

# An Chartlann Náisiúnta National Archives

**Reference Code:** 2021/97/14

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8 MARCH 1995

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON FOR SECRETARY O DUIGINN FROM AMBASSADOR

#### ADAMS FUNDRAISING BAN TO BE LIFTED

- 1. As reported orally, there was regular contact this afternoon between the National Security Council (Nancy Soderberg in particular) and Sinn Féin in Belfast (Gerry Adams and Ted Howlin), using Niall O'Dowd as an intermediary, to see if a form of words could be found to facilitate the issuing of a non-restrictive visa to Adams. Late this evening, the attached text (Annex 1), based on an initial Sinn Féin draft, was found satisfactory to both sides; it was agreed that it would be issued as a statement by Adams at 1 pm <u>Trish time</u> Thursday.
- The key White House input into the text was to insist on the addition of the words (a) "decommissioning of" before weapons in paragraph 2, and (b) "including decommissioning" in the crucial final paragraph the relevant text of which now reads: "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".
- 3. The White House response to the Adams statement will be issued at 1 pm <u>local time here</u> (i.e. 6 pm Trish time) and will be

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along the lines of the attached (Annex 2). As you will see, the only requirement being placed on Adams is that "all funds raised will be used for legitimate political party activities which serve to reinforce Sinn Féin's commitment to the peace process" (in effect the Price Waterhouse oversight). The White House, I might add, are likely to signal this positive reaction from about 9.15 am local time.

- 4. The decision to try and break the logjam was taken personally by the President, who had all the papers on his desk since last evening. In doing so, he would have been very conscious of our views, as conveyed in particular to the Vice President and Tony Lake, of those of Irish-American politicians (especially Senators Dodd and Kennedy, who spoke to the President as late as last night) and of the strong feeling on the issue in the active Irish-American community.
- 5. I had a sense that there was some softening in the U.S. attitude since yesterday afternoon, and firmed up this view in a discussion this afternoon with Tony Lake. A factor undoubtedly was the view that this issue was going to continue to fester, including of course over the politically important (in U.S. terms) St Patrick's Day period, and perhaps lead on to the erosion of some of the political credit the President had achieved as a result of his initial decision to grant Adams a visa. It was at the end of the day, and as indicated, very much a personal decision on the part of the President.
- 6. There seems to have been no contact as of late this (Wednesday) evening with the British on the above. However, a White House contact has just told me that Tony Lake may call the British Ambassador later to-night to ensure that they are "not taken unawares" if the Sinn Féin statement issues tomorrow morning, as agreed. (The White House will telephone

me early in the morning to confirm formally the above understanding with Sinn Féin). There was, I might add, some concern in the White House about the likely Unionist reaction but this seemed to ease on there being made aware of the visit of the Queen to Belfast and the importance of this for the Unionist community.

### St Patrick's Day Reception

7. As you will see from the attached also, the President has decided to invite all Northern Ireland Party leaders to his St Patrick's Day Reception in honour of the Taoiseach and Mrs Bruton.

#### Speaker's Lunch

- 8. In the light of the President's decision to invite all the Northern party leaders to the White House Reception, there will inevitably be pressure on the Speaker to revisit his decision to exclude Adams from his St Patrick's lunch. He may well not wish to be embarrassed politically by this new development; indeed, some contacts have signalled that he might have reviewed his decision earlier but for Peter King's foolishness in going public with his threatened boycott of the lunch, about which the Speaker was incandescent with rage.
- 9. We will, of course, keep you informed of developments.

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

Responding to media speculation that British Ministers will meet with Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein 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 heat 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.
  - 3. The Taoiseach, Mr Bruton, has correctly stated that there cannot be a single issue agencia and the Tanatate, Mr Spring, in a recent timely intervention, warned that to make the decommission of weapons a precondition was 'a formula for disaster'.

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- 5. We have consistently stated, over a protracted period, that we seek a complete demilitarisation of the situation - that is the ramoval forever of all guns - British, unionist, loyalist and republicar - 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 pasce process.
- 8. I welcome therefore the suggestion that the British ministerial ban un contact with Sinn Fern may be ended.
- 9. Sinn Fair representatives will enter into discussions with British Ministers on all the maiters outlined in paragraps 2 and on the basis of our mandath and our analysis. There cannot be a single issue agende and no issue, including decommissioning should be excluded from these discussions. We look forward to discussing all matters with a view to their resolution.

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## DRAFT TALKING POINTS ON GERRY ADAMS DECISION:

- -- Gerry Adams applied for a visa February 22 and asked for permission to fundraise.
- -- Adams had previously not been allowed to fundraise because of concerns we had about issues related to IRA arms procurement and disarmament.
- Progress has been made in both these areas since Adams' lavisit. In particular, we welcome Sinn Fein's announcement today that it is prepared to engage in discussions on decommissioning and other issues in its talks with the British.
- On the basis of the progress made so far, the President had decided to permit Gerry Adams to engage in fundraising activities during his proposed upcoming trip to the U.S. will be issued a 3 month-multiple-entry visa which will permit fundraising. We have made clear our expectation thany and all funds raised will be used for legitimate political party activities which serve to reinforce Sinn Fein's commitment to the peace process.
- The President is hosting a reception on March 17 in honor Irish Prime Minister John Bruton. In recognition of the extraordinary opportunity for peace and political progress which now exists in Northern Ireland, the President is inviting to the reception leaders of Northern Ireland's political parties who are committed to peace, including Mr. Adams.
- -- We will continue to work to advance the peace process and encourage all parties to build on the progress made to dat



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The following is the text of a statement issued to our office 9 March 1995.

Responding to media speculation that British Ministers will meet with Sinn Féin, party President Gerry Adams 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 the decommissioning of weapons.
- 3. "The Taoiseach, Mr. Bruton, has correctly stated that there cannot be a single issue agenda and the Tanaiste, 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 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."