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1A - Text of Hume/Adams Joint Statement

The following Joint Statement was issued on the night of Saturday, 25 September, by the SDLP leader, Mr. John Hume, and the Sinn Féin president, Mr. Gerry Adams.

'Our discussions, aimed at the creation of a peace process which would involve all parties, have made considerable progress. We agreed to forward a report on the position reached to date to ~~the~~ you for consideration. We recognise that the broad principles involved will be for a wider consideration between the two governments. Accordingly, we have suspended detailed discussions for the time being in order to facilitate this.

We are convinced from our discussions that a process can be designed to lead to agreement among the divided people of this island, which will provide a solid basis for peace. Such a process would obviously also be designed to ensure that any new agreement that might emerge respects the diversity of our different traditions and earns their allegiance and agreement'.

*I hope dear Wesley on a process for Peace.*

*John*



### 1B - Irish Government reaction to the Hume/Adams Statement

- \* On the day following the issue of the Hume/Adams joint statement, the Taoiseach said that he had not received any report. He refused to speculate on its contents describing the process as 'too serious a business'. The Tánaiste was quoted as saying that two key elements to be taken into account are the British Government and the unionist population.
  
- \* On Monday, 27 September, a Government spokesman was reported to have said that the Government 'looked forward to hearing what progress may have been made in the talks between the two parties before they were suspended'. The Taoiseach, speaking in Dublin Castle, re-affirmed that he had not received a copy of the Hume/Adams report and again refused to speculate on its contents.
  
- \* At a press conference in Government Buildings on Wednesday, 29 September, the Taoiseach said that the Government's priority is about 'peace on its own, not linked or otherwise to any possible solution'. He urged Unionists to 'hold their breath and find out what they have to be concerned about'. He continued that when fully apprised of developments in the Hume/Adams dialogue and 'if the Government feels that there is even an outside chance of advancing the cause of peace, then the Government will not be found wanting'.
  
- \* The Minister for Tourism and Trade, Mr. McCreevy, the Minister for Justice, Mrs. Maire Geoghegan-Quinn, the Minister for Defence and the Marine, Mr. Andrews and the chairman of the Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brian Lenihan, have all publicly welcomed what they regard as a genuine attempt to achieve a basis for peace.
  
- \* An article in The Sunday Press of 3 October said that Government sources have made it clear that the Government are expecting a verbal report accompanied possibly by some statement of principles agreed between Mr. Hume and Mr. Adams.
  
- \* It was reported in last Monday's press that Government sources indicated a difficulty for the Irish Government in forwarding to the British a package of agreed proposals put forward by Mr. Hume and Mr. Adams while the IRA campaign of violence continued.

fo 3/10

IC - British reaction to Hume/Adams Statement

- \* On the day following the issue of the Hume/Adams joint statement, the British Prime Minister refused to make any comment on developments. Sir Patrick Mayhew was quoted as saying that 'he had noted the joint statement with interest and would consider carefully any matters put to him by the Irish Government'.
  
- \* At a press conference in Belfast on Monday, 27 September, Sir Patrick Mayhew said that he would neither support nor condemn the Hume/Adams dialogue but that there were unionist politicians who saw it as an obstacle to the resumption of the three-strand talks. He himself did not believe the Hume/Adams dialogue would prevent constitutional party talks because the public was so insistent they should resume. Asked if he would consider the report if forwarded by Dublin, he replied that it would be 'childish not to read it'. He said however that the previous day's 300lb IRA bomb explosion in Belfast was yet another example of the hypocrisy of the 'Provisional IRA and its friends in Sinn Féin'.
  
- \* On Wednesday, 29 September, Sir Patrick Mayhew, said that Northern Ireland would remain part of the United Kingdom 'unless and until the people of Northern Ireland decide that they wish it to be otherwise'. He said that Mr. Hume had acted independently in the whole affair but he again said that it would be 'childish' not to look at the Hume/Adams report if forwarded to him by Dublin. He further stated that speculation about the Hume/Adams report, which no one had seen and which might or might not exist, was extremely unhelpful. Regarding the possibility of future British talks with Sinn Féin, he said that in the event of a permanent end to violence, 'shown by a sufficient period to satisfy sceptical minds that it's for real, then a different situation unfolds'.
  
- \* At the British Labour Party's annual conference on 30 September, the party reaffirmed its commitment to 'national reconciliation and unification in Ireland' though it was stressed that this resolution was not intended as 'even an oblique reference' to the Hume/Adams joint statement. Kevin McNamara repeated that there was 'no change' in his position that Sinn Féin could not be included in the political process until the IRA had abandoned its campaign of violence.

Jac 14/10

## 1D - Reaction of Northern Ireland Parties to Hume/Adams Statement

### 1. UUP reaction

- \* The reaction of both the UUP and DUP could be described fairly as suspicious and hostile. The UUP MP, Mr. John Taylor, described the Irish Government as the 'postman for the Sinn Féin-SDLP document' and said: 'If this pan-nationalist front is gearing up against us, we will gear up in response'. Following speculation that the Hume/Adams report might contain suggestions for a form of joint authority over the North, the UDA issued a statement calling on Unionist politicians to prepare for a withdrawal from institutions of Government. The UUP general secretary responded that he could not think of a more inappropriate time to do so.
  
- \* Following reports that Mr. Hume supported the inclusion of Sinn Féin in the talks process, Mr. Maginnis said that the SDLP leader's 'overt affinity with Sinn Féin' showed that 'he has endorsed the Armalite-and-ballot-box philosophy'. The UUP secretary said his party would take no part in talks involving Sinn Féin.

### 2 DUP reaction

- \* DUP reaction was equally vehement. The Rev. Ian Paisley said the fact that the report was being sent to the Government proved that Dublin and London had been involved in a clandestine way in the process. Peter Robinson warned that 'if the British government moves towards joint authority, ... then there will be an increase in violence from loyalist paramilitaries'.
  
- \* The DUP reaction continued to harden. Dr. Paisley described the Hume/Adams statement as a 'blood-stained nationalist consensus'. He wrote to the British Prime Minister on 29 September expressing concern at Sir Patrick Mayhew's initial response to the Hume/Adams statement. He said that Mr. Mayhew's prompt indication to the effect that the British Government was willing 'to be part of this obnoxious and odious plan to bring IRA/Sinn Féin into political negotiations has caused outrage in Northern Ireland'. He continued: 'Hume and Adams are now reporting to Dublin - the third leg of the pan-nationalist front'.



2. DUP reaction (contd)

A DUP delegation met Mr. Michael Ancram on 1 October. Afterwards, the Rev. Ian Paisley said: 'We are going to write to the Prime Minister and put what we want clarified, and if the Prime Minister tells us he's going on with the process with John Hume and the Dublin Government and Gerry Adams, then there is no place for us at the table'.

3. SDLP reaction

\* Following a meeting held on 20 September by the SDLP's four MPs, a statement was issued which stressed the importance of the Hume/Adams dialogue, the objective of which was 'the creation of a lasting peace and complete cessation of all violence'. It was also agreed that the dialogue should have no deadline.

\* Following the issue of the joint statement, Mr. Hume described the progress in his talks with Gerry Adams as 'very significant'. He said: 'The process is not finished. It has reached a certain stage and there is obviously more work to be done. It must involve all the parties and its purpose is to bring about a cessation of violence'. The talks would resume at a later stage but, he added, they would conclude 'sooner rather than later'. On a number of occasions subsequently, he appealed to Unionists to suspend judgement and he added that the current dialogue 'was not designed to force unionists into new political structures against their will'.

\* On Monday, 27 September, following the IRA detonation of its second major bomb in Belfast since the issue of the Hume/Adams joint statement, Mr. Seamus Mallon warned that the initiative 'cannot survive continued killings and bombings'. He again repeated this view following an IRA bomb explosion in Markethill on Thursday night last.

\* Dr. Joe Hendorn said that he was not aware of the contents of the Hume/Adams report. He said in a BBC Radio Ulster interview on 30 September: 'There is no attempt either overtly or any other way to force unionists into some sort of situation against their will'.

\* It has been reported that Mr. Hume while in the US briefed White House officials and Members of Congress on his talks with Mr. Adams. These included Nancy Soderberg, who is responsible for advising President Clinton on Northern Ireland.

4. Sinn Féin reaction

- \* Mr. Adams, like John Hume, asked Unionists on a number of occasions to suspend their judgement. He said that the process is 'about trying to develop an agreed strategy for a lasting peace in this country' and that the dialogue had made 'significant progress'. He said later that the process had made 'some progress' and that 'it was now over to the two governments to assist in that progress'. He said that the ultimate objective of the process 'has to be peace in which they (the Unionists) are involved'. He added: 'We are not trying to exclude them'. When asked if he had any objections to the report being made public, he replied: 'Well, I think everything has to be made public in due course, because obviously what we're aiming to do is to get the agreement of both governments and all the parties. So everybody has to be made aware of it'.
- \* Responding to remarks made by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland concerning Sinn Féin participation in talks, Mr. Adams said: 'Sinn Féin will have a place at the conference table. I know that. You know that. Patrick Mayhew knows that, and the people who vote for our party, North and South, know that also'.
- \* On 28 September, the Sinn Féin national chairman, Mr. Tom Hartley, described the response to the Hume/Adams statement as 'generally positive'. But he added: 'The knee-jerk reaction of the unionists and of their death squads, who have yet to see the substance of the proposals ... reflects their permanently entrenched position'.
- \* In an Irish Times report on 30 September, Mr. Adams said: 'All statements from Mr. Hume and myself stress the need for accommodation and agreement among all our people. This includes them (the Unionists)'. He added that any new agreement must 'respect the diversity of our different traditions and earn their allegiances'.
- \* In an interview which appeared in last Saturday's Irish Times, Mr. Adams said: 'I have made it quite clear that I am quite prepared to go to the IRA with a package if one can be produced'. He added that such

a package would need to be such to allow him 'to make definitive proposals to the IRA in relation to the future conduct of its campaign'. He continued that 'whether indeed the outcome would be acceptable to the IRA is a matter for all of us to apply ourselves to'.

\* Another point of importance made by Mr. Adams in the course of the interview was his description of the dialogue or process as one of 'high risk'. He added: 'All the risk cannot just be upon John Hume or upon me. Other people have to take risks as well' and in this regard, the Irish Government 'have a significant role to play' and that 'the British Government is central to this'.

\* Mr. Adams made clear that he has the full backing of the Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle for this initiative. He said that on the Saturday prior to the issue of the joint statement, he gave the Ard Comhairle 'a report, a briefing and informed them of the situation' and a motion of support was passed. He ended the interview by describing the joint statement as offering 'the potential for a process that will lead to peace'.

5. Alliance Party reaction

\* The Alliance Party response has been low-key. The party chairman, Dr. Philip McGarry, said that if the talks were to have any chance of succeeding, then they must address the reality of a divided people. He continued that 'fine words about respecting different identities are of little value unless backed up with specific propositions which can accommodate the legitimate interests of unionists, nationalists and liberals'.

jc 4/10



## 1E - Opposition Parties reaction to Hume/Adams Statement

### 1. Fine Gael reaction

- \* The Fine Gael leader, Mr. John Bruton, said in response to the Hume/Adams statement that the Government should make it clear that it would not engage in political dialogue with Sinn Féin, secretly or publicly or through the SDLP as intermediaries, unless and until Sinn Féin ceased its support for the IRA murder campaign.
- \* Mr. Bruton also said: 'The continuing use of violence as a bargaining counter in politics is also a denial of the very basis on which the democracy of this State was founded'. He continued: 'The "Armalite in one hand and the ballot paper in the other" thesis has never been accepted by any of the current Dáil parties'. He added that such direct or indirect talks with Sinn Féin by the Government would also be seen as deeply threatening to moderate unionists.
- \* In an RTE Radio interview on 30 September, Mr. Bruton said that the really important issue was to get talks resumed between nationalists and unionists but that it remained to be seen if Mr. Hume was going to create the conditions for a resumption of such talks.

### 2. Progressive Democrats reaction

- \* Mr. Michael McDowell said that agreement between moderate unionists and moderate nationalists was far more important than a consensus within each community. He added: 'I think that the statement made by Sinn Féin indicating that it is seeking a joint position with the SDLP and the Dublin Government in the Northern Ireland talks process is a deeply disturbing one'.

### 3. Democratic Left reaction

- \* Mr. Proinsias de Rossa said the Government should be 'extremely cautious' in its response to the Hume/Adams document and should not give the 'murderous' Provisional organisation any shred of credibility. He added: 'Until the Provisionals give a total and unconditional commitment to renounce terrorism, Mr. Adams has no right to a place at the negotiating table with the democratic political parties'.

jc 4/10

1F - Summary of events relating to confusion over Hume Report

- \* The confusion in essence centred upon (a) whether or not a Report has been prepared; (b) whether or not a Report had been sent to the Government; (c) whether or not a Government official had been briefed by Mr. John Hume prior to his departure for the US; and (d) whether or not he stated that Sinn Féin should be included in the three-strand talks process.
  
- \* The Hume/Adams joint statement was issued on the night of Saturday, 25 September. On the following morning, Mr. Hume, before he boarded his flight for Boston, is reported to have told an RTE reporter: 'We have given a report now to the Irish Government ... and no doubt the Government will study the document very seriously'. He contradicted this upon his arrival in Boston when he said that no document had been forward. When asked if any 'report' was on the way, he said: 'No, we're trying to work all that out'. He did however add that upon his return to Ireland, he would be giving a detailed briefing to the Government. Mr. Hume said that 'the process is not finished' but was currently suspended while the Government considered the report. The talks would resume at a later stage but would conclude 'sooner than later'.
  
- \* On Tuesday, 28 September, Mr. Hume clarified the situation when he said: 'At Dublin Airport, I gave an interview in which I made clear what my intentions were - to send a written report to the Dublin Government. However, when I made contact with officials by telephone from the airport, it was agreed that it would be better if I gave a full-scale briefing when I came back'. A Government spokesman was quoted as saying: 'If Mr. Hume says he contacted Foreign Affairs, he contacted Foreign Affairs. I won't contradict him. The Taoiseach and Tánaiste didn't have any contact with him'. Mr. Hume blamed tiredness for his contradictory statements on Sunday over whether a progress report on his talks had been given to the Government.
  
- \* A Reuter report on an interview which Mr. Hume gave to the Boston Globe quoted him as saying: 'Sinn Féin should be included on the basis of their mandate, not on the basis of their support for the IRA'. He later described the report as 'distorted'. His long-standing position was that Sinn Féin could not be included in talks as long as they had 'guns under the table'.

Jc 4/10