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SECURE FAX NO: 85

4 OCTOBER 1994

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON
FOR A/SEC O HUIGINN FROM MICHAEL COLLINS

RE: ADAMS MEETING WITH U.S ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

PST

PSS

Mr F Murray

Dr H Munnery

Mr T. Dalton

[Handwritten signature]

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*ht helen
ht baird
Mr 5/10/94*

1. Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams met this afternoon by arrangement in the State Department with officials from the NSC, the State Department and the Vice President's office. Those attending on the US side included Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary John Kornblum, Mr Leon Fuerth, National Security Adviser to the Vice President, Ms Nancy Soderberg, Staff Director at the NSC and other NSC and State Department personnel. Adams was accompanied by three or four colleagues as well as by Niall O'Dowd. A State Department statement on the meeting, which lasted an hour and a quarter, is attached.

2. Adams arrived in the Department four minutes after President Mandela had left. Apparently the State Department had gone to quite some lengths to ensure that the arrival and departure did not coincide.

Atmosphere

3. Contacts in the White House and the State Department described the meeting as positive, business-like and productive. They saw the occasion as the beginning of a dialogue. They suggested that throughout the meeting Adams was "vigorous, impressive and focussed".

Submission to President Clinton

4. At the conclusion of the meeting Adams handed over a submission to President Clinton, a copy of which is attached. (The cover sheet of this submission would suggest that Sinn Fein now have an office address in New York). In the submission Sinn Fein asked for the United States to encourage the British Government "to positively engage by initiating immediate peace talks". They also referred to other areas where the US can help including: i) allowing unrestricted access to the United States for Adams in the future, including "access to the same level of the Administration as is available to other party leaders"; ii) economic assistance and the encouragement of investment. They suggest that "any aid programme should be administered by a new all-Ireland body that is representative of the deprived communities where the aid is needed most"; and iii) prisoners held in the US. The submission suggests that these prisoners should be released as part of the peace process - "as an interim step Irish prisoners serving in the US should have the option of serving their time in Ireland".

Adams Visa

5. A seemingly inordinate amount of time was taken up at the meeting on the visa question. Adams complained about the way that the visa and fundraising issues had been handled and the way they had been played out in the press. He particularly objected to being "shipped out" on 7 October - "how can we build peace if this is the way I am being treated". Adams insisted that he had to have something to show his supporters back in Ireland to give them confidence and pressed very hard for agreement to unrestricted access in the future.

6. The US felt that Adams was being somewhat naive in, apparently, expecting the visa issue to be solved there and then. However, they did seek to reassure him that the matter will be handled sympathetically on the next occasion when they expected to be able issue a three month visa. On the question of an unrestricted visa the US insisted that they had examined this matter exhaustively but they were limited by law on what they could do given that Adams' name is on the so-called visa "look out" list and could not be removed, even by the President.

Fundraising

7. On the fund-raising issue, Adams was told that the US Justice Department were not ready to move yet and would not be able to do so as long as Sinn Fein was engaged in "extra legal activities". The Americans urged him not to see this or the visa issue in negative terms and to take away a positive sense from the meeting that all of these things would resolve themselves in time. Adams was told that he should build on his success. The fact that he was in the State Department today was a success in itself and he should take one step at a time.

Talks

8. Adams said that Sinn Fein should have equality of status with other political parties. Sinn Fein's preferred solution was a unitary state with de-centralised economic and political structures. However, they accepted that others might have different views. It would be necessary to have unionist consent but no-one should have a veto. Regarding the prospects of talks, Adams levelled heavy criticism on the British Government. If the Republic could set up a Forum "what's keeping the British"? The fact that they were not now talking to Sinn Fein was "bizarre".

The peace process was not under threat from Republicans. The only threat was coming from PM Major who was "squandering and allowing the opportunity to evaporate".

Sinn Fein Priorities

9. As he has done elsewhere Adams referred to three priority areas for Sinn Fein viz: constitutional change, demilitarisation and democratic rights. He acknowledged that constitutional change might take time. However, there could be immediate movement on demilitarisation and democratic rights (including prisoners rights).

The Permanence Issue

10. There was some discussion on the permanence issue with the US wondering whether there was any way that Adams could be helpful. Adams dismissed the controversy which he said was "contrived" and "a fiction". The Taoiseach had responded correctly to the cease-fire. He had also told them that they had done enough.

Economic Issues

11. On economic issues he said that investment must be based on non-discrimination principles. He made some reference to the MacBride Principles. He was supportive of the Springvale project on which he said that Sinn Fein had made several suggestions.

Further Talks/Visit

12. Adams enquired about when the next meeting with the US Administration might be. The Americans referred to the possibilities of engaging with the US Consulate in Belfast and the

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Embassy in Dublin. However, the possibility of a further visit to the US by Adams later in the year was left open.

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cc all officers

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman

For Immediate Release

October 4, 1994

STATEMENT BY MICHAEL MCCURRY, SPOKESMAN

NORTHERN IRELAND: MEETING WITH SINN FEIN PARTY LEADERS

Ambassador John Kornblum, Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, met at 2:15 PM today with Mr. Gerry Adams, President of the Sinn Fein party, and other Sinn Fein party officials. Ambassador Kornblum was joined by Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs, Nancy Soderberg, Staff Director for the National Security Council, as well as working-level officials from the State Department and NSC staff. The meeting lasted about an hour and a quarter.

The meeting was productive and businesslike. Mr. Adams described Sinn Fein's view of the peace process. Ambassador Kornblum and the other U.S. officials stated that the United States welcomed the IRA's ceasefire announcement and appreciated Mr. Adams' role in helping bring it about. They indicated that the U.S. would continue to assist as appropriate in helping the British and Irish Governments and the parties concerned to advance the cause of peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. They expressed the hope and expectation that the ceasefire will remain irreversible. They indicated that private sector investment and trade should play the key role in helping to resolve unemployment problems in Northern Ireland and the Republic. They reiterated United States support for the International Fund for Ireland.

Mr. Adams thanked President Clinton and his Administration for their role in advancing the peace process. He reiterated that Sinn Fein was committed to pursuing its political objectives by peaceful means. He gave his views on the appropriate next steps that should be taken by all parties. He expressed his confidence in the peace process and outlined his personal and political commitment to it.

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GERRY ADAMS
President, Sinn Féin

TOWARDS A LASTING PEACE IN IRELAND

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**SINN FEIN SUBMISSION
TO
PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

**PRESENTED BY GERRY ADAMS
PRESIDENT OF SINN FEIN**

OCTOBER 4, 1994

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INTRODUCTION

On behalf of Sinn Fein I would like to express our appreciation to President Clinton and the White House administration for supporting and encouraging the developing peace process in Ireland.

We welcome this meeting, the first between our party and the U.S. government in many years. It marks another step in the Irish peace process.

Sinn Fein is an open and democratic political party with electoral support in both partitioned states in Ireland. We have elected officer boards at all levels of our party with the ultimate authority resting with our R-Ard Fheis (annual conference). Sinn Fein's objective is the establishment of an agreed, democratic, pluralist and non-sexist Ireland. We are totally opposed to sectarianism and we have a range of policies on social and economic issues. Sinn Fein upholds the right to civil and religious liberty and we have argued for a new constitution which would incorporate a charter of rights. For the last number of years Sinn Fein's engagement in the Irish peace process has been our primary political function and it has been and remains a personal priority for Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams.

ENDING THE CONFLICT

Sinn Fein has welcomed the recent complete cessation of all military operations by the IRA as a significant and substantial contribution to the achievement of peace. Welcome, also, is the widespread approval from the international community for this development and their shared recognition of its significance. Sinn Fein believes that the situation has thus been positively advanced and that a historic opportunity now exists to progress the situation irreversibly and expeditiously in the direction of peace.

Sinn Fein urges the British government to make an immediate contribution to the new situation by responding positively to the IRA decision. It should immediately open formal talks with Sinn Fein representatives and begin the process of demilitarization. Sinn Fein calls upon the loyalist paramilitaries to cease their attacks on the nationalist population in both parts of Ireland.

It is clear that peace is not simply the absence of conflict. Rather it is the existence of conditions in which the causes of conflict have been eradicated and where justice, equality and democracy prevail; where agreed political structures and institutions are a substitute for political conflict; where diversity is recognized and democratically accommodated. A process of national reconciliation is obviously a vital ingredient to the achievement of all of this.

The above underlies Sinn Fein's approach to all efforts to

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achieve a lasting peace in Ireland.

Sinn Fein holds the view that all of this is best accommodated in the achievement of national reunification, independence and sovereignty in the context of an Irish national democracy.

ENDING THE DIVISIONS

Ireland and her people are riven by multiple fractures. Our country is partitioned. Our people are divided - nationalist from unionist, north from south. The common thread to all of this is undeniably the influence and effect of British government involvement in Irish affairs. The divisions are a direct consequence of that.

Building a new Ireland - an Ireland at peace with herself and with her neighbor Britain - means that we must address those divisions in a constructive way and point the way towards ending them as a contribution to the necessary healing process.

Accordingly, Sinn Fein believes that the debate in the new situation and the issues under discussion should be comprehensive, embracing all relevant political, social, economic and cultural matters which contribute to the maintenance of the many divisions. Issues which are a barrier to peace, prosperity, national reconciliation and the normalizing of relationships between the Irish and British people must be addressed and resolved.

The removal of such barriers can be assisted by the goodwill which exists internationally towards Ireland and her people especially amongst the Irish diaspora worldwide.

THE FOUNDATION STONE

The search for a just and lasting peace in Ireland based on universally recognized democratic principles has been a central part of Sinn Fein's function as a political party for many years now.

Sinn Fein believes that the foundation stone of a lasting peace is to be found in the abiding and universally recognized principle of national self-determination. The principle is an absolute one set out in the United Nations Charter, in the CSCE and in the Irish Constitution. The exercise of that right is a matter for agreement between the Irish people ourselves. Sinn Fein believes that the search for that agreement must be a central objective of all who seek a lasting peace in Ireland.

FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND PEACE - A DEMOCRATIC AGENDA

The broad democratic agenda can be summarized as follows;

- * - Peace to be sustained, must be based on a just and lasting settlement.

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- The partition of Ireland has failed to provide a just and lasting settlement.
- Present structures in Ireland are therefore inadequate to sustain peace and must be changed.
- An internal six-county settlement is not a solution.
- * - The partition of Ireland and the British jurisdiction breach the principle of national self-determination.
- The Irish people as a whole have an absolute right to national self-determination and must be able to exercise this right freely and without external impediment.
- The exercise of the right to national self-determination is a matter for agreement between the people of Ireland alone.
- * - It is for the Irish and British governments, in consultation with all parties, to co-operate to bring this about in the shortest time possible and to legislate accordingly.
- Neither the unionists, nor any other section of the Irish people can have a veto over the discussions involved in this nor over the outcome of these discussions. (There is a need to engage northern unionist and northern Protestant opinion on the democratic principle of national self-determination. To assure them of full commitment of Irish nationalists to their civil and religious rights and to persuade them of the need for the participation in building an Irish society based on equality and national reconciliation).
- A solution - a negotiated settlement - requires change, political and constitutional. The effect of this change would be to bring about the exercise by the Irish people of our right to national self-determination.
- An agreed unitary and independent Ireland is the option desired by us. An agreed Ireland is only achievable and viable if it can earn and enjoy the allegiance of the different traditions on this island by accommodating diversity and providing for national reconciliation.

In support of a democratic agenda there is also a clear and pressing need to address a number of areas of immediate and practical concern including;

- * - parity of esteem between the two major political allegiances in Ireland and the communities which hold these allegiances.
- * - equality of treatment.
- * - equality of opportunity.

There is consensus across Irish nationalist opinion that there can be no return to unionist domination and that there must be parity of esteem, equality of treatment and equality of opportunity for the aspirations, values and identities of both communities not only at the abstract level but in real immediate and practical terms.

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This means:-

- * equality of opportunity in employment and the eradication of jobs discrimination on the basis of religious or political bias.
- * equality of treatment of elected representatives and the recognition of the democratic integrity of their electoral mandate,
- * equality of treatment in economic development,
- * equality of treatment for the Irish culture and identity,
- * proper security provision for all citizens according to need.

In similar vein it is equally clear that the peace process can be moved significantly forward and a democratic agenda served by the immediate dismantling of undemocratic measures which have contributed to the conflict. Indeed action on these matters can be regarded as a measurement of the British government's commitment to the peace process. The British presence has militarized an essentially political problem. A speedy process of demilitarization should commence immediately to;

- * end all forms of repressive legislation and the gratuitous practices of stop, search and arrest, confiscation, invasion of privacy and harassment which these give rise to.
- * end ongoing collusion between British military agencies and loyalist death squads.
- * end the unnecessary presence of British troops on the streets.
- * replace the unacceptable sectarian police force.
- * address the issue of political prisoners.

In summary, we believe that immediate steps to address and secure parity of esteem, equality of treatment, equality of opportunity and a rapid demilitarization of the situation by the British government are essential elements to the progression of the peace process and the achievement of a climate in which negotiations can flourish without damaging diversions and distractions.

The Role of the United States

The White House has played a significant part in creating this historic and unprecedented opportunity. This opportunity should not now be squandered. We are convinced that the U.S. administration can continue to positively contribute to the resolution of the conflict in Ireland by encouraging the British government to positively engage by initiating immediate peace talks.

At another level there are a number of issues which the U.S. administration can address directly. These include;

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1. Equality of treatment of Sinn Fein by the United States government.

This would mean as an immediate priority to allow unrestricted access for the Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams, including access to the same level of the administration as is available to other party leaders. We believe therefore that

- *a multiple entry visa should be made available to Mr Adams,
- *we should be allowed to raise funds from supporters in the U.S.A. as a tangible means of enhancing the alternative political strategy,
- *we should have access to the White House on our next visit which would take place within the next two months.

2. Economic assistance and the encouragement of investment.

Economic assistance should contribute directly to the building of peace by encouraging equality and justice. We believe that the manipulation of economic assistance and the structural discrimination which has marked job creation strategies up to the present must be ended. We believe that any aid program should be administered by a new all-Ireland body that is representative of the deprived communities where the aid is most needed.

3. Prisoners held in the U.S.

It is our view that Irish prisoners serving terms in the United States should be released as part of the peace process. The Dublin government has already indicated that this is their intention. As an interim step Irish prisoners serving terms in the U.S. should have the option of serving their time in Ireland. Extradition and deportation proceedings should also be suspended and the harassment of Irish republican supporters in the U.S. should be ended.

Conclusion

It is our firmly held opinion that the next step in the still evolving peace process is the immediate commencement of inclusive peace talks which can examine, address and resolve the issues outlined above. The United States government has played and can continue to play a significant role in bringing this situation about and, by addressing the issues under its direct control, outlined above, in contributing to the development of a lasting and just peace in Ireland.