

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHLOA7348 2030955-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH (CCY PARAS-ADX 556D93-200)  
 LINE3: R 171514Z JUL 98 ZDS  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 171514Z JUL 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7840  
 INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0546  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0472  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CHALLENGES AHEAD AND THE U.S.  
 ROLE

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.05)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 007348

(CORRECTED COPY - PARAGRAPHS RENUMBERED)

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER  
 E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/17/03  
 TAGS: PREL, IGOV, PHUM, OVIP, AMGT, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CHALLENGES AHEAD AND THE U.S.  
 ROLE

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: KATHLEEN STEPHENS, BELFAST CONSUL  
 GENERAL. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. (S) SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE FROM BELFAST'S DEPARTING CONSUL  
 GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE CHANGES OF THE PAST THREE YEARS AND  
 THE CHALLENGES AHEAD, AND MAKES SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR A RETURN  
 PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AS WELL AS FOR STRENGTHENING OUR PRESENCE  
 ON THE GROUND IN NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

OVERVIEW  
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3. (S) THE NEW POLITICAL ACCORD RATIFIED IN THE MAY 22  
 REFERENDUM HAS SURVIVED ITS FIRST BIG TEST AT DRUMCREE,  
 PROVIDING DRAMATIC EVIDENCE OF THE GROWING DURABILITY OF THE  
 "PEACE PROCESS" INITIATED BY THE 1993 DOWNING STREET  
 DECLARATION. IN A PLACE WHERE PESSIMISM WAS ALWAYS THE SAFEST  
 BET, THERE IS A GROWING CONFIDENCE THAT THE NORTHERN IRISH  
 LANDSCAPE HAS SHIFTED IN FUNDAMENTAL, IF NOT COMPLETELY  
 UNDERSTOOD, WAYS. THIS AUGERS WELL FOR THE NEXT TEST: THAT  
 OF IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

4. (S) THE AGREEMENT ADDRESSES THE QUESTION OF IDENTITY AT THE  
 HEART OF THE NORTHERN IRISH CONFLICT, AMBITIOUSLY SEEKING TO  
 ACCOMMODATE THE OPPOSING ASPIRATIONS OF UNIONISTS AND  
 NATIONALISTS. EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT THE COMPLEX ARRANGEMENTS  
 INEVITABLY WILL BE UNEVEN AND SETBACKS FREQUENT. POST-  
 AGREEMENT NORTHERN IRELAND IS STILL MUCH LIKE THE PRE-  
 AGREEMENT PLACE, ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CULTURE DOGGED BY

VIOLENCE, INTRANSIGENCE, AND SECTARIAN BIGOTRY. CREATION OF A POLITY BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT WHICH VALUES ACCOMMODATION RATHER CONFRONTATION WILL NOT BE EASY.

5. (X) ALONGSIDE THE NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS THERE NEEDS TO BE ANOTHER, EQUALLY DIFFICULT TRANSFORMATION: NORTHERN IRELAND AS A WHOLE MUST SHED THE DEBILITATING EFFECTS OF THE CULTURE OF DEPENDENCY AND VICTIMHOOD WHICH PREDOMINATE. BUT FOR NORTHERN IRELAND TO EMERGE FROM THE SHADOW OF ITS TROUBLES, THE POLITICS OF ACCOUNTABILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY MUST REPLACE THE PERVERSE SENSE OF "SPECIALNESS" ENGRAINED IN BOTH COMMUNITIES AS PARTIES TO A STUBBORNLY INTRACTABLE BUT ABSORBING QUARREL.

6. (X) THE U.S. IS WIDELY CREDITED HERE HAS HAVING PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE PROGRESS OF THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, THOUGH NATIONALISTS TEND TO RATE THE U.S. ROLE MORE HIGHLY THAN UNIONISTS DO. PRESIDENT CLINTON'S 1995 VISIT IS STILL REGARDED IN NORTHERN IRELAND AS AN EVENT THE LIKES OF WHICH THIS PLACE HAD NEVER BEFORE EXPERIENCED. HIS ABILITY TO REACH OUT TO BOTH SIDES HAS VASTLY STRENGTHENED OUR CREDIBILITY AS EVEN-HANDED SUPPORTERS OF POSITIVE CHANGE. SENATOR MITCHELL'S STEADY INTEGRITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS IS UNIVERSALLY ADMIRER HERE. THE WIDE RANGE OF U.S. INITIATIVES -- THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND, USIA, CONSULATE PROGRAMS AND SO ON -- HAVE CONVINCED THE DOUBTERS THAT WE ARE FRIENDS OF BOTH COMMUNITIES, AND FRIENDS FOR THE LONG HAUL.

7. (X) AS THE PEACE PROCESS ENTERS ITS NEXT PHASE, THAT OF IMPLEMENTING THE FIRST POLITICAL FRAMEWORK IN NORTHERN IRELAND'S TROUBLED HISTORY TO ENJOY BROAD CROSS-COMMUNITY SUPPORT, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK WAYS TO BUILD CONFIDENCE IN THE PROCESS AND IN NORTHERN IRELAND'S FUTURE, AND TO WIDEN THE "NARROW GROUND" OF ULSTER'S TRADITIONAL ANIMOSITIES. A SECOND PRESIDENTIAL VISIT THIS AUTUMN, WHILE ADAPTING TO A LOCAL MOOD MORE SOBER AND PRAGMATIC THAN IN 1995, CAN PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN IMPROVING THE CLIMATE IN WHICH THE NEW INSTITUTIONS WILL BE FORMED.

SOME IDEAS FOR A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT  
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8. (X) A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT THIS AUTUMN WILL PROVIDE AN OCCASION TO MARK THE EXTRAORDINARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS YEAR, GAINS CHALLENGED BUT NOT ERASED BY THE RAW SECTARIANISM AND TRAGIC VIOLENCE OF THIS SUMMER'S MARCHING SEASON. BUT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT, AND PERHAPS NOT DESIRABLE, TO TRY TO RECREATE THE EUPHORIA OF THE 1995 VISIT. THE MOOD THIS TIME MAY BE SOMBER AND CELEBRATORY IN EQUAL MEASURE.

-- THE PRESIDENT WILL BE EXPECTED TO REACH OUT, AS HE DID SO MEMORABLY IN 1995, OVER THE HEADS OF POLITICIANS TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND, IN AN EVENT AT AN OUTDOOR OR LARGE INDOOR VENUE. POSSIBLE SITES INCLUDE THE BOTANICAL GARDENS IN SOUTH BELFAST IF OUTDOORS OR THE NEW WATERFRONT HALL OR THE HISTORIC OPERA HOUSE AS INDOOR VENUES.

-- HE SHOULD ALSO GIVE A BOOST TO THE NEW ASSEMBLY, STILL IN SHADOW FORM, AND PARTICULARLY TO ITS ALREADY BELEAGUERED FIRST MINISTER DESIGNATE, DAVID TRIMBLE, AND HIS COURAGEOUS SDLP

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 007348

(CORRECTED COPY - PARAGRAPHS RENUMBERED)

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER  
E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/17/03  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, OVIP, AMGT, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CHALLENGES AHEAD AND THE U.S.  
ROLE

DEPUTY, SEAMUS MALLON. ONE APPROACH WOULD BE TO MAKE THE MAJOR SPEECH OF THE VISIT TO THE NEW ASSEMBLY, OR TO ATTEND A RECEPTION HOSTED BY TRIMBLE AND MALLON FOR THE NEW ASSEMBLY MEMBERS.

-- IF THERE IS TIME FOR AN EVENT OUTSIDE BELFAST, ARMAGH, THE ECCLESIASTICAL CAPITAL OF IRELAND, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. THE PRESIDENT MIGHT MEET THERE WITH CHURCH LEADERS AS WELL AS WITH FAMILIES WHO HAVE LOST LOVED ONES TO SECTARIAN OR PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE.

-- THE KEY ROLES OF REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST LEADERS IN ACHIEVING THE CEASEFIRE AND BRINGING THE PARAMILITARIES IN FROM THE COLD SHOULD ALSO BE RECOGNIZED, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME TAKING THE OPPORTUNITY TO PUSH THE CASE FOR CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES SUCH AS SOME FORM OF DECOMMISSIONING SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.

-- FINALLY, HE SHOULD REAFFIRM THE CONTINUING U.S. COMMITMENT TO SUPPORTING PROGRESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WHILE MAKING CLEAR THAT THE AGREEMENT OFFERS A NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN FUTURE.

#### THE VISIT AND BEYOND

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9. (S) OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS AND BEYOND, NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICIANS WILL TURN TO THE TASK OF ERASING THE "DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT" BY WORKING TOGETHER TO GOVERN RATHER THAN RELYING ON -- AND BLAMING -- LONDON FOR ITS LEADERSHIP. THEY WILL HAVE TO MOVE BEYOND THE LITMUS TEST CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE DOMINATED NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICS FOR SO LONG TO TACKLE THE TOUGH ISSUES ON SOCIAL WELFARE, EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE AND SO FORTH WITH WHICH MODERN DEMOCRACIES STRUGGLE. SIGNIFICANT BRITISH GOVERNMENT FUNDING SUPPLEMENTED BY GENEROUS EU PROGRAMS MEAN THAT MONEY WILL NOT BE THE MAIN OBSTACLE. THE MAJOR HURDLE TO BE OVERCOME IS THE MINDSET OF DEPENDENCY AND DESPAIR WHICH INHIBITS A "CAN DO" APPROACH.

10. (S) WHAT AS AMERICANS WE CAN BRING, WITH OUR STRONG HISTORICAL TIES TO BOTH COMMUNITIES AND OUR OWN STRUGGLE TO BUILD A DIVERSE AND TOLERANT SOCIETY, ARE OPPORTUNITIES FOR BRIDGE-BUILDING AND SUPPORT FOR RISK-TAKING, AND A SENSE OF CONFIDENCE -- GROWING BY THE DAY -- THAT WITH EACH CRISES AVERTED THE MOMENTUM BEHIND THE AGREEMENT GROWS STRONGER. IN THIS CONTEXT, IT WILL BE MORE IMPORTANT TO RESHAPE AND ADAPT OUR EXISTING COMMERCIAL, COMMUNITY, AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAMS THAN TO EMBARK ON AMBITIOUS NEW ONES. IT IS NATURAL AND APPROPRIATE THAT MANY AMERICAN DELEGATIONS, OFFICIAL AND OTHERWISE, WILL TRAVEL TO NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE COMING YEAR. THE MOST HELPFUL VISITS ARE LIKELY TO BE OF THE TECHNICAL WORKING VARIETY AS, AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT THIS TIME, THE MARKET FOR HIGHER-PROFILE DELEGATIONS MAY WELL BE SATURATED. THE CONSULATE'S ACTIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PROGRAM WILL BE ENHANCED IF WE ARE ABLE TO OBTAIN MORE SUITABLE FACILITIES AND A MODEST INCREASE IN OUR PRESENT STAFF COMPLEMENT OF TWO FSOS AND SIX STATE FSNS.

11. (C) IT HAS BEEN A PRIVILEGE AND A HIGHLIGHT OF MY CAREER TO SERVE IN BELFAST DURING THE PAST THREE MEMORABLE YEARS. I CAN THINK OF NOTHING MORE REWARDING THAN TO HAVE BEEN PART OF AN AMERICAN TEAM WHICH HAS WORKED SO HARD TO HELP FOSTER PEACE AND BRING RECONCILIATION TO THIS HISTORICALLY DIVIDED CORNER OF THE EUROPE. I AM GRATEFUL TO MY COLLEAGES IN LONDON AND DUBLIN, IN STATE, AT THE NSC AND THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR DEDICATION TO OUR PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THEIR UNFLAGGING SUPPORT TO ME DURING MY TIME HERE. STEPHENS

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 7348

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TOR: 980722110405 M3388014

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## Cable

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 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0411  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0706  
 SUBJ: DUBLIN CONCERNED OVER "WATERED DOWN" UK LEGISLATION  
 IMPLEMENTING BELFAST AGREEMENT

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.06)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

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

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 003900

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/23/08

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: DUBLIN CONCERNED OVER "WATERED DOWN" UK LEGISLATION  
 IMPLEMENTING BELFAST AGREEMENT

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

1. ~~(S)~~ DURING A CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR KENNEDY SMITH ON JULY 22, THE TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH SAID THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS "CONCERNED" ABOUT THE TEXT OF THE UK LEGISLATION INTENDED TO IMPLEMENT THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. MANSERGH SINGLED OUT THE LEGISLATION'S PROVISIONS ON THE "EQUALITY AGENDA" AND THE "STRAND TWO" CROSS BORDER BODIES AS PARTICULAR PROBLEMS IN DUBLIN'S VIEW. MANSERGH CLAIMED BOTH PROVISIONS ARE "WATERED DOWN" FROM THE TEXT OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT, AND THAT THE LEGISLATION "BARELY MENTIONS" THE NORTH/SOUTH BODIES CALLED FOR IN THE AGREEMENT.

2. ~~(S)~~ MANSERGH ACKNOWLEDGED THAT RECENT AMENDMENTS TO THE ORIGINAL IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION HAD IMPROVED THE TEXT, BUT SAID "THERE IS STILL WORK TO DO." MANSERGH NOTED POINTEDLY THAT THE LEGISLATION, NOT THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT, IS ULTIMATELY WHAT WILL GOVERN FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, SO IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE LEGISLATION BE AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF THE AGREEMENT.

SINN FEIN WELCOMES PRESIDENT'S VISIT

3. ~~(S)~~ MANSERGH, WHO HAD JUST MET WITH SINN FEIN (SF) REPRESENTATIVES, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT SF IS VERY PLEASED WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ANNOUNCED SEPTEMBER VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC. IN SF'S VIEW, THE VISIT IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PRESIDENT TO EMPHASIZE THAT POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE NORTH -- AND IN PARTICULAR DAVID

TRIMBLE --MUST "DO WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT" AND ESTABLISH WORKING POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS THAT WILL PERMIT THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY TO FUNCTION AND THE PROVISIONS OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT TO BE IMPLEMENTED. ACCORDING TO MANSERGH, SF BELIEVES THE BEST POSSIBLE RESULT OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WOULD BE IF IT LED TRIMBLE TO MOVE AWAY FROM HIS REFUSAL TO WORK WITH A SF REPRESENTATIVE IN THE ASSEMBLY EXECUTIVE AND TO ESTABLISH A WORKING POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SF.

4. (C) TO HELP ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, SF TOLD MANSERGH THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD CONSIDER HOLDING A MEETING WITH ALL POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE NORTH. SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE A "OEOFF" OPPORTUNITY TO BRING THE PLAYERS TOGETHER AND HAVE THE PRESIDENT DIRECTLY DELIVER A MESSAGE ON THE NEED FOR THE LEADERS TO CARRY OUT THE "DEMOCRATIC WILL" OF THE PEOPLE AND WORK TOGETHER TO IMPLEMENT THE BELFAST AGREEMENT.

DRUMCREE PROXIMITY TALKS  
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5. (C) MANSERGH ALSO REPORTED DUBLIN UNDERSTANDS THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD FOR AN AGREEMENT AT THE DRUMCREE PROXIMITY TALKS THAT WOULD PERMIT THE ORANGEMEN TO MARCH DOWN GARVAGHY ROAD, EVEN WITH A PLEDGE FROM LONDON TO PROVIDE GARVAGHY RESIDENTS WITH AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PACKAGE. MANSERGH, SYMPATHETIC TO THE RESIDENTS' POSITION, SAID THAT THEY ARE FIRM IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO A MARCH.

6. (C) MANSERGH ALSO TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT LONDON WILL "SHORTLY" BEGIN TO RELEASE PRISONERS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. THE RELEASES WILL COME IN SEVERAL STAGES, BUT THE FIRST RELEASES ARE IMMINENT. MANSERGH SAID THAT SF WAS "CLEAR" IT WILL NOT UNDERTAKE ANY ARMS DECOMMISSIONING IN RESPONSE TO THE RELEASES. MANSERGH SAID HE TOLD SF REPRESENTATIVES THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY DECOMMISSIONING, SF MUST TAKE SOME OTHER CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN RESPONSE TO THE RELEASES. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3900

TOR: 980723122227 M3390019

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER DAVIDSON MCELDFOWNEY SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT(C2)  
STEINBERG

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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3843  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0428  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0712  
 SUBJ: MARTIN MANSERGH DETAILS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PLANS  
 IN THE WAKE OF THE OMAGH BOMBING

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CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH.8REASONS 1.5 (B)

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 4DUBLIN 004265

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/17/08  
 TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH DETAILS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PLANS  
 IN THE WAKE OF THE OMAGH BOMBING

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH.8REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

1. (C) AMBASSADOR KENNEDY SMITH MET WITH THE TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH AUGUST 17 TO HEAR DETAILS OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PLANS IN REACTING TO THE BOMBING IN OMAGH, NORTHERN IRELAND. MANSERGH INDICATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS CONVINCED THAT THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE AND THE REAL IRA WERE THE CULPRITS BEHIND SATURDAY'S ATTACK THAT KILLED 28 PEOPLE. HE RELAYED THAT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE CABINET SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE THAT OCCURRED ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1998 HAD PRODUCED A CONSENSUS IN THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE FREE CIRCULATION OF MEMBERS OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS BETWEEN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC MUST BE STOPPED. MANSERGH ALSO DESCRIBED THE MEETING BETWEEN TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN AND BRITISH PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 16. THE PRIME MINISTER AND TAOISEACH HAVE AGREED TO FACILITATE A MEETING BETWEEN ULSTER UNIONIST LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE AND SNP LEADER GERRY ADAMS AS WELL AS TO TACKLE THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING. MANSERGH ENDED THE MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR BY ASKING THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT REFRAIN FROM FACILITATING ENTRY OF 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE AND REAL IRA MEMBERS INTO THE UNITED STATES. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) SEE ACTION REQUEST PARAGRAPH 12.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OMAGH BOMBING

3. (C) MANSERGH STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE AND THE REAL IRA WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMB THAT EXPLODED ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 15, 1998 KILLING 28 PEOPLE. HE SAYS THAT STATEMENTS ISSUED BY THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE DENYING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTACK ARE "A FORMALISTIC DISTINCTION" AND A "THEOLOGICAL DENIAL." HE SEES THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS AS SIMILAR TO THE LINK DRAWN BETWEEN #NN FEIN AND THE IRA, WITH THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE ACTING AS THE POLITICAL WING OF THE REAL IRA. THE BOMBING IN OMAGH FITS WITH A PATTERN OF ACTIONS ESTABLISHED IN THE PAST BY THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE AND THE REAL IRA, SUCH AS THE BOMBING IN BANBRIDGE. FURTHERMORE, MANSERGH SAID THAT NO FACTS OR EVIDENCE HAD EMERGED INDICATING THE CAPABILITY OF ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION.

4. (C) MANSERGH ALSO RELAYED THE IMPRESSION FROM IRISH INTELLIGENCE SOURCES THAT THE ORGANIZERS OF OMAGH MAY HAVE MADE A SEVERE MIS CALCULATION. HE BELIEVES THAT THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE IS SEEKING TO DESTROY THE STORMONT AGREEMENT BY PROVOKING A UNIONIST OR PROYALIST BACKLASH. IN ADDITION, THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO PULL THE IRA BACK FROM A CEASEFIRE BY "MAKING THINGS AS DIFFICULT AS THEY POSSIBLY CAN." HOWEVER, MANSERGH SAID THAT THE REASON WHY THE BOMBERS HAD PICKED OMAGH WAS BEYOND ANYONE'S UNDERSTANDING. MANSERGH HAD TALKED WITH BERNADETTE SANDS-MCKEVITT AND HE SAID THAT SHE HAD REPORTED THAT MANY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE WERE SHOCKED BY THE INCIDENT. MANSERGH ALSO SAID THAT REPORTS INDICATED THAT THE REAL IRA HAD NOT EXPECTED THE BOMB TO KILL SO MANY PEOPLE AND THAT INEXPERIENCE ON THE PART OF THOSE TRANSPORTING THE DEVICE MAY HAVE CAUSED THE ERROR. HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE WAS RELATIVELY ISOLATED FROM PUBLIC OPINION, EVEN IN ITS OWN TERMS, IT WOULD BE FORCED TO LOOK ON OMAGH AS A "DISASTER."

5. (C) MANSERGH STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND WILL SEEK TO PREVENT THE FREE CIRCULATION OF THOSE CAPABLE OF THE TYPE OF TERRORISM THAT OCCURRED IN OMAGH, SUCH AS MEMBERS OF THE REAL IRA AND CONTINUITY IRA. HE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS AN ARSENAL OF LEGISLATION AT ITS DISPOSAL TO EFFECT THIS RESULT AND INDICATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS SPECIFICALLY TARGETING THE LEADERS IN SUCH ORGANIZATIONS, NUMBERING BETWEEN 25 AND 30 PEOPLE IN TOTAL. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED IF THIS INCLUDED PEOPLE LIKE BERNADETTE SANDS-MCKEVITT. MANSERGH RESPONDED IN THE NEGATIVE INDICATING THAT HE THOUGHT MICHAEL MCKEVITT WOULD BE MORE OF A TARGET AS THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE SHOWING SANDS-MCKEVITT HAD ACTUALLY BEEN INVOLVED IN ORGANIZING TERROR CAMPAIGNS.

6. (C) MANSERGH SAID THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WISHED TO AVOID A POLICY OF INTERNMENT BECAUSE OF THE "POLITICAL BAGGAGE" THAT IT CARRIES, ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS WEIGHING ALL POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES. HE BELIEVES THAT PUBLIC OPINION WILL SUPPORT ANY MEASURES AIMED AT CRUSHING THE ORGANIZATIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBING. A POSSIBLE DETERMINATION AS TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. IN

(b)(3)

COMMENT  
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13. (S) COMMENT: WHILE APPALLED AT THE TRAGEDY IN OMAGH, MANSERGH SEEMED TO THINK THAT THE BOMBING COULD PROVIDE POLITICAL IMPETUS FOR THE PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO MAKE TRUE PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. HE MENTIONED THAT AFTER TALKS WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE INLA AND IRSP, BEFORE THE OMAGH BOMBING, THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVED THESE ORGANIZATIONS WERE MOVING TOWARD A CEASEFIRE. HE ALSO RELATED THAT THE UNIONISTS AND LOYALISTS WERE DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY SINN FEIN'S UNMITIGATED CONDEMNATION OF SATURDAY'S ATTACK. IF THE EFFORTS TO SECURE THE STATEMENT FROM SINN FEIN, INDICATED ABOVE, WERE SUCCESSFUL, MANSERGH BELIEVED THAT THIS WOULD BE SATISFACTORY FOR DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE UNIONISTS. SMITH

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 004265

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/17/08

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH DETAILS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PLANS IN THE WAKE OF THE OMAGH BOMBING

NOT JUST THE 26 IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

7. (S) MANSERGH TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE IRISH MINISTER FOR JUSTICE JOHN O'DONOGHUE IS TO MEET WITH NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM. IN ADDITION, THE GARDA COMMISSIONER PAT BYRNE WAS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH THE RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE RONNIE FLANAGAN TODAY. BASED UPON THE RESULTS OF THESE TWO MEETINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE MADE TO THE IRISH CABINET SCHEDULED TO MEET ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19. MANSERGH SAID THAT THE TAOISEACH WAS HOPING TO USE THE AUGUST 19 MEETING AS A TYPE OF DEADLINE TO ELICIT ANNOUNCEMENTS OF A CEASE-FIRE OR REJECTION OF FURTHER VIOLENCE BY THOSE GROUPS WHO STILL HAVE YET TO DO SO, SUCH AS THE INLA, THE CONTINUITY IRA AND THE IRSP.

A TWO-PRONGED PROCESS  
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8. (S) MANSERGH REPORTED THAT A TWO-PRONGED PROCESS HAD BEEN SET IN MOTION BY BOTH THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS DURING A MEETING BETWEEN BRITISH PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR AND IRISH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN ON AUGUST 16, 1998. LOOKING TO CAPITALIZE ON THE UNIVERSAL CONDEMNATIONS OF THE BOMBING BY THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, BLAIR AND AHERN HAVE DECIDED TO FACILITATE A MEETING ON THE PEACE AGREEMENT FOR ALL THE LEADERS OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THIS MEETING WOULD IDEALLY OCCUR SOMETIME DURING THE WEEK. MANSERGH SAID THAT PRIME MINISTER BLAIR HAD TALKED WITH BOTH ULSTER UNIONIST LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE AND SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS IN AN EFFORT TO FACILITATE A SECOND MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO. THIS MEETING WOULD BE THE FIRST PRONG OF A PROCESS AIMED AT CREATING FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE SECOND PRONG OF THE PLAN WILL INVOLVE THE FUTURE FORMATION OF THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

9. (S) THE KEY TO THE FIRST PRONG OF THE PLAN, AS MANSERGH REPORTED, WOULD BE A STATEMENT THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED SINN FEIN TO DRAFT. THIS STATEMENT WOULD BE ISSUED IF A MEETING BETWEEN TRIMBLE AND ADAMS DID OCCUR AND WOULD BE AKIN TO DECLARING THAT "THE WAR IS OVER," AND THAT FUTURE VIOLENCE WOULD BE RULED OUT. HOWEVER, MANSERGH WAS QUICK TO POINT OUT THAT SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD OBVIOUSLY INVOLVE VERY DIFFERENT LANGUAGE.

10. (X) MANSERGH ALSO INDICATED THAT THE SECOND PRONG OF THE PLAN WILL BE AIMED AT GETTING SINN FEIN TO DESIGNATE A SPECIFIC OFFICIAL TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING FOR THE CREATION OF THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT MARTIN MCGUINNESS MAY TAKE THAT ROLE MUCH AS BILLY HUTCHISON HAS DONE FOR THE UVF. MANSERGH NOTED THAT MCGUINNESS HAD ALREADY BEEN IN CONTACT WITH DECASTELLAN ON THE MATTER.

VISAS

11. (X) MANSERGH ENDED THE MEETING BY STATING THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT TO SEE MEMBERS OF THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE AND THE REAL IRA TRAVELLING TO THE UNITED STATES FOR FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES AND THE LIKE. HE ASKED THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT REFRAIN FROM GRANTING VISAS TO THE MEMBERS OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS, POINTING OUT THAT SINN FEIN MEMBERS WERE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES ONLY AFTER A CEASEFIRE WAS IN PLACE.

12. (X) ACTION REQUESTED--IN KEEPING WITH MARTIN MANSERGH'S REQUEST, POST ASKS THAT THE DEPARTMENT REVIEW THE STATUS OF THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE AND THE REAL IRA FOR POSSIBLE DETERMINATION AS TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. IN

(b)(3)

COMMENT

13. (X) COMMENT: WHILE APPALLED AT THE TRAGEDY IN OMAGH, MANSERGH SEEMED TO THINK THAT THE BOMBING COULD PROVIDE POLITICAL IMPETUS FOR THE PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO MAKE TRUE PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. HE MENTIONED THAT AFTER TALKS WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE INLA AND IRSP, BEFORE THE OMAGH BOMBING, THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVED THESE ORGANIZATIONS WERE MOVING TOWARD A CEASEFIRE. HE ALSO RELATED THAT THE UNIONISTS AND LOYALISTS WERE DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY SINN FEIN'S UNMITIGATED CONDEMNATION OF SATURDAY'S ATTACK. IF THE EFFORTS TO SECURE THE STATEMENT FROM SINN FEIN, INDICATED ABOVE, WERE SUCCESSFUL, MANSERGH BELIEVED THAT THIS WOULD BE SATISFACTORY FOR DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE UNIONISTS. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02  
SSN: 4265  
<^SSN>4265  
TOR: 980817134733 M3424725  
<^TOR>980817132940 M3424708

DIST: SIT: BANDLER BUTLER SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT(C2)  
STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA4310 2311625-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 191625Z AUG 98  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 191625Z AUG 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3866  
 INFO: ~~////~~  
 SUBJ: RECOMMENDATION THAT THE PRESIDENT GO TO OMAGH

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.10)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH; REASON 1.5

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 004310

NODIS

PERSONAL FOR NSC BERGER FROM THE AMBASSADOR

STATE FOR EUR/UBI

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/19/08

TAGS: PREL

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATION THAT THE PRESIDENT GO TO OMAGH

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH; REASON 1.5  
 (D)

1. ~~(S)~~ SANDY: I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO LET YOU KNOW HOW IMPORTANT I PERSONALLY FEEL IT IS THAT THE PRESIDENT VISIT OMAGH DURING HIS UPCOMING VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND. IN FACT, I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE THING HE COULD DO DURING HIS VISIT TO THIS ISLAND. THE IMPACT OF THE HORRIFIC BOMBING LAST SATURDAY HAS LEFT NO ONE IN IRELAND, NORTH OR SOUTH, UNAFFECTED. THEIR DEEP SORROW AND REVULSION OVER THIS ACT IS ALMOST MATCHED BY THEIR CONCERN AS TO WHAT THIS MIGHT MEAN FOR THE PEACE PROCESS ON WHICH WE ALL PIN SO MUCH HOPE. WE ARE AGAIN AT A PIVOTAL MOMENT IN IRELAND, AND AGAIN THE U.S. AND THE PRESIDENT CAN PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE. THE UNITED STATES' CLEAR MESSAGE IN BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH IS THAT IRELAND MUST TURN AWAY FROM VIOLENCE FINALLY AND COMPLETELY AND MOVE TO EMBRACE PEACE AND RECONCILIATION THROUGH THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THERE IS NO MORE RESPECTED OR POWERFUL CARRIER OF THAT MESSAGE HERE THAN THE PRESIDENT AND A NO MORE POWERFUL PLACE TO DELIVER IT THAN IN OMAGH.

2. ~~(S)~~ I UNDERSTAND THE POTENTIAL LOGISTICAL DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING THE PRESIDENT TO OMAGH GIVEN HIS TIGHT SCHEDULE. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THOSE CONCERNS ARE FAR OUTWEIGHED BY THE EMOTIONAL AND REAL IMPACT OF THE PRESIDENT GOING TO OMAGH, NOT ONLY TO OFFER HIS SYMPATHIES TO THE VICTIMS A EIR FAMILIES, BUT TO MAKE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

A CLARION CALL TO ENSURE THAT THEIR LEGACY IS A  
RECOMMITMENT TO THE PEAC&PROCESS AND A PLEDGE BY ALL  
FACTIONS THAT THERE WILL BE NO MORE OMAGH'S.

SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4310

TOR: 980819140247 M3428321

DIST:

SIT: SUM2

PRT: BERGER KERRICK STEINBERG

SIT: NODIS

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA4312 2311703-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
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 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 191703Z AUG 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3868  
 RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0442  
 RUEAWJA/DEPT OF JUSTICE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
 SUBJ: IRELAND ANNOUNCES NEW SECURITY MEASURES AS REAL  
 IRA CEASEFIRE ANNOUCEMENT GREETED WITH SCEPTICISM

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1-11)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 004312

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
 STATE FOR EUR/UBI AND S/CT  
 LONDON PLEASE PASS TO BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/19/08  
 TAGS : PREL PTER, SHUM, UK, E I  
 SUBJECT: IRELAND ANNOUNCES NEW SECURITY MEASURES AS REAL  
 IRA CEASEFIRE ANNOUCEMENT GREETED WITH SCEPTICISM

REF: DUBLIN 4282

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

## SUMMARY

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: THE GOI ANNOUCED AUGUST 19 STRONG NEW SECURITY MEASURES AGAINST REPUBLICAN DISSIDENT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE AUGUST 15 BOMBING IN OMAGH, NORTHERN IRELAND. THE MEASURES STOPPED SHORT OF REINTRODUCING INTERNMENT IN LIGHT OF CIVIL LIBERTIES CONCERNS. PRIME MINISTER AHERN IS PRESSURING THOSE REPUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE NOT RENOUNCED VIOLENCE TO DO SO IMMEDIATELY, AND THERE IS SOME EXPECTATION THAT THE INLA MAY DO SO SOON. THE GOI'S GOAL IS TO ISOLATE THE PERPETRATORS OF THE OMAGH BOMBING, THE REAL IRA AND ITS POLITICAL ARM, THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE, AND NEUTRALIZE THEM. THE REAL IRA'S ANNOUCEMENT OF A TEMPORARY CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN DISCOUNTED BY AHERN AND OTHERS AS A CYNICAL PLOY THAT "CHANGES NOTHING" AND OFFERS NO COMMITMENT TO END MILITARY ACTIVITIES. END SUMMARY.

## NEW SECURITY MEASURES

2. (U) AS IRISH PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE ATTENDED THE

FUNERAL OF THREE YOUNG BOYS FROM BUNCRANA, COUNTY DONEGAL KILLED IN THE AUG. 15 OMAGH BOMBING, THE GOI ANNOUNCED A RANGE OF NEW SECURITY MEASURES TO DEAL WITH REMAINING REPUBLICAN DISSIDENT GROUPS. MEETING IN AN ALL-DAY EMERGENCY CABINET SESSION, THE GOVERNMENT AGREED TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THE FOLLOWING MEASURES (MOST OF WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE ENACTED BY THE IRISH PARLIAMENT (DAIL) WHICH WILL BE CALLED INTO SPECIAL SESSION WITHIN TWO WEEKS):

-- ALLOW PREJUDICIAL INFERENCES TO BE DRAWN FROM THE FAILURE OF THE ACCUSED TO ANSWER RELEVANT QUESTIONS IF SUCH INFERENCES CORROBORATE OTHER EVIDENCE INDICATING THAT THE ACCUSED IS A MEMBER OF AN UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATION. (DAIL APPROVAL REQUIRED).

-- EXTEND THE MAXIMUM PERIOD OF DETENTION UNDER THE OFFENSES AGAINST THE STATE ACT FROM 48 TO 72 HOURS WITH THE AUTHORIZATION OF A DISTRICT JUDGE. (DAIL APPROVAL REQUIRED.)

-- RESTRICT THE RIGHT TO SILENCE (RIGHT AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION) FOR PERSONS CHARGED WITH OFFENSES UNDER THE "OFFENSES AGAINST THE STATE ACT" OR ANY OFFENSE CARRYING A MAXIMUM PERIOD OF IMPRISONMENT OF AT LEAST FIVE YEARS. THIS WOULD ALLOW THE COURT TO DRAW INFERENCES WHEN THE ACCUSED FAILED TO MENTION PARTICULAR FACTS TO THE POLICE DURING QUESTIONING OR ON BEING CHARGED, WHICH HE/SHE SUBSEQUENTLY RELIES ON IN THEIR DEFENSE. (DAIL APPROVAL REQUIRED.)

-- ESTABLISH FOUR NEW OFFENSES UNDER THE "OFFENSES AGAINST THE STATE ACT" (DAIL APPROVAL REQUIRED):"

--DIRECTING AN UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATION AT ANY LEVEL (MINIMUM SENTENCE 10 YEARS)

--POSSESSION OF ITEMS CONNECTED WITH SPECIFIC FIREARMS OR EXPLOSIVE OFFENSES.

--WITHHOLDING INFORMATION CONCERNING AN OFFENSE UNDER THE "OFFENSE AGAINST THE STATE ACT" (TERRORIST ACTS).

--UNLAWFULLY COLLECTING INFORMATION ON KE POLICE (E.G. POLICE VEHICLE REGISTRATION NUMBERS).

--TRAINING PERSONS IN THE MAKING OR USE OF EXPLOSIVES OR FIREARMS.

-- THE AMENDING LEGISLATION WOULD ALSO ALLOW FOR THE CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY, INCLUDING LAND, USED FOR THE COMMISSION OR FACILITATION OF ANY TERRORIST OFFENSE.

-- LIMIT THE RIGHT TO BAIL FOR THOSE CHARGED WITH TERRORIST OFFENSES (WILL BE IMMEDIATELY IMPLEMENTED BY ORDER OF THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE).

3. (U) IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN HAS ALSO CALLED ON ALL REPUBLICAN GROUPS THAT CONTINUE TO PARTICIPATE IN OR SUPPORT VIOLENCE TO ANNOUNCE CEASEFIRES WITHIN 24-HOURS OR "WE WILL INTENSIFY EVERY SINGLE EFFORT THAT I CAN PHYSICALLY AND POSSIBLY DO, LEGISLATIVELY AND WITH

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 004312

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
STATE FOR EUR/UBI AND S/CT  
LONDON PLEASE PASS TO BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/19/08  
TAGS : PRE8 PTER, SHUM, UK, E I  
SUBJECT: IRELAND ANNOUNCES NEW SECURITY MEASURES AS REAL  
IRA CEASEFIRE ANNOUNCEMENT GREETED WITH SCEPTICISM

REF: DUBLIN 4282

SECURITY FORCES, TO BREAK THESE ORGANIZATIONS." THERE ARE SIGNALS THAT THE IRISH NATIONAL LIBERTARIAN ARMY (INLA) WILL ANNOUNCE A CEASEFIRE BY THE WEEKEND. PM AHERN IS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH NORTHERN IRELAND FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE IN DUBLIN TONIGHT TO DISCUSS THE NEW MEASURES AND COOPERATIVE SECURITY STEPS. THE GOI HAS ALREADY TAKEN ACTION TO BEEF UP ITS SECURITY PRESENCE IN THE BORDER REGION BY MOVING MOST OF THE GARDA'S (NATIONAL POLICE) UNDERCOVER AND SPECIALIST UNITS INTO THE DUNDALK AND COUNTY MONAGAHAN AREAS TO ASSIST IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE OMAGH BOMBING.

4. (U) SEVERAL SOURCES, INCLUDING ACTING DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS POLITICAL DIRECTOR, CONOR MURPHY, HAVE TOLD US THAT INTERNMENT WAS BEING RULED OUT AT THIS TIME. MURPHY CITED THE LIKELY PROTESTS OF CIVIL LIBERTARIAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS IF INTERNMENT WERE TO BE REINTRODUCED AND THE FACT THAT IRELAND ALREADY HAS AMONG THE MOST DRACONIAN SPECIAL POWERS AGAINST TERRORISM IN EUROPE UNDER EXISTING LEGISLATION. IN FACT, DEPUTY GARDA COMMISSIONER NOEL CONROY TOLD DCM AUGUST 18 THAT INTRODUCTION OF NEW SECURITY MEASURES WILL BE MUCH MORE LEGALLY DIFFICULT FOR THE UK THAN FOR IRELAND.

5. (U) REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF THE CIVIL LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITIES, MICHAEL FARRELL, PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES (ICCL), EXPRESSED CONCERN TO DCM AUG. 19 THAT INTERNMENT WOULD LEAD TO A "BACKLASH" THAT CLEARLY SHOULD BE AVOIDED. FARRELL SAID THAT EMERGENCY LAWS EXISTED, DATING BACK TO 1939 AND 1976, AND THERE WAS NO NEED TO ENACT NEW LAWS. FARRELL EXPLAINED THAT A MINISTERIAL DECISION WAS SUFFICIENT TO PUT SOME MEASURES INTO EFFECT. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT PROLONGED DETENTION WOULD REQUIRE THE DAIL'S APPROVAL. THE CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMUNITY WOULD ACCEPT HEIGHTENED SURVEILLANCE BY THE GARDA, BUT WOULD REJECT ROUNDUPS THAT WERE NOT SUPPORTED BY CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE. IT WAS NATURAL THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN OUTCRY FOLLOWING THE CARNAGE BUT A MODICUM OF REASON SHOULD PREVAIL, FARRELL CAUTIONED. (FYI -- THE ICCL IS CLOSELY LINKED TO THE COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHOSE DIRECTOR IS MARTIN O'BRIEN.)

REAL IRCEASEFIRE DISCOUNTED  
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6. (U) THE REAL IRA'S TEMPORARY "SUSPENSION" OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES WHILE IT CONSULTS INTERNALLY, ANNOUNCED EARLY AUGUST 19, HAS BEEN GREETED WITH INTENSE GOI SUSPICION AND SKEPTICISM, AS HAS REAL IRA MASTERMIND MICKEY MCKEVITT'S DENIAL OF RESPONSIBILITY IN THE OMAGH BOMBING MADE THROUGH HIS PARISH PRIEST. PM AHERN HAS SAID THE REAL IRA'S ANNOUNCEMENT "DOESN'T CHANGE ANYTHING, THERE IS NO COMMITMENT." GOI SOURCES HAVE ALSO STRESSED THAT THE PERPETRATORS OF THE OMAGH ATROCITY COULD GAIN NO BENEFIT FROM THE PRISONER RELEASE PROVISIONS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT BY ANNOUNCING A CEASEFIRE NOW.

7. (U) THE REAL IRA'S APOLOGY TO VICTIMS OF THE OMAGH BOMBING (AND EFFORT TO BLAME NORTHERN IRELAND AUTHORITIES FOR MISUNDERSTANDING ITS WARNING PHONE CALLS ON THE BOMB'S LOCATION), HAS ONLY SERVED TO BUILD FURTHER PUBLIC OUTRAGE IN THE REPUBLIC. A GOI SPOKESMAN LABELED IT "COLD COMFORT FOR THE BEREAVED AND INJURED." OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE JOINED THE GOVERNMENT IN CALLING THE REAL IRA APOLOGY A "CYNICAL AND OUTRAGEOUS INSULT."

COMMENT  
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8. (U) THE NEW SECURITY MEASURES WILL BE GREETED WITH VIRTUALLY UNIVERSAL APPROVAL IN IRELAND IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE OMAGH BOMBING. NONYTHELESS, AS PASSIONS COOL, THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFUL TO BALANCE AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST TERRORISM WITH PROTECTION OF BASIC CIVIL LIBERTIES OR IT COULD FACE BOTH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM. CLEARLY, PRIME MINISTER AHERN'S GOAL IS TO PRESSURE THE INLA AND CONTINUING IRA (THE OTHER TWO REPUBLICAN SPLINTER GROUPS WHO HAVE NOT RENOUNCED VIOLENCE) TO ANNOUNCE EARLY CEASEFIRES AND THEREBY ISOLATE THE REAL IRA, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL ARM, THE 32 COUNTY SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE, AND MOVE AGAINST ITS RELATIVELY SMALL MEMBERSHIP (PROBABLY NOT MORE THAN 100 ACTIVIST) QUICKLY. END COMMENT.

SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4312  
<^SSN>4312

TOR: 980819135718 M3428302  
<^TOR>980819135922 M3428307

DIST:  
SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDFOWNEY SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT{C2}  
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SIT: SUM2  
PRT: STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA8469 2330911-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 210911Z AUG 98  
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 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 210911Z AUG 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8687  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0510  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0598  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND  
 DECOMMISSIONING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.12)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 008469

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

PLEASE PASS TO OFFICE OF SPEAKER NGRICH

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/21/08

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND  
 DECOMMISSIONING

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D).

2. (S) SUMMARY: DIFFICULTIES FORMING THE NEW ASSEMBLY'S  
 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COULD WELL LEAD TO NORTHERN IRELAND'S  
 NEXT POLITICAL CRISIS. UNLESS AND UNTIL SINN FEIN OFFERS  
 TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT THE IRA RECOGNIZES "THE WAR IS  
 OVER," UNIONISTS ARE UNWILLING TO SIT IN A GOVERNMENT  
 ALONGSIDE SINN FEIN MINISTERS. AT THE SAME TIME, SINN  
 FEIN'S ELECTORAL MANDATE ENTITLES IT TO MINISTERIAL  
 POSITIONS AND GERRY ADAMS IS UNWILLING TO BARGAIN OVER THE  
 RIGHT TO SIT IN THE EXECUTIVE. BREAKING THIS IMPASSE WILL  
 REQUIRE SINN FEIN'S ASSURANCE THAT THE IRA WILL BEGIN A  
 PROCESS OF DECOMMISSIONING COUPLED WITH UNIONIST WILLINGNESS  
 TO DEAL FACE-TO-FACE WITH SINN FEIN. WE WILL PROVIDE BY  
 SEPTEL FURTHER THOUGHTS ON HOW THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT MIGHT  
 BE USED TO FACILITATE A DEAL. END SUMMARY

NOTIONAL TIMETABLE  
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3. (S) IF EVENTS RUN TO SCHEDULE THIS FALL, AT THE TIME THE  
 SHADOW ASSEMBLY RECONVENES ON SEPTEMBER 14, UUP FIRST  
 MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE AND SDLP DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER  
 SEAMUS MALLON WILL HAVE IDENTIFIED THE OTHER 10 MINISTERIAL  
 POSITIONS WHICH COMPRISE THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. PARTIES  
 QUALIFIED BY THEIR ELECTORAL VOTE -- UUP, SDLP, DUP, AND  
 SINN FEIN -- THEN WOULD CHOOSE THEIR MINISTERIAL POSITIONS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ACCORDING TO THE D'HONDT METHOD, A COMPLICATED SYSTEM ESTABLISHING ORDER OF PRECEDENCE BASED ON PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTH. MINISTERS BY OCTOBER 31 WOULD THEN DEFINE AT LEAST 12 AREAS AS THE SUBJECT OF CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND IMPLEMENTATION. FINALLY, THE NECESSARY IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION IS LIKELY TO CLEAR THE HOUSE OF LORDS BY NOVEMBER, PERMITTING ACTUAL POWER TO BE DEVOLVED FROM WESTMINSTER TO THE NEW ASSEMBLY AROUND FEBRUARY 1999.

4. (S) HOWEVER, POLITICAL EVENTS SELDOM RUN TO SCHEDULE IN ULSTER AND THIS FALL IS UNLIKELY TO BE AN EXCEPTION. POLITICIANS AS DIFFERENT AS SEAMUS MALLON, KEN MCGINNIS AND MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN HAVE TOLD BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL THAT THE WRANGLING OVER THE EXECUTIVE IS LIKELY TO BE PROLONGED WELL BEYOND MID-SEPTEMBER. THE IMPASSE, IF NOT RESOLVED, COULD BECOME THE NEXT POLITICAL CRISIS.

IS THE WAR OVER?  
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5. (S) THE MAIN BODY OF UNIONIST OPINION SIMPLY DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE IRA HAS GENUINELY COMMITTED ITSELF TO EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC METHODS. THEY POINT SPECIFICALLY TO SINN FEIN'S FAILURE TO PROMOTE IRA DECOMMISSIONING. UNIONISTS ACROSS THE BOARD, THEREFORE, ARE UNWILLING TO SIT IN AN EXECUTIVE IN WHICH SINN FEIN HOLDS MINISTERIAL POSITIONS. REFLECTING WIDELY HELD UNIONIST OPINION, UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBER REG EMPEY RECENTLY COMPLAINED TO SPEAKER GINGRICH THAT WHILE THE GOVERNMENTS GO AHEAD WITH THEIR UNPOPULAR COMMITMENT TO RELEASE PARAMILITARY PRISONERS, THE IRA HAS "NOT LIFTED ONE FINGER TO IMPLEMENT THE COMMITMENT SINN FEIN UNDERTOOK REGARDING WEAPONS." IF SINN FEIN IS COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS, UNIONISTS ASK, WHY DOES THE IRA HOLD ON TO ITS ARSENAL? SOME CALL FOR A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM REPUBLICAN LEADERS THAT "THE WAR IS OVER."

6. (S) IN THE RELEVANT SECTION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, ALL PARTICIPANTS REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT "TO THE TOTAL DISARMAMENT OF ALL PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS." THEY ALSO PLEDGED "TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY AND IN GOOD FAITH WITH THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION, AND TO USE ANY INFLUENCE THEY MAY HAVE, TO ACHIEVE THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ALL PARAMILITARY ARMS WITHIN TWO YEARS" AFTER THE REFERENDUM. BOTH UNIONIST AND SDLP LEADERS, INCLUDING SEAMUS MALLON, HAVE TOLD US SINN FEIN HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH ON THIS SCORE.

7. (S) IN THEIR VIEW, THE AGREEMENT COMMITS PARTIES TO A PROCESS WHICH LEADS TO TOTAL DECOMMISSIONING WITHIN TWO YEARS. IT IS THIS PROCESS ELEMENT WHICH IS KEY TO BUILDING CONFIDENCE. SDLP ASSEMBLY MEMBER SEAN FERRAN TOLD US HIS PARTY RECOGNIZES THAT DECOMMISSIONING CANNOT SIMPLY BE "FROZEN" UNTIL MAY 21, 2000. HE SAID THAT EVEN THOUGH THERE IS NOT A DIRECT LINKAGE, ALL PARTS OF THE AGREEMENT MUST GO FORWARD MORE-OR-LESS TOGETHER OR THE NECESSARY "SYNERGY" IS LOST AND THE AGREEMENT WILL NOT LAST THE TWO YEARS.

8. (S) THE IRA CEASE-FIRE, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGED AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, IS SEEN BY A MAJORITY OF UNIONISTS

MERELY AS A TACTICAL DECISION WHICH COULD BE REVERSED AT ANY TIME. THEY POINT TO CONTINUING PUNISHMENT BEATINGS AND MURDERS SANCTIONED AT SOME LEVEL BY THE IRA, AS WELL AS ALLEGED IRA COOPERATION WITH, OR AT LEAST TACIT ACCEPTANCE

OF, THE ONGOING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES OF REPUBLICAN SPLINTER GROUPS. EVEN THOUGH THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE TERRIBLE ATTACK IN OMAGH WAS THE WORK OF A BREAKAWAY GROUP, THAT TRAGEDY HAS HEIGHTENED UNIONIST SENSITIVITIES ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING. (MAINSTREAM UNIONISTS ALSO CRITICIZE THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES FOR CONTINUING VIOLENCE BUT, AS THEIR ELECTORAL MANDATE DOES NOT ENTITLE THE PUP OR UDP TO A MINISTERIAL POSITION, BREACHES BY LOYALISTS PARAMILITARIES HAVE RELATIVELY LESS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THIS STAGE.)

9. (X) UNIONIST INSECURITY IS EXACERBATED BY THE STEADY STREAM OF SENSATIONALIST PRESS REPORTS ON NEW PRISONER RELEASES, RUC REFORM, REVIEW OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM AND OTHER ISSUES WHICH FEED THEIR PERCEPTION THAT THEY HAVE COMPROMISED CHERISHED PRINCIPLES WITHOUT RECEIVING ANYTHING IN RETURN. (TYPICALLY, BOTH SIDES TEND TO UNDERVALUE THE COMPROMISES MADE BY THE OTHER.) IN THE VIEW OF MANY UNIONISTS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN IN TO TERRORISM: GERRY ADAMS WILL BE A GOVERNMENT MINISTER EVEN WHILE THE IRA RETAINS ITS ARMALITES AND SEMTEX.

10. (X) SINN FEIN COUNTERS BY DOWNPLAYING THE IMPORTANCE OF DECOMMISSIONING. IT NOTES THE IRA CEASE-FIRE REMAINS INTACT, POINTS TO THE BRITISH SECURITY FORCES STILL ON STATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND ARGUES THE SALIENT FACT IS THAT IRA GUNS ARE SILENT. PUBLICLY, ADAMS INSISTS REPUBLICANS ARE UNDER NO OBLIGATION DECLARE "THE WAR IS OVER" OR USE ANY OTHER SPECIFIC WORDS TO REASSURE UNIONISTS. SINN FEIN VICE PRESIDENT PAT DOHERTY FLATLY TOLD SPEAKER GINGRICH THERE WOULD BE NO IRA DECOMMISSIONING. PRIVATELY, MARTIN MCGUINNESS HINTED TO THE CONSUL GENERAL THAT THERE COULD BE SCOPE FOR SOME MEASURES BUT ONLY LATER, AFTER ADDITIONAL DIALOGUE WITH UNIONIST LEADERS. SINN FEIN IDENTIFIES TRIMBLE'S REFUSAL TO MEET WITH REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP AS THE KEY OBSTACLE.

TRIMBLE'S DILEMMA  
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11. (X) TRIMBLE SHOWED GREAT PERSONAL AND POLITICAL COURAGE IN NEGOTIATING THE AGREEMENT AND SUPPORTING THE REFERENDUM DESPITE THE DEEP HOSTILITY HE ENCOUNTERED FROM WITHIN HIS OWN CAMP. HAVING GONE THAT FAR AND GAINED THE FIRST MINISTERSHIP, WE SEE NO EVIDENCE THAT HE NOW WOULD WISH TO LET THIS ACHIEVEMENT FAIL AND SEE HIS POLITICAL CAREER END IN IGNOMY. YET, AS THINGS PRESENTLY STAND, TRIMBLE PROBABLY BELIEVES HE HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO DELAY CREATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND CROSS-BORDER INSTITUTIONS. HE RISKS LOSING SUPPORT OF HIS OWN CONSTITUENTS OTHERWISE.

12. (X) WITH THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY DEEPLY DIVIDED, TRIMBLE IS BITTERLY OPPOSED BY THE "NO" UNIONISTS AND EVEN WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY HIS MARGIN OF SUPPORT IS RAZOR THIN. TRIMBLE'S UUP HAS 28 OF THE 59 SEATS CONTROLLED BY UNIONISTS IN THE NEW ASSEMBLY; PAISLEY, MCCARTNEY AND INDEPENDENT "NO'S" COMBINED HAVE 26 SEATS; THE REMAINING TWO BELONG TO DAVID ERVINE AND BILLY HUTCHINSON OF THE PUP. ALTHOUGH TRIMBLE NOMINALLY CONTROLS 50% OF THE UNIONIST VOTE IN THE ASSMBLY, FOUR UUP MEMBERS ACTUALLY RAN A "NO" CAMPAIGN AND SEVERAL OTHERS ARE DEEPLY SKEPTICAL OF THE AGREEMENT.

13. (X) UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, TRIMBLE COULD NOT SURVIVE POLITICALLY IF HE WERE TO AGREE TO ENTER A GOVERNMENT WITH

SINN FEIN IN THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE PRIOR TO SINN FEIN HAVING TAKEN MEANINGFUL MOVES ON DECOMMISSIONING. A COALITION OF UNIONISTS CENTERED ON JEFFREY DONALDSON, PETER ROBINSON AND BOB MCCARTNEY WOULD EMERGE TO UNSEAT THE FIRST MINISTER. AS TRIMBLE CANNOT BLOCK SINN FEIN FROM TAKING THE MINISTERIAL POSITIONS TO WHICH ITS ELECTORAL MANDATE ENTITLES IT, HE COULD ONLY REFUSE TO ENTER THE GOVERNMENT -- AN ACT WHICH LIKELY WOULD CAUSE THE ASSEMBLY TO COLLAPSE. UUP SECURITY SPOKESMAN KEN MCGINNIS AUGUST 18 CONFIRMED TO US THAT, FACED WITH THIS UNPALATABLE CHOICE, TRIMBLE'S LIKELY STRATEGY WILL BE TO STALL BY DECLINING TO DEFINE MINISTERIAL POSITIONS AND USING OTHER PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS. (MCGINNIS ALSO HINTED THAT, WERE TRIMBLE TO SEE SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING BY SINN FEIN, HE WOULD AGREE TO WORK WITH ADAMS IN THE EXECUTIVE.) IF TRIMBLE STALLS FOR TOO LONG, FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT THOSE PROVISIONS OF AGREEMENT WILL UNDERMINE THE STABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

ADAMS' DIFFICULTY  
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14. (C) TRIMBLE THEREFORE NEEDS ADAMS TO PROVIDE SOME COVER FOR HIM TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS. BUT ADAMS HAS HIS OWN PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL MANAGEMENT AND HE WARNED CONSUL GENERAL AUGUST 11 THAT HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SAY "THE WAR IS OVER," EVEN IF THE WHITE HOUSE ASKS HIM. ADAMS TOO SHOWED GREAT POLITICAL SKILL AND COURAGE IN PERSUADING THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT TO WORK WITHIN THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL ENTITY. HAVING BROKEN THAT STONE TABLET OF REPUBLICAN IDEOLOGY, HOWEVER, HE MUST CONTINUE TO REMIND REPUBLICANS THAT SINN FEIN DOES NOT VIEW THE AGREEMENT AS A FINAL SETTLEMENT BUT MERELY A TRANSITIONAL PHASE EN ROUTE TO A UNITED IRELAND. ADAMS ALSO MUST DELIVER ON THE SERIES OF EQUALITY AND JUSTICE ISSUES, WHICH HE PROMISED HIS SUPPORTERS. WHILE THE POLICE REVIEW AND OTHER MEASURES HAVE BEEN INITIATED, THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO YIELD ANY SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS FOR A YEAR OR MORE.

15. (C) MOREOVER, IN ADDITION TO APPEALING TO HIS ELECTORAL BASE, HE AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS HAVE THE DIFFICULT TASK OF PERSUADING THE IRA TO SUPPORT HIS POLITICAL INITIATIVES. THAT ORGANIZATION IS KNOWN TO BE DIVIDED OVER THIS STRATEGY. IN THE ABSENCE OF AN ARMY CONVENTION, THE OUTCOME OF WHICH WOULD BE UNCERTAIN, THE IRA SIMPLY WILL NOT PERMIT ITS WEAPONS TO BE DECOMMISSIONED OR DECLARE THE WAR IS OVER. ELIMINATING IRA WEAPONS WHILE BRITISH FORCES REMAIN ON STATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE VIEWED BY A SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT IN THE IRA AS SURRENDER, AND THEREFORE AS UNACCEPTABLE.

16. (C) TRIMBLE'S REFUSAL TO MEET SINN FEIN DOES CREATE A PROBLEM FOR ADAMS. LAST WEEK ADAMS IMPLIED TO US THAT A MEETING COULD BE THE KEY TO WORKING SOMETHING OUT OVER TIME. BUT HE INSISTS THAT SINN FEIN MUST TAKE ITS SEATS ON THE EXECUTIVE BY RIGHT, NOT AS THE RESULT OF SOME CONCESSION TO TRIMBLE.

COMMENT: SEEKING A WAY FORWARD  
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17. (C) TRIMBLE WILL NOT MEET ADAMS OR SIT IN THE EXECUTIVE WITH HIM UNLESS SINN FEIN BEGINS TO ENGAGE IN THE PROCESS OF DECOMMISSIONING. ADAMS WILL NOT ENGAGE UNLESS

HE HAS DIRECT CONTACT WITH TRIMBLE. THE SOLUTION IS APPARENT; IT IS THE CHOREOGRAPHY OF A DEAL THAT IS DIFFICULT. THE AWFUL TRAGEDY AT OMAGH COMPLICATES THE POLITICAL INTERPLAY BETWEEN TRIMBLE AND ADAMS BY INCREASING SENSITIVITIES OVER WEAPONS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT MAY OFFER THEM SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER BY STRENGTHENING THE RESOLVE OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE THAT THIS AGREEMENT MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO FAIL. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY, MOST LEADERS HAVE SHOWN GREAT RESTRAINT AND CIRCUMSPECTION WHEN DISCUSSING THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE OMAGH TRAGEDY.

18. (S) ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE FOR ADAMS TO OFFER A PERSONAL ASSESSMENT ALONG THE LINES THAT "THE POLITICAL SITUATION ON THIS ISLAND HAS REACHED THE STAGE WHERE ANY FURTHER USE OF VIOLENCE WOULD BE MORALLY WRONG." HE COULD AMPLIFY HIS STATEMENTS FOLLOWING THE OMAGH BOMBING TO REITERATE THAT "NOTHING JUSTIFIES ANY MORE TAKING OF LIFE, BE IT A CATHOLIC OR A PROTESTANT LIFE." THIS WOULD NOT REQUIRE ADAMS TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE IRA AND, AS IT ALSO COULD BE TAKEN AS A MESSAGE TO LOYALISTS, WOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A MESSAGE OF SURRENDER BY HARDLINE REPUBLICANS. PUP LEADER DAVID ERVINE TOLD US AUGUST 18 THAT SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD CONSIDERABLY EASE UNIONIST DISCOMFORT. HE SAID WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE A STATEMENT OF THIS SORT AND INTERPRET IT FOR HIS CONSTITUENCY TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR TRIMBLE.

19. (S) ANOTHER STEP SINN FEIN COULD TAKE WOULD BE TO APPOINT AN INTERLOCUTOR TO DEAL WITH THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION, IN THE SAME WAY THAT BILLY HUTCHINSON HAS BEEN NAMED AS INTERMEDIARY FOR THE PUP. AS MARTIN MCGUINNESS ALREADY HAS HAD QUIET DISCUSSIONS WITH GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN IN THE CONTEXT OF SINN FEIN'S SUBMISSIONS TO THE COMMISSION, THIS STEP MAY NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT. UDP LEADER GARY MCMICHAEL SUGGESTED TO US THAT THE IRA COULD BUILD CONFIDENCE BY SUBSCRIBING TO A "NO FIRST USE" DOCTRINE, AS THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES ALREADY HAVE DONE. MANY OTHER OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE IRA WOULD HAVE DOCTRINAL DIFFICULTIES WITH DOING SO, HOWEVER.

20. (S) A FINAL CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURE WHICH THE IRA COULD INITIATE WOULD BE TO REVEAL THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE REMAINS OF DISAPPEARED PERSONS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN KILLED BY THE IRA. MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN HAS RENEWED HIS CALL FOR THIS TO HAPPEN, BUT SO FAR NOTHING HAS COME OF IT. SUCH A HUMANITARIAN GESTURE WOULD BE SEEN AS FURTHER INDICATION THAT THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS ENDED.

21. (S) IN RETURN, TRIMBLE MUST MEET ADAMS FACE TO FACE. WHILE TRIMBLE IS UNLIKELY TO GAIN THE CLEAR ASSURANCES HE WANTS, SOME MOVEMENT BY ADAMS COULD ALLOW HIM TO PROCEED WITH THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE. CITING ADAMS' REAVOWAL OF VIOLENCE AND APPOINTMENT OF A LIAISON WITH THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY, TRIMBLE WOULD BE ABLE TO POINT TO THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS. HE COULD SAY HE IS ENTERING THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE INTENT OF TESTING ADAMS' COMMITMENT. EVEN THIS WILL BE POLITICALLY DIFFICULT AND REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL COURAGE, BUT IT IS THE BULLET WHICH MUST BE BITTEN.

21. (S) WE WILL PROVIDE BY SEBEL THOUGHTS ON HOW THE U.S. CAN USE THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT CAN HELP WITH THE DELICATE CHOREOGRAPHY AND SERVE AS A CATALYST TO THIS PROCESS.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8469

TOR: 980821073239 M3431544

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 RUEAWJA/DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 SUBJ: IRISH OFFICIALS THINK OMAGH PROVIDES CRUCIAL TURNING  
 POINT, SAYING "THE TIME IS NOW."

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.13)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF02 DUBLIN 004370

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
 STATE FOR EUR/UBI AND S/CT

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/21/2008  
 TAGS: PREL, PTER, SHUM, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: IRISH OFFICIALS THINK OMAGH PROVIDES CRUCIAL TURNING  
 POINT, SAYING "THE TIME IS NOW."

REF: A) DUBLIN 4265 B) DUBLIN 4266 C) DUBLIN 4282 D) DUBLIN  
 4312 Ev\* DUBLI4311

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH; REASON 1.5 (B)  
 AND (D)

SUMMARY  
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1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. IN A READOUT OF THE AUGUST 19 MEETING BETWEEN  
 IRISH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN AND FIRST MINISTER OF THE  
 NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY DAVID TRIMBLE, FORMER IRISH  
 AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. AND CURRENT HEAD OF THE ANGLO-IRISH  
 DIVISION, DERMOT GALLAGHER, OUTLINED THE GOI'S ONGOING EFFORTS  
 TO KEEP THE PEACE PROCESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ON TRACK IN THE  
 WAKE OF THE AUGUST 15 OMAGH ATROCITY. GALLAGHER RELATED TO DCM  
 ON AUGUST 20 A TWO-PART EFFORT TO FACILITATE A MEETING BETWEEN  
 TRIMBLE AND SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS AND THE CREATION OF  
 THE NORTHERN IRELAND SHADOW EXECUTIVE. HIS DESCRIPTIONS  
 MATCHED THOSE RELAYED EARLIER TO THE AMBASSADOR BY THE  
 TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISER MARTIN MANSERG. (REF A)  
 GALLAGHER REFERRED TO THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO IRELAND,  
 POSITING ITS TIMELINESS TO SPUR THE PROCESS. DEPUTY GARDA  
 COMMISSIONER PETER FITZGERALD DESCRIBED THE STEPPED-U#EFFORTS  
 UNDERTAKEN BY THE GARDA IN RESPONSE TO THE MEASURES OUTLINED  
 IN THE CABINET MEETING ON AUGUST 19, AND ASSURED DCM OF THE  
 PRESIDENT'S SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

POLITICAL MEASURES  
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2. ~~(S)~~ GALLAGHER PROVIDED A READOUT ON THE TAOISEACH'S MEETING

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WITH NORTHERN IRELAND FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE IN DUBLIN AUGUST 19, IN WHICH AHERN DETAILED THE NEW SECURITY MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE GOI IN RESPONSE TO THE OMAGH BOMBING. GALLAGHER CLAIMED TRIMBLE WAS ESPECIALLY PLEASED WITH THE TAOISEACH'S DECISION TO RECALL THE DAIL IN TWO WEEKS (PRESS REPORTS INDICATE SEPTEMBER 2) TO CONSIDER THE MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE CABINET. HE REPORTED THAT TRIMBLE HAS BEEN TRYING TO CONVINCING PRIME MINISTER BLAIR TO DO THE SAME WITH THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, ALTHOUGH BLAIR IS RELUCTANT. ACCORDING TO GALLAGHER, AHERN AND TRIMBLE ENJOY WARMER RELATIONS THAN DOES TRIMBLE WITH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR. THIS WAS EVIDENT AS TRIMBLE STAYED ON "MUCH LONGER THAN ANTICIPATED."

3. (X) GALLAGHER EXPRESSED THE GOI'S STRONG BELIEF THAT FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS CAN BE ACHIEVED IN THE WAKE OF THE OMAGH BOMBING. HE BELIEVES THAT THE NORTHERN IRELAND SHADOW EXECUTIVE SHOULD BE CREATED QUICKLY--"ONCE SINN FEIN AND THE UNIONISTS GET INTO BED TOGETHER THE WHOLE THING IS OVER"--POINTING OUT THAT WORKING IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT WOULD RECONCILE THEM "THE WAY NOTHING ELSE CAN." GALLAGHER SEES TWO KEY STEPS IN ATTAINING THIS OBJECTIVE. FIRST, ULSTER UNIONIST LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE AND SINN FEIN LEADER, GERRY ADAMS, MUST SIT DOWN AND TALK SOON. SECOND, HE UNDERScoreD, THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE MUST HAVE ITS FIRST MEETING IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

4. (X) GALLAGHER DESCRIBED AN ONGOING EFFORT BY THE GOI TO BRING TRIMBLE AND ADAMS TO A BILATERAL MEETING. GALLAGHER NOTED THAT HE, HIMSELF, GERRY ADAMS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS HAD BEEN WORKING ON A DRAFT STATEMENT THAT SINN FEIN COULD USE EFFECTIVELY TO DECLARE "THE WAR IS OVER." THIS STATEMENT WOULD BE FINALIZED BY ADAMS AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND THEN PASSED TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR TRANSFERAL TO TRIMBLE, WHO IS EVIDENTLY ABREAST OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS. GALLAGHER THOUGHT THAT OMAGH HAD MADE SUCH A STATEMENT EASIER FOR ADAMS.

5. (X) GALLAGHER SAID BOTH TRIMBLE AND AHERN AGREED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE MEET FOR THE FIRST TIME, ESPECIALLY ON THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING. HE POINTED OUT THAT TRIMBLE WOULD LIKE SINN FEIN TO ACCEPT DECOMMISSIONING OR AT LEAST APPOINT SOMEONE TO COORDINATE ON THE ISSUE WITH GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN. GALLAGHER FEELS THAT CAREFUL CHOREOGRAPHY BY BOTH THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS MAY MAKE A MEETING OF THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE POSSIBLE.

SECURITY MEASURES AND PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT TO IRELAND  
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6. (X) REFERRING TO THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO IRELAND IN SEPTEMBER, GALLAGHER SAID IT WOULD BE TIMELY, POINTING OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT MIGHT CONSIDER CONTACTING TRIMBLE AND ADAMS TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE TIME WAS PROPITIOUS FOR SPEEDING UP THE PEACE PROCESS. GALLAGHER EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD PLAY A PIVOTAL ROLE IN URGING THE TWO TO MEET AND, THUS, NUDGING THE TWO SIDES INTO THE FINAL STEPS OF FORMING THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. GALLAGHER INDICATED THAT, IN HIS PERSONAL VIEW, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD AVOID GOING TO OMAGH. HE THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT'S PRESENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 004370

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
STATE FOR EUR/UBI AND S/CT

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/21/2008

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TAGS: PREL, PTER, SHUM, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: IRISH OFFICIALS THINK OMAGH PROVIDES CRUCIAL TURNING POINT, SAYING "THE TIME IS NOW."

REF: A) DUBLIN 4265 B) DUBLIN 4266 C) DUBLIN 4282 D) DUBLIN REPUBLIC WOULD BE SYMBOLIC ENOUGH. NEVERTHELESS, GALLAGHER CITED SEAMUS MALLON, THE DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER OF THE ASSEMBLY, AS AN EXCELLENT PERSON TO SOUND OUT ON THE MATTER.

7. (S) IN A MEETING AUGUST 20 WITH THE DCM, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER FOR ADMINISTRATION PETER FITZGERALD OF THE GARDAI ESTIMATED THE NUMBER OF REAL IRA MEMBERS AT 30 PRINCIPALS AND 60 TO 70 FRINGE MEMBERS. HE REPORTED THAT THE BOMBING IN OMAGH HAD MADE POSSIBLE THE RELEASE OF FUNDS FOR STEPPED UP GARDAI OPERATIONS ALONG THE BORDER WITH NORTHERN IRELAND. HE ALSO ENUMERATED SEVERAL NEWLY AUTHORIZED EXPENDITURES TO SUPPORT THIS EFFORT, SUCH AS 20 TO 40 NEW VEHICLES AND A HELICOPTER DOWNLINK FOR THE EMERGENCY RESPONSE UNIT (ERU), THE GARDA'S CHIEF ANTI-TERRORISM SQUAD. FITZGERALD WAS CONTENT WITH THE NEW AND STRONGER LEGAL MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE CABINET FOR APPROVAL BY THE DAIL. FOR EXAMPLE, FITZGERALD CITED THE PROPOSED EXTENSION OF TIME ALLOWED FOR DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE FROM 2 TO 4 DAYS UNDER THE OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE ACT. ARMED WITH THESE NEW MEASURES, FITZGERALD WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE GOI COULD THWART ANY FUTURE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN IRELAND, SAYING "AL! WILL BE WELL IN A MONTH." (FYI- FITZGERALD WAS THE IPTF CHIEF IN BOSNIA UNTIL 1996, AND HAS HAD EXTENSIVE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN OPERATIONS IN NAMIBIA, EL SALVADOR AND CAMBODIA. HE HAD WORKE ON THE OPERATIONAL SIDE OF THE GARDA BEFORE TAKING UP HIS ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES. THE OTHER DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, NOEL CONROY, IS IN CHARGE OF OPERATIONS.-END FYI)

8. (S) FITZGERALD WELCOMED THE PRESIDENT'S PLANS TO VISIT IRELAND, NOTING THAT THE SECURITY THREAT TO THE PRESIDENT WAS LIKELY TO BE "ZERO" EVEN IF HE DID GO TO OMAGH AND SOUTH ARMAGH. HOWEVER, FITZGERALD ADDED THAT THE LEVEL OF SECURITY AROUND THE PRESIDENT WOULD CERTAINLY BE HIGH.

COMMENT

9. (S) COMMENT. BOTH OFFICIALS CONVEYED THE SENSE THAT THE AFTERMATH OF THE OMAGH BOMBING PROVIDED AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD LASTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. GALLAGHER REPEATED THE PHRASE, "THE TIME IS NOW." HE SAID THE INSTITUTIONS PROPOSED IN THE STORMONT AGREEMENT HAD TO BE "UP AND RUNNING" SOON OR ALL PARTIES IN THE PEACE PROCESS WOULD RISK "STAGGERING FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS." GALLAGHER OBSERVED THAT ADAMS AND TRIMBLE NEEDED EACH OTHER. ADAMS RISKS TREMENDOUS PRESSURE IF NO MEETING WITH TRIMBLE MATERIALIZES. TRIMBLE'S POSITION WILL BE FIERCELY UNDERCUT IF HE CANNOT SOFTEN THE TRADITIONALLY MILITANT SINN FEIN LINE. GALLAGHER FEELS OMAGH HAS GIVEN THEM BOTH THE BREATHING ROOM NEEDED TO MOVE FORWARD. HE CITED JOHN HUME'S VIEW THAT THEY MUST "SHARE SWEAT RATHER THAN BLOOD."

SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
 <^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4370  
 <^SSN>4370

TOR: 980821122237 M3432148  
 <^TOR>980821122252 M3432149

DIST: SIT: BANDLER BUTLER SUM2

SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT(C2)

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 281028Z AUG 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3901  
 RUEHLO/4AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0456  
 INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
 SUBJ: AHERN AND BLAIR AGREE ON STEPS TO MOVE NORTHERN  
 IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FORWARD

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.14)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY ADCM EDWIN NOLAN; REASON 1.5 (B) AND (D).

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 004472

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

STATE FOR EUR/UBI AND S/CT

LONDON PLEASE PASS TO BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/28/08

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: AHERN AND BLAIR AGREE ON STEPS TO MOVE NORTHERN  
 IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FORWARD

CLASSIFIED BY ADCM EDWIN NOLAN; REASON 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: FOLLOWING THEIR MEETING IN IRELAND  
 AUGUST 26, IRISH PRIME MINISTER (TAOISEACH) AHERN AND UK  
 PM BLAIR HAVE AGREED TO STEP UP THEIR PRESSURE ON DAVID  
 TRIMBLE AND GERRY ADAMS RESPECTIVELY TO FIND AN  
 ACCOMMODATION THAT WILL ALLOW THE NORTHERN IRELAND  
 EXECUTIVE BODY TO BE FORMED. BOTH THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE  
 AND THE IRISH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS SEE A KEY  
 ROLE FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON IN THIS EFFORT BUT STRESS THAT  
 HIS PRECISE ROLE WILL HAVE TO BE DETERMINED CLOSER TO HIS  
 SEPTEMBER 3 VISIT TO THE NORTH. GOI SOURCES ALSO  
 CONFIRMED THE LIKELIHOOD OF A SPLIT IN THE "REAL IRA"  
 OVER THE QUESTION OF A PERMANENT CEASEFIRE. END SUMMARY.

BLAIR-ADAMS MEETING  
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2. ~~(S)~~ ACTING DCM SPOKE WITH SPECIAL ADVISOR TO IRISH  
 PRIME MINISTER AHERN, WALLY KIRWAN, AUGUST 27 CONCERNING  
 AHERN'S MEETING WITH UK PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AUGUST 26 AT  
 ASHFORD CASTLE IN WESTERN IRELAND. KIRWAN REPORTED THAT  
 THERE WAS BROAD AGREEMENT ON THE WAY AHEAD IN THE  
 NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. CAREFUL CHOREOGRAPHY  
 WOULD BE NEEDED TO BRING NORTHERN IRELAND FIRST MINISTER  
 TRIMBLE AND SINN FEIN LEADER ADAMS TOGETHER TO

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REENERGIZE THE PROCESS.

3. (S) KIRWAN DESCRIBED A "STEP BY STEP" PROCESS TO BRING THE PARTIES INTO A POSITION TO FORM A NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE BODY WHEN THE ASSEMBLY RECONVENES ON SEPTEMBER 14. FIRST, SINN FEIN WOULD MAKE A CAREFULLY WORDED STATEMENT WHICH UNIONISTS COULD INTERPRET AS EQUIVALENT TO SAYING "THE WAR IS OVER" (AS TRIMBLE HAS DEMANDED) BUT WOULD STOP SHORT OF ACTUALLY USING THOSE WORDS TO PROTECT ADAMS FROM HIS OWN CONSTITUENCY. SECOND, WOULD BE A MEETING OF LEADERS OF ALL THE NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES FOLLOWED BY A DIRECT TRIMBLE-ADAMS MEETING. NEXT SINN FEIN/IRA WOULD HAVE TO MAKE SOME MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS, POSSIBLY PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT MARTIN MCGUINNESS WOULD SERVE ON THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY SET UP BY THE BELFAST AGREEMENT. A DECISION ON DISTRIBUTION OF MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS, TO INCLUDE SINN FEIN, AND PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE "SHADOW" EXECUTIVE BODY WOULD COMPLETE THE "CHOREOGRAPHY." KIRWAN INDICATED THAT AHERN AND BLAIR, HAVE SOME CONCERN ABOUT THIS LAST STEP, AS APPARENTLY BOTH TRIMBLE AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER MALLON MAY WANT TO DELAY ACTUALLY NAMING THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BODY, AS VIRTUALLY NONE OF THEM (IRRESPECTIVE OF PARTY AFFILIATION) HAVE ANY EXPERIENCE IN GOVERNMENT. TRIMBLE AND MALLON, KIRWAN SAID, ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEW "SHADOW" MINISTERS EMBARRASSING THEMSELVES. PM BLAIR, HOWEVER, IS PREPARED TO SEND SENIOR POLITICAL ADVISORS FROM LONDON TO HELP THE NEW MINISTERS LEARN THE ROPES SO THAT FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BODY IS NOT FURTHER DELAYED.

4. (S) KIRWAN NOTED THAT AHERN AND BLAIR AGREED TO TAKE ON ADAMS AND TRIMBLE RESPECTIVELY TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON THEM TO FIND AN ACCOMMODATION. BOTH KIRWAN AND DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPUTY ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF, TIM O'CONNOR (WHOM ADCM SPOKE TO SEPARATELY), STRESSED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S UPCOMING VISIT WAS A CATALYST FOR MOVING EVENTS FORWARD. THEY SAW AN IMPORTANT ROLE FOR THE PRESIDENT BUT, DUE TO THE FLUIDITY OF THE SITUATION, THEY WERE NOT SURE EXACTLY WHAT THAT ROLE WOULD BE. MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON AHERN'S AND BLAIR'S SUCCESS AT MOVING THE ULSTER UNIONISTS AND SINN FEIN CLOSER TO THE CENTER GROUND OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. BOTH PROMISED TO KEEP IN CLOSE CONTACT.

REAL IRABEASEFIRE?

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5. (S) KIRWAN BRIEFLY TURNED TO MEDIA REPORTS THAT THE "REAL IRA" (PERPETRATORS OF THE OMAGH BOMBING) WAS ABOUT TO ANNOUNCE A PERMANENT CEASEFIRE\* HE SAID THAT IT APPEARS TRUE THAT MOST OF THE GROUP WANTS TO MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION, BUT THAT THERE IS A SMALL FACTION STRONGLY OPPOSED (UNFORTUNATELY, KIRWAN INDICATED, COMPOSED OF THE MOST DANGEROUS MEMBERS OF THE GROUP). HE SAID A FURTHER DIVISION OF THE "REAL IRA" WAS NOW A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY WITH THE MAIN BODY ANNOUNCING A CEASEFIRE, WHILE A RUMP GROUP KEEPS OPEN THE OPTION OF VIOLENT ACTIVITIES.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 004472

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

STATE FOR EUR/UBI AND S/CT

LONDON PLEASE PASS TO BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/28/08

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: AHERN AND BLAIR AGREE ON STEPS TO MOVE NORTHERN  
IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FORWARD

SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4472  
<^SSN>4472

TOR: 980828073342 M3442798  
<^TOR>980828072635 M3442786

DIST: SIT: BANDLER BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}  
STEINBERG  
<^DIST>  
SIT: COQ  
PRT: COMM

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 021814Z NOV 98  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 021814Z NOV 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4221  
 RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0575  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0780  
 SUBJ: DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE DEFERRED AS FOCUS TURNS  
 TO NORTH-SOUTH BODIES

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.15)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005638

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/02/08  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE DEFERRED AS FOCUS TURNS  
 TO NORTH-SOUTH BODIES

REF: DUBLIN 5608

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS  
 1.5 (B) AND (D).

## SUMMARY

1. ~~(S)~~ WITH THE OCTOBER 31 DEADLINE FOR ESTABLISHING A  
 SHADOW EXECUTIVE PASSED AND NO IRA MOVEMENT ON  
 DECOMMISSIONING IN THE OFFING, IRELAND AND THE UK APPEAR  
 TO HAVE "PARKED" THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE UNTIL FEBRUARY  
 1999 AT THE EARLIEST. THIS MEANS THAT THE SHADOW  
 EXECUTIVE MAY NEVER BE CREATED IN FAVOR OF MOVING  
 DIRECTLY TO THE FULL EXECUTIVE NEXT YEAR. IN THE  
 INTERIM, IRELAND PLANS TO WORK WITH NORTHERN IRELAND  
 POLITICAL LEADERS IN AN EFFORT TO PUSH DEVELOPMENT OF  
 NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. IRISH PM AHERN TRAVELED TO BELFAST  
 NOVEMBER 2 TO MEET WITH A ROUNDTABLE OF PARTY LEADERS TO  
 ACCELERATE THAT PROCESS. THE GOI HOPES THAT, BY MOVING  
 FORWARD IN AN AREA OF CRITICAL INTEREST TO SINN FEIN/IRA,  
 THE ATMOSPHERE WILL BE IMPROVED FOR MOVEMENT ON  
 DECOMMISSIONING WHEN THE ISSUE COMES BACK TO THE FORE.  
 EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT IRELAND AND THE UK HAVE MANAGED  
 STALEMATE ABOUT AS WELL AS POSSIBLE IN ENSURING THE PEACE  
 PROCESS STILL REMAINS ON TRACK. WE SHOULD SUPPORT GOI/UK  
 EFFORTS IN THE NEAR TERM BY QUIETLY ENCOURAGING ALL SIDES  
 TO WORK THROUGH THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. WE SHOULD REMAIN  
 PREPARED, HOWEVER, TO WEIGH IN AT SENIOR POLITICAL LEVEL  
 IF THIS PERIOD OF POLITICAL BREATHING SPACE DOES NOT  
 IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLVING THE

DECOMMISSIONING/EXECUTIVE CONUNDRUM BY EARLY 1999. END

SUMMARY

"PARKING" DECOMMISSIONING FOR NOW  
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2. (S) SENIOR LEVEL EMBASSY CONTACTS AND IRISH MEDIA REPORTS OVER THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT IRELAND AND THE UK HAVE DECIDED TO SET THE LINKED ISSUES OF DECOMMISSIONING AND FORMATION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND SHADOW EXECUTIVE ASIDE AS SIMPLY TOO DIFFICULT FOR THE TIME BEING. IN FACT, WE WERE TOLD OCTOBER 30 BY BOTH IRISH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DFA) ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF, DERMOT GALLAGHER, AND UK EMBASSY DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION, DENISE HOLT, THAT IT IS NOW LIKELY THAT THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE WILL BE BYPASSED ENTIRELY IN FAVOR OF MOVING DIRECTLY TO THE FULL EXECUTIVE WHEN POWERS ARE DEVOLVED FROM WESTMINISTER IN

FEBRUARY.

3. (S) THIS DECISION RESULTS FROM A RECOGNITION BY ALL PARTIES THAT IRA DECOMMISSIONING IS SIMPLY NOT GOING TO HAPPEN AT THIS TIME, COUPLED WITH ACCEPTANCE THAT DAVID TRIMBLE WOULD NOT HAVE FORMED A SHADOW EXECUTIVE BY THE OCTOBER 31 DEADLINE IN THE ABSENCE OF IRA MOVEMENT. ENCAPSULATING TWO MONTHS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DEBATE ON THE ISSUE, AN OCTOBER 29 FIRST PERSON PRESS ARTICLE BY SINN FEIN CHIEF NEGOTIATOR MARTIN MCGUINNESS REITERATED THE REPUBLICAN VIEW THAT THERE WAS NO REQUIREMENT ON THE IRA FOR ANY DECOMMISSIONING BEFORE SINN FEIN COULD ENTER THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE AND QUESTIONED TRIMBLE'S COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS. A FIRST PERSON REPLY FROM TRIMBLE THE NEXT DAY CLEARLY RESTATED HIS POSITION AND REVERSED THE CHARGES OF BAD FAITH. AS A SENIOR GOI INTERLOCUTOR NOTED TO US, BOTH WERE ARTICULATE AND WELL REASONED STATEMENTS BUT DID NOTHING TO ADVANCE THE BALL.

4. (S) SINN FEIN WASHINGTON OFFICE DIRECTOR, RITA O'HARE, TOLD CHARGE NOVEMBER 2 THAT THERE HAD REALLY NEVER BEEN A CHANCE THAT THE IRA WOULD TAKE A STEP ON DISARMAMENT BY OCTOBER 31. VARIOUS GOI AND UK IDEAS FOR AN IRA "GESTURE" (E.G. TURNING IN OR EXPLODING IN THE WOODS SOME AMOUNT OF SEMTEX), "HAD NEVER BEEN IN THE CARDS." O'HARE ADDED THAT MARTIN MCGUINNESS HAD BEEN IN "INTENSE" NEGOTIATIONS WITH GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN ON SOME TYPE OF STATEMENT REITERATING SINN FEIN'S COMMITMENT TO FULFILL ALL ELEMENTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, INCLUDING DECOMMISSIONING, BUT THAT THESE TALKS NEVER BORE FRUIT. O'HARE, NOT SURPRISINGLY, ATTRIBUTED THIS TO UNIOINISM NOT REALLY WANTING THE DECOMMISSIONING OBSTACLE REMOVED BECAUSE THEY FIND IT USEFUL TO EITHER BLOCK THE AGREEMENT OR RENEGOTIATE IT. (COMMENT: WHILE WE DON'T ASCRIBE TO O'HARE'S POLITICAL ANALYSIS, WE WOULD TEND TO AGREE THAT DE CHASTELAIN, WIDELY TOUTED IN THE PRESS AS THE KEY TO A SOLUTION, NEVER REALLY HAD A CHANCE IN THE ABSENCE OF THE REQUISITE POLITICAL WILL. END COMMENT.)

AVOIDING A TRAIN WRECK

REF: DUBLIN 5608  
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5. MOTIVATIONS ASIDE, IT WAS CLEAR BY THE TIME OF THE

BLAIR-AHERN MEETING IN AUSTRIA OCTOBER 24 THAT THE OCTOBER 31 DEADLINE WOULD NOT BE MET, AND THAT A WAY HAD TO BE FOUND TO ENSURE THE PEACE PROCESS WOULD NOT BE DERAILED. ACCORDING TO DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF GALLAGHER, THAT WAY FORWARD IS TO FOCUS ON DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES CALLED FOR IN THE AGREEMENT AND TO CONTINUE "ROUNDTABLE" TALKS AT STORMONT ON IDENTIFYING WHAT DEPARTMENTS AND MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS WILL BE CREATED, EVEN IF THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED. DECOMMISSIONING IS DEFERRED UNTIL FEBRUARY UNDER THIS SCHEME AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SHADOW OR SHADOW, SHADOW EXECUTIVE MAY BE OFF THE BOARD ENTIRELY.

6. (S) GALLAGHER NOTED THAT IT HAD BEEN DIFFICULT TO GET BOTH TRIMBLE AND ADAMS TO AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS, WHICH OPENED ON OCTOBER 29. IN PARTICULAR, GALLAGHER NOTED, THE GOI HAD TO PUT HEAVY PRESSURE ON ADAMS TO PARTICIPATE, WHILE THERE WAS CONCERN ON THE UNIONIST SIDE THAT THE "ROUNDTABLE" WOULD BECOME A DE FACTO SHADOW EXECUTIVE WITHOUT ANY MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING. IN THE END, GALLAGHER TOLD CHARGE OCTOBER 30, ONLY THE DUP, UKUP, AND UUP DISSIDENTS REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE AND THE MEETINGS HAD GONE BETTER THAN ANTICIPATED. WHILE THERE WOULD STILL BE SOME DEBATE, IT WAS ALREADY CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD BE A NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT WITH TEN DEPARTMENTS, MEANING TWO SINN FEIN MINISTERS. THERE WAS ALSO GENERAL AGREEMENT TO RESERVE STRONG POWERS FOR THE FIRST AND DEPUTY MINISTERS (WHICH THE GOI SUPPORTED), JUNIOR MINISTERS IN ALL THE DEPARTMENTS, AND AGREEMENT TO EIGHT OF TEN SPECIFIC PORTFOLIOS. WHEN ASKED, GALLAGHER DID NOT RULE OUT THAT THE ROUNDTABLE COULD DEVELOP INTO A "SHADOW" SHADOW EXECUTIVE, BUT STRESSED THAT NO ONE WAS ADVANCING THAT INTERPRETATION AT THIS TIME DUE TO UNIONIST SENSITIVITIES.

BUILDING NORTH-SOUTH BODIES  
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7. (S) GALLAGHER TOLD US THAT PARTY LEADERS ALSO DISCUSSED ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED IN THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES CALLED FOR IN THE AGREEMENT, AND THAT THERE HAD BEEN BROAD CONSENSUS ON FOUR, I.E., TOURISM, EU PROGRAMS, INLAND WATERWAYS AND STRATEGIC TRANSPORT PLANNING. TAOISEACH AHERN MOVED QUICKLY TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS POSITIVE BEGINNING. ACCORDINGLY, THE TAOISEACH IS TRAVELING TO BELFAST NOVEMBER 2 WITH A GOI MINISTERIAL TEAM FOR A MEETING WITH NORTHERN IRELAND PARTY LEADERS IN A ROUNDTABLE FORMAT, FOLLOWED BY BILATERAL SESSIONS. UNDER THE AGREEMENT, THESE DISCUSSIONS WILL ONLY INCLUDE THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND GOI REPRESENTATIVES, NOT LONDON OFFICIALS. DECOMMISSIONING IS NOT ON THE AGENDA.

8. (S) THE IRISH STRATEGY IS TO MOVE AS FAR AND AS FAST AS POSSIBLE WITH DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES BETWEEN NOW AND FEBRUARY. (IN THE WORDS OF AHERN'S SENIOR SPEECH WRITER, PADDY DUFFY TO THE CHARGE NOVEMBER 2, "TO FILL THE VACUUM WITH ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION TO IMPLEMENT THE NORTH-SOUTH AGENDA.") THIS IS A KEY AREA OF THE AGREEMENT FOR BOTH NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS FOCUSED ON ITS "ALL-IRELAND" ASPECTS. IT IS THE GOI'S HOPE THAT CONSTRUCTIVE, GOOD FAITH ENGAGEMENT BY PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS WILL GIVE THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY NEW

CONFIDENCE THAT UNIONISTS ARE COMMITTED TO FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. THIS, IN TURN, COULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR SINN FEIN/IRA TO MAKE A CONCRETE STEP ON DECOMMISSIONING "BY NEXT SPRING", WHICH DUBLIN RECOGNIZES WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO TRIMBLE'S ACCEPTANCE OF SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE FULL EXECUTIVE.

9. (X) THIS STRATEGY REQUIRES A CAREFUL BALANCING ACT FOR DUBLIN IN DISCUSSIONS WITH NORTHERN POLITICAL LEADERS. THE GOI (AND THE SDLP) CANNOT, ON THE ONE HAND, NEGOTIATE ONLY WITH TRIMBLE AND MALLON (AS TRIMBLE WOULD PREFER) AND THUS EXCLUDE SINN FEIN. ON THE OTHER HAND, TRIMBLE COULD HAVE A PROBLEM WITH THE "ROUNDTABLE" FORMAT APPEARING TO BE THE DE FACTO SHADOW EXECUTIVE WITHOUT ANY MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. DFA'S GALLAGHER TOLD US THAT PM BLAIR MIGHT HAVE TO PUT HEAVY PRESSURE ON TRIMBLE TO GET HIM TO AGREE TO WORK WITH DUBLIN IN THE ROUNDTABLE FORMAT, BUT THOUGHT THE FIRST MINISTER COULD BE BROUGHT AROUND. SENIOR AHERN ADVISOR, PADDY DUFFY, TOLD CHARGE THAT THIS STRATEGY COULD BE GREATLY ENHANCED IF THE UK

REF: DUBLIN 5608

WOULD TAKE FURTHER STEPS IN THE INTERIM TO DISMANTLE ITS MILITARY INTELLIGENCE INFRASTRUCTURE. REMOVING INSTALLATIONS IN COUNTY ARMAGH, DERRY AND BELFAST (WHICH HAVE LITTLE UTILITY, DUFFY CONTENDED) WOULD ENCOURAGE SOME "GESTURE" ON THE PART OF THE IRA. DUFFY ALSO THOUGHT UK FUNDING OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR RELEASED PRISONERS AND THEIR FAMILIES WOULD ALSO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE. HE ADDED THAT THE GOI HAS RAISED THESE IDEAS PRIVATELY WITH UK.

COMMENT

10. (X) IT IS OUR VIEW THAT DUBLIN AND LONDON ARE MAKING THE BEST OF A BAD SITUATION GIVEN THAT NEITHER SINN FEIN/IRA NOR FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE HAS THE POLITICAL WILL (OR, SOME MAY SAY, POLITICAL MANEUVERING ROOM) TO GO ANY FURTHER ON THE DECOMMISSIONING/SHADOW EXECUTIVE NEXUS AT THIS TIME. IDEAS FOR DECOMMISSIONING GESTURES, TIMETABLES OR STATEMENTS OF INTENT ARE OF LITTLE USE IN THE ABSENCE OF THE REQUISITE POLITICAL WILL, AND SOME, SUCH AS FINE GAEL LEADER AND FORMER TAOISEACH JOHN BRUTON, WHO SPOKE WITH US OCTOBER 29, ARE INCREASINGLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT PRIME MINISTERS AHERN AND BLAIR ARE DETERMINED TO MOVE AHEAD. TO SOME EXTENT, THEY ARE MERELY KICKING THE DECOMMISSIONING CAN DOWN THE ROAD, BUT BY SO DOING THEY HAVE BOUGHT TIME TO WORK THE ISSUE AND, HOPEFULLY, IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERICS FOR IRA MOVEMENT IN THE NEW YEAR THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. HOWEVER, THE POSTPONEMENT CAN HAVE ONLY TEMPORARY UTILITY SINCE THE PARTIES EVENTUALLY MUST RESOLVE THIS ISSUE. MOREOVER, FAILURE TO ADHERE TO THE TIMETABLE IS A BAD PRECEDENT THAT, IF REPLICATED, COULD COMPOUND THE PROBLEM DOWN THE ROAD.

11. (X) AN OPEN QUESTION FOR US IS WHETHER U.S. SENIOR LEVEL OF EVEN PRESIDENTIAL ENGAGEMENT IS NECESSARY AT THIS TIME TO KEEP THE PEACE PROCESS ON TRACK. BOTH RITA O'HARE OF SINN FEIN AND PADDY DUFFY OF THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE URGED SUCH INTERVENTION ON US TODAY, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT AGREEMENT ON WHOM WE SHOULD BE PRESSURING. OTHER SENIOR IRISH OFFICIALS, SUCH AS DERMOT GALLAGHER AND

MARTIN MANSERGH, HOWEVER, HAVE SUGGESTED THAT NOW IS NOT THE RIGHT MOMENT FOR A MAJOR U.S. PUSH. INSTEAD, WE SHOULD AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS IN EFFORTS TO PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE ACCORD, ESPECIALLY ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES. WE AGREE THAT A FULL COURT PRESS SHOULD AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF AHERN'S VISIT TO BELFAST. IN THE MEANTIME, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO NUDGE THE PROCESS FORWARD AND MAINTAIN MOMENTUM, ALBEIT SLOWED BY THE FAILURE TO RESOLVE THE IMBROGLIO

12. (C) WHILE MISSING THE OCTOBER 31 DEADLINE WAS UNFORTUNATE, ALL PARTIES SEEM COMMITTED TO NOT ALLOWING THE PROCESS TO COLLAPSE. FIRST SIGNS IN THE NORTHSOUTH DISCUSSIONS ARE POSITIVE, AND IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT THE DAY TO DAY WORK OF ESTABLISHING A GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE A SALUTARY AFFECT ON ALL PARTICIPANTS. FOR THE NEAR TERM, WE BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. APPROACH SHOULD BE QUIET ENCOURAGEMENT TO ALL SIDES TO WORK THROUGH THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. WE SHOULD REMAIN READY, HOWEVER, TO WEIGH IN AT MORE SENIOR LEVELS SHOULD THIS PERIOD OF BREATHING SPACE NOT IMPROVE THE POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR RESOLVING THE DECOMMISSIONING/EXECUTIVE CONUNDRUM BY EARLY 1999. IT IS CLEARLY AN ISSUE DEFERRED, NOT RESOLVED, AND THE STAKES WILL ONLY BE HIGHER THE NEXT TIME IT COMES TO THE FORE. END COMMENT.

SCARLETT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5638

TOR: 981102134859 M3538054

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2}

<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2

PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK RICEE SIT{C2}  
STEINBERG SUTPHEN

## Cable

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 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4285  
 RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0595  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0790  
 SUBJ: CONFLICTING IRISH SIGNALS ON DECOMMISSIONING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.16)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005797

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER  
 E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/02/08  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: CONFLICTING IRISH SIGNALS ON DECOMMISSIONING

REF: DUBLIN 5638

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS  
 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (S) DURING A NOVEMBER 12 MEETING WITH CHARGE AND  
 POLCHIEF, IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS WAS  
 SURPRISINGLY UPBEAT ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR NEAR-TERM  
 MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. AFTER NOTING THE HE AND  
 TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) AHERN HAD MADE CONSIDERABLE  
 PROGRESS DURING THEIR TWO RECENT VISITS TO BELFAST ON  
 ADVANCING DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, HE STATED  
 THAT THE SITUATION WAS ON "A KNIFE-EDGE" FOR SOME  
 PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. ANDREWS THOUGHT A "BANG IN  
 THE FOREST" (I.E., IRA DESTRUCTION OF SOME OF ITS OWN  
 SEMTEX) OR NOTIFICATION TO THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY OF  
 THE LOCATION OF A STOCKPILE OF WEAPONS COULD OCCUR WITHIN  
 THE "NEXT NUMBER OF DAYS."

2. (S) ANDREWS ADDED THAT THE GOI HAD SUCCEEDED OVER THE  
 LAST FEW DAYS IN "TURNING DOWN THE VOLUME" OF ALL  
 FACTIONS RHETORIC, GETTING THEM AWAY FROM "MEGAPHONE  
 DIPLOMACY." DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT  
 GALLAGHER WAS NOW REPORTING MORE POSITIVE VIBRATIONS FROM  
 ALL PARTIES, ANDREWS STRESSED. (HE NOTED THAT GALLAGHER  
 AND SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE TAOISEACH, PADDY TEAHON, WERE  
 IN BELFAST "TODAY" CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE.) ANDREWS  
 OBSERVED THAT, WHILE EVERYONE CONCEDES THAT DAVID TRIMBLE  
 IS IN A TIGHT POLITICAL SPOT, GERRY ADAMS ALSO HAS LITTLE  
 ROOM TO MANEUVER AND NEEDS TO SEE MOVEMENT TOWARD A  
 NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL. ANDREWS CONCLUDED THAT  
 SOME SLIPPAGE OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT DEADLINES WAS  
 ACCEPTABLE BUT THAT A "POLITICAL VACUUM" IN THE NORTH WAS  
 NOT, AND THAT THE GOI WAS WORKING TO KEEP THINGS MOVING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FORWARD.

3. (S) COMMENT: WHILE EMBASSY WELCOMES FM ANDREWS' UPBEAT ASSESSMENT, WE HAVE TO OFFER A CAUTIONARY NOTE ON THE PROSPECTS FOR DECOMMISSIONING. LESS THAN 48 HOURS BEFORE OUR CONVERSATION WITH ANDREWS, TAOISEACH AHERN TOLD CHARGE THAT ANY DECOMMISSIONING WAS "UNLIKELY" BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. FRANK MURRAY, SECRETARY GENERAL TO THE GOVERNMENT (RESPONSIBLE FOR CABINET AFFAIRS), TOLD US, ONLY MINUTES AFTER WE SPOKE WITH FM ANDREWS, THAT HE DID NOT FORESEE ANY DECOMMISSIONING "BEFORE CHRISTMAS." CHARGE'S RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH MEMBERS OF THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY ALSO FAILED TO REVEAL ANY OPTIMISM ABOUT AN EARLY "BANG IN THE FOREST." WE DO AGREE WITH ANDREWS, HOWEVER, THAT RHETORIC HAS COOLED SOME IN RECENT DAYS, WHICH WE TAKE AS A POSITIVE SIGN. THE NOVEMBER 13 ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE (LVF) INTENDS TO TURN OVER SOME WEAPONS TO THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY IS ALSO A POSITIVE STEP THAT COULD BUILD PRESSURE ON THE IRA TO TAKE SIMILAR ACTION. END COMMENT.  
SCARLETT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5797

TOR: 981113155053 M3556905

DIST:

SIT: BUTLER SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 191441Z NOV 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4308  
 RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0598  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0793  
 SUBJ: PRIME MINISTER AHERN TELLS SENATOR MACK THAT  
 DELAY IN THE PEACE PROCESS RISKS BECOMING "DANGEROUS"

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.17)  
 KBH 7/9/2019

TEXT: ~~SECRET~~ 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 BUT 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 RECIPROCATATION. 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

REF: DUBLIN 5608

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 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

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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 CONVINCED 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?

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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

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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

REF: DUBLIN 5608

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" 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

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5921

TOR: 981119095721 M3565479

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2}

<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2

PRT: HACHIGIAN STEINBERG

# Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: SECRET  
 LINE1: PAASZYUW RUEHLOA1415 3231558-SSSS--RHEHNSC.  
 LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH  
 LINE3: P 191558Z NOV 98  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 191558Z NOV 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1085  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC PRIORITY  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0659  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0756  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: NIO CONCERNS OVER  
 PEACE PROCESS IMPASSE.

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-M [1.18]  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~SECRET~~ LONDON 011415

3.3(b)(6)

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).

EO 13526 3.3(b)(6)

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.

EO 13526 3.3(b)(6)

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.

-- 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

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1415

TOR: 981119110414 M3565638

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER DAVIDSON

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OTTCZYUW RUEHOLA5990 3281610-CCCC--RHEHNSC.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC  
 LINE3: O 241610Z NOV 98  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHOLA  
 DTG: 241610Z NOV 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4326  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC  
 INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0798  
 SUBJ: BLAIR TO ANNOUNCE AGREEMENT ON CROSS-BORDER  
 IMPLEMENTATION BODIES AND DISTRIBUTION OF NI  
 EXECUTIVE SEATS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.19)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005990

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/UBI  
 NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: 11/24/08  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI,  
 SUBJECT: BLAIR TO ANNOUNCE AGREEMENT ON CROSS-BORDER  
 IMPLEMENTATION BODIES AND DISTRIBUTION OF NI  
 EXECUTIVE SEATS

REF: DUBLIN 5921 (EXDIS) AND PREVIOUS

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE EARLE SCARLETT. REASONS 1.5(B) AND (D).

1. (S) DURING A NOVEMBER 24 MEETING WITH IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS TO DISCUSS MIDDLE EAST POLICY ISSUES (SEPTEL), CHARGE ASKED ANDREWS FOR A READOUT OF MEETINGS NOW UNDERWAY BETWEEN VARIOUS PARTIES TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS IN ADVANCE OF UK PRIME MINISTER BLAIR'S NOVEMBER 24-25 VISIT TO DUBLIN. ANDREWS PROVIDED INFORMATION ON TWO DEVELOPMENTS THAT BLAIR INTENDS TO ANNOUNCE WHILE IN DUBLIN.
2. (S) ACCORDING TO ANDREWS, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED BETWEEN DAVID TRIMBLE AND SEAMUS MALLON ON THE SUBSTANCE AND SHAPE OF THE CROSS-BORDER IMPLEMENTATION BODIES CREATED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. A DOZEN BODIES WILL BE CREATED TO ADDRESS AREAS INCLUDING TOURISM, AGRICULTURE, MARINE DEVELOPMENT AND PRESERVATION, INLAND WATERWAYS, PROMOTION OF NATIVE (GAELIC) LANGUAGE, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT, EXTERNAL TRADE PROMOTION, AND INLAND INVESTMENT. ANDREWS SAID THE FINAL DETAILS OF THE EXACT POWERS OF THE BODIES RESPONSIBLE FOR INLAND INVESTMENT AND EXTERNAL TRADE PROMOTION ARE STILL BEING "HAMMERED OUT" BECAUSE TRIMBLE WANTS TO "WATER DOWN" HOW MUCH REAL AUTHORITY THESE BODIES WILL HAVE. ANDREWS WAS CONFIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT THESE

FINAL DETAILS WOULD BE AGREED TO WITHIN THE NEXT 24 HOURS IF NOT SOONER, IN ORDER THAT BLAIR CAN ANNOUNCE THE SHAPE OF THE CROSS-BORDER BODIES DURING HIS VISIT TO DUBLIN.

3. (C) ANDREWS ALSO SAID THAT BLAIR, IN DISCUSSIONS WITH TRIMBLE AND MALLON, HAD GAINED THEIR AGREEMENT ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE. ACCORDING TO ANDREWS THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUE HAD BEEN THE NUMBER OF SEATS TO BE ALLOCATED TO SINN FEIN (SF) AND THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY (DUP). USING THE D'HONTE ALLOCATION SYSTEM CALLED FOR IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, TRIMBLE AND MALLON HAVE AGREED THAT SF WILL HAVE TWO SEATS, AND THE DUP TWO SEATS AS WELL, IN THE EXECUTIVE. ANDREWS TOLD CHARGE THAT AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PARTY DISTRIBUTION WOULD BE MADE IN THE NEXT 24-48 HOURS IN ORDER TO COINCIDE WITH BLAIR'S DUBLIN VISIT.

4. (C) ANDREWS ADDED THAT IN HIS VIEW, THE WAY PAST THE CURRENT DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE (REF) IS TO "SKIP" OVER THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE, FOCUS ON PUTTING THE FULL EXECUTIVE TOGETHER, AND GO "LIVE" TO THE FULL EXECUTIVE IN FEBRUARY OR MARCH. DURING THIS PERIOD ATTENTION CAN THEN FOCUS ON PUSHING SINN FEIN TO PRODUCE A "BANG IN THE FOREST" THAT DEMONSTRATES SOME IRA MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. ONLY AN IRA GESTURE, ANDREWS ADDED, BUT THE PEACE PROCESS RIGHT NOW IS VERY MUCH A "GAME OF GESTURE POLITICS." SCARLETT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5990

TOR: 981124112345 M3572520

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER CROWLEY LEAVY SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: HACHIGIAN SIT{C2} STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHLOA1644 3311548-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: P 271548Z NOV 98  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 271548Z NOV 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1282  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 0668  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0760  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: SENDING THE SAME MESSAGE

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M(1.21)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 011644

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/27/03  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: SENDING THE SAME MESSAGE

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JUDITH R. JOHNSON, POLITICAL MINISTER-COUNSELOR, AMEMBASSY LONDON. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)
2. (C) SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO THE NIO, THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE PRESSING HARD TO GET AGREEMENT ON NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL IMPLEMENTATION BODIES AND ON PORTFOLIOS FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE BEFORE THE PARTIES BREAK FOR CHRISTMAS. THEY ARE HOPEFUL AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED BEFORE THE DECEMBER 8 NDI DINNER IN WASHINGTON. AT THAT POINT, THE ONLY AREA OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ON WHICH NO PROGRESS WILL HAVE BEEN MADE IS DECOMMISSIONING. THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE CLEAR PUBLICLY THEIR INTERPRETATION THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT MEANT THERE SHOULD BE ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING. PRIVATELY, THEY ARE PRESSING SINN FEIN ON THIS POINT. NIO OFFICIALS ASKED THAT THE WHITE HOUSE CONSIDER A LOW-KEY STATEMENT ON THE NEED FOR DECOMMISSIONING COUPLED WITH A STRONG PRIVATE MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO ADAMS THAT PROGRESS MUST BE MADE IN THIS AREA TOO TO KEEP THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ON THE RAILS. THEY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THREE GOVERNMENTS CONTINUING TO WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER IN THIS CRUCIAL PERIOD TO SUPPORT THE GOOD FRIDAY ACCORDS. END SUMMARY.

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 PROGRESS ON NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES  
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3. (C) NIO LONDON OFFICIALS JONATHAN STEPHENS AND DAVID BROOKER BRIEFED US 11/27 ON THE EFFORTS THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE MAKING TO GET TRIMBLE TO AGREE ON THE DEFINITION OF NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. PM BLAIR VISITED BELFAST NOVEMBER 25 KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON TRIMBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND THE SDLP BOTH ON

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES AND GOVERNMENT PORTFOLIOS.  
THE NIO WAS HOPEFUL THE PARTIES WERE NOW APPROACHING  
CONVERGENCE ON IDENTIFYING EIGHT N-S BODIES:

--TOURISM  
--STRATEGIC TRANSPORT (THE PATTERN OF ROAD, RAIL, FLIGHT  
AND  
WATER LINKS)  
--WATERWAYS  
--IRISH LANGUAGE  
--ACQUACULTURE  
--EU PROGRAMS  
--FOOD SAFETY  
--BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT.

4. (X) THE SDLP'S MALLON HAD INSISTED THE BUSINESS  
DEVELOPMENT BODY HAVE AN INWARD INVESTMENT ROLE. TRIMBLE WAS  
CONCERNED THAT MERGING THE IDB AND ITS IRISH EQUIVALENT WOULD  
IGNORE THE SEPARATE IDENTITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND. AFTER  
MEETINGS WITH BLAIR, TRIMBLE AND MALLON ARE WORKING ON MODELS  
OF HOW SUCH A BODY MIGHT WORK.

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AND PROGRESS ON DEFINING MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS  
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5. (X) ON MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS, THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT  
ALLOWED UP TO TEN, IN ADDITION TO TRIMBLE AND MALLON. THE  
NATIONALIST PARTIES ASSUMED THERE WOULD BE TEN ADDITIONAL  
PORTFOLIOS. TRIMBLE HAD BEEN ARGUING TO START WITH A SMALLER  
NUMBER. HE TOOK THE POSITION THAT SUBDIVIDING THE CURRENT SIX  
NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTRIES INTO TEN AT ONE GO WOULD BE TOO  
DIFFICULT ADMINISTRATIVELY. THE NIO SAW TRIMBLE'S OPPOSITION  
AS PARTLY TACTICAL. HE HAS BEEN "PLAYING A LONG GAME" TO  
AVOID COMING UP AGAINST THE ISSUE OF LETTING SINN FEIN INTO A  
SHADOW EXECUTIVE BEFORE IT HAS DONE SOMETHING ON  
DECOMMISSIONING.

6. (X) THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE TELLING  
TRIMBLE THAT FAILURE TO MOVE ON THE N-S BODIES AND MINISTERIAL  
PORTFOLIOS BEFORE CHRISTMAS WOULD SET A BAD TONE FOR THE  
ACCORDS. NIO OFFICIALS HOPE AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON THESE  
ISSUES BEFORE PARTY LEADERS LEAVE FOR WASHINGTON FOR THE  
DECEMBER 8 NDI DINNER. IF AGREEMENT WERE ACHIEVED, IT WOULD  
BE CLEAR THAT EVERYTHING WAS IN PLACE FOR THE FORMATION OF A  
REAL EXECUTIVE, DEVOLUTION OF POWERS, AND THE IMPLEMENTATION  
OF A NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL. THERE WOULD NO LONGER BE ANY  
STICKING POINTS EXCEPT THE ABSENCE OF ANY MOVEMENT TOWARD  
DECOMMISSIONING.

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NO PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING  
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7. (X) ON DECOMMISSIONING, THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS  
ARE POINTING OUT TO SINN FEIN THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN ANY/ANY  
PROGRESS SINCE THE GOOD FRIDAY ACCORDS WERE SIGNED. IRA  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 011644

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/27/03  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: SENDING THE SAME MESSAGE

STATEMENTS THAT IT WILL NEVER DECOMMISSION HAVE MOVED THE BALL BACKWARD INSTEAD OF FORWARD. SINN FEIN NOTES THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ONLY COMMITS PARTIES TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO BRING ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING WITHIN TWO YEARS. ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS SAY THAT THEY HAVE NO ROOM FOR MANEUVER. THE NIO SEES NO EVIDENCE THAT THEY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO CREATE SUCH ROOM OR USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE IRA IN THIS AREA. SO FAR SINN FEIN HAS BEEN UNABLE TO DELIVER A STATEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON DECOMMISSIONING, A TIMETABLE, OR A START FOR DECOMMISSIONING.

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DELIVERING A COMMON MESSAGE  
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8. (X) NIO OFFICIALS STRESSED THAT GETTING SOME PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING WAS CRUCIAL IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN NOW AND FEBRUARY TO KEEP THE GOOD FRIDAY ACCORDS ON TRACK. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CLEAR THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WOULD STAND OR FALL AS A PACKAGE. THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN SENDING A LOW-KEY MESSAGE IN PUBLIC THAT THEY INTERPRET THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT TO MEAN A COMMITMENT TO ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING. BOTH AGREE THAT THERE NEEDS TO BE SOME DISCERNIBLE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING TO PERMIT THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES.

9. (X) NIO OFFICIALS HOPED THAT WASHINGTON WOULD TAKE THE SAME LINE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WITH THE NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES, SO THAT ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER IN SUPPORTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. IF BODIES ARE AGREED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT WEEK, THEY SUGGESTED THE PRESIDENT COULD PUBLICLY RECOGNIZE THIS PROGRESS AS WELL AS POINTING TO THE EFFORTS ON PRISONER RELEASE, THE SETTING UP OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION, PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION ON DEVOLUTION, THE BEGINNING OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE REVIEW AND THE REDUCTION OF TROOP PRESENCE ON THE STREETS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE COULD NOTE THAT PROGRESS CONTINUED TO BE NEEDED IN ALL ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING DECOMMISSIONING. IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IF THE PRESIDENT COULD COMBINE SUCH A LOW-KEY PUBLIC MESSAGE ON DECOMMISSIONING WITH A CLEAR MESSAGE TO GERRY ADAMS IN PRIVATE THAT SINN FEIN MUST ENGAGE ON DECOMMISSIONING TO SAVE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. WHILE THE PUBLIC MESSAGE WOULD BE USEFUL, BRITISH OFFICIALS SEE THE PRIVATE ONE AS CRUCIAL. THEY VERY MUCH HOPED THE PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE TIME FOR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS, OR AT LEAST PULL ASIDES, WITH ADAMS, TRIMBLE AND MALLON.

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MOWLAM ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT VIEWS OF IRISH COMMUNITY IN U.S.  
AND DOMESTIC PRESSURES ON BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON PRISONER  
RELEASES  
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10. (X) STEPHENS AND BROOKER TOLD US THAT WHEN MO MOWLAM WAS IN BOSTON LAST WEEK, SHE PICKED UP INDICATIONS IN THE IRISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND PRESS THERE OF A STRONG SINN FEIN LINE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS WERE LETTING THE PROCESS STALL AND WERE MORE INTERESTED IN PROTECTING TRIMBLE AND FORCING DECOMMISSIONING THAN IN THE LONG-TERM PROSPECT OF THE GOOD FRIDAY ACCORDS. MOWLAM WAS ANXIOUS THAT AMERICAN AUDIENCES UNDERSTAND THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO THE GOOD

FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS WORKED HARD TO PASS DEVOLUTION LEGISLATION, MOVE TROOPS OFF THE STREET, SET UP A POLICE REVIEW COMMISSION AND BEGIN RELEASING PRISONERS.

11. (S) STEPHENS AND BROOKER STRESSED (AND WE CONFIRM) THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS TAKING A GOOD DEAL OF HEAT IN THE PRESS ABOUT PRISONER RELEASES. HMG HAD PURPOSELY NOT LINKED SUCH RELEASES TO DECOMMISSIONING. BUT AS TIME GOES ON WITHOUT ANY PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO PRETEND THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IS BEING IMPLEMENTED IN ALL ITS ASPECTS, AND PRESSURE WILL GROW ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO REVIEW ITS COMMITMENT TO PRISONER RELEASES.

BRADTKE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1644  
<^SSN>1644

TOR: 981127113500 M3577552  
<^TOR>981127113605 M3577554

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BROWN BUTLER DAVIDSON DOWLING GORDON MCELDFOWNEY SAPIRO SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT(C2) STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA0844 0521429-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 211429Z FEB 97  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 211429Z FEB 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0967  
 INFO: RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 0042  
 RUEHDC/USDOC WASHDC  
 RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC  
 SUBJ: POST REPORTING PLAN -- DUBLIN

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
 2015-0158-m (1.25)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 000844

E.O. 12958: DECL 11/22/99  
 TAGS: AINF, AMGT, PREL, PINR, EI  
 SUBJECT: POST REPORTING PLAN -- DUBLIN

1. CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).
2. THE FOLLOWING IS THE 1997 POST REPORTING PLAN FOR EMBASSY DUBLIN:

## SECTION I: ESSENTIAL ANALYTICAL REPORTING

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- WRAP-UP OF IRELAND'S EU PRESIDENCY (JANUARY -- PMO)
- IRISH GOVERNMENT BUDGET (FEBRUARY -- PMO)
- THE IRISH ELECTION YEAR AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS (APRIL -- PMO)

- IRELAND AND THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (JUNE -- PMO/DAO)

## SECTION II: REQUIRED FACTUAL REPORTING

- ANNUAL NARCOTICS STRATEGY REPORT (JANUARY -- PMO/DAO)
- ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT (OCTOBER -- PMO)
- COUNTRY COMMERCIAL GUIDE (FOURTH QUARTER -- FCS/PMO)
- TRADE ACT REPORT (NOVEMBER -- PMO)
- ANNUAL TERRORISM REPORT (DECEMBER -- PMO/DAO/RSO)

## SECTION III: AREAS OF CONTINUING INTEREST

/-----

- DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS (PMO)
- BOSNIA PEACE IMPLEMENTATION (PMO/DAO)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

- IRISH/EU INVOLVEMENT IN MIDFLE EAST AND CYPRUS (PMO)
- IRISH INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA CRISIS RESPONSE FORCE (PMO/DAO)
- NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING THROUGH IRELAND (PMO, DAO)
- DEVELOPMENTS IN REFUGEE AFFAIRS (CONS)
- DEVELOPMENTS IN IMMIGRATION AND VISA FRAUD (CONS/INS)
- INDUSTRY SUB-SECTOR ANALYSES (FCS)
- INTERNATIONAL MARKET INSIGHTS (FCS)
- AGRICULTURAL EXPORT OPPORTUNITIES (PMO/FAS)
- SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS IN DOMESTIC POLITICS (PMO)
- SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS (PMO)
- IRISH/EU PREPARATIONS FOR EMU (PMO)

SMITH

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 01

**SSN:** 0844

**TOR:** 970221094521 M2627330

**DIST:**

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA2008 1181757-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
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 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 281757Z APR 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1326  
 INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0216  
 RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0390  
 SUBJ: FIANNA FAIL ADVISOR SEES POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE IN  
 JUNE, CONFIRMS INTENT TO MAKE THE NORTH AN ELECTION ISSUE

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.27)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002008

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/28/07

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: FIANNA FAIL ADVISOR SEES POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE IN  
 JUNE, CONFIRMS INTENT TO MAKE THE NORTH AN ELECTION ISSUE

1. CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).

## SUMMARY

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2. (S) MARTIN MANSERGH SPECULATES THAT THE IRA MAY CALL A  
 CEASEFIRE IN JUNE, FOLLOWING THE IRISH ELECTIONS, WITH THE  
 AIM OF SECURING SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO ALL-PARTY TALKS IN  
 SEPTEMBER. FOLLOWING A SHARP EXCHANGE BETWEEN BERTIE AHERN  
 AND JUSTICE MINISTER NORA OWEN, MANSERGH CONFIRMS THAT  
 FIANNA FAIL INTENDS TO TRY TO TURN GOI HANDLING OF THE  
 NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS INTO AN ELECTION ISSUE.  
 COMMENT: THIS EFFORT IS LIKELY TO HAVE ONLY LIMITED SUCCESS,  
 BUT COULD BE IMPORTANT AT THE MARGINS IN A CLOSE ELECTION.

## END SUMMARY

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3. (U) SPEAKING AT THE ANNUAL EASTER RISING COMMEMORATION AT  
 ARBOUR HILL IN DUBLIN ON APRIL 27, FIANNA FAIL LEADER BERTIE  
 AHERN SHARPLY ATTACKED PRIME MINISTER BRUTON'S HANDLING OF  
 THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. "THE TAOISEACH BOASTED  
 IN 1994 THAT HE WAS THE BEST PERSON TO MAKE PEACE WITH  
 UNIONISTS; TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS ON, HE HAS MADE NO  
 PROGRESS," AHERN CHARGED. THE PEACE PROCESS FALTERED  
 BECAUSE THERE WAS "NOT THE SAME PASSIONATE CONVICTION AND  
 FIRM GUIDANCE COMING FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN DUBLIN" AS  
 THERE HAD BEEN UNDER FORMER TAOISEACH ALBERT REYNOLDS.  
 SPECIFICALLY, AHERN ACCUSED BRUTON OF PERMITTING A "FATAL  
 PREVARICATION...USING THE RED HERRING OF DECOMMISSIONING."  
 WHILE CONDEMNING IRA VIOLENCE, AHERN SAID AN UNCONDITIONAL  
 AND LASTING CESSATION OF VIOLENCE SHOULD ENABLE SINN FEIN TO

"ENJOY FULL PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRATIC LIFE."

JUSTICE MINISTER: "EXCUSES FOR GUNMEN AND BOMBERS"

/-----

4. (U) AHERN'S REMARKS DREW A STINGING REJOINER FROM JUSTICE MINISTER NORA OWEN, WHO ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

BEGIN TEXT:

THE FIANNA FAIL LEADER, MR. BERTIE AHERN, IS MAKING A DANGEROUS ERROR OF JUDGEMENT -- CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY PROVIDING EXCUSES FOR THE GUNMEN AND BOMBERS WHO RETURNED TO VIOLENCE. HIS CRITICISMS DISPLAY A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL DEMOCRATS TO SEEK THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS HELD BY PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS THAT HAVE NEVER RECOGNIZED THE STATE. HE ALSO SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, HOLD SYMBOLIC MEETINGS TO LINE ITSELF UP IN SOME SORT OF NATIONALIST FRONT WITH SINN FEIN AND THE IRA. HIS VIEWS ARE WRONG ON BOTH COUNTS.

YET AGAIN IN HIS STATEMENT TODAY THE LEADER OF FIANNA FAIL SHOWS SCANT UNDERSTANDING OF THE SERIOUS ISSUES AT STAKE FOR THIS STATE AND FOR THE SAFETY OF ITS PEOPLE ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUE. INDEED, MR. AHERN'S CRITICISMS UNCANNILY ECHO ALMOST WORD FOR WORD THOSE OF GERRY ADAMS. HE SHOULD NOT ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE USED IN THIS WAY. PARAMILITARY POLITICS AND DEMOCRATIC POLITICS DON'T MIX.

IT IS A MATTER OF SERIOUS REGRET THAT THE FIANNA FAIL LEADER IN HIS RECENT COMMENTS COULDN'T EVEN BRING HIMSELF TO OFFER CLEAR ADVICE TO NATIONALIST ELECTORS TO GIVE EXCLUSIVE SUPPORT TO DEMOCRATIC PARTIES WHO REJECT VIOLENCE IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES.

END TEXT.

MARTIN MANSERGH

/-----

5. (C) IN A PHONE CONVERSATION WITH ME ON APRIL 28, FIANNA FAIL SPECIAL ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH CONFIRMED THE OBVIOUS, NAMELY THAT FIANNA FAIL INTENDS TO TRY TO TURN THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS INTO AN ELECTION ISSUE IN THE UPCOMING IRISH ELECTIONS.

6. (C) MANSERGH SPECULATED ON PROSPECTS FOR AN IRA CEASEFIRE, WHICH HE THINKS COULD BE ANNOUNCED AFTER THE IRISH ELECTIONS -- PRESENTLY CONSIDERED LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE ON OR ABOUT JUNE 6. THE REPUBLICANS WILL "WANT TO DO BUSINESS" AFTER THE MAY 1 UK ELECTIONS. SINCE VERY LITTLE IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN BEFORE A NEW IRISH GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE (END OF JUNE) AND THE MARCHING SEASON HAS RUN ITS COURSE (JULY), THE IRA PROBABLY SEES LITTLE PROSPECT OF SERIOUS MOVEMENT IN THE TALKS PROCESS BEFORE SEPTEMBER. CALLING A CEASEFIRE IN JUNE WOULD OFFER A PERIOD OF ABOUT THREE MONTHS FOR CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN AS TO WHETHER THE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 002008

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/28/07

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: FIANNA FAIL ADVISOR SEES POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE IN JUNE, CONFIRMS INTENT TO MAKE THE NORTH AN ELECTION ISSUE

CESSATION IS SUFFICIENTLY "UNEQUIVOCAL" TO ALLOW SINN FEIN INTO SEPTEMBER TALKS.

7. (C) MANSERGH CONSIDERS TONY BLAIR'S STATEMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE APRIL 28 "IRISH TIMES" (FAXED TO EUR/UBI AND NSC) TO BE "POSITIVE BUT WARY." MANSERGH HOPES A BLAIR GOVERNMENT WILL ENGAGE "POSITIVELY" ON THE PEACE PROCESS, BASED ON HIS SENSE THAT LABOUR DOES NOT HAVE ANY LOVE LOST FOR THE UNIONISTS. HOWEVER, MANSERGH EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE STATE OF MO MOWLAM'S HEALTH. IN ANY CASE, HE EXPECTS BLAIR TO "ESTABLISH HIS AUTHORITY" BEFORE TRYING TO DEAL WITH SINN FEIN. IN THE MEANTIME, BLAIR'S HANDLING OF THE MARCHING SEASON WILL BE A CRUCIAL TEST, MANSERGH TOLD ME, AS ALL SIGNS CURRENTLY POINT TO RENEWED CONFRONTATION OVER THE SUMMER.

COMMENT

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8. (C) FIANNA FAIL'S HOPES OF MAKING ELECTORAL HAY OUT OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUE RUN COUNTER TO THE ASSESSMENT OF MOST OBSERVERS HERE THAT (A) IRISH VOTERSEOCUS PRIMARILY ON BREAD-AND-BUTTER ISSUES LIQIRIME, NOT THE NORTH, AND (B) IRA VIOLENCE REDUCES ROOM FOR PARTISAN POLITICS ON THE NORTHERN ISSUE. WITH THE 17-MONTH IRA CEASEFIRE STILL RELATIVELY FRESH IN PEOPLE'S MINDS, HOWEVER, AND IN THE ABSENCE OF FULL-SCALE VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH, FIANNA FAIL IS HOPING THAT UNDECIDED VOTERS -- AND ESPECIALLY YOUTH -- WILL RESPOND TO THE MESSAGE THAT, HAVING DELIVERED ONE CEASEFIRE, FIANNA FAIL CAN DELIVER ANOTHER. IN WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE A VERY TIGHT ELECTION, THIS APPROACH COULD HAVE SOME IMPACT AT THE MARGINS. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2008  
<^SSN>2008

TOR: 970428130449 M2734980  
<^TOR>970428130504 M2734981

DIST:

SIT: PETERS

SIT: NSC

<^DIST>

SIT: COQ HARMON SUM SUM2

PRT: BASS BERGER BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HARMONPTR HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}

SODERBERG STEINBERG TRIP

<^DIST>

SIT: COQ HARMON SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

PRT: BASS BERGER BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HARMONPTR HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}

SODERBERG STEINBERG TRIP

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHDLA2120 1221206-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
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 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 021206Z MAY 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1361  
 INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0220  
 RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0397  
 SUBJ: PREVIEW OF MAY 7 BRUTON-BLAIR MEETING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.28)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 002120

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/01/07  
 TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: PREVIEW OF MAY 7 BRUTON-BLAIR MEETING

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

## SUMMARY

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2. (X) A SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE TAOISEACH INDICATES THAT THE IRISH HAVE NO SOLID BASIS FOR BELIEVING AN IRA CEASEFIRE IS IMMINENT, NOW THAT THE BRITISH ELECTIONS ARE OVER. BUT DUBLIN REMAINS HOPEFUL THAT WILLINGNESS BY TONY BLAIR'S NEW GOVERNMENT TO SET A DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS WOULD PRODUCE AN EARLY CEASEFIRE. PM BRUTON EXPECTS TO MEET BLAIR IN LONDON NEXT WEEK TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE, AS WELL AS EMU. THIS MEETING MAY HELP BURNISH THE TAOISEACH'S NATIONALIST CREDENTIALS AS THE IRISH ELECTION APPROACHES (JUNE 6 REMAINS THE LIKELY DATE).

## END SUMMARY

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3. (X) PADDY TEAHON TOLD ME MAY 1 THAT PM BRUTON PLANS TO MEET WITH TONY BLAIR IN LONDON ON MAY 7 OR 8. THE MEETING WILL FOCUS AS MUCH ON EUROPEAN ISSUES AS ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. IN ANTICIPATION OF EU SUMMITS ON MAY 23 AND AGAIN IN JUNE, AND GIVEN A SIGNIFICANT DROP IN THE VALUE OF THE IRISH POUND IN THE PAST WEEK, IRELAND AND THE UK HAVE MUCH TO TALK ABOUT WITH RESPECT TO THEIR APPROACH TO A SINGLE EUROPEAN CURRENCY, TEAHON SAID. NORTHERN IRELAND: NO SOLID INFORMATION ON IRA CEASEFIRE

/-----

4. (X) EXPRESSING FRUSTRATION WITH SINN FEIN, TEAHON EMPHASIZED THAT A NEW IRA CEASEFIRE IS REQUIRED TO GET THE PEACE PROCESS MOVING FORWARD AGAIN. THE GOI REMAINS HOPEFUL THAT IF HMG SETS A DATE FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO

TALKS, AN IRA CEASEFIRE IS "VERY LIKELY." WHILE RECENT IRA ACTIONS, WHICH HE CALLED "STUPID," HAVE MADE THIS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT, TEAHON'S IMPRESSION IS THAT NORTHERN IRELAND WILL BE A PRIORITY FOR TONY BLAIR. ALTHOUGH BLAIR WILL NOT WANT TO "PUT THE UNIONISTS OFF SIDE TOO QUICKLY," HE STILL MIGHT BE ABLE TO DEVELOP A PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS THAT COULD PRODUCE A CEASEFIRE WITHOUT PUSHING THE UNIONISTS "TOO FAR." STILL, DECOMMISSIONING COULD BE A PROBLEM. MO MOWLAM IS EXPECTED TO BRING A FRESHER APPROACH THAN SIR PATRICK MAYHEW'S. THIS SUMMER'S MARCHING SEASON WILL ALSO BE AN ISSUE ON THE AGENDA FOR THE MEETING, TEAHON SAID.

5. (e) THE LOYALIST CEASEFIRE HAS NOT BROKEN DOWN YET IN THE GOI'S ESTIMATION, TEAHON NOTED, BUT THE SITUATION IS "NOT GREAT." DUBLIN IS TAKING THE NECESSARY PRECAUTIONS (INCLUDING BEEFED UP SECURITY AT THIS WEEKEND'S EUROVISION SONG CONTEST, WHICH IS BEING TELEVISED FROM DUBLIN AND WHICH SOME FEEL OFFERS A PROMINENT OPPORTUNITY FOR LOYALISTS TO RECIPROCATE FOR THE IRA'S DISRUPTION OF THE GRAND NATIONAL HORSE RACE IN ENGLAND).

6. (e) TEAHON INDICATED HE EXPECTS TO CONTINUE DEALING WITH JOHN HOLMES UNDER THE NEW BRITISH ADMINISTRATION, BUT ALSO WITH BLAIR POLITICAL ADVISOR JONATHAN POWELL.

IRISH ELECTIONS

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7. (e) TEAHON SAID IT IS HARD TO SEE ANY OTHER DAY THAN JUNE 6 AS THE DATE FOR IRISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS -- EVEN IF THIS IS "ON THE WRONG SIDE" OF THE JUNE 3 RESUMPTION OF TALKS AT STORMONT. HE OBSERVED THAT NORTHERN IRELAND IS NOT LIKELY TO BE A SIGNIFICANT PARTISAN POLITICAL ISSUE IN THE IRISH CAMPAIGN, BUT, OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, IT COULD SWAY UNDECIDED VOTERS (15-20 PERCENT, BY SOME POLLS) IN THE DIRECTION OF FIANNA FAIL'S SOMEWHAT MORE NATIONALIST STANCE. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2120

TOR: 970502081225 M2741530

DIST:

SIT: CLARKER PASSDOWN PETERS SIMON SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2}

<^DIST>

SIT: HARMON SUM SUM2

PRT: BASS BERGER BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HARMONPTR HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}  
SODERBERG STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA2928 1671346-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 161346Z JUN 97  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 161346Z JUN 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1610  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0467  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0273  
 RUEHTC/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 0033  
 SUBJ: IRISH GOVERNMENT REACTIONS TO KILLING OF TWO RUC  
 OFFICERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.30)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES LAWRENCE E. BUTLER.

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 002928

NSC FOR PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/16/07  
 TAGS: PTER, PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: IRISH GOVERNMENT REACTIONS TO KILLING OF TWO RUC  
 OFFICERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES LAWRENCE E. BUTLER.  
 REASON: 1.5 (B)

1. ~~(S)~~ TAOISEACH JOHN BRUTON AND PM TONY BLAIR WILL REVIEW THE IMPACT ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS OF TODAY'S KILLINGS OF TWO RUC OFFICERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHEN THE TWO LEADERS MEET ON THE MARGINS OF THE AMSTERDAM SUMMIT LATER THIS AFTERNOON (JUNE 16). DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF, SEAN O'HUIGINN, IS WITH THE TAOISEACH IN AMSTERDAM.

2. ~~(S)~~ COLM O'FLOINN, ACTING CHIEF OF THE ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, TOLD US THE IRA APPEARS TO BE CLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE KILLINGS, AND HE CITED WIRE STORIES INDICATING THE IRA'S NORTH ANTRIM BRIGADE HAS SAID IT WAS RESPONSIBLE. O'FLOINN CONDEMNED THE KILLINGS AND NOTED THAT THE TIMING WAS PARTICULARLY APPALLING GIVEN CURRENT HOPES FOR PROGRESS TOWARD AN IRA CEASEFIRE. AS WE SPOKE, HE NOTED THAT GERRY ADAMS WAS BEING QUOTED BY WIRE SERVICES AS SAYING THE INCIDENTS POSED A "CHALLENGE TO ALL THOSE INVOLVED IN THE PEACE PROCESS." BUTLER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2928

TOR: 970616095158 M2806419

## DIST:

SIT: PASSDOWN PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW  
 SIT: NSC  
 PRT: SIT{C2}

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE3: O 171624Z JUN 97  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 171624Z JUN 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1623  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0469  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0275  
 SUBJ: MARTIN MANSERGH ON IMPACT OF LURGAN KILLINGS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.31)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 002989

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/17/07  
 TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH ON IMPACT OF LURGAN KILLINGS

REF: (A) BELFAST 227 (B) LONDON 7066

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

## SUMMARY

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1. ~~(C)~~ TAOISEACH-ELECT BERTIE AHERN HAS NO PLANS TO MEET GERRY ADAMS IN THE WAKE OF YESTERDAY'S IRA KILLINGS IN LURGAN, THOUGH THE DOOR HAS NOT BEEN SLAMMED SHUT. HE AND JOHN HUME AGREED TODAY THAT IRISH CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALIST PARTIES MUST PREPARE TO ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS WITHOUT SINN FEIN IF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT CONTINUES TO EXCLUDE ITSELF. THE KILLINGS WERE NOT THE WORK OF A MAVERICK UNIT, BUT MARTIN MANSERGH CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THEY REPRESENT WEAKNESS RATHER THAN DUPLICITY ON THE PART OF GERRY ADAMS. STILL, MANSERGH IS KEEPING HIS MIND OPEN TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT "WE ARE BEING LED DOWN THE GARDEN PATH." HE IS FULLY AWARE THAT A NEW IRA CEASEFIRE WOULD BE HARDER TO TRUST THAN THE LAST ONE. ON DRUMCREE, MANSERGH ARGUES THAT ALLOWING THE ORANGE ORDER TO MARCH DOWN GARVAGHY ROAD WOULD BENEFIT SINN FEIN/IRA AND LEAVE YESTERDAY'S TWO RUC DEAD "TOTALLY FORGOTTEN." THE PEACE PROCESS IS HANGING ON A KNIFE'S EDGE, TANTALIZINGLY CLOSE TO A BREAKTHROUGH AND YET AT THE SAME TIME ON THE BRINK OF EVEN MORE WIDE-SPREAD CONFLICT.  
 END SUMMARY

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2. ~~(C)~~ I MET ON JUNE 17 WITH MARTIN MANSERGH, FIANNA FAIL'S HEAD OF RESEARCH AND A KEY POLICY ADVISER TO THE PARTY LEADERSHIP, TO DISCUSS THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FOLLOWING YESTERDAY'S KILLINGS IN LURGAN (REF A), AND PROSPECTS FOR FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT LED BY

BERTIE AHERN. ON THE LATTER SCORE, MANSERGH WAS CONFIDENT THAT THINGS ARE ON TRACK FOR AHERN TO BECOME TAOISEACH WHEN THE DAIL RECONVENES ON JUNE 26. ASKED WHETHER THE LURGAN KILLINGS HAD COMPLICATED PROSPECTS FOR FIANNA FAIL TO ENTER COALITION WITH THE (STAUNCHLY ANTI-SINN FEIN) PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS, MANSERGH TOLD ME THAT MARY HARNEY HAD PHONED AHERN TO EXPRESS FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE STANCE HE HAD TAKEN ON YESTERDAY'S EVENTS.

KEEPING DOORS OPEN TO SINN FEIN

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3. (e) MANSERGH HAD JUST COME FROM A MEETING BETWEEN AHERN AND THE SDLP'S JOHN HUME AND SEAMUS MALLON. HUME WAS "DEEPLY DEPRESSED" BY YESTERDAY'S KILLINGS. NEITHER FF NOR THE SDLP COULD COME UP WITH DEFINITIVE EXPLANATIONS FOR THE IRA'S DECISION TO KILL TWO RUC OFFICERS, JUST WHEN THINGS APPEARED TO BE COMING TOGETHER FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS. THE BOTTOM LINE, FOR THE TIME BEING, IS THAT FF AND THE SDLP WILL NOT SLAM THE DOOR ON FUTURE CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN, BUT NEITHER WILL THE TWO PARTIES RULE OUT PROCEEDING WITHOUT SINN FEIN IF IT BECOMES CLEAR THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT DOES NOT WANT TO JOIN THE TALKS PROCESS.

4. (e) MANSERGH SAID HE HAD RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM GERRY ADAMS FOLLOWING THE KILLINGS. THE MESSAGE EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR ANGER IN DUBLIN BUT URGED FIANNA FAIL NOT TO "THROW EVERYTHING OVERBOARD" AND TO KEEP THE LINES OPEN -- "THE STANDARD STUFF," MANSERGH SAID.

5. (e) NOTING THAT NO DATE HAD BEEN SET FOR A MEETING BETWEEN BERTIE AHERN AND GERRY ADAMS, MANSERGH INDICATED THAT THE LURGAN KILLINGS HAD NOW MADE THIS "VERY PROBLEMATICAL." WHILE AHERN HAD NOT SHUT THE DOOR ENTIRELY, NO MEETING WOULD BE POSSIBLE UNLESS THERE WERE A "STRONG REASON" TO BELIEVE A SOLID PEACE WAS TO BE ACHIEVED. (MARY HARNEY, NOT TO MENTION JOHN BRUTON, WOULD BE INTENSELY CRITICAL OTHERWISE, MANSERGH POINTED OUT.) ONCE AHERN BECOMES TAOISEACH, NO MEETING WITH SINN FEIN WILL OCCUR UNLESS A REAL CEASEFIRE IS IN PLACE. THIS REFLECTED "LONG ESTABLISHED CONVENTION" IN IRELAND.

6. (e) WHILE THE TAOISEACH WOULD NOT MEET WITH ADAMS UNLESS A CEASEFIRE WERE IN PLACE, MANSERGH SAID, CONTACT COULD TAKE PLACE VIA IRISH OFFICIALS OR INTERMEDIARIES SUCH AS FATHER REID. AGREEING THAT HE WOULD HAVE AN OFFICIAL ROLE ONCE AHERN BECOMES TAOISEACH, MANSERGH OBSERVED THAT HE WOULD ALSO WEAR AN "UNOFFICIAL" HAT AS A FIANNA FAIL PARTY FIGURE, AND MIGHT MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH SINN FEIN IN THAT CAPACITY. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING LINES OF COMMUNICATION OPEN TO SINN FEIN. "WE'LL NEVER BE A PARTY TO EXCLUDING SINN FEIN, UNLESS THEY EXCLUDE THEMSELVES."

WHY THE KILLINGS?

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 002989

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/17/07

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH ON IMPACT OF LURGAN KILLINGS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

7. (C) MANSERGH SUGGESTED THE KILLINGS CONTRADICTED SINN FEIN BEHAVIOR PRIOR TO JUNE 16. IN A MEETING MANSERGH HELD WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS ON JUNE 13, THE SINN FEIN CHIEF NEGOTIATOR HAD APPEARED TO BE GOING SERIOUSLY THROUGH THE VARIOUS "DIFFICULTIES" HE HAD WITH BRITISH PROPOSALS -- JUST AS HE HAD BEFORE THE 1994 CEASEFIRE -- AND SEEMED TO BE IN A "PRACTICAL FRAME OF MIND." WHILE THERE WERE "A COUPLE OF ITEMS TO BE CLEANED UP," THE OUTLOOK WAS POSITIVE. LIKewise, DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN HAD TOLD MANSERGH THAT HIS (O'HUIGINN'S) MEETING WITH MCGUINNESS ON JUNE 14 HAD ALSO GONE WELL. SINN FEIN WAS TO MEET THE BRITISH THIS WEEK. WHY THE KILLINGS SHOULD HAPPEN NOW MADE NO SENSE.

8. (C) ACCORDING TO MANSERGH, REAL PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN ACCOMMODATING SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS. MID-SEPTEMBER APPEARED TO BE WHEN SF WOULD BE ALLOWED INTO TALKS FOLLOWING AN IRA CEASEFIRE; MAY 1998 WOULD MARK THE TALKS TIMEFRAME; SIGNIFICANT CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES HAD BEEN PUT IN PLACE BY MO MOWLAM. ONLY DECOMMISSIONING STILL PRESENTED DIFFICULTIES, BUT EVEN THESE WERE "TO A CERTAIN EXTENT BEING RESOLVED." IT DID NOT APPEAR LONDON WANTED TO USE DECOMMISSIONING AS A BLOCK TO SUBSTANTIVE TALKS IN SEPTEMBER. MO MOWLAM WAS REPORTEDLY PREPARED TO

BACKLOAD" THIS ISSUE, RATHER THAN SEEKING ARMS UP FRONT, DESPITE PROBLEMS THIS WOULD CREATE WITH UNIONISTS.

9. (C) MANSERGH SAID AHERN AND HUME AGREED THE LURGAN KILLINGS WERE NOT THE WORK OF A MAVERICK UNIT. THE FACT THE IRA CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY WITHIN TWO HOURS SHOWED THAT THIS WAS A DELIBERATE, PLANNED ACTION. THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER IT MEANT THE SINN FEIN/IRA POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WAS TOO WEAK TO STOP SUCH ACTIONS, OR WHETHER THAT LEADERSHIP WAS "PART OF WHAT'S HAPPENING" AND ENGAGED IN DUPLICITY. MANSERGH PREFERRED TO THINK THE ANSWER WAS WEAKNESS, BUT WAS KEEPING AN OPEN MIND. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP NEVER PROVIDED A FRANK EXPLANATION OF THESE ACTIONS, AND INSTEAD MERELY PROVIDED THE SAME OLD VERBIAGE ABOUT HOW THIS "TERRIBLE SETBACK" MERELY POINTED OUT THE NEED TO "WORK ALL THE HARDER."

10. (C) MANSERGH OBSERVED THAT REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN HAD HELD A COMMEMORATIVE EVENT IN THE BORDER REGION ON JUNE 15, AT WHICH RSF LEADER RUAIRI O BRADAIGH HAD STRONGLY ACCUSED SINN FEIN/IRA OF SELLING OUT THE REPUBLICAN CAUSE. HE SPECULATED THAT THE IRA ATTACK IN LURGAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN RESPONSE TO THESE CHARGES.

11. (C) AHERN AND HUME AGREED THE MOST LIKELY EXPLANATION FOR THE KILLINGS WAS THAT ADAMS WAS HAVING GREAT DIFFICULTY RESTRAINING THE IRA, WHICH IS IN "NO HURRY TO MOVE" INTO TALKS, MANSERGH SAID. THE IRA HAD CERTAINLY NOTED SINN FEIN'S SUCCESS IN RECENT ELECTIONS DESPITE ONGOING IRA VIOLENCE. ADAMS WAS LEFT IN THE POSITION OF HAVING TO KEEP UP A FRONT OF UNITY.

IRA SPLIT?  
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12. (C) I ASKED MANSERGH ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A SPLIT IN THE IRA. HE SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN A "HINT" FROM ADAMS, FOLLOWING THE CANARY WHARF BOMBING IN FEBRUARY 1996, THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO "CONSIDER HIS POSITION" IF THE

SITUATION RETURNED TO THE FULL-SCALE SLAUGHTER THAT CHARACTERIZED THE PRE-CEASEFIRE PERIOD. MANSERGH ESTIMATED THAT ADAMS COULD LIVE WITH "LOW-SCALE VIOLENCE" BUT NOT A FULL-SCALE RETURN TO THE IRA CAMPAIGN, WHICH WOULD BLOW HIS PEACE STRATEGY "TO SMITHEREENS." MANSERGH SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT ADAMS WOULD DO IF YESTERDAY'S ACTIONS CONTINUED. THIS WOULD PUT SINN FEIN IN A FUNDAMENTAL POSITION OF CHOICE, AND WOULD SUGGEST THAT ADAMS HAD LOST THE ARGUMENT FOR GOOD.

13. (S) IF ADAMS WERE TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM "HARDLINE" IRA ELEMENTS, THIS WOULD PRESENT A COMPLETELY NEW SITUATION, MANSERGH SAID. ASSUMING SUCH A STANCE WERE SINCERE, AND NOT A TACTIC, AND THAT ADAMS WOULD BE WILLING TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE, SINN FEIN SHOULD BE ALLOWED INTO TALKS. HOWEVER, MANSERGH SAID HE SAW NO SIGN THAT SUCH A SITUATION WAS NEAR. THIS MIGHT ONLY COME ABOUT IF THERE WERE A RAPID ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE.

14. (S) FOR THE TIME BEING, FIANNA FAIL'S PREFERENCE IS TO TRY TO BRING A UNITED REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT INTO THE PEACE PROCESS, AS A SPLIT WOULD VIRTUALLY GUARANTEE A HIGHER LEVEL OF VIOLENCE, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM. REFERRING TO HIS WORK AS ADVISER TO FORMER TAOISEACH ALBERT REYNOLDS IN BRINGING ABOUT THE 1994 CEASEFIRE, MANSERGH SAID IT WAS TOO EARLY TO GIVE UP HOPE ENTIRELY. REYNOLDS COULD HAVE "WRITTEN OFF" A CEASEFIRE IN THE SPRING OF 1994, GIVEN IRA VIOLENCE AT THAT TIME, BUT CHOSE TO PERSIST. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WAS IMPORTANT NOT TO GIVE SO MUCH "COMFORT" TO  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 002989

NSC FOR STEINBERG/PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/17/07  
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH ON IMPACT OF LURGAN KILLINGS

THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT THAT IT FELT DECISIONS COULD BE PUT OFF INDEFINITELY.

TRUST  
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15. (S) MANSERGH OBSERVED THAT YESTERDAY'S KILLINGS HAD TO LEAVE ADAMS, MCGUINNESS AND RITA O'HARE FEELING VERY UNCOMFORTABLE, AS THEIR CREDIBILITY WAS VIRTUALLY "SHOT." HE EMPHASIZED THE FACT THAT IT WOULD NOW BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE UNIONISTS THAT A CEASEFIRE COULD BE TRUSTED. AND HE CONFESSED TO HIS OWN DOUBTS ON THIS SCORE: "FRANKLY, I'M NOT SURE I WOULD HAVE AS MUCH FAITH IN A NEW CEASEFIRE AS I HAD IN THE LAST ONE." MANSERGH RECALLED THAT THE ASSUMPTION IN 1994 WAS THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WAS IN CONTROL, OR AT LEAST APPEARED TO BE. "WE ASSUMED A DEGREE OF COHERENCE AND DISCIPLINE THAT CAN NO LONGER BE ASSUMED TODAY."

16. (S) MANSERGH ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THESE FACTORS WOULD SEVERELY UNDERMINE HIS POSITION IN A FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH SIR JOHN CHILCOTT, SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY, JUNE 19 (AT CHILCOTT'S INVITATION). THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION IS WHETHER SINN FEIN WANTS TO GET INTO THE TALKS AT THE PRICE OF ENDING IRA VIOLENCE FOR GOOD. WHILE MANSERGH PERSONALLY SHARES THE THEORY THAT ADAMS IS MERELY TRYING TO AVOID A SPLIT AND IS ACTING OUT OF WEAKNESS RATHER THAN DUPLICITY, HE ACKNOWLEDGED "THERE ARE PLENTY OF OTHERS

WILLING TO SAY WE ARE BEING LED DOWN THE GARDEN PATH."

DRUMCREE  
/-----

17. (C) CITING MOUNTING TENSION AS THE MARCHING SEASON APPROACHES, MANSERGH SAID THE KILLINGS WOULD MAKE MATTERS MORE DIFFICULT. HE WILL MEET WITH THE ORANGE ORDER ON JUNE 18, BUT DOUBTS ANYTHING WILL COME OF IT. THE KEY NOW IS WHAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO REGARDING PARADES. HE SAID HMG STRATEGY OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS HAS BEEN "DISASTROUS" AS IT HAS HELPED TO STRENGTHEN SINN FEIN. IF THE ORANGE MARCH IS ALLOWED DOWN GARVAGHY ROAD, MORE PEOPLE WILL BE "PUSHED" INTO SINN FEIN'S ARMS. AS HAD HAPPENED BEFORE, THIS WOULD "RESCUE" THE IRA FROM THE NEGATIVE PUBLICITY CREATED BY THE LURGAN KILLINGS.

18. (C) THE FACT THAT GARVAGHY ROAD RESIDENTS' SPOKESMAN BRENDAN MCKENNA HAD CONDEMNED THE KILLINGS MEANT HE COULD NOT BE AFFILIATED WITH SINN FEIN, AS NO SINN FEIN PERSON COULD TAKE SUCH A STANCE. MANSERGH URGED THE ORANGE ORDER TO TALK TO HIM.

19. (C) MANSERGH COMMENTED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH JOHN HOLMES, PM BLAIR'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR, PRIOR TO THE MAY 1 UK ELECTIONS, AND HOLMES HAD EXPRESSED HIS VIEW THAT TO PREVENT THE DRUMCREE MARCH FROM GOING AHEAD WOULD LEAD TO CHAOS. HOWEVER, MANSERGH'S VIEW REMAINS THAT FORCING THE MARCH THROUGH WOULD BE A DISASTER. "SUPPORT WOULD COME BACK TO THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT AND THE TWO RUC DEAD WOULD BE TOTALLY FORGOTTEN," HE SAID.

COMMENT  
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20. (C) FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE PERSON WHO WILL BE THE KEY ADVISER ON NORTHERN IRELAND FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT, THE PEACE PROCESS HAS COME TO A DECISIVE FORK IN THE ROAD. AS MANSERGH TOLD ME, WE ARE "TANTALIZINGLY CLOSE" TO PEACE ON THE ONE HAND, BUT, AFTER THE LURGAN KILLINGS, WE ARE ALSO POISED ON THE "BRINK OF DISASTER" ON THE OTHER. MANSERGH HAS REAL FEARS OF A RETURN TO LOYALIST TIT-FOR-TAT KILLINGS, NOT JUST ON THE PRE-1994 LEVEL OF INTENSITY BUT POTENTIALLY ON A FAR WORSE SCALE THAN BEFORE. HUME VOICED SIMILAR FEARS IN TODAY'S MEETING WITH FIANNA FAIL.

21. (C) THE REAL DILEMMA COMES DOWN TO WHETHER ADAMS IS OPERATING FROM WEAKNESS OR DUPLICITY. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT MANSERGH AND APPARENTLY BOTH AHERN AND HUME ARE KEEPING AN OPEN MIND ON THIS QUESTION, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW MUCH LONGER THEY CAN CONTINUE TO DO SO. AS FIANNA FAIL PREPARES TO LEAD THE NEXT IRISH GOVERNMENT, MANSERGH MADE CLEAR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IS FULLY AWARE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE -- IN THE SOUTH AND IN THE NORTH -- REGARDING ITS DETERMINATION TO PROCEED WITHOUT SINN FEIN IF REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT BEHAVIOR MAKES THIS NECESSARY. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2989  
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**DIST:**

SIT: CLARKER PETERS SIMON SUM2 VERSHBOW

SIT: NSC

PRT: BASS BERGER BRADEN DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK RICEE SIT(C2)

SODERBERG STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
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 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 121207Z JUN 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1598  
 INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0269  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: POST MORTEM ON IRISH ELECTIONS -- "CIVIL WAR  
 POLITICS WITHOUT THE CIVIL WAR"

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.34)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002877

NSC FOR PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/10/07  
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: POST MORTEM ON IRISH ELECTIONS -- "CIVIL WAR  
 POLITICS WITHOUT THE CIVIL WAR"

REF: DUBLIN 2809

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES LAWRENCE E. BUTLER.  
 REASON 1.5 (D)

1. (U) SUMMARY: THERE IS CURRENTLY EVERY EXPECTATION THAT  
 FIANNA FAIL LEADER BERTIE AHERN WILL SUCCEED IN FORMING A  
 MINORITY GOVERNMENT AND WILL TAKE OFFICE WHEN PARLIAMENT  
 RECONVENES ON JUNE 26. AHERN'S SUCCESS STEMMED FROM  
 STRATEGIC USE OF IRELAND'S COMPLEX VOTE TRANSFER SYSTEM,  
 AND FROM THE COLLAPSE OF THE LABOUR PARTY "PILLAR" OF PM  
 BRUTON'S 3-PARTY RULING COALITION. THE IMMINENT CHANGE OF  
 LEADERSHIP PERPETUATES THE PATTERN IN RECENT YEARS OF  
 IRISH VOTERS THROWING OUT INCUMBENT GOVERNMENTS. IRISH  
 POLITICS CONTINUE TO EMBRACE TRADITIONAL CIVIL WAR  
 RIVALRIES. THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT'S MANDATE WILL BE TO  
 MAINTAIN AND SHARE THE ECONOMIC SUCCESS OF THE "CELTIC  
 TIGER" -- BUT ALSO TO PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE IRISH  
 NATIONAL QUESTION. END SUMMARY.

WHAT HAPPENED?

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2. (U) TWO PRIMARY FACTORS ACCOUNT FOR THE DEFEAT OF PM  
 BRUTON'S "RAINBOW" COALITION IN THE JUNE 6 IRISH  
 ELECTIONS. THE FIRST WAS AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY OF VOTE  
 TRANSFER MANAGEMENT BY BERTIE AHERN'S FIANNA FAIL PARTY.  
 USING IRELAND'S COMPLEX SYSTEM OF TRANSFERRING "SURPLUS"  
 VOTER PREFERENCES AMONG PARTY CANDIDATES IN THE SAME  
 CONSTITUENCY, FIANNA FAIL -- TRADITIONALLY IRELAND'S  
 LARGEST PARTY -- WAS ABLE TO WIN NINE NEW SEATS, DESPITE  
 THE FACT THAT ITS OVERALL SHARE OF THE VOTE REMAINED  
 UNCHANGED SINCE THE LAST ELECTION (AT JUST 39 PERCENT).

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IRONICALLY, PM BRUTON'S FINE GAEL PARTY REGISTERED THE LARGEST INCREASE IN POPULAR SUPPORT OF ANY PARTY, AND GAINED EIGHT SEATS, USING THE SAME TACTICS. HOWEVER, BRUTON'S COALITION PARTNERS (LABOUR, DEMOCRATIC LEFT) DID NOT FARE AS WELL.

3. (U) THE COLLAPSE OF THE LABOUR VOTE WAS THE SECOND REASON FOR BRUTON'S DEMISE. FEARS THAT LABOUR WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DUPLICATE ITS HUGE SUCCESSES OF 1992, DUE IN PART TO ANTI-POLITICIAN PROTEST SENTIMENTS, WERE CONFIRMED WHEN IT DROPPED FROM 32 DAIL SEATS TO 17 IN THE JUNE 6 ELECTION. LABOUR'S APPEAL IS THOUGHT TO HAVE DISSIPATED EVER SINCE IT WENT INTO GOVERNMENT: CORE SUPPORTERS ACCUSED THE PARTY OF ARROGANCE AND OF GETTING CARRIED AWAY WITH "MERCYS AND PERKS" (MINISTERIAL CARS, GOVERNMENT JETS ETC.), WHILE OTHER VOTERS WATCHED LABOUR'S POLICIES GET "SWALLOWED UP" BY THE LARGER COALITION PARTNER. SOME SUPPORTERS HAVE NEVER FORGIVEN PARTY LEADER DICK SPRING FOR TAKING LABOUR INTO COALITION WITH FIANNA FAIL IN 1992, AFTER HAVING CAMPAIGNED VIGOROUSLY AGAINST FF'S PERCEIVED AURA OF SLOTH AND CORRUPTION. IRONICALLY, OTHERS CRITICIZED SPRING FOR RULING OUT IN ADVANCE A COALITION WITH FF IN THIS ELECTION.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

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4. (S) DESPITE HIS STRONG SHOWING, BRUTON'S DEFEAT PERPETUATES THE PATTERN OF ALMOST RITUAL FLUCTUATION BETWEEN FIANNA FAIL AND FINE GAEL-LED GOVERNMENTS THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED IRISH POLITICS OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS. IT ALSO CONFIRMS THE ONGOING POLITICAL LEGACY OF THE 1922 IRISH CIVIL WAR -- AS ONE COLUMNIST PUT IT, IRELAND CONTINUES TO ENDURE "CIVIL WAR POLITICS WITHOUT THE CIVIL WAR." THE POTENTIAL EMERGENCE OF TRADITIONAL LEFT-RIGHT EUROPEAN POLITICS IN IRELAND HAS BEEN NIPPED IN THE BUD. SMALLER PARTIES OF THE LEFT AND RIGHT -- EVEN THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS, WHO WILL HELP FIANNA FAIL FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT -- HAVE BEEN BADLY STUNG AND WILL NOW HAVE TO REGROUP AND REDEFINE THEMSELVES FOR THE NEXT ELECTION.

5. (S) THE HEART OF FIANNA FAIL IS IRISH NATIONALISM -- THE PARTY FAITHFUL REMAIN DEEPLY COMMITTED TO "RESTORING THE UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND AS A REPUBLIC." ALTHOUGH NORTHERN IRELAND WAS NOT A MAJOR ISSUE IN THE CAMPAIGN, THE FALTERING PEACE PROCESS, AND WIDESPREAD HOPES THAT IT COULD STILL BE PUT BACK ON TRACK, ALWAYS FLICKERED IN THE BACKGROUND. AHERN'S PROMISE TO STAND UP FOR THE RIGHTS OF NATIONALISTS IN THE NORTH CLEARLY RESONATED WITH MANY VOTERS, AS DID HIS PLEDGE TO PUSH MORE AGGRESSIVELY FOR AN ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THIS BACKGROUND, BOLSTERED BY GOOD LOCAL ORGANIZATION IN SELECTED CONSTITUENCIES, ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO SINN FEIN'S SIGNIFICANT ELECTORAL GAINS.

6. (S) YET AHERN'S ABILITY TO DELIVER IS LIMITED. HE IS CAUGHT BETWEEN TONY BLAIR'S ASTUTE CHARM OFFENSIVE IN THE NORTH AND GERRY ADAMS' REFUSAL SO FAR TO PRESS FOR AN IRA  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 002877

NSC FOR PETERS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/10/07  
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: POST MORTEM ON IRISH ELECTIONS -- "CIVIL WAR  
POLITICS WITHOUT THE CIVIL WAR"

CEASEFIRE. HE MAY ALSO FIND HIMSELF SQUEEZED BETWEEN  
REPUBLICAN-LEANING INDEPENDENTS EXPECTED TO SUPPORT HIS  
MINORITY GOVERNMENT, AND STAUNCHLY ANTI-SINN FEIN  
PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS WHO WILL CONSTITUTE A KEY COMPONENT  
OF THAT GOVERNMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, VOTERS WILL NOT BE  
PLEASED IF THESE (OR ANY OTHER) POTENTIAL CONTRADICTIONS  
RESULT IN EARLY ELECTIONS.

7. (C) AHERN WON A TWIN MANDATE: TO MAINTAIN, AND SPREAD  
THE BENEFITS OF, THE CONFIDENT, OUTWARD-LOOKING APPROACH  
THAT HAS EDGED IRELAND CLOSER TO THE EUROPEAN MAINSTREAM  
IN RECENT YEARS AND PRODUCED THE "CELTIC TIGER;" AND  
SIMULTANEOUSLY TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND  
THAT WOULD AT LEAST LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF EVENTUAL  
IRISH UNIFICATION. THERE WILL BE INTERPLAY BETWEEN THESE  
OBJECTIVES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE INCOMING GOVERNMENT APPEARS  
INTENT ON JOINING EMU ON THE BASIS OF 26 COUNTIES, BUT  
AHERN IS SENSITIVE TO THE SYMBOLICALLY PARTITIONIST  
IMPLICATIONS IF THE UK STAYS OUT. POTENTIAL CONFRONTATION  
WITH THE UK OVER THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS COULD  
COMPLICATE POSSIBLE MOVEMENT BY DUBLIN TOWARD  
PARTICIPATION IN PFP. AS LEADER OF FIANNA FAIL, "THE  
REPUBLICAN PARTY," AHERN WILL REMAIN AT LEAST AS FOCUSED  
ON THE IRISH NATIONAL QUESTION AS ON BROADENING IRELAND'S  
ENGAGEMENT WITH THE REST OF EUROPE. BUTLER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2877  
<^SSN>2877

TOR: 970612081248 M2801503  
<^TOR>970612081333 M2801504

DIST: SIT: PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: BASS BERGER BRADEN BROWN DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK SIT{C2}  
SODERBERG STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RHEHAAA4425 1780026-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUEHDL RUEHC.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC  
 LINE3: O 270027Z JUN 97 ZFF-1/ZFF-4  
 LINE4: FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC  
 OSRI: RHEHAAA  
 DTG: 270027Z JUN 97  
 ORIG: THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC  
 TO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC  
 SUBJ: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526  
 Department of State Guidelines,  
 September 11, 2006

By KBH NARA, Date 9/9/2019  
 2015-0158-m

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ

FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL TO FOLLOW.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN

BEGIN TEXT:

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA4425 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 DEAR TAOISEACH:

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR ELECTION AS TAOISEACH BY THE DAIL. AS ONE OF LESS THAN A DOZEN IRISHMEN TO HOLD THIS HIGH OFFICE, YOURS IS A HISTORIC ACCOMPLISHMENT. I KNOW IT REFLECTS YOUR PERSONAL DETERMINATION OVER A DISTINGUISHED CAREER IN WHICH YOU HAVE ALREADY MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO IRISH PUBLIC LIFE.

I WAS PLEASED THAT WE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET DURING MY VISIT TO DUBLIN IN DECEMBER 1995. WE DISCUSSED THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS THEN, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT ON THESE ISSUES IN THE DELICATE PERIOD AHEAD. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE MY COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND TO CONTINUE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

AS IRELAND AND ITS EUROPEAN UNION PARTNERS CONSIDER STEPS TOWARD CLOSER INTEGRATION, I ALSO LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA4425 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 WITH YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT ON THE MANY SECURITY,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES THAT CONFRONT  
THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE IN THE GLOBAL ARENA.

IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES ENJOY EXCELLENT BILATERAL  
RELATIONS BASED ON YOUR COUNTRY S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
AMERICAN LIFE. I AM DELIGHTED THAT WE WILL HAVE THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO WORK TOGETHER ON MAKING THESE TIES EVEN  
CLOSER AND MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN THEY HAVE EVER BEEN.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4425

TOR: 970626205542 M2823650

DIST:

SIT: COQ FICKLIN FRIEDRICH MILLISON PASSDOWN PETERS SUM2 VERSHBOW

SIT: NSC

PRT: COMM SIT{C2}

<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2

PRT: BASS BERGER DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK RICEE SIT{C2} SODERBERG  
STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHLOA9545 2241657-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 121657Z AUG 97  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 121657Z AUG 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8395  
 INFO: RUEHXQ/ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT AT 100 DAYS

**DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526**  
 2015-0158-M (1.37)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 009545

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/12/02  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK  
 SUBJECT: THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT AT 100 DAYS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MARCIE RIES, ACTING POLITICAL COUNSELOR. REASON: 1.5(D)
2. ~~(S)~~ ON AUGUST, 9, THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT MARKED ITS FIRST ONE HUNDRED DAYS IN OFFICE, RELEASING A LIST OF "100 ACHIEVEMENTS IN 100 DAYS" AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HOSTED BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER JOHN PRESCOTT AND MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO PETER MANDELSON. THEY ALSO ANNOUNCED PLANS TO ISSUE FURTHER PROGRESS REPORTS TO THE ELECTORATE ONCE A YEAR, COMPARABLE TO THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF CORPORATIONS.
3. ~~(S)~~ THE LABOUR LEADERSHIP HAD ORIGINALLY NOT INTENDED TO MAKE AS MUCH OF A FUSS OVER THE ANNIVERSARY, AND INDEED PM BLAIR HIMSELF IS OUT OF THE COUNTRY, VACATIONING WITH HIS FAMILY IN ITALY. A RECENT SPATE OF BAD PRESS (OVER THE BREAKUP OF FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK'S MARRIAGE, THE LOSS OF THE UXBRIDGE BY-ELECTION, AND LORD SIMON'S FLIP-FLOP ON SELLING HIS BP SHARES), HOWEVER, APPEARS TO HAVE PROMPTED GOVERNMENT SPIN-DOCTORS (ESPECIALLY MANDELSON), EAGER TO GENERATE A BIT OF GOOD NEWS, TO GO AHEAD.
4. ~~(S)~~ THE GENERAL CONSENSUS, EVEN FROM THE TORY PRESS, WAS THAT THE GOVERNMENT DESERVES HIGH MARKS FOR MAKING A GOOD START. WHILE SOME OBSERVERS ACCUSED MINISTERS OF PUTTING OFF TOUGH DECISIONS ON MANY DIFFICULT ISSUES BY CALLING FOR "POLICY REVIEWS," ALL HAD TO ACKNOWLEDGE QUITE A FEW SUBSTANTIAL, EVEN BOLD ACTIONS (HANDING OF CONTROL OVER INTEREST RATES TO THE BANK OF ENGLAND, CALLING OF REFERENDUMS ON ESTABLISHING ELECTED ASSEMBLIES FOR SCOTLAND AND WALES, PROGRESS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, THE PEACEFUL HANDOVER OF HONG KONG, ETC). MORE IMPORTANTLY, BY THESE ACTIONS, AND BY ANNOUNCING PLANS FOR MANY MORE, THE GOVERNMENT WAS ABLE TO PRESENT ITSELF AS A DECISIVE ACTOR, TAKING CHARGE AND SHOWING THAT THE ERA OF POLITICAL PARALYSIS WAS OVER.

COMMENT

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5. (C) WE, TOO, WOULD JUDGE THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT TO HAVE MADE AN IMPRESSIVE START ON A VERY AMBITIOUS PROGRAM. TONY BLAIR, HAVING TRANSFORMED THE LABOUR PARTY AND BRITISH POLITICAL LIFE CLEARLY ENVISAGES THE NEXT STEP TO BE SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGING THE WAY THE UK IS GOVERNED. THE FIRST STEP -- CREATION OF SCOTTISH AND WELSH ASEMBLIES -- IS ALREADY UNDER WAY. STILL TO COME ARE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IN THE UK LEGAL SYSTEM THROUGH THE ADOPTION OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND, EVENTUALLY, PERHAPS EVEN CHANGES IN THE COMMONS.

6. (C) ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, BLAIR'S BIGGEST CHALLENGE WAS TO CONVINCED FINANCIAL MARKETS AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY THAT, CONSISTENT WITH ITS CAMPAIGN PROMISES, LABOUR WOULD BE A SAFE PAIR OF HANDS FOR THE GROWING ECONOMY. IN THE EVENT, LABOUR OUTPERFORMED, IN PARTICULAR WITH GORDON BROWN'S SURPRISE DECISIONS TO MAKE THE BANK OF ENGLAND SUBSTANTIALLY INDEPENDENT FROM THE TREASURY IN SETTING MONETARY POLICY AND TO CENTRALIZE AND STRENGTHEN SECURITIES REGULATION. THE CHANCELLOR'S BUDGET ON JULY 2 MADE ONLY MODERATE CHANGES TO THE UK'S FISCAL POSTURE, AND INCLUDED THE PROMISED "WINDFALL" TAX (WHICH WAS STRUCTURED IN A DEFT WAY). MOREOVER, IN A THREE DAY STRIKE AGAINST BRITISH AIRWAYS THE GOVERNMENT STUDIEOUSLY KEPT ITS DISTANCE FROM BOTH THE UNIONS AND MANAGEMENT, DESPITE THE SUBSTANTIAL DISRUPTION TO TRAVELLERS. THE MAJOR CLOUD ON THE BLAIR TEAM'S ECONOMIC HORIZON, HOWEVER, IS THE PERSISTENT HIGH VALUE OF THE POUND WHICH IS BEGINNING TO ALARM MANUFACTURERS. THERE IS GENERAL APPRECIATION OF THE FACT THAT THE POUND'S VALUE IS AFFECTED BY THE EXPECTATION OF CONTINUING INFLATIONARY PRESSURES AND CONCOMITANT INTEREST RATE TIGHTNESS, AND THE WEAKNESS OF THE DM.

7. (C) BLAIR'S IMAGE AS AN INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN IS A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO HIS HIGH APPROVAL RATINGS. HE HAS NEGOTIATED THE SHOALS OF THE HONG KONG HANDOVER, RAISED THE UK'S PROFILE IN EUROPE AND INITIATED -- ACCORDING TO ONE PRESS STORY -- A NEW SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP. TO A BRITAIN VERY WEARY OF DEALING WITH TERRORISM AND BOMBINGS OF PUBLIC PLACES, THE NEWS OF AN IRA CEASEFIRE WAS ALSO A CREDIT TO THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT.

8. (C) WHILE THERE ARE ALREADY SIGNS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL SOON HAVE TO FACE UP TO THE KIND OF CONFLICTING PRIORITIES WHICH END ALL POLITICAL HONEYMOONS (ESPECIALLY OVER FUNDING FOR SOCIAL WELFARE AND EDUCATION PROPOSALS, AND OVER RAISING INTEREST RATES TO BALANCE THE STRENGTH OF THE POUND), THE CURRENT GOOD MOOD LOOKS LIKELY TO CARRY THROUGH UNTIL PARLIAMENT RECONVENES IN OCTOBER, AND POSSIBLY WELL BEYOND.  
CROWE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9545

TOR: 970812130436 M2886109

DIST:

SIT: MCELDFOWNEY PETERS VERSHBOW

SIT: NSC

# Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHCAA1073 2550211-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 120209Z SEP 97  
 LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
 OSRI: RUEHC  
 DTG: 120209Z SEP 97  
 ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC  
 TO: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 2096  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: (U) KUDOS FOR BIOGRAPHIC REPORTING

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
 PER E. O. 13526

2015-0158-M [1.38]  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 171073

EO 13526 3.3(b)(1)

E.O. 12958: DECL: (1.6X1)  
 TAGS: PINR, EL  
 SUBJECT: (U) KUDOS FOR BIOGRAPHIC REPORTING

REF: A) DUBLIN 03218, B) DUBLIN 03371,  
 C) DUBLIN 03219, D) DUBLIN 0343-, E) DUBLIN 03220

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY JON M. GIBNEY, DEPUTY DIRECTOR,  
 INR/IL. REASON: 1.5(C).

2. [3.3(b)(1)] DEPARTMENT (INR/B) COMMENDS POST'S BIOGRAPHIC  
 REPORTING OVER THE PAST YEAR, PARTICULARLY THAT WHICH  
 DEALT WITH KEY PLAYERS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE  
 PROCESS AND THE MAKEUP OF THE NEW IRISH GOVERNMENT. INR/B  
 FOUND REFS A-E EXTREMELY HELPFUL IN INTRODUCING WASHINGTON  
 POLICYMAKERS TO THEIR NEW IRISH COUNTERPARTS. POST'S  
 ASSESSMENT OF PM BERTIE AHERN'S BACKGROUND, LEADERSHIP  
 STYLE, AND APPROACH TO KEY ISSUES WAS PARTICULARLY USEFUL  
 AND INTRIGUING (REF A).

3 [3.3(b)(1)] INRIB LOOKS FORWARD TO ADDITIONAL REPORTING ON  
 IRELAND'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LEADERS IN THE MONTHS  
 AHEAD. A SEPTEMBER 1996 NSC REQUEST FOR PROFILES OF THEN

EO 13526 3.3(b)(1)

THE PFP DEBATE, EU RELATIONS, AND THE PEACE PROCESS WOULD  
 BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL. INR/B ALSO LOOKS FORWARD TO ALL  
 OTHER REPORTING ON THE PEACE PROCESS, AS WELL AS  
 ASSESSMENTS OF THE PENDING PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.  
 TALBOTT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01  
 SSN: 1073  
 TOR: 970911221312 M2927060

DIST:

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA4789 2581545-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 151545Z SEP 97  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 151545Z SEP 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2114  
 INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0378  
 SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER RAY BURKE SURVIVES OPPOSITION  
 CHALLENGE ON POLITICAL PAYMENTS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.39)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 004789

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/15/07  
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, EI  
 SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER RAY BURKE SURVIVES OPPOSITION  
 CHALLENGE ON POLITICAL PAYMENTS

REF: DUBLIN 3545 AND PREVIOUS (NOTAL)

1. CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).
2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: FM RAY BURKE HAS EMERGED BATTERED BUT POLITICALLY INTACT FROM A CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING PAST PAYMENTS TO POLITICIANS. UNLESS EVIDENCE EMERGES TO SUBSTANTIATE CHARGES THAT HE PROVIDED POLITICAL FAVORS IN RETURN FOR A CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION, BURKE IS SET TO REMAIN FOREIGN MINISTER AND CONTINUE TO FOCUS SOLIDLY ON NORTHERN IRELAND AND, TO A LESSER DEGREE, EU MATTERS. END SUMMARY.
3. (U) THE DAIL (PARLIAMENT) LAST WEEK DEBATED TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR A TRIBUNAL OF INQUIRY INTO PAST PAYMENTS TO POLITICIANS. THE INQUIRY WILL FOCUS ON IMPROPRIETIES INVOLVING FORMER FIANNA FAIL PRIME MINISTER CHARLES HAUGHEY AND FORMER FINE GAEL TRANSPORT MINISTER MICHAEL LOWRY (REFTELS).
4. (U) THE GOVERNMENT EASILY DEFEATED OPPOSITION AMENDMENTS SEEKING TO EXPAND THE TERMS OF REFERENCE TO INCLUDE A 1989 PAYMENT OF 30,000 POUNDS (50,000 DOLLARS) IN CASH FROM A BUSINESSMAN TO BURKE'S CAMPAIGN FUND. THE CONTRIBUTION WAS NOT ILLEGAL, BUT HAS RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER BURKE EVER PROVIDED FAVORS IN RETURN. NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST BURKE DID SO HAS EMERGED. BURKE DELIVERED AN IMPASSIONED 90-MINUTE STATEMENT TELLING HIS DAIL COLLEAGUES HE HAD DONE NOTHING WRONG. RISING TO BURKE'S DEFENSE, ONE GOVERNMENT MINISTER TOLD CRITICS TO "PUT UP OR SHUT UP."
5. ~~(S)~~ COMMENT: THE SINCERITY AND VEHEMENCE OF BURKE'S PERFORMANCE HELPED BEAT BACK WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN A REAL PROBLEM FOR BERTIE AHERN'S MINORITY GOVERNMENT. WHILE NOT EVERYONE IS SATISFIED, IT IS LIKELY THE OPPOSITION WILL NOW FOCUS ITS ATTENTION ON THE FAR LARGER SUMS WHICH FORMER PM

HAUGHEY HAS ADMITTED RECEIVING. THAT TANGLED WEB COULD YET  
COME BACK TO HAUNT AHERN'S FIANNA FAIL-LED GOVERNMENT, BUT  
FOR NOW THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S FOCUS IS SOLIDLY BACK ON THE  
NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS AND, TO A LESSER DEGREE, EU  
MATTERS. SMITH

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 01

**SSN:** 4789

**TOR:** 970915115703 M2931260

**DIST:**

SIT: BUTLER

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHCAA2570 2700219-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: P 270215Z SEP 97  
 LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
 OSRI: RUEHC  
 DTG: 270215Z SEP 97  
 ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC  
 TO: EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: EUR DAILY ACTIVITY REPORT 26 SEP 97

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.40)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 182570

E.O. 12958: DECL: 9/26/07  
 TAGS: PREL  
 SUBJECT: EUR DAILY ACTIVITY REPORT 26 SEP 97

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1. CLASSIFIED BY BOB HANNAN, EUR, PER 1.5 (B) AND (D).
2. ~~(S)~~ EUR/UBI

~~(S)~~ NORTHERN IRELAND: MEETING WITH BRITISH CABINET MINISTER: VISITING NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTER OF STATE PAUL MURPHY TOLD PDAS WAYNE AND DAS GADSDEN THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REMAINS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO PROGRESS IN THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS AND IS FOCUSED ON KEEPING THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. MURPHY HAILED DAVID TRIMBLE'S WILLINGNESS TO REMAIN IN THE TALKS---WHETHER OR NOT THEY MEET FACE-TO-FACE WITH SINN FEIN---AS A HISTORIC "PSYCHOLOGICAL MOVE FOR THE UNIONISTS. IN GENERAL, MURPHY SAID, HE BELIEVES PROGRESS TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED QUICKLY IN THE ABSENCE OF PROCEDURAL WRANGLES AND DISPUTES OVER DECOMMISSIONING. THE MINISTER PRAISED THE USG ROLE THUS FAR. HE OBSERVED THAT ANY ENCOURAGEMENT THAT USG OFFICIALS COULD GIVE TO THE UNIONIST AND LOYALIST

POLITICIANS WHO PLAN TO VISIT WASHINGTON IN OCTOBER WOULD HELP IMMENSELY. (KASHKETT)

~~(S)~~ IRELAND: FM MEETING WITH NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BERGER: IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER, DURING A MEETING WITH SANDY BERGER, EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO ASSISTING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. BURKE WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT THE MULTI-PARTY TALKS COULD MOVE FORWARD AS LONG AS UNIONIST LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE IS PERSUADED TO REMAIN IN THE PROCESS, ALTHOUGH NEGOTIATIONS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE DIFFICULT. BURKE STRESSED THE RISKS AND HARD WORK THAT SINN FEIN LEADERS ARE UNDERTAKING, AND HE URGED THAT WE CONTINUE TO SEEK CONFIDENCE-BUILDING ACTIONS. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON A PROSPECTIVE VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF IRISH PRIME MINISTER

AHERN IN MID-DECEMBER, FOLLOWING THE EU COUNCIL MEETING.  
(KASHKETT)

3. (U) EUR/WE

(U) ITALY: AMBASSADOR BARTHOLOMEW SAYS ADDIO

TODAY WAS AMBASSADOR REGINALD AND MRS. ROSE-ANNE BARTHOLOMEW'S LAST DAY IN ROME AND IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE. WE ARE LOSING REG TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR AFTER 29 YEARS OF U.S. GOVERNMENT SERVICE. HE LEAVES BEHIND A STRONGER, MORE MATURE, BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ITALY. NO ONE WHO WORKED WITH REG WILL FORGET HIM OR THE WAY HE ALWAYS MANAGED TO GET THINGS DONE. THE ITALIANS WILL MISS HIS PRESENCE AS MUCH AS WE WILL. WE WISH THEM BOTH GOOD LUCK IN THEIR NEW LIFE AND CAN ONLY SAY "CI VEDIAMO PRESTO!" (PIERANGELO)

(U) ITALY: EARTHQUAKE HITS ITALY

A QUAKE REGISTERING 5.9 ON THE RICHTER SCALE HIT THE MOUNTAINOUS AREAS OF UMBRIA AND THE MARCHES EARLY FRIDAY MORNING. THE MAIN QUAKE AND ITS SEVERAL AFTERSHOCKS DID LIMITED, BUT WIDESPREAD DAMAGE TO OLDER BUILDINGS IN THE ZONES. EIGHT PEOPLE WERE REPORTED DEAD AND NUMEROUS WERE REPORTED INJURED, MOSTLY FROM FALLING DEBRIS. NO AMERICAN HAVING BEEN REPORTED DEAD OR INJURED TO DATE. IN THE RELIGIOUS AND ARTISTIC CENTER OF ASSISI, THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS SUFFERED SEVERE DAMAGE TO ITS MOSAIC COVERED CUPOLA AND MANY OF ITS IRREPLACEABLE MURALS BY GIOTTO. TELEPHONE SERVICE TO ITALY WAS DIFFICULT DUE TO THE CRUSH OF CALLS. EUR/WE FIELDLED QUESTIONS FROM CONCERNED AMERICANS. (PIERANGELO/TELCON)

4. (e) EUR/SCE: CROATIA:

(e) TREASURY ALERTED EUR/SCE THAT USDA PLANS TO SUBMIT NEXT WEEK TO THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL A PROPOSAL TO EXTEND DOLLARS45 MILLION IN CREDIT GUARANTEES FOR EXPORT OF U.S. COMMODITIES TO BOSNIA, CROATIA, AND SLOVENIA AS A GROUP. CONSISTENT WITH THE USG POLICY OF BLOCKING EXTENSION OF CREDIT TO CROATIA PENDING IMPROVED GOC COOPERATION ON DAYTON, ESPECIALLY ON WAR CRIMINALS, WE ARE WORKING WITH EB AND TREASURY TO GET USDA TO DROP CROATIA FROM ELIGIBILITY FOR THESE CREDITS AT THIS TIME.

(e) FURTHER TO THE ISSUE OF THE EXIM-PROPOSED UPGRADE TO CROATIA'S PRIVATE RISK RATING: OMB DECIDED TODAY THAT OUTSTANDING ICRAS ISSUES WILL BE ADDRESSED AT A POLICY-LEVEL MEETING TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30. EUR/SCE IS WORKING WITH EB ON HIGH-LEVEL INTERVENTION AT OMB BEFORE THE MEETING.

5. (SBU) EUR/CAN

(SBU) PRECLEARANCE: CANADIANS MAY SHARE DRAFT BILL LANGUAGE:

FOLLOWING OUR POINTED REQUEST AT SEPT 17-19 TALKS IN WASHINGTON AND SUBSEQUENT FOLLOW-UP IN OTTAWA AND HERE, DFAIT HAS COME WITH A POSSIBLY WORKABLE SCENARIO TO SHARE WITH US DRAFT TEXT OF CANADIAN LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD ALLOW US CUSTOMS AND INS OFFICIALS TO DO THEIR JOBS AT PRECLEARANCE FACILITIES IN CANADA. UNDER THIS SCENARIO,

STATE, CUSTOMS, AND INS ATTORNEYS COULD REVIEW THE DRAFT, REQUEST FOLLOWUP MEETINGS AS NEEDED TO REVIEW ANY CHANGES WE REQUEST, BRING IN AN ADVISOR ON CANADIAN LAW, AND MEET WITH CANADIAN ATTORNEYS TO GO THROUGH THE LEGISLATION. OUR ATTORNEYS COULD NOT, HOWEVER, TAKE COPIES OF THE DRAFT LEGISLATION WITH THEM. DFAIT SAYS THAT DRAFT LANGUAGE COULD BE SHARED IN THIS WAY IF BOTH SIDES REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CRUCIAL ISSUE OF FINES AND PENALTIES -- WHICH WAS ONLY DISCUSSED IN DETAIL FOR THE FIRST TIME SEPT 17. WE ARE COORDINATING WITH EB, L, CUSTOMS AND INS BEFORE WE RESPOND TO THE CANADIANS. (BROWN-EMRICH TELCON)

(SBU) BASE CLEANUP ACCORD FUNDING STATUS:

OSD REPORTED TODAY THAT THE SASC VOTE ON THE DOD AUTHORIZATION BILL HAS BEEN DELAYED UNTIL NEXT WEEK OVER

AN UNRELATED DEPO ISSUE. ALL DEMOCRATS ON THE SASC REPORTEDLY SUPPORT FUNDING FOR THE BASE CLEANUP ACCORD, AND DOD LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS CONTINUES TO LOBBY REPUBLICANS. (KUNSMAN)

6. ~~(S)~~ EUR/AGS

~~(S)~~ BND TO MONITOR SCIENTOLOGISTS ABROAD? WE SAW GERMAN PRESS REPORTS TODAY THAT THE GERMAN FEDERAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (BND) IS CONSIDERING POSSIBLE MONITORING OF SCIENTOLOGISTS ABROAD. WE WILL CHECK THE STORY WITH EMBASSY BONN AND THE GERMAN EMBASSY HERE. IF TRUE, THIS REPRESENTS A WORRISOME DEVELOPMENT. (RUEDY, PRESS REPORTS)

~~(S)~~ SCIENTOLOGIST ON USDEL TO WARSAW OSCE MEETING? WE HEARD TODAY THAT SENATOR D'AMATO MAY PUSH TO GET A SCIENTOLOGIST NAMED A PUBLIC MEMBER ON THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE WARSAW OSCE REVIEW MEETING. WE WERE ALSO TOLD THE DELEGATE WOULD PROBABLY BE A "LUMINARY" (RUEDY, MEETING)

7. (LOU) EUR/UBI

(LOU) BRITAIN MAY SOON ANNOUNCE EARLY EMU ENTRV

AN UNNAMED UK MINISTER, ACCORDING TO THE "FINANCIAL TIMES" (FT), HAS SAID LONDON IS ON THE VERGE OF ISSUING A STATEMENT THAT THE BRITISH STERLING IS LIKELY TO JOIN THE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION (EMU) AT AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY AFTER THE 1999 LAUNCH. THE STATEMENT, TO BE MADE IN LATE OCTOBER AFTER PARLIAMENT RECONVENES, WOULD OUTLINE THE CONDITIONS FOR STERLING'S MEMBERSHIP. SINCE ASSUMING OFFICE LAST MAY, LABOUR HAS ADOPTED ON EMU MEMBERSHIP AN ATTITUDE OF "WAIT-AND-SEE" IF JOINING WOULD BE IN BRITAIN'S BEST INTERESTS. CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER GORDON BROWN IN JULY SET OUT FIVE CONDITIONS FOR UK ENTRY INTO EMU WHICH VIRTUALLY PRECLUDED ENTRY IN 1999 BUT LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY FOR MEMBERSHIP LATER. LONDON'S NEW REPORTED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER JOINING EMU SOONER COMES IN THE MIDST OF REPORTS OF A NEW MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS EMU BY FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK, THE LEADING EUROSCEPTIC IN LABOUR'S CABINET. (KETTNER; LONDON 011108, PRESS REPORTS)

8. (U) WEEKLY ACTIVITY REPORT

I. ACTION:

## (U) AMBASSADOR LINO CONSULTATIONS

AMBASSADOR MARISA LINO MET WITH EUR/EX DON HAYS, A/S FOR ADMINISTRATION PAT KENNEDY, AND A/S FOR DIPLOMATIC SECURITY ERIC BOSWELL WHILE IN THE DEPARTMENT THIS WEEK. AMEMBASSY TIRANA SECURITY CONCERNS WERE PRIMARY TOPICS: ARRIVAL DATE OF MSG DETACHMENT; IMPROVEMENT TO HOUSING COMPOUND SECURITY FENCE; ACQUISITION OF SURROUNDING PROPERTIES AT RISK OF ENCROACHMENT BY SQUATTERS; ESTABLISHING A POSITION FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE NURSE PRACTITIONER. (RHOADES)

## II. UPDATE:

## (U) POST PROFILES FOR DEPUTY COMMITTEE ON TALL INN, RIGA

EUR/EX AND THE DESKS HAVE WORKED TOGETHER TO PRODUCE CONCISE POST SUMMARIES FOR THE D COMMITTEE TO USE IN SELECTING PRINCIPAL OFFICERS AND DCMS FOR SEVERAL POSTS IN THE REGION. WHILE NO MAJOR PROBLEMS EXIST, THE STRETCH OF FINANCIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES THAT HAS BECOME COMMONPLACE MAKES IT ESSENTIAL THAT OUR POS AND DCMS POSSESS STRONG MANAGERIAL SKILLS. (AARON)

## (U) APEC ADVANCE MEETING IN VANCOUVER

THREE REPRESENTATIVES FROM EUR/EX WILL ATTEND THE APEC ADVANCE MEETINGS IN VANCOUVER FROM 29 SEPTEMBER TO 3 OCTOBER. SO FAR PREPARATIONS ARE ADVANCING SMOOTHLY. WE HAVE FORWARDED A REQUEST TO FMP FOR THE PROJECTED BUDGET OF DOLLARS2 MILLION. (SPALDING)

## III. RESOURCES:

## (U) FUNDING FOR SARAJEVO

FMP CONFIRMED THAT IT WILL PROVIDE DOLLARS974,000 TO FUND ADDITIONAL FULLY ARMORED VEHICLES FOR EMBASSY AND OHR/OSCE USE; ANOTHER DOLLARS128,000 WILL BE USED FOR UNARMORED SUPPORT VEHICLES. S/RPP HAS AGREED TO FUND ONGOING SECURITY DETAILS IN BOSNIA WITH AN ADDITIONAL DOLLARS1.57 MILLION FROM PKO FUNDS. - (FOLDI)  
EIZENSTAT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2570

TOR: 970926222153 M2950828

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDFOWNEY SAPIRO TODD VERSHBOW  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHDLA5103 2721552-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 291552Z SEP 97  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 291552Z SEP 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2186  
 INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0390  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: FM BURKE (STILL) IN TROUBLE

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1.41)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 005103

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/29/99  
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, EI  
 SUBJECT: FM BURKE (STILL) IN TROUBLE

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AMB. JEAN KENNEDY SMITH. REASON 1.5 (D).

REF: DUBLIN 4789

1. (U) NEW EVIDENCE HAS EMERGED WHICH CASTS DOUBTS ON THE CREDIBILITY OF FOREIGN MINISTER RAY BURKE'S CLAIMS THAT HE DID NOT OFFER POLITICAL FAVORS IN RETURN FOR A 50,000 DOLLAR CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION IN 1989. A LETTER LEAKED TO THE PRESS SHOWS THAT THE PERSON WHO GAVE THE MONEY TO BURKE WAS SIMULTANEOUSLY ENGAGED IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL (ON WHICH BURKE HAD SERVED TWO YEARS EARLIER) TO REZONE LAND FOR A LARGE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT. IT IS ALSO CLAIMED THAT, AT THE SAME MEETING WHERE THE MONEY WAS TURNED OVER, BURKE WAS GIVEN A SCHEDULE OF THE PROPERTIES TO BE REZONED.

2. (U) ALTHOUGH BURKE CONTINUES TO ASSERT ADAMANTLY THAT HE DID NOTHING WRONG, THE OPPOSITION AND MEDIA HAVE CALLED FOR A FULL INVESTIGATION. MORE IMPORTANTLY, PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN'S MINORITY GOVERNMENT COALITION PARTNERS, THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS, HAVE BEGUN TO SHOW SIGNS OF GENUINE DISCOMFORT AT THEIR FIANNA FAIL PARTNERS' UNCRITICAL STANCE ON BURKE.

3. (U) THESE FACTORS PROMPTED AHERN TO ANNOUNCE ON SEPTEMBER 28 THAT A NEW TRIBUNAL OF INQUIRY WOULD BE CONVENED TO EXAMINE THE "PLANNING HISTORY" OF 726 ACRES OF LAND IN NORTH DUBLIN. THE ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN LABELLED A "DRAMATIC REVERSAL" OF THE TAOISEACH'S PREVIOUS STANCE THAT THE PAYMENT TO BURKE SHOULD NOT BE THE SUBJECT OF AN INVESTIGATION. TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE NEW TRIBUNAL WILL BE ESTABLISHED LATER THIS WEEK. ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, BURKE'S CHIEF ACCUSER WILL BE GIVEN POLICE PROTECTION AND IMMUNITY FROM PROSECUTION IF HE MAKES A

FULL STATEMENT ON THE LAND REZONING MATTER (WHICH HE HAS SO FAR REFUSED TO DO).

4. (U) THE NEW TRIBUNAL IS EXPECTED TO RUN IN PARALLEL WITH ANOTHER TRIBUNAL RECENTLY ESTABLISHED TO INVESTIGATE PAYMENTS TO FORMER PM CHARLES HAUGHEY (FIANNA FAIL) AND FORMER TRANSPORT MINISTER MICHAEL LOWRY (FINE GAEL).

COMMENT

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5. (U) ONE NEWSPAPER HAS CALLED THIS LATEST TWIST IN BURKE'S FORTUNES THE POLITICAL EQUIVALENT OF "DEATH BY A THOUSAND CUTS." ALTHOUGH THE TAOISEACH CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR BURKE TO RESIGN AS FOREIGN MINISTER, A GROWING NUMBER OF VOICES IS QUESTIONING WHETHER BURKE CAN FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AS POINT MAN FOR THE CRITICAL NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE TALKS, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY FIGHTING THE INSINUATIONS OF CORRUPTION THAT CONTINUE TO SURROUND HIM.

6. (C) ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 28 WHETHER A CHANGE WAS IMMINENT, PM AHERN RESPONDED THAT "THERE'S A LOT OF PRESSURE BUILDING -- IT'S LIKE A ROLLER COASTER." SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5103

TOR: 970929122017 M2952593

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 071648Z OCT 97  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2227  
 INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0393  
 RUEHRH/AMEMBASSY RIYADH 0007  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER BURKE RESIGNS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.42)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

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

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 005353

C O R R E C T E D COPY PARA NUMBERING  
 E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/07/07  
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, EI  
 SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER BURKE RESIGNS

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

REF: DUBLIN 5103 (NOTAL)

## SUMMARY

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1. (U) FOREIGN MINISTER RAY BURKE RESIGNED TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7, IN THE WAKE OF ONGOING ALLEGATIONS OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION. PM BERTIE AHERN HAS TOLD PARLIAMENT THAT, PENDING APPOINTMENT OF A NEW MINISTER, HE WILL TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO. DEFENSE MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS IS THE CURRENT FAVORITE TO REPLACE BURKE. WITH BURKE GIVING UP HIS DAIL SEAT AS WELL, THERE WILL NOW BE TWO BY-ELECTIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE, WHICH COULD REDUCE THE MINORITY GOVERNMENT'S SLIM MARGIN OF PARLIAMENTARY SEATS EVEN FURTHER.

## END SUMMARY

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2. (SBU) THE STRAW THAT BROKE THE CAMEL'S BACK CAME IN THE FORM OF REVELATIONS IN THE WEEKEND PRESS THAT BURKE HAD ACTED IN AN "IRREGULAR" FASHION WHEN, AS JUSTICE MINISTER IN 1990, HE GRANTED 11 IRISH PASSPORTS TO THE WEALTHY SAUDI BANKER SHEIKH KHALID BIN MAHFOUZ IN RETURN FOR A DOLS 20 MILLION INVESTMENT IN IRELAND (DOLS 3 MILLION OF WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN ACCOUNTED FOR). ALTHOUGH A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT INTERNAL INQUIRY DID NOT RESULT IN ANY CHARGES BEING BROUGHT AGAINST BURKE, THE REVELATIONS FUELED SUSPICIONS OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE PEDDLING THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN HEIGHTENED BY SUGGESTIONS THAT BURKE WEIGHED

IN ON A DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL LAND REZONING DECISION IN RETURN FOR A 1989 CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION OF DOLS 50,000.

3. (SBU) CENTRAL TO BURKE'S PREDICAMENT WAS THE FACT THAT IT PUT STRAINS ON THE MINORITY COALITION GOVERNMENT OF TAOISEACH (PM) BERTIE AHERN. TANAISTE (DEPUTY PM) MARY HARNEY, LEADER OF THE JUNIOR COALITION PARTNER PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS PARTY, MADE CLEAR SHE WOULD HAVE REAL PROBLEMS STAYING IN THE COALITION IF CHARGES OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION WERE NOT THOROUGHLY INVESTIGATED. THE PD'S SUPPORT IN THE POLLS HAS BEEN CUT IN HALF SINCE THE JUNE ELECTIONS, AND THE PARTY (NOW AT ONLY 2 PERCENT) RISKS BEING ABSORBED ENTIRELY BY MAJORITY PARTNER FIANNA FAIL. WITH FIANNA FAIL SHOWING SIGNS OF BEING RELUCTANT TO INVESTIGATE RAY BURKE, PRESSURE WAS GROWING ON, ARNEY FROM WITHIN HER PARTY TO TAKE A FIRM STAND ON THE BURKE AFFAIR.

NORTHERN IRELAND

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4. (SBU) BURKE STEADFASTLY MAINTAINS HE HAS DONE NOTHING WRONG, AND IN HIS RESIGNATION STATEMENT REAFFIRMED HIS WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH ANY INVESTIGATION. BUT HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ONGOING PUBLIC CONTROVERSY WAS INTERFERING WITH HIS ABILITY TO GIVE "TOTAL FOCUS" TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE TALKS IN BELFAST, WHICH FINALLY MOVED INTO THE SUBSTANTIVE PHASE THIS WEEK. THERE IS WIDESPREAD RECOGNITION IN IRELAND THAT THE TALKS REPRESENT AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO FORGE A LASTING SETTLEMENT, AND RISING PUBLIC CONCERN WAS BEING EXPRESSED ON PRECISELY THE QUESTION OF HOW EFFECTIVELY A BESIEGED RAY BURKE COULD REPRESENT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS.

BY-ELECTION

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5. (SBU) IN ANNOUNCING HIS RESIGNATION AS FM, BURKE ALSO SAID HE HAD DECIDED TO RESIGN HIS SEAT AS A MEMBER OF DAIL EIREANN (PARLIAMENT), WHICH HE HAD HELD FOR 24 YEARS. THIS MEANS THE RULING FF/PD COALITION HOLDS 80 INSTEAD OF 81 SEATS IN THE DAIL (84 VOTES ARE NEEDED FOR A MAJORITY IN THE 166-SEAT DAIL, INCLUDING THAT OF THE SPEAKER IF THERE IS A TIE). THE OPPOSITION HOLDS 74 SEATS, BUT CAN COUNT ON SUPPORT FROM THE GREEN PARTY (2 VOTES) AND, OCCASIONALLY, FROM SOME OF THE SEVEN INDEPENDENTS IN THE DAIL. BURKE'S RESIGNATION, ALONG WITH THE RECENT DEATH OF AN OPPOSITION (LABOUR PARTY) T.D., MEANS THERE WILL NOW BE TWO BY-ELECTIONS IN COMING WEEKS THAT COULD LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT'S MARGIN EVEN SLIMMER THAN IT ALREADY IS.

SUCCESSOR

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6. (X) PM AHERN TOLD THE DAIL TODAY THAT, PENDING THE APPOINTMENT OF BURKE'S SUCCESSOR, HE WOULD TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO HIMSELF. THE NAME MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IS THAT OF DEFENSE MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS, A FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER (1992-93). ANDREWS HAS A REPUTATION FOR BEING COMPETENT BUT NOT TERRIBLY HARD WORKING; HE WAS CRITICAL OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE GULF WAR. A DARK HORSE CANDIDATE FOR THE POST IS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 005353

C O R R E C T E D COPY PARA NUMBERING  
E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/07/07

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, EI  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER BURKE RESIGNS

DERMOT AHERN, A SMART AND TRUSTED ALLY OF THE TAOISEACH WHO IS CURRENTLY SERVING AS MINISTER FOR SOCIAL, COMMUNITY AND FAMILY AFFAIRS. THE NEW MINISTER'S TOP PRIORITY WILL BE THE NORTHERN IRELAND TALKS; HE WILL JOIN JUSTICE MINISTER JOHN O'DONOGHUE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF STATE LIZ O'DONNELL IN THE GOI DELEGATION AT STORMONT.

COMMENT  
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7. (X) THE LEGACY OF FIANNA FAIL'S PAST -- COZY RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUSINESS AND POLITICS -- CONTINUES TO HAUNT IRISH POLITICS, EVEN AS THE COUNTRY ENTERS INTO NEGOTIATIONS THAT LITERALLY COULD CHANGE ITS POLITICAL SHAPE AND DEFINITION. DISTRUST BETWEEN FIANNA FAIL AND ITS COALITION PARTNERS OVER PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL CRONYISM HAS BROUGHT DOWN PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS, EVEN AT CRITICAL MOMENTS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE RELUCTANCE WHICH BERTIE AHERN EVIDENCED TO TACKLE HEAD ON THE MOUNTING ALLEGATIONS AGAINST RAY BURKE HAS LEFT MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVING THAT, WHILE HE WANTS TO REFORM THE PARTY AND CLEAN UP IRISH POLITICS, HE IS NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT THE PERSONAL COST THIS WOULD ENTAIL IN TERMS OF CONFRONTING FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN FIANNA FAIL.

8. (X) THE BURKE EPISODE COULD JOLT THE PRIME MINISTER INTO THE REALIZATION THAT THERE IS LITTLE ROOM FOR MANEUVER IF THE MEDIA AND PUBLIC PERCEIVE CORRUPTION TO GO UNCHALLENGED. BUT THAT REALIZATION MAY COME TOO LATE TO HELP FIANNA FAIL IN THE TWO UPCOMING BY-ELECTIONS. GIVEN THAT THE IRA CEASEFIRE WAS BASED IN PART ON EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT A FIANNA FAIL-LED GOVERNMENT COULD DELIVER IN THE PEACE PROCESS, AHERN WILL HAVE TO MOVE SWIFTLY TO CONTAIN POTENTIAL DAMAGE NOT ONLY TO HIS GOVERNMENT, BUT TO THE FUTURE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02  
SSN: 5353  
<^SSN>5353  
TOR: 971106140214 M3012389  
<^TOR>971106140303 M3012390  
DIST:  
SIT: BUTLER  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHLOA2405 3011755-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: P 281755Z OCT 97  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 281755Z OCT 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0620  
 INFO: RUEHXQ/ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE  
 RUEHBU/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 0261  
 RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0358  
 SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0152-m (1.43)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 012405

FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY GROSSMAN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/29/07

TAGS: PREL, UK

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM ROBERT BRADTKE.  
 REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

2. (C) SUMMARY. AT A LUNCHEON MEETING ON OCTOBER 21, THE AMBASSADOR AND FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK DISCUSSED KEY ISSUES FACING THE TWO COUNTRIES. ON EUROPE AND EMU, COOK DESCRIBED THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT'S POLICY AS A "WATCHING BRIEF." IF EMU PROVED TO BE SUCCESSFUL, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD NOT REMAIN OUTSIDE. COOK HIGHLIGHTED BOSNIA AS "THE BIG ISSUE" FACING EUROPE AND THE U.S. IN THE COMING YEAR AND REPEATED BRITISH INSISTENCE ON A U.S. GROUND PRESENCE AS NECESSARY FOR THE UK TO REMAIN. COOK EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, CITING THE ATTITUDE OF ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU AS THE BIGGEST SINGLE IMPEDIMENT TO MOVING AHEAD. COOK PLANS A TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST IN MID-NOVEMBER. LOOKING AT POTENTIAL AREAS WHERE THE U.S. AND UK MIGHT "STUB TOES," COOK LISTED ARGENTINA AND CLIMATE CHANGE. THE AMBASSADOR MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR UK SUPPORT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO SETTLE ITS UN ARREARS. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO URGED GREATER EFFORTS TO OVERCOME U.S.-UK DIFFERENCES ON CLIMATE CHANGE PRIOR TO THE KYOTO MEETING. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) ON OCTOBER 21, 1997 THE AMBASSADOR WAS FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK'S GUEST AT A GET-ACQUAINTED LUNCHEON. ALSO PARTICIPATING ON THE UK SIDE WERE FCO POLITICAL DIRECTOR GREENSTOCK, AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. DESIGNATE CHRIS MEYER, SPECIAL ADVISOR ANDREW HOOD, AND PRIVATE SECRETARY JOHN GRANT. DCM ACCOMPANIED THE AMBASSADOR. AMONG THE KEY POINTS DISCUSSED DURING THE LUNCH WERE THE FOLLOWING.

EUROPE  
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4. (S) IN RESPONSE TO A SERIES OF QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS FROM THE AMBASSADOR, COOK EMPHASIZED THAT THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT SAW THE UK'S FUTURE AS A PART OF EUROPE. THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT DID NOT HAVE THE "HANG UPS" ABOUT A LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY THAT HAD PLAGUED THE EUROPEAN POLICY OF THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT. IN THE SPECIFIC CASE OF EUROPEAN MONETARY UNION, COOK CONFESSED TO BEING "MORE SKEPTICAL" THAN SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE GOVERNMENT. THIS SKEPTICISM WAS BASED, HOWEVER, ON ECONOMIC CONCERNS RATHER THAN CONCERNS ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY.

5. (S) ELABORATING, COOK SAID THAT EMU APPEARED TO BE A FINANCIAL PROJECT WHICH WAS BEING DRIVEN BY A POLITICAL MOTIVATION. GERMAN CHANCELLOR KOHL, EMU'S STRONGEST PROPONENT, SAW A SINGLE CURRENCY AS A NATURAL COROLLARY TO GERMAN UNIFICATION AND A WAY OF EMBEDDING A UNITED GERMANY IN EUROPE. THIS POLITICAL MOTIVATION LEFT UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW EMU COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED AMONG COUNTRIES THAT WERE AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WHERE LABOR MOBILITY WAS LIMITED THE EU, LIMITED TO A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF MEMBER STATE RESOURCES, ALSO WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO UNDERTAKE THE FINANCIAL TRANSFERS THAT MIGHT HELP ALLEVIATE THE REGIONAL IMPACT OF A COMMON EXCHANGE RATE AND FINANCIAL POLICY. COOK ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE RELATIVELY LIMITED DEVELOPMENT OF THE EU'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS THAT WOULD OVERSEE EU ECONOMIC POLICY.

6. (S) COOK DESCRIBED THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON EMU AS A "WATCHING BRIEF." IF EMU PROVED TO BE SUCCESSFUL, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD NOT REMAIN ON THE OUTSIDE. ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR WHETHER THIS APPROACH CAUSED PROBLEMS WITH THE UK'S PARTNERS, COOK RESPONDED THAT OTHER EU COUNTRIES WERE NOT CONCERNED. IN FACT, SEVERAL COUNTRIES FELT IT WAS AN ADVANTAGE FOR THE UK, WITH ITS CURRENT APPROACH, TO BE IN THE EU PRESIDENCY WHEN A NUMBER OF KEY DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE. THEY VIEWED THE UK AS BEING A MORE DISINTERESTED PARTY AND BETTER ABLE TO BE OBJECTIVE IN DEALING WITH EMU.

7. (S) TOUCHING BRIEFLY ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE UK'S EU PRESIDENCY, COOK SAID THAT THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT WOULD WANT TO FOCUS ON A "PEOPLE'S EUROPE" AND MAKE PROGRESS IN AREAS THAT WERE RELEVANT TO PEOPLE'S DAILY LIVES. THIS INCLUDED ISSUES SUCH AS THE ENVIRONMENT, JOBS, AND CRIME. THE UK WOULD ALSO GIVE HIGH PRIORITY TO EU ENLARGEMENT, INSTITUTIONAL REFORM, AND REFORM WITH A COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY.

BOSNIA  
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8. (S) COOK DESCRIBED THE FUTURE OF SFOR AS THE "BIG ISSUE" FACING THE U.S. AND EUROPE IN THE COMING YEAR. NO EUROPEAN COUNTRY, HE SAID, BELIEVED THAT BY JUNE 1998 THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA WOULD PERMIT A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SFOR TROOPS. THE UK WANTED TO STAY IN BOSNIA BUT WOULD ONLY DO SO WITH AN AMERICAN PRESENCE ON THE GROUND. SFOR COULD HAVE A NEW NAME AND NEW MISSION. THERE COULD ALSO BE SOME DRAWDOWN IN THE NUMBER OF TROOPS IN BOSNIA. BUT A CONTINUED PRESENCE BEYOND JUNE 1998  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 012405

FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY GROSSMAN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/29/07

TAGS: PREL, UK

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

WOULD BE NECESSARY. IN MAINTAINING A PRESENCE BEYOND JUNE 1998, ADDED COOK, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT NOT TO INCLUDE YET ANOTHER DEADLINE FOR WITHDRAWAL. SUCH DEADLINES ONLY ENCOURAGED THOSE OPOSED TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DAYTON AGREEMENT TO WAIT FOR OUTSIDE TROOPS TO BE WITHDRAWN.

9. (C) ON DAYTON IMPLEMENTATION, COOK SAID THAT CLOSE U.S.-UK COOPERATION WAS CLEARLY HAVING AN EFFECT ON THE PARTIES. WHEN THE PARTIES BELIEVED THAT THE U.S. AND UK WERE IN AGREEMENT, THEY WERE MORE INCLINED TO BE COOPERATIVE. COOK ALSO STRESSED THAT CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF DAYTON WOULD BE FURTHER EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH WAR CRIMINALS.

10. (C) REFERRING TO HIS CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY ALBRIGHT, COOK PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR WITH AN FCO PRESS RELEASE DESCRIBING BBC PROGRAMMING BEING MADE AVAILABLE FOR TELEVISION BROADCASTS IN THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA (FAXED TO EUR/UBI).

UNITED NATIONS  
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11. (C) DRAWING ON HIS EXPERIENCE IN WASHINGTON AND IN DEALING WITH CONGRESS, THE AMBASSADOR DESCRIBED THE PACKAGE FOR FINANCING U.S. ARREARS AS GOOD AN AGREEMENT AS THE ADMINISTRATION COULD ACHIEVE WITH CAPITOL HILL. HE STRESSED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE U.K. AND OTHER ALLIES FOR THE U.S. POSITION. IF THIS PACKAGE WERE TO FALL APART, THE DAMAGE TO POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE U.S. WOULD BE CONSIDERABLE. COOK RESPONDED, WITH GREAT EMPHASIS, THAT THIS WAS A VERY TOUGH ISSUE. THE UK WAS AWARE OF THE EFFORTS BY THE ADMINISTRATION, AND THE ADMINISTRATION HAD COME A LONG WAY TO TRY TO RESOLVE THE ARREARS PROBLEM. HOWEVER, VIEWED FROM THE UK'S PERSPECTIVE, IT WAS "INCONCEIVABLE" THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS WOULD REFUSE TO FULLY FUND U.S. INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. COOK SAID THAT THE UK WOULD TRY TO AVOID CRITICIZING THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION, BUT HE AGAIN REITERATED THAT IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT THAT NOT ONLY WOULD THE U.S. FAIL TO FULLY COVER ITS ARREARS, BUT IT WAS ALSO SETTING CONDITIONS ON ITS PAYMENTS.

12. (C) GREENSTOCK ELABORATED THAT THE U.S. INSISTENCE ON REDUCING ITS ASSESSMENT TO 20 PERCENT WAS "OUT OF REACH." IF THE U.S. COULD SET ASIDE THE 20 PERCENT LEVEL, THEN A NEGOTIATION COULD BEGIN.

MIDDLE EAST  
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13. (C) COOK SAID THAT HE WAS "DESPERATELY CONCERNED" ABOUT THE CURRENT STALEMATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. THE ATTITUDE OF ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU, HE SAID, WAS THE BIGGEST SINGLE IMPEDIMENT TO MOVING AHEAD. THE EUROPEAN VIEW WAS THAT THE EU SHOULD "WADE IN BEHIND" THE U.S. IN SUPPORT OF AMERICAN EFFORTS. IF THE SITUATION CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE, HOWEVER, THE EU WOULD BE LOOKING TO UNDERTAKE INITIATIVES THAT WOULD BE COMPLIMENTARY TO THE U.S. COOK NOTED THAT HE WOULD BE VISITING THE MIDDLE EAST IN MID-NOVEMBER. THE OBJECTIVE OF HIS TRIP WOULD BE TO ASSESS THE SITUATION AND DEVELOP IDEAS ABOUT WHAT COULD BE DONE DURING THE EU PRESIDENCY IF A STALEMATE PERSISTED. COOK CONCLUDED THAT THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS WAS THE "TOP SUBJECT" TO GET RIGHT IN COOPERATING WITH THE U.S. DURING THE UK'S PRESIDENCY OF THE E.U.

BILATERAL RELATIONS  
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14. (C) COOK TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THERE WERE TWO ISSUES THAT HE WANTED TO RAISE THAT HAD THE POTENTIAL TO BE PROBLEM AREAS IN U.S.-UK RELATIONS. THE UK DID NOT WANT TO "STUB TOES" WITH THE U.S. ON THESE ISSUES. THE FIRST WAS ARGENTINA. U.S. STATEMENTS ABOUT THE FALKLANDS WERE SOMETIMES PLAYED IN AN UNHELPFUL WAY IN THE ARGENTINE PRESS. ARGENTINE PRESS REPORTING WOULD THEN BE PICKED UP IN THE FALKLANDS AND RELAYED BACK TO THE UK. THIS CAUSED POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT. COOK SAID THAT HE HAD NO SPECIFIC COMPLAINT ABOUT ANY RECENT STATEMENTS INCLUDING THOSE MADE DURING PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT TO ARGENTINA. HOWEVER, HE SIMPLY WANTED TO PUT DOWN A "MARKER" AND NOTE THAT THIS WAS A POTENTIAL PROBLEM AREA.

15. (S) THE SECOND POSSIBLE TROUBLESOME ISSUE WAS CLIMATE CHANGE. THE UK WAS "FAR OUT IN FRONT" ON THIS ISSUE. INDEED, NOTED COOK, WHEN HE LOOKED BACK HE WAS SOMETIMES A LITTLE NERVOUS ABOUT JUST HOW FAR BEHIND THE UK POSITION THE OTHERS WERE. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT, COOK STRESSED, THAT THE KYOTO MEETING ON CLIMATE CHANGE RESULT IN SPECIFIC TARGETS FOR THE REDUCTION OF GREENHOUSE GASES. THE UK WAS SENSITIVE TO THE NEED TO DEAL WITH EMISSIONS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. BUT THIS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE POST-KYOTO  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 012405

FOR EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY GROSSMAN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/29/07

TAGS: PREL, UK

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK

CONTEXT. THE UK WAS ALSO CONSIDERING WHETHER SOME TYPE OF DUAL TARGET FOR EMISSIONS COULD BE ESTABLISHED -- EITHER A PER CAPITA TARGET OR AN OVERALL PERCENTAGE REDUCTION. COOK CONCLUDED BY STRESSING THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DISAPPOINTING IF THERE WAS A FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENT AT KYOTO AND IF THE U.S., RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, WAS BLAMED.

16. (C) AMBASSADOR LADER STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT ATTACH TO THE ISSUE OF CLIMATE CHANGE AND PROTECTING THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. IT WOULD BE VERY IMPORTANT TO WORK BETWEEN NOW AND THE KYOTO MEETING TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND UK POSITIONS. THE AMBASSADOR AND COOK DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER PRESCOTT AND AGREED THAT THIS WOULD BE A USEFUL NEXT STEP.

NORTHERN IRELAND  
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17. (S) IN A BRIEF EXCHANGE ON NORTHERN IRELAND, THE AMBASSADOR REPORTED ON HIS TWO DAY VISIT TO BELFAST AND DERRY AND HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY NORTHERN IRELAND LEADERS. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS. AT TIMES THIS MIGHT MEAN SIMPLY PROVIDING ASSURANCE TO THE PARTIES OR OFFERING THEM THE OPPORTUNITY TO AIR THEIR CONCERNS. COOK PRAISED THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION, HE SAID, HAD HELPED THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO HAVE A "LESS ROMANTIC" NOTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. SENATOR MITCHELL'S CONTRIBUTION HAD ALSO

BEEN VITAL.

GIBRALTAR  
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18. ~~(S)~~ ECHOING PREVIOUS UK STATEMENTS, COOK EMPHASIZED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT "WAS VERY DETERMINED" TO RESOLVE ITS DIFFERENCES WITH SPAIN OVER MILITARY ACCESS TO GIBRALTAR PRIOR TO AGREEING TO MOVE AHEAD ON NATO MILITARY RESTRUCTURING. IF SPAIN WANTED TO BE REGARDED AS AN ALLY, SAID COOK, IT NEEDED TO BEHAVE LIKE ONE. POLITICAL DIRECTOR GREENSTOCK ADDED THAT THE UK WAS ONLY SEEKING AN ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD ALLOW AIRCRAFT ACCESS TO GIBRALTAR "ON NATO BUSINESS" AND THAT THIS COULD BE DONE "WITHOUT PREJUDICE" TO THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2405  
<^SSN>2405  
<^SSN>2405

TOR: 971028125914 M2997081  
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DIST:  
SIT: BUTLER VP  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
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LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH  
LINE3: O 031449Z NOV 97  
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
OSRI: RUEHDL  
DTG: 031449Z NOV 97  
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2360  
INFO: ////  
SUBJ: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO IRISH  
PRESIDENT-ELECT MARY MCALEESE

## TEXT:

UNCLAS DUBLIN 005815

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: N/A  
TAGS: PREL, OPDC, US, EI  
SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO IRISH  
PRESIDENT-ELECT MARY MCALEESE

REF: DUBLIN 5734

1. FOLLOWING HER DECISIVE VICTORY IN THE OCTOBER 31 VOTE COUNT, PROFESSOR MARY MCALEESE WILL BE SWORN IN AS THE EIGHTH PRESIDENT OF IRELAND ON NOVEMBER 11. I SUGGEST PRESIDENT CLINTON SEND HER A MESSAGE ALONG THE LINES OUTLINED IN PARA 3 BELOW.

2. WHETHER THE MESSAGE IS SENT BEFORE OR AFTER INAUGURATION DAY IS UP TO THE WHITE HOUSE; DFA PROTOCOL ADVISES THAT IT HAS NO PREFERENCE. IF THE MESSAGE IS SENT BEFORE NOVEMBER 11 THEN IT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO "PRESIDENT-ELECT MCALEESE."

3. BEGIN TEXT OF PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE:

DEAR PRESIDENT (OR PRESIDENT-ELECT) MCALEESE,

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON WINNING THE IRISH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

YOU BECOME IRELAND'S EIGHTH PRESIDENT AT A TIME OF GREAT CHANGE AND OPPORTUNITY. AS YOU SAID DURING YOUR CAMPAIGN, IRELAND IS A YOUNG, DYNAMIC COUNTRY THAT IS STRIDING CONFIDENTLY TOWARD THE NEW MILLENIUM. IRELAND CONTINUES TO SET RECORDS FOR THE PACE OF ITS ECONOMIC PROGRESS. IRISH CULTURAL FIGURES ARE MAKING THEIR MARK THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THE TIES THAT BIND OUR TWO NATIONS ARE CLOSER THAN EVER AS OUR PEOPLES WORK TOGETHER IN PARTNERSHIP AND PEACE.

NOWHERE IS OUR COOPERATION MORE IMPORTANT THAN WITH REGARD TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. THE UNITED STATES LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU AND THE

IRISH GOVERNMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR A FAIR AND LASTING  
SETTLEMENT TO THE CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE  
THEMES OF COMPROMISE AND RECONCILIATION HIGHLIGHTED IN  
YOUR CAMPAIGN ARE VERY MUCH THOSE THAT GUIDE MY  
ADMINISTRATION AS WE SEEK TO ASSIST THE IRISH AND  
BRITISH GOVERNMENTS IN THEIR QUEST FOR PEACE.

HILLARY JOINS ME IN WISHING YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND,  
MARTIN, A MOST SUCCESSFUL PRESIDENCY.

SINCERELY, ETC.

END TEXT OF PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE. SMITH

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 01

**SSN:** 5815

**TOR:** 971103095947 M3005942

**DIST:**

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDFOWNEY

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
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LINE4: FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC  
OSRI: RHEHAAA  
DTG: 122321Z NOV 97  
ORIG: THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC  
TO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC  
SUBJ: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO IRISH PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE

## TEXT:

UNCLAS  
QQQQ

AMBASSADOR OR DCM: PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM  
PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE AT THE EARLIEST  
OPPORTUNITY. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL TO FOLLOW.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO IRISH PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MADAM PRESIDENT:

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON BECOMING

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA5405 UNCLAS  
IRELAND'S EIGHTH PRESIDENT.

YOU TAKE OFFICE AT A TIME OF GREAT OPPORTUNITY. AS YOU SAID  
DURING YOUR CAMPAIGN, IRELAND IS A YOUNG, DYNAMIC COUNTRY  
THAT IS STRIDING CONFIDENTLY TOWARD THE NEW MILLENIUM.  
IRELAND CONTINUES TO SET RECORDS FOR THE PACE OF ITS ECONOMIC  
PROGRESS. IRISH CULTURAL FIGURES ARE MAKING THEIR MARK  
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THE LINKS BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS  
ARE CLOSER THAN EVER AS OUR PEOPLE WORK TOGETHER IN  
PARTNERSHIP AND PEACE.

NOWHERE IS OUR COOPERATION MORE IMPORTANT THAN WITH THE  
NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING  
WITH YOU AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR A FAIR  
AND LASTING SETTLEMENT TO THE CONFLICT. THE THEMES OF  
COMPROMISE AND RECONCILIATION HIGHLIGHTED IN YOUR CAMPAIGN  
ARE VERY MUCH THOSE THAT GUIDE MY ADMINISTRATION AS WE SEEK  
TO ASSIST THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS IN THEIR COMMON  
QUEST FOR PEACE.

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA5405 UNCLAS  
HILLARY JOINS ME IN WISHING YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND, MARTIN, A

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MOST SUCCESSFUL PRESIDENCY.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 5405

TOR: 971112183253 M3021031

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER COQ FICKLIN POOLE SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: COMM SIT{C2}

<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2

PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}

SODERBERG STEINBERG

<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2

PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}

SODERBERG STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 241644Z NOV 97  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2479  
 INFO: RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0436  
 RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0788  
 SUBJ: MARTIN MANSERGH SUMS UP A "VERY POSITIVE WEEK"  
 IN NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS -- "KNOCK ON WOOD"

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1.44)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

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 006328

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/24/07

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH SUMS UP A "VERY POSITIVE WEEK"  
 IN NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS -- "KNOCK ON WOOD"

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

## SUMMARY

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1. ~~(S)~~ I MET WITH MARTIN MANSERGH ON NOVEMBER 24, AND HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO THE TAOISEACH THE SAME DAY. DUBLIN IS PLEASED AT DAVID TRIMBLE'S APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS REALISTIC WAYS TO BRIDGE THE GAPS BETWEEN THE UUP AND IRISH POSITIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS. HOWEVER, THE IRISH SEE A CONTINUED NEED FOR THE UUP TO ENGAGE SINN FEIN IN ORDER TO MAKE SF FEEL PART OF ANY AGREEMENT. DUBLIN MAY SEEK TO DEFINE "BROAD HEADINGS FOR AGREEMENT" BEFORE CHRISTMAS. THE SF/IRA LEADERSHIP APPEARS TO HAVE CONTAINED DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS AND IS SAID TO BE "FIRMLY IN CHARGE." IN DUBLIN'S VIEW, HOWEVER, MOVEMENT ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES REMAINS ESSENTIAL.

## END SUMMARY

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2. ~~(S)~~ FOLLOWING BERTIE AHERN'S MEETINGS ON NOVEMBER 20 WITH UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE (IN LONDON) AND PRIME MINISTER BLAIR (IN LUXEMBOURG), I MET WITH THE TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISOR, MARTIN MANSERGH, ON NOVEMBER 24. MANSERGH SAID BOTH MEETINGS HAD GONE VERY WELL, AND, IN CONTRAST TO EVEN A WEEK AGO, THINGS WERE LOOKING A BIT BETTER IN THE PEACE PROCESS, "KNOCK ON WOOD; OUR JOB NOW IS TO KEEP IT THAT WAY."

TRIMBLE

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3. (S) MANSERGH TOLD ME THE TAOISEACH HAD HAD "NO HANG-UP'S" ABOUT TRAVELING TO LONDON TO MEET TRIMBLE. THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE MEETING HAD BEEN GOOD, WITH AHERN, EVER THE CONCILIATOR, GOING TO SOME LENGTHS IN HIS CHOICE OF WORDS TO AVOID PROVOKING THE UUP LEADERSHIP.
4. (S) MANSERGH CAME AWAY FROM THE MEETING WITH THE IMPRESSION THE UUP "WANTS TO DO BUSINESS, OR AT LEAST EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF DOING BUSINESS." THERE HAD BEEN A "SENSIBLE DISCUSSION" ON CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND ON NORTH-SOUTH LINKAGES, AS WELL AS A MORE LIMITED EXCHANGE ON SECURITY MATTERS INVOLVING KEN MAGINNIS.
5. (S) ACCORDING TO MANSERGH, BOTH SIDES SPOKE IN A WAY THAT MADE IT SEEM POSSIBLE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM COULD BE BRIDGED. THERE WAS NO GUARANTEE THIS WOULD HAPPEN WHEN THINGS GOT DOWN TO DETAILS, BUT BOTH SIDES WERE CLEARLY READY TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES IN A "REASONABLY REALISTIC" FASHION.
6. (S) I ASKED WHETHER TRIMBLE SEEMED CONCERNED ABOUT PAISLEY AND MCCARTNEY. MANSERGH SAID TRIMBLE ONLY RAISED THEM ONCE. "HE CLEARLY HAS TO WATCH HIS BACK," MANSERGH SAID OF TRIMBLE, BUT HE DID NOT SEEM "OBSESSED" WITH PAISLEY OR MCCARTNEY. MANSERGH'S IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE BULK OF THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY WAS SOLIDLY BEHIND THE UUP.
7. (S) ONE AREA WHERE THE IRISH GOT LITTLE SATISFACTION FROM THE UUP WAS WITH REGARD TO CONTACT BETWEEN THE UNIONISTS AND SINN FEIN. THE LACK OF UNIONIST ENGAGEMENT WAS "NOT PRODUCTIVE" TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND COULD EVENTUALLY GIVE SINN FEIN AN "EXCUSE IF ANYTHING GOES WRONG," MANSERGH SAID. "IF SINN FEIN IS TO BE PART OF AN AGREEMENT, THEY NEED TO FEEL PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS."
8. (S) COMMENT: IN HIS EXCHANGE WITH ME, THE TAOISEACH EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF UUP ENGAGEMENT WITH SINN FEIN, AND CALLED ON THE UNIONISTS TO OFFER A "CHRISTMAS PRESENT" TO SINN FEIN IN THIS REGARD. END COMMENT.
9. (S) MANSERGH FOUND IT SIGNIFICANT THAT TRIMBLE AND AHERN PROVIDED CONSISTENT READ-OUTS OF THE MEETING IN THEIR SEPARATE PRESS CONFERENCES AFTERWARDS. HE INDICATED THERE COULD BE FURTHER CONTACT BETWEEN THE GOI AND UUP SOON.

PM BLAIR

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10. (S) THE POSITIVE MEETING WITH TRIMBLE APPEARED TO CONTRIBUTE TO A "RELAXED AND POSITIVE -- IF TIRED" TONY BLAIR, MANSERGH TOLD ME. THE IRISH USED THE MEETING TO URGE THE BRITISH TO PERSUADE THE UNIONISTS "AT SOME LEVEL AND IN SOME FORM" TO ENGAGE WITH SINN FEIN. BLAIR REPORTEDLY SAID HE WOULD DO WHAT HE COULD. (COMMENT: MANSERGH LIKewise URGES WASHINGTON TO SUGGEST TO THE
- ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 006328

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/24/07  
TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH SUMS UP A "VERY POSITIVE WEEK"  
IN NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS -- "KNOCK ON WOOD"

UNIONISTS THAT THEY AT LEAST DESIGNATE ONE PERSON TO ENGAGE WITH SINN FEIN AND HALT THE CURRENT POLICY OF "FORMAL IGNORING." END COMMENT.) MANSERGH NOTED THAT BLAIR WAS HIMSELF SETTING THE EXAMPLE BY AGREEING TO MEET GERRY ADAMS BEFORE CHRISTMAS.

11. (S) MANSERGH COMMENTED THAT THE TENSIONS OF THE LAST TWO OR THREE WEEKS APPEARED TO HAVE GIVEN BLAIR "A JOLT," CONVINCING HIM OF THE NEED TO NOT REPEAT THE "MISTAKES" MADE BY HIS PREDECESSOR. BLAIR REPORTEDLY MADE THE POINT TO AHERN THAT BRINGING BRITISH TROOPS HOME FROM NORTHERN IRELAND WAS POLITICALLY POPULAR IN BRITAIN. WHEN BLAIR SAID THE CONTINUITY IRA WAS TYING DOWN BRITISH TROOPS IN THE NORTH, AHERN REJOINED THAT THE CIRA WAS NOT IN WEST BELFAST.

12. (S) COMMENT: THE TAOISEACH EMBELLISHED THIS EXCHANGE IN OUR CHAT TODAY, EXPRESSING CONCERN THAT THE BRITISH WERE MERELY MOVING TROOPS FROM ONE PART OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO ANOTHER AND CONTINUING TO "HARRASS" KNOWN REPUBLICAN FIGURES. AHERN THINKS HE SENSITIZED BLAIR TO THE IDEA THAT SECURITY FORCE BEHAVIOR CAN HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE PEACE PROCESS. END COMMENT.

13. (S) BLAIR ALSO RECOGNIZED THE NEED TO "BE MORE ACTIVE" ON PRISONERS, MANSERGH SAID. DUBLIN HAD BEEN "HAMMERING AWAY" ON THE NEED FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES TO GO ALONG IN PARALLEL WITH THE TALKS, AND THE MEETING WITH BLAIR GAVE "EVERY SIGN THAT THE MESSAGE IS GETTING THROUGH." MANSERGH LAMENTED ONLY THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF CBM'S WERE APPLIED CONSTANTLY, RATHER THAN IN THE WAKE OF PERCEIVED THREATS TO THE CEASEFIRE -- WHICH MERELY SENT THE SIGNAL THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY TO GENERATE ACTION ON LONDON'S PART.

14. (S) MANSERGH SAID THE IMMEDIATE PRIORITY WAS TO GET PRISONER TRANSFERS UNDERWAY, THEN TO TAKE A LOOK AT THE SITUATION OF REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. ASKED WHETHER BLAIR HAD BEEN SYMPATHETIC ON THIS SCORE, MANSERGH SAID ONLY: "TIME WILL TELL."

NEXT STEPS  
/-----

15. (S) MANSERGH SAID THAT AS OF THIS MORNING (NOVEMBER 24), SINN FEIN APPEARED TO "HAVE THE MEASURE" OF THE CHALLENGE TO ITS AUTHORITY WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, AND THE LEADERSHIP WAS "STILL FIRMLY IN CHARGE."

16. (S) IRISH FM DAVID ANDREWS HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TRY TO PUT TOGETHER BEFORE CHRISTMAS "BROAD HEADINGS" FOR AREAS ON WHICH IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT, MANSERGH SAID. DUBLIN WAS LOOKING AT WHETHER THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE, AS ONE WAY TO "MARK PROGRESS" IN THE TALKS.

17. (S) THE CURRENT PHASE WOULD NOW SEE INTENSIVE BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, MANSERGH SAID, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE DECEMBER 1-3 PLENARY AT STORMONT. THE GOI MEETS WITH SINN FEIN TODAY (NOV. 24).

18. (C) ASKED WHAT ELSE THE U.S. COULD DO, MANSERGH REPEATED HIS REQUEST FOR SUPPORT ON GETTING THE UUP TO ENGAGE WITH SINN FEIN. HE URGED US TO PROCEED WITH A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE ALONG THE LINES OF THE CONFERENCE THAT I HAVE PROPOSED.

19. (C) SEPARATELY, THE TAOISEACH TOLD ME HE HAS MOVED UP HIS SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES: HE PLANS TO BRING SINN FEIN, SDLP, WOMEN'S COALITION, ALLIANCE AND POSSIBLY ADDITIONAL REPRESENTATIVES TOGETHER ON NOVEMBER 28, AND TO CONVENE A MEETING OF THE FORUM ON PEACE AND RECONCILIATION ON DECEMBER 5. THIS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY A MEETING WITH TONY BLAIR ON DECEMBER 12 OR 13, CULMINATING IN AHERN'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON IN WASHINGTON ON DECEMBER 15. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 6328  
<^SSN>6328

TOR: 971124115957 M3039763  
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DIST:

SIT: BUTLER

SIT: NSC

<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2

PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT(C2)  
SODERBERG STEINBERG

<^DIST>

SIT: COQ

<^DIST>

SIT: COQ

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC  
 TO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0000  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 0000  
 SUBJ: UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING'S MEETING WITH  
 NORTHERN IRELAND NATIONALIST LEADER HUME

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1.46)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 053485

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/16/08  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING'S MEETING WITH  
 NORTHERN IRELAND NATIONALIST LEADER HUME

1. CLASSIFIED BY EUR DAS JAMES I. GADSDEN,  
 REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

2. (e) SUMMARY: DURING A MARCH 16 MEETING WITH UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING AND AMBASSADOR LADER, NORTHERN IRELAND MODERATE NATIONALIST LEADER JOHN HUME STRESSED THAT THE PEACE TALKS HAVE ENTERED A CRITICAL, FINAL PHASE. WITH STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT, THE CHALLENGE WILL NOW BE TO ACHIEVE REAL NEGOTIATING SUCCESSES AWAY FROM THE MEDIA LIMELIGHT. HUME FAVORS A STRONGER, MORE ACTIVIST ROLE FOR INDEPENDENT CHAIR MITCHELL. IN THE END, IF ALL ELSE FAILS, THE SDLP HOPES LONDON AND DUBLIN WILL "BEHAVE LIKE GOVERNMENTS" AND PUT AN AGREEMENT DIRECTLY TO PUBLICS IN A REFERENDUM. HUME STRONGLY CRITICIZED UNIONIST LEADER TRIMBLE AND THE UUP, ALTHOUGH HE REPORTED HE HAD SCHEDULED A MEETING WITH HIM FOR MARCH 23.

HUME WANTS TRIMBLE AND SINN FEIN LEADER ADAMS TO CONFER DIRECTLY AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF THE PEACE PROCESS AS A MEANS OF CONSTRUCTING A "WIN-WIN" SETTLEMENT. HUME PRAISED THE U.S. ROLE AND THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT AS KEY FACTORS IN GENERATING AND SUSTAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR PEACE. END SUMMARY.

3. (e) UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING STRESSED IN HIS MARCH 16 MEETING WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOUR PARTY (SDLP) LEADER JOHN HUME THE

STRONG COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF PRESIDENT CLINTON PERSONALLY TO HELPING THE CRITICAL END-PHASE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE TALKS PRODUCE A LASTING AGREEMENT. HE SOLICITED HUME'S PERSPECTIVES ON THE TALKS THEMSELVES AND ON WHAT THE U.S. CAN DO.

4. (e) HUME STRESSED THAT THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WOULD BE THE CRITICAL, DECISIVE PHASE. SO FAR, HE SAID, THE PARTIES HAVE BEEN "DEBATING NOT NEGOTIATING." THE PROCESS HAS COME AMAZINGLY FAR, HOWEVER, AND IS NOW BEING BUOYED BY VERY POSITIVE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR PEACE. BOTH BBC AND SDLP POLLS PROVE THIS. HUME'S OWN PERSONAL ROLE IN THE PROCESS, HUME SAID, DRAWS A 64 PERCENT APPROVAL RATE, INCLUDING AMONG PROTESTANTS. THE PROBLEM, HOWEVER, CONTINUES TO BE UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE'S VULNERABILITY TO THE UNIONIST RIGHT AND REV. PAISLEY.

5. (e) HUME NOTED HIS SUCCESS WITH BOTH CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT PUBLICS IN STRESSING THAT THE PROBLEM FACING IRELAND ISN'T "A LINE ON A MAP," BUT RATHER A DIVISION AMONG PEOPLE. WHAT THE TALKS MUST THEREFORE PRODUCE IS "A FRAMEWORK FOR HEALING." THIS WOULD INCLUDE SOME "SHARED FORM OF GOVERNMENT," COMPRISING A NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO ADDRESS MATTERS OF CONCERN TO THE ENTIRE ISLAND. IN PRACTICE, HUME SAID, THIS MIGHT BE NO MORE THAN "A COUPLE OF MINISTERS TAKING ACTION ONLY IF BOTH AGREE," AND IT WOULD IN NO WISE REPRESENT A "TAKEOVER BID." IN A GENERATION OR TWO, AS THE COUNCIL BEGINS TO FUNCTION, "THE NEW IRELAND WILL COME FORTH" AND MANIFEST

TO THE PEOPLE RESPECT FOR AGREEMENT AND DIVERSITY. HUME ADDED THAT, COMING OUT OF STRAND ONE TALKS, THE SDLP ENVISIONS A NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY MUCH AS DOES TRIMBLE'S UUP. THE PROBLEM THERE IS THAT THE UUP SEES NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS RESPONSIBLE TO THE ASSEMBLY BEING RUN BY COMMITTEES WHOSE CHAIRS--THOUGH NOT THEIR OVERALL MEMBERSHIPS--ARE ALLOCATED PROPORTIONALLY BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES. THIS ARRANGEMENT WOULD NOT, HUME COMPLAINED, PROVIDE FOR THE WEIGHTED VOTING THE SDLP CONSIDERS ESSENTIAL.

6. (e) HUME DECRIED THE EFFECT ON THE TALKS OF MEDIA GLARE, WHICH KEEPS PARTIES AND THEIR LEADERS WED TO RHETORICAL POSITIONS. HE WOULD PREFER TO TAKE THE TALKS AWAY FROM THE MEDIA "WITH MITCHELL IN CONTROL." THIS WOULD MEAN THAT INDEPENDENT CHAIR MITCHELL COULD GO SINGLY AND IN CONFIDENCE TO EACH PARTY LEADER OR DELEGATION, ASK FOR BOTTOM LINES, AND TAKE AN ACTIVE HAND IN CONSTRUCTING AGREEMENT ON ISSUES WHERE IT IS POSSIBLE. IF THAT EFFORT FAILED, THE SDLP WOULD ENVISION "GOVERNMENTS BEHAVING LIKE GOVERNMENTS" AND PUTTING AN AGREEMENT DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE IN A REFERENDUM. GIVEN A POPULAR VOTE ON BOTH

SIDES OF THE BORDER, THE UUP COULD HARDLY CALL SUCH AN EFFORT AN "IMPOSED" SOLUTION, HUME ARGUED.

7. (S) PICKERING ASKED WHETHER THIS MEANT HUME THOUGHT THE ROLE OF THE PARTIES THEMSELVES IN DIRECT NEGOTIATION WITH ONE ANOTHER HAD NOW PLAYED OUT. HUME THOUGHT NOT, BUT OFFERED BY WAY OF ILLUSTRATION THE SDLP'S READINESS TO "HAND ITS PROPOSALS TO THE CHAIR." (HUME LATER REPORTED THAT HE HAD SCHEDULED A MEETING WITH UNIONIST LEADER TRIMBLE FOR THE FOLLOWING MONDAY IN BELFAST.) IN THE ABSENCE OF MEDIA ATTENTION, AND WITH MITCHELL TAKING A MORE ACTIVE ROLE, THE PARTIES MIGHT BE WILLING TO DISCUSS GIVE AND TAKE WITHOUT FEAR OF BEING ATTACKED FOR MAKING "CONCESSIONS." THE FINAL PRODUCT, WHEN PRESENTED, WOULD SHOW THAT THE EFFORT HAD NOT

BEEN A ZERO-SUM GAME AND THAT EACH PARTY HAD, INDEED, "GOTTEN SOMETHING."

8. (S) PICKERING ASKED ABOUT SDLP-SINN FEIN RELATIONS AND THE ABILITY OF THE TWO PARTIES TO WORK TOGETHER TOWARD AN AGREEMENT. HUME NOTED THAT SINN FEIN AND THE SDLP HAD BEEN "ENEMIES" FOR 25 YEARS, AND THAT SINN FEIN CONTINUES TO "PLAY POLITICS" AGAINST HIM. IN HIS DIALOGUE WITH SINN FEIN AND THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY, HUME HAS ARGUED AGAINST THE "DYING FOR IRELAND" MENTALITY AND THE METHODOLOGY OF VIOLENCE IT ENTAILS. AS A HISTORIAN, HE HAS ARGUED THAT THE UK NO LONGER HAS A STRATEGIC INTEREST IN "HOLDING ONTO IRELAND." IT IS RATHER THE LEGACY OF UK RULE THAT IS STILL THERE, AND SELF-DETERMINATION WILL BE AVAILABLE IF ONE DEFINES "IRISH" PROPERLY VIA A POLITICAL PROCESS. FROM THIS PHILOSOPHIC BASIS, HUME HAD DRAFTED PROPOSALS WHICH BECAME THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION, AND SINCE THAT WATERSHED, SINN FEIN ACTUALLY HAS BEGUN TO MOVE AWAY FROM VIOLENCE AND TO SHIFT SLIGHTLY ITS APPROACH TO ACHIEVING A UNITED IRELAND.

9. (S) THE PROBLEM, HE CONTINUED, REMAINS THE UUP AND ITS "AFRIKANER MENTALITY." PAISLEY, HE NOTED, IS "FRIENDLY BUT SCHIZOID," AND HE CONTINUES THE HISTORIC PATTERN OF INFLUENCING TRIMBLE'S APPROACH. TRIMBLE HAS "ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST MODERATION." THE POINT, AT THIS JUNCTURE, WHICH UNIONISTS NEED TO REALIZE IS THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY MAKING DECISIONS, VIA BRUSSELS AND THE EU, ABOUT THE NORTH. A PEACE AGREEMENT WOULD IN FACT GIVE UNIONISTS GREATER INFLUENCE OVER WHAT IT DOES. UNIONISTS SHOULD ALSO REALIZE THAT "LONDON DOESN'T CARE ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND." THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW A REGIONAL EXCEPTION IN THE BSE CONTEXT FOR NORTHERN IRISH BEEF WAS A CASE IN POINT. WHILE THE WORLD HAS NOW ENTERED A "POST NATIONALIST" PHASE, THE UUP STILL SEEMS SUSPICIOUS OF THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY AND

"CAN'T SEEM TO CONTEMPLATE ANY RELATIONSHIP WITH IRELAND."

10. (X) HUME RETURNED TO THE VALUABLE RESOURCE OF PUBLIC OPINION. THE CEASE-FIRES HAVE MATTERED A GREAT DEAL. PEOPLE UNDER 30 HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY KNOWN A WORLD WITHOUT POLICE BARRICADES AND DANGER, AND THEY WANT PEACE TO CONTINUE. THE ROLE OF PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE EFFECT OF HIS BELFAST VISIT HAD BEEN ENORMOUSLY IMPORTANT IN THIS REGARD. AT THE MOMENT, THE PROCESS ALSO INVOLVES "TWO VERY GOOD PRIME MINISTERS." BLAIR HAS MET WITH PEACE-PROCESS PARTICIPANTS MORE TIMES THAN ALL HIS PREDECESSORS PUT TOGETHER, AND AHERN'S "ACTIVIST" APPROACH EXTENDS TO A WILLINGNESS EVEN TO CHANGE ARTICLES ONE AND TWO (ON TERRITORIAL CLAIMS) OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION.

11. (X) AMBASSADOR LADER ASKED WHETHER, WHEN TALKS RESUME MARCH 23, PARTIES WILL PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO BUSINESS, OR WOULD THEY REQUIRE SOME DAYS OR WEEKS TO SETTLE INTO REAL TALKS. HUME THOUGHT REAL BUSINESS WOULD BEGIN IMMEDIATELY. HE RETURNED TO HIS PREFERENCE FOR REMOVING THE PROCESS FROM THE PUBLIC LIMELIGHT. THE UUP SEEMS AGREEABLE TO THIS AS LONG AS THE TALKS DON'T LEAVE NORTHERN IRELAND FOR THAT PURPOSE. HUME HAD WANTED THEM, PERHAPS, TO ADJOURN TO LONA IN THE SCOTTISH HEBRIDES. THE SYMBOLISM OF INVOKING ST. COLUMBA AND HIS HISTORIC LOCALE WOULD HAVE BEEN, HUME THOUGHT, HIGHLY APPROPRIATE, SINCE AS FAR BACK AS 596 AD, COLUMBA HAD BEEN CRAFTING A PEACE SETTLEMENT FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH RESULTED IN TRIBUTE PAID JOINTLY TO "MAINLAND" CHIEFTAINS IN SCOTLAND AND TO IRISH KINGS.

12. (X) HUME THOUGHT IT IMPERATIVE, HOWEVER, THAT TRIMBLE AND SINN FEIN LEADER ADAMS MEET DIRECTLY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE IS WILLING, IN ORDER TO GET TRIMBLE TO AGREE AND TO PROTECT HIM AGAINST PAISLEY, TO GUARANTEE THAT AT THE END OF ASUCH A SESSION SINN FEIN WOULD JOIN IN ISSUING A COMMUNIQUE HOLDING THAT NORTHERN IRELAND'S PROBLEMS "CANNOT BE RESOLVED WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION AND SUPPORT OF THE UNIONIST PEOPLE."

13. (X) IN CLOSING, HUME STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION OF PEACE AND OF ATTRACTING INVESTMENT. HE PRAISED THE ACTIVISM OF SPECIAL ADVISOR FOR ECONOMIC INITIATIVES LYONS. ECONOMIC INCENTIVES HELP MAKE A PEACE SETTLEMENT A "WIN-WIN" DEAL, HUME SAID, AND HE REGULARLY ADDRESSES PUBLICS AT HOME AND ABROAD WITH THAT APPEAL. HE HAS PRESSED THE NORTHERN IRELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TO CONSIDER CREATING A COMMISSION TO ASSIST IN MARKETING FOR SMALL LOCAL ENTERPRISES. HE HAD JUST ADDRESSED A DELEGATION OF FIFTY NORTHERN VIRGINIA HIGH TECH EXECUTIVES PRESSING FOR ADDITIONAL

INVESTMENT AND DESCRIBING NORTHERN IRELAND'S  
ADVANCED KNOW-HOW BASE.  
TALBOTT

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 01

**SSN:** 3485

**TOR:** 980325182147 M3214647

**DIST:**

SIT: BANDLER BROWN BUTLER DAVIDSON MCELDOWNEY SAPIRO SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2}

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE3: O 021659Z APR 98  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
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 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0245  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0296  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: BLAIR AND AHERN CONTINUE COMPROMISE  
 EFFORTS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.47)  
 KSH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 003555

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/02/08  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BLAIR AND AHERN CONTINUE COMPROMISE  
 EFFORTS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR PHILIP LADER. REASON:  
 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. (S) SUMMARY: A THREE-HOUR MEETING APRIL 1 BETWEEN TONY  
 BLAIR AND BERTIE AHERN MADE PROGRESS BUT DID NOT FULLY BRIDGE  
 THE GAP BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ON THE  
 NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. OFFICIALS ARE CONTINUING TO  
 MEET TODAY IN ANTICIPATION OF ANOTHER PRIME MINISTERIAL  
 MEETING THIS EVENING. ABOUT SIX TO EIGHT INTERRELATED ISSUES  
 REMAIN UNRESOLVED, THE MOST CRUCIAL OF WHICH IS THE SCOPE OF  
 EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY TO BE GRANTED TO THE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL  
 AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. SENATOR MITCHELL IS COMMITTED  
 TO PRESENTING A DRAFT AGREEMENT TO THE PARTIES APRIL 3 AND THE  
 GOVERNMENTS' GOAL REMAINS TO PRODUCE AN AGREED TEXT WHICH HE  
 CAN USE. END SUMMARY

3. (S) BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN LONDON TOLD  
 US TODAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND TAOISEACH HAD A  
 PRODUCTIVE MEETING AT NO. 10 LAST NIGHT, EVEN THOUGH SERIOUS  
 DIFFERENCES STILL REMAIN BETWEEN THEIR POSITIONS ON "ABOUT SIX  
 TO EIGHT" STRAND ONE AND STRAND TWO ISSUES. JOHN HOLMES,  
 BLAIR'S PRINCIPAL PRIVATE SECRETARY, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT  
 EVEN THOUGH PRESS COVERAGE INDICATED A TENSE ENCOUNTER, THE  
 ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN BLAIR AND AHERN IN FACT WAS FRIENDLY, OPEN  
 AND COLLEGIAL. ACCORDING TO HOLMES, THE RATHER DOWNBEAT PRESS  
 COVERAGE RESULTED FROM AN IRISH BRIEFING STRATEGY INTENDED TO  
 SHOW HOW TOUGH-MINDED THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS BEING. "THIS IS  
 NOT ENTIRELY UNHELPFUL," SAID HOLMES, POINTING OUT THAT  
 UNIONISTS ALSO WILL TAKE SOME COMFORT FROM THE NOTION THAT THE  
 BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT ROLLING OVER FOR THE IRISH.

4. (S) WITHOUT MINIMIZING THE DISTANCE REMAINING TO BE

COVERED, HOLMES INDICATED THE TWO LEADERS HAVE REACHED A JOINT UNDERSTANDING OF THE BASIC ISSUES INVOLVED AND GENERALLY AGREE ON THE WAY FORWARD. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO REACH SPECIFIC AGREEMENT ON THE COMPLEX TRADE OFFS WITHIN THE PROPOSED STRUCTURES. PADDY TEAHON, FROM THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE, AND MFA SECOND SECRETARY DERMOT GALLAGHER REMAINED IN LONDON AFTER AHERN RETURNED TO DUBLIN TO CONTINUE WORKING WITH HOLMES AND NIO STAFF. BLAIR AND AHERN WILL BRIEFLY MEET TONIGHT TO REVIEW PROGRESS WHEN THE TAOISEACH RETURNS TO LONDON TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ASEM (ASIA-EU) SUMMIT.

5. (e) THE PRINCIPAL DIFFICULTY, ACCORDING TO BOTH BRITISH AND IRISH INTERLOCUTORS, CENTERS AROUND THE MANDATE OF THE PROPOSED NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL, AND "IMPLEMENTATION BODIES" WHICH MAY BE ESTABLISHED SUBORDINATE TO IT. CLOSELY RELATED TO THIS STRAND TWO ISSUE ARE QUESTIONS IN STRAND ONE ABOUT THE STRUCTURE AND VOTING PROCEDURES OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY. WHILE BLAIR AND AHERN ALSO DISCUSSED SECURITY, POLICING AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, IT WAS THIS BASKET OF INTERRELATED ISSUES WHICH OCCUPIED MOST OF THEIR TIME.

NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL  
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6. (e) UNIONISTS ACCEPT THAT ANY AGREEMENT MUST INCLUDE A NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL, AND THAT SOME NUMBER OF "IMPLEMENTATION BODIES" SUBORDINATE TO IT COULD BE CREATED TO HANDLE MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST (SUCH AS TOURISM OR THE ENVIRONMENT). HOWEVER, THEY ARGUE THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOT BE GRANTED INDEPENDENT EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY AND CANNOT BECOME A "THIRD CENTER OF POWER" ON THE ISLAND OF IRELAND. TRIMBLE ARGUES THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD HAVE NO SEPARATE LEGAL PERSONALITY AND EXIST ONLY AS A FORUM AUTHORIZED BY THE DAIL AND THE ASSEMBLY RESPECTIVELY.

7. (e) NATIONALISTS, CITING THE FRAMEWORKS LANGUAGE WHICH SAYS THE COUNCIL WOULD "DISCHARGE OR OVERSEE DELEGATED EXECUTIVE, HARMONIZING OR CONSULTATIVE FUNCTIONS," ARGUE THE COUNCIL CANNOT BECOME A MERE "CHAT SHOP." THEY FEAR THAT UNLESS THE POWER AND DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL ARE SPELLED OUT IN DETAIL FROM THE BEGINNING, A UNIONIST MAJORITY IN THE ASSEMBLY COULD SIMPLY IGNORE IT. BOTH BLAIR AND AHERN AGREE THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL SHOULD HAVE REAL, IF STRICTLY DELINEATED, AUTHORITY.

8. (e) THE PROBLEM IS HOW TO DEFINE THAT AUTHORITY IN A WAY THAT BOTH UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS CAN ACCEPT. GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATORS AT THIS STAGE ARE EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE BASIC WESTMINSTER LEGISLATION WOULD SPECIFY THE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL AND SOME NUMBER (BETWEEN SIX AND TEN) OF IMPLEMENTATION BODIES, RATHER THAN LEAVE THESE TO THE ASSEMBLY TO CREATE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE ASSEMBLY WOULD BE VESTED WITH BUDGET AND OTHER UNSPECIFIED AUTHORITY OVER THE COUNCIL AND ITS BODIES.

NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 003555

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/02/08

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BLAIR AND AHERN CONTINUE COMPROMISE EFFORTS

9. (X) RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE IS RELATED TO HOW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STRUCTURE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ARE ANSWERED. NATIONALISTS ARGUE FOR A CABINET-STYLE GOVERNMENT WHICH TAKES COLLECTIVE DECISIONS. IN THIS ARRANGEMENT, IT IS LIKELY THAT UNIONISTS WOULD HOLD THE POST OF "FIRST SECRETARY" WHILE NATIONALISTS WOULD ASSUME THE "DEPUTY FIRST SECRETARY" POSITION. OTHER SECRETARY (EG, ENVIRONMENT, EDUCATION) POSITIONS WOULD BE ALLOCATED ACCORDING TO PARTIES' STRENGTH IN THE ASSEMBLY. UNIONISTS PREFER A COMMITTEE-STYLE ARRANGEMENT WITH A WEAK EXECUTIVE. IN THEIR CONCEPT, THE SECRETARIES WOULD HAVE INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR AREAS, WITH LIMITED COORDINATION EXERTED BY A SECRETARIAL COMMITTEE. UNIONISTS BELIEVE THE COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF A CABINET-STYLE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE "A RECIPE FOR INACTION"; NATIONALISTS BELIEVE THAT COMMITTEE-STYLE GOVERNMENT WOULD ALLOW RECALCITRANT UNIONIST COMMITTEE SECRETARIES TO DELAY OR DEFEAT ACTION BY THE IMPLEMENTATION BODIES.

10. (X) THE RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE, IN TURN, IS RELATED TO VOTING PROCEDURES IN THE COMMITTEES. THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE FULL ASSEMBLY WILL OPERATE ON THE BASIS OF WEIGHTED VOTING TO ACHIEVE "SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS." IN COMMITTEE, HOWEVER, UNIONISTS ARGUE THAT VOTING SHOULD BE BY SIMPLE MAJORITY. AS UNIONISTS ARE LIKELY TO HAVE A MAJORITY ON ALL COMMITTEES, NATIONALISTS FEAR THIS COULD LEAVE NATIONALIST COMMITTEE SECRETARIES UNABLE TO MAKE POLICY WITHOUT CUMBERSOME APPEALS TO THE FULL ASSEMBLY.

PUTTING TOGETHER A DEAL  
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11. (X) HOLMES REITERATED THAT THERE ARE NO NEW DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS; THEY SIMPLY HAVE NOT PINNED DOWN BETWEEN THEMSELVES, AND WITH THE VARIOUS PARTIES, HOW TO STRUCTURE THE COMPLEX SET OF ISSUES ON THE TABLE.

12. (X) ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, TIME IS SHORT AND THERE IS MUCH TO BE DONE. ONE OF THE COMPLICATING FACTORS IS THE ROLE OF SINN FEIN WHICH, WHILE STILL FAR FROM JOINING A CONSENSUS, HAS MOVED TO A MORE REALISTIC POSITION. AN IRISH OFFICIAL SAID ADAMS HAS TOLD THE GOI THAT SINN FEIN IS WILLING TO SIGN UP TO A DEAL BASED ON SOMETHING CLOSE TO THE FRAMEWORKS DOCUMENT. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVES IT WOULD BE A TRAGIC MISCALCULATION NOT TO DO A DEAL THAT INCLUDES SINN FEIN IF THIS WOULD RESULT IN FINALLY REMOVING THE GUN FROM IRISH POLITICS. WHILE BOTH GOVERNMENTS AGREE AN INCLUSIVE DEAL IS PREFERABLE, NIO OFFICIALS SAY IT IS DIFFICULT TO CALCULATE WHERE THE INTERPLAY OF THE SINN FEIN AND UUP BOTTOM LINES WILL WIND UP.

13. (X) ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, HOLMES SAID TRIMBLE GRADUALLY IS BECOMING MORE REALISTIC IN TERMS OF BOTH COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ASSEMBLY EXECUTIVE AND ON THE NEED FOR CROSS-COMMUNITY VOTING WITHIN THE COMMITTEES. IF HE CAN ACCEPT SOMETHING IN THESE AREAS, HOLMES IMPLIED, THIS MAY HELP EASE NATIONALIST CONCERNS ON THE SCOPE OF EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY MANDATED TO THE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL AND IMPLEMENTATION BODIES.

14. (X) DECOMMISSIONING ALSO SEEMS TO HAVE RECEDED AS AN OBSTACLE, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT. TRIMBLE GOT A TWO-HOUR DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE IN MARCH 30 PLENARY, ALLOWING HIM TO

DEMONSTRATE TO HIS UNIONIST CONSTITUENCIES THAT HE HAD PRESSED IT HARD. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE MENTION OF IT SINCE AND, UNLESS IT RE-EMERGES OVER THE NEXT WEEK, FOR EXAMPLE IN RESPONSE TO A TERRORIST ATTACK, DECOMMISSIONING NO LONGER SEEMS THE AWESOME OBSTACLE THAT IT HAD APPEARED LAST WEEK.

TIMETABLE  
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15. (C) HOLMES SAID SENATOR MITCHELL REMAINS "ABSOLUTELY DETERMINED" TO PRESENT A PAPER TO THE PARTIES BY APRIL 3 SO THEY CAN HAVE TIME FOR CONSULTATION WITH THEIR CONSTITUENTS OVER THE WEEKEND. HOLMES NOTED MITCHELL, LIKE THE GOVERNMENTS, ALSO IS WORRIED ABOUT DAMAGINGLY SELECTIVE LEAKS SHOULD THEY HOLD ON TO ANY DRAFT PAPERS TOO LONG. AN INTERNATIONAL STAFFER TO THE CHAIRMAN CONFIRMED THAT MITCHELL PLANS TO GIVE THE PARTIES A FIRST DRAFT LATE FRIDAY AFTERNOON. BILATERAL MEETINGS WILL CONTINUE AT STORMONT THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND AND THE CHAIRMEN ON MONDAY ARE LIKELY TO TABLE A REVISED AGREEMENT BASED ON WEEKEND DISCUSSIONS. THE STAFFER SAID THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE TALKS TODAY HAS BEEN VERY GOOD.

16. (C) HOLMES SAID BOTH BLAIR AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MOWLAM REMAIN "TOTALLY COMMITTED" TO THE APRIL 9 TALKS DEADLINE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WANTS TO HOLD ELECTIONS FOR THE ASSEMBLY BEFORE MARCHING SEASON, AND PARTICULARLY BEFORE THE DRUMCREE PARADE ON JULY 5. THIS LEAVES JUNE 25 AS THE LAST FEASIBLE DATE FOR AN ELECTION. ASSUMING A MONTH WILL BE NEEDED FOR AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN, MAY 22 IS CLOSE DM A FIRM  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 003555

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/02/08  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BLAIR AND AHERN CONTINUE COMPROMISE EFFORTS

DATE FOR THE REFERENDUM. IF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT NEEDS SIX WEEKS FOR ITS LEGISLATION TO IMPLEMENT THE REFERENDUM, THEN THERE IS SIMPLY LITTLE ROOM FOR SLIPPAGE AFTER APRIL 9. NONETHELESS, HOLMES ACKNOWLEDGED, IF IT IS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT, THE TALKS COULD GO ON "A FEW DAYS LONGER."

U.S. ROLE  
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17. (C) HOLMES TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THE U.S. SHOULD CONTINUE EXERTING ITS INFLUENCE TO "KEEP EVERYONE AT IT" BUT AT THIS STAGE THERE IS NOT MUCH POINT IN TRYING TO PRESSURE ONE PARTY OR ANOTHER.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 3555  
<^SSN>3555  
<^SSN>3555

TOR: 980402120401 M3227534  
<^TOR>980402120522 M3227539  
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DIST: SIT: BANDLER BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SIT: NSC  
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT(C2)  
STEINBERG  
<^DIST>  
SIT: COQ  
PRT: COMM TRIP

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 071837Z APR 98  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 071837Z APR 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WADC IMMEDIATE 5149  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 0260  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0311  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: PRIME MINISTER'S  
 ADVISORS EXPRESS DEEP CONCERN

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1.48)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 003733

EXDIS

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 4/07/18  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PRIME MINISTER'S  
 ADVISORS EXPRESS DEEP CONCERN

REF: BELFAST 133

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: DCM ROBERT A. BRADTKE,  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. (C) IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE UUP LEADER TRIMBLE'S  
 ANNOUNCEMENT OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE MITCHELL DOCUMENT  
 (REFTEL) DCM SPOKE BRIEFLY WITH PM BLAIR'S CHIEF OF STAFF  
 POWELL AND PRINCIPAL PRIVATE SECRETARY HOLMES. BOTH POWELL  
 AND HOLMES EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE NORTHERN IRELAND  
 PEACE PROCESS BUT REITERATED THE PRIME MINISTER'S  
 DETERMINATION TO PUSH FOR AN AGREEMENT.

3. (C) POWELL DESCRIBED THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE  
 NEGOTIATIONS AS "VERY BAD," LEADING TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S  
 DECISION TO TRAVEL TO NORTHERN IRELAND. THIS INVOLVED  
 CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL RISK FOR BLAIR BUT THE PRIME MINISTER  
 BELIEVED NOW WAS THE TIME TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE.

4. (C) IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, HOLMES SAID THAT IT WAS  
 "STILL NOT TOO LATE" TO SAVE THE PEACE PROCESS AND REACH AN  
 AGREEMENT. HE COMMENTED THAT HE HAD ALWAYS EXPECTED THE  
 NEGOTIATIONS TO GO DOWN TO THE LAST MINUTE. THERE WERE STILL  
 CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCES THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED.

5. (C) THE TEXT THAT SENATOR MITCHELL HAD PRESENTED HAD  
 BRACKETS ON KEY LANGUAGE ON STRAND ONE DEALING WITH THE  
 DEVOLVED NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT AND ASSEMBLY. THE  
 LANGUAGE ON STRAND TWO HAD RELATIVELY FEW BRACKETS, REFLECTING

BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT ON THIS SECTION. HOWEVER, THE STRAND TWO LANGUAGE HAD PROVEN UNACCEPTABLE TO THE UNIONISTS. HOLMES DESCRIBED UNIONIST LEADER TRIMBLE AS BEING "PARALYZED" OVER HIS FEARS OF BEING OUTFLANKED BY DUP LEADER IAN PAISLEY. HOLMES ALSO SAID THAT SINN FEIN WAS PRESSING HARD ON THE PRISONER ISSUE, INSISTING THAT ALL PRISONERS BE RELEASED WITHIN A YEAR. A RELEASE OF ALL PRISONERS WAS AN IMPOSSIBLE CONDITION, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO RELEASE THE LARGE MAJORITY.

6. ~~let~~ WHEN ASKED WHAT THE U.S. MIGHT DO AT THIS POINT, HOLMES SAID THAT FOR THE MOMENT HE HAD NO SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE. THE FOCUS NOW HAD TO BE ON THE EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AND SENATOR MITCHELL.

7. ~~let~~ THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE INFORMED US EARLY THIS EVENING LONDON TIME THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD ARRIVED IN BELFAST AND PROCEEDED STRAIGHT INTO A MEETING WITH UUP LEADER TRIMBLE AT HILLSBOROUGH. BLAIR WILL TRY TO PIN DOWN EXACTLY WHAT TRIMBLE'S DIFFICULTIES ARE WITH THE CURRENT DOCUMENT AND WHAT HE MIGHT ACCEPT. BLAIR WILL ALSO EMPHASIZE ELEMENTS IN THE MITCHELL DOCUMENT TRIMBLE COULD SELL TO HIS COMMUNITY. THE EXPECTATION IS THAT SENATOR MITCHELL WILL CONTINUE HIS BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES TONIGHT WITH THE INVOLVEMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MOWLAM AND IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREWS. THE NIO EXPECTS IRISH TAOISEACH AHERN TO JOIN BLAIR FOR BREAKFAST TOMORROW MORNING PRIOR TO THE FUNERAL OF HIS MOTHER. DEPENDING UPON DEVELOPMENTS, AHERN MIGHT THEN RETURN TO BELFAST.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3733

TOR: 980407144155 M3234309

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER MCELDOWNEY SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT(C2)

STEINBERG

<^DIST>

SIT: COQ

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 171724Z APR 98  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3257  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0260  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0600  
 SUBJ: SENATOR HARKIN'S MEETINGS IN DUBLIN; IRISH  
 OFFICIALS COMMENT ON PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.49)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002075

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/17/08  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, OREP (HARKIN, TOM), EI  
 SUBJECT: SENATOR HARKIN'S MEETINGS IN DUBLIN; IRISH  
 OFFICIALS COMMENT ON PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

REF: LONDON 3890

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

1. ~~set~~ SUMMARY: SENATOR TOM HARKIN ON APRIL 17 ADDRESSED A LABOR UNION CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN ON DISABILITY ISSUES, TRACING THE LEGISLATIVE HISTORY AND IMPACT OF THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT. IN ADDITION TO MEETING WITH SIPTU UNION OFFICIALS, HARKIN DISCUSSED THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE AGREEMENT WITH LABOUR PARTY LEADER RUAIRI QUINN AND TAOISEACH'S ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH. THE LATTER OFFICIALS EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THE NORTHERN IRELAND AGREEMENT WOULD BE APPROVED IN TE REPUBLIC WHEN IT GOES TO REFERENDUM ON MAY 22. THEY VOICED VERY FAVORABLE ATTITUDES TOWARD A POSSIBLE VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON, BUT CAUTIONED THAT A FINAL DECISION SHOULD WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE IMPACT ON UNIONISTS COULD BE ASSESSED FOLLOWING TOMORROW'S UUP PARTY GATHERING. MANSERGH AGREED THAT PM BLAIR'S PRESENCE ALONGSIDE THE PRESIDENT MIGHT DO MUCH TO ALLEVIATE CONCERNS ABOUT A VISIT TO THE NORTH. END SUMMARY.

RUAIRI QUINN  
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2. ~~set~~ LABOUR PARTY LEADER RUAIRI QUINN SAID HIS PARTY WAS 100 PERCENT BEHIND THE PEACE AGREEMENT AND WOULD SUPPORT IT FULLY IN NEXT TUESDAY'S DAIL DEBATE. HE DID NOT ANTICIPATE ANY INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES TO PASSAGE OF THE LEGISLATION NEEDED TO PUT THE AGREEMENT TO REFERENDUM ON MAY 22. WHILE ARTICLES 2 AND 3 WOULD BE A PROBLEM WITH SOME FIANNA FAIL "DIE-HARDS," QUINN SAID THE GROUNDWORK

HAD ALREADY BEEN LAID WITHIN THE PARTY FOR MAKING THE CLAIM TO A UNITED IRELAND MORE ASPIRATIONAL THAN REAL.

3. (X) QUINN EMPHASIZED HIS "FELLOW SOCIALIST" TONY BLAIR'S AMBITIOUS PROGRAM FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND DEVOLUTION IN THE UK AS A FACTOR IN DAVID TRIMBLE'S DECISION TO ACCEPT THE PEACE AGREEMENT. THESE REFORMS WERE TAKING AWAY A NUMBER OF THE "COMFORT ZONES" UNIONISTS HAD TRADITIONALLY RELIED UPON. CREATION OF A NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY NOW HELD OUT THE PROSPECT THAT "TRIMBLE WILL HAVE A REAL JOB." ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE, QUINN EXPRESSED "NO DOUBT" THAT GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS -- "LIKE EAMON DE VALERA" -- WERE SHIFTING FROM VIOLENT TO PEACEFUL METHODS. HE APPLAUDED THE U.S. FOR HELPING TO "BRING THEM IN."

4. (X) SENATOR HARKIN OBSERVED THAT SOME OF HIS INTERLOCUTORS IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE TIMING OF A POSSIBLE VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON, AND HE ASKED FOR QUINN'S VIEWS. QUINN SAID THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN ADROIT TO INDICATE THAT HE WOULD ONLY VISIT IF THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL. IN QUINN'S VIEW, AN INVITATION FROM THE KEY PARTIES IN THE TALKS (TRIMBLE, HUME, ADAMS) SHOULD BE A PREREQUISITE FOR A VISIT. A VISIT AFTER MAY 22 WOULD BE LESS RISKY, HE OBSERVED -- AND THE PEACE PROCESS WOULD STILL NEED MUCH HELP THEN.

MARTIN MANSERGH  
/-----

5. (X) MANSERGH OPENED THE MEETING BY TELLING HARKIN THAT U.S. SUPPORT HAD BEEN VITAL IN ACHIEVING THE PEACE AGREEMENT. HE SINGLED OUT PRESIDENT CLINTON, SENATOR MITCHELL, AND AMBASSADOR SMITH FOR PRAISE -- AND AGREED WITH SENATOR HARKIN THAT MARTHA POPE HAD PLAYED AN UNSUNG BUT ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT ROLE.

6. (X) MANSERGH EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE APPROVED BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN THE MAY 22 REFERENDUM. HE WOULD BE DISAPPOINTED IF THE "YES" VOTE WERE LESS THAN 80 PERCENT, HE SAID. HE VOICED GENUINE PUZZLEMENT AS TO WHY THE LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR THE REFERENDUM IN YESTERDAY'S "IRISH TIMES" POLL WAS LESS IN THE REPUBLIC (61 PERCENT) THAN IN THE NORTH (73 PERCENT).

THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE COMPLACENT.

7. (X) MANSERGH POINTED TO TOMORROW'S UUP CONFERENCE AS A KEY HURDLE WHICH MUST BE OVERCOME, AND SAID THE PROCESS COULD BE THROWN INTO CRISIS IF THE AGREEMENT IS DEFEATED THERE. MANSERGH ESTIMATED THAT TRIMBLE WOULD SUCCEED IN GETTING THROUGH, BUT HE WAS "NOT 100 PERCENT CONFIDENT." HE ALSO NOTED THAT UNIONISTS WERE TRYING TO "RESURRECT" THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE. HOWEVER, HE FELT IAN PAISLEY'S STAR WAS "ON THE WANE," AND THE REAL CHALLENGE TO TRIMBLE NOW MIGHT COME FROM INSIDE THE UUP -- "AN ATTEMPTED COUP."

8. (X) MANSERGH WAS PLEASED WITH PROGRESS ON THE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 002075

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/17/08  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, OREP (HARKIN, TOM), EI

SUBJECT: SENATOR HARKIN'S MEETINGS IN DUBLIN; IRISH  
OFFICIALS COMMENT ON PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

REF: LONDON 3890

REPUBLICAN SIDE. HE TOLD HARKIN SINN FEIN INTENDS TO BE  
IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND CABINET. SINN FEIN IS STILL  
TRYING TO BUILD A CONCENSUS WITHIN THE PARTY, BUT THE  
LEADERSHIP SEES "LOTS OF POSITIVES" IN THE AGREEMENT. HE  
THOUGHT SINN FEIN WOULD TAKE ITS TIME IN DECIDING WHETHER  
TO ENDORSE THE PEACE AGREEMENT -- "AND THAT'S FINE WITH  
US." DUBLIN SEES THE PARTY LEADERSHIP'S MAIN TASK AS  
KEEPING THE MOVEMENT TOGETHER. HE EXPECTED THE SINN FEIN  
ARD FHEIS (PARTY CONFERENCE) IN DUBLIN THIS WEEKEND TO  
RECOMMEND "FURTHER STUDY" OF THE AGREEMENT.

9. (e) ASKED BY HARKIN ABOUT A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON,  
MANSERGH SAID THE TAOISEACH WOULD HAVE SOME VIEWS FOR ME  
WHEN WE MEET ON MONDAY. IN GENERAL, THE GOI WOULD WELCOME  
A VISIT, PARTICULARLY TO THE SOUTH. THE CONCERN AT THE  
MOMENT, HOWEVER, WAS WHETHER SUCH A VISIT WOULD "PLAY INTO  
PAISLEY'S HANDS." A CAREFUL ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT  
AMONG UNIONISTS WOULD BE NEEDED. "MY INSTINCT IS THAT  
THERE IS A STRONG TIDE BEHIND THE AGREEMENT," MANSERGH  
SAID, "AND THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WOULD BE ICING ON THE  
CAKE." STILL, SOME UNIONISTS WOULD ACCUSE THE PRESIDENT  
OF INTERFERENCE. THE ISSUE REQUIRED "A LITTLE PAUSE FOR  
THOUGHT" AND A "JUDGMENT OF UNIONIST PSYCHOLOGY."

10. (e) ASKED WHETHER PM BLAIR'S ATTENDANCE ALONGSIDE THE  
PRESIDENT WOULD MAKE MATTERS EASIER, MANSERGH SAID HE DID  
THINK THIS WOULD "HELP STEADY THINGS UP." IT WOULD NOT BE  
A NEGATIVE FOR NATIONALISTS. THE QUESTION WAS PERHAPS NOT  
WHETHER THE PRESIDENT SHOULD COME, BUT HOW THE VISIT  
SHOULD BE MANAGED. IN MANSERGH'S VIEW, A VISIT BEFORE MAY  
22 WOULD BE MORE VALUABLE THAN AFTER, ASSUMING TRIMBLE IS  
ON BOARD. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2075  
<^SSN>2075

TOR: 980417135512 M3248585  
<^TOR>980417134951 M3248571

DIST:  
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SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT(C2)  
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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT(C2)  
STEINBERG  
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SIT: COQ

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0269  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0604  
 SUBJ: TAOISEACH WILL TRY TO PERSUADE TRIMBLE THAT A  
 PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO IRELAND WOULD BE A GOOD THING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.50)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

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

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002094

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

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

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: TAOISEACH WILL TRY TO PERSUADE TRIMBLE THAT A  
 PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO IRELAND WOULD BE A GOOD THING

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

1. (S) SUMMARY: BERTIE AHERN APPEARS CONFIDENT THINGS ARE MOVING TOWARD APPROVAL OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND AGREEMENT IN THE MAY 22 REFERENDUM, BUT IS LEAVING NOTHING TO CHANCE. HE IS FIRMLY IN FAVOR OF A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON IN ADVANCE OF THE REFERENDUM. IN ADDITION TO THE POSITIVE IMPACT SUCH A VISIT WOULD HAVE IN IRELAND, AHERN BELIEVES IT WOULD HELP SEND THE RIGHT MESSAGE TO THE IRISH DIASPORA IN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE. END SUMMARY.

2. (S) I MET WITH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN ON APRIL 20 TO DISCUSS THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. AHERN EXPRESSED HUGE RELIEF THAT THE APRIL 10 AGREEMENT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED -- "THANK GOD WE'VE GOT IT TO THIS STAGE." HE CALLED THE AGREEMENT A GOOD ONE FROM THE DUBLIN PERSPECTIVE, AND SAID GETTING NORTH/SOUTH BODIES IN PLACE BY THE END OF OCTOBER WOULD BE HIS PRINCIPAL FOCUS.

3. (S) AHERN EMPHASIZED THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS STRUCTURED SO THAT IRISH CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES WOULD BE LINKED TO OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE PACKAGE. AHERN SAID HE HAD TOLD DAVID TRIMBLE HE HAD EVERY REASON TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF HIM; THE CHANGES IN ARTICLES 2 AND 3 WERE HIS "GREAT LEVER."

4. (S) ASKED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR THE AGREEMENT TO BE APPROVED IN THE MAY 22 REFERENDUM IN THE REPUBLIC, AHERN WAS CAUTIOUS. "YOU ALWAYS WORRY," HE SAID. HOWEVER, BY COMBINING THE ISSUES INTO ONE QUESTION, HE WAS FAIRLY CERTAIN IT WOULD PASS. THE CHALLENGE WOULD BE TO GET AS

HIGH A "YES" VOTE AS POSSIBLE.

5. (S) COMMENTING ON REPORTS (SEPTEL) THAT SINN FEIN MIGHT ADOPT A STRATEGY OF PROMOTING A "YES" VOTE IN THE NORTH AND A "NO" VOTE IN THE SOUTH, AHERN SAID THIS WOULD BE STUPID. HE THOUGHT ADAMS WAS "PLAYING FOR TIME" WITH THIS NOTION -- THOUGH THIS MIGHT BE JUSTIFIED, GIVEN ADAMS' DIFFICULTIES IN SELLING THE AGREEMENT WITHIN SF. AHERN INDICATED THE GOI DECISION TO RELEASE SEVERAL REPUBLICAN PRISONERS FROM PORTLOISE PRISON LAST WEEK WAS DIRECTLY RELATED TO BOLSTERING SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT AT SINN FEIN'S PARTY CONFERENCE IN DUBLIN OVER THE WEEKEND.

6. (S) TURNING TO THE UNIONISTS, THE TAOISEACH SAID DAVID TRIMBLE HAD HAD TO "FACE DOWN HIS OWN PEOPLE," AND HAD PULLED OFF AN IMPRESSIVE VICTORY. HOWEVER, FOR AHERN, "THE MAIN THING IS THAT THE PEOPLE ARE GOING TO HAVE THEIR DECISION." POLITICIANS HAD BEEN TOLD THE PEOPLE WANTED PEACE; THIS WAS THEIR OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE FOR IT.

7. (S) THE GOI WOULD -- THROUGH THE POLITICAL PARTIES -- CAMPAIGN VIGOROUSLY FOR A "YES" VOTE. "WE'LL TREAT THIS LIKE A GENERAL ELECTION," AHERN TOLD ME -- "WE WON'T TAKE ANY CHANCES." PROUDLY, HE POINTED OUT THIS WAS THE FIRST ALL-ISLAND VOTE, NORTH AND SOUTH, SINCE 1918.

8. (S) I ASKED HIM WHETHER THE REFERENDUM ON NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE HELD SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH A REFERENDUM ON THE AMSTERDAM TREATY. AHERN INDICATED THIS PROBLEM WAS BEING GRAPPLED WITH AT THE MOMENT. HIS INCLINATION WAS TO PRESENT BOTH ISSUES TO THE PEOPLE ON THE SAME DAY (MAY 22) IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE TURN-OUT. HE WAS DOUBTFUL THAT A REFERENDUM ON AMSTERDAM ALONE WOULD DRAW MUCH SUPPORT.

PRESIDENTIAL VISIT  
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9. (S) I ASKED AHERN FOR HIS VIEWS REGARDING A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO IRELAND IN ADVANCE OF THE REFERENDUM. "I'D BE IN FAVOR," HE REPLIED. REFERRING TO MEDIA REPORTS THAT DAVID TRIMBLE WAS OPPOSED TO A VISIT, AHERN SAID HE WOULD TALK TO TRIMBLE TODAY TO TRY TO PERSUADE HIM THAT A VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON WOULD BE HELPFUL TO PASSAGE OF THE REFERENDUM.

10. (S) AHERN SAW FOUR ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF SUCH A VISIT. FIRST, IT WOULD DRAW A HUGE MEDIA SPOTLIGHT ON THE VOTE AND HELP THE PUBLIC UNDERSTAND "THE ENORMITY" OF WHAT IS AT STAKE. SECOND, THE U.S. AND PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS ALL ALONG, SO TO COMPLAIN OF "INTERFERENCE" WAS NOT APPROPRIATE. THERE WOULD BE SOME OBJECTIONS NO MATTER WHAT, BUT FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW THERE WERE NO DOWN SIDES TO A VISIT. THIRD, HE RECOGNIZED THAT MID-MAY WAS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY IN TERMS OF THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE, ONE THAT MIGHT NOT REAPPEAR FOR SOME TIME, AND IT WOULD BE "AWFUL" TO LOSE THAT OPPORTUNITY. FOURTH, IT WOULD HELP CARRY THE MESSAGE TO IRISH-AMERICA AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE IRISH DIASPORA OVERSEAS (NATIONALIST AND UNIONIST, HE EMPHASIZED).

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 002094

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/20/08  
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: TAOISEACH WILL TRY TO PERSUADE TRIMBLE THAT A  
PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO IRELAND WOULD BE A GOOD THING

11. (S) AHERN ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANCE OF GETTING THE  
UNIONISTS ON BOARD, AND SAID HE WOULD ADVISE US OF THE  
OUTCOME OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH DAVID TRIMBLE. HE  
THOUGHT IT WOULD BE "BETTER" IF THE PRESIDENT MADE THE  
TRIP ON HIS OWN RATHER THAN WITH PM BLAIR, BUT "WOULDN'T  
GET HUNG UP ON THIS -- I'D LIVE WITH IT IF THE UNIONISTS  
INSISTED."

12. (S) AHERN HAD SOME KIND WORDS FOR MY OWN PERSONAL  
INVOLVEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE PEACE PROCESS, AND WENT ON  
TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE U.S. HAD HELPED TO INTERNATIONALIZE  
THE ISSUE. THIS WAS KEY -- IF IT HAD NOT HAPPENED, "WE'D  
BE WASTING OUR TIME" IN THE PEACE PROCESS, HE SAID. FOR  
THIS REASON, IT WAS ALL THE MORE APPROPRIATE THAT  
PRESIDENT CLINTON COME TO IRELAND IN MAY.

EDUCATION INITIATIVE  
/-----

13. (S) I RAISED WITH AHERN THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING A  
TANGIBLE MARKER TO COMMEMORATE A VISIT BY THE PRESIDENT AT  
THIS HISTORIC TIME, IF ONE OCCURS. IN THE SAME WAY THAT  
PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S VISIT TO IRELAND RESULTED IN A  
COOPERATIVE INITIATIVE WITH PRESIDENT DE VALERA (THE  
IRELAND FUNDS), I SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS AN EDUCATION  
INITIATIVE INVOLVING STUDENTS NORTH AND SOUTH, WITH AN  
INTERNET COMPONENT, FOCUSED ON THE OPPORTUNITIES OPENED  
UP BY PEACE, MIGHT LEAVE A LASTING LEGACY OF PRESIDENT  
CLINTON'S VISIT AND AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO A PEACE  
SETTLEMENT. AHERN SAID HE LIKED THE IDEA AND WOULD  
DISCUSS IT WITH HIS STAFF. SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2094  
<^SSN>2094

TOR: 980420124858 M3251272  
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DIST:  
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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HELWEG KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}  
STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL  
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 RUEHBU/AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES 0646  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0001  
 RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0003  
 RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 0786  
 SUBJ: ALLEGED MEETING BETWEEN IRA AND ETA  
 REPRESENTATIVES IN URUGUAY

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
 PER E. O. 13526

2015-0158-M [1.52]

KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY DCM NANCY M. MASON. REASON: 1.5(C).

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ MONTEVIDEO 000844

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y, PARA TWO CORRECTED

E.O. 12598: DECL. 4/29/03  
 TAGS: EFIN, PTER, KCRM, UY  
 SUBJECT: ALLEGED MEETING BETWEEN IRA AND ETA  
 REPRESENTATIVES IN URUGUAY

CLASSIFIED BY DCM NANCY M. MASON. REASON: 1.5(C).

1. (U) ON APRIL 25, THE PROMINENT ARGENTINE DAILY "LA NACION" PUBLISHED A STORY REGARDING AN ALLEGED MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SPANISH ETA AND THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA) THAT REPORTEDLY TOOK PLACE NEAR THE URUGUAYAN RESORT TOWN OF PIRIAPOLIS THE PREVIOUS WEEK. ACCORDING TO THE STORY, A GROUP OF LOCAL EX-TUPAMARO GUERRILLAS HOSTED THE MEETING BETWEEN SIX UNNAMED ETA AND IRA MEMBERS WHO SUPPOSEDLY ANALYZED THE RECENT NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PLAN AND DISCUSSED WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT COULD PRODUCE A SIMILAR ACCORD FOR BASQUE SEPARATISTS. THE REPRESENTATIVES ALSO ALLEGEDLY DISCUSSED THE FINANCES OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONS DEPOSITED IN URUGUAYAN AND REGIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

2. (U) WHILE FAILING TO GIVE ANY NAMES, THE AUTHOR OF THE STORY PROVIDED PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF SEVERAL OF THE SUPPOSED REPRESENTATIVES AND EVEN DESCRIBED THE FOOD THAT WAS SERVED. THE WRITER FURTHER CLAIMED THAT THE CHIEF IRA REPRESENTATIVE HAD ARRIVED AT THE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN MONTEVIDEO FROM NEW YORK VIA BUENOS AIRES, WHILE THE HEAD ETA MEMBER HAD FLOWN IN FROM PARIS, ALSO VIA BUENOS AIRES.

3. (U) ON APRIL 26, THE TWO LARGEST DAILY PAPERS

IN MONTEVIDEO RAN SIMILAR STORIES ON THE ALLEGED ETA-IRA MEETING, ALTHOUGH BOTH REPORTS CONTAINED LITTLE NEW INFORMATION AND WERE PRIMARILY BASED ON THE ACCOUNT IN LA NACION. ONE OF THE LOCAL ARTICLES, HOWEVER, CLAIMED THAT SOURCES FROM THE GOU MINISTRY OF INTERIOR REVEALED THAT THE GOU HAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE EVENT BUT DID NOT TAKE ANY STEPS TO PREVENT IT SINCE THE REPRESENTATIVES ARRIVED IN THE COUNTRY LEGALLY AND WERE NOT SUBJECT TO ANY LOCAL OR INTERNATIONAL WARRANTS.

4. (U) RESPONDING TO THE MEDIA HYPE, THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR RELEASED AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT ON APRIL 27, PUBLISHED THE FOLLOWING DAY, DENYING THAT THE GOU HAD ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THE SUPPOSED ETA-IRA MEETING. SPOKESPERSONS FOR SINN FEIN, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OFFICE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS AND THE LOCAL TUPAMARO POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CONTACTED BY THE URUGUAYAN MEDIA ALSO REFUTED HAVING ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE MEETING. AN APRIL 29 NEWSPAPER ARTICLE REITERATED THE GOU'S STANCE AND REPORTED THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF ANY SUCH MEETING AND THAT INTERPOL AND URUGUAYAN IMMIGRATION RECORDS DID NOT REVEAL ANY ETA OR IRA LEADERS HAVING ENTERED THE COUNTRY.

EO 13526 3.3(b)(1), EO 13526 3.3(b)(6)

ASHBY  
B  
#0844

NNNN  
SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01  
SSN: 0844  
TOR: 980510092831 M3280589  
DIST:  
SIT: DELAURENTIS DESOUZA DOBBINS HOFMANN LAWSON ORFINI PICCONE  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
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 INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3648  
 RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 0173  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: PROGRAM PROPOSAL FOR FY99 NATO TOUR: IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.54)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 003469

E.O. 12958; DECL: 06/26/07  
 TAGS: OPRC, PREL, NATO, EI  
 SUBJECT: PROGRAM PROPOSAL FOR FY99 NATO TOUR: IRELAND

REF: USNATO 1798 (NOTAL)

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

1. (U) EMBASSY DUBLIN ACKNOWLEDGES USNATO'S NEED TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF NATO TOURS (REFTEL) AND APPRECIATES THE OPPORTUNITY TO SUBMIT A PROPOSAL FOR PARTICIPATION IN FY99 PROGRAMMING. WE WILL ARGUE THAT ONE NATO TOUR PER YEAR FOR IRELAND REMAINS A SENSIBLE INVESTMENT IN U.S. INTERESTS.
2. ~~(S)~~ THE PRINCIPAL VALUE OF A NATO TOUR INVOLVING IRISH PARTICIPANTS IS IN LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR EVENTUAL IRISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE. IRELAND WOULD BENEFIT FROM PFP PARTICIPATION, BUT WE ALSO STAND TO GAIN FROM IRELAND'S EXPERIENCE AND CREDIBILITY IN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, AS WELL AS PROSPECTS FOR EQUIPMENT SALES THAT WILL EMERGE AS IRELAND BECOMES MORE FIRMLY ROOTED IN EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE.
3. ~~(S)~~ WITH THE SIGNING OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE AGREEMENT ON APRIL 10, 1998, POTENTIALLY RESOLVING GENERATIONS OF CONFLICT IN THIS REGION, THE STAGE IS SET FOR GRADUAL NORMALIZATION OF IRISH INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURES. BUT THIS WILL REQUIRE GENTLE PRODDING.
4. ~~(S)~~ THE LONG-TREASURED CONCEPT OF IRISH NEUTRALITY IS INCREASINGLY SEEN TO HAVE LITTLE VALUE OR MEANING IN POST-COLD WAR EUROPE. THE OPPOSITION IS CALLING FOR IRELAND TO JOIN PFP, AND THE PUBLIC SEEMS OPEN TO THIS NOTION. THE MILITARY, FOR ITS PART, IS VERY ANXIOUS TO MOVE CLOSER TO EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURES, INCLUDING PFP, LEST IRELAND BE LEFT BEHIND. HOWEVER, PRIME

MINISTER BERTIE AHERN'S FIANNA FAIL PARTY CLINGS TO THE VIEW THAT BROACHING PFP IS POLITICAL SUICIDE.

5. (S) OUR FOCUS IS ON EXPOSING THE IRISH TO WHAT THEY RISK MISSING BY CONTINUING TO ESCHEW PFP. THIS IS THE BREAD AND BUTTER OF THE NATO TOUR, AND WHY IT IS SUCH A VALUABLE TOOL. A NATO TOUR (OR "EUROPEAN SECURITY TOUR," AS WE BILL IT HERE) WILL HAVE REAL IMPACT ON THE EVOLVING EUROPEAN SECURITY DEBATE IN IRELAND.

6. (U) WE ARE CONFIDENT AN INFLUENTIAL SET OF PARTICIPANTS CAN BE FOUND TO TAKE PART, AND LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING THE OPPORTUNITY TO NOMINATE SUITABLE CANDIDATES (POLITICIANS, JOURNALISTS, ACADEMICS AND NGO REPS FROM AROUND IRELAND) AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.  
SMITH

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3469

TOR: 980630050256 M3356863

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BELL BROWN BUTLER DAVIDSON DOWLING MCELDFOWNEY SAPIRO  
WITKOWSKY  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 DTG: 131619Z JUL 98  
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 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0400  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0696  
 SUBJ: MARTIN MANSERGH: "WORST OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS MAY  
 BE OVER," ALTHOUGH DRUMCREE SECURITY SITUATION "REMAINS TENSE"

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.55)  
 KBN 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 003707

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/13/08  
 TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH: "WORST OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS MAY  
 BE OVER," ALTHOUGH DRUMCREE SECURITY SITUATION "REMAINS TENSE"

REFS: BELFAST 272 AND PREVIOUS

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

## SUMMARY

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1. (U) SEE ACTION REQUEST AT PARA. 13.
  2. (S) AMBASSADOR KENNEDY SMITH MET WITH THE TAOISEACH'S POLITICAL ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH JULY 13 FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S DRUMCREE-RELATED VIOLENCE (REF) AND MURDERS OF THREE CHILDREN OVER THE WEEKEND. MANSERGH BELIEVES THAT THE CHILDRENS' DEATHS HAVE "CHANGED THE LANDSCAPE" IN THE NORTH. THE POLITICAL CRISIS UNIOI OVER, NOW THAT SO MANY OTHER RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL LEADERS, AND EVEN LEADING ORANGEMEN, HAVE CALLED FOR THE PORTADOWN ORANGEMEN TO END THE PROTEST AT DRUMCREE IN LIGHT OF THE CHILDRENS' DEATHS. IN MANSERGH'S VIEW, THE EFFORTS OF ORANGE EXTREMISTS TO "UNLEASH FORCES OF VIOLENCE" FAILED AND COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR THE ORANGE ORDER'S EFFORT AT DRUMCREE IS EBBING. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS CONFIDENT THAT LONDON WILL CONTINUE TO "HOLD THE LINE" AND NOT BACK DOWN FROM ENFORCING THE PARADE COMMISSION'S DECISION O THE DRUMCREE MARCH. THE PROXIMITY TALKS UNDERWAY WILL CONTINUE AND "THE OUTLINES" OF A COMPROMISE ARE APPEARING. MANSERGH CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION REMAINS TENSE AND AN EXTREMIST ACT OF VIOLENCE ON EITHER SIDE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS COULD CHANGE THIS DYNAMIC.
  3. (S) SUMMARY CON'TD. MANSERGH SAID THE TAOISEACH IS STILL CONSIDERING WHETHER TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL OF THE MURDERED

CHILDREN; IF HE DECIDES NOT TO ATTEND, AN IRISH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE WILL ATTEND. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR'S QUERY, MANSERGH SAID HE THOUGHT IT "APPROPRIATE" FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO THE FUNERAL. AMBASSADOR SMITH RECOMMENDS WASHINGTON SEND A HIGH-RANKING REPRESENTATIVE TO THE FUNERAL TO DEMONSTRATE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S REGRET OVER THE TRAGIC DEATHS, AS WELL AS THE CONTINUING DEPTH OF THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE PEACE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

"GOOD CAN COME OUT OF EVIL"

4. (C) DURING THE: MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON THE MORNING OF JULY 13, MANSERGH WAS CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S VIOLENCE. NOTING THAT "GOOD CAN SOMETIMES COME OUT OF THE WORST EVIL," MANSERGH SAID THAT THE MURDERS OF THREE CHILDREN OVER THE WEEKEND IN AN ARSON ATTACK HAD CHANGED THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN THE NORTH. THE MURDERS HAD CAUSED VOICES TO BE RAISED THAT "ARE URGING THE ORANGEMEN TO PULL BACK," SUCH AS THE JOINT CALL OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN THE NORTH FOR THE DRUMCREE PROTEST TO END AND THE ROUND OF STATEMENTS FROM POLITICAL LEADERS FOLLOWING THE CHILDRENS' MURDERS. MANSERGH SAID THERE IS "CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE" THAT EVEN SENIOR ORANGE LEADERS HAD SUGGESTED THE PORTADOWN ORANGE CHAPTER END THE STAND-OFF AT DRUMCREE, BUT THESE LEADERS HAD AGREED, IN THE END, TO SUPPORT THE CHAPTER'S EVENTUAL DECISION TO CONTINUE THE PROTEST.

5. (C) THE EFFECT OF THE CHANGED LANDSCAPE, MANSERGH CONTINUED, WACTO END THE POLITICAL CRISIS FACING DAVID TRIMBLE. HE FACES LESS "POLITICAL PRESSURE" NOW THAT SO MANY OTHERS, INCLUDING SOME ORANGE LEADERS, ARE CALLING FOR RESTRAINT AND AN END TO THE PROTEST AT DRUMCREE. TRIMBLE CANNOT BE "DESTABILISED" NOW.

6. (C) MANSERGH ADDED THAT IT WAS NOTEWORTHY IN THE HISTORY OF THE LAST THIRTY YEARS IN THE NORTH THAT THE EFFORTS OF ORANGE EXTREMISTS TO "UNLEASH FORCE" TO ACHIEVE THEIR ENDS APPEARED TO HAVE FAILED AND PRODUCED A BACKLASH. THE VIOLENCE OF THE LAST WEEK, CULMINATING IN THE DEATH OF THE CHILDREN, HAD PULLED ALL SIDES FROM THE EDGE. SUPPORT IN THE ORANGE COMMUNITY FOR THE DRUMCREE PROTEST AND EXTREMIST VIOLENCE WAS EBBING AS EVIDENCED BY THE FALLING NUMBERS OF ORANGEMEN REMAINING AT THE SITE OF THE DRUMCREE PROTEST. MANSERGH SAID THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY HAD REACTED WITH "DIGNITY" TO THE CHILDRENS' MURDERS AND HE WAS PLEASED THAT THE ORMEAU ROAD RESIDENTS HAD CHOSEN TO ALLOW THE ORANGE PARADE TO PASS TODAY WITHOUT A COUNTER-PROTEST, OTHER THAN BLACK FLAGS HELD IN MEMORY OF THE MURDERED CHILDREN. THE MURDERS MAY BE A "CATALYST" THAT WILL GALVANISE PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST VIOLENCE AND "PRODUCE A RETHINK" BY ALL SIDES.

NEXT FEW DAYS ARE STILL "CRITICAL"

7. (C) MANSERGH STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SECURITY  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 003707

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/13/08

TAGS: PREL, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: MARTIN MANSERGH: "WORST OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS MAY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

BE OVER," ALTHOUGH DRUMCREE SECURITY SITUATION "REMAINS TENSE"

SITUATION AT DRUMCREE AND IN THE NORTH REMAINS "TENSE" AND THE NEXT FEW DAYS ARE STILL CRITICAL. AN ACT OF VIOLENCE BY EITHER SIDE COULD SET BACK THE DYNAMIC OF COMPROMISE. MANSERGH SAID IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR ORANGE LEADERS, RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS, AND OTHERS TO CONTINUE THEIR CALLS FOR PROTESTERS TO LEAVE DRUMCREE "AND GO HOME." THE ORANGEMEN HAVE "LOST," AND RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS MUST LEAD THE PROTESTERS AND ORANGEMEN AROUND TO SEE THAT TO CONTINUE THE PROTESTS WILL ONLY PRODUCE MORE VIOLENCE.

8. (C) MANSERGH SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE PROXIMITY TALKS BETWEEN THE PORTADOWN ORANGE LODGE AND RESIDENTS OF THE GARVAGHY ROAD ARE SCHEDULED TO RESUME ON JULY 14. HE BELIEVED THE OUTLINE OF A RESOLUTION WAS BECOMING APPARENT, INVOLVING AN ECONOMIC PACKAGE FOR THE NATIONALIST RESIDENTS AND A COMMITMENT FROM THE RESIDENTS THAT THE MARCHES COULD BE HELD IN FUTURE YEARS.

9. (C) THE IRISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO WELCOME LONDON'S SECURITY EFFORTS AT DRUMCREE AND ITS EFFORTS TO DEFUSE THE SITUATION THROUGH THE PROXIMITY TALKS. MANSERGH SAID HE IS CONFIDENT LONDON WILL NOT "BACK DOWN" FROM ITS COMMITMENT TO ENFORCE THE PARADE COMMISSION'S DECISION ON THE DRUMCREE MARCH. MANSERGH SAID THE IRISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT BELIEVE THE BRITISH SECURITY FORCES COULD HAVE PREVENTED ORANGE PROTESTERS FROM GATHERING AT DRUMCREE WITHOUT "MASSIVE SECURITY" AND VIOLENCE. THE DECISION TO FORM A SECURITY PERIMETER AT THE SITE WAS LIKELY THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION. POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO IRELAND

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10. (C) THE AMBASSADOR RAISED REPORTS OF A POSSIBLE VISIT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON TO IRELAND IN EARLY SEPTEMBER AND ASKED MANSERGH FOR HIS INITIAL REACTION. MANSERGH REPLIED THAT HIS INITIAL RESPONSE IS "VERY POSITIVE," ADDING THAT HE THOUGHT THE PRESENT CRISIS WOULD BE OVER BY THAT TIME. MANSERGH SAID HE UNDERSTOOD MANY FACTORS WOULD GO INTO A DECISION FOR THE PRESIDENT TO VISIT IRELAND, BUT A VISIT THEN WOULD BE "WELCOME."

USG REPRESENTATION AT FUNERAL OF MURDERED CHILDREN

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11. (C) AMBASSADOR ASKED MANSERGH ABOUT PLANS FOR IRISH REPRESENTATION AT THE FUNERAL OF THE THREE CHILDREN MURDERED OVER THE WEEKEND AND HIS VIEWS ON POSSIBLE USG REPRESENTATION. MANSERGH SAID THAT TAOISEACH AHERN IS STILL "CONSIDERING" WHETHER TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL, BUT MANSERGH BELIEVED IT WAS "LIKELY AHERN WILL NOT ATTEND." IF AHERN DOES NOT ATTEND, THERE WILL BE SOME REPRESENTATIVE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT PRESENT AT THE FUNERAL.

12. (C) MANSERGH SAID THAT ATTENDANCE BY A U.S. GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE "WELCOME," ALTHOUGH THAT WAS A DECISION FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO MAKE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. CONSUL GENERAL IN BELFAST MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE, IF A DECISION WAS TAKEN TO SEND A USG REPRESENTATIVE. ASKED FOR HIS THOUGHTS ON AMBASSADOR SMITH'S ATTENDANCE AT THE FUNERAL, MANSERGH CAUTIONED THAT SECURITY AT THE FUNERAL SITE WILL BE "DIFFICULT" IN ANY CASE, BUT WOULD CERTAINLY BE A FACTOR TO BE CONSIDERED IF AMBASSADOR SMITH OR ANOTHER HIGH-LEVEL U.S. OFFICIAL WERE TO ATTEND AS WELL.

13. (C) COMMENT AND EMBASSY ACTION REQUEST. AMBASSAD^R SMITH RECOMMENDS THAT WASHINGTON SEND A HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIAL

TO REPRESENT THE PRESIDENT AND U.S. GOVERNMENT AT THIS  
WEEK'S FUNERAL OF THE THREE MURDERED CHILDREN. AMBASSADOR  
IS PREPARED TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL ON BEHALF OF U.S.  
GOVERNMENT, IF WASHINGTON SO REQUESTS. A HIGH-LEVEL,  
PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED U.S. REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE A VISIBLE  
SIGN OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PERSONAL AND CONTINUING INTEREST  
IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS AND REGRET AT THE  
TRAGIC DEATHS. SMITH

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

**SSN:** 3707  
<^SSN>3707

**TOR:** 980713125552 M3374519  
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PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK MALLEY RICEE SIT{C2}  
STEINBERG

## Cable

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 RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0637  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0823  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: PENDULUM SWINGS BACK TO OPTIMISM FOR PROGRESS  
 ON NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.58)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 006407

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/14/08

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: PENDULUM SWINGS BACK TO OPTIMISM FOR PROGRESS  
 ON NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS  
 1.5 (B) AND (D) .

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: SENIOR ADVISOR TO IRISH PRIME MINISTER  
 AHERN, WALLY KIRWAN, TOLD US THAT THERE IS RENEWED  
 OPTIMISM FOR AGREEMENT ON NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATIONS  
 BODIES "TODAY" (DECEMBER 14), FOLLOWING A DOWN WEEK IN  
 WHICH THE GOI VIEWED DAVID TRIMBLE'S NOBEL PRIZE SPEECH  
 AS "A TYPICAL MISSED OPPORTUNITY." KIRWAN TOLD US THAT  
 THE UK OFFICIALS WERE PUTTING BEFORE NORTHERN IRELAND  
 MINISTERS TRIMBLE AND MALLON "THIS AFTERNOON" AN AGREED  
 IRELAND-UK PAPER WHICH WOULD SEE EIGHT SUBJECT AREAS AND  
 UP TO TEN IMPLEMENTATION BODIES CREATED FOR NORTH/SOUTH  
 COOPERATION. KIRWAN ANTICIPATED, HOWEVER, THAT ANY  
 AGREEMENT WITH THE UNIONISTS WOULD BE, AT BEST, FOR SIX  
 BODIES NOW WITH FOUR MORE LATER. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE  
 GOI AND NATIONALISTS COULD ACCEPT A MINIMUM OF SIX ONLY  
 PROVIDED THEY INCLUDE "SUBSTANTIVE" BODIES DEALING WITH  
 TOURISM, TRADE, EU PROGRAMS, AND THE IRISH LANGUAGE.  
 KIRWAN ALSO CONFIRMED EARLIER INDICATIONS WE HAVE SEEN OF  
 THE TAOISEACH'S INTERMITTENT BUT GROWING DOUBTS ABOUT  
 TRIMBLE AS A GOOD FAITH PARTNER. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(S)~~ CHARGE AND POLOFF CALLED ON SENIOR ADVISOR TO  
 TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) AHERN, WALLY KIRWAN, DECEMBER  
 14 TO GET AN UPDATE ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE  
 NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FROM THE DUBLIN  
 PERSPECTIVE. KIRWAN TOLD US THAT OPTIMISM HAD INCREASED  
 SINCE LAST WEEK ON REACHING AGREEMENT WITH THE NORTHERN

IRELAND PARTIES ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND THE CONTENT AND NUMBER OF NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. FOLLOWING INTENSIVE WORK BETWEEN GOI AND UK OFFICIALS OVER THE WEEKEND, KIRWAN SAID, THE UK WAS PRESENTING TO FIRST MINISTER TRIMBLE AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER MALLON A IRELAND-UK AGREED PAPER "THIS AFTERNOON" ON EIGHT SUBJECT AREAS FOR NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION WHICH COULD BE DEALT WITH BY "UP TO TEN" IMPLEMENTATION BODIES. (NOTE: KIRWAN SAID THAT THIS FORMULA WAS WHAT TRIMBLE HAD SEEMED TO AGREE TO WITH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR ON DECEMBER 2 ONLY TO BACK AWAY FROM THE NEXT DAY. END NOTE.)

3. (S) KIRWAN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE UUP DEPUTY JOHN TAYLOR HAD AGREED TO SIX NORTH/SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES NOW WITH AN ADDITIONAL FOUR TO BE AGREED "DOWN THE ROAD" IN TALKS WITH BLAIR IN LONDON DECEMBER 11. SIX BODIES FOR NOW WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO IRELAND AND THE SDLP AS LONG AS THEY WERE SUBSTANTIVE AND INCLUDED THE FOUR OF INTEREST TO NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN COMMUNITIES, I.E., TOURISM, TRADE (NOT TO INCLUDE "INWARD INVESTMENT"), EU PROGRAMS, AND IRISH LANGUAGE. HE ANTICIPATED THE REMAINING TWO WOULD BE UNIONIST IDEAS, I.E., STRATEGIC TRU SPORT AND MARINE AQUACULTURE. KIRWAN ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE BODIES WOULD HAVE TO BE "MEANINGFUL," AND NOTED UNIONISTS EFFORTS TO "HOLLOW" THEM OUT. FOR EXAMPLE, HE INDICATED, UNIONISTS WANTED TO RETAIN THE RIGHT OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND TOURISM OFFICE TO HAVE ITS OWN BRANCHES OVERSEAS, WHICH WOULD DEFEAT THE PURPOSE OF MARKETING ALL OF IRELAND AS "A PACKAGE." AN ESSENTIAL PART OF A FINAL PACKAGE, KIRWAN NOTED, WOULD BE UNIONIST AGREEMENT TO TEN SEATS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE.

4. (S) WHILE STRESSING THAT THE OUTCOME WAS STILL IN DOUBT, KIRWAN NOTED THAT THE ATMOSPHERE HAD IMPROVED MARKEDLY SINCE "LAST WEEK." AT THAT TIME, HE OBSERVED, THE TAOISEACH HAD SERIOUSLY BEGUN TO QUESTION DAVID TRIMBLE'S "GOOD FAITH." IN HIS MEETING WITH TONY BLAIR ON THE MARGINS OF THE EU SUMMIT IN VIENNA, KIRWAN NOTED, AHERN HAD BEEN "VERY FORCEFUL" IN TELLING BLAIR THAT HE (AHERN) HAD "DELIVERED" SINN FEIN AND THE SDLP ON NORTH/SOUTH BODIES AND IT WAS NOW TIME FOR BLAIR TO DELIVER TRIMBLE AND THE UNIONISTS. NEITHER HAD TRIMBLE'S NOBEL PRIZE SPEECH GONE DOWN WELL WITH THE GOI, ACCORDING TO KIRWAN WHO DESCRIBED IT AS "LESS THAN VISIONARY" AND "TYPICAL OF MISSED OPPORTUNITIES BY TRIMBLE." KIRWAN, WAS ALSO QUICK TO ADD THAT, EVEN IF THIS DEAL GOES THROUGH, IT DOESN'T SOLVE THE DECOMMISSIONING PROBLEM. HE EXPRESSED HIS PRIVATE DOUBTS ABOUT THE IRA'S INTENTION EVER TO DECOMMISSION.

5. (S) FINALLY, KIRWAN INDICATED THAT UK OFFICIALS WERE SAYING THAT EVEN WITH AN EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE EXECUTIVE AND NORTH/SOUTH BODIES, IT WOULD NOW BE DIFFICULT FOR THE UK TO GET THE ENABLING LEGISLATION FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY TO "GO LIVE" THROUGH WESTMINSTER BEFORE APRIL. GIVEN THAT TIMING, HE SAW THE POSSIBLE NEED FOR STRONG ENGAGEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AROUND THE TIME OF ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS IN WASHINGTON, AND EXPRESSED THE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 006407

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/14/08

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: PENDULUM SWINGS BACK TO OPTIMISM FOR PROGRESS  
ON NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES

HOPE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL  
DIFFICULTIES WOULD NOT PREVENT HIM FROM PLAYING AN ACTIVE  
ROLE.

6. (C) KIRWAN CALLED POLOFF AS THIS MESSAGE WAS BEING  
DRAFTED TO UPDATE ON DISCUSSIONS UNDERWAY IN BELFAST. HE  
NOTED THAT DEVELOPMENTS COULD STILL GO EITHER WAY.  
UNIONISTS, APPARENTLY, WERE WAVERING ON THEIR AGREEMENT  
TO SIX BODIES NOW WITH FOUR MORE TO BE ESTABLISHED LATER.  
KIRWAN THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOI AND NATIONALISTS  
WOULD SETTLE FOR SIX (WITHOUT AGREEMENT TO MORE LATER) AS  
LONG AS THEY INCLUDED THE NATIONALISTS' FOUR (TRADE, EU  
PROGRAMS, TOURISM AND IRISH LANGUAGE), AND HAD  
SUBSTANTIAL PORTFOLIOS.

7. (C) COMMENT: KIRWAN IS NOT ALWAYS THE MOST UP-TO-DATE  
MEMBER OF THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE ON THE DETAILS OF THE  
PEACE PROCESS, BUT HE IS VERY CLOSE TO PM AHERN  
POLITICALLY AND AN EXCELLENT GAUGE OF THE TAOISEACH'S  
MOOD. WHILE MUCH OF THE DETAIL OF THIS MESSAGE WILL BE  
QUICKLY OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS, WE PROVIDE IT AS AN  
INDICATION OF THE ROLLER COASTER RIDE OF EXPECTATIONS AND  
EMOTIONS THE GOI AND BERTIE AHERN HAVE BEEN ON FOR THE  
LAST FOUR WEEKS. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT WITH EACH CYCLE  
THE TAOISEACH'S OPINION OF DAVID TRIMBLE SEEMS TO DIP  
FARTHER AND REBOUND LESS. END COMMENT.  
SCARLETT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02  
SSN: 6407  
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TOR: 981214134741 M3602166  
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DIST: SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
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 RUEADWW/NSC WASHDC PRIORITY  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0664  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0833  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF GALLAGHER LOOKS TO  
 NEXT STEPS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.59)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 000087

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/06/08

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF GALLAGHER LOOKS TO  
 NEXT STEPS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS  
 1.5 (B) AND (D) .

1. ~~(S)~~ DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANGLO-IRISH  
 DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT GALLAGHER TOLD CHARGE AND POLOFF  
 JANUARY 6 THAT WORK WAS NOW BEGINNING IN EARNEST TO TURN  
 THE DECEMBER AGREEMENT ON NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION  
 BODIES INTO AGREED LEGISLATION FOR BOTH DUBLIN AND  
 LONDON. GALLAGHER SAID THAT HE WAS CHAIRING AN INTER-  
 DEPARTMENTAL GROUP ON THIS ISSUE IN DUBLIN AND THAT THE  
 GOI WOULD SOON START MEETINGS WITH OFFICIALS FROM THE  
 UK'S NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE TO HAMMER OUT REMAINING  
 DETAILS (E.G., BUDGET, STAFFING, LOCATIONS FOR THE NEW  
 NORTH-SOUTH BODIES) AND WORDING OF THE ACTUAL  
 LEGISLATION. SINCE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT BOTH THE IRISH  
 AND BRITISH LEGISLATION ESTABLISHING THE NORTH/SOUTH  
 INSTITUTIONS BE IDENTICAL, GALLAGHER INDICATED THAT THE  
 UK AND IRELAND WOULD LIKELY NEGOTIATE ONE OR MORE  
 INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ESTABLISHING THE BODIES THAT  
 WOULD BE APPENDED TO THE BILLS IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

2. IN TERMS OF TIMING, GALLAGHER THOUGHT WORK ON  
 ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS COULD BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF  
 JANUARY, WHILE TEXTS OF THE LEGISLATION AND RELATED  
 IRELAND-UK AGREEMENTS COULD BE READY BY THE END OF  
 FEBRUARY. HE NOTED THAT THE UK COULD PROBABLY ENACT THE  
 LEGISLATION BY AN ORDER IN COUNCIL. IRELAND WOULD HAVE  
 TO TAKE THE MATTER TO THE DAIL (PARLIAMENT) BUT HE  
 ANTICIPATED ONLY A SHORT TIME WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR

## DEBATE AND PASSAGE.

3. (S) FROM A POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE, HOWEVER, GALLAGHER NOTED THAT NONE OF THIS (NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY OR NORTH/SOUTH BODIES) COULD "GO LIVE" WITHOUT MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE REMAINED OPTIMISTIC THAT PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE BUT STRESSED THAT THE GOI FIRST HAD TO ASSESS WHAT WAS POSSIBLE FOR SINN FEIN AND WHAT STEPS IRELAND AND THE UK CAN TAKE TO IMPROVE SINN FEIN'S ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE IRA TOWARD A DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE. HE OFFERED HIS PERSONAL VIEW OF A POSSIBLE PACKAGE OF STEPS WHICH WOULD INCLUDE RELEASE OF ALL IRA PRISONERS AND A FORWARD LEANING UK REPORT ON ITS STRATEGY FOR "NORMALIZATION" OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND SUCH AS FURTHER CURTAILING BRITISH ARMY PATROLS AND REMOVING WATCH TOWERS. GALLAGHER NOTED THAT SUCH A PUBLISHED BRITISH STRATEGY IS CALLED FOR IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. POLOFF ASKED ABOUT THE STATUS OF A STRATEGY REPORT. GALLAGHER REPLIED THAT THE UK HAS SO FAR SHARED THREE DRAFT WITH THE GOI, ALL THREE OF WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS "DISASTROUS" IN TERMS OF MOVING THE PROCESS FORWARD. HE WAS MORE HOPEFUL FOR A FOURTH DRAFT WHICH THE UK IS NOW WORKING ON.

4. (S) GALLAGHER THOUGHT A REALISTIC AND SYMBOLICALLY IMPORTANT NEW DEADLINE FOR LONDON'S DEVOLVING POWER TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND INAUGURATING NORTH/SOUTH BODIES COULD BE THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, APRIL 10. CHARGE ASKED IF THE ANNUAL ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS IN WASHINGTON MIGHT NOT ALSO PROVIDE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY. GALLAGHER AGREED THAT MARCH 17 WOULD BE EVEN BETTER, BUT HE DOUBTED ALL THE ELEMENTS OF THE PACKAGE (INCLUDING PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING) COULD BE READY BY THEN. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE WASHINGTON MEETINGS (AND U.S. ENGAGEMENT) COULD COME AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE FOR MOVING THE PARTIES TO AGREEMENT.

SCARLETT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0087

TOR: 990106131354 M3633893

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER

SIT: NSC

&lt;^DIST&gt;

SIT: SUM2

PRT: HACHIGIAN STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0808  
 RUEHVJ/AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO 0523  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: BRITISH AIM FOR EARLY MARCH  
 DEVOLUTION

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.60)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 000220

NSC FOR BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/08/06  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BRITISH AIM FOR EARLY MARCH  
 DEVOLUTION

REF: DUBLIN 87

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: MARCIE RIES, ACTING CHIEF, POLITICAL SECTION. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. ~~(S)~~ NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE INTERNATIONAL AND PLANNING DEPARTMENT HEAD DAVID BROOKER TOLD US JANUARY 8 THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AIMS TO HAVE THE LEGISLATION TO CREATE THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE AGENCIES AND CROSS-BORDER BODIES IN PLACE BY EARLY- TO MID-MARCH. NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM PLANS TO HOLD A SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES IN BELFAST JANUARY 11 AND 12. A MEETING BETWEEN BRITISH AND IRISH OFFICIALS IS BEING ARRANGED LATER IN THE WEEK. MOWLAM THEN HOPES TO BE ABLE TO ANNOUNCE THIS NEW TARGET DATE BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY RECONVENES JANUARY 18.

3. ~~(S)~~ DESCRIBING THE TIMING AS "AMBITIOUS," BROOKER SAID TEAMS HAVE BEEN SET UP IN BOTH THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE NIO TO DRAFT THE NECESSARY BILLS AND ORDERS. PARLIAMENTARY ORDERS IN COUNCIL (ANALOGOUS TO EXECUTIVE ORDERS IN THE U.S. SYSTEM) WILL BE REQUIRED TO LAUNCH THE TEN NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS. THERE ALSO WILL NEED TO BE A UK-IRELAND TREATY OR TREATIES TO CREATE THE NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES, AS WELL AS DETAILED MEMORANDA OF UNDERSTANDING TO BACK UP EACH BODY. BROOKER NOTED THE COMPLICATED AND UNPRECEDENTED NATURE OF THE LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS -- DELEGATING SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY TO A DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT WHICH IN TURN WILL ENTER INTO AGREEMENTS WITH ANOTHER SOVEREIGN ENTITY -- IS PROVIDING A CONSIDERABLE CHALLENGE TO FOREIGN OFFICE LAWYERS AND PARLIAMENTARY

DRAFTSMEN.

4. (S) BROOKER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT EVEN WITH BEST EFFORTS, IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE EVERYTHING READY TO "GO LIVE" IN MARCH. IN THAT CASE, HE AGREED WITH DERMOT GALLAGHER (REF), THAT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT PRESENTS AN IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SYMBOLIC TARGET DATE.

5. (S) MINISTERS DAVID TRIMBLE AND SEAMUS MALLON FORMALLY WILL PRESENT THE AGREEMENT REACHED DECEMBER 18 ON DEPARTMENTS AND IMPLEMENTATION BODIES TO THE ASSEMBLY AT ITS JANUARY 18 SESSION. THUS FAR, THEY HAVE FAILED TO AGREE ON WHETHER THE ASSEMBLY WILL "APPROVE" THE AGREEMENT, AS MALLON WANTS, OR SIMPLY WILL "TAKE NOTE" OF THE DEAL, AS TRIMBLE INSISTS. FORMAL APPROVAL WOULD SET IN MOTION ALLOCATION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SEATS ACCORDING TO THE D'HONDT PRINCIPLE. IT THEN WOULD BE UP TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY TO ISSUE THE STANDING ORDER TO INAUGURATE THE EXECUTIVE. BROOKER POINTED OUT THIS COULD PUT MOWLAM IN A QUANDRY, PINCHED BETWEEN THE IMPERATIVES OF THE TWO SENIOR MINISTERS. WHILE TRIMBLE "WOULD BE VERY HAPPY IF MO WOULD CARRY THE LOAD" BY NOT ISSUING THE ORDER, SHE IS CONSIDERING ISSUING IT PRIOR TO THE 18TH TO GET HMG OUT OF THE MIDDLE. IN ANY EVENT, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT TRIMBLE WILL AGREE TO THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AT THIS TIME, IN THE NIO'S VIEW.

6. (S) THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVES SOME ACTUAL PHYSICAL DECOMMISSIONING OF IRA WEAPONS WILL HAVE TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE TRIMBLE'S PARTY COULD ACCEPT JOINING AN EXECUTIVE INCLUDING SINN FEIN. THE NIO SEES NO INDICATION THAT THE IRA IS PREPARING TO DO THAT. IN FACT, ACCORDING TO BROOKER, RUC AND OTHER SOURCES INDICATE A HIGH LEVEL OF IRA ACTIVITY, BEYOND WHAT MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN THE OPERATIONAL READINESS OF ACTIVE SERVICE UNITS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT WHILE THIS IS TROUBLING, IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THE IRA HAS GONE TO A WAR FOOTING OR MADE A DECISION TO END ITS CEASE-FIRE.

7. (S) COOPERATION BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS REMAINS EXCELLENT. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TO MOVE UNIONISTS AND REPUBLICANS INTO A POSITION WHERE A DEAL ON DECOMMISSIONING AND THE EXECUTIVE IS POSSIBLE. AS THE PATTERN OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND NEGOTIATIONS IS ONE OF BRINKMANSHIP, BROOKER DOES NOT EXPECT THIS TO HAPPEN UNTIL THE LAST POSSIBLE MOMENT LATER THIS SPRING -- AND THE SITUATION PROBABLY WILL HAVE BECOME "QUITE TENSE" BY THAT TIME.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0220

TOR: 990108110203 M3637318

DIST:

SIT: BANDLER BUTLER

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA0620 0221527-CCCC--RHEHAAA.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 221527Z JAN 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 221527Z JAN 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2605  
 RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: ~~////~~  
 SUBJ: SCENE SETTER: YOUR VISIT TO LONDON JANUARY 30

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.61)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 000620

FOR VICE PRESIDENT GORE FROM AMBASSADOR LADER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/22/04  
 TAGS: ETRD, SENV, PREL, UK  
 SUBJECT: SCENE SETTER: YOUR VISIT TO LONDON JANUARY 30

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: AMBASSADOR PHILIP LADER. REASON:  
 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: I AM DELIGHTED THAT YOU ARE ABLE TO VISIT LONDON JANUARY 30. THE PRIME MINISTER AND JOHN PRESCOTT ARE VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD TO THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU, AND THE PROGRAM IS TAKING SHAPE. YOUR MEETINGS WITH PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER JOHN PRESCOTT WILL BE TIMELY OPPORTUNITIES TO PROBE THEIR THINKING ON BREAKING CRISES SUCH AS KOSOVO AND IRAQ, TO SOLIDIFY THEIR BRITISH SUPPORT FOR OUR OBJECTIVES IN EUROPE, AND TO ADVANCE TRADE AND AVIATION AGENDAS. GIVEN PRESCOTT'S KEY ROLE IN FASHIONING THE EU'S CLIMATE CHANGE STRATEGY, HE MAY HAVE USEFUL INSIGHTS ON HOW TO BRING MORE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON BOARD THE KYOTO PROTOCOL. FINALLY, YOUR VISIT WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE BRITAIN'S INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO URBAN REGENERATION. TO SET THE SCENE FOR YOUR VISIT, THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES THE EMBASSY'S APPRAISAL OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S DOMESTIC SITUATION AND PROVIDES CURRENT BACKGROUND ON BREAKING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY

LABOUR AFTER 19 MONTHS  
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3. ~~(S)~~ AFTER OVER TWENTY MONTHS IN OFFICE, TONY BLAIR AND THE LABOUR PARTY LOOK A SURE BET TO WIN A SECOND TERM IN 2001 OR 2002. THE HUGE SIZE OF LABOUR'S MAJORITY (177 SEATS), BLAIR'S RECORD-HIGH POLL RATINGS, AND THE CONTINUING DISORGANIZATION OF THE TORY OPPOSITION MAKE ANY OTHER CONCLUSION HARD TO SUSTAIN. HIS POSITION AS PARTY LEADER LOOKS ROCK-SOLID, AND HIS GOVERNMENT IS AMASSING A RESPECTABLE RECORD OF REFORM LEGISLATION.

4. (C) BLAIR HAS, HOWEVER, GONE THROUGH SOME DIFFICULT DAYS RECENTLY, AS HIS GOVERNMENT'S RECORD HAS BEEN OBSCURED BY WHAT HE HAS CALLED "SCANDAL, GOSSIP AND TRIVIA." HIS CLOSE FRIEND AND ALLY, PETER MANDELSON, WAS FORCED TO RESIGN FROM THE CABINET OVER A SECRET LOAN HE RECEIVED FROM ANOTHER GOVERNMENT MINISTER (WHO ALSO HAD TO RESIGN); FOREIGN SECRETARY ROBIN COOK HAS BEEN DEEPLY EMBARRASSED BY THE REVELATIONS OF HIS EX-WIFE IN A BOOK ABOUT HIS PRIVATE LIFE. WHILE THESE EVENTS, AND THE PRESS COVERAGE OF THEM, MAY HAVE SIGNALLED THE HONEYMOON PHASE HAS ENDED, AT THIS POINT WE SEE NO SIGN WHATSOEVER OF SERIOUS POLITICAL LIABILITIES. NONETHELESS, BLAIR NOW IS STRUGGLING TO REGAIN POLITICAL MOMENTUM AS LABOUR FACES WHAT WILL BE A STRING OF IMPORTANT ELECTIONS IN THE COMING MONTHS: ON MAY 6 FOR THE NEW SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT AND WELSH ASSEMBLY AND ON JUNE 10, FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

YOUR MEETING WITH JOHN PRESCOTT  
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5. (C) WE ANTICIPATE THAT YOUR MEETING WITH JOHN PRESCOTT WILL FOCUS PRIMARILY ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA, PARTICULARLY CLIMATE CHANGE AND URBAN REGENERATION, AND AVIATION. IN ADDITION, PRESCOTT MAY RAISE IMMINENT U.S. RETALIATORY SANCTIONS ON THE EU AND THE UK IN THE WTO BANANAS CASE.

CLIMATE CHANGE  
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6. (C) THE PUBLIC DEBATE IN THE UK ON THE "SCIENCE" OF GLOBAL WARMING, AND ON THE NEED TO TAKE ACTION, IS BASICALLY OVER. EVEN UK INDUSTRY ACCEPTS THE NEED TO CUT EMISSIONS OR TO PAY HIGHER TAXES ON EMISSIONS; INDUSTRY'S ONLY CAVEAT IS THAT ITS COMPETITIVE POSITION VIS-A-VIS ITS GLOBAL COMPETITORS NOT BE DAMAGED. AGAINST THIS BACKDROP, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT TOP POLITICIANS LIKE JOHN PRESCOTT DO NOT SHARE USG VIEWS ON SOME OF THE REMAINING CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES. PRESCOTT SEEMS MORE DETERMINED THAN HIS STAFF TO MAKE THE U.S. "DO SOMETHING" DOMESTICALLY ABOUT GHG EMISSIONS, AND IT IS HE, RATHER THAN THE BUREAUCRACY, THAT NEEDS TO BE CONVINCED THAT UNFETTERED ACCESS TO THE FLEXIBLE MECHANISMS IS A SINE QUA NON FOR U.S. PARTICIPATION IN KYOTO IMPLEMENTATION.

7. (U) PRESCOTT'S POSITION MAY ALSO STEM FROM THE UK'S RELATIVELY EASY TARGETS WITHIN THE EU GHG REDUCTION "BUBBLE." THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN REPORTS (RELEASED AFTER THE EU BURDENSARING AGREEMENT) INDICATE THAT UK EMISSIONS LEVELS WILL BE ABOUT 10% BELOW 1990 LEVELS, EVEN UNDER THE BUSINESS-AS-USUAL SCENARIO. THUS, PRESCOTT NEEDS TO FIND CUTS OF ONLY 2.5 % TO ACHIEVE COMPLIANCE WITHIN THE BUBBLE FRAMEWORK.

8. (C) ON THE OTHER HAND, PRESCOTT CLEARLY UNDERSTANDS THE POLICY DEBATE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND HE CERTAINLY WANTS THE U.S. TO PARTICIPATE. SHORT OF SUPPORTING USG OPPOSITION TO CEILINGS OR CAPS ON THE FLEXIBLE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 000620

FOR VICE PRESIDENT GORE FROM AMBASSADOR LADER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/22/04  
TAGS: ETRD, SENV, PREL, UK

SUBJECT: SCENE SETTER: YOUR VISIT TO LONDON JANUARY 30

MECHANISMS, HE MAY SEEK SOME SORT OF COMPROMISE POSITION; INDEED, THE NOTION OF "QUALITATIVE" RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF THE MECHANISMS MAY BE A BRITISH INVENTION. WE MUST LOOK TO HIM TO SUGGEST THE TERMS OF THE COMPROMISE.

9. *let* TO ITS CREDIT, HMG HAS BEEN VERY HELPFUL ON GETTING SIGNIFICANT LDC PARTICIPATION. WITHIN THE EU, THE UK SEEMS TO HAVE SHOWN THE MOST INITIATIVE IN RAISING THE PROFILE OF GHG REDUCTIONS IN SENIOR BILATERALS WITH KEY LDCS; THE UK IS COORDINATING WORK BY G-8 EMBASSIES IN BOTH INDIA AND CHINA; AND THEY HAVE DONE EXTENSIVE LOBBYING ON THE MARGINS OF INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE MEETINGS AND NEGOTIATIONS. THAT SAID, HMG DOES NOT WANT TO PRESS LDCS TOO HARD AND DOES NOT THINK BINDING COMMITMENTS ARE REALISTIC IN THE SHORT TERM.

10. *let* ON BALANCE, THE UK CAN BE HELPFUL TO US AS WE PURSUE OUR KYOTO-RELATED OBJECTIVES, PARTICULARLY IN DEALING WITH SOME OF THE MORE DOGMATIC EU MEMBER STATES, BUT THEIR POSITIONS ON CLIMATE CHANGE ARE NOT AS CLOSE TO OURS AS WE MIGHT THINK FROM THE EXCELLENT BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WE HAVE IN BROADER AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS.

#### AVIATION

11. *let* JOHN PRESCOTT KNOWS THAT THE HIGHLY RESTRICTIVE "BERMUDA 2" U.S.-UK AIR SERVICES AGREEMENT IS NOT SUSTAINABLE OVER THE LONG TERM. FOR ONE THING, BA WOULD LIKE TO CONSUMMATE ITS ALLIANCE WITH AMERICAN AIRLINES TO ENABLE IT TO COMPETE WITH LUFTHANSA-UNITED AND NW-KLM. YET PRESCOTT AND HIS OFFICIALS CONSIDER HEATHROW TO BE THE CROWN JEWEL OF EUROPEAN AIRPORTS AND BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. SHOULD GIVE THEM A BETTER DEAL THAN THE "OPEN SKIES" MODEL AGREEMENT WE HAVE REACHED WITH MOST OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. VIRGIN-ATLANTIC AND BRITISH CARGO CARRIERS ALSO VEHEMENTLY OPPOSE OPEN SKIES, VIRGIN BECAUSE IT DOES NOT WANT MORE CARRIERS COMPETING ON HEATHROW ROUTES, AND BRITISH CARGO CARRIERS BECAUSE THEY FEAR THE POWER OF FEDEX AND UPS.

12. *let* PRESCOTT WILL LIKELY USE THE MEETING WITH YOU TO PROPOSE A "PHASED" APPROACH TO OPENING CAPACITY-CONSTRAINED HEATHROW TO ADDITIONAL U.S. CARRIERS, WITH THE NEW CARRIERS STANDING IN LINE TO GET THE NECESSARY ARRIVAL/DEPARTURE SLOTS. PRESCOTT IS REPORTEDLY ANNOYED BY OUR EFFORTS TO HELP US AIRWAYS SECURE SLOTS AT GATWICK FOR A CHARLOTTE SERVICE AND WANTS TO AVOID INVOLVING HMG IN SLOTS ANY MORE THAN STRICTLY NECESSARY. (THE BRITISH RECOGNIZE THAT ANY EVENTUAL IMMUNITY FOR THE BA/AA ALLIANCE WOULD INVOLVE DIRECTED SLOT TRANSFERS TO NEW COMPETITORS.) PRESCOTT MAY ALSO LODGE HMG'S STRONG DISPLEASURE WITH THE HATCH AMENDMENT AND SAY THE UK WILL NOT COMPLY WITH THESE "EXTRATERRITORIAL" SECURITY REQUIREMENTS.

#### TRADE/BANANAS

13. *let* THE USG'S DECISION TO TARGET SCOTTISH CASHMERE AND OTHER UK PRODUCTS WHEN RETALIATING AGAINST EU NON-COMPLIANCE WITH WTO RULINGS ON BANANAS HAS GOTTEN THE

HIGHEST LEVELS OF ATTENTION HERE AND MAY COME UP AT EITHER YOUR MEETING WITH JOHN PRESCOTT OR THE DINNER WITH TONY BLAIR. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS WRITTEN (AND MAY SOON CALL) THE PRESIDENT ON THIS ISSUE AND NEW TRADE MINISTER STEPHEN BYERS HAS WRITTEN TWICE AND TALKED ONCE ABOUT IT WITH USTR BARSHEFSKY. UK POLICY HAS SHIFTED SIGNIFICANTLY. THE UK IS NOW WORRIED MORE ABOUT WTO PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES THAN SIMPLY PROTECTING ITS CARRIBEAN INTERESTS. THIS WEEK BYERS OFFERED TO TRY TO BREAK THE US-EU DEADLOCK. THE UK ENVISAGES AN INFORMAL UNDERSTANDING WHEREBY THE U.S. WOULD HOLD OFF IMPLEMENTING WTO-AUTHORIZED RETALIATION IF THE EU WOULD AGREE TO EXPEDITE THE ONGOING PANEL REVIEW (WHICH IN ANY CASE IS DUE FOR COMPLETION APRIL 1) AND TO COMMIT NOW THAT SHOULD THE PANEL RULE IN OUR FAVOR, THE EU WOULD PROVIDE IMMEDIATE "COMPENSATION" IN THE FORM OF INCREASED MARKET ACCESS FOR BANANAS. THUS FAR WE HAVE SAID THAT WHILE WE ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY OFFERS, IN OUR VIEW THE RETALIATION MUST TAKE EFFECT NO LATER THAN MARCH 3, AS HAD BEEN PROMISED IN CHIEF OF STAFF BOWLES' LETTER TO CONGRESS.

14. (X) YOU SHOULD EXPECT THE PRIME MINISTER AND JOHN PRESCOTT TO UNDERLINE THE SERIOUS POLITICAL CONCERNS OUR RETALIATION WOULD CAUSE FOR THEM IN THE RUN-UP TO THE MAY SCOTTISH ELECTIONS. PROHIBITIVE DUTIES ON CASHMERE WILL DEVASTATE AN ALREADY DEPRESSED SCOTTISH AREA WHERE LABOUR IS ALREADY HAVING TROUBLE HOLDING OFF THE LIB-DEMS AND THE SCOTTISH NATIONALIST PARTY.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 000620

FOR VICE PRESIDENT GORE FROM AMBASSADOR LADER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/22/04  
TAGS: ETRD, SENV, PREL, UK  
SUBJECT: SCENE SETTER: YOUR VISIT TO LONDON JANUARY 30

YOUR DINNER WITH THE PRIME MINISTER  
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15. (X) THE BRITISH ENVISAGE YOUR PRIVATE DINNER AT CHEQUERS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AS A RELAXED OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP A CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP AND TO DISCUSS CURRENT WORLD AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. AMONG THE ISSUES THAT MIGHT FIGURE IN THE DISCUSSION ARE NORTHERN IRELAND, KOSOVO, IRAQ, AND BLAIR'S NEW EUROPEAN STRATEGY, LED BY A DEFENSE AND SECURITY INITIATIVE.

NORTHERN IRELAND  
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16. (X) SECRETARY MO MOWLAM RECENTLY SET MID-MARCH AS THE TARGET FOR FORMALLY BRINGING INTO EXISTENCE THE NEW ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER, THE PARTIES REMAIN AT AN IMPASSE OVER UNIONIST INSISTENCE THAT THE IRA BEGIN TO DECOMMISSION ITS WEAPONS BEFORE SINN FEIN TAKES UP THE MINISTERIAL POSTS TO WHICH ITS ELECTORAL MANDATE WOULD ENTITLE IT. THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS, WITH OUR BACKING, CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO ENCOURAGE BOTH SIDES TO MAKE A GENUINE COMPROMISE BEFORE THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE DERAILS THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH PM BLAIR, YOU WILL WANT TO REITERATE THE ADMINISTRATION'S STRONG CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO PROVIDING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO THE PEACE

PROCESS. WITH THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS IN WASHINGTON COMING AT A POTENTIALLY CRITICAL MOMENT IN THE PROCESS, WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE THE MOST OF THIS OPPORTUNITY.

KOSOVO

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17. (S) BY THE TIME OF YOUR ARRIVAL, WE ARE LIKELY TO SEE FURTHER IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. MADELEINE ALBRIGHT WILL BE IN LONDON ON JANUARY 28, JUST PRIOR TO YOUR VISIT, FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH ROBIN COOK AND POSSIBLY A CONTACT GROUP MINISTERIAL MEETING. THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN WORKING VERY CLOSELY WITH US ON EVERY ASPECT OF THE SITUATION IN KOSOVO. THEY AGREE WITH OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING PRESSURE ON MILOSEVIC BUT THEY ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE KOSOVO LIBERATION ARMY AND ITS ACTIVITIES. THEY WANT TO ENSURE THAT ANY NATO MILITARY ACTION WOULD NOT HELP THE KLA EXPAND ITS CONTROL OVER KOSOVO. THE BRITS BELIEVE IT IS CRITICAL TO TRY TO MOVE AHEAD ON A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND ARE PREPARED TO SEND GROUND TROOPS TO IMPLEMENT AN AGREEMENT, PROVIDED THE U.S. ALSO SENDS TROOPS.

SECURITY/ESDI/EUROPE STRATEGY

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18. (S) THE BRITISH ARE NOW TALKING CLOSELY WITH THE FRENCH TO ADVANCE PM BLAIR'S PUSH TO BUILD EUROPE'S DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. BLAIR WANTS TO AVOID A REPEAT OF THE BOSNIA SITUATION: WHERE THE EUROPEANS LACKED THE MILITARY MUSCLE TO DEAL WITH EUROPEAN PROBLEMS WHEN THE U.S. DID NOT WANT TO BECOME INVOLVED. BLAIR ALSO WANTS TO USE DEFENSE -- AN AREA OF BRITISH SUPERIORITY IN EUROPE -- TO PUT BRITAIN IN AN EU LEADERSHIP ROLE AT A TIME WHEN THE EU IS LAUNCHING THE EURO WITHOUT BRITAIN. THE BRITISH, AWARE THAT THE ST. MALO DECLARATION CAME AS A NOT PLEASANT SURPRISE, HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY CAREFUL TO BRIEF US ON ONGOING ANGLO-FRENCH TALKS; THEY ASSURE US THEY WILL OPPOSE ANYTHING THAT WEAKENS NATO.

19. (S) THE BRITISH BELIEVE THAT STRONG POLITICAL ASSURANCES WILL BE NEEDED THAT THE EUROPEANS WOULD HAVE ACCESS TO CERTAIN COMMON AND PRE-DESIGNATED NATO ASSETS FOR PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING A EUROPEAN LED MILITARY MISSION. THEY ARGUE THAT SUCH AN ASSURANCE WOULD REDUCE PRESSURE WITHIN EUROPE TO BUILD MILITARY "EUROPEAN" CAPABILITIES OUTSIDE NATO. GENERALLY THE BRITISH ARE SUPPORTING U.S. INITIATIVES FOR THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT AND WANT TO AVOID DISCONNECTS BETWEEN BLAIR'S INITIATIVE AND THE SUMMIT.

20. (S) WHERE WE HAVE DIFFERED WITH THE BRITISH IS ON THEIR CONVICTION (SHARED BY THE FRENCH) THAT INTERNATIONAL LEGAL JUSTIFICATION, USUALLY A UNSCR, IS NEEDED FOR ANY NATO ACTION IN A THIRD COUNTRY. THE BRITISH ARE ALSO MORE LIKELY THAN WE TO CONTEMPLATE PUTTING GROUND TROOPS IN KOSOVO EITHER TO IMPOSE OR TO MAINTAIN A CEASEFIRE. THAT SAID, BRITISH OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US REPEATEDLY THAT A FIRM CONDITION FOR ANY UK DEPLOYMENT IS THE U.S. ALSO HAVING FORCES ON THE GROUND.

IRAQ

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21. (C) THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT, DESPITE SIGNIFICANT  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 LONDON 000620

FOR VICE PRESIDENT GORE FROM AMBASSADOR LADER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/22/04  
 TAGS: ETRD, SENV, PREL, UK  
 SUBJECT: SCENE SETTER: YOUR VISIT TO LONDON JANUARY 30

DOMESTIC AND MIDDLE EASTERN CRITICISM, CONTINUES TO PROVIDE STRONG POLITICAL AND MILITARY SUPPORT FOR US POLICIES REGARDING IRAQ. THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF HAS TALKED THE TOUGHEST ABOUT SADDAM. THE UK STOOD SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER WITH US DURING OPERATION DESERT FOX, WITH 12 KUWAIT-BASED TORNADO STRIKE AIRCRAFT FLYING 32 MISSIONS. THE UK ALSO GAVE US PERMISSION TO BASE UP TO 12 B-52S AND 10 TANKERS ON DIEGO GARCIA. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE STRIKES, THE US AND UK AGREE THAT REESTABLISHING UN SECURITY COUNCIL UNANIMITY ON HOW TO PROCEED IS A KEY FIRST STEP. WE ALSO AGREE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A VERY FIRM LINE WITH SADDAM IN THE FACE OF HIS CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND ON THE NEED TO CONTINUE TO ENFORCE THE NO-FLY ZONES IN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN IRAQ. THE UK, LIKE THE US, HAS BEEN SKEPTICAL ABOUT FRENCH AND RUSSIAN PROPOSALS FOR AN ABANDONMENT OF SANCTIONS AND INSPECTIONS.

22. (C) BUT OUR POSITIONS ARE NOT PERFECTLY PARALLEL: THE UK HAS INDICATED IT WILL NOT SUPPORT THE USG IF IT ADOPTS A PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCATING OVERTHROW OF SADDAM. FURTHER, THE US AND UK CONTINUE TO DISAGREE OVER HOW MUCH LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL TO SHOW IRAQ TO TRY TO BRING IT BACK INTO COMPLIANCE WITH UNSCR'S. HOWEVER, WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH HMG ON A DAILY BASIS TO FORMULATE A STRATEGY THAT RESTORES UNSC UNITY WHILE CONTAINING SADDAM IN AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE UNSCOM MAY NO LONGER BE VIABLE.

23. (U) ALL OF US IN LONDON LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR VISIT AND WILL DO OUR BEST TO MAKE SURE IT IS A VERY SUCCESSFUL ONE. LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04  
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SSN: 0620  
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DIST: SIT: BANDLER BLINKEN BUTLER ROBERTS SAUNDERS SUM2  
 SIT: NSC  
 PRT: FUERTH SIT{C2}

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LINE1: OTTCZYUW RUEHDLA0576 0251700-CCCC--RHEHNSC.

LINE2: ZNY CCCCC

LINE3: O 251700Z JAN 99

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

OSRI: RUEHDLA

DTG: 251700Z JAN 99

ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4573  
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATEINFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0688  
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0840  
RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0081  
RUEHLB/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 0019  
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0291SUBJ: IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN DISCUSSES NORTHERN  
IRELAND, THE MIDDLE EAST AND U.S. INVESTMENT IN FIRST  
MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5

TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 DUBLIN 000576

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 1/22/99

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ETRD, EINV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN DISCUSSES NORTHERN  
IRELAND, THE MIDDLE EAST AND U.S. INVESTMENT IN FIRST  
MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SULLIVANCLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
(B) AND (D) .

SUMMARY

1. (S) DURING AN INTRODUCTORY CALL JANUARY 22, IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN TOLD AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN THE IT WAS IMPORTANT TO RESOLVE THE DECOMMISSIONING/EXECUTIVE BODY ISSUE BEFORE "MARCHING SEASON" RESUMES IN NORTHERN IRELAND APRIL 4. HE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S HELP WOULD BE NEEDED AGAIN, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT NEITHER HE NOR PRIME MINISTER BLAIR CURRENTLY HAD A STRATEGY FOR BREAKING THE IMPASSE. WHILE CRITICAL OF DAVID TRIMBLE FOR PLACING HIMSELF IN A POLITICAL BOX ON DECOMMISSIONING, AHERN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN REALITY TRIMBLE NOW HAD NO ROOM TO MANEUVER. CONVERSELY HE SAW NO LIKELIHOOD THAT SINN FEIN WOULD PRESS THE IRA FOR A DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE. THE TAOISEACH CONTENDED THAT THE DECEMBER 18 AGREEMENT ON NORTH/SOUTH BODIES HAD DONE LITTLE TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR DECOMMISSIONING BECAUSE UNIONISTS HAD ONLY ACCEDED TO A "MINIMALIST" AGREEMENT. WHILE IRISH PRESIDENT MCALEESE AND FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREWS WERE UPBEAT IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0158-m (1.62)  
KBH 9/9/2019

AMBASSADOR, NEITHER OFFERED SPECIFIC STRATEGIES FOR GETTING AROUND THE CURRENT ROADBLOCK.

2. (C) ON OTHER ISSUES, THE TAOISEACH WELCOMED THE AMBASSADOR'S COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP. AHERN URGED INCREASED U.S. INVESTMENT IN SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES IN IRELAND'S SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS THAT CAN SPREAD THE BENEFITS OF THE "CELTIC TIGER" AND TAKE SOME OF THE BURDEN OFF DUBLIN'S STRESSED INFRASTRUCTURE. POINTING TO SIMILAR CONCERN AS GOVERNOR OF WYOMING, AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN PLEDGED HIS HELP. TURNING TO HIS JUST CONCLUDED VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST, AHERN NOTED THAT PALESTINIAN LEADER ARAFAT IS LOOKING FOR A NEW U.S. INITIATIVE ON THE WYE PLANTATION ACCORD BEFORE THE ISRAELI ELECTION CAMPAIGN HEATS UP IN APRIL. ARAFAT, AHERN SAID, IS EAGER FOR A SETTLEMENT AND NEEDS SOME SIGN OF PROGRESS TO JUSTIFY NOT/NOT PROCLAIMING A PALESTINIAN STATE IN MAY. AHERN OFFERED HIS OWN OBSERVATION THAT, IF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ROLE WAS "IMPORTANT" IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IT WAS "VITAL" IN THE MIDDLE EAST. END SUMMARY.

NORTHERN IRELAND: "ALL HELL COULD BREAK LOSE"  
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3. (C) LESS THAN 24-HOURS AFTER PRESENTING HIS CREDENTIALS, THE AMBASSADOR HELD HIS FIRST MEETING WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER (TAOISEACH) BERTIE AHERN JANUARY 22. THE TAOISEACH WARMLY WELCOMED AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN TO IRELAND AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD SOON BE ABLE TO PUT HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES BEHIND HIM BECAUSE "WE WILL NEED HIS HELP AGAIN" IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE AMBASSADOR REASSURED AHERN OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONTINUED INTEREST AND ENGAGEMENT IN IRELAND AND DETERMINATION TO SEE THE PEACE PROCESS THROUGH TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

4. (C) THE TAOISEACH NOTED THAT HE HAD SPARKED CONTROVERSY WITH A RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT "ALL HELL WOULD BREAK LOSE" IN NORTHERN IRELAND IF UNIONISTS FORMED AN EXECUTIVE WITHOUT SINN FEIN. (NOTE: IRISH PRESS COMMENTATORS HAVE QUESTIONED THE WISDOM AND TIMING OF AHERN'S STATEMENT, ALTHOUGH NOT THE ANALYSIS BEHIND IT. END NOTE.) AHERN SAID HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE STRONG REACTION, SINCE IT WAS NOT THE FIRST TIME HE HAD SAID THIS. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE LINK BETWEEN DECOMMISSIONING AND THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE IS THE KEY HURDLE THAT NEEDS TO BE OVERCOME. YES, THERE ARE OTHER PROBLEMS -- POLICING, THE MARCHING SEASON, ETC.-- BUT HAVING THE EXECUTIVE UP AND RUNNING WOULD MAKE THEIR RESOLUTION MUCH EASIER. IT WAS "VERY IMPORTANT," AHERN STRESSED TO GET THIS PROBLEM RESOLVED BEFORE THE RESUMPTION OF MARCHING SEASON IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH ALWAYS INFLAMES TENSIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE NOTED, THE SEASON KICKS OFF EARLY THIS YEAR ON APRIL 4, EASTER SUNDAY. IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUERY, THE TAOISEACH THOUGHT THAT THE EXECUTIVE/DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE HAD TO BE RESOLVED BY THE TIME OF THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY CELEBRATION IN WASHINGTON OR "IT WON'T BE MUCH OF A CELEBRATION."

5. (C) AHERN SAW THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PRESIDENT  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 DUBLIN 000576

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 1/22/99

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ETRD, EINV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN DISCUSSES NORTHERN IRELAND, THE MIDDLE EAST AND U.S. INVESTMENT IN FIRST MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN

WOULD HAVE TO ENGAGE AGAIN TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD NOT BE ASKED TO INTERVENE UNTIL HE AND PRIME MINISTER BLAIR HAD SOME WORKABLE FORMULA TO PROPOSE. IT MADE NO SENSE TO FORM AN EXECUTIVE WITHOUT SINN FEIN, THE TAOISEACH INDICATED, BUT IT ALSO HAD TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TRIMBLE HAS NO ROOM FOR MANEUVER ON DECOMMISSIONING. AHERN OBSERVED THAT TRIMBLE HAD PUT HIMSELF IN THIS POSITION "BECAUSE OF HIS OWN BAD TACTICS" BUT, NONETHELESS, THIS WAS THE POLITICAL REALITY AND "WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH IT." CONVERSELY, AHERN SAW NO INDICATION THAT SINN FEIN WAS PREPARED TO GO TO THE IRA TO PRESS FOR A DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE AND, EVEN IF GERRY ADAMS DID MAKE THE ATTEMPT, THE IRA WOULD REJECT IT OUT OF HAND.

6. (C) AHERN NOTED THAT HE HAD RECENTLY SPOKEN TO PM BLAIR, BUT, AT THE MOMENT, NEITHER HAD A GOOD IDEA ABOUT HOW TO MOVE FORWARD. HE (AHERN) HAD HOPED THAT THE DECEMBER AGREEMENT ON NORTH/SOUTH BODIES WOULD IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR DECOMMISSIONING. HOWEVER, ALL THE UNIONISTS HAD BEEN WILLING TO ACCEDE TO WAS A "MINIMALIST," "LOUSY" AGREEMENT ON CROSS-BORDER BODIES THAT WAS OF LITTLE HELP WITH REPUBLICAN COMMUNITIES. (AHERN WAS QUICK TO STRESS THAT HE HAD NOT AND WOULD NOT SAY THIS IN PUBLIC). ONE OF THE FEW HOPEFUL EVENTS HE DID SEE UPCOMING WAS THE EUROPEAN CUP CHAMPIONSHIP FINAL IN RUGBY TAKING PLACE IN DUBLIN ON JANUARY 30. AN ULSTER TEAM WILL REPRESENT ALL OF IRELAND IN THE FINAL AGAINST A FRENCH SIDE. ALTHOUGH RUGBY IS VIEWED AS A "UNIONIST/PROTESTANT" SPORT HERE, AHERN NOTED, SPORTS FANS IN THE REPUBLIC HAVE EMBRACED THE UNDERDOG ULSTER TEAM, AND A CROWD OF 50,000 LARGELY NATIONALIST/CATHOLICS WILL BE CHEERING ULSTER ON. DAVID TRIMBLE WILL BE IN DUBLIN TO ATTEND, AND THE TAOISEACH SAID HE HOPED TO CONVINCE GERRY ADAMS TO GO AS WELL TO HEIGHTEN THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF THE EVENT.

MIDDLE EAST: ARAFAT LOOKING FOR "U.S. INITIATIVE"  
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7. (C) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN ASKED FOR A READOUT FROM THE TAOISEACH'S JUST CONCLUDED TRIP TO LEBANON (WHERE HE VISITED IRISH TROOPS IN UNIFIL), ISRAEL AND GAZA. AHERN SAID THAT HE HAD SPOKEN AT LENGTH WITH PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU AND PALESTINIAN LEADER ARAFAT. ARAFAT, AHERN SAID, IS LOOKING FOR A NEW INITIATIVE FROM THE U.S. BEFORE THE END OF MARCH TO GET THE WYE PLANTATION PROCESS MOVING AGAIN. THE END OF MARCH WAS SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE ALL THE PLAYERS EXPECTED THAT NOTHING COULD BE DONE AFTER APRIL 1 ONCE THE ISRAELI ELECTION CAMPAIGN HEATS UP. ARAFAT NEEDS SOME PROGRESS BEFORE THEN TO ALLOW HIM TO DELAY PROCLAIMING A PALESTINIAN STATE IN MAY. AHERN OFFERED HIS OWN IMPRESSION THAT, WHILE PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ROLE WAS IMPORTANT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IT WAS "VITAL" IN THE MIDDLE EAST. EU SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. LEAD WAS ALSO IMPORTANT AND APPROPRIATE, AHERN NOTED.

8. (C) AHERN CONTRASTED FAVORABLY ARAFAT'S EFFORTS TO REACH OUT TO LOCAL JEWISH LEADERS WITH NETANYAHU'S "HARDLINE." THE PALESTINIANS, IN AHERN'S VIEW, "CLEARLY

WANT A SETTLEMENT" AND ARE "FOCUSED ON THE FUTURE."  
 TURNING TO LEBANON, HE NOTED THAT THE IRISH HAVE BEEN IN UNIFIL FOR OVER 20 YEARS AND THAT IT PROBABLY DIDN'T MAKE MUCH "MILITARY SENSE" TO REMAIN. POLITICALLY, HOWEVER, THE IRISH PRESENCE HAS BEEN A SUCCESS, AND HE SUPPORTED MAINTAINING IT. THE TAOISEACH COMMENTED THAT HE HAD BEEN SURPRISED BY THE DEPLORABLE HUMANITARIAN CONDITIONS IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN SOUTH LEBANON. WHILE NOT CONDONING TERRORISM IN ANY WAY, HE SAID HE HAD COME AWAY WITH A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF WHY THE CAMPS WERE THE BREEDING GROUND FOR HAMAS AND OTHER TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS.

IRELAND: FOCUS ON MEDIUM AND SMALL INVESTMENT  
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9. (C) THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT ONE OF HIS PRIORITIES WOULD BE TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER THE EXCELLENT ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRELAND AND TO HELP EXPAND THE BENEFITS OF IRELAND'S DEVELOPMENT TO NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES. AHERN AGREED THAT THE U.S.-IRELAND BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WAS "SECOND TO NONE" AND THAT U.S. INVESTMENT IN IRELAND WOULD CONTINUE TO "PLAY A HUGE ROLE." HE STRESSED THAT IT WAS HIS GOAL TO "SPREAD U.S. INVESTMENT AROUND" IN IRELAND, AWAY FROM THE BIG  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 DUBLIN 000576

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 1/22/99  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ETRD, EINV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN DISCUSSES NORTHERN IRELAND, THE MIDDLE EAST AND U.S. INVESTMENT IN FIRST MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN

CITIES WHERE IT IS CURRENTLY CONCENTRATED. THIS WOULD NOT ONLY HELP TO PRESERVE IRELAND'S SMALLER TOWNS AND VILLAGES BUT WOULD ALLEVIATE PRESSURE ON DUBLIN'S INFRASTRUCTURE AND SOARING PROPERTY VALUES. SMALL AND MEDIUM INVESTORS, BRINGING IN 10-20 JOBS COULD PLAY A VERY POSITIVE ROLE IN THE FUTURE. THE TAOISEACH STRESSED THAT THE AMBASSADOR COULD PLAY A "CRITICAL" ROLE IN THIS.

10. (C) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN AGREED WITH THE TAOISEACH'S EMPHASIS, NOTING THAT, AS THE FORMER GOVERNOR OF A SMALL STATE, HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH THESE CONCERNS. SMALL COMMUNITIES NEEDED TO BE MAINTAINED TO PRESERVE "THE NATURE OF A PLACE." AHERN NOTED THAT RANK XEROX HAD DECIDED TO OPEN A MAJOR OPERATION IN DUNDALK IN THE BORDER COUNTIES RATHER THAN IN DUBLIN. HE HOPED OTHER U.S. INVESTORS WOULD MOVE IN THE SAME DIRECTION. HE ALSO POINTED TO HIS DECISION TO PUT RESTRICTIONS ON "SUPER STORES" (E.G., COSTCO) FROM COMING INTO IRELAND AS A WAY TO PROTECT SMALL SHOPS IN VILLAGES. HE TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE TOOK POLITICAL HEAT FOR THIS MOVE BUT THOUGHT IT WAS "THE RIGHT THING TO DO."

MCALEESE AND ANDREWS MORE OPTIMISTIC ON THE NORTH  
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11. (C) IN A DISCUSSION WITH IRISH PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE AND FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS FOLLOWING THE AMBASSADOR'S PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS JANUARY 21, BOTH WERE DECIDEDLY MORE UPBEAT THAN THE TAOISEACH. THEY BELIEVED THAT THE EXECUTIVE WOULD BE FORMED AND DEVOLUTION OF POWERS TO THE ASSEMBLY ACCOMPLISHED,

ALTHOUGH THE DEADLINES MIGHT SLIP. ANDREWS HIGHLIGHTED THE ADVANCES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE SINCE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED AND BELIEVED THAT LEADERS IN THE NORTH HAD TOO MUCH INVESTED TO TOLERATE A FAILURE.

12. (S) PRESIDENT MCALEESE NOTED A RECENT TRIP TO THE NORTH WHERE SHE WAS APPROACHED BY AN ELDERLY WOMAN ABOUT AHERN'S BUDGET AND WHAT HE WAS DOING FOR PENSIONERS. SHE SAW THIS AS INDICATIVE OF THE NEW SENSITIVITY OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PUBLIC TO PRACTICAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MATTERS. SHE VIEWED THIS IN A VERY POSITIVE LIGHT AND SHARED FM ANDREWS'S VIEW THAT SOMEHOW THERE WOULD BE A MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING AND A RESULTANT ADVANCEMENT IN THE PROCESS.

DECOMMISSIONING BODY LOOKS TO ST. PATRICK'S DAY  
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13. (S) BEFORE PRESENTING CREDENTIALS ON JANUARY 21, THE AMBASSADOR AND DCM MET WITH AMBASSADOR DONALD JOHNSON AND STAFF CHIEF ANDREW SENS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL BODY ON DECOMMISSIONING. JOHNSON RECOGNIZED THE DIFFICULTY OF BRIDGING THE IMPASSE OVER SINN FEIN BEING SEATED IN THE EXECUTIVE AND UNIONIST INSISTENCE ON DECOMMISSIONING AS A PRECONDITION. JOHNSON WAS GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC, NOTING THAT HE WAS IN TOUCH WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND TWO OTHER "UNACKNOWLEDGED" IRA REPRESENTATIVES. JOHNSON RECOGNIZED THE DIFFICULTY THAT BOTH TRIMBLE AND ADAMS FACED WITH THE RESPECTIVE HARDLINERS. (NOTE: PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THAT TRIMBLE IS IN THE PROCESS OF CONSULTING WITH THE "GRASSROOTS" OF THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY TO REASSESS THEIR SENTIMENTS ON THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF THE PEACE PROCESS. END NOTE.) JOHNSON EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT A WHITE HOUSE INVITATION FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY FESTIVITIES MIGHT BE USED AS A "CARROT" TO IMPEL MOVEMENT TOWARD ACCOMMODATION ON THE EXECUTIVE/DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE BEFORE DEVOLUTION IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE ON MARCH 10.

COMMENT  
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14. (S) OF CONCERN, WHETHER SPEAKING TO OPTIMISTS OR PESSIMISTS ON THE PEACE PROCESS, IS THAT NO ONE SEEMS TO HAVE ANY STRATEGY FOR GETTING OUT OF THE EXECUTIVE/DECOMMISSIONING BOX. EVEN THE CONTINUED HOPE FROM ALL QUARTERS THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL PERSONALLY INTERVENE ON THIS ISSUE IS INCREASINGLY TEMPERED BY THE REALIZATION THAT THERE HAS TO BE SOMETHING FOR THE PRESIDENT TO ENGAGE ON AND AT THE MOMENT THERE IS NOT. IN THE AMBASSADOR'S INTRODUCTORY CALLS ON GOI OFFICIALS AND PARTY LEADERS WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROBE FOR IDEAS THAT MIGHT CREATE SOME GENUINE MOVEMENT AROUND THIS FORMIDABLE ROADBLOCK. END COMMENT.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 DUBLIN 000576

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

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SUBJECT: IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN DISCUSSES NORTHERN IRELAND, THE MIDDLE EAST AND U.S. INVESTMENT IN FIRST MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN

SULLIVAN

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 04  
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**SSN:** 0576  
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**DIST:** SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT(C2)

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 281722Z JAN 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 281722Z JAN 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4601  
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 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0699  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0850  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS UPBEAT IN FIRST CALL  
 ON AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN

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 PER E.O. 13526  
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TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 000648

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

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 ON AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN

REF: DUBLIN 614

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D).

## SUMMARY

1. ~~S~~ IN HIS FIRST CALL ON AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN JANUARY 26, SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS WAS UPBEAT ABOUT THE LONG TERM SUCCESS OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND DID NOT APPEAR OVERLY TROUBLED OVER THE EXECUTIVE/DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE. HE ANTICIPATED THAT THE ASSEMBLY WOULD APPROVE FEBRUARY 15 THE DECEMBER AGREEMENT ON THE EXECUTIVE AND CROSS-BORDER BODIES. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT DAVID TRIMBLE WOULD AGREE TO SIT WITH SINN FEIN IN THE EXECUTIVE IF IT "GOES LIVE" MARCH 10, BUT BELIEVED THAT IF TRIMBLE IS ADAMANT, THE ONUS WILL BE ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT AND "THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE." ADAMS REITERATED THAT HE COULD NOT DELIVER IRA DECOMMISSIONING IN THE CURRENT ENVIRONMENT, AND, IF HE FORCED THE ISSUE, HE WOULD "SPLIT THE IRA." HE ADDED THAT HE HAD TRIED BUT FAILED TO GET DIRECT ANSWERS FROM TRIMBLE ON WHAT SINN FEIN/IRA "GESTURES" MIGHT BE HELPFUL. ADAMS EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR TRIMBLE'S POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES BUT EMPHASIZED THAT POLITICAL LEADERS HAD TO DELIVER AND THAT THE PROCESS WAS "NOT ABOUT SAVING DAVID TRIMBLE." ADAMS INDICATED THE PUNISHMENT BEATINGS ISSUE NEEDED TO BE ADDRESSED BUT WAS NOW BEING USED BY PEACE PROCESS

OPPONENTS SOLELY TO IMPEDE PROGRESS. EMBASSY WAS STRUCK BY ADAMS UPBEAT MOOD AND SENSE THAT THERE WERE NEAR-TERM POLITICAL ADVANTAGES FOR SINN FEIN WHETHER THEY ARE ALLOWED TO TAKE THEIR EXECUTIVE SEATS OR NOT (WITH TRIMBLE TAKING THE BLAME). END SUMMARY.

ADAMS UPBEAT ON PEACE PROCESS  
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2. (C) A SURPRISINGLY UPBEAT SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS PAID AN INTRODUCTORY CALL ON AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN (JOINED BY DCM AND POLOFF) JANUARY 27. ADAMS WELCOMED THE AMBASSADOR TO IRELAND AND LOOKED TO BUILD A SOLID RELATIONSHIP. HE OBSERVED THAT PRESIDENT'S CLINTON ENGAGEMENT IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, HAD BEEN "OUTSTANDING" AND STRESSED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S CONTINUED ENGAGEMENT WOULD BE NEEDED. NOTING THAT THE PEACE PROCESS NEEDED "STEADY GOVERNMENTS," ADAMS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD COME THROUGH HIS CURRENT DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES AND THAT IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN WOULD NOT BE SERIOUSLY DAMAGED BY CURENT ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING POLITICAL PAYOFFS IN DUBLIN (REFTEL).

3. (C) ADAMS SAID THAT HE HAS BEEN AN OPTIMIST ON THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND FOR A DECADE AND SAW NO REASON TO CHANGE HIS VIEW NOW. WITH RESILIENCE AND STAMINA WE WILL SUCCEED WHETHER IT TAKES ANOTHER SIX MONTHS OR THREE YEARS. MORE SPECIFICALLY, ADAMS SAID HE WAS FEELING BETTER ABOUT THE PROCESS BECAUSE OF THE FEBRUARY 15 DATE SET FOR THE ASSEMBLY TO APPROVE THE DECEMBER 18 AGREEMENT ON THE EXECUTIVE AND NORTH/SOUTH BODIES. ADAMS FELT "ALMOST CERTAIN" THAT DAVID TRIMBLE WOULD HAVE TO RECOMMEND ASSEMBLY APPROVAL OF "HIS OWN AGREEMENT" AND THIS WOULD LEAD TO GETTING THE EXECUTIVE AND CROSS-BORDER BODIES IN PLACE IN SHADOW FORM. THEN, ADAMS STRESSED, THE ONUS WOULD BE ON THE UK TO BRING THESE BODIES FORMALLY INTO BEING ON MARCH 10. HE NOTED THAT HE PLANNED TO TELL THE TAOISEACH (WHOM HE SAW IMMEDIATELY AFTER THIS MEETING) THAT THE GOI NEEDED TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON LONDON TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD, AND NOT BE DEFLECTED BY CURRENT OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS BEING RAISED SUCH AS SLOWING PRISONER RELEASES OVER "PUNISHMENT BEATINGS". YES, THESE ISSUES NEEDED TO BE DEALT WITH BUT THEY WERE NOW BEING RAISED BY THE OPPONENTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AS A WAY TO DERAIL THE PROCESS, ADAMS ARGUED.

4. (C) ADAMS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TRIMBLE HAS ALREADY SAID HE WILL NOT MOVE TO THE "NEXT STEP" (I.E., THE ASSEMBLY AND NORTH/SOUTH BODIES "GOING LIVE") AND WILL NOT SIT IN AN EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN WITHOUT IRA MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. ADAMS WAS ADAMANT, HOWEVER, THAT DECOMMISSIONING AS A PRECONDITION WAS "NOT IN THE AGREEMENT", AND HE HAS WARNED TRIMBLE THAT "SHOUTING AT THE IRA" ABOUT IT WON'T CONVINCEN THEM TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS. ADAMS OBSERVED THAT HE TOO WANTS TO SEE "DISARMAMENT," PARA-MILITARY DISARMAMENT AS WELL AS DISARMAMENT BY THE RUC AND BRITISH ARMY, BUT STRESSED

REF: DUBLIN 614

THAT THE ISSUE COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED IN THE CONTEXT OF OVERALL PROGRESS. IF TRIMBLE WON'T MOVE, ADAM'S SAID, IT WAS UP TO LONDON AND DUBLIN NOT TO ALLOW THE PROCESS TO

FAIL. HE SAW THREE POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR THE NEAR TERM POST MARCH 10:

-- THE UK FORCES THE EXECUTIVE TO "GO LIVE"; SINN FEIN TAKES ITS SEATS BUT UNIONISTS BOYCOTT AND TRIMBLE REFUSES TO ACT AS FIRST MINISTER. (ADAMS EXPECTED THAT "LOYALISTS" IN THE ASSEMBLY ARE PREPARED TO SIT WITH SINN FEIN AND ACCEPT THE SINN FEIN POSITION ON DECOMMISSIONING. PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP) LEADER BILLY HUTCHINSON CONFIRMED ADAMS UNDERSTANDING IN PUBLIC COMMENTS JANUARY 27.)

-- TRIMBLE SUCCEEDS IN "PARKING" FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE GOOD FRIDAY ACCORD. ALL PARTIES "REVIEW" THE PROCESS.

-- ALL PARTIES TAKE THEIR SEATS IN THE EXECUTIVE AND BEGIN TO HEAD THEIR DEPARTMENTS BUT NO MEETINGS TAKE PLACE BECAUSE UUP AND DUP REFUSE TO SIT WITH SINN FEIN.

ADAMS SAW NO "ABRUPT" CHANGE IN THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE NORTH NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENS ON MARCH 10 AND SEEMED SURPRISINGLY SANGUINE ABOUT ALL OF THE ABOVE OPTIONS. HE NOTED THAT TRIMBLE HAD TOLD HIM DIRECTLY THAT, IN THE LONG TERM, A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE REACHED, BUT IT MIGHT BE A SETTLEMENT OTHER THAN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND HE (TRIMBLE) MIGHT NO LONGER BE PART OF THE PROCESS.

WHAT DOES TRIMBLE WANT? ADAMS DOESN'T KNOW  
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5. (e) THE AMBASSADOR PRESSED ADAMS ON WHAT SINN FEIN COULD DO AT THIS TIME TO HELP TRIMBLE WITH HIS POLITICAL PROBLEMS. ADAMS NOTED THAT A KEY PROBLEM WAS THAT TRIMBLE WAS NOT "MANAGING HIS PARTY, IT WAS MANAGING HIM-" HE QUESTIONED THE REALITY OF TRIMBLE'S PERCEIVED LACK OF POLITICAL MANEUVERABILITY, BUT EXPRESSED ADMIRATION FOR THE SKILLFUL WAY TRIMBLE HAS EXPLOITED THAT PERCEPTION. ADAMS OBSERVED THAT AT EVERY JUNCTURE OF THE PROCESS TRIMBLE WAS "IN CRISIS," YET HE ALWAYS MANAGED TO GET 2/3 SUPPORT WITHIN THE UUP. ADAMS WISHED THEY HE COULD RELY ON SUCH SUPPORT WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY.

6. (e) ON WHAT HE OR SINN FEIN COULD DO, ADAMS REITERATED THAT WHAT HE COULDN'T DO WAS DELIVER IRA DECOMMISSIONING IN THE CURRENT SITUATION. EVEN IF HE COULD FORCE SOME IRA MOVE, IT WOULD "SPLIT THE MOVEMENT, " WHICH WAS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST. AS TO WHAT ELSE SINN FEIN MIGHT DO, HE SAID HE DIDN'T KNOW BECAUSE TRIMBLE COULDN'T OR WOULDN'T ARTICULATE IT HIMSELF. ADAMS SAID HE HAD DIRECTLY ASKED TRIMBLE WHAT KIND OF "GESTURE" HE NEEDED AND QUOTED TRIMBLE AS RESPONDING, "HOW CAN YOU CHARACTERIZE AN ELEPHANT?" WHEN ADAMS PRESSED FOR A CLEARER RESPONSE, TRIMBLE HAD ONLY NOTED THAT, IF THE IRA LEFT ALL OF ITS ARMAMENT ON THE FRONT LAWN AT STORMONT IT WOULDN'T BE ENOUGH FOR SOME UNIONISTS, BUT AS TO WHAT HE NEEDED, TRIMBLE COULD BE NO MORE SPECIFIC.

PEACE PROCESS "NOT ABOUT SAVING DAVID TRIMBLE"  
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7. (e) THE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT OFFERED AN ANALYSIS OF TRIMBLE SUGGESTING THAT THE FIRST MINISTER WANTED TO "DO THE DEAL" INTELLECTUALLY BUT EMOTIONALLY "CAN'T DO IT." ADAMS EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR TRIMBLE, NOTING THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT SOMETIMES FOR HIM AND OTHERS IN THE REPUBLICAN

COMMUNITY TO DEAL WITH UNIONISTS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY WAS FACING AN IDENTITY CRISIS AND HAD A "SIEGE MENTALITY." HE ALSO COMPARED THE UNIONIST MENTALITY TOWARD CATHOLICS AS SIMILAR TO THAT OF SOUTHERN U.S. WHITES BEFORE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. IT WILL TAKE A GENERATION TO CHANGE PATTERNS OF THINKING BUT . LEGALLY AN EVEN PLAYING FIELD FOR NATIONALISTS/CATHOLICS IN THE NORTH HAD TO BE IMPOSED NOW. WHILE ADAMS HAD UNDERSTANDING FOR TRIMBLE'S PROBLEMS, THE VALUE OF ANY POLITICAL LEADER WAS ONLY HIS ABILITY TO DELIVER. AT THE END OF THE DAY, ADAMS STRESSED, THE UNIONIST VETO HAD TO END. IF DAVID TRIMBLE CAN'T DELIVER THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MUST IMPLEMENT IT. THE PEACE PROCESS, ADAMS CONCLUDED, WAS "NOT ABOUT SAVING DAVID TRIMBLE."

8. (C) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN ASKED WHY THE MAJORITIES IN BOTH COMMUNITIES FOR THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WERE NOT PUTTING MORE EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON POLITICAL LEADERS TO

REF: DUBLIN 614

GET ON WITH IT. ADAMS RESPONDED THAT A LARGE PORTION OF UNIONISTS HAD GOTTEN OUT OF POLITICS ENTIRELY FOLLOWING THE IMPOSITION OF DIRECT RULE FROM LONDON. MANY UNIONISTS BUSINESSMEN AND COMMUNITY LEADERS MOST SUPPORTIVE OF THE PEACE PROCESS WERE SIMPLY NOT POLITICALLY ACTIVE. SINN FEIN, ADAMS SAID, WAS TRYING TO REACH OUT TO PROTESTANT CONGREGATIONS AND UNIONIST COMMUNITY LEADERS AND WAS HAVING SOME SUCCESS AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL. IN PARTICULAR, SINN FEIN WAS STRESSING POLITICAL COOPERATION ON PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL CONCERN AT THE LOCAL COUNCIL LEVEL. IN ANOTHER OUTREACH GESTURE, ADAMS INDICATED, HE AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS DID PLAN TO ATTEND THE EUROPEAN CUP RUGBY FINAL IN DUBLIN ON JANUARY 30 IN WHICH ULSTER WILL PLAY A FRENCH TEAM FOR THE TITLE (NOTE: RUGBY WOULD BE REGARDED AS A SPORT WITH FAR MORE CONNECTIONS TO UNIONISTS THAN NATIONALISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.)

DECOMMISSIONING: WORK THROUGH DECHASTELAIN  
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9. (C) THE AMBASSADOR INQUIRED HOW SINN FEIN WAS WORKING WITH THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY. ADAMS REPLIED THAT MARTIN MCGUINNESS HIGHLY REGARDED GENERAL DECHASTELAIN AND WAS WORKING WELL WITH HIM. ADAMS STRESSED THAT THE BODY WAS THE PROPER PLACE TO WORK ON DECOMMISSIONING AND SINN FEIN WOULD CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH ITS WORK IN LINE WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

PROBLEMS NOT A SURPRISE  
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11. (C) ADAMS CONCLUDED THAT THESE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES WERE NOT REALLY SURPRISING BUT THE DIRECT RESULT OF ISSUES NOT RESOLVED IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SINN FEIN HAD WANTED A TIGHTER AGREEMENT ON A RANGE OF ISSUES -- INSTITUTIONS, POLICING, HUMAN RIGHTS, EQUALITY -- BUT HAD AGREED TO LEAVE MANY ISSUES VAGUE TO GET THE UNIONISTS ON BOARD. HE SAID HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT CLINTON THAT THIS WOULD RESULT IN A "GRUDGING" UNIONIST APPROACH THAT WOULD REQUIRE THE U.S., IRELAND, AND UK TO PERSISTENTLY NUDGE UNIONISTS FORWARD. THIS WAS EXACTLY WHAT WAS HAPPENING NOW, ALTHOUGH HE REMAINS OPTIMISTIC

FOR ULTIMATE SUCCESS.

COMMENT

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12. (C) ADAMS' OBJECTIVE WAS CLEARLY TO PUT SINN FEIN'S VIEWPOINT BEFORE THE AMBASSADOR EARLY, AND, AS ALWAYS, HE WAS AN ARTICULATE AND ENGAGING SPOKESMAN FOR THE REPUBLICAN VIEWPOINT. WHILE QUICK TO OFFER PENETRATING ANALYSIS OF DAVID TRIMBLE AND UNIONISM, HOWEVER, ADAMS AVOIDED EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO TURN A SELF-CRITICAL EYE ON HIS OWN CONSTITUENCY AND HIMSELF. HIS DISMISSAL OF THE ISSUE OF "PUNISH BEATINGS" AS PRIMARILY A MEANS FOR GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT OPPONENTS TO IMPEDE PROGRESS IS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING AS THESE BEATINGS (BOTH CARRIED OUT BY REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST PARA-MILITARIES) ARE POISONING THE ATMOSPHERE. THERE WAS ALSO THE CLEAR SENSE THAT ADAMS LIKES HIS CURRENT POLITICAL POSITION AND SEES THE UP SIDE FOR SINN FEIN OF ALMOST ALL NEAR-TERM OUTCOMES TO THE EXECUTIVE/DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE: EITHER TRIMBLE YIELDS AND SINN FEIN TAKES IT SEATS; THE UK IMPOSES FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND SINN FEIN TAKES IT SEATS (PROBABLY WITH TRIMBLE BOYCOTTING); OR TRIMBLE SUCCEEDS IN "PARKING" THE PROCESS AND TAKES THE POLITICAL HEAT AND BLAME. CONTRARY TO THE EXPECTATIONS OF MOST OBSERVERS, ADAMS DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE FEELING MUCH IF ANY PRESSURE FOR ANY EARLY IRA MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING. END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0648

TOR: 990128124617 M3666700

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER DAVIDSON

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE3: O 041802Z FEB 99  
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 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 041802Z FEB 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2886  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0719  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0823  
 RUEHVJ/AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO 0562  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CRISIS APPROACHES

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.64)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 000962

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/03/09  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CRISIS APPROACHES

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: ROBERT A. BRADTKE, DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. (S) SUMMARY: ACKNOWLEDGING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WILL COME UNDER SEVERE PRESSURE IN THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS, SENIOR NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE OFFICIALS VIEW A CRISIS OVER DECOMMISSIONING AS UNAVOIDABLE. THE BUILD-UP TO THE CRISIS WILL GAIN MOMENTUM IN MID-FEBRUARY, GO CRITICAL AS THE MID-MARCH DEADLINE SET BY MO MOWLAM ARRIVES AND PROBABLY REACH A HEAD IN EARLY APRIL AS THE ONE-YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE AGREEMENT APPROACHES. AS A PRECAUTION, POLICE IN GREAT BRITAIN THIS WEEK HAVE GONE TO A HIGHER SECURITY LEVEL. ALTHOUGH THE NIO SEES LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT EITHER ADAMS OR TRIMBLE ARE PREPARING TO MAKE THE NECESSARY COMPROMISES, THEY DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKTHROUGH. PM BLAIR EXPECTS TO RE-ENGAGE FORCEFULLY AT THE KEY MOMENT. END SUMMARY.

LOOMING CRISIS  
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3. (S) NIO PERMANENT SECRETARY JOE PILLING, ASSOCIATE POLITICAL DIRECTOR JONATHAN STEPHENS AND INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT HEAD DAVID BROOKER TOLD DCM AND POLOFFS FEBRUARY 3 THAT THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING WEAPONS, EXACERBATED BY THE CONTINUATION OF PARAMILITARY PUNISHMENT ATTACKS, INEXORABLY IS LEADING TO A CRISIS. PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES -- INCLUDING HORRIFIC PUNISHMENT ATTACKS, BOMBINGS, SHOOTINGS AND MURDERS -- ARE PLACING ENORMOUS PRESSURE ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. UNIONIST AND CONSERVATIVE CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POSTURE ON PRISONER RELEASES IS HITTING

A RESPONSIVE CHORD IN A LARGE SEGMENT OF THE GENERAL BRITISH ELECTORATE AS WELL AS IN UNIONISM. ALTHOUGH PILLING CHARACTERIZED THE TORY CRITICISM AS IRRESPONSIBLY PARTISAN, HE SAID MO MOWLAM AND HER MINISTERS ARE "DEEPLY UNEASY" AT HAVING TO EMPLOY THE BROADEST POSSIBLE DEFINITION OF "CEASE-FIRE" TO RESIST THE DEMANDS TO HALT PRISONER RELEASES.

4. (C) STEPHENS SAID THE PUNISHMENT ATTACKS ARE NOT THE RESULT OF ILL-DISCIPLINE WITHIN PARAMILITARY RANKS. RATHER, THEY ARE PART OF A CONSIDERED STRATEGY TO MAINTAIN OPERATIONAL INTEGRITY AND EXERT CONTROL IN CERTAIN DISTRICTS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THIS USE OF VIOLENCE ALSO BOLSTERS THE SINN FEIN ARGUMENT THAT NO POLICING OF THE COMMUNITY IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT ITS ASSENT AND COOPERATION. PILLING SAID PARAMILITARIES APPARENTLY HAVE CALCULATED THEY CAN CARRY ON SUCH ACTIVITIES WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING THE RELEASES OF THEIR PRISONERS. THEY MAY JUST MISCALCULATE AND PUSH HMG TOO FAR, HE CONCLUDED GRIMLY.

5. (C) STEPHENS CONTINUED THAT THERE IS A VERY REAL POSSIBILITY OF TERRORIST ATTACKS BY DISSIDENT ELEMENTS, OR EVEN BY THE PROVISIONAL IRA ITSELF IF ITS LEADERSHIP CONCLUDES THE POLITICAL PROCESS HAS COLLAPSED. PILLING REPORTED THAT POLICE AUTHORITIES IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO WILL MOVE TO A HIGHER SECURITY LEVEL ON THE BRITISH MAINLAND AS A PRECAUTION. (NOTE: NEW MEASURES WERE IMPLEMENTED 4 FEB.) WHILE THERE ARE INDICATIONS OF INCREASED IRA ACTIVITY, PILLING SAID THE PRECAUTIONS ARE NOT IN RESPONSE TO A SPECIFIC THREAT. THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PLAN TO MAKE A FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT THE INCREASED SECURITY PRESENCE AT PORTS, AIRPORTS, GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES WILL SOON BECOME APPARENT.

POSSIBLE TIMELINE  
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6. (C) WITH THIS AS BACKGROUND, THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING WEAPONS HAS TAKEN ON OVERWHELMING SIGNIFICANCE. THE NEXT SIX TO EIGHT WEEKS WILL BE CRITICAL. STEPHENS SAID THE GOVERNMENTS' ROLE MUST BE TO GIVE THE LEADERS OPTIONS AND NOT ALLOW THEM TO RETREAT INTO THE "RELATIVE COMFORT OF REJECTION."

7. (U) ON FEBRUARY 15, THE FIRST AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTERS WILL PRESENT TO THE ASSEMBLY THEIR DETERMINATION ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS AND NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES THAT WERE AGREED IN DECEMBER. THE ASSEMBLY WILL BE ASKED TO RATIFY THAT DETERMINATION. AS A KEY DECISION, THE DETERMINATION WILL EITHER HAVE TO RECEIVE PARALLEL CONSENT FROM BOTH UNIONIST AND NATIONALIST DELEGATIONS OR BE PASSED BY A WEIGHTED MAJORITY (60% OF MEMBERS PRESENT AND VOTING, WITH MINIMUM 40% SUPPORT FROM UNIONIST AND NATIONALIST DELEGATIONS).

8. (C) STEPHENS NOTED THAT THIS SUPER-MAJORITY REQUIREMENT MEANS THE VOTE LIKELY WILL BE CLOSE, AS PAISLEY, MCCARTNEY AND OTHER REJECTIONIST UNIONISTS ARE LIKELY TO OPPOSE IT. PRESUMABLY, BEFORE HE AGREED TO THIS PLAN, TRIMBLE CALCULATED HE COULD CARRY ENOUGH VOTES WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 000962

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/03/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ASEC, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CRISIS APPROACHES

TO PASS THE MOTION. HOWEVER, FAILURE TO GAIN SUFFICIENT UNIONIST SUPPORT FOR IT WOULD ENGENDER A SEVERE RIFT BETWEEN TRIMBLE AND MALLON, AND COULD WELL LEAD TO A BREAKDOWN AT THAT POINT.

9. (U) ASSUMING THE MEASURE PASSES, IT WOULD ELIMINATE THE PENULTIMATE HURDLE TO CREATION OF A SHADOW EXECUTIVE. ALL THAT WOULD REMAIN TO ESTABLISH IT WOULD BE THE ISSUANCE OF A STANDING ORDER BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY TRIGGERING THE D'HONDT SYSTEM TO SELECT MINISTERS. TRIMBLE HAS WARNED PM BLAIR AND MOWLAM THAT SHE RISKS THE COLLAPSE OF THE AGREEMENT SHOULD SHE DO THIS BEFORE THE IRA HAS MADE A START TO DECOMMISSIONING. REFUSING TO ENTER A GOVERNMENT WITH SINN FEIN IN THE ABSENCE OF DECOMMISSIONING, HE HAS THREATENED TO RESIGN AND WALKOUT OF STORMONT WITH THE FULL BACKING OF THE ENTIRE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, NATIONALISTS ARGUE MOWLAM WOULD HAVE A DUTY UNDER THE AGREEMENT TO BRING THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE INTO BEING WITHOUT DELAY.

10. (C) MOWLAM HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ISSUING THE ORDER WITHOUT CROSS-COMMUNITY CONSENSUS WOULD BE "INEFFECTIVE." BUT STEPHENS POINTED OUT THAT SHE ALSO HAS REFUSED TO MAKE THE STANDING ORDER CONTINGENT ON IRA DECOMMISSIONING, AND WILL NOT ALLOW A "UNIONIST VETO" ON THE PROCESS. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, HE SAID, THIS MEANS THE STANDING ORDER WILL NOT BE ISSUED IN FEBRUARY, BUT AFTER THAT "IT DEPENDS ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES." HAVING SET MARCH 10 AS THE DATE FOR TRANSFERRING POWER TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY, MOWLAM INSISTS THAT SHE WILL NOT DELAY TAKING THE NECESSARY ACTIONS.

11. (C) STEPHENS EXPLAINED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MARCH 10 DATE: THAT IS WHEN THE PRIVY COUNCIL WILL APPROVE THE ORDERS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEVOLUTION. HOWEVER, THAT IS NOT NECESSARILY THE DATE POWER WILL ACTUALLY BE TRANSFERRED. THE NIO IS BEING DELIBERATELY VAGUE ABOUT THIS, HE ADMITTED, "TO KEEP MINDS FOCUSED." IN FACT, THE NIO RECOGNIZES THAT THE DEADLINE FOR FORMAL TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY INEVITABLY MAY BE PUSHED BACK AS NEGOTIATIONS DRAG ON. EVEN IF THERE WERE A BREAKTHROUGH IN EARLY MARCH, ACTUAL TRANSFER OF POWER WOULD NOT OCCUR UNTIL LATER. TO ENSURE A SMOOTH TRANSITION, A MINIMUM PERIOD OF TWO OR THREE WEEKS IS THOUGHT NECESSARY SO INCOMING MINISTERS CAN SHADOW THEIR PREDECESSORS IN ORDER TO COMPREHEND DEPARTMENTAL OPERATIONS. PILLING NOTED THAT THE APRIL 1 BEGINNING OF THE NEW FISCAL YEAR MIGHT PROVIDE A "TIDY OPPORTUNITY" FOR BUREAUCRATS. IN ANY EVENT, THE THREE NIO OFFICIALS UNANIMOUSLY AGREED, THERE WILL BE NO DECOMMISSIONING, AND NO RESOLUTION, BEFORE ST. PATRICK'S DAY AND THE THREE GOVERNMENTS WILL WANT TO COORDINATE CLOSELY ON WASHINGTON ACTIVITIES AS THE TIME COMES NEARER.

12. (C) WHILE THERE IS NOTHING SACROSANCT ABOUT MARCH 10, THE PRACTICAL REALITY IS THAT THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY UNSTABLE THE LONGER THE IMPASSE LASTS AFTER THAT TIME. THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN EARLY APRIL PRESENTS AN IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL DEADLINE FOR BOTH SIDES. STEPHENS THOUGHT THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING LIKELY WILL COME TO A HEAD AROUND THAT TIME AND WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED ONE WAY OR ANOTHER BY MID-MONTH. THE ONSET OF THE MARCHING SEASON IN MID-APRIL ALSO WILL HEIGHTEN TENSIONS.

THE ONE-YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE REFERENDUM ON MAY 22 PRESENTS AN ABSOLUTE LEGAL DEADLINE FOR RESOLUTION.

IS DECOMMISSIONING POSSIBLE?  
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13. (S) STEPHENS COMMENTED THAT, THUS FAR, NEITHER SIDE HAS EVINced ANY WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER COMPROMISE NOR IS THERE ANY SIGN THAT THEY ARE PREPARING FOR COMPROMISE. PILLING SAID WHILE IT IS FAIR TO ASK WHETHER TRIMBLE HAS EXERTED EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP, THE REALITY AT THIS POINT IS THAT HE NEEDS SOME PHYSICAL DECOMMISSIONING BY THE IRA IN ORDER TO ENTER THE EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN. TRIMBLE UNDOUBTEDLY IS IN A DIFFICULT POLITICAL SITUATION. ELECTED AS FIRST MINISTER WITH A MERE TWO-VOTE MAJORITY, HE FINDS HIS EFFORTS TO CREATE A WORKABLE ASSEMBLY AND A VIABLE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL HAVE BEEN MET BY THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY WITH DEEP SKEPTICISM, IF NOT OPEN HOSTILITY. CITING THE PRISONER RELEASES, THE PROSPECT OF SINN FEIN IN GOVERNMENT AND THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING, STEPHENS SAID MANY WITHIN TRIMBLE'S PARTY SINCERELY BELIEVE THE AGREEMENT IS ONE-SIDED IN FAVOR OF REPUBLICANS.

14. (S) ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS TOO HAVE A DIFFICULT TASK OF POLITICAL MANAGEMENT. IN THE ORTHODOX REPUBLICAN VIEW, THE IRA, HAVING FOUGHT THE BRITISH TO A STANDSTILL, CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SURRENDER ITS WEAPONS WHEN IT HAS NOT ACTUALLY  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 000962

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/03/09  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ASEC, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CRISIS APPROACHES

LOST THE WAR. STEPHENS SEES NO INDICATION THAT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS CAN PERSUADE THE IRA AT THIS POINT TO DECOMMISSION WEAPONS TO SIGNAL "THE WAR IS OVER." ARGUING THAT THERE IS NO DECOMMISSIONING "PRECONDITION" IN THE AGREEMENT, SINN FEIN LEADERS SAY THEY WOULD NOT HAVE SIGNED UP TO IT IF THERE WERE. IN PRIVATE, ON RARE OCCASIONS WHEN THEY VENTURE BEYOND "IMPOSSIBLE," THEY SAY ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF A "DEMILITARIZATION" -- THAT IS, BRITISH ARMY WITHDRAWAL AND RUC DISBANDMENT -- CAN THE IRA BE EXPECTED TO RELINQUISH ITS WEAPONRY.

15. (S) MOREOVER, STEPHENS SAID, REPUBLICANS CITE THE FACT THAT A DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE WOULD BE MERELY SYMBOLIC AS EVIDENCE THAT IT IS MEANINGLESS. IF IT IS MEANINGLESS, THEY ARGUE, UNIONISTS MUST HAVE SOME OTHER PURPOSE FOR MAKING THE DEMAND. THEY SUSPECT THE TRUE UNIONIST OBJECTIVE IS TO THWART THE ENTRY OF REPUBLICANS INTO GOVERNMENT AND, THEREFORE, IF THE IRA GIVES IN TO THIS DEMAND ANOTHER OBSTACLE WILL BE RAISED IN ITS PLACE. EVEN AMONG CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALISTS COMMITTED TO NON-VIOLENCE, THERE IS SCANT SUPPORT FOR TRIMBLE'S STANCE ON DECOMMISSIONING.

16. (S) PILLING NOTED THERE IS THE POSSIBLTY THE IRA HAS CONCLUDED IT HAS GOTTEN ALL IT CAN FROM THE AGREEMENT. THE PESSIMISTIC VIEW IS THAT SINN FEIN IS SETTING UP DECOMMISSIONING TO BOLSTER ITS ARGUMENT: IF THE AGREEMENT FAILS, THEY SAY, IT WILL BE BECAUSE UNIONIST INTRANSIGENCE "COLLAPSED" IT AND REGENERATED THE CONDITIONS WHICH MAKE

VIOLENCE INEVITABLE.

17. (C) PILLING CONCLUDED THAT BOTH UNIONISTS AND REPUBLICANS REMAIN DEEPLY ENTRENCHED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. IF THEIR REFUSAL TO SEEK COMPROMISE CONTINUES, THE PROSPECTS ARE NOT BRIGHT. WHILE THERE IS NO INDICATION DECOMMISSIONING WILL OCCUR TO FACILITATE THE TRANSFER OF POWER, THIS DOES NOT MEAN IT WILL NOT HAPPEN. PILLING SAID THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IS QUITE CAPABLE OF MAKING RAPID POLICY CHANGES. IT MAY WELL BE ONLY AT THE BRINK, WHERE UNIONIST AND REPUBLICAN LEADERS ARE FORCED TO FACE FAILURE -- WITH ALL THE POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CONSEQUENCES THAT WOULD ENTAIL -- CAN A DEAL BE ACHIEVED.

18. (C) PILLING SAID BLAIR IS READY TO ENGAGE PERSONALLY WITH SINN FEIN LEADERS AT THE RIGHT MOMENT. BLAIR AND BERTIE AHERN WILL HAVE TO DECIDE WHEN THAT MOMENT IS; FOR NOW DUBLIN HAS NOT ENCOURAGED BLAIR TO GET INVOLVED DIRECTLY. COMMENTING THAT AHERN HAD SAID THE RIGHT THINGS ON DECOMMISSIONING, PILLING COMPLIMENTED HIM "AS THE BEST TAOISEACH WE COULD HAVE." HOWEVER, HE CAVEATED, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT "IN ITS HEART" STILL HAS SOME DIFFICULTY ACCEPTING THAT THE WEAPONS ISSUE CANNOT BE FINESSED USING SOMETHING OTHER THAN AN ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING OF WEAPONS. THIS IS ONE OF THE TOPICS MOWLAM AND FM DAVID ANDREWS WERE DISCUSSING IN DUBLIN FEBRUARY 3.

A SCENARIO FOR THE CRUNCH  
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19. (C) THE ENDGAME, ACCORDING TO PILLING, WILL DEPEND ON POLITICAL WILL, NOT INGENUITY IN DEVISING THE RIGHT FORMULAS OR CHOREOGRAPHY. THE WAYS THROUGH THE THICKET HAVE BEEN MAPPED OUT; THE PARTIES NEED TO GO THERE. GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN MAY PLAY A USEFUL ROLE AT THE TIME THE PARAMILITARIES DECIDE TO DECOMMISSION, BUT THERE IS NOTHING PRACTICAL HE CAN DO TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR DECOMMISSIONING.

20. (C) COMMENT: THE MOST OPTIMISTIC, THOUGH POSSIBLY NAIVE, INTERPRETATION OF THE IRA'S REITERATIONS OF ITS REFUSAL TO DECOMMISSION IS THAT IT IS A MATTER OF NEGOTIATING TACTICS RATHER THAN PRINCIPLE. THE SCENARIO FOR IRA DECOMMISSIONING INVOLVES ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS PERSUADING THE IRA TO MAKE SOME SYMBOLIC GESTURE ON WEAPONS. THIS WOULD BE CHARACTERIZED WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT AS A TACTICAL MOVE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE AMOUNT OF DECOMMISSIONED MATERIEL COULD BE EQUATED TO THE THAT WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN USED HAD THE CEASE-FIRE NOT BEEN CALLED. IN THAT CASE, THE IRA COULD CLAIM ITS INVENTORY WOULD BE NOT BE DIMINISHED MORE THAN IF THE HALT TO ITS "MILITARY OPERATIONS" HAD NOT BEEN CALLED. IT STILL WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO "DEFEND THE COMMUNITY" AND RETURN TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE IF NECESSARY. THIS WOULD HAVE THE FURTHER POLITICAL BENEFIT OF "WRONG-FOOTING" TRIMBLE. IN RETURN FOR THIS TACTICAL MOVE, SINN FEIN WOULD RECEIVE TWO MINISTERIAL POSITIONS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT, WHERE THEY CAN ADVANCE REPUBLICAN INTERESTS AND ENSURE THEIR COMMUNITY IS PROTECTED, AND COULD WORK TOWARD STRONGER NORTH-SOUTH LINKS.

21. (C) TRIMBLE, FOR HIS PART, WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT AN AT-  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 LONDON 000962

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/03/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ASEC, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE CRISIS APPROACHES

BEST AMBIGUOUS GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING WHICH IS UNLIKELY TO SPELL OUT A TIMETABLE FOR ADDITIONAL IRA DISARMAMENT. MANY UNIONISTS WOULD BE VERY DISSATISFIED WITH THIS TYPE OF DECOMMISSIONING, NOT LEAST BECAUSE THEY WOULD BE AWARE OF ITS TACTICAL CHARACTERIZATION WITHIN REPUBLICAN CIRCLES. TRIMBLE NONETHELESS WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO JOIN THE EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN MEMBERS, LIKELY CLAIMING HE WILL DO SO TO "CHALLENGE" SINN FEIN. HE WOULD INSIST ON THE "TOTAL DISARMAMENT OF PARAMILITARIES BY MAY, 2000" AS SET OUT IN THE AGREEMENT, VOWING TO EXPEL SINN FEIN FROM THE EXECUTIVE WITHOUT FULL DECOMMISSIONING BY THEN. UNIONISM WOULD BECOME EVEN MORE FRAGMENTED, BITTER AND INWARD LOOKING.

22. (X) EVEN THOUGH THE NEW INSTITUTIONS GET LAUNCHED IN THIS LESS-THAN-PERFECT SCENARIO, THE BITTER ENMITY AND DEEP SUSPICIONS WOULD REMAIN UNABATED. THE POTENTIAL FOR A CATASTROPHIC RETURN TO VIOLENCE WOULD CONTINUE. THE ASSEMBLY, CROSS-BORDER IMPLEMENTATION BODIES AND MINISTERIAL COUNCILS WOULD LIKELY BE HAMPERED BY ON-GOING DIVISION AND DISPUTE. ANOTHER CRISIS IS CERTAIN TO ARISE IN SPRING, 2000. BUT THIS IS BETTER THAN THE ALTERNATIVE.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04

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SSN: 0962

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DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: STEINBERG

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SIT: DAVIDSON SUM2

PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK RICEE SIT{C2}

STEINBERG SUTPHEN

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
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 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2911  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0728  
 SUBJ: IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES: RUC VERSUS SINN FEIN

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2015-0158-M (1.65)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000998

NSC FOR BUTLER  
 LONDON FOR HALL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/19/04  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES: RUC VERSUS SINN FEIN

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)
2. (S) SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH BAIRBRE DE BRUN OF SINN FEIN AND CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT WESLEY LAMONT AND CHIEF INSPECTOR KEN ECCLES OF THE RUC'S POLICE REVIEW TEAM INDICATED THE DIFFICULTY THE PATTEN COMMISSION ON THE FUTURE OF POLICING WILL HAVE IN RECONCILING DIFFERENCES PRESENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND TODAY. MS. DE BRUN STRESSED THAT ONLY ABOLISHMENT OF THE RUC WAS ACCEPTABLE TO SINN FEIN. FOR THEIR PART, THE RUC OFFICIALS INDICATED SOME WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE BUT FELT SINN FEIN'S GOAL TO ABOLISH THE RUC WAS PART OF THEIR POLITICAL AMBITION FOR A UNITED IRELAND.
3. (S) IN MID-JANUARY, WE MET WITH BAIRBRE DE BRUN OF SINN FEIN TO DISCUSS HER PARTY'S VIEW ON THE FUTURE OF THE RUC. DE BRUN SAID THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT REPRESENTED A NEW BEGINNING OF EQUALITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THAT THE POLICING ISSUE WAS THE "LITMUS TEST" OF THAT NEW BEGINNING. DE BRUN SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE "UNIONIST BRITISH" ETHOS OF THE RUC AND ITS HISTORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, THE RUC SHOULD BE ABOLISHED AND A NEW POLICING SERVICE BE PUT IN ITS PLACE.
4. (S) DE BRUN CITED A LITANY OF REPORTS ON THE RUC, INCLUDING THE STEVENS REPORT WHICH FOUND THAT FILES OF SUSPECTED IRA MEMBERS HAD BEEN GIVEN TO LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES; THE "SHOOT TO KILL" INQUIRIES OF STALKER/SAMPSON; AND THE 1998 WESTMINSTER SELECT COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE ETHOS OF THE RUC. SHE ALSO CITED SINN FEIN'S OWN STATISTICS INDICATING 300 RUC "INCIDENTS" (E.G., ATTACKS OF DEMONSTRATORS, ATTEMPTS TO RECRUIT INFORMERS) SINCE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. TO DE BRUN, THE

WEIGHT OF THIS EVIDENCE INDICATED THAT THE RUC SHOULD BE ABOLISHED.

5. ~~(S)~~ WHEN ASKED IF SHE HAD EVER HAD A POSITIVE EXPERIENCE WITH THE RUC, DE BRUN REPLIED IN THE NEGATIVE, AND SHE GAVE NO CREDIT TO CHIEF CONSTABLE SIR RONNIE FLANAGAN FOR HIS ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THE SERVICE. SHE SAID THAT FLANAGAN MAY HAVE A "NICE PR EXTERIOR" BUT THAT HE HAS BEEN DEEPLY INVOLVED IN MANY OF THE HEINOUS PRACTICES OF THE RUC (SHE REFERRED CONOFF TO THE PAT FANUCANE WEBSITE FOR DETAILS).

6. ~~(S)~~ DE BRUN EVEN DOUBTED THE VALIDITY OF A SEPTEMBER 1998 SURVEY CONDUCTED BY THE POLICE AUTHORITY WHICH INDICATED 57% OF CATHOLICS WERE SATISFIED WITH THEIR LOCAL POLICE, BY ASSERTING THAT THE METHODS USED TO GATHER RESPONSES MUST HAVE INTIMIDATED MANY OF THE RESPONDENTS. SHE SAID THAT THE BASIC CONCEPTUAL PROBLEM IS THAT THE RUC POLICES THE REPUBLICAN AND NATIONALIST COMMUNITIES NOT AS IF THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITIES BUT AS IF THE COMMUNITIES ARE THE PROBLEM. THEREFORE, DE BRUN CONCLUDES, ONLY A POLICE FORCE MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMUNITY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IN THAT COMMUNITY -- AND THE RUC WILL NEVER BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY.

7. ~~(S)~~ LATER IN JANUARY, WE MET WITH CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT WESLEY LAMONT AND CHIEF INSPECTOR KEN ECCLES OF THE RUC'S POLICING REVIEW TEAM, A LIAISON UNIT ESTABLISHED BY THE CHIEF CONSTABLE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO THE PATTEN COMMISSION. BOTH LAMONT AND ECCLES SAID THAT THE RUC WAS OPEN TO CHANGE, INCLUDING TO THE NEED FOR THE FORCE TO BE MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMUNITY. THEY ADMITTED THAT THE RUC HAD MADE MISTAKES IN THE PAST THAT MIGHT HAVE CAUSED NATIONALIST AND REPUBLICAN COMMUNITIES TO BELIEVE THAT THE RUC WAS BIASED AGAINST THEM, BUT ASSERTED THAT THOSE PROBLEMS WERE THINGS OF THE PAST, AND THAT THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WAS COMMITTED TO FAIRNESS AND APPROPRIATE REFORM.

8. ~~(S)~~ THE OFFICERS POINTED OUT THAT THE MAIN CONCERN OF THE RUC RANK AND FILE WAS THE SPEED WITH WHICH CHANGES WERE IMPLEMENTED. THE EARLY RELEASE OF PRISONERS COMBINED WITH THE PROSPECT OF A HUGE CUT IN THE NUMBER OF OFFICERS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW YEARS HAS DECREASED MORALE IN THE RUC. LAMONT PREDICTED THAT IF THE PEACE PROCESS CONTINUED (THAT IS, IF DECOMMISSIONING ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE), THE RUC MIGHT BE CUT FROM 13,000 TO 3,500 - 5,000 WITHIN TWO YEARS, THOUGH HE SUGGESTED THAT 8,000 MIGHT BE A MORE APPROPRIATE FORCE SIZE TO DEAL WITH "PUBLIC ORDER PROBLEMS THAT WILL NEVER GO AWAY."

9. ~~(S)~~ BOTH OFFICERS REALIZED THAT GIVEN CURRENT RECRUITMENT PATTERNS, TWENTY TO THIRTY YEARS WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR THE RUC TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CATHOLIC/PROTESTANT MAKE-UP OF NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THAT THEREFORE, THE RUC WAS OPEN TO "POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION" TO GET MORE CATHOLICS ON THE FORCE QUICKLY.

10. ~~(S)~~ WHEN QUESTIONED AS TO WHY THE NUMBER OF CATHOLICS  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 000998

NSC FOR BUTLER  
LONDON FOR HALL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/19/04  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES: RUC VERSUS SINN FEIN

IN THE RUC TO DATE HAS BEEN SO LOW, LAMONT AND ECCLES BLAMED ANTI-RUC SENTIMENT AND INTIMIDATION OF POTENTIAL APPLICANTS BY PARAMILITARIES IN THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITIES. LAMONT AND ECCLES FIRMLY DENIED THAT ANTI-CATHOLIC SENTIMENT WAS INSTITUTIONALIZED IN THE RUC. THEY BELIEVED NOTHING IN THE RUC'S ETHOS WAS ANTI-CATHOLIC AND THIS WAS REINFORCED BY STRICT INTERNAL REGULATIONS AGAINST ANY SECTARIAN SPEECH OR OTHER FORMS OF INTIMIDATION. ECCLES AND LAMONT SAID THAT BIGOTRY EXHIBITED BY ANY OFFICER IN THE RUC WOULD RUIN THAT OFFICER'S CAREER.

11. (e) LAMONT AND ECCLES ALSO DENIED ANY SECTARIAN BIAS IN THE RUC'S TREATMENT OF RESIDENTS OF NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICAN COMMUNITIES. THEY SAID OFFICERS STATIONED IN THOSE COMMUNITIES TOOK GREAT PAINS TO BE OBJECTIVE IN THEIR HANDLING OF POLICE CASES AND MANY HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY DESPITE INFLUENCE FROM ANTI-RUC PARTIES. THEY SAID THAT, IN FACT, THE RUC WAS A VICTIM OF "BLACK PROPOGANDA" PERPETRATED BY SINN FEIN TO DISCREDIT THE RUC WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. LAMONT AND ECCLES FELT THAT SINN FEIN WAS ATTEMPTING TO LEGITIMIZE PARAMILITARY POLICING IN ORDER TO RETAIN REPUBLICAN CONTROL OVER THESE COMMUNITIES, A STEP THE OFFICERS BELIEVE IS PART OF AN OVERALL STRATEGY TO EVENTUALLY UNITE NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC.

12. (e) THEY WENT ON TO SAY THAT CHANGES IN THE RUC WOULD BE MORE READILY ACCEPTED BY YOUNGER MEMBERS WHO HAD NOT EXPERIENCED THE TERRORIST INCIDENTS SUFFERED BY VETERAN OFFICERS. INDEED, SOME OF THESE OLDER OFFICERS STILL SAW SINN FEIN "AS THE ENEMY." IN THE END THOUGH, LAMONT AND ECCLES BELIEVED THAT MOST OFFICERS WOULD ACCEPT CHANGES, EVEN EARLY RETIREMENT FROM THE RUC, IF THEY DID NOT SUFFER UNDUELY. "MOST PEOPLE COULD BE BOUGHT OUT," LAMONT SAID, SUPPORTING THE IDEA OF A GENEROUS RETIRMENT PACKAGE AS PART OF A FORCE REDUCTION PROGRAM.

13. (e) COMMENT. UNFORTUNATELY, LITTLE COMMON GROUND EXISTS BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE RUC ON WHICH THE PATTEN COMMISSION CAN BUILD A CONSENSUS FOR THE FUTURE OF POLICING. ALTHOUGH DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF SINN FEIN'S MOTIVES, THE RUC HAS SHOWN WILLINGNESS TO ADAPT TO CHANGES CALLED FOR BY THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, EVEN TO CHANGING THE TITLE OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY. COMMENTING ON THE NAME OF THE POLICE FORCE, CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT LAMONT ACKNOWLEDGED: "AT THE END OF THE DAY, IT'S NOT UP TO US WHAT IT'S CALLED."

14. (e) WHILE THE FLEXIBILITY EXPRESSED BY LAMONT AND ECCLES (IF BORNE OUT BY POLICE PRACTICE) BODES WELL FOR RUC ACCEPTANCE OF SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE, SINN FEIN'S HARD-LINE STANCE ON RUC ABOLITION LEAVES LITTLE ROOM FOR COMPROMISE. IN FACT, SINN FEIN'S INTRANSIGENCE MAY ALSO MAKE MODERATE POLICE REFORMS DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT IN NATIONALIST COMMUNITIES. END COMMENT.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0998

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TOR: 990205131041 M3680718

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DIST:

SIT: BUTLER  
SIT: NSC

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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2915  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0732  
 SUBJ: MEETING WITH CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF NEW NORTHERN  
 IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.67)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 001000

LONDON FOR HALL  
 NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/29/04  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF NEW NORTHERN  
 IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B, D)
2. ~~let~~ SUMMARY. ON JANUARY 18, 1999 THE NIO APPOINTED  
 ULSTER UNIVERSITY LAW PROFESSOR BRICE DICKSON AS CHIEF  
 COMMISSIONER OF THE NEW HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. THE  
 COMMISSION WAS ESTABLISHED THROUGH THE NORTHERN IRELAND ACT  
 (1998) AS PART OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THOUGH  
 COGNIZANT OF UNIONIST SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF A  
 HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, DICKSON EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE  
 NEW COMMISSION WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE VALUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS  
 TO THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.
3. (U) ON JANUARY 26, WE MET WITH BRICE DICKSON, THE NEWLY  
 APPOINTED CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS  
 COMMISSION. THE COMMISSION WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE NORTHERN  
 IRELAND ACT (1998) AS PART OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.  
 ANSWERING TO WESTMINISTER, THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WILL  
 CONSIST OF DICKSON PLUS NINE OTHER PART-TIME COMMISSIONERS  
 WHO WILL BE APPOINTED SHORTLY. THE COMMISSION HAS BEEN  
 EMPOWERED TO VET ALL LEGISLATION UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE  
 NEW ASSEMBLY TO ENSURE THAT IT IS COMPATIBLE WITH THE  
 EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THOUGH THERE IS SOME  
 UNCERTAINTY ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT THE ENACTING LEGISLATION  
 ALLOWS HIM THIS LATITUDE, DICKSON PLANS TO ALSO VET  
 LEGISLATION USING MORE RECENT UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS  
 CONVENTIONS.
4. (U) THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IS ALSO EMPOWERED TO  
 INITIATE ITS OWN INVESTIGATIONS INTO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES  
 AND TO BRING CASES TO COURT, EITHER ON BEHALF OF AN

AGGRIEVED PARTY OR ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE.

5. (U) DICKSON SAID THAT THOUGH THE ORIGINAL LEGISLATION FOR THE COMMISSION CONTAINED WATERED DOWN VERSIONS OF THESE PROVISIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS SUPPORTERS, INCLUDING THE HEAD OF THE SOON TO BE DISBANDED STANDING COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS MICHAEL LAVERY, INSISTED THAT THE LEGISLATION BE STRENGTHENED.

6. (U) THE BILL THAT PASSED, HOWEVER, DOES LEAVE SOME WEAKNESSES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE COMMISSION IS NOT EMPOWERED TO SUBPEONA WITNESSES NOR USE THE MECHANISM OF DISCOVERY OF DOCUMENTS. IN PRACTICE, AN UNCOOPERATIVE AGENCY UNDER INVESTIGATION COULD STYMIE THE COMMISSION BY REFUSING TO SEND WITNESSES OR TURN OVER RELEVANT DOCUMENTS. WHILE DICKSON IS UNHAPPY ABOUT THIS FLAW IN THE ENACTING LEGISLATION, HE HOPES THAT THE PROVISION IN THE LAW ALLOWING FOR A REVIEW OF THE COMMISSION'S FUNCTIONS AFTER ONE YEAR WILL BE ENABLE THE COMMISSION TO ADDRESS THIS AND ANY OTHER DEFICIENCIES.

7. (U) THE COMMISSION ALSO HAS A LIMITED BUDGET OF 750,000 BPS FOR ITS INAUGURAL YEAR. IN COMPARISON, THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION (EOC) RECEIVES 1.6 MILLION BPS ANNUALLY. THOUGH HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE COMMISSION NEEDS TWO OR THREE TIMES ITS CURRENT LEVEL OF FUNDING, DICKSON HOPES THAT THE COMMITTEE WILL BE ABLE TO AVOID THE COSTLY LITIGATION THAT CONSUMES MUCH OF THE EOC'S BUDGET.

8. (S) DICKSON SEES TWO IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. FIRST, TO GIVE CREDIBILITY TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES RAISED BY ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE ( OF WHICH DICKSON IS STILL A MEMBER). DICKSON STATED THAT "THE TRIMBLES OF THIS WORLD WILL NOT PAY ATTENTION TO CAJ," AND THAT INDEED, UNIONISTS IN GENERAL ARE UNEASY ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. DICKSON BELIEVES THAT "THERE IS AN INGRAINED ANTI-PATHY TOWARDS CRITICISM OF ESTABLISHED LAW IN UNIONISM. ANY CRITICISM OF EMERGENCY LAWS, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD BE SEEN AS SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM." SO WHILE DICKSON BELIEVES MUCH OF THE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION ENACTED TO COMBAT TERRORISM ACTUALLY FUELED THE CONFLICT, HE IS "VERY CONSCIOUS THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IS A DIRTY WORD, AN APOLOGY FOR LAWLESSNESS" AS VIEWED BY THE MORE CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY, ESPECIALLY THE PROTESTANT MIDDLE CLASS.

9. (S) DICKSON DOES NOT SEE THE COMMISSION AS UNIDIRECTIONAL. HE HOPES THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WILL OFFER A "RIGHT TO SECURITY AND FAIRNESS" TO THE PROTESTANT MIDDLE CLASS. IN ADDITION, THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WILL HELP PROTECT THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE PROTESTANT CLASS AND HELP REINFORCE THE VALUE OF DIVERSITY IN SOCIETY HERE.

10. (U) THE SECOND ROLE FOR THE COMMISSION WILL BE TO SERVE AS A MODEL FOR OTHER PARTS OF GREAT BRITAIN. DICKSON NOTED THAT A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE WATCHING THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION TO SEE IF THE CONCEPT CAN BE REPLICATED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 001000

LONDON FOR HALL  
NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/29/04

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF NEW NORTHERN  
IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

11. (S) QUESTIONS REMAIN AS TO HOW THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WILL DIFFERENTIATE ITSELF FROM THE EQUALITY COMMISSION. DICKSON RECOUNTED THAT DURING HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE NIO FOR THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER POSITION, HE WAS ASKED HOW THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION'S REMIT WOULD DIFFER FROM THAT OF THE EQUALITY COMMISSION. DICKSON REPLIED: "I WAS HOPING YOU COULD TELL ME THAT." THE EQUALITY COMMISSION IS BEING FORMED TO UNIFY THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION, THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION, THE COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, AND THE DISABILITY COUNCIL. DICKSON BELIEVES THIS INDICATES THAT THE EQUALITY COMMISSION WILL CONCENTRATE ON DISCRIMINATION ISSUES. ONE FURTHER DISTINCTION IS THAT UNLIKE THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, WHICH IS ANSWERABLE TO WESTMINSTER, THE EQUALITY COMMISSION WILL BE ANSWERABLE TO THE NEW ASSEMBLY.

12. (S) ONE OF COMMISSION'S FIRST TASKS IS TO CREATE A BILL OF RIGHTS. DICKSON PLANS TO CONSULT WITH THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES AS WELL AS OTHER INTERESTED GROUPS WHEN THE COMMISSION BEGINS ITS WORK SOMETIME IN MARCH. HIS HOPE IS THAT IF THE BILL OF RIGHTS IS CREATED AND THE PEACE AGREEMENT HOLDS, THE COMMUNITY WILL SEE THE BENEFITS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. DICKSON BELIEVES THAT IF DECOMMISSIONING TAKES PLACE, ANTI-HUMAN RIGHTS ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY "WON'T BE ABLE TO WRITE OFF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AS A DEFENDER OF THE IRA."

13. (S) ON SOME OF THE MORE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES OF THE DAY, DICKSON ADMITTED HE HAS NO EASY SOLUTIONS. REGARDING DRUMCREE, DICKSON SAID HE FULLY EXPECTED BOTH SIDES TO MAKE SUBMISSIONS TO THE COMMISSION AS SOON AS THE COMMISSION WAS FUNCTIONING, BUT HE WAS SOMEWHAT VAGUE ON SPECIFYING SOLUTIONS, ASSERTING THAT THE ONLY APPROACH THE COMMISSION COULD TAKE WAS TO STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN TWO SETS OF CONFLICTING RIGHTS.

14. (S) ON THE POLICING ISSUE, DICKSON WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC. HE RECOUNTED HOW HE ATTENDED TWO OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION'S PUBLIC MEETINGS, ONE IN THE PREDOMINANTLY REPUBLICAN AREA OF WHITEROCK THAT WAS ANTI-RUC, AND ANOTHER IN THE PREDOMINANTLY UNIONIST TOWN OF BANBRIDGE THAT WAS PRO-RUC (ONE SDLP DETRACTOR OF THE RUC WAS SHOUTED DOWN AT THE MEETING.) DICKSON FELT THAT THE VIOLENTLY OPPOSING AND UNBENDING VIEWS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ISSUE WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE.

15. (S) DICKSON IS ALSO DISCOURAGED BY WHAT HE CALLS THE "HOLIER-THAN-THOU" ATTITUDE OF THE POLICE FORCE. DURING HIS LECTURES TO NEW RECRUITS AT RUC GARNERVILLE TRAINING CENTER, DICKSON SAID HE IS CONSTANTLY ASTOUNDED BY THE LEVEL OF MORAL SUPERIORITY IN THESE FUTURE POLICE OFFICERS. HE BELIEVE MORE TRAINING ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IS NEEDED TO CHANGE THE "ETHOS" OF THE RUC.

16. (U) DICKSON ALSO SUPPORTS SOME FORM OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION TO GET MORE CATHOLICS ON THE FORCE QUICKLY AND SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF HAVING POLICE OFFICERS LIVE CLOSE TO WHERE THEY WORK.

17. (U) DICKSON CLOSED THE DISCUSSION BY EXPRESSING

INTEREST IN REMAINING IN CONTACT WITH THE CONSULATE GENERAL ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, AND HE WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING WITH US THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT.

18. (U) BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: PROFESSOR BRICE DICKSON IS CURRENTLY A PROFESSOR OF LAW AND HEAD OF LEGAL STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER. HE HAS ALSO BEEN A LECTURER AND SENIOR LECTURER IN LAW AT QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY FROM 1979-91 (WHERE DAVID TRIMBLE WAS ONE OF HIS COLLEAGUES). DICKSON WAS A MEMBER AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION FROM 1990-96. HE WAS THE WINSTON CHURCHILL FELLOW ON THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1994 AND WAS A CONSULTANT TO THE FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION. DICKSON IS ALSO A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, AND LIBERTY.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 1000  
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TOR: 990205131534 M3680730  
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SIT: NSC  
PRT: STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0835  
 RUEHVJ/AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO 0588  
 SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS:  
 SINN FEIN UNABLE TO DELIVER GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.68)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 001252

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER  
 SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/10/09  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS:  
 SINN FEIN UNABLE TO DELIVER GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING

REF: LONDON 962

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: DCM ROBERT A. BRADTKE,  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. IN A FEBRUARY 9 MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR, SINN FEIN CHIEF NEGOTIATOR MARTIN MCGUINNESS DESCRIBED HIS PARTY AS HAVING LIMITED ROOM FOR MANEUVER IN DEALING WITH THE CURRENT DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE. ECHOING A LINE HE HAS TAKEN WITH THE PRESS IN RECENT DAYS, MCGUINNESS SAID HE COULD NOT DELIVER A GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING FROM THE IRA. SUCH A STEP WOULD BE VIEWED BY REPUBLICANS AS A "SURRENDER" AND A "HUMILIATION." THE ONLY WAY FORWARD, MCGUINNESS ARGUED, WAS THE "DE CHASTELAIN ROUTE," INVOLVING A STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL THAT SINN FEIN AND ALL PARTIES WERE, AS IS REQUIRED IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, MAKING THEIR BEST EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING BY THE PARAMILITARIES. MCGUINNESS EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES FACED BY UNIONIST LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE, BUT CRITICIZED TRIMBLE FOR A LACK OF LEADERSHIP AND FAILING TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH SINN FEIN. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED CONTINUED U.S. WILLINGNESS TO PLAY A ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AND THE PARTIES IN IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, AND HE WARNED OF THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF A RETURN TO VIOLENCE. THE AMBASSADOR URGED MCGUINNESS TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO HELP TRIMBLE DEAL WITH THE DIFFICULTIES HE FACED FROM UNIONISTS OVER DECOMMISSIONING. END SUMMARY.

3. ~~(S)~~ AT THE REQUEST OF THE SINN FEIN LEADER, THE

AMBASSADOR, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM, MET WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS AT THE EMBASSY ON FEBRUARY 9. MCGUINNESS WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SINN FEIN OFFICIAL MARTIN MCGOVERN. DURING THE COURSE OF A NEARLY NINETY MINUTE DISCUSSION, MCGUINNESS OUTLINED SINN FEIN'S VIEW OF THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS AND THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING.

4. (C) DESCRIBING THE NEXT STEPS, MCGUINNESS SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY WOULD APPROVE ON FEBRUARY 15 THE "DETERMINATION" ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS AND THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES AGREED BY UUP LEADER TRIMBLE AND SDLP LEADER MALLON IN DECEMBER. SINN FEIN EXPECTED THAT ON MARCH 10 NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM WOULD ISSUE THE STANDING ORDER TO TRIGGER THE ALLOCATION OF SEATS TO THE PARTIES IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE. UUP LEADER TRIMBLE WOULD THEN FACE A CHOICE. EITHER HE COULD TELL HIS SUPPORTERS THAT HE HAD TO PROCEED WITH ESTABLISHING THE EXECUTIVE OR HE COULD TRY TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN FROM PARTICIPATING OVER THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE. IF HE CHOSE THE LATER COURSE, THE RESULT WOULD BE A "DISASTER" AND RESULT IN THE COLLAPSE OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

5. (C) IN RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTIONS, MCGUINNESS ACKNOWLEDGED THE DIFFICULTIES THAT TRIMBLE FACED IN MOVING AHEAD WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING AND THE NEED TO HELP TRIMBLE. IT WAS "VITALLY IMPORTANT," MCGUINNESS SAID, THAT TRIMBLE REMAIN AS FIRST MINISTER AND HEAD OF THE UUP. TRIMBLE'S DIFFICULTIES WERE SINN FEIN'S DIFFICULTIES AND SINN FEIN DID NOT RELISH THE PROSPECT OF DEALING WITH JEFFREY DONALDSON AS A FUTURE LEADER OF THE UUP. HOWEVER, TRIMBLE NEEDED TO DEMONSTRATE GREATER LEADERSHIP AND BUILD SUPPORT FOR THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. TRIMBLE ALSO NEEDED TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH SINN FEIN LEADERS. MCGUINNESS NOTED THAT BOTH HE AND SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS HAD ACKNOWLEDGED PUBLICLY THE POSITIVE ROLE TRIMBLE HAD PLAYED. IT WAS NOW TIME FOR TRIMBLE TO DO THE SAME FOR THE SINN FEIN LEADERS.

6. (C) MCGUINNESS ALSO FAULTED TRIMBLE FOR FAILING TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES BEING FACED BY SINN FEIN. SINN FEIN'S POSITION HAD WORSENED SINCE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SINN FEIN HAD HOPED THAT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE AGREEMENT, REPUBLICANS WOULD SEE THAT "POLITICS IS WORKING." INSTEAD, THE SETTING UP OF THE EXECUTIVE AND THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES HAD BEEN DELAYED. THERE WAS ALSO "ANGER" AT GRASS ROOTS LEVELS THAT SINN FEIN HAD BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS IN DECEMBER WITH TRIMBLE AND MALLON. JUST AS TRIMBLE HAD "REJECTIONISTS" ON HIS SIDE, THERE WERE ALSO EVEN MORE DANGEROUS "REJECTIONISTS" ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE. THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP WAS TAKING PERSONAL RISKS IN ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. ALL IT WOULD TAKE, MCGUINNESS NOTED, WAS ONE SEVENTEEN YEAR OLD WITH A GUN AND GERRY ADAMS COULD BE DEAD.

7. (C) PRESSED BY THE AMBASSADOR FOR SPECIFIC IDEAS ON HOW THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING COULD BE RESOLVED, MCGUINNESS SAID FLATLY THAT HE COULD NOT "DELIVER A GESTURE BY THE IRA." IN THE CURRENT CONTEXT, THIS WOULD BE PERCEIVED BY REPUBLICANS AS A "SURRENDER" AND A "HUMILIATION." THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 001252

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER  
SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/10/09

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS:  
SINN FEIN UNABLE TO DELIVER GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING

DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT REQUIRED DECOMMISSIONING AS A CONDITION FOR ESTABLISHING THE EXECUTIVE AND THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. IT HAD ONLY REQUIRED THE "BEST EFFORTS" BY THE PARTIES TO BRING ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING OVER A TWO YEAR PERIOD. SINN FEIN WAS IN FACT DOING THIS. HOWEVER, TO PRESS FOR ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING NOW WOULD RISK "MASSIVE PERSONAL PROBLEMS" FOR THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING THE RISK OF VIOLENT ACTION AGAINST THEM.

8. (C) THE ONLY WAY AHEAD, MCGUINNESS ARGUED, WAS THE "DE CHASTELAIN ROUTE." GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN COULD ISSUE A STATEMENT AFFIRMING THAT THE PARTIES, INCLUDING SINN FEIN, WERE MAKING BEST EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE DECOMMISSIONING OF PARAMILITARY ARMS. THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS (AND PERHAPS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT) COULD ENDORSE THIS STATEMENT. MCGUINNESS SAID THAT SINN FEIN HAS BEEN TALKING WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ABOUT THIS KIND OF APPROACH. ASKED WHETHER HE BELIEVED THIS WOULD BE ENOUGH FOR TRIMBLE, MCGUINNESS RESPONDED THAT TRIMBLE WOULD HAVE TO TELL HIS SUPPORTERS THAT GIVEN THE POSITION TAKEN BY DE CHASTELAIN AND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, HIS HANDS WERE TIED AND HE HAD NO OTHER CHOICE BUT TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE.

9. (C) MCGUINNESS INSISTED THAT DESPITE THE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES, HE BELIEVED THAT A WAY WOULD BE FOUND TO MOVE AHEAD. "FAILURE," HE SAID, WAS NOT IN HIS VOCABULARY.

10. (C) IN RESPONDING TO MCGUINNESS' POINTS, THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED HOW CLOSELY NOT ONLY THE PRESIDENT BUT ALL AMERICANS FOLLOWED THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT HAD RAISED EXPECTATIONS THAT ALL PARTIES WERE COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS. A RETURN TO VIOLENCE WOULD BE A CATASTROPHE AND WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD. THE U.S. EXPECTED THAT SINN FEIN AND ALL THE PARTIES TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WOULD DO WHATEVER THEY COULD TO PREVENT SUCH THING FROM HAPPENING.

11. (C) THE AMBASSADOR ALSO REITERATED THE U.S. WILLING TO HELP THE EFFORTS OF THE PARTIES AND THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS TO IMPLEMENT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, HE NOTED, SUCCESS OR FAILURE WAS ULTIMATELY UP TO THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. THE NEXT SIX WEEKS, HE STRESSED, WOULD BE CRITICAL AND THE PARTIES SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY THAT WAS WITHIN THEIR GRASP.

12. (C) COMMENT. MCGUINNESS' RARE VISIT TO THE EMBASSY IN LONDON IS PART OF A CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED SINN FEIN EFFORT TO PUT OUT ITS VIEWS AS THE PEACE PROCESS ENTERS A CRITICAL PHASE (REFTEL). PRIOR TO HIS COMING TO THE EMBASSY, MCGUINNESS MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR'S CHIEF OF STAFF AND WITH AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS IN LONDON AND IN HIS MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR, MCGUINNESS STRESSED MANY OF THE SAME THEMES HE ELABORATED ON IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE "GUARDIAN" ON FEBRUARY 5, PARTICULARLY SINN FEIN'S INABILITY TO PRODUCE A SYMBOLIC DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE BY THE IRA. ABSENT SOME REAL DECOMMISSIONING, MCGUINNESS' SUGGESTION OF THE "DE CHASTELAIN ROUTE" AS THE WAY FORWARD IS, IN OUR VIEW, UNLIKELY TO BE ENOUGH -- IN ITSELF -- TO PROVIDE TRIMBLE THE POLITICAL COVER HE NEEDS. WHILE TAKING MCGUINNESS' ASSERTIONS OF CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AT FACE VALUE, IT IS

ALSO CLEAR THAT SINN FEIN IS ALREADY POSITIONING ITSELF TO  
AVOID THE BLAME IF THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING CANNOT BE  
OVERCOME. END COMMENT.

LADER

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

**SSN:** 1252  
<^SSN>1252

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SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT(C2) STEINBERG  
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PRT: DAVIES

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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0856  
 RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 1721  
 RUEHVJ/AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO 0617  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: STARTING THE COUNTDOWN TO D'HONDT  
 TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 001707

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.70)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

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. (S) 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.

STANDING ORDER READY TO TRIGGER D'HONDT  
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3. (S) 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. (e) 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. (e) 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

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6. (e) 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. (e) 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.

8. (e) ALTHOUGH POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR EITHER SIDE TO BACK DOWN, STEPHENS SAID ALL CONCERNED ARE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 001707

BONN PLS PASS TO NSC DIRECTOR BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/24/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: STARTING THE COUNTDOWN TO D'HONDT

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  
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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  
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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.

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

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 001707

BONN PLS PASS TO NSC DIRECTO BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY

E.O. 12958 DECL: 02/24/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: STARTING THE CUNTDOWN TO D'HONDT

DECOMMISSIONING. STEPHES ALSO SUGGESTED REPUBLICANS MAY BELIEVE THAT "COLLAPSE" SIMPLY MEANS THE ASSEMBLY (OF WHICH THEY ARE NOT STRONG SUPPORTERS) WOULD FALL, BU THAT OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT COULD CONTINUE. THEY MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND, HE SAD, THAT IF THE AGREEMENT FOLDS, "ALL BETS AR OFF": NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, THE PATTEN COMMISSION, PRISONER RELEASES, "ALL OF IT" WOULD HAVE TO BE REVISITED.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 1707

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SIT: NSC

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 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: MOWLAM ISSUES D'HONDT STANDING  
 ORDER DRAFT

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.71)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 001882

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/02/10

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MOWLAM ISSUES D'HONDT STANDING  
 ORDER DRAFT

REF: LONDON 1707

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

2. (U) NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM MARCH 2 ISSUED  
 FOUR DRAFT STANDING ORDERS, INCLUDING ONE PROVIDING FOR THE  
 APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS ACCORDING TO THE D'HONDT PROCEDURE.  
 THAT STANDING ORDER DIRECTS THE ASSEMBLY'S PRESIDING OFFICER  
 TO IMPLEMENT THE D'HONDT PROCEDURE FOR ALLOCATING SEATS ON THE  
 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT "THE NEXT MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY AFTER  
 9 MARCH" AND PROVIDES THAT THIS WILL "TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER ALL  
 OTHER BUSINESS OF THE ASSEMBLY." THE OTHER ORDERS ESTABLISH  
 ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES, PROVIDE FOR EXCLUSION/REMOVAL OF  
 MINISTERS OR POLITICAL PARTIES, AND ALLOW FOR APPOINTMENT OF  
 JUNIOR MINISTERS. THE ORDERS HAVE BEEN SENT TO PARTY LEADERS  
 WHO HAVE UNTIL MARCH 5 TO COMMENT ON THEM. (TEXTS FAXED TO  
 EUR/UBI AND NSC.) MOWLAM IS EXPECTED TO FORMALLY ISSUE THE  
 STANDING ORDERS EARLY NEXT WEEK.

3. (U) IN HER PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THE DRAFT STANDING ORDERS,  
 MOWLAM INSISTED MARCH 10 REMAINS THE GOVERNMENT'S TARGET FOR  
 COMPLETING THE NECESSARY PREPARATIONS FOR DEVOLUTION. MOWLAM,  
 WHO HAS SOLE AUTHORITY TO CONVOKE THE ASSEMBLY WHILE IT IS IN  
 ITS SHADOW PHASE, SAID SHE IS "READY TO CALL AN ASSEMBLY  
 MEETING ON MARCH 10" TO FOLLOW THOSE ALREADY SCHEDULED MARCH 8-  
 9. HOWEVER, SHE CONTINUED, "THE D'HONDT PROCEDURE IS SIMPLY A  
 MECHANISM. WHAT REMAINS CRUCIAL IS THAT POWER CAN ONLY BE  
 TRANSFERRED AND EXERCISED ON A BASIS WHICH COMMANDS CROSS-

COMMUNITY SUPPORT."

4. (C) IN A CONVERSATION JUST BEFORE THE ORDERS WERE MADE PUBLIC, NIO ASSOCIATE POLITICAL DIRECTOR JONATHAN STEPHENS REITERATED THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY'S "AMBITION" TO MEET THE MARCH 10 DEADLINE. NONETHELESS, HE ACKNOWLEDGED, THE WORDING OF THIS DRAFT WILL HAVE "NOT A MUCH DIFFERENT EFFECT" FROM THE PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED VERSION (REFTEL) WHICH ESSENTIALLY MADE MARCH 28 THE DATE FOR RUNNING THE D'HONDT PROCEDURE.

5. (C) STEPHENS SAID MOWLAM DID NOT WANT ANY DATE OTHER THAN MARCH 10 INTRODUCED INTO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN AT THIS TIME. SHE WANTS IT CLEAR THAT A DECISION TO SLIP THE DATE WOULD NOT BE HERS ALONE. AS NEGOTIATIONS ON THE NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES REMAIN BOGGED DOWN, IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE THE MARCH 10 TARGET IN ANY CASE. MOWLAM WANTS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO TAKE ITS SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THAT AND DOES NOT WANT HMG TO SHOULDER THE WHOLE BURDEN. STEPHENS NOTED THAT TRIMBLE MAY TRAVEL TO DUBLIN MARCH 4 TO DISCUSS THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES DIRECTLY WITH THE TAOISEACH, A MEETING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS ENCOURAGED.

6. (C) COMMENT: HAVING CONSULTED WITH PARTIES BY NEXT EARLY WEEK, MOWLAM THEN WILL BE IN A POSITION TO ANNOUNCE A DECISION ON THE TIMING OF THE ASSEMBLY SESSION TO ESTABLISH THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY SHE WILL CONVOKE THE ASSEMBLY ON MARCH 10; O/A MARCH 28 REMAINS THE MOST LIKELY DATE FOR RUNNING THE D'HONDT PROCEDURE TO CREATE THE SHADOW EXECUTIVE. DEVOLUTION WOULD BE ONE STEP BEYOND THAT: ONLY AFTER MOWLAM DETERMINES SUFFICIENT PROCESS HAS BEEN MADE IN IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WILL THE GOVERNMENT MAKE AN ORDER IN COUNCIL FORMALLY SETTING THE DATE FOR TRANSFER OF POWER. THAT PROBABLY WOULD OCCUR IN APRIL, BUT NO FIRM TARGET HAS BEEN DETERMINED.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 1882

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DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER

SIT: NSC

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 SUBJ: TRIPLE CROWN OUTREACH -- IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1.72)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 07 DUBLIN 001380

DEPT. FOR TRIPLE CROWN TASK FORCE OFFICE  
 FOR EUR/USIA, STATE FOR EUR/UBI

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/10/99  
 TAGS: PREL, MARR, ETRD, NATO, EU, OSCE, SCUL, EI  
 SUBJECT: TRIPLE CROWN OUTREACH -- IRELAND

REF: (98) STATE 207514

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASON 1.5 (B)  
 AND (D) .

## SUMMARY

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1. (C) THE CHALLENGE FOR TRIPLE CROWN OUTREACH IN IRELAND IS TO CONVINCING THE GOI THAT THE TRIPLE CROWN IS, FIRST, SOMETHING THEY SHOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT, AND, SECOND, THAT IRISH SUPPORT, VIEWS AND ACTIVISM ARE VALUED IN WASHINGTON. FOR SMALL, NEUTRAL IRELAND THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE HAS BEEN THE BILATERAL ONE, NOT THE EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP. IN FACT, THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS SO CLOSE, ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND PERSONAL LEVELS, THAT THE IRISH APPEAR NOT TO APPRECIATE THAT THEIR POSITIONS ON SOME MULTILATERAL SECURITY ISSUES (E.G. NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT) OR PASSIVITY ON KEY TRADE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO US (E.G., BANANAS) COULD COMPLICATE U.S.-IRISH RELATIONS. ON THE SECURITY SIDE OF THE TRIPLE CROWN, THE PROBLEM IS COMPOUNDED BY AN OUTDATED BUT DEEPLY FELT ATTACHMENT TO NEUTRALITY THAT LEADS THE GOI TO TREAT MOST EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY CONCERNS AS NONE OF ITS BUSINESS COUPLED WITH A SELF-FULFILLING ANALYSIS THAT THE U.S./NATO WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN IRISH VIEWS IN ANY

EVENT. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, WHILE IRELAND OFTEN AGREES WITH U.S. POSITIONS ON GLOBAL TRADE ISSUES, ITS LONG HISTORY AS A BENEFICIARY OF EU LARGESSE, HAS INSTILLED AN EXCESSIVE DEFERENCE TO BRUSSELS DECISION-MAKING EVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF IRELAND'S OWN PERCEIVED ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

2. (S) THERE ARE, HOWEVER, OPPORTUNITIES EMERGING TO DRAW IRELAND INTO THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE IN MORE CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS. ON THE SECURITY SIDE, THE GOI'S INTENTION TO JOIN THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (PFP) BY THE EMD OF 1999 REVEALS NOT ONLY A DESIRE TO KEEP ITS COMMITMENT TO PEACEKEEPING RELEVANT, BUT A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING AMONG POLICY MAKERS THAT IRELAND CAN NO LONGER STAND TOTALLY ALOOF FROM EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY CONCERNS. WHILE UNDERSTANDING THAT NEAR-TERM IRISH ACTIVISM ON TRIPLE CROWN SECURITY ISSUES IS NOT IN THE CARDS, WE ARE ENCOURAGING THE GOI TO BECOME PART OF THE DIALOGUE VIA THE STEPS WE OUTLINE IN THE MESSAGE. WE WILL ALSO NEED ASSISTANCE FROM WASHINGTON IN AN EFFORT, TO PUT DUBLIN "ON THE CIRCUIT" FOR SENIOR-LEVEL U.S. OFFICIALS AND CONVINCING THE IRISH THAT WE ARE INTERESTED IN THEIR VIEWS. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, THE GOI MIRRORS U.S. VIEWS ON MOST TRADE ISSUES AND SEEKS AN EU OPEN TO U.S. TRADE AND INVESTMENT. THE CHALLENGE FOR US IS TO HELP THE IRISH FIND THEIR VOICE. THIS WILL TAKE A COMBINATION OF "EGO-STROKING AND BLUNT TALK," TO CONVINCING THE GOI THAT IT IS NO LONGER THE BEGGAR AT THE EU TABLE BUT A MODERN TRADING NATION WITH ECONOMIC WEIGHT. THIS WILL NOT BE EASY, AS THE "BEGGAR" IMAGE HAS HELPED IRELAND MAXIMIZE EU SUBSIDIES. TO SUCCEED WE WILL NEED TO PROVIDE DUBLIN WITH WHAT THE IRISH PERCEIVE TO BE THE RESPECT AND ATTENTION WE NOW ACCORD TO OTHER EU STATES. A COMBINATION OF EMBASSY ACTIVISM, BUSINESS OUTREACH, AND INCREASED VISITS AND CONSULTATIONS FROM SENIOR U.S. TRADE OFFICIALS, CAN RESULT IN MORE AGGRESSIVE AND EFFECTIVE IRISH SUPPORT FOR U.S. TRIPLE CROWN ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES. END SUMMARY.

IRISH PERCEPTIONS: "DOES THIS REALLY CONCERN US?"  
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3. (S) GIVEN IRELAND'S COMPLEX AND EVER-PRESENT HISTORY WITH THE BRITISH "CROWN," AN INITIATIVE USING "CROWN" STARTS OUT WITH AT LEAST A PSYCHOLOGICAL HANDICAP HERE. BEYOND THAT, THOSE FEW IRISH AWARE OF THE TRIPLE CROWN INITIATIVE, AND ONLY AWARE DUE TO EMBASSY EFFORTS, ARE BEMUSED ABOUT IT AT BEST. YES, THEY STRONGLY SUPPORT OUR SHARED PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPING PROSPERITY AND PROMOTING DEMOCRACY. THEY MIGHT EVEN SIGN UP TO STRENGTHENING SECURITY IN THE BROADEST SENSE, BUT CONVINCING THE GOI THAT THE U.S. INITIATIVE HAS ANYTHING IN IT OF PARTICULAR INTEREST OR CONCERN TO IRELAND OR THAT IRISH OPINIONS AND SUPPORT REALLY MATTER TO WASHINGTON REMAINS A WORK IN PROGRESS.

4. (S) A MAJOR HURDLE WE FACE IN PROMOTING THE TRIPLE CROWN HERE IS COMPLACENCY ABOUT THE IRISH NEED TO WORRY ABOUT U.S.-EUROPEAN POLICIES, AS WELL AS THE DURABILITY  
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OF IRISH-U.S. RELATIONS NO MATTER WHAT POLICIES OR ACTIONS DUBLIN MAY PURSUE IN BRUSSELS. IRELAND IS IN THE MIDST OF ITS MOST SUCCESSFUL PERIOD OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC. THE SIGNING OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND HOLDS THE PROMISE OF RESOLVING THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN IRISH POLITICS SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE. NEUTRALITY POLICY AND A FAVORABLE GEOSTRATEGIC POSITION HAVE ALLOWED IRELAND TO REST BEHIND THE NATO SHIELD WITHOUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES OR COSTS OF MEMBERSHIP. FOR THE GOI, THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP IS PRIMARILY A BILATERAL ONE, NOT THE BROADER RELATIONSHIP OF TRANSATLANTIC INSTITUTIONS. THAT BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, BUILT ON A COMPLEX WEB OF HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND PERSON-TO-PERSON TIES BETWEEN IRELAND AND THE U.S., IS STRONG AND OF MUTUAL BENEFIT TO BOTH COUNTRIES. U.S. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS IS RECOGNIZED AND APPRECIATED IN DUBLIN AS INDISPENSABLE TO SUCCESS. SIGNIFICANT U.S. INVESTMENT IN IRELAND AS THE GATEWAY TO EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IN HIGH TECH SECTORS, IS VIEWED AS A KEY DRIVER OF THE "CELTIC TIGER" ECONOMY. AND THE IRISH HAVE GEARED THEIR TAX SYSTEM AND LABOR LAWS TO KEEP IRELAND HIGHLY ATTRACTIVE TO U.S. MULTINATIONALS.

5. (C) IN SPITE OF OR PERHAPS BECAUSE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CLOSENESS AND WARMTH OF AMERICAN-IRISH RELATIONS, HOWEVER, IRISH RESPONSE IS MOST OFTEN PASSIVE WHEN ASKED TO SUPPORT THE U.S. ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, INCLUDING SOME EMBODIED IN THE TRIPLE CROWN. "NEUTRAL" IRELAND TENDS TO TAKE U.S. SUPPORT AND GOOD FAVOR FOR GRANTED TO A FAR GREATER EXTENT THAN MANY OF OUR ALLIES. GOI OFFICIALS DEMONSTRATE LITTLE CONCERN THAT THE SOMETIMES TROUBLING POSITIONS IRELAND TAKES ON MULTILATERAL SECURITY ISSUES (E.G., IRELAND'S LEADING ROLE IN THE EIGHT-NATION NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT INITIATIVE) OR ECONOMIC ISSUES (E.G. SUPPORT FOR THE EU'S BANANAS POLICY) COULD HAVE ANY AFFECT ON THE U.S.-IRELAND BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. WITHIN EUROPE, THE INCLINATION OF THE IRISH FOREIGN POLICY COMMUNITY IS TO YIELD TO BRUSSELS ON EU OR OSCE ISSUES WHILE REGARDING ANYTHING TO DO WITH TRANSATLANTIC "SECURITY" AS OF LITTLE CONCERN TO IRELAND, IF NOT VAGUELY DISTASTEFUL. IT IS ESPECIALLY ON THE TRIPLE CROWN'S PRINCIPLE OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY THAT IRISH FOREIGN POLICY MAKERS AND OPINION LEADERS WILL HAVE TO BE CONVINCED THAT THEY SHOULD PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN SUSTAINING THE TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

THE SLOW DAWN OF IRISH SECURITY THINKING  
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6. (S) WHEN GOI OFFICIALS HAVE CONSIDERED THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP, THEY HAVE ALL TOO OFTEN THOUGHT FIRST ABOUT NATO, SECOND ABOUT IRISH NEUTRALITY, AND THIRD STOPPED THINKING. BORN OUT OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, IRISH NEUTRALITY POLICY WAS LARGELY PREDICATED ON THE BELIEF THAT IRELAND COULD NOT OFFICIALLY MOVE TO DEFEND A COUNTRY (THE UK) THAT WAS OCCUPYING A PART OF ITS "NATIONAL TERRITORY" (NORTHERN IRELAND). DURING THE COLD WAR, IRISH NEUTRALISM EVOLVED, HOWEVER, INTO A MORE TYPICAL EUROPEAN NEUTRAL POLICY

SIMILAR TO SWEDEN'S. IRELAND (WHILE WESTERN-ORIENTED) TRIED TO OCCUPY A MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN EAST AND WEST ON DEFENSE AND SECURITY ISSUES AND FOCUSED ITS INTERNATIONAL POLICY ON COOPERATION THROUGH THE UN (INCLUDING SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO UN PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS FROM 1958 ONWARD). THE GOI AND IRISH PUBLIC ALSO CAME TO BELIEVE THAT NEUTRALITY GAVE IRELAND A STRONG MORAL POSITION, REMOVED FROM THE SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION, THAT INCREASED DUBLIN'S INFLUENCE WITH NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WORLDWIDE. IRISH NEUTRALITY HAS DIFFERED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM SWEDEN'S OR FINLAND'S, HOWEVER, IN ONE SIGNIFICANT ASPECT -- DEFENSE. AS OPPOSED TO SWEDEN'S ARMED NEUTRALITY, IRELAND'S HAS BEEN A "DISARMED NEUTRALITY" WHERE IRELAND'S SMALL DEFENSE FORCE WAS NEVER IN A POSITION TO DEFEND ITS OWN TERRITORY. IRELAND RELIED ENTIRELY ON THE GEOSTRATEGIC LOGIC OF COLD WAR POLITICS AND MILITARY STRATEGY WHICH DICTATED THAT NEITHER THE U.S., UK NOR NATO COULD ALLOW IRELAND TO BE TAKEN IN AN EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION. FROM A DEFENSE PERSPECTIVE, IRELAND HAD THE LUXURY OF A VIRTUALLY "NO-COST NEUTRALITY."

7. (c) TODAY, IRELAND IS HAVING A DIFFICULT TIME WRESTLING WITH THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY REALITIES OF POST COLD-WAR EUROPE. WHILE THE GOI DOES PARTICIPATE IN EU COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (CFSP), THERE IS  
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LITTLE INDICATION THAT IRELAND PLAYS AN ACTIVE ROLE IN CFSP FORMULATION. IRELAND CLINGS TO A "NEUTRALITY" POLICY THAT HAS LITTLE MEANING IN A MULTI-POLAR WORLD, BUT ONE WHICH IS ROOTED IN THE IRISH PUBLIC. IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF 1997, FOR EXAMPLE, NOW PRIME MINISTER AHERN'S FIANNA FAIL PARTY SCORED POINTS ON THE THEN EXISTING GOVERNMENT BY ATTACKING PFP MEMBERSHIP AS "INCONSISTENT WITH IRISH NEUTRALITY." IN ORDER TO GAIN IRISH VOTERS' SUPPORT, IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE ALSO HAD TO BE CAREFUL TO HIGHLIGHT THE VARIOUS OPT-OUTS FROM ANY EU SECURITY AND DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE MAASTRICHT AND AMSTERDAM TREATIES. CURRENTLY THE GOVERNMENT IS UNEASY ABOUT THE TREND OF ANGLO-FRENCH DISCUSSION OF AN EU DEFENSE CAPABILITY EMANATING FROM THE RECENT ST. MALO MEETING.

8. (c) NEVERTHELESS, GOI OFFICIALS AND MORE INTERNATIONALLY FOCUSED POLITICAL LEADERS (LIKE THEIR SWEDISH, FINNISH AND EVEN SWISS COUNTERPARTS) REALIZE THAT THERE IS A NEW DYNAMIC IN EUROPE AND WANT TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE ON EURO-ATLANTIC DEFENSE AND SECURITY MATTERS THROUGH THE EU, OSCE AND PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE. IN PARTICULAR, IRISH OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN EMBARRASSED BY THEIR SWEDISH, FINNISH AND AUSTRIAN NEUTRAL COLLEAGUES WHO HAVE PUBLICLY CHALLENGED THE IRISH POSITION THAT PFP MEMBERSHIP IS INCONSISTENT WITH NEUTRALITY AND "THE BACK DOOR TO NATO." THE IRISH MILITARY, JUSTIFIABLY PROUD OF ITS PEACEKEEPING TRADITION, IS ALSO EAGER TO ENTER INTO THE COOPERATION RELATIONSHIPS AND INCREASED PROSPECTS FOR

INTEROPERABILITY THAT PFP PROMISES.

9. (C) LIGHT IS DAWNING SLOWLY. FOLLOWING SEVERAL MONTHS OF BUILDING PRESSURE ON PFP MEMBERSHIP BY THE IRISH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DFA), THE JUNIOR PARTY IN THE GOVERNING COALITION (THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATS) AND THE TWO LARGEST OPPOSITION PARTIES (FINE GAEL AND LABOUR), PRIME MINISTER AHERN ANNOUNCED IN PARLIAMENT ON JANUARY 28 THAT "ALL GOING WELL . . . IRELAND WILL JOIN THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THIS YEAR..." IN TAKING THIS STEP, AHERN MOVED HIS PARTY (FIANNA FAIL, IRELAND'S LARGEST) AWAY FROM THE POSITION THAT PFP WOULD IMPACT IRISH NEUTRALITY AND, HENCE WOULD REQUIRE A REFERENDUM BEFORE JOINING. INSTEAD HE NOTED THAT "THOSE OF US WHO ARE ATTACHED TO THE MAINTENANCE OF A MEANINGFUL IRISH NEUTRALITY MUST BE PREPARED TO ADAPT IT TO NEW SITUATIONS." NO REFERENDUM WILL NOW BE REQUIRED. WE ANTICIPATE IRELAND WILL MOVE TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH NATO FOLLOWING EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY AND LOCAL ELECTIONS IN JUNE.

10. (S) PM AHERN'S STATEMENT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE ISSUE WILL NOT CONTINUE TO BE DEBATED, AS A SMALL BUT VOCAL MINORITY WILL CONTINUE TO ARGUE AGAINST IRISH PFP MEMBERSHIP. PUBLIC OPINION WILL WORRY ABOUT THE EXPENDITURES FOR MILITARY READINESS PFP MIGHT ENTAIL AT THE EXPENSE OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS. THE GOI WILL ALSO HAVE TO TAKE CARE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT PFP IS NOT THE "BACK DOOR TO NATO" AND CAN INSTEAD PROVIDE A REAL ENHANCEMENT TO IRELAND'S LONG TRADITION OF UN PEACEKEEPING.

TRIPLE CROWN OPPORTUNITIES  
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11. (S) IN LIGHT OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, THE TRIPLE CROWN INITIATIVE PROVIDES US WITH A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO DRAW THE GOI INTO THE TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY DIALOGUE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. OUR APPROACH IS TO RESPECT IRISH NEUTRALITY, BUT TO ENCOURAGE INCREASED ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY THE GOI IN ALL ASPECT OF THE TRANS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE. CURRENTLY, IRISH OFFICIALS ARE NOT USED TO BEING ASKED FOR THEIR VIEWS ON TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY ISSUES AND, EVEN IF ASKED, FEEL CONSTRAINED TO ANSWER IN LIGHT OF IRISH NEUTRALITY. THE PROSPECT OF PFP MEMBERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE OF THE EURO-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP COUNCIL (EAPC) WILL GIVE IRELAND, FOR THE FIRST TIME, A PLATFORM FOR AN IRISH VOICE ON TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY ISSUES. WHILE WE SHOULD NOT ANTICIPATE IRISH ACTIVISM IN THE NEAR TERM ON THE SECURITY DIMENSION OF THE TRIPLE CROWN, WE CAN USE THE INITIATIVE TO ASSIST THE EDUCATION PROCESS FOR A GENERATION OF IRISH POLITICAL AND POLICY LEADERS THAT IS SLOWLY ADJUSTING IRISH POLICY TO TODAY'S EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY ENVIRONMENT.

ECONOMICS: HELPING IRELAND FIND ITS VOICE

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12. (C) THE CHALLENGE IN DEALING WITH IRISH POLICY MAKERS ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE TRIPLE CROWN INITIATIVE IS NOT HOW TO BRING IRISH TRADE/ECONOMIC POLICIES CLOSER TO U.S. VIEWS, BUT HOW TO CONVINCED DUBLIN TO START VOICING ITS VIEWS MORE LOUDLY IN EU FORA. IRISH AND U.S. VIEWS DIFFER LITTLE ON THE BENEFITS TO BE GAINED FROM EXPANDING THE U.S.-EUROPEAN TRADE RELATIONSHIP, THE NEED FOR THE U.S. AND EU TO JOIN IN EFFORTS TO BOLSTER THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING REGIME, OR ON WORKING TOGETHER TO PREVENT EROSION OF FREE-TRADE POLICIES IN THE FACE OF GLOBAL FINANCIAL INSECURITIES. THE U.S. "TRIPLE CROWN INITIATIVE" MAY NOT YET RING BELLS OF RECOGNITION WITH IRISH ECONOMIC POLICY MAKERS, BUT THE IRISH ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH U.S. ECONOMIC GOALS. IRISH POLICY MAKERS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE ECONOMIC DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS MOST FAMILIAR WITH THE INITIATIVE, WELCOME THE U.S. TRIPLE CROWN EFFORT AS A WAY TO PREVENT EU ENLARGEMENT FROM SO DOMINATING EU ATTENTION THAT THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. IS LEFT TO DRIFT.

13. (C) DUBLIN'S VIEWS ON U.S.-EU TRADE LINKS ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF WASHINGTON'S IN PART BECAUSE THE DYNAMICS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES' ECONOMIES ARE VERY SIMILAR. IRELAND'S ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IS AS ANCHORED TO THE HEALTH OF THE GLOBAL FREE TRADE SYSTEM AS ANY IN THE WORLD. SUCCESSIVE IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE CEASELESSLY WORKED TO ATTRACT FOREIGN INVESTMENT, PARTICULARLY U.S. INVESTMENT, TO IRELAND. IRELAND'S VIEWS ON TRADE MATTERS ALSO MIRROR U.S. VIEWS BECAUSE, SPECIFIC ISSUES LIKE GMO'S ASIDE, IRELAND DOES NOT HAVE THE CULTURAL BAGGAGE OR ENVIRONMENTAL/GREEN PRESSURES THAT MAKE SOME TRADE ISSUES "HOT-BUTTON POLITICAL PROBLEMS" FOR OTHER EU NATIONS. THERE IS WIDESPREAD POLITICAL SUPPORT ACROSS THE IRISH POLITICAL LANDSCAPE FOR GREATER OPEN TRADE WITH THE U.S., FEWER BARRIERS TO INVESTMENT AND NO BACKLASH AGAINST "THE NEW GLOBAL ECONOMY" PRECISELY BECAUSE, THUS FAR, THE GLOBAL ECONOMY HAS BEEN VERY GOOD TO IRELAND.

14. (C) SO, IF THE IRISH SHARE OUR INTERESTS IN DEEPENING U.S.-EU TRADE TIES, CAN WE COUNT ON DUBLIN TO JOIN WITH US IN PROMOTING THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE TRIPLE CROWN? THE SHORT ANSWER -- DON'T HOLD YOUR BREATH THE CHALLENGE IS HOW TO OVERCOME IRELAND'S LONG-STANDING RELUCTANCE TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES WITHIN THE EU, EVEN, IRONICALLY, WHEN IRELAND'S OWN IMMEDIATE INTERESTS ARGUE FOR AN ASSERTIVE IRISH ROLE. IRISH POLICYMAKERS RITUALISTICALLY DEFER TO "THE EU CONSENSUS" WHEN PRESSED FOR SUPPORT ON ISSUES RELATING TO U.S.-EU TRADE OR ECONOMIC POLICIES. EVEN ON ISSUES WHERE IRISH INTERESTS WOULD CUT AGAINST KNEE-JERK SUPPORT FOR EU ACTION - SAY THE EU HUSHKIT REGULATION OR THE FUTURE OF THE MAI - DUBLIN WILL NOT CURRENTLY VEER FROM THE BRUSSELS LINE OR EVEN AGREE TO TRY AND SHAPE THE EU LINE IN WAYS FAVORABLE TO SHARED IRISH AND U.S. VIEWS. THIS IRISH REFLEX RESULTS FROM TWO LINGERING MISPERCEPTIONS AMONG IRISH POLICYMAKERS. FIRST, THE IRISH CONTINUE TO SEE THEMSELVES, DESPITE THEIR RECENT ECONOMIC SUCCESS, AS THE POOR RELATIONS OF THE EU. DUBLIN IS UNCOMFORTABLE TAKING A LEAD ROLE ON ECONOMIC POLICY ISSUES BECAUSE THE

IRISH STILL CARRY WITH THEM AN "INFERIORITY COMPLEX" AS THEY SIT AT THE EU TABLE. AN EQUALLY STRONG BELIEF AMONG IRISH POLICYMAKERS IS A FEAR THAT, IF DUBLIN DOES VOICE STRONG VIEWS ON WIDER ECONOMIC ISSUES THAT DIFFER FROM THEIR LARGER EU PARTNERS (GERMANY, FRANCE, THE UK), THOSE LARGER PARTNERS WILL REACT BY REDUCING THE STILL SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF EU LARGESSE IRELAND RECEIVES IN THE FORM OF VARIOUS EU GRANTS, SUBSIDIES AND CAP PAYMENTS. IF DUBLIN STILL SEES ITSELF AS THE BEGGAR AT THE EU TABLE, IT IS IN LARGE PART BECAUSE THAT SELF-IMAGE JUSTIFIES HAND-OUTS FROM THE EU. DUBLIN WON'T RISK THOSE HAND-OUTS TO PUSH ISSUES OF WIDER U.S.-EU ECONOMIC POLICY -- UNLESS WE GIVE THEM A REASON EITHER VIA CARROTS OR STICKS.

15. (S) IRELAND COULD BE A VOICE FOR MANY OF THE GOALS THAT WE HAVE IN THE TRIPLE CROWN INITIATIVE, IF WE CAN GET DUBLIN TO SPEAK MORE LOUDLY. TO DO THAT WILL TAKE A MIXTURE OF SOME "EGO-STROKING AND BLUNT TALK" TO IRISH OFFICIALS TO HELP THEM SEE WHAT THE REST OF THE WORLD NOW SEES -- IRELAND IS NO LONGER THE BEGGAR AT THE EU TABLE, BUT A MODERN, TRADING NATION WITH ECONOMIC WEIGHT WITHIN THE EU CONTEXT. AND THE U.S. EXPECTS SUCH A MODERN, TRADING PARTNER TO SPEAK UP LOUDLY FOR WHAT IS IN  
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IMMEDIATE IRISH INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF ITS SECOND-LARGEST TRADING PARTNER. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TELL THE IRISH THAT THEIR ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN THE EU CLOSELY TRACK OUR OWN AND, GTVEN THIS, WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK "EXTRA CLOSELY" WITH DUBLIN IN THE EU CONTEXT. TO OBTAIN DUBLIN'S VOCAL SUPPORT FOR THE TRIPLE CROWN, WE NEED TO BE WILLING TO GIVE DUBLIN WHAT THE IRISH PERCEIVE IS THE RESPECT AND ATTENTION, IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, THAT WE NOW ACCORD OTHER EU STATES. INCREASED CONSULTATION AND VISITS FROM SENIOR U.S. TRADE OFFICIALS, A GENERAL WILLINGNESS TO CONSULT IRISH LEADERS ON INITIATIVES ESPECIALLY IN AREAS OF CONCERN TO IRELAND LIKE E-COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE, WOULD BE THE KIND OF CARROT THAT MIGHT MOVE DUBLIN TO AGGRESSIVELY WORK WITH US ON THE ECONOMIC ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE TRIPLE CROWN. RECOMMENDED TRIPLE CROWNS STEPS FOR IRELAND  
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16. (S) IN DRAWING THE IRISH MORE FULLY INTO ALL ASPECTS OF THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE, WE CAN ANTICIPATE A RELATIVELY EAGER AUDIENCE ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE EQUATION, GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF U.S. OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVE IN DISCUSSING IDEAS FOR STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONSHIP. WE WANT TO EMPHASIZE ACTIVE IRISH PARTICIPATION IN SHAPING THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF U.S.-EU RELATIONS, AND THE BROADER GOALS OF THE OVERALL EURO-ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP. WE ALSO WILL STRESS THAT CURRENT DIFFERENCES OVER DISCRETE TRADE ISSUES WILL NOT OUTWEIGH THE LONG-TERM BENEFITS OF U.S.-EU PARTNERSHIP. ON THE SECURITY SIDE, OUR PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TASK WILL

BE MORE ONE OF EDUCATION. WE SHOULD NOT ANTICIPATE IRISH ACTIVISM AT ANY TIME IN THE NEAR TO MEDIUM TERM, BUT WE HAVE A MORE RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE THAN IN THE PAST, WILLING TO LISTEN TO CONCRETE U.S. IDEAS AND OFFER REACTIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A SLOWLY EVOLVING IRISH DEFENSE AND SECURITY POLICY. WE HAVE TAILORED OUR PROPOSED STRATEGY ACCORDINGLY:

-- STRENGTHENED DIALOGUE: EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO INTENSIFY DISCUSSIONS OF THE TRIPLE CROWN WITH KEY GOI OFFICIALS AND IRISH OPINIONS MAKERS. THIS WILL INCLUDE PRIVATE ENCOURAGEMENT FOR IRELAND'S INTENTION TO SEEK PFP MEMBERSHIP WHILE MAINTAINING A LOW PUBLIC PROFILE.

-- SENIOR-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS: EMBASSY STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT THE DEPARTMENT PROVIDE A SENIOR OFFICIAL, AT THE DAS LEVEL OR ABOVE, TO COME TO DUBLIN FOR TRIPLE CROWN CONSULTATIONS WITH HIGH-LEVEL GOI OFFICIALS AT THE DFA, DEFENSE MINISTRY AND IN THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE. WE ARE AWARE THE DUBLIN IS NOT ON THE USUAL ITINERARY FOR U.S. OFFICIALS DEALING WITH DEFENSE AND SECURITY ISSUES. THE IRISH ARE ALSO AWARE OF THIS. SUCH A VISIT WOULD GET THE GOI'S ATTENTION AND CONVINCED IRISH OFFICIALS THAT WE GENUINELY WANT TO ENGAGE THEM ON TRIPLE CROWN ISSUES.

-- WE WOULD ALSO PROPOSE TO USE SUCH A SENIOR-LEVEL VISITOR TO DRAW KEY NON-GOVERNMENTAL IRISH OPINION MAKERS TO A LUNCHEON OR SEMINAR AT THE IRISH INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ON A MAJOR IRISH UNIVERSITY. IN PARTICULAR, WE BELIEVE A BRIEF VISIT BY EITHER EUR PDAS WAYNE OR DAS ASMUS, AS THEIR SCHEDULES PERMIT COULD PAY BIG DIVIDENDS HERE. PLEASE ADVISE.

-- IV PROGRAM: WE WILL UTILIZE THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL PROJECTS TO EDUCATE KEY IRISH CIVILIAN LEADERS ON U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES, EMPHASIZING THE LONG-TERM AND BROAD-BASED NATURE OF THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPE. WE ALSO HOPE TO INCLUDE A LIMITED NUMBER OF MILITARY LEADERS WHO WOULD BENEFIT FROM EXPOSURE TO OUR BROADER TRANSATLANTIC AGENDA TO SUPPORT THEIR PUBLIC DIALOGUE IN FAVOR OF GREATER IRISH PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN SECURITY QUESTIONS.

-- WASHINGTON SUMMIT FOCUS: AS IRELAND IS ONE OF ONLY A HANDFUL OF EUROPEAN STATES NOT ATTENDING THE SUMMIT, WE WILL NEED TO MAKE AN EXTRA EFFORT TO GET OUR MESSAGE OUT HERE. WE PROPOSE AN ON THE RECORD, TELEVISED MEDIA ROUNDTABLE FOR SPECIALLY INVITED SENIOR JOURNALISTS FROM EU COUNTRIES TO INCLUDE SENIOR IRISH CORRESPONDENTS FROM PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA. TO HIGHLIGHT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MESSAGE, THE HOST/BRIEFER SHOULD BE AT THE LEVEL OF THE PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENT OR SECRETARY OF STATE.

-- EDITORIAL PLACEMENT: AS A FOLLOW UP TO THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT, WE REQUEST AN EDITORIAL FROM THE SECRETARY OF  
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TAGS: PREL, MARR, ETRD, NATO, EU, OSCE, SCUL, EI  
SUBJECT: TRIPLE CROWN OUTREACH -- IRELAND

STATE OR NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR THAT SETS OUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SUMMIT'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND EMPHASIZES THE LONG-TERM BENEFITS OF ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY ALL EUROPEAN STATES, INCLUDING NEUTRAL COUNTRIES LIKE IRELAND, IN THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

-- SPEAKERS: WE SEEK A CIVILIAN AMERICAN EXPERT ON THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE FOR THE IRISH ORGANIZATION, THE PEACE AND NEUTRALITY ALLIANCE (PANA), ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR APRIL 23-24, 1999 CONFERENCE ON "IRISH NEUTRALITY AND EUROPEAN SECURITY" AT PRESTIGIOUS TRINITY COLLEGE. AMONG OTHER PARTICIPANTS WILL BE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS, AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM GERMANY, SWEDEN, AND RUSSIA. THE SPEAKER SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY FAMILIAR WITH THE PFP PROGRAM, ESPECIALLY THE SUCCESSFUL ROLE OTHER EUROPEAN NEUTRALS ARE PLAYING WITHIN THE PARTNERSHIP. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT PANA " IS COMMITTED TO DEFEND IRISH NEUTRALITY AND AN INDEPENDENT IRISH FOREIGN POLICY" AND ARGUES THAT "IRISH SECURITY CONCQ SHOULD BE PURSUED THROUGH THE UN AND OSCE." IT OPPOSES PFP MEMBERSHIP. NONETHELESS, WE BELIEVE IT IS INTERESTED IN PROVIDING A BALANCED PRESENTATION AT THIS CONFERENCE.

17. (C) ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE TRIPLE CROWN INITIATIVE, POST RECOMMENDS THE FOLLOWING MIX OF STICKS AND CARROTS TO MOVE IRELAND INTO A MORE PROACTIVE ROLE IN HELPING US SELL THE INITIATIVE TO DUBLIN'S EU PARTNERS:

-- SENIOR-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS: TO OBTAIN DUBLIN'S SUPPORT FOR THE TRIPLE CROWN'S ECONOMIC GOALS, WE NEED TO BE WILLING TO GIVE DUBLIN WHAT THE IRISH PERCEIVE IS THE RESPECT AND ATTENTION, IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, THAT WE NOW ACCORD OTHER EU STATES. POST STRONGLY SUPPORTS INCREASED CONSULTATION AND VISITS FROM SENIOR U.S. ECONOMIC OFFICIALS TO IRELAND, ESPECIALLY FROM KEY TRADE PLAYERS LIKE USTR, COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENTS (THE IRISH NOTICE EACH TIME USTR BARSHEFSKY COMES TO EUROPE WITHOUT A STOP IN DUBLIN). POST IS INSTITUTING A PROGRAM OF INFORMATION AND POLICY-SHARING EXCHANGES WITH THE IRISH IN AREAS OF KEY ECONOMIC/TRADE CONCERN -- LIKE ELECTRONIC COMMERCE. WASHINGTON'S SUPPORT FOR THESE EFFORTS, WHETHER IT IS U.S. EXPERTS TRAVELING TO DUBLIN TO MEET WITH IRISH POLICYMAKERS OR MEETINGS IN THE U.S. FOR IRISH EXPERTS, IS THE KIND OF "SPECIAL ATTENTION" THAT BENEFITS BOTH SIDES AND CAN LEAD DUBLIN TO CONCLUDE IT'S WORTH EXPENDING EU CAPITAL TO WORK WITH US ON THE TRIPLE CROWN.

-- USING ST. PATRICK'S DAY: BUT THE IRISH ALSO NEED TO HEAR FROM SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS THAT A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP COMES WITH RESPONSIBILITIES. SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS WILL HAVE ACCESS TO MOST OF THE IRISH POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WHEN THEY MAKE THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO WASHINGTON FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS. NATURALLY, THE PEACE PROCESS TAKES CENTER STAGE. BUT THIS YEAR U.S. OFFICIALS WHO MEET WITH IRISH OFFICIALS MIGHT USE THE MEETINGS AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND THESE OFFICIALS THAT THE U.S. BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP CANNOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. AS THE INITIATIVE'S GOAL OF DEEPENING U.S.-EU TRADE RELATIONS ARE IN IRISH INTERESTS WE LOOK TO IRELAND TO HELP US MOVE THE INITIATIVE FORWARD. THE EMBASSY, IN BOTH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS WITH IRISH AUDIENCES, WILL MAKE THE POINT ABOUT THE NEED FOR A MATURE, RECIPROCAL ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP MORE DIRECTLY IN

COMING MONTHS GIVEN THE EMPHASIS ON STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP AND CONCURRENTLY BOLSTERING THE PEACE PROCESS.

-- USING BUSINESS TIES: U.S.-IRISH BUSINESS TIES ARE PARTICULARLY STRONG AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT LISTENS ATTENTIVELY TO U.S.-IRISH TRADE AND BUSINESS GROUPS. EMBASSY CAN WORK WITH KEY ECONOMIC GROUPS HERE IN IRELAND, LIKE THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, TO EXPLAIN THE INITIATIVE. BUT EMPHASIS NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TO EXPLAINING THE INITIATIVE AND ITS GOALS TO THE MORE INFLUENTIAL BUSINESS GROUPS BASED IN THE UNITED STATES SUCH AS THE U.S.-IRELAND COUNCIL FOR BUSINESS AND COMMERCE, THE IRISH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN THE U.S.A., AND THE IRELAND-AMERICA FUND. THESE GROUPS, COMPOSED OF KEY U.S. AND IRISH BUSINESS PEOPLE, HAVE THE EAR OF IRISH POLITICAL LEADERS AND POLICY MAKERS. MOST REGULARLY MEET WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WHEN IN IRELAND. OUTREACH TO THESE ORGANIZATIONS BY SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS WOULD BE A LOW-COST, HIGH-PAYOFF WAY OF CREATING INTEREST GROUPS WITHIN IRELAND WHO COULD TRY TO INFLUENCE DUBLIN ON THE BENEFITS OF THE TRIPLE CROWN.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 07 OF 07 DUBLIN 001380

DEPT. FOR TRIPLE CROWN TASK FORCE OFFICE  
FOR EUR/USIA, STATE FOR EUR/UBI

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/10/99  
TAGS: PREL, MARR, ETRD, NATO, EU, OSCE, SCUL, EI  
SUBJECT: TRIPLE CROWN OUTREACH -- IRELAND

-- U.S. BUSINESS ITSELF CAN BE AN ACTIVE PLAYER IN IRELAND, FOR EXAMPLE, ON ISSUES LIKE DEEPENING TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EU AND THE U.S., IN WAYS THAT IT CANNOT BE IN OTHER EU STATES. THERE IS WIDESPREAD POLITICAL SUPPORT IN IRELAND FOR ATTRACTING U.S. INVESTMENT TO THE COUNTRY AND LITTLE PUBLIC RESENTMENT OVER DUBLIN'S CONSULTING WITH U.S. BUSINESS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. U.S. BUSINESS LEADERS' ACCESS TO IRISH POLITICAL LEADERS IS UNIQUE IN MOST EUROPEAN STATES. OUTREACH TO THE KEY U.S. BUSINESS SECTORS IN IRELAND - ELECTRONICS, PHARMACEUTICALS, FINANCIAL SERVICES - ON THE BENEFITS OF THE TRIPLE CROWN'S ECONOMIC ASPECTS WOULD ALLOW THESE COMPANIES TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH IRISH LEADERS. EMBASSY IS CONSIDERING USING THE AMCHAM HERE TO SEND SUCH A MESSAGE. WASHINGTON MAY WANT TO CONSIDER GATHERING BUSINESS LEADERS FOR BRIEFINGS THAT SELL THE INITIATIVE AND THEN REQUEST THAT THEY RAISE IT IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH IRISH OFFICIALS.

SULLIVAN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 07  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 07  
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**DIST:** SIT: BANDLER BELL BLINKEN BRADEN BROWN BUTLER DAVIDSON EBITZ FLANAGAN  
GORDON HURLEY MCELDFOWNEY SAPIRO STROMSETH SUM2 UYEHARA WITKOWSKY  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT{C2}

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC  
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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0000  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 0000  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: COUNSELOR SHERMAN'S MEETING  
 WITH PAUL MURPHY

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.73)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY COUNSELOR WENDY SHERMAN. REASON: 1.5 (B)

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 040960

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/01/09  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EI, UK  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: COUNSELOR SHERMAN'S MEETING  
 WITH PAUL MURPHY

CLASSIFIED BY COUNSELOR WENDY SHERMAN. REASON: 1.5 (B)  
 AND (D).

1. SUMMARY. IN A MEETING WITH COUNSELOR SHERMAN MARCH 2,  
 NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTER OF STATE PAUL MURPHY ADVISED  
 THAT MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD  
 FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND ANNOUNCED NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY  
 MO MOWLAM HAD PRODUCED DRAFT STANDING ORDERS EARLIER IN  
 THE DAY TO SET IN MOTION DEVOLUTION. MURPHY SAID THE  
 STANDING ORDERS WERE CONSISTENT WITH ACHIEVING MOWLAM'S  
 MARCH 10 TARGET. MURPHY SAID MOWLAM HAD NOT MENTIONED  
 DECOMMISSIONING IN THE ORDERS AND WOULD AWAIT REACTIONS  
 FROM THE MAJOR PARTIES OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS BEFORE  
 DECIDING HOW TO MOVE FORWARD. IN MURPHY'S VIEW, SHE  
 SHOULD MOVE FORWARD AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. ASKED BY  
 AMBASSADOR SHERMAN WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE TARGET  
 SLIPPED, OR THE EXECUTIVE WENT 11LIVE11 WITHOUT  
 DECOMMISSIONING, MURPHY OPINED THE ARITHMETIC IN THE  
 ASSEMBLY DOES NOT GIVE TRIMBLE FLEXIBILITY. HE COULD TRY  
 TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN, OR CALL FOR A REVIEW OF THE

AGREEMENT, BOTH OF WHICH WOULD LIKELY FAIL. THUS, IF THE  
 EXECUTIVE GOES LIVE WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING, TRIMBLE COULD  
 NOT BE IN IT; AND, ABSENT TRIMBLE, THE EXECUTIVE DOES NOT  
 WORK.

SUMMARY CONTINUED. MURPHY STRESSED THERE MUST BE "REAL"  
 DECOMMISSIONING TO SATISFY THE UUP; SF NEEDED TO  
 DEMONSTRATE WHETHER IT IS NON-VIOLENT, OR NOT. THE ONLY  
 WAY A VERBAL STATEMENT MIGHT SUFFICE WOULD BE IF GENERAL  
 DE CHASTELAIN REPORTED THAT DECOMMISSIONING HAD TAKEN  
 PLACE. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR SHERMAN'S QUESTION ON  
 WHAT THE USG COULD DO OR SAY WHEN THE LEADERS WERE IN

WASHINGTON FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY CELEBRATIONS, THE BRITISH EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVE RECOMMENDED U.S. OFFICIALS BE VERY POSITIVE AND EMPHASIZE THAT THEY "EXPECT A RESOLUTION" TO THE IMPASSE, THAT "WASHINGTON IS WAITING FOR IT" TO BE RESOLVED (RATHER THAN PROD THE TWO SIDES TO MAKE CONCESSIONS). MURPHY SAID HE BELIEVED A WAY WOULD BE FOUND AROUND THE DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE, SINCE THE PROCESS HAD "COME TOO FAR" TO FAIL NOW. HE RECOMMENDED EVERYONE TAKE ONE STEP AT A TIME. AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ADVISED THE USG HOPED NO ONE WOULD LET THE PROCESS FAIL. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) PAUL MURPHY, MINISTER OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, MET WITH COUNSELOR SHERMAN ON MARCH 2, 1999. MURPHY HAD ASKED FOR THE MEETING TO BRIEF AMB. SHERMAN ON THE STATUS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. ACCOMPANYING HIM WERE LIAM BARR, PRIVATE SECRETARY; BILL JEFFREY, POLITICAL DIRECTOR AT THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE; TOM KELLY, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION SERVICES; AND ANTHONY CARY, BRITISH EMBASSY. PDAS JIM O'BRIEN, S/P; PDAS E ANTHONY WAYNE, EUR; CAMERON MUNTER, C; AND PATRICIA NELSON-DOUVELIS, EUR/UBI (NOTETAKER) ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING. MURPHY WAS ALSO SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH JIM STEINBERG OF THE NSC AND SENATOR CONNIE MACK, AND TO ATTEND A BROWN BAG LUNCH WITH MEMBERS AND STAFFERS OF THE HOUSE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON IRELAND.

3. (C) MURPHY ADVISED THAT THERE HAD BEEN MUCH PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT: THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED MARCH 1 AND ITS MEMBERS WOULD START IMMEDIATELY TO DEVELOP A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND; TREATIES (BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS) FOR THE SIX NORTH-SOUTH BODIES -- INCLUDING THE TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BODY -- WERE BEING FINALIZED; THE CIVIC FORUM AND BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL WERE IN TRAIN; AND ONE-HALF OF THE PRISONERS HAD BEEN RELEASED.

HE NOTED ALL PARTIES HAD WORKED TOGETHER VERY WELL. MURPHY ADDED THAT THE EQUALITY COMMISSION WOULD BE SET UP SOON; HMG WAS NOW ADVERTISING FOR MEMBERS. ANTHONY CARY ADDED THAT BRITISH FORCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE ALSO AT THEIR LOWEST LEVEL SINCE THE SEVENTIES.

4. (C) MURPHY THEN ANNOUNCED THAT NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM HAD PRODUCED DRAFT STANDING ORDERS ONE HOUR BEFORE IN WHICH SHE STATED THE D'HONDT PROCEDURE (FOR ALLOCATING SEATS IN THE EXECUTIVE) WOULD BE RUN AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY AFTER 9 MARCH. SINCE MOWLAM HAD PREVIOUSLY TARGETTED MARCH 10 AS THE DATE BY WHICH ALL NECESSARY PREPARATIONS FOR DEVOLUTION WERE TO BE COMPLETED, MURPHY NOTED THE STANDING ORDERS WERE CONSISTENT WITH ACHIEVING THAT TARGET. HE SAID MOWLAM HAD WRITTEN THE STANDING ORDERS WITHOUT MENTIONING DECOMMISSIONING AND WOULD WAIT FOR REACTIONS FROM THE MAJOR PARTIES OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS BEFORE DECIDING HOW TO MOVE FORWARD. IN MURPHY'S VIEW, MO SHOULD MOVE FORWARD AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. HE NOTED THERE WOULD BE A DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON MONDAY, MARCH 8, TO PUT ALL THE LEGISLATIVE PIECES IN PLACE FOR DEVOLUTION. IF THEY MISSED THAT DEADLINE, MOWLAM COULD NOT MEET HER MARCH 10 TARGET FOR DEVOLUTION.

5. (C) AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE MARCH 10 DATE SLIPPED, OR IF THE EXECUTIVE WENT "LIVE" WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING. MURPHY SAID HE DID NOT KNOW, BUT

OPINED THE ARITHMETIC IN THE ASSEMBLY DID NOT GIVE TRIMBLE FLEXIBILITY. MURPHY POINTED OUT THAT, OF THE 58 UNIONISTS IN HE ASSEMBLY, ONLY 30 ARE PRO-AGREEMENT. HE VOTE FEBRUARY 16 APPROVING THE NORTH-SOUT BODIES AND NUMBER/NATURE OF EXECUTIVE POSITIOS SAW UNIONISTS SPLIT 29-29. TRIMBLE COULD NOT GOVERN IF HE CONSISTENTLY LACKED SUPPORT OF A MJORITY OF UNIONISTS, EVEN IF HE WON INDIVIDUALVOTES WITH NATIONALIST SUPPORT, MURPHY SAID. CARY INTERJECTED THAT IF THE EXI COULD TRY TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN, OR CALL FOR A REVIEW OF THE AGREEMENT. WHEN AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ASKED WHETHER THESE APPROACHES COULD SUCCEED, THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THEY COULD NOT. THUS, IF THE EXECUTIVE GOES LIVE WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING, TRIMBLE COULD NOT BE IN IT. AND IF TRIMBLE DOES NOT PLAY, THE EXECUTIVE DOES NOT WORK.

6. (C) MURPHY SPECULATED THAT IF THE MARCH 10 TARGET WERE NOT MET PRESSURE WOULD INTENSIFY ON SF TO GET THE IRA TO DECOMMISSION. HE STRESSED THERE MUST BE "REAL"

DECOMMISSIONING TO SATISFY THE UUP AND ADVISED THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT DEADLINE WAS ACTUALLY GOOD FRIDAY (APRIL 2, THIS YEAR, NOT APRIL 10, THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ACCORD). WHILE ONLY THE UUP AND TRIMBLE COULD TAKE THE ULTIMATE DECISION ON WHAT TYPE OF GESTURE WOULD BE ENOUGH, FOR TRIMBLE, THE WRONG DECISION WOULD BE POLITICAL SUICIDE. AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ASKED IF THE PARTIES COULD FIND SOME CREATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE THAT WOULD PERMIT UUP AND SF SIT TOGETHER IN THE EXECUTIVE, BUT MURPHY SAID LANGUAGE ITSELF PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH NOW. HE REPEATED THAT ONLY ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING WOULD HELP; SF NEEDED TO DEMONSTRATE WHETHER THEY ARE NON-VIOLENT, OR NOT.

7. (C) ANTHONY CARY SUGGESTED THERE WAS A WAY THAT ONLY A VERBAL STATEMENT MIGHT SUFFICE, I.E., IF GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN WERE TO REPORT THAT DECOMMISSIONING HAD TAKEN PLACE. AMBASSADOR SHERMAN COMMENTED THAT THIS IMPLIED MAKING A PRIVATE DEPOSIT WITHOUT A PUBLIC COMMITMENT. CARY AGREED. SHE ASKED IF PRESENTING DECOMMISSIONING AS AN "ULTIMATUM" TO SF/IRA MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO COMPLY. MURPHY RESPONDED THAT SF HAD KNOWN "FOR A LONG TIME" THAT THE IRA WOULD HAVE TO DECOMMISSION. IT COULD HAVE USED THE OCCASION OF THE BOMBING IN OMAGH LAST AUGUST TO MAKE A GESTURE, IN ADDITION TO ITS STATEMENT ESCHEWING VIOLENCE. MURPHY SAID HE TELLS SF OFFICIALS ALL THE TIME THAT MAKING A GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING IS NOT A "SURRENDER," BUT A WAY TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AND SEE THE ACCORD WORK OUT.

8. (C) AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ASKED WHAT THE USG COULD DO OR SAY (OR NOT DO OR SAY) WHEN THE LEADERS WERE IN WASHINGTON FOR ST. PATRICK'S DAY CELEBRATIONS. CARY RECOMMENDED U.S. OFFICIALS BE VERY POSITIVE, AND EMPHASIZE THAT THEY "EXPECT A RESOLUTION" TO THE IMPASSE, THAT "WASHINGTON IS WAITING FOR IT" TO BE RESOLVED, RATHER THAN TRYING TO PROD EITHER SIDE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. MURPHY SAID HE BELIEVED A WAY WOULD BE FOUND AROUND THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE, SINCE THE PROCESS HAD "COME TOO FAR" TO FAIL NOW. HE BELIEVES EVERYONE NEEDS TO TAKE ONE STEP AT A TIME. AMBASSADOR SHERMAN ADVISED THE USG HOPED NO ONE WOULD LET THE PROCESS FAIL. SHE SAID SHE EXPECTED THERE WOULD BE A "DANCE" AMONG THE PARTIES TO GET TO A RESOLUTION -- A SOPHISTICATED DANCE, CONDUCTED BOTH IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC. MURPHY AGREED. AMBASSADOR SHERMAN DEPARTED FROM

WASHINGTON ON OFFICIAL TRAVEL AND DID NOT HAVE AN  
OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE.  
PICKERING

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 01

**SSN:** 0960

**TOR:** 990304213424 M3727167

**DIST:**

SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0878  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE AND MALLON ON NEXT STEPS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.74)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 002123

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BUTLER

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/10/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE AND MALLON ON NEXT STEPS

REF: A) LONDON 2066 B) LONDON 1882

1. ~~(S)~~ CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. ON MARCH 9 CONSUL GENERAL MET SEPARATELY  
 WITH DAVID TRIMBLE AND SEAMUS MALLON TO PREVIEW THEIR ST.  
 PATRICK'S WEEK STAY IN THE U.S., AND TO GET THEIR ASSESSMENT  
 OF DEVOLUTION PROSPECTS FOLLOWING MOWLAM'S POSTPONEMENT OF  
 THE D'HONDT PROCESS FOR FORMING THE NORTHERN IRELAND  
 EXECUTIVE (REFTEL). BOTH MINISTERS ALSO COMMENTED ON THE  
 TRIMBLE-ADAMS MEETING WHICH HAD OCCURRED EARLIER IN THE DAY,  
 WITH TRIMBLE STATING HE WOULD MEET ADAMS NEXT WEEK IN  
 WASHINGTON. TRIMBLE EXPRESSED GREAT IRRITATION WITH  
 MOWLAM'S "UNILATERAL" ACTION, SAYING HE HAD NOT BEEN  
 CONSULTED OR FOREWARNED AND ASSERTING THAT EASTER WEEK WAS A  
 BAD TIME TO EXPECT AN IRA GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING.  
 MALLON, WHILE CONFIRMING THAT A LARGE GAP REMAINS BETWEEN  
 THE UNIONISTS AND SINN FEIN POSITIONS, WAS MORE UPBEAT ON  
 CHANCES FOR AN EVENTUAL SOLUTION THAN IN PREVIOUS  
 CONVERSATIONS. NEITHER MAN HAS UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS  
 THAT WASHINGTON EVENTS WILL PRODUCE A BREAKTHROUGH, BUT EACH  
 WELCOMES THE BREAK AS A CHANCE FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS  
 AMONG THE PARTIES AND WITH GOVERNMENTS. END SUMMARY.

3. ~~(S)~~ MALLON WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC ON PROSPECTS FOR AN  
 EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT OF THE DECOMMISSIONING DISPUTE AND  
 FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE THAN WE HAVE SEEN HIM IN RECENT  
 WEEKS, SAYING THAT "NO ONE (IN THE ASSEMBLY) WANTS TO WALK  
 AWAY FROM THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT" NOW. HE AGAIN  
 DISMISSED AS "FANTASY" TRIMBLE'S NOTION THAT THE MARCH  
 10 DATE HAD BEEN DOABLE, SAYING THAT HE WAS ENCOURAGED

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THAT BOTH UUP AND SINN FEIN HAD HINTED HE SHOULD LOWER HIS PROFILE AND NOT PUSH THEM TOWARD A SOLUTION IN THIS INTERVAL. HE HAS NO INTENTION OF TAKING THAT HINT, HE SAID, IN OUTLINING A THREE-PART CONCEPT OF WHAT HE BELIEVES A SOLUTION WILL ENTAIL:

- SOME FORM OF WORDS (FROM THE IRA);
- A TIMETABLE, I.E., A SCHEDULE, AS DISTINCT FROM THE MAY 2000 DATE SET OUT IN THE AGREEMENT;
- SOMETHING "SYMBOLIC," I.E., SOME CONCRETE GESTURE ON ARMS.

4. (C) GERRY ADAMS SAW MALLON SHORTLY AFTER THE TRIMBLE MEETING, TELLING MALLON THAT THERE HAD BEEN MOSTLY A REHASH OF POSITIONS BY BOTH SIDES, BUT CONFIRMING THAT HE AND TRIMBLE WERE TO MEET AGAIN NEXT WEEK. WITH SOME AMUSEMENT, MALLON COMMENTED THAT ADAMS REPORTED THAT TRIMBLE "COMPLAINED" ABOUT MALLON'S NOT TALKING TO HIM. MALLON SAID HE SIMPLY DID NOT RESPOND TO ANY TRIMBLE TANTRUMS, "JUST KEEP LISTENING AND SMOKING MY PIPE," AS HE PUT IT. MALLON ASSURED US THAT HE WAS FLEXIBLE AND OPEN TO ANY IMPROMPTU MEETINGS THAT MIGHT OCCUR IN WASHINGTON, BUT BELIEVES SEVERAL MORE WEEKS OF TALKING AND POSTURING LIE AHEAD.

5. (C) ALTHOUGH HE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THE MEETING WITH SINN FEIN'S ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS HAD NOT BEEN VERY PRODUCTIVE, TRIMBLE WAS MORE EXERCISED ABOUT MOWLAM'S ACTION, CLAIMING SHE HAD BEEN MORE EXPLICIT THAN NUMBER 10 HAD INTENDED IN SETTING AN EASTER DATE FOR D'HONDT. (IN PRESS COMMENTS, TRIMBLE'S LINE ON THE ADAMS MEETING WAS MORE POSITIVE - THAT SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE.) TRIMBLE WILL SEE THE PRIME MINISTER IN LONDON MARCH 11, BEFORE LEAVING FOR THE U.S. IN TRIMBLE'S VIEW, AN APRIL 10 DEADLINE - TO COINCIDE WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY ANNIVERSARY - WOULD BE MORE FEASIBLE THAN EASTER WEEK; TOO MANY MEMORIES FOR REPUBLICANS TO DISARM, HE SAID.

6. (C) WHILE HE SEEMED NOT TO HAVE ESTABLISHED ANY RAPPORT WITH ADAMS, WHOM HE ACCUSED OF BEING ENDLESSLY IDEOLOGICAL, TRIMBLE SPOKE POSITIVELY OF MARTIN MCGUINNESS, DESCRIBING HIM AS PRAGMATIC, LIKELY HAVING MORE INFLUENCE WITHIN REPUBLICANISM AND, IMPLICITLY, SOMEONE WITH WHOM UNIONISTS COULD REACH SOME SORT OF UNDERSTANDING ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE INTENDED TO ASK UUP DEPUTY PARTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR TO MEET ONE-ON-ONE WITH MCGUINNESS, HE SAID. TAYLOR HAD ALSO BEEN PRESENT AT THE MARCH 9 MEETING, AND SINN FEIN CONTACTS SEPARATELY TOLD US THAT HE AND MCGUINNESS HAD HIT IT OFF WELL. SINN FEIN ALSO STRESSED THE POSITIVE IN DESCRIBING THE ASSEMBLY SESSIONS THIS WEEK, SAYING PROGRESS ON NUTS-AND-BOLTS ISSUES HAD BEEN MADE. THE SHIFT IN TONE WAS NOTABLE.

7. (C) COMMENT. THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY PAUSE AND WASHINGTON VENUE WILL OFFER A VALUABLE MOMENT FOR REFLECTION, CONSULTATION, AND REITERATION OF OUR MESSAGES THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT MUST BE HONORED AND THAT ALL PARTIES HAVE TOO MUCH INVESTED TO WALK AWAY FROM IT. END COMMENT.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2123

TOR: 990310155405 M3736709

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: HACHIGIAN SIT(C2) STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
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 LINE4: FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
 OSRI: RUEHC  
 DTG: 300825Z MAR 99  
 ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC  
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 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
 RUEHTG/AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHMU/AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHGT/AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHSN/AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR PRIORITY 0000  
 SUBJ: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH PM AHERN, MARCH 16,  
 1999

**DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0158-m (1.76)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY THE SECRETARY. REASON: 1.5 (B) (D)

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 057236

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/15/09  
 TAGS: PREL, ETRD, EALD, KIPR, EL, XK, CH, CU, IT  
 SUBJECT: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH PM AHERN, MARCH 16,  
 1999

CLASSIFIED BY THE SECRETARY. REASON: 1.5 (B) (D)

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. AT A BREAKFAST MEETING MARCH 16, THE SECRETARY AND IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN DISCUSSED THE STATUS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS; THE IMPORTANCE OF IMMEDIATE IRISH COPYRIGHT REFORM; DEVELOPMENTS IN KOSOVO, CUBA AND CHINA; THE NEED FOR IRISH COOPERATION IN U.S.-EU TRADE DISPUTES; AND THE POSSIBILITY OF IRISH ASSISTANCE TO CENTRAL AMERICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(S)~~ IN WASHINGTON FOR THE TRADITIONAL ST.PATRICK'S DAY PRESENTATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE, PRIME MINISTER AHERN MET WITH SECRETARY ALBRIGHT ON MARCH 16. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY HIS SENIOR ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH, ATTORNEY GENERAL DAVID BYRNE, DFA MINISTER OF STATE LIZ O'DONNELL, AMBASSADOR SEAN O'HUIGINN, DFA SECOND SECRETARY DERMOTT GALLAGHER, DFA OFFICIAL DECLAN KELLEHER, WALLY KIRWAN OF THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE, PRESS SECRETARY JOE LENNON, IRISH EMBASSY DCM

PATRICK HENNESSY. THE SECRETARY WAS JOINED BY UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING, COUNSELOR SHERMAN, AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN, CHIEF OF STAFF ELAINE SHOCAS, EUR/PDAS E. ANTHONY WAYNE, EUR/IRE SPECIAL ASSISTANT KATHARINE KOCH, AND

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IRELAND DESK OFFICER PATRICIA NELSON-DOUVELIS (NOTETAKER).

NORTHERN IRELAND

2. (S) THE SECRETARY BEGAN BY EXPRESSING HER REGRET AT THE KILLING OF HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER ROSEMARY NELSON IN A BOMB BLAST IN NORTHERN IRELAND THE PREVIOUS DAY. AHERN SAID NELSON HAD BEEN THREATENED A NUMBER OF TIMES. A NEW ORGANIZATION -- THE RED HAND DEFENDERS, A LOYALIST SPLINTER GROUP -- HAD CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY. IT WAS PARTICULARLY WORRISOME THAT THIS GROUP HAS THE TECHNOLOGY TO CARRY OUT THE BOMBING, HE ASSERTED.

3. (S) THE PRIME MINISTER EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE FOR U.S. HELP ON NORTHERN IRELAND. HE NOTED THERE HAD BEEN MUCH PROGRESS OVER THE PAST MONTHS IN IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND COMMENTED THAT, INSTITUTIONALLY, THINGS WERE "CLEAR" -- ELECTIONS HAD BEEN HELD, THE ASSEMBLY ELECTED, AND AGREEMENT REACHED ON THE NUMBER AND NATURE OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. DESPITE THE PROGRESS IN ALL THESE AREAS, THE TWO SIDES HAD BEEN UNABLE TO FIND A WAY TO RESOLVE THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISSIONING. AHERN ASSERTED THE GOL IS PLAYING THE HONEST BROKER IN INTERPRETING THE AGREEMENT AND ASSESSING THE POLITICAL REALITIES ON THE GROUND. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE PARTIES WOULD MAKE SOME PROGRESS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. UNTIL DECOMMISSIONING IS RESOLVED, HE NOTED, EVERYTHING ELSE WOULD BE ON THE BACK BURNER. AHERN ACKNOWLEDGED THERE WAS NO OBVIOUS SOLUTION, BUT THAT HE AND TONY BLAIR WERE TRYING TO FIND SOME NEW WAY.

KOSOVO

4. (S) THE SECRETARY AGREED DECOMMISSIONING WAS A VERY DIFFICULT ISSUE. THE SITUATION IN KOSOVO WAS SIMILAR. IT WAS VERY HARD FOR PEOPLE TO GIVE UP THEIR GUNS, WHICH WERE A SYMBOL OF THEIR SELF DEFENSE. NONETHELESS, SHE ADVISED, ONE MUST KEEP PUSHING ON IT. REFERRING TO THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE SECRETARY SAID SHE HOPED IT WOULD HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT IN BREAKING THE CURRENT IMPASSE ON DECOMMISSIONING. THE PRIME MINISTER RESPONDED THAT, WHILE SINN FEIN WAS CORRECT IN STATING

DECOMMISSIONING WAS NOT A PRECONDITION TO SETTING UP THE EXECUTIVE, MAINTAINING THAT POSITION DID NOT HELP UNIONISTS MOVE ON. HE OPINED THAT SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE UNIONIST AND SINN FEIN POSITIONS THERE WAS A SOLUTION. AHERN SAID HE OFTEN REMINDS HIMSELF THAT LAST YEAR AT THE SAME TIME THERE WERE "FORTY-FIVE", THINGS TO OVERCOME; THIS YEAR, THERE WAS ONLY ONE. THUS, FORTY-FOUR THINGS HAD BEEN SOLVED. THE KNOWLEDGE THAT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE KEPT HIM PUSHING FORWARD.

5. (S) THE SECRETARY RECOUNTED AN EXPERIENCE SHE HAD HAD AT THE TALKS ON KOSOVO AT RAMBOUILLET. THERE WERE FIFTEEN ETHNIC ALBANIANS IN THE ROOM, AND SHE HAD SAID "THERE MUST BE A GERRY ADAMS IN HERE." (SOMEONE HAD TO EXPLAIN TO THE ALBANIANS WHO GERRY ADAMS WAS.) EVENTUALLY, THE GROUP DID BEGIN TO PULL TOGETHER AS A DELEGATION. THE USG THOUGHT IT HAD THE GROUP TOGETHER WHEN SOME LOCAL COMMANDERS OF THE UCK DECIDED THEY DID NOT WANT TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT. UCK COMMANDER THACI WENT TO LJUBLJANA TO TALK TO UCK LEADER DEMACI; THEN THACI REFUSED TO AGREE TO THE TERMS OF THE

ACCORD. NOW THE ALBANIANS WERE AGREED. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT EARLIER THAT DAY SHE HAD RECEIVED REPORTS THAT THE SERBS HAD TAKEN A MUCH HARDER POSITION. AT RAMBOUILLET THE SERBS HAD SIGNALLED THEY COULD ACCEPT A HIGHER LEVEL OF AUTONOMY FOR THE KOSOVAR ALBANIANS. NOW, THE SERBS WERE ACTING AS IF THERE WERE TWO AGREEMENTS, WHICH, THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED, WAS NOT TRUE. SHE ADVISED THAT IF THE SERBS DID NOT ENGAGE IN THE MILITARY IMPLEMENTATION PART OF THE AGREEMENT, NATO WAS READY TO TAKE ACTION. NOTING THE CONTACT GROUP NEEDED TO DE-LEGITIMIZE MILOSEVIC, THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT, UNFORTUNATELY, HE WAS THE ONLY "ADDRESS" IN TOWN. AHERN ASKED IF MILOSEVIC HAD A LONG-TERM PLAN. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED HIS ONLY PLAN WAS TO STAY IN POWER. BUT, HIS COUNTRY WAS GETTING SMALLER AND SMALLER. MILOSEVIC HAD ONLY MONTENEGRO AND KOSOVO LEFT, AND WAS NOW ON THE WAY TO LOSING KOSOVO.

6. (S) THE SECRETARY OPINED THAT SOVEREIGNTY WAS AN INTERESTING ISSUE AS THE WORLD MOVED TOWARDS THE 21ST CENTURY. THE COUNTRIES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION HAD GIVEN UP A GREAT DEAL OF SOVEREIGNTY. THE EURO WAS THE LATEST PHASE OF THAT PROCESS. THE UNITED STATES, TOO, HAD GIVEN UP A GOOD DEAL OF SOVEREIGNTY. IF THE RAMBOUILLET AGREEMENT WORKED IN KOSOVO, IT WOULD HAVE RAMIFICATIONS FOR OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. UNDER THE ACCORD, THE KOSOVAR ALBANIANS WOULD HAVE CONTROL OF EVERYTHING BUT DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THERE WERE COUNTRIES THAT HAD ALREADY OFFERED TO BE PART OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES (NATO-LED, BUT

INCLUDING PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE - PFP) IF THE AGREEMENT WERE SIGNED. CONGRESS HAD ALSO GIVEN THE GO-AHEAD FOR U.S. PARTICIPATION IN A PEACEKEEPING FORCE.

7. (S) AMBASSADOR O'HUIGINN ASKED IF THE UNITED STATES HAD A TIMETABLE FOR ACTION IN KOSOVO. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS THE PROBLEM. SHE SAID SHE WAS CONCERNED THAT, IF THERE WERE NO ACTION SOON, THERE COULD BE ANOTHER RACAK. NATO MAY HAVE WAITED TOO LONG. OR, THE UCK, WHO WERE "NO ANGELS," MIGHT PICK UP MORE VILLAGES, PROVOKING THE SERBS TO ACT. THE USG'S GOALS WERE TO PREVENT SOMETHING WORSE FROM HAPPENING; TO GIVE THE TALKS A CHANCE; NOT TO ACT PRECIPITOUSLY OR LOSE MOMENTUM. PM AHERN ASSERTED THE U.S. LEAD WOULD BE CRITICAL. ON THE ONE HAND, THE WEST COULD NOT WAIT FOREVER FOR THE SERBS, LEAVING THE CURRENT SITUATION IN KOSOVO TO CONTINUE INDEFINITELY. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, NATO MUST ALSO BE SEEN TO GIVE THE PROCESS SUFFICIENT TIME. AHERN NOTED IT WAS CLEAR DECISIONS HAD TO BE MADE SOON ON WHETHER TO WITHDRAW THE KVM MONITORS. THE SECRETARY ADVISED THEY WOULD PROBABLY WAIT ANOTHER FORTY-EIGHT HOURS. SHE BELIEVED SHE MIGHT HAVE MORE INFORMATION THE FOLLOWING DAY, SINCE THINGS WOULD HAVE EVOLVED BY THEN.

PFP

8. (S) ON PFP, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THE IRISH PARLIAMENT HAD JUST CONCLUDED DEBATE ON MEMBERSHIP. HOPEFULLY, NEGOTIATIONS WITH NATO WOULD BE CONCLUDED BY THE END OF THE SUMMER. THE SECRETARY SAID SHE CONSIDERED HERSELF THE "MOTHER" OF PFP AND GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI THE "FATHER." THEY HAD GONE AROUND EASTERN EUROPE TOGETHER TO EXPLAIN THE PFP CONCEPT. AT THAT TIME, THE EAST EUROPEANS THOUGHT IT WAS A WAY OF SIDELINING THEM FROM NATO MEMBERSHIP. NOW, MANY COUNTRIES FELT PFP WAS AN EXCELLENT PROJECT ON ITS OWN

-- A WAY TO CONTRIBUTE AND COOPERATE. THE SECRETARY NOTED SHE WAS WELL AWARE IRISH CONTINGENTS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN PEACEKEEPING ALL AROUND THE WORLD. AHERN SAID THE PROBLEM HAD ALWAYS BEEN HOW TO "SQUARE" IRELAND'S NEUTRALITY WITH BEING A PEACEKEEPER. IRELAND WAS CURRENTLY INVOLVED IN FIFTEEN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, E.G., IT HAD A FORCE BETWEEN SYRIA AND LEBANON. THE SECRETARY SAID THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD WELCOME IRELAND WITH OPEN ARMS INTO PFP.

#### TRADE DISPUTES

9. (C) ON TRADE DISPUTES, AMBASSADOR O'HUIGINN REMARKED THE IRISH WERE "SHAMEFACED" THAT BANANAS AND OTHER TRADE ISSUES HAD COME BETWEEN IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES. HE NOTED IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHAT WOULD HAPPEN, BUT, FOR IRELAND, THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO) DECISION WAS CRUCIAL. EUR PDAS WAYNE SAID THERE HAD BEEN TWO DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE NEGOTIATORS; THE UNITED STATES HAS LAID THE SPECIFIC ISSUES TO BE RESOLVED ON THE TABLE. NOW, THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION NEEDS A CLEAR AND FLEXIBLE MANDATE FROM THE MEMBER STATES TO NEGOTIATE. THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION HAD BEEN ONLY IN LISTENING MODE; EU REPRESENTATIVES NEED THE GO-AHEAD TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS. WAYNE ADVISED U.S. NEGOTIATORS WERE READY TO GO. HE NOTED THE USG DID NOT WANT TO GET INTO THE SAME PROBLEM WITH HORMONE-TREATED BEEF AS WITH BANANAS. WE NEED TO FIND SOLUTIONS NOW. BEEF HORMONES WOULD BE A MUCH BIGGER PROBLEM. WAYNE SAID THE U.S. NEEDS IRISH HELP IN THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL. THE SECRETARY AGREED, STATING SHE HOPED WE COULD GET THE TRADE ISSUES RESOLVED. THE ISSUES WERE VERY SERIOUS, AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THEM.

#### COPYRIGHT REFORM

10. (C) THE SECRETARY RAISED COPYRIGHT REFORM, AND THE NEED FOR IRELAND TO MEET ITS COMMITMENTS TO USTR. DAVID BYRNE ASSERTED IRELAND'S NEW COPYRIGHT LEGISLATION WOULD BE READY BY THE END OF MARCH AND WOULD BE PASSED BY THE END OF THE SUMMER. BYRNE CONTENDED THE GOL WAS GIVING THE ISSUE HIGH PRIORITY, THOUGH IT IS AN EXTREMELY COMPLEX PIECE OF LAW, AND REITERATED THAT PASSAGE WOULD OCCUR BY SUMMER.

#### ECONOMIC/BUSINESS INITIATIVES, Y2K

11. (C) THE PRIME MINISTER ADVISED THE SECRETARY THAT JIM LYONS, THE SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN IRELAND, HAD BEEN DOING GOOD WORK. THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND WAS VERY IMPORTANT TO THE IRISH. IN ADDITION, AHERN SAID, THE NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR -- MICHAEL SULLIVAN -- WAS A "DELIGHT." AHERN SAID HE HAD JUST BEEN TO SILICON VALLEY TO TALK TO AMERICAN FIRMS ABOUT INVESTING IN IRELAND. THERE WAS ALREADY SO MUCH U.S. INVESTMENT IN IRELAND THAT OTHER EU COUNTRIES WERE JEALOUS. NEARLY ALL THE TOP U.S. COMPANIES ALREADY HAD A PRESENCE IN IRELAND AND, THE TAOISEACH SAID, HE APPRECIATED U.S. HELP IN THIS AREA.

12. (C) THE SECRETARY AGREED THAT BUSINESS RELATIONSHIPS WERE KEY TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE NEW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. BUSINESS WAS ONE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S BIGGEST CONSTITUENCIES. ON Y2K, THE SECRETARY ASKED HOW IRELAND WAS ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM. AHERN

RESPONDED IRELAND WAS DOING FAIRLY WELL. THE GOI HAD EXERTED GREAT PRESSURE SINCE LAST SUMMER TO SEE THAT EVERYTHING WOULD BE IN PLACE ON TIME, AND IRELAND HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING A SMALL COUNTRY, SO THE PROBLEM WAS MORE MANAGEABLE. THE SECRETARY NOTED Y2K COMPLIANCE WAS SOMETHING SHE HAD TO DEAL WITH ALL THE TIME. CABINET OFFICERS WERE RATED ON HOW WELL THEY WERE DOING. AS SECRETARY OF STATE, SHE WOULD BE GRADED ON HOW WELL THE ENTIRE WORLD WAS DOING ON COMPLIANCE.

UNSC SEAT

13. (X) AHERN RAISED IRELAND'S INTEREST IN SECURING A SEAT ON THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THE 2001-2 TERM. HE NOTED THE ITALIANS WERE THE LATEST ENTRANTS INTO THE RACE, IN ADDITION TO TURKEY AND NORWAY. IRELAND HAD NOT BEEN ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR TWENTY YEARS, HE ADDED, ALTHOUGH THE UNITED NATIONS WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF IRISH FOREIGN POLICY. THE SECRETARY ADVISED THE USG NEVER COMMENTS AHEAD OF TIME ON ITS VOTES FOR SECURITY COUNCIL SEATS. SHE NOTED THE GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS IRELAND HAD MADE TO THE UN, BUT ADVISED WE WOULD APPRECIATE MORE CONSULTATION ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT ISSUES. THE U.S. BELIEVED THE SECURITY COUNCIL NEEDED TO BE REFORMED, BUT THE SIZE WAS ALL RIGHT. FROM THE U.S. POINT OF VIEW, MAINTAINING THE VETO WAS VERY IMPORTANT.

CUBA

14. (X) THE SECRETARY STATED THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (UNHRC) WAS CONCERNED ABOUT CUBA. SHE OPINED THAT THERE NEEDED TO BE A RESOLUTION ON CUBA APPROVED IN GENEVA. SHE HAD JUST HAD A FASCINATING DISCUSSION WITH CENTRAL AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS WHO SAID CASTRO'S RECENT JAILING OF DISSIDENTS WAS TO THEM WHAT THE SHOOTING DOWN OF AMERICAN PLANES HAD BEEN TO THE USG. THE SECRETARY NOTED SHE HAD HAD ONGOING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE VATICAN ABOUT CUBA. SHE ADVISED THAT WHILE THE USG WOULD NOT LIFT ITS SANCTIONS AGAINST THE CUBA, IT WAS WORKING WITHIN THE LAW TO ENCOURAGE AND EXPAND PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE EXCHANGES (E.G.,

BASEBALL GAMES, INCREASED CHARTER FLIGHTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES).

CHINA

15. (X) THE PRIME MINISTER NOTED HE HAD BEEN IN CHINA LAST YEAR AND HAD MET THERE WITH MARY ROBINSON (HEAD OF UNHRC) WHO BELIEVED ZHU RONGJI WAS TRYING TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WAS OPENING UP MAJOR CITIES FOR INVESTMENT, AND THERE WAS A LOT OF POSITIVE TALK. BUT, IT WAS NOT CLEAR ON THE GROUND THAT THERE WERE ANY POLITICAL IMPROVEMENTS. THE SECRETARY SAID SHE, TOO, FOUND ZHU RONGJI A VERY INTERESTING PERSON. HE AND QIAN QICHEN WERE THE TWO OFFICIALS WITH WHOM SHE COULD DEAL. THE CURRENT FOREIGN MINISTER AND JIANG ZAEMIN WERE DIFFICULT. SHE NOTED THE CHINESE REALIZED THAT THE UPCOMING SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON WOULD BE DIFFERENT FROM OTHER BILATERAL MEETINGS. THE U.S. CONTINUED TO SEE SOME MOVEMENT FORWARD ON THE RULE OF LAW, AND THEN SOME BACKTRACKING. STABILITY WAS 'THE'1 ISSUE WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. THE CHINESE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THAT ARRESTING/REARRESTING DISSIDENTS

WAS A PROBLEM. AHERN INTERJECTED THAT THE CHINESE ARREST ANYONE WHO DISAGREES WITH THEM. HE HAD ADDRESSED HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES WITH THEM PERSONALLY, WHICH WAS PROGRESS IN ITSELF. THE SECRETARY AGREED, NOTING PREVIOUSLY IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO TALK TO THE CHINESE AT ALL ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. AT LEAST NOW THEY REALIZED THERE WAS AN INTERNATIONAL STANDARD OF CONDUCT.

16. ~~(C)~~ MINISTER O'DONNELL ADVISED IRISH SUPERIOR COURT JUSTICES GO TO CHINA FAIRLY REGULARLY AND ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE WITH THEIR CHINESE COUNTERPARTS. ATTORNEY GENERAL BYRNE POINTED OUT THAT ONE HIGH COURT JUSTICE HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN CHINA FOR SOME TIME AND HAD GOTTEN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO PERMIT EXCHANGES INVOLVING CHINESE JUDGES. THE SECRETARY REMARKED THE U.S. ABIDES BY THE RULE OF LAW, AND THE CHINESE RULE BY LAW.

IRISH HELP FOR CENTRAL AMERICA

17. ~~(C)~~ NOTING THAT EU AND CENTRAL AMERICAN OFFICIALS WOULD MEET SOON, AHERN VOLUNTEERED TO RAISE ANY ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES. (AHERN WAS REFERRING TO THE UPCOMING EU-LATIN AMERICA MEETING IN RIO AT THE END OF JUNE.) THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT HURRICANE "MITCH" HAD BEEN DEVASTATING FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN EFFORTS ON

DEMOCRATIZATION, EDUCATION AND "SECOND LEVEL" REFORMS, SUCH AS MILITARY, PEACE PROCESS AND RECONCILIATION. THE U.S. WAS TRYING TO HELP BY ENHANCING THE CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE. SHE SUGGESTED IRELAND COULD ASSIST BY HELPING THESE GOVERNMENTS USE THE HURRICANE DISASTER TO LEAPFROG OVER THEIR TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC RIGIDITIES INTO THE NEXT TECHNOLOGICAL PHASE. SHE ASSERTED IRELAND WAS PERFECTLY PLACED TO ADVISE CENTRAL AMERICANS ON HOW TO CREATE RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF HIGH TECH FOREIGN INVESTMENT. AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN WOULD BE THE BEST CHANNEL FOR U.S.-IRISH COOPERATION IN THE REGION. THE SECRETARY CONTINUED THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY ENGAGED IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN SITUATION. AND, WHILE THE WHITE HOUSE HAD UNDERTAKEN THE INITIAL EFFORT, AMBASSADOR SHERMAN WOULD NOW COORDINATE OUR ONGOING RESPONSE. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID IRELAND WOULD BE HAPPY TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO CENTRAL AMERICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND REMARKED IT HAD LONG-STANDING CONNECTIONS THERE THROUGH ITS MISSIONARIES.  
ALBRIGHT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01  
SSN: 7236  
TOR: 990330033708 M3771329  
DIST:  
SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA2859 0902147-CCCC--RHEHNSC.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 312147Z MAR 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 312147Z MAR 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4508  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
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 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL PARTIES STRUGGLE TO  
 REACH AGREEMENT ON FORMING EXECUTIVE

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## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 002859

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/31/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL PARTIES STRUGGLE TO  
 REACH AGREEMENT ON FORMING EXECUTIVE

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

2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. AS OF EARLY EVENING MARCH 31, NORTHERN  
 IRELAND'S POLITICAL PARTIES, MAINLY THE ULSTER UNIONISTS  
 (UUP) AND SINN FEIN, CONTINUED EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENT  
 ON TERMS FOR FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE. BOTH THE BRITISH  
 PRIME MINISTER AND THE TAOISEACH WERE EN ROUTE BACK TO  
 BELFAST TO OVERSEE THE TALKS, WHICH INFORMED OBSERVERS,  
 PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, DESCRIBE AS HAVING ABOUT A FIFTY-  
 FIFTY CHANCE OF IMMEDIATE SUCCESS. ALL PREDICT A LONG  
 NIGHT. TERMS OF AN AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN CLOSELY HELD, BUT  
 WOULD LIKELY INVOLVE CREATION OF A SHADOW EXECUTIVE, WITH  
 ACTUAL TRANSFER OF POWERS TO FOLLOW ONLY AFTER A VERIFIABLE  
 GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING BY THE IRA. WHILE THE ISSUES OF  
 SEQUENCE AND TIMING ARE IMPORTANT, WE ARE TOLD THE GAP  
 BETWEEN THE UUP AND SINN FEIN ON WHAT DEFINES CREDIBLE,  
 CONCRETE DECOMMISSIONING REMAINS. END SUMMARY.

TOO CLOSE TO CALL  
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3. ~~(S)~~ OVER THE COURSE OF THE LAST TWO DAYS, POLITICIANS  
 RANGING FROM THE WOMEN'S COALITION AND ALLIANCE THROUGH THE  
 SDLP (MALLON HIMSELF) AND SINN FEIN TO THE PROGRESSIVE  
 UNIONISTS AND UUP HAVE MADE CLEAR THE INTEREST ALL PARTIES  
 HAVE IN AGREEING ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR FORMING THE NORTHERN  
 IRELAND EXECUTIVE. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH US AND IN  
 PUBLIC STATEMENTS, VIRTUALLY EVERY PRO-AGREEMENT ASSEMBLY  
 MEMBER HAS STRESSED A DETERMINATION TO WORK TOWARD THAT

END. THEIR MOODS HAVE RANGED FROM CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC (YESTERDAY) TO PESSIMISM (EARLY AFTERNOON TODAY) TO REALISTIC (TONIGHT) AT PROSPECTS FOR A DEAL BY THE APRIL 2 (GOOD FRIDAY) TARGET DATE. THERE WAS HUGE RELIEF HERE WHEN IT FINALLY BECAME CLEAR LATE THIS AFTERNOON THAT TONY BLAIR WOULD INDEED RETURN TONIGHT TO BELFAST. NEVERTHELESS, NO ONE IS PREDICTING A POSITIVE OUTCOME AT THIS POINT.

4. (U) ON MARCH 30 BLAIR AND AHERN HAD MET WITH ORANGE ORDER AND GARVAGHY ROAD REPRESENTATIVES, AS WELL AS EACH OF THE SMALLER PARTIES IN TURN. THEY THEN BEGAN FURTHER SESSIONS WITH SINN FEIN, UUP AND SDLP WHICH CONTINUED ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 31, BEFORE TURNING TALKS OVER TO MO MOWLAM AND DAVID ANDREWS. IN BRIEF PRESS STATEMENTS PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURES EARLIER TODAY, BOTH BLAIR AND AHERN INDICATED THAT THE OUTLINE OF A DEAL WAS TANTALIZINGLY CLOSE AND URGED PARTIES TO KEEP WORKING AT IT. THE PRESUMPTION IS THAT ANY DEAL WOULD ADDRESS VARIOUS ISSUES, INCLUDING THE DRUMCREE STAND-OFF.

5. (C) HOWEVER, THERE WAS LITTLE PROGRESS REPORTED THIS AFTERNOON. TRIMBLE RETURNED TO HIS OFFICES AT STORMONT AND TOOK NO PART IN THE AFTERNOON MEETINGS, LEAVING UUP DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR AND REG EMPEY SPEAKING FOR UNIONISTS. HIS STAFF REITERATED THE VIEW THAT AN ADJOURNMENT OF DISCUSSIONS UNTIL AFTER EASTER WAS PROBABLE - AND NEEDED TO ALLOW TIME FOR PREPARING UNIONIST AND REPUBLICAN CONSTITUENCIES FOR COMPROMISE.

KEY ISSUE REMAINS  
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6. (C) WHETHER OR WHEN THE IRA WILL MAKE A CONCRETE - AND VERIFIABLE - GESTURE OF DECOMMISSIONING REMAINS THE CENTRAL QUESTION, AT LEAST IN TERMS OF UUP WILLINGNESS TO SIT DOWN IN EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN. SINN FEIN CHAIRMAN MCLAUGHLIN INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT SINN FEIN STILL WAS THINKING IN TERMS ONLY OF WORDS AND TEXTS, RATHER THAN DEEDS, AS ALL IT COULD PUT ON THE TABLE AT THIS TIME. THE UUP HAS BEEN EQUALLY ADAMANT, PUBLICLY, THAT "DEMONSTRATING COMMITMENT TO COMMENCEMENT OF A CREDIBLE PROCESS OF DEVIERY OF ARMS" MUST PRECEDE EXECUTIVE FORMATION. (COMMENT: THE WORDINESS OF THIS LATEST UUP FORMULATION MAY HOWEVER HINT AT ROOM FOR MANEUVER.)

7. (C) SOURCES CLOSE TO THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION SUGGESTED TO US THAT PART OF THE DISCUSSION TODAY HAS CENTERED ON QUESTIONS OF DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS, SUCH AS JUST HOW THE VARIOUS PARTIES DEFINE "DECOMMISSIONING." ONLY IF/WHEN THERE IS SOME COMMON UNDERSTANDING ON THOSE QUESTIONS, COULD THERE BE SUFFICIENT SPACE OR CONFIDENCE FOR OTHER PARTIES TO GO FORWARD. OTHER SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE GOVERNMENTS HAVE WORKED HARD TO BRING THE TWO PARTIES TOWARD ACCEPTANCE OF DE CHASTELAIN'S ROLE AS ARBITER OF WHAT CONSTITUTES LEGITIMATE DECOMMISSIONING.

END-GAME IN SIGHT?  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 002859

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/31/09  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL PARTIES STRUGGLE TO  
REACH AGREEMENT ON FORMING EXECUTIVE

8. (S) TALKS BEGAN AGAIN TONIGHT AT MOWLAM'S HILLSBOROUGH  
RESIDENCE WITH AHERN'S ARRIVAL AT ABOUT 8:00, WITH ALL KEY  
PLAYERS, INCLUDING TRIMBLE AND ADMAS, PRESENT. MOST  
OBSERVERS NOW AGREE, AS TONY BLAIR HINTED AT NOON TODAY,  
THAT THE MAKINGS OF A DEAL ARE THERE. SOME PREDICT THAT  
TRIMBLE WILL AGREE NOW TO START D'HONDT, THUS ALLOWING FOR  
NAMING OF THE EXECUTIVE, IN SHADOW FORM, PROVIDED THAT  
THERE IS AN EXPLICIT IRA STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT  
DECOMMISSIONING IS PART OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT  
IMPLEMENTATION. THE "SHADOW" CONCEPT IS CRITICAL - THE  
BRITISH PARLIAMENT WOULD ONLY VOTE ON DEVOLUTION OF REAL  
POWERS TO THE EXECUTIVE AND ASSEMBLY AFTER RETURNING APRIL  
12 FROM EASTER BREAK; TRIMBLE WILL EXPECT VERIFICATION OF  
AN IRA HANDOVER OF ARMS BY THAT DATE.

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 2859  
<^SSN>2859

TOR: 990331155338 M3775117  
<^TOR>990331155339 M3775118

DIST:  
SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER SCHWARTZ SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: BERGER COSGRIFF DAVIES FUERTH HACHIGIAN KERRICK RICEE SIT{C2}  
STEINBERG SUTPHEN

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA2918 0912005-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 012005Z APR 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 012005Z APR 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4567  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 0847  
 INFO:   
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL PARTIES FAIL TO REACH  
 FINAL AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING AND FORMING EXECUTIVE

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.78)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 002918

NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/01/11

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL PARTIES FAIL TO REACH  
 FINAL AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING AND FORMING EXECUTIVE

REF: LONDON 2859

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)
2. (U) SUMMARY. DESPITE INTENSIVE, PROTRACTED  
 NEGOTIATIONS, NORTHERN IRELAND'S POLITICAL PARTIES FAILED  
 APRIL 1 TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT BROKERED BY THE BRITISH  
 AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS THAT WOULD HAVE ALLOWED FORMATION OF  
 A SHADOW EXECUTIVE WHILE OFFERING A COMMITMENT AND  
 TIMESCALE FOR PARAMILITARY (IRA) DECOMMISSIONING. THE TWO  
 GOVERNMENTS HAVE PUBLISHED THE TEXT OF A "DRAFT  
 DECLARATION" WHICH DOES NOT SPECIFY DATES, BUT MAKES CLEAR  
 THAT THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS IS MUTUALLY DEPENDENT. THE  
 PRIME MINISTER AND TAOISEACH ANNOUNCED THAT ALL PARTIES  
 WOULD "PAUSE" FOR REFLECTION ON THE PROPOSED TERMS, TO  
 RECONVENE APRIL 13. END SUMMARY.
3. (U) THROUGH THE NIGHT OF MARCH 31 AND MORNING OF APRIL  
 1, THE PARTIES STRUGGLED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE  
 "DECLARATION," (TEXT FAXED TO EUR/UBI AND NSC) THAT WAS TO  
 INCLUDE SPECIFIC DATES: D'HONDT WOULD HAVE BEEN INITIATED  
 TODAY, LEADING TO THE NAMING OF MINISTERS AND FORMATION OF  
 AN EXECUTIVE IN SHADOW, WHICH WOULD IN TURN HAVE MEANT THE  
 DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION COULD HAVE SET A DATE, WITHIN  
 THE MONTH AFTER NAMING THE EXECUTIVE, FOR A "COLLECTIVE  
 ACT OF RECONCILIATION" TO TAKE PLACE - SUCH AN ACT WOULD  
 INCLUDE VERIFICATION BY THE COMMISSION OF A HANDOVER OF  
 SOME ARMS, "ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS." DEVOLUTION OF POWERS -

MEANING THAT THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND NEW MINISTERS WOULD ACTUALLY TAKE POWER - WOULD ALSO OCCUR. IN THE ABSENCE OF FINAL AGREEMENT APRIL 1, NO DATES WERE MENTIONED, EXCEPT FOR THE APRIL 13 RECONVENING OF ALL PARTIES.

4. (C) BOTH BLAIR AND AHERN PUT A POSITIVE SPIN ON THE RESULTS, STRESSING THE CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDES OF ALL PARTIES AND THEIR DETERMINATION TO WORK THROUGH REMAINING DOUBTS AND DIFFICULTIES. LEADERS FROM THE THREE PARTIES MOST DIRECTLY INVOLVED UUP, SDLP AND SINN FEIN, ALL ECHOED THEIR INTENTION TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO RESOLVE OUTSTANDING ISSUES. THE PARTIES ARE TO RECONVENE APRIL 13. PM BLAIR EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTION THAT AT THAT TIME THEY WOULD REACH AGREEMENT, IN STRESSING THAT ALL PARTIES NOW ACKNOWLEDGE THAT ALL MEASURES IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT MUST BE IMPLEMENTED, THAT ALL RENOUNCE VIOLENCE AND RECOGNIZE THE GOOD FRIDAY TIMESCALE (I.E., DECOMMISSIONING BY MAY 2000) MUST BE MET; AND THAT ALL RECOGNIZE THE DEMOCRATIC MANDATE OF OTHERS (I.E., UUP ACCEPTANCE OF SINN FEIN'S RIGHT TO SIT IN THE EXECUTIVE).

5. (C) PROSPECTS FOR CONCLUDING AN AGREEMENT ROSE AND FELL IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST 24 HOURS AND THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION AS TALKS DRAGGED ON. IN THE END, WE UNDERSTAND THAT BOTH THE UUP AND SINN FEIN WERE RELUCTANT TO SIGN ON TO A DEAL NOT THOROUGHLY VETTED WITH THEIR CONSTITUENCIES. AS NOTED REFTEL, THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE, IF ANY, GROUNDWORK DONE IN EITHER COMMUNITY TO FACILITATE THE KIND OF COMPROMISES NECESSARY. IRONICALLY, BOTH PARTIES HAD CONSISTENTLY FORECAST THEIR RESPECTIVE DIFFICULTIES - LACK OF TRUST MEANT THAT NEITHER ENTIRELY BELIEVED THE OTHER WAS SERIOUS. AS BERTIE AHERN SAID, ONLY IN THE LAST THREE DAYS HAD UUP AND SINN FEIN REALLY BEGUN TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE KEY ISSUES.

6. (C) COMMENT. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE FATIGUE FACTOR, AND EASTER HOLIDAYS, WILL LESSEN DISCUSSIONS AND REACTIONS OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS. HOWEVER, THE FIRST LOYALIST MARCH IS TO TAKE PLACE IN BELFAST APRIL 5 AND DISSIDENT LOYALISTS CONTINUE TO PERPETRATE RANDOM ACTS OF VIOLENCE. ALTHOUGH THE THREE PARTIES ALL REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD AGREEMENT ON A WAY FORWARD, THERE IS ALWAYS THE RISK HERE OF BACKSLIDING, IF NOT BACKLASH. NO ONE IS CERTAIN THE MOMENTUM CAN BE SUSTAINED. WE WILL BE TRACKING CLOSELY UNIONIST AND REPUBLICAN EFFORTS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES. END COMMENT. BRADTKE

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2918

TOR: 990401141830 M3777497

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OTTCZYUW RUEHDLA2008 1021616-CCCC--RHEHNSC.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4987  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0810  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0891  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: GOI GOING INTO RESUMED HILLSBOROUGH TALKS WITH  
 "MORE HOPE THAN CONFIDENCE"

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.80)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002008  
 STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/12/09  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: GOI GOING INTO RESUMED HILLSBOROUGH TALKS WITH  
 "MORE HOPE THAN CONFIDENCE"

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS  
 1.5 (B) AND (D) .

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: THE GOI GOES INTO RESUMED TALKS WITH  
 NORTHERN IRELAND PARTY LEADERS AT HILLSBOROUGH APRIL 13  
 WITH "SOME OPTIMISM" BASED ON THE FACT THE NEITHER SINN  
 FEIN NOR THE IRA HAS "OUTRIGHT REJECTED" THE HILLSBOROUGH  
 DECLARATION DESPITE SHARP REPUBLICAN CRITICISM OF IT AS  
 AN ATTEMPT TO "REWRITE" THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SINN  
 FEIN WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE RITA O'HARE TOLD US THAT,  
 WHILE THERE CAN BE NO "SURRENDER" OR "HANDOVER" OF IRA  
 ARMS, GERRY ADAMS IS PREPARED TO GIVE DAVID TRIMBLE  
 "COVER" IF TRIMBLE IS SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN MOVING  
 FORWARD. O'HARE NOTED THAT SENIOR SINN FEIN LEADERS HAVE  
 DECIDED TO RETURN TO HILLSBOROUGH WITH A CONSTRUCTIVE  
 APPROACH, WORKING TO DEVELOP POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE  
 DECLARATION. SHE DID NOT RULE OUT AN "ACT OF  
 RECONCILIATION" IF PROPERLY STRUCTURED SO THAT THERE IS  
 NO LINKAGE WITH SINN FEIN'S RIGHT TO TAKE ITS SEATS IN  
 THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE. EMBASSY HAS NOTED A  
 RECENT REPUBLICAN EMPHASIS ON THE KEY PHRASES NO WEAPONS  
 "SURRENDER" OR "HANDOVER." WHILE READING REPUBLICAN TEA  
 LEAVES IS DIFFICULT, WE SEE SOME INDICATION THIS COULD  
 REFLECT A DESIRE TO MAINTAIN FLEXIBILITY FOR A VOLUNTARY  
 IRA GESTURE OF ITSELF DESTROYING SOME OF ITS WEAPONS IN  
 THE RIGHT POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. END SUMMARY.

IRISH OFFICIALS -- "HOPE" FOR PROGRESS BASED ON WHAT SINN  
 FEIN ISN'T SAYING

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2. (C) WITH TALKS SET TO RESUME AT HILLSBOROUGH CASTLE APRIL 13, IRISH GOVERNMENT SOURCES ARE EXPRESSING "SOME" OPTIMISM THAT THE APRIL 1 HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION COULD FORM THE BASIS OF A RESOLUTION TO THE DECOMMISSIONING/EXECUTIVE IMPASSE. THIS DESPITE SINN FEIN'S STRONG CRITICISM OF THE DECLARATION IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS. PARTY CHAIRMAN MITCHELL MCLAUGHLIN CALLED IT "AN ATTEMPT TO REWRITE IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, ESPECIALLY THE DECOMMISSIONING SECTION SO THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INSTITUTIONS IS ON UNIONIST TERMS." SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS OBSERVED AT CEREMONIES MARKING THE 1916 EASTER REBELLION THAT THE "AGREEMENT WAS CLEARLY IN CRISIS." COMMENTING ON THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION'S OBSERVATION THAT DECOMMISSIONING WAS NOT A "PRECONDITION" BUT WAS AN "OBLIGATION" ON ALL PARTIES, ADAMS STRESSED THAT "SINN FEIN HAS MADE IT CLEAR, BOTH PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY, THAT WE CANNOT DELIVER THE DEMAND FOR IRA WEAPONS NO MATTER HOW IT IS PRESENTED." SINN FEIN LIAISON TO THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY, MARTIN MCGUINNESS, OFFERED HIS VIEW THAT THE IRA WOULD NEVER HAND OVER WEAPONS IN RESPONSE TO A "UNIONIST DEMAND."

3. (C) DESPITE THESE FORCEFUL REPUBLICAN PRONOUNCEMENTS, GOI OFFICIALS HAVE FOCUSED ON THE FACT THAT NEITHER SINN FEIN NOR THE IRA HAVE "OUTRIGHT REJECTED" THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION, DESPITE MEDIA INTERPRETATIONS TO THAT EFFECT. DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION FIRST SECRETARY ROY MONTGOMERY TOLD US APRIL 12, THAT, WHILE THE GOI WOULD BE GOING BACK TO HILLSBOROUGH "MORE WITH HOPE THAN CONFIDENCE," DUBLIN REMAINS CONVINCED THAT BOTH REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS GENUINELY WANT THE TALKS TO SUCCEED. FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS WILL LEAD THE GOI TEAM AT HILLSBOROUGH AT LEAST UNTIL THURSDAY, APRIL 15, WHEN THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS MIGHT REJOIN THE TALKS. MONTGOMERY TOLD US BLAIR AND AHERN WOULD MEET ON THE MARGINS OF THE EU SUMMIT APRIL 14 TO ASSESS THE SITUATION. MONTGOMERY EXPECTED THAT THEY WOULD REJOIN THE NEGOTIATION "IF THERE IS ANY SIGN OF LIFE IN IT AT ALL."

SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REP OFFERS "COVER" FOR TRIMBLE BUT NO "HANDOVER" OF IRA WEAPONS

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4. (C) AMBASSADOR AND POLOFF MET WITH SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVE TO WASHINGTON, RITA O'HARE, APRIL 8. O'HARE ECHOED PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS FROM SINN FEIN LEADERS THAT THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION WAS AN "UNACCEPTABLE REWRITING" OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SHE REITERATED THAT SINN FEIN "COULD NOT" DELIVER IRA DECOMMISSIONING AND WASN'T REQUIRED TO UNDER THE AGREEMENT. THERE WOULD BE "NO SURRENDER" OF IRA ARMS, SHE STRESSED. O'HARE ACKNOWLEDGED THE SINN FEIN'S RELATIONS WITH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN HAD BEEN "STRAINED" BY HIS SUPPORT (IN SINN FEIN'S VIEW) FOR THE "UNIONIST" POSITION ON DECOMMISSIONING AND HAD BEEN DETERIORATING SINCE "LAST OCTOBER." O'HARE WAS QUICK TO ADD, HOWEVER, ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 002008

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/12/09

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: GOI GOING INTO RESUMED HILLSBOROUGH TALKS WITH  
 "MORE HOPE THAN CONFIDENCE"

THAT SINN FEIN WAS STILL COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND WOULD "MOVE HEAVEN AND EARTH" TO AVOID A RETURN TO PARA-MILITARY VIOLENCE. SHE SAW NO PROSPECT OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE BREAKING DOWN EVEN IF THE NEGOTIATIONS AT HILLSBOROUGH FAILED TO RESOLVE THE CURRENT IMPASSE.

5. (S) O'HARE STRESSED THAT GERRY ADAMS UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO GIVE DAVID TRIMBLE POLITICAL "COVER." IF TRIMBLE WAS REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT WANTING TO MOVE FORWARD, ADAMS WAS PREPARED TO "STRETCH" THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUENCY "AGAIN". WHEN FURTHER QUESTIONED ON THIS POINT, HOWEVER, O'HARE INDICATED THAT "COVER" COULD NOT INCLUDE THE "HANDOVER" OF IRA HARDWARE

6. (S) O'HARE CONTACTED POLOFF AGAIN ON APRIL 12 TO PROVIDE US WITH A READOUT OF AN APRIL 9 MEETING OF SENIOR SINN FEIN LEADERS TO DISCUSS STRATEGY FOR THE RESUMED TALKS AT HILLSBOROUGH. SHE NOTED THAT SOME PARTY MEMBERS HAD WANTED TO PULL OUT OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS IN RESPONSE TO THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION, BUT THEY WERE CLEARLY IN THE MINORITY. THE DECISION WAS MADE TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS AND TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY TO SEE IF THERE WERE ELEMENTS OF THE DECLARATION THAT COULD BE DEVELOPED. SHE REMAINED OPTIMISTIC THAT A FORMULA WOULD BE WORKED OUT, "IF DAVID TRIMBLE IS REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT MOVING FORWARD." SHE REPEATEDLY RULED OUT "SURRENDER" OR "HANDOVER" OF REPUBLICAN WEAPONS BUT, INTERESTINGLY, DID HINT THAT AN IRA GESTURE OF DESTROYING SOME OF ITS OWN WEAPONS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE AT SOME POINT PROVIDED THERE WAS NO LINK BETWEEN SUCH A "GESTURE" AND SINN FEIN'S RIGHT TO ITS SEAT ON THE EXECUTIVE (WHICH, SHE INSISTED, WERE SINN FEIN'S "BY RIGHT" FROM ITS ELECTORAL MANDATE). SOME FORM OF "ACT OF RECONCILIATION" AS PROPOSED AT HILLSBOROUGH MIGHT BE CONCEIVABLE UNDER THE RIGHT CONDITIONS, O'HARE OBSERVED. O'HARE ALSO NOTED THAT THE GOI HAD BEEN MAKING AN EFFORT IN THE PAST WEEK TO MEND FENCES WITH SINN FEIN AND THAT RELATIONS WERE IMPROVED. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THE GOI'S DECISION TO RELEASE THE IRA BALCOMBE STREET BOMBERS AND THE TAOISEACH'S STATEMENTS DESCRIBING THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION AS "A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION" AND "NOT CARVED IN STONE" HAVE HELPED DEFUSE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE GOI AND SINN FEIN.

COMMENT

7. (S) READING IRA AND SINN FEIN PRONOUNCEMENTS, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, IS A BIT LIKE COLD WAR KREMLINOLOGY. OFTEN WHAT ISN'T SAID IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WHAT IS. ASIDE FROM THE ABSENCE OF AN "OUTRIGHT REJECTION" OF THE HILLSBOROUGH APPROACH, WE HAVE ALSO NOTED THE FOCUS OF REPUBLICAN LEADERS' STATEMENTS ON THE FACT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DECOMMISSIONING AS "A PRECONDITION," "AN OBLIGATION," OR IN "RESPONSE TO A UNIONIST DEMAND." THERE HAS ALSO BEEN AN INCREASING FOCUS ON THE PHRASE "NO WEAPONS HANDOVER" IN REPUBLICAN STATEMENTS BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE. THIS COULD INDICATE THAT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT MAY BE

LEAVING ITSELF AN OPENING FOR A VOLUNTARY STEP TO PUT SOME OF ITS WEAPONS "BEYOND USE" IN A WAY THAT MIGHT BE VERIFIABLE BY GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN AND THE

DECOMMISSIONING BODY. A LIKELY PREREQUISITE FOR SUCH A STEP, HOWEVER, WOULD BE PRIOR SEATING OF SINN FEIN IN A FULLY-EMPOWERED NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY ALL PARTIES THAT DECOMMISSIONING WAS NEITHER A "PRE" NOR "POST" CONDITION (PROBABLY TOO MUCH FOR DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE UUP TO SWALLOW). IN ANY EVENT, WE BELIEVE THAT SINN FEIN WILL RETURN TO HILLSBOROUGH SERIOUSLY ATTEMPTING TO FIND A WAY FORWARD. WHAT REMAINS IN DOUBT IS WHETHER THE REPUBLICAN AND UNIONISTS BOTTOM LINES CAN BE MADE SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE TO INTERSECT.  
END COMMENT.  
SCARLETT

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

**SSN:** 2008  
<^SSN>2008

**TOR:** 990412124057 M3795449  
<^TOR>990412124253 M3795453

**DIST:**  
SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA3209 1031727-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 131727Z APR 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 131727Z APR 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4809  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0863  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0949  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: NO OBVIOUS RESOLUTION TO IMPASSE  
 AS POLITICAL TALKS RECONVENE IN BELFAST

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1-81)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 003209

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BLINKEN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/13/04

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: NO OBVIOUS RESOLUTION TO IMPASSE  
 AS POLITICAL TALKS RECONVENE IN BELFAST

REF: A) DUBLIN 2008 B) LONDON 3071 C) LONDON 2918

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B).

2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY POLITICAL PLAYERS  
 ON THE EVE OF RECONVENED TALKS ON THE HILLSBOROUGH  
 DECLARATION REVEALED NO CONSENSUS ON THE WAY FORWARD NOR A  
 CLEAR PLAN FOR ACHIEVING SUCH CONSENSUS. BOTH THE ULSTER  
 UNIONISTS AND SINN FEIN APPEAR FIRMLY ENTRENCHED IN THEIR  
 POSITIONS. NEITHER THE BRITISH NOR IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS AS  
 YET MADE CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR BREAKING THE DEADLOCK. WHILE  
 THERE IS WIDESPREAD CONCERN THAT THE LONGER AN AGREEMENT IS  
 DELAYED THE HARDER IT WILL BE TO ACHIEVE, THE GOVERNMENTS DO  
 NOT NOW PLAN TO IMPOSE A NEW, EARLY DEADLINE. BLAIR AND  
 AHERN ARE LIKELY TO TRAVEL TO BELFAST ON APRIL 15 ONLY IF A  
 DEAL LOOKS DOABLE THIS WEEK. END SUMMARY.

3. ~~(S)~~ BELFAST CONSUL GENERAL AND EMBOFF MADE A ROUND OF  
 CALLS ON NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL LEADERS APRIL 12-13,  
 MEETING SEPARATELY WITH FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE,  
 DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON, PUP LEADER DAVID  
 ERVINE AND ASSEMBLY MEMBER BILLY HUTCHINSON, SINN FEIN  
 CHAIRMAN MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN, NIO UNDERSECRETARY FOR  
 SECURITY DAVID WATKINS, ANGLO-IRISH SECRETARIAT JOINT HEADS  
 PETER BELL (UK) AND DAVID DONOGHUE (EI), AND NIO ASSISTANT  
 SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS CHRIS MACCABE. TALKS WITH  
 OFFICIALS MADE CLEAR THAT NEITHER GOVERNMENT YET HAS A  
 CLEAR PICTURE OF HOW TO PROCEED, BEYOND THE NEXT TWO DAYS.  
 MOWLAM HELD A ROUND-TABLE MEETING THE MORNING OF APRIL 13,

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DURING WHICH SEIN FEIN AGAIN REJECTED THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION. TALKS CONTINUE THIS AFTERNOON WITH MOWLAM AND ANDREWS HOLDING TRILATERAL MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES.

4. (C) WHILE BOTH PM TONY BLAIR AND TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN ARE PREPARED TO RETURN TO BELFAST LATE ON APRIL 15, NO FIRM DECISION HAS BEEN MADE. NONE OF THE PARTIES SUPPORTED REIMPOSITION OF A DEADLINE NOR IS THERE ANY SUBSTANTIVE REASON THAT AGREEMENT MUST BE REACHED THIS WEEK. THEREFORE, IF PROMPT AGREEMENT DOES NOT APPEAR ACHIEVABLE, THE PRIME MINISTERS MAY NOT RETURN THIS WEEK. NONETHELESS, MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE TIME FACTOR WILL BEGIN TO WORK AGAINST PROSPECTS FOR RESOLVING THE ISSUE: IF THESE TALKS DRAG ON, MOMENTUM WILL BE LOST AND THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ITSELF JEOPARDIZED. THE REAL DEADLINE IS POLITICAL: ONSET OF THE SUMMER MARCHING SEASON AND THE START OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN MID-MAY WOULD EFFECTIVELY STYMIE CHANCES FOR PROGRESS.

TRIMBLE - STILL OUTWARDLY OPTIMISTIC  
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5. (C) CONSISTENT WITH HIS PUBLIC REMARKS, DAVID TRIMBLE WAS DETERMINEDLY OPTIMISTIC IN HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANCES FOR AN AGREEMENT, BASED ON THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION. HIS RATIONALE WAS THAT IRA RHETORIC IN THE EASTER SPEECHES HAD NOT REPEATED THE "NOT ONE BULLET" LANGUAGE; THEY HAD RULED OUT "SURRENDER" OR "HANOVER" OF WEAPONS, BUT THIS MIGHT LEAVE OPEN HE POSSIBILITY OF VERIFIABLE SELF-DESTRUCTION. EVERY SPEAKER HAD FINISHED WITH AN EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR THE SINN FE: IT APPEARS ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS ARE WELL IN CONTROL.

6. (C) TRIMBLE IS CONFIDENT HE CAN PERSUADE HIS PARTY TO ACCEPT THE TERM OF THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION - JUST BARELY. HE NOTED A GREAT DEAL OF UNEASE AND DISSATISFACTION, PARTICULARLY IN SOME OF THE RURAL UNIONIT CONSTITUTENCIES, LEADING TO SOME "FINGERNAL BITING" AMONG THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP. REFERRING TO NOMINATION OF EXECUTIVE MEMBERS PRIOR TO AN ACT OF DECOMMISSIONING, TRIMBLE SAID HE WAS GOING TO HAVE TO PERSUADE SOME OF HIS ASSEMBLYMEMBERS "NOT TO PUT DOWN A MARKER ABOUT SOMETHIN THAT CANNOT HAPPEN, BECAUSE IT (NOMINATION O THE EXECUTIVE) WILL."

7. (C) TRIMBLE SAID HE BELIEVES ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS ARE TRYIN TO PERSUADE OTHERS IN THEIR MOVEMENT OF THE NEED O TAKE A STEP ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE VOLUNTEED, WITHOUT BEING SPECIFIC, THAT HE WOULD DOWHAT HE COULD TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE IRA TO TAKE THIS. BUT WITHOUT IT, HE CANNOT GO ANY FATHER THAN HE ALREADY HAS. (COMMENT: THIS IS HE FIRST TIME IN CONVERSATIONS WITH US THAT TRIMBLE HAS IMPUTED GOOD FAITH TO ADAMS. END COMMENT.)

MALLON - OPENLY PESSIMISTIC  
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8. (C) IN CLEAR CONTRAST TO TRIMBLE, A SUBDUED SEAMUS MALLON WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT PROSPECTS  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 003209

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BLINKEN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/13/04

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: NO OBVIOUS RESOLUTION TO IMPASSE  
AS POLITICAL TALKS RECONVENE IN BELFAST

FOR THE WEEK. HE TERMED THE PLANNED ROUND OF BILATERAL MEETINGS "A SHAM" WHICH CANNOT PRODUCE THE DESIRED RESULT. MALLON STRONGLY CRITICISED SINN FEIN, SAYING THEY HAVE NOT MOVED SOON ENOUGH OR FAR ENOUGH TO PREPARE REPUBLICANS FOR ANY GESTURE ON WEAPONS. HOWEVER, HE ALSO COMPLAINED THAT THE ISSUANCE OF THE HILLSBOROUGH DELCARATION WAS AN "ACT OF DESPERATION" THAT WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY COORDINATED WITH THE PARTIES BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. HE STRESSED THAT THE GAP BETWEEN THE UNIONQREMENT FOR PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING AND THE REPUBLICAN REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THAT AS VALID REMAINS - AND HE MADE CLEAR THAT SDLP WOULD NOT ENTER AN EXECUTIVE THAT EXCLUDED SINN FEIN.

9. (c) MALLON CRITICIZED BOTH SIDES FOR ALLOWING THE FOCUS TO BECOME FIXED ON A SINGLE ISSUE, TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE BROADER POLITICAL PROCESS; HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS DID NOT HAVE FURTHER PLANS OR IDEAS TO SHIFT THIS FOCUS TOWARD FORMING THE EXECUTIVE AND DEVOLUTION. AFTER ASKING DIRECTLY WHETHER THE PRESIDENT HAD CALLED GERRY ADAMS DURING THE LAST TALKS, MALLON THEN URGED THE PRESIDENT TO "CALL IN HIS MARKERS" AND TELL ADAMS IT IS NOW TIME TO MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING.

MCLAUGHLIN - STILL ENGAGED BUT INFLEXIBLE  
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10. (c) ACCORDING TO MCLAUGHLIN, SINCE WELL BEFORE GOOD FRIDAY, SINN FEIN HAD WARNED THE GOVERNMENTS THAT IT CANNOT DELIVER IRA DECOMMISSIONING. HE DISMISSED THE HILLSBOROUGH DELCARATION'S DESCRIBING DECOMMISSIONING IS AN "OBLIGATION" RATHER THAN A "PRECONDITION," AND CALLING FOR IT "VOLUNTARILY" WITHIN SIX WEEKS, AS COSMETIC CHANGES THAT WOULD NOT PERSUADE IRA TO MOVE. MCLAUGHLIN SAID SINN FEIN WOULD RETURN TO THE TALKS, BUT OFFERED NO HINT THAT THEY WOULD BE MORE FLEXIBLE IN THEIR APPROACH. HE SAID SINN FEIN DID NOT OBJECT TO THE DECLARATION'S FOCUS ON "RECONCILIATION" OR, EVEN ON "PUTTING GUNS OUT OF REACH," ALTHOUGH WHAT THESE TERMS MEAN IS UNCLEAR. AS LONG AS SINN FEIN IS NOT ASKED TO AGREE TO CONDITIONS OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT - AS PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING WOULD BE - THEN SINN FEIN IS WILLING TO CONSIDER SUCH CONCEPTS.

ERVINE - LEFT OUT AND FRUSTRATED  
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11. (c) DAVID ERVINE AND BILLY HUTCHINSON WERE SCATHING IN THEIR CRITICISM OF THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION. IN ERVINE'S VIEW, TONY BLAIR HAS DRIVEN THE PROCESS INTO A CUL DE SAC "AND IS DRAGGING BILL CLINTON WITH HIM INTO A PROCESS WHICH CANNOT PRODUCE A SUCCESS." THE ONLY WAY FORWARD, SAID ERVINE, IS TO FULLY AND COMPLETELY IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT. DECOMMISSIONING SHOULD NOT BE THE CENTRAL ISSUE, SINCE, IN THE PUP'S VIEW, THE IRA WILL NOT ACCEPT THE NEED TO DO IT NOW. BY DELAYING THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE OVER DECOMMISSIONING, THE GOVERNMENTS GIVE AID AND COMFORT TO THE AGREEMENT'S OPPONENTS. IF THE PROCESS WERE TO COLLAPSE OVER IT, ERVINE SAID, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD JUST HAVE TO USE A "BEEFED UP ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT" TO IMPOSE OVER UNIONISTS' HEADS.

OFFICIALS ON NORMALIZATION, RECONCILIATION, NEXT STEPS  
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12. (C) WE DISCUSSED WITH NIO SECURITY AND POLITICAL OFFICIALS POSSIBLE NEXT STEPS IN TWEAKING THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION. NIO SECURITY CHIEF WATKINS NOTED DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SECURITY "NORMALIZATION" PAPER BEING DRAFTED ON A FURTHER DRAWDOWN OF BRITISH FORCES IN THE PROVINCE. WATKINS SAID THAT PROCESS IS DRIVEN BY THE THREAT LEVEL, WHICH BECAUSE OF CIRA, RIRA AND SPLINTER LOYALIST ATTACKS, IS NOT DIMINISHING. MOREOVER, THE MASSIVE RUC RESOURCES WHICH HAVE TO BE DEVOTED TO POLICING PORTADOWN AS LONG AS THE DRUMCREE STANDOFF CONTINUES MEANS THE ARMY IS REQUIRED TO PICK UP PATROLLING DUTIES ELSEWHERE. NONETHELESS, PETER BELL INTIMATED, MOWLAM IS DEMANDING A "POLITICALLY DRIVEN" PAPER WHICH COULD BE OFFERED AS AN INCENTIVE FOR IRA MOVEMENT ON WEAPONS.

13. (C) BELL ALSO NOTED THE PROBLEMS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS WITH SINN FEIN DEMANDS FOR IRA "EQUIVALENCE" TO THE BRITISH ARMY AND THE RUC IN ANY RECONCILIATION GESTURES. WHILE THE UK SECURITY FORCES ARE PREPARED TO MAKE APPROPRIATE GESTURES, "THAT CANNOT INCLUDE A BRITISH PARATROOPER STANDING ALONGSIDE A MASKED IRA VOLUNTEER AND SALUTING AS THEY EACH LAY DOWN A SYMBOLIC RIFLE IN FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL." NIO POLITICAL CHIEF MACCABE CONFIRMED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS LOOKING FOR WAYS TO SATISFY REPUBLICANS WHILE NOT COMPROMISING BASIC PRINCIPLES BY  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 003209

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND BLINKEN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/13/04

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: NO OBVIOUS RESOLUTION TO IMPASSE AS POLITICAL TALKS RECONVENE IN BELFAST

DENIGRATING LEGITIMATE SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS.

14. (C) COMMENT. THE GENERAL OUTLOOK HERE IS DEFINITELY DOWNBEAT. WE GOT NO SENSE THAT PARTIES OR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE CLEAR PLANS FOR THE WAY FORWARD. PERHAPS THE MOST POSITIVE NOTE IS THAT ALL WANT TO FIND A SOLUTION AND ALL RECOGNIZE THAT TIME IS RUNNING OUT.  
END COMMENT.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03

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SSN: 3209

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DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER DAVIDSON SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0900  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS -- IF NOT  
 "PARKED" AT LEAST STALLED

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1.82)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D) .

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 002402

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/27/09  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS -- IF NOT  
 "PARKED" AT LEAST STALLED

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D) .

## SUMMARY

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1. ~~(S)~~ MARTIN MANSERGH, SENIOR ADVISOR TO TAOISEACH  
 AHERN, TOLD US APRIL 27 THAT THE PEACE PROCESS WAS NOT  
 "PARKED" DESPITE THE FACT THAT IT WASN'T CURRENTLY  
 MOVING. IRELAND AND THE UK WERE CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS  
 WITH THE PARTIES ALTHOUGH THE PROBLEM AT THE MOMENT  
 SEEMED "FAIRLY INTRACTABLE." MANSERGH OBSERVED THAT THE  
 UPCOMING EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS WERE ALREADY  
 LIMITING DAVID TRIMBLE'S FLEXIBILITY AS HE FOUGHT TO  
 LIMIT THE DAMAGE AN EXPECTED STRONG SHOWING BY MEP IAN  
 PAISLEY WOULD HAVE ON PRO-AGREEMENT SUPPORT. HE CHALKED  
 UP RECENT SINN FEIN HARD-LINE STATEMENTS TO AN EFFORT TO  
 PROVE TO IRA "HARD MEN" THAT SINN FEIN'S POLITICAL  
 LEADERSHIP HADN'T "GONE SOFT" AT HILLSBOROUGH. MANSERGH  
 ALSO REPORTED STIRINGS AMONG LOYALISTS TO MAKE A MOVE ON  
 DECOMMISSIONING IN ORDER TO BUILD PRESSURE ON SINN  
 FEIN/IRA. PM'S BLAIR AND AHERN, MANSERGH SAID, REMAINED  
 IN REGULAR CONTACT, AND BLAIR HAD INDICATED A POSSIBILITY  
 OF ASKING PRESIDENT CLINTON TO BECOME MORE CLOSELY  
 INVOLVED. IN EMBASSY'S VIEW, DESPITE GOI PUBLIC  
 PROTESTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY, THE PEACE PROCESS WILL BE  
 DE FACTO "PARKED" FOR THE SUMMER IN THE ABSENCE OF A  
 BREAKTHROUGH IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PEACE PROCESS: STALLED BUT NOT PARKED  
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2. (e) MANSERGH TOLD DCM AND POLOFF APRIL 27 THAT THE PEACE PROCESS WAS NOT-"PARKED" (ALTHOUGH THE VEHICLE IS NOT MOVING) BECAUSE THE UK AND IRELAND ARE STILL "TRYING TO PUSH IT." NONETHELESS, MANSERGH OBSERVED THAT THE SITUATION WAS "FAIRLY INTRACTABLE" AT THE MOMENT. A DECISION MAY HAVE TO BE TAKEN TO "PARK" THE PROCESS UNTIL THE AUTUMN AT SOME POINT, ALTHOUGH DUBLIN AND LONDON WOULD PROBABLY NEVER SAY PUBLICLY THAT WAS WHAT WAS HAPPENING. HE NOTED THAT NORTHERN IRELAND WAS ALREADY IN A "PRE-ELECTION" ATMOSPHERE, RUNNING UP TO THE JUNE 11 EURO-PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS. DAVID TRIMBLE DOESN'T HAVE A LOT OF ROOM TO MANEUVER AT THIS TIME AS HE NEEDED A "DECENT SHOWING" AGAINST EURO-MP CANDIDATE IAN PAISLEY WHO IS TRYING TO PORTRAY THE ELECTION AS A SECOND REFERENDUM ON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SADDLED WITH A UUP CANDIDATE BADLY HAMPERED BY PERSONAL PROBLEMS, TRIMBLE COULD NOT AFFORD TO RISK ALIENATING MORE OF HIS UNIONIST CONSTITUENCY BY SHOWING ANY MORE FLEXIBILITY ON THE DECOMMISSIONING/ EXECUTIVE IMPASSE.
  
3. (e) MANSERGH SAID THAT "LOW-LEVEL" TALKS WOULD CONTINUE IN BELFAST THIS WEEK, BUT NOT MUCH WAS REALLY HAPPENING. THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS WERE PREPARED TO ENGAGE AGAIN WHEN THERE SEEMED TO BE SOMETHING FOR THEM TO EXPLORE. MANSERGH NOTED THAT THE TAOISEACH HAD SPOKEN WITH PM BLAIR "THIS MORNING." BLAIR HAD REPORTED A LONG CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON IN WASHINGTON ON NORTHERN IRELAND PRIOR TO THE NATO SUMMIT. BLAIR TOLD AHERN THAT DIDN'T EXCLUDE SEEKING "CLOSER INVOLVEMENT" BY THE PRESIDENT TO GET THE PROCESS MOVING AGAIN.
  
4. (e) THE PARTY TALKS AT STORMONT NOW WERE FOCUSED, MANSERGH OBSERVED, ON TRYING TO FIND SOME NEW WAY FORWARD BASED ON ELEMENTS OF THE "DEAD" HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION AND/OR JOHN HUME INITIATIVE WHICH PUTS THE SPOTLIGHT BACK ON GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN AND THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY. HE SAID IT HAD TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED THE TRIMBLE AND THE UUP HAD SHOWN SOME FLEXIBILITY AT HILLSBOROUGH IN THE DIRECTION OF SOFTENING THEIR POSITION THAT DECOMMISSIONING WAS A "PRECONDITION" FOR FORMING THE EXECUTIVE. THIS, HE SAID, WOULD BE HELPFUL WHEN AND IF THE REPUBLICANS ARE READY TO MOVE. HE ALSO CONTENDED THAT GERRY ADAMS HAD AGREED TO TAKE THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION TO THE IRA WITH A VIEW TO MOVING FORWARD BUT HAD QUICKLY COME BACK WITH A NEGATIVE ANSWER. MANSERGH VIEWS SINN FEIN'S RECENT PUBLIC INTRANSIGENCE AS PARTLY AN EFFORT TO SHOW THE IRA'S "HARD MAN" THAT THE POLITICAL ARM OF REPUBLICANISM HADN'T "GONE SOFT" AT HILLSBOROUGH.
  
5. (e) MANSERGH INDICATED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN "STIRRINGS" IN THE LOYALIST COMMUNITY (PRIMARILY WITHIN THE UDA) ABOUT TAKING SOME STEP ON DECOMMISSIONING TO INCREASE THE POLITICAL PRESSURE ON SINN FEIN AND THE IRA. IN MANSERGH'S ANALYSIS, WHILE THE LOYALISTS WOULDN'T CONSIDER THIS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HILLSBOROUGH DECLARATION, WHERE LOYALIST AGREEMENT TO A DECOMMISSIONING ACT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SEEN AS HELPING SINN FEIN GET INTO GOVERNMENT, IT MIGHT HAVE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES IN THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH SINN FEIN HAS RETURNED TO A HARD LINE. OF COURSE, MANSERGH

CAUTIONED, THE UDA HAS "CONTEMPLATED" SUCH A MOVE BEFORE AND ALWAYS DECIDED AGAINST IT. THERE WAS NO GUARANTEE THAT THEY WOULD ARRIVE AT A DIFFERENT CONCLUSION NOW.

6. (C) DCM ASKED HOW THE QUESTIONS OF RUC REFORM AND THE ROSEMARY NELSON INQUIRY WERE AFFECTING THE NEGOTIATIONS. MANSERGH REPLIED THAT THERE IS "A VIEW" THAT SOME REPUBLICANS HAVE DECIDED TO HOLD UP THE PEACE PROCESS IN ORDER TO BRING THE PATTON COMMISSION REPORT AND RUC REFORM INTO PLAY IN THE AUTUMN. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS VIEW RAN DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO SINN FEIN'S PUBLIC INSISTENCE THAT THE PROCESS SHOULD NOT BE "PARKED." AS FOR THE GOI'S VIEW, MANSERGH SAID, IRELAND HAS "A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF FAITH IN CHRIS PATTON" TO RELEASE A BALANCED REPORT. ON THE NELSON KILLING, MANSERGH COMMENTED THAT THE TAOISEACH HAS HIS VIEW CLEAR THAT A BROAD INTERNATIONAL ENQUIRY WAS NEEDED, BUT ALSO THAT THERE HAD TO BE SOME REGARD FOR PRACTICALITY IN NOT EXCLUDING ANY RUC INVOLVEMENT. MANSERGH COMMENTED BRIEFLY ON THE APRIL 22 CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON RUC REFORM ONLY TO NOTE THAT THE NEW HEAD OF THE SINN FEIN OFFICE IN WASHINGTON (RITA O'HARE) HAS GREATLY IMPROVED SINN FEIN'S EFFORTS TO GET ITS VIEWS HEARD ON THE HILL.

COMMENT

7. (C) MANSERGH OFFERED NO SPECIAL REVELATIONS IN THIS DISCUSSION, BUT IT DID SERVE TO HIGHLIGHT THE CURRENT GOI CONUNDRUM -- IT DOESN'T WANT TO PARK THE PROCESS BUT HAS NO GOOD IDEA HOW TO GET IT MOVING FORWARD AGAIN. WHILE THE DANGERS TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT OF "PARKING" UNTIL THE FALL ARE FULLY UNDERSTOOD, THE EURO-ELECTIONS AND SUMMER MARCHING SEASON DRAW EVER CLOSER AND MAKE THE PROSPECTS FOR ANY EARLY BREAKTHROUGH EVER MORE DIFFICULT. WHILE WE NEVER FORESEE A FORMAL DECISION TO PARK THE PROCESS AND FULLY EXPECT TALKS AT SOME LEVEL TO CONTINUE INDEFINITELY, WE ANTICIPATE THE PEACE PROCESS WILL BE "DE FACTO" PARKED IN THE ABSENCE OF AN UNEXPECTED BREAKTHROUGH IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. END COMMENT

SULLIVAN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 2402

TOR: 990428130655 M3827027

DIST:

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 RUEHVJ/AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO 1025  
 SUBJ: SINN FEIN'S MCLAUGHLIN SAYS CHANGE IN POLITICAL  
 CONTEXT COULD LEAD TO DECOMMISSIONING BY MAY 2000

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (1.27)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 005983

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY  
 NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECLAS 01/07/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: SINN FEIN'S MCLAUGHLIN SAYS CHANGE IN POLITICAL  
 CONTEXT COULD LEAD TO DECOMMISSIONING BY MAY 2000

REFS: LONDON 5526 AND PREVIOUS

1. CLASSIFIED BY A/DCM JUDITH R. JOHNSON FOR REASONS 1.5  
 (D).

2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. DURING A JULY 8 BRIEFING, SINN FEIN (SF)  
 LEADER MITCHELL MCLAUGHLIN TOLD A/DCM THAT THE IRA WILL NOT  
 DECOMMISSION ABSENT A CHANGE IN "POLITICAL CONTEXT" BROUGHT  
 ABOUT BY ESTABLISHMENT OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, PATTEN REPORT  
 IMPLEMENTATION, AND OTHER GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT MEASURES.  
 EXPRESSING LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP)  
 LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE'S DILEMMA, MCLAUGHLIN SPECULATED THAT  
 TRIMBLE IS ACTUALLY ANTI-AGREEMENT AND IS USING  
 DECOMMISSIONING AS AN EXCUSE TO AVOID POWER-SHARING. HE GAVE  
 NO CLEAR REPLY TO THE A/DCM'S QUESTION WHETHER A PARTY  
 ASSOCIATED WITH A PARAMILITARY GROUP THAT FAILS TO  
 DECOMMISSION WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE A DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT.  
 MCLAUGHLIN CLAIMED SF WILL WORK WITH WHOEVER LEADS THE UUP,  
 BUT PREDICTED THAT TRIMBLE COULD RESIGN ON OR ABOUT JULY 15.  
 HE CALLED ANY SDLP FAIL-SAFE "GUARANTEE" UNHELPFUL AND  
 UNENFORCEABLE, BUT PLEDGED THAT EVEN IF THE AGREEMENT  
 COLLAPSES SF WILL STAY THE COURSE TO MAKE THE "GOOD FRIDAY  
 AGREEMENT IDEAS" WORK. END SUMMARY.

3. ~~(S)~~ IN A JULY 8 CONVERSATION, SINN FEIN LEADER MITCHELL  
 MCLAUGHLIN AND SINN FEIN LONDON REPRESENTATIVE MARTIN  
 MCGOVERN BRIEFED A/DCM JUDITH JOHNSON ON THEIR PARTY'S VIEW  
 OF THE STATE OF PLAY OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS.  
 POLOFF (NOTETAKER) ALSO PARTICIPATED.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

4. (C) MCLAUGHLIN EMPHASIZED THAT THERE IS NO CURRENT COMMITMENT FROM THE IRA TO DECOMMISSION. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT DECOMMISSIONING, ALTHOUGH "A LEGITIMATE ISSUE", IS NOT THE KEY ISSUE, BUT A RED HERRING VEHICLE FOR RELUCTANT UNIONISTS TO AVOID POWER-SHARING WITH CATHOLICS. HE CITED COOPERATION BETWEEN UNIONISTS AND SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES ON LOCAL COUNCILS AS EVIDENCE OF IDEOLOGICAL FUDGING BY UNIONISTS WHO NOW REFUSE TO SIT IN GOVERNMENT WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL DECOMMISSIONING OCCURS. MCLAUGHLIN STRESSED THAT THERE IS HOPE THAT A CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE WOULD "CREATE SPACE" FOR CHANGE. HE UNDERScoreD SINN FEIN'S STANCE THAT CREATION OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, IMPLEMENTATION OF EXPECTED PATTEN COMMISSION (POLICE REFORM) RECOMMENDATIONS, AND FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE WOULD SO ALTER THE "POLITICAL CONTEXT THAT WE COULD SUCCESSFULLY ADDRESS DECOMMISSIONING" BY THE MAY 2000 DEADLINE.

5. (C) MCLAUGHLIN EXPRESSED LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR UUP LEADER AND FIRST MINISTER OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND SHADOW ASSEMBLY DAVID TRIMBLE'S DILEMMA, CLAIMING THAT TRIMBLE SQUANDERED THE LAST YEAR'S POST-OMAGH BOMBING OPPORTUNITY TO SET UP THE EXECUTIVE. SPECULATING THAT "CIVIC UNIONISM" IS WAY AHEAD OF "POLITICAL UNIONISM," MCLAUGHLIN CLAIMED THAT TRIMBLE COULD STILL WIN THE HEARTS AND MINDS CAMPAIGN TO ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE CURRENTLY ON OFFER BY USING THE COMBINED SUPPORTIVE STATEMENTS OF GRASS ROOTS GROUPS, CHURCH LEADERS, THE G-7 BUSINESS LEADERS, AND LOYALISTS SUCH AS DAVID ERVINE, TO PROMOTE ACCEPTANCE. POSITING THAT ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) LEADER AND FIRST MINISTER OF THE SHADOW NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY DAVID TRIMBLE IS, IN FACT, AN ANTI-GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT POLITICIAN, MCLAUGHLIN PORTRAYED TRIMBLE'S APPARENT DIFFICULTY AS A POLITICAL POSITION, RATHER THAN A POLITICAL DILEMMA.

6. (C) A/DCM ASKED WHETHER SINN FEIN ACCEPTS THE PRINCIPLE THAT IF A PARTY ASSOCIATED WITH A PARAMILITARY GROUP FAILS TO DECOMMISSION IT SHOULD NOT STAY IN A DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. MCLAUGHLIN DID NOT GIVE A DIRECT ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION.

7. (C) MCLAUGHLIN REVIEWED THE TIMETABLE FOR FORMING THE EXECUTIVE, SHOULD AGREEMENT BE REACHED. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD TRIGGER D'HONDT ON JULY 15, TABLE LEGISLATION ON THE 16TH, AND COMPLETE FULL DEVOLUTION ON THE 18TH. MCLAUGHLIN PREDICTED THAT "TRIMBLE WILL TAKE THE JULY 15 DEADLINE TO THE WIRE ON DECOMMISSIONING, AND THEN RESIGN." HE NOTED THAT TRIMBLE OFTEN BLURS HIS UUP LEADER AND FIRST MINISTER ROLES, FORGETTING THAT EVEN IF HE LOSES THE UUP LEADERSHIP HE COULD CONTINUE AS FIRST MINISTER.

8. (C) IF TRIMBLE DOES RESIGN, THERE ARE UNION LEADERS WHO SUPPORT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, SOME OF WHOM ARE WAITING TO MOUNT A CHALLENGE TO TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP. SINN FEIN WILL WORK WITH WHOEVER WINDS UP ON THE WINNING HORSE, AS IT IS CONFIDENT THAT THOSE IN OR NEAR THE UUP LEADERSHIP WOULD BE MORE "PROGRESSIVE" THAN TRIMBLE. MCLAUGHLIN PLEDGED THAT SHOULD THE AGREEMENT COLLAPSE, SINN FEIN WILL "BE THERE NEXT WEEK, AND THE WEEK AFTER, AND THE WEEK AFTER. WE WILL MAKE IT WORK SOMETIME." HE ARGUED THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD NEVERTHELESS IMPLEMENT STAND-ALONE GOOD

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 005983

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY  
NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECLAS 01/07/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN'S MCLAUGHLIN SAYS CHANGE IN POLITICAL  
CONTEXT COULD LEAD TO DECOMMISSIONING BY MAY 2000

FRIDAY ITEMS SUCH AS THE EQUALITY AGENDA, PATTEN COMMISSION  
RECOMMENDATIONS, ALL-IRELAND BODIES, AND DEMILITARIZATION  
PROGRAMS, EVEN WITHOUT UUP PARTICIPATION.

9. (e) ASKED ABOUT SINN FEIN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SDLP,  
MCLAUGHLIN REPLIED THAT SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME AND SF'S GERRY  
ADAMS WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER. ALTHOUGH SF IS NOT AS CLOSE TO  
SDLP DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON, MCLAUGHLIN SAID  
MALLON HAS AN IMPORTANT MODERATING INFLUENCE OVER DAVID  
TRIMBLE. THERE COULD BE NO SDLP "GUARANTEE" TO OUST SINN  
FEIN FROM THE EXECUTIVE IF THE IRA FAILS TO DECOMMISSION,  
HOWEVER. IT WOULD BE MISLEADING ON TWO BASES: FIRST, THE  
GUARANTEE MIGHT NOT BE ENDORSED BY HUME AND OTHER SDLP  
LEADERS; AND SECOND, BECAUSE THE GUARANTEE IS NOT CONTAINED  
IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, IT IS UNENFORCEABLE, AND,  
CONSEQUENTLY, UNHELPFUL. MCLAUGHLIN CAUTIONED THAT TONY  
BLAIR ALSO MUST BE CAREFUL ABOUT GIVING PLEDGES ON WHICH HE  
CANNOT DELIVER.

10. (e) IN CLOSING REMARKS, MCLAUGHLIN PORTRAYED TRIMBLE'S  
CALL FOR MO MOWLAM'S RESIGNATION "A DISGRACE" STATING THAT  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND HAS CREDIBILITY  
WITH REPUBLICANS, NATIONALISTS, AND OTHER UNIONIST PARTIES.  
HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THE DISCIPLINE DEMONSTRATED BY THE  
ORANGE ORDER DURING THE JULY 4 DRUMCREE PARADE EVENTS,  
STATING THAT THEIR RESTRAINT ALLOWED THAT GROUP TO "RECOVER  
SOME DIGNITY AND RESPECT."

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02  
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<^TOR>990712120108 M3955139  
DIST:  
SIT: BLINKEN BUTLER SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: DAVIES

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 RUEHVJ/AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY 1028  
 SUBJ: "FAIL-SAFE" BILL PUBLISHED; TRIMBLE WANTS STRONGER  
 PROVISIONS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0152-M (1.88)

KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 006042

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY  
 NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958:07/13/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: "FAIL-SAFE" BILL PUBLISHED; TRIMBLE WANTS STRONGER  
 PROVISIONS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY A/DCM JUDITH R. JOHNSON FOR REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D).

2. (U) SUMMARY. UNIONISTS VIEW TONY BLAIR'S PROPOSED FAIL-  
 SAFE LEGISLATION, PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON JULY  
 12, AS "FLAWED AND UNFAIR" IN THAT IT:

- OMITTS A SPECIFIC TIMETABLE FOR DECOMMISSIONING  
 COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS;
- FAILS AUTOMATICALLY TO OUST ASSEMBLY PARTIES WHOSE  
 ASSOCIATED PARAMILITARY GROUPS FAIL TO DECOMMISSION; AND
- FAILS TO LINK PRISONER RELEASES WITH DECOMMISSIONING  
 PROGRESS.

NEITHER NIO NOR UUP INTERLOCUTORS EXPECT PARLIAMENT TO ADOPT  
 JOINT UUP-TORY AMENDMENTS ADDRESSING THESE ISSUES. A TRIMBLE  
 ASSOCIATE DID NOT INDICATE WHAT TRIMBLE WOULD DO IF HIS  
 CONCERNS ARE NOT ADDRESSED SATISFACTORILY, ALTHOUGH THIS  
 CONTACT STRESSED THAT U.S. PRESSURE TO SECURE AN IRA  
 STATEMENT OF INTENT VIS-A-VIS DECOMMISSIONING COULD HAVE A  
 POSITIVE EFFECT. END SUMMARY.

SCHEDULE - DESIGNED FOR RAPID MOVEMENT  
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3. (U) ON JULY 12, TONY BLAIR'S LABOUR GOVERNMENT PRESENTED  
 THE PROPOSED NORTHERN IRELAND ACT 1999 TO THE HOUSE OF  
 COMMONS. THE "FAIL-SAFE" BILL, DESIGNED TO GIVE NORTHERN  
 IRELAND ASSEMBLY FIRST MINISTER AND ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY  
 (UUP) LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE THE POLITICAL AND ACTUAL COVER HE

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NEEDS TO FORM AN EXECUTIVE WITHOUT IRA DECOMMISSIONING, IS SCHEDULED FOR DEBATE - AND PASSAGE- BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE 13TH. IF, AS EXPECTED, THE HOUSE OF LORDS APPROVES THE BILL ON THE 14TH, HMG WOULD PLAN TO TRIGGER D'HONDT ON THE 15TH. SHOULD HMG'S PLANS PROCEED SMOOTHLY, IT WOULD TABLE DEVOLUTION LEGISLATION THE 16TH, AND COMPLETE DEVOLUTION ON THE 18TH. THE UUP'S CONCERNS THAT THE FAIL-SAFE MECHANISM ON OFFER IS "FLAWED AND UNFAIR" COULD PROVE THE STUMBLING BLOCK.

MAJOR PROVISIONS  
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4. (U) AS IT STANDS, THE BILL WOULD EMPOWER THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND OR THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION TO GIVE FORMAL NOTICE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A FAILURE TO MEET COMMITMENTS RELATING TO EITHER DECOMMISSIONING (BOTH AUTHORITIES) OR DEVOLUTION (THE SECRETARY OF STATE). IF THE SECRETARY OF STATE SO FINDS, HE/SHE MUST ISSUE A SUSPENSION ORDER PROHIBITING THE ASSEMBLY FROM PASSING LAWS, HOLDING MEETINGS UNRELATED TO THE SUSPENSION, OR HOLDING ELECTIONS. THE SUSPENSION AUTOMATICALLY LAPSES AFTER 40 DAYS UNLESS THE SUSPENSION ORDER IS APPROVED BY EACH OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. AFTER FOUR MONTHS, THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS WOULD TAKE STEPS TO RECAPTURE THE DEVOLVED POWERS.

UNIONISTS DEMAND TIMETABLE, PARTY EXCLUSION, PRISONER RELEASE SUSPENSION  
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5. (U) A RELIABLE CONTACT IN TRIMBLE'S BELFAST OFFICE CONFIRMED TO BELFAST CG TODAY (JULY 13) THAT THE SO-CALLED FAIL-SAFE PROVISIONS ARE PERCEIVED BY UNIONISTS AS "SERIOUSLY DEFICIENT." CONTRARY TO UNIONIST DESIRES, THE BILL DOES NOT SPECIFICALLY STATE THAT ANY PARTY THAT FAILS TO MEET ITS GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT OBLIGATIONS WILL BE OUSTED FROM GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR OUSTER FROM A POST-MAY 2000 GOVERNMENT IS ALREADY CONTAINED IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, IT IS CONTINGENT ON CROSS-COMMUNITY SUPPORT. OUR BELFAST INTERLOCUTOR NOTED THAT TO DATE THE SDLP HAS BEEN UNWILLING TO MAKE AN A PRIORI STATEMENT THAT IT WOULD EXCLUDE SINN FEIN SHOULD THE IRA FAIL IN ITS DECOMMISSIONING OBLIGATIONS. SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME'S STATEMENT JULY 13 THAT HE WOULD NOT SIT IN THE EXECUTIVE WITH A PARTY USING OR THREATENING TO USE VIOLENCE WAS INSUFFICIENT, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, TO REASSURE UNIONISTS ABOUT THE LEGISLATIVE DEFICIENCIES.

6. (U) ANOTHER MAJOR UNIONIST/TORY AMENDMENT INCLUDES SEVERAL PASSAGES SPECIFICALLY LINKING FAILURE TO DECOMMISSION WITH SUSPENSION OF PRISONER RELEASES FOR THE OFFENDING PARTY'S ASSOCIATED PARAMILITARY GROUP. NIO CONTACTS SAY THAT BECAUSE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT DID NOT LINK DECOMMISSIONING AND PRISONER RELEASES, IT IS "INCONCEIVABLE" THAT HMG WOULD AGREE TO DO SO NOW. NEVERTHELESS, THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL TAKE FAILURE TO COOPERATE WITH THE DECHASTELAIN COMMISSION INTO ACCOUNT WHEN DETERMINING WHETHER PARAMILITARIES CONTINUE ON CEASEFIRE. SINCE THE SENTENCING ACT SPECIFICALLY LINKS EARLY PRISONER RELEASE WITH  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 006042

SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERY  
NSC FOR BUTLER

E.O. 12958:07/13/09

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: "FAIL-SAFE" BILL PUBLISHED; TRIMBLE WANTS STRONGER PROVISIONS

MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE, LACK OF COOPERATION COULD INFLUENCE PRISONER RELEASE DECISIONS. UNIONISTS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH LANGUAGE FROM THE GOVERNMENT IS TOO VAGUE.

7. (C) HMG IS ALSO "DISINCLINED" TO AGREE TO WRITE A SPECIFIC TIMETABLE INTO THE FAIL-SAFE BILL. THE UNIONISTS/TORIES HAVE PROPOSED THAT IF THE PARAMILITARIES FAIL TO DESIGNATE A POINT OF CONTACT TO THE DECHASTELAIN COMMISSION WITHIN FOUR DAYS OF THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE LEGISLATION, OR FAIL TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING WITHIN 4 WEEKS OF THAT DATE, THE SUSPENSION PROCESS WOULD BE TRIGGERED AUTOMATICALLY. THE GOVERNMENT POSITION IS THAT THE POWER TO SET TIMETABLES WAS VESTED IN THE DECHASTELAIN COMMISSION, WHICH SHOULD BE LEFT, WITHIN THE MAY 2000 LIMIT, TO DETERMINE THE MOST APPROPRIATE TIMEFRAMES.

TRIMBLE WILL "GO TO THE WIRE"  
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8. (C) OUR NIO CONTACT DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS WOULD ACCEPT ANY OF THE MAJOR UNIONIST/CONSERVATIVE-PROPOSED AMENDMENTS. HE ALSO FELT IT UNLIKELY THAT THE IRA, SDLP, OR THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL COME FORWARD WITH ANY ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS TO HELP TRIMBLE. SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME HAS ALREADY SAID HE DOESN'T INTEND TO SIT IN GOVERNMENT WITH PEOPLE WITH GUNS, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT HE WILL REINTERPRET THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT TO REQUIRE DECOMMISSIONING BEFORE MAY 2000. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID THAT MINISTERS' COMMENTS DURING THE COURSE OF THE DEBATE COULD BE SUFFICIENT TO GIVE TRIMBLE THE EXTRA SUPPORT HE NEEDS TO TAKE THE "LEAP OF FAITH" AND "CALL SINN FEIN'S BLUFF." THE PEACEFULNESS OF THE JULY 12 ORANGE ORDER PARADE IN BELFAST GAVE TRIMBLE EXTRA CREDIBILITY, OUR CONTACT NOTED. HE BELIEVES THAT TRIMBLE DOES STILL HAVE ROOM TO MANEUVER. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT HE BELIEVES TRIMBLE WILL "GO TO THE WIRE" BEFORE MAKING A DECISION, AND WON'T PUSH THE UUP IF THERE IS A REAL THREAT TO HIS, TRIMBLE'S, LEADERSHIP.

A REQUEST FOR U.S. HELP IN GETTING AN IRA DECOMMISSIONING STATEMENT  
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9. (C) A BELFAST UUP CONTACT WAS SIMILARLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF PASSING ANY OF THE PROPOSED UNIONIST AMENDMENTS, BUT GAVE NO HINT AS TO WHAT TRIMBLE WOULD DO SHOULD HE DECIDE NOT TO ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED WAY FORWARD. HE STRESSED THAT UNIONISTS REMAIN DEEPLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT SINN FEIN AND/OR IRA COMMITMENT TO DECOMMISSIONING. UNIONISTS, HE NOTED, BELIEVE THAT IN EARLY JULY SINN FEIN CREATED AN ILLUSION OF SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT IN THEIR DECOMMISSIONING POSITION - THE "SEISMIC SHIFT" WHICH ON CLOSE EXAMINATION PROVED ILLUSORY. EVEN AT THIS LATE DATE, ANYTHING THE U.S. COULD DO TO PRESS SINN FEIN/IRA TO ISSUE A STATEMENT TO CLARIFY THEIR COMMITMENT TO DECOMMISSIONING, THIS CONTACT STRESSED, WOULD BE DEEPLY APPRECIATED, AND HAVE A CONSIDERABLE IMPACT.

10. (C) THE NIO OFFICER TO WHOM WE SPOKE WAS UNWILLING TO SPECIFY HMG'S NEXT MOVE IF THE UNIONISTS FAIL TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSED ACT. HE STRESSED THAT TONY BLAIR PERSONALLY IS

CONVINCED THAT THE UNIONISTS SHOULD "GO FOR IT." AFTER  
ADDING LEGISLATIVE "FAIL-SAFES" (EVEN IF NOT THOSE TRIMBLE  
SOUGHT), TO THE WAY FORWARD PROPOSAL, HMG NOW TAKES THE ROLE  
OF SPECTATOR, AS TRIMBLE LOOKS INTO THE ABYSS AND DECIDES  
WHETHER TO LEAP.

LADER

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

**SSN:** 6042  
<^SSN>6042

**TOR:** 990714020540 M3958359  
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**DIST:**  
SIT: BLINKEN NORLAND SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: BERGER KERRICK SIT{C2} SUTPHEN  
<^DIST>  
SIT: DAVIDSON

## Cable

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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0943  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: WITH PEACE PROCESS AT STANDSTILL, DUBLIN WILL  
 PRESS AHEAD WITH "REVIEW" AND RAISES PROSPECT OF CALLING  
 AGAIN ON SENATOR MITCHELL

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-M (1.89)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 003775

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/15/09

TAGS: PREL, UK; EI

SUBJECT: WITH PEACE PROCESS AT STANDSTILL, DUBLIN WILL  
 PRESS AHEAD WITH "REVIEW" AND RAISES PROSPECT OF CALLING  
 AGAIN ON SENATOR MITCHELL

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D) .

1. ~~(C)~~ POLOFF CONTACTED DEPUTY HEAD OF THE DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, TIM O'CONNOR, JULY 15 TO GET AN EARLY READOUT ON IRISH REACTION TO TODAY'S NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN BELFAST. O'CONNOR NOTED THAT IRELAND VIEWED WITH "DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT" THE UUP'S REJECTION OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' "WAY FORWARD" PROPOSAL AND FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE'S REFUSAL TO NOMINATE MINISTERS FOR THE EXECUTIVE BODY. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WAS NOT THE END OF THE GOOD FRIDAY PROCESS AND THAT THE GOI WAS PREPARING TO MOVE INTO A REVIEW, AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.
2. ~~(C)~~ TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN, AND PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR WOULD MOST LIKELY MEET "NEXT WEEK," O'CONNOR INDICATED, TO FINALIZE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE REVIEW PROCESS. HE SAID THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' IMMEDIATE TASK WAS TO AVOID DISHEARTENMENT, KEEP THE PARTIES FOCUSED ON PROGRESS THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE, AND LIMIT RECRIMINATIONS. ANYTHING THE U.S. COULD DO TO HELP IN THAT EFFORT WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED. AS TO TIMING, O'CONNOR FELT THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WERE "EXHAUSTED" AND NEEDED "BREATHING SPACE." ACCORDINGLY, HE ANTICIPATED A REVIEW WOULD NOT BEGIN IN EARNEST UNTIL SEPTEMBER.

3. (S) IN CLOSING, O'CONNOR OFFERED THAT, WHILE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CHAIR THE REVIEW UNDER AGREED PROCEDURES, THEY ARE NOT PRECLUDED FROM BRINGING IN AN OUTSIDE "AGENT" AS AN AID TO PROGRESS. WITHIN THAT CONTEXT, O'CONNOR CONTINUED, THOUGHT WAS ALREADY BEING GIVEN IN DUBLIN TO WHETHER FORMER SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL MIGHT BE CALLED UPON ONCE AGAIN TO ASSIST IN MOVING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. O'CONNOR WAS CAREFUL TO NOTE THAT THE GOI WAS NOT REQUESTING SENATOR'S MITCHELL'S ASSISTANCE YET BUT ONLY THAT THE IDEA WAS UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION.

SULLIVAN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 3775

TOR: 990715121741 M3961359

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON NORLAND RUDMAN SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: BERGER CROCKER FUERTH KERRICK POWELL SARGEANT SIT(C2) STEINBERG  
SUTPHEN

## Cable

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 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1025  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 1128  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ADJOURNED AFTER UUP  
 BOYCOTT OF EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.90)  
 K8H 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 006135

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/15/04  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ADJOURNED AFTER UUP  
 BOYCOTT OF EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)
2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY WAS  
 ADJOURNED JULY 15 AFTER THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY FAILED TO  
 APPEAR, CAUSING NOMINATIONS TO THE EXECUTIVE (MINISTERIAL  
 CABINET) TO BE MADE ONLY BY NATIONALIST SDLP AND SINN FEIN  
 PARTIES. WITHOUT EQUITABLE NATIONALIST AND UNIONIST  
 REPRESENTATION ON THE EXECUTIVE, DEVOLUTION OF POWER BY  
 LONDON COULD NOT OCCUR. AT THE END OF A FARCICAL AND SAD  
 NOMINATION PROCESS, DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER DESIGNATE SEAMUS  
 MALLON RESIGNED, HINTING THAT FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE  
 SHOULD GO AS WELL, BUT CALLING UPON ALL PARTIES TO REVIEW  
 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

WHAT HAPPENED  
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3. ~~(S)~~ TODAY'S ADJOURNMENT WAS NO SURPRISE, GIVEN THE UUP  
 REJECTION ON JULY 14 OF THE BRITISH-IRISH "WAY FORWARD"  
 PROPOSALS (REFTEL). UNDER THE STANDING ORDERS GOVERNING  
 THE D'HONDT PROCESS, ANY EXECUTIVE FORMED HAD TO HAVE EQUAL  
 UNIONIST AND NATIONALIST REPRESENTATION; THE UUP NO-SHOW  
 MADE THAT IMPOSSIBLE. PAISLEY'S DUP, WHILE PRESENT, ALSO  
 RESUSED TO NOMINATE MINISTERS, THUS LEAVING ONLY THE TWO  
 NATIONALIST PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN A NOMINATION PROCESS  
 THAT SINN FEIN'S GERRY ADAMS CALLED A "FARCE." HE WAS NOT  
 ALONE - MOST NEUTRAL OBSERVERS FOUND THE PROCEEDINGS

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DISHEARTENING. DUP MEMBERS RESORTED TO OUTSPOKEN HECKLING, INTERPERSED WITH PRAISE FOR THEMSELVES AS TRUE DEMOCRATS AND CONTEMPT FOR THE UUP AS COWARDS FOR NOT SHOWING UP.

4. (C) ADAMS WAS RELATIVELY RESTRAINED IN A LATER PRESS CONFERENCE, CALLING IT PAISLEY'S "LAST HURRAH," AND PLEDGING SINN FEIN WOULD CONTINUE WORKING WITH UNIONISTS WILLING TO IMPLEMENT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. MARTIN MCGUINNESS WAS LESS CALM, EXCORIATING TRIMBLE AS OBSTRUCTIONIST AND CALLING ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO PUT IN PLACE THE GOOD FRIDAY MECHANISMS. THE SDLP'S HUME AND MALLON ALSO URGED PARTIES NOT TO GIVE UP ON THE AGREEMENT, AS DID THE WOMEN'S COALITION AND ALLIANCE SPOKESPERSONS. THE PUP'S DAVID ERVINE, HOWEVER, DESCRIBED THE AGREEMENT AS "DEAD," CONDEMNING ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS AS HYPOCRITICAL AND BLIND TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR OPPOSITION.

UNIONISTS REJECT "WAY FORWARD," BUT WILL KEEP TALKING  
-----

5. (C) DESPITE THE UUP BOYCOTT AND FIRM REJECTION (REFTEL) OF THE GOVERNMENTS' PROPOSALS, TRIMBLE TODAY SOUNDED A MORE CONCILIATORY NOTE, AS HE ASSURED REPORTERS THAT HIS PARTY WAS PREPARED TO CONTINUE WORK TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF SAID LATER THAT TRIMBLE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT SECRETARY MOWLAM'S SUGGESTIONS THAT THE PARTIES AGAIN BEGIN DISCUSSIONS. ASKED WHETHER TRIMBLE WOULD RESIGN AS FIRST MINISTER, OUR CONTACTS WERE UNCERTAIN - NOR HAS THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE BEEN ENTIRELY CLEAR ON WHETHER THAT IS REQUIRED. MOWLAM DESCRIBED THE TWO MINISTERS WERE PART OF A PACKAGE, BUT CLEARLY WAS RELUCTANT TO SAY PUBLICLY THAT TRIMBLE SHOULD STEP DOWN NOW.

6. (C) UNIONIST SOURCES HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY WHAT A FEW ANALYSTS ALSO HAVE STRESSED PUBLICLY TODAY - THAT TRIMBLE'S POSITION HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY ERODED BY THE MAY 14 DOWNING STREET MEETING AND HIS SUPPORTERS SEE "PARKING" THE AGREEMENT/ASSEMBLY AS GIVING TIME TO RECOUP LOST GROUND. OUR SOURCES INSIST TRIMBLE HAS NOT GIVEN UP EFFORTS TO FORM AN INCLUSIVE EXECUTIVE, ACKNOWLEDGING THAT ANY FUTURE DEAL WILL LIKELY LOOK MUCH LIKE WHAT THE UUP HAS JUST REJECTED. SOME HAVE EVEN ADMITTED THAT IT MAY BE LESS ATTRACTIVE.

7. (C) WE UNDERSTAND THAT TRIMBLE WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE THE ASSEMBLY ACTUALLY SUSPENDED, SINCE THAT WOULD CREATE A GREATER SENSE OF VACUUM THAN DOES ITS CURRENT "RECESS" STATUS. THIS IS ONE OF THE SEVERAL PROCEDURAL ASPECTS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT MUST NOW CONSIDER - AGAINST A BACKDROP OF MUTUAL MISTRUST AMONG PARTIES. A TRIMBLE STAFFER NOTED THAT HIGH AMONG THE CASUALTIES OF TODAY'S DEBACLE ARE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SDLP AND UUP. DESPITE MALLON'S DIGNIFIED STATEMENT AND THE BLAIR-MOWLAM URGINGS AGAINST RECRIMINATIONS, EACH PARTY RESENTS THE OTHER'S STANCE.

MALLON CALLS FOR GENUINE REASSESSMENT AND REVIEW  
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8. (C) CONTACTS CLOSE TO MALLON MADE CLEAR HIS BELIEF THAT HIS RESIGNATION WAS NECESSARY - BOTH AS A MATTER OF  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 006135

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

NSC FOR NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/15/04  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY ADJOURNED AFTER UUP  
BOYCOTT OF EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS

PERSONAL INTEGRITY AND AS A MEANS OF FORCING A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS. FROM THEIR COMMENTS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF IRISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WE ENCOUNTERED AT STORMONT, IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT NOT ALL MALLON'S COLLEAGUES AND SUPPORTERS WERE AS CONVINCED OF HIS STANCE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE TAIOSEACH MAY HAVE TRIED TO DISSUADE HIM FROM ACTING HASTILY. NEVERTHELESS, MALLON CONCLUDED THAT, AT THIS POINT, HE HAD LITTLE OPTION, IF NEW ENERGY - FLOWING FROM A REVIEW OF ALL ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION - WAS TO BE INJECTED INTO THE PEACE PROCESS.

WHAT NEXT?  
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9. (C) NIO CONTACTS CONFIRM STATEMENTS FROM BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT PLANS ARE UNDERWAY TO RENEW TALKS, TO GET PARTIES BACK IN TOUCH, AS TONY BLAIR PUT IT "TO BUILD TRUST," AS THE ONLY WAY TO RESOLVE THE DISPUTE. HOWEVER, OUR CONTACTS ALSO INDICATED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS ARE VERY MUCH STILL IN A TENTATIVE MODE, CONSIDERING OPTIONS AND HARD CHOICES - SUCH AS SUSPENSION OF THE ASSEMBLY. THEY WERE UNSURE WHETHER THE PARTIES WOULD ATTEND A "SUMMIT" OF PRIME MINISTERS NEXT WEEK, OR EVEN WHERE THE MEETING WOULD BE HELD.

10. (C) COMMENT. THE JULY 15 ASSEMBLY SESSION WAS AN UNEDIFYING EVENT THAT DESCENDED INTO FARCE AND DAMAGED THE CREDIBILITY, IF NOT THE ACTUAL PROSPECTS, OF FUTURE MEETINGS. WHETHER D'HONDT SHOULD HAVE BEEN RUN IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IS NOW HOWEVER A MOOT POINT: IF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IS TO BE SALVAGED, THE GOVERNMENTS MUST PERSUADE PARTIES TO BEGIN ANEW - AND SEEK TO RALLY PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE POLITICAL PROCESS, PERHAPS WITH STRONGER APPEALS TO THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF PEACE. WE WILL OFFER SOME IDEAS ON HOW THE U.S. MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO THE LATTER. END COMMENT.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02  
SSN: 6135  
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SIT: NSC  
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## Cable

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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0948  
 SUBJ: SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS CALLS ON PM BLAIR TO  
 STOP "PANDERING" TO UNIONISM

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.92)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D).

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 DUBLIN 003863

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/20/09  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS CALLS ON PM BLAIR TO  
 STOP "PANDERING" TO UNIONISM

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D).

## SUMMARY

1. ~~LET~~ SINN FEIN'S GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS TOLD AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN JULY 19 THAT PM TONY BLAIR HAD "BLUNDERED" BADLY BY "PANDERING" TO UNIONISM IN AN ATTEMPT TO SECURE UUP SUPPORT FOR THE "WAY FORWARD" PROPOSAL. IN SINN FEIN'S VIEW, TRIMBLE WILL NEVER MOVE FORWARD UNTIL HE REALIZES THAT HE CAN'T WRING OUT MORE CONCESSIONS BY STALLING. ADAMS STRESSED THAT WHAT WAS IMPORTANT NOW WAS THAT THE UK MOVE TO IMPLEMENT THOSE PARTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT SOLELY WITHIN THE AUTHORITY OF WESTMINSTER. HE POINTED SPECIFICALLY TO HUMAN RIGHTS/EQUALITY, SECURITY NORMALIZATION, AND POLICING AS AREAS WHERE THE UK COULD MOVE FORWARD. ADAMS CALLED ON THE U.S. TO DO ANYTHING IT COULD TO "URGE OR CAJOLE" BLAIR IN THIS DIRECTION. ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS SAW ACTION IN THIS AREA AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE PENDING REVIEW PROCESS WHICH THEY PERCEIVED AS AN OPTICAL EXERCISE" WHICH MUST BE "SHORT, FOCUSED AND AVOID ANY RENEGOTIATION." THEY WELCOMED SENATOR MITCHELL'S RETURN.

2. ~~LET~~ ADAMS' UNDERScoreD THAT SINN FEIN WOULD DELIVER ON THE COMMITMENTS IT HAD MADE. HIS "STRETCHING" OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY (DONE WITHOUT FULL CONSENT OF THE

SINN FEIN EXECUTIVE) HAD CAUSED PROBLEMS WITH SOME ACTIVISTS, BUT ADAMS FELT THESE WERE "MANAGEABLE" FOR THE TIME BEING. PRESSURES WOULD BUILD, HOWEVER, IF THE UNIONISTS CONTINUED TO STALL THE PROCESS IN THE FALL. OUR SENSE IS THAT BOTH ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS ARE GENERALLY CONCERNED THAT THE SPECTER OF THE "UNIONIST VETO" IS BACK AND COULD THWART THEIR POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR SINN FEIN ON WHICH THEY HAVE STAKED THEIR POLITICAL LIVES (IF NOT MORE). WE READ THEIR CALL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE PARTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WITHIN THE UK'S SOLE AUTHORITY AS PARTIALLY A PLEA FOR SOME TANGIBLE PROGRESS TO GET THEIR COMMUNITY THROUGH THE DIFFICULT MONTHS AHEAD. END SUMMARY.

BLAIR MUST STOP "PANDERING" TO UNIONISM  
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3. (C) SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS AND LIAISON TO THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY MARTIN MCGUINNESS CALLED ON AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN JULY 19 TO OFFER THEIR VIEWS ON THE STATUS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. DCM AND POLOFF ALSO PARTICIPATED. ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS HAD ONE CLEAR MESSAGE - BRITISH PRIME MINISTER TONY "BLUNDERED" BADLY BY "PANDERING" TO DAVID TRIMBLE AND UNIONISM IN AN EFFORT TO SECURE UUP SUPPORT FOR THE "WAY FORWARD" PROPOSAL. IN SINN FEIN'S VIEW, THIS "PANDERING" HAS TO STOP. IN PARTICULAR, ADAMS OBSERVED THAT THE BRITISH LEGISLATION WHICH WAS BEING RUSHED THROUGH WESTMINSTER IN ORDER TO "REASSURE" UNIONISM WENT WELL BEYOND THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND CREATED REAL PROBLEMS FOR REPUBLICANS. ADAMS SAID SINN FEIN WOULD HAVE SWALLOWED HARD AND GONE ALONG TO GET UNIONISM INTO A POWER-SHARING EXECUTIVE, BUT IT WAS NOW A MORE DIFFICULT PROPOSITION IN THE AFTERMATH OF FAILURE. NEITHER ADAMS NOR MCGUINNESS QUESTIONED BLAIR'S INTEGRITY OR SINCERITY IN SUPPORT OF PEACE, JUST HIS TACTICS. ADAMS ADDED THAT HE DIDN'T BLAME DAVID TRIMBLE FOR PRESSING BLAIR FOR AS MUCH AS HE COULD GET -- AS LONG AS HE COULD GET AWAY WITH IT WHY NOT? HE CONCLUDED THAT PM BLAIR SHOULD HAVE KNOWN THAT "YOU DON'T GIVE SWEETIES TO THE CLASS BULLY."

4. (C) ADAMS ARGUED THAT, FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S DEBACLE AT STORMONT, IT WAS NOW "UNCHALLENGABLE" THAT TRIMBLE AND THE UUP WERE ATTEMPTING TO DELAY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND THAT MAJOR ELEMENTS IN THE PARTY "DON'T WANT THE EXECUTIVE, DON'T WANT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, AND PREFER THE STATUS QUO." IN MCGUINNESS' VIEW EVENTS "CONFIRMED" THAT TRIMBLE WANTED TO STRETCH THE PROCESS OUT UNTIL THE MAY 2000 DEADLINE FOR DECOMMISSIONING AT WHICH POINT THE UUP WOULD DECLARE THE AGREEMENT DEAD. MCGUINNESS THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT TRIMBLE WOULD USE THE SEPTEMBER PUBLICATION OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT ON POLICING AS YET ANOTHER EXCUSE FOR STALLING. WHILE ADAMS APPEARED MORE SANGUINE ABOUT TRIMBLE'S STRATEGY, HE AGREED THAT UUP EFFORTS TO DRAG OUT THE UPCOMING REVIEW PROCESS OR THROW UP OTHER OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS IN SEPTEMBER WOULD BE A STRONG INDICATOR OF THEIR TRUE INTENT.

REPUBLICAN PROBLEMS, BUT THEY'RE "MANAGEABLE"  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 DUBLIN 003863

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

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SUBJECT: SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS CALLS ON PM BLAIR TO  
STOP "PANDERING" TO UNIONISM

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5. (S) "SINN FEIN DOES NOT MAKE COMMITMENTS IT CAN'T DELIVER" WAS ADAM'S RESPONSE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTION AS TO WHETHER SINN FEIN'S LATE-JUNE COMMITMENTS ON DECOMMISSIONING BY MAY 2000 WERE STILL ON THE TABLE. ADAMS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SINN FEIN COMMITMENTS MAY NOT HAVE GONE FAR ENOUGH "FOR SOME" BUT STRESSED THAT HE HAD "STRETCHED" THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. IN FACT, ADAMS ADDED, THE NEW SINN FEIN POSITIONS (WHICH HE CREDITED TO MARTIN MCGUINNESS) HAD BEEN ADOPTED WITHOUT THE FULL CONSENT OF THE SINN FEIN EXECUTIVE BOARD. SOME REPUBLICANS WERE "UNSETTLED" BY THE STEPS THE LEADERSHIP HAD TAKEN AND IT WAS A SIGN OF "REPUBLICAN DISCIPLINE" ADAMS STRESSED, THAT THEY HAD NOT PUBLICLY VOICED THEIR MISGIVINGS.

6. (S) WITH THE UUP REFUSAL TO SHARE-POWER, ADAMS BELIEVED HE WOULD NOW HAVE A MORE DIFFICULT TASK OF KEEPING THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY TOGETHER, STARTING WITH A MEETING OF THE FULL SINN FEIN EXECUTIVE ON JULY 24 TO ENDORSE (POST-FACTO) THE MCGUINNESS PLAN. ADAMS ANTICIPATED GETTING HIS PARTY EXECUTIVE'S SUPPORT, BUT ADDED THAT AUGUST NOW SHAPED UP AS A MONTH OF INTERNAL MEETINGS WITHIN REPUBLICANISM TO KEEP EVERYONE ON BOARD. THAT SAID, HE FELT THE SITUATION WAS "MANAGEABLE" FOR THE TIME BEING, BUT NOTED THAT PRESSURES WOULD BUILD IF UNIONIST "STALLING" TACTICS CONTINUE IN THE FALL.

REVIEW -- AN OPTICAL EXERCISE

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7. (S) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN ASKED HOW SINN FEIN SAW THE PENDING "REVIEW" OF THE AGREEMENT DEVELOPING. BOTH ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS WELCOMED SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL'S RETURN TO THE PROCESS, BUT HAD LITTLE EXPECTATION THAT THE REVIEW WOULD BE MUCH MORE THAN "AN OPTICAL EXERCISE." ADAMS STRESSED THAT THE REVIEW PROCESS HAD TO BE "SHORT, FOCUSED, AND INCLUDE NO RENEGOTIATION OF THE AGREEMENT." REACTING TO DAVID TRIMBLE'S PUBLIC COMMENTS THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD STEP BACK AND LEAVE IT UP TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES TO SORT THIS OUT, MCGUINNESS WAS DERISIVE. HE STRESSED THAT THE PARTIES HAVE SHOWN THAT THEY ARE "INCAPABLE OF RESOLVING ANYTHING" ON THEIR OWN. ADAMS REITERATED THAT ANY EFFORT BY UNIONISTS TO DRAG THE REVIEW PROCESS OUT THROUGH THE FALL WOULD CREATE MAJOR PROBLEMS FOR REPUBLICANS, AND COULD HEIGHTEN TENSION ACROSS THE SECTARIAN DIVIDE.

THE WAY FORWARD? LONDON MUST IMPLEMENT WHAT IT CAN NOW

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8. (S) ADAMS ARGUED THAT ALL WAS NOT LOST IF PM BLAIR WILL MOVE NOW TO IMPLEMENT THOSE PORTIONS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WHICH ARE WITHIN THE POWER OF WESTMINSTER TO DELIVER UNILATERALLY. "BLAIR MUST LET TRIMBLE KNOWS WHO'S IN CHARGE," ADAMS CONTENDED, OR TRIMBLE WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD OUT FOR A BETTER DEAL. REHEARSING HIS OFT RAISED ANALOGY WITH THE U.S. CIVIL

RIGHTS MOVEMENT, ADAMS NOTED THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD FORCED CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS AND EQUAL ACCESS ON RECALCITRANT STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES. THIS IS WHAT LONDON MUST DO NOW IN NORTHERN IRELAND. ADAMS CITED THREE AREAS FOR MOVEMENT: HUMAN RIGHTS/EQUALITY; SECURITY NORMALIZATION; AND POLICING. INEQUALITY, ADAMS STRESSED, "GALLS" NATIONALISTS MORE THAN ANYTHING IN NORTHERN IRELAND SOCIETY. HE CALLED ON PM BLAIR, FOR EXAMPLE, TO NAME AN EQUALITY COMMISSIONER IN THE NEAR TERM (WITHOUT SEEKING DAVID TRIMBLE'S APPROVAL OF THE NOMINEE), TO MOVE PROMPTLY IN "NORMALIZING" THE SECURITY SITUATION (I.E., REDUCING BRITISH ARMY PRESENCE AND INFRASTRUCTURE), AND TO ACT WITHOUT DELAY ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION WHEN THEY APPEAR.

9. (C) ADAMS STRESSED THAT THE "FULL WEIGHT" OF UK AND INTERNATIONAL OPINION HAD TO BE BROUGHT DOWN ON UNIONISTS TO MOVE FORWARD. HE CALLED ON THE U.S. TO DO ANYTHING IT CAN TO "URGE, INFLUENCE, OR CAJOLE" TONY BLAIR TO MOVE FORWARD WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF AS MUCH OF THE AGREEMENT AS POSSIBLE. THIS, ADAMS CONCLUDED, WAS THE ONLY WAY TO GET TRIMBLE'S ATTENTION AND CONVINCED UNIONISM THAT THEY COULD NOT STRING THIS OUT UNTIL MAY 2000.

10. (C) THE AMBASSADOR ASKED WHY THE NORTHERN IRELAND BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND LOCAL CIVIC LEADERS WERE NOT MORE INFLUENTIAL IN GETTING THE UUP TO MOVE FORWARD, GIVEN THE TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC BENEFITS THAT WOULD FOLLOW. MCGUINNESS NOTED THAT THE UNIONIST POLITICAL LEADERSHIP SIMPLY DIDN'T LISTEN TO BUSINESS AND RECOUNTED UUP DEPUTY  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 DUBLIN 003863

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/20/09

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS CALLS ON PM BLAIR TO STOP "PANDERING" TO UNIONISM

LEADER JOHN TAYLOR SAYING THAT THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY "DIDN'T COUNT" POLITICALLY. ADAMS NOTED, ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT IN THINKING IN BROADER UNIONISM, E.G., BUSINESS, THE CHURCHES, AND "CIVIC UNIONISM," BUT THIS WAS NOT REACHING THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. HE BELIEVED AN EFFORT BY LONDON TO FACE DOWN THE "REJECTIONISTS" WOULD "GIVE HEART" TO THESE POSITIVE ELEMENTS WITHIN UNIONISM.

MO MUST STAY  
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11. (C) COMMENTING ON REPORTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM'S POSSIBLE DEPARTURE IN A CABINET RESHUFFLE, MCGUINNESS SAID IT WOULD SEND A STRONG AND POSITIVE MESSAGE TO TRIMBLE IF THE PRIME MINISTER LEFT HER WHERE SHE IS. FOR THE UUP, MCGUINNESS SAID, NO MATTER WHO REPLACED MO, HER DEPARTURE WOULD BE A VICTORY, A VICTORY THEY SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH MO ON JULY 18, AND SHE HAD INDICATED HER INTENT TO FIGHT TO KEEP HER POSITION FOR WHICH SHE CLEARLY HAS SINN FEIN'S SUPPORT. IN RESPONSE TO DCM'S QUERY, ADAMS SAID HE KNEW LITTLE OF PETER MANDELSON, WHO IS BRUIED IN THE MEDIA AS A POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT FOR MO. ADAMS ADDED THAT PAUL MURPHY SEEMED A BETTER CHOICE GIVEN

HIS DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS AS MO'S DEPUTY.

CONDOLENCES FOR JFK JR.  
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12. (C) ADAMS TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY FORMALLY TO AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN SINN FEIN'S DEEPEST CONDOLENCES TO THE KENNEDY FAMILY AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THE TRAGIC LOSS OF JOHN F. KENNEDY JR. ADAMS NOTED THAT HE HAD ALSO SENT HIS PERSONAL CONDOLENCE TO FORMER AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY-SMITH.

COMMENT  
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13. (C) AS IN EVERY CONVERSATION WITH SINN FEIN, WE TOOK AS A GIVEN THAT ALL BLAME WOULD BE PLACED ON UNIONISM, AND WE WERE NOT SURPRISED BY ADAMS' AND MCGUINNESS' POSTURE. THAT SAID, WE NOTED SOME POSITIVE SIGNALS FROM THIS MEETING WITH THE TWO KEY SINN FEIN LEADERS, BUT WERE STRUCK BY THE ABSENCE OF THEIR USUAL UNSHAKEABLE OPTIMISM THAT, NO MATTER HOW DARK IT MAY LOOK TODAY, THE PEACE PROCESS WILL ULTIMATELY SUCCEED. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, WE SAW NO SIGN THAT SINN FEIN'S NEW COMMITMENTS ON DECOMMISSIONING HAVE BEEN TAKEN OFF THE TABLE, EVEN THOUGH ADAMS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT LAST WEEK'S FAILURE MEANS HE'LL HAVE TO WORK HARD TO KEEP THE BROAD REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY ON BOARD. WHILE NEITHER ADAMS NOR MCGUINNESS WOULD EVER SAY THIS TO US DIRECTLY, WE ALSO BELIEVE WE CAN TAKE THEIR ASSURANCE THAT ANY REPUBLICAN PROBLEMS ARE "MANAGEABLE" FOR THE TIME BEING TO INCLUDE ANY PROBLEMS THAT MAY ARISE WITHIN THE IRA, NOT JUST WITHIN SINN FEIN.

14. (C) MORE DISTURBING WAS THE STRONG SENSE FROM BOTH THAT UNIONISM'S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE "WAY FORWARD" SIGNALS A REAL INTENT NEVER TO COMMIT TO POWER-SHARING AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE SPECTER THAT THE "UNIONIST VETO" IS BACK SEEMS TO BE WEIGHING HEAVILY ON THE MINDS OF THE TWO ARCHITECTS OF A SINN FEIN POLICY WHICH REQUIRES EVENTUAL UNIONIST COOPERATION TO BE SUCCESSFUL AND ON WHICH THEY HAVE STAKED, AT LEAST, THEIR POLITICAL LIVES. ADAMS' AND MCGUINNESS' DISAPPOINTMENT WITH TONY BLAIR AND HIS PERCEIVED "PANDERING" TO THE UUP WAS PALPABLE. WE SHOULD VIEW THEIR CALL FOR IMPLEMENTATION NOW OF THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT SOLELY WITHIN UK AUTHORITY AS A PLEA TO GIVE SINN FEIN SOMETHING IT CAN SELL TO REPUBLICANS AS TANGIBLE PROGRESS. WHILE ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS MAY FIND THEIR PROBLEMS "MANAGEABLE" FOR NOW, THEY LEFT US WITH A STRONG SENSE THAT THEIR LEADERSHIP DIFFICULTIES COULD GROW RAPIDLY IF THE STALEMATE EXTENDS INTO THE FALL WITH NO SIGN OF MOVEMENT. END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

4

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 DUBLIN 003863

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STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/20/09

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS CALLS ON PM BLAIR TO  
STOP "PANDERING" TO UNIONISM

POLITICAL/ECONOMIC OFFICEQ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CONFIDENTIAL

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04

<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04

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SSN: 3863

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SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

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PRT: COMM

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 RUEHVJ/AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE 1106  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: RUC CONCERNED ABOUT NEW  
 TERRORIST GROUP

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.94)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 006824

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/05/09  
 TAGS: PINS, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RUC CONCERNED ABOUT NEW  
 TERRORIST GROUP

REF: 98 DUBLIN 04266

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)
2. (c) SUMMARY. RUC SPECIAL BRANCH SOURCES HAVE CONFIRMED  
 AUGUST 5 MEDIA REPORTS ABOUT THE EMERGENCE OF AN UMBRELLA  
 DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN TERRORIST GROUP MADE UP OF MEMBERS OF  
 REAL IRA, CONTINUITY IRA, INLA, AND OTHER REPUBLICAN  
 DISSIDENTS. THE RUC EXPECT THE GROUP TO BE ACTIVE SOON, BUT  
 BELIEVE THERE WOULD BE NO TERRORIST INCIDENTS ATTEMPTED  
 AROUND THE AUGUST 15 ANNIVERSARY OF THE OMAGH BOMBING. THE  
 RUC ALSO ARE CONVINCED WEAPONS UNCOVERED IN THE FLORIDA  
 GUN-RUNNING ARRESTS WERE DESTINED FOR THE PROVISIONAL IRA.  
 MEANWHILE, ON AUGUST 5, THE RUC ARRESTED TWO SUSPECTED IRA  
 MEMBERS FOR THE JULY 31 MURDER OF CHARLES BENNETT IN WEST  
 BELFAST. THE RUC DENIED TO US, HOWEVER, THAT BENNETT WAS  
 ONE OF THEIR INFORMANTS. END SUMMARY.
3. (c) IN AN AUGUST 5 MEETING WITH CONSULATE OFFICERS, RUC  
 SPECIAL BRANCH SOURCES EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE EMERGENCE  
 OF AN UMBRELLA DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION  
 WHICH EMBRACES MEMBERS OF THE REAL IRA, THE CONTINUITY IRA,  
 INLA, AND OTHER REPUBLICAN DISSIDENTS. THE LEADING FIGURES  
 OF THIS GROUP (SOMETIMES CALLED "THE TRUE IRA" OR "OGLAIGH  
 NA HEIREANN") INCLUDE THOSE IDENTIFIED WITH THE REAL IRA  
 AROUND THE TIME OF THE OMAGH BOMBING (REFTEL): MICHAEL  
 "MICKEY" MCKEVITT, JOHN DEERY, COLM MCGUINNESS, AND LIAM  
 CAMPBELL. THE RUC BELIEVES MARTIN GALVIN AND DOROTHY

ROBINSON ARE THE KEY FUNDRAISERS FOR THIS GROUP IN THE U.S. RUC SOURCES SAID THAT UNLIKE PREVIOUS SPLINTER GROUPS WHICH WERE GEOGRAPHICALLY LIMITED AND SMALL IN NUMBER, THIS GROUP NOW HAS ELEMENTS IN COUNTY ARMAGH, BELFAST, AND LONDONDERRY, AS WELL AS THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, AND NUMBERS BETWEEN 150-200. THE RUC HAS CONCLUDED THAT MOST OF THE MEMBERSHIP IS NOW BASED IN NORTHERN IRELAND, RAISING CONCERNS THAT ONCE ORGANIZATIONAL CONSOLIDATION HAS BEEN COMPLETED, THE GROUP WILL BECOME ACTIVE. POLICE OFFICIALS ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE GROUP WOULD PROBABLY NOT ATTEMPT ANY VIOLENCE AROUND THE AUGUST 15 ANNIVERSARY OF THE OMAGH BOMBING.

4. (X) RUC SOURCES ALSO STATED THAT THE PROVISIONAL IRA WERE THE INTENDED RECIPIENTS OF THE GUN-RUNNING OPERATION THAT RESULTED IN ARRESTS OF FOUR PERSONS IN FLORIDA. THEY ADDED THAT THESE OPERATIONS WERE NOTHING NEW OR SURPRISING AND THAT INDEED, DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THE CURRENT IRA CEASEFIRE, A SIMILAR GUN-RUNNING OPERATION HAD BEEN INTERRUPTED BY THE RUC.

5. (X) THE RUC ARRESTED TWO MEN (ONE OF WHOM WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED ON AUGUST 6) THEY BELIEVE TO BE MEMBERS OF THE IRA IN CONNECTION WITH THE JULY 31 MURDER OF CHARLES BENNETT IN WEST BELFAST. BENNETT'S BODY WAS FOUND IN A PARKING LOT IN WEST BELFAST. HIS HANDS HAD BEEN TIED AND HE WAS SHOT TWICE IN THE HEAD WITH A SHOT-GUN. THE RUC TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT NEWSPAPER REPORTS CLAIMING BENNETT HAD BEEN THEIR INFORMANT WERE INACCURATE. THEY SPECULATED THE INFORMANT STORY WAS INVENTED TO MOLLIFY A REPUBLICAN AUDIENCE WHO WERE SHOCKED BY THE MURDER.

6. (X) THE RUC CURRENTLY HAS NO IDEA WHY BENNETT HAD BEEN KILLED BUT ARE INVESTIGATING THE POSSIBILITY THAT BENNETT WAS INVOLVED IN A PIRA-CONTROLLED ILLEGAL BUSINESS ACTIVITY THAT WENT WRONG. THEY SAID THAT BENNETT'S FATHER, A KNOWN REPUBLICAN, HAD ALSO TRIED TO INVESTIGATE HIS DEATH AND WAS BEATEN UP ON AUGUST 5, PERHAPS BECAUSE OF HIS INQUIRIES.

7. (X) RUC SOURCES CLAIM THAT BENNETT WAS NOT THE ONLY VICTIM OF THE IRA IN RECENT MONTHS. THE RUC BELIEVE THE IRA MURDERED BRENDAN "SPEEDY" FEGAN IN MAY AND ROBERT "BULL" DOWNEY IN JUNE BECAUSE OF DRUG-DEALING DISPUTES. THEY ALSO BELIEVE TE IRA MURDERED FORMER MEMBER TURNED INFORMANT EAON COLLINS IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR AND ATTEMPTED T MURDER FORMER SPECIAL BRANCH INFORMER MARTIN MCARTLAND IN JUNE IN ENGLAND BECAUSE OF THE PERCEIED DAMAGE THE TWO HAD DONE TO THE MILITANT REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

8. (X) COMMENT. SINCE THECEASEFIRE, THE USE OF THE "NO CLAIM, NO BLME" POLICY BY BOTH REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST PARMILIARIES HAS ALLOWED THESE GROUPS TO EXERT CONTROL OVER THEIR AREAS OF INFLUENCE WHILE MAINTAINING THE POLITICAL FACADE THAT THEIR RESPECTIVE CEASEFIRES WERE STILL INTACT. THE EFFECTIVE PARKING OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN JULY HAS CREATED A POWER VACUUM WHICH THE RUC FEARS COULD BE FILLED BY TERRORIST VIOLENCE. THE RECENT AGITATION AMONG LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES AND THE ADVENT OF A NEW REPUBLICAN DISSIDENT GROUP MAY BRING DOWN THE FACADE OF  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 006824

LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR NORLAND  
SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/05/09  
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RUC CONCERNED ABOUT NEW  
TERRORIST GROUP

PARAMILITARY CEASEFIRES THROUGH THE RESUMPTION OF VIOLENCE.  
THIS DEVELOPMENT OBVIOUSLY WOULD HAVE SERIOUS EFFECTS ON  
THE POLITICAL PARTIES' WILLINGNESS TO IMPLEMENT THE GOOD  
FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN FULL. END COMMENT.  
LADER

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

**SSN:** 6824  
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SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT{C2}

## Cable

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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0962  
 SUBJ: STAFFDEL MACKY DISCUSSIONS ON PATTEN  
 COMMISSION REPORT AND "PLAN B"

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-M (1.96)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

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

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 004285

EXDIS

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/13/09  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: STAFFDEL MACKY DISCUSSIONS ON PATTEN  
 COMMISSION REPORT AND "PLAN B"

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

## SUMMARY

1. ~~(S)~~ THE IRISH GOVERNMENT UNDERSTANDS THAT THE PATTEN  
 COMMISSION REPORT ON RUC REFORM WILL BE RELEASED EITHER  
 SEPTEMBER 6 OR 9. WALLY KIRWAN, DIRECTOR OF THE  
 TAOISEACH'S ANGLO-IRISH OFFICE, TOLD STAFFDEL MACKY  
 AUGUST 12 THAT THE GOI EXPECTS PATTEN TO RECOMMEND "VERY  
 SIGNIFICANT" POLICE REFORM MEETING 60-65% OF THE  
 NATIONALIST AGENDA. KIRWAN ADDED THAT THE GOI WILL SPEAK  
 PUBLICLY IF THE REPORT FALLS SHORT. HOUSE INTERNATIONAL  
 RELATIONS COMMITTEE (HIRC) INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL MACKY  
 NOTED STRONG CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN THE ISSUE AND  
 INDICATED THE COMMITTEE'S INTENTION TO HOLD FURTHER  
 PUBLIC HEARINGS FOLLOWING THE REPORT'S RELEASE. ON  
 BROADER PEACE PROCESS PROSPECTS, KIRWAN WAS "HOPEFUL"  
 ABOUT THE SEPTEMBER REVIEW BUT CONCERNED THAT ALL  
 "PERMUTATIONS" FOR SOLVING THE EXECUTIVE/DECOMMISSIONING  
 IMPASSE ALREADY HAVE BEEN TRIED. IN THE ABSENCE OF A  
 BREAKTHROUGH IN SEPTEMBER, KIRWAN NOTED, "PLAN B" WOULD  
 HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED. GOI MUSINGS ON PLAN B, KIRWAN  
 INDICATED, FOCUSED ON "RESCUING" OF AS MUCH OF THE  
 AGREEMENT AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT A DEVOLVED ASSEMBLY,  
 INCLUDING RUC REFORM AND THE EQUALITY AGENDA. HE ALSO  
 SUGGESTED THAT THE UK AND IRELAND COULD REACH A SEPARATE

AGREEMENT TO ALLOW THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES TO GO FORWARD, REPORTING TO A NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL COMPOSED OF GOI MINISTERS AND THEIR NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO) COUNTERPARTS. KIRWAN THOUGHT UNIONISTS WOULD NOT REACT AS NEGATIVELY TO THIS AS THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM MIGHT INDICATE. AT THE MINIMUM, KIRWAN MUSED, LETTING UNIONISM KNOW THAT SUCH IDEAS WERE BEING BRUIED ABOUT PRIOR TO THE MITCHELL REVIEW MIGHT DRIVE HOME TO THEM THAT ALL ALTERNATIVES TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WOULD BE WORSE. END SUMMARY.

PATTERN COMMISSION REPORT WILL BE EARLY AND SUBSTANTIVE  
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2. (X) JOHN MACKEY, HIRC INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL, AND POLOFF CALLED ON WALLY KIRWAN, DIRECTOR OF THE ANGLO-IRISH SECTION IN THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE AUGUST 12. MACKEY REMINDED KIRWAN OF THE INTENSE INTEREST OF MANY HOUSE MEMBERS, INCLUDING HIRC CHAIRMAN GILMAN, IN THE UPCOMING PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT ON REFORM OF POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. RECALLING HIRC'S APRIL HEARING ON THIS SUBJECT, MACKEY INDICATED THAT THE COMMITTEE WAS LIKELY TO HOLD FURTHER PUBLIC HEARINGS FOLLOWING PUBLICATION OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT. HE ADDED THAT HE WAS INTERESTED IN ANYTHING THE GOI MIGHT BE HEARING REGARDING CONTENT OF THE REPORT AND TIMING OF ITS RELEASE.

3. (X) KIRWAN INDICATED THAT THE LATEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE WAS THAT PATTEN WOULD ISSUE HIS REPORT EITHER SEPTEMBER 6 OR 9, A SCHEDULE WHICH HAS BEEN ACCELERATED IN LIGHT OF PATTEN'S APPOINTMENT AS AN EU COMMISSIONER. KIRWAN STRESSED THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT THE REPORT TO BE "MINIMALIST" AS SOME FEAR, BUT IN FACT TO MAKE "VERY SIGNIFICANT" RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORM (ALTHOUGH WELL SHORT OF SINN FEIN'S DEMAND FOR RUC "DISBANDMENT"). PUTTING A FIGURE ON IT, KIRWAN PREDICTED THE REPORT WOULD MEET 60-65% OF THE NATIONALIST AGENDA ON POLICING. ONE RECOMMENDATION KIRWAN ANTICIPATED SEEING WAS FOR, IN THE NEAR TERM, A MUCH LARGER POLICE FORCE THAN THE POPULATION NUMBERS WOULD DICTATE AS A "VEHICLE" FOR CATHOLIC/NATIONALIST COMMUNITY RECRUITMENT. KIRWAN ALSO SAID THAT THE GOI HAD RECEIVED "STRONG INDICATIONS" FROM THE UK THAT IT PLANNED TO IMPLEMENT THE PATTEN COMMISSION'S REFORMS QUICKLY. KIRWAN SUGGESTED THAT THIS PROBABLY INDICATED THAT PATTEN HAS "TIPPED OFF" PM BLAIR ON THE CONTENTS OF THE REPORT, ALTHOUGH THE GOI HAS NO FIRM INFORMATION TO THAT EFFECT.

4. (X) MACKEY ASKED IF THE GOI WOULD PUBLICLY CRITICIZE THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT IF IT RECOMMENDS ONLY "COSMETIC" CHANGES TO POLICING IN THE NORTH. WHILE REITERATING THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT THIS TO BE THE CASE, KIRWAN SAID THAT THE GOI WOULD HAVE TO COMMENT PUBLICLY ON A REPORT THAT DID NOT RECOMMEND SIGNIFICANT REFORM. (NOTE: WE RECEIVED THAT SAME ASSURANCE FROM DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION OFFICIALS, ALTHOUGH THEY SEEMED LESS OPTIMISTIC THAN KIRWAN ABOUT THE THOROUGHNESS OF PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS. END NOTE.)

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 004285

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COMMISSION REPORT AND "PLAN B"

MUSINGS ON "PLAN B"  
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5. (e) ON THE WIDER QUESTION OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE UPCOMING REVIEW, KIRWAN INDICATED THAT HE WAS "NOT OPTIMISTIC BUT HOPEFUL" THAT SENATOR MITCHELL COULD PULL SOMETHING TOGETHER. THE GOI IS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT ALL POSSIBLE "PERMUTATIONS" FOR SQUARING THE DECOMMISSIONING/EXECUTIVE CIRCLE ALREADY HAVE BEEN TRIED WITHOUT SUCCESS. KIRWAN SAW SOME HOPE THAT SEPTEMBER MAY BE A BETTER TIME FOR THE UUP TO MOVE FORWARD THAN JULY (MARCHING SEASON), BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE RECENT MURDER OF CHARLES BENNETT AND THE IRA GUN-RUNNING CASE WERE SOURING THE ATMOSPHERE. ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE GOI FELT THE IRA CEASEFIRE WAS STILL IN PLACE, KIRWAN SAID THAT THE GOI WOULD NOT MAKE ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT (AS DEMANDED BY OPPOSITION LEADER JOHN BRUTON WHO SOUGHT A DEFINITIVE GOI POSITION AND SANCTIONS AGAINST SINN FEIN IF THE CEASEFIRE WAS FOUND TO BE IN BREACH). KIRWAN ADDED THAT PRIVATELY THE GOI'S VIEW WAS THAT, WHILE THE BENNETT MURDER WAS "DEPLORABLE" AND THE GUN SHIPMENTS "TROUBLING," NEITHER SEEMED TO TRIP THE BENCHMARKS SET OUT TO CONSTITUTE A CEASEFIRE BREACH.

6. (e) LOOKING BEYOND SEPTEMBER, KIRWAN CONCLUDED THAT, IF THE MITCHELL REVIEW DOES NOT SUCCEED IN BREAKING THE IMPASSE, IT WILL DEFINITELY BE TIME FOR "PLAN B." ALTHOUGH BOTH IRELAND AND THE UK HAVE CONSISTENTLY DENIED THAT THERE IS A PLAN B, KIRWAN NOTED, THE IRISH WERE BEGINNING TO MUSE ABOUT ITS OUTLINES. IN GENERAL, THE GOI PLAN WOULD BE TO IMPLICITLY BLAME UNIONIST OBSTRUCTIONISM AND PUSH FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF AS MUCH OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AS COULD BE "RESCUED" WITHOUT THE ASSEMBLY AND DEVOLUTION. THIS WOULD CERTAINLY INCLUDE RUC REFORM AND THE EQUALITY AGENDA, BUT COULD ALSO INCLUDE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. ASKED BY POLOFF, HOW NORTH-SOUTH BODIES COULD GO FORWARD IN THE ABSENCE OF THE NORTHERN EXECUTIVE, KIRWAN CONCEDED THEY COULDN'T UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, BUT NOTHING PRECLUDED THE UK AND IRELAND FROM REACHING A SEPARATE AGREEMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE CROSS-BORDER BODIES. IN THIS CONCEPTION, THE SIX BODIES ALREADY AGREED WOULD REPORT TO A NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL CONSISTING OF "DUBLIN GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND THEIR COUNTERPARTS FROM THE NIO" RATHER THAN FROM A DEVOLVED NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT.

7. (e) KIRWAN ADDED THAT CONSIDERATION COULD EVEN BE GIVEN TO ENHANCING AND EXPANDING THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES UNDER THIS SCENARIO BY SUCH STEPS AS CREATING A NEW BODY ON ENERGY POLICY OR BEEFING UP THE "ORPHAN STATUS" OF TOURISM COOPERATION. ASKED IF UNIONIST REACTION TO SUCH AN APPROACH IMPOSED "OVER THEIR HEADS" FROM LONDON AND DUBLIN WOULD NOT BE FEARSOME, KIRWAN THOUGHT PERHAPS NOT -- THE "BULK OF THE UNIONIST POPULATION" WAS MUCH MORE COMFORTABLE WITH NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION NOW THAN THEY WERE AT THE TIME OF THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT IN 1985. HE ARGUED THAT, DESPITE TRIMBLE'S WEEKS OF STALLING ON NORTH-SOUTH BODIES LAST WINTER, IN THE WIDER UNIONIST COMMUNITY THE ISSUE WAS REALLY THE "DOG THAT NEVER

BARKED." KIRWAN CONCLUDED WITH HIS OWN PERSONAL MUSING THAT PERHAPS THE BEST THING THAT COULD BE DONE WITH A "PLAN B" ALONG THESE LINES WOULD BE TO LET UNIONISM KNOW ABOUT IT BEFORE THE REVIEW TO REINFORCE THE POINT THAT ALL ALTERNATIVES TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WILL ONLY BE WORSE FOR UNIONISM.

COMMENT  
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8. (C) ALL OF OUR PRIVATE CONTACTS, INCLUDING WITH SINN FEIN, REVEAL AN EXPECTATION THAT THE PATTEN COMMISSION WILL RECOMMEND SIGNIFICANT POLICING REFORMS IN THE NORTH, ALTHOUGH NO ONE EXPECTS THE REPORT TO MEET ALL OF THE REPUBLICAN DEMANDS. AS TO KIRWAN'S "PLAN B," HE WAS AT PAINS TO STRESS THAT THESE WERE INITIAL "MUSINGS" WITHIN THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE ONLY, NOT ANY FORMAL POSITION. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT EVEN IF THE UNIONIST DOG DID NOT BARK AT THE ADMITTEDLY MINIMAL AREAS FOR NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION AGREED IN FEBRUARY, IT WOULD HOWL AT A DEAL IMPOSED BY DUBLIN AND LONDON AND RUN OUT OF THE NIO ON THE NORTHERN SIDE. WE SUSPECT THE GOI KNOWS THIS AS WELL AND THAT THE REAL PURPOSE OF SUCH PROPOSALS MAY BE, AS ALLUDED TO BY KIRWAN, TO REINFORCE TO UNIONISM THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IS THE BEST DEAL THEY ARE GOING TO GET. END COMMENT

9. (U) STAFFDEL MACKEY DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS MESSAGE.

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 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: DEADLOCK ON DECOMMISSIONING  
 PERSISTS IN FINAL WEEKS BEFORE MITCHELL REVIEW

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## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 007176

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 SARAJEVO FOR ROSENBERRY  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN AMCON BELFAST

EXDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/10/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DEADLOCK ON DECOMMISSIONING  
 PERSISTS IN FINAL WEEKS BEFORE MITCHELL REVIEW

REF: LONDON 6911

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL  
 BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

1. ~~let~~ WHEN THE "WAY FORWARD" TALKS ENDED IN JULY, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT (GFA) WAS BLOCKED BY DISAGREEMENT ON WHETHER THE FORMATION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE SHOULD BE LINKED TO THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ILLEGAL WEAPONS. THAT IMPASSE CONTINUES AND NO ONE LATELY EXPRESSES ANY OPTIMISM THAT IT CAN BE OVERCOME IN A SWIFT SEPTEMBER REVIEW.

2. ~~let~~ UNIONISTS SEE THE LAST YEAR AS A SERIES OF CONCESSIONS (POWER SHARING, PRISONER RELEASES, INITIATION OF POLICE REFORM) THAT THEY HAVE SWALLOWED FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE. THE UUP LEADERSHIP CONTENTS THAT ESTABLISHING AN EXECUTIVE WITHOUT EVEN A TOKEN GESTURE OF DECOMMISSIONING FROM THE IRA IS TOO MUCH TO ASK AND WILL PRECIPITATE AN

## INTERNAL PARTY CRISIS.

3. (c) SINN FEIN REJECTS LINKAGE OF THE TWO ISSUES AND BLAMES UNIONISTS FOR FLOUTING THE VOTERS' MANDATE, AS EXPRESSED IN THE REFERENDUM AND IN ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. THE LINK WITH DECOMMISSIONING, SEIN FINN NOW INSISTS, WAS CONTRIVED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT - ORIGINALLY IN TONY BLAIR'S SIDE LETTER TO TRIMBLE - AT THE ELEVENTH HOUR OF THE GOOD FRIDAY NEGOTIATIONS, WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER PARTIES. SINN FEIN CONSIDERS THE DRAFT BRITISH "FAIL-SAFE" LEGISLATION ON DEVOLUTION TOTALLY OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF THE GFA.

4. (c) WHILE THE FUNDAMENTAL STICKING POINT REMAINS, THE ATMOSPHERE HAS ALMOST CERTAINLY WORSENERED - FROM THE AUGUST 14 DISTURBANCES DERRY AND BELFAST, AS WELL AS SUSPECTED IRA INVOLVEMENT IN MURDER AND GUN-RUNNING. THIS HAS CREATED PRESSURE ON MO MOWLAM TO CHASTISE SINN FEIN PUBLICLY, DISTRACTING THE NIO FROM PREPARATIONS FOR THE SEPTEMBER REVIEW. IN THIS CLIMATE OF PESSIMISM, THE RISK IS THAT DRIFT WILL GIVE WAY TO HOPELESSNESS AND FAILURE WILL BECOME A CONCEIVABLE OPTION FOR THE PARTIES. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

THE CONTEXT: SUSPICIONS MOUNTING  
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5. (c) IN THE MONTH SINCE THE BREAKDOWN OF THE "WAY FORWARD" TALKS, PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT HAVE NOT IMPROVED. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, THERE IS HOPE THAT THE SIX WEEKS' PAUSE (AND HOLIDAYS) WILL PUT THE NEGOTIATORS IN A MORE FLEXIBLE MOOD. SEAMUS MALLON'S SDLP COLLEAGUES EXPECT HIM TO RESUME AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE PROCESS, PERHAPS EVEN RESCINDING HIS JULY RESIGNATION AS DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER DESIGNATE, IF HIS RETURN COULD BE MADE PART OF SETTING UP THE EXECUTIVE. SENATOR MITCHELL'S PARTICIPATION IS ALSO GENERALLY WELCOMED, GIVEN HIS SKILLS AS A FACILITATOR AND AS A SIGNAL THAT IMPLEMENTATION HAS REACHED A MAKE-OR-BREAK STAGE.

6. (c) ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, TWO RECENT EPISODES ATTRIBUTED TO THE IRA, A NEWLY UNCOVERED WEAPONS-SMUGGLING OPERATION FROM THE U.S. AND A GRUESOME PUNISHMENT KILLING (REFTEL), HAVE PROMPTED CENTRIST PARTIES TO QUESTION THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND CALL FOR THE GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE SOME PUNITIVE ACTION AGAINST SINN FEIN. (THE IRA'S OBLIQUE - AND UNCONVINCING - STATEMENT OF DENIAL HAS NOT PERSUADED ANYONE THAT IT IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INCIDENTS.)

7. (c) THE AUGUST 14 RIOTING IN DERRY AND THE ORMEAU ROAD PROTEST, THOUGH MINOR BY NORTHERN IRELAND STANDARDS, HAVE COMPOUNDED THE BITTERNESS ON BOTH SIDES: NATIONALISTS FEEL THAT THE PARADES COMMISSION WILLFULLY PROVOKED THEIR COMMUNITY WHILE UNIONISTS CHARGE THAT RADICAL REPUBLICANS ONCE AGAIN SHOWED THEIR PENCHANT FOR TAKING TO THE STREETS TO AIR GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

8. (c) NIO SECURITY MINISTER ADAM INGRAM TOLD THE CONSUL GENERAL ON AUGUST 11 THAT THE GOVERNMENTS FACE THE

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DEADLOCK ON DECOMMISSIONING  
PERSISTS IN FINAL WEEKS BEFORE MITCHELL REVIEW

DIFFICULT TASK OF FINDING A WAY TO CONDEMN THE VIOLENCE WITHOUT PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO WANT TO DISRUPT THE REVIEW PROCESS. ONE OPTION UNDER DISCUSSION IS TO HALT PRISONER RELEASES, BUT REFRAIN FROM SUSPENDING SINN FEIN FROM THE TALKS. NIO OFFICIALS TOLD US THAT HMG WILL CONSULT WITH THE U.S. AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO MAKING ANY DETERMINATION ON THE STATUS OF THE CEASEFIRE.

MO - IN PLACE, AND IN CHARGE?  
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9. (C) SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MO MOWLAM, REMAINS IN OFFICE DESPITE PREDICTIONS INDICATING SHE WOULD CHANGE JOBS IN PM BLAIR'S SUMMER CABINET RESHUFFLE. MOWLAM'S STAYING ON HAS BEEN WELCOMED BY THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY BUT CRITICIZED BY THE UNIONISTS, WHO CONTEND THAT SHE IS NOT EVEN-HANDED. WELL-PLACED UNIONIST SOURCES CLOSE TO TRIMBLE TOLD US THAT LACK OF COORDINATION BETWEEN MOWLAM AND DOWNING STREET WAS PARTLY TO BLAME FOR THE BREAKDOWN OF THE JULY NEGOTIATIONS. THESE SAME SOURCES EXPECT THAT MOWLAM WILL LIKELY LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT WITHIN A FEW MONTHS AND CLAIM IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THE PRIME MINISTER WILL LET HER PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE SEPTEMBER REVIEW.

THE PARTIES' POSITIONS  
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10. (C) WE HAVE MET WITH NUMEROUS PARTY REPRESENTATIVES AS THEY RETURN FROM VACATION OVER THE LAST FEW WEEKS. MOST HAVE BEEN DOWNBEAT ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR THE REVIEW, LAMENTING THE LACK OF WILL OR NEW IDEAS TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. IN AN AUGUST 18 MEETING WITH THE CG, SENIOR SDLP NEGOTIATOR SEAN FARREN STATED THAT SUCCESS NOW DEPENDS ON "COURAGE, NOT CREATIVITY."

11. (C) IN AN INFORMAL AUGUST 17 LUNCH AT THE CONSULATE, UUP LEADERS KEN MAGINNIS, DERMOT NESBITT AND MICHAEL MCGIMPSEY REITERATED THAT UNIONISTS ARE PREPARED TO "JUMP TOGETHER" INTO AN EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN, BUT ONLY WITH STRONG ASSURANCES ON DECOMMISSIONING AND SOME (UNDEFINED) GESTURES FROM SF. GIVEN RECENT IRA ACTIVITIES, RANK-AND-FILE UNIONISTS REMAIN SKEPTICAL OF SINN FEIN'S GOOD FAITH.

12. (C) THE UUP OFFICIALS ADDED THAT THEIR LATEST BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH SINN FEIN HAVE BEEN UNPRODUCTIVE. UNIONISTS ALSO EMPHASIZED THE DIFFICULTIES THEY HAVE WITH THEIR HARD-LINERS. IN A MEETING WITH CONOFF, JEFFREY DONALDSON WAS ADAMANT THAT TRIMBLE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANOTHER VERSION OF THE JULY OFFER: "GEORGE MITCHELL CAN'T SELL US ANOTHER FUDGE ON DECOMMISSIONING. AN IRISHMAN DOESN'T BUY A DUD HORSE TWICE." WHILE OTHERS ARE LESS DOGMATIC, DONALDSON'S HARDLINE REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF MANY UNIONISTS AND LIMITS TRIMBLE'S ROOM FOR MANUEVER. HIS ALLIES NOTE THAT TRIMBLE JUST SURVIVED THE MAY-JUNE

NEGOTIATIONS AS UUP LEADER, AND THEN ONLY BECAUSE HE DID NOT ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENTS' "WAY FORWARD."

13. (X) IRONICALLY, SINN FEIN'S LEADERS ALSO PLEAD THAT HARDLINE REPUBLICANS LIMIT THE PARTY'S ABILITY TO MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING. THEY NOTE THAT THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL HAS NOT YET APPROVED SINN FEIN PARTICIPATION IN THE REVIEW AND CLAIM THAT IF HMG SUSPENDED PRISONER RELEASES BECAUSE OF CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS, SF WOULD LIKELY BOYCOTT THE TALKS. (COMMENT: MOST OBSERVERS DISMISS THIS THREAT AS TACTICAL.)

14. (X) SINN FEIN WILL ENTER THE REVIEW PROCESS, INSISTING THERE SHOULD BE NO LINKAGE BETWEEN THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND DECOMMISSIONING. ON AUGUST 17, SF CHAIRMAN MITCHELL MCLAUGHLIN AGAIN TOLD US THAT SINN FEIN REGARDS PM BLAIR'S EFFORTS IN THE UK'S DEVOLUTION LEGISLATION (WHICH IS NOW ON HOLD) TO ESTABLISH A LEGAL LINKAGE TO BE AN ABBROGATION OF THE GFA. SUCH ACTIONS, ACCORDING TO MCLAUGHLIN, UNDERMINE REPUBLICAN CONFIDENCE AND ACTUALLY MAKE DECOMMISSIONING PROSPECTS MORE DIFFICULT.

15. (X) SDLP ASSEMBLYMAN ALEX ATWOOD WARNED US THAT SINN FEIN WILL REJECT ANY COMPROMISE DURING THE REVIEW. IF THE TALKS BREAK DOWN, ATWOOD CLAIMED, REPUBLICANS WILL PUSH FOR LONDON AND DUBLIN TO CONCLUDE A REVISED VERSION OF THE 1995 ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT THAT STRENGTHENS NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTIONS EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF DEVOLUTION. IF THIS RESPONSE IS NOT FORTHCOMING, ATWOOD SAID, SINN FEIN WOULD  
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PERSISTS IN FINAL WEEKS BEFORE MITCHELL REVIEW

BE PREPARED TO "TEST" PM BLAIR WITH A CALIBRATED ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE. ATWOOD SAID THAT, BECAUSE SINN FEIN'S LEADERS TEND NOW TO THINK THEY ARE INVIOULATE, THE PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO EVADE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RECENT VIOLENCE AND, ABSENT PRESSURE FROM U.S. SUPPORTERS, WILL PLAY HARD-BALL IN THE TALKS. (COMMENT: OTHER OBSERVERS ALSO TELL US THAT SINN FEIN'S SINGLE FEAR IS LOSS OF AMERICAN SUPPORT AS A RESULT OF THE ARMS DEALINGS AND BENNET MURDER.)

POSSIBLE STEPS FORWARD  
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16. (X) DESPITE THE ENTRENCHED POSITIONS, SOME MODERATES FROM THE THREE MAIN PARTIES APPEAR TO BE TRYING AGAIN TO DEVISE A SEQUENCE OF EVENTS THAT WOULD ALLOW FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND DECOMMISSIONING TO PROCEED IN TANDEM. DURING AN AUGUST 14 MEETING WITH CONOFF IN LONDONDERRY, SDLP ASSEMBLYMAN MARK DURKIN SUGGESTED THAT THE IMPASSE COULD BE RESOLVED BY ELABORATING A PRECISE TIMETABLE OF STEPS THAT WOULD ENSURE THAT THE PROCESS OF GETTING THE

EXECUTIVE UP AND RUNNING IS MATCHED BY PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. DURKIN SAID THE SCHEDULE COULD BE STRUCTURED AS FOLLOWS:

STEP A: PASSAGE OF THE DEVOLUTION ORDER IN WESTMINSTER  
STEP A1: APPOINTMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION

STEP B: CONVENING OF EXECUTIVE, NORTH-SOUTH BODIES  
STEP B1: ADOPTION OF A PLAN/TIMETABLE FOR DECOMMISSIONING

STEP C: ADOPTION OF A GOVERNMENT PROGRAM  
STEP C1: COMMENCEMENT OF DECOMMISSIONING

17. (✓) DURKIN IS OPTIMISTIC THAT SUCH A PLAN WOULD GIVE TRIMBLE ENOUGH ASSURANCES TO GO FORWARD AND IS CONSISTENT WITH COMMITMENTS ON DECOMMISSIONING THAT SINN FEIN REPORTEDLY MADE TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT DURING THE JUNE/JULY TALKS. NOTE: THE SUNDAY TIMES REPORTED AUGUST 15 THAT THE IRA IS EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITY OF PUTTING SOME OF ITS WEAPONRY IN DUMPS IN IRELAND AS PART OF ITS PREPARATIONS FOR DECOMMISSIONING. A JOURNALIST WITH CLOSE TIES TO THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT RECENTLY HINTED TO US THAT IDEAS OF "VOLUNTARY" WITHDRAWAL/SAFEGUARDING OF WEAPONS IS UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE IRA.

18. (✓) DESPITE RECENT REPUBLICAN VIOLENCE, PRAGMATIC UNIONISTS FEAR THEY WILL GET MOST OF THE BLAME IF THE REVIEW FAILS. FURTHER, THEY KNOW THAT THE NEXT DEAL PROPOSED MIGHT OFFER SUBSTANTIALLY LESS. TO PROCEED, HOWEVER, THEY INSIST THE UUP NEEDS FAIL-SAFE MECHANISMS IN PLACE - TO ENSURE THAT, IF THE EXECUTIVE DISSOLVES IN THE FUTURE BECAUSE OF THE IRA'S FAILURE TO DECOMMISSION, THE ONUS WILL REST SQUARELY ON SINN FEIN. ONE NOTION WOULD BE TO HAVE TRIMBLE AGREE TO A VERSION OF THE DEAL ON OFFER IN JULY, BUT AT THE SAME TIME DRAFT A POST-DATED (TO MAY 2000, MOST LIKELY) LETTER OF RESIGNATION THAT HE WOULD TENDER, ABSENT PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. FOR THIS PLAN TO WORK, TRIMBLE WOULD NEED IRON-CLAD COMMITMENTS FROM BLAIR TO ENDORSE THE APPROACH PUBLICLY. UNIONIST CONTACTS HINTED THAT PRIOR ASSURANCE THAT THE U.S. WOULD ACCEPT SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD BE IMPORTANT AS WELL.

THE REVIEW  
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19. (✓) THE PESSIMISM ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THE TALKS IS COUPLED WITH UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE STRUCTURE AND DURATION OF THE REVIEW. PARTY REPRESENTATIVES ARE ANTICIPATING A FORMAT SIMILAR TO THE LAST MONTHS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY NEGOTIATION, WITH INTENSIVE BILATERAL MEETINGS INTERPERSED WITH PLENARY SESSIONS. NIO OFFICIALS IN BELFAST ARE ALSO UNSURE OF THEIR ROLE, EVIDENTLY AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON. THEY CONFIRMED TO US AS RECENTLY AS AUGUST 19 THAT LITTLE WORK HAS BEEN DONE, AS KEY PLAYERS ARE STILL AWAY OR JUST RETURNED FROM SUMMER VACATION.

20. (✓) MOST PARTIES SUGGESTED THAT THE REVIEW SHOULD NOT BE PROTRACTED, BUT FEW THOUGHT THAT IT COULD BE FINISHED BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER - ALTHOUGH ALL CLAIMED TO BELIEVE THAT IT SHOULD BE SWIFT. THE UUP'S MAGINNIS SAID HE HOPED MITCHELL WOULD DRAFT A DOCUMENT REVIEWING EACH PARTY'S  
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 PERSISTS IN FINAL WEEKS BEFORE MITCHELL REVIEW

PERFORMANCE IN IMPLEMENTING THE GFA AND SUGGEST WAYS TO  
 RESOLVE STICKING POINTS. AFTER AN INTERVAL OF A FEW WEEKS,  
 MITCHELL COULD RETURN AND PUSH THE PARTIES TO AN AGREEMENT,  
 BASED ON HIS OWN ANALYSIS OF PROGRESS MADE.

21. (C) SDLP ASSEMBLYMAN MARK DURKIN SAID SENATOR MITCHELL  
 SHOULD BE GIVEN MORE AUTHORITY IN THE REVIEW THAN HE HAD  
 DURING THE GOOD FRIDAY TALKS, WHEN HIS ROLE WAS RESTRICTED  
 BY AGREED-UPON GROUND RULES. IF MITCHELL IS MORE  
 PROACTIVE, DURKIN SAID, HE CAN ASSUME SOME OF THE  
 PEROGATIVES HELD BY THE GOVERNMENTS DURING THE UNSUCCESSFUL  
 JULY TALKS. PUP ASSEMBLYMAN BILLY HUTCHINSON TOLD US THAT  
 HE BELIEVES EACH DAY OF THE REVIEW SHOULD CONCLUDE WITH A  
 PLENARY SESSION TO PROVIDE GREATER TRANSPARENCY AND ASSURE  
 A VOICE FOR SMALLER PARTIES. (COMMENT. THE TENSION  
 BETWEEN THE DESIRE TO INCLUDE THE SMALLER PARTIES AND THE  
 NEED FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE MAIN PRO-  
 AGREEMENT PARTIES BECAME A NEGATIVE FACTOR AS EARLY AS THE  
 APRIL HILLSBOROUGH TALKS, WAS EVIDENT IN JUNE/JULY AND HAS  
 YET TO BE SATISFACTORILY ADDRESSED.)

WILD CARD - THE PATTEN REPORT  
 -----

21. (C) INGRAM TOLD THE CONSUL GENERAL IN CONFIDENCE THAT  
 THE PATTEN REPORT ON REFORM OF THE RUC IS TO BE PRESENTED  
 DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF THE REVIEW - SEPTEMBER 6-10.  
 OTHER SOUNDINGS SUGGEST THAT THE MOST LIKELY DATES AS  
 SEPTEMBER 9 OR 10. INGRAM STRESSED THAT THE TIMING IS  
 DRIVEN BY THE SCHEDULES OF THE PANELISTS, ALL OF WHOM WILL  
 BE PRESENT AT ITS PRESENTATION. A COMMISSION SOURCE TOLD  
 THE CG THAT THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS ARE "GUARANTEED"  
 TO AROUSE CRITICISM AND CONCERN FROM BOTH ENDS OF THE  
 POLITICAL SPECTRUM. SUCCESS AT PREVENTING THE REPORT FROM  
 DISRUPTING THE REVIEW WILL DEPEND ON THE MODERATE  
 PARTIES KEEPING COOL HEADS AND REFRAINING FROM DRAGGING  
 POLICE REFORM INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE U.S. ROLE  
 -----

22. (C) IN COORDINATION WITH EMBASSIES LONDON AND DUBLIN,  
 WE WILL OFFER FURTHER THOUGHTS ON WHAT THE USG CAN DO TO  
 ENCOURAGE A CONSTRUCTIVE START TO THE REVIEW PROCESS AS  
 SEPTEMBER 6 APPROACHES. LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 04  
 <^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 04  
 <^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 04  
 <^SECT>SECTION: 04 OF 04

SSN: 7176  
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SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON NORLAND SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT(C2)

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 251458Z AUG 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 251458Z AUG 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
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 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 1054  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0971  
 SUBJ: GOI FINDS NO BREACH OF IRA CEASEFIRE

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (1.98)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

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

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 004561

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/25/09  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: GOI FINDS NO BREACH OF IRA CEASEFIRE

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

REF: DUBLIN 4285

1. ~~(S)~~ FOLLOWING UP ON RECENT CONTROVERSY OVER  
 CONFLICTING STATEMENTS BY IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID  
 ANDREWS AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM ON THE  
 STATUS OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE, WE SOUGHT CLARIFICATION OF  
 THE GOI POSITION FROM DEPUTY HEAD OF THE DFA ANGLO-IRISH  
 DIVISION, TIM O'CONNOR, AUGUST 24. (NOTE: IN AN  
 IMPROMPTU JOINT APPEARANCE AUGUST 23, FM ANDREWS TOLD THE  
 MEDIA THAT HE AND MOWLAM HAD CONCLUDED THE IRA CEASEFIRE  
 HAD NOT BEEN BREACHED ONLY TO BE IMMEDIATELY CONTRADICTED  
 BY MOWLAM WHO SAID SHE HAD REACHED NO CONCLUSIONS AND WAS  
 CONTINUING TO SEEK INFORMATION FROM UK AND U.S. SOURCES.  
 END NOTE.)

2. ~~(S)~~ O'CONNOR TOLD A/DCM THAT THE INCIDENT HAD BEEN  
 "POORLY CHOREOGRAPHED" BUT WAS, NONETHELESS, AN ACCURATE  
 INDICATOR OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS DIFFERING POSITIONS.  
 THE GOI, O'CONNOR SAID, WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THE MURDER OF  
 CHARLES BENNETT AND THE RECENT GUN-SMUGGLING CASE WERE  
 DEPLORABLE AND UNFORTUNATE BUT DID NOT/NOT CONSTITUTE A  
 BREACH OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE. HE SAID THAT THE UK,  
 HOWEVER, MAY REACH A DIFFERENT CONCLUSION AND TAKE ACTION  
 AGAINST THE IRA SUCH AS SLOWING OR STOPPING PRISONER  
 RELEASES FOR THE TIME BEING. A/DCM ASKED IF THE UK AND  
 IRELAND DIDN'T HAVE TO CONCUR ON THIS ISSUE. O'CONNOR  
 SAID THAT WOULD CERTAINLY BE PREFERABLE, BUT IT WAS NOT A  
 REQUIREMENT. HE ADDED HE COULD SEE A SITUATION IN THE  
 NEAR TERM IN WHICH UK PRISONER RELEASES WERE HALTED WHILE

GOI RELEASES CONTINUED.

3. (C) COMMENT: O'CONNOR'S SURPRISINGLY EASY ACCEPTANCE THAT THE GOI AND UK COULD GO DOWN DIFFERENT PATHS ON PRISONER RELEASES STRIKES US AS SYMPTOMATIC OF SOME TATTERING IN UK-IRISH SOLIDARITY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE FAILURE TO SET UP THE EXECUTIVE IN JULY. AS REPORTED REFTEL (NOTAL) ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS WOULD BE THE EAGERNESS OF SOME SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS TO PLAY "HARDBALL" WITH UNIONISTS BY REVEALING TO THEM A "PLAN B," SHOULD THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT FAIL, THAT WOULD BE FAR WORSE FOR UNIONISM. FROM OUR VIEWPOINT, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, AS WELL AS THE PARTIES, WILL BENEFIT FROM THE RENEWED FOCUS THE MITCHELL REVIEW SHOULD BRING. END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 4561

TOR: 990825110416 M4017689

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON NORLAND SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2}

<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2

PRT: STEINBERG

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PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5684  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 1064  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0974  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: SINN FEIN'S MCGUINNESS SEES PROBLEMS FOR  
 REPUBLICANISM AS MITCHELL REVIEW SET TO BEGIN

**DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0158-M (2.01)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5 (B)

**TEXT:**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 004745

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958:DECL: 09/03/09

TAGS:PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT:SINN FEIN'S MCGUINNESS SEES PROBLEMS FOR  
 REPUBLICANISM AS MITCHELL REVIEW SET TO BEGIN

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5 (B)  
 AND (D).

**SUMMARY**

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1. (c) SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE RITA 'O'HARE CALLED ON AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN AND A/DCM SEPTEMBER 2. IN THE RUN-UP TO THE MITCHELL REVIEW, MCGUINNESS SAID THERE WAS "TREMENDOUS DISCONTENT" WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY OVER THE STATE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. WHILE HE ASSURED US THAT THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP WOULD ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATION IN THE REVIEW "STRICTLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT," HE COULD NOT GUARANTEE A POSITIVE DECISION FROM THE PARTY NATIONAL EXECUTIVE WHEN IT MEETS SEPTEMBER 4. COMMENTING ON RECENT IRA ACTIONS, MCGUINNESS THOUGHT THEY HAD BEEN EXAGGERATED BUT ADDED THAT THE IRA SHOULD NOT GIVE UNIONISM EXCUSES FOR FURTHER STALLING. HE DID STATE SINN FEIN'S "ABSOLUTE OPPOSITION" TO PUNISHMENT BEATING AND EXPULSIONS. STRESSING THAT PRIME MINISTER BLAIR WAS THE KEY TO PROGRESS, HE EXPRESSED GROWING CONCERN THAT BLAIR WAS NOT UP TO "FACING DOWN UNIONISM" AND CALLED ON THE U.S. AND THE PRESIDENT TO

KEEP BLAIR FROM "LOSING HIS NERVE." MCGUINNESS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF STAYING EXCLUSIVELY WITHIN THE TERMS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN -U(9'UMMARY.

"TREMENDOUS DISCONTENT IN REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY"  
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2. (X) MCGUINNESS TOLD AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN THAT THERE WOULD BE A "DIFFICULT" MEETING OF SINN FEIN'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD SEPTEMBER 4 IN DUBLIN TO DETERMINE IF SINN FEIN WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE REVIEW PROCESS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN SEPTEMBER 6. (NOTE: THE EXECUTIVE RESERVED JUDGEMENT ON THIS QUESTION IN LATE-JULY.) MCGUINNESS STRESSED THAT IT WAS HIS VIEW, AND THAT OF GERRY ADAMS, THAT SINN FEIN SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN A REVIEW "WITHIN THE PARAMETERS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT," BUT ADDED THAT THERE WAS "TREMENDOUS DISCONTENT AND DOUBT" WITHIN REPUBLICANISM ABOUT THE WAY FORWARD. HE COULD NOT GUARANTEE A POSITIVE DECISION ON PARTICIPATION FROM THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

3. (X) MCGUINNESS WENT THROUGH A LITANY OF REASONS FOR REPUBLICAN CONCERN CAPPED BY THE "EXCLUSION" LEGISLATION INTRODUCED BY THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT IN JULY IN AN EFFORT TO REASSURE UNIONISM ON DECOMMISSIONING AND GET THE EXECUTIVE ESTABLISHED. THIS, MCGUINNESS EMPHASIZED, WOULD HAVE "CLEARLY DRAGGED US OUTSIDE OF THE AGREEMENT" AND HAD A "DEVASTATING EFFECT" ON REPUBLICAN OPINION ABOUT TONY BLAIR'S COMMITMENT TO THE PROCESS. HE ALSO CITED THE RUC'S ACTIONS AGAINST PROTESTORS ON THE LOWER ORMEAU ROAD, PARADE COMMISSION DECISIONS, AND THE RECENT ATTACKS ON BLAIR GOVERNMENT POLICY BY CONSERVATIVE LEADER WILLIAM HAGUE AS FURTHER FACTORS COMPLICATING SINN FEIN'S EFFORTS TO STAY ON COURSE.

4. (X) MCGUINNESS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SINN FEIN EXECUTIVE BOARD WAS MORE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH THAN IT HAD BEEN IN THE PAST GIVEN THE LEADERSHIP'S FAILURE TO HAVE ITS FULL SLATE ELECTED AT LAST FEBRUARY'S PARTY CONFERENCE. O'HARE NOTED THAT THE BOARD WAS NOW MORE "HARD-LINE," REFLECTING A RESURGENCE IN STRENGTH OF THE "SOUTHERN" (IRISH REPUBLIC) WING OF THE PARTY. THAT SAID, MCGUINNESS SAW NO NEAR TERM DANGER OF A SIGNIFICANT SPLIT. HE THOUGHT DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN GROUPS LIKE THE CONTINUITY AND REAL IRA WERE BIDDING THEIR TIME AT THIS POINT WAITING FOR "SINN FEIN TO DROP THE BALL" WHICH WOULD GIVE THEM FERTILE GROUND IN WHICH TO RECRUIT YOUNG PEOPLE. THAT, HE REITERATED WAS THE GREAT DANGER OF ANY ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE TERMS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WHICH WAS THE "BOTTOM-LINE" OF WHAT THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY WOULD ACCEPT. IF THAT WERE TO HAPPEN, THE CURRENT SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP WOULD BE "FINISHED," HE SAID, AND IT WOULD CREATE A YOUNG "REJECTIONIST REPUBLICAN" ELEMENT RIPE FOR RECRUITMENT BY THOSE SEEKING A RETURN TO VIOLENCE.

IRA ACTIONS: AVOID GIVING UNIONISM "EXCUSES"  
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5. (X) THE AMBASSADOR PRESSED MCGUINNESS TO COMMENT ON RECENT IRA ACTIONS WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO POISONING THE

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ATMOSPHERE. MCGUINNESS RESPONDED THAT SINN FEIN WAS "ABSOLUTELY OPPOSED TO PUNISHMENT BEATINGS AND EXPULSIONS," BUT ADDED THAT NATIONALIST COMMUNITIES HAD TO BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH "ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENTS" IN SOME WAY IN THE ABSENCE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 004745

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958:QDECL: 09/03/09

TAGS:PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT:SINN FEIN'S MCGUINNESS SEES PROBLEMS FOR REPUBLICANISM AS MITCHELL REVIEW SET TO BEGIN

OF A LEGITIMATE POLICING SERVICE. HE THOUGHT A TYPE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC "SHUNNING" SHOULD REPLACE BEATINGS OR EXPULSIONS. MCGUINNESS HOPED POLICE REFORM AND SINN FEIN IDEA'S FOR RESTORATIVE JUSTICE PROGRAMS WOULD SOON HELP TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS. BOTH MCGUINNESS AND O'HARE, HOWEVER, EMPHASIZED THAT THE MOST RECENT EXPULSION INCIDENTS HAD BEEN "EXAGGERATED," BUT MCGUINNESS CONCLUDED THAT THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP WOULD PREFER TO AVOID GIVING UNIONISM "EXCUSES" FOR STALLING PROGRESS.

TONY BLAIR THE KEY  
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6. (e) A/DCM ASKED FOR MCGUINNESS' VIEW OF MO MOWLAM'S CONTINUED EFFECTIVENESS GIVEN THE TREMENDOUS UNIONIST CRITICISM SHE IS FACING. MCGUINNESS RESPONDED THAT SINN FEIN HAD BEEN HAPPY THAT SHE WAS NOT MOVED IN THE RECENT CABINET RE-SHUFFLE, BUT NOTED THAT SHE WAS NOT THE KEY. THE KEY IS TONY BLAIR, AND SINN FEIN IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT HIM. BLAIR MUST BE WILLING TO FACE DOWN UNIONISM AND REQUIRE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. H56ESIDENT CAN DO TO HELP, IT IS TO KEEP BLAIR FROM "LOSING HIS NERVE."

IS THE JULY DEAL STILL ON THE TABLE?  
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7. (e) A/DCM ASKED MCGUINNESS IF THE OFFER SINN FEIN HAD PUT ON THE TABLE IN JULY ON DECOMMISSIONING FOLLOWING ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EXECUTIVE STILL STOOD. "NO, BECAUSE UNIONISM HAD REJECTED IT" WAS MCGUINNESS' INITIAL RESPONSE BUT HIS SUBSEQUENT EMPHASIS ON SINN FEIN'S WILLINGNESS TO MOVE FORWARD IN ANY WAY CONSISTENT WITH GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT LEADS US TO CONCLUDE THAT THE JULY PACKAGE COULD STILL BE IN PLAY UNDER THE RIGHT CONDITIONS.

POSSIBLE MCGUINNESS VISIT TO WASHINGTON  
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8. (e) MCGUINNESS INFORMED US THAT HE IS LIKELY TO TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON SEPTEMBER 10-12 TO PROVIDE SINN FEIN'S THOUGHTS ON THE OPENING WEEK OF THE REVIEW AND THE ANTICIPATED PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT. IF HE GOES AHEAD, HE WOULD SEEK MEETINGS AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND ON THE HILL. WE WILL ADVISE OF FURTHER DETAILS. SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, RITA

O'HARE, PLANS TO RETURN TO D.C. ON SEPTEMBER 11.

COMMENT

9. (C) WHILE WE ACCEPT MCGUINNESS' ASSESSMENT OF DISCONTENT WITHIN REPUBLICAN RANKS, WE SEE LITTLE OR NO POSSIBILITY OF THE SINN FEIN NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DECIDING TO BOYCOTT THE MITCHELL REVIEW. SUCH A DECISION WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO A VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE IN THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP. WE WERE STRUCK BY TWO STATEMENTS FROM MCGUINNESS, NOT BECAUSE THEY WERE REVELATIONS, BUT MORE BECAUSE HE PUT THEM SO BLUNTLY. ONE, WAS HIS PRONOUNCEMENT OF SINN FEIN'S "ABSOLUTE OPPOSITION" TO PUNISHMENT BEATINGS AND EXPULSIONS. WE HAVE NEVER SUCCESSFULLY ELICITED SUCH A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS ON THIS, AND WE HOPE SUCH A CLEAR POSITION WILL FIND ITS WAY INTO SINN FEIN'S PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS SOON. SECONDLY, HIS BLUNT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP OF SINN FEIN WOULD BE "FINISHED" IF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT FAILS OR IS CHANGED, HIGHLIGHTS THAT ADAMS, MCGUINNESS AND COMPANY WILL BE PLAYING THE ULTIMATE HIGH STAKES GAME OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

10. (C) WE ALSO NOTE THAT MCGUINNESS' CALLS FOR PM BLAIR TO "FACEDOWN" UNIONISM ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE DIRECTION IN WHICH SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THEY WANT TO MOVE. THAT IS TO SPELL OUT TO THE UUP NOW THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IS THE BEST DEAL THEY ARE GOING TO GET, WHILE PREPARING THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO IMPOSE MUCH OF THE AGREEMENT OVER THE UNIONISTS' HEADS IF THEY FAIL TO COOPERATE. TO SOME EXTENT THE FRUSTRATION WE ARE HEARING IN SOME DUBLIN CORRIDORS WITH THE UK'S UNWILLINGNESS TO GO DOWN THIS ROAD MIRRORS MCGUINNESS' CONCERN ABOUT PM BLAIR "LOSING HIS NERVE." END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 4745  
<^SSN>4745

TOR: 990903122359 M4032652  
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SIT: NSC  
PRT: STEINBERG  
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SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON SUM2  
PRT: SIT{C2}  
<^DIST>

SIT: SUM2  
PRT: STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 081924Z SEP 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8872  
 INFO: RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 1130  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT  
 IN PRINCIPLE PATTEN REPORT RECOMMENDATIONS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (2.02)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 007631

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

EXDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/10/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT  
 IN PRINCIPLE PATTEN REPORT RECOMMENDATIONS

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL  
 BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY

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1. ~~(S)~~ ON SEPTEMBER 8 NIO OFFICIALS TOLD US THAT THE  
 BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT "FIRMLY BUT DISPASSIONATELY"  
 THE PATTEN REPORT RECOMMENDATIONS IN A STATEMENT TO BE  
 RELEASED TOMORROW AFTERNOON IN BELFAST. EMBASSY AND  
 CONSULATE RECOMMEND THAT INITIAL USG REACTION, WHICH WILL  
 BE CLOSELY MONITORED HERE, STRESS THE PATTEN COMMISSION  
 REPORT AS PART OF GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION AND  
 AVOID GETTING INTO DETAILS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE  
 RECOMMENDATIONS.

2. ~~(S)~~ THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS EMPHASIZE  
 ESTABLISHING ACCOUNTABILITY AND INCORPORATING EUROPEAN  
 HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS INTO THE FORCE'S PRACTICES. THE  
 EARLY REACTION TO LEAKED RECOMMENDATIONS AMONG CRITICS IN  
 NORTHERN IRELAND HAS FOCUSED ON PROPOSED CHANGES IN  
 SYMBOLS, MOST NOTABLY RENAMING THE RUC THE NORTHERN IRELAND  
 POLICE SERVICE. END SUMMARY.

MOWLAM'S RESPONSE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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3. (S) NIO SECURITY OFFICIALS TOLD US ON SEPTEMBER 8 THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD RESPOND FAVORABLY, BUT IN LOW-KEY LANGUAGE TO THE REPORT'S CONTENTS. ACCORDING TO OUR CONTACTS, NIO WILL ACCEPT "FIRMLY, IN PRINCIPLE" THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH NIO FULLY EXPECTS TO BE CONTROVERSIAL FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES. THE REPORT WILL BE FORMALLY RELEASED AT 10 AM ON SEPTEMBER 9, ALTHOUGH PURPORTED DETAILS OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS HAVE BEEN A STAPLE IN THE PRESS FOR THE PAST TWO WEEKS. THE NIO PLANS TO ISSUE ITS OWN STATEMENT IN MID-AFTERNOON ON THE 9TH. DOWNING STREET OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US IT IS HMG'S INTENTION, AFTER INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES, TO PROCEED TO IMPLEMENT AS MUCH OF THE REPORT AS FEASIBLE WITHOUT REGARD TO THE PACE OF THE OVERALL GOOD FRIDAY POLITICAL PROCESS.

4. (S) SENIOR NIO OFFICIALS HAVE AGREED TO DISCUSS FURTHER WITH US THEIR INTERPRETATION OF ANY ASPECTS OF THE REPORT, ONCE CONSULAR OFFICERS HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY ITS CONTENTS.

RECOMMENDED USG POSTURE

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5. (S) GIVEN THE SENSITIVITY OF THE POLICE REFORM ISSUE AND THE SHEER SIZE (128 PAGES) OF THE REPORT, WE BELIEVE IT PRUDENT THAT THE U.S. AVOID DETAILED COMMENTS OR JUDGEMENTS ON CONTENT AT THIS TIME, INSTEAD STRESSING THAT THE REPORT IS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

6. (S) SUGGESTED GUIDANCE:

-- THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON POLICING FOR NORTHERN IRELAND (THE PATTEN COMMISSION) WAS ESTABLISHED IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT REACHED IN APRIL 1998.

-- THE PARTIES TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING A POLICE FORCE "CAPABLE OF ATTRACTING AND SUSTAINING SUPPORT FROM THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE."

-- WE HAVE RECEIVED A COPY OF THE REPORT AND ARE STUDYING IT CLOSELY. THE REPORT REFLECTS THE TERMS OF REFERENCE GIVEN TO THE COMMISSION BY THE PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT. IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE TO COMMENT ON THE CONTENT OF THE REPORT BEFORE REVIEWING IT THOROUGHLY.

-- WE WOULD STRESS THAT RESPONSES TO THE REPORT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RECOMMENDATIONS ARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTIES TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, AND MORE BROADLY, OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS LAW-ENFORCEMENT INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- WE RECOGNIZE THE CHALLENGE THAT INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES REPRESENT FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 007631

LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR NORLAND  
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

EXDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/10/09

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT  
IN PRINCIPLE PATTEN REPORT RECOMMENDATIONS

GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

LOCAL REACTIONS  
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7. (S) IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH US, RUC OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN RESTRAINED IN THEIR INITIAL REACTIONS. SOME SENIOR-LEVEL OFFICERS PREDICTED THAT, ABSENT ANY EXTREME RECOMMENDATIONS, THE REPORT WILL BE A "NINE-DAY WONDER," GENERATING A LOT OF PRESS AND STRONG REACTIONS BEFORE FADING FROM PUBLIC VIEW. THEY ADDED THAT ACTIVE RESISTANCE WITHIN THE FORCE IS UNLIKELY BECAUSE OF SERVICE DISCIPLINE AND THE DESIRE OF MOST OFFICERS TO RETAIN THEIR JOBS. THEY ALSO NOTED THAT DOWNSIZING WILL BE EASIER TO SWALLOW IF GENEROUS SEVERANCE PACKAGES FOR EARLY RETIREES ARE PROVIDED.

8. (S) WE EXPECT STRONG RHETORIC FROM UNIONIST/LOYALIST POLITICIANS, PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE SUGGESTED CHANGE IN THE NAME OF THE FORCE. IN A BRIEF PHONE CALL TO TRIMBLE'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, WE ALSO LEARNED THAT THE FIRST MINISTER DESIGNATE HAS JUST RECEIVED THE REPORT, AND IS EXPECTED TO HOLD HIS OWN PRESS CONFERENCE THURSDAY MORNING AT 11:00. TRIMBLE'S STAFFER EXPRESSED HOPE THAT SENIOR UUP MODERATES WOULD PREVAIL IN ADVISING TRIMBLE AND KEEPING UNIONIST CRITICAL REACTION WITHIN REASONABLE BOUNDS.

THE REPORT  
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9. (S) THE BROAD-RANGING REPORT MAKES 175 RECOMMENDATIONS, COVERING:

--HUMAN RIGHTS;  
--ACCOUNTABILITY;  
--POLICING IN THE COMMUNITY;  
--POLICING IN A PEACEFUL SOCIETY;  
--PUBLIC ORDER POLICING;  
--MANAGEMENT AND PERSONNEL;  
--INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY;  
--STRUCTURE OF THE POLICE SERVICE;  
--SIZE OF THE POLICE SERVICE;  
--COMPOSITION AND RECRUITMENT OF THE POLICE SERVICE;  
--TRAINING, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT;  
--CULTURE, ETHOS, AND SYMBOLS; AND  
--COOPERATION WITH OTHER POLICE SERVICES.

10. (S) THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT POLICE FORCE SHOULD BE "HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED" AND OFFERS A NEW OATH TO THAT EFFECT AS WELL AS INCLUDING INSTRUCTION IN HUMAN RIGHTS LEGISLATION AS PART OF POLICE TRAINING CURRICULUM. ACCOUNTABILITY IS TO BE VESTED IN A POLICING BOARD MADE UP OF 19 MEMBERS, TEN OF WHOM WOULD BE ASSEMBLY MEMBERS SELECTED USING THE D'HONDT SYSTEM.

11. (X) THE REPORT ALSO RECOMMENDS MORE CIVILIAN INVOLVEMENT IN BOTH MANAGEMENT AND TRAINING OF THE POLICE FORCE, INCLUDING A PURPOSE-BUILT POLICE COLLEGE WITH MUCH CIVILIAN INPUT. IN ADDITION, PATTEN RECOMMENDS THE POLICE COMMAND STRUCTURE BE REORGANIZED ALONG EXISTING COUNCIL DISTRICTS LINES, ALLOWING FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE CURRENT DIVISIONAL LAYER OF MANAGEMENT. PATTERN WOULD GIVE SOME LOCAL CONTROL OF THE POLICE TO THE DISTRICTS THROUGH THE ORGANIZATION OF DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS. DISTRICTS WOULD ALSO BE EMPOWERED TO LEVY A TAX IN ORDER TO "PURCHASE ADDITIONAL SERVICES FROM THE POLICE OR OTHER STATUTORY AGENCIES, OR FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR." CRITICS HAVE SAID THIS PROVISION COULD RESULT IN CONTRACTING OUT OF SOME POLICING TO EX-TERRORISTS.

12. (X) BEYOND THE DISTRICT-BASED REORGANIZATION, PATTEN RECOMMENDS COMBINING THE SPECIAL BRANCH AND THE CRIME BRANCH UNDER ONE ASSISTANT CHIEF CONSTABLE. THROUGH GENEROUS EARLY RETIREMENT PACKAGES AND RETRAINING PROGRAMS, PATTEN RECOMMENDS A FORCE REDUCTION TO 7,500 WITHIN TEN YEARS. PATTEN ADDRESSES THE ISSUE OF COMMUNITY IMBALANCE IN THE POLICE FORCE BY RECOMMENDING THAT HENCEFORTH AN EQUAL NUMBER OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLICS ARE ACCEPTED ONTO THE FORCE.

13. (X) PATTEN RECOMMENDS THE COMPLETE REMOVAL OF ANY BRITISH OR IRISH IDENTITY FROM POLICE BADGES AND UNIFORMS. THIS WOULD INCLUDE THE NAME ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY, WHICH WOULD CHANGE TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE. THE ONLY VESTIGE OF THE RUC LEFT UNTOUCHED IS THE COLOR OF ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 3 OF 03 LONDON 007631

LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR ORLAND  
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

EXDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/10/9  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, PTER, UK, EI  
SUBJECT NORTHERN IRELAND: BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT  
IN PRINCIPLE PATTEN REPORT RECOMMENDATIONS

THEUNIFORMS, WHICH WILL REMAIN GREEN.

14. (X) PATTN PROPOSES THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSIONER FROM OUTSIDE THE UK AND IRELAND TO PROVIDE FOR TIMELY, INDEPENDENT ASSESSMENTS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS.  
LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 7631  
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SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT(C2) STEINBERG

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 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1136  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: REACTIONS TO PATTEN REPORT ON  
 POLICING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m(2.03)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 007783

LONDON FOR ROSENBERY  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/13/09  
 TAGS: PINS, PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: REACTIONS TO PATTEN REPORT ON  
 POLICING

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

## SUMMARY

2. (U) SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH CHRIS PATTEN MADE A FORCEFUL CASE  
 IN PRESENTING HIS REPORT CALLING FOR TAKING THE POLITICS  
 OUT OF NORTHERN IRELAND POLICING, THE SEPTEMBER 9 RELEASE  
 OF HIS REPORT ELICITED HIGHLY PARTISAN, SCRIPTED RESPONSES  
 FROM THE MAJOR PARTIES. TRIMBLE LABELED THE EFFORT  
 "SHODDY" AND CAME DOWN PARTICULARLY HARD ON THE PROPOSALS  
 TO REVAMP THE RUC'S NAME AND SYMBOLS, THOUGH HE HAS SINCE  
 MODERATED HIS TONE AND INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN  
 DIALOGUE. SINN FEIN'S LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN CRITICAL, THOUGH  
 MORE RESERVED; PRIVATELY, THEY INSIST THAT CHIEF CONSTABLE  
 FLANAGAN'S DEPARTURE MUST BE PART OF THE PACKAGE. THE SDLP  
 IS SUPPORTIVE OF THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS. THE NIO IS  
 PLANNING A TWO-MONTH CONSULTATION PERIOD AND DURING THIS  
 TIME HOPES TO USE THE RUC'S THUS-FAR MEASURED REACTION TO  
 TONE DOWN UNIONIST OBJECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

## PATTEN'S PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT

3. (U) IN A VIRTUOSO NEWS CONFERENCE ON SEPTEMBER 9 IN  
 BELFAST, PATTEN LAID OUT IN DETAIL HIS COMMISSION'S GOAL OF  
 "TAKING THE POLITICS OUT OF POLICING" AND PROVIDING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICING ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ARE "SECOND TO NONE IN THE WORLD BY ANY MEASURE -- EFFECTIVENESS, EFFICIENCY, IMPARTIALITY, ACCOUNTABILITY, REPRESENTATIVENESS AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS." HE IMploRED POLITICIANS TO READ THE REPORT IN ITS ENTIRETY BEFORE PASSING JUDGMENT. PATTEN POINTEDLY NOTED THAT THE PARTIES TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT HAD APPOINTED HIS COMMISSION TO EXAMINE THE FULL RANGE OF ISSUES RELATED TO POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THEY DID SO WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES WOULD BE PROPOSED, IMPLYING THAT IT IS DISINGENUOUS OF POLITICIANS NOW TO DISAVOW THE COMMISSION'S WORK. HE URGED POLITICIANS TO "GET OFF THE FENCE" AND TAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE PROCESS, NOTING THAT THE CRITICISMS IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS HAD BEEN DEVOID OF POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS.

4. (U) PATTEN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ELEMENTS OF THE REPORT MAY BE DIFFICULT FOR SOME RUC MEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES TO ACCEPT, BUT HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE PAIN WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY OUTWEIGHED BY THE GAIN OF DEVELOPING A POLICE FORCE THAT FULLY MEETS WORLD STANDARDS. HE STRESSED THAT THE AIM OF THE REPORT WAS TO BE "RESTORATIVE, NOT RETRIBUTIVE."

5. (U) PATTEN DEBUNKED RUMORS ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATION SANCTIONING THE HIRING OF ANCILLARY PRIVATE SERVICES BY LOCAL COMMUNITY BOARDS, A PROPOSAL THAT CRITICS CLAIM WILL LEAD TO EX-TERRORISTS TO PATROLING NEIGHBORHOODS. FIRST, HE NOTED THAT THE AMOUNT OF MONEY INVOLVED IS SMALLER THAN REPORTED (ABOUT SIX MILLION POUNDS FOR THE ENTIRE PROVINCE); SECOND, ALL DECISIONS ON HOW TO USE THE FUNDS WILL BE MADE IN CONSULTATION WITH THE LOCAL POLICE CHIEF; THIRD, SUCH FUNDS ARE EXPECTED TO BE USED FOR PURPOSES SUCH AS SECURITY CAMERAS, CLEANING UP GRAFFITI, OR GRANTS TO YOUTH GROUPS, NOT CORE POLICING FUNCTIONS; FINALLY, PATTEN NOTED THAT COMMUNITIES ELSEWHERE IN THE UK OFTEN CONTRACT WITH SECURITY FIRMS, WHICH HAVE LEGAL RESTRICTIONS THAT PREVENT EX-TERRORISTS FROM SUCH EMPLOYMENT.

6. (U) COMMISSION SECRETARY ROBERT PEIRCE BRIEFED THE CG JUST IN ADVANCE OF PATTEN'S PRESENTATION, STRESSING IN PRIVATE EXACTLY THE SAME POINTS THAT PATTEN EMPHASIZED IN PUBLIC:

- THE UNANIMITY OF THE REPORT;
- ITS GOAL OF TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POLICING;
- ITS COMPREHENSIVENESS - AND NEED TO TAKE IT AS A WHOLE;
- THE ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF PROVISIONS RELATED TO POLITICAL REPRESENTATIONS ON POLICE BOARDS;
- THE STATE OF THE SECURITY SITUATION AS DETERMINING WHEN/HOW TO IMPLEMENT MANY OF THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

PEIRCE ALSO NOTED THE HUGE COSTS INVOLVED IN THE RETIRING, RETRAINING AND RECRUITING RECOMMENDED BY THE REPORT, ADDING THAT PM BLAIR HAD "ALMOST FLINCHED" WHEN TOLD THE FIGURES. COMMENT: HERE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, FOCUS THUS FAR HAS REMAINED ON EMOTIVE ISSUES OF BADGES, NAMES AND PACE OF CATHOLIC HIRING, RATHER THAN ON MONETARY IMPLICATIONS.) HE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 007783

LONDON FOR ROSENBERY  
NSC FOR NORLAND  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/13/09

TAGS: PINS, PREL, PGOV, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: REACTIONS TO PATTEN REPORT ON  
POLICING

DISCREETLY SOUGHT USG SUPPORT FOR THE THRUST OF THE REPORT,  
INDICATING THE COMMISSION'S BELIEF THAT BOTH THE BRITISH  
AND IRISH WERE GENERALLY VERY SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME.

REACTIONS

7. (U) FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE INITIALLY REACTED ANGRILY TO PATTEN'S REPORT. SPEAKING IN A NEWS CONFERENCE IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE DOCUMENT'S RELEASE, TRIMBLE CALLED PATTEN'S WORK "SHODDY" AND SAID THE RECOMMENDATION FOR A CHANGE IN THE NAME AND SYMBOLS OF THE RUC WAS "A GRATUITOUS INSULT." IN A MORE MEASURED RESPONSE PUBLISHED ON SEPTEMBER 12, TRIMBLE EXPANDED ON HIS OBJECTION TO THE NAME CHANGE, CLAIMING THE PROPOSAL "DEMEANS STANDARDS OF DECENCY IN PUBLIC LIFE IN A WAY WHICH WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY." TRIMBLE CLAIMED THAT BY SUGGESTING THE NAME CHANGE, PATTEN "HAS RISKED THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY COMMUNITY."

8. (U) SPEAKING AT THE SEPTEMBER 9 NEWS CONFERENCE WITH TRIMBLE, UUP SECURITY SPOKESMAN KEN MAGINNIS INSISTED THAT THE RECOMMENDATIONS SHOULD NOT BE IMPLEMENTED WHILE TERRORISTS WERE STILL ARMED AND ACTIVE. HE WAS DISMAYED PATTEN HAD NOT CONSULTED THE CHANCELLOR ON WHAT LOOKS TO BE AN EXPENSIVE PROGRAM. HE ALSO WARNED THE GOVERNMENT NOT TO BE HASTY IN DRAFTING IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION. MAGINNIS SAID A "HUGE AND LENGTHY" PROCESS OF CONSULTATION WILL BE NECESSARY AND POSSIBLY ONLY IN THE NEXT PARLIAMENTARY YEAR COULD LEGISLATION BE INTRODUCED. TIME WAS NEEDED TO "ROOT OUT THE NONSENSE" IN THE REPORT, MAKE APPROPRIATE AMENDMENTS, AND KEEP THOSE DESIRABLE COMPONENTS.

9. (U) SIR RONNIE FLANAGAN TOLD REPORTERS ON SEPTEMBER 9 THAT ONLY IMPROVEMENT IN THE SECURITY SITUATION AND POLITICAL PROGRESS ON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WOULD CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT ESSENTIAL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE RECOMMENDATIONS. SOME CHANGES WOULD BE VERY PAINFUL FOR MANY MEMBERS OF THE RUC, FLANAGAN SAID. BUT IF THE PAIN MEANT AN IMPROVED POLICE SERVICE ACCEPTED BY THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY, THEN IT WOULD BE WORTH IT. THE CHIEF CONSTABLE STRESSED THAT THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD ONLY OCCUR IF SOCIETY UNDERSTOOD POLICING WAS ABOUT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY. THE RUC WAS READY TO CHANGE, BUT HE ASKED, WAS SOCIETY READY TO CHANGE AND ACCEPT THE POLICING SERVICE.

10. (U) ON SEPTEMBER 12, FORMER DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON OF THE SDLP STATED HIS PARTY WOULD DO ITS PART TO SUPPORT THOSE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT BROUGHT MORE EQUALITY TO POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. MALLON OBJECTED TO PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS AND THE SLOW RATE OF INCREASE IN CATHOLIC MEMBERSHIP IN THE FORCE, BUT MALLON SUPPORTED THE BULK OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS, CLAIMING PATTEN'S REPORT "BRINGS THE GOAL OF A POLICE SERVICE CAPABLE OF SUSTAINING WIDE SUPPORT CLOSER THAN EVER

BEFORE." HE SAID THE SDLP WILL SUPPORT "A NEW POLICING DISPENSATION" AND IN THAT EFFORT, "WILL CALL ON NATIONALISTS TO SEEK CAREERS IN THE POLICE."

11. (S) ON SEPTEMBER 10, BAIRBRE DE BRUN, SINN FEIN'S POLICING SPOKESWOMAN, TOLD US THAT SF IS STILL STUDYING THE REPORT. SHE INSISTED THAT SF WILL WITHHOLD APPROVAL OF ANY REFORM EFFORT AS LONG AS RONNIE FLANAGAN REMAINS CHIEF CONSTABLE, THOUGH SHE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PATTEN'S REPORT WAS NOT MEANT TO DEAL WITH PERSONNEL POLICIES. REGARDING THE REPORT, SHE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT SERVING OFFICERS WOULD NOT HAVE TO REQUALIFY FOR THEIR JOBS AND THAT THERE WILL BE NO INVESTIGATION OF PAST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. SHE ALSO STATED THAT THE PACE WHICH PATTEN PROPOSED TO INCREASE CATHOLIC REPRESENTATION IN THE FORCE IS TOO SLOW AND THAT IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO SET ASIDE EQUAL-EMPLOYMENT LAWS IN ORDER TO BRING ON MORE CATHOLICS.

12. (U) IN HIS FIRST PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE PATTEN REPORT, ON SEPTEMBER 10, SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS RESTATED THE SINN FEIN POSITION THAT REPUBLICANS "WILL NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN AN END TO THE RUC." HOWEVER, HE CLAIMED THAT SINN FEIN FIRST HAD TO STUDY THE REPORT IN DETAIL. HE ALSO HELD OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS: "IF WE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT PATTEN IS OFFERING A DEMOCRATIC POLICE SERVICE, OF COURSE WE WILL COME OUT POSITIVELY."

UK GOVERNMENT GAMEPLAN

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 007783

LONDON FOR ROSEBERRY  
NSC FOR NORLAND  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/13/09  
TAGS: PINS, PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: REACTIONS TO PATTEN REPORT ON POLICING

13. (S) GEORGE HOWARTH, MINISTER OF STATE FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, TOLD THE CG ON SEPTEMBER 13 THAT THE NIO PLANS TO HOLD CONSULTATIONS ON THE REPORT FOR ABOUT TWO MONTHS AND THEN WILL INTRODUCE LEGISLATION TO PARLIAMENT IN DECEMBER. HE SAID THAT THE CONSULTATION PROCESS WILL BE USED TO "FINE TUNE" THE PROPOSALS, ALTHOUGH HE ADDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS AS A PACKAGE AND NOT "CHERRYPICKING" SELECTED REFORMS. (COMMENT: ONCE A PRECEDENT IS SET FOR MODIFYING/DROPPING ANY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS, IT COULD SET OFF A PROTRACTED HORSE-TRADING EXERCISE THAT COULD DOOM THE REPORT'S CONTROVERSIAL CONCLUSIONS. END COMMENT)

14. (S) HOWARTH SAID HE HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED THUS FAR BY THE RUC'S REACTIONS AND THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES PLAN TO DO SOME QUIET CONSULTATIONS WITH POLICE OFFICIALS IN THE COMING DAYS TO URGE THEM TO TEMPER THEIR CRITICISM. IF THE RUC IS WILLING TO PRESS FORWARD WITH THE PATTEN REFORMS, HE NOTED; IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE UNIONISTS TO CRITICIZE THE PROCESS. HE NOTED THAT NIO SECURITY MINISTER

ADAM INGRAM IS CURRENTLY IN THE U.S. TO DISCUSS THE REPORT WITH AMERICAN AUDIENCES.

15. (C) AT THE ANNUAL BRITISH-IRISH ASSOCIATION MEETING IN CAMBRIDGE SEPTEMBER 10-12, THE REPORT GENERATED MUCH DEBATE - MOSTLY INCONCLUSIVE - BOTH AS TO ITS SUBSTANTIVE MERITS AND AS A FACTOR IN THE ONGOING MITCHELL REVIEW OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL PARTIES GENERALLY HELD TO THE SAME LINES THEIR SPOKESPERSONS HAD LAID OUT IN BELFAST. WHILE THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE CONFERENCE WAS PESSIMISTIC (SEPTEL), PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS THERE WERE HOPEFUL THAT THAT PATTEN ITSELF WOULD NOT BE A DEAL-BREAKER FOR THE REVIEW.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03  
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 SUBJ: NO IRELAND: BRITISH IRISH ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE  
 PARTICIPANTS DISCUSS PATTEN REPORT AND PEACE PROCESS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.04)  
 KSH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLMINCOUNS JUDITH R. JOHNSON, FOR REASONS

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 007799

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/30/04

TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: BRITISH IRISH ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE  
 PARTICIPANTS DISCUSS PATTEN REPORT AND PEACE PROCESS

(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLMINCOUNS JUDITH R. JOHNSON, FOR REASONS  
 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: DISCUSSIONS AT THE BRITISH IRISH ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE IN CAMBRIDGE, SEPTEMBER 10-12, WERE GENERALLY PESSIMISTIC IN TONE, AS PARTICIPANTS LAMENTED THE LOSS OF MOMENTUM ON IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. MOST REITERATED THEIR COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS. UNIONISTS PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IRA GUN-RUNNING AND THE PATTEN COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATION TO CHANGE THE RUC'S NAME AND SYMBOLS HAD MADE IT HARDER FOR DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE UUP TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER. THERE WERE REPEATED REFERENCES TO THE NEED TO AVOID FAILURE. PARTICIPANTS' GENERALLY POSITIVE RESPONSE TO A PRESENTATION ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION SUGGESTED THAT THE PARTIES MIGHT CONSIDER ADJUSTMENTS TO THE TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TIMETABLE FOR THE REVIEW PROCESS IF THAT WOULD HELP BUILD CONFIDENCE AND IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(S)~~ INITIAL DISCUSSIONS AT THE BRITISH IRISH ASSOCIATION (BIA) ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD IN CAMBRIDGE ON SEPTEMBER 10-12 INCLUDED THE USUAL LITANY OF FINGER-POINTING AND DEMANDS, BUT THE OVERALL MESSAGE WAS CONCERN THAT THE PROCESS HAS LOST MOMENTUM DUE TO SETBACKS OVER THE SUMMER. THERE WERE ATTEMPTS TO COUNTER PESSIMISM WITH QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO GET THE PROCESS BACK ON TRACK. CHRIS PATTEN'S REMARKS, OUTLINING AND EXPLAINING THE COMMISSION REPORT RELEASED ON SEPTEMBER 9, SERVED AS A LIGHTNING ROD FOR UNIONISTS' COMPLAINTS THAT THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO ANY MORE CONCESSIONS WITHOUT RECEIVING SOMETHING IN RETURN. (NOTE: TRIMBLE WAS THE ONLY PRINCIPAL WHO ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE,

AND HE LEFT AFTER THE FIRST EVENING. HE REPORTEDLY REFUSED AN INVITATION TO SIT AT THE HEAD TABLE WITH PATTEN FOR THE DINNER THE FIRST EVENING. THEIR MEETING EARLIER IN THE WEEK, WHEN PATTEN PROVIDED TRIMBLE WITH THE PREVIEW OF THE REPORT, WAS REPORTEDLY ACRIMONIOUS. END NOTE.)

3. (X) THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS ON SEPTEMBER 11 WERE ALSO CHARACTERIZED BY PESSIMISM AND CONCERN OVER THE FUTURE OF THE TALKS AND PROCESS. WE HEARD REPEATEDLY THAT "TRIMBLE NEEDS HELP." NO ONE THOUGHT TRIMBLE'S POSITION AS UUP LEADER TO BE IN DANGER, AS THERE IS PRESENTLY NO VIABLE ALTERNATIVE. MANY PARTICIPANTS AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THE JULY GUN-RUNNING DISCOVERY, AS WELL AS CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT (SPECIFICALLY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT THE RUC CHANGE ITS NAME AND SYMBOLS) HAVE GIVEN UNIONIST HARD-LINERS THE LEVERAGE THEY NEED TO BLOCK TRIMBLE FROM MAKING CONCESSIONS FOR THE NEAR FUTURE. MODERATES AND OBSERVERS WHO REJECTED UNIONIST COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS, BUT EXPRESSED THEIR OWN CONCERNS OVER THE GUN-RUNNING INCIDENT. ONE OBSERVER NOTED THAT, ABSENT A CREDIBLE EXPLANATION FROM SINN FEIN LEADERS, THE INCIDENT HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO MAKE ANY CATEGORICAL STATEMENT ABOUT SINN FEIN'S COMMITMENT TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT PUBLIC "HYPE" AND THE IMPOSITION OF DEADLINES HAD RESULTED IN A SENSE THAT THE TALKS WERE FAILING WHEN, IN FACT, THERE HAS BEEN, AS ONE LONG-TIME OBSERVER NOTED, "AMAZING PROGRESS" OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. WHILE NOT UNIVERSAL, THERE WAS A CLEAR SENSE THAT PARTICIPANTS WERE LOOKING FOR SOME ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF HOW TO KEEP THE PROCESS ON TRACK. THE PESSIMISM SEEMED TO REFLECT A PERCEIVED LACK OF OPTIONS RATHER THAN A LACK OF COMMITMENT. EVENTS OF THE SUMMER HAD BROKEN DOWN TRUST TO A POINT WHERE FEW BELIEVED THAT THE REVIEW PROCESS IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE A BREAKTHROUGH.

4. (X) THE TONE SHIFTED SOMEWHAT ON SEPTEMBER 12, DURING THE PRESENTATION BY BRIAN CURRIN, SOUTH AFRICAN JOINT CHAIRMAN OF THE SENTENCE REVIEW COMMISSION. CURRIN, WHO HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA PRIOR TO THE CHANGE-OVER, STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. HE ARGUED FOR AN APPROACH THAT ENCOURAGES PARTIES TO FOCUS ON WHAT THE OTHER PARTIES NEED (RATHER THAN WHAT THEY DEMAND) IN ORDER TO HOLD THE SUPPORT OF THEIR CONSTITUENTS AND REACH AGREEMENTS. HE DISCOURAGED IMPOSING DEADLINES. WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, PARTICIPANTS RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO CURRIN'S COMMENTS, WITH MOST STRESSING THAT THEIR IMMEDIATE PRIORITY IS TO AVOID FAILURE. SEVERAL ARGUED THAT PROGRESS ON NEGOTIATIONS ON ISSUES WILL REQUIRE THE HELP OF OUTSIDE FACILITATORS AND TIME TO OVERCOME THE MISTRUST AND DEFENSIVENESS RESULTING FROM THIS SUMMER'S EVENTS. WE HEARD AGAIN THAT "TRIMBLE NEEDS HELP," BUT WE ALSO HEARD THAT SINN FEIN IS FACING QUESTIONS FROM ITS CONSTITUENTS.

5. (X) COMMENT: BOTH SIDES USED THE CONFERENCE, WHICH WAS CONDUCTED UNDER CHATHAM HOUSE RULES WHICH PROSCRIBE ANY CREDITED QUOTES, TO REITERATE THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE PROCESS. PARTICIPANTS' COMMENTS SUGGEST THAT MOST PLAYERS WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER ADJUSTMENTS IN THE TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TIMETABLE FOR THE DIALOGUE IF THAT WOULD HELP BREAK THE IMPASSE AND AVOID POSSIBLE FAILURE. WHEN ONE PARTICIPANT OBSERVED THAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN HELPFUL TO HEAR

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 007799

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/30/04  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: BRITISH IRISH ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE  
PARTICIPANTS DISCUSS PATTEN REPORT AND PEACE PROCESS

CURRIN'S REMARKS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE RATHER  
THAN AT THE END, ANOTHER PARTICIPANT (FROM THE RUC) RESPONDED  
THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN USEFUL TO FOR PEOPLE TO HEAR THEM IN  
1995. WE GOT THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT VIRTUALLY ALL ACTIVE  
PARTICIPANTS IN THE REVIEW EXPECT THAT, AT BEST, THE PROCESS  
WILL TAKE MUCH LONGER THAN HAS BEEN ENVISIONED, WITH THE MOST  
OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO STRETCHING UNTIL CHRISTMAS. END COMMENT.  
DAVIES

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1269  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: NO IRELAND: SCENESETTER FOR WASHINGTON DISCUSSIONS  
 WITH PATTEN ON FUTURE OF POLICING AND NEGOTIATIONS.

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.06)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM GLYN DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 007966

NSC FOR NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/30/04  
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: SCENESETTER FOR WASHINGTON DISCUSSIONS  
 WITH PATTEN ON FUTURE OF POLICING AND NEGOTIATIONS.

(U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM GLYN DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND  
 (D).

REFS: A) BRUSSELS 5591, B) LONDON 7783, C) LONDON 7793

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: CHRIS PATTEN WILL FOCUS PRIMARILY ON EU ISSUES DURING HIS UPCOMING MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON (REF A AND SEPTTEL), BUT HE IS ALSO LIKELY TO RAISE THE SEPTEMBER 9 REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON POLICING FOR NORTHERN IRELAND (THE PATTEN COMMISSION). PATTEN IS FRUSTRATED OVER THE HIGHLY POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE DEBATE THAT HAS DEVELOPED SINCE THE REPORT'S RELEASE, WHICH, HE BELIEVES, HAS DRAWN ATTENTION AWAY FROM THE ISSUE OF GOOD POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE WOULD LIKE THE U.S. TO SUPPORT HIS EFFORT TO COUNTER CRITICISMS OF THE REPORT. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(S)~~ CHRIS PATTEN HAS SPENT MUCH OF THE WEEK SINCE THE SEPTEMBER 9 RELEASE OF THE REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND (REF B), RESPONDING TO CRITICISMS, MAINLY FROM UNIONISTS AND CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PRESS. POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED CRITICS THREATEN TO DROWN OUT DEFENDERS, WHO POINT OUT THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS ARE GROUNDED IN PRINCIPLE RATHER THAN AN ATTEMPT TO FORGE A POLITICAL COMPROMISE. PATTEN HAS DEFENDED THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS AS RESPONDING TO WELL-DEFINED TERMS OF REFERENCE LAID OUT IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, AS BASED ON UNPRECEDENTED PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT AND INPUT, AS CONSISTENT WITH INTERNATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED STANDARDS OF GOOD POLICING, AND AS THE BEST CHANCE YET TO REMOVE POLITICS FROM POLICING AND TO NORMALIZE AND IMPROVE

POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE HAS EXPRESSED DISMAY OVER DAVID TRIMBLE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE REPORT AS "SHODDY," AND OTHERS' ASSERTIONS THAT IT IS INSENSITIVE TO RUC VICTIMS OR SURVIVORS OF VIOLENCE. PATTEN HAS USED PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES, OPEN LETTERS TO THE PRESS, AND PRESENTATIONS TO INTERESTED GATHERINGS TO EXPLAIN AND DEFEND THE REPORT AND TO RESPOND TO CRITICISMS. WHILE THE POLITICAL UPROAR HAS LESSENED SOMEWHAT, THERE IS STILL A RISK THAT PATTEN MAY LOSE OUT IN HIS EFFORT TO HAVE THE REPORT ACCEPTED ON THE TERMS IT WAS OFFERED, I.E., AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEPOLITICIZE POLICING AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEREFORE INCREASED TRUST IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

3. ~~(S)~~ PATTEN'S BIGGEST CHALLENGE MAY BE OVERCOMING ARGUMENTS THAT POLITICAL AND SECURITY REALITIES MEAN THAT NORTHERN IRELAND IS NOT READY FOR "NORMAL" POLICING. AN EDITORIAL IN THE SEPTEMBER 15 'DAILY TELEGRAPH' ARGUES THE ANSWER IS "NO" TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IS IT RIGHT, AT THIS POINT, TO "TAKE RISKS WITH THE RUC." PATTEN HAS REITERATED THAT THE COMMISSION RECOGNIZED (AND ACKNOWLEDGED IN THE REPORT) THAT SOME RECOMMENDATIONS (INCLUDING THE REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF POLICE OVERALL) DEPEND ON POLITICAL PROGRESS AND IMPROVEMENTS IN SECURITY. HE HAS ALSO ARGUED VIGOROUSLY THAT IMPLEMENTING OTHERS (INCLUDING ENHANCED TRAINING AND MORE REPRESENTATIVE MEMBERSHIP) IS SIMPLY GOOD POLICE PRACTICE AND GOOD GOVERNMENT. IN A LETTER TO THE 'DAILY TELEGRAPH' ON SEPTEMBER 15, HE CHALLENGED HIS CRITICS TO ACCEPT THAT "DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND A RETURN OF A MORE NORMAL STYLE OF POLICING ARE INTIMATELY LINKED."

4. ~~(S)~~ WHILE SOME AT THE SEPTEMBER 10-12 BRITISH IRISH ASSOCIATION MEETING (REF C) CHARACTERIZED PATTEN'S COMMENTS ON THE REPORT AS "DEFENSIVE," WE EXPECT HIM TO CONTINUE TO RESIST EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE POLICING ISSUE TO ONE MORE DIMENSION OF THE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE COMMISSION'S SECRETARY, ROBERT PEIRCE, TOLD THE DCM ON SEPTEMBER 13 THAT PATTEN BELIEVES THE U.S. CAN AND SHOULD HELP PREVENT THE POLITICIZATION OF THE REPORT. PATTEN MAY WELL RAISE THE ISSUE DURING HIS UPCOMING WASHINGTON MEETINGS AND MAY ASK FOR HELP. HE IS LIKELY TO FRAME THE ISSUE IN TERMS OF HOW TO REFOCUS THE DEBATE ON BEST PRACTICES OF MODERN POLICING. HE MAY REQUEST A STRONG MESSAGE TO THE PARTIES THAT THE U.S. EXPECTS THEM TO COMMIT TO PROGRESS TOWARD MORE NORMAL POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND TO ENGAGE IN CONSTRUCTIVE DEBATE ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT KEY ELEMENTS OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 7966

TOR: 990917110038 M4054111

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON NORLAND

SIT: NSC

# Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 OSRI: RUEHC  
 DTG: 231716Z SEP 99  
 ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC  
 TO: AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0000  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: POTUS MEMCON WITH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR  
 (S/S# 9917134/1)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
 PER E. O. 13526

ISCAP Appeal 2013-090  
 Document No. 75  
 October 14, 2015

TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 179376

NODIS

FOR AMB. AND/OR DCM EYES ONLY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/10/09  
 TAGS: OPDC, UK  
 SUBJECT: POTUS MEMCON WITH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR  
 (S/S# 9917134/1)

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY ROBERT A. BRADTKE, NSC EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, REASON: 1.5(D)

2. (U) THIS CABLE CONTAINS A MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONVERSATION WITH UK PRIME MINISTER BLAIR ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1999. I ASK THAT YOU NOT PERMIT COPIES TO BE MADE OF THIS MESSAGE, AND THAT YOU NOT DISTRIBUTE IT OUTSIDE OF THE MISSION'S EXECUTIVE OFFICE.

3. (U) PARTICIPANTS: THE PRESIDENT  
 PRIME MINISTER BLAIR  
 NOTETAKERS: MICHAEL MANNING,  
 DEANA SUTLIFF, ROGER MERLETTI,  
 JAMES SMITH AND RICHARD NORLAND

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: SEPTEMBER 8, 1999, 5:13 TO 5:32 P.M.  
 OVAL OFFICE

- 4. (U) THE PRESIDENT: HELLO.
- 5. (U) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: HI, BILL.
- 6. (U) THE PRESIDENT: TONY, HOW ARE YOU?
- 7. (U) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: FINE, I'M GREAT. I'VE HAD A VERY GOOD HOLIDAY AND I'M FEELING GOOD.
- 8. (U) THE PRESIDENT: DID YOU GO TO ITALY?

9. (U) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: YES, I WENT TO ITALY AND FRANCE AND HAD A GOOD TIME. WHERE WERE YOU NOW?

10. (C) THE PRESIDENT: I WAS IN MARTHA'S VINEYARD AND THEN NEW YORK, BUT I'M ABOUT TO GO OFF TO NEW ZEALAND FOR A WEEK, AND I WANTED TO TALK TO YOU BEFORE I LEFT. I'VE BEEN TALKING TO EVERYBODY ABOUT THIS EAST TIMOR SITUATION AND THE RUMOR MILL IS RIFE THAT HABIBIE MIGHT BE DEPOSED OR THEY'RE SENDING SOME MILITARY LEADER OUT THERE WHO SAYS HE WILL NEVER GIVE EAST TIMOR UP. I BELIEVE WE ALL NEED TO PUT AS MUCH PRESSURE AS POSSIBLE ON INDONESIA TO ACCEPT A FORCE AND THEN FIGURE OUT WHO'LL MAKE IT UP. THE AUSSIES ARE READY TO GO, THEY WANT TO SEND 2,000 OR 3,000 PEOPLE THERE; THEY DON'T THINK IT WILL TAKE VERY MANY PEOPLE. AND, IF THE UN APPROVED IT, THE CHINESE MIGHT EVEN SEND SOME PEOPLE. BUT I THINK IT WOULD BE A VERY EMBARRASSING COMPARISON TO KOSOVO IF INDONESIA RUNS ALL THE TIMORESE OUT OF THE COUNTRY OR IF THEY REVERSE IT AND WE DON'T DO ANYTHING. WE'VE GOT TO DO SOMETHING, IT SEEMS TO ME, SO ANYTHING YOU CAN DO TO PUT THE HEAT ON INDONESIA WOULD BE HELPFUL.

11. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: I AGREE. [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

12. (C) THE PRESIDENT: GUTERRES IS [REDACTED] 14(d) GOING TO TABLE A MOTION EVEN IF INDONESIA WON'T SUPPORT IT. HE'S GOT TO. HE SAID THERE WAS A 10-KM HUMAN CHAIN DEMONSTRATING AGAINST HIM.

13. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

14. (C) THE PRESIDENT: ABSOLUTELY RIGHT.

15. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

16. (C) THE PRESIDENT: YES.

17. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

18. (C) THE PRESIDENT: ME NEITHER, BUT WE'LL KEEP WORKING ON IT. THAT WAS MY WHOLE WORRY [REDACTED] EO 13526 1.4d [REDACTED] THAT THERE WOULD BE NOBODY YOU CAN WORK WITH. IT'S A TOUGH DEAL.

19. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

20. (c) THE PRESIDENT: YES. I THINK -- I DON'T THINK THE CHINESE WILL ALLOW THE RESOLUTION TO GO THROUGH IF THEY DON'T ACCEPT IT, BECAUSE OF THIS WHOLE SOVEREIGNTY THING.

21. (c) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

22. (c) THE PRESIDENT: NO.

23. (c) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: I HAVEN'T, EITHER.

24. (c) THE PRESIDENT: THE REASON I HAVEN'T -- THERE'S A RUMOR HE'S BEING DEPOSED NOW -- THE REASON I HAVEN'T CALLED IS, EVERY TIME I PUT PRESSURE ON HIM, HE GETS UNMERCIFUL GRIEF THERE THAT HE'S TOADYING TO THE UNITED STATES.

EO 13526 1.4d

25. (c) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

[redacted]

26. (c) THE PRESIDENT: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

I WANTED TO SAY A WORD ABOUT THE BALKANS. I GOT YOUR LETTER AND I UNDERSTAND THE PRESSURE YOU'RE UNDER TO CUT DEPLOYMENT IN ORDER TO INCREASE READINESS AND RETENTION, BUT I HOPE YOU CAN MAINTAIN YOUR POSITION AS A LEAD NATION IN BOTH BOSNIA AND KOSOVO, BECAUSE OUR PARTNERSHIP THERE HAS BEEN A BEDROCK OF SUCCESS AND THE RUSSIANS, I BELIEVE, ARE WORKING OUT BETTER THAN WE'D HOPED. I THINK THE KOSOVO THING IS SETTLING DOWN, IF WE CAN JUST HANG ON. YOUR LETTER INDICATED YOU'RE TALKING TO ALLIES ABOUT MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS TO BACKFILL YOUR FORCES. I DON'T KNOW HOW THAT'S GOING, BUT I HOPE WE CAN MAINTAIN A GOOD LEVEL OF COOPERATION AND ABILITY WITH WHOEVER GOES IN THERE.

27. (c) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

28. (c) THE PRESIDENT: ME, TOO. I THINK WE SHOULDN'T GET TOO SOFT ON THESE SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA. I THINK WE OUGHT TO TIGHTEN THE SANCTIONS ON MILOSEVIC AND HIS CROWD. I HOPE YOU'LL GET THE OTHER GUYS IN LINE.

29. (c) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [redacted] 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

30. (c) THE PRESIDENT: HAVE YOU TALKED TO SCHROEDER SINCE HIS ELECTION SETBACK?

31. (c) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: NO. [redacted] 1.4(b), 1.4(d)

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

32. (C) THE PRESIDENT: [redacted] EO 13526 1.4d

33. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: I'M DUE TO SEE HIM IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS.

34. (C) THE PRESIDENT: I'LL TRY TO CALL HIM BEFORE I LEAVE FOR ASIA. THERE'S NOT MUCH I CAN DO, BUT I CAN ENCOURAGE HIM.

35. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

36. (C) THE PRESIDENT: I AGREE. HOW ARE WE DOING ON NORTHERN IRELAND? HOW'S GEORGE DOING?

37. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: GEORGE IS DOING FINE. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

38. (C) THE PRESIDENT: THE CATHOLIC?

39. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: YES. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

40. (C) THE PRESIDENT: IT WAS UNANIMOUS, WASN'T IT?  
INCLUDING THE TWO AMERICANS?

41. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

42. (C) THE PRESIDENT: DON'T YOU THINK IT WILL JUST GET  
WORSE IF WE DON'T RESOLVE THE POLITICS OF IT?

43. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR:

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

44. (C) THE PRESIDENT: YOU DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY CHANCE  
THE MITCHELL TALKS WILL PRODUCE A BREAKTHROUGH?

45. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: I THINK THERE'S SOME CHANCE,  
BUT IT'S PRETTY SLIM AT THE MOMENT.

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

46. (C) THE PRESIDENT: I'M READY ANY TIME. YOU JUST HAVE  
TO TELL ME WHEN.

47. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

48. (C) THE PRESIDENT: SO, THE MAIN THING YOU WANT ME TO DO NOW IS SAY SOMETHING NICE ABOUT THE PATTEN REPORT?

49. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: FOR US, NOW, THAT IS THE CRITICAL THING.

50. (C) THE PRESIDENT: I'LL BE DOWN IN NEW ZEALAND, BUT THERE'S A HELL OF A LOT GOING ON IN THE WORLD AT THE MOMENT, AND WE CAN ALWAYS TALK. I JUST WANTED YOU TO KNOW I'LL BE OUT OF POCKET FOR THE NEXT WEEK OR 10 DAYS.

51. (U) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: WHEN AM I GOING TO SEE YOU? ARE YOU DOING THE THIRD WAY THING IN FLORENCE?

52. (U) THE PRESIDENT: ABSOLUTELY.

53. (U) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: THEY'RE ALL VERY EXCITED.

54. (U) THE PRESIDENT: YOU SHOULDN'T BE THE ONLY GUY SPEAKING ENGLISH WHO GETS TO GO TO ITALY.

55. (U) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: WHEN I WAS IN ITALY I LEARNED A LITTLE ITALIAN.

56. (U) THE PRESIDENT: YOU DID?

57. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: ENOUGH TO GET BY. [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

58. (C) THE PRESIDENT: IS HE ONE OF OURS?

59. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: YES, HE'S ONE OF OURS. [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

60. (C) THE PRESIDENT: GOSH, I THOUGHT I HAD HAD HIM IN HERE. LET ME CHECK IT OUT.

61. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

62. (C) THE PRESIDENT: GOT IT. WHEN ARE HIS ELECTIONS?

63. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: [REDACTED]

EO 13526 1.4b, EO 13526 1.4d

64. (C) THE PRESIDENT: OKAY, I'LL DO IT. THANK YOU.

65. (U) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR: OKAY, BILL. HAVE A GOOD  
TIME IN NEW ZEALAND.

66. (U) THE PRESIDENT: OKAY. GOODBYE.

-- END OF CONVERSATION --

TALBOTT

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9376

TOR: 990923134210 M4063431

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN NORLAND

SIT: NODIS

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 INFO: RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 1149  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: LEGAL CHALLENGE TO MOWLAM RULING  
 ON CEASEFIRE HIGHLIGHTS UUP DIVISIONS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (2.08)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 008191

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/24/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: LEGAL CHALLENGE TO MOWLAM RULING  
 ON CEASEFIRE HIGHLIGHTS UUP DIVISIONS

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL  
 BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

REF: BELFAST 0207

## SUMMARY

1. ~~(C)~~ A RELATIVE OF IRA BOMBING VICTIMS HAS FILED SUIT SEEKING TO REVERSE MO MOWLAM'S AUGUST 26 DETERMINATION THAT THE IRA CEASEFIRE IS INTACT. THOUGH POLITICALLY UNCOMFORTABLE FOR THE NIO, THE CHALLENGE IS UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED. THE THEATRICALS SURROUNDING THE SUIT, INCLUDING A MISCALCULATION BY THE BELEAGUERED DAVID TRIMBLE, HAVE SPOTLIGHTED FISSURES WITHIN THE UUP. END SUMMARY.

ON THE COURTHOUSE STEPS

2. (U) ON SEPTEMBER 20 MICHELLE WILLIAMSON BROUGHT A SUIT THAT SEEKS TO REVERSE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MO MOWLAM'S AUGUST 26 DECISION (REFTEL) THAT THE IRA CEASEFIRE IS INTACT. A REVERSAL WOULD SUSPEND THE RELEASE OF IRA PRISONERS, INCLUDING THE MAN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE 1993 BOMBING THAT KILLED WILLIAMSON'S PARENTS. WILLIAMSON, WHO HAS CONDUCTED HIGH-

PROFILE PROTESTS AGAINST HER PARENTS' KILLER IN THE PAST, FILED THE SUIT AS AN INDIVIDUAL, BUT WAS FLANKED AT THE COURT BY UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE AND UUP MP JEFFERY DONALDSON.

3. (U) UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, "PRISONERS AFFILIATED TO ORGANISATIONS WHICH HAVE NOT ESTABLISHED OR ARE NOT MAINTAINING A COMPLETE AND UNEQUIVOCAL CEASEFIRE WILL NOT BENEFIT FROM THE ARRANGEMENTS" GRANTING EARLY RELEASE TO PARAMILITARY PRISONERS. THE SUIT ASSERTS THAT THE JULY MURDER OF CHARLES BENNETT AND A WEAPONS IMPORTATION SCHEME, BOTH OF WHICH THE RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE PUBLICLY PINNED ON THE IRA, BROKE THE CEASEFIRE. FOLLOWING THE AUGUST STATEMENT, TRIMBLE CHARACTERIZED THE SECRETARY'S REASONING AS "DEEPLY FLAWED".

4. (U) UPON RECEIPT OF WILLIAMSON'S AFFIDAVIT, LORD JUSTICE KERR GRANTED MS. WILLIAMSON LEAVE FOR A JUDICIAL REVIEW OF THE SECRETARY'S RULING. COUNSEL FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS BEEN GIVEN TWO WEEKS TO FILE REPLYING AFFIDAVITS, AFTER WHICH THE COURT IS EXPECTED TO RULE WITHIN ABOUT TWO WEEKS, THOUGH ANCILLARY MOTIONS (PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF DOCUMENTS) COULD PROLONG THE PROCESS. ORAL ARGUMENTS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE REQUIRED. IN PRESS STATEMENTS SINCE THE RULING, THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS STOOD BY HER DECISION.

MUCH ADO, PROBABLY NOTHING

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5. (✓) A RULING AGAINST MOWLAM WOULD NOT AUTOMATICALLY REVERSE HER RULING, BUT WOULD FORCE HER TO MAKE THE DETERMINATION AGAIN, WITHOUT PRECLUDING HER FROM REACHING THE SAME CONCLUSION. CHRIS MACCABE, HEAD OF THE NIO POLITICAL DIRECTORATE, TOLD US THAT UK COURTS ARE WARY OF INTERFERING WITH THE PEROGATIVES OF MINISTERIAL DECISIONMAKING, PARTICULARLY IN A MATTER SUCH AS THIS, WHERE THE LEGISLATION EXPLICITLY DELEGATES DECISIONS TO THE DISCRETION OF THE OFFICIAL CONCERNED. SUCH RULINGS, HE SAID, USUALLY ONLY OCCUR IN CASES OF BLATANT ERRORS. THE NIO, HE ADDED, IS MOUNTING A THOROUGH DEFENSE AND IS PREPARED TO APPEAL THE CASE UP TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS, IF THE LOWER COURT RULINGS ARE UNSATISFACTORY. IN HIS STATEMENT, LORD JUSTICE KERR SAID THAT THE CASE MERITS FURTHER INQUIRY, BUT "MY DECISION TO GRANT LEAVE IS IN NO SENSE TO BE TAKEN AS A FORECAST."

SIDESHOW - UUP FEUDING

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6. (✓) THOUGH THE UUP DISCUSSED MAKING A JUDICIAL CHALLENGE IMMEDIATELY AFTER MOWLAM'S RULING, THE IDEA HAD APPARENTLY DIED. DONALDSON, A LEADER OF THE UUP'S ANTI-AGREEMENT WING, TOLD US THAT MS. WILLIAMSON ORIGINALLY APPROACHED HIM IN LATE AUGUST AND HE ADVISED HER TO SEEK A JUDICIAL REVIEW. DONALDSON THEN APPARENTLY PERSUADED TRIMBLE TO APPEAR AT THE FILING, THEREBY GARNERING EXTENSIVE MEDIA ATTENTION, INCLUDING FRONT-PAGE TREATMENT IN THE BELFAST PRESS. TWO DAYS LATER, A TEARFUL WILLIAMSON ACCUSED TRIMBLE OF BETRAYAL BECAUSE HE MET LATER IN THE DAY WITH SINN FEIN, WHICH WAS HARDLY UNEXPECTED IN THE CONTEXT OF SENATOR MITCHELL'S REVIEW. ACCORDING TO OTHER CONTACTS, THIS EPISODE HAD ALL THE HALLMARKS OF A SET-UP BY DONALDSON IN WHICH TRIMBLE'S ATTEMPTS TO PLACATE HIS HARD-

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 008191

LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR NORLAND  
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/24/09  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, PTER, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: LEGAL CHALLENGE TO MOWLAM RULING  
ON CEASEFIRE HIGHLIGHTS UUP DIVISIONS

LINERS ARE MADE TO APPEAR DISINGENUOUS AND USED AGAINST HIM.

COMMENT  
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7. (C) AS IF ANYONE NEEDED REMINDING, THE LEGAL CHALLENGE AGAINST MOWLAM REINFORCES THE NEURALGIA SURROUNDING THE ISSUES OF PRISONER RELEASES, THE CEASEFIRE AND DECOMMISSIONING. THE LAWSUIT HIGHLIGHTS THE CONTINUING SAGA OF TRIMBLE'S THUS-FAR FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO ATTAIN PARTY UNITY. TRIMBLE'S TOUGH PUBLIC STANCE ON ISSUES SUCH AS POLICING HAS CAUSED GRUMBLING AMONG HIS MODERATE BASE IN THE UUP AS WELL AS IN THE OTHER PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES. MEANWHILE, DONALDSON'S DUPLICITY AGAIN SHOWS THAT UNIONIST HARDLINERS APPEAR INCREASINGLY WILLING TO OPENLY CHALLENGE TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP.

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 8191  
<^SSN>8191

TOR: 990924125545 M4065484  
<^TOR>990924125630 M4065485

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND VONLIPSEY  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 LINE3: O 071451Z OCT 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 OSRI: RUEHDL  
 DTG: 071451Z OCT 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5843  
 RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 1103  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BLFAST PRIORITY 0989  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELANDPEACE PROCESS: LITTLE GOI  
 OPTIMISM AND GROWING ONCERN ABOUT DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS  
 CLASSIFIED BYCHARGE EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS 1.5 (B) AND  
 TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 O 03 DUBLIN 005510  
 STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STINBERG/NORLAND

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-M (2.11)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/05/09  
 AGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELANDPEACE PROCESS: LITTLE GOI  
 OPTIMISM AND GROWING ONCERN ABOUT DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS  
 CLASSIFIED BYCHARGE EARLE SCARLETT; REASONS 1.5 (B) AND  
 (D).

## SUMMARY

1. ~~(S)~~ IRISH OPTIMISM FOR ROGRESS IN THE MITCHELL REVIEW IS WANING AS CONCERN RAISES OVER THE SECURITY THREAT POSED BY DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS IN THE REAL IRA. SENATOR MITCHELL'S PUBLIC ASSESSMENT THAT THE PROCESS IS "UNDER GREAT STRESS" REFLECTS HIS PRIVATE STATEMENTS TO THE AMBASSADOR AND ECHOES THE VIEW OF SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS. TAOISEACH AHERN TOLD VISITING SENATOR ANNIE MACK OCTOBER 6 THAT HE WAS CONCERNED THAT TRIMBLE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MOVE FORWARD FROM THE NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT POSITION. EVEN IF TRIMBLE DID MOVE, AHERN WAS ALSO "VERY DOUBTFUL" THAT ERRI ADAMS WAS ANY LONGER IN A POSITION TO OFFER THE ASSURANCES ON DECOMMISSIONING THAT WERE ON THE TABLE IN JULY. ON TACTICS, AHERN THOUGHT IT BETTER THAT THE GOI, UK AND U.S. "STAY OUT OF IT FOR NOW," LEAVING IT UP TO SENATOR MITCHELL AND THE PARTIES. ON THE SECURITY SITUATION, A SENIOR IRISH JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL VOICED STRONG CONCERN TO THE AMBASSADOR SEPTEMBER 30 ABOUT GROWING REAL IRA ACTIVITY AND FEARS OF A TERRORIST "SPECTACULAR" TO DERAILED THE MITCHELL REVIEW. THESE CONCERNS WERE MADE MANIFEST OCTOBER 4-6 BY THE ARRESTS OF SUSPECTED REAL IRA MEMBERS IN WEXFORD AND DONEGAL AND THE SEIZURE OF TWO ARMS CACHES WHICH INCLUDED TWO POUNDS OF SEMTEX.

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2. (S) SENIOR GOI SOURCES TELL US THAT, IF SENATOR MITCHELL COMES UP WITH SOME FORMULA FOR PROGRESS, IT IS LIKELY TO BE UP TO DUBLIN, LONDON AND WASHINGTON TO PRESSURE THE PARTIES TO AGREEMENT. THERE ARE INCREASING EXPECTATIONS HERE THAT THE U.S. AND THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE A KEY ROLE TO PLAY IN WINNING ASSURANCES ON DECOMMISSIONING FROM SINN FEIN/IRA THAT WOULD ALLOW TRIMBLE TO MOVE OFF 'NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT." THAT THE U.S. MIGHT BE ASKED TO ACT AS A "GUARANTOR" OF SUCH ASSURANCES CANNOT BE RULED OUT, IN EMBASSY'S VIEW. END SUMMARY.

MITCHELL SEES PEACE PROCESS "UNDER GREAT STRESS"  
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3. (S) FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S BURST OF PRESS OPTIMISM REGARDING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS AND THE MITCHELL REVIEW, THE ATMOSPHERE HAS TURNED DECIDEDLY GLOOMY THIS WEEK. AS SENATOR MITCHELL TOLD A DUBLIN BUSINESS BREAKFAST OCTOBER 5, "THE WHOLE PROCESS IS UNDER GREAT STRESS, THE OUTCOME IS NOT ASSURED AND THERE IS A VERY REAL THREAT OF IT NOT PROCEEDING. THE RESULT OF THAT HAPPENING WOULD BE ENTIRELY UNPREDICTABLE." SENATOR MITCHELL HAD PRIVATELY PROVIDED THE SAME DOWNBEAT ASSESSMENT TO AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN IN BELFAST ON OCTOBER 3. NONETHELESS, SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THAT THE REVIEW WILL SWING INTO A FAR MORE INTENSIVE PHASE THE WEEK OF OCTOBER 11, WITH MITCHELL LOOKING TO WRAP UP THE PROCESS, FOR GOOD OR ILL, BY THE END OF OCTOBER.

TAOISEACH SAYS GOVERNMENTS SHOULD "STAY OUT OF IT"  
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4. (S) MEDIA PESSIMISM HAS ACCURATELY REFLECTED THE VIEWS OF SENIOR IRISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS. VISITING FLORIDA SENATOR CONNIE MACK AND AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN CALLED ON TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN OCTOBER 6. AHERN SAW TWO MAJOR QUESTIONS THAT HAD TO BE ANSWERED. FIRST, COULD DAVID TRIMBLE MOVE FORWARD AT ALL FROM HIS CURRENT "NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT POSITION." AHERN FEARED NOT, NOTING THAT TRIMBLE WAS "NOT HIS OWN GUY" AND FACED A LOT OF PRESSURE NOT TO MOVE FROM WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY. WHILE THE TAOISEACH ACCEPTED THAT TRIMBLE COULD DO NOTHING BEFORE THE OCTOBER 9 UUP PARTY CONFERENCE, HE FEARED THE CONFERENCE MAY ONLY TIE TRIMBLE EVEN MORE TIGHTLY TO THE "NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT" POSITION. SECONDLY, AHERN ASKED, EVEN IF TRIMBLE DID MOVE, COULD SINN FEIN GUARANTEE A START TO DECOMMISSIONING SHORTLY AFTER ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE. AGAIN, AHERN FEARED THE ANSWER WAS "NO." HE WAS "VERY DOUBTFUL" THAT GERRY ADAMS COULD MAKE THAT COMMITMENT NOW. ADAMS, AHERN SAID, HAD MADE THAT COMMITMENT IN JULY AND GOT INTO A "LOT OF HOT WATER" FOR IT WITH THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY ONCE THE DEAL FELL APART AT STORMONT. AHERN FELT THAT ADAMS NOW HAD "LITTLE ROOM TO MANEUVER."

5. (S) IN THIS SITUATION, AHERN STRESSED, IT HAD TO BE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 005510

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/05/09

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TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS: LITTLE GOI  
 OPTIMISM AND GROWING CONCERN ABOUT DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS

LEFT "IN THE HANDS OF GEORGE MITCHELL" TO MAKE A JUDGMENT AND SEE IF HE CAN FORCE BOTH ADAMS AND TRIMBLE TO "JUMP" TOGETHER. WHILE NOTING THAT THE FOCUS WAS UNFORTUNATE, AHERN STRESSED THAT THE ISSUE HAD COME DOWN SOLELY TO TRIMBLE AND ADAMS, THE UUP AND SINN FEIN. ALL THE OTHER PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES WERE "READY TO GO." SENATOR MACK NOTED THAT UUP SECURITY SPOKESMAN KEN MCGINNIS HAD TOLD HIM THAT THE U.S. HAS TO "PUT PRESSURE ON THE IRA," AND AHERN AGREED THAT THERE HAD TO BE SOME MOVEMENT FROM THE REPUBLICANS. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN'S QUESTION, HOWEVER, AS TO WHAT THE U.S. COULD DO, AHERN'S REPLY WAS "STAY OUT OF IT FOR NOW," A PRESCRIPTION HE EXTENDED TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AS WELL. IF MITCHELL CAN PUT A PACKAGE TOGETHER, HE SAID, ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS WILL HAVE TO ENGAGE BUT FOR THE MOMENT IT WAS BEST TO LEAVE SENATOR MITCHELL AND THE PARTIES ALONE. (COMMENT: THIS APPROACH REFLECTS THE CURRENT ANALYSIS IN DUBLIN THAT THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS WERE TOO PERSONALLY AND CONSTANTLY ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS DURING THE SPRING AND EARLY-SUMMER. END COMMENT.)

STAY OUT NOW BUT BE PREPARED TO COME IN LATER  
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6. (S) WHILE THE GOI MAY SEE NO IMMEDIATE ACTIVE ROLE FOR THE U.S., SENIOR IRISH OFFICIALS DO SEE A KEY ROLE FOR WASHINGTON IN DRIVING ANY DEAL SENATOR MITCHELL MAY PROPOSE OVER THE GOAL LINE. PADDY TEAHON, SECRETARY GENERAL IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR OCTOBER 1 THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ASSISTANCE MAY BE NEEDED TO SEAL A DEAL IF MITCHELL IS ABLE TO PROPOSE ONE. TEAHON DID NOT SEE MITCHELL GETTING THE PARTIES TO AGREE HIMSELF, BUT OFFERING HIS BEST RECOMMENDATION ON A POSSIBLE FORMULA FOR THE GOVERNMENTS TO FINALIZE. TEAHON SAW THE PRESIDENT POSSIBLY WORKING WITH SINN FEIN TO WIN ADEQUATE GUARANTEES OF PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING TO BRING TRIMBLE ON BOARD (WHILE PM BLAIR SIMULTANEOUSLY PRESSURES TRIMBLE). TEAHON ALSO MENTIONED THAT "GUARANTORS" OF THESE SINN FEIN ASSURANCES MIGHT BE NEEDED, AND WHILE HE DID NOT EXPLICITLY NAME THE U.S. AS A POSSIBLE "GUARANTOR," IT WAS CLEARLY IMPLIED. TEAHON ALSO POINTED TO THE PENDING UK "EXCLUSION" LEGISLATION (PROPOSED LAST JULY TO TRY TO BRING THE UNIONISTS ON BOARD) AS A MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK FOR SINN FEIN WHICH "SHOULD BE REMOVED." (NOTE: IRISH OFFICIALS HAVE MADE NO SECRET TO US OF THEIR VIEW THAT THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT'S "EXCLUSION" LEGISLATION WAS A MISTAKE THAT WAS INCONSISTENT WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. END NOTE)

CONCERN GROWING ABOUT THE "REAL IRA"  
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7. (S) AS OPTIMISM DECREASES, CONCERN GROWS ABOUT THE DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN THREAT TO THE PEACE PROCESS CENTERED ON THE OMAGH BOMB PERPETRATORS, THE REAL IRA, NOW BELIEVED TO HAVE COMBINED WITH ELEMENTS OF CONTINUITY IRA. TIM DALTON, SECRETARY GENERAL IN THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR SEPTEMBER 30, THAT THE REAL IRA WAS INCREASINGLY ACTIVE AND MAY ATTEMPT A TERRORIST "SPECTACULAR" (I.E., A MAJOR BOMBING) IN AN EFFORT TO DERAIL THE MITCHELL REVIEW. DALTON NOTED THAT THE GARDAI

(IRISH NATIONAL POLICE) WERE STEPPING UP THEIR EFFORTS AGAINST THE REAL IRA IN SOUTHEAST IRELAND, A RELATIVELY NEW AREA FOR THE GROUP'S ACTIVITIES. PADDY TEAHON IN THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE, VOICED SIMILAR CONCERNS ALTHOUGH HE THOUGHT THE DISSIDENTS' TARGET, RATHER THAN A "SPECTACULAR," MIGHT BE THE ASSASSINATION OF A SENIOR LOYALIST LEADER IN THE HOPE OF SETTING OFF A ROUND OF LOYALIST-REPUBLICAN VIOLENCE.

8. (C) SECRETARY GENERAL DALTON'S CONCERNS WERE QUICKLY CONFIRMED WHEN GARDAI ARRESTED SIX POSSIBLE REAL IRA MEMBERS IN COUNTY WEXFORD ON OCTOBER 1. FIVE WERE SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED WHILE ONE WAS CHARGED WITH MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION UNDER THE OFFENSES AGAINST THE STATE ACT. THIS WAS FOLLOWED UP BY TWO POLICE SEIZURES OF SUSPECTED REAL IRA ARMS CACHES IN WEXFORD ON OCTOBER 4-5. ITEMS SEIZED INCLUDED TWO POUNDS OF SEMTEX, HAND GUNS, AMMUNITION, A HOMEMADE ROCKET LAUNCHER AND A 12.7MM PROJECTILE DESIGNED TO BE FIRED FROM A SOVIET-MADE HEAVY MACHINE GUN. POLICE SOURCES HAVE INDICATED TO THE PRESS THEIR BELIEF THAT THE REAL IRA HAS ESTABLISHED A FACTORY IN WEXFORD TO MANUFACTURE BOMBS AND ROCKETS. GARDAI INVESTIGATIONS ARE CONTINUING AND HAVE RESULTED IN FURTHER ARRESTS OF SUSPECTED REAL IRA MEMBERS IN DONEGAL OCTOBER 6.

KEEP SIR RONNIE  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 005510

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/05/09

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS: LITTLE GOI  
OPTIMISM AND GROWING CONCERN ABOUT DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS

9. (C) ON POLICING, SECRETARY GENERAL DALTON PRAISED THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT AND LOOKED FOR STRENGTHENED CROSS-BORDER POLICE COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SINN FEIN WOULD BACK OFF ITS CALLS FOR SIR RONNIE FLANAGAN'S OUSTER AS RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE. IN DALTON'S VIEW, FLANAGAN WAS DOING A GOOD JOB AND IN FACT HAD OFTEN BEEN HELPFUL TO THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. COMMENTING ON THE SITUATION WITHIN THE PROVISIONAL IRA, DALTON BELIEVED THAT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS WERE STILL "IN CONTROL OF THEIR PEOPLE."

COMMENT  
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10. (C) THE SENSE OF TOP-LEVEL GOI DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE PEACE PROCESS IS CLEAR AND, FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, WELL CHOREOGRAPHED WITH LONDON. TAOISEACH AHERN IS THINKING ABOUT OTHER THINGS -- PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE, A PENDING NURSES STRIKE, EAST TIMOR -- AND TRYING TO STAY OUT OF THE BLAST ZONE FROM THE MOST RECENT TAX EVASION SCANDALS. FOR NOW, DUBLIN IS QUITE HAPPY TO LET SENATOR MITCHELL TRY TO WORK HIS MAGIC (FOLLOWING THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS' FAILURE TO CONJURE UP A SOLUTION IN JULY). WE PERCEIVE, HOWEVER, A GROWING SENSE THAT, SHOULD MITCHELL BE ABLE TO PULL SOMETHING TOGETHER (AND NO ONE IS OVERLY OPTIMISTIC THAT HE CAN), IT WILL NOT BE A DONE DEAL BUT A FORMULA HE THINKS CAN WORK WITH ENOUGH PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES. THE

IRISH VIEW SEEMS TO BE INCREASINGLY THAT THE U.S. WOULD  
HAVE A MAJOR ROLE TO PLAY IN SUCH A SITUATION, ESPECIALLY  
IN CONVINCING SINN FEIN AND THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY TO

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03  
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PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

## Cable

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 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONIST CONFERENCE: BEGINNING  
 OF THE END GAME?

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (2.12)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: ERIC GREEN, ACTING CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 008641

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONIST CONFERENCE: BEGINNING  
 OF THE END GAME?

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: ERIC GREEN, ACTING CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY

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1. (C) AS THE UUP CONVENES ITS ANNUAL PARTY CONFERENCE ON  
 SATURDAY, OBSERVERS ARE WATCHING FOR SIGNALS REGARDING  
 TRIMBLE'S ABILITY TO MAKE THE KEY CONCESSIONS TO ENTER AN  
 EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN (SF). SF APPEARS TO BE IN A  
 HOLDING PATTERN, WAITING FOR TRIMBLE AND/OR SENATOR  
 MITCHELL TO MAKE A MOVE AND THE SDLP IS IN A PASSIVE ROLE  
 DUE TO JOHN HUME'S ILLNESS. END SUMMARY.

UUP HOPING FOR AN "ON-MESSAGE" CONFERENCE  
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2. (C) THE UUP'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE IS OPEN TO ALL PARTY  
 MEMBERS AND USUALLY ATTRACTS ABOUT 500 PEOPLE. THE  
 CONFERENCE IS NOT A DECISION-MAKING BODY, THOUGH IT WILL  
 DEBATE A SERIES OF "MOTIONS" ON ISSUES SUCH AS THE MITCHELL  
 REVIEW AND THE PATTEN REPORT. IN PAST YEARS MOTIONS HAVE  
 BEEN PASSED WITHOUT DISSENSION AND SERVE THE PURPOSE OF  
 RATIFYING, RATHER THAN DEFINING, THE CHOSEN POLICIES OF THE

## LEADERSHIP.

3. (C) THE CURRENT CONFERENCE DRAFT MOTION ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT MEETS TRIMBLE'S NEEDS BY RESOLUTELY REAFFIRMING THE UUP'S POSITIONS THAT PARTIES IN GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATE COMMITMENT TO EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS AND THAT DECOMMISSIONING CONSTITUTES PART OF THIS DEMONSTRATION WHILE AVOIDING A DEFINITIVE STATEMENT THAT THE UUP WILL NOT ENTER GOVERNMENT IN THE ABSENCE OF DECOMMISSIONING. THIS FORMULATION LEAVES TRIMBLE THE FLEXIBILITY TO PURSUE "SEQUENCING" OPTIONS. (SEQUENCING REFERS TO A PHASED APPROACH IN WHICH THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND DECOMMISSIONING ARE DIVIDED INTO SMALLER STEPS.) TRIMBLE'S KEYNOTE IS INTENDED TO REINFORCE THESE THEMES AND FORCEFULLY ARTICULATE HIS CONVICTION THAT THE AGREEMENT IS THE BEST ALTERNATIVE FOR UNIONISM.

4. (C) TRIMBLE'S AIDES ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL BE A NON-EVENT, THOUGH THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SURPRISES ARE POSSIBLE AND MANY OF HIS ALLIES FULLY EXPECT A SYMBOLIC DISPLAY OF DEFIANCE BY THE PARTY'S HARD-LINE FACTION. THE OFFENSIVE ON TRIMBLE'S MODERATES WILL LIKELY CENTER ON AN EMOTIONAL ISSUE SUCH AS PRISONER RELEASES OR THE PROPOSED REFORM OF THE RUC, BOTH OF WHICH RESULTED DIRECTLY FROM THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. LAST WEEK THE YOUNG UNIONISTS WERE HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE AGREEMENT AT THEIR CONFERENCE, BUT TRIMBLE GAVE A SPIRITED DEFENSE OF HIS POSITION.

5. (C) IN A SPEECH TO A LOCAL COUNCIL ON OCTOBER 7, ESMOND BIRNIE, A UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBER CLOSELY ALLIED WITH TRIMBLE, FLOATED A PERSONAL PROPOSAL CALLING FOR THE UUP TO ENTER THE EXECUTIVE WITH A PROMISE FROM SF THAT SF MINISTERS WOULD RESIGN THEIR POSTS IF DECOMMISSIONING HAD NOT STARTED WITHIN A SET NUMBER OF WEEKS. BIRNIE TOLD US ON OCTOBER 8 THAT HE DOES NOT EXPECT A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM SF, BUT REGARDS HIS PROPOSAL AS A USEFUL STARTING POINT FOR NEGOTIATIONS. A TOP TRIMBLE STAFFER TOLD US THAT TRIMBLE DID NOT AUTHORIZE BIRNIE'S INITIATIVE AND WAS BLIND-SIDED BY THE PUBLICITY IT GENERATED.

SINN FEIN - WATCHING AND WAITING  
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6. (C) SINN FEIN, MEANWHILE, APPEARS CONTENT TO STAND PAT TO SEE WHAT TRIMBLE IS ABLE TO DELIVER. ALEX ATWOOD, AN SDLP ASSEMBLY MEMBER, TOLD A/CG ON OCTOBER 7 THAT SINN FEIN "SEES TRIMBLE IS ON THE MOVE AND IS WAITING TO SEE WHERE HE ENDS UP." A DISCUSSION ON OCTOBER 1 WITH SF ASSEMBLY MEMBER ALEX MASKEY CONFIRMED THIS IMPRESSION AS MASKEY REPEATED THE SF MANTRA THAT DECOMMISSIONING WAS NOT CONCEIVABLE WITHOUT THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE AND THAT SF DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT LEVERAGE OVER THE IRA TO DELIVER EVEN A SYMBOLIC ACT OF DECOMMISSIONING.

7. (C) THERE REMAINS UNCERTAINTY ABOUT SF'S ABILITY TO MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING. SOURCES ON THE INTERNATIONAL DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION TOLD US THAT SOME POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS REQUIRED BEFORE THE IRA WILL BE ABLE TO PROCEED WITHOUT RISK OF A DEBILITATING AND POSSIBLY DANGEROUS SPLIT IN THE MOVEMENT. ATWOOD, HOWEVER, MAINTAINS THAT GERRY ADAMS HAS SUFFICIENT CONTROL OVER HIS PARTY THAT HE COULD  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 008641

LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR NORLAND

EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/09  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONIST CONFERENCE: BEGINNING  
OF THE END GAME?

ORDER A ONE-TIME SYMBOLIC GESTURE THAT WOULD "BE ENOUGH TO  
AVOID EMBARRASSING TRIMBLE."

SDLP SIDELINED  
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8. (C) ATWOOD WAS DOWNBEAT ABOUT THE SDLP'S CURRENT  
INFLUENCE ON THE PROCESS BECAUSE OF HUME'S CONTINUED  
ILLNESS. ATWOOD SAID HUME STILL NEEDS ADDITIONAL SURGERY  
TO CORRECT HIS PERFORATED INTESTINE AND IS UNLIKELY TO  
RETURN TO POLITICS BEFORE THE NEW YEAR, IF THEN. AS A  
RESULT, HUME'S PRESENCE AT THE NOVEMBER 5 SDLP PARTY  
CONFERENCE IS UNLIKELY AND HE WILL PROBABLY VIDEOTAPE A  
SPEECH FOR THE EVENT. WITHOUT HUME'S INVOLVEMENT, THE SDLP  
WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY DOING WHAT MANY OF ITS LEADERS FAVOR:  
APPLYING EXTRA PRESSURE ON SF TO START THE DECOMMISSIONING  
PROCESS.

COMMENT  
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9. (C) TRIMBLE HAS MADE CREDIBLE PROGRESS IN THE LAST TEN  
DAYS TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE WITHIN HIS PARTY AGAINST THE  
HARD-LINE "NO" FACTION, AS EVIDENCED BY HIS SPIRITED  
DEFENSE OF THE AGREEMENT AT THE YOUNG UNIONISTS MEETING AND  
HIS CAREFUL HANDLING OF THE TORY CONFERENCE (SEPTEL).  
PASSING UNHARMED THROUGH THE UUP PARTY CONFERENCE COULD  
COMPLETE THIS CONSOLIDATION. THE NEXT STEP WILL BE TO  
REGAIN THE INITIATIVE IN THE REVIEW BY SHIFTING THE  
PRESSURE TO SHOW GOOD FAITH ONTO SF, WHICH HAS GOTTEN A BYE  
FOR THE PAST MONTH THANKS TO UUP INFIGHTING.  
LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02  
SSN: 8641  
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SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON NORLAND SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT(C2) STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 1285  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: NO IRELAND: TORIES REITERATE SUPPORT FOR GOOD FRIDAY  
 AGREEMENT; SAY NO TO EXECUTIVE WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.13)  
 KBT 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY ACTING POLITICAL COUNSELOR MARCIE B. RIES FOR

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 008651

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/31/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, PHUM, UK  
 SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: TORIES REITERATE SUPPORT FOR GOOD FRIDAY  
 AGREEMENT; SAY NO TO EXECUTIVE WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING

(U) CLASSIFIED BY ACTING POLITICAL COUNSELOR MARCIE B. RIES FOR  
 REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (S) SUMMARY: THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY USED ITS ANNUAL CONFERENCE, HELD OCTOBER 4-7 IN BLACKPOOL, TO ASSERT THAT ACTION ON FORMING THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE SHOULD NOT PRECEDE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE FULL CONFERENCE (FAXED TO EUR/UBI), THE SHADOW SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, ANDREW MACKAY, STRESSED THE CONSERVATIVES' CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. HE ARGUED, HOWEVER, THAT QUESTIONS ABOUT SINN FEIN'S COMMITMENT TO "EXCLUSIVELY DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL MEANS" JUSTIFY DAVID TRIMBLE'S UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON FORMING THE EXECUTIVE WITHOUT SIMULTANEOUS PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. MACKAY CALLED FOR A SPECIFIC TIMETABLE FOR DECOMMISSIONING, COUPLED WITH IRON-CLAD GUARANTEES, INCLUDING ESCAPE CLAUSES, IF THE TIMETABLE IS NOT MET. TRIMBLE AVOIDED A DISCUSSION OF THE PEACE PROCESS DURING HIS LECTURE TO A LARGE FRINGE GROUP ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES RELATED TO DEVOLUTION. HE USED HIS APPEARANCE BEFORE A SMALLER FRINGE MEETING TO APPEAL FOR SUPPORT TO SAVE THE RUC. END SUMMARY.

2. (S) SHADOW SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ANDREW MACKAY USED HIS SPEECH TO THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE IN BLACKPOOL ON OCTOBER 7 TO MAKE CLEAR THAT, WHILE THE PARTY REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, IT WILL NOT SUPPORT FORMATION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE WITHOUT A SIMULTANEOUS BEGINNING TO DECOMMISSIONING AND IRON-CLAD GUARANTEES THAT IT WILL CONTINUE. MACKAY STRESSED THAT THE ISSUE IS ASSURANCES THAT ALL PARTIES WHO WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT ARE UNEQUIVOCALLY COMMITTED TO RELY EXCLUSIVELY ON DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL MEANS. HE SAID THAT THE PARTY IS WILLING TO SUPPORT THE IDEA OF "JUMPING TOGETHER," BUT ONLY IF THERE IS A "CLEAR AND TRANSPARENT TIMETABLE

FOR DECOMMISSIONING AND A LEGALLY-BINDING GUARANTEE THAT IF THE IRA FAILS TO DELIVER, THE GOVERNMENT WILL SEEK SINN FEIN'S EXCLUSION FROM THE EXECUTIVE." (COMMENT: WE WOULD EXPECT SINN FEIN TO REJECT THIS EXPLICIT LINK BETWEEN IT AND THE IRA. A SINN FEIN NEGOTIATOR CLAIMED TO US ON OCTOBER 1 THAT THEY HAD SCORED A SIGNIFICANT VICTORY EARLIER IN THE DAY BY GETTING TRIMBLE TO STATE DURING NEGOTIATIONS THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE IRA AND SINN FEIN WERE NOT THE SAME THING. WE HAVE NOT ASKED TRIMBLE FOR HIS VERSION OF THE CONVERSATION. END COMMENT) MACKAY ARGUED THAT THE TORIES' INSISTENCE ON LINKAGE BETWEEN DECOMMISSIONING AND THE EXECUTIVE WAS JUSTIFIED, BASED ON SIDE GUARANTEES MADE BY THE PRIME MINISTER PRIOR TO THE REFERENDUM ON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

3. (X) MACKAY DREW EXTENDED APPLAUSE WHEN HE PRAISED THE RUC AS "THE REAL HEROS OF OUR TIME." HE CALLED FOR QUICK IMPLEMENTATION FOR "A NUMBER" OF THE NON-CONTROVERSIAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION, BUT REJECTED THE PROPOSAL TO CHANGE ITS NAME AND SYMBOLS. HE ARGUED THAT "CHANGES THAT AFFECT SECURITY" SHOULD NOT BE PUT IN PLACE UNTIL THERE HAS BEEN A COMPLETE END TO VIOLENCE.

4. (X) TRIMBLE CAREFULLY AVOIDED TALKING ABOUT THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS DURING HIS LECTURE TO THE PREMIER FRINGE MEETING (THE SWINTON LECTURE) THE EVENING BEFORE MACKAY'S SPEECH. HE INSTEAD DISCUSSED CONSTITUTIONAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES RELATING TO DEVOLUTION, WITH A CENTRAL THEME BEING THAT LEGAL MESSINESS DOES NOT SEEM TO MATTER WHEN THERE IS AGREEMENT THAT AN ARRANGEMENT SHOULD WORK. TRIMBLE APPEARED TO WINCE WHEN MACKAY COMPLIMENTED HIM ON HIS "COURAGE AND SKILL IN OUTMANEUVERING THE REPUBLICANS."

5. (X) TRIMBLE ALSO APPEARED AT A FRINGE MEETING IN SUPPORT OF THE RUC THE LAST DAY OF THE CONFERENCE. HE FRAMED HIS REMARKS IN TERMS OF THE PROTECTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE CHILDREN OF NORTHERN IRELAND. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IMPLEMENTING SOME OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS MIGHT UNDERMINE THE RUC'S EFFECTIVENESS TO COMBAT THE PARAMILITARY THREAT FROM BOTH SIDES. TRIMBLE SAID HE COULD NOT OFFER MUCH ON THE STATUS OF POLITICAL TALKS EXCEPT TO SAY THAT THE REVIEW WAS NOT LIKELY TO TAKE LONG AND THAT HE DID NOT SEE GROUNDS TO HAVE HOPE OF SUCCESS.

6. (X) COMMENT: SEVERAL JOURNALISTS COMMENTED AFTER THE MACKAY SPEECH THAT, GIVEN THE OVERALL TONE OF THE CONFERENCE (SEPTEL) AND MACKAY'S PERSONAL VIEWS AND STYLE, THEY HAD EXPECTED MORE FIREWORKS AND A TOUGHER LINE. MACKAY'S REMARKS DID REFLECT THE FACT HAT MANY OF THOSE AT THE CONFERENCE VIEW NORTHERN IRELAND EXCLUSIVELY IN TERMS OF THE TERRORIST THREAT. MANY ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH SEEING TERRORISM END THAN ON HOW IT IS ENDED. THEY MADE CLEAR THAT THEY BELIEVE THAT, AT THIS POINT, THE BURDEN IS ENTIRELY ON THE REPUBLICANS TO CONVINCCE SKEPTICS THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WILL WORK TOWARD THAT END. THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY'S LINE MAY WELL GIVE TRIMBLE CONFIDENCE IN ARGUING THAT THERE CAN BE NO EXECUTIVE WITHOUT PROGRESS AND GUARANTEES ON DECOMMISSIONING. IT WILL, HOWEVER, ALSO GIVE HIM LEVERAGE IN DEALING WITH HARD-LINE UNIONISTS, INCLUDING JEFFREY DONALDSON OF HIS OWN PARTY, WHO HAVE PUSHED HIM TO ABANDON THE NEGOTIATIONS ALTOGETHER.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8651

TOR: 991012024920 M4091462

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2}  
<^DIST>  
SIT: SUM2  
PRT: STEINBERG  
<^DIST>  
SIT: SUM2  
PRT: BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SARGEANT SIT{C2}  
STEINBERG SUTPHEN

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA8678 2851343-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
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 LINE3: O 121343Z OCT 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 121343Z OCT 99  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9951  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1174  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1286  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: NO IRELAND: PARTIES AND PRESS RESPOND TO MANDELSON  
 APPOINTMENT AS MO MOWLAM'S REPLACEMENT

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (2.14)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 008678

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/31/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, UK  
 SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: PARTIES AND PRESS RESPOND TO MANDELSON  
 APPOINTMENT AS MO MOWLAM'S REPLACEMENT

REF: LONDON 8650

(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLMINSCOUNSELOR JUDITH R. JOHNSON FOR REASONS  
 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (S) SUMMARY: TONY BLAIR'S OCTOBER 11 ANNOUNCEMENT THAT PETER MANDELSON WILL REPLACE MO MOWLAM AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND DOMINATED THE HEADLINES IN THE LONDON PRESS THE FOLLOWING DAY. DESCRIBED BY MOWLAM HERSELF AS "STRAIGHT AND HARD-TALKING," MANDELSON, A TALENTED AND AMBITIOUS ACTIVIST PLEDGED TO WORK "NIGHT AND DAY" TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND BASED ON FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. HE WILL OWE BLAIR A HUGE DEBT FOR BRINGING HIM BACK INTO THE CABINET AFTER ONLY TEN MONTHS' IN EXILE OVER A HOME LOAN SCANDAL THAT CAUSED HIM TO RESIGN AS SECRETARY FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY. MANDELSON'S APPOINTMENT IS SEEN A SIGNAL THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WANTS TO COUNTER CHARGES THAT HE WAS DISTANCING HIMSELF FROM THE PEACE PROCESS. CONVERSELY, HAVING SUCH A CLOSE CONFIDANT AS NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY SHOULD PERMIT LESS DAY-TO-DAY INVOLVEMENT BY BLAIR. THE PRESS SPECULATED THAT THE CHANGE WAS PART OF A PACKAGE TO BOLSTER DAVID TRIMBLE'S CREDIBILITY AND LEVERAGE IN THE DIVIDED UNIONIST CAMP. TRIMBLE CAREFULLY WELCOMED THE ANNOUNCEMENT BUT ALSO SUGGESTED THAT MANDELSON SHOULD HOLD BACK FOR THE MOMENT IN ORDER TO NOT TO COMPLICATE THE SENSITIVE DISCUSSIONS TAKING PLACE UNDER THE MITCHELL REVIEW PROCESS. THE OCTOBER 11 FINANCIAL TIMES ANNOUNCED ON MONDAY THAT MITCHELL AND THE PARTIES WOULD BE CONDUCTING "INTENSIVE AND UNBROKEN" DISCUSSIONS AT AN "UNDISCLOSED ENGLISH LOCATION" DURING THE WEEK.  
 END SUMMARY

2. (S) THE HEADLINES OF ALL LONDON PAPERS ON OCTOBER 12 WERE DEDICATED TO THE STORY OF PETER MANDELSON BEING NAMED THE PREVIOUS AFTERNOON TO REPLACE MO MOWLAM AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN

IRELAND. WHILE THE STORIES FOCUSED ON THE FACT THAT MANDELSON WAS RETURNING TO THE CABINET ONLY TEN MONTHS AFTER RESIGNING OVER AN IMPROPER HOME LOAN, THEY ALSO NOTED THAT HIS APPOINTMENT IS MEANT TO PUSH THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. THE PRESS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MOWLAM'S RELATIONSHIP WITH DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE UNIONISTS HAD BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT, AND THEY SPECULATED THAT MANDELSON'S APPOINTMENT WAS PART OF A LARGER EFFORT TO INCREASE DAVID TRIMBLE'S CREDIBILITY WITH UNIONISTS WHO WERE INCREASINGLY DISENCHANTED WITH THE PROCESS. (NOTE: THE GOVERNMENT ALSO MOVED ON OCTOBER 8 TO RESPOND TO UNIONISTS' COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE PARADES COMMISSION. IT ANNOUNCED A REVIEW OF THE COMMISSION AND RELEASED AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT WAS SEARCHING FOR A NEW COMMISSION CHAIRMAN. END NOTE)

3. (S) MANDELSON IS KNOWN AS A TOUGH-TALKING, TALENTED NEGOTIATOR WHO, AS ONE COMMENTATOR NOTED, "IS WILLING TO TAKE RISKS AND PREPARED TO BE UNPOPULAR." THE MASTERMIND BEHIND LABOR'S SUCCESSFUL RENEWAL AND 1997 ELECTION CAMPAIGN, MANDELSON IS KNOWN TO BE A BRILLIANT STRATEGIST WHO UNDERSTANDS THAT UNLESS POLICY IS FRAMED PROPERLY, PRESENTATION AND SYMBOLISM CAN ACHIEVE LITTLE. AN AMBITIOUS ACTIVIST, HE HAS SAID THAT, FOR HIM, THERE WAS NO LIFE OUTSIDE THE CABINET. SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE CABINET -- PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH "OLD LABOUR" VIEWS -- WERE REPORTEDLY LESS THAN THRILLED TO HAVE MANDELSON BACK IN THE FOLD AS THEY KNOW HOW CLOSELY HE IS ALIGNED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. MANDELSON'S RETURN ONLY TEN MONTHS AFTER BEING FORCED TO RESIGN OVER A QUESTIONABLE LOAN FOR A HOUSE FROM A POLITICAL COLLEAGUE SHOWS BLAIR'S CONFIDENCE IN HIM. MANDELSON APPEARS TO BE READY TO REPAY THAT CONFIDENCE. HE IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT HE INTENDED TO WORK "NIGHT AND DAY" TO BRING PEACE TO NORTHERN IRELAND.

4. (S) SINN FEIN'S GERRY ADAM'S PREDICTABLY DOWNPLAYED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MANDELSON'S TAKING OVER FROM MOWLAM. HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT, WHILE PERSONALITIES COUNT, THE KEY ISSUE IS THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. HE ADDED A WARNING THAT HE EXPECTED MANDELSON TO "RESIST UNIONIST ATTEMPTS TO REWRITE, REINTERPRET OR RENEGOTIATE THE AGREEMENT." JOHN HUME AND SEAMUS MALLON OF THE SDLP RESPONDED TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY STRESSING MOWLAM'S CONTRIBUTIONS. MALLON SAID THAT "NORTHERN IRELAND OWES MOWLAM A DEBT THAT IT CAN NEVER REPAY." TRIMBLE'S STATEMENT EARLY ON OCTOBER 12 DISCOUNTED DISAGREEMENTS WITH MOWLAM. HE ENCOURAGED THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO "SIT BACK" FOR THE TIME BEING IN ORDER TO ALLOW THE MITCHELL REVIEW PROCESS TO WORK. HE NOTED THAT, AT THIS POINT, "THE INITIATIVE LIES WITH GEORGE MITCHELL." (NOTE: THE 'FINANCIAL TIMES' REPORTED ON OCTOBER 12 THAT MITCHELL HAD MOVED THE PEACE TALKS TO "AN UNDISCLOSED ENGLISH LOCATION" WHERE THE PARTIES WOULD PARTICIPATE IN "TWO DAY OF INTENSIVE AND UNBROKEN TALKS." TRIMBLE REITERATED THE VIEW THAT THE BALL IS CURRENTLY IN THE REPUBLICANS' COURT. WITHOUT MAKING SPECIFIC DEMANDS, HE INSISTED THAT "THE REPUBLICANS MUST FULFILL THEIR OBLIGATIONS" RELATING TO DECOMMISSIONING AND PREDICTED THAT MITCHELL WOULD NOT ACCEPT PROMISES BUT INSTEAD INSIST ON GUARANTEES.

5. (U) TORY PARTY CHAIRMAN MICHAEL ANCRAM CRITICIZED BLAIR'S DECISION TO BRING BACK "A DISGRACED MINISTER." MEANWHILE, 'THE TIMES' NOTED THAT "IF MR MITCHELL FAILS TO PERFORM A POLITICAL MIRACLE, MR MANDELSON WILL FACE THE PROSPECT OF TRYING TO COME UP WITH A 'PLAN B'." THE PAPER ALSO SPECULATED THAT MANDELSON MIGHT WANT TO CONSIDER IF HE AGREES WITH MOWLAM'S RECENT DETERMINATION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 008678

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/31/09

TAGS: PGOV, PINR, UK

SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: PARTIES AND PRESS RESPOND TO MANDELSON

## APPOINTMENT AS MO MOWLAM'S REPLACEMENT

THAT, "DESPITE RECENT GUN-RUNNING ATTEMPTS FROM THE U.S., THE MURDER BY THE IRA OF A POLICE INFORMER, AND WIDESPREAD IRA PARAMILITARY INTIMIDATION.THE IRA'S CEASEFIRE IS STILL INTACT." THE DUP'S PETER ROBINSON SINGALED THAT SOME UNIONISTS WERE CONCERNED THAT THE APPOINTMENT WOULD NOT BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY. HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING "IT'S NOT A NEW SECRETARY OF STATE WE NEED, IT'S A NEW POLICY. THE UDP'S DAVID ADAMS ARGUED THAT "I WOULD CAUTION AGAINST THE BELIEF THAT THINGS CAN BE SOLVED BY SMOKE AND MIRRORS." IAN PAISLEY, WHO THE PRESS NOTED IS LIKELY TO BE AS CONCERNED WITH MANDELSON'S SEXUAL ORIENTATION AS WITH HIS POLITICS (MANDELSON WAS "OUTED" IN THE PRESS AS GAY IN 1998), REFERRED TO HIM AS "ANOTHER POLITICAL FAILURE."

6. (U) MANDELSON TRAVELED TO BELFAST EARLY ON OCTOBER 12 AND MET WITH UUP AND SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES BEFORE MEETING WITH THE PRESS AT MID-DAY. JOINED BY MO MOWLAM, HE STRESSED THAT THE GOAL REMAINS FULL AND PROPER IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT TO ENSURE THAT THERE IS A FUTURE IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHERE ALL PARTIES HAVE A STAKE. HE STRESSED THAT "THERE IS NO PLAN B." MANDELSON REPEATEDLY PRAISED MOWLAM AND STRESSED THAT HE WOULD BE SPENDING THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS READING IN WHILE THE MITCHELL REVIEW CONTINUES.

7. (U) THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY HAS LONG-STANDING CONNECTIONS TO THE PROVINCE. 'THE INDEPENDENT' NOTED ON OCTOBER 12 THAT HE HAD COVERED THE TROUBLES DURING THE 1980'S WHEN HE WAS A PRODUCER FOR LWT'S 'WEEKEND WORLD' PROGRAM. HE VISITED THE PROVINCE WHEN HE WAS MINISTER EVEN THOUGH HE HAD NO DIRECT RESPONSIBILITIES THERE. 'THE INDEPENDENT' ALSO NOTED THAT HIS FAMILY HAS A HISTORY OF BEING "WELL-DISPOSED" TO THE UNIONIST CAUSE. IT WENT ON TO RELATE THAT HIS GRANDFATHER WAS HOME SECRETARY IN CLEMENT ATTLEE'S POST-WAR CABINET AND PLAYED A PART IN THE DECISION TO CREATE A STATUTORY GUARANTEE OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S PLACE IN THE UK.

8. (U) COMMENT: MANDELSON'S APPOINTMENT HAS MADE THE HEADLINES AS MUCH BECAUSE OF WHAT IT SIGNALS ABOUT HIS CLOSE RELATIONSHIP TO BLAIR AND HIS POLITICAL REHABILITATION AS FOR ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND. THE PRESS IS TREATING MANDELSON AS THE CENTERPIECE OF A NEW LINEUP THAT SHIFTS THE BALANCE IN FAVOR OF THE TRUE BELIEVERS IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW OF NEW LABOUR. THE NOVELTY OF THE APPOINTMENT WILL SOON WEAR OFF, HOWEVER, AS MANDELSON GETS DOWN TO THE BUSINESS OF MEETING BLAIR'S EXPECTATIONS THAT THE HE WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE. HIS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT TO THE PRESS THAT "BUILDING TRUST AMONG THE PARTIES IS THE KEY" IS A GOOD START.  
DAVIES

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 8678  
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TOR: 991012094613 M4092080  
<^TOR>991012094628 M4092083

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SARGEANT SIT(C2)  
STEINBERG SUTPHEN

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OACZYUW RUEHLOA8728 2870610-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
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 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 140610Z OCT 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0006  
 RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0534  
 RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: RIGHTWINGERS AND EUROSKEPTICS DOMINATE TORY PARTY  
 CONFERENCE; CENTRISTS WARN OF ELECTION DISASTER

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (2.15)  
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(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLMINCOUNSELOR JUDITH R. JOHNSON FOR

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 008728

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/31/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK  
 SUBJECT: RIGHTWINGERS AND EUROSKEPTICS DOMINATE TORY PARTY  
 CONFERENCE; CENTRISTS WARN OF ELECTION DISASTER

(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLMINCOUNSELOR JUDITH R. JOHNSON FOR  
 REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

REF: LONDON 8651

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY: MARGARET THATCHER'S APPEARANCE AT THE OCTOBER 4-7 CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE HELPED PUSH THE PARTY TO THE RIGHT AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE MARGINALIZATION OF MODERATES, INCLUDING MICHAEL HESELTINE, KENNETH CLARKE, AND MALCOLM RIFKIND. WILLIAM HAGUE'S WAS ABLE TO STRENGTHEN HIS POSITION AS PARTY LEADER, BUT ONLY BY SATISFYING THE RIGHT WING OF THE PARTY. THE PARTY'S "COMMON SENSE REVOLUTION" POLICY STATEMENT INCLUDED PROMISES TO LOWER TAXES, RELY ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR IF NECESSARY TO DELIVER IMPROVED SERVICES, FIGHT THE EURO, AND END THE EARLY RELEASE OF PRISONERS, AS CALLED FOR UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. MEMBERS OF HAGUE'S SHADOW CABINET WENT FURTHER THAN THEIR LEADER IN ARGUING AGAINST INTEGRATION WITH EUROPE, WITH THE SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLING FOR RENEGOTIATION OF THE TREATY OF ROME. THE WEEK FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE, JOHN MAJOR, CHRIS PATTEN AND DOUGLAS HURD PUBLICLY DISAGREED WITH THE DIRECTION THE TORY PARTY IS TAKING. THEIR CRITICISMS WERE REPORTED IN 'THE TIMES' ON OCTOBER 13 UNDER A HEADLINE REMARK BY PATTEN THAT THE PARTY IS NOW "UNELECTABLE." END SUMMARY

2. ~~(S)~~ FORMER PM MARGARET THATCHER'S APPEARANCE AT THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE (IN BLACKPOOL, OCTOBER 4-7) REINFORCED EFFORTS BY RIGHT-WINGERS AND EUROSKEPTICS TO PULL THE PARTY TO THE RIGHT. HER UNCOMPROMISING STATEMENTS, INCLUDING THE ASSERTION THAT PINOCHET IS A POLITICAL PRISONER AND THE OBSERVATION THAT ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE LAST DECADES HAD COME FROM EUROPE AND ALL SOLUTIONS HAD COME FROM THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING WORLD, GAVE LICENSE TO THOSE WHO WANTED TO USE THE CONFERENCE TO

MARGINALIZE THE MODERATES IN THE PARTY. THE SHADOW CABINET OFFERED UNCOMPROMISING RIGHTIST RHETORIC TO A SYMPATHETIC AUDIENCE OF PARTY FAITHFULS, WHILE PARTY MODERATES KENNETH CLARKE, MALCOLM RIFKIND AND MICHAEL HESELTINE, WERE REDUCED TO SPEAKING AT FRINGE EVENTS. (NOTE: HESELTINE WAS HECKLED AND SHOWERED WITH PEANUTS AND SAUSAGES BY "ANTI-EUROS" AS HE SPOKE AT ONE EVENT AND SUBSEQUENTLY DECLINED TO APPEAR AT ANOTHER. END NOTE) JOHN MAJOR, WHOSE DISAGREEMENTS WITH THATCHER'S AND PARTY LEADER WILLIAM HAGUE'S POSITION HAD SURFACED IN THE PRESS PRIOR TO THE CONFERENCE, STAYED AWAY, WHILE CHRIS PATTEN WAS IN MOSCOW IN CONNECTION WITH HIS JOB AS EU EXTERNAL AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER. THE WAR BETWEEN THE TWO CAMPS HARDENED THE WEEK FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE AS BOTH MAJOR AND PATTEN OFFERED INTERVIEWS CRITICIZING THE PARTY. PATTEN'S STATEMENT THAT HE FEARS THE PARTY HAS RENDERED ITSELF "UNELECTABLE," BECAME THE HEADLINE IN THE OCTOBER 13 TIMES, WHILE THE TELEGRAPH'S HEADLINE THE SAME DAY WAS "MAJOR ATTACK'S TORY PARTY'S 'DANGEROUS' MOVE TO THE RIGHT." 'THE TIMES' QUOTED (SIR) DOUGLAS HURD AS SAYING THAT THE PARTY CANNOT EXPECT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

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ON THE EU AND THE EURO  
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3. (C) PARTY LEADER WILLIAM HAGUE'S SPEECH ON THE LAST DAY OF THE CONFERENCE CALLED FOR "A MORE FLEXIBLE AND OPEN EUROPEAN UNION OF NATION STATES," GUARANTEED BY FLEXIBILITY CLAUSE IN THE NEXT EU TREATY. IT INCLUDED A PROMISE THAT THE PARTY WOULD FIGHT THE NEXT ELECTION ON A COMMITMENT TO KEEP THE POUND. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF "CAPITALIZING ON BRITAIN'S ADVANTAGES RATHER THAN GIVING THEM AWAY," AND PROMISED TO REJECT A EUROPE-WIDE TAX REGIME AND REGULATIONS, "FORCE FOREIGN LORRIES WHO USE OUR ROADS TO PAY A LEVY" AND "RETURN BRITISH FISHING WATERS TO OUR LOCAL OR NATIONAL CONTROL." HAGUE'S COMMENTS WERE A STEP BACK FROM SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY MAPLE'S PLEDGE, EARLIER IN THE WEEK, THAT ONE OF THE FIRST ACTS OF A CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE TO "NEGOTIATE AN AMENDMENT TO THE TREATY OF ROME (IN ORDER) TO ALLOW EACH COUNTRY THE FREEDOM TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF WHETHER OR NOT TO APPLY NEW EUROPEAN LEGISLATION OUTSIDE THAT CORE." HAGUE'S COMMENTS WERE ALSO A SHADE LESS ABSOLUTE THAN SHADOW CHANCELLOR MAUDE'S PROMISE THAT "OUR PARTY WILL KEEP THE POUND." (NOTE: FINNISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UK, PERTTI SALOLAINEN, COMMENTED AFTER MAUDE'S SPEECH THAT, IN HIS VIEW, THE TORY POSITION WAS GROUNDS FOR REAL CONCERN. END NOTE) HAGUE'S MENTION OF MAJOR'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO BRITAIN'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN THE EARLY 1990'S ALSO SET HIM APART FROM HIS MORE HARD-LINE COLLEAGUES WHOM MAJOR ACCUSED OF ATTEMPTING TO "AIR-BRUSH HIM OUT OF HISTORY."

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ON TAXES AND SERVICES  
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4. (SBU) THE PARTY ISSUED ITS POLICY STATEMENT, 'A COMMON SENSE REVOLUTION,' THE FIRST DAY OF THE CONFERENCE. IT INCLUDED 'FIVE GUARANTEES,' INCLUDING THE PROMISE TO FIGHT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS ON AN ANTI-SINGLE CURRENCY PLATFORM. THE OTHER FOUR FOCUSED ON BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES: LOWER TAXES, GUARANTEED SHORTER WAITING TIME FOR NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICES TREATMENT, SCHOOLS THAT MEET PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS, AND NO BENEFITS TO THE UNEMPLOYED WHO WILL NOT ACCEPT OFFERS OF WORK. THE SHADOW MINISTERS ARGUED THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTRACT OUT TO THE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 008728

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/31/09  
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: RIGHTWINGERS AND EUROSKEPTICS DOMINATE TORY PARTY  
CONFERENCE; CENTRISTS WARN OF ELECTION DISASTER

PRIVATE SECTOR FOR ANY GUARANTEED SERVICES THAT THE PUBLIC SECTOR CAN NOT DELIVER. THEY DID NOT EXPLAIN HOW THE PROMISED SERVICES WOULD BE FINANCED IF TAXES ARE REDUCED. JOHN MAJOR VOICED THE CONCERN OF OTHER SKEPTICS WHEN HE QUESTIONED THE WISDOM OF PROMISING TO REDUCE TAXES TO A SET PORTION OF THE COUNTRY'S GNP. HE ASKED HOW, PARTICULARLY IN A RECESSION, THE GOVERNMENT COULD EXPECT BOTH TO HOLD TAXES DOWN TO A PRESET LEVEL AND ALSO DELIVER ON ITS PROMISE OF IMPROVED SERVICES.

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 LIKELY CAMPAIGN STRATEGY: ANTI-TERRORIST, ANTI-EURO, ANTI-BLAIR  
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5. (C) PARTY CHAIRMAN MICHAEL ANCRAM AND OTHERS STRESSED THAT THE PARTY'S 'COMMON SENSE REVOLUTION,' WHICH INCLUDED FIFTY POLICIES AS WELL AS THE FIVE GUARANTEES, WERE THE RESULT OF A 'LISTENING TO BRITAIN' CAMPAIGN THE PARTY HAD CONDUCTING IN THE MONTHS LEADING UP TO THE CONFERENCE. THE PARTY USED FOCUS GROUPS TO HELP THEM IDENTIFY WEAKNESSES IN LABOUR'S APPROACH AND APPEARED TO BE USING THE CONFERENCE TO TEST-MARKET THE MESSAGE THEY ARE LIKELY TO USE IN THE NEXT CAMPAIGN. CRITICISMS OF THE EARLY RELEASES OF "TERRORISTS" (UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT) WITHOUT GUARANTEES THAT THE PARAMILITARIES HAVE GIVEN UP VIOLENCE TOUCHED A NERVE AMONG THE CONFERENCE ATTENDEES (REF). CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PERCEIVED PRO-EUROPE STANCE ALSO FOUND RESONANCE. PRIME MINISTER BLAIR WAS A TARGET THROUGHOUT THE WEEK. OBSERVERS NOTED AND THE TORIES SEEMED TO RECOGNIZE THAT CRITICISMS OF LABOUR'S POLICIES WERE CRITICISMS OF MOST OF THE LAST CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES. THE TARGET BECAME BLAIR AND HIS TEAM. THE PARTY FAITHFUL WERE TREATED TO ONE SOUNDBITE AFTER ANOTHER ON THE DISPARITIES BETWEEN LABOUR'S POLICIES/RHETORIC AND THE ACTIONS OF ITS LEADERS. HAGUE REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO "THE GREAT LABOUR LIE." THE AUDIENCE ROARED WHEN HE SUMMED UP BY NOTING THAT BLAIR HAD "CLAIMED THE ESTABLISHMENT WAS HOLDING THE COUNTRY BACK" AND THEN GOING ON TO OBSERVE THAT "HE'S A FORTY-SOMETHING, PUBLIC SCHOOL-EDUCATED. BARRISTER FROM ISLINGTON, WITH A TWO-HUNDRED SEAT MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS? WHO DOES HE THINK IS THE ESTABLISHMENT?"

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 ARCHER FOR MAYOR OF LONDON; PORTILLO PLEDGES LOYALTY TO HAGUE  
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6. (C) (LORD) JEFFREY ARCHER, WHO HAD WON THE LONDON CONSERVATIVE PARTY MEMBER VOTE TO STAND AS THE TORY CANDIDATE FOR THE NEW-ESTABLISHED POSITION OF ELECTED MAYOR OF LONDON, GAVE A ROUSING PERFORMANCE TO A DELIGHTED CROWD. HE MOCKED THE NEW EXTRAVAGANT OFFICES PLANNED FOR THE MAYOR AND PROMISED TO SPEND HIS TIME OUT OF THE OFFICE HOLDING SERVICE PROVIDERS ACCOUNTABLE. DESPITE HIS POPULARITY WITH THE RANK AND FILE, TORY POLITICIANS PRIVATELY OPPOSE ARCHER, AND MUCH OF THE PRESS BELIEVES HIS SCANDAL-RIDDEN PAST AND GIFT FOR GAFFES WILL DOOM HIS CAMPAIGN.

7. (C) THERE HAD BEEN PREDICTIONS THAT MICHAEL PORTILLO, WHO HAD BEEN DEFENSE MINISTER BEFORE LOSING HIS PARLIAMENTARY SEAT IN THE 1997 ELECTIONS, WOULD USE THE PARTY CONFERENCE TO MAKE A COMEBACK. HE HOPES TO BE THE TORY CANDIDATE IN BY-ELECTION FOR THE KENSINGTON-CHELSEA SEAT. THERE HAD BEEN SPECULATION THAT HE WOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO CHALLENGE HAGUE FOR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IF HE GOT BACK INTO PARLIAMENT, BUT HIS RECENT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF PAST HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCES MAY WELL HAVE UNDERCUT HIS CHANCES. IN ANY

CASE, HIS ONLY PUBLIC APPEARANCE AT THE CONFERENCE WAS TO GIVE A REASONED AND LOW-KEY SPEECH ON EDUCATION POLICY AT A FRINGE EVENT SPONSORED BY A THINK TANK. HE USED THE EVENT TO PLEDGE HIS SUPPORT FOR HAGUE.

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COMMENT  
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8. (C) PRIOR TO THE CONFERENCE, THE CONSERVATIVES WERE FACED WITH THE CHALLENGE OF STAKING OUT A POLICY THAT WOULD BOTH DIFFERENTIATE THE TORY PROGRAM FROM THAT OF LABOUR AND ALSO STRENGTHEN HAGUE'S POSITION AS HEAD OF THE PARTY. THEY ACCOMPLISHED BOTH, BUT ONLY BY ALIENATING PARTY MODERATES AND MOVING SO FAR TO THE RIGHT AS TO DAMAGE FURTHER THE PARTY'S ELECTION CHANCES. WHILE MARGARET THATCHER AND HARD-LINER LORD TEBBIT MAY BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT THEY FEEL MORE COMFORTABLE IN THE PARTY THAN THEY HAVE IN NINE YEARS, THEIR ENDORSEMENTS HAVE COME AT A COST. PUBLIC CRITICISM BY MAJOR, HURD, RIFKIND, CLARKE, HESELTINE, AND PATTEN WILL BE COSTLY TO A PARTY THAT REMAINS SERIOUSLY AND PUBLICLY DIVIDED.  
DAVIES

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
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SSN: 8728  
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TOR: 991014042626 M4096248  
<^TOR>991014042641 M4096250

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND VONLIPSEY  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

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CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED  
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TEXT:  
UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 01 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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1. (U) SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - NOFORN - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. (U) FOLLOWING IS THE 1999 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.

3. (SBU) THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND (UK) IS A LONGSTANDING CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY WITH A DEMOCRATIC, PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. A LOWER LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER (THE HOUSE OF COMMONS), THE CENTER OF PARLIAMENTARY POWER, IS ELECTED IN PERIODIC MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS. AN UPPER CHAMBER (THE HOUSE OF LORDS), WITH POWER TO REVISE AND DELAY IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS, IS MADE UP OF HEREDITARY AND LIFE PEERS AND SENIOR CLERGY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF ENGLAND. THERE IS AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, BUT PARLIAMENT MAY OVERRULE ITS DECISIONS THROUGH LEGISLATION.

THROUGHOUT THE UNITED KINGDOM, POLICE FORCES ARE RESPONSIVE TO, AND UNDER THE EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF, CIVILIAN OFFICIALS. SINCE 1996 THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY MI-5 HAS HAD THE AUTHORITY TO ACT IN SUPPORT OF OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN THE PREVENTION AND DETECTION OF SERIOUS DOMESTIC CRIME. IN SOME AREAS OF NORTHERN IRELAND, BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING THREAT OF TERRORIST AND OTHER VIOLENCE, ARMY UNITS OPERATE TO REINFORCE THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE FORCE, THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC). ALTHOUGH THE SECURITY FORCES GENERALLY RESPECTED HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW, MEMBERS OF THE POLICE FORCE COMMITTED SOME HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.

A HIGHLY DEVELOPED, DIVERSIFIED, MARKET-BASED ECONOMY

PROVIDES MOST RESIDENTS WITH A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING. CERTAIN GEOGRAPHIC AREAS, PARTICULARLY OLDER INDUSTRIAL AREAS INCLUDING NORTHERN IRELAND, SUFFER FROM HIGHER THAN AVERAGE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES. IN ADDITION, UNEMPLOYMENT TENDS TO BE HIGHER AMONG SOME DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS, SUCH AS YOUTH AND RACIAL MINORITIES, AND IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AMONG CATHOLICS. THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES, INCLUDING A NATIONAL HEALTH SYSTEM, HOUSING AND FAMILY BENEFITS, AND HEAVILY SUBSIDIZED HIGHER EDUCATION.

THE GOVERNMENT GENERALLY RESPECTED THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS, BUT THERE WERE PROBLEMS IN SOME AREAS. THERE ARE OCCASIONAL REPORTS OF POLICE ABUSE OF DETAINEES. PRISON OVERCROWDING REMAINS A PROBLEM. THE NUMBER OF SELF-INFLICTED DEATHS IN CUSTODY AS OF JULY 31 WAS 45, SLIGHTLY LOWER THAN LAST YEAR. (NOTE: NOT ALL SELF-INFLICTED DEATHS CONCLUDE WITH A VERDICT OF SUICIDE.) THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUED TO TAKE STEPS TO COMBAT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN. THERE IS SOME SOCIETAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN, NONWHITE MINORITIES, AND THE TRAVELLER (NOMADIC) COMMUNITY. IN FEBRUARY, THE STEPHEN LAWRENCE INQUIRY RELEASED ITS REPORT, CONCLUDING THAT THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE BLACK TEENAGER'S DEATH WAS MARRED BY A COMBINATION OF PROFESSIONAL INCOMPETENCE AND INSTITUTIONAL RACISM.

IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT OF APRIL WENT INTO A REVIEW STAGE IN JULY 1999 WHEN PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT WERE UNABLE TO AGREE ON THE FORMATION OF AN EXECUTIVE FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY. DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR BY BOTH THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS TO FIND COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT FALTERED OVER THE LACK OF DECOMMISSIONING OF WEAPONS BY PARAMILITARIES AND IN PARTICULAR, THE IRA. UNIONISTS HELD THAT PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING WAS NECESSARY TO FORM AN EXECUTIVE WHILE REPUBLICANS ASSERTED THAT THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE WOULD BRING ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING. IN THE END, WHILE EXECUTIVE POWERS WERE DEVOLVED TO BOTH THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT AND WELSH ASSEMBLY IN JULY, NO DEVOLUTION TOOK PLACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. AS A RESULT, NONE OF THE NORTH-SOUTH AND BRITISH-IRISH COUNCILS PROVIDED FOR IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WAS INITIATED.

DESPITE THE DELAY IN THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE, SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT/NORTHERN IRELAND ACT WERE IMPLEMENTED. THE NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC) BEGAN OPERATIONS ON MARCH 1 AND TO DATE HAS CONCENTRATED ITS EFFORTS ON INTERNAL ORGANIZATION. THE HRC HAS ACCEPTED ABOUT 60 CASES FOR CONSIDERATION.

THE NORTHERN IRELAND FAIR EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION, COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY AND DISABILITY COUNCIL WILL BE AMALGAMATED INTO THE EQUALITY COMMISSION IN OCTOBER 1999. THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO) APPOINTED 21 MEMBERS TO THE COMMISSION IN AUGUST.

THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND (COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE PATTEN COMMISSION AFTER ITS UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 02 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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CHAIRMAN, FORMER HONG KONG GOVERNOR CHRIS PATTEN) SOLICITED CONTRIBUTIONS FROM POLITICAL PARTIES, NGOS, AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC AND PUBLISHED ITS RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND ON SEPTEMBER 9.

(LORD LLOYD REVIEWED EMERGENCY LEGISLATION AND RECOMMENDED PERMANENT LEGISLATION. NO LEGISLATIVE ACTION EXPECTED UNTIL 2001. NEED TO UPDATE.)

THE REVIEW OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, A GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE BEGUN IN JUNE 1998 AS A RESULT OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, STUDIED CONTRIBUTIONS FROM POLITICAL PARTIES, CRIMINAL JUSTICE AGENCIES AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC. THESE WILL BE INCORPORATED INTO A REPORT DUE IN OCTOBER 1999. THE REVIEW WAS CHARGED WITH EXAMINING THE STRUCTURE, MANAGEMENT AND RESOURCING OF THE PUBLICLY FUNDED ELEMENTS OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. PARTICULARLY CONTROVERSIAL AREAS INCLUDE JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS, THE ROLE OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS (DPP), AND ESTABLISHMENT OF RESTORATIVE JUSTICE SCHEMES. CRITICS NOTED THAT THE REVIEW DID NOT ADDRESS EMERGENCY LEGISLATION AND THE REVIEW ITSELF WAS LED BY MEMBERS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE RATHER THAN A COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT COMMISSION.

SOME PARAMILITARY DISSIDENT GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ENGAGED IN ACTS OF VIOLENCE AIMED AT DISRUPTING THE PEACE PROCESS. HOWEVER, THE MAJORITY OF THE VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND RESULTED FROM REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUPS CONTINUING TO ENGAGE IN "PUNISHMENT" ATTACKS. THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE REPORTED 59 SHOOTINGS AND 102 CASES OF ATTEMPTED MURDER IN PARAMILITARY STYLE ATTACKS THROUGH AUGUST 31. CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE THE OBJECT OF 25 SECTARIAN ATTACKS THROUGH JULY.

IN SUPPORT OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS AFFILIATED WITH PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS WHO ARE ON CEASE-FIRE CONTINUED IN 1999. AS OF SEPTEMBER 1999, 292 PARAMILITARY PRISONERS, INCLUDING 149 REPUBLICANS AND 133 LOYALISTS (AND 10 "OTHERS") WERE PAROLED UNDER THE NORTHERN IRELAND (SENTENCES) ACT OF 1998, COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE EARLY RELEASE PROGRAM.

AS OF JULY 31, THERE WERE 14,631 BRITISH TROOPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THIS NUMBER REPRESENTS A SLIGHT DECREASE OVER THE 1998 NUMBER, WHICH WAS THE LOWEST SINCE THE 1970'S.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

SECTION 1 RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

A. POLITICAL AND OTHER EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLING

THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF POLITICAL KILLINGS BY THE GOVERNMENT.

THE PRISON SERVICE REPORTED 78 DEATHS IN CUSTODY THROUGH JULY 31, OF WHICH 45 WERE SELF-INFLICTED AND 33 WERE DUE TO

NATURAL CAUSES. THIS REPRESENTS A DECREASE IN THE NUMBERS OVER THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR. THE PRISON SERVICE HAS IMPLEMENTED POLICY CHANGES IN AN ATTEMPT TO CURB THE NUMBER OF PRISONER SUICIDES AND CONTINUES TO DEVELOP SUICIDE PREVENTION STRATEGIES. THE (NGO) PRISON REFORM TRUST ENDORSED THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE PRISON SERVICE.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY (PCA) REPORTED THAT DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY INCREASED TO 65 FROM 53 THE PREVIOUS YEAR. OF THESE, THE REPORT STATES 21 PER CENT OF DEATHS OCCURRED BECAUSE OF MEDICAL OR NATURAL CAUSES, 26 PER CENT DUE TO ALCOHOL OR DRUGS, AND 18 PER CENT WERE SUICIDES. THE PCA SUPPORTS THE ABOLITION OF THE OFFENSE OF "BEING DRUNK AND INCAPABLE," RECOMMENDING DRUNKS BE ATTENDED TO BY NURSES AND PARAMEDICS RATHER THAN IN POLICE STATIONS. THE REPORT INDICATES THAT RESPONSE BY THE HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES IN DEALING WITH MENTALLY ILL PEOPLE WHO FALL ILL IN A PUBLIC PLACE IS SOMETIMES INADEQUATE.

THE POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY OPENED AN INQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF ROGER SYLVESTER, A BLACK MAN WHO DIED IN JANUARY AFTER BEING RESTRAINED BY POLICE OFFICERS IN NORTH LONDON UNDER THE MENTAL HEALTH ACT. HE WAS TAKEN TO HOSPITAL FOR ASSESSMENT AND SUFFERED RESPIRATORY FAILURE. A POST-MORTEM EXAM DID NOT ESTABLISH THE CAUSE OF DEATH.

THE THREE POLICE OFFICERS CHARGED WITH MANSLAUGHTER IN THE DEATH OF IRISHMAN RICHARD O'BRIEN IN 1994 WERE ACQUITTED IN JULY. AN EARLIER INQUEST FOUND THAT O'BRIEN WAS UNLAWFULLY KILLED WHEN HE DIED FOLLOWING HIS ARREST FOR BEING DRUNK AND DISORDERLY IN 1994.

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IN APRIL THE CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICE CONCLUDED THAT THERE WAS INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO PROSECUTE THE POLICE OFFICER WHO KILLED IRA MEMBER DAIRMUID O'NEILL, WHO WAS SHOT IN A 1996 POLICE RAID DURING A COUNTERTERRORISM OPERATION.

IN AUGUST A GOVERNMENT INQUIRY BY JUDGE BUTLER INTO THE HANDLING OF DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY HIGHLIGHTED FAILINGS OF THE CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICE (CPS). THE INQUIRY SCRUTINIZED THE SEPARATE CASES OF SHIJI LAPITE AND RICHARD O'BRIEN, WHO BOTH DIED IN POLICE CUSTODY AFTER BEING ARRESTED IN 1994. BUTLER RECOMMENDED THAT ALL DECISIONS IN DEATH IN CUSTODY CASES SHOULD BE MADE BY A CLEARLY IDENTIFIED, SENIOR PERSON; DECISIONS NOT TO PROSECUTE SHOULD BE SENT FOR RECONSIDERATION BY SENIOR TREASURY COUNSEL; AND ALL CASES SHOULD BE SENT TO CENTRAL CASEWORK. HE URGED THE CPS TO CONSIDER PUBLISHING ITS REASONS WHEN IT DECIDED NOT TO PROSECUTE POLICE OFFICERS. INQUEST, WHICH CAMPAIGNS FOR RELATIVES OF PEOPLE WHO DIE IN CUSTODY, URGED THAT A BODY COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT OF THE POLICE BE SET UP TO INVESTIGATE COMPLAINTS INVOLVING OFFICERS.

IN JANUARY 1998 THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED A NEW JUDICIAL INQUIRY INTO THE EVENTS OF JANUARY 30, 1972 -- "BLOODY SUNDAY" -- WHEN 14 UNARMED CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATORS IN LONDONDERRY WERE KILLED BY BRITISH SOLDIERS, BUT FOR WHICH NO MEMBER OF THE SECURITY FORCES WAS HELD ACCOUNTABLE. THE INQUIRY GATHERED TESTIMONY AND EVIDENCE FROM VICTIMS, JOURNALISTS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. CONTROVERSY PLAGUED THE INQUIRY'S PROCEEDINGS, HOWEVER, PARTICULARLY OVER THE ISSUE OF ANONYMITY FOR THE SOLDIERS. THE INQUIRY ORIGINALLY DECIDED NOT TO GRANT ANONYMITY TO SOLDIERS TESTIFYING UNLESS THEY COULD SHOW THEY WERE AT RISK OF REPRISAL. HOWEVER, A JULY 29 DECISION BY THE COURT OF APPEAL UPHELD AN EARLIER DIVISIONAL COURT RULING THAT GRANTED SOLDIERS ANONYMITY IN THE INQUIRY'S PROCEEDINGS. INFORMAL HEARINGS ARE SCHEDULED TO COMMENCE ON SEPTEMBER 27. THE ACTUAL HEARINGS ARE SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 2000.

UNDER THE CRITERIA OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND (SENTENCES) ACT OF 1998, THE GOVERNMENT DETERMINED THAT THE FIVE MAIN PARAMILITARY GROUPS WERE ABIDING BY A CEASE-FIRE. THE TWO REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARY GROUPS OBSERVING A CEASE-FIRE ARE THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA) AND THE IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (INLA). ON THE LOYALIST SIDE, THE THREE GROUPS MAINTAINING A CEASE-FIRE INCLUDE: THE ULSTER DEFENCE ASSOCIATION/ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UDA/UFF), THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF), THE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE (LVF). DESPITE THE FACT THAT THESE GROUPS ARE CONSIDERED TO BE ON CEASE-FIRE, KILLINGS BY BOTH REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUED. IN ADDITION, REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST SPLINTER GROUPS CONTINUED TERRORIST ACTIVITIES DURING 1999.

THE IRA WAS BLAMED FOR FOUR DEATHS DURING 1999. ON JANUARY 27, FORMER IRA MEMBER TURNED INFORMER EAMON COLLINS WAS FOUND DEAD NEAR HIS HOUSE IN NEWRY, COUNTY ARMAGH. ALSO IN NEWRY, TWO REPUTED DRUG DEALERS, BRENDAN "SPEEDY" FEGAN, AND PAUL "BULL" DOWNEY WERE FOUND MURDERED ON MAY 9 AND JUNE 13 RESPECTIVELY. A FOURTH MAN, CHARLES BENNETT, WAS FOUND DEAD IN WEST BELFAST ON JULY 30. THE IRA NEVER COMMENTED ON THESE MURDERS BUT MEDIA REPORTS ATTRIBUTED THE CRIMES TO THEM.

LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES WERE BLAMED FOR THE CAR-BOMB DEATH OF SOLICITOR ROSEMARY NELSON ON MARCH 15. NELSON, A HIGH-PROFILE SOLICITOR, ALLEGED THAT AS EARLY AS 1997 THE RUC MADE DEATH THREATS AGAINST HER. IN SEPTEMBER 1998, NELSON HAD TESTIFIED BEFORE CONGRESS ABOUT THESE THREATS DURING A HEARING ON NORTHERN IRELAND.

COGNIZANT OF THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING NELSON'S CASE, WITHIN DAYS OF THE MURDER THE RUC INVITED THE DETECTIVE CHIEF CONSTABLE OF KENT TO OVERSEE THE MURDER INQUIRY AND REQUESTED INITIAL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE FBI. THE RUC EVENTUALLY APPOINTED THE DEPUTY CHIEF CONSTABLE OF NORFOLK COLIN PORT TO TAKE OVERALL COMMAND OF THE INVESTIGATION IN APRIL.

A WEEK AFTER HER DEATH, A LEAKED REPORT FROM THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION FOR POLICE COMPLAINTS (ICPC) ABOUT THE RUC'S OWN 1997 INVESTIGATION INTO NELSON'S CLAIMS RAISED DOUBTS ABOUT THE RUC'S IMPARTIALITY. THIS REPORT DID NOT ADDRESS THE VERACITY OF NELSON'S ORIGINAL CLAIMS OF DEATH THREATS BY THE RUC. IT DID, HOWEVER, JUDGE THAT THE RUC'S EFFORTS TO INVESTIGATE THOSE CLAIMS WERE INADEQUATE. AFTER LEARNING OF THE ICPC'S INITIAL OBJECTIONS TO THE RUC' HANDLING OF THE

CASE IN 1998, THE CHIEF CONSTABLE OF THE RUC APPOINTED AN OFFICER FROM THE METROPOLITAN POLICE TO TAKE OVER THE INVESTIGATION IN AUGUST 1998. THE ICPC DEEMED THIS OFFICER'S SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATION SATISFACTORY AND FORWARDED IT TO THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS.

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THE RUC'S CONTINUING ROLE IN THE MURDER INQUIRY AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING NELSON'S DEATH HAVE PROMPTED CALLS FROM THE UN SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF JUDGES AND LAWYERS, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, NATIONALIST POLITICIANS, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND LAW SOCIETY FOR AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO NELSON'S MURDER. TO DATE, NO ARRESTS HAVE BEEN MADE.

THOUGH NO GROUP CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY, DISSIDENT LOYALISTS WERE BLAMED FOR THE SHOOTING DEATH OF LOYALIST FRANKIE CURRY ON MARCH 17 IN THE SHANKILL AREA OF BELFAST, AS WELL AS THE PIPE-BOMB MURDER OF PORTADOWN RESIDENT ELIZABETH O'NEILL ON JUNE 5.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND MANY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS CONTINUE TO CALL FOR AN INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION INTO THE DECEMBER 1997 MURDER OF BILLY "KING RAT" WRIGHT, LEADER OF THE LVF, IN MAZE PRISON BY MEMBERS OF THE INLA. WRIGHT'S FATHER INSISTS THAT THE MURDER "WAS STATE ORCHESTRATED AND STATE SANCTIONED." FACTS OF THE MURDER CALL INTO QUESTION THE PRISON'S SECURITY STANDARDS: THE PERPETRATORS WERE HOUSED IN A SEPARATE WING OF THE PRISON, BUT WERE STILL ABLE TO ENTER THE AREA WHERE WRIGHT WAS INCARCERATED. THE PERPETRATORS HAD WEAPONS SMUGGLED TO THEM AND SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF WRIGHT'S MOVEMENTS.

IN MARCH, THE PERSON ARRESTED FOR THE 1997 MURDER OF ROBERT HAMILL IN PORTADOWN WAS ACQUITTED FOR THE KILLING BUT FOUND GUILTY OF A MINOR OFFENSE. HAMILL'S CASE GAINED NOTORIETY BECAUSE BYSTANDERS CLAIMED THAT FOUR RUC OFFICERS IN A LANDROVER NEARBY THE SCENE OF HIS ATTACK DID NOTHING TO ASSIST HAMILL AS HE WAS BEATEN TO DEATH BY A CROWD. THE TRIAL JUDGE EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT THE BEHAVIOR OF THE POLICE, BUT CONCLUDED THAT THEIR EARLY INTERVENTION COULD NOT HAVE SAVED HAMILL. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ARGUE THAT THE RUC HAVE SUCCESSFULLY INTERVENED IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES AND THAT THEIR ABSENCE FROM THE CRIME SCENE MADE PROSECUTION OF THE MURDERERS MORE DIFFICULT.

IN JUNE THE RUC ARRESTED WILLIAM STOBIE FOR INVOLVEMENT IN THE 1989 MURDER OF PATRICK FINUCANE, A RESPECTED LEGAL COUNSEL. THE ARREST WAS A RESULT OF THE THIRD ROUND OF INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATIONS BY THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE, JOHN STEVENS. IN MARCH THE CHIEF CONSTABLE OF THE RUC HAD INVITED STEVENS TO INITIATE ANOTHER INVESTIGATION AS A RESULT OF INFORMATION ABOUT ALLEGATIONS OF SECURITY FORCE COLLUSION IN FINUCANE'S MURDER ORIGINALLY PRESENTED TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE BY A HUMAN RIGHTS

ORGANIZATION. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS ARE CONCERNED THAT STEVENS' TWO PREVIOUS INQUIRIES HAVE NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC, AND CONTINUE TO CALL FOR AN INVESTIGATION INTO EVIDENCE OF COLLUSION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUPS IN FINUCANE'S MURDER.

DURING HIS JUNE COURT APPEARANCE, STOBIE CLAIMED THAT AT THE TIME OF FINUCANE'S DEATH, HE WAS AN RUC INFORMANT AND HAD WARNED THE POLICE OF A "HIT" BY THE UDA, THOUGH IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER OR NOT HE KNEW FINUCANE WAS THE TARGET. STOBIE HAD BEEN ARRESTED ONCE ALREADY IN 1991 FOR A WEAPONS CHARGE FOR WHICH HE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ACQUITTED. THREE OTHER PERSONS WERE ARRESTED DURING THE CURRENT INQUIRY, TWO OF WHOM WERE RELEASED WITHOUT CHARGE, THE THIRD WAS CHARGED WITH MINOR OFFENSES.

IN SEPTEMBER, THE FAMILY OF PETER MCBRIDE WON A JUDICIAL REVIEW AGAINST THE BRITISH ARMY BOARD WHICH ALLOWED SCOTS GUARDS JIM FISHER AND MARK WRIGHT TO REJOIN THEIR REGIMENT. FISHER AND WRIGHT WERE CONVICTED FOR THE 1992 MURDER OF PETER MCBRIDE. BECAUSE OF THE RULING, THE BRITISH ARMY BOARD WILL NOW HAVE TO RECONSIDER ITS DECISION TO REINSTATE THE SOLDIERS.

CORONERS DO NOT HAVE THE POWER TO COMPEL THOSE SUSPECTED OF INVOLVEMENT IN EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLING TO TESTIFY AT INQUESTS, AND THE RELATIVES OF THE DECEASED RECEIVE NO ADVANCE DISCLOSURE OF EVIDENCE. IN NORTHERN IRELAND, CORONERS ARE PERMITTED TO INQUIRE ONLY INTO "HOW"--THAT IS "BY WHAT MEANS"--THE DECEASED DIED, RATHER THAN INTO THE BROAD CIRCUMSTANCES OF DEATH. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ARGUE THAT THIS NARROW DEFINITION SHIELDS WRONGDOERS, INCLUDING SOLDIERS AND POLICE OFFICERS, AND UNNECESSARILY KEEPS FAMILY MEMBERS FROM LEARNING THE TRUTH OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES REGARDING THEIR RELATIVE'S DEATH.

FORMER CHILEAN PRESIDENT AUGUSTO PINOCHET REMAINED DETAINED IN THE UK. IN MARCH THE LAW LORDS, AS THE HIGHEST COURT IN THE UK, DECIDED THAT PINOCHET DID NOT ENJOY IMMUNITY FROM CHARGES OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMES OF TORTURE AND CONSPIRACY TO TORTURE COMMITTED AFTER DECEMBER 8, 1988, WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL TORTURE CONVENTION BECAME BINDING ON SPAIN, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND CHILE. ON OCTOBER 8, MAGISTRATE RONALD BARTLE RULED THAT PINOCHET COULD BE EXTRADITED TO UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 05 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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SPAIN TO STAND TRIAL FOR 35 CHARGES OF TORTURE AND CONSPIRACY TO TORTURE. IF PINOCHET'S LAWYERS CHOOSE NOT TO APPEAL THAT RULING, THE CASE WILL GO TO THE HOME SECRETARY, WHO WILL DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO PROCEED WITH THE EXTRADITION. THE HOME SECRETARY COULD DECIDE NOT TO EXTRADITE ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS, AS PINOCHET IS ELDERLY AND IN BAD HEALTH.

B. DISAPPEARANCE

THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED DISAPPEARANCES.

THE COMMISSION FOR THE LOCATION OF VICTIMS' REMAINS WAS ESTABLISHED JOINTLY BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS IN MAY FOR THE PURPOSE OF FACILITATING THE LOCATION OF REMAINS OF VICTIMS OF PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE. THE COMMISSION OBTAINED INFORMATION FROM THE IRA THAT LED TO THE DISCOVERY IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND OF THE REMAINS OF THREE PERSONS (EAMON MOLLOY, BRIAN MCKINNEY AND JOHN MCCLORY) WHO HAD DISAPPEARED IN THE MID-1970'S. INFORMATION ON THE LOCATION OF OTHER REMAINS PROVED INACCURATE AND IN SEPTEMBER THE COMMISSION DECIDED TO "PAUSE" SEARCHES FOR AN ADDITIONAL TWELVE KNOWN DISAPPEARED TO ALLOW FOR THE IRA TO "RE-EXAMINE" POSSIBLE SITES.

C. TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

THE LAW FORBIDS TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT. HOWEVER, THERE WERE OCCASIONAL REPORTS OF POLICE ABUSE OF DETAINEES. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS REPORT THAT SUCH ABUSE, WHILE NOT WIDESPREAD, IS A MATTER OF SERIOUS CONCERN. THE NGO INQUEST STATES THAT INJURIES AND ILLNESSES RESULT MORE OFTEN FROM NEGLIGENCE OR MISDIAGNOSIS THAN FROM PHYSICAL ATTACK, ALTHOUGH INCIDENTS OF POLICE BRUTALITY HAVE BEEN REPORTED (SEE SECTIONS 1.A AND 5).

DETAINEES WHO CLAIM PHYSICAL MISTREATMENT HAVE THE RIGHT TO AN IMMEDIATE MEDICAL EXAMINATION. A TRIAL JUDGE MUST EXAMINE SUCH A CLAIM. CONFESSIONS OBTAINED BY ABUSIVE TREATMENT ARE NOT ADMISSIBLE IN COURT, AND JUDGES CAN EXCLUDE EVEN VOLUNTARY CONFESSIONS. HOWEVER, HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CLAIM THAT CONFESSIONS OBTAINED BY ABUSIVE TREATMENT ARE REGULARLY FOUND ADMISSIBLE IN THE DIPLOCK COURTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

COMPLAINTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND SOME CRIMINAL CONDUCT WITHIN THE LONDON METROPOLITAN POLICE SERVICE CONTINUED. FEWER THAN A HUNDRED CASES ARE UNDER INVESTIGATION AND THE SERVICE REMAINS COMMITTED TO ROOTING OUT ABUSIVE TREATMENT AND CORRUPTION.

THE POLICE OMBUDSMAN FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WILL REPLACE THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONER FOR POLICE COMPLAINTS, INCLUDING THE SUPERVISION OF POLICE INVESTIGATIONS OF COMPLAINTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND FILED AGAINST THE POLICE, OR REFERRED TO THE COMMISSION BY THE RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE, THE POLICE AUTHORITY, OR THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE. THE OMBUDSMAN AUTOMATICALLY SUPERVISES CASES INVOLVING DEATH OR SERIOUS INJURY, AND CAN DIRECT THE CHIEF CONSTABLE TO BRING CHARGES AGAINST POLICE OFFICERS. UNLIKE THE ICPC WHICH MUST RELY ON THE COMPLAINTS AND DISCIPLINE BRANCH OF THE RUC TO PROVIDE INVESTIGATORS, THE OMBUDSMAN WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO RECRUIT INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATIVE TEAMS. AN OMBUDSMAN IS EXPECTED TO BE APPOINTED IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 1999.

THE COMMISSION REPORTED THAT THROUGH AUGUST IT HAD RECEIVED 1,987 COMPLAINTS. OF THE 1,579 CASES PROCESSED (SOME PENDING FROM PREVIOUS YEARS), INVESTIGATIONS LED TO INFORMAL DISCIPLINARY ACTION IN (TBD) CASES AND TO FORMAL CHARGES IN (TBD) CASES.

THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND

IS SCHEDULED TO GIVE ITS REPORT IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. THROUGH A SERIES OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MEETINGS THROUGHOUT NORTHERN IRELAND, THE COMMISSION GATHERED TESTIMONY IN ORDER TO EVALUATE THE FUTURE OF POLICING STRUCTURES AND ARRANGEMENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE COMMISSION'S GOAL IS TO RECOMMEND PROPOSALS ENSURING THAT THE POLICE SERVICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND ENJOYS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FROM THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. BOTH SIDES OF THE COMMUNITY GENERALLY RECOGNIZED THE EXPERIENCE AND IMPARTIALITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION.

THE INDEPENDENT ASSESSOR OF MILITARY COMPLAINTS CONTINUED COORDINATING INVESTIGATIONS INTO COMPLAINTS OF ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE ARMY. DURING THE FIRST 8 MONTHS OF 1999, 21 FORMAL AND 33 INFORMAL COMPLAINTS WERE RECEIVED, PRIMARILY FOR HARASSMENT OR ABUSE. IN HIS 1998 ANNUAL REPORT, THE INDEPENDENT ASSESSOR EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 06 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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NEITHER THE INDEPENDENT ASSESSOR NOR THE NEW POLICE OMBUDSMAN POSITION HAD OVERSIGHT OVER COMPLAINTS ABOUT SOLDIERS ARRESTING TERRORIST SUSPECTS INDEPENDENTLY FROM THE POLICE.

THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONER FOR HOLDING CENTERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND MADE IRREGULAR, UNANNOUNCED VISITS TO HOLDING CENTERS IN ORDER TO OBSERVE INTERROGATIONS AND INTERVIEW DETAINEES. THERE WERE (TBD) VISITS TO THE 3 NORTHERN IRELAND HOLDING CENTERS IN 1998 BY THE COMMISSIONER AND HIS DEPUTY. THROUGH THE END OF JULY, (TBD) VISITS HAD TAKEN PLACE. THE NUMBER OF ALLEGATIONS, GENERALLY FOR VERBAL HARASSMENT OR "TECHNICAL ASSAULT," HAS DROPPED SUBSTANTIALLY.

POLICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUED THEIR POLICY OF USING PLASTIC BULLETS TO QUELL CIVIL DISTURBANCES. BUT GIVEN THE RELATIVE QUIESCENCE OF 1999'S SUMMER MARCHING SEASON (SEE SECTION 2.D.), ACTUAL USE WAS NEGLIGIBLE. THE RUC REPORTED ONLY ONE PLASTIC BULLET WAS FIRED DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF JULY,, COMPARED WITH 837 IN THE SAME PERIOD DIN 1998 AND 2,510 IN 1997. PARTICULARLY IN CONNECTION WITH VIOLENCE THAT ERUPTED DURING THE SUMMER MARCHING SEASON (SEE SECTION 2.D.). RUC REPORTS INDICATED THAT 837 PLASTIC BULLETS WERE FIRED IN THE FIRST 2 WEEKS OF JULY, COMPARED WITH 2,510 IN THE SAME PERIOD IN 1997. THE RUC REPORTED AN ADDITIONAL FIVE PLASTIC BULLETS WERE FIRED AT MEMBERS OF A CROWD THROWING FIREBOMBS AT POLICE PATROLS IN LURGAN ON AUGUST 14. ACCORDING TO RUC RULES, PLASTIC BULLETS SHOULD BE AIMED BELOW THE RIB CAGE; NEVERTHELESS, MEDICAL STUDIES HAVE CONFIRMED THAT SERIOUS HEAD AND UPPER BODY INJURIES HAVE RESULTED FROM PLASTIC BULLET USE IN THE PAST.

PLASTIC BULLET USE IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS SEVERELY CRITICIZED BY HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, ALTHOUGH THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS RULED IN 1984 THAT USING THEM TO QUELL SERIOUS RIOTS DID NOT CONTRAVENE THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON

HUMAN RIGHTS. THE U.N. COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, AND OTHER NGO'S HAVE CALLED FOR A BAN ON THEIR USE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SAID THAT ALTERNATIVES HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED BUT THAT MOST OPTIONS HAVE BEEN FOUND TO BE EITHER MORE DANGEROUS OR INACCURATE. IN JULY, THE HOME SECRETARY APPROVED GUIDELINES RECOMMENDED BY THE ASSOCIATION OF POLICE OFFICERS ON THE USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS IN PUBLIC ORDER SITUATIONS. THE GUIDELINES DID NOT ELIMINATE THE USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS; BUT IN A CHANGE FROM PAST PRACTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHERE THE RUC WAS PERMITTED TO USE PLASTIC BULLETS TO DEFEND PROPERTY, PRESERVE THE PEACE, OR PREVENT OR DETECT CRIME, THE NEW GUIDELINES SPECIFIED PLASTIC BULLETS WERE TO BE USED ONLY IN CASES OF SERIOUS RISK OF LIFE OR INJURY.

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS CONTINUE TO CALL FOR THE CLOSURE OF ALL HOLDING CENTERS, INCLUDING CASTLEREAGH DETENTION CENTER, BECAUSE OF PERSISTENT COMPLAINTS OF POLICE IMPROPRIETY IN THE INTERROGATION PROCESS. (THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSIONER FOR HOLDING CENTERS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND HAS ALSO RECOMMENDED THE CLOSING OF THE CASTLEREAGH DETENTION CENTER BECAUSE OF THE FACILITY'S POOR PHYSICAL STATE.) IN JANUARY, AUDIO RECORDING EQUIPMENT WAS INTRODUCED TO SUPPLEMENT THE VIDEO RECORDING EQUIPMENT INSTALLED LAST YEAR FOR USE IN INTERROGATION SESSIONS IN ALL THREE NORTHERN IRELAND HOLDING CENTERS. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE CRITICIZED THE FACT THAT THE VIDEO AND AUDIO RECORDINGS ARE NOT PRODUCED THROUGH ONE SYNCHRONIZED SYSTEM AND THEREFORE HAVE DIMINISHED VALUE IN VERIFYING THE CONTENT OF A GIVEN INTERROGATION SESSION.

IN AUGUST, THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS DECIDED NOT TO PRESS CHARGES AGAINST ANY RUC OFFICERS INVOLVED IN THE CASE OF DAVID ADAMS, WHO WAS ASSAULTED DURING HIS ARREST AND INITIAL INCARCERATION AT CASTLEREAGH INTERROGATION CENTRE IN 1994. ADAMS WAS LATER SENTENCED TO 25 YEARS FOR CONSPIRACY TO MURDER. IN 1998, A BELFAST COURT AWARDED 30,000 POUNDS TO ADAMS FOR EXEMPLARY DAMAGES. FOLLOWING THIS COURT DECISION, AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO ADAMS' TREATMENT WAS INITIATED BY THE ASSISTANT CHIEF CONSTABLE OF STRATHCLYDE. ON THE BASIS OF THIS REPORT, THE DPP DECLINED TO PURSUE CHARGES AGAINST ANY OF THE OFFICERS INVOLVED.

THROUGH JUNE 30, THE ARMED FORCES REGISTERED A TOTAL OF 61 FORMAL HARRASSMENT COMPLAINTS. THIS NUMBER REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT DECREASE OVER PAST YEARS. OF THESE, 32 WERE FOR SEXUAL HARASSMENT, 14 FOR RACIAL HARASSMENT, AND 15 FOR BULLYING OR OTHER HARASSMENT. A COMPLAINT PROCEDURE WAS FULLY IMPLEMENTED IN OCTOBER 1997. SERVICE PERSONNEL ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT TO SUBMIT COMPLAINTS TO EMPLOYMENT TRIBUNALS. IN MARCH 1998 THE SERVICES ENTERED INTO A 5-YEAR PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT WITH THE COMMISSION ON RACIAL EQUALITY (CRE) TO PROMOTE RACIAL EQUALITY PRACTICES.

BOTH LOYALIST AND REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARY GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUED TO INTIMIDATE, EXILE AND/OR CARRY OUT

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"PUNISHMENT" ATTACKS. THIS OFTEN WAS CARRIED OUT TO SETTLE SCORES WITHIN PARAMILITARY GROUPS, AND OFTEN, BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY, TARGETED MEMBERS WHO BROKE RANKS. HOWEVER, SUCH ORDERS OF EXPULSION AND VIGILANTE ATTACKS ALSO WERE TARGETED AGAINST THOSE WHO ENGAGED IN SO-CALLED "ANTISOCIAL ACTIVITIES," SUCH AS DRUG DEALING, AND CAR-JACKING. PARAMILITARY GROUPS USED THESE METHODS TO MAINTAIN OR EXTEND THEIR CONTROL AND INFLUENCE IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES.

WHEN A PERSON REFUSES AN EXPULSION ORDER FROM A PARAMILITARY GROUP, THAT INDIVIDUAL IS OFTEN VULNERABLE TO A "PUNISHMENT BEATING" OR SHOOTING. THE ATTACKERS BEAT THEIR VICTIMS WITH IRON PIPES, BASEBALL BATS, SLEDGEHAMMERS, AND SPIKED CLUBS AND SHOOT VICTIMS IN THE KNEES AND LEGS. THROUGH AUGUST 31, THE RUC RECORDED A TOTAL OF 161 CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF PARAMILITARY STYLE ATTACKS. THIS INCLUDES 59 SHOOTINGS (35 LOYALIST, 24 REPUBLICAN) AND 102 ATTEMPTED MURDERS (67 LOYALIST, 35 REPUBLICAN).

PRISON CONDITIONS GENERALLY MET MINIMUM INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS. IN THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF PRISONS' ANNUAL REPORT, PUBLISHED IN APRIL, OVERCROWDING, POOR QUALITY OF LOCAL PRISONS AND PRISON MAINTENANCE WERE IDENTIFIED AS CONTINUING PROBLEMS DESPITE AN INCREASE IN RESOURCES. THE PRISON POPULATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES HAD DECREASED IN JULY BY 1.2 PER CENT OVER THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR. THE HOME DETENTION CURFEW PROGRAM, ADMINISTERED BY THE ELECTRONIC MONITORING UNIT OF THE HOME OFFICE, BEGAN ON JANUARY 28 AND AS OF AUGUST 11, 8,794 OFFENDERS HAVE AVAILED THEMSELVES OF IT. THE PROGRAM IS CONSIDERED A SUCCESS BY THE PRISON SERVICE, WITH FEWER THAN 5 PERCENT RECALLED TO PRISON.

(PARA ON SSU'S REMOVED: INFORMATION FROM THE PRISON SERVICE INDICATES THAT INMATES IN SSU'S ARE NOW PROVIDED WITH DETAILS OF THEIR CASES AND SECURITY CATEGORY, THAT REGULAR HEALTH CHECKS ARE MADE AND HAVE NOT REVEALED DETERIORATION IN THE HEALTH OF THESE PRISONERS AND ONCE THE PRISONER IS NO LONGER CLASSED AS AN "EXCEPTIONAL RISK," S/HE IS MOVED OUT OF THE SSU. THE NGO PRISON REFORM TRUST INFORMED US THAT WHILE IN THEORY PROLONGED INCARCERATION COULD/COULD LEAD TO MENTAL ILLNESS, THERE ARE NO CURRENT CASES.)

SEPARATE AND DISTINCT PRISON REGIMES EXIST FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND, ADMINISTERED THROUGH THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE AND THE SCOTTISH OFFICE.

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN PRISONERS CONTINUES TO RISE. AN AUGUST HOME OFFICE REPORT STATED THAT 20 PER CENT OF ALL CRIME IS NOW COMMITTED BY WOMEN AND THE NUMBER SENT TO PRISON HAS DOUBLED IN SIX YEARS. THE WOMEN'S POLICY GROUP OF THE PRISON SERVICE UNDERTOOK A SPECIAL REVIEW OF THE NEEDS OF MOTHERS IN PRISON AND PUBLISHED ITS FINDINGS IN JULY. ITS LENGTHY LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS WAS BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT A MOTHER AND BABY UNIT IN PRISON IS TO ALLOW THE MOTHER/BABY RELATIONSHIP TO DEVELOP WHILE SAFEGUARDING AND PROMOTING THE CHILD'S WELFARE. AN ACTION PLAN DETAILING THE PRISON SERVICE RESPONSE TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE FALL.

FACED WITH A LARGE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF ASYLUM SEEKERS, THE GOVERNMENT HOUSED APPROXIMATELY HALF OF IMMIGRATION DETAINEES IN REGULAR PRISONS, WHERE THEY WERE NORMALLY HELD SEPARATELY FROM CONVICTED PRISONERS. ACCORDING TO HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, 28 REGULAR PRISONS HOUSE SOME IMMIGRATION

DETAINEES. THE CHIEF INSPECTOR FOR PRISONS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES REPEATEDLY HAS CALLED UPON THE HOME OFFICE TO ESTABLISH SPECIFIC GUIDELINES FOR THE TREATMENT OF ASYLUM SEEKERS IN DETENTION CENTERS AND PRISONS, AS NO SUCH GUIDELINES CURRENTLY EXIST. THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR) AND OTHER GROUPS CITE A LACK OF SPECIALIZED SKILLS AMONG REGULAR PRISON OFFICIALS IN DEALING WITH IMMIGRATION DETAINEES. THE UNHCR REGULARLY VISITS DETENTION CENTERS AND HAS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND DETENTION CENTER OFFICIALS; HOWEVER, IT CRITICIZES THE GOVERNMENT'S "EXPECTATION OF NONCOMPLIANCE" BY ASYLUM SEEKERS.

THE PRISON SERVICE STATED THAT 3 PRISONERS WERE CONVICTED IN THE UK IN MAY OF OFFENSES RELATED TO THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE REQUESTS BY ALL THREE FOR REPATRIATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION. SINCE THE PRISONERS COMMITTED THEIR OFFENSES AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, THEY ARE NOT COVERED BY ITS PROVISIONS.

THE GOVERNMENT PERMITS HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS TO VISIT PRISONS AND IMMIGRATION DETENTION CENTERS.

D. ARBITRARY ARREST, DETENTION, OR EXILE

THE AUTHORITIES CAN AND OFTEN DO MAKE ARRESTS OR DETAIN SUSPECTS WITHOUT JUDICIAL WARRANTS, ESPECIALLY IN NORTHERN UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 08 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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IRELAND, WHEN THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE REASONABLE CAUSE TO SUSPECT WRONGDOING. THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER ACT OF 1994 ALLOWS POLICE OFFICERS TO STOP AND SEARCH VEHICLES AND PEDESTRIANS IF A POLICE OFFICER OF AT LEAST SUPERINTENDENT RANK (OR A CHIEF INSPECTOR IF NO SUPERINTENDENT IS AVAILABLE) "REASONABLY BELIEVES" IT IS EXPEDIENT TO DO SO TO PREVENT ACTS OF VIOLENCE. THE AUTHORIZATION IS LIMITED TO A 24-HOUR PERIOD, BUT IS RENEWABLE UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE 1991 NORTHERN IRELAND EMERGENCY PROVISIONS ACT (EPA) PERMITS A SOLDIER ON DUTY, A MEMBER OF THE ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT, OR A POLICE OFFICER, TO ARREST AND DETAIN FOR UP TO 4 HOURS "A PERSON WHO HE HAS REASONABLE GROUNDS TO SUSPECT IS COMMITTING OR IS ABOUT TO COMMIT ANY OFFENSE."

THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM (TEMPORARY PROVISIONS) ACT (PTA) ALLOWS THE POLICE TO ARREST WITHOUT A WARRANT ANYWHERE IN THE UK PERSONS THEY HAVE REASON TO SUSPECT OF BEING INVOLVED IN TERRORISM. THE AUTHORITIES MAY DETAIN SUCH PERSONS (EVEN THOSE UNDER THE AGE OF 18) FOR UP TO 48 HOURS WITHOUT LEGAL REPRESENTATION OR JUDICIAL REVIEW. SUSPECTS MAY BE INTERROGATED DURING THIS TIME, AND CONFESSIONS OBTAINED MAY BE USED IN SUBSEQUENT COURT PROCEEDINGS. UNDER THE PTA, DETAINEES ARE GRANTED THE RIGHT TO HAVE LAWYERS PRESENT DURING INTERROGATION IN ENGLAND OR WALES, BUT NOT IN

NORTHERN IRELAND. DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE MAY BE EXTENDED UP TO A FURTHER 5 DAYS ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE HOME SECRETARY, OR IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. EXTENSIVE PTA DETENTION POWERS WERE HELD IN BREACH OF THE ECHR, WHICH LED TO A DEROGATION BY THE GOVERNMENT IN 1988 (SEE SECTION 1.E.).

THE PTA IS THE MOST REVIEWED PIECE OF LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES SUSPECTS ARRESTED WITHOUT WARRANTS MUST BE RELEASED WITHIN 24 HOURS (OR 36 HOURS IF A SERIOUS OFFENSE IS INVOLVED) UNLESS BROUGHT BEFORE A MAGISTRATES' COURT. THE COURT MAY AUTHORIZE EXTENSION OF DETENTION BY 36 HOURS, AND ON FURTHER APPLICATION BY ANOTHER 24 HOURS, VERSUS THE 48-HOUR SCHEME EXTANT IN NORTHERN IRELAND (SEE SECTION 1.E.).

DEFENDANTS AWAITING TRIAL HAVE A STATUTORY RIGHT TO BAIL UNLESS THERE IS A RISK THAT THEY WOULD ABSCOND, COMMIT AN OFFENSE, INTERFERE WITH WITNESSES, OR OTHERWISE OBSTRUCT THE COURSE OF JUSTICE, OR UNLESS THEY WERE ON BAIL WHEN THE ALLEGED OFFENSE WAS COMMITTED. DEFENDANTS WHO ARE REMANDED IN CUSTODY ARE PROTECTED BY STATUTORY CUSTODY TIME LIMITS, WHICH RESTRICT THE PERIOD FOR WHICH THEY CAN BE HELD WHILE AWAITING TRIAL TO A MAXIMUM OF 182 DAYS, UNLESS THE COURT GRANTS AN EXTENSION. AS OF JULY 31, A TOTAL OF 23,276 DEFENDANTS WERE AWAITING TRIAL, OF WHOM 5,843 WERE IN CUSTODY. OF THOSE IN CUSTODY, 4,975 HAD BEEN AWAITING TRIAL FOR LESS THAN 24 WEEKS, WHILE 197 HAD BEEN WAITING LONGER THAN 48 WEEKS. THESE STATISTICS ARE SLIGHTLY LOWER THAN THE COMPARABLE 1998 AND 1997 STATISTICS. THE CRIME AND DISORDER ACT (1998) INCLUDES MEASURES TO REDUCE DELAYS IN CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS BY INTRODUCING PROCEDURAL REFORMS AND MAKING BETTER PROVISION FOR LIMITING THE TIME ALLOWED FOR THE PROSECUTION OF CASES.

THE LAW GIVES ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION POWER TO IMMIGRATION OFFICERS. THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT TO SUCH DETENTION AND NO RIGHT TO HAVE IT REVIEWED BY A COURT. AT ANY GIVEN TIME, 750 TO 800 ASYLUM SEEKERS ARE DETAINED (APPROXIMATELY 2 PERCENT OF ALL ASYLUM SEEKERS), EITHER IN IMMIGRATION DETENTION CENTERS, REGULAR PRISONS (WHERE THEY ARE HELD SEPARATELY FROM CONVICTED PRISONERS), OR OCCASIONALLY POLICE CELLS IF FOR NO MORE THAN 48 HOURS AND PENDING REMOVAL FROM THE UK OR TRANSFER TO ANOTHER ACCOMMODATION (SEE SECTION 1.C.). OF THE DETAINEES, 35 PERCENT ARE HELD FOR LESS THAN 1 MONTH, 20 PERCENT FOR 1 TO 2 MONTHS, 34 PERCENT FOR 2 TO 6 MONTHS, 9 PERCENT FOR 6 TO 12 MONTHS, AND 2 PERCENT FOR OVER 12 MONTHS. UNLIKE THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMINAL OFFENSES, ASYLUM SEEKERS ARE GIVEN NO WRITTEN STATEMENT ABOUT WHY THEY WERE DETAINED, ALTHOUGH THE PRACTICE IS TO PROVIDE THEM WITH UPDATES ON THE STATUS OF THEIR CLAIMS AND THE TIME REQUIRED FOR THEIR ADJUDICATION. ASYLUM SEEKERS DO NOT HAVE AN AUTOMATIC RIGHT TO APPLY FOR BAIL, AND BAIL APPLICATION, WHICH CAN BE MADE TO IMMIGRATION APPELLATE AUTHORITIES, REQUIRES A RELATIVELY HIGH LEVEL OF SURETY. THE HOME OFFICE STATES THAT DETENTION IS AUTHORIZED ONLY WHERE THERE ARE GOOD GROUNDS TO ANTICIPATE NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THE TERMS OF TEMPORARY ADMISSION, AND THAT THE PRACTICE DOES NOT AFFECT MORE THAN APPROXIMATELY 1.5 PERCENT OF ASYLUM SEEKERS AT ANY GIVEN TIME.

THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT PRACTICE EXILE (ALSO SEE SECTION 2.D.).

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PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUED TO THREATEN INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES TO COMPEL THEM TO LEAVE THE PROVINCE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO GET AN ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT NORTHERN IRELAND UNDER THREAT FROM A PARAMILITARY GROUP. ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE EXILED SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT RANGE AS HIGH AS 800. A LOCAL VOLUNTARY AGENCY WHICH ASSISTS MANY OF THOSE UNDER THREAT REPORTED 314 CASES THROUGH JUNE 1999. OF THOSE CASES, 71 LEFT THE IMMEDIATE AREA OF THREAT, 38 LEFT THEIR CITY OF RESIDENCE AND 29 LEFT NORTHERN IRELAND. IN 80 CASES, FURTHER INVESTIGATION REVEALED THAT NO THREAT EXISTED, AND IN 17 CASES INTERVENTION BY THE AGENCY LIFTED THE THREAT. OVER HALF OF THESE CASES WERE OVER THE AGE OF 25, MOST WERE UNEMPLOYED.

E. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

THE JUDICIARY IS INDEPENDENT AND PROVIDES CITIZENS WITH A GENERALLY FAIR AND EFFICIENT JUDICIAL PROCESS.

THE UK HAS SEVERAL LEVELS OF COURTS. THE VAST MAJORITY OF CRIMINAL CASES ARE HEARD BY MAGISTRATES' COURTS, WHICH ARE MANAGED BY LOCALLY BASED COMMITTEES. THEIR DECISIONS MAY BE APPEALED TO THE CROWN COURT, WHICH ALSO HEARS CRIMINAL CASES REQUIRING A JURY TRIAL, OR TO THE HIGH COURT. CROWN COURT CONVICTIONS MAY BE APPEALED TO THE COURT OF APPEAL, WHICH MAY IN TURN REFER CASES INVOLVING POINTS OF LAW TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS. THE APPELLATE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS (WHICH CONSISTS OF SENIOR JUDGES AND IS FUNCTIONALLY DISTINCT FROM THE LEGISLATIVE ARM) IS THE FINAL COURT OF APPEAL. THE CRIMINAL CASES REVIEW COMMISSION (CCRC) OPERATES AS AN ADDITIONAL APPELLATE BODY TO INVESTIGATE SUSPECTED MISCARRIAGES OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND NORTHERN IRELAND. IT CONSIDERS CASES AFTER THE JUDICIAL APPEALS PROCESS HAS BEEN EXHAUSTED AND WHERE THERE IS SIGNIFICANT NEW EVIDENCE THAT CASTS DOUBT ON THE CONVICTION. IN SCOTLAND SIMILAR APPEALS MAY BE MADE TO THE SCOTTISH OFFICE.

THE LAW PROVIDES FOR A FAIR TRIAL, AND THE AUTHORITIES RESPECT AND ENFORCE THE LAW IN THIS REGARD. DEFENDANTS ENJOY A PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY, THE RIGHT TO QUESTION WITNESSES AGAINST THEM, AND THE RIGHT TO APPEAL TO SUCCESSIVELY HIGHER COURTS.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT OF 1998 WILL TAKE EFFECT IN OCTOBER 2000, BRINGING THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTO BRITISH LAW (SEE SECTION 5). UNDER THIS ACT ALL PUBLIC BODIES MUST ACT IN A MANNER COMPATIBLE WITH THE CONVENTION. THE ACT ALLOWS BRITISH CITIZENS TO TAKE ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE CONVENTION INTO BRITISH COURTS. THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS DEROGATED ARTICLE 5(3) OF THE CONVENTION, DEALING WITH PROMPT RESOLUTION OF A CASE AFTER ARREST OR DETENTION. THE

DEROGATION, WHICH ALSO APPLIES TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT, IS CRITICIZED BY NGO'S.

TO DATE, NO ONE IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS BEEN ARRESTED OR DETAINED UNDER THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE (TERRORISM AND CONSPIRACY) ACT OF 1998. UNDER THE NEW LEGISLATION, THE TESTIMONY OF A SENIOR POLICE OFFICER MAY BE INTRODUCED AS PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE OF A SUSPECT'S MEMBERSHIP IN A PROSCRIBED TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. THE ACT ALSO INTRODUCES PROVISIONS CRIMINALIZING A CONSPIRACY CONDUCTED WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM TO COMMIT TERRORIST ACTS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. THE ACT ALSO ALLOWS FOR THE SEIZURE OF PROPERTY OF A PERSON CONVICTED OF MEMBERSHIP OFFENSES UNDER THE ACT, IF USED IN FURTHERANCE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE ACT VIOLATES CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, SUCH AS THE RIGHT TO SILENCE AND THE RIGHTS TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION.

UNDER THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER ACT OF 1994, JUDGES HAVE THE POWER TO INSTRUCT JURIES THAT THEY MAY DRAW AN INFERENCE OF GUILT FROM A DEFENDANT'S REFUSAL TO ANSWER QUESTIONS DURING INTERROGATION OR TRIAL, ALTHOUGH NO CONVICTION CAN BE BASED SOLELY ON SUCH AN INFERENCE. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND THE U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE SHARPLY CRITICIZE THIS PROVISION, WHICH THEY CONSIDER AN ABROGATION OF THE RIGHT AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION. A SIMILAR PROVISION IS IN EFFECT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

BASED ON THE 1996 EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS JUDGMENT IN MURRAY V. UK, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL WILL INTRODUCE LEGISLATION PROHIBITING THE DRAWING OF INFERENCES FROM SILENCE WHEN A SUSPECT IS QUESTIONED BEFORE BEING PERMITTED TO CONSULT AN ATTORNEY.

INDIGENT DEFENDERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREE COUNSEL OF THEIR CHOICE, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS. CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS MUST BE HELD IN PUBLIC EXCEPT THOSE IN JUVENILE COURT AND THOSE INVOLVING PUBLIC DECENCY OR SECURITY. IN A TRIAL UNDER THE UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 10 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT, THE JUDGE MAY ORDER THE COURT CLOSED, BUT SENTENCING MUST BE PUBLIC.

IN NORTHERN IRELAND, SPECIAL "EMERGENCY" RESTRICTIONS AFFECT DUE PROCESS. UNDER THE NORTHERN IRELAND EMERGENCY PROVISIONS ACT OF 1991 (EPA), TRIALS FOR CERTAIN TERRORIST-RELATED OFFENSES ARE AUTOMATICALLY TRIED IN "DIPLOCK COURTS" WITHOUT A JURY UNLESS THEY ARE SPECIFICALLY "SCHEDULED OUT" TO ORDINARY JURY COURTS. DIPLOCK COURTS WERE ESTABLISHED TO AVOID CASES BEING HEARD BY JURIES THAT MIGHT MAKE DECISIONS ALONG SECTARIAN LINES, AS WELL AS TO PROTECT JURORS FROM INTIMIDATION BY TERRORISTS. IF JUDGES DECIDE TO CONVICT, THEY MUST JUSTIFY THE DECISION IN A DOCUMENT THAT BECOMES PART OF THE COURT RECORD. AN APPELLATE COURT MAY OVERTURN THE DECISION ON EITHER FACTUAL OR LEGAL GROUNDS. THROUGH

AUGUST, (TBD) PERSONS HAD BEEN TRIED IN DIPLOCK COURTS; (TBD) EITHER PLED OR WERE FOUND GUILTY. THE DIPLOCK COURTS HAVE BEEN WIDELY CRITICIZED BY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, AS WELL AS VARIOUS U.N. COMMITTEES. THE 1998 EPA INCREASED THE NUMBER OF SCHEDULED OFFENSES WHICH MAY BE ASSIGNED AT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S DISCRETION, FOR TRIAL BY JURY. THIS SHOULD REDUCE THE NUMBER OF CASES CONSIDERED BY DIPLOCK COURTS.

THE EPA DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE USE OF UNCORROBORATED CONFESSIONS, WHICH IN NORTHERN IRELAND MAY, AND HAVE BEEN, USED AS THE SOLE BASIS FOR CONVICTION. ADDITIONALLY, THE EPA PERMITS POLICE TO PREVENT ANY SUSPECTED TERRORIST FROM CONTACTING LEGAL COUNSEL FOR UP TO 48 HOURS AFTER ARREST UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, AT THE REQUEST OF A POLICE OFFICER WITH THE MINIMUM RANK OF SUPERINTENDENT. AFTER A DETAINEE HAS ASKED TO SEE A LAWYER AND HAS DONE SO, THIS PERIOD IS RENEWABLE IN SUBSEQUENT 48-HOUR PERIODS UNTIL THE DETAINEE IS CHARGED OR RELEASED. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE CRITICIZED THESE PROVISIONS, ARGUING THAT A DETAINEE IS MOST LIKELY TO NEED COUNSEL IN THE FIRST FEW HOURS; LACK OF COUNSEL DURING THAT TIME MAKES FALSE OR COERCED CONFESSIONS AND DETAINEE ABUSE MORE LIKELY. ACCORDING TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE, THROUGH JUNE 305 REQUESTS FOR ACCESS TO LAWYERS WERE MADE, ONLY 3 OF WHICH WERE DELAYED.

THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURES AND INVESTIGATIONS ACT OF 1996 REDUCED DEFENSE LAWYER'S ACCESS TO POTENTIAL EVIDENCE HELD BY THE PROSECUTION, INCLUDING INFORMATION AS TO HOW THE EVIDENCE WAS COLLECTED. ACCORDING TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, THIS PRACTICE MAY BE CONTRARY TO U.N. GUIDELINES ON THE ROLE OF PROSECUTORS.

LAWYERS GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND ELSEWHERE HAVE EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THREATS OF DEATH AND SERIOUS PHYSICAL INJURY DIRECTED AGAINST DEFENSE LAWYERS BY PRISON GUARDS, RELAYED TO THEM BY THEIR PRISONER/CLIENTS. SOLICITORS CONTINUE TO LODGE COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE RUC BUT SAY THAT LITTLE IS DONE TO ADDRESS THEIR COMPLAINTS.

IN JANUARY, THE UN SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF LAWYERS AND JUDGES ISSUED A FOLLOW-UP TO HIS MARCH 1998 REPORT, CALLING UPON THE GOVERNMENT TO CONDUCT AN INDEPENDENT AND IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE MURDER OF SOLICITOR PATRICK FINUCANE. THE UN SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ALSO ACCUSED THE RUC OF "COMPLETE INDIFFERENCE" TO ALLEGATIONS OF LAWYER HARASSMENT AND REITERATED HIS CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE OF MILITARY AND/OR RUC COLLUSION IN FINUCANE'S MURDER.

IN HIS APRIL PRESENTATION OF THE JANUARY 1999 REPORT TO THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, THE UN SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT THE RUC'S IMPARTIALITY IN INVESTIGATING ROSEMARY NELSON'S MURDER, AND FURTHER STRESSED HIS RECOMMENDATION FOR AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO PATRICK FINUCANE'S MURDER.

THE PREVIOUS MARCH 1998 REPORT RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT CONDUCT INDEPENDENT AND IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATIONS OF ALL THREATS TO LEGAL COUNSEL AND, WHERE THERE IS A SPECIFIC PHYSICAL THREAT, THAT IT PROVIDE THE NECESSARY PROTECTION, INVESTIGATE THE THREAT AND BRING THE GUILTY PARTY TO JUSTICE. THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT LAWYERS LODGE FORMAL COMPLAINTS, THAT THE RUC ORGANIZE TRAINING SEMINARS FOR POLICE OFFICERS, AND THAT THE BAR

COUNCIL AND THE LAW SOCIETY BE MORE VOCAL IN THEIR DEFENSE OF SOLICITORS WHO HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO HARASSMENT AND INTIMIDATION, ENTERING INTO DIALOGUE WITH THE RUC ON HOW BEST TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEM.

IN RESPONSE TO THE UN SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR'S APRIL PRESENTATION, THE CHIEF CONSTABLE DENIED THE RUC WAS INDIFFERENT TO THE ALLEGATIONS OF COLLUSION AND STATED THAT UPON RECEIPT OF THE COMPLAINTS MENTIONED IN THE REPORT, HE APPROACHED THE LAW SOCIETY OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO OPEN A CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION.

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THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

F. ARBITRARY INTERFERENCE WITH PRIVACY, FAMILY, HOME, OR CORRESPONDENCE

WARRANTS NORMALLY ARE REQUIRED FOR A POLICE SEARCH OF PRIVATE PREMISES. HOWEVER, UNDER THE 1991 EPA MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES OR POLICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND MAY ENTER AND SEARCH "ANY PREMISES FOR THE PURPOSE OF ARRESTING A PERSON FOR AN ARRESTABLE OFFENSE, BUT ONLY IF HE OR SHE HAS REASONABLE GROUNDS FOR BELIEVING THAT THE PERSON BEING SOUGHT IS ON THE PREMISES." THE NORTHERN IRELAND COURTS HAVE INTERPRETED THE REQUIREMENT FOR "REASONABLE" GROUNDS BROADLY. THE GOVERNMENT COMPENSATES PEOPLE WHOSE HOUSES AND/OR PROPERTY HAVE BEEN DAMAGED DURING HOUSE SEARCHES.

THE FEAR OF INTERCOMMUNAL VIOLENCE HAS, OVER THE YEARS, LEAD TO A PATTERN OF INCREASINGLY SEGREGATED COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC FAMILIES HAVE MOVED AWAY FROM MIXED OR BORDER NEIGHBORHOODS. THIS PATTERN CONTINUED DESPITE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT'S HOPE FOR A MORE NORMAL SOCIETY.

IN NORTHERN IRELAND, PARAMILITARY GROUPS HAVE ATTACKED AND THREATENED TO ATTACK THE HOMES AND FAMILIES OF POLICE AND POLITICIANS (SEE SECTIONS 1.A. AND 1.C.).

SECTION 2 RESPECT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING:

A. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

STRONGLY HELD COMMON-LAW TRADITION, AN INDEPENDENT PRESS, AND A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM COMBINE TO SECURE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS. VIEWPOINTS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE WELL REPRESENTED. THE PRINT MEDIA ARE DOMINATED BY A HANDFUL OF NATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPERS, ALL PRIVATELY OWNED AND INDEPENDENT (THOUGH OFTEN GENERALLY ALIGNED WITH A POLITICAL PARTY). ABOUT HALF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ARE RUN BY THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC), WHICH IS FUNDED BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT ENJOYS COMPLETE EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE. CORPORATIONS UNDER RENEWABLE GOVERNMENT LICENSE RUN THE REMAINDER.

PRESS ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS CONTINUED TO CRITICIZE THE 1981 CONTEMPT OF COURT ACT, WHICH ALLOWS COURTS TO ORDER A JOURNALIST TO DISCLOSE A SOURCE IF IT IS DEEMED TO BE IN THE INTERESTS OF JUSTICE. THE POLICE AND CRIMINAL EVIDENCE ACT (PACE) OF 1984 ALSO CONTAINS PROVISIONS THAT COMPEL JOURNALISTS TO GIVE EVIDENCE IN CASES WHERE POLICE CAN PROVE IT IS NECESSARY TO THEIR INVESTIGATION. THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT, ANOTHER LAW CITED BY JOURNALISTS AS UNDULY RESTRICTIVE, PROHIBITS THE DEFENSE THAT THE INFORMATION IS ALREADY IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN OR THAT ITS PUBLICATION IS IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

A DECEMBER 1997 WHITE PAPER (A PROPOSED POLICY PAPER DRAFTED IN PREPARATION FOR LEGISLATION) ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ASSERTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD INTRODUCE LEGISLATION THAT WOULD ALLOW WIDESPREAD PUBLIC ACCESS TO OFFICIAL INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTS, REQUIRE PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS TO REGULARLY PUBLICIZE DATA, AND IMPROVE INDIVIDUAL ACCESS TO PERSONAL INFORMATION. IN MAY THE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED ITS DRAFT FREEDOM OF INFORMATION BILL. MP'S, NGO'S, THE PRESS AND CAMPAIGNERS FOR FREEDOM OF INFORMATION WIDELY CRITICIZED THE BILL, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE NUMBER OF BLANKET EXEMPTIONS ON RELEASE OF INFORMATION. PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY OF THE BILL BEGAN IN LATE JUNE AS PART OF A CONSULTATION PROCESS BEFORE THE PLANNED NOVEMBER RELEASE OF THE BILL. IN JULY TWO SELECT COMMITTEE REPORTS CALLED FOR SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS TO THE BILL.

IN CONNECTION TO THE PATRICK FINUCANE INVESTIGATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, LOCAL NEWSPAPER EDITOR ED MOLONEY WAS ORDERED BY A BELFAST COURT TO TURN OVER NOTES FROM A 1990 INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM STOBIE, WHO WAS CHARGED IN JUNE WITH THE MURDER OF FINUCANE. MOLONEY HAS REFUSED AND IS THEREFORE FACING A CHARGE OF CONTEMPT OF COURT AND OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE, CHARGES WHICH CARRY A POSSIBLE FIVE-YEAR PRISON TERM. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE DECRIED THIS INTRUSION INTO A JOURNALIST'S RIGHT TO PROTECT HIS SOURCES.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IS RESPECTED.

B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

THE LAW PROVIDES FOR THE RIGHT OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION. THAT RIGHT IS LIMITED WHERE IT WOULD IMPOSE A COST ON PUBLIC CONVENIENCE.

IN NORTHERN IRELAND THE ANNUAL "MARCHING SEASON" POSED SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS FOR THE GOVERNMENT AS THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY CONFLICTED WITH THE CONCERNS OF LOCAL RESIDENTS IN UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 12 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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SOME COMMUNITIES WHO PERCEIVED THE MARCHES AS THE CELEBRATION OF PROTESTANT "TRIUMPHS" IN HISTORICAL BATTLES. THE PUBLIC PROCESSIONS (NORTHERN IRELAND) ACT 1998 TRANSFERRED RESPONSIBILITY FOR RULING ON DISPUTED PARADES

FROM THE RUC TO THE NEWLY ESTABLISHED PARADES COMMISSION. OF THE 3,200 PARADES HELD IN 1999, THE PARADES COMMISSION IMPOSED ROUTE RESTRICTIONS ON 203; 38 OF THOSE PARADES WERE RELATED TO THE DRUMCREE SITUATION.

THOUGH TENSIONS RAN HIGH DURING THE LEAD-UP TO THE DRUMCREE PARADE IN PORTADOWN ON JULY 4, THE MASSIVE SECURITY PRESENCE AND RESTRAINT AND USE OF PARADE MARSHALS AMONG THE MARCHERS ALLOWED THE PARADE TO PASS OFF RELATIVELY PEACEFULLY. INDEED, MOST OF THE SUMMER MARCHING SEASON WAS QUIET WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF THE APPRENTICE BOY'S SIEGE OF DERRY PARADE ON AUGUST 14. DURING ONE OF THE FEEDER PARADES IN BELFAST, POLICE STRUGGLED WITH PROTESTERS WHO REFUSED TO END A SIT-DOWN PROTEST ACROSS THE PATH OF AN APPRENTICE BOYS MARCH. TROUBLE CONTINUED LATER THAT DAY IN LONDONDERRY, WHEN SECURITY FORCES AND NATIONALIST PROTESTERS CLASHED DURING A SECURITY OPERATION DESIGNED TO SEPARATE NATIONALIST CROWDS AND PROTESTANT MARCHERS. IN THE LATE EVENING, LONG AFTER THE PARADE HAD ENDED, SEVERAL BUSINESSES IN THE CITY CENTER WERE LOOTED AND BURNED.

UNDER THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MAY PROSCRIBE ANY ORGANIZATION THAT IS INVOLVED IN, PROMOTES, OR ENCOURAGES TERRORISM CONNECTED TO NORTHERN IRELAND. MEMBERSHIP IN PROSCRIBED PARAMILITARY GROUPS IS PUNISHABLE BY UP TO 10 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. SUPPORTING PARAMILITARY GROUPS IS ALSO AN IMPRISONABLE OFFENSE, AS IS WEARING CLOTHING THAT AROUSES A REASONABLE SUSPICION THAT THE WEARER BELONGS TO OR SUPPORTS A PROSCRIBED ORGANIZATION. THOUGH SOME HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS DO NOT OBJECT TO THE LAW, OTHERS ARGUE THAT IT VIOLATES THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND EXPRESSION.

#### C. FREEDOM OF RELIGION

GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND GENERAL PRACTICE ENSURE FREEDOM OF RELIGION FOR TRADITIONAL AND NONTRADITIONAL WORSHIPPERS. DESPITE THE EXISTENCE OF STATE RELIGIONS (THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND), MEMBERS OF ALL FAITHS AND DENOMINATIONS ENJOY FREEDOM OF WORSHIP. EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION ON RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL GROUNDS IS OUTLAWED SPECIFICALLY IN NORTHERN IRELAND, ALTHOUGH NOT IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY. THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THEIR FREEDOM TO WORSHIP HAS BEEN ABROGATED HAVE THE RIGHT TO APPEAL TO THE COURTS FOR RELIEF.

THE EDUCATION REFORM ACT (1988) REQUIRES THAT GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS HOLD A DAILY ACT OF NONDENOMINATIONAL CHRISTIAN WORSHIP. A PARENTAL RIGHT OF WITHDRAWAL EXISTS FOR CHILDREN WHO DO NOT WISH TO PARTICIPATE AND SAFEGUARDS EXIST FOR TEACHERS WHO DO NOT WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN OR CONDUCT RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. THE ACT PROVIDES FOR ALTERNATIVE COLLECTIVE WORSHIP FOR OTHER FAITHS. TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS HAVE CALLED FOR GOVERNMENT REVIEW OF THE ACT.

#### D. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL, EMIGRATION, AND REPATRIATION

CITIZENS ENJOY FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND IN FOREIGN TRAVEL, EMIGRATION, AND REPATRIATION. IN 1997 THE HOME SECRETARY REVOKED ALL EXCLUSION ORDERS PREVENTING INDIVIDUALS LINKED TO TERRORISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND FROM TRAVELING TO GREAT BRITAIN. WHEN THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT WAS RENEWED IN 1998, IT DID NOT INCLUDE

PROVISIONS FOR EXCLUSION ORDERS. HOWEVER, THE HOME SECRETARY HAS THE POWER TO ACTIVATE DORMANT STATUTES IMPLEMENTING EXCLUSION ORDERS AT ANY TIME.

THE GOVERNMENT COOPERATES CLOSELY WITH THE UNHCR AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN ASSISTING REFUGEES. FIRST ASYLUM IS PROVIDED UNDER A TEMPORARY PROTECTION PROCESS STARTED IN 1992. THE NUMBER OF ASYLUM SEEKERS ENTERING BRITAIN RISES ON A MONTHLY BASIS AND IN AUGUST 64,770 APPLICATIONS WERE OUTSTANDING. UNDER THE FIRST ASYLUM PROGRAM, SUCCESSFUL APPLICANTS ARE GIVEN 6 MONTHS' "LEAVE TO ENTER THE COUNTRY" ON ARRIVAL. THEY THEN CAN APPLY FOR AN AUTOMATIC 3 1/2-YEAR EXTENSION OF THEIR STAY AND MAY APPLY FOR REFUGEE STATUS AT ANY TIME. SUCH APPLICATIONS ARE CONSIDERED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CRITERIA SET OUT IN THE 1951 U.N. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES. SOME ASYLUM SEEKERS ARE DETAINED WHILE THE GOVERNMENT REVIEWS THEIR CASES (SEE SECTION 1.D.); SOME ARE DETAINED IN REGULAR PRISONS (SEE SECTION 1.C.).

THE ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1996 BROADENED THE RIGHT OF APPEAL FOR FAILED ASYLUM SEEKERS, INTRODUCED PROVISIONS TO DETER ABUSIVE ASYLUM APPLICANTS AND ILLEGAL ENTRANTS, AND UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 13 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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IMPOSED RESTRICTIONS ON PEOPLE SUBJECT TO IMMIGRATION CONTROL TAKING UP EMPLOYMENT AND SEEKING HOUSING AND SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS.

FOLLOWING ON ITS 1998 WHITE PAPER, THE GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED ITS IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM BILL IN FEBRUARY TO MODERNIZE AND INTEGRATE THE IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM SYSTEM. AMONG OTHER PROVISIONS, IT WILL STREAMLINE THE RIGHT OF APPEAL AND CREATE NEW SUPPORT ARRANGEMENTS FOR ASYLUM SEEKERS, STRENGTHEN IMMIGRATION LAW ENFORCEMENT POWERS, AND REFORM DETENTION ARRANGEMENTS.

THERE WERE NO REPORTS THAT PERSONS WERE FORCED TO RETURN TO COUNTRIES WHERE THEY FEARED PERSECUTION.

SECTION 3 RESPECT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS: THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT

CITIZENS HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT AND FREELY EXERCISE THAT RIGHT. THE GOVERNMENT IS FORMED ON THE BASIS OF A MAJORITY OF SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, WHICH ARE CONTESTED IN ELECTIONS HELD AT INTERVALS NOT LONGER THAN 5 YEARS.

PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IS OPEN TO ALL PERSONS AND PARTIES. ALL CITIZENS 18 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER MAY VOTE. AS IN THE REST OF THE UK, NORTHERN IRELAND HAS CITY AND DISTRICT COUNCILS, BUT WITH FEWER POWERS. ENGLAND AND WALES ALSO HAVE COUNTY COUNCILS. THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT AND THE WELSH ASSEMBLY OPENED ON JULY 1. THESE DEVOLVED BODIES ASSUMED CONTROL OVER MATTERS OF REGIONAL

IMPORTANCE SUCH AS EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. IN NORTHERN IRELAND, NEGOTIATIONS ARE ONGOING TO FORM AN EXECUTIVE TO THE NEW ASSEMBLY. DEVOLUTION WILL FOLLOW ONCE THE EXECUTIVE IS FORMED.

BRITISH DEPENDENT TERRITORIES HAVE SMALL POPULATIONS (ABOUT 160,000 PERSONS IN TOTAL), WITH APPOINTED GOVERNORS OR ADMINISTRATORS ASSISTED BY EXECUTIVE COUNCILS (USUALLY APPOINTED), AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES OR COUNCILS (PARTLY ELECTED).

WOMEN AND MINORITIES FACE NO LEGAL CONSTRAINTS ON VOTING OR HOLDING OFFICE. WOMEN CONSTITUTE 18 PERCENT OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND NEARLY 8 PERCENT OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS. SEVENTEEN MEMBERS OF MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS SERVE IN PARLIAMENT. (NEEDS UPDATE)

SECTION 4 GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NONGOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

A WIDE VARIETY OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS OPERATE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT RESTRICTION, INVESTIGATING AND PUBLISHING THEIR FINDINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AND CASES. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE GENERALLY COOPERATIVE AND RESPONSIVE TO THEIR VIEWS.

A NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, ARE BASED IN THE UK.

SECTION 5 DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE, SEX, RELIGION, DISABILITY, LANGUAGE, OR SOCIAL STATUS

THE RACE RELATIONS ACT OF 1976 PROHIBITS DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE, COLOR, NATIONALITY, OR NATIONAL OR ETHNIC ORIGIN, AND OUTLAWS INCITEMENT TO RACIAL HATRED; THESE PROTECTIONS WERE EXTENDED TO NORTHERN IRELAND IN 1997.

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION ON THE GROUNDS OF RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL OPINION WAS SPECIFICALLY OUTLAWED IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT ACT. THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT AND TREATMENT ORDER OF 1998, WHICH TOOK EFFECT IN 1999, EXTENDED THE PROHIBITION ON DISCRIMINATION TO GOODS, FACILITIES, SERVICES AND PREMISES. DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RELIGION ONLY IS ILLEGAL IN GREAT BRITAIN WHEN ITS EFFECT IS TO DISCRIMINATE AGAINST A MEMBER OF A MINORITY ETHNIC GROUP. THE GOVERNMENT RESPECTS AND ENFORCES ALL ANTIDISCRIMINATION LAWS, WHICH CONCENTRATE ON EMPLOYMENT AND THE SUPPLY OF GOODS AND SERVICES.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT (1998) BRINGS THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS GUARANTEED BY THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTO BRITISH LAW. THE MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE ACT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN OCTOBER, 2000, THOUGH SOME PROVISIONS HAVE TAKEN EFFECT, INCLUDING THE APPOINTMENT OF A UK JUDGE TO THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY FOR MILITARY OFFENSES. THE ACT WILL TAKE EFFECT FIRST, IN PRACTICE, IN SCOTLAND, WALES AND NORTHERN UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 14 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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IRELAND. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE DEVOLUTION LEGISLATION, THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS WILL NOT HAVE POWER TO DO ANYTHING WHICH IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE CONVENTIONS RIGHTS.

IN JANUARY THE HOME OFFICE CREATED A HUMAN RIGHTS TASK FORCE MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO COORDINATE PUBLICITY, GUIDANCE AND TRAINING IN PREPARATION FOR THE ACT'S IMPLEMENTATION. PROCEEDINGS UNDER THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT CAN BE BROUGHT ONLY BY VICTIMS OF A BREACH OF CONVENTION RIGHTS BY A PUBLIC AUTHORITY. THE HUMAN RIGHTS UNIT OF THE HOME OFFICE IS DEVELOPING AND WILL CARRY OUT HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND LEGISLATION.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT CREATED A UK HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION BUT HAS NOT RULED OUT DOING SO IN THE FUTURE. ACCORDING TO THE NGO ARTICLE 19, THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT'S LACK OF PROVISION OF A COMMISSION OR COMMISSIONER WILL MAKE IMPLEMENTATION DIFFICULT. IN NORTHERN IRELAND A COMMISSION WAS ESTABLISHED AS AN OUTCOME OF THE PEACE PROCESS. WHILE CASES MAY STILL BE TAKEN TO THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ALL DOMESTIC REMEDIES MUST BE EXHAUSTED FIRST.

#### WOMEN

A RECENT HOME OFFICE REPORT INDICATED THAT ONE IN FOUR WOMEN EXPERIENCE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AT SOME STAGE IN THEIR LIVES, REPORTED INCIDENTS OF RAPE HAVE MORE THAN TRIPLED OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS, TWO WOMEN PER WEEK ARE KILLED BY THEIR CURRENT OR FORMER PARTNERS, AND WOMEN FEAR PERSONAL ATTACK MORE THAN ANY OTHER CRIME.

SURVEYS ALSO INDICATE THAT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS THE LEAST LIKELY VIOLENT CRIME TO BE REPORTED TO THE POLICE. THE LAW PROVIDES FOR INJUNCTIVE RELIEF, PERSONAL PROTECTION ORDERS, AND PROTECTIVE EXCLUSION ORDERS (SIMILAR TO RESTRAINING ORDERS) FOR WOMEN WHO ARE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE. THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES SHELTERS, COUNSELING, AND OTHER ASSISTANCE FOR BATTERY OR RAPE AND OFFERS FREE LEGAL AID TO BATTERED WOMEN WHO ARE ECONOMICALLY RELIANT ON THEIR ABUSERS. THE GOVERNMENT ACTIVELY PROSECUTES PERPETRATORS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. SECTION 33 OF THE 1994 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER ACT ABOLISHED THE REQUIREMENT THAT JUDGES WARN JURIES THAT A VICTIM'S TESTIMONY ALONE SHOULD NOT BE ADEQUATE FOR A RAPE CONVICTION. THE PROTECTION FROM HARASSMENT ACT OF 1997 PROVIDES FOR PRISON SENTENCES OF UP TO 5 YEARS FOR CONVICTED STALKERS. PROVISIONAL FIGURES INDICATE THE ACT HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE IN ASSISTING SOME WOMEN IN CHALLENGING VIOLENCE.

CRIMINAL ACTION FOR SEXUAL HARASSMENT CASES MUST BE PROSECUTED UNDER ASSAULT LEGISLATION SINCE NO LAW SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITS SEXUAL HARASSMENT. WOMEN'S GROUPS HAVE COMPLAINED THAT CIVIL SUITS CONCERNING SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF GENDER SOMETIMES TAKE UP TO 3 1/2 YEARS TO APPEAR BEFORE AN INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNAL.

THE LAW PROVIDES FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY BETWEEN THE SEXES, BUT WOMEN EXPERIENCE SOME DISCRIMINATION IN PRACTICE. THE 1975 SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT, AS AMENDED IN 1986, PROHIBITS BOTH DIRECT AND INDIRECT DISCRIMINATION IN TRAINING, HOUSING, AND PROVISION OF GOODS AND SERVICES, AS WELL AS IN EMPLOYMENT. WOMEN HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS REGARDING PROPERTY AND DIVORCE. ACCORDING TO THE GOVERNMENT'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION (WHICH SUPPORTS PERSONS WHO BRING DISCRIMINATION CASES BEFORE INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNALS AND COURTS AND PRODUCES GUIDELINES ON GOOD PRACTICE FOR EMPLOYERS), THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARDS EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN SINCE THE COMMISSION WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1975. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE WAS AN IMPORTANT CHANGE IN THE EFFORT TO EQUALIZE PAY. HOWEVER, MANY LOW PAYING JOBS ARE STILL "GENDERED" AS WOMEN'S WORK AND UNWAGED WORK IS NOT YET A POLICY CONSIDERATION.

THE GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED SOME MATERNITY BENEFITS REFORMS AND PROVISIONS FOR UNPAID PARENTAL LEAVE. THE NATIONAL CHILDCARE STRATEGY WAS SET UP TO INCREASE CHILDCARE PLACES AND IN APRIL THE GOVERNMENT INCREASED CHILD BENEFITS.

IN AUGUST THE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED "LIVING WITHOUT FEAR," OUTLINING ITS LONG-TERM GOALS IN ELIMINATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, INCLUDING PLANS TO MODERNIZE LEGISLATION ON SEX OFFENSES. THOUGH NO LEGISLATIVE REFORM HAS TAKEN PLACE, THIS DOCUMENT SETS UP THE MECHANISMS FOR BROAD CHANGES TO LAWS THAT PROTECT WOMEN FROM VIOLENCE. THE NGO CHANGE WELCOMES THE TONE OF THE PUBLICATION FOR ITS EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AS A CRIME, PLANS FOR VAST FUTURE RESEARCH AND ITS 5-YEAR COMMITMENT TO MAKING A REAL IMPACT ON WOMEN'S LIVES.

WOMEN'S ISSUES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT ARE REPRESENTED AT THE UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 15 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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CABINET LEVEL BY THE MINISTER FOR WOMEN, WHO HEADS UP THE WOMEN'S UNIT. THE UNIT'S ROLE IS TO LISTEN TO WOMEN AND ADVISE GOVERNMENT BUT HAS NO MECHANISM FOR DIRECT ACTION.

CHILDREN

THE GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATES ITS STRONG COMMITMENT TO CHILDREN'S RIGHTS AND WELFARE THROUGH ITS SYSTEMS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND MEDICAL CARE. THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES FREE, COMPULSORY EDUCATION UP TO AGE 16, AND THEN TO AGE 18 IF THE STUDENT SO DESIRES. WHILE THERE IS NO PATTERN OF SOCIETAL ABUSE DIRECTED AGAINST CHILDREN, INDICATIONS ARE, DESPITE A LACK OF RELIABLE DATA, THAT CHILD ABUSE IS NEVERTHELESS A PROBLEM.

A GOVERNMENT CONSULTATION PAPER ON CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IS DUE TO BE PUBLISHED BY THE END OF THE YEAR. SEVERAL RECENT COURT CASES INVOLVING INCIDENTS OF SMACKING HAVE AGAIN RAISED THE ISSUE OF PARENTS' RIGHT TO HIT, FOLLOWING A EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS RULING IN 1998 THAT A NINE-

YEAR OLD BOY'S RIGHTS WERE VIOLATED BY HIS STEPFATHER'S CANING.

THERE IS GROWING CONCERN AND PUBLICITY SURROUNDING PAEDOPHILES. AS PART OF A GOVERNMENT DRIVE TO PROTECT THE YOUNG FROM CHILD ABUSERS, PREVIOUSLY SECRET REGISTERS OF PAEDOPHILES WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ANY EMPLOYER RUNNING AN ORGANIZATION WHERE PEOPLE AGED UNDER 18 COULD BE AT RISK (SCHOOLS, CHILDREN'S HOMES OR VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS). IN ADDITION, SUSPECTED CHILD ABUSERS AND CONVICTED PAEDOPHILES WILL BE BANNED FROM WORKING WITH CHILDREN UNDER THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN ACT 1999. CHILD CARE ORGANIZATIONS WILL HAVE TO CONSULT A LIST BEFORE OFFERING ANYONE A JOB, PAID OR OTHERWISE, AND IT WILL BE ILLEGAL TO HIRE ANYONE NAMED ON IT.

VARIOUS LAWS COVERING ENGLAND AND WALES STIPULATE THAT CHILDREN HAVE THE RIGHT TO APPLY FOR COURT ORDERS, TO GIVE OR WITHHOLD CONSENT FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT (FOR THOSE CAPABLE OF MAKING AN INFORMED DECISION), TO MAKE COMPLAINTS TO THE RELEVANT LOCAL AUTHORITY, TO HAVE THEIR ETHNIC, LINGUISTIC, AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND CONSIDERED IN DECISIONS AFFECTING THEM, TO HAVE REASONABLE CONTACT WITH THEIR FAMILIES (USUALLY APPLIED IN A CIRCUMSTANCE WHERE THERE HAS BEEN ABUSE), AND IN GENERAL TO BE CONSULTED REGARDING THEIR DESIRES.

IN JULY THE YOUTH JUSTICE AND CRIMINAL EVIDENCE ACT 1999 WAS ENACTED, CREATING THE SENTENCE OF REFERRAL TO A YOUTH OFFENDER PANEL FOR FIRST-TIME YOUNG OFFENDERS WHO PLEAD GUILTY, AND PROVIDING GREATER PROTECTION TO VULNERABLE WITNESSES (CHILDREN, DISABLED OR FEARFUL).

UNDER THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT, POLICE CAN ARREST AND DETAIN CHILDREN AS YOUNG AS 10 YEARS OLD FOR UP TO 7 DAYS.

#### PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

THE 1995 PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES DISCRIMINATION ACT OUTLAW DISCRIMINATION AGAINST DISABLED PERSONS IN THE PROVISION OF ACCESS TO PUBLIC FACILITIES BY EMPLOYERS OF MORE THAN 15 WORKERS, SERVICE PROVIDERS (APART FROM THOSE PROVIDING EDUCATION OR RUNNING TRANSPORT VEHICLES), AND ANYONE SELLING OR RENTING PROPERTY. THE 1993 EDUCATION ACT IMPOSES SPECIFIC DUTIES ON LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF DISABLED CHILDREN. DISABLED RIGHTS GROUPS CONTINUED TO COMPLAIN THAT THE GOVERNMENT DECLINES TO CREATE AN ENFORCEMENT BODY FOR THE DISCRIMINATION ACT.

RIGHTS NOW, A CONSORTIUM OF OVER 70 DISABILITY ORGANIZATIONS CAMPAIGNING FOR LAWS TO END DISCRIMINATION ON THE GROUNDS OF DISABILITY, REPORTED THAT EMPLOYERS WERE 6 TIMES MORE LIKELY TO TURN DOWN A DISABLED PERSON FOR A JOB INTERVIEW THAN A NONDISABLED APPLICANT WITH THE SAME QUALIFICATIONS. RIGHTS NOW ALSO REPORTED THAT THERE ARE 400,00 TO 450,000 PEOPLE IN NEED OF WHEELCHAIR-ACCESSIBLE HOMES, BUT THAT ONLY 80,000 SUCH HOMES ARE AVAILABLE.

GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS REQUIRE THAT ALL NEW BUILDINGS MEET THE ACCESS REQUIREMENTS OF ALL PERSONS WITH IMPAIRED MOBILITY. IN 1992 THE GOVERNMENT PROMULGATED SIMILAR REGULATIONS FOR SENSORY-IMPAIRED PERSONS, AND REGULATIONS REQUIRE THAT ALL TAXIS BE WHEELCHAIR ACCESSIBLE BY 2000. HOWEVER, WHILE GENERALLY IMPROVED, ACCESS TO MANY BUILDINGS

REMAINS INADEQUATE.

RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

DESPITE GOVERNMENT EFFORTS AND THE LOWERING OF THE OVERALL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR CATHOLIC MEN PERSISTS AT TWICE THAT OF PROTESTANT MEN.  
UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 16 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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SENSITIVE NOFORN

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E.O. 12958: N/A  
TAGS: PHUM, ELAB, KSEP, UK  
SUBJECT: UK 1999 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT -- FIRST DRAFT

THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT (NORTHERN IRELAND) ACT OF 1989, AS AMENDED, AIMS TO END EVEN UNINTENTIONAL OR INDIRECT DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE, AND A FAIR EMPLOYMENT TRIBUNAL ADJUDICATES COMPLAINTS. ALL PUBLIC-SECTOR EMPLOYERS AND ALL PRIVATE FIRMS WITH OVER 10 WORKERS MUST REPORT ANNUALLY TO THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION ON THE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF THEIR WORK FORCE AND MUST REVIEW THEIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AT LEAST ONCE EVERY 3 YEARS. NONCOMPLIANCE CAN BRING CRIMINAL PENALTIES AND THE LOSS OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS. VICTIMS OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION MAY SUE FOR DAMAGES. ALTHOUGH CRITICS OF THE ACT ASSERTED THAT ITS TARGETS AND TIMETABLES ARE TOO IMPRECISE, MOST LEADERS OF THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY REGARD IT AS A POSITIVE STEP.

WHILE THE ACTIVE RECRUITMENT OF CATHOLICS BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND CIVIL SERVICE PRODUCED ROUGH PROPORTIONALITY IN OVERALL NUMBERS, THE SERVICE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT CATHOLICS REMAIN SIGNIFICANTLY UNDERREPRESENTED IN ITS SENIOR GRADES. SERVICE-WIDE EMPLOYMENT CUTBACKS THUS FAR HAVE HAMPERED EFFORTS TO OVERCOME THE IMBALANCE. GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE RECRUITMENT OF CATHOLICS INTO THE POLICE FORCE (CURRENTLY 92 PERCENT PROTESTANT) AND RELATED SECURITY JOBS IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE BEEN HAMPERED BY IRA KILLINGS AND DEATH THREATS, AS WELL AS BY WIDESPREAD ANTI-PATHY IN THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY TO THE SECURITY FORCES. DESPITE RECRUITMENT EFFORTS, THE PERCENTAGE OF CATHOLIC OFFICERS IN THE POLICE FORCE HAS NOT CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY.

DURING THE SUMMER MARCHING SEASON, ARSONISTS ATTACKED SEVERAL ORANGE HALLS AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES AROUND THE PROVINCE.

ACCORDING TO THE INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH POLICY RESEARCH, THE NUMBER OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS IN BRITAIN DECLINED IN 1997 FOR THE FOURTH CONSECUTIVE YEAR. A JEWISH COMMUNAL MONITORING BODY RECORDED 218 ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS, REPRESENTING A 5 PERCENT DECREASE FROM THE 1996 FIGURE OF 228. THE OVERALL REDUCTION WAS ASCRIBED TO MORE EFFECTIVE POLICING, MORE CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS, AND A MORE DETERMINED ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES ARE LARGELY CONFINED TO THE POLITICAL FRINGE, EITHER FAR-RIGHT OR ISLAMIST. THE FIGURES FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1998 SHOW A 6 PER CENT INCREASE OVER THE SAME PERIOD IN 1997 IN THE NUMBER OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS RECORDED, FROM 169 TO 179. THE SMALL 1998 INCREASE IS ASCRIBED TO THE SPILLOVER OF RECENT TENSION IN

THE MIDDLE EAST. (STATISTICS FOR 1999 TBD)

NATIONAL/RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES

TRAVELLERS, NOMADIC POPULATIONS CONSISTING OF ROMA, IRISH, AND "NEW" TRAVELLERS, ESTIMATED TO NUMBER SOME 100,000 PERSONS, EXPERIENCE MARGINALIZATION, EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION, AND POLICE AND SOCIETAL HARASSMENT GREATER THAN THAT OF THE SETTLED POPULATION, ACCORDING TO HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS. U.N. COMMITTEES ON BOTH THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD AND THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION HAVE EXPRESSED SIMILAR CONCERNS.

DESPITE LEGAL PROHIBITIONS AGAINST RACE DISCRIMINATION, PERSONS OF AFRICAN AND AFRO-CARIBBEAN, SOUTH ASIAN, OR MIDDLE EASTERN ORIGIN FACE OCCASIONAL ACTS OF SOCIETAL VIOLENCE AND SOME DISCRIMINATION. INCITEMENT TO RACIAL HATRED IS A CRIMINAL OFFENSE PUNISHABLE BY A MAXIMUM OF 2 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT. THE GOVERNMENT STRICTLY ENFORCES THE LAWS AND REGULATIONS IN THIS AREA.

THE GOVERNMENT-APPOINTED BUT INDEPENDENT COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY (CRE) PROVIDES GUIDELINES ON GOOD PRACTICE, SUPPORTS PERSONS TAKING COURT ACTION UNDER THE RACE RELATIONS ACT OF 1976, AND MAY INITIATE ITS OWN COURT ACTION. AFTER INVESTIGATING A COMPLAINT, THE CRE MAY ISSUE A NOTICE REQUIRING THAT THE DISCRIMINATION BE STOPPED. THE CRE THEN MONITORS THE RESPONSE TO ITS NOTICE FOR 5 YEARS.

IN AUGUST 1997 THE GOVERNMENT PASSED THE RACE RELATIONS (NORTHERN IRELAND) ORDER OF 1997, WHICH FOR THE FIRST TIME GAVE SPECIFIC LEGAL PROTECTION TO MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS THERE, INCLUDING THE TRAVELLER COMMUNITY.

UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES, THE GOVERNMENT MUST PUBLISH A REPORT INDICATING WHAT LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER MEASURES WERE TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THE CONVENTION. THE UK RATIFIED THE CONVENTION IN JANUARY 1998 AND IT ENTERED INTO EFFECT IN MAY 1998.

REPEATED CLAIMS OF POLICE MISCONDUCT IN THE CASE OF STEPHEN LAWRENCE, A BLACK YOUTH STABBED TO DEATH IN SOUTH LONDON IN 1993, LED TO A 1998 INQUIRY INTO POLICE ACTIONS DURING THE INVESTIGATION OF LAWRENCE'S MURDER. DURING THE INQUIRY UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 17 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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TESTIMONY, POLICE ADMITTED THAT THERE WERE SERIOUS FLAWS IN THE INVESTIGATION, AND THE LONDON POLICE BEGAN TO REVIEW AND MODIFY THEIR METHODS OF DEALING WITH RACIALLY MOTIVATED CRIMES. THE INQUIRY RELEASED ITS REPORT IN FEBRUARY, STATING THAT THERE WERE FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS IN THE ORIGINAL POLICE INVESTIGATION. THE INQUIRY SAID THE INVESTIGATION WAS MARRIED BY A COMBINATION OF PROFESSIONAL INCOMPETENCE, INSTITUTIONAL RACISM, AND A FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP BY SENIOR OFFICERS. A FLAWED REVIEW FAILED TO EXPOSE THESE

INADEQUACIES. THE SECOND INVESTIGATION COULD NOT SALVAGE THE FAULTS OF THE FIRST ONE.

THE REPORT SERVED AS AN ACCEPTANCE OF THE MANY FLAWS AND FAILURES INVOLVED IN THE CASE. NO ONE HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH THE CRIME. THE FIVE WHITE MALES ACCUSED OF THE CRIME CANNOT BE CHARGED AGAIN DUE TO "DOUBLE JEOPARDY" LAWS. DEBATE IS CURRENTLY UNDERWAY TO CHANGE CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THESE LAWS. AFTER A YEAR-LONG REVIEW OF THE CONDUCT OF THE LAWRENCE CASE, THE POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY (PCA) RECOMMENDED THAT FIVE DETECTIVES FACE DISCIPLINARY CHARGES. FOUR OF THESE OFFICERS WERE ALREADY RETIRED WHEN THE PCA ANNOUNCED THEIR FINDINGS. THE ONLY OFFICER TO FACE CHARGES WAS FOUND GUILTY OF TWO COUNTS OF NEGLECT OF DUTY AND CAUTIONED.

AS A RESULT OF THE STEPHEN LAWRENCE INQUIRY, THE POLICE DEPARTMENT INSTITUTED NEW TRAINING AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS AND PLEDGED TO IMPROVE OVERALL PUBLIC CONFIDENCE AND SERVICE. THE HOME SECRETARY ORDERED SCOTLAND YARD TO REVIEW INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES OF ALL UNSOLVED ALLEGED RACIST MURDERS WITHIN LONDON. OTHER CHIEF CONSTABLES HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT INSTITUTIONAL RACISM EXISTS WITHIN THEIR FORCES. THE STEPHEN LAWRENCE INQUIRY HAS ENCOURAGED DEBATE ON THE EXISTENCE AND DEPTH OF RACISM IN UK SOCIETY, AND HOW TO DEAL WITH IT.

IN JANUARY POLICE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MICHAEL MENSON, A BLACK MUSICIAN FOUND ON FIRE IN THE STREET IN 1997, WAS THE VICTIM OF A RACIST ATTACK. THE RACE AND VIOLENT CRIME TASK FORCE, ESTABLISHED AS A RESULT OF THE STEPHEN LAWRENCE INQUIRY REOPENED THE CASE, ORIGINALLY TREATED AS A SUICIDE, IN DECEMBER 1998. SUSPECTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE MURDER.

IN JUNE THE POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY (PCA) APOLOGISED TO THE REEL FAMILY FOR "WEAKNESSES AND FLAWS" IN THE ORIGINAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE DEATH OF RICKY REEL, A YOUNG ASIAN FOUND DROWNED IN THE THAMES IN 1997. THE PCA REPORT WAS NOT MADE PUBLIC. HIS FAMILY BELIEVES REEL WAS THE VICTIM OF A RACIAL ATTACK AND CLAIMED THAT POLICE FAILED TO INVESTIGATE THE CRIME PROPERLY. POLICE LAUNCHED A NEW INVESTIGATION UNDER THE RACE AND VIOLENT CRIME TASK FORCE. IN AUGUST REEL'S MOTHER MADE A JOINT APPEAL WITH THE POLICE FOR INFORMATION ABOUT TWO WHITE MEN SUSPECTED OF RACIALLY ABUSING REEL THE NIGHT HE DISAPPEARED.

## SECTION 6 WORKER RIGHTS

### A. THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

WORKERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO FORM AND JOIN UNIONS, AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE LONG RESPECTED THIS RIGHT IN PRACTICE. BUT A NEW EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS ACT -- ENACTED BY PARLIAMENT AND SIGNED INTO LAW IN JULY 1999 -- ESTABLISHED THE UK'S FIRST PROCEDURES FOR STATUTORY (AS DISTINCT FROM VOLUNTARY) UNION RECOGNITION.

UNIONS PARTICIPATE FREELY IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND ARE FREE OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL. THE NEW EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS ACT REPRESENTS LANDMARK LABOR LEGISLATION THAT AFFORDS SIGNIFICANT NEW PROTECTION TO UNION ORGANIZING EFFORTS AND, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN BRITAIN, ESTABLISHES A STATUTORY RIGHT TO STRIKE. THE ACT SETS MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN BRITISH LABOR LAW. IT ALSO ABOLISHED THE POSTS OF "COMMISSIONER FOR THE RIGHTS OF TRADE

UNION MEMBERS" AND THE "COMMISSIONER FOR PROTECTION AGAINST UNLAWFUL INDUSTRIAL ACTION." CREATED BY PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS, BOTH OFFICES WERE WIDELY INTERPRETED AS POLITICALLY MOTIVATED ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE THE ORGANIZED-LABOR MOVEMENT.

B. THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS LONG-STANDING AND WIDESPREAD, COVERING ABOUT 35 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE. UNDER THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS ACT, LABOR-MANAGEMENT CONTRACTS ARE NOW ENFORCEABLE IN THE COURTS. IN FACT, A THIRD OF THE 72-PAGE ACT CONCERNS UNION RECOGNITION. UNDER THE WESTMINSTER PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM, MUCH DETAIL IS LEFT TO IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION (NOT EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED BEFORE APRIL 2000), BUT THE ACT'S MAJOR PROVISIONS ARE DESCRIBED BELOW.

UNIONS CAN NOW FILE A REQUEST FOR RECOGNITION, IDENTIFYING UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 18 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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E.O. 12958: N/A  
TAGS: PHUM, ELAB, KSEP, UK  
SUBJECT: UK 1999 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT -- FIRST DRAFT

THE PROPOSED BARGAINING UNIT, TO A REVAMPED CENTRAL ARBITRATION COMMITTEE(CAC). THE LATTER IS EXPECTED TO FUNCTION MUCH LIKE THE U.S. NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD (NLRB). EMPLOYERS WITH MORE THAN 20 WORKERS ARE COVERED (ESTIMATED TO ENCOMPASS TWO-THIRDS OF ALL BRITISH WORKPLACES).

ONCE THE CAC DETERMINES THE APPROPRIATE BARGAINING UNIT, IT WILL ASSESS WHETHER A UNION IS LIKELY TO HAVE MAJORITY SUPPORT. IF UNION MEMBERS ALREADY MAKE UP A MAJORITY OF THE BARGAINING UNIT, THE CAC CAN ISSUE A DECLARATION THAT THE UNION IS RECOGNIZED FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WITHOUT A BALLOT. IN THOSE INSTANCES WHERE THE CAC ORDERS A BALLOT (TYPICALLY, WHEN THE MAJORITY OF BARGAINING-UNIT EMPLOYEES ARE NOT ALREADY UNION MEMBERS), THE EMPLOYER MUST COOPERATE BY PROVIDING A LIST OF NAMES AND GIVING THE UNION ACCESS TO THE WORKPLACE TO CAMPAIGN. UNIONS WILL WIN RECOGNITION WHEN A MAJORITY OF THOSE VOTING AGREE, INCLUDING AT LEAST 40 PERCENT OF THOSE IN THE BARGAINING UNIT.

WORKERS WILL BE PROTECTED AGAINST DISMISSAL OR OTHER RETALIATION FOR CAMPAIGNING OR VOTING FOR OR AGAINST RECOGNITION. UNIONS WILL NO LONGER BE REQUIRED TO NAME THEIR MEMBERS WHEN INITIATING A STRIKE BALLOT, TO MINIMIZE OPPORTUNITIES FOR RETALIATION. THE BILL ALSO PROHIBITS THE COMPILATION OF LISTS OF UNION MEMBERS AND LABOR ACTIVISTS FOR USE BY EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES. THIS IS AIMED AT "BLACK-LISTS," AS OPERATED IN THE PAST. DISMISSED STRIKERS WILL BE ABLE TO CLAIM UNFAIR DISMISSAL IF FIRED WITHIN EIGHT WEEKS OF WHEN AN EMPLOYEE FIRST UNDERTOOK A LEGAL STRIKE.

UNION MEMBERS WILL BE PROTECTED AGAINST "BEING SUBJECT TO ANY DETRIMENT" DUE TO UNION ACTIVITY OR MEMBERSHIP. THIS PROTECTION GOES FURTHER THAN THE PREVIOUS LANGUAGE OF "ACTION SHORT OF DISMISSAL TAKEN AGAINST HIM AS AN

INDIVIDUAL." HERETOFORE, IT HAS BEEN LEGAL FOR EMPLOYERS TO WITHHOLD FRINGE BENEFITS OTHERWISE AVAILABLE TO NON-UNION EMPLOYEES.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE NEW ACT RETAINS KEY POLICIES IMPLEMENTED BY PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS, NOTABLY BALLOTS AND NOTICE BEFORE STRIKES, ABOLITION OF THE CLOSED SHOP, SECONDARY BOYCOTTS, AND PROHIBITION AGAINST MASS PICKETING.

THERE ARE NO EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES IN THE UK. THE NEW EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS ACT ALSO EXTENDS ITS PROTECTION TO CONTRACT AND PART-TIME WORKERS IN AN ATTEMPT TO CLOSE LOOPHOLES THAT PREVIOUSLY ALLOWED SOME EMPLOYERS TO EVADE LABOR REGULATIONS. FOREIGN WORKERS ARE PROTECTED TO THE FULL EXTENT OF THE LAW.

C. PROHIBITION OF FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOR

FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOR, INCLUDING THAT PERFORMED BY CHILDREN, IS PROHIBITED AND IS NOT PRACTICED.

D. STATUS OF CHILD LABOR PRACTICES AND MINIMUM AGE FOR EMPLOYMENT

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE UNTIL AGE 16 IS COMPULSORY. CHILDREN UNDER AGE 16 ARE NOT PERMITTED TO WORK IN AN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE EXCEPT AS PART OF AN EDUCATIONAL COURSE. FORCED AND BONDED CHILD LABOR IS PROHIBITED, AND THE GOVERNMENT EFFECTIVELY ENFORCES THIS PROHIBITION. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT VOTED FOR THE ILO'S NEW CONVENTION (JUNE 1999) AGAINST THE WORST FORMS OF CHILD ABUSE.

E. ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS OF WORK

THE UK'S FIRST MINIMUM WAGE WENT INTO EFFECT ON APRIL 1, 1999 AND HAS BENEFITED SOME 10 PERCENT OF THE WORKFORCE DIRECTLY. IT IS \$5.76 (BPS 3.60) FOR ADULTS AND \$5.12 (BPS 3.20) FOR YOUTH, EFFECTIVE AUGUST 1999. THIS IS NOT A LIVING WAGE FOR MOST WORKERS WITH FAMILIES, BUT OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE BRITISH WELFARE STATE FILL THE GAP. IN PARTICULAR, THE WORKING FAMILIES TAX CREDIT (WFTC) AND DISABLED PERSON'S TAX CREDIT (DPTC) -- BOTH SCHEDULED FOR IMPLEMENTATION AS OF OCTOBER 5, 1999 -- ARE DESIGNED TO GUARANTEE A WORKING FAMILY A WEEKLY INCOME OF \$320 (BPS 200) WHICH DOES CONSTITUTE A LIVING WAGE. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT SOME 1.5 MILLION OF THE UK'S POOREST HOUSEHOLDS WILL BENEFIT ACCORDINGLY.

HAVING SIGNED ON TO THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SOCIAL CHAPTER IN JUNE 1997, THE CURRENT LABOUR GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED A NEW WORKING TIME DIRECTIVE IN OCTOBER 1998 TO BRING BRITISH LEGISLATION INTO COMPLIANCE WITH THE EU'S 48-HOUR WORK WEEK. IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS ARE STILL BEING DEVELOPED WITH CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC INPUT.

THE HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK ACT OF 1974 STIPULATES THAT UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 19 OF 19 LONDON 008821

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TAGS: PHUM, ELAB, KSEP, UK

SUBJECT: UK 1999 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT -- FIRST DRAFT

THE HEALTH AND SAFETY OF EMPLOYEES NOT BE PLACED AT RISK. IN PRACTICE, THE ACT IS CONSTANTLY BEING UPDATED AND MODIFIED. THE HEALTH AND SAFETY EXECUTIVE EFFECTIVELY ENFORCES REGULATIONS ON THESE MATTERS AND MAY INITIATE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS IN APPROPRIATE CASES. WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES ACTIVELY MONITOR ENFORCEMENT OF THE ACT. WORKERS CAN REMOVE THEMSELVES FROM HAZARDOUS CONDITIONS WITHOUT RISKING LOSS OF EMPLOYMENT, AS PROVIDED IN THE EUROPEAN UNION FRAMEWORK DIRECTIVE ON SAFETY AND HEALTH.

F. TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

THERE WERE NO REPORTS THAT PERSONS WERE TRAFFICKED IN, TO, OR FROM THE U.K.

DAVIES

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 19  
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**DIST:**

SIT: BABBITT BLINKEN BUSBY DAVIDSON FELDMAN GORDON GUARNIERI KASS NAPLAN  
NORLAND SCHWARTZ STROMSETH VACCARO VONLIPSEY YEE  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHLOA8822 2901511-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 171511Z OCT 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 171511Z OCT 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0121  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1180  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: PARTY POSITIONS EMERGING ON  
 PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.17)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 008822

EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
 NSC FOR NORLAND

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/17/09  
 TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PARTY POSITIONS EMERGING ON  
 PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: ERIC F. GREEN, ACTING CONSUL  
 GENERAL, AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).
2. (S) SUMMARY. FOLLOWING THE INITIAL SOUND-BITE REACTIONS  
 TO THE PATTEN REPORT ON REFORM OF THE ROYAL ULSTER  
 CONSTABULARY (RUC), NORTHERN IRELAND'S POLITICAL PARTIES  
 ARE NOW PREPARING FORMAL POSITION PAPERS ON THE DOCUMENT TO  
 BE SUBMITTED TO THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE OCTOBER-NOVEMBER  
 CONSULTATION PERIOD. ATTITUDES RANGE FROM CALLS FOR MORE  
 REFORM (SINN FEIN), FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF PATTEN (SDLP),  
 "CHERRY-PICKING" SELECTED ELEMENTS OF THE REPORT (UUP), AND  
 OUTRIGHT REJECTION OF THE CONCEPT OF RUC REFORM (DUP).  
 POLICE SYMBOLS AND THE COMPOSITION OF GOVERNING/OVERSIGHT  
 BODIES ARE EMERGING AS THE MOST CONTENTIOUS ISSUES. GIVEN  
 A GREEN LIGHT ON THE SECURITY SITUATION FROM THE CHIEF  
 CONSTABLE (NOT A SURETY AT THIS TIME), THE IMPLEMENTING  
 LEGISLATION COULD BE APPROVED IN WESTMINSTER BY JULY 2000.  
 END SUMMARY.
- 3 (U) THOUGH MOST PARTY REPRESENTATIVES INSIST THAT  
 ADDITIONAL STUDY OF THE REPORT IS NECESSARY BEFORE DRAWING  
 CONCLUSIONS ON PATTEN, THE ESSENCE OF THEIR POSITIONS  
 EMERGED DURING A SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS WE HELD WITH PARTY  
 REPRESENTATIVES AND THE RUC DURING THE WEEK OF OCTOBER 11-  
 14 FOLLOWS.

SINN FEIN: FLANAGAN HAS GOT TO GO  
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4. (C) SINN FEIN ASSEMBLY MEMBER AND SECURITY SPOKESPERSON BAIRBRE DE BRUN CLAIMED THAT THE PATTEN REPORT IS A HARD SELL IN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY BECAUSE OF THE COMMISSION EXPLICITLY REJECTED CALLS FOR THE RUC'S DISBANDMENT, A LONGSTANDING REPUBLICAN DEMAND. THOUGH SHE SEES MERIT IN MANY OF PATTEN'S PROPOSALS, DE BRUN BELIEVES SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION WILL BE UNDERMINED BY STILL-IN-FORCE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION, LACK OF POLITICAL WILL ON PART OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF RUC OFFICERS WITH SUSPECT HUMAN-RIGHTS RECORDS. CHIEF CONSTABLE SIR RONNIE FLANAGAN TOPS THIS LIST AND DE BRUN REITERATED SINN FEIN'S POSITION THAT HIS REMOVAL SHOULD CONSTITUTE PART OF THE REFORM PACKAGE.

5. (C) DE BRUN SAID SHE WAS NOT ENCOURAGED BY THE OCTOBER 11 APPOINTMENT OF POLICE AUTHORITY MEMBER NUALA O'LOAN AS POLICE OMBUDSMAN. (THE OFFICE OF POLICE OMBUDSMAN WILL REPLACE THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON POLICE COMPLAINTS IN JUNE 2000.) DE BRUN SAID THAT O'LOAN HAD NO TRACK RECORD OF HOLDING THE RUC ACCOUNTABLE FOR ITS ACTIONS WHILE SHE SERVED ON THE POLICE AUTHORITY. DE BRUN ALSO EXPECTS THE OMBUDSMAN BUDGET WILL BE LIMITED AND THAT O'LOAN WILL RELY ON SECONDED RUC OFFICERS FOR THE "INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATORS" PROVIDED FOR IN THE POLICE OMBUDSMAN LEGISLATION.

SDLP: NO CHERRY-PICKING ALLOWED.  
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6. (C) SDLP ASSEMBLY MEMBER ALEX ATWOOD SAID HIS PARTY SUPPORTS THE PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS AND IS PREPARING A COMPREHENSIVE RESPONSE THAT WILL OFFER A BLUEPRINT FOR HOW BEST TO IMPLEMENT THE PROPOSALS. HE NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE REPORT HAS 175 RECOMMENDATIONS, IMPLEMENTATION IS STILL SUBJECT TO INTERPRETATION AND THE SDLP WILL SEEK TO SQUEEZE THE MOST OUT TO ENSURE "MAXIMUM PATTEN." FOR EXAMPLE, PATTEN RECOMMENDS A NEW RECRUITING PATTERN TO REDRESS IMBALANCE BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS ON THE FORCE BY RECRUITING EQUAL NUMBERS FROM EACH COMMUNITY. THE SDLP WILL SEEK TO ENSURE THAT SUCH RECOMMENDATIONS BECOME LEGALLY BINDING. ON THE QUESTION OF SYMBOLS, ATWOOD WAS EMPHATIC THAT THE SDLP WILL OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO WATER DOWN PATTEN'S PROPOSALS. EACH SIDE, HE NOTED, GOT SOMETHING FROM PATTEN AND ONCE CHERRY-PICKING BEGINS THE PACKAGE COULD UNRAVEL.

UUP: SYMBOLS AND POLITICS  
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7. (C) CHARACTERISTICALLY, UUP MEMBERS VOICE A PLURALITY OF VIEWS ABOUT PATTEN. MIKE MCGIMPSEY, A MODERATE UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBER, TOLD US THAT THE REPORT IS 80 PERCENT ACCEPTABLE, IMPLYING THAT WITH A FEW TRADE-OFFS IT COULD BE IMPLEMENTED. MEANWHILE, KEN MAGINNIS, THE UUP SECURITY SPOKESMAN, IS BROADLY DISMISSIVE OF THE REPORT AND ACCUSES THE PATTEN COMMISSION OF PROMOTING A NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN POLITICAL AGENDA WHEN IT SHOULD HAVE CONFINED ITSELF TO THE TECHNICAL ISSUES OF POLICE REFORM.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 008822

EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
NSC FOR NORLAND

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/17/09

TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PARTIY POSITIONS EMERGING ON  
PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS

8. (C) ALL UUP MEMBERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE DISCUSSED PATTEN OPPOSE THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE RUC'S NAME, THE DESIGN OF THE BADGE AND THE RECOMMENDATION THAT THE UNION JACK NOT BE FLOWN AT POLICE STATIONS (FLAGS ARE NOW ONLY FLOWN ON HOLIDAY'S SUCH AS THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY, CONSISTENT WITH PRACTICE ELSEWHERE IN THE UK). THESE CHANGES, THE UUP ARGUES, CONTRADICT THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, WHICH EXPLICITLY GUARANTEES THAT NORTHERN IRELAND WILL REMAIN A PART OF THE UK UNTIL A MAJORITY OF ITS POPULATION VOTES OTHERWISE. AS LONG AS A MAJORITY FAVORS UNION, THEY ARGUE, THE ICONOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE POLICE SHOULD REFLECT THAT PREFERENCE.

9. (C) THE UUP SUBMISSION TO THE NIO WILL LIKELY MIRROR THE CHIEF CONSTABLE'S OWN VIEWS ON PATTEN, BY SUPPORTING THE RETENTION OF THE RESERVE AND PUSHING FOR AIRTIGHT LEGISLATION THAT WILL ENSURE DISTRICT POLICE BOARDS AND ANY ADDITIONAL POLICING SERVICES ARE "TERRORIST-SAFE." THE UUP IS ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE "GOLDEN HANDSHAKE" RETIREMENT PACKAGE PATTEN PROPOSES FOR THOSE OFFICERS SERVING OVER 30 YEARS COULD DEPRIVE THE FORCE OF NEEDED MANPOWER AND EXPERIENCE. (NOTE: IN A SEPARATE MEETING, RUC ASSISTANT CHIEF CONSTABLE TIM LEWIS LARGELY CONFIRMED THAT THESE WERE THE RUC'S MAIN CONCERNS ABOUT PATTEN.) DIVERGING FROM THE CHIEF CONSTABLE'S VIEWS, HOWEVER, THE UUP WILL NOT SUPPORT FOLDING SPECIAL BRANCH INTO THE CRIME DIVISION.

DUP: PAISLEY SAYS "NO" AGAIN  
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10. (U) THOUGH HE HAS OFTEN CRITICIZED THE RUC IN THE PAST, DUP LEADER IAN PAISLEY IS ORGANIZING A SERIES OF RALLIES ACROSS NORTHERN IRELAND IN SUPPORT OF THE RUC. CONSISTENT WITH ITS ANTI-AGREEMENT STANCE, THE PARTY REJECTS ANY RUC REFORM. THE PARTY IS ALSO SUPPORTING EFFORTS OF THE POLICE FEDERATION, WHICH REPRESENTS AROUND 90 PERCENT OF RANK-AND-FILE OFFICERS, TO CIRCULATE A PETITION SUPPORTING THE RETENTION OF THE RUC'S SYMBOLS AND CONTINUATION OF THE POLICE RESERVE. THE FEDERATION HOPES TO GATHER A MILLION SIGNATURES FROM ACROSS THE UK TO PRESENT TO THE NIO BEFORE THE END OF NOVEMBER.

PUP: DRAWING A LINE IN THE PAST  
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11. (C) PUP ASSEMBLY MEMBER BILLY HUTCHINSON EXPRESSED THE MOST CONCILIATORY APPROACH TO PATTEN OF ANY OF THE PARTY REPRESENTATIVES INTERVIEWED. HUTHCINSON SAID THAT, JUST AS THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ASKED THE UNIONIST/LOYALIST COMMUNITY TO ACCEPT REPUBLICANS INTO THE POLITICAL MAINSTREAM, THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY SHOULD IN TURN ACCEPT A REFORMED POLICE FORCE WHICH MAY INCLUDE OFFICERS THEY BELIEVE ARE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSERS. REGARDING SYMBOLS, HUTCHINSON SAID HE IS WILLING TO PUT PATTEN TO THE TEST: IF THE NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY SINCERELY SUPPORTS THE

NEW FORCE, THEN NAME AND BADGE CHANGES ARE AN ACCEPTABLE PRICE TO PAY. IF THERE IS NO BROAD-BASED SUPPORT, THEN THE PUP WOULD FAVOR KEEPING THE CURRENT SYMBOLS.

RUC SEES WINDOW CLOSING  
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12. (C) ASSISTANT CHIEF CONSTABLE TIM LEWIS, WHO HEADS THE RUC REVIEW OF PATTEN'S PROPOSALS, STATED THAT THE CURRENT POLITICAL IMPASSE IS MAKING THE EMOTIVE ISSUE OF POLICE SYMBOLS MORE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE. LEWIS ECHOED CHIEF CONSTABLE FLANAGAN'S POSITION THAT THE RUC WOULD ACCEPT A NAME CHANGE IF THAT CHANGE WOULD HELP CREATE A POLICE SERVICE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WHOLE COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, THE LACK OF SUPPORT FOR THE CHIEF CONSTABLE'S POSITION AMONG UNIONIST POLITICIANS AND A CONCURRENT WANING OF POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS ABOUT PATTEN FROM NATIONALISTS, PARTICULARLY THE SDLP, MAKE THESE EMOTIONAL CHANGES DIFFICULT.

13. (C) LEWIS RAISED CONCERNS ABOUT THE MAKE-UP OF THE PROPOSED DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS, SAYING THAT PARTS OF THE COMMUNITY MAY BE EXCLUDED THROUGH THE DOMINATION OF A PARTICULAR PARTY IN A DISTRICT COUNCIL. LEWIS CLAIMED FURTHER THAT NON-POLITICAL CITIZENS WHO ARE PERHAPS NOW INVOLVED WITH THE POLICE-COMMUNITY LIAISON COMMITTEES WOULD SHY AWAY FROM BOARDS DOMINATED BY THOSE POLITICAL PARTIES HE LINKED TO PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS: SINN FEIN, PUP, AND UDP. LEWIS ALSO REITERATED UNIONIST CONCERNS THAT THE PROVISION FOR BUYING IN EXTRA POLICING  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 008822

EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
NSC FOR NORLAND

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/17/09  
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PREL, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PARTIY POSITIONS EMERGING ON PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS

COULD BE A BACK DOOR FOR PARAMILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE POLICE.

14. (C) COMMENTING ON THE POLICE FEDERATION'S PETITION, LEWIS STATED THAT WHILE SENIOR POLICE MANAGEMENT FOUND THE PETITION "UNHELPPFUL," HE REALIZES THE FEDERATION MUST BE SEEN TO BE DEFENDING ITS MEMBERSHIP, EVEN IF, IT IS ONLY THE LONG-SERVING OFFICERS, A MINORITY IN THE RUC, WHO CARE INTENSELY ABOUT THE SYMBOLS OF THE RUC.

THE SCHEDULE AHEAD  
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15. (C) THE PARTIES AND THE RUC WILL SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS ON PATTEN TO THE NIO BEFORE THE CONSULTATION PERIOD CLOSES AT THE END OF NOVEMBER. GIVEN A POSITIVE SECURITY ASSESSMENT FROM THE CHIEF CONSTABLE (WHO HAS IN FACT PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION DOES NOT WARRANT THE MANPOWER REDUCTIONS PATTEN RECOMMENDS), THE NIO WILL INTRODUCE IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, WHICH IT HOPES WILL CLEAR WESTMINSTER BY JULY

2000. DURING THAT PERIOD, THE NIO WILL ENCOURAGE THE RUC TO IMPLEMENT CHANGES NOT REQUIRING LEGISLATIVE MANDATE, SUCHAS REVISING THE COMMAND STRUCTURE TO CORRESPOND WITH EXTANT DISTRICT COUNCIL BOUNDARIES, WHICH THE CHIEF CONSTABLE HAD INTENDED TO IMPLEMENT REGARDLESS OF THE PATTEN CONCLUSIONS.

## COMMENT

16. (C) THOUGH SCHEDULED TO BE LEGISLATED AND IMPLEMENTED IN THE NEXT YEAR, THE PACE AND THOROUGHNESS OF POLICE REFORM WILL DEPEND ON PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ON THE SECURITY SITUATION. BUT EVEN IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, CHANGING THE RUC PROMISES TO BE A MESSY NEGOTIATION INVOLVING AN INSTITUTION UNACCUSTOMED TO OUTSIDE OVERSIGHT AND HIGHLY CHARGED ISSUES SUCH AS SYMBOLS AND THE ROLE OF EX-PARAMILITARIES IN GOVERNANCE.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03

&lt;^SECT&gt;SECTION: 02 OF 03

&lt;^SECT&gt;SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 8822

&lt;^SSN&gt;8822

&lt;^SSN&gt;8822

TOR: 991017120652 M4101697

&lt;^TOR&gt;991017120737 M4101698

&lt;^TOR&gt;991017120737 M4101699

DIST:

SIT: BABBITT BLINKEN BUSBY DAVIDSON FELDMAN GORDON GUARNIERI KASS NAPLAN

NORLAND SCHWARTZ STROMSETH VACCARO VONLIPSEY YEE

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OACZYUW RUEHLOA8931 2931722-CCCC--RHEHAAA.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 201722Z OCT 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 201722Z OCT 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0221  
 INFO: RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 1184  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON REACTS TO  
 PARTIES' ENTREATIES

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.18)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 008931

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

EXDIS  
 THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON REACTS TO  
 PARTIES' ENTREATIES

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

1. (C) A WELL-CONNECTED NEUTRAL OBSERVER OF NORTHERN  
 IRELAND POLITICS WHOSE INFORMATION HAS BEEN RELIABLE IN THE  
 PAST TOLD US TODAY THAT HE HAD A BRIEF OFF-THE-RECORD  
 EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH THE NEWLY APPOINTED SECRETARY OF  
 STATE ON OCTOBER 19.

2. (C) ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, MANDELSON SAID THAT THE  
 UUP AND SINN FEIN HAVE ALREADY TRIED TO GAUGE HIS VIEWS  
 ABOUT "WHAT NEXT?" SHOULD THE CURRENT REVIEW FAIL TO  
 PRODUCE RESULTS. THE UUP, HE SAID, APPROACHED HIM WITH AN  
 ATTITUDE THAT "YOU'RE ONE OF US" AND WILL THEREFORE WILL  
 GIVE US A BREAK IF THERE IS A NEXT ROUND. MANDELSON  
 REJECTED THIS AND AFFIRMED THAT THE UUP SHOULD NOT EXPECT  
 TO GET ANY OFFERS BETTER THAN WHAT'S NOW UNDER DISCUSSION  
 AND WARNED THEM THERE SHOULD BE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THIS.  
 HE DID, HOWEVER, TRY TO REASSURE THE UNIONISTS THAT HMG  
 WOULD BACK THEM UP IN MAKING THE PARAMILITARIES  
 DECOMMISSION UNDER THE "JUMP TOGETHER" SCENARIOS NOW BEING  
 DISCUSSED. (NOTE: THE UUP HAS AN ABIDING FEAR THAT DOWNING  
 STREET WILL PRESSURE THEM TO STAY IN AN EXECUTIVE WITH SINN

FEIN EVEN WITHOUT PROGRESS ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE.)

3. (C) SIMILARLY, WE WERE TOLD SINN FEIN BROACHED THE IDEA THAT, ABSENT AN EXECUTIVE, HMG AND DUBLIN WOULD CONTINUE IMPLEMENTING OTHER PARTS OF THE AGREEMENT COMMONLY REGARDED AS PRO-NATIONALIST, I.E. POLICE REFORM, EQUALITY LEGISLATION, ETC. AGAIN, MANDELSON TOLD THEM THAT THERE ARE NO GUARANTEES AND IF THE AGREEMENT FAILS, ALL ELEMENTS ARE NEGOTIABLE.

4. (C) MANDELSON ALSO REPORTEDLY SAID HE HAS SPENT TIME CAREFULLY READING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND HAS GREAT ADMIRATION FOR ITS CRAFTSMANSHIP AND IS CONVINCED THAT IT IS THE BEST WAY FORWARD.

5. (C) COMMENT: WHILE THIS INFORMATION IS SECOND-HAND, WE BELIEVE IT'S RELIABLE AND WORTH PASSING ALONG. IF ACCURATE, IT INDICATES THAT MANDELSON FROM THE OUTSET WILL TRY TO CONVINCEN BOTH SIDES THAT PROGRESS NOW IS A BETTER BET THAN FURTHER DELAY.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 8931

TOR: 991020132557 M4107526

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE

SIT: NSC

PRT: SIT{C2}

# Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OACZYUW RUEHLOA9601 3150530-CCCC--RHEHAAA.  
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 LINE3: O 110530Z NOV 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 110530Z NOV 99  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0876  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1231  
 RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE BRACING FOR UNIONIST  
 STORM OVER POSSIBLE DEAL ON DECOMMISSIONING

**DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526**  
 2015-0158-m (2.20)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 009601

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE BRACING FOR UNIONIST  
 STORM OVER POSSIBLE DEAL ON DECOMMISSIONING

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

SUMMARY  
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1. (e) SHOULD THIS WEEK'S REVIEW PRODUCE RESULTS, DAVID TRIMBLE APPEARS LIKELY TO CONVENE A MEETING OF THE 900-MEMBER UUP COUNCIL TO ENDORSE A NEW PARTY POSITION ON DECOMMISSIONING. THIS MOVE IS INTENDED TO PREEMPT TRIMBLE'S ANTI-AGREEMENT OPPONENTS, WHO WOULD HAVE CALLED A COUNCIL MEETING TO CHALLENGE TRIMBLE AS PARTY LEADER. END SUMMARY.

TRIMBLE TO FACE UUP COUNCIL  
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2. (e) UUP CHAIRMAN DAVID TRIMBLE IS GATHERING THE 60 SIGNATURES NEEDED TO CONVENE A MEETING OF THE UUP COUNCIL, A 900-MEMBER BODY THAT INCLUDES A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF LOCAL COUNCILORS. THE PROCESS OF CALLING SUCH A MEETING WILL REQUIRE ABOUT THREE WEEKS AND IF A MEETING OCCURS IT WILL LIKELY TAKE PLACE IN EARLY DECEMBER.

3. (C) ACCORDING TO UUP ADVISOR STEPHEN KING, TRIMBLE IS CALLING THE SESSION IN ORDER TO GAIN ENDORSEMENT FOR WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE A SHIFT FROM THE UUP'S STRICT "NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT" POLICY ON DECOMMISSIONING TO A POSITION THAT COULD ALLOW THE FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE WITHOUT A HAND-OVER OF WEAPONS BY THE IRA. KING SAID THAT TRIMBLE COULD HAVE SOUGHT AND PROBABLY GAINED APPROVAL FOR SUCH A CHANGE FROM THE 110-MEMBER UUP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, WHOSE MEMBERSHIP IS ABOUT 65 PERCENT PRO-AGREEMENT. HAD TRIMBLE FOLLOWED THAT COURSE, HOWEVER, THE ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES WOULD HAVE DEMANDED A SESSION OF THE COUNCIL TO CHALLENGE THE DECISION (AND PROBABLY TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP POST). THE COUNCIL, KING SAID, IS ROUGHLY EVENLY SPLIT BETWEEN PRO- AND ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES.

4. (C) KING SPECULATED THAT BY BEING PROACTIVE, TRIMBLE'S CHANCES OF SUCCESS ARE IMPROVED AND HE NOTED THAT TRIMBLE IS IN RELATIVELY GOOD SHAPE SINCE HIS OPPONENTS HAVE NEITHER ARTICULATED A RATIONAL ALTERNATIVE TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT NOR PUT FORWARD AN OPPONENT CAPABLE OF DEPOSING TRIMBLE.

COMMENT

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5. (C) BASED ON OUR SOUNDINGS, IT APPEARS THAT THE SUCCESS OF CURRENT FORMULAS UNDER DISCUSSION FOR OVERCOMING THE DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE NOW REST LARGELY ON TRIMBLE'S CONFIDENCE THAT HE CAN HOLD THE UUP TOGETHER IN ORDER TO DELIVER HIS END OF WHATEVER BARGAIN IS REACHED. WHILE TRIMBLE'S POSITION LOOKS MORE SECURE THAN IT APPEARED IN THE LATE SUMMER, HIS LEADERSHIP HAS MADE ONLY LIMITED EFFORTS TO RALLY THE RANK-AND-FILE BEHIND HIM. AS A RESULT, HE IS STILL CLEARLY NERVOUS ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR THE ANTI-AGREEMENT UUP FORCES TO UPEND THE PROCESS --AND HIM.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9601

TOR: 991111003307 M4145353

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON NORLAND SUM2

SIT: NSC

PRT: BRADTKE SIT(C2) STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHLOA9640 3170900-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 130900Z NOV 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 130900Z NOV 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0910  
 RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1236  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 1347  
 INFO:   
 SUBJ: NO IRELAND: WOMENS COALITION LEADER MCWILLIAMS ON THE  
 POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-M (2.21)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE GLYN DAVIES, FOR REASON 1.5 (D).

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 009640

STATE FOR S/PICW LOAR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/30/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, KDEM, UK  
 SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: WOMENS COALITION LEADER MCWILLIAMS ON THE  
 POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE GLYN DAVIES, FOR REASON 1.5 (D).

1. (S) SUMMARY: NORTHERN IRELAND WOMENS COALITION LEADER MONICA MCWILLIAMS OUTLINED THE DIFFICULTIES FACED BY THE COALITION AS IT ATTEMPTS TO CARVE OUT A ROLE FOR ITSELF IN THE TOUGH, POLARIZED WORLD OF NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICS. THE COALITION, WHICH IS COMMITTED TO CROSS-SECTARIAN MEMBERSHIP AND NONSECTARIAN PRINCIPLES, MUST CONTINUALLY WORK TO OVERCOME BOTH UNIONISTS' PERCEPTION THAT IT IS, AT HEART, A REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION AND MORE GENERAL RESISTANCE TO THE IDEA OF WOMEN AS EQUAL POLITICAL PARTNERS. THE COALITION IS HOBBOLED BY THE FACT THAT IT LACKS THE ORGANIZATIONAL BASE AND RESOURCES ENJOYED BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES. MCWILLIAMS PRAISED SENATOR MITCHELL AND FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE MO MOWLAM. SHE SAID THAT SHADOW SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, ANDREW MACKAY, HAD NOT MET WITH THE COALITION, DESPITE REQUESTS, AND THAT DAVID TRIMBLE HAD MET WITH THEM FOR THE FIRST TIME ONLY RECENTLY. MCWILLIAMS SAID SHE THOUGHT RESISTANCE TO THE PATTEN REPORT HAD PEAKED AND THAT A COMPROMISE ON THE ISSUE OF THE NEW NAME MIGHT REMOVE ONE BARRIER TO IMPLEMENTATION. SHE EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT THE COSTS TO HER FAMILY OF HER PURSUING A POLITICAL CAREER. END SUMMARY.

2. (S) DURING A NOVEMBER 5 CONVERSATION WITH NORTHERN IRELAND WOMENS COALITION (NIWC) LEADER MONICA MCWILLIAMS AND A NOVEMBER 6 MEETING OF COALITION MEMBERS, POLOFF HEARD CONCERNS ABOUT THE OBSTACLES THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS MEMBERS FACE AS THEY WORK TO CARVE OUT A ROLE IN THE POLARIZED, SECTARIAN, AND LARGELY MALE WORLD OF NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICS. MCWILLIAMS AND COALITION MEMBERS OFFERED COMMENTS ON A RANGE OF ISSUES:

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

-- ON PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT: MCWILLIAMS PRAISED FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE MO MOWLAM'S INITIATIVES EARLY IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND SENATOR MITCHELL'S ONGOING EFFORTS TO PULL THE PROCESS ALONG. SHE VOLUNTEERED THAT GERRY ADAMS HAD TOLD HER THAT THE DAYS THE PARTIES SPENT AT WINFIELD HOUSE IN LONDON HAD BEEN CRITICAL TO THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING PROCESS. NOTING THAT SINN FEIN BELIEVES THAT EVERY ROOM IN STORMONT IS BUGGED AND THAT ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS LEAVE THE BUILDING WHENEVER THEY NEED TO TALK PRIVATELY, SHE SAID THAT ADAMS SEEMED TO FEEL HE COULD LET DOWN HIS GUARD AT WINFIELD HOUSE. THIS HAD LED, SHE SAID, TO THE MORE DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND TRIMBLE. SHE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE REVIEW, HOWEVER, AS, IN HER VIEW, HARD-LINE UNIONISTS ARE SIMPLY NOT READY TO TAKE THE STEPS NEEDED.

-- ON HOW BEST TO SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT: THE NIWC MEMBERS BRIEFLY DISCUSSED THE NEED TO COUNTER ARGUMENTS BY ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES THAT SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT HAS WANED. ONE COALITION MEMBER ARGUED THAT THE PARTIES SHOULD BE REMINDED PUBLICLY THAT THE MAJORITY WHO VOTED FOR THE AGREEMENT ARE GROWING IMPATIENT. WHEN ANOTHER MEMBER ASKED IF A LAW SUIT MIGHT BRING PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES, MCWILLIAMS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING POLITICAL ISSUES OUT OF THE COURT. SHE ARGUED THAT THE COALITION SHOULD BE PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORT, NOT COMPLICATING THE PROCESS.

-- ON THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT AND POLICE TRAINING: MCWILLIAMS SAID THAT SHE THOUGHT THE UNIONIST CAMPAIGN TO CRITICIZE AND BLOCK IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PATTEN REPORT HAD RUN ITS COURSE. (NOTE: WE ARE NOT SO OPTIMISTIC. END NOTE) SHE SAID THAT A COMPROMISE ON THE PROPOSED NAME CHANGE MIGHT SATISFY THOSE WHO RESISTED THE PROPOSAL TO DROP THE NAME 'RUC'. THE NAME COULD BE HYPHENATED -- AS IN 'THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE - RUC'. AT SOME POINT, PEOPLE WOULD PROBABLY DROP THE RUC PART OF THE NAME AND IT WOULD BECOME THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE, PERHAPS EVEN JUST 'THE POLICE SERVICE'. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, TO MAKE SURE THAT RUC WAS THE SECOND PART OF THE NAME. MCWILLIAMS, WHO HAD LECTURED ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ISSUES BEFORE ENTERING POLITICS, QUESTIONED THE USE OF SEPARATE TRAINING FACILITIES FOR THE POLICE. SHE ARGUED THAT POLICE TAKING AS MANY COURSES AS POSSIBLE AT LOCAL UNIVERSITIES WOULD REINFORCE POLICE TIES TO THE COMMUNITY. SHE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT SEPARATE FACILITIES TEND TO RESULT IN COMPROMISED STANDARDS.

-- ON THE WORKINGS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY: MCWILLIAMS WALKED POLOFF THROUGH THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBERS AND EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION OVER THE "UNCONSTRUCTIVE NATURE" OF MUCH OF WHAT TAKES PLACE THERE. SHE SAID THAT IAN PAISLEY HAS SUED HER AND BBC BASED ON HER COMMENTS IN AN INTERVIEW ABOUT AN INCIDENT WHEN PAISLEY HAD FORCED HIS WAY INTO THE CHAMBER, KNOCKING A GUARD OFF BALANCE, AFTER THE DOORS HAD BEEN CLOSED AT THE BEGINNING OF A DEBATE. SHE SAID THE SUIT WAS "ABSURD" AND THAT FIGHTING IT MEANS EXPENDING RESOURCES THAT COULD BE PUT TO BETTER USE.

-- ON THE SHADOW GOVERNMENT: ACCORDING TO MCWILLIAMS, THE SHADOW SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, ANDREW MACKAY, HAS NEVER MET WITH THE COALITION, DESPITE THE GROUP'S REQUEST THAT HE DO SO. SHE SAID THAT THE COALITION HAD MET REGULARLY WITH LABOUR REPRESENTATIVES WHEN THEY WERE THE OPPOSITION. DISCUSSION OF THE REQUEST FOR A MEETING WITH MACKAY AT THE NIWC'S MEETING ON NOVEMBER 6 LED ONE MEMBER TO REMARK THAT ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS SEEMED TO BE FINDING SUPPORT IN THE LONDON PRESS. ANOTHER MEMBER

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 009640

STATE FOR S/PICW LOAR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/30/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINR, KDEM, UK  
 SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: WOMENS COALITION LEADER MCWILLIAMS ON THE  
 POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

CHARGED THAT THE LONDON PRESS SEEMS TO FOCUS ON THE IRA'S REFUSAL TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING RATHER THAN EMPHASIZING THE PUBLIC'S EXPECTATION THAT THE PARTIES NEGOTIATE A WAY FORWARD ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: IN FACT, THE TONE OF THE PRESS SHIFTED IN MID-OCTOBER. RECENT REPORTING AND EDITORIALS ARE MUCH MORE LIKELY TO BE FOCUSED ON THE EFFORTS ON BOTH SIDES TO BRIDGE THE GAP AND MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. END COMMENT)

-- ON THE ROLE OF THE NIWC IN THE SECTARIAN WORLD OF NI POLITICS: THE COALITION MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE NOVEMBER 6 MEETING FLIRTED WITH THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE COALITION WILL EVER BE ABLE TO TAKE A POSITION ON ISSUES THAT DIVIDE NORTHERN IRELAND'S LARGELY SECTARIAN POLITICAL PARTIES. WHEN ONE MEMBER RAISED THE ISSUE OF ABORTION, ANOTHER RESPONDED THAT THE COALITION IS PREMISED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT WILL NOT TAKE A POSITION ON ISSUES WHERE THERE IS NO CONSENSUS. A THIRD MEMBER ARGUED THAT THE COALITION MUST BE ABLE TO TAKE A POSITION ON ISSUES IF IT IS TO BE A SERIOUS POLITICAL PLAYER. SHE ARGUED THAT DISSENTERS FROM THE MAJORITY VIEW SHOULD BE ABLE TO SUPPORT POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE ORGANIZATION IF THEY ARE BASED ON OPEN DEBATE. MCWILLIAMS HAD EARLIER DESCRIBED TO POLOFF THE CHALLENGES INVOLVED IN ENSURING THAT THE COALITION DOES NOT INADVERTENTLY BETRAY ITS COMMITMENT TO PURELY NON-SECTARIAN PRINCIPLES, WHICH IS THE KEY TO ITS DRAWING SUPPORT FROM BOTH THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT COMMUNITIES. EVERY STATEMENT, EVERY INVITATION AND EVERY POSITION IS VETTED TO ENSURE THAT IT DOES NOT PROVIDE AN EXCUSE FOR CRITICISM. THIS MEANS THE COALITION CANNOT TAKE A POSITION ON MANY ISSUES AND LIMITS ITS POLITICAL ROLE.

-- ON NIWC'S NEED FOR RESOURCES: ASKED ABOUT THE COALITIONS' BIGGEST CHALLENGES, MCWILLIAMS SAID THAT SHE DEPENDS ON THE VOLUNTEER INTERN (A U.S. COLLEGE STUDENT WHO LEAVES IN MID-NOVEMBER) TO KEEP HER PARLIAMENTARY OFFICE IN STORMONT GOING. (A U.S. COLLEGE PROFESSOR WHO REGULARLY VISITS BELFAST TO DO RESEARCH VOLUNTEERED HIS TIME TO HELP THE COALITION SET UP ITS WEBPAGE.) MCWILLIAMS NOTED THAT, WHILE THE PARTIES HAVE ESTABLISHED STRUCTURES TO RAISE FUNDS AND SUPPORT THEIR ASSEMBLY MEMBERS' WORK, THE COALITION DOES NOT. SHE SAID SHE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE USG DOES NOT PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO POLITICAL PARTIES, BUT ASKED ABOUT TRAINING AND ADVICE IN FUND-RAISING, OUTREACH, ORGANIZING, AND CAMPAIGNING. MCWILLIAMS SAID SHE WOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO PROGRAMS BASED IN NORTHERN IRELAND THAT CAN INCLUDE A LARGER NUMBER OF PEOPLE RATHER THAN PROGRAMS THAT INVOLVE SMALL GROUPS TRAVELING TO THE U.S. FOR TRAINING.

-- ON DAVID TRIMBLE: MCWILLIAMS CLAIMED THAT SHE HAD NEVER ENGAGED WITH TRIMBLE EXCEPT ON A VERY FORMAL, IMPERSONAL LEVEL. SHE RECOUNTED HIS APPARENT DISCOMFORT DURING A RECENT MEETING WITH COALITION REPRESENTATIONS AS PART OF THE REVIEW PROCESS.

-- ON JOHN HUME: ACCORDING TO MCWILLIAMS, HUME HAS ALMOST RECOVERED FROM HIS RECENT ACUTE ILLNESS (b)(6) AND IS READY TO STEP BACK INTO THE POLITICAL ARENA. (NOTE: HUME ADDRESSED THE SDLP CONGRESS ON NOVEMBER 6 IN BELFAST. SEPTEL. HE (b)(6) DECLARED THAT HE WAS "GLAD TO BE BACK." END NOTE) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

-- ON HER OWN POLITICAL CAREER: MCWILLIAMS EXPLAINED HOW HER PAST AS A UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR HAD EVOLVED INTO A FULL-TIME CAREER IN POLITICS. SHE SAID THAT SHE IS FORTUNATE TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO AFFORD TO MAKE THE SWITCH, EVEN THOUGH IT MEANT A CUT IN SALARY. SHE EXPRESSED CONCERN, HOWEVER, ABOUT THE COSTS TO HER FAMILY.

(b)(6)

MCWILLIAMS REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO THE TOLL OF HAVING TO WORK IN WHAT SHE REFERRED TO AS THE HOSTILE MALE ENVIRONMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICS. SHE SAID SHE WAS GRATEFUL THAT, BECAUSE SHE HAS KEPT HER MAIDEN NAME, HER SONS, WHO USE THEIR FATHER'S NAME, ARE SOMEWHAT ISOLATED FROM THE OFTEN NEGATIVE ATTENTION SHE ATTRACTS.

3. (c) COMMENT: MCWILLIAMS IS SMART, AMBITIOUS, POLITICALLY SAVVY, AND DOWN TO EARTH. THE INTIMATE SCALE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL SCENE MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR HER TO JUGGLE HER ROLES AS MOTHER, WIFE, POLITICIAN, AND WORLD SYMBOL OF THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND. DOING SO, HOWEVER, HAS REQUIRED HER TO DEVELOP A TOUGH SKIN AND THE ABILITY TO SEPARATE HER PERSONAL VIEWS AND RELATIONSHIPS FROM THOSE OF THE COALITION. HER REMARKS REFLECT HER LONG AND CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER CATHOLIC LEADERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN THE SDLP -- JUST AS THEY HIGHLIGHT THE DIFFICULTIES SHE HAS HAD ESTABLISHING A RELATIONSHIP WITH UNIONISTS. HER STORY AND THAT OF THE COALITION IS A REMINDER OF HOW MUCH HARD WORK WILL BE REQUIRED TO BUILD THE BRIDGES AND DEVELOP THE TRUST ON WHICH POLITICAL STABILITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND WILL DEPEND. END COMMENT.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 009640

STATE FOR S/PICW LOAR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/30/09  
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, KDEM, UK  
SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: WOMENS COALITION LEADER MCWILLIAMS ON THE POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

DAVIES

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 9640  
<^SSN>9640  
<^SSN>9640

TOR: 991113040005 M4148699  
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DIST: SIT: DAVIDSON NORLAND  
SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
LINE1: OAAMZYUW YEXCABO0001 3191800-MNSH--YEXXWHX.  
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LINE3: O 141800Z NOV 00  
LINE4: FM CABINET OFFICE  
OSRI: YEXCABO  
DTG:  
ORIG: CABINET OFFICE  
TO: WHITE HOUSE  
INFO: ////  
SUBJ: \*\*\* NO SUBJECT FOUND \*\*\*  
TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ //VIA CABINET CHANNELS PERSONAL//  
QQQQ  
MESSAGE FROM JOHN SAWERS  
TO MR SANDY BERGER

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (2.22)  
KBH 9/9/2019

Dear Sandy

NORTHERN IRELAND

I enclose the message to President Clinton from Prime Minister Blair which he promised to send in their recent telephone Conversation. I should be grateful if you could draw it to the President's attention.

Yours ever  
John Sawers

MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER BLAIR  
TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

I promised to set out for you where I think we are on Northern Ireland.

I believe we are now in a position where we can not only get through the Current crisis but also tie up the issues still outstanding from the Good Friday Agreement. And I believe that you can help us to do so, both by Visiting Northern Ireland before you leave office and by involving yourself And your representatives in these negotiations. There are seven key elements to a deal.

The IRA will need to re-engage with the International Commission on Decommissioning, as they undertook to do in their statement in May, This cannot be just a phone call from Brian Keenan to the Commission. It must be a real and sustained engagement. They will need to enter Serious discussions with de Chastelain on the modalities and timing of Decommissioning and de Chastelain will have to issue regular reports .

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

on progress.

Beyond that, the IRA will need to find practical ways of actually putting Weapons beyond use.. I have discussed this with Gerry Adams, and he Agrees we need to get military men to think about this imaginatively. We could consider concreting over the dumps that have already been Inspected or handing them over to the jurisdiction of a third party. This Is an area where I think American expertise could be invaluable. The Inspectors would then need to move on to new sites as yet un-inspected. But none of this will work if the IRA thinks it has the right to carry on Killing or procuring weapons from overseas. It makes a mockery of our Attempts to get them accepted as a normal political party if they from Time to time shoot alleged drug dealers or members of the Real IRA. And attempts to buy weapons from overseas while we are discussing Decommissioning are totally unacceptable. as are continuing punishment Attacks. We will need an understanding with them that this sort of Activity will not continue.

On Patten, we need to conclude the process rapidly. The Bill will Effectively compete its Parliamentary passage in the next few days. I believe, with careful handling to take account of David Trimble's Sensitivities, we should in the end be able to reach a Position Acceptable to Nationalists and Republicans. I think it is then Important that they agree to urge young Catholics to join the new Police service.

On the so-called quote on the runs unquote, we have gone a long way To meet Sinn Fein's request. Four cases from their original list have Been dropped for lack of evidence. And we have dropped 21 extradition Requests in the US and elsewhere. We hope that the first few of these Cases will be able to return to Northern Ireland shortly without having To serve their remaining prison sentences. As in the US system, the Attorney General is independent of government and cannot be instructed To drop prosecutions.. He has decided that the cases against the Remaining people on Sinn Fein's list cannot be dropped. The only way therefore to achieve what Sinn Fein want is to legislate to provide an Amnesty for all scheduled offences committed before the Good Friday Agreement. It will need to cover the security forces, Loyalists and Republicans. Those groups not on ceasefire would be excluded. This Will be extremely difficult politically in Britain and in Northern Ireland (and in the Republic if they have similar legislation). People will only accept this kind of blanket amnesty if it takes place in the context of a real change in Northern Ireland: the sort of irreversible progress that could be brought about by the first three steps outlined above.

We have made a lot of progress on security normalisation in Northern Ireland. In two-thirds of the Province there are now no troops on patrol. We have reduced troop numbers from 17,000 to 13,500. Bases are Being closed or have been closed in Cookstown, Fort George in Derry And in Belfast.

We have set out a long-term vision for the return of The army to normal peacetime duties with only 8,000 troops and no More than 20 bases down from more than 100. And we have carried Out all those steps that were promised in May and again in September. We have a particular problem in South Armagh, which is the base for The dissident Republicans and from where most of their attacks come, Including the two most recent bombs. My security authorities are Clear that we cannot relax our stance there as long as the dissident Threat continues at this level. At the same time, I recognise that we Need to do what we can to demonstrate to Sinn Fein supporters, Including those in South Armagh, that the peace process can offer real Progress for them. I will therefore do what I can, subject to the Security threat, if there is real progress on decommissioning and Re-engagement with de Chastelain.

The UUP will also of course have to drop its refusal to allow Sinn Fein Ministers to attend North/South meetings.

I think on the basis of these measures, as well as a few other steps Such as legislation to lift the disqualification of Members of the British Parliament or Northern Irish Assembly also sitting in the Dail in Dublin, we should be able to reach agreement. But I do not Pretend this will be easy either for the Republicans or the Unionists. And that is why I hope your participation and thospect of a Visit will help to provide cover for both sides to reach such an agreement.

I am most grateful to you for your agreement to send over Jim Steinberg. I look foreward to a further discussion of this with you In a few days time.

Message Ends  
DECL: X1  
#0001

NNNN

**TOR:** 11/14/00 14:51:38  
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SIT{C2}  
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PRT: Comm  
SIT: COQ  
SIT: Ficklin Millison Wasserman

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1242  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP AND SINN FEIN SET TO ACCEPT  
 CONCLUSIONS OF MITCHELL REVIEW TAKE STEPS TOWARD DEVOLUTION

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.23)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 009679

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/15/04  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP AND SINN FEIN SET TO ACCEPT  
 CONCLUSIONS OF MITCHELL REVIEW TAKE STEPS TOWARD DEVOLUTION

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

2. (U) IN BELFAST ON NOVEMBER 15, SENATOR MITCHELL FINALLY  
 GAVE THE FIRST PUBLIC INDICATION THAT THE UUP AND SINN FEIN  
 HAD MADE GENUINE PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLVING THE DEVOLUTION-  
 DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE. THE SENATOR NOTED THE KEY ROLE  
 THAT THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION WOULD PLAY IN ASSESSING  
 DECOMMISSIONING EFFORTS, AFTER ANNOUNCING THAT THE PRO-  
 AGREEMENT PARTIES WOULD MADE STATEMENTS TOMMORROW GIVING  
 THEIR POSITIONS ON THE ISSUES UNDER REVIEW. MITCHELL THEN  
 PLANS TO ISSUE HIS OWN FINAL REPORT ON THE REVIEW.

THIS WEEK'S SEQUENCE OF EVENTS  
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3. (U) IN DISCUSSIONS TODAY WITH SENIOR NIO OFFICIALS, WE  
 CONFIRMED THE LIKELY SEQUENCE OF NEXT STEPS: THE PRO-  
 AGREEMENT PARTIES WILL MAKE STATEMENTS NOVEMBER 16 SETTING  
 OUT THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS (WE WERE ASSURED THAT BOTH  
 THE SINN FEIN AND UUP STATEMENTS WOULD BE "PRE-COOKED" AND  
 WELL-ORCHESTRATED); THE NEXT DAY THE PROMISED IRA STATEMENT  
 SHOULD BE MADE; ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, MITCHELL IS TO  
 MAKE HIS FINAL REPORT ON THE REVIEW, PRESUMABLY DESCRIBING  
 THE WAY FORWARD TO DEVOLUTION AND EXECUTIVE FORMATION; ON  
 FRIDAY, DAVID TRIMBLE WILL CONVENE A MEETING OF THE UUP  
 COUNCIL, FOR THE WEEKEND OF NOVEMBER 26-27. (REFTEL)  
 CAMPAIGN FOR UNIONIST GRASS-ROOTS  
 -----

4. (U) EVEN IF THIS WEEK'S EVENTS GO OFF AS HOPED, UNIONIST  
 SOURCES INDICATE THAT TRIMBLE FACES A ROUGH COUPLE OF  
 WEEKS, AS THE NAYSAYERS IN HIS OWN PARTY TRY TO WIN OVER  
 THE GRASS-ROOTS CONSTITUENCIES WHO MAKE UP THE 900-PERSON

UUP COUNCIL. WE ARE TOLD THAT TRIMBLE NEEDS TO GET CLOSE TO A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY IN ORDER TO HAVE THE CLEAR AND CONVINCING SUPPORT HE WILL NEED TO SIT DOWN IN AN EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN ABSENT ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING. (COMMENT: TRIMBLE STALWARTS NOW ACCEPT THAT THE IRA WILL NOT DECOMMISSION PRIOR TO FORMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE.) AS OF NOW, PARTY INSIDERS GUESS THE COUNCIL WOULD DIVIDE ABOUT FIFTY-FIFTY AND SAY THAT DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR'S ENDORSEMENT OF TRIMBLE'S POSITION WILL BE CRUCIAL.

5. (C) THUS FAR, TAYLOR HAS NOT SUPPORTED THE SEQUENCED STEPS FORWARD IN THE MITCHELL REVIEW, BUT BOTH NIO AND UUP OFFICIALS BELIEVE HE MAY COME AROUND, IF HE CAN BE PERSUADED SUPPORTING DEVOLUTION WILL NOT FATALLY SPLIT THE UNIONIST PARTY. SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON INTENDS TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE LOBBYING UNIONISTS, AND WILL STRESS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S WILLINGNESS TO "SUSPEND" THE EXECUTIVE SHOULD OTHER ELEMENTS IN THE SEQUENCED ACCORD (I.E., DECOMMISSIONING) NOT OCCUR. MANDELSON WILL CONSULT TRIMBLE AS TO HOW BEST TO PITCH HMG'S MESSAGE OF SUPPORT.

6. (C) JUST WHAT MESSAGE WILL WORK WITH UNIONISTS IS UNDER GREAT INTERNAL DEBATE. ADVISORS CLOSE TO TRIMBLE SAY HE WILL MOUNT A VIGOROUS DEFENSE OF HIS LEADERSHIP IN URGING HIS PARTY TO BACK HIM, BUT INSIST THAT HE MUST NOT ATTEMPT TO OVERSELL THE DEAL ON OFFER NOR ALLUDE TO THE GOOD FAITH OF REPUBLICANS - UNIONIST CONSTITUENCIES WILL NEVER BUY EITHER NOTION. RATHER, TRIMBLE SHOULD BE STRAIGHTFORWARD ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE WAY FORWARD, PERHAPS WITH A "POST-DATED RESIGNATION LETTER" TO BE PROFFERED IF DECOMMISSIONING HAS NOT BEGUN BY A CERTAIN DATE.

GOVERNMENTS' MESSAGES TO SKEPTICAL UNIONISTS  
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7. (C) THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTS, ESPECIALLY THE BRITISH, AS NOMINAL "GUARANTORS," OF THE SERIES OF STEPS AGREED, WILL LOOM LARGE IN UNIONIST MINDS OVER THE COMING DAYS. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN ASKED WHAT MORE THE USG MIGHT BE ABLE TO SAY OR DO IN CONVINCING SINN FEIN THAT FAILURE TO DELIVER ON DECOMMISSIONING WILL DOOM THE GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS. BESIDES REITERATING OUR MANTRA - THAT WE SUPPORT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GFA IN ITS ENTIRETY - WE SUGGESTED THAT IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO CONVEY TO UUP ACTIVISTS THE POTENTIAL FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BENEFIT, IF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IS MADE TO WORK. TO DATE, MOST UNIONISTS HAVE BEEN TOO FIXATED ON DECOMMISSIONING AND/OR TOO FEARFUL OF ACTUALLY ACCEPTING REPUBLICANS AS POLITICAL ACTORS TO RECOGNIZE HOW MUCH PEACE IMPROVES THEIR PERSONAL PROSPECTS.  
LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9679

TOR: 991115164235 M4151125

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE

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 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0800  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: CRUNCH TIME (AGAIN) FOR TRIMBLE  
 AND THE UUP

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (2.24)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 009807

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
 TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: CRUNCH TIME (AGAIN) FOR TRIMBLE  
 AND THE UUP

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY

1. ~~(S)~~ THE 860-STRONG ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY COUNCIL IS  
 LIKELY TO MEET ON NOVEMBER 27 TO ACCEPT OR REJECT TRIMBLE'S  
 PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE BEFORE  
 IRA DECOMMISSIONING HAS BEGUN. IT WILL BE A HARD SELL.  
 UUP INSIDERS PREDICT A BRUISING FIGHT THAT MAY INCLUDE A  
 DIRECT CHALLENGE TO TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP BY JEFFREY  
 DONALDSON. THE OTHER LARGE PRO-AGREEMENT PARTY, THE SDLP,  
 IS PREPARED TO GIVE WHATEVER QUIET SUPPORT TRIMBLE  
 REQUESTS. THE UUP IS LOOKING TO HMG, THE ROI AND US TO  
 PROVIDE ASSURANCES THAT, SHOULD DECOMMISSIONING FAIL TO  
 OCCUR, SINN FEIN WILL SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES. IF  
 TRIMBLE'S GAMBIT RESULTS IN A FRACTURING OF UNIONISM BEFORE  
 POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE ESTABLISHED, THE PEACE PROCESS  
 IS LIKELY TO FOUNDER. END SUMMARY.

TRIMBLE TO FACE UUP COUNCIL

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2. (X) THIS WEEKEND, THE UUP LEADERSHIP IS EXPECTED TO CONVOKE A PARTY COUNCIL MEETING FOR NOVEMBER 27 TO CONSIDER TRIMBLE'S PROPOSAL THAT THE UUP AGREE TO ENTER GOVERNMENT WITH SINN FEIN BEFORE DECOMMISSIONING HAS COMMENCED. DAVID LAVERY, TRIMBLE'S CHIEF CIVIL SERVICE AIDE, TOLD US NOVEMBER 18 THAT THE EVOLUTION IN UUP POLICY OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAS BEEN FROM "NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT" (PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING) TO "JUMPING TOGETHER" (SIMULTANEOUS FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH DECOMMISSIONING) TO THE CURRENT POSTURE, IN WHICH THE UUP WILL FORM THE GOVERNMENT WITH AN UNDERLYING COMMITMENT FROM REPUBLICANS THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL OCCUR IN THE COMING MONTHS. HE STATED THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE SERIES OF PARTY STATEMENTS NOW BEING RELEASED, TRIMBLE HAS GOTTEN VERBAL ASSURANCES THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL BEGIN WITHIN AN AGREED TIMEFRAME. (LAVERY DID NOT DISCLOSE THE DATES, BUT LATE JANUARY/FEBRUARY IS THE COMMONLY ACCEPTED "DEADLINE" FOR AT LEAST SOME WEAPONS TO BE DECOMMISSIONED.)

3. (X) IN A NOVEMBER 17 MEETING WITH DCM DAVIES, PRO-TRIMBLE UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBERS DERMIT NESBITT AND ESMOND BIRNIE OUTLINED PREPARATORY PLANS FOR THE UUP COUNCIL MEETING. AFTER JOKING THAT THE UUP WOULD LIKE TO SURREPTIOUSLY RETAIN JAMES CARVILLE TO RUN THEIR PRE-COUNCIL CAMPAIGN, NESBIT SAID THE PARTY WOULD USE MORE TRADITIONAL METHODS OF REACHING OUT TO LOBBY PARTY MEMBERS. HE NOTED THAT A MAJORITY OF UUP MEMBERS SUPPORT TRIMBLE'S POLICY, BUT THE ACTIVISTS WHO COMPRISE THE COUNCIL MAY BE LESS FLEXIBLE. FORMALLY, TRIMBLE WILL NEED A SIMPLE MAJORITY TO ENDORSE THE POLICY CHANGE NEEDED TO SET UP THE EXECUTIVE WITHOUT PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING. IN REALITY, HOWEVER, NESBIT NOTED THAT TRIMBLE NEEDS TO PREVAIL WITH MORE THAN A NARROW MAJORITY TO COME OUT OF THE COUNCIL AS THE VICTOR. THE KEY, HE SAID, IS TO CONVINCE THOSE SKEPTICAL OF THE IRA'S INTENTIONS THAT TRIMBLE'S PROPOSAL IS THE BEST MEANS OF ACHIEVING DECOMMISSIONING.

4. (X) THE KEY TO THIS, NESBIT SAID, IS FOR APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS TO BE PUT IN PLACE TO ENSURE THAT THE EXECUTIVE WILL BE DISSOLVED (OR SINN FEIN EXCLUDED) IF SATISFACTORY PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING DOES NOT OCCUR. HE STRESSED THAT, UNLIKE IN JULY, THE UUP IS NOT GOING TO MAKE THE INCLUSION OF A "FAILSAFE" MECHANISM CENTRAL TO THEIR PUBLIC COMMENTS LEST THEY GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE UUP BELIEVES THE ARRANGEMENT IS FATED TO FAIL; NONETHELESS, UNIONISTS ACTIVISTS WILL NEED TO HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT A FAILURE TO DECOMMISSION WILL ENTAIL CONSEQUENCES. NESBIT SAID THERE MUST BE "ENOUGH CLARITY TO REASSURE UNIONISTS, BUT NOT TO OFFEND NATIONALISTS." HE SAID THE UUP WILL LOOK TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO PROVIDE THIS CONFIDENCE, BUT NOTED THAT U.S. SUPPORT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. (COMMENT: THIS IS ONE OF SEVERAL BROAD UUP HINTS THAT U.S. REASSURANCE ON THIS ELEMENT WOULD BE VALUABLE.)

5. (X) IN A MEETING WITH THE CG ON NOVEMBER 18, TRIMBLE'S TOP POLITICAL ADVISOR, DAVID CAMPBELL, ECHOED NESBIT'S ANALYSIS AND ADDED THAT TRIMBLE WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN THE GAMBLE IF HE WAS NOT CONFIDENT OF SUCCESS. HE AND LAVERY ADDED THAT THE LEADERSHIP IS ROLLING OUT THEIR CAMPAIGN IN

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LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/09  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: CRUNCH TIME (AGAIN) FOR TRIMBLE  
AND THE UUP

THE COMING DAYS, WITH THE HELP OF SOME NEWLY HIRED MEDIA  
CONSULTANTS, WITH A PARTICULAR FOCUS ON GETTING THEIR  
VIEWPOINT ACROSS IN THE MAJOR SUNDAY PAPERS.

6. (C) CAMPBELL AND LAVERY NOTED THAT UUP DISSIDENT  
JEFFREY DONALDSON LOOKS POISED TO TURN HIS OPPOSITION INTO  
A FULL-FLEDGED LEADERSHIP FIGHT AND THAT A SHOWDOWN AT THE  
COUNCIL MAY BE UNAVOIDABLE. THOUGH FORMERLY DISMISSED AS  
TOO YOUNG TO MOUNT A CREDIBLE CHALLENGE, DONALDSON SEEMS TO  
BE LEANING TOWARDS SUCH A MOVE, THOUGH HE HAS NOT YET MADE  
HIS INTENTIONS PUBLIC, ACCORDING TO CAMPBELL. TRIMBLE'S  
DEPUTY, JOHN TAYLOR, IS ANOTHER WILD-CARD. HE HAS BEEN  
AWAY IN IRAN ON A PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION ALL WEEK AND HAS  
NOT YET MADE A DEFINITIVE PRONOUNCEMENT ON TRIMBLE'S PLAN.  
LAVERY SUGGESTED ELIPTICALLY THAT TRIMBLE WAS PREPARING A  
PROPOSAL TO WOO TAYLOR, BUT WOULD NOT ELABORATE ON ITS  
CONTENTS. TAYLOR IS SEEN AS KEY TO TRIMBLE'S SUCCESS WITH  
RANK-AND-FILE COUNCIL MEMBERS.

7. (C) IN A SHORT MEETING WITH THE DCM, SDLP NEGOTIATOR  
AND ASSEMBLY MEMBER MARK DURKAN TOLD DCM THAT HIS PARTY IS  
PREPARING TO PLAY WHATEVER ROLE THE UUP FEELS IS HELPFUL  
DURING THE DAYS LEADING TO THE COUNCIL MEETING. HE ADDED  
THAT HE EXPECTS MANDELSON TO CONTRIBUTE BY SELLING SOME OF  
THE PRAGMATIC BENEFITS OF ESTABLISHING THE EXECUTIVE,  
NAMELY GIVING LOCALLY ELECTED OFFICIALS AUTHORITY OVER  
HEALTH AND EDUCATION POLICY, INTER ALIA. HE ALSO INTIMATED  
THAT MANDELSON MIGHT BE ABLE TO SWEETEN THE POT BY MAKING  
SOME SPECIFIC SPENDING COMMITMENTS, DELIVERABLE ONCE THE  
EXECUTIVE IS FORMED. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN MEDIA SPECULATION  
THAT MANDELSON MAY SUGGEST GOVERNMENT FLEXIBILITY ON THE  
PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICE REFORM AS ANOTHER WAY OF  
PLACATING UNIONISTS.

DUP: COUNTING THE VOTES  
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8. (C) DUP ASSEMBLY MEMBERS JIM WELLS AND EDWIN POOTS  
REITERATED THEIR PARTY'S RESOLVE TO TRY TO BLOCK ANY DEAL  
THAT WOULD PERMIT SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE  
EXECUTIVE. WELLS POINTED OUT THAT, BECAUSE OF INTERNAL  
DISSIDENT, THE UUP DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT VOTES TO REELECT  
TRIMBLE AS FIRST MINISTER AND SEAMUS MALLON AS DEPUTY FIRST  
MINISTER. MALLON RESIGNED FROM HIS POST IN JULY AND THE  
DUP MAINTAINS THAT BOTH HE AND TRIMBLE MUST BE VOTED IN  
AGAIN BY THE ASSEMBLY IN ORDER TO TAKE THEIR SEATS. (NOTE:  
THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT REQUIRES THAT THE ELECTION OF  
THESE POSTS BE CONDUCTED ON A "WEIGHTED-MAJORITY" BASIS,  
I.E. REQUIRING BOTH CANDIDATES TO RECEIVE THE VOTES OF A  
MAJORITY OF BOTH UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS. CURRENT HEAD-  
COUNTS SUGGEST THAT TRIMBLE WOULD INDEED BE A FEW VOTES  
SHORT.)

## U.S. ROLE

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9. (e) ASKED ABOUT HOW THE U.S. CAN ASSIST, UUP REPRESENTATIVES NESBIT AND BIRNIE SUGGESTED THAT TRIMBLE WOULD BE BUTTRESSED BY A STATEMENT THAT SHOWED THE U.S. SHARES TRIMBLE'S EXPECTATIONS THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL OCCUR ONCE THE EXECUTIVE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. HE ADDED THAT CONTINUED DIRECT PRESSURE ON THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IS ALSO WELCOME, "IF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN'T MAKE THE IRA DECOMMISSION, NO ONE CAN."

## COMMENT

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10. (e) TRIMBLE'S TEAM HAS RESOLVED TO FACE UP TO A SHOW-DOWN THAT HAS BEEN LOOMING IN THE UUP FOR MANY MONTHS. UNFORTUNATELY, DURING HIS LEADERSHIP TRIMBLE DID NOT ACT DECISIVELY TO MODERNIZE THE PARTY'S STRUCTURE AND DEMOCRATIZE ITS RULING INSTITUTIONS. AS A CONSEQUENCE, IN THE COUNCIL MEETING, THE ORANGE ORDER WILL HAVE 120 DELEGATES, WHO MAY BE FORMALLY INSTRUCTED BY THEIR "GRAND LODGE" TO OPPOSE TRIMBLE'S DEAL. IN THE EVENT, EVEN IF TRIMBLE PREVAILS THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT THE UUP WILL FORMALLY SPLIT. SUCH A FURTHER FRACTURING OF UNIONISM MAY BE SUSTAINABLE WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS FUNCTIONING. IF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED, THE PROCESS COULD MOVE BACKWARD SEVERAL STEPS BEFORE RESUMING ANY FORWARD MOMENTUM.

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DIST:

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: ROUTINE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: RAACZYUW RUEHLOA9849 3231955-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: R 191955Z NOV 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 191955Z NOV 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1111  
 INFO: RUEHXQ/ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 1375  
 RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA 0103  
 RUEHAK/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 0433  
 RUEHJA/AMEMBASSY JAKARTA 0304  
 RUEHPF/AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH 0045  
 RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 0926  
 SUBJ: DRL DAS FREEMAN DISCUSSES HUMAN RIGHTS WITH UK GOVT  
 AND NGOS  
 TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 009849  
 NSC FOR DICK NORLAND

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (2.25)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/16/09  
 TAGS: PHUM, PREL, UK  
 SUBJECT: DRL DAS FREEMAN DISCUSSES HUMAN RIGHTS WITH UK GOVT  
 AND NGOS

REFS: A) LONDON 9102; B) LONDON 9233

CLASSIFIED BY POLITICAL MINISTER-COUNSELOR JUDITH R. JOHNSON.  
 REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D).

1. (U) SUMMARY: DRL DAS BENNETT FREEMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY  
 DRL OFFICE DIRECTOR CHARLES BROWN AND EMBASSY POLITICAL  
 OFFICER, MET WITH FCO AND NIO OFFICIALS, PARLIAMENTARIANS,  
 AND NGOS TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS DURING A NOV 8-12 VISIT TO  
 LONDON. DISCUSSIONS WERE WIDE-RANGING, WITH PARTICULAR FOCUS  
 ON INDONESIA, COLOMBIA, AND TURKEY. END SUMMARY.

TALKING TO HMG

2. (SBU) IN THE ABSENCE OF THE HEAD OF THE FCO HUMAN RIGHTS  
 POLICY DEPARTMENT, FREEMAN MET WITH DEPUTY HEAD ANDREW SOPER  
 TO DISCUSS U.S. AND UK HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS IN A VARIETY OF  
 COUNTRIES. AFTER TOUCHING BRIEFLY ON THE RECENT CHINESE  
 STATE VISIT TO THE UK (REPORTED IN DETAIL IN REFTELS A AND  
 B), SOPER MOVED ON TO INDONESIA, WHERE HE SAID THE UK'S  
 PRIMARY OPERATIONAL CONCERN IS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL  
 COMMISSION OF INQUIRY HAS GOTTEN BOGGED DOWN. HE ADDED THAT  
 THE EU HAD DEMARCHED THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT LAST WEEK TO  
 LITTLE EFFECT, AND HAD ALSO RAISED THE ISSUE WITH THE  
 RUSSIANS AND JAPANESE TO SEE IF THEY COULD DO ANYTHING.

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3. (SBU) TURNING TO TURKEY, FREEMAN GAVE A READOUT ON A/S KOH'S JULY TRIP THERE, AND RECENT FOLLOW-UP EFFORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE RUN-UP TO THE ISTANBUL SUMMIT. FREEMAN ASKED ABOUT THE RECENT SWEDISH STATEMENT LAYING DOWN MILESTONES FOR TURKEY TO PASS IN ORDER TO QUALIFY FOR EU MEMBERSHIP. SOPER SAID THE NEXT STAGE IN THE PROCESS IS THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETING. FREEMAN THEN MENTIONED THAT THE U.S. WANTS TO ESTABLISH A HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN OFFICE IN KOSOVO, AND HIGHLIGHTED OUR CONCERN THAT THERE BE EARLY, WELL-CONDUCTED ELECTIONS IN KOSOVO.

4. (SBU) FREEMAN REPORTED VERY BRIEFLY ON SECRETARY ALBRIGHT'S RECENT TRIP TO AFRICA, WITH EMPHASIS ON SIERRA LEONE. SOPER SAID THE CRITICAL ISSUE IN SIERRA LEONE IS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT, AND SAID THE U.K IS DEMARCHING SIERRA LEONE ON THE NEED FOR ACTIONS NOT WORDS.

5. (SBU) FREEMAN THEN TOUCHED BRIEFLY ON THE SITUATION IN PAKISTAN, AND THE USG POSITION ON THE COUP, WITH WHICH THE UK AGREES. SOPER POINTED OUT THAT THE UK WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN ASSURING THAT THE COMMONWEALTH TOOK A STRONG POSITION ON CONDEMNING THE COUP. FREEMAN EMPHASIZED THE PRIORITY THE USG ATTACHES IN DISCUSSIONS WITH MUSHARRAF ON TIMETABLES AND MILESTONES FOR A SPEEDY RETURN TO DEMOCRACY.

6. (S) LASTLY, THE ISSUE OF COLOMBIA WAS DISCUSSED. SOPER SAID THAT THE UK IS CONCERNED ABOUT SUPPORT FOR THE COLOMBIAN MILITARY IN THE CONTEXT OF ARMS SALES. HE ASKED IF THE US IS EQUALLY CONCERNED, GIVEN THAT THE PASTRANA GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATED A NEW RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN TRAINING THE MILITARY. FREEMAN REPLIED THAT IN THE INTER-AGENCY ADVICE THE USG GAVE COLOMBIA RECENTLY, WE FOCUSED ON TRAINING FOR MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES. HE ADDED THAT THE USG IS GLAD TO SEE PASTRANA IS TAKING REFORM SERIOUSLY, BUT THE U.S. WILL BE VIGILANT AND EXPECTS THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT TO BE EQUALLY SO. FREEMAN ADDED THAT THE US WANTS TO ENSURE THAT INTENSIFIED ANTI-NARCOTICS OPERATIONS DON'T RESULT IN ADDITIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.

7. (SBU) IN AN FCO MEETING ON SUDAN, THE FCO CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ADVISER FOR AFRICA RAISED UK CONCERN ABOUT CONFLICT BASED AROUND THE OPENING UP OF OIL FIELDS IN DISPUTED AREAS. HE POINTED OUT THAT PROTECTION OF OIL INTERESTS IS LEADING TO GREATER FACTIONALIZATION, AND HAS CHANGED THE POLITICAL BOUNDARIES IN SUDAN. FREEMAN AND BROWN ALSO USED THE MEETING TO PUSH FOR A STRONGER UN RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN SUDAN THIS YEAR.

8. (U) FREEMAN ALSO MET WITH MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND HOUSE OF LORDS. THE MEETING WITH DONALD ANDERSON (LABOUR), CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AND PHYLLIS STARKEY, MP (LABOUR), BEGAN WITH AN BRIEF OVERVIEW BY ANDERSON OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S ETHICAL DIMENSION IN FOREIGN POLICY. IN RESPONSE, FREEMAN DISCUSSED THE USG'S PROPOSED CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY INITIATIVE (REPORTED SEPTTEL).

9. (S) ANDERSON RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
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CRIMINAL COURT (ICC), AND SAID THAT U.S. NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE COURT "BLUNTS THE U.S. IMPACT ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN OTHER AREAS." FREEMAN AND BROWN EXPLAINED THE U.S. POSITION ON THE ICC. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ON WHETHER THE U.S. CONSIDERS ITS TROOPS MORE AT RISK FROM THE ICC THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRIES' TROOPS, BROWN RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. FEELS THAT ALL TROOPS ARE INSUFFICIENTLY PROTECTED.

10. (SBU) FREEMAN TOUCHED ON THE U.S. DESIRE FOR EARLY AND WELL-PREPARED ELECTIONS IN KOSOVO, AND ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR. STARKEY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF GETTING INVOLVED IN SUCH SITUATIONS EARLIER, WHEN IT WOULD BE EASIER TO HAVE SOME EFFECT. FREEMAN AGREED THAT PREVENTION IS THE KEY TO SUCH SITUATIONS.

11. (S) FREEMAN THEN MET WITH LORD ERIC AVEBURY, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SUBJECT GROUP ON HUMAN RIGHTS. (NOTE: AVEBURY IS ONE OF THE 92 LORDS WHO WILL RETAIN THEIR SEATS IN THE INTERIM HOUSE OF LORDS.) DURING A DISCUSSION OF CONDITIONS IN TURKEY, KOSOVO, AND COLOMBIA, AVEBURY EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE EU MIGHT BE MOVING TOWARDS "FUDGING" THE LUXEMBOURG HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS WITH REGARD TO TURKEY.

#### BRIEFINGS ON NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

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12. (SBU) FREEMAN MET WITH BRITISH IRISH RIGHTS WATCH DIRECTOR JANE WINTER, WHO PROVIDED A BRIEFING ON PENDING HUMAN RIGHTS CASES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SHE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER REPORTS BY THE GOVERNMENT WHICH SUGGEST THERE MAY HAVE BEEN LEAKS SINCE THE CEASEFIRE OF INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENTS FROM THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC) TO LOYALIST PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS. SHE ARGUED THAT INDEPENDENT INQUIRIES WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT POLITICALLY SENSITIVE AND CONTENTIOUS CASES. THE ONGOING 'BLOODY SUNDAY' INQUIRY HAS GIVEN PEOPLE HOPE THAT OTHER CASES, INCLUDING THE 1989 MURDER OF PAT FINUCANE, MIGHT ALSO BE CREDIBLY RESOLVED. WINTER SAID SHE HOPED THAT NEWLY NAMED SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND PETER MANDELSON WOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, AS "THIS WOULD HELP REMOVE A CORROSIVE ELEMENT FROM THE PROCESS." WINTER ARGUED THAT RIGHTS WATCH WAS CONCERNED THAT THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS HAD NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH, IN THAT THEY WOULD NOT REQUIRE CURRENTLY SERVING POLICE TO BE VETTED. MANY SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO UNDERGO RETRAINING, SHE ARGUED. SHE STRONGLY ENDORSED THE RECOMMENDATION THAT "AN OUTSIDER" (THE REPORT CALLS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL FIGURE) BE BROUGHT IN TO OVERSEE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT ARE ACCEPTED. SHE ARGUED THERE IS DANGER OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS BECOMING ENTANGLED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SHE EXPRESSED PARTICULAR CONCERN THAT CONCESSIONS RELATING TO SPECIFIC PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE TREATED AS CRUMBS TO BE GIVEN TO UNIONISTS TO WIN THEIR COOPERATION ON OTHER ISSUES.

13. (SBU) IN A SUBSEQUENT MEETING, THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE'S DAVID BROOKER (WHO HEADS THE INTERNATIONAL AND PLANNING DIVISION AND IS ACTING HEAD OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS DIVISION) DESCRIBED HUMAN RIGHTS AS "A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF

THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT." HE NOTED THAT "INCLUSION OF A BILL OF RIGHTS WAS ESSENTIAL TO GETTING THE DEAL." BROOKER NOTED THAT SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON HAD MET THE FIRST WEEK OF NOVEMBER WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE AGREEMENT. MANDELSON HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE WANTS TO ENSURE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SEEN AS BENEFITING ALL PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THE COMMISSION IS PREPARED TO DEFINE ITS MANDATE QUITE WIDELY. IT HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR DRAFTING A STRATEGIC PLAN FOR MEETING ITS OBLIGATIONS, ADVISING THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON THE BILL OF RIGHTS, WORKING ON SPECIFIC CASES, AND PROVIDING LEGAL ADVICE TO THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE. BROOKER NOTED THAT CONSULTATIONS ARE UNDERWAY REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS. THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS THE REPORT IN PRINCIPLE; THE CONSULTATIONS WILL GUIDE THE STAGING OR SPECIFICS OF IMPLEMENTATION. IT IS LIKELY THAT IT WILL BE A ROLLING PROCESS, PARTICULARLY AS SOME RECOMMENDATIONS WILL REQUIRE WESTMINSTER LEGISLATION. THE REPORT OF THE PARALLEL CRIMINAL JUSTICE REVIEW IS DUE IN LATE 1999, BUT IS MORE LIKELY TO BE RELEASED IN EARLY 2000.

NGOS DISCUSS WHAT'S ON THEIR MINDS  
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NSC FOR DICK NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/16/09

TAGS: PHUM, PREL, UK

SUBJECT: DRL DAS FREEMAN DISCUSSES HUMAN RIGHTS WITH UK GOVT AND NGOS

14. (U) FREEMAN MET BRIEFLY WITH VINCE DEL BUONO, DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (AI), AND ALSO HAD A SHORT CONVERSATION WITH AI DIRECTOR GENERAL PIERRE SANE, WHOM FREEMAN HAD MET IN NY THE PREVIOUS WEEK. AMNESTY ORGANIZED A ROUNDTABLE WITH A DOZEN OF THEIR REGIONAL EXPERTS TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS WITH FREEMAN AND BROWN. THE ROUNDTHE-WORLD IN 90 MINUTES MEETING COVERED COLOMBIA, VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, INDONESIA, CHINA, TURKEY, ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY, AND AFGHANISTAN. FREEMAN ALSO BRIEFED AI ON DRL'S CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY INITIATIVE (SEPTEL).

15. (U) THE AI EXPERTS PRESSED THE U.S. TO DO MORE IN AFGHANISTAN AND COLOMBIA. FREEMAN AND BROWN EXPLAINED THE U.S. POSITION ON THOSE COUNTRIES AND WHAT THE USG IS ALREADY DOING, AND SOLICITED PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FROM AI AS TO WHAT MORE COULD BE DONE IN AFGHANISTAN, GIVEN THAT ALL POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS ARE ALREADY BEING APPLIED. AI RAISED THE USE OF TORTURE IN ISRAEL, AND FREEMAN BRIEFED THEM IN VERY GENERAL TERMS ON HIS RECENT TRIP THERE, WHICH FOCUSED IN PART ON THAT ISSUE. AMNESTY ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT ANOTHER DRAFT NGO REFORM BILL CIRCULATING IN CAMBODIA. THEY POINTED TO A VARIETY OF BAD PROVISIONS IN THE BILL, INCLUDING THE USE OF MILITARY COURTS FOR POLITICALLY SENSITIVE CASES.

16. (U) ON COLOMBIA, FREEMAN REITERATED USG CONCERN THAT U.S. AND OTHER ANTI-NARCOTICS ACTIVITIES NOT COME AT THE PRICE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AI EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE U.S. PLAN REPRESENTS THE FARC AS THE ONLY PROBLEM IN THE NARCOTICS

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TRADE, WHICH THEY FEEL IS NOT THE CASE. AI VIEWS THIS AS A SERIOUS OMISSION IN THE U.S. PLAN. THEY ALSO RAISED CONCERNS ABOUT THE PASTRANA GOVERNMENT AND LINKS BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND PARAMILITARIES. FINALLY, AMNESTY SEES A CLEAR LINK BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS, POINTING OUT THAT THE AREAS MOST AFFECTED BY NEW PARAMILITARY ATTACKS ARE THOSE THE PASTRANA GOVERNMENT WANTS TO OPEN UP TO DEVELOPMENT.

17. (U) COMMENT: THIS IS THE SECOND SUCH ROUND-THE-WORLD ROUNDTABLE FREEMAN HAS HELD WITH AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN LONDON IN FIVE MONTHS. THE EXERCISE PROVED USEFUL TO BOTH SIDES, ACCORDING TO AI FEEDBACK. AI AND FREEMAN EXPRESSED INTEREST IN SPENDING MORE TIME (UP TO A HALF DAY OR MORE) TOGETHER TO ALLOW FOR MORE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES ON FREEMAN'S NEXT VISIT TO LONDON. END COMMENT.

18. (U) BROWN AND POLOFF MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM TWO PRESS FREEDOM NGOS: ARTICLE 19 AND INDEX ON CENSORSHIP. THE NGOS NAMED BELARUS, TURKEY, IRAN, AND SERBIA AS COUNTRIES WHERE THEY FEEL ACTION IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE THERE IS RECEPTIVITY TO CHANGE. THEY THEN TALKED ABOUT PRESS FREEDOM IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THEIR FEELING THAT THE TIME IS RIGHT TO HOLD A MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE ON PRESS FREEDOM AND MEDIA ETHICS, POSSIBLY IN CAIRO.

19. (U) BROWN ALSO MET SEPARATELY WITH ALEXANDRA JONES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY. BROWN AND JONES DISCUSSED TWO PENDING USG INITIATIVES: EFFORTS TO SECURE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF A RIGHT TO DEMOCRACY, AND THE UPCOMING COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES CONFERENCE SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN WARSAW, POLAND, IN JUNE. BROWN ALSO MET WITH GEORGINA ASHWORTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF CHANGE, A WOMEN'S RIGHTS NGO, TO BRIEF HER ON RECENT ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS, INCLUDING EFFORTS TO SECURE SENATE PASSAGE OF THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN, AND RECENT ACTIONS TO COMBAT THE TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

20. (U) FINALLY, FREEMAN MET WITH ROCK STAR AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST PETER GABRIEL AT HIS OFFICE/STUDIO COMPLEX IN THE WILTSHIRE COUNTRYSIDE. GABRIEL EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THE CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY MOVEMENT AND ITS CONNECTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS. HE FOCUSED ON WAYS TO MAKE SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE INVESTING EASIER FOR THE AVERAGE PERSON, SUGGESTING A VARIETY OF USES OF THE INTERNET AND OTHER NEW TECHNOLOGIES TO ENABLE INITIATIVES SUCH AS A "GOOD HOUSEKEEPING" STAMP OF APPROVAL ON SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE STOCKS. FREEMAN AND GABRIEL ALSO DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN CHINA, INDONESIA, AND SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES.

21. (U) THIS CABLE HAS BEEN CLEARED BY DAS FREEMAN.

LADER

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**DIST:**

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 241746Z NOV 99  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1212  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1270  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1389  
 SUBJ: AWARD TO RUC AND OTHER POTENTIAL OBSTACLES TO  
 IMPLEMENTATION OF MITCHELL REVIEW PROCESS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.26)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

NSC FOR NORLAND

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 009940

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/02/04  
 TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, UK  
 SUBJECT: AWARD TO RUC AND OTHER POTENTIAL OBSTACLES TO  
 IMPLEMENTATION OF MITCHELL REVIEW PROCESS

NSC FOR NORLAND

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM GLYN DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

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 SUMMARY  
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2. ~~(S)~~ THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON NOVEMBER 23 THAT THE QUEEN HAD AWARDED THE GEORGE CROSS, BRITAIN'S HIGHEST CIVILIAN HONOR, TO THE RUC WAS WELCOMED BY THE CHIEF CONSTABLE, MOST UNIONISTS AND EVEN THE SDLP. THE NIO ACKNOWLEDGED PRIVATELY THAT THE AWARD WAS MEANT TO REASSURE UNIONISTS IN A CRITICAL WEEK, AS CONSULTATIONS ON THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS COME TO A CLOSE AND THE UNIONIST COMMISSION PREPARES TO VOTE ON THE MITCHELL REVIEW PROCESS. IAN PAISLEY RESPONDED TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY SAYING THAT THE ONLY PRIZE HE WANTED WAS "THE BURIAL OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT," WHILE SINN FEIN CALLED THE AWARD "A SLAP IN THE FACE." MEANWHILE, THE NIO IS ASSUMING THAT TRIMBLE WILL GET THE SUPPORT OF SIXTY PERCENT OF THE UUP'S COUNCIL, THE UUC, WHEN IT MEETS ON NOVEMBER 27, AND THEY ARE WORKING ON HOW TO ENSURE THAT SEAMUS MALLON WILL REMAIN AS DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER, DESPITE HIS EARLIER RESIGNATION. THE MOST LIKELY OPTION IS TO HAVE THE NI ASSEMBLY REJECT MALLON'S RESIGNATION. THE NIO SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF, SOMETIME AFTER DEVOLUTION, THE U.S. REMINDS SINN FEIN THAT THERE MUST BE MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE WILL BE TO ENSURE THAT THE HEATED, POLARIZED RHETORIC IN RESPONSE TO THE AWARD TO THE RUC DOES NOT DERAIL THE EFFORT TO CARRY THROUGH WITH THE STEPS TOWARD DEVOLUTION

AGREED TO BY THE PARTIES DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW. END SUMMARY.

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 SINN FEIN OBJECTS TO RUC RECEIVING AWARD  
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3. (X) BUCKINGHAM PALACE ANNOUNCED ON NOVEMBER 23 THAT THE QUEEN HAD AWARDED THE GEORGE CROSS TO THE RUC, AN ACTION THAT COULD BOTH PROMOTE AND COMPLICATE THE SENSITIVE STEPS TOWARD DEVOLUTION AGREED TO BY THE PARTIES DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW. THE AWARD IS IN RECOGNITION OF THE RUC'S -- AND THEIR FAMILIES' -- SACRIFICES AND CONTRIBUTIONS OVER THE LAST THIRTY YEARS. THE GEORGE CROSS IS HMG'S GOVERNMENT'S HIGHEST CIVILIAN AWARD FOR COURAGE, AND THIS IS ONLY THE SECOND TIME IT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO A GROUP OR ORGANIZATION. (IT WAS CONFERRED TO MALTA, FOR ITS SACRIFICES DURING WW II.)

4. (X) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR CHARACTERIZED THE AWARD AS "RECOGNITION OF SACRIFICE OVER THE PAST THIRTY YEARS." SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND PETER MANDELSON ISSUED A STATEMENT (FAXED TO EUR/BI AND NSC) NOTING HIS ADMIRATION FOR THE RUC FOR ITS WORK ON "THE FRONT LINE IN PROTECTING SOCIETY AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND GREAT BRITAIN AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE ENGAGED IN VIOLENCE FOR POLITICAL ENDS." THE STATEMENT HIGHLIGHTED THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE RUC IN HELPING "BRING STABILITY AND PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND" AND NOTED THAT THE AWARD WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT "AT A TIME WHEN THEY (THE RUC) ARE FACING THE PROSPECT OF CHANGE." MANDELSON SAID THE AWARD ENSURE THAT THE RUC'S SACRIFICES WILL NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE RONNIE FLANAGAN CALLED IT "A MOMENTOUS DAY FOR THE RUC" AND SAID THE AWARD WAS RECOGNITION OF THE PAST AND AN INCENTIVE TO DRAW ON WHEN BUILDING ON THE FUTURE. HE AND OTHERS HIGHLIGHTED THE FACT THAT THE AWARD RECOGNIZES CONTRIBUTIONS AND SACRIFICES OF OFFICERS' FAMILIES. JONATHAN STEPHENS, DEPUTY POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE, TOLD POLOFF PRIVATELY THAT IT WAS HOPED THAT THE AWARD WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE RUC TO ACCEPT THE CHANGES THAT ARE INEVITABLE AS THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED. "IT WILL HELP CLOSE A CHAPTER AND HELP THE RUC MOVE ON TO THE NEXT STAGE."

5. (X) SINN FEIN RESPONDED TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY CHARACTERIZING THE AWARD AS "A SLAP IN THE FACE" AND ARGUED THAT "THE RUC SHOULD BE DISBANDED, NOT AWARDED." BAIRBRE DE BRUN DESCRIBED THE AWARD AS "DEEPLY OFFENSIVE." (NOTE: WHEN ASKED BEFORE THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT HOW THE NIO EXPECTED SINN FEIN TO RESPOND TO THE AWARD, STEPHENS HAD SAID THAT "THE BEST THAT WE COULD HOPE FOR IS SILENCE." END NOTE) THE SDLP ISSUED A CONCILIATORY STATEMENT, NOTING THAT "WHATEVER DIFFERENCES THAT EXIST OVER THE ROLE AND CONDUCT OF THE RUC, MANY MEMBERS OF THE RUC AND THEIR FAMILIES HAVE SUFFERED GREATLY AND DEMONSTRATED COURAGE OVER MANY YEARS." THE SDLP STRESSED THAT THEY EXPECT THE PATTEN REPORT TO SERVE AS THE ROADMAP FOR THE FUTURE OF POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE DUP'S IAN PAISLEY SAID THE RUC RICHLY DESERVED THE GEORGE CROSS BUT ADDED THAT THE AWARD THAT WOULD MEAN THE MOST WOULD BE "THE BURIAL OF THE PATTEN PROPOSALS ONCE AND FOR ALL."

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 FINDING A WAY TO KEEP MALLON AS DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER  
 C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 009940

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/02/04  
 TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, UK

SUBJECT: AWARD TO RUC AND OTHER POTENTIAL OBSTACLES TO  
IMPLEMENTATION OF MITCHELL REVIEW PROCESS

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6. (e) THE NIO BELIEVES THAT TRIMBLE WILL GET "ENOUGH" VOTES AT THE UUC MEETING ON NOVEMBER 27 TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THE STEPS TOWARD DEVOLUTION AGREED TO DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW. STEPHENS PREDICTED A 60-40 VOTE, WHICH HE SAID "SHOULD BE ENOUGH." WHILE SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON IS FOCUSED ON BUILDING SUPPORT FOR TRIMBLE AMONG UNIONISTS, NIO LAWYERS AND STAFF ARE TRYING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO "UNDO" SEAMUS MALLON'S RESIGNATION IN JULY AS NI DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER DESIGNATE (TO PROTEST A UUP BOYCOTT OF THE ASSEMBLY, AS NEGOTIATIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT BROKE DOWN). MALLON MUST REMAIN AS DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE NEGOTIATED POWER-SHARING AGREEMENT LAID OUT IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE PROBLEM LIES IN THE FACT THAT MALLON AND TRIMBLE MUST BE CONFIRMED (OR RECONFIRMED) AS A PACKAGE. WHILE MALLON WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM GAINING THE SUPPORT NEEDED FROM REPUBLICANS, ANTI-AGREEMENT/ANTI-TRIMBLE UNIONISTS NOW COMMAND A MAJORITY OF UNIONIST VOTES IN THE ASSEMBLY AND WOULD USE IT TO DEFEAT THE PACKAGE. THIS WOULD LIKELY LEAD TO A FURTHER UNRAVELING OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT PACKAGE.

7. (e) THE OPTION OF HAVING THE ALLIANCE AND WOMEN'S COALITION DECLARING THEMSELVES UNIONISTS IN ORDER TO GIVE TRIMBLE THE UNIONIST VOTES HE WOULD NEED IS NO LONGER BEING PURSUED, ACCORDING TO STEPHENS. HE SAID THAT THE COALITION WAS WILLING, EVEN KEEN ON THE IDEA, BUT THAT TRIMBLE "HAD REAL PROBLEMS RELYING ON THE COALITION," AS HE DID NOT THINK THAT COALITION MEMBERS, PARTICULARLY MONICA MCWILLIAMS, COULD CREDIBLY DECLARE THEMSELVES AS UNIONIST. STEPHENS SAID THAT "THE ALLIANCE PARTY ALSO HAD REAL PROBLEMS WITH THE IDEA" OF DECLARING ITSELF AS UNIONIST FOR ANY REASONS WHATSOEVER, AS THIS WOULD CONTRADICT THE PARTY'S FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT TO NONSECTARIAN PRINCIPLES. STEPHENS NOTED THAT THERE ARE DEEP HARD FEELINGS BETWEEN THE SDLP AND UUP, AND PARTICULARLY BETWEEN MALLON AND TRIMBLE. HE CHARACTERIZED BOTH INDIVIDUALS AS "DIFFICULT."

8. (e) THE OPTION OF MALLON SIMPLY WITHDRAWING HIS RESIGNATION IS ALSO NOT WORKABLE, AS HE WOULD SEE THAT AS AN ADMISSION THAT HE HAD MADE A MISTAKE. STEPHENS SAID THE NIO IS CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING THE NI ASSEMBLY SIMPLY REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE RESIGNATION, BUT THAT DISCUSSIONS ARE SENSITIVE DUE TO THE PERSONALITIES INVOLVED. THE ISSUE MUST BE RESOLVED BEFORE NOVEMBER 29, WHEN THE ASSEMBLY IS TO MEET TO ELECT THE NEW MINISTERS TO SERVE WITH TRIMBLE AND MALLON -- OR POSSIBLY TO REPLACE THEM IF A SOLUTION IS NOT FOUND.

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BUILDING UNIONIST SUPPORT AND KEEPING SF COMMITTED  
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9. (e) THE NIO ASKED IF THE USG WAS UNDERTAKING ANY EFFORTS TO BOLSTER THE PARTIES' COMMITMENT TO CARRY THROUGH ON THE STEPS AGREED DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW. STEPHENS SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IF, AFTER DEVOLUTION, WASHINGTON WERE TO REMIND SINN FEIN OF HOW CRITICAL IT IS THAT THERE BE SOME ACTION ON DECOMMISSIONING. DAVID BROOKER, WHO HEADS THE NIO'S INTERNATIONAL AND PLANNING DIVISION, SUGGESTED THAT A WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT REINFORCING MANDELSON'S MOST RECENT

STATEMENTS (FAXED TO EUR/UBI AND NSC) MIGHT BE HELPFUL. STEPHENS HIGHLIGHTED MANDELSON'S REMINDER THAT, IF THE PARTIES FAIL TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CURRENT OPPORTUNITY, THERE WOULD BE NO NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR A VERY LONG TIME.

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 CLARIFICATION ON THE STEPS TOWARD DEVOLUTION  
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10. (U) THE NIO HAD OFFERED A GENERAL BRIEFING ON EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK AND NEXT STEPS TO MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS EARLIER IN THE DAY. THERE THE NIO EXPLAINED THAT, IF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COMMISSION VOTES ON NOVEMBER 27 TO SUPPORT THE PROCESS AGREED ON IN THE MITCHELL REVIEW, SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON WILL CALL A MEETING OF THE NI ASSEMBLY ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, IN ORDER TO NOMINATE THE MINISTERS WHO WILL SERVE WITH TRIMBLE AND MALLON IN THE NI EXECUTIVE. ASSUMING MINISTERS HAVE BEEN NOMINATED, PARLIAMENT WILL MEET IN WESTMINSTER ON TUESDAY TO APPROVE A DEVOLUTION ORDER UNDER THE NORTHERN IRELAND ACT OF 1998. (NOTE: THE NIO INDICATED THAT CONSULTATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITH THE CONSERVATIVES ON THE PROCESS TO BE FOLLOWED. END NOTE) THE PRIVY COUNCIL WILL APPROVE THE WESTMINSTER LEGISLATION ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, AND POWERS WILL BE TRANSFERRED TO THE DEVOLVED NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2.

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 COMMENT  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 009940

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/02/04  
 TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, UK  
 SUBJECT: AWARD TO RUC AND OTHER POTENTIAL OBSTACLES TO IMPLEMENTATION OF MITCHELL REVIEW PROCESS

11. (S) THE AWARD TO THE RUC WILL BE WELCOMED BY MOST UNIONISTS. THE NIO CLEARLY HOPES THAT IT WILL SOFTEN OBJECTIONS TO THE PATTEN REPORT. STEPHENS SAID THAT "IT COMES AT A TIME WHEN IT COULD SERVE AS REASSURANCE TO UNIONISTS." HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE MAY BE WILLING TO MAKE COMPROMISES ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT THE CURRENT NAME BE CHANGED (FROM RUC TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE) AND A NEW BADGE BE ADOPTED (TO GET RID OF THE CROWN AS THE PREDOMINATE ELEMENT). THE 'GUARDIAN' NOTED ON NOVEMBER 24 THAT THE RUC IS ENTITLED TO USE THE LETTERS "GC" AFTER ITS NAME, AND DAVID TRIMBLE IS QUOTED AS SAYING HE THOUGHT THE AWARD OF THE GEORGE CROSS MAKES A NAME CHANGE LESS LIKELY.

12. (S) THE TIMING OF THE AWARD MEANS THAT IT MAY ALSO AFFECT EFFORTS TO CARRY THROUGH WITH THE STEPS TOWARD DEVOLUTION AND DECOMMISSIONING AS AGREED ON IN THE MITCHELL REVIEW. THE CHALLENGE WILL BE TO PREVENT THE POLARIZED RHETORIC IN RESPONSE TO THE AWARD FROM SLIPPING OVER TO AFFECT REPUBLICAN AND UNIONIST POSITIONS ON THE DEVOLUTION PROCESS. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF OTHER PARTIES WOULD FOLLOW THE SDLP'S LEAD IN STRESSING THAT THE AWARD SHOULD BE SEEN AS BEING MORE ABOUT THE PAST THAN THE FUTURE. THIS ARGUMENT WOULD BE EASIER TO SELL IF, AS SOME CYNICAL OBSERVERS ARE POINTING OUT, IT WERE NOT SO OBVIOUS THAT THE GEORGE CROSS WAS CONFERRED PRECISELY TO AFFECT CURRENT POLITICAL EVENTS.  
 LADER

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03  
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

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SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0808  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL EXPECTED TO ENDORSE  
 FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE

**DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0158-m (2.27)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 009983

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
 TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/26/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL EXPECTED TO ENDORSE  
 FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY

1. (C) TOMORROW'S ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING IS  
 LIKELY TO ENDORSE NARROWLY TRIMBLE'S PLAN TO SET UP  
 NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE BODIES NEXT WEEK. A POSITIVE  
 RESULT, HOWEVER, IS NOT GUARANTEED; SOME OF OUR LATEST  
 SOUNDINGS INDICATE THE OUTCOME IS STILL TOO CLOSE TO CALL.  
 THE RUN-UP TO THE VOTE HAS PROVOKED FIERCE DEBATE WITHIN  
 THE PARTY AND DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR REMAINS UNDECIDED.  
 TRIMBLE WILL ARGUE THAT THE DEAL ON THE TABLE PRESERVES THE  
 UUP'S FLEXIBILITY TO DISSOLVE THE EXECUTIVE SHOULD THE IRA  
 FAIL TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING, BUT HE WILL TRY TO AVOID  
 DECLARING A DEADLINE THAT WOULD TIE HIS HANDS AND  
 NEEDLESSLY PROVOKE REPUBLICANS. END SUMMARY.

UUP COUNCIL EXPECTED TO ENDORSE TRIMBLE PLAN  
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2. (U) ON NOVEMBER 27 THE 860-MEMBER ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL, THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE UUP, WILL HOLD A FOUR-HOUR CLOSED-DOOR SESSION IN BELFAST'S WATERFRONT HALL TO CONSIDER TRIMBLE'S PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE NEXT WEEK IN ACCORDANCE WITH SENATOR MITCHELL'S RECOMMENDATIONS. THE MOTION WILL REQUIRE A SIMPLE MAJORITY AND VOTING WILL BE BY SECRET BALLOT. THE COUNCIL INCLUDES GRASSROOTS UUP ACTIVISTS AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS, MOST NOTABLY THE ORANGE ORDER, WHICH HAS 120 SEATS.
3. (S) WHILE PREDICTING THE OUTCOME OF COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS IS AN INEXACT SCIENCE, WE BELIEVE THAT TRIMBLE WILL WIN A MAJORITY OF THE DELEGATES THOUGH HIS MARGIN IS HARDER TO PREDICT. THE WAVERING VOTERS WILL LIKELY BE SWAYED BY LOYALTY TO THEIR PARTY LEADER, THE LACK OF A WORKABLE ALTERNATIVE PLAN AND THE ABSENCE OF A VIABLE LEADER TO SUPPLANT TRIMBLE. WE ARE TOLD THAT PERHAPS AS MANY AS ONE-THIRD OF THE DELEGATES WILL ONLY DECIDE AFTER LISTENING TO THE DEBATE.
4. (S) TRIMBLE AIDES TOLD US NOVEMBER 25 THAT THEY WILL USE THE LEADER'S POWER TO SET THE MEETING'S AGENDA TO PRECOOK THE PROCEEDINGS AS CAREFULLY AS POSSIBLE. THOUGH OUTWARDLY CONFIDENT THAT TRIMBLE WILL CARRY THE DAY, HIS CAMP REMAINS UNEASY IN PRIVATE. BOTH TRIMBLE AND HIS OPPONENTS HAVE BEEN LOBBYING FURIOUSLY THROUGHOUT THE WEEK AND ATTEMPTING TO SPIN THE MEDIA IN THEIR FAVOR. PAUL BEW, A TRIMBLE ALLY ADMITTED THAT "BOTH SIDES ARE LYING" TO JOURNALISTS, INFLATING THEIR STRENGTH AMONG THE DELEGATES.
5. (S) SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON HAS ALSO BEEN ACTIVE IN THE CAMPAIGN BY WORKING TO ASSURE SKEPTICAL UNIONISTS THAT HMG IS PREPARED TO ENSURE THAT A FAILURE TO DECOMMISSION WILL TRIGGER ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR REPUBLICANS. ON TUESDAY NIGHT MANDELSON MET WITH UNIONISTS IN PORTADOWN, TRIMBLE'S HOME CONSTITUENCY AND THE SITE OF THE CONTENTIOUS DRUMCREE MARCH, WHERE HE WAS GREETED WITH ABUSIVE PROTESTS FROM DUP SUPPORTERS. TRIMBLE'S SUPPORTERS ARE ACCUSING THE "NO" CAMP OF RESORTING TO DIRTY TRICKS, INCLUDING THE CIRCULATION OF A LETTER PURPORTEDLY FROM SINN FEIN URGING DELEGATES TO SUPPORT THE DEAL.
6. (S) A KEY UUP AIDE TOLD US NOVEMBER 25 THAT TRIMBLE WILL NOT TRY TO ASSUAGE DELEGATES' SUSPICION OF SINN FEIN, BUT RATHER DEMONSTRATE THAT THE DEAL ON OFFER PROVIDES THE UUP WITH A MEANS OF CALLING THE REPUBLICANS' BLUFF ON DECOMMISSIONING WITH THE OPTION OF FORCING DISSOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE SHOULD THE IRA FAIL TO PRODUCE WEAPONS. CONTRARY TO SOME MEDIA SPECULATION, TRIMBLE WANTS TO AVOID SETTING A DEADLINE (JANUARY 31 IS USUALLY CITED) BY WHICH THE UUP WOULD SEEK TO DISSOLVE THE ASSEMBLY SHOULD ADEQUATE DECOMMISSIONING NOT HAVE OCCURRED. SUCH DEADLINES, TRIMBLE BELIEVES, LIMIT THE UUP'S FLEXIBILITY WHILE IRRITATING THE REPUBLICANS.

TAYLOR REMAINS A WILDCARD  
-----

7. (S) DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR HAS WITHHELD A VERDICT ON TRIMBLE'S PLAN AND HAS NOT SHARED HIS VIEWS WITH EVEN CLOSE  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 009983

LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/26/09  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL EXPECTED TO ENDORSE  
FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE

ADVISORS. A KEY AIDE TOLD US NOVEMBER 25 THAT TAYLOR  
REMAINS IN FAVOR OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND SEEMS TO  
BE EDGING TOWARDS SUPPORTING TRIMBLE. HE STRESSED,  
HOWEVER, THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FORECAST TAYLOR, WHO  
MAY NOT DECIDE LITERALLY UNTIL HE TAKES THE PODIUM ON  
SATURDAY. TAYLOR'S APPROACH WILL DEPEND IN PART ON HOW HE  
BELIEVES HMG WILL REACT IN THE EVENT OF A "DEFAULT" ON  
DECOMMISSIONING AND HE HAS MET WITH MANDELSON AND OTHER UK  
OFFICIALS DURING THE WEEK TO BETTER GAUGE THE GOVERNMENT'S  
POSITION. IF THE VOTE IS ESPECIALLY CLOSE, OPPOSITION BY  
TAYLOR COULD SWAY ENOUGH VOTES TO DEFEAT THE PROPOSAL.

COMMENT  
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8. (C) THE RUN-UP TO THE COUNCIL MEETING HAS BEEN A TEST  
OF THE TRIMBLE TEAM'S ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL SKILLS.  
EVEN IF HE MANAGES TO AVOID A SERIOUS SPLIT, WITHOUT  
CONCRETE MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING FROM THE REPUBLICANS,  
TRIMBLE AND HIS MODERATE ALLIES WILL BE UNABLE - AND  
UNWILLING - TO MAINTAIN THE PARTY'S PRO-AGREEMENT STANCE.  
LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02  
SSN: 9983  
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SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 DTG: 290703Z NOV 99  
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 RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0811  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL ENDORSES TRIMBLE;  
 FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE TO PROCEED

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (2.28)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT:  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 009985

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
 TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/26/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL ENDORSES TRIMBLE;  
 FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE TO PROCEED

REF: LONDON 9983

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

SUMMARY  
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1. (U) IN BELFAST ON NOVEMBER 27, THE ULSTER UNIONIST  
 COUNCIL AUTHORIZED DAVID TRIMBLE TO SET UP THE NORTHERN  
 IRELAND EXECUTIVE BY A VOTE OF 480 TO 349. TO SECURE SUCH  
 A COMFORTABLE MARGIN (58 PERCENT), TRIMBLE AGREED TO  
 RECONVENE THE COUNCIL IN FEBRUARY. IF DECOMMISSIONING DOES  
 NOT OCCUR BY THEN, TRIMBLE WILL BE FORCED TO RESIGN AND  
 DISSOLVE THE EXECUTIVE. END SUMMARY.

UUP COUNCIL ENDORSES TRIMBLE, WITH CAVEATS  
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2. (U) THE 860-MEMBER ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL ENDORSED  
 THEIR LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE'S PLAN TO PROCEED WITH  
 IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS PUT FORWARD TEN DAYS AGO  
 BY GEORGE MITCHELL. MOST NOTABLY, THE UUP WILL CONSENT TO  
 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ASSEMBLY IN A SESSION ON MONDAY NOVEMBER 29.

3. (X) IN ORDER TO TIP THE BALANCE DECISIVELY IN HIS FAVOR, TRIMBLE AGREED TO RECONVENE THE FULL COUNCIL IN FEBRUARY TO ASSESS PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. THE LANGUAGE OF THE RESOLUTION IS: "THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL AUTHORISES THE LEADER AND THE ULSTER UNIONIST ASSEMBLY PARTY TO PROCEED AS OUTLINED IN THE LEADER'S REPORT [I.E. HIS SPEECH TO THE COUNCIL] AND INSTRUCTS THE PRESIDENT TO RECONVENE THE COUNCIL IN FEBRUARY 2000 TO TAKE A FINAL DECISION."

4. (X) PARTY LEADERS CLOSE TO TRIMBLE TOLD US THAT THE REFERENCE TO FEBRUARY WAS NECESSARY TO ENSURE A MORE CONVINCING MARGIN OF VICTORY. AS LATE AS LAST) Eug\_SUPPORT TRIMBLE, WHICH ONLY CAME LATE ON NOVEMBER 26, ALSO HELPED ENSURE A POSITIVE VOTE.

5. (X) THIS OUTCOME SAVES THE FACE OF UUP SKEPTICS BY PROMISING THEM ANOTHER DEBATE ON THE ISSUES, PRINCIPALLY DECOMMISSIONING, IN FEBRUARY. HOWEVER, THE CONCEPT OF A FEBRUARY "FINAL DECISION" HAS ALREADY UPSET SINN FEIN; GERRY ADAMS CRITICIZED THE UUP RESOLUTION EVEN BEFORE THE FINAL VOTE WAS ANNOUNCED. AFTER THE VOTE, SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON RELEASED A STATEMENT WELCOMING THE RESULT WHOLEHEARTEDLY, SAYING HE HOPED THAT IT WILL END THE DEBATE WITHIN UNIONISM ABOUT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

6. (U) TRIMBLE'S OWN BRIEF STATEMENT REINFORCED THE UUP VIEW THAT THEY HOPE TODAY'S ACTION WILL PUT THE SPOTLIGHT ON SINN FEIN TO FORCE DECOMMISSIONING. CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS, TRIMBLE ADDRESSED HIMSELF TO ADAMS, "WE'VE DONE OUR BIT, IT'S OVER TO YOU. WE'VE JUMPED, NOW IT'S YOUR TURN."

COMMENT

7. (X) THE ULTIMATE COSTS TO DEVOLUTION OF TRIMBLE'S CONCESSIONS TO HIS HARD-LINERS TODAY WILL NOT BE KNOWN IMMEDIATELY AND WILL DEPEND ON WHAT HAPPENS IN THE COMING WEEKS. REPUBLICANS WILL HOPE THAT A FUNCTIONING EXECUTIVE WILL REDUCE THE ATTENTION PAID TO DECOMMISSIONING WHILE UUP HARD-LINERS WILL CONTINUE TO PUT THE WEAPONS ISSUE AT THE TOP OF THE AGENDA. TRIMBLE'S UUP SUPPORTERS AND DETRACTORS DO AGREE THAT SOMETHING MUST NOW HAPPEN ON DECOMMISSIONING AND, IN THE WORDS OF ONE TRIMBLE ALLY, "IT MUST PASS THE LAUGH TEST."  
LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 9985

TOR: 991129025428 M4172069

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT(C2) STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA0055 3350709-CCCC--RHEHAAA.  
 LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH  
 LINE3: O 010709Z DEC 99  
 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 010709Z DEC 99  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1285  
 RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0814  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND RESTORES HOME RULE FOLLOWING  
 25 YEAR HIATUS

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m (2.29)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 010055

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
 TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/30/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND RESTORES HOME RULE FOLLOWING  
 25 YEAR HIATUS

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY

1. (U) ON NOVEMBER 29, THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY  
 NOMINATED TEN OF ITS MEMBERS FROM FOUR PARTIES TO BECOME  
 MINISTERS IN AN EXECUTIVE THAT WILL ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY  
 FOR MUCH OF THE PROVINCE'S GOVERNANCE ON  
 THURSDAY  
 ROM IAN PAISLEY'S DUP OBJECTING TO ALLOWING SINN  
 FEIN INTO THE EXECUTIVE. DESPITE THESE EFFORTS TO DISRUPT  
 THE PROCESS, THE SESSION WENT FAIRLY SMOOTHLY THANKS TO THE  
 WILLINGNESS OF THE UUP TO VOTE WITH SF AND THE SDLP ON KEY  
 MATTERS. THE MINISTERIAL PICKS PRODUCED A FEW SURPRISES,  
 MOST NOTABLY MARTIN MCGUINNESS'S APPOINTMENT AS EDUCATION  
 MINISTER AND THE RELUCTANCE OF ALL PARTIES TO ASSUME  
 RESPONSIBILITY FOR AGRICULTURE. END SUMMARY.

ASSEMBLY PREPARES FOR DEVOLUTION  
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2. (U) IN A SESSION LADEN WITH DRAMA BUT LARGELY LACKING IN SUSPENSE, THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY NOMINATED TEN OF ITS MEMBERS TO TAKE SEATS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE, WHICH WILL ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEY ELEMENTS OF THE PROVINCE'S GOVERNANCE. FORMAL POWER WILL BE DEVOLVED AT 12:01 THURSDAY MORNING FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND APPROVAL BY THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE QUEEN. ON THURSDAY AFTERNOON, THE NEW EXECUTIVE WILL HOLD ITS FIRST MEETING UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF DAVID TRIMBLE AND SEAMUS MALLON, THE FIRST AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTERS.

3. (U) FOLLOWING THE UUP'S ENDORSEMENT OF DEVOLUTION AT ITS MEETING ON SATURDAY, THE ONLY UNRESOLVED ISSUE PRIOR TO THE SESSION WAS HOW THE ASSEMBLY WOULD REINSTATE SEAMUS MALLON, WHO HAD RESIGNED IN PROTEST OVER THE BREAK-DOWN IN THE ATTEMPT AT DEVOLUTION IN JULY. IN A DEAL WORKED OUT BY THE PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES, SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON AND MALLON, THE ASSEMBLY PASSED A MOTION REAFFIRMING THE ASSEMBLY'S WISH THAT MALLON HOLD THE OFFICE OF DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER "NOTWITHSTANDING HIS OFFER OF RESIGNATION." LED BY IAN PAISLEY, THE DUP ATTACKED THE MOTION ON BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS, ARGUING THAT MALLON'S RESIGNATION WAS NOT REVERSIBLE AND THAT HE (AND TRIMBLE) NEEDED TO BE RE-ELECTED. (UNDER THE ASSEMBLY'S RULES REQUIRING WEIGHTED MAJORITIES, THE DUP AND OTHER ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS WOULD HAVE BLOCKED SUCH A RE-ELECTION.)

4. (U) DESPITE A SERIES OF PARTISAN AND PERSONAL ATTACKS FROM THE DUP, MALLON REMAINED COMPOSED THROUGHOUT THE DEBATE AND, WHEN FINALLY CALLED UPON TO SPEAK, HE DELIVERED A DIGNIFIED DEFENSE OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND ELOQUENTLY RECOUNTED THAT HE HAD RESIGNED IN AN EFFORT TO SAVE THE AGREEMENT AND TO PROMPT THE TYPE OF REVIEW THAT GEORGE MITCHELL SUBSEQUENTLY CONDUCTED. THE MOTION TO REINSTATE MALLON CARRIED BY 71-28, WITH SEVERAL CONSERVATIVE UUP MEMBERS ABSTAINING. MOMENTS LATER, HOWEVER, THESE SAME UUP MEMBERS REFUSED TO JOIN THE DUP IN ITS ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE A MOTION TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN FROM THE EXECUTIVE BECAUSE OF THE IRA'S FAILURE TO DECOMMISSION WEAPONS. LACKING 30 VOTES, THE MOTION WAS KEPT OFF THE AGENDA, AVERTING WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN AN AWKWARD DEBATE AND VOTE FOR THE UUP.

MINISTERS NOMINATED  
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5. (U) THE ASSEMBLY THEN DIVIDED THE MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS USING THE D'HONDT PROCEDURE, IN WHICH PARTIES ARE GRANTED CONTROL OF A NUMBER OF MINISTRIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR VOTE TOTALS DURING THE ELECTION. UNDER THIS FORMULA, THE UUP AND SDLP WERE EACH ALLOTTED THREE MINISTRIES AND THE DUP AND SF TWO EACH. THIS PROCESS PRODUCED THE DAY'S ENDURING IMAGE: FOUR MEN REPRESENTING FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT VISIONS OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S FUTURE - DAVID TRIMBLE, JOHN HUME, IAN PAISLEY AND GERRY ADAMS - TOOK TURNS NOMINATING MEMBERS OF THEIR PARTIES TO SIT TOGETHER IN GOVERNMENT. EACH NOMINEE WAS REQUIRED TO  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 010055

LONDON FOR POL  
NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND  
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L/EUR FOR DOROSIN  
TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/30/09  
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND RESTORES HOME RULE FOLLOWING  
25 YEAR HIATUS

STAND AND RECITE THE OATH OF OFFICE. DESPITE OCCASIONAL  
HISSING FROM THE GALLERY (MOSTLY PROMPTED BY THE  
NATIONALISTS' USE OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE), THE PROCEDURE WAS  
ORDERLY AND SWIFT, CONCLUDING IN JUST 45 MINUTES.

6. (U) THE NOMINEES (IN THE ORDER APPOINTED) ARE AS  
FOLLOWS:

--ENTERPRISE, TRADE AND INVESTMENT - REG EMPEY (UUP)  
--FINANCE AND PERSONNEL - MARK DURKAN (SDLP)  
--REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT - PETER ROBINSON (DUP)  
--EDUCATION - MARTIN MCGUINNESS (SF)  
--ENVIRONMENT - SAM FOSTER (UUP)  
--HIGHER AND FURTHER EDUCATION, TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT -  
SEAN FARREN (SDLP)  
--SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT - NIGEL DODDS (DUP)  
--HEALTH, SOCIAL SERVICES AND PUBLIC SAFETY - BAIRBRE DE  
BRUN (SF)  
--AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT - BRID ROGERS (SDLP)

7. (U) THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE PORTFOLIO DISTRIBUTION  
PRODUCED SOME SURPRISES. NATIONALISTS ARE IN CHARGE OF  
BOTH THE EDUCATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION/TRAINING  
MINISTRIES. MCGUINNESS'S SELECTION AS EDUCATION MINISTER  
PROVOKED A GASP FROM THE GALLERIES AND FURY FROM THE ANTI-  
AGREEMENT MEMBERS. THOUGH HIGH-PROFILE, THE HEALTH  
MINISTRY WAS NOT SOUGHT AFTER; ONE UUP AIDE SAID THAT IT  
SHOULD BE CALLED THE "MINISTRY OF CLOSING HOSPITALS" AND  
SUGGESTED THAT RUNNING IT COULD PROVE POLITICALLY DIFFICULT  
FOR SINN FEIN. ANOTHER SURPRISE WAS TRIMBLE'S SELECTION OF  
SAM FOSTER AS MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT. FOSTER REPRESENTS  
SEVERAL CONSTITUENCIES WITHIN THE UUP THAT TRIMBLE WISHED  
TO PLACATE: HE IS MORE CONSERVATIVE (THOUGH PRO-AGREEMENT)  
THAN MOST OF TRIMBLE'S INNER CIRCLE; HE IS FROM A RURAL  
AREA IN COUNTY FERMANAGH, WEST OF THE BANN RIVER; AND HE IS  
AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE ORANGE ORDER, ONE OF THE UUP'S  
FOUNDING ORGANIZATIONS. TRIMBLE HAS RECEIVED SURPRISINGLY  
GOOD SUPPORT FROM RURAL UUP CONSTITUENCIES - THIS WAS A  
REWARD.

OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE CHAIRS ALSO NAMED  
-----

8. (U) FOLLOWING AN HOUR'S RECESS, THE PARTIES ALLOCATED  
THE CHAIRMANSHIP AND DEPUTY CHAIRMANSHIP POSTS FOR THE  
COMMITTEES THAT WILL OVERSEE THE WORK OF THE MINISTRIES  
PAISLEY HIMSELF WILL CHAIR THE COMMITTEE MONITORING THE  
AGRICULTURE MINISTRY AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO USE THE  
PLATFORM TO BLAME THE SDLP FOR THE DEPRESSED STATE OF THE  
SECTOR IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE COMMITTEE THAT WILL  
OVERSEE MCGUINNESS'S EDUCATION WILL BE HEADED BY DANNY  
KENNEDY, A MIDDLE OF THE ROAD UNIONIST, AND HIS DEPUTY WILL  
BE THE DUP'S SAMMY WILSON, WHOSE VITUPERATION OF MCGUINNESS  
WAS ONE OF THE LOW POINTS OF THE EARLIER DEBATE ON  
REINSTATING MALLON.

COMMENT  
-----

9. (Ø) ASSEMBLY MEMBERS FROM ALL THE PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH THE DAY'S EVENTS ALTHOUGH SENIOR UUP FIGURES WERE CAUTIOUS ABOUT HOW THE EXECUTIVE AND ASSEMBLY WILL ACTUALLY PERFORM. THE PROCEEDINGS WENT AS WELL AS ANYONE COULD HAVE EXPECTED. ASIDE FROM THE ENORMOUSLY SIGNIFICANT SYMBOLISM OF THE SESSION, THE MOST PROMISING DEVELOPMENT WAS THAT THE PARTY WHIPS AND STAFF PLUNGED INTO THE NITTY-GRITTY OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND BEGAN CONFERRING WITH ONE ABOUT HOW TO CHOREOGRAPH THE DEBATES AND HANDLE COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS. THOUGH BUMPS IN THE ROAD ARE INEVITABLE IN THE WEEKS AHEAD, THE PRO-HA490 OO RHEHAAA

DE RUEHLO #0055/01 3350709

ZNY CCCC ZZH

O 010709Z DEC 99

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1337

INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1285

RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0814

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0055

<^SSN>0055

TOR: 991201022915 M4176395

<^TOR>991201021847 M4176381

DIST:

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON GORDON KASS NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE

SIT: NSC

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 INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 1169  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 1022  
 SUBJ: IRELAND DROPS CONSTITUTIONAL CLAIM TO THE NORTH  
 AND LOOKS AHEAD

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-m(2.30)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D) .

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 006513

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/02/09  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: IRELAND DROPS CONSTITUTIONAL CLAIM TO THE NORTH  
 AND LOOKS AHEAD

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN; REASONS 1.5  
 (B) AND (D) .

## SUMMARY

-----  
 1. (S) THE DECEMBER 2 REVOCATION OF IRELAND'S  
 CONSTITUTIONAL AND TERRITORIAL CLAIM TO NORTHERN IRELAND  
 AND THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT  
 CREATING NORTH-SOUTH BODIES MARK A SEA CHANGE IN IRISH  
 HISTORY, THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW "MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL  
 REPUBLICANISM." WHILE RETAINING THE ASPIRATION OF A  
 UNITED IRELAND, THE REPUBLIC HAS NOW CONSTITUTIONALLY  
 RECOGNIZED THE "PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT, " I.E., THAT THE  
 STATUS OF THE ISLAND CANNOT BE CHANGED WITHOUT MAJORITY  
 CONSENT BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH. TAOISEACH AHERN'S  
 STATEMENT THAT THIS CHANGE IS "IRREVOCABLE" IRRESPECTIVE  
 OF POLITICAL PROGRESS IN THE NORTH SHOULD PROVIDE STRONG  
 REASSURANCE TO UNIONISTS OF THE GOI'S INTENTIONS. IN THE  
 MIDST OF WIDESPREAD OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE, HOWEVER,  
 DECOMMISSIONING CONTINUES TO BE RECOGNIZED AS A MAJOR  
 OBSTACLE. DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF GALLAGHER TOLD  
 THE AMBASSADOR DECEMBER 3 THAT SINN FEIN/IRA WOULD STILL  
 NEED TO BE "PUSHED" TO MAKE A DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE BY  
 THE END OF JANUARY. HE URGED THE U.S. TO PASS A STRONG  
 MESSAGE TO SINN FEIN ON THIS ISSUE. END SUMMARY.  
 A NEW "MODERN" REPUBLICANISM  
 -----

2. (U) ON DECEMBER 2 IN DUBLIN, THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS EXECUTED TWO HISTORIC STEPS TOWARD THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. IN A TELEVISED CEREMONY AT THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ATTENDED BY THE AMBASSADOR AND THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL ADVISOR FOR ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN IRELAND LYONS, IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY PETER MANDELSON EXCHANGED NOTIFICATIONS THAT ALL CONDITIONS HAD BEEN MET FOR BRINGING THE "BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT" ON NORTHERN IRELAND INTO FORCE. THE AGREEMENT, WHICH WAS SIGNED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT BUT WITH ENTRY INTO FORCE DELAYED UNTIL POWER WAS DEVOLVED FROM WESTMINSTER TO NORTHERN IRELAND, REPLACES THE 1985 ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT. THE NEW AGREEMENT ESTABLISHES FOUR TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS: THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL; THE NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES; THE BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL; AND THE BRITISH-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE. TAOISEACH AHERN PLANS TO LEAD MOST OF THE IRISH CABINET TO THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL IN ARMAGH, NORTHERN IRELAND ON DECEMBER 13. THE BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL IS SLATED TO CONVENE IN LONDON DECEMBER 17.

3. (U) IN A EVEN MORE HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT EVENT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE AGREEMENT SIGNING, THE IRISH CABINET FINALIZED THE AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES II AND III OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION THUS DROPPING THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND'S TERRITORIAL CLAIM TO "THE WHOLE ISLAND OF IRELAND." THE NEW ARTICLE II STATES THAT ALL PERSONS BORN "IN THE ISLAND OF IRELAND" ARE "PART OF THE IRISH NATION" BY BIRTHRIGHT AND THAT ALL SUCH PERSONS HAVE AN ENTITLEMENT TO BE CITIZENS OF IRELAND. THE NEW ARTICLE III DOES NOT ABANDON THE ASPIRATION OF THE "IRISH NATION" TO UNITE, BUT DOES ENSHRINE IN THE CONSTITUTION THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT, I.E., THAT A UNITED IRELAND COULD ONLY BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITH THE DEMOCRATICALLY EXPRESSED CONSENT OF A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN "BOTH JURISDICTIONS ON THE ISLAND."

4. (U) TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN TOLD THE IRISH DAIL (PARLIAMENT) ON NOVEMBER 30 THAT THESE CHANGES TO THE CONSTITUTION "REMOVED THE LAST TRACES OF (IRISH) IRREDENTISM." AHERN ALSO STRESS ED THAT THE CHANGES WERE "IRREVOCABLE" AND WOULD NOT REVERT EVEN IF DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS AND CROSS-BORDER BODIES WERE COLLAPSED BY A UNIONIST WITHDRAWAL FROM THE EXECUTIVE IN FEBRUARY.

5. (c) COMMENT: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES HAS TENDED TO BE UNDERVALUED, LARGELY BECAUSE THEY WERE APPROVED BY THE DAIL OVER A YEAR AGO WITH IMPLEMENTATION TO BE AUTOMATIC UPON DEVOLUTION. UNIONISM'S TENDENCY WAS TO SIMPLY POCKET THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, BUT IN FACT THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT AND "IRREVOCABLE" GAIN FOR UNIONISM IRRESPECTIVE OF FUTURE PROGRESS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT IS AN HISTORIC AND FUNDAMENTAL SHIFT IN HOW THE IRISH STATE AND PEOPLE PERCEIVE THEMSELVES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO NORTHERN IRELAND. WHILE "UNITED IRELAND" REMAINS THE NATIONAL ASPIRATION, A "MODERN UNDERSTANDING OF CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLICANISM," AS TAOISEACH AHERN CALLED IT, SEPARATES

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 006513

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/BUTLER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/02/09  
 TAGS: PREL, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: IRELAND DROPS CONSTITUTIONAL CLAIM TO THE NORTH  
 AND LOOKS AHEAD

THE CONCEPT OF NATION AND STATE AND ACCEPTS THE POLITICAL  
 LEGITIMACY OF BOTH JURISDICTIONS ON THE ISLAND UNLESS AND  
 UNTIL A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE, BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH, SHOULD  
 FREELY CHOOSE TO CHANGE THAT CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER. END  
 COMMENT.

SINN FEIN/IRA WILL STILL NEED TO BE PUSHED  
 -----

6. (S) THE PAST WEEK HAS SEEN A TREMENDOUS BURST OF  
 ENTHUSIASM AND OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE IN THE REPUBLIC,  
 BUT THERE IS RECOGNITION THAT OBSTACLES STILL LIE AHEAD -  
 DECOMMISSIONING CHIEF AMONG THEM. DFA ANGLO-IRISH  
 DIVISION CHIEF, DERMOT GALLAGHER, TOLD AMBASSADOR  
 SULLIVAN DECEMBER 3 THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH  
 GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE LOOKING FOR SOME "GESTURE" ON IRA  
 DECOMMISSIONING BY JANUARY 31. [TAOISEACH ADVISOR WALLY  
 KIRWAN TOLD DCM AND VISITING STAFFDEL MACKEY ON DECEMBER  
 3 THAT TRIMBLE'S FEBRUARY DEADLINE WAS NOT A "STRAWMAN"  
 BUT A CONDITION THAT WAS VERY IMPORTANT FOR UNIONISTS.]  
 TO ACHIEVE THIS, HOWEVER, GERRY ADAMS AND SINN FEIN/IRA  
 WERE GOING TO HAVE TO BE "PUSHED." HE SUGGESTED THAT THE  
 U.S. CAN HELP BE SENDING A CLEAR MESSAGE TO SINN FEIN  
 THAT PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING IS NOW EXPECTED.

7. (S) ANOTHER CR) SLLAGHER  
 EXPECTED THE UK WOULD HEED PATTEN'S ADVICE THAT THE  
 REPORT "IS A PACKAGE WHICH MUST BE IMPLEMENTED  
 COMPREHENSIVELY." HE NOTED THAT MOVING AHEAD WITH THE  
 INSTITUTIONS, IMPLEMENTING PATTEN, AND BEGINNING THE  
 PROCESS OF NORMALIZING THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE  
 NORTH (E.G., REMOVING BRITISH ARMY HILL TOP INSTALLATIONS  
 IN SOUTH ARMAGH) WOULD SHOW NORTHERN NATIONALISTS REAL  
 POLITICAL PROGRESS AND DENY DISSIDENTS A BASIS OF SUPPORT  
 IN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. IN THE MEETING WITH DCM AND  
 MACKEY, KIRWAN NOTED THAT THE TAOISEACH REITERATED  
 PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO "ROLL  
 BACK" ON THE PATTEN REPORT.

SULLIVAN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02  
 <^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 6513  
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TOR: 991203115540 M4182045  
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DIST:  
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 PRT: BRADTKE STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1502  
 RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC  
 INFO: ////  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP REITERATES SERIOUSNESS OF  
 NEED FOR IRA DECOMMISSIONING  
 (U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 010221

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LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

EXDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/12/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, OREP, ASEC, PTER, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP REITERATES SERIOUSNESS OF  
 NEED FOR IRA DECOMMISSIONING

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE B. FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCONSUL  
 BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY

1. (S) DURING A BRIEF CONVERSATION WITH REP JIM WALSH AT A SOCIAL EVENT ON DECEMBER 3, MICHAEL MCGIMPSEY, NEW NI MINISTER FOR CULTURE AND A KEY MEMBER OF THE UUP NEGOTIATING TEAM, STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT THE UUP WOULD DISSOLVE THE EXECUTIVE IF THE IRA DOES NOT ADHERE TO DECOMMISSIONING COMMITMENTS. MCGIMPSEY'S ADAMANT DECLARATION INDICATES THAT, FOR THE UUP, THIS ISSUE IS NON-NEGOTIABLE. END SUMMARY.

2. (S) MCGIMPSEY SAID HE APPRECIATED HOW CLOSELY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOLLOW THE PEACE PROCESS AND WANTED TO BE SURE WALSH HAD NO MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE UUP'S EXPECTATIONS. MCGIMPSEY NOTED THAT THESE EXPECTATIONS ARE GROUNDED IN UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED WITH BOTH SINN FEIN AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE IRA. AFTER RECOUNTING THE INTENSE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE UUP AND SINN FEIN OVER THE INTERLOCKING SF AND IRA STATEMENTS RELEASED THE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 15, MCGIMPSEY SAID THAT THE FOLLOWING SEQUENCE WAS ESTABLISHED:

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--THE IRA AGREED TO MEET WITH THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING (IICD) DECEMBER 4-5 (THIS OCCURRED, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS).

--LATER THIS WEEK DE CHASTELAIN WILL REPORT TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS REGARDING MODALITIES OF A "DECOMMISSIONING EVENT," THE PRECISE TIMING OF WHICH WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE IRA.

--FOLLOWING THAT EVENT, DE CHASTELAIN WILL REPORT ON IT. IF IT HAS NOT OCCURRED WITHIN THE TIMETABLE AGREED UPON, THE GENERAL WILL REPORT THAT THE IRA HAS NOT FULFILLED ITS COMMITMENT.

3. (C) MCGIMPSEY SAID THAT, IF THE IRA HAS NOT MADE A SERIOUS START TO DECOMMISSIONING ("IF THEY DOUBLE-CROSS US") BY THE TIME OF THE NEXT UUP COUNCIL MEETING IN FEBRUARY, DAVID TRIMBLE AND HIS FELLOW MINISTERS ARE DUTY-BOUND TO RESIGN AND WOULD BE REMOVED FROM PARTY LEADERSHIP IF THEY DID NOT. HE ADDED THAT THE COMPROMISE REACHED AT THE UUP COUNCIL MEETING ON NOVEMBER 27, WHICH CALLED FOR ANOTHER MEETING IN FEBRUARY, ACTUALLY AVERTED AN EARLIER MEETING IN JANUARY, WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN FORCED BY HARD-LINERS (WHO WOULD HAVE EASILY GATHERED THE NECESSARY 60 SIGNATURES). MCGIMPSEY SAID HE WAS NOT FORECASTING FAILURE, BUT WANTED TO BE CLEAR ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES SHOULD THE IRA NOT FOLLOW THROUGH ON ITS SIDE OF THE BARGAIN.

COMMENT

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4. (C) MCGIMPSEY IS PERHAPS THE MOST MODERATE MEMBER OF THE UUP LEADERSHIP AND HIS INSISTENCE ON THE NEED FOR DECOMMISSIONING BY THE IRA INDICATES THAT THIS IS NOW A NON-NEGOTIABLE CONDITION FOR UNIONISTS. THE ISSUE IS NOW ONLY PARTLY ABOUT SECURITY; MCGIMPSEY NOTED THAT HE ACCEPTS THAT ARMS CAN BE SMUGGLED EASILY, BUT WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE IRA GIVE UP ITS LARGE CACHE OF SEMTEX. THE MAIN POINT, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE UUP LEADERSHIP HAS STAKED ITS FUTURE ON HAVING DECOMMISSIONING FOLLOW DEVOLUTION. MITCHELL'S FINAL REPORT PROVIDED THE SEQUENCE LINKING DECOMMISSIONING TO THE REST OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. IF PROGRESS IS INADEQUATE, EVEN UUP MODERATES WILL WALK.

5. (U) REP. WALSH DID NOT HAVE THE CHANCE TO CLEAR THIS MESSAGE. LADER.

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0221

TOR: 991207072620 M4187018

DIST:

SIT: NSC

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
 LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA0378 3480155-CCCC--RHEHAAX.  
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 LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 OSRI: RUEHLO  
 DTG: 140155Z DEC 99  
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 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1682  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1316  
 RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON REAFFIRMS UK  
 COMMITMENT TO ENFORCE DEAL ON DECOMMISSIONING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526  
 2015-0158-M (1.32)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## TEXT:

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 010378

LONDON FOR POL  
 NSC FOR NORLAND  
 EUR/UBI FOR NELSON  
 S/P FOR O'BRIEN  
 L/EUR FOR DOROSIN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/09  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON REAFFIRMS UK  
 COMMITMENT TO ENFORCE DEAL ON DECOMMISSIONING

(U) CLASSIFIED BY: JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL,  
 AMCONSUL BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(D)

## SUMMARY

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 1. (S) IN A MEETING ON DECEMBER 12 WITH CODEL SMITH,  
 SECRETARY OF STATE PETER MANDELSON FORCEFULLY ARTICULATED  
 HMG'S POSITION THAT THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE MUST AND  
 WILL COLLAPSE IF THERE IS INSUFFICIENT PROGRESS ON  
 DECOMMISSIONING IN COMING WEEKS. IN RECENT DAYS KEY  
 MODERATE UNIONISTS HAVE DELIVERED AN EQUALLY UNAMBIGUOUS  
 MESSAGE: POLITICAL REALITIES WOULD FORCE DAVID TRIMBLE TO  
 STEP DOWN IF DECOMMISSIONING FAILS TO YIELD RESULTS BY THE  
 END OF JANUARY. END SUMMARY.

MANDELSON: DECOMMISSIONING IS MORAL IMPERATIVE  
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2. (S) MEETING WITH SENATOR GORDON SMITH AT HILLSBOROUGH  
 ON DECEMBER 12, SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON MADE A  
 FORCEFUL PRESENTATION OF HMG'S VIEWS ON THE NEXT STAGES OF  
 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. CITING  
 MORAL AND DEMOCRATIC IMPERATIVES, HE SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT

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ALLOW SINN FEIN TO CONTINUE SERVING IN GOVERNMENT IF THE IRA CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN ITS ARSENAL OF WEAPONS. ALL THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT ARE NOW UP AND RUNNING, HE SAID, "AND IF DECOMMISSIONING DOESN'T FOLLOW IN SHORT ORDER, I WILL SHUT THEM DOWN AND WE'LL HAVE DIRECT RULE AGAIN." HE STRESSED THAT FAILURE TO DECOMMISSION WOULD DESTROY MODERATE UNIONISTS, ADDING THAT THE HARDLINERS WANT NOTHING MORE THAN TO HAVE THE IRA REFUSE TO ENGAGE SO THEY CAN SAY "I TOLD YOU SO."

3. (S) MANDELSON STRESSED THAT HE WANTED POLICY-MAKERS IN WASHINGTON TO HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION THAT THERE WILL BE SEVERE CONSEQUENCES IF THE IRA DOES NOT HOLD UP ITS PART OF THE DEAL. ASKED HOW THE U.S. CAN PLAY A PRODUCTIVE ROLE IN THIS PROCESS, MANDELSON SAID IT SHOULD KEEP REPEATING THE MESSAGE THAT DECOMMISSIONING IS A NECESSARY PART OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND MUST OCCUR TO KEEP THE NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS ON TRACK.

UUP STAYS ON MESSAGE  
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4. (S) PRIOR TO THE SESSION WITH MANDELSON, SENATOR SMITH HAD A BRIEF MEETING WITH DERMIT NESBITT, A UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBER AND CLOSE TRIMBLE ASSOCIATE. NESBITT SAID THAT POLITICIANS HAVE "WANTS" AND "NEEDS" AND THAT THE UUP CAME TO RECOGNIZE THAT, IN ORDER TO MOVE FORWARD, SINN FEIN NEEDED DEVOLUTION. NOW, IN ORDER TO KEEP THE NEW DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS UP AND RUNNING, THE UUP NEEDS DECOMMISSIONING. NESBITT EXPLAINED THAT TRIMBLE'S POSITION WITHIN HIS PARTY IS ABSOLUTELY DEPENDENT ON PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING BY FEBRUARY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MITCHELL REVIEW'S SEQUENCING STEPS.

5. (S) AT A DINNER ON DECEMBER 11, REG EMPEY, MINISTER FOR TRADE AND A SENIOR UUP LEADER, ALSO STATED THAT TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP IS VERY MUCH IN THE BALANCE AND THAT, DURING THE REVIEW, IT WAS AGREED THAT TWO MONTHS (FROM DEVOLUTION DAY, DECEMBER 2, TO THE END OF JANUARY) WAS A REASONABLE AMOUNT OF TIME TO EXPECT PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING ESPECIALLY AS IT ALSO REPRESENTED ONE-THIRD OF THE TIME REMAINING BEFORE THE PROCESS IS SUPPOSED TO BE COMPLETED IN LATE MAY, 2000. ANOTHER SENIOR UNIONIST, KEN MAGINNIS, TOLD US ON DECEMBER 10 WITH REGARD TO DECOMMISSIONING THAT "IT WON'T TAKE MUCH (IN TERMS OF THE NUMBER OF WEAPONS), BUT IT HAS TO BE SOMETHING."

COMMENT  
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6. (S) IN PUBLIC AND IN CONFIDENTIAL CONVERSATIONS, UUP LEADERS ARE NOT DEVIATING IN THE SLIGHTEST FROM DAVID TRIMBLE'S STATEMENT ON NOVEMBER 27: "WE'VE DONE OUR BIT, MR. ADAMS, NOW IT'S YOUR TURN." UUP MINISTERS SUCH AS EMPEY AND NESBITT (WHO IS SLATED TO BECOME ONE OF TWO "JUNIOR MINISTERS" IN THE OFFICE OF THE FIRST MINISTER AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER) CLEARLY RELISH THEIR STATUS AS MEMBERS OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S NEW LEADERSHIP, BUT INSIST THAT DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT CAN ONLY CONTINUE IF THE IRA MEETS ITS COMMITMENTS.

LADER

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01  
SSN: 0378  
TOR: 991213221742 M4198819

**DIST:**

SIT: BLINKEN DAVIDSON NORLAND SUM2  
SIT: NSC  
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
 CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
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 OSRI: RUEHC  
 DTG:  
 ORIG: SECSTATE WASHDC  
 TO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0000  
 RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 0000  
 INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 0000  
 SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON'S MEETING  
 WITH UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING

DECLASSIFIED  
 PER E.O. 13526

2015-0158-m (2.33)  
 KBH 9/9/2019

CLASSIFIED BY UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING. REASON: 1.5 (B)  
 AND (D)

TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 239300

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/05/09  
 TAGS: PREL, PARM, UK  
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON'S MEETING  
 WITH UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING

CLASSIFIED BY UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING. REASON: 1.5 (B)  
 AND (D)

1. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY. AFTER MEETING WITH ACTING SECRETARY TALBOTT, PETER MANDELSON, THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY, PAID A CALL ON UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING DECEMBER 6, 1999. THEY DISCUSS511wnSADOR SIR CHRISTOPHER MEYER, BILL JEFFREY, POLITICAL DIRECTOR AT THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE, AND SEVERAL AIDES. MANDELSON HAD HAD BREAKFAST AND LUNCH WITH CONGRESSPERSONS (INCLUDING THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON IRELAND), AND A MEETING WITH NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER BERGER. EUR DAS GADSDEN, EUR/UBI DIRECTOR BORG, P STAFFER AND IRELAND/NORTHERN IRELAND DESK OFFICER NELSON-DOUVELIS (NOTETAKER) ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING.

3. ~~(S)~~ UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING CONGRATULATED SECRETARY MANDELSON ON THE RECENT SUCCESSES IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. MANDELSON RESPONDED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNLIKE ANY OTHERS IN WHICH HE HAD BEEN INVOLVED: THE ATMOSPHERE WAS "COZY," WITH THE PURPOSE REALLY ABOUT BUILDING TRUST AND ENABLING PARTICIPANTS TO FEEL BETTER ABOUT THEMSELVES AND EACH OTHER. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS THAT THE AGREEMENT BEING IMPLEMENTED IS "THEIRS" -- THE TWO SIDES HAVE NEGOTIATED IT FACE TO FACE. THE DUBLIN-LONDON-WASHINGTON LINKAGE WAS KEY TO THE EFFORT. MANDELSON NOTED HE WAS PLEASED THE POLITICAL LEADERS ARE NOW UNDERTAKING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW INSTITUTIONS SERIOUSLY. ALL ELEMENTS ARE NOW IN PLACE FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. WHAT WAS CRUCIAL TO ACHIEVING THIS SUCCESS WAS GETTING THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) TO GO AHEAD WITH DEVOLUTION WITH THE "ABSOLUTE" UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WOULD BE IRA

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DECOMMISSIONING. BUT, MANDELSON WARNED, IF THE IRA DOES NOT DELIVER, UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE'S POSITION WILL COLLAPSE. (DAVID TRIMBLE HAS PROMISED TO RESIGN IF THERE IS NO DECOMMISSIONING.)

4. (X) UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING ASKED WHAT THE CHANCES WERE THAT THE IRA WOULD DECOMMISSION, AND WHETHER THERE WERE A "DATE CERTAIN" FOR THEM TO DELIVER. ACKNOWLEDGING IT WAS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT, MANDELSON SAID THE CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING, GENERAL JOHN DE CHASTELAIN, IS TO REPORT ON PROGRESS BY THE END OF JANUARY. THAT WAS ONE DEADLINE. IT WOULD BE UP TO DE CHASTELAIN TO PRODUCE STRONG EVIDENCE THAT THE IRA WAS DECOMMISSIONING -- THE UNIONISTS MUST HAVE "PRODUCT." U/S PICKERING ASKED IF DECOMMISSIONING HAD TO BE "IN VIVO." MANDELSON RESPONDED THAT THE IRA COULD DO IT HOWEVER THEY LIKED, AS LONG AS DE CHASTELAIN SAID IT HAD HAPPENED. THE NEXT REAL DEADLINE WAS FEBRUARY 2000, WHEN THE UUP PARTY COUNCIL WOULD MEET AGAIN TO ASSESS WHETHER THE IRA HAD MET ITS COMMITMENTS. (TRIMBLE HAS PROMISED TO RESIGN IF THEY HAVE NOT.)

5. (X) MANDELSON CONTINUED THAT, IN HIS VIEW, DAVID TRIMBLE HAD SHOWN IMMENSE COURAGE. INDEED, TRIMBLE MAY HAVE GENERATED COMPLACENCY WITHIN SINN FEIN. MANDELSON HAD ADVISED GEORGE MITCHELL THAT HE WAS "OVERNEGOTIATING" THE DEAL. U/S PICKERING SAID HE HAD MET TRIMBLE SEVERAL TIMES AND BEEN IMPRESSED. HE ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF TRIMBLE WENT. "JEFFREY DONALDSON WOULD TAKE OVER," MANDELSON SAID.

TRIMBLE'S SUPPORTERS -- REG EMPEY, MICHAEL MCGIMPSEY, ET AL. -- WOULD GIVE UP ON POLITICS, LEAVING THE PATH CLEAR FOR ANTI-(GOOD FRIDAY) AGREEMENT DONALDSON TO ASSUME THE LEADERSHIP.

6. (X) CITING THE LONDON-DUBLIN-WASHINGTON LINKAGE MANDELSON HAD RAISED, U/S PICKERING ASKED WHAT THE UNITED STATES COULD DO NOW. MANDELSON SAID: MAKE IT "INCONTROVERTIBLY CLEAR" THAT THERE WILL BE NO GOVERNMENT WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING. MANDELSON RECOUNTED WHAT HE THOUGHT SINN FEIN WOULD SAY IF PRESSED BY THE UNITED STATES: FIRST, THEY HAVE TO PERSUADE THE IRA (NOT THE SAME ORGANIZATION); SECOND, THEIR LIVES HAVE BEEN COMPLICATED BY THE (UUP'S) FEBRUARY ULTIMATUM; AND THIRD, THEY NEVER ENVISIONED THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD HAVE TO BE ACHIEVED IN ONLY SIX MONTHS (I.E., BY MAY 2000, AS STIPULATED IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT) -- THEY WANT TO SEE POWER-SHARING INSTITUTIONS IN OPERATION MUCH LONGER. TO THAT, HMG WILL SAY: MAY 2000 IS THE DATE THEY SIGNED UP TO -- THEY NEED TO BRING THEIR PEOPLE ALONG. MANDELSON ASSERTED THAT THE UNIONISTS HAVE GONE A LONG WAY. SINN FEIN NEEDS TO BE DISABUSED OF THE IDEA THAT THERE'S NO NEED TO DECOMMISSION, AS PAT DOHERTY AND MARTIN FERRIS HAD TOLD THE BOSTON HERALD A FEW WEEKS AGO. SINN FEIN IS ALREADY EXERTING PRESSURE ON DE CHASTELAIN TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE MITCHELL DEAL, MANDELSON CONTENDED, SLOWING UP DECOMMISSIONING, PUSHING THE GENERAL SLIGHTLY OFF COURSE.

7. (X) U/S PICKERING ASKED WHAT GEORGE MITCHELL'S VIEW WAS ON THE ISSUE. MANDELSON SAID MITCHELL HAS A "PURE" VOICE, BUT NO LEVERAGE. HE BRINGS TREMENDOUS MORAL AUTHORITY, AND THE LEADERS WILL CONTINUE TO LISTEN TO HIM. IN RESPONSE TO U/S PICKERING'S QUESTION, MANDELSON SAID MITCHELL WAS NOT A "WASTING" ASSET. INDEED, HE IS THE ONLY ONE WHO KNOWS ALL THE ASPECTS OF THE DEAL THAT WAS AGREED

AMONG THE PARTIES ON DEVOLUTION AND DECOMMISSIONING. BUT,  
HE MUST BE "DEPLOYED" CAREFULLY.  
ALBRIGHT

TOR: 12/20/99 19:22:26

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC DAVIDSON KASS NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE