREADY BEEN ESTABLISHED. HE (REYNOLDS) UNDERSTANDS THAT IT MIGHT BE EASIER FOR THE PRESIDENT TO COME IN 1995.

-- IT WOULD BE BETTER, ON THE OTHER HAND, IF SPEAKER FOLEY AND OTHER INTERESTED AMERICANS POSTPONED POSSIBLE VISITS UNTIL AFTER PEACE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

-- IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE IRA WILL NOT AGREE TO A DEMAND THAT THEY SURRENDER ALL THEIR WEAPONS -- THEY HAVE NEVER DONE SO IN IRISH HISTORY.

-- OBVIOUSLY, THEY WILL HAVE TO GIVE UP SEMTEX AND HEAVY WEAPONS.

COMMENT

3. CLEARLY, THE PERCEPTION HERE IS THAT A VISA FOR ADAMS WOULD HELP THE PEACE PROCESS BY DEMONSTRATING THAT HIS MORE RESPONSIBLE AND FORTHCOMING POSITION HAS REAPED BENEFITS. A VISA WOULD ALSO REMOVE THIS QUESTION FROM THE IRISH-AMERICAN AGENDA, WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD, HOPEFULLY, LEAD TO A UNANIMOUS, PUBLIC CHORUS OF IRISH-AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS, SOMETHING THAT THE NATIONALISTS, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, FEEL IS IMPORTANT. THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN TALKING WITH THE IRA, AND THE IRISH HAVE DONE SO INDIRECTLY. THEY WILL, ACCORDING TO REYNOLDS, LIFT THE BROADCASTING BAN ON SINN FEIN NEXT MONTH. THUS, IT NOW APPEARS TO BE THE RIGHT TIME TO PREPARE THE GROUNDWORK TO ALLOW US PROMPTLY TO GIVE ADAMS A VISA WHEN HE REAPPLIES. THIS GESTURE WOULD DEFINITELY HELP THE PROCESS OF FINDING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SHOULD ADAMS, AS IS POSSIBLE, REQUEST A VISA IN DUBLIN, WE WOULD RECOMMEND A WAIVER OF HIS INELIGIBILITY AND AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE HIM ONE IMMEDIATELY. (FYI: WE HAD HOPED TO DISCUSS THIS RECOMMENDATION WITH JOHN HUME BUT WERE UNABLE TO REACH HIM. HE TOLD ME TWO WEEKS AGO THAT GIVING ADAMS A VISA WOULD

HAVE, AT THAT MOMENT, "MADE HIM TOO IMPORTANT.")

4. IT WOULD SEEM THAT DENYING ADAMS A VISA AT THIS TIME WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. THE PRESIDENT IS PERCEIVED TO BE DOING EVERYTHING TO GET THE PEACE PROCESS MOVING. IF HE MOVES QUICKLY ON THE VISA ISSUE, IT WOULD BE A POSITIVE STEP SINCE IT WOULD HELP SUSTAIN THIS MOMENTUM. SMITH
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 05

PRT: SODERBERG

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2011-0355-F (1.75)
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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4215

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1681

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 007365

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT FROM
AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: DFA ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: (A) LONDON 22525

(B) DUBLIN 07306

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. SEAN O'HUIGINN, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, SAYS THAT THE BEST THING AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY IRISH-AMERICANS, CAN DO NOW IS PUBLICLY TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR THE JOINT DECLARATION AND THE PEACE PROCESS. THE IRISH WOULD WELCOME A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AT ANY TIME; HOWEVER, THEY APPEAR NOT/NOT TO WANT VISITS BY OTHER OUTSIDERS AT THIS TIME. NEITHER GOVERNMENT WANTS A SPECIAL ENVOY NOW, AND IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER SINN FEIN/IRA HAS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE TO GIVE GERRY ADAMS A VISA. SINN FEIN'S CONSULTATION PROCESS WILL LIKELY BE LENGTHY; MEANWHILE, THE IRISH WILL TALK WITH THE BRITISH ABOUT THE TALKS PROCESS IN JANUARY. DEALING WITH THE ISSUES OF AN AMNESTY AND DISARMING THE IRA ARE "DOWN THE ROAD" AT THE MOMENT. END SUMMARY.

MEETING WITH SEAN O'HUIGINN

3. I MET WITH SEAN O'HUIGINN, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, ON DECEMBER 21 TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN THE WAKE OF THE PROMULGATION OF THE DECEMBER 15 JOINT DECLARATION. HE WAS GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC.

THE U.S. ROLE

4. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ABOUT WHAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE DOING, O'HUIGINN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT AND SAID THAT EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR THE JOINT DECLARATION FROM PROMINENT AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY IRISH-AMERICANS, WOULD BE JUST RIGHT AT THIS

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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POINT. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE WORLD BE SEEN TO REGARD THE JOINT DECLARATION AS "HONORABLE." THE MESSAGE SHOULD CONSISTENTLY BE THAT THE DECLARATION IS USEFUL IN FACILITATING A SWITCH TO THE POLITICAL MODE. IT IS IMPERATIVE TO AVOID DISTRACTIONS AND THE CREATION OF THE IMPRESSION THAT ALTERNATIVES, E.G., MEDIATION BY OUTSIDERS, EXIST.

5. POSITIVE AMERICAN INTEREST, O'HUIGINN STRESSED, IS MOST HELPFUL. IN FACT, HE SAID, PRESIDENT CLINTON IS THE REASON THAT PRIME MINISTER MAJOR WENT AS FAR AS HE DID.

VISITS?

6. ALTHOUGH O'HUIGINN SAID THAT A VISIT BY THE PRESIDENT OR SPEAKER FOLEY WOULD BE WELCOME AT ANY TIME, HE IMPLIED THAT, EXCEPT FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE IRISH WOULD PREFER THAT OTHERS LEAVE THE PEACE PROCESS TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS FOR THE TIME BEING. O'HUIGINN STRESSED THAT THE IRISH WANT A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. O'HUIGINN ADDED THAT PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS HAD WRITTEN THE PRESIDENT TO INVITE HIM TO VISIT IRELAND.

A SPECIAL ENVOY?

7. O'HUIGINN CONTINUED THAT NEITHER GOVERNMENT SAW ANY NEED FOR A SPECIAL ENVOY AT THIS TIME. DOWN THE ROAD A WAYS, DEPENDING ON HOW THINGS WENT, AN ENVOY MIGHT BECOME A GOOD IDEA, BUT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WANTED TO RUN WITH THEIR BILATERAL INITIATIVE AND SEE THE RESULTS BEFORE CONSIDERING ANYTHING ELSE.

A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS?

8. O'HUIGINN WAS INITIALLY EVASIVE WHEN I ASKED HIM ABOUT A VISA FOR SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS, SAYING THAT IT WAS A MATTER FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE. WHEN I PRESSED HIM, HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE GOOD TO "MAXIMIZE REWARDS," IMPLYING THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER SINN FEIN/IRA HAD RENOUNCED VIOLENCE TO GIVE ADAMS A VISA. "PEACE WOULD CHANGE EVERYTHING."

SINN FEIN/THE IRA

9. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT THE SINN FEIN/IRA WAS CLAIMING THAT THE JOINT DECLARATION HAD LEFT THE "UNIONIST VETO" INTACT. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, ON THE OTHER HAND, MAINTAINS THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PROCEDURES AND THE REALITY OF THE UNIONIST POSITION: ONE MILLION OF THEM LIVE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND CANNOT BE IGNORED. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO FORCE A SETTLEMENT ON THEM. TO REJECT THE CONCEPT OF UNITY BY CONSENT WOULD BE TO REJECT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY. A WAY MUST BE FOUND TO BRING ALONG THE INHABITANTS OF THE CATHOLIC GHETTOS IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 007365
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT FROM

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: DFA ON NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST AND DERRY, WHERE FEELINGS RUN HIGH AND AN ISOLATIONIST MENTALITY EXISTS. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS TOLD SINN FEIN/IRA THAT MORE FIGHTING WILL SIMPLY DELAY A UNITED IRELAND.

THE JOINT DECLARATION

10. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, O'HUIGINN CONTINUED, BELIEVES THAT THE DECEMBER 15 JOINT DECLARATION IS A REASONABLE EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH. THE IRISH WOULD HAVE BROUGHT THE BRITISH EVEN FURTHER IF IT HAD BEEN POSSIBLE TO DO SO. THE DOCUMENT FULLY RECOGNIZES IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION, WITH THE ONE CONDITION OF CONSENSUS. IT IS NECESSARY AT ALL COSTS TO AVOID "DUPLICATION," I.E., CREATING THE SAME SITUATION IN A UNITED IRELAND AS EXISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND: AN ALIENATED MINORITY. THE JOINT DECLARATION IS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE NEGOTIATION OF A SOLUTION.

NEXT STEPS

11. O'HUIGINN BELIEVES THAT THE SINN FEIN/IRA CONSULTATION PROCESS WILL BE LENGTHY, EXTENDING OVER WEEKS AND MAYBE EVEN OVER MONTHS. ON THE ONE HAND, ADEQUATE CONSULTATION IS IMPORTANT SINCE IT LESSENS CHANCES OF A SPLIT IN THE IRA. IN THAT REGARD, IT WOULD BE IN NOBODY'S INTEREST IF YOUNG HOTHEADS REPLACED GERRY ADAMS AND THE REST OF ITS PRESENT LEADERSHIP. ON THE OTHER HAND, LONG CONSULTATIONS ARE FRAUGHT WITH PERIL. ONE OR TWO INCIDENTS COULD PROVOKE PROTESTANT PARA-MILITARY RETALIATION OR UNIONIST REJECTION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION.

12. IF SINN FEIN/IRA IN EFFECT REJECTS THE JOINT DECLARATION, O'HUIGINN CONTINUED, THEY WILL HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THEY ARE INCAPABLE OF RELATING TO THE WIDER IRISH COMMUNITY AND WILL BE ISOLATING THEMSELVES. THEY WILL SHOW THAT THEY ARE NOT SERIOUS AND THAT THEY WANT TO CONTINUE THE VIOLENCE. SO FAR, THEY HAVE AVOIDED PURELY SECTARIAN WARFARE, AND SO, HOPEFULLY, WILL OPT FOR PEACE.

THE TALKS

13. BOTH GOVERNMENTS, O'HUIGINN NOTED, WANT TO MAKE A RENEWAL OF THE TALKS ON NORTHERN IRELAND CENTER-STAGE. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT HOSTILE TO THE BILATERALS BEING CONDUCTED BY BRITISH JUNIOR MINISTER MICHAEL ANCRAM BUT CONSIDERS THEM A FAILURE. CONCENTRATING ON TRIVIA, THEY AMOUNT TO NOTHING MORE THAN A "TEA PARTY." ANCRAM IS RAPIDLY LOSING CREDIBILITY. WHAT IS NEEDED IS A TABLE AT

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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WHICH ALL CAN SIT WITHOUT LOSS OF DIGNITY AND AT WHICH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CAN "BREAK SOME HEADS," IF NEED BE, TO SECURE A SETTLEMENT. THE IRISH WILL TALK WITH THE BRITISH IN JANUARY ABOUT RESTARTING THE TALKS PROCESS.

14. O'HUIGINN OBSERVED THAT THE IRISH ARE WILLING TO USE THE 3-STRAND FORMAT BUT BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY TO "GO DEEPER" THAN BEFORE. FOR INSTANCE, "PLAUSIBLE" NORTH/SOUTH INSTITUTIONS HAVE TO BE CREATED UNDER STRAND 2 IF A SETTLEMENT IS TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE NATIONALISTS. THEY WOULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY INTERNAL STRUCTURES ALONG THE LINES OF WHAT THE UNIONISTS WANT. BUT, IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE PEACE IF THE TALKS ARE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS. THE IRISH DO NOT/NOT VIEW THE PEACE AND TALKS PROCESSES AS RIVALS; THEY ARE SIMPLY REALISTIC.

15. IF SINN FEIN/IRA REJECTS THE PEACE PROCESS, O'HUIGINN COMMENTED, THERE IS NOT MUCH MORE THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CAN DO. THEY WOULD PROBABLY DECIDE TO TALK WITH WHOEVER IS WILLING TO LISTEN.

THE FORUM

16. THE FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION, O'HUIGINN REITERATED, WAS INCLUDED IN THE JOINT DECLARATION AS AN INCENTIVE TO SINN FEIN/IRA TO CONTINUE THE PEACE PROCESS. THE FORUM IS INTENDED TO PROVIDE SINN FEIN WITH AN IMMEDIATE POLITICAL PLATFORM BOTH TO OCCUPY IT AND TO EDUCATE IT. IT WILL GIVE SINN FEIN A CHANCE TO "LEARN HOW THE IRISH THINK."

JOHN HUME

17. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY LEADER JOHN HUME STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE JOINT DECLARATION. HE IS WORRIED ABOUT BEING ECLIPSED POLITICALLY IF THINGS GO WRONG, BUT HE WILL AT LEAST BE ABLE TO SAY THAT HE TRIED.

HE BELIEVES THAT THE DECLARATION BASICALLY REFLECTS SINN FEIN'S AGENDA. HUME HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH ADAMS AND

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 007365
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR A/S OXMAN AND EUR/NE DIRECTOR TEFFT FROM
AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: DFA ON NORTHERN IRELAND
WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS.

AN AMNESTY?

18. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT AN AMNESTY IS "DOWN THE ROAD," BUT SOMETHING WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE TO BE DONE. THE WORD ITSELF, HE CAUTIONED, IS SOMEWHAT MISLEADING, SINCE WHAT EVENTUALLY HAPPENS IN THIS REGARD MAY HAVE A DIFFERENT

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LABEL. THE BRITISH ARE LIKELY TO INSIST THAT ANY AMNESTY BE IMPLEMENTED IN PIECEMEAL FASHION UNDER COVER OF A WELTER OF REGULATIONS. THE REASON FOR THIS INSISTENCE IS THE POLITICAL DANGER FACING PRIME MINISTER MAJOR, WHO MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO ALIENATE TORY BACK-BENCHERS, "TIGERS IN LONG GRASS," STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF "LAW AND ORDER." (MAJOR MAY ALSO BE IN TROUBLE IN JUNE IF THE TORIES DO BADLY IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS.) IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT THE BRITISH HAVE COMPLAINED ABOUT STATEMENTS ABOUT AN EVENTUAL AMNESTY BY VARIOUS IRISH POLITICIANS OVER THE WEEKEND. THE PRESENCE OF GENUINE PSYCHOPATHS AMONG PRISONERS CANDIDATES FOR AN AMNESTY IS ANOTHER PROBLEM. WHATEVER IS DONE, THE CREDIBILITY OF SENTENCING MUST BE MAINTAINED, OR IRA RECRUITMENT WILL SOAR.

DISARMING THE IRA

19. THIS IS ANOTHER STEP, O'HUIGINN SAID, WHICH IS "DOWN THE ROAD." IT IS NECESSARY, HOWEVER, IF PEACE IS TO ENDURE. THE TIMING AND MANNER DEPEND ON "THE DYNAMICS OF PEACE." AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IS THE ATTITUDE OF "GHETTO CATHOLICS" IN THE NORTH, WHO HAVE COME TO DEPEND ON THE IRA FOR PROTECTION AGAINST FROM PROTESTANT INCURSIONS. IT MAY EVEN BE POSSIBLE DISCREETLY TO FUSE THE TWO ISSUES OF AN AMNESTY AND GUNS IN SOME FORM OF STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS.

MAYHEW

20. O'HUIGINN SAID THAT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND SIR PATRICK MAYHEW HAD BEEN SO DAMAGED BY HIS HANDLING OF THE ISSUE OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT CONTACT WITH THE IRA THAT HE HAD LITTLE CREDIBILITY. "IRAQ-GATE" MIGHT ALSO BECOME A FACTOR IN HIS FATE. MAYHEW HAD SEEMED OUT OF SORTS LATELY. IT MIGHT JUST BE THAT HE WAS JEALOUS OF MAJOR'S HIGHER PROFILE ROLE ON NORTHERN IRELAND; BUT, OTHER FACTORS MIGHT BE RESPONSIBLE. ALTHOUGH MAYHEW IS QUICKER ON HIS FEET, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE PETER BROOKE WAS MORE THOUGHTFUL. MAYHEW HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN "INTEGRATING" THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE ISSUE OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND THEREFORE DOES NOT/HAVE A "COHERENT" VIEW OF IT. SMITH

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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry Visa Cable Traffic [1]

2011-0355-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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EXDIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC - NANCY SODERBERG; CA FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY RYAN; EUR FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY OXMAN FROM AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH

LONDON PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: VISA WAIVER FOR GERRY ADAMS

REF: (A) STATE 09969, (B) DUBLIN 0025, (C) 93 DUBLIN

7396, (D) 93 DUBLIN 7366, (E) 93 DUBLIN 7365

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT. ACTION REQUEST FOLLOWS.

2. APPRECIATE RECEIVING GUIDANCE CONTAINED REF A.

HOWEVER, AS THERE WILL BE VERY HEAVY PRESS COVERAGE IF ADAMS DECIDES TO APPLY HERE, I WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE RECEIVING PRESS GUIDANCE ASAP.

3. MY VIEWS ON WHETHER GERRY ADAMS SHOULD BE GRANTED A VISA TO VISIT THE U.S. HAVE ALREADY BEEN PRESENTED IN THE REFERENCED TELEGRAMS CITED ABOVE. THUS I DO NOT NEED TO REITERATE MY ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE WAIVER AND ISSUANCE OF A VISA TO GERRY ADAMS.

4. THERE IS, HOWEVER, DISSENT WITHIN MY COUNTRY TEAM OVER THIS ISSUE. THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARGUE THAT ADAMS SHOULD NOT BE GRANTED A VISA UNTIL HE HAS RENOUNCED THE USE OF VIOLENCE. THOSE WHO ARGUE THIS LINE DO NOT AGREE WITH WHAT I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO GET ACROSS TO WASHINGTON THESE PAST WEEKS. THAT IS VERY SIMPLY THAT THE TWO PEOPLE PERHAPS MOST CLOSELY ENGAGED IN DEVELOPING THE PEACE PROCESS, ALBERT REYNOLDS AND JOHN HUME, ARE CONVINCED THAT GERRY ADAMS IS SINCERELY COMMITTED TO PEACE. THE DELAY IN RESPONDING TO THE JOINT DECLARATION, AND THE MOST RECENT CALL BY HIM AND OTHERS IN SINN FEIN AND THE IRA FOR CLARIFICATION, ARE PART OF A DELICATE BALANCING ACT ADAMS IS ENGAGED IN WHILE TRYING TO CONVINCE THOSE WHO HAVE LOST FAMILY OVER THE PAST 25 YEARS THAT THE JOINT DECLARATION OFFERS ENOUGH FOR THEM TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT VICTORY IS AT HAND -- LAY DOWN

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YOUR ARMS. BECAUSE REYNOLDS AND HUME ARE CONVINCED OF THE SINCERITY OF ADAMS' COMMITMENT TO PEACE, THEY BELIEVE HE SHOULD BE GIVEN WHATEVER BACKING POSSIBLE TO STRENGTHEN HIS POSITION WITH THE HARDLINERS WITHIN THE IRA. IF ADAMS WAS TO BE FORCED TO COME OUT FOR AN END TO VIOLENCE WITHOUT THE FULL BACKING OF THE VARIOUS SPLINTER GROUPS WITHIN PIRA, HIS LIFE WOULD BE IN DANGER AND IN ALL LIKELIHOOD A SPLIT WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE IRA WHICH WOULD BE A SEVERE SETBACK TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

5. I BELIEVE THAT GRANTING A VISA TO GERRY ADAMS TO ALLOW HIM TO FACE HIS CRITICS IN THE U.S., AND AS PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS SAID TO ME, TO "PREACH THE GOSPEL OF PEACE," WOULD BE A VALUABLE SIGN OF SUPPORT FOR HIM AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT WHEN HE IS RISKING HIS LIFE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEACE PROCESS. I AM CONVINCED THAT BY STRENGTHENING ADAMS' POSITION, WE WILL FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS. I AM ALSO CONFIDENT FROM MY MANY CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS AND JOHN HUME THAT THEY FULLY AGREE WITH THIS POSITION EVEN THOUGH THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION HERE MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO STATE THIS PUBLICLY AND I TRUST THAT IN THE FUTURE THE REPORTS OF THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH ME WILL BE THOROUGHLY PROTECTED. SMITH

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TO AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 011255

E.O. 12356 DECL OADR

TAGS: CVIS. PTER, PREL EI, UK. US

SUBJECT: CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE

REF: STATE 09969

1. (C) FURTHER TO REFTTEL, WE ANTICIPATE THERE MAY BE PRESS INTEREST IN THE EVENT SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS APPLIES FOR A VISA. WHETHER IN DUBIN OR IN BELFAST. POSTS ARE REQUESTED TO DRAW ON FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IN FIELDING POSSIBLE PRESS INQUIRIES

2. (U) BEGIN CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE

Q. HAVE YOU RECEIVED A VISA APPLICATION FROM SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES?

A. YES. AND IN KEEPING WITH NORMAL OPERATING PROCEDURES. WE HAVE FORWARDED IT TO WASHINGTON FOR ITS ADVISORY OPINION.

Q. WHAT ARE THE GROUNDS FOR ADAMS' INELIGIBILITY?

-- GERRY ADAMS IS INELIGIBLE FOR A U.S. VISA UNDER U.S. IMMIGRATION LAW PROVISIONS REGARDING TERRORIST ACTIVITY. UNDER U.S. LAW A WAIVER OF HIS INELIGIBILITY WILL BE NEEDED FOR HIM TO RECEIVE A VISA.

(IF ASKED)

-- AS THE PRESIDENT STATED IN HIS DECEMBER 22 INTERVIEW IN THE IRISH TIMES, WE WILL KEEP THE ISSUE UNDER REVIEW AS

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

By me NARA, Date 12/23/15
201-0355-F

THE SITUATION WARRANTS, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF EVENTS
FLOWING FROM THE DECEMBER 15 JOINT DECLARATION BY PRIME
MINISTER MAJOR AND PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS. TARNOFF

CONFIDENTIAL