



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 February 1994

Dear Tony,

GERRY ADAMS

Today's newspapers are even worse. The editorial writers and columnists have had time to do their worst. I enclose a few samples.

Adams appears to be using your television networks and the high profile of this visit as the finest platform ever granted to the IRA to justify terrorism. His mendacious words are echoing back here and in Northern Ireland and are having precisely the damaging effect of which I warned.

Yours ever,

R Lyne

RODERIC LYNE

P.S. I am also sending you privately a letter from Andrew Hunter MP who is the Chairman of the Conservative Party Committee on Northern Ireland. This has just come into my hand. His views are widely shared in Parliament.

Mr. Anthony Lake,
National Security Council,
The White House.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Rt Hon John Major MP
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON SW1A 2AA.

1st February, 1994.

Dear Prime Minister,

I write as chairman of our Northern Ireland committee to convey the widespread concern which has been expressed by backbenchers about President Clinton's granting of a 48-hour visa to Mr Adams, President of Sinn Fein.

While it is greatly hoped that Mr Adams will accept the terms of the Joint-Declaration while he is in the USA, it is felt that this is highly unlikely. The strong feeling on the backbenches is that President Clinton's decision has adverse implications both for the search for peace in Northern Ireland and for our 'special relationship' with the USA.

With regard to Northern Ireland, it is felt that President Clinton's decision gives undeserved credibility to Adams and the position which he has adopted. It furthers Sinn Fein-IRA's attempt to fudge and blurr its way round the central demand of the Anglo-Irish Joint-Declaration (the renunciation of violence before talks-about-talks can begin) and therefore decreases the likelihood of a positive response to the Joint-Declaration.

On a wider front, President Clinton's rejection of your reported wish that Adams should not be granted a visa has caused dismay. It is felt that this would not have happened with Presidents Reagan and Bush and perhaps indicates an undesirable turn in UK-USA relations. It is widely felt that a variety of UK interests remain best promoted by the 'special relationship' and that any weakening of this relationship is unfortunate.

*Yrs ever,
Andrew*

Andrew Hunter MP

Copies: Secretary of State, Northern Ireland;
Whips Office (Michael Brown).

THE TIMES
Dec 1 Feb 1944



RED CARPET

Alan Brooke
11 94

Daily Express

OPINION

Insult from an old ally

THE self-serving decision of President Clinton to admit the Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams can only give satisfying comfort to the IRA.

It is also a weighty rebuff to the British Government and the Prime Minister.

This is a further fracture to the "special relationship" between the U.S. and Britain which has become increasingly frail since President Clinton took power.

It is virtually inconceivable that either Presidents Reagan or Bush would have delivered such an international public insult to America's oldest and closest ally. The timing of the decision, on the very eve of a visit by the Foreign Secretary, also carries with it more than a whiff of calculated insult.

The strictures attached to Mr Adams's 48-hour visa are little more than cosmetic. He is barred from travelling more than 25 miles from New York and is prevented from engaging in "direct or indirect" fund raising. Ostensibly, he is allowed in to attend a conference of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy which is non-profit making and boasts names like Dr Henry Kissinger at the top of its writing paper.

But his very presence can only excite the thoughtless passions of Irish-Americans. Sadly, many of them still tend to view Ireland through green-tinted spectacles. Theirs is a romantic view of a little, emerald country, filled with a winsome folksiness, where aggression comes in the form of a British uniform.

Few have ever visited either the north or the south and are happy to contribute to a cause of which they understand little.

One might well take the cynical view that President Clinton has allowed Mr Adams in because it is politically useful for him to keep the large Irish-American vote content — not to mention satisfying the powerful Democrat pro-Irish lobby in the Senate. He may feel that to upset the likes of Senators Edward Kennedy and Daniel Moynihan, plus their cohorts, might prove politically dangerous.

Whatever the outcome, this visit, at a time when fire bombs are still exploding in London, is a coarse insult from a country we thought was our friend.

The Sun TUES 1 FEB 1994

Keep out

BRITAIN won't let Gerry Adams spout his IRA propaganda in London.

America said it wouldn't allow it in New York unless Adams renounced violence.

But President Clinton is not a man of his word.

Adams gets a U.S. entry visa and free access to the American public.

They must not be fooled by his smooth talk.

Why don't the Yanks keep their noses out of Ulster?

A snub by Washington

THE BRITISH Government's Northern Ireland strategy has not been advanced by the decision of the American Administration to grant the Sinn Fein president, Mr Gerry Adams, a visa to attend a conference in New York. Dublin and London, presenting a united front, are seeking to induce Sinn Fein to attend all-party talks. The carrot is to be implicit acknowledgement of Sinn Fein's legitimacy. The stick is the implicit threat to Sinn Fein of a permanent future in outer darkness, if the party and its IRA terrorist arm refuse to renounce violence. For weeks now, Mr Adams has been prevaricating over a decision on whether Sinn Fein will accept the terms for talks; meanwhile IRA violence has continued. It remains highly uncertain whether, in the end, the terrorists will come to the conference table.

Yet, even while the outcome is in suspense, the Washington Administration has accorded Sinn Fein's president a visa. The American government was never in any doubt that the British were strongly opposed to such a concession at this stage. It is difficult, therefore, not to interpret Washington's action as a snub to the British Government, at a time when Anglo-American relations are already poor — as Anne Applebaum argues on this page. Many Americans, along with British opponents of the Downing Street Declaration, argue that since the Westminster Government has shown its willingness to traffic with IRA spokesmen, the American government can scarcely be blamed for granting Sinn Fein's leader temporary house-room. But the conse-

quence, in any event, is to give some comfort to Sinn Fein, while emphasising the current divide between Westminster and Washington.

The British Government is left to try to divine some possible benefit from Mr Adams's trip. It is plain that labyrinthine discussions are taking place within the IRA about the Downing Street Declaration and the case for joining talks. Sinn Fein's leader continues to profess his own desire to "bring an end to the IRA and take the gun out of Irish politics". Optimists suggest that his American visit might strengthen his hand within his own movement, to win the argument for laying down arms. It will be important to watch both how Mr Adams conducts himself in the United States, and how the American government and the Irish-American lobby handle him. The hope must be that they will encourage him towards the conference table, if only to gain some political kudos for doing so.

We, like the British Government, would have much preferred that Washington had not granted Mr Adams his visa; and that the United States should have made common cause with Dublin and Westminster in maintaining pressure on Sinn Fein unless or until the IRA declares an unconditional ceasefire. The Clinton Administration's fumbles and stumbles in foreign policy make it difficult to regard any American initiative over Ireland with enthusiasm. But the decision to admit Gerry Adams sends a more significant signal about the current state of Anglo-American relations than about the prospects for the Northern Irish peace process.

Terrorists' supporters cash in on Adams visit to U.S.

WHY IRA EYES ARE SMILING

Irish pressure on President

From GEORGE GORDON in New York

IRA fund-raisers were joyfully cashing in on Gerry Adams's visit to the U.S. last night.

Before the Sinn Fein president's plane even touched down, the notorious Noraid organisation was milking his trip for every possible drop of American support.

Within hours of President Clinton lifting a 20-year ban on Adams, he had been booked on to the top-rated Larry King Live TV show.

Noraid chief spokesman Martin Galvin had also arranged private meetings with a series of wealthy IRA sympathisers, fixed talks with New York congressmen and sent out invitations to an airport press conference.

The terms of Adams's 48-hour visa specifically forbid 'direct or indirect' fund-raising. Yet, even if he never says a word, the mere presence of the head of the IRA's political wing will be a huge boost for Noraid, officially classed as a terrorist collection agency in the U.S. Galvin gloated: 'This is what we have been waiting for.'

Conference

As supporters greeted Adams with banners declaring 'Our day will come', Galvin said: 'We are going to give Mr Adams an enormous platform. The British Government's attempts to silence him have only added to the interest. After this visit there will be enormous pressure on the British to break the deadlock.'

Officially, Adams has been allowed in for a conference billed as representing all sides of Northern Ireland opinion. A spokesman for its organisers, the privately-run National Committee on American Foreign Policy, admitted: 'I know nothing about these other meetings.'

In any case, the conference's aims are in tatters because Unionists Ian Paisley and James Moynihan have refused to share a platform with Adams.

As IRA supporters celebrated, the British Government was reduced to hoping that the Americans would put pressure on Adams to stop stalling over the Anglo-Irish declaration and announce a ceasefire. Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, coincidentally in New York visiting the United Nations yesterday, said: 'It is important that

Continued from Page One

everyone, everyone, should press Adams to play his part in bringing the violence to an end.'

Mr Hurd reflected clear Cabinet disapproval of President Clinton's decision to grant Adams a visa — after eight previous refusals — in return for a brief statement that he personally wanted to end the violence.

The Foreign Secretary said: 'I think the background is clear. Mr Adams has been and is associated with terrorist activities which are still going on.'

The British and Irish Governments made it clear that Sinn Fein could not take part in talks about the future of Northern Ireland until the violence has ceased. The violence has not ceased.'

In London, a Downing Street source said: 'We very much hope that his hosts will demand in the clearest possible terms that the IRA gives up terrorism immediately.'

As for Adams, he proclaimed that he wants the U.S. to put pressure on Britain. 'We are in a very critical phase,' he said. 'President Clinton's administration can play a very helpful and encouraging role.'

Adams told his Kennedy Airport press conference that conflicts throughout the world were being settled and asked: 'Is Ireland going to be the only situation that is unresolved?'

Asked if he would lean on

the IRA to drop their arms, he said: 'I won't lean on anyone. There are a number of armed factions in my country, and the largest one is the British Army. I want to see an end to all armed factions. I want to see a lasting peace. I urge everyone to drop arms.'

Mr Clinton's visa approval came after pressure from more than 40 republican

sympathisers in Congress, led by Senator Ted Kennedy. They reminded him of promises he made during his election campaign — including one to send a U.S. 'peace envoy' to Ulster — but quietly shelved.

Explaining his visa decision last night, the President said it was 'the appropriate thing to do' and hoped that it would advance the cause of peace.

New York Congressman Peter King claimed that Mr Clinton had always wanted to let Adams in.

He said: 'The President sees a role for himself in all this. It's like Carter and Camp David. If he can bring this off — who knows? — he might get a Nobel Peace Prize.'

Conor Cruise O'Brien
— Page EIGHT

Ban-beating Sinn Fein leader mobbed by media

Blaze of glory as US gives Adams a hero's welcome

From PETER HITCHENS
in New York

SINN Fein leader Gerry Adams last night made a triumphant entry into the U.S. after smashing through a 20-year ban.

He walked into exactly the blaze of publicity and adulation which Britain had feared he would get.

Crowds of Irish-Americans, who knew so little about Ireland that they could not even spell his name, gathered to give him a hero's welcome at New York's John F. Kennedy Airport.

The prestigious CNN TV network ushered him straight on to their top talk show Larry King Live. And at least one of the major TV networks will be interviewing him this morning.

Flanked by airport police, a professor and experienced pro-IRA fundraiser Martin Galvin of Noraid, Adams breezed into an airport press conference, oozing confidence.

Praise

He batted away questions about IRA links, saying that he was not from the organisation, but from Sinn Fein.

Mr Adams talked vaguely about peace, and said the IRA was just one among several military organisations in Northern Ireland.

And he even joked about John Major, who used Britain's powerful influence in Washington to try to ban the visit, but failed.

"John Major is probably wondering how long he is going to be in government," he said.

The Prime Minister is outraged that President Clinton has given the terrorists' political wing international credibility by lifting the ban.

He wants the President to back Britain by demanding that Mr Adams renounces IRA violence during his two-



TRIUMPHANT: Adams yesterday

day visit. Relations between London and Washington have sunk to a new low over the issue.

As he arrived in New York, Mr Adams lavished praise on the President for overriding Britain and allowing him in.

And the Irish-American lobby, backed by Senator Edward Kennedy, last night rejoiced at their triumph in winning a visa for him.

"By granting the visa, President Clinton has demonstrated the United States' commitment to do our part to bring peace to Northern Ireland," said Senator Kennedy.

"After many long years, Gerry Adams can finally present his views under the light of public scrutiny here in the U.S."

As he flew to the States, Mr Adams claimed his visit would help the cause of peace. He thought America could play an influential role in resolving the Ulster conflict. "They can encourage the Brit-

IAN Paisley, leader of the Democratic Unionist Party in Ulster, accused the U.S. administration of "kowtowing" to the Boston-based Irish lobby.

"The British Government is losing every round of the battle," he said.

"This is a propaganda exercise — he might declare a very short ceasefire which will be hailed as a tremendous breakthrough."

Ulster Unionist MP John Taylor said: "It's obscene. The White House has lost all moral authority — they cannot condemn terrorism elsewhere in the world while they facilitate someone like Adams."

Leaders of the pro-Republican Irish National Caucus in the U.S. rubbed Britain's nose in the defeat. The Rev. Sean McManus, Caucus president, said: "It's a victory for Irish-Americans who believe in free speech."

ish, without taking sides, and move the situation on," he said.

Asked whether he had renounced violence, one of the stipulations for a visa reportedly laid down, Mr Adams replied: "My attitude is quite simple and straight forward — I want an end to violence."

"We are not going to squander the opportunity for peace."

He is expected to attend a conference on the future of Ireland and meetings today and tomorrow.

Some believe he is planning to announce a three-month ceasefire, a propaganda stroke designed to put Britain on the defensive in peace talks.

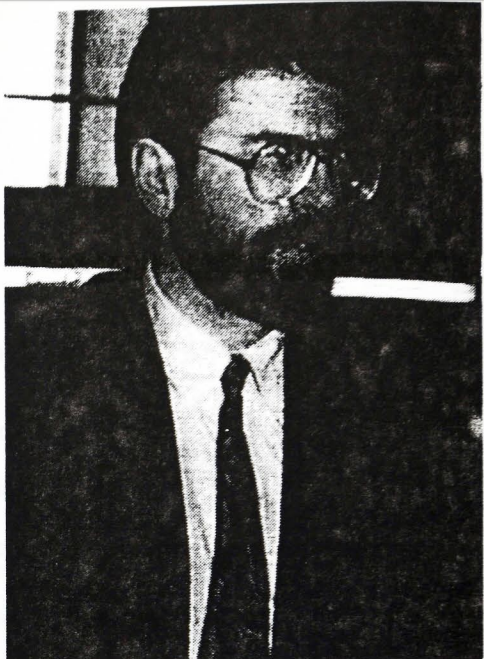
Our diplomats fear he will turn his visit into a powerful anti-British symbol, setting back years of patient work to undermine support for terrorism.

The granting of a visa for Mr Adams was opposed by the FBI, the Justice Department and the State Department.

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DAILY STAR

TUES 1 FEB 1994



TRIUMPHANT: Gerry Adams arrives in U.S.

Ulster fury over Adams' US trip

■ HENRY MACRORY, Political Editor

SINN FEIN leader Gerry Adams flew to the U.S. last night as Ulster Unionists exploded in anger over President Clinton's decision to let him in.

They described the White House move as a "disgraceful U-turn" after the Americans had earlier insisted Adams must first publicly renounce violence.

Adams refused but made a vague comment about wanting to see "an end to violence and an end to this conflict". Clinton decided this was enough.

The Sinn Fein president is being allowed to stay two days to attend a conference on Northern Ireland in New York. But he is not allowed to raise funds or travel 25 miles outside the city.

Losing

Democratic Unionist leader Dr Ian Paisley said Adams's visit was further evidence that Britain was losing every round of the battle against the IRA.

And Ulster Unionist MP John Taylor declared: "The White House cannot condemn terrorism elsewhere in the world while they entertain Adams."

Brian Hitchen: Page 9

DAILY STAR TUES 1 FEB 1994

GERRY ADAMS is the kind of man who would look well in a coffin with a space where his head used to be.

And when he's got through spouting his anti-British venom in the United States, a lot of people might wish he'd been dead and buried a long time ago.

But now it's all getting a bit too late for that. By the time the good Lord catches up with Adams, the damage will already have been done.

Clever

Adams is a clever and dangerous man who has absolutely no intention of bringing peace to Northern Ireland unless it's on his terms.

Adams applied weeks ago for a visa to attend a peace conference on Ireland in New York today.

Diplomats were certain

that the Americans would turn down the application because of Adams's links with the IRA.

They hadn't counted on Senator Ted Kennedy and a hatful of American politicians, some of whom would sell their grandmothers to hang on to the Irish vote.

President Bill Clinton is a weak man and it didn't

take much leaning on him from Kennedy and his cronies to make him cave in. Adams has got his visa.

Interviewed on Irish television on Sunday night, the Sinn Fein leader sent a siv message to Downing Street to indicate that he is in the driving seat.

Rat-faced Adams is

demanding the withdrawal of all British troops as a first step **BEFORE** he'll even think of whipping in the IRA's mangy curs of war.

Clearly he isn't interested in peace until he gets his own way.

Irish-American jughads on Long Island and in Boston love listening to sentimental mush about how the people of Northern Ireland are oppressed by a cruel British army of occupation.

They'll get buckets of bilge like that from Adams and they'll lap it up like Guinness.

It won't cross their muddled minds that if the British were half as ruthless as Adams says, he would have been very dead a long time ago.

Slimy snake Adams spits venom for Yanks

It's nothing personal — but nothing special either

THE Justice Department and the FBI are furious; a host of State Department officials, from their ambassador to Britain down, did their best to stop it. John Major is said to be as angry as he is capable of being; Ulster Unionists are calling the decision "despicable" and the Foreign Office (pretending not to mind) claims that it knew it would happen all along. With so many people against, who then was responsible for granting Gerry Adams a visa to enter the United States, and why?

According to a White House statement, the rules forbidding terrorists to enter America were waived in the case of Mr Adams on the grounds that he has made "constructive comments" concerning the use of violence in Northern Ireland. At first glance, the responsibility for this formulation appears to lie with an official called Nancy Soderberg, who as number three in the National Security Council — a presidential appointment, not a civil servant — has the power to overrule career diplomats.

Ms Soderberg, however, is not only an NSC official: she is also a former employee of Senator Edward Kennedy, one of Washington's most influential Democrats. Senator Kennedy, of Irish descent himself, represents Massachusetts, a state with a large Irish population. Together with another prominent Democrat, Irish-American Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Senator Kennedy appears to have put pressure on President Clinton to waive the restrictions on Adams. Faced with a choice, Mr Clinton simply preferred to help friends at home — friends whose support he will need to get his health-care bill and other legislation through Congress later this year — instead of historic allies abroad.

The source of the senators' pressure, and therefore the President's choice, do lie partly in the romanticised American perception of Northern Ireland. Americans like to think

of themselves as revolutionaries, who fought the brutal British for freedom; often they believe the IRA to be doing the same. Americans also confuse support for the IRA with support for the Irish, whose large numbers in America have left their mark on popular culture — leprechauns, Guinness and the St Patrick's Day parade have a disproportionate hold on the American imagination. For an Irish-American, support for the IRA might also be a part of his desire to establish his "identity", much as American Jews give money to Israel, rather than a reflection of real political commitment. Not long ago, a Harvard-educated Irish-American acquaintance expressed surprise when told that Protestants were in the majority in Northern Ireland; fewer still would know that the IRA speaks for a minority of Ulster Catholics.

Yet popular sentiment is not overwhelming: on the contrary, financial support for organisations such as Noraid is thought to be dwindling. Nor did popular sentiment affect those American officials responsible for the Anglo-American relationship. Because Mr Clinton had plenty of them advising him, both in Washington and from London, he must have been well aware how television pictures of Gerry Adams receiving a hero's welcome in New York will go down in Downing Street.

What is therefore more interesting about the decision is what it says about President Clinton's view of the world. That he puts his domestic agenda ahead of foreign policy is nothing new. That he is willing to put even the most trivial requests of his congressional allies either of

wishes of the leader of Great Britain, the other half of the special relationship, is very new indeed. And from Mr Clinton's point of view, the issue is ultimately trivial: it is hardly as if a visa for Gerry Adams will make or break Senator Kennedy, let alone President Clinton. But it is not trivial for John Major, particularly as Mr Adams has refused unequivocally to renounce violence, as was originally

agreed. It is impossible to imagine an American president making a decision which would annoy the president of Russia — or even the German chancellor — in the same way.

**ANNE
APPLEBAUM**

**‘It isn’t that
Clinton is
seeking to hurt
Major — just that
he doesn’t mind
if he does’**

For quite some time now, the bad blood which is said to exist between President Clinton and Mr Major has been a subject of much rumour and gossip. The infamous Tory Central Office search during the 1992 presidential election campaign for the files on Clinton's spell at Oxford, over his attitude to the Vietnam war, has been cited *ad infinitum* as an explanation for the apparent coolness between the two men. But while no one doubts that the Conservative Party's open support for the Republican campaign has erased the possibility of a relationship in the Thatcher-Reagan mould, the near disdain with which British interests are now treated in Washington has deeper sources.

Usually, the image of a country abroad lags a decade or two behind reality. It is only now, for example, that the image of 1970s Britain has begun to sink into the American mind. A spate of articles last year in the American press, including an infamous *Spie* magazine parody of a day in the life of a Londoner (living in

a bedsit, drinking PG Tips, dreaming of his girlfriend's Marks & Spencer underwear), described Britain as a post-colonial, post-industrial wasteland in terminal decline. The ousting of Mrs Thatcher, a heroine on both sides of America's political divide, did not help make Britain seem any more dynamic or interesting.

Much more important, however, has been the end of the Cold War. No longer is the British intelligence network, which once shared its findings with America, crucial in any way. No longer does the unqualified support which Britain once gave to policies such as President Reagan's bombing of Libya matter as it once did. No longer, in fact, does Britain's role as America's voice in the European Community matter as much. On the contrary, American policy now more than ever favours a united Europe, on the grounds that a Euro-American relationship would be easier to manage than a confusing tangle of bilateral relationships with individual EC countries.

The disagreement among the old Western powers over Bosnia reinforced this feeling. It is worth noting that the American and British policy positions in ex-Yugoslavia have, from the time Mr Clinton came to office, differed sharply: when the word "appeasement" is used in Washington these days, it is often used in the context of Bosnia, and usually applied to Britain.

None of this means that there is necessarily any actual dislike for the British in this administration, unless Mr Clinton is more vindictive than he appears to be. If his feelings do mirror those of other Washingtonians, the feeling is less one of dislike and more lack of interest. It isn't that Bill Clinton is seeking to hurt John Major; it is just that he doesn't really mind it, by chance, he does.

□ Anne Applebaum is foreign editor of *The Spectator*

DAILY
TELEGRAPH
TUES 1 FEB 1994