

CONFIDENTIAL

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

21 January 1994

Dear Robin,

VISA APPLICATION BY GERRY ADAMS

You told me earlier today that the White House needed stiffening, against political pressure to grant a visa to Adams on unacceptably soft conditions.

I have made several attempts to reach Tony Lake on the telephone. Like you, I have not succeeded. At 7pm, Washington time, his secretary passed a message that he was in yet another meeting; and would telephone me tomorrow.

I told Lake's secretary on the secure telephone that private indications suggested strongly that the Provisionals had decided not to accept the Joint Declaration as it stood, and were deliberately stringing us and the Irish Government along in the hope of obtaining concessions through their calls for "clarification". I added that we believed that Sinn Fein was likely to increase the level of violence. It would surely be embarrassing for the Americans if they allowed Adams in, only to find that IRA violence was increasing.

I said that the letter of 7 January from Adams to the Prime Minister was overt evidence that, by clarification, Sinn Fein were seeking renegotiation of the Joint Declaration. I have sent Lake copies of the exchange of correspondence with Adams, together with an explanatory message. The latter is attached.

I shall let you know if Lake phones tomorrow.

I am sending copies of this letter to Jonathan Stephens (Northern Ireland Office), R J Sawers (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Melanie Leech (Cabinet Office).

*Yours etc,
Roderic Lyne*

RODERIC LYNE

H.E. Sir Robin Renwick, K.C.M.G

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

21 January 1994

Dear Tony,

~~SINN FEIN~~

*Adams' letter to PM of 21
RL reply 20.1*

Here is the correspondence which I mentioned to your secretary.

I am sending an explanatory message through the secure channel.

*yours etc,
Roderic*

RODERIC LYNE

Mr Tony Lake
The White House



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

20 January 1994

Dear Mr Adams,

The Prime Minister has asked me to reply to the letter dated 7 January which, though unsigned, is on your headed notepaper.

As you know, the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach made their Joint Declaration on 15 December. It is the responsibility of the two Governments and reflected intensive work between them in the preceding weeks.

Your letter seeks to reopen issues for renegotiation by pointing back to a position you say the Irish Government put forward in June last year. Both the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach have made clear that there can be no question of renegotiation of their Joint Declaration. It provides a balanced framework for peace and democracy which recognises the interests and aspirations of both main traditions that exist in Ireland. That text, and only that text, is what is at issue.

You announced that you were writing to the Prime Minister. In the circumstances, the Prime Minister has decided to make this letter and that received from your office publicly available.

*yours sincerely,
Roderic Lyne*

RODERIC LYNE

Mr Gerry Adams



P. Adams

GERRY ADAMS
President of Sinn Féin
51/55 Bóthar na bhFál, Béal Feirste BT12 4PD

7/1/94.

Mr Major, a Chara,
I am taking the unusual step of writing to you directly regarding the potentially historic opportunity to achieve peace in Ireland which currently exists and, specifically to urge you to take the necessary steps to realise this opportunity.

In joint statements with the leader of the SDLP John Hume and in my own public statements I have repeatedly asserted my sincere belief that if all parties to the conflict, but most critically your government, are prepared to demonstrate courage and imagination, an effective peace process can be established at this point.

It is my belief that the position put to you in June by the Irish Government has the potential to move us out of conflict and towards a negotiated settlement based on the internationally recognised democratic principle of national self-determination.

The leadership of the Irish Republican Army has also made its position clear. In a statement on October 3rd they said, "The leadership of Oglaiigh na hEireann welcomes this (the Hume/Adams) initiative.

We are informed of the broad principles involved which will be for consideration by the Dublin and London Governments. It is unfortunate that the British Government reaction to this initiative so far, has been negative and has fuelled unionist reaction. Nonetheless, if the political will exists or can be created. It could provide the basis for peace".

Your public response to this was an absolute rejection. Additionally the text of the Declaration signed by you and the Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds, on December 15 is substantially different in key areas to the Irish position put to you in June. However, it has been asserted that these differences are no more than semantical and that the underlying politics of both documents are identical. Republicans are more than willing to examine, positively, the validity of such an assertion. However to do so effectively and accurately, full clarification on the key issues is essential.

The British Government has, from 1990, been involved in prolonged contact and dialogue with Sinn Fein. Only recently was this contact ended. Now, when you claim you have the basis of a settlement, you refuse to use these channels, an inconsistency which must increase republican doubts and suspicions.

The opportunity for a real and lasting settlement has never been more realisable. Your government holds the key in all of this. It is crucial, therefore, that you clarify these issues, urgently and effectively through direct dialogue. If peace is a realistic prospect, as you have asserted, then the opportunity should not be lost because of confusion occasioned by the absence of open and honest dialogue.

Is Mise

Gerry Adams.

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VIA CABINET OFFICE COMCEN

**MESSAGE TO MR ANTHONY LAKE, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER,
WHITE HOUSE, FROM RODERIC LYNE, 10 DOWNING STREET**

Dear Tony

SINN FEIN

When I left a message with your secretary earlier this evening, I promised to send you a copy of the letter of 7 January from Gerry Adams to the Prime Minister, and of my reply. This should have reached you by fax.

The Adams^s letter leaves no room for doubt that Sinn Fein are asking us and the Irish Government to do much more than simply "clarify" the Joint Declaration. We have no particular hang-up about "clarification" - if clarification simply meant setting out clearly what the Joint Declaration means and says. The Prime Minister and Sir Patrick Mayhew have in fact done so repeatedly from 15 December onwards, so that no one should be in any doubt that our offer is genuine, fair and balanced. Sir Patrick Mayhew has laid out all the relevant points yet again in two speeches in the last 24 hours.

But if "clarification" is code for "renegotiation", it is self-evidently a non-starter. In his letter, Adams asks us to take account of "the position put to you in June by the Irish Government". He also refers to the "Hume/Adams initiative". He is evidently suggesting that some early drafts, of a completely unacceptable and unbalanced kind, should be put on the table together with the Joint Declaration.

In short, this sadly is further evidence that Sinn Fein is not yet moving in the direction we all want. They are looking to pocket some concessions and then squeeze out more.

Yours ever

RODERIC

21 January 1994

RmyL.

