

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-IRA Ceasefire, Post-ceasefire, September 1994

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. email	Kathleen Stephens to Brooke Darby and Ardenia Hawkins re: Hume Adams History (1 page)	09/20/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
002. email	Alan Kreczko to Brooke Darby and Nancy Soderberg re: [Visa] (1 page)	09/21/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
003. fax cover sheet	re: Political Parties in Northern Ireland [3 copies] [partial] (3 pages)	09/15/1994	P3/b(3)
004. cable	re: Visas for Gerry Adams and Other Sinn Fein Officials (3 pages)	09/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005a. memo	John Podesta and Todd Stern to POTUS re: [Gerry Adams Visa] (1 page)	09/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005b. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Northern Ireland: Gerry Adams Visa and Contact Issues (6 pages)	09/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005e. letter	John Major to POTUS (2 pages)	09/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005d. cable	re: Visas for Gerry Adams and Other Sinn Fein Officials (2 pages)	09/16/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023
005e. talking points	re: Points for Major (1 page)	09/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 6/14/2023

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-IRA Ceasefire, Post-Ceasefire, September 1994

2011-0355-F

rs1668

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

3-
pls tell Marilyn current
guidance is will be rec'd by St. Dept
+ no wtf meetings are planned. I'm
not confirming my dinner. They are
mad (Irish)

GERRY ADAMS' SCHEDULE

Saturday, September 24th - Arrive Boston

Saturday, September 24th Evening - Hartford, Connecticut

--Democratic Party Convention Dinner w/Dodd

Sunday, September 25 - travel to New York City

Monday, Sept. 26 thru Wednesday morning, Sept. 28 - New York

--Mtg w/Irish Community (3,000-4,000 people) Major Speech

Wednesday PM, Sept. 28 - Boston

--Mtg w/Irish Community (2,000 people) reprise of earlier speech

Thursday, Sept. 29 - Cleveland

--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people?) reprise of earlier speech

Friday, Sept. 30 - Detroit

--Mtg w/Irish Community (@1,000 people?) reprise of earlier speech

Saturday, Oct.1 - Philadelphia

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

Sunday, Oct.2 - Rest Day

Monday, Oct. 3 thru Tuesday, Oct. 4 - Washington

--Mtgs w/Black Caucus, Hispanic Caucus, the 2 Irish Caucus' as well as Senators Kennedy, Moynihan and Dodd

--Mtgs w/Administration officials tbd

--rest of Washington visit would be private

Wednesday PM, Oct.5 departure for San Francisco

--Mtg w/Irish Community (1,000-1,500 people)

Thursday, Oct.6 - Los Angeles

--Major speech to the World Affairs Council (200 people?)

Friday, Oct.7 - Return Home

Darby, M. Brooke

From: Stephens, Kathleen D.
To: Darby, M. Brooke; Hawkins, Ardenia R.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Saunders, Richard M.; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: Hume-Adams history [CONFIDENTIAL]
Date: Tuesday, September 20, 1994 11:25AM

Please pass to Nancy Soderberg:

I looked into your question about the history of Hume-Adams talks. As you already know (and I didn't) Hume-Adams had secret talks in the '80s -- I've found no one who knows precisely when they began (if you've heard '86 from Hume himself that sounds plausible - though Jonathan Powell at the British Embassy has a vague impression they started much earlier); they ended in 1988 when they became public. The talks were restarted in 1992 and became public in 1993. Hume draws a relation between the later talks and the earlier ones.

Darby, M. Brooke

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Darby, M. Brooke; Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Baker, James E.; LeBourgeois, Julien D.; Stephens, Kathleen D.
Subject: [CONFIDENTIAL]
Date: Wednesday, September 21, 1994 7:00PM

Brooke, please pass to Nancy:

1. We have worked out inter-agency a cable on what constitutes fund-raising. DOJ, INS, and State have cleared. It is being cross-hatched over.

—I have previewed it with Neal O'Dowd. He initially resisted the third item — no fund-raising at any event Adams attends — but in subsequent calls he seemed to accept it. He has asked whether second point — which would permit charging admission to cover expenses of a meeting — can include Adams' travel-related expenses. I'm checking inter-agency; I told him I'd get back to him tomorrow.

2. Re PLO, State says they will have tomorrow a paper describing the evolution of our visa relationship with the PLO. It is clear that for the first year and a half after the PLO renounced violence, during which time we conducted a political dialogue with the PLO in Tunis, (1988-1990), we maintained a very rigorous visa practice. We did let a few PLO members come to attend academic conferences. But they were clearly limited to the particular event, and fundraising was out.

When the US-PLO dialogue was terminated in 1990 because of PLO resumed involvement in terrorism, our visa practice stiffened again, with few admittances other than for humanitarian reasons (e.g. to visit a sick relative.) There was some relaxation immediately before the Madrid conference, to get out the pro-peace view, and then again after the Madrid conference, in terms of letting in a few more PLO officials to support the Palestinian negotiating team. While fundraising was not explicitly proscribed in their visas at the time, it was made clear that their entry was limited to the particular purpose approved and that we would not have tolerated fundraising.

Since the Arafat-Rabin agreement, we have relaxed further, in terms of letting PLO officials now come rather freely for conferences, speeches, etc. In April this took another step forward, with the decision to grant some multiple entry visas to certain PLO officials. These visas are not restricted. State says the fundraising issue has not presented itself and they therefore have not had to pronounce on it. They are aware of no fundraising by PLO officials visiting here, although they suspect some small scale stuff may take place. They are certainly aware of no case where a senior PLO official has sought to come for a tour in order to raise funds for the PLO. If asked about such a possibility, they (Kurtzer) think they would deny because of the likely adverse public reaction.

3. Regarding Kiernan Staunton, Justice has cleared my talking to Morrisson, notwithstanding the on-going litigation. However, we've missed each other. Will try again tomorrow.

4. Regarding the Smith extradition case, Justice is going slow, despite UK urging a quick appeal. Their current inclination remains that Smith is not a flight risk, and therefore they don't need to make an urgent decision. Instead, they may simply seek to negotiate a bail agreement with Smith. As to whether to appeal, they have not reached a conclusion. The criminal division of Justice is recommending an appeal. The SG's office is leaning that way also, on grounds the court interpreted the treaty erroneously. They know we want to be consulted before any decisions are made.

Signed,

Alan O'Kreczko

~~THOUGHT YOU MIGHT BE INTERESTED.~~

-BR

Proposed Schedule Gerry Adams
(media not included)

Saturday 24 September

Arrive Boston 1.30 Aer Lingus

Meets Senator Kennedy

30 minute private meeting

Press Conference Airport

Depart Park Plaza for reception hosted by Kennedy backer John Cullinane

2-30 -4-30 Reception

6-00 Depart Springfield, Mass

8-00 Address John Boyle O'Reilly Association

Sunday

Breakfast: Hartford Ct, meet with politicians, Return to Boston:

Meeting Senate President Billy Bulger

Possible meeting with Boston Globe, Herald

Private:

Monday:

Breakfast New England Business Circle

Depart Detroit 10-20 from Boston

No extensive details:

Address United Auto Workers

Address Irish Community

Tuesday

Cleveland:

Address Council on Foreign Affairs

Address: Irish Community

Wednesday

A.M Arrive New York

9-30 Ellis Island

11-00 Meet with Jewish Leaders:

12-00 City Hall 'Keys of City' reception

Media

5-00 Time Magazine Editorial Board

Note Community event either Wednesday or Thursday
Thursday
Morning Labor Breakfast
11-00 N.Y. Times Editorial Board
12-15 Bill Flynn, Foreign Affairs Group
2.30: Time Off

Friday:

Breakfast: Comptroller Hevesi
Lunch: Wall Street
Depart Boston 3.p.m.
6.p.m. Kennedy School of Government

8-30 Faneuil Hall Rally ——— **BOSTON**

Saturday; Depart Philadelphia
11.30 World Affairs Council
off:

Sunday
Irish Rally 2.p.m.

Monday/Tuesday
Washington D.C.
No Schedule available
Wednesday 2-15
Depart San Francisco
No Schedule Available
Thursday Los Angeles
World Affairs Council
No Schedule available
Friday: Depart:

OCT
7

74
(21)
Hansen
New England
Grand Challenge



TO: BROOKE DARBY

FAX NO:

FROM: Niallo Dowd

DATE:

SUBJECT:

PAGES TO FOLLOW:

COMMENTS: Brooke, this is still provisional
so they may make some more changes.

Source: REUTER

Subject : Major intends referendum on N.Ireland changes@

a0965LBY814reulb

u i BC-IRISH-REFERENDUM 09-16 0034

^BC-IRISH-REFERENDUM URGENT@

^Major intends referendum on N.Ireland changes@

BELFAST, Sept 16 (Reuter) - Prime Minister John Major said on Friday he intended to call a referendum in Northern Ireland on any future constitutional changes affecting the status of the province.

MORE

Reut12:03 09-16

Source: REUTER

Subject : Britain to lift broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein@

a0966LBY815reulb

u i BC-IRISH-BAN-DECISION 09-16 0073

^BC-IRISH-BAN-DECISION URGENT @

^Britain to lift broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein@

BELFAST, Sept 16 (Reuter) - British Prime Minister John Major said on Friday the government was lifting a broadcasting gag on Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army.

The removal of the ban, introduced in 1988, is the first major political reward for Sinn Fein since the IRA declared a ceasefire two weeks ago. The ban prevented the voices of Sinn Fein leaders being heard on British radio and television.

MORE

Reut12:03 09-16

PM going to give speech in 1 1/2 hours in Northern Ireland

4 main points:

Will lift broadcasting ban

Will open border roads (although won't be in speech, it will be announced simultaneously)

Still not satisfied that IRA have made it clear this is permanent although progress has been made

Promised to hold referendum on the outcome of all this in Northern Ireland (to reassure Unionists)

Trying to move forward as best we can without losing Unionists.

Jonathan called again.

Talked to UUP - re: expand delegation and bring dates forward

They agreed to do so. Delegation as follows:

Willie Ross

Ken MacInnis

David Trimble

Jeffrey Donaldson

Will arrive Sept. evening 21- evening 23

Announcing today and looking forward to red carpet treatment

7425

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

To: Brooke
 From: Julien

September 14, 1994

Package 7425

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
 President
 The White House
 Pennsylvania Avenue
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express our serious concern about reports that approval for Mr. Gerry Adams' upcoming visa application may be denied or delayed by the State Department. It is our understanding that a primary reason Mr. Adams will request a visa is so that he may meet with Members of Congress. As you know, Mr. Adams is the only major participant in the Northern Ireland peace talks who has been unable to share his perspective with the U.S. Congress. If his visa application should be disapproved or not approved until after the Congress has recessed, we and other interested members of Congress would lose an important opportunity to learn more about the current peace negotiations there.

The I.R.A.'s recent renunciation of violence signals an important step in the peace process. After 25 years of civil strife, Prime Minister Reynolds, Prime Minister Major, Mr. John Hume, and Mr. Adams have courageously worked to bring Peace within reach. While we understand your previous determination that Mr. Adams' travel should be limited, if the Congress is to play a role in encouraging the peace process, we must have the opportunity to meet and assess all the parties to the conflict.

We urge you to approve Mr. Adams' visa request.

Sincerely,

Thomas J. Manton, M.C.
 Peter Blute, M.C.
 Peter T. King, M.C.
 Charles E. Schumer, M.C.
 Frank Pallone, Jr., M.C.
 Martin R. Hoke, M.C.
 Neil Abercrombie, M.C.
 Joseph P. Kennedy, II, M.C.
 John Joseph Moakley, M.C.
 Christopher H. Smith, M.C.

James P. Moran, M.C.
 Martin T. Meehan, M.C.
 Major R. Owens, M.C.
 George J. Hochbrauckner, M.C.
 Carolyn B. Maloney, M.C.
 Hamilton Fish, Jr., M.C.
 Rita M. Lowey, M.C.
 Edward J. Markey, M.C.
 Robert Menendez, M.C.
 Barbara B. Kennelly, M.C.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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003. fax cover sheet	re: Political Parties in Northern Ireland [3 copies] [partial] (3 pages)	09/15/1994	P3/b(3)

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UNCLASS
CLASSIFICATION

WHITE HOUSE
ROOM

1994 SEP 15 PM 7: 51

SEP 15 7 27 PM '94

SITE A
CIA

TIME TRANSMITTED (LOCAL)

MSG NBR

813

TIME RECEIVED (LOCAL)

FROM

(b)(3)

OFFICE/DESK

(b)(3)

PHONE NBR

(b)(3)

SUBJECT

POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

DELIVERY INSTRUCTIONS:

PAGES 2

(INCLUDING COVER)

☐ HOLD FOR NORMAL DUTY HOURS/ROUTINE

☒ IMMEDIATELY/URGENT

NOTE: FURNISH AFTER DUTY HOUR CONTACT TELEPHONE NUMBER
FOR EACH ADDRESSEE REQUIRING AFTER DUTY HOUR DELIVERY

TRANSMIT TO

AGENCY	INDIVIDUAL (NAME)	OFFICE	ROOM NBR	PHONE NBR
NSC	NANCY SODERBERG			69471
NSC	BROOKE DARBY			69471
NSC	GEORGE TENET			69341
NSC	BRUCE PEARSE			69349
	<u>IMMEDIATE</u>			

REMARKS:

B. Can I also get names of leaders of the parties in Ireland?

WASHFAX COVER SHEET

WASHFAX OPERATOR (703) 482-7680

UNCLASS
CLASSIFICATION

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ROOM

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UNCLASS
CLASSIFICATION

POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Votes cast in the last General Election for UK Parliament
9 April 1992

Party	Num. of Votes	% of Votes
Ulster Unionist Party	271,049	34.5
Social Democratic and Labour Party	184,445	23.5
Democratic Unionist Party	103,309	13.1
Sinn Fein	78,291	10.0
Alliance Party	68,665	8.7
Conservative Party	44,608	5.7
Ulster Popular Unionist Party	19,305	2.5
Workers' Party	4,359	0.6
Independent Unionists	2,256	0.3
Natural Law Party	2,147	0.3
Noise Abatement	2,133	0.3
Independent	1,996	0.3
Labour and Trade Union	1,264	0.2
Independent Progressive Socialists	1,094	0.1
Loony Green	442	0.0
TOTAL	785,363	100.1

(Based on: Whitaker's Almanack 1994.)

UNCLASS
CLASSIFICATION

WHITE HOUSE
TELETYPE ROOM

1994 SEP 15 PM 7:51

SEP 15 7 27 PM '94

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CIA

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REMARKS:

Can I also get names of leaders of the parties in Ireland?

WASHFAX COVER SHEET

WASHFAX OPERATOR (703) 482-7680

UNCLASS
CLASSIFICATION

POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

PARTY LEADERSHIP

Party	Party Leader
Ulster Unionist Party	James Molyneaux, MP
Social Democratic and Labour Party	John Hume, MP
Democratic Unionist Party	Ian Paisley, MP
Sinn Fein	Gerry Adams
Alliance Party	John Alderdice
Conservative Party	Sir Norman Fowler, MP
Ulster Popular Unionist Party	Sir James Kilfedder, MP
Workers' Party	Tom French
Independent Unionists	
Natural Law Party	
Noise Abatement	
Independent	
Labour and Trade Union	
Independent Progressive Socialists	
Loony Green	

(Based on: Whitaker's Almanack 1994.)

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW WHSR_SPECIAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 161108Z SEP 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6193

RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO /////

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005030

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (2.40)

KBH 7/11/2023

NODIS

FOR P, EUR AND EUR/NE

NSC FOR LAKE AND SODERBERG

PASS TO LONDON AND BELFAST

PASS TO BONN FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: VISAS FOR GERRY ADAMS AND OTHER SINN FEIN
OFFICIALS

REF: DUBLIN 4973

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

2. JUST TO CLARIFY AND NSURE THAT THERE IS NO CONFUSION OVER THE INTENTIONS OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF VISA WAIVERS FOR GERRY ADAMS AND HIS COLLEAGUES, I REPEAT WHAT I REPORTED IN REFTEL, "MARTIN MANSERGH, THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPECIAL ADVISOR RESPONSIBLE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, ASKED ME SEPTEMBER 14 TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO FACILITATE THE ISSUANCE OF VISAS TO GERRY ADAMS AND TWO OF HIS ASSOCIATES WHO WILL APPLY AT CONGEN BELFAST IN THE NEAR FUTURE. MANSERGH STATED THAT PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS AND FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING ARE IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT THAT PROMPT ISSUANCE OF VISAS TO THE SINN FEIN LEADERS WILL BE A CRITICALLY IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE PROCESS."

3. THIS UNSEEMLY DELAY IN WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN A ROUTINE MATTER IS PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE THAT QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE AND FOR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

WHATEVER REASON ARE THREATENING THE CONTINUATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS BY THEIR NIT-PICKING AND GRUDGERY. THE DELAY IS CAUSING CONFUSION OVER OUR INTENTIONS AND GOOD WILL. WE APPEAR TO BE ACCEPTING OVER EXAGGERATED CLAIMS OF THE IMPACT THIS VISIT IS GOING TO HAVE EITHER AT HOME OR ABROAD BY THOSE WHO ARE SEEKING VIRTUALLY ANY REASON TO SCUTTLE WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN A ROUTINE, ADMINISTRATIVE FINDING.

4. OUR CONCERN SHOULD BE FIRST AND FOREMOST, WHAT IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE PRESIDENT HAS CLEARLY DEFINED THAT TO BE PEACE AND AN END TO VIOLENCE. THE SINN FEIN/IRA HAVE DONE THEIR PART. NOW IT IS INCUMBENT ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THEIR COMMITMENT TO PEACE. TO STRENGTHEN AND SOLIDIFY THEIR COMMITMENT TO PURSUING THEIR OBJECTIVES DEMOCRATICALLY THROUGH THE POLITICAL PROCESS, WE MUST CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE RANK AND FILE OF THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY THAT THE PEACEFUL PURSUIT OF POLITICAL ENDS BRINGS ACCEPTANCE AND INCLUSION. THIS DELAY IS SIMPLY SUPPLYING AMMUNITION TO THOSE WHO WOULD ARGUE THAT THE NATIONALISTS ARE STILL BE TREATED AS SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS AND THAT THE PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC OPTION IS NOT BEARING THE PROMISED FRUIT.

5. I HAVE BEEN ASSURED AGAIN THIS MORNING THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND SPEAKS AS ONE, WITH NO DISSENT, IN SUPPORTING THE IMMEDIATE GRANTING OF VISAS TO GERRY ADAMS AND HIS COLLEAGUES. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THAT THIS PEACE MUST BE BUILT ON AND CEMENTED. THIS IS A MEANINGFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CAN PLAY. IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST AND ONE WHICH WE SHOULD NOT SHIRK. ADAMS AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAVE HELD OFF IN APPLYING FOR THEIR VISAS OUT OF CONCERN OVER THE POLITICAL FALL-OUT SHOULD THEY BE DENIED. HOWEVER, TIME IS NOW SHORT AND COMMITMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE ON THEIR BEHALF AROUND THE U.S. THUS, IN RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FOR ADVICE FROM ONE OF THEIR INTERLOCUTORS, THIS MORNING, I SUGGESTED THAT THEY PROCEED WITH THEIR APPLICATIONS SO THAT THEY MAY BE PREPARED TO TRAVEL AS SOON AS THE WAIVERS ARE GRANTED. I REQUEST THAT THE DECISION BE MADE URGENTLY TO GRANT THESE WAIVERS AND ALLOW THIS PSYCHOLOGICALLY VITAL VISIT TO TAKE PLACE ASAP. AS I NOTED IN REFTTEL, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT WHATEVER COMMITMENTS MR. ADAMS MAKES IN REGARD TO THIS WAIVER, E.G. STAYING ON THE WEST COAST AND OUT OF WASHINGTON WHILE OTHERS ARE THERE, ETC., WILL BE KEPT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

6. PLEASE ADVISE URGENTLY. SMITH

BT

#5030

NNNN

<MSGID> M1255976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/18
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1994

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (2.41)
KBH 4/11/2023

✓
MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a decision memo from Tony Lake on whether and under what conditions to grant a new visa to Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein.

Adams wants to come from September 21 through October 9. The British prefer waiting until after Prime Minister Major's party conference October 10-15. Tony presents three options: (1) approve a visa from September 24 to October 7, which would shorten Adams visit and delay it until after John Hume and a high-level Unionist delegation have come here (both scheduled for next week before the 24th); (2) approve a visa starting October 17, as the British would prefer; (3) accept Adams's request for a visa from September 21 to October 9. For reasons spelled out in the memo, Tony recommends option (1).

On a second issue, Tony recommends that we lift the existing ban on official U.S. contacts with Sinn Fein, but that we hold off for now on deciding the precise level and nature of these contacts.

Tony also joins Ambassador Crowe in recommending that you call Prime Minister Major before your decision is announced.

Leon Panetta and George concur with Tony's recommendations. Leon Fuerth has reviewed the memo and is going to discuss it with the Vice President tonight, so you can discuss it with the Vice President tomorrow. He'll be with you at the Pentagon.

John Podesta
Todd Stern

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1994

94 SEP 16 P4:07

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: Gerry Adams Visa and Contact Issues

Purpose

To decide if, when, and under what conditions we issue another visa to Gerry Adams, and whether and at what level the Administration meets with him in Washington.

Background

Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams has indicated he plans to apply for a U.S. visa to visit the United States September 21 to October 9. He expects to visit New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Hartford, Albany, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and possibly Washington, D.C. Detroit and Kansas City are also possibilities. He expects to bring his press officer and speechwriter with him and we are checking whether they, too, have visa eligibility problems. It is not yet clear what, if any, fundraising activities he plans. He hopes to at least charge admission for his talks to cover the cost of his trip.

There is general agreement at the State Department, support from the Irish and acceptance by the British, that we should look favorably upon a visa application from Adams at some point following the IRA cease-fire.

Adams' trip will garner enormous publicity in Britain and Ireland: when he comes, what he says, and how he is received here could have a major impact on the peace process. On the one hand, an Adams trip will bolster the IRA's moves toward peace and political engagement; at the same time, an early and warm embrace of Adams could further exacerbate tensions in the Unionist Community. The Irish support a visit by Adams within the general timeframe he has requested; the British have urged you to wait until after Prime Minister Major's party conference October 10-15. If we do allow Adams in before the Party conference, the British urge that we limit his stay to six days and do not receive him at the White House. Senator Biden has indicated a

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2011-0355-F(2.62)

KBH 4/11/2023

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

desire to host Adams in the Senate, perhaps with Hume. Dodd and Kennedy have pushed for us to agree to Adams' request.

Timing: There are four separate visits that need to be juggled: by Adams, by John Hume, by the Unionists and by Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring. In addition, we need to consider the timing of the congressional schedule and Major's party conference. Adams' people claim his early timing is dictated by his need to solidify U.S. support for the cease-fire before meeting with IRA hard-liners back home in early October. He also wants to visit before Congress is scheduled to adjourn on October 7 and wants to be back in Ireland by mid-October when Reynolds will hold preparatory talks for the peace negotiations at the end of October.

John Hume has made it clear that he wants to be the first to visit the U.S. following the cease-fire and is planning to come next week. The Vice President, as well as a variety of Members of Congress, will most likely see him. Although the Unionist leader, James Molyneaux, is traveling in Australia, we have arranged for a high-level Unionist visit September 22-23. Dick Spring plans to visit September 29-October 1.

Other visits to keep in mind are: Reynolds in New York October 6 and 7, Yeltsin Summit September 27 and 28 and Mandela October 4-5. We have been encouraging the Unionist leader Jim Molyneaux to visit Washington and will push him again to come in early October. At this point, he has been noncommittal. Finally, the controversial Unionist leader Ian Paisley has indicated he plans to visit in late October. He is not a constructive force for peace but is pushing for high-level U.S. government meetings. We can hold off on a decision for now.

Attached is a letter and statement from John Major. He made a surprise announcement and visit to Northern Ireland today and announced the end of the Broadcast ban on Sinn Fein and the IRA and the opening of ten border crossings. In addition, he reiterated he would enter into talks with the IRA within three months of a permanent cease-fire and that he hoped the IRA would do more to clarify its positions on the permanency of its cease-fire. He also announced that he would hold a referendum on any results of the negotiations. These moves are significant and will help boost the process significantly. Until today, Adams had little tangible response to his cease-fire.

There are basically three options:

1. Approve a visa after the Unionists depart, starting September 24 and ending October 7: Delay Adams' visit a few days until

after Hume and the Unionists have visited Washington but allow him to come prior to Major's party conference.

Pros: Allows Adams to demonstrate support for his cease-fire by visiting the United States relatively early on, thus consolidating support among his hard-liners and ensuring continued progress toward peace.

Will avoid embarrassment to Adams by minimizing the change in his planned schedule, most of which is well known.

Will enable Adams to meet with Members of Congress, thereby increasing support for any possible aid package.

Would minimize problems with Major trimming Adams' request on both ends, especially ensuring he doesn't depart the 9th on the eve of Major's Party Conference on the 10th.

Cons: Prime Minister Major will be annoyed.

Depending on how the Unionist visit goes, the Adams' visit could inflame Unionist fears and insecurities, thus undermining the peace process.

Some may argue that the visit should be held off until the cease-fire has been in effect for another month or two to help ensure its permanency.

2. Approve a visa starting October 17: Adams would visit the U.S. only after Major's party conference.

Pros: Major and the Unionists would be pleased.

Could boost the Unionists who support peace.

Cons: Would cause a real embarrassment for Adams and could undermine cease-fire.

Would annoy Prime Minister Reynolds and John Hume.

Could open you to criticism of taking Major's internal domestic politics too much into account in our decisionmaking.

Could cause Adams to miss key talks with Reynolds in the lead-up to the peace talks, although Reynolds could probably delay the talks until Adams' return.

Could annoy members of Congress who want to see Adams and show support for an aid package.

3. Approve request to come September 21 - October 9 but only to D.C. after Hume and the Unionists have come and gone.

Pros: Would enable Adams to carry out his planned itinerary and optimize his support here and at home.

Would enable Hume and the Unionists to come to D.C. first, thus underscoring our support for them.

Would please some in Congress who support Adams' request and enable Adams to meet with members.

Would help galvanize early support for an aid package.

Cons: Despite no physical presence in Washington, his presence in the country will be a major press story which could overshadow the visits by Hume and the Unionists.

Would greatly annoy the British and Major, in particular.

Could undermine efforts to bring Unionists into the peace process.

On balance, I recommend you agree to option 1 as it strikes the best balance between the needs of Adams, Major and the Unionists. It enables you to push Adams a bit and warmly welcome the Unionists before an Adams visit, thus helping to mitigate to some extent Major's political problems with the Unionists. We will have to once again work to ensure Major understands our reasoning, but I believe any problems will be manageable.

Conditions: We are reviewing what, if any, conditions to place on a possible visit. The Attorney General does not object to the visa waiver if we determine Adams' entry serves foreign policy purposes. She strongly opposes any fundraising. I believe it is important to permit a return visit by Adams to keep the momentum for peace within the IRA moving forward. The more he is exposed to hard questions and hard scrutiny, as he was in January, the better. The fundraising issue is a bit complex. Clearly, outright fundraising for his party or the IRA should be prohibited. The IRA remains a heavily-armed paramilitary group which has not yet disarmed. We are still reviewing the questions of whether to allow Adams to raise funds to help defray the cost

of his trip; we are skeptical that he could not come up with the funds for that purpose on his own.

Contacts: We also need to decide whether to end the long-standing U.S. policy of no substantive contact with Sinn Fein/IRA officials. Ambassador Crowe recommends that when we open an official channel to Sinn Fein/IRA, we do it initially through our Consul General in Belfast. Crowe feels strongly that it is too early to arrange official, high-level meetings for Adams in Washington. Ambassador Smith in Dublin has requested permission to initiate contacts with Adams and other Sinn Fein officials in Dublin. Unlike Crowe, she favors official appointments for Adams in Washington. On the Hill, it appears the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is considering an informal meeting with Adams. Speaker Foley is reviewing the possibility of a meeting and has said publicly he intends to do so.

I recommend we lift the ban on contacts with Sinn Fein when Adams comes to the U.S. so that Administration officials at some level and location can meet with Adams and other Sinn Fein officials. We need to continue to work through whether and how he should be received at the White House and State Department. The Irish are concerned if we do not, it would be perceived as the White House snubbing Adams. One issue is how to calibrate his visit with that of the Unionist leaders and Hume. The Vice President and I have met in the White House with Catholic leader John Hume and Unionist leader Molyneaux, who represent Northern Ireland's two largest parties. As the politics of the issue with the British and others are still evolving, we shall hold off on a decision until closer to the visit.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That Gerry Adams' application for a U.S. visa (requiring a waiver of his existing ineligibility on terrorist grounds) be approved for the period beginning September 24-October 7, after the Hume and Unionist visits but before Major's party conference.

Approve ☒ Disapprove ☐

Alternatively, that Adams' application be approved for the two and a half week period beginning October 17, after Major's party conference.

Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐

Alternatively, that Adams' application be approved as submitted for the two and a half week period beginning September 21.

Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐

2. That we lift the ban on official contacts with Adams, with the nature of these contacts to be determined closer to the event.

Approve ☒ Disapprove ☐

3. Ambassador Crowe strongly urges you to call Major before your decision is announced. I suggest you call him this afternoon. (Suggested talking points are at Tab C.)

Approve ☒ Disapprove ☐

Attachments

Tab A Letter from Major and His Remarks

Tab B Cable

Tab C Talking Points for Call to Major

Fax sent by :

M->M 16/09/94 16:28 Pg: 4

PERSONAL



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

16 September 1994

I know that Haiti is taking up a great deal of your time at the moment, but I wanted to keep you abreast of the important steps I am taking today over Northern Ireland.

I shall shortly be announcing a commitment to hold a referendum in Northern Ireland on the outcome of the process of political talks which we began in 1991. This is the process which Sinn Fein will in due course be able to enter so long as they demonstrate a permanent commitment to exclusively peaceful and democratic methods.

I shall at the same time lift the restrictions on broadcasting which were imposed in 1988 to prevent terrorist organisations from exploiting our media. This will be seen as a very significant recognition of the changed situation in Northern Ireland following the IRA's ceasefire.

In the background to these political moves, the police and army commanders have felt it right to take a number of operational decisions, easing certain security measures as a result of the reduced threat from terrorism. One of their recent decisions has been to open some border crossing points between Northern Ireland and the Republic which IRA activities obliged us to close over the years.

My full statement, which I attach, sets out the position in more detail.

PERSONAL

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- 2 -

I am very keen to move the peace process forward as fast as I sensibly can, but ensuring at every stage that we are carrying the main body of opinion in Northern Ireland with us. I believe that my announcement today will have this effect. But, as I have said in my statement, Sinn Fein must make it unambiguously clear that they and the IRA have decided to give up violence for good. It would be very helpful if your Administration could continue to emphasise this.

When I have assessed the effect of this announcement, and depending of course on Sinn Fein's actions and the situation on the ground, there are other forward steps I shall wish to make in the days and weeks ahead. I can only do so if we establish a sufficient level of confidence in Northern Ireland. As Roderic Lyne has explained to Tony Lake and Nancy Soderberg, I am concerned that a premature visit by Gerry Adams to the United States could impede this. A triumphal procession by Adams across the United States risks destabilising the majority community, and undermining all of the parties which have followed the constitutional path (including John Hume's SDLP).

I would much prefer it for Adams not to visit the United States until after mid-October. This would give me the necessary breathing space to build up confidence and establish the ceasefire more securely. Were Adams to pay an earlier visit to the United States, I very much hope that its length and profile could be strictly limited in the way suggested by Roderic Lyne to the NSC. I would greatly appreciate your support in this.

Your sincerely,
John

The President of the United States of America

PERSONAL

*ie no
white house,
6 days*

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STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER ON NORTHERN IRELAND ON 16 SEPTEMBER

I have come to Northern Ireland today to talk directly to the people.

More than two weeks have now passed without IRA violence. This is very good news. The longer it lasts, the more hopes will rise that we may have an unparalleled opportunity for progress. But I know also, in this fast moving situation, that many people in Northern Ireland still have suspicions and doubts. They are worried and uncertain. Are the IRA sincere? What will the Government do? These are the questions in people's minds. It is for the IRA themselves to demonstrate that they are sincere.

I want now to make the Government's position clear.

Our first objective has always been to secure a permanent end to all paramilitary violence. By the Downing Street Declaration we created, with the Irish Government, the conditions to achieve that objective, and we welcome the cessation of PIRA violence which would not have occurred without it.

This cessation of violence has not been bought. No price has been paid for it. The principle guiding us remains that of democratic consent. Our commitment to the constitutional guarantee remains absolute. There have been no secret deals made directly or indirectly, no secret assurances given, no nods, no winks, no tricks with mirrors. And most importantly after 25 years of bloodshed and terror, we have not lowered our guard.

8078/19915

2

The approach we have taken is scrupulously fair to both sides of the community in Northern Ireland; seeks to recognise their legitimate aspirations; and does not favour one side or the other. I dearly want to see peace firmly established on all sides. But I need to be certain of the commitment to it of the IRA and Sinn Fein.

I am now going to build on the encouraging progress of the last two weeks and to chart the way forward. I have these points to make.

First, we need to be able to assume sensibly that Sinn Fein and the IRA are now genuinely committed to end violence permanently. This is because neither we nor the main constitutional parties can sit down at the table with them to negotiate under even the possibility of a threat.

Have the IRA now given up violence for good? Only they can know, of course, for it is their own true intentions that will decide the matter. With the responsibility that we as the Government carry for the well-being of all the people of Northern Ireland, we have only got their words and their actions to go on. So we have looked at these very carefully.

They have made statements which point in the right direction. We need to know from their words and their actions that this is a firm and unequivocal decision. They are nearly there. I hope they will have the courage to remove ambiguities and make the clear statement everyone wishes to hear.

Fax sent by :

M-M 16/09/94 16:31 Pg: 3

3

*dialogue
with
3 months*

We shall therefore go on scrutinising both words and actions until - as we hope - we can sensibly make the assumption that the IRA truly intend to end violence for good. Within three peaceful months of that, we shall be able to take part with Sinn Fein in the exploratory dialogue to which we are committed.

My second point concerns the outcome of the three-stranded political talks.

The aim of these talks is to reach agreement on new political arrangements within Northern Ireland, and on the future relationships between the two parts of the island and between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland.

It is vital that we should move forward with the widespread consent and confidence of the people of Northern Ireland. They, and the parties engaged in the talks, want to be sure that the outcome will not be imposed upon them without their democratic consent. There will be siren voices telling them they will be tricked. I want to tell them that they will not be tricked.

I intend to fulfil the commitment - made with the agreement of the parties by Peter Brooke when he launched the talks in 1991 - to ensure that their outcome was acceptable to the people.

So for the avoidance of any doubt, I want to make clear today that the Government will submit the final outcome of the three stranded process of talks to the electorate in Northern Ireland for approval in a referendum. That is to say, we shall consult the people of the Province on the full package of proposals as a whole. The details of such a referendum will rightly be for discussion with the parties.

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Let me say to all the people of Northern Ireland: the referendum means that it will be your choice whether to accept the outcome. My commitment means that no one can go behind your backs. Not today. Not tomorrow. Not at any time. You can forget this talk of secret deals ~~there~~. It will be for you to decide.

I have already said that I am still looking for a clearer indication that the IRA's violence is over for good. But it is not only their violence that has scarred the life of Northern Ireland. INLA and the Loyalist paramilitaries should also end their campaigns. There is no shred of justification for it. The Loyalists should make good their earlier statements that their violence would end when IRA violence was halted. They should now respond to the many appeals to them from political, church and community leaders.

This brings me to my third point.

The broadcasting restrictions were brought in to stop supporters of terrorist organisations from using television and radio to justify violence.

I believe the restrictions are no longer serving the purpose for which they were intended. Ways have been found to circumvent them. But, most importantly, we are now in very different circumstances from those of 1988, when the restrictions came in.

☆ ☆ The Government has therefore decided that the broadcasting restrictions will now be lifted. The Secretary of State for

80FS/19915

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5
National Heritage is taking the necessary steps to bring this into effect immediately.

All paramilitaries, and those who speak on their behalf, now have an opportunity. The opportunity to tell us directly, not under the cover of an actor's voice, that they are truly committed to peaceful methods only, and to there being no resumption of violence in the future.

Let them tell the people of the United Kingdom, loud and clear, face to face, that their commitment to end violence is genuine and lasting. They should do this without delay if they want to show that they are at last ready to enter the democratic process.

SOFS/19915

IMMEDIATE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005039

NODIS

FOR P, EUR AND EUR/NE

NSC FOR LAKE AND SODERBERG

PASS TO LONDON AND BELFAST

PASS TO BONN FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: VISAS FOR GERRY ADAMS AND OTHER SINN FEIN
OFFICIALS

REF: DUBLIN 5030

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

2. AN TAOISEACH/PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS CALLED ME THIS MORNING FROM HONG KONG TO EXPRESS HIS DEEP CONCERN OVER THE VISA WAIVERS FOR GERRY ADAMS AND HIS COLLEAGUES. REYNOLDS SAID DENYING SINN FEIN VISAS NOW WOULD SEND THE WORST POSSIBLE SIGNAL TO THE NATIONALISTS. IT WOULD BE PERCEIVED THAT THE U.S.G. WAS SOMEHOW BOWING TO UNIONIST AND BRITISH PRESSURE. IT WOULD BE SEEN AS A PERVERSE EXTENSION OF THE "UNIONIST VETO".

3. REYNOLDS REITERATED AGAIN THAT CONFIDENCE IN PEACE IN THESE EARLY STAGES IS EXTREMELY FRAGILE. HE ARGUED THAT SINN FEIN MUST BE SEEN TO BE FAIRLY TREATED BY THE AMERICANS. IRISH POLICY SINCE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE COMPLETE CESSATION OF VIOLENCE BY THE IRA HAS BEEN TO TREAT THE SINN FEIN/IRA LIKE ANY OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY, WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. HE FORCEFULLY UNDERScoreD

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

THAT TO DATE, NEITHER THE UNIONISTS OR BRITISH HAVE DONE ANYTHING TO UNDERPIN THE PEACE PROCESS. LOYALIST PARA-MILITARIES CONTINUE THEIR VIOLENCE.

4. REYNOLDS ALSO REITERATED THAT ADAMS HAS COMMITTED HIMSELF TO STAY AWAY FROM WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK WHILE OTHER VISITORS ARE THERE AND TO ADJUST HIS ITINERARY AS WE FEEL APPROPRIATE. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT STRONGLY SUPPORTS ADAMS' PARTICIPATION IN EVENTS AIMED AT FUNDRAISING WITHIN APPROPRIATE PARAMETERS. SINN FEIN IS NOW A CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY DEDICATED TO PARTICIPATING IN THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS. THE PARTY HAS LEGITIMATE EXPENSES AND CAN NOT BE CUT OFF FROM NORMAL SOURCES OF FUNDING. REYNOLDS CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT SINN FEIN WANTS TO PLAY THE ROLE OF A NORMAL, DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTY AND NOT BE PUSHED AROUND BY THOSE OPPOSED TO THEIR INCLUSION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

5. COMMENT: REYNOLDS ALSO EXPRESSED HIS DISMAY, WHICH I SHARE, THAT PRIME MINISTER MAJOR HAS REACTED SO NEGATIVELY TO ONE OF THE FEW POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF HIS BELEAGUERED PRIME MINISTERSHIP. THE COMPLETE CESSATION OF VIOLENCE BY THE IRA SHOULD BE SEEN AS A VICTORY BY MAJOR, NOT AS A THREAT TO HIS POLITICAL SURVIVAL. I TRUST THAT HIS LACK OF VISION WILL NOT KEEP US FROM DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO PROMOTE THE PRESIDENT'S GOAL OF BRINGING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION TO NORTHERN IRELAND. END COMMENT. SMITH
BT
#5039

NNNN

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Points for Major

- Thank you for your letter. As you know, I value our close contacts on Northern Ireland.
- Congratulations on your announcement on lifting the broadcast ban on the IRA and the opening of border crossings. These are important steps that will help move the process forward.
- I share your concern over the need to bring the Unionist community along. We have worked hard to get a good group to Washington as soon as possible.
- Unfortunately, Jim Molyneaux (Mull-en-no) is in Australia but Ambassador Crowe has managed to pull a good group together who will be visiting the United States September 21-23. [Willie Ross, Ken MacInnis, David Trimble, Jeffrey Donaldson].
- We'll go out of our way to ensure they receive red carpet treatment. (Probably VP drop by a meeting in Tony's office or a VP meeting.)
- I wanted to let you know what I have decided on Gerry Adams' request to visit the United States.
- I am extremely sensitive to your own needs to balance the Unionists' politics. But I also have to ensure we don't set Mr. Adams back so soon after his announcement on the cease-fire.
- I think we've come up with a compromise that will meet your needs and those of the Irish and Adams.
- We will allow Adams to arrive the 24 of September -- the day after the Unionists depart -- and make sure he leaves a few days before your party conference begins, on October 7. This shortens his request on both ends. (He originally requested September 21 - October 9).
- This will enable us to see John Hume first, then the Unionists, then Dick Spring -- and then Adams.
- Again, congratulations on your trip to Belfast today and your courageous announcements.
- We'll certainly keep in close contact as events unfold.