

S E C R E T   A N D   P E R S O N A L

SPEAKING NOTE

course has been intense, even fevered, speculation since the Hume/Adams statement. Despite this it is a time for discretion. If anything develops out of this I shall naturally

You will have been watching with interest and concern developments since John Hume and Gerry Adams announced their intention to report to Dublin on the outcome of their talks. to brief others, including Dr Paisley.

I can give you a categorical assurance that John Hume has not been acting for the Government in any respect. There have been no proxy negotiations. My position, publicly and privately, is that there can be no talks or negotiations with those who engage in or support the use of violence.

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We are not ourselves fully in the picture, and we are waiting for further information or proposals from the Irish Government should it seem to them that there is something worth putting to us.

It is just possible that something serious and important is happening. There may be an opportunity which we have a duty to explore to bring an end to the IRA's violence in Northern Ireland. Hence our need to know what Hume may report.

Be assured too that your interests, the interests of the people of Northern Ireland, will be at the front of our minds in considering anything the Irish Government propose to us, because they are our common interests.

In particular, we shall hold to the principle that Northern Ireland will remain part of the United Kingdom unless and until a majority of the people of Northern Ireland wish otherwise. It is the consent of the people of Northern Ireland that matters - and that is accepted by the Irish Government. Anything less would be contrary to the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

There has of course been intense, even fevered, speculation since the Hume/Adams statement. Despite this it is a time for discretion. If anything develops out of this I shall naturally speak to you again in good time.

I have not thought it right at this time to brief others, including Dr Paisley.

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1. CONVERSATION WITH TARNOFF ABOUT JOHN HUME AND JEAN KENNEDY SMITH.

DETAIL

2. I HAD A WORD WITH TARNOFF, UNDER-SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, ABOUT JOHN HUME'S VISIT. I SAID THAT HE WOULD BE SEEING JANCY SODERBERG AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND MIGHT GET TO SHAKE THE PRESIDENT'S HAND. HE WOULD ALSO BE RECEIVED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

3. I SAID THAT WE HAD A HIGH REGARD FOR JOHN HUME WHO HAD SHOWN GREAT COURAGE OVER THE YEARS IN HIS DEALINGS WITH THE IRA AND HAD AN ABSOLUTE COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. WE DID NOT HAVE A READOUT OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH GERRY ADAMS BUT SOME SECTIONS OF THE PRESS APPEARED TO BE SUGGESTING THAT THESE MIGHT HAVE ACHIEVED MORE THAN WE SUSPECTED TO BE THE CASE. I WANTED TO MAKE OUR POSITION CLEAR ON THREE POINTS:

1) VIOLENCE. WHAT WAS REQUIRED FROM THE IRA WAS A CESSATION OF VIOLENCE AND NOT SOME KIND OF QUOTE CEASE-FIRE UNQUOTE. THE VIOLENCE WOULD HAVE TO END FOR A LONG ENOUGH TIME TO CONVINCE SCEPTICAL MINDS THAT A REAL CHANGE HAD TAKEN PLACE. SO FAR WHAT WE HAD WITNESSED HAD BEEN MORE BOMB EXPLOSIONS IN BELFAST. WE WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THOSE COMMITTED TO VIOLENCE AND NOR WOULD THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.

2) SELF-DETERMINATION. THE PRESS WERE SUGGESTING THAT ADAMS WANTED A COMMITMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. THERE ALREADY WAS A COMMITMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AS EXPRESSED IN ARTICLE ONE OF THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT. THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE CHANGED IF A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WANTED IT TO BE, BUT NOT OTHERWISE. THAT WAS THE POSITION ALSO OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.

3) PEACE ENVOY. I SAID THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE VERY CAREFUL ABOUT THIS. ALTHOUGH THEY SOMETIMES GAVE MIXED SIGNALS, WE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WERE MUCH MORE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE IDEA THAN WE WERE. I HOPED THAT THE AMERICANS WOULD LISTEN SYMPATHETICALLY TO JOHN HUME. IF THERE WERE ANY POINTS THEY WISHED TO FOLLOW UP, THEY SHOULD RAISE THEM WITH

SECRET AND PERSONAL