

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Adams, Gerry Visa, Cable Traffic, 1994 [2]

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: Visa Waiver for Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/12/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
002. cable	re: Anticipating a Gerry Adams Visa Application (1 page)	01/12/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
003. cable	re: Fergus Finlay on Northern Ireland (3 pages)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
004. cable	[Duplicate of 003] (3 pages)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005. cable	re: Martin Mansergh on Northern Ireland (2 pages)	01/20/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
006. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Joint Declaration (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
007. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Newspaper Claims NSC Contacts with Sinn Fein (5 pages)	08/09/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
008. cable	re: Foreign Minister Spring and Sinn Fein Official McGuinness Comment on Peace (2 pages)	04/05/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
009. cable	[Duplicate of 006] (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
010. cable	re: Gerry Adams Fallout (4 pages)	02/02/1994	P1/b(1)
011. cable	re: Northern Ireland: British Paper Claims White House Official Coached Adams on Visa [partial] (1 page)	02/07/1994	P3/b(3)
012. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (3 pages)	01/29/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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: Northern Ireland: IMG Seeks to Regain Initiative After Adams Visit (3 pages)	02/03/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 6/14/2023
014. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams Visa (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
015. cable	[Duplicate of 003] (3 pages)	01/13/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 6/14/2023
016. cable	re: DFA on Northern Ireland (5 pages)	12/22/1993	P1/b(1) K8H 6/14/2023
017. cable	[Duplicate of 006] (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)
018. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/30/1994	P1/b(1)
019. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Initial Reactions to Adams Visa (8 pages)	01/31/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 6/14/2023
020. cable	[Duplicate of 010] (4 pages)	02/02/1994	P1/b(1)
021. cable	re: Request for Security Advisory Opinion... (1 page)	01/14/1994	P3/b(3)
022. cable	[Duplicate of 018] (2 pages)	01/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG TRIP BERGER
SIT: BLEICKEN FILE HOLL SUM2 VAX WALKER

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(1.78)
K84 4/11/2023

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

<DTG> 121010Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4331
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1713
~~SECRET~~ DUBLIN 000190
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

NS-
status?

(2) Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

I'm working
up an options
paper for

consideration
next week
when
everyone
returns.
peter wanted
to wait
until
next
week.

We can
probably work
it so Adams
doesn't come in
on Friday but
waits until next
week

~~SECRET~~

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

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

BT

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~~SECRET~~

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SSN: 9969 MSGID: M0821232

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ZNY CCCCC ZZH

O 120517Z JAN 94

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

FM: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 7939
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 6955
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 6931

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (1.79)

K8H 7/11/2023

INFO:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 009969
LONDON PLEASE PASS TO BELFAST SOONEST
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: ANTICIPATING A GERRY ADAMS VISA APPLICATION

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS WILL APPLY FOR A U.S. VISA IN THE COMING DAYS, EITHER IN DUBLIN OR IN BELFAST. POST SHOULD REFER APPLICATION IMMEDIATELY TO WASHINGTON FOR DECISION IN VISAS DONKEY FORMAT. IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE REVIEWING THE ISSUE IN LIGHT OF CURRENT EVENTS.

3. IN THE EVENT ADAMS APPLIES IN PERSON HIS APPLICATION IS TO BE TAKEN BY A CONSULATE OFFICIAL NO HIGHER THAN A VICE CONSUL. POSTS SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITH ADAMS, EITHER ABOUT HIS VISA APPLICATION OR THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. TARNOFF

BT

#9969

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DIST:

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (1.80)

KBH 4/11/2023

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 131212Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4339

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1716

RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 000218

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: FERGUS FINLAY ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: (A) DUBLIN 00157

(B) LONDON 00570

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

2. SUMMARY. FERGUS FINLAY, PERSONAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING, SAYS THAT SINN FEIN/IRA IS PLAYING FOR TIME IN AN ATTEMPT TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE. FINLAY PERSONALLY FAVORS MAKING THE END OF JANUARY THE DEADLINE FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. HE SUPPORTS THE DECISION NOT/NOT TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT IN THE BELIEF THAT GERRY ADAMS' APPEARANCE ON TV WILL "DE-MYTHOLOGIZE" HIM IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. HE OPPOSES A U.S. VISA FOR ADAMS IN THE BELIEF THAT WHAT WOULD AMOUNT TO A TRIUMPHAL TOUR OF AMERICA WOULD ONLY INCREASE SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN/IRA AMONG IRISH-AMERICANS. THE IRISH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS, AND THE TWO PARTIES OF THE GOVERNING COALITION, ARE STILL FIRMLY IN AGREEMENT ON THE PEACE PROCESS. END SUMMARY. MEETING WITH FERGUS FINLAY

3. VISITING IRISH DESK OFFICER SCHAFER AND POLOFF MET WITH FERGUS FINLAY, PERSONAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING, ON JANUARY 12 TO DISCUSS THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. FINLAY COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS.

SINN FEIN/IRA

4. SINN FEIN/IRA ARE PLAYING FOR TIME. THEIR GOAL IS NOT/NOT A BRITISH PROMISE TO WITHDRAW FROM NORTHERN IRELAND OR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL IRELAND. RATHER, THEY ARE TRYING THROUGH TACTICAL MANEUVERS TO ENTER INTO DE FACTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ONE OR BOTH GOVERNMENTS BEFORE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE. IN THIS RESPECT, THEY MAY BE USING THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS A ROLE MODEL. EVENTUALLY, IT WILL BE THE 11-PERSON IRA GENERAL ARMY COUNCIL WHICH WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO ACCEPT THE JOINT DECLARATION AND TO RENOUNCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

VIOLENCE. GERRY ADAMS' PERSONAL SECURITY IS PROBABLY NOT A FACTOR INFLUENCING HIS BEHAVIOR AS HE LONG AGO CEASED TO WORRY ABOUT IT.

A DEADLINE?

5. FINLAY PERSONALLY BELIEVES THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD WAIT NO LONGER THAN THE END OF THE MONTH FOR AN ANSWER FROM SINN FEIN/IRA. IT MUST TAKE THE FORM OF A FORMAL STATEMENT RENOUNCING VIOLENCE IF IT IS TO BE ACCEPTABLE. WHATEVER SINN FEIN/IRA DO, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD THEN BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION WITH WHOEVER ELSE IS INTERESTED.

SECTION 31

6. FINLAY PERSONALLY SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT'S JANUARY 11 DECISION NOT/NOT TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT. HE HAD LONG FAVORED ITS RETENTION, BUT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE INCREASED "MYTHOLOGIZATION" OF GERRY ADAMS SINCE THE DECEMBER 15 PROMULGATION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION, HAVE CAUSED HIM TO CHANGE HIS MIND. FINLAY NOW BELIEVES THAT NOTHING WOULD BE AS EFFECTIVE IN ERODING ADAMS' SUPPORT, IN EFFECT, "DE-MYSTIFYING" HIM, BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH AS THE PUBLIC'S LISTENING TO HIM ON TV. (NOTE: IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL CIRCUMSCRIBE SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES' TV APPEARANCES BY BANNING LIVE ONES, THEREBY PREVENTING THEM FROM APPEARING ON THE NUMEROUS, POPULAR TALK SHOWS, AND BY CAREFULLY EDITING TAPES USED ON NEWS PROGRAMS.)

A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

7. PARADOXICALLY, FINLAY SAID, HE OPPOSES GIVING ADAMS A U.S. VISA EVEN THOUGH HE SUPPORTS HIS APPEARANCE ON IRISH TV. THE REASON IS THAT THE TWO CULTURES, IRISH AND AMERICAN, ARE DIFFERENT ENOUGH THAT AN ADAMS' VISIT TO THE U.S. COULD TURN INTO A TRIUMPHAL TOUR AND RESULT IN SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN/IRA AMONG IRISH-AMERICANS. FINLAY OBSERVED THAT YOUNG, PRAGMATIC, FIRST-GENERATION IRISH-AMERICANS HAVE ASSUMED THE LEADERSHIP OF IRISH-AMERICAN GROUPS IN THE U.S. IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY, HE BELIEVES, IF THEY WERE TO BE "CONVERTED" BY GERRY ADAMS,

SINCE ONE IMPORTANT REASON FOR SINN FEIN/IRA'S RECENT APPARENT INTEREST IN PEACE IS THE RADICAL DECREASE IN AMERICAN SUPPORT SINCE THE EARLY 1970S. UNITED WE STAND,...

8. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE FIRMLY UNITED IN SUPPORT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION, WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES IN THE RHETORIC OF THEIR RESPECTIVE OFFICIALS/SPOKESPERSONS. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE TWO WOULD AGREE ON ALL ASPECTS OF A FUTURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 000218

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: FERGUS FINLAY ON NORTHERN IRELAND

POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE TWO PARTIES OF THE GOVERNING COALITION ARE ALSO IN AGREEMENT ABOUT IRISH POLICY ON NORTHERN IRELAND. THAT IS NOT TO SAY, FINLAY MUSED, THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING IS PLEASED WITH THE PUBLICITY WHICH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS HAS BEEN RECEIVING. BUT, FINLAY AGREED, THAT IS PART OF THE BAGGAGE WHICH COMES WITH BEING NUMBER TWO.

COMMENT

9. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE HERE SUGGESTING A RIFT BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS OR BETWEEN THE TWO COALITION PARTIES OVER NORTHERN IRELAND. ON THE OTHER HAND, NO ONE WILL ADMIT TO THE EXISTENCE OF A "GOOD COP, BAD COP" ROUTINE BY DUBLIN AND LONDON IN THEIR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO SINN FEIN, IRA. FINLAY'S PERSONAL PREFERENCES IN REGARD TO THE TIMING OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PEACE PROCESS, OF COURSE, WILL NOT NECESSARILY BE THOSE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. MOST OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS WOULD PROBABLY BE WILLING TO GIVE SINN FEIN/IRA MORE TIME IN WHICH TO RESPOND TO THE JOINT DECLARATION THAN FINLAY WOULD. SMITH

BT

#0218

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<MSGID> M0823971

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

PTP6993

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PTP6993

PAGE 01 STATE 011255 130205Z

@INFO: S(00) D(00) SS(00) CMS(00) MR(00) SSO(00)
SSS(00)

===== 130155L LVH (TOTAL COPIES: 000)

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INR-00 ADS-00 NSAE-00 PA-01 P-01 SCT-03 SS-00
VO-06 /014R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/NE:MEPARMLY:MXP

APPROVED BY: EUR:MAPETERS

EUR/NE:JFTEFFT

EUR/FA:VTADIE

P:DRUSSELL

CA:DHOBBS

PA:DJOHNSON

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

EUR, EUR/NE. CA

-----198F7A 130205Z /38

O 130206Z JAN 94

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL BELFAST

~~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 NORMA 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,
IN September 11, 2006

By M NARA, Date 12/23/05

2016 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~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (1.81)

KBH 4/11/2023

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 131212Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4339

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1716

RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 000218

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: FERGUS FINLAY ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: (A) DUBLIN 00157

(B) LONDON 00570

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

2. SUMMARY. FERGUS FINLAY, PERSONAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING, SAYS THAT SINN FEIN/IRA IS PLAYING FOR TIME IN AN ATTEMPT TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE. FINLAY PERSONALLY FAVORS MAKING THE END OF JANUARY THE DEADLINE FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. HE SUPPORTS THE DECISION NOT/NOT TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT IN THE BELIEF THAT GERRY ADAMS' APPEARANCE ON TV WILL "DE-MYTHOLOGIZE" HIM IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. HE OPPOSES A U.S. VISA FOR ADAMS IN THE BELIEF THAT WHAT WOULD AMOUNT TO A TRIUMPHAL TOUR OF AMERICA WOULD ONLY INCREASE SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN/IRA AMONG IRISH-AMERICANS. THE IRISH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS, AND THE TWO PARTIES OF THE GOVERNING COALITION, ARE STILL FIRMLY IN AGREEMENT ON THE PEACE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

MEETING WITH FERGUS FINLAY

3. VISITING IRISH DESK OFFICER SCHAFER AND POLOFF MET WITH FERGUS FINLAY, PERSONAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING, ON JANUARY 12 TO DISCUSS THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. FINLAY COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS.

SINN FEIN/IRA

4. SINN FEIN/IRA ARE PLAYING FOR TIME. THEIR GOAL IS NOT/NOT A BRITISH PROMISE TO WITHDRAW FROM NORTHERN IRELAND OR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL IRELAND. RATHER, THEY ARE TRYING THROUGH TACTICAL MANEUVERS TO ENTER INTO DE FACTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ONE OR BOTH GOVERNMENTS BEFORE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE. IN THIS RESPECT, THEY MAY BE USING THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS A ROLE MODEL. EVENTUALLY, IT WILL BE THE 11-PERSON IRA GENERAL ARMY COUNCIL WHICH WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO ACCEPT THE JOINT DECLARATION AND TO RENOUNCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

VIOLENCE. GERRY ADAMS' PERSONAL SECURITY IS PROBABLY NOT A FACTOR INFLUENCING HIS BEHAVIOR AS HE LONG AGO CEASED TO WORRY ABOUT IT.

A DEADLINE?

5. FINLAY PERSONALLY BELIEVES THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD WAIT NO LONGER THAN THE END OF THE MONTH FOR AN ANSWER FROM SINN FEIN/IRA. IT MUST TAKE THE FORM OF A FORMAL STATEMENT RENOUNCING VIOLENCE IF IT IS TO BE ACCEPTABLE. WHATEVER SINN FEIN/IRA DO, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD THEN BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION WITH WHOEVER ELSE IS INTERESTED.

SECTION 31

6. FINLAY PERSONALLY SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT'S JANUARY 11 DECISION NOT/NOT TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT. HE HAD LONG FAVORED ITS RETENTION, BUT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE INCREASED "MYTHOLOGIZATION" OF GERRY ADAMS SINCE THE DECEMBER 15 PROMULGATION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION, HAVE CAUSED HIM TO CHANGE HIS MIND. FINLAY NOW BELIEVES THAT NOTHING WOULD BE AS EFFECTIVE IN ERODING ADAMS' SUPPORT, IN EFFECT, "DE-MYSTIFYING" HIM, BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH AS THE PUBLIC'S LISTENING TO HIM ON TV. (NOTE: IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL CIRCUMSCRIBE SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES' TV APPEARANCES BY BANNING LIVE ONES, THEREBY PREVENTING THEM FROM APPEARING ON THE NUMEROUS, POPULAR TALK SHOWS, AND BY CAREFULLY EDITING TAPES USED ON NEWS PROGRAMS.)

A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

7. PARADOXICALLY, FINLAY SAID, HE OPPOSES GIVING ADAMS A U.S. VISA EVEN THOUGH HE SUPPORTS HIS APPEARANCE ON IRISH TV. THE REASON IS THAT THE TWO CULTURES, IRISH AND AMERICAN, ARE DIFFERENT ENOUGH THAT AN ADAMS' VISIT TO THE U.S. COULD TURN INTO A TRIUMPHAL TOUR AND RESULT IN SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN/IRA AMONG IRISH-AMERICANS. FINLAY OBSERVED THAT YOUNG, PRAGMATIC, FIRST-GENERATION IRISH-AMERICANS HAVE ASSUMED THE LEADERSHIP OF IRISH-AMERICAN GROUPS IN THE U.S. IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY, HE BELIEVES, IF THEY WERE TO BE "CONVERTED" BY GERRY AD

AMS, SINCE ONE IMPORTANT REASON FOR SINN FEIN/IRA'S RECENT APPARENT INTEREST IN PEACE IS THE RADICAL DECREASE IN AMERICAN SUPPORT SINCE THE EARLY 1970S.

UNITED WE STAND,...

8. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE FIRMLY UNITED IN SUPPORT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION, WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES IN THE RHETORIC OF THEIR RESPECTIVE OFFICIALS/SPOKESPERSONS. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE TWO WOULD AGREE ON ALL ASPECTS OF A FUTURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 000218

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: FERGUS FINLAY ON NORTHERN IRELAND

POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE TWO PARTIES OF THE GOVERNING COALITION ARE ALSO IN AGREEMENT ABOUT IRISH POLICY ON NORTHERN IRELAND. THAT IS NOT TO SAY, FINLAY MUSED, THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING IS PLEASED WITH THE PUBLICITY WHICH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS HAS BEEN RECEIVING. BUT, FINLAY AGREED, THAT IS PART OF THE BAGGAGE WHICH COMES WITH BEING NUMBER TWO.

COMMENT

9. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE HERE SUGGESTING A RIFT BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS OR BETWEEN THE TWO COALITION PARTIES OVER NORTHERN IRELAND. ON THE OTHER HAND, NO ONE WILL ADMIT TO THE EXISTENCE OF A "GOOD COP, BAD COP" ROUTINE BY DUBLIN AND LONDON IN THEIR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO SINN FEIN, IRA. FINLAY'S PERSONAL PREFERENCES IN REGARD TO THE TIMING OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PEACE PROCESS, OF COURSE, WILL NOT NECESSARILY BE THOSE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. MOST OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS WOULD PROBABLY BE WILLING TO GIVE SINN FEIN/IRA MORE TIME IN WHICH TO RESPOND TO THE JOINT DECLARATION THAN FINLAY WOULD. SMITH

BT

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<MSGID> M0823971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Return

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE HOLL VAX WALKER

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 201536Z JAN 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4393
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1738
RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 000396
LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(1.82)
KBM 4/11/2023

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, EI, UK, US
SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH ON NORTHERN IRELAND
REF: DUBLIN 00358

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

2. ON JANUARY 20, WE MET WITH MARTIN MANSERGH, PRIME MINISTER REYNOLD'S ADVISOR ON NORTHERN IRELAND AND A MEMBER OF THE SMALL GROUP OF IRISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO WORKED ON THE JOINT DECLARATION, TO DISCUSS THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. MANSERGH SAID THAT:

-- REYNOLDS WOULD ADDRESS LAW GRADUATES THAT EVENING ON THE SUBJECT OF "SELF-DETERMINATION" AS PART OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO CLARIFY PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED IN THE JOINT DECLARATION.

-- IRISH OFFICIALS ARE STUDYING THE TOPIC OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN PARTITIONED STATES, ABOUT WHICH THERE IS PRECIOUS LITTLE SCHOLARLY LITERATURE, TO SEE IF THEY CAN FIND SOMETHING APPLICABLE TO THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. TO DATE, THE WAY SOUTH KOREA IS DEFINING KOREAN SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE CONTEXT OF EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION SEEMS MOST APPLICABLE TO THE IRISH SITUATION.

-- THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS HOLDING FIRMLY TO THE AGREEMENT WITH THE BRITISH NOT/NOT TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SINN FEIN/IRA PENDING THEIR RENUNCIATION OF VIOLENCE. HOWEVER, THE IRISH BELIEVE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO "SELL" THE JOINT DECLARATION, WHICH BELIEF ACCOUNTS FOR ATTEMPTS TO CLARIFY IT, FOR THE REFUSAL TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT AND FOR THE SUPPORT FOR A U.S. VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS.

-- THE BRITISH, UNFORTUNATELY, HAVE BEEN PLAYING INTO SINN FEIN'S HANDS. THE BRITISH SHOULD ALSO START SELLING THE JOINT DECLARATION. THE JANUARY 21 DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS WILL, HOPEFULLY, MARK THE BEGINNING OF SUCH AN EFFORT.

-- MEMBERS OF SINN FEIN AND OTHERS HAVE INFORMED IRISH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

OFFICIALS THAT THE REASON FOR THE DELAY IN THE PARTY'S RESPONSE TO THE JOINT DECLARATION IS THEIR DESIRE FOR CLARIFICATION, RATHER THAN THE CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURE ITSELF.

-- BUT, ONLY SO MUCH CLARIFICATION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION IS POSSIBLE. IT WILL NOT TAKE MORE THAN ANOTHER MONTH OR SO, IF THAT LONG, UNTIL SINN FEIN REQUESTS FOR CLARIFICATION BECOME REPETITIVE, AND IT BEGINS RAPIDLY TO LOSE PUBLIC CREDIBILITY.

-- MEDIA COVERAGE OF SINN FEIN WILL INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON IT TO RESPOND TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

-- THE IRISH GOVERNMENT DECIDED NOT TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SINN FEIN "WOULD INITIALLY HAVE A BALL," BUT THE NOVELTY OF HEARING ITS MEMBERS WILL SOON WEAR OFF, AND THEY WILL FIND THAT THEY ARE UNABLE TO EXPLOIT THE MEDIA AS THEY PROBABLY EXPECTED TO.

-- THE AUDIENCE WHICH GERRY ADAMS WILL ADDRESS IN THE U.S. IF HE GETS A VISA WILL BE TOO SOPHISTICATED TO BE TAKEN IN BY ANYTHING HE SAYS. RATHER, ITS SOPHISTICATION WILL FORCE ADAMS TO SPEAK SERIOUSLY AND FRANKLY. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO EXPOSE ADAMS TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD, TO INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION, ESPECIALLY IN THE U.S.

-- THE JANUARY 28 MEETING OF THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE WILL START THE NEGOTIATING TRAIN'S ENGINE RUNNING. IT WILL REMAIN IN THE STATION, HOWEVER, UNTIL THE FOLLOWING CONFERENCE MEETING AT THE END OF FEBRUARY. IF SINN FEIN BY THEN HAS EITHER REJECTED THE JOINT DECLARATION OR REFUSED TO RESPOND, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL START NEW TALKS, I.E., NEGOTIATIONS, ON NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- IRISH UNITY IS NOT AT HAND, IF ONLY FOR PRACTICAL REASONS SUCH AS COST. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS MUST ALSO OBSERVE INTERNATIONAL LAW IN MAKING AND IMPLEMENTING POLICY ON NORTHERN IRELAND. THAT IS POLITICAL REALITY.

-- THE SINN FEIN LEADERS UNDERSTAND THIS AND ALSO GENUINELY WANT PEACE. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THEY CAN DELIVER THE RANK-AND-FILE. IN TRYING TO DO S

O, THEY WANT TO AVOID A SPLIT.

-- NO ONE KNOWS IF THEIR EFFORT WILL SUCCEED. THE ODDS APPEAR TO BE 50-50. SMITH

BT

#0396

NNNN

<MSGID> M0834417

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Joint Declaration (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

Nancy

☒ YOU WERE CALLED BY - ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY -

Tom Rhodes

OF (Organization)

London Times

☒ PLEASE PHONE ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

347-7659

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

The "Independent" has a front page story about you and direct connection with Sein Fein

Deadline - noon Eastern time

(Tara would like you to call him)

RECEIVED BY

Doe

DATE

8/9

TIME

10:50am

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)

Prescribed by GSA
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1991 281-781/40014 FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

Nancy -
See yellow stickers
- Embassy London
intends to go with
this press guidance
unless they hear
otherwise by ~~noon~~
our time today.

IMMEDIATE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM



PAGE 01 OF 05

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: FILE LEBOURGEOIS NSC SUM SUM2 VAX VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 091228Z AUG 94

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (1.84)
KBM 4/11/2023

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6129
INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 1888
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 012586
DEPT FOR EUR/NE AND PA
NSC FOR SODERBERG
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL PTER PGOV UK EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: NEWSPAPER CLAIMS NSC CONTACTS
WITH SINN FEIN

1. (U) THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST -- SEE PARAS 10-11.
SUMMARY

2. (U) THE LONDON DAILY "INDEPENDENT" OF AUGUST 9
CLAIMED IN A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE THAT:
-- AN NSC LETTER TO SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS
WAS DELIVERED IN APRIL;
-- THERE HAD BEEN "NUMEROUS OTHER INDIRECT CONTACTS"
BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE NSC;
-- THE STATE DEPARTMENT "NO LONGER DIRECTS U.S. POLICY
ON IRELAND," WHICH INSTEAD "IS BEING HANDLED
DIRECTLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE BY NANCY SODERBERG";
-- THE USG WOULD PROBABLY GIVE ADAMS ANOTHER VISA IF
THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA) ENDED
ITS VIOLENCE; AND
-- ADAMS "HOPES TO USE HIS INFLUENCE IN THE U.S. TO
PUT PRESSURE ON BRITAIN IN ANY FUTURE TALKS."

3. (C) IN AUGUST 8 TALKS WITH THE AUTHORS, CONGEN
BELFAST AND EMBASSY LONDON OFFICERS CONFIRMED DELIVERY
OF THE LETTER, TRIED TO DAMPEN SPECULATION ABOUT A SINN
FEIN/NSC "CHANNEL," AND DISPELLED THE AUTHORS' ORIGINAL
IDEA THAT A MAJOR USG INITIATIVE WAS UNDERWAY. HMG AND
CONGEN BELFAST HAVE GOTTEN SEVERAL PRESS QUERIES ON THE
SUBJECT, AND WE EXPECT OTHERS TO THE EMBASSY. WE NEED
CLEARANCE ASAP ON PROPOSED PRESS GUIDANCE IN PARA 10,
AND ON WHETHER TO RELEASE THE TEXT OF THE NSC LETTER.
ENDSUMMARY.

"INDEPENDENT" ARTICLE

4. (U) THE SECOND LEAD ARTICLE IN THE AUGUST 9
"INDEPENDENT," BY DAVID MCKITTRICK AND LEONARD DOYLE,

Mike Price

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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WAS HEADLINED "U.S. HOLDS KEY TO EARLY IRA CEASEFIRE."
EXCERPTS:

- "THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS COMMUNICATED DIRECTLY WITH SINN FEIN IN BELFAST, URGING THE REPUBLICANS TO ACCEPT THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND END IRA VIOLENCE, ACCORDING TO RELIABLE SOURCES."
- "A LETTER FROM THE U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WAS HAND-DELIVERED IN APRIL BY VAL MARTINEZ, THE AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL IN BELFAST, TO A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF THE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT, GERRY ADAMS."
- "THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS OTHER INDIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION SINCE THEN, ACCORDING TO AUTHORITATIVE U.S. SOURCES. AMERICAN POLICY IS BEING HANDLED DIRECTLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE BY NANCY SODERBERG, A DIRECTOR AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND A CLOSE CONFIDANT OF PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON."
- "SPECULATION IN BELFAST AND DUBLIN CENTERS ON A CEASEFIRE OF ABOUT THREE MONTHS. HOWEVER, SEVERAL SOURCES SAY A CEASEFIRE IS NOT EXPECTED DURING AUGUST, BUT COULD START NEXT MONTH."
- "BOTH LONDON AND DUBLIN HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID SINN FEIN COULD NOT EXPECT A PLACE AT ANY CONFERENCE TABLE UNLESS A PERMANENT CESSATION WAS IN PLACE. BUT EVEN A LIMITED CEASEFIRE WOULD EASE THE PRESSURE THE REPUBLICANS ARE NOW UNDOUBTEDLY FEELING."
- "A CEASEFIRE OF THREE OR EVEN TWO MONTHS WOULD LEAD TO CALLS FROM MANY SOURCES IN IRELAND, BRITAIN AND THE U.S. FOR A POSITIVE MOVE FROM BRITAIN. THE PROSPECT OF FUTURE AMERICAN VISAS FOR GERRY ADAMS AND OTHER REPUBLICAN LEADERS IS SEEN AS ONE OF THE POSSIBLE INDUCEMENTS TO SINN FEIN TO OPT FOR THE POLITICAL PROCESSES."
- "THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION IS THAT IT DID NOT ERR IN GRANTING MR. ADAMS A VISA EARLIER THIS YEAR DESPITE FIERCE BRITISH OPPOSITION. THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT IS UNHAPPY THAT THE VISA WAS GRANTED BECAUSE IT SOURED RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN, BUT IT NO LONGER DIRECTS U.S. POLICY ON IRELAND, WHICH HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IN DOMESTIC U.S. POLITICS."

-- "IN THE EVENT OF A CEASEFIRE MR. ADAMS HOPES TO BE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 012586
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NSC FOR SODERBERG
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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TAGS: PREL PTER PGOV UK EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: NEWSPAPER CLAIMS NSC CONTACTS
WITH SINN FEIN

ABLE TO USE HIS INFLUENCE IN THE U.S. TO PUT
PRESSURE ON BRITAIN IN ANY FUTURE TALKS AND ONCE
PEACE HAS TAKEN HOLD, SINN FEIN BELIEVES IT COULD
RELY ON A SYMPATHETIC AUDIENCE IN THE U.S. TO
MAINTAIN THAT PRESSURE."

-- "IT IS ALSO EXPECTED THAT MR. ADAMS AND OTHER SINN
FEIN LEADERS COULD CONDUCT A TOUR OF MAJOR U.S.
CITIES TO DRUM UP SUPPORT IN THE EVENT OF PROLONGED
CEASEFIRE. U.S. ADMINISTRATION SOURCES RECENTLY
TOLD THE IRISH TIMES THAT MR. ADAMS WOULD PROBABLY
GET ANOTHER VISA TO EXPLAIN SINN FEIN POLICY TO
SUPPORTERS IN THE U.S. IF THE IRA STOPPED THE
VIOLENCE."

DAMPENING SPECULATION

5. (C) DOYLE CALLED BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL MARTINEZ
AUGUST 8 (AND TRIED TO CONTACT THE EMBASSY'S PRESS
OFFICE) FOR COMMENT ON HIS STORY. ON BACKGROUND,
MARTINEZ CONFIRMED THE DELIVERY OF A LETTER TO SINN
FEIN, BUT TRIED TO DAMPEN DOYLE'S SPECULATION ABOUT A
"CHANNEL" BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE NSC.

6. (C) SEVERAL HOURS LATER, MCKITTRICK PHONED THE
EMBASSY AND SAID DOYLE'S STORY WOULD ALLEGE THAT THERE
WAS A CURRENT MAJOR USG INITIATIVE AFOOT TO BRING SINN
FEIN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, AS EVIDENCED BY THE
LETTER TO ADAMS. ON DEEP BACKGROUND, WE REPLIED THAT
THE LETTER WAS OLD NEWS: IT HAD BEEN DELIVERED IN EARLY
APRIL, NOT TO ADAMS BUT TO AN ASSOCIATE, AND RESPONDED
TO AN ADAMS-CLINTON LETTER THAT SINN FEIN HAD
PUBLISHED. WE POINTED OUT THAT PRIME MINISTER MAJOR'S
PRIVATE SECRETARY HAD RESPONDED IN SIMILAR FASHION TO
ADAMS' LETTER TO MAJOR. THERE WAS NO PARTICULAR
SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FACT THAT THE REPLY CAME FROM THE
NSC RATHER THAN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND WE WERE NOT
AWARE OF ANY SINN FEIN/NSC "CHANNEL," NOR OF ANY NEW USG
INITIATIVE. MCKITTRICK SAID "THIS TAKES A LOT OF THE
STEAM OUT OF THE STORY," AND PROMISED TO TONE DOWN THE
ARTICLE.

7. (C) ON AUGUST 9, WE PHONED MCKITTRICK TO POINT OUT
THE DISCONNECT BETWEEN THE ARTICLE AND ITS HEADLINE
(WHICH FIT THE ORIGINAL DRAFT RATHER THAN THE FINAL
VERSION). MCKITTRICK SAID HE HAD HAD NO HAND IN
DRAFTING THE HEADLINE, AND APOLOGIZED FOR ITS MISLEADING
NATURE. DOYLE HAD BEEN UNDER SEVERE PRESSURE FROM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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EDITORS TO COME UP WITH AN EYE-CATCHING STORY ON A SLOW NEWS DAY.

COMMENT

8. (C) THERE IS NOTHING IN THE "INDEPENDENT" ARTICLE THAT HAS NOT APPEARED IN PREVIOUS PRESS ACCOUNTS. THE "SUNDAY TIMES" HAS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS ALLEGED DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS AND SINN FEIN, CITING ADMINISTRATION SOURCES. ON APRIL 13, THE "IRISH TIMES" OF DUBLIN, ALSO CITING ADMINISTRATION SOURCES, REPORTED NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR LAKE'S REPLY TO ADAMS AND CARRIED A GARBLED ACCOUNT OF THE TEXT. AS MCKITTRICK TOLD US, "INDEPENDENT" EDITORS WERE DESPERATE FOR A HOT STORY DURING THE AUGUST DOLDRUMS.

FURTHER QUERIES

9. (C) THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE AND CONGEN BELFAST HAVE BEEN DELUGED WITH QUERIES FROM ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA FOR COMMENT ON THE ARTICLE. HMG'S LINE AT THE MOMENT IS THAT THE USG HAS BEEN FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE TO NORTHERN IRELAND THROUGH THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, AND THAT ANY COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE USG AND SINN FEIN WERE AN INTERNAL U.S. MATTER. BELFAST HAS REFRAINED FROM OFFERING ANY COMMENT PENDING CLEARED GUIDANCE.

PROPOSED PRESS GUIDANCE

10. (LOU) WE WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT AND NSC CLEARANCE (OR REVISION) OF THE FOLLOWING PROPOSED PRESS LINE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. UNLESS WE HEAR OTHERWISE, WE WILL BEGIN TO USE IT WITH THE MEDIA AT 1700 LOCAL TIME.

-- MR. ADAMS WROTE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON MARCH 31 TO EXPLAIN THE IRA'S EASTER CEASEFIRE. SINN FEIN RELEASED THAT LETTER AT THE TIME. *As National Security Advisor*
-- ON APRIL 8, A WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL REPLIED TO MR. ADAMS' LETTER (AS PRIME MINISTER MAJOR'S OFFICE HAD DONE TO A SIMILAR LETTER THE DAY BEFORE). U.S. *Anthony*
Cal.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 012586
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL PTER PCOV UK EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: NEWSPAPER CLAIMS NSC CONTACTS WITH SINN FEIN

DIPLOMATS DELIVERED THE REPLY TO AN ASSOCIATE OF MR. ADAMS APRIL 9.

-- THE WHITE HOUSE REPLY WAS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH OUR

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PUBLIC STATEMENTS OVER THE PAST NINE MONTHS, WHICH HAVE REPEATEDLY CALLED ON SINN FEIN TO ~~ACCEPT~~ THE ~~TERMS OFFERED IN~~ THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, AND ON THE IRA TO IMPLEMENT A PERMANENT END TO ITS CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE. *endone*

-- THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND POLITICAL PROGRESS AMONG THE TRADITIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AND BELIEVE THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION IS AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR SUCH PROGRESS. THERE CAN BE NO ~~FURTHER~~ EXCUSE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE FROM EITHER REPUBLICAN OR LOYALIST GROUPS.

11. (C) WE WOULD ALSO LIKE GUIDANCE ON WHETHER TO RELEASE THE TEXT OF MR. LAKE'S APRIL 8 LETTER, WHICH WAS SENT TO BELFAST FROM WASHINGTON BY UNCLASSIFIED FAX. ?

CROWE

BT

#2586

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: ITOH KENNEY REED SIT SODERBERG

SIT: FILE HOLL LEBOURGEOIS SUM SUM2 VAX

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 051429Z APR 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4991
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1967
RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 001884
LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, EI, UK

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING AND SINN FEIN
OFFICIAL MCGUINNESS COMMENT ON PEACE

REF DUBLIN 01853

1. (U) ON EASTER SUNDAY, APRIL 3, FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING CALLED ON SINN FEIN TO SPELL OUT CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY THE ISSUES ON WHICH IT REQUIRED CLARIFICATION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION AND REJECTED AS "VAGUE RITUALISTIC STATEMENTS" THE DEMANDS WHICH SINN FEIN VICE PRESIDENT MARTIN MCGUINNESS MADE AT A DUBLIN COMMEMORATION CEREMONY EARLIER THAT DAY (SEE PARAS. 3 AND 4 BELOW). SPRING CONTINUED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE NOT TO FEEL SORROW AND DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE IRA'S FAILURE TO ANNOUNCE A PERMANENT CEASEFIRE AND THAT, ALTHOUGH THE IRA MIGHT REGARD THE TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF VIOLENCE AS SIGNIFICANT AND IMPORTANT, "IT WOULD NOT IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE SUFFICIENTLY TO ENABLE ANY PROGRESS TO BE MADE."

2. (U) THE APRIL 5 LOCAL MEDIA QUOTE SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS AS CHARACTERIZING SPRING'S COMMENTS AS "DISAPPOINTING." IN WHAT PURPORTS TO BE A DIRECT MESSAGE TO SPRING, ADAMS SAYS THAT "THE POTENTIAL OF THE IRA INITIATIVE MUST NOT BE IGNORED AND SHOULD BE BUILT UPON. IT IS A STEP FORWARD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REAL PEACE PROCESS AND DESERVES AN IMAGINATIVE RESPONSE FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. DICK SPRING SHOULD NOT BE DEFENDING BRITISH INFLEXIBILITY."

3. (U) IN HIS EASTER REMARKS MENTIONED ABOVE, SINN FEIN VICE PRESIDENT MARTIN MCGUINNESS SAID THAT SINN FEIN NEEDED CLARIFICATION OF THREE THINGS BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT: "TEXTUAL AMBIGUITIES" IN THE JOINT DECLARATION; STEPS SUBSEQUENT TO SINN FEIN'S ACCEPTANCE OF IT; AND BRITAIN'S LONG-TERM INTENTIONS IN REGARD TO NORTHERN IRELAND. MCGUINNESS FRAMED THESE "CLARIFICATIONS" WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF SINN FEIN'S PEACE POLICY: "INCLUSIVE NEGOTIATIONS AS A

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

MEANS OF ENDING THE CONFLICT; AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN TO END PARTITION; INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE IN BREAKING THE DEADLOCK; AND A PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN THE LEAD-UP TO A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE."

4. (U) IN ADDITION TO "CLARIFICATION," MCGUINNESS IDENTIFIED THE "OTHER CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT ISSUE" AS "RECOGNITION BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF THE SINN FEIN VOTE; THE VALIDITY OF OUR VOTE AND THE RIGHTS OF OUR PEOPLE." HE ALSO SAID THAT HE WOULD BE "VERY SURPRISED" IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REJECTED A MEETING WITH SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE PURPOSE OF CLARIFYING THE JOINT DECLARATION SINCE IT HAD BECOME CLEAR THAT "BRITAIN HAS LOST THE CLARIFICATION DEBATE." IF THE BRITISH DID PROVIDE THE NECESSARY CLARIFICATION, MCGUINNESS PROMISED, SINN FEIN WOULD QUICKLY RESPOND TO THE DECLARATION ITSELF. "WHAT WOULD HAPPEN (AFTER THE MEETING WITH THE BRITISH) IS THAT SINN FEIN WILL THEN REFLECT ON WHAT (IT) WAS TOLD BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES, AND WE WILL THEN MAKE A FINAL DECISION ABOUT THE...DECLARATION, AND PEOPLE WILL NOT HAVE TO WAIT ANY LENGTH OF TIME WHATSOEVER FOR US TO DO THAT. IT WILL ALL HAPPEN VERY, VERY QUICKLY, INDEED."

COMMENT

5. (✓) SPRING'S "TOUGH" LINE ON THE IRA'S TEMPORARY CEASEFIRE PROBABLY BOTH REFLECTS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S AND HIS GENUINE DISAPPOINTMENT OVER ITS BREVITY AND CONSTITUTES AN ATTEMPT TO PRESSURE THE IRA INTO EXPLICITLY OR TACITLY EXTENDING IT. SMITH

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. cable	[Duplicate of 006] (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. cable	re: Gerry Adams Fallout (4 pages)	02/02/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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National Security Council
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P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. cable	re: Northern Ireland: British Paper Claims White House Official Coached Adams on Visa [partial] (1 page)	02/07/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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FOLDER TITLE:

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

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 9240
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
COMBINE: COMPLETE

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

REF: LONDON 1902

SUMMARY

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

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

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Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By N NARA, Date 12/21/05

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

END SUMMARY.

ISSUE FADING

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

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

"SUNDAY TIMES" STORY

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

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

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- "WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS SECRETLY COACHED GERRY ADAMS AND DOCTORED DOCUMENTS TO HELP THE SINN FEIN LEADER TO OBTAIN A VISA TO VISIT AMERICA."
 - "AT KEY POINTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ADAMS AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, HE WAS CONTACTED BY OFFICIALS AND TOLD WHAT TO SAY AND INFORMED IN ADVANCE THAT THE VISA WAS LIKELY TO BE GRANTED."
 - "WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS EVEN CONTACTED ADAMS TO TELL HIM OF THE PLACING OF GRENADES AT BRITISH-OWNED SITES IN CALIFORNIA SO THAT HE COULD CONDEMN THIS ACTION."
 - "A WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL CALLED ADAMS IN BELFAST AND TOLD HIM THAT IF HE CONDEMNED THE ATTACK, WHICH HE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT, HIS APPLICATION WOULD BE BACK ON TRACK."
6. (U) OVER TWO FULL INSIDE PAGES, "SUNDAY TIMES" WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT JAMES ADAMS ELABORATED:
- "JEAN KENNEDY SMITH ... HAD MADE AN IMPRESSIVE POWER PLAY TO CONTROL AMERICAN POLICY IN THE WHOLE OF IRELAND, ATTEMPTING TO WREST CONTROL OF POLICY IN ULSTER FROM RAY SEITZ, THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO LONDON."
 - WHILE SENATOR KENNEDY'S OFFICE WAS SURPRISED TO LEARN OF PLANS FOR THE NEW YORK CONFERENCE, "KENNEDY MOBILIZED HIS WELL-ORGANIZED STAFF TO SET UP AN ASSAULT ON THE ADMINISTRATION" AND "IN PARTICULAR SOUGHT OUT NANCY SODERBERG...."
 - "AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE HAD ACCESS NOT ONLY TO ADAMS'S RECORD OF TERRORISM BUT ALSO TO THE CURRENT BRITISH ASSESSMENT OF HIS INFLUENCE ON THE IRA ARMY COUNCIL, WHERE HE IS ONE OF SEVEN MEMBERS."

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

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AS WELL RETIRE TO THE MOUNTAINS."

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

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

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

WE GET LETTERS

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

END OF MESSAGE

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (3 pages)	01/29/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, CVIS, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG SEEKS TO REGAIN
INITIATIVE AFTER ADAMS VISIT
REFS: (A) LONDON 1725, (B) LONDON 1764, (C) LONDON 1902
SUMMARY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F(1.89)
KBH 4/11/2023

1. (C) NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY SIR PATRICK MAYHEW ANNOUNCED FEBRUARY 3 THAT HE WOULD SOON SUBMIT A BRITISH OUTLINE FOR RENEWED POLITICAL TALKS TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. THE PLANS WERE ALREADY IN TRAIN, BUT THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MOVED FORWARD IN AN EFFORT TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE FROM SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS. MEDIA COMMENT CONTINUES TO DESCRIBE THE ADAMS VISIT TO THE U.S. AS A CATASTROPHE FOR THE UK, BUT THE FOCUS HAS SHIFTED TO WHETHER HMG COULD HAVE DONE MORE TO COUNTER ADAMS' IMPACT, AND WHETHER THE BAN ON BROADCASTING ADAMS' VOICE CONTRIBUTED TO HIS WARM RECEPTION IN THE U.S. TWO EDITORIALS ARGUED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S STATEMENTS DURING THE VISIT GAVE IMPORTANT NEW ASSURANCES TO HMG AND UNDERCUT ADAMS' MEDIA SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

MAYHEW INITIATIVE

2. (U) IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE "FINANCIAL TIMES," PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 3, MAYHEW SAID HE REMAINED CONVINCED, DESPITE THE VISA DECISION, THAT "AGREEMENT BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN ON THE PROVINCE'S FUTURE WILL LEAD TO PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE IRA."

3. (U) MEANWHILE, MAYHEW SAID, HE WOULD "TABLE WITHIN TWO WEEKS AN OUTLINE PLAN FOR A NEW POLITICAL SETTLEMENT" TO EACH OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. IT WOULD INCLUDE PLANS FOR A DEVOLVED ASSEMBLY AND "CROSS-BORDER EXECUTIVE BOARDS WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH AREAS AS TOURISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT." NEW TALKS ON THE BASIS OF THE OUTLINE WOULD BE BILATERALLY WITH EACH PARTY.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

4. (U) IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS LATER IN THE DAY, PRIME MINISTER MAJOR CONFIRMED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, WITH OR WITHOUT ADAMS: "PROGRESS ON NORTHERN IRELAND CANNOT AND WILL NOT WAIT FOR SINN FEIN." SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOR PARTY (SDLP) DEPUTY LEADER SEAMUS MALLON SUPPORTED THE INITIATIVE, SAYING THAT ADAMS' STATEMENTS IN THE U.S. "DEMONSTRATED THAT HE DOES NOT ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION BASED ON CONSENT" WHICH IS AT THE HEART OF THE JOINT DECLARATION.

5. (✓) WE HAVE KNOWN FOR SOME TIME THAT HMG WAS ANXIOUS TO REGENERATE FORMAL TALKS, BUILDING ON NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO) JUNIOR MINISTER MICHAEL ANCRAM'S MONTHS OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AGREES ON THE DESIRABILITY OF RESTORING MOMENTUM TO THE TALKS PROCESS, BUT WANTS TO AVOID GIVING SINN FEIN ANY PRETEXT FOR REJECTING THE JOINT DECLARATION. THUS, THE ONLY SURPRISE IN MAYHEW'S ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ITS TIMING.

6. (✓) NIO ASSISTANT SECRETARY JIM DANIELL TOLD US FEBRUARY 3 THAT THE "DESIRE NOT TO LET THE INITIATIVE DRIFT AWAY" HAD PROMPTED MAYHEW TO ADVANCE HIS ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT "ONLY BY A DAY OR TWO." WHILE THE OUTLINE -- WHICH REFLECTED AREAS OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES, AND NOT A BRITISH BLUEPRINT -- WOULD BE PRESENTED SOON, THE TALKS PROBABLY WOULD NOT START FOR SEVERAL MORE WEEKS.

MEDIA REACTION

7. (U) THE ADAMS VISIT CONTINUES TO REVERBERATE IN THE BRITISH PRESS, DRAWING HEADLINES AND EDITORIAL COMMENT. CRITICISM OF THE USG REMAINS A POPULAR THEME:

-- "THE SUN": "CLINTON'S CYNICAL DUPLICITY HAS LET MILLIONS OF AMERICANS BE CONNED INTO SENDING MONEY TO THE IRA CAUSE. THERE WILL BE BLOOD ON HIS HANDS IN THE WHITE HOUSE."

-- "DAILY EXPRESS": "THE HERO'S WELCOME ACCORDED TO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 01995

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG SEEKS TO REGAIN
INITIATIVE AFTER ADAMS VISIT

GERRY ADAMS DURING HIS MACABRE, 48-HOUR CIRCUS PERFORMANCE IN THE UNITED STATES IS A CAUSE FOR SHAME AND BEWILDERMENT."

-- PAUL JOHNSON IN THE "DAILY MAIL": "IT IS THE WORST REVERSE WE HAVE RECEIVED ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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AND FOR OUR SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH AMERICA SINCE THE SUEZ DEBACLE OF 1956."

-- CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN IN "THE INDEPENDENT": "THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS FORMULA" -- THAT ADAMS GOT HIS VISA BY OPPOSING ONLY THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS RATHER THAN RENOUNCING ALL VIOLENCE -- "IS EQUIVALENT TO CONCEDED THE EXISTENCE OF LEGITIMATE TARGETS FOR POLITICAL TERRORISM."

8. (U) BUT MORE OF THE FOCUS OF BLAME HAS BEEN SHIFTED INWARD. SOME COMMENTATORS, INCLUDING JOHNSON AND O'BRIEN, BLAMED THE HMG-IRA CONTACTS AND THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION FOR GIVING THE USG A PRETEXT TO ADMIT ADAMS. OTHERS ACCUSED FOREIGN SECRETARY HURD, AMBASSADOR RENWICK AND THE FCO FOR FAILING TO OBTAIN EQUAL AIR TIME TO MAKE THE BRITISH CASE. STILL OTHERS ARGUED THAT THE BRITISH BROADCASTING BAN HAD GIVEN ADAMS ADDITIONAL MYSTIQUE AS SOMEONE WHOSE WORDS WERE "BANNED IN LONDON," AND HANDED THE IRA A "FREEDOM OF SPEECH" PROPAGANDA PLOY.

9. (U) TWO EDITORIALS IN LEADING QUALITY DAILIES ARGUED THAT ADAMS CAME BACK FROM NEW YORK WITH LESS THAN APPEARANCES WOULD SUGGEST:

-- "THE GUARDIAN": "HE RETURNS WITH A REJECTION FROM THE SAME ADMINISTRATION WHICH ALLOWED HIM TO VISIT THE COUNTRY IN THE FIRST PLACE.... IT MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRUE, AS (ULSTER UNIONIST MP KEN) MAGINNIS ALLEGES, THAT THE PRESIDENT SENT A WRONG SIGNAL TO THE WORLD BY GIVING MR. ADAMS HIS VISA. BUT IT IS INDISPUTABLE THAT MR. CLINTON HAS NOW SENT THE RIGHT SIGNAL TO MR. ADAMS."

-- "THE INDEPENDENT": "THE SINN FEIN LEADER MAY HAVE WALKED THE AMERICAN STAGE VIRTUALLY UNCHALLENGED, BUT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WON AN IMPORTANT CONCESSION FROM THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO REWARD ITS FORBEARANCE."

SEITZ

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
014. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams Visa (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: FILE

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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4339

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1716

RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 000218

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: FERGUS FINLAY ON NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: (A) DUBLIN 00157

(B) LONDON 00570

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

2. SUMMARY. FERGUS FINLAY, PERSONAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING, SAYS THAT SINN FEIN/IRA IS PLAYING FOR TIE IN AN ATTEMPT TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE. FINLAY PERSONALLY FAVORS MAKING THE END OF JANUARY THE DEADLINE FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. HE SUPPORTS THE DECISION NOT/NOT TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT IN THE BELIEF THAT GERRY ADAMS' APPEARANCE ON TV WILL "DE-MYTHOLOGIZE" HIM IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. HE OPPOSES A U.S. VISA FOR ADAMS IN THE BELIEF THAT WHAT WOULD AMOUNT TO A TRIUMPHAL TOUR OF AMERICA WOULD ONLY INCREASE SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN/IRA AMONG IRISH-AMERICANS. THE IRISH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENTS, AND THE TWO PARTIES OF THE GOVERNING COALITION, ARE STILL FIRMLY IN AGREEMENT ON THE PEACE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

MEETING WITH FERGUS FINLAY

3. VISITING IRISH DESK OFFICER SCHAFFER AND POLOFF MET WITH FERGUS FINLAY, PERSONAL ADVISOR TO FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING, ON JANUARY 12 TO DISCUSS THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. FINLAY COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS.

SINN FEIN/IRA

4. SINN FEIN/IRA ARE PLAYING FOR TIME. THEIR GOAL IS NOT/NOT A BRITISH PROMISE TO WITHDRAW FROM NORTHERN IRELAND OR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL IRELAND. RATHER, THEY ARE TRYING THROUGH TACTICAL MANEUVERS TO ENTER INTO DE FACTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ONE OR BOTH GOVERNMENTS BEFORE RENOUNCING VIOLENCE. IN THIS RESPECT, THEY MAY BE USING THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS A ROLE MODEL. EVENTUALLY, IT WILL BE THE 11-PERSON IRA GENERAL ARMY COUNCIL WHICH WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO ACCEPT THE JOINT DECLARATION AND TO RENOUNCE

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VIOLENCE. GERRY ADAMS' PERSONAL SECURITY IS PROBABLY NOT A FACTOR INFLUENCING HIS BEHAVIOR AS HE LONG AGO CEASED TO WORRY ABOUT IT.

A DEADLINE?

5. FINLAY PERSONALLY BELIEVES THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD WAIT NO LONGER THAN THE END OF THE MONTH FOR AN ANSWER FROM SINN FEIN/IRA. IT MUST TAKE THE FORM OF A FORMAL STATEMENT RENOUNCING VIOLENCE IF IT IS TO BE ACCEPTABLE. WHATEVER SINN FEIN/IRA DO, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD THEN BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION WITH WHOEVER ELSE IS INTERESTED.

SECTION 31

6. FINLAY PERSONALLY SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT'S JANUARY 11 DECISION NOT/NOT TO RENEW SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT. HE HAD LONG FAVORED ITS RETENTION, BUT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE INCREASED "MYTHOLOGIZATION" OF GERRY ADAMS SINCE THE DECEMBER 15 PROMULGATION OF THE JOINT DECLARATION, HAVE CAUSED HIM TO CHANGE HIS MIND. FINLAY NOW BELIEVES THAT NOTHING WOULD BE AS EFFECTIVE IN ERODING ADAMS' SUPPORT, IN EFFECT, "DE-MYSTIFYING" HIM, BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH AS THE PUBLIC'S LISTENING TO HIM ON TV. (NOTE: IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL CIRCUMSCRIBE SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES' TV APPEARANCES BY BANNING LIVE ONES, THEREBY PREVENTING THEM FROM APPEARING ON THE NUMEROUS, POPULAR TALK SHOWS, AND BY CAREFULLY EDITING TAPES USED ON NEWS PROGRAMS.)

A VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

7. PARADOXICALLY, FINLAY SAID, HE OPPOSES GIVING ADAMS A U.S. VISA EVEN THOUGH HE SUPPORTS HIS APPEARANCE ON IRISH TV. THE REASON IS THAT THE TWO CULTURES, IRISH AND AMERICAN, ARE DIFFERENT ENOUGH THAT AN ADAMS' VISIT TO THE U.S. COULD TURN INTO A TRIUMPHAL TOUR AND RESULT IN SIGNIFICANTLY GREATER SUPPORT FOR SINN FEIN/IRA AMONG IRISH-AMERICANS. FINLAY OBSERVED THAT YOUNG, PRAGMATIC, FIRST-GENERATION IRISH-AMERICANS HAVE ASSUMED THE LEADERSHIP OF IRISH-AMERICAN GROUPS IN THE U.S. IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY, HE BELIEVES, IF THEY WERE TO BE "CONVERTED" BY GERRY AD

AMS, SINCE ONE IMPORTANT REASON FOR SINN FEIN/IRA'S RECENT APPARENT INTEREST IN PEACE IS THE RADICAL DECREASE IN AMERICAN SUPPORT SINCE THE EARLY 1970S. UNITED WE STAND,...

8. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE FIRMLY UNITED IN SUPPORT OF THE JOINT DECLARATION, WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES IN THE RHETORIC OF THEIR RESPECTIVE OFFICIALS/SPOKESPERSONS. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE TWO WOULD AGREE ON ALL ASPECTS OF A FUTURE

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LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: FERGUS FINLAY ON NORTHERN IRELAND

POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE TWO PARTIES OF THE GOVERNING COALITION ARE ALSO IN AGREEMENT ABOUT IRISH POLICY ON NORTHERN IRELAND. THAT IS NOT TO SAY, FINLAY MUSED, THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING IS PLEASED WITH THE PUBLICITY WHICH PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS HAS BEEN RECEIVING. BUT, FINLAY AGREED, THAT IS PART OF THE BAGGAGE WHICH COMES WITH BEING NUMBER TWO.

COMMENT

9. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE HERE SUGGESTING A RIFT BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS OR BETWEEN THE TWO COALITION PARTIES OVER NORTHERN IRELAND. ON THE OTHER HAND, NO ONE WILL ADMIT TO THE EXISTENCE OF A "GOOD COP, BAD COP" ROUTINE BY DUBLIN AND LONDON IN THEIR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO SINN FEIN, IRA. FINLAY'S PERSONAL PREFERENCES IN REGARD TO THE TIMING OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PEACE PROCESS, OF COURSE, WILL NOT NECESSARILY BE THOSE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. MOST OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS WOULD PROBABLY BE WILLING TO GIVE SINN FEIN/IRA MORE TIME IN WHICH TO RESPOND TO THE JOINT DECLARATION THAN FINLAY WOULD. SMITH

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PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG

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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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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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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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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

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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

BT

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017. cable	[Duplicate of 006] (2 pages)	01/14/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
018. cable	Roderick Lyne to Anthony Lake re: Gerry Adams (2 pages)	01/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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

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<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. (C) 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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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

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- "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

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

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

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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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.'"

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 04 OF 05 LONDON 01725

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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

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. (C) 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. (C) 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. (C) 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. (C) 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

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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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. (S) 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. (S) 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

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: INITIAL REACTIONS TO ADAMS VISA

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. (S) 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

IMMEDIATE

~~**SECRET**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
020. cable	[Duplicate of 010] (4 pages)	02/02/1994	P1/b(1)

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
021. cable	re: Request for Security Advisory Opinion... (1 page)	01/14/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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

2011-0355-F
rs1654

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: *SOPERBERG 1701 KEMMAY*

SIT: BLEICKEN BURGOS CLARKER FILE HOLL SUM2 VAX WALKER

FBIS 069

UNCLAS 7F

IRELAND: ADAMS INTERVIEWED BEFORE LEAVING FOR U.S.

LD3101150894 DUBLIN RTE RADIO ONE NETWORK IN ENGLISH 1300 GMT 31

JAN 94

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

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

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

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

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

[ADAMS] THIS IS THE MAN WHO INVADDED 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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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

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

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

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

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

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

AND THAT WAS GERRY ADAMS AT DUBLIN AIRPORT.

31 JAN 1520Z SJH

NNNN

<MSGID> F0673086

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
022. cable	[Duplicate of 018] (2 pages)	01/30/1994	P1/b(1)

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