

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

Prime Minister

Laker.

RM/L.

pl

From the Private Secretary

27 January 1994

Dear Jonathan,

USA/GERRY ADAMS

Tony Lake telephoned at 1345 today to say that a decision had been taken to grant Adams a visa on the basis of the conditions which he described to me on 22 January (my letter of 23 January to you), with the amendment that the Joint Declaration would be described as "the basis", rather than "a basis" for negotiations.

I argued vigorously against Lake's formula, and mentioned our agreed fall-back. He reluctantly agreed to reconsider. At 1455, he telephoned back with a much improved formula, which we did not have time to discuss in detail. Further improvements were made as a result of a conversation between the Foreign Secretary and Warren Christopher.

As of 1930 this evening, the Americans appear to have decided on the following:

- instructions are issuing (I think to Dublin rather than Belfast) that the Consul General is to invite Adams to a meeting on the morning of Friday 28 January;
- Adams will be asked to say in a public statement that:
 - he personally renounces violence and will work to that end;
 - Sinn Fein and the IRA are committed to ending the conflict in Northern Ireland on the basis of the Joint Declaration.

Adams will be told that if he accepts this formula it will help the US Government's decision over his visa.

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The State Department then hope to be in a position to announce at their noon (i.e. 1700 UK time) press conference on 28 February the outcome to the visa application. In making their announcement, they will explain the conditions. The visa will be limited to the period of the New York conference.

The State Department will also reiterate US support for the Joint Declaration at tomorrow's press conference (or beforehand).

We shall need to react to the American decision as soon as it is announced. I attach a press line which I have discussed with John Chilcot. I should be grateful if any comments on it could be fed to Christopher Meyer as soon as possible.

We may discover that news of the American decision leaks during this evening. I attach a suggested contingency line for unattributable use ahead of the formal announcement.

I am copying this letter to John Sawers (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Joan MacNaughton (Home Office), Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office) and by fax to Peter Bean at the US Embassy in Washington.

Yours ever,
Roderic

RODERIC LYNE

Jonathan Stephens Esq
Northern Ireland Office

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**PRESS LINE ON US DECISION TO GRANT A VISA TO GERRY
ADAMS**

We welcome the strong support given by the United States government to the Joint Declaration, which they have reiterated today. Decisions over visas for the United States are, of course, a matter for the US government. The United States have required Gerry Adams to renounce violence and to say that Sinn Fein and the IRA are committed to ending the conflict in Northern Ireland on the basis of the Joint Declaration. We too have been asking Mr. Adams to take precisely these steps. We hope that he will now unequivocally declare an end to violence for good.

Q&A

Do you agree with the terms of the American decision?

The position taken by the United States on the Joint Declaration is the same as that of the British and Irish governments. We all believe that there must be an immediate end to violence, and that the Joint Declaration produces a fair and balanced basis for this. Once there has been a permanent cessation of violence, the way will be open for Sinn Fein to enter democratic life.

Was the British Government consulted over this?

We keep in very close touch with the US government and have given our views.

[If pressed] I cannot give details of our private exchanges. The important thing is that the United States are requiring a very significant commitment from Gerry Adams.

If Gerry Adams agrees, will it mean that Sinn Fein have accepted the Joint Declaration?

We trust that this will mean that Sinn Fein and the Provisionals are now declaring a permanent end to violence. It will be deeds as well as words that count.

Does this mean the British Government will lift the Exclusion Order against Gerry Adams?

The British Government's Exclusion Order is a separate question. We are looking for a permanent end to violence.

foreign\lines.as

**UNATTRIBUTABLE CONTINGENCY PRESS LINE ON US DECISION
TO MAKE A CONDITIONAL VISA OFFER TO GERRY ADAMS**

The decision on whether or not to offer a US visa to Gerry Adams is of course a matter for the US Government.

However, we hope that the Americans will use this opportunity to increase pressure on Adams to renounce violence and commit Sinn Fein and the IRA to accept the Joint Declaration. We and the Irish Government have of course been waiting for such a commitment since the Joint Declaration was launched. Adams has prevaricated, and used unconvincing pretexts to avoid declaring his position. It would be very helpful if he was now obliged to show where he stands.

fAdams.dca



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 January 1994

Dear John

VISA FOR GERRY ADAMS

We understand that a statement by the US government is imminent. The Americans will say that they are prepared to give Adams a visa limited to the time of the New York conference if he will

- personally renounce violence and work to that end;
- say that Sinn Fein and the IRA are prepared to end the conflict in Northern Ireland on the basis of the Joint Declaration.

I attach a draft press line, which I have discussed with John Chilcot (NIO).

I should be grateful if you and copy addressees could feed in any comments as soon as possible to Christopher Meyer.

I am copying this letter to Jonathan Stephens (Northern Ireland Office), Joan MacNaughton (Home Office) and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office).

Your sincerely

A Stenson

pp **RODERIC LYNE**

R.J. Sawers, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

**PRESS LINE ON US DECISION TO GRANT A VISA TO GERRY
ADAMS**

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Q&A

Do you agree with the terms of the American decision?

The position taken by the United States on the Joint Declaration is the same as that of the British and Irish governments. We all believe that there must be an immediate end to violence, and that the Joint Declaration produces a fair and balanced basis for this. Once there has been a permanent cessation of violence, the way will be open for Sinn Fein to enter the democratic life.

Was the British Government consulted over this?

We keep in very close touch with the US government and have given our views.

[If pressed] I cannot give details of our private exchanges. It will be clear from what we have said that we believe the United States are requiring vital assurances from Gerry Adams.

If Gerry Adams agrees, will it mean that Sinn Fein have accepted the Joint Declaration?

We trust that this will mean that Sinn Fein and the Provisionals are now declaring a permanent end to violence.

Does this mean the British Government will lift the Exclusion Order against Gerry Adams?

The British Government's Exclusion Order is a separate question. We are looking for a permanent end to violence.

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 January 1994

RL.

NIO's comments -
see page 2

my

USA\GERRY ADAMS

I should record the exchanges with Tony Lake at the White House over the weekend which I have discussed with you.

Lake telephoned late on Saturday 22 January. He wanted to consult us on the terms for a conditional offer of a visa to Adams. The Americans would tell Adams that he could have a visa strictly limited to the period of the New York Conference (at the end of January) if Adams would state publicly that:

- he personally renounced violence and [urged all parties to the conflict to do so] ^{war}
- [Sinn Fein and the IRA were prepared to participate in serious negotiations to end the conflict in Northern Ireland;]
- the Joint Declaration represented ^{the} a basis for ^{peace} [these negotiations.]

I replied that we supported Lake's idea of trying to make constructive use of Adams' visa application to apply pressure. However, the terms suggested by Lake would have a very damaging effect, and might well blow the Joint Declaration out of the water. They were pretty close to terms which Adams himself might have drafted. He would have no difficulty in putting his hand on his heart and declaring that he was a man of peace who hoped that all parties would give up violence. He would be delighted to have it said that the Joint Declaration was no more than "a basis for negotiations". Worst of all from our point of view would be the invitation to Sinn Fein and the IRA to participate - before an end to violence - in "negotiations to end the conflict in Northern Ireland". I said that it would be better to have no formula at all than a formula

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on these lines. Lake's formula would be interpreted - wrongly of course - as evidence that the US Government did not consider the Joint Declaration of itself to be a sufficient basis for an end to violence.

Lake said the Administration were under heavy domestic pressure. I said that we were aware of the lobbying by Senator Kennedy and others, though Foley's different position was significant. Lake went on to say that he felt we were not winning the PR battle. If the initiative failed because we had not been prepared to sit down to discuss it with the IRA, he did not think we would attract support in the USA. I pointed out that we had offered to talk to the IRA, but would not do so while they were continuing their terrorist campaign. Finally, Lake said that he did not think the Americans needed to match our three month decontamination period before allowing Adams in. I said that we were prepared to concede this. We would not object to Adams entering the United States very soon after violence had ended.

After consulting you and Sir Robin Renwick, I sent Lake the attached message on Saturday night, offering him an alternative formula.

Lake telephoned again on the afternoon of Sunday 23 January. He received our language and would try to "factor it in". He had already changed "a basis" to "the basis" in his reference to the Joint Declaration. We had to appreciate that there were different views at his end. He would now work further on the problem. He promised to keep us informed, and to allow us a further opportunity to put our views before a final decision was taken. I thanked him for this, and said it was extremely important to continue this consultation.

Further action

I think that we need to have a fall-back formula, as close as we can make it to the Americans' position, up our sleeves for the next exchange with Lake. At best, I think that we shall only have one more shot at this.

My suggestion, which we discussed briefly on the telephone, is that the Americans could offer Adams a limited-duration visa if he will:

declare, publicly and unequivocally, that in the light of the Joint Declaration there is no ~~furthe~~ justification ~~[need]~~ for the IRA's violence ~~[and that Sinn Fein]~~ and the Provisional movement must ~~[should]~~ now end violence for good and in future use exclusively ~~[only]~~ democratic and peaceful methods.

NIO
comment

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delete

(SF wd.
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out violence)

overwise happy

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I should be grateful for comments or amendments by 1300 on Monday 24 January.

I think it would be helpful if we could show Lake the assessment on IRA attitudes which the JIC made last week - either in full or in edited form. I would be grateful if **Tony Galsworthy** could consider this.

I am sending copies of this letter to R J Sawers (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Sir Robin Renwick (Washington, by fax) and Tony Galsworthy and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office).

RODERIC LYNE

Jonathan Stephens Esq
Northern Ireland Office

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PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
VIA CABINET OFFICE COMCEN

MESSAGE FOR THE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION OF MR ANTHONY LAKE, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, WHITE HOUSE, FROM RODERIC LYNE, 10 DOWNING STREET

Dear Tony,

Many thanks for taking the trouble to call this afternoon. It is most helpful for us to keep in close touch over the best way of encouraging Sinn Fein to accept the Joint Declaration.

Since we spoke, I have done some further head scratching. I think that the formula you might use with Adams could be very simple. You could say that the US Government would be prepared to grant him a visa "as soon as Sinn Fein and the Provisional movement end violence for good and commit themselves to take the exclusively peaceful and democratic path which the Joint Declaration provides".

As you know, our preference would be to have the Provisionals demonstrate over a three month period that they have unequivocally given up terrorism before normal dealings with them begin. However, I accept your point that this three month period is more of a matter for the British Government than for the United States. I agree that it would be a constructive and encouraging move to tell Adams that he could enter the United States as soon as he and his colleagues had ended violence for good, and without any period of delay.

As I explained, two things would undermine, and possibly destroy the Joint Declaration. The first would be if the United States Government - unlike the British and Irish Governments - used words to imply that the IRA could renegotiate the terms of the Joint Declaration. The second would be if Adams was able to enter the United States while IRA terrorism continued, simply on

the basis of some personal statement that he would like all parties to renounce violence, preferred peace etc.

A formula on those lines would be more damaging than no formula at all. It would suggest that the US Government was more sympathetic to Sinn Fein's requests for renegotiation than to the insistence of the British and Irish Governments (supported by people like John Hume and Cardinal Daly) that the Joint Declaration is a fair and balanced document as it stands, and leaves no excuse for further violence.

I hope that my suggestion may help to point the way to the constructive package we are both looking for; but I am at your disposal at any time if you would like a further view from us.

Yours ever

RODERIC

22 January 1994

VISA APPLICATION BY GERRY ADAMS TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES

This is a decision for the United States Government, not for HMG.

The British Government's concern is that Sinn Fein and the Provisionals should cease their prevarication, accept the Joint Declaration, and end violence for good. If they do this, they know that the Joint Declaration offers them a fair and balanced way of entering democratic political life.

[If pressed: Have you been in touch with the US Government?]

We have made our view known in Washington. I naturally hope that the US Government will not admit Mr. Adams if he has not clearly and unequivocally renounced violence, but this is of course a matter for decision there.

The question for the Provisionals is whether they seize the historic opportunity they have been offered, and join the democratic family.

The time for 'glorification', not for the Declaration, but how Sinn Fein can be brought into the democratic process, will be after they have unequivocally renounced violence.

SECURITY

Let us not forget that while the Provisionals prevaricate on the Declaration, the scourge of terrorism, on both sides, goes on. Can they not see people have had enough, they should stop their violence now.

US statement of support for JB / immediate and

—
no excuse

—
no excuse