~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

8409

December 21, 1998

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBH NARA, Date 7/31/2019
2015-0157-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Memcon with David Trimble on December 8, 1998

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Conversation between the President and David Trimble that took place on December 8, 1998.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That the attached Memorandum of Conversation be filed for the record.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum to State
Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classified by: Glyn T. Davies
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 12/16/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.01)
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with David Trimble (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
James Steinberg, Deputy to the President for National Security Affairs
Lawrence Butler, Director for European Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker

David Trimble, First Minister, Northern Ireland
Anne Smith, UUP Washington Representative

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: December 8, 1998, 6:50-7:30p.m.
Mr. Berger's Office, West Wing

The President: It is great to see you. How is it going for you? (U)

Mr. Trimble: We hit a bad patch last Thursday, mainly because the nationalists were too greedy, not able to prioritize their objectives (on implementation bodies). Sinn Fein seeks one for the Irish language, while SDLP doesn't want that. And the Irish government is wavering. From our point of view, we seek a list that is balanced, not just a Nationalist wishlist. Wednesday night I thought everything was OK on both fronts (Executive Council and implementation bodies). But Seamus Mallon thought he had been promised four bodies, while I believed I had agreed to three; Blair hadn't mentioned four to me. My Assembly Party didn't like, and I decided to stay quiet. Out of 28, 10 were against; I've reduced that to three but I need all 28 to keep my majority on North-South schemes. If only one or two were adrift, one or two DUPs or independent unionists might not vote against. (C)

Going into details, I agreed to a body or trade, which was outside the accord. I also shifted my position on the number of

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(Executive Council) departments. I was asked what I had gotten in return. I hope that things will move forward. On the republican front, there are indications, vague hope. But I cannot tell UUP members to accept this on the basis of hope. John Taylor is being helpful with my managerial problem; the basic issue is that we are "x" months into the process, with nothing from the republicans on decommissioning. (C)

The President: Is your strategy to get the institutions of governance up and ready to go? In order to put more pressure on the republicans? (C)

Mr. Trimble: Yes. The timetable is still achievable. We had hoped for a transfer of functions in February, but we are late. We need two months to get the necessary orders and subordinate legislation. That is now difficult for February, but we could get it by the end of the month. If this gets sorted out, the pressure will be on Sinn Fein. I have to manage my own party and SDLP has to be grudging...I was half hoping Taylor would have fixed this while I was here. (C)

The President: Perhaps the aura of the Nobel Prize will help you? (U)

Mr. Trimble: I was hoping Taylor would stretch himself to claim this prize at home; I talked to him after his meeting with Prime Minister Blair. (C)

The President: What can we do to help, to get the republicans to move along? (C)

Mr. Trimble: The paramilitary beatings had stopped; but recently Loyalists -- UVF/Ervine -- have resumed low level violence; beatings, and shootings. The absence of terrorism makes this more visible. I think Ervine's people are defending turf and racketeering. (C)

Mr. Steinberg: They are controlled by Ervine? (C)

Mr. Trimble: I don't know. We need to keep violence down, show progress on decommissioning. Policing will be a big issue in the spring; we need to keep tensions down. I will try to repackage the cross-border schemes to get them past my people. But I am worried that I went a bit too far on trade Wednesday night; there was one area of benefit, agriculture and animal health. (C)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President: Phyto-sanitary issues? (C)

Mr. Trimble: It will undermine Northern Ireland's meat packers' cartel, lead to an increase in trade. But overall, the balance of trade is against us. This is due to the strong sterling, which reflect the impact of EMU. Money is moving into non-EMU countries, and the gap between sterling and the punt is growing. Outside of Ireland, we are competitors. Trade wasn't in the agreement because we opposed it in April. I said yes in December and have some problems. But with a fair wind. (C)

Mr. Steinberg: Can we help with ballast? (C)

Mr. Trimble: Jonathan Powell is looking at those issues. We need higher levels of confidence. (C)

Mr. Steinberg: You can help keep us strong, which helps your argument. (C)

Mr. Trimble: And helpful for Blair and Ahern on decommissioning. (C)

The President: Are the republicans being difficult because they fear giving up their last leverage, or is it because it is so much a part of their theology? (C)

Mr. Trimble: They are trying to squeeze the most out from us; there won't be anything before February -- and then there will be policing. (C)

The President: What about Omagh? (C)

Mr. Trimble: There have been arrests, but without forensics, nothing will come of them. There are reports of CIRA bombs on the move. (C)

Mr. Butler: There was an arrest last week where they found a Kalashnikov, and some bomb components -- time power units. (C)

Mr. Trimble: There are people who believe that (the) Canary Wharf (bomb) caused John Major to shift his position on decommissioning. (C)

The President: You have come too far to go back now; we will keep plugging along. It is quicker to end the negotiations over the political structures in order to move on to end decommissioning. You offer Adams a pretty picture with that,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and the price of admission is… The other thing is how to deal with the feeling that more is expected of you that them -- continue the process and get a fair deal. I argue that what they want is not against your interest if there is decommissioning. We need to get their toes into the water, see how it feels. If Sinn Fein accepted this and the reaction was good...we don't need a stick, if the level of confidence is high enough. This changes the calculus on how to get something out of them. (~~C~~)

You've been dressing better since the Nobel; you shine right up. (U)

Mr. Trimble: My campaign advisor, Jane Wells, picked this suit out. (U)

The agreement is not a magic bullet, but the Northern Ireland Agreement will not fail on our part. We hope to achieve peace; not armed, but real. There is no place for those with private armies. The whole community is behind peace -- peace and democracy through joint efforts. (~~C~~)

-- End of Conversation --

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8409

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.02)
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with David Trimble (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
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Lawrence Butler, Director for European Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker

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Declassify on: 12/16/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memcon with David Trimble on December 8, 1998 (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Mr. Trimble is provided for the information of the Secretary of State. It must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. It may also be sent to our embassy in London for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (C)

Glyn T. Davies
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Memcon

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019
2015-0157-M

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 21, 1998

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBH NARA, Date 7/31/2019
2015-0157-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Memcon with Gerry Adams on December 8, 1998

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Conversation between the President and Gerry Adams that took place on December 8, 1998.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That the attached Memorandum of Conversation be filed for the record.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum to State
Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

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Glyn T. Davies
Executive Secretary

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.03)
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Gerry Adams, Leader of Sinn Fein (U)

PARTICIPANTS:
The President
The First Lady
James Steinberg, Deputy to the President for National Security Affairs
Lawrence Butler, Director for European Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker

Gerry Adams, Leader of Sinn Fein
Rita O'Hare, Sinn Fein Washington Representative
Richard McCauley, Sinn Fein Press Officer

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: December 8, 1998, 10:26-11:15p.m.
Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Adams: I brought a copper clock for your daughter. It was handcrafted in Belfast. You can see here the Irish language word for Belfast, which means "fort at the mouth." (U)

Mrs. Clinton: She will treasure this. It is so kind. Thank you. (U)

The President: Thank you. That is very thoughtful. (U)

Mr. Adams: Thank you, Mrs. Clinton, for your work with Vital Voices. (U)

Mrs. Clinton: Seven or eight persons stopped me in the crowd to praise the conference. You know we have a follow-on group working on things. There is real potential. (U)

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Mr. Adams: Sinn Fein is proud of having more women than the other parties. Rita O'Hare is one of our real leaders, and will probably conduct the next negotiations. (U)

Ms. O'Hare: I have been working Jim and Larry over while here. (U)

The President: I saw David Trimble earlier today and gave him a hard time. (C)

Mr. Adams: At a certain level, I understand him, and why unionists behave the way they do. It is part of human nature; we were stupid, and then George Mitchell came along. He was a catalyst for change. The Good Friday Accord recognizes many of the things that were wrong: equality, social and economic. Unionists were out of step. (C)

I think that a deal can be done before Christmas. Martin McGuinness saw Bertie Ahern today and will see Tony Blair tomorrow. However, the way the deal was done was unsatisfactory to us, they didn't show it to us in advance. I told that to Tony Blair. It would have been OK if it had held up. He was there until 2:30 a.m. to talk. He told us not to worry, but he left. He was totally fatigued -- he'd been there for 8-1/2 hours -- it was difficult not to close the deal -- David Trimble told me the next day that there was a deal. The benign view is that the Assembly Party was entirely relaxed, he was in charge. (C)

However, unionism is anti-establishment. He'd (Trimble) seen off Bertie Ahern, stopping him from coming on Wednesday, and then refused to close. (C)

I urged him to make time, finish it, before going to the States. But he argued that there was no time for the Privy Council to meet and act. Well, it's not our problem; let them sort it out. (C)

Equality, Irish language and Inward Investment were taken out of the deal, and we were not involved. This subverted the actual process and I told Prime Minister Blair that we will not be left out again. Tony Blair knows it can and must be done before Christmas, but David Trimble is talking May. (C)

Mr. Steinberg: He is not that pessimistic... (C)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Mr. Adams: It was 5 a.m. when I called you on Good Friday, Mr. President. I forgot the position you hold. I told you at the time that people would try to undo the Accord -- that there was too much looseness, ambiguous language and aspirational words. I am conscious of the battle I fight every day for my place. I know how black Americans felt walking into a white establishment, the reception they got from the security guards, the tremors they experienced. Catholics share that (in Northern Ireland). (ct)

But we will burrow away. The Accord must be kept, with no fudge. It established a mechanism for decommissioning. If that had been a pre-condition, I wouldn't have signed up. We took chances and worked hard. We brought African National Congress activists to the Sinn Fein conference to share their experiences, show that it can be done. We were on the road, working our base, talking and convincing. (ct)

I've talked to Trimble, but without success on this; if we can work the de Chastelain approach... Tony Blair is afraid to lose Trimble, but we all agreed in good faith to try to make this succeed. (ct)

The President: Do you believe their position is because if they include you, you won't decommission, or is it politics? (ct)

Ms. O'Hare: Neither. If they dealt with us politically, the situation would be changed beyond what they can accept. It is Trimble, not Paisley or McCartney. He's signed up, but he couldn't get his pre-condition. He is in denial. Decommissioning is... (ct)

Mr. Adams: ... a social acceptable way to hollow out the Good Friday Accord. (ct)

The President: Do you think it is a pretext? We are seeking signs on Loyalist guns. (ct)

Mr. Steinberg: There is a risk from Loyalist guns. (ct)

Mr. Adams: He argued to you that the LVF was going to decommission, the Garvaghy Road is under siege. Guns were fired there the other night. An LVF member was arrested. The rumor was that he had a certificate from de Chastelain to surrender the weapon. (ct)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President: Trimble said the LVF is being threatened by the UDA… (ET)

Mr. Steinberg: …but he didn't think it was David Ervine. (ET)

Mr. Adams: No, but it was his group out shooting. (ET)

The President: I asked Trimble whether he thought there was no start to decommissioning for fear of giving up leverage, or due to ideology, or because republicans have violence in their hearts. He said "loss of leverage, concern that he would be unfair with you." His perspective was interesting.

Mr. Adams: Absolute comfort blanket. That will be his position today, tomorrow it will be different. We need to implement the Accord. I represent a party blocked from its rightful seats in government. "Protestant parliament for a protestant people," was the old slogan for Stormont. Our slogan during the campaign was "ready for government." SDLP is also blocked out, but they have Seamus Mallon. David Trimble could go down as far as May… I said we cannot get to decommissioning, but we have sought to change political conditions. We have the cessation (of hostilities), but Trimble and I haven't shook hands yet. I tell him to keep charging the political conditions, but tell me what you want on decommissioning? Paisley won't accept anything. This is not about guns. I keep coming back to the de Chastelain route. (ET)

Blair is a modernizer, he is no imperialist looking down on us. But, the Quinn boys, the Lombegh drums, the Orange Order -- these are still with us. (ET)

(Trimble) needs focus and an imaginative way, such as de Chastelain, to move forward. They harbor the idea that we are the ones who can do more. (ET)

The President: The idea, maybe, is to synchronize the timing, not publicly, then… (ET)

Mr. Adams: Yes, pre-working it. David Trimble has to take ownership. (ET)

The President: It has to appear to be done independently and apart. (ET)

Mr. Adams: Yes. Six weeks ago, I told Trimble that we'd be in crisis -- see you in three weeks.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President: Will the Nobel Prize strengthen him, give him some leeway? (C)

Mr. Adams: No. When he went to the funeral in Duncrara, he was warmly applauded. The Nobel Prize will be good for him personally, but not at the political level. He was in shock when he got it. It was like winning the lottery without buying a ticket. Seamus Mallon was really spitting blood last week. (C)

The President: He was really annoyed, I heard. You handled it (the Nobel Prize choice) well. They've (the Nobel Committee) been trying to shine the light of peace and have gotten political recently. They figured they had to have one Catholic and one protestant. They really didn't understand Ireland. (C)

Mr. Adams: Thank you for that. I'd like to raise the case of Richard Johnson. He got a double sentence, and his parents are very elderly. A crowd (of Irish Americans) went up from New York to fix their roof. It is a real hardship, their savings went to his trial and appeal. (C)

Mr. Butler: He is an American, IRA sympathizer, in federal prison. He is due out late next year. There aren't any federal facilities closer to his parents in Massachusetts. (C)

The President: Maybe there is a non-compact agreement with Massachusetts. We used to do this in Arkansas, place federal prisoners with state institutions. Let's see if the system can be cut short. Check with the Counsel's office to see if there are any problems here. (C)

11:15 p.m. [Brief exchange on Wye River, Arafat and Netanyahu while saying goodbye.]

-- End of Conversation --

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.05)
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Gerry Adams, Leader of Sinn Fein (U)

PARTICIPANTS:
The President
The First Lady
James Steinberg, Deputy to the President for National Security Affairs
Lawrence Butler, Director for European Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker

Gerry Adams, Leader of Sinn Fein
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Mr. Steinberg: He is not that pessimistic... (C)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Mr. Adams: It was 5 a.m. when I called you on Good Friday, Mr. President. I forgot the position you hold. I told you at the time that people would try to undo the Accord -- that there was too much looseness, ambiguous language and aspirational words. I am conscious of the battle I fight every day for my place. I know how black Americans felt walking into a white establishment, the reception they got from the security guards, the tremors they experienced. Catholics share that (in Northern Ireland . (C)

But we will burrow away. The Accord must be kept, with no fudge. It established a mechanism for decommissioning. If that had been a pre-condition, I wouldn't have signed up. We took chances and worked hard. We brought African National Congress activists to the Sinn Fein conference to share their experiences, show that it can be done. We were on the road, working our base, talking and convincing. (C)

I've talked to Trimble, but without success on this; if we can work the de Chastelain approach... Tony Blair is afraid to lose Trimble, but we all agreed in good faith to try to make this succeed. (C)

The President: Do you believe their position is because if they include you, you won't decommission, or is it politics? (C)

Ms. O'Hare: Neither. If they dealt with us politically, the situation would be changed beyond what they can accept. It is Trimble, not Paisley or McCartney. He's signed up, but he couldn't get his pre-condition. He is in denial. Decommissioning is... (C)

Mr. Adams: ... a social acceptable way to hollow out the Good Friday Accord. (C)

The President: Do you think it is a pretext? We are seeking signs on Loyalist guns. (C)

Mr. Steinberg: There is a risk from Loyalist guns. (C)

Mr. Adams: He argued to you that the LVF was going to decommission, the Garvaghy Road is under siege. Guns were fired there the other night. An LVF member was arrested. The rumor was that he had a certificate from de Chastelain to surrender the weapon. (C)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President: Trimble said the LVF is being threatened by the UDA... (C)

Mr. Steinberg: ... but he didn't think it was David Ervine. (C)

Mr. Adams: No, but it was his group out shooting. (C)

The President: I asked Trimble whether he thought there was no start to decommissioning for fear of giving up leverage, or due to ideology, or because republicans have violence in their hearts. He said "loss of leverage, concern that he would be unfair with you." His perspective was interesting.

Mr. Adams: Absolute comfort blanket. That will be his position today; tomorrow it will be different. We need to implement the Accord. I represent a party blocked from its rightful seats in government. "Protestant parliament for a protestant people," was the old slogan for Stormont. Our slogan during the campaign was "ready for government." SDLP is also blocked out, but they have Seamus Mallon. David Trimble could go down as far as May... I said we cannot get to decommissioning, but we have sought to change political conditions. We have the cessation (of hostilities), but Trimble and I haven't shook hands yet. I tell him to keep charging the political conditions, but tell me what you want on decommissioning? Paisley won't accept anything. This is not about guns. I keep coming back to the de Chastelain route. (C)

Blair is a modernizer, he is no imperialist looking down on us. But, the Quinn boys, the Lombegh drums, the Orange Order -- these are still with us. (C)

(Trimble) needs focus and an imagination way, such as de Chastelain, to move forward. They harbor the idea that we are the ones who can do more. (C)

The President: The idea, maybe, is to synchronize the timing, not publicly, then... (C)

Mr. Adams: Yes, pre-working it. David Trimble has to take ownership. (C)

The President: It has to appear to be done independently and apart. (C)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Mr. Adams: Yes. Six weeks ago, I told Trimble that we'd be in crisis -- see you in three weeks.

The President: Will the Nobel Prize strengthen him, give him some leeway? (C)

Mr. Adams: No. When he went to the funeral in Buncrana, he was warmly applauded. The Nobel Prize will be good for him personally, but not at the political level. He was in shock when he got it. It was like winning the lottery without buying a ticket. Seamus Mallon was really spitting blood last week. (C)

The President: He was really annoyed, I heard. You handled it (the Nobel Prize choice) well. They've (the Nobel Committee) been trying to shine the light of peace and have gotten political recently. They figured they had to have one Catholic and one protestant. They really didn't understand Ireland. (C)

Mr. Adams: Thank you for that. I'd like to raise the case of Richard Johnson. He got a double sentence, and his parents are very elderly. A crowd (of Irish Americans) went up from New York to fix their roof. It is a real hardship, their savings went to his trial and appeal. (C)

Mr. Butler: He is an American, IRA sympathizer, in federal prison. He is due out last next year. There aren't any federal facilities closer to his parents in Massachusetts. (C)

The President: Maybe there is a non-compact agreement with Massachusetts. We used to do this in Arkansas, place federal prisoners with state institutions. Let's see if the system can be cut short. Check with the Counsel's office to see if there are any problems here. (C)

11:15 p.m. [Brief exchange on Wye River, Arafat and Netanyahu while saying goodbye.]

-- End of Conversation --

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 21, 1998

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBH NARA, Date 1/31/2019
2015-0157-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Memcon with David Trimble on December 8, 1998

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Conversation between the President and David Trimble that took place on December 8, 1998.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That the attached Memorandum of Conversation be filed for the record.

Approve ____ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Memorandum to State
Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classified by: Glyn T. Davies
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 12/16 08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C 20504

8409

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBH NARA, Date 7/21/2019
2015-0157-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memcon with David Trimble on December 8, 1998 (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Mr. Trimble is provided for the information of the Secretary of State. It must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. It may also be sent to our embassy in London for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (C)

Glyn T. Davies
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Memcon

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Classified by: Glyn T. Davies
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 12/16/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.06)
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with David Trimble (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
James Steinberg, Deputy to the President for National Security Affairs
Lawrence Butler, Director for European Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker

David Trimble, First Minister, Northern Ireland
Anne Smith, UUP Washington Representative

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: December 8, 1998, 6:50-7:30p.m.
Mr. Berger's Office, West Wing

The President: It is great to see you. How is it going for you? (U)

Mr. Trimble: We hit a bad patch last Thursday, mainly because the nationalists were too greedy, not able to prioritize their objectives (on implementation bodies). Sinn Fein seeks one for the Irish language, while SDLP doesn't want that. And the Irish government is waivering. From our point of view, we seek a list that is balanced, not just a Nationalist wishlist. Wednesday night I thought everything was OK on both fronts Executive Council and implementation bodies). But Seamus Mallon thought he had been promised four bodies, while I believed I had agreed to three; Blair hadn't mentioned four to me. My Assembly Party didn't like, and I decided to stay quiet. Out of 28, 10 were against; I've reduced that to three but I need all 28 to keep my majority on North-South schemes. If only one or two were adrift, one or two DUPs or independent unionists might not vote against. (C)

Going into details, I agreed to a body or trade, which was outside the accord. I also shifted my position on the number of

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 12/16/18

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

(Executive Council) departments. I was asked what I had gotten in return. I hope that things will move forward. On the republican front, there are indications, vague hope...but I cannot tell UUP members to accept this on the basis of hope. John Taylor is being helpful with my managerial problem; the basic issue is that we are "x" months into the process, with nothing from the republicans on decommissioning. (C)

The President: Is your strategy to get the institutions of governance up and ready to go? In order to put more pressure on the republicans? (C)

Mr. Trimble: Yes. The timetable is still achievable. We had hoped for a transfer of functions in February, but we are late. We need two months to get the necessary orders and subordinate legislation. That is now difficult for February, but we could get it by the end of the month. If this gets sorted out, the pressure will be on Sinn Fein. I have to manage my own party and SDLP has to be grudging...I was half hoping Taylor would have fixed this while I was here. (C)

The President: Perhaps the aura of the Nobel Prize will help you? (U)

Mr. Trimble: I was hoping Taylor would stretch himself to claim this prize at home; I talked to him after his meeting with Prime Minister Blair...(C)

The President: What can we do to help, to get the republicans to move along? (C)

Mr. Trimble: The paramilitary beatings had stopped; but recently loyalists -- UVF/Ervine -- have resumed low level violence; beatings, and shootings. The absence of terrorism makes this more visible. I think Ervine's people are defending turf and racketeering. (C)

Mr. Steinberg: They are controlled by Ervine? (C)

Mr. Trimble: I don't know. We need to keep violence down, show progress on decommissioning. Policing will be a big issue in the spring; we need to keep tensions down. I will try to repackage the cross-border schemes to get them past my people. But I am worried that I went a bit too far on trade Wednesday night; there was one area of benefit, agriculture and animal health. (C)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

The President: Phyto-sanitary issues? (C)

Mr. Trimble: It will undermine Northern Ireland's meat packers' cartel, lead to an increase in trade. But overall, the balance of trade is against us. This is due to the strong sterling, which reflect the impact of EMU. Money is moving into non-EMU countries, and the gap between sterling and the punt is growing. Outside of Ireland, we are competitors. Trade wasn't in the agreement because we opposed it in April. I said yes in December and have some problems. But with a fair wind... (C)

Mr. Steinberg: Can we help with ballast? (C)

Mr. Trimble: Jonathan Powell is looking at those issues. We need higher levels of confidence. (C)

Mr. Steinberg: You can help keep us strong, which helps your argument. (C)

Mr. Trimble: And helpful for Blair and Ahern on decommissioning. (C)

The President: Are the republicans being difficult because they fear giving up their last leverage, or is it because it is so much a part of their theology? (C)

Mr. Trimble: They are trying to squeeze the most out from us; there won't be anything before February -- and then there will be policing. (C)

The President: What about Omagh? (C)

Mr. Trimble: There have been arrests, but without forensics, nothing will come of them. There are reports of CIRA bombs on the move. (C)

Mr. Butler: There was an arrest last week where they found a Kalashnikov, and some bomb components -- time power units. (C)

Mr. Trimble: There are people who believe that (the) Canary Wharf bomb) caused John Major to shift his position on decommissioning. (C)

The President: You have come too far to go back now; we will keep plugging along. It is quicker to end the negotiations over the political structures in order to move on to end decommissioning. You offer Adams a pretty picture with that,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

and the price of admission is... The other thing is how to deal with the feeling that more is expected of you that them -- continue the process and get a fair deal. I argue that what they want is not against your interest if there is decommissioning. We need to get their toes into the water, see how it feels. If Sinn Fein accepted this and the reaction was good...we don't need a stick, if the level of confidence is high enough. This changes the calculus on how to get something out of them. (C)

You've been dressing better since the Nobel; you shine right up. (U)

Mr. Trimble: My campaign advisor, Jane Wells, picked this suit out. (U)

The agreement is not a magic bullet, but the Northern Ireland Agreement will not fail on our part. We hope to achieve peace; not armed, but real. There is no place for those with private armies. The whole community is behind peace -- peace and democracy through joint efforts. (C)

-- End of Conversation --

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MEMCON 8409 (1)

part The President, James Steinberg, DAPNSA
& Laurena Butler, NSC Notetaker
David Trimble, First Minister, NI
Ann Smith, UUP Washington Rep.

Loc. Sandy Berger's office, WW

When 12/8/98 6:50 - 7:35 P.M.

P It is great to see you. How is it going for you?

DT We hit a bad patch last Thursday, mainly because the Nationalists were too greedy, not able to prioritize their objectives (or implementation bodies). Sinn Fein seeks one for the Irish language, while SDLP doesn't want that. And the Irish government is waiverly.

From our point of view, we seek a list that is balanced not just a Nationalist wish-list. Wed night I thought everything was O.K. on both fronts (Executive Council & implementation bodies). But Seamus Mallon thought he had been promised four bodies, while I believed I had agreed to three; Blair hadn't mentioned four to me. My Assembly Party didn't like, and I decided to stay quiet. Out of 28, 10 were against; I've reduced that to three but I need all 28 to keep my majority on North-South schemes.

If only one or two were adrift, ~~I might be able to convince~~ one or two DUPs or independent Unionists might not vote against.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Going into details, I agreed to a body on trade, which was outside the accord. I also shifted my position on the number of (Executive Council) Departments. I was asked what I had gotten in return. I hope that things will move forward. On the republican front, there are indications, vague hope... but I cannot tell UUP members to accept this on the basis of hope. John Taylor is being helpful with my managerial problem, the basic issue is that we are "x" months into the process, with nothing from the republicans on decommissioning.

P Is your strategy to get the institutions of governance up and ready to go? In order to put more pressure on the republicans?

DT Yes. The timetable is still achievable. We had hoped for a transfer of functions in February, but we are late. We need two months to get the necessary orders and subordinate legislation. That is now difficult for February, but we could get it by the end of the month. If this gets sorted out the pressure will be on Sinn Fein. I have to manage my own party and SDLP has to be grudging -- I was half hoping Taylor would have fixed this while I was here.

(J)
DT/P

P | Perhaps the awa of the Nibel prize will help you?

DT | I was hoping Taylor would stretch himself to claim this prize at home; I talked to him after his meeting with Prime Minister Blair...

P | What can we do to help, to get the republicans to move along?

DT | The paramilitary beatings had stopped; but recently Loyalists -- UVF/ Ervine -- have resumed low level violence, beatings and shootings. The absence of terrorism makes this more visible. I think Ervine's people are defending turf and racketeering.

JS | They are controlled by Ervine?

DT | I don't know. We need to keep violence down, show progress on decommissioning. Policing will be a big issue in the spring; we need to keep tensions down. I will try to repackage the cross-border schemes to get them past my people. But I am worried that I went a bit too far on trade Wednesday night; there was one area of benefit, Agriculture and animal health.

Elephant anecdote

P | Phyto-sanitary issues?

DT | It will undermine Northern Ireland's meat packers' cartel, lead to an increase in trade. But overall, the balance of trade is against us. This is due to the strong Sterling, which ~~is due~~ Reflect the impact of EMU. Money is moving into

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Non-EMU countries, and the gap between Stirling and the Punt is growing. Outside of Ireland, we are competitors. Trade wasn't in the Agreement because we opposed it in April. I said yes in December and have some problems. But with a fair wind...

JS Can we help with ballast?

DT Jonathan Powell is looking at these issues. We need higher levels of confidence.

JS You can keep us strong, which helps your argument.

DT And helpful for Blair and Ahern on decommissioning.

P Are the republicans being difficult because they fear ~~[illegible]~~ giving up their last leverage, or is it because it is so much a part of their theology?

DT They are trying to squeeze the most out from us; there won't be anything before February -- and then there will be policing.

P What about Omagh?

DT There have been arrests, but without forensics, nothing will come of them. There are reports of ~~CIRA~~ bombs on the move.

LB There was an arrest last week where they found a Kalashnikov, and some bomb components - time power units.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DT There are people who believe that (the) Canary Wharf (bomb) caused John Major to shift his position on decommissioning.

P You have come too far to go back now; We will keep plugging along. It is quicker to end to negotiations over the political structures to end decommissioning. You offer Adams a pretty picture with that, and the price of admission is... The ~~oft~~ other thing is how to deal with the feeling that more is expected of you than them -- continue the process and get a fair deal. I argue that what they want is not against ~~their~~ your interest if there is decommissioning. We need to get their toes into the water, see how it feels. If Sinn Fein accepted this and the reaction was good... We don't need a stick, if the level of confidence is high enough. This changes the calculus on how to get something out of them.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

for those with private armies. The whole community is behind peace -- peace and democracy through joint efforts.

7:20 p.m.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MEMCON

Participants: The President
The First Lady
James B. Steinberg, DAPNSA
Lawrence Butler, NSC Notetaker
Gerry Adams, Leader, Sinn Fein
Rita O'Hare, Sinn Fein Washington Rep.
Richard McCauley, Sinn Fein Press officer

When: 12/8/98 10:26 - 11:15 p.m.

Where: Oval, Shoreham Hotel, Wash, DC

GA — I brought a copper clock for your daughter. It was hand-crafted in Belfast. You can see here the Irish language word for Belfast, which means "fort at the mouth"

HRC — She will treasure this. It is so kind. Thank you.

P — Thank you. That is very thoughtful

GA — Thank you, Mrs. Clinton, for your work with Vital Voices.

HRC — Seven or eight persons stopped me in the crowd to praise the conference. You know we have a follow-on group working on things. There is real potential.

GA — Sinn Fein is proud of having ~~the first~~ more women than the other parties. Rita O'Hare is one of our ~~First~~ real leaders, and will probably conduct the next negotiations.

ROH — I have been working Jim and Larry over with her.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

P I saw David Trimble earlier today and gave him a hard time.

GA At a certain level, I understand him, and why Unionists behave the way they do. It is part of human nature; it is ~~#~~ we all stupid, and then George Mitchell came along. He was a catalyst for change. The Good Friday Accord recognizes many of the things that were wrong: equality, social and economic. Unionists were out out of step.

I think that a deal can be done before Christmas. Martin McGuinness saw Bertie Ahern today and will see Tony Blair tomorrow. However, the way the deal was done was unsatisfactory to us, they didn't show it to us in advance. I told that to Tony Blair. It would have been O.K. if it had held up. He was there until 2:30 A.M. to talk. He told us not to worry, but he left. He was totally fatigued -- he'd been there for 8½ hours -- it was difficult not to close the deal. David Trimble told me the next day that there was a deal. The British view is that the Assembly Party was entirely relaxed, ~~#~~ he was in charge.

However, Unionism is anti-establishment. He'd (Trimble) seen off Bertie Ahern, stopping him from coming on Wednesday, and then refused to close.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I urged him to make time, first of, before going to the States. But he argued that there was ~~not~~ no time for the Privy Council to meet and act. Well, it's not our problem; let them sort it out.

Equality, Irish language and Inward Investment were taken ~~from~~ out of the deal, and ~~we~~ we were not involved. This subverted the actual process and I told Prime Minister Blair that we will not be left out again. Tony Blair knows it can, and must be done before Christmas, but David Trimble is talking May.

JBS He is not that pessimistic...

GA It was 5 A.M. when I called you on Good Friday, Mr. President. I forgot the position ~~you~~ you held. I told you at the time that people would try to undo the Accord, that there was too much looseness, ambiguous language and aspirational words. I am conscious of the battle I fight every day for my place. I know how black Americans felt walking into a white establishment; the reception they got from the security guards, the tremors they ~~felt~~ experienced. Catholics share that (in Northern Ireland).

But, we will burrow away. The Accord must be kept, with no fudge. It established a mechanism for decommissioning. If that had been a pre-condition

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

I wouldn't have signed up. We took chances and worked hard. We brought African National Congress activists to the Sinn Fein Conference to share their experiences, show that it can be done. We were on the road, working our base, talking and convincing.

I've talked to Trimble, but without success on this; if we can work the de Chastelain approach... Tony Blair is afraid to lose Trimble, but we all agreed in good faith to try to make this succeed.

P Do you believe their position is because if they include you, you won't decommission, or is it politics?

RoIt Neither. If they dealt with us politically, the situation would be changed beyond what they can accept. It is Trimble, not Paisley or McCartney. He's signed up, but he couldn't get his pre-condition. He is in denial. Decommissioning is...

GA ... a social acceptable way to hollow out the Good Friday Accord.

P So you think it is a pre-text? We all seeing signs on ~~loyalty~~ Loyalist guns.

SBS There is a risk from Loyalist guns.

GA He argued to you that the LVF was going to decommission; the Garraghy Road is under seige. Guns will find them the other night.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

GA MEETING

An LVF member was arrested. The rumor was that he had a certificate from de Chastelain to surrender the weapon.

P Trimble said the LVF is being threatened by the UDA...

JBS ...but he didn't think it was David Ervine.

GA No, but it was his group out shooting.

P I asked Trimble whether he thought there was no start to decommissioning for fear of giving up leverage, or due to ideology, or because republicans have violence in their hearts. He said 'loss of leverage', concern that he would be unfair with you. His perspective was interesting

GA Absolute comfort blanket. That will be his position today, tomorrow it will be different. We need to implement the Accord. I represent a party blocked from its rightful seats in government. 'Protestant parliament for a protestant people,' was the old slogan for Stormont. Our slogan during the campaign was 'ready for government.' SDLP is also blocked out, but they have Seamus Mallon. ~~Scott~~

David Trimble could go down as ~~far~~ for as May. I said we cannot get to decommissioning, but we have sought to change political conditions. We have the cessation (of hostilities), but Trimble and I haven't shook hands yet. I tell him to keep changing the political conditions, but tell me

What you want on decommissioning? Paisley won't accept anything. This is not about guns. I keep coming back to the de Chastelain route.

Blair is a modernizer, he is no imperialist looking down on us. But, the Quinn boys, the Lambegh drums, the Orange Order -- these are still with us.

(Trimble) needs focus, and an imagination way, such as de Chastelain, to move forward. They harbor the idea that we are the ones who can do more.

P. The idea, maybe, is to synchronize the timing, not publicly, then...

GA Yes, pre-cooking it. David Trimble has to take ownership..

P It has to appear to be done independently and apart

GA Yes. Six weeks ago, I told Trimble that we'd be in crisis -- see you in three weeks.

P Will the Nobel prize strengthen him, give him some leeway?

GA No. When he went to that funeral in Buncrana, he was warmly applauded. The ~~Nobel~~ Nobel prize will be good for him personally, but not at the political level. He was in shock when he got it. It was like winning the lottery without buying a ticket. Seamus Mallon was really spitting blood last week in

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

P. He was really annoyed, I heard. You handled it (the Nobel prize choice) well. They've (the Nobel Committee) been trying to shine the light of peace and have gotten political recently. They figured they had to have an catholic and an protestant. They really didn't understand Ireland.

GA Thank you for that. I'd like to raise the case of Richard Johnson. He got a double sentence, and his parents are very elderly. A crowd (of Irish Americans) went up from New York to fix their roof. It is a real hardship; their savings went to his trial and appeal.

LB He is ~~the~~ an American, IRA sympathizer, in Federal Prison. He is due out late next year. There aren't any Federal facilities closer to his parents in Massachusetts.

P Maybe there is a NAM-Compact agreement with Massachusetts. We used to do this in Arkansas, place Federal prisoners with a State institutions. Let's see if ~~we can cut~~ the system can be cut short, check with the Counsel's office to see if there any problems here.

11:15 PM - [Brief exchange on Wye River, Arafat and Netanyahu while saying good-bye]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 15, 1998

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.09)
KBH 7/31/2019

NOTE FOR SANDY BERGER

Thru Don Bandler

From Larry Butler

CC: Jim Steinberg

Subject: Your meeting with Senator George Mitchell - Ireland

George was in Ireland and Northern Ireland several weeks ago to pick up a series of awards. He also met with all the party leaders, Ahern and Mowlam, reporting back to us that the situation was not ripe enough for Presidential intervention. Subsequent events proved out his assessment, with David Trimble admitting to the President that he had not prepared his party for the shape of the deal on political institutions he cut with Seamus Mallon and Tony Blair. **You will want to get his sense of whether it would be useful for him to return occasionally to Belfast for informal reviews of Good Friday Accord implementation.** Nationalists and Irish Americans would appreciate such a gesture.

Trimble did pledge to the President last week that the Good Friday Accord would not fail because of the UUP. For his part, Adams was less dogmatic on decommissioning than usual, but made clear that he would not tolerate being by-passed again as the parties try to work on the governing institutions. He was also distrustful of Trimble's motives, accusing him of using decommissioning to gut the Accord of the parts important to Republicans (North-South) and to freeze out Sinn Fein. Trimble admitted that he understood Sinn Fein's dilemma on trusting the unionist response to decommissioning ("describe an elephant").

NI Government. Things are looking better for the political track, however. Ki Fort reported that Trimble and the UUP met yesterday and were meeting again today. Contact with a range of sources reveals an atmosphere that is much more positive than two weeks ago. Ki said a deal is firming up this week that agrees on the number (but not composition) of Executive Council departments (10) and six North-South implementation bodies, with three more to be identified later. UK sources told her that the timetable can still be met to have the enacting legal work in

DECL: 1.5(d) 12/15/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

place for devolution by the end of February, though the Irish have been more pessimistic -- perhaps a tactical position.

Driving the politicians is the resurgence of parades-related unrest in both Derry last weekend and at Drumcree, and fear of a political vacuum over the holidays. There is growing anxiety that Orange Order leadership is shifting to the right and that confrontations (there have been two) at Garvaghy Road will worsen. The governments and party leaders are anxious to maintain momentum to deprive anti-accord groups of oxygen to mount attacks on the process.

The IRA. The IRA confirmed late last week that it had held a convention the previous weekend to elect new leadership and review the peace process. It said that it had discussed decommissioning and rejected it. Press reports indicated that a hardliner named Brian Keenan, who has links to Libya, is the new chief of staff in an effort to maintain internal unity. One observer thinks the IRA is using "gunboat" diplomacy, seeking to encourage more British concessions to avert a return to violence. Keenan's list of terrorist operations against British interests is extensive, as is his jail time (14 years for 18 attacks).

Points of emphasis

- Trimble admitted not having prepared his party for the Blair-brokered deal on the Executive and North-South bodies. He appears to be working to rectify that. Can he accomplish it by Christmas?

- Adams has a new hard-line IRA chief of staff counterpart, Brian Keenan. He was less dogmatic with the President at NDI regarding decommissioning; seemed to understand that our hand is strengthened with Trimble if the IRA can deliver up some guns. What is your assessment.

- Parades aren't going away; Derry this weekend was bad on a small scale; will probably worsen on the 19th. Drumcree is very serious again. Any ideas from your new perspective from this side?

- Know your view about getting re-involved. Based on your most recent trip, would there be utility if you were to periodically drop in to visit informally, check on how the boys and girls are doing? It might reassure many parties.

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Butler, Lawrence E.

From:	Butler, Lawrence E.
Sent:	Thursday, December 17, 1998 4:12 PM
To:	@NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc:	@EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject:	Northern Ireland update for Jim ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.10)
KBH 7/31/2019

Jim,

Rita O'Hare called to say that they are close to announcing a deal on cross-border bodies this evening. Trimble has agreed to three formal bodies (Trade and business, Irish language and EU programs), as well as putting a number of other issues into informal bodies (Agriculture, tourism, among others). There is also agreement on ten NI executive departments, but Trimble has asked that this not be announced just now. Sinn Fein is uneasy as to why the delay in announcing this, but is otherwise satisfied that the deadlock is on the verge of breaking.

Earlier, Ki Fort sent in an good assessment of progress, detailing Blair's involvement. It is attached.

There was a small Loyalist bomb next to a Catholic pub last night – no injuries and little damage.

Powell continues to mediate the Garvaghy Road/Drumcree situation.

CABLE
NORTHERN
IRELAND: DEAL ON INS...

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Northern Ireland December 16, 1998

Update note for Sandy and Jim

Blair Hall called from Belfast to provide an update before your meeting with Mitchell at 11.

The mood is still positive, but bull-headed. Yesterday the process of agreeing to cross-border bodies took two steps forward and one back. Mallon and Trimble say they have done all they can, that the governments will have to push the deal to conclusion.

Unionists are sticking to six bodies, not eight for the North-South Council. Nationalists seek eight, in the knowledge that once this deal is struck, they will have lost all leverage to gain more on the cross-border dimension.

London has proposed to that the two tourist boards and privatize them. This would eliminate one of the proposed bodies and demonstrate resiliency, while also getting the government out of business. GOI doesn't like, views it as shunting issue off to the side. Ahern is telling Blair that the Irish have delivered the Nationalists, now the Brits have to get UUP on board.

People are still hopeful that there will be agreement before Christmas, but not a slam dunk. A complication is that Seamus Mallon going into hospital on Friday -- rumored that he has gallstones (he has looked peaked and acted irritably), or maybe something worse. Plus, Jonathan Powell has gone up to take a new run at mediating the next Drumcree crisis on Saturday, when the Orange Order takes another crack at marching through the Garvaghy Road area. Blair Hall predicts a "plastic bullet love-feast."

Mood is still up, but tempered with bull-headedness.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

8200

December 5, 1998

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBM NARA, Date 7/31/2019
2015-0157-M

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: The President's involvement in the NDI dinner, December 8, 1998

Your briefing memo to the President for his participation in the National Democratic Institute's award dinner, which includes a greeting with John Hume, photo op with the eight Good Friday Agreement signatories, and pull-aside with Gerry Adams, is attached.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Attachment
Tab I Presidential meeting memo
Tab A Points to make in greet with Hume
Tab B Points to make in pull aside with Adams

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 12/5/08

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.12)
KBH 7/31/2019

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
AWARDS DINNER
DATE: December 8, 1998
LOCATION: Omni Shoreham Hotel
TIME: 8:45-10:10 P.M.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

Demonstrate support for work of the National Democratic Institute as well as strong U.S. support for the Northern Ireland peace agreement by accepting the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs Harriman Award; encourage Northern Ireland political leaders to implement fully the Accord; and acknowledge importance of support of Irish American activists for the Accord.

II. BACKGROUND

The NDI is recognizing you and the eight Northern Ireland political party leaders with its 12th W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award. NDI selected you in recognition of your efforts to preserve and protect human rights, promote pluralist values and encourage citizens to participate actively in civic life. Your co-recipients are being honored for negotiating the Good Friday Accord. George Mitchell will make the presentation to the political leaders prior to your arrival; NDI Chairman Paul Kirk will make your presentation.

Previous Harriman honorees include Senator Mitchell, Madeleine Albright, Havel, Mbeki, Aung San Suu Kyi, Ted Kennedy, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. You spoke at the 1993 awards dinner.

NDI is a non-profit organization that works to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. It has been active in Northern Ireland since 1985, and is deservedly proud of its ground-breaking joint visit of nationalists and unionists to South Africa last year. It has provided support for

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political party development, elections and civic participation. It gets most of its funding from the National Endowment for Democracy.

Good Friday Accord. You will have a chance to build on your earlier meeting with David Trimble. John Hume will walk with you to the VIP hold area, where you will greet all eight leaders before you receive your award. Afterwards, you will meet privately with Gerry Adams. As with Trimble, you will want to stress our strong support for steady, unconditional implementation of the Good Friday Accord -- all parts are equally important, and no one issue should hold back another. You should ask **Hume** for his assessment of room for and timing of IRA decommissioning, and encourage his sustained public and private engagement with both Trimble and Adams. In the group meeting, you should make a point of greeting loyalist leader **Gary McMichael**, who failed to win an Assembly seat but continues to support loyalist decommissioning, and **Monica McWilliams**, the sole woman in the group. In private, you should tell **Gerry Adams** that while he is technically right that there are no interim deadlines for decommissioning or linkage to other parts of the Accord, the reality is that the Accord will not survive without the IRA clearly committing to decommissioning, and soon. Adams has it within his power to inject renewed energy into the process, or slowly strangle it.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Northern Ireland political leaders
David Trimble, Ulster Unionist Party and First Minister
John Hume, Social Democratic and Labour Party
Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein
Lord John Alderdice, Alliance Party of Northern Ireland
David Ervine, Progressive Unionist Party
Gary McMichael, Ulster Democratic Party
Monica McWilliams, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition
Malachi Curran, Northern Ireland Labour Party

National Democratic Institute
Paul G. Kirk, jr., Chairman
Kenneth D. Wollack, President
Jeanne Dunn, Vice President for Programs
Susan Brophy McGowan (dinner committee)

Foreign Officials

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Paul Murphy, Minister, Northern Ireland Office, UK
Liz O'Donnell, Minister, Ireland

Senator George Mitchell, All Party Talks Chairman

White House Staff
James B. Steinberg
Lawrence E. Butler

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open press during remarks; official photo elsewhere

V. SEQUENCE

To be provided

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by NSC

Attachment
Tab A Points to Make with John Hume
Tab B Points to Make with Gerry Adams

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR PULL ASIDE WITH
GERRY ADAMS

- It means a lot to me that we are sharing this award. You have much to be proud of; yours is a remarkable story.

- I saw David earlier today to go over recent developments. Made clear our view that all parts of the Accord are equally important and all efforts need to be made to implement irrespective developments elsewhere.

- For me to help you and your constituency achieve the promise of Good Friday, I need your help with on decommissioning.

- Agree completely that Accord says nothing about interim deadlines, or linkage to political structures. Blair and Mowlam also share this view.

- But bitter reality is that linkage is there; Accord will not survive its first birthday unless republicans are unambiguous regarding weapons.

- Both you and David have come too far to let this process slowly strangle; your futures are inextricably linked.

- Republicans have seized the initiative and energized the process twice before -- the first cease-fire and signing the Accord -- when your political opponents thought you least capable of acting.

- Know this is really hard; but it is really important to me and to all your American supporters.

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SUMMARY POINTS FOR PULL ASIDE WITH
GERRY ADAMS

- It means much to share this award with you.
- I saw David earlier today. Made clear that all parts of the Accord are equally important and all efforts need to be made to implement irrespective developments elsewhere.
- For me to help you, I need help on decommissioning.
- Agree Accord says nothing about interim deadlines, or linkage. Blair and Mowlam share this view.
- Bitter reality is that linkage is there anyway; legal arguments won't make it go away; Accord will not survive without something on weapons.
- Both you and David have come too far to let this process slowly strangle; your futures are inextricably linked.
- Republicans have seized the initiative and energized the process twice before -- the first cease-fire and signing the Accord -- when your political opponents thought you least capable of acting.
- Know this is really hard; but it is really important to me and to all your American supporters.

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KBH 7/31/2019

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1.5(D)
DECL: 12/5/08

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

8202

December 5, 1998

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.17)
KBH 7/31/2019

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Governor Mike Sullivan, Tuesday, 9:30-10:00 A.M.

The Vice President will swear Mike in at 4 P.M. Tuesday, December 8, in the Indian Treaty Room. He plans to go to Dublin in early January. His wife, Jane, will accompany him. Sean O'Huiginn had a well-attended dinner for him last week; Senator Leahy, Senator Mack and Justice Scalia were among the guests. Mike is extremely well connected in Washington, judging by his swearing in guest list. He has been a virtual unknown among Irish American activists, but is making contacts quickly.

You will want to discuss current White House policy on Northern Ireland and brief him on how we interact with Irish officials and political leaders. You will also want to engage him on how to handle Northern Ireland from Dublin. Finally, you might mention the few non-peace process issues where the Irish have been helpful.

White House Priorities. Sullivan is arriving in Dublin at a zenith in Irish history: the Irish economy has enjoyed an unprecedented boom that is the envy of Europe, reversing the flow of immigration (+10,000 last year). The prospects for peace in Northern Ireland have never been better. You will want to emphasize the President's priorities of maintaining our contribution to Ireland's positive economic development (benefits are diminished pressure to emigrate, fewer demands on U.S. resources), and sustaining our partnership with Dublin on the peace process. The newest dimension to our involvement is in assisting the development of Northern Ireland's political apparatus; creative ideas from Embassy Dublin are welcome.

Channels of Communication. Reinforce that you are always available to talk to him, but that I am usually easier to get a

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Declassify On: 12/5/08

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hold of to pass messages and take action. You should apprise him of the unique channels you and I have with senior Irish officials; we will make every effort to keep him in the loop. Encourage him to cultivate Paddy Teahon, Liz O'Donnell and Dermot Gallagher as the three most senior people involved in the Northern Ireland peace process. This is in addition to Bertie Ahern and David Andrews. Welcome regular reporting as vital to keep Washington broadly informed. Reinforce that we work closely with State on policy coordination; we have no secrets or special programs.

Dublin-Ulster. Mike is mindful of his predecessor's history; we can count on him to work cooperatively with Phil Lader. His major non-political focus is likely to be on business, and he is unlikely to end up in every Northern Ireland hamlet dedicating childcare centers and museums. You should let him know that it is natural for him to have some interaction with the North -- he should familiarize himself with the layout and people to establish credibility on and understanding of the peace process. In this regard, he should be in frequent touch with Phil Lader - first - and Ki Fort to discuss the peace process and seek guidance well in advance.

Key bilateral Issues. One of Mike's goals in Dublin should be to expand our cooperation beyond the strictly bilateral focus the Irish government usually has. The Irish Embassy here is not active on multilateral issues, leaving Embassy Dublin the lead to engage with the Irish government. Our leverage with staunchly neutral, and not always supportive, Ireland has been U.S. investment (we employ 5.5 percent of the workforce). We expect the rate of new investment to continue, especially in the IT sector. Mike should be active in exploiting our strong political relationship for commercial advantage, especially as Ireland spends $600 million on telecommunications infrastructure. Mike also needs to be alert for opportunities to secure Irish support for U.S. interests in the EU and UN: Wassenaar encryption and biotech are the most recent examples where we changed Dublin's vote at crucial moments; nuclear disarmament is an area where the Irish are a problem. Ireland is seeking a seat on the Security Council for 2000, which should offer additional, time-limited leverage.

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 5, 1998

ACTION

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBY NARA, Date 7/31/2019
2015-0137-M

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Presidential drop-by with David Trimble, 6:40 p.m., December 8, 1998

The President will drop by Jim Steinberg's meeting with David Trimble on Tuesday. His briefing material is attached.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Presidential briefing memo at Tab I.

Attachment
Tab I Presidential meeting memorandum
Tab A Points to Make

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Reason: 1.5(d)
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.18)
KBH 7/31/2019

MEETING WITH NORTHERN IRELAND
FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE
DATE: December 8, 1998
LOCATION: Sandy Berger's Office
TIME: 6:40-6:55

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

Review status of the Northern Ireland Good Friday Accord and urge establishment of the political structures.

II. CONTEXT

All eight of the signatories to the Northern Ireland Good Friday Accord are in Washington to receive the National Democratic Institute's Harriman Democracy Award. With the exception of David Trimble, who spent the weekend in Washington, the other leaders were honored in Boston with the Kennedy Library's "Profiles in Courage" award Monday.

You are joining Jim Steinberg's meeting with David Trimble in advance of the NDI dinner. Later, you will greet John Hume when you arrive at the Omni Shoreham for the award event, meet briefly the other leaders, and have a private meeting with Gerry Adams following your remarks. (Trimble and Hume leave after the dinner for Oslo to receive their Nobel awards.)

Peace Process Update

Good Friday implementation, with two exceptions, is going remarkably well. Trimble and Adams meet routinely, without fanfare. Troop levels are down to 1970 levels. Military establishments are being dismantled. The RUC patrols without armed escorts. All but one paramilitary groups are observing cease-fires - there has been only one sectarian killing since Omagh. Half of all prisoners have been released. The IRA is making noises about helping to identify the location of the remains of missing persons.

Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 12/4/08

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The policing and justice reviews are moving forward. Westminster enacted the legislation establishing the new political institutions and human rights commission. And Tony Blair became the first British Prime Minister to address the Irish Dail on Thanksgiving - to a standing ovation. And the Irish President has floated the idea that Ireland might rejoin the Commonwealth.

Unfortunately, work on the political structures has become tied up with decommissioning, and Unionists are digging themselves in deep over this linkage. **Trimble** is being blamed for pulling the rug out from Tony Blair's latest all-night effort to break free agreement on the Northern Ireland executive and North-South Council. Following a month of intense effort by various officials, Blair flew to Belfast last Wednesday. Through a series of proximity meetings at Stormont that went to nearly 3 a.m., he thought he had Trimble's assent to a package that set out the number of executive council portfolios (ten) and identified eight different bodies for the North-South Council. **This would have left decommissioning as the only part of the Accord not being implemented.**

Blair departed for his summit with Chirac on Thursday, leaving Mowlam to sort out the details. In the light of day, Trimble's Unionist right wing balked at agreeing to specific North-South bodies key to Mallon and Dublin (business development and EU programs). As Trimble left for Washington Friday, he deferred to his deputy and nemesis, John Taylor to present UUP's views. Mallon was uncharacteristically harsh on what he called double-dealing, and Blair was reported to have been spitting blood in France. UUP is, in turn, blaming overly-ambitious nationalists. Failure to sort this out before Christmas guarantees that **there will be serious slippage** in the target date for devolution (February) as legislation must be enacted in advance. The real deadline for "going live" with the new NI government is the marching season -- June. Plus, Ireland's commitment to change its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland expires in June.

Decommissioning. There has been no substantive progress on IRA decommissioning to point to, aside from the procedural move of naming McGuinness to the Independent Commission. He spent two hours last week with de Chastelain, showing no give, and insisting instead that the Commission simply declare that progress is being made. Hanging over this

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process are two IRA statements that it will **never** decommission. Sinn Fein's position, which is technically correct, is that the GFA only requires the parties to use their influence to bring about decommissioning within two years -- there are no interim deadlines and no linkage. Senior SF officials say they have no room for maneuver. The NIO sees no evidence that Adams is even trying to create room for action, while Dublin feels there is an active IRA debate underway. At a minimum, the IRA has set up a situation where a positive statement on disarming would be received as progresst -- though London and the UUP say this would be insufficient. A Loyalist group, the LVF, may be the first to make a decommissioning gesture in the next few weeks.

- **It would be better if the IRA beat them to the punch, pulling a surprise on the order of its first cease-fire and Sinn Fein's acceptance of the Good Friday Accord. Both were unexpected and changed totally the political dynamic in the peace process. You should acknowledge the rightness of Adams' position, but press the ripeness of the situation for another republican "surprise." Without movement soon, the Accord will slowly wither as pressure grows to halt prisoner releases and other measures important to republicans.**

American dimension. London is acutely aware that Irish America is increasingly bothered by the executive-decommissioning logjam, blames the British and Trimble for it, and is calling for forceful White House intervention. It is important that Trimble understand this perspective and its implications. **You should impress upon him that it is in his best interest, having come this far, to finish Blair's deal on the political structures** -- which does not include actually starting up the executive or the North-South bodies. Doing so would bring decommissioning into sole focus as the one part of the Accord still stuck in the blocks. This enhances our leverage with the republican movement.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
James Steinberg
Lawrence E. Butler, NSC notetaker

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David Trimble, First Minister
Ann Smith, UUP representative, Washington

IV. PRESS PLAN

Official photographer

V. SEQUENCE

To be provided.

Attachment
Tab A Points to make with David Trimble

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
DAVID TRIMBLE

- It is an honor to congratulate you in person for the Nobel Prize. You deserve this recognition, for your courage and resoluteness and for the unionist community which bravely embraced the Good Friday Accord.

- As you will undoubtedly hear tonight repeatedly at the NDI dinner, the work for democracy and peace is endless. Kennedy said, "Democracy is never a final achievement. It is a call to untiring effort."

- I have followed closely your efforts to frame the executive and North-South institutions. We were hopeful that you had broken through.

- The news on Thursday caused me concern. An opportunity to put the onus on Gerry Adams was missed. If the political structures were finalized, the only part of the agreement stuck in the blocks would be decommissioning. I would be in a much stronger position to press Adams hard.

- I know you are hearing the argument that the Accord does not spell out linkage on decommissioning. I also know the pressure you are under with your senior colleagues. We have said that these are decisions that only you and the other leaders can make; they are your responsibility.

- I am sure that there is some time left to close on the arrangement you, Seamus and Tony Blair worked out. You have come too far to let this slip away; last week's Drumcree melee is a reminder of the pressures of the marching season - not to mention that the commitment to change the Irish constitution has a deadline. These are precious achievements for unionism.

- I will continue to do my best with Gerry Adams; decommissioning is an important principle that we support. But the important point here is that guns are out of commission and will stay that way; we have no tolerance for violence. Your people deserve the benefits of a functioning, democratically elected government.

- They need your leadership - now - to show the way. Will you be able to finalize the political structures before Christmas?

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 12/8/08

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.19)
KBH 7/31/2019

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SUMMARY POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
DAVID TRIMBLE

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.20)
KBH 7/31/2019

- Congratulate again for Nobel Prize.

- Kennedy said, "Democracy is never a final achievement. It is a call to untiring effort."

- Following your efforts to frame the executive and North-South institutions.

- You missed opportunity last Thursday to put the onus on Gerry Adams by finalizing political structures -- leaving only decommissioning in the starting blocks.

- I would be in better position to press Adams.

- Know you appreciate that you signed an agreement that does not spell out linkage on decommissioning; also know pressure on you from Taylor and others. These are decisions that only you can make -- your responsibility.

- Time is running out finish your work with Seamus and Blair. You have come too far to let this slip away; last week's Drumcree melee reminds of the pressure of the marching season and that Irish commitment to change constitution has deadline.

- I will to do my best with Gerry; decommissioning is an important principle that we support. More important that guns are out of commission and will stay that way; we will not tolerate return to violence. But your people need a working government soon.

- They need your leadership - now - to show the way. Will you be able to finalize the political structures before Christmas?

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1.5(D)
DECL: 12/5/08

Butler, Lawrence E. CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From:	Bandler, Donald K.
Sent:	Friday, December 04, 1998 4:34 PM
To:	@NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc:	@EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @COMM - WHSR Comm Officers
Subject:	FW: Urgent note for Sandy -- Northern Ireland stewing ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Importance:	High
Message Flag:	Follow up
Flag Status:	Flagged

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.21)
KBH 7/31/2019

COMMS -- PLS SHOW THIS TO JIM STEINBERG TONIGHT -- THANKS

To Sandy

Thru Don B.

From Larry Concur: Nicole

Re: Northern Ireland Situation

Jim just spent an hour with Mo Mowlam and her top aides. They briefed on how the situation had developed, gamed out next steps and agreed to an approach on Tuesday with Trimble and Adam that includes one-on-ones. Jim fully agrees on the desirability of serious POTUS 1:1 meetings here in washington.

Alice, what a mess. After Blair got all the parties to agree at 2 a.m. Wednesday on eight different North-south working groups, Trimble's deputy (and nemesis) John Taylor insisted that the GFA calls for only six. As some are specified in the agreement, he asked Seamus Mallon which groups he would jettison. The only non-substantive one would have been Irish language, which would have been political suicide for Mallon whose priorities are economic development and EU funding. When Trimble and Taylor went back to their senior UUP officials support broke down for more than three groups, hence yesterday's rapid unravelling of the deal -- Trimble hadn't prepared the ground.

Moving on. Work will continue next week, with NIO officials putting to paper all elements and details to be ready to roll out when political agreement is reestablished. That won't happen until after December 14 so there will be a week's window. Trimble assured us that he will stay engaged, even while on the road (Washington this weekend, Oslo next week). A go live date in February is "technically" possible (eyes rolled in the

meeting when she said this), but Mowlam knows the danger of allowing it to slip into next summer's marching season. Last night's melee at Drumcree demonstrated the dangers there.

Washington. Jim briefed on our ideas for Washington and the growing agitation among Irish Americans. Mowlam understood and said that our private message to Trimble should be a firm, "you let Gerry Adams off the hook; exercise some leadership and move this thing forward while you can." In turn, the President should insist that Adams give him something; agree that Sinn Fein is technically right about what the GFA calls for; but tell him the GFA will collapse if the IRA stands pat on existing statements and inaction on decommissioning. Mowlam did not think that an IRA statement now would be sufficient for the UUP; the dynamic has changed over the past month. Her staff thinks that it might actually be easier for the IRA to decommission weapons rather than make a verbal commitment. There are reports of an IRA army council meeting this weekend.

Scheduling (Laura Graham) has offered the following scenario for the President's interaction with Trimble, Hume and Adams on Tuesday. It fits our ideas:

Trimble -- The President would drop-by Jim's meeting with David from 6:40-6:55 before going to the Bumpers dinner. The pre-brief would be at 6:15 and cover this meeting, the dinner and the Adams pull-aside. This will make Trimble tardy for the NDI dinner, but not fatally so. This addresses our concerns about not giving David a cozy meeting.

Hume -- The President will arrive at the Omni at 8:45, be met curbside by the NDI leadership. John Hume would be waiting inside and walk with him to the VIP clutch where all eight party leaders, plus Mitchell (and possible the Irish and UK reps), would be waiting.

Adams -- After the President gets his award (other awards will have been made) and makes remarks (3-5 minutes), he would go back to the VIP hold room where Adams would be waiting for a short meeting (9:55-10:10). Trimble and Hume will have left by then for Oslo.

Please advise if you concur with this scenario.

Yes _____

Discuss _____

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D C 20504

8142

December 3, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Ireland Update for Mowlam Meeting, Friday, December 4, 1998

You are meeting with NIO officials Bill Jeffries and Jonathan Stevens prior to your meeting with Mowlam. Beware that Mowlam may have to bail to be in Belfast for the endgame on the political structures Friday; Joe Pilling would stand in for her in that case.

Tony Blair succeeded in smoking David Trimble out last night on North-South Council implementation bodies (Embassy London cable attached), but there are details Mowlam et al. are trying to sort out on Thursday with the party leaders, aiming for a "roundtable" announcement on Friday. Adams, Hume and Mallon met this morning, and Adams was meeting with Trimble mid-afternoon. Blair and Ahern would likely attend if all get sorted out; the body language is very encouraging.

Blair appears to have his package deal that defines the composition of the ten Northern Ireland Executive positions along with up to eight North-South Council bodies. He wanted to secure this before the party leaders leave this weekend for the December 7 Kennedy Library event and December 8 NDI dinner. The fear is that there won't be another chance until after Christmas; momentum is important -- a similar malaise last year led to a series of killings that rocked the peace process.

If he pulls this off tomorrow, the parties come to Washington next week in a situation where the only area of the GFA on which precious little progress will have been made is decommissioning. Ahern has made it clear in public that Dublin shares London's view that decommissioning an integral element of GFA implementation and cannot wait for June 2000. You will be

Reason: 1.5(b,d)
Declassify On: 12/3/08

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pressed by Mowlam and others for the President to make a low key statement on this at the dinner and press more firmly in private with Adams.

North-South bodies. Blair and Ahern visited Belfast repeatedly last month seeking Trimble's agreement on the definition of the North-South bodies. Last week there was convergence on eight separate bodies: tourism, transportation, waterways, Irish language, aquaculture, EU programs, food safety, and business development. The latter has been a redline for unionists and nationalists, with John Taylor adamantly opposed to anything that resembles an integrated approach to inward investment and trade development. Mallon has insisted that the body have precisely this role. The deal being struck removes inward investment, but covers domestic efforts. If the deal is sealed, then lawyers can start work on the various orders and regulations needed for devolution to occur on time in late February. Any further delay at this point guarantees a slippage in the "go live" date for Northern Ireland self rule.

Northern Ireland Executive portfolios. Trimble had been holding the line at six, while nationalists seek ten (this yields two portfolios for Sinn Fein). Trimble quietly relented on this last week. However, there will be no shadow executive, per se. Instead, the executive would come into being fully formed with no break-in period.

Decommissioning. There has been no substantive progress on IRA decommissioning to point to, aside from the procedural move of naming McGuinness to the Independent Commission -- he spent two hours with de Chastelain today, showing no flexibility and insisting that the Commission declare that progress is being made -- to no avail. There are two IRA statements on record that state there will be no decommissioning. Sinn Fein's position is that the GFA only requires the parties to use their influence to bring about decommissioning within two years. Senior SF officials say they have no room for maneuver with the IRA on this; the NIO says that they see no evidence that Adams is even trying to create room for action, while Dublin told me that they feel there is an active debate underway among senior IRA leadership that has some promise. At a minimum, the IRA has set up a situation where merely making a positive statement on disarming (general commitment to, or timetable) would be received as a positive development -- though London and the UUP are trying to reduce the value of this move. *Don Johnson told me today that the LVF will make a decommissioning gesture within twelve days.*

EO 13526 1.4b

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EO 13526 1.4b

Involving the President. Blair and Ahern agreed last week in Dublin that they would jointly call the President once a deal had been made with Trimble on the various political structures to seek his involvement in putting pressure on decommissioning. They would like him to recognize the positive developments in implementation (prisoners, troop reductions, beginning of criminal justice review, Patten policing commission work, enactment of the devolution legislation, and increased economic activity). They would also appreciate him combining a low-key public message on decommissioning with a pointed private message to Gerry Adams. *David Andrews, David Trimble and Paul Murphy (Mowlam's deputy) have asked for meetings with you and Sandy next week. Trimble has also made a point of asking for a private session with the President; we can expect Adams and Hume to have the same request.* **You should assure Mowlam that the President is prepared to make these points in public and private.**

Irish America. Mowlam heard clearly in Boston last week that Sinn Fein was spinning a line that the British government was letting the process stall and seeking to get the President to lean on Blair and Trimble. You will hear from your interlocutors that the President address his NDI audience in a way that makes it clear he doesn't share that view -- citing the security and prisoner examples above. On the latter point, HMG is taking increasing heat about continuing to release convicted terrorists with the IRA standing pat on decommissioning. There will be a break-down over this if the stalemate lingers past next summer. **You should urge the NIO to be more active in publicizing the achievements in GFA implementation.**

Attachment
Tab A Points to Make
Tab B Cable London 11814

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE OFFICIALS

North-South bodies.

- Where are you on the Executive portfolios and North-South implementation bodies? Is Mallon ok with your proposals and is there enough there to built republican confidence in this process to help with decommissioning?

- Is the February "go live" date for devolution still possible?

Decommissioning.

- Know there were reports of IRA council meetings. What intelligence do you have on intentions? How about UUP inclination to accept a process leading to full decommissioning?

Involving the President.

- We are keeping our options open for the President's involvement December 8, but will certainly have him make points on decommissioning as you outlined.

Irish America

- Appreciate your concern about Irish America thinking you are stalling on peace implementation. We are working to counteract that, and suggest that you be more proactive with U.S. press about your accomplishments.

- (for Mo) You should look to place an interview or op-ed in key U.S. papers next week with interest in Ireland relative high.

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Butler, Lawrence E. CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From: WHSR
Sent: Thursday, December 03, 1998 9:40 AM
To: Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.; Sigler, Ralph H.
Subject: NORTHERN IRELAND: AGREEMENT CLOSE ON N/S BODIES AND

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DTG: 031413Z DEC 98
MSGTO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1407
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
PREC: IMMEDIATE
SSN: 1814
TOR: 981203093344 M3586075

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KBH 7/31/2019

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 011814

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/03/08
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: AGREEMENT CLOSE ON N/S BODIES AND MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS

REF: LONDON 11644

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: PM TONY BLAIR'S DRAMATIC LATE NIGHT INTERVENTION DECEMBER 2 OF HAS LED TO "GOOD PROGRESS" IN DETERMINING THE NUMBER AND SHAPE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS AND CROSS-BORDER IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. THE OUTLINE OF THE DEAL INCLUDES CREATION OF 10 DEPARTMENTS AND SIX TO EIGHT NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, INCLUDING ONE WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER. WITH DISCUSSIONS AMONG OFFICIALS AND PARTY LEADERS CONTINUING TODAY, BRITISH OFFICIALS ARE HOPEFUL THAT A ROUNDTABLE MEETING OF NORTHERN IRELAND LEADERS, AND INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER AND IRISH TAOISEACH, COULD BE HELD DECEMBER 4 TO RATIFY AN AGREEMENT. WHILE THIS WOULD NOT LEAD AUTOMATICALLY TO CREATION OF A SHADOW EXECUTIVE, IT WOULD LEAVE THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE AS THE SOLE REMAINING OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS. ACCORDINGLY, UK OFFICIALS HOPE DECEMBER 8 CONTACTS WITH PARTY LEADERS IN WASHINGTON WILL EMPHASIZE THE NEED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) NIO ASSOCIATE POLITICAL DIRECTOR JONATHAN STEPHENS TOLD US MID-DAY DECEMBER 3 THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S SIX HOURS OF TALKS WITH PARTIES AT STORMONT LAST NIGHT HAD "CRACKED THE BIG ISSUES." WHILE THERE ARE MANY DETAILS WHICH REMAIN TO BE AGREED -- AND STEPHENS DID NOT MINIMIZE THE DIFFICULTY OF DOING SO -- HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS NOW UNDERWAY WOULD CONCLUDE SUCCESSFULLY TODAY. STEPHENS ENVISAGES A ROUNDTABLE MEETING DECEMBER 4, INVOLVING THE LEADERS OF THE ASSEMBLY PARTIES PLUS PM BLAIR AND TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN, TO FORMALLY ADOPT THE PROPOSALS.

4. (C) THERE IS A BASIC AGREEMENT THAT TEN NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS WILL BE CREATED. THIS WOULD INVOLVE SPLITTING THE PRESENT DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT INTO SEPARATE PUBLIC WORKS AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION DEPARTMENTS AND KEEPING THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT AS A SEPARATE ENTITY. UNIONISTS HAD BEEN INSISTING THAT THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT BE ATTACHED TO THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT AND MADE ACCOUNTABLE DIRECTLY TO THE FIRST AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTERS, BUT FINALLY AGREED TO CREATE A

SEPARATE, SMALLER CENTRAL BUDGET OFFICE INSTEAD. MANY OF THE DETAILS CONTINUE TO BE THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATION -- FOR EXAMPLE, WHETHER THE PUBLIC HOUSING EXECUTIVE WILL COME UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY DEPARTMENT (AS THE SDLP CALLS FOR) OR THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT (AS DEMANDED BY THE UUP), OR POSSIBLY INCLUDED IN A SEPARATE DEPARTMENT.

5. (C) THERE ALSO IS A FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT ON THE CROSS-BORDER IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. ESTABLISHMENT OF BODIES ON WATERWAYS, FISHERIES, ANIMAL HEALTH, STRATEGIC TRANSPORT AND THE IRISH LANGUAGE ARE RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL. BODIES ON TOURISM AND EU PROGRAMS HAVE SOME DETAILS TO BE IRONED OUT, BUT ARE GENERALLY AGREED. FINALLY, BOWING TO SDLP AND IRISH INSISTENCE, THE UUP HAS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO THE CREATION OF A CROSS-BORDER BODY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AS DESCRIBED BY STEPHENS, THIS BODY WOULD HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROMOTING TRADE AND BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT ON THE ISLAND BUT WOULD NOT HANDLE INWARD INVESTMENT PROMOTION. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER ALL EIGHT OF THESE BODIES WILL BE ESTABLISHED IMMEDIATELY, OR ONLY THE MINIMUM SIX. LATE LAST NIGHT UUP DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR ASSERTED ONLY SIX, AS CALLED FOR IN THE AGREEMENT, SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED. THIS CONTINUES TO BE A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION.

6. (C) OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL LEADERS DECEMBER 2 INDICATED BROAD SUPPORT FOR THESE ARRANGEMENTS. EVEN INDEPENDENT UNIONIST ASSEMBLY MEMBER DENNIS WATSON, WHO WAS EXPELLED FROM THE UUP AFTER RUNNING AGAINST TRIMBLE ON AN ANTI-AGREEMENT PLATFORM, TOLD US THAT WHILE HE REMAINED INTERESTED IN SPECIFIC DETAILS, THE BROAD OUTLINES OF THE EMERGING DEAL DID NOT GIVE HIM "PARTICULAR HEARTBURN" AND HE PREDICTED THE WIDER UNIONIST COMMUNITY (BUT NOT PAISLEY OR MCCARTNEY) WOULD ENDORSE IT.

7. (C) STEPHENS REITERATED THAT THE FOCUS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S EFFORTS HAD BEEN ON THESE INSTITUTIONAL MATTERS. THE DISCUSSIONS WERE PREMISED ON THE EXPLICIT UNDERSTANDING THAT A START TO DECOMMISSIONING IS REQUIRED BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IS FORMED OR ANY OF THE CROSS-BORDER BODIES BECOME OPERATIONAL. AGREEMENT ON THE DEPARTMENTS AND IMPLEMENTATION BODIES DOES NOT LEAD AUTOMATICALLY TO ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE OR ALLOCATION OF MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS BY THE D'HONDT METHOD. THAT REQUIRES THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY TO ISSUE A STANDING ORDER AND, STEPHENS EMPHASIZED, MOWLAM HAS NO INTENTION OF ISSUING SUCH AN ORDER AT THIS TIME. NOTING THAT NO ASSEMBLY SESSION CURRENTLY IS SCHEDULED, STEPHENS ALSO SPECULATED THAT TRIMBLE MAY NOT WISH TO CALL ONE BEFORE CHRISTMAS FOR THE EXCLUSIVE PURPOSE OF APPROVING THE DEPARTMENTS AND CROSS-BORDER BODIES.

8. (C) MICHAEL MCGIMPSEY, UUP ASSEMBLY SPOKESMAN ON SECURITY ISSUES, TOLD US DECEMBER 1 THAT HIS PARTY IS EAGER TO CONCLUDE A DEAL ON THE DEPARTMENTS AND NORTH-SOUTH. HE SAID TRIMBLE HAS ABSORBED THE MESSAGE FROM THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS: CLEARING THESE ISSUES OFF THE TABLE LEAVES DECOMMISSIONING AS THE ONLY AREA IN WHICH NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. MCGIMPSEY SAID THIS SHOWS SINN FEIN'S CLAIM THAT TRIMBLE DOES NOT REALLY WANT PROGRESS IS "FLIMSY PROPAGANDA." HE ALSO REPEATED THAT TRIMBLE HAS "NO ROOM WHATSOEVER" TO MOVE WITHOUT A START TO DECOMMISSIONING.

9. (C) STEPHENS SAID THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT ONCE THE INSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS ARE RESOLVED, THE INTENSE LIGHT OF PUBLIC ATTENTION SHOULD BE SHINED ON THE IRA'S REFUSAL TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING. THE UK HOPES THE DECEMBER 8 NDI EVENTS IN WASHINGTON WILL BE A STRONG PART OF THIS EFFORT.

LADER

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December 2, 1998

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PER E.O. 13526

INFORMATION

2015-0157-M [1.25]
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Ireland Update for Mowlam Meeting, Friday, December 4, 1998

Tony Blair flew to Belfast Wednesday evening to smoke David Trimble out on a troublesome set of North-South Council implementation bodies. His goal is to get a package deal that includes definition of composition of the Northern Ireland Executive positions along with the North-South Council before the December 7 Kennedy Library event and December 8 NDI dinner. The fear is that there won't be another chance until after Christmas; momentum is important -- a similar malaise last year led to a series of killings that rocked the peace process.

If he succeeds, the parties come to Washington next week in a situation where the only area of the GFA on which precious little progress will have been made is decommissioning. Ahern has made it clear in public that Dublin shares London's view that decommissioning an integral element of GFA implementation and cannot wait for June 2000. He and Blair are likely to ask that the President make a low key statement on this at the dinner and press more firmly in private with Adams.

North-South bodies. Blair and Ahern visited Belfast repeatedly last month seeking Trimble's agreement on the definition of the North-South bodies. Last week there was convergence on eight bodies: tourism, transportation, waterways, Irish language, aquaculture, EU programs, food safety, and business development. The latter has been a redline for unionists and nationalists, with John Taylor adamantly opposed to anything that resembles an integrated approach to inward investment and trade development. Mallon has insisted that the body have precisely this role. If a deal is struck, the lawyers can start work on the various orders and regulations needed for devolution to occur on time in

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late February. Any further delay at this point guarantees a slippage in the "go live" date for Northern Ireland self rule.

Northern Ireland Executive portfolios. Trimble had been holding the line at six, while nationalists seek ten (this yields two portfolios for Sinn Fein). Word was that Trimble was ready to cave on this point.

Decommissioning. The has been no substantive progress on decommissioning to point to, aside from the procedural move of naming McGuinness to the Independent Commission. There are two IRA statements on record that state there will be no decommissioning. Sinn Fein's position is that the GFA only requires the parties to use their influence to bring about decommissioning within two years. Senior SF officials say they have no room for maneuver with the IRA on this; the NIO says that they see no evidence that Adams is even trying to create room for action, while Dublin told me that they feel there is an active debate underway among senior IRA leadership that has some promise. At a minimum, the IRA has set up a situation where merely making a positive statement on disarming (general commitment to, or timetable) or would be received as a positive development. EO 13526 1.4b

Involving the President. Blair and Ahern agreed last week in Dublin that they would jointly call the President once a deal had been made with Trimble on the various political structures to seek his involvement in putting pressure on decommissioning. They would like him to recognize the positive developments in implementation (prisoners, troop reductions, beginning of criminal justice review, Patten policing commission work, enactment of the devolution legislation, and increased economic activity). They would also appreciate him combining a low-key public message on decommissioning with a pointed private message to Gerry Adams. *Mowlam, David Andrews and David Trimble have asked for meetings with you and Sandy next week. Trimble has also made a point of asking for a private session with the President; we can expect Adams and Hume to have the same request.* **You should assure Mowlam that the President is prepared to make these points in public and private.**

Irish America. Mowlam heard clearly in Boston last week that Sinn Fein was spinning a line that the British government was letting the process stall and seeking to get the President to lean on Blair and Trimble. You will hear from your interlocutors that the President address his NDI audience in a way that makes it clear he doesn't share that view -- citing the

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security and prisoner examples above. On the latter point, HMG is taking increasing heat about continuing to release convicted terrorists with the IRA standing pat on decommissioning. There will be a break-down over this if the stalemate lingers past next summer. **You should urge the NIO to be more active in publicizing the achievements in GFA implementation.**

Attachment
Tab A Points to Make

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE OFFICIALS

North-South bodies.

- Where are you on the Executive portfolios and North-South implementation bodies? Is Mallon ok with your proposals?

- Is the "go live" date for devolution in jeopardy?

Decommissioning.

- Know there were reports of IRA council meetings. What intelligence do you have on intentions?

Involving the President.

- Are you expecting the Prime Minister and Taoiseach to contact the President?

- We are keeping our options open for the President's involvement December 8, but will certainly have him make points on decommissioning as you outlined.

Irish America.

- Appreciate your concern about Irish America thinking you are stalling on peace implementation. We are working to counteract that, and suggest that you be more proactive with U.S. press about your accomplishments.

- (for Mo) You and Chris Meyer should talk to the Press next week in Washington.

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2015-0157-M (1.27)
KBH 7/31/2019

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM
S/S

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:12/03/08

TO: P - Under Secretary Pickering

FROM: EUR - Marc Grossman

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Michael J. Sullivan, Ambassador-Designate to Ireland, December 4, 1998, 4:00 p.m., Your Office

I. CHECKLIST OF ISSUES

- Note Sullivan's role in assuring that continued expansion of the Irish economy provides increasing trade and investment opportunities for U.S. business.
- Emphasize need for Ireland to take new responsibility in its maturing partnership with America.
- Stress Washington will support him in encouraging Ireland to join PFP.
- Reinforce our commitment to remain engaged in the Northern Ireland peace process, including enhancing economic prospects in the border counties of Ireland.

II. BACKGROUND

Ambassador-designate Sullivan will be sworn-in by the Vice President on December 8. His nomination and confirmation by the Senate received very rapid handling as the result of pressure from Senator Thomas, who defeated Sullivan in the '96 Senate race in Wyoming. Sullivan was Governor of Wyoming from 1987 through 1995, where he made the acquaintance of then-Governor Clinton. Sullivan expects to arrive in Dublin during the second week in January.

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Reasons: 1.5 (b) (d)

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Sullivan will arrive in Dublin at the zenith of Ireland's "golden age." That success has been accompanied by an intensification of U.S.-Irish ties, which is changing the nature of the overall bilateral relationship. For Dublin, this new relationship will require taking on new responsibilities that a maturing partnership with America demands. We would expect to see our support for peace and prosperity in Ireland translate into increased Irish support on issues of mutual concern.

Close Economic Ties

Ireland has emerged as a commercial partner with global economic, trade and financial interests that intersect our own. Ireland has had the most rapidly expanding economy in the industrialized world for five consecutive years. 1998's forecast for 11% growth should see Ireland top the list again. Employment is growing rapidly, and the unemployment rate, Ireland's lowest in decades, is much below the EU average. Ireland's "Celtic Tiger" has succeeded in part because of an intensification of U.S.-Irish economic ties. We are Ireland's second-largest trading partner; one-third of foreign investment in Ireland is from American companies, which employ a staggering 5.5% of the workforce.

The Irish Government will spend $600 million for telecommunications infrastructure in the next two years to position Ireland to be the European center of excellence in electronic commerce (e-commerce). U.S. companies should be well placed to take advantage of such opportunities, since President Clinton signed a bilateral agreement on e-commerce when he was in Ireland in September. Continued USG support will be key to assuring U.S. companies a place in Ireland's future.

Some Distance on Foreign Policy

Ireland highly values its EU affiliation and has benefited from massive EU transfer payments. EU membership is also fundamental to Ireland's sense of independence from the UK. Staying on good terms with its EU partners and the Commission is thus a fundamental tenet of Irish foreign policy. Because of its financial dependence on the EU, Ireland is usually not a vocal supporter of U.S. positions in disputes with the EU, except when doing so would clearly be in its interest.

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It is Ireland's strict neutrality, though, that puts it most at odds with its EU partners and with the United States. Ireland actively opposed the merger of the Western European Union and the EU during the Amsterdam treaty negotiations. A global disarmament proposal announced by Ireland and seven other nations last summer disregards the many steps that are already being taken to prevent nuclear proliferation. The proposal also alleges the U.S. is not seriously committed to nuclear disarmament nor fulfilling its NPT Article VI obligations. Ireland's position on nuclear disarmament reinforces from outside NATO the new German government's insistence that NATO consider adopting a "No First Use" posture.

Ireland is the only EU member-state not to have joined NATO's Partnership for Peace, although the Government has recently said it is reviewing its policy. Dublin is working to get a seat on the UN Security Council in 2000.

Ireland was one of a small number of countries that threatened consensus on a U.S.-backed resolution at a recent meeting in Vienna on the Wassenaar Arrangement. The Irish government's willingness to compromise on export controls on encryption products in the end permitted us to gain the consensus necessary.

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Although our bilateral relationship with Ireland is maturing, it remains dominated by the situation in Northern Ireland. Increasing closeness and cooperation between the Irish and British governments has eliminated any controversy in our bilateral relationships with Ireland and the UK on this issue. Nonetheless, the parties continue to expect USG involvement in resolving remaining difficulties in implementing the "Good Friday" accord. Our role in negotiating the accord is widely credited with having been essential to its success.

Sullivan will reinforce the President's commitment to stay engaged through careful public and private diplomacy to support the full implementation of the Agreement. He can do this in a number of ways.

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The threat of spillover violence continues to dissuade investors in Northern Ireland and the counties that ring the North. The benefits of Ireland's economic boom have therefore not reached these "border counties." Continued U.S. support for economic development throughout the island, both from official sources (through the International Fund for Ireland) and from the private sector, will help support the peace.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Under Secretary Pickering	Amb.-Des. Michael J. Sullivan
P Staff	Patricia Nelson-Douvelis, EUR/UBI (notetaker)

ATTACHMENTS:

1- Talking Points
2- Bio - Michael J. Sullivan

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BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: U/S Pickering Meeting with Amb-Des Sullivan, 12/4/98

Drafted: EUR/UBI:PNelson-Douvelis, 76585

Cleared: EUR/UBI:RBell
P:Enagy

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D C 20504

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December 3, 1998

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2015-0157-M [1.29]
KBH 7/31/2019

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Ireland Update for London Meetings, Friday, December 4, 1998

You may see Mo Mowlam tomorrow, and will have the opportunity to talk to NIO officials should events make that desirable. Blair Hall will give you an update on the NI situation when you arrive and confirm meetings as necessary. You will also see John Holmes late in the day for another opportunity to discuss Ireland.

Tony Blair succeeded in smoking David Trimble out last night on North-South Council implementation bodies, but there are details Mowlam et al. are trying to sort out on Thursday with the party leaders, aiming for a "roundtable" announcement on Friday. Adams, Hume and Mallon met this morning, and Adams was meeting with Trimble mid-afternoon. Blair and Ahern would likely attend if all get sorted out; the body language is very encouraging.

Blair appears to have his package deal that defines the composition of the ten Northern Ireland Executive positions along with up to eight North-South Council bodies. He wanted to secure this before the party leaders leave this weekend for the December 7 Kennedy Library event and December 8 NDI dinner. The fear is that there won't be another chance until after Christmas; momentum is important -- a similar malaise last year led to a series of killings that rocked the peace process.

If he pulls this off tomorrow, the parties come to Washington next week in a situation where the only area of the GFA on which precious little progress will have been made is decommissioning. Ahern has made it clear in public that Dublin shares London's view that decommissioning an integral element of GFA implementation and cannot wait for June 2000. You will be

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pressed for the President to make a low key statement on this at the dinner and press more firmly in private with Adams.

North-South bodies. Blair and Ahern visited Belfast repeatedly last month seeking Trimble's agreement on the definition of the North-South bodies. Last week there was convergence on eight separate bodies: tourism, transportation, waterways, Irish language, aquaculture, EU programs, food safety, and business development. The latter has been a redline for unionists and nationalists, with unionists opposed to anything that resembles an integrated approach to inward investment and trade development. Mallon has insisted that the body have precisely this role. The deal being struck reportedly removes inward investment, but covers domestic efforts. If the deal is sealed, then lawyers can start work on the various orders and regulations needed for devolution to occur on time in late February. They must move now to achieve the target "go live" date for Northern Ireland self rule.

Northern Ireland Executive portfolios. Trimble had been holding the line at six, while nationalists seek ten (this yields two portfolios for Sinn Fein). There seems to be consensus on ten seats. However, there will be no shadow executive, per se. Instead, the executive would come into being fully formed with no break-in period.

Decommissioning. There has been no substantive progress on IRA decommissioning to point to, aside from the procedural move of naming McGuinness to the Independent Commission. There are two IRA statements on record that state there will be no decommissioning. Sinn Fein's position is that the GFA only requires the parties to use their influence to bring about decommissioning within two years. *There is speculation that the LVF will make a decommissioning gesture within two weeks.*

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Involving the President. Blair and Ahern agreed last week in Dublin that they would jointly call the President once a deal had been made with Trimble on the various political structures to seek his involvement in putting pressure on decommissioning. They would like him to recognize the positive developments in implementation (prisoners, troop reductions, beginning of criminal justice review, Patten policing commission work, enactment of the devolution legislation, and increased economic activity). They would also appreciate him combining a low-key

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public message on decommissioning with a pointed private message. *David Andrews, David Trimble and Paul Murphy (Mowlam's deputy) have asked for meetings with you and Sandy next week. Trimble has also made a point of asking for a private session with the President; we can expect Adams and Hume to have the same request.* **You should assure Mowlam that the President is prepared to make these points in public and private.**

Irish America. Mowlam heard clearly in Boston last week that Sinn Fein was spinning a line that the British government was letting the process stall and seeking to get the President to lean on Blair and Trimble. You will hear from your interlocutors that when the President addresses his NDI audience, he do so in a way that makes it clear he doesn't share that view -- citing the security and prisoner examples above. On the latter point, HMG is taking increasing heat about continuing to release convicted terrorists with the IRA standing pat on decommissioning. **You should urge the NIO to be more active in publicizing the achievements in GFA implementation.**

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE OFFICIALS

North-South bodies.

- Where are you on the Executive portfolios and North-South implementation bodies? Is Mallon ok with your proposals and is there enough there to built republican confidence in this process to help with decommissioning?

- Is the February "go live" date for devolution still possible?

Decommissioning.

- Know there were reports of IRA council meetings. What information do you have on intentions? How about UUP inclination to accept a process leading to full decommissioning?

Involving the President.

- We are keeping our options open for the President's involvement December 8, but will certainly have him make points on decommissioning as you outlined.

Irish America

- Appreciate your concern about Irish America thinking you are stalling on peace implementation. We are working to counteract that, and suggest that you be more proactive with U.S. press about your accomplishments.

- (for Mo) You should look to place an interview or op-ed in key U.S. papers next week with interest in Ireland relative high.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D C 20504

8142

December 3, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Ireland Update for Mowlam Meeting, Friday, December 4, 1998

You are meeting with NIO officials Bill Jeffries and Jonathan Stevens prior to your meeting with Mowlam. Beware that Mowlam may have to bail to be in Belfast for the endgame on the political structures Friday; Joe Pilling would stand in for her in that case.

Tony Blair succeeded in smoking David Trimble out last night on North-South Council implementation bodies (Embassy London cable attached), but there are details Mowlam et al. are trying to sort out on Thursday with the party leaders, aiming for a "roundtable" announcement on Friday. Adams, Hume and Mallon met this morning, and Adams was meeting with Trimble mid-afternoon. Blair and Ahern would likely attend if all get sorted out; the body language is very encouraging.

Blair appears to have his package deal that defines the composition of the ten Northern Ireland Executive positions along with up to eight North-South Council bodies. He wanted to secure this before the party leaders leave this weekend for the December 7 Kennedy Library event and December 8 NDI dinner. The fear is that there won't be another chance until after Christmas; momentum is important -- a similar malaise last year led to a series of killings that rocked the peace process.

If he pulls this off tomorrow, the parties come to Washington next week in a situation where the only area of the GFA on which precious little progress will have been made is decommissioning. Ahern has made it clear in public that Dublin shares London's view that decommissioning an integral element of GFA implementation and cannot wait for June 2000. You will be

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Declassify On: 12/3/08

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KBH 7/31/2019

pressed by Mowlam and others for the President to make a low key statement on this at the dinner and press more firmly in private with Adams.

North-South bodies. Blair and Ahern visited Belfast repeatedly last month seeking Trimble's agreement on the definition of the North-South bodies. Last week there was convergence on eight separate bodies: tourism, transportation, waterways, Irish language, aquaculture, EU programs, food safety, and business development. The latter has been a redline for unionists and nationalists, with John Taylor adamantly opposed to anything that resembles an integrated approach to inward investment and trade development. Mallon has insisted that the body have precisely this role. The deal being struck removes inward investment, but covers domestic efforts. If the deal is sealed, then lawyers can start work on the various orders and regulations needed for devolution to occur on time in late February. Any further delay at this point guarantees a slippage in the "go live" date for Northern Ireland self rule.

Northern Ireland Executive portfolios. Trimble had been holding the line at six, while nationalists seek ten (this yields two portfolios for Sinn Fein). Trimble quietly relented on this last week. However, there will be no shadow executive, per se. Instead, the executive would come into being fully formed with no break-in period.

Decommissioning. There has been no substantive progress on IRA decommissioning to point to, aside from the procedural move of naming McGuinness to the Independent Commission -- he spent two hours with de Chastelain today, showing no flexibility and insisting that the Commission declare that progress is being made -- to no avail. There are two IRA statements on record that state there will be no decommissioning. Sinn Fein's position is that the GFA only requires the parties to use their influence to bring about decommissioning within two years. Senior SF officials say they have no room for maneuver with the IRA on this; the NIO says that they see no evidence that Adams is even trying to create room for action, while Dublin told me that they feel there is an active debate underway among senior IRA leadership that has some promise. At a minimum, the IRA has set up a situation where merely making a positive statement on disarming (general commitment to, or timetable) would be received as a positive development -- though London and the UUP are trying to reduce the value of this move. *Don Johnson told me today that the LVF will make a decommissioning gesture within twelve days.*

EO 13526 1.4b

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EO 13526 1.4b

Involving the President. Blair and Ahern agreed last week in Dublin that they would jointly call the President once a deal had been made with Trimble on the various political structures to seek his involvement in putting pressure on decommissioning. They would like him to recognize the positive developments in implementation (prisoners, troop reductions, beginning of criminal justice review, Patten policing commission work, enactment of the devolution legislation, and increased economic activity). They would also appreciate him combining a low-key public message on decommissioning with a pointed private message to Gerry Adams. *David Andrews, David Trimble and Paul Murphy (Mowlam's deputy) have asked for meetings with you and Sandy next week. Trimble has also made a point of asking for a private session with the President; we can expect Adams and Hume to have the same request.* **You should assure Mowlam that the President is prepared to make these points in public and private.**

Irish America. Mowlam heard clearly in Boston last week that Sinn Fein was spinning a line that the British government was letting the process stall and seeking to get the President to lean on Blair and Trimble. You will hear from your interlocutors that the President address his NDI audience in a way that makes it clear he doesn't share that view -- citing the security and prisoner examples above. On the latter point, HMG is taking increasing heat about continuing to release convicted terrorists with the IRA standing pat on decommissioning. There will be a break-down over this if the stalemate lingers past next summer. **You should urge the NIO to be more active in publicizing the achievements in GFA implementation.**

Attachment
Tab A Points to Make
Tab B Cable London 11814

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE OFFICIALS

North-South bodies.

- Where are you on the Executive portfolios and North-South implementation bodies? Is Mallon ok with your proposals and is there enough there to built republican confidence in this process to help with decommissioning?

- Is the February "go live" date for devolution still possible?

Decommissioning.

- Know there were reports of IRA council meetings. What ~~intelligence~~ do you have on intentions? How about UUP inclination to accept a process leading to full decommissioning?

Involving the President.

- We are keeping our options open for the President's involvement December 8, but will certainly have him make points on decommissioning as you outlined.

Irish America

- Appreciate your concern about Irish America thinking you are stalling on peace implementation. We are working to counteract that, and suggest that you be more proactive with U.S. press about your accomplishments.

- (for Mo) You should look to place an interview or op-ed in key U.S. papers next week with interest in Ireland relative high.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

November 20, 1998

ACTION

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.33)
KBH 7/31/2019

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland -- Update and Game Plan

Summary

The tone in Northern Ireland took a turn for the worse this past week as Trimble is perceived to be calmly digging in, Sinn Fein responds with shrill noises and London and Dublin work behind the scenes for a plan to break the decommissioning-linked impasse on Good Friday implementation. After an encouraging meeting with Trimble today, the Irish have a concept they will pitch to Number 10; if accepted, it would be deployed during Blair's November 24-25 visit to Dublin (and maybe Belfast), possibly culminating here on December 8. The risk of not cracking the deadlock before Christmas is the kind of vacuum we faced a year ago, with the attendant consequences.

Update

Good News. There are positive developments to point to in Northern Ireland. Seventeen Assembly members, representing all parties, arrived yesterday at Boston College for a weeklong seminar on governance. Senator Mack made an appreciated visit to Belfast and Dublin; it would be useful if you would call him to compliment his effort and discuss his impressions -- see recommendation and attached reporting cable. An informal staffdel, sponsored by BC, will visit Belfast after Thanksgiving to meet with counterparts. Phil Lader is going to spend an informal weekend with Mo at Hillsborough to do some networking and brainstorming. 201+ prisoners have been released, with many more eligible for Christmas furloughs. The security posture is markedly more relaxed, with troop strength at pre-troubles levels. And in the south, Ahern and Trimble had a better meeting today in Dublin, with Trimble saying the right things to

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 11/20/08

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a chamber of commerce group about business ties. Separately Prince Philip paid a nice visit to Dublin and Mary McAleese stood with Queen Elizabeth in Belgium for an Armistice Day dedication to Irish casualties in WWI.

Bad News. However, work on the Good Friday political institutions came to a halt; starting last weekend, Trimble added the North-South bodies to his hostage list for decommissioning. (This was the main focus of the Ahern meeting today, more on this below.) More voices, including British ones, are calling for linking prisoner releases to decommissioning. Sinn Fein is getting angrier and making stupid mistakes, including intimidating a nationalist soccer team into canceling a match with an RUC side, which provoked widespread condemnation. Anthony Cary says that Number 10 has concluded that the three extradition cases should be prosecuted to conclusion due to legal precedent concerns; John Holmes was to have called you to convey this information. And the LVF said it cancelled its symbolic act of decommissioning because Ken Maginnis, the UUP "security" spokesperson, said publicly that the group's members are "ruthless sectarian killers."

The Political Strategy

The next two weeks are seen as the last chance to keep work on the political structures moving forward, which will at least make the February devolution target a viable possibility. Pat Hennessy came by yesterday to outline an Irish initiative to accomplish this, and I confirmed this with Martin Mansergh today.

Martin said Ahern's meetings in Belfast last week had left the Irish pessimistic about making any progress, but today's encounter radically changed the tone. Dublin now believes that they have a chance to get agreement on the executive council and north-south bodies structure by the end of next week. This would allow the legislative work to be started to provide the legal and practical basis for political devolution on schedule next February. Martin said that while a shadow executive would have been preferred, if the same result can be accomplished through "three-way shuttles" and roundtables of party representatives, this is acceptable.

According to Hennessy, the plan is for Chastelain to state that he is satisfied that progress is being made on decommissioning, per the agreement. Blair and Ahern would then issue a joint statement next week (when Blair visits Dublin) in support, but

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with a stick -- if the IRA fails to start decommissioning, there would be sanctions. Presumably, these would include Sinn Fein being expelled from government -- a threat made more credible by Seamus Mallon's gambit this weekend at the SDLP conference when he guaranteed that SDLP would support UUP if April 2000 came and no IRA arms had been destroyed. Hennessy expects London would want an explicit date for compliance in the joint statement, something Dublin would find hard -- but not impossible -- to sell to Sinn Fein.

Trimble would respond to these statements by moving ahead first on the north-south bodies (six), and then with the shadow executive (ten chairs). This needs to happen by mid-December so that the various legal mechanisms can be put in place to make devolution in February/March technically possible.

There may be a need for the President to make a statement, or as Martin put it, "persuade republicans" that they must create confidence that they will do something on decommissioning. The catalyst for this may be December 8, when the political leaders are here. Adams is coming with Ted Howell, his senior political advisor and republican movement insider. Trimble is anxious for special treatment the weekend before the NDI dinner (he'll be the only one in town and is hoping for a White House tour for his kids and wife; I recommend we consider packaging him with John and Pat Hume for an informal "Nobel" event with the President and First Lady).

Our profile here with the Irish-American community and in Ireland has dipped a bit since the President's visit and Jean's departure from Dublin. I propose to travel to Dublin and Belfast November 30-December 2 for some overdue consultations and to work with the governments and the parties on any remaining details of this choreography. You will be in London December 4, and could finalize the plan with Holmes and Mowlam before people begin heading for Boston (there is a Kennedy Library "Profiles in Courage" event for the leaders on December 7) and Washington.

Concurrence: Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley

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RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That you call John Holmes and Paddy Teahon before Tuesday to discuss the game plan described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That you call Connie Mack early next week to discuss his meetings in Ireland and express appreciation for his support

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

3. That you approve my travel to Dublin and Belfast November 30-December 2.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments
Tab A Cable from Dublin on Connie Mack's meeting with Ahern
Tab B Cable from London on Bradtke-Joe Pilling meeting

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Butler, Lawrence E.

From:	WHSR
Sent:	Thursday, November 19, 1998 10:27 AM
To:	Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.; Sigler, Ralph H.
Subject:	PRIME MINISTER AHERN TELLS SENATOR MACK THAT
CLASS:	~~SECRET~~
DTG:	191441Z NOV 98
MSGTO:	RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4308 RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
ORIG:	AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
PREC:	IMMEDIATE
SSN:	5921
TOR:	981119095721 M3565479

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.34)
KBH 7/31/2019

~~S E C R E T~~ DUBLIN 005921

EXDIS

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER
STATE FOR EUR/UBI, H PLEASE PASS SEN. MACK'S OFFICE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/19/08
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI, OREP (MACK, CONNIE)
SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER AHERN TELLS SENATOR MACK THAT DELAY IN THE PEACE PROCESS RISKS BECOMING "DANGEROUS"

REF: DUBLIN 5608

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EDWIN NOLAN; REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D) .

SUMMARY

1. (S) A CLEARLY FRUSTRATED AND CONCERNED TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) AHERN TOLD SENATOR MACK AND CHARGE NOVEMBER 17 THAT NORTHERN IRELAND FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE HAS PULLED BACK FROM AGREEMENT ON THE SHAPE ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE AND IDENTIFICATION OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. HE OBSERVED THAT TRIMBLE, HAVING BEEN "GOTTEN TO" BY UNIONIST HARD-LINERS, NOW PLANNED ON "DOING NOTHING" THROUGH CHRISTMAS, WHICH AHERN CHARACTERIZED AS A "TERRIBLE MISTAKE." AHERN CLEARLY PUT THE ONUS ON TRIMBLE TO BREAK THE CURRENT STALEMATE, EXPLAINING THAT TRIMBLE HAD FAILED TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE "FIVE-STEP PROGRAM" AHERN AND BLAIR HAD AGREED IN AUGUST WITH TRIMBLE'S IMPLICIT APPROVAL. WHILE NOTING THAT BOTH HE AND PM BLAIR WERE FRUSTRATED BY THE IRA'S UNWILLINGNESS TO MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING, HE EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT'S VIEW THAT IT HAD "DONE A LOT" IN 1998 WITH LITTLE UNIONIST RECIPROCATION. A MAJOR AHERN/BLAIR INITIATIVE (WITH STRONG U.S. ENGAGEMENT) WOULD BE NEEDED SOON, AHERN SAID, AND POINTED TO DECEMBER 8, WHEN MANY OF THE PRINCIPALS WILL BE IN WASHINGTON, AS A POTENTIAL DEADLINE FOR ACTION. (COMMENT: AN AHERN/BLAIR INITIATIVE COULD BE LAUNCHED DURING PM BLAIR'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO DUBLIN NOVEMBER 26. AHERN CLEARLY USED THIS MEETING TO SEND A MESSAGE OF CONCERN THAT TRIMBLE HAS DECIDED TO STOP PROGRESS ACROSS THE BOARD. END COMMENT.) END SUMMARY.

LACK OF PROGRESS RISKS "DANGEROUS SITUATION"

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2. (S) VISITING SENATOR CONNIE MACK (R-FLORIDA), ACTING CHARGE AND GARY SHIFFMAN FROM THE SENATOR'S STAFF MET WITH IRISH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN IN DUBLIN ON NOVEMBER 17 TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. AHERN, WHO NORMALLY TENDS TO BE AN OPTIMIST ON THE ISSUE, WAS UNCHARACTERISTICALLY DOWNBEAT, EVEN SOMBER, ABOUT THE CURRENT STALEMATE.. SENATOR MACK, WHO MET WITH DAVID TRIMBLE AND SEAMUS MALLON TOGETHER IN BELFAST NOVEMBER 16, TOLD AHERN HE WAS STRUCK BY THE POSITIVE CHANGE IN ATTITUDE SINCE HE HAD LAST MET THEM IN JANUARY 1998. THEY NO LONGER ARE POSTURING ON THE ISSUES BUT ARE TAKING A POSITIVE APPROACH TO SOLVING PROBLEMS. THE SENATOR ADDED THAT HIS MEETINGS IN BELFAST HAD ALSO GIVEN HIM A BETTER SENSE OF THE "NARROWNESS" OF THE PRO-AGREEMENT MAJORITY TRIMBLE WAS DEALING WITH IN HIS OWN ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP), ALTHOUGH THE SENATOR FELT THAT ALL SIDES HAD TOO MUCH INVESTED IN THE PEACE PROCESS TO WALK AWAY. HE NOTED AHERN'S INITIATIVE TO DRIVE AHEAD WITH WORK ON NORTH-SOUTH BODIES IN AN EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR A MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING.

3. (S) AHERN WELCOMED SENATOR MACK'S CONTINUED INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS AND AGREED THAT THE ATMOSPHERICS HAD CERTAINLY IMPROVED SINCE LAST JANUARY. NONETHELESS HE WAS "STRONGLY CONCERNED" THAT FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE WAS NOW BACKING AWAY FROM PROGRESS ON IDENTIFYING NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. AHERN OBSERVED THAT CONDITIONS HAD SEEMED VERY POSITIVE TWO WEEKS AGO WHEN HE WENT TO BELFAST FOR QUICK AGREEMENT ON TEN NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS AND SIX NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. AHERN'S GOAL HAD BEEN TO HAVE STRUCTURES FOR THE EXECUTIVE AND NORTH-SOUTH BODIES AGREED SO THAT NECESSARY LEGISLATION COULD GO FORWARD IN DUBLIN AND LONDON, WHILE UNDERSTANDING THAT TRIMBLE COULD NOT LET ANYTHING "GO LIVE" UNTIL HE HAD SOME MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. AHERN THOUGHT TRIMBLE HAD BEEN READY TO AGREE BUT WAS NOW "STALLING AND PULLING BACK." IN THE TAOISEACH'S VIEW, TRIMBLE HAD BEEN "GOT TO" BY UUP HARDLINERS AND NOW INTENDED TO DO NOTHING THROUGH CHRISTMAS. AHERN CHARACTERIZED THIS AS "A TERRIBLE MISTAKE" THAT RISKED CREATING A "DANGEROUS SITUATION" IN THE NORTH.

"TRIMBLE HAS DONE NOTHING"
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4. (S) AHERN RECALLED THAT, IN AUGUST, HE AND PM BLAIR HAD AGREED ON A FIVE-STEP SEQUENCE TO MOVE FORWARD: 1) ADAMS STATEMENT THAT THE WAR WAS OVER; 2) SINN FEIN LIAISON NAMED TO THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY; 3) SET-UP THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE; 4) SET UP THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES; 5) DECOMMISSIONING. AHERN AND BLAIR HAD KEPT THEIR RESPECTIVE FRIENDS IN THE NORTH INFORMED AND TACIT AGREEMENT WAS UNDERSTOOD FROM ALL LEADERS, INCLUDING TRIMBLE. STEP ONE AND TWO, AHERN STRESSED, HE HAD DELIVERED. ON STEPS THREE AND FOUR, NOTHING HAS HAPPENED WITH TRIMBLE USING STEP FIVE AS A PRE-CONDITION (THAT DOESN'T EXIST) TO BLOCK PROGRESS. WHILE PRAISING TONY BLAIR AND MO MOWLAM FOR "HAVING DONE A LOT," AHERN CONCLUDED THAT DAVID TRIMBLE HAS DONE "NOTHING" TO ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS (WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS) SINCE SIGNING THE AGREEMENT IN APRIL.

5. (S) SENATOR MACK COMMENTED THAT SOME HAVE SAID THAT GERRY ADAMS' SEPTEMBER "WAR IS OVER" STATEMENT WAS NOT "DEFINITIVE ENOUGH" (NOTE: A POINT MADE TO SENATOR MACK BY FINE GAEL LEADER JOHN BRUTON EARLIER THE SAME DAY). AHERN REJECTED THAT VIEW ENTIRELY. THE STATEMENT WAS OF "HUGE" IMPORTANCE TO UNIONISTS UNTIL IT WAS MADE, AHERN OBSERVED, THEN IT "MEANT NOTHING." HE POINTED TO A LONG

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HISTORY OF UNIONISM DEMANDING CONCESSIONS ONLY TO "POCKET THEM" WHEN OFFERED. HE ADDED THAT IF TRIMBLE CONTINUES ON THIS PATH AND THE AGREEMENT COMES APART, REPUBLICANS WILL BE ABLE TO "RIGHTLY" COME TO HIM AND SAY, "YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BERTIE, THIS IS THE WAY UNIONISTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN."

A TEST OF UNIONISM

6. (S) IN AHERN'S VIEW, SINN FEIN VIEWS THE SETTING UP OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE AND AGREEMENT TO NORTH-SOUTH BODIES AS A TEST OF UNIONISM'S COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THEY FEEL THEY HAVE ALREADY DONE A LOT THIS YEAR WITHOUT UNIONIST RECIPROCATION AND WILL GIVE NO MORE UNTIL TRIMBLE MOVES. THE TAOISEACH INDICATED THAT BOTH HE AND PM BLAIR ARE "FRUSTRATED" THAT SINN FEIN/IRA WON'T OFFER A GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING, BUT THAT HE (AHERN) UNDERSTANDS THEIR POSITION. HE COMMENTED THAT NO AMOUNT OF NEGATIVE PRESS PLAY AND EDITORIAL COMMENT WILL CHANGE THE IRA'S VIEW ON DECOMMISSIONING. IN FACT, THE MORE THEY ARE "SHOUTED" AT PUBLICLY, THE MORE THEY WILL DIG IN.

7. (S) AHERN CAUTIONED THAT EVERYONE TALKS ABOUT TRIMBLE'S LACK OF MANEUVER ROOM, BUT ADAMS IS ALSO TIGHTLY CONSTRAINED. EVEN IF ADAMS WERE TO CONVINCE THE IRA COUNCIL TO MAKE A DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE, IN THE ABSENCE OF POSITIVE UNIONIST MOVEMENT, HE COULD "LOSE" A SIGNIFICANT IRA MINORITY AND A "COUPLE OF BANGS (BOMBINGS) IN BELFAST" COULD ENSUE. RETURNING TO TRIMBLE'S CURRENT "DO NOTHING" APPROACH, HE INDICATED THAT REPUBLICANS WILL BE "DRIVEN MAD" IF DAVID TRIMBLE ACCEPTS THE NOBEL PRIZE ON DECEMBER 10 WITHOUT HAVING MADE ANY MOVE AT ALL ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO SINN FEIN.

U.S. SUPPORT FOR A NEW AHERN/BLAIR INITIATIVE?

8. (S) AHERN CONCLUDED THAT SOMETIME "VERY SOON" A NEW AHERN/BLAIR INITIATIVE WOULD BE NEEDED INVOLVING STRONG U.S. ENGAGEMENT. HE STRESSED THAT TRIMBLE'S CURRENT COURSE WAS "VERY STUPID" AND NOTED EXPLICITLY TO SENATOR MACK AND CHARGE THAT HE "DID NOT MIND" IF THAT MESSAGE WAS SENT BACK TO WASHINGTON. IF THERE HAS NOT BEEN POSITIVE MOVEMENT BY "CHRISTMAS OR EVEN DECEMBER 8" (WHEN THE KEY PLAYERS ARE ALL EXPECTED TO BE IN WASHINGTON), THE SITUATION COULD BECOME "DANGEROUS". PM BLAIR, AHERN SAID, FELT THE SAME FRUSTRATION AND ALSO WANTED TO "COME DOWN HEAVY." AHERN OFFERED NO INDICATION OF WHAT THE SHAPE OF SUCH AN INITIATIVE MIGHT BE BUT WAS CLEAR THAT IF WOULD REQUIRE U.S. ENGAGEMENT AS WELL AS IRISH AND BRITISH ACTION.

COMMENT

9. (S) TAOISEACH AHERN'S PRUSTRATION WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE PEACE PROCESS HAS NEVER BEEN SO CLEAR, NOR HAS HIS INCLINATION TO LAY THE BLAME AT THE FEET OF DAVID TRIMBLE. IF, AS AHERN INDICATED, TRIMBLE IS BACKING AWAY FROM ANY PROGRESS ON THE SHAPE OF THE EXECUTIVE AND ON IDENTIFYING NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, THIS MAY BE MORE UNDERSTANDABLE, AS THIS WAS AHERN'S PERSONAL INITIATIVE TO KEEP THINGS MOVING AFTER THE OCTOBER 31 DEADLINE WAS MISSED. HIS FOCUS ON DECEMBER 8 AS A NEW "DEADLINE" FOR POSITIVE MOVEMENT IS A COMBINATION OF THE GOI'S SENSE THAT THERE IS A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ENGAGEMENT AROUND THAT DATE, AND AHERN'S BELIEF THAT TRIMBLE HAS TO DO "SOMETHING"

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POSITIVE BEFORE ACCEPTING THE NOBEL PRIZE. WITH TONY BLAIR COMING TO DUBLIN ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT NOVEMBER 26, WE LOOK TO THAT OCCASION FOR THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF ANY MAJOR NEW INITIATIVE TO GET THE PEACE PROCESS MOVING AGAIN. END COMMENT.

10. (U)CODEL MACK HAS CLEARED THIS MESSAGE.

NOLAN

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Butler, Lawrence E.

From:	WHSR
Sent:	Thursday, November 19, 1998 11:10 AM
To:	Bandler, Donald K.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.
Subject:	NORTHERN IRELAND: NIO CONCERNS OVER
CLASS:	~~SECRET~~
DTG:	191558Z NOV 98
MSGTO:	RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1085 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
ORIG:	AMEMBASSY LONDON
PREC:	PRIORITY
SSN:	1415
TOR:	981119110414 M3565638

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PER E.O. 13526

2015-0157-M [1.35]
KBH 7/31/2019

~~S E C R E T~~ LONDON 011415

1.4(b)

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 1.6X1
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: NIO CONCERNS OVER
PEACE PROCESS IMPASSE.

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: DCM ROBERT BRADTKE,
EMBASSY LONDON. REASON: 1.5(C) AND (D).

2. 1.4(b) SUMMARY. THE CONTINUING IMPASSE OVER
DECOMMISSIONING HAS RAISED CONCERNS AT THE NORTHERN IRELAND
OFFICE ABOUT PROGRESS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY
AGREEMENT. EO 13526 1.4b

3. ~~(C)~~ IN A NOVEMBER 18 CONVERSATION WITH DCM, NORTHERN
IRELAND OFFICE PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY PILLING EXPRESSED
DEEP CONCERN OVER THE CONTINUING IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING
AND ITS IMPACT ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. PILLING
SAID THAT "OLD HANDS" IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE WERE
WORRIED THAT THE FAILURE TO MOVE AHEAD ON DECOMMISSIONING WAS
JEOPARDIZING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT
AND CREATING THE RISK OF A RETURN TO VIOLENCE.

4. EO 13526 1.4b

NIO SECRETARY OF STATE MOWLAM DID NOT SEE A RETURN
TO VIOLENCE IN THE NEAR FUTURE, BUT THE REPORTS HAD CAUSED
CONCERN BOTH IN LONDON AND DUBLIN.

5. ~~(C)~~ PILLING ALSO CITED THE FOLLOWING OTHER FACTORS AS
CREATING UNEASE IN THE NIO:

-- LINKING DECOMMISSIONING TO POLICE REFORM.
THE STATEMENTS BY SINN FEIN LINKING DECOMMISSIONING TO POLICE
REFORM RISKED CREATING ANOTHER OBSTACLE TO RAPID
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE PATTEN
REPORT ON POLICE REFORM WOULD NOT BE READY UNTIL JUNE, AND IT
WAS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE REPORT WOULD SATISFY SINN FEIN.

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-- ELECTIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.
THERE WERE CONCERNS AT THE NIO THAT THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING COULD SPILL OVER INTO THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE ELECTION OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S THREE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN MAY. WHILE IAN PAISLEY COULD BE EXPECTED TO WIN ONE OF THE SEATS, THERE WAS A RISK THAT THE CAMPAIGN WOULD TURN INTO ANOTHER REFERENDUM ON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE LONGER THE DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE DRAGGED OUT THE MORE LIKELY IT WAS THAT THIS WOULD BE THE CASE.

-- FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE'S LACK OF LEADERSHIP.
IN RECENT CONTACTS WITH NIO SECRETARY OF STATE MOWLAM, TRIMBLE HAD BEEN "SERENE," RATHER THAN SEIZED WITH A SENSE OF URGENCY. HE APPEARED INCORRECTLY TO HAVE CONCLUDED TIME WAS ON HIS SIDE. WITHOUT MORE ENGAGEMENT FROM TRIMBLE IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD.

-- CHRISTMAS LEAVE AND PRISONER RELEASES.
MOWLAM, ALTHOUGH A STRONG ADVOCATE OF PRISONER RELEASES, WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEXT ROUND OF PRISONERS TO BE RELEASED IN MAY 2000. THIS GROUP OF PRISONERS WOULD INCLUDE THOSE WHO HAD SERVED ONLY A RELATIVELY BRIEF TIME, AND THE GOOD RECORD OF PRISONERS RELEASED IN THE PAST FOR NOT RETURNING TO VIOLENCE MIGHT NOT BE THE CASE AGAIN. OF MORE IMMEDIATE CONCERN, MOWLAM WAS WORRIED THAT SOME OF THESE PRISONERS, WHO WOULD BE TEMPORARILY ALLOWED OUT OF JAIL OVER THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS, MIGHT NOT RETURN.

6. ~~(C)~~ PILLING SAID THAT THE NEXT STEP IN TRYING TO REINVIGORATE THE PEACE PROCESS WOULD BE THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO DUBLIN NEXT WEEK AND HIS MEETING WITH BERTIE AHERN. FOLLOWING THE BLAIR-AHERN MEETING, PILLING EXPECTED THAT TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNICATIONS ON HOW TO MOVE AHEAD WOULD "HEAT UP." THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS WOULD WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED STATES TO DETERMINE THE BEST WAY TO USE THE PRESENCE IN WASHINGTON OF LEADING NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICIANS AT THE DECEMBER 8 NDI AWARDS CEREMONY TO ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS.

LADER

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NOTE

November 6, 1998

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.36)
KBH 7/31/2019

INFORMATION

INFORMAL MEMORANDUM FOR JIM STEINBERG

FROM: LARRY BUTLER

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Joe Pilling, NIO Permanent Under Secretary, 11 a.m., Monday, November 9

Blair Hall describes Pilling as having a deceptively benign appearance that causes people to underestimate him. He replaced Quentin Thomas as Mowlam's top career official in the NIO and makes no secret that he relishes making wholesale changes there. He is said to have favorable views of the United States from having spent a few years in Cambridge, MA (not sure if at the Kennedy School or elsewhere). In short, Pilling will be an important ally in Mowlam's effort to make fundamental changes in Northern Ireland's system of governance.

Your top issues for him are: strategy for establishing a functioning NI government and cross-border bodies; how to get decommissioning started; left-over bilateral legal issues; and alleged deficiencies in the British legislation on the human rights and equality commissions.

Inside the beltway NI update

A reminder that Brian O'Dwyer, Bruce Morrison, et al are to see Minyon Moore, but **not until November 19**, to discuss their concerns regarding the deportees. As you will be travelling then, you should touch base with Minyon before you go. Bruce has been calling regularly about the deportees. Separately (and unknown to this group), INS has a small number of ex-IRA and ex-INLA persons with asylum petitions and deportation proceedings active, aside from the nine cases that are under suspension. Pending your review of the memo Mary and I sent you, these new cases are going forward.

Connie Mack is going to visit Northern Ireland next weekend; will have meetings with the various parties. Gina and I will brief his staff Tuesday.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5 (d)
Declassify On: 11/6/08

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Mike Sullivan has completed charm school and is planning a December swearing-in; OPL is pressing the VP's office to do the honors. Mike would like to meet with you, Sandy and the President before he goes out to Dublin in early January. He'll be here December 8 for the NDI dinner and will try to schedule meetings and ceremony then.

Legal Issues

Prisoners. The second of the two IRA men extradited from the United States, Joe Doherty, was released from the Maze on Friday. The community here thinks we facilitated this development and is giving us credit -- Mowlam rightfully is responsible, though we did pass on some of the complaints we were hearing to her staff about alleged delays in the paperwork. About 200 prisoners have been released so far, with 250 left. The British public, and internal government, mood is increasingly anti-early release in the face of IRA intransigence over weapons decommissioning. A recent poll said 75 percent of Britons thought Blair is too soft on terrorism and oppose more releases, a sentiment echoed by the UK Embassy here. **You will want to explore with Pilling the risks of linking prisoner releases to decommissioning.**

Rita O'Hare. Rita is returning to the United States this weekend to prepare for Gerry Adams' California and Mexico tour later this month. She has a two-entry visa valid through mid-December, when she heads home for the holidays. She will complain about the restricted nature of the visa, which is necessitated by her continued legal uncertainty in Northern Ireland. **You should tell Pilling that O'Hare will continue to get restricted visas to visit but not to reside here until her legal situation is resolved. You should ask him what they are doing in this regard.**

Extradition. Pilling is certain to ask about Artt, Kirby and Brennan. All three are out on bail (the judge explicitly cited the early prison releases in Northern Ireland in his decision); While Justice ponders its next step, the Circuit Court judge has a preliminary meeting with counsel this month to discuss the retrial. If one occurs, it will also put on trial the NI system of criminal justice, circa 1975, bringing up all of the emotions of the period. **You should ask Pilling how he sees the situation and what options the British government might be considering.**

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Good Friday Implementation

Blair and Ahern are trying to buy time for decommissioning by cobbling together a deal on the cross-border implementation bodies now. While this means putting off identifying the shadow executive members now, the hope is that republican confidence in the Accord (movement on cross-border issues and prisoners) will have risen enough by next February that the IRA will make a decommissioning gesture and the new NI government can come into being. This is part wishful thinking, part belief that Adams and McGuinness will only make a gesture once overt pressure is off to avoid charges of surrender. **You should ask Pilling for Mowlam's ideas on the twin tasks of raising republican confidence in the process to start destroying guns and of bolstering Trimble's ability to move on setting up the government. Both men will be here December 8 for the NDI awards dinner.**

The remaining Northern Ireland legislation is expected to pass the House of Lords and receive royal assent on November 18. However, the NIO told Blair Hall this week that the "go live date" or devolution of power to the new NI government may well slip from late February, as envisioned but not stipulated in the GFA, to March or April. The reason given is the delay in starting work on the new executive and cross-border bodies, which means that they will not be ready to assume full responsibilities. **There is a back line for triggering devolution: the Irish commitment to revise its constitution blows up on May 1999.**

Chris Patten's policing reform commission is holding well publicized hearings on the RUC; last week they heard for the first time vehement community opposition to the current police force with concrete examples of excessive zeal by the RUC. The report is not due out until next summer, however. Just in time for the marching season.

Sandy got a complaint from Mike Posner (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights) that the British legislation establishing the new human rights commission fails to provide for the commission to have the power to initiate court proceedings. He cites the GFA passage on this ("in appropriate cases, bringing court proceedings…". He also warned that the new law for the equality commission will not automatically apply to new public bodies, which he finds both inexplicable and potentially dangerous given unionist control over the assembly, which will create a number of new institutions. He asks Sandy to write to Mowlam raising

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

these concerns. Blair Hall reported that the NIO explains that giving the power to initiate proceedings would have been "awkward" for Labour(?), was not included in the GFA (wrong), were opposed by unionists, and, in any event, can be reviewed in two years. **You should tell Pilling that there seems to be a fundamental disagreement over whether the GFA called for such powers (passage below) and that human rights activists see this as a fundamental test of good faith in implementation. You should also ask what the rationale is for excluding new institutions from the reach of the equality commission.**

Extract from the Good Friday Accord:

New Institutions in Northern Ireland

5. A new Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission, with membership from Northern Ireland reflecting the community balance, will be established by Westminster legislation, independent of Government, with an extended and enhanced role beyond that currently exercised by the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights, to include keeping under review the adequacy and effectiveness of laws and practices, making recommendations to Government as necessary; providing information and promoting awareness of human rights; considering draft legislation referred to them by the new Assembly; ***and, in appropriate cases, bringing court proceedings or providing assistance to individuals doing so.***

6. Subject to the outcome of public consultation currently underway, the British Government intends a new statutory Equality Commission to replace the Fair Employment Commission, the Equal Opportunities Commission (NI), the Commission for Racial Equality (NI) and the Disability Council. Such a unified Commission will advise on, validate and monitor the statutory obligation and will investigate complaints of default.

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POINTS TO MAKE

Legal Issues

- **Prisoners.** Pace of prisoner releases has been an important element of building confidence among in the NI political extremes in the process. Understand general discomfort of letting terrorists out, made more difficult by lack of movement on decommissioning. Stopping now, though, would risk the entire process.

- **Rita O'Hare.** O'Hare will continue to get restricted visas to visit but not to reside here until her legal situation is resolved. Interested in what you are able to do in this regard.

- **Extradition.** Not sure how we are going to handle the Circuit Court's decision, which presents a number of problems. We think that a retrial is likely to be lengthy and present emotional and controversial views of justice in NI in the 1970's. What is your government considering, given circumstances in NI?

Good Friday Implementation

- What are Mowlam's ideas on the twin tasks of raising republican confidence in the process to start destroying guns and of bolstering Trimble's ability to move on setting up the government?

- Is there something we can do when they are here December 8 for the NDI awards dinner?

- Concerned that people may be accepting slippage in timetables; There is a back line for triggering devolution: the Irish commitment to revise its constitution blows up on May 1999.

- There seems to be a fundamental disagreement over whether the GFA specifies that the human rights commission should have power to initiate court action. What the rationale is for excluding new institutions from the reach of the equality commission. Our human rights activists see this as a fundamental test of good faith in implementation.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Butler, Lawrence E.

From: Bandler, Donald K.
Sent: Tuesday, October 06, 1998 4:39 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: FW: Note for Jim Steinberg - urgent ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Importance: High

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.37)
KBH 7/31/2019

Please give to Jim

Jim

thru Don B.

from Larry B.

Re: Sullivan nomination and Bernadette Sands-McKevit visit

Helms' staff submitted some written questions following Sullivan's pro forma hearing. They focus on Bernadette Sands. The staffer who wrote the questions realized afterwards that she had erred in asking for "details of the interagency process that gave Sands a visa," rather than how the decision was made to admit her when she visited here last May. State is sending up Consular Affairs and European Affairs repreresentatives to answer that question orally, and is sending over talking points for our clearance. Those points will note that Sands turned up at the airport with a valid visa. We had no grounds for revoking it at the time and decided not to lend her free publicity for her anti-accord cause by refusing entry. She subsequently met with members of congress and the Irish American community where she was told her movement enjoyed no support; she received very negative press as a result. Subsequently, we determined that she was ineligible for a visa because of the actions of her organization. They will cite the various agencies that were consulted, but not identify persons or positions.

I will clear the points with Legal and Leg, and pass to you for approval.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Butler, Lawrence E. CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From: Bandler, Donald K.
Sent: Friday, September 25, 1998 8:07 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: FW: Forward to Jim Steinberg -- Sinn Fein contacts and action plan ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

Importance: High

Message Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Flagged

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.38)
KBH 7/31/2019

Note for Jim Steinberg

Thru Don Bandler

From Larry Butler

Subject: Contacts with Sinn Fein next week.

Whereabouts

Gerry Adams is going to be in Blackpool (north of Liverpool) Tuesday for the Labour Party annual gathering with Mitch McLaughlin. Martin McGuinness will be in Northern Ireland -- either Derry or Belfast. Ki Fort and I are tracking down **contact numbers** this weekend. **Blair Hall will have them for you** when you arrive Monday morning. [FYI - Gerry will come to the U.S. October 10, and will be available for a visit to Washington either before the 10th or after the 17th.]

David Trimble was here this week for the annual Flax Trust awards in New York, returning to Belfast this weekend. He, too, is likely to be in Blackpool on Tuesday. He will be again in New York October 7 for the launch of the NI investment roadshow with Gordon Brown and Mo Mowlam. [The idea of a stop in Washington has been planted, but he has no definite plans to visit here at present.]

Ki spent an hour with senior UUP officials today probing for flexibility on decommissioning. The one lifeline they tossed out was a statement on how useful the President's involvement and interventions have been in helping the parties get past stalemates and make hard decisions. They did not ask for, or suggest, a Trimble - POTUS meeting next month, but seemed to be grasping for a way out of the current impasse. Ki's read on Trimble's inability to take the next step without something on decommissioning jibes with everyone elses; they've counted the votes and are coming up short. The good news is that they have not locked themselves in by establishing a specific action that constitutes decommissioning.

Dermott Gallagher pulled me aside after your meeting yesterday to express discomfort over the revelation that deChastelain and McGuinness may be close to an understanding on decommissioning -- [breech of confidentiality on a sensitive source].

Game Plan

If the substance of deChastelain and McGuinness is true, the moment is now to challenge McGuinness to give the President the IRA-envisioned decommissioning scenario (when and how); i.e., a description of the factors and circumstances under which the IRA would go forward with decommissioning.

Adams' visit next month (he could start in Washington October 9 if needed) provides a convenient deadline against which Sinn Fein/IRA can justify internal action if Adams is to see the President.

I recommend that you contact both Martin and Gerry next week to lay down this challenge and an offer -- POTUS' personal invovlement and commitment to seeing a deal work.

It would be worth noting that we have few options to make headway on the legal difficulties of deportees, etc, here. Progress on decommissioning benefits not only Sinn Fein's ability to get a leg up in the political institutions in Belfast, but gives us stronger basis to try to resolve thorny issues -- the IRA's weapons stockpile is perceived as a potential threat for U.S. interests in other parts of the world (think ETA and like-minded liberation groups).

You could then offer to serve as a privacy channel to Trimble, making us the cut-out to protect Sinn Fein's equities, to secure a quid pro quo response to a decommissioning scenario: post-dated checks -- we and Blair would act as the interbank clearing house to verify that checks are deposited and funds available to complete the transaction.

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Talking Points

- Agree, Accord does not make decommissioning a precondition for entry into the executive.
- But political reality -- Trimble won't be UUP leader and control a unionist majority if he takes you in; we've counted the votes, and he is in trouble, and you will be too if he falls. You know that.
- Understand your own political pressures; so does Trimble -- he wants you to succeed. In this situation, like on Good Friday, time to trust the President, and let him give you cover. He can help you get what you need in Belfast, and in the United States.
- You are coming to the U.S. in a few weeks -- benefitting from fund raisers, publicity and political support. You can do the President a favor, too.
- The key is to describe the IRA decommissioning scenario; we have specialists who could help develop this, but would be better if you gave us an outline and tell us how we can help you achieve the criteria and conditions to make this a reality.
- We would take this scenario privately to Trimble as our conception, get his reaction and offer to see if we could sell concept to you.
- This would insulate both you and Trimble. If he rejects, you are insulated. Meetings next month with POTUS would provide you with the political cover, as with Good Friday phone calls. You could count on Tony Blair to shore up Trimble's commitment.

Butler, Lawrence E. CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From: Butler, Lawrence E.
Sent: Friday, October 23, 1998 6:29 PM
To: Bandler, Donald K.
Subject: Blair Call -- push Ireland plan? ~~[SECRET]~~

Importance: High

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.4D)
KBH 7/31/2019

pls pass to JS

To Jim S.
Thru Don B.
From Larry B.

Re: U.S. leverage in resolving decommissioning dilemma

Tony Blair sent the President a congratulatory note on the Wye outcome. He will be in the Austrian Alps with his EU colleagues this weekend, complicating scheduling to set up the phone call on the financial agenda. You should consider briefing POTUS, coming off the high of a huge win out at Wye, to feel Blair out on the outlines of a deal that accomplishes actual decommissioning, rather than the Irish "slide."

This week Blair met with McGuinness, Trimble and Hume/Mallon in a round of consultations on decommissioning. Blair is expected to go into overdrive next week to craft a compromise that will get the parties past the October 31 deadline to start work on the North-South Council. Dublin's idea is still the same one I outlined earlier this week: create a "virtual" shadow executive, comprised of representatives of the parties that will have membership later, to begin work with Irish counterparts. Sinn Fein can be sold on this, but there are questions as to whether Trimble will be amendable. This weekend's UUP conference will be a bellwether as to his support and inclination to move forward.

[Irish American community sources tell me that Sinn Fein is worried about taking any steps, such as disarming, that would leave them vulnerable to RSF or 32-CSC charges of betrayal of the cause. The UDA statement that it won't give up guns further strengthens their resolve not to become defenseless.]

If Dublin's idea works, it only postpones the final reckoning - late February when the Executive accepts the responsibility for governing NI. Intermediate dates to watch are November 26, when Tony Blair addresses the Irish parliament, and December 10 when the Nobel Prizes are handed out in Oslo. We also have the last "march" of the year, mid-December in Derry. Last year it was ugly, foreshadowing the new year violence.

Proposal. We have limited, but potent sticks, and will soon run out of "Yankee carrots" to use to induce Adams and the republican movement to take its penultimate step in the process -- begin publicly divesting itself of weaponry (the last step is deactivating the IRA). We sent you a memo this week on the deportees and extraditee cases. Not acting on these cases not only deprives us of a carrot, but will cause us problems within the community and friction between Sinn Fein and ourselves. There are very difficult issues in deciding to go this route, as the memo lays out.

The proposition: Sandy tells McGuinness and Adams that the legal niceties of the GSA aside, they are going to share the blame and bear the consequences of the peace process bicycle failing to move forward. Decommissioning is a commitment under the GFA that Sinn Fein freely took. The IRA's statements that it will not disarm, and subsequent failure to build confidence that this will happen, beyond McGuiness's appointment to the Commission, **leave the President in a precarious position** to move forward with the things the movement desires -- (1) access to the United States and (2) resolution of deportee and extradition cases. The IRA has in its hands the power to guarantee the success of GFA implemenation -- its needs only to make a statement that it associates itself with all of the GFA's provisions, including decommissioning, and offers downpayment -- unilateral gesture of exploding 10kg of semtex.

Sticks: Our big stick (visa for GA and fundraising) is reserved for breakdown of the cease fire and cannot be threatened credibly. However, Sandy can say that without IRA movement, we will not be able to take politically controversial steps on the deportees or extraditess, as they are affiliated with an armed organization with a questionable commitment to lasting peace. Additionally, our current open visa policy for most Sinn Fein activists who require waivers (for IRA convictions) will come under pressure to be scaled back to a few persons identified with the peace process (we are now allowing fairly free travel for personal and professional reasons.) And if the IRA maintains its unreasonable stance on decommissioning by not even making a statement, we may be forced by law enforcement folk to restrict fundraising activities to those under FOSF aegis.

Carrots:
- President makes supportive statement
- We invite Gerry Adams to White House to balance the December 10 Nobel ceremony publicity.
- **Deportees** -- we promise a two step approach: eliminate bail and order advance parole for visitation now; and commit after GA (deliverable for him) visit to seeking a legislative/administrative fix to allow the cohort to remain in the

U.S. as LPRs.

- **Extraditees** -- two choices: either secure prior commitment from Blair that UK will drop extradition request if IRA delivers or agree to advance parole for readmission (with UK agreement that they get credit for time served here) and inclusion under the deportee LPR fix.
- (not sure we have any flexibility here) **Richard Johnson** -- serving 10 year, no parole, sentence at Allenwood -- due out next summer. There is no record of a Federal facility in New England and don't know if it is possible to transfer to a state facility (Framingham, MA would be the closest). He regularly appeals for clemency...
- **Rita O'Hare** -- POTUS agrees to convince Blair to have charges against Rita dropped (my sources say there is no other way to get this to happen -- bureaucracy is dug in.)

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.41)
KBH 7/31/2019

Northern Ireland

- ***Our read is that Sinn Fein/IRA is digging in as pressure increases to decommission. More pressure will be counterproductive, unless we can offer him something to show to republicans.***

- ***Understand Dublin and you may have ideas for a 'virtual' shadow executive to continue work towards a functioning Northern Ireland government. Interested in hearing from you after you and Bertie talk in Austria this weekend.***

- ***Wonder if there isn't an opportunity for me or Sandy to call Gerry and level with him -- there are couple of things that he wants us to do. I would tell him that his uncompromising stance on decommissioning limits my ability to deliver on these very difficult issues, irrespective of how the Accord is being implemented. It will also cost him on easy access to the U.S. for more than a few Sinn Fein members, and some restrictions on fund raising.***

- ***I would need your help. The three extradition cases and Rita O'Hare's situation could be crucial to help him sell disarming to the IRA. You need to consider whether dropping extradition and closing O'Hare's file are a fair trade for a start on decommissioning and establishment of the shadow executive.***

- *If this were too complicated now, I assume you seek to help Trimble, who has UUP meetings this weekend and next, past the shadow executive hurdle; however, we are still looking at a train wreck in February and my room for maneuver may have been used up by then.*

Wye River talks

- *Got you kind note Friday night; it was much appreciated. We didn't think we had a deal until we got on the helicopter.*

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Financial Agenda

- Thanks for your letter last week; Bob Rubin has spoken to Gordon Brown about it. It contains some useful elements on architecture reform on which we can certainly build.

- After discussions with my team, I want to propose a modification to this approach that puts it in the broader context of agenda setting by heads of state.

- To boost confidence, any G-7 statement must address short-term crisis as well as the longer-term reform agenda. We can build on the momentum achieved by the banking legislation in Japan and our legislation to fund the IMF.

- Three critical elements:

  - Most significant in short-term would be to achieve agreement around proposed precautionary financing facility to limit the spread of the crisis.

  - Second, agree useful to highlight the existing consensus on potentially promising reform recommendations that have emerged.

  - Third, useful to agree on a detailed agenda and a process for reaching consensus on a broader set of recommendations on the financial architecture by the G-7 Summit next year.

  - If we get agreement around these three elements, it would make sense for leaders to issue this statement in order to raise the profile and give it greater impetus.

- Suggest that Gordon Brown and Bob Rubin work to build consensus around these three elements. We could aim for two complementary statements: a leaders' statement describing the key elements in broad, clear terms, followed by a statement from finance ministers and central bank governors laying out the agreed points in greater detail.

- We are still weighing different options for coordinated leaders' engagement on these topics such as a conference call, videoconferencing or an actual meeting. I'd like to give that some more thought before getting back to you.

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Kosovo

- As we approach October 27, when current "pause" for air strikes comes to an end, we must continue to insist that Milosevic fully complies with UNSCR 1199.

- There has been progress, including withdrawal from Kosovo of two major army units after last week's visit to Belgrade by Secretary General Solana. Am further encouraged by plans for phased local withdrawals resulting from SACEUR's more recent visit. These steps can help to ease humanitarian crisis in short term; however, they are inadequate in longer term. Need to press Milosevic to do more, particularly by withdrawing security forces normally based outside Kosovo.

- We should continue to test and measure Milosevic's compliance, while remaining ready to commence air strikes if he fails to make substantial progress by October 27. Our objective is to achieve compliance, rather than to conduct air strikes. But we must not allow Milosevic to think that he can slip out from underneath our threat with partial measures.

- Need your help in ensuring that other allies remain strong and united. Also need your help in ensuring rapid establishment of an effective OSCE verification mission.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Butler, Lawrence E.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From: Butler, Lawrence E.
Sent: Thursday, October 08, 1998 6:26 PM
To: Bandler, Donald K.
Subject: Note for Jim Steinberg - Adams visit ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

Importance: High

Message Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Flagged

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.42)
KBH 7/31/2019

pls pass to JS

To Jim

Thru Don

From Larry

re: Adams Visit

Gerry turned 50 this week and arrives Saturday in New York for a week of fund raising and birthday parties. He is unscheduled until Monday noon (when he has to be in Pittsburgh); and then again Saturday, October 17 (until late afternoon when he has to be in New York). Rita O'Hare is in New York awaiting his arrival, and advised their willingness (but not a request) to attend meetings if they can be coordinated with Gerry's meandering itinerary. He is not presently planning to be in Washington and she wondered if the President's path would cross that of Adams' during the week. Full schedule is below.

My sources confirm that the main focus is with deChastelain's International Independent Commissoin on Decommissioning (IICD). While a series of private meetings have been held, and papers exchanged, Adams and Trimble are digging in. Gerry Kelly offered the unhelpful comment on why the IRA is not in hurry to disarm by claiming that North Belfast Catholics would not tolerate being left defenseless (Derry editorial question: since when is Semtex a defensive weapon?) Trimble lit up the boards with his observation that formation of the Executive could wait until February (Adams carefully pulled his punches in calling on Trimble to live up to provisions in the agreement and stop making up new ones). Hume and Mallon are lining up against Trimble, who was booed during a recent visit to his home district of Portadown, and is presumed to be brittle politically within the UUP. A win on decommissioning will shore him up and give a shot to the implementation process.

Current negotiations:

- Trimble met with deChastelain last Thursday and asked that the ICD get involved in solving the decommissioning-Executive standoff. He appointed John Taylor as his representative. He agreed with deChastelain's quick outline that the ICD could ask Trimble and Mallon to move forward on the Executive in exchange for a series of Sinn Fein/IRA CBMs (paper attached). Trimble sent a letter with his own ideas the next day (attached), rejecting as inadequate the two actions that did not involve destruction of weapons (schedule and date of first decommissiong).

- McGuinness followed on Friday, was shown the ICD paper, and expressed doubt about a deal that involved actual decommissioning, but promising to give it consideration. The ICD backbriefed Seamus Mallon same day.

- Blair, prompted by Trimble, hosted the ICD at Number 10 Monday for 45 minutes, bouncing various ideas off of the three commissioners. Jonathan Powell attended, Blair was encouraging, and called Ahern on his way to the plane to China. (British Embassy reports that Blair has doubts that the IRA can actually decommission and is pinning hopes on getting a series of statements for membership on the shadow Executive an interim step.)

- McGuinness returned on Tuesday with his own paper (attached). He agreed that it could be given to Taylor (which it was) and said he would try to set up his own meeting with Taylor (has not happened according to Rita O'Hare, who also said that this process is still in play).

- DeChastelain is to meet with Taylor tomorrow to get his reaction to the Sinn Fein paper.

Trimble's proposal is for him to stage Executive creation into two steps. First he would set a date for agreement on the Executive's structure (positions and portfolios) and a second date for the actual appointment (d'Hondt) process. The IRA would commit an act of decommissioning in the interval.

McGuinness proposed four steps: SF hands over a memo of commitment to resolve decommissioning, the IICD reports to the governments that SF is living up to its commitments, asks that Trimble form the Executive, which then happens.

1 kg of Semtex seperates the two sides.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Recommendation

DeChastelain is focussing on using CBM rather than decommissioning, due to Sinn Fein proclivity towards theology (helps to be a Kremlinologist). Our representative, Don Johnson (who provided the above -- pls protect), argues that it is imperative to beat the October 31 deadline by a week or more to mitigate the zero-sum-manship that will ensue.

There are two specific things that the IRA can do now -- one is easy, the other very hard. But, we have Gerry on our turf with pockets stuffed with greenbacks from a week of fund raising. I think Saturday/Sunday is a bit too early to ask him to fly down for a meeting with Sandy or the President given that McGuinness and Taylor are still engaged. Gerry will be in the New York area next Saturday, as will the President. It would be a powerful incentive to Gerry to cap a week in the States with a photo op, provided that we had made behind the scenes progress by then.

1. The IRA rejected decommissioning in a public statement in June. That undercuts SF's credibility. The IRA should offer a new statement expressing support for Sinn Fein and full implementation of the Good Friday Accord (GFA) in every aspect. It doesn't have to address decommissioning.

2. The IRA informs us unilaterally, via Adams or another proxy, that it is going to offer a CBM in the form of detonation of surplus explosives on a date specific. We inform deChastelain of this fact, in confidence, and ask him to secure Trimble's agreement to establish dates for action on Executive, suggesting ones that bracket the date of the CBM.

3. POTUS-Adams photo op in New York is our deliverable to Gerry and the movement.

ADAMS SCHEDULE

October 10, Saturday, arrival in New York
October 11, Sunday evening, travel to Pittsburgh (available during day,could come here)
October 12, Monday, Pittsburgh
October 13, Tuesday, travel to Albany
October 14, Wednesday, New York City (evening) (available during day)
October 15, Thursday, Connecticut
October 16, Friday, Philadelphia (all day)
October 17, Saturday, New York City (evening -- mongo birthday party) (POTUS in CT)
October 18, Sunday, Boston
October 19, Monday, Toronto
October 20, Tuesday, Ireland

1. The Commission prepares a letter to First Minister and Deputy First Minister requesting that Executive be created, so that IICD can continue its work successfully.

2. The two Ministers give IICD a draft order (unsigned) convening the Executive and naming the members.

3. Date: What about 10 October, the half-year mark for the GFA?

4. The IICD receives this document, and requests an immediate meeting with appropriate interlocutors.

5. IIDC will show the draft order to the interlocutors.

6. When showing the draft order, the IICD will inform them that the document will be issue unconditionally on the agreed date.

7. The IICD will also tell interlocutors that the draft order is being issued at the IICD's express written request.

8. The IICD will tell its interlocutors that the IICD hopes and expects that there will be some concrete action of a confidence building nature to follow the issuance of the order creating the Executive.

9. Interlocutors will also be told that the IICD will publicly support the action of the two Ministers creating the Executive, and say publicly that it was at our request, and that we are confident that there will be concrete actions of a confidence building nature within an appropriate time frame.

10. The IICD will tell interlocutors that these CBM's could be any one of the following:

a. Voluntary destruction of explosives with IICD verification (either before or after);

(b.) Conclusion of an outline schedule for decommissioning;

(c.) Formal announcement of when the first decommissioning event will be carried out, with an unambiguous commitment to carry it out;

d. Handover of a certain number of weapons, whole or in pieces;

e. Information leading to the discovery of an agreed amount of explosives or weapons.

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Sinn Féin Proposals:

Note: These proposals are made on the basis that all of the steps below would need to be agreed in advance by all parties involved in the initiative – Sinn Féin, IICD, the two governments and the First and Deputy First Ministers.

1. Sinn Féin would submit a memo to the IICD outlining our firm commitment to playing our part in resolving the issue of decommissioning as set out in the Agreement.

2. The IICD would, in line with its overall responsibilities to monitor, review and verify progress on decommissioning, report to both governments that it is satisfied that Sinn Féin (and all other parties) are fulfilling their commitments under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement and that progress has been made on the issue.

3. The two governments would inform the First and Deputy First Ministers that this is the case and request that they establish the executive.

4. The First and Deputy First Ministers would announce that, in light of the IICD's assessment that it is satisfied that progress is being made and that all parties are acting in accordance with their commitments, the inaugural meeting of the Shadow Executive will take place on (agreed date – 10th October).

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

6391

September 16, 1998

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.44)
KBH 7/31/2019

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER, ACTING

SUBJECT: Sinn Fein and Trimble -- Getting to Yes on Decommissioning and the Executive

The Objective

The two most difficult issues in the Good Friday Accord are (1) establishing a functioning Executive with Sinn Fein represented, and (2) getting the IRA to start disposing of its weaponry. Republicans are skeptical about the former and unionists/British equally suspicious about the latter. The objective is to build on the momentum of developments during the President's visit to get to the next stage -- preparing for assumption of power in February, before the protagonists dig themselves in over decommissioning, as happened in 1995.

A Three-headed Problem

Having agreed to sit in the Assembly, the 12-person **IRA Army Council** is unlikely to take the next step of decommissioning until it sees practical movement on the ground -- i.e., an inclusive and functioning NI government and substantial progress on RUC reform and demilitarization. Adams and McGuinness have probably deferred a grappling with the implications of the July 2000 deadline for decommissioning, hoping that developments will facilitate the decision, and if not, that if the new Assembly and executive were up and running, there would be little appetite for jeopardizing political gains by tossing Sinn Fein out. Adams won't agree to bind the IRA to dates on decommissioning now, fearing that Trimble would pocket that and demand complete disarmament.

Trimble recognizes this, and seeks to bind the IRA into an agreement on decommissioning before setting up a government. Failure to gain a commitment on decommissioning before letting

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 9/16/08

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Sinn Fein on the Executive could well lead to his removal as UUP leader.

The **British** will scale back their armed presence in Northern Ireland as the security situation normalizes. However, as long as the IRA and other terrorist groups maintain stocks of weapons, it would be irresponsible of London to pull out troops and dismantle the security infrastructure. That there is a potential schedule for demilitarization was demonstrated by last week's ending of army patrols in Belfast, reinstated during the January disturbances. This will lead to a rotation home of 500 soldiers this year. However, London will not formally link any withdrawal to IRA disarmament, though clearly the latter will accelerate the former.

The Three-pronged Proposal

Conceptually, progress on the three tracks requires movement on each of them. The key to unlocking the Executive and maximizing demilitarization is assurance of commitment to decommissioning. That can only happen when the IRA decides that developments justify getting rid of guns. Each track can then proceed in parallel over the next two years with the confidence that movement can be stopped or reversed if necessary.

Trimble is looking for cover now to move forward with the Executive. He appears to be trying to help Sinn Fein by saying that he not "looking for surrender," and by outlining privately a five-month graduated process:

- The Accord's implementing legislation will not come into effect until it receives royal assent, o/a November 9.

- To prevent the lack of a shadow Executive from blocking development of the North-South council, a key republican confidence-booster, Trimble is thinking about setting up a select standing committee in the Assembly. The Committee, which would include Sinn Fein, would begin preparatory work with Irish counterparts.

- Trimble would include Sinn Fein in the Shadow Executive once he got some form of IRA commitment to decommissioning.

- An actual act of decommissioning would be necessary for Trimble to allow the Executive to take power with Sinn Fein on board, providing him with the cover to defend against unionist hard liners.

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Martin McGuinness and IRA Army Council members are unwilling to give up guns and be accused of giving in to British pressure without seeing progress in all aspects of the Good Friday Accord implementation, as well as a drawdown in the British military presence in Northern Ireland. Before McGuinness can sell his colleagues on decommissioning, he will have to be able to point to positive developments that are just now, six months into Accord implementation, starting to roll out.

Martin Mansergh told me that Dublin's current analysis suggests that **now is not the time to pressure the IRA** to **secure shadow executive membership** that next February is the moment when the Rubicon must be crossed. By then, most prisoners will be out and there will be a better track record of Sinn Fein acceptance in the system. He believes that London should persuade Trimble of this analysis and seek agreement to move ahead with the shadow executive now, with the understanding that it will not come into being without action on decommissioning.

Tony Blair and Mo Mowlam probably already have in mind a schedule of troop withdrawals and removal of infrastructure reflecting the diminishing security threat. (It would be possible rapidly to redeploy troops and reestablish infrastructure if events so warranted.)

Operations Plan

Unlike Mansergh, who is close to Sinn Fein thinking, I think we should try in private with Sinn Fein to get agreement that the IRA would respond with actual decommissioning (a series of post-dated checks, the first due before February, the last by summer 2000) if it were satisfied that (1) Sinn Fein was treated as a full partner in NI politics and (2) regular and substantial demilitarization had taken place and were ongoing. The first requires Trimble to set up the shadow executive, easily verifiable. Prisoner releases will pick up and peak by Christmas, and troops are going to go home no matter what, provided bombs don't go off over the next five months.

In turn, we would need to feed back to the British this confidential understanding, and seek their support to get from Trimble an agreement that he will move ahead with setting up the shadow executive, **which has no powers**, and convince him that an actual act of decommissioning will occur before the Executive assumes power, or he can pull the plug. Trimble can go to the UUP council and in good faith state that he is satisfied that

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Sinn Fein is committed to complete implementation of the Good Friday Accord and that decommissioning will occur.

I agree with you that we should consider a cut out on this plan, if you concur with operationalizing it. Bill Flynn, Chuck Feeney and/or Bruce Morrison are obvious candidates. You and I are the other possibilities, though we would need to get Gerry Adams in contact with the President (he is coming here next month) to finalize the deal.

The risk here to us is that we are back in the role of being the guarantor of IRA good faith, and that Trimble will spoil the deal by holding out for an up front IRA statement -- Dublin is adamant that this is not possible over the next 60 days.

RECOMMENDATION

That you concur with the above plan.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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(A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005000

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

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.45)
KBH 7/31/2019

E.O. 12958: DECL: 9/29/08
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF OPTIMISTIC ON DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE

1. (C) DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF, DERMOT GALLAGHER, TOLD US SEPTEMBER 29 THAT HE DID NOT SEE A CRISIS EMERGING OVER THE CURRENT DECOMMISSIONING/SHADOW EXECUTIVE CONUNDRUM, ALTHOUGH SOME DIFFICULT DAYS LAY AHEAD. GALLAGHER CONFIRMED THAT SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS HAD TOLD PRIME MINISTER AHERN SEPTEMBER 27 THAT HE COULD NOT "DELIVER" ACTUAL IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY OCTOBER 31. GALLAGHER SHARED WITH US A DRAFT UK-IRELAND NON-PAPER ON NEXT STEPS, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE SINN FEIN TO RECOMMIT PUBLICLY TO DECOMMISSION, AS PART OF IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PARTS OF THE AGREEMENT, AND TO WORK TOWARD EARLY AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING MODALITIES. **IN TURN, FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE WOULD ASSEMBLY THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE PRIOR TO OCTOBER 31. THE UK, GALLAGHER INDICATED FELT THAT TRIMBLE WOULD NEED MORE, I.E. A SPECIFIC TIMETABLE. THE MESSAGE ALL SHOULD SEND TO TRIMBLE AND ADAMS RIGHT NOW, GALLAGHER EMPHASIZED, IS THAT BOTH SHOULD STOP "DIGGING IN THEIR POSITIONS" IN PUBLIC. END SUMMARY.**

2. (C) GALLAGHER TOLD CHARGE, SEPTEMBER 29, THAT HE DID NOT SEE A "CRISIS" EMERGING OVER THE DECOMMISSIONING/SHADOW EXECUTIVE QUESTION, ALTHOUGH HE DID SEE A DIFFICULT TWO WEEKS AHEAD. THE SITUATION WOULD BE CLEARER AFTER UK PM BLAIR'S MEETINGS WITH TRIMBLE, MALLON, AND ADAMS IN BLACKPOOL OVER THE NEXT 24 HOURS. GALLAGHER NOTED THAT PRIME MINISTER (TAOISEACH) AHERN HAD MET WITH GERRY ADAMS ONQQEPTEMBER 2?. AT THAT MEETING, ADAMS HAD TOLD AHERN$"FRANKLY" THAU HE COULD NOT "DELIVER" ACTUAL IRA DECOMMISSIONING PRIOR TO OCTOBER 31, AS FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE IS DEMANDING IN ORDER FOR SINN FEIN TO TAKE ITS SEATS IN THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. GALLAGHER NOTEE THAT THE GOI BELIEVES ADAMS ON THIS POINT AND SEES NOTHING TO BE GAINED IN PUSHING HIM INTO A POSITION NOW WHICH COULD DESTABLIZE THE ENTIRE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. THE GOI DOES VIEW AS POSITIVE, HOWEVER,

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RECENT SINN FEIN STATEMENTS MAKING IT CLEAR THAT SINN FEIN'S ACCEPTS THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL HAPPE WITHIN THE TIMEFRAME AGREED AND IN THE CONTEXT OF PROGRESS ON ALL PHASES OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT.

3. (Ø) BUILDING ON THESE POSITIVE SIGNALS FROM SINN FEIN, GALLAGHER INFOSF0QZM^I|QDQ`ZQ(THE UK WERE PULLING TOGJPQXCQGQQV@FGABLE NEXT STEPS TO BRIDGU/VXAOBADAMS GAP. GALLAGHER (PROTECT) SHARED WITH US, ON A CLOSE-HOLD BASIS, THE DRAFT PAPER (**NOTE -- ATTACHED**). KEY ELEMENTS INCLUDE:

-- A STATEMENT FROM GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN ON HIS "VALUABLE" AND PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS, AND A COMMITMENT TO ACT AS "GUARANTOR" OF THE DECOMMISSIONING PROCESS.

-- A SINN FEIN STATEMENT WHICH WOULD RESTATE ITS COMMITMENT TO ALL ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS; UNDERTAKE TO WORK ACTIVELY WITH DE CHASTELAIN TOWARD EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE MODALITIES OF DECOMMISSIONING; AND USE ITS INFLUENCE TO ENSURE THAT DECOMMISSIONING IS COMPLETED WITHIN THE AGREED TIMEFRAME.

-- FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE WOULD, IN TURN, ISSUE A STATEMENT EXPRESSING HIS BELIEF THAT THE DECOMMISSIONING PROCESS HAD STARTED IN EARNEST AND THAT ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING WOULD TAKE PLACE.

-- THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE WOULD BE FORMED TO MEET THE OCTOBER 31 DEADLINE.

4. (Ø) GALLAGHER STRESSED THAT THIS WAS A WORKING DOCUMENT AND THAT THE UK HAD ALREADY INDICATED THAT TRIMBLE WOULD LIKELY NEED MORE, I.E., A MORE SPECIFIC DECOMMISSIONING TIMETABLE. GALLAGHER THOUGHT AN ACCELERATED STATEMENT BY SINN FEIN ON THE QUESTION OF THE "DISAPPEARED" IN NORTHERN IRELAND COULD ALSO HELP MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. HE EXPECTED THAT ADAM'S WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO DELIVER SUCH AN ADVANCED STATEMENT. BOTH THE UK AND IRELAND WOULD NOW BE URGING TRIMBLE AND ADAMS TO STOP DIGGING THEMSELVES IN DEEPER IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT AND MAKING "HILLS INTO MOUNTAINS." DURING FM ANDREWS VISIT TO WASHINGTON LAST WEEK, GALLAGHER SAID, HE HAD PRESSED INFLUENTIAL "FRIENDS OF IRELAND" ON THE HILL

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TO DELIVER THE SAME MESSAGE.

5. (C) GALLAGHER WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT A SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND BY OCTOBER 31, ALTHOUGH HE OBSERVED THAT TRIMBLE HAD DRAWN HIMSELF INTO A DIFFICULT "POLITICAL BOX" AND MAY NOT BE ABLE TO MOVE UNTIL AFTER THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY CONFERENCE ON OCTOBER 23. GALLAGHER ATTRIBUTED TRIMBLE'S CURRENT PREDICAMENT TO POLITICAL INEXPERIENCE. HE COMMENTED THAT A MORE EXPERIENCED POLITICIAN MIGHT HAVE DRAWN A SHARP DISTINCTION BETWEEN SINN FEIN TAKING SEATS IN A SHADOW EXECUTIVE AND SERVING IN THE ACTUAL NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE WHEN POWER IS TRANSFERRED NEXT YEAR, THUS BUYING TIME. DESPITE HIS TACTICAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, GALLAGHER FELT THAT TRIMBLE'S BROADER POLITICAL POSITION HAD BEEN STRENGTHENED SINCE THE SPRING, THANKS TO EVENTS SURROUNDING DRUMCREE AND OMAGH. HE ALSO STRESSED THAT ADAMS STATEMENT ON THE END OF VIOLENCE AND APPOINTMENT OF MARTIN MCGUINNESS AS SINN FEIN'S REPRESENTATIVE TO THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY HAD HELPED STRENGTHEN TRIMBLE'S HAND. GALLAGHER FELT TRIMBLE'S RECENT PUBLIC DISAGREEMENT WITH DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER MALLON OVER THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE WAS NOT INTERFERING WITH THEIR GENERALLY COOPERATIVE, IF NOT ESPECIALLY CORDIAL, RELATIONSHIP.

SCARLETT

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B

Draft 28.9.98

Implementation of the Agreement: Possible Steps in making Progress

Two Governments

- Would stress in statements over the coming weeks, as work on a resolution of the current difficulties proceeded, that:

  - progress needed in implementation of all elements of the Agreement. Agreement was negotiated as a package and would have to be implemented as a package. Difficulties of one party or other regarding elements of Agreement had to be addressed in that context;

  - their (the two Governments) aim, therefore, was to intensify work with all concerned to ensure that progress was indeed being made across all elements of the Agreement. [Note: specific statements to be made as concrete developments occur - eg enactment of Northern Ireland Bill, rights and equality, prisoners, policing and justice, normalisation, etc. See below also].

First and Deputy First Minister

- Informal arrangements are currently in place, under the direction of the First and Deputy First Minister, to advance preparations for institutions within Northern Ireland (eg the Assembly, the breakdown of Departmental responsibilities - in anticipation of the establishment of the Shadow Executive - the Civic Forum etc). These arrangements are proceeding satisfactorily.

- Arrangements are needed to advance preparations for the inaugural meeting of the Shadow North/South Ministerial Council, given the deadline of 31 October outlined in the Agreement for the identification and agreement of subject areas where co-operation and implementation for mutual benefit will take place. Accordingly, an informal Group would be established, under the direction of the First and Deputy First Minister, and comprising representatives of the parties, for this purpose. The Group would have an informal meeting with the Taoiseach, Minister for Foreign Affairs and other Ministers of the Irish Government to discuss modalities and other preparations for the inaugural meeting of the Shadow Council. This preparatory process would also include meetings of officials North and South to lay the technical groundwork for the identification and agreement of areas for co-operation and implementation, thereby facilitating the work of the Shadow North/South Council, once established.

- The Group could also assist in preparations for the first meeting of the Shadow

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British Irish Council.

Decommissioning

- To ensure that the decommissioning issue is addressed in a manner which is sensitive to the concerns of all sides, the two Governments will promote with the key parties the approach set out below.

General de Chastelain
Statement indicating valuable discussions are taking place with Martin McGuinness. Confident these can be taken forward in positive and productive way.

To report regularly.

Willing to act as guarantor.

[Similar arrangement with Loyalists].

Sinn Féin
Issue statement in which they would

- restate commitment to play their part in the implementation of all elements of the Agreement, including the actual decommissioning of arms;

- undertake to work actively with the Decommissioning Body with a view to the early resolution of the modalities for decommissioning (General de Chastelain's statement would confirm that this was already happening);

- state that they intend to use their influence with a view to ensuring that decommissioning will be completed within the timeframe set out in the Agreement;

- recognise the importance, in the decommissioning context, of significant developments taking place at the time of the entry into force of the new British-Irish Agreement, and the transfer of powers to the new institutions, and that they would be using their influence to this effect with the IRA.

Mr Trimble

Issues statement in which he would:

- welcome the de Chastelain and Sinn Féin statements (and de Chastelain's guarantor role), and says he finds them encouraging;

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- express his belief that it is now clear that the decommissioning process has started in earnest, that actual decommissioning will take place and that it will be completed within the timeframe set out in the Agreement.

<u>Confidence Building Measures</u>

See attached press report re Militar. Act

- British Government to continue with normalisation programme on as intensive a basis as possible. Well publicised;

- Work would continue to ensure that all paramilitary groups are on ceasefire (in practice only CIRA left);

- Statement by Sinn Féin on the Disappeared, including that specific information on the location of bodies has been made available appropriately - eg either to the Victims Commissioner, the Authorities or the families.

- Seek movement on an end to paramilitary punishment beatings.

<u>Joint Statement by two Governments</u>

- Two Governments issue joint statement in which they would welcome above developments and state that they now believe that the decommissioning issue can and will be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties within the timeframe envisaged in the Agreement.

<u>Shadow Executive</u>

- On the basis of the foregoing, there is agreement among all parties that formation of the Shadow Executive would proceed in time to meet the 31 October deadline regarding the work programme of the Shadow North/South Council set out in the Agreement.

END

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CLIN[redacted]IBRARY PHOTOCOPY

GERRY ADAMS MP
SINN FÉIN
PRESIDENT

24 June 1998

Paul Murphy
Northern Ireland Office
Stormont
Belfast

A chara

I understand that some of the points raised in your letter to me of 18 June 1998 were dealt with in detail at the meeting you had with Gerry Kelly on Tuesday 23 June. However I thought it would be useful to send you a written response to the points contained in your letter.

I must also point out to you my deep concern that recent events have eroded the credibility of this process. The handling of the Policing Commission is still reverberating and the unionist agenda is seen to be dominant.

The effort to insulate the UUP leadership from their anti-agreement critics was understandable and Sinn Fein attempted to facilitate this in our own way. But ongoing concessions to the unionist agenda of no change and obstruction is not acceptable. The selection of the Policing Commission, the handling of the Prisoners Bill, the refusal to move on demilitarisation, the decision to push an Orange march through a nationalist area of West Belfast on June 27, the nomination of Stormont as the venue for the shadow Assembly when this clearly grates against nationalist sensitivities, the leaking of confidential memos from your offices, all these have caused incremental damage to the process.

The process of unpicking of the agreement and its implementation in a politically partisan manner needs to be halted. The handling of the Garvaghy Road and of the responses to the White Paper on Fair Employment, in particular in relation to the incorporation of the provisions contained in the Agreement, will be scrutinised in this context.

Sinn Féin 51-55 Béchaer na hÉireann, Béal Feirste, Éire BT12 4DD
Website: http://www.irlnet.com/sinnfein

JUN.25'98 16:52 35316670056 AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 013 P02

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I am most concerned at the delay in the selection of the shadow Executive. Whatever the declared reasons for this, the perception will be that the unionist agenda of protraction and vacillation is still dominating.

The British government has a heavy responsibility at this time to ensure that the agreement, which was achieved with such difficulty and which is so finely balanced, is not overturned or undermined through a process of implementation which is, consciously or instinctively, pro-unionist.

To deal with the issues raised in your letter.

Presiding Officer and Deputy Presiding Officer

We have already suggested that an independent presiding officer be appointed from outside the elected members of the assembly. However since you intend to make this appointment from the elected members, we will send you our suggestions after the election results on Friday.

Standing Orders

We are submitting detailed amendments to the draft initial Standing Orders. I am enclosing these amendments with this letter.

Location and timing of Assembly meetings

The SDLP are opposed to the Stormont estate as a venue for any meetings of the assembly, even in shadow form. We agree. Neither Castle Buildings nor Parliament Buildings represent a neutral venue, politically, culturally or, for nationalists, in security terms.

Matters to be referred to the Assembly

It is our view that the matters set out in Annex A are too restricted and we are particularly concerned that the selection of the Shadow Executive is to be delayed, particularly since David Trimble has publicly indicated that this is his objective in the post-election period. It is our view that all the institutions agreed as part of the agreement should be established in parallel and that any attempt to stall or delay this should be resisted.

01-01-1900 15:47 FROM TO 00353187332441 P.02

JUN.25'98 16:53 353166700056 AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 013 P03

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Transitional Programme

The effective preparation of ministers for executive office is, in my view, another obvious argument for the earliest appointment of the entire shadow executive.

I hope this clarifies Sinn Fein's position on all the matters referred to in your letter. It may be useful for us to meet again with you in the coming week but we can make the necessary arrangement after the election when the situation will be much clearer.

Is Mise

Martin McGuinness

Butler, Lawrence E. CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

From: WHSR
Sent: Wednesday, February 17, 1999 1:22 PM
To: Blinken, Antony J.; Butler, Lawrence E.; Davidson, Leslie K.; Sigler, Ralph H.
Subject: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE OUTLINES NEXT PHASE, SEES

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DTG: 171645Z FEB 99
MSGTO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3266
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
PREC: IMMEDIATE
SSN: 1461
TOR: 990217131312 M3698652

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.46)
KBH 7/31/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 001461

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER
SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/17/09
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE OUTLINES NEXT PHASE, SEES "WHITE KNUCKLE RIDE" AHEAD

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. XORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONNSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. (C) SUMMARRY: FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE IS RELIEVED THAT HE MAINTAINED THE SUPPORT OF HIS PARTY DURING THE FEBRUARY 16 ASSEMBLY VOTE APPROVING NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS. HE NOW IS WORKING TO PREPARE HIS PARTY FOR THE "WHITE KNUCKLE" PHASE HE SEES COMING THE FIRST WEEK IN MARCH. AT THAT TIME, THE LEGISLATIVE STEPS NECESSARY TO DEVOLVE POWER TO THE ASSEMBLY AND TO CREATE THE EXECUTIVE WILL BE INITIATED EVEN THOUGH IT IS UNLIKELY IRA DECOMMISSIONING WILL HAVE OCCURRED.

TRIMBLE CONTINUES TO
INSIST ON A START TO DECOMMISSIONING PRIOR TO CREATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BUT RECOGNIZES THAT SINN FEIN'S ENTRY INTO GOVERNMENT MUST BE VIRTUALLY SIMULTANEOUS WITH A MOVE ON WEAPONS. HE URGED THE U.S. T CONTINUE TO "SAY THE THINGS IT HAS BEEN SAYING" ABOUT THE NEED NOW FOR DECOMMISSIONING. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) IN A FEBRUARY 17 MEETING AT STORMONT WITH CONSSUL GENERAL AND POLOFF, DAVID TRIMBLE EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION - AND RELIEF - THAT HIS PARTY HAD MAINTAINED ITS SOLIDARITY IN THE ASSSEMBLY VOTE THE PREVIOUS DAY TO CREATE EN NORTHHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS AND SIX NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. HE SAID THEE UUP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL HAD HELD A VERY GOOD MEETING THE PRECEDINGHWEEKEND AT WHICH THERE WAS GENERAL RECOGNITION THAT NO PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVE TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AAGREEMENT EXISTS. THE EXECUTIVE UNANIMOUSLY BACKED RIMBLE'S IMPLEMENTAION STRATEGY AND PERSUADED ALL BUT ONE OF THEE SKEPTICAL UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBERS TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE PROPOSED DETERMINATION ON THE INSTITUTIONS.

4. (C) AS DIFFICULT AS THE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS HAD BEEN THIS WEEK, TRIMBLE SAID, THEY WERE JUST A PRELUDE TO THE

"WHITE KNUCKLE RIDE" THAT WILL BEGIN THE FIRST WEEK IN MARCH. THAT IS WHEM HHE EXPECTS THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL TO BE INTRODUCED IN WESTMINSTER TO AUTHORIZE DECOLUTION OF POWER TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLLY. AND, IN A PARALLEL TRACK, THAT ALSO IS WHENHTHE ASSEMBLY WILL TAKE UP DEBATE OF ITS STANDING ORDERS AND PROCEDURES. MARCH 10 REMAINS THE TARGET DATE FOR COMPLETION OF THE LEGISLATIVE STEPS.

5. (C) TRIMBLE INSISTED THAT HIS PARTY WOULD NOT - AND HE COULD NOT - PROCEED UNLESS THERE IS A START TO IRA DECOMMISSONING. HOOWEVER, GIVEN THE PROCEDURAL LEAD TIME REQUIRED, THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL AND OTHER LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES WILL HAVE TO BE INTRODUCED PRIOR TO IRA MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. AWARE THAT HE WWILL COME UNDER THE MOST INTENSE PRESSURE DURING THIS PERIOD, TRIMBLE SAID HE HAS BEEN WORKING TO PREPARE HIS PARTY FOR THIS STAGE. NONETHELESS, HE SAID THROUGH PURSED LIPS, "NERVES WILL BE A WEE BIT FRAUGHT" DURING THIS PERIOD. WITH A WAVE OF HIS HAND, TRIMBLE DISMISSED PRESS REPORTS OF AN IMMINENT BREAKTHROUGH ON DECOMMISSIONINNG INVOLVING GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN AND A NEW WORD FORMULATION.

6. (C) TRIMBLE RECOGNIZED SINN FEIN MUST HAVE SOMETHING TANGIBLE IN HAND IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE IRA DECOMMISSIONING. THAT MEANS THERE CANNOT BE A GAP BETWEEN THE START OF IRA DECOMMISSIONING AND SINN FEIN'S ENTRY INTO GOVERNMENT. THESE TWO EVENTS MUST APPEAR "VIRTUALLY SIMULTANEOUS." SINN FEIN WOULD BE ABLE TO SHOW THE IRA IT DOES NOT HAVE MERE "SHADOW" POWER: REPUBLICANS WOULD GAIN THEIR SHARE OF REAL AUTHORITY IN A REAL GOVERNMENT. ONCE DECOMMISSIONING COMMENCES, HE SAIDD, THERE WOULD BE NO BARRIERS TO SINN FEIN'S TAKING ITS MINISTERIAL POSITIONS.

7. (C) WHAT HAPPENS IF THE IRA DOES NOT IN FACT BEGIN TO DECOMMISSION BEFORE THE VARIOUS ORDEGS ARE APPROVED? IN THHAT CASE, TRIMBLE SAID, THE PROCESS WOULD HAVE TO BE "PARKED." HE IS LOOKING FOR A "FAILSAFE" FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD ASSURE THAT SINN FEIN CANNOT ENTER THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT SOME IRA DECOMMISSIONING. WHILE SOME PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS CAN BE WRITTEN INTO THE ORDERS, TRIMBLE IS NOT YET CERTAIN PRECISELY HOW THIS FAILSAFE WOULD BE ACHIEVED. HE IS MEETING PM BLAIR AT DOWNING STREET THIS AFTEERNOON TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS ON THIS POINT. WHILE THE SPECIFICS HAVE NOT BEEN WORKED OUT, HE IS CONFIDENT OF NUMBER 10'S SUPPORT ON THIS (ALTHOUGH HE DISPLAYED LESS SATISFACTION WITH THE NIO ON THIS SCORE).

8. (C) THE ULTIMATE FAILSAFE IF THERE IS NO DECOMMISSIONING, TRIMBLE CONTINUED, IS TO "PUT ON MY HAT AND WALK OUT OF THIS OFFICE." THE PROBLEM HE ACKNOWLEDGED IS IT DOES NOT "PARK" THE PROCESSS, IT "CRASHES" IT. TRIMBLE SAID HE HOPES FERVENTLY IT DOES NOT COME TO THAT, BUT HE IS PREPARED TO TAKE THAT WALK IF HE MUST.

9. (C) **TRIMBLE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR U.S. SUPPORT ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE HOPES THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD "CONTINUE TO SAY THE TIINGS YOU HAVE BEEN SAYING." AS THE CRUNCH COMES, HE SAID, HE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR MORE STATEMENTS FROM THE PRESIDENT "ALONG THE LINES OF BERTIE'S COMMENTS" CALLING FOR AN IMNEDIATE START TOO DECOMMISSIONING. BUT HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE U.S. WILL HAVE TO JUDGE HOW BEST HOW TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH SINN FEIN TO PRODUCE "WHAT WE ALL WANT FOR NORTHERN IRELAND."**

LADER

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

March 2, 1999

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ANTONY BLINKEN

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Meeting with George Mitchell, Thursday, March 4, 4:30-5:00 p.m.

George is coming in to discuss Northern Ireland, Cyprus and would like to raise an issue on Abu Dhabi of which you are aware. As I am sure you are also aware, he was busy this week skewering the IOC over the Salt City situation.

Northern Ireland

George will be in Washington for St. Patrick's Day with his wife, Heather. In reviewing plans for the 17th, he will mention Mowlam's suggestion that he be included in the President's bilats with Trimble and Adams. This is worth considering depending on where things are, though there is a risk that we will be seen as engaging in hard negotiations here; **we have to avoid that perception.** He is being honored by Irish American magazine on March 15 as the Irish American of the Year (the President is taping a video greeting for the event). **You should encourage him to stay in close touch with us on the message we want to give to Irish republicans and their American supporters over the next six weeks.**

Based on meetings that Jim had with Mowlam's deputy, Paul Murphy, Tuesday and ones I had in Ireland last week, we are going to go to the wire to cut the decommissioning and Executive knot, with no guarantees. Following the Blair-Ahern meeting in Bonn Friday, Mowlam Mo released the draft "Standing Orders" spelling out how the Executive seats will be allocated at the first Assembly session after March 9. Mowlam has the sole power to convene the Assembly and is insisting she will do so March 10, but only if she thinks the parties are ready. Good Friday, April 2, is the real deadline.

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Ahern stepped up pressure to help Trimble (who dug a deep hole over decommissioning), making it clear that, technicalities aside, the Executive will not work in the absence of a start to IRA decommissioning. He conveyed this both to McGuinness and Blair. London and Dublin agree the process must be driven against a deadline to create the dynamic for a resolution. Paul Murphy agreed that Jim and his Irish and British counterparts will confer soon on the sequencing for the next six weeks.

The sequencing needs to factor in key events: The NI leaders will be in the U.S. from March 12-18; the President will have face-time with NI leaders only on March 17, but can help with phone calls thereafter; Trimble has the UUP's annual meeting on March 20 (an opportunity to secure approval for his role in the final deal or to get his hands tied); and Ahern and Blair will be in Bonn March 25-26 for an important EU Summit, and can have a last strategy session before the final push.

Decommissioning. The strategy that breaks the deadlock is one that provides Trimble with sufficient assurance on decommissioning so that he can move ahead with setting up the Executive, with Sinn Fein taking two seats, and not be deposed by hard line Unionists. The other side of that equation is a similar assurance to republicans that they can take their seats with a suitable gesture on decommissioning without fear of further roadblocks by Unionists, and not being seen to have "surrendered." While there is no way the IRA will yield to demands for advance decommissioning, consensus is growing that republicans badly want the seats and the power to legislate change; Adams/McGuinness have too much invested to fail.

Some people believe Adams and McGuinness have some flexibility to deal, but they will not move a second too early. Should they decide to disarm, it will be by a combination of statement of commitment to peace (by the IRA) and self-destruction of hardware at a time and place of their choosing. Dublin and London are working off-line on language on decommissioning to give to DeChastelain as part of a package for him to **certify IRA decommissioning** -- the necessary and sufficient condition for Trimble to move ahead. The Brits, and DeChastelain, will only play along if they are convinced that the republicans will play ball within an acceptable timeframe. Our role is to figure out what that is and get the IRA on board.

North-South Bodies. There are difficulties in finalizing this area. Trimble will be in Dublin Thursday (March 4) to resolve differences with the Irish on the trade and business development

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body. Ahern has set redlines on this issue over seed funds for new businesses and Trimble wants cross-destruction clause linked to the overall Accord.

Drumcree. Blair is stepping up efforts to resolve the Garvaghy Road standoff, entering its eighth month, sending a labor mediator (Frank Blair) to relieve Jonathan Powell of this chore. The marching season gets underway on Easter Monday.

Cyprus

George is reportedly interested in the Special Presidential Emissary (SPE) position if Dick steps down, although the time and travel commitment may be a drawback for him. Last December, the President promised the Greek-American community that the SPE would remain someone of stature. Dick does not plan to decide whether to relinquish his Cyprus role until after he is confirmed. If George is interested and available, he could help move forward an ambitious plan for 1999. With the 25th anniversary of the Turkish intervention approaching this summer and the President's potential visit to Turkey and Greece in November, it will be important to push hard during the next few months to make progress. The time and travel involved in the SPE job will depend on how far we get. In any case, if Dick steps down, the SPE position should be filled quickly.

Abu Dhabi

We understand George has been asked to raise with you a possible invitation for one of President Zayid's sons, Prince Sultan, to visit Washington and meet the President. Sultan is very close to his father and a strong proponent of his father's view that we should ease up on Saddam so as to get tougher on Iran. He is not next in line for succession.

Attachments
Tab A Points to Make
Tab B Memo on Irish Peace Model and Cyprus

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
GEORGE MITCHELL

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2015-0157-M (1.48)
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Northern Ireland

- Mowlam set March 10 as deadline to start D'Hondt (portfolio selection process), but expecting Good Friday to be the real deadline.

- President has made clear decommissioning an important element of the GFA. He understands that, technicalities aside, the Executive isn't going to work without progress on guns.

- Our challenge is to give Trimble reassurances enabling him to move forward without jeopardizing his position.

- Simultaneously, need to provide Adams assurances no more roadblocks to their participation in Government, provided they deliver on decommissioning reasonably quickly.

- Appreciate your insight into how to balance that equation without too much heat and light from either side.

- See John DeChastelain as the link -- will work with Blair and Ahern to set him up to deliver the goods.

- (if raised) Think idea of you sitting in on the President's meetings with the Parties could be useful, but have concerns as to how media would perceive -- must avoid being seen as engaging in serious negotiations here, bad for Trimble.

- Encourage you to reach out to Irish Americans to reinforce notion that the parties are responsible for Good Friday, not the Governments, and that more can be achieved by giving more.

Cyprus

- President eager to make progress towards a Cyprus solution in 99. His possible visit to Turkey and Greece in November provide a real opportunity.

- Not that difficult to imagine outline of a fair settlement, but right now getting Turks on board is major problem.

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- Many people think you'd be ideal successor to Dick Holbrooke if he steps down. Are you willing?

- Interestingly, President has thought about how the Irish agreement could provide a model for parts of a comprehensive Cyprus settlement, such as a unified legislature, Greek-Turkish Cypriot Ministerial Council or a Consultative Council that includes Greece and Turkey.

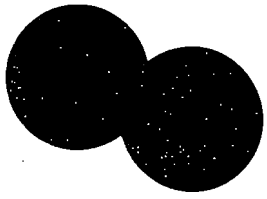
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

March 1, 1999

INFORMATION



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: ANTONY BLINKEN AJB

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER (LB)

SUBJECT: Meeting with NI Minister Paul Murphy, Tuesday, March 2, 2:30-3:00 p.m.

Friday morning in Belfast I met with Trimble, Mallon, Mowlam (at her request) and McGuinness/Ted Howell. That afternoon I saw Dermot Brangan, of the Irish DFA, and had dinner with Mike Sullivan and Dermot Gallagher. Saturday, I had a long breakfast with Martin Mansergh. Throughout, I was in a listening mode and no one pressed me on what our plans might be.

Murphy is here to maintain contact and is looking for confirmation that we will not let Sinn Fein off the decommissioning hook. Fundamentally, the scenario you sketched out for Mowlam is the only one that seems to have a chance of working, given the respective positions of the parties. Mowlam seems to think there could be a review period after setting up the Executive (allowing the IRA to make a gesture), but I think Trimble would not survive as party leader in the interim.

FYI -- Speaker Hastert is stopping in Ireland April 1-2, enroute London back to Washington. This is a problem for Dublin as the country shuts down for Good Friday and key officials may well be tied up in Belfast for end-game negotiations.

Northern Ireland Update

The headlines on Ireland are on the ongoing wave of detentions connected to the Omagh investigation and sparring over decommissioning and the Executive. Both Blair and Ahern had meetings with various party leaders last week in advance of their Friday sidebar in Bonn. Having seen McGuinness the previous day, Ahern (in front of an incredulous Mansergh) told Blair that he would "cajole and force the republicans to do the business." Several observers say that Ahern has more political credibility with Trimble than Blair, thanks to his Sunday Times

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interview. Trimble feels Blair let him down on decommissioning and openly dislikes Mowlam.

Although Mo is ostensibly attempting to hold March 10 as the deadline for devolution, both London and Dublin see Good Friday (April 2) as the real deadline. The determining factors are: the calendar (getting Trimble past the March 20 UUP council, the March 25 EU council, symbolism of the first anniversary, start of the marching season and a Paisley campaign to rerun the referendum via the June European elections); and the risk of attacks by dissidents.

Mo tried (and appears to have failed) to sell Trimble and others on the release of draft standing orders over the weekend setting a March 9-10 Assembly session for the D'Hondt process, building in the possibility for something to happen on decommissioning. She said her plan is that if Trimble declined to start the process then, her standing orders would take effect in Easter Week. Mo discounts that either UUP or Sinn Fein will be ready to deal March 10, but is seeking to inject momentum (Blair's "driving towards the wall").

Seamus Mallon and Dublin disagree with the tactic. Seamus said Mo's idea of March 10 was not credible and is worried at the negative impact on the atmosphere for St. Patrick's Day here; Mansergh said Mo appears to be groping for an effective strategy, and that the legal paper work will not be ready 3/10.

Dublin is very worried at the impact of a premature crisis on the March 20 UUP Council meeting, seeing Roy Beggs and Pauline Armitage as possible defectors to the anti-Accord camp from Trimble's party (currently there is a 29-29 standoff). Trimble could emerge further handcuffed by deals to keep them on board, as happened in December.

Decommissioning. Ahern told McGuinness bluntly that starting the Executive won't work without IRA action, reinforcing his Sunday Times interview message. Consensus everywhere is that when this happens, it has to happen in a "blink" (in the same news cycle so both can claim the other backed down). Dublin has been working off-line with McGuinness on language on decommissioning to give to London when ready (London is also working on a paper on "normalization" -- aka demilitarization -- Mansergh will send a copy, but we could ask Murphy as well). Mansergh, who has close connections to republicans, believes that the recent Army Council meeting gave Adams and McGuinness (undefined) flexibility to deal on decommissioning, but said

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they are watching the clock and will not move a moment too early. Should they decide to destroy some hardware, they will do it themselves -- a handover to DeChastelain is not a possibility.

Trimble said today in Belfast that he will start the executive without Sinn Fein if necessary. If SF is to be aboard, decommissioning must happen. DeChastelain has established himself as the impartial judge to certify IRA decommissioning; Taylor was quoted, and Trimble confirmed to us, that DeChastelain's word will be sufficient. Trimble is coy as to what will constitute a credible level of decommissioning, but has in mind a quantity of weapons greater than the LVF turned over (nine guns, ammo and some detonators). Trimble is relying on Sean Callaghan (IRA killer turned informant) as his consultant on IRA intentions, which is troubling.

McGuinness (and a quiet Ted Howell -- one of Adams' advisors) was careful to note his work with DeChastelain, and to make the point that the most important thing is to demonstrate to republicans that politics work with Sinn Fein sitting in a Trimble-led executive. In public he is warning that pressure on the IRA to act prior to the Executive being set up is both futile and could lead to splits in the Republican movements. He complained privately at lack of real progress on the equality front, noting that three ex-IRA prisoners had been picked up for no cause in Manchester (I have no details; might be worth asking Murphy to look into this). On Sunday, he told BBC radio that there was no chance the IRA would disarm ahead of March 10, that this would be tantamount to surrender.

North-South Bodies. There were two difficulties in finalizing this area, but Trimble told us he thought it would be finished on Wednesday. First was Dublin's (successful) insistence on a binding treaty spelling out as many specifics as could be anticipated (a firewall against Unionist Assembly mischief). Second were the details of the trade and business development body, important to Mallon and nationalists, which included a modest seed fund -- Ahern is reported to have said Dublin had given away too much in this area and has made this his red line. Trimble opposes the fund, possibly for tactical reasons, and is seeking a mutual destruction clause linked to the overall Accord. Mansergh maintains that Dublin has convinced London that the language of the Accord makes it clear that no one political structure will survive the collapse of others.

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Paramilitary Threat. Colm Murphy, a publican from Dundalk with a U.S. prison record, became the first person actually charged in connection with the Omagh bombing. Murphy served three years here for a 1982 weapons conviction, according to press reports (Rita O'Hare told Mansergh to keep Murphy in jail). Over the past ten days 14 persons have been picked up and released, including Frances Mackie (we refused him a visa last year) who is from Omagh; Mickey McKevitt is reported to have fled to eastern Europe to avoid arrest. This is a familiar pattern as the security services' response to the perception of increasing threats from dissident republicans. I expect the RUC and An Garda Siochana to maintain this pressure through Good Friday.

Drumcree. Blair is stepping up efforts to resolve the Garvaghy Road standoff, entering its eighth month, by sending a labor mediator (Frank Blair) to relieve Jonathan Powell of this time-consuming chore. There are some indications that Breandan MacCionnaith, the Residents' leader, may be showing some willingness on allowing a token parade. A resolution soon is critical with the marching season getting underway April 4, Easter Sunday, and the Portadown area being Trimble's district (he needs an armed guard when he visits -- a problem he himself is responsible for creating).

Attachments
Tab A Points to Make
Tab B Bio

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
NI MINISTER PAUL MURPHY

- How is Mo doing on the draft standing orders that she was working on this weekend? When does she think they can be released? Is she able to hold firm to March 10 as the deadline for forming the Executive?

- Understand you are working with Dublin on a decommissioning choreography, which includes a paper on normalization. Any chance that you could share that with us?

- Is there a way to give Trimble reassurances on decommissioning that would enable him to move forward with the Executive without jeopardizing his position as party leader?

- Do you have any sense from Sinn Fein that the IRA will come out with a positive signal that enables Sinn Fein to make good on decommissioning commitments?

- Re: Prime Minister's meeting with DeChastelain yesterday -- can Commission provide the buffer to enable both UUP and republicans to do the necessary without paying too high a price with their respective constituencies?

- McGuinness complained to us recently that three former IRA prisoners are being held in Manchester without charges. Were they engaged in illegal activity? Would appreciate your insight into that situation? Important to clarify.

- President has made clear that he considers decommissioning an important element of the GFA. He understands that, technicalities aside, the Executive isn't going to work without progress on guns. What is the minimum progress, and in how short a time frame, to get the Executive up with Sinn Fein in their seats?

- Encourage all UK and NI authorities and commissions to reach out to Congress and Irish American groups to inform of their work. Will help sustain U.S. support for the GFA, reaffirm your commitment to across-the-board implementation.

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BONN PLS PASS TO NSC DIRECTOR BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/24/09
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: STARTING THE COUNTDOWN TO D'HONDT

REF: A) LONDON 1461 B) LONDON 1552

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: MO MOWLAM THIS WEEK WILL INTRODUCE THE STANDING ORDERS TO TRIGGER THE D'HONDT SYSTEM ESTABLISHING THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. WHILE MARCH 10 REMAINS THE TARGET DATE, THE ORDERS WILL SET O/A MARCH 30 AS THE OUTSIDE DEADLINE FOR FORMING THE EXECUTIVE. THE PARTIES HAVE YET TO AGREE ON THE DETAILS OF THE CROSS-BORDER BODY ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT. GIVEN THE TIGHT DEADLINES, IF AGREEMENT ON THAT INSTITUTION IS NOT SOON REACHED THE ENTIRE PROCESS COULD BE HELD UP. THUS FAR, LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON DECOMMISSIONING AND IT APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT THE ISSUE WILL BE RESOLVED BY, OR EVEN DURING, ST. PATRICK'S DAY; BLAIR AND AHERN ARE PREPARING TO INTERVENE INTENSIVELY AT THE END OF MARCH. IN WASHINGTON, THE PARTIES WILL HAVE TO BE PRESSED, ONCE AGAIN, TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE. END SUMMARY.

March 30

STANDING ORDER READY TO TRIGGER D'HONDT

3. (C) NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM LATER THIS WEEK WILL ISSUE THE DRAFT STANDING ORDERS TO INITIATE THE PROCESS WHICH WILL ESTABLISH A DEVOLVED NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. NIO ASSOCIATE POLITICAL DIRECTOR JONATHAN STEPHENS TOLD US FEBRUARY 24 THAT NIO CONSULTATIONS WITH FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE CONTENT AND TIMING OF THE ORDERS. WHILE MARCH 10 CONTINUES TO BE THE TARGET DATE FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE, ALL RECOGNIZE THAT IS LIKELY TO SLIP.

4. (C) THE DRAFT ORDER THEREFORE PROPOSES A TWO-PRONGED TRIGGER FOR THE D'HONDT SYSTEM OF MINISTERIAL SELECTION: THE EXECUTIVE WOULD BE FORMED EITHER 1) ON A DAY DECIDED BY THE FIRST AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTERS ACTING JOINTLY (I.E., MARCH 10), OR 2) IN ANY EVENT, NOT LATER THAN SIX WEEKS AFTER THE DATE OF ASSEMBLY'S APPROVAL OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS. AS THE ASSEMBLY VOTED TO APPROVE THE DEPARTMENTAL STRUCTURE ON FEBRUARY 16, THE D'HONDT SYSTEM WOULD BE INITIATED NOT LATER THAN THE ASSEMBLY SESSION SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 30.

5. (C) IF THE SESSION WERE POSTPONED BEYOND MARCH 30, THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE NONETHELESS WOULD HAVE TO BE THE FIRST ITEM OF BUSINESS ON ASSEMBLY'S AGENDA WHEN IT NEXT MET. AS MOWLAM HAS EXCLUSIVE AUTHORITY TO CONVENE THE ASSEMBLY IN ITS SHADOW PHASE, STEPHENS THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THE DATE WOULD SLIP GREATLY. NOTING THAT MARCH 30 FALLS IN THE WEEK WHICH CONTAINS GOOD FRIDAY, HE REITERATED THAT THIS ANNIVERSARY REMAINS A SIGNIFICANT PSYCHOLOGICAL DEADLINE.

HITCH ON NORTH-SOUTH BODIES

6. (C) STEPHENS SAID THE IMMEDIATE PREOCCUPATION OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND NORTHERN IRELAND LEADERS IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SIX CROSS-BORDER IMPLEMENTATION BODIES AGREED THE DECEMBER 18. ALL OTHER ASPECTS, INCLUDING DEFINING THE SCOPE AND ROLE OF THE TEN NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS, HAS PROCEEDED SMOOTHLY. HOWEVER, THE LEGAL AND TECHNICAL COMPLEXITIES OF CREATING THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES HAS MADE FOR A TIGHT DEADLINE. NOT ONLY WILL THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO SIGN A TREATY REGARDING THE BODIES, BUT BOTH WILL HAVE TO ISSUE IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION AND AGREE ON A DETAILED MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING OUTLINING OPERATING PROCEDURES AND BUDGETS. STEPHENS SAID FAILURE TO TIE EVERYTHING UP BY MARCH 1 WOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH THE MARCH 10 TARGET.

7. (C) DETAILS OF FIVE OF THE SIX BODIES ARE VIRTUALLY AGREED. HOWEVER, THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND SDLP ON ONE HAND AND THE UUP ON THE OTHER REGARDING THE TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BODY. (STEPHENS NOTED THAT AS HMG WILL NOT BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS, IT COULD LIVE WITH WHATEVER THE OTHERS AGREE.) THE TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BODY HAD BEEN THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS LEADING UP TO THE DECEMBER 18 AGREEMENT, WITH NATIONALISTS INSISTING ON A ROBUST ROLE FOR IT AND UNIONISTS DEMANDING A MORE LIMITED MANDATE. THAT ARGUMENT HAS BEEN REOPENED AS THE DRAFTERS TRY TO COMMIT TO PAPER WHAT NECESSARILY WERE AMBIGUOUS PHRASES IN THE ORIGINAL AGREEMENT.

Not surprising

8. (C) ALTHOUGH POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR EITHER SIDE TO BACK DOWN, STEPHENS SAID ALL CONCERNED ARE COGNIZANT OF THE NEED TO MAKE PROGRESS QUICKLY. HE SAID THE LEADERS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING ABLE TO SAY THAT "EVERYTHING IS IN PLACE EXCEPT DECOMMISSIONING" BEFORE ST. PATRICK'S DAY.

DECOMMISSIONING: NO PROGRESS YET

9. (C) AT THE MOMENT, STEPHENS SAID, THE ONLY PROPOSITION ON THE TABLE REGARDING DECOMMISSIONING COMES FROM TRIMBLE, WHO INSISTS ON DECOMMISSIONING FIRST WHILE OFFERING FLEXIBILITY ON THE CHOREOGRAPHY (REF A). SINN FEIN IN PUBLIC AND IN PRIVATE REFUSES TO OFFER ANY VISION OF DECOMMISSIONING BEYOND "IMPOSSIBLE." THE NEXT STEP, THEREFORE, MUST BE TO GET SINN FEIN TO PROVIDE SOME INDICATION THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL OCCUR AT SOMETIME. EVEN IF THE CONDITIONS THE IRA ATTACHES TO DECOMMISSIONING ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO TRIMBLE, AT LEAST THAT WOULD OFFER A PLACE TO START RECONCILING THE VERSIONS.

10. (C) STEPHENS UNDERSTANDS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO GET SOME PROPOSITION ON DECOMMISSIONING FROM SINN FEIN, ALTHOUGH THEIR EFFORTS HAVE NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN PRODUCING A TEXT. THE IRISH APPROACH APPEARS TO FOCUS ON ESTABLISHING THE EXECUTIVE IMMEDIATELY WHILE PROVIDING FOR A REVIEW WITHIN A LIMITED PERIOD OF TIME. THE OTHER PARTIES WOULD COMMIT TO EXCLUDING SINN FEIN FROM THE EXECUTIVE IF THERE HAS BEEN NO IRA DECOMMISSIONING WITHIN THAT TIMEFRAME. STEPHENS SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THIS MIGHT NOT BE ENOUGH FOR TRIMBLE, IT AT LEAST WOULD BE A PLACE TO START RECONCILING NATIONALIST AND UNIONIST VIEWS.

11. (C) ACCORDING TO STEPHENS, THE TAOISEACH HAS NOT BACKED AWAY FROM THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF HIS RECENT SUNDAY TIMES INTERVIEW: HE RECOGNIZES THAT AS A PRACTICAL POLITICAL MATTER, HOWEVER ONE INTERPRETS THE LANGUAGE OF THE AGREEMENT, SINN FEIN WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ENTER THE EXECUTIVE WITHOUT A START TO DECOMMISSIONING. AT THE SAME TIME, AHERN DOES NOT BELIEVE THE EXECUTIVE CAN BE FORMED WITHOUT SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION. THE TAOISEACH THEREFORE CLARIFIED HIS STATEMENT TO "THE TIMES" TO ENSURE HE WAS NOT IDENTIFIED WITH THE PAPER'S INTERPRETATION OF HIS REMARKS, I.E., THAT SINN

FEIN WOULD BE "BARRED" FROM THE EXECUTIVE WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY AND BEYOND

12. (C) IN STEPHENS' VIEW, THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO CHANCE THAT THE DECOMMISSIONING PROBLEM WILL BE RESOLVED BEFORE, OR EVEN DURING, THE ST. PATRICK'S DAYS EVENTS. NONETHELESS, THE WASHINGTON MEETINGS WILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN GETTING THINGS LINED UP FOR RESOLUTION BY THE GOOD FRIDAY ANNIVERSARY. HE SAID THE PRIME MINISTER AND TAOISEACH, WHO REMAIN IN REGULAR CONTACT, FOR THE TIME BEING ARE REFRAINING FROM DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN ANTICIPATION OF INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PARTIES IN THE LAST PART OF MARCH.

13. (C) STEPHENS SAID THE PARTIES SHOULD BE FEELING THE PRESSURE BY THE TIME THEY ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON. THERE MAY NOT BE A FULL-FLEDGED CRISIS, BUT IT SHOULD BE APPARENT TO ALL THAT THE SITUATION IS CRITICAL. IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL BE PUTTING HIS MESSAGES ACROSS TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND LEADERS. DESPITE THE PRESSURES ON THEM, BOTH ADAMS AND TRIMBLE MAY COME TO WASHINGTON JUDGING THAT THEY COULD WEATHER THE FALLOUT FROM A COLLAPSE OF THE AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGES WILL HAVE TO BE FINE-TUNED, STEPHENS SAID A MAIN THEME SHOULD BE A WARNING NOT TO MISREAD THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION. HE SUGGESTED THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS COULD IMPRESS UPON THEM, ONCE AGAIN, THE NEED TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE.

(1) (2)

14. (C) STEPHENS REMARKED THAT TRIMBLE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THE PROCESS CAN BE "PARKED" FOR SOME MONTHS WHILE WRANGLING OVER DECOMMISSIONING CONTINUES. THIS IS JUST NOT REALISTIC AND THE PRIME MINISTER, WHILE WORKING TO REASSURE UNIONISTS ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE, IS EMPHASIZING TO TRIMBLE THAT THE PROCESS MUST GO FORWARD.

15. (C) AT THE SAME TIME, STEPHENS SAID, SINN FEIN APPEARS "RATHER COMPLACENT" ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF THE AGREEMENT FAILING. ADAMS SEEMS TO THINK HIMSELF IN A WIN-WIN SITUATION: EITHER THE SINN FEIN ENTERS THE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT AN IRA COMMITMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING, OR HE CAN ARGUE UNIONIST INTRANSIGENCE BREACHED THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND REGENERATED THE CONDITIONS WHICH MAKE VIOLENCE INEVITABLE. STEPHENS THOUGHT AHERN'S STATEMENT HAD BEEN VERY HELPFUL IN MAKING IT CLEAR SINN FEIN WOULD NOT ESCAPE BLAME FOR A FAILURE OF THE AGREEMENT BROUGHT ON BY LACK OF PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. STEPHENS ALSO SUGGESTED REPUBLICANS MAY BELIEVE THAT "COLLAPSE" SIMPLY MEANS THE ASSEMBLY (OF WHICH THEY ARE NOT STRONG SUPPORTERS) WOULD FALL, BUT THAT OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT COULD CONTINUE. THEY MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND, HE SAID, THAT IF THE AGREEMENT FOLDS, "ALL BETS ARE OFF": NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, THE PATTEN COMMISSION, PRISONER RELEASES, "ALL OF IT" WOULD HAVE TO BE REVISITED.

UK Mantra

Not very subtle — how credible?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 7087

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PRIZE WINNERS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0156-m (1.70)
KBH 7/31/2019

General Points

- Delighted with this acknowledgement for an historic accomplishment. You should be proud of your tremendous contributions that made this award possible.

- This award was for all men and women of peace in Northern Ireland, and your supporters here and around world. You join most inspiring and distinguished group of peacemakers of this century. It has been a privilege to have been a part of this with you.

- Savor this moment and hold it close, but remember that our work is not done. Much remains to translate words of Good Friday Accord into reality that people of Northern Ireland can touch and benefit from.

- With this honor comes responsibility to complete work done so far, to establish a working government, to make every citizen truly equally in society, and to take gun from Irish politics forever.

For John Hume

- There is no one more deserving of this honor than you. Thirty years of work for peace should have earned you a shelf of Nobel prizes.

- John, this may be lever we need to see if we can get Gerry and David to find common ground on decommissioning and shadow executive. What are your ideas on how I can help?

For David Trimble

- Delighted you are in Denver and that we could talk before you fly home to Belfast.

- Heard your investment roadshow has gone very well. Image of you and Seamus Mallon working together has had powerful impact on Americans.

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Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 10/15/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- You have risked much personally in pursuit of peace and shown rare qualities of leadership. This award is very much a product of that.

- Prize represents an opportunity to overcome opposition within Northern Ireland to Good Friday Accord. You are never going to be in better position than this to take much needed, tough and decisive steps. With Nobel medal in your pocket you can demonstrate that decent people of unionism are committed to making peace work.

- Know difficulties in your party and with Sinn Fein regarding decommissioning. Have made it clear that decommissioning is requirement of Accord, just as establishing working government is.

- Can you use de Chastelain and this award to take next step towards shadow executive, and shift onus onto Sinn Fein to respond with a concrete act of decommissioning? Am prepared to do whatever I can to convey that message, and underline consequences, if you are able to move now on the executive.

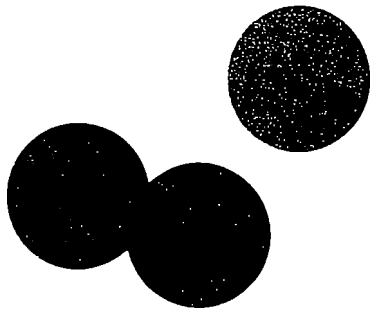
CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7087

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

October 16, 1998



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE BUTLER

SUBJECT: Telephone Calls to Northern Ireland Nobel Peace Prize Winners

Attached at Tab I is your memorandum to the President forwarding talking points for his telephone calls to Hume, Trimble, ~~and Adams~~.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments
Tab I Memo to the President
Tab A Points to be Made

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By KBH NARA, Date 7/31/2019
2015-0157-M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 10/15/08

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0156-M (1.69)
KBH 7/31/2019

PHONE CALLS WITH
NORTHERN IRELAND NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNERS
DATE: October 16, 1998
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

To congratulate this year's Nobel Peace Prize winners and encourage progress on implementing the Northern Ireland Good Friday Accord.

II. BACKGROUND

The Norwegian Nobel Committee named Northern Ireland First Minister David Trimble and SDLP leader John Hume as this year's Peace Prize winners. Additionally, [illegible]ive contributions of other Northern Ir[illegible] United States, Ireland and the United Kin[illegible] out for praise. The Committee expressed t[illegible]od Friday Accord will lead to lasting [illegible] will inspire peaceful solutions elsewhe[illegible]ll be handed out in Oslo on **December 10.**

We understand that the cut-off date [illegible] as prior to the conclusion of the Good [illegible] nce the selection of just two (there co[illegible]e) names. The Committee was aware of t[illegible] field inherent in this, and made a point i[illegible]e contributions of others. Nonetheles[illegible] Gerry Adams felt snubbed by this, a feelin[illegible] orge Mitchell may share to a lesser exten[illegible]

Northern Ireland is headed to another deadline on October 31, the date established for starting the North-South Council. This presupposed that the NI shadow executive would have been set-up by now. The Nobel award offers complications and an opportunity to galvanize

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

implementation. Today is the last day that ~~both~~ Trimble ~~and Adams are~~ here, ~~and are expecting to talk to you.~~

Trimble is facing difficult UUP party events October 24 (general conference) and October 31 (executive council). As last year when he was under attack for participating in the all-party talks, he has similar challenges in the form of anti-Accord unionists. This threat has constrained him from moving forward with establishing the shadow executive absent concrete movement on IRA decommissioning. The Nobel medal could well serve as a talisman for taking yet another tough decision.

Unfortunately, Northern Ireland is still characterized by zero-sum politics. Having been overlooked by the Norwegians, Adams may feel undermined within his community. This offers you the opportunity to offer your support, which would be important to Adams just now, and ~~challenge him to take the initiative from Trimble.~~ He will be in the New York City area tonight and tomorrow, wrapping a week of fundraising before going to Canada (where he has a meeting with Chretien and plans to spend time with relatives).

John de Chastelain is attempting to sell a streamlined sequence to get Trimble and Adams over the current impasse. He saw both Martin McGuinness and John Taylor ~~yesterday~~ to outline a three step process: Trimble agrees to identify the NI Executive portfolios October 26. Between October 27 and 29, the IRA make a "credible Confidence building measure," i.e., blows up some Semtex. Trimble then invokes the so-called "d'Hondt" selection process on October 30 for Executive membership.

McGuinness said the IRA could ~~n't~~ not accept a commitment to make a CBM nor to a timetable, but didn't close the door. Taylor accepted the timing, but wouldn't be pinned down as to what would constitute and acceptably concrete CBM ("we'll know it when we see it"). The two men will meet with de Chastelain again on Monday.

You should work to press Trimble and Adams closer together by seeking their agreement to unilateral movement across their established redlines. In Trimble's case, the argument is to use the Nobel prize to stake out the moral high ground and validate the Committee's selection -- if there is a major falling out over the shadow executive on October 31, he's going to have an image problem on December

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10 in Oslo. In Adam's, urge him to seize the initiative to demonstrate Sinn Fein's claim to peaceful intent, and use the December 10 Award ceremony to put all the onus on Trimble to have delivered the Executive if the IRA has started decommissioning.

III. PARTICIPANTS

John Hume, SDLP leader (in Derry)
David Trimble, Northern Ireland First Minister (in Denver)
~~Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein Leader (in Philadelphia today)~~

Attachment
Tab A Points to make

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- You have risked much personally in pursuit of peace and shown rare qualities of leadership. This award is very much a product of that.

- Prize represents an opportunity to overcome opposition within Northern Ireland to Good Friday Accord. You are never going to be in better position than this to take much needed, tough and decisive steps. With Nobel medal in your pocket you can demonstrate that decent people of unionism are committed to making peace work.

- Know difficulties in your party and with Sinn Fein regarding decommissioning. Have made it clear that decommissioning is requirement of Accord, just as establishing working government is.

- Can you use de Chastelain and this award to take next step towards shadow executive, and shift onus onto Sinn Fein to respond with a concrete act of decommissioning? Am prepared to do whatever I can to convey that message, and underline consequences, if you are able to move now on the executive.

For Gerry Adams

- Have followed your public remarks this week in the States, and appreciate your messages of support. Thank you.

- Understand that this award was based on a pre-Good Friday nomination. You have risked much for peace. This prize is very much a product of your commitment.

- Prize is timely, if you have courage to take next step. You are never going to be in a better position. You can use Nobel to demonstrate that republican movement is party of peace. Can you take next step and ask IRA if it has courage to set aside its weapons and put onus on Trimble to make Accord work?

- I ask you to find a way to destroy -- on your own -- some hardware that de Chastelain can verify afterwards. I will see rest of political developments through.

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0156-M (1.70)
KBH 7/31/2019

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear John:

Hillary and I were truly moved by your gesture Friday to establish with your Nobel prize a charitable trust to benefit both traditions in Northern Ireland. Your political leadership was essential to achieving the Good Friday Accord last year. You have now demonstrated an uncommon generosity for those less fortunate in Northern Ireland. Alleviating the hardship that people from both communities endure is an essential element to achieving lasting peace.

Now, as we approach Easter, we pray that your personal sacrifice to the greater good, will inspire others to take the extra step to make good on the promise of the Good Friday Accord. I appreciated your counsel when we talked on St. Patrick's Day, and I am hopeful that the peace process will move forward.

Please give our best to Pat.

Warm Regards,

Mr. John Hume
6 Westend Park
Derry, Co. Londonderry
Northern Ireland
BT4 6LB United Kingdom

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Ki Fort-- NI Update 9 a.m., Tuesday, March 30

Blair and Ahern are meeting with groups of the parties this afternoon at Hillsborough about five p.m. (11 a.m. EST), then evaluate whether worth their while to stay on. They met this morning with smaller parties. According to Seamus Mallon, some of the parties are already up at Hillsborough (Sinn Fein) for round-robin meetings. He characterized last night's meetings were the preliminaries. Clear that everybody want it settled this week. Too soon to say what the substance will be.

Last night's meetings at Hillsborough with Sinn Fein and others went until well after mid-night (hence Gerry Adams' not following through on calling Jim -- we have passed the message again this morning for him to call.)

The PMs also met yesterday with Orange Order and Garvaghy Road residents - looking for a larger package as discussed with the President.

David Ervine -- little more optimistic in last couple of days, unsure whether will achieve goal. Expect PMs to lay down formula, don't know whether will be accepted by SF and UUP.

NIO noted that formula on shadow Executive being staged for interim Easter period still being talked about, but not sure if idea is being put forward. Makes sense because Parliament not back until April 12 (presumes that Parliament won't be kept in session to pass devolution legislation).

- Offers face-saving way for Trimble to get through two week period without IRA action.

Private contacts with UUP indicate some cogitation, no sign of being totally stuck -- unclear if enough movement can be generated.

Rosemary Nelson -- Deputy Chief Constable of Norfolk Colin Port (has worked on international inquiries before -- ICTY, Rwanda) is now in charge of the investigation.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 1, 1999

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.6D)
KBH 7/31/2019

INFORMATION

NOTE FOR JIM STEINBERG

FROM: LARRY BUTLER, ACTING

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland -- Getting to Devolution

The Four Milestones

- Assembly votes (February 15) to acknowledge December 18 agreement on Executive and Cross-border structures.
- Mowlam subsequently initiates "d'Hondt" system for allocating the ten Executive department seats (date TBD).
- Devolution occurs on or soon after March 10.
- IRA indicates that it accepts decommissioning (date TBD).

Heading to the Rubicon

Mowlam has established real deadlines that will force a confrontation by April 4 - Easter, which is both the anniversary of the GFA and the start of the Marching Season. Events will begin to accelerate starting February 15 when the Assemble meets to vote formally on the December 18 agreement that the Executive will consist of 10 departments (split between nationalists and unionists), and the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister will have an econ policy unit and responsibility for equality; the North-South dimension will consist of six formal "bodies" and six areas of cross-border cooperation.

Once that vote is made, Mowlam is free to initiate the process to allocate the department heads. Trimble has threatened to introduce a motion in the Assembly to exclude Sinn Fein from the d'Hondt process. He will not succeed without Seamus Mallon's support, as "sufficient consensus" is required.

March 10 is Mowlam's deadline to have all the paperwork ready for the Executive to receive power from London. It is not,

Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 2/1/09

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

however, the stated date for devolution to occur. As Mowlam told us last month, she expects wrangling to go to the Easter deadline (April 4).

Trimble's insistence on decommissioning has a potentially unsatisfactory outcome: **a token IRA gesture that gets Sinn Fein in but does nothing to reduce or eliminate the republicans' deadly inventory.** Rita O'Hare claims the IRA now has all its weapons under tight control; I scoffed at that, reminding her that illegally held weapons have become a liability to republicans, not a source of strength.

Key Variables

Either Adams or Trimble can break the deadlock by taking the initiative, but neither will until the last possible moment. As we discussed with Mowlam, Adams is both convinced that Trimble's goal is to keep Sinn Fein out of office and fearful of the costs of moving on his issue prematurely -- that no amount of decommissioning will satisfy the UUP. Trimble maintains that he will be deposed as party head if he allows Sinn Fein into the Executive in the absence of decommissioning, and has refused to engage on what would constitute an acceptable start.

I. Devolution before decommissioning?

This would require Blair and Mowlam to initiate d'Hondt and move ahead with devolution in March. Trimble is certain to try (and fail) to exclude Sinn Fein for not decommissioning. There are three scenarios at this point: (a) Trimble walks out creating a political crisis in the Assembly; (b) Trimble is removed as UUP party head (GFA imperiled); (c) Trimble bitterly blames Blair but stays put, announcing that he will not allow the nationalists to control the Assembly.

- The latter outcome could be supported if Trimble were given assurances by Mallon, Blair, Ahern and the President that a motion to exclude Sinn Fein would succeed on the second anniversary of the GFA in the absence of decommissioning. The onus would then shift to Adams to deliver the IRA. Given that punishment beatings will inevitably continue, public opinion against Sinn Fein and the IRA will harden as the clock ticks. The June European Parliamentary elections (and the marching season) become a difficult challenge for Trimble as Paisley and anti-accord Unionists attempt to rally public opinion against Sinn Fein.

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- The "walk out" scenario, as you described it, leaves Adams in an awkward position of having prevailed over the "unionist veto," but with a non-functioning government to show for it. I am afraid that the IRA would then refuse to decommission, as it would seem like it was giving into the UUP; a stalemate would likely be the outcome.

II. Is decommissioning impossible?

I was leaning that way until last week when I got a rise out of Rita O'Hare when I noted that Sinn Fein was undercutting its American friends and jeopardizing its vital interests (demilitarization, equality and power-sharing) by demanding that all other parties actively move forward without any parallel action on decommissioning. I asked if she thought sufficient consensus would protect Sinn Fein from expulsion from the Assembly in May 2000 if all elements but decommissioning had been fully implemented? She snapped that I had made a false assumption on the missing element.

One theory advanced in Ireland is to treat the decommissioning issue as a balanced reduction of conventional weapons and forces and seek *CBSMs*: the UK establishes a timetable for troop withdrawals and infrastructure dismantling while the IRA indicates plans to dispose of or put into "cantonment" its weaponry. De Chastelain offers possibilities for this.

- The **British** are steadily scaling back their armed presence in Northern Ireland, and have resolutely maintained that this is in response to a normalizing security situation. London has resisted linking withdrawals to IRA disarmament, though clearly the latter will affects the former.

Bruce **Morrison and some other Irish Americans** maintain that we should not let the IRA off the hook on decommissioning. He is most worried that seeking a token gesture is either unachievable or in any event only postpones the end game. He thinks we should insist that Adams work out the end game with us, laying out how and under what circumstances the IRA will dispose its guns as GFA implementation goes forward. The I(a) scenario outlined above puts the IRA into the position of being able to take action on its own without being seen to being bowing to pressure.

- *My analysis of all previous IRA actions (cease-fires, etc.) is that they were self-initiated, not in response to outside pressure. Our tactics should be to lay out possible scenarios*

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and benefits and let Sinn Fein and the IRA figure it out and "surprise" us.

III. Game Plan

Talk to Adams. You should call Gerry this week to sketch out the various scenarios that we anticipate and get his reaction. We should ask him to go to Embassy Dublin to use the secure phone, as in the past (he is aware that the British and Irish are monitoring his phone calls). You should also consider a quick visit to Ireland towards the end of the month for face-to-face meetings.

Talk to Trimble. Follow the call to Adams with a call to David to remind him that we are involved and as interested as he in decommissioning -- but that he has better chances of getting that by pushing forward with devolution -- ask what can we do to help him with that scenario.

Call Mowlam. Do this following your conversations with Adams and Trimble, prior to the vote on the 15th to agree on this strategy and next steps, which presumably include:

POTUS-Blair. The President should call Blair to agree on actions leading up to March 10, "evolution Day."

St. Patrick's Day. Depending on the situation following "Devolution Day," the President uses the opportunity of presence of Trimble, Mallon and Adams to press the process forward; the reception gives the President to put Trimble and Mallon forward as the leaders of Northern Ireland, while providing the appropriate acknowledgement or approbation to Adams as the circumstances warrant.

- *Recommendation*: that we offer bilaterals only to Trimble, Mallon and Adams, with prominent pull-asides for Hume and Alderdice (as speaker) at the reception.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 31, 1999

Dear John:

Hillary and I were truly moved by your gesture to establish with your Nobel prize a charitable trust to benefit both traditions in Northern Ireland. Your political leadership was essential to achieving the Good Friday Accord last year and through this inspired act you have demonstrated an uncommon (but characteristic!) generosity for those less fortunate in Northern Ireland. Alleviating the hardship that people from both communities endure is an essential element to achieving lasting peace and, as always, you are leading the way.

I appreciated your counsel when we talked on St. Patrick's Day, and I promise to do all I can to help the peace process move forward.

Please give our best to Pat.

Warm Regards,

Bill Clinton

Mr. John Hume
6 Westend Park
Derry, Co. Londonderry
Northern Ireland
BT4 6LB United Kingdom

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Butler, Lawrence E.

From: Butler, Lawrence E.
Sent: Wednesday, March 31, 1999 11:50 AM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: Urgent Note for Jim -- Mowlam called re:NI ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

Importance: High

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.4.1)
KBH 7/31/2019

JIM:

Mo called me at 11:40 a.m. with following:

- Blair is coming back to Hillsborough tonight to rejoin Ahern.
- Negotiators are working on "ideas," a page of sequencing. Sinn Fein gets into the Executive before any weapons have to be delivered.
- Adams and SF rejected this approach this morning; Mowlam took him for a walk in the woods (among discussion topics were primroses, to Mo's bemusement)
- Adams agreed to revisit the concept; departed the castle grounds to confer with his political base -- hence his unavailability to speak to the President.
- Mo appreciated that we are working to connect POTUS to Adams as soon as he reappears at Hillsborough -- points to make have not changed: IRA product is sine qua non for resolution.
- She also said that a call to Trimble may also be necessary. They will let us know.
- In conclusion, the British are grimly determined to see the deal through tonight, and will need our help until late into the evening, early hours of tomorrow if things go well.

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~~Confidential~~ Decl.: 1.5(d) x 6

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.62)
KBH 7/31/2019

Key input for POTUS visit to Ireland Dec. 2000.

These are serious & credible accusations.



Martin O'Brien <martin@caj.org.uk>
12/04/2000 12:42:17 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Richard B. Norland/NSC/EOP

cc:

Subject: message from Martin O'Brien

Dear Dick

To: Dick Norland, NSC.

Info. must be protected.

Please find enclosed three documents in relation to the cases of Robert Hamill, Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson. All of these documents are confidential and contain information, including on occasion names, which if released publicly could risk the lives of individuals. The Robert Hamill document was prepared by CAJ and has been given to the Taoiseach and the Secretary of State at meetings attended by CAJ and the Hamill family. The Pat Finucane document was prepared by British Irish Rights Watch and is based on extensive work they have done on the case and the activities of the Force Research Unit, a unit of British army intelligence. The final document relates to the case of Rosemary Nelson and is a copy of a complaint recently lodged by CAJ with the Police Ombudsman against the Chief Constable of the RUC. The complaint relates to the failure of the Chief Constable properly to investigate threats issued against Rosemary prior to her death.

You will of course be aware of the broad details concerning these three cases. They have become emblematic of many of the concerns of the human rights community about problems with policing abuse in Northern Ireland. We are convinced of the need for public inquiries in all of these cases. We believe that after reading the documents you will share our concern.

We would hope the President may be able to make reference publicly to the importance of resolving outstanding cases such as these during his forthcoming trip to Ireland. In addition we very much hope that he will be able to raise each of the cases with the British and Irish governments when he is here. The successful resolution of these cases is, we believe, intimately connected with the ongoing policing debate in Northern Ireland. If the British government announces the establishment of public inquiries, this may well encourage participation in the Police Board and the police service itself. On the other hand, we believe a refusal to deal credibly with the many issues raised by these cases, will create serious difficulties for those wishing to engage with the new policing structures.

It is of course almost inevitable that in due course information, which has hitherto remained confidential, will make its way into the public domain. In that case, the whole political process in Northern Ireland could be damaged. We believe it would be wiser to deal with these issues in the structured environment of a public inquiry.

We would also be hopeful that the President could find time during his busy schedule to meet with family members of Robert Hamill, Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson.

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We have also enclosed text which we would hope the President might be able to use publicly during his trip. This text relates to the general human rights situation in Northern Ireland and in particular to the areas of policing, criminal justice, equality and the new Bill of Rights which the Human Rights Commission are currently working on. Privately we would also be hopeful that the President could raise these matters but perhaps more forcefully than we have done in the proposed text.

The resistance to implementing Patten is very worrying and does not indicate a positive commitment at the heart of government to bringing about change. We are therefore concerned that the implementation of the recommendations of the Criminal Justice Review Group might be similarly undermined and would therefore hope that the President would be able to raise this as a matter of concern.

Apologies for the volume of material but we feel each of these cases is critical to the success of policing transformation in Northern Ireland.

All the best

Martin

Proposed text:

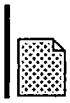
The Good Friday Agreement is looked to by many in the world as an example of how to arrive at solutions to seemingly intractable political problems. In particular the significance the Agreement attached to principles of human rights and equality acts as a shining example of how best to resolve conflict. Peace will only flourish when the rights of all are respected and protected.

The promise of the Agreement is now being translated into reality and I would pay tribute to all of those involved in this vital work, and particularly the two governments. The improvements in the policing and criminal justice fields are complex and difficult but we in the United States have watched with great admiration the work of the Patten Commission and the Criminal Justice Review Group. I am proud of the role played by US members of the Patten Commission. The implementation of these two important repo rts will continue to be a matter of the utmost concern to all those in the United States connected with the affairs of Northern Ireland.

We have also watched with support the mainstreaming of equality which now puts these concerns at the heart of public policy making. Transformations like this, and those which we still await in relation to policing and criminal justice, will ensure the smooth transition of Northern Ireland from conflict to peace, from discrimination to equality, from the past to the future.

Nowhere is this work more vital than in the important task of drawing up a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. As an American, I deeply appreciate the symbolic and substantive import of our Constitution. It embodies the principles which bind millions of Americans of diverse backgrounds into one nation. It has been a bulwark in defence of the rights of the individual and the rule of law. Northern Ireland is now in the process of drafting such a Bill of Rights. I wish you well in this endeavour.

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- att1.htm


- UN FRU SUMMARY.doc


- UN FRU USA cov.doc


- booklet on robert hamill.doc


- RN COMPLAINT.doc

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Dear Dick

To: Dick Norland, NSC.

>

Please find enclosed three documents in relation to the cases of Robert Hamill, Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson. All of these documents are confidential and contain information, including on occasion names, which if released publicly could risk the lives of individuals. The Robert Hamill document was prepared by CAJ and has been given to the Taoiseach and the Secretary of State at meetings attended by CAJ and the Hamill family. The Pat Finucane document was prepared by British Irish Rights Watch and is based on extensive work they have done on the case and the activities of the Force Research Unit, a unit of British army intelligence. The final document relates to the case of Rosemary Nelson and is a copy of a complaint recently lodged by CAJ with the Police Ombudsman against the Chief Constable of the RUC. The complaint relates to the failure of the Chief Constable properly to investigate threats issued against Rosemary prior to her death.

You will of course be aware of the broad details concerning these three cases. They have become emblematic of many of the concerns of the human rights community about problems with policing abuse in Northern Ireland. We are convinced of the need for public inquiries in all of these cases. We believe that after reading the documents you will share our concern.

We would hope the President may be able to make reference publicly to the importance of resolving outstanding cases such as these during his forthcoming trip to Ireland. In addition we very much hope that he will be able to raise each of the cases with the British and Irish governments when he is here. The successful resolution of these cases is, we believe, intimately connected with the ongoing policing debate in Northern Ireland. If the British government announces the establishment of public inquiries, this may well encourage participation in the Police Board and the police service itself. On the other hand, we believe a refusal to deal credibly with the many issues raised by these cases, will create serious difficulties for those wishing to engage with the new policing structures.

It is of course almost inevitable that in due course information, which has hitherto remained confidential, will make its way into the public domain. In that case, the whole political process in Northern Ireland could be damaged. We believe it would be wiser to deal with these issues in the structured environment of a public inquiry.

We would also be hopeful that the President could find time during his busy schedule to meet with family members of Robert Hamill, Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson.

We have also enclosed text which we would hope the President might be able to use publicly during his trip. This text relates to the general human rights situation in Northern Ireland and in particular to the areas of policing, criminal justice, equality and the new Bill of Rights which the Human Rights Commission are currently working on. Privately we would also be hopeful that

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the President could raise these matters but perhaps more forcefully than we have done in the proposed text.

The resistance to implementing Patten is very worrying and does not indicate a positive commitment at the heart of government to bringing about change. We are therefore concerned that the implementation of the recommendations of the Criminal Justice Review Group might be similarly undermined and would therefore hope that the President would be able to raise this as a matter of concern.

Apologies for the volume of material but we feel each of these cases is critical to the success of policing transformation in Northern Ireland.

All the best

Martin

Proposed text:

The Good Friday Agreement is looked to by many in the world as an example of how to arrive at solutions to seemingly intractable political problems. In particular the significance the Agreement attached to principles of human rights and equality acts as a shining example of how best to resolve conflict. Peace will only flourish when the rights of all are respected and protected.

The promise of the Agreement is now being translated into reality and I would pay tribute to all of those involved in this vital work, and particularly the two governments. The improvements in the policing and criminal justice fields are complex and difficult but we in the United States have watched with great admiration the work of the Patten Commission and the Criminal Justice Review Group. I am proud of the role played by US members of the Patten Commission. The implementation of these two important reports will continue to be a matter of the utmost concern to all those in the United States connected with the affairs of Northern Ireland.

We have also watched with support the mainstreaming of equality which now puts these concerns at the heart of public policy making. Transformations like this, and those which we still await in relation to policing and criminal justice, will ensure the smooth transition of Northern Ireland from conflict to peace, from discrimination to equality, from the past to the future.

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Nowhere is this work more vital than in the important task of drawing up a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. As an American, I deeply appreciate the symbolic and substantive import of our Constitution. It embodies the principles which bind millions of Americans of diverse backgrounds into one nation. It has been a bulwark in defence of the rights of the individual and the rule of law. Northern Ireland is now in the process of drafting such a Bill of Rights. I wish you well in this endeavour.

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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0212
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 9824
SUBJ: LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE CONTINUES DESPITE IRA VIOLENCE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 000206

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/08/06
TAGS: PTER, PINS, PREL, PGOV, ASEC, PHUM, UK, EI
SUBJECT: LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE CONTINUES DESPITE IRA VIOLENCE

REF: A) BELFAST 0005 B) 96 LONDON 15563

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: CYNTHIA SHARPE, ACTING CONSUL GENERAL, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B)

2. (U) SUMMARY: THE JANUARY 6 ROCKET ATTACK ON BELFAST'S HIGH COURT, AND THE IRA'S CLAIMS OF PLANTED BOMBS IN VARIOUS BELFAST CITY LOCATIONS CONTINUED THE TREND OF ESCALATION OF IRA VIOLENCE IN RECENT WEEKS. LOYALIST SPOKESMEN PUBLICLY INSIST THAT DESPITE SEVERE PROVOCATION THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARY CEASE-FIRE REMAINS INTACT. PRIVATELY, THEY SAY THEY ARE ASSESSING THE SITUATION "DAY BY DAY." CALLS BY SOME UNIONIST POLITICIANS FOR THE EXCLUSION OF LOYALIST PARTIES FROM THE STORMONT TALKS ARE INCREASING POLITICAL TENSION AND ADDING PRESSURES TO THE COMBINED LOYALIST MILITARY COMMAND'S OFFICIAL CEASE-FIRE. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) SPOKESMEN FOR THE LOYALIST PARTIES WHICH HAVE CLOSE LINKS TO LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUPS ARE QUOTED AS INSISTING THEIR 26-MONTH CEASE-FIRE REMAINS INTACT DESPITE RECENT IRA ATTACKS. GARY MCMICHAEL, ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP) IS QUOTED AS SAYING HE HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED BY LOYALIST PARAMILITARY ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF) TO KEEP THE PEACE PROCESS ALIVE. MCMICHAEL SAID, "I HAVE BEEN SPEAKING WITH THE UFF AND THEY HAVE ASSURED ME THAT THEY REMAIN COMMITTED TO KEEPING THE PEACE PROCESS ALIVE." BILLY HUTCHINSON OF THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP) SAID THAT HIS PARTY WAS URGING THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF) AND THE RED HAND COMMANDOS "NOT TO DO ANYTHING SILLY." HUTCHINSON'S PARTY COLLEAGUE, DAVID ERVINE, DISMISSED AS "NOT TRUE" WEEKEND REPORTS THAT LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES WOULD REVERT TO VIOLENCE IF ANOTHER PERSON WAS KILLED BY THE IRA. HE ALSO DISMISSED

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SPECULATION THAT THE IRA WAS DELIBERATELY NOT DETONATING BOMBS DEFUSED BY SECURITY FORCES WITHIN THE PAST TWO MONTHS. ERVINE SUGGESTED THAT, BY ITS ACTIONS, THE IRA "IS TELLING US THEY STILL HAVE THE WEAPONS AND CAPABILITY TO STRIKE AT WILL." HE ADMITTED HOWEVER, THAT IRA ACTIONS WERE "TESTING THE NERVE OF THE LOYALISTS AND GOADING THEM INTO RETALIATION."

4. (C) AN NIO SECURITY OFFICIAL ALSO TOLD EMBOFF JAN 7 THAT HMG BELIEVES THE RECENT IRA ATTACKS ARE MORE THAN "CALLING CARDS." BOMBS DID NOT DETONATE AND ROCKET ATTACKS FAILED TO PRODUCE CASUALTIES BECAUSE A COMBINATION OF LUCK AND GOOD POLICE WORK CAUSED FAULTY IRA OPERATIONS, NOT BECAUSE THE IRA INTENDED THEM ONLY AS WARNINGS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAID, EVEN THE FAULTY OPERATIONS ARE STRETCHING LOYALIST RESTRAINT TO THE EXTREME LIMIT. HE SAID THE RECENT INCREASE IN PUNISHMENT BEATINGS AND OTHER LOW-LEVEL VIOLENCE IN THE LOYALIST COMMUNITY INDICATE THERE ARE ELEMENTS "JUST ITCHING TO GET BACK TO IT."

5. (C) BELFAST CONOFF SPOKE PRIVATELY WITH ERVINE WHO CONFIRMED THE LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE IS STABLE FOR THE TIME BEING. ERVINE REPORTED HE HAS SPOKEN WITH MOST MEMBERS OF THE COMBINED LOYALIST MILITARY COMMAND (CLMC) AND HAS BEEN TOLD "THEY WOULD TRY TO MAINTAIN THE CEASE-FIRE." HOWEVER, HE TOLD CONOFF "THE SITUATION IS TO BE TAKEN ONE DAY AT A TIME." STRESSING THE FLUIDITY OF THE SITUATION AND THAT "WE CAN'T BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR EVERY INDIVIDUAL," HE SAID HE WAS "HEARTENED" AND "THE SITUATION IS BETTER THAN I HAD HOPED." ERVINE BELIEVES "THE PROVOS ARE DOING THEMSELVES DAMAGE IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO UNHINGE THE LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE AND LOYALISTS ARE BEGINNING TO SEE THAT."

6. (U) WITH THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS DUE TO RESUME AT STORMONT NEXT WEEK, UK UNIONIST PARTY LEADER ROBERT MCCARTNEY HAS CALLED ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO DECIDE WHETHER THE RECENT BREACHES OF THE LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE SHOULD EXCLUDE THE LOYALIST PARTIES FROM THE TALKS. MCCARTNEY CITED THE ATTEMPTS ON THE LIVES OF TWO PROMINENT REPUBLICANS AND ONGOING PUNISHMENT BEATINGS, AND ASKED IF THEY WERE NOT BREACHES OF THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES. MCCARTNEY DENIED HE WISHED TO SEE EITHER THE PUP OR THE UDP EXCLUDED OR THAT HE WANTED TO KEEP SINN FEIN OUT "IF ALL THREE ARE PREPARED TO OBSERVE THE RULES OF DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE, TO DECLARE THAT A CEASE-FIRE IS COMPLETE AND PERMANENT, AND THAT THEY WILL NOT RESORT TO VIOLENCE IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES."

7. MCCARTNEY IS NOT ALONE IN VOICING THE ISSUE OF CONTINUED LOYALIST PARTICIPATION IN THE STORMONT TALKS. PETER ROBINSON OF THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY (DUP) HAS VOICED SIMILAR VIEWS AND AFTER THE CAR BOMBING OF REPUBLICAN EDDIE COPELAND (REFTEL B) JOHN ALDERDICE OF THE ALLIANCE PARTY SAID "THE ISSUE WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED."

BRADTKE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0206

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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0748
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0190
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0113
SUBJ: IRISH GOVERNMENT WEIGHS QUESTION OF FURTHER CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN IN ABSENCE OF IRA CEASEFIRE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 000166

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/12/06
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH GOVERNMENT WEIGHS QUESTION OF FURTHER CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN IN ABSENCE OF IRA CEASEFIRE

L.CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).

2. ~~(C)~~ I MET WITH DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN JANUARY 12. O'HUIGINN WANTED TO BRING ME UP TO DATE ON WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS "GROWING WARINESS" WITHIN THE GOI ABOUT WHETHER THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT HOLDS OUT ANY REALISTIC HOPES FOR AN IRA CEASEFIRE. CITING RECENT IRA ATTACKS -- AND ESPECIALLY THE ATTACK INSIDE THE ROYAL CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL IN BELFAST -- O'HUIGINN SAID THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THESE ACTIONS ARE INTENDED TO BE LETHAL OR NOT IS BESIDE THE POINT. TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) JOHN BRUTON IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CURRENT TREND; AROUND CHRISTMAS-TIME, HE INSTRUCTED THAT HIS CLEARANCE BE OBTAINED FOR ANY GOI CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN.

GOI MESSAGE TO SINN FEIN
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3. ~~(C)~~ CAUTIONING THAT NO FINAL DECISION HAS BEEN MADE, O'HUIGINN SAID THE GOI IS NOW DUBIOUS ABOUT THE VALUE OF DIRECT CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN, AND IS MORE DISPOSED TO WORK VIA JOHN HUME. O'HUIGINN WAS RECENTLY INSTRUCTED TO DELIVER A "TOUGH" MESSAGE TO HIS SINN FEIN INTERLOCUTORS: "IF YOU VALUE A WIDER DIALOGUE, THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE MUST STOP AND THERE MUST BE A CEASEFIRE." O'HUIGINN TOLD ME HE MADE TWO POINTS TO SINN FEIN. FIRST, THE INCREASE IN VIOLENCE IS "POISONING THE WELL" IN TERMS OF ITS IMPACT ON THE BRITISH AND PROSPECTS FOR A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT. SECOND, THE LONGER UNTIL AN IRA CEASEFIRE IS DECLARED,

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AND HENCE THE CLOSER IT IS TO BRITISH ELECTIONS, THE GREATER THE LIKELIHOOD THAT IT WILL BE SEEN AS A PURELY TACTICAL GESTURE AND THUS BE "DEVALUED."

4. (C) O'HUIGINN INDICATED SINN FEIN WILL PONDER THESE POINTS OVER THE NEXT WEEK OR SO, AND IMPLIED THAT AN UNSATISFACTORY RESPONSE COULD LEAD TO CURTAILMENT OF GOI CONTACTS WITH SINN FEIN. HE OBSERVED THAT SINN FEIN IS NOW GETTING A TOUGH MESSAGE FROM THE GOI, FROM JOHN HUME (IN HIS JANUARY 5 "SUNDAY INDEPENDENT" ARTICLE) AND FROM IRISH-AMERICANS SUCH AS BRUCE MORRISON. NEVERTHELESS, O'HUIGINN WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT A CEASEFIRE WOULD BE DECLARED, GIVEN THE "CONTRADICTORY" ASPECTS OF CURRENT REPUBLICAN BEHAVIOR.

5. (C) O'HUIGINN EXPLAINED THE GOI'S REAL FEAR AT THIS POINT IS THAT GERRY ADAMS MAY HAVE MADE A COMPROMISE ALLOWING SOME MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT TO CARRY OUT SELECTED ACTS OF VIOLENCE WHILE HE PURSUES THE POLITICAL TRACK. "IF TRUE, THIS IS DISASTROUS," O'HUIGINN SAID. I ASKED WHETHER ADAMS IS STILL IN CONTROL. O'HUIGINN REPEATED HIS CONCERN THAT ADAMS MAY INDEED BE IN CONTROL, BUT OF A TWO-TRACK COMPROMISE APPROACH THAT ENCOMPASSES VIOLENCE.

HUME AND BRUTON TO MEET JANUARY 15
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6. (C) JOHN HUME (WITH WHOM I MET ON JANUARY 10) SEES DANGERS IN CUTTING BACK CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN, AND FOR VALID REASONS, O'HUIGINN SAID -- "BUT THE TAOISEACH'S VIEW IS VALID TOO." HUME AND BRUTON ARE SCHEDULED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER ON THE MARGINS OF A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT MEETING IN STRASBOURG ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15. O'HUIGINN ALSO INDICATED THAT HUME WILL MEET WITH SIR PATRICK MAYHEW WHEN BILATERALS RESUME AT STORMONT BEGINNING JANUARY 13.

7. (C) THE GOI DOES NOT CONSIDER HUME'S FOCUS ON REVISING THE OCTOBER 10 DOCUMENT TO BE VERY REALISTIC, ACCORDING TO O'HUIGINN. SINCE PM MAJOR WAS NOT WILLING TO GUARANTEE SINN FEIN PARTICIPATION IN TALKS PRIOR TO THE LATEST UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE, THE GOI CONSIDERS IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY
THAT HE WOULD REVERSE HIMSELF -- IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ELECTION -- IN THE WAKE OF RECENT IRA ATTACKS. MOREOVER, THE GOI THINKS MORE EMPHASIS NOW NEEDS TO BE PLACED ON GETTING SF/IRA ASSURANCES THAT A CREDIBLE CEASEFIRE IS EVEN ACHIEVABLE, RATHER THAN ON TRYING TO OBTAIN BRITISH ASSURANCES THAT SINN FEIN WOULD BE INCLUDED IN TALKS AFTER A CEASEFIRE IS DECLARED. "WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT HUME TRY TO PIN THIS DOWN MORE," O'HUIGINN TOLD ME. THE GOI HAS ALSO CAUTIONED HUME NOT TO OVERESTIMATE TONY BLAIR'S ROOM FOR MANEUVER SHOULD HE BECOME PRIME MINISTER: "BLAIR WON'T CHANGE THINGS OVERNIGHT."

"IT'S FISH OR CUT BAIT TIME"
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 000166

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

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TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH GOVERNMENT WEIGHS QUESTION OF FURTHER CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN IN ABSENCE OF IRA CEASEFIRE

8. (C) THE KEY QUESTION IS HOW SF/IRA HANDLES THE GAP UNTIL AFTER UK ELECTIONS. IN O'HUIGINN VIEW, THERE ARE THREE POSSIBLE OPTIONS AT PRESENT: (A) THE SITUATION WILL DRIFT INTO WORSE VIOLENCE; (B) SF/IRA WILL "KEEP THE LID ON" FURTHER VIOLENCE, I.E., SPORADIC VIOLENCE WILL CONTINUE, PERHAPS WITHOUT FATALITIES; (C) A FORMULA WILL BE FOUND WHEREBY SF/IRA CAN DECLARE A CEASEFIRE. "IT'S FISH OR CUT BAIT TIME," HE SAID. FROM O'HUIGINN'S PERSPECTIVE, THE ONLY HOPE SEEMS TO BE SOMEHOW REACHING AGREEMENT ON A "TIME-OUT" DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD AND A COMMITMENT TO INCLUSIVE TALKS FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS.

9. (C) O'HUIGINN INDICATED A STATEMENT OUTLINING SUCH AN AGREEMENT COULD BE MADE BY HUME OR THE GOI. SUCH A STATEMENT MIGHT INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

-- ALL PARTIES COULD AGREE THAT A CREDIBLE CEASEFIRE PROPERLY OBSERVED WOULD LEAD TO THE RESUMPTION OF TALKS ON AN INCLUSIVE BASIS.

-- SF'S INSISTENCE ON "NO PRECONDITIONS" (I.E., NO PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING) COULD BE ADDRESSED BY MAKING THE MITCHELL REPORT THE BASIS FOR THE WAY FORWARD.

-- THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COULD BEGIN DISCUSSIONS UNDER STRAND THREE (EAST-WEST) TO AVOID UNIONIST "STALLING," AS WELL AS ANNOUNCE A TIMETABLE FOR TALKS.

10. (C) HOWEVER, O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO "SHIFT THE HORIZON" FOR AGREEMENT INTO THE FUTURE WITHOUT "MORE COMFORT" FROM THE REPUBLICAN SIDE THAT A CEASEFIRE IS GENUINELY IN THE CARDS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED SF CLAIMS THAT THE BRITISH RESPONSE TO THE 1994 CEASEFIRE MADE IT "HARDER" FOR ADAMS TO SELL A NEW CEASEFIRE TO THE IRA, OBSERVING THAT "THE BRITISH SHIFTED THE TERMS OF TRADE." BUT HE MADE CLEAR THE GOI'S NEED TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM SF/IRA IN THE ABSENCE OF A HALT TO IRA VIOLENCE.

STORMONT TALKS
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11. (C) IN CONCLUSION, O'HUIGINN SAID HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT A RENEWED IRA CEASEFIRE, BUT HAS NOT GIVEN UP HOPE ENTIRELY THAT A FORMULA COMBINING A CEASEFIRE AND INCLUSIVE TALKS CAN BE FOUND. THE TAOISEACH WILL DISCUSS MATTERS WITH JOHN HUME THIS WEEK, AND SINN FEIN WILL "REFLECT" ON THE GOI'S MESSAGE. THE NEXT 7-10 DAYS WILL TELL. MEANWHILE, DUBLIN WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE PART IN THE TALKS AT STORMONT, ALTHOUGH LITTLE PROGRESS IS ANTICIPATED. THE GOI'S VIEW IS THAT THE PARTIES, NOT THE GOVERNMENTS, SHOULD BE THE ONES TO DECIDE WHETHER A RECESS IS NEEDED PRIOR TO UK ELECTIONS. DUBLIN WILL RESIST ANTICIPATED EFFORTS BY UNIONISTS TO EXPEL THE LOYALIST PARTIES ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE LOYALIST CEASEFIRE IS EFFECTIVELY OVER -- THE GOI WILL TAKE THE VIEW THAT THIS HAS "NOT BEEN PROVEN." SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: PESSIMISTIC ABOUT TALKS PROSPECTS,
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000417

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/12/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PESSIMISTIC ABOUT TALKS PROSPECTS, HMG CONSIDERS "DEEP FREEZE"

REF: DUBLIN 0114

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MICHAEL J. HABIB, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5(B).

2. (~~C~~) SUMMARY: THE BRITISH TEAM WILL BE LOOKING FOR RESULTS WHEN THE STORMONT TALKS REOPEN, BUT RECOGNIZES THAT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IS UNLIKELY UNTIL THIS ROUND OF GENERAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS IS OVER. ALTHOUGH NO. 10 WANTS THE TALKS TO CONTINUE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, THE NIO THINKS THAT MID-FEBRUARY IS THE OUTSIDE LIMIT OF HOW LONG THE SESSION REASONABLY CAN BE EXPECTED TO LAST -- AND THAT IS OPTIMISTIC. PAISLEY IS LIKELY TO GO AFTER THE SMALL LOYALIST PARTIES FOR FAILING TO UPHOLD THEIR COMMITMENT TO EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL METHODS. RATHER THAN ENDING IN ACRIMONY, HMG WILL TRY TO ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE AND PUT THE TALKS IN A "DEEP FREEZE" TO PRESERVE WHAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. JOHN HUME HAS TOLD THE NIO HE WILL SOON PROVIDE A NEW TEXT RELATED TO THE EFFORT TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR AN IRA CEASE-FIRE. BASED ON HUME'S PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION, THE NIO IS DOES NOT EXPECT THIS TO BE A BREAKTHROUGH DOCUMENT. END SUMMARY.

FEBRUARY "DEEP FREEZE"
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3. (~~C~~) NIO ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVID HILL, WHO LEADS THE TEAM BACKSTOPPING MAYHEW AND ANCRAM AT THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS, TOLD US JANUARY 10 THAT HMG WILL MAKE A FULL EFFORT TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN THE TALKS WHEN THEY REOPEN. HILL WAS PREPARING TO RETURN TO BELFAST FOR THE JANUARY 13 START OF BILATERAL MEETINGS TO PREPARE FOR THE JANUARY 27 RESUMPTION OF PLENARY DISCUSSIONS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE GAP REMAINING BETWEEN THE SDLP AND UUP ON DECOMMISSIONING AND HOW TO HANDLE "CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES" HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLY NARROWED.

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IN OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES, HE SAID, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO BRIDGE THAT GAP. HOWEVER, FEW IN THE NIO BELIEVE AN AGREEMENT IS LIKELY IN THE TIME REMAINING BEFORE THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION. IF TRIMBLE WAS NOT WILLING OR ABLE TO MAKE A DEAL BEFORE CHRISTMAS, THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO THINK HE WILL DO SO NOW.

4. (C) HILL SAID MAYHEW HAS AGREED THAT THE TALKS SHOULD BE ADJOURNED ON AS POSITIVE A NOTE AS POSSIBLE, WITH A VIEW TO PRESERVING WHAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE SO THAT AT SOME AS YET UNDETERMINED POINT AFTER THE BRITISH GENERAL AND NORTHERN IRELAND LOCAL ELECTIONS THEY CAN BE REVIVED UNDER HOPEFULLY BETTER CONDITIONS. MAYHEW IS CONCERNED THAT KEEPING THE TALKS GOING "BEYOND THEIR SELL-BY DATE" COULD LEAD TO INCREASED ACRIMONY AND THEREBY DAMAGE THE PROCESS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE BECAUSE PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY ARE LIKELY TO USE THE PLENARY TO GO AFTER THE SMALL LOYALIST PARTIES FOR FAILING TO UPHOLD THEIR COMMITMENT TO EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL METHODS. IN THAT CLIMATE, THE TALKS ARE UNLIKELY TO MAKE MUCH PROGRESS AND IF THE LOYALISTS ARE EXCLUDED -- WHICH, GIVEN RECENT ACTIVITIES, IS NOT IMPLAUSIBLE -- THE PROCESS WOULD SUFFER A CONSIDERABLE SETBACK. THE NIO VIEW, THEREFORE, IS THAT THE TALKS SHOULD BE PLACED INTO THE "DEEP FREEZE" RELATIVELY QUICKLY AFTER THE PLENARY IS RECONVENED.

5. (C) ON THE OTHER HAND, HILL ACKNOWLEDGED, AS IT IS NOT CLEAR WHEN THE GENERAL ELECTION WILL BE CALLED, IT WOULD BE "AWKWARD" TO SHUT DOWN THE TALKS AND HAVE NO POLITICAL ACTIVITY TOWARD A SETTLEMENT FOR UP TO SEVERAL MONTHS BEFORE THE ELECTION. HE SAID THAT NO. 10 HAS THEREFORE INSISTED THE TALKS BE CARRIED ON "AS LONG AS POSSIBLE." WHILE HILL WAS RELUCTANT TO PREDICT HOW LONG THE TALKS MIGHT GO, IT DOES NOT APPEAR THAT EVEN DOWNING STREET IS THINKING OF THEM EXTENDING BEYOND MID- TO LATE-FEBRUARY. THE NIO, APPARENTLY, IS THINKING IN TERMS OF DAYS OR PERHAPS A WEEK FROM THE OPENING.

HUME-ADAMS
---

6. (C) HILL SAID THAT JOHN HUME JANUARY 9 TOLD THE NIO THAT HE WILL SOON PROVIDE A NEW TEXT WHICH MIGHT CONVINCE THE IRA TO REINSTATE ITS CEASE-FIRE. (REF) THIS MIGHT BE PRESENTED AS SOON AS HUME'S JANUARY 13 MEETING WITH MAYHEW AT STORMONT. HOWEVER, BASED ON HUME'S PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXT TO NIO PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY JOHN CHILCOT, THE NIO IS DOES NOT EXPECT THIS TO BE A BREAKTHROUGH DOCUMENT. HILL SAID IT APPEARS WHAT HUME HAS IN MIND IS A RESTATEMENT OF PREVIOUS BRITISH POINTS PLUS A FIRM DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO THE TALKS.

7. (C) THIS FORMULATION REMAINS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHICH, FOR LEGAL AND POLITICAL REASONS, MUST HAVE SOME SENSE THAT THE CEASE-FIRE IS "UNEQUIVOCAL" BEFORE IT AGREES TO SINN FEIN'S ENTRY. HE REITERATED THAT ONCE IT IS DETERMINED TO BE A GENUINE CEASE-FIRE, THERE IS NO THOUGHT THAT SINN FEIN'S ENTRY WOULD BE ANYTHING OTHER THAN SWIFT. OF COURSE, HILL CAUTIONED, THE CLOSER TO THE ELECTION IT GETS,
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 000417

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/12/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PESSIMISTIC ABOUT TALKS PROSPECTS, HMG CONSIDERS "DEEP FREEZE"

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THE MORE DIFFICULT IT WILL BE TO SEE A CEASE-FIRE DECLARATION -- NO MATTER HOW IT IS WORDED -- TO BE OTHER THAN A TACTICAL DEVICE.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0417
<^SSN>0417

TOR: 970113132116 M2571342
<^TOR>970113132117 M2571343

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SIT: NSC
PRT: HARMONPTR SENS SIT{C2} SODERBERG
<^DIST>
SIT: SUM2
PRT: BASS BERGER KERRICK STEINBERG

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.68)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 151759Z JAN 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0786
INFO: RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 0014
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0120
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0200
SUBJ: IRISH REFUSE EXTRADITION OF ALLEGED IRA TERRORIST TO GERMANY, AND RELEASE HIM FROM CUSTODY

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 000257

NSC FOR SODERBERG/PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 1/15/99
TAGS: PTER, PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EI, UK
SUBJECT: IRISH REFUSE EXTRADITION OF ALLEGED IRA TERRORIST TO GERMANY, AND RELEASE HIM FROM CUSTODY

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. (U) ON JANUARY 14, JUSTICE MINISTER OWEN ORDERED THE RELEASE OF JAMES ANTHONY CORRY, WANTED BY THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES IN CONNECTION WITH THE OSNABRUCK MORTAR ATTACK IN JUNE 1996, FOLLOWING HER REFUSAL TO PROCEED WITH EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS. THE MINISTER REASONED THAT CORRY IS AN IRISH CITIZEN, AND THEREFORE NOT SUBJECT TO EXTRADITION TO GERMANY. IRISH AUTHORITIES HAD PLACED CORRY UNDER PROVISIONAL ARREST NOVEMBER 27 PENDING EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS, WHICH WERE TO BEGIN JANUARY 20.

3. (C) WE CONTACTED RAPHAEL SIEV (PROTECT), DEPUTY LEGAL ADVISOR AT THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHO EXPLAINED THE LEGAL BASIS FOR MINISTER OWEN'S DECISION. THE IRISH EXTRADITION ACT PROVIDES THAT NO IRISH NATIONAL CAN BE EXTRADITED TO A COUNTRY WHICH PROHIBITS EXTRADITION OF ITS NATIONALS TO IRELAND. THIS PROVISION COMPLIES WITH THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON EXTRADITION WHICH ALLOWS EU MEMBER STATES TO REFUSE EXTRADITION IF IT IS NOT PERMITTED BY THE REQUESTING STATE ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS. ACCORDING TO SIEV, THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION PROHIBITS EXTRADITION OF ITS NATIONALS.

4. (C) SIEV EXPLAINED THAT THE GERMANS WERE AWARE OF THE IRISH POSITION WHEN THEY REQUESTED EXTRADITION, BUT WERE NOT DETERRED BECAUSE THEY CLAIMED THAT CORRY WAS A CITIZEN OF THE U.K., HAVING BEEN BORN IN BELFAST. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY WARNED THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES OF A PROVISION OF IRISH CITIZENSHIP LAW WHICH ALLOWS PERSONS BORN IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO CLAIM IRISH CITIZENSHIP UPON MAKING A SIMPLE

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DECLARATION THAT THEY ARE AN IRISH CITIZEN. ON JANUARY 14, CORRY SUBMITTED HIS DECLARATION OF IRISH CITIZENSHIP, DEFEATING THE EXTRADITION REQUEST.

5. (~~C~~) IN LATE DECEMBER 1996, IRISH OFFICIALS OFFERED TO DEVELOP A BILATERAL EXTRADITION AGREEMENT WITH THE GERMANS, WHICH WOULD PERMIT EXTRADITION OF NATIONALS ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS, BUT BE LIMITED IN SCOPE TO THE CORRY CASE. THE GERMANS SAID THE AGREEMENT WOULD VIOLATE THEIR CONSTITUTION, AND THEY REALIZED AT THAT POINT THAT CORRY'S EXTRADITION REQUEST LIKELY WOULD FAIL. ACCORDING TO SIEV, THE LAST GERMAN EXTRADITION REQUEST OF AN IRISH NATIONAL FAILED ON THE SAME GROUNDS IN 1989.

6. (~~C~~) COMMENT: THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS BRACING ITSELF FOR CRITICISM OVER THIS CASE, THE LATEST FAILED ATTEMPT TO EXTRADITE AN ALLEGED IRA MEMBER. HOWEVER, BRITISH EMBASSY SOURCES (PROTECT) SUGGEST THAT THE FALL-OUT MAY BE LIMITED. ACCORDING TO A BRITISH DIPLOMAT, BOTH LONDON AND BONN RECOGNIZE THAT THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION'S PROHIBITION ON EXTRADITION OF GERMAN NATIONALS IS "AT THE HEART OF THE MATTER." WHILE CORRY'S RELEASE IS BOTH "FRUSTRATING" AND "DISAPPOINTING" TO BRITAIN AND GERMANY, THE ISSUE IS NOT EXPECTED TO ASSUME GREATER PROPORTION. IT REPORTEDLY WAS NOT RAISED AT TODAY'S DAILY ANGLO-IRISH MEETING ON THE MARGINS OF THE STORMONT TALKS IN BELFAST. OUR BRITISH CONTACT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT CORRY MIGHT TRAVEL TO NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE FUTURE, WHERE HE COULD BE ARRESTED AND EXTRADITED. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0257

TOR: 970115161718 M2574893

DIST:

SIT: ORFINI PETERS SIMON
SIT: NSC
PRT: CLARKE
<^DIST>
SIT: CLARKER SUM2
PRT: SODERBERG

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015-0157-M [1.69]
KBH 7/31/2019

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CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 9855
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0231
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH TRIMBLE
TEXT:

UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000563

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/16/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH TRIMBLE

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY MICHAEL J. HABIB, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D)

2. (SBU) IN THE COURSE OF A CONVERSATION AT A WINFIELD HOUSE RECEPTION JANUARY 15, UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE TOLD US HE IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT NEAR-TERM PROSPECTS FOR PEACE. HE DISMISSED THE IDEA THAT THE IRA IS WAGING A "PHONY WAR" BY PLACING UNEXPLODED DEVICES MERELY FOR SYMBOLIC PURPOSES AND DECLARED EMPHATICALLY THAT THE IRA IS TRYING TO KILL PEOPLE, DESTROY PROPERTY AND DISRUPT CIVIL SOCIETY. HE ATTRIBUTED ITS LACK OF SUCCESS TO "THE PROVOS' LACK OF PRACTICE," GOOD POLICE WORK AND THE FACT THAT ITS VIOLENT TACTICS MAY BE LOSING SUPPORT IN THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY. HE SAID THE IRA LEADERSHIP MUST HAVE THOUGHT HARD BEFORE IT ISSUED ITS PUBLIC WARNING TO "INFORMERS" IN THE COMMUNITY, BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE KNOWN DOING SO WOULD SHOW ITS CONCERN ABOUT LOSING ITS GRIP.

3. (SBU) NONETHELESS, TRIMBLE SAID, IT IS PROBABLY ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE IRA "GETS A POLICEMAN" OR PERPETRATES SOME ATROCITY WHICH WILL PROVOKE A LOYALIST RESPONSE. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO KEEP THE VIOLENCE FROM SPIRALING, HE PREDICTED.

4. (SBU) ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT THERE IS ANY CHANCE THE IRA WOULD REINSTATE ITS CEASE-FIRE, TRIMBLE SAID HE EXPECTS THERE WILL BE SOME SORT OF IRA DECLARATION TO COINCIDE WITH THE BRITISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THAT DECLARATION DELIBERATELY WILL BE PITCHED BELOW THE LEVEL WHERE JOHN MAJOR CAN ACCEPT IT, ALLOWING SINN FEIN TO RUN AS CANDIDATES OF PEACE AND TO PORTRAY MAJOR AS HAVING UNREASONABLY BLOCKED SINN FEIN'S ENTRY INTO THE TALKS PROCESS. TRIMBLE SAID JOHN HUME WILL HAVE TO RUN AGAIN TO PREVENT MARTIN MCGUINNESS FROM TAKING THE FOYLE SEAT AND THAT SDLP WEST BELFAST MP JOE HENDRON IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO LOSE TO HIS SEAT TO THE SINN FEIN CHALLENGER (PERHAPS GERRY ADAMS).

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5. (SBU) IF LABOUR PREVAILS IN THE ELECTION, TRIMBLE SAID THERE MAY BE CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON TONY BLAIR TO ACCEPT SUCH AN IRA DECLARATION AS GENUINE. TRIMBLE DID NOT APPEAR PARTICULARLY CONCERNED BY THE PROSPECT OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER. HE THOUGHT BLAIR WOULD WANT TO MOVE CAUTIOUSLY REGARDING NORTHERN IRELAND, PARTICULARLY IN THE EARLY STAGES OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, AND WOULD NOT WANT TO BE VULNERABLE TO CHARGES OF HAVING CAPITULATED TO TERRORISM. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE TORIES IN OPPOSITION ARE LESS LIKELY TO HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE, BIPARTISAN APPROACH THAN LABOUR HAS EXHIBITED TO DATE SO BLAIR'S ROOM FOR MANEUVER MAY WELL DEPEND ON THE SIZE OF HIS WORKING MAJORITY.

6. (SBU) TRIMBLE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BECAUSE OF ITS "HISTORICAL TENDENCIES," LABOUR MAY BE CONSIDERED BY UNIONISTS AND OTHERS TO BE SOMEWHAT SUSPECT ON THE IRISH QUESTION. HOWEVER, ASKED WHETHER THE LABOUR PARTY STILL HAD A "GREEN" COLORATION, TRIMBLE SAID HE THINKS BLAIR IS "SOUND" ON NORTHERN IRELAND; THERE IS A CONCERN ABOUT BLAIR BEING GREEN, HE SAID, BUT ONLY IN THE SENSE OF THAT WORD MEANING "INEXPERIENCED."

7. ~~(C)~~ THE INSTINCTS OF MO MOWLAM, LIKELY TO BECOME NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY IN A LABOUR GOVERNMENT, ARE MORE "OLD LABOUR" THAN ARE BLAIR'S, ACCORDING TO TRIMBLE. HOWEVER, HE SAID, MOWLAM IS "OPPORTUNISTIC ENOUGH AND SMART ENOUGH" TO STAY ONSIDE WITH BLAIR. IN TRIMBLE'S VIEW, IT IS LESS LIKELY THAT MOWLAM WILL INFLUENCE BLAIR THAN BLAIR WILL REACH OUT TO KEEP MOWLAM ON A SHORT LEASH. "MO WON'T HAVE A FREE HAND," HE SAID. EO 13526 1.4c

8. ~~(C)~~ TRIMBLE, WHOSE PARTY VOTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON THE BUDGET BILL THE PREVIOUS DAY, DID NOT APPEAR EAGER TO BRING DOWN MAJOR. TRIMBLE SAID THAT IN A PRIVATE MEETING WITH BLAIR LAST WEEK HE HAD TOLD THE LABOUR LEADER, "ALL I WANT TO DO IS GET THROUGH THE NEXT FEW MONTHS." AT THE SAME TIME, TRIMBLE TOLD US, "I DON'T WANT TO ANGER ANYONE," INTIMATING THAT HE WOULD NOT PROP UP THE TORY GOVERNMENT IN A NO-CONFIDENCE VOTE JUST FOR THE SAKE OF KEEPING IT AROUND FOR A FEW MORE WEEKS. TRIMBLE DID NOT THINK THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE BROUGHT DOWN BUT THAT MAJOR WOULD DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT AND CALL THE ELECTION ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE. HE THINKS THE ELECTION IS LIKELY TO BE HELD IN "MID-APRIL OR PERHAPS EARLIER." THE MORE MAJOR TALKS UP MAY 1 AS THE DATE, THE MORE TRIMBLE IS CONFIRMED IN HIS BELIEF THAT IT WILL BE EARLIER.

8. ~~(C)~~ OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH TRIMBLE ONLY BRIEFLY TOUCHED ON THE STORMONT TALKS. HE WAS VERY DISMISSIVE ABOUT ANY PROGRESS, NOT ONLY UNTIL AFTER THE BRITISH ELECTIONS BUT ALSO THE IRISH BALLOTING. EO 13526 1.4c HE SINGLED OUT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT FOR MUCH OF THE BLAME IN KEEPING PROGRESS FROM BEING MADE AMONG THE PARTIES IN THE ABSENCE OF SINN FEIN. NONETHELESS, IRISH AMBASSADOR TED BARRINGTON SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD US THAT HE, TRIMBLE AND NIO
UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 000563

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/16/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH TRIMBLE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POLITICAL DIRECTOR QUENTIN THOMAS HAD DISCUSSED THE TALKS AT LENGTH IN ANOTHER CORNER OF THE RECEPTION. BARRINGTON'S VIEW WAS THAT TRIMBLE HAD SHOWN SOME NEW FLEXIBILITY ON THE DEFINITION OF DECOMMISSIONING IN PARALLEL. EVEN THOUGH HE REMAINS DOUBTFUL THAT THE TALKS CAN MAKE RAPID PROGRESS WHEN THEY REOPEN JANUARY 27, BARRINGTON SAID HE REGARDED THIS AS A POTENTIALLY POSITIVE ELEMENT.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0563
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TOR: 970116082535 M2575906
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PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR KERRICK SENS SIT(C2) SODERBERG STEINBERG

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.70)
KBH 7/31/2019

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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 9873
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0242
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: STATUS OF THE TALKS--THE CHAIR'S
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000816

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/23/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: STATUS OF THE TALKS--THE CHAIR'S VIEW

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL KATHLEEN STEPHENS. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. (C) SUMMARY: TWO WEEKS OF BILATERAL EXCHANGES AT THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS AT STORMONT HAVE BEEN "VERY USEFUL IN CLEARING THE AIR," ACCORDING TO TALKS CHAIRMAN JOHN DE CHASTELAIN. SEVERAL PARTIES AT THE TALKS HAVE APPROACHED THE CHAIRMEN PROPOSING THE CHAIR TABLE AN INITIATIVE AIMED AT BREAKING THE PRESENT DECOMMISSIONING STALEMATE. HOWEVER, THE CHAIRMEN SEEM DISINCLINED TO ATTEMPT SUCH AN INITIATIVE. WHEN THE PLENARY RECONVENES MONDAY, JANUARY 27, THE DUP AND UKUP AGAIN ARE LIKELY TO ATTACK THE LOYALIST PARTIES' PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS, BUT PROBABLY WILL STOP SHORT OF FILING A MOTION FOR THEIR EXPULSION. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) TWO WEEKS OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS AMONG AND BETWEEN THE CHAIRMEN'S OFFICE, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, AND THE NINE POLITICAL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE STORMONT TALKS ENDED JANUARY 22. TALKS CHAIRMAN FORMER SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL WAS NOT PRESENT FOR THE BILATERALS; IN HIS ABSENCE CO-CHAIRMEN CANADIAN FORMER GENERAL JOHN DE CHASTELAIN AND FORMER FINNISH PRIME MINISTER HARRI HOLKERI LED THE DISCUSSIONS THE FIRST WEEK, AND DE CHASTELAIN ALONE FOR THE SECOND WEEK.

4. (C) GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN TOLD BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL LAST WEEKEND THAT HE THOUGHT THE FIRST WEEK OF BILATERALS HAD BEEN "VERY USEFUL." THE CHAIRMEN MET WITH EVERY PARTY AND BOTH THE GOVERNMENTS IN THE COURSE OF THREE DAYS. THE ISSUE OF CONTINUED LOYALIST (PUP AND UDP) PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS WAS RAISED, NOTABLY BY IAN PAISLEY'S DUP AND BOB MCCARTNEY'S UKUP, BUT FOR NOW BOTH PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY SEEM TO HAVE DECIDED TO PUT THE ONUS ON THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS

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FOR RULING ON THE LOYALISTS' ELIGIBILITY.

5. (C) STAFF MEMBERS ASSIGNED TO THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF (PROTECT) HAVE TOLD US THAT DURING THE BILATERAL MEETINGS A NUMBER OF PARTIES OUTLINED VARIOUS DRAFT INITIATIVES FOR DEALING WITH THE DECOMMISSIONING DEADLOCK. JOHN HUME'S SDLP ADVOCATED THE CHAIRMEN MAKE THEIR OWN PROPOSAL ON DECOMMISSIONING. THE SDLP-PROPOSED INITIATIVE WOULD ESSENTIALLY "PARK" THE ISSUE AND MOVE TO SUBSTANTIVE TALKS IN THE THREE STRANDS, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD COME BACK TO THE FORE IN THE EVENT OF AN IRA CEASE-FIRE. A NUMBER OF THE SMALLER PARTIES AT THE TALKS (ALLIANCE, THE WOMEN'S COALITION, LABOUR, AND THE TWO LOYALIST PARTIES) HAVE ALSO INDICATED INTEREST IN THE NOTION OF THE CHAIRMEN SPONSORING A PROPOSAL TO BREAK THE STALEMATE.

6. (C) REG EMPEY OF THE UUP HAS SUGGESTED TO THE CHAIRMEN THAT THE UUP IS WORKING ON A PROPOSAL FOR "CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES," APPARENTLY ALONG THE LINES OF A PAPER DAVID TRIMBLE GAVE TO PRIME MINISTER MAJOR EARLIER IN THE WEEK. AT EMPEY'S INITIATIVE, THE SDLP HAS AGREED TO A BILATERAL WITH THE UUP ON JANUARY 27, PRESUMABLY TO DISCUSS THE IDEA. THERE REMAINS, HOWEVER, CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM AT STORMONT ABOUT THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE UUP INITIATIVE.

7. (C) GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN MET WITH IAN PAISLEY AND BOB MCCARTNEY ON JANUARY 22; MCCARTNEY ARGUED THAT ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS THE CHAIR COULD NOT BRING FORWARD ITS OWN MOTION UNTIL THE OTHER MOTIONS ALREADY ON THE TABLE WERE VOTED ON. PAISLEY REPORTEDLY NOTED THAT ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY'S REPORT ON DECOMMISSIONING, IT WAS CLEAR THE REPORT "WAS NOT WORTH THE PAPER IT WAS PRINTED ON."

8. (C) THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE NEW YEAR WILL OPEN AT NOON JANUARY 27 WITH PRIME MINISTER HOLKERI IN THE CHAIR. AFTER A BRIEF STATEMENT FROM HIM, THE DUP AND UKUP ARE EXPECTED TO CALL FOR A VOTE ON THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE. HOWEVER, INTERNATIONAL STAFF AT STORMONT DO NOT EXPECT PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY TO MOVE FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE LOYALIST PARTIES; INSTEAD, THEY ARE LIKELY TO CASTIGATE THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS FOR THEIR "FAILURE" TO DEAL PROPERLY WITH LOYALIST VIOLENCE.

9. (U) SENATOR MITCHELL WILL BE IN BELFAST TO CHAIR THE JANUARY 28 AND 29 SESSIONS.

10. (C) COMMENT: IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS THE PARTIES ARE FLOATING, AS THEY ALL HAVE THEIR EYES ON THEIR ELECTORATES AS THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION FAST APPROACHES. WITHOUT RULING OUT THE THEORETICAL POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKTHROUGH, AT THIS POINT IT DOES SEEM UNLIKELY THAT THE TALKS WILL BE ABLE TO RESOLVE THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE OR BE ABLE TO MOVE TO OTHER ISSUES BEFORE THE ELECTION. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT WHILE THE INTERNATIONAL CHAIRMEN MAY AT SOME POINT CONSIDER MAKING THEIR OWN PROPOSALS, THAT TIME IS NOT GOING TO COME NEXT WEEK.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 000816

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/23/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: STATUS OF THE TALKS--THE CHAIR'S VIEW

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0816
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SIT: NSC
PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR KERRICK SENS SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.71)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 9876
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0247
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TALKS "TIME-LIMITED" BUT WILL NOT
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 000902

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/24/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TALKS "TIME-LIMITED" BUT WILL NOT BE SUSPENDED PREMATURELY

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MICHAEL J. HABIB, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. ~~(C)~~ NIO POLITICAL DIRECTOR QUENTIN THOMAS DISMISSED AS "INCONSEQUENTIAL" PRESS REPORTS THAT PM MAJOR IS PREPARING TO QUICKLY SUSPEND THE STORMONT TALKS SOON AFTER THEY OPEN NEXT WEEK. IN A JANUARY 24 MEETING WITH POLMINCOUNS, HE POINTED OUT THE PM'S REMARKS, QUOTED BY THE TIMES AND OTHER PAPERS EARLIER THIS WEEK, WERE MADE AT A CONSERVATIVE PARTY FUNCTION AT WHICH IT SEEMS THE ATTENDEES "DIDN'T KNOW WHAT THEY WERE HEARING." TALKS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE ALWAYS GOING THROUGH A "STICKY PATCH," THOMAS CONTINUED, SO THE PRESS WAS MAKING TOO MUCH OF MAJOR'S USE OF THAT PHRASE -- IF HE DID IN FACT USE IT. THOMAS ALSO SAID THAT THE NIO HAS BEEN UNABLE TO TRACK DOWN THE "SENIOR AIDE" WHO ALLEGEDLY TOLD REPORTERS THAT MAJOR IS THINKING ABOUT NEW STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES FOR THE TALKS. THOMAS WAS UNAWARE OF ANY SUCH EFFORT.

3. ~~(C)~~ AT THE SAME TIME, HE ACKNOWLEDGED, THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS, WHEN THEY REOPEN, WILL BE A "TIME-LIMITED AFFAIR." WHETHER THAT MEANS A WEEK, TWO WEEKS OR SEVERAL WEEKS WILL DEPEND ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES BUT, IN VIEW OF THE (LACK OF) PROGRESS SO FAR AND THE IMPENDING GENERAL ELECTION, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WOULD LAST INTO MARCH. IN FACT, THOMAS SAID, IT MAY NOT BE HEALTHY TO KEEP "BANGING OUR HEADS AGAINST THE WALL" ON DECOMMISSIONING IF SOME POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS DOES NOT QUICKLY EMERGE.

4. ~~(C)~~ THOMAS SAID HE DOES NOT THINK IT IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING, WHICH REMAINS THE KEY OBSTACLE. BUT NEITHER HAS HE SEEN EXHIBITED THE KIND OF POLITICAL WILL WHICH WOULD GIVE HIM ENCOURAGEMENT. ALTHOUGH THOMAS IMPLIED THE UUP, WHICH REMAINS ENTRENCHED IN ITS POSITION THAT SOME PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING WOULD BE REQUIRED, BEARS A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEADLOCK, HE ALSO SAID NATIONALISTS AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT

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HAVE NOT BEEN VERY IMAGINATIVE IN FINDING WAYS TO GIVE THE UNIONISTS MUCH CONFIDENCE. ACCORDING TO THOMAS, AS LONG AS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT INSISTS THE MITCHELL REPORT MERELY REQUIRES THAT DECOMMISSIONING IN PARALLEL BE "CONSIDERED," RATHER THAN ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTED, TRIMBLE SIMPLY WILL NOT HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO MOVE.

5. (C) HMG HAS ENCOURAGED THE PARTIES TO APPROACH THE CHAIRMEN WITH PROPOSALS FOR BREAKING THE DEADLOCK, AND IS ITSELF NOW WORKING THROUGH VARIOUS IDEAS FOR PRESENTATION TO THE CHAIRMEN. WHILE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THAT SENATOR MITCHELL WILL BE RELUCTANT TO TABLE ANY PROPOSAL UNLESS IT HAS SUBSTANTIAL BACKING FROM GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES, THOMAS SAID HMG IS "RELAXED" ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE CHAIRMEN TABLING A PAPER AS A "LAST SHOT" TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK. HE EXPECTS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT MIGHT NOT BE AS WELCOMING OF THAT OPTION, HOWEVER.

6. (C) THE BEST CASE, THOMAS SAID, WOULD BE TO ADJOURN AFTER REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURAL ASPECTS, INCLUDING DECOMMISSIONING, SO THAT WHEN TALKS RE-OPEN THEY COULD DO SO WITH A PLENARY ON SUBSTANCE AND QUICKLY MOVE INTO THE THREE STRANDS. IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, THE NEXT BEST SCENARIO IS TO ADJOURN WITH A FIRM DATE FOR RECONVENING. THIS WOULD AT LEAST HELP ISOLATE THE TALKS FROM CIRCUMSTANCES ON THE GROUND. WHILE PROGRESS IS HOPED FOR, THE BOTTOM LINE FOR HMG IS TO BE ABLE TO ADJOURN ON REASONABLY GOOD TERMS, PRESERVING THE ADVANCES MADE SO FAR. THAT WAY, WHEN THE TALKS RECONVENE AT SOME POINT FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS, HOPEFULLY UNDER MORE FAVORABLE POLITICAL CONDITIONS, THE PARTIES COULD BE IN A POSITION TO ACTUALLY MAKE A DEAL.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0902

TOR: 970124140648 M2587193

DIST:

SIT: HARMON PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR KERRICK SENS SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG

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2015-0157-M (1.72)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHDLA0439 0301048-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 301048Z JAN 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 301048Z JAN 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0835
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0218
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0128
SUBJ: FIANNA FAIL LOSING PATIENCE WITH SINN FEIN

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 000439

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/29/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: FIANNA FAIL LOSING PATIENCE WITH SINN FEIN

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

2. (~~C~~) MARTIN MANSERGH, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH FOR FIANNA FAIL (THE MAIN OPPOSITION PARTY) AND WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF IRELAND'S TOP EXPERTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND, TOLD ME JANUARY 29 THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN FIANNA FAIL AND SINN FEIN ARE INCREASINGLY TENSE. FIANNA FAIL LEADER BERTIE AHERN AND MANSERGH MET JANUARY 28 WITH SINN FEIN LEADERS FOR A SESSION MANSERGH DESCRIBED AS "VERY TOUGH." AHERN TOLD SINN FEIN IF THERE IS A MAJOR ATROCITY, SINN FEIN WOULD BE CUT OFF COMPLETELY. "THEY ARE PLAYING WITH FIRE, AND SOMEONE IS GOING TO BE KILLED," MANSERGH SAID.

3. (~~C~~) IN MANSERGH'S ESTIMATION, SINN FEIN'S APPARENT SCENARIO -- THAT THERE WILL BE BOMBING AND SHOOTING UNTIL TONY BLAIR TAKES OFFICE -- RUNS THE RISK OF LEAVING THE POLITICAL CLIMATE SO SOURED THAT BLAIR WOULD BE INCAPABLE OF EVER DEALING WITH SINN FEIN. MANSERGH QUESTIONED THE MILITARY LOGIC BEHIND SUCH A STRATEGY, YET INDICATED THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP IS CLEARLY UNABLE TO STOP IT. THE FACT THAT SINN FEIN COULD HAVE GONE STRAIGHT INTO TALKS ON JUNE 10 IF AN IRA CEASEFIRE HAD BEEN IN PLACE ADDS FURTHER TO THE QUESTIONS ABOUT SINN FEIN'S APPROACH, HE SAID.

4. (~~C~~) ACCORDING TO MANSERGH, SOME UNIONISTS ARE BEGINNING TO EXPRESS A DESIRE FOR MORE PROGRESS IN THE STORMONT TALKS, BECAUSE THE ABSENCE OF MOVEMENT FEEDS THE IMPRESSION THAT SINN FEIN IS NOT LOSING ANYTHING BY REMAINING OUTSIDE THE TALKS. INDEED, MANSERGH FEELS THAT SINN FEIN IS POISED TO DO WELL IN THE UPCOMIG UK ELECTIONS, THOUGH PERHAPS NOT AS WELL AS IN THE MAY 1996 ELECTIONS FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND FORUM. ADAMS, MCGUINNESS AND MCLAUGHLIN MAY ALL WIN, AND APPARENTLY HOPE THIS WILL STRENGTHEN THEIR NEGOTIATING HAND BOTH

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POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY.

5. (C) MANSERGH SUGGESTED SINN FEIN IS DISPLAYING A NEW ARROGANCE, SAYING THEY ARE "IMPERVIOUS TO INFLUENCE." THEY ARE NOT PAYING ATTENTION TO ANYBODY, BUT MERELY REMAIN INTENT ON DOING THEIR OWN THING. "THE REST OF US CAN JUST GO TO HELL." MANSERGH DOES NOT BELIEVE THERE WILL BE A CEASEFIRE PRIOR TO THE BRITISH ELECTIONS. "ARE WE GOING TO JUMP TO THEIR TUNE?" HE ASKED RHETORICALLY. WHAT CONCERNS HIM NOW IS THAT, WHEREAS IN AUGUST 1994 THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP SEEMED TOTALLY COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS, THERE IS NOW "SOME DOUBT" ABOUT THIS. "THIS IS WORRISOME," HE TOLD ME.

MARCHING SEASON
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6. (C) MANSERGH DESCRIBED LONDON AS BEING "IN RETREAT" OVER THE NORTH REPORT ON THE MARCHING SEASON. TWO SENIOR BRITISH NIO OFFICIALS (CHILCOTT AND THOMAS) REPORTEDLY TOLD HIM LAST WEEK THAT HMG WOULD VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THE REPORT, BUT HAVE SINCE BACKED OFF. HE DESCRIBED THIS AS "TYPICAL" BEHAVIOR, BUT EXPRESSED REAL CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MARCHING SEASON WHICH GETS UNDERWAY AROUND EASTER.

LOYALIST CEASEFIRE
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7. (C) I ASKED HIM ABOUT THE LOYALIST CEASEFIRE. HE DOESN'T KNOW WHETHER IT WILL HOLD BUT, AS OF NOW, HE DOESN'T SEE ANY REASON OR NEED FOR THE LOYALISTS GO BACK TO WAR. BUT GRASS ROOTS PRESSURE REMAINS WHICH COULD AT SOME POINT FORCE THEM BACK, IF IRA VIOLENCE CONTINUES.

SEAN O'CALLAGHAN
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8. (C) I ASKED HIM ABOUT RECENTLY RELEASED IRA PRISONER SEAN O'CALLAGHAN, WHO PLANS TO GO ON A U.S. SPEAKING TOUR. MANSERGH SAID O'CALLAGHAN'S STORY IS A BIT "TORTUOUS" AND DOES NOT HANG TOGETHER. IT WAS "VERY CONVENIENT" THAT HE APPEARED ONE OR TWO DAYS AFTER JOHN MAJOR TURNED DOWN THE HUME INITIATIVE. MA
NSERGH SAID BERTIE AHERN SHARES THIS
VIEW AS WELL. O'CALLAGHAN DOES NOT GENERATE MUCH FAITH OR POSSESS MUCH CREDIBILITY, AND HE IS TRASHING THE PEACE PROCESS. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0439

TOR: 970130055516 M2595000

DIST:

SIT: PASSDOWN PETERS SIMON SUM SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT{C2}
<^DIST>
SIT: HARMON SUM SUM2
PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR KERRICK SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG

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CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 311127Z JAN 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 311127Z JAN 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1439
INFO: ////
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: MITCHELL SAYS AGREEMENT UNLIKELY
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-m (1.73)
KBH 7/31/2019

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 001171

NODIS

S/S-O PLEASE REPEAT TO EMB DUBLIN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/30/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MITCHELL SAYS AGREEMENT UNLIKELY BEFORE UK ELECTION

REF: LONDON 0902

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR WILLIAM J. CROWE, JR. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. (C) SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL, IN LONDON AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST WEEK OF THE REOPENED STORMONT TALKS, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR DURING A JANUARY 29 CONVERSATION AT WINFIELD HOUSE THAT HE SEES LITTLE PROSPECT FOR AGREEMENT PRIOR TO THE BRITISH ELECTION. MITCHELL BELIEVES THE POLITICAL PRESSURES ON TRIMBLE, BOTH FROM PAISLEY AND FROM RIVALS WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY, MAKE HIM UNWILLING TO DO A DEAL. HE SAW NO INDICATION AT THE TALKS THIS WEEK THAT TRIMBLE HAS THE POLITICAL WILL TO PURSUE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SDLP NOW THAT AN ELECTION IS IMMINENT.

3. (C) NONETHELESS, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WANTS THE TALKS TO GO ON UNTIL THE GENERAL ELECTION IS CALLED, MITCHELL SAID, TO AVOID A POLITICAL VACUUM. MITCHELL AGREED THIS WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR THE LOYALIST PARTIES; GARY MCMICHAEL TOLD HIM PRIVATELY THIS WEEK THAT ADJOURNMENT OF THE TALKS WOULD MAKE IT EVEN HARDER FOR THE CLMC TO REIN IN THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES. HOWEVER, NOTING THAT THE TALKS HAD BEEN GOING OVER AND OVER THE SAME GROUND FOR FOUR MONTHS, MITCHELL SAID, "I DON'T KNOW HOW LONG WE CAN KEEP THIS UP IF THERE'S NO PROGRESS -- PROBABLY NOT MORE THAN A COUPLE MORE WEEKS." MITCHELL SAID HE HAS BEEN GIVEN NO INDICATION OF WHEN THE GENERAL ELECTION MIGHT BE SCHEDULED.

4. (C) HMG HAS TOLD MITCHELL THAT IT SOON WILL OFFER A PROPOSAL TO BRIDGE THE GAP ON DECOMMISSIONING IN HOPES OF PRODUCING AN AGREEMENT, ALTHOUGH IT HAS NOT YET SHARED IT WITH THE CHAIRMEN OR THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. MITCHELL SAID HE WILL

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CONSIDER IT WITH AN OPEN MIND BUT IS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT ANY PROPOSAL WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME THE LACK OF POLITICAL WILL. HIS IMPRESSION IS THAT EVEN MICHAEL ANCRAM, WHO HE DESCRIBED AS THE PROPOSAL'S PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT, DOES NOT HAVE MUCH HOPE AND APPEARS TO BE MORE INTERESTED IN USING IT AS A DEVICE TO KEEP THE TALKS GOING RATHER THAN TO ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH.

5. (C) MITCHELL DESCRIBED THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE TALKS AS "TESTY." PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO WRECK THE TALKS WITHOUT HAVING TO TAKE THE BLAME FOR DOING SO. AS THE UUP MOVES TOWARD THEIR HARDLINE POSITIONS, THEY SIMPLY POCKET THE UUP'S CONCESSIONS AND DEMAND MORE. COMMENTING ON THE "UNBELIEVABLE INCIVILITY" OF THE UNIONISTS TOWARD ANCRAM AND OTHER BRITISH OFFICIALS BOTH AT THE TABLE AND AWAY FROM IT, MITCHELL SAID HE THINKS IRISH OFFICIALS WHO HAVE WITNESSED THIS ARE PROBABLY REASSESSING THE PROPOSITION THAT HMG CAN "CONTROL" OR "BRING ALONG" THE UNIONISTS.

6. (C) PAISLEY AND THE IRA "FEED UPON EACH OTHER," MITCHELL SAID, EACH USING THE WORDS AND DEEDS OF THE OTHER TO JUSTIFY THEIR OWN ACTIONS. HE MADE THE OBSERVATION THAT BOTH PAISLEY AND IRA LEADERS WERE "BORN OF THE CONFLICT" AND, AS THEIR AUTHORITY AND POSITION TO A GREAT DEGREE DEPEND UPON THE EXISTENCE OF THE HOSTILE OTHER, NEITHER HAS A SIGNIFICANT STAKE IN SUPPORTING MODERATES IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. REGRETTABLY, SAID MITCHELL, THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH "BIG MEN" IN THE TALKS TO STAND UP AGAINST THOSE WITH A VESTED INTEREST IN PERPETUATING THE CONFLICT.

7. (C) WHEN THE TIME COMES, MITCHELL SAID, HE WOULD TRY TO ADJOURN THE TALKS ON THE BEST POSSIBLE NOTE. WHILE HE IS WILLING TO PUT HIS NAME TO ANY OPTIMISTIC STATEMENT THE GOVERNMENTS MAY SUGGEST, MITCHELL SAID THERE IS A "FINE LINE BETWEEN OPTIMISM AND FANTASY" AND HIS CLOSING SUMMATION MUST BE NOT BE UNREALISTIC.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1171

TOR: 970131064553 M2597151

DIST:

SIT: HARMON PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW
PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR KERRICK SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG
SIT: NODIS

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2015-0157-M (1.7)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA0492 0341737-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 031737Z FEB 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 031737Z FEB 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0861
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0138
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0233
SUBJ: PRIME MINISTERS BRUTON AND MAJOR DISCUSS STORMONT ADJOURNMENT, "BLOODY SUNDAY," IN 1/31 TELEPHONE CALL

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 000492

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/03/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTERS BRUTON AND MAJOR DISCUSS STORMONT ADJOURNMENT, "BLOODY SUNDAY," IN 1/31 TELEPHONE CALL

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: OFFICIALS AT THE TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONFIRM PRESS REPORTS THAT PM BRUTON TELEPHONED PM MAJOR ON JANUARY 31. THE LEADERS COVERED "BLOODY SUNDAY," THE NORTH COMMISSION REPORT ON PARADES, AND PLANS FOR ADJOURNING THE STORMONT TALKS FOR BRITISH ELECTIONS. FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY PATRICK MAYHEW ARE EXPECTED TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES FURTHER DURING AN INFORMAL MEETING ON THE MARGINS OF THE STORMONT TALKS, POSSIBLY WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5. ONE DFA OFFICIAL ESTIMATES THE TALKS COULD BE ADJOURNED BY MID-FEBRUARY. END SUMMARY.

"BLOODY SUNDAY"
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3. (C) BRUTON TOLD MAJOR THE GOI WOULD RE-EVALUATE THE EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS IN DERRY BY BRITISH SOLDIERS 25 YEARS AGO, IN LIGHT OF A NEW BOOK AND PRESS REPORTS ALLEGING THAT BRITISH ARMY "SNIPERS," RATHER THAN ARMED CIVILIANS, PROMPTED THE KILLINGS. (THE BOOK IS "EYEWITNESS: BLOODY SUNDAY," EDITED BY DON MULLAN.) FOLLOWING THIS REASSESSMENT, THE GOI WOULD "PURSUE" THE MATTER WITH HMG AS APPROPRIATE.

4. (C) COLM O'FLOINN OF DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION EMPHASIZED THAT GOI REMAINS OPEN-MINDED WITH REGARD TO CALLS FOR A NEW FORMAL INQUIRY TO HELD BY HMG REGARDING EVENTS OF 25 YEARS AGO. HE SAID IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT HMG COULD MEET THE "PRIME OBJECTIVE" OF FULLY AND COMPLETELY RECOGNIZING THE INNOCENCE OF THOSE KILLED IN DERRY BY MEANS SHORT OF A FORMAL INQUIRY, SUCH AS A DECLARATION BY

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THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. THE GOI IS NOT SURE THAT ANY USEFUL PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED BY "WIDGERY, ACT II," O'FLOINN SAID (REFERRING TO THE WIDGERY TRIBUNAL CONVENED TO INVESTIGATE THE KILLINGS 25 YEARS AGO.)

PARADES
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5. (C) ACCORDING TO O'FLOINN, PM BRUTON PRESSED PM MAJOR TO ACT ON THE "FUNDAMENTALS" OF THE NORTH REPORT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE GOI BELIEVES AN INDEPENDENT PARADES COMMISSION WITH THE POWER TO ACT MUST BE IN PLACE BY THE START OF THE MARCHING SEASON, I.E. MARCH 31. TRYING TO PUT A NEW MECHANISM IN PLACE ONCE THE MARCHING SEASON HAS STARTED WILL NOT WORK -- THIS WAS PRECISELY WHY THE NORTH COMMISSION WAS ASKED TO REPORT BACK BY JANUARY 31. HOWEVER, O'FLOINN UNDERSTANDS THAT MAJOR RESISTED THE TAOISEACH'S CALL, REPORTEDLY FOR REASONS RELATING TO THE UPCOMING BRITISH ELECTIONS.

6. (C) O'FLOINN SAID WHITE HOUSE STATEMENTS REGARDING THE NORTH REPORT HAVE BEEN MOST HELPFUL.

STORMONT TALKS
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7. (C) BRUTON AND MAJOR ALSO TALKED ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE ADJOURNMENT OF THE TALKS AS THE PARTIES TURN THEIR FOCUS TO THE BRITISH ELECTIONS. OFFICIALS WERE TASKED WITH DEVELOPING PLANS FOR A "SOFT LANDING" ADJOURNMENT, YET ONE THAT WOULD ALLOW FOR QUICK RESUMPTION IF NECESSARY. THE SCENARIO WOULD INCLUDE STATEMENTS BEING ISSUED BY THE MAIN PLAYERS THAT WOULD INSTILL CONFIDENCE IN THE TALKS PROCESS STARTING UP AGAIN AFTER THE ELECTIONS. O'FLOINN POSITED A PERSONAL ASSESSMENT THAT MID-FEBRUARY IS THE LIKELY TARGET DATE FOR ADJOURNMENT. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0492

TOR: 970203130729 M2600808

DIST:

SIT: HARMON PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: BASS BERGER DOHSE FUERTH HARMONPTR KERRICK SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG

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PREC: ROUTINE
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LINE3: R 111552Z FEB 97
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0909
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0249
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0145
SUBJ: BRITISH AMBASSADOR INTRODUCES NEW NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS OFFICER AT UK EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.75)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 000638

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/11/2007
TAGS: PREL, PINR, UK, EI
SUBJECT: BRITISH AMBASSADOR INTRODUCES NEW NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS OFFICER AT UK EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON

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

2. (C) BRITISH AMBASSADOR VERONICA SUTHERLAND CALLED ON ME FEBRUARY 11 TO PRESENT ANTHONY CARY, WHO WILL SOON BE SERVING AS THE COUNSELOR FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS (INCLUDING RELATIONS WITH THE HILL) AT THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. WE HAD A FRIENDLY CHAT. I WAS STRUCK BY CARY'S EASY WILLINGNESS TO REFER TO "OPPORTUNITIES LOST" AND "MISCALCULATIONS" WITH REGARD TO PM MAJOR'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS.

3. (C) POINTING TO A REPORTED NIO STATEMENT ISSUED FEBRUARY 10, BOTH CARY AND AMBASSADOR SUTHERLAND CONFIRMED THAT HMG "HAS NOT SHUT THE DOOR" ON SINN FEIN. HOWEVER, BOTH ALSO POINTED TO THE ELECTORAL DIFFICULTIES THAT WOULD BE CREATED SHOULD HMG ENGAGE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN AT THIS TIME. CARY OPINED THAT NOT ONLY WOULD UNIONIST REACTION BE SWIFT AND NEGATIVE, BUT BRITISH CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN COULD ALSO HURT THE SDLP. SUTHERLAND OBSERVED THAT IT HAD BEEN SINN FEIN WHICH BROKE OFF TALKS WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS (QUENTIN THOMAS) IN 1995, APPARENTLY BECAUSE SINN FEIN WANTED TO MEET AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

4. (C) CARY AND SUTHERLAND ATTRIBUTED DELAY ON IMPLEMENTING THE NORTH COMMISSION REPORT TO BRITISH ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS, AND INDICATED IT WAS VERY UNLIKELY ANY ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN THIS SIDE OF THE ELECTIONS. CARY, WHO HAD JUST COME FROM A ROUND OF BRIEFINGS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, STATED BLUNTLY THAT THE AVERAGE VIEW IN LONDON SEVERELY UNDERESTIMATED THE DEGREE OF ENMITY AND TENSION BETWEEN PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS

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RESULTING FROM DRUMCREE. HE FOUND THE MOOD IN BELFAST "GRIM," WITH MANY FEARING THAT IRA VIOLENCE WOULD SOON LEAD TO DEATHS AND, INEVITABLY, TO LOYALIST RETALIATION. SUTHERLAND LAMENTED THE DEGREE OF SUSPICION ON ALL SIDES TOWARD THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, SAYING THIS COMPLICATED UK EFFORTS TO FOSTER CROSS-BORDER AND CROSS-COMMUNITY COOPERATION NEEDED TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION.

5. (C) CARY TOLD ME HE HAD RECENTLY MET WITH MO MOWLAM, WHO EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING THE STORMONT TALKS "PROPERLY PARKED" DURING THE BRITISH ELECTIONS, SO THAT IF LABOUR WINS, THE NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO SAY IT IS SIMPLY CARRYING ON EXISTING BRITISH POLICY.

6. (C) SUTHERLAND AND CARY WERE EMPHATIC THAT SENATOR MITCHELL'S ROLE IN THE TALKS CONTINUES TO BE CRUCIAL, AND THAT SHOULD HE DEPART, "ONLY AN AMERICAN COULD REPLACE HIM." THEY WERE GLAD TO HEAR THAT SECRETARY ALBRIGHT AND OTHER NEW MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S NATIONAL SECURITY TEAM INTEND TO TAKE A DIRECT INTEREST IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUE. CARY SAID HE LOOKS FORWARD TO ASSUMING HIS DUTIES IN WASHINGTON; IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT WASHINGTON, LONDON AND DUBLIN ARE ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH AS FAR AS KEY ASPECTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY ARE CONCERNED, AND HE ONLY HOPED THAT DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AND MONTHS WOULD NOT DETERIORATE IN A WAY THAT COULD UNDERMINE THIS COOPERATION. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0638

TOR: 970211122750 M2612706

DIST:

SIT: PASSDOWN PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT{C2}

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DECLASSIFIED
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2015-0157-M (1.76)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA0774 0501536-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 191536Z FEB 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0943
INFO: ////
SUBJ: SINN FEIN AND HMG TRADE "QUESTIONS" RELATING TO TERMS FOR POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE

TEXT:

////////////////////////// INCOMPLETE MESSAGE //////////////////////////

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 000774

NODIS

NSC FOR BERGER AND STEINBERG FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

S/S-O PLS REPEAT TOSEC FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/19/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN AND HMG TRADE "QUESTIONS" RELATING TO TERMS FOR POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE

1. CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).

2. (C) DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO SECRETARY'S PARTY AND OTHER ADDRESSEES AS APPROPRIATE.

3. (C) JOHN HUME CALLED ME LAST NIGHT TO SAY THAT, FOLLOWING CONVERSATIONS WITH SANDY BERGER AND JIM STEINBERG, HE WOULD BE FORWARDING THE DOCUMENTS BELOW. THESE DOCUMENTS WERE RELAYED TO ME TODAY VIA SEAN O'HUIGINN AT THE IRISH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE DOCUMENTS CONSIST OF TWO LISTS OF QUESTIONS, ONE PREPARED BY SINN FEIN, THE OTHER BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, CONCERNING THE TERMS UNDER WHICH THE IRA MIGHT DECLARE A CEASEFIRE AND SINN FEIN MIGHT BE ADMITTED TO THE STORMONT TALKS. WE WILL FOLLOW UP WITH SEAN O'HUIGINN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

SINN FEIN QUESTIONS
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4. (C) BEGIN TEXT OF SINN FEIN DOCUMENT "POSSIBLE QUESTIONS TO BRITISH" (NOTE INTERNAL NUMBERING):

1. DOES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REMAIN OPERATIONALLY COMMITTED TO INCLUSIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND UNDERSTANDINGS SET OUT

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IN THE PUBLIC DOCUMENTS WHICH THEY HAVE AGREED WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ON THIS ISSUE?

2. WHAT ARE THE PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THESE COMMITMENTS FOR THE INCLUSION OF SINN FEIN IN A MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATING PROCESS?

3. WHAT ASSURANCE IS THERE THAT ENGAGEMENT ON THE KEY POLITICAL ISSUES UNDERLYING THE CONFLICT, WHCIH MUST BE THE PURPOSE OF ANY MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATION, WILL NOT BE THWARTED BY RECOURSE TO UNREASONABLE OR UNDELIVERABLE PRECONDITIONS?

4. WHAT ASSURANCE IS THERE THAT UNIONIST POLITICIANS, AS THE INCUMBENTS AND BENEFICIARIES OF THE STATUS QUO, WILL NOT SIMPLY EXPLOIT THAT ADVANTAGE TO STALL INDEFINITELY, IN EFFECT USING AN OPEN-ENDED NEGOTIATING PROCESS AS A TACTICAL INSTRUMENT TO WARD OFF, RATHER THAN TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON POLITICAL CHANGE?

5. IT IS GENERALLY ACCEPTED THAT THE LACK OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE HAS BEEN A MAJOR OBSTACLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS SO FAR. WHAT CONTRIBUTION WOULD THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MAKE TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING IN THE EVENT OF AN UNEQUIVOCAL RESTORATION OF THE CEASEFIRE?

END TEXT OF SINN FEIN QUESTIONS

BRITISH GOVERNMENT QUESTIONS
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5. (C) BEGIN TEXT OF "QUESTIONS FROM HMG" (NOTE INTERNAL NUMBERING):

1. WHAT ASSURANCE WILL THERE BE THAT, IF THE IRA DECLARE AN UNEQUIVOCAL RESTORATION OF THE CEASEFIRE, IT WILL INDEED BY GENUINELY UNEQUIVOCAL, THAT IS TO SAY LASTING AND NOT SIMPLY A TACTICAL DEVICE, AND HOW WOULD THAT ASSURANCE BE REFLECTED IN WORDS AND DEEDS?

2. WHEN SINN FEIN JOIN THE NEGOTIATIONS THEY WILL NEED TO MAKE A TOTAL AND ABSOLUTE COMMITMENT TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES. IN VIEW OF THE CLOSE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE IRA, WHAT ASSURANCES WILL THERE BE THAT THE IRA WILL NOT RESORT TO VIOLENCE TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS OR ALTER ANY ASPECT OF THE AGREED OUTCOME WITH WHICH THEY DISAGREE?

3. IS IT THE CASE THAT IF SINN FEIN WERE TO JOIN THE INCLUSIVE TALKS PROCESS, THEY WOULD BE READY TO ABIDE BY ALL THE AGREED PROVISIONS AND RULES OF PROCEDURE?

4. DO SINN FEIN UNDERSTAND THAT IF THEY WERE TO JOIN THE INCLUSIVE TALKS THEY WOULD FIRST OF ALL HAVE TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE PRINCIPLES IN PARAGRAPH 20 OF THE MITCHELL REPORT AND THAT IF DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, THEY DEMONSTRABLY DISHONOURED THEIR COMMITMENT TO THOSE PRINCIPLES, THEY WOULD NO LONGER BE ENTITLED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS?

5. MARTIN MCGUINNESS SAID, IN A STATEMENT OF 14 NOVEMBER 1996, THAT THE ISSUE OF ARMS SHOULD BE DEALT WITH TO THE SATISFACTION OF ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE PROCESS OF

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

SSN: 0774

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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0954
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0265
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0153
SUBJ: CODEL GILMAN FEBRUARY 15 MEETINGS IN DUBLIN

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 000793

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/99
TAGS: PREL, OREP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: CODEL GILMAN FEBRUARY 15 MEETINGS IN DUBLIN

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

SUMMARY
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2. (U) CODEL GILMAN AGREED TO TAKE BACK TO WASHINGTON AN IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PROPOSAL FOR RENEWED FORMAL CONTACT BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE DAIL/SEANAD. MEETINGS WITH IRISH PARLIAMENTARIANS REVEALED APPRECIATION FOR CONTINUED U.S. CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, BUT ALSO PRODUCED SHARP EXCHANGES ON THE NORTH, EUROPEAN SECURITY ISSUES, IRAN AND CUBA. FIANNA FAIL LEADER BERTIE AHERN TOLD THE CODEL THE IRISH ACCEPT THAT AN OPPOSITION PARTY CAN TALK TO SINN FEIN IN THE CONTEXT OF IRA VIOLENCE, BUT THE GOVERNMENT CAN NOT.

3. (C) TAOISEACH JOHN BRUTON TOLD THE CODEL SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS WAS A "NICE GUY" WHO WANTED PEACE BUT COULD NOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE IRA. HE SAID THE GOI WOULD NOT ENTER INTO POLITICAL CONSENSUS, FRONTS OR ALLIANCES WITH THOSE WHO RETAINED THE OPTION OF VIOLENCE FOR POLITICAL ENDS. BRUTON THOUGHT TONY BLAIR, IF HE WON, WOULD BE MORE "DECISIVE" THAN PM MAJOR.

END SUMMARY
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4. (U) HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN REP. BEN GILMAN AND A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION DISCUSSED NORTHERN IRELAND AND OTHER ISSUES WITH IRISH POLITICAL LEADERS IN DUBLIN ON FEBRUARY 15. THE HIRC DELEGATION INCLUDED REP. TOM LANTOS, REP. ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, REP. MICHAEL MCNULTY, REP. JAMES WALSH, REP. JAMES MORAN, REP. PETER KING, REP. PAT DANNER, REP. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART, REP. SUE MYRICK, REP. ROBERT NEY, REP. SHEILA JACKSON LEE,

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PLUS SEVEN STAFF MEMBERS INCLUDING HIRC STAFF DIRECTOR RICH GARON AND JOHN MACKEY.

INTER-PARLIAMENTARY EXCHANGES
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5. (U) SENATOR LIAM COSGRAVE, CHAIRMAN (CATHAOIRLEACH - PHON "CA-HEER-LUCK") OF THE SENATE AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTER-PARLIAMENTARY EXCHANGES, PROPOSED THAT LINKS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF THE OIREACHTAS (PARLIAMENT), THE DAIL AND THE SEANAD, AND THE U.S. CONGRESS BE FORMALLY RENEWED AFTER HAVING LAPSED FOR SEVERAL YEARS. REP. GILMAN EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THIS PROPOSAL AND SAID HE WOULD TAKE IT BACK TO WASHINGTON, WHERE HE WAS CONFIDENT IT WOULD RECEIVE PROMPT CONSIDERATION. AS A MARK OF GROWING INTEREST IN INTER-PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY, GILMAN CITED NEW EFFORTS TO SEND IRISH STUDENTS TO WASHINGTON TO SERVE AS INTERNS IN CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES, MIRRORING AN EXISTING PROGRAM THAT ALLOWS AMERICAN STUDENTS TO INTERN IN THE DAIL.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS/EUROPEAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES
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6. (U) THE CODEL MET IN JOINT SESSION AT DUBLIN CASTLE WITH MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, CHAIRED BY ALAN SHATTER, T.D.; MEMBERS OF ITS NORTHERN IRELAND SUBCOMMITTEE, CHAIRED BY JIM O'KEEFFE, T.D.; AND MEMBERS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. FOLLOWING SOME RATHER SHARP EXCHANGES ON THE TOPICS BELOW, THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON THE VALUE OF MORE FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES.

-- NORTHERN IRELAND: ALAN SHATTER (FINE GAEL) CITED THE RECENT KILLING OF A BRITISH SOLDIER AND, REFERRING TO SINN FEIN, SAID THERE WAS "LITTLE CREDIBILITY IN FAXING FOR PEACE WHILE OTHERS IN YOUR ORGANIZATION ARE SHOOTING TO KILL." EAMON WALSH (LABOUR) SAID THE KILLING WAS A TURNING POINT, AND EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO ISOLATE THOSE WHO SUPPORTED VIOLENCE. REP. KING AGREED THE KILLING WAS TRAGIC, BUT SAID THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BREAKDOWN OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE LAY WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. HE CALLED ON THE GOI TO "DENOUNCE" HMG. SAYING GERRY ADAMS HAD NEVER MISLED T
HE U.S., KING URGED
THE WHITE HOUSE TO DEAL WITH ADAMS. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEFENDING THE RIGHTS OF CATHOLICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, POINTING OUT TO IRISH PARLIAMENTARIANS THAT "YOU ARE NOT LIVING IN WEST BELFAST."

-- HUMAN RIGHTS HEARINGS: REP. GILMAN SAID HIS COMMITTEE WOULD HOLD HEARINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, INCLUDING TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN THE UK; HE INVITED THE NORTHERN IRELAND SUBCOMMITTEE TO MEET WHEN IT VISITS WASHINGTON LATER THIS MONTH. JIM O'KEEFFE (FINE GAEL) STRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT MISCARRIAGES OF JUSTICE AND MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS, WHERE THESE OCCUR, FUEL THE SENSE OF INJUSTICE AND DRIVE SUPPORT FOR THE EXTREMES IN
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 000793

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/99
TAGS: PREL, OREP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: CODEL GILMAN FEBRUARY 15 MEETINGS IN DUBLIN

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NORTHERN IRELAND. HE CITED THE CASE OF DENNY MCNAMEE.

-- EU ENLARGEMENT/PFP: REP. LANTOS BLASTED IRELAND AND THE EU FOR NOT MOVING MORE QUICKLY TO BRING IN NEW MEMBERS FROM THE FORMER EASTERN BLOC. HE ALSO HOPED IRELAND WOULD MOVE TOWARD MEMBERSHIP IN PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE, SAYING HE WAS DISTURBED BY IRELAND'S POLICY OF NEUTRALITY. HE SHARPLY CRITICIZED IRISH/EU POLICY ON IRAN. ALAN SHATTER RESPONDED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS IN IRAN, INCLUDING SALMAN RUSHDIE, HAD RECENTLY BEEN RAISED WITH THE IRANIAN AMBASSADOR. SHATTER RESENTED THE SUGGESTION THAT IRELAND DID NOT MAKE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING BECAUSE OF ITS NEUTRAL STANCE: ON THE CONTRARY, HE SAID, NEUTRALITY WAS SOMETIMES AN ADVANTAGE. SENATOR MICHAEL O'KENNEDY CALLED ON THE U.S. TO PAY ITS UN ARREARW. SHATTER SAID PFP MEMBERSHIP WAS STILL A MATTER OF DEBATE. DES O'MALLEY (PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS) SAID HE PERSONALLY FOUND IT INEXPLICABLE THAT IRELAND WAS NOT IN PFP. O'MALLEY ASSERTED THAT CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE BALTICS ARE MORE INTERESTED IN JOINING NATO THAN IN BECOMING MEMBERS OF THE EU. SHATTER SAID IRELAND WAS COMMITTED TO DEEPENING AND EXPANDING THE EU.
-- HELMS-BURTON: REPS. ROS-LEHTINEN AND DIAZ-BALART CHARGED THAT EU COUNTRIES DID NOT CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND THE LIMITED SCOPE OF HELMS-BURTON LEGISLATION ON CUBA AND UNDERESTIMATED THE DAMAGE THAT THE EU'S PROPOSED WTO RESPONSE COULD HAVE ON THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM.

MEETING WITH OPPOSITION LEADER
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7. (U) FIANNA FAIL LEADER BERTIE AHERN TOLD THE CODEL PROGRESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WAS NOT LIKELY THIS SIDE OF ELECTIONS IN THE UK AND IRELAND. HE LAMENTED THAT GOI AND HMG HAD NOT CLOSED THE NARROW GAP THAT EXISTED BETWEEN THEM LAST DECEMBER ON THE QUESTION OF TIMING OF SINN FEIN'S ENTRY INTO TALKS AFTER AN IRA CEASEFIRE. EXPRESSING HOPE THAT ANOTHER CEASEFIRE WAS STILL POSSIBLE, AHERN SAID FIANNA FAIL WOULD CONTINUE TO MEET WITH SINN FEIN. ASKED BY REP. KING WHETHER THE USG SHOULD MEET WITH GERRY ADAMS, AHERN DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN WHAT PARTIES IN GOVERNMENT AND PARTIES IN OPPOSITION COULD DO. HE SAID IRISH POLICY HAD ALWAYS BEEN FOR GOVERNMENTS NOT TO MEET WITH SINN FEIN WHILE VIOLENCE WAS UNDERWAY. BUT AS LONG AS ADAMS WAS CONTINUING TO TRY TO INFLUENCE PEACE, IT WAS APPROPRIATE FOR HIS PARTY, IN OPPOSITION, TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN. IN SPITE OF THE "STUPIDITY" OF THE IRA'S MILITARY APPROACH, NOTHING WOULD BE ACHIEVED BY TOTALLY ISOLATING SINN FEIN, AHERN SAID. "IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO LECTURE SINN FEIN, WE HAVE TO CONVINCE THEM." BUT HE "ACCEPTED" THAT GOVERNMENTS COULD NOT MEET WITH SF WHILE THERE WAS VIOLENCE.

TAOISEACH'S LUNCH
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8. (U) TAOISEACH JOHN BRUTON TOLD THE CODEL AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT "WILL NOT ENTER INTO POLITICAL CONSENSUS, FRONTS, OR ALLIANCES OF ANY KIND WITH THOSE WHO RETAIN THE OPTION OF VIOLENCE FOR POLITICAL ENDS." HE EMPHASIZED THAT NO ONE COULD HAVE A VETO OVER THE TALKS PROCESS.

9. (C) BRUTON SPOKE FRANKLY IN HIS COMMENTS TO THE CODEL

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AT A WORKING LUNCH. ON GERRY ADAMS, THE TAOISEACH SAID THE IRA AND SINN FEIN WERE PART AND PARCEL OF THE SAME ORGANIZATION. "ADAMS IS A NICE GUY, AND WANTS PEACE" -- BUT HE COU
LD NOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE IRA. IF SINN FEIN WERE ADMITTED TO THE STORMONT TALKS, UNIONISTS WOULD SAY, CORRECTLY, THAT THE TALKS WOULD NOT BE EQUAL BECAUSE ONE PARTY RETAINED THE OPTION OF VIOLENCE.

10. (C) ON JOHN MAJOR, THE TAOISEACH SAID THERE HAD BEEN "DEFICIENCIES" ON THE BRITISH PART, CITING DRUMCREE. HE SAID HIS FEELINGS TOWARD MAJOR WERE AMBIGUOUS: "HE IS A VERY DECENT MAN, BUT PAYS TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO HIS BACKBENCH" BECAUSE OF POLITICAL INSECURITY. BRUTON SAID MAJOR SHOULD HAVE SET A DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO ALL-PARTY TALKS FOLLOWING AN IRA CEASEFIRE. BUT, POINTING TO THE IRA'S ATTEMPT TO BOMB MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH CABINET AT BRIGHTON, BRUTON SAID THIS ACTION HAD UNDENIABLY AFFECTED BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY OPINION REGARDING THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. WHILE MR. MAJOR'S "SINS MIGHT BE VENAL, THE IRA'S ARE MORTAL," THE TAOISEACH SAID.

11. (C) ASKED BY REP. MORAN WHAT THE IMPACT WOULD BE IF GERRY ADAMS AND JOHN MAJOR LEFT THE POLITICAL SCENE, BRUTON SAID HE THOUGHT A LABOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD BE "MORE ACTIVIST" IN THE SHORT TERM, ON ISSUES RELATING TO JUSTICE AND PARITY OF ESTEEM. HE THOUGHT BLAIR WOULD BE MORE DECISIVE THAN MAJOR, AND LESS INTIMIDATED BY HIS
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 000793

NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/99
TAGS: PREL, OREP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: CODEL GILMAN FEBRUARY 15 MEETINGS IN DUBLIN

BACKBENCHERS. AS FOR ADAMS, THE SINN FEIN LEADER HAD PRODUCED THE 1994 IRA CEASEFIRE, BUT HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO KEEP IT; "NOBODY IS INDISPENSABLE."

12. (U) PRESSED BY REP. ROS-LEHTINEN AND REP. DIAZ-BALART ON HELMS-BURTON, THE TAOISEACH ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE EU'S ACTIONS AGAINST THE U.S. HAD BEEN LAUNCHED DURING IRELAND'S EU PRESIDENCY. HE EMPHASIZED EU CONCERN WITH THE ISSUE OF WHO DECIDES THAT CUBAN PROPERTY HAS BEEN "KNOWINGLY STOLEN," AND POINTED TO THE NEED FOR AN "INTERNATIONAL" SOLUTION IN THE WTO ON THE EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY OF THE U.S. LEGISLATION.

PRESIDENT ROBINSON
/----------

13. (U) THE CODEL MET FOR 15 MINUTES WITH PRESIDENT MARY ROBINSON AT ARAS AN UACHTARAIN, THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE, WHERE THEY HEARD THE PRESIDENT EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR THE CONTINUED INTEREST SHOWN BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS.

STAFFDEL MACKEY
/----------

14. (U) HIRC STAFFER JOHN MACKEY MET FEBRUARY 13 WITH IRISH SENATOR DAN NEVILLE (FINE GAEL), WHO HAS DONE EXTENSIVE RESEARCH ON THE STATUS AND CONDITIONS OF IRISH PRISONERS IN DETENTION IN THE UK. NEVILLE ASSERTED THAT

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TREATMENT OF REPUBLICAN PRISONERS IN UK CUSTODY DETERIORATED DURING THE 1994 CEASEFIRE, DESPITE THE POSITIVE IMPACT THAT SUCH PRISONERS WERE ESTIMATED TO HAVE HAD ON THE IRA'S CEASEFIRE DECLARATION. HE FOCUSSED BLAME ON BRITISH HOME SECRETARY MICHAEL HOWARD, WHO SEEMED CONCERNED ABOUT DOMESTIC POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF APPEARING TO "GO SOFT" ON TERRORIST PRISONERS. NEVILLE SAID PRISONERS REMAINED A POTENT FORCE FOR A NEW CEASEFIRE; HE ALSO OBSERVED THAT POOR TREATMENT OF PRISONERS BY THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES REMAINS AN EMOTIVE WEAPON FOR THE IRA.

15. (U) CODEL GILMAN DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0161
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0277
SUBJ: GOI VIEWS ON FEBRUARY 22 GERRY ADAMS ARTICLE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 000886

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/24/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: GOI VIEWS ON FEBRUARY 22 GERRY ADAMS ARTICLE

REF: (A) DUBLIN 883 (B) LONDON 2103

1. CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFFAIRES LAWRENCE E. BUTLER.
REASON: 1.5 (B)

2. (C) COLM O'FLOINN, A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, COMMENTED THAT GERRY ADAMS' WEEKEND ARTICLE IN THE "IRISH TIMES" (REF A) CONTAINED SOME ENCOURAGING FORMULATIONS, BUT DID NOT APPEAR TO SIGNAL "ANYTHING IMMINENT" IN TERMS OF AN IRA CEASEFIRE.

3. (C) O'FLOINN FOUND POSITIVE THE STATEMENT BY ADAMS THAT ANY IRA CEASEFIRE WOULD BE "UNEQUIVOCAL." HE ALSO TOOK ENCOURAGEMENT FROM ADAMS' "IMPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT" THAT THE IRA, TOO, WOULD HAVE TO ENGAGE IN CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED IN CHAPTER VII OF THE MITCHELL REPORT, WHICH REFERS TO PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES, TNCLUDING SURVEILLANCE AND TARGETTING.

4. (C) HOWEVER, WHAT IS NEEDED NOW ARE NOT INTERESTING FORMULATIONS BUT AN ACTUAL CEASEFIRE, AND A CREDIBLE ONE AT THAT, O'FLOINN INDICATED. DESPITE ONGOING CONTACTS BETWEEN JOHN HUME AND ADAMS, OF WHICH DFA IS AWARE, HOPES FOR A NEW IRA CEASEFIRE THIS SIDE OF THE BRITISH ELECTIONS APPEAR REMOTE.
STORMONT TALKS
/----------

5. (C) O'FLOINN ECHOED REF (B) INDICATIONS THAT THE STORMONT TALKS MAY BE HEADED FOR RECESS BY MID-MARCH. HE CITED MARCH 10 AS A POSSIBLE TARGET DATE FOR A "SOFT LANDING." BUTLER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0886
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2461
INFO: RUEHZG/NATO EU COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: AMBASSDOR'S CONVERSATION WITH LABOUR LEADER TONY BLAIR

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 002349

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/27/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK
SUBJECT: AMBASSDOR'S CONVERSATION WITH LABOUR LEADER TONY BLAIR

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR WILLIAM J.CROWE, JR. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. (C) AMBASSADOR CROWE MET WITH LABOUR LEADER TONY BLAIR FEBRUARY 27 IN THE LATTER'S WHITEHALL OFFICE. THE HOUR-LONG CONVERSATION COVERED A RANGE OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES INCLUDING NORTHERN IRELAND, NATO ENLARGEMENT, BRITAIN'S PLACE IN EUROPE, HELMS-BURTON AND THE CIVIL AVIATION TALKS. ON NATO ENLARGEMENT, BLAIR ECHOED CONCERNS RAISED BY SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK IN A CONVERSATION THE PREVIOUS DAY (SEPTEL) ABOUT "DOING ENOUGH" FOR THE RUSSIANS TO AVOID A NATIONALIST REACTION TO ENLARGEMENT IN RUSSIA. BLAIR AGREED WITH THE AMBASSADOR'S OBSERVATION THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP A GOOD PUBLIC POLICY LINE, A TOPIC HE SAID HE WOULD BE DISCUSSING WITH NATO SYG SOLANA WHEN THEY MEET NEXT WEEK. BLAIR SAID THE ABSENCE OF "WORSE THINGS HAPPENING" IN NORTHERN IRELAND IMPLIES A "WAIT AND SEE ATTITUDE" UNTIL AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTION, WHEN IT WILL BE IMPERATIVE TO GIVE NEW IMPETUS TO THE PEACE PROCESS QUICKLY. HE WOULD HOPE, HE SAID, TO RESTORE BRITAIN TO A POSITION OF INFLUENCE IN EUROPE, BUT NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP. LABOUR IS ALREADY THE TARGET OF INTENSE LOBBYING BY THE AIRLINE INDUSTRY WHICH HE SEES BECOMING EVEN MORE INTENSE SHOULD HE WIN THE ELECTION. IN CLOSING BLAIR COMMENTED THAT WHILE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE UK WAS ALWAYS SIGNIFICANT, IT WOULD BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO HIM PERSONALLY IN THE EARLY DAYS OF HIS GOVERNMENT, SHOULD HE BE ELECTED PRIME MINISTER. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) DCM, ECON MINISTER-COUNSELOR AND ACTING POLCOUNS ACCOMPANIED THE AMBASSADOR. JONATHAN POWELL, A FORMER FCO OFFICIAL WHO SERVES AS BLAIR'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR, ALSO PARTICIPATED.

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ADDRESSING NORTHERN IRELAND
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4. (C) THE AMBASSADOR BEGAN BY NOTING THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS A STRONG INTEREST IN THE PROBLEM OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND IS DETERMINED THAT THE U.S. REMAIN INVOLVED. WE ARE PROUD OF GEORGE MITCHELL'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE TALKS AND WANT TO CONTINUE TO BE HELPFUL. BLAIR INDICATED HE WAS PLEASED THAT WAS THE CASE AS IT WOULD BE VERY IMPORTANT TO GIVE THE TALKS NEW IMPETUS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ELECTION. THE PROCESS HAS STALLED BADLY, UNFORTUNATELY DUE TO EXPECTATIONS THAT A NEW GOVERNMENT WILL PROPEL IT FORWARD. THIS WILL BE A VERY DIFFICULT UNDERTAKING IN WHICH U.S. SUPPORT IN CRUCIAL MOMENTS WILL BE "DETERMINATIVE." LABOUR IS REFLECTING URGENTLY ON HOW TO APPROACH THE TASK.

5. (C) BLAIR OBSERVED THAT UP TO NOW LABOUR HAS STAYED SCRUPULOUSLY CLOSE TO THE GOVERNMENT POSITION. THIS WAS THE RIGHT THING TO DO AND THERE WAS NOTHING TO BE GAINED POLITICALLY FROM DISRUPTING THE PROCESS. AFTER THE ELECTION, IF THEY WIN, LABOUR'S POLICY WILL REMAIN GENUINELY THE SAME AS THAT OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT -- SUPPORT FOR WHATEVER THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND DECIDE IS WHAT THEY WANT. LABOUR IS CONSIDERING CAREFULLY THEIR APPROACH WHICH MUST DO TWO THINGS: ALLAY THE DEEP FEARS OF THE UNIONISTS THAT THEY WILL BE "BOUNCED" INTO UNIFICATION AND DEAL WITH REPUBLICAN SUSPICIONS THAT SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WILL STALL IN THE STORMONT TALKS. CURRENT THINKING IS THAT THE WAY TO BEGIN IS TO GO BACK TO FIRST PRINCIPLES, I.E., THOSE OF THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT AND DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, AND, IF YOU CAN GET ALL TO AGREE, TO BUILD ON THOSE.

6. (C) THE REAL STICKING POINT, BLAIR CONTINUED, IS CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION. UNIONIST FEARS ARE HOLDING THE WHOLE PROCESS UP. THEY MUST BE REMINDED THAT THE ENTIRE PICTURE HAS CHANGED: BOTH THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED THAT THE PEOPLE MUST DECIDE. BLAIR NOTED THAT IN HIS TRAVELS IN IRELAND HE HAD BEEN VERY SURPRISED HOW MUCH ATTITUDES TOWARD NORTHERN IRELAND HAD EVOLVED. THE IRISH PEOPLE SELDOM BRING UP NORTHERN IRELAND IN CONVERSATION ANY MORE, THEIR FOCUS IS ON EUROPE AND IRELAND'S ROLE. ALL THEY REALLY WANT IS TO AVOID HAVING NORTHERN IRELAND "DUMPED ON THEM WITHOUT A SOLUTION." SUMMING UP, BLAIR SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THE U.S. CAN DO IS TO PUSH PEOPLE AT CERTAIN POINTS TO RECOGNIZE THAT THINGS REALLY HAVE CHANGED.

EUROPEAN ECONOMY
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7. FOLLOWING A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE U.S. ECONOMY, BLAIR SAID TRANSITION TO EMU WAS THE BIG QUESTION OVERHANGING THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY, AND ADDED "BUT YOU'RE NEUTRAL ON THAT." AMBASSADOR AGREED -- EMU WAS A DECISION FOR EUROPEANS TO MAKE. BLAIR SAID HE THOUGHT EMU WAS A PROBLEM THAT WOULD BE HIGH ON THE AGENDA RIGHT AFTER THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 002349

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/27/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK

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SUBJECT: AMBASSDOR'S CONVERSATION WITH LABOUR LEADER TONY BLAIR

(NB: EARLIER, WHEN AMBASSADOR SAID THE ADMINISTRATION HAD LEARNED NORTHERN IRELAND WAS A PROBLEM THAT DIDN'T ACCOMMODATE TO THE U.S. ELECTION CALENDAR, BLAIR QUIPPED "RATHER LIKE EUROPE TO OURS.")

"CONSTRUCTIVE BUT REFORMING" POLICY TOWARD THE EU; BLAIR SEEKS "OUTWARDLY-ORIENTED" SINGLE MARKET

8. (C) ON EUROPE, BLAIR SAID HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE U.S.-UK RELATIONSHIP WAS STRONGER WHEN THE UK WAS MORE IMPORTANT IN EUROPE RATHER THAN THE REVERSE. POWELL NOTED THERE ARE SOME IMPORTANT SUCH BATTLES AHEAD, NOTABLY REFORM OF THE CAP IN 1999.

9. (C) BLAIR SAID HE THOUGHT THAT IF THE UK CAN REORIENT ITS VIEWS, IT CAN HELP SHAPE EUROPE. HE SAID HE IS "TOTALLY OPPOSED" TO A FORTRESS EUROPE. IT IS "ESSENTIAL" THAT THE SINGLE MARKET BE MADE TO BE OUTWARDLY ORIENTED. THERE ARE "ECHOES" OF APPRECIATION OF THIS POINT ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE, BUT THEY NEED HELP. WE CAN ONLY "INFLUENCE EU POLICY IF WE HAVE INFLUENCE IN BRUSSELS". BLAIR NOTED THAT BRITAIN WILL BE A STRONGER PARTNER FOR THE U.S. IF IT IS STRONGER WITHIN EUROPE. MANY PEOPLE POSE THE ISSUE AS A CHOICE BETWEEN THE TRANSATLANTIC AND THE EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS, BUT THIS IS A FALSE DICHOTOMY. AMBASSADOR COMMENTED THAT THE NEW TRANSATLANTIC AGENDA WAS DESIGNED TOHELP PROMOTE OUR COMMON AGENDA. BLA

IN FAVOR OF NATO EXPANSION

10. (C) TURNING TO EUROPEAN SECURITY ISSUES, BLAIR SAID HE FAVORED NATO EXPANSION -- THE ONLY QUESTIONS WERE TO WHOM AND HOW QUICKLY. HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT RUSSIAN NERVOUSNESS, BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND IT WOULD BE DESTABILIZING IF TH ALLIANCE WERE TO PULL BACK. THIS WAS BROUGHT HOME TO HIM, BLAIR SAID, DURING RECENT VISITS TO FORMER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

11. (C) THE PROBLEM IN TERMS OF MANAGEMENT, BLAIR CONTINUED, IS THAT THE RUSSIAN FEARS ARE GENERAL RATHER THAN SPECIFIC. THERE IS THUS NO PARTICULAR CONCERN ONE CAN SEEK TO ALLAY. RUSSIAN CONCERNS HAVE THEIR ROOTS IN HISTORY, THEY WILL HAVE TO BE HANDLED WITH CARE AND DELICACY.

12. (C) THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT DURING HER RECENT VISIT TO LONDON, SECRETARY ALBRIGHT HAD DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR A COMMON PUBLIC POLICY LINE IN THE EXPECTATION OF A SPIRITED PUBLIC DISCUSSmON OF ENLARGEMENT BOTH HERE AND IN THE U.S. BLAIR AGREED AND SAID THAT NATO SYG SOLANA HAD INDICATED THIS WAS SOMETHING HE WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS DURING HIS UPCOMING MEETING WITH BLAIR. BLAIR ADDED HE WAS CONCERNED THAT UP TO NOW DISCUSSION IN BRITAIN HAS BEEN CAST IN TERMS OF GIVING AWAY SOMETHING -- A BOUNTY. HOWEVER, PEOPLE WOULD SOON FOCUS ON THE

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GUARANTEE THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP IMPLIES.

HELMS BURTON
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13. (C) AMBASSADOR SAID THAT HMG HAD BEEN HELPFUL IN SECURING EU COMMON POLICY ON PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN CUBA, WHILE MAINTAINING ITS HOSTILITY IN PRINCIPLE TO THE SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE HELMS-BURTON LEGISLATION. AS A RESULT OF THE EU COMMON POLICY, THE PRESIDENT WAS ABLE TO CITE COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR WAIVING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELMS-BURTON ACT'S TITLE III PROVISIONS. ACTUAL EFFECT OF THE LAW IS ACCORDINGLY QUITE SMALL. EMIN ADDED THE TASK NOW WAS TO FIND A BASIS FOR FREEZING THE EU'S WTO CHALLENGE TO THE BILL, SINCE PROCEEDING WOULD DESTROY THE INSTITUTION. BLAIR MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT.

U.S.-UK CIVAIR NEGOTIATIONS
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14. (C) AMBASSADOR MENTIONED U.S.-UK "OPEN SKIES" CIVIL AVIATION TALKS AS ANOTHER MAJOR DECISION THAT WOULD FAST APPROACH IF LABOUR SHOULD TAKE OFFICE.

15. (C) BLAIR AGREED ON THE IMMINENCE OF OPEN
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 002349

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/27/02
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SUBJECT: AMBASSDOR'S CONVERSATION WITH LABOUR LEADER TONY BLAIR

SKIES-BA/AA ALLIANCE DECISIONS, SAYING THAT HE HAD BEEN THE RECIPIENT OF "MORE LOBBYING" ON THAT ISSUE THAN ANY OTHER. BLAIR SAID THE CIVAIR AGREEMENT "PUTS US VERY MUCH IN A BOX." POWELL EXPLAINED "WE'RE VERY GOOD FRIENDS WITH BOTH BA AND VIRGIN."

COMMENT
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16. (C) WE FOUND BLAIR, WHO WAS EXPECTING NEWS OF A LABOUR VICTORY IN THE WIRRAL SOUTH BY-ELECTION LATER IN THE DAY, BUOYANT AT THE PROSPECT OF FINALLY CAMPAIGNING IN EARNEST (THE GENERAL ELECTION MUST TAKE PLACE BY MAY 1), BUT VERY SOBER ABOUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT IF LABOUR WINS AS IS WIDELY ANTICIPATED. EMBEDDED IN HIS (COGENT) REMARKS ON EACH ISSUE -- NORTHERN IRELAND, EUROPE, NATO, ENLARGEMENT, EMU, CIVAIR NEGOTIATIONS -- WAS THE RECOGNITION THAT THE PROBLEMS WERE SERIOUS, DIFFICULT AND WOULD REQUIRE DELICATE MANAGEMENT TO SOLVE. HE MADE CLEAR THAT HE WILL LOOK TO THE U.S. DIRECTLY FOR HELP WITH NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THAT HE SEES THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AS A CRUCIAL ONE IN MEETING THE STERN CHALLENGES THAT HE WILL FACE HIS FIRST MONTHS IN OFFICE. IN DEBUNKING THE NOTION THAT THERE IS A

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CHOICE BETWEEN CLOSENESS TO EUROPE AND CLOSENESS
TO THE U.S., WE SUSPECT HE WAS RESPONDING TO THE
ARGUMENTS OF SOME EUROPEAN PARTNERS FOR A
REORDERING OF BRITISH PRIORITIES AND SENDING A
SIGNAL AS WELL. UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP, LABOUR WILL
BE MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN EUROPE BUT NOT AT THE
EXPENSE OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S.
CROWE

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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0002
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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: CODEL GILMAN MEETINGS WITH POLITICAL LEADERS

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TAGS: PREL, OREP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: CODEL GILMAN MEETINGS WITH POLITICAL LEADERS

1. CLASSIFIED BY MARCIE B. RIES, ACTING CHIEF, POLITICAL SECTION. REASON 1.5 (B).

2. (U) SUMMARY: A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION LED BY HIRC CHAIRMAN BENJAMIN GILMAN VISITED NORTHERN IRELAND FEBRUARY 14 AND HELD SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF A NUMBER OF POLITICAL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP), PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP), ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP), SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOUR PARTY (SDLP) AND SINN FEIN. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETINGS, THE DELEGATION PARTICIPATED IN A JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY WITH GERRY ADAMS AND PAT DOHERTY OF SINN FEIN, THE LAST POLITICAL LEADERS ATTENDING THE DAY'S MEETINGS. THE CODEL STRESSED CONGRESS' DESIRE TO PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE IN PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION AND URGED PARTIES TO FIND A WAY TO BEGIN INCLUSIVE TALKS ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THESE MEETINGS TOOK PLACE AT THE DUNADRY INN IN COUNTY ANTRIM, APPROXIMATELY 15 MILES NORTH OF BELFAST. THE DELEGATION ALSO MET WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, SIR PATRICK MAYHEW, AT HIS STORMONT OFFICE. (REPORTED SEPTEL.) IN ADDITION TO CHAIRMAN GILMAN, THE CODEL CONSISTED OF REP. JAMES WALSH, REP. ILENA ROS-LEHTINEN, REP. JAMES MORAN, REP. PETER KING, REP. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART, REP. PAT DANNER, REP. ROBERT NEY, REP. SHEILA JACKSON LEE, AND CONGRESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS. END SUMMARY.

UUP
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3. (C) CHAIRMAN GILMAN OPENED THE MEETING WITH KEN MAGINNIS, JEFFREY DONALDSON AND REG EMPEY OF THE UUP (AS HE DID WITH EACH SUCCESSIVE MEETING) BY NOTING THE CODEL'S DESIRE TO PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE IN PROMOTING PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING. HE SOLICITED VIEWS ON HOW THE U.S. CONGRESS COULD BEST DO SO.

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MAGINNIS WELCOMED THE CODEL AND PRAISED FORMER SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL'S SKILLFUL AND EVEN-HANDED CHAIRING OF THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS UNDERWAY AT STORMONT. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THE TALKS ARE IN A VERY DIFFICULT PERIOD BECAUSE OF THE PREDISPOSITION ON THE PART OF SOME PARTIES TO TRY TO DELAY THE PROCESS UNTIL SINN FEIN CAN ENTER IT. MAGINNIS SAID HIS PARTY HAS HAD "NO CONVINCING EVIDENCE" THAT "SINN FEIN/IRA" HAVE ABANDONED ITS "ARMALITE AND BALLOT BOX" APPROACH. EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE IMPROVED THEIR PROPAGANDA, SINN FEIN REMAINS UNABLE TO DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM, OR TO CONDEMN, TERRORISM, MAGINNIS STATED.

4. (C) ASKED ABOUT THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE PEACE PROCESS, MAGINNIS REPLIED THAT "WE HAVE A POLITICAL PROCESS, A TALKS PROCESS; TO GRANDLY ENTITLE IT A PEACE PROCESS IS TO EXPECT TOO MUCH." CAUTIONING MEMBERS ON THE NEED TO BE "REALISTIC," MAGINNIS DESCRIBED THE DIFFICULTIES THE TALKS HAD ENCOUNTERED. POINTING TO ITS COMPROMISE OVER THE CHAIRMEN, HE ASSERTED THAT IT WAS THE UUP WHICH HAS KEPT THE TALKS GOING. HE SAID A "GENUINE CESSATION OF IRA VIOLENCE" WOULD MAKE THINGS EASIER. THIS CEASE-FIRE, HE SAID, MUST NOT BE "THE KIND DECLARED IN AUGUST 1994" WHICH SIMPLY GAVE "SINN FEIN/IRA A CHANCE TO REGROUP." MAGINNIS EXPRESSED DOUBT SUCH A CEASE-FIRE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING AND CONTRASTED SINN FEIN/IRA'S BEHAVIOR WITH THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES' "MORE DISCIPLINED APPROACH BASED ON A GENUINE DESIRE OF THE LEADERSHIP TO KEEP ITS CEASE-FIRE, NOW IN PLACE FOR 28 MONTHS."

5. (C) UUP BELFAST CITY COUNCILOR REG EMPEY HIGHLIGHTED HIS PARTY'S APPRECIATION FOR THE ROLE THE U.S. HAD PLAYED ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE LATE RON BROWN AND CHUCK MEISSNER, AND BY SUCH INITIATIVES AS THE WASHINGTON INVESTMENT CONFERENCE OF 1995. EMPEY SAID THAT "GROWING THE PIE" IS THE MOST IMPORTANT WAY TO ENSURE FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE OVERALL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS DOWN TO 9.2 PERCENT AND, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING HIGHER STATISTICS IN NATIONALIST AREAS, ASSERTED THAT THE POCKETS OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT REMAINING IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE NOT CONFINED TO ONE RELIGIOUS GROUP OR POLITICAL TRADITION. THE TRENDS AMONG ALL GROUPS ARE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, HE SAID.

6. (C) CITING THE BILL INTRODUCED BY SENATOR D'AMATO, EMPEY CRITICIZED CURRENT LEGISLATION IN THE CONGRESS ON THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES. THE UUP BELIEVES SUCH LEGISLATION COULD IMPAIR U.S. INVESTMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE SAID NORTHERN IRELAND HAS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION IN EUROPE. EMPEY MAINTAINED THAT THE ONLY POLITICAL PARTY IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH SUPPORTS MACBRIDE IS SINN FEIN; BOTH JOHN HUME AND CARDINAL DALY HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE POTENTIAL OBSTACLES MACBRIDE LEGISLATION MIGHT PRESENT TO CREATING NEW JOBS.

7. (C) JEFFREY DONALDSON RETURNED TO THE TALKS PROCESS AT STORMONT. NOTING THE TALKS INVOLVE THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS AND NINE POLITICAL PARTIES, DONALDSON SAID THE UUP'S OBJECTIVE IS TO BUILD THE MIDDLE GROUND IN POLITICS. IN HIS PARTY'S VIEW, THE FOCUS HAS BEEN TOO MUCH ON THE EXTREMES. HE SAID THE UUP AND SDLP HAVE ENGAGED WITH EACH OTHER TO GIVE

LEADERSHIP. THE UUP WELCOMES THE PARTICIPATION OF THE LOYALIST PARTIES; IF THERE WERE A GENUINE REPUBLICAN CEASE-FIRE, THEIR INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE WELCOME TOO. DONALDSON SAID THE UUP AGREED WHEN PRESIDENT CLINTON MADE IT CLEAR DURING HIS VISIT LAST YEAR THAT THERE CAN BE NO PLACE AT THE TABLE OF

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DEMOCRACY FOR THOSE WHO USE TERRORIST MEANS.

8. (C) IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER INQUIRY FROM CHAIRMAN GILMAN ABOUT HOW THE CONGRESS BEST CAN HELP FOSTER THE PEACE PROCESS, MAGINNIS EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR GREATER RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT-LED INVESTMENT, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME WELCOMING INVESTMENT THAT PROVIDES TRAINING AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE LESS ABLE. ON THE SECURITY SIDE, MAGINNIS SAID HE UNDERSTANDS THE NEED TO LOOK CRITICALLY AT THE RUC, SAYING "WE DO NOT THINK IT IS A PERFECT INSTITUTION AND WE KNOW THINGS DO GO WRONG." BUT DISBANDING THE POLICE FORCE OR RADICALLY REORGANIZING IT IS NOT THE SOLUTION; UNDERSTANDING AND COMMUNICATION ARE NEEDED.

9. (C) CONGRESSMAN PETER KING THANKED THE UUP REPRESENTATIVES BUT SAID HE DISAGREED WITH ALL THEY HAD SAID. THE IRA HAD OBSERVED A 17-MONTH-LONG CEASE-FIRE; NEITHER THE PLO NOR THE ANC WENT SO LONG WITHOUT ANY TALKS PROCESS. DESPITE THAT, THE BRITISH DID NOT COME TO THE TABLE. DURING THE SIEGE OF DRUMCREE, UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE MET WITH BILLY "KING RAT" WRIGHT, A LEADING LOYALIST TERRORIST. WHAT KIND OF SIGNAL DID THAT SEND, KING ASKED, AND WHAT IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN THIS SUMMER?

10. (C) IN REPLY, DONALDSON DEFENDED TRIMBLE'S ACTIONS LAST SUMMER AS NECESSARY TO KEEP THE SITUATION FROM WORSENING. HE SAID TRIMBLE PASSED ON TO THE POLICE THE INFORMATION HE HAD OBTAINED FROM THE LOYALISTS. "THIS YEAR WE ARE WORKING HARD TO ENSURE THERE IS NOT A REPETITION OF LAST SUMMER," DONALDSON SAID. HE CONTINUED, "WE DON'T WANT TO SEE CONFLICT ON THE STREETS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND WE RECOGNIZE THE DAMAGE IT DOES. HOWEVER, IT TAKES TWO SIDES TO CREATE STABILITY. WE WILL MAKE EFFORTS; SO MUST SINN FEIN." DONALDSON SAID THE ISSUES SURROUNDING MARCHING ARE SYMPTOMATIC OF DEEPER PROBLEMS. UNTIL WE GET TO THE ROOT CAUSE, PROBLEMS WILL CONTINUE. IT IS A MATTER OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CONFLICTING RIGHTS. THAT'S WHY WE ARE TRYING TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE TALKS." REGARDING THE COLLAPSE OF THE CEASE-FIRE, DONALDSON SAID THE FACT IS PLANS FOR THE CANARY WHARF BOMBING WERE UNDERWAY EVEN DURING PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT. QUESTIONS OF GOOD FAITH AND CONFIDENCE GO BOTH WAYS, HE CONCLUDED.

11. (C) CONGRESSMAN WALSH TOLD THE UUP PANELISTS THAT "IT IS HIGHLY ADMIRABLE THAT YOU HAVE ABSTAINED FROM VIOLENCE, IT GIVES YOU THE MORAL HIGH GROUND." HE SAID HE WISHED TO POSE A "MODEST PROPOSAL:" WHY NOT TAKE A CHANCE AND EXTEND THE OPPORTUNITY TO GERRY ADAMS TO JOIN THE TALKS? HE SAID THIS COULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY SETTING A DATE BY WHICH A CEASE-FIRE WOULD HAVE TO BE DECLARED. CHAIRMAN GILMAN ADDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD ADAMS HAD SAID HE WOULD DECLARE A CEASE-FIRE IF ASSURED HE COULD MOVE INTO TALKS RIGHT AWAY.

12. (C) MAGINNIS SAID IT WOULD BE "NAIVE" TO BELIEVE A SIMPLE IRA DECLARATION OF A CEASE-FIRE. HE WAS ADAMANT THAT THERE COULD NOT BE TALKS WITH "TERRORISTS IN RECESS." THERE COULD BE TALKS ONLY WITH PEOPLE WHO HAVE GIVEN UP VIOLENCE AS A POLITICAL TOOL. TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD WEAKEN DEMOCRACY, MAGINNIS SAID. CONGRESSMAN WALSH REPLIED THERE HAD TO BE JUSTICE TO END VIOLENCE. EMPEY TOLD MR. WALSH THAT HIS STATEMENT IMPLIED A FORM OF OPPRESSION EXISTS WHICH JUSTIFIES CONTINUED VIOLENCE. EMPEY FIRMLY REJECTED THAT IMPLICATION. WHILE THE UUP IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS ISSUES OF JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS WITH THE SDLP AND OTHERS, EMPEY SAID, "I DO NOT ACCEPT THERE IS ANY JUSTIFICATION FOR SHOOTING PEOPLE AND BLOWING THEM UP. WE'RE NOT PERFECT BUT THERE'S NOTHING THAT

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CANNOT BE FIXED BY PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC MEANS." THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND JOHN BRUTON AGREE, EMPEY CONCLUDED, AND IT IS IN THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND IN THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE TALKS: THE CEASE-FIRE MUST COME FIRST.

13. (C) CHAIRMAN GILMAN THANKED THE UUP LEADERS FOR COMING TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND CLOSED BY REMINDING THEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST, WHERE ISRAELI LEADERS SAT DOWN WITH ARAFAT WITH NO CEASE-FIRE DECLARED AND SOME GROUPS STILL ENGAGING IN VIOLENCE. IT WAS AN IMPORTANT ANALOGY, HE SAID.

THE LOYALISTS: PUP AND UDP
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14. (C) BILLY HUTCHINSON, WILLIAM SMITH, JOE ENGLISH AND ROBERT GERVINE, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO SMALL LOYALIST PARTIES, AGREED TO MEET THE CODEL JOINTLY AS THE SCHEDULE WAS RUNNING BEHIND. HUTCHINSON OF THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP) OPENED DISCUSSION BY EXPRESSING SATISFACTION WITH THE ROLE THE U.S. HAD PLAYED IN NORTHERN IRELAND ON BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES. HE TOLD THE MEMBERS IT IS IMPORTANT THAT AMERICA REMAINS EVEN-HANDED AND THAT LOYALISTS ARE GIVEN A CHANCE TO TALK TO AMERICANS. HUTCHINSON SAID THE U.S.

CONSULATE IN BELFAST AND THE EMBASSIES IN LONDON AND DUBLIN HAVE ALL PLAYED IMPORTANT PARTS IN HELPING AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION BETTER. IN HIS VIEW, THE BRIGHTEST DAY IN MANY YEARS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WAS THE DAY PRESIDENT CLINTON CAME. IT PROVED TO DETRACTORS HE WAS SERIOUS ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND. HOWEVER, HUTCHINSON POINTED OUT, (PRESS REPORTS ALLEGE) THE WEAPON THAT KILLED A BRITISH ARMY SOLDIER IN BESSBROOK TWO NIGHTS EARLIER CAME FROM THE U.S. THIS DID NOT GO DOWN WELL IN LOYALIST COMMUNITIES. NOTING THAT SECURITY MEASURES ALONE WILL NOT STOP THE IRA, HE CALLED ON THE U.S. TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON SINN FEIN/IRA TO STOP THE VIOLENCE.

15. (C) JOE ENGLISH OF THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP) ENDORSED HUTCHINSON'S COMMENTS AND THANKED THE CODEL FOR SEEING THEM. ENGLISH SAID THE U.S. HAD "DONE EVERYTHING NEAR ENOUGH RIGHT UP TO NOW" IN DEMONSTRATING ITS IMPARTIALITY. ENGLISH SAID THAT, IF NOT FOR SENATOR MITCHELL THE TALKS WOULD BE IN MORE TROUBLE THAN THEY ARE. LOYALISTS, HE ASSERTED, HAD NO PROBLEM WITH TALKING WITH SINN FEIN, BUT THE ONUS WAS ON REPUBLICANS TO REFRAIN FROM VIOLENCE AND DECLARE A CREDIBLE CEASE-FIRE. THE U.S. CAN GIVE THE IRA A "SPECIAL PUSH" IN THIS DIRECTION, HE SAID.

16. (C) RESPONDING TO A QUESTION, ROBERT GERVIN (UDP) SAID U.S. INVESTMENT HAS BEEN IMPORTANT TO THE BELFAST AREA AND THAT INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND MONEY "TO A CERTAIN EXTENT" HAD ALSO BEEN HELPFUL. HOWEVER, HE SAID, SEEING IFI MONEY GO FOR GOLF COURSES DIDN'T MAKE SENSE TO WORKING CLASS LOYALISTS. WILLIE SMITH (PUP) NOTED THAT FIVE YEARS AGO THE U.S. WAS PERCEIVED AS PRO-REPUBLICAN. WORK BY THE CONSULATE AND SENATOR MITCHELL HAS STARTED TO CHANGE THIS PERCEPTION. "WE DO BELIEVE THE U.S. IS FAIR-HANDED," SMITH SAID.

17. (C) REPRESENTATIVE KING EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION OF THE STRESS THE LOYALISTS WERE UNDER AND HIS RESPECT FOR THEIR INTEGRITY. HE ASKED WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED IF DURING THE 17-MONTH CEASE-FIRE THE BRITISH HAD ALLOWED TALKS. SMITH REPLIED THAT DURING THAT 17-MONTH PERIOD THE LOYALISTS WENT THROUGH A PERIOD IN WHICH THEY ATTENDED 24 MEETINGS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, TWELVE WITH OFFICIALS AND TWELVE WITH MINISTERS. SINN FEIN ONLY WENT TO THREE MEETINGS AND THEN REFUSED TO GO

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TO ANYMORE. DURING THE CEASE-FIRE NINE PEOPLE (ALLEGED DRUG DEALERS) WERE MURDERED BY THE IRA, THERE WAS CONTINUED TARGETING AND SURVEILLANCE OF LOYALIST AREAS AND THE CANARY WHARF BOMBING WAS PLANNED. SMITH COMPLAINED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN VERY SLOW IN MOVING ON PRISONER ISSUES. LOYALIST PRISONERS FELT THEY HAD RECEIVED NO BENEFITS FROM THE LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE. BUT, HE CONCLUDED, "IT DIDN'T MAKE US GO BACK TO WAR."

18. (C) HUTCHINSON SAID THAT SINN FEIN "STILL LIVES IN 1918." ALTHOUGH SINN FEIN THINKS LOYALISTS ARE "DELUDED IRISHMEN," "WE'RE ENTITLED TO OUR BRITISHNESS." HUTCHINSON SAID SINN FEIN REFUSES TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE BRITISH AND UNIONIST COMMUNITIES. ACCORDING TO HUTCHINSON, REPUBLICANS MAY WANT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO SURRENDER BUT THEY MUST REALIZE THE BRITISH PEOPLE WILL NEVER SURRENDER. HE SAID SINN FEIN NEEDS TO REALIZE PEOPLE ARE JUST NOT INTERESTED IN LIVING IN "A 32-COUNTY SOCIALIST REPUBLIC;" MARXISM DID NOT WORK IN EASTERN EUROPE AND IT WILL NOT WORK IN IRELAND. SINN FEIN NEEDS TO "COME CLEAN" ABOUT ITS IDEOLOGY, HUTCHINSON SAID. WHEN IT PUBLISHES ITS "REPUBLICAN NEWS" ON THE INTERNET IN THE U.S., FOR EXAMPLE, IT LEAVES OUT THE ANTI-AMERICAN AND PRO-CASTRO ARTICLES.

19. (C) HUTCHINSON EMPHASIZED THAT HE WANTS TO GET AROUND THE TABLE WITH SINN FEIN. HIS PARTY HAS NO PROBLEM WITH THAT. IF THERE IS A CEASE-FIRE, THE LOYALISTS BELIEVE SINN FEIN SHOULD BE IN THE TALKS. HUTCHINSON SAID A PEACEFUL WAY FORWARD, ONE RESPECTING BOTH TRADITIONS, HAS TO BE FOUND. HUTCHINSON CONTINUED: "ALL THE TALK ABOUT DRIVING THE BRITISH INTO THE SEA -- WHO ARE REPUBLICANS TALKING ABOUT WHEN THEY SAY, 'BRITS OUT'? WE ARE THE BRITISH PRESENCE ON THIS ISLAND. THERE HAS BEEN A BRITISH PRESENCE HERE SINCE 1603. HOW LONG DO YOU HAVE TO BE SOMEWHERE BEFORE YOU BELONG?" HUTCHINSON SAID LOYALISTS WANT TO CREATE CROSS-BORDER RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND BUT THEY WANT TO RETAIN THEIR POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE TO BRITAIN.

20. (C) CONGRESSMAN JAMES MORAN THANKED THE LOYALIST REPRESENTATIVES FOR THEIR THOUGHTFULNESS AND ABILITY TO ARTICULATE THEIR POSITION. HE SAID WE WANT TO SEE PEACE WITH JUSTICE ACHIEVED AND NOTED WE HAVE OUR OWN PERSPECTIVE. THERE IS A NEED TO REDUCE THE LOSS OF LIFE AND IMPROVE THE ECONOMY. MR. MORAN ASKED IF TALKS COULD BEGIN WITH SINN FEIN WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE FIRST ACT OF VIOLENCE WOULD EXCLUDE THEM FROM THE TALKS. HE POINTED OUT THAT AT LEAST THAT WOULD GET SOME MOMENTUM GOING BEFORE THE MARCHING SEASON.

21. (C) HUTCHINSON REITERATED THAT THE PUP WAS NOT SAYING SINN FEIN SHOULD NOT BE IN THE TALKS. BUT THERE FIRST MUST BE AN IRA CEASE-FIRE. HUTCHINSON SAID THE COMBINED LOYALIST MILITARY COMMAND (CLMC) UNDERSTOOD THAT WITH A CEASE-FIRE,

THERE WOULD BE TALKS IN WHICH THE PUP AND UDP COULD PARTICIPATE ON EQUAL GROUNDS AS ALL OTHER PARTIES. THAT WAS THE DEAL. IF THE IRA WAS TO BE ALLOWED IN ON DIFFERENT GROUNDS, THEN THE CLMC COULD CONCLUDE THAT LOYALISTS TOO COULD KILL AND STILL BE IN THE TALKS. ENGLISH REPEATED THAT IT IS NOT A MATTER OF LOYALISTS WANTING TO AVOID SINN FEIN. HE RECALLED THAT UDP LEADER GARY MCMICHAEL HAD SAT DOWN WITH PAT MCGEOWN (PHON) OF SINN FEIN LAST FEBRUARY. THE NEXT DAY, CANARY WHARF HAD BEEN BOMBED. ENGLISH STATED THERE HAS TO BE A CREDIBLE CEASE-FIRE BEFORE SINN FEIN CAN ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE AND "WE WILL NOT SIT DOWN WITHOUT BUILDING CONFIDENCE."

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22. (C) RESPONDING AGAIN TO MR. MORAN, HUTCHINSON EMPHASIZED THAT A CEASE-FIRE WAS NOT A "PRE-CONDITION" IMPOSED BY THE LOYALISTS OR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT; IT WAS THE POSITION OF THE IRISH PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT CLINTON AS WELL. THE LOYALIST PARTIES HAD SIGNED UP TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES; SINN FEIN HAD TO DO THE SAME. SMITH CHIMED IN THAT HE DIDN'T THINK AGREEING TO STOP KILLING PEOPLE WAS AN UNREASONABLE CONDITION FOR ENTRY INTO THE TALKS. SMITH SAID THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT THE STUMBLING BLOCK. IN SUM, HE SAID, THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF A SPECIAL EXCEPTION FOR REPUBLICAN GUNMEN. THE LOYALIST PARTIES ARE UNDER GREAT STRAIN AND CONTINUED IRA VIOLENCE COMPLICATES EFFORTS TO HOLD THE LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE.

23. (C) CONGRESSMAN WALSH EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO THE LOYALIST LEADERS TO VISIT WASHINGTON. THEY SAID APPRECIATED THE INVITATION AND WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITIES TO VISIT THE U.S., BUT INDICATED THAT FUNDING FOR SUCH TRAVEL IS A PROBLEM FOR THEIR SMALL PARTIES.

SDLP
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24. (C) SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME AND SDLP MP FROM WEST BELFAST JOE HENDRON MET WITH THE CODEL. HUME SPOKE ELOQUENTLY AND IN FAMILIAR TERMS OF HIS COMMITMENT TO NON-VIOLENCE. HE HAD WORKED DIRECTLY WITH SINN FEIN, "OUR BIGGEST OPPONENTS," TO TRY TO ACHIEVE AN END TO VIOLENCE. WHEN AFTER 18 MONTHS OF A CEASE-FIRE THERE WERE NO TALKS, THE CEASE-FIRE BROKE DOWN. HUME SAID HE IS CONTINUING HIS CONTACTS WITH GERRY ADAMS AND WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND IS HOPEFUL OF ACHIEVING SOMETHING. THE KILLING OF THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN BESSBROOK WAS A TERRIBLE ACT. HUME MADE CLEAR HIS POSITION THAT, IF THE IRA WOULD STOP THE VIOLENCE, SINN FEIN SHOULD COME INTO THE TALKS.

25. (C) CHAIRMAN GILMAN SAID IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT GERRY ADAMS HAD SAID HE WAS AGREEABLE TO A CEASE-FIRE IF TALKS WOULD BEGIN IMMEDIATELY. HE QUERIED WHETHER THIS IS ACCURATE. HUME RESPONDED THAT HE HAD BEEN TALKING TO ADAMS ABOUT GETTING THE CEASE-FIRE RESTORED, AND TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ABOUT CLARIFYING THEIR POSITION ON TALKS. RECOUNTING RECENT HISTORY OF HIS EFFORTS, HUME SAID THAT ON OCTOBER 10, HE HAD GONE TO PRIME MINISTER MAJOR WITH A PIECE OF PAPER AND TOLD HIM, "IF YOU SAY THIS, THE IRA CAMPAIGN WILL STOP." HUME HAD ASKED MAJOR TO STATE THAT THE TWO CONDITIONS FOR SINN FEIN'S ENTRY INTO TALKS WERE AN UNEQUIVOCAL RESTORATION OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND A COMMITMENT BY SINN FEIN TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES. BUT MAJOR HAD REPLIED BY SAYING THAT IN THE EVENT OF AN UNEQUIVOCAL IRA CEASE-FIRE, SINN FEIN WOULD HAVE TO GO THROUGH OTHER PROCEDURES, MEETING FIRST WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THEN WITH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, THEN WITH EACH OF THE PARTIES, AND FINALLY MOVING TO ALL-PARTY TALKS. HUME ASKED HOW LONG THAT WOULD TAKE, AND MAJOR REPLIED THAT HE DIDN'T KNOW. SIX WEEKS LATER, MAJOR ISSUED HIS FORMAL RESPONSE, WHICH FAILED TO PROVIDE A DEFINITE DATE FOR ENTRY.

26. (C) CHAIRMAN GILMAN SAID THAT THIS WAS VERY FRUSTRATING. MR. KING COMMENDED HUME AND ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY HOPE OF TALKS INCLUDING SINN FEIN BEFORE THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION. HE ALSO ASKED IF THE 17-MONTH IRA CEASE-FIRE HAD BEEN FOR REAL. HUME REPLIED THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF HIS CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH ADAMS WAS TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE. AT THE STORMONT TALKS NOW CONFIDENCE IS BEING BUILT, HE SAID. HE

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OFFERED THAT IT WAS INTERESTING THAT OF ALL THE PARTIES, THE SDLP AND THE LOYALIST PARTIES ARE GETTING ALONG BEST. HUME SAID PART OF THE DIFFICULTY IN MAKING PROGRESS PRIOR TO THE ELECTION HAS BEEN THE MAJOR GOVERNMENT'S LACK OF A MAJORITY. IF THERE HAD BEEN A STRONG BRITISH GOVERNMENT DURING THE CEASE-FIRE, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN PEACE. AT PRESENT THERE, HE SAID, THERE IS A VACUUM AND THE DANGER OF A TERRIBLE ATROCITY.

27. (C) MR. WALSH ASKED WHAT WOULD NEED TO HAPPEN TO GET PEACE WITH JUSTICE ONCE EVERYONE IS AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE? HUME RESPONDED THAT THE AGENDA WAS ALREADY AGREED. HE SAID IT IS PROGRESS THAT AT STORMONT, THE UNIONIST PARTIES HAD ALREADY BEEN SITTING WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT FOR SIX MONTHS. THE THREE STRANDS OF RELATIONSHIPS THAT HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH HAVE BEEN DEFINED THE SDLP'S POSITION IS THAT THERE SHOULD BE A FORM OF POWER-SHARING IN NORTHERN IRELAND, COUPLED WITH A

SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH. POWER-SHARING WOULD INVOLVE ELECTING THREE LEADERS BY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION; THIS WOULD LIKELY RESULT IN TWO PROTESTANTS AND ONE CATHOLIC, WHO WOULD THEN PICK A CABINET. HUME SAID THAT ONCE THE QUARREL IS OVER, THE REAL HEALING COULD BEGIN AND, IN A GENERATION OR TWO, THE REAL IRELAND COULD TAKE SHAPE.

28. (C) MR. MORAN NOTED THAT GERRY ADAMS WAS REGARDED AS THE PERSONIFICATION OF SINN FEIN AND THE IRA. HE ASKED HUME TO WHAT EXTENT ADAMS HAD CONTROL OVER THE IRA, AND WHETHER TONY BLAIR, WERE HE TO BECOME BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, WOULD BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HUME SUGGESTED THE CONGRESSMAN ASK ADAMS DIRECTLY ABOUT THE EXTENT OF HIS CONTROL. HUME OBSERVED THAT SINN FEIN WAS LESS A POLITICAL PARTY THAN A MOVEMENT -- THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT -- WHICH BELIEVES THAT THE LAST TIME THE IRISH PEOPLE SPOKE WAS IN 1918, BEFORE PARTITION. SINN FEIN REGARDS ITSELF AS THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ALL OF IRELAND; THE PROVISIONAL IRA IS THE ARMY. HUME SAID HE PRESUMED THEY EACH KNEW WHAT THE OTHER WAS DOING, BUT THE PROVISIONAL IRA IS A SECRET ORGANIZATION. "THEY (SINN FEIN) DO KNOW THAT VIOLENCE IS GOING TO HAPPEN," ALTHOUGH THEY MAY NOT KNOW THE DETAILS. "I FIND THAT VERY HARD," HUME SAID. REGARDING BRITISH POLITICS, HUME SAID THE SDLP VOTES WITH LABOUR IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. BLAIR HAD SUPPORTED MAJOR ON NORTHERN IRELAND, HE OBSERVED. HE REITERATED THAT IF THERE HAD BEEN A STRONGER GOVERNMENT IN LONDON, "WE WOULD HAVE HAD A PEACE A YEAR AGO." EVEN SO, HE CONCLUDED, "WE MUST GET THE IRA TO STOP."

29. CHAIRMAN GILMAN THANKED HUME AND HENDRON FOR THEIR VIEWS AND WISHED THEM WELL IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION. THE MEMBERS TOOK A SHORT BREAK TO POSE FOR PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS WITH THE SDLP DELEGATION.

SINN FEIN
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30. (C) LEADER GERRY ADAMS AND VICE PRESIDENT PAT DOHERTY REPRESENTED SINN FEIN AT MEETING WITH THE CODEL. PRESS AIDE RICHARD MCAULEY ALSO WAS PRESENT BUT DID NOT SPEAK. AT THE OUTSET, CHAIRMAN GILMAN ASKED ADAMS TO CLARIFY WHETHER HE WOULD AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE, PROVIDED SINN FEIN GOT INTO THE TALKS.

31. (C) ADAMS SAID HE WAS DELIGHTED THE CODEL WAS RECEIVING A DELEGATION FROM SINN FEIN. HE SAID HIS PARTY'S POSITION IS RELATIVELY STRAIGHTFORWARD: SINN FEIN, "ALONG WITH JOHN HUME,

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ALBERT REYNOLDS, AND YOURSELVES," BROUGHT AN IRA CESSATION WHICH LASTED 18 MONTHS. HE ASKED THE CONGRESSMEN TO IMAGINE THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR IN OTHER CONFLICTS, IF FOR 18 MONTHS THERE WERE NO CREDIBLE PROCESS. WHEN THE CESSATION WAS PUT IN PLACE, ADAMS SAID, THE IRA WANTED TO ENHANCE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR TALKS. "WE WERE ABLE TO BRING A PAUSE," ADAMS SAID. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAVED IT WITH HIS VISIT. HE WAS GREETED WITH SUCH GOOD WILL BECAUSE PEOPLE KNEW THE PROCESS WAS GOING DOWN THE TUBES. THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT PUSHED THE BRITISH TO ACCEPT THE TWIN TRACK APPROACH. SINN FEIN ENGAGED IN THE TWIN TRACK AND SIGNED UP TO THE MITCHELL REPORT. THE BRITISH DID NOT AND MAJOR BINNED MITCHELL THE VERY NEXT DAY IN PARLIAMENT. THE CEASE-FIRE THEN COLLAPSED. IN THE SUMMER, HE SAID REFERRING TO THE EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO DRUMCREE, "THIS PLACE WENT MAD."

32. (C) ADAMS SAID HE CONTINUED TO WORK WITH JOHN HUME, AND PUT A NEW PROPOSITION TO THE BRITISH ON OCTOBER 10. THE BRITISH HAD ONLY TO SAY WHAT NEEDED TO BE SAID. BUT MAJOR REJECTED THIS OVERTURE IN A VERY PUBLIC WAY. THE BRITISH HAD THUS REJECTED TWO OPPORTUNITIES. HOWEVER, EVEN IN TODAY'S CIRCUMSTANCES, ADAMS SAID, SINN FEIN IS PREPARED TO DO ALL THAT IS REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. EVERY SINGLE OBSTACLE THE BRITISH PUT UP, SINN FEIN HAS CLEARED. HE SAID THERE ARE NOW TWO WAYS TO GO: BACK INTO CONFLICT, OR FORWARD INTO NEGOTIATIONS. SINN FEIN IS CONVINCED THE PLACE TO GO IS INTO NEGOTIATIONS. "WE STILL HAVEN'T GIVEN UP," HE SAID.

33. (C) ADAMS SAID HE HAD FAXED TO MAJOR A REQUEST THAT HE AUTHORIZE TALKS AT OFFICIALS LEVEL. THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER HAD SAID HE HAD "SOME IDEAS" FOR AFTER THE ELECTION. WHY WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION, ADAMS ASKED, WHEN HE SHOULD DO IT BEFORE? THE DEATHS THAT HAVE OCCURRED, BOTH THE SOLDIER'S IN BESSBROOK AND A NATIONALIST KILLED BY THE RUC IN DERRY LAST SUMMER, REPRESENT A FAILURE, ADAMS SAID.

34. (C) ADAMS SAID SINN FEIN DID NOT BELIEVE THE BRITISH WERE NEUTRAL AND ALWAYS EXPECTED THE PROCESS WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME. HE SAID THE UNIONIST POSITION HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO, SO THEY WERE NOT EXPECTED TO MOVE FAST. THE UNIONIST POSITION IS UNDERSTANDABLE; CHANGE IS TO THEIR DISADVANTAGE. NOW THE REVISIONIST VIEW BEING PUSHED BY THE BRITISH IS THAT THE CESSATION WAS A FAKE. IT WAS NOT A FAKE, ADAMS DECLARED. HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE ARE ALIVE TODAY WHO

WOULD NOT BE ABSENT THE CESSATION.

35. (C) ADAMS CONTINUED TO SAY THAT NORTHERN IRELAND IS A POLICE STATE WITH A PERMANENT STATE OF EMERGENCY SINCE PARTITION. WHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BEGAN IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND, ADAMS SAID, IT WAS INFLUENCED BY THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE AND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. TODAY, HE ASSERTED, CATHOLICS STILL DO NOT HAVE THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS. CATHOLICS ARE STILL GREATER THAN TWO TIMES MORE LIKELY THAN PROTESTANTS TO BE UNEMPLOYED. IT IS THE U.S. WHO PUT THAT ISSUE ON THE AGENDA, ADAMS SAID.

36. (C) ADAMS THANKED THE CODEL FOR BEING PERMITTED TO PUT FORWARD HIS VIEWS. HE REITERATED HIS BELIEF THAT "WE ARE GOING TO GET A PEACE SETTLEMENT." PAT DOHERTY ADDED THAT THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN HUME AND ADAMS WAS A CRUCIAL TOUCHSTONE WHICH KEEPS HOPE ALIVE.

37. (C) MR. KING SAID HE HAD ALWAYS FOUND GERRY ADAMS TO BE A

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MAN OF TOTAL INTEGRITY. WHEN THE FINAL HISTORY IS WRITTEN, HE SAID, WE WILL SEE THE ENORMOUS PRESSURE ADAMS HAD BEEN UNDER. THE CONGRESSMAN ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY CHANCE OF TALKS BEFORE THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS. ADAMS SAID "OUR POSITION IS INCLUSIVE TALKS SHOULD BEGIN. WE ARE PREPARED TO TALK TO THE BRITISH ANYTIME. WE ARE ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO SITTING DOWN WITH EVERYONE, INCLUDING THE LOYALISTS." ADAMS SAID THE LOYALISTS "ARE DOING THEIR BEST," BUT UNTIL ONE OF THE LARGER UNIONIST PARTIES TALKED TO SINN FEIN, THE LOYALISTS WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT. ADAMS SAID THERE ARE THREE IRONIES IN THE BRITISH POSITION. SINN FEIN COUNCILORS SUCH AS ALEX MASKEY CONTINUED TO MEET WITH BRITISH MINISTERS TO TALK ABOUT LOCAL ISSUES. IN 1992, WHEN THE IRA CAMPAIGN WAS VERY INTENSE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS TALKING TO SINN FEIN. AND THE BRITISH HAD A DOUBLE STANDARD: TWO CATHOLICS HAD ALSO BEEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE, ONE MURDERED BY LOYALISTS, THE OTHER BY THE BRITISH.

38. (C) THERE IS NO WAY TO GO FORWARD UNLESS PEOPLE SIT DOWN AND TALK, ADAMS CONTINUED. THE UNIONISTS WILL NOT COME TO THE TABLE UNTIL THE BRITISH TELL THEM TO. IN HARRYVILLE (BALLYMENA, COUNTY ANTRIM), LOYALISTS ARE DEMONSTRATING OUTSIDE A CATHOLIC CHURCH EVERY WEEK; ADAMS SAID IT REMINDED HIM OF ANTI-BUSING CAMPAIGNS IN THE U.S. IF THIS HAPPENED ANY PLACE OTHER THAN THE NORTH OF IRELAND, HE CLAIMED, IT WOULD BE A MASSIVE CAUSE FOR CONCERN. HE POINTED OUT THE FIRST HUME-ADAMS STATEMENT WAS ALMOST SIX YEARS AGO; THEY STILL WANTED TO SEEK AGREEMENT WITH UNIONISTS.

39. (C) CONGRESSWOMAN ROS-LEHTINEN NOTED THAT ADAMS REPRESENTED A GROUP WHICH HAD BEEN OPPRESSED. SHE SAID SHE HAD BEEN BORN IN CUBA, WHERE OPPRESSION IS EVEN GREATER. SHE UNDERSTOOD SINN FEIN HAD LAUDED THE MARXIST REGIME OF CASTRO IN ITS PUBLICATIONS. SHE ALSO UNDERSTOOD SINN FEIN HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT INVESTMENT GOING TO WEST BELFAST WAS NOT BENEFITING THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA. THAT WAS WHAT THE U.S. WAS TELLING THE EU ABOUT INVESTMENTS IN CUBA, SHE SAID. SHE ASKED ADAMS TO EXPLAIN SINN FEIN'S POSITION ON CASTRO AND HIS DENIAL OF RIGHTS TO THE PEOPLE OF CUBA. ADAMS SAID THAT, HAVING VISITED THE U.S., HE WAS VERY MINDFUL OF PEOPLE OF VARIOUS ETHNIC EXTRACTIONS, INCLUDING IRISH-AMERICANS, WANTING TO SEE JUSTICE IN THEIR HOMELANDS. ADAMS SAID SINN FEIN BELIEVES IN DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION. IT SUPPORTS THE RIGHT OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE TO NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION. "WE'RE FOR THEM BEING A DEMOCRACY BUT WE'RE AGAINST SANCTIONS," ADAMS SAID.

40. (C) RESPONDING TO A FURTHER QUESTION ON CUBA FROM CONGRESSMAN DIAZ-BALART, ADAMS REITERATED THAT ALL CONFLICTS SHOULD BE SOLVED THROUGH DIALOGUE. HE SAID SANCTIONS MAKE THE PEOPLE, NOT JUST THEIR GOVERNMENTS, SUFFER. ADAMS SAID CASTRO SHOULD HOLD ELECTIONS. SINN FEIN CALLS FOR ELECTIONS EVERYWHERE, INCLUDING CUBA, AND BELIEVES WHEREVER THERE IS A DENIAL OF CIVIL RIGHTS, THAT SHOULD BE REVERSED. ADAMS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, JUST AS SOME AMERICANS ARE NOT EXPERT ON IRISH ISSUES, HE MIGHT NOT BE WELL-INFORMED ON CUBA.

41. (C) MR. MORAN SAID HE WISHED ADAMS WELL. HE SAID EVERYONE THEY HAD MET TODAY HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SINN FEIN HAS TO BE AT THE TABLE. HE CALLED ADAMS' RELATIONSHIP WITH JOHN HUME "AMAZING" BECAUSE THEY COMPETE FOR VOTES WHILE STILL MAINTAINING THEIR DIALOGUE. THE "ISSUE OF VIOLENCE AND THE IRA IS THE WHOLE NUT," HE SAID, BUT THE ISSUE OF BRITISH INTRANSIGENCE SEEMS TO GET LOST. HE SAID IT IS CLEAR THAT IS WHY THE IRA RESORTED AGAIN TO VIOLENCE. MR. MORAN NOTED THAT

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PEOPLE ASK WHY GERRY ADAMS CAN'T CONDEMN CANARY WHARF AND THE OTHER IRA ACTS. MORAN ASKED IF ADAMS COULD ASSURE PEOPLE THAT IF THERE IS ANOTHER CEASE-FIRE IT WILL LAST.

42. (C) "WE GOT THE LAST CESSATION TO LAST; WE WANT TO MAKE THE IRA REDUNDANT," ADAMS REPLIED. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, WHEN A COUNTRY IS TAKEN OVER -- FROM LOCAL SCHOOLS TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS -- THE NATIVE PEOPLE RESPOND IN DIFFERENT WAYS. SOME MIGHT COLLABORATE; SOME WOULD BE PASSIVE; AND OTHERS

WOULD ENGAGE IN ACTIVE RESISTANCE. ALL THE CONDITIONS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND MAKE PHYSICAL FORCE AN OPTION FOR SOME OF OUR PEOPLE, HE EXPLAINED. ADAMS SAID MAYHEW AND MAJOR HAVE DONE MORE TO VALIDATE PHYSICAL FORCE THAN ANYONE ELSE, BUT STILL "I THINK WE CAN GET THE IRA TO STOP." THE KEY IS CREDIBLE TALKS WHICH ADDRESSES SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WITHIN AN AGREED TIMEFRAME, ADAMS DECLARED.

43. (C) ADAMS SAID HE COULD CONDEMN KILLINGS. HE SAID HE LISTENED TO THE VOICES OF THE PARENTS OF THE SOLDIER WHO WAS KILLED. BUT, HE ASKED, IF HE WERE TO DO SO, "WHERE WILL THAT CONDEMNATION LEAVE US? WE MUST PROTECT OUR CREDIBILITY WITHIN THE BROAD REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT." WE DELIVERED FOR 18 MONTHS, ADAMS SAID, DURING WHICH "ALL WE WANTED WAS THE KIND OF CONVERSATION WE'RE HAVING NOW WITH YOU."

44. (C) CHAIRMAN GILMAN ASKED AGAIN IF ADAMS WAS PREPARED TO DELIVER A CEASE-FIRE ON THE CONDITION OF BEING ADMITTED TO THE TALKS. ADAMS SAID IF IT HAD BEEN LEFT TO HIM AND SINN FEIN, "THE CESSATION WOULD NEVER HAVE ENDED. I UNDERSTAND WHY THE CESSATION ENDED. I WANT TO SEE IT RESTORED." HE POINTED OUT THAT SINN FEIN FOUGHT AN ELECTION IT HAD NOT WANTED AND INCREASED ITS SHARE OF THE VOTE BY FIFTY PERCENT. BUT, HE REITERATED, THERE MUST BE SPEEDY ENTRY INTO REAL TALKS THAT DEAL WITH SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, WITH ALL PRECONDITIONS REMOVED, AND WITHIN A BROADLY AGREED TIMEFRAME.

45. (C) AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE FINAL MEETING, CONGRESSMAN GILMAN THANKED ADAMS AND DOHERTY AND INVITED THEM TO JOIN THE CODEL FOR A JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY IN THE ADJACENT ROOM BEFORE THE DELEGATION LEFT TO MEET SIR PATRICK MAYHEW.

46. (U) AT THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE DELEGATION ISSUED A STATEMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND. BEGIN TEXT:

PRESS STATEMENT NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS

FEBRUARY 17, 1997

THE BI-PARTISAN U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, LED BY CHAIRMAN BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, VISITING IRELAND AFTER CAREFULLY EVALUATING THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE PEACE PROCESS FOLLOWING MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES, AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS, ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND.

WE JOIN PRESIDENT CLINTON, AND THE IRISH PEOPLE (BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH) IN REAFFIRMING OUR OVERWHELMING DESIRE FOR PERMANENT PEACE AND RECONCILIATION ON THE ISLAND. THESE WORTHY AND IMPORTANT GOALS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH PEACEFUL DIALOG AND NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING ALL PARTIES, ALONG WITH THE EVENTUAL CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE TO ANY PROPOSED POLITICAL SOLUTION.

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A PROMPT RESTORATION OF THE IRA CEASE-FIRE AS CALLED FOR BY PRESIDENT CLINTON, AND MANY OTHERS, PLUS THE CESSATION OF THE USE OF VIOLENCE BY ANYONE, WILL SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE BEST, WITHOUT FURTHER DIMINISHING THE WORTHINESS OR MERIT OF ANY PARTY'S CAUSE. ALL PARTY INCLUSIVE TALKS AND POLITICAL DIALOG, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS SET OUT IN THE MITCHELL REPORT, ARE THE ONLY TRUE MEANS FOR FINDING THE COMMON GOAL WE ALL SHARE FOR A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT.

THIS IS AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE. WE URGE ALL CONCERNED TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY NOW AND MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD WITHOUT THE ENDLESS DILATORY TACTICS WE HAVE SO OFTEN OBSERVED IN THE PAST. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN PARTICULAR UNDER WHATEVER PARTY IS IN POWER, MUST CONTINUE TO LEAD THE PROCESS FORWARD AND GIVE THE SEARCH FOR PEACE ITS HIGHEST PRIORITY BY BUILDING TRUST BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE DESTRUCTIVE MARCHES OF LAST YEAR.

LET US HOPE ALL SIDES CAN STEP BACK FROM A RETURN TO THE PAST. WE HOPE THE WORLD WILL NEVER AGAIN WITNESS THE TRAGEDY OF NORTHERN IRELAND ENGAGED IN AN ENDLESS CYCLE OF VIOLENCE, WHICH WILL DENY FUTURE GENERATIONS OF ALL THE YOUTH ON THE ISLAND IRELAND THE PEACEFUL FUTURE AND PROSPERITY THEY DESIRE AND DESERVE.

END TEXT

47. (U) THIS MESSAGE WAS CLEARED BY HIRC STAFF.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2409

TOR: 970303021747 M2640459

DIST:

SIT: BUJOLD DANVERS PETERS VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC

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OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 062112Z MAR 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1027
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0169
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0302
SUBJ: IRISH VIEWS UPON ADJOURNMENT OF STORMONT TALKS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 001094

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/06/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH VIEWS UPON ADJOURNMENT OF STORMONT TALKS

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

SUMMARY
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2. (C) THE IRISH FOUND SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS TO POINT TO AS THE STORMONT TALKS ADJOURNED UNTIL JUNE 3, BUT REMAIN CONVINCED THAT REAL PROGRESS WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE UNLESS A STRONG BRITISH GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFICE AFTER THE UK ELECTIONS. JOHN HUME EXPECTS TO HEAR BACK FROM LONDON MARCH 6 CONCERNING HIS LATEST EFFORTS TO BROKER AN IRA CEASEFIRE; DUBLIN IS NOT OPTIMISTIC. WHILE THE MARCH 3 BOTCHED BOMBING IN MONAGHAN APPEARS TO BE THE WORK OF THE LOYALIST UVF, DUBLIN DOES NOT SEE ENOUGH DIRECT PARALLELS WITH SINN FEIN/IRA TO WARRANT DISINVITING THE PUP FROM ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS AT THE WHITE HOUSE. DUBLIN'S GREATEST CONCERN REMAINS THE PROSPECT FOR CONFRONTATION DURING THE UPCOMING MARCHING SEASON IN THE NORTH.

END SUMMARY
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3. (C) I MET WITH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN MARCH 6 FOLLOWING HIS RETURN FROM THE STORMONT TALKS, WHICH ADJOURNED MARCH 5. THE TALKS ARE SCHEDULED TO RESUME ON JUNE 3.
STORMONT TALKS: "HOLLOW RITUAL"
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4. (C) O'HUIGINN DESCRIBED THE ROUND OF CLOSING STATEMENTS BY THE PARTIES AS "DISPIRITING GAME PLAYING, BUT NOT AS FRAUGHT AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN." IAN PAISLEY HAD REACTED WITH "SOME CAGE-RATTLING" TO DICK SPRING'S EFFORTS TO ASSUAGE FEARS WITHIN THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY. SPRING HAD

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EMPHASIZED GOI WILLINGNESS TO MOVE ON IN THE TALKS WITHOUT SINN FEIN, AND LAMENTED THAT PROGRESS WAS BLOCKED IN THE ONE AREA WHERE SINN FEIN'S PRESENCE WAS REQUIRED, NAMELY ARMS DECOMMISSIONING.

5. (C) DESPITE IAN PAISLEY'S THREAT TO WALK OUT OF THE TALKS IF THE NORTHERN IRELAND FORUM IS CLOSED DOWN, THE GOI UNDERSTANDS THAT HMG WILL PROBABLY BRING THE FORUM TO A HALT IN TWO WEEKS, O'HUIGINN SAID. DAVID TRIMBLE REPORTEDLY DOES NOT WANT IT TO CONTINUE, AS IT MERELY PROVIDES A PLATFORM FOR PAISLEY TO ATTACK THE UUP.

6. (C) O'HUIGINN COMMENTED ON DAVID TRIMBLE'S FOUR POINT PROPOSAL FOR TALKS DURING THE RECESS, SAYING THIS OFFER APPEARED PURELY TACTICAL. IT IGNORES THE FACT THAT NATIONALISTS HAVE THEIR AGENDA TOO, O'HUIGINN NOTED. HE QUOTED JOHN ALDERDICE AS EXPRESSING CONCERN THAT TRIMBLE'S PROPOSAL MIGHT BE AN EFFORT TO GET AWAY FROM THE THREE-STRANDED PROCESS. HOWEVER, IT APPEARED TRIMBLE VIEWED THE PROPOSALS AS BEING A COMPLEMENT TO, RATHER THAN A SUBSTITUTE FOR, THE STORMONT TALKS.

7. (C) SUMMARIZING PROGRESS AT STORMONT SO FAR, O'HUIGINN SAID THE GOOD NEWS WAS TDAT THE PARTIES HAD GATHERED AROUND THE TABLE AND THAT UNIONISTS HAD GOTTEN USED TO A FORMAT THAT INCLUDED THE GOI. THE BAD NEWS WAS THAT THE TALKS STILL HAD NOT GOTTEN INTO SUBSTANCE, SUGGESTING THAT THE UNIONISTS WERE WILLING TO "DRAG THIS OUT FOREVER." THE LESSON, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME, IS THAT UNLESS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT "WE ARE DRIFTING ALONG ON A HOLLOW RITUAL," NO PROGRESS WILL BE MADE.

TONY BLAIR
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8. (C) O'HUIGINN PROVIDED A CAUTIOUS IRISH INTERPRETATION OF WHAT A LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN THE UK MIGHT MEAN FOR THE PEACE PROCESS: IF IT WINS, LABOUR WOULD BE NEW TO GOVERNMENT AND WOULD PROCEED CAREFULLY; WITH ITS HEAVY CONSTITUTIONAL AGENDA REGARDING SCOTLAND AND WALES, NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE "MARGINAL;" THE MARCHING SEASON COULD PRESENT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WITH HUGE DIFFICULTIES; AND LABOUR WOULD NOT WANT TO BE PORTRAYED AS "SOFT" ON TERRORISM SHOULD IRA VIOLENCE PERSIST.

9. (C) NEVERTHELESS, IF THE PUNDITS
WERE RIGHT AND BLAIR
GOT A "REASONABLE MAJORITY," HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO GOVERN EFFECTIVELY, O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED -- THIS WOULD BE A PLUS, EVEN IF THE RESERVATIONS LISTED ABOVE TURNED OUT TO BE RIGHT.

IRA CEASEFIRE?
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10. (C) JOHN HUME'S EFFORTS TO BROKER A NEW IRA CEASEFIRE ARE CONTINUING, THOUGH O'HUIGINN IS NOT TERRIBLY OPTIMISTIC THEY WILL PAY OFF. THE NIO HAS REPORTEDLY

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/06/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH VIEWS UPON ADJOURNMENT OF STORMONT TALKS

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DRAFTED A REPLY TO HUME'S LATEST "QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS" DOCUMENT, AND A BRITISH CABINET SUBCOMMITTEE WAS REPORTEDLY REVIEWING THIS REPLY TODAY (MARCH 6). HUME EXPECTS AN ANSWER THIS EVENING. HOWEVER, O'HUIGINN SAID, IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THE BRITISH RESPONSE WILL BE "STARTLINGLY NEW OR ADVENTUROUS."

11. (C) COMMENTING ON GERRY ADAMS' FEBRUARY 22 ARTICLE IN THE "IRISH TIMES" (DUBLIN 883), IN WHICH ADAMS SAID AN IRA CEASEFIRE IS STILL ON OFFER, O'HUIGINN SAID THE PIECE WAS INTENDED TO BE HELPFUL BUT WAS TOO VAGUE CONCERNING SINN FEIN'S BOTTOM LINE. "IF THEY WANT OUR HELP IN COMING IN FROM THE COLD, WE NEED TO KNOW WHERE THEY STAND."

MARCHING SEASON
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12. (C) O'HUIGINN EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE DURING THE MARCHING SEASON, JUST AS A NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT TAKES OFFICE. HE OBSERVED THAT THE CONTROVERSY OVER AN RTE TV PROGRAM'S CLAIM THAT SINN FEIN MANIPULATED CATHOLIC RESIDENTS' PROTESTS WOULD ONLY MAKE IT HARDER FOR ORANGE ORDER MODERATES TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE RESIDENTS. DICK SPRING HAS PUBLICLY EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR COMPROMISE, SAYING EFFORTS BY ANYONE TO EXPLOIT THE MARCHES ARE REPREHENSIBLE. HOWEVER, THE GOI VIEW IS THAT RESIDENTS' FUNDAMENTAL CONCERNS ARE GENUINE AND NOT JUST MANUFACTURED BY AGITATORS: "IT IS DANGEROUS TO BELIEVE IT IS ALL ARTIFICIAL," O'HUIGINN SAID.

13. (C) O'HUIGINN SEES PROSPECTS FOR THE MARCHING SEASON AS DEPENDENT ON THE OUTCOME OF A "NECK AND NECK RACE" WITHIN THE ORANGE ORDER BETWEEN THOSE WHO WANT A SHOW OF STRENGTH AND THOSE WHO WANT TO DEFUSE THE SITUATION IN ORDER TO AVOID "BURNING OUR OWN HOUSE DOWN." HE SAID THE BRITISH ARE HAVING A DIFFICULT TIME FINDING SOMEONE WILLING TO HEAD THE PARADES COMMISSION. THE GOI HAS AVOIDED MAKING ANY RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS REGARD IN ORDER NOT TO "STOKE UP" UNIONISTS, O'HUIGINN INDICATED.

MONAGHAN BOMBING
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14. (C) THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE HAS EMPHASIZED TO O'HUIGINN THAT THE GOI INQUIRY INTO THE MARCH 3 BOTCHED BOMBING IN MONAGHAN HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED. NEVERTHELESS, INDICATIONS THAT POWERGEL WAS USED IN THE BOMB POINT TO INVOLVEMENT BY THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF -- NOT THE UFF, AS REPORTED BY OTHER DFA SOURCES IN DUBLIN 1068). INDEED, O'HUIGINN SAID, PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY FIGURES (LINKED TO UVF) AT STORMONT APPROACHED MEMBERS OF THE IRISH DELEGATION TO SEE WHAT THE GOI KNEW ABOUT THE INCIDENT, AND VOICED THEIR OWN SUSPICIONS THAT THE PORTADOWN/BILLY WRIGHT FACTION MIGHT BE "BACK IN ACTION." O'HUIGINN SUSPECTS THE GOI INQUIRY WILL ULTIMATELY POINT TO THE PORTADOWN GROUP.

15. (C) NOTING SINN FEIN CLAIMS THAT A DOUBLE STANDARD IS BEING APPLIED, I ASKED O'HUIGINN WHETHER HE THOUGHT THE PUP SHOULD BE DISINVITED FROM WHITE HOUSE ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THIS WAS A "GRAY AREA," O'HUIGINN SAID IT WOULD BE HIS INCLINATION NOT TO DISINVITE THE GROUP. FIRST, THE SINN FEIN/IRA CONNECTION IS MUCH MORE "COHERENT" THAN THAT BETWEEN THE PUP AND UVF,

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AND HE WOULD BE INCLINED TO GIVE THE PUP THE "BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT." IF SINN FEIN/IRA PUTS A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE AND IT IS "A LITTLE IMPERFECT, WE WOULD GIVE THEM THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT TOO," HE SAID. SECOND, IT HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETELY DETERMINED JUST WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTEMPTED BOMBING. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1094
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TOR: 970306161615 M2652948
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1030
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0171
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0304
SUBJ: ANGLO-IRISH CONFERENCE TO BE HELD MARCH 12 IN DUBLIN

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 001099

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/07/99
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UK, EI
SUBJECT: ANGLO-IRISH CONFERENCE TO BE HELD MARCH 12 IN DUBLIN

REF: DUBLIN 1094

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

2. (C) IN ADDITION TO HIS READ-OUT ON THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE STORMONT TALKS (REFTEL), DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN TOLD ME MARCH 6 THAT AN ANGLO-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD IN DUBLIN ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12. THE TWO MAIN TOPICS TO BE ADDRESSED BY FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING WHEN HE MEETS WITH SECRETARY OF STATE SIR PATRICK MAYHEW WILL BE THE MARCHING SEASON IN THE NORTH AND THE CASE OF ROISIN MCALISKEY.

3. (C) ON THE LATTER POINT, O'HUIGINN CITED GROWING CONCERN AMONG IRISH POLITICIANS ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF MCCALISKEY, AND WHETHER SHE WILL BE PERMITTED TO KEEP HER BABY IN PRISON ONCE IT IS BORN. HE INDICATED THE IRISH SIDE WILL USE THE MARCH 12 MEETING TO URGE THE BRITISH TO TAKE STEPS TO AVOID TURNING THIS CASE INTO A "SOAP OPERA" WITH "HARMFUL" PUBLIC RELATIONS IMPLICATIONS. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 1099
TOR: 970307072749 M2654468
DIST:
SIT: PETERS
SIT: NSC

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2015-0157-M [1.83]
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INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0316
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0178
SUBJ: MARCH 12 ANGLO-IRISH CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN -- FAREWELL TO SIR PATRICK MAYHEW

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 001230

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/12/99
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: MARCH 12 ANGLO-IRISH CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN -- FAREWELL TO SIR PATRICK MAYHEW

REF: LONDON 2830

1. CLASSIFIED BY CDA LAWRENCE E. BUTLER. REASON: 1.5 (B)

2. ~~(C)~~ WE MET WITH ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN MARCH 13 FOR A READ-OUT OF THE PREVIOUS DAY'S ANGLO-IRISH INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN. O'HUIGINN CONFIRMED QUENTIN THOMAS' SUGGESTION (REFTEL) THAT SIR PATRICK MAYHEW'S DEPARTURE FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE WOULD DOMINATE THE PROCEEDINGS.

EO 13526 1.4c

3. ~~(C)~~ O'HUIGINN MADE CLEAR THE IRISH ARE SIMPLY WAITING FOR THE UK ELECTIONS TO TAKE PLACE, HOPING THAT A STRONG GOVERNMENT (TORY OR LABOUR) WILL EMERGE IN ORDER TO INFUSE NEW LIFE INTO THE STORMONT TALKS. THE EXPECTATION IS THAT LABOUR WILL WIN, BUT NOTHING IS BEING TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

PARADES: "MKINGS OF A CATASTROPHE"
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4. ~~(C)~~ THERE WAS "QUITE SOME DISCUSSIN" ON THE ISSUE OF PARADES IN THE NORTH, O'HUIGINN CONFIRMED. THE GOI REMAINS EXTREMELY CONCERNED THAT THE SITUATION HAS "ALL THE MAKINGS OF A CATASTROPHE." WHILE SENIOR ORANGE ORDER OFFICIALS APPEAR TO WANT TO DEFUSE TENSIONS, GRASSROOTS ELEMENTS REFLECTING THE "SPIRIT OF DRUMCREE" SEEM DETERMINED TO PURSUE A TEST OF STRENGTH. "THERE IS EVERY POSSIBILITY THE WRONG TENDENCY WILL WIN OUT," LEADING TO CONFRONTATION. EFFORTS BEHIND THE SCENES TO NEGOTIATE A COMPROMISE THUS FAR SHOW "NO SIGN" OF SUCCEEDING.

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5. ~~(C)~~ THE GOI HOPES A LABOUR GOVERNMENT, IF ONE CAME TO POWER, WOULD TACKLE THE PARADES ISSUE MORE AGGRESSIVELY, O'HUIGINN INDICATED. HE ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT HMG IS HAVING DIFFICULTY FINDING PEOPLE TO SERVE ON THE PARADES COMMISSION. THE BRITISH HINTED THAT SOMEONE "WITH A TRADE UNION BACKGROUND" MIGHT BE A LEADING CONTENDER FOR THE POST OF COMMISSION CHAIRMAN, BUT THE IRISH -- ANXIOUS TO AVOID LEAKS THAT COULD UNDERMINE A GOOD CANDIDATE -- REPORTEDLY DID NOT PRESS FOR THE NAME. WHILE THE DISCUSSION OF PARADES WAS "HELPFUL," O'HUIGINN SAID, NO FORMULA WAS REACHED "ON HOW TO AVERT DISASTER."

OTHER ISSUES
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6. ~~(C)~~ THE GOI RAISED THE ROISIN MCCALISKEY CASE, ARGUING THAT IT WAS NEEDLESSLY BECOMING A "CAUSE CELEBRE." O'HUIGINN FOUND IT ENCOURAGING THAT THE BRITISH APPEARED TO BE TAKING STEPS TO IMPROVE HER TREATMENT. IF MCCALISKEY IS DENIED BAIL, THE GOI HOPES SHE WILL BE TRANSFERRED TO A PRISON IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WHERE CARING FOR HER BABY WILL BE EASIER.

7. ~~(C)~~ THE GOI RAISED BLOODY SUNDAY, NOTING THAT IT WOULD BE ASSEMBLING "NEW" EVIDENCE. HOWEVER, O'HUIGINN MADE CLEAR THE GOI WILL WAIT UNTIL THERE IS A NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO PURSUE THIS MATTER IN DETAIL, LEST THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT RESPOND "UNFAVORABLY." MEANWHILE, HE ANTICIPATES THAT MEDIA FOCUS ON A NEW WITNESS TO THE 1972 EVENTS WILL "ADD TO A GROWING SENSE OF UNEASE" CONCERNING THE FINDINGS OF THE WIDGERY TRIBUNAL.

8. ~~(C)~~ CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF TOURISM WAS ALSO DISCUSSED. THE IRISH ARE SATISFIED BY THE RECENT INTENSIFICATION OF COOPERATION IN THIS SPHERE, WHICH WILL RESULT IN THE MARKETING OF TOURIST OPPORTUNITIES ON AN ALL-ISLAND BASIS, O'HUIGINN SAID. THIS WILL HAVE BENEFITS NORTH AND SOUTH, ALTHOUGH -- CITING RECENT ATTACKS ON TOURISM OFFICES IN THE NORTH -- HE RECOGNIZED SOME LOYALISTS REMAIN OPPOSED TO THE CONCEPT, WHICH IS SEEN AS A STALKING HORSE FOR POLITICAL UNIFICATION.

SECURITY SITUATION
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9. ~~(C)~~ O'HUIGINN REITERATED THE GOI VIEW THAT THE MARCH 3 MONAGHAN BOMBING WAS MOST LIKELY THE WORK OF THE UVF, BUT THAT "RESIDUAL DOUBT," AND TH
E POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION OF
THE LOYALIST PARTIES, WARRANT RESISTING EFFORTS TO EXPEL THE PUP FROM THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

10. ~~(C)~~ AS FOR AN IRA CEASEFIRE, O'HUIGINN INDICATED THAT WHILE JOHN HUME'S CONTACTS WITH HMG CONTINUE, IT WOULD BE "OVER-OPTIMISTIC" TO THINK THE CORNER HAD BEEN TURNED YET. THE ONGOING DEBATE WITHIN SF/IRA APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN RESOLVED TEMPORARILY BY A "TWIN-TRACK" APPROACH INVOLVING AN OUTREACH TO PEACE ("GENUINE ON ITS OWN TERMS") AND AN
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 001230

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/12/99
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: MARCH 12 ANGLO-IRISH CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN --
FAREWELL TO SIR PATRICK MAYHEW

ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE. THIS CONTRADICTORY APPROACH CAN
NOT STAND UP, AS THE "BAD POLICY WILL DRIVE OUT THE GOOD."
THE GOI "IS NOT IN THE MARKET FOR A TWIN-TRACK POLICY,"
O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED. BUTLER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1230
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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0167
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0451
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND GOES TO THE POLLS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 004802

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/24/02
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND GOES TO THE POLLS

REF: BELFAST 161

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: KATHLEEN STEPHENS, BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL. REASON: 1.5(D)

2. (C) SUMMARY: SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS IS LIKELY TO WIN HIS WEST BELFAST ELECTION RACE AND HIS PARTY COULD TAKE AS MANY AS TWO ADDITIONAL WESTMINSTER SEATS IN THE MAY 1 GENERAL ELECTION. DAVID TRIMBLE'S ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) PROBABLY WILL BE ABLE TO HOLD ONTO THE NINE CONSTITUENCIES IT NOW REPRESENTS. BUT AFTER THE "SHREDDING" OF THE UNIONIST VOTE IN THE MAY 1996 FORUM ELECTIONS, TRIMBLE'S IMPERATIVE IS FOR HIS PARTY TO BOOST ITS SHARE OF THE OVERALL UNIONIST VOTE. A STRONG UUP SHOWING COULD RESULT IN A MORE CONFIDENT AND FLEXIBLE UNIONIST APPROACH TO THE STORMONT TALKS. IF THE SDLP IS WEAKENED AS THE MAINSTREAM NATIONALIST PARTY, A STRENGTHENED SINN FEIN IS UNLIKELY QUICKLY TO WALK AWAY FROM THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT'S CURRENT "TWIN TRACK" STRATEGY OF MIXING IRA VIOLENCE WITH GROWING POLITICAL CLOUT. END SUMMARY

THE GENERAL ELECTION IN NORTHERN IRELAND: POLLS APART
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3. (C) NOTWITHSTANDING WHAT THE IRA VIEWS AS ITS SUCCESS IN USING BOMB THREATS IN BRITAIN TO KEEP ITS GRIEVANCES IN THE NEWS THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN, THE RACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND'S 18 WESTMINISTER CONSTITUENCIES IS BEING RUN ON ISSUES -- AND BY PARTIES -- ENTIRELY SEPARATE FROM THOSE ON "THE MAINLAND." DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF A FEW IGNORED CONSERVATIVE PARTY CANDIDATES, THE MAINSTREAM BRITISH PARTIES AND THE QUESTION OF WHO TAKES POWER IN LONDON ARE IRRELEVANT TO THE CAMPAIGNS HERE. THE ISSUES IN BRITAIN - HEALTH POLICY, EDUCATION, "TRUST," -- HAVE LITTLE

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RESONANCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

4. (C) INSTEAD, AS IN THE PAST, THE PARTIES ARE APPEALING ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO VOTERS ON THEIR OWN SIDES OF THE SECTARIAN DIVIDE ON THE SINGLE ISSUE OF WHO CAN BEST DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF NATIONALISTS OR UNIONISTS, RESPECTIVELY. THE SDLP IS FACING A RESURGENT SINN FEIN IN THE BATTLE FOR THE CATHOLIC VOTE. THE UUP IS FIGHTING IAN PAISLEY'S DUP FOR A STRONG MANDATE ON THE PROTESTANT SIDE. A FEW PARTIES WITH A CONSCIOUSLY NONSECTARIAN APPEAL -- ALLIANCE AND THE MUCH SMALLER WOMEN'S COALITION, FOR EXAMPLE -- HAVE VIRTUALLY NO CHANCE OF WINNING A WESTMINISTER SEAT, ALTHOUGH THEY, LIKE THE LARGER PARTIES, HOPE VIGOROUS CAMPAIGNS NOW WILL HELP THEM WHEN NORTHERN IRELAND VOTERS GO TO THE POLLS AGAIN ON MAY 21 TO PICK LOCAL COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES.

THE NATIONALIST SIDE: SDLP VS. SINN FEIN
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5. (C) THIS IS A HIGH-STAKES ELECTION FOR BOTH THE SDLP AND SINN FEIN. THE SDLP SAW ITS SUPPORT BASE AMONG NORTHERN IRELAND'S CATHOLIC VOTERS DROP FROM 70 PERCENT TO FIFTY-EIGHT PERCENT IN THE MAY 1996 FORUM ELECTION. (SINN FEIN TOOK NEARLY 40 PERCENT OF THE CATHOLIC VOTE; ITS SHARE OF THE OVERALL VOTE IN NORTHERN IRELAND WENT UP TO 15.5 PERCENT, ITS BEST SHOWING SINCE PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN FIRST CONTESTED ELECTIONS IN 1983.) THE SDLP HOPES THAT ELECTION WAS A "ONE-OFF" WHEN TRADITIONAL SDLP VOTERS "LENT" THEIR VOTES TO SINN FEIN TO URGE A RESTORATION OF THE CEASE-FIRE.

6. (C) NO CEASE-FIRE HAVING EMERGED NEARLY A YEAR LATER, THE SDLP PREDICTS -- HOPES -- THAT VOTERS DISILLUSIONED WITH SINN FEIN WILL RETURN TO THE SDLP FOLD. JOHN HUME'S STRONG LEADERSHIP IN AVERTING A CRISIS OVER AN ORANGE MARCH IN LONDONDERRY LAST AUGUST AND REVULSION TOWARD SOME OF THE IRA'S MORE APPALLING RECENT ACTS -- INTER ALIA, THE SHOOTING IN THE BACK OF A RESERVE POLICEWOMAN IN DERRY AND THE MURDER OF A YOUNG BRITISH SOLDIER IN SOUTH ARMAGH -- ARE ALSO FACTORS IN THE SDLP'S FAVOR. SDLP DEPUTY LEADER SEAMUS MALLON HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN RIDICULING SINN FEIN'S CLAIM TO REPRESENT THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY EVEN WHILE REFUSING TO TAKE UP ITS SEATS IF ELECTED. AS THE CAMPAIGN HAS GAINED MOMENTUM, HUME HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY OUTSPOKEN IN CRITICIZING SINN FEIN, REBUFFING ADAMS' CALL FOR AN ELECTORAL PACT AND DECLARING THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, A VOTE FOR SINN FEIN IS A VOTE FOR THE IRA. IRISH TAOISEACH JOHN BRUTON HAS MADE THE SAME POINT AND HAS EMBRACED THE SDLP AS THE PREFERRED PARTY OF MODERATES IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND.

7. (C) AT THE SAME TIME, SINN FEIN IS ENERGETICALLY PRESENTING ITSELF TO CATHOLIC VOTERS AS THEIR BEST HOPE FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE. IT IS A YOUNGER PARTY THAN THE SDLP AND HAS A STRONGER GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE WORKING-CLASS HOUSING PROJECTS. THE IRA'S CAMPAIGN OF DISRUPTION AND VIOLENCE IN BRITAIN SEEMS NOT TO HAVE TURNED VOTERS AGAINST SINN FEIN; THE PARTY CONTINUES TO ARGUE SKILLFULLY THAT IT WAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHICH "WASTED"
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 004802

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/24/02
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND GOES TO THE POLLS

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THE CEASE-FIRE. ITS CAMPAIGN SLOGAN, "A NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE" URGES VOTERS TO STRENGTHEN SINN FEIN'S HAND SO IT CAN DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH "ENGLISH INTRANSIGENCE." IT SAYS IT WILL LOBBY WESTMINSTER, EVEN IF IT DOES ABSTAIN FROM ENTERING PARLIAMENT.

8. (C) SINN FEIN HAS TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES IN THE MAY 1 ELECTION:

-- TO WIN WESTMINSTER SEATS. ITS TOP PRIORITY IS FOR GERRY ADAMS TO WIN BACK THE WEST BELFAST SEAT HE LOST TO THE SDLP'S JOE HENDRON IN 1992. THE PARTY MACHINERY ALSO IS WORKING HARD TO TURN OUT NATIONALIST VOTES FOR ITS CANDIDATES MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND PAT DOHERTY SO THEY MIGHT TAKE TWO ADDITIONAL SEATS FOR THE PARTY, PUTTING SINN FEIN'S WESTMINISTER REPRESENTATION AT AN HISTORIC HIGH;

-- TO STRENGTHEN ITS EFFORT TO REPLACE THE SDLP AS THE DOMINANT VOICE OF CATHOLICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

9. (C) IT IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT ADAMS WILL WIN WEST BELFAST, WHERE BOUNDARY CHANGES HAVE INCLUDED SEVERAL HEAVILY-REPUBLICAN HOUSING COMPLEXES AND ELIMINATED SOME LOYALIST PRECINCTS WHICH VOTED FOR HENDRON IN 1992 AS A TACTIC AGAINST ADAMS. MCGUINNESS AND DOHERTY BOTH ARE RUNNING AS HIGH-PROFILE CANDIDATES IN DISTRICTS WHICH HAVE CATHOLIC MAJORITIES, BUT WHERE THE SDLP-SINN FEIN SPLIT MAY ALLOW A UNIONIST CANDIDATE TO WIN. IN MID-ULSTER, WHERE MCGUINNESS IS RUNNING, THE INCUMBENT IS DUP MP WILLIAM MCCREA, A FUNDAMENTALIST PREACHER. MCCREA HURT WHAT STANDING HE HAD WITH MODERATE UNIONISTS WHEN HE APPEARED AT A RALLY LAST SUMMER WITH NOW-CONVICTED LOYALIST DISSIDENT BILLY (KING RAT) WRIGHT. HOWEVER, WITH THE UUP STANDING ASIDE FOR HIM, MCCREA CAN WIN RE-ELECTION IF THE NATIONALIST VOTE SPLITS EVENLY BETWEEN MCGUINNESS AND HIS MUCH LOWER-PROFILE NATIONALIST RIVAL, THE SDLP'S DENIS HAUGHEY. SINN FEIN IS HOPING THAT THE WELL-KNOWN MCGUINNESS WILL BENEFIT FROM TACTICAL VOTING BY SDLP VOTERS WHO DECIDE MCGUINNESS IS THE ONLY CANDIDATE WHO CAN DEFEAT THE DESPISED MCCREA.

10. (C) SINN FEIN IS PURSUING A SIMILAR STRATEGY IN THE NEW DISTRICT OF WEST TYRONE, WHERE THE DUP HAS STEPPED ASIDE FOR THE UUP CANDIDATE WILLIAM THOMPSON. THOMPSON HAS A CHANCE IF THE NATIONALIST VOTE SPLITS; THE SDLP'S JOE BYRNE IS CONTRASTING HIS LOCAL ROOTS WITH DOHERTY'S "BLOW-IN" FROM COUNTY DONEGAL, BUT SINN FEIN IS RUNNING AN ENERGETIC CAMPAIGN AND CANNOT BE COUNTED OUT.

THE UUP-DUP BATTLE
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11. (C) AS DID THE SDLP, THE UUP SAW ITS MANDATE AS THE LEADING PARTY OF ITS COMMUNITY ERODE IN THE MAY 1996 FORUM ELECTIONS. IN WHAT DAVID TRIMBLE BITTERLY TERMED THE "SHREDDING" OF THE UNIONIST VOTE, THE UUP OBTAINED ONLY 46 PERCENT OF UNIONIST VOTES CAST, WITH THE DUP PICKING UP 36 PERCENT AND THE REST GOING TO AN ASSORTMENT OF SMALLER PARTIES. THIS WAS WAY OFF THE UUP'S PERFORMANCE IN THE 1992 GENERAL ELECTION, WHEN IT COMMANDED 61 PERCENT OF THE UNIONIST VOTE. IN PART, THE UUP'S POOR SHOWING LAST YEAR WAS A FUNCTION OF THE PECULIARITIES OF THE SYSTEM EMPLOYED IN THAT ELECTION -- WHICH WAS COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF A GENERAL ELECTION -- BUT IT NONETHELESS DID SHAKE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE MAIN UNIONIST PARTY.

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12. (C) DESPITE MUCH PUBLIC BICKERING, A LAST-MINUTE UNIONIST PACT OF SORTS HAS BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE UUP AND THE DUP, A DEAL WHICH WILL PROBABLY ASSURE THE REELECTION OF UUP INCUMBENTS OVER SPLIT NATIONALIST RIVALS IN NORTH BELFAST AND FERMANAGH/SOUTH TYRONE. HOWEVER, THE UUP'S REG EMPEY IS GIVING DUP INCUMBENT MP PETER ROBINSON A RUN IN THE SAFE UNIONISQAST BELFAST, AND ROBINSON'S WIFE IRIS IS SIMILARLY CHALLENGING THE UUP'S DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR IN NEIGHBORING UNIONIST STRANGFORD. AS ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE, DURING THE CAMPAIGN PERIOD THE CANDIDATES ARE RESERVING THEIR FIERCEST ATTACKS FOR THEIR CO-RELIGIONISTS, WITH IAN PAISLEY ACCUSING DAVID TRIMBLE OF BEING PREPARED TO "NEGOTIATE THE UNION" IN THE TALKS AT STORMONT.

13. (C) IF THE UUP DOES NOT IMPROVE ON ITS FORUM RESULTS IN THIS ELECTION, DAVID TRIMBLE COULD BE FINISHED AS LEADER OF THE PARTY. TRIMBLE IS SEEMINGLY CONFIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT HIS PARTY WILL RETAIN ITS NINE SEATS, AND PERHAPS EVEN PICK UP AN ADDITIONAL ONE. HE HAS SUGGESTED THAT WITH A STRONG MANDATE THE UUP WILL BE PREPARED TO BE MORE POSITIVE AND FLEXIBLE WHEN THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS RESUME AT STORMONT ON JUNE 3.

THE OTHER PARTIES
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14. (C) ASIDE FROM THE SDLP, UUP AND SINN FEIN, THE ONLY
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 004802

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/24/02
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND GOES TO THE POLLS

PARTY WITH A REALISTIC CHANCE OF WINNING A WESTMINSTER SEAT IS ROBERT MCCARTNEY'S ONE-MAN BAND IN NORTH DOWN, THE UKUP. MCCARTNEY ENTERED WESTMINSTER TWO YEARS AGO IN A BY-ELECTION AS A "NEW-LOOK UNIONIST." HOWEVER, HIS CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE DUP AND HIS NEGATIVITY AT THE STORMONT TALKS HAVE TARNISHED HIS SELF-PROCLAIMED IMAGE AS "ENLIGHTENED AND NON-SECTARIAN." NONETHELESS, BECAUSE THE DUP HAS DECLINED TO RUN A CANDIDATE AGAINST HIM, HE REMAINS THE FAVORITE TO RETAIN HIS SAFE UNIONIST CONSTITUENCY.

15. (C) ALLIANCE, THE AVOWEDLY NONSECTARIAN AND MOSTLY MIDDLE-CLASS PARTY LED BY JOHN (NOW LORD) ALDERDICE, COULD SEE ITS SHARE OF THE VOTE SLIP BELOW THE TEN PERCENT MARK. ITS ONLY HOPE IS IN EAST BELFAST, WHERE A SPLIT BETWEEN DUP AND UUP VOTE COULD OFFER A SLIM CHANCE. HOWEVER, ITS DETERMINEDLY CROSS-COMMUNITY CHARACTER SADLY WORKS AGAINST ITS ELECTORAL PROSPECTS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF INCREASING SECTARIAN TENSION.

16. (C) OF THE TWO SMALL LOYALIST PARTIES, ONLY THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP) IS FIELDING CANDIDATES IN THE WESTMINSTER ELECTION, AND ONLY IN THREE DISTRICTS. THE PUP'S ARTICULATE DAVID ERVINE COULD MAKE AN IMPRESSION IN THE ECONOMICALLY AND RELIGIOUSLY MIXED DISTRICT OF SOUTH BELFAST, BUT WILL NOT WIN A SEAT. SIMILARLY, AFTER MUCH INTERNAL DEBATE, THE WOMEN'S COALITION DECIDED TO RUN IN THREE DISTRICTS IN AN EFFORT TO WIN MORE ATTENTION FOR ITSELF, EVEN THOUGH IT HAS NO PROSPECT OF ANY VICTORIES.

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17. (C) IN FACT, ALL THE MINOR PARTIES RUNNING CANDIDATES IN THE GENERAL ELECTION ARE DOING SO PRIMARILY WITH AN EYE TO GAINING LOCAL COUNCIL SEATS IN MAY 21 ELECTION AND BOLSTERING THEIR ABILITY TO SPEAK AUTHORITATIVELY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS. OTHER THAN THE UNIQUE CASE OF MCCARTNEY, THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO SEND ANY REPRESENTATIVES TO PARLIAMENT.

FORECAST AND CONCLUSIONS
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18. (C) ALTHOUGH VOTER TURNOUT, AS ALWAYS, WILL BE HIGH IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE VOTERS ARE UNLIKELY TO EFFECT DRAMATIC CHANGES ON THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE WHEN THEY GO TO THE POLLS ON MAY 1. A STRONG SHOWING BY THE MODERATE PARTIES OF EACH SIDE -- THE UUP AND SDLP RESPECTIVELY -- PROBABLY WOULD GIVE THE TALKS PROCESS THE GREATEST BOOST. A MORE SECURE DAVID TRIMBLE MIGHT ALSO EXERT MORE RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP DURING THE MARCHING SEASON, ESPECIALLY IN DRUMCREE IN HIS HOME CONSTITUENCY. IF MCCREA AND/OR ROBINSON ARE NUDGED FROM THEIR SEATS, LEAVING PAISLEY AS THE ONLY DUP MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, THAT SEGMENT OF UNIONISM WILL HAVE BEEN DEALT A SEVERE BLOW. BUT EVEN A STRONG UUP SHOWING WILL NOT RID TRIMBLE OF PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY, WHO BOTH IN AND OUT OF THE STORMONT TALKS WILL CONTINUE TO ACCUSE HIM OF "SELLING OUT."

19. (C) THE SDLP IS UNDER SERIOUS THREAT FROM SINN FEIN. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT SINN FEIN WILL MATCH ITS 1996 FORUM ELECTION RESULT OF 15.5 PERCENT, BUT IT WILL PROBABLY BETTER ITS 1992 FIGURE OF 10 PERCENT. EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, SINN FEIN ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL ENTER THE POST-ELECTION PERIOD WITH GERRY ADAMS MP, AND PERHAPS MARTIN MCGUINNESS MP, ARGUING THAT, WITH OR WITHOUT AN IRA CEASE-FIRE, SINN FEIN'S ELECTORAL MANDATE CANNOT BE IGNORED. THE EVIDENCE COULD BE READ EITHER WAY, BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO ENVISAGE SINN FEIN, HAVING THUS FAR EFFECTIVELY USED ITS STRATEGY OF TALKING PEACE WHILE ITS IRA PARTNERS CONTINUE TO USE VIOLENCE, ABANDONING THAT TWIN-TRACK APPROACH ABSENT, AT A MINIMUM, CONCESSIONS ON THE TERMS OF ITS ENTRY INTO TALKS AND ON THE DEFINITION OF "DECOMMISSIONING IN PARALLEL," WHICH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS UNLIKELY TO OFFER.

20. (C) BARRING AN INCONCLUSIVE RESULT IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION WHICH RESULTS IN A HUNG PARLIAMENT -- SO THAT THE TORIES MIGHT LOOK TO THE UNIONISTS AS POSSIBLE COALITION PARTNERS, AN OUTCOME WHICH IS NOT INDICATED BY CURRENT POLLING -- THE RESULTS OF THE 18 RACES IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE NOT LIKELY TO SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE BALANCE IN WESTMINSTER. AND INSOFAR AS THE NATIONAL RESULT AFFECTS NORTHERN IRELAND, IT MAY BE THAT THE ISSUE OF HOW LARGE A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY IS ACHIEVED BY THE WINNING PARTY -- I.E., WHETHER IT ELIMINATES DEPENDENCY ON REGIONAL PARTIES' VOTES -- WILL BE MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THE MATTER OF WHICH PARTY FORMS THE GOVERNMENT ON MAY 2.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
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SSN: 4802
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RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: BRITISH VOTERS POISED TO BRING IN LABOUR GOVERNMENT

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.85)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 005014

E.O. 12958: DECL: 4/30/02
TAGS: PGOV, UK
SUBJECT: BRITISH VOTERS POISED TO BRING IN LABOUR GOVERNMENT

REF: A) LONDON 4802 B) LONDON 4796
C) LONDON 4481 C) LONDON 4463

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MICHAEL J. HABIB, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5(D)

2. ~~(C)~~ LESS THAN 24 HOURS BEFORE THE POLLS OPEN, IT IS ALL BUT CERTAIN THAT TONY BLAIR ON MAY 2 WILL FORM THE FIRST LABOUR GOVERNMENT SINCE MARGARET THATCHER KNOCKED JAMES CALLAGHAN FROM POWER IN 1979. JOHN MAJOR'S IMPASSIONED LAST-MINUTE APPEALS TO "SAVE BRITAIN" FROM LABOUR'S "UNWISE" POLICIES, WHICH HE SAID WOULD RUIN THE ECONOMY AND CEDE UNPRECEDENTED POWER TO BRUSSELS AND TO DEVOLVED REGIONAL PARLIAMENTS, SEEMED TO HAVE SOME APPEAL TO VOTERS. NONETHELESS, BLAIR'S PARTY APPEARS TO MAINTAIN AN UNASSAILABLE LEAD OVER THE INCUMBENT CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT.

OPINION SURVEYS STILL RECORD MASSIVE LABOUR LEAD
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3. (U) THE MOST RECENT OPINION POLLS PUBLISHED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE LONGEST BRITISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN THIS CENTURY SHOW LABOUR CONTINUING TO AVERAGE SOME 13-18 POINTS AHEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVES. ONE, IN FACT, A GALLUP POLL IN THE APRIL 30 DAILY TELEGRAPH, INDICATED A 20-POINT LABOUR LEAD, 51 PERCENT TO 31 PERCENT. IF THESE FIGURES ACCURATELY REFLECT THE RESULTS OF THE MAY 1 BALLOTING, LABOUR COULD WIN AN OVERWHELMING VICTORY WITH A MAJORITY OF MORE THAN 100 SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. SOME SEASONED OBSERVERS ARE BEGINNING TO TALK SERIOUSLY ABOUT A LABOUR LANDSLIDE.

4. (U) HOWEVER, THE POLLS ALSO INDICATE THAT AN ENORMOUS NUMBER OF VOTERS -- AS MANY AS ONE IN FIVE, ACCORDING TO SOME SURVEYS -- ARE STILL UNDECIDED ABOUT WHICH PARTY TO SUPPORT AND WILL REMAIN SO UNTIL THEY ACTUALLY ENTER THE VOTING BOOTH.

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BY CONTINUING TO HAMMER ON THE "TRUST" ISSUE AND CONTRASTING THE "RELIABLE, EXPERIENCED" JOHN MAJOR WITH TONY BLAIR, AN "UNTESTED" LEADER PRACTICING "THE POLITICS OF EXPEDIENCY," THE TORIES ARE HOPING UNDECIDED VOTERS IN THE END WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BRING THEMSELVES TO VOTE FOR LABOUR OR, AT LEAST, JUST STAY HOME AND NOT VOTE AGAINST CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES. ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT VOTER TURNOUT WILL BE AT RECORD LOW LEVELS COMPARED TO PREVIOUS GENERAL ELECTIONS.

BUT WE EXPECT A NARROWER MARGIN OF VICTORY
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5. (C) POLOFFS TRAVELING TO KEY CONSTITUENCIES AROUND THE COUNTRY IN THE PAST WEEK DID NOT DETECT A DEEP WELL-SPRING OF PRO-TORY SENTIMENT AMONG UNDECIDED VOTERS THAT COULD SAVE THE ELECTION FOR MAJOR. LOCAL CONSERVATIVE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ARE SO MORIBUND IN MANY CONSTITUENCIES THAT TORIES WILL BE HARD PRESSED TO TURN OUT ANYONE OTHER THAN THEIR MOST COMMITTED SUPPORTERS. THE OVERWHELMING PUBLIC SENTIMENT APPEARS TO BE IN FAVOR OF A CHANGE; THERE IS A SENSE THAT THE TORIES ARE "CLAPPED OUT" AFTER 18 YEARS IN POWER. BUT NEITHER DID POLOFFS DISCERN GREAT ENTHUSIASM FOR LABOUR AND, INDEED, MANY VOTERS -- ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO SUPPORTED THE TORIES IN THE LAST ELECTIONS -- CONTINUE TO VIEW BLAIR WITH CONSIDERABLE SUSPICION.

6. (C) OUR JUDGMENT, THEREFORE, IS THAT LABOUR WILL CAPTURE ENOUGH SEATS TO FORM A GOVERNMENT BUT THAT A COMBINATION OF LOW VOTER INTEREST, LINGERING DOUBTS ABOUT BLAIR AND "NEW" LABOUR, AND SPECIFIC LOCAL AND REGIONAL FACTORS WILL TEND TO DAMPEN THE SWING AWAY FROM THE TORIES IN ENOUGH KEY MARGINALS TO LIMIT THE SIZE OF LABOUR'S VICTORY. WHILE NOT RULING IT OUT ALTOGETHER, WE DO NOT THINK THIS "COUNTER-SWING" TO THE TORIES WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO PRODUCE A HUNG PARLIAMENT. IT IS MORE LIKELY LABOUR WILL ACHIEVE A SOLID WORKING MAJORITY, SHORT OF A LANDSLIDE. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT LABOUR'S INTERNAL POLLING SHOWS IT GAINING ABOUT A 40-SEAT MAJORITY, A FIGURE WHICH WE CONTINUE TO REGARD AS CREDIBLE ALTHOUGH WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED BY A SOMEWHAT LARGER FINAL FIGURE. WE ALSO EXPECT THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS WILL DO MARGINALLY BETTER THAN IN PREVIOUS RACES, PERHAPS WINNING 30 OR MORE SEATS.

7. (C) THE POLLS CLOSE AT 10 PM LOCAL TIME, MAY 1. THE BALLOTS, MARKED WITH A PENCIL, ARE THEN COUNTED BY HAND IN EACH CONSTITUENCY BEFORE RESULTS ARE REPORTED TO THE INDEPENDENT CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION. ALTHOUGH EXIT POLLS AND EARLY RESULTS MAY OFFER SOME INDICATIONS BY MIDNIGHT, THE FINAL RESULTS IN ALL CONSTITUENCIES MAY NOT BE KNOWN UNTIL MID-DAY, MAY 2. AS THE RESULTS BECOME KNOWN, AMONG THE MORE SIGNIFICANT FACTORS AT WHICH WE WILL BE LOOKING ARE:

-- SIZE OF LABOUR'S MAJORITY: THIS IS IMPORTANT FOR SEVERAL REASONS. FIRST, A THIN MAJORITY COULD WELL LEAD TO ANOTHER GENERAL ELECTION IN 18-24 MONTHS, OR EVEN SOONER DEPENDING ON JUST HOW THIN. THE LARGER THE MARGIN, THE MORE STABLE THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO BE IN THE MEDIUM- TO LONG-TERM BECAUSE IT WOULD BE ABLE TO RIDE OUT ATTRITION CAUSED BY
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 005014

E.O. 12958: DECL: 4/30/02
TAGS: PGOV, UK
SUBJECT: BRITISH VOTERS POISED TO BRING IN LABOUR GOVERNMENT

DEATHS AND DEFECTIONS IN A WAY THAT JOHN MAJOR'S GOVERNMENT

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COULD NOT. MOREOVER, MANY "NEW" LABOUR CANDIDATES ARE RUNNING IN LESS SAFE OR MARGINAL SUBURBAN CONSTITUENCIES, WHILE A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THE OLD LEFT INCUMBENTS ARE ENSCONCED IN LABOUR'S CORE, MOSTLY URBAN, DISTRICTS. A HEALTHY SWING TO LABOUR WILL BE REQUIRED TO BRING IN BLAIR'S NEW LABOUR SUPPORTERS; A FAILURE TO ACHIEVE THAT WOULD REQUIRE HIM TO PAY MORE ATTENTION TO THE OLD LABOUR ELEMENTS WHICH WOULD HOLD GREATER SWAY IN THE PARTY. SOMEWHAT IRONICALLY, A LANDSLIDE COULD ACTUALLY INCREASE THE NUMBER OF "OLD" LABOUR MEMBERS BY SWEEPING IN THOSE FAR LEFT CANDIDATES WHO WERE PERMITTED TO STAND IN WHAT HAD BEEN THOUGHT TO BE HOPELESS RACES.

-- DEPTH OF TORY DEFEAT: AS THE SCENT OF DEFEAT WAFTS THROUGH TORY RANKS, A PITCHED, IF BEHIND THE SCENES, BATTLE HAS SHAPED UP FOR PARTY LEADERSHIP. A LANDSLIDE LABOUR VICTORY WOULD, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, MAKE MAJOR'S POSITION AS PARTY LEADER UNTENABLE, INDUCING HIM TO STEP DOWN IMMEDIATELY. I~ THE EVENT OF A MORE MODEST SETBACK, HE MIGHT STAY ON FOR AN "ORDERLY DEPARTURE" AT THE PARTY'S ANNUAL AUTUMN CONFERENCE. WITH THE RETIREMENT OF SOME 70 MEMBERS AND THE INTAKE OF A GENERALLY MORE RIGHT-WING FRESHMAN COHORT, A FRACTIOUS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PRO-EUROPE, "ONE NATION" WING AND THE ARCH-CONSERVATIVE, EUROSKEPTIC GROUP FOR THE SOUL OF THE PARTY IS WIDELY FORESEEN.

-- NUMBER OF LIB DEM SEATS: IF LABOUR GAINS A STRONG MAJORITY, THE NUMBER OF SEATS WON BY THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS IS OF INTEREST ONLY TO PADDY ASHDOWN AND SOME ACADEMICS -- IT WOULD HAVE FEW OPPORTUNITIES TO EXERCISE REAL INFLUENCE. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, LABOUR'S MARGIN IS RELATIVELY SMALL AND THE LIB DEMS DO WELL, BLAIR AND ASHDOWN COULD MAKE A DEAL TO LESSEN BLAIR'S SOLIDIFY HIS PARLIAMENTARY POSITION AND REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON THE LEFT WING OF HIS PARTY. THIS THEORETICALLY COULD INVOLVE CABINET PORTFOLIOS OR OTHER ASPECTS OF A "COALITION OF THE CENTER-LEFT," BUT MORE LIKELY WOULD BE BASED ON LIB DEM SUPPORT FOR KEY POLICIES IN RETURN FOR LABOUR'S AGREEMENT TO INTRODUCE A PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

-- REGIONAL BALANCE/NATIONALIST PARTIES: THE ELECTORAL MAP OF THE UK ALREADY SHOWS LABOUR RED PREDOMINATING IN SCOTLAND, WALES AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND; TORY BLUE IS CONCENTRATED IN THE SOUTH AND SOUTH EAST. ACCORDING TO SOME ANALYSTS, A LARGE SWING TO LABOUR COULD VIRTUALLY ELIMINATE TORY REPRESENTATION IN SCOTLAND AND REDUCE ITS PARLIAMENTARY PRESENCE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND TO A FEW AFFLUENT POCKETS IN THE SUBURBS OF A HANDFUL OF METROPOLITAN CENTERS. PLAID CYMRU AND THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY COULD GAIN SEVERAL SEATS, BUT ARE UNLIKELY TO APPROACH DOUBLE DIGITS. NEVERTHELESS, THE FRAGMENTATION AND REGIONALIZATION OF THE VOTE WILL HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEBATE ON DEVOLUTION IN WALES AND SCOTLAND WHICH ALREADY IS GATHERING MOMENTUM IN WESTMINSTER.

-- NORTHERN IRELAND: THE RESULTS OF THE 18 RACES IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE NOT LIKELY TO SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE BALANCE IN WESTMINSTER. THERE ARE NO CREDIBLE TORY OR LABOUR CANDIDATES RUNNING IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONSTITUENCIES AND, ABSENT A HUNG PARLIAMENT, THERE IS LITTLE PROSPECT OF A POLITICAL DEAL BETWEEN THE MAINSTREAM BRITISH PARTIES AND THOSE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. THE REAL ELECTORAL BATTLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE SDLP FOR THE CATHOLIC VOTE, AND THE UUP AND DUP ON THE PROTESTANT SIDE. IN GENERAL, A STRONG RESULT FOR THE TWO MODERATE PARTIES IN EACH TRADITION -- THE SDLP AND UUP -- COULD RESULT IN MORE CONFIDENT AND FLEXIBLE APPROACHES TO THE STORMONT TALKS. BOTH PARTIES, HOWEVER, ARE

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BEING HARD PRESSED BY THEIR OPPONENTS.

-- WOMEN MP'S: THERE WERE 63 WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN THE LAST SESSION, OR JUST UNDER 10 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL. THE NUMBER THIS TIME IS CERTAIN TO RISE, BUT BY HOW MUCH WILL DEPEND VERY MUCH ON HOW WELL LABOUR DOES IN THE ELECTION. (LABOUR, WHICH IS PUTTING FORWARD MORE THAN TWICE AS MANY WOMEN CANDIDATES AS THE TORIES, USED A WOMEN-ONLY SHORTLIST PROCEDURE TO SELECT CANDIDATES UNTIL A TRIBUNAL RULED IT ILLEGAL LAST YEAR. EVEN AFTER THAT PROCEDURE WAS DISCONTINUED, HOWEVER, LABOUR MAINTAINED ITS COMMITMENT TO RECRUIT MORE WOMEN CANDIDATES.) IF THERE IS A FOUR PERCENT SWING TO LABOUR, ANALYSTS PREDICT ABOUT 93 WOMEN WILL GO TO WESTMINSTER (68 OF WHOM WOULD BE LABOUR MPS); IF THERE IS AN EIGHT PERCENT SWING TO LABOUR, THERE WOULD BE ABOUT 108 WOMEN ELECTED (ABOUT 87 FROM LABOUR).

-- RACES TO WATCH: THE THREE INCUMBENT TORY CABINET MEMBERS REPRESENTING SCOTTISH CONSTITUENCIES -- MALCOLM RIFKIND (FOREIGN OFFICE), IAN LANG (TRADE), AND MICHAEL FORSYTH (SCOTLAND) ARE IN GRAVE DANGER OF LOSING THEIR SEATS. IN PARTICULAR, THE LOSS OF RIFKIND, WHO GAMELY IS DEFENDING A MAJORITY OF ABOUT 4100 VOTES, WOULD DEPRIVE THE TORIES OF A SENIOR MODERATE LEADER WHO OCCASIONALLY IS MENTIONED AS A COMPROMISE CANDIDATE TO FOLLOW MAJOR AS PARTY LEADER. TWO OTHER CABINET MEMBERS (AND PUTATIVE RIGHT-WING CANDIDATES TO SUCCEED MAJOR), HOME SECRETARY MICHAEL HOWARD AND DEFENSE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 005014

E.O. 12958: DECL: 4/30/02
TAGS: PGOV, UK
SUBJECT: BRITISH VOTERS POISED TO BRING IN LABOUR GOVERNMENT

MINISTER MICHAEL PORTILLO, HAVE MORE SUBSTANTIAL MARGINS IN THEIR ENGLISH CONSTITUENCIES BUT NEVERTHELESS ARE THOUGHT TO BE VULNERABLE TO A STRONG SWING TO LABOUR. SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS IS LIKELY TO WIN HIS WEST BELFAST ELECTION RACE AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS HAS A SOLID CHANCE OF WINNING ANOTHER NORTHERN IRELAND CONSTITUENCY FOR THE PARTY, ALTHOUGH NEITHER WOULD ACTUALLY TAKE UP THEIR WESTMINSTER SEATS.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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KBH 7/31/2019

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RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0459
SUBJ: LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO NORTHERN IRELAND

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 005163

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

DEPT PLEASE PASS SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/28/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO NORTHERN IRELAND

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MICHAEL J. HABIB, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. (C) SUMMARY: THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT IS UNLIKELY, AT LEAST IN THE NEAR TERM, TO DEPART SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE OUTLINES OF ITS PREDECESSOR'S POLICY TOWARD NORTHERN IRELAND -- A POLICY WHICH IT SUPPORTED WHILE IN OPPOSITION. UNDER TONY BLAIR, LABOUR HAS EMBRACED THE FRAMEWORKS AGENDA AND ACCEPTED THAT THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND IS REQUIRED FOR ANY CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE.

3. (C) EVEN THOUGH THE SUBSTANCE OF LABOUR'S POLICY MAY NOT DIFFER GREATLY FROM THAT OF THE CONSERVATIVES, THE TONE AND ACCENT WILL -- AND TONE IS IMPORTANT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. MO MOWLAM, WHO HAS BEEN TIPPED AS NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY, WILL LOOK FOR WAYS TO MOVE THE TALKS PROCESS FORWARD BY INCLUDING SINN FEIN AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. ALTHOUGH BLAIR AND MOWLAM WILL REQUIRE THE IRA TO "DEMONSTRATE A CREDIBLE CEASE-FIRE BY WORD AND DEED," THEY MAY BE WILLING TO ACCEPT A LESS RIGOROUS DEMONSTRATION OF ITS CREDIBLITY. LABOUR'S MASSIVE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY GIVES IT RELATIVELY MORE FREEDOM OF ACTION. NONETHELESS, MOWLAM MUST BE MINDFUL OF A UNIONISQCH COULD WRECK THE TALKS PROCESS AND PROVOKE A FULL-SCALE RETURN TO VIOLENCE.

4. (C) BOTH BLAIR AND MOWLAM BELIEVE THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN "HELPFUL, CONSISTENT AND BALANCED" AND HAVE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR THE "ABSOLUTELY TERRIFIC" JOB DONE BY SENATOR MITCHELL. THEY WILL PLACE A HIGH PRIORITY ON MAINTAINING GOOD CONTACTS WITH US ON NORTHERN IRELAND; BLAIR BELIEVES U.S. SUPPORT IN CRUCIAL MOMENTS COULD BE "DETERMINATIVE" IN BRINGING THE PARTIES TO A NEGOTIATED

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SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY

CONTINUITY IN POLICY
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5. (U) AS ON OTHER KEY POLICY ISSUES (SEPTELS), TONY BLAIR'S "NEW LABOUR" HAS ALTERED THE PARTY'S POSITIONS ON NORTHERN IRELAND. BEGINNING WITH MO MOWLAM'S REPLACEMENT OF THE ARDENTLY PRO-NATIONALIST KEVIN MCNAMARA AS SHADOW SECRETARY IN OCTOBER, 1994, LABOUR'S STANCE WHILE IN OPPOSITION EVOLVED INTO A CAUTIOUS, BIPARTISAN BACKING OF THE BROAD OUTLINES OF JOHN MAJOR'S NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY. LABOUR FORMALLY ABANDONED ITS POSITION FAVORING IRISH UNITY AND, IN 1996, EVEN ABSTAINED ON RENEWAL OF NORTHERN IRELAND ANTI-TERRORISM LEGISLATION FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE NEARLY 25-YEAR HISTORY OF THAT LAW, EVEN THOUGH SOME OLD LEFT MEMBERS BROKE RANKS WITH NEW LABOUR TO VOTE AGAINST IT.

6. (U) IN MOVING AWAY FROM LABOUR'S FORMER ADVOCACY OF IRISH UNITY BY CONSENT, BLAIR PROCLAIMED PUBLICLY THAT IT IS NOT FOR A LABOUR GOVERNMENT TO DICTATE THE FINAL OUTCOME OF A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT; THAT OUTCOME MUST BE THE RESULT OF A NEGOTIATION WHICH BOTH COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND CAN SUPPORT. LABOUR'S ELECTION MANIFESTO EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZES THAT THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND MUST BE DETERMINED BY THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE AS SET OUT IN THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION. EXPANDING ON THIS, MOWLAM RECENTLY SAID "TAKING CONSENT SERIOUSLY MEANS NORTHERN IRELAND WILL CONTINUE TO BE PART OF THE UK FOR A LONG TIME INTO THE FUTURE. WE KNOW THERE ISN'T CONSENT FOR A UNITED IRELAND. BUT WE ALSO KNOW THE CURRENT STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND DOESN'T HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THOSE IN THE NATIONALIST TRADITION. THAT IS WHY I HAVE USED THE PHRASE, 'THE STATUS QUO IS NOT AN OPTION."

7. (U) UNDER BLAIR, LABOUR FORMALLY IS COMMITTED TO THE THREE-STRANDED AGENDA SPECIFIED IN THE FRAMEWORKS DOCUMENT, INCLUDING A POWER-SHARING, DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT; STRONG CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS; AND THE MAINTENANCE AND EXPANSION OF THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT. THE FRAMEWORK ALSO COMMITS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTING "PARITY OF ESTEEM" BETWEEN NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS, AS WELL AS A "RIGOROUS IMPARTIALITY" BETWEEN THE TWO TRADITIONS.

A DIFFERENCE IN TONE AND ACCENT
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8. (C) WHILE THERE IS LIKELY TO BE LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE APPROACHES OF BLAIR AND MAJOR TO THE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY, LABOUR'S FOCUS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES AND, IN PARTICULAR, ITS RHETORICAL EMPHASIS ON THEMES OF "JUSTICE" AND "EQUALITY" WILL SET A VERY DIFFERENT TONE. IN A PLACE AS ATTUNED TO NUANCE AND ACCENT AS NORTHERN IRELAND, THESE STYLISTIC VARIANCES COULD EVOKE STRONG EMOTIONAL RESPONSES, PARTICULARLY FROM UNIONISTS. A TRACE OF LABOUR'S EARLIER POLICY PERSISTS IN THE PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO THE "UNITY OF THE PEOPLES OF IRELAND," ALTHOUGH ITS SPOKESMEN INSIST THIS MEANS ONLY RECONCILIATION, NOT POLITICAL UNIFICATION.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 005163

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

DEPT PLEASE PASS SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/28/02

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TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO NORTHERN IRELAND

9. (U) LABOUR'S NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY PLATFORM INCLUDES PROPOSALS TO "BUILD CONFIDENCE" BY INCORPORATING THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTO NORTHERN IRELAND LEGISLATION; STRENGTHENING THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT LAW; MAKING (SO FAR UNSPECIFIED) REFORMS OF THE RUC TO "IMPROVE COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION WITH POLICING;" AND TO GIVE STATUTORY POWERS TO THE RECENTLY-CREATED PARADES COMMISSION. AS IN ITS NATIONAL PROGRAM LABOUR GIVES A HIGH PRIORITY TO INVESTMENT INCENTIVE, JOB CREATION, AND EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

10. (C) EVEN THOUGH BLAIR HAS PLEDGED THAT THERE WILL BE "AS GREAT A PRIORITY ATTACHED TO SEEING THIS PROCESS THROUGH AS UNDER THE CONSERVATIVES," HIS ATTENTION IS LIKELY TO BE DIVERTED TO OTHER PRIORITIES OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, AT LEAST INITIALLY. IN PRACTICE, BLAIR PROBABLY WILL RELY HEAVILY ON MOWLAM, A TRUSTED MEMBER OF HIS INNER CIRCLE, ALTHOUGH WE EXPECT HIM TO EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE CONTROL OVER HER ON THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISIONS. MOWLAM'S VOLUBLE STYLE COULD NOT BE MORE DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF HER MORE RESERVED PREDECESSOR, SIR PATRICK MAYHEW. (WE ARE TOLD SHE IS NOT EXPERIENCING OTHER THAN ROUTINE SIDE EFFECTS FROM HER RECENT CHEMOTHERAPY TREATMENT FOR A NON-MALIGNANT BRAIN TUMOR.) TONY WORTHINGTON, A SOLID AND RESPECTED MP FROM SUBURBAN GLASGOW, IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO ACT AS MOWLAM'S NUMBER TWO, MOVING WITH HER TO REPLACE MICHAEL ANCRAM. FOREIGN SECRETARY ROBIN COOK ALSO IS LIKELY TO BE A KEY FIGURE IN UK-IRISH RELATIONS, AND (##)NORTHERN IRELAND COMMITTEE.

TALKS PROCESS: SINN FEIN'S ENTRY
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11. (U) IN THE ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE OF A GENUINE IRA CEASE-FIRE, LABOUR WILL NOT OFFER SINN FEIN A GUARANTEE OF ENTRY INTO THE TALKS. BECAUSE THE REQUIREMENT FOR AN "UNEQUIVOCAL CEASE-FIRE" IS WRITTEN INTO THE BRITISH LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING THE TALKS, THE GOVERNMENT MUST CERTIFY TO PARLIAMENT THE RELIABILITY OF ANY IRA DECLARATION BEFORE IT COULD ADMIT SINN FEIN. WRITING IN THE IRISH TIMES ON APRIL 28, BLAIR RE-EMPHASIZED THAT THERE MUST BE AN IRA CEASE-FIRE, "PROVEN IN WORD AND DEED," BEFORE SINN FEIN CAN "EARN THE RIGHT" TO SIT IN TALKS WITH OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. DECLARING THAT THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD BE "FIRM AND RESOLUTE IN THE FACE OF VIOLENCE," BLAIR WARNED THE IRA THAT ITS CAMPAIGN OF TERROR MAKES SINN FEIN'S ENTRY INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS "ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT."

12. (C) HOWEVER, IF THE IRA WERE TO PROCLAIM A CEASE-FIRE IN THE DAYS BETWEEN NOW AND THE SCHEDULED JUNE 3 RE-OPENING OF THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS AT STORMONT, THE NEW GOVERNMENT PROBABLY WOULD BE INCLINED TO DO ALL IT COULD TO SEIZE THE PROSPECTIVE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. IN A MARCH 29 RADIO INTERVIEW, MOWLAM DECLARED AN IMMEDIATE IRA CEASE-FIRE WOULD LEAD TO A "HIGH POSSIBILITY" OF SINN FEIN'S INCLUSION AT THE OPENING OF TALKS.

13. (C) THIS "FORWARD LEAN" ECHOED HER PRIVATE REMARKS TO EMBOFFS EARLIER THIS YEAR, WHEN SHE SPOKE OF "TURNING THE TALKS PROCESS ON ITS HEAD." SHE SAID LABOUR WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE RISKS TO BRING SINN FEIN TO THE TABLE IF AN IRA CEASE-

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FIRE WERE DECLARED ON "ACCEPTABLE TERMS." WHILE SHE MADE IT CLEAR THAT SINN FEIN WOULD NOT GET A "FREE RIDE," SHE LEFT US WITH THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT LABOUR MIGHT BE WILLING TO TAKE A MORE FLEXIBLE APPROACH WHEN IT COMES TO DETERMINING WHETHER AN "UNEQUIVOCAL" CEASE-FIRE HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY DEMONSTRATED. ONE EXPERIENCED NIO OFFICIAL TOLD US THIS WEEK THAT HE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED BY INFORMAL CONTACTS BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE LABOUR LEADERSHIP -- NOT NECESSARILY THROUGH GOVERNMENT CHANNELS -- AS THEY TEST EACH OTHER'S INTENTIONS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

LABOUR'S ROOM TO MANEUVER
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14. (C) LABOUR'S MASSIVE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY GIVES BLAIR CONSIDERABLY MORE FREEDOM OF ACTION THAN MAJOR ENJOYED. LABOUR IS NOT DEPENDENT ON UNIONIST SUPPORT TO MOVE ITS LEGISLATIVE AGENDA, AS WERE THE TORIES IN THE LAST YEAR OF MAJOR'S GOVERNMENT. BUT EVEN WITH RELATIVELY LESS UNIONIST (OR ANY OTHER OPPOSITION) PRESSURE IN PARLIAMENT, BLAIR AND MOWLAM MUST BE MINDFUL OF THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE UNIONISTS -- WITHOUT WHOSE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION NO PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION CAN SUCCEED.

15. (C) A DECISION TO ADMIT SINN FEIN TO THE TALKS BEFORE AN IRA CEASE-FIRE IS SATISFACTORILY DEMONSTRATED TO BE GENUINE COULD PROVOKE A UNIONIST BACKLASH WHICH WOULD WRECK THE PROCESS AND LEAD TO A FULL-SCALE RETURN TO VIOLENCE. MOWLAM ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 005163

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

DEPT PLEASE PASS SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/28/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO NORTHERN IRELAND

IS PREPARED FOR A UNIONIST WALKOUT AT THE TIME SINN FEIN IS ADMITTED, BUT SHE HOPES THAT IF THAT DECISION IS MADE WITH SUFFICIENT JUSTIFICATION, AND IF UNIONISTS CAN BE SHOWN THAT THEIR GAINS FROM A NEGOTIATION WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL, THEN IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ENTICE AT LEAST THE UUP BACK TO THE TABLE.

16. (C) IT IS, OF COURSE, VERY DIFFICULT TO PREDICT THE COURSE OF THE NEXT ROUND OF THE TALKS. A RECENT SERIES OF ATTACKS BY LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES AT A MINIMUM HAVE CALLED INTO QUESTION THE LOYALISTS' COMMITMENT TO EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC METHODS. IF THE LOYALIST ARE EXPELLED AND IF THERE IS NOT RAPID PROGRESS MADE IN DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE UUP AND SDLP, IN PARTICULAR, MOWLAM MAY HAVE TO BE PREPARED TAKE DRAMATIC ACTION TO KEEP THE TALKS ALIVE OR, ALTERNATIVELY, TO PRONOUNCE THEM DEAD AND OFFER A NEW ROUTE FORWARD.

17. (C) MOREOVER, LABOUR IS UNLIKELY TO ENJOY ANYTHING LIKE THE BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FROM THE TORIES WHICH IT OFFERED THEM. THE QUESTION OF HOW TO GOVERN NORTHERN IRELAND INCREASINGLY WILL BE ADDRESSED IN WESTMINSTER IN THE INTENSELY PARTISAN CONTEXT OF BROADER CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES -- E.G., DEVOLUTION IN WALES AND SCOTLAND -- ON WHICH THE TORIES IN OPPOSITION ARE LIKELY TO BE STAUNCHLY PRO-UNIONIST. THERE ALSO IS A STRONG REVULSION THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH BODY POLITIC AGAINST "GIVING IN TO TERROR," WHICH THE TORIES COULD TRY TO EXPLOIT TO

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PARTISAN ADVANTAGE IF LABOUR DOES MOVE TO ADMIT SINN FEIN. LABOUR ALSO IS GOING TO HAVE TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO DEAL APPROPRIATELY WITH GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS NOW THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT, EVEN IF THEY WILL CONTINUE TO ABSENT THEMSELVES FROM THE COMMONS CHAMBER.

MARCHING TOWARD DANGER
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18. (C) WITHIN WEEKS OF HER APPOINTMENT, MOWLAM WILL FACE THE ONSET OF THE "MARCHING SEASON" AND, ESPECIALLY, THE STILL UNRESOLVED CONTROVERSY REGARDING THE ORANGE ORDER'S INSISTENCE ON ITS RIGHT TO MARCH DOWN THE GARVACHY ROAD IN DRUMCREE IN JULY DESPITE THE OPPOSITION OF THE LOCAL RESIDENTS GROUP. THIS WILL BE A DEFINING MOMENT FOR NEW LABOUR'S POLICY. LABOUR SUPPORTED THE NORTH COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS ON A PANEL TO REVIEW PARADES ISSUES AND MOWLAM HAS PLEDGED TO DO ALL SHE CAN TO HELP WITH THE PROCESS OF MEDIATION AND DIALOGUE SO THAT THERE IS NO "REPEAT OF THE EVENTS SURROUNDING THE DRUMCREE PARADE LAST YEAR." LABOUR HAS PROMISED TO GRANT THE COMMISSION STATUTORY POWERS TO BAN PARADES, BUT THE MAJOR GOVERNMENT DID NOT INCLUDE THAT LEGISLATION AS PART OF ITS INITIAL AUTHORIZING BILL AND, EVEN IF IT IS INTRODUCED AS SOON AS PARLIAMENT CONVENES, IT IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE EFFECT IN TIME FOR DRUMCREE.

19. (C) MOWLAM HAS TOLD US SHE IS PREPARED TO MAKE THE TOUGH DECISIONS TO BAN MARCHES, IF THAT IS WHAT IS NECESSARY. HOWEVER, UNLESS A MEDIATED SOLUTION IS FOUND, MOWLAM AND RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE RONNIE FLANAGAN WILL BE PRESENTED WITH THE SAME DILEMMA AS WERE THEIR PREDECESSORS IN 1996. A STAND-OFF BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND A HUNDRED THOUSAND OR MORE LOYALIST PROTESTERS MAY WELL REQUIRE THE USE OF LETHAL FORCE TO MAINTAIN ORDER. EVEN IF TAKING A STRONG LAW AND ORDER STAND MAY BE ATTRACTIVE TO MOWLAM, AS IT WAS TO HER LABOUR PREDECESSORS MERLYN REES AND ROY MASON, SHE WILL HAVE TO THINK LONG AND HARD BEFORE SHE AUTHORIZES THE ARMY TO OPEN FIRE ON MASSES OF BRITISH CITIZENS.

ROLE FOR THE U.S.
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20. (C) BOTH BLAIR AND MOWLAM BELIEVE THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO NORTHERN IRELAND. EVEN THOUGH SHE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE ADAMS VISA AT THE TIME, MOWLAM TOLD EMBOFFS RECENTLY THAT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT HAS BEEN "HELPFUL, CONSISTENT AND BALANCED." SHE PRAISED U.S. EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AN EVEN-HANDED APPROACH AND SAID HER IMPRESSION IS THAT WE HAVE BEEN "PRETTY SUCCESSFUL" IN ASSUAGING UNIONIST SUSPICIONS. MOWLAM ALSO IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HAS EXPRESSED HER PARTY'S GRATITUDE FOR THE "ABSOLUTELY TERRIFIC" JOB DONE BY SENATOR MITCHELL. BLAIR HAS INDICATED TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE TOO WELCOMED CONTINUING STRONG AMERICAN INTEREST IN HELPING TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. RECOGNIZING EXPECTATIONS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE STEPS TO BREAK THE TALKS STALEMATE WOULD BE HIGH, HE DECLARED THAT U.S. SUPPORT IN CRUCIAL MOMENTS WOULD BE "DETERMINATIVE" IN BRINGING THE PARTIES TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

21. (C) WE EXPECT MOWLAM, WHO HAS ALWAYS BEEN REMARKABLY OPEN AND CANDID WITH US, WILL CONTINUE TO PLACE A HIGH PRIORITY ON MAINTAINING GOOD CONTACTS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS AS THE NEW

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/28/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO NORTHERN IRELAND

GOVERNMENT BEGINS TO REFINE ITS POSITIONS AND STRATEGY. SHE TOLD US SOME MONTHS AGO THAT SHE HOPED TO VISIT WASHINGTON EARLY ON IN HER TENURE, A THOUGHT WHICH WE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED. A SENIOR NIO OFFICIAL WHO HAS GIVEN SOME CONSIDERATION TO THE NEW SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE THOUGHT THAT IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE UNTIL LATE SUMMER -- FOLLOWING THE NEXT ROUND OF THE STORMONT TALKS AND AFTER THE MARCHING SEASON -- BUT WE WILL FOLLOW UP WITH MOWLAM DIRECTLY AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
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SIT: NSC
PRT: BASS BERGER BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HARMONPTR HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 091621Z MAY 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 091621Z MAY 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4950
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0476
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0225
SUBJ: READ OUT OF MAY 8 BLAIR-BRUTON MEETING

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.87)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 005441

EXDIS

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/09/07
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: READ OUT OF MAY 8 BLAIR-BRUTON MEETING

REF: A) DUBLIN 2120 B) LONDON 5371

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MICHAEL J. HABIB, MINISTER-COUNSELOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REASON: 1.5(B).

2. (~~C~~) NIO INTERNATIONAL SECTION HEAD DAVID BROOKER TOLD US THE MAY 8 MEETING BETWEEN JOHN BRUTON AND TONY BLAIR WAS AS "WARM AND POSITIVE" AS CHARACTERIZED IN SUBSEQUENT PRESS REPORTING, BUT THAT IT ALSO INCLUDED A "ROBUST" EXCHANGE ON SINN FEIN'S ENTRY INTO TALKS. BROOKER SAID THE TAOISEACH SOUGHT TO INDUCE EARLY MOMENTUM INTO THE TALKS PROCESS AND ARGUED FORCEFULLY THAT THE GOVERNMENTS SHOULD FIND AN OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE SINN FEIN IN THEM AT THE EARLIEST MOMENT. BRUTON SUGGESTED THAT AN IRA CEASE-FIRE DECLARATION MADE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS WOULD GIVE THE GOVERNMENTS ENOUGH TIME TO MAKE A JUDGMENT ABOUT ITS CREDIBILITY BEFORE THE STORMONT TALKS RE-OPEN JUNE 3.

3. (~~C~~) BROOKER SAID BLAIR REPLIED BY AGREEING THAT AN OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE THE TALKS PROCESS NEW MOMENTUM SHOULD NOT BE MISSED. HOWEVER, THE NEW PRIME MINSTER SAID, IN THE EARLY DAYS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION HE IS NOT READY "TO RUSH INTO ANYTHING." BLAIR AFFIRMED HE IS READY TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE BUT INSISTED THAT THE "CREDIBLE AND UNEQUIVOCAL" NATURE OF AN IRA CEASEFIRE MUST BE DEMONSTRATED BEFORE HE IS PREPARED TO ALLOW SINN FEIN INTO THE TALKS. IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING, NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MOWLAM, REFERRING TO SINN FEIN'S ENTRY, TOLD REPORTERS SHE IS "NOT SURE THAT JUNE 3 IS POSSIBLE."

4. (~~C~~) BROOKER SAID THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT WHATSOEVER BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS ON THE REQUIREMENT FOR A GENUINE

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CEASEFIRE; THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME DIFFERENCES IN HOW BEST TO GAIN THAT CEASEFIRE. HE SAID THE DISCUSSIONS ON EAST-WEST INITIATIVES, SUCH AS COOPERATION ON EDUCATIONAL MATTERS, AND OTHER TOPICS, SUCH AS MARCHES AND THE REAFFIRMATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT, WERE "FULL AND FRIENDLY." THE TWO LEADERS AGREED TO MEET AGAIN IN THE SUMMER.

5. (c) ALTHOUGH THE MATTER WAS NOT RAISED WITH THE TAOISEACH IN DETAIL, BROOKER SAID THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL RESPOND TO ADAMS' RECENT LETTER TO BLAIR ASKING FOR A MEETING. HOWEVER, THAT RESPONSE WILL NOT BE SENT UNTIL AFTER THE MAY 21 NORTHERN IRELAND LOCAL ELECTIONS TO AVOID POSSIBLE ELECTORAL RAMIFICATIONS, ESPECIALLY FOR THE SDLP. BROOKER SAID MOWLAM WILL AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO MEETINGS BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND NIO OFFICIALS FOR THE PURPOSE OF "CLARIFYING POINTS AND AVOIDING MISUNDERSTANDINGS" ABOUT HOW SINN FEIN COULD BE BROUGHT INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS ON THE BASIS OF AN UNEQUIVOCAL CEASEFIRE. AN AGREEMENT TO MEET SINN FEIN WOULD BE CONDITIONAL ON "EVENTS ON THE GROUND," HE SAID.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5441

TOR: 970509134228 M2752429

DIST:

SIT: COQ HARMON PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: BASS BERGER BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HARMONPTR HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG TRIP

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INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0412
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0226
SUBJ: PM BLAIR MAKES NO COMMITMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN MAY 8 SUMMIT WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 002224

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/09/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EUN, EI
SUBJECT: PM BLAIR MAKES NO COMMITMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN MAY 8 SUMMIT WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

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

SUMMARY
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2. (C) IN THEIR MAY 8 SUMMIT IN LONDON, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR GAVE TAOISEACH JOHN BRUTON NO COMMITMENTS REGARDING A DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS FOLLOWING AN IRA CEASEFIRE. INDEED, THE MESSAGE FROM BLAIR, WHICH THE IRISH RECEIVED WITH "SLEDGEHAMMER CLARITY," WAS THAT "WHATEVER THE IMPERATIVES ON YOU OR THE AMERICANS (SIC), I CAN'T BE SEEN TO ACT UNDER PRESSURE." THE IRISH HAVE SUGGESTED THE BRITISH RESPOND POSITIVELY TO SINN FEIN REQUESTS FOR DIRECT CONTACTS, AND ARE CONSIDERING MEETING WITH SF THEMSELVES IN ORDER TO TEST OUT WHAT SOME SEE AS A GROWING WILL TO GO FOR A CEASEFIRE. IRISH ELECTIONS, WHICH APPEAR LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE ON JUNE 6, COULD FACTOR INTO A SCENARIO ALLOWING MORE TIME FOR A CEASEFIRE TO BE EVALUATED IF, AS NOW APPEARS LIKELY, SINN FEIN WILL NOT BE ADMITTED TO TALKS ON JUNE 3. BRUTON AND BLAIR ALSO DISCUSSED EUROPEAN ISSUES (PARAS 10-12).

END SUMMARY
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3. (C) SEAN O'HUIGINN BRIEFED ME TODAY ON THE MAY 8 MEETING IN LONDON BETWEEN TAOISEACH JOHN BRUTON AND THE NEW BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, TONY BLAIR. O'HUIGINN DESCRIBED LONDON AS MERELY "OKAY." ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, THE IRISH WERE PLEASED THAT THEY WERE THE FIRST FOREIGN GOVERNMENT TO BE RECEIVED BY THE NEW PM, AND THAT BLAIR MET WITH THE TAOISEACH ON THE DAY OF HIS NEW GOVERNMENT'S

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FIRST CABINET MEETING. THE "BAD NEWS," HOWEVER, WAS THAT THE GOVERNMENT "MACHINE" SURROUNDING BLAIR WAS CLEARLY "UNCOMFORTABLE" HOLDING THIS MEETING SO SOON, AND THE BRITISH REFUSED TO BE DRAWN INTO MAKING ANY COMMITMENTS.

SPRING-MOWLAM DINNER
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4. (C) THE FIRST OF THREE MEETINGS WAS A DINNER ON MAY 7 BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM. O'HUIGINN DESCRIBED IT AS FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL, THOUGH MOWLAM WAS MOSTLY IN A LISTENING MODE. BRITISH OFFICIALS ACCOMPANYING MOWLAM WERE IN A CAUTIONARY MODE. MOWLAM OUTLINED DIVISIONS WITHIN THE LABOUR PARTY BETWEEN THOSE MORE SYMPATHETIC TO NATIONALIST VIEWS AND THOSE LESS SO.

5. (C) THE IRISH USED THE MEETING TO PROVIDE A FAIRLY UPBEAT ASSESSMENT ("WITHIN REASON") OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT'S STANCE. SPRING STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NOT REPEATING THE PREVIOUS BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S "MISTAKES" AND THE NEED TO PROVIDE A "SENSE OF CERTAINTY" REGARDING DATES FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS FOLLOWING AN IRA CEASEFIRE.

6. (C) SPRING'S MAIN POINT, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME, WAS THAT THE "CHICKEN AND EGG" SITUATION INVOLVING A DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS FOLLOWING A CEASEFIRE MUST BE AVOIDED. THE IRISH TRIED TO IMPRESS UPON MOWLAM THAT A DECISION MUST BE MADE, OR THINGS WOULD CONTINUE TO DRIFT. BUT SPRING DID NOT PUSH FOR A BRITISH COMMITMENT TO ALLOW SINN FEIN(INTO TALKS ON JUNE 3. "REALISTICALLY, BOTH SIDES REALIZE IT IS PROBABLY TOO LATE," O'HUIGINN SAID.

7. (C) MOWLAM MADE NO COMMITMENTS REGARDING A DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS. QUENTIN THOMAS REPORTEDLY EMPHASIZED THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S NEED FOR TIME BEFORE MAKING ANY DECISIONS, BUT SEEMED TO LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY AT SOME POINT AFTER JUNE 3 PROVIDED THE IRA CEASEFIRE IS UNEQUIVOCALLY RESTORED.

8. (C) MOWLAM OUTLINED A REASSURING SET OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES. ON PARADES, SHE INDICATED HMG WOULD PASS LEGISLATION TO "GIVE TEETH" TO THE PARADES COMMISSION, BUT THIS WOULD
NOT BE IN PLACE IN TIME FOR
DRUMCREE THIS SUMMER. MOWLAM OBSERVED THAT SHE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BLOCK ALL PARADES -- SOME WOULD GET THROUGH. THE IRISH STRESSED THAT ANY MARCH ALONG GARVAGHY ROAD WOULD BE SEEN AS A "WIN" FOR THE UNIONISTS; AT THE VERY LEAST, THE CATHOLIC RESIDENTS SHOULD BE SEEN TO BE CONSULTED BEFORE ANY MARCH PROCEEDS, O'HUIGINN SAID.

9. (C) O'HUIGINN FAVORABLY CONTRASTED MOWLAM'S STYLE WITH THAT OF HER PREDECESSOR, BUT DESCRIBED HER AS PRAGMATIC RATHER THAN INCLINED TOWARD THE NATIONALIST OR UNIONIST POINT OF VIEW. ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT SHE CONSIDERS THE STATUS QUO UNACCEPTABLE AND CHANGE NECESSARY COULD SHE BE CONSIDERED TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO THE IRISH PERSPECTIVE.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 002224

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/09/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EUN, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: PM BLAIR MAKES NO COMMITMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN MAY 8 SUMMIT WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

COMMON GROUND ON EUROPE
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10. (C) FOREIGN SECRETARY ROBIN COOK OUTLINED A "LESS CONFRONTATIONAL" BRITISH APPROACH TO EUROPE IN HIS MAY 8 MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING, AND THE TWO SIDES CONFIRMED MUCH COMMON GROUND ON MATTERS RELATING TO SCHENGEN AND WEU. THIS GROUND WAS ALSO COVERED IN PM BRUTON'S MAY 8 MEETING WITH PM BLAIR.

11. (C) ON EMU, BLAIR TOLD BRUTON HE DID NOT EXPECT THE UK TO JOIN THE SINGLE EUROPEAN CURRENCY IN THE FIRST ROUND. THE RECENT MOVE TO SHIFT CONTROL OF INTEREST RATES TO THE BRITISH CENTRAL BANK SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS PREPARATORY TO JOINING EMU; RATHER, IT HAD INHERENT "VALUE IN ITSELF."

12. (C) ACCORDING TO O'HUIGINN, BLAIR ALSO TOLD THE TAOISEACH THAT HE NEEDED TO RETURN FROM THE EU SUMMIT IN THE NETHERLANDS WITH A "DECENT" DEAL, IN ORDER TO AVOID CONFIRMING THE BRITISH PUBLIC IN ITS "EURO-SKEPTICAL ATTITUDES." BLAIR SIGNALLED AN INTENTION TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY ON ENLARGEMENT, AND REPORTEDLY CITED A LATIN AMERICAN COMMON MARKET EFFORT (MERCOSUR) AS A GOOD MINIMALIST MODEL TO PURSUE. (ADDITIONAL REPORTING ON EUROPEAN ISSUES PROVIDED SEPTEL.)

BRUTON-BLAIR ON BILATERAL TIES
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13. (C) BLAIR LISTENED TO PROPOSALS BY JOHN BRUTON TO EXPAND AND MODERNIZE ANGLO-IRISH COOPERATION IN VARIOUS SPHERES, INCLUDING THE INFORMATION SUPERHIGHWAY. THERE WAS AGREEMENT TO HOLD A SERIES OF MEETINGS INVOLVING OFFICIALS, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A MINISTERIAL "DOWN THE ROAD," O'HUIGINN SAID.

BLAIR ON NORTHERN IRELAND: DON'T CROWD ME
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14. (C) O'HUIGINN TOLD ME THE TAOISEACH MADE A PLEA TO BLAIR FOR THE BRITISH TO "LOOK AT THE TIMING" OF SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS, IN ORDER TO BREAK OUT OF THE VICIOUS CIRCLE. HE STILL HELD OUT SOME HOPES FOR JUNE 3. BLAIR'S ONLY MESSAGE, DELIVERED WITH "SLEDGEHAMMER CLARITY," WAS THAT NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE A PRIORITY FOR HIM, BUT HE HAD TO DO IT HIS WAY. "WHATEVER THE IMPERATIVES ON YOU OR THE AMERICANS, I CAN'T BE SEEN TO ACT UNDER PRESSURE," BLAIR REPORTEDLY TOLD BRUTON (O'HUIGINN SAID THIS WAS ONLY A GLANCING REFERENCE TO THE U.S., BUT A DEFINITE ONE). O'HUIGINN MADE CLEAR THAT THE MESSAGE EMPHATICALLY RECEIVED BY THE IRISH WAS: "DON'T CROWD ME."

15. (C) ACCORDING TO O'HUIGINN, BLAIR TOLD BRUTON HE WANTS TO BRING BOTH SIDES ALONG, NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS ALIKE, AND THINKS IT CAN BE DONE. BUT HE INTENDS TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY AND BELIEVES IT IS TOO EARLY TO MAKE COMMITMENTS. HE IS WARY OF BEING DRAWN INTO ANY PARTICULAR AGENDA. THE IRA HOAX AT AINTREE CAUSED REAL DAMAGE ("AN ELECTORAL STAB IN THE BACK"). O'HUIGINN OBSERVED THAT EVEN MO MOWLAM HAD BEEN TAKEN ABACK BY THE "ANTI-IRA VIEWS" OF SOME OF THE NEW LABOUR MP'S. HOWEVER, THE BRITISH APPEARED TO BELIEVE THE ANGER WOULD DISSIPATE IF IT COULD BE SHOWN THAT PEACE IS ACHIEVABLE.

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16. (C) ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT IRELAND IS ABOUT TO ENTER AN ELECTORAL PERIOD, THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF THE NEXT MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, O'HUIGINN SAID.

NO TRIMBLE MEETING
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17. (C) O'HUIGINN CONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS THAT A REQUEST BY DAVID TRIMBLE TO MEET THE TAOISEACH IN LONDON DID NOT WORK OUT. BRUTON WAS WILLING TO MEET, BUT THE IRISH FELT SEEING TRIMBLE ON T
HE HEELS OF A MEETING WITH PM BLAIR
MIGHT BE "AWKWARD" AND OFFER "BAD SYMBOLISM." HOWEVER, NO ALTERNATE ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE WORKED OUT, AS TRIMBLE "PLAYED HARD TO GET."

NEXT STEPS
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18. (C) O'HUIGINN WAS VAGUE ON NEXT STEPS. HE DESCRIBED THE CURRENT SITUATION AS "FASCINATING," BECAUSE THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT APPEARS TO HAVE THE CAPACITY AND THE WILL TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE, AND THE NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT CLEARLY WANTS A CEASEFIRE. BUT "WHAT'S MISSING IS THE CHOREOGRAPHY." IT WOULD BE A "SCANDAL," HE LAMENTED, IF A WAY FORWARD COULD NOT BE FOUND.

19. (C) SINN FEIN HAS WRITTEN TO BOTH PM BLAIR AND MO
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 002224

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/09/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EUN, EI
SUBJECT: PM BLAIR MAKES NO COMMITMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN MAY 8 SUMMIT WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

MOWLAM TO PROPOSE DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN HMG AND SINN FEIN. O'HUIGINN THOUGHT SUCH TALKS COULD BE USEFUL, BUT HAD NO SENSE OF HOW THE BRITISH INTENDED TO RESPOND. THE GOI, FOR ITS PART, CONTINUES TO OBSERVE THE "DOCTRINE" LAID DOWN BY THE TAOISEACH THAT CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN COULD ONLY TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF AN IMMINENT CEASEFIRE. HOWEVER, O'HUIGINN INDICATED HE BELIEVES "ONE OR TWO" MEETINGS BETWEEN THE GOI AND SINN FEIN WOULD BE USEFUL AT THIS STAGE, BOTH IN PUTTING TO SF/IRA THE CLEAR AND IMMEDIATE NEED FOR A CEASEFIRE, AND ALSO IN PERHAPS MAKING IT EASIER FOR THE BRITISH TO HOLD CONTACTS WITH SINN FEIN. ACCORDING TO "SOME OBSERVERS" (O'HUIGINN CITED NEIL O'DOWD), THE WILL FOR A CEASEFIRE IS GROWING IN SF/IRA, AND A MEETING COULD SERVE TO TEST THIS OUT AS WELL AS IMPRESS UPON SF/IRA THE NEED TO CONTRIBUTE TO A FORMULA TO SOLVE A PROBLEM OF THEIR OWN MAKING.

20. (C) JOHN HUME TOLD O'HUIGINN MAY 8 THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN IN TOUCH WITH GERRY ADAMS SINCE THE ELECTIONS. HUME REPORTEDLY FEARS THE SDLP WILL NOT DO WELL IN THE MAY 21 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HUME'S VIEW REMAINS THAT A CEASEFIRE IS ACHIEVABLE IF THE BRITISH WILL PUT FORWARD THE OCTOBER 10 PACKAGE, AND HE HAS SHARED THIS VIEW WITH MO MOWLAM, O'HUIGINN SAID. HUME IS EXPECTED TO MEET SOON WITH ORANGE ORDER LEADER ROBERT SAULTERS.

21. (C) O'HUIGINN SAID DUBLIN'S VIEW IS THAT AN IRA

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CEASEFIRE REMAINS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT STEP THAT NEEDS TO BE TAKEN BY ANY SIDE. IT COULD DEFUSE TENSIONS ENORMOUSLY WHILE, CONVERSELY, THE CONTINUED ABSENCE OF A CEASEFIRE WILL MAKE THINGS MUCH WORSE. HE AND I SPECULATED ON WHAT HAPPENS IF SINN FEIN IS NOT PRESENT WHEN THE TALKS RESUME ON JUNE 3. O'HUIGINN INDICATED THE GOI IS NOT CURRENTLY INCLINED TO POSTPONE THE TALKS. HOWEVER, THE ACTIVITY SURROUNDING LIKELY IRISH ELECTIONS ON JUNE 6 AND THE POSSIBLE TRANSITION THAT MIGHT ENSUE COULD BE USED TO PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL TWO OR THREE WEEKS IN WHICH TO ASSESS AN IRA CEASEFIRE IF ONE WERE DECLARED.

O'HUIGINN'S ETA IN U.S.
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22. (C) O'HUIGINN INDICATED HE PLANS TO TAKE UP HIS POST AS AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. O/A AUGUST 20. HIS INTENTION IS TO USE THE LAST WEEK OF AUGUST TO SETTLE IN ADMINISTRATIVELY, AND BE "OPERATIONAL" WHEN NORMAL BUSINESS RESUMES THE FIRST WEEK OF SEPTEMBER.

COMMENT
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23. (C) AS O'HUIGINN TOLD ME, SF/IRA IS NOW HAVING TO LIVE WITH A PROBLEM OF ITS OWN MAKING: THE ABSENCE OF AN IRA CEASEFIRE HAS ALMOST CERTAINLY ELIMINATED ANY PROSPECT OF SINN FEIN BEING ABLE TO ATTEND THE STORMONT TALKS WHEN THEY RESUME ON JUNE 3. HOWEVER, THIS ALSO CREATES ANOTHER PROBLEM: IT GIVES THE IRA NO INCENTIVE TO DECLARE A CEASEFIRE, ASSUMING THE WILL TO DO SO IS THERE (A POINT WHICH ALSO NEEDS TO BE TESTED, AS O'HUIGINN MADE CLEAR). AS I SEE IT, O'HUIGINN'S POINT IN BROACHING RESUMED CONTACT WITH SF/IRA IS TO TRY TO ESTABLISH WHAT IT WOULD TAKE NOW TO GET THE IRA TO DECLARE A CEASEFIRE. WHAT REMAINS UNCLEAR IS PRECISELY WHO, IF ANYONE, WILL BE ENGAGED IN THE KIND OF CONTACTS THAT SEEM TO BE NECESSARY IF A WAY OUT OF THIS IMPASSE IS TO BE FOUND. SMITH

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SUBJ: IRISH PM BRUTON ANNOUNCES JUNE 6 ELECTIONS

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 002332

NSC FOR PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/15/99
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH PM BRUTON ANNOUNCES JUNE 6 ELECTIONS

REF: DUBLIN 2200 AND PREVIOUS (NOTAL)

1. CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).

SUMMARY
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2. (C) THIS CABLE PREVIEWS IRISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS THAT WILL TAKE PLACE ON JUNE 6. IN WHAT IS EXPECTED TO BE A TIGHT AND BITTER RACE THAT IS CURRENTLY TOO CLOSE TO CALL, THE SHAPE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY NOT BE KNOWN FOR AT LEAST SEVERAL DAYS AFTER THE ELECTION. THE DAIL WILL NOT RECONVENE UNTIL JUNE 26, SO REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION, PM BRUTON WILL REPRESENT IRELAND AT THE JUNE 16 EU SUMMIT, AND CURRENT GOI MINISTERS WILL ATTEND THE STORMONT TALKS WHEN THEY RESUME ON JUNE 3. IF OPPOSITION LEADER BERTIE AHERN BECOMES THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER (HE CURRENTLY LEADS IN THE POLLS), WE CAN EXPECT HIM TO BE SOMEWHAT MORE SYMPATHETIC THAN BRUTON TO SINN FEIN'S PERSPECTIVE, AND TO PRESS AGGRESSIVELY FOR BRITISH ASSURANCES, IN ADVANCE, THAT AN IRA CEASEFIRE WOULD GUARANTEE SINN FEIN PARTICIPATION IN ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS ON NORTHERN IRELAND.

END SUMMARY
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3. (U) AS WIDELY ANTICIPATED, TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) JOHN BRUTON ON MAY 15 CALLED FOR THE DAIL (PARLIAMENT) TO BE DISSOLVED, AND SET FRIDAY, JUNE 6 AS THE DATE FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. PRESIDENT MARY ROBINSON MADE THE FORMAL DISSOLUTION ANNOUNCEMENT. BRUTON AND HIS CABINET WILL REMAIN IN POWER UNTIL A NEW DAIL IS CONVENED, WHICH HE ANNOUNCED WILL OCCUR JUNE 26. THEREFORE, REGARDLESS OF THE ELECTION OUTCOME, BRUTON WILL REPRESENT IRELAND AT THE JUNE

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16 EU SUMMIT IN AMSTERDAM. BRUTON HAS ALSO CONFIRMED THAT MINISTERS FROM HIS GOVERNMENT WILL ATTEND THE STORMONT TALKS WHEN THEY RESUME ON JUNE 3RD IN BELFAST.

ELECTION PROCEDURES
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4. (U) THE VOTE COUNT DOES NOT BEGIN UNTIL THE DAY AFTER THE ELECTION -- JUNE 7 -- AND THE RESULTS WILL NOT BE KNOWN UNTIL LATE ON THE 7TH OR EVEN THE NEXT DAY. TO FORM A GOVERNMENT, A PARTY OR COALITION MUST CONTROL 84 SEATS IN THE 166-SEAT DAIL. THE SPEAKER CASTS THE DECIDING VOTE IN THE EVENT OF A HUNG DAIL. IN WHAT IS EXPECTED TO BE A CLOSE ELECTION, THE SHAPE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY NOT BE KNOWN FOR AT LEAST SEVERAL DAYS AFTERWARDS.

5. (U) IRELAND DOES NOT HAVE A "FIRST PAST THE POST" ELECTORAL SYSTEM, BUT RATHER EMPLOYS A FAIRLY UNIQUE APPROACH CALLED "SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE - PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION" WHICH ELECTS UP TO FIVE DEPUTIES FROM EACH OF 41 MULTI-SEAT CONSTITUENCIES. VOTERS RANK THEIR PREFERENCES FOR EVERY CANDIDATE ON THE BALLOT (MORE THAN ONE CANDIDATE FROM A GIVEN PARTY MAY BE LISTED). CANDIDATES WHO MEET A "QUOTA" ESTABLISHED MATHEMATICALLY ARE ELECTED; "SURPLUS" VOTES ARE THEN TRANSFERRED TO THE VOTER'S NEXT PREFERRED CANDIDATE, AND SO ON UNTIL ALL PREFERENCES HAVE BEEN REGISTERED. THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT THIS COMPLEX COUNTING PROCEDURE CAN PRODUCE LAST MINUTE SURPRISES, AS CANDIDATES WHO DO NOT AT FIRST APPEAR TO BE DOING WELL IN THE VOTE COUNT MAY FIND THEY ULTIMATELY DO RECEIVE ENOUGH TRANSFERRED VOTES TO GET ELECTED.

6. (U) IN ADDITION, FEW OBSERVERS BELIEVE ONE PARTY WILL RECEIVE ENOUGH VOTES TO FORM A MAJORITY ON ITS OWN. IRELAND IS VIEWED AS HAVING ENTERED AN ERA OF COALITION POLITICS (ALTHOUGH FIANNA FAIL HAS NOT GIVEN UP HOPES OF RESTORING ITS TRADITIONAL DOMINANCE OVER THE IRISH POLITICAL LANDSCAPE). ONCE THE VOTE COUNTING IS DONE, THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING A NEW GOVERNMENT IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN. EXPERIENCED OBSERVERS TELL US THIS COULD TAKE DAYS, OR EVEN LONGER, DEPENDING ON THE STRENGTH OF THE RESPECTIVE PARTIES' MANDATES. HOWEVER, UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, THE DAIL MUST RECONVENE WITHIN 30 DAYS OF THE ELECTION, I.E. BY JULY 6.

7. (U) THE LAST ELECTION WAS IN 1992. A FIANNA FAIL/LABOUR PARTY COALITION TOOK POWER, BUT THIS COALITION COLLAPSED IN DECEMBER 1994 AND WAS REPLACED BY A "RAINBOW COALITION" COMPOSED OF FINE GAEL, LABOUR AND DEMOCRATIC LEFT. THE CURRENT MAKE-UP OF THE DAIL IS AS FOLLOWS:

GOVERNMENT PARTIES:

FINE GAEL - 46 SEATS
LABOUR - 32 SEATS
DEMOCRATIC LEFT - 6 SEATS

OPPOSITION:

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FIANNA FAIL - 68 SEATS
PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS - 8 SEATS
INDEPENDENTS/OTHER - 6 SEATS

ELECTION LINE-UP
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8. (U) IN WHAT MAY BE A FIRST FOR IRISH ELECTIONS, VOTERS ARE BEING OFFERED A CHOICE BETWEEN TWO POTENTIAL COALITIONS THAT DIFFER, AT LEAST SUPERFICIALLY, ON "LEFT-RIGHT" POLICY GROUNDS, RATHER THAN JUST ON THE PRO-TREATY VERSUS ANTI-TREATY SENTIMENTS THAT HAVE GOVERNED IRISH POLITICS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR OF 1922-23. PRIME MINISTER BRUTON'S FINE GAEL PARTY IS VIEWED AS BEING SOMEWHAT SKEWED TOWARD THE LEFT BY THE SOCIALIST-ORIENTED LABOUR AND DEMOCRATIC LEFT PARTIES THAT MAKE UP HIS RULING COALITION. FORMER FINANCE MINISTER BERTIE AHERN'S FIANNA FAIL PARTY (ALTHOUGH ITSELF NO STRANGER TO MASSIVE STATE INVOLVEMENT IN THE ECONOM) IS VIEWED AS BEING INFLUENCED TOWARD THE RIGHT BY THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS, WHO FAVOR REDUCING TAXES AND WELFARE BENEFITS TO STIMULATE GROWTH.

9. (U) THE PARTIES WILL RUN ON THEIR OWN INDIVIDUAL PLATFORMS, BUT COMMON POLICY THEMES AND, IN SOME CONSTITUENCIES, FORMAL VOTE TRANSFER PACTS ARE EXPECTED TO GIVE VOTERS A BROAD CHOICE BETWEEN THE CURRENT COALITION AND A FF/PD LINE-UP. FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING HAS PUBLICLY RULED OUT A COALITION BETWEEN HIS LABOUR PARTY AND FIANNA FAIL, REFLECTING DIFFICULTIES THE TWO PARTIES EXPERIENCED AFTER GOING INTO COALITION TOGETHER IN 1992. (THIS STILL DOES NOT TOTALLY RULE OUT A FF/LABOUR COALITION, THOUGH PROBABLY NOT WITH SPRING AT LABOUR'S HELM.)

A BITTER RACE, STILL TOO CLOSE TO CALL
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10. (U) POLLS CURRENTLY SHOW THE FIANNA FAIL/PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS COMBINATION LEADING BY 10 TO 12 POINTS. THE GOVERNING COALITION WAS GAINING ON THE OPPOSITION, BUT THIS MOMENTUM STALLED RECENTLY IN THE WAKE OF A PUBLIC INQUIRY INTO PRIVATE BUSINESS DONATIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES THAT HAS DAMAGED PM BRUTON MORE THAN IT HAS AHERN. HOWEVER, FIANNA FAIL SUPPORT TRADITIONALLY FALLS OFF DURING THE CAMPAIGN, AND UNSEATING A SITTING GOVERNMENT IN THE MIDST OF AN ECONOMIC BOOM WILL BE A CHALLENGING TASK FOR THE OPPOSITION. MOST OBSERVERS CURRENTLY SEE THE RACE AS TOO CLOSE TO CALL, AND PREDICT A BITTER, PERSONALIZED AND VOLATILE CAMPAIGN. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE BALANCE OF POWER, WITH POLLS SUGGESTING LABOUR IS NOT LIKELY TO REPLICATE ITS ASTOUNDING PERFORMANCE OF 1992.

11. (U) THE GREEN PARTY AND VARIOUS INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES, INCLUDING ONE SINN FEIN CANDIDATE WHO IS GIVEN A (SMALL) CHANCE OF WINNING IN THE BORDER CONSTITUENCY OF CAVAN/MONAGHAN, MAY DO WELL AS A RESULT OF THE "SLEAZE FACTOR," AND COULD BE DECISIVE IN FORMING THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. A KEY QUESTION IS WHETHER THE ESTIMATED LARGE PERCENTAGE (17 PERCENT) OF UNDECIDED VOTERS WILL THROW THEIR SUPPORT IN ONE DIRECTION, OR WHETHER THESE VOTES WILL BE SCATTERED MORE EVENLY ACROSS THE PARTY SPECTRUM. THE LARGE POPULATION OF YOUNG VOTERS, MANY OF WHOM HAVE TUNED OUT OF POLITICS, IS BEING TARGETTED BY SOME PARTIES (E.G., FIANNA FAIL'S CAMPAIGN AD DESCRIBING THE 46-YEAR OLD BERTIE AHERN AS "A YOUNG LEADER FOR A YOUNG COUNTRY").

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U.S. INTERESTS
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12. (C) DESPITE ITS BILLING AS A CHOICE BETWEEN CENTER-LEFT AND CENTER-RIGHT GOVERNMENTS, THIS ELECTION IS ACTUALLY SHAPING UP AS A CONTEST BETWEEN A MODERATELY COMPETENT AND STABLE COALITION GOVERNMENT ENJOYING THE FRUITS OF AN ECONOMIC BOOM NOT NECESSARILY OF ITS OWN MAKING, VERSUS A POWERFUL POPULIST MACHINE (FIANNA FAIL) THAT IS TRYING TO MODERNIZE AND OVERCOME ITS REPUTATION AS A BULLY TOWARD JUNIOR COALITION PARTNERS. SLOGANS AND PROMISES WILL FLY FAST AND FURIOUS FOR THREE WEEKS, DEALING WITH ISSUES SUCH AS CRIME, UNEMPLOYMENT, TAX POLICY, THE ENVIRONMENT AND ABORTION, BUT FEW PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT ANY SERIOUS SHIFT IN GOVERNMENT POLICY IN THESE AREAS WILL OCCUR SHOULD BERTIE AHERN BECOME TAOISEACH.

13. (C) AS A RESULT, A SUBTLE SUBTEXT IN THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE THE HANDLING OF ISSUES SUCH AS NORTHERN IRELAND AND IRISH NEUTRALITY, IN WHICH THE U.S. HAS AN INTEREST. FIANNA FAIL HAS CONSISTENTLY SOUGHT TO CHALLENGE THE GOVERNMENT'S NATIONALIST CREDENTIALS AND QUESTION ITS HANDLING OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. AHERN HAS ACCUSED PM BRUTON OF BEING TOO DEFERENTIAL TO UNIONIST CONCERNS (E.G., ON IRA ARMS DECOMMISSIONING) AND INSUFFICIENTLY AGGRESSIVE IN ADVANCING THE NATIONALIST AGENDA WITH LONDON. BERTIE AHERN MET WITH SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS IN DUBLIN ON MAY 14
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AND CALLED FOR A RESUMPTION OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN WORKING LEVEL IRISH OFFICIALS AND SINN FEIN -- SEIZING HEADLINES ON THE DAY THE ELECTION WAS CALLED. THIS APPROACH WILL NO DOUBT INTENSIFY DURING THE UPCOMING CAMPAIG, AND MAY INFLUENCE VOTERS AT THE MARGINS.

14. (C) IT IS IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT NORTHERN IRELAND IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE A MAJOR CAMPAIGN ISSUE, AND THE MAIN LINES OF IRISH POLICY ON NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD NOT CHANGE UNDER A BERTIE AHERN-LED GOVERNMENT. REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF THE VAST MAJORITY IN THE REPUBLIC, A FIANNA FAIL-LED GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK WITH LONDON TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE CONSENT OF A MAJORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SINN FEIN WOULD NOT BE ADMITTED TO ALL-PARTY TALKS (NOR WOULD AHERN MEET WITH SINN FEIN AS TAOISEACH) IN ADVANCE OF AN UNEQUIVOCAL IRA CEASEFIRE.

15. (C) HOWEVER, FIANNA FAIL -- WHOSE APRIL PARTY CONFERENCE GAVE WARMER APPLAUSE TO SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES THAN TO THE SDLP -- WOULD SEEK TO APPLY GREATER PRESSURE ON LONDON, DIRECTLY AND VIA WASHINGTON, TO PROVIDE ASSURANCES THAT AN IRA CEASEFIRE WOULD GUARANTEE SINN FEIN PARTICIPATION IN "GENUINE" NEGOTIATIONS. BERTIE AHERN MIGHT INTERPRET THE "UNEQUIVOCAL" NATURE OF AN IRA CEASEFIRE MORE LIBERALLY THAN PM BRUTON WOULD. FIANNA FAIL HAS SAID IT WOULD USE FORMER PM ALBERT REYNOLDS, WHO HELPED BROKER THE 1994 CEASEFIRE, AS A SPECIAL ENVOY ON NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS. FIANNA FAIL WOULD DRIVE A HARDER BARGAIN BEFORE PUTTING ARTICLES TWO AND THREE OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION (WHICH CLAIM THE NORTH AS

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PART OF IRISH TERRITORY) UP FOR NEGOTIATION AS PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

16. (U) INTRIGUINGLY, FIANNA FAIL'S INCLINATIONS IN EACH OF THESE AREAS MIGHT BE RESTRAINED IF THE PARTY WERE IN COALITION WITH THE VEHEMENTLY ANTI-SINN FEIN PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS. FOR EXAMPLE, PD LEADER MARY HARNEY CRITICIZED AHERN'S MAY 14 MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS, ADDING THAT SHE WOULD NOT MEET WITH SINN FEIN IF SHE WERE IN GOVERNMENT UNLESS AN IRA CEASEFIRE WERE IN PLACE.

17. (C) ON NEUTRALITY, FIANNA FAIL HAS CRITICIZED ANY HINT BY THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT THAT MEMBERSHIP IN NATO'S PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE MIGHT BE CONSIDERED. WE ANTICIPATE FIANNA FAIL WILL CONTINUE TO BEAT THIS DRUM THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN, ACCUSING THE GOVERNMENT OF BEING PREPARED TO "SELL OUT" IRISH NEUTRALITY. IRONICALLY, SOME PARTY MEMBERS ASSURE US THAT FIANNA FAIL WOULD HAVE FEW QUALMS ABOUT REVERSING THIS STANCE IF THE PARTY GOT INTO POWER, WITH THE MATTER SIMPLY BEING PUT TO A REFERENDUM.

COMMENT
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18. (U) NO FINE GAEL-LED GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN RE-ELECTED SINCE THE FIRST YEARS AFTER THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE, AND, FOR REASONS CITED ABOVE, PM BRUTON GOES INTO THE ELECTION SOMEWHAT ON THE DEFENSIVE. HOWEVER, IRISH ELECTIONS ARE TRADITIONALLY VOLATILE AFFAIRS AND, WITH 17 PERCENT OF THE VOTERS REPORTEDLY STILL UNDECIDED, IT REALLY IS, AS THEY SAY HERE, "ALL TO PLAY FOR." SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2332
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TOR: 970515094933 M2760021
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SIT: PASSDOWN PETERS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT{C2}
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SIT: HARMON SUM SUM2
PRT: BASS BERGER BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HARMONPTR HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 201814Z MAY 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 201814Z MAY 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1469
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0423
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0233
SUBJ: DUBLIN SEES POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE IN JUNE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-m (1.90)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002432

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/15/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DUBLIN SEES POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE IN JUNE

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: FOLLOWING HIS MAY 17 MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS, DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN BELIEVES AN IRA CEASEFIRE IN JUNE IS POSSIBLE. ADAMS REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IF SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS WERE GRANTED, THE IRA "WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO AGREE" TO A CEASEFIRE. O'HUIGINN WILL MEETWITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS MAY 20, PRIOR TO THE LATTR'S MEETING WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS. IN O'HUIGINNS VIEW, CREATIVE USE OF THE CURRENT "DE FACTO" CASEFIRE AND OF A POSSIBLE HIATUS FOLLOWING THE JNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS MIGHT PRODUCE A WAITING PERIODTHAT IS SYMBOLICALLY ACCEPTABLE BOTH TO HMG AND F. WHILE PLEASED WITH THE DYNAMISM OF THE NEW LBOUR GOVERNMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND, DUBLIN IS NT HAPPY ABOUT HMG'S "LACK OF CONSULTATION" PRIORTO TONY LAIR'S MAY 16 BELFAST SPEECH. O'HUIGINN OPES WASHINGTON WILL USE THIS WEEK'S MEETINGS WIH MO MOWLAM TO REMIND LONDON OF THE IMPORTANCE OF WORKING TOGETHER WITH DUBLIN, IN ORDER TO SUCCESSULLY "SELL" THE UNION TO NATIONALISTS. END SUMMRY.

REACTIONS TO BLAIR SPEECH
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3. (C) WHILE GENUINELY WELCOMING THE EERGY AND DYNAMISM OF BLAIR'S MAY 16 BELFAST SPEEH, O'HUIGINN EXPRESSED CONCERN ON TWO SERIOUS PONTS. FIRST, DUBLIN FELT IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN CONSULTED ON A SPEECH OF SUCH MAJOR PROPORTIONS. TRIMBLE WAS CONSULTED. IT APPEARED EVEN THE WHITE HOUSE HAD BEEN GIVEN AN ADVANCE COPY AND A U.S. STATEMENT PREPARED, BEFORE THE IRISH EVER SAW A COPY OF THE SPEECH. (O'HUIGINN ENDORSED THE WHITE HOUSE

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STATEMENT, BUT WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO PROVIDE COMMENT, AT LEAST ON THE PORTIONS OF BLAIR'S SPEECH THAT CONCERNED THE IRISH CONSTITUTION AND RELATED TOPICS.) HE SAID LONDON'S FAILURE TO CONSULT DUBLIN HAD LEFT A GENUINE SENSE OF HURT IN FM DICK SPRING.

4. (C) SECOND, O'HUIGINN FOUND "A BIT UNSETTLING" THE MANNER IN WHICH BLAIR'S SPEECH SOUGHT TO PROVIDE REASSURANCE TO UNIONISTS. WHILE THIS GOAL IN ITSELF WAS COMPLETELY UNDERSTANDABLE, THE WAY IT WAS DONE PLACED TOO MUCH FOCUS ON THE "UNION" VERSUS "UNITED IRELAND" DEBATE, WHICH THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT WAS DESIGNED TO OVERCOME. O'HUIGINN RECOGNIZED THAT ANY SETTLEMENT WOULD LEAVE NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE UNION FOR A LONG TIME. BUT, PSYCHOLOGICALLY, THERE WAS A NEED TO SHOW A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD BETWEEN THE TWO ASPIRATIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. BLAIR'S REFERENCE ONLY TO CHANGES IN THE IRISH CONSTITUTION, WHICH WAS "NOT CURRENTLY DELIVERABLE" AND "AT VARIANCE" WITH THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, HAD THE NET EFFECT OF APPEARING TO "BOX US IN RATHER THAN DEAL WITH US AS PARTNERS."

5. (C) O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF BALANCED "PACKAGING" AND RHETORIC IN PRODUCING "THE DEAL WE ALL KNOW WE WANT." THERE WAS A NEED TO PERSUADE NATIONALISTS THEY COULD GET A FAIR DEAL WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND. PROVIDING REASSURANCE TO UNIONISTS ON A "ONCE-OFF" BASIS MADE SOME SENSE, BUT IF BLAIR'S SPEECH SIGNALLED THAT THIS WOULD NOW BECOME THE CORE OF BRITISH STRATEGY, THEN "SERIOUS PROBLEMS" WOULD RESULT. THE REAL ISSUE REMAINED THE NEED TO SELL THE UNION TO NATIONALISTS.

GOI'S MAY 17 MEETING WITH SINN FEIN
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6. (C) O'HUIGINN OBSERVED THAT THE GOI'S MAY 17 MEETING WITH SINN FEIN WAS NOT THE RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM FIANNA FAIL LEADER BERTIE AHERN, WHO RECENTLY RAISED THE MATTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IRISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN. AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED WITH THE BRITISH DURING THE MAY 8 SUMMIT IN LONDON THAT SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE USEFUL. O'HUIGINN, TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT SECRETARY PADDY TEAHON AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SECRETARY TIM DALTON MET WITH GERRY ADAMS, PAT DOHERTY, AIDEN MCATEER AND RITA O'HARE FOR TWO HOURS.

7. (C) O'HUIGINN DESCRIBED IT AS A "GOOD MEETING." DESPITE ADAMS' CRITICISM OF THE BLAIR SPEECH (AND HIS URGING THAT DUBLIN MAKE A STRONGLY NATIONALIST STATEMENT IN RESPONSE), O'HUIGINN SAID HE TOOK ENCOURAGEMENT FROM WHAT HE SAW AS "GENUINE ANXIETY" ON THE PART OF SINN FEIN TO RESTORE THE IRA CEASEFIRE. ADAMS REFERRED TO THE USUAL FOUR KEY POINTS (CBM'S, NO PRE-CONDITIONS, A TIMEFRAME FOR TALKS, IMMEDIATE SF ENTRY INTO TALKS), WHICH WERE AGAIN ELABORATED IN A MAY 19 SINN FEIN DOCUMENT THAT WAS TO HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE MAY 20 "IRISH NEWS" -- (FAXED TO EUR/UBI, NSC, LONDON, BELFAST). ADAMS REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IF THESE POINTS WERE "GRANTED," HE WOULD GO TO "THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 002432

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/15/07

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TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DUBLIN SEES POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE IN JUNE

ARMY" AND "THEY WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO AGREE" TO A CEASEFIRE. ADAMS REPORTEDLY SAID TIME WAS OF THE ESSENCE, BUT WAS NOT MORE SPECIFIC. THE JUNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS WERE REPORTEDLY "NOT A FACTOR," BUT O'HUIGINN VOICED SOME SKEPTICISM ON THIS SCORE, NOTING THAT ADAMS HAS FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES ENDORSED FIANNA FAIL.

TIMING OF SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS
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8. (C) IN SHORT, IT WAS O'HUIGINN'S SENSE THAT ADAMS THOUGHT A CEASEFIRE COULD BE ACHIEVED "ON A RELATIVELY SHORT HORIZON." ON CBM'S, SOME MOVEMENT APPEARED TO BE IN PROGRESS. A TIMEFRAME WAS EFFECTIVELY SPELLED OUT IN BRITISH LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE TALKS. ON PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING, THE GOI AND HMG HAD AGREED AT A MAY 16 LIAISON GROUP MEETING THAT THE GOI WOULD PRODUCE A NEW PAPER FOR A MEETING ON MAY 27. THE PAPER WOULD FOCUS ON THE MITCHELL REPORT, BUT ALSO URGE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENSURING THAT THE ISSUE WAS DEALT WITH TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE PARTIES.

9. (C) ON SINN FEIN'S ADMISSION TO THE TALKS, O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED THAT THE PROBLEM IS ONE "OF PRESENTATION, NOT SUBSTANCE." ADMITTING HE HOLDS A "COMPLICATED" VIEW OF THE MATTER, HE SAID THAT IN VIEW OF THE LONG HISTORICAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEM, A FEW WEEKS EITHER WAY SHOULD NOT BE AN OBSTACLE TO A SOLUTION. THE KEY QUESTION IS, IF THE WILL FOR A SETTLEMENT IS THERE AND IF SYMBOLISM IS THE MAIN ISSUE, "CAN WE WORK IT OUT?"

10. (C) IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW THE IRISH ELECTIONS WILL AFFECT THE STORMONT TALKS THAT RESUME ON JUNE 3. ALTHOUGH THE CURRENT GOI WOULD REMAIN IN PLACE AT LEAST UNTIL THE DAIL RECONVENES ON JUNE 26, O'HUIGINN SAID IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT GOI PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS COULD BE SUSPENDED "FOR SOME WEEKS" PENDING FORMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, REGARDLESS OF WHO WINS. O'HUIGINN SUGGESTED THAT THE CURRENT "DE FACTO CEASEFIRE," IF IT HELD THROUGH THE RESUMPTION OF TALKS ON JUNE 3, COULD BE FACTORED IN TO IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO THE TALKS, WHEN ADDED TO WHATEVER HIATUS WAS CREATED BY THE IRISH ELECTIONS. A SYMBOLICALLY "CREATIVE" TIME PERIOD WAS REQUIRED -- SOMETHING BETWEEN SINN FEIN'S CALL FOR IMMEDIATE ADMISSION AND THE PREVIOUS BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE FOR A "DECONTAMINATION PERIOD."

11. (C) AT THE END OF THE MEETING WITH SINN FEIN, ADAMS REPORTEDLY TOLD O'HUIGINN THAT WHAT MATTERED MOST WAS THE "QUALITY OF THE BRITISH ENGAGEMENT" WITH SF. THE GOI HAS PASSED THIS ON TO HMG, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME TELLING THE SINN FEIN LEADERS THAT THEY MUST ADDRESS BRITISH CONCERNS. O'HUIGINN INDICATED HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINNESS THIS AFTERNOON (MAY 20), PRIOR TO MCGUINNESS' MEETING WITH HMG'S QUENTIN THOMAS ON MAY 21.

12. (C) SUMMING UP, O'HUIGINN SAID A CEASEFIRE IS UNLIKELY BEFORE THE JUNE 6 ELECTIONS, AS SINN FEIN IS "PLAYING FOOTSIE" WITH FIANNA FAIL -- ALTHOUGH HE WAS ENCOURAGED THAT ADAMS SAID THE ELECTIONS WERE NOT A FACTOR. A COUPLE OF WEEKS ARE ST
ILL NEEDED "TO WORK OUT THE CHOREOGRAPHY,"

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BUT IT STILL MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE A CEASEFIRE IN JUNE. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ACHIEVE A FORMAL CEASEFIRE, AS OPPOSED TO A MERELY DE FACTO SITUATION, IN ORDER TO PREVENT RENEGING. (A DE FACTO CEASEFIRE WOULD ONLY APPLY TO A PORTION OF THE WAITING PERIOD, IN O'HUIGINN'S VIEW.) ASSUMING SOME ACCOMMODATION COULD BE FOUND ON SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS, IT WOULD BE "FAIRLY REASONABLE" TO HOPE THAT A CEASEFIRE COULD BE IN PLACE SHORTLY AFTER THE IRISH ELECTIONS ON JUNE 6.

MO MOWLAM IN WASHINGTON
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13. (C) REFERRING TO NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM'S UPCOMING VISIT TO WASHINGTON, O'HUIGINN URGED THAT HER U.S. INTERLOCUTORS EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR CLOSE ANGLO-IRISH COOPERATION ON A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT. THERE IS A "VAST PRESUMPTION" IN HER FAVOR, BUT COSTLY MISTAKES CAN BE MADE, HE SAID, CITING HIS EARLIER COMMENTS (PARAS 3-5 ABOVE). THERE MUST BE A BALANCE OF RHETORIC AS WELL AS OF SUBSTANCE. A STRATEGY AIMED ONLY AT SELLING THE UNION TO UNIONISTS "WILL COME TO GRIEF." SMITH#

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2432
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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.91)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
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RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0235
SUBJ: SINN FEIN READ-OUT OF MAY 21 MEETING WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS -- "VERY ENCOURAGING, BUT WE NEED DETAILS"

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002489

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/22/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN READ-OUT OF MAY 21 MEETING WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS -- "VERY ENCOURAGING, BUT WE NEED DETAILS"

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: SINN FEIN CAME AWAY FROM YESTERDAY'S MEETING WITH BRITISH NIO OFFICIALS CONVINCED THAT THE NEW LABOUR GOVERNMENT WANTS TO DO BUSINESS. SF HEARD IMPORTANT HINTS FROM THE BRITISH SIDE THAT AGREEMENT ON A DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS AFTER AN IRA CEASEFIRE MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, AND THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO BLOCK PROGRESS ON SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, SF HAS AN "ABSOLUTE NEED" FOR "MORE DETAIL" FROM HMG ON THESE POINTS, AND THE TWO SIDES PLAN TO MEET AGAIN NEXT WEEK. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) SINN FEIN PUBLICITY DIRECTOR RITA O'HARE GAVE ME A READ-OUT TODAY (MAY 22) OF YESTERDAY'S MEETING AT STORMONT BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE NIO. THE SF DELEGATION INCLUDED MARTIN MCGUINNESS, GERRY KELLY, SIOBHAN O'HANLON AND CAOIMHGIN O CAOLAIN (PHON: KUIVEEN O KAY-LIN), SINN FEIN'S CANDIDATE FOR THE DAIL FROM THE CAVAN-MONAGHAN CONSTITUENCY IN THE REPUBLIC. THE NIO DELEGATION WAS LED BY QUENTIN THOMAS AND INCLUDED JONATHAN STEPHENS AND CHRIS MCCABE.

4. (C) O'HARE SAID SINN FEIN WENT INTO THE MEETING DETERMINED TO GENERATE A NEW ATMOSPHERE, DESPITE PREVIOUS "UNPRODUCTIVE" MEETINGS WITH THE SAME OFFICIALS. SF CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BRITISH TEAM HAD THE SAME ATTITUDE. THIS WAS A "NEW BEGINNING." RATHER THAN EXCHANGE FORMAL POSITION PAPERS, THE TWO SIDES ENGAGED IN A RELATIVELY FREEWHEELING DISCUSSION OF THEIR RESPECTIVE

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VIEWPOINTS. SINN FEIN WAS PERSUADED THAT THE BRITISH ARE NOW INTENT ON PURSUING REAL MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

TIMING OF SINN FEIN ENTRY TO TALKS
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5. (C) THE TWO SIDES DISCUSSED SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS. SINN FEIN SAID IT REQUIRED IMMEDIATE ENTRY INTO TALKS FOLLOWING AN IRA CEASEFIRE. THE BRITISH SAID THEY WOULD HAVE "DIFFICULTY" WITH THIS. HOWEVER, SINN FEIN TOOK SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FROM A STATEMENT BY THE BRITISH SIDE THAT HMG WOULD JUDGE THE ISSUE OF ACCESS BASED ON "POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE ROUND." SINN FEIN INTERPRETED THIS AS A "NOD TO OUR MANDATE," O'HARE SAID, AND AS A SIGN THAT BRITISH SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY PREDOMINATE IN JUDGING AN IRA CEASEFIRE.

6. (C) O'HARE SAID SINN FEIN ALSO FOUND IT SIGNIFICANT THAT THE NIO OFFICIALS REFERRED TO IRISH GOVERNMENT THINKING ABOUT WAYS TO USE THE JUNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS AND SUBSEQUENT TRANSITION AS AN EXCUSE TO TEMPORARILY "DEFER" THE STORMONT TALKS IN ORDER TO GENERATE A SYMBOLICALLY ACCEPTABLE TIME PERIOD BETWEEN AN IRA CEASEFIRE AND SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS. IT APPEARED THE BRITISH WERE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO ACHIEVE SINN FEIN ENTRY, ALTHOUGH THIS WAS STILL ONLY A "VAGUE" IMPRESSION.

7. (C) THE BRITISH MADE THE POINT THAT THE CONTINUED ABSENCE OF ARMED ACTIONS BY THE IRA WAS HELPFUL AND COULD SHORTEN THE TIME REQUIRED BEFORE SINN FEIN WAS ALLOWED INTO TALKS. WHILE "IMMEDIATE" ENTRY INTO THE TALKS FOLLOWING A CEASEFIRE REMAINED PROBLEMATIC FOR THE BRITISH, O'HARE SAID, THEY DID SEEM WILLING TO LOOK AT WAYS IN WHICH THE IRISH ELECTIONS AND THE SUMMER HOLIDAY PERIOD COULD BE USED TO GET SF INTO TALKS.

DECOMMISSIONING
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8. (C) SINN FEIN PRESSED FOR SPECIFIC ASSURANCES THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD NOT BLOCK PROGRESS ON SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. SINN FEIN DID NOT RECEIVE SUCH ASSURANCES AT THIS MEETING. HOWEVER, O'HARE QUOTED THOMAS AS SAYING THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD NOT BE A BARRIER TO SINN FEIN'S "FLIGHT PATH INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS." THOMAS ALSO

REPORTEDLY MADE THE POINT THAT HIS "NEW POLITICAL MASTERS" DID NOT VIEW THIS ISSUE IN THE SAME WAY AS THEIR PREDECESSORS. SINN FEIN STILL WANTS REASSURANCE, HOWEVER, THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD NOT EMERGE AS AN OBSTACLE TO SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS AT SOME POINT FOLLOWING SF ENTRY INTO THE TALKS, O'HARE SAID.

TIMEFRAME, CBM'S
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9. (C) CITING BRITISH GROUND RULES LEGISLATION, SINN FEIN CALLED FOR MAY 1998 TO SERVE AS THE TIME LIMIT FOR THE TALKS' DURATION. ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, SINN

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/22/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN READ-OUT OF MAY 21 MEETING WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS -- "VERY ENCOURAGING, BUT WE NEED DETAILS"

FEIN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE MOVE OF TWO REPUBLICAN PRISONERS FROM ENGLAND TO NORTHERN IRELAND THE DAY BEFORE WAS HELPFUL, AND CALLED FOR MORE REPATRIATIONS TO THE NORTH AND THE REPUBLIC. O'HARE SAID IT WOULD HAVE BEEN CHURLISH FOR SF TO RAISE ITS CLAIM THAT ONE OF THE TWO PRISONERS, DANNY MCNAMEE, "SHOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN JAILED IN THE FIRST PLACE."

AGREE TO MEET AGAIN
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10. (C) O'HARE DESCRIBED THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING AS "TERRIFICALLY ENCOURAGING," SAYING IT APPEARED THE NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT GENUINELY WANTED TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD, "IN CONTRAST TO THE STALLING OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT." HOWEVER, SHE STRESSED SINN FEIN'S "ABSOLUTE NEED" FOR MORE DETAIL ON THE BRITISH VIEW OF ITS FOUR POINTS. TO PURSUE THE MATTER, THE TWO ASIDES AGREED TO MEET AGAIN NEXT WEEK, POSSIBLY ON TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY (MAY 27 OR 28). SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2489
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TOR: 970522123554 M2770773
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1544
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0449
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0250
SUBJ: READ-OUT OF MAY 29 SPRING-MOWLAM MEETING

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.92)
KBH 7/31/2019

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

SUMMARY

TEXT:
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 002677

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/30/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: READ-OUT OF MAY 29 SPRING-MOWLAM MEETING

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

SUMMARY
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1. (C) FOLLOWING SINN FEIN'S SECOND MEETING WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS (MAY 28), DUBLIN IS LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN BEFORE ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY IRA CEASEFIRE. THE IRISH CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON WHY SINN FEIN IS "STALLING," AND HOPE A MORE FORTHCOMING APPROACH WILL BE EVIDENT FOLLOWING THE JUNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS. DUBLIN IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT DECOMMISSIONING, RATHER THAN SINN FEIN'S DATE OF ENTRY INTO ALL-PARTY TALKS, REMAINS THE UNSOLVED ISSUE. THE IRISH WANT LONDON TO FORCE THE ISSUE WITH DAVID TRIMBLE. DICK SPRING'S MAY 29 MEETING WITH MO MOWLAM, HOWEVER, PRODUCED NO SUCH BRITISH COMMITMENT. SPRING AND MOWLAM DID AGREE ON A ROUGH SCENARIO FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE STORMONT TALKS ON JUNE 3, ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENTS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO "MAKE IT UP AS WE GO ALONG." MOWLAM EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERNS ABOUT THE MARCHING SEASON; THE IRISH STRESSED THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE WITH RESIDENTS.

END SUMMARY
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2. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN BRIEFED ME TODAY (MAY 30) ON THE MAY 28 MEETING BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND NIO OFFICIALS, AND ON YESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING AND NORTHERN IRELAND

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SECRETARY MO MOWLAM. COMMENTING ON YESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRIME MINISTER BLAIR, O'HUIGINN NOTED THE PRESIDENT WAS "VERY SURE-FOOTED ON WHAT HE SAID ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND." (COMMENT: IN NOT THE HAPPIEST TONES, O'HUIGINN ALSO NOTED: "CLEARLY, THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP IS BACK." END COMMENT.)

SINN FEIN-NIO MEETING: DISAPPOINTMENT ALL AROUND
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3. (C) TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME, SINN FEIN WAS IN A "STALLING MODE" IN ITS MAY 28 MEETING WITH THE BRITISH. SINN FEIN CONTINUED TO ACCUSE THE BRITISH OF BEING VAGUE AND EVASIVE ON THE FOUR KEY POINTS. THERE WAS MUCH DISCUSSION ON DECOMMISSIONING. SINN FEIN DID NOT ACCEPT BRITISH EXPLANATIONS THAT, UNDER THE GROUND RULES RELATING TO "SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS," THE UUP WOULD HAVE A SAY IN HOW THE ISSUE WAS HANDLED. SINN FEIN CHARGED THIS AMOUNTED TO A "UNIONIST VETO." ON THE QUESTION OF TIMING OF SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS, THE SF REPRESENTATIVES MADE NO REPIPROCAL OFFER TO BRITISH HINTS THAT A DEFINITE DATE COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE, O'HUIGINN SAID. THE MEETING ENDED INCONCLUSIVELY, WITH AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO MEET AGAIN -- BUT NO DATE SET.

4. (C) ACCORDING TO O'HUIGINN, THE GOI HAS TAKEN A HARD LINE IN RESPONSE TO SF EXPRESSIONS OF DISAPPOINTMENT. DUBLIN HAS TOLD THE REPUBLICANS THAT THE TIME TO REACH AGREEMENT IS NOW, AND THAT NEGOTIATION HAS TO BE A TWO-WAY PROCESS. THE BRITISH CANNOT BE EXPECTED "TO COME IN WITH TRAY AFTER TRAY OF SAMPLES, ONLY TO BE SENT AWAY EACH TIME." SINN FEIN HAS A DUTY TO BUILD CONFIDENCE; ITS CURRENT STAND AMOUNTED TO STALLING.

5. (C) PRIVATELY, THE IRISH CAN ONLY SPECULATE ON WHY SINN FEIN IS NOT BEING MORE FORTHCOMING, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME. IT MIGHT BE TO DENY PM BRUTON A "FEEL-GOOD FACTOR" IN THE JUNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS. IT MIGHT BE BECAUSE SF IS WAITING TO SEE WHETHER ANYTHING COMES OUT OF THIS WEEKEND'S INFORMAL CONFERENCE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. OR IT MIGHT REFLECT A "DEEPER GAME PLAN" -- "WE DON'T KNOW." BUT O'HUIGINN EXPRESSED GENUINE DISAPPOINTMENT THAT ONE OF WHAT COULD ONLY BE A LIMITED SERIES OF MEETINGS HAD "ALMOST BEEN WASTED." IN CONTRAST TO OUR LAST MEETING, HE WAS FAR LESS OPTIMISTIC THAT AN IRA CEASEFIRE MIGHT BE DECLARED IN JUNE.

SPRING-MOWLAM MEETING
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6. (C) SCE
NARIO FOR JUNE 3 TALKS: FM SPRING AND NI
SECRETARY MOWLAM AGREED THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE TO "MAKE IT UP AS WE GO ALONG" WHEN THE STORMONT TALKS RESUME ON JUNE 3. O'HUIGINN ANTICIPATED THAT THE FIRST TWO DAYS OF TALKS WOULD BE TAKEN UP WITH OPENING STATEMENTS. WHAT WOULD HAPPEN THE FOLLOWING WEEK WAS LESS CERTAIN, AND MIGHT DEPEND IN PART ON THE RESULTS OF THE IRISH ELECTIONS. MOWLAM DELICATELY BROACHED THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN DUBLIN, AND SPRING ASSURED HER THAT IF THIS OCCURRED THERE WOULD BE A "BUSINESS-LIKE"
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 002677

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/30/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: READ-OUT OF MAY 29 SPRING-MOWLAM MEETING

CONSULTATION PROCESS TO BRING THE NEW GOVERNMENT UP TO SPEED BY THE TIME THE DAIL RECONVENES ON JUNE 26. THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR A "TIME OUT," ALTHOUGH SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT COULD BE PRODUCED IF THIS WOULD BE USEFUL.

7. (C) LOYALIST PARTICIPATION: O'HUIGINN SAID THE TWO SIDES AGREED THE ISSUE OF LOYALIST PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS WAS NOW A REAL DILEMMA, SINCE IT WAS GENERALLY ACCEPTED THAT EACH OF THE GROUPS IN THE COMBINED LOYALIST MILITARY COMMAND WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR AT LEAST ONE SERIOUS CEASEFIRE VIOLATION APIECE. NOT TO REACT WOULD BE TO SET A DOUBLE STANDARD, AS SINN FEIN CLAIMED. HOWEVER, TO EJECT THE LOYALIST PARTIES MIGHT SIMPLY LEAD TO MORE VIOLENCE AND UNDERMINE PROSPECTS FOR INCLUSIVE TALKS. SPRING AND MOWLAM "HALF-AGREED" THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD SOUND WARNING NOTES IN THEIR OPENING STATEMENTS ON JUNE 3, AND HOPE THAT THE UUP (AT LEAST) WOULD NOT PRESS FOR THE LOYALISTS TO BE "INDICTED."'

DECOMMISSIONING
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8. (C) AT THE SPRING-MOWLAM MEETING, O'HUIGINN PRESENTED HIS ANALYSIS THAT DECOMMISSIONING IS AT THE HEART OF SINN FEIN'S DIFFICULTIES. WHILE THE ENTRY DATE INTO TALKS WAS ALSO CRITICAL, THIS WAS MORE OF A "PRESENTATIONAL" ISSUE -- A FEW WEEKS HERE OR THERE AFTER CENTURIES OF VIOLENCE SHOULD NOT REALLY MATTER. HOWEVER, DECOMMISSIONING WAS A GENUINE CONCERN IN SINN FEIN'S ANALYSIS. THE CHALLENGE FOR THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WAS TO CRAFT A POSITION FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO MEET SF'S REQUIREMENTS, YET RIGOROUS ENOUGH TO KEEP THE UNIONISTS AT THE TABLE. O'HUIGINN ARGUED THAT IF SF COULD BE "REASSURED" ON THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE, THIS COULD BE USED TO TEST THEIR SERIOUSNESS ON OTHER ISSUES.

9. (C) O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED TO THE BRITISH THAT IT IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF EITHER GOVERNMENT TO GET SINN FEIN INTO A SITUATION WHERE IT CANNOT "DELIVER." THERE IS A WIDESPREAD PERCEPTION THAT THE NEXT IRA CEASEFIRE WILL BE ITS LAST, SINCE ANOTHER BREAKDOWN WOULD END ANY IRA CREDIBILITY FOREVER. IF SINN FEIN WERE ADMITTED TO THE TALKS AFTER AN IRA CEASEFIRE, YET DECOMMISSIONING BLOCKED PROGRESS INTO SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, NATIONALIST SENTIMENT WOULD SYMPATHIZE WITH A POSSIBLE RETURN TO VIOLENCE. IN THIS "NIGHTMARE SCENARIO," SINN FEIN/IRA WOULD BE SEEN AS BEING "PUSHED" BACK INTO ANOTHER LENGTHY CYCLE OF VIOLENCE.

10. (C) O'HUIGINN TOLD ME MO MOWLAM LISTENED CAREFULLY TO HIS ANALYSIS, BUT MADE NO COMMITMENTS. HE WAS HOPEFUL SHE WOULD TAKE A PRAGMATIC APPROACH. THE BRITISH CONTINUED TO WORRY ABOUT A UNIONIST WALKOUT IF NOTHING WAS DONE ON DECOMMISSIONING, AND REMAINED FOCUSSED ON THE MITCHELL REPORT. PARALLEL DECOMMISSIONING WAS A "WONDERFUL IDEA," O'HUIGINN TOLD ME, BUT HE HOPED SINN FEIN'S CAPITAL COULD BE SPENT ON THE "MESSY COMPROMISES" REQUIRED OF THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS RATHER THAT ON MERELY TRYING TO ADVANCE THE TIMEFRAME FOR WEAPONS BEING TURNED IN. THE GOI WILL NOW WAIT FOR A BRITISH DRAFT PAPER OUTLINING A COMMON

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POSITION FOR THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ON THIS ISSUE. THE BROAD OUTLINES ARE EXPECTED TO FEATURE THE MITCHELL APPROACH, A SUBCOMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH DECOMMISSIONING, AND A CALL FOR NEW MOMENTUM TOWARD SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

11. (C) UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE WAS THE KEY, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME, AND DICK SPRING HAD SPECULATED ON TRIMBLE'S LIKELY APPROACH BOTH WITH MO MOWLAM AND, EARLIER, WITH PM BLAIR (AT THE EU SUMMIT IN HOLLAND). THE IRISH VIEW TRIMBLE AS WANTING TO "DO SOMETHING" BUT A
RE NOT CERTAIN
HE HAS THE WILL OR THE ABILITY TO ACT. FOR THE MOMENT, TRIMBLE IS "KEEPING HIS POWDER DRY," PERHAPS WAITING TO SEE WHO FORMS THE NEXT IRISH GOVERNMENT. THE IRISH HOPE LONDON WILL PRESS TRIMBLE TO EITHER ACCEPT A "REASONABLE" STANCE ON DECOMMISSIONING OR BE SEEN AS RESPONSIBLE FOR "WRECKING THE PROCESS." IT IS TIME FOR SOME "BRISK CALLS ON THIS ISSUE," O'HUIGINN SAID: "THE BRITISH HAVEN'T SHOWN THE BRIGHT LIGHT IN TRIMBLE'S EYES YET, BUT WE HOPE THEY WILL."

12. (C) O'HUIGINN SAID THE TONE OF THE SPRING-MOWLAM MEETING WAS LIGHT YEARS AHEAD OF MEETINGS WITH THE PREVIOUS BRITISH GOVERNMENT. THERE WAS A SENSE MOWLAM WANTS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. SPRING HAD MARVELLED AT THE NEW "SENSE OF PARTNERSHIP." O'HUIGINN COMMENTED THAT MOWLAM'S HEALTH SEEMED TO HAVE IMPROVED.

ROISIN MCALISKEY
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 002677

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/30/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: READ-OUT OF MAY 29 SPRING-MOWLAM MEETING

13. (C) ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, SPRING AND MOWLAM DISCUSSED THE MCALISKEY ASE. SPRING NOTED THAT THIS WAS NOW A "DOORSTEP" ISSUE IN THE IRISH ELECTIONS. MOWLAM WAS SYMPATHETIC BUT CITED VARIOUS LEGAL CONSTRAINTS INHIBITING BRITISH ACTION. O'HUIGINN ALSO TOLD ME THAT HE IS HOPEFUL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL RESPOND FAVORABLY TO A NEW DOSSIER ON BLOODY SUNDAY WHICH THE GOI EXPECTS TO PRESENT TO LONDON IN THE NEXT TWO OR THREE WEEKS.

STORMONT TALKS
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14. (C) O'HUIGINN SAID THE STORMONT TALKS WOULD BE SLIGHTLY POSTPONED TO ACCOMMODATE THE RETURN OF THE PARTIES FROM SOUTH AFRICA. THE TALKS WILL START AT 2 P.M. ON TUESDAY, JUNE 3. SPRING AND MOWLAM WILL CONSULT BEFOREHAND, AT NOON. ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN SOME DISCUSSION OF SENATOR MITCHELL STOPPING IN DUBLIN ON MONDAY, THE IRISH WERE PREPARED TO MEET HIM IN BELFAST TUESDAY MORNING IF THIS WOULD WORK FOR THE SENATOR. (O'HUIGINN SUGGESTED ELECTION CAMPAIGN CONSIDERATIONS WOULD MAKE THIS MORE CONVENIENT FOR DICK SPRING.)

15. (C) O'HUIGINN WAS NOT SURE WHETHER SINN FEIN WOULD TRY

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TO STAGE A PROTEST AT BEING EXCLUDED FROM THE TALKS ON JUNE 3. HIS OWN "ADVICE" WOULD BE NOT TO DO SO, AS THIS WOULD MERELY DRAW ATTENTION TO THE CONTINUED ABSENCE OF AN IRA CEASEFIRE. IN ANY CASE, THE GOI AND HMG STAND WOULD BE SIMPLY TO REITERATE THAT SINN FEIN'S ADMISSION COULD BE ARRANGED BY REINSTATEMENT OF AN IRA CEASEFIRE.
CEASEFIRE?
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16. (C) RETURNING TO SPECULATION ABOUT A CEASEFIRE, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME THAT PRESS REPORTS SUGGESTING NO CEASEFIRE WOULD HAPPEN BEFORE DRUMCREE (MID-JULY) WERE "OMINOUS." IF TRUE, THIS SUGGESTED SF/IRA WAS KEEPING VIOLENCE OPEN AS AN OPTION. IT WAS VIRTUALLY GUARANTEED THAT THERE WOULD BE SOME TROUBLE DURING THE MARCHING SEASON, WHICH WOULD LEAD HARDLINERS INESCAPABLY TO THE CONCLUSION THAT VIOLENCE MUST BE USED, AND WOULD INCREASE THE CHANCES THAT THINGS WOULD UNRAVEL. HOWEVER, O'HUIGINN WAS ENCOURAGED THAT SINN FEIN WAS SAYING IT STILL WANTED A CEASEFIRE SOON AND IT UNDERSTOOD THE DANGER OF THINGS UNRAVELING: "AT LEAST THEY ARE SAYING THE RIGHT THINGS."

PARADES
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17. (C) O'HUIGINN SAID MOWLAM WAS "VERY, VERY WORRIED" ABOUT THE UPCOMING MARCHING SEASON. THE GOI EMPHASIZED TO HER THAT ANY MARCH DOWN THE GARVAGHY ROAD WOULD BE SEEN AS A DEFEAT BY CATHOLIC RESIDENTS. IF HMG HAD TO "DICTATE" THIS, THEN AT LEAST IT SHOULD HAPPEN AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF DIALOGUE WITH THE RESIDENTS, WHICH MIGHT AMELIORATE THEIR ANGER. MOWLAM REPORTEDLY ACCEPTED THIS. O'HUIGINN EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT BRENDAN MCKENNA SHOULD BE VIEWED AS A LEGITIMATE INTERLOCUTOR BY ORANGE ORDER AND APPRENTICE BOY REPRESENTATIVES, PARTICULARLY NOW THAT HE HAD WON ELECTED OFFICE IN THE MAY 21 LOCAL ELECTIONS.
SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2677
<^SSN>2677
<^SSN>2677

TOR: 970603034708 M2786301
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DIST:
SIT: PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: BASS BERGER BRADEN BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.93)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA6572 1551722-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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LINE3: O 041722Z JUN 97
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OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 041722Z JUN 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5947
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0554
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0342
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG NOT CLOSING TALKS WITH SINN FEIN--YET

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 006572

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/04/06
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG NOT CLOSING TALKS WITH SINN FEIN--YET

REF: A) BELFAST 200 B) LONDON 6351
C) LONDON 6108 D) DUBLIN 2489

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MARCIE RIES, ACTING CHIEF, POLITICAL SECTION. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

TALKS WITH SINN FEIN
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2. (C) NIO ASSOCIATE POLITICAL DIRECTOR JONATHAN STEPHENS TOLD US JUNE 4 THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL KEEP OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER MEETINGS BETWEEN NIO OFFICIALS AND SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES -- FOR THE TIME BEING. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THE TRUCK BOMB ABANDONED IN THE POLEGLASS AREA OF WEST BELFAST OVER THE WEEKEND (REF A) "AT THE MILDEST CALLS INTO QUESTION SINN FEIN'S GOOD FAITH" AND ANY FURTHER INCIDENTS WILL CAUSE THE GOVERNMENT TO SHUT DOWN THE DIALOGUE.

3. (C) SINN FEIN HAS NOT CONTACTED NIO OFFICIALS SINCE THE UNSATISFACTORY MEETING LAST WEEK (REF B) TO SET UP ANOTHER SESSION. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT IN ANY EVENT AGREE TO MEET THIS WEEK -- SOME INTERVAL FOLLOWING THAT BOMB INCIDENT IS NECESSARY -- BUT IN PRINCIPLE COULD AGREE TO MEET NEXT WEEK "SUBJECT TO EVENTS ON THE GROUND."

4. (C) STEPHENS SAID IT IS CLEAR TO BRITISH OFFICIALS THAT THE POLEGLASS BOMB ATTEMPT WAS A PROPERLY AUTHORIZED IRA OPERATION, NOT A MAVERICK ATTACK BY "MALCONTENTS" WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. STEPHENS POINTED OUT THAT, DESPITE SOME STRAINS WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION, IRA DISCIPLINE HAD BEEN TIGHTLY MAINTAINED SINCE AN UNDECLARED CEASE-FIRE WAS INSTITUTED O/A APRIL 10. HE SAID THAT IT IS INCONCEIVABLE

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SUCH AN OPERATION, WITH THE POTENTIAL TO SPLIT THE MOVEMENT AND IN THE MIDST OF THE IRISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN, COULD HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED WITHOUT PROVISIONAL ARMY COUNCIL APPROVAL. EVEN THOUGH POLICY OFFICIALS ARE "NOT RUSHING TO CONCLUSIONS" ABOUT THE DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN, BRITISH SECURITY OFFICIALS ASSUME THERE WILL BE MORE ATTACKS.

6. (C) STEPHENS SAID THERE ARE SEVERAL PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR WHY THE IRA HAS AUTHORIZED VIOLENCE AGAIN AFTER SIX WEEKS OF A DE FACTO CEASE-FIRE. ONE IS THAT THE ARMY COUNCIL HAS "WRITTEN OFF" THIS GOVERNMENT ALREADY; ANOTHER IS THAT, HAVING MADE GAINS AT THE BALLOT BOX, THE IRA WANTS TO "FINE TUNE" THE BOMBING PART OF ITS STRATEGY TO INCREASE PRESSURE FOR MORE CONCESSIONS. STEPHENS SAID HE DOES NOT FIND THESE EXPLANATIONS PARTICULARLY PERSUASIVE. THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY OFFERED TO GO FARTHER WITH REGARD TO DECOMMISSIONING AND TIME LIMITATIONS THAN DID THE MAJOR GOVERNMENT EVEN IN ITS OCTOBER 10 TEXT, AND HAS EVEN INDICATED IT IS READY IN PRINCIPLE TO SET A DATE FOR SINN FEIN'S ENTRY. THERE SHOULD BE NO QUESTION OF ITS GOOD FAITH, HE SAID. NOR WOULD THE IRA'S RESORT TO VIOLENCE STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF ANY IRISH GOVERNMENT; EVEN IF THE IRA THINKS A FIANNA FAIL GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE MORE SUPPORTIVE, THIS ACTION CAN HARDLY BE WELCOMED BY BERTIE AHERN.

7. (C) STEPHENS THINKS IT MOST LIKELY THAT THE IRA HEARD AND VERY CLEARLY UNDERSTANDS THE POINTS PUT FORWARD BY OFFICIALS IN THE FIRST MEETING (REFS C AND D). HOWEVER, IT APPEARS THE IRA SIMPLY DOES NOT WANT TO MOVE THAT QUICKLY AND HAS ITS EYES ON A CEASE-FIRE IN SEPTEMBER. THAT WAY IT CAN KEEP OPEN ITS OPTIONS REGARDING THE USE OF VIOLENCE DURING THE MARCHING SEASON AND COULD USE INCREASED TENSIONS TO ENHANCE ITS POSITION AS "DEFENDER OF THE COMMUNITY."

8. (C) THE IRA IS PLAYING "A VERY DANGEROUS GAME" AND COULD BE MAKING A POTENTIALLY MAJOR MISCALCULATION, ACCORDING TO STEPHENS. THERE MAY NOT BE A PROCESS TO GET INTO IN SEPTEMBER IF THERE IS A BLOODY CONFRONTATION THIS SUMMER. EVEN IF THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS PROCESS CAN CRACK THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE THIS SUMMER AND CARRY ON UNTIL THE FALL, IT WILL BE ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE BOLD STEPS TO INCLUDE SINN FEIN IF THERE IS AN ERRUPTION OF VIOLENCE IN THE WAKE OF DIFFICULTIES AT DRUMCREE AND ELSEWHERE. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SINN FEIN TO JOIN A REAL PROCESS OF SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATION HAS NEVER BEEN GREATER THAN RIGHT NOW, STEPHENS SAID, AND THAT OPPORTUNITY MAY WELL DETERIORATE IF NOT QUICKLY SEIZED.

9. (C) STEPHENS SAID THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY ARE VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE STRONG PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MESSAGES WHICH HAVE BEEN ISSUED RECENTLY BY AND ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID HMG HOPES THE USG WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO ITS NORTHERN IRELAND INTERLOCUTORS THAT TONY BLAIR MEANS WHAT HE SAYS: HE GENUINELY WANTS SINN FEIN INCLUDED IN THE PROCESS, BUT IS PREPARED TO MOVE ON WITHOUT IT IF THE IRA DOES NOT TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED.

MULTI-PARTY TALKS OPENING
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 006572

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/04/06
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: HMG NOT CLOSING TALKS WITH SINN FEIN--YET

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10. (C) STEPHENS SAID THE OPENING SESSION OF THE STORMONT TALKS PROVIDED A "REASONABLE START" WITH NO SURPRISES, GOOD OR BAD. THE DUP WAS NOT PRESENT BECAUSE, IT SAID, IT WOULD WAIT FOR THE FORUM TO COMMENCE ON FRIDAY; IT IS EXPECTED TO ATTEND SESSIONS NEXT WEEK. THE ALLIANCE PARTY RAISED ITS CONCERNS ABOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE LOYALIST PARTIES, GIVEN RECENT LOYALIST PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE. IT WAS AGREED -- ROBERT MCCARTNEY'S QUERIES NOTWITHSTANDING -- THAT THIS MATTER WOULD BE PURSUED BILATERALLY BETWEEN ALLIANCE AND THE LOYALISTS, AND WOULD NOT AT THIS TIME REQUIRE AN OFFICIAL DETERMINATION BY THE GOVERNMENTS AS TO THE STATUS OF THE CLMC CEASE-FIRE. ANOTHER PLENARY SESSION WILL BE HELD JUNE 10, BUT THE REMAINDER OF THIS WEEK AND MOST OF NEXT WEEK WILL BE DEVOTED TO BILATERAL MEETINGS BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL CHAIRMEN AND THE PARTIES. STEPHENS SAID THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DELIVER ITS DRAFT PAPER ON DECOMMISSIONING TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ON JUNE 5.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 6572
<^SSN>6572

TOR: 970604132835 M2789358
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DIST:
SIT: PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: BASS BERGER BRADEN BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 051330Z JUN 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 051330Z JUN 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1561
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0255
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0453
SUBJ: DUBLIN AND LONDON MOVE CLOSER ON DECOMMISSIONING, SEEN AS THE KEY ISSUE IN STORMONT TALKS AND IRA CEASEFIRE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.94)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002732

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/05/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DUBLIN AND LONDON MOVE CLOSER ON DECOMMISSIONING, SEEN AS THE KEY ISSUE IN STORMONT TALKS AND IRA CEASEFIRE

REF: (A) LONDON 6572 (B) BELFAST 200

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

1. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN BRIEFED ME JUNE 5 ON THE STORMONT TALKS, WHICH RESUMED ON JUNE 3 IN BELFAST UNDER SENATOR MITCHELL'S CHAIRMANSHIP. HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY A NEW-FOUND SENSE OF URGENCY, DISPLAYED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND SOME OF THE PARTIES, REGARDING THE NEED TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE TALKS IN ORDER TO KEEP THEM VIABLE. "THERE IS A GENERAL FEELING THAT IF WE DON'T MAKE SOMETHING HAPPEN, THE TALKS WILL IMPLODE," HE OBSERVED. (O'HUIGINN WAS ALSO ENCOURAGED BY PRESS REPORTS THAT TONY BLAIR HAD MET WITH DAVID TRIMBLE AND JOHN TAYLOR ON JUNE 4, THOUGH HE HAD NO DETAILS.)

DECOMMISSIONING
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2. (C) DECOMMISSIONING, AND WHETHER THE UNIONISTS WILL ALLOW THE TALKS TO PROCEED TO A SUBSTANTIVE LEVEL, REMAINS THE KEY ISSUE. THE GOI HAS RECEIVED A DRAFT BRITISH TEXT ON THIS ISSUE, RESPONDING TO IRISH PROPOSALS, AND AT FIRST GLANCE FINDS THE BRITISH TEXT "HELPFUL." IRISH OFFICIALS WILL REVIEW THE BRITISH TEXT TODAY (JUNE 5) AND HOPE TO RESPOND FORMALLY TO LONDON BY MONDAY, JUNE 9. IF AGREEMENT IS REACHED, THE PAPER COULD BE "DEPLOYED" BY THE CHAIRMAN ON BEHALF OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

3. (C) ACCORDING TO O'HUIGINN, THE BRITISH WOULD TRY TO PERSUADE DAVID TRIMBLE TO MOVE INTO SUBSTANTIVE TALKS ON THE BASIS OF THE MITCHELL REPORT; THE TWO GOVERNMENTS

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WOULD UNDERTAKE TO IMPLEMENT MITCHELL; AND A VERIFICATION COMMISSION WOULD BE SET UP SOONER RATHER THAN LATER IN ORDER TO REASSURE UNIONISTS. IF AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED ON THESE STEPS BY SOMETIME IN JULY, SUBSTANTIVE TALKS AND THE VERIFICATION COMMISSION COULD BE UP AND RUNNING BY MID-SEPTEMBER. IN WHAT HE CALLED A GOI "CAVEAT," O'HUIGINN ADDED THAT SOME "FUDGING" MIGHT BE NEEDED TO PLACATE SINN FEIN IF THE ACTUAL START OF SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT OCCUR UNTIL SEPTEMBER.

4. (C) O'HUIGINN TOLD ME THE GOI PROVIDED ONLY TWO INITIAL REACTIONS TO THE BRITISH TEXT. FIRST, THE GOI IS "LEERY" OF THE BRITISH PROPOSAL TO SIMPLY HAVE THE INDEPENDENT CHAIRMAN MAKE THE CALL AS TO WHEN DECOMMISSIONING WOULD OCCUR. THIS COULD APPEAR "PEREMPTORY" TO SINN FEIN AND COULD "SCARE OFF" THE REPUBLICANS. WHILE THE CHAIRMAN SHOULD CERTAINLY ANNOUNCE THE TIMING OF DECOMMISSIONING, THE DECISION ITSELF SHOULD REFLECT SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS AMONG THE PARTIES. SECOND, THE GOI OBJECTS TO THE BRITISH PROPOSAL THAT FOLLOWING PERIODIC REVIEWS OF THE STATE OF PLAY OF THE TALKS, A CONSENSUS WOULD BE REQUIRED BEFORE THE TALKS COULD PROCEED FURTHER. THE GOI DOES NOT WANT TO FACILITATE FILIBUSTERS, O'HUIGINN SAID.

SINN FEIN
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5. (C) O'HUIGINN DWELLED AT LENGTH ON SINN FEIN/IRA INTENTIONS. ASSUMING THE DECOMMISSIONING OBSTACLE CAN BE OVERCOME, AND THE ("MAINLY SYMBOLIC") ISSUE OF TIMING OF SF ENTRY INTO THE TALKS FOLLOWING A CEASEFIRE RESOLVED, SINN FEIN IS LOOKING AT THE SAME OFFER IT HAD ON THE TABLE IN EARLY 1994. THE GOI IS ANXIOUS TO PUT TO SINN FEIN THE QUESTION: "IF NOT A CEASEFIRE NOW, THEN WHEN?" SOME REAL "STOCK-TAKING" WILL OCCUR ON THIS MATTER FOLLOWING THE JUNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS, O'HUIGINN SAID. "WE HAVE KEPT THE DOOR OPEN FOR A LONG TIME NOW. WE WANT SINN FEIN IN THE TALKS, AS DO THE BRITISH. BUT WE NEED A CEASEFIRE."

6. (C) O'HUIGINN ACCUSED SINN FEIN OF STALLING AND PLAYING TACTICAL GAMES. HE SPECULATED THAT LAST WEEKEND'S IRA BOMB INCID
ENTS (REFTELS) MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO SIGNAL THE IRA'S VIEW THAT MEETINGS BETWEEN SF AND BRITISH OFFICIALS ARE NOT GOING SUFFICIENTLY WELL. SAYING THE IRA IS PLAYING HARDBALL, HE OBSERVED THAT THESE INCIDENTS HAD TAKEN AWAY LONDON'S CAPACITY TO USE THE PREVIOUS DE FACTO CEASEFIRE CREATIVELY TO FACILITATE SF ENTRY INTO TALKS.

7. (C) O'HUIGINN SPECULATED ON POSSIBLE REASONS FOR SF/IRA'S DELAY IN DECLARING A CEASEFIRE:

-- THEY MIGHT BE WAITING UNTIL AFTER THE IRISH ELECTIONS (JUNE 6);

-- THEY MIGHT BE WAITING FOR CONFIRMATION THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL NOT BE AN OBSTACLE TO SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS (TO BE RESOLVED NEXT WEEK);

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 002732

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/05/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: DUBLIN AND LONDON MOVE CLOSER ON DECOMMISSIONING, SEEN AS THE KEY ISSUE IN STORMONT TALKS AND IRA CEASEFIRE

-- THEY MIGHT BE WAITING UNTIL AFTER DRUMCREE (AN OMINOUS DEVELOPMENT, IF TRUE);

-- THEY MIGHT BE PURSUING A TWIN-TRACK APPROACH, INVOLVING VIOLENCE AND POLITICS, INDEFINITELY. (IF TRUE, THIS WAS A "HUGE MISTAKE." NO IRISH GOVERNMENT COULD TOLERATE THE PERCEPTION THAT IT ACCEPTED A TWIN-TRACK APPROACH, O'HUIGINN STRESSED.)

8. (C) THE SINCERITY OF ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS WAS NOT AT ISSUE, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME -- HE BELIEVES THEY ARE TRYING TO STOP THE VIOLENCE. BUT THE BOTTOM LINE FOR DUBLIN IS THE PERCEPTION OF A TWIN-TRACK APPROACH, WHICH IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. REGARDLESS OF WHO FORMS THE NEXT IRISH GOVERNMENT, CONDITIONS FOR MEANINGFUL TALKS ARE VIRTUALLY IN PLACE, AND SINN FEIN MUST DECIDE WHETHER IT IS IN OR OUT. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2732
<^SSN>2732

TOR: 970605093531 M2790929
<^TOR>970605093532 M2790930

DIST:
SIT: PETERS VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-m (1.96)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA3012 1691505-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 181505Z JUN 97 ZDK
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 181505Z JUN 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1630
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0279
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0474
SUBJ: GOVERNMENT TRANSITION IN DUBLIN AND SINN FEIN'S RAPIDLY APPROACHING MOMENT OF TRUTH

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 003012

EXDIS

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/18/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT TRANSITION IN DUBLIN AND SINN FEIN'S RAPIDLY APPROACHING MOMENT OF TRUTH

REF: (A) DUBLIN 2989 (B) LONDON 7170

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

SUMMARY
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1. (C) AN EXASPERATED SEAN O'HUIGINN SEES THE LATEST BRITISH RESPONSE TO SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS (REF B) AS A FINAL, GOOD-FAITH TEST OF SF/IRA INTENTIONS. FROM HIS PERSONAL VIEWPOINT, IF THERE IS NO IRA CEASEFIRE BY LATE JULY, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL SIMPLY HAVE TO PROCEED WITHOUT SF WHEN THE TALKS ENTER A SUBSTANTIVE PHASE IN MID-SEPTEMBER. HOWEVER, O'HUIGINN ADMITS HE DOES NOT YET SPEAK FOR THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS HESITANT TO BECOME FULLY ENGAGED BEFORE ASSUMING OFFICE (ON JUNE 26).

END SUMMARY
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2. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN BRIEFED ME JUNE 18 ON THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE PEACE PROCESS FOLLOWING THE IRA KILLINGS IN LURGAN. HE DESCRIBED MATTERS AS VERY DEPRESSING, AND INDICATED THE VIABILITY OF THE CURRENT PROCESS IS AT STAKE.

3. (C) SINN FEIN HAS THE LATEST BRITISH PAPER CONTAINING LONDON'S RESPONSES TO EACH OF SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS. O'HUIGINN CHARACTERIZED IT AS A GOOD, HONORABLE ANSWER TO

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SF'S CONCERNS. IT EFFECTIVELY PROVIDES A COMMITMENT THAT SUBSTANTIVE TALKS WOULD BEGIN ON SEPTEMBER 15. THE BRITISH HAVE DONE THEIR PART, O'HUIGINN SAID. HE TOLD MARTIN MCGUINNESS ON SATURDAY, JUNE 14: "IF YOU CAN'T DO BUSINESS ON THE BASIS OF THIS PAPER, YOU CAN'T DO BUSINESS AT ALL." BECAUSE SF ONLY RECEIVED THE PAPER LATE ON FRIDAY, O'HUIGINN DID NOT PUSH FOR A RESPONSE ON SATURDAY. (HE INDICATED THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER CONTACT BETWEEN PM BRUTON'S GOVERNMENT AND SINN FEIN.)

4. (C) O'HUIGINN DOES NOT BELIEVE THE JUNE 16 KILLINGS IN LURGAN WERE IN REACTION TO THE BRITISH PAPER, SAYING IT WAS UNLIKELY THERE WAS ENOUGH TIME IN BETWEEN TO PLAN SUCH AN ATTACK. HE SUGGESTED THAT SINN FEIN DENIALS (IN THE PRESS) THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED A BRITISH PAPER "ON DECOMMISSIONING" PROBABLY REFER TO GOI-HMG DRAFT TEXTS ON THAT ISSUE, AND NOT TO THE PAPER ON SF'S FOUR POINTS THAT WAS PASSED TO SINN FEIN ON JUNE 13. SF IS APPARENTLY NOT ANXIOUS TO PUBLICIZE THE FACT THEY HAVE THE BRITISH PAPER. (O'HUIGINN IS AWARE THE BRITISH WANT TO PUBLICIZE THE PAPER SOON; HE HOPES IT WILL BE PRESENTED AS AN OFFER STILL ON THE TABLE. THE JUNE 18 "IRISH TIMES" REFERS TO A BRITISH POSITION PAPER DELIVERED TO SINN FEIN DAYS BEFORE THE KILLNGS.)

5. (C) O'HUIGINN, LIKE MARTIN MANSERGH (RF A), SUSPECTS "STRAINS" WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION,RATHER THAN DUPLICITY, ACCOUNT FOR THE LURGAN KILINGS. THE IRA'S ACTION WAS "TOO STUPID" FOR ADMS OR MCGUINNESS TO HAVE ENDORSED, HE SAID, NOTING THAT IT HAS COMPLETELY VINDICATED DAVID TRIMBLE ON THE EVE OF A TRIP TO THE U.S. THERE APPEARS TO BE A FACTION IN THE IRA THAT IS NOT INTERESTED IN PEACE AND DOES NOT WANT A CEASEFIRE.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?
/------------------------

6. (C) SPEAKING PERSONALLY, O'HUIGINN MADE CLEAR HIS VIEW THAT THE NEXT FIVE TO SIX WEEKS ARE CRUCIAL FOR THE CURRENT PEACE PROCESS. THE BRITISH PAPER PRESENTED TO SF OFFERS A "BRISK, GOOD-FAITH TEST" OF WHETHER SF CAN DO BUSINESS. IF THERE IS NO CEASEFIRE BY THE END OF JULY, IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR SF/IRA TO MEET LONDON'S SIX-WEEK WAITING PERIOD AND STILL ENTER SUBSTANTIVE TALKS ON SEPTEMBER 15. IN THIS EVENT, THE "ENTIRE ENTERPRISE" LOOKS VERY DOUBTFUL.

7. (C) HE EXPECTS THAT SINN FEIN WILL "CHECK OUT THE VIABILITY" OF A CEASEFIRE WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT OVER THE COMING
DAYS. THE BALL IS IN SINN FEIN'S COURT --
DUBLIN WILL NOT ASK LONDON TO MAKE FURTHER CHANGES TO ITS PAPER ON SF'S FOUR POINTS. IF THE DEBATE WITHIN SF/IRA DOES NOT PRODUCE A CEASEFIRE SOON, HE SUGGESTED, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR ANY IRISH GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE DEALING WITH SINN FEIN. EVEN IF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP IS GENUINE ABOUT WANTING TO ENTER THE POLITICAL PROCESS, DUBLIN CANNOT WORK WITH THAT LEADERSHIP AS LONG AS OTHERS IN THE MOVEMENT ARE ENGAGED IN VIOLENCE ON A "TWIN-TRACK"

BASIS.

8. (C) O'HUIGINN ANGRILY POINTED TO THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT ONGOING IRA VIOLENCE IS HAVING ON ASSESSMENTS OF SF/IRA

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INTENTIONS: "YOU'D HAVE TO BE OPTIMISTIC OR NAIVE AFTER TWO YEARS TO SAY IT'S NOT A TWIN-TRACK APPROACH." THE IRA HAS TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS ACTIONS. SINN FEIN RISKS BEING BYPASSED, "AND RIGHTLY SO." IT MAY BE THE CASE THAT "THE SOONER WE CUT OUR LOSSES, THE BETTER," HE SAID.

INCOMING GOVERNMENT
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9. (C) O'HUIGINN ADMITTED TO A SLIGHT "LOSS OF MOMENTUM" CAUSED BY THE CURRENT TRANSITION FROM PM BRUTON TO BERTIE AHERN. HE SAID THERE APPEARED TO BE "SOME NERVOUSNESS" WITHIN FIANNA FAIL ABOUT GETTING TOO DEEPLY ENGAGED BEFORE TAKING OFFICE, PERHAPS BECAUSE THEY MIGHT GET EMBROILED IN SOMETHING NOT OF THEIR OWN MAKING, OR BECAUSE THEY MIGHT NOT GET CREDIT FOR A BREAKTHROUGH.

10. (C) O'HUIGINN HAS A UK DRAFT PAPER ON DECOMMISSIONING WHICH IS "NOT TERRIBLE" BUT NEEDS WORK ON TWO POINTS, BUT FEELS THERE IS NO POINT IN SENDING A COUNTER-DRAFT TO LONDON IF FIANNA FAIL IS NOT ON BOARD. HE WILL SPEAK WITH MARTIN MANSERGH TO SEE IF BERTIE AHERN WOULD AGREE TO LET O'HUIGINN FINALIZE A PAPER ON DECOMMISSIONING WITH THE BRITISH BEFORE FIANNA FAIL TAKES OFFICE.
11. (C) AS A RESULT, O'HUIGINN WAS UNCERTAIN WHETHER A PAPER ON DECOMMISSIONING WOULD BE READY TO TABLE AT THE STORMONT TALKS NEXT WEEK, AND SAID IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO ASK FOR A DELAY OF THE TALKS UNTIL THE NEW GOI IS FULLY BRIEFED. IN ANY CASE, HE OBSERVED AGREEMENT ON HOW TO HANDLE DECOMMISSIONING REALLY ONLY MATTERS IF SINN FEIN IS ABLE TO DELIVER A CEASEFIRE.

PLAN B
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12. (C) O'HUIGINN OUTLINED "PLAN B" IF NO IRA CEASEFIRE IS FORTHCOMLNG. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD DEAL WITH THE PARTIES AT THE STORMONT TALKS. A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO REFERENDUM NORTH AND SOUTH. SINN FEIN WOULD BE MARGINALIZED, IF NOT CUT OFF.

13. (C) THE PUBLIC WOULD SUPPORT THIS, HE SAID, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE GOI HAD TRIED TO INCLUDE THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT AND HAD NOT RECEIVED AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE. THIS WAS DIFFERENT THAN NOT HAVING TRIED AT ALL. O'HUIGINN SAID SINN FEIN FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THIS DISTINCTION.
SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3012

TOR: 970619023003 M2811762

DIST:

SIT: PASSDOWN PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT{C2}

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA3037 1701041-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1634
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0477
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0281
SUBJ: IRISH COUNTER-DRAFT ON DECOMMISSIONING SENT TO LONDON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (1.97)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 003037

NSC FOR PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/19/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH COUNTER-DRAFT ON DECOMMISSIONING SENT TO LONDON

REF: (A) DUBLIN 3012 (B) NORLAND-PETERS TELCON 6/18

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

1. (C) REF (A) REPORTED THAT DUBLIN AND LONDON HAD, AS OF JUNE 18, NOT YET FINALIZED A TEXT ON ARMS DECOMMISSIONING TO BE TABLED AT THE STORMONT TALKS, AS SEAN O'HUIGINN STILL NEEDED PERMISSION FROM THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT TO MOVE FORWARD ON THE BASIS OF THE CURRENT GOI'S DRAFT.

2. (C) WE HAVE SINCE BEEN ADVISED THAT O'HUIGINN SUCCEEDED IN DISCUSSING THE MATTER WITH MARTIN MANSERGH AND RECEIVED FIANNA FAIL'S BLESSING TO PROCEED. THE GOI'S COUNTER-DRAFT WAS PASSED TO THE BRITISH AROUND MID-DAY ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18. THE IRISH ARE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE BRITISH VERSION IN ALL BUT TWO RESPECTS (CHAIRMAN'S CALL, REVIEW MECHANISM), AND THE DIFFICULTIES IN THESE TWO AREAS ARE SAID NOT TO BE INSURMOUNTABLE. THE HOPE HERE IS TO BE ABLE TO PRESENT AN AGREED GOI-HMG TEXT NEXT WEEK AT STORMONT. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3037
TOR: 970619064647 M2812126
DIST:
SIT: PETERS VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC

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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA3133 1751522-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1658
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0287
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0486
SUBJ: TEXT OF ANGLO-IRISH DECOMMISSIONING PROPOSALS

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015-0157-M [1.98]

KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 DUBLIN 003133

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/24/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TEXT OF ANGLO-IRISH DECOMMISSIONING PROPOSALS

REF: DUBLIN 3037

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D)

1. ~~(C)~~ EO 13526 1.4c HAS PROVIDED THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED IN NEW YORK ON JUNE 23 BETWEEN PRIME MINISTERS BRUTON AND BLAIR ON HOW TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF ARMS DECOMMISSIONING IN RELATION TO ALL-PARTY TALKS ON A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT. THE TEXT IS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE PARTIES AT THE STORMONT TALKS THIS AFTERNOON (JUNE 24). WE UNDERSTAND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS INTEND TO PUBLISH THE TEXT AT 3:30 P.M. ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25.

2. ~~(C)~~ THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT (PLEASE NOTE INTERNAL NUMBERING).

BEGIN TEXT:

RESOLVING THE ADDRESS TO DECOMMISSIONING

THE POSITION OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS

1. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE RESOLUTELY COMMITTED TO THE TOTAL DISARMAMENT OF ALL PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THE BEST AND ONLY REALISTIC PATH TO THIS CRUCIAL GOAL LIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY. THEY SHARE THE VIEW IN THE REPORT THAT VOLUNTARY AND MUTUAL DECOMMISSIONING CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF PROGRESS IN COMPREHENSIVE AND INCLUSIVE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THEIR PART, THEY GIVE A FORMAL JOINT UNDERTAKING THAT THEY WILL DO ALL THEY CAN TO ENSURE THAT THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE IS RESOLVED TO THE SATISFACTION

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OF THE PARTICIPANTS AS AN INDISPENSABLE PART OF THE PROCESS.

2. THE GOVERNMENTS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE OPERATIONAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SECURING DECOMMISSIONING DO NOT AFFECT ALL OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE SAME WAY. THOSE PARTIES WITH SOME RECORD OF INSIGHT RELATING TO THE PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS, WHO ALONE HAVE THE CAPACITY TO DECOMMISSION, HAVE AN OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE IN RELATION TO THIS AGENDA, WHICH, REALISTICALLY, PRESUPPOSES A FULLY INCLUSIVE PROCESS. THERE ARE MANY ASPECTS WHICH, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE EQUAL RIGHT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS TO SEE A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE, RELATE SPECIFICALLY OR EXCLUSIVELY TO THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENTS.

3. THE GOVERNMENTS THEREFORE ACKNOWLEDGE A PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY TO CARRY THE PROCESS FORWARD WITH ENERGY AND DETERMINATION SO AS TO BUILD CONFIDENCE WITHOUT BLOCKING THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT, BUILDING ON THE COMMITMENTS IN REGARD TO DECOMMISSIONING ENTERED INTO BY THE PARTICIPANTS, THEY WOULD, FOR THEIR PART, WORK TO BRING ABOUT DUE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING ALONGSIDE PROGRESS IN THE SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS.

4. THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY URGED THAT DECOMMISSIONING SHOULD RECEIVE A HIGH PRIORITY IN ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS (PARAGRAPH 38 AND PASSIM). IN THE VIEW OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, THIS SHOULD INVOLVE:

(A) INSISTENCE ON SUBSCRIPTION TO AND RESPECT FOR THE SIX PRINCIPLES OF THE REPORT BY ALL PARTICIPANTS, AS A BASIC REQUIREMENT TO ENSURE CONFIDENCE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE CONDUCTED ON A LEVEL AND EXCLUSIVELY DEMOCRATIC PLAYING FIELD, AND WITH EQUAL RESPECT FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS;

(B) A COMMITMENT BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO WORK TO ACHIEVE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY, IN COOPERATION WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES;

(C) PROVISION OF STRUCTURES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO ENSURE THAT ALL PARTIES HAVE THE CAPACITY AND OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE THE NECESSARY INPUT AS ENVISAGED IN THE REPORT;

(D) A REPORTING MECHANISM SO THAT, AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF REVIEWING PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A WHOLE, ALL PARTICIPANTS CAN BE KEPT FULLY APPRISED (BY THE GOVERNMENTS, THE CHAIRMEN, THE FUTURE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION OR OTHERS, AS APPROPRIATE) OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA, IN THE LIGH
T OF THEIR COMMON INTEREST TO HAVE
THE ISSUE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED, NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR POTENTIALLY DIFFERENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS GOAL;

(E) ADEQUATE MECHANISMS TO ENSURE THAT THE MODALITIES OF DECOMMISSIONING ENVISAGED IN THE REPORT CAN BE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 DUBLIN 003133

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/24/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TEXT OF ANGLO-IRISH DECOMMISSIONING PROPOSALS

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IMPLEMENTED AS NEEDED AND THAT NO DELAY OR OBSTACLE IS CAUSED BY ANY LACK OF GOVERNMENT PREPARATION OR PROVISION IN THIS RESPECT.

5. THE GOVERNMENTS CONFIRM THAT IF ANY PARTY IS INVITED TO JOIN (OR REJOIN) THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE CHAIRMEN OF THE PLENARY SHOULD CONVENE A PLENARY MEETING AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICABLE MOMENT. AT THIS MEETING THE PARTY CONCERNED WOULD BE REQUIRED TO AFFIRM ITS TOTAL AND ABSOLUTE COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND NON-VIOLENCE SPECIFICALLY AS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH 20 OF THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY.

6. SUCH A PARTY WOULD, IN COMMON WITH ALL THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS, BE SUBJECT TO ALL THE AGREED PROVISIONS AND RULES OF PROCEDURE ADOPTED BY THE EXISTING PARTICIPANTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE AGREEMENTS REFLECTED IN THE CONCLUSIONS TO ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA OF THE OPENING PLENARY WILL NOT BE OPEN TO NEGOTIATION BY ANY PARTY WHO MIGHT WISH TO JOIN THE PROCESS AT A LATER STAGE AND THAT PARTY WOULD ACCORDINGLY BE REQUIRED TO AFFIRM ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMITMENTS SET OUT THEREIN.

CONCLUSION OF THE ADDRESS TO DECOMMISSIONING

7. ON THE BASIS OF THE FOREGOING, AND IN THE LIGHT OF THE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE MID-OCTOBER LAST YEAR ON THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE PREPARED THE ATTACHED STATEMENT OF "POSSIBLE CONCLUSIONS" ON ITEMS 2(A)-(C) OF THE AGENDA FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE OPENING PLENARY.

8. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COMMEND THESE PROPOSALS TO THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS AND URGE THEIR ACCEPTANCE AS A BASIS FOR RESOLVING THE ADDRESS TO DECOMMISSIONING AS ENVISAGED IN THE GOVERNMENTS' JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF 28 FEBRUARY 1996.

POSSIBLE CONCLUSIONS ON ITEMS 2(A)-(C) OF THE AGENDA FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE OPENING PLENARY

THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS HAVE, SINCE MID-OCTOBER 1996, COMPREHENSIVELY DEBATED THE INTERNATIONAL BODY'S PROPOSALS ON DECOMMISSIONING, AND A RANGE OF OTHER PROPOSALS ON THIS SUBJECT. ALL PARTICIPANTS HAVE HAD FULL OPPORTUNITIES TO SET OUT THEIR POSITION IN WRITING; TO EXPLAIN THAT POSITION IN ORAL PRESENTATIONS; TO QUESTION OTHER PARTICIPANTS ABOUT THEIR PROPOSALS; AND TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES IN PLENARY, IN MEETINGS WITH THE INDEPENDENT CHAIRMEN AND IN A RANGE OF BILATERAL AND MULTI-LATERAL MEETINGS WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS.

IN COMPLETING THEIR CONSIDERATION OF ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA OF THE OPENING PLENARY, THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE AGREED THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS. THEY NOTE THAT ANY PARTY INVITED TO JOIN (OR REJOIN) THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NEED TO AFFIRM ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMITMENTS SET OUT BELOW.
COMMITMENTS

1. THE PARTICIPANTS, RECALLING THEIR TOTAL AND ABSOLUTE COMMITMENT TO THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH 20 OF THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY:

(A) TO DEMOCRATIC AND EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS OF

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RESOLVING POLITICAL ISSUES;

(B) TO THE TOTAL DISARMAMENT OF ALL PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS;

(C) TO AGREE THAT SUCH DISARMAMENT MUST BE VERIFIABLE TO THE SATISFACTION OF AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION;

(D) TO RENOUNCE FOR THEMSELVES, AND OPPOSE ANY EFFORT BY OTHERS, TO USE FORCE, OR THREATEN TO USE FORCE, TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OR OUTCOME OF ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS;

(E) TO AGREE TO ABIDE BY THE TERMS OF ANY AGREEMENT REACHED IN ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS AND TO RESORT TO DEMOCRATIC AND EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL METHODS IN TRYING TO ALTER ANY ASPECT OF THAT OUTCOME WITH WHICH THEY MAY DISAGREE; AND,

(F) TO URGE THAT "PUNISHMENT" KILLINGS AND BEATINGS STOP AND TO TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS TO PREVENT SUCH ACTIONS;

AGREE THAT THERE SHO
ULD BE AN IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL END
TO VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THAT THEY WILL WORK TO ACHIEVE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DECOMMISSIONING
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 DUBLIN 003133

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/24/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TEXT OF ANGLO-IRISH DECOMMISSIONING PROPOSALS

OF ALL PARAMILITARY WEAPONS.

2. ALTHOUGH INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS WOULD PREFER TO SEE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THEIR OWN PROPOSALS, THEY HAVE COLLECTIVELY COME TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY OFFERS THE ONLY REALISTIC BASIS ON WHICH TO PROCEED. ACCORDINGLY, THE PARTICIPANTS EACH HEREBY COMMIT THEMSELVES TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY AND IN GOOD FAITH WITH THE GOVERNMENTS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO SECURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY, INCLUDING THE COMPROMISE APPROACH TO DECOMMISSIONING ENVISAGED IN PARAGRAPHS 34 AND 35.

3. THE PARTICIPATING PARTIES WELCOME, AS AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY, THE ENACTMENT OF APPROPRIATE ENABLING LEGISLATION IN THE TWO PARLIAMENTS WHICH WILL PROVIDE THE STATUTORY BASIS FOR GIVING EFFECT TO THE INTERNATIONAL BODY'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE MODALITIES OF DECOMMISSIONING.

4. THE PARTICIPANTS ALSO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY AND IN GOOD FAITH WITH THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION DESCRIBED BELOW, ONCE IT IS ESTABLISHED, TO ENABLE IT TO CARRY OUT ITS ROLE IN THE CONTEXT OF AN INCLUSIVE AND DYNAMIC PROCESS IN WHICH MUTUAL TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IS BUILT AS PROGRESS IS MADE ON THE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO ALL PARTICIPANTS. THEY INVITE THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION TO DRAW THEIR ATTENTION TO ANY CASE WHERE THE

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COMMISSION CONSIDER THAT A PARTICIPANT HAS FAILED TO ENGAGE WITH THE COMMISSION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS COMMITMENT.

MECHANISMS

5. THE PARTICIPANTS AGREE THAT:

THE MECHANISMS FOR ACHIEVING FURTHER PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING ALONGSIDE PROGRESS IN THE THREE STRANDS SHOULD COMPRISE AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION AND A COMMITTEE OF THE PLENARY. TO ENABLE THAT COMMITTEE TO DEAL, AS NECESSARY, WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THE REPORT, IT SHOULD HAVE TWO SUB-COMMITTEES DEALING WITH DECOMMISSIONING AND WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATION TO OTHER CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES RESPECTIVELY. THE RESPECTIVE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COMMISSION AND THE COMMITTE SHOULD BE AS SET OUT IN THE ATTACHED ANNEX;

THESE MECHANISMS SHOULD BE FORMALLY ESTABLISHED ON THE LAUNCH OF THE THREE-STRANDED NEGOTIATIONS AND SHOULD BEGIN WORK SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE COMMENCEMENT OF SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS IN THE THREE STRANDS;

THE BUSINESS OF THE OPENING PLENARY, INCLUDING (AGENDA ITEM 4) THE LAUNCH OF THREE STRANDED NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE COMPLETED NOT LATER THAN THE END OF JULY.

THE THREE STRANDS OF SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD COMMENCE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON 15 SEPTEMBER;

THE CHAIRMEN, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE, SHOULD MAKE ALL NECESSARY PREPARATIONS FOR THE EFFECTIVE CONDUCT OF THOSE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS;

IN ORDER TO ADVANCE WORK AND MAKE THE MAXIMUM USE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AHEAD, THE PARTICIPANTS THEMSELVES UNDERTAKE TO MAKE ALL NECESSARY PREPARATIONS FOR SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING THROUGH PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS WHERE MUTUALLY HELPFUL.

6. THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY ENVISAGED MUTUAL PROGRESS ON POLITICAL ISSUES AND DECOMMISSIONING AS HELPING TO CREATE A PROGRESSIVE PATTERN OF MOUNTING TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. WITH A VIEW TO ENCOURAGING THIS, THE PARTICIPANTS ALSO AGREE THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PLENARY SHOULD CONVENE A MEETING OF THE PLENARY EVERY TWO MONTHS, OR SUCH LONGER PERIOD AS MAY BE AGREED, TO REVIEW AND CONSIDER DEVELOPMENTS ACROSS THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A WHOLE (INCLUDING THE THREE STRA
NDS, DECOMMISSIONING AND OTHER
CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES). THESE MEETINGS WILL OFFER ALL PARTICIPANTS THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW PROGRESS ACROSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO CONSIDER WHETHER THE NECESSARY CONFIDENCE AND MOMENTUM TOWARDS AGREEMENT IS BEING SUSTAINED.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 DUBLIN 003133

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NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/24/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TEXT OF ANGLO-IRISH DECOMMISSIONING PROPOSALS

7. THE PARTICIPANTS ALSO HEREBY INVITE THE INDEPENDENT CHAIRMEN AS A GROUP TO KEEP OVERALL PROGRESS IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS AS A WHOLE UNDER REVIEW AND TO OFFER THEIR JUDGEMENT FROM TIME TO TIME ON THE NEED FOR PROGRESS ON PARTICULAR ISSUES IF CONFIDENCE AND MOMENTUM TOWARDS AGREEMENT IS TO BE SUSTAINED.

ANNEX

1. INDEPENDENT COMMISSION

AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION SHALL OPERATE IN BOTH JURISDICTIONS WITH APPROPRIATE IMMUNITY AS PROVIDED FOR UNDER THE LEGISLATION ON DECOMMISSIONING ENACTED BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH PARLIAMENTS. IT SHALL BE FURNISHED WITH INDEPENDENT LEGAL AND TECHNICAL ADVISORS AND, WHERE APPROPRIATE, SHALL BE GIVEN ACCESS TO THE TECHNICAL EXPERTISE OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH SECURITY FORCES.

RESPONSIBILITIES

- TO CONSULT WITH THE LIAISON SUB-COMMITTEE ON DECOMMISSIONING, BOTH GOVERNMENTS, AND OTHERS WHOM IT DEEMS RELEVANT ON THE TYPE OF SCHEME OR SCHEMES FOR DECOMMISSIONING, INCLUDING THE ROLE OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION IN RESPECT OF EACH SCHEME;

- TO PRESENT TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS PROPOSALS FOR SCHEMES HAVING DUE REGARD TO THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THOSE IT HAS CONSULTED;

- TO UNDERTAKE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANY REGULATIONS, SCHEMES OR ARRANGEMENTS MADE UNDER THE RELEVANT LEGISLATION, SUCH TASKS THAT MAY BE REQUIRED OF IT TO FACILITATE, OBSERVE, MONITOR AND VERIFY DECOMMISSIONING AND TO RECEIVE AND AUDIT ARMS; AND

- TO REPORT PERIODICALLY TO THE LIAISON SUB-COMMITTEE ON DECOMMISSIONING AND TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS.

2. COMMITTEE OF PLENARY

A COMMITTEE OF PLENARY SHALL BE ESTABLISHED COMPRISED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT SHALL BE CHAIRED BY THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE PLENARY AND WILL REPORT REGULARLY TO THE PLENARY. IT SHALL HAVE TWO SUB-COMMITTEES REPORTING TO IT, A LIAISON SUB-COMMITTEE ON DECOMMISSIONING AND A LIAISON SUB-COMMITTEE ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, WITH THE FOLLOWING RESPONSIBILITIES.

(A) LIAISON SUB-COMMITTEE ON DECOMMISSIONING

THE SUB-COMMITTEE WILL BE CHARGED WITH ASSISTING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF DECOMMISSIONING AS SET OUT IN THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY. IN PARTICULAR IT WILL BE REQUIRED:

- TO CONSIDER THE TYPE OF SCHEME OR SCHEMES FOR DECOMMISSIONING AND THE ROLE OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION

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IN RESPECT OF SAME;

- TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS FOR SUCH SCHEMES DRAWN UP BY THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION AND TO SUBMIT ANY AGREED OPINION ON THESE PROPOSALS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE COMMISSION.

- TO CONSIDER ANY REGULATIONS OR SCHEMES TO BE MADE BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS UNDER THE RELEVANT LEGISLATION;

(B) LIAISON SUB-COMMITTE ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

THE SUB-COMMITTE WILL BE CHARGED WITH ASSISTING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BODY RELATING TO THE FURTHER CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES MENTIONED IN THAT REPORT WHICH PARTICIPANTS MAY RAISE, AND ANY OTHERS WHICH MAY BE REFERRED TO IT, BY AGREEMENT, BY THE PLENARY. IN PARTICULAR IT WILL BE EXPECTED

- TO CONSIDER DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATION TO SUCH MEASURES
- TO CONSIDER ANY REPORTS ON SUCH MEASURES AS MAY BE SUBMITTED BY THOSE WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ISSUE IN QUESTION

- TO DRAW TO THE ATTENTION OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE RELEVANT STRAND ANY INSTITUTIONAL OR SYSTEMIC IMPLICATIONS WHICH MAY ARISE FROM ITS CONSIDERATION OF PARTICULAR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES.

END TEXT. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
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<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 3133
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DIST:
SIT: PASSDOWN PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT{C2}

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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 261632Z JUN 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 261632Z JUN 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1670
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0293
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0493
SUBJ: DUBLIN DOES NOT EXPECT EARLY SINN FEIN (OR UNIONIST) RESPONSE TO PROPOSALS ON DECOMMISSIONING

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 003181

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/26/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DUBLIN DOES NOT EXPECT EARLY SINN FEIN (OR UNIONIST) RESPONSE TO PROPOSALS ON DECOMMISSIONING

REF: LONDON 7524

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

SUMMARY
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1. (~~C~~) SEAN O'HUIGINN INDICATES DUBLIN IS FULLY IN AGREEMENT WITH TONY BLAIR'S OFFER, AND BELIEVES SINN FEIN SHOULD ACCEPT IT IMMEDIATELY. IT APPEARS, HOWEVER, SINN FEIN WILL SEEK FURTHER CLARIFICATION ON DECOMMISSIONING. DAVID TRIMBLE, FOR HIS PART, IS ALSO NOT EXPECTED TO PROVIDE AN IMMEDIATE, DEFINITIVE RESPONSE. SINN FEIN'S DE FACTO DEADLINE APPEARS TO BE THE END OF JULY. WASHINGTON SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR AN IMMEDIATE IRA CEASEFIRE, AND SHOULD QUIETLY ENCOURAGE LONDON TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS ON PRISONERS AND OTHER CBM'S. DUBLIN IS LIKELY TO DECLINE A REQUEST BY GARVAGHY ROAD RESIDENTS THAT IT PARTICIPATE IN FRIDAY'S PROXIMITY TALKS ON MARCHING DISPUTES.

END SUMMARY
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2. (~~C~~) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN BRIEFED ME JUNE 26 ON THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FOLLOWING TONY BLAIR'S SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS YESTERDAY (REFTEL) AND PUBLICATION OF THE ANGLO-IRISH PROPOSALS ON ADDRESSING ARMS DECOMMISSIONING. O'HUIGINN PRAISED BLAIR FOR "PLAYING A STRAIGHT BAT." BLAIR WAS TESTING OUT IN GOOD FAITH THE UNDERSTANDING HE HAD INHERITED FROM JOHN MAJOR, NAMELY THAT AN IRA CEASEFIRE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN RESPONSE TO A GOOD FAITH

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BRITISH RESPONSE TO SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS. THE BALL IS NOW IN SINN FEIN'S COURT, O'HUIGINN MADE CLEAR.

SINN FEIN
/--------

3. (C) DUBLIN WILL CONTINUE TO TELL SINN FEIN THAT IT MUST DO BUSINESS ON THE BASIS OF WHAT IS NOW ON OFFER. WHILE GERRY ADAMS' REQUEST FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION ON DECOMMISSIONING IS "FAIR ENOUGH," O'HUIGINN BELIEVES THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED BY TELEPHONE CONTACT BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND BRITISH OFFICIALS, OR VIA INTERMEDIARIES SUCH AS THE GOI OR JOHN HUME -- NO ACTUAL SF-HMG MEETING IS REQUIRED.

4. (C) CITING GERRY ADAMS' JUNE 20 LETTER TO TONY BLAIR (SEPTEL), O'HUIGINN INDICATED SINN FEIN IS PRESSING FOR MORE REASSURANCE ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES. HE COMPLAINED OF THE LETTER'S "IMPERIOUS TONE," AND EMPHASIZED SINN FEIN WILL HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THAT ANY GESTURES MADE BY LONDON ON PRISONERS OR OTHER CBM'S COULD NOT BE DIRECTLY LINKED TO SECURING AN IRA CEASEFIRE.

5. (C) IF SINN FEIN CHOOSES TO STAY OUT, DUBLIN WOULD HAVE TO AGREE WITH LONDON THAT THE TALKS SHOULD PROCEED WITHOUT SINN FEIN, O'HUIGINN SAID. TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD SIMPLY CONFIRM THE SUSPICION THAT THE ONLY GOAL WAS TO BRING SINN FEIN INTO TALKS, AND WOULD CREATE THE POLITICALLY UNSUSTAINABLE PERCEPTION OF A TWIN-TRACK APPROACH TOLERATING VIOLENCE ALONGSIDE NORMAL POLITICS. IF SINN FEIN IS NOT IN THE TALKS BY THE END OF JULY, THE PSYCHOLOGY HERE WOULD SHIFT TOWARD DOING A DEAL WITHOUT THEM IN SEPTEMBER, O'HUIGINN TOLD ME. HE AGREED THAT JOHN HUME SEEMS TO HAVE REACHED THIS CONCLUSION AS WELL.

UNIONISTS
/--------

6. (C) O'HUIGINN TOLD ME THE UNIONIST RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSALS REMAINS HARD TO READ. TRIMBLE'S STANCE WILL BE INFLUENCED BY ONGOING EFFORTS WITHIN THE UUP LEADERSHIP TO DE-STABILIZE HIM (O'HUIGINN MENTIONED JOHN TAYLOR IN PARTICULAR). HOWEVER, TRIMBLE MIGHT ALSO BE AWARE OF THE DANGERS OF "WALKING AWAY." FIRST, PUBLIC SENTIMENT MIGHT NOT FORGIVE HIM IF HE WERE SEEN TO BLOCK AGREEMENT. SECOND, THE GOVERNMENTS MIGHT ROLL OVER HIM ANYWAY.

7. (C) O'HUIGINN ESTIMATED THAT TRIMBLE IS LIKELY TO "WIGGLE AROUND QUITE A BIT" BEFORE DECIDING. THE PROPOSALS CAN TECHNICALLY STILL BE AMENDED AT THE STORMONT TALKS, AND "WRECKING AMENDMENTS" FROM THE DUP AND UKUP ARE ANTICIPATED. HOWEVER, DUBLIN HAS AN UNDERSTANDING WITH
LONDON THAT NO AMENDMENT WILL BE ALLOWED TO CHANGE THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF THE PROPOSALS. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, ANY EFFORT TO MAKE PARALLEL DECOMMISSIONING AN ABSOLUTE PRECONDITION FOR ENTRY INTO TALKS WOULD BE RESISTED. THIS WILL BE A "DELICATE PHASE."

ATROCITIES
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 003181

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/26/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: DUBLIN DOES NOT EXPECT EARLY SINN FEIN (OR UNIONIST) RESPONSE TO PROPOSALS ON DECOMMISSIONING

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8. (C) POINTING TO YESTERDAY'S FOILED ATTACK IN SOUTH BELFAST, O'HUIGINN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE POTENTIAL FOR CONTINUED ATROCITIES EXISTS. HE COMPLAINED THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT CONTINUES TO BELIEVE EVERYONE SHOULD ACCEPT THE "RIDICULOUS" ASSUMPTION THAT BECAUSE A WAR IS ON, KILLINGS SHOULD HAVE NO POLITICAL IMPACT ON EFFORTS TO GET ALL-PARTY TALKS UNDERWAY. THERE ARE ALSO THOSE WHO WANT TO WRECK THE PEACE PROCESS ALTOGETHER.

9. (C) O'HUIGINN DOUBTS THAT A SPLIT IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IS IN THE OFFING. BUT, WHILE ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS MIGHT ACQUIESCE IN FURTHER VIOLENCE (FOR REASONS OF PERSONAL SAFETY AS MUCH AS IDEOLOGY), THEY WOULD BE TRYING TO "EDGE AWAY" FROM IT. THERE IS LITTLE STOMACH IN NATIONALIST COMMUNITIES FOR A RETURN TO WAR, SO HARDLINERS WILL FIND A LESS SUPPORTIVE LOCAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH TO OPERATE.

DECOMMISSIONING MECHANICS
/------------------------

10. (C) TURNING TO THE MECHANICS OF THE PROPOSALS, O'HUIGINN SAID THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD BEGIN TO DRAFT AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ESTABLISHING A VERIFICATION COMMISSION, AND WOULD BEGIN TO LOOK FOR NEUTRAL EXPERTS ("SWEDES, ETC.") TO STAFF IT. THE COMMISSION WOULD CONSULT WITH BRITISH AND IRISH SECURITY FORCES AS NECESSARY.

11. (C) GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN HAS INDICATED HE WANTS TO SERVE ON THE VERIFICATION COMMISSLON. DUBLIN DOES NOT OBJECT, BUT WOULD NOT WANT HIM SERVING SIMULTANEOUSLY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE STRAND TWO TALKS.

12. (C) O'HUIGINN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE TWIN SUB-COMMITTEE CONCEPT (DECOMMISSIONING AND CBM'S) IS UNWIELDY, AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT ULTIMATELY THESE ENTITIES MIGHT MERGE TOGETHER AS IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THEIR MEMBERSHIP AND AGENDAS OVERLAPPED. ON THE REVIEW MECHANISM, O'HUIGINN SAID TRIMBLE MIGHT TRY TO DIG IN TWO MONTHS DOWN THE ROAD AND INSIST THERE BE DECOMMISSIONING BEFORE THE TALKS WENT FURTHER. HOWEVER, DUBLIN AND LONDON SHARE A TACIT UNDERSTANDING THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DERAIL THE POLITICAL AGENDA, O'HUIGINN SAID.

13. (C) O'HUIGINN ESTIMATES THAT IF THE DECOMMISSIONING OBSTACLE CAN BE OVERCOME AND SINN FEIN IS ADMITTED TO THE TALKS, THE ISSUE MIGHT CEASE TO HOLD TACTICAL VALUE TO UNIONISTS (AS A WAY OF TRYING TO KEEP SINN FEIN OUT). AT THAT STAGE, HE HOPES THE UNIONISTS MIGHT BE WILLING TO VIEW THE ARMS ISSUE MORE "REALISTICALLY" -- AS A SYMBOLIC RATHER THAN SECURITY MATTER. THE UNIONISTS SHOULD REALIZE IT MAKES MORE SENSE FOR SINN FEIN TO EXPEND ITS LIMITED POLITICAL CAPITAL ON SELLING A SETTLEMENT TO SKEPTICAL FOLLOWERS (A SETTLEMENT THAT WILL BE SHORT OF A UNITED IRELAND), THAN ON TRYING TO PRODUCE A HANDOVER OF WEAPONS THAT WILL DO LITTLE TO CHANGE THE REAL SECURITY PICTURE.

DRUMCREE
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14. (C) O'HUIGINN FAVORS THE PROXIMITY TALKS PROPOSED BY MO MOWLAM AS A WAY OUT OF THE MARCHING SEASON IMPASSE, THOUGH HE SEES LITTLE HOPE OF AN AGREED COMPROMISE ON THE MARCH DOWN GARVAGHY ROAD. HE INDICATED THE GARVAGHY RESIDENTS HAVE ASKED FOR A GOI PRESENCE AT THE PROXIMITY TALKS. O'HUIGINN MUST DISCUSS THIS WITH THE NEW IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER (TO BE APPOINTED LATER TODAY), BUT HIS RECOMMENDATION WILL BE TO SAY NO. A DUBLIN PRESENCE COULD GIVE ORANGEMEN AN EXCUSE NOT TO ENGAGE. HE WILL PROPOSE A TELEPHONE "HOTLINE" OR SIMILAR LINK INSTEAD.
U.S. ROLE
/--------

15. (C) I ASKED O'HUIGINN WHAT THE U.S. COULD DO NOW. HE SAID WE SHOULD GIVE BLAIR CREDIT FOR HIS GOOD FAITH EFFORT. WE SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME OFFER "QUIET ENCOURAGEMENT" TO LONDON TO MOVE ON CBM'S SUCH AS TRANSFER OF PRISONERS AND PRISON REGIMES -- THOUGH NOT IN REPLY TO ADAMS' "PEREMPTORY" LETTER. OUR MESSAGE TO SINN FEIN SHOULD BE SIMPLE: BLAIR HAS CARRIED OUT HIS PROMIS
ES WITH
COURAGE AND HONESTY, DUBLIN SUPPORTS THEM, AND YOU SHOULD GO FOR THEM QUICKLY. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 3181
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TOR: 970626124050 M2822958
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PRT: BASS BERGER DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK RICEE SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG

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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0308
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0504
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 3 MEETING WITH PM BERTIE AHERN

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

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 003319

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/03/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 3 MEETING WITH PM BERTIE AHERN

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

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: IN MY FIRST CALL ON HIM AS TAOISEACH, I MET TODAY (JULY 3) WITH BERTIE AHERN, PRIOR TO HIS MEETING THIS AFTERNOON IN LONDON WITH PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR. CONSIDERABLY MORE NATIONALIST IN TONE THAN HIS PREDECESSOR, AHERN WILL LAY DOWN A MARKER WITH BLAIR THAT DUBLIN WILL BE VERY UNHAPPY IF THE BRITISH FORCE THE ORANGE ORDER MARCH DOWN THE GARVAGHY ROAD IN PORTADOWN ON JULY 6. AHERN HOPES A DISCREET COMPROMISE CAN STILL BE ARRIVED AT. ON THE STORMONT TALKS, AHERN INDICATED SINN FEIN SENT A LETTER TO QUENTIN THOMAS ON JULY 2 SEEKING FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF HMG'S STANCE ON DECOMMISSIONING. AHERN DOES NOT EXPECT AN IRA CEASEFIRE BEFORE THIS ISSUE IS "CLARIFIED" OR BEFORE THE END OF THE MARCHING SEASON. HE CONSIDERS ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS TO STILL BE VERY MUCH IN CHARGE, WITH A MAJOR IRA SPLIT UNLIKELY. LOOKING AHEAD, THE NEW TAOISEACH THINKS MAY 1998 IS TOO OPTIMISTIC A TARGET DATE FOR A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT, AND MADE CLEAR HE WILL RESIST ANY EFFORT TO ACHIEVE EITHER AN "INTERNAL" OR AN INTERIM SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.
DRUMCREE: "WE CAN'T LIVE" WITH MARCH BEING FORCED THROUGH
/----------

2. ~~(C)~~ AHERN HAS MET WITH BOTH THE ORANGE ORDER AND WITH RESIDENTS OF THE GARVAGHY ROAD SINCE BECOMING TAOISEACH ON JUNE 26. HE TOLD ME NEITHER SIDE IS WILLING TO BACK DOWN. HE CRITICIZED THE PREVIOUS BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR LOSING AN ENTIRE YEAR IN WHICH EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH DIALOGUE AND FIND A COMPROMISE MIGHT HAVE PROGRESSED. THE NORTH COMMISSION SHOULD HAVE BEEN GIVEN POWERS BY NOW.

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3. (C) AHERN SAID GENUINE CREDIT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO MO MOWLAM FOR HER EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION. HOWEVER, IT APPEARS THE BRITISH WILL HAVE TO IMPOSE "SOMETHING" FOR THE JULY 6 MARCH. WHILE THE ORANGE ORDER LEADERS WHOM HE HAD MET WERE "NOT THE WORST KIND OF PEOPLE," AHERN OBSERVED, "THEY HAVE THEIR WILD MEN TOO." LOYALIST HARDLINERS WILL INSIST ON MARCHING NO MATTER WHAT. THE IRISH UNDERSTAND SOME 3000 UVF AND LVF MEMBERS HAVE "JOINED" THE LOCAL ORANGE ORDER LODGE, PERMITTING THEM TO TAKE PART IN SUNDAY'S MARCH.

4. (C) THE GARVAGHY ROAD RESIDENTS, FOR THEIR PART, FEEL THEY HAVE BEEN "RUN OVER" TWO YEARS IN A ROW AND THINK IT'S THE OTHER SIDE'S TURN TO "GIVE." THEY INTEND TO PROCEED WITH A "FAMILY DAY" COMMUNITY EVENT ON GARVAGHY ROAD (WHICH AHERN TERMED "NOT THAT HELPFUL") AND PLAN TO PARK A 40-FOOT TRUCK ACROSS THE ROAD, REPORTEDLY TO SERVE AS A PLATFORM FOR A MUSICAL BAND. HOWEVER, NATIONALISTS FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE NORTH ARE NOT EXPECTED TO CONGREGATE THERE. "NATIONALISTS ARE NOT GETTING READY FOR PITCHED BATTLE," AHERN TOLD ME.

5. (C) WHILE SINN FEIN MIGHT BE BEHIND SOME OF THE NATIONALIST STANCE, AHERN IS CONVINCED FROM HIS MEETINGS THAT OPPOSITION TO THE MARCH IS GENUINELY SHARED BY A BROAD RANGE OF RESIDENTS, YOUNG AND OLD -- "IT'S NOT JUST A GROUP OF SHINNERS ENGAGED IN SINN FEIN SPEAK," HE SAID.

6. (C) TURNING TO HIS MEETING WITH BLAIR LATER TODAY, AHERN TOLD ME HE WOULD "TRY TO AVOID CONFLICT" WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, BUT "IF THEY FORCE THE MARCH, WE CAN'T LIVE WITH THAT." HE WOULD BE "MODERATE" WITH HIS REMARKS -- AS LONG AS BRITISH ACTIONS FELL SHORT OF FORCING THE MARCH DOWN THE GARVAGHY ROAD. HE HOPED A REASONABLE COMPROMISE COULD BE ARRIVED AT DISCREETLY, PERHAPS INVOLVING A DETOUR PARTWAY ALONG THE GARVAGHY ROAD. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAD NO INDICATION YET OF WHAT THE BRITISH DECISION WOULD BE.

STORMONT TALKS - DECOMMISSIONING
/------------------------------
7. (C) AHERN WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAT, IF THE C
RITICAL
MARCHING PERIOD (JULY 6-12) COULD BE GOTTEN THROUGH WITHOUT A MAJOR CRISIS, PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS COULD ADVANCE "WITH SOME ELEMENT OF HOPE." HE INDICATED THAT SINN FEIN SENT A LETTER TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE'S QUENTIN THOMAS ON JULY 2 SEEKING FURTHER "CLARIFICATION" OF THE BRITISH POSITION, ESPECIALLY ON DECOMMISSIONING. AHERN EXPECTS THAT LONDON WILL REPLY.

8. (C) AHERN WILL IMPRESS UPON TONY BLAIR HIS VIEW THAT IF BOTH GOVERNMENTS STICK TO THE AGREED PROPOSALS ON DECOMMISSIONING BASED ON THE MITCHELL REPORT, THERE IS HOPE FOR PROGRESS. HOWEVER, HE BELIEVES SOME ELEMENT OF AMBIGUITY MUST BE RETAINED ON THE TIMING OF ACTUAL ARMS DECOMMISSIONING, TO ALLOW THE TALKS TO DEVELOP AND TO GENERATE CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES. HE EMPHASIZED THE ROLE OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS IN KEEPING THE PROCESS MOVING FORWARD.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 003319

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/03/07

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TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S JULY 3 MEETING WITH PM BERTIE AHERN

IRA CEASEFIRE
/------------

9. (C) AHEN CONSIDERS IT PREMATURE TO SAY AN IRA CEASEFIRE S LIKELY SOON. MUCH DEPENDS ON HOW THE MARCHIG SEASON UNFOLDS, AND ON LONDON'S RESPONSE TO INN FEIN'S LETTER. HE SEES NO SIGN OF A SIGIFICANT SPLIT IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. ADAS AND MCGUINNESS REMAIN VERY MUCH IN CHARGE -- "WHICH IS BOTH GOOD AND BAD." AHERN SAID THEREWOULD ALWAYS BE A RUMP ELEMENT OF THE REPUBLICANMOVEMENT THAT REFUSES TO GIVE UP VIOLENCE, BUT HIS HOPE REMAINS THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO BRING THE "ARMY" AND ITS COMMAND STRUCTURES INTO A PURELY POLITICAL PROCESS ONCE AND FOR ALL.

FINAL SETTLEMENT: "MAY 1998 IS OPTIMISTIC"
/--
10. (C) ASKED ABOUT HIS VIEWS ON THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THE STORMONT NEGOTIATIONS, AHERN EMPHASIZED THAT AS FAR AS DUBLIN IS CONCERNED, EVERYTHING IS UP FOR NEGOTIATION, INCLUDING ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION. HOWEVER, "NOTHING IS AGREED UNTIL EVERYTHING IS AGREED" AND APPROVED BY REFERENDA NORTH AND SOUTH. THERE WOULD BE NO "INTERIM" SETTLEMENT. AHERN HAD SOLD THIS POSITION WITHIN FIANNA FAIL. FURTHER CONSIDERATION WOULD BE GIVEN TO "WHERE WE GO IN THE END," HE TOLD ME. ONCE THIS HAD BEEN THOUGHT THROUGH, HE WOULD INITIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER PARTIES, INCLUDING THE SDLP AND ALLIANCE, AS WELL AS WITH THE U.S. AHERN CONSIDERS THE MAY 1998 TARGET DATE FOR TALKS TO END TO BE "OPTIMISTIC."

11. (C) AHERN VOICED ONE "FEAR" WITH REGARD TO THE NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S STANCE, REFERRING TO TONY BLAIR'S BELFAST SPEECH ON MAY 16. IT CONTAINED "TOO MUCH PRO-UNION STUFF." DEVOLUTION MIGHT WORK FOR SCOTLAND AND WALES, BUT IT WOULD NOT WORK FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AS FAR AS NATIONALISTS ARE CONCERNED. THERE COULD BE NO INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE CLARIFIED WITH LONDON, AHERN SAID.

COMMENT
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12. (C) AHERN'S STANCE CLEARLY REFLECTS HIS FIRMLY NATIONALIST INSTINCTS AND HIS BELIEF THAT THE TAOISEACH MUST LEND HIS VOICE IN SUPPORT OF CATHOLICS IN THE NORTH. BEGINNING THIS WEEKEND, ANGLO-IRISH COOPERATION ON THE PEACE PROCESS COULD FIND ITSELF SUBJECTED TO SOME JOLTS AS THE NEW TAOISEACH'S VIEWS ARE TESTED IN THE HEAT OF CONFRONTATION AND POSSIBLE VIOLENCE. IN OUR MEETING TODAY, HOWEVER, AHERN HAD NO SPECIFIC REQUEST OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT.
13. (C) BIOGRAPHIC NOTE: SYMBOLIC OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIM AND HIS PREDECESSOR, JOHN BRUTON, AHERN TOLD ME THE PAINTING OF JOHN REDMOND OVER THE FIREPLACE IN THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE IS LIKELY TO COME DOWN SOON. AHERN FAVORS CHARLES PARNELL INSTEAD. HOWEVER, HIS REAL "HERO" IS SEAN LAMASS, TAOISEACH FROM 1959 TO 1966, WHO LAID THE GROUNDWORK, IN AHERN'S VIEW, FOR IRELAND'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MODERNIZATION. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1720
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0310
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0506
SUBJ: DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER MARY HARNEY'S VIEWS ON
-- NORTHERN IRELAND

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015-0157-M [2.01]
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 003320

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 1295B: DECL: 07/03/07
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, KWMN, EI
SUBJECT: DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER MARY HARNEY'S VIEWS ON
-- NORTHERN IRELAND

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

1. ~~(C)~~ DURING AN INTRODUCTORY CALL TODAY, TANAISTE (DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER) MARY HARNEY SHARED WITH ME HER VIEWS ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. HARNEY SAID THAT ALTHOUGH SHE WILL SIT ON THE CABINET SUB-COMMITTEE ON NORTHERN IRELAND, SHE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE STORMONT TALKS. INSTEAD, JUNIOR MINISTER LIZ O'DONNELL, WHO IS MINISTER OF STATE AT THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WITH THE PORTFOLIO OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS, WILL ASSIST TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN AND FOREIGN MINISTER RAY BURKE AT THE TALKS. HARNEY STRESSED THAT THE TRAVEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEMANDS OF HER NEW MINISTERIAL POSITION WERE TOO HEAVY TO ALLOW HER TO DEVOTE THE NECESSARY ATTENTION TO THE PEACE PROCESS. (SEPTEL REPORTS ON ISSUES DISCUSSED IN HARNEY'S CAPACITY AS MINISTER OF ENTERPRISE, EMPLOYMENT AND TRADE).

RIGHT PEOPLE IN PLACE FOR A SETTLEMENT
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2. ~~(C)~~ ACCORDING TO HARNEY, "IF YOU SOLVE THE PARADES ISSUE, YOU SOLVE NORTHERN IRELAND," AS IT IS SYMPTOMATIC OF THE LARGER PROBLEM. SHE STRESSED THAT FOR SUCH A SMALL POPULATION (1.5 MILLION) THE NUMBER OF PARADES IS INCREDIBLE AND THIS SHOULD HAVE BEEN ADDRESSED SIX MONTHS AGO. SHE SAID SHE WAS REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC FOR A CEASEFIRE "IF WE CAN GET THROUGH THIS WEEKEND."

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3. (C) BLAMING THE LACK OF RESOLUTION OF THE PARADES ISSUE ON THE FORMER "WEAK" BRITISH GOVERNMENT, HARNEY SAID "THE RIGHT PEOPLE ARE IN PLACE" NOW TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. SHE IS PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED WITH NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MOWLAM, WHO SHE BELIEVES HAS A TERRIFIC POPULAR APPEAL. IN ADDITION TO BEING VERY MOTIVATED EO 13526 1.4c SHE WILL GO OVER THE HEADS OF POLITICIANS TO GET ACTION, HARNEY CLAIMED. AS FAR AS THE REPUBLIC IS CONCERNED, A FIANNA FAIL-LED IRISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE BETTER ABLE TO DELIVER A FAIR SOLUTION, EVEN AS FAR AS THE UNIONISTS ARE CONCERNED, SHE SAID.

4. (C) I ASKED HARNEY FOR HER VIEW ON DAVID TRIMBLE, EO 13526 1.4c ALTHOUGH TRIMBLE IS VERY ABLE, HARNEY NOTED THAT HE OFTEN CHANGES DIRECTION. SHE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE IF THIS WAS HIS OWN PERSONALITY OR IF THE PEOPLE BEHIND HIM WERE PULLING HIM BACK. HARNEY AGREED THAT TRIMBLE MAY NOT HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF CONFIDENCE, BECAUSE NONE OF THE MP'S IN HIS PARTY VOTED FOR HIM TO BECOME PARTY LEADER. SHE STRESSED THAT A LOT DEPENDS ON TRIMBLE AND JOHN HUME TO GET THE CENTER INTO THE TALKS IN ORDER TO FORGE AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL EVENTUALLY PULL IN THE EXTREMES. ACCORDING TO HARNEY, IF SINN FEIN SEES MOVEMENT, THEY WILL COME IN. NOTING THAT SINN FEIN "ENJOYED POLITICALLY" ITS HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS, HARNEY STRESSED THAT U.S. INFLUENCE IS CRUCIAL TO HELPING SINN FEIN DELIVER.

COMMENT
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5. DESPITE HER PARTY'S (THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS) DISDAIN FOR SINN FEIN, IT IS CLEAR FROM HARNEY'S REMARKS THAT SHE ANTICIPATES BEING ABLE TO SUPPORT TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN'S SOMEWHAT MORE NATIONALISTIC APPROACH ON NORTHERN IRELAND (SEE SEPTEL ON MY MEETING WITH AHERN). SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 3320
TOR: 970703130906 M2833625
DIST:
SIT: PASSDOWN PETERS SUM2
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PRT: SIT{C2}

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.02)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7572
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0616
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0762
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST REACTION TO CEASE-FIRE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 008561

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/21/02
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST REACTION TO CEASE-FIRE

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: KATHLEEN STEPHENS, BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL. REASON: 1.5(B).

2. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP) LEADERS DO NOT BELIEVE THE IRA CEASE-FIRE WILL LAST INDEFINITELY IN THE ABSENCE OF POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO GET SINN FEIN INTO TALKS. THEY HOPE THE U.S. WILL SUPPORT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS. THE PUP WILL TRY TO STAY AT THE STORMONT TALKS TABLE ONCE SINN FEIN ENTERS AN WILL ENCOURAGE DAVID TRIMBLE TO DO THE SAME. BUT THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THE RISK OF BEING ISOLATED IF ALL OTHER UNIONIST PARTIES WALK OUT. GARY MCMICHAEL'S UDP, WITH ITS LINKS TO THE DUP, WILL FIND IT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO STAY IN THE TALKS IF THE "MAINSTREAM" UNIONISTS ARE OUT. THE PUP LOYALISTS ARE DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF ELEMENTS OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE WHICH THEY ALLEGE ARE ENCOURAGING THE RENEGADE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE (LVF). END SUMMARY.

3. ~~(C)~~ CONSUL GENERAL SPOKE AT LENGTH WITH DAVID ERVINE AND BILLY HUTCHINSON OF THE PUP AT A JULY 20 CITY HALL RECEPTION IN HONOR OF A VISITING U.S. NAVAL VESSEL. THE PUP HAS CLOSE TIES TO THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARY ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF).

THE CEASE-FIRE
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4. ~~(C)~~ WELCOMING THE IRA CEASE-FIRE, HUTCHINSON TOLD CONSUL GENERAL "IT WON'T LAST, BUT WE NEED TO MAKE THE MOST OF IT." HOWEVER, HUTCHINSON RECALLED THAT AT THE TIME OF THE 1994 CEASE-FIRE, MAINSTREAM UNIONISTS WERE SAYING THE IRA CEASE-FIRE WOULD ONLY LAST THREE MONTHS. IT IS POINTLESS TO TALK

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ABOUT THE LENGTH OF THE NEW CEASE-FIRE, HUTCHINSON SAID. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS. EVENTUALLY THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT WOULD FACE A SPLIT BETWEEN THOSE IN SINN FEIN WHO ARE COMMITTED TO A PEACE STRATEGY AND THOSE WHO WOULD NOT BE SATISFIED WITH WHAT THE UNARMED STRATEGY WAS ACHIEVING. THIS IS WHAT HAD ALREADY HAPPENED IN LOYALISM WITH THE FORMATION OF THE LVF. HUTCHINSON SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS AND THE REST OF SINN FEIN ARE COMMITTED TO PURSUING THE PEACE STRATEGY; THE OPPOSITION WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO COME FROM BRIAN KENNAN AND OTHER SENIOR IRA FIGURES IN THE SOUTH.

5. (C) HUTCHINSON EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.S. HAD AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY; HE URGED THAT THE U.S. "DO ALL IT CAN TO SUPPORT THEM." IT WOULD BE BETTER IF THE SPLIT CAME LATER RATHER THAN SOONER, AFTER SINN FEIN WAS IN TALKS AND COULD TAKE THE BULK OF REPUBLICAN SUPPORT WITH THEM.

6. (C) BOTH HUTCHINSON AND ERVINE TOLD CONSUL GENERAL THEY WILL DO ALL THEY CAN TO STAY IN THE TALKS AT STORMONT. THEY ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WOULD BE UNDER INTENSE PRESSURE IF THE UUP WALKS OUT AND/OR ENGAGES IN A SUSTAINED BOYCOTT OF THE TALKS. ERVINE AND HUTCHINSON SAID THEY FELT MORE AND MORE UNIONISTS AGREED WITH THE "LOYALIST ANALYSIS" (THAT THE UNION WAS SAFE AND THEY SHOULD BE IN TALKS WITH SINN FEIN), BUT THEY COULD NOT PREDICT WHAT TRIMBLE WAS LIKELY TO DO.

THE LVF
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7. (C) ERVINE AND HUTCHINSON EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION WITH BRITISH AUTHORITIES ATTITUDE TOWARD THE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE (LVF). THEY EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT ELEMENTS OF "BRITISH INTELLIGENCE" HAD NURTURED THE FORMATION OF THE LVF. ASKED TO EXPLAIN WHY, ERVINE SAID THERE WAS A FUNDAMENTAL ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF SOME THAT THERE HAD TO BE A GROUP TO "KEEP THE TAIGS DOWN," "MAKE THE LOYALISTS LOOK BAD," AND PROVOKE REPUBLICAN REACTION. HUTCHINSON EXPRESSED CONTEMPT FOR THOSE WHO HAD JOINED THE LVF: "THEY ARE THE DREGS, NO ONE CAPABLE OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS, NO ONE WE WOULD WANT". WHY HAD THE POLICE NOT CRACKED DOWN ON THE LVF, HUTCHINSON ASKED. ERVINE TOLD CONSUL GENERAL THE SAME GUN WHICH HAD KILLED CATHOLIC TAXI DRIVER MICHAEL MCGOLDRICK LAST SUMMER HAD BEEN USED TO KILL THE 18-YEAR OLD CATHOLIC TEENAGER MURDERED LAST WEEK FOR HAVING A PROTESTANT BOYFRIEND. THE LATTER MURDER, LIKE THE FORMER, WAS CLEARLY THE WORK OF THE LVF, EVEN THOUGH THE LVF HAD TRIED TO DISCLAIM THE TEENAGER'S MURDER BECAUSE OF THE OUTRAGE IT PROVOKED.

THE UDP
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8. (C) THE OTHER SMALL LOYALIST PARTY, THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP), IS LIKELY TO FIND IT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAN DOES THE PUP TO STAY IN THE TALKS IF THE OTHER UNIONIST PARTIES WALK OUT. A SOURCE AT THE STORMONT TALKS HAS TOLD US UDP LEADER GARY MCMICHAEL WAS VERY NERVOUS AND DISTURBED LAST

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/21/02

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TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST REACTION TO CEASE-FIRE

WEEK WHEN THE DUP (WITH WHICH THE UDP HAS CLOSE HISTORICAL TIES) AND THE OTHER UNIONISTS LEFT LAST WEEK'S PLENARY SESSION. TO DATE MCMICHAEL HAS BEEN FAR QUIETER -- AND LESS WELCOMING -- IN REACTING TO THE NEW IRA CEASE-FIRE THAN THE PUP.

COMMENT
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9. ~~(C)~~ THE LOYALISTS -- PARTICULARLY ERVINE AND HUTCHINSON -- WILL CONTINUE TO BE KEY TO GETTING INCLUSIVE TALKS GOING AT STORMONT WITHOUT A CRIPPLING LOYALIST OR UNIONIST BACKLASH. BOTH MEN HAVE GROWN POLITICALLY OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, AND ARE AMONG THE FEW WHO TRULY HAVE TAKEN REPEATED RISKS FOR PEACE. THE NEXT PHASE OF THE PROCESS WILL BE ESPECIALLY RISKY AND DANGEROUS FOR THEM. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR THEM.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

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INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0568
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0346
SUBJ: DUBLIN EYES CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR STORMONT TALKS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.03)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 003997

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - TEXT

NSC FOR PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/01/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DUBLIN EYES CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR STORMONT TALKS

REF: (A) LONDON 9058 (B) LONDON 8936 (C) DUBLIN 3772

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE LAWRENCE E. BUTLER. REASON 1.5 (B)

1. (~~C~~) IN A MEETING WITH US JULY 31, DAVID COONEY, A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE GOI TEAM AT THE STORMONT TALKS, MADE CLEAR THERE WILL BE NO AUGUST VACATION BREAK FOR HIM AND HIS COLLEAGUES. FOLLOWING THE JULY 29 MEETING IN DUBLIN BETWEEN MO MOWLAM AND FM RAY BURKE, OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO REALIZE THE GOAL OF GETTING SUBSTANTIVE ALL-PARTY TALKS UNDERWAY AT STORMONT ON SEPTEMBER 15. THE GOI CLEARLY SHARES MO MOWLAM'S COMMITMENT (REF B) TO TRYING TO MAKE THE EXISTING TALKS STRUCTURE --"PLAN A" -- WORK.

2. (~~C~~) HOWEVER, COONEY INDICATED, SERIOUS EFFORT WILL ALSO GO INTO CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR "PLAN B" -- WHAT TO DO IF DAVID TRIMBLE CHOOSES NOT TO TAKE PART IN THE SUBSTANTIVE TALKS ABSENT A COMMITMENT FROM THE GOVERNMENTS THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL TAKE PLACE DURING THE TALKS. THE GOI BELIEVES TRIMBLE IS LIKELY TO BE AT THE PLENARY ON SEPTEMBER 9 -- IT IS SEPTEMBER 15 THEY ARE UNSURE ABOUT. PLAN B MIGHT INVOLVE INFORMAL TALKS OR A NEW PROXIMITY FORMAT (A "SLOW MOTION DAYTON"). THE GOI DOES NOT WANT TO ABANDON THE CURRENT PROCESS, BUT IS WILLING TO GO OUTSIDE THAT PROCESS IF NECESSARY TO JUMP START IT. THE AIM IS TO DO THE LEAST POSSIBLE DAMAGE TO THE CURRENT PROCESS, WHILE MAINTAINING ITS CREDIBILITY BY BREAKING THE LOGJAM.

3. (~~C~~) ALTHOUGH COONEY EXPRESSED SOME GROUNDS FOR

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OPTIMISM, ALONG THE LINES CITED BY JEFFREY DONALDSON (REF A), HE WAS "NOT CONVINCED" THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO GET THE UNIONISTS INTO TALKS WITHOUT "SOME KIND OF COMMITMENT" ON DECOMMISSIONING. THE GOI IS WILLING TO CONSIDER SUCH A COMMITMENT, AS LONG AS IT WOULD NOT "BOOBY-TRAP" THE TALKS BY SETTING UP UNDELIVERABLE CONDITIONS FOR PROGRESS IN POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THE GOI REMAINS PUZZLED AS TO TRIMBLE'S BOTTOM LINE, AND IS RELUCTANT TO OFFER CONCESSIONS THAT HE MIGHT MERELY POCKET, USING "SALAMI TACTICS" HE HAS EMPLOYED IN THE PAST, COONEY SAID.

4. (C) DUBLIN AND LONDON WILL FOCUS THEIR EFFORTS ON LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR A VERIFICATION COMMISSION (VC) TO HANDLE DECOMMISSIONING. COONEY WAS CONSCIOUS OF UNIONIST CHARGES THAT DUBLIN IS "NOT SERIOUS" ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING, AND SAID THE IRISH WANT TO TRY TO DISPEL DOUBTS TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. GOI AND HMG OFFICIALS WILL WORK ON AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT TO SET UP THE VC, WHICH COULD BE SIGNED O/A SEPTEMBER 15. CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO APPROACHING THE U.S. AND FINLAND FOR EXPERTS WHO COULD SIT ON THE COMMISSION (REF C). HOWEVER, THE GOI DOES NOT EXPECT THE COMMISSION TO FORMALLY BE ESTABLISHED UNTIL POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS ARE ACTUALLY UNDERWAY.

5. (C) COONEY LABELLED THIS THE BEST OPPORTUNITY SINCE THE CREATION OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO GET A SETTLEMENT PROCESS OFF THE GROUND. BUT UNIONIST FEARS COULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED, HE EMPHASIZED. RECENT ELECTORAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS ARE DEEPLY WORRYING TO THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. STILL, DUBLIN SEES LIMITS TO WHAT IT CAN DO TO OFFER REASSURANCE, GIVEN WHAT COONEY DESCRIBED AS TRIMBLE'S EVASIVE BOTTOM LINE. COONEY NOTED THAT TRIMBLE HAS TURNED DOWN A RECENT OFFER BY BERTIE AHERN TO MEET WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN DUBLIN. BUTLER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3997

TOR: 970811051236 M2883688

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SIT: NSC

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2015-0157-M [2.04]
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1922
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0596
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0355
SUBJ: CODEL SMITH MEETINGS IN DUBLIN ON AUGUST 6

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 004112

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/07/07
TAGS3: PREL, OREP (SMITH, CHRISTOPHER), PHUM, EAID, UK, EI
SUBJECT: CODEL SMITH MEETINGS IN DUBLIN ON AUGUST 6

REFS: LONDON 9298, LONDON 9310, BELFAST 277, LONDON 9363

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE LAWRENCE E. BUTLER. REASON 1.5 (B)

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ IN MEETINGS WITH CODEL SMITH IN DUBLIN, IRISH DFA OFFICIALS PAINTED A RELATIVELY UPBEAT PICTURE REGARDING THE HANDLING OF INDIVIDUAL CASES OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CATHOLICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, BUT VOICED ONGOING CONCERN ABOUT INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION AND SOCIETY AT LARGE. PRESSED BY REP. SMITH ON WHETHER THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT SHOULD BE CODIFIED IN U.S. LAW, IRISH OFFICIALS DECLINED TO ANSWER CATEGORICALLY, WITH ONE SUGGESTING THAT BRINGING THIS UP NOW WAS LIKE "WAVING A RED RAG TO A BULL" IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL CONTEXT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE IRISH HOPE POLICING AND PRISON REFORMS WILL PROCEED MORE QUICKLY UNDER THE NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN CONTRAST TO THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT'S "VINDICTIVE" APPROACH. IRELAND'S POLICE COMMISSIONER CALLED THE RUC A PROFESSIONAL FORCE WITH WHICH THE IRISH AUTHORITIES COOPERATE FULLY.

END SUMMARY
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2. ~~(C)~~ FOLLOWING TWO DAYS OF MEETINGS IN BELFAST (REFTELS), CONGRESSMAN CHRISTOPHER SMITH (R-NEW JERSEY), ACCOMPANIED BY CHIEF OF STAFF MARY NOONAN, MET WITH IR9RH OFFICIALS IN DUBLIN ON AUGUST 6. THE MEETINGS INCLUDED BRIEFINGS BY IRISH DFA OFFICIALS ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY RELATED ASPECTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY, A LUNCH WITH JUSTICE MINISTER JOHN O'DONOGHUE AND AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO WASHINGTON SEAN O'HUIGINN, AND A MEETING WITH GARDA (POLICE) COMMISSIONER PATRICK BYRNE.

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DFA POLITICAL OVERVIEW
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3. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION COUNSELLOR DAVID COONEY RECAPPED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS, CONCLUDING THAT DAVID TRIMBLE APPEARS WILLING TO ALLOW A DEBATE ON WHETHER THE UUP SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN TALKS WITH SINN FEIN. COONEY REITERATED DUBLIN'S OPPOSITION TO PROVIDING GUARANTEES REGARDING DECOMMISSIONING OF PARAMILITARY WEAPONS IN ADVANCE OF A SETTLEMENT. "SINN FEIN WILL NOT REALIZE THEIR ULTIMATE GOALS FROM THESE NEGOTIATIONS," COONEY STATED FLATLY; IT WOULD THEREFORE BE BETTER FOR THE SINN FEIN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO EXPEND ITS CREDIBILITY WITH HARDLINERS IN "THE MILITARY (IRA) ON SELLING AN AGREEMENT THAT FALLS SHORT OF A UNITED IRELAND, RATHER THAN ON GETTING WEAPONS TURNED IN BEFORE A SETTLEMENT. DUBLIN REMAINS WILLING TO PURSUE ALTERNATIVE FORMATS FOR THE TALKS IF TRIMBLE CHOOSES TO STAY OUT, COONEY SAID.

4. (C) ASKED WHETHER MAY 1998 REPRESENTED A DEADLINE FOR THE TALKS, COONEY REPLIED THAT IT WAS MORE OF A TARGET DATE, AND CERTAINLY COULD BE EXTENDED IF AGREEMENT WAS NEAR. ASKED WHETHER AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WAS A POSSIBILITY, COONEY SAID THIS WAS UNLIKELY, GIVEN THAT THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WERE COMMITTED TO A SETTLEMENT THAT REFLECTED CONSENSUS ON THE MAJOR CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS. DESCRIBING THE GOI'S VISION OF A SETTLEMENT, HE SAID IT MUST BE AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH ENABLES ALL RESIDENTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO FEEL A SENSE OF BELONGING OR AFFILIATION, REGARDLESS OF NATIONALITY. THIS WOULD REQUIRE THAT DIVISIVE SYMBOLS AND INEQUALITY BE REMOVED, SO THAT "ANY EVENTUAL CHANGE" IN SOVEREIGNTY WOULD HAVE MINIMAL IMPACT ON PEOPLE'S DAILY LIVES.

NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC COOPERATION/EMPLOYMENT EQUALITY
/----------

5. (C) ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION FIRST SECRETARY RAY BASSETT PRAISED PROGRESS ON EMPLOYMENT EQUALITY ISSUES IN NORTHERN IRELAND SINCE THE 1970'S, NOTING THAT THE GOI AGREES WITH "99 PERCENT" OF A RECENT REPORT BY
THE STANDING ADVISORY
COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS (SACHR) ON THIS SUBJECT. HOWEVER, WHILE ADEQUATE MECHANISMS ARE IN PLACE TO DEAL WITH INDIVIDUAL CASES OF DISCRIMINATION, THE GOI BELIEVES MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE TO ADDRESS DEEP-ROOTED CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION. THE GOI FAVORS A BILL OF RIGHTS, AND DOES NOT SHARE HMG'S VIEW THAT THE EUROPEAN HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTION BY ITSELF PROVIDES ENOUGH PROTECTION AGAINST INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION.

6. (C) BASSETT POINTED TO A STEADY INCREASE IN NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC COOPERATION, SAYING THAT MERCHANDISE TRADE NOW AMOUNTS TO AT LEAST 1.5 BILLION IRISH POUNDS (ABOUT 2.4 BILLION DOLLARS). INVESTMENT HAS "EXPLODED," WITH THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND NOW THE SECOND LARGEST NON-UK INVESTOR IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AFTER THE U.S.

7. (C) CONGRESSMAN SMITH ASKED IF THE GOI SAW A BILL OF RIGHTS AS BEING SIMPLY A LIST OF PRINCIPLES, OR WOULD LEGISLATION ENFORCE THOSE PRINCIPLES. BASSETT RESPONDED THAT THE PARTIES IN THE STORMONT TALKS WOULD HAVE TO DEFINE THE BILL OF RIGHTS. HE CLAIMED THAT LONDON SEES

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"DANGERS" FOR THE UK AS A WHOLE IN A NORTHERN IRELAND BILL OF RIGHTS. SACHR COULD BE ASSIGNED AN OPERATIONAL ROLE IN HANDLING HUMAN RIGHTS CASES AND PROVIDING EDUCATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES.

8. ~~(C)~~ IN AN EXCHANGE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND CIVIL SERVICE, BASSETT DESCRIBED ACCESS TO JOBS AS FAIR, BUT SAID SENIOR POSITIONS ARE MOSTLY HELD BY PROTESTANTS. BASSETT PRAISED MO MOWLAM FOR SAYING SHE WOULD OPEN UP SENIOR POSITIONS TO WIDER COMPETITION. HE SAID ACCESS TO EDUCATION IS NOT EQUAL, AND CLAIMED THAT CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE NORTH ARE UNDERFUNDED BECAUSE SOME GRANTS ARE BASED ON THE PHYSICAL SIZE (SQUARE FOOTAGE) OF THE SCHOOL RATHER THAN JUST THE STUDENT POPULATION.

9. ~~(C)~~ COONEY POINTED OUT THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE COMMITTED IN THE JOINT FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT TO DEVELOP A BILL OF RIGHTS "NORTH AND SOUTH." HE INDICATED THE GOI VIEWS THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AS MERELY A FIRST STEP AND EXPECTS HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO GO WELL BEYOND "MINIMUM STANDARDS" SET FOR MINORITIES UNDER OSCE.

10. ~~(C)~~ FIRST SECRETARY DYMPNA HAYES BROUGHT UP NORTHERN IRELAND'S 150 "QUANGO'S" (QUASI AUTONOMOUS NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS") AS AN INSTITUTION WHOSE COMPOSITION REMAINS "SKEWED" IN FAVOR OF PROTESTANTS, ALTHOUGH SHE ANTICIPATED MORE BALANCED REPRESENTATION IN THE FUTURE. WHILE THE GOI IS ENTITLED, UNDER THE 1985 ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT, TO NOMINATE 30 PERCENT OF QUANGO BOARD MEMBERS, ONLY ONE PERCENT OF THESE APPOINTEES HAVE BEEN DUBLIN NOMINEES, HAYES SAID. SHE ALSO OBSERVED THAT THE SOURCE OF NOMINATIONS WAS SUPPOSED TO REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL, AND COMPLAINED THAT DUBLIN NOMINEES WERE OFTEN LEAKED, PREJUDICING THEIR NOMINATIONS.

MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES
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11. ~~(C)~~ FOLLOWING A PRESENTATION ON THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND BY IFI JOINT DIRECTOR GENERAL TOM RUSSELL, CONGRESSMAN SMITH BROUGHT UP THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES, ASKING ABOUT THE IMPACT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S 1996 LETTER TO USAID ON THIS ISSUE. RUSSELL MADE CLEAR THAT ALL IFI GRANT RECIPIENTS ARE REQUIRED TO ADHERE TO THE CODE OF CONDUCT STIPULATED IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO CODIFY THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES IN U.S. LAW, RUSSELL SAID THAT IF FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND WAS WORKING REASONABLY WELL, STRICTER LEGISLATION WOULD NOT BE NEEDED. THE IFI VIEW WAS THAT IT WAS BEST NOT TO IMPOSE TOO MANY CONDITIONS ON GRANT RECIPIENTS, BUT THE IFI WOULD DEFER TO WHATEVER THE U.S. GOVERNMENT DECIDED.

12. ~~(C)~~ CRESSMAN SMITH ASKED WHETHER IMPOSING SANCTIONS TO BACK UP THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES WOULD MAKE MATTERS WORSE, AS SOME BELIEVED (HE CITED SDLP'S ALEX ATWOOD). BASSETT SAID THE GOI HAD NO PROBLEM WITH MACBRIDE "AS PRINCIPLES." AMERICA'S INTE
REST IN PROMOTING FAIR
EMPLOYMENT HAD BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE. BUT MACBRIDE WAS ASSOCIATED WITH ONE SIDE, AND BRINGING IT UP WAS "LIKE WAVING A RED RAG TO A BULL" TO THE OTHER. BASSETT ALSO QUOTED SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME AS SAYING THAT ADDING "ANOTHER LAYER" OF REQUIREMENTS COULD DETER INVESTMENT.

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13. (C) SMITH PRESSED FOR GUIDANCE ON HOW HIS COMMITTEE SHOULD HANDLE THIS MATTER AS IT MARKED UP RELEVANT LEGISLATION. RUSSELL SAID MACBRIDE REMAINED A "USEFUL ASPIRATIONAL TARGET," BUT IF IT WAS MADE TOO "SPECIFIC," IT COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS. HE NOTED THAT FAIR EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION IS NOW IN PLACE. BASSETT SAID THAT MACBRIDE HAD BEEN ESPECIALLY HELPFUL IN THE 1980'S.

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION/PRISONERS
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14. (C) FIRST SECRETARY BREANDAN O CAOLLAI TOLD THE CODEL THE GOI IS PRESSING LONDON FOR CHANGES THAT WOULD MAKE THE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION LESS REPUGNANT TO THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. DUBLIN BELIEVES AUDIO RECORDING SHOULD ACCOMPANY VIDEOTAPING OF INTERROGATIONS. THE GOI UNDERSTANDS SOME 86 PERCENT OF THOSE INTERROGATED UNDER EMERGENCY LEGISLATION ARE NEVER CHARGED, SUGGESTING THE SEVEN DAY INTERROGATION PERIOD IS USED PRINCIPALLY FOR INFORMATION GATHERING BY THE POLICE. THE GOI ALSO HAS CONCERNS ABOUT THE REGIME IN SPECIAL SECURE UNITS (WHICH IT CONSIDERS INHUMANE). O CAOLLAI STRESSED THE EMOTIONAL

IMPACT WHICH PRISONER RELEASES CAN HAVE ON THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN REPUBLICAN AREAS OF BELFAST.

15. (C) CONGRESSMAN SMITH ASKED FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF WHETHER RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE RONNIE FLANAGAN IS "REALLY A REFORMER." O CAOLLAI RESPONDED THAT THE CHIEF CONSTABLE SERVES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PREVAILING POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c [redacted] THIRD SECRETARY CIARA O'BRIEN, A SPECIALIST ON PRISONER ISSUES, SAID FLANAGAN HAD ADOPTED CERTAIN REFORM MECHANISMS, BUT INDICATED THAT POLICING ISSUES HAD TO BE PART OF A FINAL NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

16. (C) CONGRESSMAN SMITH ASKED FOR SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE DIRECTION SUBSEQUENT HEARINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND MIGHT TAKE. O'BRIEN RECOMMENDED A "BROAD-BRUSH" APPROACH, CITING CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES THAT MIGHT BE UNDERTAKEN IN PARALLEL WITH ALL-PARTY TALKS (SHE MENTIONED PRISONS, POLICING, AND PARADES).

GARDA COMMISSIONER
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17. (C) REP. SMITH PURSUED THE ISSUE OF RONNIE FLANAGAN'S CREDENTIALS AS A REFORMER WITH PATRICK BYRNE, RELAND'S GARDA COMMISSIONER. BYRNE DECLINEDTO COMMENT, CITING THE CLOSE COOPERATION THAT XISTS BETWEEN THE GARDA AND THE RUC. HE CALLE THE RUC A PROFESSIONAL FORCE DEALING WITH A DIFICULT SITUATION CREATED BY TERRORISTS. HE NOTED THAT, AT LEAST IN THE REPUBLIC, MANY DETAINEE REFUSE TO HAVE THEIR INTERROGATIONS RECORDED.

18. (C) IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION FROM THE COGRESSMAN, BYRNE SAID COOPERATION BETWEEN IRISHAND U.S. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES WAS GOOD, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE A LEGAL ATTACHE OFFICE IN DUBLIN SO THIS COOPERATION COULD BE INTENSIFIED. HE THOUGHT THE AMOUNT OF MONEY COMING FROM THE U.S. IN SUPPORT OF THE IRA WAS RELATIVELY SMALL.

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MINISTER OF JUSTICE
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19. (C) AT HIS LUNCH WITH MINISTER OF JUSTICE JOHN O'DONOGHUE AND DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN (WHO TAKES OVER AS IRISH AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON LATE THIS MONTH), REP. SMITH BRIEFED THE IRISH ON CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CONGRESS, INCLUDING ON LEGISLATION RELATING TO ABORTION AND CRIME.

20. (C) ON THE QUESTION OF SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME'S CANDIDACY FOR THE IRISH PRESIDENCY, O'DONOGHUE SAID HUME WOULD RECEIVE BROAD SUPPORT IN THE REPUBLIC. BOTH O'DONOGHUE AND O'HUIGINN CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT HUME MIGHT FIND THE PRESIDENCY'S CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS ON POLICY INPUT TO BE TOO RESTRICTIVE. THEY ALSO EXPRES
SED
CONCERN THAT HUME'S DEPARTURE FROM DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS COULD HAVE A DETRIMENTAL IMPACT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS THIS FALL.

21. (U) CODEL SMITH DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE. BUTLER

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SUBJ: MARCHES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 009576

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/11/02
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PGOV, PINS, UK, EI
SUBJECT: MARCHES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: LONDON 9485

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: KATHLEEN STEPHENS, BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL. REASON: 1.5(B)

2. (C) SUMMARY: FOLLOWING LAST MONTH'S SUDDEN BUT WELCOME DECISION BY THE ORANGE ORDER TO CANCEL FOUR CONTENTIOUS JULY 12 PARADES, THE JULY 20 IRA CEASE-FIRE, AND THE RELATIVELY TROUBLE-FREE AUGUST 9 APPRENTICE BOYS PARADES (REFTEL), THE WORST OF THIS YEAR'S MARCHING SEASON IS BEHIND US. BUT THE PARADES ISSUE REMAINS CONTENTIOUS, AND THE COMPROMISES THAT STAVED OFF DISASTER THIS SUMMER DID NOT SOLVE THE FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT AT THE HEART OF THE MARCHING ISSUE. AS SECRETARY OF STATE MO MOWLAM HAS NOTED, TWO LEGITIMATE SETS OF RIGHTS MUST BE BALANCED IN DEALING WITH MARCHES, AND IN THIS AND OTHER ASPECTS MARCHES ARE A SYMBOL OF THE UNDERLYING CONFLICT WHICH DEFINES NORTHERN IRELAND.

3. (U) THIS MESSAGE WAS DRAFTED BY A LAW STUDENT WHO INTERNED AT CONGEN BELFAST THROUGH THE SUMMER OF 1997, AND IS BASED ON THAT INTERN'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE MARCHES AND CONVERSATIONS WITH ALL SIDES IN THE MARCHING CONTROVERSY. IT AIMS TO PROVIDE SOME BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT FOR THE PARADES PHENOMENON. END SUMMARY.

BACKGROUND
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4. (U) THE MAIN MARCHES IN NORTHERN IRELAND OCCUR ON THE FIRST SUNDAY IN JULY, ON JULY TWELFTH AND ON OR ABOUT AUGUST TWELFTH. THE MAIN PARADING GROUPS ARE THREE PROTESTANT CLUBS: THE LOYAL ORANGE ORDERS, THE APPRENTICE BOYS OF DERRY, AND THE

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ROYAL BLACK PRECEPTORY. NATIONALIST GROUPS ALSO MARCH BUT ACCOUNT FOR ONLY ABOUT 300 OF OVER 3,000 PARADES ANNUALLY. IN RECENT YEARS, THE MOST CONTENTIOUS PARADES HAVE BEEN THOSE HELD ON OR PLANNED FOR THE LOWER ORMEAU ROAD IN SOUTH BELFAST, THE GARVAGHY ROAD IN PORTADOWN, LONDONDERRY, AND THE SMALL RURAL TOWNS OF DUNLOY, BELLAGHY, AND NEWTOWNBUTLER.

5. (C) RIOTING AND STREET VIOLENCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE PARADES HAVE INCREASED IN RECENT YEARS. WHERE CONTROVERSIAL PARADES HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO PROCEED, THE RUC HAS REMOVED RESIDENTS FROM THE STREET AND CORDONED OFF BORDERING AREAS WITH LANDROVERS. WHERE PARADES HAVE BEEN BANNED OR REROUTED, THE RUC HAS FORMED A WALL BLOCKING ACCESS TO THE CONTESTED ROUTE. THE COMMUNITY WHICH IS UNHAPPY WITH THE RUC DECISION IN CONNECTION WITH THE PARADE WILL OFTEN ACCUSE THE RUC OF OPPRESSIVENESS AND ATTACK THE POLICE WITH ROCKS, VERBAL ABUSE, AND PETROL BOMBS. THESE SITUATIONS HAVE AT TIMES ESCALATED INTO RIOTS WHERE BATONS AND PLASTIC BULLETS ARE USED.

THE NATIONALIST PERSPECTIVE
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6. (C) ONLY A HANDFUL OF THE SEVERAL THOUSAND PROTESTANT PARADES EACH YEAR ARE CONTENTIOUS, USUALLY BECAUSE THEY PASS THROUGH NATIONALIST AREAS. CATHOLIC RESIDENTS BELIEVE THAT PARADES ARE "TRIUMPHALIST," EXPRESSING THE DOMINANT PLACE PROTESTANTS ENJOY IN GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY. WHEN OUTSIDE OBSERVERS ASK WHY THE RESIDENTS DO NOT JUST STAY IN THEIR HOMES AND IGNORE THE MARCHES, A COMMON NATIONALIST RESPONSE IS THAT THE MINORITY CATHOLIC COMMUNITY LACKS ENOUGH CONFIDENCE IN ITS POSITION TO IGNORE A DISPLAY WHICH IT INTERPRETS AS A SIGN THAT CATHOLICS ARE SECOND CLASS CITIZENS.

7. (C) NATIONALIST RESIDENTS POINT TO SPECIFIC EVENTS WHERE MARCHERS HAVE BEEN ANTAGONISTIC OR OFFENSIVE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN AN OFT-CITED INCIDENT WHICH OCCURRED IN 1992, ORANGE ORDER MARCHERS ON THE LOWER ORMEAU ROAD ALLEGEDLY TAUNTED NATIONALIST RESIDENTS AS THEY PASSED A BOOKIE SHOP WHERE FIVE CATHOLICS HAD BEEN KILLED EARLIER THAT YEAR. THE INCIDENT IS NOW PART OF THE RESIDENTS' COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND IS CITED AS A REASON WHY MARCHES CANNOT BE ALLOWED THROUGH THE AREA AGAIN.

8. (C) SOME RESIDENTS SAY THEY DO NOT MIND THE MARCHERS BUT OBJECT TO THE BANDS AND ROWDY ENTOURAGE WHICH ACCOMPANY A PARADE. SOME BANDS HAVE STOPPED IN FRONT OF CATHOLIC CHURCHES, BANGING THEIR DRUMS AND SINGING PROVOCATIVE SONGS. IN RECENT YEARS, THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THESE "BLOOD AND THUNDER BANDS," OR "KICK THE POPE BANDS" FROM SCOTLAND, AS OPPOSED TO LESS OBJECTIONABLE FLUTE AND ACCORDION BANDS. SOME OF THESE BANDS ARE DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES.

THE PROTESTANT PERSPECTIVE
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9. (C) MARCHERS ARGUE THAT PARADING IS A TRADITIONAL EXPRESSION OF THEIR LOYALTY TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND TO GREAT BRITAIN. THEY SAY THAT PARADING IS AN ISSUE OF FREEDOM
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 009576

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

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SUBJECT: MARCHES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

OF EXPRESSION AND RELIGION, GUARANTEED IN THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE RIGHT TO MARCH, MOREOVER, HAS BECOME A SYMBOL FOR MANY PROTESTANTS OF THEIR RIGHT TO CONTINUE TO EXIST IN NORTHERN IRELAND. BY THIS STANDARD, COMPROMISE IS DEFEAT, AND A SIGN THAT, AS MANY PROTESTANTS FERVENTLY BELIEVE, THEIR COMMUNITY HAS MADE ALL THE CONCESSIONS OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS AND THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY IS IN THE ASCENDANCY. THEY BELIEVE THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT HAS CHOSEN AND MANIPULATED THE PARADES ISSUE TO FURTHER THEIR OBJECTIVE OF DRIVING OUT PROTESTANTS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND.

10. (U) THERE ARE ALSO SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL EXPLANATIONS FOR PARADING. HAVING MARCHED SOME ROUTES FOR OVER 200 YEARS, ORANGEMEN FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT THEIR TRADITIONAL PARADES AND BELIEVE ALL LAW-ABIDING BRITISH CITIZENS HAVE AN EQUAL RIGHT TO MARCH THE QUEEN'S HIGHWAY. MANY ROUTES ARE THE MAIN ROUTES TO PROTESTANT CHURCHES WHERE SERVICES ARE HELD ON THE TWELFTH OF JULY. ORANGEMEN ARGUE THAT SOME OF THESE AREAS WERE ONCE MIXED, UNTIL PROTESTANTS WERE INTIMIDATED OUT OF THE AREA BY BROKEN WINDOWS, GRAFFITI, AND VIOLENCE. THEY CLAIM THESE AREAS ARE BEING TURNED INTO CATHOLIC GHETTOS BY SINN FEIN/IRA, NO-GO AREAS FOR PROTESTANTS. THEY SEE PARADING AS A WAY OF KEEPING A FOOT IN THE DOOR OF THAT TERRITORY.

11. (U) ORANGE ORDERS DO NOT ALLOW CATHOLICS TO JOIN AS THEY ARE EXPLICITLY PROTESTANT ORGANIZATIONS. HOWEVER, ORANGE LEADERS INSIST THEIR ORDERS ARE NOT SECTARIAN OR AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLIC PEOPLE.

REPRESENTATIVE OF LARGER POLITICAL SITUATION
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12. (U) NORTHERN IRELAND IS OFTEN REFERRED TO AS HAVING A "DOUBLE MINORITY PROBLEM"; WHEREAS CATHOLICS ARE IN THE MINORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND (40-45 PERCENT), PROTESTANTS ARE A MINORITY ON THE ISLAND OF IRELAND. THE PROTESTANTS SEE THEIR CULTURE IN JEOPARDY AND THE NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT AS A FORCE WHICH WANTS TO DRIVE THEM OUT, ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY LOOK AT DECLINING PROTESTANT NUMBERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. AS TWO SELF-PERCEIVED MINORITIES, BOTH COMMUNITIES FEEL "UNDER SIEGE." THEY USE THE PARADES ISSUE TO TEST THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND ARE QUICK TO PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AS ABANDONED TO A HOSTILE MAJORITY.

13. (U) MANY LOYALISTS BLAME THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT OF 1985, WHICH GAVE DUBLIN AN EXPLICIT POLITICAL ROLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, FOR WEAKENING THEIR POSITION, BELIEVING THAT DUBLIN IS PRESSURING LONDON IN FAVOR OF THE NORTHERN CATHOLICS. WHEN THE IRISH PRIME MINISTER SAID IN THE LEAD-UP TO DRUMCREE THIS YEAR THAT HE HOPED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PERMIT ORANGEMEN TO MARCH DOWN THE GARVAGHY ROAD, ORANGE ATTITUDES HARDENED AT THIS PERCEIVED "INTERFERENCE" FROM DUBLIN.

14. (U) SOME ORANGEMEN ASSERT THAT BEFORE THE TROUBLES, OR EVEN BEFORE THE 1980S, PROTESTANT MARCHES WERE GENERALLY NON-CONTROVERSIAL. IN FACT, MARCHES HAVE BEEN A FLASHPOINT AT VARIOUS TIMES IN IRELAND'S HISTORY, AND IN THE RECENT PAST, MANY CATHOLICS USED TO LEAVE THE NORTH IN THE SUMMER TO AVOID THE PARADES. RIOTS HAVE BROKEN OUT THROUGHOUT HISTORY.

15. (U) THE SITUATION HAS GROWN WORSE SINCE THE EARLY '80S,

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HOWEVER. POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR THIS INCLUDE: (1) AN AWAKENING OF CATHOLICS IN AFFECTED AREAS TO STAND UP FOR THEMSELVES. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT SUCH GRASS ROOTS ACTIVISM HAS SURFACED AT INTERVALS THROUGHOUT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. (2) SINN FEIN AND THE IRA ARE USING THE PARADES ISSUE STRATEGICALLY TO GAIN SUPPORT BY STANDING AS PROTECTORS OF THEIR COMMUNITIES. (3) ORANGE ORDERS HAVE GROWN MORE MILITANT AND PARADES HAVE BEEN DOMINATED BY PARAMILITARY ELEMENTS WHICH FEEL INCREASINGLY THREATENED BY THE PEACE PROCESS.

16. (C) THE GOVERNMENT-ESTABLISHED NORTH COMMISSION CALLED FOR CHANGES IN PUBLIC ORDER (NI) ORDER 1987 WHICH SETS OUT THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON PARADES. CURRENTLY, THE RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE BASES HIS DECISION ON AN EVALUATION OF THE LESSER THREAT OF PUBLIC DISORDER, RISK TO LIFE, AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY. BECAUSE THE RUC IS ABOUT 93 PERCENT PROTESTANT, MANY CATHOLICS QUESTION THE FORCE'S IMPARTIALITY AND THEREFORE SUSPECT THE DECISION. HOWEVER THE POLICE DECIDE, THOUGH, THE SIDE WHICH DISAGREES WILL ASSERT IT IS PUNISHED FOR NOT HAVING THREATENED ENOUGH VIOLENCE.

WAYS FORWARD

DIALOGUE
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17. (C) NATIONALIST NEIGHBORHOODS HAVE FORMED RESIDENTS
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 009576

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

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GROUPS TO ORGANIZE RESISTANCE TO PARADES. THEIR STATED GOAL IS TO MEET WITH THE LOCAL PARADING ORGANIZATION, TO ACHIEVE "PARITY OF ESTEEM" AND "LOCAL CONSENT" TO PARADES. ORANGE ORDERS BELIEVE THE GROUPS ARE A THINLY-VEILED FRONT FOR SINN FEIN/IRA, AND GENERALLY REFUSE TO SPEAK TO THESE GROUPS. PROXIMITY TALKS HAVE YIELDED SOME SUCCESS. IF THE IRA CEASE-FIRE CONTINUES, AND IF MAINSTREAM UNIONIST PARTIES PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL TALKS RESUMING AT STORMONT IN SEPTEMBER, BY THE NEXT MARCHING SEASON THERE MAY BE LESS ORANGE ORDER RESISTANCE TO MEETINGS WITH THE RESIDENTS' GROUPS.

LOCAL ACCOMMODATION
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18. (C) SOME ORANGE ORDERS, HOPING TO IMPROVE THEIR PUBLIC IMAGE, HAVE DISALLOWED ALCOHOL, IMPLEMENTED CODES OF CONDUCT FOR MARCHERS, LIMITED THE PARADE TO LOCAL MEMBERS, AND OFFERED TO PLAY ONLY CERTAIN TYPES OF NON-OFFENSIVE MUSIC. SOME RESIDENTS GROUPS HAVE CANCELED PROTESTS AND AGREED TO LET SCALED DOWN PARADES PASS PEACEFULLY. THESE ACCOMMODATIONS SHOW THE MOST PROMISING WAY FORWARD, BUT DEPEND LARGELY ON THE LARGER POLITICAL CONTEXT.

NEW LEGISLATION
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19. (C) FOLLOWING THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE NORTH REPORT,

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THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO PASSING LEGISLATION LATER THIS YEAR GIVING FORMAL POWERS TO THE NEWLY APPOINTED PARADES COMMISSION. THIS BODY WOULD FACILITATE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN RESIDENTS AND MARCHERS, AND BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DECISION TO BAN OR ALLOW A PARADE. THE MAIN ADVANTAGE WILL BE TO MOVE THE DEBATE FROM ONE ABOUT PUBLIC ORDER TO ONE OF THE BALANCING OF RIGHTS. OPERATING THIS SUMMER IN A BEHIND-THE-SCENES OR FACT-FINDING CAPACITY, THE COMMISSION HAS HAD SOME SUCCESS NEGOTIATING IN NEWTOWNBUTLER AND IN LONDONDERRY, BUT IS STILL A LONG WAY FROM BEING ACCEPTED AS A NEUTRAL YET KNOWLEDGEABLE MEDIATING AND DECISION-MAKING BODY.

THE WIDER COMMUNITY
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20. (C) ONE ENCOURAGING CHANGE BETWEEN 1996 AND 1997 WAS THE SOMEWHAT GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF THE WIDER COMMUNITY IN THE PARADES ISSUE. NORTHERN IRELAND'S BUSINESS GROUPS, SECRETARY OF STATE MO MOWLAM, NEWSPAPERS REPRESENTING BOTH COMMUNITIES, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY EXERTED PRESSURE ON BOTH SIDES TO FIND AN ACCOMMODATION, WARNING OF THE DANGERS TO TOURISM, INVESTMENT AND CHILDREN'S FUTURES IF CHAOS ENSUED.

CHANGES IN THE ORANGE ORDER
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21. (C) THIS SUMMER, ONLY TWO DAYS BEFORE THE CONTENTIOUS JULY 12 MARCHING HOLIDAY, FOUR MAIN ORANGE HALLS VOLUNTARILY CANCELED THEIR PARADES. NORTHERN IRELAND BREATHED A COLLECTIVE SIGH OF RELIEF. ALTHOUGH NOT ALL ORANGEMEN WERE IN AGREEMENT ABOUT THE DECISION, THIS WELCOME MOVE SHOWED THAT THE ORANGE ORDER IS CAPABLE OF SEIZING THE MORAL HIGH GROUND. THE DECISION GAVE BOTH COMMUNITIES AND THE RUC SOME NEEDED "BREATHING SPACE," AND MOST LIKELY HASTENED THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN IRA CEASE-FIRE.

U.S. ROLE
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22. (C) U.S. PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND OUR BEHIND THE SCENES CONTACTS WITH ALL PARTIES PROBABLY HELPED THE 1997 MARCHING SEASON PASS OFF MORE PEACEFULLY THAN THE 1996 SEASON. OUR INCREASED DIALOGUE WITH MODERATES IN THE ORANGE ORDER WAS USEFUL. ORANGE MODERATES WERE PLEASED THEIR EFFORTS WERE RECOGNIZED IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT.

23. (C) POLITICIANS, ACTIVISTS, AND ACADEMICS TELL US U.S. FIRST AMENDMENT JURISPRUDENCE ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND MARCHING STIMULATES DEBATE ON THE MARCHING ISSUE. UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS LOOK TO CASES LIKE THE 1978 SKOKIE CASE (SMITH V. COLLINS) AS AN ALTERNATIVE WAY OF ANALYZING AND RESOLVING A PARADING CONFLICT. MEDIATORS ARE ALSO EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN HOW U.S. CITIES POLICE DIVIDED SOCIETIES, AND TELL US THEY HAVE LEARNED MUCH FROM OUR OFTEN DIFFERENT APPROACHES.

24. (C) WITH THE WORST OF THE 1997 MARCHING SEASON BEHIND US, AND A RESTORED IRA CEASE-FIRE HOLDING, THERE IS CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE PARADES ISSUE. BUT IF NO POLITICAL PROGRESS IS MADE BEFORE NEXT SUMMER, THE MARCHING SEASON AGAIN HAS THE POTENTIAL TO JEOPARDIZE THE WHOLE PEACE PROCESS. THE PARADES ISSUE CONTINUES TO ACT AS AN EXPRESSION OF HISTORIC TENSIONS AND A

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TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PGOV, PINS, UK, EI
SUBJECT: MARCHES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

BAROMETER OF LOCAL FEELINGS ABOUT THE PEACE PROCESS. NO AMOUNT OF OUTSIDE PRESSURE CAN SOLVE THE PARADES ISSUE; A SOLUTION MUST COME FROM THE PARTICIPANTS THEMSELVES. ADVANCES AND PROGRESS AT THE STORMONT TALKS WILL HOPEFULLY REMOVE SOME OF THE COMMUNITY TENSION WHICH FEEDS CONTENTIOUS PARADES.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04
<^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 9576
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DIST:
SIT: MCELDOWNEY PETERS VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC

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2015-0157-M (2.06)
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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: R 181525Z AUG 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 181525Z AUG 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1974
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0357
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0620
SUBJ: MARTIN MCGUINNESS "ADMITS" STORMONT TALKS WILL NOT PRODUCE A UNITED IRELAND

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE LAWRENCE E. BUTLER. REASON 1.5 (B)

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 004260

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/18/99
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: MARTIN MCGUINNESS "ADMITS" STORMONT TALKS WILL NOT PRODUCE A UNITED IRELAND

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE LAWRENCE E. BUTLER. REASON 1.5 (B)

1. (U) ACCORDING TO A COLUMNIST WHO WAS PRESENT, SINN FEIN CHIEF NEGOTIATOR MARTIN MCGUINNESS RECENTLY ACKNOWLEDGED TO AN IRISH "SUMMER SCHOOL" AUDIENCE THAT A UNITED IRELAND WOULD NOT EMERGE FROM THE CURRENT ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS AT STORMONT. DUBLIN "SUNDAY TRIBUNE" WRITER JOHN COONEY REPORTS THAT THIS "ADMISSION" WAS MADE OFF SCRIPT AND IN THE COURSE OF A HEATED DEBATE INVOLVING FORMER TAOISEACH ALBERT REYNOLDS AND FINE GAEL TD AUSTIN CURRIE AS TO WHAT CONSTITUTES REPUBLICANISM IN TODAY'S IRELAND. MCGUINNESS' ALLEGED COMMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN REPORTED ELSEWHERE IN THE MEDIA, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE.

2. (U) THIS EXCHANGE REPORTEDLY FOLLOWED GIVE AND TAKE BETWEEN MCGUINNESS AND AN AUDIENCE THAT REACTED SKEPTICALLY TO HIS ASSERTION THAT THERE WAS SUPPORT IN THE 26 COUNTIES FOR A SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND A UNITED IRELAND. ACCORDING TO COONEY, "THE AUDIENCE AT THE HUMBERT SUMMER SCHOOL IN BALLINA, CO. MAYO, REPRESENTING A CROSS SECTION OF OPINION, REMAINED UNCONVINCED AND UNYIELDING IN ITS OPPOSITION TO A REPUBLICAN CREDO WHICH IT TOOK TO BE OUTDATED AND UNATTAINABLE WITH THE WORLDWIDE COLLAPSE OF SOCIALISM."

3. (U) COONEY CONCLUDES THAT "ALTHOUGH A UNITED IRELAND REMAINS HIS PRIORITY IN THE FORTHCOMING TALKS, (MCGUINNESS) RECOGNIZES THAT THE MORE REALISABLE GOAL IN THE SHORT TERM IS SECURING SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR NATIONALISTS IN THE NORTH, ALONG WITH NEW POLITICAL

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STRUCTURES, INCLUDING CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS WITH EXECUTIVE POWERS, THAT WILL CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR UNIFICATION FOR A LATER GENERATION."

BRITISH DCM CONFIRMS ACCURACY OF REPORT
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4. (C) BRITISH DCM RICHARD CLARKE, WHO WAS ALSO PRESENT DURING THIS EXCHANGE, CONFIRMS THE ACCURACY OF COONEY'S REPORTAGE. WHILE MCGUINNESS REFUSED TO COMMIT HIMSELF TO SELLING TO REPUBLICANS A SETTLEMENT THAT FALLS SHORT OF A UNITED IRELAND, HE IS QUOTED BY CLARKE AS SAYING: "I DON'T BELIEVE ANYONE I KNOW BELIEVES FOR ONE MINUTE THE TALKS PROCESS WE'RE ENTERING WILL PRODUCE A 32-COUNTY IRELAND. WHAT IT MUST BRING IS FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE TO RESOLVE THE SITUATION."

COMMENT
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5. (C) MCGUINNESS' COMMENTS ARE "URPRISING NOT SO MUCH FOR THEIR CONTENT BUT FOR THE FACT THAT HE MADE THEM PUBLICLY, KNOWING THAT MEMBERS OF THE PRESS WERE LIKELY TO BE PRESENT (IRISH SUMMER SCHOOLS ARE SERIOUS SEMINARS THAT OFTEN FEATURE HIGH-PROFILE SPEAKERS WHOSE OBSERVATIONS ARE DEEMED NEWSWORTHY, ESPECIALLY IN THE RELATIVELY QUIET MONTH OF AUGUST). HIS FRANK ADMISSION THAT THE STORMONT TALKS WILL NOT PRODUCE A UNITED IRELAND WILL CERTAINLY NOT ENDEAR HIM TO THE HARDLINE REPUBLICAN FAITHFUL. BUT IT MAY BE A MARK OF THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP'S CONFIDENCE AT THE MOMENT THAT IT IS SETTING ITS SIGHTS ON TRYING TO REASSURE UNIONISTS IN AN EFFORT TO GET ALL-PARTY TALKS UNDERWAY IN MID-SEPTEMBER. BUTLER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4260

TOR: 970818113418 M2893143

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SIT: NSC

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KBH 7/31/2019

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OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 271142Z AUG 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8775
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 0886
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0748
SUBJ: U.K.-IRELAND AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING BODY
TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 010025

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/27/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: U.K.-IRELAND AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING BODY

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JUDITH R. JOHNSON, POLITICAL MINISTER-COUNSELOR, AMEMBASSY LONDON. REASON: 1.5 D.

2. (C) SUMMARY. ASSOCIATE POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE JONATHAN STEPHENS TERMED THE 8/26 BURKE-MOWLAM MEETING AND SIGNATURE OF AN AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH A DECOMMISSIONING BODY AS POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE--A SIGNAL THAT SUCH A BODY WOULD BE UP AND WORKING BY THE 15TH OF SEPTEMBER. STEPHENS SAID HMG AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD APPROACHED WASHINGTON (NSC) AND THE FINNISH AND CANADIAN GOVERNMENTS LAST WEEK TO ASK FOR SUGGESTIONS BY 9/8 FOR MEMBERS OF THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY (SOMEONE WITH A DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND FROM THE U.S. AND SOMEONE WITH A MILITARY BACKGROUND FROM THE OTHER TWO). SO FAR, NO GOVERNMENT HAD RESPONDED WITH A NAME/NAMES. STEPHENS SAID CANADIAN GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AS CHAIRMAN OF THIS NEW COMMISSION, BUT IT MAY PROVE IMPOSSIBLE TO REPLACE HIM ACCEPTABLY AS CHAIRMAN OF STRAND II OF THE TALKS, SO THAT ANOTHER CHAIR FOR THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY MAY BE NECESSARY.

3. (C) STEPHENS BELIEVED MOWLAM WOULD MAKE A POSITIVE ANNOUNCEMENT AS EARLY AS AFTERNOON 8/28 ABOUT SINN FEIN PARTICIPATION IN TALKS ON SEPTEMBER 15. HE SUGGESTED SOME HELPFUL POINTS TO MAKE IF WASHINGTON WISHED TO WELCOME THIS STATEMENT (SEE PARA 10 BELOW). STEPHENS WOULD NOT PREDICT IF UNIONISTS WOULD COME TO TABLE SEPTEMBER 15, BUT RECOGNIZED THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS COULD NOT COMPEL PEOPLE TO COME TO THE TABLE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO CONSTRUCT A PROCESS TO ACCOMMODATE EVERYONE. END SUMMARY.

BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT ON ESTABLISHING DECOMMISSIONING BODY

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4. (U) BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MARJORIE MOWLAM AND IRISH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS RAY BURKE SIGNED IN BELFAST EVENING 8/26 AN AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO FACILITATE DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

5. (C) JONATHAN STEPHENS, ASSOCIATE POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE, PROVIDED EMBASSY LONDON WITH A COPY OF THIS DOCUMENT AND THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED IN BELFAST, WHICH HAVE BEEN FAXED TO EUR/UBI. THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY IS TO BE ABLE TO START ITS WORK SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS PROJECTED TO START SEPTEMBER 15. THE AGREEMENT SETS OUT THE COMMISSION'S FUNCTIONS TO:

-- CONSULT WITH THE PARTICIPANTS IN POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, INCLUDING BOTH GOVERNMENTS, AND OTHERS WHOM IT DEEMS RELEVANT ON THE TYPE OF SCHEMES OF DECOMMISSIONING INCLUDING THE ROLE IT MIGHT PLAY IN RESPECT OF EACH SCHEME;

-- PRESENT TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS PROPOSALS FOR SCHEMES HAVING DUE REGARD TO THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THOSE IT HAS CONSULTED;

-- UNDERTAKE SUCH TASKS THAT MAY BE REQUIRED OF IT TO FACILITATE THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS, INCLUDING OBSERVING, MONITORING AND VERIFYING DECOMMISSIONING AND RECEIVING AND AUDITING ARMS; AND;

-- REPORT PERIODICALLY TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND, THROUGH WHATEVER MECHANISM THEY MAY ESTABLISH FOR THAT PURPOSE, THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

6. (C) STEPHENS TERMED THE MOWLAM-BURKE MEETING "POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE"--A SIGNAL THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE DETERMINED TO HAVE THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY SET UP AND ABLE TO WORK IN PARALLEL WITH THE OPENING OF SUBSTANTIVE TALKS SEPTEMBER 15.

IDENTIFYING MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION
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7. (C) THE JOINT PRESS STATEMENT NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA, FINLAND AND THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN APPROACHED TO IDENTIFY SUITABLE CANDIDATES FOR THE BODY, WHICH SHALL CONSIST OF NOT FEWER THAN TWO MEMBERS, APPOINTED JOINTLY BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. STEPHENS CONFIRMED THAT APPROACHES WERE MADE DURING THE WEEK OF 8/18 IN WASHINGTON (TO THE NSC), OTTAWA AND HELSINKI. THE USG HAD BEEN ASKED TO NOMINATE AN AMERICAN WITH DIPLOMATIC BACKGROUND TO THE BODY. THE CANADIANS AND FINNS WERE EACH ASKED TO NOMINATE SOMEONE WITH A MILITARY BACKGROUND. ALL THREE WERE ASKED TO NOMINATE CANDIDATES BY SEPTEMBER 8. NONE HAS AS YET RESPONDED WITH NOMINATIONS.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 010025

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/27/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: U.K.-IRELAND AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING BODY

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CHAIRING THE NEW BODY
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8. (C) SOME BRITISH PRESS STORIES PREDICTED CANADIAN GENERAL JOHN DE CHASTELAIN WOULD BE NAMED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY. STEPHENS TERMED DE CHASTELAIN ACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS IN THAT ROLE. THE PROBLEM WAS THAT IT WOULD BE EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT TO REPLACE DE CHASTELAIN AS THE CHAIRMAN OF STRAND II OF THE STORMONT TALKS AND HE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CHAIR BOTH. THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS DID NOT WANT TO BRING IN A NEWCOMER, NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE ISSUES, TO CHAIR STRAND II TALKS. SENATOR MITCHELL WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ULSTER SIDE IN THIS ROLE AND HARRI HOLKERIE WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO CHAIR THAT STRAND. IN THE EVENT, IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE NOT/NOT TO MOVE DE CHASTELAIN.

MOWLAM ANNOUNCEMENT ON IRA CEASEFIRE EXPECTED 8/28
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9. (C) STEPHENS SAID MOWLAM WAS EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE AS EARLY AS AFTERNOON 8/28 LONDON TIME HER DECISION THAT THE IRA CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY WELL OBSERVED FOR SINN FEIN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STORMONT TALKLS, ALTHOUGH SHE MIGHT WAIT UNTIL 8/29 OR 8/30 TO MAKE THIS DETERMINATION.

ELEMENTS OF A USG STATEMENT
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10. (C) STEPHENS SAID THAT IF THE USG PLANNED TO WELCOME MOWLAM'S ANNOUNCEMENT, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE USG STATEMENT EMPHASIZED THE COMMITMENT TO OPENING SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 15 AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THESE TALKS CAN ACCOMMODATE ALL CONCERNS OF ALL PARTIES, UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS. ANY SUCH STATEMENT COULD USEFULLY EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES THAT UNDERPIN THE WHOLE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH MEAN THAT THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS IS ONE THAT NEEDS TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS.

PROSPECTS FOR TALKS ON SEPTEMBER 15
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11. (C) IAN PAISLEY JR. OF THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY HAS ALREADY CRITICIZED THE NEW DECOMMISSIONING BODY AS "A FRAUD AND A DECEPTION" WHICH WILL DELIVER NOTHING. ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE ALSO CRITICIZED THE AGREEMENT AS LACKING SUBSTANCE. POLMINCOUNS ASKED STEPHENS WHAT THE PROSPECTS WERE THAT THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY WOULD BE AT THE TABLE AT STORMONT SEPTEMBER 15. STEPHENS THOUGHT IT WAS TOO EARLY TO READ WHERE THE UUP WAS YET ON PARTICIPATION AT STORMONT ON THE 15TH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE UNIONISTS WOULD WANT TO BE A PART OF THE PROCESS IN SOME WAY. AT THE END OF THE DAY, THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS CANNOT COMPEL ANY PARTY TO COME TO THE TABLE, HE SAID. HMG WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO CONSTRUCT A PROCESS TO ACCOMMODATE EVERYONE. CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0025
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TOR: 970827074932 M2905227
<^TOR>970827074933 M2905228

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SODERBERG STEINBERG

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2015-0157-M [2.08]

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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8998
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0908
RJEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0770
SUBJ: POLITICAL PACE QUICKENING IN RUN-UP TO RESUMPTION OF STORMONT TALKS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 010324

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST
NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/04/06
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: POLITICAL PACE QUICKENING IN RUN-UP TO RESUMPTION OF STORMONT TALKS

REF: BELFAST 301

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: KATHLEEN STEPHENS, BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE MET WITH BRITISH MINISTER FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT PAUL MURPHY SEPTEMBER 2, AND WILL HAVE A FOLLOW-ON MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER SOMETIME NEXT WEEK. CANADIAN GENERAL JOHN DE CHASTELAIN, ONE OF THE THREE INDEPENDENT CHAIRMEN OF THE TALKS, IS BACK IN BELFAST AND CONDUCTING BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES. END SUMMARY.

TRIMBLE-MURPHY MEETING
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3. ~~(C)~~ TRIMBLE TOLD BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL SEPTEMBER 3 THAT HE MET WITH BRITISH MINISTER PAUL MURPHY THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 2. (SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MO MOWLAM IS ON HOLIDAY IN SPAIN.) TRIMBLE SAID THE "MAIN RESULT" OF THE MEETING WAS THAT HE WOULD SEE THE PRIME MINISTER IN LONDON SOMETIME THE FOLLOWING WEEK. TRIMBLE SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO CALLING ON THE AMBASSADOR BEFORE OR AFTER THAT MEETING. HE ALSO CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BERGER EARLIER IN THE WEEK.

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EO 13526 1.4c

5. (C) IN THE EVENT, MURPHY ONLY "ALLUDED" TO THESE OPTIONS, ACCORDING TO OUR CONTACT, BUT TRIMBLE EXPRESSED SOME INTEREST IN THE NOTION OF PROXIMITY TALKS. TRIMBLE ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT THE UUP WOULD NOT TAKE ANY POSITION UNTIL ITS EXECUTIVE MEETING SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 13.

OTHER MEETINGS
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6. (C) GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN, SUPPORTED BY ONE STAFF MEMBER, HAS MET WITH A NUMBER OF PARTIES, INCLUDING SINN FEIN, TO OBTAIN A SENSE OF THE MOOD IN THE RUN-UP TO THE RESUMPTION OF FORMAL TALKS.

7. (C) THE MEETING WITH SINN FEIN WAS CORDIAL, WITH SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES MITCHELL MCLAUGHLIN AND SIOBAN O'HANLAN EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACHED TO BEING TREATED ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE OTHER PARTIES. THEIR MAIN CONCRETE REQUEST WAS TO DELAY THE TIME OF THE OPENING SEPTEMBER 9 MEETING UNTIL 2:00 PM (IT IS NOW SET FOR NOON) IN ORDER TO ALLOW TIME FOR GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS TO RETURN TO BELFAST TO ATTEND. SINN FEIN IS EXPECTED TO SIGN UP TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES AT THAT SESSION. DE CHASTELAIN NOTED THE REQUEST BUT NO DECISION HAS YET BEEN TAKEN.

8. (C) IRISH AND BRITISH MINISTERS ARE SET TO MEET IN BELFAST SEPTEMBER 8, AND THEN TO CONSULT WITH THE THREE INDEPENDENT CHAIRMEN THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 9, BEFORE THE OPENING SESSION.

CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 0324
TOR: 970904060049 M2915068
DIST:
SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SAPIRO SIMON SUM2 TODD VERSHBOW
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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG
<^DIST>
SIT: COQ

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9225
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0939
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0804
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH UUP LEADER TRIMBLE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 010525

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 9/10/07
TAGS: PREL PGOV UK EI
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH UUP LEADER TRIMBLE

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR WILLIAM J. CROWE, JR.
REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: ULSTER UNIONIST LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE TOLD THE AMBASSADOR SEPTEMBER 9 THAT HE WAS REASONABLY CONFIDENT HIS PARTY WOULD GIVE HIM LEEWAY TO CONTINUE PARTICIPATING IN STORMONT TALKS NEXT WEEK ALONGSIDE SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES. HIS EXPECTATION, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS GENERALLY HELD IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WAS THAT THE REPUBLICAN CEASE-FIRE WOULD NOT HOLD MUCH BEYOND THE NEW YEAR. HE WOULD MAKE THAT POINT TO HIS PARTY ON SEPTEMBER 13 TO ARGUE THE NEED FOR THE UUP TO "HANG IN THERE" AND LET SINN FEIN FAILURE TO ABIDE BY THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES BE THE CLEAR-CUT CAUSE OF A BREAKDOWN. TRIMBLE IDENTIFIED THE ABSENCE OF AGREED MECHANISMS FOR DECOMMISSIONING AS A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE TALKS, BUT SAID DISCUSSIONS WITH PM BLAIR LEFT HIM FEELING REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT BLAIR WOULD COME THROUGH ON DECOMMISSIONING ISSUES AND OTHER POINTS OF CONCERN TO THE UUP. TRIMBLE HOPES TO VISIT WASHINGTON AND SUGGESTED SEPTEMBER 29-30 AS A PREFERRED DATE, WITH THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 22 AS A FALLBACK. THE UUP LEADER MADE ONLY A LIGHT REFERENCE TO THE USG DECISION TO HALT IRA SUSPECT DEPORTATIONS, CALLING IT "UNFORTUNATE". END SUMMARY.

3. ~~(C)~~ UUP LEADER TRIMBLE HELD TO A CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC LINE WITH THE AMBASSADOR AT A MEETING AT THE EMBASSY ON SEPTEMBER 9. HE EXPECTED HIS PARTY TO GIVE HIM ENOUGH ROOM TO MANEUVER AND STICK WITH THE STORMONT TALKS FOLLOWING SINN FEIN ENTRY. HE WOULD BE ASKED TO REPORT BACK FAIRLY QUICKLY ON THE RESULTS, PROBABLY IN "A COUPLE OF MONTHS TIME". THE FORMAT OF THE STORMONT TALKS WAS SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE THAT HE EXPECTED TO BE ABLE TO KEEP CONTACTS WITH SINN FEIN TO AN ACCEPTABLE LEVEL WITHIN EXISTING PROCEDURES. PROXIMITY TALKS, IN HIS VIEW, WERE NOT PRACTICAL EXCEPT IN THE VERY SHORT TERM.

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4. (C) TRIMBLE CITED A PRESS SURVEY OF UUP EXECUTIVE MEMBERS DONE AFTER SINN FEIN'S AFFIRMATION OF ADHERENCE TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES. AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY FAVORED CONTINUING PARTICIPATION IN THE STORMONT TALKS. A SIMILARLY LARGE MAJORITY OPPOSED FACE-TO-FACE MEETINGS WITH SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES, BUT OPINIONS WERE EVENLY SPLIT ON THE QUESTION OF PARTICIPATING IN PLENARY SESSIONS ALONGSIDE SINN FEIN. THAT BREAKDOWN OF VIEWS WAS THE BASIS OF HIS CONFIDENCE THAT THERE WAS SUFFICIENT LEEWAY FOR HIM TO CARRY ON.

5. (C) TRIMBLE WARNED THAT PARTY MOOD WAS VOLATILE AND WOULD BE HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY EVENTS. IF SINN FEIN CONTINUED TO TAKE A TRIUMPHALIST/GLOATING TONE TOWARDS ITS ENTRY INTO TALKS, HIS ROOM FOR MANEUVER WOULD SHRINK DRAMATICALLY. HIS ELECTORATE WOULD START TO BELIEVE THE REPUBLICANS WERE WINNING.

6. (C) IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION, TRIMBLE SAID THAT HE DID NOT REGARD THE SINN FEIN'S STATEMENT OF ADHERENCE TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES AS MEANINGFUL. SINN FEIN STILL MAINTAINED THAT IT DID NOT SPEAK FOR THE IRA AND SO ITS RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE WAS ONLY ON BEHALF OF THE PARTY, NOT THE IRA. IN ANY EVENT, THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES HAD BEEN DRAFTED CAREFULLY IN A WAY TO MINIMIZE DISCOMFORT FOR SINN FEIN.

7. (C) DECOMMISSIONING WAS ANOTHER KEY AREA OF CONCERN FOR THE UUP. DUBLIN HAD HELD UP ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION TO ESTABLISH PROCEDURES AND AS A RESULT, NO MECHANISM FOR DECOMMISSIONING ARMS WAS YET IN PLACE. THIS HAD TO BE CORRECTED FOR ANY PROGRESS TO TAKE PLACE IN THE TALKS. FROM HIS DISCUSSIONS EARLIER IN THE DAY WITH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR, TRIMBLE FELT CONFIDENT THAT A SPECIAL EFFORT WOULD BE MADE OVER THE COMING TWO OR THREE DAYS TO SETTLE THE MATTER. IF PM BLAIR CAME THROUGH ON THAT AND CERTAIN OTHER POINTS HE HAD PROMISED THE UNIONISTS, TRIMBLE FELT CONFIDENT IN PREDICTING THAT TALKS WOULD MOVE FORWARD NEXT WEEK. (COMMENT: TRIMBLE DID NOT SPECIFY WHATEVER CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES HE EXPECTED BLAIR TO DELIVER. HE ALMOST CERTAINLY WAS REFERRING TO UUP DEMANDS FOR A BLAIR STATEMENT THAT THERE CAN BE NO CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN NORTHERN IRELAND WITHOUT MAJORITY CONSENT, MAINTENANCE OF STRONG SECURITY/POLICE FORCES, REPLACEMENT OF CERTAIN NIO OFFICIALS, A GRAND WESTMINSTER COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER NORTHERN IRELAND LEGISLATION, AND OTHER CBM'S SOUGHT BY THE UNIONISTS. END COMMENT.)

8. (C) ON DECOMMISSIONING, TRIMBLE MADE PLAIN HIS BELIEF THAT THE SINN FEIN DID NOT WANT TO SEE ANY ARMS GIVEN UP. SINCE THE MECHANISMS FOR DECOMMISSIONING WOULD INCLUDE PERIODIC REVIEWS OF PROGRESS, SINN FEIN'S OPPOSITION COULD NOT BE "FUDGED" INDEFINITELY. BY A SECOND REVIEW OF PROGRESS AROUND MID-JANUARY, THE IRA'S REFUSAL TO DECOMMISSION ARMS WOULD CAUSE THE PROCESS TO BREAK DOWN.

9. (C) FINALLY, TRIMBLE DISCUSSED PLANS FOR A VISIT TO WASHINGTON. HE THOUGHT THAT IF THINGS WENT AS WELL AS HE HOPED IN RECONVENED TALKS NEXT WEEK (I.E. A UNIONIST COMMUNITY ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 010525

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 9/10/07
TAGS: PREL PGOV UK EI
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH UUP LEADER TRIMBLE

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COMFORTABLE WITH UUP INVOLVEMENT) THE IDEAL TIME FOR HIM TO MAKE A VISIT TO THE U.S. WOULD BE THE LAST WEEK OF SEPTEMBER. HE SUGGESTED SEPTEMBER 29-30 JUST PRIOR TO THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE AS IDEAL DATES. IF THAT DID NOT SUIT THE SCHEDULE OF WASHINGTON INTERLOCUTORS, THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 22 WAS A FALLBACK. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS FOR HIM TO GO SOONER RATHER THAT LATER. TRIMBLE SAID HE HOPED HE COULD ALSO MAKE VISITS TO BOSTON AND NEW YORK WHERE MANY PEOPLE NEEDED TO HEAR MORE UNIONIST VIEWS.
CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0525
<^SSN>0525

TOR: 970910130312 M2924229
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SIT: BUTLER SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.10)
K8H 7/31/2019

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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2152
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0386
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0676
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S SEPTEMBER 19 MEETINGS WITH GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MANSERGH

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 004901

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/19/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S SEPTEMBER 19 MEETINGS WITH GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MANSERGH

REF: (A) DUBLIN 4874 (B) DUBLIN 4876

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

1. (C) SUMMARY: SENATOR MITCHELL IS REPORTEDLY GENUINELY UPSET AT UNIONIST EFFORTS TO LIMIT HIS ROLE. WASHINGTON SHOULD HELP HOLD LONDON TO TONY BLAIR'S "PROMISE" THAT THE SENATOR COULD CO-CHAIR THE STRAND 2 TALKS. END SUMMARY.

MARTIN MANSERGH
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2. (C) I MET SEPTEMBER 19 WITH THE TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISER ON NORTHERN IRELAND, MARTIN MANSERGH, TO GET HIS SENSE OF THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS AT STORMONT. HE ECHOED THE GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC OUTLOOK PROVIDED BY DERMOT GALLAGHER YESTERDAY (REF A). THE OPENING PHASE OF THE TALKS PROCESS WAS "GRADUALLY COMING RIGHT." ALTHOUGH PROGRESS WAS SLOW, THINGS SEEMED TO BE ON A GLIDE PATH TOWARD THE START OF SUBSTANTIVE TALKS.

3. (C) MANSERGH SAID THE UUP HAD SEIZED ON THE MARKETHILL BOMBING TO "SLIDE OUT" FROM UNDER THEIR "PROMISE" TO TONY BLAIR THAT THEY WOULD ENTER THE TALKS ON SEPTEMBER 16. HOWEVER, THE IRISH HADN'T REALLY EXPECTED THE UUP TO ATTEND THE TALKS THEN ANYWAY. WHILE DUBLIN ASSUMED THE UNIONISTS WOULD BE AT THE TABLE NEXT WEDNESDAY, THIS COULD SLIDE TO THE FOLLOWING MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29. "MENTALLY, WE'VE GIVEN THEM UNTIL THE END OF THE MONTH," HE SAID, NOTING THAT "SOME OTHER FORM" OF NEGOTIATING ACTIVITY WOULD HAVE TO BE EMPLOYED AFTER THAT DATE.

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4. (C) THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD HELD A DETAILED MEETING WITH SINN FEIN THIS MORNING, MANSERGH TOLD ME. "THEY NEED HELP," HE SAID. GERRY ADAMS HAD CITED THE ISSUE OF PRISONERS IN PARTICULAR. IT APPEARED THE BRITISH WERE "HOLDING BACK" IN ORDER TO USE THE PRISONERS AS A "CARD" FOR THE TALKS. MOVEMENT WAS NEEDED IN THIS AREA.

5. (C) ON THE QUESTION OF THE CHAIRMANSHIPS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION AND STRAND 2, MANSERGH CITED TONY BLAIR'S "PROMISE" TO SENATOR MITCHELL THAT THE SENATOR COULD CHAIR STRAND 2 ON A "CO-CHAIRMANSHIP" BASIS WITH GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN. THE IRISH FEEL STRONGLY THAT MITCHELL IS ENTITLED TO BE TREATED WITH RESPECT, MANSERGH SAID, AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT "SHOULDN'T ALLOW HIM TO BE KICKED AROUND." THE SENATOR WAS GENUINELY UPSET. MANSERGH URGED WASHINGTON TO TELL LONDON THAT WE EXPECT BLAIR'S PROMISE TO BE KEPT.

GERRY ADAMS
/----------

6. (C) I MET PRIVATELY WITH ADAMS THIS MORNING, AT HIS REQUEST. HE WANTED TO PASS ON THAT HE HAD FOUND HIS WASHINGTON TRIP VERY SUCCESSFUL, AND SO HAD MARTIN MCGUINNESS (FOR WHOM THE MEETINGS WERE A FIRST). ADAMS HOPED THE NSC WOULD DEVOTE A STAFF PERSON FULLTIME TO IRELAND.

7. (C) ADAMS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF SMALL STEP-BY-STEP CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, PARTICULARLY FOR WHEN THE TALKS ENCOUNTER BUMPS IN THE ROAD. AS HE DID TO THE GOI, HE MENTIONED PRISONERS IN PARTICULAR TO ME. HE CITED TREMENDOUS POSITIVE FEEDBACK IN THE COMMUNITY FOR THE U.S. MOVE TO SUSPEND THE DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS.

8. (C) ADAMS SAID THE CEASEFIRE IS SECURE. HE DID NOT KNOW WHO SET OFF THE MARKETHILL BOMB, BUT HE DID NOT SEEM ALARMED BY THIS DEVELOPMENT.

9. (C) ADAMS WAS VERY GRATEFUL FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON'S INVOLVEMENT, WHICH REMAINED ESSENTIAL. HE SAID SENATOR MITCHELL UNDERSTANDS SINN FEIN'S POSITION AS WELL. HE SPECULATED THAT THE TALKS WOULD GO WELL BEYOND MAY 1998. REGARDING THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION (REF B), ADAMS SUGGESTED IT FOCUS PRIMARILY ON THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION. HOWEVER, IF THE STORMONT TALKS DO NOT GO WELL, THE CONFERENCE COULD SERVE A "BACKUP" ROLE AS A FORUM FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE.

COMMENT
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10. (C) I NEVER SAW ADAMS LOOK HAPPIER OR MORE CONFIDENT. INTERESTINGLY
, MANSERGH TOLD ME THAT MARTIN MCGUINNESS HAD BEEN MORE HONEST THAN ADAMS IN DESCRIBING SINN FEIN'S SITUATION. WHEREAS ADAMS CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THAT SINN FEIN AND THE IRA ARE SEPARATE ORGANIZATIONS, MCGUINNESS URGED THE GOI NOT TO PRESS TOO HARD FOR DEFINITION, AS THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 004901

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/19/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S SEPTEMBER 19 MEETINGS WITH GERRY
ADAMS AND MARTIN MANSERGH

SF LEADERSHIP CONTINUED TO HAVE DIFFICULTY IN BRINGING THE
ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP ALONG. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4901
<^SSN>4901

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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG
<^DIST>
SIT: COQ
PRT: COMM TRIP

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.12)
KBH 7/31/2019

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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0685
SUBJ: MARTIN MANSERGH ON STORMONT TALKS

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 005060

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/26/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH ON STORMONT TALKS

REF: LONDON 11153

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

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: THE TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISER, MARTIN MANSERGH, SEES DAVID TRIMBLE AS FULLY ON BOARD WITH THE STORMONT TALKS. HE FEELS THAT SINN FEIN IS ALSO CONFIDENT IT WILL NOT BE RUN OVER "ROUGHSHOD" BY THE GOVERNMENTS. THE GOI WILL RELEASE FIVE REPUBLICAN PRISONERS TODAY, AND EXPECTS A MODEST GESTURE FROM LONDON TO BE ANNOUNCED ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(C)~~ WITH CHARACTERISTIC UNDERSTATEMENT, AN OBVIOUSLY VERY PLEASED MARTIN MANSERGH TOLD ME SEPTEMBER 26 THAT THIS WEEK'S BREAKTHROUGH AT THE STORMONT TALKS INDEED REPRESENTED "A BIT OF PROGRESS." HE CONFESSED TO HAVING FEARED THAT AGREEMENT TO MOVE INTO SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT COME UNTIL NEXT WEEK.

3. ~~(C)~~ MANSERGH CITED TWO FACTORS BEHIND THE UUP'S DECISION TO FINALLY PROCEED INTO TALKS. FIRST, ON THE HEELS OF THE UNIONIST INDICTMENT OF SINN FEIN, WHICH HE CALLED A "DAMP SQUIB," FURTHER "STALLING" WOULD NOT HAVE LOOKED GOOD. UNIONIST PUBLIC OPINION, AS REFLECTED IN RECENT POLLS, SHOWED A STRONG DESIRE FOR TALKS. THE SECOND FACTOR WAS PRESSURE FROM TONY BLAIR, WHOSE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE STARTS MONDAY. IN MANSERGH'S VIEW, BLAIR WAS IN NO MOOD TO HAVE "YET ANOTHER" PROMISE BY TRIMBLE BROKEN. (MANSERGH NOTED HIS OWN SURPRISE, HOWEVER, THAT THE UUP'S KEN MAGINNIS HAD ATTACKED BLAIR.)

4. ~~(C)~~ TRIMBLE WILL EMPHASIZE PROXIMITY TALKS, MANSERGH TOLD ME. FACE-TO-FACE ENCOUNTERS WITH SINN FEIN WILL BE RELATIVELY RARE, RESERVED FOR PLENARY SESSIONS THAT ARE

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EXPECTED TO RATIFY AGREEMENTS REACHED MAINLY IN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, MANSERGH CONSIDERS TRIMBLE TO BE FULLY "ON BOARD" NOW. TRIMBLE "CROSSED THE RUBICON" WHEN HE DECIDED TO CONFRONT SINN FEIN. UNLESS IRA BOMBS GO OFF AND SINN FEIN STAYS IN THE TALKS, TRIMBLE IS EXPECTED TO STAY IN THE TALKS EVEN IF THEY DON'T GO HIS WAY, MANSERGH SAID.

5. (C) MANSERGH DESCRIBED SINN FEIN'S MOOD AS VERY RELAXED. "THEY WERE THE HAPPIEST PEOPLE AROUND" ON WEDNESDAY, HE SAID, HAVING STAYED "RELATIVELY ALOOF" FROM THE PROCEDURAL MOTION THAT LAUNCHED THE TALKS. SINN FEIN UNDERSTANDS, HE TOLD ME, THAT EVEN THOUGH THEY CAN BE OUTVOTED, THE REALITY IS PEOPLE WILL TRY TO GET MAXIMUM AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES. THE AIM IS TO BUILD A CONSENSUS WITH WHICH EVERYONE CAN LIVE. "THE GOVERNMENTS WILL TRY TO AVOID RIDING ROUGHSHOD OVER ANY PARTY."

6. (C) "THIS IS WHERE SENATOR MITCHELL COMES IN," MANSERGH WENT ON. COINING MARTHA POPE'S PHRASE, HE SAID, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO "GET ALL THE DUCKS IN A ROW." HE DESCRIBED HARRI HOLKERI'S PERFORMANCE IN SENATOR MITCHELL'S ABSENCE THIS WEEK AS ADEQUATE ("HE DID HIS BEST") BUT COMPLAINED THAT HOLKERI "DOES NOT MOVE FAST ENOUGH" AND SPENDS TOO MUCH TIME LOOKING FOR THE RIGHT WORD IN ENGLISH -- OFFERING OPENINGS TO ANYONE SEEKING TO GUM UP THE WORKS WITH INTERJECTIONS.

7. (C) MANSERGH DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF IAN PAISLEY "LINKING INTO" THE TALKS EVENTUALLY -- "HE TENDS TO CATCH UP TO POLITICAL TRAINS." IT WAS LESS LIKELY THAT ROBERT MCCARTNEY WOULD DO LIKEWISE, ALTHOUGH THE UKUP MIGHT BE LEFT IN AN ISOLATED POSITION.

8. (C) MANSERGH SAID THE GOI HELD TWO BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH THE LOYALIST PARTIES. "THE ICE IS BROKEN," HE TOLD ME. DAVID ERVINE IS CONVINCED THE WILL TO FIGHT IS GONE, AT LEAST AMONG "MAINSTREAM" LOYALISTS. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO MANSERGH, ERVINE REMAINS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING EFFECTS OF A POSSIBLE "SARAJEVO 1914" -STYLE ASSASSINATION, RUMORS OF WHICH CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE.

9. (C) MANSERGH ECHOED REFTEL'S DESCRIPTION OF NEXT STEPS REGAR
DING THE LAUNCH OF SUBSTANTIVE TALKS IN THREE STRANDS. NEXT WEEK WILL CLEARLY BE A BUSY ONE.

10. (C) AS A FURTHER CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE, DUBLIN WILL RELEASE FIVE "LOW-LEVEL" REPUBLICAN PRISONERS FROM PORTLAOISE PRISON THIS AFTERNOON, MANSERGH TOLD ME. HE POINTED TO CONTINUED RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH TO RELEASE LOYALISTS. HOWEVER, HE ANTICIPATES THAT ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, LONDON WILL ANNOUNCE A LIMITED TRANSFER OF POWERS FROM THE HOME SECRETARY TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY THAT WILL EFFECTIVELY LOOSEN RESTRICTIONS ON PARAMILITARY PRISONERS IN ALL RESPECTS EXCEPT FOR THEIR RELEASE. WHILE THIS IS EXPECTED TO BE A

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 005060

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/26/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH ON STORMONT TALKS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

"HELFPUL" MOVE, IT WILL PROBABLY BE SEEN AS MORE OF A
CONCESSION TO REPUBLICANS THAN TO LOYALISTS. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 5060
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SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG
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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
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2015-0157-M (2.13)
KBH 7/31/2019

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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2192
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0391
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0690
SUBJ: DUBLIN REPORTS THREE-STRANDED NORTHERN IRELAND TALKS WILL BEGIN ON OCTOBER 7

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

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 005168

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/30/99
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DUBLIN REPORTS THREE-STRANDED NORTHERN IRELAND TALKS WILL BEGIN ON OCTOBER 7

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

1. ~~(C)~~ DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT GALLAGHER INFORMED US SEPTEMBER 30 THAT AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, AT A SURPRISINGLY "RELAXED" MEETING OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE AT THE STORMONT TALKS, TO LAUNCH SUBSTANTIVE THREE-STRANDED NEGOTIATIONS ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7.

-- STRAND ONE (INTRA-NORTHERN IRELAND) TALKS CHAIRED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE PLACE FROM 10 A.M. TO 1 P.M.

-- STRAND TWO (NORTHERN IRELAND-REPUBLIC OF IRELAND) TALKS CHAIRED BY THE JOINT CHAIRMEN (IN PRACTICE, THIS WILL MEAN SENATOR MITCHELL) WILL TAKE PLACE FROM 2:30 TO 5:30 P.M.

-- STRAND THREE (UK-IRELAND) TALKS CHAIRED JOINTLY BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE PLACE FROM 7 TO 9 P.M.

2. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER SAID IT WAS VIEWED AS SYMBOLICALLY IMPORTANT TO OPEN TALKS IN ALL THREE STRANDS ON ONE DAY. THE FIRST DAY OF TALKS IS LIKELY TO FEATURE ONLY BRIEF OPENING STATEMENTS BY PARTICIPANTS. HE INDICATED SMALL (2 PERSON) DELEGATIONS FROM ALL PARTIES EXCEPT THE DUP AND UKUP PARTICIPATED IN TODAY'S PROCEEDINGS. HE HAD FEARED REACHING AGREEMENT WOULD BE TRICKY, BUT WAS PLEASED TO FIND THE DELEGATES WORKED COOPERATIVELY IN CLOSE QUARTER CONTACT.

3. ~~(C)~~ THE TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISER, MARTIN MANSERGH,

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TOLD THE AMBASSADOR SEPARATELY THAT HE WAS VERY HAPPY WITH TODAY'S AGREEMENT. THE UNIONIST DELEGATION, INCLUDING REG EMPEY AND UUP GENERAL SECRETARY JACK ALLEN, HAD BEEN "EXTREMELY REASONABLE" IN ITS APPROACH, HE SAID.

FORUM ON PEACE AND RECONCILIATION
/----------

4. ~~(C)~~ DERMOT GALLAGHER ALSO ADVISED US THAT, CONTRARY TO EARLIER THINKING (AND POSSIBLY TO THE WISHES OF THE SDLP), THE GOI IS NOW INCLINED TO CONVENE THE FORUM ON PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN EARLY NOVEMBER AND POSSIBLY AGAIN IN JANUARY. HE SAID THIS MOVE WAS INTENDED TO BE HELPFUL IN PROVIDING AN "ALL-IRISH" DIMENSION, WHICH IS IMPORTANT FOR SINN FEIN. JUDGE CATHERINE MCGUINNESS, WHO CHAIRED THE FORUM WHEN IT MET IN THE YEAR PRIOR TO THE BREAKDOWN OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE IN 1996, WOULD BE EXPECTED TO SERVE AS CHAIRPERSON ONCE AGAIN. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5168

TOR: 970930121953 M2955065

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SAPIRO TODD VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.14)
KBH 7/31/2019

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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0693
SUBJ: IRISH CONCERNS ABOUT UNIONIST PROPOSALS TO EXPAND THE MANDATE OF THE NORTH COMMISSION ON PARADES

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

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 005249

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/03/07
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH CONCERNS ABOUT UNIONIST PROPOSALS TO EXPAND THE MANDATE OF THE NORTH COMMISSION ON PARADES

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

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE GOI IS CONCERNED THAT HMG, IN AN EFFORT TO PLACATE UNIONISTS, WILL BROADEN THE MANDATE OF THE NORTH COMMISSION TO INCLUDE SPORTS AND CULTURAL EVENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY DUBLIN SEES SUCH A MOVE AS FALSELY EQUATING "TRIUMPHALIST" PROTESTANT MARCHES WITH GAELIC FOOTBALL MATCHES. THE GOI HAS SHARED ITS CONCERNS WITH LONDON AND IS AWAITING DRAFT BRITISH LANGUAGE ON UK LEGISLATION TO BE INTRODUCED THIS MONTH. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION COUNSELOR COLM O'FLOINN TOLD US OCTOBER 3 THAT DUBLIN IS AWARE OF EFFORTS BY DAVID TRIMBLE TO EXPAND THE "REMIT" OF THE NORTH COMMISSION ON PARADES, TO INCLUDE SPORTS AND OTHER EVENTS THAT RELATED TO CULTURAL IDENTITY. WHILE THE GOI SUPPORTS GIVING THE NORTH COMMISSION LEGAL POWERS TO DECIDE ABOUT CONTROVERSIAL PARADES, IT IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT ANY PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD EQUATE ORANGE ORDER MARCHES WITH GAELIC FOOTBALL GAMES.

3. (C) O'FLOINN EMPHASIZED THAT AT THIS POINT, THE SPECIFICS OF THE PROPOSALS TO EXPAND THE COMMISSION'S REMIT ARE VAGUE. "IT IS NOT CLEAR EXACTLY WHAT IS BEING PROPOSED," HESAID. EVEN MO MOWLAM'S "RECENT BRIEFING" DID NOT REALLY CLARIFY THE MATTER.

4. (C) NEVERTHELESS, DUBLIN HAS MADE IT VERY CLEAR TO LONDON THAT IT SEES NO EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN ORANGE ORDER

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MARCHES AND GAELIC CULTURAL OR SPORTS EVENTS. "LONDON IS WELL AWARE OF OUR VIEWS." O'FLOINN INDICATED THE IRISH SEE A REAL DANGER THAT EXPANDING THE MANDATE OF THE COMMISSION IN THIS FASHION COULD EXACERBATE TENSIONS AND TURN WHAT ARE FOR THE MOST PART NON-CONFRONTATIONAL EVENTS INTO REAL OBJECTS OF CONTENTION. THERE IS A "FALSE BALANCE" BETWEEN CULTURAL EVENTS IN THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY AND "TRIUMPHALIST" UNIONIST PARADES, HE SAID.

5. (C) ACCORDING TO O'FLOINN, SOME MEMBERS OF THE NORTH COMMISSION ARE THEMSELVES CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROPOSALS TO EXPAND THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE, BECAUSE THIS MIGHT PLACE THEM UNDER UNDESIRABLE "PRESSURE."

6. (C) DUBLIN IS WAITING FOR DRAFT LANGUAGE FROM LONDON ON HOW THIS ISSUE WILL BE ADDRESSED IN THE BILL THAT WILL EMPOWER THE NORTH COMMISSION. A DRAFT MIGHT BE PRESENTED IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, O'FLOINN SAID. DUBLIN ANTICIPATES THE LEGISLATION WILL BE ENACTED IN OCTOBER -- THE EARLIER THE BETTER, FROM THE IRISH POINT OF VIEW, IN ORDER TO HAVE THE PARADE-DECIDING MECHANISM IN PLACE PRIOR TO NEXT YEAR'S MARCHING SEASON, WHICH STARTS AROUND EASTER.

7. (C) THE BRITISH ARE SAID TO BE "REFLECTING" ON THE MATTER, AND MAY BE INCLINED TO REFER GENERALLY IN PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE TO BROADENING THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE, RATHER THAN LEGALLY EMPOWERING THIS. BUT EVEN THIS WORRIES DUBLIN, O'FLOINN INDICATED, AS IT MIGHT ALLOW TRAWLING THROUGH NATIONALIST CULTURAL EVENTS. MOREOVER, TO THE EXTENT THAT THESE ISSUES TOUCH ON "PARITY OF ESTEEM" MATTERS, THEY FIT INTO THE CATEGORY OF POLITICAL ISSUES THAT BELONG IN THE STORMONT TALKS, IN THE IRISH VIEW. IN SHORT, DUBLIN FEARS THAT WHAT MAY BE INTENDED AS A GESTURE TOWARD UNIONISM COULD END UP CREATING EVEN MORE TROUBLE IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5249

TOR: 971003105924 M2961056

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SAPIRO TODD VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC

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Cable

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2015-0157-M (2.15)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA5454 2831434-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 101434Z OCT 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 101434Z OCT 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2255
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0399
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0704
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH U.S. MEMBER OF ARMS DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AMB.JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5(D)

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 005454

E.O. 12958; DECL; 10/09/07
TAGS: PTER, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH U.S. MEMBER OF ARMS DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AMB.JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5(D)

1. (C) AMBASSADOR DONALD JOHNSON, THE U.S. MEMBER OF THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING, PAID A COURTESY CALL ON AMBASSADOR SMITH OCTOBER 3. JOHNSON (PROTECT) OFFERED SOME INSIGHTS INTO HOW THE COMMISSION PROPOSES TO CONDUCT ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY AT STORMONT.

2. (C) THE COMMISSION HAS ESTABLISHED OFFICES IN DUBLIN CASTLE, IN ADDITION TO ITS FACILITIES IN BELFAST. AT THE SUGGESTION OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, THE COMMISSION PLANS TO HAVE ONE OF ITS MEMBERS LIVE AND OPERATE FROM DUBLIN -- PROBABLY JOHNSON HIMSELF.

3. (C) IN THE NEAR TERM, THE COMMISSION INTENDS TO PREPARE A "ROADMAP" FOR HOW PARAMILITARIES COULD GO ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING. THE COMMISSION PLANS TO MEET WITH PARTICIPANTS IN THE STORMONT TALKS DURING THE WEEK OF OCTOBER 6 IN BELFAST -- OR, IF DESIRED, IN DUBLIN.

4. (C) JOHNSON INDICATED NO MEETINGS WITH PARAMILITARIES ARE EXPECTED SOON, BUT THE COMMISSION INTENDS TO "SIGNAL ITS AVAILABILITY" AND EMPHASIZE ITS INDEPENDENCE, IN HOPES OF EVENTUALLY SECURING MEETINGS WITH THOSE WHO ACTUALLY POSSESS ILLEGAL WEAPONS.

5. (C) AT GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN'S INITIATIVE, THE COMMISSION IS PREPARING CONTINGENCY PLANS IN CASE IT IS CONTACTED BY ANY INDIVIDUALS WISHING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE AMNESTY PROVISIONS OF UK OR IRISH

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DECOMMISSIONING LEGISLATION TO TURN OVER ILLEGAL WEAPONS IN THEIR POSSESSION.

6. (C) OVER THE L?LGER TERM, "WE'LL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE," JOHNSON SAID. THE COMMISSION IS ENGAGED "FULLTIME" FOR NOW, AND EXPECTS TO BE BUSY UNTIL LATE NOVEMBER OR EARLY DECEMBER. WHETHER IT WOULD HAVE WORK TO DO FOLLOWING THE CHRISTMAS BREAK REMAINS TO BE SEEN. "WE MIGHT HAVE TO BE PREPARED FOR A PERIOD OF QUIESCENCE," JOHNSON SAID. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5454

TOR: 971010112021 M2971310

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SAPIRO TODD VERSHBOW
SIT: NSC

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2015-0157-M (2.16)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 161553Z OCT 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 161553Z OCT 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2289
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0402
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0717
SUBJ: PARADES COMMISSION MANDATE ISSUE "RESOLVED"

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 005534

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/16/07
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UK, EI
SUBJECT: PARADES COMMISSION MANDATE ISSUE "RESOLVED"

REF: DUBLIN 5249

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE MADELYN SPIRNAK. REASON 1.5 (B)

1. ~~(C)~~ DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT GALLAGHER TOLD US OCTOBER 16 THAT HE IS OPTIMISTIC THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE NORTH COMMISSION'S MANDATE HAS BEEN RESOLVED. FOLLOWING INTERVENTIONS BY THE GOI, INCLUDING PUBLIC COMMENTS BY TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN, MO MOWLAM REPORTEDLY CALLED GALLAGHER ON OCTOBER 15.

2. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER SAID MOWLAM TOLD HIM THE BRITISH WOULD PUT A CLAUSE IN THEIR DRAFT LEGISLATION SPELLING OUT THAT THE NORTH COMMISSION'S MANDATE DOES NOT EXTEND TO SPORTING EVENTS. (DUBLIN'S CONCERN HAD BEEN THAT GAELIC FOOTBALL AND OTHER GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION EVENTS WOULD FALL UNDER THE COMMISSION'S PURVIEW -- SEE REFTEL.)

3. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER EXPECTED THE LEGISLATION WOULD STILL REFER IN SOME MANNER TO CULTURAL EVENTS IN THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY, AND DUBLIN WOULD RESPOND WITH AN "EXPRESSION OF CONCERN" -- BUT THIS WOULD BE RATHER PRO FORMA, HE SUGGESTED.
STORMONT TALKS
/----------

4. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER WAS UPBEAT ABOUT THIS WEEK'S ACTIVITIES AT THE STORMONT TALKS. SENATOR MITCHELL HAD CALLED ON DELEGATIONS TO SUBMIT PAPERS ON STRAND TWO CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES BY MONDAY, OCTOBER 20. GALLAGHER INDICATED ISSUE PAPERS ON INDIVIDUAL ISSUES WOULD BE EXPECTED IN FAIRLY RAPID SUCCESSION, AS THE SENATOR APPEARED DETERMINED NOT TO LET THE AGENDA GET STALLED OVER ANY ONE ITEM.

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5. (C) ALTHOUGH PARTICIPANTS WERE STILL IN THE MODE OF "SIZING EACH OTHER UP," THE ATMOSPHERE WAS MUCH BETTER THAN HE HAD EXPECTED IT WOULD BE, GALLAGHER SAID. HE CITED THE UUP'S OCTOBER 25 PARTY CONFERENCE AS ONE REASON FOR CONTINUED CAUTION ON THE PART OF SOME UNIONISTS. STILL, GALLAGHER SAW "THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGAGEMENT" AT THE TALKS THIS WEEK, AND HOPED THAT WITHIN FIVE OR SIX WEEKS SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS WOULD FOLLOW. SPIRNAK

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5534

TOR: 971016124708 M2978836

DIST:

SIT: BUTLER PASSDOWN SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT{C2}
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SIT: BANDLER MCELDOWNEY

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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 2005492 OCT 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
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RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 1965
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 3631
RUEHNO/USMISSION USNATO 9914
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH KEY BLAIR ADVISORS

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0157-M [2.17]

KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 011993

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/17/07
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, NATO, UK, FR, RU
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH KEY BLAIR ADVISORS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM ROBERT BRADTKE.
REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

2. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY. IN HIS INITIAL MEETING WITH KEY BLAIR ADVISORS JONATHAN POWELL AND JOHN HOLMES, THE AMBASSADOR DISCUSSED NORTHERN IRELAND, EMU, THE FRANCO-GERMAN-RUSSIAN SUMMITS, AND ISSUES AHEAD ON THE U.S.-UK AGENDA. END SUMMARY.

3. ~~(C)~~ ON OCTOBER 17 THE AMBASSADOR PAID AN INTRODUCTORY CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S CHIEF OF STAFF JONATHAN POWELL AND PRINCIPAL PRIVATE SECRETARY JOHN HOLMES. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ISSUES DISCUSSED DURING THE MEETING ARE AS FOLLOWS:

NORTHERN IRELAND
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4. ~~(C)~~ THE AMBASSADOR BRIEFED POWELL AND HOLMES ON HIS TWO-DAY INITIAL VISIT TO BELFAST AND LONDONDERRY, INCLUDING LENGTHY MEETINGS WITH SOME OF THE PARTIES REPRESENTED AT THE TALKS. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED HIS INTENTION TO BE ENGAGED ON THIS ISSUE AND LOOK FOR WAYS THE U.S. COULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS. ASKED FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE WAY AHEAD IN THE PEACE PROCESS, HOLMES SAID THAT THERE WERE GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM. THE PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, EXCEPT FOR SINN FEIN AND PAISLEY'S DUP, WERE NOT TOO FAR APART ON THE KIND OF SETTLEMENT THAT COULD EMERGE FROM THE STORMONT TALKS. WHILE THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF WORK TO DO, THERE WAS ALSO A RELATIVELY CLEAR IDEA ALREADY OF WHAT THE FINISHED PRODUCT SHOULD LOOK LIKE. AT THE SAME TIME, HOLMES STRESSED THAT ANY VIOLENT INCIDENT, EVEN ONE PERPETRATED BY ONE OF THE FRINGE PARA-MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS, COULD BRING THE PROCESS TO A

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TOTAL HALT.

5. ~~(C)~~ BLAIR CHIEF OF STAFF POWELL ECHOED HOLMES' REMARKS. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF "BUILDING AGREEMENT FROM THE MIDDLE," WITH CRITICAL ROLES BEING PLAYED BY SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME AND UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE. WHILE BOTH MEN WERE KEY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, BOTH ALSO HAD THEIR SHORTCOMINGS. TRIMBLE FACED LEADERSHIP CHALLENGES WITHIN HIS PARLIAMENTARY GROUP AND NEEDED CONSTANT REASSURANCE FROM LONDON AND WASHINGTON. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c [redacted] POWELL EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF TRYING TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO "BUILD UP" BOTH MEN IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

EMU
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6. ~~(C)~~ ASKED ABOUT THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT'S THINKING ON EMU, POWELL NOTED THAT OPINION POLLING HAD SHOWN THAT VOTERS IN THE MAY ELECTIONS HAD NOT CAST THEIR VOTE BASED ON THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, THE BRITISH PUBLIC MOOD WAS EURO-SKEPTIC. "NO SENSIBLE GOVERNMENT" WOULD PUT THE ISSUE OF BRITISH ENTRY INTO EMU TO AN ELECTORAL TEST AT THIS POINT. POWELL ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SUPPORT IN THE BRITISH BUSINESS COMMUNITY FOR BRITISH ENTRY APPEARED TO BE ON THE RISE. THIS COULD HELP CREATE THE PROPER CONDITIONS FOR BRITISH ENTRY AT A LATER DATE.

RUSSIAN-FRENCH-GERMAN SUMMITS
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7. ~~(C)~~ HOLMES ADMITTED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD NOT BEEN PLEASED WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE FRENCH, GERMAN AND RUSSIAN GOVERNMENTS THAT THEY WOULD MEET PERIODICALLY AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL. POWELL DOWNPLAYED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUMMITS, MAINTAINING THAT THE IDEA HAD ORIGINATED AT A CHIRAC-YELTSIN [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c [redacted] IN STRASBOURG ON THE MARGINS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE MEETING. HE ALSO ADMITTED HOWEVER, THAT THE PERCEPTION OF A SUMMIT MEETING OF THE THREE, WITHOUT THE UK, WAS NOT GOOD.

U.S.-UK AGENDA
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8. ~~(C)~~ ASKED TO DESCRIBE THE ISSUES IN U.S.-UK RELATIONS WHICH MERITED ATTENTION IN THE COMING MONTHS, HOLMES PLACED BOSNIA WITH THE CONTINUED U.S. PRESENCE AFTER THE SUMMER OF 1998 FIRST ON HIS LIST. ANOTHER KEY ISSUE WAS NATO ENLARGEMENT. HOLMES EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE DISCUSSION IN THE U.S. OVER THE COSTS OF NATO ENLARGEMENT AND EUROPE'S SHARE COULD BECOME AN INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT ISSUE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EUROPE. FINALLY, HOLMES ALSO NOTED, WITHOUT ELABORATION, THAT THE U.S., THE UK, AND THE EU WOULD ALSO NEED TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF U.S. SANCTIONS LEGISLATION INCLUDING HELMS-BURTON AND THE IRAN-LIBYA SANCTIONS ACT.

9. ~~(C)~~ THE AMBASSADOR ADDED TO THIS LIST GLOBAL WARMING AND THE UPCOMING CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE IN KYOTO. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE U.S. AND THE UK TO TRY TO

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/17/07
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, NATO, UK, FR, RU
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH KEY BLAIR ADVISORS

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DEVELOP A COMMON APPROACH. POWELL CONFIRMED THAT DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER JOHN PRESCOTT INTENDED TO TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH VICE PRESIDENT GORE ON THIS ISSUE. THE AMBASSADOR ENCOURAGED SUCH A VISIT IN ORDER TO HAVE A HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSION OF U.S.-UK DIFFERENCES.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1993
<^SSN>1993

TOR: 971020015431 M2983182
<^TOR>971020015431 M2983183

DIST:
SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SAPIRO TODD VP
SIT: NSC

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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA5601 2940628-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 210628Z OCT 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 210628Z OCT 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2311
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0403
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0725
SUBJ: JOHN HUME UPBEAT ON STORMONT TALKS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.18)
KBH 7/31/2019

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

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 005601

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/20/07
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UK, EI
SUBJECT: JOHN HUME UPBEAT ON STORMONT TALKS

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

1. ~~(C)~~ JOHN HUME STOPPED BY FOR A CHAT OVER THE WEEKEND. HE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE TALKS AT STORMONT. HE TOLD ME THE TALKS HAD GOTTEN OFF TO A GOOD START AND WERE ABOUT TO GET DOWN TO REAL BUSINESS. INDEED, HE BELIEVED IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE THE TALKS WOULD PRODUCE AGREEMENT SOONER THAN EXPECTED, I.E., EVEN BEFORE THE MAY 1998 TARGET DATE.

2. ~~(C)~~ HUME INDICATED HE IS "KEEPING CHANNELS OPEN" TO THE DUP'S IAN PAISLEY, AND DOES NOT RULE OUT EVENTUAL DUP PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS.

3. ~~(C)~~ ADDRESSING THE STRAND TWO NEGOTIATIONS, HUME SAID HE ENVISAGES ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS THAT WOULD ALLOW FOR POLICIES TO BE DECIDED IN CONSULTATION BETWEEN REPUBLIC OF IRELAND MINISTERS AND THEIR NORTHERN IRELAND COUNTERPARTS.

4. ~~(C)~~ WHILE CONTINUING TO PRAISE GEORGE MITCHELL'S ROLE, HUME SUGGESTED THAT THE SENATOR BEGIN TO PLAY AN EVEN MORE "PROACTIVE" ROLE IN PROPOSING SPECIFIC COURSES OF ACTION TO GENERATE MOMEMTUM IN THE TALKS.
5. ~~(C)~~ HUME TOLD ME HE PLANS TO VISIT WASHINGTON DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN DECEMBER. HE APPRECIATED HIS MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR LADER LAST WEEK, AND EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT THE AMBASSADOR'S REPORTED INTENTION TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 5601

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TOR: 971021023110 M2985002
DIST:
SIT: BUTLER SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG
<^DIST>
SIT: BANDLER

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2015-0157-M (2.19)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 231602Z OCT 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 231602Z OCT 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2340
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0733
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0407
SUBJ: DFA MEETS "RELAXED" MARTIN MCGUINNESS, BUT SEES CONTINUED TENSIONS IN SF/IRA

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

TEXT:

////////////////////////// DUPLICATE SECTION //////////////////////

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 005701

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/23/07
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DFA MEETS "RELAXED" MARTIN MCGUINNESS, BUT SEES CONTINUED TENSIONS IN SF/IRA

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

1. (C) I MET WITH DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT GALLAGHER OCTOBER 23 FOR A REVIEW OF THIS WEEK'S SESSION AT THE STORMONT TALKS. HE STARTED OFF BY REFERRING (JOKINGLY) TO THE HUGELY EMBARRASSING EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK INVOLVING THE LEAK OF CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDA OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN A DFA OFFICIAL AND PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE MARY MCALEESE. HIS VIEW IS THAT THE LEAKS CAME FROM "POLITICAL" RATHER THAN CIVIL SERVICE SOURCES.

2. (C) GALLAGHER CONTINUES NOT TO EXPECT ANY MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TALKS BEFORE LATE NOVEMBER/EARLY DECEMBER. THE PARTIES ARE BEGINNING TO WARM UP TO EACH OTHER SLOWLY -- AS MANIFESTED IN LIGHT BANTER BETWEEN UNIONISTS AND REPUBLICANS IN THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE -- BUT THIS DID NOT PREVENT THE UUP FROM STAGING A BRIEF "WALK-OUT" WHEN IT INTERPRETED IRISH FM DAVID ANDREWS AS SUGGESTING THAT THE GOI WOULD NOT CONSIDER AMENDING ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE CONSTITUTION UNTIL AFTER A SETTLEMENT WAS REACHED.

3. (C) IN FACT, THE GOI CLARIFIED THAT IT INTENDS TO DISCUSS PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE IN THE IRISH CONSTITUTION "AS PART BOTH OF BALANCED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND OF AN OVERALL AGREEMENT." (FULL TEXT FAXED TO EUR/UBI AND NSC.) THIS BROUGHT THE UUP BACK TO THE TABLE THE SAME DAY.

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GALLAGHER INDICATED HE (AND SOME OF THE LOYALIST REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT) VIEWED ALL THIS AS POSTURING BY UUP LEADERS ON THE EVE OF THEIR OCTOBER 25 PARTY CONFERENCE. HE NOTED THAT FM ANDREWS AND DAVID TRIMBLE HAD A "GOOD" 35-MINUTE MEETING LATER IN THE WEEK.

4. (C) GALLAGHER SAID SENATOR MITCHELL APPEARED TO BE TAKING AN "INCREASINGLY ASSERTIVE" STANCE IN THE TALKS IN AN EFFORT TO GENERATE MOMENTUM. GALLAGHER NOTED THE TALKS FORMAT MAY SHIFT TO FOCUSSING ON ONE STRAND PER WEEK, RATHER THAN THE CURRENT FORMAT OF ALTERNATING FROM STRAND ONE TO STRAND TWO TO STRAND THREE IN ANY GIVEN WEEK. THE GOI HAS PROPOSED THE STRAND TWO TALKS SHIFT VENUE TO LONDON AND DUBLIN LATER IN THE FALL, AS A WAY TO PROMOTE "NATURAL" INTERCHANGE IN A MORE CONFERENCE-FRIENDLY FACILITY THAN THE PREMISES AT STORMONT. GALLAGHER SUGGESTED THIS PROPOSAL WAS WELL RECEIVED.

MARTIN MCGUINNESS
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5. (C) GALLAGHER HELD A LENGTHY MEETING WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS ON OCTOBER 22. HE FOUND MCGUINNESS "RELAXED" AND WILLING TO GIVE THE UNIONISTS A FEW MORE WEEKS TO ENGAGE FULLY. SINN FEIN WAS VERY PLEASED WITH ITS OCTOBER 13 MEETING WITH PM TONY BLAIR.

6. (C) HOWEVER, MCGUINNESS ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT TENSIONS WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT ARE NOT BEING HELPED BY THE "SLOW PACE" OF BRITISH ACTION ON PRISONER ISSUES. SINN FEIN FEELS SOME ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY SERVICES HAVE A "VESTED INTEREST" IN MAINTAINING TENSIONS, GALLAGHER SAID. MCGUINNESS ALSO COMPLAINED TO GALLAGHER ABOUT BRITISH ARMY "HARRASSMENT" OF SINN FEIN MEMBERS, INCLUDING MCGUINNESS' OWN BROTHER WHO WAS ALLEGEDLY HASSLED WHILE JOGGING IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS.

7. (C) GALLAGHER CONFIRMED THE ACCURACY OF A REPORT IN THE OCTOBER 20 "IRISH INDEPENDENT" STATING THAT AN IRA POLICY MEETING HAD BEEN HELD IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS, AND THAT THE PRO-CEASEFIRE LEADERSHIP HAD PREVAILED OVER DISSIDENTS WHO QUESTION WHAT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IS GETTING IN RETURN. FROM MARTIN MCGUINNESS' COMMENTS, GALLAGHER JUDGED THAT THERE IS CONTINUING UNEASE WITHIN SF/IRA OVER THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF THE CEASEFIRE -- THIS WAS A "DAILY BATTLE" FOR ADAMS, GALLAGHER SAID.

8. (C) THE GOI WILL PRESS LONDON TO TRANSFER THREE REPUBLICAN PRISONERS (WOODS, HAYES AND KINSELLA) TO THE REPUBLIC AS SOON AS POSSIBLE (WHILE ASSURING HMG THAT THE "INTEGRITY OF SE
NTENCE" WILL BE MAINTAINED IN EACH CASE).
HOWEVER, THE IRISH RECENTLY CAPTURED A MAZE ESCAPEE, AND ARE PREPARING FOR HIS POSSIBLE EXTRADITION TO THE UK DESPITE SINN FEIN ANGER OVER SUCH A MOVE. GALLAGHER EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE ONUS IS ON THE GOVERNMENTS TO BE "GENEROUS" WHILE THE CEASEFIRE IS IN PLACE, IN ORDER NOT TO GIVE "AMMUNITION" TO THE CONTINUITY IRA.

COMMENT
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9. (C) AT A PRIVATE LUNCH FOLLOWING OUR MEETING, GALLAGHER PLACED SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE PRISONERS ISSUE. HOW THIS

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ISSUE IS HANDLED COULD BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN KEEPING
DISGRUNTLED REPUBLICANS ON BOARD WITH THE PEACE PROCESS.
THE HOLD WHICH ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS HAVE ON THEIR
CONSTITUENTS REMAINS TENUOUS, ACCORDING TO GALLAGHER.
SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5701

TOR: 971024014701 M2991171

DIST:

SIT: BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
SODERBERG STEINBERG

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2015-0157-M (2.20)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHLOA2406 3011804-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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LINE3: P 281804Z OCT 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0623
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0994
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1065
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETINGS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 012406

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/28/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETINGS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR PHILIP LADER. REASON: 1.5(D)

2. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: MEETING WITH A WIDE VARIETY OF POLITICAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS IN BELFAST AND LONDONDERRY OCTOBER 15-16, THE AMBASSADOR FOUND A GOOD DEAL OF OPTIMISM AMONG THE KEY PLAYERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THAT OPTIMISM WAS TEMPERED, HOWEVER, BY A RECOGNITION THAT THE TALKS PROCESS IS FRAGILE AND THAT IT MUST BRIDGE A WIDE GAP OF MUTUAL MISTRUST AND MISUNDERSTANDING. UUP LEADERS CHOSE TO EMPHASIZE THE DIFFICULTY OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THEY CONTINUE TO HAVE BROAD UNIONIST SUPPORT FOR STAYING IN THE TALKS. NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THE TALKS ARE MOVING IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION -- MUCH MORE POSITIVELY THAN SHE WOULD HAVE PREDICTED AT THE OUTSET OF HER TERM -- BUT SHE SAID, GIVEN THE UNCERTAINTIES, NO ONE CAN PREDICT WHEN THE ENDGAME MIGHT BE REACHED. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) AMBASSADOR LADER MET WITH A WIDE CROSS-SECTION OF POLITICAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS DURING HIS OCTOBER 15-17 VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND. FOLLOWING AN OCTOBER 15 MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF STATE MO MOWLAM IN HER NEW STORMONT PARLIAMENT OFFICE, HE MET AT LUNCH HOSTED BY THE CONSUL GENERAL WITH A GROUP THAT INCLUDED THE MODERATOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE VICE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER, THE HEAD OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD, THE CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBATION SERVICE AND OTHER ACADEMIC, BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS. HE THEN JOINED SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME AND MOWLAM IN DERRY FOR A DINNER IN HONOR OF A VISITING DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE TRADE DELEGATION. ON OCTOBER 16, THE AMBASSADOR MET OVER LUNCH WITH UUP LEADERS DAVID TRIMBLE, JOHN TAYLOR AND JEFFREY DONALDSON. HE ALSO HELD A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH LOYALIST PARTY LEADERS

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GARY MCMICHAEL AND DAVID ERVINE; ALLIANCE PARTY DEPUTY LEADER SEAMUS CLOSE; SINN FEIN CHIEF NEGOTIATOR MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND ITS DC OFFICE DIRECTOR MAIREAD KEANE; AND WOMENS COALITION MEMBERS PEARL SAGAR AND BRONAGH HINDS. HE ATTENDED A DINNER, ALONG WITH MOWLAM AND RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE RONNIE FLANAGAN, HOSTED BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE KEY DISCUSSIONS FOLLOW.

MO MOWLAM
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4. (C) AFTER AN INITIAL COURTESIES AND A PHOTO OP, THE AMBASSADOR ASKED MOWLAM FOR HER ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION. SHE SAID THE GOVERNMENT IS PROUD OF HAVING "PULLED IT OFF," I.E., HAVING ACTUALLY GOTTEN UNDERWAY INCLUSIVE DISCUSSION ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE STORMONT TALKS AFTER THE FIRST TWO WEEKS IS BUSINESS-LIKE AND, IF NOT CORDIAL, AT LEAST RESPECTFUL. MOWLAM HOPES THAT OVER TIME AN EVEN MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE WILL DEVELOP, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE UNIONISTS WHO TEND STILL SEE THEIR ROLE AS PRIMARILY CONFRONTATIONAL. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A LONG WAY TO GO, MOWLAM SAID, THERE ARE REASONS FOR BEING OPTIMISTIC: THE PARTIES NEEDED FOR AN AGREEMENT ARE AROUND THE TABLE, THE ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED HAVE BEEN SET -- EVEN IF NOT "PERFECTLY FRAMED YET" -- AND CURRENT CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE FOR REAL NEGOTIATION. "WE ARE, AFTER ALL, MUCH FARTHER ALONG THAN I WOULD HAVE PREDICTED AT THE OUTSET OF OUR TERM," SHE SAID.

5. (C) HOWEVER, MOWLAM DECLINED TO GIVE A PREDICTION ABOUT HOW RAPIDLY THE TALKS MIGHT PROGRESS. IT IS A VERY FRAGILE PROCESS, SHE NOTED, WHICH COULD BE "BLOWN WAY OFF COURSE" BY A SINGLE BOMB OR BULLET. GIVEN THE MANY FALSE DAWNS IN NORTHERN IRELAND'S RECENT HISTORY, FEW PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO GO OUT ON A LIMB OVER THIS START. GIVEN THE UNCERTAINTIES, MOWLAM SAID, NO ONE CAN PREDICT WHEN THE ENDGAME MIGHT BE REACHED. SHE HAD HOPES THAT SOME PROGRESS COULD BE MADE "BY CHRISTMAS" BUT ALLOWED THAT THE PROPOSED MAY TIMEFRAME FOR WINDING UP NEGOTIATIONS HAS ALWAYS BEEN "MORE OF A TARGET THAN A DEADLINE."

6. (C) MOWLAM THANKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR U.S. INVOLVEMENT AND INTEREST IN NORTHERN IRELAND. REVIEWING POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, SHE SAID NONE OF THEM WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT'S STEADY AND STEADYING SUPPORT. SHE SAID AMERICAN INVESTMENT AND U.S. SUPPORT THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND WERE "INVALUABLE" CONTRIBUTIONS; SHE THANKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR THE $19 MILLION TRANCHE RECENTLY RELEASED FOR IFI. MOWLAM INQUIRED ABOUT THE FEASIBILITY OF ANOTHER ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. SHE THOUGHT, DEPENDING ON ITS OBJECTIVES AND TIMING, THAT ANOTHER U.S.-SUPPORTED INITIATIVE MIGHT BE USEFUL. SHE OFFERED NIO ASSISTANCE SHOULD THE U.S. BE INTERESTED IN FOLLOWING UP ON THE WASHINGTON AND PITTSBURGH CONFERENCES. SHE ALSO ASKED THE AMBASSADOR TO CONSIDER HOW "LATERAL THINKING" COULD BE PROMOTED BETWEEN AND AMONG THE TWO TRADITIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SHE SAID SHE IS VERY OPEN TO IDEAS ABOUT TO GET AT THE "DIVISIONS OF THE MIND" AMONG THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. THE AMBASSADOR AGREED TO THINK IT OVER AND OFFER

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SOME SUGGESTIONS ABOUT HOW TO FOSTER GREATER COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING ACROSS THE COMMUNAL DIVIDE.

7. (C) MOWLAM SAID SHE AND HER STAFF ARE BEGINNING TO THINK ABOUT A POSSIBLE MID-NOVEMBER VISIT TO THE U.S. NOT ONLY WOULD SHE WANT TO VISIT KEY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS AND CONGRESSMEN IN WASHINGTON, BUT SHE IS CONSIDERING A SPEAKING TOUR THAT MIGHT INCLUDE BOSTON, PHILADELPHIA, CHICAGO AND SAN FRANCISCO OVER A FIVE OR SIX-DAY VISIT. THE AMBASSADOR OFFERED THE EMBASSY'S ASSISTANCE IN FACILITATING HER PLANS.

DAVID TRIMBLE
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8. (C) UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE, JOINED BY DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR AND MP JEFFREY DONALDSON, MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR OVER LUNCH AT ARDNAVALLY HOUSE OCTOBER 16. ALL THREE HAD A POSITIVE IMPRESSION OF THEIR VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND WERE GRATEFUL FOR THEIR ACCESS TO THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. TRIMBLE LAID OUT A CAUTIOUS, BUT NOT NECESSARILY PESSIMISTIC, SCENARIO OF THE WAY FORWARD FOR THE TALKS PROCESS. HE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT SINN FEIN'S REAL BOTTOM LINE IS BUT HE ASSUMES IT IS A UNITED IRELAND. IF THEY STICK TO THAT, TRIMBLE SAID, "OBVIOUSLY THERE'S NO WAY FORWARD. WE'LL WAIT AND SEE, BUT ULTIMATELY IT IS LIKELY TO BE DIFFICULT, INDEED."

9. (C) TAYLOR AGREED WITH TRIMBLE THAT THERE IS A STRONG MANDATE FROM GRASSROOTS UNIONISM FOR THE UUP TO STAY IN THE TALKS. "UNIONISTS WANT THEIR FLANKS PROTECTED," HE SAID, "NOT LEFT UNGUARDED AS THEY WOULD BE BY THE LIKES OF PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY." HOWEVER, HE SAID, UNIONISM WILL NEVER ACCEPT THE FRAMEWORKS DOCUMENT OR ANY SOLUTION BASED ON IT." TRIMBLE CONCURRED, SAYING "CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION IS FINE BUT CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS ARE BELOW THE WATER LINE OF WHAT IS ACCEPTABLE." WHEN FURTHER QUERIED BY THE AMBASSADOR, NEITHER TRIMBLE NOR TAYLOR WERE SPECIFIC ABOUT WHETHER WHAT SORT OF "CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION" MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. BOTH SIMPLY REPEATED PREVIOUS INCANTATIONS ABOUT HOW DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION ACCEPTABLE TO MAINSTREAM UNIONISM.

10. (C) TRIMBLE SAID HE THINKS THERE IS "NO CHANCE WHATSOEVER" THAT PAISLEY WILL RETURN TO THE TALKS. PAISLEY IS ALREADY THINKING ABOUT THE REFERENDUM AND THE NEXT ELECTION, IN WHICH HE WILL CAMPAIGN "AS THE PURE, UNADULTERATED UNIONIST" AGAINST WHATEVER "TAINTED" AGREEMEgT MIGHT EMERGE.

LOYALIST LEADERS
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11. (C) UDP LEADER GARY MCMICHAEL AND SPOKESMAN DAVID ADAMS, AND PUP LEADER DAVID ERVINE ALSO MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR OCTOBER 16. ASKED ABOUT THE TALKS, MCMICHAEL SAID LOYALISTS "DEAL WITH REALITIES" AND RECOGNIZE THAT THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE TALKS IS MORE CONFLICT, OF WHICH LOYALISTS WILL BEAR THE BRUNT. LOYALISTS THEREFORE ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT THE IRA CEASE-FIRE ON ITS FACE, BUT BELIEVE SINN FEIN SHOULD NOT GET ANOTHER CHANCE IF THIS ONE BREAKS DOWN; THERE IS NOT A HIGH DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE AMONG LOYALISTS THAT THIS IRA CEASE-FIRE WILL HOLD.

12. (C) WHEN THE AMBASSADOR ASKED FOR THE INGREDIENTS OF A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME, ERVINE RESPONDED THE FIRST THING TO DO IS TO RECOGNIZE WHAT WILL NOT HAPPEN. THE IDEA THAT A UNITED IRELAND OR, ALTERNATIVELY, DIRECT RULE FROM LONDON, IS A

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PLAUSIBLE OUTCOME "SHOULD QUICKLY BE SWEPT FROM THE TABLE." ERVINE SAID THESE ARE "LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS" BUT SIMPLY HAVE INSUFFICIENT SUPPORT. AFTER ELIMINATING THOSE OUTCOMES, IT IS A MATTER OF DECIDING HOW TO "ORGANIZE WHAT'S IN BETWEEN." HE ACKNOWLEDGED THIS WILL BE EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFICULT, GIVEN THE SOCIAL DIVIDE AND THE "SEPARATE TRIBAL IDENTITIES" WHICH MAKE IT SO HARD EVEN TO COME UP WITH SHARED SYMBOLS.

13. (C) NONETHELESS, ERVINE SAID HE THINKS THE TALKS PROCESS HAS STARTED A "JUGGERNAUT" WHICH WILL BECOME UNSTOPPABLE. MCMICHAEL ALSO WAS REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC, ALTHOUGH HE CAUTIONED THAT IT WILL TAKE TIME TO PREPARE THE VARIOUS CONSTITUENCIES FOR THE OUTCOME.

14. (C) BOTH MCMICHAEL AND ERVINE EMPHASIZED THAT "THE TIME FOR CONCESSIONS TO REPUBLICANS IS OVER." ALTHOUGH WELCOMING AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT AND PRAISING BOTH THE PRESIDENT'S CONTRIBUTIONS AND SENATOR MITCHELL'S ROLE, THEY WERE CRITICAL OF RECENT AMERICAN ACTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE DECISION TO STAY DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS AGAINST SEVERAL FORMER IRA MEMBERS. THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH GESTURE TOWARD LOYALISTS, THEY COMPLAINED. ERVINE SAID IT IS UP TO THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES AROUND THE TABLE TO BUILD CONFIDENCE IN EACH OTHER. THERE IS, HE SAID, NO LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S. ON EITHER SIDE, SO IT IS "SILLY AND SELF-DEFEATING" FOR THE USG TO INSTITUTE MEASURES TO BUILD ONE SIDE'S CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA WHEN IT KNOWS THOSE SAME STEPS WILL ALIENATE THE OTHER -- WITHOUT HAVING ANY IMPACT ON HOW EACH SIDE OF THE TABLE FEELS

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TOWARD THE OTHER SIDE. ERVINE SAID THE U.S. MUST REMAIN THE "MORAL GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRACY," AND KEEP ITS INVOLVEMENT "AS UMPIRE AND AS CHEERLEADER FOR PEACE" ON A HIGHER PLANE.

MARTIN MCGUINNESS
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15. (C) MCGUINNESS BEGAN BY WELCOMING "EXCELLENT" U.S. INVOLVEMENT AND THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. MCGUINNESS SAID THE CHANGE IN THE UK GOVERNMENT WAS A "GOOD THING," AND AHERN'S ELECTION IN THE REPUBLIC MEANT THAT GOVERNMENT IS "CLUED IN." SINN FEIN'S MEETING IN BELFAST WITH PM TONY BLAIR HAD BEEN "EXCELLENT." MCGUINNESS SAID HE COULD SEE THAT BLAIR "IS NO BLUFFER" AND HE WAS HEARTENED TO SEE BLAIR'S ATTITUDE AND DEMEANOR, WHICH HE THOUGHT INDICATED BLAIR IS "KEENLY INTERESTED IN MAKING THIS WORK."

16. (C) GIVEN UNIONIST RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT EVEN THE SOLUTION ENVISAGED BY THE FRAMEWORKS DOCUMENT AND SINN FEIN'S SUPPORT FOR A UNITARY REPUBLICAN IRELAND, HOW DOES MCGUINNESS SEE THE TALKS PROGRESSING? FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS NEEDED, HE SAID, INCLUDING "DEMILITARIZATION" AND REMOVAL OF THE BRITISH ARMY AND DISBANDMENT OF THE RUC. SINN FEIN IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS IS WILLING TO CONSIDER ALL ARGUMENTS; IT WOULD NOT SHRINK FROM THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INTERIM OUTCOME, IF THAT IS WHAT IS AGREED AROUND THE TABLE. HOWEVER, HE SAID, UNIONISTS, ARE FRIGHTENED OF "REAL NEGOTIATIONS." HE

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CRITICIZED UNIONIST NEGOTIATING TACTICS, SAYING THEY APPEAR TO BE RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE SUBSTANTIVELY, PARTICULARLY ON STRAND TWO. ACCORDING TO MCGUINNESS, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS THE "KEY PLAYER," JOINED IN THAT ROLE BY THE IRISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS.

17. (C) MCGUINNESS CRITICIZED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OVER THE PRISONER ISSUE. HE SAID THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IS A CRUCIAL CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE, AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD BEGIN TO RELEASE PRISONERS AS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS DONE. HE SAID IT "SHOULD NOT BE BEYOND THE INGENUITY OF THE BRITISH AND GERMAN GOVERNMENTS" TO COME UP WITH A SOLUTION TO THE ROISIN MCALISKEY EXTRADITION PROBLEM. HE ALSO CRITICIZED RUC HARASSMENT OF NATIONALISTS, WHICH HE SAID CONTINUES VIRTUALLY UNDIMINISHED. HE SAID HIS OWN FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE BEEN PICKED OUT FOR HARASSMENT IN RECENT WEEKS.

18. (C) MCGUINNESS URGED THE AMBASSADOR TO "GIVE SOME THOUGHT" TO HOW IRA MEN NOW FACING EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS IN THE U.S. CAN BE GIVEN BETTER TREATMENT, INCLUDING BAIL. THIS MAY REQUIRE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO SAY THEY WOULD NOT OPPOSE BAIL; MCGUINNESS SAID HE INTENDS TO RAISE THIS WITH MOWLAM SOON AND ASKED THE AMBASSADOR TO DO WHAT HE COULD TO INFLUENCE THE BRITISH NOT TO OPPOSE BAIL OR, PREFERABLY, TO WITHDRAW THE EXTRADITION APPLICATION. MCGUINNESS STRESSED THAT REPUBLICANS SEE THIS AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE. WITHOUT MAKING ANY COMMITMENT, THE AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT HE "HEARD" MCGUINNESS' REQUEST.

LADER

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SSN: 2406
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DIST:
SIT: BANDLER BUTLER
SIT: NSC

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.21)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 041143Z NOV 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 041143Z NOV 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2365
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0410
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0738
SUBJ: TAOISEACH SEES "CRUNCH TIME" APPROACHING IN NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS

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

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 005830

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/04/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TAOISEACH SEES "CRUNCH TIME" APPROACHING IN NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS

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

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: BERTIE AHERN WAS VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE FIRST LADY'S VISIT TO DUBLIN. HE IS OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS FROM THE U.S. ON POSSIBLE CONSTITUTIONAL MODELS TO BRIDGE DIFFERENCES IN THE STRAND TWO TALKS. AHERN AND DAVID TRIMBLE MAY MEET THIS WEEK. AHERN AGREES WITH GERRY ADAMS THAT THE UNIONISTS SHOULD NOT IGNORE SINN FEIN AT THE STORMONT TALKS; ADAMS ALSO RAISED VISAS TO THE U.S. WITH AHERN IN THEIR MEETING. AHERN SEES THE PERIOD BETWEEN MID-NOVEMBER AND LATE MARCH AS THE "CRUNCH TIME" IN THE PEACE PROCESS, AND WANTS TO BEGIN BUILDING MOMENTUM TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(C)~~ I MET ONE-ON-ONE WITH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN AT HIS RESIDENCE IN DUBLIN ON NOVEMBER 3. HE EXPRESSED GREAT PLEASURE AT HIS CONVERSATION WITH FIRST LADY HILLARY CLINTON DURING DINNER ON OCTOBER 30, AT WHICH THEY DISCUSSED A VARIETY OF ISSUES INCLUDING PUBLIC SERVICE, CHILD CARE AND ECONOMIC INVESTMENT IN THE BORDER REGION. HE TOLD ME HE WAS EXTREMELY GRATEFUL TO HER FOR STOPPING IN DUBLIN AND FOR HER MESSAGE OF SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. THE FACT THAT PEACE IN IRELAND HAD BEEN ONE OF HER BIRTHDAY WISHES TOUCHED HIM ESPECIALLY.

3. ~~(C)~~ AHERN SAID THE FIRST LADY'S VISIT WAS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT COMING AS IT DID NEARLY TWO YEARS AFTER PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT. THIS CONVEYED MOMENTUM, WHICH WAS VERY IMPORTANT AT THIS STAGE. HE TOLD BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK, DURING THE LATTER'S VISIT TO DUBLIN

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NOVEMBER 3, JUST HOW IMPORTANT THE FIRST LADY'S STOP IN DUBLIN WAS IN THIS REGARD. AHERN HOPED TO ARRANGE A MEETING IN MAY 1998 BETWEEN HIMSELF, PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRIME MINISTER BLAIR.

4. (C) A NEW MODEL FOR TWIN ALLEGIANCES ON ONE TERRITORY WAS THE MOST BADLY NEEDED ELEMENT OF THE PEACE PROCESS NOW, THE TAOISEACH TOLD ME. STRAND ONE (INTERNAL NORTHERN IRELAND) AND STRAND THREE (IRELAND-UK) ISSUES COULD BE RESOLVED, HE SAID, BUT THE STRAND TWO (NORTH-SOUTH) TALKS WERE THE REAL PROBLEM AND NEEDED A NEW APPROACH. HE WAS OPEN TO ANY IDEAS WE MIGHT HAVE ON NEW MODELS WHEREBY NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS COULD BE REPRESENTED EQUALLY, WHILE EACH MAINTAINING ALLEGIANCE TO THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.

5. (C) AHERN REVEALED THAT DAVID TRIMBLE HAD ASKED TO MEET WITH HIM THIS WEEK, THROUGH BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL CHANNELS, AND SUCH A MEETING IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE.

6. (C) PRISONER ISSUES REMAIN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, THE TAOISEACH EMPHASIZED. HE WAS HAPPY THAT LONDON HAD TRANSFERED THREE REPUBLICAN PRISONERS TO IRELAND LAST WEEK (PRIOR TO FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK'S VISIT, HE NOTED), AND SIX MORE ARE EXPECTED. THIS HAD A POSITIVE IMPACT IN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. "THE GUYS OUTSIDE WILL NEVER FORGET THE GUYS INSIDE," HE SAID. IRELAND, FOR ITS PART, HAD RELEASED SEVEN REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OVER THE PAST SIX WEEKS, AND WAS LOOKING AT A "BIG MOVE" TOWARD CHRISTMAS.

7. (C) AHERN MET WITH GERRY ADAMS O/A OCTOBER 25. ADAMS SEEMED UPBEAT, AND DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT WAS HOLDING. AHERN ADMITTED TO FINDING THIS "SCARY," HOWEVER, AS HE REALIZED THE DISCIPLINE COULD JUST AS EASILY BE TURNED BACK TOWARD CARRYING OUT VIOLENCE. AHERN SAID ADAMS' BIGGEST COMPLAINT WAS THAT THE UNIONISTS WERE NOT ENGAGING SINN FEIN IN THE STORMONT TALKS; IT WAS ONE THING TO IGNORE THE REPUBLICANS OUTSIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT ANOTHER THING ENTIRELY FOR UNIONISTS TO CONDUCT THEMSELVES IN THE TALKS AS IF SINN FEIN WERE NOT EVEN PRESENT.

8. (C) AHERN SAID THAT GERRY ADAMS ALSO RAISED THE ISSUE OF VISAS TO THE U.S., INDICATING THAT GERRY KELLY WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE A POSITIVE STATEMENT REGA
RDING THE PEACE
PROCESS WHILE IN THE U.S.

9. (C) COMMENTING ON MARY MCALEESE'S ELECTION TO BE IRISH PRESIDENT, AHERN SAID SHE IS A WARMER PERSON THAN SHE APPEARS TO BE IN THE MEDIA -- AND REALIZES SHE HAS TO WORK ON CONVEYING THIS PUBLICLY. HE WAS VERY PLEASED WITH HER VICTORY. HE EXPECTED HER TO INVITE PEOPLE FROM ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM TO THE PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE IN DUBLIN FOR DISCUSSIONS ON HOW TO BREAK DOWN BARRIERS. SHE KNEW ALL THE KEY PLAYERS IN THE NORTH -- "BETTER THAN I DO," HE SAID: "SHE WILL WORK ON THEM ONE-BY-ONE."

10. (C) IN AHERN'S VIEW, "CRUNCH TIME" WAS APPROACHING IN THE PEACE PROCESS. IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN WHEN THE VARIOUS PARTY PAPERS ARE SUBMITTED (MID-NOVEMBER) AND LATE MARCH, EVERYTHING HAD TO BE "PUT IN PLACE." MEDIA ATTENTION, AND

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THE MARCHING SEASON, WOULD DETRACT FROM THE PARTIES' ABILITIES TO COMPROMISE AFTER THAT. AHERN'S GAMEPLAN WAS TO CONVENE THE FORUM ON PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN MID-NOVEMBER (PROBABLY THE 14TH AND 15TH). HE WOULD THEN BRING TOGETHER THE LEADERS OF ALL THE PARTIES -- ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED THE UNIONISTS MIGHT NOT AGREE TO MEET. THEN, WHEN ALL THE PAPERS WERE IN AND ALL THE MEETINGS HAD BEEN HELD, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD COME IN "VERY HARD" BEHIND SENATOR MITCHELL IN ORDER TO "DRIVE THE PROCESS FORWARD."

11. (C) AHERN EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING MOMENTUM. HE SAID HE HOPED THE SCENARIO HE HAD OUTLINED WOULD ENABLE HIM TO GIVE A POSITIVE REPORT TO PRESIDENT CLINTON WHEN THE TWO MEET ON DECEMBER 15 IN WASHINGTON.
SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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SSN: 5830
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DIST:
SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SAUNDERS SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2} SODERBERG STEINBERG

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LINE3: O 071709Z NOV 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 071709Z NOV 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2396
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0755
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0421
SUBJ: SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS POINT TO NEED FOR MOVEMENT IN THE TALKS AND ON THE GROUND

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

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KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 005987

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/07/07
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SUBJECT: SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS POINT TO NEED FOR MOVEMENT IN THE TALKS AND ON THE GROUND

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

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: RESIGNATIONS BY SINN FEIN/IRA MEMBERS IN PROTEST AGAINST THE PEACE PROCESS UNDERLINE CONCERN IN DUBLIN THAT THE STORMONT TALKS MUST MAKE TANGIBLE PROGRESS SOON. HOWEVER, DEFECTORS APPEAR SO FAR NOT TO HAVE JOINED THE CONTINUITY IRA, AND MAY BE DISTANCING THEMSELVES FROM A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT THAT FALLS SHORT OF A UNITED IRELAND. STILL, THESE EVENTS HIGHLIGHT THE NEED FOR MOVEMENT ON THE GROUND IN TERMS OF THE "PEACE DIVIDEND" (PRISONERS, POLICING, ETC.). THERE CONTINUES TO BE A ROLE FOR A U.S.-LED COMMUNITY ECONOMIC INITIATIVE AIMED AT ESTABLISHING MOMENTUM ON THE GROUND. END SUMMARY.

DEFECTIONS REPORTED
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2. (U) JOURNALISTS AND OFFICIALS IN DUBLIN ARE TRYING TO ASSESS THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE IRA CEASEFIRE AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS OF THE REPORTED ESIGNATIONS OF UP TO 20 IRA MEMBERS IN OCTOBER AND THE DECISION BY TWELVE MEMBERS OF SINN FEIN IN DUNDALK, COUNTY LOUTH (REPUBLIC OF IRELAND), TO RESIGN FROM THE PARTY ON NOVEMBER 6.

3. (U) ACCORDING TO THE "IRISH INDEPENDENT," 20 SENIOR IRA PERSONNEL, INCLUDING THE QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL, WHO REPORTEDLY LIVES IN COUNTY LOUTH, WERE "FORCED TO RESIGN"

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THEIR POSITIONS ON THE "12-PERSON IRA EXECUTIVE" DURING A MEETING OF IRA OFFICIALS IN THE TOWN OF GWEEDORE, IN COUNTY DONEGAL (REPUBLIC OF IRELAND) O/A OCTOBER 12, 1997.

4. (U) SIMILARLY, TWELVE MEMBERS OF THE COUNTY LOUTH BRANCH OF SINN FEIN WALKED OUT OF A MEETING IN PROTEST ON NOVEMBER 6, ARGUING THAT SINN FEIN SHOULD NOT HAVE SIGNED UP TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES. THESE MEMBERS CLAIM THE SF LEADERSHIP IS IGNORING LOCAL OPINION AND SAY THE PARTY IS PREPARING TO SETTLE FOR A SOLUTION THAT FALLS SHORT OF A UNITED IRELAND.

SINN FEIN VIEWS
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5. (C) SINN FEIN SPOKESMEN REFRAIN FROM DIRECT COMMENT ON THE REPORTED IRA RESIGNATIONS (CHAIRPERSON MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN TOLD RTE THAT HE WOULD NOT KNOW ABOUT THAT), BUT DOWNPLAY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SINN FEIN RESIGNATIONS. PUBLICITY DIRECTOR RITA O'HARE TOLD ME THE RESIGNATIONS DID NOT REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT EROSION IN SUPPORT FOR THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP'S APPROACH; SUPPORT FOR THE CEASEFIRE REMAINS SOLID.

6. (C) AT THE SAME TIME, O'HARE SAID THE RESIGNATIONS DO NOT COME AS A SURPRISE, GIVEN FRUSTRATION WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT REGARDING "LACK OF PROGRESS" IN THE STORMONT TALKS AND IN VIEW OF WHAT IS DESCRIBED AS THE ABSENCE OF MOVEMENT ON THE GROUND ON ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE GRASSROOTS (E.G., PRISONERS, POLICING).

GOI VIEWS
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7. (U) TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN TOLD REPORTERS HE DID NOT WISH TO OVERSTATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REPORTED IRA SPLIT. WHILE THE REPORTS WERE OF CONCERN, "WE ARE TALKING ABOUT A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF PEOPLE," HE SAID.

8. (U) JUSTICE MINISTER JOHN O'DONOGHUE SAID "EVEN THE SMALL, LIMITED NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ARE APPARENTLY ACTING AS DISSIDENTS AT THE PRESENT TIME HAVE STOOD BACK FROM THE SITUATION AS OPPOSED TO JOINING THE CONTINUITY ARMY COUNCIL."

9. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION COUNSELLOR DAVID COONEY TOLD US SINN FEIN SEEMED "UNNERVED" BY THE POSSIBILITY THAT THESE DEFECTIONS COULD LEAD TO FURTHER EROSION IN SUPPORT FOR ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS. HOWEVER, HE TOOK SOME COMFORT FROM INDICATIONS THAT THE DEFECTORS HAD APPARENTLY NOT -- YET, AT LEAST -- DECIDED TO LINK UP WITH THE CONTINUITY IRA.

10. (C) COONEY INDICATED THE RESIGNATIONS HAD NOT COME AS A SURPRISE TO THE GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THEY REFLECTED UNDERLYING CONCERNS IN THE REPUBLICAN CO
MMUNITY THAT THE
"PEACE DIVIDEND" HAD NOT YET MATERIALIZED AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS PRISONERS AND POLICING. HE CITED BY WAY OF EXAMPLE THE IRONY THAT THE CEASEFIRE HAD ALLOWED THE RUC AND BRITISH ARMY TO RESUME
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 005987

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

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STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/07/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS POINT TO NEED FOR MOVEMENT IN THE TALKS AND ON THE GROUND

NORMAL POLICING AND PATROLS IN NATIONALIST AREAS, WHICH IN TURN HAD ANGERED SOME NATIONALISTS, WHO WANTED TO SEE A REDUCTION IN BRITISH SECURITY FORCE PRESENCE. IN THE ABSENCE OF MOVEMENT ON THE GROUND, HE SAID, THERE WAS A RISK OF FURTHER EROSION IN SUPPORT FOR THE TALKS.

MILITARY VIEWS
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11. (C) DAO MILITARY CONTACTS AGREED THE WALKOUTS SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED, BUT NEITHER SHOULD THEY BE TAKEN TOO LIGHTLY. RESIGNING FROM A PARAMILITARY GROUP IS NOT UNCOMMON, AND MEMBERS HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO WANDER IN AND OUT DEPENDING ON THEIR MOTIVATIONS. OPPOSITION TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED. THE RECENT RESIGNATIONS APPEAR TO BE BY PEOPLE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO SINN FEIN'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES, AND WHO DO NOT WANT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH ANY DEAL THAT FALLS SHORT OF A UNITED IRELAND.

12. (C) MILITARY CONTACTS LIKEWISE AGREE THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT ANY OF THE DEFECTORS HAVE GONE ON TO JOIN CONTINUITY IRA OR INTEND TO FORM THEIR OWN SPLINTER ORGANIZATION. ANIMOSITY BETWEEN PIRA AND CIRA MEMBERS REMAINS HIGH. THE CURRENT ESTIMATE IS THAT 50 PERCENT OF PIRA IS TOTALLY BEHIND ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS; 30 PERCENT FAVOR RETURNING TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE; AND 20 PERCENT ARE UNDECIDED AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO RESUMING VIOLENCE IF PROGRESS IS NOT MADE IN THE STORMONT TALKS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

COMMENT
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13. (C) I SHARE THE ANALYSIS THAT THESE RESIGNATIONS, WHILE NOT NECESSARILY THE START OF AN AVALANCHE OF DEFECTIONS, DO REFLECT GENUINE TENSIONS WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY (THE IRISH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT APPEAR TO SUBSCRIBE TO DAVID TRIMBLE'S VIEW THAT THESE EVENTS ARE BEING STAGE MANAGED BY SINN FEIN TO CREATE A SENSE OF URGENCY). THESE EVENTS UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE NOT ONLY OF ACHIEVING MOMENTUM IN THE STORMONT TALKS, BUT, JUST AS VITAL, OF PRODUCING VISIBLE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONALISTS ON THE GROUND.

14. (C) WHILE THE PRIMARY FOCUS FOR SUCH MOVEMENT WILL INEVITABLY REMAIN ISSUES SUCH AS PRISONERS AND POLICING, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT DEMONSTRATIONS OF TANGIBLE ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND INTEREST BY OUTSIDERS CAN GO A LONG WAY TOWARD MOLLIFYING NATIONALIST CONCERNS. IN THIS REGARD, I BELIEVE A HIGH-PROFILE, WHITE HOUSE-LED CONFERENCE, SUCH AS THE ONE I HAVE PROPOSED FOR LOCAL COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION, COULD CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO ESTABLISHING A SENSE OF MOMENTUM ON THE GROUND. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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SSN: 5987
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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0759
SUBJ: TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS -- ENGAGEMENT IN TALKS, CBM'Q NEEDED NOW

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.23)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

////////////////////////// INCOMPLETE MESSAGE //////////////////////////

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 006030

QQQQ
NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS -- ENGAGEMENT IN TALKS, CBM'Q NEEDED NOW

REF: (A) DUBLIN 5987 (B) LONDON 12845

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

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: THE TAOISEACH'S KEY ADVISERS ON NORTHERN IRELAND REMAIN CALM ABOUT LAST WEEK'S SF/IRA RESIGNATIONS, FINDING NO EVIDENCE YET THAT THEY SIGNAL LARGER SCALE DEFECTIONS TO REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN (WHICH HELD ITS PARTY CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN ON NOVEMBER 8) OR OTHER GROUPS. HOWEVER, THEY ARE IN CONTACT WITH SF AND REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE LONGER-TERM IMPLICATIONS. THEY SEE A NEED FOR THE GOVERNMENTS TO PRESS STEADILY FOR GENUINE ENGAGEMENT AT THE STORMONT TALKS. EQUALLY IMPORTANT ARE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES: DUBLIN INTENDS TO DEMARCHE BONN ON ROISIN MCALISKEY, AND IS HOPING FOR U.S. SUPPORT. MARTIN MANSERGH ASKED ABOUT THE PROPOSED WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LOCAL COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION. END SUMMARY.

"LOCALIZED" CHALLENGE TO SF/IRA LEADERSHIP
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2. ~~(C)~~ I MET WITH TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISER MARTIN MANSERGH NOVEMBER 10 FOR HIS REACTIONS TO THE RECENT DEFECTIONS FROM SINN FEIN/IRA. HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE ALARMED. CHOOSING HIS WORDS CAREFULLY, HE SAID: "TO BE FRANK, IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO BELITTLE THESE EVENTS NOR TO EXAGGERATE THEIR IMPORTANCE." IT WAS NOT THE END OF THE

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PEACE PROCESS, HE SAID -- BUT IT WAS WORRYING.

3. (C) MANSERGH TOLD ME THE ASSESSMENT OF IRISH POLITICAL AND SECURITY EXPERTS IS THAT THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP IS ABLE TO HANDLE THIS CHALLENGE, WHICH FOR THE MOMENT IS LOCALIZED IN COUNTY LOUTH. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THE DEFECTORS WERE JOINING RIVAL GROUPS SUCH AS REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN OR CONTINUITY IRA.

REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN
/------------------

4. (C) HOWEVER, MANSERGH NOTED THAT THERE WAS POTENTIAL FOR THE PROBLEM TO SPREAD, WITH REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN SEEKING TO DESTABILIZE THE SITUATION. (NOTE: RSF HELD A PARTY CONFERENCE AT A DUBLIN HOTEL ON NOVEMBER 8; WHILE ASSERTING THAT RSF WAS NOT "LOOKING FOR DISGRUNTLED PROVOS," PRESIDENT RUAIRI 0' BRADAIGH CLAIMED THE RESIGNATIONS VINDICATED HIS PARTY'S VIEW. A RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED URGING "ALL REPUBLICANS INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN MISLED IN THE PAST" TO JOIN RSF. END NOTE.) THERE WAS A DANGER AS TIME WENT BY THAT THE DEFECTORS COULD COME TO COOPERATE WITH RSF. MANSERGH EMPHASIZED THAT RSF IS CURRENTLY "FIGHTING" NOT THE BRITISH BUT RATHER THE PROVISIONAL WING OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

ARMED STRUGGLE
/-------------

5. (C) I ASKED MANSERGH WHETHER THE PROBLEM FOR SF/IRA HAD TO DO WITH THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES OR THE PACE OF PROGRESS IN THE TALKS. HE RESPONDED THAT THE PROBLEM WAS DEEPER THAN EITHER OF THESE FACTORS. THERE WERE FUNDAMENTAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT BETWEEN THOSE WHO WANTED TO KEEP THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS A FUTURE OPTION, AND THOSE WHO WANTED TO "STEER A POLITICAL COURSE."
6. (C) I ASKED MANSERGH ABOUT THE TIMING OF THESE DEFECTIONS. HE RESPONDED THAT THE LONGER THE CEASEFIRE LASTED, THE HARDER IT WOULD BE TO RETURN TO VIOLENCE; HARDLINERS SAW THEIR OPTIONS NARROWING. ALSO, AMIDST THE STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE UNDERWAY IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, THESE RESIGNATIONS HAD MORE IMPACT NOW THAN THEY WOULD HAVE LATER ON, HE SAID. STILL, "THESE KINDS OF DIFFICULTIES WERE ALWAYS GOING TO EMERGE AT SOME POINT."

STORMONT TALKS
/-------------

7. (C) ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE TALKS, MANSERGH SAID THEY WORKED IN TWO WAYS. ONE 4QMQU 7AY4KKQ&QTENDENCY (I.E., AMONG NATIONALISTS) WAS TO PRESS FOR THE
TALKS TO SPEED UP AND MAKE VISIBLE PROGRESS. THE OTHER TENDENCY (I.E., AMONG UNIONISTS) W
AS TO REINFORCE THE
DOUBTS OF THOSE WHO QUESTION THE VALIDITY OF THE PEACE PROCESS. THE NET EFFECT, HE SAID, WAS FOR THESE TWO TENDENCIES TO CANCEL EACH OTHER OUT, COMPLICATING MATTERS FOR THE GOVERNMENTS. FOR NEITHER DUBLIN NOR, ESPECIALLY, LONDON COULD TAKE STEPS JUST BECAUSE IT LOOKED LIKE THE CEASEFIRE MIGHT OTHERWISE BREAK DOWN, HE SAID.

8. (C) THE BOTTOM LINE FOR THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WAS THAT THEY HAD TO TRY TO KEEP UP A STEADY MOMENTUM IN THE TALKS.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 006030

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STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

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SUBJECT: TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS -- ENGAGEMENT IN TALKS, CBM'S NEEDED NOW

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SUBJ: GERRY ADAMS, MARTIN MCGUINNESS, ALEX REID CITE NEED FOR PROGRESS ON PRISONERS, STORMONT TALKS

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

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.24)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 006065

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/12/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: GERRY ADAMS, MARTIN MCGUINNESS, ALEX REID CITE NEED FOR PROGRESS ON PRISONERS, STORMONT TALKS

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

1. (C) SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH MARTIN MCGUINNESS SAYS SINN FEIN WILL SEE THE TALKS PROCESS THROUGH, GERRY ADAMS WAS DOWNBEAT WHEN I SPOKE TO HIM YESTERDAY. FATHER ALEX REID SAYS ADAMS IS IN ACTUALITY EVEN MORE WORRIED THAN HE WILL LET ON PUBLICLY OR TO US. MO MOWLAM REPORTEDLY TOLD ADAMS SHE WAS "LOSING THE BATTLE" ON CBM'S RELATING TO PRISONERS. BERTIE AHERN PLANS TO CALL TONY BLAIR, AND JOHN HUME WAS APPARENTLY ASKED BY BLAIR TO COME TO LONDON ON SHORT NOTICE. THERE ARE CONFLICTING PRESS ACCOUNTS AS TO WHETHER 35 IRA MEMBERS IN SOUTH ARMAGH HAVE LEFT THE ORGANIZATION. END SUMMARY.

GERRY ADAMS
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2. (C) FOLLOWING UP HIS RECENT PHONE CONVERSATION WITH JIM STEINBERG, GERRY ADAMS TOLD ME AT PRESIDENT MCALEESE'S SWEARING IN NOVEMBER 11 THAT HE WAS "QUITE CONCERNED" AND "DEPRESSED" ABOUT EVENTS ON THE GROUND. WHILE HE WAS "NOT DETERRED" IN HIS COMMITMENT TO THE STORMONT TALKS, HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY OF WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS AN INCREASED BRITISH TROOP PRESENCE IN SOUTH ARMAGH AND THE ABSENCE OF BRITISH FLEXIBILITY ON THE ISSUE OF PRISONERS.

3. (C) HE CITED THE SUDDEN ARREST OF TONY KELLY BY IRISH

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AUTHORITIES IN COUNTY DONEGAL, FOLLOWING "LEAKS" TO THE BRITISH PRESS THAT KELLY WAS RESIDING IN THE REPUBLIC. THE ENSUING EXTRADITION REQUEST WAS CAUSING SERIOUS PROBLEMS, HE TOLD ME.

4. (C) THE ABSENCE OF TANGIBLE PROGRESS IN THE TALKS WAS EQUALLY WORRISOME, ADAMS SAID. "EVERYTHING HAS A DYNAMIC," AND UNLESS THE TWO GOVERNMENTS MOVED TO RESTORE FORWARD MOMENTUM IN THE TALKS, THE DYNAMIC WOULD BEGIN TO REVERSE ITSELF, HE CLAIMED.

MARTIN MCGUINNESS
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5. (C) IN (SLIGHT) CONTRAST TO ADAMS' EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN, MARTN MCGUINNESS STUCK TO THE PARTY LINE, TELLING E THAT SINN FEIN WOULD STAY AT IT IN THE TALKS NO MATTER WHAT."

FATHER REID
/----------

6. (C) AT HIS INITIATIVE, FATHER ALEX REI (WHO HELPED BROKER THE 1994 CEASEFIRE) STOPED BY THE EMBASSY TO SEE ME NOVEMBER 12. BASD ON THREE RECENT CONVERSATIONS HE HAD HELD WITHGERRY ADAMS, REID STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF AHIEVING EARLY MOVEMENT IN THE STORMONT TALKS.
7. (C) REID SAID THE "CONSTANT PRESENCE" OFBRITISH MILITARY HELICOPTERS AND UNMARKED SECURIY VEHICLES IN SOUTH ARMAGH WAS HAVING A NEGATIVEEFFECT. HE ECHOED ADAMS' CONCERNS ABOUT THEEXTRADITION REQUEST REGARDING TONY KELLY -- THS WAS A "HUGE PROBLEM" FOR ADAMS, REID SAID. HE ALSO CLAIMED BRITISH SECURITY FORCES WERE"HARRASSING" PEOPLE AT NEW CHECKPO:
8. (C) THESE MATTERS WOULD NOT BE O SERIOUS IF PROGRESS WERE BEING MADE IN THE TALKS, REID TOLD ME, BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS, THEY COULD PUT THE PEACE PROCESS AT RISK. HE QUOTED JOURNALIST EAMON MALLIE AS HAVING TOLD HIM THAT DAVID TRIMBLE APPARENTLY DID NOT FEEL UNDER ANY PARTICULAR MORAL OBLIGATION TO "ENGAGE" AT THE TALKS.

9. (C) ACCORDING TO REID, THE SINN FEIN RESIGNATIONS IN COUNTY LOUTH WERE WORRISOME TO ADAMS, BECAUSE THE DEFECTORS DID NOT JUST RESIGN BUT ALSO WENT TO THE MEDIA WITH THEIR COMPLAINTS. REID SUGGESTED ADAMS WAS MORE CONCERNED THAN HE IS LETTING ON PUBLICLY. ADAMS COULD CONTINUE TO MANAGE THE SITUATION, REID SAID -- "BUT NOT IF THERE ARE ANY MORE EXTRADITIONS."

10. (C) COMMENT: ON PRISONER ISSUES IN GENERAL, MO MOWLAM REPORTEDLY TOLD ADAMS AT THE MCALEESE SWEARING-IN THAT "WE'RE LOSING THAT BATTLE." END COMMENT.

11. (C) REID TOLD ME THE FOCUS IS "ON THE STREETS" SINCE "NOTHING IS HAPPENING" IN THE TALKS. H
E INDICATED THE
INLA IS EXPECTED TO BE A SOURCE OF TROUBLE. THE IRA HAS MET WITH THE INLA RECENTLY AND PLANS TO MEET AGAIN. THE INLA SAYS IT WON'T UPSET THE PEACE PROCESS FOR NOW, BUT WILL RESPOND TO ANY LOYALIST ACTIONS. THE POSSIBILITY OF
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 006065

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

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A MERGER BETWEEN THE INLA AND CONTINUITY IRA EXISTED IF DISILLUSIONMENT WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY GREW, BUT FOR NOW "THE INLA IS THE ONE TO WATCH," REID SAID.

12. (C) REID CLAIMED THE BULK OF REPUBLICANS WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN "AGREED IRELAND" RATHER THAN A UNITED IRELAND. HE UNDERSTOOD UNIONIST FEARS ABOUT THE TALKS, BUT EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR THEM TO "ENGAGE" IN ORDER TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION. THE BOTTOM LINE WAS THAT THE TALKS HAD TO "GET GOING" NOW FOR THE PEACE PROCESS TO REMAIN ON TRACK.

HUME TO LONDON
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13. (C) I SAW JOHN HUME AT THE SWEARING-IN. HE HAD PLANNED TO ATTEND AN EVENT IN STRABANE (NORTHERN IRELAND) TONIGHT TO WHICH I AM ALSO INVITED, BUT TOLD ME THESE PLANS WERE OFF NOW. INSTEAD, TONY BLAIR HAD ASKED HIM TO COME TO LONDON TODAY (NOVEMBER 12).

14. (C) I ALSO UNDERSTAND BERTIE AHERN INTENDS TO TELEPHONE TONY BLAIR SHORTLY TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS.

IRA SOUTH ARMAGH BRIGADE
/-----------------------

15. (U) THERE ARE CONFLICTING PRESS REPORTS AS TO WHETHER 35 MEMBERS OF THE IRA'S "FIRST BATTALION" IN SOUTH ARMAGH HAVE JOINED RECENT DISSIDENTS FROM COUNTRY LOUTH IN STANDING DOWN FROM THEIR POSITIONS WITHIN THE ORGANIZATIONS. SUZANNE BREEN, AUTHOR OF A STORY TO THIS EFFECT IN TODAY'S "IRISH TIMES," TOLD RTE NEWS NOVEMBER 12 THAT THIS STORY HAD COME FROM A RELIABLE REPUBLICAN SOURCE, BUT THAT OTHER "IRA SOURCES" IN BELFAST WOULD NOT CONFIRM THE ACCURACY OF THE REPORT. THIS SUGGESTED CONFUSION IN REPUBLICAN RANKS, SHE SAID. PRESSURE WAS BUILDING ON THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, ALTHOUGH IT WAS CLEAR THE DISSIDENTS WERE "CHARTING THEIR OWN COURSE" FOR NOW RATHER THAN JOINING ANY OTHER GROUP.

16. (U) RTE SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT CHARLIE BIRD SAID A NORMALLY VERY RELIABLE REPUBLICAN SOURCE TOLD HIM THE SOUTH ARMAGH STORY IS NOT TRUE, NOR WERE RUMORS TRUE THAT AN ENGINEERING SECTION WAS STANDING DOWN. ALSO, ACCORDING TO BIRD'S SOURCE, FIVE (NOT 20) PEOPLE RESIGNED FROM THE IRA EXECUTIVE IN OCTOBER -- AND THEY RESIGNED ONLY FROM THE EXECUTIVE, NOT FROM THE IRA ITSELF. BIRD'S SOURCE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE IRA CEASEFIRE WAS NOT IN JEOPARDY FOR THE TIME BEING.

COMMENT
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17. (C) THERE IS A STRONG SENSE OF "DEJA VU" IN ALL THIS: IT CLOSELY RESEMBLES THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS THAT LED TO THE UNRAVELING OF THE 1996 CEASEFIRE. THE EXCUSE FOR ANY RESUMPTION OF VIOLENCE BY THE IRA WILL BE, LIKE LAST TIME, THE FAILURE OF UNIONISTS TO ENGAGE IN GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AT HAND.

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18. ~~(C)~~ WE SHOULD DEPRIVE THE IRA OF THE ABILITY TO DRAW ON THIS EXCUSE BY DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO GENERATE MOMENTUM IN THE STORMONT TALKS AND ON THE GROUND. THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE, JUDGING FROM THE COMMENTS OF VIRTUALLY EVERY SENIOR OFFICIAL I HAVE SPOKEN WITH IN RECENT DAYS, IS PRISONERS. AS THE TAOISEACH TOLD ME RECENTLY, "THE GUYS ON THE OUTSIDE DON'T FORGET THE GUYS ON THE INSIDE." SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0430
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0771
SUBJ: TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS -- ENGAGEMENT IN TALKS, CBM'S NEEDED NOW

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.25)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 006070

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS -- ENGAGEMENT IN TALKS, CBM'S NEEDED NOW

REF: (A) DUBLIN 5987 (B) LONDON 12845

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

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE TAOISEACH'S KEY ADVISERS ON NORTHERN IRELAND REMAIN CALM ABOUT LAST WEEK'S SF/IRA RESIGNATIONS, FINDING NO EVIDENCE YET THAT THEY SIGNAL LARGER SCALE DEFECTIONS TO REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN (WHICH HELD ITS PARTY CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN ON NOVEMBER 8) OR OTHER GROUPS. HOWEVER, THEY ARE IN CONTACT WITH SF AND REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE LONGER-TERM IMPLICATIONS. THEY SEE A NEED FOR THE GOVERNMENTS TO PRESS STEADILY FOR GENUINE ENGAGEMENT AT THE STORMONT TALKS. EQUALLY IMPORTANT ARE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES: DUBLIN INTENDS TO DEMARCHE BONN ON ROISIN MCALISKEY, AND IS HOPING FOR U.S. SUPPORT. MARTIN MANSERGH ASKED ABOUT THE PROPOSED WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LOCAL COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION. END SUMMARY.

"LOCALIZED" CHALLENGE TO SF/IRA LEADERSHIP

2. (C) I MET WITH TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISER MARTIN MANSERGH NOVEMBER 10 FOR HIS REACTIONS TO THE RECENT DEFECTIONS FROM SINN FEIN/IRA. HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE ALARMED. CHOOSING HIS WORDS CAREFULLY, HE SAID: "TO BE FRANK, IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO BELITTLE THESE EVENTS NOR TO EXAGGERATE THEIR IMPORTANCE." IT WAS NOT THE END OF THE PEACE PROCESS, HE SAID -- BUT IT WAS WORRYING.

3. (C) MANSERGH TOLD ME THE ASSESSMENT OF IRISH POLITICAL AND SECURITY EXPERTS IS THAT THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP IS

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ABLE TO HANDLE THIS CHALLENGE, WHICH FOR THE MOMENT IS LOCALIZED IN COUNTY LOUTH. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THE DEFECTORS WERE JOINING RIVAL GROUPS SUCH AS REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN OR CONTINUITY IRA.

REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN
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4. (C) HOWEVER, MANSERGH NOTED THAT THERE WAS POTENTIAL FOR THE PROBLEM TO SPREAD, WITH REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN SEEKING TO DESTABILIZE THE SITUATION. (NOTE: RSF HELD A PARTY CONFERENCE AT A DUBLIN HOTEL ON NOVEMBER 8; WHILE ASSERTING THAT RSF WAS NOT "LOOKING FOR DISGRUNTLED PROVOS," PRESIDENT RUAIRI 0' BRADAIGH CLAIMED THE RESIGNATIONS VINDICATED HIS PARTY'S VIEW. A RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED URGING "ALL REPUBLICANS INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN MISLED IN THE PAST" TO JOIN RSF. END NOTE.) THERE WAS A DANGER AS TIME WENT BY THAT THE DEFECTORS COULD COME TO COOPERATE WITH RSF. MANSERGH EMPHASIZED THAT RSF IS CURRENTLY "FIGHTING" NOT THE BRITISH BUT RATHER THE PROVISIONAL WING OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

ARMED STRUGGLE
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5. (C) I ASKED MANSERGH WHETHER THE PROBLEM FOR SF/IRA HAD TO DO WITH THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES OR THE PACE OF PROGRESS IN THE TALKS. HE RESPONDED THAT THE PROBLEM WAS DEEPER THAN EITHER OF THESE FACTORS. THERE WERE FUNDAMENTAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT BETWEEN THOSE WHO WANTED TO KEEP THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS A FUTURE OPTION, AND THOSE WHO WANTED TO "STEER A POLITICAL COURSE."
6. (C) I ASKED MANSERGH ABOUT THE TIMING OF THESE DEFECTIONS. HE RESPONDED THAT THE LONGER THE CEASEFIRE LASTED, THE HARDER IT WOULD BE TO RETURN TO VIOLENCE; HARDLINERS SAW THEIR OPTIONS NARROWING. ALSO, AMIDST THE STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE UNDERWAY IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, THESE RESIGNATIONS HAD MORE IMPACT NOW THAN THEY WOULD HAVE LATER ON, HE SAID. STILL, "THESE KINDS OF DIFFICULTIES WERE ALWAYS GOING TO EMERGE AT SOME POINT."

STORMONT TALKS
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7. (C) ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE TALKS, MANSERGH SAID THEY WORKED IN TWO WAYS. ONE TENDENCY (I.E., AMONG NATIONALISTS) WAS TO PRESS FOR THE TALKS TO SPEED UP AND MAKE VISIBLE PROGRESS. THE OTHER TENDENCY (I.E., AMONG UNIONISTS) W
AS TO REINFORCE THE
DOUBTS OF THOSE WHO QUESTION THE VALIDITY OF THE PEACE PROCESS. THE NET EFFECT, HE SAID, WAS FOR THESE TWO TENDENCIES TO CANCEL EACH OTHER OUT, COMPLICATING MATTERS FOR THE GOVERNMENTS. FOR NEITHER DUBLIN NOR, ESPECIALLY, LONDON COULD TAKE STEPS JUST BECAUSE IT LOOKED LIKE THE CEASEFIRE MIGHT OTHERWISE BREAK DOWN, HE SAID.

8. (C) THE BOTTOM LINE FOR THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WAS THAT THEY HAD TO TRY TO KEEP UP A STEADY MOMENTUM IN THE TALKS.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN006070

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADORSMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR - JAMES LYONS

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E.O. 2958: DECL: 11/10/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON SINN FEIN/IRA RESIGNATIONS -- ENGAGEMENT IN TALKS, CBM'S NEEDED NOW

THEY SHOULD NOT TRY TO SPEED THINGS UP SIMPLY BECAUSE OF PROBLEMS IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT; BUT NEITHER SHOULD THEY ALLOW THINGS TO SLOW DOWN.

9. (C) ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS REMAINED "FIRMLY IN CHARGE." MANSERGH ESTIMATED, BUT PRESSURE WAS GROWING ON THEM TO SHOW RESULTS FROM THE TALKS. ADAMS' STATEMENT LAST WEEK CONCERNING "DISSATISFACTION" IN REPUBLICAN RANKS ABOUT THE PACE OF THE TALKS REFLECTED THIS.

10. (C) MANSERGH'S OWN VIEW WAS THAT THE TALKS DID NEED TO START MOVING FASTER SOON. ONE MONTH IN THE SAME NEGOTIATING ROOM WAS "REASONABLE ENOUGH," BUT NOW THE ADJUSTMENT PHASE WAS OVER. MANSERGH SAID THERE NEEDED TO BE SOME SIGNS OF REAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES BEFORE CHRISTMAS.
11. (C) AT THE SAME TIME, THERE NEEDED TO BE PARALLEL CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, MANSERGH EMPHASIZED. THESE REPRESENTED AN "ALTERNATIVE MEANS" OF ATTAINING PROGRESS. STEADY CBM'S WOULD SERVE TO ENCOURAGE UNIONISTS, HE ASSERTED, BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THEY COULD NOT BRING EVERYTHING TO A STANDSTILL-

U.S. SUPPORT ON ROISIN MCALISKEY?
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12. (C) IN THIS VEIN, MANSERGH CONFIDED THAT THE GOI WOULD PROBABLY DEMARCHE BONN THIS WEEK IN AN EFFORT TO GET THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO DROP ITS REQUEST TO HAVE ROISIN MCALISKEY EXTRADITED FROM THE UK TO GERMANY TO STAND TRIAL FOR THE JUNE 28, 1996 ATTACK ON BRITISH BARRACKS AT OSNABRUCK. MCALISKEY WAS "A VERY SICK WOMAN," MANSERGH SAID, AND THE EVIDENCE AGAINST HER WAS "SLIM." HOLDING HER "INDEFINITELY" WITHOUT CHARGE WAS "NOT HAVING A GOOD EFFECT ON THE PEACE PROCESS," HE EMPHASIZED. THE GOI WOULD PROBABLY GO PUBLIC ON THIS. MANSERGH INDICATED THE GOI WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE ANY SUPPORT THE U.S. COULD PROVIDE ON THIS MATTER.

13. (C) MORE BROADLY, MANSERGH URGED THE U.S. TO ENCOURAGE ALL PARTIES AT THE TALKS TO GET ENGAGED. THE PROCESS COULD NOT DRAG ON INDEFINITELY. THERE WAS A NEED TO MOVE "REASONABLY FAST" TOWARD SOME SORT OF SETTLEMENT.

14. (U) MANSERGH ASKED WHETHER PLANNING HAD FIRMED UP YET REGARDING THE PROPOSED WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LOCAL COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION, NOTING THAT THE TAOISEACH REMAINED INTERESTED IN THIS EVENT. I INDICATED WE WERE CONTINUING TO WORK WITH JIM LYONS ON THE CONFERENCE, WHICH MIGHT BE HELD IN LATE MARCH/EARLY APRIL. MANSERGH THOUGHT THIS TIMEFRAME WOULD WORK OUT WELL.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE
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15. (C) ASKED WHETHER THE IRISH GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO BEGIN PREPARING THE PUBLIC FOR A REFERENDUM NEXT SPRING, MANSERGH SAID THE PUBLIC WAS ALREADY PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. BUT THIS HAD TO BE

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PART OF AN AGREEMENT, HE SAID. THERE WAS NOT MUCH POINT IN "GOING OUT FRONT" (ON ARTICLES TWO AND THREE OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION) IN ADVANCE OF PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE RECORD SHOWED THAT UNIONISTS WOULD MERELY POCKET ANY CONCESSIONS WITHOUT NECESSARILY OFFERING ANYTHING IN RETURN, MANSERGH CONCLUDED.

PAT DOHERTY: "A SMALL FIRE"
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16. ~~(C)~~ I ENCOUNTERED TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT SECRETARY PADDY TEAHON FOLLOWING MY MEETING WITH MANSERGH. HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR HIS RECENT MEETING AT THE NSC. I ASKED FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE SF/IRA DEFECTIONS. TEAHON WAS NOT ALARMED, ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED BEING SOMEWHAT SURPRISED THEY HAD HAPPENED "SOONER RATHER THAN LATER." HE SAID SINN FEIN VICE PRESIDENT PAT DOHERTY HAD TOLD HIM BY PHONE THIS MORNING THAT THE DEFECTIONS REPRESENTED "A FIRE -- A SMALL FIRE, AND THERE IS LOTS OF SMOKE." SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 6070
<^SSN>6070

TOR: 971113065444 M3022010
<^TOR>971113065630 M3022011

DIST:
SIT: BANDLER BUTLER CLARKER SIMON SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-m (2.26)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 131441Z NOV 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 131441Z NOV 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1112
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 1017
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1087
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONIST STRATEGY CONFERENCE PROPOSED

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 013013

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/13/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONIST STRATEGY CONFERENCE PROPOSED

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

2. (C) A LONDON-BASED UNIONIST TOLD US NOVEMBER 13 THAT PLANS FOR A UNIONIST CONFERENCE TO DECIDE ON A STRATEGY FOR THE STORMONT TALKS ARE "ALMOST THERE." HE DESCRIBED THE AS YET UNPUBLICIZED "FRIENDS OF THE UNION" CONFERENCE, WHICH COULD BE HELD IN LONDON NOVEMBER 28-29, AS A SEMINAL EVENT FOR THE FUTURE OF UNIONISM. THE PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE TO UNITE ALL STRANDS OF UNIONISM ON A PRO-ACTIVE STRATEGY THAT COULD LEAD TO RESOLUTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WELL BEFORE NEXT MAY; BUT ALSO WOULD EMPOWER EFFORTS TO FIGHT ANY REFERENDUM WHICH CONTAINS PROPOSALS UNACCEPTABLE TO UNIONISTS.

3. (C) ATTENDEES WOULD REPRESENT ALL UNIONIST AND LOYALIST PARTIES, AS WELL AS THE ORANGE ORDER, APPRENTICE BOYS AND OTHER LOYAL INSTITUTIONS. KEY FRIENDS FROM THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, BUSINESS, THE MEDIA AND ACADEMIA ALSO WOULD BE INVITED. IT APPEARS THAT DAVID TRIMBLE, PETER ROBINSON, ROBERT MCCARTNEY AND LORD CRANBORNE HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO ATTEND, ALTHOUGH INVITATIONS HAVE NOT FORMALLY BEEN ISSUED YET. ABOUT 150 PARTICIPANTS ARE EXPECTED.

4. (C) THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WOULD BE TO AGREE ON PROPOSALS WHICH ALL UNIONISTS CAN SUPPORT AT THE TALKS. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE CONCEPT OF A DEVOLVED NORTHERN IRELAND PARLIAMENT BASED ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION AND A BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD GAIN WIDESPREAD CONSENSUS. ACCORDING TO OUR INTERLOCUTOR, THE REAL ISSUE HAS TO DO WITH CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS: MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THE BROAD UNIONIST COMMUNITY WILL FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO SIGN ON TO THE INSTITUTIONS DESCRIBED IN THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENTS. ON THE

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OTHER HAND, IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT THE CONFERENCE COULD GIVE UNIONIST NEGOTIATORS A REMIT TO AGREE TO CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION "WHERE IT MAKES ECONOMIC SENSE AND PROVIDES PRACTICAL BENEFITS." IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IN THE UK, UNIONISTS MIGHT BE AMENABLE TO COOPERATION BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND PARLIAMENT WITH OTHER LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES IN SCOTLAND, WALES AND ENGLAND, AND THE IRISH DAIL, IN A SO-CALLED "COUNCIL OF THE BRITISH ISLES." THE CONFERENCE AGENDA ALSO WILL COVER THE PARADES ISSUE AND THE CREATION OF A UNIONIST THINK TANK.

5. (C) WHILE THE EMPHASIS WILL BE ON FORMING A POSITIVE STRATEGY, THE CONFERENCE PLANNERS ALSO ENVISAGE EMPOWERING A COMMITTEE READY TO ORGANIZE AN ANTI-REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN IN THE EVENT UNIONIST PROPOSALS ARE REJECTED AND THE GOVERNMENTS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE A SOLUTION. THE COMMITTEE WOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO BEGIN FUND RAISING EFFORTS. ORGANIZERS HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS CAMPAIGN WOULD BE ENTIRELY A DEMOCRATIC, ELECTORAL EFFORT AND IS DESIGNED TO HEAD OFF ANY PARAMILITARY RESPONSE.

6. (C) COMMENT: ALTHOUGH PLANS FOR THIS CONFERENCE ARE RELATIVELY FAR ADVANCED, THIS AMBITIOUS EFFORT IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN. IT WOULD BE THE FIRST SERIOUS ATTEMPT IN DECADES TO RE-INVIGORATE THE UNIONIST MOVEMENT, WHICH TRIMBLE HAS FREQUENTLY DESCRIBED AS "SHREDDED" BY ITS OWN IN-FIGHTING. THIS COULD PROVIDE POSITIVE MOMENTUM TO THE PEACE PROCESS BY GIVING UNIONIST NEGOTIATORS BACKING TO ENGAGE SERIOUSLY IN THE TALKS. BUT BY PRODUCING A HARD-LINE POSITION ON STRAND TWO ISSUES -- IF THAT IS WHAT RESULTS FROM THE CONFERENCE -- IT ALSO HAS THE POTENTIAL TO COMPLICATE THE SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3013

TOR: 971113094600 M3022253

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER
SIT: NSC

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.27)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA6716 3451211-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 111211Z DEC 97
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OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 111211Z DEC 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2588
INFO: RUEHXQ/ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0446
RUEHAK/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 0049
SUBJ: SCENESETTER FOR IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERNS DECEMBER 15, 1997 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 006716

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/11/07
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, TU, EI, OVIP (AHERN, BERTIE)
SUBJECT: SCENESETTER FOR IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERNS DECEMBER 15, 1997 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON

REF: (A) BRUSSELS 8491 (B) BRUSSELS 8469 (C) DUBLIN 6503 (D) DUBLIN 6182

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES MADELYN E. SPIRNAK. REASON 1.5 (D)

1. (~~C~~) BERTIE AHERN VIEWS HIS DECEMBER 15 MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AT THE WHITE HOUSE AS THE CULMINATION OF A SERIES OF EVENTS DESIGNED TO LEND VITAL MOMENTUM TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, HIS GOVERNMENT'S TOP PRIORITY. IN RECENT WEEKS, AHERN HAD A SUCCESSFUL MEETING WITH UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE, HELD AN "UNPRECEDENTED" NUMBER OF CONVERSATIONS WITH THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, TONY BLAIR, AND CONVENED THE WIDELY PUBLICIZED FORUM ON PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN DUBLIN ON DECEMBER 5. STILL, THE IRISH SEE THE U.S. ROLE AS PIVOTAL.

NORTHERN IRELAND NEGOTIATIONS
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2. (~~C~~) AHERN'S HOPE IS THAT THE STORMONT TALKS WILL RECESS BEFORE CHRISTMAS HAVING AT LEAST AGREED ON A DEFINITION OF THE KEY ISSUES STILL TO BE RESOLVED ALONG WITH THE APPROPRIATE FORMAT FOR THEIR RESOLUTION. HE IS AWARE OF A CLOCK TICKING. HIS GOVERNMENT'S ANALYSIS IS THAT THE IRA CEASEFIRE, WHILE SECURE FOR NOW, WILL COME UNDER GROWING PRESSURE EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR IF THE TALKS DO NOT BEGIN TO SHOW SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS. HE IS SENSITIVE TO THE PRESSURES ON DAVID TRIMBLE AND ON UNIONISM IN GENERAL, BUT SHARES SINN FEIN'S CRITICISM OF THE UUP FOR FAILING TO "ENGAGE" FULLY WITH ITS OPPONENTS AT THE TALKS.

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3. (C) AHERN IS PRESSING HARD ON THE THEME OF "BALANCED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE," AND IS INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT THAT THE PARAMETERS OF A DEAL WITH TRIMBLE ARE IN SIGHT. HE PROPOSES MODIFYING IRELAND'S TERRITORIAL CLAIM ON THE NORTH, CONTAINED IN ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN TANDEM WITH SOME SIMILAR STEP ON THE PART OF THE UK. PARTICULARLY IN THE WAKE OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTER'S RECENT GAFFE, AHERN IS STRESSING THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH BODY ENVISAGED UNDER STRAND II OF THE TALKS IS NOT PERCEIVED BY DUBLIN AS A VEHICLE FOR TAKING OVER THE GOVERNMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND AGAINST THE WISHES OF A MAJORITY. RATHER, THAT BODY SHOULD PROVIDE "A FOCUS FOR PRACTICAL ACTION AT ISLAND LEVEL, FOR WHICH THERE IS AMPLE SCOPE, AS WELL FOR THE NECESSARY INSTITUTIONAL EXPRESSION OF THE IRISH IDENTITY OF NORTHERN NATIONALISTS."

4. (C) IN A GESTURE TOWARD UNIONISTS, AHERN ALSO SAYS HE IS OPEN TO INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO THE INSTITUTIONAL EXPRESSION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIPS THAT EXIST WITHIN THE BRITISH ISLES -- OR WHAT ARE NOW BEING TERMED "IONA" (ISLANDS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC).

CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND THE GRASSROOTS
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5. (C) IN SHORT, AHERN HAS BEGUN LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR A DEBATE IN THE REPUBLIC ON ACCEPTING A SETTLEMENT THAT WILL FALL WELL SHORT OF A UNITED IRELAND. SUCH A SETTLEMENT IS LIKELY TO BE APPROVED IN A REFERENDUM IN THE SOUTH, PROVIDED IT HAS THE BLESSING OF JOHN HUME AND LEAVES OPEN THE DOOR TO POSSIBLE IRISH UNIFICATION AT SOME POINT IN THE FUTURE, BASED ON CONSENT OF THE MAJORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

6. (C) HOWEVER, AHERN IS UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT WOULD EASILY ACCEPT SUCH A SETTLEMENT. TO REMOVE POSSIBLE EXCUSES FOR SF/IRA BELLIGERENCE, HE MAY ASK US TO PRESS THE BRITISH FOR CONTINUED CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, SUCH AS TRANSFERS OF PRISONERS AND REDUCED SECURITY PRESENCE IN NATIONALIST AREAS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. DUBLIN IS PLEASED WITH LONDON'S APPROACH SO FAR ON PRISONERS, BUT WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE PRISONERS TRANSFERED TO SERVE OUT THEIR TERMS IN IRISH JAILS, AND PRISON CONDITIONS RELAXED. THE IRISH WANT EXTRADITION PROCE
EDINGS AGAINST ROISIN MCALISKEY TO BE DROPPED ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS.

7. (C) AHERN WILL ALSO BE APPRECIATIVE OF ONGOING U.S. EFFORTS TO ENHANCE THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THE PEACE PROCESS, AND PARTICULARLY THOSE ASPECTS AIMED AT PRODUCING JOBS AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL IN COMMUNITIES HARD HIT BY THE TROUBLES. HE WILL BE AWARE OF JIM LYONS' RECENT VISIT TO BELFAST AND DUBLIN IN SUPPORT OF A U.S. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE, AND WILL BE INTERESTED IN ENSURING THAT THIS INITIATIVE INCLUDES A SIGNIFICANT CROSS-BORDER DIMENSION.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 006716

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/11/07
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, TU, EI, OVIP (AHERN, BERTIE)

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SUBJECT: SCENESETTER FOR IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERNS DECEMBER 15, 1997 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON

BROADENING THE AGENDA
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8. (C) ALTHOUGH COOPERATION ON NORTHERN IRELAND WILL PRE-OCCUPY THE U.S.-IRISH DIALOGUE FOR MANY MONTHS STILL TO COME, IT IS NOT TOO EARLY TO BEGIN THINKING ABOUT THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH IRELAND ONCE A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED. THERE IS MORE IRELAND COULD DO FOR US IN THE EU, ESPECIALLY ON TRADE ISSUES, WHERE IRELAND TENDS TO HIDE BEHIND "COMMISSION COMPETENCE" (REF C). WE HAVE BUILT UP ENORMOUS CREDIT DUE TO OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH THE TAOISEACH OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN ENGAGING THE IRISH AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS ON A BROADER RANGE OF ISSUES.

9. (C) AS THE FIRST EU HEAD OF GOVERNMENT TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT FOLLOWING THE DECEMBER 13-14 EUROPEAN COUNCIL, BERTIE AHERN WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE A PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF THE DYNAMICS ON DECISIONS OF KEY INTEREST TO THE U.S., SUCH AS EU ENLARGEMENT AND TURKEY. HE WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO REPORT BACK TO HIS EU PARTNERS ANY IMMEDIATE REACTIONS THE PRESIDENT MIGHT WISH TO CONVEY.

10. (C) IRELAND SUPPORTS THE COMMISSION'S APPROACH TO ENLARGEMENT, WHICH IRISH OFFICIALS STRONGLY BELIEVE HAS BEEN AN INCLUSIVE ONE. THEIR APPROACH IN EUROPEAN COUNCIL NEGOTIATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE "LOW-KEY," AS THEY SEEK TO "DEFEND THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS" (I.E., IRELAND IS CONCERNED ABOUT FUTURE EU FUNDING CUTS AS ENLARGEMENT PROCEEDS). WHILE THE GOVERNMENT AGREES THAT ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SIX APPLICANTS SHOULD PROCEED FIRST, IT ALSO BELIEVES THAT TURKEY'S EU VOCATION SHOULD BE REAFFIRMED AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL (REF D). IRISH OFFICIALS INDICATE THAT THEY BELIEVE THE MAJORITY OF MEMBER STATES WILL APPROVE THE PLAN FOR INCLUDING TURKEY IN A EUROPEAN CONFERENCE (REFS A-B), BUT TURKISH REACTION TO AND GREEK ACCEPTANCE OF THE PLAN REMAIN TO BE SEEN.

RIDING HIGH IN THE POLLS
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11. (C) AHERN ENJOYS AN ALL-TIME HIGH PERSONAL SATISFACTION RATING OF 74 POINTS IN THE POLLS. HIS MINORITY GOVERNMENT IS CURRENTLY EXPECTED TO LAST AT LEAST 3 YEARS (TWO KEY BY-ELECTIONS IN MARCH WILL PROVIDE AN EARLY TEST). IRELAND'S "CELTIC TIGER" ECONOMY CONTINUES TO BOOM, ALTHOUGH THE DECEMBER 11 ANNOUNCEMENT BY SEAGATE THAT IT WILL CLOSE ITS PLANT IN CLONMEL, COUNTY TIPPERARY, WITH THE LOSS OF 1400 JOBS, HAS PUT A PRE-CHRISTMAS DAMPER ON IRISH FAITH IN THE INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY SECTOR.
SPIRNAK

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 6716
<^SSN>6716

TOR: 971211071308 M3065106
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DIST:
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SIT: NSC
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}

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SODERBERG STEINBERG
<^DIST>
SIT: COQ

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DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015-0157-M [2.28]

KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHDLA6919 3531309-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 191309Z DEC 97
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 191309Z DEC 97
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2627
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0018
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0459
SUBJ: STORMONT TALKS POISED FOR PROGRESS WHEN THEY RESUME JANUARY 12 -- BUT A "DEEP" SETTLEMENT IS NEEDED

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 006919

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/19/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: STORMONT TALKS POISED FOR PROGRESS WHEN THEY RESUME JANUARY 12 -- BUT A "DEEP" SETTLEMENT IS NEEDED

REF: (A) LONDON 14122 (B) LONDON 14086

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

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ DUBLIN IS DISAPPOINTED BUT NOT WORRIED BY THE FAILURE OF THE TALKS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA. THE GOI WILL USE THE CHRISTMAS BREAK FOR INTENSIVE BILATERALS AIMED AT LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR MOVING INTO "FAST FORWARD" WHEN THE TALKS RESUME JANUARY 12. THE IRISH ARE COMMITTED TO A "DEEP SETTLEMENT" INVOLVING MEANINGFUL NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTIONS WITH EXECUTIVE POWERS -- NOTHING LESS WILL BRING ALONG SINN FEIN AND THE SDLP, THEY SAY. THEY BELIEVE CONTACT WITH NO. 10 DOWNING STREET WILL BE MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN WITH THE NIO, AND INTEND TO KEEP THE FOCUS IN THAT DIRECTION. THE IRA CEASEFIRE IS ASSESSED AS VERY FIRM. PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IS CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL TO PRODUCING A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

END SUMMARY
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2. ~~(C)~~ I MET WITH ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT GALLAGHER DECEMBER 18 FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE STORMONT TALKS, WHICH ADJOURNED DECEMBER 16 WITHOUT AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA. GALLAGHER DWELLED ON THE TAOISEACH'S DECEMBER 12 MEETING WITH TONY BLAIR, ON THE BACKGROUND TO THE TALKS' FAILURE TO PRODUCE AN AGENDA, AND ON THE "INTENSIVE" WORK THAT NOW LIES BEFORE THE GOI AS IT PREPARES FOR THE TALKS TO RESUME ON JANUARY 12.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

BLAIR "WELL DISPOSED"
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3. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER WAS VERY UPBEAT ABOUT THE TAOISEACH'S DECEMBER 12 MEETING WITH TONY BLAIR IN LUXEMBOURG. ACCORDING TO GALLAGHER, BLAIR LET IT BE KNOWN THAT HE WAS "IMPRESSED" WITH GERRY ADAMS AND CONSIDERED HIM A SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL FIGURE. BLAIR REPORTEDLY TOLD THE IRISH HE WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE HAD MORE TIME TO EXPLORE THE SINN FEIN LEADER'S THINKING PRIVATELY DURING THEIR DECEMBER 11 MEETING AT NO. 10 DOWNING STREET. ADAMS IS QUOTED AS HAVING TOLD BLAIR DURING A BRIEF PRIVATE INTERLUDE THAT "I'M LEADING A VERY DIFFICULT ORGANIZATION, BUT I'M DETERMINED TO PUSH AHEAD IN THE PEACE PROCESS."

4. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER EMPHASIZED REPEATEDLY THAT THE GOI WOULD HAVE TO KEEP THE LINES OPEN TO DOWNING STREET. HE ACCUSED "SOME NIO OFFICIALS" OF ADOPTING "MINIMALIST" POSITIONS THAT WERE TOO CLOSE TO THOSE OF THE UUP.

5. ~~(C)~~ FOR THE PROCESS TO WORK, GALLAGHER TOLD ME, THERE MUST BE A "DEEP SETTLEMENT" INVOLVING MEANINGFUL NORTH-SOUTH STRUCTURES WITH EXECUTIVE POWERS. OTHERWISE THERE WOULD BE NO POINT IN PUTTING THE SETTLEMENT TO A REFERENDUM -- NEITHER SINN FEIN NOR THE SDLP WOULD SUPPORT IT, HE ASSERTED. UNIONIST CONCERNS WOULD BE ADDRESSED BY SAFEGUARDS BUILT INTO THE TERMS OF REFERENCE, AND BY SUBSTANTIAL EAST-WEST STRUCTURES. THESE SENTIMENTS HAD BEEN PUT TO BLAIR IN LUXEMBOURG. BLAIR AND MOWLAM, ACCORDING TO GALLAGHER, WERE "WELL DISPOSED."

6. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER ALSO CLAIMED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN IRISH JUSTICE MINISTER JOHN O'DONOGHUE AND HOME SECRETAY JACK STRAW ON PRISONER ISSUES IMPROVED "DRAMATICALLY" AFTER THE TAOISEACH RAISED THESE ISSUES DIRECTLY WITH BLAIR. DUBLIN INTENDED TO REACTIVATE CONTACT BETWEEN CABINET SECRETARIES (TEAHON-BUTLER) SO THAT "NOT JUST THE NIO" WAS INVOLVED.

STORMONT TALKS
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7. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER'S ACCOUNT OF WHY THE TALKS FAILED TO PRODUCE AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA TRACKED CLOSELY WITH THAT OF THE NIO'S JONATHAN STEPHENS (REF A). NEITHER SINN FEIN NOR THE UUP WANTED TO PRODUCE A DOCUMENT THAT COULD BE "NIT-PICKED" OVER THE CHRISTMAS BREAK. THE PARTIES CLEARLY FELT THEY WERE GETTING INTO SUBSTANCE, BUT CONCLUDED IT WOULD BE BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE BREAK TO PUT THAT SUBSTANCE TO PAPER. THE GOI TOOK THE STANCE THAT NO
ONE SHOULD FEEL EXCLUDED BY THE AGENDA-SETTING PROCESS, AND CONSEQUENTLY DID NOT PRESS FOR A VOTE.

8. ~~(C)~~ THE SDLP HAD PREPARED A PAPER LISTING KEY AGENDA HEADINGS, GALLAGHER SAID, AND THIS HAD BEEN AGREED WITH THE UUP. HOWEVER, JOHN HUME -- WHO HAD BEEN IN WASHINGTON DURING THIS TIME -- DIDN'T LIKE THE PAPER UPON HIS RETURN. NEITHER DID SINN FEIN. EVEN DAVID TRIMBLE AND JOHN ALDERDICE IN THE END REPORTEDLY AGREED WITH THE GOI'S VIEW
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 006919

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/19/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: STORMONT TALKS POISED FOR PROGRESS WHEN THEY RESUME JANUARY 12 -- BUT A "DEEP" SETTLEMENT IS NEEDED

THAT IT WAS BEST NOT TO ISOLATE ANYONE.

9. (C) GERRY ADAMS TOLD GALLAGHER THAT SINN FEIN DID NOT MIND STRAND ONE (A NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY) BEING LISTED ON THE AGENDA, AS LONG AS THERE WAS "BALANCE" IN STRAND TWO. ADAMS REPORTEDLY WOULD EVEN NOT HAVE OBJECTED TO INCLUDING DECOMMISSIONING AS AN AGENDA ITEM FOR DISCUSSION.

EO 13526 1.4c

MOVING INTO "FAST FORWARD"
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11. (C) DUBLIN INTENDS TO MOVE INTO "FAST FORWARD" WHEN THE TALKS RESUME ON JANUARY 12, GALLAGHER SAID, AND WILL TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE CHRISTMAS BREAK TO HOLD INTENSIVE BILATERALS WITH THE PARTIES. "THERE'S NO TIME TO WASTE." THE GOI ALSO EXPECTS THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, AND THE CHAIRMAN, TO PLAY A MORE PROMINENT ROLE IN DECIDING THE AGENDA WHEN THE TALKS RESUME. "WE CAN'T HAVE PAPERS LYING AROUND FOR LONG" TO BE CRITICIZED AND PICKED APART.

12. (C) LIKE LONDON, DUBLIN EXPECTS THE TALKS TO SHIFT VENUE TO LONDON IN LATE JANUARY AND TO DUBLIN IN MID-FEBRUARY. GALLAGHER DISPUTED REPORTS THAT TRIMBLE WAS NOT ON BOARD WITH THIS, SAYING THE UUP HAD AGREED TO THE CHANGE IN VENUES, SUCH A SHIFT WAS PERMITTED UNDER THE RULES OF PROCEDURE, AND IT "WILL HAPPEN."

13. (C) GALLAGHER HELD OUT SOME HOPE THAT TRIMBLE MIGHT BE WILLING TO ENGAGE MORE DIRECTLY WITH SINN FEIN. TRIMBLE HAD REPORTEDLY SIGNALLED HE MIGHT BE OPEN TO A TV DEBATE WITH SF. GALLAGHER HAD URGED TRIMBLE, IN A PRIVATE MEETING, TO USE A WORKING-LEVEL UUP FIGURE AS AN INTERMEDIARY WITH SF -- JACK ALLEN FROM DERRY WAS MENTIONED. HOWEVER, TRIMBLE REPORTEDLY TOLD GALLAGHER THAN ALLEN WAS NOT UP TO THIS ROLE. (GALLAGHER EVEN TOLD ME AN OFF-COLOR STORY SUGGESTING THAT THE MEN'S ROOM AT STORMONT WAS THE SCENE OF A DIRECT, FRANK VERBAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN TRIMBLE AND ADAMS.)

PRISONERS AND THE CEASEFIRE
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14. (C) GALLAGHER TOLD ME THE GOI WOULD RELEASE NINE REPUBLICAN PRISONERS FROM PORLAOISE PRISON DECEMBER 19 AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE. (A TENTH, TOMMY MCMAHON, WHO TOOK PART IN THE 1979 MURDER OF LORD MOUNTBATTEN, IS BEING GRANTED 10 DAYS' CHRISTMAS PAROLE.) DUBLIN EXPECTS SEVERAL PRISONER TRANSFERS FROM BRITAIN TO IRELAND TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE CHRISTMAS. GERRY ADAMS, PAT DOHERTY AND RITA O'HARE, WITH WHOM GALLAGHER MET DECEMBER 18, WERE REPORTEDLY VERY PLEASED AT THESE DEVELOPMENTS.

15. (C) HOWEVER, A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT PRISONER CASE INVOLVED THE "BMLCOMBE STREET FOUR," ONE OF WHOM IS DOHERTY'S BROTHER. BERTIE AHERN HAD RAISED THIS CASE WITH TONY BLAIR, STRESSING THE NEED FOR A "TARIFF" TO BE SET SO

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A TRANSFER COULD BE CONSIDERED; BLAIR REPORTEDLY TURNED TO JOHN HOLMES AND ASKED FOR AN IMMEDIATE NOTE ON THE MATTER.

16. ~~(C)~~ THE GOI ALSO HOPES RECENT LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ROISIN MCALISKEY CASE WILL PERMIT MOVEMENT TOWARD HER RELEASE ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS, ALTHOUGH GALLAGHER DID NOT HOLD OUT STRONG HOPES ON THIS SCORE.

17. ~~(C)~~ FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH ADAMS, GALLAGHER ASSESSED THE IRA CEASEFIRE AS "VERY, VERY, VERY FIRM." CONTINUITY IRA IS REPORTEDLY ONLY PICKING UP "A FEW THIRD-RATE PEOPLE" FROM IRA RANKS. ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS APPEAR TO FEEL QUITE COMFORTABLE WITH THEIR SITUATION AT PRESENT, GALLAGHER SAID.

U.S. ROLE
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18. ~~(C)~~ ALTHOUGH HE HAD BEEN AT STORMONT AND HAD MI
SSED
THE DECEMBER 15 MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PM AHERN, GALLAGHER SAID AHERN WAS VERY PLEASED WITH THE MEETING. DUBLIN IS CONVINCED INTERVENTION AT SOME POINT BY THE PRESIDENT WILL BE NECESSARY TO PRODUCE A FINAL SETTLEMENT. WHILE THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS WILL PLAY A HANDS-ON ROLE, IN GALLAGHER'S VIEW THE MORAL AUTHORITY THAT ONLY THE PRESIDENT CAN MUSTER WILL ALSO BE REQUIRED (PERHAPS IN THE FORM OF PRESIDENTIAL PHONE CALLS) TO GO "THAT LAST YARD." GALLAGHER ALSO BELIEVES THE PRESIDENT ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 006919

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/19/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: STORMONT TALKS POISED FOR PROGRESS WHEN THEY RESUME JANUARY 12 -- BUT A "DEEP" SETTLEMENT IS NEEDED

SHOULD "BE ON HAND" WHEN AN AGREEMENT IS SIGNED, AS "HE WILL HAVE MADE IT ALL POSSIBLE."

19. ~~(C)~~ GALLAGHER DISMISSED PRESS REPORTS THAT AUSTRIA MIGHT SERVE AS A "NEUTRAL VENUE" IN WHICH TO CONVENE THE TALKS DURING THE END GAME. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 6919
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SIT: NSC
PRT: SIT(C2) STEINBERG
<^DIST>
PRT: HELWEG

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.29)
KBH 7/31/2019

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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0032
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0037
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 0051
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: RISING LOYALIST BACKLASH TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 014205

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/19/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RISING LOYALIST BACKLASH TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MARCIE RIES, ACTING CHIEF, POLITICAL SECTION. REASON: 1.5(D).

2. (U) THE PARADES COMMISSION WAS DEALT A BLOW DECEMBER 19 BY THE RESIGNATION OF ITS MOST PROMINENT LOCAL MEMBER, REV. ROY MAGEE, A RESPECTED PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER WHO WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN BROKERING THE LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE IN 1995. ACCORDING TO COMMISSION CHAIRMAN ALISTAIR GRAHAM, MAGEE PREFERRED TO REMAIN A MEDIATOR AND WAS UNCOMFORTABLE WITH EXERCISING THE COMMISSION'S NEW AUTHORITY TO ADJUDICATE PARADES AND PARADE ROUTES DURING THE NEXT MARCHING SEASON. MAGEE'S RESIGNATION FROM THE FIVE-PERSON PARADES COMMISSION LEAVES A LARGE GAP WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WILL FIND DIFFICULT TO FILL WITH SOMEONE OF SIMILAR STATURE IN THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY.

3. (U) MAGEE'S RESIGNATION, SIGNIFICANTLY, COMES AFTER CONTENTIOUS PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES EARLIER IN THE WEEK ON THE PARADES AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE BILLS. MP'S FROM ALL THREE UNIONIST PARTIES UNIFORMLY CONDEMNED BOTH BILLS AS "BIASED," "MISCONCEIVED," AND "DOOMED TO FAILURE." UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE USED HIS FLOOR TIME TO BRAND THE PARADES BILL "THE MOST SERIOUS ASSAULT ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND THIS CENTURY." NONETHELESS, BOTH BILLS EASILY PASSED VOTES FOLLOWING THEIR SECOND READINGS AND WILL BE GIVEN THEIR THIRD AND FINAL READINGS BEFORE COMING INTO FORCE EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR.

4. (U) ALSO DECEMBER 19, PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY CHAIRMAN WILLIAM SMITH LASHED OUT AT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT FOR ITS EARLY RELEASE OF NINE IRA PRISONERS. REPUBLICAN PRISONERS ARE FREE WHILE LOYALISTS CAN ONLY LOOK FORWARD TO "THE JACKBOOT OF

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OPPRESSION," SMITH PROTESTED. SMITH WHO ALSO SERVES AS THE PUP SPOKESMAN ON PRISONERS, TOLD REPORTERS THAT LOYALISTS ARE NOT BEING TREATED EQUALLY. RATHER, HE INSISTED, WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE "PHONY PEACE PROCESS" IS A "HIGH PROFILE APPEASEMENT OF IRA/SINN FEIN."

5. (U) SMITH SAID THE 35-MEMBER PARTY EXECUTIVE WOULD MEET IN EARLY JANUARY TO "RECONSIDER" ITS FUTURE PARTICIPATION IN THE STORMONT TALKS.

6. (C) IN A SUBSEQUENT PHONE CONVERSATION WITH DAVID ERVINE DECEMBER 19, THE PUP LEADER EXPLAINED TO US THAT HIS PARTY IS "FED UP" WITH ISSUES BEING HANDLED OUTSIDE THE TALKS WHICH SHOULD BE DEALT WITH INSIDE THEM. UNLESS THERE IS A "SERIOUS CHANGE OF TACT," HE SAID IT WILL BE "EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT FOR US TO CONTINUE TO WORK INSIDE THIS PROCESS." ACCUSING THEM OF TREATING HIS PARTY "DISINGENUOUSLY," HE COMPLAINED THAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS IS MAKING HIS POSITION UNTENABLE.

7. (C) ERVINE SAID HE PARTICIPATED IN A CONFIDENCE-BUILDING SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING AT STORMONT DECEMBER 16 AT WHICH VARIOUS TOPICS WERE RAISED AND DISCUSSED. WITHIN 48 HOURS, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD REPATRIATED TWO IRA PRISONERS FROM ENGLISH PRISONS AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD SET FREE NINE IRA PRISONERS. AS THERE WERE NO CORRESPONDING MEASURES IN FAVOR OF LOYALIST PRISONERS, IT IS HARD ENOUGH TO EXPLAIN TO LOYALISTS WHY ALL THE "SO-CALLED CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES" GO ONLY ONE WAY, ERVINE SAID. BUT NEITHER GOVERNMENT SAID HAD EVEN A SINGLE WORD ABOUT THESE PENDING ACTIONS ON PRISONERS DURING THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEETING. WHAT IS THE POINT OF HAVING THIS COMMITTEE, HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, AND HOW CAN I JUSTIFY MY CONTINUED PRESENCE IN THE TALKS WHEN WE ARE CONSISTENTLY NOT BEING DEALT WITH STRAIGHT UP? IT PROBABLY DID NOT EVEN OCCUR TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO HANDLE IT IN THAT CONTEXT, HE SAID RUEFULLY, AND THIS POINTS TO THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM: THEY VIEW THE WHOLE PROCESS AS BEING GEARED SOLELY TO KEEPING SINN FEIN IN THE TALKS.

8. (C) COMMENT: LOYALISTS HAVE FOR MONTHS COMPLAINED THAT CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES ARE ALL AIMED AT REPUBLICANS AND THERE IS LITTLE IN THEM FOR LOYALISTS. THEY HAVE ACCUSED MO MOWLAM OF TREATING THEM WITH "CONTEMPT" AS SHE FOCUSES ON "APPEASING" SINN FEIN. EVEN THE MODERATE ORANGE ORDER LEADERS WHO BROKERED THE DEAL TO REROUTE PARADES LAST SUMMER HAVE TOLD US THEY WERE INCENSED AT WHAT THEY CALLED THE GOVERNMENT'S "BETRAYAL" WHEN IT ABANDONED A "PROMISED" PROVISION IN THE PARADES BILL WHICH WOULD HAVE EXTENDED THE COMMISSION'S AUTHORITY TO COVER "OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY" IN ADDITION TO THE ORANGE MARCHES. THEY SAY THEY ARE SIMPLY UNABLE TO PERSUADE RANK-AND-FILE MEMBERS OF THE LOYAL ORDERS THAT THEIR CULTURE IS NOT UNDER THREAT -- OR THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT PART OF THAT THREAT.

9. (C) THE TEMPERATURE ON THE LOYALIST SIDE HAS COME CLOSE TO THE BOILING POINT. IF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS DO NOT PROCEED CAREFULLY, THE LOYALIST CEASE-FIRE AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS WILL COME UNDER INCREASING STRAIN. WHILE ERVINE CLEARLY WAS ANGRY, HE JUST AS CLEARLY WAS LOOKING FOR SOME WAY

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/19/02
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RSING LOYALIST BACKLASH TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

TO KEEP HIS ORGANIZATION COMMITTED TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES.

10. (C) HMG RECOGNIZES THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM. PART OF THE PROBLEM THEY FACE, HOWEVER, IS THAT OTHER THAN EARLY RELEASE OF SOME LOYALIST PRISONERS -- A DIFFICULT POLITICAL DECISION FRAUGHT WITH SECONDARY CONSEQUENCES -- THERE IS RELATIVELY LITTLE THAT IT CAN OFFER THE LOYALISTS AS TRANSFERS AND REPATRIATIONS ARE NOT AN ISSUE FOR THEM. THE GOVERNMENTS' ABILITY TO KEEP THE SCALES BALANCED WILL BE PUT TO THE TEST IF THE SEVEN ADDITIONAL IRA PRISONERS IN JAIL IN ENGLAND WHO BECAME ELIGIBLE FOR TRANSFER WHEN THE REPUBLIC PASSED THE NECESSARY LEGISLATION ON DECEMBER 17 ARE REPATRIATED IN TIME FOR CHRISTMAS. WHILE THIS MAY BE JUSTIFIABLE, AND EVEN NECESSARY, TO HELP HOLD THE IRA CEASE-FIRE TOGETHER, WITHOUT SOME CORRESPONDING GESTURE TO LOYALISTS THIS COULD CAUSE THEIR ANXIETIES TO BOIL OVER BEFORE THE TALKS RESUME.

BRADTKE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4205
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TOR: 971219145252 M3079038
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DIST:
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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.31)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE3: O 081506Z JAN 98
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 081506Z JAN 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2373
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0072
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 0050
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST LEADER DAVID ERVINE STILL CAUTIOUS BUT MORE OPTIMISTIC

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 000221

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/08/06
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST LEADER DAVID ERVINE STILL CAUTIOUS BUT MORE OPTIMISTIC

REF: A) LONDON 191 B) 97 LONDON 14205

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: KATHLEEN STEPHENS, BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL. REASON: 1.5(D)

2. ~~(C)~~ FOLLOWING HIS RECENT MEETING WITH BRITISH AND IRISH MINISTERS, LOYALIST POLITICIAN DAVID ERVINE OF THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP) SOUNDED A NOTE OF CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM IN A JANUARY 8 CONVERSATION WITH BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL. ERVINE SAID THAT WHEN HE AND HIS PARTY HAD "FLAGGED UP" ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THEM THREE WEEKS AGO (REF B) THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF SEEING EVENTS TAKE THE "DUBIOUS AND DANGEROUS" TURN THEY HAVE. (COMMENT: WE ASSUME ERVINE WAS REFERRING TO THE EFFECTS OF THE BILLY WRIGHT MURDER IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE FAILURE OF CONFIDENCE AMONGST LOYALIST PRISONERS. END COMMENT)

3. ~~(C)~~ ERVINE SAID AS THINGS STOOD AT THE MOMENT, IT WAS UNLIKELY THE PUP WOULD BE IN THE STORMONT TALKS ON MONDAY, BUT HE NOTED THAT HIS PARTY COLLEAGUES BILLY HUTCHINSON AND WILLIAM "PLUM" SMITH WOULD BE IN TALKS WITH SECURITY MINISTER ADAM INGRAM LATER IN THE DAY, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ABLE TO ADDRESS THE PUP CONCERNS IN A WAY THAT WOULD ALLOW THE PUP TO REMAIN IN THE TALKS. ERVINE SAID HE THOUGHT THE INDEPENDENT CHAIRMEN NEED TO EXERT GREATER CONTROL OVER THE TALKS; TO DATE TOO MUCH HAD TAKEN PLACE "BEHIND CLOSED DOORS" WITH "NO ONE KNOWING WHAT WAS HAPPENING."

4. ~~(C)~~ COMMENT: THIS IS THE LEAST PESSIMISTIC ERVINE HAS SOUNDED OVER SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS OF THE PAST WEEK. ERVINE SEEMS TO THINK IT POSSIBLE THAT BRITISH EFFORTS, INCLUDING THE

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SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT TO THE MAZE PRISON TODAY TO MEET WITH UDA LOYALIST PRISONERS (SEPTEL), MAY PROVIDE HIS PARTY ENOUGH COVER TO RETURN TO THE TALKS, SOMETHING ERVINE PERSONALLY CLEARLY WISHES TO DO.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0221

TOR: 980108145737 M3097095

DIST:

SIT: BUTLER
SIT: NSC

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.32)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 281227Z JAN 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0109
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0141
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: RECOMMENDATONS FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION AT WHITE HOUSE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000957

C O R R E C T E D COPY (E.O. DATE)

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

MESSAGE ORIGNATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/28/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RECOMMENDATONS FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION AT WHITE HOUSE

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY ROBERT A. BRADTKE, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES. REASON 1.5 (D).

2. ~~(C)~~ THE ANNUAL ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENT AT THE WHITE HOUSE O/A MARCH 17 WILL COME AT A POTENTIALLY CRITICAL POINT IN THE MULTIPARTY TALKS PROCESS, AS PARTIES WRESTLE WITH TOUGH CHOICES ON DIFFICULT ISSUES. IT OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PRESIDENT TO ENGAGE DIRECTLY AND, IF NECESSARY, FORCEFULLY WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERS WHO WILL HAVE TO MAKE THE HARD CALLS ON BEHALF OF THEIR PARTIES. WHILE IT IS TOO EARLY TO PREDICT THE PRECISE STATE OF THE TALKS AT THAT POINT, OR TO RECOMMEND TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S USE, IT IS VITAL THAT WE BEGIN PLANNING FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY.

3. ~~(C)~~ INTEREST IN ATTENDING THE WHITE HOUSE EVENT IS HIGH IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SEVERAL PARTY LEADERS, INCLUDING DAVID ERVINE (PUP) AND JOHN ALDERDICE (ALLIANCE) HAVE ALREADY ASKED FOR CONSULATE OR EMBASSY ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND WE UNDERSTAND OTHERS HAVE BEEN IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE NSC. THIS MESSAGE OFFERS INITIAL SUGGESTIONS OF CONGEN BELFAST AND EMBASSY FOR THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY GUEST LIST TO ASSIST WASHINGTON'S EARLY CONSIDERATION OF THIS PROCESS.

4. ~~(C)~~ WE RECOMMEND THE LIST OF INVITEES FROM NORTHERN IRELAND BE SMALLER AND MORE FOCUSED THAN IN RECENT YEARS. SPECIFICALLY, WE WOULD SUGGEST GUESTS BE DRAWN PRIMARILY FROM PARTICIPANTS IN THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS. THIS WOULD BE BOTH A

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REWARD TO THOSE IN THE PROCESS, AND A WAY TO DIRECT OUR ATTENTION TO THOSE WHO WILL BE "DOING THE DEAL."

5. (C) WHILE THERE ARE MANY OTHER WORTHY PEOPLE FROM COMMUNITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS, CHURCH LEADERS, MAYORS AND CITY COUNCILS, IT IS THE POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE TALKS WHO ARE GOING TO HAVE TO CARRY THE LOAD, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM. OUR FOCUS SHOULD BE ON THEM. FURTHERMORE, PAST EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO INVITE SOME PEOPLE FROM SOME NGO'S WHILE EXCLUDING OTHERS. THE LIST OF INVITEES SOON COULD BECOME UNWIELDY.

6. (C) NOR WOULD WE RECOMMEND INVITING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, OR OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, FROM NORTHERN IRELAND OTHER THAN THOSE LEADERS REPRESENTING THEIR PARTIES IN THE TALKS. THOSE WHOSE PARTIES ARE OUTSIDE THE TALKS (IE, IAN PAISLEY, PETER ROBINSON OR ROBERT MCCARTNEY) SHOULD NOT BE INVITED. WE SEE NO REASON TO REWARD THEM OR, AT THIS POINT, TO THINK THIS WOULD HELP CHANGE THEIR HOSTILITY TO THE TALKS PROCESS. ONLY IF THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP) IS READMITTED TO THE PROCESS ON THE BASIS OF A GENUINE COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC METHODS, SHOULD ITS LEADER (GARY MCMICHAEL) BE INVITED.

7. (C) WE RECOMMEND THAT EACH INVITATION BE ISSUED FOR PRINCIPAL INVITEE "AND GUEST." IN MOST CASES, WE EXPECT THIS WILL BE A PARTY COLLEAGUE BUT SOME LEADERS MAY CHOSE TO INVITE SPOUSES. WE BELIEVE LEADERS OF THE PARTIES IN THE TALKS WOULD ACT RESPONSIBLY AND ARE VERY UNLIKELY TO INVITE A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE (AS ONE OF THE MP'S NOT CURRENTLY PARTICIPATING IN THE TALKS DID LAST YEAR). GIVEN THE RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBERS WE ARE RECOMMENDING, IT WOULD BE FEASIBLE TO ASK LEADERS TO IDENTIFY THEIR GUESTS WELL IN ADVANCE. THE ONLY EXCEPTIONS TO THIS WOULD BE THE TWO SMALLEST PARTIES, WOMEN COALITION AND LABOUR, WHOSE INVITATIONS SHOULD SPECIFY TWO PARTY LEADERS EACH, WITH NO ACCOMPANYING GUEST.

8. (C) IN RECENT YEARS INVITATIONS TO THE WHITE HOUSE EVENT HAVE REACHED INVITEES IN NORTHERN IRELAND VERY LATE, IN SOME CASES EVEN AFTER THE EVENT. CONGEN AND EMBASSY SUGGEST THE LIST BELOW FOR WASHINGTON'S EARLIEST CONSIDERATION:

CATEGORY ONE: LEADERS OF THE SEVEN POLITICAL PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE STORMONT TALKS, PLUS ONE GUEST EACH.

LORD ALDERDICE OF KNOCK AND GUEST
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HUGH SMYTH AND GUEST

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 000957

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NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

MESSAGE ORIGNATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/28/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION AT WHITE HOUSE

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STORMONT TELEPHONE: 44-01232-522-882

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SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND
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GENERAL JOHN DE CHASTELAIN AND GUEST
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MARTHA POPE AND GUEST
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BRADTKE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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LINE3: R 040938Z FEB 98
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DTG: 040938Z FEB 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2820
INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0499
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0099
SUBJ: WELSH NATIONALISTS WALK OUT OF NORTHERN IRELAND DEBATE AT GLENCREE RECONCILIATION CENTER

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

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.33)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 000581

LONDON PLS PASS TO AMCONSUL EDINBURGH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/03/08
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: WELSH NATIONALISTS WALK OUT OF NORTHERN IRELAND DEBATE AT GLENCREE RECONCILIATION CENTER

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

1. (U) SATURDAY, JANUARY 31 WITNESSED A CURIOUS FOOTNOTE IN THE HISTORY OF DEBATE ON NORTHERN IRELAND. THE SCENE WAS A CONFERENCE AT THE GLENCREE CENTRE ON RECONCILIATION, A PRIVATE NGO LOCATED 45 MINUTES FROM DUBLIN IN COUNTY WICKLOW WHICH HOSTS (AND MEDIATES) DISCUSSIONS AIMED AT ESTABLISHING TRUST BETWEEN "SUB-LEADERSHIP" FIGURES FROM POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

2. (SBU) POLOFF WAS AT THE SESSION IN QUESTION, HAVING ATTENDED TWO PREVIOUS SESSIONS AT THE INVITATION OF THE ORGANIZERS. ALSO IN ATTENDANCE WERE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UUP (ROY GARLAND), UKUP (TOM SHERIDAN), SDLP (KIERAN MCGEOWN), BRITISH LABOUR PARTY (STEVE JONES), LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (OLIVIA MCLEOD -- ALSO SPEAKING AS A SCOT), BRITISH EMBASSY (FIRST SECRETARY JAMES TANSLEY), FIANNA FAIL (PAT HYNES AND DEREK MOONEY), FINE GAEL (FRANK O'KELLY, BARRY O'LEARY, MARK GODFREY), PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS (RONAN GARVEY AND PETER WRAFTER), LABOUR (VIVIENNE KELLY), DEMOCRATIC LEFT (RONAN MCDONALD), AND THE WELSH NATIONALIST PARTY PLAID CYMRU (MARK PHILLIPS AND HELEN JONES).
3. (SBU) THE FOCUS OF THE JANUARY 31 DISCUSSION WAS TO HAVE BEEN THE IMPACT OF UK DEVOLUTION ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. HOWEVER, THE DISCUSSION QUICKLY BROKE DOWN ALONG FAMILIAR LINES REFLECTING THE LACK OF TRUST BETWEEN IRISH NATIONALISTS AND.UNIONISTS. THE EXPLICIT SUGGESTION THAT ANY STRAND THREE PROPOSAL

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INVOLVING A "COUNCIL OF THE ISLES" WOULD MERELY BE A WAY FOR UNIONISTS TO "DE-FANG" A STRAND TWO NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL LEFT THE WELSH AND SCOTTISH SPOKESPERSONS ASKING WHAT ROLE THEIR ASSEMBLIES MIGHT HAVE IN ANY FUTURE INTER-ISLAND ARRANGEMENTS.

4. (SBU) AS THE DISCUSSION TOOK OFF IN THIS DIRECTION ON SATURDAY MORNING -- BUT WELL BEFORE IT HAD REACHED A CRESCENDO, MUCH LESS COME TO CLOSURE -- THE TWO WELSH PARTICIPANTS DRAMATICALLY ANNOUNCED THROUGH THE GLENCREE MEDIATOR THAT THEY WERE LEAVING. THEY TRIED, RATHER LAMELY, TO EXPLAIN THEIR REASONING TO A STUNNED AUDIENCE. THE THRUST OF THEIR EXPLANATION WAS THAT THEY DID NOT LIKE THE DIRECTION THE DISCUSSION WAS TAKING, AND (APPARENTLY) WANTED TO AVOID GETTING CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE. THE FOLLOWING SENTIMENTS WERE EXPRESSED BY THE WELSH REPRESENTATIVES:

-- THEY FELT THE PARTICIPANTS WERE CAUGHT IN A "TIME WARP."

-- NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION WAS BEING DEVOTED TO THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION -- HOW THE NEW ASSEMBLIES MIGHT FIT INTO A LONG TERM VISION OF EUROPEAN STRUCTURES.

-- TOO MUCH FOCUS ON THE PAST AND ON ENTRENCHED POSITIONS.

-- THEY WANTED TO AVOID REACHING THE STAGE OF "A PLAGUE ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES" -- A SENTIMENT THEY WERE STARTING TO FEEL IN THEMSELVES.

-- THEY HAD MADE THEIR CONTRIBUTION IN OUTLINING THE PROGRESS OF THE WELSH REFERENDUM, AND IT WAS NOW UP TO THE PARTICIPANTS TO SEE IF ANYTHING REVELANT WAS TO BE GLEENED FROM THAT CONTRIBUTION.

-- MS. JONES HAD HAD "AS MUCH AS I CAN TAKE IF I'M STILL TO COME BACK AND STAY INVOLVED IN THE PEACE PROCESS/DEVOLUTION DEBATE."

COMMENT
/------

5. (C) THE REMAINING (DISMAYED) PARTICIPANTS SPENT A GOOD DEAL OF TIME ON SATURDAY TRYING TO ASSESS EXACTLY WHY THE PLAID CYMRU REPRESENTATIVES BAILED OUT. THE WELSH EXPLANATIONS WERE CONSIDERED "PATRONIZING," "CONDESCENDING" AND "STAGGERING" BY PARTICIPANTS FROM NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE BORDER, AND THERE WAS SOME SPECULATION THAT PERHAPS "PERSONAL" REASONS LED THE WELSH PARTICIPANTS TO DEPART. BUT THERE WAS NO DENYING THAT BY THE END OF THE CONFERENCE ON SUNDAY MORNING, EVEN THE IRISH AND BRITISH PARTICIPANTS THEMSELVES WERE THOROUGHLY DISCOURAGED AT THE CIRCULAR NATURE OF THEIR ARGUMENTS, AND MAY HAVE LEFT WITH THE WELSH STATEMENTS RINGING IN THEIR EARS.

6. (C) THERE IS DEEP CYNICISM NOT JUST AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC, BUT ALSO AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE REPUBLIC, ABOUT THE PROSPECTS ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 000581

LONDON PLS PASS TO AMCONSUL EDINBURGH

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/03/08
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: WELSH NATIONALISTS WALK OUT OF NORTHERN IRELAND DEBATE AT GLENCREE RECONCILIATION CENTER

FOR OR NATURE OF ANY DEAL COMING OUT OF THE STORMONT TALKS. (A RECENT POLL OF PEOPLE IN THE REPUBLIC INDICATED 60 PERCENT DO NOT THINK THERE WILL BE AN AGREEMENT; ONLY NINE PERCENT THINK AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED BY MAY. SEE SEPTEL.) STRANDS TWO AND THREE ARE INCREASINGLY SEEN AS STRAIGHT "TRADE-OFF'S," EACH EFFECTIVELY NEUTRALIZING THE OTHER. YET AGREEMENT ON STRAND ONE ALONE IS SEEN AS NOT LIKELY TO BE SUFFICIENT TO BRING IRA VIOLENCE TO AN END.

7. (C) IN THIS CONTEXT, U.S. STATEMENTS EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS AS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD CONTINUE TO BE WELL RECEIVED. HOWEVER, WE ARE REMINDED THAT A CYNICAL PUBLIC WILL POSE SPECIAL CHALLENGES TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IN GETTING AN AGREEMENT APPROVED BY POPULAR REFERERENDUM. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0581
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TOR: 980204045335 M3133836
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SIT: BUTLER
SIT: NSC

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.34)
KBH 7/31/2019

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LINE3: O 101510Z FEB 98
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OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 101510Z FEB 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3355
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION AT WHITE HOUSE

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 001466

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION AT WHITE HOUSE

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY ROBERT A. BRADTKE, CHARGE D'AFFAIRES. REASON 1.5 (D). THIS MESSAGE REPEATS 98 LONDON 957, ORIGINALLY SENT 28 JAN 98 TO SECSTATE INFO DUBLIN AND BELFAST. REPEATED PER NSC - L. BUTLER REQUEST.

2. (~~C~~) THE ANNUAL ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENT AT THE WHITE HOUSE O/A MARCH 17 WILL COME AT A POTENTIALLY CRITICAL POINT IN THE MULTIPARTY TALKS PROCESS, AS PARTIES WRESTLE WITH TOUGH CHOICES ON DIFFICULT ISSUES. IT OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PRSIDENT TO ENGAGE DIRECTLY AND, IF NECESSARY, FORCEFULLY WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERS WHO WILL HAVE TO MAKE THE HARD CALLS ON BEHALF OF THEIR PARTIES. WHILE IT IS TOO EARLY TO PREDICT THE PRECISE STATE OF THE TALKS AT THAT POINT, OR TO RECOMMEND TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S USE, IT IS VITAL THAT WE BEGIN PLANNING FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY.

3. (~~C~~) INTEREST IN ATTENDING THE WHITE HOUSE EVENT IS HIGH IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SEVERAL PARTY LEADERS, INCLUDING DAVID ERVINE (PUP) AND JOHN ALDERDICE (ALLIANCE) HAVE ALREADY ASKED FOR CONSULATE OR EMBASSY ASSISTANCE IN ARRANGING A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND WE UNDERSTAND OTHERS HAVE BEEN IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE NSC. THIS MESSAGE OFFERS INITIAL SUGGESTIONS OF CONGEN BELFAST AND EMBASSY FOR THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY GUEST LIST TO ASSIST WASHINGTON'S EARLY CONSIDERATION OF THIS PROCESS.

4. (~~C~~) WE RECOMMEND THE LIST OF INVITEES FROM NORTHERN IRELAND

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BE SMALLER AND MORE FOCUSED THAN IN RECENT YEARS. SPECIFICALLY, WE WOULD SUGGEST GUESTS BE DRAWN PRIMARILY FROM PARTICIPANTS IN THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS. THIS WOULD BE BOTH A REWARD TO THOSE IN THE PROCESS, AND A WAY TO DIRECT OUR ATTENTION TO THOSE WHO WILL BE "DOING THE DEAL."

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HUGH SMYTH AND GUEST
LEADER, PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 001466

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION AT WHITE HOUSE

182 SHANKILL ROAD
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NOTE: FOR INVITATION ONLY IF READMITTED TO THE TALKS:

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BELFAST BT4 3SG
TELEPHONE: 44-01232-522-990

BRADTKE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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SSN: 1466
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OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 061345Z MAR 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3012
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0171
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0546
SUBJ: READ-OUT OF MARCH 5 ANGLO-IRISH INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. MADELYN E. SPIRNAK.

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 001266

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/06/08
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: READ-OUT OF MARCH 5 ANGLO-IRISH INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. MADELYN E. SPIRNAK.
REASON 1.5 (B)

1. (C) SUMMARY: BRIEFING US ON THE MARCH 5 IGC MEETING IN DUBLIN, DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION COUNSELLOR DAVID COONEY CONFIRMED THAT SINN FEIN HAS BEEN INVITED BACK TO THE TALKS ON MARCH 9. HOWEVER, AS A MEETING BETWEEN ADAMS AND TONY BLAIR HAS NOT YET BEEN ARRANGED, IT IS NOT CLEAR THE SF LEADERSHIP WILL ATTEND THE TALKS BEFORE DEPARTING FOR THE U.S. ON MARCH 11. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS NOW SEE MAY 22 AS THE LIKELY DATE FOR REFERENDUMS NORTH AND SOUTH

HOWEVER, COONEY DESCRIBED THE STORMONT TALKS THIS WEEK AS "DISAPPOINTING," WITH TRIMBLE OPPOSING A NORTH/SOUTH COUNCIL WITH EXECUTIVE POWERS AND POWER SHARING IN THE NORTH. THIS BODES ILL FOR AN AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

SINN FEIN INVITED BACK TO TALKS
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2. (C) COONEY CONFIRMED THAT FM DAVID ANDREWS AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM SIGNED A LETTER INVITING SINN FEIN TO RETURN TO THE TALKS MARCH 9 ON THE BASIS THAT THE IRA CEASEFIRE HAS HELD FIRM. HOWEVER, WHILE LOWER RANKING SINN FEIN OFFICIALS MAY BE AT STORMONT ON MONDAY, IT IS UNCLEAR THAT GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS WILL ATTEND BEFORE THEY HAVE MET WITH PM TONY BLAIR. THAT MEETING MAY NOT HAPPEN DUE TO "SCHEDULING DIFFICULTIES." ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS ARE DUE TO DEPART MID-DAY WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, ON A FUND-RAISING TRIP TO THE U.S.; PM BLAIR'S OFFICE HAS REPORTEDLY INDICATED HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MEET WITH

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SINN FEIN BEFORE THURSDAY. STILL, DFA HOPES ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER WILL MAKE THE NECESSARY "DIARY" CHANGES TO ALLOW A MEETING TO TAKE PLACE. COONEY URGED THE U.S. TO ENCOURAGE SUCH AN OUTCOME.

TIMELINE
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3. (C) COONEY INDICATED THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ARE DETERMINED TO TRY TO MEET THE EASTER "DEADLINE" FOR AGREEMENT IN THE TALKS. NOTHING FUNDAMENTAL IS EXPECTED TO CHANGE IN THE PARTIES' POSITIONS, AND THE TIME TO "TEST THE WATERS" ON AN AGREEMENT IS RAPIDLY APPROACHING. AGREEMENT WOULD BE A "TALL ORDER," HE SAID. "IT'S GOING TO GET VERY ROUGH IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS: PARTIES WILL HAVE TO MAKE COMPROMISES ON CHERISHED BELIEFS IF THERE IS TO BE AN AGREEMENT."

4. (C) MARCH 23RD IS THE DATE THE GOVERNMENTS WILL TABLE SEPARATE PAPERS ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES, COONEY SAID. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS DID NOT INTEND TO PRESENT A SINGLE COMPREHENSIVE DOCUMENT, BUT RATHER WOULD WORK IN "SECTIONS" THAT COULD BE ASSEMBLED LATER.

5. (C) MAY 22ND IS NOW THE TARGET DATE FOR THE TWO REFERENDUMS (NORTH AND SOUTH) ON THE AGREEMENT. DUE TO THE REPUBLIC'S REQUIREMENT THAT 30 DAYS MUST ELAPSE FROM WHEN THE REFERENDUM IS PUBLISHED AND WHEN IT IS VOTED ON, THIS WAS THE EARLIEST DATE THAT COULD BE WORKED OUT.

REFERENDUMS
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6. (C) COONEY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING THE TWO REFERENDUMS THE SAME DAY. REPUBLICAN THEOLOGY HOLDS THAT THE LAST TIME THE "VOICE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE" SPOKE WAS IN 1919. EVEN THOUGH HARDCORE REPUBLICANS WILL MAINTAIN THAT THE TWO-REFERENDUM APPROACH DOES NOT REPRESENT THE "UNFETTERED" VOICE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE, THE GOI VIEWS THIS AS THE BEST WAY TO LEND LEGITIMACY TO AN AGREEMENT.

7. (C) IN THE REPUBLIC, THE AIM WILL BE TO FORMULATE ONE QUESTION FOR THE REFERENDUM, RATHER THAN TWO SEPARATE QUESTIONS (ONE ON THE AGREEMENT AND ONE ON ARTICLES TWO AND THREE OF THE CONSTITUTION). THERE IS REAL CONCERN, COONEY INDICATED, THAT THE PUBLIC MIGHT VOTE IN FAVOR OF AN AGREEMENT BUT AGAINST CHANGES TO ARTICLES TWO AND THREE, IF
GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO. (HE ALSO SAID
THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING A REFERENDUM ON THE AMSTERDAM TREATY IN THE REFERENDUM ON A NORTHERN IRELAND AGREEMENT HAD NOT BEEN DECIDED.)

NO SIGNS OF UNIONIST "GIVE" AT STORMONT
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8. (C) COONEY EXPRESSED REAL CONCERNS ABOUT WHETHER UNIONISTS ARE PREPARED TO MAKE THE REAL COMPROMISES NEEDED TO REACH AN AGREEMENT. THE NEGOTIATIONS AT STORMONT THIS WEEK WERE "DISAPPOINTING." TRIMBLE HAD MOVED BACKWARDS ON STRAND TWO ISSUES IN CONTRAST TO HIS EARLIER, MORE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 001266

NSC FOR BUTLER

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TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: READ-OUT OF MARCH 5 ANGLO-IRISH INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN

POSITIVE SIGNALS: HE WAS NOW OPPOSED TO A NORTH/SOUTH COUNCIL, IT APPEARED, AND WAS PRESSING FOR MERELY "CONSULTATIVE" (RATHER THAN EXECUTIVE) ARRANGEMENTS, AND THESE TO BE "SAFEGUARDED" FULLY IN AN EAST-WEST FRAMEWORK. TRIMBLE'S WAS A "VERY MINIMALIST" APPROACH THAT HAD "NO CHANCE" OF RECEIVING AGREEMENT FROM THE NATIONALIST SIDE.

9. (C) EVEN IN STRAND ONE, COONEY SAID, THE UNIONISTS WERE SEEKING A MINIMAL LEVEL OF DEVOLUTION AND NO REAL POWER SHARING WITH NATIONALISTS. RATHER THAN A COLLECTIVE GOVERNMENT WITH LEGISLATIVE POWERS, THE UNIONISTS SEEMED TO FAVOR A COMMITTEE APPROACH IN WHICH THEY WOULD HEAD EACH COMMITTEE. THIS WAS "RESPONSIBILITY SHARING" BUT NOT POWER SHARING, COONEY OBSERVED, AND WOULD NOT WIN AGREEMENT FROM THE SDLP.

10. (C) IN SHORT, THERE WAS STILL A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF DISAGREEMENT, COONEY SAID. TRIMBLE DID NOT APPEAR TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE ONLY THING NATIONALISTS WOULD "GET" OUT OF THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT IS NORTH/SOUTH ARRANGEMENTS, AND HENCE FOR THERE TO BE AGREEMENT THOSE ARRANGEMENTS HAD TO BE MEANINGFUL. TRIMBLE, ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD "GET" ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT NORTHERN IRELAND IS PART OF THE UK, A NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY, AND EAST-WEST STRUCTURES. IT WAS WORRYING THAT THERE WAS STILL NO SIGN TRIMBLE WAS WILLING TO "DEAL IN THE REAL WORLD." THIS COULD SIGNIFY THAT HE SIMPLY DID NOT WANT TO SHARE POWER WITH NATIONALISTS -- AND THIS COULD MEAN THE TALKS WOULD FAIL.

11. (C) IN MAKING THESE POINT TO MO MOWLAM, THE IRISH HAD URGED THE BRITISH TO ACT AS PERSUADERS WITH THE UNIONISTS. IT WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH, COONEY SAID, FOR LONDON TO PUT THE BURDEN OF CHANGING UNIONIST OPINION ENTIRELY ON DUBLIN'S SHOULDERS. DUBLIN WILL TRY TO DELIVER THE NATIONALISTS, BUT LONDON HAD TO TRY TO DELIVER THE UNIONISTS FOR THERE TO BE AGREEMENT, COONEY EMPHASIZED.

12. (C) IN THAT REGARD, DUBLIN WILL HAVE "HUGE PROBLEMS" SELLING CHANGES TO ARTICLES TWO AND THREE IN THE REPUBLIC, COONEY STRESSED. HE COMPLAINED THAT SELECTIVE LEAKS IN TODAY'S PRESS (FOCUSSED ON THE PROSPECT OF CHANGES IN ARTICLES TWO AND THREE) WERE VERY DAMAGING, AND SPECULATED THEY MAY HAVE EVEN BEEN INTENDED (BY UNIONISTS) TO KEEP SINN FEIN FROM RETURNING TO THE TALKS NEXT WEEK. TRIMBLE COULD NOT SIMPLY "POCKET" THE ASSEMBLY AND ARTICLE TWO AND THREE, YET CONTINUE REFUSING TO "GIVE" ON NORTH/SOUTH ARRANGEMENTS.

PARADES
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13. (C) THERE WAS A "RITUALISTIC" EXCHANGE ON COMPOSITION OF THE PARADES COMMISSION. DUBLIN CONTINUES TO SEE A LACK OF BALANCE IN THE APPOINTMENTS TO THE COMMISSION, BUT DOES NOT WANT TO UNDERMINE ITS CHANCES FOR SUCCESS.

ROISIN MCALISKEY
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14. (C) CITING (b)(6) MEDICAL EVIDENCE (b)(6) (b)(6) THE IRISH URGED LONDON TO RELEASE

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HER, AND EXPECT A DECISION BY HOME SECRETARY JACK STRAW SOON. DUBLIN HOPES LONDON WILL "DO THE HUMANITARIAN THING," COONEY SAID.

CEASEFIRES
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15. (C) THE PROVISIONAL IRA CEASEFIRE IS HOLDING, COONEY SAID, BUT THERE ARE REAL CONCERNS ABOUT SUPPORT "DRIBBLING" OVER TO THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE. COONEY NOTED REPORTS THAT MICKEY MCKEVITT, AN IRA QUARTERMASTER IN THE REPUBLIC, HAD "GONE OVER" TO THE 32 COUNTY GROUP- STILL, FOR NOW THESE ELEMENTS WERE SMALL IN NUMBER AND THUS RELATIVELY EASY "TO KEEP TABS ON."

U.S. ROLE
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16. (C) COONEY AGREED THAT EVENTS SURROUNDING ST. PATRICK'S DAY AT THE WHITE HOUSE WOULD SET AN IMPORTANT TONE REGARDING PROSPECTS FOR REACHING AGREEMENT. UPON RETURNING TO IRELAND, THE POLITICIANS WOULD GO STRAIGHT INTO THE ENDGAME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE SENSE THAT THE U.S. WAS BEHIND ALL THE PARTIES AND WANTED FAIR PLAY WOULD BE A "BIG FACTOR-" OUTREACH TO THE UNIONISTS REMAINED ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT, COONEY SAID.

17. (C) FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE PARTIES WAS DISCUSSED AT THE MARCH 5 IGC AND IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE, COONEY INDICATED. U.S. SUPPORT -- THROUGH NED, NDI AND OTHER
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 001266

NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/06/08
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: READ-OUT OF MARCH 5 ANGLO-IRISH INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN

ORGANIZATIONS -- WOULD BE CRITICAL IN ENABLING SMALLER PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO CAMPAIGN FOR A "YES" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM THERE. THE BRITISH REALIZED THEY COULD NOT BE SEEN TO SUPPORT A "YES" VOTE TOO STRONGLY, OR THIS MIGHT JINX THE OUTCOME.

18. (C) IRELAND, FOR ITS PART, IS RESTRICTED BY A COURT RULING (THE MCKENNA JUDGMENT) FROM SUPPORTING ONE SIDE IN A REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN; GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN MATERIALS MUST PROVIDE INFORMATION ON BOTH THE "PRO" AND "CON" SIDE OF THE ISSUE, COONEY NOTED. IN THIS CONTEXT, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT THAT IRISH-AMERICA BE SEEN AS FAVORING A "YES" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUMS. SPIRNAK

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SUBJ: SCENESETTER FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY: THE BEGINNING OF THE END GAME

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 002700

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

THIS IS A COMBINED BELFAST/LONDON CABLE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/12/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SCENESETTER FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY: THE BEGINNING OF THE END GAME

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: KATHLEEN STEPHENS, BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

SUMMARY
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2. (C) THE END GAME OF THE CURRENT EFFORT TO REACH POLITICAL AGREEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND WILL BE PLAYED OUT OVER THE NEXT TEN WEEKS. WHEN THEY RETURN FROM ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS IN THE U.S., THE PARTIES WILL HAVE ONLY THREE WEEKS TO TRY TO ACHIEVE WHAT HAS ELUDED THEM IN NEARLY TWO YEARS OF PAINFULLY SLOW TALKS AT STORMONT: AN AGREED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT TO BE VOTED ON IN A MAY 22 REFERENDA IN IRELAND NORTH AND SOUTH. ASSUMING A YES VOTE IN THE REFERENDA, THERE THEN MIGHT BE A JUNE ELECTION FOR A NORTHERN ASSEMBLY. EVEN IF THIS BEST CASE -- AND LONG SHOT -- SCENARIO PREVAILS, EXTREMIST REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST VIOLENCE WILL CONTINUE, WITH ATTEMPTS BY BOTH SIDES TO BRING DOWN ANY AGREEMENT.

3. (C) IN THIS CONTEXT, THE MEETINGS THE PARTIES WILL HAVE WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY AND OTHER ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS PROVIDE AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS HOME THE MESSAGE: NOW IS THE TIME TO DO THE DEAL. END SUMMARY.

SINN FEIN SIGNALS WISH TO RETURN TO THE TALKS
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4. (C) IN HIS MARCH 12 MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS, PM BLAIR

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STRESSED THAT HMG WANTS SINN FEIN IN THE TALKS AND DOES NOT/NOT PREFER A TWO-WAY DEAL BETWEEN THE SDLP AND THE UUP. BLAIR REASSURED ADAMS THAT HE BELIEVED "IN MY HEART AND IN MY HEAD" THAT ADAMS WANTED TO FIND A PEACEFUL WAY TO MOVE FORWARD. BLAIR WARNED, HOWEVER, THAT HE COULD NOT LIVE WITH A RETURN TO VIOLENCE BY THE IRA TO INFLUENCE THE PROCESS. BLAIR AND BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MOWLAM STRESSED WHAT WAS IN THE PROCESS FOR SINN FEIN, INCLUDING SUBSTANTIAL MOVEMENT ON THE EQUALITY AGENDA (EMPLOYMENT EQUALITY, POLICING REFORM). IN THE CONTEXT OF A SETTLEMENT, THE PRISONERS' ISSUE WOULD ALSO BE DEALT WITH. NEW INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE CREATED WHICH WOULD NOT SATISFY ANY SIDE AT FIRST, BUT WHICH WOULD NOT BE STATIC, BUT RATHER WOULD HAVE THE CAPACITY TO DEVELOP.

5. (C) ADAMS RESPONDED THAT HE WANTED SINN FEIN IN THE PROCESS FOR THE END GAME AND HOPED HIS PARTY WOULD BE BACK IN THE TALKS MARCH 23. HIS GOAL WAS AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD BRING IN AS MANY SUPPORTERS AS POSSIBLE -- NOT LEAVING OUT LARGE GROUPS WHO WOULD WANT TO TRY FORCE. ADAMS DIVIDED THE REMAINING AGENDA ITEMS INTO TWO GROUPS. IN GENERAL, HE SAW IT AS POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON EQUALITY, IRISH LANGUAGE, PRISONERS, POLICING, AND CROSS-BORDER BODIES. THE GREATER PROBLEMS LAY WITH THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES AND ISSUES OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY.

6. (C) BLAIR UNDERLINED THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT WAS A SINE QUA NON TO ANY AGREEMENT. NO ONE WAS ASKING SINN FEIN TO GIVE UP THE GOAL OF ENDING PARTITION, BUT IT MUST BE ACCEPTED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO END PARTITION WAS PEACEFUL PERSUASION AND THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE IN THE NORTH, NOT FORCE.

THE COUNTDOWN BEGINS
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7. (C) WITH SINN FEIN SIGNALING A DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE TALKS, BARRING FURTHER DISRUPTIONS, THE COUNTDOWN TO A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BEGIN MARCH 23. THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE AFFIRMING THEIR DETERMINATION TO HOLD IN MAY SEPARATE REFERENDA NORTH AND SOUTH TO VOTE ON WHATEVER SETTLEMENT PACKAGE EMERGES FROM THE STORMONT TALKS CHAIRED BY FORMER SENATOR MITCHELL. MO MOWLAM REITERATED THIS WEEK THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAD NO INTENTION OF INTRODUCING AN "IMPOSED" SETTLEMENT, BUT RATHER TO PRESENT TO THE VOTERS A PROPOSAL WHICH ENJOYED THE "OWNERSHIP" OF THE PARTIES TO THE TALKS.

8. (C) MUCH OF THE ENERGY AND VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE STORMONT TALKS IN RECENT WEEKS HAS BEEN DEVOTED TO THE TEMPORARY EXPULSION FIRST OF THE LOYALIST UDP AND THEN OF SINN FEIN FOR CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS BY THEIR RESPECTIVE PARAMILITARIES. NEVERTHELESS, SOME PROGRESS IN THE CRUCIAL STRAND TWO NORTH-SOUTH NEGOTIATIONS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE TALKS IN SINN FEIN'S ABSENCE. IN ALL THREE STRANDS, ALL ISSUES ARE NOW ON THE TABLE AND PARTIES HAVE A GOOD IDEA OF WHERE THE COMPROMISES WILL HAVE TO BE MADE IF THERE IS AN AGREEMENT. BUT IF THERE IS TO BE AN AGREED PACKAGE BY THE EASTER BREAK, THE THREE WEEKS FOLLOWING ST. PATRICK'S DAY

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WILL HAVE TO SEE MORE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS -- AND MORE COMPROMISE -- THAN HAVE OCCURRED OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS.

9. (C) SINCE ALL THE PARTIES UNDERSTAND (BUT MOST CAN'T ADMIT) THAT ANY LIKELY OUTCOME WILL BE ALONG THE LINES OF THE 1995 FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT DRAFTED BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, THIS TASK IS NOT AS SUBSTANTIVELY DAUNTING AS IT MIGHT FIRST APPEAR. IN SOME WAYS, IT PRESENTS AS MUCH PRESENTATIONAL AS SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS. BUT THE VOCABULARY OF NORTHERN IRELAND IS ONE OF DIVISION, NOT ACCOMMODATION: TALK OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT AND NORTH-SOUTH "EXECUTIVE" BODIES IS ANATHEMA TO UNIONISTS, AND A NORTHERN IRISH ASSEMBLY IS A "RETURN TO STORMONT" FOR REPUBLICANS. IT WILL TAKE GREATER POLITICAL WILL AND COURAGE FROM PARTY LEADERS THAN HAS SO FAR BEEN ON DISPLAY TO BRING THEIR COMMUNITIES TO AGREEMENT.

THE ROAD AHEAD: WHAT THE GOVERNMENTS HOPE
TO ACCOMPLISH IN THE COMING WEEKS:
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10. (C) WEEK OF MARCH 16: ALL PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE TALKS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE LOYALIST PUP, WILL BE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR MEETINGS, LOBBYING, FUNDRAISING AND CELEBRATIONS IN WASHINGTON AND ELSEWHERE. DAVID ERVINE OF THE PUP HAS DECIDED TO STAY HOME, WE BELIEVE BECAUSE OF HIS GENUINE CONCERN ABOUT THE FRAGILE NATURE OF THE UVF CEASE-FIRE, AND IN AN EFFORT TO SHORE UP HIS STANDING WITH DISAFFECTED LOYALISTS.

11. (C) WEEK OF MARCH 23: TALKS RESUME AT STORMONT, PRESUMABLY WITH SINN FEIN FULLY BACK IN THE TALKS. TO DATE THE TALKS MEET ONLY THREE DAYS A WEEK, MONDAY THROUGH WEDNESDAY. THERE WILL BE A PUSH TO EXTEND THE SESSIONS. UNTIL NOW THE PARTIES HAVE BEEN COOL TO THE NOTION BUT TRIMBLE AT LEAST HAS TOLD HIS PEOPLE TO BE READY FOR FULL-TIME TALKS BEGINNING MARCH 23.

12. (C) WITH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS THE PRINCIPAL DRAFTERS OF PAPERS UNDER DISCUSSION TO DATE, THE EXPECTATION IS THAT THEY WILL PRESENT A SERIES OF SEPARATE OR JOINT PAPERS WHICH WILL LAY OUT PROBLEM AREAS IDENTIFIED IN STRANDS ONE AND TWO AND SUGGEST SOME APPROACHES. AN ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO HAVE THE CHAIRMAN PRESENT THE PAPERS, SOMETHING WHICH HAS IN THE PAST WORKED REASONABLY WELL. HOW AND WHETHER THE PARTIES CAN THEN MOVE TO RESOLVE THE AREAS OF DIFFICULTY IS, OF COURSE, THE BIG QUESTION.

13. (C) END OF MARCH: THE MUCH-MALIGNED PARADES COMMISSION PRESENTS ITS VIEWS ON HOW INDIVIDUAL CONTESTED PARADES SHOULD BE TREATED IN THE UPCOMING MARCHING SEASON.

14. (C) WEEK OF APRIL 6: FINAL WEEK OF TALKS BEFORE THE EASTER BREAK. THE AIM IS TO HAVE AN AGREEMENT WHICH ENJOYS SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS OF THE PARTIES REPRESENTING BOTH COMMUNITIES. ON THE UNIONIST SIDE, THIS MEANS THE UUP PLUS AT LEAST ONE LOYALIST PARTY; ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE, AGREEMENT BY THE SDLP ALONE WILL SUFFICE, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD NOT BE IDEAL.

15. (C) IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT IN ORDER TO MEET

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LEGISLATIVE REQUIREMENTS ON THE IRISH SIDE RELATING TO A REFERENDUM, THE PROPOSAL MUST BE PUBLISHED BY APRIL 9 IN ORDER TO ALLOW A REFERENDUM TO TAKE PLACE ON MAY 22.

16. (C) MID-APRIL-MID-MAY: A PERIOD OF DEBATE OVER THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT. ALSO DURING THIS PERIOD THE PROTESTANT MARCHING SEASON WILL BEGIN, WITH TROUBLE MOST LIKELY ON THE LOWER ORMEAU ROAD AND IN LONDONDERRY.

17. (C) MAY 22: TARGET DATE ANNOUNCED BY MOWLAM FOR REFERENDUM IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WITH SEPARATE REFERENDUM IN THE REPUBLIC HELD THE SAME DAY.

18. (C) JUNE 25: POSSIBLE DATE FOR ELECTION OF NEW NORTHERN ASSEMBLY (STRAND ONE). THIS MIGHT BE A "SHADOW" BODY DESIGNED TO FILL THE VACUUM WHILE NECESSARY LEGISLATION IS PASSED TO IMPLEMENT THE FULL SETTLEMENT. THE UUP AND SDLP HAVE BOTH EXPRESSED TO US SOME DOUBTS ABOUT HOLDING ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS BEFORE THE FALL, BUT THERE IS BRITISH GOVERNMENT CONCERN ABOUT WAITING THAT LONG.

19. (C) JULY 5: PROBABLE DATE FOR MOST CONTENTIOUS MARCH OF THE YEAR, THE ORANGE ORDER'S MARCH TO AND FROM DRUMCREE IN PORTADOWN. (THIS MARCH COULD TAKE PLACE ON JULY 12 INSTEAD.)

20. (C) JULY 12-13: BONFIRES AND MARCHES THROUGHOUT NORTHERN IRELAND TO CELEBRATE "ORANGEMAN'S DAY." NUMEROUS CONTENTIOUS PARADES.
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21. (C) MID-AUGUST: "RELIEF OF DERRY" APPRENTICE BOY'S MARCH, BITTERLY OPPOSED BY THE BOGSIDE RESIDENTS' GROUP.

GIVING THE PROCESS A PUSH ON ST. PATRICK'S DAY
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22. (C) THIS AMBITIOUS AGENDA NEEDS A HUGE PUSH IF IT IS TO HAVE A CHANCE OF SUCCESS. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, SYMBOLIZED HERE ON THE GROUND BY THE INDEFATIGABLE MO MOWLAM, IS PULLING OUT ALL THE STOPS; PARTICULARLY NOTABLE IS THE PACE OF ACTIVITY ON THE "EQUALITY AGENDA," INCLUDING MOWLAM'S ANNOUNCEMENT EARLIER THIS WEEK OF FAR-REACHING NEW APPROACHES TO DEALING WITH DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT AND ELSEWHERE, THE DECISION NOT TO AGREE TO THE EXTRADITION OF ROISIN MCALISKEY, THE FLOATING OF THE NOTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO LOOK AT POLICING REFORMS, AND SO ON.

23. (C) BUT THE SITUATION IS HIGHLY VOLATILE ON BOTH THE REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST SIDES. IN addition TO CONTINUING LOYALIST KILLINGS SUCH AS THE MARCH 3 POYNTZPASS MURDERS, THERE ARE SOME SIGNS THAT THE NORTH ARMAGH BRIGADE OF THE IRA MAY BE OUT TO END THE CEASE-FIRE.

24. (C) THE MEETINGS AND EXPOSURE IN WASHINGTON SCHEDULED FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY WEEKEND WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ALL THE

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PARTIES TO PERCEPTIONS BACK IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT AND OTHER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SHOULD REINFORCE WITH THE PARTIES BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT WE BELIEVE THE CURRENT PROCESS HAS ENTERED AN "END GAME." OUR PATIENCE IS NOT UNLIMITED, NOR WE BELIEVE IS THE PATIENCE OF PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WHILE WE UNDERSTAND HOW DIFFICULT COMPROMISES ARE, THE ATMOSPHERE FOR NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE IS AS GOOD NOW AS IT IS EVER LIKELY TO BE. THIS OPPORTUNITY MUST BE GRASPED.

23. (C) MORE SPECIFICALLY, ADAMS NEEDS TO BE ENCOURAGED TO SEE THE GLASS AS HALF FULL. SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE END GAME CAN CRUCIALLY INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME. NO DEAL ACCEPTABLE TO ALL SIDES WILL GIVE ANY SIDE EVERYTHING IT WANTS. BUT BY PARTICIPATION SINN FEIN CAN ACCOMPLISH MUCH OF VITAL INTEREST TO TH5DAILY LIVES OF ITS CONSTITUENTS, ESPECIALLY ON THE EQUALITY AGENDA. ADAMS AND HIS COLLEAGUES SHOULD (AND PERHAPS DO) RECOGNIZE THAT THEY ARE UNLIKELY IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE TO HAVE A BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCEPTABLE DEAL THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS THAN WITH THE CURRENT BRITISH GOVERNMENT. BLAIR HAS RECOGNIZED THE RISKS ADAMS IS TAKING FOR PEACE AND HAS ALREADY DELIVERED IN A NUMBER OF WAYS (THE "BLOODY SUNDAY" INQUIRY, THE NEW WHITE PAPER ON EMPLOYMENT EQUALITY, RELEASES OF HIGH-PROFILE PRISONERS, INCLUDING ROISIN MCALISKEY). WITH BETTER WILL ON ALL SIDES THAN FOR MANY YEARS, AN AGREEMENT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE. CONVERSELY, SINN FEIN SHOULD BE LEFT IN NO DOUBT THAT THE USG WOULD HAVE NO SYMPATHY AT ALL FOR A RETURN TO VIOLENCE BY ANY PARTY TO ATTAIN ITS ENDS.

24. (C) THE OTHER ACTOR WHO NEEDS SPECIAL ATTENTION NOW IS THE UUP'S DAVID TRIMBLE. AS WITH ADAMS, IT WOULD HELP IF THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANT STEPS TRIMBLE HAS ALREADY TAKEN IN THE PEACE PROCESS. NOT TERRIBLY SECURE IN HIS OWN PARTY, HE NEVERTHELESS TOOK THE UUP INTO THE TALKS, SWALLOWED THE VIRTUAL DISAPPEARANCE OF THE DECOMMISSIONING AGENDA, KEPT THE UUP IN WITH SINN FEIN'S APPEARANCE, AND IS EXPECTED TO BE THERE ON THE 23RD, WHEN SINN FEIN COMES BACK AFTER TWO MURDERS THAT MOST PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND ACCEPT WERE COMMITED BY THE IRA. WE SHOULD BE REINFORCING FOR TRIMBLE NOW THE MESSAGE THAT THE USG WILL SUPPORT AND GIVE CREDIT TO THOSE PARTIES WHICH PARTICIPATE IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND TAKE RISKS FOR PEAC. HE WILL NEED TO HEAR FROM US THAT, ALTHOUGH WE WANT SINN FEIN TO BE PART OF ANY AGREEMENT, IF THEY CHOOSE NOT TO BE, WE WILL STILL SUPPORT AN AGREEMENT WHICH GARNERS THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND OF IRELAND IN REFERENDA. WE BELIEVE THE CURRENT OPPORTUNITY SHOULD NOT BE LOST.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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SSN: 2700
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SIT: BANDLER BUTLER SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
STEINBERG

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0221
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0277
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: APRIL 9 "DECISION TIME" AT TALKS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.37)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 003347

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/26/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: APRIL 9 "DECISION TIME" AT TALKS

REF: A) BELFAST 119 B) BELFAST 118 C) BELFAST 120

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: SENATOR MITCHELL'S MARCH 25 ANNOUNCEMENT SETTING APRIL 9 AS THE DEADLINE FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT AT THE STORMONT TALKS HAS FOCUSED NEGOTIATORS' ATTENTION AND IMPARTED A MUCH-NEED SENSE OF URGENCY TO THE PROCEEDINGS. INTENSIVE TALKS, BOTH IN BILATERAL AND PLENARY SESSIONS, CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE WEEK AND ARE SCHEDULED RIGHT UP TO THE DEADLINE. EVEN THOUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK HAVE FAILED TO NARROW SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES, BRITISH OFFICIALS ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE NEW ATMOSPHERE. HOWEVER, IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSTANTIVE HURDLES, THEY HAVE FLAGGED TWO OTHER MATTERS AS POTENTIAL DEAL-BREAKERS: UNIONISTS' RENEWED EMPHASIS ON ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING, AND THE DESTABILIZING EFFECT SHOULD A REPUBLICAN OR LOYALIST SPLINTER GROUP PERPETRATE A SERIOUS TERRORIST OUTRAGE. END SUMMARY.

IT'S DECISION TIME
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3. (U) "THE TIME FOR DISCUSSION IS OVER," SENATOR MITCHELL ANNOUNCED MARCH 25, "IT IS NOW TIME FOR DECISION." SETTING APRIL 9 AS THE OFFICIAL DEADLINE FOR REACHING AN AGREEMENT, MITCHELL SAID: "WE ARE CONVINCED THAT AN AGREEMENT IS WITHIN REACH. WE ARE NOT CONSIDERING ANY ALTERNATIVE PLAN IN THE EVENT OF FAILURE BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT FAILURE IS UNACCEPTABLE... THESE NEXT FEW WEEKS WILL BE DECISIVE. THE SUCCESS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL REQUIRE STEADY NERVES AND COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP. THE PARTICIPANTS KNOW WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE. IT IS UP TO THEM TO DO IT."

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4. (U) BEGINNING WITH A PLENARY SESSION NEXT MONDAY, THE TALKS ARE SCHEDULED TO CONTINUE FIVE DAYS A WEEK RATHER THAN THREE, AS THEY HAVE UP TO NOW. CLOSER TO THE DEADLINE, THEY ARE LIKELY TO MEET VIRTUALLY NON-STOP. SENATOR MITCHELL'S ANNOUNCEMENT ALSO SIGNALED THE CHAIR'S INTENTION TO TAKE A MORE DIRECT ROLE IN PUSHING THE PROCESS TO A CONCLUSION. ONE NIO OBSERVER DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE TALKS MARVELED AT THE SENATOR'S "SHEEP DOG ABILITY TO HAVE THE SHEEP LIKE AND RESPECT HIM EVEN AS HE IS DRIVING THEM TOWARD A PEN THEY DO NOT WISH TO ENTER; HE'S GOT THE RIGHT BARK TO TEETH RATIO."

INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS
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5. (C) EVEN THOUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK DID NOT NARROW SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTIONS AND DETAILS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION WITHIN THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY, BRITISH OFFICIALS ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE ATMOSPHERE ENGENDERED BY MITCHELL'S ANNOUNCEMENT. NO ONE EXPECTS THE DEAL TO COME TOGETHER UNTIL THE LAST POSSIBLE MINUTE. NIO NEGOTIATING TEAM LEADER DAVID HILL REFERRED TO THE "BUZZ" AROUND STORMONT CASTLE BUILDINGS WHEN DESCRIBING HOW THE IMPOSITION OF A DEADLINE HAS FOCUSED NEGOTIATORS' ATTENTION AND IMPARTED A MUCH-NEED SENSE OF URGENCY TO THE PROCEEDINGS.

6. (C) INTENSIVE TALKS, BOTH IN BILATERAL AND PLENARY SESSIONS, CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE WEEK AS THE CHAIRMEN BEGIN EFFORTS TO STITCH TOGETHER A DEAL ACROSS THE STRANDS. FCO REPUBLIC OF IRELAND DEPT HEAD GEORGE FERGUSSON DESCRIBED TO US EXCHANGES ON STRANDS ONE AND TWO DURING MONDAY AND TUESDAY'S PLENARIES AS GOOD AND DETAILED. AT ONE POINT, HE SAID, WHEN GERRY ADAMS TRIED ARGUED THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH BODY SHOULD BE DIRECTLY ELECTED AND HAVE A POWERFUL RANGE OF FUNCTIONS, THE SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME TOLD ADAMS TO "GET REAL." HUME SAID THIS IS NOT THE TIME IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS TO SET OUT SUCH A MAXIMALIST AGENDA.

SOME POSITIVE ASPECTS
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7. (U) THERE ALSO WERE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS PROPER. UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE, WHO HAD BEEN UNDER TERRIFIC PRESSURE FROM WITHIN HIS PARTY AND THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY TO ABANDON THE PROCESS, GOT THROUGH HIS KEY WEEKEND MEETING WELL, RECEIVING AN UNANIMOUS ENDORSEMENT FROM THE PARTY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. TRIMBLE'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION WAS ALSO HELPFUL AS HE GAVE A ROBUST ACCOUNT OF WHY THE UUP SHOULD BE IN THE TALKS, HIGHLIGHTING THE FACT THAT HIS ENGAGEMENT SAFEGUARDED UNIONIST PRINCIPLES AND MADE THE UNION SAFE. TRIMBLE ALSO ENCOURAGINGLY EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR BETTER RELATIONS AMONG NEIGHBORS.

8. (C) ALSO ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, GERRY ADAMS PLACED AN ARTICLE IN THE BELFAST "IRISH NEWS" SAYING THAT SINN FEIN EXPECTS TO STAY IN THE TALKS AND WOULD CONTEST SEATS IN ELECTIONS TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY. (REF B) THE EFFECT OF ADAMS' STATEMENT IS SOMEWHAT AMBIGUOUS, HOWEVER, AS ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 003347

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/26/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: APRIL 9 "DECISION TIME" AT TALKS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

REF: A) BELFAST 119 B) BELFAST 118 C) BELFAST 120

IT CONTAINED A WAIT-AND-SEE CAVEAT TO THE EFFECT THAT SINN FEIN WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN A "PARTITIONIST ASSEMBLY." SINN FEIN'S JUDGMENT ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE ASSEMBLY, AND THUS ITS DECISION TO ON WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE IN IT, IS LIKELY TO BE BOUND UP WITH ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE OVERALL SETTLEMENT. THERE IS SOME SUGGESTION THAT A DECISION TO TAKE UP ITS SEATS WOULD REQUIRE APPROVAL OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE BY A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY AT THE MID-APRIL PARTY CONFERENCE.

9. (C) NIO INTERNATIONAL AND PLANNING CHIEF DAVID BROOKER TOLD US MARCH 26 THAT THE GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE -- AND HOPE -- THE PARTIES ARE TOO BOUND INTO THE TALKS AT THIS POINT TO WALK AWAY. WHATEVER THEIR FIRST INSTINCTS MIGHT BE, ADAMS, TRIMBLE, HUME AND THE OTHER LEADERS REALIZE THAT THERE WOULD BE A SEVERE POLITICAL PENALTY TO PAY SHOULD THEY BE BLAMED FOR WRECKING THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE GOVERNMENTS ACCORDINGLY STRONGLY BACK THE CHAIRMEN'S EFFORTS TO "REEL THEM IN."

DECOMMISSION HURDLE RETURNS
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10. (C) IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSTANTIVE DISAGREEMENTS IN THE STRANDS, BRITISH OFFICIALS HAVE POINTED TO TWO OTHER WORRISOME DEVELOPMENTS. FIRST, BROOKER POINTED OUT THAT THE UNIONISTS, AFTER HAVING LEFT IT ALONE FOR SOME TIME, HAVE REVIVED THE ISSUE OF ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING "WITH A VENGEANCE." BEGINNING IN THE REVIEW PLENARY TUESDAY AFTERNOON AND CONTINUING IN A VARIETY OF FORUMS, INCLUDING THE NORTHERN IRELAND GRAND COMMITTEE AT WESTMINSTER, THE UUP HAS DEMANDED THAT HMG INSIST SOME DECOMMISSIONING ACTUALLY TAKE PLACE DURING THE COURSE OF THE TALKS, AS THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAD AGREED. IF THERE IS NO ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING IN PARALLEL, THE UNIONISTS, LED BY TRIMBLE, JEFFREY DONALDSON AND SECURITY SPOKESMAN KEN MAGINNIS DEMAND TO KNOW WHAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD DO ABOUT IT.

11. (C) BROOKER SAID THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT ITS POSITION HAS NOT CHANGED: IT WANTS TO SEE PARAMILITARIES BEGIN THE PROCESS OF DECOMMISSIONING ALONGSIDE THE TALKS PROCESS. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, EVEN IF THEY DO NOT UNDERTAKE SOME DECOMMISSIONING, THE GOVERNMENT WILL ARGUE THAT THE ARMED GANGS SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN A VETO ON THE TALKS PROCESS. IT WILL URGE THE UUP TO GO AHEAD WITH THE AGREEMENT ANYWAY. FERGUSSON NOTED THAT, FOLLOWING THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING, TRIMBLE NO DOUBT KNOWS HE IS VULNERABLE TO ATTACKS NOT ONLY FROM PAISLEY BUT FROM WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY TOO. BROOKER CONCURRED, SAYING THE UUP EFFORT APPEARS TO BE PRIMARILY AIMED AT "CONSTITUENCY MANAGEMENT." THE UUP HAS AGREED TO RESUME THIS ISSUE AT MONDAY'S PLENARY WITH A TWO-HOUR LIMIT ON DEBATE.

12. (C) NONETHELESS, BOTH GOVERNMENTS ARE WORRIED THAT THIS ISSUE COULD TURN INTO A DEAL BUSTER AND ARE STILL CASTING ABOUT FOR WAYS TO DEAL WITH IT. IF FIERCE STATEMENTS CALLING FOR SOME DECOMMISSIONING NOW ARE NOT ENOUGH FOR TRIMBLE AND THE UNIONISTS, THE GOVERNMENTS ARE NOT SANGUINE THAT ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING IS ACHIEVABLE. FERGUSSON THOUGHT THE BRITISH MIGHT BE ABLE TO INDUCE THE UVF AND UDA TO MAKE AT LEAST SYMBOLIC TURNOVERS OF WEAPONS. HOWEVER, THE IRA, WHICH IS CONTINUING TO PURSUE A DUAL-TRACK POLICY, IS KEEPING OPEN ALL OPTIONS AND TELLING ITS PEOPLE THE WAR IS NOT OVER. IT IS NOT LIKELY TO DECOMMISSION ANY WEAPONS IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS.

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13. (C) FERGUSSON SAID THE UK GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE EXPLORE WHAT TRIMBLE CAN ACCEPT. SPEAKING INFORMALLY AND EXPLORATORILY, HE SAID HE COULD FORESEE A SITUATION, IF THE TALKS COME TO AN IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING, IN WHICH HMG MIGHT ASK IF U.S. COULD TWIST ARMS OUT OF UK REACH TO PERSUADE THE IRA TO HAND OVER A FEW SYMBOLIC WEAPONS. FERGUSSON EMPHASIZED HE WAS NOT ASKING FOR THAT AT THIS TIME. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HMG WANTS TO RESERVE USG INVOLVEMENT FOR ISSUES THAT ARE REAL DEAL-BREAKERS, SO IT WILL HAVE TO JUDGE FIRST WHETHER THIS WILL RISE TO THAT CATEGORY. IN RESPONSE, WE MADE NO COMMITMENTS BUT POINTED OUT THAT WE WANT TO DO WHAT WE COULD TO HELP THE PROCESS AND THAT WE ALWAYS TAKE THEIR REQUESTS SERIOUSLY.

SECURITY THREAT INTENSIFIES
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14. (C) THE OTHER AREA OF CONCERN TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS, AND STILL THE MOST LIKELY CAUSE OF A COLLAPSE OF THE TALKS, IS THE SECURITY SITUATION ON THE GROUND. THE RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE HAS DECLARED THAT THE RECENT MORTAR ATTACK AND BOMBING IN COUNTY ARMAGH, AND OTHER RECENT REPUBLICAN ATTACKS, DO NOT APPEAR TO BE THE WORK OF IRA OR AUTHORIZED BY THE (P)IRA HEIRARCHY. (REF C) HOWEVER, CONTINUITY IRA INCIDENTS ARE ESCALATING AND THERE APPEARS TO BE GREATER INFORMAL LEAKAGE OF IRA EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL TO CONTINUITY IRA AND OTHER SPLINTER ORGANIZATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE RENEGADE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING SOME VERY NASTY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 003347

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/26/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: APRIL 9 "DECISION TIME" AT TALKS

REF: A) BELFAST 119 B) BELFAST 118 C) BELFAST 120

ATTACKS. FERGUSSON NOTED THE LVF FORTUNATELY IS NOT ALL THAT COMPETENT, BUT ITS MEMBERS HAVE GREAT, PERVERTED ENTHUSIASM.

15. (C) BRITISH OFFICIALS CONFIDENTIALLY JUDGE THE TALKS PROCESS AS SUFFICIENTLY FRAGILE THAT A MAJOR BLAST, SHOOTING, OR OTHER ATTACK WHICH RESULTS IN MAJOR LOSS OF LIFE, COULD LEAD TO A BREAKDOWN. THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE PUSHED SO HARD ON AN ACCELERATED TIMETABLE FOR THE TALKS.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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SIT(C2) STEINBERG TRIP

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0280
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0224
SUBJ: 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)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.38)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ 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

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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 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 REFOCUSSING, OTHERS

WILL REQUIRE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION FROM WASHINGTON.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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 PUSHHE 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. (C) 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. (C) 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. (C) 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,

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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. (C) 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. (C) 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"
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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
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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

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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
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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
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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.

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

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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

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3364

TOR: 980327124304 M3218399

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER COQ MCELDOWNEY SUM2
SIT: NSC
PRT: BERGER COMM COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2} STEINBERG
<^DIST>
SIT: SUM2
PRT: BERGER COMM COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2} STEINBERG TRIP

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2015-0157-M (2.40)
KBH 7/31/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG: 171715Z APR 98
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5425
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0301
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0355
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: MOOD CONFIDENT BUT WARY ON EVE OF CONFERENCES

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 004058

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/17/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MOOD CONFIDENT BUT WARY ON EVE OF CONFERENCES

REF: DUBLIN 2062

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: AT KEY PARTY CONFERENCES THIS WEEKEND BOTH DAVID TRIMBLE AND GERRY ADAMS MUST CONVINCE THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES TO SWALLOW A BITTER PILL. FEW REPUBLICANS, AND EVEN FEWER UNIONISTS, ACTUALLY LIKE WHAT IS BECOMING KNOWN AS THE "GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT" BECAUSE IT FORCES THEM TO COMPROMISE ON SOME OF THEIR MOST CHERISHED IDEALS. OVER FIERCE OPPOSITION FROM WITHIN THEIR OWN CAMPS, THE TWO LEADERS WILL ARGUE THAT THIS AGREEMENT, WHILE NOT IDEAL, SAFEGUARDS THEIR COMMUNITIES' BOTTOM LINES AND REPRESENTS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO CONTINUED VIOLENCE. IT IS ON THAT BASIS THAT A RECENT OPINION SURVEY INDICATED THAT 73& OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PUBLIC SUPPORTS THE AGREEMENT. TRIMBLE IS EXPECTED TO RECEIVE THE BACKING OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL, BUT IT IS NOT DEFINITE THAT HE WILL DO SO WITH THE SIZEABLE MAJORITY NEEDED TO KEEP HIS AUTHORITY INTACT. ADAMS' LEADERSHIP CERTAINLY WILL BE APPROVED AT THE SINN FEIN CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, THE PARTY'S DECISION ON WHETHER TO ENDORSE THE AGREEMENT WILL BE POSTPONED UNTIL CLOSER TO THE REFERENDUM DATE. AT THIS POINT, THOSE WHO FAVOR A "YES" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM ARE FEELING RELATIVELY CONFIDENT BUT, NOTING SOME UNFAVORABLE TRENDS, POINT OUT THAT A LOT CAN HAPPEN IN FIVE WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) THE APRIL 18 MEETINGS OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL AND THE SINN FEIN ANNUAL CONFERENCE WILL PROVIDE CRITICAL TESTS FOR THE LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES. FOLLOWING A EUPHORIC REACTION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE "GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT" WAS

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ANNOUNCED, THE VOLUME OF OPPOSITION TO IT FROM BOTH REPUBLICAN AND UNIONIST CAMPS HAS STEADILY INCREASED. EVEN THOUGH COMING AT THE ISSUES FROM OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS, REPUBLICAN AND UNIONIST CRITICS IN COMMON INSIST THAT FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN BREACHED AND URGE REJECTION OR RENEGOTIATION OF THE DEAL.

UUP
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5. (U) DAVID TRIMBLE HAS REPLIED TO INTERNAL UNIONIST CRITICISM WITH A ROBUST DEFENSE OF THE AGREEMENT AND A BRASH SWIPE AT IAN PAISLEY AND OTHER DETRACTORS. CHALLENGING OPPONENTS TO PRODUCE A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE, TRIMBLE ARGUED THAT A "NO" VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM WOULD BE A VICTORY FOR THE IRA. "WHY IS THE DUP DETERMINED TO LET THEM OFF THE HOOK," HE QUERIED. TRIMBLE HAS FOCUSED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT, ARGUING THAT THIS AGREEMENT SOLIDIFIES NORTHERN IRELAND'S POSITION WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

6. (U) TRIMBLE'S POSITION WAS BOLSTERED BY AN OPION POLL PUBLISHED APRIL 16 IN THE IRISH TIMES AND GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS WHICH INDICATED THE AGREEMENT IS SUPPORTED BY 73& OF THE AT-LARGE PUBLIC IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AND BY 70& OF PERSONS WHO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS UUP SUPPORTERS (REFTEL). THIS IS CLEAR CUT EVIDENCE OF BROAD SUPPORT AND FEW PEOPLE DOUBT THAT THIS WAS A GENERALLY ACCURATE SNAPSHOT OF PUBLIC OPINION. HOWEVER, POLLING EXPERTS OFFER TWO CAVEATS: 1) THE POLLS, CONDUCTED OVER THE EASTER WEEKEND, MAY HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE FAVORABLE PUBLICITY IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE AGREEMENT AND SUBSEQUENT DOUBTS MAY BRING THE NUMBERS DOWN, AND 2) A LOT CAN CHANGE IN THE FIVE WEEKS TO THE REFERENDUM, ESPECIALLY IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

7. (U) EVEN ALLOWING FOR THE POSITIVE POLLING FIGURES, TRIMBLE FACES SUBSTANTIAL CHALLENGES. THUS FAR, ONLY THREE OF HIS UUP PARLIAMENTARY COLLEAGUES HAVE DECLARED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT. THE OTHER SIX EITHER HAVE PUBLICLY OPPOSED THE AGREEMENT OR ARE SOON EXPECTED TO. FURTHERMORE, THE GRAND LODGE OF THE ORANGE ORDER, THAT INSTITUTION'S RULING BODY, YESTERDAY REFUSED TO ENDORSE THE AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH STOPPING SHORT OF REJECTING IT, THEY DECLINED TO RECOMMEND THE AGREEMENT TO THEIR 60,000 MEMBERS PENDING "FURTHER CLARIFICATION" FROM THE PRIME MINISTER. TWO UUP YOUTH GROUPS HAVE COME OUT SUPPORTING A "NO" VOTE.

8. (U) UNIONIST CONCERNS CENTER ON POLICING, DECOMMISSIONING AND PRISONER RELEASES. THERE ARE WORRIES THAT THE NEW SYSTEM MIGHT GIVE SINN FEIN A POSITION IN THE EXECUTIVE EVEN IF THE IRA CONTINUES TO WAGE A CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE; THAT EARLY PRISONER RELEASES WILL REPLENISH THE IRA'S POOL OF VOLUNTEERS; AND THAT POLICE REFORMS WILL HINDER THE RUC'S ABILITY TO FIGHT TERRORISM. TRIMBLE INSISTS THAT DOWNING STREET HAS OFFERED SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THESE CONTINGENCIES, AND THAT THE IRA MUST BEGIN TO DECOMMISSION ITS WEAPONS BEFORE wINN FEIN CAN ASSUME A PLACE IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT. OPPONENTS BELIEVE LANGUAGE OFFERED BY NO. 10 THUS FAR IS TOO "WOOLLY" TO BE OF VALUE.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 004058

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/17/03
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MOOD CONFIDENT BUT WARY ON EVE OF CONFERENCES

REF: DUBLIN 2062

9. (C) BOTH TONY BLAIR AND MO MOWLAM YESTERDAY OFFERED PUBLIC REMARKS INTENDED TO SHORE UP TRIMBLE'S POSITIK. BLAIR REITERATED THAT TERRORIST PRISONERS WOULD BE RELEASED EARLY ONLY IF THEIR ORGIZATIONS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE. GOVERNMENT PAPERS INDICATED THAT OF THE 340 MAINSTREAM TERRORIST PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 235 ARE ELIGIBLE FOR RELEASE WITHIN ONE YEAR, AND ANOTHER 34 THE FOLLOWING YEAR. THIS MEANS ONLY 71 PRISONERS WOULD SERVE LESS THAN THEIR FULL SENTENCE UNDER THE TERMS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT (ALTHOUGH THAT NUMBER INCLUDES MANY SERIOUS OFFENDERS). BLAIR ALSO INSISTED THAT THE REVIEW OF THE RUC WOULD NOT LEAD TO ITS DISBANDMENT.

10. (C) THE AGREEMENT WILL BE DEBATED IN DETAIL ON SATURDAY BY THE 800-MEMBER ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL, THE PARTY'S POLICY-MAKING ORGAN. SEVERAL INFORMED OBSERVERS HAVE ESTIMATED THE COUNCIL IS SPLIT ABOUT 60-40 IN FAVOR OF THE AGREEMENT. EVEN THOUGH PARLIAMENTARY OPPONENTS OUTNUMBER SUPPORTERS, THE SUPPORTERS -- TRIMBLE, TAYLOR AND MCGINNIS -- ARE BY FAR THE MOST INFLUENTIAL FIGURES IN THE PARTY. OF THE OPPOSING MPS, ONLY MARTIN SMYTH AND JEFFREY DONALDSON CARRY ANY REAL CLOUT. DONALDSON, WHO HAD WALKED OUT OF STORMONT BEFORE THE AGREEMENT WAS ANNOUNCED, TODAY REAFFIRMED HIS OPPOSITION TO THE DEAL, BUT ADDED THE CAVEAT "AS IT NOW STANDS" INDICATING THAT HE MAY BE WILLING TO ACCEPT UNSPECIFIED ASSURANCES FROM DOWNING STREET.

11. (U) TRIMBLE HIMSELF HAS ACKNOWLEDGED HE NEEDS ABOUT A 70& MAJORITY TO CONVINCE DOUBTERS AND BOLSTER HIS POSITION AGAINST PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY IN THE LARGER UNIONIST COMMUNITY. HE IS CLAIMING PUBLICLY THAT HE WILL RECEIVE "OVERWHELMING" SUPPORT FROM THE COUNCIL. BUT HE CERTAINLY MUST HAVE IN THE BACK OF HIS MIND BRIAN FAULKNER, THE UNIONIST LEADER WHO WAS DEPOSED IN 1974 AFTER THE COUNCIL REJECTED THE SUNNINGDALE AGREEMENT.

SINN FEIN
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12. (U) ALTHOUGH SOME 80& OF SINN FEIN RESPONDENTS IN THE IRISH TIMES/GUARDIAN POLL GAVE THEIR SUPPORT TO THE AGREEMENT, THERE REMAINS A STRONG ELEMENT OF DISSENT IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. SINN FEIN VICE PRESIDENT PAT DOHERTY HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT "THERE IS A LOT OF HOSTILITY" TO THE DEAL BUT EMPHASIZED THE DEBATE CONTINUES WITHIN THE MOVEMENT. MANY REPUBLICANS ARGUE THAT THE AGREEMENT IS "ESSENTIALLY PARTITIONIST" AND VOCIFEROUSLY OPPOSE CHANGES TO ARTICLES TWO AND THREE OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION.

13. (U) EMPHASIZING THE "EQUALITY AGENDA," PRISONERS RELEASES AND POLICING REFORMS, GERRY ADAMS HAS URGED REPUBLICANS TO JUDGE THE AGREEMENT BY WHETHER IT ADVANCES THE STRUGGLE FOR IRISH UNITY. BUT HE HAS STOPPED SHORT OF PUBLICLY ENDORSING IT. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE ADAMS' LEADERSHIP WILL BE SOLIDLY APPROVED BY DELEGATES AT THE PARTY'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN THIS WEEKEND.

14. (U) HOWEVER, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL EITHER ACCEPT OR REJECT THE AGREEMENT AT THIS STAGE. ADAMS' STRATEGY IS THOUGHT TO FAVOR A LONGER PERIOD OF CONSULTATION IN ORDER TO AVOID A SPLIT THAT COULD DRIVE SOME MEMBERS TO THE

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HARDLINE 32-COUNTY COMMITTEE OR OTHER DISSIDENT GROUP. FOLLOWING MORE CONSULTATION, A SPECIAL CONFERENCE COULD BE CALLED CLOSER TO THE REFERENDUM DATE. THAT CONFERENCE ALSO COULD DEAL WITH CHANGES NECESSARY IN THE PARTY'S CONSTITUTION TO PERMIT SINN FEIN TO TAKE UP SEATS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY.

15. (C) MOST OBSERVERS AT THIS POINT BELIEVE THAT TRIMBLE AND ADAMS WILL GAIN ENOUGH SUPPORT TO CARRY ON. AT AN APRIL 16 LUNCH AT BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL'S RESIDENCE, ALLIANCE LEADER LORD ALDERDICE, PUP LEADER DAVID ERVINE, WOMEN'S COALITION HEAD PEARL SAGAR AND BELFAST NEWSLETTER EDITOR GEOFF MARTIN ALL EXPRESSED RELATIVE CONFIDENCE THAT THE UPCOMING REFERENDUM WILL APPROVE THE AGREEMENT, EVEN THOUGH NO ONE WAS SANGUINE ABOUT THE MARGIN. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE UNCERTAINTIES AND THE VOLATILITY OF THE UNIONIST MOOD, ALL (EXCEPT ALDERDICE) URGED A CAUTIOUS APPROACH AT THIS TIME TO A PRE-REFERENDUM VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE PRESIDENT.

BRADTKE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4058
<^SSN>4058

TOR: 980417135034 M3248572
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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3336
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0283
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0616
SUBJ: MANSERGH "REASONABLY RELAXED" ABOUT IRA STATEMENT ON BELFAST AGREEMENT

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

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 002368

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/30/08
TAGS: PTER, UK, EI
SUBJECT: MANSERGH "REASONABLY RELAXED" ABOUT IRA STATEMENT ON BELFAST AGREEMENT

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

1. ~~(C)~~ ASKED ABOUT THE IRA STATEMENT CARRIED IN TODAY'S "AN PHOBLACHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS," TAOISEACH'S ADVISER MARTIN MANSERGH TOLD US HE WAS NEITHER ENCOURAGED NOR DISCOURAGED BY ITS CONTENT.

2. ~~(C)~~ ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, IT OFFERED A "CAUTIOUS AND QUALIFIED WELCOME" TO THE BELFAST AGREEMENT, AND GAVE SINN FEIN "A FREE HAND" TO PROCEED WITH ITS PEACE STRATEGY. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, IT "GAVE THE TWO FINGERS" TO THE UNIONISTS ON THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING AND SERVED AS AN IRA REMINDER THAT, IN EFFECT, "WE HAVEN'T GONE AWAY, YOU KNOW." PREDICTABLY, SINN FEIN WAS PUTTING A POSITIVE SPIN ON THE STATEMENT, WHILE UNIONISTS WERE CITING IT AS PROOF OF BAD FAITH AND IRA REPUDIATION OF THE AGREEMENT.

3. ~~(C)~~ ON BALANCE, MANSERGH WAS "REASONABLY RELAXED" ABOUT THE STATEMENT. IF ANYTHING, HE WAS INCLINED TO VIEW IT AS MARGINALLY MORE POSITIVE THAN NEGATIVE, ALTHOUGH THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT EFFECTIVELY CANCELLED EACH OTHER OUT. IT WAS NOT AN "ACUTE CAUSE FOR CONCERN" IN THE SHORT TERM. MANSERGH DID NOT THINK THE STATEMENT ACHIEVED ITS LIKELY AIM, NAMELY TO STRENGTHEN SINN FEIN'S NEGOTIATING POSITION. BUT HE DOUBTED IT WOULD HAVE A "PARTICULARLY NEGATIVE" IMPACT ON UNIONIST ATTITUDES TOWARD THE BELFAST AGREEMENT, AS EXPECTATIONS REGARDING IRA DECOMMISSIONING WERE, HE SAID, ALREADY FAIRLY LOW TO BEGIN WITH. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01
SSN: 2368

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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}
STEINBERG

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OSRI: RUEHLO
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INFO: RUEHXQ/ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: ONE YEAR OF TONY BLAIR AND NEW LABOUR

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2015-0157-M (2.42)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 004751

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/06/08
TAGS: PGOV, ECON, UK
SUBJECT: ONE YEAR OF TONY BLAIR AND NEW LABOUR

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: ROBERT A. BRADTKE, DEPUTY CHEIF OF MISSION. REASON: 1.5(D)

2. (C) SUMMARY: A YEAR AFTER THEIR UNPRECEDENTED ELECTION VICTORY, TONY BLAIR AND HIS "NEW" LABOUR PARTY REMAIN MASSIVELY POPULAR. BLAIR HAS PROVED VERY EFFECTIVE, BOTH AT SENSING AND EXPRESSING THE NATIONAL MOOD, AND AT LEADING THE COUNTRY WHERE HE BELIEVES IT SHOULD GO. IN FOREIGN POLICY, HE HAS ESTABLISHED HIMSELF AS A MAJOR PLAYER IN EUROPE, AND SHOWN HIS SKILL AS A NEGOTIATOR IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE AND CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER GORDON BROWN HAVE REVERSED LABOUR'S SPENDTHRIFT PAST AND ESTABLISHED AN IMAGE AS PRUDENT FISCAL MANAGERS. HIS GOVERNMENT HAS STUMBLED OCCASIONALLY, PARTICULARLY OVER WELFARE REFORM, BUT HAS GENERALLY PERFORMED WELL, AND SOME MINISTERS (MO MOWLAM, DAVID BLUNKETT, JOHN PRESCOTT, JACK STRAW) HAVE BEEN OUTSTANDING; THE PM IS EXPECTED TO WINNOW AND REFINE THIS TEAM IN A FORTHCOMING RESHUFFLE. MOST OBSERVERS EXPECT THE NEXT 18 MONTHS OR SO TO BE TOUGHER GOING POLITICALLY, AS SOME OF THE "WELFARE TO WORK" REFORMS CAUSE DISLOCATION TO TRADITIONAL LABOUR SUPPORTERS AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS TO MAKE SOME HARD CHOICES ON ISSUES SUCH AS THE RULES FOR TRADE UNION RECOGNITION, AND BRITAIN'S FUTURE DEFENSE POSTURE. PARTY INSIDERS REMAIN, NONETHELESS, EXTREMELY CONFIDENT ABOUT THEIR PROSPECTS FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD IN GOVERNMENT, ARGUING THAT BLAIR'S EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP, COUPLED WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S FISCAL PRUDENCE AND CARE NOT TO OVER-PROMISE NOW, SHOULD LEAVE THEM WELL-PLACED TO WIN THE NEXT ELECTION IN 2001 OR 2002. END SUMMARY.

EVEN MORE POPULAR
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3. (C) ON MAY 2, PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR MARKED THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HIS PREMIERSHIP. THE 1997 GENERAL ELECTION RETURNED THE LABOUR PARTY TO POWER AFTER 18 YEARS IN OPPOSITION, WITH THE LARGEST MAJORITY (179 SEATS) OF ANY GOVERNMENT THIS CENTURY. REMARKABLY, CURRENT POLLS SUGGEST THAT BLAIR AND HIS PARTY ARE EVEN MORE POPULAR NOW THAN THEY

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WERE LAST MAY. A POLL BY THE RESPECTED MORI ORGANIZATION PUT LABOUR SUPPORT AT 55 PERCENT (VS. 27 PERCENT FOR THE TORIES AND 14 PERCENT FOR THE LIB-DEMS), AN INCREASE OF 7.5 PERCENT FROM A YEAR AGO. BLAIR'S PERSONAL POPULARITY IS HIGHER THAN THAT OF ANY PRIME MINISTER SINCE WORLD WAR TWO; EVEN MOST TORY VOTERS APPEAR TO PREFER HIM TO THEIR OWN LEADER, WILLIAM HAGUE.

4. (C) BLAIR'S SUCCESS IN THE POPULARITY SWEEPSTAKES REFLECTS SEVERAL THINGS. HE HAS PROVED TO BE EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL AT SENSING AND ARTICULATING THE PUBLIC MOOD (E.G., HIS REMARKS THE MORNING AFTER THE DEATH OF PRINCESS DIANA -- "THE PEOPLE'S PRINCESS") . MORE IMPORTANTLY, HE HAS DEMONSTRATED THE ABILITY TO USE HIS PERSONAL CAPITAL TO GENERATE SUPPORT FOR HIS AGENDA. AS ONE LABOUR MP TOLD US: "HE KNOWS WHERE HE WANTS THE COUNTRY TO GO, AND HOW TO GET THE COUNTRY TO WANT TO GO THERE." FINALLY, HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN THAT THEY CAN GET THINGS DONE, PUSHING THROUGH THE HEAVIEST PROGRAM OF DOMESTIC LEGISLATION SINCE THE ATLEE GOVERNMENT OF 1945-50 (SCOTTISH AND WELSH DEVOLUTION, A LONDON MAYOR AND COUNCIL, EMBODYING THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTO UK LAW, ETC). HIS BACK-BENCHERS COMPLAIN ABOUT THE FREQUENT LATE-NIGHT (AND EVEN ALL-NIGHT) SESSIONS THEY'RE HAVING TO PUT IN, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A SHORTENED SUMMER BREAK, BUT THE MASS OF BILLS IS SLOWLY BEING SQUEEZED THROUGH THE PIPE OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS.

5. (C) THE PRIME MINISTER HAS ALSO SHOWN HIS SKILL IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WHILE THE UK STILL HAS PROBLEMS IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF EUROPE, AND BLAIR WON NO KUDOS FOR HIS HANDLING OF THE MAY 2 EUROPEAN SUMMIT, HE IS WORKING TO CONVINCE HIS EU PARTNERS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO RESOLVING THEM. CENTER-LEFT POLITICIANS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT HAVE GONE OUT OF THEIR WAY TO RUB SHOULDERS WITH HIM IN THE APPARENT HOPE THAT SOME OF HIS ELECTORAL MAGIC WOULD RUB OFF, AND HAVE OPENLY VIED FOR THE TITLE OF "(FILL IN THE COUNTRY NAME)'S TONY BLAIR." MORE SUBSTANTIVELY, HIS NEGOTIATING SKILL IS WIDELY (AND WE BELIEVE CORRECTLY) CREDITED WITH HELPING TO CLOSE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

FISCAL PRUDENCE
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6. (C) THIS GOVERNMENT CAME INTO OFFICE HAUNTED BY THE FAILURES OF PREVIOUS LABOUR ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE 1960S AND '70S, WHICH HANDED OUT SO MUCH MONEY REWARDING THEIR SUPPORTERS IN THEIR FIRST YEARS THAT THEY HAD TO SPEND THEIR LATTER YEARS TRYING TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE. TO OVERCOME THIS HISTORY IN THE MINDS OF THE ELECTORATE, TONY BLAIR PLEDGED TO KEEP TO THE SPENDING LIMITS ESTABLISHED BY THE OUTGOING TORY GOVERNMENT, AND NOT TO PUT UP THE BASIC RATE OF INCOME TAX FOR AT LEAST TWO YEARS.

7. (C) WHAT HIS CONSERVATIVE OPPONENTS (AND SOME OF HIS OWN LEFT WING) DID NOT RECOGNIZE WAS THAT THIS COMMITMENT WAS NOT SIMPLY AN ELECTORAL PLOY. BLAIR AND HIS CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, GORDON BROWN, WERE CONVINCED THAT MANY OF THE BIG-SPENDING PROGRAMS OF PREVIOUS LABOUR GOVERNMENTS SIMPLY DID

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NOT WORK; HE ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE PARTY'S ABILITY TO GAIN

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THE LONG-TERM SUPPORT OF THE ELECTORATE, AND WIN TWO FULL TERMS IN OFFICE (SOMETHING NO PREVIOUS LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS ACHIEVED) DEPENDED ON IT DEMONSTRATING THAT IT COULD BE TRUSTED TO BE FISCALLY PRUDENT IN MANAGING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. THE BEST INDICATOR OF BLAIR'S SUCCESS IN MEETING THIS TEST IS THAT MOST OF THE CRITICISM AGAINST CHANCELLOR BROWN COME FROM HIS PARTY'S OWN LEFT WING, AND IS THAT HE IS, IF ANYTHING, TOO CAUTIOUS AND TIGHT-FISTED. THE GOVERNMENT, OF COURSE, HAS BEEN BLESSED WITH A FAIRLY STRONG ECONOMY, WHICH HAS HELPED FILL THE COFFERS AND BROUGHT DOWN UNEMPLOYMENT. BUT BLAIR AND BROWN HAVE ALSO BEEN ADEPT IN HANDLING THE POLITICALLY-SENSITIVE QUESTION OF THE UK'S PARTICIPATION IN EMU, HEARTENING MANY IN DOMESTIC FINANCIAL AND BUSINESS CIRCLES AS WELL AS THEIR EU BRETHERN BY BEING GENERALLY POSITIVE, WHILE GUARDING THEIR FLANKS AGAINST TORY CRITICISM BY NOT MAKING A FINAL COMMITMENT.

A COMPETENT TEAM

8. (C) AFTER A YEAR IN GOVERNMENT, MOST OBSERVERS GIVE BLAIR'S TEAM REASONABLY HIGH MARKS FOR PERFORMANCE, EVEN THOUGH NONE OF THEM HAD PREVIOUSLY HELD CABINET OFFICE. SEVERAL HAVE SHOWN A NATURAL FLAIR FOR MINISTERIAL AUTHORITY: NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM, WHOSE SKILLFUL DIPLOMACY IS GIVEN MUCH OF THE CREDIT FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY ACCORD; EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT SECRETARY DAVID BLUNKETT, WHO HAS PROVED AN EFFECTIVE SPOKESMAN ON WHAT BLAIR HAS DEFINED AS HIS GOVERNMENT'S MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE; DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER JOHN PRESCOTT, WHO SHOWED OFF HIS DIPLOMATIC TALENTS AT THE KYOTO ENVIRONMENT SUMMIT, AND HAS PROVED A TOUGH NEGOTIATOR WITH THE PRIVATIZED RAIL COMPANIES, AMONG OTHERS; HOME SECRETARY JACK STRAW, WHO HAS FULFILLED LABOUR'S PLEDGE TO BE TOUGH, BUT FAIR, ON CRIME (DESPITE HIS OWN SON'S BRUSH WITH THE LAW OVER MARIJUANA POSSESSION). SEVERAL OF THE JUNIOR MINISTERS HAVE ALSO DONE WELL, INCLUDING SCHOOLS MINISTER STEPHEN BYERS, AND HOSPITALS MINISTER ALAN MILBURN.

9. (C) OTHERS HAVE BEEN LESS SUCCESSFUL. SOCIAL SERVICES SECRETARY HARRIET HARMAN HAS BEEN BLAMED FOR MISHANDLING THE PRESENTATION OF PLANS TO REVIEW BENEFITS FOR THE DISABLED AND SINGLE PARENTS. TRANSPORT MINISTER GAVIN STRANG IS CRITICIZED FOR BEING AN INEFFECTIVE SPOKESMAN, ESPECIALLY ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF URBAN TRANSPORT POLICY.

10. (C) THE PRIME MINISTER IS EXPECTED TO CARRY OUT HIS FIRST CABINET RESHUFFLE SOON, PERHAPS THIS MONTH. ACCORDING TO LABOUR PARTY RULES, BLAIR WAS REQUIRED TO CHOOSE HIS INITIAL MINISTERIAL TEAM FROM THE SHADOW CABINET ELECTED BY THE PARTY CONFERENCE. THIS WILL, THEREFORE, BE A CHANCE FOR HIM TO PUT A MORE PERSONAL IMPRINT ON HIS TEAM. THE NORMAL TIME FOR SUCH A RESHUFFLE WOULD BE DURING OR JUST BEFORE THE SUMMER PARLIAMENTARY RECESS, WHICH BEGINS IN JULY. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT HE WILL ACT SOONER THAN THAT IN ORDER TO SIGNAL HIS DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE REFORMIST MOMENTUM IN HIS SECOND YEAR IN OFFICE.

TOUGHER DAYS AHEAD

11. (C) WHILE BLAIR HAD A LONGER HONEYMOON THAN MOST PRIME MINISTERS, HIS GOVERNMENT'S FIRST YEAR HAS NOT BEEN WITHOUT PITFALLS, AND HAS SOMETIMES FACED HEAVY CENSURE. THE TABLOIDS HAD A FIELD DAY OVER FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK'S DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE. MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO PETER MANDELSON HAS BEEN CRITICIZE FOR THE AMOUNT OF MONEY BEING SPENT ON THE MILLENIUM DOME, A NEW EXHIBITION CENTER BEING BUILT IN EAST

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LONDON. THE LORD CHANCELLOR, LORD IRVINE, WAS EXCORIATED FOR SPENDING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF POUNDS ON REFURBISHING HIS APARTMENTS INSIDE PARLIAMENT. BLAIR'S OWN STAFF, ESPECIALLY HIS PRESS SPOKESMAN ALLISTAIR CAMPBELL, HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF MANIPULATING THE NEWS AND ARROGANTLY IGNORING THE AUTHORITY OF BOTH PARLIAMENT AND THE CABINET. ALL THIS IN A GOOD YEAR.

12. (C) THE SECOND YEAR IS UNLIKELY TO BE ANYWHERE AS EASY AS THE FIRST HAS BEEN. UPON TAKING OFFICE, THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONED A NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT POLICY REVIEWS, MANY OF WHICH TOUCHED ON ISSUES ON WHICH THE LABOUR PARTY WAS ITSELF DIVIDED. THESE REPORTS WERE TO CONSIDER SUCH DIFFICULT ISSUES AS: HOW FAR THE GOVERNMENT WILL GO TO PUSH PEOPLE OFF BENEFIT AND INTO WORK; WHAT PERCENTAGE OF A COMPANY'S WORKFORCE WILL HAVE TO TAKE PART IN A TRADE UNION RECOGNITION BALLOT FOR IT TO BE BINDING ON THE COMPANY; ESTABISHMENT OF A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE; WHETHER TO COMMIT TO BUILDING NEW AIRCRAFT CARRIERS FOR THE ROYAL NAVY; AND WHETHER TO CHANGE THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM FOR PARLIAMENT AWAY FROM THE CURRENT FIRST-PAST-THE-POST SYSTEM. BY WAITING FOR THE REVIEWS TO BE FINISHED, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ABLE TO AVOID TAKING DECISIONS ON THESE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS BEFORE IT WAS READY TO DO SO. MOST OF THE STUDIES, HOWEVER, WILL SOON BE COMPLETED. THE PRIME MINISTER WILL THEN HAVE TO DECIDE WHERE HE IS GOING TO COME DOWN ON THESE ISSUES. HOW EVER HE CHOOSES TO PLAY IT, HE WILL BE ALIENATING AT LEAST SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS. DEVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND, INTENDED TO UNDERCUT THE STRENGTH OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY (SNP) AND ITS INDEPENDENCE AGENDA, HAS SO FAR APPEARED TO DO THE CONTRARY. RECENT POLLS SHOW THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 004751

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SNP NECK-AND-NECK WITH, OR AHEAD OF, LABOUR IN VOTER PREFERENCES FOR THE NEW SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT. LABOUR HAS AN UPHILL STRUGGLE THERE TO WIN THE 1999 ELECTIONS.

13. (C) DELIVERING ON CAMPAIGN PROMISES IN OTHER AREAS WILL ALSO PROVE DIFFICULT, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO FISCAL PRUDENCE. LABOUR HAS ALREADY FOUND THAT FULFILLING PLEDGES TO REDUCE HOSPITAL WAITING LISTS AND PRIMARY SCHOOL CLASS SIZES WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT -- AND EXPENSIVE -- THAN EXPECTED. MANY OF ITS "WELFARE TO WORK" PROGRAMS, HOWEVER SOUND IN THEORY, WILL CAUSE A GREAT DEAL OF DISLOCATION TO ORDINARY PEOPLE WHO MAY NOT SEE THE BENEFIT OF THE CHANGE IN THEIR OWN LIVES FOR SOME TIME. IT WILL BE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE TO SAY "NO" TO SPECIAL DEMANDS FROM ITS CONSTITUENCIES, AND THUS SUSTAIN THE APPEARANCE OF FISCAL PRUDENCE, IF, AS EXPECTED, THE BUDGET BEGINS TO RUN INTO SURPLUS. ALL OF THIS ADDS UP TO A ROUGHER TIME FOR THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT OVER THE NEXT YEAR TO EIGHTEEN MONTHS, EVEN IF THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO BE REASONABLY HEALTHY.

PLAYING A LONGER GAME
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14. (C) WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THE BUMPIER DAYS AHEAD, MOST LABOUR MP'S PROFESS THEMSELVES UNWORRIED BY THEIR LONGER TERM ELECTORAL PROSPECTS. THEY ARGUE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S FISCAL PRUDENCE IN THESE EARLY YEARS WILL ASSURE A HEALTHIER ECONOMY AND FULLER TREASURY COFFERS IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE NEXT ELECTION. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE REFORMS TO THE EDUCATION, HEALTH AND WELFARE SYSTEMS WILL HAVE HAD TIME TO

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TRANSLATE INTO BENEFITS VISIBLE TO THE VOTER ON THE STREET.
MOST IMPORTANTLY, THEY PROFESS CONFIDENCE IN TONY BLAIR, AND
HIS ABILITY TO GIVE LEADERSHIP BOTH TO HIS PARTY AND THE
COUNTRY.
LADER

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2015-0157-M [2.44]

KBH 7/31/2019

EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJ: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/115 FOR 16 MAY 1998

TEXT:

~~S E C R E T~~ 3.5c
SECTION 1 OF 2

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/115 FOR 16 MAY 1998

REF: NONE.

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3. RUSSIA: LEBED STILL APPEARS STRONG IN KRASNOYARSK 3.5c

1. BALKANS: KOSOVO NEGOTIATIONS TO CONTINUE NEXT WEEK 3.5c

FRY PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC AND "SHADOW PRESIDENT" RUGOVA YESTERDAY AGREED THAT A WORKING GROUP OF SIX REPRESENTATIVES FROM EACH SIDE WILL MEET NEXT FRIDAY IN PRISTINA. EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4(d) THE FIRST ISSUE ON THE AGENDA WILL BE THE SECURITY SITUATION IN KOSOVO.

-- RUGOVA AND HIS DELEGATION WERE GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH THE FIRST SESSION, EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4(d)

-- BELGRADE ALREADY IS ANGLING FOR A REWARD FOR HOLDING THE MEETING; ITS OFFICIAL MEDIA EXPRESSED OPTIMISM THAT THE G-8 WILL NOW REMOVE

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 1549 ~~S E C R E T~~
SOME SANCTIONS. 3.5c

//MEANWHILE, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EDUCATION ACCORD YESTERDAY APPEARED TO TAKE A STEP FORWARD.// AN ETHNIC KOSOVAR ALBANIAN SPOKESMAN SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED THE KEYS FOR THREE BUILDINGS AND THAT ETHNIC ALBANIAN STUDENTS PLAN TO BEGIN ATTENDING CLASSES ON MONDAY.

-- SERB STUDENTS, HOWEVER, HAVE VOWED TO STAGE A SIT-IN AND REFUSE TO LEAVE THE BUILDINGS. 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4(d)

//THE UCK IS UNLIKELY TO RISK INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION BY ATTACKING UN TROOPS AT THIS TIME, BUT WE CANNOT RULE OUT A ROGUE

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ATTACK BY AN INDIVIDUAL.// 3.5c

EUROPE

2. UK-IRELAND: FINAL PUSH FOR ULSTER "YES" VOTE 3.5c

//LONDON AND DUBLIN ARE STRUGGLING TO ENSURE THAT THE BELFAST AGREEMENT WINS WIDESPREAD APPROVAL DESPITE THE RISK OF VOTER APATHY AND ANTIPATHY IN IRELAND-WIDE REFERENDUMS NEXT FRIDAY.// MEDIA REPORTS SPECULATE THAT THE 95-PERCENT BACKING AT SINN FEIN'S CONFERENCE LAST SUNDAY MAY LEAD IRISH VOTERS TO ASSUME THAT A "YES" VOTE ON FRIDAY IS CERTAIN AND DEPRESS THE TURNOUT.

INTEXT BOX

PRIVATE MEDIA POLLS SHOW 72-PERCENT SUPPORT FOR THE DEAL AMONG THE IRISH AND 80-PERCENT SUPPORT AMONG ULSTER NATIONALISTS. SIXTY-FOUR PERCENT OF ULSTER UNIONISTS, HOWEVER, ARE EITHER UNDECIDED OR OPPOSED TO IT. (U)

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-- UNIONISTS HAVE EXPRESSED OUTRAGE THAT LONDON AND DUBLIN TEMPORARILY RELEASED IRA PRISONERS TO ATTEND SINN FEIN'S CONFERENCE, WHERE THEY RECEIVED A STANDING OVATION. 3.5c

FORMER ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY LEADER MOLYNEUX IS EXPECTED TO RECOMMEND A "NO" VOTE, AND ULSTER'S ORANGE ORDER THIS WEEK REPEATED ITS REFUSAL TO RECOMMEND THE ACCORD DESPITE LAST-MINUTE APPEALS BY BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR. THE FORMERLY RENEGADE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE CONTINUES TO OPPOSE THE ACCORD AFTER DECLARING A CEASE-FIRE, ACCORDING TO MEDIA REPORTS. 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4(d) LONDON'S ANNOUNCEMENT THIS WEEK OF AN ECONOMIC PACKAGE OF MORE THAN $500 MILLION TO PROMOTE ENTERPRISE AND INVESTMENT IN THE PROVINCE EO 13526 1.4d BRITISH MEDIA REPORTS, 1.4(d) CITE MINIMAL ENTHUSIASM FOR THE PACKAGE OR THE ACCORD AMONG BELFAST'S MOSTLY UNIONIST WORK FORCE.

-- BLAIR HAS PLEDGED TO TIGHTEN LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTING THE ACCORD TO ENSURE THAT PARAMILITARIES END THE WAR BEFORE THEIR POLITICAL WINGS CAN ACCEPT PUBLIC OFFICE. //UNIONISTS, HOWEVER, REMAIN
~~S E C R E T~~ 3.5c
FINAL SECTION OF 2

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/115 FOR 16 MAY 1998

REF: NONE.

SUSPICIOUS THAT LONDON WILL BE UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO BAR SINN FEIN FROM OFFICE IF--AS IS LIKELY--THE IRA REFUSES TO SURRENDER ITS ARMS.// 3.5c

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INTEXT BOX

THE UK THIS WEEK APPOINTED A "MINISTER FOR VICTIMS" OF ULSTER VIOLENCE, BUT UNIONISTS WOULD BE MORE SWAYED IF THE IRA ANNOUNCED THAT THE WAR IS OVER OR THAT IT IS WILLING TO REVEAL UNMARKED BURIAL SITES OF ITS VICTIMS. 3.5c

EURASIA

3. RUSSIA: LEBED STILL APPEARS STRONG IN KRASNOYARSK 3.5c

//FORMER SECURITY COUNCIL SECRETARY LEBED APPEARS TO BE A SHOO-IN TO WIN THE RUNOFF GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION TOMORROW IN KRASNOYARSK KRAY //DESPITE INCUMBENT GOVERNOR ZUBOV'S DESPERATE EFFORTS TO CLOSE THE 10-POINT GAP BY WHICH HE LOST THE FIRST ROUND. ZUBOV HAS PROMISED TO FORM A COALITION GOVERNMENT, BRINGING IN COMMUNISTS AND LABOR LEADERS AND LAST WEEK MADE A POPULIST THREAT TO WITHHOLD TAXES TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IF FEDERAL DEBTS TO THE REGION ARE NOT PAID.

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 1550 ~~S E C R E T~~
-- //ZUBOV'S CHANCES DEPEND ON INCREASED TURNOUT IN KRANSOYARSK CITY--//HOME TO ONE-THIRD OF THE KRAY'S POPULATION AND ONE OF THE FEW PLACES WHERE THE GOVERNOR OUTPOLLED LEBED IN THE FIRST ROUND. 3.5c

//THE YEL'TSIN ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO HAVE WRITTEN OFF ZUBOV.//

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4(d), 3.5c

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ULTRANATIONALIST LEADER ZHIRINOVSKIY HAVE URGED VOTERS TO REJECT LEBED. //BOTH GROUPS SEE LEBED'S FIRST-ROUND SUCCESS WITH KRASNOYARSK'S INDUSTRIAL, RURAL, AND SMALLTOWN VOTERS AS A THREAT TO THEIR TRADITIONAL ELECTORAL BASE.//

-- THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERATION COUNCIL--TO WHICH LEBED WOULD EARN A SEAT IF ELECTED--HOWEVER, THIS WEEK SAID THAT HE COULD WORK WITH LEBED. 3.5c

INTEXT BOX

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PAGE 9 RUEAIIA 1550 ~~S E C R E T~~
THE KRASNOYARSK ELECTORAL COMMISSION HAS ACCUSED BOTH LEBED AND ZUBOV OF CAMPAIGN VIOLATIONS, WHICH SOME COMMENTATORS HAVE INTERPRETED AS GROUNDS FOR THE KREMLIN TO ANNUL THE ELECTION IF LEBED WINS. SUCH A MOVE, HOWEVER, WOULD RISK MAKING LEBED A POLITICAL MARTYR IN THE EYES OF THE PUBLIC--AND A MORE ATTRACTIVE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. 3.5c

EO 13526 3.5c

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INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0310
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SUBJ: DUBLIN HIGH COURT WILL HEAR LEGAL CHALLENGE TO CONSTITUTIONALITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND REFERENDUM

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

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ 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. ~~(C)~~ 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

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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 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
/--------------------

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

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2744

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DIST:

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LINE2: ZNY SSSSS
LINE3: P 210709Z MAY 98
LINE4: FM CIA
OSRI: RUEAIIA
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ORIG: CIA

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PER E. O. 13526

2015-0157-M [2.46]
KBH 7/31/2019

EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJ: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/119 FOR 21 MAY 1998

TEXT:

~~S E C R E T~~ 3.5c
SECTION 1 OF 2

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/119 FOR 21 MAY 1998

REF: NONE.

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1. UK-IRELAND: POISED FOR ALL-IRELAND VCTE 3.5c

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2. RUSSIA: FINANCIAL PROBLEMS TESTING KIRIYENKO CABINET 3.5c

3. RUSSIA: YEL'TSIN PUSHING START II 3.5c

4. GEORGIA: ABKHAZIA HEATS UP 3.5c

1. UK-IRELAND: POISED FOR ALL-IRELAND VOTE 3.5c

POLLS SUGGEST THE BELFAST AGREEMENT WILL PASS IN REFERENDUMS IN IRELAND AND ULSTER TOMORROW, THE FIRST ALL-IRELAND VOTE SINCE 1918. IN AN IRISH INDEPENDENT POLL TAKEN ON MONDAY, 71 PERCENT IN IRELAND AND 50 PERCENT IN ULSTER SAID THEY FAVOR THE ACCORD, WITH ANOTHER ONE-FOURTH OF VOTERS IN THE NORTH UNDECIDED BUT INTENDING TO VOTE. SIMPLE MAJORITIES IN BOTH IRELAND AND ULSTER ARE NEEDED FOR THE REFERENDUMS TO PASS.

-- NATIONALISTS ISLANDWIDE OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT, BUT EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4(d) THE TOTAL "YES" VOTE IN ULSTER WOULD NEED TO REACH ABOUT 70 PERCENT TO ENSURE THE STRONG SHOW

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 2613 ~~S E C R E T~~
OF SUPPORT AMONG UNIONISTS NEEDED TO MAKE THE ACCORD WORKABLE.

-- A LATE TELEPHONE SURVEY IN THE IRISH TIMES TODAY CONFIRMS A TREND OF MOUNTING SUPPORT AND PREDICTS A 71-PERCENT RESULT IN ULSTER. 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d //A WEAKER ENDORSEMENT WOULD SUGGEST ENOUGH UNIONIST NAYSAYERS WOULD BE ELECTED TO THE NEW ASSEMBLY ON 25 JUNE TO BE ABLE TO THWART ALL-IRELAND COOPERATION SOUGHT BY NATIONALISTS THIS SUMMER.//

-- ULSTER'S 1973 PEACE ACCORD LASTED ONLY FIVE MONTHS, PARTLY BECAUSE UNIONISTS OPPOSED TO POWER SHARING WITH NATIONALISTS OUTNUMBERED MODERATES.

-- //UNLESS THE IRA BEGINS EARLY ARMS SURRENDERS, WHICH REMAINS UNLIKELY, SUCH AN UNENTHUSIASTIC "YES" VOTE WOULD 1.4(c), 1.4(d) OPPOSE SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN ULSTER'S EXECUTIVE AND EARLY RELEASE OF IRA PRISONERS.// 3.5c

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BEGIN INTEXT BOX

A MAJORITY "YES" VOTE AMONG BOTH NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS IN ULSTER WOULD ENCOURAGE KEY PARAMILITARIES TO PROLONG THEIR CEASE-FIRES, GIVE POLITICIANS A CHANCE TO IMPLEMENT THE ACCORD, AND OPEN THE DOOR FOR BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN TO HONOR THEIR PLEDGES TO CLAMP DOWN ON FRINGE TERRORISTS WHO CONTINUE VIOLENCE CAMPAIGNS. 3.5c

END INTEXT BOX

BEGIN BOX

UK-IRELAND: GRIM ALTERNATIVE TO "YES" IN IRISH REFERENDUMS 3.5c

IF VOTERS IN EITHER REFERENDUM TURNED DOWN THE ACCORD, LONDON WOULD SCRAP PLANS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND'S SELF-GOVERNMENT, CONTINUE DIRECT RULE FROM WESTMINSTER, AND BRACE FOR RENEWED VIOLENCE BY KEY PARAMILITARY GROUPS. BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR HAS TOLD THE MEDIA

PAGE 10 RUEAIIA 2613 ~~S E C R E T~~
THAT HE HAS NO ALTERNATIVE PLAN IF VOTERS IN IRELAND OR ULSTER REJECT THE AGREEMENT.

-- THE ACCORD NEGOTIATED ON GOOD FRIDAY WAS THE CULMINATION OF 24 YEARS OF REBUILDING AFTER ULSTER'S LAST NEGOTIATED POWER-SHARING ARRANGEMENT COLLAPSED IN 1974. 3.5c

REJECTION OF THE ACCORD WOULD CONSTITUTE A MAJOR DEFEAT FOR BLAIR AND IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN, WHOSE MINORITY DUBLIN COALITION BACKING THE DEAL WOULD SOON UNRAVEL. BLAIR'S STRONG LEGISLATIVE MAJORITY WOULD ALLOW HIM LEEWAY TO DEAL WITH THE CRISIS. 3.5c

LONDON AND DUBLIN WOULD STILL ENCOURAGE US TRADE MISSIONS TO BOOST FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, BUT WORLDWIDE DISAPPROVAL IN THE WAKE OF A NEGATIVE VOTE WOULD DAMPEN MOST FOREIGN ENTREPRENEURIAL ENTHUSIASM. IN ADDITION, LONDON WOULD PULL THE PLUG ON PEACE-DIVIDEND SPENDING IN ORDER TO UPGRADE SECURITY. 3.5c

END BOX

~~S E C R E T~~ 3.5c
FINAL SECTION OF 2

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/119 FOR 21 MAY 1998

REF: NONE.

CONTENTS

2. RUSSIA: FINANCIAL PROBLEMS TESTING KIRIYENKO CABINET 3.5c

PAGE 7 RUEAIIA 2614 ~~S E C R E T~~

//MOSCOW HAS BROUGHT TENUOUS STABILITY TO THE MARKETS BY PUSHING INTEREST RATES UP TO 50 PERCENT AND HEAVILY INTERVENING IN THE CURRENCY MARKET, BUT THESE STEPS ARE NOT SUSTAINABLE FOR MORE THAN A FEW MONTHS.// REDEMPTIONS FOR PAST FEDERAL BORROWING WILL BEGIN BUILDING BY THE END OF NEXT MONTH, AND CENTRAL BANK RESERVES ARE DOWN TO ABOUT $10 BILLION--LESS THAN TWO MONTHS OF IMPORT COVERAGE. 3.5c

//TO AVOID FURTHER MARKET TURMOIL, MOSCOW MUST SECURE THE RELEASE OF ITS NEXT $700 MILLION IMF TRANCHE BY CONVINCING THE VISITING FUND TEAM THAT IT WILL STICK TO ITS PROGRAM FOR THIS YEAR.//

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

-- //INVESTORS WOULD VIEW THE IMF AGREEMENT AS A SIGN THAT THE BANK CAN CONTINUE DEFENDING THE CURRENCY IN THE NEAR TERM AND THAT MOSCOW WILL TAKE THE APPROPRIATE FISCAL STEPS FOR LONGER TERM STABILITY.//

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 2614 ~~S E C R E T~~

3.5c

THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROPOSED CUTTING SPENDING THIS YEAR BY 14 PERCENT--INCLUDING LAYING OFF 200,000 FEDERAL WORKERS--AND REFRAINING FROM NET NEW BORROWING. //IT CAN IMPLEMENT SPENDING CUTS WITHOUT LEGISLATIVE APPROVAL, BUT CUTS OF THIS MAGNITUDE WILL REQUIRE THE KREMLIN'S ACTIVE SUPPORT AND COULD EXACT A HEAVY POLITICAL COST.//

-- //LABOR UNREST//--WHICH ALREADY HAS SPREAD FROM COAL MINERS TO TEACHERS AND SCIENTISTS IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY--//IS GALVANIZING OPPOSITION IN THE DUMA AND COULD FUEL INVESTORS' DOUBTS ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO MAKE THESE CUTS AND CARRY OUT NEEDED REFORMS.// 3.5c

3. RUSSIA: YEL'TSIN PUSHING START II 3.5c

RUSSIAN PRESS REPORTS SAY FOREIGN MINISTER PRIMAKOV AND DEFENSE MINISTER SERGEYEV WILL MEET WITH DUMA LEADERS ON 4 JUNE TO DISCUSS START II. CHAIRMAN SELEZNEV TOLD REPORTERS THE DUMA WILL HOLD PRELIMINARY HEARINGS NEXT MONTH--EARLIER THAN EXPECTED--//BUT

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PAGE 9 RUEAIIA 2614 ~~S E C R E T~~
RESCHEDULING MAY HINGE ON PRESIDENT YEL'TSIN'S MEETING TODAY WITH PRIME MINISTER KIRIYENKO AND THE CHAIRMEN OF THE CHAMBERS OF THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY.// 3.5c

4. GEORGIA: ABKHAZIA HEATS UP 3.5c

PRESS REPORTS SAY AN UPSURGE IN CLASHES DURING THE PAST WEEK BETWEEN GEORGIAN PARTISANS AND ABKHAZ MILITIA IN THE ETHNIC-GEORGIAN GALI REGION OF SEPARATIST ABKHAZIA. EACH SIDE CLAIMS TO HAVE KILLED MORE THAN 20 FIGHTERS, //BUT BOTH SIDES TYPICALLY EXAGGERATE, AND ANALYSIS OF PRESS STATEMENTS SUGGESTS 12 TO 16 TOTAL DEATHS.//

-- PRESS REPORTS OVER THE PAST MONTH SAY THE PARTISANS HAVE EXPANDED THEIR OPERATIONS FROM TYPICAL HIT-AND-RUN TACTICS TO OCCASIONALLY HOLDING VILLAGES FOR BRIEF PERIODS.

-- //THE ABKHAZ, FEARFUL OF FURTHER PARTISAN ATTACKS PRIOR TO GEORGIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS NEXT TUESDAY, MAY CARRY OUT REPRISALS OR PREEMPTIVE SECURITY SWEEPS.// 3.5c

PAGE 10 RUEAIIA 2614 ~~S E C R E T~~
BEGIN INTEXT BOX

RUSSIAN PEACEKEEPERS ASSIGNED TO THE GALI REGION TO SEPARATE THE ABKHAZ AND GEORGIAN MILITARIES HAVE BEEN TARGETS OF PREVIOUS PARTISAN ATTACKS AND HAVE REMAINED ON THE SIDELINES DURING THIS RECENT VIOLENCE. THE ABKHAZ HAVE THREATENED TO ASK THE RUSSIANS TO LEAVE IF THEY DO NOT TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE PARTISANS. 3.5c

END INTEXT BOX

EO 13526 3.5c

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PREC: ROUTINE
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LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA2812 1471120-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 271120Z MAY 98
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 271120Z MAY 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3468
INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0652
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0013
RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 0018
RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 0001
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 0155
SUBJ: MAY 22 REFERENDUM RESULTS: "IRELAND REDEFINED"

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.47)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 002812

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
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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

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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 TE 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
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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 WATCNG 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
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 002812

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

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

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REF: LONDON 3840 (NOTAL)

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 WHM 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 FUTU. 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
/----------

10. (C) APPROVAL OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT IN THE ISLAND-WIDE REFERENDUM WAS CRPICAL 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

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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 EFFE
CT 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 ALTOGEzHER 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.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 002812

NSC FOR 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)

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
/----------

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

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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

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2812
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SUBJ: CODEL TORRICELLI'S MEETING WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002873

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/UBI AND H; H PLEASE PASS TO SENATOR TORRICELLI'S OFFICE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 5/27/08
TAGS: OREP, PREL, ECON, ETRD, EUN, EI

SUBJECT: CODEL TORRICELLI'S MEETING WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN

REFS: A) DUBLIN 2417 B) DUBLIN 2846 C) DUBLIN 2500

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE MADELYN E. SPIRNAK. REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D) .

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY. IRISH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN TOLD SENATOR ROBERT TORRICELLI DURING THEIR MEETING ON MAY 26 THAT IT WAS IORTANT TO FOCUS BUSINESS INVESTMENT IN THE BORDER COUNTIES OF IRELAND AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELANDAS CRUCIAL TO THE BORDER COUNTIES' ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AHERN ASSURED THE SENATOR THAT IRELAND UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO MOVE FORWARD WITH STRENGTHENING ITS INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHT LAWS. THE PRIME MINISTER WARNED AGAINST READING TOO MUCH INTO THE UNEXPECTEDLY HIGH NEGATIVE VOTE IN THE MAY 22 AMSTERDAM TREATY REFERENDUM, SAYING IT DID NOT REPRESENT A PUBLIC SHIFT AWAY FROM FURTHER EU INTEGRATION, BUT RATHER VOTER CONCERNS OVER PERCEIVED THREATS TO IRISH NEUTRALITY. DISCUSSING THE NEW POLITICAL LANDSCAPE THE APRIL 10 BELFAST AGREEMENT HAS CREATED IN BOTH THE REPUBLIC AND THE NORTH, AHERN SAID THAT SEIN FEIN (SF) WOULD DO WELL IN THE UPCOMING NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. IN THE SOUTH, AHERN SAID SF WOULD BE IN "NATURAL COMPETITION" WITH AHERN'S OWN FIANNA FAIL PARTY AND WOULD LIKELY PICK UP ADDITIONAL DAIL (IRISH PARLIAMENT) SEATS WHENEVER THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS ARE HELD. AHERN SAID SF HAS ATTRACTED SUPPORT AMONG YOUNGER VOTERS IN THE REPUBLIC. THE PRIME MINISTER SUPPORTS SF

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LEADER GERRY ADAMS' VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES TO HELP MOVE SF SUPPORTERS INTO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND SAID ANYTHING THAT STRENGTHENS ADAMS' LEADERSHIP OF SF SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED. END SUMMARY.

ECONOMIC ISSUES: BORDER COUNTIES, IPR, AND IFI

2. (U) SENATOR ROBERT TORRICELLI, JOINED BY THE SENATOR'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR AND EMBASSY CHARGE, MET WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN ON MAY 26. THE MEETING WAS HELD AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICES IN DUBLIN.

3. (SBU) IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S OPENING COMMENTS ON THE PROSPERITY EVIDENT IN DUBLIN, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT THE NEED NOW IS TO EXPAND THIS PROSPERITY TO THE BORDER COUNTY REGION OF IRELAND. THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OR INVESTMENT IN THE BORDER REGION FOR THE THIRTY YEARS OF "THE TROUBLES," ALTHOUGH ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HAD BEGUN TO IMPROVE SINCE THE 1994 CEASE-FIRE. AHERN POINTED OUT@HAT THE REGION, WITH ITS EXCELLENT PORT FACILITIES, PRESENTS GOOD BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES AND SAID HE STRESSES THIS POINT IN HIS MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN BUSINESS GROUPS.

4. (SBU) SENATOR TORRICELLI TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT IRELAND HAS A GOOD REPUTATION WITH U.S. BUSINESS AS A PLACE TO INVEST. NOTING U.S. CONCERNS OVER THE ABSENCE IN EXISTING IRISH LAW OF STRONG INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHT PROTECTIONS (IPR), THE SENATOR CAUTIONED AHERN NOT TO LET IRELAND GAIN A REPUTATION AS AN UNSAFE PLACE FOR INVESTMENT IN INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND RELATED FIELDS. THE PRIME MINISTER REPLIED THAT IRELAND WAS AWARE OF THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN ITS IPR LAWS. AN IRP "BREAKOUT BILL" TO TOUGHEN SOME OF THE MOST GLARING LAPSES IN IRISH IPR LAW IS ABOUT TO BE INTRODUCED IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT (REFTEL A) AND A COMPREHENSIVE REVISION OF IRISH IPR LAWS IS ALSO UNDERWAY.

5. (SBU) TURNING TO THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND (IFI), THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD THE SENATOR THAT IFI IS DOING A "TERRIFIC" JOB AND HAD KEPT THE BORDER COUNTY ECONOMY "RUNNING." TO STOP IFI ACTIVIT
IES IN THE REGION WOULD "SHUT
IT DOWN" ECONOMICALLY. AHERN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE CONCERNS OF SOME ABOUT SPECIFIC IFI ACTIVITIES AND FUNDING DECISIONS, BUT HE WOULD NOT JOIN THE CHORUS OF THOSE OPPOSED TO THE FUND. HE POINTED OUT THAT A RECENT EU COMMISSION ASSESSMENT OF THE IFI'S OPERATIONS HAD FOUND THAT WITHOUT IFI'S ACTIVITIES THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE BORDER REGIONS OF THE REPUBLIC AND IN NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE "VERY BLEAK." THE PRIME MINISTER NOTED THAT, IN HIS VIEW, BICKERING OVER THE IFI'S SPECIFIC FUNDING DECISIONS DID NOT IMPROVE IFI OPERATIONS RUT ONLY MADE THINGS WORSE.

DON'T READ TOO MUCH INTO THE MAY 22 AMSTERDAM TREATY VOTE

6. (C) THE PRIME MINISTER CAUTIONED AGAINST READING TOO MUCH INTO THE UNEXPECTEDLY HIGH OPPOSITION VOTE TO THE AMSTERDAM TREATY IN THE MAY 22 REFERENDUM (REFTEL B). HE TOLD THE SENATOR THAT THE SIZE OF THE OPPOSITION VOTE REFLECTED, IN LARGE PART, VOTER CONCERNS ABOUT AN ISSUE THE TREATY REALLY DID NOT ADDRESS -- IRISH NEUTRALITY. THE VOTE DID NOT REFLECT ANY "COOLING" BY THE IRISH PUBLIC TO FU\HER EU INTEGRATION ITSELF. EVEN THE CONCERNS ABOUT THREATS TO IRISH NEUTRALITY EXPRESSED DURING THE DEBATE ON THE TREATY SHOULD

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 5/27/08
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SUBJECT: CODEL TORRICELLI'S MEETING WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN

BE PUT INTO CONTEXT, AHERN TOLD THE SENATOR, NOTING THAT THERE IS STRONG PUBLIC BACKING FOR THE IRISH PEACEKEEPING ROLE IN PLACES LIKE LEBANON AND BOSNIA.

7. (C) THE IRISH COMMITMENT TO NEUTRALITY, THE PRIME MINISTER WENT ON TO EXPLAIN, IS IN THE "IRISH SYSTEM." IT ORIGINATED DURING WORLD WAR II AS A MEANS FOR IRELAND TO STAKE OUT ITS INDEPENDENCE FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM. THIS EQUATION OF NEUTRALITY WITH IRISH SOVEREIGNTY REMAINS STRONG AMONG THE IRISH, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE YOUNG. THE PRIME MINISTER NOTED THAT AT TWO RECENT UNIVERSITY DEBATES ON IRISH NEUTRALITY, THE STUDENTS HAD BEEN DECIDEDLY PRO-NEUTRALITY.

THE BELFAST AGREEMENT 'S IMPACT ON IRISH POLITICS
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8. (C) TURNING TO THE MAY 22 VOTE ON THE BELFAST AGREEMENT, THE SENATOR ASKED WHAT EFFECT THE AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE ON THE SHAPE OF POLITICS IN THE REPUBLIC AND NORTHERN IRELAND, IN PARTICULAR THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF SEIN FEIN (SF) IN BOTH THE NORTH AND SOUTH. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT CLEARLY THE AGREEMENT WOULD STRENGTHEN SF'S POSITION IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHERE, UNTIL NOW, THE PARTY WAS NOT TRULY "KNOWN" TO THE AVERAGE VOTER, BUT WHERE NOW THE PARTY IS COMING OUT OF THE "WOODWORK." SF WOULD DO VERY WELL IN THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS FOR THE NEW NORTHERN ASSEMBLY. AHERN EXPRESSED HIS HOPE THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE TO MUCH COMPETITION AMONG NATIONALIST PARTIES IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS.

9. (C) IN THE REPUBLIC, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THE BELFAST AGREEMENT WILL BOLSTER SF, WHICH IN THE LAST ELECTION HAD GAINED JUST THREE PERCENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE. HE WOULD EXPECT SF TO WIN A "FEW ADDITIONAL" SEATS IN THE DAIL (IRISH PARLIAMENT). THE PRIME MINISTER ADDED THAT HIS OWN PARTY, FIANNA FAIL, WAS THE NATURAL COMPETITOR WITH SF IN THE REPUBLIC. THE PRIME MINISTER ADDED THAT SF HAD, TO SOME DEGREE, "CAPTURED" YOUNG VOTERS IN THE REPUBLIC. HE NOTED THAT DURING A RECENT SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT AT TRINITY COLLEGE IN DUBLIN, SF LEADER GERRY ADAMS HAD A "FAIRLY GOOD RECEPTION," THOUGH NOT THAT OF A "VISITING ROCK STAR."

10. (C) IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S QUESTION, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID HE WOULD NOT DISCOURAGE SF LEADER GERRY ADAMS' POLITICAL AND FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES. ADAMS IS MOVING SF SUPPORTERS, IN IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES, FROM VIOLENCE TO THE "DEMOCRATIC WORLD" AND THIS EFFORT SHOULD RE ENCOURAGED. ANYTHING THAT ENCOURAGES ADAMS' LEADERSHIP IN SF IS "GOOD FOR EVERYBODY," AHERN ADDED. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT BOTH ADAMS AND HIS DEPUTY MARTIN MCGUINESS ARE IMPORTANT TO MOVING FORWARD WITH NEXT STEPS IN THE AGREEMENT, AS THEY HAD BEEN DURING THE PROCESS LEADING UP TO THE AGREEMENT ON APRIL 10. THE PRIME MINISTER ADDED THAT ADAMS HAD BEEN FIRMLY IN CONTROL OF SF DURING THE FINAL STAGES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE AGREEMENT AND DURING THE CAMPAIGN FOR RATIFICATION ON MAY 22. THERE HAD BEEN ONLY ONE

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STUMBLE, AHERN SAID, WHEN THE RELEASED "BALCOMBE STREET FOUR" PRISONERS WERE PARADED AT THE SF GENERAL ASSEMBLY THE WEEK BEFORE THE REFERENDUM VOTE (REFTEL C). "WE GOT INTO TROUBLE FOR THAT," AHERN COMMENTED.

11. (U) CODEL DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE PRIOR TO DEPARTURE FROM DUBLIN. SPIRNAK

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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PREC: PRIORITY

EO 13526 3.5c

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DTG: 290645Z MAY 98

ORIG: CIA

EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJ: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/125 FOR 29 MAY 1998

TEXT:

~~S E C R E T~~ 3.5c

SECTION 1 OF 4

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/125 FOR 29 MAY 1998

REF: NONE.

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1. FRY: MONTENEGRIN LEGISLATIVE ELECTION PORTENDS STRIFE 3.5c

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4. CYPRUS: USING ECONOMY AS EXCUSE TO DELAY SA-10 DELIVERY 3.5c

5. RUSSIA: ECONOMIC SITUATION GRAVE, POLITICAL FALLOUT LIKELY 3.5c

1. FRY: MONTENEGRIN LEGISLATIVE ELECTION PORTENDS STRIFE 3.5c

//A VICTORY ON SUNDAY BY REFORMIST FORCES LED BY MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT DJUKANOVIC WOULD THWART FRY PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC'S EFFORTS TO CONCENTRATE POWER AND COULD SET IN MOTION A CHAIN OF EVENTS LEADING TO HIS OUSTER.// EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

-- //IF DJUKANOVIC'S SUPPORTERS WIN, HIS PARTY WOULD HAVE ENOUGH VOTES IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE TO BLOCK MILOSEVIC'S PROPOSALS TO CENTRALIZE FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS AND TO HAVE THE FRY PRESIDENT ELECTED

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 4032 ~~S E C R E T~~
BY POPULAR VOTE RATHER THAN SELECTED BY THE LEGISLATURE.//

-- DJUKANOVIC ALREADY DEFEATED MILOSEVIC'S PUPPET BULATOVIC IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION EARLIER THIS YEAR. 3.5c

BEGIN INTEXT BOX

THE MONTENEGRIN LEGISLATURE, ONCE SEATED, SELECTS THE REPUBLIC'S DELEGATES TO THE UPPER HOUSE OF THE LEGISLATURE, WHERE MONTENEGRO HAS ONE-HALF OF THE SEATS--ENOUGH TO BLOCK LEGISLATION. 3.5c

END INTEXT BOX

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

/MILOSEVIC'S OPTIONS FOR OVERTURNING A DJUKANOVIC VICTORY ARE LIMITED. MILITARY INTERVENTION COULD FRAGMENT THE ARMY ALONG ETHNIC AND POLITICAL LINES AND MIGHT ENCOURAGE SERBIAN HARDLINERS TO REMOVE MILOSEVIC.//

PAGE 9 RUEAIIA 4032 ~~S E C R E T~~

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-- //EARLIER ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE DJUKANOVIC BY FOMENTING RIOTS AND IMPOSING AN ECONOMIC BLOCKADE HAVE FAILED.//

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d, EO 13526 3.5c

BEGIN INTEXT BOX

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

MILOSEVIC'S PAST BEHAVIOR SUGGESTS HE WANTS MORE CONCESSIONS FROM THE WEST TO REWARD HIS DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS. 3.5c

END INTEXT BOX

BEGIN BIOS

MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT MILO DJUKANOVIC

PAGE 10 RUEAIIA 4032 ~~S E C R E T~~
DJUKANOVIC, AGE 36, NARROWLY DEFEATED INCUMBENT PRESIDENT MOMIR BULATOVIC IN THE ELECTION LAST OCTOBER. HE HAS OPPOSED FRY PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC'S EFFORTS TO TRANSFER POWERS FROM SERBIAN AND MONTENEGRIN INSTITUTIONS TO THE FEDERAL LEVEL. 3.5c

DJUKANOVIC BEGAN HIS POLITICAL CAREER AS AN ALLY OF BULATOVIC AND A PROTEGE OF MILOSEVIC. IN 1989, WHEN MONTENEGRO'S COMMUNIST PARTY AND STATE LEADERSHIP WERE TOPPLED BY STUDENT AND WORKER DEMONSTRATIONS, DJUKANOVIC AND BULATOVIC EMERGED AS MONTENEGRO'S TWO MOST INFLUENTIAL POLITICIANS. DJUKANOVIC BECAME PRIME MINISTER IN 1991. HE SUBSEQUENTLY SPLIT WITH BULATOVIC AND MILOSEVIC OVER HIS SUPPORT FOR MORE RAPID ECONOMIC REFORM AND GREATER MONTENEGRIN AUTONOMY. 3.5c

FEDERAL PRIME MINISTER MOMIR BULATOVIC

BULATOVIC, AGE 42, IS WIDELY VIEWED AS A PUPPET OF MILOSEVIC, ACCORDING TO 1.4(c), 1.4(d) PRESS REPORTS. BULATOVIC'S APPOINTMENT AS FEDERAL PRIME MINISTER THIS MONTH REPRESENTS ANOTHER EFFORT BY MILOSEVIC TO UNDERMINE DJUKANOVIC. BULATOVIC HEADS THE SOCIALIST NATIONAL PARTY OF MONTENEGRO, WHICH HE FOUNDED AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC
~~S E C R E T~~ 3.5c
SECTION 2 OF 4

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/125 FOR 29 MAY 1998

PARTY OF SOCIALISTS SPLIT THIS YEAR BETWEEN HIS FACTION AND THAT OF DJUKANOVIC. 3.5c

BULATOVIC, AN ETHNIC SERB WHO WAS BORN IN BELGRADE, FIRST ROSE TO PROMINENCE IN THE 1989 "ANTIBUREAUCRATIC REVOLUTION" THAT REPLACED

PAGE 7 RUEAIIA 4033 ~~S E C R E T~~
THE OLD-GUARD MONTENEGRIN LEADERSHIP WITH A YOUNGER, MORE REFORMIST CREW. HE WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT IN 1990, BUT HIS POPULARITY LATER WANED AS HE--UNLIKE THE MORE PROGRESSIVE AND INDEPENDENT DJUKANOVIC--YIELDED TO PRESSURE FROM MILOSEVIC TO PROCEED SLOWLY ON ECONOMIC REFORM AND MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES BETWEEN MONTENEGRO AND SERBIA. 3.5c

END BIOS

2. BOSNIA: SUSPECTED BOSNIAN SERB WAR CRIMINAL ARRESTED 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

CAPTURE OF BOSNIAN SERB MILOJICA KOS.

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d, EO 13526 3.5c

KOS--A SHIFT COMMANDER AT THE OMARSKA DETENTION CAMP IN 1992--IS CHARGED WITH COMMAND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BEATING, RAPE, AND

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 4033 ~~S E C R E T~~
KILLING OF SCORES OF DETAINEES. KOS IS NOT ACCUSED OF PERSONALLY COMMITTING ANY WAR CRIMES.

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d, EO 13526 3.5c

3. UK-IRELAND: ULSTER PARTIES GEAR UP FOR ELECTION 3.5c

BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN IN DUBLIN ON MONDAY WILL DISCUSS WAYS TO MAINTAIN PRO-AGREEMENT MOMENTUM FOR ULSTER'S ASSEMBLY ELECTION SET FOR 25 JUNE. UNIONIST NAYSAYERS ARE TRYING TO COUNTER THIS MOMENTUM BY DISPUTING THE RESULTS OF REFERENDUM EXIT POLLS THAT SHOW AT LEAST 55 PERCENT OF UNIONISTS VOTED "YES."

-- //A LOYALIST PARADE IN BELFAST ON 19 JUNE WILL PROVIDE A PLATFORM

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PAGE 9 RUEAIIA 4033 ~~S E C R E T~~
FOR THOSE OPPOSED TO THE AGREEMENT LESS THAN ONE WEEK BEFORE THE ELECTION.// 3.5c

BEGIN INTEXT BOX

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOR PARTY THIS WEEK REJECTED SINN FEIN'S CALL FOR AN ELECTORAL PACT TO BOOST NATIONALIST VOTES; HOWEVER, SDLP LEADERS URGED VOTERS TO VOTE FOR PRO-AGREEMENT CANDIDATES. 3.5c

END INTEXT BOX

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

KEY ASSEMBLY DECISIONS WILL NEED A SIMPLE MAJORITY OF NATIONALIST AND UNIONIST MEMBERS, OR A 60-PERCENT OVERALL MAJORITY COMPRISING AT LEAST 40 PERCENT FROM EACH CAMP.

-- ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY OFFICIALS THIS WEEK BANNED A PROMINENT OPPONENT OF THE PEACE ACCORD FROM STANDING AS A UUP CANDIDATE FOR THE ASSEMBLY; SEVERAL OTHER HIGH-PROFILE AND ANTIAGREEMENT MEMBERS OF

PAGE 10 RUEAIIA 4033 ~~S E C R E T~~
PARLIAMENT OPTED OUT OF THE CAMPAIGN.

-- PARTY LEADER TRIMBLE FACES DEMANDS BY UUP CAMPAIGNERS THAT THE PARTY PLATFORM REQUIRE IRA ARMS SURRENDERS BEFORE IRA PRISONER RELEASES OR SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. 3.5c

BEGIN BOX

UK-IRELAND: DECOMMISSIONING PARAMILITARY ARMS 3.5c

LONDON AND DUBLIN WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS ULSTER PARAMILITARIES TO SURRENDER ARMS IN THE RUNUP TO THE ASSEMBLY ELECTION NEXT MONTH, PARTLY TO MINIMIZE VICTORIES FOR UNIONIST OPPONENTS OF THE PEACE ACCORD. BEFORE THE REFERENDUM, PRIME MINISTER BLAIR ASSURED UNIONISTS THAT HE WOULD TIGHTEN LEGISLATION LINKING DECOMMISSIONING TO EARLY PRISONER RELEASES AND MINISTERIAL POSTS FOR MEMBERS OF POLITICAL WINGS OF TERRORIST GROUPS.

-- THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON ARMS HAS OFFERED PARAMILITARIES WHO HAND OVER ARMS IMMUNITY FROM PROSECUTION AND ASSURANCES THAT IT WOULD

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/125 FOR 29 MAY 1998

NOT CONDUCT FORENSIC TESTS ON WEAPONS TO LINK THEM TO PAST CRIMES. 3.5c

NONETHELESS, DECOMMISSIONING IS UNLIKELY BEFORE KEY SETTLEMENT PROVISIONS--INCLUDING ALL-IRELAND BODIES, POLICE REFORM, AND BRITISH

PAGE 7 RUEAIIA 4034 ~~S E C R E T~~

TROOP DRAWDOWNS--ARE IN PLACE. THE IRA VIEWS DECOMMISSIONING AS DEFEAT, AND LOYALISTS THIS WEEK PUBLICLY SAID THEY WOULD NOT SURRENDER ARMS BEFORE THE IRA.

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

-- LONDON PREVIOUSLY DROPPED DECOMMISSIONING AS A CONDITION FOR SINN FEIN'S ENTRY TO MULTIPARTY TALKS, FOR PARALLEL TALKS, AND FOR THE SETTLEMENT ITSELF. 3.5c

END BOX

4. CYPRUS: USING ECONOMY AS EXCUSE TO DELAY SA-10 DELIVERY 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

//A SUMMER DELIVERY WOULD HURT THE GREEK-CYPRIOT ECONOMY,

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 4034 ~~S E C R E T~~

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

-- INTERCOMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN THE SUMMER OF 1996 CAUSED A 6.5-PERCENT DECLINE IN GREEK-CYPRIOT TOURISM REVENUES. 3.5c

//A SHARP DECLINE IN TOURISM REVENUES WOULD HURT GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE FISCAL DEFICIT WHICH 1.4(c), 1.4(d) COULD INCREASE FROM 5 PERCENT OF GDP LAST YEAR TO 7 PERCENT THIS YEAR.

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d

-- A THREE-YEAR DROUGHT, 1.4(c), 1.4(d) 1.4(c), 1.4(d) HAS FORCED THE GOVERNMENT TO SPEND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN AGRICULTURAL AID. 3.5c

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THE FINANCE MINISTER THIS WEEK SAID NICOSIA PLANS TO REDUCE THE BUDGET DEFICIT TO 3 PERCENT OF GDP BY 2000 TO MEET THE EMU CRITERION.

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 1.4d, EO 13526 3.5c

PAGE 9 RUEAIIA 4034 ~~S E C R E T~~

BEGIN INTEXT BOX

EO 13526 1.4d, EO 13526 3.5c

END INTEXT BOX

SENSE OF THE COMMUNITY MEMORANDUM

5. RUSSIA: ECONOMIC SITUATION GRAVE, POLITICAL FALLOUT LIKELY 3.5c

RUSSIA IS FACING ITS MOST SERIOUS FINANCIAL CRISIS SINCE THE EARLY 1990S. INVESTORS HAVE LOST CONFIDENCE IN RUSSIA BECAUSE OF ITS WORSENING FISCAL IMBALANCES AND INVESTORS' GROWING WARINESS OF EMERGING MARKETS. AS A RESULT, THE RUSSIAN STOCK MARKET HAS DECLINED MORE THAN 50 PERCENT THIS YEAR.

-- YIELDS ON GOVERNMENT TREASURIES REACHED APPROXIMATELY 80 PERCENT,

PAGE 10 RUEAIIA 4034 ~~S E C R E T~~
IN RESPONSE TO WHICH THE CENTRAL BANK HAS RAISED ITS REFINANCING RATE TO 150 PERCENT, A RATE IT CANNOT SUSTAIN FOR LONG. 3.5c

DESPITE PRESIDENT YEL'TSIN'S HIGHER PROFILE DURING THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, A GENERAL LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN HIS CAPABILITY TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT AND TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO RUSSIA'S PROBLEMS HAS SPREAD ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF MISTRUST AND CONFLICT IN MOSCOW HAS INTENSIFIED, AS MANIFESTED PUBLICLY BY SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN THEIR RHETORICAL SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOATS AND CONSPIRACIES TO BLAME FOR THE RECENT ECONOMIC TROUBLES AND IN INCREASED TENSION BETWEEN THE STATE DUMA AND THE GOVERNMENT IN THE WAKE OF PREMIER CHERNOMYRDIN'S FIRING. 3.5c

RELEASE OF THE NEXT IMF TRANCHE WOULD BE INSUFFICIENT TO CALM INVESTOR JITTERS.

EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c A RUBLE DEPRECIATION, WHICH WILL UNDERMINE THE GOVERNMENT'S FINANCIAL
~~S E C R E T~~ 3.5c
FINAL SECTION OF 4

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

PAGE 6 RUEAIIA 4035 ~~S E C R E T~~

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

SUBJECT: H/W SUPPORT CABLE FOR EUROPEAN BRIEF ODDI EUR 98/125 FOR 29 MAY 1998

STABILIZATION PROGRAM, ITS MAJOR CLAIM OF SUCCESS TO DATE.

-- SUCH AN OUTCOME WOULD BE A HUGE PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOW AND WOULD RISK STARTING A DANGEROUS INFLATIONARY SPIRAL. 3.5c

PAGE 7 RUEAIIA 4035 ~~S E C R E T~~

EO 13526 1.4c MOSCOW WILL STILL HAVE TO TAKE SEVERAL MEASURES TO AVOID A RECURRENCE OF CRISIS, INCLUDING DEEP CUTS IN SPENDING AND BORROWING, SIGNIFICANTLY BOOSTING REVENUE COLLECTION, AND EMBARKING ON LONG-DELAYED ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING. MEANWHILE, THE CLOCK IS TICKING--ON 1 JULY THE MINERS WILL ASSESS THE GOVERNMENT'S FULFILLMENT OF ITS PROMISES. EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.5c

WITHOUT NOTICEABLE IMPROVEMENT IN THE SHORT TERM, THE GOVERNMENT'S SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOATS COULD LEAD TO SOME MORE ARBITRARY MEASURES, SUCH AS ARRESTS OF STRIKE ORGANIZERS. THE DUMA IS LIKELY TO VENT ITS FRUSTRATIONS BY IMPEDING PROPOSED GOVERNMENT LEGISLATION AND PASSING ITS OWN POPULIST MEASURES.

-- THE COMMUNISTS ARE UNLIKELY TO ATTRACT SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR A RESOLUTION OF IMPEACHMENT, BUT THEY MAY KEEP IT IN PLAY WITH THE POSSIBLE AIM OF COMBINING IMPEACHMENT PROCEEDINGS WITH A VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

-- IF THE GOVERNMENT IS UNABLE TO DEFUSE THE CURRENT CRISIS, THE

PAGE 8 RUEAIIA 4035 ~~S E C R E T~~

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FALLOUT COULD UNDERMINE THE KIRIYENKO GOVERNMENT, AND PRESSURE FOR YEL'TSIN TO STEP DOWN COULD MOUNT. 3.5c

EO 13526 3.5c

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EO 13526 3.5c

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LINE3: O 041632Z JUN 98
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OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 041632Z JUN 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
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INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0338
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0661
RUCPDOC/USDOC WASHDC
SUBJ: REQUEST FOR U.S. HELP IN AVERTING CONFRONTATION DURING UPCOMING MARCHING SEASON IN NORTHERN IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.52)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 002970

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/04/08
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, UK, EI
SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR U.S. HELP IN AVERTING CONFRONTATION DURING UPCOMING MARCHING SEASON IN NORTHERN IRELAND

REF: BELFAST 223

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

SUMMARY
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1. (SBU) IN A FERVENT LETTER ADDRESSED TO ME, A FERMANAGH DISTRICT COUNCILLOR EXPRESSES DEEP CONCERN ABOUT A LOOMING CONFRONTATION IN NEWTOWNBUTLER, CO. FERMANAGH, BETWEEN THE NATIONALIST RESIDENTS GROUP AND MARCHERS FROM THE ROYAL BLACK PRECEPTORY (RBP). THE COUNCILLOR CLAIMS THAT AN AGREEMENT THAT HAD BEEN BROKERED BY REVEREND ROY MAGEE HAS NOT BEEN HONORED BY THE RBP. HE EXPRESSES CONCERN THAT DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN ELEMENTS WILL EXPLOIT THE SITUATION, AND CALLS ON THE U.S. TO EXERT ANY INFLUENCE THAT MIGHT HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

2. (C) MARTIN MANSERGH SAID THAT THE GOI WILL LOOK INTO THIS PARTICULAR MARCH, AND HOPES A MAJOR CONFRONTATION CAN BE AVOIDED AT DRUMCREE. HE STRONGLY AGREED WITH MY RECOMMENDATION THAT SECRETARY DALEY'S UPCOMING VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND BE USED TO STRESS THE DAMAGE TO THE INVESTMENT CLIMATE THAT WOULD ENSUE FROM A REPEAT OF PREVIOUS YEARS' MARCHING SEASON VIOLENCE (SEE PARA 9).

3. (C) MANSERGH INDICATED THE GOI IS NOT THAT UNHAPPY WITH THE OUTCOME ON NOMINATIONS TO THE POLICE REVIEW COMMISSION. OF MORE SERIOUS CONCERN TO THE GOI, HOWEVER, IS PROPOSED BRITISH LEGISLATION ON PRISONER RELEASES, WHICH MAY TRY TO ESTABLISH A LINKAGE TO DECOMMISSIONING.

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END SUMMARY
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4. (SBU) BRIAN MCCAFRREY, A COUNCILLOR IN FERMANAGH DISTRICT COUNCIL, NORTHERN IRELAND, PRESENTED ME THE FOLLOWING LETTER DATED JUNE 2, 1998, DURING MY RECENT VISIT TO CO. FERMANAGH.

TEXT OF MCCAFFREY LETTER
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5. (SBU) BEGIN TEXT:

A CHARA,

I WAS A MEMBER OF A DELEGATION FROM RESIDENTS GROUPS ACROSS THE SIX COUNTIES WHICH MET YOURSELF AND A MEMBER OF YOUR STAFF IN 1996 TO BRIEF YOU ON THE SITUATION REGARDING LOYAL ORDER MARCHES IN NATIONALIST AREAS. WE FELT THAT THE BRIEFING WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL TO BOTH SIDES.

I WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUS SITUATION DEVELOPING IN THE FERMANAGH VILLAGE OF NEWTOWNBUTLER WHICH IS PART OF THE AREA I WAS ELECTED TO REPRESENT.

AN AGREEMENT WHICH HAD BEEN BROKERED BETWEEN THE RESIDENTS GROUP AND THE ROYAL BLACK PRECEPTORY WITH THE HELP OF REV. ROY MAGEE HAS NOT BEEN HONOURED BY THE R.B.P. THE RESIDENTS GROUP NO LONGER HAVE ANY CONFIDENCE IN THE PARADES COMMISSION. LAST YEAR THE RESIDENTS, YOUNG AND OLD, WERE BATTERED OFF THE MAIN STREET OF THE VILLAGE WHILST ENGAGED IN A PEACEFUL PROTEST AGAINS THE R.B.P. MARCH.

FEELINGS ARE NOW RUNNING SO HIGH THAT I BELIEVE THAT THIS YEAR'S MARCHES WILL LEAD TO A FAR MORE SERIOUS SITUATION DEVELOPING. IN PARTICULAR I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE SITUATION WILL BE EXPLOITED BY DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN ELEMENTS WHO RESIDE IN THE AREA.

I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD EXERT ANY INFLUENCE WHICH YOU FEEL WOULD BE USEFUL IN TRYING TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM. IF YOU FEEL THAT A MEETING WITH MYSELF AND/OR THE NEWTOWNBUTLER RESIDENTS WOULD BE USEFUL THEN PLEASE DO NOT HESITATE TO CONTACT ME. YOURS SINC_, CLLR BRIAN MCCAFFREY.

END TEXT.

MARTIN MANSERGH: PARADES
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6. (C) I MET WITH TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISER MARTIN MANSERGH ON JUNE 4 TO GET HIS VIEWS ON THE MARCHING SEASON AND WHAT THE U.S. MIGHT DO TO HELP AVERT CONFRONTATION. MANSERGH HAD NOT HEARD ABOUT THE NEWTOWNBUTLER SITUATION, AND SAID CLLR MCCAFFREY'S LETTER WOULD BE REFERRED TO DFA,

REF: BELFAST 223

WHERE THE MARCHING ISSUE WAS BEING WA
TCHED CLOSELY.

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7. (C) MANSERGH COMPLAINED THAT THE LACK OF DIALOGUE WAS HAMPERING EFFORTS TO REACH COMPROMISE ON KEY PARADES, SUCH AS THE MARCH DOWN THE GARVAGHY ROAD. IN THE ABSENCE OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, IF ANYONE TRIED TO FORCE A MARCH DOWN THAT ROAD, "MAJOR DISTURBANCES" WOULD ENSUE. MANSERGH SAID SINN FEIN'S INFLUENCE IS NOT SO STRONG THAT IT COULD PERSUADE GARVAGHY ROAD RESIDENTS TO ACCEPT AN ORANGE ORDER MARCH -- EVEN IF SF WERE DISPOSED TO MAKE THIS ARGUMENT. NEITHER DID LOYALIST PARTIES HAVE ANY REAL ABILITY TO RESTRAIN MARCHERS WITHOUT LOSING THEIR OWN CREDIBILITY-

8. (C) MANSERGH SUGGESTED THE PARADES COMMISSION HAD BEEN PREPARED TO BAN THE MARCH ON THE GARVAGHY ROAD, BUT MAY NOT DO SO NOW. IN ANY CASE, THE ORANGE ORDER DID NOT ACCEPT THE LEGITIMACY OF THE PARADES COMMISSION, HE SAID, AND MIGHT PROCEED WITH THE MARCH REGARDLESS OF THE COMMISSION'S RULING. DIALOGUE WAS THE ONLY HOPE FOR AVERTING A CONFRONTATION.

9. (C) MANSERGH AGREED STRONGLY WITH MY RECOMMENDATION THAT, DURING HIS UPCOMING VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND, SECRETARY OF COMMERCE DALEY TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PUBLIC SPEAKING OPPORTUNITIES TO STRESS, IN A NEUTRAL WAY, THE HUGE DAMAGE THAT COULD BE DONE TO PROSPECTS FOR INVESTMENT ON THE ISLAND BY A CONFLAGRATION OVER PARADES THIS SUMMER. COMMENTS BY THE SECRETARY SHOULD FOCUS ON THE NEED FOR THE ORANGE ORDER AND RESIDENTS' GROUPS TO PURSUE DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE. THIS WOULD ECHO A RECENT CALL BY REV. ROY MAGEE, WHO HAD POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS THE REST OF THE COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND THAT WOULD SUFFER IF "BATTLES" WERE WAGED OVER MARCHES, MANSERGH SAID.

MANSERGH: POLICE REVIEW COMMISSION
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10. (C) DESPITE PRESS REPORTS DESCRIBING "COLD FURY" IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES AT BRITISH ACCEPTANCE OF JUST ONE GOI NOMINEE TO THE POLICING REVIEW COMMISSION (GERARD LYNCH), MANSERGH SAID THIS DESCRIPTION OVERSTATED THE TAOISEACH'S FEELINGS. THERE WAS SOME "ANNOYANCE" AMONG GOI OFFICIALS, AND THE TAOISEACH HIMSELF WOULD HAVE PREFERRED HAVING TWO. NOMINATIONS ACCEPTED WITH MORE APPEAL TO NATIONALISTS -- BUT THE POLICING REVIEW COMMISSION WOULD CLEARLY BE OF A "HIGHER CALIBER" THAN THE PARADES COMMISSION. BERTIE AHERN HAD MET WITH CHRIS PATTEN LAST WEEK, AND HAD COME AWAY WITH A POSITIVE IMPRESSION. MANSERGH SAID THE IRISH HOPE PATTEN WILL MODEL HIMSELF ON GEORGE MITCHELL, RATHER THAN ON LORD WIDGERY (WHO CONDUCTED THE FLAWED REVIEW OF "BLOODY SUNDAY"), IN SEEKING A CAREFULLY BALANCED CONSENSUS ON A WAY FORWARD ON THIS DIFFICULT ISSUE.

MANSERGH: PRISONERS/DECOMMISSIONING
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11. (C) OF GREATER CONCERN TO THE GOI AT THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, WAS PROPOSED BRITISH LEGISLATION ON PRISONER RELEASES, WHICH HAD BEEN PRESENTED TO THE GOI TODAY, MANSERGH TOLD ME. THERE APPEARED TO BE A "CLEAR LINKAGE" TO ARMS DECOMMISSIONING IN THE DRAFT LEGISLATION. DUBLIN WAS STILL CONSIDERING ITS RESPONSE, BUT IT WAS MANSERGH'S FIRM VIEW THAT THE PROVISIONS OF AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT (THE BELFAST AGREEMENT) SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER DOMESTIC LEGISLATION IN THE EVENT OF A CONTRADICTION. AND, IN HIS VIEW, TO WITHHOLD THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS FOR ANY REASON OTHER THAN A RETURN TO VIOLENCE WOULD BE

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"PROVOCATIVE." HE DISCOURAGED ANY ATTEMPT TO "IMPORT" INTO THE AGREEMENT A NEW DEFINITION OF "CEASEFIRE." IF THE BRITISHHOSE TO GO THIS ROUTE, THE GOI "WOULD HAVE TO DISAGREE," HE SAID.

12. (C) MANSERGH SAID IRISH HISTORY WAS LITTERED WITH GOOD AGREEMENTS THAT HAD NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED EFFECTIVELY. WHILE TONY BLAIR'S APPROACH WAS VERY POSITIVE (SEEKING TO KEEP BOTH SINN FEIN AND THE UNIONISTS ON BOARD), MANSERGH ASKED RHETORICALLY WHETHER THE PRIME MINISTER REALLY UNDERSTOOD WHAT WAS NEEDED TO FIND A SOLUTION. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

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INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0358
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0673
RUCPDOC/USDOC WASHDC
SUBJ: *** NO SUBJECT FOUND ***
TEXT:

DECLASSIFIED
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2015-0157-M (2.53)
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 003141

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

USDOC FORMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY
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1. (C) IRISH TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) BERTIE AHERN TOLD VISITING COMMERCE SECRETARY WILLIAM DALEY IN THEIR JUNE 11 MEETING THAT DUBLIN HAS "LOST FAITH" IN THE UK'S NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO). NIO CIVIL SERVANTS ARE "HELL-BENT" ON CREATING OBSTACLES TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND, THROUGH SELECTIVE PRESS LEAKS, WANT "TO UNDERCUT" NORTHERN SECRETARY MO MOWLAM, WITH WHOM, AHERN STRESSED, HE CONTINUES TO HAVE AN EXCELLENT WORKING RELATIONSHIP. IRISH OFFICIALS ARE "FRIGHTENED" TO COMMUNICATE WITH NIO COUNTERPARTS BECAUSE OF PRESS LEAKS. AHERN SAID HE RAISED THESE CONCERNS WITH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR DURING BLAIR'S JUNE 1 DUBLIN VISIT, BUT BLAIR "DID NOT SHARE MY VIEW." AHERN ASKED THE SECRETARY TO COMMUNICATE TO WASHINGTON THAT THE ACTIONS OF NIO CIVIL SERVANTS MAKE "IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO DO OUR JOB" IN MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD.

2. (C) ON OTHER NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT, WHILE IN THE NORTH THE POLITICAL FOCUS IS ON THE JUNE 25 ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, DUBLIN IS FOCUSED ON THE UPCOMING MARCHING SEASON. IF VIOLENCE CAN BE PREVENTED DURING THE MARCHES, THE PEACE PROCESS WILL BE IN "GOOD SHAPE," BUT AHERN WARNED SERIOUS VIOLENCE COULD DERAIL THE PROCESS. NEITHER CATHOLIC NOR ORANGE ORDER LEADERS HAVE FULL CONTROL OVER THE ACTIONS OF RESIDENTS ON THE GROUND. AHERN SAID COMPROMISE IS DIFFICULT BECAUSE "RESPONSIBLE" ORANGE ORDER LEADERS ARE SCARED OF REACTION FROM PROTESTANT HARD-LINERS. LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED FROM BOTH SEIN FEIN LEADERS AND DAVID TRIMBLE. TRIMBLE IS CONSTRAINED, HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE UPCOMING ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS AND THE NEED TO AVOID ALIENATING HIS CONSTITUENCY. AHERN SAID A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON THIS YEAR WOULD "BE IMPORTANT" TO SUPPORTERS OF THE PEACE PROCESS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER.

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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 (DISCUSSION OF TRADE MISSION AND ECONOMIC ISSUES REPORTED SEPTEL). ALSO ATTENDING WERE AMBASSADOREAN KENNEDY SMITH, THE SECRETARY'S CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID LANE, MAYOR TOM MENINO OF BOSTON, AND EMBASSY ECONOFF (NOTETAKER). THE PRIME MINISTER'S POLITICAL ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH ALSO WAS PRESENT.

TELL "OUR FRIENDS" IN WASHINGTON: "THE NIO IS OUT TO GET MO"
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4. (C) AHERN USED THE OPPORTUNITY OF HIS MEETING WITH SECRETARY DALEY TO CONVEY TO WASHINGTON STRONGLY FELT CONCERNS OVER THE ACTIONS OF NIO OFFICIALS. AHERN ACCUSED NIO CIVIL SERVANTS OF "TREACHERY" AGAINST NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM AND OF BEING "HELL-BENT" ON CREATING OBSTACLES TO THE PEACE PROCESS. IRISH OFFICIALS ARE "FRIGHTENED" TO SPEAK WITH NIO COUNTERPARTS OR EXCHANGE WORKING DOCUMENTS BECAUSE OF THE RISK NIO OFFICIALS WILL SELECTIVELY LEAK THE CONTENTS TO THE MEDIA IN THEIR EFFORTS "TO GET MO." AHERN CITED MEDIA "ATTACKS" ON DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT GALLAGHER, AFTER AN INTERNAL NIO MEMO WAS LEAKED WHICH DESCRIBED GALLAGHER'S CALL TO MOWLAM REQUESTING SHE CONTACT SEIN FEIN (SF) TO ADDRESS SF CONCERNS ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OT THE POLICE REVIEW COMMISSION, AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF NIO
LEAKS THAT UNDERCUT MOWLAM AND MAKE IRISH WORKING-LEVEL OFFICIALS RELUCTANT TO INTERACT WITH THE NIO.

5. (C) IN RESPONSE TO SECRETARY DALEY'S QUESTION, AHERN SAID THAT HE HAD RAISED THESE CONCERNS WITH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR DURING BLAIR'S JUNE 1 VISIT TO DUBLIN, BUT BLAIR "DID NOT SHARE MY VIEW." AHERN, WITH SOME FORCE, TOLD DALEY THAT, DESPITE BLAIR'S VIEWS, THE ACTIONS OF NIO OFFICIALS "MAKE IT REALLY DIFFICULT FOR US TO DO OUR JOB" AND MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. THIS IS NOT SOMETHING, AHERN ADDED, THAT "I CAN SAY IN PUBLIC OR THE PARLIAMENT" BUT IT IS A SERIOUS CONCERN. HE ASKED THAT THIS CONCERN BE RELAYED "TO OUR FRIENDS IN WASHINGTON."

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 003141

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

USD FOR CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID LANE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/12/08
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH PM AHERN TELLS SECRETARY DALEY DUBLIN HAS "LOST FAITH" IN NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

THE MARCHING SEASON: MAKE OR BREAK FOR PEACE PROCESS?

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6. (C) SECRETARY DALEY TOLD AHERN THAT DURING HIS VISIT WITH THE TRADE DELEGATION TO NORTHERN IRELAND, HE HAD FOUND GREAT OPTIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE, BUT CONCERN AS WELLgVER THE UPCOMING MARCHING SEASON. DURING THEIR STAY IN BELFAST BOTH THE SECRETARY AND THE BUSINESS OFFICIALS ON THE DELEGATION HAD RAISED WITH SF LEADER GERRY ADAMS AND ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE THEIR CONCERNS OVER THE IMPACT THAT VIOLENCE DURING THE MARCHING SEASON, BY EITHER SIDE, COULD HAVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS AND ON BUSINESS CONFIDENCE IN THE NORTH. DALEY SAID THAT ADAMS' RESPONSE WAS DIRECT -- SF AGREES ON HE NEED FOR RESTRAINT FROM BOTH SIDES -- BUT THAT TRIMBLE "HAD DANCED" AROUND THE ISSUE.

7. (C) IN RESPONSE, AHERN TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT "ALL OF OUR EFFORTS" ARE FOCUSED ON THE MARCHES, IN CONTRAST TO POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE NORTH WHO ARE FOCUSED ON THE JUNE 25 ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. AHERN SAID THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY TEN MARCHES THAT ARE CAUSING "LOSS OF SLEEP" AND SINGLED OUT THREE AS PARTICULAR FLASHPOINTS: THE JUNE 19 "TOUR OF THE NORTH," THE GARVAGHY ROAD (DRUMCREE) MARCH ON JULY 5, AND CERTAIN PARADES SCHEDULED FOR JULY 12. AHERN SAID HIS CONCERN IS THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIPS IN BOTH COMMUNITIES ARE NOT FIRMLY IN CONTROL OF THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND. IF SEIN FEIN TOLD RESIDENTS OF THE GARVAGHY ROAD, FOR EXAMPLE, NOT TO RESPOND TO AN ORANGE MARCH, "SF WOULD NOT BE LISTENED TO." ORANGE ORDER LEADERS WHO WANT TO FIND A COMPROMISE THAT AVOIDS VIOLENCE ARE "SCARED" TO DO SO BECAUSE OF THE REACTION OF HARD-LINERS.

8. (C) THE SITUATION REQUIRES LEADERSHIP, AHERN CONTINUED, ESPECIALLY ON THE PROTESTANT SIDE. DUBLIN IS MAKING "EVERY EFFORT TO SIT ON" CATHOLIC RESIDENTS AND HOLD OFF VIOLENT REACTIONS. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR DAVID TRIMBLE TO SHOW LEADERSHIP ON THE ISSUE IN THE "ORANGE COMMUNITY/" AHERN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS IS DIFFICULT FOR TRIMBLE, WITH THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS ONLY THREE WEEKS AWAY. HE CANNOT ALIENATE HIS OWN CONSTITUENCY. BUT, AHERN CONCLUDED, HE HOPED THAT FOLLOWING THE ELECTION, TRIMBLE COULD TAKE A STRONG ROLE IN HELPING PREVENT VIOLENCE.

9. (C) THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD DALEY THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT NOT TO END THE DISCUSSION ON A "NEGATIVE NOTE." IF THE MARCHING SEASON COMES OFF WITHOUT VIOLENCE, THEN IT REALLY DID "LOOK GOOD" FOR PEACE IN IRELAND. POPULATIONS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER STRONGLY SUPPORT THE BELFAST AGREEMENT AND WANT THE PEACE PROCESS TO SUCCEED. THE MOMENTUM WAS ON THE SIDE OF PEACE -- THE KEY IS TO "GET THROUGH THE MARCHING SEASON."

CLINTON VISIT IN 1998 WELCOMED
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10. (C) THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD THE SECRETARY THAT HE HOPED TO WELCOME PRESIDENT CLINTON TO IRELAND SOMETIME IN 1998. AHERN SAID HE KNEW IT IS "NOT EASY" FOR THE PRESIDENT TO SCHEDULE SUCH A TRIP, BUT A VISIT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO SUPPORTERS OF THE PEACE PROCESS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER. AHERN NOTED THAT HE HAD NOT "AGREED" WITH THOSE WHO SAID A VISIT FROM THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE MAY REFERENDUM WOULD HAVE HAD A NEGATIVE IMPACT, BUT HAD BOWED TO THOSE WHO THOUGHT THERE WAS SUCH A RISK. BUT A VISIT NOW WOULD BE BENEFICIAL. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT HE KNEW THE
PRESIDENT WANTED TO VISIT IRELAND AS SOON AS THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE WOULD PERMIT AND THAT HE WOULD CONVEY THE PRIME

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MINISTER'S WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT.

11. (U) SECRETARY DALEY'S PARTY DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE PRIOR TO DEPARTING FROM DUBLIN.

EMBASSY COMMENT
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12. (C) THE TAOISEACH'S DOUBTS ABOUT THE NIO REFLECT BROADER CONCERNS REGARDING THE ANGLO-IRISH CONSULTATION PROCESS, WHICH SOME IRISH OFFICIALS FEAR HAS LAPSED FOLLOWING THE MAY 22 REFERENDUM. EVEN A BRITISH EMBASSY OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGES A RECENT "TEMPORARY SQUALL" IN RELATIONS, THOUGH HE ATTRIBUTES THIS TO THE INEVITABLE DROP IN THE "TEMPO" OF BILATERAL CONTACTS IN THE WEEKS FOLLOWING APRIL 10. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS REAL CONCERN ON THE IRISH SIDE ABOUT PERCEIVED STEPS TO "WALK BACK" THE AGREEMENT (E.G., UK PRISONER LEGISLATION THAT "THREATENED TO LINK" RELEASES TO ACTUAL ECOMMISSIONING; "FAILURE TO CONSULT" OVER NOMINATIONS TO THE POLICE REVIEW COMMISSION; AND TRIMBLE'S ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 003141

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

USDOC FOR CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID LANE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/12/08
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH PM AHERN TELLS SECRETARY DALEY DUBLIN HAS "LOST FAITH" IN NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

SUGGESTION THAT EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY MAY NOT COME INTO BEING UNTIL WELL INTO NEXT YEAR). FOR HIS PART, PROFESSING "BAFFLEMENT," OUR BRITISH COLLEAGUE CLAIMS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS TAKING A HARDER LINE THAN SINN FEIN ON SOME ISSUES. WHILE THIS MAY, AS THE TAOISEACH SUGGESTED TO SECRETARY DALEY, CLEAR UP AFTER THE JUNE 25 ELECTIONS, THE FAST-APPROACHING MARCHING SEASON MAKES IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT DUBLIN AND LONDON STAY IN THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE CONTACT. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA3144 1630859-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: R 120859Z JUN 98
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 120859Z JUN 98
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3566
INFO: RUEHXQ/ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
RUEHAK/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 0060
RUEHNC/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 0014
RUEHIT/AMCONSUL ISTANBUL 0002
RUEHAL/AMCONSUL ADANA 0021
SUBJ: IRELAND TO OPEN EMBASSY IN ANKARA, CONSULAR OFFICES IN SCOTLAND AND WALES

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0157-M (2.54)
KBH 7/31/2019

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 003144

LONDON PLS PASS TO AMCONSUL EDINBURG

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/11/08
TAGS: PREL, TU, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRELAND TO OPEN EMBASSY IN ANKARA, CONSULAR OFFICES IN SCOTLAND AND WALES

REF: DUBLIN 2597 (EXDIS)

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

TURKEY
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1. (C) FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS MADE A POINT OF TELLING ME AT A LUNCH ON JUNE 10 THAT IRELAND WILL OPEN AN EMBASSY IN ANKARA THIS YEAR IN DIRECT RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S URGINGS THAT EU MEMBER STATES DO MORE TO REACH OUT TO TURKEY.

2. (C) THE PRESIDENT'S DISCUSSION WITH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN ON THIS SUBJECT LAST DECEMBER CLEARLY MADE AN IMPACT. ACCORDING TO THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN DUBLIN, THE TAOISEACH (PM) PERSONALLY INTERVENED TO APPROVE FUNDING FOR THE NEW EMBASSY, OVERRULING HIS FINANCE MINISTER, WHO HAD PROPOSED TO VETO THE NECESSARY FUNDS.

3. (U) ANDREWS MADE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT ON JUNE 10 CONCERNING THE NEW EMBASSY. HE NOTED THAT "TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH THE EU HAVE ASSUMED GREATER SIGNIFICANCE IN RECENT TIMES AND IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT IRELAND SHOULD INTENSIFY ITS CONTACT."

SCOTLAND AND WALES
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4. (U) FM ANDREWS SIMULTANEOUSLY ANNOUNCED THAT, STEMMING FROM THE APRIL 10 BELFAST AGREEMENT AND THE PROCESS OF DEVOLUTION IN BRITAIN, IRELAND WILL ESTABLISH NEW CONSULATES IN EDINBURGH AND CARDIFF. HIS STATEMENT SAID: "THE NEW BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL, WHICH IS PART OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, WILL INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS IN SCOTLAND AND WALES AS WELL AS THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY.... IN VIEW OF THIS, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAVE AVAILABLE ITS OWN FIRST-HAND ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SCOTLAND AND WALES, WHICH THE NEW CONSULATES WILL PROVIDE."

5. (U) EACH OF THE CONSULATES IS EXPECTED TO LIAISE WITH ITS RESPECTIVE ASSEMBLY, HELP IMPROVE TRADE AND CULTURAL LINKS BETWEEN SCOTLAND, WALES AND IRELAND, AND ALSO PROVIDE SERVICES FOR THE IRISH COMMUNITY IN BOTH JURISDICTIONS. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

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