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*Taoiseach*  
*to see please*  
*John 6/7/94*

*to Helen*  
*John 7/7/94*

Meeting with John Hume.

Derry, 3 July, 1994

SEEN BY  
-7 JUL 1994  
TAOISEACH

1. I met with Mr. Hume at his request in Derry on Sunday.
2. He was very pleased with his meeting with the Taoiseach the previous Friday. He said he had also met with Gerry Adams the previous Tuesday. Adams told him that decisions on "peace and war" were for the IRA "Army Convention", but that was a cumbersome and time consuming avenue and he (Adams) hoped to work out an alternative approach involving the "Army Council". Hume mentioned the options of a ceasefire for three months, six months or a year or, alternatively, an open-ended "stand down", (but I was left a little unclear whether he picked these up directly from Adams or from the "Irish-American circuit", via Senator Kennedy's Office).
3. I inferred that Hume's conversation with Adams had been, to some extent, on theoretical issues. It had dwelt on the balance between British acceptance of the all-Ireland framework and an Irish decision as to what to do within that framework, i.e. acceptance of consent as a "self-denying ordinance" which was compatible with Irish self-determination (my summary, not Hume's). I pointed out that this was effectively the approach in the Joint Declaration and that Hume should be careful that any discussion of it did not revive Sinn Fein hopes that a more forthcoming balance than that achieved in the Declaration could now be sought.
4. On the practical side, Adams was concerned to have something which absorbed the energies of his activists immediately after any ceasefire/cessation. He had asked Hume to resurrect and put to him in writing a proposal which Hume

*St. James's*

had earlier made on political alternatives to violence. Hume intends proposing that immediately on a cessation of violence, discussions would take place with the Irish Government on the modalities of the Forum (i. e. objectives, rules of procedure for participation, etc. ). He envisages the Forum proper would meet (in September ?) and would be on two tracks:

- (i) Making recommendations on ways in which agreement and trust between both traditions in Ireland can be promoted and established, furthering reconciliation, breaking down barriers in Ireland, etc.
- (ii) Promotion of the economic welfare of the whole island, with particular reference to the Irish diaspora as an extension of the Irish nation. (He feels this second area would be particularly educational for Sinn Fein).

5. I adverted to the danger that the Sinn Fein response, even if positive and substantive, might fall short of the clear bench-mark set out in the Joint Declaration. A response to anything which fell substantially short of the conditions set in the Declaration would bring protests from Loyalists that the two Governments had already "shifted the goal posts" and that Sinn Fein were dictating the agenda. The attitudes of Opposition Leaders in the South to the proposed Forum would also be coloured by this crucial point. Hume said he was fully aware of this and promised to represent it strongly in any forthcoming contacts which he has with Adams or his intermediary. On the other hand, he argued that it was common ground between everyone that even a three-month ceasefire would mean effectively that the campaign was over, since it would be so difficult to restart it again. He mentioned that Adams had drawn his attention to a speech made in Sheffield by Daltún O Ceallaigh and which would repay consideration. Hume promised to fax me a copy of the

speech, which, as far as I am aware, received no media coverage. (I will circulate on receipt).

6. Hume asked me for details on the Government's thinking on the proposed Forum. I sketched out for him the points already made in public by the Taoiseach and Tanaiste. Hume's idea is that it should follow as closely as possible the pattern of the previous Forum and use its language to the maximum extent, partly to bind in the Opposition parties here. He said his own address to the Dail Foreign Affairs Committee was intended to serve the same purpose.
7. He made one further point arising out of his meeting with the Taoiseach: His own view is that the Government of Ireland Act has manifestly failed in terms of the programme implicit in its title, that there are irrefutable arguments to this effect, and that therefore Irish efforts should be to have the Government of Ireland Act transcended in a new Act, rather than merely amended.
8. The SDLP are meeting with Michael Ancram on the 4th July. He regards the meeting as purely ritualistic, the only discussion about it within the party being, apparently, an insistence that it should not clash with the Ireland v Holland match!
9. I asked him about the likely timing of a Sinn Fein response. He confirmed, as we know from other sources, that something is envisaged close to or on the 12th July. We both felt this seemed gratuitously provocative, and wondered whether Sinn Fein were deliberately seeking to cock a snook at the unionists, to colour the reaction of their own side.

Sean O hUiginn  
4 July, 1994