

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-m (1.01)  
KBH 3/3/2023

Opinions of President Clinton

	NI-Protestants			NI-Catholics			Ireland		
	Fav	Unf	DK	Fav.	Unf	DK	Fav	Unf	DK
<b>Gender:</b>									
Male	28	64	8	69	25	6	80	14	6
Female	25	66	10	61	35	4	80	12	8
<b>Age:</b>									
18-24	30	56	14	59	36	5	70	22	8
25-34	29	62	9	67	29	4	72	20	8
35-49	22	72	5	60	33	7	84	12	5
50-64	26	67	7	68	28	4	88	6	6
65+	27	63	10	74	22	4	87	5	9
<b>Education:</b>									
First Level	25	63	12	70	25	6	85	5	10
Second Level	25	70	6	68	27	4	78	15	7
Third Level	32	57	11	44	50	6	82	14	4
Still in Education	33	61	6	67	30	4	86	14	0
<b>Region:</b>									
Belfast	25	67	9	52	39	9			
Other Antrim	30	63	7	73	24	3			
Other Down	23	73	4	65	33	2			
Armagh	23	62	15	51	44	5			
Derry	30	52	18	67	28	5			
Omagh	63	38	0	78	13	9			
Other Tyrone	28	59	14	57	32	11			
Fermanagh	0	64	36	86	10	5			
County Dublin							77	14	8
Rest of Leinster							81	14	6
Munster							85	10	5
Conn/Ulster							77	14	9
<b>Political Party:</b>									
UUP	21	67	12						
DUP	25	67	8						
UK Unionist	15	82	4						
PUP	32	60	8						
UDP	22	75	3						
Alliance	39	54	7	29	68	3			
SDLP				69	29	2			
Sinn Fein				75	21	4			
Fianna Fail							86	8	5
Fine Gael							85	12	4
Labour							86	11	3
<b>Personally Affected by Violence:</b>									
Yes	20	74	6	62	33	6			
No	30	61	10	66	29	5			

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**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 14, 1998 3:55 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 141943Z APR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5299  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY LONDON  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 3890  
**TOR:** 980414154954 M3243087

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M (1.02)  
KBH 3/3/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 003890

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/10/08  
TAGS: OVIP, PREL, UK, EI (CLINTON, WILLIAM J)  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: ROBERT A. BRADTKE, DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION. REASONS: 1.5(B) AND (D).
2. (C) THIS MESSAGE SETS OUT SOME PRELIMINARY IDEAS ON THEMES AND EVENTS DEVELOPED BY EMBASSY AND CONSULATE GENERAL BELFAST FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE DECISION ON WHETHER THE PRESIDENT WILL TRAVEL TO NORTHERN IRELAND HAS YET TO BE TAKEN. WE BELIEVE HIS VISIT COULD BE A CRUCIAL ELEMENT IN THE EFFORT TO GALVANIZE PUBLIC OPINION BEHIND THE JUST-CONCLUDED POLITICAL AGREEMENT. AT THIS POINT, WE WOULD STRONGLY RECOMMEND HE GO TO NORTHERN IRELAND.

SETTING THE CONTEXT

3. (C) ALTHOUGH THE CHALLENGES THIS TIME ARE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE WE FACED IN PLANNING FOR HIS NOVEMBER, 1995 VISIT, THE SAME IMPERATIVES OF BALANCE AND EVEN-HANDEDNESS CONTINUE TO APPLY. COMING AS IT DOES FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE REFERENDUM, EVERY EVENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE, EVERY SITE HE VISITS, EVERY WORD HE UTTERS -- AND THOSE EVENTS, SITES AND WORDS WHICH HE DOES NOT USE -- WILL BE ANALYZED AND EVALUATED WITH HEIGHTENED SENSITIVITY FOR THEIR "REAL" MEANING.
4. (C) ASSUMING A LATE AFTERNOON VISIT OF THREE TO FOUR HOURS DURATION, WE BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON TWO OR POSSIBLY THREE HIGHLY-VISIBLE EVENTS IN THE BELFAST AREA. TO AVOID COMPARISONS WITH THE PREVIOUS TRIP, WE RECOMMEND THE PRESIDENT NOT REVISIT ANY VENUES WHICH HOSTED EVENTS LAST TIME. GIVEN THE "TRIBAL GEOGRAPHY" OF NORTHERN IRELAND, IT IS NEITHER PRACTICAL NOR DESIRABLE DURING THIS TIME-LIMITED VISIT FOR THE PRESIDENT TO UNDERTAKE THE INTRICATE BALANCING REQUIRED SHOULD HE VENTURE TO NEIGHBORHOODS IDENTIFIED AS "UNIONIST" OR "NATIONALIST." THEREFORE WE SHOULD SEEK NEUTRAL, EASILY ACCESSIBLE CIVIC VENUES IN THE BELFAST AREA FOR HIS EVENTS.
5. (C) IN THIS LIGHT, WE BELIEVE A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO DERRY COULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO COUNTERWEIGHT. SHOULD

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THE PRESIDENT WISH TO GIVE PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO JOHN HUME, WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO DO THIS IN THE CONTEXT OF EVENTS IN THE CAPITAL. IN ADDITION, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO USE THE FIRST LADY'S PROGRAM, OR THAT OF AN ACCOMPANYING PRESIDENTIAL OR CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, TO DO SUPPORTING EVENTS IN LONDONDERRY OR OTHER LOCATIONS WHICH THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM WILL NOT ACCOMMODATE.

6. (U) IN MID-MAY IN BELFAST, DAYLIGHT LASTS UNTIL ABOUT 9:30 PM. THE TEMPERATURE SHOULD BE MILD, BUT THE POSSIBILITY OF RAIN CANNOT BE DISCOUNTED.

MAIN THEMES: SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND A "FRESH START"

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7. (C) THE PRESIDENT'S PRIMARY MESSAGE SHOULD BE ONE OF WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT FOR THE EXERCISE OF DEMOCRACY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. CLOSELY RELATED TO THIS, IS THE IDEA THAT THE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT PROVIDES A "FRESH START" OR "NEW BEGINNING" BY "CLOSING A DOOR ON THE PAST." WHILE THERE WILL BE NO DOUBT THAT THE PRESIDENT FULLY SUPPORTS THE AGREEMENT, HE MUST BE CAUTIOUS TO AVOID DIRECTLY ADVOCATING A "YES" VOTE. NOT ONLY COULD SUCH ADVOCACY BE CRITICIZED AS INTERFERENCE IN A DOMESTIC ISSUE, MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE WITH KEY ELEMENTS OF THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY IN PARTICULAR.

8. (C) AVOIDING THIS PITFALL WILL REQUIRE THE PRESIDENT TO WALK A THIN TIGHTROPE: HE CAN AND SHOULD PRAISE THE AGREEMENT, OFFERING HIS VIEWS OF THE BENEFITS OF THE "NEW BEGINNING" AND THE POSSIBILITIES IT OPENS. HOWEVER, HE SHOULD NOT URGE A SPECIFIC OUTCOME TO THE REFERENDUM, ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE CHOICE IS UP TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. HE SHOULD URGE EVERYONE TO VOTE, NOTING THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. IT ALSO BEARS MENTIONING THAT "CHANGE" IS NOT UNIFORMLY ACCEPTED AS A GOOD IN ALL SEGMENTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND SOCIETY; IN FACT, IT HAS STRONGLY NEGATIVE CONNOTATIONS IN SOME AREAS OF UNIONISM. TO AVOID A BACKLASH, THE PRESIDENT THEREFORE WOULD DO BETTER TO USE THE "NEW BEGINNING" OR "FRESH START" LINE THAN SOMETHING LIKE "A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER."

9. (C) A ROUGH OUTLINE COULD BE: THE RESORT TO VIOLENCE HAS NOT, AND CANNOT, PRODUCE A NORTHERN IRELAND ACCEPTABLE TO THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE THERE. THAT ONLY CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC MEANS. THAT ALL ITS PARTS DO NOT MEET WITH THE APPROVAL OF ALL PEOPLE DOES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 003890

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/10/08

TAGS: OVIP, PREL, UK, EI (CLINTON, WILLIAM J)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND

NOT TAINT THIS AGREEMENT. RATHER, IT GIVES THE AGREEMENT CREDIBILITY BECAUSE IT WAS ESTABLISHED NOT BY FORCE OF ARMS, BUT BY FORCE OF INTELLECT; JUDGED NOT BE WELL-MEANING OUTSIDERS, BUT TESTED WITHIN THE FIERCE CRUCIBLE OF NEGOTIATION AMONG DETERMINED ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES. THIS AGREEMENT OFFERS A NEW BEGINNING, SKETCHING THE BROAD OUTLINES OF A SYSTEM BY WHICH FREE MEN AND WOMEN GOVERN THEMSELVES. THE REFERENDUM PUTS THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND SQUARELY TO THE PEOPLE -- NOT TO RUTHLESS GUNMEN, OR UNELECTED OFFICIALS, OR OTHERS WHO THINK THEY KNOW THE ANSWER. THE FUTURE IS UP TO YOU. I URGE EVERYONE TO VOTE AS THEY BELIEVE BEST FOR THEMSELVES, FOR THEIR FAMILIES AND

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THEIR COMMUNITIES. DO NOT LET THIS HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY PASS.

10. (X) OPPONENTS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE CERTAIN TO TURN OUT IN FORCE. THEREFORE, THE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL TO VOTE WOULD HAVE MOST IMPACT ON YOUNG PEOPLE, WOMEN BUSY WITH FAMILIES AND OTHERS ARE VAGUELY SUPPORTIVE OF THE AGREEMENT BUT TOO APOLITICAL OR UNINVOLVED TO TURN OUT OTHERWISE. NATURALLY, OTHERS WHO JOIN THE PRESIDENT, E.G. PRIME MINISTER BLAIR, MAY NOT FACE SIMILAR CONSTRAINTS ABOUT DIRECTLY ADVOCATING A "YES" VOTE. IN DECIDING WHO ELSE APPEARS ON THE PLATFORM WITH THE PRESIDENT, WHO SPEAKS AND SO FORTH, THE EVENTS SHOULD BE STRUCTURED IN A WAY THAT CAN HIGHLIGHT THEIR DIRECT APPEALS.

OTHER THEMES: CONGRATULATIONS AND U.S. COMMITMENT

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11. (X) THE PRESIDENT SHOULD PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL LEADERS, AND SENATOR MITCHELL, TO ACHIEVING THE AGREEMENT. PRAISING THEIR COURAGE, LEADERSHIP AND FORESIGHT HE COULD OFFER HIS CONGRATULATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT'S TARGET AUDIENCE IS THE VOTING PUBLIC OF NORTHERN IRELAND, NOT THE POLITICIANS THEMSELVES. THIS WOULD ARGUE AGAINST INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS WITH THE POLITICIANS, SEPARATE VISITS TO THEIR INDIVIDUAL CONSTITUENCIES, OR RECEPTIONS FOR THEM. WE WOULD RECOMMEND THE PRESIDENT HAVE A BRIEF "CLUTCH" WITH THEM AS AN ADJUNCT TO ANOTHER EVENT WHERE CAMERAS COULD RECORD HIS CONGRATULATIONS. THE POLITICAL LEADERS SHOULD BE SEATED ON THE SAME PLATFORM OR IN A VISIBLE VIP AREA SO THE PRESIDENT CAN THEN ACKNOWLEDGE THEM IN THE COURSE OF HIS PUBLIC REMARKS.

12. FINALLY, THE PRESIDENT WILL WANT TO SHOWCASE CONTINUING AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IN PARTICULAR THROUGH THE TRADE, ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND BUSINESS INVESTMENT WHICH BOLSTERS THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS AN ENGINE OF RECONCILIATION. AN IFI PROJECT OR AN AMERICAN BUSINESS ESTABLISHED IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE POSSIBLE BACKDROPS FOR THIS MESSAGE. WE WILL PROVIDE FURTHER IDEAS BY SEPTEL.

EVENT SITES

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13. (X) WE ENVISAGE THE PREMIER EVENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WOULD BE A MAJOR PUBLIC ADDRESS. WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD ATTRACT A LARGE AUDIENCE, EVEN ON A MONDAY IN THE LATE AFTERNOON. WE PROBABLY SHOULD CONSIDER SOME SORT OF ENTERTAINMENT, LOCAL OR AMERICAN OR BOTH, TO HELP BUILD AND HOLD THE CROWD WHILE WAITING FOR THE PRESIDENT. LIVE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE IS VERY LIKELY.

14. (X) POSSIBLE SITES INCLUDE:

-- BOTANIC GARDENS: THIS IS A POLITICALLY NEUTRAL OUTDOOR VENUE IN CENTRAL BELFAST, OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY THE CITY COUNCIL. IT IS SITUATED NEAR QUEENS UNIVERSITY AND THE ULSTER MUSEUM WHICH ALSO COULD PROVIDE HOLDING ROOMS OR FACILITIES FOR ANCILLARY EVENTS. THE SITE OF RECENT CONCERTS BY VAN MORRISON, U2, JACKSON BROWN AND OTHERS, THE GROUNDS EASILY CAN ACCOMMODATE AUDIENCES OF 20,000 OR MORE WHILE PROVIDING A DEGREE OF INTIMACY. A STAGE WOULD HAVE TO BE ERECTED. THE GARDENS FEATURE A RECOGNIZABLE BELFAST LANDMARK IN THE VICTORIAN-ERA "PALM HOUSE" ADJACENT TO THE AREA IN WHICH THE STAGE WOULD BE SET UP. WE BELIEVE THIS VENUE IS THE BEST OPTION IN TERMS OF ACCESSIBILITY, NEUTRALITY AND FUNCTIONALITY; IT IS A SAFE CHOICE.

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-- WATERFRONT HALL: JUST OPEN LAST YEAR, THIS HANDSOME MODERN CONFERENCE AND CONCERT HALL IS BELFAST'S PREMIER PRESTIGE VENUE FOR PUBLIC EVENTS. IT ALSO IS CONTROLLED BY THE CITY COUNCIL, WHICH TOUTS IT AS A SYMBOL OF A RESURGENT BELFAST. MRS. CLINTON ATTENDED A YOUTH-ORIENTED CONFERENCE IN IT LAST NOVEMBER. THE MAIN HALL CAN HOLD ABOUT 2500 PEOPLE. HOWEVER, ON-GOING CONSTRUCTION OUTSIDE THE HALL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 003890

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/10/08  
TAGS: OVIP, PREL, UK, EI (CLINTON, WILLIAM J)  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND

THE UNEVEN GROUNDS DO NOT MAKE THE SITE SUITABLE FOR LARGER, OUTDOOR EVENTS.

-- STORMONT: HMG IS UNDERTAKING A MAJOR EFFORT TO REIFY THE SYMBOLISM OF STORMONT, FORMERLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNIONIST-DOMINATED PARLIAMENT, AS IT BECOMES THE SITE OF THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY. AS PART OF THAT CAMPAIGN, ELTON JOHN IS SCHEDULED TO PLAY A MAY 27 OUTDOOR CONCERT ON THE GROUNDS. A PRESIDENTIAL EVENT FOCUSING ON THE FUTURE COULD FURTHER PROMOTE THE PERCEIVED LEGITIMACY OF THAT EDIFICE. THE STRUCTURE IS IMPRESSIVELY SITUATED ON A GRASSY SLOPE AND COULD MAKE A STRIKING VISUAL IMPRESSION. ITS EAST BELFAST LOCATION, HOWEVER, MAY NOT BE CONVENIENT FOR PERSONS TRAVELING FROM OTHER AREAS. NOR HAVE WE HAD DETAILED CONVERSATIONS ABOUT THIS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, WHICH MAY WISH TO BE CAUTIOUS WITH ITS HANDLING OF THIS SYMBOL-LADEN SITE.

#### OTHER EVENTS

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15. (C) WE WILL CONTINUE TO BRAINSTORM FOR OTHER PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS TO HIGHLIGHT THE MAIN THEMES. WITH THE FOCUS ON THE FUTURE AND A FRESH START, AN EVENT TO MEET WITH FIRST TIME VOTERS MAY BE APPROPRIATE. A TOWN HALL MEETING OR ROUNDTABLE EVENT INCLUDING STUDENTS, YOUNG WORKERS, VOCATIONAL TRAINEES AND OTHERS, PERHAPS HOSTED BY QUEENS UNIVERSITY, IS ONE POSSIBILITY. WE ALSO WILL THINK OF POSSIBLE "SHIRTSLEEVES" OR LIGHTER EVENTS WHICH GIVE THE PRESIDENT THE OPPORTUNITY TO INTERACT WITH A REAL SLICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

#### FIRST LADY PROGRAM

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16. (C) GIVEN HER INTEREST AND RECENT EXPERIENCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WE BELIEVE A FULL PROGRAM FOR MRS. CLINTON WOULD BE VERY VALUABLE. WE RECOMMEND SHE UNDERTAKE A SEPARATE SCHEDULE OF EVENTS BEFORE SHE JOINS THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE ARRIVES. THIS COULD BE VERY USEFUL IN REACHING OUT TO CONSTITUENCIES AND REGIONS WITH WHICH THE PRESIDENT'S SHORTER PROGRAM WOULD NOT OTHERWISE ALLOW CONTACT. HER FOCUS COULD BE ON WOMEN AND FAMILIES, HIGHLIGHTING IN A NON-POLITICAL WAY HOW A FRESH START WILL BENEFIT THE LIVES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE. WE WILL PROVIDE PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS BY SEPTTEL.

17. (C) WE UNDERSTAND SOME CONSIDERATION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO ORGANIZING A CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN POLITICS IN WHICH THE FIRST LADY MIGHT PARTICIPATE. WE WOULD STRONGLY ENDORSE THE CONCEPT OF THE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, IF IT IS HELD IN MID-MAY WE ANTICIPATE ITS MESSAGE IS LIKELY TO BECOME OBSCURED IN THE GENERAL EXCITEMENT SURROUNDING THE IMPENDING REFERENDUM AND BY THE COVERAGE OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. WE

WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE MUCH GREATER IMPACT IF HELD IN EARLY JUNE, PRIOR TO THE PROPOSED NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN WHICH WOMEN CANDIDATES WILL STAND. WOMEN TRADITIONALLY HAVE BEEN UNDERREPRESENTED IN NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTIONS AND ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM. WE SUGGEST THE FIRST LADY'S STAFF CHECK WHETHER HER PARTICIPATION MIGHT BE POSSIBLE AT A LATER DATE.

CODEL AND PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION

18. (C) IT IS OUR EXPECTATION THAT THERE WILL BE A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION (AND POSSIBLY A DELEGATION OF PROMINENT AMERICANS WITH AN INTEREST IN IRELAND) SUCH AS ACCOMPANIED THE PRESIDENT IN 1995. THESE VISITORS COULD BE VERY USEFUL IN REINFORCING THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGES AND HANDLING WORTHWHILE EVENTS WHICH THE PRESIDENT MIGHT NOT HAVE TIME TO DO. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WOULD BE OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT THE CODEL VISIT THE PROSPECTIVE WEST BELFAST "SPRINGVALE CAMPUS" OF A NEW UNIVERSITY AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING SITE WHICH HMG WILL SOON ANNOUNCE AND WHICH IS LIKELY TO RECEIVE A SIZABLE IFI CONTRIBUTION. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO CONSIDER EVENTS FOR THE DELEGATION IN OUR PLANNING AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE.

PRIME MINISTER

19. (C) PM BLAIR'S INTENTION IS TO JOIN THE PRESIDENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE SEE THIS AS VERY POSITIVE AND HELPING TO SEND THE RIGHT MESSAGES. AT THE SAME TIME, WE DO NOT YET HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT EVENTS NO. 10 ENVISAGES, OR HOW THEY SEE BLAIR'S PARTICIPATION IN THEM. WE ARE CONFIDENT OUR SMOOTH COORDINATION WITH NO. 10 AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE, BUT MUST KEEP IN MIND THE NEED TO WORK CAREFULLY WITH NO. 10 TO JOINTLY DEFINE  
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NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/10/08  
TAGS: OVIP, PREL, UK, EI (CLINTON, WILLIAM J)  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND

OBJECTIVES, AGREE EVENTS AND COORDINATE SCHEDULES.

LADER

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

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**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Friday, March 27, 1998 1:05 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; McEldowney, Nancy E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** NORTHERN IRELAND: U.S. GAME PLAN FG THE PEACE

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 271724Z MAR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4860  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY LONDON  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 3364  
**TOR:** 980327124304 M3218399

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.03)  
KBM 3/3/2023**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 003364

EXDIS

JOINT MESSAGE FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH AND AMBASSADOR LADER

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

DEPT FOR P, EUR/UBI AND S/IR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/26/03  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EAID, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: U.S. GAME PLAN FG THE PEACE  
PROCESS

CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH, DUBLIN, AND  
AMBASSADOR PHILIP LADER, LONDON. REASON: 1.5(D)

1. (S) SUMMARY: WITH A DEAL ALMOST WITHIN REACH, WE NEED TO BE ALERT TO WAYS U.S. INVOLVEMENT MIGHT BE HELPFUL AS THE STORMONT TALKS APPROACH THE CRUNCH POINT, AND TO HOW THE U.S. MIGHT BEST SUPPORT THE EFFORTS TO SECURE BROAD ACCEPTANCE OF A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT OVER THE NEXT TEN WEEKS OR SO. THE GAME PLAN BELOW PROVIDES OUR COMBINED THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS IDEAS REGARDING U.S. EFFORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED RECENTLY IN WASHINGTON AND THE FIELD. WE OFFER THIS TIMELINE TO HELP WASHINGTON DECISION-MAKERS AS THEY CONSIDER HOW TO STRUCTURE US. ACTIVITIES IN THIS ENDGAME PHASE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. ASSUMING AN ACCOMMODATION IS REACHED AT STORMONT, A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON TO BELFAST AND DUBLIN IN MID-MAY, ALONG WITH COMMERCE SECRETARY DALEY'S VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES IN EARLY JUNE, SHOULD CONSTITUTE THE LINCHPINS OF U.S. EFFORTS.

2. (S) IF AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED, THE PRESIDT SHOULD VISIT IRELAND TO APPEAL OVER THE HEADS OF POLITICIANS TO THE PEOPLE IN BOTH THE NORTH AND SOUTH, AS HE DID SO SUCCESSFULLY IN 1995. WHILE CAREFULLY AVOIDING DIRECT INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL MATTERS, HIS VISIT WOULD GALVANIZE SUPPORT FOR A JUST PEACE SETTLEMENT BY HIGHLIGHTING THE GAINS TO BE MADE, NOTABLY IN INCREASED INWARD INVESTMENT AND JOB CREATION. AS A CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION OF U.S. SUPPORT, WE RECOMMEND THE ADMINISTRATION WORK WITH CONGRESS TO DEVELOP A BIPARTISAN PACKAGE TO INCLUDE INCREASED FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND.

3. (S) SECRETARY DALEY'S VISIT, WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF A "YES" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM, SHOULD FOCUS ON BRINGING TOP U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS ATTENTION TO THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS FOR BUSINESS.

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4. (C) THESE TWO KEY EVENTS SHOULD BE BOLSTERED IN THE MEANTIME BY:

- CONTINUED PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FOCUSED ON THE "PEACE DIVIDEND";
- ORGANIZING A BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY LEADER ROUNDTABLE;
- FACILITATING PRIVATE FUNDING AND ADVISING OF PROPONEUS OF "YES" VOTES IN THE REFERENDA;
- RECRUITING CELEBRITY PARTICIPATION IN "FEEL-GOOD" EVENTS;
- FACILITATING A MODEST NED/NDI ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND;
- PROVIDING USIA AND OTHER SPEAKERS.

5. (C) FINALLY, WE SHOULD BEGIN GIVING THOUGHT TO WHAT CONTINUING ROLE THE U.S. SHOULD PLAY IN SUPPORTING THE EFFORTS OF THE PARTIES AND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

#### U.S. ROLE IN THE END GAME

6. (C) THE "COUNTDOWN" TO THE END GAME IS UNDERWAY. ALTHOUGH ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE TALKS HAVE PUBLICLY WELCOMED SENATOR MITCHELL'S SETTING OF AN APRIL 9 DEADLINE FOR REACHING AGREEMENT, THERE IS STILL LITTLE HINT OF ACCOMMODATION ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS NORTH/SOUTH LINKS AND THE ROLE OF AN ASSEMBLY. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF BRINKSMANSHIP AT PLAY IN A CONTEXT THAT MOST PEOPLE RECOGNIZE AS HISTORIC. A DEAL, IF THERE IS ONE, IS LIKELY TO EMERGE ONLY AT THE LAST MINUTE.

7. (C) AS THIS PROCESS ENTERS THE DECISIVE PHASE, THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE SEVERAL IMPORTANT CARDS TO PLAY. WE THEREFORE HAVE GIVEN THOUGHT TO HOW BEST TO CALIBRATE AND FINE TUNE U.S. EFFORTS IN THE RUN UP TO AN AGREEMENT, THE REFERENDA ON IT AND ITS SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION. IN PURSUING OUR GOAL OF SECURING A DURABLE SETTLEMENT, WE MUST STRIKE A DELICATE BALANCE: WHILE WE WANT TO PROVIDE ATTENTION, ENERGY AND MOMENTUM IN FAVOR OF THE AGREEMENT, WE DO NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO BE INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EITHER THE UK OR IRELAND, IN TERMS OF THE PROPOSED REFERENDA OR ELECTIONS TO A NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY.

#### GAME PLAN

8. (C) OUR ACTIONS SHOULD BE SYNCHRONIZED WITH THE TIMELINE OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS ITSELF, ALONG THE LINES OUTLINED BELOW. SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES RECOMMENDED ARE ALREADY IN TRAIN, AND NEED ONLY SOME "BEEFING UP" OR REFOCUSING, OTHERS

WILL REQUIRE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION FROM WASHINGTON.

EVENT TIMING: AGREEMENT IN MULTI-PARTY TALKS BY APRIL 9

9. (C) THE PRESIDENT'S ST. PATRICK'S DAY CALL ON ALL SIDES TO COMPROMISE WAS HEARD LOUD AND CLEAR BY THE PARTIES GATHERED IN WASHINGTON AS WELL AS ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC. SENATOR MITCHELL'S SETTING OF APRIL 9 AS THE DEADLINE FOR AGREEMENT WAS ALSO WELL -- IF NERVOUSLY -- RECEIVED HERE. SENATOR MITCHELL HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE IS NOW STEPPING FORWARD ACTIVELY TO PUSH THE PROCESS TO A CONCLUSION. OUR JUDGMENT AT THIS MOMENT IS THAT FURTHER DIRECT USG PRESSURE ON ADAMS IS UNLIKELY TO BE EFFECTIVE EXCEPT AT THE MARGINS; ON TRIMBLE IT COULD BE DOWNRIGHT COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

10. (C) HOWEVER, WE SHOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH SENATOR MITCHELL AND HIS COLLEAGUES, AS WELL AS WITH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, THROUGH THE NEXT TEN DAYS TO OBTAIN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER, WHEN AND WHAT USG INTERVENTION MIGHT BE

HELPFUL. RECOGNIZING THAT SCOPE FOR DIRECT U.S. INVOLVEMENT AT THIS STAGE IS NECESSARILY LIMITED, WE NONETHELESS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO WEIGH IN WITH PARTIES IN A MEASURED FASHION IF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ASK FOR OUR ASSISTANCE ON A KEY POINT.

11. (X) WE DO RECOMMEND THAT WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WE PLACE ARTICLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND PUBLICATIONS BY PROMINENT U.S. CEO'S, POLITICIANS AND OTHER INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS HIGHLIGHTING HOW A STABLE PEACE WILL MAKE NORTHERN IRELAND MORE ATTRACTIVE TO U.S. INVESTMENT AND TOURISM. (SEE E.G., STATE 47421.)

EVENT/TIMING: "YES" VOTE IN REFERENDA O/A MAY 22

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#### PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

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13. (X) HE COULD ALSO ASSURE AUDIENCES IN BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH THAT THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO BE INVOLVED IN SUPPORT OF AN EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO BELFAST MIGHT INCLUDE:

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- ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVE, WITH BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT, INCREASING FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND, AND POSSIBLY EARMARKING A PORTION OF IT FOR A NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY TO BE BUILT ON THE PEACE LINE IN WEST BELFAST -- THE SPRINGVALE PROJECT. THIS INITIATIVE SHOULD FOCUS HEAVILY ON PROVIDING TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, INCLUDING EX-PRISONERS.

14. (X) IN DUBLIN, THE PRESIDENT COULD DELIVER AN ADDRESS AT AN HISTORIC SITE (E.G., KILMAINHAM JAIL OR GLENCREE RECONCILIATION CENTER). HIS THEME COULD BE RECONCILIATION OF THIS CENTURIES-OLD CONFLICT.

#### PRIVATE FUNDING AND ADVICE

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15. (X) ALREADY SOME PRIVATE GROUPS ORGANIZED AROUND STRENGTHENING "CIVIL SOCIETY" HAVE APPROACHED CONGEN BELFAST

WITH REQUESTS FOR ADVICE AND FUNDING IN DEVELOPING A CAMPAIGN TO BRING OUT THE "YES" VOTE. SUCH REQUESTS COULD BE STEERED TOWARD SOURCES OF PRIVATE U.S. FUNDING AND WE ALSO MAY WANT INFORMALLY TO PUT THEM IN CONTACT WITH CAMPAIGN AND POLLING PROFESSIONALS IN THE U.S. WHO MIGHT BE PREPARED TO OFFER THEM ADVICE. DESPITE SOME LEGAL AND POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, WE BELIEVE BRITISH AND IRISH RESOURCES FOR AN EDUCATION CAMPAIGN IN ADVANCE OF THE REFERENDA WILL BE ADEQUATE, AND WE DO NOT RECOMMEND TRYING TO INVOLVE NED/NDI IN THIS EFFORT.

#### PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON THE "PEACE DIVIDEND"

16. (X) IN ADDITION TO ARTICLES BY CEO'S AND OTHERS, WE WOULD PLAN TO USE OUR AMBASSADORIAL TRAVELS, AND SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS (INCLUDING JOINT APPEARANCES) THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC AND NORTHERN IRELAND TO EMPHASIZE THE FACT THAT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND PEACE WILL MAKE THE ISLAND MORE ATTRACTIVE TO U.S. INVESTMENT. CONGEN BELFAST ALSO IS WORKING WITH SENATOR MITCHELL TO COORDINATE AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS FOR HIM AS WELL.

#### CELEBRITY PEACE EVENTS

17. (X) MO MOWLAM ALREADY IS WORKING ON A NUMBER OF CELEBRITY EVENTS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFERENDA, INCLUDING AN ELTON JOHN CONCERT ON THE STORMONT GROUNDS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR MAY 27. TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN ENCOURAGE AMERICAN PERFORMERS TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE COMING WEEKS, WE SHOULD. THESE VISITS WOULD NOT BE OVERTLY POLITICAL, BUT COULD HELP FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE BENEFITS THAT ACCRUE TO SOCIETIES THAT ARE AT PEACE.

EVENT/TIMING: NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS O/A JUNE 25

#### COMMERCE SECRETARY TRADE MISSION

18. (X) THE VISIT OF SECRETARY OF COMMERCE DALEY TO BELFAST AND THE BORDER COUNTIES THE WEEK OF JUNE 8 WILL COME AT A KEY MOMENT IN THE PROCESS, SHORTLY AFTER THE HOPED-FOR PASSAGE OF THE REFERENDA. THE VISIT SHOULD BE STRUCTURED SO AS TO MAXIMIZE THE PERCEPTION OF AN ECONOMIC "PEACE DIVIDEND," PARTICULARLY IN WORKING CLASS AREAS AND THE BORDER COUNTIES WHERE SKEPTICISM REGARDING THE BENEFITS OF PEACE RUNS HIGH. THESE EVENTS SHOULD BE COORDINATED WITH THE ACTIVITIES BEING CARRIED OUT BY SPECIAL ECONOMIC ADVISOR LYONS IN THE FIELD OF LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

#### NED/NDI SUPPORT

19. (X) MANY OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE SEVERELY UNDERFUNDED AND THEIR COFFERS WILL, IN ANY EVENT, BE DEPLETED BY EXPENDITURES IN THE REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE NED/NDI TO OFFER SUPPORT ON AN EQUAL, NON-PARTISAN BASIS TO PARTIES CAMPAIGNING IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTION. OTHERWISE, THE MESSAGES OF A NOT INSIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES SIMPLY WILL NOT GET OUT, TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. (NOTE: AMBASSADOR SMITH WILL BE MEETING WITH NED PRESIDENT CARL GERSHMAN IN DUBLIN ON MARCH 31 AND WILL URGE HIM TO EXPLORE WAYS IN WHICH NED AND NDI COULD WORK TOGETHER ON NORTHERN IRELAND. IN ADDITION, AMBASSADOR SMITH HAS HAD PREVIOUS CONTACT WITH NDI CHAIRMAN PAUL KIRK AND WILL BE CONTACTING HIM REGARDING POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE.)

#### OTHER VISITS

20. (C) WE HAVE HEARD FROM VARIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN AND NORTHERN IRISH SOURCES THAT PRESIDENT MANDELA HOPES TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND AT SOME POINT. WE UNDERSTAND HE WILL BE IN THE UK IN MAY; IN THE FOLLOW-UP TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA, WE MIGHT ENCOURAGE PRESIDENT MANDELA TO TRAVEL TO BELFAST TO ADD HIS VOICE TO THE CALL FOR A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. A GROUP OF NOBEL LAUREATES, SUCH AS OSCAR ARIAS, VACLAV HAVEL, THE DALAI LAMA AND BISHOP BELO COULD ALSO BE

INVITED TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND TOGETHER.

#### IFI FUNDING

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21. (C) FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND COULD BE INCREASED MODESTLY. THE U.S. ALSO SHOULD ENCOURAGE GREATER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE IFI AND EU FUNDING MECHANISMS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE IFI AND EU COULD WORK TOGETHER ON THE PILOT PROJECTS FOR LOCAL COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION NOTED ABOVE.

*JWS idea ->  
got blown  
off when  
she started  
calling re: this*

#### USIA SPEAKERS AND EXCHANGES

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22. (C) IF A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED, THERE MAY BE A NEED FOR EXPERTS TO ADDRESS A RANGE OF TOPICS, SUCH AS CIVIL RIGHTS, THE ENVIRONMENT, POLICING AND TRANSPORTATION. SPEAKERS FROM THE USG, AS WELL AS THE ACADEMIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS, SHOULD BE PLACED ON CALL. USIA ALREADY IS SEEKING TO IDENTIFY A TOP-LEVEL SPEAKER TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SEMINAR TO BE HELD IN BELFAST IN MID-MAY. IN ADDITION, USIA SHOULD EXPAND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES FOCUSED ON YOUNG PEOPLE AND EMERGING LEADERS AND AUGMENT EFFORTS SUCH AS THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND'S YOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS PROGRAM. THE PRESIDENT COULD ANNOUNCE THIS DURING HIS VISIT.

#### CONTINUING U.S. ROLE

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23. (C) WE HAVE OUTLINED A SCENARIO OF ALL-OUT AND HIGHLY VISIBLE U.S. ENGAGEMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND OVER THE COMING WEEKS, LINCHPINNED BY THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT AND, OF COURSE, SENATOR MITCHELL'S ROLE. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT WE CONTINUE TO PLAY A ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE RESULTS OF THE REFERENDA, ASSUMING THEY ARE POSITIVE. FOR EXAMPLE, DEPENDING ON THE ORGANIZATION OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, IT MAY BE USEFUL FOR U.S. AGENCIES WITH FUNCTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES TO ENGAGE WITH APPROPRIATE COUNTERPARTS IN AREAS SUCH AS ENVIRONMENT OR EDUCATION.

24. (C) IT IS LIKELY THAT SENATOR MITCHELL AND/OR MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF MIGHT BE ASKED TO TAKE ON A "MONITORING" ROLE AS THE AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED. AS THE TALKS CONTINUE OVER THE NEXT TEN DAYS, WE SHOULD BEGIN TO SOUND OUT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ON WHAT ROLE THE U.S. MIGHT USEFULLY PLAY IN SUPPORTING OR HELPING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. U.S. SUPPORT AND FUNDING FOR ONE OR TWO FLAGSHIP "SETTLEMENT PROJECTS" SUCH AS THE SPRINGVALE CAMPUS COULD ALSO BE IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING THE IMMEDIATE BENEFITS OF PEACE. WE SHOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO IDENTIFY FUNDING SOURCES WHICH CAN BE ANNOUNCED BY MID-MAY.

25. (U) WE BOTH LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING INTENSIVELY OVER THE COMING WEEKS WITH WASHINGTON AND THE GOVERNMENTS IN OUR TWO CAPITALS TO DO ALL WE CAN TO PROMOTE A DURABLE SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

SMITH  
LADER

EXDIS

5

~~C/NFID~~

Summary of joint Dublin-London Cable

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: U.S. GAME PLAN FOR THE PEACE PROCESS

1. (C) SUMMARY: WITH A DEAL ALMOST WITHIN REACH, WE NEED TO BE ALERT TO WAYS U.S. INVOLVEMENT MIGHT BE HELPFUL AS THE STORMONT TALKS APPROACH THE CRUNCH POINT, AND TO HOW THE U.S. MIGHT BEST SUPPORT THE EFFORTS TO SECURE BROAD ACCEPTANCE OF A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT OVER THE NEXT TEN WEEKS OR SO. THE GAME PLAN BELOW PROVIDES OUR COMBINED THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS IDEAS REGARDING U.S. EFFORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED RECENTLY IN WASHINGTON AND THE FIELD. WE OFFER THIS TIMELINE TO HELP WASHINGTON DECISION-MAKERS AS THEY CONSIDER HOW TO STRUCTURE U.S. ACTIVITIES IN THIS ENDGAME PHASE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. ASSUMING AN ACCOMMODATION IS REACHED AT STORMONT, A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON TO BELFAST AND DUBLIN IN MID-MAY, ALONG WITH COMMERCE SECRETARY DALEY'S VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES IN EARLY JUNE, SHOULD CONSTITUTE THE LINCHPINS OF U.S. EFFORTS.

2. (C) IF AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD VISIT IRELAND TO APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE IN BOTH THE NORTH AND SOUTH, AS HE DID SO SUCCESSFULLY IN 1995. WHILE CAREFULLY AVOIDING DIRECT INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL MATTERS, HIS VISIT WOULD GALVANIZE SUPPORT FOR A JUST PEACE SETTLEMENT BY HIGHLIGHTING THE GAINS TO BE MADE, NOTABLY IN INCREASED INWARD INVESTMENT AND JOB CREATION. AS A CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION OF U.S. SUPPORT, WE RECOMMEND THE ADMINISTRATION WORK WITH CONGRESS TO DEVELOP A BIPARTISAN PACKAGE TO INCLUDE INCREASED FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND.

3. (C) SECRETARY DALEY'S VISIT, WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF A "YES" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM, SHOULD FOCUS ON BRINGING TOP U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS ATTENTION TO THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS FOR BUSINESS.

4. (C) THESE TWO KEY EVENTS SHOULD BE BOLSTERED IN THE MEANTIME BY:

- CONTINUED PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FOCUSED ON THE "PEACE DIVIDEND";
- ORGANIZING A BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY LEADER ROUNDTABLE;
- FACILITATING PRIVATE FUNDING AND ADVISING OF PROPONENTS OF "YES" VOTES IN THE REFERENDA;
- RECRUITING CELEBRITY PARTICIPATION IN "FEEL-GOOD" EVENTS;

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- FACILITATING A MODEST NED/NDI ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND;
- PROVIDING USIA AND OTHER SPEAKERS.

5. (C) FINALLY, WE SHOULD BEGIN GIVING THOUGHT TO WHAT CONTINUING ROLE THE U.S. SHOULD PLAY IN SUPPORTING THE EFFORTS OF THE PARTIES AND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

U.S. ROLE IN THE END GAME

6. (C) THE "COUNTDOWN" TO THE END GAME IS UNDERWAY. ALTHOUGH ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE TALKS HAVE PUBLICLY WELCOMED SENATOR MITCHELL'S SETTING OF AN APRIL 9 DEADLINE FOR REACHING AGREEMENT, THERE IS STILL LITTLE HINT OF ACCOMMODATION ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS NORTH/SOUTH LINKS AND THE ROLE OF AN ASSEMBLY. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF BRINKSMANSHIP AT PLAY IN A CONTEXT THAT MOST PEOPLE RECOGNIZE AS HISTORIC. A DEAL, IF THERE IS ONE, IS LIKELY TO EMERGE ONLY AT THE LAST MINUTE.

7. (C) AS THIS PROCESS ENTERS THE DECISIVE PHASE, THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE SEVERAL IMPORTANT CARDS TO PLAY. WE THEREFORE HAVE GIVEN THOUGHT TO HOW BEST TO CALIBRATE AND FINE TUNE U.S. EFFORTS IN THE RUN UP TO AN AGREEMENT, THE REFERENDA ON IT AND ITS SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION. IN PURSUING OUR GOAL OF SECURING A DURABLE SETTLEMENT, WE MUST STRIKE A DELICATE BALANCE: WHILE WE WANT TO PROVIDE ATTENTION, ENERGY AND MOMENTUM IN FAVOR OF THE AGREEMENT, WE DO NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO BE INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EITHER THE UK OR IRELAND, IN TERMS OF THE PROPOSED REFERENDA OR ELECTIONS TO A NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY.

GAME PLAN

8. (C) OUR ACTIONS SHOULD BE SYNCHRONIZED WITH THE TIMELINE OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS ITSELF, ALONG THE LINES OUTLINED BELOW. SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES RECOMMENDED ARE ALREADY IN TRAIN, AND NEED ONLY SOME "BEEFING UP" OR REFOCUSING, OTHERS

WILL REQUIRE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION FROM WASHINGTON.

EVENT TIMING: AGREEMENT IN MULTI-PARTY TALKS BY APRIL 9

7

9. (X) THE PRESIDENT'S ST. PATRICK'S DAY CALL ON ALL SIDES TO COMPROMISE WAS HEARD LOUD AND CLEAR BY THE PARTIES GATHERED IN WASHINGTON AS WELL AS ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC. SENATOR MITCHELL'S SETTING OF APRIL 9 AS THE DEADLINE FOR AGREEMENT WAS ALSO WELL -- IF NERVOUSLY -- RECEIVED HERE. SENATOR MITCHELL HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE IS NOW STEPPING FORWARD ACTIVELY TO PUSH THE PROCESS TO A CONCLUSION.

11. (X) WE DO RECOMMEND THAT WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WE PLACE ARTICLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND PUBLICATIONS BY PROMINENT U.S. CEO'S, POLITICIANS AND OTHER INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS HIGHLIGHTING HOW A STABLE PEACE WILL MAKE NORTHERN IRELAND MORE ATTRACTIVE TO U.S. INVESTMENT AND TOURISM. (SEE E.G., STATE 47421.)

EVENT/TIMING: "YES" VOTE IN REFERENDA O/A MAY 22

#### PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

12. (X) A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO BELFAST AND DUBLIN FOLLOWING THE G8 BIRMINGHAM SUMMIT, THOUGH NOT WITHOUT RISKS, IS THE MOST IMPORTANT POTENTIAL CARD WE HAVE TO PLAY. OBVIOUSLY, IT IS TOO SOON TO COMMIT TO THIS POSSIBILITY BUT, IN THE EVENT AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED, HIS VISIT WOULD GALVANIZE INTEREST IN THE REFERENDA, WHICH VERY TENTATIVELY ARE SCHEDULED FOR MAY 22. TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD NOT EXPLICITLY ENDORSE THE "YES" POSITION. RATHER, ENCOURAGING EVERYONE TO VOTE, HIS MESSAGE COULD STRESS THE NEED NOT TO LET THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE BE WASTED. HE COULD REACH BEYOND PARTY LINES, AS HE DID SO EFFECTIVELY IN 1995, TO URGE UNCOMMITTED AND APATHETIC VOTERS, INCLUDING YOUNG PEOPLE AND WOMEN, TO SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

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EVENT/TIMING: NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS O/A JUNE 25

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#### CONTINUING U.S. ROLE

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~~TOP SECRET CODEWORD/EXDIS~~

11

INR

## Northern Ireland: Economic Trends (U)

*The economy may face a slowdown despite its successful performance and the boost that permanent peace would bring. (CAF)*

Despite recent significant improvements and investments, the economy's underlying problems may give it a rough ride over the next two years. Problems include the possibility of a strong sterling and its negative impact on exports, and the Asian crisis's effect on inward investment. Cushioned by public employment and subsidies early this decade, the economy now faces subsidy cuts and tighter public spending. Ulster also needs to continue developing cheaper energy options and improving transport links to Ireland, the United States, and Europe. (CAF)

### Unemployment high, but falling

Unemployment remains one of Northern Ireland's most serious problems, despite a drop to 7.9% in January from 11.3% in August 1996. High rates of long-term unemployment, low-wage jobs, more part-time positions, and the lack of appropriate skills for the unemployed are among the hurdles to overcome. The bipartisan Alliance party argues the need to encourage entrepreneurs, create better education, training, and day-care opportunities, promote incentives for employers to hire the long-term unemployed, target disadvantaged areas, and improve internal bureaucratic cooperation and efficiency. (CAF)

Republican leaders require that any peace deal include additional measures to guarantee equality, such as strengthening existing fair labor laws, claiming Catholic men have an unemployment rate higher than that of Protestant men. Northern Ireland Secretary Mowlam on March 11 announced a new "equality commission" to ensure Catholics and other minorities do not suffer discrimination. (CAF)

### Cautious investors, peace dividends

Though investors are more cautious over the current cease-fire, many companies continue to benefit from the previous one through the steady inflow of foreign capital. Most investors introduced to Ulster during the 1994-96 truce proceeded with their plans after the cease-fire collapsed. In the year to March 1997, foreign investment increased by 13%, accounting for 35 new projects with the potential for 4,640 jobs. (CAF)

The United States, which uses Ulster as a production base for exports to the UK, Ireland, and Europe, remains the most important source of foreign investment—\$850 million in the past five years, providing almost 9,000 jobs in 40 firms. British and Irish governments and business organizations as well as Northern Ireland entities are actively promoting new investment, both local and foreign, in Ulster as well as via cross-border cooperation. (CAF)

Estimates suggest permanent peace in Northern Ireland could create 10,000 jobs through increased foreign investment and 20,000 jobs through increased tourism. Cross-border economic cooperation is already well-established as one of the few areas of common ground between nationalists and unionists. UK-Irish efforts to promote trade and investment have been largely successful; problems arise when the efforts are seen to have a political dimension. The EU has offered an extra \$135 million for its program to boost economic cooperation between north and south. The initial peace and reconciliation program allotted \$330 million up to 1999. (CAF)

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2015-0156-M (1.05)

KBH 3/3/2023

~~TOP SECRET CODEWORD/EXDIS~~

March 16, 1998

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Friday, March 27, 1998 1:05 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; McEldowney, Nancy E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** NORTHERN IRELAND: U.S. GAME PLAN FG THE PEACE

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 271724Z MAR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4860  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY LONDON  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 3364  
**TOR:** 980327124304 M3218399

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0196-M (1.03)  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 003364

EXDIS

JOINT MESSAGE FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH AND AMBASSADOR LADER

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

DEPT FOR P, EUR/UBI AND S/IR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/26/03  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EAID, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: U.S. GAME PLAN FG THE PEACE  
PROCESS

CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH, DUBLIN, AND  
AMBASSADOR PHILIP LADER, LONDON. REASON: 1.5(D)

1. (C) SUMMARY: WITH A DEAL ALMOST WITHIN REACH, WE NEED TO BE ALERT TO WAYS U.S. INVOLVEMENT MIGHT BE HELPFUL AS THE STORMONT TALKS APPROACH THE CRUNCH POINT, AND TO HOW THE U.S. MIGHT BEST SUPPORT THE EFFORTS TO SECURE BROAD ACCEPTANCE OF A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT OVER THE NEXT TEN WEEKS OR SO. THE GAME PLAN BELOW PROVIDES OUR COMBINED THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS IDEAS REGARDING U.S. EFFORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED RECENTLY IN WASHINGTON AND THE FIELD. WE OFFER THIS TIMELINE TO HELP WASHINGTON DECISION-MAKERS AS THEY CONSIDER HOW TO STRUCTURE US. ACTIVITIES IN THIS ENDGAME PHASE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. ASSUMING AN ACCOMMODATION IS REACHED AT STORMONT, A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON TO BELFAST AND DUBLIN IN MID-MAY, ALONG WITH COMMERCE SECRETARY DALEY'S VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES IN EARLY JUNE, SHOULD CONSTITUTE THE LINCHPINS OF U.S. EFFORTS.

2. (C) IF AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED, THE PRESIDT SHOULD VISIT IRELAND TO APPEAL OVER THE HEADS OF POLITICIANS TO THE PEOPLE IN BOTH THE NORTH AND SOUTH, AS HE DID SO SUCCESSFULLY IN 1995. WHILE CAREFULLY AVOIDING DIRECT INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL MATTERS, HIS VISIT WOULD GALVANIZE SUPPORT FOR A JUST PEACE SETTLEMENT BY HIGHLIGHTING THE GAINS TO BE MADE, NOTABLY IN INCREASED INWARD INVESTMENT AND JOB CREATION. AS A CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION OF U.S. SUPPORT, WE RECOMMEND THE ADMINISTRATION WORK WITH CONGRESS TO DEVELOP A BIPARTISAN PACKAGE TO INCLUDE INCREASED FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND.

3. (C) SECRETARY DALEY'S VISIT, WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF A "YES" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM, SHOULD FOCUS ON BRINGING TOP U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS ATTENTION TO THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS FOR BUSINESS.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4. (C) THESE TWO KEY EVENTS SHOULD BE BOLSTERED IN THE MEANTIME BY:

- CONTINUED PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FOCUSED ON THE "PEACE DIVIDEND";
- ORGANIZING A BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY LEADER ROUNDTABLE;
- FACILITATING PRIVATE FUNDING AND ADVISING OF PROPONEUS OF "YES" VOTES IN THE REFERENDA;
- RECRUITING CELEBRITY PARTICIPATION IN "FEEL-GOOD" EVENTS;
- FACILITATING A MODEST NED/NDI ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND;
- PROVIDING USIA AND OTHER SPEAKERS.

5. (C) FINALLY, WE SHOULD BEGIN GIVING THOUGHT TO WHAT CONTINUING ROLE THE U.S. SHOULD PLAY IN SUPPORTING THE EFFORTS OF THE PARTIES AND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

#### U.S. ROLE IN THE END GAME

6. (C) THE "COUNTDOWN" TO THE END GAME IS UNDERWAY. ALTHOUGH ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE TALKS HAVE PUBLICLY WELCOMED SENATOR MITCHELL'S SETTING OF AN APRIL 9 DEADLINE FOR REACHING AGREEMENT, THERE IS STILL LITTLE HINT OF ACCOMMODATION ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS NORTH/SOUTH LINKS AND THE ROLE OF AN ASSEMBLY. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF BRINKSMANSHIP AT PLAY IN A CONTEXT THAT MOST PEOPLE RECOGNIZE AS HISTORIC. A DEAL, IF THERE IS ONE, IS LIKELY TO EMERGE ONLY AT THE LAST MINUTE.

7. (C) AS THIS PROCESS ENTERS THE DECISIVE PHASE, THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE SEVERAL IMPORTANT CARDS TO PLAY. WE THEREFORE HAVE GIVEN THOUGHT TO HOW BEST TO CALIBRATE AND FINE TUNE U.S. EFFORTS IN THE RUN UP TO AN AGREEMENT, THE REFERENDA ON IT AND ITS SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION. IN PURSUING OUR GOAL OF SECURING A DURABLE SETTLEMENT, WE MUST STRIKE A DELICATE BALANCE: WHILE WE WANT TO PROVIDE ATTENTION, ENERGY AND MOMENTUM IN FAVOR OF THE AGREEMENT, WE DO NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO BE INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EITHER THE UK OR IRELAND, IN TERMS OF THE PROPOSED REFERENDA OR ELECTIONS TO A NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY.

#### GAME PLAN

8. (C) OUR ACTIONS SHOULD BE SYNCHRONIZED WITH THE TIMELINE OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS ITSELF, ALONG THE LINES OUTLINED BELOW. SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES RECOMMENDED ARE ALREADY IN TRAIN, AND NEED ONLY SOME "BEEFING UP" OR REFOCUSING, OTHERS

WILL REQUIRE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION FROM WASHINGTON.

EVENT TIMING: AGREEMENT IN MULTI-PARTY TALKS BY APRIL 9

9. (C) THE PRESIDENT'S ST. PATRICK'S DAY CALL ON ALL SIDES TO COMPROMISE WAS HEARD LOUD AND CLEAR BY THE PARTIES GATHERED IN WASHINGTON AS WELL AS ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC. SENATOR MITCHELL'S SETTING OF APRIL 9 AS THE DEADLINE FOR AGREEMENT WAS ALSO WELL -- IF NERVOUSLY -- RECEIVED HERE. SENATOR MITCHELL HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE IS NOW STEPPING FORWARD ACTIVELY TO PUSH THE PROCESS TO A CONCLUSION. OUR JUDGMENT AT THIS MOMENT IS THAT FURTHER DIRECT USG PRESSURE ON ADAMS IS UNLIKELY TO BE EFFECTIVE EXCEPT AT THE MARGINS; ON TRIMBLE IT COULD BE DOWNRIGHT COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

10. (C) HOWEVER, WE SHOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH SENATOR MITCHELL AND HIS COLLEAGUES, AS WELL AS WITH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, THROUGH THE NEXT TEN DAYS TO OBTAIN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER, WHEN AND WHAT USG INTERVENTION MIGHT BE

HELPFUL. RECOGNIZING THAT SCOPE FOR DIRECT U.S. INVOLVEMENT AT THIS STAGE IS NECESSARILY LIMITED, WE NONETHELESS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO WEIGH IN WITH PARTIES IN A MEASURED FASHION IF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ASK FOR OUR ASSISTANCE ON A KEY POINT.

11. (X) WE DO RECOMMEND THAT WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WE PLACE ARTICLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND PUBLICATIONS BY PROMINENT U.S. CEO'S, POLITICIANS AND OTHER INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS HIGHLIGHTING HOW A STABLE PEACE WILL MAKE NORTHERN IRELAND MORE ATTRACTIVE TO U.S. INVESTMENT AND TOURISM. (SEE E.G., STATE 47421.)

EVENT/TIMING: "YES" VOTE IN REFERENDA O/A MAY 22

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#### PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

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12. (X) A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO BELFAST AND DUBLIN FOLLOWING THE G8 BIRMINGHAM SUMMIT, THOUGH NOT WITHOUT RISKS, IS THE MOST IMPORTANT POTENTIAL CARD WE HAVE TO PLAY. OBVIOUSLY, IT IS TOO SOON TO COMMIT TO THIS POSSIBILITY BUT, IN THE EVGT AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED, HIS VISIT WOULD GALVANIZE INTEREST IN THE REFERENDA, WHICH VERY TENTATIVELY ARE SCHEDULED FOR MAY 22. TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD NOT EXPLICITLY ENDORSE THE "YES" POSITION. RATHER, ENCOURAGING EVERYONE TO VOTE, HIS MESSAGE COULD STRESS THE NEED NOT TO LET THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE BE WASTED. HE COULD REACH BEYOND PARTY LINES, AS HE DID SO EFFECTIVELY IN 1995, TO URGE UNCOMMITTED AND APATHETIC VOTERS, INCLUDING YOUNG PEOPLE AND WOMEN, TO SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

13. (X) HE COULD ALSO ASSURE AUDIENCES IN BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH THAT THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO BE INVOLVED IN SUPPORT OF AN EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO BELFAST MIGHT INCLUDE:

- A KEYNOTE SPEECH AT A VERY LARGE PUBLIC EVENT, WITH TOP CELEBRITY ENTERTAINMENT, PERHAPS HELD AT THE WATERFRONT HALL OR ON THE STORMONT GROUNDS IN EAST BELFAST.
- A ROUNDTABLE EVENT, TO INCLUDE A PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION OF PROMINENT AMERICAN CEO'S AND COMMUNITY LEADERS. THE EVENT SHOULD HIGHLIGHT THE NEED FOR THE BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY SECTORS TO ADOPT A HIGHER PROFILE IN WORKING TOGETHER TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION. IT SHOULD FOCUS ON EARLY, VISIBLE MOVEMENT ON THE GROUND, INCLUDING PILOT PROJECTS ALONG THE LINES OF BROOKLYN'S SUCCESSFUL BEDFORD-STUYVESANT MODEL.
- ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVE, WITH BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT, INCREASING FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND, AND POSSIBLY EARMARKING A PORTION OF IT FOR A NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY TO BE BUILT ON THE PEACE LINE IN WEST BELFAST -- THE SPRINGVALE PROJECT. THIS INITIATIVE SHOULD FOCUS HEAVILY ON PROVIDING TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, INCLUDING EX-PRISONERS.

14. (X) IN DUBLIN, THE PRESIDENT COULD DELIVER AN ADDRESS AT AN HISTORIC SITE (E.G., KILMAINHAM JAIL OR GLENCREE RECONCILIATION CENTER). HIS THEME COULD BE RECONCILIATION OF THIS CENTURIES-OLD CONFLICT.

#### PRIVATE FUNDING AND ADVICE

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15. (X) ALREADY SOME PRIVATE GROUPS ORGANIZED AROUND STRENGTHENING "CIVIL SOCIETY" HAVE APPROACHED CONGEN BELFAST

WITH REQUESTS FOR ADVICE AND FUNDING IN DEVELOPING A CAMPAIGN TO BRING OUT THE "YES" VOTE. SUCH REQUESTS COULD BE STEERED TOWARD SOURCES OF PRIVATE U.S. FUNDING AND WE ALSO MAY WANT INFORMALLY TO PUT THEM IN CONTACT WITH CAMPAIGN AND POLLING PROFESSIONALS IN THE U.S. WHO MIGHT BE PREPARED TO OFFER THEM ADVICE. DESPITE SOME LEGAL AND POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, WE BELIEVE BRITISH AND IRISH RESOURCES FOR AN EDUCATION CAMPAIGN IN ADVANCE OF THE REFERENDA WILL BE ADEQUATE, AND WE DO NOT RECOMMEND TRYING TO INVOLVE NED/NDI IN THIS EFFORT.

#### PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON THE "PEACE DIVIDEND"

16. (C) IN ADDITION TO ARTICLES BY CEO'S AND OTHERS, WE WOULD PLAN TO USE OUR AMBASSADORIAL TRAVELS, AND SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS (INCLUDING JOINT APPEARANCES) THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC AND NORTHERN IRELAND TO EMPHASIZE THE FACT THAT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND PEACE WILL MAKE THE ISLAND MORE ATTRACTIVE TO U.S. INVESTMENT. CONGEN BELFAST ALSO IS WORKING WITH SENATOR MITCHELL TO COORDINATE AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS FOR HIM AS WELL.

#### CELEBRITY PEACE EVENTS

17. (C) MO MOWLAM ALREADY IS WORKING ON A NUMBER OF CELEBRITY EVENTS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFERENDA, INCLUDING AN ELTON JOHN CONCERT ON THE STORMONT GROUNDS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR MAY 27. TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN ENCOURAGE AMERICAN PERFORMERS TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE COMING WEEKS, WE SHOULD. THESE VISITS WOULD NOT BE OVERTLY POLITICAL, BUT COULD HELP FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE BENEFITS THAT ACCRUE TO SOCIETIES THAT ARE AT PEACE.

EVENT/TIMING: NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS O/A JUNE 25

#### COMMERCE SECRETARY TRADE MISSION

18. (C) THE VISIT OF SECRETARY OF COMMERCE DALEY TO BELFAST AND THE BORDER COUNTIES THE WEEK OF JUNE 8 WILL COME AT A KEY MOMENT IN THE PROCESS, SHORTLY AFTER THE HOPED-FOR PASSAGE OF THE REFERENDA. THE VISIT SHOULD BE STRUCTURED SO AS TO MAXIMIZE THE PERCEPTION OF AN ECONOMIC "PEACE DIVIDEND," PARTICULARLY IN WORKING CLASS AREAS AND THE BORDER COUNTIES WHERE SKEPTICISM REGARDING THE BENEFITS OF PEACE RUNS HIGH. THESE EVENTS SHOULD BE COORDINATED WITH THE ACTIVITIES BEING CARRIED OUT BY SPECIAL ECONOMIC ADVISOR LYONS IN THE FIELD OF LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

#### NED/NDI SUPPORT

19. (C) MANY OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE SEVERELY UNDERFUNDED AND THEIR COFFERS WILL, IN ANY EVENT, BE DEPLETED BY EXPENDITURES IN THE REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE NED/NDI TO OFFER SUPPORT ON AN EQUAL, NON-PARTISAN BASIS TO PARTIES CAMPAIGNING IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTION. OTHERWISE, THE MESSAGES OF A NOT INSIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES SIMPLY WILL NOT GET OUT, TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. (NOTE: AMBASSADOR SMITH WILL BE MEETING WITH NED PRESIDENT CARL GERSHMAN IN DUBLIN ON MARCH 31 AND WILL URGE HIM TO EXPLORE WAYS IN WHICH NED AND NDI COULD WORK TOGETHER ON NORTHERN IRELAND. IN ADDITION, AMBASSADOR SMITH HAS HAD PREVIOUS CONTACT WITH NDI CHAIRMAN PAUL KIRK AND WILL BE CONTACTING HIM REGARDING POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE.)

#### OTHER VISITS

20. (C) WE HAVE HEARD FROM VARIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN AND NORTHERN IRISH SOURCES THAT PRESIDENT MANDELA HOPES TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND AT SOME POINT. WE UNDERSTAND HE WILL BE IN THE UK IN MAY; IN THE FOLLOW-UP TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA, WE MIGHT ENCOURAGE PRESIDENT MANDELA TO TRAVEL TO BELFAST TO ADD HIS VOICE TO THE CALL FOR A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT. A GROUP OF NOBEL LAUREATES, SUCH AS OSCAR ARIAS, VACLAV HAVEL, THE DALAI LAMA AND BISHOP BELLO COULD ALSO BE

INVITED TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND TOGETHER.

#### IFI FUNDING

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21. (C) FUNDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND COULD BE INCREASED MODESTLY. THE U.S. ALSO SHOULD ENCOURAGE GREATER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE IFI AND EU FUNDING MECHANISMS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE IFI AND EU COULD WORK TOGETHER ON THE PILOT PROJECTS FOR LOCAL COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION NOTED ABOVE.

#### USIA SPEAKERS AND EXCHANGES

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22. (C) IF A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED, THERE MAY BE A NEED FOR EXPERTS TO ADDRESS A RANGE OF TOPICS, SUCH AS CIVIL RIGHTS, THE ENVIRONMENT, POLICING AND TRANSPORTATION. SPEAKERS FROM THE USG, AS WELL AS THE ACADEMIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS, SHOULD BE PLACED ON CALL. USIA ALREADY IS SEEKING TO IDENTIFY A TOP-LEVEL SPEAKER TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SEMINAR TO BE HELD IN BELFAST IN MID-MAY. IN ADDITION, USIA SHOULD EXPAND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES FOCUSED ON YOUNG PEOPLE AND EMERGING LEADERS AND AUGMENT EFFORTS SUCH AS THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND'S YOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS PROGRAM. THE PRESIDENT COULD ANNOUNCE THIS DURING HIS VISIT.

#### CONTINUING U.S. ROLE

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23. (C) WE HAVE OUTLINED A SCENARIO OF ALL-OUT AND HIGHLY VISIBLE U.S. ENGAGEMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND OVER THE COMING WEEKS, LINCHPINNED BY THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT AND, OF COURSE, SENATOR MITCHELL'S ROLE. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT WE CONTINUE TO PLAY A ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE RESULTS OF THE REFERENDA, ASSUMING THEY ARE POSITIVE. FOR EXAMPLE, DEPENDING ON THE ORGANIZATION OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, IT MAY BE USEFUL FOR U.S. AGENCIES WITH FUNCTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES TO ENGAGE WITH APPROPRIATE COUNTERPARTS IN AREAS SUCH AS ENVIRONMENT OR EDUCATION.

24. (C) IT IS LIKELY THAT SENATOR MITCHELL AND/OR MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF MIGHT BE ASKED TO TAKE ON A "MONITORING" ROLE AS THE AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED. AS THE TALKS CONTINUE OVER THE NEXT TEN DAYS, WE SHOULD BEGIN TO SOUND OUT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ON WHAT ROLE THE U.S. MIGHT USEFULLY PLAY IN SUPPORTING OR HELPING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. U.S. SUPPORT AND FUNDING FOR ONE OR TWO FLAGSHIP "SETTLEMENT PROJECTS" SUCH AS THE SPRINGVALE CAMPUS COULD ALSO BE IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING THE IMMEDIATE BENEFITS OF PEACE. WE SHOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO IDENTIFY FUNDING SOURCES WHICH CAN BE ANNOUNCED BY MID-MAY.

25. (U) WE BOTH LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING INTENSIVELY OVER THE COMING WEEKS WITH WASHINGTON AND THE GOVERNMENTS IN OUR TWO CAPITALS TO DO ALL WE CAN TO PROMOTE A DURABLE SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

SMITH  
LADER



United States Department of State

Special Advisor to the President  
and the Secretary of State for  
Economic Initiatives in Ireland

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NODIS

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.09)  
KBH 3/3/2023

To: President Bill Clinton  
Secretary of State Madeleine Albright

From: James M. Lyons

Re: Economic initiatives/Northern Ireland

Date: March 11, 1998

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In advance of your meetings and discussions next week with Prime Minister Ahern and others, I have prepared a brief overview of our pending projects and economic initiatives:

**1. Belfast workshop**

We hosted a two-day workshop in Belfast on February 26-27, 1998, to address the need for small business capital at the community level and potential mechanisms for meeting that unserved need. Key leaders from community groups, the banking sector, and senior government representatives participated in both public and private sessions. While some additional analysis is being conducted by each of these groups, the preliminary consensus is that a "specialized financial institution" would be highly desirable and effective. Toward this end, we have developed an initial concept of an "entrepreneurial growth trust" which would provide both credit and training directly to small businesses. We anticipate an initial capitalization of at least ten million pounds to be raised from private sources. A follow-up meeting will be held in Belfast next month. Assuming agreement and support by the participants, we would anticipate a joint announcement of this initiative at that time.

**2. Derry Initiative**

The business and community sectors in Derry have had a successful working relationship for economic initiatives for some time. We met with key leaders in December and have various input since then. We are hosting a meeting in Washington next week to discuss specific ideas. For example, based on the Belfast workshop described above, we understand that there is considerable enthusiasm for a similar pilot project in Derry.

We are also working with the Industrial Development Board for Northern Ireland (IDB) to find a replacement tenant and use for the United Technologies site vacated last year with a loss of approximately 400 net jobs. A number of proposals for this site have been advanced including an industrial/community purpose use which is supported by the IDB. I will continue to work directly with the IDB and have scheduled a meeting with Senator Chris Dodd next week to enlist his assistance as well. (United Technologies is headquartered in Hartford, and Senator Dodd has previously expressed a willingness to provide support and assistance to our office.)

### **3. Border Counties**

I have had preliminary discussions with Dr. Mowlam and senior representatives of the Irish government about a cross-border initiative targeting the two principal transportation corridors, i.e., Belfast-Dublin and Derry-Omagh-Dublin. The concept here is to form a bi-jurisdictional bonding authority to construct and/or improve these vital road links. (A possible "peace bond" financing vehicle may also be useful.) Given the sensitivity of Strand 2 and "executive body" issues, this concept has been treated with sensitivity and is not the subject of any general or public discussion. As Strand 2 becomes more settled, we are in a position to move forward with this concept. The reaction of both governments to the concept has been generally positive.

### **4. Springvale Campus**

The University of Ulster and the British government are prepared to move forward with a community college/vocational-style campus to be located on the Springvale site in West Belfast. There is solid support in both communities for this facility, which has both real economic and symbolic significance. You will recall that the International Fund for Ireland at our instance pledged an initial five million pounds toward this campus two years ago. The British government is now seeking additional private funding (approximately ten million pounds) to allow the project to be formally announced and ground to be broken. I am anxious to bring this to fruition as soon as possible (i.e., before the May referendum). Further to the additional private funding, I have agreed to meet with Dr. Mowlam on Monday, March 16, to develop a game plan for raising additional private funding in support of the project.

If you have any questions or require any further information, I will be happy to provide it. I look forward to seeing you next week.

cc: Jim Steinberg/NSC  
Jim O'Brien/State

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Monday, June 22, 1998 12:37 PM  
**To:** Butler, Lawrence E.; Haines, Mary A.; Lee, Malcolm R.  
**Subject:** SECRETARY DALEY'S MEETING WITH IRISH PM AHERN:

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 220844Z JUN 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3612  
RUCPDOG/USDOC WASHDC  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 3294  
**TOR:** 980622051758 M3344898

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PER E.O. 13526**  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 003294

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
USDOC FOR CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID LANE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/12/08  
TAGS: ECON, EAGR, ETRD, EINV, ECIN, EUN, EI  
SUBJECT: SECRETARY DALEY'S MEETING WITH IRISH PM AHERN:  
ECONOMIC ISSUES

REFS: A) DUBLIN 3141 B) DUBLIN 3225

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASONS 1.5 (B)  
AND (D).

**SUMMARY**

1. (S) IRISH TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) BERTIE AHERN TOLD VISITING COMMERCE SECRETARY WILLIAM DALEY IN THEIR JUNE 11 MEETING THAT THE SECRETARY'S TRADE MISSION TO IRELAND HAD GIVEN A "GREAT PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST" TO THE PEACE PROCESS, AS WELL AS DEMONSTRATED A CONTINUING U.S. COMMITMENT. AHERN STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTRACTING BUSINESS TO THE REPUBLIC'S BORDER COUNTIES WHICH HAVE "MISSED OUT" ON THE BENEFITS OF IRELAND'S RECENT ECONOMIC SUCCESS. HE PREDICTED THE PEACE PROCESS WOULD ALLOW "NATURAL" BUSINESS TIES BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE REPUBLIC TO FLOURISH AGAIN. THE PRIME MINISTER PLEDGED ASSISTANCE IN FOLLOWING UP ON THE TRADE MISSION IN ANY WAY NEEDED. AHERN TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE IRISH ECONOMY REMAIN STRONG, THOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED PUBLIC CONCERN OVER RISING INFLATION. AHERN DOWNPLAYED THE INFLATION THREAT, HOWEVER, SAYING RECENT PRICE RISES ARE THE RESULT OF THE "TEMPORARY" STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH POUND AND OF HOUSING SHORTAGES IN DUBLIN AND CORK. WITH IRISH UNEMPLOYMENT STILL AT NINE PERCENT, AHERN SAID HE DID NOT AGREE THE IRISH ECONOMY COULD AFFORD TO "SLOW DOWN." AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S REQUEST, THE SECRETARY AGREED TO CLARIFY WITH THE U.S. FIRM "FRUIT OF THE LOOM" WHETHER THE FIRM PLANS TO PROCEED WITH A PROJECT IN DONEGAL WHICH HAS BENEFITED FROM IRISH GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT INCENTIVES.

2. (S) ON EU ISSUES, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID EU ENLARGEMENT WILL HAVE TO BE "CAREFULLY MANAGED" BUT IS GOOD IN THE LONG-TERM FOR IRELAND AND THE EU, DESPITE THE PHASING OUT OF EU ASSISTANCE TO IRELAND THAT ENLARGEMENT REQUIRES. AHERN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE AGENDA 2000 REFORMS WILL HURT IRISH FARMERS, AND MOST LIKELY ACCELERATE A CONTINUING DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL IRISH FARMERS. HE PREDICTED THAT THE SECOND ROUND OF EU ENLARGEMENT WOULD NOT TAKE PLACE

BEFORE 2005, BUT THAT THE UK WILL JOIN THE EUROPEAN MONETARY UNION BY 2001.

END SUMMARY

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3. (U) VISITING U.S. COMMERCE SECRETARY WILLIAM DALEY MET WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN, AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, ON JUNE 11, FOR A DISCUSSION OF NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES, THE SECRETARY'S TRADE MISSION TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC, AND THE GENERAL IRISH ECONOMIC SITUATION (NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES REPORTED REFTEL A). ALSO ATTENDING WERE AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH, THE SECRETARY'S CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID LANE, MAYOR TOM MENINO OF BOSTON, EMBASSY ECONOFF (NOTETAKER). REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MONSANTO CORPORATION AND FLUOR DANIEL CORPORATION, PARTICIPANTS IN THE SECRETARY'S TRADE DELEGATION, LATER JOINED THE MEETING. PRIME MINISTER AHERN'S POLITICAL ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH ALSO WAS PRESENT.

TRADE MISSION: A GREAT "BOOST" TO THE PEACE PROCESS

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4. (SBU) PRIME MINISTER AHERN OPENED THE MEETING WITH THANKS TO THE SECRETARY FOR BRINGING SUCH AN "IMPRESSIVE" TRADE MISSION TO IRELAND. AHERN SAID THAT THE MISSION AND THE PROMISE IT CARRIED OF AN ECONOMIC PEACE DIVIDEND GAVE A "GREAT PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST" TO THE PEACE PROCESS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER. THE MISSION WAS ALSO A STRONG SIGN TO THE IRISH THAT THE U.S. COMMITMENT, AND THAT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON PERSONALLY, TO THE PEACE PROCESS HAD NOT ENDED WITH THE SIGNING OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. THE PRIME MINISTER ASSURED THE SECRETARY THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO PROVIDE ANY ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO BUILD ON THE TIES AND BUSINESS INTEREST THE MISSION HAD GENERATED.

NEED TO FOCUS BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT IN THE BORDER REGIONS

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5. (SBU) AHERN TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT HE WAS ESPECIALLY PLEASED THAT THE TRADE MISSION'S FOCUS WAS ON THE BORDER COUNTIES OF IRELAND. THIS REGION HAS SUFFERED FROM A LACK OF BUSINESS INVESTMENT FOR "SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS" AND STANDS THE MOST TO GAIN FROM THE END OF VIOLENCE ON THE ISLAND. SECRETARY DALEY REPLIED THAT THE AMERICAN FIRMS ON THE MISSION WERE VERY "POSITIVE," AFTER VISITING BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER, ABOUT THE DURABILITY OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES IT OPENED UP IN THE BORDER COUNTIES AND ALL OVER THE ISLAND. SECRETARY DALEY TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT, ALTHOUGH NO SPECIFIC INVESTMENT ANNOUNCEMENTS HAD YET BEEN MADE, SEVERAL FIRMS, LIKE GE AND  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 003294

NSC OR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
USDOC FOR CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID LANE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/12/08  
TAGS: ECON, EAGR, ETRD, EINV, ECIN, EUN, EI  
SUBJECT: SECRETARY DALEY'S MEETING WITH IRISH PM AHERN:  
ECONOMIC ISSUES

PFIZER, WERE TALKING OF EXPANDING OPERATIONS IN THE BORDER REGION FOR ACCESS TO THE "NEW ALL-IRELAND" MARKET THE PEACE PROCESS IS CREATING.

AHERN: IRELAND INCREASINGLY A SINGLE ECONOMIC MARKET

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6. (S) AHERN REPLIED THAT CHIEF AMONG THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF PARTITION, COMPOUNDED BY THE THIRTY YEARS OF THE "TROUBLES," HAD BEEN THE "UNNATURAL" INTERRUPTION OF NORMAL BUSINESS TIES AND PATTERNS ON THE ISLAND. HE CITED A RECENT STUDY THAT FOUND THE CURRENT VALUE OF TRADE BETWEEN BELFAST AND DUBLIN IS SIXTY-EIGHT PERCENT LOWER THAN WHAT WOULD BE

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THE VALUE IF THE ISLAND WERE A SINGLE MARKET. THERE IS ENORMOUS OPPORTUNITY FOR EXPANDING NORTH-SOUTH TRADE, AHERN COMMENTED, AND HE HAD WORKED HARD TO GET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON THE BELFAST AGREEMENT'S LIST OF AREAS FOR NORTH-SOUTH LEGISLATIVE COOPERATION, BUT DAVID TRIMBLE HAD BEEN TOO STRONGLY OPPOSED. BUT IT "ONLY MADE SENSE" TO HAVE ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS DECISIONS MADE ON AN ALL-IRELAND BASIS. AHERN PREDICTED THAT EVEN IF GOVERNMENTS ARE SLOW TO ACT ON THIS UNDERSTANDING, FOREIGN AND IRISH BUSINESS WILL INCREASINGLY VIEW THE ISLAND AS ONE MARKET AND "IGNORE THE BORDER."

#### STATUS OF "FRUIT OF THE LOOM" INVESTMENT

7. (SBU) AHERN ASKED THE SECRETARY IF HE HAD ANY INFORMATION HE COULD SHARE ON THE PLANS OF THE U.S. FIRM "FRUIT OF THE LOOM" TO MOVE FORWARD WITH AN INVESTMENT IN COUNTY DONEGAL. AHERN SAID THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD "STOOD ON ITS HEAD" TO MEET THE COMPANY'S NEEDS, INCLUDING ALLOCATING THE ENTIRE WATER IMPROVEMENTS BUDGET FOR THE COUNTY TO THE PROJECT. NOW, AHERN SAID, HE UNDERSTOOD FRUIT OF THE LOOM WAS NOT GOING TO PROCEED, CHOOSING INSTEAD TO LOCATE IN EAST ASIA TO BENEFIT FROM FALLING WAGES THERE. AHERN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD "ECONOMIC REALITIES," BUT IF FRUIT OF THE LOOM DID MOVE TO EAST ASIA THERE WOULD BE "LOTS OF CRITICISM."

8. (SBU) IN REPLY, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD FRUIT OF THE LOOM HAD MADE NO FINAL DECISION ON ITS IRISH INVESTMENT PLANS. SECRETARY DALEY OFFERED TO RAISE THE ISSUE WITH THE COMPANY'S MANAGEMENT TO GET A SENSE OF THEIR THINKING AND HOW THE COMPANY PLANNED TO "MANAGE" THE PROCESS. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE PRIME MINISTER'S CONCERN AND WILL SUGGEST THE COMPANY KEEP THE IRISH GOVERNMENT INFORMED OF ITS PLANS. THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT IT IS "TOUGH" TO HOLD ON TO BUSINESS IN THE APPAREL SECTOR PRECISELY BECAUSE OWNERS MOVE FREQUENTLY TO FIND THE LOWEST POSSIBLE WAGE LEVELS.

#### IRISH ECONOMY AND INFLATION: "WHAT, US WORRY?"

9. (SBU) TURNING TO THE IRISH ECONOMY IN GENERAL, AHERN TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT THE ECONOMIC "FUNDAMENTALS" REMAIN GOOD. FOREIGN INVESTMENT CONTINUES TO BE STRONG, ESPECIALLY IN HIGH-TECH SECTORS LIKE COMPUTER SOFTWARE AND PHARMACEUTICALS

AS AN INDICATION OF IRELAND'S STRENGTH IN THESE SECTORS, AHERN TOLD SECRETARY DALEY THAT FIFTY-TWO PERCENT OF THE PERSONAL COMPUTERS NOW INSTALLED IN THE EU WERE ASSEMBLED IN IRELAND. IRELAND IS PICKING UP FOREIGN INVESTMENT, AHERN NOTED, THAT WOULD OTHERWISE GO TO GERMANY AND FRANCE IN PREVIOUS DECADES, ADDING THAT THIS DID CAUSE "SOME FRICTION" WITH EU PARTNERS. AHERN SAID HE ESPECIALLY WELCOMED THE CONTINUING HIGH LEVEL OF U.S. INVESTMENT IN IRELAND. AHERN BELIEVES U.S. INVESTMENT WILL INCREASE AS A RESULT OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE EU DECISION TO ALLOW IRELAND TO MAINTAIN ITS LOWER CORPORATE TAX RATES. IRELAND'S CORPORATE TAXATION RATES, AHERN NOTED, PLAY A LARGE PART IN ATTRACTING U.S. INVESTMENT.

10. (C) REFERRING TO IRISH INFLATION FIGURES RELEASED JUST THAT MORNING (REFTEL B), AHERN ACKNOWLEDGED INFLATIONARY PRESSURE ARE A POTENTIAL THREAT TO IRELAND'S CURRENT ECONOMIC BOOM. HE TOLD THE SECRETARY, HOWEVER, THAT INFLATIONARY PRESSURES ARE TO BE EXPECTED IN AN ECONOMY THAT HAS EXPANDED AS IRELAND'S HAS OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS. AHERN SAID MUCH OF THE RECENT PRICE RISE WAS SPARKED BY THE "TEMPORARY" STRENGTH OF BRITISH STERLING WHICH HAD DRIVEN UP FOOD PRICES OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS. ANOTHER FACTOR IN THE RISE IN PRICES WAS HOUSING SHORTAGES IN DUBLIN AND CORK. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT RECENT GOVERNMENT STEPS TO REDUCE TAX BENEFITS THAT ENCOURAGE HOUSING "SPECULATORS"

SHOULD BEGIN TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON HOUSE PRICES SOON. IN THE END, AHERN SAID, HE FOUND IT "DIFFICULT" TO AGREE THAT AN ECONOMY WITH AN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF OVER NINE PERCENT JEDED TO "SLOW DOWN."

EU ENLARGEMENT: BOON TO IRELAND, BUT NEEDS "CAREFUL  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 003294

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
USDOC FOR CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID LANE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/12/08

TAGS: ECON, EAGR, ETRD, EINV, ECIN, EUN, EI

SUBJECT: SECRETARY DALEY'S MEETING WITH IRISH PM AHERN:  
ECONOMIC ISSUES

MANAGEMENT"

11. (S) ON EU ISSUES, AHERN SAID THAT IRELAND WELCOMES EU ENLARGEMENT, BUT THE PROCESS NEEDS TO BE "CAREFULLY MANAGED." THE EU IS ON THE WAY TO "BECOMING A MAJOR TRADING BLOCK" AND THAT IS A SIGNIFICANT LONG-TERM BENEFIT TO IRELAND, WHATEVER THE SHORT-TERM COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH ENLARGEMENT. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT THE REDUCTION OF EU ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO IRELAND WAS "INEVITABLE" AND COULD BE PHASED OUT WITHOUT DISRUPTION TO THE IRISH ECONOMY. HE DID ACKNOWLEDGE, HOWEVER, THAT THE AGENDA 2000 "CAP" REFORMS WOULD HURT IRISH FARMERS. AHERN SAID THAT THE REFORMS WERE NEEDED -- THE CURRENT SYSTEM "PAYS FARMERS TO LET FIELDS GO FALLOW" -- BUT THE LOSS OF EU AGRICULTURAL SUBSIDIES AFTER 2000 WILL MEAN A FURTHER DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF IRISH FARMS. HE PREDICTED THE IRISH BEEF AND DAIRY SECTORS WOULD "RIDE OUT THE CHANGES" WELL, BUT OTHER AGRICULTURAL SECTORS FACE A "TOUGH TIME."

12. (S) IRELAND WELCOMES EMU, AHERN SAID. HE ADMITTED THAT THE DECISION OF THE UK -- STILL IRELAND'S LARGEST TRADING PARTNER -- TO REMAIN OUTSIDE EMU FOR NOW PRESENTS "PROBLEMS," BUT THE BENEFITS OF EMU OUTWEIGH THE DOWNSIDES. IN ANY CASE, AHERN NOTE:, IRISH TRADE WITH THE UK CONTINUES TO DECLINE AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IRISH TRADE, FALLING FROM SIXTY PERCENT THIRTY YEARS AGO TO THIRTY PERCENT LAST YEAR. AHERN SAID HE TALKED WITH UK PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR ABOUT PLANS FOR EVENTUAL UK ENTRY INTO THE EMU, AND BLAIR HAD TOLD HIM HE PLANS TO STAND BY COMMITMENTS TO CONSIDER THE ISSUE AFTER THE NEXT BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION. AHERN PREDICTED THE UK WOULD BE IN THE EMU BY 2001.

BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES WELCOME IRISH SUPPORT

13. (AU) AS THE MEETING CONCLUDED, THE SECRETARY AND PRIME MINISTER WERE JOINED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF MONSANTO AND FLUOR DANIEL CORPORATIONS, BOTH OF WHOM HAD TRAVELLED WITH THE SECRETARY'S TRADE MISSION. THE MONSANTO REPRESENTATIVE THANKED THE PRIME MINISTER FOR IRISH SUPPORT IN THE RECENT EU VOTE TO PERMIT MONSANTO'S GENETICALLY-MODIFIED CORN STRAINS TO BE SOLD IN THE EU. BOTH REPRESENTATIVES ECHOED THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMENTS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR EXPANDING "ALL-IRELAND" TRADE IN LIGHT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE PEACE PROCESS. ECHOING AHERN'S EARLIER COMMENTS, THE FLUOR DANIEL REPRESENTATIVE SAID HIS COMPANY INCREASINGLY VIEWS IRELAND AS A "SINGLE MARKET" RATHER THAN TWO SEPARATE MARKETS. BOTH BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVES COMPLIMENTED THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO WORKING WITH BUSINESS AND MEETING THE NEEDS OF FOREIGN BUSINESS, PARTICULARLY THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMNT BOARD'S CREATIVE APPROACH TO WORKING WITH PTENTIAL INVESTORS.

14. SECRETARY DALEY'S ARTY DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THISCABLE BEFORE LEAVING IRELAND. SMITH

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

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**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 22, 1998 9:28 AM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** GERRY ADAMS TRYING TO FEND OFF IRA SPLIT

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 221300Z APR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3292  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 2186  
**TOR:** 980422092505 M3254508

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.49)  
KBH 3/3/2023**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 002186

EXDIS

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/22/08  
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: GERRY ADAMS TRYING TO FEND OFF IRA SPLIT

CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (B)

1. (S) FATHER ALEX REID CONTACTED ME ON APRIL 21 TO RELAY SOMEWHAT URGENT CONCERNS BEING EXPRESSED TO HIM BY GERRY ADAMS REGARDING DISSENT WITHIN IRA RANKS OVER THE NORTHERN IRELAND AGREEMENT. REID INDICATED THE ANTI-AGREEMENT RUMBLINGS AT LAST WEEKEND'S SINN FEIN PARTY CONFERENCE REFLECTED DEEPER DIVISIONS WITHIN THE IRA ITSELF. IN PARTICULAR, DISCUSSION OF DECOMMISSIONING HAS HEIGHTENED TENSIONS WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. THERE ARE FEARS WITHIN THE SF/IRA LEADERSHIP ABOUT FURTHER EROSION OF SUPPORT TOWARD THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE.

2. (S) ACCORDING TO REID, ADAMS IS HOPEFUL OF BEING ABLE TO "CONSOLIDATE" THESE DIFFERENCES WITHIN A WEEK'S TIME. FOR ADAMS, THE WORST CASE SCENARIO WOULD BE FOR SINN FEIN TO TAKE ITS PLACE IN A NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT, ONLY TO BE KICKED OUT FOLLOWING RENEWED IRA VIOLENCE. IN ORDER TO AVERT THIS, ADAMS WANTS SOME "SPACE" -- PARTICULARLY ON THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE. SMITH

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Monday, April 20, 1998 2:29 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.; Schwartz, Eric P.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTER SEES REFERENDUM WIN, BUT

**CLASS:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**DTG:** 201817Z APR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5474  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY LONDON  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 4116  
**TOR:** 980420142009 M3251397

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-17 (1.50)  
KBH 3/3/2023**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 004116

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/20/08  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTER SEES REFERENDUM WIN, BUT  
NOT FOREGONE CONCLUSION

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JUDITH R. JOHNSON, MINISTER-COUNSELOR  
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. (S) SUMMARY: NIO MINISTER PAUL MURPHY PREDICTED THE AGREEMENT WOULD PASS IN THE MAY 22 REFERENDUM, BUT CAUTIONED THAT IT IS NOT A FOREGONE CONCLUSION. HE THINKS THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY WILL OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT, BUT IS WORRIED THAT FRAGMENTATION OF UUP SUPPORT COULD DEPRIVE THE "YES" VOTE OF THE STRONG UNIONIST MAJORITY NECESSARY TO GIVE THE PROPOSED INSTITUTIONS POLITICAL LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY. THE GOVERNMENT THIS WEEK WILL BEGIN INTRODUCING THE IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION NECESSARY TO SET UP THE REFERENDUM AND DEVOLVE POWER TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY BY FIRST QUARTER 1999. WITHOUT TAKING A FIRM POSITION, MURPHY WAS CAUTIOUS ABOUT THE UTILITY OF A PRE-REFERENDUM PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND, ALTHOUGH ACKNOWLEDGING SOME POTENTIAL ADVANTAGES. END SUMMARY.

3. (S) PAUL MURPHY, NIO MINISTER FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (AND EFFECTIVELY MO MOWLAM'S DEPUTY), TOLD EUR A/S GROSSMAN APRIL 20 THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS GRATEFUL FOR AMERICAN SUPPORT IN ACHIEVING AN AGREEMENT AT THE STORMONT NEGOTIATIONS. HE DESCRIBED THE ROLE OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CALLS DURING THE ENDGAME AS "Pivotal" AND SALUTED THE WORK OF SENATOR MITCHELL THROUGHOUT THE TALKS. GROSSMAN SAID WE ARE GLAD THE U.S. HAS BEEN ABLE TO PLAY A SUPPORTIVE ROLE AND OFFERED WHATEVER FURTHER AMERICAN ASSISTANCE WE CAN GIVE TO HELP SECURE THE HARD-WON ACHIEVEMENT.

4. (S) MURPHY FORECAST THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL BE SUPPORTED BY A MAJORITY IN THE MAY 22 REFERENDUM, BUT CAUTIONED THAT A "YES" VICTORY IS "NOT A FOREGONE CONCLUSION." WITH SINN FEIN MOVING TOWARD A QUALIFIED ENDORSEMENT - OR AT LEAST NOT TO A POSITION OF OPPOSITION - MURPHY PREDICTED THE AGREEMENT WOULD GET THE SUPPORT OF 80% OR MORE WITHIN THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, THINGS ARE MUCH LESS CLEAR CUT ON THE UNIONIST SIDE.

5. (S) TRIMBLE'S GAIN OF OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FROM THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL AT ITS APRIL 18 MEETING WAS GOOD NEWS. BUT THERE REMAINS A CONSIDERABLE BODY OF OPINION AGAINST THE

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AGREEMENT IN THE GREATER UNIONIST COMMUNITY. MURPHY POINTED OUT THAT SIX OF UUP'S TEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT DO NOT SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT. EVEN THOUGH THE FOUR WHO DO SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT COMMAND MUCH MORE CLOUT WITHIN THE PARTY THAN THE SIX OPPONENTS, THIS DOES GIVE THE "NO" SIDE MORE VOICES WITH WHICH TO CRITICIZE THE DEAL. PAISELY AND MCCARTNEY ARE THOUGHT TO REPRESENT ABOUT 40% OF UNIONISM. WHEN THEIR VOTES ARE COMBINED WITH THAT SEGMENT OF THE UUP WHICH IS OPPOSED, THE OVERALL SPLIT WITHIN UNIONISM LOOKS MUCH CLOSER TO 50/50.

6. (S) MURPHY SAID THAT UNAFFILIATED UNIONIST VOTERS AND, PARTICULARLY, THE SMALL LOYALIST PARTIES COULD BE KEY. THE LOYALIST PARTIES, WHICH IN THE AGGREGATE REPRESENT ABOUT 6% OF THE TOTAL VOTE, IN THE PAST GENERALLY HAVE BEEN ALIGNED WITH PAISELY'S DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY. HOWEVER, THEY SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT THIS TIME AND DUP LEADER DAVID ERVINE HAS SAID THEY SPECIFICALLY WILL BE TARGETING DUP CONSTITUENTS THIS TIME.

7. (S) ASKED BY MURPHY TO GIVE THEIR VIEWS, OUTGOING NIO POLITICAL DIRECTOR QUENTIN THOMAS AGREED THAT THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE UNIONIST VOTE IS THE MOST WORRYING FEATURE OF THE REFERENDUM'S POLITICAL DYNAMIC. INCOMING POLITICAL DIRECTOR BILL JEFFREY AGREED, POINTING OUT THAT THE AGREEMENT LEGALLY WILL COME INTO FORCE IF IT PASSES BY JUST 51% - BUT WILL ENCOUNTER ENORMOUS POLITICAL PROBLEMS IF IT FAILS TO GAIN STRONG ACCEPTANCE BY THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. MURPHY SAID HE THOUGHT THE OVERALL SUPPORT RATE WOULD BE AROUND 65%, A FIGURE FROM WHICH THE OTHER TWO DID NOT QEMUR.

8. (S) MURPHY OUTLINED THE AMBITIOUS LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR TO WHICH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MUST STICK IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE AGREEMENT. HE EXPECTS TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION IN PARLIAMENT APRIL 22 TO FORMALLY SET UP THE MAY REFERENDUM AND, ASSUMING IT PASSES, JUNE ELECTIONS FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY. HE POINTED OUT THAT LEGISLATION TO CREATE THE ASSEMBLY ITSELF, INCORPORATE THE VARIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND LAW AND TO DEVOLVE POWER TO ASSEMBLY WILL HAVE TO BE WRITTEN AND INTRODUCED THIS FALL. THE ACTUAL DEVOLUTION OF AUTHORITY TO NORTHERN IRELAND LIKELY WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1999.

9. (S) LEGISLATION ALSO WILL BE REQUIRED TO IMPLEMENT THE EARLY RELEASE OF PRISONERS. UNLIKE THE REPUBLIC, IN WHICH MINISTERS HAVE AUTHORITY TO REDUCE SENTENCES, THERE IS NO PRECEDENT FOR THIS WITHIN THE UK. ALTHOUGH LABOUR'S MAJORITY ENSURES THIS WILL PASS, THIS WILL BE A CONTROVERSIAL BILL AND WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY DRAFTED IN CONSULTATION WITH HOME OFFICE AND OTHER PENAL EXPERTS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 004116

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/20/08

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTER SEES REFERENDUM WIN, BUT NOT FOREGONE CONCLUSION

10. (S) MURPHY SAID THAT PROGRESS ON THE LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE WILL BE AFFECTED BY EVENTS ON THE GROUND, NOT LEAST MARCHING SEASON. THOMAS ALSO REMARKED THAT DECOMMISSIONING COULD REEMERGE AS A VERY SERIOUS STICKING POINT. THE GOVERNMENTS HAD SUCCESSFULLY PERSUADED TRIMBLE NOT TO HOLD UP THE TALKS OVER DECOMMISSIONING WITH THE ARGUMENT THAT THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH WOULD HAVE TO TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF A SUCCESSFUL AGREEMENT. IF "SOMETHING DOESN'T HAPPEN BEFORE LONG," THOMAS SAID, THEN "WE'LL BE CLOSE TO THE POINT WHERE ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SUSTAIN." MURPHY ADDED HE DID NOT EXPECT A FULL HANDOVER OF PARAMILITARIES' ARSENALS IMMEDIATELY, BUT SO FAR "WE HAVEN'T SEEN TURNED IN EVEN ONE

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BULLET " AND THAT JUST DOES NOT GIVE PEOPLE CONFIDENCE IN PARTIES' EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC INTENT.

11. (C) MURPHY HIMSELF HAS NOT REACHED A CONCLUSION ABOUT WHETHER A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT BEFORE THE REFERENDUM WOULD BE HELPFUL. HE NOTED THAT TRIMBLE'S WORDS OF CAUTION MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. AT THE SAME TIME, MURPHY SAID, HE COULD SEE SOME POSITIVE ADVANTAGES IN THE PRESIDENT BEING ABLE TO REACH A WIDER AUDIENCE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO DUBLIN WOULD BE UNAMBIGUOUSLY HELPFUL IN THE REFERENDUM IN THE SOUTH, BUT DID NOT THINK AT THIS STAGE THE PRESIDENT COULD GO TO ONE PLACE AND NOT THE OTHER. IT IS SOMETHING THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER WILL WANT TO HAVE A GOOD TALK ABOUT IN&THE NEAR VERY FUTURE, HE CONCLUDED.

BRADTKE

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** Davidson, Leslie K.  
**Sent:** Friday, October 16, 1998 9:56 AM  
**To:** Butler, Lawrence E.  
**Subject:** NORTHERN IRELAND: DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON OCT 31 [CONFIDENTIAL]

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 161021Z OCT 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0091  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY LONDON  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 0272  
**TOR:** 981016062646 M3511810

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0156-M (1.66)  
KBH 3/3/2023

here's an odd/naive question. Will the fact the Trimble and Hume were awarded the Nobel peace prize help break this log-jam at all?

-----Original Message-----

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Friday, October 16, 1998 6:39 AM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** NORTHERN IRELAND: DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON OCT 31

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 010272

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/16/08  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON OCT 31  
CRISIS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: ROBERT A. BRADTKE, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.  
REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).
2. (S) SUMMARY: BRITISH AND IRISH VIEWS DIVERGE ON HOW TO HANDLE THE LOOMING CRISIS ON DECOMMISSIONING AND FORMATION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS FOCUSED ON ACHIEVING A BREAKTHROUGH WHICH PERMITS FORMATION OF THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE BY OCTOBER 31. IT BELIEVES TRIMBLE WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT SOMETHING LESS THAN ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING BY THE IRA. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHARES THAT GOAL, BUT DOUBTS TRIMBLE CAN ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN SOME ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING OR THAT RESOLUTION PRIOR TO OCTOBER 31 IS A REALISTIC POSSIBILITY. SOME IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THINK CRISIS INTERVENTION BY THE PRIME MINISTERS WILL BE REQUIRED OVERCOME THE IMPASSE. END SUMMARY
3. (S) NIO PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY JOE PILLING, THE DEPARTMENT'S HIGHEST RANKING CIVIL SERVANT, TOLD THE DCM OCTOBER 15 HE BELIEVES IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THERE CAN BE ANY RESOLUTION TO THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING AND THE FORMATION OF THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE BEFORE THE VERY END OF OCTOBER. WITH TRIMBLE, ADAMS AND MOWLAM IN AND OUT OF THE U.S., AND THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY CONFERENCE SCHEDULED ON OCTOBER 24, ANY PUBLIC MOVEMENT IS UNLIKELY TO OCCUR NEXT WEEK, EVEN THOUGH THERE ARE SURE TO BE MANY UNPUBLICIZED CONTACTS AMONG GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES. HE FURTHER SPECULATED THAT IT WOULD BE "EXCEEDINGLY AWKWARD" FOR TRIMBLE TO ACCEDE TO A PROPOSAL DURING THE LAST WEEK OF OCTOBER WHICH HE SO CONSPICUOUSLY COULD NOT BRING UP AT HIS CONFERENCE THE WEEK BEFORE. PILLING COULD FORESEE A CRISIS AROUND THE OCTOBER 31 DATE MENTIONED IN THE AGREEMENT.
4. (S) HE WAS SANGUINE ABOUT THIS PROSPECT, SAYING A CRISIS MAY BE WHAT IS NEEDED TO RESOLVE THE IMPASSE. PILLING NOTED

THE TIMING OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WAS NOT PREORDAINED; IT CAME ABOUT ONLY BECAUSE SENATOR MITCHELL CREATED AN ACTION-FORCING DEADLINE. IN THE SAME WAY, IT MAY BE BENEFICIAL TO USE THE OCTOBER 31 DATE TO BRING THE ISSUE TO A HEAD AS THE AGREEMENT COULD WELL LOSE MOMENTUM IF THE PARTIES ARE NOT FORCED TO MAKE THE HARD CHOICES. HOWEVER, HE NOTED, CRISES BY DEFINITION ARE NOT EASY TO MANAGE AND RISK SPINNING OUT OF CONTROL. THE NEXT POINT FOR A CRISIS WOULD BE MID-NOVEMBER WHEN "ORDERS IN COUNCIL" WOULD BE INTRODUCED IN PARLIAMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE NORTHERN IRELAND LEGISLATION, AND AFTER THAT IN FEBRUARY WHEN POWER FORMALLY IS DEVOLVED TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY. AT WHICH POINT DO WE CHOOSE TO FORCE ACTION, PILLING ASKED RHETORICALLY?

5. (X) PILLING THINKS TONY BLAIR, FOR A VARIETY OF POLITICAL REASONS, WILL FIND IT NECESSARY TO BECOME DEEPLY INVOLVED IN RESOLVING THE PROBLEM WHEN IT HITS THE CRISIS STAGE. THIS COULD INCLUDE HIS RETURNING TO BELFAST FOR A ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, PILLING SAID, DUBLIN AT THIS POINT APPEARS MUCH MORE CAUTIOUS ABOUT INVOLVING THE TAOISEACH PERSONALLY IN SUCH A HIGH-RISK EXERCISE.

6. (X) PILLING ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, EVEN THOUGH THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSENSUS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENT REMAINS SOUND, THEIR VIEWS ON RESOLVING THE IMPASSE "DO VARY AROUND A MEAN." HE ACKNOWLEDGED A DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ON THE FOCUS AND STRATEGY FOR TACKLING THE PROBLEMS. THE BASIC DIFFERENCES CENTER ON WHAT ADAMS CAN DELIVER ON DECOMMISSIONING, AND WHAT TRIMBLE CAN AND SHOULD ACCEPT AS A SUFFICIENT IRA STEP.

7. (X) IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, SINN FEIN HAS, IN ESSENCE, GIVEN PRIVATE ASSURANCES THAT THE IRA WILL DISARM WITHIN THE TWO YEARS REQUIRED BY THE AGREEMENT. PILLING DESCRIBED THIS AS SINN FEIN SAYING "WE MEANT IT WHEN WE SIGNED THE AGREEMENT." THE IRISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVES SINN FEIN COULD GIVE SIMILAR PRIVATE ASSURANCES TO GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN AND THAT THE IRA MAY BE ABLE MOVE BEYOND ITS RECENT PUBLIC DECLARATION ON DECOMMISSIONING ("NEVER"). HOWEVER, DUBLIN DOES NOT THINK ADAMS CAN DELIVER ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING AT THIS STAGE. THEREFORE, THE IRISH BELIEVE TRIMBLE SHOULD "KEEP HIS EYE ON THE END GAME, TAKE WHAT HE CAN GET, AND GET ON WITH CREATING THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE BY OCTOBER 31."

8. (X) IN A MORE PERFECT WORLD, PILLING SAID, TRIMBLE WOULD BE ABLE TO TAKE A PRIVATE ASSURANCE FROM ADAMS THAT SINN FEIN "MEANT WHAT IT SAID." HOWEVER, IN THE BRITISH VIEW, TRIMBLE SIMPLY DOES NOT HAVE ROOM FOR MANEUVER AND WOULD QUICKLY LOOSE THE LEADERSHIP OF HIS PARTY IF HE WERE TO MOVE FORWARD PRIOR TO SOME TANGIBLE ACT OF DECOMMISSIONING. IF SOME RESOLUTION IS NOT ACHIEVABLE BY OCTOBER 31, THEN THE GOVERNMENTS SHOULD START THINKING ABOUT HOW TO PRODUCE THE DESIRED RESULT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE THEREAFTER. PILLING NOTED THAT THE AGREEMENT DOES NOT REQUIRE CREATION OF THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE BY OCTOBER 31, ONLY THAT "REPRESENTATIVES" FROM NORTHERN IRELAND MEET WITH IRISH OFFICIALS TO DEFINE THE STRUCTURES FOR NORTH/SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION AND COOPERATION. CERTAINLY, HE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 010272

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/16/08  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DIVERGENCE OF VIEWS ON OCT 31  
CRISIS

SAID, THERE ARE CREATIVE WAYS TO MOVE FORWARD ON NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES WHICH CAN KEEP MOMENTUM GOING EVEN WHILE THE DECOMMISSIONING PROBLEM IS BEING WORKED OUT.

9. (X) IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH POLOFF OCTOBER 15,

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IRISH EMBASSY POLITICAL COUNSELOR PHILIP MCDONAGH CONFIRMED THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN WILLING TO LOOK PAST OCTOBER 31, WHICH IT REGARDS AS A FIRM DEADLINE FOR CREATING THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. HE SAID RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH SINN FEIN AT VARIOUS LEVELS, INCLUDING BETWEEN ADAMS AND THE TAOISEACH, CONVINCED THE GOVERNMENT THAT ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING OF ANY IRA WEAPONRY SIMPLY IS NOT POSSIBLE AT THIS POINT. THIS DOES NOT MEAN DUBLIN VIEWS SINN FEIN'S COMMITMENT TO THE PEACEFUL POLITICAL PROCESS AS EQUIVOCAL, SIMPLY THAT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS CANNOT YET TACKLE THE ARMS ISSUE WITHOUT DANGEROUSLY SPLITTING THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. THEREFORE, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY IS TO PUSH TO OBTAIN NEW, MORE CONCRETE WORDS ON DECOMMISSIONING FROM SINN FEIN (AND POSSIBLY ANOTHER STATEMENT FROM THE IRA) PLUS OTHER CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, SUCH AS MOVEMENT ON THE BODIES OF THE DISAPPEARED, SUFFICIENT TO PERMIT TRIMBLE TO MOVE ON THE EXECUTIVE.

10. (C) FURTHERMORE, MCDONAGH SAID, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT NOW ACCEPTS THAT IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR THE IRA TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING WEAPONS EVEN BY FEBRUARY. HE EXPLAINED THAT IN IRA IDEOLOGY THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS "PARTIAL DECOMMISSIONING" AND ONCE THE PROCESS STARTS THERE WILL BE NO TURNING BACK. REPUBLICANS DO NOT YET BELIEVE UNIONISTS ARE COMMITTED TO IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT FULLY. MCDONAGH SPECULATED THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THE IRA CAN AGREE TO BEGIN INCAPACITATING ITS WEAPONS PRIOR TO THE ISSUANCE OF THE PATTEN REPORT ON POLICING. THEREFORE, EVEN THOUGH IT STILL IS URGING DECOMMISSIONING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, DUBLIN IS MOVING AWAY FROM ITS PRIOR POSITION THAT DECOMMISSIONING MUST START BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE GOES "LIVE" IN FEBRUARY.

11. (C) POLOFF SUGGESTED THAT EVEN IF TRIMBLE SOMEHOW COULD FIND A WAY TO FINESSE THE DECOMMISSIONING QUESTION TO CREATE THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE ANY CIRCUMSTANCE WHICH WOULD ALLOW HIM TO SIT IN THE EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN AFTER FEBRUARY WITHOUT ANY FURTHER MOVEMENT ON ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING. DOING SO SIMPLY WOULD NOT BE POLITICALLY VIABLE. MCDONAGH ACKNOWLEDGED THE PROBLEM BUT EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE PUBLIC SPOTLIGHT ON THE IRA IN THE INTERIM WOULD HELP PERSUADE IT TO MOVE QUICKLY. DESCRIBING THE "DECOMMISSIONING TEST" AS FOCUSING ON THE WRONG ISSUE, HE ARGUED THAT THE IMPORTANT THING IS NOT WHEN DECOMMISSIONING BEGINS BUT THAT DISARMAMENT OCCUR WITHIN THE TWO-YEAR PERIOD OF THE AGREEMENT.

BRADTKE

From the Principal Private Secretary

13 October 1998

Dear Nick,

**DISCUSSION WITH PADDY TEAHON, 13 OCTOBER**

I spent an hour and a half with Paddy Teahon this morning. He had come over at the Taoiseach's request to talk through what the Taoiseach saw as the next steps.

Teahon said that the Taoiseach was very keen on a concerted push to take forward implementation of the Agreement before 31 October. The Taoiseach had had a long discussion with McGuinness last week. McGuinness, whom the Irish regarded as much straighter than Adams, had explained at length why actual decommissioning or a timetable were not possible now. There were three basic reasons. First, Sinn Fein could not go to the IRA with a realistic request for decommissioning without further political progress to point to. Second, recent events had led to significant questioning in the republican community of Trimble's good faith or alternatively his ability to deliver. Third, the threat from the Real IRA, in political terms, had not gone away. Bernadette Sands had been keeping a high public profile about the fundamental mistake Sinn Fein had made, and this was feeding into parts of the Irish/American community. McGuinness had nevertheless told the Taoiseach that he would undertake personally to deliver on decommissioning over time. He had made clear that he would be happy to repeat this to the Prime Minister, to Dr Mowlam, to de Chastelain and even to Trimble. The Irish were inclined to take this commitment seriously. The republicans had a good track record of keeping their word in this kind of area, and McGuinness's own track record was good. He had a credibility in this area which Adams could not have.

Teahon went on that the Irish were persuaded that, if there was no significant movement by 31 October, decommissioning would become more difficult, rather than less, because hardliners would say that Sinn Fein were in

prisoner releases /etc/etc/etc (demilitarisation, too).

Stormont to no good purpose, and the activities of Bernadette Sands would carry increasing conviction, including in the US. All this had convinced the Irish that there had to be movement soon. They feared that, otherwise, we would slip rapidly into a position where the whole Good Friday Agreement was under threat, and where the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister might, without wishing to, find themselves on opposing sides of the argument and increasingly unable to work together as they had done so successfully in the past. They thought that Trimble ought to share this logic since his own position was being steadily weakened by the lack of progress. Unless there was movement, his opponents would get him sooner or later. Meanwhile, there seemed to be a significant amount of support in the wider Unionist community for moving on with the Agreement, despite the lack of decommissioning. Teahon pointed to the attached leader from the Belfast Telegraph of 5 October as evidence, as well as feedback they got from many quarters in Northern Ireland.

The Irish envisaged the following broad scenario. McGuinness would explain the position to the main actors. He would also make clearer to de Chastelain the IRA view on the modalities of decommissioning (ie destruction by them). On the strength of this, de Chastelain would say to the two governments and the parties that he was satisfied that the paramilitaries and related parties were acting in good faith and on track for implementing the decommissioning part of the Agreement. The Prime Minister would then use this to convince Trimble that the time had come to move on and allow the shadow Executive to be formed. This would be accompanied by rapid movement on departmental structures, North/South issues and the British/Irish Council.

I said that the Prime Minister was fully on board for a major effort to break the impasse before 31 October, with the key period perhaps being between the UUP Conference on 24 October and the end of the month. However, our problem so far had been that Sinn Fein and the IRA had offered us nothing to work with. They had said no to actual decommissioning, no to any kind of timetable, and no to any kind of clear commitment from the IRA. Another vague statement from Sinn Fein would certainly not be enough to do the trick. All this inevitably led us to wonder about the depth of their real commitment to decommissioning, although the Prime Minister did not seriously doubt the good faith of Adams and McGuinness themselves. Meanwhile, Trimble's position was getting worse, as Teahon had said, particularly following the formation of the new Unionist grouping inspired by Molyneaux. What Teahon was now suggesting still offered us very little to work with. It was hard enough to see how we could have convinced Trimble to move on the basis of a firm IRA

commitment and an indication of when decommissioning might start. It was very difficult indeed to see how Trimble could move on the basis of the kind of private assurance Teahon had talked about. What would he be able to point to in public? A statement by de Chastelain would be very little on which to base the formation of the shadow Executive. Moreover, it was not certain that de Chastelain would be prepared to say what Teahon was suggesting. He would only do so if he genuinely believed it was credible. And even if what Teahon was suggesting was enough to get us through the Shadow Executive, there would surely have to be the beginning of actual decommissioning or something very close to it, before the real Executive could function with Sinn Fein in it. I also questioned whether any assurance by McGuinness could stay private, particularly once given to Trimble. Was McGuinness ready for whatever he said to be used in public? It would of course be helpful if he was.

Teahon freely conceded that he was not offering us much. He did not want to over-sell the proposal, and understood how difficult it was likely to be with Trimble. But the Irish had come to the conclusion that they could not get anything else out of the IRA or Sinn Fein for now. We therefore had to work with what we could get, or risk the breakdown of the whole Agreement. Those in the Irish administration who had dealt with Sinn Fein and the IRA were all convinced that decommissioning would happen. They could not give a clear answer to when it might start, although they were pressing very hard for a move in early Spring. They also thought that, when the republicans talked of decommissioning, they meant not just token gestures but the real thing. There had been talk of them destroying the semtex themselves, and perhaps even returning other weapons to where they had got them from. It was noteworthy that even Bernadette Sands had talked publicly about dumping weapons at some stage. The republicans had thought about making a one-off gesture, followed by serious decommissioning at the end of the two year period, but they had shied away from this because they thought that another gesture would be demanded immediately. The problem was that the IRA would not decommission under pressure, and needed more political movement. When the Irish had pressed them on actual decommissioning before the real Executive was formed, they had not said 'yes' but they had not said 'no' either. Teahon concluded that, in sum, we had to decide how far we were prepared to trust McGuinness and how hard we were prepared to push Trimble.

Key Summary

I continued to express doubts. What would we and Trimble be able to say publicly? A statement by de Chastelain, particularly if it did not say in terms that he was convinced decommissioning would definitely take place, could not really

be enough to justify the step of including Sinn Fein in the Executive. And if there was no decommissioning soon, we would get into difficulties ourselves in any case over prisoner release. We could not go on indefinitely implementing the rest of the Agreement if this part was not being implemented.

We went round all these circles several times. Teahon stressed that the Irish had not simply accepted the Sinn Fein position and were continuing to press them to go further. Tim Dalton in particular was the hardman on this front. But the question still remained: what could be done if Sinn Fein would not go further. He added that Sinn Fein occasionally dropped hints to the Irish about prisoner release in this context. More movement here could perhaps help on the timescale.

Or less?  
(to apply leverage)

In response to my question, Teahon said he did not believe Sinn Fein would willingly contemplate a situation where the Agreement crumbled, even if Trimble got most of the blame. This would simply play into the hands of the Real IRA and those who had opposed Adams and McGuinness. Adams and McGuinness wanted the Agreement to succeed, and needed it to succeed, to justify the positions they had taken. Of course, they were aware that Trimble might disappear. But they could not see anyone better coming along.

I explained that, for our part, we were convinced Trimble did want to move forward and was not simply using decommissioning as an excuse. The Irish should make that clear to Sinn Fein. I asked what else we might be able to find to make a deal more attractive to Trimble. Teahon had no real ideas. He thought there could well be movement on the disappeared, but he could not see much more happening on punishment attacks. The Irish were prepared to do whatever Trimble wanted on the British/Irish Council, although Trimble did not seem very interested in this himself.

I asked Teahon about the Real IRA. He said that the Irish had no doubt they were still there and had not given up violence, although they would not go back to it in the short term. He saw little or no chance of them disbanding. On the other hand, they would probably say more in the future about non-violence. It was also good that the flow of defections from PIRA seemed to have stopped. The Irish meanwhile were continuing to work on Continuity IRA through Father Alex Reid, but without success so far.

I concluded that I would talk to the Prime Minister about what Teahon had said, and we would reflect on it further. I continued to believe that we had little

- 5 -

chance of persuading Trimble to move on the basis Teahon had outlined, although I did not rule out trying. We did not have so far an alternative way forward to offer in the absence of real movement from Sinn Fein. We would like to find some other broader political context in which a move forward could more easily be put, but we had not yet so far identified this either. I suggested that the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach should speak later in the week. Teahon agreed. It was important that the two men were clear between them on the way forward and what should happen next. We also agreed that the Liaison Group tomorrow might continue to work on the sort of language which de Chastelain could use to ease a solution.

### Comment

✓ It is hard to see how this Irish proposal can prosper, but a private assurance from McGuinness that decommissioning will definitely happen is better than nothing, and more than we have had so far. We need to reflect on how we can build it into a more convincing scenario than that advanced by Teahon. The next step may be for the Prime Minister to talk to McGuinness, as well as the Taoiseach, to get a personal sense of what this private assurance consists of and how far it can be used publicly.

Yours  
John

JOHN HOLMES

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- 5 -

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Yours  
John

JOHN HOLMES

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 24, 1998 9:44 AM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.; McEldowney, Nancy E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** (S) MANSERGH ON DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE - WHAT

**CLASS:** ~~SECRET~~  
**DTG:** 212250Z SEP 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4009  
RUEADWWW/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 4904  
**TOR:** 980924093926 M3479815

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.71)  
KSH 3/3/2023**

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 004904

EXDIS

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
LONDON PLEASE PASS AMCONSUL BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 9/24/08  
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: (S) MANSERGH ON DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE - WHAT  
THE U.S. CAN DO

CLASSIFIED BY ACTING DCM EDWIN NOLAN; REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (S) SUMMARY: SENIOR ADVISOR TO IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN, MARTIN MANSERGH, TOLD US SEPTEMBER 23 THAT NORTHERN IRELAND FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE REVEALED NO NEW FLEXIBILITY ON THE DECOMMISSIONING/SHADOW EXECUTIVE ISSUE DURING HIS (one on one) MEETING WITH AHERN SEPTEMBER 22. MANSERGH NOTED THAT BOTH REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS HAVE TO MOVE ON THIS ISSUE TO AVOID A CRISIS BY LATE-OCTOBER, BUT THAT TRIMBLE'S WEAKENED POSITION WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY WAS MAKING THIS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT. HE STRESSED THAT THE GOI AND THE UK WOULD KEEP UP THE PRESSURE FOR COMPROMISE ON BOTH PARTIES AND WOULD WELCOME HIGH-LEVEL U.S. ENGAGEMENT TO REINFORCE THE MESSAGE. IN ESSENCE, MANSERGH SAW THE MESSAGE AS BEING THAT SINN FEIN/IRA HAD TO PROVIDE A GOOD FAITH INDICATION THAT THEY ACCEPTED DECOMMISSIONING AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT, WHILE UNIONISTS HAD TO ACCEPT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO ACTUAL TURNOVER OF IRA WEAPONS BY OCTOBER 31 AND THAT THIS COULD NOT BE USED AS A PRETEXT FOR DENYING SINN FEIN ITS SEAT IN THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. END SUMMARY.

LITTLE PROGRESS FROM AHERN-TRIMBLE MEETING

2. (S) ADCM CALLED ON SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER (TAOISEACH), DR. MARTIN MANSERGH, SEPTEMBER 23 TO GET A READOUT ON PM AHERN'S MEETINGS WITH NORTHERN IRELAND FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE SEPTEMBER 22 AND UK NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY, MO MOWLAM, SEPTEMBER 23. MANSERGH INDICATED THAT NOT MUCH NEW GROUND HAD BEEN BROKEN IN EITHER MEETING. THE AHERN-TRIMBLE MEETING HAD BEEN A TRUE ONE-ON-ONE, SINCE, IN THE GOI'S EXPERIENCE, TRIMBLE IS CONSTRAINED FROM INOVATIVE THINKING IF ANYONE ELSE IS IN THE ROOM. EVEN IN THAT SETTING, HOWEVER, TRIMBLE HAD NOT SHOWN ANY LEEWAY FROM HIS PRESENT POSITION THAT THERE MUST BE SOME IRA DECOMMISSIONING

BEFORE HE COULD SIT WITH SINN FEIN IN THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. THE MOWLAM MEETING HAD BEEN MORE PRODUCTIVE, MANSERGH NOTED, WITH THE FOCUS ON STARTING WORKING LEVELS MEETINGS ON THE "NUTS AND BOLTS" OF ESTABLISHING THE CROSS-BORDER BODIES CALLED FOR IN THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. **AHERN AND MOWLAM HAD ALSO AGREED ON A PUBLIC LINE ON DECOMMISSIONING EMPHASIZING THAT IT "WAS NO LONGER A QUESTION OF IF, BUT OF WHEN."**

BOTH SIDES MUST MOVE

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3. (S) MANSERGH WENT ON TO PROVIDE HIS EVALUATION OF WHERE THINGS STOOD ON DECOMMISSIONING. THE CRUNCH POINT, HE SAID, FOR CONSTITUTING THE FULL SHADOW EXECUTIVE WAS OCTOBER 31. **BOTH SINN FEIN/IRA AND THE UNIONISTS WILL HAVE TO MOVE FROM THEIR CURRENT POSITIONS ON THE DECOMMISSIONING/SHADOW EXECUTIVE NEXUS BY THEN, ALTHOUGH NO ONE SHOULD UNDERESTIMATE THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES FACED BY EITHER DAVID TRIMBLE OR GERRY ADAMS.** ON THE UNIONIST SIDE, THERE IS NO CONFIDENCE THAT THE IRA EVER INTENDS TO DECOMMISSION (AND MANSERGH ADMITTED, HE IS NOT SURE IF EVEN SINN FEIN/IRA KNOWS THEMSELVES WHAT THEIR ULTIMATE INTENTIONS ARE), BUT SOME LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE FOR UNIONISTS HAD TO BE PROVIDED BY A CLEAR SINN FEIN/IRA SIGNAL. FROM THE SINN FEIN/IRA PERSPECTIVE, THE FEAR IS THAT TRIMBLE AND THE UNIONISTS ARE USING DECOMMISSIONING AS A SMOKE SCREEN TO DENY EVER GIVING THEM THE SEATS IN THE EXECUTIVE BODY THEY ARE ENTITLED TO UNDER THE BELFAST AGREEMENT.

4. (S) MANSERGH NOTED THAT A KEY PROBLEM IN MOVING THE PROCESS FORWARD IS TRIMBLE'S PRECARIOUS POSITION WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY (UUP). **THE FIRST MINISTER, MANSERGH INDICATED, WAS FACING A "NEARLY OVERT" LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE FROM UUP HARDLINERS AND, UNFORTUNATELY, WAS NOW IN THE WEAKEST POSITION OF ANY PARTY LEADER IN THE NORTH.** NONETHELESS, HE SAW SOME REASON FOR OPTIMISM IN THAT TRIMBLE'S RECENT STATEMENTS DID SEEM TO LEAVE SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER. IN MANSERGH'S VIEW, THE AGREEMENT WILL FOUNDER IF TRIMBLE INSISTS ON ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING OF IRA WEAPONS BY OCTOBER 31 -- THIS SIMPLY WASN'T GOING TO HAPPEN. (IN AN ASIDE, MANSERGH, NOTED THAT THE ONLY WEAPONS WHICH MIGHT ACTUALLY BE TURNED IN BY OCTOBER 31 WERE FROM THE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE (LVF) WHICH WAS NOW NEGOTIATING WITH THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY.) NOR COULD TRIMBLE ANTICIPATE THAT THE SDLP WOULD GO ALONG WITH MEETINGS OF CROSS-BORDER BODIES WITH ONLY HE AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER MALLON REPRESENTING THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. THE SDLP COULDN'T AFFORD POLITICALLY TO APPEAR TO HAVE COLLUDED IN FREEZING OUT SINN FEIN, MANSERGH STRESSED.

5. (S) IRELAND AND THE UK HAVE AGREED TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON BOTH REPUBLICAN AND UNIONISTS CAMPS TO COMPROMISE ON THE DECOMMISSIONING/SHADOW EXECUTIVE PROBLEM WHILE TRYING TO BROADEN THE FOCUS OF DEBATE. MANSERGH OBSERVED THAT PM AHERN AND NIO SECRETARY MOWLAM HAVE ALREADY BEGUN A PUBLIC AFFAIRS CAMPAIGN, WITH MOWLAM FOCUSING ON DISCOMMISSIONING AS ONLY A MATTER OF "WHEN," AND AHERN SUGGESTING THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF A REPUBLICAN TIMETABLE FOR DECOMMISSIONING SHOULD BE ENOUGH TO KEEP TO THE PROCESS MOVING FORWARD. (MANSERGH OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT THE TAOISEACH HAD ALREADY COME UNDER ATTACK BY SOME ELEMENTS OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT FOR SUGGESTING EVEN THAT MUCH.) BOTH GOVERNMENTS WILL ALSO BE HIGHLIGHTING PROGRESS ON OTHER STRANDS OF THE AGREEMENT, SUCH AS CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION IN AREAS LIKE TOURISM, TO LESSEN THE PUBLIC FOCUS ON DECOMMISSIONING.

HOW THE U.S. CAN HELP

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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6. (8) MANSERGH REVIEWED THE PRIVATE MESSAGES IRELAND AND THE UK WOULD BE SENDING TO BOTH TRIMBLE AND ADAMS AND EMPHASIZED THAT HIGH-LEVEL U.S. HELP IN REINFORCING THESE MESSAGES WOULD BE "MOST WELCOME." THE MESSAGE HE WOULD SUGGEST WE SEND TO SINN FEIN IS THE FOLLOWING:

-- SINN FEIN'S POSITION IS TECHNICALLY CORRECT THAT THE BELFAST AGREEMENT DOES NOT REQUIRE DECOMMISSIONING FOR THE PARTY TO TAKE ITS SEAT IN THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE.

-- THE POLITICAL REALITY IS THAT SINN FEIN/IRA MUST PROVIDE A GOOD FAITH SIGNAL SOON THAT THE IRA DOES INTEND TO DISARM AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE BELFAST AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH ITS CREDIBILITY WITH PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS.

-- WHILE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ACTUAL DESTRUCTION OF WEAPONS MAY NOT BE POLITICALLY POSSIBLE BY OCTOBER 31, IT IS EQUALLY UNTENABLE FOR SINN FEIN TO ARGUE FOR PROGRESS IN ALL OTHER AREAS OF THE AGREEMENT WHILE LEAVING DECOMMISSIONING FOR LAST. THERE NEEDS TO BE ROUGHLY PARALLEL PROGRESS ON ISSUES OF CRITICAL CONCERN TO ALL SIDES.

-- THE REAL GAIN FOR SINN FEIN/IRA IN MAKING SUCH A MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING IS THAT IT OPENS THE DOOR FOR THE PARTY'S PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT AND A CHANCE TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS DIRECTLY.

MANSERGH SUGGESTS THAT THE MESSAGE TO UNIONISTS INCLUDE:

-- WE RECOGNIZE YOUR NEED FOR SINN FEIN/IRA TO ESTABLISH ITS CREDIBILITY ON THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE. HOWEVER, IT IS PROBABLY NOT POLITICALLY POSSIBLE FOR SINN FEIN TO DELIVER ACTUAL IRA WEAPONS BY OCTOBER 31.

-- THERE IS NO ADVANTGE TO UNIONISTS IN ALLOWING THE AGREEMENT TO COLAPSE OVER THE ISSUE OF SINN FEIN'S TAKING ITS SEAS IN THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. IT IS CLEAR THAT DECMMISSIONING IS NOT A PRIOR CONDITION FOR THIS INTHE BELFAST AGREEMENT, AND UNIONISTS SHOULD NOT NO ATTEMPT TO CREATE A PRE-CONDITION THEY WERE UNALE TO ACHIEVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. SHOULD UNIONITS TAKE THIS APPROACH, THEY WILL BE SEEN AS RESPNSIBLE FOR HAVING WRECKED THE AGREEMENT IN THE EES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

-- WE RECONIZE, HOWEVER, THAT SINN FEIN/IRA MUST TAKE GOODFAITH STEPS TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR AGREEMENT TO DECMMISSIONING AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PROCESS (VI AGREEMENT TO E.G. A TIMETABLE, PROCEDURES, ETC.

-- SHOULD SINN FEIN MOVE IN SUCH A DIRECTION, TAKE ITS SEATS IN THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE AND LATER BE SHOWN TO HAVE ACTED IN BAD FAITH, UNIONISM WOULD BE ON MUCH STRONGER GROUND TO REMOVE SINN FEIN FROM THE EXECUTIVE.

FINALLY, MANSERGH THOUGHT THAT THE U.S. SHOULD HIT THIS POINT HARD, ESPECIALLY WITH THE UNIONIST SIDE:

-- INCREASED U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND REQUIRES A STABLE ENVIRONMENT AND THE SUCCESS OF THE BELFAST ACCORD. THE COLLAPSE OF THE AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE FUTURE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH. IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS AND ABEATE THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS THAT WILL ENCOURAGE U.S. AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT IN THE NORTH.

COMMENT

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7. (S) MANSERGH WAS CLEARLY CONCERNED BY THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS, ESPECIALLY HIS FEAR THAT TRIMBLE'S WEAKENED POSITION WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY WAS MAKING COMPROMISE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT. HE STILL FELT THAT WE WERE SHORT OF A CRISIS POINT, BUT THAT IT WOULD COME BY MID TO LATE-OCTOBER WITH THE FULL SHADOW EXECUTIVE HAVING TO BE IN PLACE BY OCTOBER 31. HE DID NOT RULE OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECT AND PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT WOULD ONCE MORE BE NECESSARY TO KEEP TO PROCESS FROM FOUNDERING. MANSERGH FELT THAT, IF GERRY ADAMS COULD BE CONVINCED TO MOVE, PM BLAIR WOULD BE PREPARED TO BRING FULL PRESSURE ON TRIMBLE AND THE UNIONISTS TO MOVE AS WELL. END COMMENT. SCARLETT

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Friday, April 10, 1998 2:05 PM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** NORTHERN IRELAND: "NEW BEGINNING" AGREEMENT REACHED

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 101754Z APR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5241  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY LONDON  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 3840  
**TOR:** 980410135841 M3239830

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (1.98)  
KBH 3/3/2023**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 003840

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/10/03  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: "NEW BEGINNING" AGREEMENT REACHED

REF: LONDON 3832 AND PREVIOUS

1. (U) POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVES AT THE STORMONT MULTIPARTY TALKS AGREED APRIL 10 TO AN HISTORIC NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT PROVIDING FOR NEW POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. THE AGREEMENT -- 22 MONTHS TO THE DAY AFTER THIS ROUND OF TALKS OPENED -- WAS REACHED FOLLOWING TWO WEEKS OF INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS AND 60 HOURS OF VIRTUALLY NONSTOP NEGOTIATIONS LED BY THE CHAIRMAN, SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL. BOTH THE BRITISH AND IRISH PRIME MINISTERS CAME TO BELFAST FOR THE DIFFICULT FINAL STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, PUTTING THEIR PRESTIGE AND POWER ON THE LINE IN WORKING TO BROKER THE SETTLEMENT. LAST-MINUTE POLITICAL BARTERING OVER PRISONER RELEASES, DECOMMISSIONING AND POLICING DELAYED THE AGREEMENT FOR SOME 18 HOURS AFTER THE MIDNIGHT DEADLINE HAD PASSED. NO PARTY WAS COMPLETELY HAPPY WITH THE DEAL AND ALL FOUND SOME OBJECTIONABLE ELEMENTS IN IT. NONETHELESS, ALL PARTIES AT THE TABLE CONCURRED IN THE 67-PAGE AGREEMENT PUT TOGETHER BY SENATOR MITCHELL.

2. (U) THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE:

-- CONSTITUTIONAL: NORTHERN IRELAND RETAINS ITS STATUS AS PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. THAT STATUS CAN CHANGE IN THE FUTURE IF A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND CONSENT TO A UNITED IRELAND. IN THE MEANTIME, ALL PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE THE RIGHT TO HOLD BOTH OR EITHER BRITISH AND THE UNITED KINGDOM CITIZENSHIP AS THEY CHOSE. BOTH THE UK AND IRELAND WILL UNDERTAKE NECESSARY THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL CHANGES TO SUPPORT THIS AGREEMENT.

-- WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND: AN ASSEMBLY OF 108 MEMBERS ELECTED BY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION (SIX SEATS IN EACH OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S 18 PARLIAMENTARY DISTRICTS). THE ASSEMBLY WILL EXERCISE FULL LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY TO RUN THE AFFAIRS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. THE EXECUTIVE WILL CONSIST OF A FIRST MINISTER, DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER AND UP TO TEN MINISTERS WITH DEPARTMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES, ALLOCATED ON THE BASIS OF PARTY STRENGTHS. COMMITTEE CHAIRS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP ALSO WILL BE ALLOCATED IN PROPORTION TO PARTY STRENGTHS. THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE INCORPORATED INTO NORTHERN IRELAND LAW. VOTING ON KEY DECISIONS WILL BE ON A

*Handwritten notes:*  
Tribble 4/10 10:55  
Hume 4/10 0:53  
Adams 4/10 11:51  
Blair 4/10 0:50  
Blair 4/10 10:05  
Blair 4/10 00:35  
Blair 4/10 00:52  
Blair 4/10 11:32  
Blair 4/10 2:06  
Blair 4/10 9:49 am

CROSS-COMMUNITY BASIS, EITHER BY "PARALLEL CONSENT," IE MAJORITIES IN BOTH COMMUNITIES OR BY WEIGHTED MAJORITY.

-- NORTH-SOUTH DIMENSION: A NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL TO CONSULT AND COOPERATE, AND TO IMPLEMENT ACTIONS ON AN ALL-ISLAND AND CROSS-BORDER BASIS. MINISTERS WITH DEPARTMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY WILL PARTICIPATE. IT WILL BE SUPPORTED BY A SECRETARIAT OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND IRISH CIVIL SERVANTS. AT LEAST SIX CROSS-BORDER BODIES WITH DEFINED POWERS TO IMPLEMENT DECISIONS (IN AREAS SUCH AS AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORT, ENVIRONMENT, TOURISM, INLAND WATERWAYS AND FISHERIES) WILL BE CREATED.

-- EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP: A BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL WILL BE ESTABLISHED TO BRING TOGETHER DUBLIN, LONDON AND BELFAST INTO A CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL OF THE ISLES, INCLUSIVE OF THE SCOTTISH AND WELSH ASSEMBLIES, AND POSSIBLY OTHERS. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL SIGN A NEW BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT SUBSUMING THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE, AND INSTITUTIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS OF THE 1985 ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT.

-- RIGHTS, SAFEGUARDS AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY: THE RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, INTELLECTUAL, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, AS WELL AS TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, ARE REAFFIRMED. AN INDEPENDENT NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WILL BE ESTABLISHED BY WESTMINSTER LEGISLATION.

-- DECOMMISSIONING: ALL PARTICIPANTS REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVE TOTAL DISARMAMENT OF ALL PARLIAMENTARY ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN TWO YEARS. AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION WILL MONITOR PROGRESS IN DECOMMISSIONING. IN A SIDE LETTER, PM BLAIR PLEDGED THAT IF PARAMILITARIES ASSOCIATED POLITICAL PARTIES ELECTED TO THE ASSEMBLY FAILED TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING ARMS WITHIN THE NEXT SIX MONTHS, HE WOULD TAKE APPROPRIATE LEGISLATIVE ACTION TO ENSURE THE INTEGRITY OF PROCESS.

-- SECURITY AND POLICING: THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AGREED TO REDUCE ARMED FORCES DEPLOYED TO NORTHERN IRELAND TO LEVELS COMPATIBLE WITH A NORMAL PEACEFUL SOCIETY AND TO REMOVE EMERGENCY SECURITY LEGISLATION FROM THE BOOKS. AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION WILL BE ESTABLISHED TO MAKE  
CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 003840

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/10/03  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: "NEW BEGINNING" AGREEMENT REACHED

REF: LONDON 3832 AND PREVIOUS

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE POLICING ARRANGEMENTS THAT ENSURE WIDESPREAD COMMUNITY SUPPORT. THIS COMMISSION WILL REPORT NOT LATER THAN SUMMER 1999. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ALSO WILL REVIEW THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

-- PRISONERS: BOTH GOVERNMENTS WILL PUT IN PLACE MECHANISMS TO PROVIDE FOR AN ACCELERATED PROGRAM OF RELEASES FOR PRISONERS ASSOCIATED WITH ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE MAINTAINING AN UNEQUIVOCAL CEASE-FIRE. (SPLINTER TERRORIST GROUPS THEREFORE WILL NOT BENEFIT.) A REVIEW PROCESS WILL BE CREATED WHICH WILL ENSURE VIRTUALLY ALL IRA AND MAIN LOYALIST PRISONERS WILL BE RELEASED WITHIN TWO YEARS.

3. (U) THE CENTRAL ISSUES WILL BE PUT TO VOTERS MAY 22 IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND IN PARALLEL REFERENDA. POLLS SHOW WIDESPREAD BUT NOT NECESSARILY DEEP SUPPORT FOR THE OUTLINES OF THIS DEAL. SOME HARDLINERS IN BOTH THE UNIONIST AND NATIONALIST COMMUNITIES IMMEDIATELY

DENOUNCED THE DEAL, INDICATING THE OUTCOME OF THE REFERENDA IS NOT A FOREGONE CONCLUSION. THE LIKELIHOOD THAT TERRORIST GROUPS OPPOSED TO THE PEACE PROCESS WILL RESORT TO FURTHER VIOLENCE ALSO COMPLICATES THE PROCESS.

4. (U) IF THE REFERENDA PASS, AN ELECTION FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY WILL BE HELD JUNE 25. IT WILL MEET INITIALLY IN A "SHADOW" MODE. THE ASSEMBLY WILL ASSUME AUTHORITY, AND NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL, IMPLEMENTATION BODIES, THE BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL AND THE BRITISH IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE WILL BE CREATED WHEN THE BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE.

5. (U) AT THAT POINT, THE PARTIES THEN GET DOWN TO THE TRULY DIFFICULT PART: MAKING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WORK IN A SYSTEM WHICH HAS NO TRADITION OF COOPERATION, OR EVEN A MODICUM OF TRUST, ACROSS THE COMMUNAL DIVIDE. BUT THAT INEVITABLE CHALLENGE DOES NOT DETRACT FROM THE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT WHICH THIS AGREEMENT REPRESENTS. IT TRULY HOLDS OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW BEGINNING FOR RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, ON THE ISLAND OF IRELAND AND BETWEEN BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

LADER

4/11

Blair - Spain  
POTUS - Camp David

201-460-

1406 →

5704

T Exhausted

B hell, deal, not all is

T can't thank you - call to Trumble,  
pushed here in on way out.

B. What I see

T Got to work it, use it.

B When I come on, G-8  
I'll get -

T helpful

B 1 or 2. Belfast + Derry, Dublin

P British press

T. RTing press conference

B shit chat PAD?

T Not to head. Some of Trumble's  
people walking away

B. Ask how are they

T. Now SF plays, now all for us  
I'm in Spain of Jose-Manuel Aznar

B Good guy,

T. Brit guy. Called to say thanks.  
Next with Ireland, visit.

B. U + Butler work on that.

T. See it would help. Structure +  
times. Disc it of BA

B. But. to hold ste. Check?

T. ~~check~~ Yes

D. Pix you + Peter.

T locate angles.

D. Baker visited interest

T. call from a record. That  
we'd lost T. Noble. I didn't let  
them out of the park

B. Take cards etc. Thank for call

T.

\$2.15

Butler, Lawrence E.

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Friday, April 03, 1998 7:52 AM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNMENTS DRAFT BRACKETED TEXT

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 031246Z APR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5023  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY LONDON  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 3561  
**TOR:** 980403075035 M3229152

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0134-m (2.02)  
KBM 3/3/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 003561

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/03/06  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNMENTS DRAFT BRACKETED TEXT

REF: LONDON 3555

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JUDITH R. JOHNSON, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. (S) ACCORDING TO THE NIO, THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE NARROWED THEIR DIFFERENCES TO THE POINT YESTERDAY THEY WERE ABLE TO PROVIDE SENATOR MITCHELL WITH A BRACKETED TEXT OF A DRAFT AGREEMENT. THE 40-MINUTE MEETING BETWEEN BLAIR AND AHERN LAST NIGHT PRODUCED FURTHER CONSENSUS, ALTHOUGH THEY DID NOT GET INTO SPECIFIC WORDING OF THE TEXT. OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO WORK TODAY TO REMOVE THE FINAL BRACKETS AND WE ARE TOLD ANOTHER BLAIR-AHERN MEETING TONIGHT IS "PROBABLE."

3. (S) THE KEY AREA OF BRACKETING CONTINUES TO CONCERN THE STATUS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. THERE APPEARS TO BE AGREEMENT THAT AN INITIAL NUMBER (PERHAPS SIX OR EIGHT) OF IMPLEMENTATION BODIES WILL BE SPECIFICALLY AUTHORIZED IN THE ORIGINAL LEGISLATION. HOWEVER IT REMAINS TO BE SETTLED PRECISELY WHAT CONTROL THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY WOULD HAVE OVER THESE BODIES, OR OTHERS WHICH THE DAIL AND THE ASSEMBLY MAY AGREE TO CREATE IN THE FUTURE.

4. (S) SENATOR MITCHELL HAD "GOOD MEETINGS" WITH THE SDLP AND THE UUP, BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND JOINTLY, YESTERDAY WHICH SEEMED TO PAVE THE WAY FOR AN AGREEMENT ON THE ASSEMBLY'S EXECUTIVE STRUCTURE (IE, CABINET OR COMMITTEE-STYLE) AND ON CROSS-COMMUNITY VOTING WITHIN THE COMMITTEES. HOWEVER, OUR INTERLOCUTOR WAS UNABLE TO GIVE US AN ACCURATE SNAPSHOT OF THE DEAL, POINTING OUT THAT IT REMAINS A "MOVING TARGET."

5. (S) THE NIO CONFIRMED THAT SENATOR MITCHELL INTENDS TO PROVIDE A DRAFT TEXT TO THE PARTIES TODAY SHORTLY AFTER 6 PM (12 NOON WASHINGTON), AND THE GOVERNMENTS ARE WORKING TO GET HIM AGREED TEXT BY THEN. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT THE CHAIRMAN WILL DO IF BRACKETS REMAIN, BUT THERE IS SOME SUGGESTION THAT HE MAY IDENTIFY WHICH PORTIONS ARE JOINT TEXT AND WHICH ARE NOT. PARTIES WILL MEET WITH THE CHAIRMEN, MINISTERS AND BILATERALLY AT STORMONT THROUGH THE WEEKEND. BASED ON THOSE MEETINGS MITCHELL IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE A REVISED TEXT ON MONDAY.

**Butler, Lawrence E.**

**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Friday, April 03, 1998 2:25 PM  
**To:** Butler, Lawrence E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** \*\*\* NO SUBJECT FOUND \*\*\*

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 031658Z APR 98  
**MSGTO:** RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3190  
**ORIG:** AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
**PREC:** IMMEDIATE  
**SSN:** 1859  
**TOR:** 980403142130 M3229965

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0156-17 (2.03)  
KBH 3/3/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 001859

FO STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 1258: DECL: 04/03/08  
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
SUJECT: SINN FEIN CONTINUES TO TAKE "TACTICAL" STANC ON  
PROSPECTIVE NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT

RF: LONDON 3561

CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SITH. REASON 1.5 (B)

1. (S) IN A TELEPHONE CALL THIS MORNING (FRI., APRIL 3), TAOISEACH'S ADVISO MARTIN MANSERGH TOLD ME THAT YESTERDAY'S MEETINGS BETWEEN THE IRISH AND BRITISH IN LONDON HAD PRODUCED "A FAIR BIT OF PROGRESS." HOWEVER, THE IRISH CONTINUE TO TAKE THE VIEW THAT THEY CAN'T EXCHANGE ARTICLES TWO AND THREE "FOR A PUP," AS MANSERGH PUT IT (I.E., FOR NOTHING).
2. (S) (NOTE: A ORKING-LEVEL DFA OFFICIAL TOLD US APRIL 2 THAT SRAND TWO REMAINS THE NUB OF THE PROBLEM: DUBLIN WANTS "LEGISLATIVELY-BASED" NORTH-SOUTH STRUCTURES WITH AN EXECUTIVE ROLE, WHILE UNIONISTS HAVE REPORTEDLY NOT MOVED BEYOND A COMMITTEE SYSTEM IN A UNIONIST-DOMINATED NORTHERN ASSEMBLY. ACCORDING TO MEDIA REPORTS, BERTIE AHERN AND TONY BLAIR HAVE MET AGAIN BRIEFLY TWICE TODAY, ON THE MARGINS OF THE EU-ASIA SUMMIT IN LONDON, IN AN EFFORT TO NARROW DIFFERENCES.)
3. (S) MANSERGH RESERVED MOST OF HIS FRUSTRATION FOR SINN FEIN. THERE WAS STILL CONSIDERABLE DISCOMFORT WITHIN FIANNA FAIL AT THE PROSPECT OF ENDORSING A SETTLEMENT THAT MIGHT BE OPPOSED BY "HALF THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY" (I.E., SINN FEIN). IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SUPPORT IF SINN FEIN LABELED IT A "SELL-OUT." MANSERGH WAS CONCERNED THAT SINN FEIN MIGHT OPPOSE A SETTLEMENT SIMPLY TO MAKE ELECTRICAL GAINS ON THE SDLP.
3. (S) HOWEVER, JUST WHAT SINN FEIN'S POSITION WOULD BE ON A SETTLEMENT ITSELF WAS STILL UNCLEAR TO MANSERGH. HE WAS EXTREMELY SURPRISED WHEN I TOLD HIM THAT SINN FEIN T.D. CAOIMHGHIN O CAOLAIN HAD MADE CLEAR TO ME ON MARCH 30 (AT THE BRITISH-IRISH INTER-PARLIAMENTARY BOY MEETING IN THE BORDER REGION) THAT SINN FEIN DID NOT INTEND TO SUPPORT THE PROSPECTIVE SETTLEMENT, GIVEN DIFFICULTIES THE LEADERSHIP WAS HAVING SELLING IT TO THE RANK AND FILE.
4. (S) A DFA OFFICIAL TOLD US APRIL 2 THAT DUBLIN STILL HOPED IT AS "ALL TO PLAY FOR" AS FAR AS SINN FEIN'S

STANCE WAS CONCERNED: "WE'RE HOPING FOR MORE THAN MERE QUIESCENCE" FROM SF IN AN AGREEMENT, THE OFFICIAL SAID.

RITA O'HARE  
/-----

5. (C) IN A ONE-ON-ONE MEETING APRIL 3, SINN FEIN PUBLICITY DIRECTOR RITA O'HARE TOLD ME THAT SINN FEIN'S STANCE ON A SETTLEMENT DEPENDED ON THE ACTUAL SHAPE OF THE FINAL PACKAGE. SINN FEIN COULD NOT GO FOR A "PARTITIONIST" SOLUTION, SHE SAID. HENCE THE PARTY WAS PREPARING ITS CONSTITUENCY FOR EITHER OUTCOME.

6. (C) SF WAS PURSUING THE STRONGEST SOLUTION IT COULD IN ORDER TO AVOID ACCUSATIONS OF "SELLING OUT," O'HARE SAID. TACTICALLY, THE PARTY WAS PLAYING HARD BALL ON ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION. O'HARE HERSELF "COULD NOT CARE LESS" ABOUT ARTICLES 2 AND 3, BUT FOR THE SAKE OF SINN FEIN'S FOLLOWERS, THE PARTY HAD TO APPEAR "TOUGH AS NAILS" AND WOULD INSIST ON RESERVING ITS POSITION UNTIL THE FINAL PACKAGE APPEARED.

7. (C) O'HARE QUOTED MARTIN MANSERGH AS TELLING HER THAT THINGS WOULD GO WELL IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH PM TONY BLAIR, ONLY TO HAVE JOHN HOLMES AND QUENTIN THOMAS "COME IN AND CHANGE EVERYTHING."

8. (C) O'HARE ATTRIBUTED YESTERDAY'S ATTEMPT TO SMUGGLE A BOMB TO BRITAIN FROM DUBLIN TO THE 32-COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE. SHE SNIFFED AT THE ATTEMPT TO PUT A BOMB IN A CAR ON A FERRY, SAYING THIS WAS "AMATEURISH."

9. (C) O'HARE SAID THAT 32-COUNTY FIGURES INCLUDING BERNADETTE SANDS-MCKEVITT AND FRANCIE MACKAY INTEND TO VISIT THE U.S. ON APRIL 23. BERNADETTE DEVLIN-MCALISKEY MAY JOIN THEM. THE TRIP IS INTENDED TO STIR UP OPPOSITION TO THE PROSPECTIVE AGREEMENT.

FATHER REID  
/-----

10. (C) I ALSO MET ONE-ON-ONE WITH FATHER ALEC REID ON APRIL 3. REID WAS NOT TERRIBLY OPTIMISTIC. HE INDICATED THAT HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH GERRY ADAMS HAVE FOCUSED ON THE NEED FOR PROGRESS ON THE EQUALITY AGENDA, POLICING AND PRISONERS. HOWEVER, EVEN MODERATE NATIONALISTS WERE CONFUSED AND CONCERNED, REID FELT, ABOUT BEING ASKED TO TRADE ARTICLES 2 AND 3 FOR AS YET UNCLEAR CONCESSIONS ON THE BRITISH SIDE. WHAT HAD ONCE APPEARED AS A TRADE-OFF  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 001859

FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/03/08  
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN CONTINUES TO TAKE "TACTICAL" STANCE ON PROSPECTIVE NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT

REF: LONDON 3561

BETWEEN ARTICLES 2 AND 3 AND THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND ACT (1921) WAS NOW TURNING INTO A TRADE-OFF BETWEEN ARTICLES 2 AND 3 AND THE NORTH/SOUTH BODY. "PEOPLE FEAR THEIR NATIONALITY IS BEING THREATENED," HE TOLD ME. SMITH

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0156-M (2.17)  
KBH 3/3/2023

Confidential

2

First, tentative assessment of Assembly Elections outcome

1. The most recent opinion polls are indicating a significant rise in support for the SDLP in the 25 June elections. While extreme caution should be maintained in regard to polls in Northern Ireland, the expectation that the party will do well in the election seems realistic.
2. As with all Northern Ireland elections, there will in reality be separate elections in the two communities. However, it will be interesting to see if Séamus Mallon's request for transfers among the pro-agreement parties has any effect. If past elections are any guide, such transfers will only occur in late preferences.

Unionist Transfers

3. It will also be interesting to see if the traditional unionist solidarity holds, especially after the acrimonious referendum campaign. If their usual tight transfer pattern breaks down, this will clearly lower the number of UUP and DUP members in the new Assembly.

Initial Elections Assessment

4. The boundaries of the present constituencies have been used on two occasions in the past - the Forum elections in 1996, and the Westminster elections of 1997. The Forum results are the more relevant, given that Westminster uses the first past the post system. In addition, it should be remembered that, in the new six seaters, the quota is reduced to 14.3% compared with 16.7% in the traditional five seater. In overall terms, the change to six seaters should make the new Assembly more proportional than was previously the case and should, as a result, help the nationalist parties.
5. The predictions following, which deal with each of the 18 constituencies, are based on conversations with SDLP and Sinn Féin members, and on the trends of previous elections. They should be viewed as extremely tentative, given that the nature of this election campaign is unprecedented, and that unanticipated developments may well radically alter the scene.
6. With the above health warning, my overall prediction is for an Assembly with the following outcome in seats:  
  
UUP 33; DUP 20; SDLP 27; SF 17; Alliance 7; PUP 2; UKUP 2.
7. Presuming that the First and Deputy First Minister positions are taken by the UUP and SDLP, and allowing for 10 other Ministries, the d'Hondt system would give, on the above figures, an Executive of UUP 4; SDLP 4; DUP 2 and SF 2. (The question arises, of course, whether the DUP would take their seats.)

(3)

## Constituency Profiles

### 1. North Belfast

This is a very interesting constituency from the SDLP's point of view. The six seats are poised to break 3:3 between nationalists and unionists. SDLP and Sinn Féin together will have a combined first preference vote in the region of 40%, with each party having one and a half quotas. Even if Sinn Féin is ahead of the SDLP on the first count, transfers from the Alliance and other centre parties should see the SDLP move ahead and take the final nationalist seat. The SDLP will want Belfast Lord Mayor, Alban Maginnis, to restrict his first preference vote and allow his running mate, Martin Morgan, to keep in close contact. The longer Maginnis is available for transfers the better the prospect of two SDLP seats.

On the Unionist side, the combined vote is likely to be in the region of 50% which will secure three seats. For the UUP, local MP, Cecil Walker, is in favour of the Agreement which will help to keep the party united. However, the DUP have a strong local candidate in the party secretary, Nigel Dodds, who should be elected. The PUP's Billy Hutchinson has an excellent chance of taking a seat for the party.

Likely Result: 1 UUP, 1 DUP, 2 SDLP, 1 SF and 1 PUP

#### Forum Election

DUP	7,778	19.24%
SF	7,681	19.00%
SDLP	7,493	18.54%
UUP	6,938	17.16%
PUP	3,777	9.34%
UDP	1,874	4.64%
AP	1,874	4.13%
UKUP	1,329	4.13%
Lab	571	1.41%
NWC	486	1.20%
WP	274	0.68%

#### Westminster Election

Walker UUP	21,478	51.8%
Maginnis SDLP	8,454	20.4%
Kelly SF	8,375	20.2%
Campbell AP	2,221	5.4%
Emerson Green	539	1.3%
Treanor WP	297	0.7%
Gribben NLP	88	0.2%

(4)

## 2. South Belfast

The South Belfast constituency has been a considerable growth area for the SDLP in recent years. At the last local elections, the party gained a seat and now has more Councillors in the South Belfast area than in the West of the city. There is considerable local friction between different parts of the party. One group is centred around Alasdair McDonnell and the other around Carmel Hanna. While the party will run three candidates both of these local Councillors should be elected. The SDLP have an opportunity to emerge as the largest party in the South Belfast area in this election.

Sinn Féin has grown in strength electorally in South Belfast especially in the Lower Ormeau area and will be trying to improve its overall share of the vote. On past performances, it is not likely to capture a seat on this occasion.

The Alliance party has seen its support level contract in inverse proportion to that of the SDLP. It will still be favourite to take the sixth seat but will face a challenge from the high-profile leader of the Women's Coalition, Monica McWilliams.

The unionist vote in South Belfast has been in decline for some time, though it has been boosted somewhat by the new constituency boundaries. The party organisation is in poor shape in the area and local UUP MP, Martin Smyth has been an undynamic figure and is opposed to the Agreement. This will lessen, though not destroy, the UUP's chances of a second seat. The DUP should be able to take one seat and the last unionist seat will be a tight contest between the UUP and the PUP. The PUP will be helped by the presence of UDP negotiator, Davy Adams, who should poll well in Loyalist areas. However it is unlikely that the PUP in the absence of David Ervine will win a seat here.

Likely Result: 2 UUP, 1 DUP, 2 SDLP, 1 Alliance.

### Forum Election

UUP	8,617	22.79%
SDLP	7,956	21.04%
DUP	5,818	15.39%
AP	4,689	12.40%
SF	2,455	6.49%
PUP	2,321	6.14%
UKUP	1,750	4.63%
UDP	1,666	4.41%
NIWC	947	2.50%

### Westminster Election

Smyth UUP	14,201	36.0%
McDonnell SDLP	9,601	24.3%
Ervin PUP	5,687	14.4%
McBride AP	5,112	12.9%
Hayes SF	2,019	5.1%
Campbell NIWC	1,204	3.0%
Boal Cons	962	2.4%
Cusack Lab	292	0.7%
Anderson NLP	120	0.3%

(5)

**3. East Belfast**

The election in East Belfast will be a contest between the various factions of unionism. The DUP led by Peter Robinson will be sure of two seats and hoping for a swing against the UUP in the wake of the Agreement in order to take a third. The UUP is sure of 1 seat and will be disappointed if it does not secure a second. The PUP also has a chance of winning a seat, especially if Davy Ervine runs in the area.

The Alliance party regards East Belfast as its best constituency and with Lord Alderdice among its candidates, it will be hoping for two seats. However, as in the rest of Northern Ireland, the Alliance vote has been falling and even with some nationalist support it will be a difficult task for the Alliance to take a second seat.

On the nationalist side, Sinn Féin will be trying to promote its chances of securing a Council seat in the Short Strand area without threatening to get anywhere near a quota on this occasion. For the SDLP this is a barren area where there is no prospect of a seat.

**Likely Result:** 2 UUP, 2 DUP, 1 Alliance and 1 PUP.

**Forum Election**

DUP	11,270	29.40%
UUP	8,608	22.45%
AP	7,130	18.60%
PUP	3,802	9.92%
UKUP	2,496	6.51%
SDLP	1,299	3.39%
UDP	1,156	3.02%
SF	862	2.25%
NIWC	405	1.06%

**Westminster Election**

Robinson DUP	16,640	42.7%
Empey UUP	9,886	25.4%
Hendron AP	9,288	23.7%
Dines Cons	928	2.4%
Corr SF	810	2.1%
Lewsley SDLP	928	1.6%
Dougan Ind	541	1.4%
Bell WP	237	0.6%
Collins NLP	70	0.2%

(6)

**4. West Belfast**

The West Belfast constituency is Sinn Féin's heartland. The party has the highest % support in this constituency of any party in any constituency in Northern Ireland. SF is hopeful of taking four of the six seats and local SDLP sources believe that Sinn Féin is capable of achieving that target. It had an excellent result in the area in the local elections last year. The SDLP has performed badly in recent years. The SDLP will be trying to secure two seats with Joe Hendron and Alex Attwood. The presence of Hendron will assist but it will be a difficult assignment for the party.

The Alliance party which once was strong in West Belfast is now largely irrelevant and will be lucky to save its deposit. The position for unionists is also difficult. At the Forum elections the combined unionist vote just about reached a quota. There is a great deal of fragmentation among unionists. In the current situation, the unionists will find it difficult to maintain the type of transfer discipline needed to secure a seat. In the circumstances, the PUP which is the strongest unionist party in the area may lose out to the SDLP for the last seat.

**Likely result:** 2 SDLP, 4 Sinn Féin

**Forum Election**

SF	22,355	53.41%
SDLP	11,087	26.49%
PUP	1,982	4.74%
DUP	1,769	4.23%
UUP	1,489	3.56%
WP	984	2.35%
UDP	848	2.13%
AP	340	0.81%

**Westminster Election**

Adams SF	25,662	55.9%
Hendron SDLP	17,753	38.7%
Parkinson UUP	1,556	3.4%
Lowry WP	721	1.6%
Kennedy Ind	102	0.2%
Daly NLP	91	0.2%

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**5. South Antrim**

The South Antrim constituency has a growing nationalist vote and is certain to return one nationalist member in the election on 25 June. The SDLP is certain of that one seat. It took 16.2% in the Westminster election and polled well in the Antrim town area in the last local elections. There is considerable friction in the local party between talks delegate Donovan McClelland and some other SDLP members in the Crumlin branch over how many candidates the party should field. McClelland wanted a single candidate while his opposition wanted to run a second. In the end McClelland was not selected at the party convention. Sinn Féin expect their vote to rise in this constituency especially with high profile candidate Martin Meehan but it will do so from a low base. Their support is concentrated in the Toomebridge and Glengormley areas. However, the total nationalist vote is only 21.7% which is well short of a second quota.

There is a second non-unionist seat in the constituency and Alliance look capable of winning it. The party had a good base in the last Westminster election and talks negotiator David Ford expects to be elected. The Alliance vote has been falling gradually in this constituency as the SDLP has grown. Alliance will require some nationalist transfers to secure its seat but this should be forthcoming.

On the unionist side, the UUP is the dominant force in this constituency. However, the situation is complicated by the presence of the anti-agreement MP Clifford Forsythe. The DUP will be hoping for 2 seats which it may achieve with UKUP support but the PUP has an outside chance of taking one of the DUP seats.

**Likely Result:** 2 UUP, 2 DUP, 1 SDLP and 1 Alliance

<u>Forum</u>			<u>Westminster</u>		
UUP	12,001	30.16%	Forsythe UUP	23,108	57.5%
DUP	9,549	23.99%	McClelland SDLP	6,497	16.2%
SDLP	6,025	15.14%	Ford AP	4,668	11.6%
AP	3,332	8.37%	Smyth PUP	3,490	8.7%
SF	2,149	5.40%	Cushnahan SF	2,229	5.5%
UKUP	2,111	5.30%	Briggs NLP	203	0.5%
PUP	1,697	4.26%			
UDP	1,000	2.51%	Total poll	40,195	57.9%
NIWC	435	1.09%			

8

## 6. North Antrim

This constituency has traditionally been strong DUP territory. However, in recent years there has been a growth in the moderate unionist vote at the expense of the DUP. The UUP managed to get a 5% swing from the DUP in the last Westminster election compared with 1992. Ballymena is now controlled by the UUP, with SDLP support, and the local Mayor James Currie is in favour of the Agreement. The UUP will be seeking to secure 2 seats which should be within the party's capabilities. The DUP will also secure two seats and will be hoping to take a third.

On the non-unionist side, this is a constituency where the census returns indicate that nationalists should poll much better than past contests indicate. The SDLP local organisation is very poor but in the most recent local elections the party did very well in the Ballymena area. On the local elections figures the SDLP could be within striking distance of a second seat. The total nationalist vote in that election was 27%. On this occasion with a increase in its vote, the SDLP may be able to secure a second seat. Sinn Féin has increased its support slowly and steadily and will be viewing this constituency as an area where it could obtain a seat in the future.

Alliance once had strong support in North Antrim but have fallen behind Sinn Féin in recent elections and will not be in the running for a seat.

**Likely Result:** 2 UUP, 2 DUP and 2 SDLP

### Forum Election

DUP	16,448	36.97%
UUP	11,195	25.16%
SDLP	7,185	16.15%
SF	2,579	5.80%
AP	2,518	5.66%
UKUP	1,185	2.66%
UDP	768	1.73%

### Westminster election

Paisley DUP	21,495	46.5%
Leslie UUP	10,921	23.6%
Farren SDLP	7,333	15.9%
McCarry SF	2,896	6.3%
Alderdice AP	2,845	6.2%
Hinds NIWC	580	1.3%
Wright NLP	116	0.3%

## 7. East Antrim

The East Antrim constituency is strongly unionist and the pro and anti-agreement groups in the unionist community will be seeking to maximise their position. The local MP, UUP and ex-DUP member, Roy Beggs will be supporting the rejectionist group but most of the UUP's Councillors and office holders in the area will be backing David Trimble.

The UUP and DUP have been battling for the position as the main unionist party for many years. The UUP has strengthened its position in recent years but it remains to be seen if this trend is maintained in the Assembly elections. It would hope to take 3 seats but any erosion of its support could see the DUP take one of those seats. The DUP will be in line for two seats with the possibility of taking a third at the expense of the UUP.

The Alliance Party is quite strong here and Seán Neeson of the party will take a seat fairly comfortably. Even with SDLP transfers, the party is unlikely to mount a serious challenge for the second seat.

On the nationalist side this is a difficult seat but with Larne Councillor Danny O'Connor who was elected as the first SDLP Councillor in the area last year, the party should increase its share of the vote. The party hopes to build towards an Assembly seat in the future. Sinn Féin has only a small level of support in the constituency and will act as a feeder into the SDLP vote.

Likely Result: 3 UUP, 2 DUP and 1 Alliance

### Forum Election

UUP	10,036	30.09%
DUP	9,557	28.66%
AP	3,957	11.86%
PUP	2,254	6.76%
SDLP	2,213	6.64%
UKUP	2,041	6.12%
UDP	1,141	3.42%
SF	619	1.86%

### Westminister Election

Beggs UUP	13,318	38.8%
Neeson AP	6,929	20.2%
McKee DUP	6,682	19.5%
Dick Con	2,334	6.8%
Donaldson PUP	1,751	5.1%
O'Connor SDLP	1,576	4.6%
Mason Ind	1,145	3.3%
McAuley SF	543	1.6%
McCann NLP	69	0.2%

(10)

**8. Lagan Valley**

This constituency is based on the town of Lisburn in County Antrim. The nationalist end of the old Lagan Valley constituency (Twinbrook and Poleglass) was transferred to West Belfast. This strengthened the unionist position in Lagan Valley.

The UUP have been the dominant force in Lagan Valley since its creation for the 1983 election and in normal circumstances the party would expect to take two seats easily and possibly a third in the later stages of the count. However the rift in the UUP party between the local MP Jeffrey Donaldson and the local Councillors who are overwhelmingly in favour of the Agreement may damage the party's prospects of taking three seats. The DUP will be hoping to capitalise on the UUP's discomfort and increase its share of the vote. This constituency offers the UDP its best prospect of a seat through party leader Gary McMichael. His chances are not strong but a combination of UUP and Alliance transfers could see him home.

This is one of the best constituencies for the Alliance party but its declining fortunes particularly in the Catholic community could harm its prospects. However, Deputy party leader Seamus Close should be elected.

There is a good prospect of an SDLP seat here if the party could reproduce its Forum election result. The SDLP will succeed if there is any reasonable increase in its vote. While Sinn Féin's vote in this constituency was badly effected by the loss of Twinbrook and Poleglass, the party is confident of a much improved performance on this occasion. This will only improve the chances of the SDLP taking a seat.

**Likely Result:** 3 UUP, 1 DUP, 1 SDLP and 1 Alliance

**Forum Election**

UUP	16,367	37.66%
DUP	9,592	22.07%
AP	4,508	10.37%
SDLP	4,001	9.21%
UDP	3,007	6.92%
UKUP	2,252	5.18%
SF	1,132	2.60%
PUP	1,072	2.47%

**Westminster Election**

Donaldson	UUP	24,560	55.4%
Close	AP	7,635	17.2%
Poots	DUP	6,005	13.6%
Kelly	SDLP	3,436	7.8%
Ramsey	SF	1,220	2.7%
Sexton	Cons	1,212	2.5%
McCarthy	WP	203	0.5%
Finlay		149	0.3%

(11)

**2. South Down**

This is one the SDLP's best constituencies with a strong local organisation and a moderate nationalist electorate. Eddie McGrady obtained the largest personal vote of any candidate in the last two Westminster elections. The new boundaries have greatly reduced the unionist vote in South Down.

The SDLP will win three seats fairly comfortably but the recent growth of Sinn Féin at the Forum and local elections has made the possibility of winning a fourth seat unlikely. Sinn Féin's Nick Murphy is likely to take one seat for that party.

The UUP is the dominant party on the unionist side but is likely to have a strong tussle with the DUP for the second unionist seat.

**Likely result:** 2 UUP, 3 SDLP and 1 SF

**Forum Election**

SDLP	20,220	43.25%
UUP	10,379	22.20%
SF	6,142	13.14%
DUP	5,060	10.82%
AP	1,685	3.60%
Lab	927	1.98%
PUP	497	1.06%
.....		

**Westminster Election**

McGrady	SDLP	26,181	52.9%
Nesbitt	UUP	16,248	32.8%
Murphy	SF	5,127	10.4%
Crozier	AP	1,711	3.5%
McKeown	NLP	219	0.4%

(12)

**10. Strangford**

This constituency extends from the southern suburbs of Belfast down to the bottom of the Ards peninsula. It is strongly unionist with the UUP and the DUP the main political parties in Strangford. The UUP have selected 4 pro agreement candidates including Deputy leader, John Taylor, and leading Orangeman, David McNarry. The DUP challenge will be lead by Iris Robinson. The unionist parties are likely to take up to five of the six seats with the UUP taking three and the DUP two.

The Alliance party was the main opposition to the unionists in the area and had a large Catholic element in its support. However the SDLP which did not contest Strangford in the past have appeared on the scene and won 3 new Councillor positions in the constituency at the last local election. With Catholic support for Alliance falling across Northern Ireland, the party may have to rely on transfers to secure a seat.

The election in Strangford is an important one for the SDLP in this area. The party now has an organisation up and running in the constituency and will be fielding two candidates in order to push up its first preference vote. The candidates are based at the two ends of Strangford constituency, namely Carryduff and Portaferry. The party's main competitor is the Alliance party who have a prominent Catholic, Kieran McCarthy, as its front runner. The SDLP, if they can increase the party vote by a few %, has a real chance of a seat with Sinn Féin transfers. However, it may have to wait until the next election for success.

**Likely result:** 3 UUP. 2 DUP and 1 Alliance

**Forum Election**

UUP	12,547	31.31%
DUP	11,585	28.91%
AP	4,614	11.51%
UKUP	3,112	7.77%
SDLP	2,927	7.30%
PUP	2,017	5.03%
UDP	1,080	2.70%
SF	709	1.77%
NIWC	410	1.02%

**Westminster Election**

Taylor UUP	18,431	44.3%
Robinson DUP	12,579	30.2%
McCarthy AP	5,467	13.1%
O'Reilly SDLP	2,775	6.7%
Chalk Cons	1,743	4.2%
O'Fiachtna SF	503	1.2%
Mullins NLP	121	0.3%

(13)

**11. North Down**

This is the most independently minded constituency in Northern Ireland. The local MP, Robert McCartney spearheaded the unsuccessful No campaign in the referendum. However there is a perception that the North Down area was strongly pro-agreement. The UUP will hope to benefit from its pro-Agreement position and will take the highest number of first preference votes. It should take two seats without too much difficulty. McCartney's UKUP look set to take two seats also with the DUP taking another.

The remaining seat should go to the Alliance party. The SDLP and Sinn Féin have only marginal support in this heavily Protestant constituency.

**Likely Result:** 2 UUP, 1 DUP, 1 Alliance and 2 UKUP.

**Forum Election**

UUP	9,270	25.58%
UKUP	7,579	20.91%
DUP	6,699	18.48%
AP	6,186	17.07%
SDLP	1,796	4.96%
PUP	1,694	4.67%
UDP	651	1.80%
NIWC	496	1.37%

**Westminister Election**

McCartney UKUP	12,817	35.1%
McFarland UUP	11,368	31.1%
Napier AP	7,554	20.7%
Fee Cons	1,810	5.0%
Farrell SDLP	1,602	4.4%
Morrice NIWC	1,240	3.4%
Mullins NLP	108	0.3%
Mooney NIP	57	0.2%

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## 12. Upper Bann

This is one of the most intriguing constituencies in the election. The area covers the North of County Armagh and is the home base of UUP leader David Trimble. The area was traditionally strongly unionist in electoral terms and the large Catholic minority had a low electoral participation rate. In recent elections, the situation has begun to alter and the unionist % support has fallen and the nationalist vote has gradually risen.

On the unionist side, the total unionist vote has fallen from 63% to 55% in the last ten years. It is likely that three seats will be won comfortably, 2 UUP and 1 DUP. If the unionist vote continues to fall (it was under 4 quotas in the Westminster election) there is a possibility that a fourth seat will be lost to the SDLP which has improved its position in recent elections.

On the nationalist side, there is a possibility that Sinn Féin might stand aside for Garvahey Road independent nationalist Councillor Brendan MacCionnaith who would be a strong candidate for a seat. SF allowed him and his running partner Duffy a clear run in the last local elections. The SDLP with Brid Rodgers to the fore has increased its share of the vote in all recent elections and may do so again. If it does so again it should secure a second seat in a close contest with the UUP.

The Alliance party has over a couple of thousand votes in the constituency. Past experience indicates that the majority of the party's supporters in Upper Bann are Protestant and will transfer to the UUP when Alliance is eliminated.

**Likely result:** 2 UUP, 1 DUP, 2 SDLP and 1 SF/Nat Ind.

### Forum Election

UUP	16,592	36.28%
SDLP	9,846	21.53%
DUP	7,134	15.60%
SF	5,620	12.29%
AP	2,152	4.71%
PUP	1,404	3.07%
UKUP	886	1.94%
Lab	512	1.12%

### Westminster

Trimble UUP	20,836	43.6%
Rodgers SDLP	11,584	24.2%
O'Hagan SF	5,773	12.1%
Carrick DUP	5,482	11.5%
Ramsey AP	3,017	6.3%
French WP	554	1.2%
Price Con	433	0.9%
Lyons NLP	108	0.2%

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**13. Newry and Armagh**

This constituency has been strong SDLP territory since Seamus Mallon won the Westminster seat from Jim Nicholson in the aftermath of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In recent years Sinn Féin has seen its electoral support grow particularly at local Government level. The SDLP will be trying to win three seats here but may have to settle for two. Sinn Féin will be trying for two seats and given recent trends in their direction in the constituency, it is likely to be able to get them.

On the unionist side the UUP is by far the dominant party and seems poised to win both unionist seats in the area. Alliance have little or no chance of winning a seat in Newry and Armagh.

**Likely Result:** 2 UUP, 2 SDLP and 2 SF.

**Forum Election**

SDLP	16,775	34.11%
SF	12,585	25.59%
UUP	11,047	22.46%
DUP	4,774	9.71%
AP	1,037	2.11%
PUP	640	1.30%

**Westminster Election**

Mallon SDLP	22,904	43.0%
Kennedy UUP	18,018	33.8%
McNamee SF	11,218	21.1%
Whitcroft AP	1,018	1.9%
Evans NLP	123	0.2%

(16)

**14. Fermanagh and South Tyrone**

This much redrawn constituency has, according to the census returns, a small nationalist majority. However, nationalist turnout has been lower than unionist in recent elections and consequently, unionists have managed to obtain a plurality of votes. In a six seater constituency the two communities are likely to secure three seats each.

On the unionist side, the UUP will comfortably take two seats and the DUP one. However, the position on the nationalist side is more complicated. SF will take more first preferences in the vote than the SDLP. Both parties will take a seat each with some ease and the SDLP will be hoping to overtake Sinn Féin on transfers for the last seat. However on balance it is likely that SF may just hold on to take the last seat.

**Likely Result:** 2 UUP, 1 DUP, 1 SDLP and 2 SF

**Forum Election**

UUP	12,542	32.28%
SF	11,666	24.23%
SDLP	10,399	21.60%
DUP	6,589	13.69%
AP	831	1.73%
UKUP	468	0.97%

**Westminster Election**

Maginnis UUP	24,862	51.5%
McHugh SF	11,060	23.1%
Gallagher SDLP	10,060	22.9%
Farry AP	977	2.0%
Gillan NLP	217	0.4%

17

**15. Mid Ulster**

This constituency is the electoral base of the deputy leader of Sinn Féin, Martin McGuinness. The Sinn Féin vote greatly increased in the last Westminster election to enable McGuinness to unseat Willie McCrea. Sinn Féin is privately predicting that the party will take three seats. However, the figures for the Forum election would not support their claim.

The SDLP used to be the main nationalist party in the area but boundary changes and the growth of Sinn Féin has pushed the party back into second place. In this election the party will have two candidates, Patsy McGlone and Denis Haughey and both should be elected.

The unionists will be trying for two seats and there are likely to succeed with one seat going to the UUP and a second to the DUP.

**Likely result:** 1 UUP, 1 DUP, 2 SDLP and 2 Sinn Féin

**Forum Election**

SF	13,001	29.65%
SDLP	12,492	28.48%
UUP	7,935	18.10%
DUP	7,243	16.52%
AP	549	1.25%
UKUP	435	0.99%

**Westminster Election**

McGuinness SF	20,294	40.0%
McCrea DUP	18,411	36.3%
Haughey SDLP	11,205	22.1%
Bogues AP	460	0.9%
Donnelly WP	238	0.5%
Murray NLP	61	0.1%

18

**16. West Tyrone**

This constituency shares many of the characteristics of Mid-Ulster but actually has a higher % Catholic in its population make up. The Westminster election was a disaster for the SDLP which failed to secure the seat for Joe Byrne in a tight three way contest with the UUP and SF. The party, which did badly in last year's local elections in the area, will be striving to regain its position as the leading nationalist party in West Tyrone. The party is sure of two seats and if there is a large nationalist turnout, it will be pressing for a third seat. Sinn Fein will take two seats in the constituency.

For the unionists, the position is similar to that in Mid-Ulster. Both unionist parties, the UUP and DUP, will be trying to secure a seat each but if there is an exceptionally heavy nationalist turnout the second seat would be under pressure. The UUP will not be helped by the activities of the anti-agreement MP, Willie Thompson.

**Likely Result:** 1 UUP, 1 DUP, 2 SDLP and 2 SF

**Forum Election**

SDLP	11,622	28.39%
SF	11,516	28.13%
UUP	7,327	17.90%
DUP	6,727	16.43%
AP	1,081	2.64%
Lab	792	1.93%

**Westminster Election**

Thompson UUP	16,003	34.6%
Byrne SDLP	14,842	32.1%
Doherty SF	14,280	30.9%
Gormely AP	829	1.8%
Owens WP	230	0.5%
Johnstone NLP	91	0.2%

19

**17. East L/Derry**

The UUP in this constituency seem strongly pro-agreement in contrast with local MP, Willie Ross. The party will be seeking to take three seats in the Assembly election. The DUP will be hoping to take two but this seems unlikely since there are two non-unionist seats in this constituency.

The SDLP is confident of taking two seats and fending off any Sinn Féin challenge. The SDLP took 27% of the vote in this constituency in the last local elections. The loss of the Magherafelt area to Mid-Ulster has made this constituency more difficult for Sinn Féin than in the past. The party will be hoping to build up its vote and hopefully snatch the last seat from the SDLP.

**Likely Result:** 3 UUP, 1 DUP and 2 SDLP

**Forum Election**

UUP	11,386	30.95%
DUP	8,768	23.83%
SDLP	7,451	20.25%
SF	3,413	9.28%
AP	2,107	5.73%
UKUP	1,040	2.83%
UDP	728	1.96%
PUP	662	1.77%

**Westminster Election**

Ross UUP	13,558	35.6%
Campbell DUP	9,764	25.6%
Doherty SDLP	8,273	21.7%
O'Kane SF	3,463	9.1%
Boyle AP	2,427	6.4%
Holmes Cons	436	1.1%
Gallen NLP	100	0.3%
Anderson Nat Dem	81	0.2%

20

**18. Foyle**

The city of Derry has been one of the strongest SDLP constituencies in the North. The party has been in power at local government level since the 1970s. In recent years, Sinn Féin has started to make inroads into the former SDLP dominance of the nationalist vote. In this election, the SDLP will be aiming for four seats but three looks much more realistic. Sinn Féin will be expected to consolidate its position and take two seats.

The unionist vote in Foyle has declined from 30% in 1983 down to just over 20% in the last Westminster election. This means that there will be only one unionist elected to the new Assembly. The contest here will be between William Hay of the DUP and Jack Allen of the UUP. The odds favour a DUP victory but SDLP transfers could help Allen.

**Likely Result:** 1 DUP, 3 SDLP and 2 SF

**Forum Election**

SDLP	19,997	44.26%
SF	11,618	25.71%
DUP	5,054	11.19%
UUP	4,553	10.08%
AP	790	1.75%

**Westminster Election**

Hume	SDLP	25,109	52.5%
McGuinness	SF	11,445	23.9%
Hay	DUP	10,290	21.5%
Bell	AP	817	1.7%
Brennan	NLP	154	0.3%

*Annex A*

(21)

Overall Result in the Different Constituencies

Constit Others	UUP	DUP	SDLP	SF	Alliance	
N. Belfast	1	1	2	1	-	1 PUP
S. Belfast	2	1	2	-	1	-
E. Belfast	2	2	-	-	1	1 PUP
W. Belfast	-	-	2	4	-	-
E. Antrim	3	2	-	-	1	-
N. Antrim	2	2	2	-	-	-
S. Antrim	2	2	1	-	1	-
Lagan V.	3	1	1	-	1	
S. Down	2	-	3	1		
N. Down	2	1	-	-	1	2UK UP
Strangford	3	2	-	-	1	
N/ Armagh	2	-	2	2		
U. Bann	2	1	2	1		
E. Derry	3	1	2	-		
Foyle	-	1	3	2		
W. Tyrone	1	1	2	2		
Mid Ulster	1	1	2	2		
F/S Tyrone	2	1	1	2		

Total                    33                    20                    27                    17                    7                    4

*Annex B*

22

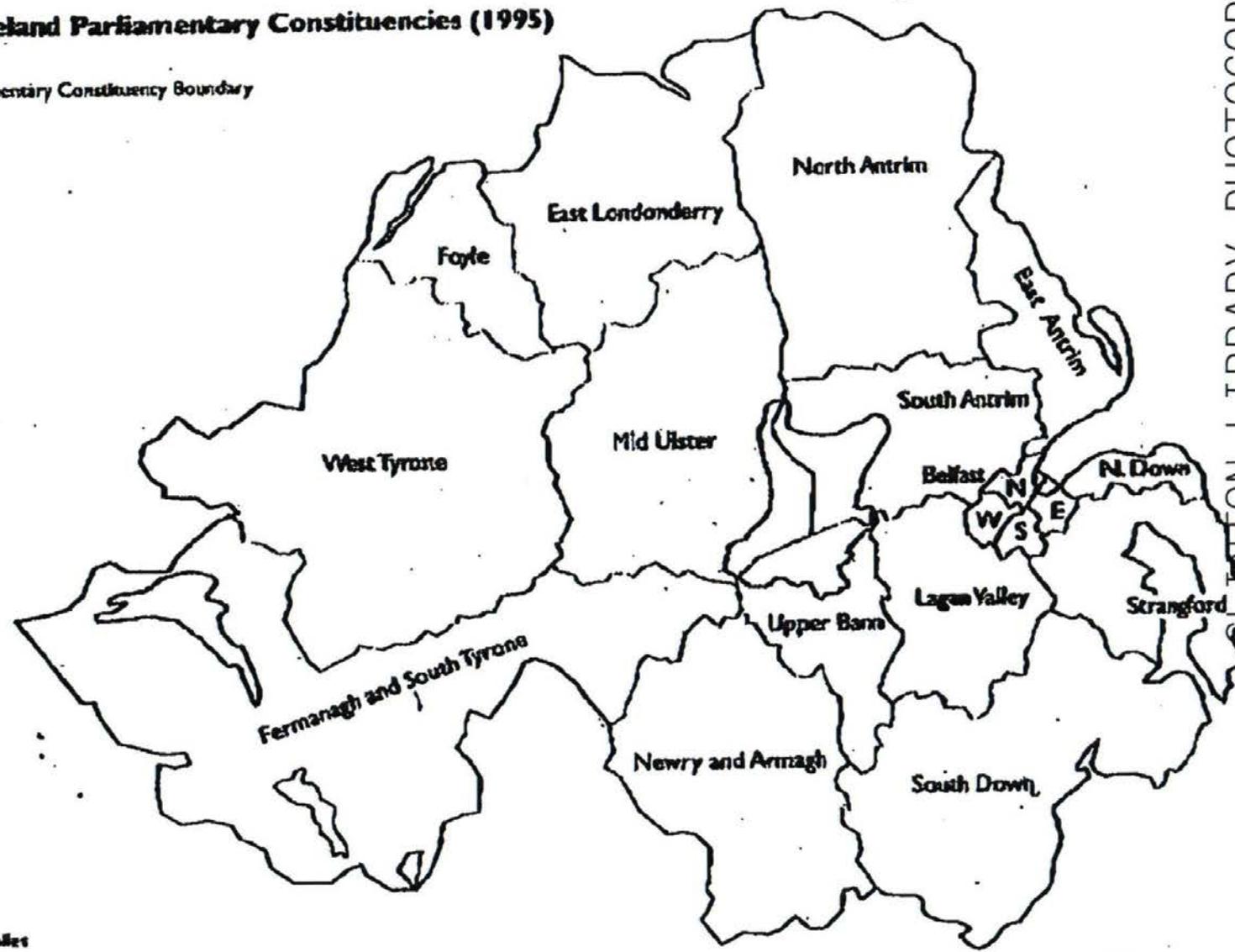
**D'Hondt Allocation of Executive Posts**

	UUP	DUP	SDLP	SF	AP	Others	
1st count	33	20	27	17	7	4	-- 1st seat to UUP
2nd Count	16.5	20	27	17	7	4	-- 2nd seat to SDLP
3rd Count	16.5	20	13.5	17	7	4	- 3rd seat to DUP
4th Count	16.5	10	13.5	17	7	4	- 4th seat to SF
5th Count	16.5	10	13.5	8.5	7	4	- 5th seat to UUP
6th Count	11	10	13.5	8.5	7	4	- 6th seat to SDLP
7th Count	11	10	9	8.5	7	4	- 7th seat to UUP
8th Count	8.25	10	9	8.5	7	4	- 8th seat to DUP
9th Count	8.25	6.7	9	8.5	7	4	- 9th seat to SDLP
10th Count	8.25	6.7	6.8	8.5	7	4	- 10 th seat to SF

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# Northern Ireland Parliamentary Constituencies (1995)

Parliamentary Constituency Boundary



0 5 10 15 miles

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**Butler, Lawrence E.**

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**From:** WHSR  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 27, 1998 7:49 AM  
**To:** Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
**Subject:** MAY 22 REFERENDUM RESULTS: "IRELAND REDEFINED"

**CLASS:** ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
**DTG:** 271120Z MAY 98  
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2015-0156-M (2.32)  
KBH 3/3/2023

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NSFOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/26/08  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: MAY 22 REFERENDUM RESULTS: "IRELAND REDEFINED"

REF: LONDON 3840 (NOTAL)

CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (B)

1. (C) SUMMARY: VOTERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND ON MAY 22 VOTED 94 PERCENT TO 6 PERCENT IN FAVOR OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. THE AGREEMENT IS A MAJOR MILESTONE IN IRISH HISTORY, POTENTIALLY CHANNELLING ASPIRATIONS FOR UNITY INTO THE PURELY POLITICAL REALM FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HOWEVER, NOTHING IS IN PLACE UNTIL EVERYTHING IS IN PLACE: EARLY 1999 IS THE TARGET DATE. MOREOVER, REPUBLICAN SPLINTER GROUPS APPEAR INTENT ON PURSUING THEIR GOALS BY VIOLENT MEANS. NEVERTHELESS, THE AGREEMENT COULD AUGUR AN EVENTUAL REALIGNMENT IN IRISH POLITICS, WITH PARTIES GRADUALLY MOVING AWAY FROM TRADITIONAL CIVIL WAR DIVISIONS TOWARD "LEFT/RIGHT" POLITICS. IT ALSO HARBORS LESSONS FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION BASED ON CREATIVE DRAFTING AND HANDS-ON COOPERATION BY THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED AND A TRUSTED FACILITATOR -- IN THIS CASE, THE UNITED STATES.  
END SUMMARY.

REFERENDUM RESULTS  
/-----

2. (U) THE IMPACT OF THE FRIDAY, MAY 22 REFERENDUMS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND IS BEGINNING TO SINK IN. AS TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) BERTIE AHERN PUT IT ON MAY 23, "THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE, SPOKEN BY THE LIVING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO GREAT TRADITIONS OF THIS ISLAND, HAS REDEFINED IRELAND. THEIR COLLECTIVE VERDICT TRANSCENDS NOT JUST THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT (OF 1985) BUT THE WHOLE 1920-21 SETTLEMENT." REACHING BACK EVEN FURTHER, LABOUR PARTY LEADER RUAIRI QUINN SAID THE RESULTS REPRESENT "THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER 400 YEARS AGO THAT THE PEOPLE ON THIS ISLAND HAVE AGREED A FORMULA ON HOW THEY CAN LIVE TOGETHER."

3. (U) THE VOTE IN THE REPUBLIC WAS OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOR OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. BY A MARGIN OF 94.4 PERCENT TO 5.6 PERCENT (1,442,583 TO 85,748), IRISH VOTERS ENDORSED THE AGREEMENT, WHICH CALLS FOR IRELAND TO GIVE UP ITS TERRITORIAL CLAIM TO THE NORTH IN RETURN FOR CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND THE PROSPECT OF EVENTUAL IRISH

UNIFICATION IF A MAJORITY IN THE NORTH CAN BE PERSUADED TO PROVIDE ITS CONSENT. AS BERTIE AHERN POINTS OUT, WHEN THE 71 PERCENT OF VOTERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHO FAVORED THE AGREEMENT ARE FACTORED IN, A TOTAL OF 85 PERCENT OF ALL THOSE VOTING ON THE ISLAND OF IRELAND SUPPORTED IT.

4. (U) THE ONLY DISAPPOINTMENT WAS THE RELATIVELY LOW VOTER TURNOUT IN THE REPUBLIC -- 56 PERCENT (COMPARED TO 81 PERCENT IN THE NORTH, ACCORDING TO THE "IRISH TIMES"). THIS IS ATTRIBUTED IN PART TO A GENERAL SENSE OF INEVITABILITY THAT THE REFERENDUM WOULD PASS, AND TO THE FACT THAT SOME HERE IN THE SOUTH SIMPLY CAN'T BE BOTHERED WITH DEVELOPMENTS "UP THERE" IN THE NORTH. STILL, THE OVERALL SENSE IN THE REPUBLIC IS OF MASSIVE ENDORSEMENT OF THE AGREEMENT, AND OF RELIEF AT PROSPECTS FOR PEACE.

#### WHAT NEXT

5. (U) TECHNICALLY, THE VOTERS APPROVED DRAFT LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION AND RATIFY THE BELFAST AGREEMENT; THIS LEGISLATION WILL BE SENT TO PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE FOR SIGNATURE BY WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3. HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS GONE TO GREAT PAINS TO EMPHASIZE THAT NONE OF THE AGREEMENT'S PROVISIONS -- LEAST OF ALL THE CHANGES TO IRELAND'S CONSTITUTION -- TAKES EFFECT UNTIL ALL ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE READY TO FALL INTO PLACE AT ONCE. THIS IS EXPECTED TO HAPPEN AROUND MARCH 1999, ALTHOUGH THAT DEADLINE CAN BE EXTENDED BY LEGISLATION.

6. (U) UNLIKE THEIR NORTHERN COUNTERPARTS, WHO MUST WAGE AN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS SET FOR JUNE 25, IRISH POLITICIANS IN THE REPUBLIC NOW GET A BREATHER. STILL, THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE WATCHING THOSE ELECTIONS AND THE ENSUING FORMATION OF THE ASSEMBLY CLOSELY, AS THE ASSEMBLY WILL BE THE NORTHERN "PILLAR" ON WHICH NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION WILL BE BASED. THIS COOPERATION WOULD TAKE THE FORM OF A NORTH/SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL AND JOINT "IMPLEMENTATION BODIES" EMPOWERED TO TAKE ACTION "WITHIN THE ISLAND OF IRELAND" ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST (E.G., AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, TRANSPORT) TO BE IDENTIFIED BY OCTOBER 31, 1998. THE TAOISEACH HAS ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE CHALLENGES POSED BY THE UPCOMING SUMMER MARCHING SEASON.

#### DISSIDENTS AND DECOMMISSIONING

7. (U) BERNADETTE SANDS, SISTER OF IRA HUNGER STRIKER BOBBY SANDS AND A LEADER OF THE DISSIDENT 32-COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE, HAS MADE CLEAR IN AN INTERVIEW WITH "IRELAND ON SUNDAY" (MAY 24) THAT, IN HER VIEW, THE "YES" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUMS WILL LEAD TO MORE VIOLENCE: "IF HISTORY IS ANYTHING TO GO BY, CONFLICT HERE ALWAYS ERUPTS WHEN IRISH PEOPLE REALIZE THEY ARE BEING DENIED FREEDOM." SANDS PREDICTS THAT "WHEN THE REALIZATION SETS IN ABOUT WHAT WE HAVE LOST, PEOPLE WILL EXPERIENCE A TERRIBLE SENSE OF LOSS AND THIS WILL SOW THE SEEDS FOR THE FUTURE. WE WILL FIND OURSELVES BACK ON THE NEVER-ENDING SPIRAL OF WHAT HAS GONE BEFORE." WHILE DENYING ANY PERSONAL MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, SHE REFUSED TO CONDEMN VIOLENT METHODS. "AS LONG AS THERE IS BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN OUR COUNTRY, NATURALLY THERE WILL ALWAYS BE RESISTANCE. I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT," SHE TOLD A REPORTER.

8. (U) FOR HIS PART, THE TAOISEACH MADE CLEAR HIS GOVERNMENT WILL COME DOWN HARD ON REPUBLICAN SPLINTER GROUPS WHICH SEEK TO PERPETUATE VIOLENCE. "TO THOSE WHO WOULD CONTEMPLATE ENGAGING IN VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO THIS AGREEMENT AND WHAT IT PRESENTS," HE SAID ON MAY 23, "I WOULD SAY THIS: FORGET IT. THE PEOPLE -- ON WHOSE BEHALF

YOU CLAIM TO ACT -- HAVE SPOKEN. YOUR WAYS ARE THE WAYS OF THE PAST."

9. (C) WHILE CONTINUING TO ENJOY SOME SUCCESS IN INTERCEPTING PARAMILITARY ARMS AND ACTIVITIES, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ESSENTIALLY VIEWS IRA AND LOYALIST DISARMAMENT AS MORE LIKELY TO HAPPEN VOLUNTARILY, IN TANDEM WITH POLITICAL PROGRESS, THAN THROUGH COERCION. OBSERVERS ARE POINTING TO RECENT "CODED MESSAGES" SUGGESTING THE IRA MAY IN FACT BE PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE TURNING OVER SOME WEAPONS. ONE SUCH "MESSAGE" WAS REPORTEDLY FOUND IN SINN FEIN CHAIRMAN MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN'S STATEMENT THAT "PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT IT WILL, WHEN IT HAPPENS -- AND IT WILL HAPPEN -- BE A VOLUNTARY PROCESS BY THOSE WHO PRESENTLY CONTROL WEAPONS." NEVERTHELESS, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS ACUTELY CONSCIOUS THAT THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE COULD HAUNT FORMATION OF THE ASSEMBLY AND PROGRESS OVERALL.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR IRELAND

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10. (C) APPROVAL OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT IN THE ISLAND-WIDE REFERENDUM WAS CRUCIAL TO THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORT TO TAKE AWAY ANY LAST SHRED OF LEGITIMACY FROM THOSE REPUBLICANS WHO BASE THEIR ONGOING STRUGGLE ON SINN FEIN'S SUCCESS IN THE DAIL VOTE OF 1918. AS BERTIE AHERN SAID ON MAY 23, "THERE IS NOW NO GREATER CLAIM TO AUTHORITY, NO GREATER CLAIM TO LEGITIMACY, THAN THE COLLECTIVE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE RECORDED TODAY." IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE, PURSUIT OF AN "AGREED" (RATHER THAN UNITED) IRELAND IS NOW THE ORDER OF THE DAY.

11. (C) IF THE AGREEMENT CAN BE MADE TO WORK, IT HOLDS OUT THE HOPE OF NOT ONLY STABILIZING THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, BUT ALSO OF OVERCOMING THE DIFFERENCES WHICH LED TO CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND IN 1922-23 AND WHICH STILL CHART THE POLITICAL DIVIDE IN THE REPUBLIC TODAY. THE TWO MAIN PARTIES -- FIANNA FAIL (ANTI-TREATY) AND FINE GAEL (PRO-TREATY) -- MAY IN EFFECT LOSE THEIR RAISON D'ETRE, AUGURING AN EVENTUAL REALIGNMENT IN IRISH POLITICS.

12. (C) FIANNA FAIL COULD END UP HAVING MORE IN COMMON WITH SINN FEIN THAN WITH ANY OTHER PARTY IN THE REPUBLIC; YET SINN FEIN (THE ONLY "ALL-IRELAND" PARTY) IS HOPING TO MAKE NEW INROADS AMONG VOTERS IN THE SOUTH. FINE GAEL COULD CONCEIVABLY MERGE WITH LABOUR (WHICH IS ITSELF ALREADY TALKING ABOUT A MERGER WITH DEMOCRATIC LEFT) TO FORM THE "LEFT" IN A MORE "EUROPEAN" IRISH BODY POLITIC THAN WE HAVE SEEN BEFORE. THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS MAY DISSOLVE ALTOGETHER IN THE NEXT ELECTION (BY 2002).

13. (C) THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT TRADITIONAL "CIVIL WAR" POLITICS WILL DISAPPEAR OVERNIGHT, HOWEVER. AS REFLECTED IN THE RELATIVELY MODEST TURNOUT IN THE REPUBLIC, MANY VOTERS WILL EXPECT DUBLIN TO SPEND AT LEAST AS MUCH TIME SOLVING LOCAL PROBLEMS AS ON DEALING WITH THE NORTH. CONSOLIDATING THE GAINS OF THE "CELTIC TIGER" WILL REMAIN A PRIORITY FOR THE GOVERNMENT -- AT LEAST IF (OPPOSITION) FINE GAEL HAS ANY SAY IN THE MATTER. IRISH ENTRY INTO EMU, WHILE THE UK OPTS OUT, WILL PROBABLY COMPLICATE PM AHERN'S EFFORTS TO APPEAL ECONOMICALLY TO THE NORTH.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACEKEEPING

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14. (C) THE BELFAST AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A GENUINE COMPROMISE ON ALL SIDES -- A "PARITY OF PAIN" -- AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND IS NO EXCEPTION. ASPIRATIONS FOR IRISH UNITY HAVE, IN REALITY, BEEN PUT ON INDEFIITE HOLD. HOWEVER, WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE IN THE NAME OF PEACE AND THE GREATER GOOD IS NOT THE ONLY EXAMPLE OFFERED BY

THIS AGREEMENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

15. (C) THE PROPOSED CHANGES TO THE IRISH CONSTITUTION HAVE SOUGHT TO, LITERALLY, REDEFINE IRISH NATIONHOOD IN TERMS OF PEOPLE RATHER THAN TERRITORY. "UNTIL" A UNITED IRELAND IS BROUGHT ABOUT ("BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITH THE CONSENT OF A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, DEMOCRATICALLY EXPRESSED, IN BOTH JURISDICTIONS OF THE ISLAND"), THE STAGE IS SET FOR LIMITED CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND THE SHARING OF EXECUTIVE POWERS, GIVING THE IRISH GOVERNMENT A SAY (HOW MUCH SAY TO BE THE SUBJECT OF THE ONGOING POLITICAL PROCESS) IN THE DAILY LIVES OF "IRISH" PEOPLE LIVING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. (LESS OFTEN NOTED IS THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND COULD PLAY A SIMILAR ROLE IN GOVERNANCE IN THE REPUBLIC.) THE HOPE IS THAT INEQUALITY AND DISCRIMINATION, AS WELL AS FEAR AND SUSPICION, WILL FADE AS NORTH/SOUTH ENGAGEMENT INCREASES. IN THE END (AS WITH THE EU) THE BORDER MAY NOT MEAN AS MUCH AS PEOPLE THOUGHT IT DID.

16. (C) THE "MODEL" THAT HAS PERMITTED THIS SORT OF ACHIEVEMENT IS THE EXCELLENT COOPERATION BETWEEN CHIEF ACTORS DUBLIN AND LONDON, WHO HAVE DRIVEN THE PEACE PROCESS SINCE 1985, COMBINED WITH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF A TRUSTED FACILITATOR -- THE UNITED STATES. THE MILITARY STALEMATE ON THE GROUND BETWEEN THE IRA AND BRITISH FORCES MADE NEGOTIATIONS INEVITABLE. CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE U.S., BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS PRODUCED A FORMULA (INVOLVING SENATOR MITCHELL) WHICH ALLOWED THOSE NEGOTIATIONS TO PROCEED. AN OVERWHELMING DESIRE FOR PEACE ON THE PART OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC -- COUPLED WITH REASSURANCE AT TOP LEVELS FROM ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS -- PROMPTED POLITICAL LEADERS TO MAKE THE NECESSARY, PAINFUL COMPROMISES. ALL THIS AGAINST A BACKDROP OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN THE REPUBLIC AS WELL AS POLITICAL DEVOLUTION IN THE UK. ALTHOUGH STILL ONLY THE BEGINNING -- AND THERE IS A LONG WAY TO GO -- THE AGREEMENT IS THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION ARRANGEMENT THAT JUST MIGHT WORK.  
SPIRNAK

Butler, Lawrence E.

From: WHSR  
Sent: Wednesday, May 20, 1998 7:54 AM  
To: Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Sigler, Ralph H.  
Subject: DUBLIN HIGH COURT WILL HEAR LEGAL CHALLENGE TO

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DTG: 201128Z MAY 98  
MSGTO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3441  
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
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SSN: 2744  
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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0156-M (2.40)  
KBH 2/13/2023

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 002744

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/20/08  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: DUBLIN HIGH COURT WILL HEAR LEGAL CHALLENGE TO  
CONSTITUTIONALITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND REFERENDUM

CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (B)

1. (S) SUMMARY: THE HIGH COURT WILL TODAY HEAR ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST AN INJUNCTION TO STOP FRIDAY'S REFERENDUM IN THE REPUBLIC ON THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. WHILE FAIRLY CONFIDENT THEY HAVE THEIR LEGAL DUCKS IN A ROW, IRISH OFFICIALS ARE STILL SLIGHTLY NERVOUS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME, AND ARE WATCHING MATTERS CLOSELY. END SUMMARY.

"AN ARGUABLE CASE"  
/-----

2. (U) A MAVERICK ACADEMIC WITH NO LEGAL TRAINING HAS PERSUADED THE HIGH COURT IN DUBLIN TO HEAR TODAY (MAY 20) HIS APPLICATION FOR AN INJUNCTION TO STOP FRIDAY'S REFERENDUM ON THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. DENIS RIORDAN, A FORMER RADIO OFFICER WITH THE MERCHANT FLEET AND A LECTURER IN MARINE COMMUNICATIONS AT LIMERICK INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, HAS REPRESENTED HIMSELF IN PREVIOUS CONSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES, SUCH AS THE 1996 DIVORCE REFERENDUM. HE FAILED IN THOSE EFFORTS. NEVERTHELESS, NOTING THAT THERE WAS A LOW THRESHOLD OF PROOF IN REGARD TO THE CRITERIA FOR ALLOWING A JUDICIAL REVIEW, A HIGH COURT JUDGE RULED YESTERDAY THAT HE WAS SATISFIED MR. RIORDAN HAD DEMONSTRATED THERE WAS AN ARGUABLE CASE. THE JUDGE CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE IN PROCEEDINGS THAT WILL TAKE PLACE TODAY.

3. (U) MR. RIORDAN'S CHALLENGE IS THREEFOLD: FIRST, HE CLAIMS THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION ARE UNCONSTITUTIONAL BECAUSE THE PROCEDURE FOR AMENDING ARTICLES 2 AND 3 DOES NOT CONFORM TO ARTICLE 46, GOVERNING AMENDMENTS. HE SAYS HE IS SUPPORTED BY A DOCUMENT ISSUED BY THE GOI'S OWN REFERENDUM COMMISSION (WHICH, IN ITS PUBLICATION LISTING THE ARGUMENTS "FOR" AND "AGAINST" THE REFERENDUM, DOES INDEED QUESTION WHETHER THE PROCEDURE IS CONSISTENT WITH THE PEOPLE'S ROLE IN AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION, BECAUSE THE CHANGES WILL ONLY GO INTO EFFECT UPON A DECLARATION BY THE GOVERNMENT THAT ALL THE ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE IN PLACE.)

4. (U) SECOND, RIORDAN CLAIM THE GOVERNMENT, IN AGREEING

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TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT RELATED TO THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS, INCLUDING PRISONERS CONVICTED OF CAPITAL OFFENSES, ACTED IN EXCESS OF ITS POWERS BECAUSE THE IRISH CONSTITUTION PROVIDES THAT THE RIGHT OF PARDON AND THE RIGHT TO COMMUTE SENTENCES IS VESTED IN THE PRESIDENT.

5. (U) THIRD, RIORDAN CLAIMS THE PROPOSED NEW ARTICLE 3 IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE STATE'S RIGHT TO EXERCISE EXTRA-TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION.

#### BACKGROUND ON RIORDAN

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6. (U) RIORDAN TELLS THE "IRISH TIMES" HE HAS NEVER APPLIED TO BE OR BEEN A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL PARTY. "POLITICS IS THE ART OF LYING. I'M INTERESTED IN LAW," HE IS QUOTED AS SAYING. HE STOOD AS AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE IN LIMERICK EAST IN THE 1987 AND 1997 GENERAL ELECTIONS, RECEIVING 80 AND 112 VOTES RESPECTIVELY. HE STOOD FOR EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS IN 1994, RECEIVING JUST OVER 500 VOTES. HE CONFESSED TO BEING SURPRISED AT THE JUDGE'S DECISION TO GRANT LEAVE FOR FULL JUDICIAL REVIEW TODAY. "I'LL BE VERY NERVOUS. BUT I FEEL IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO TAKE ON THE OIREACHTAS (HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT) AND THE TOP PEOPLE OF THE GOVERNMENT," HE SAID.

#### DFA REACTION

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7. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION POLITICAL COUNSELLOR DAVID COONEY TOLD US HE WAS AMAZED THE COURT AGREED TO REVIEW RIORDAN'S CHALLENGE. AN INJUNCTION AT THIS STAGE WOULD BE A "FIASCO," HE AGREED HE COULD NOT RULE OUT COMPLETELY THAT THE HIGH COURT MIGHT CHALLENGE THE REFERENDUM, SAYING "COURTS HAVE DONE SOME PRETTY WEIRD THINGS IN THE PAST -- THEY HAVE AN UNERRING ABILITY TO STRAY INTO THE POLITICAL ARENA." HOWEVER, HE CONFIRMED THAT THE GOI'S LAWYERS HAD BEEN CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED TO CONFORM TO THE CONSTITUTION WHEN DRAFTING THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS, AND HE SAID DFA WAS FAIRLY CONFIDENT "THINGS WOULD BE OK." THE AGREEMENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL CREDIBILITY WOULD BE ENHANCED BY A FAVORABLE COURT RULING, AND IT MIGHT NOT BE A BAD THING TO "GET THIS OUT OF THE WAY EARLY ON," HE TOLD US. SMITH