

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 315

OF 040025Z FEBRUARY 94

INFO ROUTINE NIO(L), ACTOR

INFO ROUTINE OTTAWA, CANBERRA, DUBLIN, ACTOR, BIS NEW YORK

## YOUR TELNO 109: GERRY ADAMS

- 1. IT WILL BE SOME TIME BEFORE WE CAN ESTIMATE THE LONG TERM EFFECTS OF THE ADAMS VISIT ON AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION. OUR INITIAL ASSESSMENT IS SHARED BY SPEAKER FOLEY: ADAMS'S TWENTY-FOUR HOURS OF FAME WILL QUICKLY BE FORGOTTEN BY THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WHO CURRENTLY ARE MORE INTERESTED IN THE DRAMA ABOUT OLYMPIC SKATERS. INTEREST IN ADAMS WAS ALREADY WANING AFTER HIS FIRST DAY. WE ARE CONTINUING TO REPLY TOUGHLY. AS I DID ON CNN TODAY. THE DEMONSTRATION BY VICTIM OF TERRORISM ON ADAMS RETURN WAS WIDELY SHOWN ON AMERICAN TELEVISION.
- 2. IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE U.S. MEDIA WE ARE CONCENTRATING ON THE QUESTION: WHAT PRECISELY DID THIS VISIT ACHIEVE QUERY. THE ADMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES OF ADAMS, A KNOWN SUPPORTER OF TERRORISM, WAS SUPPOSED TO ENABLE HIM TO MOVE TO END IRA VIOLENCE ON HIS RETURN. THERE WAS GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT HERE OVER HIS SPEECH ON TUESDAY. IF ADAMS CONTINUES TO FAIL TO CALL FOR AN END TO IRA VIOLENCE, THAT WILL SERIOUSLY EMBARRASS SOME OF THOSE WHO ARGUED FOR HIM TO BE ADMITTED (OTHERS ARE INCORRIGIBLE). IF THE BOMBINGS AND SHOOTINGS CONTINUE AFTER HIS RETURN AND THERE IS NO MOVE BY SINN FEIN TOWARDS PEACE, THAT IS GOING TO BE BY FAR THE SINGLE MOST EFFECTIVE ARGUMENT WITH THE GREAT BULK OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. THE U.S. PRESS ALREADY ARE DESCRIBING THE OUTCOME OF THE VISIT AS DISAPPOINTING.
- 3. OUR OTHER TRUMP CARD IS THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT AT THE END OF FEBRUARY. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT WANT THIS TO BE DOMINATED BY NORTHERN IRELAND, WE WILL KNOW BY THEN WHAT SINN FEIN'S INTENTIONS ARE, AND IT WILL GIVE THE PRIME MINISTER THE OPPORTUNITY TO GET OUR VIEWS ACROSS TO AN ENORMOUS AMERICAN AUDIENCE. ON PRESENT PLANS, THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WILL BE VISITING AT EASTER. WE WILL ARRANGE WIDE MEDIA COVERAGE.
- 4. BEYOND THAT, WE NEED TO THINK CAREFULLY ABOUT SENIOR NORTHERN

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IRELAND VISITS IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AHEAD. THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE BURNT THEIR FINGERS OVER THE ADAMS VISIT. WE DO NOT WANT TO ENCOURAGE THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE. WE DO NEED MORE VISITS BY MODERATE UNIONISTS, THE CHURCH LEADERS AND PEOPLE LIKE JOHN ALDERDICE WHO HAS PROVED QUITE EFFECTIVE HERE. IF YOU ARE ABLE TO PERSUADE A MODERATE UNIONIST AND NATIONALIST TO PAY A JOINT VISIT, THAT WOULD BE USEFUL. ON THE PRESS SIDE, WE CAN PLACE THE OCCASIONAL OP-ED PIECE.

5. I HAVE NOT THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT THAT WE CAN DEFEAT ADAMS' EFFORTS OVER TIME, AS WE WERE DOING SO EFFECTIVELY BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL HERE. IT IS A MISTAKE TO IMAGINE THAT A FEW APPEARANCES BY ADAMS ON U.S. TELEVISION ARE GOING TO LEAD THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS TO START SYMPATHISING WITH AN ORGANISATION WHICH IS COMMITTED TO TERRORISM. WE WILL, HOWEVER, BE PRODUCING A MORE DETAILED STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF ADAMS' VISIT AND THE FURTHER STEPS WE CAN TAKE TO COUNTER IT. TO REPLY TOUGHET AS I DIE ON ENT TOORY THE DEVENOUS TATION

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AN THESDAY, I IS ADAMS CONTINUES TO FAIL TO CALL FOR AN END .NORTHERN IRELAND RAD//MR PENNY NAD NEWS D

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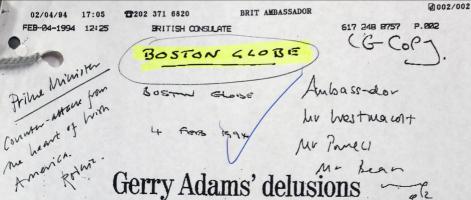
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CEYOND THAT, WE HEED TO THINK CAREFORLY AROUT SELL



The furor over Gerry Adams' visit to the United States has obscured the dangerous content of his message. He is preaching an old Irish Nationalist doctrine that is as ill-suited to the late 20th century as the anti-Catholic prattle of his Protestant adversaries in Northern Ireland.

Adams told CNN: "I want the government to start talking about ending the partition of Ireland, about allowing the people of Ireland – the Protestants and the Catholics, all of us – to shape out our own future. ... Why can't the Irish people be allowed by the British government to decide our own future?"

Sounds very democratic, but an islandwide plebiscite means that the 3.5 million people in the predominately Catholic Republic of Ireland would dominate the vote. That is unacceptable to most of the 1.5 million Protestants in the six counties of Northern Ireland, who want to maintain their union with Britain and have evolved a distinct culture founded on loyalty to the British crown.

Unionist politicians have employed their lever-

age in the British Parliament since 1914 to bind Ulster to the British kingdom and maintain hegemony at home. It was the British who finally forced the Unionists to dismantle the most blatant forms of discrimination and dissolved the provincial Parliament that masterminded the repression.

After a generation of inconclusive, low-level war, British leaders would probably just as soon pull out were it not for the strong Unionist sentiment in Northern Ireland.

The British record in Northern Ireland has been dismal and at times cruel. But most of the demands that the Catholic civil rights marchers made 20 years ago have been met, and Gerry Adams' Sinn Feln party commands the loyalty of only a third of the Northern Catholic minority.

Adams' rhetoric resounds with echoes of the 1919-1921 Irish war of independence. In 1994, Adams and everyone else who sympathizes with the IRA need to abandon the old slogans, renounce violence and get about the business of reconciling themselves with their fellow Irish in the North.

Quotable

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## Straight From Gerry Adams

PRESIDENT CLINTON changed his mind and bent the no-visas-for-terrorists law in finally admitting Gerry Adams, a man he had described only two months earlier as being, by "credible evidence," "involved at the highest level in devising IRA strategy"; the Irish Republican Army is the terrorist side of Mr. Adams's Sim Fein (We Ourselves) political party in Northern Ireland. It was daring and right that Mr. Clinton took this step, since it allowed Americans to take their own measure of a key figure in a bitter struggle that matters deeply to many Americans.

What they saw was Mr. Adams putting on a terrible show. He may have won sympathy in some quarters for the IRA/Sinn Fein program of uniting the sovereign Irish state of Ireland with the sovereign British territory of Northern Ireland. But he fudged and equivocated on the two crucial considerations.

Professing peace, Mr. Adams kept calling for a British "clarification" of the joint declaration of last December, by which the British and Irish prime ministers bravely undertook to launch a new peace initiative. But the whole thrust of his comments indicated that he seeks not a clarification but a fundamental alteration of the declaration.

tion in order to impose a united Ireland, with no further British presence, on the resistant Protestant majority in Northern Ireland. This the British and Irish have pledged not to do.

Then Mr. Adams time and again declined to unambiguously renounce terrorism, which is the clear and necessary condition that the British and Irish governments together set for Sinn Fein's participation in talks on the future of Northern Ireland. In other words, Mr. Adams is talking peace but preserving the option of violence in order to serve the current IRA/Sinn Fein formula for peace. It is interesting to speculate on why he hedges, but that he does hedge is something Americans have now heard for themselves.

Sinn Fein is supported by a substantial minority, perhaps 40 percent, of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. In addition, it has to be granted that the IRA, for all its disabilities, retains a capacity to inflict a terrible punishment—on top of the 3,000 dead already recorded on both sides in the past 25 years. So there remains a pressing need to keep trying to bring Sinn Fein into talks in a context not sullied by IRA terrorism. It is a pity Mr. Adams abused his signal opportunity to contribute to this goal.

1 Quotam