

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Visas, 1996

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

1398

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
50	2	4	1	v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Northern Ireland Peace Process: Visa Decision [Immigration and Nationality Act] (3 pages)	05/14/1996	P1/b(1) , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
002a. memo	Mary Ann Peters to Anthony Lake re: Visa for Ted Howell: Phone Call to Attorney General [Immigration and Nationality Act] (1 page)	05/08/1996	P1/b(1) , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
002b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with Attorney General Reno [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	05/08/1996	P1/b(1) , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
003. email	Mary Peters to Nancy Soderberg re: March 11 Event [partial] (1 page)	03/07/1996	P6/b(6), b(7)(C)
004. email	Mary Peters to National Security Advisor re: Ireland Decisions [Immigration and Nationality Act] (1 page)	03/07/1996	P1/b(1) , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
005. email	Mary Peters to Kenneth Baldwin re: Foundation (1 page)	02/17/1996	P1/b(1)
006. note	[Mary Peters to Nancy Soderberg re: Fundraising] (1 page)	02/00/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
007. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Northern Ireland: Gerry Adams Visa and Contact Issues (5 pages)	09/12/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
008. memo	To Michael Hancock re: Waiver of Visa Ineligibility for Gerry Adams (1 page) <i>Partial release</i>	06/14/1995	P1/b(1) , b(7)(C) KBH 8/29/2023
009. cable	re: NIV Application by Sinn Fein Official [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	02/14/1996	P1/b(1) , P3/b(3), b(7)(C) KBH 8/29/2023

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Visas, 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1694

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]
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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.

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February 12, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

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

SUBJECT: Gerry Adam's Visa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Decisions Required:

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

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

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

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

AMERICAN EMBASSY, DUBLIN, IRELAND

NES

UNCLASSIFIED TELEFAX MESSAGE

DATE: February 15, 1996 PAGE 1 of 2

TO: Mary Ann Peters

FAX NUMBER: 202 456 9150

FROM: DCM - Dennis A. Sandberg

FAX NUMBER: (353)-(1)-660-3217

PHONE NUMBER: (353)-(1)-668-8998

SUBJECT: Travel of Ted Howells

Mary Ann: Here's the cable on Howells' travel. He is extremely low profile and is only going to liase with their people in New York. He never does anything publicly and very few people even know he is traveling. His message to the Sinn Fein faithful is not to splinter and not to provide any support to the IRA.

UNCLAS

DUBLIN 00776

ORIGIN: CONS-1

INFO: DCM-1 AMB-1

DISTRIBUTION: CONO

CHARGE: PROG

APPROVED: DCM:DASANDBERG

DRAFTED: CONS:KKEENAN

CLEARED: 1) CONS/NIV:JJBIGHLE; 2) CONS:ABSIDES

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OO RUEHFB RUEHC RUEHLO RUEHBL

DE RUEHDL-#0776 0451151

ZNR UUUUU ZZH

O 141151Z FEB 96

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHFB/DIRFBI WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9565

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 3707

RUEHBL/AMCONSUL BELFAST 3885

BT

UNCLAS DUBLIN 000776

VISAS

STATE FOR CA/VO/L/C AND EUR/UBI

FBI FOR CT/GD ATTN: CAROL STROUD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CVIS, PTER, UK, EI (HOWELL, EDWARD JOSEPH)

SUBJECT: TRAVEL ITINERARY FOR SINN FEIN OFFICIAL EDWARD JOSEPH HOWELL

REF: A) 95 DUBLIN 5970 B) 95 STATE 274137 C) VICTARS 087056 AND PREVIOUS

1. AS REPORTED IN REF A, POST ISSUED A B-1/B-2 MULTIPLE ENTRY VISA, VALID THROUGH MARCH 4, 1996, TO EDWARD JOSEPH HOWELL. THE VISA WAS ISSUED ON DECEMBER 5, 1995, ANNOTATED TO REFLECT CONDITIONS AS DESCRIBED IN REF B. MR. HOWELL VISITED THE U.S. ON DECEMBER 7, 1995 FOR FOUR DAYS.

2. MR HOWELL NOW PLANS TO VISIT NEW YORK FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH NORAD. HE HAS PROVIDED THIS OFFICE WITH THE FOLLOWING ITINERARY:

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1996

DEPART DUBLIN ON EI 105
AT 12:00 NOON TO ARRIVE
AT JFK NEW YORK AT 14:30

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1996

DEPART JFK NEW YORK ON
EI 112 AT 18:50 TO
ARRIVE IN DUBLIN AT

UNCLAS

DUBLIN 00776

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not oversteering view from state

from the perspective that

wp below
Howell rest

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: NSC PASSDOWN PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 110131Z MAR 96

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 2848
INFO RUEHBL/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 7619
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 8150
UNCLAS STATE 048845

VISAS -

E.O. 12958 : N/A

TAGS: CVIS, PTER, PGOV, PREL, UK, EL (ADAMS, GERARD)

SUBJECT: SAO REQUEST - VISA CASE OF GERRY ADAMS

REF: A) VICTARS 050287 B) DUBLIN 1117 C) DUBLIN 694

1. VISAS FOUR GERRY ADAMS (3) (B).

2. THE DEPARTMENT HAS NO OBJECTION TO ISSUANCE OF A BL/2 VISA VALID FOR MULTIPLE ENTRIES THROUGH JUNE 7, 1996 TO APPLICANT. THE VISA SHOULD BE ANNOTATED TO REFLECT THE 212(D) (3) WAIVER GRANTED BY INS/CO. IT SHOULD FURTHER BE ANNOTATED TO INDICATE THAT APPLICANT MUST NOTIFY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OF HIS ITINERARY AT LEAST 72 HOURS (OR MORE, IF THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IT IS NECESSARY TO MEET THE REQUIREMENT OUTLINED IN PARAGRAPH 5) IN ADVANCE OF ANY TRAVEL.

3. POST SHOULD ISSUE THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO APPLICANT BEFORE ISSUING THE VISA.

BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER:

DEAR MR. ADAMS:

UNCLASSIFIED 2

AS YOU KNOW, AS PART OF YOUR APPLICATION FOR A NONIMMIGRANT VISA TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES YOU ARE REQUIRED TO OBTAIN A WAIVER FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

UNDER SECTION 212(D)(3)(A) OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT.

IN THIS CONNECTION, YOU HAVE UNDERTAKEN THE FOLLOWING:

- THAT YOU WILL NOT SOLICIT OR ACCEPT FUNDS.
- THAT YOU WILL NOT ATTEND OR PARTICIPATE IN ANY IRISH REPUBLICAN/SINN FEIN/IRA-RELATED FUNCTION FOR WHICH ADMISSION IS CHARGED, IF THE CHARGE FOR ADMISSION EXCEEDS THE ACTUAL COSTS OF THE FUNCTION.
- THAT THERE WILL BE NO FUNDRAISING AT ANY FUNCTION WHICH YOU ATTEND OR IN WHICH YOU PARTICIPATE, AS A SPEAKER OR OTHERWISE.

ON THE BASIS OF THAT UNDERTAKING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAS GRANTED YOU A WAIVER UNDER SECTION 212(D)(3)(A) OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT. THIS WAIVER MAY BE REVOKED AT ANY TIME, FOR ANY REASON, INCLUDING YOUR FAILURE TO ABIDE BY THE FOREGOING AGREEMENT. IF YOU ARE IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE TIME OF SUCH REVOCATION, YOU WOULD BE SUBJECT TO DEPORTATION FROM THE UNITED STATES.

SINCERELY,

(SIGNED BY AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE)

END TEXT OF LETTER

4. AFTER DELIVERING THE LETTER TO MR. ADAMS, CONSULAR OFFICER IS REQUESTED TO NOTE ON EMBASSY COPY THAT THE ORIGINAL WAS DELIVERED TO MR. ADAMS, WITH DATE AND TIME OF DELIVERY NOTED. EMBASSY SHOULD FAX A COPY OF THE ANNOTATED LETTER TO CA/VO/L/C AT 202-663-1553.

5. THE DEPARTMENT AND FBI HAVE RECEIVED APPLICANT'S ITINERARY FOR THIS TRIP, BUT STILL NEED FLIGHT DATA. FOR FUTURE REFERENCE, POSTS (INCLUDING INFO ADDRESSEES) SHOULD NOTE ITINERARIES MUST BE SUBMITTED TO POSTS EARLY ENOUGH TO ENSURE THE ITINERARIES ARRIVE IN THE DEPARTMENT AND FBI HEADQUARTERS VIA CABLE AT LEAST 48 HOURS PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF TRAVEL BY THE ALIEN. ITINERARIES MUST INCLUDE DATE, TIME OF ARRIVAL, FLIGHT NUMBER, AND PORT-OF-ENTRY; DATES AND CITIES TO BE

UNCLASSIFIED

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

UNCLASSIFIED 3

VISITED; AND DATE, TIME, FLIGHT NUMBER, AND CITY OF
DEPARTURE. PLEASE SLUG ITINERARIES FOR EUR/UBI AND
CA/VO/L/C AND INCLUDE DIRFBI WASHDC AS AN ACTION
ADDRESSEE. THIS REQUIREMENT APPLIES EACH TIME APPLICANT
TRAVELS.

CHRISTOPHER

BT

#8845

NNNN

<MSGID> M2122686

UNCLASSIFIED

Feeley, John F.

From: Feeley, John F.
To: Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: Senator Mitchell[UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, March 08, 1996 3:51PM

Nancy,
Ref. Sen. Mitchell project in Bosnia:

--Have contacted JCS, State and OSD to discuss possibilities of IFOR, UN, or U.S. help for Sen Mitchell's getting in and out of Bosnia.

--Contacted Sen. Mitchell's office at State and relayed information and POCs for their use in putting together his trip in May. The Senator's staff has my number if they run into horrendous problems.

--The Senator is presently travelling, looking for support for his private crisis management team which he plans on using to monitor the implementation of the civilian aspects of the Dayton Accords.

fly into Sarajevo. →
Ariana → Venice → Rome
Zagreb → Milan

Jody Jones
(pm)
202 736-7747
Asst Megan Drosell
647-3034

Summit failed to provide required assurances

VINCENT BROWNE

ON FEBRUARY 15th, six days after the breakdown of the IRA ceasefire, Gerry Adams said: "The absence of [all-party] negotiations led to the breakdown [of the ceasefire]. The commencement of negotiations, therefore, provides the way forward. Any new process must contain copperfastened and unambiguous public assurances that all-party talks [involving Sinn Féin] will be initiated by both governments at the earliest possible date".

"However persistently they protested otherwise, the point of the joint communiqué issued in Downing Street last Wednesday, February 28th, was to provide such copperfastened and unambiguous public assurances that all-party talks will begin on June 10th next.

John Bruton said in the Dáil that afternoon: "Regarding participation in all-party negotiations, both governments are agreed in paragraph 5 [of the joint communiqué] that Sinn Féin participation is dependent only on a restoration of the IRA ceasefire".

The joint communiqué was a considerable diplomatic achievement by Bruton. Unfortunately the exercise fell short of the "copperfastened and unambiguous" public assurance that all-party talks involving Sinn Féin would begin on that date.

At the press conference in Downing Street that followed the publication of the communiqué Major was asked: "Is Sinn Féin going to be accessed to all-party talks conditional on one thing only — the restoration of the ceasefire — or are there going to be other preconditions or what they would describe as stalling tactics?"

This was the key question. Bruton sought to answer it in the Dáil a few hours later with his assertion that the "only" precondition was the restoration of the IRA ceasefire.

However, Major had other ideas. His response to the question was: "We set out quite clearly in the communiqué . . . that there has got to be a ceasefire and then at the outset, at the moment the discussions between the parties begin, there has got to be a discussion about the Mitchell report in all its aspects: paragraph 30 [on the need for Sinn Féin to reassure other parties of their commitment of exclusively peaceful and democratic means] and the related aspects, dealing with adherence to the principles [of the Mitchell report] and dealing with the question of decommissioning to the satisfaction of the parties, so that begins as the first item on the agenda."

So that, although technically all-party talks would begin with only one precondition (a resumption of the IRA ceasefire), the talks would not get off the starting blocks until four further preconditions were met. These are (i) a discussion of the Mitchell report "in all its aspects" (ii) Sinn Féin reassuring other parties of their commitment to exclusively peaceful and democratic methods (iii) commitment to adherence to the six principles stated in paragraph 20 of the Mitchell report to the satisfaction of all the parties, and (iv) discussion of the Mitchell suggestion on what is known as "parallel decommissioning", again to the satisfaction of all the parties.

These caveats make a nonsense of the commitment to all-party talks involving Sinn Féin only on the condition of a resumption of the IRA ceasefire. Indeed, if they are to stand, they guarantee that there will be no all-party talks even if there is a ceasefire. And of course they ensure that there will not be a ceasefire, at least until they are removed.

The requirement that "at the moment the discussions between the parties begin", that there has to be a discussion of the Mitchell report in all its aspects, even on its own, would make progress on all-party talks virtually impossible. Just think of the leeway this would give to the Ulster Unionists to nit-pick through the report "in all its aspects", aspects yet unseen and never intended.

Then add in the requirement that Sinn Féin reassure the other parties of their commitment to exclusively peaceful and democratic methods. How could this be done with parties determined not to be reassured? Equally, how could Sinn Féin satisfy parties determined not to be satisfied of their commitment to the six Mitchell principles? And as for parallel decommissioning . . .

The IRA has stated there will be no decommissioning before agreement on an overall settlement. This is unsatisfactory and menacing, but it is a reality, and the Mitchell Commission's brief was to find a way through the impasse between that refusal and the British and unionist insistence.

The Mitchell Commission's resolution of this impasse was the recommendation requiring all parties to the negotiations to commit themselves to the six principles. Reintroducing the decommissioning precondition at the outset of all-party talks clearly frustrates the whole purpose of the Mitchell report and makes a nonsense of the purported acceptance of the report.

IT IS true that the Mitchell commission did refer to parallel decommissioning. This comes in paragraph 34 of the report. It states: "The parties should consider an approach under which some decommissioning would take place during the process of all-party negotiations". Clearly, there can be no reasonable opposition to the proposal to "consider" such a proposal, but to make this a new precondition to progress on talks is quite a different matter.

And as John Major has stated it, agreement on parallel decommissioning would become a precondition of progress beyond "the moment the discussions between the parties begin". He said that "there has got to be a discussion dealing with the question of decommissioning to the satisfaction of the parties".

We know full well that "the satisfaction" of the two main unionist parties will require at least a start to decommissioning and then further phased decommissioning during the course of the talks", a more intractable impasse than that which gave rise to the Mitchell commission in the first place.

Bruton tried to soften this in a part of the text he read a few hours later to the Dáil: it is evident from the script that this was a late addition. Dick Spring tried to soften it further the next day. He said: "Decommissioning is by no means the only item on the agenda, nor should the commitments we seek be exploited to avoid serious negotiation on the many other questions to be addressed". But what worth have such protestations from the Taoiseach and Tánaiste when Major says the opposite, or appears to?

There is a way around this. It is as follows: a new public assurance that, given an electoral mandate and acceptance of the Mitchell six principles, all-party talks will go ahead, that while decommissioning will be discussed at the outset of the talks, agreement on that will not be a requirement to progress to other issues, that a clear statement of acceptance of the Mitchell principles will suffice; and that talks will proceed without procedural or other roadblocks of any kind, irrespective of who threatens not to turn up.

We have been "tantalisingly close" to a permanent cessation of violence. No surrender of genuine principle is now required to copperfasten that. But political will and determination are required.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	Mary Peters to Nancy Soderberg re: March 11 Event [partial] (1 page)	03/07/1996	P6/b(6), b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Visas, 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1694

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Kessinger, Jodi

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Soderberg, Nancy E.; @NSA - Nat'l Security Advisor
Cc: /R, Record at A1
Subject: March 11 Event [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, March 07, 1996 4:55PM
Priority: High

To: AL
NES
From: MAP

Attached

Niall O'Dowd tells me that Gerry will not be present at the awards ceremony that the President will attend from 6:00-7:00 Monday. I have a sequence of events which I am faxing to you.

Under current plans, Gerry does not intend to arrive until Tuesday (I am also faxing his itinerary) but in case he comes earlier, Niall wants to know whether we would agree to have him attend the reception at 7:30 following the award event. The reception will be in the same hotel but in a different room, and the President will have departed. I told him I thought that would be fine, that we do not want to tell people whom to invite to their events, though we appreciate his willingness not to put the President in an awkward position at the earlier event. Do you see any problem if Gerry attends the 7:30 event?

FYI: During our reception 3/15, Gerry will be in NY for a Friendly Sons of St. Patrick dinner.

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

*SF Ref.
(b)(6)
at FBI.*

[003]

3/11 N.Y. Event Sequence of Events

TO NES, AL
FROM MAP

4.45 pm Announcer asks guests to take their seats in the Ballroom

5.00 pm All guests seated

5.05 pm Announcer introduces Niall O'Dowd and Joe Byrne Irish Tourist Board

Joe Byrne welcoming speech 1 minute

SECTION ONE - The Top 100 of 1996

5.06 pm Niall O'Dowd introduces the 57 attendees from the Top 100 who walk out on stage, in pairs, Joe Byrne's shakes hands, and then are seated.

Duration - 15 minutes

5.21 pm NOD introduces Irish Tourism Minister Kenny speaks - 1.5 minutes

5.23 pm Niall O'Dowd introduces Jean Butler star of Riverdance and "Riverdance" Video
Duration: 3 minutes

5.26 pm NOD introduces Northern Irish Tourism Minister Baroness Denton speaks 1.5 minutes

SECTION TWO - A Tribute to the President

5.28 pm Section Two introduced by Niall O'Dowd

5.30 pm *A Tribute to the President*

Duration: 12 minutes

Senator Christopher Dodd speaks 2 minutes

Bill Flynn, St Patrick's Parade Grand Marshal speaks 2 minutes

Donald Keough, Chairman of Board Notre Dame speaks 2 minutes

Bruce Morrison "Morrison Visa" fame speaks 2 minutes

Liam Neeson speaks 2 minutes

- 5.45pm** Patricia Harty introduces Video - "Journey of Peace" - speaks for 2 minutes
Video Duration: 15 minutes
- 6.00pm** Niall O'Dowd and Patricia Harty meet President
- 6.01pm** Three seats placed on stage
Presidential Seal put in place on Podium
- 6.01pm** President arrives at L'Ermitage Suite
Met at door by:
Turlough McConnell, Senior Vice President, Irish America
Michael Foley Ireland U.S.Council
Joe Byrne, Irish Tourist Board

Welcoming Committee:

Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith
Bill Flynn 1996 Parade Grand Marshal
Tom Moran, President and CEO, Mutual of America
Liam Neeson, Actor
Natasha Richardson, , Liam Neeson's wife
Paddy Wright Chief Executive Jefferson Smurfit
Donald Keough Former President Coca Cola
Matt McNulty CEO Irish Tourist Board
John Sharkey Executive V.P. MCI
Brian Stack Chairman, CIE Tours International
Irish America Magazine Special Guests
Fergus O'Dowd Mayor of Drogheda
James McGoldrick, Assistant Editor, Irish America
Debbie McGoldrick, Editor, Irish America
Marian Hall, Art Director, Irish America
Honorah Harty, Marketing Director, Irish America
Emer Mullins, Assistant Editor, Irish America

President Presented with "Order of Green Jacket" symbolising Irish American support for Irish athletes for Olympics 1996

6.07pm Niall O' Dowd, Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith to Ballroom Stage

6.10pm President Clinton announced
"Hail to the Chief"

6.11pm Niall O'Dowd welcomes President and introduces
Toast to the President - one minute (Announcer)
Niall O'Dowd remarks - seven minutes
Senator Ted Kennedy speaks two minutes
Amb Jean Kennedy Smith remarks - two minutes
Patricia Harty brings Waterford Trophy to stage to
Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith

"Irish American of the Year" Presentation

6.21pm President accepts award and his remarks

6.41pm President leaves stage
President works ropes

6.50pm President walked to departure point by Niall O'Dowd and
Patricia Harty

Reception Terrace Room commences

07/03 '96 13:48

002

Feb. 7, 1996: G. Adams/R.G. McAuley

Itinerary Tues. 12/3/96 - Sun. 17/3/96

Tues: 12/3/96 2:30 p.m. - Arrive New York JFK
Press Conference

6:00 p.m. - Plaza Hotel NY
Reception hosted by
Patrick J. Doherty
Kevin G. Sullivan

8:00 p.m. - Gaelic Park NY
Pasta rally hosted by
10 Irish American Organizations

Wed: 13/3/96 Media work a.m./p.m. NY

6:00 p.m. - Mutual of America reception for
Bill Flynn, Grand Marshall
St. Patrick's Day Parade
Mutual of America Building NY.

Thurs: 14/3/96 Media work a.m. NY

2:00 p.m. - Arrive Washington

3:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. Political briefings with
members of Congress

6:00 p.m. - American Ireland Fund Dinner
National Museum Building, Washington

Fri: 15/3/96 9:30 a.m. - International Fund for Ireland
The University Club, Washington

10:50 a.m. - Media work

3:00 p.m. - Depart for NYC

7:00 p.m. - Friendly Sons of St. Patrick reception NY

*Dodd
6:10 am*

Breakfast

07/03 '96 13:48

003

Sat. 16/3/96

7:00 a.m. - Breakfast with Mayor Giuliani NY

9:15 a.m. - Breakfast with Cardinal O'Connor NY

10:00 a.m. Governors breakfast

2:00 p.m. - Depart NYC for Scranton by road.

7:00 p.m. - Friendly Sons of St. Patrick
Genetti's Manor, Dickson PA

Sun. 17/3/96

7:30 a.m. - Media work

10:00 a.m. Peace Brunch, Fiorelli's Rockwell PA

6:50 p.m. - Depart JFK/NY for Dublin.

Baldwin, Kenneth

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Baldwin, Kenneth; Kessinger, Jodi; @UP - APNSA Special Assistants
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Baker, James E.; Peters, Mary A.
Subject: IRA fundraising [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Wednesday, March 06, 1996 9:12PM

FOR TL AND NS

INS/GC and I have developed an alternative to the DOJ proposal to attach Adams' visa application to his I-94 when he enters the United States.

I have talked through with INS/GC the concerns that led them to advise the AG to insist on attaching Adams' fundraising statements to his I-94 upon entry. They had proposed this because they believe that they can only enforce a condition concerning a visa if the alien is put on prior notice of the condition and told that violation of the condition could lead to revocation of the visa. I asked why that couldn't be accomplished through a letter from the embassy to Adams at the time he is given his visa. After deliberation, they agreed that was possible. I discussed with Mary Anne Peters and Nancy Soderberg, both of whom thought this would be a satisfactory outcome, subject to the wording of the letter.

I have now worked out a letter which INS/GC would find acceptable. Subject to a few word changes (indicated in BOLD), Mary Anne Peters thinks it is OK. The definition of fundraising in the letter is not new. It was developed last year and has been communicated to IRA on other occasions. Request your OK to tell DOJ we would be prepared to proceed on basis of following letter:

Dear Mr. Adams:

As you know, as part of your application for a nonimmigrant visa to enter the US you are required to obtain a waiver from the AG under section 212(d)(3)(A) of the INA.

In this connection, you have agreed (substitute: **HAVE INDICATED**) the following:

- that you will not solicit or accept funds;
- that you will not attend or participate in any *Republican related function* for which admission is charged, if the charge for admission exceeds the actual cost of the function;
- that there will be no fundraising at any function which you attend or in which you participate, as a speaker or otherwise.

On the basis of that agreement (ON THE BASIS OF THESE STIPULATIONS), the AG has granted you a waiver under section 212(d)(3)(A) of the INA. This waiver may be revoked at any time, for any reason, including your failure to abide by (the foregoing agreement)(THE ABOVEMENTIONNED STIPULATIONS). If you are in the US at the time of such revocation, you would be subject to deportation from the US.

Adams would be required to acknowledge receipt of the letter by signing embassy copy.

COMMENT: This approach would also remove one of DOJ objections to treating Adams and other IRA members the same. The I-94 proposal would have been cumbersome to administer, particularly with a holder of a multiple-entry visa. All INS inspectors at expected port-of-entry would have needed to be on notice that if Adams appeared, they had to go get a copy of his visa application and then append it to his I-94. They would have argued that while they were willing to go through this with Adams because of his stature, they did not want the administrative burden for others. However, a letter approach is very easy to administer. Therefore, if acceptable to us, the letter approach would remove one objection they have to treating all the IRA the same way we handle Adams on fundraising.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Mary Peters to National Security Advisor re: Ireland Decisions [Immigration and Nationality Act] (1 page)	03/07/1996	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Visas, 1996

2011-0355-F

rs1694

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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.

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

NES--

Attached is the draft cable instructing Dublin and Belfast to inform those who hold current visas that fundraising is now prohibited. (DOJ did not agree to inform them by phone.) This would mean their status is a little different from those who get new visas, whose letters will acknowledge that they have voluntarily agreed not to raise funds. The three covered by this cable have not had to apply for a new visa so they have not volunteered not to raise funds. This will let the Embassy draft the letter, which I think is the best way. OK?

INITIALS

APPR: RAD _____
DRAFT: JRP _____
OTHER: DTH _____
OTHER: COS _____
OTHER: SRP _____
OTHER: PV _____
OTHER: DP _____

UNCLASSIFIED

CA/VO/L/C:JRPRITCHETT:2444C
03/06/96 663-1198
CA/VO/L/C:RADAVIS

CA/VO:DTHOPPER
CA/VO/L/C:SRPATTISON
DOJ/OIPR:DPASTORE
S/S:

CA/VO/L:COSCULLY,III
EUR/UBI:PVANSON
NSC:
S/S-O:

IMMEDIATE DUBLIN
ROUTINE LONDON, BELFAST

VISAS -

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CVIS, PTER, PREL, PGOV

SUBJECT: VISA CONDITIONS FOR SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES

REF: A) VICTARS 062875 (CAHILL), 102781 (DONALDSON),
056850 (MCAULEY) B) 94 STATE 256979

1. POST IS REQUESTED TO INFORM ALL SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES WHO ARE INELIGIBLE FOR VISAS BUT HAVE VALID WAIVERS THAT THEY ARE NO LONGER PERMITTED TO RAISE FUNDS IN THE U.S. ACCORDING TO DEPARTMENT'S RECORDS. THOSE IN THIS CATEGORY ARE JOSEPH CAHILL AND DENIS DONALDSON, WHO HOLD VISAS VALID THROUGH APRIL 21, 1996, AND RICHARD MCAULEY, WHO HAS A VISA VALID THROUGH MARCH 12, 1996. IF THERE ARE OTHERS, PLEASE ADVISE DEPARTMENT IMMEDIATELY.

2. CAHILL, DONALDSON, AND MCAULEY SHOULD BE INFORMED IN WRITING THAT FUND RAISING IS NO LONGER PERMITTED. POST SHOULD ENSURE THAT ALL THREE UNDERSTAND PREVIOUS GUIDANCE CONTAINED IN REF B ON THE DEFINITION OF FUNDRAISING. THE COMMITMENT NOT TO ENGAGE IN DIRECT OR INDIRECT FUNDRAISING SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS FOLLOWS:

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

2

- THE ALIEN WILL NOT SOLICIT OR ACCEPT FUNDS.
- THE ALIEN WILL NOT ATTEND OR PARTICIPATE IN ANY FUNCTION FOR WHICH ADMISSION IS CHARGED. IF THE CHARGE FOR ADMISSION EXCEEDS THE ACTUAL COSTS OF THE FUNCTION.
- THERE WILL BE NO FUNDRAISING AT ANY FUNCTION WHICH THE ALIEN ATTENDS OR IN WHICH THE ALIEN PARTICIPATES, AS A SPEAKER OR OTHERWISE.

AS STATED IN REF B, THESE CONDITIONS ARE TO BE CONSTRUED BROADLY. POST SHOULD REMIND ALL THREE THAT THEIR WAIVERS CAN BE WITHDRAWN BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AT ANY TIME.

3. ADDITIONALLY, CAHILL, DONALDSON, AND MCAULEY SHOULD BE NOTIFIED THAT ITINERARIES MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE EMBASSY EARLY ENOUGH FOR THE EMBASSY TO ENSURE THE ITINERARIES ARRIVE IN THE DEPARTMENT AND FBI HEADQUARTERS AT LEAST 48 HOURS PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF TRAVEL BY THE ALIEN. ITINERARIES MUST INCLUDE DATE, TIME OF ARRIVAL, FLIGHT NUMBER, AND PORT-OF-ENTRY; DATES AND CITIES TO BE VISITED; AND DATE, TIME, FLIGHT NUMBER, AND CITY OF DEPARTURE. PLEASE SLUG ITINERARIES FOR EUR/UBI AND CA/VO/L/C AND INCLUDE DIRFBI WASHDC AS AN ACTION ADDRESSEE. POST SHOULD NOTE THIS REQUIREMENT APPLIES EACH TIME APPLICANT TRAVELS.

4. PLEASE INFORM DEPARTMENT WHEN ALIENS HAVE BEEN ADVISED OF THESE REQUIREMENTS. ASSISTANCE APPRECIATED. YY

UNCLASSIFIED

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Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. email	Mary Peters to Kenneth Baldwin re: Foundation (1 page)	02/17/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

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NES -

Just got. gives FBI
| access to that info. |
Of course after that point
we don't know where
\$ goes. But very likely
this money goes to

legitimate political
expenses. What it
does is take pressure
| of other ^{illegal} friends |
that would otherwise
have to be shared
w/ Ann Tex.



U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, D.C. 20530

FEB 15 1996

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mary Ann Peters
Director of European Affairs
National Security Council

FROM: Heather H. Hunt, Attorney
Registration Unit
Internal Security Section
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Friends of Sinn Fein, Inc.

*TO MAP -
How do we know
how the \$ in Ireland
is spent?
ms*

As you requested, below is an update on the fundraising activities of the Friends of Sinn Fein, Inc. (FOSF) who are registered as agents of Gerry Adams/Sinn Fein under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 et seq. (FARA or the Act).

FOSF registered under FARA on April 3, 1995 and filed a supplemental statement on October 31, 1995 in compliance with the Act. Those public documents reflect that FOSF raised \$1,117,081.12 and disbursed \$521,660.70 to Ireland from February 24, 1995 to October 31, 1995. Since that public filing, the Department has been advised by FOSF that they have raised an additional \$94,295.00 for which no public reports are yet due and that on November 2, 1995 \$13,827.21 was sent to Ireland.

The fundraising efforts of FOSF have centered around the visits of Gerry Adams to the United States. Typically Gerry Adams comes to this country and participates in a number of fundraising events sponsored by the FOSF who control the receipt and reporting of the amounts raised as required by FARA. Other unsolicited donations are received by the FOSF office in New York. The role of the FOSF is to coordinate the various events and comply with the reporting requirements of FARA.

If I can be of any further assistance, please call.

Cc + return

Baldwin, Kenneth

From: Baker, James E.
To: Peters, Mary A.; Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Kreczko, Alan J.
Subject: Sinn Fein Visas [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, February 13, 1996 7:01PM

We understand from Justice (OIPR) that the Attorney General is actively considering options for addressing present and future visa request waivers in the case of Sinn Fein officials. While the AG has independent authority to revoke visas, we understand that Justice does not intend to take any action without consultation. OIPR is anxious for NSC views as they are in the process of drafting a memorandum due tomorrow advising the AG of the options for addressing three classes of waivers:

- (1) Those persons with visa waivers who are currently in the United States, i.e., Denis Donaldson who is the only person identified by DOJ to be in this category. (+ Ted Howell)
- (2) Persons who hold current visa waivers, but have not yet submitted itineraries indicating that they plan to travel to the U.S. Typically, however, such itineraries are presented at the last moment; it is easier to implement a decision to revoke a visa or condition before an itinerary is presented than to seek to do so at a port of entry or Ireland
- (3) New and prospective applications for visa waivers, e.g., Gerry Adams.

In light of Friday's events, we understand that Justice is inclined toward revoking all current visa waivers in order to impose a prohibition on fundraising, and to condition any future waiver on a no fundraising requirement. Justice is seeking NSC views. What you would you like us to tell them?

Thank you.

To R

We need to get agent
with Justice asap. I've spoken
to Jamie G. who will give me their
views in all.

ms

Baldwin, Kenneth

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1
Subject: Qs and As for Hill [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, February 13, 1996 6:12PM
Priority: High

Please show to NES , ask if she needs more. Thanks.

ALSO-- please give her following message:

NES --

Found out today that Ted Howell (who does have a waiver even though it was issued by DOJ without the President having to weigh in) will be coming here later this week. He plans to arrive NY Thursday afternoon and stay til Sunday -- gives his address while here as c/o NY NORAIID office. I think this is a test case by Sinn Fein. If asked, should stick to the line that the first task is to get the cease-fire restored. < < File Attachment: NESQA.DOC> >

February 12, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: JAMES BAKER^{JB}/MARY ANN PETERS^{MB}

SUBJECT: Gerry Adam's Visa

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

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

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

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

(done on basis of Adams' commitment to periodic, candid discussions)

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

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

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

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

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

Decisions Required:

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

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

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

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

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

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

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 300538Z AUG 94

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN NIACT IMMEDIATE 9262

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0136

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

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 233451

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CVIS

SUBJECT: AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE VISAS

1. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ENTIRE TEXT.

2. VISAS TWO AND FOUR (CAHILL, JOSEPH 212(A)(2)(3)(6)
AND TRAINOR, PATRICK 212(A)(2)(3).

3. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAS AUTHORIZED WAIVERS OF
INELEGIBILITIES FOR SUBJECTS. EMBASSY IS AUTHORIZED TO
ISSUE EACH SUBJECT A ONE-ENTRY B-2 VISA, VALID UNTIL
SEPTEMBER 4.

4. PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF VISAS, EMBASSY SHOULD OBTAIN
ITINERARY FOR PLANNED TRIP, MAKE KNOWN THE FOLLOWING
CONDITIONS TO SUBJECTS, AND OBTAIN THEIR AGREEMENT TO
THEM: WE WOULD REQUIRE THE IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE OF
SUBJECTS IF (1) THEY ENGAGE IN FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES
(2) THEY DEVIATE FROM THE ITINERARY WHICH THEY SUPPLIED
TO THE EMBASSY, OR (3) THE ANTICIPATED ANNOUNCEMENT BY
THE IRA DOES NOT REFLECT A COMMITMENT TO THE TOTAL
CESSATION OF VIOLENCE. IN ANY EVENT, THEIR DEPARTURE
MUST TAKE PLACE NO LATER THAN SEPTEMBER FOURTH.

TALBOTT

BT

#3451

NNNN

<MSGID> M1226517

FAXED TO
TRIP SITE

FOR ITOH

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

By W NARA, Date 4/6/16

2011-0355-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

PRT: BERGER FUERTH REED SENS SIT SODERBERG
SIT: FILE NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VAX VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 301204Z AUG 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6070
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 2295
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 3240

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

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DUBLIN 004724

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CVIS

SUBJECT: AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE VISAS

REF: STATE 233451 (NOTAL)

1. VISAS TWO AND FOUR (CAHILL, JOSEPH 212 (A) (2) (3) (6) AND TRAINOR, PATRICK 212 (A) (2) (3) WERE ISSUED AT 0930 LOCAL TIME TUESDAY AUGUST 30. BOTH INDIVIDUALS ARE SCHEDULED TO DEPART DUBLIN ON AER LINGUS FLT. 105 FOR NEW YORK AT 1200 LOCAL AUGUST 30.

2. PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF VISAS, EMBASSY OBTAINED FOLLOWING ITINERARY FOR THE PLANNED TRIP: NEW YORK AREA, INCLUDING LONG ISLAND, CONNECTICUT, HARTFORD, ALBANY AND NEW JERSEY; BOSTON; PHILADELPHIA; AND CHICAGO. THE DCM EXPLAINED THE CONDITIONS CONTAINED PARA FOUR REFTTEL TO THE SUBJECTS WHO CONFIRMED THEIR FULL UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONDITIONS. SMITH

BT

#4724

NNNN

<MSGID> M1227629

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

By MI NARA, Date 1/4/16

201-0557

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

August 30, 1994

08/30/94 TAKEN QUESTION

NORTHERN IRELAND: VISAS ISSUED TO SINN FEIN OFFICIALS

Q: Were visas issued to IRA members to travel to the U.S.?

A: -- LIMITED B-2, SINGLE ENTRY VISAS WERE ISSUED TUESDAY MORNING (AUGUST 30) IN DUBLIN TO SINN FEIN OFFICIALS JOE CAHILL AND PATRICK TREANOR. IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR IMMIGRATION LAW, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AUTHORIZED THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO WAIVE THEIR INELIGIBILITIES TO ISSUE A TEMPORARY, LIMITED VISA. THE PURPOSE OF THEIR VISIT IS TO ENABLE SINN FEIN OFFICIALS TO GARNER SUPPORT IN THE U.S. FOR AN END TO VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE HOPE THEIR SHORT VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES WILL ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE CONTINUE TO CALL ON THE IRA AND ALL THOSE WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL GOALS THROUGH VIOLENCE TO PERMANENTLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY CEASE TO DO SO.

(Attributable to Michael McCurry: Department spokesman)

Contingency Press Guidance: Northern Ireland

(IF ASKED)

- Q: Were visas issued to IRA members to travel to the U.S.?
- A: Limited B-2, single entry visas were issued Tuesday morning (August 30) in Dublin to Sinn Fein officials Joe Cahill and Patrick Trainor.
- Q: Aren't these persons convicted IRA terrorists?
- A: In accordance with our immigration law, the Attorney General waived the ineligibilities and the State Department issued temporary, limited visas. The purpose of their visit is to enable Sinn Fein officials to garner support in the U.S. for an end to violence in Northern Ireland. We hope their short visit to the United States will advance the peace process in Northern Ireland. We continue to call on the IRA and all those who have sought to achieve political goals through violence to permanently and unconditionally cease to do so.
- Q: Were the British consulted on these visas? Did they oppose this step, as they did the Gerry Adams visa?
- A: We discussed this issue and the current efforts to end the violence in Northern Ireland with both the British and Irish governments. Our policy toward Northern Ireland continues to be based on supporting the joint efforts of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland to achieve peace and a just political settlement in Northern Ireland. You should direct your questions about their views to the respective governments.
- Q: The Irish press is reporting the Administration is prepared to give \$200 million in aid to Northern Ireland if there is an IRA ceasefire. True?
- A: We've made no decision on any possible additional assistance in the event of a ceasefire. The U.S. presently appropriates some \$20 million annually to the International Fund for Ireland. We will continue to be active in looking for ways to encourage and support peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: BERGER, FUERTH, ITOH, LAKE, REED, SENS, SIT, SODERBERG, WOLIN, FILE, NSC, STEPHENS, SUM, SUM2, VAX, VERSHBOW

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DTG: 300538Z AUG 94

FM: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN NIACT IMMEDIATE 9262

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0136

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 233451

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CVIS

SUBJECT: AUTHORIZATION TO ISSUE VISAS

1. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ENTIRE TEXT.
2. VISAS TWO AND FOUR (CAHILL, JOSEPH 212(A)(2)(3)(6) AND TRAINOR, PATRICK 212(A)(2)(3).
3. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAS AUTHORIZED WAIVERS OF INELEGIBILITIES FOR SUBJECTS. EMBASSY IS AUTHORIZED TO ISSUE EACH SUBJECT A ONE-ENTRY B-2 VISA, VALID UNTIL SEPTEMBER 4.
4. PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF VISAS, EMBASSY SHOULD OBTAIN ITINERARY FOR PLANNED TRIP, MAKE KNOWN THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS TO SUBJECTS, AND OBTAIN THEIR AGREEMENT TO THEM: WE WOULD REQUIRE THE IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE OF SUBJECTS IF (1) THEY ENGAGE IN FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES (2) THEY DEVIATE FROM THE ITINERARY WHICH THEY SUPPLIED TO THE EMBASSY, OR (3) THE ANTICIPATED ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE IRA DOES NOT REFLECT A COMMITMENT TO THE TOTAL CESSATION OF VIOLENCE. IN ANY EVENT, THEIR DEPARTURE MUST TAKE PLACE NO LATER THAN SEPTEMBER FOURTH.

TALBOTT

BT

#3451

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<^SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01

<^SSN>3451

<^TOR>940830014440 M1226517

FROM:

SITREPRT

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

By MY NARA, Date 1/6/16

2011-0355-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 12, 1994

*26-8 Unid.
29/30 Sep
Spring.*ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *W*
FROM: KATHLEEN STEPHENS *KS*
SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: Decision Memo on Gerry Adams

The attached memorandum to the President outlines the decisions to be made related to Gerry Adams' anticipated application for a U.S. visa and request for Administration meetings.

Concurrences by: Mike Andricos, Alan Kreczko

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Action Memorandum to the President

*647
224*
*TZ-
I'm still checking on Adams' position
on the Adams' firing.
m.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *M* NARA, Date *1/6/16*
2011-0355-F

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland: Gerry Adams Visa and Contact Issues

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 135262011-0355-F (3.83)
KRH 4/11/2023Purpose

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 broad interagency agreement, 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. Both the Irish and the British governments are highly conscious of these risks. The Irish support an early visit by Adams; the British have urged you to wait until after Prime Minister Major's party conference October 10-15.

Timing: There are three separate visits that need to be juggled, one by Adams, John Hume and the Unionists. In addition, we need to consider the timing of the congressional schedule and Major's party conference. Adams' people claim his early timing is

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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 will most likely see him as well as a variety of Members of Congress. Lastly, although the Unionist leader, James Molyneaux, is traveling in Australia, two leaders of the Unionists community have asked to visit September 26-28.

There are basically three options:

1. Approve a visa starting September 29: Delay Adams' visit until after Hume and the Unionists have visited Washington (i.e., a week from what he currently plans) 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 great 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.

The Irish would support a delay until after the unionist visit.

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 Unionist would be pleased.

Could boost the Unionist who support peace.

Cons: Would cause a major 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 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 Sept 21 - Oct 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 come in Congress who support Adams' request and enable Adams to meet with members.

Would help galvanize early support for and aid package.

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

Would greatly annoy the British and Major, in particular.

Could undermine efforts to bring Unionist 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 see no major problem with allowing him the two and a half week itinerary he has proposed. Indeed, 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 in a limited, controllable way to help defray the cost of his trip.

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 so.

On balance, I recommend we formally lift the ban on contacts with Sinn Fein when Adams comes to the U.S. and that the State Department receive him, probably at the Tarnoff level. We need to continue to work through whether and how he should be received at the White House. 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. We will probably want to receive Adams at a slightly lower level. My initial thinking is that either I or Nancy Soderberg should see him, perhaps at the State Department and not the White House, or an even less formal location. We are continuing to consult on the issue and will decide closer to the visit.

RECOMMENDATION

That Gerry Adams' application for a U.S. visa (requiring a waiver of his existing ineligibility on terrorist grounds) be approved for the two and a half week period beginning September 29, 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 _____

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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008. memo	To Michael Hancock re: Waiver of Visa Ineligibility for Gerry Adams [partial] (1 page)	06/14/1995	b(7)(C)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Visas, 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1694

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]

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.

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]

JUN 15 '95 03:54PM JIPR

U. S. Department of Justice

P.4

*Copy to Mary S. S. and Alan K. S.*

Office of Intelligence Policy and Review

G. Adams USA

Washington, D.C. 20530

June 14, 1995

To: Michael L. Hancock
Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Visa Services
Department of State

From: *D* Dominic Pastore
Office of Intelligence Policy and Review
Department of Justice

Subject: Waiver of Visa Ineligibility for Gerry Adams

Your letter of June 7, 1995, requested a waiver of visa ineligibility for Gerard "Gerry" Adams, President of the Sinn Fein Party, in accordance with Section 212(d)(3)(A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). Mr. Adams' three month B-1/B-2 multiple entry visa issued on March 11, 1995 is due to expire on June 10, 1995.

The FBI continues to maintain its objection to any waiver of ineligibility for Mr. Adams based on Section 212(a)(3)(B) of the INA for terrorist activity. Moreover, the INS and the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, while not maintaining their objections to a visa waiver at this time, concur with the Bureau in objecting to fundraising activities being permitted to any individual excludable under Section 212(a)(3)(B).

However, in accordance with the President's decision of March 9, 1995, to lift the previously imposed ban on fundraising in the United States by Adams, and the Administration's policy of promoting the peace process in Northern Ireland, Gerry Adams may be issued a three month multiple entry B-1/B-2 visa with no restriction on fundraising. As always, Mr. Adams is required to submit an itinerary of activities and of places to be visited to the U.S. Consul where the visa application is made.

cc: Mark Steinberg, EONS
(b)(7)c [008]
Bob Neighbors, INS
Dana Biehl, Criminal Division
Fred Close, Criminal Division

*CC to R +
return.*

LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 15 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Sunday Telegraph Limited
Sunday Telegraph

February 18, 1996, Sunday

SECTION: Pg. 01

LENGTH: 542 words

HEADLINE: Clinton to Adams: no visa until there's a ceasefire

BYLINE: by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard in Washington, David Wastell and Valerie Elliott

BODY:

PRESIDENT Clinton is refusing to renew Gerry Adams's American visa in protest at the resumption of the IRA's bombing campaign in Britain. The move is a devastating blow to the Sinn Fein leader's international prestige, and will send a powerful signal that the US backs the tough line against top-level contact taken by London and Dublin since the terrorist campaign resumed. It coincides with a warning by British security chiefs that Mr Adams has lost all influence over IRA terrorists and is unable to prevent them continuing their mainland bombing campaign. A bleak assessment of the balance of power in the Republican movement, which has been passed to ministers, concludes that any efforts by the Sinn Fein president to persuade hardliners to resume the ceasefire is likely to fail. As a result, security sources say, the bombing campaign is likely to continue indefinitely - casting doubt on the benefit of even trying to bring Sinn Fein into all-party talks. Mr Adams, who has to renew his US visa every three months, made an application at the end of last month so that he could return to Washington for the annual St Patrick's Day festivities. But Washington is now refusing to grant Mr Adams a visa unless the ceasefire is immediately restored. Mr Clinton last week denounced the IRA's return to violence as "damn stupid", it emerged yesterday. During a meeting with David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist leader, Mr Clinton, referring to the Docklands bomb which killed two people, said it was "damn stupid for them to resume violence when they did". Mr Clinton provoked a storm of protest from the British Government when he granted Mr Adams a visa in early 1994 - before the IRA announced its ceasefire. His refusal to sanction Mr Adams's visa is the clearest indication to date that the White House is reconsidering its policy towards Sinn Fein. "We're not acting on the visa," a US official told The Sunday Telegraph. "We'll make a decision in due course, but right now we're concentrating on getting the ceasefire restored." The security services' assessment of Mr Adams's position suggests that, although he remains the Republicans' political figurehead, his influence over the IRA has been overtaken by hardliners who have no interest in elections. He had some appreciation of the balancing act required of the Government, but the hardliners believe they can bomb their way to the negotiating table. Meanwhile there are signs that the Government may accept a proposal, made last week by John Hume, leader of the nationalist SDLP, for a referendum on both sides of the Irish border on violence as a political weapon. Ministers are expected to consider a suggestion - floated in a speech by Mo Mowlam, Labour's Northern Ireland spokesman, on Friday - for a referendum to be held at the same time as planned elections to a Northern Ireland peace convention. Miss Mowlam

File

Nancy looks like they wrote around the White House quote. Mary Ellen

1996 The Sunday Telegraph Limited, February 18, 1996

said yesterday: "The Unionists are signed up to an election but John Hume is deeply opposed and is arguing for a referendum. There should be talks between the parties and the governments to decide how best to work towards some merger of a referendum with the electoral element." Mr Hume will outline his idea in more detail at a meeting with John Major this week.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 18, 1996

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. cable	re: NIV Application by Sinn Fein Official [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	02/14/1996	P3/b(3), b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Visas, 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1694

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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