

From : Rod Lyne  
Date : 31 January 1994

PRIME MINISTER

I promised to show you what a message to Clinton might look like.

I attach a draft.

If you wanted to send it, we could have the message on Clinton's desk when he starts work on Tuesday morning, 1 February - ie the day of the New York conference.

Inevitably, any message on this subject is bound to have a strong whiff of sour grapes. But I have tried to put in some constructive points, designed to extract some restorative action from the Administration.

The main advantage of the message would be to show Clinton that he has reached the limits of our tolerance, and should not take us for granted. The downside is that it will do nothing for the personal relationship - though perhaps it is time there was some clearing of the air.

If you are inclined to go ahead, I suggest that we send the message via Robin Renwick, and ask him to deliver it only if he and the Foreign Secretary agree with it.

*Roderic*

RODERIC LYNE

fmessage.sm

*For background, see also Washington's fax below this.  
I also attach my own 2 messages to Lake - before &  
after the decision.*

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MESSAGE TO BE SENT BY FCO TELEGRAM

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Dear Bill,

THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS  
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)  
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

Tony Lake will, I am sure, have told you how strongly we disagree with the decision to admit Gerry Adams to the United States. He has been closely associated with terrorism for two decades. In the Joint Declaration, he was offered a route into the democratic process, and into negotiations with us and with the Irish Government. He and his movement have not taken it. As you will know the evidence is that the IRA intend to continue their strategy of terrorism, and do not have the courage to make peace and compete in the democratic arena.

Adams has not renounced violence in his statements over the weekend. He has said in public that the United States did not ask him to renounce violence. He has made no new commitment on any point of substance.

The admission of Adams without such commitments and without an end to IRA violence is being seen as a major victory for Adams in his campaign to evade the Joint Declaration. Unionists who have acquiesced in the Joint Declaration are demanding a change of course. We shall have great difficulty now in maintaining the pressure on both sides of the community to accept the Joint Declaration as a common basis for peace - pressure in which the support of the United States was previously so helpful.

I do not wish to labour these points, all of which we put to your people before the decision was taken. I do not underestimate the pressures on you from powerful advocates of the Nationalist cause in the United States. However, by

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definition they cannot take an objective view. Nor do they have a close understanding of the very delicate political situation in Northern Ireland.

I would value your assistance in ensuring that no further damage is done to our peace initiative. The most immediate aim will, I hope, be to try to ensure that pressure is regenerated during and after the visit of Gerry Adams for the Provisionals to end violence unequivocally and unconditionally. Adams will try to use his visit to the United States as a platform for his justification of continuing violence, and his mendacious argument that Northern Ireland needs to be "demilitarised" for violence to end. I hope that during his visit the Administration will make clear, very publicly, that it has no sympathy for this line of argument. I hope that your spokesmen will criticise Adams for his refusal to renounce violence, and will state clearly that violence should have ended with the Joint Declaration.

It would be most helpful if you could also make clear that the admission of Adams was a wholly exceptional event, and that he and other terrorist leaders will not be admitted to the United States again until violence has ended. This will provide them with some incentive to make peace.

Douglas Hurd will, I know, have discussed these matters in more detail with Warren Christopher and Tony Lake. I hope that those conversations will bring our perceptions closer together. I will be happy to bring you up to date when we meet in a month's time.

Yours sincerely

John

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FROM: P J Westmacott  
DATE: 31 January 1994

cc: Minister  
Mr Powell  
Mr Bean  
Mr Coleman

PS

## GERRY ADAMS: REACTIONS

1. I spoke to Tafft, Parnly and Russell at the State Department last night, and to Jane Holl in the NSC.
2. Our State Department contacts were extremely disappointed by the decision to give Adams a visa. They were also scathing about the White House statement, particularly the reference to Adams "unreservedly condemning" the San Diego non-bombs (for which they have seen no collateral). Warren Christopher had nonetheless approved the text, including the reference to his position. Once the implications have sunk in, State expect the US press to "crucify" them for making policy on the basis of expediency.
3. Even the mechanics of granting Adams his visa were mishandled. Word leaked from the White House before Janet Reno had taken the decision, and before anything had been said to Adams. The 48 hour time limit for the visa also turned out to be wrong: the stamp in Adams' passport says that he must leave the US only "on the first available flight" back to Ireland. Apparently, no-one had checked the airline schedules before determining the 48 hour limit.
4. I do not know whether we will see the full transcript of the Adams/Martinez conversation on 28 January. There was clearly a significant difference between what Adams said in private and in public. When the US Consul-General first told him of the conditions, Adams apparently said: "If I give you the statement you are requesting, I shall have no future. I might as well retire to the mountains. I would have no more influence within the Republican movement". We shall indeed need to judge his public utterances by his actions!
5. Dr Holl's opening line was to enquire whether the Foreign Secretary had cancelled his visit. She had half thought he would. She was unapologetic about the decision: "Any opportunity for progress must be taken". It was inevitable that the British and US Governments took a differentiated position on this issue.

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6. Predictably, I suppose, Holl went on to say that the Adams decision could not be separated out from the more general feeling that something was fraying in the relationship between the US and the UK: CJTF, Bosnia etc. I said that we had heard all this before. Did she think the problem went much wider than the likes of Jenonne Walker? Holl claimed that she was describing a view held "much more widely and uncritically" than she would have wished. It was important to find opportunities to rebuild the relationship. This would have to be done one brick at a time. She hoped that we would take care to explain current British priorities to those in the Administration who failed to understand our move towards a "continental condominium" in Europe.

7. Tailpiece: After Martin Fletcher of The Times had rung the NSC to discuss the Adams' decision, Nancy Soderberg called the Irish Embassy and asked them to brief Fletcher "since he is interested in the background".

*Peter Westmacott*

Peter Westmacott

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**CABINET OFFICE COMCEN**

Grateful if the following message could be sent on the direct link to the White House as soon as possible.

MESSAGE FOR MR ANTHONY LAKE, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, FROM RODERIC LYNE, NO 10 DOWNING STREET

Dear Tony

It's Sunday. I'll be brief. Two thoughts from the English countryside stimulated by your phone call last night:

1. The movement in which Gerry Adams has long been a leading figure has murdered not only thousands of its own countrymen, but also one member of our Royal Family, one Cabinet Minister's wife, two close advisers to Margaret Thatcher and Members of Parliament, two British Ambassadors - and small children in our shopping centres. It is sad, paradoxical, and misguided of the Kennedys, having lost two brothers to acts of terror, to be pressing you to admit a terrorist leader without an end to terrorism or even a commitment to end terrorism.
  
2. On Friday, the United States went eyeball to eyeball with Gerry Adams. Adams has not yet blinked. On the telephone last night, you did not rule out the possibility of the United States blinking instead. Turning this over and over in my mind just now, as I walked the dog through the snowdrops in Richmond Park, I simply could not believe that it would be democratic America which blinked. Surely you won't. If Adams refuses

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to blink now, keep the pressure on him until he and his movement blinks later.

Sorry to intrude on your Sunday morning.

Yours ever

Roderic

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