

CONFIDENTIAL

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

1 February 1994

PS/S of S (L+B)

PS/M Ancram (L+B)

PS/Sir J Wheeler (L+B)

PS/PUS (L+B)

PS/Mr Bell

Mr Thomas

Mr Legge

Mr Bell

Mr Steele

Mr Williams

Mr Wood (L+B)

Mr Daniell

Mr Brooker

Mr Maccabe

Mr King induced. In the  
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in the Washington

USA/GERRY ADAMS

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At the Prime Minister's request, and by agreement with the Foreign Secretary in Washington, I asked the American Ambassador to call this evening. I saw Ray Seitz for about three-quarters of an hour. We are not publicising the call, and will give only a general line on it if asked. I would be grateful if others could show similar reticence.

I enclose a copy of my speaking notes. Seitz will convey the flavour in suitable form to Washington. I placed most emphasis on the need to find constructive ways of rebalancing the situation. I said that we were particularly concerned about the damage done to the Joint Declaration (Seitz mentioned that Jim Molyneaux had cut off contacts with the US Consul General in Belfast, and said that Paisley would be calling on him for a show of publicity). We, therefore, hoped that the Administration would find a way of distancing themselves from statements made by Adams in the United States, while the IRA's campaign of violence continued in the UK.

I warned that there were rumours that Adams might make an offer of a conditional ceasefire, and said it was vital that this should not meet approving noises from the Administration. The Joint Declaration provided a framework for a permanent end to violence. We could not and would not negotiate under a threat of renewed terrorism.

Seitz asked a number of questions, and explained the Administration's position.



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I am sending copies of this letter to Sir Robin Renwick in Washington (by fax), Jonathan Stephens (Northern Ireland Office) and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office).

*yours ever*  
*Roderic*

RODERIC LYNE

C R V Stagg Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



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SPEAKING NOTES FOR MEETING WITH US AMBASSADOR

The Prime Minister has asked me to see you. Had his diary permitted, he would have made these points in person. He would be grateful if they could be reported personally to the President.

As you know, we disagreed very strongly with the decision to admit Gerry Adams to the United States, at a time when the Provisionals are continuing their campaign of terrorism. Gerry Adams did not meet the two points which we understand were put to him by the United States Government on 28 January. He has not renounced violence. Indeed, he is already using his visit to the United States as a platform to propagandise his justification of IRA terrorism. There has been no commitment by Sinn Fein and the Provisionals to peace on the basis of the Joint Declaration. There has been no substantive shift by them in that direction. The National Security Adviser will know from material we have provided to him that the Provisionals are conveying a false impression of their position in order to evade pressure on them to accept the Joint Declaration.

I have reported to the Prime Minister the explanation of the US decision given to me by Tony Lake on Sunday evening, and the Prime Minister has seen an account of Lake's conversation with the Foreign Secretary yesterday. These explanations have done nothing to set the Prime Minister's mind at rest. Unless Mr. Adams's visit is followed by a rapid and permanent end to the IRA's violence, there is no question that it will have done huge damage to the Joint Declaration. We warned of this ahead of the visit, in the strongest possible terms, and we are dismayed that our warnings were not taken into account. We note that early in his visit, Mr. Adams has already discounted the possibility of an end to violence. He is seeking to set fresh and manifestly unacceptable



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conditions for this. The whole purpose of the Joint Declaration was to make clear - in the eyes of the British and Irish governments, since supported by leading figures on both sides of the community - that there could be no further excuses or justification for continuing IRA terrorism.

The Prime Minister hopes that the Administration will condemn attempts by Adams in New York to justify violence. We hope that the Administration will reiterate the strong stance traditionally taken by the US against terrorism, and will stress that Sinn Fein and the Provisionals should end violence immediately and, as the Joint Declaration provides, enter the democratic process and commit themselves exclusively to it.

The Prime Minister also hopes that it will be made clear that the admission of Adams was a wholly exceptional event; and that, if he and other members of the Provisional movement do not now renounce and abandon terrorism, they should not expect the United States Government to waive its prohibition on their entry.

We are concerned that there may be a serious misunderstanding of the problem which we face in Northern Ireland, and of the Joint Declaration initiative. The essence of the Joint Declaration is that all possible pressure must be maintained on Sinn Fein and the Provisional movement to abandon violence. Their attempts to evade the Joint Declaration should not be encouraged. We would be happy at all levels to explain the situation in as much detail as you would like.

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