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[Ireland]-Working File, March 1995

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	John Major to POTUS (3 pages)	03/06/1995	P1/b(1)
002. letter	John Major to POTUS (3 pages)	03/10/1995	P1/b(1)
003. letter	Patrick Mayhew to VPOTUS (2 pages)	03/13/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
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[Ireland]-Working File, March 1995

2011-0355-F

rs1704

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

32-42 45 Street
Astoria
New York
11103

February 06, 1995

Dear Nancy,

I spoke with Niall O'Dowd yesterday, he asked me to forward to you an update on my Immigration case. Enclosed please find the following:

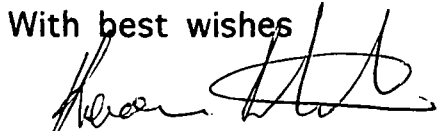
Page 1 and 2 : Order by Immigration Judge to reopen the case

Page 3: Schedule of new hearing

Page 4 and 5: New York Supreme Court Disciplinary Committee finding on my previous Lawyer Mr Jim O' Malley's handling of my case.

Nancy, your interest in my case is greatly appreciated. If you require any further information please let me know.

With best wishes



Kieran Staunton

Phone: (w) 212- 290-2353
(h) 718- 956-3433

CC + Nelson
copy to Krugbo
2/10/95
To Mark -
Any way we can do?

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE FOR IMMIGRATION REVIEW
OFFICE OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

①

BRUCE A. MORRISON
MORRISON & SWAINE
2 WHITNEY AVENUE, SUITE 700
NEW HAVEN CT 06510

IN THE MATTER OF
STANTON, KIERAN

FILE A 26-880-050

DATE: Jan 11, 1995

ATTACHED IS A COPY OF THE DECISION OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE. THIS DECISION IS FINAL UNLESS AN APPEAL IS TAKEN TO THE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION APPEALS BY REMOVING TO EOIR, OFFICE OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE, 101 DELAWARE AVENUE, SUITE 410, BUFFALO, NY 14202. THE ENCLOSED COPIES OF FORM EOIR-26, NOTICE OF APPEAL, PROPERLY EXECUTED, TOGETHER WITH A CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE, WITH PROOF THAT A FEE OF ONE HUNDRED AND TEN DOLLARS (\$110.00) HAS BEEN PAID TO THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE ON OR BEFORE

(PLEASE NOTE: FEES ARE NOT ACCEPTED BY THE IMMIGRATION COURT.) IF APPEAL IS BEING HANDLED BY AN ATTORNEY, S/HE MUST ALSO SUBMIT A NEW FORM EOIR-27. ATTACHED IS A COPY OF THE DECISION OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE ISSUED AS THE RESULT OF YOUR FAILURE TO APPEAR AT YOUR DEPORTATION HEARING. THIS DECISION IS FINAL UNLESS A MOTION TO REOPEN IS FILED IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 342B(c)(3) OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT, 8 U.S.C. SECTION 1252b(c)(3).

ATTACHED IS AN INFORMATION COPY OF THE ~~FINAL~~ DECISION OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE MADE ON Jan 11, 1995.

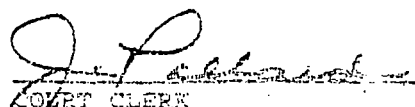
ATTACHED, AS REQUESTED, IS A TRANSCRIPT OF RECORD.

THE ALIEN/REPRESENTATIVE IS GRANTED UNTIL TO SUBMIT A BRIEF TO THIS OFFICE.

THE INS IS GRANTED UNTIL TO SUBMIT A BRIEF TO THIS OFFICE.

DECISION NOT SERVED UPON ALIEN (NO ADDRESS PROVIDED).

PLEASE NOTE: ANY REQUEST FOR AN EXTENSION OF TIME MUST BE IN THE FORM OF A MOTION TO THE JUDGE WITH A CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE ATTACHED.


COURT CLERK
OFFICE OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE FF

CC:

JCP

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

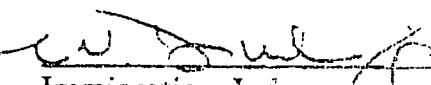
②

ORDER

The foregoing motion having been duly considered by the Court and it appearing that the same ought to be granted, it is hereby,

ORDERED: that the above-entitled proceedings be reopened.

THE COURT

BY: 

Immigration Judge

Jan 3, 1991

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE FOR IMMIGRATION REVIEW
OFFICE OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

BRUCE A. MORRISON
MORRISON & SWAINE
2 WHITNEY AVENUE, SUITE 700
NEW HAVEN CT 06510

JAN 13 1995

FILE: A26-880-050

Jan 11, 1995

NOTICE OF HEARING IN IMMIGRATION PROCEEDING

RE: STAUNTON, KIERAN

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE THAT THE ABOVE CAPTIONED CASE HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR
INDIVIDUAL HEARING BEFORE AN IMMIGRATION JUDGE ON Jul 3, 1995 AT 1:00 P.M.

130 DELAWARE AVENUE, SUITE 410
BUFFALO, NY 14202

YOU MAY BE REPRESENTED IN THIS PROCEEDING, AT NO EXPENSE TO THE GOVERNMENT,
BY AN ATTORNEY OR OTHER INDIVIDUAL AUTHORIZED AND QUALIFIED TO REPRESENT
PERSONS BEFORE AN IMMIGRATION JUDGE. IF YOU WISH TO BE SO REPRESENTED,
YOUR ATTORNEY OR REPRESENTATIVE SHOULD APPEAR WITH YOU AT THE HEARING.

YOU WILL BE EXPECTED TO PLEAD TO THE ALLEGATIONS IN THE CHARGING DOCUMENT
AT THIS HEARING. IN ADDITION, ALL APPLICATIONS AND MOTIONS FOR RELIEF
SHOULD BE SUBMITTED. PREPARE SUFFICIENT COPIES OF APPLICATIONS OR MOTIONS
TO SERVE ALL PARTIES.

FAILURE TO APPEAR AT YOUR HEARING MAY RESULT IN ONE OR MORE OF THE
FOLLOWING ACTIONS:

1. YOU MAY BE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION
SERVICE AND HELD FOR FURTHER ACTION.
2. IF YOU ARE IN EXCLUSION PROCEEDINGS;
 - a. YOUR APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES MAY BE
CONSIDERED WITHDRAWN, OR
 - b. YOUR HEARING MAY BE HELD IN YOUR ABSENCE AND AN ORDER ENTERED
AGAINST YOU PURSUANT TO THE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION APPEALS
DECISION IN MATTER OF NAFI, INTERIM DECISION 3024 (1987).

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JCP

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

SUPREME COURT, APPELLATE DIVISION
FIRST JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT
DEPARTMENTAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE

HALIBURTON FALES, ESQ.
CHAIRMAN

41 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

4

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 12, 1995

Mr. Kieran Staunton
c/o Bruce A. Morrison, Esq.
Morrison & Swaine
Whitney Grove Square
2 Whitney Avenue - Suite 700
New Haven, CT 06510

Re: Matter James O'Malley, Esq.
Docket No. 94.0968

Dear Mr. Staunton:

This is to advise you that the Departmental Disciplinary Committee has now completed its investigation of the above-named attorney. As a result of that investigation, a determination was made that James O'Malley, Esq. violated the New York Lawyer's Code of Professional Responsibility and was formally admonished.

Specifically, the Committee found that in or about May 1992, you retained Mr. O'Malley to represent you in connection with an exclusion proceeding commenced against you by the Immigration and Naturalization Service ("INS"). You had previously engaged another attorney to represent you in that matter in or about late 1991. That attorney obtained a continuance of the matter at a May 28, 1992 INS hearing and a new hearing was rescheduled for July 1, 1992 at 3:30 p.m. in Buffalo. Mr. O'Malley did not notify you of the hearing or his inability to attend. Mr. O'Malley did not attend the hearing because he claimed he learned on June 30, 1992 that his mother was ill and he decided to go to Ireland to be with her. Although Mr. O'Malley sent the INS a letter dated July 1, 1992 requesting an adjournment of the hearing, the hearing was held in absentia and an exclusion order was entered against you. Thereafter, you engaged a new attorney who is seeking a rehearing.

The Committee has found that Mr. O'Malley neglected your legal matter by failing (1) to notify you of the July 1, 1992 hearing and his inability to attend, (2) to confirm before he left for Ireland that the hearing would be adjourned, and (3) to take appropriate steps to ascertain the status of your matter upon his return from Ireland. Such conduct constitutes neglect of a legal matter entrusted to a lawyer in violation of DR 6-101(A)(3) of the Code, and Mr. O'Malley was therefore admonished.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

Initials: JS Date: 1/14/95

101-0355-P

5

The Committee will retain a permanent record of the Admonition and in the event Mr. O'Malley is found guilty of other charges in the future, this Admonition will be considered in determining the sanction.

The Committee wishes to thank you for your assistance in this matter. Our efforts to improve the quality of legal representation available to the public depends in large measure on the sort of initiative and forthrightness that you displayed here.

Very truly yours,

HALIBURTON FALES, 2D

Samuel J. Fales
By: *Special Counsel*
~~A Member of the Committee~~

HF:SKC:veh

*C + Reborn
done 98/11*



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*tree?
paper
mining?*

Ø Ireland

From the Private Secretary

31 March 1995

Dear Tony,

TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESS

Many thanks for your response to the talking points I sent you earlier in the week.

I have only a couple of small comments:

- On European Security etc., the new second sentence you suggest ("an integrated Europe ...") could be read to imply that Russia and Ukraine might eventually join the European Union. One never says never, but this is not on the cards for the foreseeable future at least. I suggest we take out that sentence, but incorporate your points on democracy and market reform in the previous sentence.
- ② "Denuclearisation" could also be misinterpreted. I have suggested instead) *? reducing the nuclear threat*
"special emphasis on nuclear safety".
- On Korea, we shall be making a contribution to KEDO. This could be announced in Washington. I have amended the Korean text accordingly.

For ease of reference, I enclose the complete text, incorporating these amendments.

If you agree, I suggest that we regard this as our basic package. It does not of course bind the Prime Minister and the President. They will put the points in their own words, and there may be other points we wish to add during the course of the visit. But this little text should help to ensure that we go down the same track, and will provide guidance as well for our press offices.

Look forward to seeing you.

*Yours ever,
Roderic Lyne*

RODERIC LYNE

Korea

The Honorable Anthony Lake
National Security Adviser
The White House

4/11

To Kathy S.

Tony said will talk to Rod on Monday if you can't reach agent. on ②, he'd suggest "reducing the nuclear threat" since it's broader than safety. Also, it looks like the Korea pt is missing. We also need to put in the broader N.I pt. Let's talk Monday am.

ms

**PRESIDENT/PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING, 4 APRIL:
JOINT TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESS**

1 Bosnia

- We remain committed to a political settlement based on the Contact Group plan. That plan preserves the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and provides a viable future for all of Bosnia's peoples.
- Continued Bosnian Serb intransigence is prolonging the war and the human suffering.
- But the conflict will not be settled on the battlefield. Renewed fighting will only lead to continued stalemate on the ground and further bloodshed.
- Both sides should abide by and continue the cessation of hostilities and to work toward a political settlement.
- US and UK support continued efforts by UNPROFOR to contain the fighting, assist in provision of humanitarian relief, and preserve conditions for achieving a negotiated solution to the conflict.

- 2 -

2 Iraq

- Saddam Hussein threatens regional stability. Very concerned about his programmes for weapons of mass destruction, especially biological warfare. Security Council must insist on full implementation of relevant resolutions.
- The Iraqi people are suffering gravely from Saddam's policies. They need help from the international community:
 - (i) robust international stance against Saddam's internal tyranny and brutal human rights abuses. No compromises and no accommodation with him;
 - (ii) food and medicines: UK and US putting forward new proposals at the UN for emergency aid to Iraq's people. Saddam has consistently blocked humanitarian help. International pressure needed to get this through.

- 3 -

3 Middle East Peace Process

- USA and Europe must oppose efforts to derail the process.
- Support early Palestinian elections and Arafat's invitation to EU to co-ordinate international observers.
- Peace process must be underpinned by economic assistance, including more investment in the Palestinian autonomy and debt relief for Jordan.

- 4 -

4 European security and stability: Russia/Ukraine/Central and Eastern Europe/NATO

- Joint aim is to consolidate democracy and market reform, and extend security, stability and prosperity Eastwards, with no new dividing lines in Europe.
- Long term support for political and economic reform in Russia and Ukraine, and closer relations with both. Special emphasis on nuclear safety.
- Russian Government should restore peace and respect human rights in Chechnya.
- Aim to integrate into the West the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe through trade links, European Union enlargement, growing security ties through Partnership for Peace and process of NATO expansion.
- NATO enlargement should threaten no one, but be an evolutionary process which strengthens stability for new members, current members and non-members. We foresee NATO expansion taking place in parallel with deepening NATO-Russia relations.

- 5 -

5 Other subjects

- Briefing by the Prime Minister on Northern Ireland. Agreement, including on critical importance of beginning serious discussion of decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.
- President affirmed strong US support for joint efforts of Prime Ministers Major and Bruton. Leaders looked forward to May 24-26 White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland as opportunity to expand economic links between US and Northern Ireland and the border counties.
- Other subjects covered between the Prime Minister and the President or in separate talks during the Prime Minister's visit:
 - UK proposals for strengthened European defence arrangements;
 - implementation of the CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe) Treaty by November 1995;
 - NPT Review Conference: need for unconditional and indefinite extension of NPT;
 - international terrorism: enhance international co-operation and stand firm against state sponsorship of terrorism, including by Iran and Libya (Lockerbie);

Gore becomes player in Irish peace process

Ulster hopes vice president will be ally

By Jamie Dettmer
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

GORE

From page A1

Vice President Al Gore is emerging as a potential steady influence on the formation of U.S. policy toward the Northern Ireland peace process.

The vice president, who recently has strengthened his trouble-shooting role in the Clinton administration, has started to pursue an approach to the Ulster problem separate from the diplomacy of White House aides, Ulster unionist sources said.

In a move that has surprised

State Department officials and National Security Council aides, Mr. Gore has established an independent channel of communication with Northern Ireland's pro-British moderate unionists, the sources said.

The vice president appears eager to temper U.S. policy and to counterbalance the pro-Irish nationalist positions of Clinton aides like Nancy Soderberg, the NSC staff director.

Mr. Gore's determination to carve out a Northern Ireland niche

see GORE, page A22

for himself is being seen both inside the administration and in Ulster as an important development. Northern Ireland's Protestant leaders hope his involvement will result in the White House being more attuned to their concerns.

They see Mr. Gore as a possible ally, one powerful enough to ensure the White House does not succumb to every demand of Irish-American congressmen.

Mr. Gore — without the prior knowledge of either the NSC or State Department officials dealing with Ulster — earlier this month contacted the head of Ulster's main Protestant group, the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), unionist sources said.

Mr. Gore went out of his way at a White House meeting last fall to assure three visiting unionist members of the British Parliament that Clinton administration policy toward Ulster would be even-handed. He told them he had some Ulster Protestant family heritage and convinced them he was aware of the legitimacy of the unionist tradition in Northern Ireland.

He also contacted UUP leader James Molyneaux three weeks ago, in a sign that has been interpreted by Protestant politicians as a deliberate step to emphasize U.S. impartiality on the issue.

"It was an interesting move and a constructive one," said Rev. Martin Smyth, the UUP charman.

Unionist sources say Mr. Gore was taken aback by the ferocity of Protestant reaction earlier this month to newspaper reports of some of the provisions contained in the London-Dublin Framework Document. The Unionists were appalled by constitutional changes proposed in the document that would set up an executive body spanning both sides of the Irish border.

Mr. Gore telephoned the U.S. ambassador in London, retired Adm. William Crowe, and asked him to find out from Mr. Molyneaux why Protestants had reacted with such dismay. Mr. Gore apparently had thought the UUP was being kept fully abreast by British Prime Minister John Major of the possible constitutional changes the London and Dublin governments were negotiating.

He wanted to know whether the Clinton administration was wrong in thinking that the Major-Molyneaux link was firm.

Irish official, Gore to meet

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

Secretary of State Warren Christopher yesterday urged Northern Ireland's Catholic and Protestant paramilitary groups to disarm while parties to the dispute study new peace proposals.

Mr. Christopher, welcoming Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring in Washington, hailed the "historic" proposals unveiled last week by the London and Dublin governments.

Mr. Spring, who will see Vice President Al Gore as well as Mr. Christopher during his stay in Washington, said the peace proposals "threaten nobody" — a reference to Protestant groups that have reacted coldly to them.

Britain says the Irish Republican Army must make "substantial progress" on decommissioning its arsenals before it will hold "substantive negotiations" on the issue.

The IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, says all guns held by police, army and pro-British Loyalist groups should be taken out of service at the same time.

U.S. Embassy official Larry Robinson was sent to the House of Commons to see Mr. Molyneaux. UUP sources say the American diplomat talked with the Protestant leader for more than an hour. A major thrust of the conversation was how the unionists would react when the full Framework Document was officially published.

State Department and NSC aides were intrigued when informed by The Washington Times of Mr. Gore's private contact with Mr. Molyneaux. "I know nothing of that," said one NSC official.

In the turf-fighting atmosphere of the White House, Mr. Gore's intervention is being seen as a slap on the wrist for Ms. Soderberg, who has been the driving force behind Clinton administration policy on Ireland. Ms. Soderberg, a former aide to Sen. Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, is distrusted by unionists.

Ms. Soderberg was instrumental in persuading President Clinton last year to grant Gerry Adams, the leader of the IRA's political wing, his first U.S. visa.

Ground laid for possible perjury cases on D.C. finances

By George Archibald
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

House committees taking testimony on the District's ongoing financial crisis are swearing in D.C. officials so that any witnesses caught lying in their testimony can be prosecuted for perjury, according to congressional sources.

Committee members from both parties believe city officials have lied about the budget in past testimony and have included unrealis-

tic figures in budget documents to get supplemental federal money to pay for overspending, aides said.

"We've never sworn witnesses before, but when you look over testimony last year you see that officials from the District just use words and terms very loosely," said an aide to a senior member of the House Appropriations subcommittee on the District.

"There's definitely a sense of enough is enough," said the aide, who confirmed that witnesses' tes-

timony is being scrutinized for accuracy.

It comes as members of the House subcommittees are also threatening to use the Anti-Deficiency Act, an obscure federal law that prohibits city officials from overspending their congressionally approved budget.

"There hasn't been truth and honesty in budgeting," said a House aide who asked not to be named. "When you look at where we are today, you know there's

something wrong. There's a problem with the way they [D.C. officials] are presenting things."

The chairmen of the House Appropriations and the Government Reform and Oversight subcommittees on the District have ordered witnesses to be sworn with an eye to possible perjury actions, aides said.

If congressional officials believe city officials have misled them, either in testimony or through budget data submitted to

Congress, hearing transcripts and other evidence will be sent to the Justice Department for review and possible prosecution, they said.

see PERJURY, page A14

PERJURY

From page A1

Perjury is punishable by a five-year jail term and \$5,000 fine for each count under federal law. Anti-Deficiency Act violations can be punished by dismissal from office and a \$5,000 fine and two-year jail term for each count.

In testimony last week, both the General Accounting Office and a senior auditor with Coopers & Lybrand, the District's auditing firm, said that Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly's administration had violated the Anti-Deficiency Act in 1992, 1993 and 1994.

The GAO said the District's \$335 million deficit last year included \$116.8 million in appropriated funds with deficiencies "recorded

in most appropriated functions and subfunctions." That included \$71 million overspent on health and welfare, primarily Medicaid, which congressional sources said may be considered an entitlement exempt from prosecution under the Anti-Deficiency Act.

Other 1994 overspending that may violate the anti-deficiency law included \$14 million spent by the schools, \$13 million by the Fire Department, \$12 million by the Police Department, and \$21 million by the Public Works Department, the GAO reported.

In a televised interview last night, Mrs. Kelly denied she had tried to hide the full extent of the city's fiscal problems.

"I don't know why I would do that. I was trying to help my suc-

cessor. I was very honest about the depth of the problem," she said on the WETA-TV program "Here and Now."

But in May, as the House Appropriations subcommittee began to consider the District's fiscal budget, Rep. Julian Dixon, California Democrat, admonished Ellen O'Connor, the city's chief financial officer, for an "unrealistic" budget of \$727 million for the Department of Human Services.

"It also allows you to spread money in other areas by suppressing the figure," Mr. Dixon said. The 1993 budget for human services also was \$727 million, but "that year you spent \$791 million — you were short \$64 million."

"This has got to stop," said Mr.

Dixon, who was subcommittee chairman at the time. "We have got to work together, and the beginning of that is to be real about your figures and your facts."

He said the District also had to stop overstating its anticipated tax revenues.

"I am suggesting you are doing that, in fact, so you can spend at a higher level and then make a mid-term correction that you have not been able to fully cover, and, therefore, that is the reason the \$331 million in proceeds from the general fund recovery bonds is gone."

"That is the reason you have to borrow from the water and sewer fund. That is the reason you have to roll the first-quarter property taxes back into the fourth quarter of the preceding year, because it is

a constant juggling act."

Rep. James T. Walsh, New York Republican, succeeded Mr. Dixon as chairman of the Appropriations D.C. subcommittee. He reminded Mayor Marion Barry in a letter Jan. 24 that the mayor is required by law to report details of each anti-deficiency violation directly to Congress and to the president through the Office of Management and Budget.

Noting that the District's financial report "in recent years has stated that an unfavorable variance in the budgetary statement ... is an Anti-Deficiency Act violation," Mr. Walsh asked the mayor to provide "a status report of the actions taken by the District government to comply with the provisions of the Anti-Deficiency Act."

The Washington Times
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1995

British Cite Progress on IRA Arms

Both Sides Reported To Modify Stands

By Fred Barbash
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, March 8—British officials today signaled progress in talks with Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army, on the subject of "decommissioning" terrorist weapons and explosives in Northern Ireland.

In response, according to a source close to Prime Minister John Major, the British government has slightly eased its conditions for upgrading those talks to involve not just civil servants, but ministerial-level officials. The source said such exploratory talks could begin before an actual agreement on weapons surrender, the previous officially stated condition, provided Sinn Fein assures Britain it is fully committed to the decommissioning process.

The level of the talks with Sinn Fein is extremely sensitive here, both for Sinn Fein and for its adversaries, leaders of the Protestant Ulster unionist political parties in Northern Ireland.

The higher the rank of the officials talking with Sinn Fein, the

greater the legitimacy it has as a law-abiding political party. The greater Sinn Fein's legitimacy, in the view of British officials, the stronger the chances Protestant parties will eventually be able to do business with it and arrive at some agreement for at least peaceful co-existence.

Today's highly nuanced developments typified the delicate step-by-step movement that has marked the 18-month-long attempt to achieve a durable peace in the British province, torn by strife between Catholics and Protestants for a generation.

Complicating things is the fact that all sides are playing to the American audience as well as to the British. Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams, Irish Prime Minister John Bruton and Major all plan visits within the next few weeks to the United States. Britain's chief Northern Ireland official, Patrick Mayhew, has just visited Washington, where he gave the initial indication of the government's easing of position that officials here elaborated on today.

In his talks with U.S. officials, Mayhew sought assurances Adams would not be permitted to engage in fund-raising in the United States. According to sources here, a recommendation from U.S. diplomats and policy makers agreeing with Mayhew's request has been sent to President Clinton.

The British government began its first direct public contact with Sinn Fein in December, roughly three months after the IRA declared a cease-fire in Northern Ireland. The first order of business in talks with civil servants was Britain's insistence that Sinn Fein—which Britain views as the same as the IRA—surrender or "decommission" its stockpile of guns and explosives.

Government sources said that un-

til very recently, Sinn Fein has refused to make any concessions on weapons, arguing that it could not speak for the IRA. The sources said they now have indications Sinn Fein is at least willing to discuss decommissioning.

That led to today's signals from 10 Downing Street that actual handing over of arms is not a condition to allowing ministerial-level officials to talk with Sinn Fein. The Downing Street source stressed that such higher-level talks would only deal with weapons and a process for disposing of them, and not with "substantive" political questions about Northern Ireland, which must await progress on decommissioning.

All of this left even Northern Irelanders befuddled. On the one hand the government said there was no change of position. On the other, it privately went to some lengths to suggest that there was.

Ken Maginnis, an Ulster unionist member of the British Parliament, described the situation as "very confusing" and "frustrating." He told BBC Television, "It's frightening to the greater number of people in Northern Ireland who don't want violence but don't want any capitulation to the IRA."

Sinn Fein leaders continued to accuse the government of creating "obstacles" to the peace process.

Protestants are the majority in Northern Ireland, and most wish to remain part of Britain. Catholic nationalists—like Sinn Fein—have the ultimate goal of reunification of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland to the south. Two weeks ago, the British and Irish governments released proposals to allow some role in Northern Ireland affairs to the Republic of Ireland, prompting an angry reaction from many Protestant leaders.

Leeson Wants Extradition to Britain

Lawyers Say Trader Does Not Admit Any Wrongdoing in Barings Case

By Matt Marshall
Special to The Washington Post

BONN, March 8—Lawyers for Nicholas W. Leeson, whose trading in Singapore bankrupted Britain's oldest merchant bank, hope Britain will file a charge against their client in order to get him home.

Singapore is seeking to extradite Leeson, who has been held in Frankfurt since arriving six days ago on a flight from Malaysia. Singapore authorities contend that Leeson acted unlawfully in racking up close to \$1 billion in losses by gambling that Japan's Nikkei 225-stock index would rise. They have alleged that he forged a document to support his trading, purporting to show that \$81 million was transferred into a Barings account.

Leeson's lawyers, briefing journalists today, said Leeson wants to be extradited to Britain rather than face Singapore courts, which are known for harsh sentences. They said Leeson was willing to help London file an extradition request, but that this does not mean he admits to wrongdoing.

"It's our best hope," said British attorney Stephen Pollard, "but as to

whether it's likely or not, we don't know."

Officials at Britain's Serious Fraud Office, which is investigating possible wrongdoing at Barings, said it was too early to say if it would seek extradition, but they would consider any information Leeson provided.

Leeson's lawyers also said that his actions in Singapore were "only as an employee" and not for personal gain, but that he was being made a scapegoat.

"All these claims that he was living a life of luxury are wild fantasy," said Christopher Murray, a Leeson lawyer in London. "There never was a Porsche, nor a yacht."

Lawyers said Leeson was so disgusted by such reports in the British press that he had instructed lawyers to announce that his salary was \$7,000 per month.

The lawyers also denied that Leeson fled Singapore.

Leeson and his wife, Lisa Jane Sims, had wanted to visit a friend in Bangkok and then go on vacation to a beach resort in Phuket to celebrate his birthday, the lawyers said. Leeson was under severe stress related to both personal and trading

problems, but was unaware of the extent of the danger of the deals for Barings, they added.

"At no time when they left Singapore did Mr. Leeson have the slightest fear that what has happened would happen," Pollard said.

"There was never any question of flight, as in escape," he said.

When they saw the headlines in Malaysian newspapers, it threw them "into general confusion and shock," according to Pollard. They decided to fly back to London after consulting with family and friends, but could only get as far as Frankfurt.

Despite the insistence by his lawyers that he was simply "taking a break," there is evidence Leeson was contemplating major changes in his life.

"We now know that there was a fax sent by Leeson to his head office, in effect stating that he was resigning . . . before he left," Murray said.

Two London newspapers reported today that Leeson's wife had contacted a moving company on Feb. 15 to arrange a transfer of their furniture to Britain.

Brazil's Devaluation Illustrates Mexico's Impact

Economies in Latin America Are Feeling the Heat As a Result of the Peso's Collapse

By Gabriel Escobar
Washington Post Foreign Service

BRASILIA, March 8—The Brazilian government, which a month ago was dismissing suggestions of devaluation, has been forced to do just that in another sign that Mexico's financial crisis is having a wide and still unpredictable impact on Latin American economies.

The decision to devalue Brazil's eight-month-old currency on Monday has shaken already rattled financial markets in the region and forced the central bank here to spend an estimated \$500 million in reserves over the last two days to keep the currency within a new exchange band.

The devaluation, coming just a week after Argentina imposed several strict measures to offset its own financial crisis, is the latest indication that Mexico's instability continues to have a profound effect in the region. Even the stock market in Chile, a country that is economically sound and not directly threatened by the current crisis, reacted negatively Tuesday to Brazil's announcement.

Although their economies are different in many respects, Latin American nations are being treated much the same by international investors who have been spooked by Mexico's collapse. That has led to unusual cooperation between countries as governments try to manage a crisis that some argue is not of their making.

Argentina, for example, was informed of Brazil's devaluation the day before it was announced to give officials in Buenos Aires time to prepare for the worst.

Here in Brazil, where many people are adjusting to their country's entry into a global economy, the abrupt change in valuation could prove a tough lesson for many.

"Brazil's isolation has ended," said Walder de

Goes, director of the Brazilian Institute for Political Studies here. "There is an earthquake in Kobe and it has an effect on the stock exchange in Brazil. People don't understand why."

The decision to set a new exchange band for the real, as the new currency is known, followed weeks of debate. While the administration of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso insisted publicly that the currency was not overvalued, a number of influential economists were warning that the combination of a growing trade deficit and the repercussions from Mexico's collapse were setting the country on a dangerous path.

Like Mexico before the crisis, Argentina and Brazil are viewed as having overvalued currencies. Although the result is lower inflation—Brazil's rate dropped from about 2 percent a day to less than 2 percent a month since last July—the combination of cheaper imports and a loss in export revenues has created trade deficits in both countries.

When the Mexican crisis struck in December, officials in Argentina and Brazil repeatedly said their countries would not follow a similar path. With about \$40 billion in reserves and a history of trade surpluses, Brazilian government economists argued that they could withstand the crisis. Even in Argentina, where the first trade deficit since 1991 was projected before December, officials were confident their economic model would not be shaken for long.

But the flight of foreign capital, higher interest rates and other factors, all influenced by the events in Mexico, proved all these prognostications wrong in a matter of weeks.

In Brazil, some analysts outside the government are predicting a trade deficit this year, and one estimate has reserves dropping to about \$36 billion since December. In Argentina, Finance Minister Domingo Cavallo, the architect of the country's

economic recovery, last week was forced to reverse himself on seeking aid from the International Monetary Fund, which he had loudly rejected just months ago.

But even the assurances of the IMF and other measures announced last week were not able to restore the confidence of investors in Argentina.

President Carlos Menem and Cavallo continue to stand by their pledge not to yield on the convertibility law, which requires one dollar for every peso in circulation, but Brazil's announcement again raised concerns in Argentina that international investors will assume a devaluation is inevitable.

Enrique Szewach, an Argentine economist, said the country's economic predicament could be overcome by strict fiscal controls and other measures far short of a devaluation. But in a crisis that has been fed more by perception than reality, Szewach also said the events of the last few days could complicate the picture for Argentina.

Before Monday's announcement, Brazil's currency traded within a narrow band—83 to 86 centavos to the dollar. Under the devaluation, the band was increased to 86 to 90 centavos. The government also announced that after May 2, the high end of the band will be 93 centavos, and some are predicting it eventually will be increased to 98 centavos over the next few months.

Sergio Abranches, an economic analyst based in Rio de Janeiro, said the adjustment will give the government more flexibility—an important change given the shifting financial situation as a result of the crisis in Mexico.

"The government is not paralyzed, inert," Finance Minister Pedro Malan said at a press conference Tuesday. "It has the capacity to respond to the changing situation, internationally and in Mexico."

Forwarded paper (Tentative)

POSSIBLE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA) ROBBERY IN SAN FRANCISCO, CA, 2/27/95

The FBI advised that a Brinks truck was held up by two males on 2/27/95 in San Francisco, CA. They were apprehended about an hour later by San Francisco Police Department and FBI personnel. During the robbery, a Brinks guard was shot and seriously wounded (but is expected to recover). Upon apprehension, one perpetrator claimed that he was sent by the PIRA. This case is receiving wide attention from the press in San Francisco. As yet, there is no confirmation of PIRA connections, but the press is expected to sensationalize this aspect of the case.

PHILIP ANDREW QUINN, the shooter, reportedly told SFPD and the FBI that he was sent to the U.S. on a mission to be a courier of money by individuals he believed were connected with the PIRA. Upon arrival, his companion, JAMES MARTIN DELANEY, provided weapons and advised that the plan was to rob the Brinks truck. Reportedly, DELANEY has spent two years in prison in Northern Ireland on firearms charges, and his brother was sentenced to 8 years in Northern Ireland for a PIRA-connected armed robbery. The Millbrae, CA hotel room where the two were apprehended contained PIRA literature.

The FBI is investigating to ascertain whether in fact the robbery and the two perpetrators are connected with PIRA. The press in San Francisco is also reporting (accurately) that the FBI there is investigating possible PIRA connections with a series of bank robberies in the San Francisco Bay area. It is noted that SFPD (the suspected press leak) and the FBI conduct their bank robbery investigations jointly.

COMMENT: The SF Bay area contains a large Irish-American population, many of whom are supporters of the PIRA. The information available to date shows personal PIRA connections by the two armed robbers. Further, the series of bank robberies suspected of having PIRA connections could have been committed by individuals for themselves, rather than for the PIRA.

2/28

To RL -

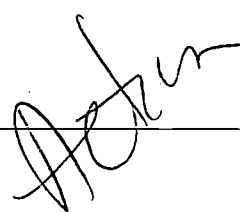
fyi !! we're looking into .

u.s

ply
p4 copy
in RL's read book
+ return

return
copy

Hawkins, Ardenia R.



From: Stephens, Kathleen D.
To: Hawkins, Ardenia R.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: RE: Northern Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, March 06, 1995 5:11PM

Please pass to Nancy:

I don't think this list leaves out anyone from political parties in Northern Ireland.

It does "leave out" political party leaders from the Republic, and I guess we could invite them.

British/Irish reaction:

-- The British (Peter Westmacott) say "it wouldn't be helpful" to have Adams at the White House and that it really doesn't help much to invite the others since it puts us "ahead of the British" in meeting all the parties at such a high level.

-- The Irish (Michael Collins) don't have an official view yet because John Bruton is ill and they have to ask him. They'll try to tell us shortly.

From: Hawkins, Ardenia R.
To: Stephens, Kathleen D.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: RE: Northern Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, March 06, 1995 02:28 PM

message from Nancy

Who is left out? Can we get Irish and British views --- as an "option" only?

From: Stephens, Kathleen D.
To: Darby, M. Brooke; Hawkins, Ardenia R.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Kreczko, Alan J.; Maxfield, Nancy H.; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: Northern Ireland [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, March 06, 1995 12:16 PM

Please pass to Nancy:

On the question of inviting Northern Ireland political party leaders to the March 17 event, I recommend (State agrees) that we take the inclusive approach and invite:

James Molyneaux, UUP
John Hume, SDLP
Ian Paisley, DUP
Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein
John Alderdice, Alliance
David Ervine (leader of Progressive Unionist Party) (NB: the mayor of Belfast; whom you met last week, is a PUP member)
Gary McMichael, (leader of Ulster Democratic Party and a city councillor)

The alternative would be to invite Hume and Molyneaux only.

I will forward the draft press guidance presently.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	John Major to POTUS (3 pages)	03/06/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1995

2011-0355-F
rs1704

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]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FAX COVER SHEET

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL	From: Kathy Stephens
	To: Nancy Soderberg / Alan Knecko
	Agency:
	Fax Number:
	Date/Time:
17th & Penn. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20506	No. of pages to follow:
	Message:
Did you get a complete clear transmission? If not, please call	
(202) 456-1111	

MAR 08 '95 03:51PM EONS

P.2



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

March 8, 1995

The Honorable Warren Christopher
Secretary of State
Washington, DC. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

This is in response to the February 16 memorandum from Kenneth C. Brill to Terry Samuels concerning the waiver process for Sinn Fein and Loyalist Party leaders wishing to travel to the United States in furtherance of the peace process. The memorandum included a list of twelve persons and recommended that we agree that appropriate officers of your Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) process their waiver applications without the requirement for direct communication between the Secretary of State and the Attorney General. We were subsequently informed that comparable treatment was sought for three additional persons: James N. Drumm, Seamus Finucane and Patrick McGeowan.

After reviewing the matter in detail, the Department of Justice concurs with the recommendation as to only three of the fifteen individuals: James N. Drumm, Joseph English and Tom Hartley. As to the remainder, i.e. Messrs. Joseph Cahill, Patrick Joseph Doherty, Aidan McAteer, Patrick Trainor, David Ervine, William Hutchinson, Augustus Andrew Spence, Dennis Donaldson, Martin McGuinness, Siobhan O'Hanlan, Seamus Finucane, and Patrick McGeowan, we believe that the granting of the requested waiver would be inappropriate at this time.

With respect to Messrs. Drumm, English and Hartley, our concurrence is subject to the following provisions:

- Each waiver application shall be presented to the INS at the Headquarters level using the currently established waiver procedures and channels;
- Restrictions, such as geographic travel limitations, length of stay, etc., shall be as INS prescribes; however, as previously instituted with Gerry Adams and others, no fundraising will be permitted as an express condition to granting the visa; and,

MAR 08 '95 03:51PM EONS

P.3

- 2 -

- Deviations from, or violations of, any imposed restrictions shall be grounds for cancellation of the current visa and a return to the more restrictive Department of Justice-level approval process.

Our agreement with respect to Messrs. Drumm, English and Hartley shall continue in effect as long as those three individuals continue to support the peace process and ceasefire in Northern Ireland.

Sincerely,



Janet Reno

U.S. role in N. Ireland weighed

Being considered as middleman for IRA disarmament

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

The British government is considering using the United States as a third-party intermediary to collect weapons from the Irish Republican Army.

The move to a more hands-on U.S. role in the Northern Ireland issue, anathema to Britain less than a year ago, came as Britain softened its insistence that all IRA arms must be surrendered before it can join political talks on Ulster.

Instead, Britain will press the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Féin, to show "a willingness in principle to disarm progressively," says Patrick Mayhew, Britain's Secretary for Northern Ireland.

That would include "a common practical understanding" — an agreement — on disarming and the surrender of some weapons as a good will measure.

As a carrot, Mayhew says Britain would consider bringing in higher-level officials to current talks with Sinn Féin, but only after the IRA's commitment to the disarmament.

Mayhew, who met U.S. officials in Washington on Tuesday, says "some in-depth role"



By Dennis Cook, AP

DISARMAMENT: Secretary of State Warren Christopher, right, meeting with Patrick Mayhew, Britain's Secretary for Northern Ireland, urged the IRA and pro-Britain militias to give up their weapons.

for U.S. operatives in any disarmament is "exactly the thing" to be worked out as part of the next step in the peace process.

The U.S. role could include weapons collection or verifying destruction of the arsenal.

Last month, the British and Irish governments proposed a framework for future political arrangements in Northern Ireland, aimed at ending 25 years of sectarian warfare in the British-ruled province.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, meeting with Mayhew, urged the IRA and paramilitary groups loyal to Britain to "take the next essential step" and begin to disarm. The British want the good

“

It would be dismaying to see Mr. Adams, at present, shake hands with the president of the greatest democracy in the world.

”

— Patrick Mayhew
Britain's Secretary
for Northern Ireland

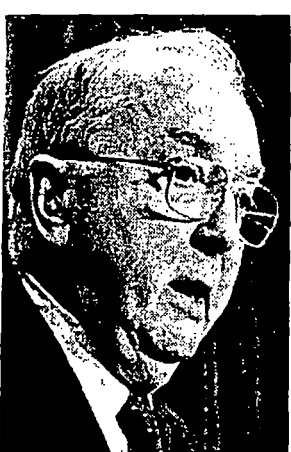
faith disarmament to be a key factor in current White House deliberations over whether to give Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams a visa to raise money in the United States next week.

The British oppose the fundraising trip, as well as any meeting between Adams and President Clinton.

"It would be dismaying to see Mr. Adams, at present, shake hands with the president of the greatest democracy in the world," Mayhew says.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., says he wants to invite Adams to the congressional St. Patrick's lunch but is being discouraged by the White House from doing so.

On Thursday, Britain's Queen Elizabeth visits Belfast, Northern Ireland, giving a royal seal of approval to peace.



By John Duricka, AP

HELMs: Hopes tighter sanctions will bring Castro down

GOP seeks to tighten Cuba embargo

By Juan J. Walte
USA TODAY

One day after the Clinton administration announced that it might ease some sanctions on Cuba, Senate Republicans struck back.

Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., introduced legislation tightening the U.S. embargo, with the backing of Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan.

The Senate today meets on the measure, which Helms offered as an amendment to a defense spending bill before the Senate.

"My hope is this bill will hasten an end to the brutal Castro dictatorship and make Cuba free once more," said Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Dole, a candidate for president in 1996, chastised the White House for even considering lighter sanctions.

"When the administration talks about easing sanctions on Cuba they make a big, big mistake," he said.

"They misread public opinion all across America."

Secretary of State Warren Christopher on Tuesday denied

that the administration is considering changing the embargo but admitted that moves to "encourage communications" between Cubans and the United States "are being discussed within the government."

Among them: easing travel to the island by U.S. citizens and allowing Cuban-Americans to send cash to relatives in Cuba, estimated at about \$150 million a year.

"These measures have been effective and successful, and it would be wrong to do away with them," said Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, who represents

a majority Cuban-American district in south Florida.

White House spokesman Mike McCurry called the review modest, saying, "We have an economic embargo in place. There is no suggestion that I'm aware of anywhere in this government that that be relaxed."

The sanctions that might be eased began last summer when President Fidel Castro lifted travel restrictions for Cubans wanting to leave the Communist-ruled Caribbean nation. That triggered a mass exodus prompting 30,000 rafters to head for Florida.

ATF troubles simmer, its future in question

Dispirited agents cited in document

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

The Treasury Department is expected to decide next week whether to recommend scuttling its troubled Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, two years after a bloody raid on a Waco, Texas, cult.

ATF Director John Magaw says he feels "very comfortable" that the Treasury will recommend ATF's survival.

But many front-line agents are more than willing to see the agency call it quits, according to an internal memo obtained by USA TODAY.

Robert Switzer, special agent in charge of the St. Paul, Minn., office, says in the Feb. 9 memo that most top field managers are "thoroughly disgusted with current affairs."

The ATF is responsible for enforcing federal firearms, liquor and tobacco laws.

Agency officials are still reeling from criticism of the bureau's role in Waco, where more than 100 people died.

Switzer's memo, addressed to "special agents in charge" of the agency's 24 offices across the nation, says: "Every SAC I have spoken with, over half of you, supports a merger with the U.S. Secret Service, another Treasury agency."

The Treasury is reviewing what recommendation to make about ATF to Vice President Gore, whose National Personnel Review seeks to reorganize federal operations. Leaving the ATF out of the review would leave it into the Customs Ser-

Memo describes turmoil inside ATF

Many Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms leaders want to see the agency removed from the Treasury Department and attached to the Secret Service. That's the message of a memo written by Robert Switzer, director of the ATF's St. Paul, Minn., office. Below are excerpts from the Feb. 9 memo, written to other special agents in charge. The House had excluded ATF agents from a law permitting other federal agents to do searches without warrants in some cases.

Today, with the House passing the amendment that sets ATF aside from every other law enforcement agency in the United States, I am just plain embarrassed. What would the Director of the FBI do if that happened to the FBI? What did Wille Wood, LAPD Chief, do when the OJ Simpson defense attacked the LAPD? AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, what has our Director done or said to our special agents? NOTHING. What is the future of the ATF Special Agent in our "multi-function agency"?

Special Agent in Charge

Every SAC I have spoken with, over half of you, supports a merger with the USSS. I know I do. I would like to work for and retire from a law enforcement organization, not a regulatory agency.

U.S. Secret Service



By H. Darr Belser, USA TODAY

(The memo) was just a very deep frustration over the reorganization and the tight budget.

— ATF Director John Magaw, who says Switzer's claim of talking to half the special agents in charge may have been an 'overstatement'

Source: USA TODAY research

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

vice, or splitting its functions between those agencies and the FBI.

Magaw says frustration and uncertainty about the future played a key role in Switzer's decision to write the memo.

He says Switzer told him during a two-hour discussion it "might have been an overstatement" to say he had spoken to more than half of the agency's SACs about the issue; it was only two or three.

Switzer did not return repeated phone calls, and the ATF wouldn't make him available for comment.

Treasury's review comes as

the ATF battles criticism on several other fronts:

► The National Rifle Association last week launched a major newspaper advertising campaign portraying ATF agents as helmeted storm troopers and urging Congress to disband the "rogue" agency if it isn't reined in by the Clinton administration.

The ATF is not "out of control," counters Rep. Jim Lightfoot, R-Iowa, whose Appropriations subcommittee oversees ATF operations.

► A group of black agents has sued the 4,200-employee agency, charging widespread

discrimination.

"There's institutional racism," says Donnie Carter, special agent in charge of the ATF's Houston office.

Rooting out bias at a white-dominated agency "takes a bold leader," says Carter, the only black in charge of a bureau field office. "And that just hasn't happened."

The suit charges ATF officials have routinely ignored racial abuses while funneling blacks into low-paying but dangerous street assignments with little career potential.

Magaw, a former Secret Service director who took over

ATF in 1993, insists that he has "made a lot of progress" fighting workplace discrimination.

He includes appointing the agency's first black assistant director, creating an employee ombudsman, and placing the Equal Employment Opportunity Office directly under his chain of command.

But in a recent interview, he also acknowledged: "Some of the old scars and some of the old pain is still there."

The black agents' legal documents cite numerous racial problems, including how:

► White agents in Oklahoma City in 1991 plastered their



By John Brazemore, AP

STEWART: As a founder of an association of black ATF agents, he says, he's been called a 'racist' and a 'troublemaker.'

Inside the ATF

A breakdown of the 1,996 agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms:

Sex

Male

1,777

Female

219

Race/ethnicity

White

1,637

Black

187

Hispanic (can be of any race)

137

Asian, Pacific Islander

25

Native American

10

Source: Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms

By Sam Ward, USA TODAY

walls with a Confederate flag, a "State of Oklahoma Nigger Hunting License," and a Ku Klux Klan business card.

► Black agents at the ATF office in Chicago in 1991 went to the photocopier and found a

picture of civil rights activist Jesse Jackson with the words "jungle bunny" scrawled on it.

Larry Stewart, a black assistant special agent in charge of the Atlanta office, says he's been labeled a "racist... troublemaker" by white agents and superiors because he helped found an association of black agents in 1987.

ATF officials say disciplinary action was taken in the Oklahoma City incident, now on appeal, but they decline to discuss specific charges in detail while the suit is pending.

Magaw says the allegations, if true, are "atrocious" and he vows to take swift action to punish racial abuses.

But, he says he doesn't want to be prodded into promoting black agents before they're ready, or to create disadvantages for some in order to correct past abuses.

"While I'm very concerned and caring about what happened in the past, there's not much I can do about that."

Lightfoot, meanwhile, says Magaw is sincere about attacking job bias: "John's policy is zero tolerance."

Source: FBIS

Subject : UK:UnionistLeader" Furi

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FBIS

064MAR10
UNCLAS 7E

UK: Unionist Leader 'Furious' at Clinton, Rejects Invitation LD1003084695
London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0832 GMT 10 Mar 95

By James Hardy, political editor, PA News]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Rev Ian Paisley today refused an invitation to join Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams at a White House reception, saying he would not rub shoulders with a "terrorist leader".

He and other unionist leaders are furious that US president Bill Clinton bowed to pressure from the Irish-American lobby to grant Mr Adams an entry visa that gives him clearance to raise funds in the United States.

Mr Paisley, leader of the hardline Democratic Unionist Party, also accused the British Government of "doing a U-turn" and caving in to IRA demands. The unionists rejected an offer to attend the White House reception on March 17 -- St Patrick's Day.

The event is expected to hand Mr Adams a propaganda coup and boost his political credibility through television coverage.

The new visa bans Mr Adams, who leaves for the visit tomorrow, from generating cash for weapons but allows him for the first time publicly to lend his support to fund-raising for political activities.

The move has infuriated Britain which had argued there was no way of dividing political and paramilitary activity.

The Clinton administration ignored warnings from Ulster Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew that the IRA is still in operation -- training, recruiting and carrying out punishment beatings.

Mr Paisley described Mr Adams as a "terrorist leader". He rejected US claims that the IRA was ready to decommission weapons and that Sinn Fein should now be treated as a constitutional political party.

"The British Government told us there would be no substantive talks until the IRA had given up their arms," he told Radio 4's Today programme.

"The British Government has done a U-turn on that and under pressure from America is prepared to talk without the dismantling of the most terrible killing machine."

Sir Patrick failed in a last-ditch attempt to block the US move

which followed a vaguely-worded Sinn Fein statement apparently committing the party to discussing the decommissioning of arms. Mr Clinton faced huge pressure from the influential Irish-American lobby.

Father Sean McManus, leader of the powerful Irish National Caucus, said: "It would have been outrageous and very bad judgement if President Clinton had not permitted Gerry Adams to raise funds in this country.

"He is allowed to raise funds in Brussels, in Belfast and in London itself, so why should he not be allowed to raise money in the United States?"

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FBIS 03/10/95 04:03:00

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

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RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7373

RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 4236

RUEHDC/USDOC WASHDC

INFO /////

UNCLAS DUBLIN 001166

USIA FOR I/GWEU; R/C; R/MR; WEU; NEA; VOA NEWS/CA; PL

LSECRET; B/TV/WP;

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

EUR/P/SP;

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

CSD ISA FOR ILN; FOR NEA; OASD/PA

USDOC PASS USTR/PA

WHITEHOUSE FOR NSC-WEUROPE;

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJ: MEDIA REACTION REPORT, DUBLIN, FRIDAY MARCH 10

1. GERRY ADAMS FUNDRAISING

PRESIDENT CLINTONS GRANTING OF PERMISSION TO SINN FEIN

TO FUND-RAISE CREATED A FURORE AMONGST THE MEDIA HERE.

HEADLINES RANGED FROM "DUBLIN WELCOMES ADAMS MOVE" TO

"US LOBBY PAYS OFF AS FUNDS BAN ON ADAMS DROPPED" TO

"'A SLAP IN THE FACE FOR JOHN MAJOR' ". ALL LOCAL

COMMENTATORS HEARTILY WELCOMED THE PRESIDENT'S

DECISION AND SAW IT AS A GIVING NEW MOMENTUM TO THE

PEACE PROCESS.

2. THE NATIONALIST IRISH PRESS CARRIED AN OPINION

PIECE HEADED "WHY BILL OPTED TO BE HOST TO GERRY":

"PRESIDENT CLINTON... HAS FLEXED AMERICA'S POLITICAL

MUSCLE AT A CRITICAL STAGE IN THE SIX MONTH OLD

CEASEFIRE IN THE NORTH. MR. CLINTON'S INITIATIVE WAS

CLEARLY AIMED AT PREVENTING THE PEACE PROCESS STALLING OVER THE

THORNY ISSUE OF THE DECOMMISSIONING OF PARAMILITARY ARMS AND

EXPLOSIVES. "WHAT EVER HAPPENS, THE WHITEHOUSE INITIATIVE HAS CLEARED

THE WAY FOR REAL TALKS TO OPEN ON WHAT MAY BE THE MOST

DIFFICULT ISSUE OF ALL. THERE SHOULD BE A FEW GLASSES RAISED. TO WHAT

THE FIANNA FAIL LEADER, BERTIE AHERN LAST NIGHT DESCRIBED

UNCLASSIFIED

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

AS MR CLINTON'S FURTHER ENLIGHTENED CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE PROCESS."

IN AN EDITORIAL, IT STATED:

"NOT FOR THE FIRST TIME, PERSONAL INTERVENTION OF PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON COULD HELP RESTORE MOMENTUM TO THE PEACE PROCESS." IT CONTINUES:

"THE CLINTON INITIATIVE COULD ALSO HELP TO BREAK THE CURRENT DEADLOCK ON TALKS BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND BRITISH MINISTERS. AFTER ALL IF THE PRESIDENT CAN SIT DOWN WITH M ADMAS, WHY NOT SIR PATRICK MAYHEW OR MICHAEL ANCRAM?"

2.THE IRISH INDEPENDENT, THE LARGEST CIRULATION DAILY SAID IN ITS EDITORIAL:

"UNIONIST ANGER OVER THE TREATMENT NOW BEING ACCORDED TO GERRY ADAMS WAS PREDICTABLE AND UNDERSTANDABLE. BUT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS OBVIOUSLY TAKEN THE DECISION THAT.. WILL ALL HELP TO FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS. IT IS A BRAVE DECISION."

3.THE IRISH TIMES, THE PAPER READ BY ALL DECISION-MAKERS SAID:

"THE ACTIONS BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION MAY NOT HAVE PLEASED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT... BUT IT MUST BE RECALLED THAT A SIMILAR GESTURE - WHEN MR ADAMS WAS FIRST ALLOWED INTO THE UNITED STATES - ENCOURAGED (IRISH)REPUBLICANS TO TAKE THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD."

IN A PIECE BY CONOR O'CLEARY, THEIR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDANT, HE SAID:

"THE BRITISH GOAL SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN TO DIMINISH MR ADAMS' STATURE IN THE US IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE" IT CONTINUES: " MOST ALLURING OF ALL, THERE WAS THE PROSPECT OF REVENGE FOR THE MASSIVE SETBACK TO BRITISH DIPLOMACY I THE VISA FIGHT LAST YEAR."

"SIR PATRICK WAS ALSO THE WRONG MESSENGER. HIS ACCENT AND BEARING LEFT SOME OF THOSE HE MET STONE COLD. 'HE'S OUR SECRET WEAPON,' SAID ONE DEMOCRAT IN CONGRESS..."

"IT WAS CLEAR THAT IF BRITISH DIPLOMACY WAS SUCCESSFUL IT WOULD DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN BILL CLINTON AND THE IRISH-AMERICANS WHO HAD ONCE HELPED GET HIM ELECTED, AND MIGHT AGAIN. THE US AMBASSADOR TO IRELAND, MRS JEAN KENNEDY SMITH, WAS ALSO MAKING ANGRY CALLS FROM DUBLIN, WARNING OF THE PITFALLS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS IF MR ADAMS WAS HUMILIATED."

IT ENDS WITH:

"THE PRICE OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTERVENTION MAY BE

UNCLASSIFIED

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

STRAINED RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN... BUT THERE IS A PRICE
TOO FOR SINN FEIN. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
HAS GONE TO THE WALL FOR THEM. IT MAKES IT UNTHINKABLE
FOR THEM TO LET HIM DOWN."

CASSEL

BT

#1166

NNNN

<MSGID> M1557852

UNCLASSIFIED

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. letter	John Major to POTUS (3 pages)	03/10/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1995

2011-0355-F
rs1704

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
003. letter	Patrick Mayhew to VPOTUS (2 pages)	03/13/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, March 1995

2011-0355-F
rs1704

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1989

British Embassy
Washington

13 March 1995

3100 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington D.C. 20008-3600

Telephone: (202) 898-4292

Facsimile: (202) 898-4255

The Honorable
Albert Gore Jr
Vice President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington D.C. 20500

From The Ambassador

Dear Vice President,

NORTHERN IRELAND

Sir Patrick Mayhew has asked me to pass to you and
Tony Lake the enclosed message about Northern Ireland.

With best wishes,

Robin Renwick

Robin Renwick

cc: The Honorable Warren Christopher,
Secretary of State

~~The Honorable Anthony Lake,~~
~~Advisor to the President for National Security Affairs,~~

UNCLASSIFIED

PREC: RUSH

CATEGORY: INTERNATIONAL

NWSID: F0469946

SOURCE: **FBIS**

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UNCLAS 7E

UK: Sinn Fein's **Adams** Denies U.S. Pressure on IRA Arms Issue LD2003182995
London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1818 GMT 20 Mar 95

By James Hardy, Political Editor, PA News)

(**FBIS** Transcribed Text) Sinn Fein leader Gerry **Adams** today threw the Ulster peace process into confusion by claiming to have come under no pressure on IRA arms during his visit to the United States. He insisted that despite assurances given to the Prime Minister by President Clinton, the issue was never raised.

Downing Street, apparently anxious not to worsen the rift with the White House over Northern Ireland, said it accepted the U.S. version of events.

Mr **Adams**, arriving back at Dublin airport, dismissed reports that the IRA was on the point of making a gesture on arms to move towards face-to-face talks with ministers.

Sinn Fein claims that talks at ministerial level are imminent and hardline Unionists now fully expect contacts to start in coming days.

But both the Prime Minister and Ulster Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew again stressed that Sinn Fein must first make a clear commitment that talks would lead to "substantial progress on the decommissioning of arms".

President Clinton told the Prime Minister in a 25-minute telephone conversation on Sunday that the U.S. administration had told Mr **Adams** it wanted to see progress on the handover of IRA arms.

It was widely assumed the pressure was applied through a meeting with US national security adviser Anthony Lake. But Mr **Adams**, asked by reporters if he had agreed in his meetings with either Mr Clinton or Mr Lake to discuss decommissioning weapons, said: "The issue wasn't raised."

The Sinn Fein president added: "I am not aware of any move by the IRA on arms. We want a total decommission of arms overall, as well as developments on other fronts, including the release of prisoners.

"There is a widespread expectation that talks will go ahead soon between Sinn Fein and the British at ministerial level.

"I am not Superman. We have succeeded in silencing the guns. Now we need to move forward on the political agenda."

Downing Street seemed content to accept Mr Clinton's assurances

and made it plain the ball was firmly in Sinn Fein's court.

"Nobody is asking anybody to dance to the British tune. We are asking people to dance to the tune of peace," a senior Government official said.

In Belfast, Sir Patrick Mayhew insisted that there was now worldwide pressure on Sinn Fein to move on the decommissioning issue. "Before ministers will engage in the exploratory dialogue which has been going at official level, there has to be assurance of serious and constructive discussion from Sinn Fein about, in particular, the issue of decommissioning arms and intended to lead to concrete steps about decommissioning of arms," he said.

The Prime Minister, in a Commons written reply, said Sinn Fein must be prepared to take part in "serious and substantive exploration" of a wide range of issues. "Ministers need to be clear that if and when they take part, constructive discussion, particularly in achieving substantial progress on the decommissioning of arms, would be facilitated and accelerated by their joining the dialogue," he said.

Democratic Unionist leader Peter Robinson brushed aside the Government stand and said: "I have absolutely no doubt that whether it is 10 to 14 days or more, that the Government, without concessions from the IRA, will sit down and talk to their leaders."

He predicted a gesture from the Provisionals involving surrender of weapons which were no longer of any use. "The rusty guns and weeping Semtex have been taken out and placed in an arms dump just south of Dundalk. It is very clear that the Government and the Irish government know about that, and it is to be used as the gesture as far as the British Government is concerned," he claimed.

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jr N

FBIS 03/20/95 13:39:00

DIST:

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SIT: NODIST SIMON STEPHENS VERSHBOW

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

1987

March 15, 1995

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JWR

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*
FROM: KATHLEEN STEPHENS *KS*
SUBJECT: Letter to Reverend Paisley

When you telephoned Ian Paisley to extend an invitation to the March 17 White House reception, Paisley complained that the Joint Framework Document did not address the problem of Irish constitutional claims to the whole island. The attached draft letter to Paisley encloses the clarification you obtained from Ambassador Dermot Gallagher on that issue.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Reverend Paisley
Tab II Incoming correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dr. Paisley:

Last week during our telephone conversation you emphasized your concern about the Joint Framework Document, particularly in relation to the possibility of changes in Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution. I asked the Irish Ambassador in Washington to provide me with his government's position on this question. Enclosed is his response. I would be interested in your reaction.

As I said to you during our telephone conversation, the U.S. takes no position on what the final outcome of a political settlement in Northern Ireland should be, except that it be reached peacefully, through wholly democratic means, and that it enjoy the democratically-expressed consent of the people of Northern Ireland. We will continue to support the joint efforts of the British and Irish governments toward this end.

I look forward to continuing our dialogue.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Reverend Dr. Ian Paisley
256 Ravenhill Road
Belfast BT6 8GJ
Northern Ireland

AMBASAÍD NA HÉIREANN

TELEPHONE: (202) 462-3939

FAX: (202) 232-5993



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

9 March 1995

Dear National Security Adviser

You enquired about the commitment in the new Framework for Agreement to constitutional change on the Irish side as part of a new agreement.

The Document deals with constitutional change on both sides by setting out the results each Government will seek to achieve.

Paragraph 21 envisages changes to the Irish Constitution in three very significant respects:

- (a) change will fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland. (This principle, to which the Irish Government are committed in the Joint Declaration and other instruments, would thereby become entrenched as part of our fundamental law).
- (b) change will be such that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted. (This change, involving both Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution, is intended to meet a long-standing unionist demand).
- (c) change will also enable a new agreement to be ratified to include, as part of a new and equitable dispensation for Northern Ireland, recognition of the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland.

The pledge to remove any such jurisdictional or territorial claim of legal right over the territory of Northern Ireland is unprecedented for any Irish Government since the Constitution was

enacted - the Sunningdale Agreement and the Anglo-Irish Agreement were designed not to require such change. The commitment under (c) above would not be legally permissible under the present terms of the Irish Constitution and so, again, would represent a major shift.

I trust the above clarifies the situation.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D. Gallagher', with a horizontal line underneath it.

Dermot Gallagher
Ambassador

Anthony Lake Esq
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
WASHINGTON DC 20500

Article 2.

The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.

Article 3.

Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that Parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect.

Staff to Kathy Stephens
1987

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN

TELEPHONE: (202) 462-3939

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Ambassador

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~~IMMEDIATE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 221545Z MAR 95

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6444
INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 2859
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 004304

EXDIS

NOTE BY DO/CC: UPGARDED TO EXDIS PER S/S-O, E. READE

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND STEPHENS

E.O. 12356: DECL: 3/22/05

TAGS: PGOV PTER UK EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MINISTERS CONSIDERING SINN
FEIN RESPONSE ON DECOMMISSIONING ARMS

REF: LONDON 4032 (EXDIS)

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

2. NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO) DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY QUENTIN THOMAS TOLD US MARCH 22 THAT SINN FEIN HAD SENT A FORMAL RESPONSE TO HIS LETTERS OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK (REFTEL), FOLLOWING UP THE INTERIM RESPONSE FROM MARTIN MCGUINNESS. THE NEW LETTER, HE SAID, WAS MORE SUBSTANTIVE THAN THE INTERIM REPLY; IT DISCUSSED THE FULL AGENDA AND WHAT OUTCOMES OF THE DISCUSSION MIGHT BE.

3. THOMAS SAID THE LATEST RESPONSE WAS "MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION," BUT STILL "NOT PERFECT." HE HAD FORWARDED IT TO NIO MINISTERS, WHO WERE CONSIDERING WHETHER IT ADEQUATELY MET THE REQUIREMENT FOR A CLEAR AND RELIABLE SIGNAL THAT SINN FEIN WAS PREPARED TO ADDRESS THE ARMS ISSUE SERIOUSLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY, WITH A VIEW TO TAKING ACTION. CROWE

BT

#4304

2/22
Nat'l Sec Advisor
has seen

To ~~RE~~
Vershbow
Stephens

see attached
package re
Sinn Fein
response

US

X

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

By M NARA Date 11/16

211-0355-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3/22

To TL

S. Vershbow

K. Stephens

Looks like progress to me!

M.S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL.~~

ATTENTION.....NANCY SODEBERG

FROM MAIREAD KEANE, SINN FEIN.

PHONE 202-331-7886, FAX 202-331-8117.

22ND MARCH 1995.

Nancy, a chara,

I enclose a letter from Martin McGuinness in response to a letter from Quentin Thomas dated March 16th, the British government's agenda and the agenda we submitted in response to theirs.

We are expecting a positive response from the British and we have been told by them that they will respond in the morning. However the British media are running the story that the British government will not respond favourably.

I will give you a call in the morning with an update.

Slán go fóil,

Mairead.

20-MAR-95 MON 20:45 BELFAST REPUBLICAN PRESS P.08



21 March 1995

Quentin Thomas
Northern Ireland Office
Whitehall
London

A Chara

Thank you for your letter of March 16.

In my initial reply to your letter of 14 March I promised a more considered reply.

I also welcomed the willingness of the British government to end its ban on ministerial involvement in dialogue with our party. I am now looking forward to a productive dialogue with ministers which will encompass a detailed and thorough discussion of all the relevant issues.

I have studied your proposed agenda for the first of these meetings and, with a few minor adjustments, I am happy to proceed with the meeting on the basis of this agenda. I believe that we should now agree a date for this meeting as soon as possible. I hope to speak to you directly about dates for this meeting.

It is Sinn Féin's clearly stated position that we wish to engage in serious, substantive and constructive discussions with British ministers on all relevant issues. No issue, including the decommissioning of weapons, should be excluded from these discussions. It is, also, obvious and logical that there cannot be a single issue agenda in the discussions between Sinn Féin and British Government ministers and all matters on that agenda must be there with the aim of seeking their resolution.

It is accepted that the most urgent and important issue facing us all is to remove the causes of conflict, overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted; to achieve a lasting peace through a negotiated settlement. Considerable progress has been made so far. This progress must be consolidated. Everyone concerned to achieve a lasting peace must apply themselves to this task, which can only be accomplished by dialogue; through inclusive discussions and negotiations involving all parties with an electoral mandate. Everyone must be at the table and every issue must be on the table. All parties must be accorded equality of treatment. The democratic rights of all sections of the electorate must be upheld.

20-MAR-95 MON 20:46 BELFAST REPUBLICAN PRESS P.09

Speaking in Washington on this matter, Mr Adams emphasised Sinn Féin's willingness to discuss, without exception, all these issues with British Government ministers. We are therefore anxious to begin this dialogue and to engage in serious and constructive discussions on all relevant matters - justice, equality of treatment and of opportunity, prisoners, political and constitutional matters and demilitarisation, including of course, the decommissioning of all weapons, British loyalist unionist and republican, licensed and unlicensed.

Sinn Féin is an open, democratic political party with an electoral mandate. It is essential that this mandate is recognised and that the right of our voters to equality of treatment is accepted. A serious and substantive exploration of all relevant issues, and a constructive discussion of them, with the aim of seeking their resolution, would, of course be best accomplished through the direct involvement of British ministers.

On the basis of our democratic mandate, and to facilitate and accelerate constructive discussion on all the pertinent issues, I trust we can now move into dialogue with British Government ministers, without further delay.

I look forward to an early response.

Is Mise

AP Siobhán O'Donoghue

MARTIN MCGUINNESS

ENC



AGENDA

1. Decommissioning of Arms
 - a. Objective
 - b. Modalities
 - i. procedures for verification
 - ii. independent supervision of destruction
 - iii. methods
 - iv. practical and legal considerations
 - v. timing
2. Prisons
3. Economic and social issues
4. Irish language
5. Framework Documents
6. Policing and Criminal Justice

CLAR/AGENDA

1. Demilitarisation including the decommission of arms
2. Prisons
3. Economic and social issues
4. Irish language
5. Framework Documents
6. Policing and legal justice
7. AOB
8. Date of next meeting.

- Framework Document creates a new dynamic and context;
- would the above, linked to a statement by Adams which (a) emphasised that decommissioning of arms and explosives would have to be an integral part of any agreement and (b) stated that, in the meantime, decommissioning was a proper and important subject for discussion in the on-going talks, constitute a possible way forward?

Throughout downtown, hotel and restaurant managers were counting extra receipts.

It's all part of Baltimore's first chance to get in on March Madness, the NCAA basketball tournament. The rite of spring has a mystical pull that inspires basketball fanat-

owns a bank in Okato, a Western Minnesota town of 2,500.

Because Minnesota is one of eight teams playing in the East Region games at the Baltimore Arena today, they flew here on the same

See NCAA, 14A

special section, NCAA Tabloid

A look at area teams

Maryland and Mount St. Mary's games tonight are previewed in Sports. Section D

"It's a case of the rich takes most," said Tom McMillan, the former congressman who was an All-America basketball player at College Park and is now a frequent critic of the financing of college sports.

NCAA tournament finances are complicated and have been the sub-

most evenly. It was a red ed to allow teams to play without the added tension about budgets.

But critics say it strongest programs to — and the richest prog richer, even in off years.

U.S.-Irish ties open a new era

Official reception disturbs Britain

By Mark Matthews
Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — When President Clinton welcomes Irish nationalist leader Gerry Adams at a White House reception tomorrow, he will complete a quiet revolution in American policy toward Northern Ireland and Great Britain's military presence there.

Operating outside the usual diplomatic channels, Mr. Clinton has jettisoned a quarter century of U.S. hostility toward the Irish Republican Army, to which Mr. Adams is tied through his political party, Sinn Féin. In doing so, Mr. Clinton has also made the United States an important force for the first time in urging Britain to change its policies in the province.

"He's made it a priority since the day he walked into the office," says Nancy Soderberg, the president's chief adviser on the issue.

Mr. Adams and the IRA have long been symbols of violence and intransigence in the drive by Northern Ireland's Roman Catholics to break away from British rule. But a ceasefire between the IRA and the province's Protestant majority has led to a peace plan that has been taken seriously by Catholics, Protestants and the British government.

If Mr. Adams and the IRA stay on the path to a peaceful settlement, Mr. Clinton will be able to count himself as having been a factor. But if Mr. Adams isn't serious, or if a violent backlash by Protestant militias dooms the peace, the president may be seen to have made a tragic blunder in giving Sinn Féin a White House audience.

Either way, relations with Britain will have been damaged. London officials are furious at Mr. Clinton's

See IRISH, 6A



Fourth-year University of Maryland medical students Tracey Hoke (left) and Sanjay Jagannath celebrate their residency assignments.

'ACADEMY AWARDS' FOR DOCTORS-TO-BE

By Diana K. Sugg
and Art Kramer
Sun Staff Writers

Envelope tells where they'll train next

One by one, with smiles and shaky hands, they grasped the white envelopes.

Many years of hard work had brought these medical school seniors to this moment. They had researched and interviewed at residency programs, then ranked where they wanted to train.

But yesterday, at noon Eastern time, when roughly 13,500 students from 126 medical schools around the country learned where they would be residents, gut feelings and rational thoughts were lost.

Some students had listed as many as 20 choices. And this was the piece of paper they had been

waiting for, the single line of letters that spelled out where they will spend the next several years, the validation that they were really going to be doctors.

"It's strange to have the whole four years summed up into one envelope," said Dave Vroman, president of the University of Maryland School of Medicine Class of 1995.

Devised 43 years ago to tame the chaos of students and making selections, the National Resident Matching Program takes the ranked students and residency and puts them through a system, which makes it

Those students who have been matched are called

See MATCH, 9A

Fuhrman denies uttering racial slur

Detective insists

show jurors a small plastic bag that contained a leather glove. The bag, he asserted, was identical to the one

INDEX

Merger approved
Shareholders of the Martin Marietta Corp. and Lockheed

Hopkins between

THE SUN

nts mop up, e next rain

said San Jose flood victim Dennis Diggs as he cleaned up his home. "We're trying to block up the doors and windows to keep the smell out."

The 50,000 residents around Clear Lake, 100 miles north of San Francisco, became the latest sufferers as water from the 31-mile lake, a popular summer recreation area, pushed into homes and businesses.

"Half our streets are under water — in Lakeport, the water is up a block from the lake," said Lydia Wells of the Lake County Office of Emergency Services. "All the lake homes are pretty close to flooding, if they aren't flooded already."

The dam below Clear Lake was wide open but was draining only 2 inches a day, and the lake was 1½ feet above flood level, she said.

Ray Bridges' cabin was reachable only by boat. The service station owner has seen flooding before, but many others haven't, he said. "It's pretty traumatic. It's been 10 years since the last one, and there are a lot of people who have not gone through it."

Southwest of Fresno, authorities used an infrared device attached to a highway patrol helicopter and a search dog with earthquake experience to look for the body of a 19-year-old woman. He has been missing since an I-5 ridge collapsed near Coalinga, missing four cars into floodwaters. In other bodies were found.

IRISH: U.S. policy opens new era

From Page 1A

dismissal of their views at a time when Northern Ireland talks are at a sensitive stage and when Prime Minister John Major is clinging to power.

The damage fits a pattern of increased strains between the United States and two close allies, Britain and France, as the Soviet threat to Europe recedes into memory and other interests, including competition for markets, intrude on the relationship.

The president's involvement is an unusual blend of activism, personal ties and politics, drawing on an informal network linking the White House, Capitol Hill, New York, Dublin and Belfast, a network that has outweighed the influence of Cabinet secretaries.

At its center is Ms. Soderberg, 37, a foreign policy adviser in the Democratic presidential campaign of Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis and Mr. Clinton. As a former aide to Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, she had immersed herself for years in the politics of Northern Ireland.

Ms. Soderberg, who grew up in Timonium, was brought onto the National Security Council staff in 1993 and became a trusted policy adviser to both the president and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, colleagues say.

From her White House office, she talks regularly with her successor on Mr. Kennedy's staff, Trina Vargo, and Niall O'Dowd, publisher of the New York-based newspaper *Irish Voice*, and John Hume, a Northern Ireland Catholic leader who has led a campaign for nonviolent change.

Mr. O'Dowd, who organized Irish-American support for Mr. Clinton in 1992, acts as a regular conduit to Mr. Adams and Sinn Fein.

Another important link is Jean Kennedy Smith, Mr. Kennedy's sister, who as U.S. ambassador to Dublin has wowed the Irish and fostered a dramatic change in the American approach to Northern Ireland. With her direct line to the White House, the senator's office and Irish politicians, Mrs. Smith has assumed much of the role in dealing with Northern Ireland that



Nancy Soderberg, President Clinton's chief adviser on policy toward Northern Ireland.

used to be the responsibility of the U.S. Embassy in London.

For years, Mr. Kennedy had joined with other prominent Irish-American politicians in condemning IRA terrorism, and instead forged close ties with Mr. Hume, whom Ms. Soderberg calls "an anchor of common sense."

Starting in mid-1993, Mr. Hume sensed an IRA shift away from violence and began to prod Mr. Kennedy and the White House to encourage it. At year's end, he urged U.S. officials to grant a visa to Mr. Adams in return for his cooperation in the peace process.

Accepting Mr. Hume's advice, President Clinton approved a visa for Mr. Adams early last year over strong objections from Britain, the State and Justice departments and a blunt last-minute cable from Raymond Seitz, then-U.S. ambassador to London.

On that trip, Mr. Adams failed to renounce violence and terrorism. But when the IRA declared a cease-fire last August, the White House believed that its action had been vindicated.

When Mr. Adams scheduled another visit for this year's St. Patrick's Day festivities, his U.S. supporters set the stage for full acceptance of Sinn Fein. Mr. Kennedy,

When Sinn Fein agreed to discuss with the British the decommissioning of weapons last week it cleared the way for an invitation.

traveling to Massachusetts with the president on Air Force One this winter, urged Mr. Clinton to lift the prohibition on Mr. Adams' raising funds for Sinn Fein.

This time, Britain mounted an all-out lobbying campaign — aimed at Congress and the Washington press corps as well as the White House — warning that the IRA still had the means to resume a campaign of violence.

Britain's top official for Northern Ireland, Sir Patrick Mayhew, came to Washington and declared that it would be a "mistake" to lift the long-standing ban against Sinn Fein raising money in the United States. A meeting between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Adams, he added, would dismay 50 million Britons. Mr. Major sent a letter to the president with a similar message.

Again, the State and Justice departments recommended against lifting the fund-raising ban and inviting Mr. Adams to the White House. The NSC staff agreed, with Ms. Soderberg preparing a memo telling Mr. Clinton that the IRA had not taken adequate steps toward disarming.

But importuned again by Mr. Kennedy, President Clinton told his staff to try to extract enough of a concession from Mr. Adams to enable him to lift the fund-raising ban.

On Thursday, Sinn Fein agreed to discuss with the British the decommissioning of weapons. Mr. Clinton lifted the fund-raising ban, granted Mr. Adams an extended visa and invited him to the White House.

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→ *NANCY SODERBERG - FYI*

STATEMENT BY RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FULL COMMITTEE HEARING ON NORTHERN IRELAND

March 15, 1995

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify today on the Administration's approach to the peace process in Northern Ireland. The United States attaches great importance to the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Our close bonds of history, culture and tradition with Ireland and the United Kingdom provide us with a unique role in helping to achieve those goals.

Starting with the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, support for this historic effort has been the policy of both Republican and Democratic Administrations. It has been widespread on both sides of the aisle in both houses of Congress. But it has received a special priority with President Clinton.

The Clinton Administration has encouraged and supported the courageous initiative of British Prime Minister Major, Irish Prime Minister Bruton, and former Irish Prime Minister Reynolds to establish a new framework for peace and justice in Northern Ireland. With the historic Downing Street Declaration of 1993, the joint resolve of the two governments to end the violence and pursue a negotiated settlement set the stage for the dramatic developments of the past year. That resolve, which in the United Kingdom and Ireland also extends across party lines, remains crucial to further progress. I am pleased that the United States has been able to contribute to this process of reconciliation.

Let me begin by reviewing briefly the events since the announcement of the Downing Street Declaration. I will include a summary of President Clinton's initiatives to support the peace process. Finally, I will describe the present status of that process.

THE CEASEFIRE

The present peace in Northern Ireland began with the watershed announcement by the IRA on August 31, 1994, that it had decided to cease all military operations and end its 25-year campaign of violence. The IRA's decision marked the beginning of a new era that holds the promise of peace for all the people of Northern Ireland. This ceasefire was followed in October by a similar announcement by the Combined Loyalist Military Command. The Loyalists have said their ceasefire will depend on a continued IRA ceasefire. As we have made clear to all parties, we hope both ceasefires are irreversible, and with both ceasefires, deeds and not words will remain the key factor.

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The White House also arranged for Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown to lead a delegation of U.S. businessmen to Northern Ireland to attend Prime Minister Major's Belfast Investment Conference in December. This was a successful visit that not only identified concrete new opportunities for increased business links, but also prepared the groundwork in both Belfast and Dublin for the White House Conference.

Other Administration initiatives include proposed increased funding for the International Fund for Ireland, strengthened collaborative business programs within the Department of Commerce and an overall Commerce "strategy" to be presented by Secretary Brown at the May Conference, increased funding for the USIA International Visitor programs, additional emphasis on political party training by the National Endowment for Democracy, and more technical delegations from the U.S. Trade and Development Agency to identify mutually beneficial trade and investment opportunities. Let me say in particular that I recognize the brutal realities of our budget situation, but the Administration request for IFI funding remains an essential investment in peace.

STATUS OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The Joint Framework Document

On February 22 in Belfast, PM Bruton and PM Major announced a Joint Framework Document (JFD) outlining their government's shared proposals for inclusive talks on Northern Ireland. The JFD lays the foundation for all-party talks, also including the British and Irish Governments. Based on the Downing Street Declaration, the JFD includes the same core principle of the need for the majority consent of the people of Northern Ireland to any constitutional changes. North-South bodies are proposed, comprising elected representatives from and accountable to a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament. The bodies are intended to have a harmonizing and consultative role in matters most efficiently handled in an all-island context (agriculture, tourism, fishing, etc.)

The Irish government agreed in the JFD to introduce and support changes to its constitution removing a territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over the North. The British government also will enact constitutional legislation to exercise their jurisdiction with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all of the people of Northern Ireland, in a way that does not prejudice their freedom to determine Northern Ireland's constitutional status, whether in remaining part of the United Kingdom or in forming part of a united Ireland.

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Both governments pledged themselves to the protection of the rights and identities of both traditions. Both governments also envisage a new and more broadly based Agreement between their governments to follow on the co-operative work of the 1985 Anglo Irish Agreement. A standing Intergovernmental Conference may be created to consider matters not transferred to the new political assembly in Northern Ireland.

It is important to remember that the JFD does not provide for joint authority by the British and Irish governments over Northern Ireland. Neither government has attempted to predetermine any outcome to the all party talks. The key to a comprehensive solution remains agreement by the parties, by the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland in separate referendums, and then by the parliaments of the respective governments.

A Framework for Accountable Government in Northern Ireland

Also on February 22, PM Major announced separately a Framework for Accountable Government in Northern Ireland. This document outlines proposals for a new devolved local assembly in Northern Ireland and is intended to form the basis for negotiations between the British government and Northern Ireland political parties. It provides for a unicameral legislature elected by proportional representation with a number of checks and balances such as: super majority votes (65-75%) for certain kinds of legislation, protection for minority rights, proportional assignments to committees and committee chairmanships, and a panel of three persons elected by direct vote of the people to nominate Assembly Chairmen and if necessary block legislation. The assembly would not have taxing powers.

Reaction to Framework Documents

Both framework documents are designed to assist negotiations. They will not be imposed on any party. The Administration has supported these documents as significant steps forward in the peace process. President Clinton has called upon all parties to examine the documents carefully and to move forward on that basis. Irish FM Spring briefed Secretary Christopher, NSC Advisor Lake, and VP Gore on the JFD and peace prospects on February 27-28. Northern Ireland Secretary of State Sir Patrick Mayhew gave similar briefings to the same officials on March 7.

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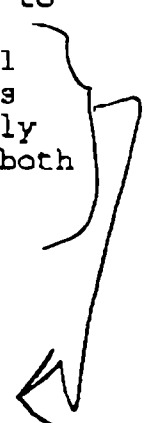
Nationalist reaction to the framework documents has been favorable. Sinn Fein and the Social Democratic and Labor Party have said they are ready to begin negotiations with the British, although Sinn Fein has some reservations about the Irish government's pledge to remove its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland. The two small Loyalist parties, the Ulster Democratic Party and the Progressive Unionist Party, and the center Alliance Party also have agreed to begin talks. The Democratic Unionist Party has condemned the documents as reflecting a nationalist agenda and refuses to discuss them with HMG. The Ulster Unionist Party, the largest party in Northern Ireland, has issued its own framework document calling for the election of a constitutional assembly to draft a constitution for a new assembly. The UUP has also rejected these framework documents, but has agreed to negotiate with the British government on the basis of the UUP draft.

Exploratory Talks between the British Government and the Sinn Fein Party and the Loyalist Parties

The British government has completed five sessions of exploratory talks at the senior civil servant level with representatives of Sinn Fein and a separate set of six talks with Loyalist party leaders. Additional talks with both groups are scheduled. These discussions are expected to move to the junior ministerial level when sufficient progress in these exploratory discussions has been made on a range of issues, including decommissioning of arms. Northern Ireland Secretary of State Mayhew has stated that the British government would consider placing a minister in the talks if it believed that doing so would result in serious discussions on disarmament.

Decommissioning Weapons

On March 8, at the urging of the Administration, Sinn Fein issued a press release announcing its representatives are prepared to discuss all issues, including decommissioning of weapons, with ministers. In response to this statement, the President agreed to permit Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams to fundraise in the U.S. for a period of three months. [The British government is reviewing this press release and will decide whether to place a minister in the exploratory talks based on this press release and other factors.] We sincerely hope these talks move to the ministerial level and expect both Sinn Fein and the Loyalist parties will immediately begin serious discussions on disarmament.



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Of course, deeds are much more important than words. As Secretary Christopher stated February 27 and March 7, "We continue to call on all parties to refrain from violence, and particularly we urge those who have laid down their arms to take the next essential step and that is to begin the process of disarmament." Non-violent constitutional parties cannot be expected to sit at a table with the political representatives of paramilitary groups who have retained the right to return to violence if they don't achieve their goals. Decommissioning of the vast arsenals of Loyalist and Nationalist paramilitaries must be mutual, balanced, and across the board. It must begin now, not await the end of the talks. Just as no party will be able to have all of its expectations met in a comprehensive settlement, and no party can be permitted to retain the means to attempt to gain more violence.

Let me stress that we have maintained contacts across the political spectrum in Northern Ireland. Our diplomats in Belfast, London, and Dublin regularly exchange views with John Hume and his colleagues in the SDLP, with Jim Molyneaux and other leaders of the UUP, with John Alderdice of the Alliance Party, with Ian Paisley and others of the DUP, and, since President Clinton lifted a log-standing ban on such contacts, with Gerry Adams and others in Sinn Fein, as well as with Loyalist leaders of the PUP and UDP. Many of these leaders also are regular visitors to the State Department, as well as the White House and elsewhere in the Administration.

The President has taken a risk on behalf of peace by permitting limited fundraising by Sinn Fein. The ball is in their court to show they are serious about removing the gun from the political arena in Northern Ireland. I firmly believe the decision by the President last year to grant visa waivers to Sinn Fein leaders Gerry Adams, Joe Cahill, and others contributed to their ability to persuade the IRA to cease its campaign of violence. This in turn led to the Loyalist ceasefire and all the hopeful developments I have outlined. We expect that the fundraising decision will have a similar result in bringing forward the day when all paramilitary organizations decommission their arms and all-party talks begin.

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CONCLUSION

In concluding, Mr. Chairman, I would like to emphasize again that while the U.S. can and will continue to support the peace process in Northern Ireland, the success of that process depends on the people of Northern Ireland and the British and Irish governments. We believe the basis for a comprehensive settlement is to be found in the principles set forth in the 1993 Downing Street Declaration, which have been developed and elaborated, in the various framework proposals for negotiations issued by John Major and John Bruton in Belfast February 22. We can and will encourage this process in those ways we believe can best help the progress of peace, but the people of Northern Ireland in the end must want peace enough to compromise and bridge the divisions which have separated their two communities for so long. I will be happy to respond to any questions which you may have. Thank you.

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The following is the text of a statement issued to our office 8 March 1995

Responding to media speculation that British Ministers will meet with Sinn Féin, Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin President, said:

1. It is accepted that the most urgent and important issue facing us all is to remove the causes of conflict, overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted; to achieve a lasting peace through a negotiated settlement. Considerable progress has been made so far. This progress must be consolidated. Everyone concerned to achieve a lasting peace must apply themselves to this task, which can only be accomplished by dialogue; through inclusive discussions and negotiations involving all parties with an electoral mandate. Everyone must be at the table and every issue must be on the table. All parties must be accorded equality of treatment. The British government must uphold, not undermine the democratic rights of all sections of the electorate.

2. It is in this context that progress can be made on the whole range of relevant issues - justice, discrimination in employment, prisoners, political and constitutional matters and demilitarisation. Demilitarisation requires movement on a range of issues including repressive legislation, prisoners, and weapons.

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3. The Taoiseach, Mr Bruton, has correctly stated that there cannot be a single issue agenda and the Taoiseach, Mr Spring, in a recent timely intervention, warned that to make the decommissioning of weapons a precondition was 'a formula for disaster'.

4. This is my position also. At the same time, Sinn Féin has consistently argued for the permanent removal of all guns from Irish politics.

5. We have consistently stated, over a protracted period, that we seek a complete demilitarisation of the situation - that is the removal forever of all guns - British, unionist, loyalist and republican - from Irish politics.

6. Everyone has an influence over the present situation. The collective application of that influence can transform the political climate and put an end to the failures of the past.

7. Our position on this matter is transparent. We wish to use our influence on all matters, in a positive way and with the aim of advancing the peace process.

8. I welcome therefore the suggestion that the British ministerial ban on contact with Sinn Féin may be ended.

9. Sinn Féin representatives will enter into discussions with British Ministers on all the matters outlined in paragraph 2 and on the basis of our mandate and our analysis. There cannot be a single issue agenda and no issue, including decommissioning should be excluded from these discussions. We look forward to discussing all matters with a view to their resolution.

To Kathy S.
CC TR
Kieran

Friends of Sinn Fein
1350 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 307
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: (202) 331-7886
Fax: (202) 331-8117

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: NANCY SOOBERG

FROM: MAUREAD KEANE

RE: Bud / SF talks

DATE: 3-30-95

Notes: ENCLOSED STATEMENTS GERRY ADAMS
MARCH 27 MARCH 30 PRESS CLIPPINGS
MARCH 31st
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get a chance - Mauread

In the event of problems with transmission please contact:
Kieran Clifford (202) 331-8776.

Sinn Féin

...news release...

The following is the text of a statement issued to our office. 30/3/95
US Visit blocking Ministerial meeting?

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams has said that he believes the British government is "protracting this phase of the peace process until after Mr Major's visit to Washington".

Mr Adams said:

"The primary objectives for Sinn Féin in the bi-lateral dialogue with British officials was to end the discrimination of our party and our electorate and advance the peace process towards all-party talks.

The groundrules for this dialogue, agreed by Sinn Féin and the British government, were; an open agenda, agreed by the participants and in which any issue of relevance to either side can be raised.

Sinn Féin has stated our willingness to engage in serious, substantive and constructive dialogue on all issues with the aim of seeking their resolution.

The British government's prevarication for almost 2 weeks now has been a source of concern and bewilderment.

The British say that the problem is the word "demilitarisation". Yet we have raised this issue in 2 of 3 papers presented at the Stormont talks; it was discussed at all 5 meetings; and was an item on the January 16th meeting.

I do not believe that putting demilitarisation on the agenda is really the reason for the delay.

The visit to Washington by British Prime Minister John Major may perhaps hold the key to unlocking this conundrum. I believe that the British wish to protract this phase of the peace process until after Mr Major's Washington visit.

If a Ministerial meeting were to take place before Major's Washington trip it would clearly vindicate President Clinton's recent decision to meet me and to give me a fund raising visa. Decisions which the British government and press bitterly opposed and criticised.

Is Mr Major planning to use this contrived crisis to pressurise the US into removing its positive engagement with the peace process? Is Mr Major prevaricating in the expectation that he can convince US opinion that Sinn Féin is the problem and the President's decisions wrong?

THE GUARDIAN
Friday March 31 1995

Sinn Féin's arms delay irks America

Stephen Bates and
David Sharrock in Belfast

SINN Féin was under pressure from the United States government last night to speed up progress on decommissioning weapons as senior diplomatic sources made clear that there is dissatisfaction in Washington with the lack of movement since Gerry Adams's visit a fortnight ago.

American diplomats, speaking in London in advance of John Major's official visit to Washington next week, said the US government believes Sinn Féin must start to talk seriously about decommissioning IRA arms.

The intervention came as Martin McGuinness, Sinn Féin's talks leader, described the Government's refusal to discuss demilitarisation as ludicrous. He added: "Many serious questions are being asked about their commitment to the success of this peace process."

"The British Government have to recognise that it's not unreasonable for Sinn Féin to expect that an item which is of serious concern to our community be placed on the agenda."

Asked about the US intervention, Mr McGuinness said he understood Washington was "quite happy" that Sinn Féin was committed to the peace process. "We can't be expected to deal with issues which are outside of our control."

With Britain still smarting over the US decision to invite Mr Adams, John Major is certain to discuss the breach with Washington over Northern Ireland in talks with President Clinton next Tuesday. Despite attempts to stress the closeness of links with the US, the president's decision caused one of the greatest strains on Anglo-American relations since the Suez crisis nearly 40 years ago.

But in London, senior embassy officials were suggesting the White House was annoyed that Sinn Féin had not made greater efforts to start talks since Mr Adams's return. One diplomat said: "I don't think we are satisfied. We have asked

raising, again overruling advice from the State Department and the embassy in London.

Officials made little attempt to disguise their annoyance at confusion in Washington in advance of the invitation or the extent of diplomatic attempts to reassure Britain.

US diplomats stressed their government's objectives in Ireland were the same as Britain's and that President Clinton sees his relationship with Mr Major as still close.

Embassy sources said there is exasperation that Mr Adams appeared to contradict the President in claiming they had not discussed decommissioning in their chat at the White House.

British Government sources said yesterday that Sinn Féin had still not given sufficient assurances on decommissioning for talks to take place before or during Mr Major's visit.

The Government's position on talks with Sinn Féin has altered since Mr Adams's Washington visit.

Before that date it was understood by both sides that there was to be an open, agreed agenda in which any issue could be raised. Indeed, demilitarisation has already been discussed during meetings at Stormont.

But, according to government correspondence, the ground rules have now been changed. It is understood that the Government's reply to Martin McGuinness, written by the Northern Ireland deputy under secretary, Quentin Thomas, said: "We are naturally disappointed that Sinn Féin have not yet agreed to further meetings in the exploratory dialogue on the basis of the agenda enclosed with my letter of 24th March."

"As I said in that letter if Sinn Féin is prepared to join in an exploration of the ways by which decommissioning can most effectively be achieved, then a minister of state would attend."

The letter goes on to claim that Sinn Féin's amendments to the agenda — the insertion of the word 'demilitarisation' and the deletion of the modalities of decommissioning — are unacceptable, since the Government

Dublin is in 'hourly touch with London'

THE Government is now in "hourly contact" with London, in an effort to facilitate direct talks between Sinn Féin and British ministers, the Taoiseach, John Bruton, has said.

He reiterated yesterday that he and his officials were prepared to do everything in their power to help break the impasse. Maintaining he was still optimistic that the talks would take place, despite new setbacks over the decommissioning of arms, Mr Bruton said it was preferable to thrash out the agenda at this stage, rather than to rush into talks "under false assumptions".

Mr Bruton, who was speaking in Brussels after talks with the EU Commission president, Jacques Santer, dismissed suggestions that London was throwing up new obstacles, or was being unfair in its treatment of Sinn Féin.

"I don't see anyone placing further obstacles; what we are seeing is a very serious effort to ensure that the discussions are realistic

and that there are no false assumptions".

He said any difference in London's treatment of Sinn Féin compared with the loyalists, was because Sinn Féin wanted to raise issues which the loyalists were not raising. "It is in relation to these issues that the difficulties have emerged."

Mr Bruton said he was convinced that both the British government and Sinn Féin were "acting in good faith in pursuit of genuinely-held views".

Asked if he was disappointed at the latest setback, Mr Bruton said that he was anxious for talks to begin as soon as possible, but he was aware that the concerns on both sides were genuine. The difficulty was that these concerns were being expressed in language which was open to interpretation.

Efforts to break the deadlock, he said, must now focus on finding words and phrases which were "not laden with the the values of one community or the other". It was important, he said, to establish a viable basis for talks which would not threaten either side. "That is of greater importance than if the talks happen next week, or on any particular date".

RICH PRESS

31 March '95

Sinn Fein to move forward on serious discussions and they are not doing it." wishes only to discuss illegal
President Clinton invited Mr. Sinn Fein sources protest held weapons and explosives.
Adams to the US and lifted the that the Government is impos
embargo on Sinn Fein fund. ing an agenda which has not
been agreed.

F demands talks open agenda

IRISH NEWS

MARCH 31

IRISH NEWS 31 MARCH 95

Graham
respondent

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don't Clinton in Washington at the
beginning of next week.

It is understood that the British
side, in a letter sent earlier this
week to Sinn Fein, signalled its dis-
appointment that the party has not
yet agreed to meetings on the basis
of an agenda sent out on March 24.

The British view is that if Sinn
Fein is prepared to engage in
serious and constructive discus-
sions and join in an exploration of
ways in which decommissioning
can most effectively be achieved,
then a minister would attend.

Also, the British have made it
clear that the agenda item on
decommissioning of arms as they
had previously understood, refers

Pressure grows to 'secure fragile peace'

to those weapons and explosives
which are illegally held.

Sinn Fein had amended the
agenda to include the word
denuclearisation as well as decom-
missioning, and also deleted
specific words relating to
mobilities. The British view was
that discussion of the item would
be prejudiced by such an amend-
ment and they could not accept
that.

Sinn Fein sources are putting for-
ward a case that they were adher-
ing to the principles regarding

dialogue but the British side were
"prevaricating".

Sinn Fein had agreed to engage in
serious and constructive discus-
sions, and that the agenda should
be comprehensive and open. It also
has been revealed that among a
number of items listed to be dis-
cussed by Sinn Fein in talks with
civil servants at Parliament Build-
ings, Stormont on January 16 was
denuclearisation.

Clearly the delay is causing
frustration and republicans in
particular point to the fact that the

issue of denuclearisation was on the
agenda for talks with the civil ser-
vants. In other words why could it
not be discussed at ministerial
level?

Also, in terms of a paper
prepared by the Northern Ireland
Office relating to ground rules for
political talks, it was clearly stated
that any agenda for discussion
should "be comprehensive and
"open" - enabling all participants
to raise any issues they regard as
relevant.

Sinn Fein's Richard McAuley said:

"We certainly want to overcome
the current difficulties. The prin-
ciples underlying the process of
dialogue which we and the British
agreed, and which are sensible,
should be adhered to.

"The agenda should be open and
the participants should be able to
raise any issue which they think
relevant. And it is only by discuss-
ing all these issues can the process
move forward. It is wrong for any
one side to begin to impose an
agenda on meetings."

Mr McAuley was asked by the

Irish News that if denuclearisation
was not on the agenda would Sinn
Fein take a concrete decision not to
go into talks?

He replied: "No. We have at all
times sought to be flexible in this
peace process. That has been the
cornerstone of our approach. The
position at the moment is whether
the principles are adhered to - it is
not the words being used. Are the
agendas to be open or are they to
be agreed or imposed? Can the
parties raise and discuss issues
which are relevant to them and the
people they represent?

"This process can move forward
regardless of which words can or

cannot be used. It is our hope this
impasse can be negotiated and
overcome.

"I don't think the word
denuclearisation is the hold up.
Some other unknown factor is at
play causing the British to prevar-
icate."

When asked would the delay in
talks damage the peace process Mr
McAuley said that the patience of
republicans was not being eroded,
but he reminded the British govern-
ment that the peace process "was
fragile and needed to be built
upon".

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March 27, 1995

Statement from Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams.

Mr. Adams has described the British handling of the bi-laterals as "disappointing" and "bad faith negotiations".

Mr. Adams said:

"I reject absolutely the efforts by the British government to compare Sinn Fein with the loyalist fringe parties.

These fringe parties are representative of loyalist paramilitaries. Sinn Fein is an open democratic political party with a significant and sizable electoral mandate.

Sinn Fein welcomes the involvement of loyalists in talks but we reject the imposition of pre-conditions on our electorate. The British government must recognize the rights of all sections of the electorate.

Sinn Fein wants to see an end to divisions in Ireland. An end to the involvement of the British government in our affairs. We want to see a new agreed Ireland. The peace process has brought us all a good way along the road towards a peace settlement. We have yet to get peace.

There are three main areas which need to be discussed in future talks. These talks can best be accommodated in all-party discussions led by both governments. The areas involved are:

1. Constitutional and political matters.
2. Democratic rights including national rights.
3. Demilitarization

All these issues should be discussed. Everyone has their own position. Finding agreement is the purpose of discussions. The British Government has attempted to limit discussions to bi-laterals with a narrow agenda dealing only with the decommissioning of IRA weapons."

"The British also change the rules in an ongoing basis and are more concerned with media spins and propaganda than progress. For example, Sinn Fein has always been concerned to deal with the issues of demilitarization. In two of our three papers to the British officials in the Stormont talks and in all five of the meetings Sinn Fein raised demilitarization. At no time was this queried by the British delegation.

Demilitarization included discussion on the permanent removal of all the weapons.

How can we have an effective peace process which does not include a discussion on demilitarization?"

A few days ago, in the interests of the peace process Sin Fein responded positively and privately to a proposed agenda from the British. We could have put many other issues on this agenda but instead we made only a few minor changes.

The British rejected this draft agenda. They failed to respond to our suggestions. Instead they went to the media with a contrived version. In other words they engaged in bad faith negotiations. They are currently seeking to dictate the agenda, to exclude from it matters which we want to raise.

It is important to note at this point that while the British have a role in initiating talks they are not a neutral referee in the process. They are a party to the conflict and cannot therefore dictate the direction of negotiations.

Sinn Fein's position on demilitarization is not a new one. It is a long standing one.

Sinn Fein is a political party not an army. Unlike the British government we have no authority or control over arms. Yet we are prepared to discuss these matters. Members of our party, including elected councilors and their family members have been killed by those who wish to undermine our mandate. We therefore are totally committed to upholding the rights of our electorate.

At the same time we wish to use our influence on all matters in a positive way and with the aim of advancing the peace process. There can be no single issue agenda.

We wish to engage in serious, substantive and constructive discussions with British Ministers on all relevant issues. No issue should be excluded from these discussions and all matters on the agenda must be there with the aim of seeking their resolution.

It is also worth noting that it is a month since the publication of the Framework Document by the British and Irish governments. The British government appears to be trying to bog down the peace process in diversionary discussions rather than moving speedily to the necessary discussions about constitutional and political matters. This is not a game of scrabble."

Adams Statement (continued)

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"Why are the British refusing to discuss demilitarization? The British government has the largest force under its control. Demilitarization involves all the forces - all of the armed groups.

The British government has to accept responsibility for the actions of its forces. Sinn Fein and our support base have been targeted and have suffered grievously at the hands of the British forces. Over 400 people have been killed by British forces. Elements of those forces have collaborated with the loyalist death squads in a vicious murder campaign which has claimed over 1000 catholic lives. We have a legitimate concern to ensure that there can be no repetition of this.

Our party has also been the target of repressive legislation, including censorship and as can be seen from the current British position, our voters are denied their democratic rights.

The objective of the peace process is to remove all the causes of conflict, heal the divisions which exist and achieve a lasting peace through a negotiated settlement. Everyone concerned to achieve a lasting peace, must apply themselves to this task which can only be accomplished through inclusive discussions with every issue on the table and involving all of the parties.

The British are now trying to tell us what we can talk about. They appear to be more concerned about talking at us than with us. This is unacceptable."

PA 18 Apr 95 16:18 BST S0275

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By Deric Henderson, PA News

The Government today resisted new pressure to begin ministerial talks with Sinn Fein.

Even though SDLP leader John Hume accused Sir Patrick Mayhew of unnecessary delay, the Northern Ireland Secretary said he was still not satisfied the IRA would not return to violence if republicans failed to get their way at the negotiating table.

Sinn Fein, whose representatives made fresh contact with senior civil servants today in a bid to end the deadlock, claimed the Government was trying to relegate the party into second division dialogue and fragment nationalist consensus.

A party spokesman said: "The Government's position is as inflexible and as intransigent as it has been for some time now. There is nothing to suggest they are about to change their position and allow us to move out of this crisis.

"This issue about decommissioning is a distraction. We are prepared to discuss all these issues, indeed any item on the agenda with a view to solving them. The British know that.

"We cannot allow the British to treat Sinn Fein as less than equal with all the political parties. We are not a second division party. We have to be treated on the same basis as everyone."

Nearly eight months into the IRA ceasefire senior nationalist politicians on both sides of the Irish border are becoming more and more irritated over the delay.

Mr Hume confirmed their exasperation when he asked: "Would Sir Patrick Mayhew please explain to the public in Northern Ireland why he is not talking to them?"

The Government's handling of the situation, he said was "amazing".

The SDLP leader added: "If he is going to engage in talks with different parties in Northern Ireland and not going to engage in talks with Sinn Fein, what's the point? What's he at? I don't think there's anyone in Northern Ireland who knows why he's not talking.

"Talk to anyone in the streets. They all expect such talks to take place. Nobody is going to be angry at such talks. They all expect them to take place."

But Sir Patrick was unmoved by the outburst.

He said: "If we sit down and talk to people who have used arms in the past for their political purposes and have not made any progress at all in getting rid of them, they are implying that if they don't get what round the table, then they are prepared to go outside the door and cause their arms to be picked up again and used.

"Now that is fatal for democracy. And not only we, but others including Mr Hume have said that that can't happen."

PA 18 Apr 95 9:06 BST S9439

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By James Hardy, Political Editor, PA News

Ulster Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew was today accused of stalling the peace process by refusing to sanction full ministerial talks with Sinn Fein.

John Hume, leader of the moderate SDLP and a key player in bringing about the paramilitary ceasefire, claimed there was no excuse for further delay because the Government had already talked secretly to the IRA.

He was "deeply angry" at the failure of the Government to start talks despite agreeing to meet representatives of the loyalist paramilitaries.

"What is required, and Sir Patrick Mayhew knows this, is that it is about time he began talking directly to Sinn Fein. There is no excuse of any description for his delay in that," he told BBC Radio 4's Today programme.

"Given that it is surely self-evident that everyone should do everything in their power to make sure there is peace, particularly the Secretary of State, and given that he and his Government talked secretly to the IRA when there was no peace ... would Sir Patrick Mayhew please explain to the public of Northern Ireland why he has not talked?"

Mr Hume said it was "crucially important" for all parties involved to ensure an element of lasting stability was brought to the peace process.

But the Government insists that Northern Ireland minister Michael Ancram will not join talks with Sinn Fein until republicans have offered a concrete commitment to disarming the IRA. It says the loyalist fringe groups have given that commitment.