

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

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

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	John Major to POTUS (3 pages)	12/01/1994	P1/b(1)
002. cable	re: Impact of Irish Crisis on Peace Process (3 pages)	12/08/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
003. memo	re: Northern Ireland: Clock Ticking on Peace (2 pages)	12/06/1994	P1/b(1)
004. cable	re: Sinn Fein/Provisional Irish Republic Army Activities Following the Cease Fire (4 pages)	11/30/1994	P1/b(1)
005a. fax cover sheet	re: PIRA Matters [partial] (1 page)	11/25/1994	P6/b(6), b(7)(C)
005b. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republican Army (2 pages)	11/25/1994	P1/b(1)
006. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Gerry Adams Wants Visa for December Visit (7 pages)	11/00/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
007a. memo	From Anthony Lake re: Telephone Call to Outgoing Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds (2 pages)	11/23/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
007b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with Albert Reynolds (1 page)	11/23/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
008. report	re: PIRA Activities Since the Ceasefire (1 page)	11/00/1994	P1/b(1)
009. memo	re: Meeting on November 2, 1994 Regarding the Provisional Irish Republican Army (2 pages)	11/22/1994	P1/b(1)
010. email	Alan Kreezko to Brooke Darby re: Gerry Adams (1 page)	11/22/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Gerry Adams Applies for Visa for December Visit (7 pages)	11/22/1994	P1/b(1) KRM 8/29/2023
012. cable	re: Fundraising by Gerry Adams (2 pages)	11/22/1994	P1/b(1) KRM 8/29/2023
013. report	re: Situation Room Morning Summary (1 page)	11/21/1994	P1/b(1)
014. cable	re: Fundraising by Gerry Adams (4 pages)	11/18/1994	P1/b(1) 8/29/2023
015. cable	re: Fundraising by Sinn Fein (3 pages)	11/16/1994	P1/b(1) 8/29/2023
016. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republican Army (3 pages)	11/23/1994	P1/b(1)
017. report	re: [Provisional Irish Republican Army] (5 pages)	11/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE IRISH TIMES
Washington Bureau

Tel: (301) 320-2308
Fax: (301) 229-1036

6221 Redwing Road
Bethesda, MD, 20817

NO. OF
PAGES: 4 (including this)
TO: NANCY SODERBERG.
FAX:
FROM: Conor O'Clery
SUBJECT: CURTIS

Hope these are legible !

Conor O'Clery

THE LIBRARY

From Conor O'Clery,
in Washington

BRITAIN is prepared to rethink or modify its decision to exclude Sinn Féin from Mr John Major's investment conference in Belfast, according to official and diplomatic sources in Washington.

As a major row broke out over the issue, the White House raised the exclusion of Sinn Féin from the December 13th-14th conference directly with the British government, a senior administration official told *The Irish Times*.

At the same time, the White House confirmed last night that Mr Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, had invited Sinn Féin leader Mr Gerry Adams to the White House next week. He would not, however, be allowed to raise funds.

US Commerce Secretary, Mr Ron Brown, who is to lead a 50-strong American delegation to the Belfast conference, was said to be particularly upset with the British decision to exclude Sinn Féin, on the grounds that it politically compromised his mission.

It also brought threats of a boycott of the conference from prominent US investors — the main potential source of new international investment in Northern Ireland.

White House officials were stunned by the move and the failure of Britain to inform them in advance. They felt it would undermine Sinn Féin's role in the peace process just at the time the US administration was telling Mr Adams — in response to pressure from Britain — that he could not raise funds on his US visit to New York and Washington next week.

A senior official said the fund-raising issue needed to be worked through and "I expect it will be resolved in a reasonable time frame". Britain had objected to fund raising before Sinn Féin was accepted into the political process by London. Mr Adams had originally planned to attend a major fund-raising dinner in New York.

Senator Edward Kennedy said last night that he regretted the decision, pointing out Mr Adams had already raised money in London and that any funds raised in the United States could be "fenced" in reasonable ways to ensure they went on legitimate political activity.

The meeting between Mr Lake and Mr Adams will take place next Tuesday or Wednesday. The White House statement said Mr Adams will be granted a waiver to travel on a multiple entry visa valid for 90 days. It said Mr Lake looked forward to hearing Mr Adams' views on the current situation and to discussing ways in which the peace process can be advanced and economic prosperity promoted.

The invitation was "in the context of the administration's support for efforts to consolidate the peace process in Northern Ireland and to encourage political reconciliation and economic regeneration in the region," it said.

"Since the ban on contacts with Sinn Féin was lifted two months ago, Mr Adams has discussed the developing situation with White House and State Department officials, including the US ambassador to Ireland and the United Kingdom."

THE IRISH TIMES, Thursday, December 1, 1994

Dismay over investment conference

British could face US boycott of hastily convened Belfast meeting

From Conor O'Clery,
in Washington

THE news of Sinn Féin's exclusion from the British government's investment conference in Belfast on December 13th/14th was greeted with incredulity in the White House and with dismay in the US Commerce Department where the Secretary, Mr Ron Brown, is preparing to lead a 50-strong delegation to the event.

Many Congress members and business executives who had been informally approached to attend the investment conference were saying angrily yesterday that they might not go if Britain insisted on excluding Sinn Féin — or that they would go and make a point of protesting.

Mr Brown was suddenly faced with the prospect of flying to Northern Ireland in an almost-empty plane. The British government was faced with the possibility that its decision could backfire on it, with the Sinn Féin leader, Mr Gerry Adams, emerging from the White House after his meeting there next Wednesday to tell the world's press how he could discuss Northern Ireland's economy at the highest levels of the US administration but was banned by Britain from



Mr John Major: announcement on conference took US officials by surprise.

an economic conference in his own city.

Irish diplomats were also taken aback at the news and had to scramble for information, as the British government had not formally notified the Irish Government that it was excluding Sinn Féin.

The fact that the invitations are only just now being extended — with only two weeks to go — to corporate executives and law-

makers whose clerics are often filled for months ahead, stems from the way the conference came about.

The idea of an investment conference to encourage an inflow of capital to restore the Northern Ireland economy first came from the Americans, according to some Washington sources. After the IRA ceasefire in August, President Clinton had initiated discussions among the US, British and Irish governments about holding such a conference in the United States. It would involve the International Fund for Ireland and would concentrate not just on Northern Ireland but on Border counties in the Republic.

US administration officials were taken aback when Mr John Major announced in Belfast in a speech to the Institute of Directors on October 21st that he would hold his own investment conference in the city to showcase the North as a location for worldwide investment.

This gave officials of the Industrial Development Board in Belfast and the Institute of Directors 50 days to get everybody together.

Government planners in Washington say that to get top international investors to sit down with senior ministers from different countries requires many months of planning and co-ordination. They point out that the US has spent a year planning an investment conference for Eastern European countries due to be held in Cleveland in January — the model for President Clinton's Northern Ireland investment conference which will be held in Philadelphia in April.

British embassy officials say that Mr Major had planned his conference for a long time and point out that holding it quickly helps the momentum of the peace process. Some administration officials in Washington suspect other considerations, among them a desire to seize back the

initiative from the Americans and to return the emphasis to a strictly Northern Ireland, rather than a cross-Border, context. Some Irish sources also felt that the British did not like the cross-Border element and were saying, "Northern Ireland will look after itself".

Whatever the behind-the-scenes jousting, big-time Irish American investors were ready to attend the Belfast investment conference and to respond to the invitations going out this week from Mr Major, and separately from Mr Brown, who wanted some 10 Congress members, 20 American executives and a few Irish-American community leaders to travel on his plane.

Among those invited are members of the Taoiseach's advisory group in the US, which includes corporate giants such as Mr Bill Flynn of Mutual of America, Mr Charles Feeney of General Atlantic, Mr Denis Kelleher of Wall Street Investor Services, Mr Don

Mr Ron Brown: preparing to lead 50-strong US delegation

Knough of Coca-Cola and William Farley of Fruit & Loom.

There have been key figures persuading US companies to invest in the Republic of Ireland where US investment is essential for more than half (4 of the 93,000 jobs created since 1,000 international visitors.

A faxed invitation arrived yesterday from Mr Major

investment conference ban on SF

British could face US boycott of hastily convened Belfast meeting

whose diaries are often for months ahead, stems the way the conference about.

idea of an investment conference to encourage an inflow of it to restore the Northern economy first came from Americans, according to some London sources. After the ceasefire in August, President Clinton had initiated discussions among the US, British and governments about holding a conference in the United States. It would involve the International Fund for Ireland and concentrate not just on Northern Ireland but on Border issues in the Republic.

administration officials taken aback when Mr John announced in Belfast in a speech to the Institute of Directors on October 21st that he would hold his own investment conference in the city to showcase Northern Ireland as a location for world investment.

This gave officials of the Industrial Development Board in Belfast and the Institute of Directors 50 days to get everybody together.

Government planners in Washington say that to get top international investors to sit down with senior ministers from different countries requires many months of planning and co-ordination. They point out that the US has spent a year planning an investment conference for Eastern European countries due to be held in Cleveland in January — the model for President Clinton's Northern Ireland investment conference which will be held in Philadelphia in April.

British embassy officials say that Mr Major had planned his conference for a long time and point out that holding it quickly helps the momentum of the peace process. Some administration officials in Washington suspect other considerations, among them a desire to seize back the

initiative from the Americans and to return the emphasis to a strictly Northern Ireland, rather than a cross-Border, context. Some Irish sources also felt that the British did not like the cross-Border element and were saying, "Northern Ireland will look after itself".

Whatever the behind-the-scenes jousting, big-time Irish American investors were ready to attend the Belfast investment conference and to respond to the invitations going out this week from Mr Major, and separately from Mr Brown, who wanted some 10 Congress members, 20 American executives and a few Irish-American community leaders to travel on his plane.

Among those invited are members of the Taoiseach's advisory group in the US, which includes corporate giants such as Mr Bill Flynn of Mutual of America, Mr Charles Ferney of General Atlantic, Mr Denis Kelleher of Wall Street Investor Services, Mr Don



Mr Don Brown preparing to lead 50-strong US delegation.

Keough of Coca-Cola and Mr William Farley of Fruit of the Loom.

These have been key figures in persuading US companies to invest in the Republic of Ireland, where US investment is responsible for more than half (47,000) of the 93,000 jobs created by some 1,000 international investors.

A faxed invitation arrived yesterday from Mr Major to the

Comptroller of New York, Mr Alan Hevesi, whose office controls the \$52 billion pension fund for New York city, one of the biggest international investment funds in the US.

Mr Hevesi's reaction reflects how the exclusion of Sinn Féin could damage the prospect of investment goodwill. He was planning to travel to the Belfast conference but is now having second thoughts.

"The demand has been that Sinn Féin act and operate within the realm of peaceful political dialogue and negotiations. What is the benefit of excluding them from this important conference?", he asked. His director of investment responsibility, Mr Patrick Flaherty, who is also a major figure in the MacBride principled campaign, said that they were now reconsidering whether to go.

One of the big fish the British had lured for their conference is Republican Governor William Weld of Massachusetts. He had planned to be in Belfast in any event, accompanied by State Senator president, Mr Billy Bulger, and House Speaker, Mr Charles Flaherty, on a trade mission which also takes them to London and Dublin.

The problem for American investors, said Mr Niall O'Dowd, publisher of Irish America's *Business 100*, is that they are being asked to make a political decision by attending a conference from which a political party has been excluded.

Many business figures reacted with amazement that the British could endanger their own investment conference by alienating the main source of investment in Northern Ireland.

A British embassy official said that the conference is "an economic initiative representing the Prime Minister's hopes that there will be an early peace dividend for Northern Ireland. It is not a political event and we very much hope that business leaders from America will see it for what it is, an opportunity to make their contribution to the economic development of Northern Ireland".

The indications last night, however, were that the message going back to London from Washington was that many potential investors — by no means "mischief-makers" — were seriously offended by the decision and that the Belfast conference could suffer a major setback as a result.

Editorial Comment: Page 15

12/01/94 19:19 FAX 301 229 1036

THE IRISH TIMES

12/01/94 19:19 FAX 301 229 1036

Nancy

Don't know whether you
saw today's leader in the
Times! I thought you'd
like the headline!

Philippe 1st Dec.

BEFORE NANCY

A woman who might have changed Irish history

BEFORE NANCY

A woman who might have changed Irish history

This week, Westminster is celebrating the 75th anniversary of the election of Nancy Astor, the first woman MP to take her seat in the House of Commons. Since her success in the Plymouth Sutton by-election in 1919, fewer than 170 women have been elected MPs; parity of representation between the sexes, though still far off, would almost certainly have been further away had Lady Astor not made such a distinctive contribution to the life of the House.

Few appreciate, however, that she was not the first woman elected to the Commons. That honour had already fallen to Constance Markievicz, the "Red Countess of Dublin", who was chosen to represent St Patrick's Division, Dublin, in December 1918. As a prisoner and a member of Sinn Féin, Markievicz was both unable and unwilling to take her seat at Westminster. Like the other 72 Sinn Féin candidates who won seats in the election, she refused to accept the legitimacy of Parliament, swearing allegiance instead to the First Dail where she was — at least on paper — Minister of Labour.

While Lady Astor was an instinctive reformer, Markievicz was a natural firebrand and revolutionary. "That woman's days were spent in ignorant goodwill," wrote Yeats, "Her nights in argument/Until her voice grew shrill". In spite of her aristocratic origins, she took easily to the life of the rebel and was the only uniformed woman officer in the Easter 1916 rising.

Spared the death sentence because of her sex, she later became a fierce opponent of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and was imprisoned once again during the civil war. At her funeral in 1927, 100,000 Irishmen marched the streets of Dublin in honour of their militant heroine.

It is interesting to speculate on the course Anglo-Irish history might have taken had the politics and strategy of Sinn Féin been so different in 1919 that Markievicz had taken her seat. Though her fiery temperament would not have endeared her to the male club of Westminster, she would certainly have been a powerful figure in this large group of Sinn Féin members. It is arguable that the republican movement would have been in a much stronger position within Parliament than outside it and hopelessly divided. The outcome might have been a drift towards Home Rule rather than partition. At the very least, the voice of the Orangeman would not have gone unchallenged in the House of Commons.

This, of course, is mere conjecture. In practice, Markievicz set a trend for abstention which became one of the most foolish articles of the Sinn Féin creed. She also urged her fellow countrymen to pick up the gun. "Now I say that Ireland's freedom is worth blood and worth my blood," she told the Dail in 1921, "and I will willingly give it for it." In that awful pledge were the seeds of the Troubles which her fellow countrymen are still struggling to end.

CC DO
+
Return

Talking Points to Rod Lyne on Sinn Fein Exclusion from Major's Investment Conference:

-- Sinn Fein's exclusion from Prime Minister Major's investment conference continues to cause much concern here.

-- With your help, Commerce has developed an excellent list of business and other invitees to accompany Ron Brown to Belfast.

-- Ron Brown called this morning concerned that some of these people may now pull out because of controversy over Sinn Fein's exclusion.

-- Very important to both of us, and to hopes for Northern Ireland's economic development, that Major's conference succeed.

-- Anything that could be done to address concerns about Sinn Fein's exclusion without disrupting your delicate relations with Sinn Fein and the Unionists? Any chance of "exploratory dialogue" which will "decontaminate" Sinn Fein taking place before the conference? (You've said publicly it will likely begin before Christmas.)

-- What about inviting local elected city council officials from Belfast and Derry? This would include some Sinn Fein representation, but at a low level and as elected representatives, not party leaders.

-- What can I do to help? Would it help for me to call Jim Molyneaux and explain to him the problem Sinn Fein's exclusion from the conference causes some of the businessmen and others who want to attend the conference?

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	John Major to POTUS (3 pages)	12/01/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

FAX COVER SHEET
FOR UNCLASSIFIED MESSAGES ONLY



British Embassy
 Washington

3100 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20008-3600

To NANCY SODERBERG, NSC 202 ~~456~~ 2550
~~202~~ KATHY STEPHENS, NSC 202 ~~456~~ 9140
~~202~~ MIKE LEKSON, State 202 ~~395~~ 1180
 456 9150

From J. POWELL
 Telephone _____
 Date 1st Dec Time _____
 Reference _____ Number of pages 3
 (including cover)

FACSIMILE NUMBER FOR REPLY

SENDER
 PLEASE
 TICK



	HMA PRIVATE OFFICE	(202) 371 6820
	CHANCERY	(202) 898 4255
	TRADE POLICY	(202) 898 4224
	OVERSEAS TRADE SERVICES	(202) 789 6265
	ECONOMIC	(202) 371 6818
	PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS	(202) 898 4273
	MANAGEMENT	(202) 898 4654
	ACCOUNTS	(202) 789 7958
	TECHNICAL WORKS GROUP	(202) 371 6819

MESSAGE: ALSO TO: TRINA VARGO 1sen Kennedy office 202 224 2417
ANNETTE THOMPSON, 202 225 4656
~~KAREN DOMPERS~~ 202 395 1180
BILL Tranchese 202 225 8112
BILL SPENCER, 202 225 9322
JANICE O'CONNELL, SFRC
 202 224 1083
KAREN DOMPERS 202 707 3304

Press Notice

W/S Philip
me

2 pa.

3

NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS

On 21 October the Prime Minister announced that the Government would be ready to convene exploratory talks with Sinn Fein before the end of the year, on the assumption that the IRA ceasefire was intended to be permanent.

Downing Street has now written to Sinn Fein to propose a date - 7 December - for the opening of this exploratory dialogue. At this meeting the Government will be represented by senior officials acting under Ministerial direction. The opening and continuation of the dialogue of course depend on Sinn Fein's continued commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and the democratic process.

Downing Street's letter is attached. The NIO will follow up by making detailed arrangements.

1 December 1994

For to : Nancy Soderberg, NISC
Ruth Stephens, NISC
Mike Lelton, State
Tina Vargo, Sen. Kennedy's office
Annelle Thompson, Gen. Stenger's office
Karen Donfried, C.D.S.
Bill Tangle, Gen. Neri's office
Bill Spencer, Gen. Kennedy's office
Laura O'Connell, SFRC

Telephone 071-930 4433

JP.
1/12

TOTAL P.03

1 December 1994

Dear Mr Adams,

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,
Roderic Lyne

RODERIC LYNE

Gerry Adams, Esq.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 December 1994

Dear Tony,

NORTHERN IRELAND

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

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

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

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

Roderic Lyne

RODERIC LYNE

The Hon Anthony Lake
National Security Adviser
White House



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 December 1994

Dear Mr Adams,

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,
Roderic Lyne

RODERIC LYNE

Gerry Adams, Esq.

12/08/94 18:33

001/008

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN

TELEPHONE: (202) 462-3939

FAX: (202) 232-5991



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

F A X

8 DECEMBER 1994

FOR: KATHY STEPHENS
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FROM: MICHAEL COLLINS

*pass to
Nancy
Soderberg*

The attached coverage of the Adams visit to the White House and the appointment of Senator Mitchell from the Irish American media (the Irish Voice and the Irish Echo) this week will be of interest to you.

Regards.

(TOTAL NO OF PAGES: 101
TRANSMITTING OPERATOR: N CBS)

IRISH ECHO

Published by the Irish Echo Press, Ltd., 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Vol. 10, No. 10, December 1-15, 1994

Printed in the U.S.A.

Adams makes White House visit

By Ray O'Hanlon

Less than a year since he was forbidden to the United States on the grounds of collusion with terrorism, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams crossed the threshold of White House Tuesday for an historic meeting with top Clinton Administration officials, including National Security Adviser Tony Lake.

The hour-long meeting covered a number of issues, including the peace process, the status of republican prisoners in U.S., the question of Sinn Féin being allowed to raise funds in the U.S., and the confusion over the party's participation in the rising economic conference in Belfast, which will be attended by a high-powered

U.S. delegation led by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown.

The three-day Washington visit was brought forward a couple of days at Sinn Féin's request. Adams was previously expected in the U.S. capital Wednesday but arrived Sunday night. He will return to Belfast Wednesday in order to attend a Thursday party meeting intended to finally raise Sinn Féin's position on the end of preliminary talks with the British government at Stormont Castle.

The session with Lake followed climaxed a hectic two days of political networking for Adams. Washington was presenting a starkly different face than it did last October on his previous visit.

The city was virtually devoid of legislation then as elections were looming. This week it

was a different story, with the town preparing for the new Congress in January. As such, the Adams itinerary had to be hastily arranged.

On Monday, Adams met with Sen. Edward Kennedy and Chris Dodd. He later met at the State Department with Michael Lestrade, director of the department's Bureau of North European Affairs. During the meeting, which was also attended by U.S. Ambassador to Ireland Jean Kennedy Smith, Adams handed over a list of prisoners in the U.S. Sinn Féin wants the U.S. to review the cases, which vary from individuals actually sentenced to others facing British extradition warrants in deportation.

Adams spoke on the phone at one point with Sen. George Mitchell just appointed by President Clinton to be his special adviser on

economic initiatives for Ireland. Mitchell is getting married this weekend and was out of town.

Adams also gave an interview to CNN, during which he said that he wanted the preliminary talks with the British to lead to full-scale negotiations on a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland.

The Sinn Féin leader also expressed a willingness to engage with all parties on the matter of disarmament in the North. But he ruled out the possibility of a unilateral surrender of weapons on the part of the IRA.

On Tuesday, Adams began his day with a breakfast hosted by Rep. Ben Gilman, the New York Republican who is poised to assume the chairmanship of the House Foreign

(Continued on Page 11)

Adams

(Continued from Page 10)

Relations Committee.

The breakfast took place in the office of Rep. Peter King and also in attendance was Rep. Jack Quinn of Buffalo.

King said afterward that Gilman assured Adams that Ireland would receive equal treatment in any other country as far as formal committee hearings were concerned.

Following the White House session with Lake, Adams was hosted to a reception in the Rotunda of the Capitol by Rep. Robert Torricelli of New Jersey. He later attended a

function hosted by Washington's Irish-American community at the Hilton Hotel.

The Sinn Féin delegation included press spokesman Richard McAuley. McAuley told the Echo that the visit to the White House marked a new era and the process of "normalizing" the status of prisoners in the U.S.

McAuley said that the issue of Sinn Féin fundraising was "not a big problem." He expected progress on the matter in the near future.

Observers in Washington are in fact suggesting that, assuming certain conditions being met, Sinn Féin would be allowed to collect money

beginning in the first half of 1995.

A report in the Belfast Telegraph emanating from Washington stated that in return for a lifting of the ban against fundraising, Adams would have to guarantee that none of the money collected would be used to purchase guns or explosives for republican paramilitaries, that there

(Continued on Page 11)

12/08/94 10:18
12/08/94 10:18
12-07-1994 05:14PM

CON GEN INT NY

212 980 9475

002/008
P.02

12/08/94 16:34

12-07-1994 05:15PM

CON GEN IRL NY

1212 500 1470

0003/006

Adams*(Continued from Page 52)*

would be a complete end to any acquisition of weapons in the U.S. on the part of the IRA, and that there is movement toward a general IRA disarmament in the North and Republic.

McAuley said he was not aware of the story. He emphasized that while the IRA's cease-fire was now more than three months old, the process of normalization

between Sinn Féin and the Clinton Administration was only eight weeks old.

Meanwhile, as the Echo went to press, the Commerce Department was still preparing the list of delegates expected to travel to Belfast with Ron Brown.

A preliminary list included several major business leaders, including John Stafford, CEO of American Products; Ronald Evans of Best Western International; Bill Flynn of Manual of America, and

George David, president of United Technologies.

Several other corporations will be represented as will the White House and other U.S. government departments, according to Jim Dossler, a spokesman for Secretary Brown. He said work was still being done to finalize the delegation, which was also likely to include members of Congress.

Dossler was leading an advance team that left Washington Tuesday for Belfast and Dublin.

Adams Presses Fundraising at White House

HISTORIC MEETING FOR SINN FEIN LEADER

SINN Féin leader Gerry Adams met with National Security Advisor Anthony Lake and other senior White House personnel on Tuesday, December 6, at the White House. Top of the agenda for the meeting was the issue of fundraising, which Sinn Féin has asked to be lifted immediately.

Before the meeting, there were strong indications that the White House personnel felt the ban could not be lifted until 1995, thereby denying a major fundraising tool for Sinn Féin in the peace process.

The Washington meeting was an historic event, featuring the first time ever that a Sinn Féin president had been welcomed at the White House. It was the highlight of an abbreviated three-day trip to Washington for Adams, who cut short his visit in order to be present for the opening of talks between Sinn Féin and the British government in Belfast on Friday, December 9.

The administration, in their letter of invitation to Adams, had stated that they were most interested in hearing his views on the prospects of

the current peace process and also his views on a wide range of other issues affecting peace in Ireland.

Other items on the list for the White House meetings included Sinn Féin participation in the upcoming economic conference in Belfast on December 16. The British government had first tried to prevent Sinn Féin taking part, but later modified their stance after American pressure. However, Sinn Féin may still boycott the conference because they feel they are not being treated equally. (See story on Page 7.)

Adams was also expected to raise the issue of IRA prisoners being held in U.S. jails, and to ask that they be part of any movement to negotiate or shorten the sentences of such prisoners if agreements are made between Ireland and Britain on the subject.

In addition, Adams was expected to press the administration to pressure the British government on the issue of declassification. In a Washington interview with *The Irish Times*, Adams stated, "We have the British Army, the RUC, the Loyal-

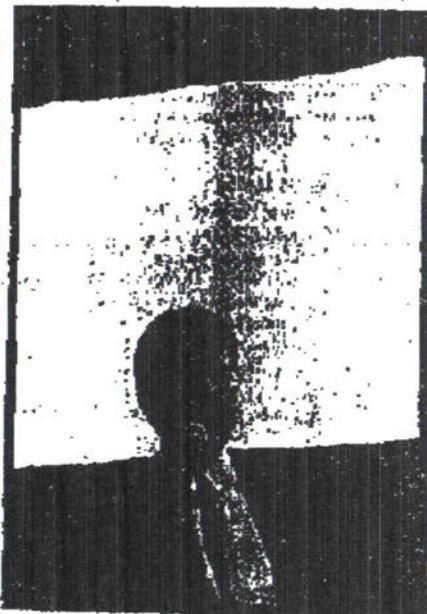
ists who have upwards of 150,000 weapons. Now Sinn Féin wants to see a situation where there is no armed conflict and there aren't any weapons."

The fundraising issue has become central to Sinn Féin's plans for the future. The party believes that one of the keys to establishing a successful outcome of the peace process for them will be the creation of a nation-wide political party with advice centers, community workers, and a wide ranging political program. Party bosses believe that the largest amount of funds for that process can be raised in the U.S.

Sinn Féin are currently organizing a fundraising organization in the U.S. known as Cainte (Friends of Sinn Féin). Adams stated, "We have employed top lawyers and we are making sure that our accounting ability in all of this is transparent, and we will use the best accountants to ensure that our records are absolutely clean." He also denied that there would be any further role for Noraid stating, "We see no need for Noraid to diminish its role in terms of the work it does for prisoners."

In addition to the White House visit, Adams also met several leading figures on Capitol Hill and at the State and Justice Departments. He met with Senator Edward Kennedy and Senator Chris Dodd at Senator Kennedy's office, while on the Republican side he also met with Congressman Ben Glisan, the expected new chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and with his long time supporter, Congressman Peter King. He also had a meeting with the new economic

envoy to Ireland, George Mitchell, who he had previously met when Mitchell was Senate Majority



Gerry Adams Finally gets to the White House.

Leader.

Adams was set to return to Ireland on Wednesday evening, December 7.

IRISH VOICE Vol. Dec. 7, 1994, Dec. 18, 1994.

PRIORITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: NSC STEPHENS SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> PRIORITY <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 081739Z DEC 94

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1827

INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 2414

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 019198

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV PREL PTER UK EI

SUBJECT: IMPACT OF IRISH CRISIS ON PEACE PROCESS

REF: DUBLIN 6560

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

SUMMARY

2. BRITISH OFFICIALS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE PROTRACTED INTER-PARTY WRANGLING IN DUBLIN AND THE INCREASING LIKELIHOOD OF A GENERAL ELECTION. THEY COULD REACH AGREEMENT ON THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT FOR NEW TALKS MORE EASILY WITH A "RAINBOW COALITION," BUT FEAR FIANNA FAIL IN OPPOSITION WOULD ATTACK IT. ONLY A NEW DUBLIN GOVERNMENT COULD AGREE TO THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT; AND WITHOUT A FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, HMG'S TALKS WITH SINN FEIN WILL HAVE TO BE RESTRICTED TO NON-POLITICAL ISSUES IN ORDER TO QUELL UNIONIST SUSPICIONS OF A SELLOUT. THUS, EVEN IF THE INITIAL TALKS WITH SINN FEIN GO BETTER THAN EXPECTED, THERE IS LIKELY TO BE A DANGEROUS HIATUS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

BETTER TO HAVE FIANNA FAIL INSIDE THE TENT

3. OUR BRITISH INTERLOCUTORS SHARE MANY OF EMBASSY DUBLIN'S CONCERNS (REFTEL) OVER THE PROTRACTED POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE REPUBLIC, AND HAVE A FEW MORE OF THEIR OWN. WHILE FEW ON THIS SIDE OF THE WATER HOLD ALBERT REYNOLDS OR FIANNA FAIL IN PARTICULARLY HIGH REGARD, VIRTUALLY ALL AGREE THAT THE BEST OUTCOME OF THE CRISIS WOULD HAVE BEEN AN EARLY RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PREVIOUS COALITION. NOT ONLY WOULD THIS HAVE MINIMIZED THE LOSS OF MOMENTUM, BUT FIANNA FAIL OUT OF POWER WOULD BE FREE TO CRITICIZE ANY ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT AS INSUFFICIENTLY

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.26)
KBH 4/11/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

SENSITIVE TO NATIONALIST CONCERNS. ANY COALITION WITHOUT FIANNA FAIL WOULD BE MUCH EASIER FOR THE BRITISH TO WORK WITH, BUT FAR LESS ABLE TO MAKE A DEAL STICK.

EXPLORATORY TALKS WITH SINN FEIN

4. THE MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM FOR HMG IS HOW TO HANDLE ITS EXPLORATORY DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN, SCHEDULED TO START DECEMBER 9. THE INITIAL SET OF TALKS, LED BY CIVIL SERVANTS ON THE BRITISH SIDE AND DEALING ONLY WITH NON-POLITICAL ISSUES, WILL BE DIFFICULT ENOUGH: THE BRITISH HAVE NO OPTION BUT TO PRESS FOR EARLY ACTION ON DECOMMISSIONING WEAPONS, WHILE SINN FEIN SAYS IT WILL DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL REPUBLICAN PRISONERS. THERE IS NO TRUST OR GOOD WILL ON EITHER SIDE, AND LITTLE APPARENT COMMON GROUND. BUT BOTH APPEAR TO RECOGNIZE THAT, IF THE PEACE PROCESS IS TO WORK, THEY WILL HAVE TO FIND WAYS TO BUILD CONFIDENCE.

LITTLE PROGRESS WITHOUT DUBLIN

5. EVEN IF THE EXPLORATORY DIALOGUE MAKES ADEQUATE PROGRESS, HOWEVER, THE NEXT STAGE -- POLITICAL DIALOGUE, PROBABLY INCLUDING BRITISH MINISTERS -- MAY BE HELD HOSTAGE TO EVENTS IN DUBLIN. UNTIL THE COLLAPSE OF FIANNA FAIL/LABOUR NEGOTIATIONS, BRITISH OFFICIALS REMAINED HOPEFUL THAT A NEW IRISH GOVERNMENT COULD MOVE QUICKLY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT; THAT HOPE NOW APPEARS GONE.

6. WITHOUT AGREEMENT ON A FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, THE BRITISH WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO ENTER POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN. THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT WAS TO FORM THE BASIS OF THE POLITICAL TALKS, AND BRITISH OFFICIALS SAY THEY MUST BE ABLE TO CONVINCE UNIONISTS THAT SINN FEIN HAD NO DIRECT INPUT TO IT. INEVITABLE SUSPICIONS THAT HMG HAD NEGOTIATED A SECRET DEAL WITH SINN FEIN WOULD TORPEDO ANY CHANCE FOR UNIONIST ACCEPTANCE OF THE DOCUMENT, WHICH WILL BE DIFFICULT ENOUGH FOR THEM TO SWALLOW IN ANY EVENT. UNLESS THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY BACKS THE DOCUMENT, AND CAN FEND OFF IAN PAISLEY'S CHARGES OF TREACHERY, THE PEACE PROCESS WILL QUICKLY FOUNDER.

DANGEROUS HANGUP

7. IF TALKS WITH SINN FEIN ARE UNABLE TO MOVE TO THE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

PRIORITY

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

POLITICAL STAGE, THEY ARE LIKELY TO GRIND TO A HALT WITHIN A MONTH OR TWO, AND REMAIN SUSPENDED UNTIL THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT IS AGREED WITH THE NEW IRISH GOVERNMENT. THIS HIATUS WOULD COINCIDE WITH WHAT MOST OBSERVERS EXPECT TO BE THE MOST FRAGILE PERIOD OF THE CEASEFIRE, ROUGHLY BETWEEN CHRISTMAS AND EASTER. CONTINUED UNCERTAINTY IN DUBLIN, LACK OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL DIALOGUE APART FROM THE PEACE FORUM WOULD RAISE THE RISK OF A BREAKDOWN SUBSTANTIALLY.

CROWE

BT

#9198

NNNN

<MSGID> M1404629

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. memo	re: Northern Ireland: Clock Ticking on Peace (2 pages)	12/06/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. cable	re: Sinn Fein/Provisional Irish Republic Army Activities Following the Cease Fire (4 pages)	11/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

AMBASAÍD NA HÉIREANN

TELEPHONE: (202) 462-3939

FAX: (202) 232-5993



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NO: _____

DATE: 30 NOVEMBER 1994 TIME: _____

TO: THE WHITE HOUSE

FOR: MS. NANCY SODERBERG

FROM: MICHAEL COLLINS

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET: (7)

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL: AS DISCUSSED.

ANY SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: _____

TRANSMITTING OPERATOR: NORMA.

THIS MATERIAL IS BEING SENT FROM FAX PHONE NUMBER (202) 232.5993.

THIS NUMBER SHOULD BE USED FOR RETURN FAXING.

IF THERE ARE ANY PROBLEMS ON RECEIPT, PLEASE PHONE TRANSMITTING
OPERATOR AT (202) 462.3939.

British Bar Sinn Fein From Belfast Conference

Angry U.S. Reaction to Move

By Debbie McGoldrick

THE British government's refusal to allow Sinn Fein to participate in an economic conference set for Belfast on December 13 and 14 has been harshly condemned by the party, and has also threatened to significantly downgrade the size and scope of the U.S. delegation, headed by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, traveling over for the event.

"I'm shocked at this decision," said Mutual of America chairman Bill Flynn, who was heavily involved in the battle to secure the first U.S. entry visa for Gerry Adams, and has made several trips to the North as part of an Irish American peace delegation. "This process must be inclusive—there is nothing to be gained by this move."

New York City Comptroller Alan Hevesi also reacted strongly. "Why would [Sinn Fein] now be excluded from a conference on economic development in the now peaceful Northern Ireland? One must ask, what is the message being delivered here?"

Hevesi plans on contacting the British government in an attempt to have the decision reversed. If it is not, "then Mr. Hevesi will seriously consider whether he should attend," said his spokesperson, Leah Johnson.

Congressman Tom Manton of New York also slammed the move, saying that it dealt a body blow to the peace process. "It looks as if the British have pulled the rug out from under the peace process. It's back to square one," he said. Manton also questioned whether the U.S. should participate in the conference because of the British announcement.

The conference, whose theme is "Northern Ireland, Your Investment Opportunity," was announced last month by Prime Minister John Major as part of a package of concessions which also included the lifting of the UK travel ban on Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams, and the opening of all border crossings. The event is designed to showcase the North as a location for world-wide investment in light of the recent IRA and Loyalist ceasefire announcements. All of the political parties in the North, bar Sinn Fein, have been issued invitations, as has the Irish government. Major will be traveling to Belfast to address the delegates, which also includes representatives from 16 countries in Europe and Asia, and the United States.

A spokesperson for Brown, Jim Dessler, told the *Irish Voice* that, as of now, "we're still planning on attending." Dessler wouldn't reveal names of those who will be

traveling to Belfast as part of the delegation, adding that this would be finalized by the end of the week.

Asked if Brown would be contacting the British to persuade them to allow Sinn Fein to take part in the conference, Dessler said that was a matter to be decided by the White House. At presstime, the White House had no official comment on the matter.

Sinn Fein reacted angrily at the British directive to exclude them from the conference. "This is anti-democratic and anti-peace process," said Mainin O Muilleoir, a member of Belfast City Council and the party's economic spokesperson. O Muilleoir has written to Northern Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew in an attempt to have the exclusion reversed.

"Instead of seeking to include all legitimate points of view, British policy on this conference seeks to exclude the elected representatives of a significant section of nationalist opinion," he added.

Commerce Secretary Brown is scheduled to lead a 50 member U.S. delegation which includes a number of congressional figures and prominent business figures. The exclusion of Sinn Fein is sure to dramatically alter the make-up of the delegation, as a number of leading Irish American figures have already voiced shock and



Tom Manton: Questions U.S. involvement.

anger the snub.

According to Peter Bean, press secretary at the British Embassy in Washington, the government's decision to bar Sinn Fein from the conference is keeping in line with its current policy of no contact with Sinn Fein representatives until exploratory talks between the two sides begin before the end of the year. "The exploratory dialogue, when it begins, will look at how Sinn Fein can play the same part as other constitutional

parties in Northern Ireland," Bean told the *Irish Voice*.

Bean added that the government was not concerned that Sinn Fein's exclusion from the conference would disrupt the peace process. "The process isn't in jeopardy. The talks are coming up, which will move the process into the next phase."

The Irish government did not voice any official opinion about the latest rift between the British and Sinn Fein, but

sources indicated that the government is more than disappointed with the news.

"It will be seen as mean-spirited and short-sighted," said the source, adding that the upcoming Gerry Adams trip to the White House points out the ridiculousness of the decision. "Gerry Adams will be able to discuss the economic situation in the North at the White House, but yet he won't be able to do so in his homeland. It's absurd."

IRISH ECHO

Published by the Irish Echo Press, Ltd. 1994

Vol. 12, No. 45 November 30 December 9, 1994

Printed in England by the Irish Echo Press, Ltd.

Sinn Fein banned from conference

By Anne Cadwallader

BELFAST — The British government has banned Sinn Fein participation in a major investment conference aimed at creating employment in the areas worst affected by

**New Adams visa
is in Clinton's
hands, Page 5**

the last 25 years of violence, prompting a furious response.

Sinn Fein is now asking the

U.S. government, specifically Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who will be attending the Forum for Investment, to pressure the British to change their mind. Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts is also attending and has also been asked to intervene with the British.

U.S. reaction to the British move was immediate and critical. Congressman Peter King said Tuesday that President Clinton should not send Secretary Brown to Belfast.

"Right now the British government is not serious about the peace process," King said. "They have been attempting to cut off Sinn Fein politically, militarily and now economically."

King added that the British move made "no sense" and was both "disgraceful" and "counterproductive."

He said he hoped his Republican Party colleague William Weld would also boycott the conference.

Congressman Joe Kennedy, in a statement, said that cooperation between all parties was essential to the advancement of peace in

(Continued on Page 43)

Sinn Fein

(Continued from Page 1)

Northern Ireland. "Blocking Sinn Fein from the investment conference makes no more sense at this stage than blocking them from the peace talks," he said.

In New York, Comptroller Alan Hevesi, who has been invited to the conference, expressed "great concern" at the move. "Why would they [Sinn Fein] now be excluded from a conference on economic development in the now peaceful Northern Ireland? One must ask what is the message being delivered here," Hevesi said.

The Forum, where millions of dollars of investment money will be discussed, is due to take place in Belfast on Dec. 13 and 14, its brief, as part of the peace process, is to target investment into areas of highest unemployment, some as high as 90 percent.

Ironically, all the 10 worst-hit areas in the North, mainly in Belfast and Derry, have strong Sinn Fein representation.

"U.S. citizens should ensure that their tax dollars, which are sent to Ireland to

promote employment, should be spent in an efficient and accountable way, with no political voting at the British government's behest," said Sinn Fein's Máirín O'Muilleoir.

At a recent conference in West Belfast, organized by voluntary community groups and small local businesses, it was emphasized that U.S. and European money should be spent in a responsible way — not handed over to large businesses that would not employ these in greatest need.

"The British government says it's democratic," one speaker at that conference said. "We are allowed to vote for who we like. But what good is having a vote if the people we elect are ignored and excluded. That is not democratic. We are all disenfranchised because we vote for a party the British do not approve of."

Said O'Muilleoir: "Sinn Fein is the biggest party in Belfast and the fourth-largest party in the North. The British government appears to be determined to ensure that disadvantaged nationalist areas in particular do not benefit from the peace dividend."

A spokesman for the Northern Ireland

Office said. "The normal criteria has been applied to Sinn Fein in advance of exploratory dialogue." This means the Sinn Fein will continue to be banned from any forum where jobs and investment are being discussed until the British government decides otherwise.

The British move could have an effect on the Clinton Administration's decision with regard to whether or not Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams is allowed to the U.S. while collecting funds for the party.

The decision is likely to cause any within the administration which was less than happy with the internal Northern Ireland emphasis of the conference.

President Clinton has since called a conference covering investment in all Ireland to be held next April in Philadelphia.

The all-Ireland leanings of the administration were underlined when the White House decided to send Secretary Brown not just to the Belfast conference but also to Dublin for meetings with government officials there.

— Ray O'Hanlon
contributed to this story

Adams Set for Historic White House Visit

Fundraising Restrictions Remain

SINN Féin leader Gerry Adams is expected to visit the White House next week, where he will meet with National Security Advisor Tony Lake and possibly Vice President Al Gore to discuss the peace process. However, he will not be allowed to carry out direct

fundraising, but at press time it was still unclear how restrictive the fundraising ban on Adams would be on the trip.

The expected White House visit will be the first ever by a Sinn Féin leader, and comes after another major lobbying battle between Irish American groups and the British government, who will be content that they have prevented major fundraising by the Sinn Féin leader.

Adams will also be allowed to enter the U.S. on a three month multiple entry visa, as against the wolver system currently employed which forces him to re-apply every time he visits. The multiple entry visa is expected to be automatically renewed.

Adams will be officially welcomed at the White House by Tony Lake and perhaps Vice President Gore. His access is a reversal of the Clinton administra-

tion position on an earlier visit, when physical access to the White House itself was denied him.

However, the fundraising restrictions are a setback to Sinn Féin. Adams had hoped to tap into the rich seam of Irish American support for the peace process and Sinn Féin's role in it. The White House however, have given Adams an assurance that the issue should be resolved early in the new year.

The lobbying campaign to allow the White House visit, the multiple entry visa and the fundraising, was led by Senator

Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Senator Chris Dodd (D-Conn.) Acting Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Albert Reynolds also weighed in with two conversations with President Clinton on the issue, while the U.S. Ambassador to Ireland, Jean Kennedy Smith, also favored all three concessions.

However, lobbyists for the fundraising issue believe that the White House and the British had agreed a deal restricting fundraising before the lobbying began and that it was impossible to reverse it because of British/U.S. joint involvement in other international issues such as Bosnia.

The Adams visit is also expected

to include meetings in New York with supporters, and a possible visit to Canada. It is expected that a grassroots Irish event will be held in New York, possibly in the Bronx, at which Adams will answer questions about the peace process.

Coincidentally, another architect of the peace process, SDLP leader John Hume, will also be in New York next week, where he will accept an award for his peace efforts given by the International League of Human Rights, an organization based at the United Nations. Also accepting an award on the night will be business leader Bill Flynn, chairman of Mutual of America.



Gerry Adams: Will meet with Lake.

11-30-1994 03:38PM

CON GEN IRL NY

1212 988 9475

P.03

Irish Echo / November 30-December 6, 1994

Adams: No cash, but White House platform beckons

By Ray O'Hanlon

A fundraising tour by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, set to begin next week, was stalled and looking increasingly unlikely Tuesday even as preparations were under way to receive Adams at a \$1,000-a-plate function in New York's Plaza Hotel on Dec. 7.

As the Echo went to press, it was understood that a State Department recommendation sent to President Clinton had expressed opposition to the Sinn Féin president's plans for a fundraising tour taking in several cities.

Sources were indicating that the money-raising tour seemed a non-starter but that Adams would be offered the consolation prize of a White House meeting with National Security Advisor Anthony Lake.

It was being suggested in Washington that Adams would do well to accept the offer. Such a meeting would carry great political weight.

the opportunity to discuss future fundraising would present itself, and, by no means least, a White House platform would allow Adams the opportunity to denounce the British government's decision to exclude Sinn Féin from the upcoming business conference in Belfast.

That decision is likely to cause concern in the Clinton administration and will only serve to increase the level of sympathy for Adams in the National Security Council and other administration departments.

Adams is understood to have been in direct contact with the NSC over the fundraising issue.

The Sinn Féin leader has considerable backing in Washington for the fundraising plans. Senators Edward Kennedy and Chris Dodd have supported Sinn Féin's right to collect money in the U.S., a move intended to support election campaigns back in Ireland. And sever

(Continued on Page 43)

Adams

(Continued from Page 5)

al congressmen have written to President Clinton on the matter.

"It is imperative that Sinn Féin be allowed to raise money like any other political party," the letter stated. It was signed by Reps. Ben Gilman, Peter King, Richard Neal, Joe Moakley and Tom Manton.

The Dublin government's position on the matter has been largely neutral but Dublin's view is known to be along the lines that if Adams is allowed

collect money in Britain — he did so at a recent fundraiser in London — there should be no problem with him collecting in the U.S.

Opposition to the fundraising tour has come from within the Departments of State, Justice and the FBI. The British government is opposed and has pointed to the fact that the IRA is still holding its arms. The recent killing of a postal worker in Newry by IRA members also became a factor.

No official public statement was forthcoming from the White House on the fundraising issue

as the Echo went to press.

But one source suggested that an alternative White House meeting for Adams would be worth its weight in gold in propaganda terms.

"He could really shame the British from the White House," pointing out that here he was in Washington speaking freely while he was excluded from doing so at a conference in home town," the source said.

On his visit to Washington early October, Adams did gain access to the White House but was telephoned by President Al Gore.

IRISH VOICE, Wed., Nov. 30- Tues., Dec. 6, 1994

Founding Publisher: Mike O'Donnell
EDITORIAL
Senior Editor: Debbie McGovern
Associate Editor: Marc-Thomas Young
Reporters: Brian Robert, Emma Lynch
ADVERTISING
Display Sales
Advertising Director: Paddy McCarthy
DESIGN
Art & Design Director: Marion C. Hall
Graphic Artists: Paul Carlin, Lough Spence, Robertas Canada
FINANCIAL OPERATIONS
Financial Controller: Kevin M. Myrland
Accounts Manager: Brenda McGarry-Young
Circulation Editor: Patricia Barry
Subscription Sales: Mary-Ann Walsh
Editorial Office: 322 Park Ave. South, Suite 1503, New York, N.Y. 10016
Subscription Office: 322 Park Ave. South, Suite 1503, New York, N.Y. 10016
Advertising Office: 322 Park Ave. South, Suite 1503, New York, N.Y. 10016

IRISH VOICE

Editorial & Advertising

322 Park Ave. South, Suite 1503, New York, N.Y. 10016

Tele: (212) 684-3366 / Fax: (212) 779-1198

A Fragile Peace Process

BY blocking Sinn Féin from their economic conference the British government clearly does not get the message about how fragile the peace process is. Even the expected letter from Prime Minister John Major opening exploratory talks between the two sides does little to build confidence in the process.

However, to read the experts in the media in Ireland, one would think the current peace process there has little to fear from the turmoil surrounding the British and Irish governments at present.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The particular chemistry that came together to produce the IRA and Loyalist ceasefires is a brittle mix which can fracture under pressure and result in a disastrous return to the ways of old.

Alas, the much needed period of stability which the peace process needed for maximum progress has not materialized. The loss of Irish Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Albert Reynolds was a tremendous blow; meanwhile, John Major seems increasingly shaky as British Prime Minister, barely surviving a crucial vote this week.

Judging by the languid pace of forming a new government in the Irish Republic, and the snail-like pace of the British response to the peace initiative, these latest crises hardly impact on the peace process as far as those involved at the center of the latest power struggles are concerned.

It is all a little mysterious to Irish Americans, rather like watching two ship captains begin to fall asleep at the wheel with their destinations in sight. The need to steer a straight and direct course on the peace process has never been greater, and far outweighs any other concern. Let us hope that fact does not escape the leaders there much longer.

IRISH ECHO

Founded 1926

CLAIRE O'GARA GRIGGS, President Publisher

TERENCE GRIGGS, Vice President Managing Supplement
TOM CONNELLY, Editor

RAYMOND O'HANLON, Senior Editor
KEVIN McHUGH, Assistant Editor
MARRY KEANEY, Assistant Editor

BARRY LYNCH, Advertising Sales Manager
ROSE MCMAHON, Classified Advertising Sales Manager
CRADINE WALSH, Classified Advertising Sales Representative

ELISH MURPHY, Production Manager
MAIRSEEN RAYWARD, Typographer

AMITA COUGHLIN, Subscription Manager

Executive Office:

309 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10046-0548
(212) 685-1265 - City of Times 1 (800) 338-8280
Classified Information ext. 12 or 19 - Display Advertising ext. 6
Fax: (212) 685-1238

THE IRISH ECHO (ISSN 0-192-1712) is published weekly every Wednesday
for \$15.00 (\$15.00 per year by the 14th Sales Manager Corp., 309 Park Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10017-0548. Second class postage paid April 1, 1979 at
Post Office of New York, N.Y., under Postal Act of March 3, 1979.

Irish Echo / November 30-December 6, 1994

EDITORIALS

British logic

A number of influential American politicians and diplomats, including Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, are expected to attend the British government-sponsored Forum for Investment later this month in Belfast. The purpose of the conference is to explore ways America can invest — and thus help to create jobs — in Northern Ireland now that the paramilitaries have put down their arms.

Given that the most urgent need for investment are in low-income Catholic areas, particularly in Belfast and Derry, logic suggests that political leaders from those communities would have something of value to add to the discussions. But as has so often been the case when it comes to Northern Ireland, logic, or rather what passes for logic among most people, does not hold sway with Britain. As a result, Sinn Fein, the party that represents the lion's share of out-of-work Northern republicans, will be sitting this one out.

Using a logic all its own, Britain has apparently decided that if it were to allow Sinn Fein to participate in the conference, it would somehow be preempting its own meetings with that party's delegates, also planned for December. The terse justification issued this week by the Northern Ireland Office stated simply, "The normal criteria has been applied to Sinn Fein in advance of exploratory dialogue." The decision is a marvel of technical correctness, but it leaves common sense gasping for breath.

Clearly, John Major's government, dependent as it is on the support of unionist politicians, is in no rush to include Sinn Fein in any substantive discussions about the future of Northern Ireland. Recent turmoil in the Irish government and stunning electoral defeats by Democrats in the U.S. Congress have made it easier for Major to drag his feet in recent weeks.

This latest move, however, has already begun creating unintended problems for the British. The Forum for Investment, after all, involves the U.S. government at the cabinet level, and the Clinton administration has weighed in strongly for inclusive dialogue aimed at solving the myriad problems that stand in the way of lasting peace in the North. Within hours of the news that Sinn Fein would not be permitted to take part in the conference, a number of U.S. politicians had expressed their dismay in forceful terms. One of them, New York City Comptroller Alan Hevesi, who has been invited to take part in the conference, perhaps best summed up best the confusion over Britain's logic when he said, "By pushing the IRA to call a cease-fire, Sinn Fein has contributed to the changed political situation. Why would they now be excluded from a conference on economic development in the now peaceful Northern Ireland? One must ask what is the message being delivered here?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Nancy
9128 REDO

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1994

MEETING WITH
SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL
DATE: December 1, 1994
LOCATION: The Oval Office
TIME: 10:15am

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AK*

I. PURPOSE

To announce Senator Mitchell's appointment as Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland.

II. BACKGROUND

Senator Mitchell has agreed to a 130 day appointment as your and the Secretary of State's Special Advisor for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. We envision Senator Mitchell using this position to oversee the White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Ireland scheduled for April 1995 in Philadelphia, establish a dialogue with the European Union and other appropriate countries to encourage continued cooperation in economic initiatives to support peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the border counties, and consult with the International Fund for Ireland, the Congress and others to strengthen the IFI's programs, mandate and level of support.

You and Senator Mitchell may be asked by the press about the status of Gerry Adams' latest visa application and about Sinn Fein's exclusion from Prime Minister Major's December 13 investment conference in Belfast, which Ron Brown is attending. On Adams, we are prepared to issue him a 3 month multiple-entry visa and have invited him to meet with Anthony Lake. The fundraising restrictions will remain in place for the time being. He has accepted our invitation, however, and will be here on December 7. On Major's conference, we are talking to the British about ways to resolve the controversy over Sinn Fein's exclusion. In any event, Secretary Brown's trip to Northern Ireland and the Republic this month is set; it will be an important effort to encourage greater trade and investment in Northern Ireland and the affected border counties of the Republic.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *MM* NARA, Date *1/14/16*
2011-0355-F

III. PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
Senator Mitchell
Strobe Talbott
Anthony Lake
Ambassador Crowe
Secretary Brown
Nancy Soderberg

U.K.

Ambassador Robin Renwick

Ireland

Charge' Michael Collins

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open pool

V. SEQUENCE

Short (5 minutes) meeting with Mitchell in the private dining room. Then walk with Mitchell into Oval for Presidential announcement. Mitchell also makes a statement and you will take 2-3 questions.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Proposed Presidential Remarks
Tab C Press Release
Tab D Press Qs and As
Tab E Senator Mitchell's Statement

A

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING ON
APPOINTMENT OF SENATOR MITCHELL

- Appreciate your readiness to take on the job of promoting our program of economic initiatives to help the Northern Ireland peace process.
- Our package of economic initiatives has gotten good reviews in Ireland, Britain and in the Irish-American community. Your involvement as Special Advisor will help assure the success of our initiatives.
- Economic development, job growth, and private sector involvement key to achieving a stable peace and cross-community conciliation in Northern Ireland and the border counties. U.S. role, and your mission, focused on this area.
- We don't want to get involved in the details of the political negotiations themselves.
- Still working out details of Gerry Adams' visa application. Tony Lake will meet with him. Still some problems on fundraising.
- We're talking to the British about issue of Sinn Fein participation in Major's Belfast investment conference.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By MM NARA, Date 7/11/16
2016-0355-P

B

11/30/94 9 p.m.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT MEETING WITH SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL
DECEMBER 1, 1994
THE WHITE HOUSE**

Today is the last day of this session of Congress and therefore the last day that we have the privilege of having Senator Mitchell as Majority Leader of the Senate. I personally will miss his help in Congress and his wise counsel. And I know that colleagues on both sides of the aisle and the American people will miss the leadership, thoughtfulness and courage that have distinguished him as one of the great political figures of our time.

My regret at Senator Mitchell's retirement is tempered -- at least in part -- by the fact that as one chapter in his life of extraordinary public service ends another is beginning: Today, Senator Mitchell has agreed to work on an issue of central importance as Special Advisor to me and Secretary Christopher for Economic Initiatives in Ireland.

We stand at the verge of a new and peaceful era in Northern Ireland. For over three months, the historic ceasefire ~~between~~ ^{have} the IRA and the loyalist paramilitary groups has held. A just and lasting settlement that respects the rights and traditions of the two communities in Northern Ireland is, after so many generations of bloodshed, within reach.

*I am please. I welcome
today's initiative ~~the statement today by~~
by Downing Street to begin its exploration
dialogue with Sinn Féin on Dec 7*

But at this hopeful, historic moment, it is essential to create more economic opportunity in a region whose prospects have long been blighted by bloodshed. Peace and prosperity depend on one another. One of the most important ways we can help to ensure that peace takes root is to help promote trade and investment in the areas both in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland that have suffered most from the violence.

That's why last month we announced our economic initiatives for Ireland. They are a response to the call of all the parties in the region for development that will help them lift themselves out of the cycle of conflict. As we have in the past, the U.S. stands ready to help those who are taking the risks for peace. To do that, we will work in close cooperation with the private sector in the U.S., and with Britain, Ireland and with other concerned nations in Europe and other elsewhere.

Ultimately, the success of the peace process will depend on whether those who have been most affected believe it will deliver a better future for them. That is why our initiatives to help revitalize the economy of the region are so important. And that is why I wanted someone with tremendous talent, stature and wisdom to assist in these efforts.

No one, of course, fills that bill like Senator Mitchell. Senator Mitchell will oversee the White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Ireland, which will be held this coming April in Philadelphia. I have asked him to ensure implementation of all the initiatives we announced last month and to explore additional opportunities for helping peace and prosperity grow in Ireland.

c

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

APPOINTMENT OF SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL
AS SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN IRELAND

President Clinton announced today the appointment of Senator George Mitchell of Maine to be U.S. Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. Senator Mitchell will advise the President and Secretary Christopher on the progress of U.S. economic initiatives announced November 1 to support the peace process in Northern Ireland. The announcement was made today in the Oval Office in a meeting including Senator Mitchell, Acting Secretary Talbott, and the British Ambassador and Irish Charge' to Washington.

The President has asked Senator Mitchell to lead the efforts of all U.S. government agencies that are promoting economic development in Northern Ireland and the border counties. Senator Mitchell will oversee the organization of the White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Ireland, which will be held in April 1995 in Philadelphia. The Conference aims to promote trade and investment with Northern Ireland and the border counties ~~of the Republic of Ireland~~ in order to solidify and build on the cease-fire and the political process. Senator Mitchell will also establish a dialogue with the European Union and its member states, and with other countries, to encourage continued cooperation in the economic development of Northern Ireland and the border counties ~~of the Republic~~ most affected by the years of violence. He will consult with Congress, the International Fund for Ireland and the British and Irish governments to help strengthen and target the IFI's programs to provide maximum support to the peace process.

Senator Mitchell's appointment underscores the Administration's commitment to supporting the kind of political and economic progress that will lead to a permanent, just peace in Northern Ireland. In his remarks, the President noted his pleasure that although today marked the end of Senator Mitchell's distinguished service as Senate Majority Leader, he will continue to work with the Administration on an issue of great importance and promise.

#

D

CONTINGENCY PRESS QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q: During your campaign you promised to appoint a peace envoy to Ireland and then backed away from that commitment after coming to office. Isn't the creation of this "special advisor" position a back-door way into having a peace envoy?

A: No. Our position all along has been to look for ways to support the efforts of those most directly involved in the search for peace in Northern Ireland -- the British and Irish governments and the people of the region themselves.

It is their efforts that have brought us to where we are today, with Northern Ireland enjoying the most sustained period of peace it has known in a generation. Senator Mitchell's task is to look for ways in which the U.S., and the millions of Americans who care deeply about Ireland, can support and benefit from the new economic opportunities peace brings. This will be good for the peace process, and good for America.

Q: What about the British decision to exclude Sinn Fein from the investment conference Prime Minister Major is holding in Belfast later this month? Will this affect Ron Brown's planned participation?

A: We are discussing the issue of Sinn Fein participation with the British.

We hope it can be resolved.

Will not affect Brown's trip. He is going to support trade and investment in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic most affected by the violence.

Q: When do you expect the British to talk to Sinn Fein?

A: British have indicated they plan to open talks with Sinn Fein before Christmas.

As we have said throughout, we welcome the prospect of broadened dialogue on Northern Ireland. We hope they will begin soon.

Q: What about Gerry Adams?

A: The Attorney General has approved a three-month multiple-entry visa for Mr. Adams. A restriction against direct or indirect fundraising by Mr. Adams

will be attached to the visa. The same restriction was attached to Mr. Adams' previous visa.

Q: How long will this fundraising restriction remain? Are there any conditions like handing in weapons that must be met before the restriction will be lifted?

A: There are a number of issues we need to work through.

Expect to be able to resolve them within a reasonable timeframe.

Once these issues are resolved, we can reconsider the issue.

Q: Will Mr. Adams always need a visa?

A: Mr. Adams is ineligible for entry to the United States on account of previous involvement with terrorist activities. He will always need a waiver of this ineligibility and a visa to enter the United States.

Q: The British permit Mr. Adams to raise funds in the United Kingdom; why should the U.S. not permit Mr. Adams to raise funds in the U.S.?

A: Mr. Adams is a British citizen and as such can exercise within the UK the rights and privileges of a citizen.

As a visitor to the U.S., the Attorney General, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of State, can set those conditions she believes are appropriate in order to insure respect for and enforcement of U.S. laws.

E

GEORGE J. MITCHELL
MALE

United States Senate
Office of the Majority Leader
Washington, DC 20510-7010

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Thursday, December 1, 1994

CONTACT: Diane Dewhirst
202/224-2939

**STATEMENT OF SENATE MAJORITY LEADER GEORGE J. MITCHELL REGARDING
APPOINTMENT AS SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT &
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN IRELAND**

I am pleased and honored to be here today to take up the post of Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland.

For Northern Ireland, this is a time of great hope after decades of despair. The leadership President Clinton has shown in bringing about this foreign policy success is praiseworthy, and perhaps too little appreciated. I would like to commend him for his courageous support of the peace process, which has played a key role in giving us this moment of opportunity. The President has also designed the creative array of economic initiatives we are undertaking, actions which will offer opportunities to Americans as well as help make the cessation of violence in Northern Ireland a lasting one.

The chance to work on Northern Ireland at this hopeful time means a great deal to me. My father was the orphan son of Irish immigrants. His name before his adoption was Joseph Kilroy. I have visited Ireland and am eager to meet more of the hard-working people of that beautiful island.

In addition, as Majority Leader of the Senate I have had the opportunity to meet many remarkable people in America and in the world. These have included heads of government, leaders in business and industry, and those in the forefront of community development.

I look forward to renewing many of these acquaintances as we work to increase economic opportunity in Northern Ireland and the border counties. When people have a chance to pursue happiness, to follow the dreams of a steady job, home ownership, and greater prosperity for themselves and for their children, they are much less likely to fall into the destructive patterns of violence, crime and sectarian hatred.

As the President's announcement of our economic initiatives noted, "Americans should be in on the ground floor of these new opportunities; this will be good for us and good for Irish peace and reconciliation." I take great satisfaction in speaking with you on a day in which the Senate will join the House in affirming America's commitment to free trade and open markets, by passing the historic GATT agreement. Our economic initiatives for Northern Ireland are not handouts, but rather, in the spirit of GATT, open doors so that Americans can prosper from the new climate in which barriers of all kinds are collapsing.

Finally, I am glad to be embarking on a mission which has broad support here: from both sides of the aisle; in both Houses of Congress; and among the American people. I know that both communities in Northern Ireland want peace and prosperity as well. The search for peace in Northern Ireland is primarily a matter for those most directly involved: the people of Northern Ireland, and the governments of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland. The U.S. will continue to be active in supporting the efforts of the British and Irish governments to make that dream a reality. I am proud to be a part of that effort.

Mr. President, thank you very much.

Sinn Fein left out of investment forum

RTW 11/29/94 11:21 AM

By Martin Cowley

BELFAST, Nov 29 (Reuters) - A new row erupted between Irish Republicans and Britain on Tuesday over the exclusion of Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing, from an international economic initiative to boost peace in Northern Ireland.

Britain's Northern Ireland Office (NIO) confirmed that Sinn Fein was being excluded from a multi-nation investment forum which Prime Minister John Major and U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown will address in Belfast on December 13 and 14.

Sinn Fein spokesman Mairtin O Muilleoir accused Britain of trying to slow the efforts to achieve a final peace in Northern Ireland following the ending of a 25-year guerrilla war in the British ruled province.

"This is anti-democratic and anti-peace process," protested O Muilleoir, a Sinn Fein member of Belfast City Council.

The Northern Ireland Office confirmed that legislators and members of other political parties in the British province had been invited to the high profile investment conference.

The event, the brainchild of Major, is aimed at persuading hundreds of international business high-fliers that the province at peace is a profitable place in which to establish industry and commercial links.

*Brown is bringing a contingent of 50 businesspeople and politicians, including 20 senators, to the two-day conference.

British sources made clear that the decision to exclude Sinn Fein from the conference was in line with the British government's refusal of face-to-face contact with Sinn Fein politicians, a policy adopted when the Irish Republican Army was waging its armed attacks to end British rule in Northern Ireland.

As a direct result of the IRA's ceasefire, proclaimed on September 1, the British government has promised exploratory talks before Christmas between its officials and Sinn Fein.

But Sinn Fein leaders have consistently criticised Britain for delaying a date or venue for the talks.

Accusing Britain of "stalling tactics," O Muilleoir said he had written to Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, seeking to get the ban overturned.

The Sinn Fein politician said: "The economic investment conference should reflect all shades of opinion and be open to all political representatives.

"Sinn Fein is the biggest party in Belfast and the fourth largest in the six counties (in Northern Ireland).

"Instead of seeking to include all legitimate points of view, British policy on this conference seeks to exclude the elected representatives of a significant section of (pro-Irish) nationalist opinion."

A Northern Ireland Office spokesman said: "The normal criteria have been applied to Sinn Fein in advance of exploratory dialogue. One of the set aims of exploratory dialogue is to exchange views on how Sinn Fein will be able over a period to play the same part as current constitutional parties in the public life of Northern Ireland."

REUTER

Copyright 1994 Reuters America Inc. All rights reserved.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Office of the Secretary
Office of Policy and Strategic Planning
14th and Constitution Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20230

Fascimile Cover Sheet

Number of Pages: 2

Please Call to Verify _____

To: _____

NANCY SADERBERG

Fax: _____

456-9460

From: _____

JONATHAN SALLOTT
Julia MontgomeryPhone: 202-482-~~6002~~4127

Fax: 202-482-4191

Internet: JMontgomery@doc.gov

Comments:

FYI!
Sen. Kennedy's office has been receiving
calls that the Secretary should cancel his
trip based on attached - Also we have
begin to receive Press calls. Jonathan
spoke w/ Kathy Stephens about issue --
Is there anything you want us to say?
Please call.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005a. fax cover sheet	re: PIRA Matters [partial] (1 page)	11/25/1994	P6/b(6), b(7)(C)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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



FBI FACSIMILE
COVERSHEET

CLASSIFICATION

PRECEDENCE

- ☒ Immediate
☐ Priority
☐ Routine

- ☐ Top Secret
☒ Secret
☐ Confidential
☐ Sensitive
☐ Unclassified

Time Transmitted: _____
Sender's Initials: ACB
Number of Pages: 13

To: WHSR Date: 11/25/94
(Name of Office)

Facsimile number: Washfax

Attn: Ray Miskolc, Jr.
(Vo.)

From: FBI/HQ/STOC
(Name of Office)

Subject: PIRA matters

Special Handling Instructions: Please deliver to the requestor.
immediately

Originator's Name: (b)(6), (b)(7)c

Originator's Facsimile number: Washfax

Approved: _____

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005b. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republican Army (2 pages)	11/25/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Darby, M. Brooke

From: Stephens, Kathleen D.
To: Darby, M. Brooke
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Baker, James E.; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: Clearances on Adams memo [CONFIDENTIAL]
Date: Friday, November 25, 1994 1:16PM

Please pass to Nancy:

Kornblum is ok with option IB as presently defined. I talked to Mike Habib, the political counselor at Embassy London, who says ok too, but wants to check with Amb. Crowe (who is just coming out of a Rod Lyne-Holbrooke meeting). He'll get back to me shortly. Jamie Baker is, I understand, awaiting Justice's response.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By MM NARA, Date 1/11/16
201-0355-F

Darby, M. Brooke

From: Stephens, Kathleen D.
To: Darby, M. Brooke
Cc: /N, NonRecord at A1; Baker, James E.; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: More on Adams fundraising [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, November 25, 1994 3:06PM

Please pass to Nancy:

Embassy London called back to confirm Amb. Crowe can live with Option IB as laid out in present draft memo. (They like making stoppage of procurement world-wide, but don't insist on it.) I think that's it for clearances; I will leave the office shortly but am around and available by home telephone or beeper the rest of the day and the weekend.

Source: Reuters

Subject : IRELAND-IRA

all62

^BC-IRELAND-IRA

^IRA rebels threaten new war - paper

LONDON, Nov 19 (Reuter) - Some 50 hardliners are preparing to defy the Irish Republican Army's leadership and begin a bombing campaign in Britain and Northern Ireland, the Sunday Times said.

The newspaper, citing senior security officials, said the breakaway faction had given the IRA's leaders an impossible deadline of next March to bring ``the total surrender'' of the British government in Northern Ireland.

Evidence of a split in IRA ranks, with hardliners chafing at what they see as slow progress since the IRA declared a ceasefire on August 31, confirms growing fears that the peace process in Northern Ireland is in jeopardy, it said.

The Irish Times reported on Saturday that Gerry Adams, president of the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein, had sent a private warning that the political crisis in Dublin could give IRA rebels an early opportunity to resume violence.

The Sunday Times said the breakaway group, as yet unnamed, had formed a skeleton command structure and appointed key military commanders ready to direct a new campaign of violence.

England would be a prime target for the breakaway group, according to intelligence sources cited by the paper.

It quoted Michael Cassidy, the City of London's head of security policy, as saying the IRA was continuing to move weapons and equipment around and that the capital's financial district would be a leading target.

``During the ceasefire period their operatives have been observed doing dummy runs on targets that they might want to hit. They are testing the system by getting stolen vehicles into place without being detected,'' Cassidy told the paper.

The paper said British intelligence's ``cautious'' assessment of the continuing IRA threat was one of the main reasons why Prime Minister John Major has been reluctant to rush into talks with Adams.

REUTE

RB-- 11/19/94 17:24:00

As you know -

10/28

1 Subject of Ireland did come up.

Keep had read your memo

I supported it. Said he
thought you had it right.

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Gerry Adams Wants Visa for December Visit:
Fundraising and Other Issues for Decision**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (4.28)

KBM 4/11/2013

Purpose

To decide how to handle Gerry Adams' proposed December visit and fundraising request.

Background

Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams has applied for a visa to visit the U.S. December 7-13, stopping in several cities. Adams has asked that he be given a multiple-entry visa with no fundraising restrictions. (Adams' two earlier visas, in January and September this year, were both single-entry visas which prohibited him from raising funds in the U.S.)

There is no opposition within the Administration or from the British to granting Adams a three-month, multiple-entry visa subject to continued IRA observance of the cease-fire, a no fundraising restriction and advance notice of Adams' travel plans and itinerary for each trip.

I believe the appropriate way to handle the visit is for me to receive him in my office in the White House but with no photographs. This is consistent with the level of White House access accorded other Northern Ireland politicians representing political parties of similar size. State and the British can live with my seeing Adams, though they would rather it not be at the White House or include any photo opportunities.

Fundraising Conditions

There is a sharp division of views between Justice, State, FBI, Ambassador Crowe and the British on one side and the Irish, Ambassador Smith, and some important members of Congress on the other over whether to permit Adams to fundraise. The decision

comes at a delicate time in the Northern Ireland peace process and in our relations with the British over Bosnia.

As an individual with a terrorist background, Adams is ineligible for entry into the United States. In waiving that ineligibility, we have the right to impose conditions that we cannot impose on other Sinn Fein members. Justice, State, Ab Mikva and Ambassador Crowe in London strongly oppose allowing Adams to raise funds in the U.S., at least for the time being, primarily because of information that the IRA continues to procure handguns and explosives in the United States, the short time the cease-fire has been in place, the fact that the IRA maintains large stockpiles of weapons, and that it continues to maintain a high state of readiness, including training activities.

Ambassador Crowe also argues strongly that it is particularly important to take strongly-held British views on this issue into account at a time when the bilateral relationship is under severe strain over Bosnia. He feels it would be extremely unwise to cause another rift over Ireland and a time when we need them on the "much more important foreign policy issue" of Bosnia. British officials have said that the UK "would publicly denounce" the Administration if we allow fundraising.

British neuralgia on the fundraising issue, despite the fact that Sinn Fein is permitted to raise funds in Britain, relates to the historical fact that the IRA armed and sustained itself for many years in large part through support from U.S. sources. In addition, Ab Mikva believes that as long as IRA weapons procurement activity continues in the U.S., permitting Adams to fundraise will expose us to charges of inconsistent and discriminatory policy if we crack down on Hamas fundraising (although there is a difference as the IRA has implemented a ceasefire -- still checking with Mikva).

The Attorney General, FBI and State (including Ambassador Crowe) strongly agree with the British line of argument. They underscore that although the cease-fire continues generally to hold, IRA extortion and other criminal activities continue, though apparently under instructions that firearms not be used. The IRA admitted November 20 that a recent armed robbery in which a postal worker was killed (and over \$200,000 stolen) was committed by IRA members ("volunteers") "acting on instruction" (presumably from local commanders) but "not sanctioned by the IRA leadership." Moreover, IRA extralegal "policing actions" (i.e. beatings of suspected collaborators or petty criminals in Catholic neighborhoods of Northern Ireland) continue, as do IRA training operations. FBI is monitoring IRA arms procurement activity in the U.S. which has occurred since the cease-fire and is ongoing.

Fundraising in the US is especially problematic because of the history of arms procurement for the IRA. In practice, Sinn Fein has never demonstrated that the collections are segregated from IRA operational funds, and it has been proven in court that NORaid has used money collected for "widows and orphans" to fund arms purchases.

On the other side, the Irish Government (especially Albert Reynolds), Ambassador Smith in Dublin and some important figures on the Hill (including Dodd, Moynihan, Manton, Gilman and Ted Kennedy) argue with equal conviction that there is no practical or political benefit to be derived from continuing to insist that Adams cannot fundraise here and, indeed, that singling out Adams in this way will undermine him and perhaps the entire peace process. They point out that this is not a legal issue but rather a policy one, that other Sinn Fein leaders and supporters who do not need visa waivers can and do raise funds for Sinn Fein, and that Adams, given his positive and pivotal role in bringing IRA into the peace process, should not be "humiliated" in this way.

As Adams and others note, fundraising for Sinn Fein in the UK is legal (he held a fundraiser in London last week) and to deny him the same right in the United States would seriously undermine Adams at a delicate moment in the peace process. The loss of Albert Reynolds as Prime Minister of Ireland removes Adams' strongest supporter from the process and Adams needs to continue to show momentum in the process if he is to keep the hardliners in tow. Adams also argues that they are in urgent need of funds to organize a political party and argues passionately that denying him the right to do so will only make it more difficult for him to move on the important issues such as demobilization.

A denial of fundraising will make big headlines in Ireland of the US charging Adams with continued weapons procurement and calling into question the permanency of the ceasefire. He fears such action will seriously undermine him and encourage the hardliners to pull away from the path of peace.

Fundraising Options

Option I: Maintain Fundraising Prohibition

Option IA) That Adams' three-month multiple entry visa be annotated to indicate that he is not permitted to engage in direct or indirect fundraising, but that he may raise sufficient funds to pay for the costs of his U.S. trip (same conditions as his last visit). No commitments/indications given him as to what

our future position might be. [Justice, State, Ambassador Crowe and the British government support; Irish and Ambassador Smith oppose.]

Pros: Even with the fundraising restriction still in place, Adams gets from this trip a substantial liberalization of the travel restrictions on him and the reward of being received at the White House (despite State and British discomfiture with the latter). Takes things a step at a time and keeps fundraising as leverage to encourage the IRA to address the weapons issue early on. Leaves no doubt where we stand on terrorism and expresses our concern about continued IRA criminal and procurement activities. Boosts confidence in London and Belfast that British and Unionist views matter and that Adams does not exercise undue influence on our Northern Ireland policy. Underscores that we are sensitive to the importance of working with them on Bosnia.

Cons: Could weaken Adams politically within the IRA, both by embarrassing him in his already-public request and by denying him the ability to raise funds he says he needs to operate Sinn Fein as a political party. To the extent Adams is weakened, the peace process could be damaged. There will be headlines in the Irish papers that we believe the IRA continues to procure weapons and perhaps that we doubt the permanency of the IRA ceasefire. You will face strong pressure from Ambassador Smith and some on the Hill to concede this issue. The Irish government will strongly urge you to reconsider. Adams may cancel his trip if not allowed to fundraise. Refusal will cause a rift with portions of the Irish-American community; some in the Irish-American community will begin to criticize what to date has been viewed as a successful foreign policy issue.

Option IB) Same as above, but we tell Adams the conditions he must meet in order to get the fundraising issue reconsidered, namely that the IRA must have ceased weapons procurement in the United States and made concrete progress towards demobilizing and disarming. [State, Justice, Crowe and British can live with, while preference is IA. Irish, Smith oppose.]

Pros: Same as above, but makes more explicit why Adams can't fundraise now and what we expect from him before we will alter our position. Provides encouragement to Adams that we will not deny him fundraising access indefinitely. Could encourage an end to weapons procurement and progress on other issues.

Cons: Same as above. In addition, we will in all likelihood face another disagreement within the Administration and between the British and Irish when the time comes to decide if he has made enough progress on weapons procurement and demobilization and disarmament.

Option II: Allow Adams to fundraise on this trip.

Option IIA) Impose no restrictions on Adams' ability to fundraise on this trip. [State, Justice, Crowe and British oppose; Irish, Smith support.]

Pros: Pleases important Irish players on the Hill; strengthens Adams internally, could help advance the peace process.

Cons: Justice, FBI, Ambassador Crowe and State vehemently oppose, as do the British. The British (and Ambassador Crowe) still feel bruised from Adams' last visit and the Vice President's phone call to Adams; allowing Adams to fundraise will open another public U.S.-UK rift in a period of already-substantial strains over Bosnia. Could weaken pressure on Adams to deal with weapons issue and be interpreted in Northern Ireland as a sign that we take lightly the recent IRA murder/robbery incident; subjects us to criticism if there is another incident of violence involving IRA members or weapons. Funds could be directed to weapons purchase, especially if the cease-fire breaks down. Ab Mivka adds that it would be very difficult to permit Adams fundraising while at the same time cracking down on Hamas fundraising (while recognizing that the IRA has implemented a ceasefire and Hamas still engages in terrorism--check).

Option IIB) Allow Adams to fundraise but impose conditions on how the funds are handled to ensure they are only used for legitimate political party activities. This could involve an extensive audit by a respected firm. [State, Justice, Crowe and British oppose; Irish, Smith support.]

Pros: Boosts Adams and thus could help advance the peace process. Adams has already offered to provide such audits. Underscores the point that we expect Adams to move forward in bringing Sinn Fein/IRA fully away from terrorist and illegal activities. Makes diversion of funds more difficult.

Cons: Same as IIA. Also, money is fungible; even very elaborate safeguards will not stop it from going to support or offset criminal and terrorist activities. Largely symbolic, could be criticized as empty gesture. State and Justice strongly oppose on these grounds.

Option IIC) Allow Adams to fundraise if he agrees to place the funds in a U.S. account which he could not access without our permission. Establish that we will review the situation in early 1995 to decide if the funds can be accessed; factors affecting our decision will include whether the cease-fire still holds and whether Sinn Fein/IRA has ceased weapons procurement in the US

and made concrete progress toward demobilization and disarmament. [Justice, State, Ambassador Crowe and the British government oppose; Irish and Ambassador Smith support.]

Pros: Lets Adams go ahead with his fundraising plans while still meeting some of the concerns of the British, State and Justice. Will boost Adams and thus help advance the peace process.

Cons: Neither side will like; either or both may reject. In requiring the US to make a decision on when to release funds, this options would put us under constant pressure on both sides to release or not release the funds and involve the US in the negotiating process in a way we have not been before.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve a three-month entry visa for Adams conditional on continuation of the ceasefire and that he advises us in advance of his travel plans and itineray. That I meet with him in my office but with no photographs. And that you approve Option IB: ~~Maintain fundraising restriction but make clear to Adams the conditions he needs to fulfill to be permitted to fundraise~~, namely that the Sinn Fein/IRA must have ceased weapons procurement in the United States and made concrete progress toward demobilizing and disarming. *sell Adams*

Of the difficult choices you face, I believe this option best promotes our goals of maintaining the peace process in Northern Ireland, sending a strong message against terrorism and maintains our strong relationship with the British. A meeting with Adams in the White House is a significant offering to him and a three-month multiple entry visa meets one of his key requests during his last visit. The prestige of entering the White House will lessen any criticism of him personally over denial of his fundraising request.

In addition, by pointing out to him our knowledge of continuing procurement of weapons in the US, we might help achieve an end to such activities. We will also speak with the British to encourage them to reach out more positively to Adams to help offset any fallout from the decision (although a positive response is a long shot).

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Or alternatively,

That you approve Option IIB: Allow Adams to fundraise but impose conditions on how the funds are handled to ensure they are only used for legitimate political party activities, most likely through an extensive audit by a respected firm.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

If you select Option IIB or any other option allowing fundraising, I recommend you telephone Prime Minister Major, Secretary Christopher, and perhaps Attorney General Reno to inform them of your decision.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9351

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 23, 1994

Soderberg
**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (4.29)
KBN 7/11/2023

TELEPHONE CALL TO
OUTGOING IRISH PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS

DATE: TBD

LOCATION: TBD

TIME: TBD

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *hul*

I. PURPOSE

To express appreciation for Reynolds' accomplishments in promoting peace in Northern Ireland and close U.S.-Irish relations during his tenure as Prime Minister and to discuss Gerry Adams' latest request for a US visit.

II. BACKGROUND

Albert Reynolds tried to call you Wednesday afternoon. You may want to return the call over the Thanksgiving weekend.

Albert Reynolds resigned earlier this month as Prime Minister rather than face a vote on a confidence motion in the Irish parliament which he was sure to lose. Reynolds remains as Acting Prime Minister, however, while efforts continue to form a new coalition government.

The coalition between Reynolds' party, Fianna Fail, and Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring's Labor Party fell apart over Reynolds' railroading through cabinet the nomination to the High Court of a controversial Attorney General who was unacceptable to the Labor Party. Labor had strongly objected to the Attorney General's handling of a case of a 14 year old girl whose travel to Britain for an abortion was blocked and his failure to extradite in a timely fashion a pedophile priest. Fianna Fail has picked a new leader, Finance Minister Bertie Ahern, to replace Reynolds, and Embassy Dublin expects Ahern will be able to reconstitute the coalition with Labor, though Spring will likely bargain hard for a larger Labor role in government. The formation of a new government is probably still some days and perhaps weeks away.

Ireland's political crisis will cause some delay in moving forward on Northern Ireland peace negotiations, but it

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

should not derail it, particularly if Fianna Fail and Labor can reconstitute their coalition and Dick Spring continues as a key player on the issue. It is possible that Reynolds will be asked to continue to lead the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, which is meeting in Dublin weekly with the participation of Irish nationalist parties from north and south, including Sinn Fein, but which Unionist parties are boycotting.

Reynolds is likely to lobby you very hard on allowing Gerry Adams to fundraise on his next visit to the United States. He has applied for another visa and hopes to come in early December for fund-raisers in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. There is general agreement on allowing him a three month multiple-entry visa and for me to meet with him. There is disagreement on whether he should be permitted to fundraise. We will be sending you a memo on the issue shortly and you should avoid making any commitments to Reynolds until you have had a chance to review the options.

In a nutshell, Adams and the Irish argues strongly that he should be treated like any other political party and allowed to fundraise. He attended a small fund-raiser in London last week and the Irish-American community is weighing in hard to allow Adams to do the same here. On the other side, the British, Justice, State and the FBI argue strongly that until the IRA has dismantled its large weapons stock, stopped procurement of weapons and ended training and readiness operations, Gerry Adams should not be allowed to fundraise. In addition, they argue (especially Admiral Crowe) that given the critical situation on Bosnia and our need to work closely with the British, now is a dangerous time to pick a fight with the British over the issue of Ireland.

We are still working through our internal recommendations to you on the matter but expect to send you something on Friday. You may want to wait to talk to Reynolds until after you have had a chance to review the memo and its recommendations.

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
ACTING IRISH PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS

- Sorry to hear of the political developments. Glad to hear that the leadership transition in your party, and perhaps in the government, is proceeding in a constructive fashion.
- I have greatly valued our cooperation over the past two years. You have made an enormous contribution both to the enrichment of U.S.-Irish relations and, especially, to the pursuit of peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.
- What do you see as your future role?
- What effect is this change of government in Dublin likely to have on the pace and substance of the Northern Ireland peace process?
- On Gerry Adams:
- As you know, Gerry Adams wants to visit the U.S. in early December. I do not expect any problems on his coming here and seeing Tony Lake and others. But the fundraising issue is a bit more difficult.
- I am still reviewing the fundraising issue. It causes us some problems, particularly given evidence that the IRA -- or at least parts of it -- continues to maintain a high state of readiness and a large stockpile of weapons.
- The IRA robbery and murder of a postal worker in Northern Ireland was also disturbing.
- I know Adams recently attended a fund-raiser, albeit a small one, in London last week. And we need to ensure that the momentum of the peace process is maintained.
- I would welcome your views and will keep you informed of our thinking.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.32)
KBM 4/11/2013



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

November 23, 1994

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

Dear Tony:

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

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

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Janet Reno", is written over the typed name.

Janet Reno

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. report	re: PIRA Activities Since the Ceasefire (1 page)	11/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. memo	re: Meeting on November 2, 1994 Regarding the Provisional Irish Republican Army (2 pages)	11/22/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Adams



Hawkins, Ardenia R.

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Darby, M. Brooke; Hawkins, Ardenia R.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Baker, James E.; Stephens, Kathleen D.; Soderberg, Nancy E.
Subject: Gerry Adams [CONFIDENTIAL]
Date: Tuesday, November 22, 1994 7:41PM

Please pass to Nancy Soderberg:

AG's views:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.32)
KBH 4/11/2023

—AG's view as of now is no fundraising, period;

—Justice staff is not raising with her the idea of permitting fundraising, with proceeds into a blocked account, because (1)they understand State opposes; (2)they are opposed; (3)they believe she will be opposed; and (4)they do not understand anyone to be recommending it.

—Justice staff will raise with her tonight or tomorrow morning, two alternatives to a flat no on fundraising.

—First, they will raise the possibility of telling Adams that we will reconsider in three months if there has been concrete movement toward disarmament, including a cessation of procurement activities in the US. They think the AG will not favor this.

—Second, they will raise a more diluted version -- that we can not seriously consider lifting the funding prohibition until there is concrete movement toward disarmament, including a cessation of procurement activities in the US. They think this might fly with AG.

—They will call Jamie Baker tomorrow morning (I will be gone) with the AG's reaction to these two alternatives.

—They repeat their request that if the NSC is going to recommend to the President an option which does not have the endorsement of the AG that the AG be called first. I strongly second this recommendation. They are saying very clearly to me that we risk another process blowup with the AG if we do not extend this courtesy.

2. Ab Mivka's views:

—he opposes fundraising, giving the evidence of continuing procurement here. He believes that while procurement continues here, it would be very difficult to (1)permit Adams fundraising, and (2)crackdown on Hamas fundraising. He would like this position reflected to the President.

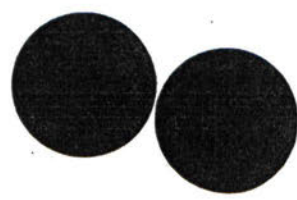
—he would be willing to go with the diluted formula above, wherein we say "we can not reconsider until there is concrete movement on disarmament, including cessation of procurement activities here" to give Adams a suggestion as to what could impact our policy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9221 REDO

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 22, 1994



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*
FROM: KATHLEEN STEPHENS *KS*
SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on Gerry Adams Visa
and Contact Issues

The attached memorandum from you to the President outlines issues to be decided related to Gerry Adams' most recent visa application.

Concurrences by: Alan Kreczko *AK*, Bill Danvers *BD*, Dick Clarke and
Leon Fuerth

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachment
Tab I - Memorandum for the President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *M* NARA, Date *1/4/16*
7011-0355-F

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**DECLASSIFIED**
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.33)
KOH 4/11/2023ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Gerry Adams Applies for Visa for December Visit:
Fundraising and Other Issues for DecisionPurpose

To decide how to handle visa and contact issues related to Gerry Adams' proposed December visit to the U.S.

Background

Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams has applied for a visa to visit the U.S. December 7-13. He proposes going to several American cities and has asked that he be given a multiple-entry visa with no fundraising restrictions. (Adams' two earlier visas, in January and September this year, were both single-entry visas which prohibited him from raising funds in the U.S.)

As in the past, the Attorney General must grant Adams a waiver if he is to obtain a visa. Secretary Christopher has recommended and Attorney General Reno has indicated she is prepared to agree to a three-month, multiple-entry visa for Adams subject to continued IRA observance of the cease-fire, a no fundraising restriction and advance notice of Adams' travel plans and itinerary for each trip. (The condition of requiring advance notification of travel plans is consistent with what we require of Palestinians needing waivers who have been granted multiple-entry visas.)

There is no opposition within the USG or from the British or Irish governments to granting Adams a multiple-entry visa with these restrictions.

Adams has not yet made any requests for meetings with Administration officials, although Adams has indicated he would come to Washington were I to invite him to meet with me. I believe the time is right for me to receive Adams. This is consistent with the level of White House access accorded other Northern Ireland politicians representing political parties of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

or ~~is~~ ~~certainly~~ ~~include~~ day photo opportunities

similar size. (I met with John Alderdice of the small Alliance Party earlier this year, and relayed to Ian Paisley, whose party's electoral share of the vote is only slightly larger than Sinn Fein's, that I am prepared to meet with him.) State and the British can live with my seeing Adams, though they would rather it not be at the White House.

~~if it is at the White House, they would rather not include day photo opportunities.~~

Recommendation:

That you approve a three-month multiple-entry visa and that I receive Adams at the White House. Adams would be required to submit prior to arrival travel plans and itinerary.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Fundraising Conditions

As an individual with a terrorist background, Adams is ineligible for entry into the United States. In waiving that ineligibility, we have the right to impose conditions that we cannot impose on other Sinn Fein members. While there is agreement on making the visa conditional on the cease-fire and prior notification of Adams' travel plans, the fundraising issue is extremely controversial. Justice, State, Ab Mikva and Ambassador Crowe in London strongly oppose allowing Adams to raise funds in the U.S. for the time being, primarily because of the short time the cease-fire has been in place, the fact that the IRA maintains large stockpiles of weapons, and that it continues to maintain a high state of readiness, including training activities. The British want us to maintain our fundraising prohibition "at least" until they begin their talks with Sinn Fein, probably sometime before year's end. They would prefer that we wait until Sinn Fein has begun to address the question of disarming. State or Justice would likely take a similar view, though at present neither agency is prepared to define the precise set of conditions that would lead them to agree not to impose a fundraising restriction on Adams.

strongly argued that... in the future
The Irish government has weighed in favoring of allowing Adams to fundraise. Outgoing (but still acting) Irish Prime Minister Reynolds has told Ambassador Smith and the British he thinks Adams should be allowed to fundraise. The British, however, have dug in on the fundraising issue, warning that they would feel forced to criticize us publicly if Adams is permitted to fundraise. British neuralgia on the fundraising issue, despite the fact that Sinn Fein is permitted to raise funds in Britain, relates to the historical fact that the IRA armed and sustained

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

itself for many years in large part through support from U.S. sources. Given that history, the British argue, it is too early in the process and sends the wrong signal to give Gerry Adams, however committed he personally is to giving up terrorism for good, free rein to raise funds here. In addition, Ab Mikva believes that as long as IRA procurement activity continues in the U.S., permitting Adams to fundraise will expose us to charges of inconsistent and discriminatory policy if we crack down on Hamas fundraising.

FBI, Justice and State (including Ambassador Crowe) strongly agree with the British line of argument. They underscore that although the cease-fire continues generally to hold, IRA extortion and other criminal activities continue, though apparently under instructions that firearms not be used. The IRA admitted November 20 that a recent armed robbery in which a postal worker was killed (and \$150,000 stolen) was committed by IRA members ("volunteers") "acting on instruction" (presumably from local commanders) but "not sanctioned by the IRA leadership." Neither Adams nor the IRA has responded to the British suggestion that they return the stolen money.

IRA extralegal "policing actions" (i.e. beatings of suspected collaborators or petty criminals in Catholic neighborhoods of Northern Ireland) continue, as do IRA training operations. FBI reports that there has been IRA arms procurement activity in the U.S. since the cease-fire was declared. Gerry Adams has told Ambassador Smith he is trying to get the beatings to stop. We are satisfied that Adams did not know in advance about the postal robbery. Nonetheless, the British, State and Justice regard these facts as arguing strongly against allowing fundraising on this trip.

On the other side, Ambassador Smith in Dublin and some important figures on the Hill (including Dodd, Moynihan, Manton, Gilman and Ted Kennedy) argue with equal conviction that there is no practical or political benefit to be derived from continuing to insist that Adams cannot fundraise here and, indeed, that singling out Adams in this way will undermine him and perhaps the entire peace process. They point out that this is not a legal issue but rather a policy one, that other Sinn Fein leaders and supporters who do not need visa waivers can and do raise funds for Sinn Fein, and that Adams, given his positive and pivotal role in bringing IRA into the peace process, should not "humiliated" in this way.

Adams has told us it is vital to him as he approaches talks with the British and a Sinn Fein party conference in early 1995 that we not do anything that implied we still had doubts about the cease-fire's permanency or about his own sincerity. Stopping him

from fundraising would not help move the IRA toward disarming; it could have the opposite effect. Adams argues that the hold-up in entering talks with the British is on the British side; Adams has made it clear he wants immediate talks with the British. Adams says he will not disarm until he is in talks with the British. (We think Sinn Fein intends to use the arms as leverage for progress on the release of prisoners.) Adams argues further that he needs funds to build a real political party and, by denying him access to fundraising, we are undermining his efforts to bring the IRA into the political arena. Finally, Adams points out that there were no restrictions on his fundraising in Britain; indeed, he held a fund-raiser in London during his visit there last week. Adams telephoned Nancy Soderberg November 21 to underscore how strongly he feels about this issue.

While, as Adams and others note, fundraising for Sinn Fein in the UK is legal, contributing to or soliciting funds for the IRA is illegal under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. In practice, the collection boxes are generally marked for prisoners' welfare organizations, but Sinn Fein has never demonstrated that the collections are segregated from IRA operational funds. In the U.S., it has been proven in court that NORAID has a record of using money collected for "widows and orphans" to fund arms purchases. NORAID has not filed reports required under the Foreign Agent Registration Act since 1990.

The fundraiser that Adams says he held while in London last week (his first trip since the ban on his travel to mainland Britain was lifted) was apparently a small gathering in Camden of "Friends of Sinn Fein." We do not know how much money was collected. The British point out that the UK has never been fertile ground for legitimate Sinn Fein fundraising, given its association with IRA. Our Embassy in London notes that Sinn Fein has more offices and more full-time staff throughout Ireland than any other Northern Ireland political party and suggests that if the IRA were to stand down from its present state of readiness and if Sinn Fein contented itself with facilities and staff comparable to its political rivals, it could cease most criminal involvement even without new fundraising.

Options

Option I: Maintain Fundraising Prohibition

Option IA) That Adams' three-month multiple entry visa be annotated to indicate that he is not permitted to engage in direct or indirect fundraising, but that he may raise sufficient funds to pay for the costs of his U.S. trip (same conditions as his last visit). No commitments/indications given him as to what

our future position might be. Justice, State, Ambassador Crowe and the British government strongly support.

Story pressure from h:U.
Pros: Even with the fundraising restriction still in place, Adams gets from this trip a substantial liberalization of the travel restrictions on him and the reward of being received at the White House in a meeting with me (despite State and British discomfiture with the latter). Takes things a step at a time and keeps fundraising as leverage to encourage the IRA to address the weapons issue early on. Leaves no doubt where we stand on terrorism and expresses our concern about continued IRA criminal and procurement activities. Boosts confidence in London and Belfast that British and Unionist views matter and that Adams does not exercise undue influence on our Northern Ireland policy.

Cons: Could weaken Adams politically within the IRA, both by embarrassing him in his already-public request and by denying him the ability to raise funds he says he needs to operate Sinn Fein as a political party. You will face strong pressure from Ambassador Smith and some on the Hill to concede this issue. The Irish government may privately urge you to reconsider. Adams may cancel his trip if not allowed to fundraise. Refusal will cause a rift with portions of the Irish-American community.

Option IB) Same as above, but we tell Adams the conditions he must meet in order to get the fundraising issue reversed next time, namely that the IRA must have ceased weapons procurement and taken concrete steps to demobilize and to disarm.

Pros: Same as above, but makes more explicit why Adams can't fundraise now and what we expect from him before we will alter our position. Provides encouragement to Adams that we will not deny him fundraising access indefinitely.

Cons: Same as above, plus State and Justice dislike setting out conditions now for what we might do in the future.

Option II: Allow Adams to fundraise on this trip.

Option IIA) Impose no restrictions on Adams' ability to fundraise on this trip.

Pros: Pleases important Irish players on the Hill; strengthens Adams internally.

Cons: Justice, FBI, Ambassador Crowe and State vehemently oppose, as do the British. The British (and Ambassador Crowe) still feel bruised from Adams' last visit and the Vice President's phone call to Adams; allowing Adams to fundraise will open another public U.S.-UK rift in a period of already-

CONFIDENTIAL

*which
recognizing the
diff b/w
the two
organizations*

substantial strains over Bosnia. Could weaken pressure on Adams to deal with weapons issue and be interpreted in Northern Ireland as a sign that we take lightly the recent IRA murder/robbery incident; subjects us to criticism if there is another incident of violence involving IRA members or weapons. Funds could be directed to weapons purchase, especially if the cease-fire breaks down. Ab Mivka adds that it would be very difficult to permit Adams fundraising while at the same time cracking down on Hamas fundraising.] ??

Option IIB) Allow Adams to fundraise but impose conditions on how the funds are handled to ensure they are only used for legitimate political party activities.

Pros: Adams has already offered to do this. Underscores the point that we expect Adams to move forward in bringing Sinn Fein/IRA fully away from terrorist and illegal activities. Makes diversion of funds more difficult.

Cons: Money is fungible; even very elaborate safeguards will not stop it from going to support or offset criminal and terrorist activities. Largely symbolic, could be criticized as empty gesture. State and Justice strongly oppose on these grounds.

Option IIC) Allow Adams to fundraise if he agrees to place the funds in a U.S. account which he could not access without our permission. Establish that we will review the situation in early 1995 to decide if the funds can be accessed; factors affecting our decision will include whether the cease-fire still holds and whether Sinn Fein/IRA has taken steps toward disarming and ending weapons procurement.

Pros: Lets Adams go ahead with his fundraising plans while still meeting some of the concerns of the British, State and Justice.

Cons: Neither side will like; either or both may reject. Inquiring

RECOMMENDATION

US to make a decision on when to release funds, this option would put us in constant pressure on both sides to release

That you approve Option IB: Maintain fundraising restriction but make clear to Adams the conditions that would help us look favorably on a fundraising request in three months' time, namely IRA progress toward disarmament, including cessation of procurement activities in the U.S. *not*

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Or alternatively,

CONFIDENTIAL

*release the funds
and involve US
in the negotiating process
in a way we have
not seen before.*

That you approve Option IIB: Allow Adams to fundraise but impose conditions on how the funds are handled to ensure they are only used for legitimate political party activities.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

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

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 221633Z NOV 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6619
RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2480
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 006335

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.34)
KBN 4/11/2023

NSC FOR LAKE AND SODERBERG

VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FOR FUERTH AND WISE

DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY AND EUR - HOLBROOKE FROM
AMBASSADOR SMITH

LONDON PLEASE PASS BMLFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: FUNDRAISING BY GERRY ADAMS

REF: A) DUBLIN 6244, B) DUBLIN 6199 AND PREVIOUS

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

2. I MET NOVEMBER 20 WITH ACTING PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS. HE CONFIRMED WHAT WE HAVE REPORTED SEPTTEL THAT ACTING TANAISTE AND FINANCE MINISTER BERTIE AHERNE WILL FORM A COALITION GOVERNMENT OVER THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WITH FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING'S LABOR PARTY. WE ALSO DISCUSSED PRESS REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON THAT GERRY ADAMS' REQUEST TO BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN FUNDRAISING IN THE U.S. WAS RUNNING INTO OPPOSITION FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE NSC. I HAVE NEVER SEEN REYNOLDS REACT SO VEHEMENTLY. REYNOLDS STRESSED THE FOLLOWING POINTS MOST VIGOROUSLY:

--- IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT ADAMS'S LEADERSHIP BE REINFORCED AND SUPPORTED. IF IT IS SEEN THAT HE IS UNABLE TO DELIVER ON THE PEACE DIVIDEND, THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE HE WOULD BE REPLACED.

--- THE SDLP AND FIANNA FAIL RAISE FUNDS IN THE U.S. AND HAVE DONE SO HISTORICALLY. WHAT THEN IS THE LOGIC FOR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

THE U.S. TO REFUSE SINN FEIN AND ITS LEADER GERRY ADAMS THE SAME RIGHTS. SINN FEIN IS A LEGITIMATE, CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE LARGEST SINGLE PARTY REPRESENTED IN THE BELFAST CITY COUNCIL.

--- THERE IS NO WAY THIS COULD BE EXPLAINED EXCEPT THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT BELIEVE IN OR TRUST THE PEACE PROCESS AND THAT IT DOES NOT TRUST GERRY ADAMS.

--- CONSTANCY OF PURPOSE AND COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS BY THE U.S. IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT NOW BECAUSE OF THE PERCEIVED INSTABILITY IN IRELAND FOLLOWING THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT AND REYNOLDS' OWN RESIGNATION.

3. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT REFER TO HIS ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS DIRECTLY, REYNOLDS' RESIGNATION HAS DEFINITELY CAST A SHADOW OVER THE PEACE PROCESS. REYNOLDS WAS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT PERSON IN THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IN, ALONG WITH JOHN HUME, MOVING SINN FEIN/IRA TO ANNOUNCE A TOTAL CESSATION OF VIOLENCE. THUS HIS DEPARTURE MAKES THE ROLE OF THE U.S. IN THE PEACE PROCESS ALL THE MORE CRITICAL. REFUSING ADAMS' REQUEST WILL HAVE DIRE CONSEQUENCES AT THIS JUNCTURE. AS REYNOLDS POINTED OUT, NO GREAT SUMS OF MONEY WILL BE RAISED AND PRICE WATERHOUSE WILL BE ACCOUNTING FOR ALL OF THAT. THIS IS A SYMBOLIC GESTURE ON THE PART OF THE U.S. TO DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO SUSTAINING THE MOMENTUM OF THE PEACE PROCESS. AS I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY, NOW IS NOT THE TIME FOR THE U.S. TO BE FOUND WANTING IN RESOLVE AND COMMITMENT. SMITH

BT

#6335

NNNN

<MSGID> M1374889

CONFIDENTIAL

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

November 22, 1994

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

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to urge your immediate consideration of lifting the fundraising restriction pertaining to Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams' multiple-entry visa to the United States.

As you know, Mr. Adams was central in persuading the IRA to announce its historic cease-fire, and he is a key player in the ongoing peace process in the North of Ireland. It is imperative that Sinn Fein be allowed to raise money as any other political party. Only proper funding of the political process will ensure achievement of this mutual goal we all share of lasting peace and justice in Ireland.

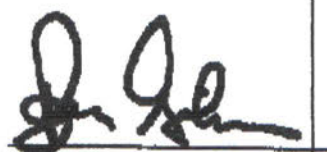
Finally, Mr. President, we find it unacceptable and ironic that Mr. Adams and Sinn Fein are still permitted to raise funds in Dublin, London and Belfast, but not in New York City. In fact, just this past week, Mr. Adams completed a very successful political visit to London, during which time he raised funds at a dinner attended by over 600 people (see enclosure).

It is rather curious that the same British government, which permits fundraising in the United Kingdom, would have you restrict the legitimate political activity of Mr. Adams and Sinn Fein in the United States.

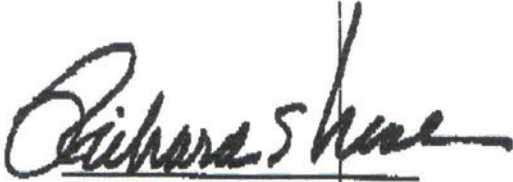
We appreciate your immediate consideration of this matter, and your continuing efforts on behalf of peace and reconciliation in Ireland.

With best wishes,

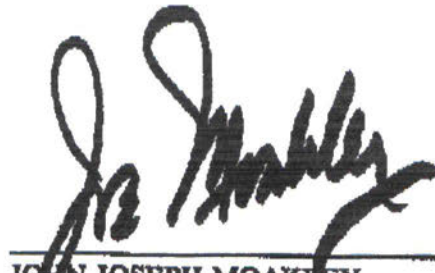
Sincerely,


BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
Member of Congress


PETER T. KING
Member of Congress



RICHARD E. NEAL
Member of Congress



JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY
Member of Congress



THOMAS J. MANTON
Member of Congress

BAG/jpm
enclosure

**PEACE NIGHT FOR IRELAND
CONCERT**

FRIDAY 15TH NOVEMBER 94

8PM to 1AM

**London Irish Centre,
Murray St. Camden Town
London N.W.**

**FOUR BANDS
including the magnificent
CHANTER**

**Specially invited guests
A GREAT NIGHT OF MUSIC & CRAIC**
Funds to Irish Peace Initiative **Admission £5 (£30 Oms)**

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: NSC STEPHENS SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 211230Z NOV 94

FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8149
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 7597
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5442
RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 3012
UNCLAS BELFAST 0546

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PINS, PTER, PGOV, PHUM, ASEC, CASC, ALOW, UK, EI
SUBJECT: PROVISIONAL IRA ADMITS TO THE MURDER OF POST OFFICE
WORKER; PLAN TO RESUME THEIR CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE.

REF: BELFAST 0537

1. THE MURDER OF A NORTHERN IRELAND POSTAL WORKER BY ARMED MEN ON NOVEMBER 10 (REFTEL) HAS BEEN CLAIMED BY THE PROVISIONAL IRA. THE ADMISSION, IN A STATEMENT FROM PIRA HEADQUARTERS IN DUBLIN, BROUGHT SWIFT REACTION FROM UNIONIST POLITICIANS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONISTS DEMANDED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT NOT MAKE CONTACT WITH THE PROVISIONAL IRA. THE PARTYS DEPUTY LEADER, PETER ROBINSON, SAID THAT FOR THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER TO PROCEED WITH TALKS WITH THE IRA WOULD BE A "GROSS BETRAYAL." ULSTER UNIONIST SECURITY SPOKESMAN KEN MAGINNIS COMMENTED: "WE KNEW IT WAS THE IRA AND THAT IT WAS A PLANNED OPERATION." MAGINNIS QUERIED IF THE IRA WOULD NOW HAND BACK THE MONEY TAKEN IN THE ARMED ROBBERY.
2. IN THEIR STATEMENT, THE IRA SAID THAT THOSE CARRYING OUT THE OPERATION TO ROB NEWRY SORTING OFFICE WERE ACTING ON IRA INSTRUCTIONS. BUT, THEY CLAIMED THE OPERATION HAD NOT BEEN SANCTIONED BY THE LEADERSHIP. DESPITE THE ADMISSION, THE IRA SAID IT WAS STILL COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS. THE RUC HAVE REPORTEDLY NOT LISTED THE KILLING OF MR. KERR AS TERRORIST-RELATED AND HAVE REFUSED TO COMMENT ON THE IRAS ADMISSION.
3. FURTHER PRESS REPORTS OF NOVEMBER 21 CLAIM THE PROVISIONAL IRA WILL RESUME HIGH-PROFILE ATTACKS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BRITISH MAINLAND. ULSTER UNIONIST KEN MAGINNIS SAID THEY WOULD OPERATE UNDER THE GUISE OF A BREAKAWAY GROUP. MAGINNIS COMMENTS COME AFTER PRESS REPORTS THAT A HARDLINE FACTION OF

UNCLASSIFIED

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

AROUND 50 TERRORISTS HAD SPLIT AWAY FROM THE PROVISIONALS TO RESUME ANOTHER VIOLENT OFFENSIVE. THE BREAKAWAY GROUP HAS REPORTEDLY GIVEN THE IRA ARMY COUNCIL TO MARCH NEXT TO ACHIEVE A "TOTAL SURRENDER OF THE GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND." MAGINNIS CLAIMED THE LOYALIST CEASEFIRE OF OCTOBER 13 DEPRIVED THE IRA OF THE EXCUSE OF RESUMING ITS VIOLENCE IN THE PRETENCE OF ACTING IN DEFENSE OF THE CATHOLIC MINORITY. "THE IRA INTENDS TO HAVE THE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS WITH ONE FACTION IN THE PEACE PROCESS WHILE THE ACTIVE TERRORISTS CARRY ON AS USUAL," MR. MAGINNIS SAID. MAGINNIS CLAIMED ANY RENEWED VIOLENCE WOULD NOT BE ON THE SAME SCALE AS IN THE PAST AS IT WOULD ALIENATE A MAJORITY OF NATIONALISTS.

MARTINEZ

BT

#0546

NNNN

<MSGID> M1372455

UNCLASSIFIED



TO: Nancy Soderberg FAX NO:
FROM: Niall O'Dowd

DATE: Monday, 21 Nov. 1994

SUBJECT: —

PAGES TO FOLLOW: 5 + Cover

COMMENTS:

This is the
Event
Adams
was at
his name
was not
released
for security
Reasons

PEACE NIGHT FOR IRELAND
CONCERT

FRIDAY 18TH NOVEMBER 94
8PM to 1AM

London Irish Centre,
Marney St. Camden Town
London N.W.

FOUR BANDS
including the magnificent
CHANTER

Specially invited guests
A GREAT NIGHT OF MUSIC & CRAIC
Funds to Irish Peace Initiative

Admission £5 (£3 Con)

WHITEMOOR POWS SEND MESSAGE OF SUPPORT

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS in Whitemoor Prison, from which several POWs attempted to escape last month, sent a message of solidarity to a picket held recently to commemorate Noel Jenkinson and Seán O'Connell.

In their message, the prisoners said that "without the sacrifices made over the past 25 years and without the armed struggle there

would not be this opportunity for peace, and ultimately, freedom". Concluding their address, the POWs said that "we must not settle for anything less than a free united Ireland. We will not settle for anything less."

The statement was read out at a commemoration outside Leicester Prison on 9 October organised by the Irish Republican POW Campaign to honour republican Noel Jenkinson (died Leicester Prison, 9 October 1976)

and Seán O'Connell (died Parkhurst Prison, 1 November 1977). Supporters from seven parts of England attended and calls were made for the immediate transfer of prisoners to Ireland, prior to ultimate release.

Imeachtaí

BALLYMURPHY SEVEN PICKET: Every Saturday, 2-4pm, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

SINN FÉIN PROTEST: For British withdrawal and peace. 1-3pm, every Saturday, GPO, O'Connell Street, DUBLIN

SINN FÉIN PEACE PICKET: Every Saturday, 3.30pm, Market Square, DUNDALK

PROTEST: For peace and against British rule. 1pm, Saturdays, Daunt Square, Patrick's Street, CORK

PICKET FOR PEACE: Assemble 3pm, every Saturday, GPO, SLIGO. Everybody welcome

PEACE PLEDGE: Signing GPO, DUBLIN, Monday to Saturday. Organised by the Irish National Congress

PUBLIC MEETING: *Peace and a New Ireland: Britain Must Act.*

7.30pm, Thursday, 27 October, Mansion House, Dawson Street, DUBLIN. Speaker: Gerry Adams

COMMEMORATION: Kevin Barry 74th anniversary. Sunday 6 November, 3.30pm, RATHVILLY, County Carlow. Speaker: Joe Reilly (Ard Chomhairle Sinn Féin). Chair: Gerry O'Neill.

BENEFIT GIG: Free Frank Johnson. 8pm, Thursday, 3 November, Kennedy Hall, Camden Irish Centre, LONDON. Music by Séamus Moore and

the JCB Band. Raffle and guest speakers

PUBLIC MEETING: *Build the Peace in Ireland.* 7.30pm, Friday, 4 November, Kennedy Hall, Camden Irish Centre, 52 Camden Square, NW1, LONDON. Speakers: Gerry O'Hara (Sinn Féin), Margaret Caraher (Relatives For Justice), Tony Benn MP, Liz Curtis (Information on Ireland, author). Music and refreshments provided. Ticket: £2 waged/£1 unwaged. Organised by the Troops Out Movement

PARADE: To mark the 20th anniversary of the murder of Hugh Conay. Assemble 2pm, Saturday 6 November, COALISLAND, County Tyrone and march to Clonoe. All prisoners, especially internees, are invited to attend

DRAW RESULTS
CORK SINN FÉIN DRAW
Winner (mirror):
Ticket no 401, Murphy,
11 Cushines Road

Altn Oct 27

London

MON 18:15 1234567890

123456789+0

P. 02

Nov 3 ARAN

London

Imeachtaí

BALLYMURPHY SEVEN PICKET: Every Saturday, 2-4pm, O'Connell Bridge, DUBLIN

PROTEST: Against British/loyalist collusion. 1-3pm, every Saturday, GPO, O'Connell Street (middle island), DUBLIN

SINN FÉIN PEACE PICKET:

Every Saturday, 3.30pm, Market Square, DUNDALK

PROTEST: For peace and against British rule. 1pm, Saturdays, Daunt Square, Patrick's Street, CORK

PICKET FOR PEACE: Assemble 3pm, every Saturday, GPO, SLIGO. Everybody welcome

PEACE PLEDGE: Signing GPO, DUBLIN. Every Saturday. Organ-

ised by the Irish National Congress

PUBLIC MEETING: *Build the Peace in Ireland.* 7.30pm, Friday, 4 November, Kennedy Hall, Camden Irish Centre, 52 Camden Square, NW1, LONDON. Speakers: Gerry O'Hara (Sinn Féin), Margaret Caraher (Relatives For Justice), Tony Benn MP, Liz Curtis (Information on Ireland, author). Music and refreshments

provided. Tálle: £2 waged/£1 unwaged. Organised by the Troops Out Movement

PARADE: To mark the 20th anniversary of the murder of Hugh Coney. Assemble 2pm, Sunday, 6 November, COALISLAND, County Tyrone and march to Clonoe. All ex-prisoners, especially internees, are invited to attend

TORCHLIGHT MARCH AND

RALLY: Assemble 7pm, Tuesday, 8 November, top of Springhill Avenue, BELFAST. March through Springhill, Ballymurphy, top of White Rock to rally at Henry Taggart Barracks

CONCERT: *Peace Night for Ireland.* Friday, 18 November, London Irish Centre, Murray Street, Camden Town, LONDON. Four bands plus Irish dancers. Tickets: £5/£3 cons. Late bar

InDíl Chuimhne

CONEY, Hugh; McAULEY, Kevin; McCUSKER, Séamus; McPARLAND, Liam. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Hugh Coney (died 6 November 1974), Séamus McCusker (died 31 October 1975), Liam McParland (died 6 November 1969) and Fian

never replace. Silent memories kept you near, as time unfolds another year. Years slip past but memory last. Each of us in our own way have silent thoughts of you. Loved and sadly missed by your wife Cathleen, sons, daughters, daughter-in-law, sons-in-law and grandchildren. **CASEY, Tommy (4th Ann).** We

the Coalisland Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Clonoe Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann; By the Jim Lynagh Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher; By the Colm Keenan/Martin Hurson Sinn Féin Cumann, Cookstown; By the Martin Hurson/Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin Cumann, Galbally; By the Eoin McNamee Sinn Féin Cumann, Kildress; By

for him. Always remembered by his sister and family circle.

Comhbhrón

BOLGER. Deepest sympathy is extended to Ken (Portlaoise) and family on the death of his father Andy. From Aengus and Aisling. **BOLGER.** Deepest sympathy is

Department, Dublin. **CAMPBELL.** The Irish Republican Prisoners Transport deeply regret the death of Joe 'Bingo' Campbell and extend to his family our deepest sympathy. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. **CAMPBELL.** It is with deep sorrow that I learn of the death of my friend and comrade Joe

honed by his friends and comrades in Beechmount Sinn Féin Cumann; You will be sadly missed by all your friends, the officers and members in the Belfast Green Cross. **FORTUNE.** Deepest sympathy is extended to our friend and comrade Mary and family on the recent death of their brother

Wolfe Tone Society,

BM Box 6191,
London WC1N 3XX.



The Wolfe Tone Society is an Irish Republican support group based in London. Its work consists of helping Republican prisoners' relatives and promoting the policies and publications of Sinn Fein. If You would like to become a supporter, or find out more information about the Wolfe Tone Society, please fill in the tear-off slip below.

I would like to help with one or more of the following areas of work

An Phoblacht Republican News sales.

Prisoners' relatives welfare.

Meetings and socials

James Connolly Bobby Sands Commemoration.

I would like to become a supporter of find out more information about the Wolfe Tone Society.*

I enclose £5 (£3 unwaged) affiliation and a £ donation

Name.....

Address.....

Tel.....

Signed..... Date.....

*Delete as appropriate.

I would like to make a monthly donation of £..... starting on the day month year.

to the Wolfe Tone Society.

Trustee Savings Bank, London E15.

Sort Code 77-91-22

Account number 64058068

My Account details are

Name of my

account.....

Bank.....

Branch.....

Branch

address.....

Sort Code.....

Account

number.....

Signed.....

Date.....



London Coordinating Committee

Working in Support of Sinn Féin

**Consists of the
Wolfe Tone Society
and the
West London Republican
Support Group.**

Tiocfaidh ar lá - Bobby Sands

We Shall Rise Again - James Connolly

**If you would like to help with the work of the
London Coordinating Committee, write to
the**

LCC BM Box 6191 London Wc1N 3XX

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
013. report	re: Situation Room Morning Summary (1 page)	11/21/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

UNCLASSIFIED

PREC: RUSH

CATEGORY: INTERNATIONAL

NWSID: U0130997

SOURCE: UPI

il ne asked —
Kathy S. to get
you a copy of
the IRA stmt.

z2312

IRA takes responsibility for shooting<

BELFAST, Northern Ireland, Nov. 20 (UPI) The Irish Republican Army said in a statement late Sunday that it was responsible for the death of a postal worker, who was shot during an armed robbery 11 days ago at the Royal Mail's sorting office in Newry, 40 miles (64 km) south of Belfast.

The worker, Frank Kerr, 53, was shot during a struggle with robbers who escaped with more than \$217,000.

The **IRA** statement, issued from its headquarters in Dublin, sparked a demand from Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, for an immediate break in communications between the group and the British government.

"For (Prime Minister) John Major to proceed with talks between his officials and the **IRA** would be a gross betrayal," Robinson said.

A spokesman for the prime minister declined to comment on Robinson's statement, but noted that it was being carefully considered by the British government.

Kerr was the first person to die as a result of an act of violence acknowledged by the **IRA** since it declared a "total cessation of military operations" on September 1.

The statement of responsibility for Kerr's death notwithstanding, the **IRA** said it was committed to the success of the peace process. It said it had not sanctioned the raid.

"Those carrying out the robbery were acting on instructions, but the so-called operation had not been sanctioned by the **IRA** leadership," the **IRA** statement said.

"Responsibility for this incident lies with an identified problem in the army's chain of command, and not with the volunteers involved," the statement said. "This has now been rectified."

The **IRA** statement offered the group's "sincere **apologies**" to Kerr's family and friends.

UPI- 11/20/94 21:19:00

DIST:

Subject : IRELAND

K0235

^EC-IRELAND foreign:GI

^Ahern elected leader of Ireland's dominant political party<

By Kevin Cullen

Boston Globe

Pledging to keep the peace process in Northern Ireland on course, Irish Finance Minister Bertie Ahern was elected leader of Fianna Fail Saturday, becoming the youngest head of Ireland's dominant political party.

Ahern, 43, who is known as a shrewd and affable politician, will need all his reputed skills at consensus-building if he is to re-establish the coalition government by luring the Labor Party back.

"If anyone can do it, Bertie can," a Fianna Fail backbencher and close friend of Ahern's said in a telephone interview Saturday.

Ahern's only serious competition for the leadership position, Justice Minister Maire Geoghegan-Quinn, withdrew from the race. She would have been the first woman to lead Fianna Fail in its 70-year history, but chose to avoid a divisive leadership battle at a time when the peace process is still fragile.

Ahern's first order of business is to mend fences with Labor leader Dick Spring, who forced the resignation of Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds Thursday amid a scandal involving the government's intervention on behalf of a pedophile priest.

As Reynolds did before him, Ahern assumes his party's leadership after heading the finance department, crucial in a country whose economic stability will be one of the keys in convincing Protestants in Northern Ireland that unification would not drastically lower their standard of living. But the circumstances under which Reynolds fell from power will feed the perception of most northern Protestants that the Irish government is beholden to the Catholic Church.

Labor walked out of the two-year-old coalition after it emerged that Reynolds' attorney general, Harry Whelehan, had delayed the extradition to the north of a Catholic priest who admitted to molesting children. In contrast, Whelehan acted immediately two years ago in preventing a 14-year-old girl who had become pregnant after being raped from traveling to Britain for an abortion. Abortion is illegal in the Irish Republic.

When Reynolds pushed through Whelehan's appointment to the High Court, Spring walked out as deputy prime minister and took his party with him.

In interviews, some political analysts and members of the Dail, Ireland's parliament, suggested that while the Whelehan scandal was the vehicle for the coalition's breakup, it was not really the main cause. Although Reynolds and Spring were conscious of putting forth a united front as they coaxed the Irish Republican Army in from the cold, the two men and their parties remained far apart on social and economic policy.

Labor, for example, thought Fianna Fail was dragging its feet on social legislation aimed at bringing the Irish Republic more in line with other European nations, including a referendum on divorce, which is outlawed in the Republic. Northern Protestants also point to the divorce ban as evidence of the blur between church and state in the Republic.

Some analysts believe the differences between Labor and Fianna Fail would have come to a head three months ago except for the IRA cease-fire. The IRA announced its cease-fire on Aug. 31, the day parliamentary debate was scheduled to begin on a beef-trading scandal that some believed called into question Reynolds' integrity. The debate was completely overshadowed by the euphoria that greeted the cease-fire.

The IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, would rather have Reynolds at the helm, viewing him as more sympathetic to their concerns. But Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams, whom Reynolds welcomed into the Irish political mainstream within a week of the IRA cease-fire, has pledged

to work with whoever leads the Irish government, saying the peace process is bigger than any individual.

Fianna Fail is the most nationalistic of Ireland's major parties but has been as against the IRA as any other party. Ahern is said to share Reynolds' philosophy that the best way to keep the IRA's cease-fire in place is to integrate its supporters into the political mainstream.

If Ahern can't convince Spring to form a coalition, Spring may look to form one with Fine Gael, the second-largest party, and some smaller parties. If a coalition cannot be formed, Ireland may be forced to hold its second general election in two years. While that prospect is certain to slow the pace of the peace process, few suggest it will irreparably harm it. }

KR-F 11/19/94 20:17:00

Darby, M. Brooke

From: Kreczko, Alan J.
To: Darby, M. Brooke
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Baker, James E.; Stephens, Kathleen D.
Subject: PLO fundraising [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, November 17, 1994 2:05PM

Brooke,

Please pass to Nancy:

Following is a thumbnail of our visa/fundraising policy vis-a-vis the PLO, confirmed by Dan Kurtzer at State. Perhaps most salient is that even now, after their renunciation of terrorism and their peace agreement with Israel, we do not allow fundraising for the PLO, although this is by informal understanding rather than explicit visa limitation.

--prior to the PLO's renunciation of terrorism, PLO members were permitted entry to the US only under very narrow circumstances -- e.g. to visit a dying, close relative. The visa was annotated to limit entry to the humanitarian purpose only. No political activity (speeches or fundraising) was permitted.

--after the PLO renounced terrorism and the US-PLO dialogue began, we loosened up on visa somewhat, permitting certain pro-peace PLO members to come to speak at various fora. We did not do this for PLO members with a personal terrorism basis (the legal basis for excluding PLO is different from other groups. With others, like IRA, we have had to show the individual participated in terrorism; with the PLO, special legislation provided that membership was disqualifying. Fundraising was prohibited, although that may have been conveyed orally.

--when the USG found the PLO to have reinvolved itself in terrorism, we cut off our dialogue with the PLO. (June 1990). Visa practice reverted to strictly humanitarian visits, and tightened even further in August 1980 when the PLO sided with Iraq in invasion of Kuwait.

--next milestone was Madrid peace conferece, after which we agreed to let 4 PLO members who had no personal history of involvement in terrorist enter the US to assist the non-PLO Palestinian negotiating team. Fundraising was treated as a seaparate issue, as PLO members knew they had to strictly limit their activities here. PLO did not press the fundraising issue.

--next milestone was Sept. 13 Rabin-Arafat agreement. At that point, we began giving visas to almost an PLO member who didn't have a personal history of terrorist activitiy against Americans or egregious terrorist history against non-Americans. Again, Dan says PLO recognized the reality that they could not fundraise. He believes point was conveyed to PLO orally, but that it never became an issue.

--final milestone was PLO Commitments ACT, which allows President to waive many restrictions on PLO if he finds PLO is complying with its commitments. At this point, visas became routine, including multiple entry. Even now, Dan confirms we do not and would not allow PLO members to raise money for PLO. Again, this has not been an issue. He says some fundraising may go on in parlors when PLO member visits, but that we would not allow PLO to be listed at a fundraiser for PLO. He says PLO understands this and does not push the envelope. However, he notes we do allow the PLO office here to raise funds for the Palestinian Authority, not the PLO.

In short, even though PLO is much farther along in both demonstrating its renunciation of terrorism and in its political accomodation with Israel, we still do not permit PLO members to enter and fundraise for the PLO, although that restriction is apparently implicit, rather than explicit.

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 04

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

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 181546Z NOV 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6594
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2470

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (4.35)
KBH 4/11/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 006244

LONDON PASS BELFAST

NSC FOR LAKE AND SODERBERG

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FOR FUERTH AND WISE

DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY AND EUR HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, EI, UK

SUBJECT: FUNDRAISING BY GERRY ADAMS

REF: A) ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO/AMBASSADOR SMITH TELCON
11-17-94, B) A/S HOLBROOKE/AMBASSADOR SMITH TELCON
11-16-94, C) DUBLIN 6199, D) DUBLIN 6135, E) LONDON
18073

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

2. DURING MY CONVERSATION WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ABOUT GERRY ADAMS' REQUEST TO BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN FUNDRAISING IN THE U.S., THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ASKED ME TO FAX HER BACKGROUND ON THIS ISSUE. THE TALKING POINTS WHICH I FAXED TO HER FOLLOW. I ALSO NOTED THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAS ALREADY PROVIDED GUIDANCE TO EUR TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BAN ON FUNDRAISING BY ADAMS IS PURELY AN ADMINISTRATIVE CONVENIENCE AND NOT MANDATED BY LAW.

3. BEGIN TALKING POINTS ON SINN FEIN FUNDRAISING PROVIDED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL:

INABILITY TO RAISE FUNDS LEGALLY THREATENS THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT APPROPRIATELY TRANSPARENT HANDLING METHODS CAN BE DEVELOPED TO INSURE THAT FUNDS RAISED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 04

THE U.S. BY SINN FEIN AND MR. ADAMS ARE USED ONLY TO SUPPORT LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

THE BRITISH, ACCORDING TO OUR EMBASSY IN LONDON, ARE APPREHENSIVE ABOUT ADAMS' FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES. YET TO OUR AMAZEMENT, THEY HAVE PUT NO SIMILAR RESTRICTIONS ON HIM IN BRITAIN. WHY THEN SHOULD THE BRITISH BE ALLOWED TO DICTATE U.S. POLICY IN THIS REGARD.

CONTRARY TO THE BRITISH ALLEGATIONS PASSED ON BY EMBASSY LONDON, IRISH AUTHORITES HAVE CONFIRMED THAT FUNDS RAISED BY SINN FEIN HAVE NOT BEEN USED TO SUPPORT ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES SINCE THE CEASEFIRE.

IRISH AUTHORITIES HAVE INFORMED US THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO MAJOR CRIMINAL INCIDENTS IN THE REPUBLIC CONNECTED WITH SINN FEIN/IRA SINCE THE CEASEFIRE.

IRISH AUTHORITIES HAVE ALSO INFORMED US THAT THE RECENT ROBBERY IN NEWRY WAS NOT SANCTIONED BY THE IRA AND THAT THE WEAPONS INVOLVED DID NOT COME FROM A CONTROLLED CACHE.

ADAMS HIMSELF HAS NEVER BEEN CONVICTED OF TERRORIST OFFENSES. HE DID RECEIVE SENTENCES IN THE EARLY 70'S FOR "ATTEMPTING TO ESCAPE DETENTION". HE WAS CHARGED IN 1978 WITH MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION, PIRA, BUT CHARGES WERE DROPPED FOR LACK OF EVIDENCE.

ALL OF THE EVIDENCE CONNECTING ADAMS WITH TERRORISM COMES FROM BRITISH POLICE AND INTELLIGENCE SOURCES WHICH HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY DISCREDITED IN AND OUTSIDE THE COURTS.

FROM THIS QUARTER, THERE IS NO CREDIBLE EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST AS CLAIMED IN EMBASSY REPORTING FROM LONDON THAT THE IRA IS CONTINUING TO SEEK NEW WEAPONS. IRISH AUTHORITIES CONFIRM THAT THE IRA IN THE REPUBLIC HAVE MADE NO ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE ARMS FOLLOWING THE CEASEFIRE. FINALLY, ALLOWING ADAMS TO RAISE FUNDS FOR SINN FEIN'S DEMOCRATIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES IS SO OBVIOUSLY IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE PEACE PROCESS THAT WE CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE U.S.G. CAN BE SO UNRESPONSIVE. WE ARE TELLING ADAMS THAT HE MUST PROVE THAT SINN FEIN/IRA HAVE ACCEPTED THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS WITH ALL THE RESPONSIBILITIES THAT ENTAILS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE LIMITING HIS ACCESS TO THE RESOURCES NEEDED BY ANY CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL PARTY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 04

PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS SEEN AS A FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS FOR THE PRESIDENT. OUR CREDIBILITY WITH SINN FEIN WILL BE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT NOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND HAS CHANGED. PRIME MINISTER ALBERT REYNOLDS RESIGNED THIS MORNING. BOTH HIS ALLIES AND CRITICS REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO THE LOSS OF THIS STRONG PROPONENT OF THE PEACE PROCESS, WHICH WILL NOW BECOME EVEN MORE PRECARIOUS. EVERYONE WILL BE LOOKING TO THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF PEACE. NOW IS NOT THE TIME FOR

THE ADMINISTRATION TO SHIRK THIS RESPONSIBILITY.

WE MUST GIVE ALL THE SUPPORT WE CAN TO THE ONE MAN WHO WAS ABLE TO DELIVER THE CESSATION OF VIOLENCE, NOW IN EFFECT SINCE AUGUST 31. END TALKING POINTS.

4. THE REFERENCES MADE TO COMMENTS BY EMBASSY LONDON WERE DRAWN FROM REF E. IN RESPONSE TO LONDON'S COMMENTS IN REF E, WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING AMPLIFICATION OF OUR VIEWS OUTLINED IN REF C.

5. ADAMS IS UNDER SEVERE PRESSURE TO DEMONSTRATE SIGNIFICANT BENEFITS FROM THE PEACE PROCESS. PIRA HARDLINERS WHO CONTROL ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP VIEW MUCH OF THE PROGRESS SO FAR AS COSMETIC. THEY SEE GAINING ACCESS TO FUNDS IN THE U.S. AS SOMETHING THAT SHOULD BE RELATIVELY EASY. IF HE CANNOT DELIVER ON SOMETHING SO BASIC, HOW CAN HE CONVINCE THEM THAT HE CAN DELIVER ON THE TOUGH ISSUES OF DEMILITARIZATION, ETC.

6. BY DENYING ACCESS TO LEGAL FUNDRAISING, WE MAKE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR SINN FEIN TO BREAK LINKS WITH THEIR TRADITIONAL METHODS OF RAISING FUND. THUS, IN RESPONDING TO THEIR INTERLOCUTORS, WE MIGHT SUGGEST THAT EMBASSY LONDON ARGUE RIGHTFULLY THAT LIFTING THE PROHIBITION AGAINST ADAMS IS A VIGOROUS STEP FORWARD IN MOVING SINN FEIN/IRA DEFINITELY AWAY FROM "ARMED ROBBERY, EXTORTION AND VARIOUS FORMS OF FRAUD." SUCH MOVEMENT IS DEFINITELY IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE U.S.G. AND ALL OTHERS GENUINELY INTERESTED IN FURTHERING THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

SMITH

BT

#6244

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 04 OF 04

NNNN

<MSGID> M1368893

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: REED SENS SIT SODERBERG TRIP
SIT: NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 161626Z NOV 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6568
RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2464
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 006199

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.36)
KRM 4/11/2023

NSC FOR LAKE AND SODERBERG

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE FOR FUERTH AND WISE

DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY AND EUR HOLBROOKE

LONDON PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
UAGS: PREL, CVIS, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: FUNDRAISING BY SINN FEIN

REF: A) DUBLIN 6135, B) DUBLIN 5041 AND PREVIOUS

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

2. I UNDERSTAND THAT WHAT WE HAD HOPED WOULD BE A RELATIVELY STRAIGHT-FORWARD REVIEW OF THE MERITS OF GERRY ADAMS' REQUEST FOR A MULTIPLE-ENTRA VISA AND TO BE ABLE TO ATTEND FUNDRAISING EVENTS IN THE U.S. HAS BECOME COMPLICATED. IT HAS BEEN REPORTED TO ME THAT THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR WILL BE TOLD TODAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT LOOK FAVORABLY ON THE FUNDRAISING ISSUE. I STRONGLY URGE THAT THIS POSITION BE REVIEWED.

3. NOTHING I HAVE SEEN OR HEARD SINCE THE IRA DECLARED A TOTAL CESSION OF VIOLENCE ALMOST THREE MONTHS AGO SUGGESTS THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS DIMINISHED HIS COMMITMENT TO PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD BY CEMENTING SINN FEIN/IRA INTO THE CONSTITUTIONAL, DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS IS CRUCIAL TO ITS SUCCESS. THE COMMITMENTS MADE BY THE SECRETARY AND OTHERS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON FUNDRAISING BY SINN FEIN PREDATED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PERMANENCY OF THE CEASEFIRE AND THE DECLARATION THAT IT WOULD MEET WITH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

SINN FEIN PROBABLY BEFORE CHRISTMAS. WHILE WE SHOULD KEEP HMG INFORMED OF OUR THINKING AND PLANS, WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW THEM TO DICTATE OUR POLICY ON THIS CRITICAL ISSUE.

4. IT IS SIMPLY NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S.G. TO ALLOW THE PEACE PROCESS TO STAGNATE AND PERHAPS FLOUNDER OVER THE ISSUE OF FUNDRAISING. WE UNDERSTAND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS ADVISED EUR THAT THERE ARE NO LEGAL IMPEDIMENTS TO FUNDRAISING BY SINN FEIN. MANY DISTINGUISHED IRISH AMERICANS ARE ACTIVELY PURSUING THE SETTING UP OF LEGAL STRUCTURES, REGISTERED UNDER THE FOREIGN AGENTS ACT, TO IMPLEMENT SUCH FUNDRAISING AND TO INSURE THE TRANSPARENCY AND OPENNESS OF THESE ACTIVITIES. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT, WITH APPROPRIATE ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES AND TRANSPARENCY, ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE TO INSURE THAT FUNDS RAISED BY SINN FEIN WILL ONLY BE USED FOR THE SOCIAL WELFARE AND CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL PURPOSES FOR WHICH THEY WERE SOLICITED.

5. AS I POINTED OUT IN REF B, CONSTITUTIONAL, DEMOCRATIC PARTIES NEED TO BE ABLE TO RAISE FUNDS TO SUPPORT THEMSELVES. SINN FEIN IS STARTING FROM SCRATCH IN THIS ENDEAVOR AND NEEDS ALL THE HELP IT CAN GET IN ITS EFFORTS TO DEMONSTRATE TO ITS MEMBERS THE ADVANTAGES OF PARTICIPATING IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. TO CUT SINN FEIN OFF FROM FUNDS READILY AVAILABLE IN THE U.S. FROM WELL INTENTIONED AMERICANS TAX-PAYERS AND VOTERS IS NOT ONLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE BUT SELF-DEFEATING. TREATING SINN FEIN LIKE A SECOND-CLASS SYSTEM ONLY PROVIDES AMMUNITION TO THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE.

6. UNDERSTANDABLY, PERHAPS, THE BRITISH HAVE THEIR OWN AGENDA VIS-A-VIS SINN FEIN. THAT AGENDA IS NOT NECESSARILY CONSISTENT WITH U.S. INTERESTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE SHOULD NOT BE SO SHORT-SIGHTED AS TO UNDERMINE THE PEACE PROCESS BY KEEPING SINN FEIN ISOLATED. IT IS IN OUR BEST INTERESTS TO TAKE SINN FEIN'S DEMOCRATIC PRETENTIONS SERIOUSLY UNTIL THEY DEMONSTRATE OTHERWISE. WE SHOULD NOT GIVE THEM ANY PRETEXT FOR BELIEVING THEY ARE UNACCEPTABLE AS CONSTITUTIONAL, DEMOCRATIC PLAYERS BECAUSE OF THEIR PAST ASSOCIATIONS. IF WE DO, THE MESSAGE WE PROJECT COULD BECOME A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY.

SMITH

BT

#6199

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

IMMEDIATE

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

NNNN
<MSGID> M1364217

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 November 1994

→ NANCY SODERBERG

Dear Tony,

Many thanks for priming us on your economic package, and for the copy of the final press release which Nancy Soderberg sent me overnight.

Christopher Meyer passed on the Prime Minister's welcome for the President's statement when briefing the British and American press this morning.

I shall let you know as soon as we are able to announce the dates for our Investment Conference in Belfast in December. We are straightening out one last minute question which I mentioned to Nancy last night.

Yours ever,
Roderic

RODERIC LYNE

NES
?
R
Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

11-04-94

The Honorable Anthony Lake

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
016. memo	re: Provisional Irish Republican Army (3 pages)	11/23/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

~~SECRET~~

**THIS IS A COVER SHEET
FOR
INFORMATION SUBJECT TO**

**BASIC SECURITY REQUIREMENTS CONTAINED IN DEPARTMENT
OF JUSTICE REGULATIONS (28 CFR PART 17)**

**THE UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF THE INFORMATION CON-
TAINED IN THE ATTACHED DOCUMENT(S) COULD REASONABLY
BE EXPECTED TO CAUSE SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE NATIONAL
SECURITY.**

**HANDLING, STORAGE, REPRODUCTION AND DISPOSITION OF THE
ATTACHED DOCUMENT(S) WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH POLICIES
AND PROCEDURES SET FORTH IN REGULATIONS CITED ABOVE.**



(This cover sheet is unclassified when separated from classified documents)

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
017. report	re: [Provisional Irish Republican Army] (5 pages)	11/00/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, November-December 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1702

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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