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National Archives, Ireland. May only be reproduced with the written permission of the Director of the National Archives. MBASÁID NA HÉIREANN (202) 462-3938 CONFIDENTIAL 29 April 1994 Dear Assistant Secretary Manualdow, Alt, Constant Secretary

 I thought I should report that there is a real sense of frustration among many of our friends, both political (including in the White House) and corporate, about the present impasse in the peace process.

JIM LYONS

- 2. The above emerged very strongly in a phone conversation last evening with Jim Lyons, the U.S. Observer on the International Fund. Lyons asked for an early private discussion to review the present state of events, including the nature and timing of any likely Sinn Féin response on the Joint Declaration. I suspect that this update is required for a meeting between Lyons and the President next week - Lyons is travelling to Washington for the Willie McCarter visit here as Chairman of the IFI.
- 3. I might add that I had a clear sense that Lyons would in particular like to have our thinking on whether there is anything further the President can do at this stage to help move the process further. (I have a sense also that he may be considering using the McCarter visit in order to convey publicly the Administration's continuing and deep interest in the North).

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BILL FLYNN

- 4. In a recent conversation, Bill Flynn also expressed great frustration at the failure of Sinn Féin to respond positively to the Declaration. He finds it particularly irritating that no one seems to be able to pinpoint the particular Sinn Féin problem; if Flynn knew this, and thought it was in any way reasonable, he would consider privately or publicly - in the latter case through a further full-page advertisement in the <u>New York Times</u> - urging that it should be considered sympathetically.
- 5. He has also been giving some thought to an advertisement, again in the <u>New York Times</u>, which would emphasise that of the five Northern political leaders, whom the National Committee on American Foreign Policy had consulted, three (Alderdice, Hume and Molyneaux) had accepted the Declaration, one (Paisley) had rejected it and the fifth (Adams) had yet to respond. The advertisement would then go on, in the name of Irish-America, to call on Adams and Sinn Féin to respond positively. Bill Flynn would appreciate our advice in due course on this.
- Other points of some interest in my discussion with Mr Flynn were:
 - (a) in response to a question on how Flynn and his colleagues could best continue to be of help, Jim Molyneaux said they should bring a message to Gerry Adams that the Joint Declaration "gives you everything you want" and urge him to stop the violence immediately. Molyneaux, to their surprise, also urged Flynn and his colleagues to "stay involved";
 - (b) Paisley made a reasonable impression on Flynn while Peter Robinson came across as dour, unattractive and resentful;

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(c) when Flynn mentioned privately to the Secretary of State that he had found Paisley, unlike Robinson, to be quite personable in private discussion, the latter replied that "you know of course that he is an out and out liar"!

CARDINAL DALY

- 7. Michael Collins has already reported fully on the visit of the Cardinal and Archbishop Eames to Washington. I would only add that, in a private conversation, Dr Daly said he strongly believed that Gerry Adams was sincere in his commitment to peace, and that he now had considerable support in Sinn Féin/IRA for his approach. While it was deeply frustrating that we were so close to an historic breakthrough, and yet the impasse continued, he remained convinced that an announcement of a cessation of violence would come sooner or later. Tn this regard, he was not unduly concerned about the recent orgy of kneecapping by the IRA, saying that this was the IRA's way of emphasising their strength and control of their territory and this, he added, was to be expected in advance of any move towards a ceasefire.
- 8. The Cardinal's relative optimism was also reflected recently by Niall 0'Dowd, who had just returned from a private meeting with Gerry Adams in Belfast. 0'Dowd said that the Sinn Féin leader had told him he now believed the "armed struggle had outlived its usefulness". He also agreed that the shortness of the recent ceasefire had been a tactical mistake. He hoped, however, to be able to go back to the IRA in due course and put a proposal to them for a twelve months ceasefire. Despite this rather encouraging discussion, 0'Dowd said he fully shared our frustration at the lack to date of a concrete and positive response from Sinn Féin.

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9. Finally, Dr Daly was very critical of the initial British approach to their marketing of the Joint Declaration. This had made matters much more difficult for Adams. In general, he detected a tendency on John Major's part, probably largely due to his domestic political problems, to be somewhat inconsistent in his approach. On the other hand, the Cardinal was very warm indeed in his praise of the approach of the Taoiseach and Tánaiste.

Yours sincerely

V Zue ha ----

Dermot Gallagher Ambassador

Seán Ó hUiginn Uas Assistant Secretary Department of Foreign Affairs

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