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OSRI: RUEHLO
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2074
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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS SPLIT ON POLICE REFORM
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 000071

NSC FOR NORLAND
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/05/10
TAGS: PINS, PHUM, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS SPLIT ON POLICE REFORM

REF: 99 LONDON 9940

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: ERIC GREEN, ACTING CONSUL GENERAL, AMCON BELFAST. REASON: 1.5(B) AND (D)

SUMMARY
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2. (~~U~~) FOLLOWING A CONSULTATION PERIOD DURING WHICH ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AND OTHERS COMMENTED ON THE PATTEN COMMISSION'S PROPOSALS TO REFORM NORTHERN IRELAND POLICING, THERE IS BROAD CONSENSUS ON MOST OF PATTEN'S 175 RECOMMENDATIONS ON MODERNIZING THE AND STREAMLINING THE FORCE. BUT A NUMBER OF HOT-BUTTON ISSUES DIVIDE THE NATIONALIST AND UNIONIST COMMUNITIES, INCLUDING: CHANGES IN THE NAME AND SYMBOLS OF THE POLICE; QUOTAS FOR INCREASED RECRUITMENT OF CATHOLICS; AND THE INTRODUCTION OF DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS. SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON IS EXPECTED TO ISSUE HIS FINDINGS IN FEBRUARY WITH LEGISLATION INTRODUCED AT WESTMINSTER SOON THEREAFTER. THOUGH THE RUC HAS HELPED THE GOVERNMENT BY MUTING ITS CRITICISM OF PATTEN, MANDELSON STILL FACES A DIFFICULT BALANCING ACT AS HE SEEKS TO IMPLEMENT COMPREHENSIVE POLICE REFORM TO SATISFY NATIONALISTS, BUT AT A GRADUAL ENOUGH RATE TO AVOID ALIENATING UNIONISTS WHO REGARD SOME EMOTIVE ELEMENTS OF POLICE AS "CONCESSIONS" TO THEIR POLITICAL OPPONENTS. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) THE CONSULTATION PERIOD FOR RESPONSES TO THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT ON THE FUTURE OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC) CLOSED AT THE END OF NOVEMBER. THE NIO

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(WHICH WILL RETAIN AUTHORITY OVER POLICING, SECURITY, PRISONS, AND SECURITY MATTERS FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE) RECEIVED LAST MINUTE SUBMISSIONS FROM THE MAJOR NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL PARTIES, THE POLICE AUTHORITY (THE BODY CURRENTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE OVERSIGHT, SENIOR OFFICER APPOINTMENT, AND BUDGETING FOR THE POLICE), AND THE RUC.

4. (U) THOUGH SINN FEIN MAINTAIN PATTEN HAS NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH, AND HARD-LINE UNIONISTS ADVOCATE NO CHANGE TO THE RUC, A REVIEW OF SUBMISSIONS FROM MORE MODERATE NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS REVEALS A ROUGH CONSENSUS ON A NUMBER OF PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS, INCLUDING COMMUNITY POLICING, A REFORMED ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, EXPANDED CIVILIAN INVOLVEMENT IN TRAINING, AND COOPERATION WITH THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND'S POLICE FORCE, THE GARDA SIOCHANA. INDEED, THE RUC HAS CLAIMED THAT MANY OF THESE REFORMS WERE ALREADY ENSHRINED IN A FUNDAMENTAL REVIEW OF THE RUC BEGAN BY THEN-ASSISTANT CHIEF CONSTABLE RONNIE FLANAGAN IN 1996.

NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS DISAGREE ON KEY ISSUES
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5. (U) NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS ARE SPLIT, HOWEVER, OVER A FEW CONTENTIOUS ISSUES:

--CULTURE, ETHOS, AND SYMBOLS (E.G., THE BADGE AND CREST);
--THE INCREASED RECRUITMENT OF CATHOLICS;
--THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS; AND
--THE NEW HUMAN RIGHTS OATH FOR CURRENT OFFICERS.

LITTLE COMMON GROUND EXISTS ON THESE ISSUES AS MANY NATIONALISTS SUPPORT THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF PATTEN (AND INDEED, SOME FEEL PATTEN HAS NOT GONE FAR ENOUGH), WHILE UNIONISTS AND THE POLICE AUTHORITY REJECT OUTRIGHT PATTEN'S PROPOSALS ON THESE SUBJECTS AND FAVOR CHERRY-PICKING ONLY THOSE RECOMMENDATIONS THEY FIND ACCEPTABLE. THESE DISAGREEMENTS ARE AN UNDERSTANDABLE BY-PRODUCT OF THE 30-YEAR CONFLICT: THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY REGARDS THE RUC (WHICH HAS BEEN OVER 90& PROTESTANT) AS A BULWARK AGAINST TERRORISM WHILE NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS VIEW THE RUC AS HAVING BEEN A WILLING INSTRUMENT OF STATE-SANCTIONED DISCRIMINATION.

CULTURE, ETHOS, AND SYMBOLS
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6. (U) PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS THAT THE RUC CHANGE ITS NAME TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE, DEVELOP A NEW BADGE AND SYMBOLS "FREE FROM ANY ASSOCIATION WITH EITHER THE BRITISH OR IRISH STATES", AND CEASE FLYING THE UNION JACK HAVE DRAWN VOCIFEROUS REACTION FROM UNIONISTS. IN HIS PREFACE TO THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) RESPONSE TO PATTEN, FIRST MINISTER AND UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE DESCRIBES THESE CHANGES AS "UNTHINKABLE" AND COUNTER TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. TRIMBLE REASONS THAT, AS LONG AS
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PARTIES TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ACCEPT NORTHERN IRELAND AS PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THEN EXPRESSIONS OF BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY (E.G., THE NAME AND SYMBOLS OF THE POLICE) MUST ALSO BE ACCEPTED AND RETAINED.

7. (U) CITING A NUMBER OF SURVEYS, BOTH THE POLICE AUTHORITY AND UUP SUBMISSIONS ASSERT THAT CHANGES IN THE RUC NAME AND BADGE WOULD NOT RESULT IN A MORE ACCEPTABLE POLICE SERVICE, AND WOULD INSTEAD ALIENATE THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY. THEY INSIST THAT THE CURRENT HARP AND CROWN EMBLEM EMBRACES BOTH TRADITIONS AND A BADGE WITH MORE NEUTRAL SYMBOLS WOULD NOT BE EMBRACED BY EITHER.

8 (C) THE RUC RESPONSE TO THE NAME AND BADGE CHANE IS MORE CIRCUMSPECT. LIKE THE POLICE AUTHORIY AND THE UUP, THE RUC POINTS OUT THAT THE SACIFICES OF THE POLICE AND THE SUFFERING OF THE WIOWS AND DISABLED POLICEMEN ARE GIVEN SHORT SHRIF IN PATTEN'S REPORT. THE RUC SUBMISSION ASSERS PATTEN HAS NO EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE SUPPORTING HIS CLAIM THAT THE PAIN SERVING OFFICERS AND VICTIMS WOULD EXPERIENCE FROM A CHANGE IN NAME AND SYMBOLS WOULD BE OFFSET BY "A GREAT GAIN" IN POLICE ACCEPTABILITY. PRIVATELY, RUC OFFICERS AT THE RANK OF DIVISIONAL COMMANDER AND ASSISTANT CHIEF CONSTABLE HAVE TOLD US THAT THE NAME CHANGE WILL NOT CAUSE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN THE FORCE. THEY VIEW THE DECISION ON NAME AND SYMBOLS AS POLITICAL, AND SOME GO SO FAR TO ADD THAT THE RUC SUBMISSION SHOULD NOT HAVE EVEN COMMENTED ON THIS RECOMMENDATION.

9. (U) BOTH THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY VOICED SIMILAR CONCERNS OVER THE NAME CHANGE. THEY BELIEVE THAT WITHOUT SIGNS OF INCREASED ACCEPTANCE OF THE POLICE IN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY, THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY WOULD FIND THE CHANGES IN NAME AND SYMBOLS NOT ONLY HURTFUL, BUT POINTLESS.

10. (C) THE SDLP (WHICH CITES ITS OWN SURVEY), CATHOLIC BISHOPS (IN AN UNPUBLISHED AND CONFIDENTIAL SUBMISSION), THE NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH INSIST THAT CHANGING THE NAME AND SYMBOLS IS ESSENTIAL TO INCREASE ACCEPTANCE OF THE POLICE IN THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY. SINN FEIN, ADHERING TO ITS MAXIMAL POSITION THAT THE RUC SHOULD BE DISBANDED, CLAIMS ANY NAME CHANGE IN THE POLICE IS SIMPLY COSMETIC. IRONICALLY, THIS POSITION ONLY REINFORCES UNIONISTS' AND THE POLICE AUTHORITY VIEW THAT THE NAME CHANGE WOULD NOT RESULT IN INCREASED CROSS-COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE OF THE POLICE.

11. (U) A LEADING HUMAN RIGHTS NGO, THE COMMITTEE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE (CAJ), AND THE RECENTLY-FORMED EQUALITY COMMISSION ARE MORE EQUIVOCAL ON THE ISSUE, STRESSING THE NEED FOR A NEUTRAL WORK ENVIRONMENT, BUT NOT EXPLICITLY ENDORSING PATTEN'S SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE NAME AND BADGE. (IN LINE WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE STANCES ON A MORE INCLUSIVE ENVIRONMENT, BOTH THESE GROUPS FAULT PATTEN FOR NOT ADDRESSING GENDER INEQUALITY IN THE RUC.)

RECRUITMENT OF CATHOLICS
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12. (U) THE UUP AND POLICE AUTHORITY OBJECT TO PATTEN'S

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RECOMMENDATION THAT EQUAL NUMBERS OF CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS MAKE UP INCOMING RECRUITMENT CLASSES. BOTH NOTE THIS POLICY INHERENTLY DISCRIMINATES AGAINST PROTESTANTS, WHO MAKE UP A MAJORITY BOTH OF THE POPULATION AND OF APPLICANTS TO THE RUC, AND THAT LEGISLATION REQUIRED TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROPOSAL WOULD CONTRAVENE THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (ECHR). THEY ARGUE THAT EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO COMBAT THE INTIMIDATION AND OSTRACIZING (PARTICULARLY IRA-ORCHESTRATED) OF CATHOLICS INTERESTED IN JOINING THE RUC.

13. (C) FAR FROM OBJECTING TO QUOTAS, SINN FEIN, THE SDLP AND CATHOLIC BISHOPS URGE AN ACCELERATED RECRUITMENT TIMETABLE TO BRING MORE CATHOLICS INTO THE POLICE. THE BISHOPS RECOMMEND A 3-5 YEAR TIME-SCALE FOR ACHIEVING A 30& CATHOLIC MAKE-UP OF THE RUC, RATHER THAN THE 10 YEARS ENVISAGED BY PATTEN. BOTH THE NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND THE EQUALITY COMMISSION ARGUE THAT THE 50/50 RECRUITMENT SCHEME COULD PASS ECHR MUSTER.

DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS (DPPB)
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14. (U) UNIONISTS, THE POLICE AUTHORITY, AND THE RUC OBJECT TO PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DISTRICT LEVEL POLICING BOARDS MADE UP OF A MAJORITY OF LOCALLY-ELECTED COUNCILORS, WHICH WILL HAVE VERY MODEST

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DISCRETIONARY TAX-RAISING AUTHORITY TO PURCHASE ADDITIONAL SERVICES TO COMPLEMENT THOSE PROVIDED BY THE POLICE. THEY FEAR THAT COUNCILS DOMINATED BY ONE PARTY WILL POLITICIZE POLICING, AND THE ABILITY OF THE DPPB TO PURCHASE ADDITIONAL SERVICES WILL ALLOW PARAMILITARIES INTO POLICING "THROUGH THE BACK DOOR." (PATTEN ATTEMPTED TO ALLAY THESE FEARS IN HIS SEPTEMBER PRESS CONFERENCE LAUNCHING THE REPORT, BY OFFERING THE EXAMPLES OF FUNDING YOUTH ACTIVITIES OR CCTV SYSTEMS AS APPROPRIATE USES FOR DPPB FUNDING.)

15. (C) IN DIRECT CONTRAST, SINN FEIN, THE SDLP, AND CATHOLIC BISHOPS WELCOME THE DPPB'S, SEEING THEM AS ESSENTIAL TO LOCAL POLICE ACCOUNTABILITY. INSTEAD OF FEARING ONE PARTY DOMINATION OF A DPPB, THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS RE-AFFIRM "THE RIGHT TO FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC BODIES WHICH ARISES FROM THE ELECTORAL MANDATE OF LOCALLY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES, WHATEVER THEIR POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW." TO CLOSE THE "BACK DOOR," TO PARAMILITARIES, THE SDLP MENTIONS THE NEED TO MONITOR CRIMINAL RECORDS OF THOSE INVOLVED IN ADDITIONAL POLICING. SINN FEIN, HOWEVER>/eK THE RUC TAKE ISSUE WITH PARTS OF PATTEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS-CENTERED POLICING CONCEPT, SPECIFICALLY THE NEED FOR CURRENT OFFICERS TO AFFIRM THE NEW HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED OATH. THE RUC, IN PARTICULAR, OBJECTED ON THE GROUNDS THAT THIS IMPLIED THAT EXISTING

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OFFICERS HAVE NOT BEEN FULLY COMMITTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PAST. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, THE NEW HUMAN RIGHTS OATH WAS THE ONLY RECOMMENDATION THAT RANKLED SERVING RUC OFFICERS.

17. (U) ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE, THE SDLP IS JOINED BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, CAJ, AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH IN CALLING FOR MEASURES THAT WOULD ROOT OUT PAST HUMAN RIGHTS OFFENDERS IN THE FORCE. MORE RADICALLY, SINN FEIN RECOMMENDS THE REMOVAL OF CURRENT SENIOR OFFICERS, WHO THEY CLAIM HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR "SECTARIAN POLICING" (HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES TOWARDS NATIONALISTS) AND WOULD BE AN OBSTACLE TO ANY TRUE REFORM OF THE POLICING SERVICE. THESE GROUPS ALSO URGE THAT THE NEWLY FORMED OMBUDSMAN POSITION BE EMPOWERED TO INVESTIGATE NOT ONLY NEW CASES, BUT REVIEW PAST CASES (E.G., PAT FINUCANE) AND TAKE ACTION AGAINST SENIOR OFFICERS IF NECESSARY.

SEQUENCE: NIO STATEMENT, THEN LEGISLATION
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18. (C) THOUGH THEY STRESS THAT NOTHING IS CAST IN STONE, NIO OFFICIALS IN BELFAST AND LONDON ARE NOW EXPECTING MANDELSON'S STATEMENT ON PATTEN IN FEBRUARY WITH LEGISLATION INTRODUCED SOON THEREAFTER WITH THE AIM OF ACHIEVING WESTMINSTER APPROVAL BY JULY, THOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE APPROVAL COULD BE DELAYED UNTIL OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER. NIO OFFICIALS EXPLAINED THAT THEIR NEED TO CAREFULLY EXAMINE A NUMBER OF LATE SUBMISSIONS FROM MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES, THE POLICE AUTHORITY, AND THE RUC WILL PRECLUDE ANY EARLY STATEMENT ON PATTEN.

19. (C) NIO OFFICIALS INSIST THAT THE GOVERNMENT "ACCEPTS THE FINDINGS (OF PATTEN) IN PRINCIPLE," IMPLYING THAT THEY DO NOT EXPECT SIGNIFICANT DEVIATIONS FROM PATTEN'S 175 RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION. HOWEVER, THE PREPARATION OF LEGISLATION WILL INVOLVE CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE PRIME MINISTER, HOME SECRETARY, AS WELL AS MANDELSON. TIMING OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT MAY ALSO BE EFFECTED BY COLLATERAL POLITICAL EVENTS, INCLUDING PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING AND THE ULSTER UNIONIST CONFERENCE IN FEBRUARY.

20. (C) THE NIO MUST ALSO ENSURE THE LEGISLATION PROPOSED CONFORMS TO THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (ECHR). AMONG OTHER AREAS, THE NIO IS SEEKING LEGAL ADVICE ON THE ISSUE OF CATHOLIC RECRUITMENT, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF UNIONIST OBJECTIONS TO 50/50 RECRUITMENT SCHEME ON THE GROUNDS IT CONTRAVENES THE ECHR. THE OTHER CONTROVERSIAL RECOMMENDATIONS, INCLUDING THE CHANGE OF NAME, BADGE, AND OATH; AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BOTH THE CENTRAL POLICING BOARD AND THE DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS WILL ALSO REQUIRE LEGISLATION. THE COMMAND STRUCTURE CHANGES, THE SIZE OF THE FORCE, TRAINING ELEMENTS, AND SOME OVERSIGHT MEASURES COULD BE IMPLEMENTED WITHOUT
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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS SPLIT ON POLICE REFORM

LEGISLATION.

COMMENT
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21. (C) THE ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE ACRIMONIOUS UNIONIST/NATIONALIST SPLIT OVER THE NAME AND BADGE OF THE POLICE HAS OBSCURED DISCUSSION ON PATTEN'S MORE SIGNIFICANT RECOMMENDATIONS ON POLICE REFORM. THE FACT THAT UNIONISTS HAVE TAKEN A MORE UNYIELDING POSITION ON THE NAME AND BADGE THAN EVEN THE RUC MAY GIVE THE GOVERNMENT THE COVER IT NEEDS TO PUSH FORWARD ON THESE CONTROVERSIAL POINTS. LIKE SO MANY ISSUES, IMPLEMENTATION OF PATTEN WILL BE PORTRAYED AS A ZERO-SUM GAME; SOME HIGH-RANKING OFFICERS FEEL THAT IF IT APPEARS THE RUC HAS "LOST" ON THE CONTROVERSIAL AND EMOTIVE ISSUES, THE RANK AND FILE'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE OTHER 170 RECOMMENDATIONS (WHICH THE LEADERSHIP HAVE ENDORSED) WOULD BE IN JEOPARDY.

22. (C) GIVEN MANDELSON'S KEEN POLITICAL INSTINCTS, THE SECRETARY OF STATE MAY "PARSE" IMPLEMENTATION OF PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS IN ORDER TO MAKE ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE TO THE RUC MORE LIKELY. FOR EXAMPLE, USING THE DERRY/LONDONDERRY EXAMPLE, MANDELSON MAY SIMPLY ADD THE TITLE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE TO "ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY" BUT EVENTUALLY, AS POLICE REFORMS HAVE TAKEN ROOT, USE THE NIPS TITLE EXCLUSIVELY FOR ALL OFFICIAL REFERENCES TO THE POLICE. MANDELSON HAS ALREADY DEMONSTRATED SENSITIVITY TO UNIONIST CONCERNS ABOUT THE RUC THROUGH HIS SUPPORT FOR THE RUC'S AWARD OF THE ST. GEORGE'S CROSS (REFTEL).

23. (C) THE CHANGE IN POLICING CULTURE AND PRACTICE AS WELL AS ITS ACCEPTABILITY IN THE COMMUNITY WILL TAKE TIME. IN THAT LIGHT, MANDELSON MAY STRUCTURE THE LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE THE SECRETARY OF STATE WITH "ENABLING POWERS" ALLOWING HIM TO IMPLEMENT THE MORE CONTENTIOUS RECOMMENDATIONS AT HIS DISCRETION, I.E. WHEN POLITICALLY APPROPRIATE. GIVEN THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS ON SOME OF PATTEN'S KEY RECOMMENDATIONS, THE SECRETARY OF STATE MUST PERFORM A DELICATE BALANCING ACT. FOR NATIONALISTS TO SUPPORT THE NEW POLICE FORCE, MANDELSON MUST STRUCTURE LEGISLATION AND POLICY WHICH LARGELY FOLLOWS PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LONG-TERM CHANGE IN THE POLICE. TO GAIN SUPPORT FROM UNIONISTS, HE MUST IMPLEMENT THE MORE CONTROVERSIAL RECOMMENDATIONS AT A MEASURED PACE, ALLOWING UNIONISTS TIME TO ADJUST TO THE CHANGES WHILE AFFIRMING THE VALUE OF CURRENT POLICING ARRANGEMENTS TO THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY.
DAVIES

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INFO: ////
SUBJ: IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY FEBRUARY 5 HIGHLY UNLIKELY UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS
TEXT: ////////////////////////// INCOMPLETE MESSAGE //////////////////////////

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 DUBLIN 000128

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STATE FOR EUR/UBI, PLEASE PASS TO NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND AND PLEASE REPEAT TO LONDON AND BELFAST

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SUBJECT: IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY FEBRUARY 5 HIGHLY UNLIKELY UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS

REF: LONDON 00101

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

SUMMARY
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1. (C) DESPITE BRITISH PRESS SPECULATION TO THE CONTRARY, SINN FEIN AND GOI SOURCES GIVE US VERY LITTLE HOPE FOR AN IRA ACT OF DECOMMISSIONING BY THE TIME OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING IN EARLY FEBRUARY. THE PRESIDENT MAY WISH TO USE HIS JANUARY 12 MEETING WITH SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS TO HELP SEARCH FOR A NEW POLITICAL DYNAMIC THAT COULD MOVE THE IRA TOWARD A VOLUNTARY ACT OF DECOMMISSIONING THIS MONTH. SINN FEIN'S WASHINGTON REP. HAS TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THERE IS CURRENTLY "A SNOWBALL'S CHANCE IN HELL" OF IRA DECOMMISSIONING IN RESPONSE TO A "UNIONIST DEADLINE" WHICH WAS NOT PART OF THE MITCHELL REVIEW. WHILE UNIONISTS AND MANY OFFICIALS BOTH NORTH, SOUTH AND IN THE UK ARE OVER-RELIANT ON THE POWER OF LOGICAL POLITICAL THINKING TO COMPEL SINN FEIN/IRA TO MAKE A GESTURE, SINN FEIN SEEMS WEDDED TO THE EQUALLY DUBIOUS ASSUMPTION THAT DAVID TRIMBLE WILL "BLINK" IN FEBRUARY AND FIND SOME WAY TO STAY IN THE EXECUTIVE EVEN WITHOUT IRA DECOMMISSIONING. THE GOI HAS REJECTED SINN FEIN'S ANALYSIS AND TOLD GERRY ADAMS JANUARY 6 TO CARRY OUT SOME "CREATIVE THINKING URGENTLY" ON HOW TO GET TO DECOMMISSIONING. IRELAND, THE UK AND THE U.S. MAY HAVE TO HELP SPUR SUCH

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THINKING.

2. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION HEAD GALLAGHER HAS IDENTIFIED THREE AREAS WHERE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ACTIONS COULD HELP CREATE THE POLITICAL CONTEXT IN WHICH THE IRA MIGHT MAKE A MOVE: A DECISION TO SEEK FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION PROGRAM; CONCRETE STEPS ON DEMILITARIZATION; LEGAL RELIEF FOR THOSE PIRA PERSONNEL "ON-THE RUN" FROM OUTSTANDING UK ARREST WARRANTS. GALLAGHER THOUGHT THE UK MIGHT BE WILLING TO MOVE ON ALL THREE. FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS, GALLAGHER SUGGESTED THAT WE: MAKE CLEAR THE ONUS IS NOW ON SINN FEIN/IRA TO MOVE; STRESS THE U.S. VIEW THAT TRIMBLE WILL COLLAPSE THE EXECUTIVE IF NO IRA MOVE IS FORTHCOMING; OFFER OUR HELP IN CREATING THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A "VOLUNTARY" IRA GESTURE CAN TAKE PLACE. WE CONCUR WITH GALLAGHER'S SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMEND A PROACTIVE U.S. APPROACH TO GETTING OVER THIS, POSSIBLY THE LAST MAJOR HURDLE IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT'S JOURNEY FROM VIOLENCE TO PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. END SUMMARY.

"A SNOWBALL'S CHANCE IN HELL" OF DECOMMISSIONING BY FEB.
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3. (C) WE ARE GREATLY CONCERNED THAT, WITHOUT A NEW POLITICAL DYNAMIC EMERGING IN THE NEXT THREE WEEKS, THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE OF ANY ACT OF IRA DECOMMISSIONING PRIOR TO THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL'S (UUC) RESUMED MEETING FEBRUARY 5. WHILE SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS, MEDIA COMMENTATORS AND THE GENERAL IRISH PUBLIC SEEM CONVINCED THAT THE IRA WILL BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING THIS MONTH FOR THE RATIONAL AND LOGICAL REASON THAT REPUBLICANS WILL NOT WANT TO SEE THE NEW EXECUTIVE AND NORTH-SOUTH BODIES COLLAPSED, REPUBLICAN LEADERS SHOW NO SIGN OF MOVING IN THIS DIRECTION. WEEKEND PRESS SPECULATION OF AN IRA "DEAL" ON DECOMMISSIONING ORIGINATING IN THE BRITISH JAN. 9 SUNDAY PAPERS HAS BEEN DESCRIBED TO US AS "WITHOUT FOUNDATION" BY DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF DERMOT GALLAGHER.

4. (C) IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR AND POLOFF JANUARY 7, SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE RITA O'HARE REITERATED GERRY KELLY'S STATEMENT TO A/CONGEN BELFAST (REFTEL) THAT THERE "WASN'T A SNOWBALL'S CHANCE IN HELL" THE IRA WOULD CARRY OUT AN ACT OF DECOMMISSIONING TO MEET A "UNIONIST DEADLINE" THAT WAS "NOT PART OF THE MITCHELL REVIEW." O'HARE WENT FURTHER TO NOTE THE STRONG PROBABILITY THAT THE IRA WILL NOT HAVE COMPLETED DECOMMISSIONING EVEN BY THE MAY 2000 DEADLINE SET IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. O'HARE ASSURED US THAT THE IRA WOULD DISPOSE OF ITS WEAPONS ONCE THERE HAD BEEN "SUFFICIENT PROGRESS" ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, SPECIFICALLY ON THE FUNCTIONING OF NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTIONS, "BRITISH DEMILITARIZATION," AND POLICE REFORM. IN FACT, BG4s) OF POLITICAL PROGRESS TO HELP THEM PREPARE THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY FOR DECOMMISSIONING. UNIONIST OBSTRUCTIONISM HAD DELAYED ESTABLISHING THE EXECUTIVE AND NORTH-SOUTH BODIES FOR 18

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SUBJ: IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY FEBRUARY 5 HIGHLY UNLIKELY UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS
TEXT: ////////////////////////// INCOMPLETE MESSAGE //////////////////////////

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 DUBLIN 000128

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SUBJECT: IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY FEBRUARY 5 HIGHLY UNLIKELY UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS

MONTHS. NOW, SHE CONCLUDED, SINN FEIN CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO BRING THE IRA TO COMPLETE DECOMMISSIONING BY MAY 2000 ON THE BASIS OF ONLY FIVE MONTHS OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. (NOTE: SHE DID NOT RULE OUT A START TO DECOMMISSIONING BY MAY. END NOTE.)

5. (C) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN PRESSED O'HARE ON THE ISSUE, ARGUING THAT SINN FEIN WAS IN A VERY STRONG POLITICAL POSITION, HAVING TAKEN (AGAINST ALL EXPECTATIONS) TWO OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS (EDUCATION AND HEALTH) IN THE NEW EXECUTIVE. NOW SEEMED TO BE THE TIME WHEN THE IRA COULD AFFORD TO MAKE A GESTURE ON ARMS "AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND NOT AS A RESPONSE TO A UNIONIST DEADLINE" THAT WOULD SOLIDIFY ITS POLITICAL POSITION. POLOFF ADDED THAT "MUCH WAS EXPECTED OF THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP" IN THE UNITED STATES. O'HARE NOTED THAT SINN FEIN WAS THE "VICTIM OF ITS OWN SUCCESS" IN WASHINGTON, BUT OFFERED NO COMFORT ON DECOMMISSIONING. IN HER VIEW, IT WAS TRIMBLE WHO WOULD "BLINK" ON FEBRUARY 5 AND FIND SOME WAY NOT TO COLLAPSE THE EXECUTIVE EVEN WITHOUT AN IRA MOVE.

SINN FEIN PRESIDENT ADAMS OFFERS GOI NO FLEXIBILITY
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6. (C) WHILE O'HARE IS AN INFLUENTIAL ADVISOR TO SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS, SHE IS NOT THE MOST LIKELY SINN FEIN FIGURE TO REVEAL REPUBLICAN FLEXIBILITY TO US. HOWEVER, HER VIEW IS REINFORCED BOTH BY REFTEL AND OUR READOUT OF GERRY ADAMS JANUARY 6 MEETING WITH SENIOR

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ADVISORS TO THE TAOISEACH MARTIN MANSERGH, PADDY TEAHON AND ANGLO-IRISH CHIEF GALLAGHER. GALLAGHER TOLD DCM JANUARY 7 THAT ADAMS HAD "PLAYED HIS CARDS VERY CLOSE TO THE VEST" AND HAD SHOWN NO FLEXIBILITY ON DECOMMISSIONING. AGAIN, THE SINN FEIN PRESIDENT EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT TRIMBLE WOULD FIND A WAY TO GET OFF THE HOOK AND NOT COLLAPSE THE ASSEMBLY. IN RESPONSE, IRISH OFFICIALS MADE IT VERY CLEAR TO ADAMS THAT, IN THE GOI'S OPINION, IT WAS A VIRTUAL CERTAINTY THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF AN IRA GESTURE, TRIMBLE WOULD RESIGN AND BRING THE PROCESS DOWN WITH HIM (WITH UK BACKING). THEY ALSO TOLD ADAMS THAT, EVEN IF TRIMBLE WANTED TO STAY IN, HE SIMPLY COULD NOT GET THE SUPPORT WITHIN THE UUP TO ALLOW HIM TO DO SO. GALLAGHER ADDED THAT THEY TOLD ADAMS THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES NEEDED TO DO SOME "DEEP, CREATIVE THINKING" ABOUT THIS AND MEET WITH THE GOI AGAIN URGENTLY. GALLAGHER WAS NOT SURE WHETHER A FOLLOW-UP MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE OR AFTER ADAMS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON JANUARY 12.

HOW CAN THIS BE SALVAGED?
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7. (C) IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH GOI, SINN FEIN, AND BRITISH EMBASSY OFFICIALS IN DUBLIN, THREE AREAS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED WHERE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ACTION COULD HELP IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR AN IRA DECOMMISSIONING MOVE:

-- POLICING (THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT)
-- "DEMILITARIZATION" ("SECURITY NORMALIZATION")
-- "OTR'S" ("ON-THE-RUNS"), I.E., ACTION TO CANCEL CHARGES AND WARRANTS AGAINST UNAPPREHENDED PIRA PERSONNEL.

8. (C) POLICING: ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION HEAD GALLAGHER UNDERSCORED THAT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT ON POLICE REFORM WAS CRITICAL. GALLAGHER SAID HE UNDERSTOOD NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON WOULD RELEASE HIS PLAN FOR POLICE REFORM LEGISLATION BY THE END OF JANUARY TO "HELP SINN FEIN MOVE AHEAD." GALLAGHER NOTED THAT THE CRITICAL FACTOR IN POLICE REFORM WAS SIMPLY TO GET ENOUGH NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS TO JOIN THE FORCE SO THAT IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH COMMUNITIES IN THE NORTH. HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT SINN FEIN WOULD GO ALONG, BUT IF (AND ONLY IF) THE ENTIRE PATTEN COMMISSION PROGRAM IS IMPLEMENTED, I.E., NO "CHERRY-PICKING." MANDELSON, GALLAGHER INDICATED, HAD EARLIER BEEN INCLINED TO DROP SOME OF THE SYMBOLIC CHANGES IN ORDER TO APPEASE UNIONISTS BUT WAS COMING TO REALIZE THAT THE PROGRAM HAD TO BE TAKEN AS A WHOLE IF THE MAIN GOAL OF AN ACCEPTABLE CROSS-COMMUNITY POLICE FORCE IS TO BE ACHIEVED. GALLAGHER COMMENTED THAT SHOULD MANDELSON, NEVERTHELESS, "CHERRY--PICK" THE REPORT, IT WOULD NOT ONLY NOT HELP GET TO DECOMMISSIONING BUT WOULD GIVE SINN FEIN AN EXCUSE TO GET OFF THE HOOK.

9. (C) SECURITY NORMALIZATION (OR "DEMILITARIZATION" AS SINN FEIN PREFERS TO CALLS IT): THE UK DECEMBER PAPER WHICH SET OUT AMBITIOUS PRINCIPLES FOR REDUCING THE BRITISH SECURITY INFRASTRUCTURE IN NORTHERN IRELAND BUT OFFERED NO CONCRETE TIMETABLE HAS BEEN VARIOUSLY DESCRIBED

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SUBJECT: IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY FEBRUARY 5 HIGHLY UNLIKELY UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS

TO US AS "A JOKE" (RITA O'HARE), AN "EMBARRASSMENT" (GALLAGHER'S ANGLO-IRISH DEPUTY RAY BASSETT), AND "NOT THE LAST WORD ON THE SUBJECT BEFORE FEBRUARY" (UK EMBASSY DCM JOHN RANKIN). BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH RANKIN AND GALLAGHER, OUR VIEW WOULD BE THAT THE DECEMBER 23 PAPER WAS REALLY A SHREWD STEP BY NI SECRETARY MANDELSON TO REASSURE UNIONISTS THAT SECURITY CHANGES WOULD ONLY OCCUR IN THE CONTEXT OF AN IMPROVED SECURITY SITUATION, WHILE HOLDING OPEN THE OPTION OF MORE CONCRETE ACTION BY THE END OF JANUARY, E.G. "A REVIEW IS NOW UNDERWAY WHICH WILL FOCUS PARTICULARLY ON SPECIFIC SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS . . . THE FIRST PHASE OF THIS REVIEW WILL BE COMPLETED EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR."

10. (C) RANKIN (UK), BASSET AND GALLAGHER ALL INDICATED TO US THAT FURTHER CONCRETE STEPS ON "NORMALIZATION" WERE POSSIBLE THIS MONTH AS PART OF A CHOREOGRAPHY LEADING TO AN IRA DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE. GALLAGHER THOUGHT A START TO DISMANTLING SOME OF THE BRITISH ARMY'S HILLTOP FACILITIES ALONG THE BORDER IN SOUTH ARMAGH WOULD HAVE A TREMENDOUSLY POSITIVE AFFECT ON THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. IT WOULD ALSO HELP, IN GALLAGHER'S VIEW, WITH SINN FEIN'S CONCERN ABOUT REPUBLICANS DEFECTING TO THE DISSIDENT REAL IRA IN THE SOUTH ARMAGH AREA BY PROVIDING DEMONSTRABLE EVIDENCE OF WHAT SINN FEIN/IRA POLICIES WERE ACHIEVING. BASSETT TOLD US JANUARY 6 THAT MANDELSON WOULD BE OPEN TO CONSIDER SPECIFIC REQUESTS FROM GERRY ADAMS FOBw

11. (C) OTR'S: SINN FEIN HAS BEEN PRESSING THE GOI TO URGE THE UK TO DROP OUTSTANDING CHARGES AND ARREST WARRANTS AGAINST ALL PROVISIONAL IRA MEMBERS CURRENTLY "ON-THE-RUN" (OTR) WHO, IF APPREHENDED, WOULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR EARLY RELEASE UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. DERMOT GALLAGHER BELIEVES THE UK WOULD LIKE TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION, ESPECIALLY WITH ALL PARA-MILITARY PRISONERS (EXCEPT FOR DISSIDENT LOYALISTS AND REPUBLICANS) DUE TO BE RELEASED BY JULY OF THIS YEAR. PROBABLY THE BEST KNOWN OF THESE OTR'S TO WASHINGTON IS SINN FEIN'S WASHINGTON REP, RITA O'HARE, WHO HAS A 22-YEAR OLD OUTSTANDING WARRANT AGAINST HER IN THE UK. THIS QUESTION HAS BEEN BROUGHT IMMEDIATELY TO THE FORE IN THE PAST FEW DAYS BY THE ARREST IN THE REPUBLIC AND PENDING EXTRADITION TO NORTHERN IRELAND OF ANGELO FUSCO WHO HAS BEEN "OTR" SINCE 1998 ON A IRISH EXTRADITION ORDER RELATED TO A CHARGE OF MURDER IN NORTHERN IRELAND FOR THE 1980 KILLING OF A BRITISH SAS CAPTAIN. FUSCO HAS BEEN GRANTED A HEARING ON THE VALIDITY OF THE EXTRADITION ORDER, BUT THE JANUARY 6 IRISH HIGH COURT DECISION NOT TO GRANT BAIL LED TO ANY ANGRY DEMONSTRATION BY SINN FEIN SUPPORTERS IN DUBLIN.

12. (C) DEPUTY ANGLO-IRISH HEAD BASSET TOLD US THE FUSCO ARREST WAS EMBARRASSING AS IT CAME JUST AS THE GOI WAS BEGINNING TO PRESS THE UK TO DROP CHARGES AGAINST THE "OTR'S" AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE. GALLAGHER TOLD US THAT ADAMS HAD PRESSED THE OTR AND THE FUSCO ISSUE AS WELL. ON FUSCO SPECIFICALLY, GALLAGHER THOUGHT THAT SOME MEANS WOULD BE FOUND NOT TO EXTRADITE HIM. ON OTHER OTR'S, HE THOUGHT THE UK MIGHT BE READY TO MOVE AS A

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CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE AND THAT RITA O'HARE COULD BE A TEST CASE DUE TO THE AGE OF THE WARRANT AND THE DIFFICULTY OF RECOMPILING THE EVIDENCE AGAINST HER. ACTION ON THIS ISSUE, GALLAGHER BELIEVED, WOULD BE ANOTHER WAY TO IMPROVE THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE FOR DECOMMISSIONING.

WHAT THE U.S. CAN DO
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13. (C) IN LIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK, WE ASKED GALLAGHER WHAT THE U.S. COULD DO THE HELP SPUR SINN FEIN/IRA'S "CREATIVE THINKING" ON DECOMMISSIONING. GALLAGHER SUGGESTED SEVERAL POINTS:

-- IMPRESS ON ADAMS THAT THE ONUS IS NOW ON SINN FEIN AND THE IRA TO MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING AND WE (THE U.S.) EXPECT THEM TO DO SO.

-- STRESS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE UUP WILL WALK AWAY IF THERE HAS NOT BEEN AN ACT OF IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY THE UUC MEETING FEB. 5.

-- HIGHLIGHT THE POLITICAL GAINS SINN FEIN HAS MADE IN THE PAST MONTH THAT WILL BE LOST IF THE EXECUTIVE COLLAPSES.

-- ASK FOR ADAMS' IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD AND OFFER U.S. HELP AS APPROPRIATE IN CREATING A
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 DUBLIN 000128

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SCENARIO IN WHICH THE IRA COULD MAKE A MOVE BY THE END OF JANUARY.

14. (C) GALLAGHER ALSO SUGGESTED THAT WE JOIN THE GOI IN URGING THE UK TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THE COMPLETE PATTEN PROGRAM AND TO OFFER CONCRETE "DEMILITARIZATION" ACTIONS. WE ASKED GALLAGHER TO KEEP US INFORMED AS GOI THINKING DEVELOPS AND TO LET US KNOW ABOUT ANYTHING SPECIFIC THE U.S. CAN DO TO HELP.

COMMENT
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15. (C) IN THE GLOW OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INCLUSIVE EXECUTIVE, THE INAUGURAL MEETINGS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH AND BRITISH-IRISH COUNCILS, AND THE LONG HOLIDAY PERIOD, WE FEAR MANY HAVE LOST SIGHT OF THE VIRULENT REACTION OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY TO THE UUP'S FEBRUARY DEADLINE. ACCEPTING THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY DAVID TRIMBLE COULD SECURE SUFFICIENT UUP SUPPORT, IT IS NONETHELESS OUR ASSESSMENT THAT THIS CONDITION MOVED AN IRA ACT OF DECOMMISSIONING BY JAN. 31 FROM "PROBABLE" AT THE END OF THE MITCHELL REVIEW TO "IMPROBABLE" IN THE CURRENT SITUATION. WE ALSO FEAR THAT THERE IS AN OVER-RELIANCE IN

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ALMOST ALL QUARTERS - NORTH, SOUTH AND IN THE UK - ON THE POWER OF LOGIC, REASON, AND POLITICS TO COMPEL SINN FEIN/IRA TO MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING. THE "GUNS OF THE IRA" ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SOUL OF A SIGNIFICANT SEGMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. THEY WILL NEVER BE SURRENDERED OR DESTROYED AS A PERCEIVED RESPONSE TO A UNIONIST DEMAND.

16. (C) DECOMMISSIONING WILL ONLY TAKE PLACE IF IT IS SEEN AS A VOLUNTARY ACT ON THE PART OF THE IRA. SENATOR MITCHELL SUCCEEDED IN GIVING THE IRA THAT COVER IN COMPLETING HIS REVIEW IN NOVEMBER. THE UUP DEADLINE, HOWEVER, HAS STRIPPED IT AWAY. THE OBJECTIVE NOW MUST BE TO RECREATE IRA COVER, AND TIME IS SHORT. THE GOI BELIEVES THAT STEPS ON POLICING, DEMILITARIZATION, AND "OTR'S" MAY PROVIDE A SCENARIO FOR THE IRA TO MAKE A RECIPROCAL GESTURE IN FURTHERANCE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. OUR CONCERN, HOWEVER, IS SINN FEIN'S APPARENT PASSIVITY IN NOT SUGGESTING WHAT CHANGES IT WOULD NEED IN THE POLITICAL DYNAMIC TO SECURE AN IRA MOVE AND ITS MISPLACED OPTIMISM THAT TRIMBLE AND THE UUP WILL "BLINK" IN FEBRUARY. THE SITUATION MAY REQUIRE A MORE PROACTIVE APPROACH BY THE UK AND GOI, AND PERHAPS, BY THE U.S. TO SUGGEST TO SINN FEIN HOW THE THREE GOVERNMENTS COULD HELP CRAFT A SCENARIO WHICH WOULD PROVIDE SUFFICIENT "COVER" FOR A "VOLUNTARY" IRA GESTURE. FOR THE U.S. THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE COUPLED WITH A CLEAR MESSAGE THAT WE EXPECT MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING AND A STRONGLY IMPLIED SIGNAL THAT BLAME WILL FALL ON SINN FEIN'S LEADERSHIP IF IT FAILS TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY. AS AT OTHER POINTS IN THE PEACE PROCESS, U.S. ACTIVISM MAY BE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE ANOTHER SOUL-WRENCHING STEP IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT'S LONG JOURNEY FROM ITS VIOLENT PAST TO A PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL FUTURE. END COMMENT

SULLIVAN

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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONIST REAFFIRMS FEBRUARY DEADLINE FOR PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING

CLASSIFIED BY JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCON
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000175

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/10/05
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONIST REAFFIRMS FEBRUARY DEADLINE FOR PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING

CLASSIFIED BY JANE BENTON FORT, CONSUL GENERAL, AMCON BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY
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1. (C) THE UUP'S DERMOTT NESBITT TOLD US JANUARY 7 THAT THE U.S. SHOULD HARBOR NO ILLUSIONS THAT TRIMBLE WILL SOFTEN THE UUP'S POSTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING, WHICH IT REGARDS AS AN INESCAPABLE ELEMENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT AND A POLITICAL NECCESITY FOR THEIR CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. NESBITT SAID HE WAS STILL HOPEFUL DECOMMISSIONING WOULD OCCUR AND THAT THE UUP LEADERSHIP IS TRYING TO AVOID OPENLY PRESSURING THE IRA. HE WOULD NOT DISCLOSE THE CONTENT OF TRIMBLE'S SECRET "RESIGNATION" LETTER, BUT WARNED OF DIRE CONSEQUENCES IF IT IS INVOKED. END SUMMARY.

YOUR TURN, GERRY
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2. (C) DERMOT NESBITT, THE UUP'S "JUNIOR" MINISTER IN THE NEW EXECUTIVE AND A CLOSE ALLY OF PARTY LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE, MET WITH A/CG ON JANUARY 7 TO REVIEW RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. AWARE THAT GERRY ADAMS WILL BE VISITING WASHINGTON IN THE COMING DAYS, NESBITT EMPHATICALLY SAID, "THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION SHOULD BE UNDER TO ILLUSIONS THAT JUST BECAUSE THE EXECUTIVE INSTITUTIONS ARE UP AND RUNNING WE WILL BACK OFF OUR COMMITMENT ON

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DECOMMISSIONING." NESBITT SAID THAT PROGRESS IS IMPERATIVE TO MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, WHICH REQUIRES THAT GUNS BE REMOVED FROM POLITICS. HE ADDED THAT NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICIANS HAVE ALREADY GONE TO EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS TO ACCOMMODATE SINN FEIN AND THAT IT IS TIME FOR THE REPUBLICANS TO MAKE A GESTURE ON WEAPONS, SOMETHING THAT THEY HAVE REFUSED TO DO SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS. "THIS IS THE LAST PIECE OF THE JIGSAW AND IT SHOULD BE THE EASIEST TO PLACE," HE SAID.

3. (C) ASIDE FROM THE PRINCIPLES AT STAKE, NESBITT STRESSED THAT THE UUP HAS REACHED ITS OWN POLITICAL LIMITS, AS REFLECTED IN TRIMBLE'S NOVEMBER PLEDGE TO RESIGN ABSENT PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING PRIOR TO FEBRUARY. NESBITT RECOUNTED HOW DIFFICULT IT HAD BEEN TO PERSUADE 58& OF THE UUP COUNCIL PARTICIPANTS IN NOVEMBER TO SUPPORT TRIMBLE AND HOW THE MODERATE WING OF THE PARTY WOULD LOSE ALL SUPPORT AND RESPECT IF THIS DEAL DOESN'T WORK OUT.

NO PANIC, YET
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4. (C) NESBITT SAID HE WAS NOT WORRIED BY THE IRA STATEMENT AND NOTED THAT IT CONTAINED SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS, THOUGH HE ALLOWED THAT IT COULD HAVE GONE A LOT FURTHER ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE. ASKED ABOUT UUP-SF CONTACTS, HE SAID HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY TRIMBLE-ADAMS DISCUSSIONS, NOR HAD THERE BEEN COMMUNICATION AT LOWER LEVELS DURING THE HOLIDAY BREAK. HE SAID HE WAS UPSET WITH SFS BAIBRE DE BRUN, MINISTER OF HEALTH, WHO HAD UNILATERALLY ORDERED THE CIVIL SERVICE NOT TO FLY THE UNION JACK ON CHRISTMAS (ONE OF THE FEW DAYS THE FLAG STILL FLIES) AT CASTLE BUILDINGS WHERE SHE HAS AN OFFICE, AS DOES NESBITT AND SECRETARY MANDELSON. SUCH ACTIONS, HE SAID, VIOLATE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND UNDERMINE THE CONSENSUAL PRINCIPLES OF THE POWER-SHARING EXECUTIVE.

5. (C) ASKED WHETHER THE UUP COULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR DECOMMISSIONING TO OCCUR, NESBITT SAID THAT TRIMBLE HAS BEEN AT PAINS TO REMAIN LOW-KEY AND POSITIVE, AVOIDING ANY STATEMENTS THAT SMACK OF AN ULTIMATUM. HOWEVER, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT OTHER PROMINENT UUP MEMBERS, SUCH AS JEFFREY DONALDSON AND KEN MAGINNESS, HAVE BEEN LESS SHY ABOUT HIGHLIGHTING THE DEADLINE IN THE MEDIA. NESBITT ALSO SAID THAT THE DATE FOR THE UUP COUNCIL WILL LIKELY BE PUSHED BACK BY A WEEK OR TWO, TO FEBRUARY 12 OR 19, WHICH WOULD GIVE REPUBLICANS MORE TIME. HE ADDED THAT HE THOUGHT OUTSIDE INFLUENCES SUCH AS SF'S REPORTED AMBITIONS TO ENTER GOVERNMENT IN THE REPUBLIC AND WORDS FROM THE U.S., EXERT MORE PRESSURE ON REPUBLICANS THAN DOES THE UUP.

WHAT IF?
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6. (C) NESBITT WAS RELUCTANT TO ELABORATE ON WHAT WOULD HAPPEN SHOULD THE IRA FAIL TO PRODUCE BEFORE THE COUNCIL MEETING. MUCH HINGES ON THE CONTENT OF THE POST-DATED "RESIGNATION" LETTER TRIMBLE TENDERED IN A SEALED ENVELOPE AT THE LAST MEETING. NESBITT WOULD ONLY SAY THAT TRIMBLE'S

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/10/05
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONIST REAFFIRMS FEBRUARY DEADLINE FOR PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING

THREAT IS DEADLY SERIOUS AND WOULD RESULT IN A TOTAL COLLAPSE OF THE EXECUTIVE WHICH WOULD BE FAR MORE DIFFICULT TO REPAIR THAN THE JULY BREAK-DOWN.

7. (C) NESBITT MUSED THAT, IF THINGS STARTED TO DISINTEGRATE, THE SDLP COULD STEP UP AND SAVE THE INSTITUTIONS BY AGREEING TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN. HE SAID THAT NO DISCUSSIONS REGARDING THIS SCENARIO HAD TAKEN PLACE AND THAT THE UUP WOULD NOT INITIATE THEM LEST IT BE ACCUSED OF SEEKING TO DIVIDE THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

COMMENT
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8. (C) THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF THE UUP DICTATE THAT TRIMBLE HAS NO WIGGLE ROOM REGARDING THE FEBRUARY DEADLINE ON DECOMMISSIONING, NOTWITHSTANDING THAT HE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WANTS THE INSTITUTIONS TO CONTINUE FUNCTIONING. HE AND HIS TEAM SEEM TO RECOGNIZE THAT IN THE COMING WEEKS THEY ARE BETTER OFF SAYING AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE AND ALLOWING THE PRESSURE ON THE IRA TO BUILD FROM OTHER QUARTERS.
DAVIES

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TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000475

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/31/10
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, ASEC, KDEM, UK
SUBJECT: ANNOUNCEMENT ON RUC REFORM DRAWS FIRE FROM UNIONISTS; MANDELSON CHALLENGES REPUBLICANS TO DECOMMISSION

REF: LONDON 385

(U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM GLYN T. DAVIES, FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY
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1. (~~C~~) SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MANDELSON'S JANUARY 19 STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON PLANS FOR REFORMING THE RUC (ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY) TRIGGERED ANGRY RESPONSES FROM UNIONIST MP'S, INCLUDING DAVID TRIMBLE, WHO COMPLAINED REPUBLICANS HAVE DONE NOTHING TO MATCH UNIONISTS' CONCESSIONS. LONDON PRESS COVERAGE FOCUSED ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF MANDELSON'S PROPOSALS TO TRIMBLE'S NEED TO CONVINCE THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL ON FEBRUARY 12 TO CONTINUE PARTICIPATION IN THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE. SINN FEIN'S JANUARY 20 STATEMENT THAT MANDELSON'S PROPOSALS FELL SHORT OF THE DETAILED PLAN THEY WERE LOOKING FOR SUGGEST MORE WILL BE NEEDED IF THE REPUBLICANS ARE TO HAVE AN EXCUSE TO BEGIN VOLUNTARY DECOMMISSIONING IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AT THE SAME TIME, MANDELSON'S COMMENTS SHOULD LEAVE NO ONE IN DOUBT THAT MANDELSON BELIEVES THERE MAY BE NO OPTION TO CLOSING DOWN THE NI EXECUTIVE IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING BEFORE THE ULSTER UNIONISTS MEET ON FEBRUARY 12. END SUMMARY.

MANDELSON'S PLAN FOR REFORMING THE RUC
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2. (SBU) SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND PETER MANDELSON ANNOUNCED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON JANUARY 19 WHAT 'THE GUARDIAN' DESCRIBED AS "SWEEPING REFORMS" OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC). AS PREVIEWED (REF A), THE KEY CHANGES ARE: A NEW NAME (POLICE SERVICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND); A NEW CAP BADGE TO

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REPLACE THE EXISTING CROWN AND HARP INSIGNIA; NEW RECRUITS TO BE 50/50 PROTESTANTS/CATHOLICS; REDUCTION OF THE TOTAL FORCE FROM 13,500 TO 7,500; A NEW OATH FOR NEW OFFICERS AND HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING FOR ALL OFFICERS; AND A NEW POLICING BOARD (TO WHICH THE CHIEF CONSTABLE WILL ANSWER) TO REPLACE THE POLICE AUTHORITY. MANDELSON'S PLAN DID NOT INCLUDE TWO PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS: THAT CURRENTLY-SERVING OFFICERS TAKE THE NEW OATH ("NOT APPROPRIATE AND LEGALLY PROBLEMATIC") AND THAT DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS BE CREATED AND GIVEN POWERS TO PURCHASE SERVICES ON TOP OF NORMAL POLICING (DECISION WILL FOLLOW JUSTICE REVIEW RECOMMENDATIONS). THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THE CHANGES WILL BE PHASED IN, WITH NEW NAME, BADGE AND TRAINING ELEMENTS IN EFFECT FROM THE FALL OF 2001.

3. (U) MANDELSON SAID HIS PLAN WAS DRIVEN BY THREE INTERDEPENDENT CONSIDERATIONS: REPRESENTATIVENESS, EFFECTIVENESS AND RESPECT FOR SACRIFICES OF THE PAST. HE STRESSED THE CHANGES WERE NOT MEANT AS CRITICISMS OF THE CURRENT POLICE FORCE BUT AS AN EFFORT TO ENSURE ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY ARE ABLE TO IDENTIFY WITH AND SUPPORT THE FORCE IN THE FUTURE.

UNIONISTS REJECT PLAN, CLAIM REPUBLICANS HAVE GIVEN NOTHING

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4. (SBU) DAVID TRIMBLE, WHO HAD BEEN BRIEFED ON THE GOVERNMENT'S PLANS, USED THE PRIME MINISTERS' QUESTION TIME JUST BEFORE MANDELSON'S STATEMENT TO OFFER AN ANGRY AND BITTER REJECTION OF THE PROPOSALS. HE CHALLENGED THE PRIME MINISTER TO EXPLAIN HOW A ROYAL INSTITUTION COULD BE STRIPPED OF THAT HONOR. HE ARGUED "NOTHING THAT THIS GOVERNMENT SAYS OR DOES CAN DISHONOR THE RUC OR THE MEN THAT SERVE IN IT, BUT THE GOVERNMENT CAN AND IS DISHONORING ITSELF." KEN MAGINNIS (UUP MP, SECURITY SPOKESMAN, AND TRIMBLE ALLY) SAID THE GOVERNMENT'S REFORM PROPOSALS "DEGRADED, DEMEANED, AND DENIGRATED THE RUC." HE CLAIMED THE SMALL NUMBER OF CATHOLICS IN THE RUC WAS DUE TO POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED IRA INTIMIDATION OF POTENTIAL RECRUITS RATHER THAN A SENSE OF ALIENATION FROM THE ORGANIZATION. JEFFREY DONALDSON, AN ANTI-AGREEMENT UUP MP, ECHOED COMMENTS BY SHADOW SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ANDREW MACKAY. THEY BOTH ARGUED UNIONISTS WERE BEING ASKED TO MAKE ALL THE COMPROMISES AND SACRIFICES WHILE REPUBLICANS HAD MADE NONE.

SINN FEIN SUGGESTS THAT PROPOSALS ARE NOT ENOUGH

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5. (U) SINN FEIN LEADER ALEX MASKEY INDICATED ON JANUARY 20 THAT MANDELSON'S RUC REFORM PLANS FELL SHORT OF WHAT SINN FEIN BELIVED THEY HAD A RIGHT TO EXPECT. HE DESCRIBED MANDELSON'S PROPOSALS AS "TINKERING WITH THE RUC" RATHER THAN A DETAILED PLAN FOR MEANINGFUL REFORM. ACCORDING TO MASKEY, SINN FEIN WOULD WAIT TO SEE THE DETAILS CONTAINED IN THE PROMISED LEGISLATION BEFORE ASSESSING THE ADEQUACY OF THE REFORMS. SINN FEIN'S SUBMISSION TO THE NIO (FAXED TO NSC) ON PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS ARGUED THE ONLY WAY TO CREATE A POLICE SERVICE IN WHICH THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY HAS CONFIDENCE WOULD BE TO DISMANTLE THE RUC AND BUILD A NEW SERVICE FROM THE GROUND UP. FUNDAMENTAL REFORM, "NOT DRIBS AND

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 000475

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/31/10
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, ASEC, KDEM, UK
SUBJECT: ANNOUNCEMENT ON RUC REFORM DRAWS FIRE FROM UNIONISTS; MANDELSON CHALLENGES REPUBLICANS TO DECOMMISSION

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DRABS," WOULD BE NEEDED BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY COULD FEEL THE FORCE BELONGED TO THEM.

IMPLICATIONS FOR GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION

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6. (C) MANDELSON, THE PARTIES AND THE PRESS PLACED RUC REFORM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION. JEFFREY DONALDSON WARNED "THE PROPOSALS (TO REFORM THE RUC) WILL WEIGH HEAVILY ON THE MINDS OF ULSTER UNIONIST DELEGATES WHEN THEY COME TOGETHER ON FEBRUARY 12 (TO DECIDE WHETHER TO CONTINUE PARTICIPATING IN THE NI EXECUTIVE)." MANDELSON SAID HE AGREED WITH SHADOW SECRETARY OF STATE MACKAY'S OBSERVATION THAT "THE RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE MORE ACCEPTABLE IF DECOMMISSIONING BY THE IRA HAD BEGUN." HE ADDED, IN A CLEAR MESSAGE TO THE REPUBLICANS, "THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IS NOT TO BE CHERRY-PICKED. SINN FEIN HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT DECOMMISSIONING IS ESSENTIAL. IF THE MAY DEADLINE IS TO BE MET, DECOMMISSIONING MUST START."

7. (SBU) THE LONDON PRESS ALSO LINKED MANDELSON'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON RUC REFORM TO THE UUC'S END-OF-JANUARY DEADLINE FOR MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. 'THE TELEGRAPH' CHARACTERIZED MANDELSON'S PROPOSALS AS A 'BETRAYAL' OF THE RUC, AND IT QUOTED UUP MODERATE CHRIS MCGIMPSEY AS SAYING THE GOVERNMENT HAD SERIOUSLY MISJUDGED THE MOOD OF THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. THE 'TIMES' OBSERVED ON JANUARY 20 THAT "PETER MANDELSON IS OPERATING IN AN INCREASINGLY TURBULENT ATMOSPHERE. THE CHANGES HE PROPOSES TO THE RUC RUN THE BROADER RISK OF WEAKENING THE PEACE PROCESS AND ENDANGERING DAVID TRIMBLE'S ABILITY TO KEEP UNIONISM COMMITTED TO ULSTER'S NEW DISPENSATION." THE SAME 'TIMES' EDITORIAL WENT ON TO ARGUE THAT "THE FAILURE OF THE IRA TO DECOMMISSION IS MORE THAN JUST A CAUSE FOR WARINESS OVER POLICE REFORM; IT COULD FRUSTRATE ALL HOPES OF A MORE SETTLED FUTURE."

8. (C) DAVID MCKITTRICK ARGUED IN AN EDITORIAL IN 'THE INDEPENDENT' THAT THE HANDLING OF THE MANDELSON ANNOUNCEMENT WAS SIGNIFICANT BOTH IN TERMS OF CHANGING POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND FOR THE DIFFICULTIES IT ELIMINATES ANY WIGGLE-ROOM DAVID TRIMBLE MIGHT HAVE WHEN HE FACES THE UUC ON FEBRUARY 12. 'THE GUARDIAN' DESCRIBED MANDELSON'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF PLANNED RUC REFORMS AS "HIS MOST DANGEROUS GAMBLE" WHICH HAS "ENRAGED THE UNIONISTS AND LEFT TRIMBLE LOOKING VULNERABLE." 'THE GUARDIAN' REPORTED THERE WAS SPECULATION THAT, IF THE REPUBLICANS DO NOT MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING BY THE END OF THE MONTH, MANDELSON WILL TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND COLLAPSE THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS RATHER THAN LET TRIMBLE WALK AWAY.

COMMENT

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9. (C) MANDELSON'S ANNOUNCEMENT DOES NOT APPEAR LIKELY, IN ITSELF, TO TRIGGER A BREAKTHROUGH ON DECOMMISSIONING. HIS WORDS, TONE AND DEMEANOR BOTH DURING HIS COMMENTS AND IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS BY MP'S, SUGGEST HE BELIEVES HE IS RUNNING OUT OF TIME, OPTIONS AND PATIENCE. IN A JANUARY 20 'TIMES' EDITORIAL, MATTHEW PARRIS COMMENTED ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S TOUGHNESS AND, AT TIMES, ANGER, DURING HIS APPEARANCE AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. INDEED, WHILE MANDELSON WELCOMED JOHN HUME'S COMMENTS THAT POLICING ACCEPTABLE TO ALL ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY SHOULD BE A NATURAL STEP NOW THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT ON POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, HE ALSO CHALLENGED THE SDLP LEADER TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENCOURAGING CATHOLICS TO SUPPORT THE POLICE SERVICE.

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10 (C) MANDELSON'S REMINDER OF THE NEED FOR THE PARTIES TO MATCH RHETORIC WITH ACTION MAY NOT RESULT IN THE PARTIES UNDERTAKING NEW CONSTRUCTIVE INITIATIVES. HIS REFORM PROPOSALS MAY NOT BE ENOUGH TO ALLOW THE REPUBLICANS TO DECIDE TO TAKE A VOLUNTARY STEP ON DECOMMISSIONING. BUT HIS REMARKS SHOULD LEAVE NO ONE IN DOUBT THAT HE AND TRIMBLE BELIEVE THERE MAY BE NO ALTERNATIVE TO CLOSING DOWN THE NI EXECUTIVE IF THE REPUBLICANS CAN NOT OFFER ANYTHING ON DECOMMISSIONING BEFORE FEBRUARY 12. END COMMENT.
DAVIES

TOR: 01/20/00 16:51:00

DIST: SIT: BABBITT BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON FELDMAN GUARNIERI KASS MCLEAN MUNTER NAPLAN NORLAND PATTEN SCHWARTZ STROMSETH VACCARO VONLIPSEY YEE

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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1247
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1073
INFO: ////
SUBJ: ALL SIGNS POINT TO "NO" ON POSSIBILITY OF NEAR-TERM IRA DECOMMISSIONING

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

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 000418

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND, AMENBASSY LONDON AND AMCONSUL BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/24/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: ALL SIGNS POINT TO "NO" ON POSSIBILITY OF NEAR-TERM IRA DECOMMISSIONING

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

1. (~~C~~) PADDY TEAHON, SECRETARY GENERAL IN THE TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR JANUARY 23 THAT THE GOI NOW HAD NO EXPECTATION OF A DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE BY THE IRA PRIOR TO THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY COUNCIL MEETING SET FOR FEBRUARY 12. TEAHON SAID THE GOVERNMENT HAD MET WITH GERRY ADAMS AND A SENIOR SINN FEIN DELEGATION ON JANUARY 22. DESPITE A HARD GOI PRESS THAT A DECOMMISSIONING MOVE WAS EXPECTED FROM SINN FEIN/IRA, ADAMS GAVE NO INDICATION THAT SUCH A STEP WAS BEING CONTEMPLATED. TEAHON DID NOT SPECULATE ON NEXT STEPS SHOULD THE NORTHERN EXECUTIVE AND ASSEMBLY HAVE TO BE SUSPENDED IN FEBRUARY.

2. (~~C~~) IN A CONVERSATION JANUARY 24, SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REP, RITA O'HARE, STRESSED TO POLOFF THAT THERE WAS "ABSOLUTELY NO CHANCE" OF ANY IRA DECOMMISSIONING BY FEBRUARY 12, WHICH , SHE ARGUED, WAS "NEVER PART OF THE MITCHELL DEAL." ASKED WHAT SHE THOUGHT WOULD HAPPEN IN THE ABSENCE OF AN IRA MOVE, O'HARE FELT IT LIKELY THAT THE UUP WOULD "PULL THE PLUG," AND THAT DAVID TRIMBLE WAS PREPARED TO STEP DOWN AS PARTY LEADER. SHE ADDED THAT THIS WAS REGRETTABLE SINCE SINN FEIN BELIEVES TRIMBLE PERSONALLY WANTS TO STAY IN GOVERNMENT BUT IS HOSTAGE TO HIS PARTY AND HIS OWN "POLITICAL MISHANDLING." IN

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RESPONSE TO POLOFF'S PROBING ON WHAT DECOMMISSIONING OBLIGATIONS SINN FEIN/IRA FELT IT DID HAVE UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, SHE CONCEDED THAT THE MAY 2000 DEADLINE "COULD BE READ INTO" THE AGREEMENT BUT ONLY IF OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT WERE BEING IMPLEMENTED ON SCHEDULE. O'HARE REITERATED THE STANDARD SINN FEIN LINE THAT "MOST PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, INCLUDING "MOST UNIONISTS" DIDN'T CARE ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING, ONLY THAT THERE "IS PEACE AND THE GUNS ARE SILENT."

SULLIVAN

TOR: 01/24/00 11:32:44

DIST: SIT: Blinken Davidson Norland SUM2 NODIS
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG
SIT: Blinken Davidson Norland SUM2 NODIS
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG
SIT: Blinken Davidson Norland SUM2 NODIS
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG TOPDOWNSIT: BASH SUM2
PRT: BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SARGEANT SIT{C2} STEINBERG SUTPHEN
SIT: Blinken Davidson Norland SUM2 NODIS
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG TOPDOWNSIT: BASH SUM2
PRT: BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SARGEANT SIT{C2} STEINBERG SUTPHEN

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RUCPDOC/USDOC WASHDC
RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
SUBJ: IRISH IPR REFORM LEGISLATION: GOI ENACTMENT TARGET
NOW LATE FEBRUARY
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 000534

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TAGS: KIPR, ETRD, BEXT, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH IPR REFORM LEGISLATION: GOI ENACTMENT TARGET
NOW LATE FEBRUARY

REFS: A)99 DUBLIN 5742 B) 99 DUBLIN 5599 C) 99 DUBLIN 6680

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

1. (U) INITIAL DELIVERY OF THIS CABLE IN MID-DECEMBER WAS DELAYED DUE TO TRANSMISSION ERROR. CABLE IS BEING SENT NOW FOR ADDRESSEES' INFORMATION AND BACKGROUND.

2. (C) SUMMARY. IRISH OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR PASSAGE OF PENDING IPR REFORM LEGISLATION (REFS) INFORMED EMBASSY ON DECEMBER 15 THAT THE BILL WOULD NOT/NOT BE PASSED IN THE DAIL (LOWER HOUSE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT) BEFORE THE DAIL ADJOURNED FOR CHRISTMAS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO THE REQUEST OF OPPOSITION DAIL MEMBERS THAT THE RELEVANT STANDING DAIL COMMITTEE BE GIVEN UNTIL MID-JANUARY 2000 FOR FURTHER REVIEW OF THE LEGISLATION AND TO RECEIVE ADDITIONAL WRITTEN PUBLIC COMMENTS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS REACHED TENTATIVE/TENTATIVE AGREEMENT WITH DAIL COMMITTEE MEMBERS THAT THE COMMITTEE WILL MEET THE WEEK OF JANUARY 17 FOR FINAL COMMITTEE MARK-UP AND DEBATE ON THE LEGISLATION BY THE END OF JANUARY. THE LEGISLATION WOULD THEN BE READY FOR A FULL VOTE IN THE DAIL IN FEBRUARY. OFFICIALS IN ENTERPRISE, TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT (DETE) MINISTER KITT'S OFFICE ARE NOW PLEDGING TO HAVE THE BILL PASSED AND SIGNED INTO LAW BY "LATE

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FEBRUARY." U.S.-RELATED STAKEHOLDERS (E.G., BSA AND MPAA) ARE PREPARED TO GIVE THE GOI THE EXTRA TIME REQUESTED BUT SUPPORT A U.S. MESSAGE THAT ANY FURTHER SLIP BEYOND FEBRUARY 2000 WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE. EMBASSY INTENDS TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT THE SERIOUS U.S. GOVERNMENT CONCERN AT THE FAILURE TO MAKE THE END OF YEAR DEADLINE AND REQUEST GOI CONFIRM WHAT STEPS IT WILL TAKE TO ENSURE ENACTMENT BY FEBRUARY 2000. END SUMMARY.

REASONS FOR FAILURE TO MEET DEADLINE: OTHER LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS AND OPPOSITION PARTY DEMANDS

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3. (C) DETE OFFICIALS, ACUTELY AWARE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S NUMEROUS PLEDGES TO HAVE THE LEGISLATION ENACTED BY END OF YEAR, ARE POINTING TO SEVERAL FACTORS FOR THEIR FAILURE TO ACHIEVE THE GOI'S DEADLINE FOR ENACTMENT:

-- UNEXPECTED LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY IN NOVEMBER AND EARLY DECEMBER -- IN PARTICULAR A SPECIAL DAIL INVESTIGATION INTO A CURRENT HIGH-PROFILE TAX SCANDAL (REF B) AND REQUIRED LEGISLATIVE ACTION RELATED TO RECENT PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF TH GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT -- KEPT SEVERAL KEY DAIL MEMBERS FROM ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING AT THE DAIL COMMITTEE REVIEW OF THE LEGISLATION AND SLOWED DOWN THE PROCESS. PAT RABBITTE, A LABOUR PARTY DAIL MEMBER WHO WAS VERY ACTIVE IN THE TAX INVESTIGATION, IN PARTICULAR WAS ABSENT FROM MUCH OF THE COMMITTEE REVIEW PROCESS AND PUSHED THE GOVERNMENT TO HAVE MORE TIME TO REVIEW THE LEGISLATION AND PUBLIC COMMENTS.

-- THE DAIL COMMITTEE ITSELF RECEIVED NUMEROUS SUBMISSIONS ON THE LEGISLATION FROM VARIOUS INTEREST GROUPS AND STAKEHOLDERS DURING THE PUBLIC HEARINGS ON THE BILL, IN PARTICULAR FROM THE POLITICALLY IMPORTANT "VINTNERS FEDERATION OF IRELAND" (PUB OWNERS). IN LIGHT OF THIS "OUTPOURING OF PUBLIC COMMENT," THE DAIL COMMITTEE SCHEDULED ADDITIONAL PUBLIC HEARINGS WHICH DELAYED THE GOVERNMENT'S TIMEFRAME FOR PASSAGE. FINE GAEL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, THE LARGEST DAIL OPPOSITION PARTY, THEN TOOK THE PUBLIC POSITION THAT MORE TIME WAS NEEDED FOR REVIEW OF SUCH IMPORTANT LEGISLATION. THE GOVERNMENT MADE THE "DIFFICULT" DECISION THAT IT WAS
BETTER ON BALANCE TO DELAY PASSAGE ANOTHER TWO MONTHS RATHER THAN FORCE SUCH IMPORTANT DOMESTIC LEGISLATION THROUGH THE DAIL WITHOUT OPPOSITION SUPPORT AND AT "REAL POLITICAL COST."

4. (C) REGARDING THE POLITICAL COSTS OF MOVING FORWARD IN THE FACE OF OPPOSITION FROM FINE GAEL, JOHN RUTTLEDGE, DETE OFFICIAL WITH PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LEGISLATION'S PASSAGE THROUGH THE DAIL, CONFIRMED TO EMBOFF THAT THE QUESTION OF DELAYING THE LEGISLATION HAD "WITH MOST UNFORTUNATE TIMING" ARISEN AT THE SAME MOMENT THE GOVERNMENT FACED SERIOUS CHALLENGES TO ITS OWN CONTINUED EXISTENCE BECAUSE OF WIDESPREAD POLITICAL AND

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PUBLIC CRITICISM OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S FY2000 BUDGET, ANNOUNCED ON DECEMBER 1 (REF C). THIS MADE THE GOVERNMENT EVEN MORE HESITANT TO USE THE PARLIAMENTARY OPTIONS IT POSSESSES TO "FORCE" THE LEGISLATION THROUGH THE DAIL AND RISK FURTHER ANGERING OPPOSITION PARTIES AND SOME OF ITS OWN MEMBERS WHO SHARE FINE GAEL'S CONCERNS ABOUT "RUSHING THE LEGISLATION."

PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO BILL'S NEW BURDEN OF PROOF PROVISION

5. (C) DETE OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO ASSERT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT MAKE SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES TO THE BILL'S CURRENT TEXT, ALTHOUGH ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE PUBLIC COMMENTS RECEIVED OVER THE PAST MONTH POINTED OUT CERTAIN TECHNICAL INCONSISTENCIES IN THE BILL THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO FIX EITHER WHEN THE LEGISLATION COMES UP FOR A FULL DAIL VOTE OR IN SUBSEQUENT AMENDING LEGISLATION. DETE OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT MANY OF THE PUBLIC COMMENTS CHALLENGED THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF SECTION 134 OF THE BILL (WHICH PROVIDES FOR THE BURDEN OF PROOF IN AN INFRINGEMENT ACTION). THE LOBBY FOR IRISH PUB AND NIGHTCLUB OWNERS, IN PARTICULAR, HAS ATTACKED SECTION 134 AS AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL EFFORT TO PLACE THE BURDEN OF PROOF ON DEFENDANTS IN COPYRIGHT ACTIONS. OPPOSITION PARTY MEMBERS HAVE ASKED THE GOVERNMENT, DURING THE MONTH POSTPONEMENT, FOR ADDITIONAL BRIEFINGS ON THIS PROVISION AND THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY.

6. (C) IRISH OFFICIALS RECOGNIZE THAT STRENGTHENING THE PRESUMPTION OF COPYRIGHT OWNERSHIP IN CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES WAS A KEY ISSUE OF CONCERN TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND VARIOUS U.S. STAKEHOLDERS IN THE IRISH IPR REFORM PROCESS. DETE OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO ASSURE EMBASSY THAT THE GOVERNMENT STANDS BY ITS LEGAL OPINIONS WHICH CONCLUDE SECTION 134 DOES NOT VIOLATE THE IRISH CONSTITUTION. THESE OFFICIALS MAINTAIN THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT REVISE THE SECTION, DESPITE THE CHALLENGE FROM THE POLITICALLY POWERFUL PUB OWNERS LOBBY. DETE OFFICIALS POINT OUT THAT MINISTER KITT HAS SAID SEVERAL TIMES ON THE FLOOR OF BOTH THE SEANAD (THE IRISH SENATE WHICH PASSED THE BILL IN OCTOBER, REF B) AND THE DAIL THAT SECTION 134 IS "CRUCIAL" TO THE BILL'S ENFORCEMENT UOALS AND ANY WEAKENING OF THE NEW "TOUGHER" PRESUMPTIONS IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

STAKEHOLDERS ADVISE A CAUTIOUS U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

7. (C) DISCUSSIONS WITH SEVERAL OF THE U.S.-RELATED STAKEHOLDERS IN THE IRISH IPR REFORM PROCESS (E.G., BUSINESS SOFTWARE ALLIANCE, MPPA) AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF THE IRISH COPYRIGHT BAR, ELICITED AGREEMENT THAT MINISTER KITT PROBABLY HAD NO OPTION BUT TO AGREE TO THE DELAY. PUSHING SUCH IMPORTANT LEGISLATION THROUGH THE DAIL IN THE FACE OF UNITED OPPOSITION FROM THE NON-GOVERNMENT PARTIES WOULD HAVE BEEN "A BIG POLITICAL MISTAKE" FOR THE GOVERNMENT "AT THIS TIME." THESE STAKEHOLDERS AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT IF PASSAGE STILL APPEARS UNLIKELY BY FEBRUARY, THE GOVERNMENT MUST THEN USE ITS PARLIAMENTARY

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MAJORITY TO FORCE THE LEGISLATION THROUGH THE DAIL, WHATEVER THE POLITICAL FALLOUT.

8. (C) THESE STAKEHOLDERS, DESPITE THE GOI'S SORRY RECORD THUS FAR IN MEETING ITS COMMITMENTS WITH REGARD TO THE LEGISLATION, DO CONCUR THAT DAIL PASSAGE OF THE LEGISLATION AND ENACTMENT BY LATE FEBRUARY IS AN ACHIEVABLE TARGET.
THEY BELIEVE THE GOI IS ACTING IN
GOOD FAITH IN SETTING THIS NEW TARGET DATE.

9. (C) THESE STAKEHOLDERS AGREE WITH EMBOFFS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO THE GOI'S FAILURE TO MEET ITS END OF THE YEAR TARGET SHOULD BE A MEASURED BUT FIRM MESSAGE OF REGRET, DELIVERED BY THE EMBASSY. BSA IRISH COUNSEL KIERNAN O'CONNOR, IN PARTICULAR, STRESSED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE TOO "HEAVY" IN COMING DOWN ON THE GOVERNMENT AND THAT ANY HIGH-LEVEL PUBLIC CRITICISM IN WASHINGTON WOULD ONLY SPARK FURTHER RESENTMENT AMONG DAIL MEMBERS. O'CONNOR URGED THE EMBASSY TO GIVE GOI UNTIL LATE FEBRUARY, THEN IF THE BILL IS STILL PENDING, "BRING OUT THE HEAVY GUNS," SUCH AS A PUBLIC STATEMENT FROM USTR IN WASHINGTON MAKING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE STAYED SECTION 301 ACTION. WHAT WOULD BE THE MOST HELPFUL ACTION, THESE STAKEHOLDERS SUGGESTED, WOULD BE FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO ELICIT AN OFFICIAL COMMITMENT FROM THE GOI TO ACHIEVE PASSAGE BY FEBRUARY,
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 000534

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EVEN IF THAT REQUIRES THE GOVERNMENT TO USE ITS PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY TO FORCE THE BILL THROUGH OVER OPPOSITION BLOCKING ACTIONS.

10. (C) PART OF THE REASON FOR THE WILLINGNESS TO GIVE THE GOVERNMENT SOME "BREATHING ROOM" OVER THE FAILURE TO MEET THE DECEMBER DEADLINE, IS THE ASSURANCES THAT DETE OFFICIALS ARE PROVIDING TO GROUPS LIKE BSA THAT, IF THE BILL IS STILL DELAYED BY END OF FEBRUARY, THE GOVERNMENT WILL USE ITS MAJORITY IN THE DAIL TO FORCE THROUGH PASSAGE. JOHN RUTTLEDGE OF DETE GAVE SAME ASSURANCES TO EMBOFF, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NOT BEEN MADE TO EMBASSY BY ANY OFFICIAL IN MINISTER KITT'S OFFICE ITSELF.

11. (C) THERE IS DISAGREEMENT AMONG INTERESTED STAKEHOLDERS OVER THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PUBLIC CHALLENGE TO SECTION 134. KIERNAN O'CONNOR, BSA COUNSEL, DOWNPLAYS THE DANGER THAT PUBLIC CONCERN WILL FORCE THE GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE THE TEXT AND IS EQUALLY CONFIDENT THAT THERE IS NO LEGAL RATIONALE FOR DOUBTING THE PROVISION'S VALIDITY UNDER IRISH CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. PROFESSOR BOB CLARK, A LEADING LEGAL IRISH SCHOLAR ON IPR LAW AND FREQUENT COMMENTATOR ON IPR ISSUES IN THE MEDIA, TOLD EMBOFF HE TOO IS CONFIDENT OF SECTION 134'S CONSTITUTIONALITY, BUT

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DID ADMIT TO SOME CONCERN THAT THE OPPOSITION OF THE VINTNER'S FEDERATION TO THE PROVISION MIGHT CAUSE OPPOSITION PARTIES AND EVEN SOME MEMBERS OF THE MAJORITY FIANNA FAIL PARTY TO PRESS THE GOVERNMENT TO REVISE THE LEGISLATION BEFORE IT IS ENACTED.

EMBASSY'S NEXT STEPS

12. (C) GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF IRELAND MEETING ITS TRIPS COMMITMENTS AND ENACTING IPR REFORM LEGISLATION TO OVERALL U.S. POLICY GOAL OF IMPROVING WORLD WIDE IPR COMPLIANCE, EMBASSY HAS EXPRESSED TO MINISTER KITT'S OFFICE OUR STRONG DISAPPOINTMENT AT GOI FAILURE TO MEET ITS COMMITMENT ON ENACTMENT. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH IRISH DETE OFFICIALS, ECONOFF HAS STRESSED THAT THIS ISSUE IS AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THOUGH WE APPRECIATE GOI'S GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO ENACT THE BILL IN THE MIDST OF LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS REQUIRED BY THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND OTHER UNFORESEEN EVENTS, WE EXPECT DUBLIN TO HONOR ITS COMMITMENTS TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THIS FAILURE TO DO SO.

13. (C) EMBASSY ALSO HAS RECONTACTED OFFICIALS IN MINISTER KITT'S OFFICE ON EMBASSY'S PLANS TO "REACH OUT" TO KEY OPPOSITION DAIL MEMBERS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE IPR BILL TO U.S.-IRISH ECONOMIC RELATIONS. DURING PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE BILL, KITT'S OFFICE HAD DISCOURAGED EMBASSY FROM CONTACTING DAIL MEMBERS DIRECTLY TO DISCUSS THE BILL AND U.S. GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT FOR ITS PASSAGE, FEARFUL SUCH U.S. EMBASSY ACTION WOULD PROVOKE A BACKLASH. GENERALLY, STAKEHOLDERS IN THE PROCESS HAD AGREED WITH EMBASSY THAT KITT'S OFFICE WAS BEST JUDGE ON THE USEFULNESS OF EMBASSY HOSTING SMALL WORKING LUNCHEONS TO DISCUSS THE BILL OR PROVIDING BACKGROUND ON U.S. VIEWS TO KEY DAIL MEMBERS. THIS MOST RECENT DELAY HAS LED EMBASSY AND SEVERAL GROUPS, SUCH AS BSA, TO RECONSID
ER
WHETHER SUCH EVENTS MIGHT BE USEFUL. EMBASSY NOW PLANS TO AN EVENT WITH KEY DAIL MEMBERS, BUILT AROUND THE BSA ANNUAL MEETING IN EARLY JANUARY, AS A USEFUL MECHANISM FOR IMPRESSING ON DAIL MEMBERS THE IMPORTANCE THE U.S. PLACES ON SWIFT PASSAGE OF THE IPR BILL.
SULLIVAN

TOR: 01/26/00 09:40:41

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 040713Z FEB 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2825
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1415
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0878
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON TO INTRODUCE WESTMINSTER LEGISLATION TO SUSPEND GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 000844

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN
TOKYO FOR POL/HALL

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON TO INTRODUCE WESTMINSTER LEGISLATION TO SUSPEND GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (U) SUMMARY. SUSPENSION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND LOOMED, LATE FEBRUARY 3, AS HOPES IN BELFAST FOR A BREAKTHROUGH ON IRA DECOMMISSIONING WANED. LAST-DITCH EFFORTS CONTINUED HERE, IN LONDON AND DUBLIN TO GET SUFFICIENT ASSURANCES FROM SINN FEIN ON IRA INTENTIONS SO THAT SUSPENSION COULD BE AVOIDED. RECENT PUBLIC -- AND PRIVATE -- SINN FEIN STATEMENTS OFFER LITTLE CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM IN THAT REGARD. HOWEVER, THE UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES OF SUSPENSION HAVE DRIVEN BOTH GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT TODAY TO SEEK MEASURES THAT WOULD STOP SHORT OF ACTUAL SUSPENSION, WHILE FORESTALLING TRIMBLE'S RESIGNATION. SENIOR UUP MEMBERS TOLD US THEY STILL BELIEVE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT CAN GET BACK ON TRACK - WHICH SUGGESTS THE UUP MAY BE AMENABLE TO A PARLIAMENTARY SOLUTION THAT BUYS TIME FOR FURTHER CONSULTATION. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) TONIGHT, FEBRUARY 3, NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE PETER MANDELSON ANNOUNCED HE WILL PUBLISH LEGISLATION TOMORROW EMPOWERING HIM TO SUSPEND THE KEY INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED BY THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT:

--THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY;

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--THE EXECUTIVE (CABINET) OF THE ASSEMBLY AND ITS 12 MINISTERS; AND
--THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL BODIES; AND
--THE BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL (KNOWN AS THE COUNCIL OF THE ISLES).

THE BRITISH-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE, THE SUCCESSOR TO THE ANGLO-IRISH SECRETARIAT, WILL REMAIN IN PLACE AS IT IS THE PRODUCT OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN HMG AND THE ROI WHICH DOES NOT DEPEND ON DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS OR THE CONSENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S POLITICAL PARTIES. PASSAGE OF THE LEGISLATION IN THE COMMONS AND THE LORDS WILL REQUIRE APPROXIMATELY ONE WEEK. IN THE MEANTIME, THE EXECUTIVE AND ASSEMBLY WILL, IN THE WORDS OF A TRIMBLE AIDE, "GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT."

3. (C) THE BRITISH REGARD SUSPENSION AS "DISASTROUS," BUT PREFERABLE TO SEEING FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE RESIGN, BECAUSE IT WOULD (THEORETICALLY, AT LEAST), SIMPLY FREEZE THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS, ALLOWING THEM TO RESUME FUNCTIONING, ONCE FURTHER PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING OCCURS. TRIMBLE'S RESIGNATION, IN CONTRAST, WOULD REQUIRE THE ASSEMBLY TO REPEAT THE PAINSTAKING PROCESS OF RE-ELECTING THE FIRST AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER POSTS. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT HE WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT UNIONIST VOTES TO PREVAIL IN A NEW ELECTION, RESULTING IN DEADLOCK IN THE ASSEMBLY.

4. (C) TRIMBLE'S STAFF TELL US THAT HE WILL LIKELY ACCEPT AS SUFFICIENT TONIGHT'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF PLANS TO SUSPEND THE ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE, EVEN THOUGH THAT SUSPENSION WOULD NOT YET TAKE EFFECT. A CLOSE TRIMBLE ADVISOR HAD CONFIRMED PREVIOUSLY THAT TRIMBLE'S RESIGNATION LETTER AS FIRST MINISTER IS DATED FEBRUARY 4 AND WOULD BE SUBMITTED UNLESS SUSPENSION TOOK PLACE. UNIONISTS DOUBT THAT THE IRISH-IRA DISCUSSIONS WILL SOON PRODUCE ANYTHING MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THE IRA STATEMENT MADE ON FEBURARY 1 -- WHICH OFFERED NO COMMITMENTS ON DECOMMISSIONING.

5. (C) IN A CONVERSATION WITH CG ON FEBRUARY 3, SINN FEIN CHAIRMAN MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN CRITICIZED THE UUP FOR CAUSING THE CRISIS, ASSERTING THAT HIS PARTY MADE NO COMMITMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW AND CALLING TRIMBLE'S POST-DATED RESIGNATION LETTER AND PUBLIC FEBRUARY DEADLINE A UNILATERAL CHANGE TO THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED IN THE REVIEW. MCLAUGHLIN MADE CLEAR SINN FEIN PREFERRED TO SEE TRIMBLE RESIGN RATHER THAN HAVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT SUSPENDED, SAYING RETURN TO DIRECT RULE WOULDQAUSE SINN FEIN GREAT DIFFICULTY IN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. WHEN PRESSED, MCLAUGHLIN ADMITTED THAT SINN FEIN WOULD STILL CONTINUE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS DESPITE SUSPENSION.

6. (C) COMMENT. THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL BE CRUCIAL: THE BRITISH'S GOVERNMENT'S CAREFULLY-CALIBRATED APPROACH TO SUSPENSION MUST SUCCEED IN KEEPING THE UUP ON BOARD WHILE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT PRESSES SINN FEIN EFFECTIVELY FOR MORE CONCRETE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. WHILE SINN FEIN PRIVATELY HAS INSISTED THE IRA WILL NOT DECOMMISSION UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES (I.E., THEIR PERCEPTION OF COERCION)
~~-C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L-~~SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 000844

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON TO INTRODUCE
WESTMINSTER LEGISLATION TO SUSPEND GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS

UNRELENTING PRESSURE FROM DUBLIN BACKED BY THE BROADER NATIONALIST COMMUNITY, ESPECIALLY IF REINFORCED BY WORDS FROM WASHINGTON ON HOW MUCH IS AT STAKE, MIGHT JUST SWAY SINN FEIN LEADERS TO DELIVER SOMETHING CONCRETE (TIME-CERTAIN COMMITMENTS OR ARMS) NEXT WEEK.
LADER

TOR: 02/04/00 04:16:27

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG
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RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1266
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1078
INFO: ////
SUBJ: IRISH PEACE PROCESS STRATEGY: PRESSING SINN FEIN/IRA IN A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO AVOID SUSPENSION

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

TEXT: ~~S E C R E T~~ DUBLIN 000731

STATE FOR EUR/UBI; NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/04/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH PEACE PROCESS STRATEGY: PRESSING SINN FEIN/IRA IN A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO AVOID SUSPENSION

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

1. (S) POLOFF SPOKE TO IRISH DFA DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR ANGLO-IRISH AFFAIRS, RAY BASSETT, FEBRUARY 4, ON IRISH STRATEGY IN THE COMING DAYS. BASSETT TOLD US THE KEY IRISH OBJECTIVE WAS TO "AVOID SUSPENSION" AT ALMOST ANY COST. IN THE GOI VIEW, ONCE THE NORTHERN INSTITUTIONS ARE SUSPENDED IT WOULD BE "A LONG TIME, IF EVER, BEFORE THEY COULD BE STOOD UP AGAIN." BASSETT NOTED THAT THE "SPECTRE OF SUNNINGDALE" (THE FAILED 1970'S ATTEMPT AT POWER-SHARING) WAS WEIGHING HEAVILY ON IRISH MINDS.

2. (C) BASSETT, WHO IS ONE OF THE DFA'S POINT MEN WITH SINN FEIN, SAID THAT, THROUGH INTENSIVE WORK WITH GERRY ADAMS, TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN AND HIS TEAM HAVE MANAGED TO CREATE THE PROBABILITY THAT A STRONGER IRA "FORM OF WORDS" ON DECOMMISSIONING WOULD EMERGE "SOON." BASED ON THIS, THE GOI PERCEIVES IT HAS WON A MINOR VICTORY IN CONVINCING PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON TO ADOPT A DELAYING TACTIC ON SUSPENSION THAT BUYS THE IRISH EFFORTS A FEW MORE DAYS. (BASSETT COMMENTED THAT MANDELSON HAD WANTED TO MOVE TO IMMEDIATE SUSPENSION ON MONDAY NIGHT JANUARY 31 AND HAD ONLY BEEN MOVED OFF THAT POSITION WITH "THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY.")
3. (C) BASSETT SAID THE FOCUS NOW IS ON SECURING A NEW, MORE FORWARD LEANING IRA STATEMENT THAT WOULD RESULT IN A NEW, MORE POSITIVE REPORT FROM THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION. THE NEW DE CHASTELAIN REPORT WOULD WELCOME

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THE IRA'S ASSURANCE THAT IT IS "NO THREAT TO THE PEACE PROCESS" AND INDICATE THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD "URGENTLY CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARMED GROUPS ON THE DETAILS AND MODALITIES AND A TIME-FRAME, AND, ON THE BASIS THAT APPROPRIATE AND TIMELY ACTION TO IMPLEMENT WHAT IS AGREED IS TAKEN, THE COMMISSION BELIEVES IT CAN COMPLETE ITS MANDATE AS SET OUT IN THE AGREEMENT"(SIC). THE BASIS FOR THIS SUPPLEMENTAL DE CHASTELAIN ASSESSMENT WOULD BE A NEW IRA STATEMENT THAT WOULD SAY, IN PART, "THE IRA WILL CONSIDER HOW TO PUT ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES BEYOND USE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND THE REMOVAL OF THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT." BASSETT INDICATED THAT THIS LANGUAGE HAD BEEN TENTATIVELY AGREED WITH GERRY ADAMS FEBRUARY 3 AND THAT ADAMS WAS NOW TAKING IT BACK TO THE REPUBLICAN "GRASSROOTS" TO SEE IF IT "WOULD FLY."

4. (C) BASSETT CONFIRMED TO POLOFF THAT THE ONLY THING IN PLAY AT THIS TIME IS ADDITIONAL, CLEARER IRA WORDS, THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF IRA "PRODUCT" (ARMS) BEFORE FEBRUARY 12. POLOFF ASKED IF THE GOI BELIEVED THE "WORDS" NOW BEING DISCUSSED WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO ALLOW DAVID TRIMBLE TO STAY ON AND SURVIVE AN ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL SESSION FEBRUARY 12. BASSETT ADMITTED THE CURRENT TEXT PROBABLY DIDN'T GO FAR ENOUGH, BUT THE GOI WAS HOPING TO POCKET ANY MOVEMENT IN THE SINN FEIN/IRA POSITION AND THEN KEEP PRESSING FOR MORE. BASSETT ADDED THAT HE WASN'T PERSONALLY OPTIMISTIC THAT SUSPENSION COULD BE AVOIDED. THE ONLY "FORM OF IRA WORDS" HE THOUGHT MIGHT SAVE TRIMBLE WAS A CLEAR COMMITMENT TO BEGIN DECOMMISSIONING BY A "DATE CERTAIN" IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, HOWEVER, HE POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD NOT THOUGHT ON MONDAY THAT THE INSTITUTIONS WOULD STILL BE UP TODAY. "TIME BRINGS HOPE," BASSETT CONCLUDED.

5. (C) COMMENT: WHILE APPRECIATIVE OF THE INTENSE WORK TAOISE
ACH AHERN AND HIS GOVERNMENT ARE PUTTING INTO THIS EFFORT, WE HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS THEIR STRATEGY WILL BE SUCCESSFUL. TRYING TO MOVE THE IRA BY INCREMENTAL STEPS AND HAVING GERRY ADAMS TAKE THE TIME TO "SELL TO THE REPUBLICAN GRASSROOTS" A FORM OF IRA "WORDS" THAT ARE CLEARLY INSUFFICIENT TO AVOID SUSPENSION AND/OR A TRIMBLE RESIGNATION, SEEMS TO US TO BE THE WRONG STRATEGY WHEN ONLY A MATTER OF DAYS (AT MOST) ARE AVAILABLE. GIVEN THE INTENSE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PRESSURE COMING ONTO THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP FROM ALL SIDES, THE GOI WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO PRESS HARD FOR A SUBSTANTIVE IRA MOVE (EITHER "PRODUCT" OR A "DATE CERTAIN" COMMITMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING) THAT STANDS SOME CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING. END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

TOR: 02/04/00 13:53:53

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE
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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1445
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 0893
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON SUSPENDS GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS AS IICD ISSUES NEW REPORT ON IRA INTENTIONS

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 001093

NSC FOR NORLAND
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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON SUSPENDS GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS AS IICD ISSUES NEW REPORT ON IRA INTENTIONS

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) SUMMARY. ON FEBRUARY 11, MANDELSON SUSPENDED THE KEY INSTITUTIONS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT (GFA), DECLARING THE NEED TO CLEAR UP THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING "ONCE AND FOR ALL." GERRY ADAMS ACCUSED MANDELSON OF CAVING IN TO A UNIONIST ULTIMATUM, DESPITE A MAJOR "BREAKTHROUGH" ON THE IRA'S APPROACH TO DECOMMISSIONING. THE "BREAKTHROUGH," CONTAINED IN A NEW REPORT BY THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION, ACTUALLY FALLS SHORT OF THE "CLARITY" REQUIRED BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, LET ALONE THE UUP. THE GFA IS NOW IN PERIL, BUT THE MAIN PROTAGONISTS, THE UUP AND SINN FEIN (AND THE IRA, MORE OBLIQUELY) APPEAR TO BE COMMITTED TO TRYING ONCE AGAIN TO MAKE IT WORK. END SUMMARY.

SUSPENSION DECLARED
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2. (U) DESPITE A WEEK OF FRANTIC NEGOTIATIONS IN BELFAST, LONDON AND DUBLIN, NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE PETER MANDELSON ANNOUNCED THE SUSPENSION OF THE KEY INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED BY THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. IN HIS STATEMENT, MANDELSON SAID "WE HAVE GOT TO CLEAR UP THIS

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ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING ONCE AND FOR ALL." HE ADDED THAT HE BELIEVED THE REVIEW COULD BE COMPLETED QUICKLY, CALMLY AND SENSIBLY. UNDER THE SUSPENSION LEGISLATION MANDELSON HAS THE AUTHORITY TO RESTORE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT AT HIS DISCRETION, WITHOUT APPROVAL FROM WESTMINSTER.

3. (U) IN A SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT TO THE PRESS, TRIMBLE SAID HE REGRETTED THE SUSPENSION, BUT INDICATED THAT IT HAD BEEN NECESSARY BECAUSE OF THE INABILITY OF REPUBLICANS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE SAID HE AND HIS PARTY ARE PREPARED TO WORK HARD IN THE REVIEW TO ALLOW THE RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, THOUGH HE SERVED NOTICE THAT HIS PARTY WILL TRY TO USE THE REVIEW TO REVERSE ELEMENTS OF THE PATTEN REPORT ON POLICING.

4. (C) MINUTES LATER, GERRY ADAMS LASHED OUT AT THE DECISION, ACCUSING MANDELSON OF SUCCUMBING TO AN ULTIMATUM OF THE UNIONISTS AND REFUSING A "LAST MINUTE" SINN FEIN PROPOSAL TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS WITHOUT SUSPENSION. HE DEMANDED THAT MANDELSON RELEASE THE IICD REPORT SUBMITTED TODAY TO THE GOVERNMENTS, WHICH HE CLAIMED WOULD DEMONSTRATE A "BREAKTHROUGH" CAPABLE OF SERVING AS THE BASIS FOR RESOLVING THE ISSUE. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, DESPITE HIS NEGATIVE TONE, ADAMS DID NOT REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING REVIEW.

WHAT IT MEANS
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5. (U) THE SUSPENSION APPLIES TO:

--THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY;
--THE EXECUTIVE (CABINET) OF THE ASSEMBLY AND ITS 12 MINISTERS; AND
--THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL BODIES; AND
--THE BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL (KNOWN AS THE COUNCIL OF THE ISLES).

6. THE BRITISH-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE, THE SUCCESSOR TO THE ANGLO-IRISH SECRETARIAT, WILL REMAIN IN PLACE AS IT IS THE PRODUCT OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN HMG AND THE ROI WHICH DOES NOT DEPEND ON DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS OR THE CONSENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S POLITICAL PARTIES.

7. (C) RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOVERNANCE WILL REVERT TO MANDELSON AND HIS TWO JUNIOR MINISTERS, WHO HAVE BEEN LIMITED TO DEALING WITH "RESERVED MATTERS" (SECURITY, ETC.) SINCE DEVOLUTION OCCURRED IN EARLY DECEMBER. UNDER SUSPENSION, THERE IS SOME UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE SUSPENDED MINISTERS AND ASSEMBLY MEMBERS WILL BE CONSULTED "UNOFFICIALLY" ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCE. ACCORDING TO ECONOMY MINISTER REG EMPEY, SUSPENDED MINISTERS WILL CONTINUE TO BE BRIEFED BY CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE NIO MINISTERS DURING THE REVIEW PERIOD. HOWEVER, ONE OF EMPEY'S TOP CIVIL SERVANTS TOLD US HE FEARED THE SUSPENDED MINISTERS WOULD BE COMPLETELY FROZEN OUT TO DEMONSTRATE THE COSTS OF THE SUSPENSION. AN IRISH REPRESENTATIVE TO THE BRITISH-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN BELFAST TOLD US THAT THE GOI HOPES THAT SOME

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: MANDELSON SUSPENDS GOOD FRIDAY INSTITUTIONS AS IICD ISSUES NEW REPORT ON IRA INTENTIONS

OF THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL BODIES WILL CONTINUE TO FUNCTION WITH THE NORTH REPRESENTED BY CIVIL SERVANTS OR WESTMINSTER MINISTERS.

THE DE CHASTELAIN REPORTS
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8. (C) THE LATEST IICD REPORT (FAXED TO NSC) NOTES THE IRA'S TO "RESOLVE THE ISSUE OF ARMS" AND "CONSIDER HOW TO PUT ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES BEYOND USE, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REMOVAL OF THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT." BUT THE REPORT LACKS THE "CLARITY" (I.E. AN UNEQUIVOCAL COMMITMENT AND A TIMETABLE) THAT THE GOVERNMENTS HAD REQUIRED TO AVOID SUSPENSION. NONETHELESS, THE NEW REPORT WILL HELP OFFSET THE NEGATIVE CONCLUSIONS OF THE IRA'S PROGRESS CONTAINED IN THE JANUARY 31 REPORT, WHICH HAD NOT BEEN PUBLISHED (AND NOT LEAKED UNTIL TODAY, A MINOR MIRACLE). LATE TONIGHT BOTH REPORTS WERE RELEASED.

ALL QUIET FOR THE UUP, FOR NOW
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9. (C) THE SUSPENSION WILL RENDER TOMORROW'S UUP COUNCIL MEETING A NON-EVENT AS THE ONLY AGENDA ITEM IS A REPORT BY TRIMBLE, IN WHICH HE WILL PRESUMABLY RECOUNT THE EVENTS SINCE DEVOLUTION OCCURRED IN EARLY DECEMBER AND PLEDGE TO CONTINUE PURSUING DECOMMISSIONING AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT PROVIDED. SOME HARD-LINE UNIONISTS MAY TRY TO INTRODUCE A MOTION ON THE PATTEN REPORT, BUT TRIMBLE'S ALLIES BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN BE KEPT OFF THE AGENDA. THE NEXT TEST OF TRIMBLE'S PARTY LEADERSHIP WILL LIKELY COME IN MID-MARCH AT THE PARTY'S ANNUAL "LEADERSHIP" COUNCIL MEETING AT WHICH DELEGATES VOTE ON WHO WILL OCCUPY THE TOP PARTY JOBS.

COMMENT
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10. (C) THE GFA IS NOW IN PERIL. MOST OF THE GOOD WILL AND TRUST THAT ACCOMPANIED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE HAS BEEN ERODED, PRIMARILY OVER DECOMMISSIONING, AND THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO SUSPENSION WOULD HAVE BEEN COLLAPSE, TRIGGERED BY THE UUP RESIGNATIONS. BUT DESPITE THE BITTERNESS, HIGHLIGHTED BY ADAMS' DENUNCIATION OF MANDELSON, THE SUSPENSION WAS HANDLED AS WELL AS COULD BE EXPECTED. THE TWO MAIN PARTIES TO THE DECOMMISSIONING DISPUTE, SINN FEIN AND THE UUP, APPEAR WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REVIEW; PUBLIC OPINION IS STILL SUPPORTIVE OF THE AGREEMENT. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE IICD HAVE DEFTLY POCKETED THE REPUBLICANS' PROGRESS TOWARDS DECOMMISSIONING MADE DURING THE WEEK'S NEGOTIATIONS - THOUGH THE IRA'S ULTIMATE INTENTIONS REMAIN UNCLEAR.
LADER

TOR: 02/11/00 17:22:31

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 121510Z FEB 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUELO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE ASHDC IMMEDIATE 3072
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DBLIN 1447
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONISTS SUPPORT TRIMBLE, BUT REQUIRE CONSULTATION BEFORE REJOINING GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 001094

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSO
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 2958: DECL: 03/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONISTS SUPPORT TRIMBLE, BUT REQUIRE CONSULTATION BEFORE REJOINING GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) SUMMARY. IN A MEETING ON FEBRUARY 12, TRIMBLE WON A STRONG VOTE OF CONFIDENCE FROM THE 860-MEMBER UUP COUNCIL. HE STRESSED HIS DESIRE TO RETURN TO GOVERNMENT QUICKLY, BUT AGREED TO SEEK THE COUNCIL'S APPROVAL BEFORE DOING SO. TRIMBLE WAS ABLE TO FINESSE DEMANDS THAT THE REVIEW OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT CONSIDER POLICE REFORM ISSUES. TRIMBLE SAID THE UUP'S BOTTOM LINE ON DECOMMISSIONING REMAINS UNCHANGED: IT WANTS A COMMITMENT AND CLARITY ABOUT WHEN AND HOW IT WILL HAPPEN. END SUMMARY

SOLID ENDORSEMENT FOR TRIMBLE
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2. (U) FOLLOWING A CLOSED-DOOR THREE-HOUR MEETING OF THE 860-MEMBER ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL, PARTY LEADER TRIMBLE ANNOUNCED THAT THE BODY HAD OVERWHELMINGLY (BY OVER 95 PERCENT) APPROVED A MOTION THAT:

--CREATES A "BROAD-BASED" (I.E. INCLUDES ANTI-AGREEMENT REPRESENTATIVES) WORKING GROUP TO FORMULATE A STRATEGY FOR THE UP-COMING REVIEW OF THE GFA;
--ENDORSES A RESOLUTION PASSED EARLIER BY THE UUP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CALLING FOR THE REVIEW TO INCLUDE CONSIDERATION OF POLICE REFORM; AND

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--OBLIGES TRIMBLE TO CONSULT WITH THE COUNCIL BEFORE RE-ENTERING GOVERNMENT AGAIN.

3. (C) CLOSE TRIMBLE ALLY MICHAEL MCGIMPSEY TOLD US THAT TRIMBLE WAS STRENGTHENED BY THE OUTCOME AND WILL BE ABLE TO GO INTO THE REVIEW WITH SOLID BACKING FROM HIS PARTY. HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE EMOTIONAL POLICING ISSUE CAN BE KEPT OUT OF THE REVIEW, NOTWITHSTANDING THE MOTION. (NOTE: IN REALITY, THE AGENDA OF THE REVIEW WILL LARGELY BE DETERMINED BY THE GOVERNMENTS AND THE UUP WILL NOT BOYCOTT IN A FRUITLESS ATTEMPT TO SAVE THE NAME OF THE RUC.) MCGIMPSEY ADDED THAT CONVENING THE COUNCIL AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE REVIEW IS NECESSARY BECAUSE ANTI-AGREEMENT UUP MEMBERS COULD HAVE FORCED SUCH A MEETING IN ANY CASE AND THIS WAY THE LEADERSHIP HAS MORE CONTROL OVER THE TIMING AND AGENDA.

4. (C) MCGIMPSEY ADDED THAT TRIMBLE WILL TRY TO PUT THROUGH SOME SERIOUS INTERNAL PARTY REFORMS IN THE COMING WEEKS. THESE CHANGES ARE INTENDED TO REDUCE THE INFLUENCE IN THE PARTY OF THE ORANGE ORDER AND THE YOUNG UNIONISTS, BOTH OF WHICH TEND TO BE ANTI-AGREEMENT AND ANTI-TRIMBLE. REMOVING THESE GROUPS FROM THE PARTY STRUCTURE WILL ALSO MAKE THE PARTY'S STRUCTURES MORE DEMOCRATIC AND MODERN.

5. (U) IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE, TRIMBLE DISMISSED YESTERDAY'S "LAST-MINUTE" OFFER FROM SINN FEIN ON DECOMMISSIONING, NOTING THAT HE MET IN THE AFTERNOON WITH MCGUINNESS AND LATER SPOKE ON THE PHONE WITH ADAMS AND THAT NEITHER WAS ABLE TO ARTICULATE THE PRECISE NATURE OF THE PROPOSAL. THE UUP POSITION, HE SAID, IS THAT DECOMMISSIONING IS A VISIBLE SIGN OF TRUST AND THAT HIS PARTY WANTS CLARITY, NOT AMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE: "WE WANT TO KNOW WHETHER THEY ARE COMMITTED, HOW IT'S GOING TO HAPPEN, AND WHEN IT'S GOING TO HAPPEN."

COMMENT
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6. (C) WITH THIS STRONG ENDORSEMENT FROM HIS PARTY, TRIMBLE WILL NOW PROBABLY TRY TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE BROADER PUBLIC THAT HE IS EAGER TO ENTER THE REVIEW AND PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE WHILE DOWN-PLAYING THE FACT THAT HE WILL NEED TO GO BACK TO HIS PARTY YET AGAIN FOR APPROVAL.
LADER

TOR: 02/12/00 15:16:30

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: BASH BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SIT{C2} STEINBERG SUTPHEN
SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: BASH BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SIT{C2} STEINBERG SUTPHEN

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.12)
KBH 9/9/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA1150 0461249-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 151249Z FEB 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3115
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1451
RUCNOSC/OSCE POST COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
SUBJ: UK WORKING WITH DUBLIN ON RESPONSE TO RUSSIAN REQUEST THAT NO IRELAND BE PLACED ON OSCE PC AGENDA
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 001150

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/28/10
TAGS: PREF, OSCE, EI, RU, UK
SUBJECT: UK WORKING WITH DUBLIN ON RESPONSE TO RUSSIAN REQUEST THAT NO IRELAND BE PLACED ON OSCE PC AGENDA

REFS: A) VIENNA 326, B) ROSENBERRY-NOLAN PHONECALL

(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLITICAL MINISTER COUNSELOR JUDITH R. JOHNSON, FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (C) ACCORDING TO ALAN HUCKLE, HEAD OF THE FCO'S OSCE DEPARTMENT, THE BRITISH ARE WORKING WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ON A RESPONSE TO THE RUSSIAN REQUEST THAT NORTHERN IRELAND BE PLACED ON THE OSCE PC AGENDA FOR FEBRUARY 17 (REF A). HUCKLE SAID THAT THE FCO HAS ALERTED DOWNING STREET OF THE RUSSIANS' REQUEST AND IS PROPOSING A JOINT BRITISH-IRISH RESPONSE IN THE FORM OF A STATEMENT EXPLAINING WHY THE OSCE NEED NOT BE INVOLVED. HE SAID THE FCO UNDERSTOOD RUSSIAN MOTIVATIONS BUT ALSO KNEW THAT "WE CAN'T NOT REPLY." THE FCO IS THEREFORE DRAFTING A STATEMENT THAT IT WILL OFFER TO THE IRISH AS A FIRST DRAFT. IT WILL EXPRESS THE FOLLOWING THEMES: BRITISH-IRISH COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, THE GOOD FAITH EFFORTS AND PROGRESS TO DATE, THE TRANSPARENCY OF THE PROCESS, THAT THERE ARE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS PRESENT, AND THE FACT THAT THE AGREEMENT AND ACTIONS PURSUANT ARE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH OSCE PRINCIPLES. THE MESSAGE THAT THE BRITISH WANT TO CONVEY IS THAT "OSCE ENGAGEMENT WOULD NOT HELP." HUCKLE AGREED TO PROVIDE US WITH A COPY OF THE STATEMENT AS SOON AS LONDON AND DUBLIN HAVE AGREED ON A TEXT. HE HOPED THAT WOULD BE BY NOON, GMT. WE WILL FORWARD TO NSC, THE DEPARTMENT (EUR/UBI), AND EMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATELY.

2. (C) HUCKLE APPRECIATED THE FACT THAT THE WASHINGTON WILL WANT TO FINE TUNE ANY INTERVENTION THE U.S. MIGHT MAKE ON THIS ISSUE AT THE FEBRUARY 17 PC. HE NOTED THAT DOWNING STREET HAS BEEN INFORMED OF THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL AND, PRESUMABLY, WILL SIGN OFF ON THE UK-IRISH RESPONSE. HE ADDED THAT AMBASSADOR JOHNSON AND UK AMBASSADOR DEFONBLANQUE ARE ALREADY WORKING CLOSELY TOGETHER IN VIENNA AND SUGGESTED THAT THEY BE ALLOWED A MEASURE OF FLEXIBILITY AS THEY RESPOND TO THE RUSSIANS' PROPOSAL AT THE PC.
LADER

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TOR: 02/15/00 10:29:35

DIST: SIT: BINNENDIJK BLACK BLINKEN BRZEZINSKI NSC DAVIDSON ELKIND HINCKLEY KAIDANOW MASSEY MEDISH NORLAND SAPIRO TEDSTROM WEISS WITKOWSKY
SIT: BINNENDIJK BLACK BLINKEN BRZEZINSKI NSC DAVIDSON ELKIND HINCKLEY KAIDANOW MASSEY MEDISH NORLAND SAPIRO TEDSTROM WEISS WITKOWSKY

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.13)
KBH 9/9/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA1208 0471720-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 161720Z FEB 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3163
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1457
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND STRUGGLING WITH LEGALITIES, PRACTICALITIES OF SUSPENSION

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 001208

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/16/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND STRUGGLING WITH LEGALITIES, PRACTICALITIES OF SUSPENSION

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

REF: DUBLIN 829

SUMMARY
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1. (U) THE SUSPENSION ACT THAT EMPOWERED MANDELSON TO REIMPOSE DIRECT RULE ON NORTHERN IRELAND LAST WEEK ESSENTIALLY REVIVES THE LEGAL STRUCTURE USED TO ADMINISTER THE PROVINCE DURING THE TROUBLES. THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, WHICH WERE ESTABLISHED BY DINT OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE ROI, ARE CREATING HEADACHES FOR LAWYERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AND ARE NOT GOING TO BE FOLDED UP QUICKLY. END SUMMARY

DIRECT RULE REDUX
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2. (U) THE SUSPENSION LEGISLATION PASSED BY PARLIAMENT LAST WEEK (THE NORTHERN IRELAND ACT OF 2000) GIVES THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE (SOS) THE POWER TO ADMINISTER THE PROVINCE THROUGH THE USE OF "ORDERS." ORDERS ARE NOMINALLY APPROVED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, BUT THE PRACTICE IS FOR THEM TO BE RUBBER-STAMPED. THIS IS THE SYSTEM THAT WAS IN PLACE FOR THE 30 YEARS OF THE TROUBLES AND IT EFFECTIVELY GIVES CIVIL SERVANTS, UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF WESTMINSTER MINISTERS, RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL ASPECTS OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE.

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3. (U) TO STRESS THAT THE SUSPENSION SHOULD BE TEMPORARY, THE SOS IS BEING ASSISTED BY ONLY TWO MINISTERS, ADAM INGRAM AND GEORGE HOWARTH, WHO WILL HANDLE THE WORK OF THE TEN NORTHERN IRELAND DEPARTMENTS. PRIOR TO DEVOLUTION, THERE WERE TWO ADDITIONAL WESTMINSTER MINISTERS ASSIGNED TO BELFAST. INGRAM WILL COVER FINANCE, AGRICULTURE, TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, HIGHER EDUCATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WHILE HOWARTH HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, ENVIRONMENT, AND CULTURE.

4. (U) THE SOS ALSO HAS THE POWER TO REVOKE THE SUSPENSION BY MEANS OF AN ORDER WHICH, IF HE DEEMS IT NECESSARY, DOES NOT NEED PRIOR APPROVAL BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. THE ACT ALSO CONTAINS PROVISIONS FOR STILL ANOTHER SUSPENSION AT THE DISCRETION OF THE SOS.

STATUS OF NORTH-SOUTH BODIES IN DOUBT
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5. (C) GOVERNMENT LAWYERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER ARE TRYING URGENTLY TO RESOLVE SOME STICKY AND POTENTIALLY CONTROVERSIAL LEGAL ISSUES POSED BY THE SUSPENSION. AS NOTED IN REF, DUBLIN DOES NOT HAVE PARALLEL LEGAL INSTRUMENTS TO EFFECT A SUSPENSION OF THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES AND MAY HAVE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS AS WELL. NIO OFFICIALS NOW ACKNOWLEDGE THAT, BECAUSE THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES WERE ESTABLISHED BY AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, THE SUSPENSION ACT MAY NOT BE THE APPROPRIATE TOOL TO PUT THOSE BODIES ON ICE. AN IRISH OFFICIAL HERE TOLD US THE ROI WOULD PREFER TO RETAIN THE N/S BODIES, EVEN WITH WESTMINSTER MINISTERS REPRESENTING THE NORTHERN IRELAND SIDE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS LOATHE TO EXEMPT THE N/S BODIES FROM THE SUSPENSION BECAUSE, HOWEVER INNOCUOUS, THEY ARE REGARDED BY SUSPICIOUS HARD-CORE UNIONISTS AS PART OF A UNIFICATION AGENDA. CONCEDING THAT MAINTAINING THESE BODIES IS AN INTERNATIONAL-LAW OBLIGATION COULD ALSO BE EMBARRASSING TO THE UK GOVERNMENT, AS IT WOULD PROVE RIGHT UNIONIST CRITICS WHO ASSERTED IN 1998 THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WOULD ESTABLISH LEGAL BONDS BETWEEN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC.

6. (C) AT THE WORKING LEVEL, THE N/S BODIES ARE CONTINUING TO WORK, ALBEIT WITH A LOW PROFILE. IN A DISCUSSION WITH LIAM NELLIS, THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BODY, SAID HIS GROUP WILL CONTINUE PRELIMINARY WORK ON PROJECTS SUCH AS GATHERING INFORMATION ABOUT CROSS-BORDER TRADE, BUT BIGGER ISSUES, SUCH AS THE SELECTION OF OFFICE SPACE IN THE BORDER TOWN OF NEWRY, ARE ON HOLD. HE SAID HE EXPECTS HIS GROUP CAN CONTINUE WITHOUT THE REVIVAL OF THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS FOR ABOUT TWO MONTHS, AFTER WHICH THERE WOULD BE LITTLE WORK TO DO AND MORALE WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN.
LADER

TOR: 02/16/00 13:11:35

DIST: SIT: Blinken NSC Davidson Norland SUM2
PRT: Comm SIT{C2} STEINBERG
SIT: COQ
SIT: Blinken NSC Davidson Norland SUM2
PRT: Comm SIT{C2} STEINBERG
SIT: COQ

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA1244 0481618-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 171618Z FEB 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3205
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1461
SUBJ: LONDON MEETINGS CONFIRM COMMITMENT TO GETTING NO IRELAND PROCESS BACK ON TRACK BUT LEAVES UNANSWERED HOW
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 001244

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.14)
KBH 9/9/2019

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/17/00
TAGS: PGOV, EI, UK
SUBJECT: LONDON MEETINGS CONFIRM COMMITMENT TO GETTING NO IRELAND PROCESS BACK ON TRACK BUT LEAVES UNANSWERED HOW

REFS: A) LONDON 1093, B) LONDON 1208

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE GLYN T. DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY
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1. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND TAOISEACH AHERN MET AT NUMBER 10 ON FEBRUARY 16 TO DEVELOP A COMMON POSITION ON THE CURRENT NORTHERN IRELAND IMPASSE AND THEN MET TOGETHER WITH SINN FEIN, ULSTER UNIONISTS, AND SDLP LEADERS TO STRESS BRITISH-IRISH SOLIDARITY AND CALL FOR RENEWED EFFORTS TO FIND A WAY FORWARD. WHILE THERE WAS NO PROGRESS ON A SOLUTION (THE BRITISH PRESS PREFERRED THE TERM "FAILURE"), BRITISH OFFICIALS SAID THAT GAPS BETWEEN DUBLIN AND LONDON HAD BEEN CLOSED AND THAT BLAIR AND AHERN AGREED THAT THE KEY TO PROGRESS LIES IN GAINING GREATER CLARITY ON THE IRA'S FEBRUARY 11 PROPOSAL. GERRY ADAMS CONTINUES TO ARGUE THAT THE SUSPENSION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS HAS DAMAGED EFFORTS TO CONVINCE REPUBLICANS TO GIVE UP GUNS FOR POLITICS. DAVID TRIMBLE SIGNALED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE SUSPENSION AND SAID HE WAS SEEKING GREATER CLARITY REGARDING THE IRA'S OFFER. MANDELSON AND TRIMBLE'S TRIPS TO THE U.S. THIS NEXT WEEK GIVE THE PARTIES SOME "BREATHING ROOM" TO LOWER TEMPERATURES AND CONSIDER HOW THEY MIGHT TURN THEIR PROFESSED COMMITMENT TO FINDING A SOLUTION INTO ACTION. END SUMMARY.

BLAIR AND AHERN MEET TOGETHER WITH SF, UUP AND SDLP
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2. (C) PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND TAOISEACH AHERN MET ON FEBRUARY 16 TO TRY TO DEVELOP A COMMON LINE BEFORE MEETING TOGETHER WITH

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SINN FEIN, UUP, AND SDLP LEADERS AT NUMBER 10 DOWNING STREET. NIO POLITICAL DIRECTOR BILL JEFFREY SAID THE BLAIR-AHERN MEETING PRODUCED AGREEMENT THAT THERE WAS NEED FOR GREATER CLARITY REGARDING THE IRA'S FEBRUARY 11 OFFER WHICH HAD CAUSED DE CHASTELAIN TO ISSUE A REPORT AFTER MANDELSON HAD SUSPENDED NORTHERN IRELAND'S INSTITUTIONS. THEY AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IRA OFFER IN TERMS OF ITS LIKELIHOOD OF LEADING TO REAL PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. BLAIR AND AHERN ENDED THE MEETING PREPARED TO STRESS TO THE PARTIES' REPRESENTATIVES THE NEED TO AVOID RANCOR AND TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY TO FIND A SOLUTION. THERE WAS LITTLE EXPECTATION THAT THE MEETINGS WITH THE PARTIES' LEADERS WOULD PRODUCE SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS. THE GOAL, INSTEAD, WAS TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION AND ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE THINKING ABOUT WHERE THINGS ARE AND OPTIONS FOR MOVING THEM FORWARD.

3. (C) ACCORDING TO JEFFREY, BLAIR AND AHERN'S MEETING WITH SINN FEIN LEADERS WAS DOMINATED BY ADAMS'S ANGRY PRONOUNCEMENTS THAT SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON'S DECISION TO SUSPEND THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS WAS "A MISTAKE." JEFFREY SAID ADAMS SHOWED NO GREAT WILLINGNESS TO ADDRESS QUESTIONS ABOUT WHEN AND HOW THE COMMITMENTS ALLUDED TO IN THE IRA'S FRIDAY OFFER MIGHT HAVE BEEN REFLECTED IN ACTION. JEFFREY SAID THAT THE TONE AND CHARACTER OF THE SF MEETING MEANT THAT BLAIR AND AHERN WERE NOT ABLE TO OFFER MUCH SUBSTANTIVE ASSURANCE TO THE UUP AND SDLP LEADERS.

4. (C) THE UUP LEADERS -- TRIMBLE, EMPEY, AND JOHN TAYLOR -- STRESSED TO BLAIR AND AHERN THAT THEY STILL DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE BASIS FOR DE CHASTELAIN'S MORE POSITIVE REPORT. TRIMBLE REPORTED THAT HIS MEETING WITH DE CHASTELAIN HAD NOT BEEN THAT HELPFUL, AS, ACCORDING TO TRIMBLE, THE GENERAL SAID HIS REPORT WAS BASED ON "ADDITIONAL INFORMATION" THAT HE HAD WHICH HE WAS NOT ABLE TO SHARE. JEFFREY STRESSED THAT HE FELT THE UNIONISTS WERE FEELING NO SENSE OF VICTORY OVER THE SUSPENSION AND THAT TRIMBLE DID NOT COME OUT OF THE FEBRUARY 12 UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING WITH ANY SENSE OF SATISFACTION. HE SAID THE UNIONISTS LEADERS SEEMED "MORE ANXIOUS THAN EXPECTED." THEY CLEARLY WOULD LIKE TO PUT THINGS BACK ON TRACK AND SEEMED TO BE LOOKING FOR SUGGESTIONS ON HOW THAT MIGHT BE DONE.

5. (C) BLAIR AND AHERN MET LAST, FOR ABOUT HALF AN HOUR, WITH JOHN HUME AND SEAMUS MALLON OF THE SDLP. JEFFREY SAID THAT MALLON USED THIS MEETING TO ARGUE THAT THE ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE "PROTAGONISTS" IN THE DISPUTE HAS SERVED TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO DIG INTO THEIR POLARIZED POSITIONS. HE RECOMMENDED THAT THE PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES BE CALLED TOGETHER TO ENDORSE POSITIVE PRINCIPLES. JEFFREY SAID IT WAS NOT CLEAR HOW THIS WOULD LEAD TO A WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE, BUT IT WAS IN THE SPIRIT OF DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THE RANCOR OF THE PAST DAYS.

READOUT FROM NUMBER 10
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6. (C) BRAIR'S DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR JOHN SAWERS INSISTED TO DCM LATE FEBRUARY 16 THAT THE DAY'S TALKS AT NUMBER 10 HAD BEEN "WITHOUT RANCOR." HE SAID THAT, WHILE IT WAS PREMATURE TO THINK OF A QUICK SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS RELATING TO THE SUSPENSION OF NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS, THE MEETINGS SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT THE KEY ELEMENTS ARE IN PLACE -- "THE UK AND IRISH GOVERNMENT ARE BACK IN THE SAME PLACE; THE UNIONISTS ARE KEEN TO GET BACK INTO GOVERNMENT" -- TO "STABILIZE THE SITUATION." ALL PARTIES SEEMED COMMITTED TO WORKING TO FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE IMPASSE; THE NEED NOW IS FOR "USEFUL IDEAS." SAWERS SCORED SF/IRA TACTICS, SAYING THAT THEIR MORE FORTHCOMING STATEMENTS CAME TOO LATE TO

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AVOID SUSPENSION. HE REHEARSED LONGSTANDING UK ARGUMENTS, THE UPSHOT OF WHICH IS THAT THE BRITISH ARE NOT WILLING TO EVEN CONSIDER LIFTING THE SUSPENSION WITHOUT SOMETHING ON DECOMMISSIONING: "IT REALLY IS UP TO SINN FEIN."

7. (C) THE DCM ASKED SAWERS IF HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL, IF POSSIBLE, TO OFFER TRIMBLE A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING IN WASHINGTON DURING HIS UPCOMING PRIVATE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. SAWERS RESPONDED THAT IT WOULD, "NOT BECAUSE TRIMBLE HOLDS THE KEYS AT THIS POINT" BUT BECAUSE IT WOULD BUCK HIM UP POLITICALLY. ON THE LONDON/DUBLIN RIFT OF THE PAST WEEK, SAWERS SAID "THE IRISH HAVE BECOME MORE REALISTIC AT PROSPECTS FOR IMMEDIATELY TURNING THE SITUATION AROUND." (NOTE: A LONDON 'TIMES' EDITORIAL ON FEBRUARY 17 ARGUED THAT THE IRA'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON FEBRUARY 15 THAT IT WAS NO LONGER MEETING WITH THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION AND WAS WITHDRAWING ITS PROPOSALS UNDERCUT DUBLIN'S ARGUMENT THAT THE REPUBLICANS WERE THE VICTIMS OF THE SUSPENSION ORDER. END NOTE)

ADAMS EXPLAINS POSITION TO DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY
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8. (SBU) GERRY ADAMS EXPLAINED THE SINN FEIN POSITION TO MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND PARTY SUPPORTERS AT A RECEPTION FOLLOWING THE DOWNING STREET MEETINGS. THE RECEPTION, WHICH HAD BEEN PLANNED FOR WEEKS AS A PART OF A SINN FEIN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY EFFORT, WAS HOSTED BY LABOUR MP JOHN MCDONNELL (WHO JOKED OPENLY ABOUT NOT BEING IN THE BLAIR CIRCLE). ADAMS TOLD THE GROUP (OF ABOUT 200) THAT HE HAD ASKED THE PRIME MINISTER AND TAOISEACH TO IMAGINE HOW THEY WOULD FEEL IF, EIGHT WEEKS AFTER THEIR GOVERNMENTS WERE SEATED, SOME HIGHER POWER UNILATERALLY SUSPENDED ALL INSTITUTIONS JUST BECAUSE SOME EXTRA-LEGAL, UNILATERAL DEMAND HAD NOT BEEN MET. HE STRESSED THAT IT HAD TAKEN YEARS TO CONVINCE REPUBLICAN SKEPTICS TO AGREE TO SUPPORT THE IDEA OF PURSUING THEIR OBJECTIVES THROUGH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. THE SUSPENSION UNDERCUT TRUST IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND MADE DECOMMISSIONING THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. ADAMS SAID THAT HE REMAINS COMMITTED TO DECOMMISSIONING BUT THAT IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD AS AN OBJECTIVE TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS RATHER THAN A CONDITION FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE. HE STRESSED THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DIALOGUE WITH ALL PARTIES AS IT WAS THE ONLY WAY FORWARD. WHILE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT HAS BEEN DAMAGED, IT REMAINS THE ONLY GAME IN TOWN.

COMMENT
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9. (C) THE MEETINGS ON FEBRUARY 16 WERE HELPFUL IN CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN. THEY DID NOT, HOWEVER, PRODUCE ANY CONSENSUS ON HOW TO BREAK THE IMPASSE. WHILE THE BRITISH PRESS CHARACTERIZED THE DAY'S MEETINGS AS "FAILURE," THE PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS NOT GOING TO BE SOME MAGIC THAT WILL ALLOW MANDELSON TO QUICKLY LIFT THE SUSPENSION.

10. (C) THERE ARE SUGGESTIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES MAY BE WILLING TO FINESSE SOME ISSUES, INCLUDING THE REVIEW. WHILE SINN FEIN INSISTS THAT IT WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN A FORMAL REVIEW, AS CALLED FOR UNDER THE SUSPENSION, DAVID TRIMBLE WAS WILLING TO SAY THAT THE INFORMAL TALKS THAT TOOK PLACE AT DOWNING STREET MEANT THAT THE REVIEW HAD ALREADY BEGUN. THE PARTIES SEEM TO HAVE BECOME AWARE OF THE COSTS OF MAKING ABSOLUTE DEMANDS OR ISSUING ULTIMATUMS.

11. (C) IF DELAY HAS RISKS (REF B), SO ALSO DO ATTEMPTS TO

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RESOLVE THINGS WHEN THERE IS SO LITTLE AGREEMENT ON HOW TO PROCEED. THERE SEEMS TO BE SUPPORT, AT THIS POINT, FOR THE IDEA OF ALLOWING EVERYONE SOME "BREATHING ROOM" TO STEP BACK, LOWER THE TEMPERATURE, AND REFLECT ON THE SITUATION. MANDELSON AND TRIMBLE'S PRIVATE TRIPS TO THE UNITED STATES NEXT WEEK PROVIDE THE EXCUSE. MEETINGS THEY MIGHT HAVE IN WASHINGTON WOULD GIVE US A CLEARER IDEA OF HOW MUCH ACTION OR CLARITY THEY WOULD NEED FROM THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION TO ALLOW THEM TO TALK ABOUT A LIFTING OF THE SUSPENSION. IN THE MEANTIME, THE TAOISEACH AND PRIME MINISTER ARE REPORTEDLY CONTINUING THEIR INTENSIVE EFFORTS TO FIND AN AGREED-ON WAY FORWARD.
DAVIES

TOR: 02/17/00 11:25:19

DIST: SIT: NSC
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RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: STILL NO COMMON IRISH-BRITISH VIEW ON MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE EARLE SCARLETT FOR REASONS 1.5 (B)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 000885

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: STILL NO COMMON IRISH-BRITISH VIEW ON MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD

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

1. SUMMARY: THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE IRISH DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION TOLD US FEB. 18 THAT THE UK AND IRELAND STILL HAD NO COMMON VIEW ON THE WAY FORWARD IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS AND THAT FEELINGS REMAINED "RAW" OVER THE MANNER AND TIMING OF PETER MANDELSON'S SUSPENSION DECISION. DEPUTY DIRECTOR BASSETT CREDITED THE SUSPENSION FIASCO TO A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN PRIORITIES LAST WEEK, I.E., THE UK SAW SAVING DAVID TRIMBLE AS THE NUMBER ONE PRIORITY WHILE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT VIEWED AVOIDING SUSPENSION AS ESSENTIAL. BASSETT THOUGHT A "COOLING OFF" PERIOD WOULD NOW BE NECESSARY BEFORE SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES COULD RESUME. BOTH BASSETT AND SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REP. O'HARE EXPRESSED REGRET TO US CONCERNING THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS BECAUSE THE ELEMENTS OF A DECOMMISSIONING DEAL BASED ON PUTTING IRA WEAPONS "BEYOND USE" COMBINED WITH BRITISH DEMILITARIZATION STEPS MAY FINALLY BE VISIBLE. BASSETT THOUGHT THE NEXT SIGNIFICANT DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE THOSE TAKING PLACE IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK WITH TRIMBLE, MANDELSON AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS. END SUMMARY.
IRISH-BRITISH PROBLEMS LINGER
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2. (C) POLOFF MET WITH RAY BASSETT, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE IRISH DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, FEBRUARY 18 TO DISCUSS THE WAY AHEAD ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. BASSETT WAS BLUNT IN SAYING THAT NEITHER THE IRISH NOR BRITISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE ANY CLEAR IDEA OF THE WAY AHEAD

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AND ARE STILL "NOT ON THE SAME PAGE" REGARDING THE EVENTS SURROUNDING NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON SUSPENSION ORDER ON FEBRUARY 11. BASSETT INDICATED THAT, WHILE THERE HAD BEEN COMMUNICATIONS GAPS CONTRIBUTING TO THE CONFUSION AND RECRIMINATIONS OF THE DAY, THE PROBLEM WAS MORE FUNDAMENTAL. IN BASSETT'S VIEW, THE CORE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE UK AND MANDELSON VIEWED SAVING DAVID TRIMBLE'S UUP LEADERSHIP AS THE HIGHEST PRIORITY, WHILE THE GOI BELIEVED THAT AVOIDING SUSPENSION OF THE INSTITUTIONS WAS ESSENTIAL AND WAS WILLING TO LIVE WITH TRIMBLE'S RESIGNATION IF NECESSARY.

3. (C) IN RESPONSE TO POLOFF'S QUERY ABOUT THE VIABILITY OF THE NORTHERN ASSEMBLY FOLLOWING A TRIMBLE RESIGNATION, BASSETT CONCEDED THAT IT "PROBABLY WOULD HAVE COLLAPSED" DUE TO A UUP WALKOUT, BUT "AT LEAST THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT" AND WOULD HAVE KEPT THE IRA ENGAGED WITH GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN. (NOTE: IT REMAINS THE GOI'S VIEW THAT THE UNILATERAL BRITISH SUSPENSION OF THE NORTHERN INSTITUTIONS WAS NOT CONSISTENT WITH EITHER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT OR THE BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT. BASSETT REITERATED THAT THE GOI HAS STILL NOT AGREED TO SUSPENSION, ALTHOUGH IT WILL NOW DEAL WITH IT AS A "FAIT ACCOMPLI" AND MOVE ON. END NOTE.)

ELEMENTS OF A DEAL THERE BUT NOT THE WILL TO GRASP THEM
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4. (C) ON THE WAY FORWARD, BASSETT SAID THAT, WHILE THE GOI STILL WANTED A "QUICK" RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS, THIS WAS NOT LIKELY TO HAPPEN GIVEN THE ACRIMONY OF WEDNESDAY'S LONDON MEETINGS AMONG AHERN, BLAIR AND THE PARTY LEADERS. RIGHT NOW, BASSETT COMMENTED, WHAT TRIMBLE AND ADAMS BOTH NEED IS SOME TIME TO "COOL OFF" AND CONSOLIDATE THEIR OWN POSITIONS. HE ADDED THAT ADAMS IN PARTICULAR WAS ON "VERY SHAKY GROUND" WITH T
HE REPUBLICAN
"HARD MEN" FOR WRINGING OUT THE PROGRESS IN THE IRA POSITION THAT WAS GIVEN TO DE CHASTELAIN FEB. 11. BASSETT WAS NOT UNDULY CONCERNED WITH EITHER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE IRA LIAISON WITH THE COMMISSION OR THE WITHDRAWAL OF IRA PROPOSALS. BOTH WOULD BE BACK UNDER THE RIGHT CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE BROADER DISCUSSION. OF INTEREST, BASSETT RELAYED TO US SEAMUS MALLON'S VIEW THAT, DESPITE INTERNATIONAL OPINION PREDOMINANTLY BLAMING SINN FEIN/IRA FOR THE LATEST FAILURE, SINN FEIN WAS GETTING STRONG POLITICAL BACKING IN NORTHERN IRELAND NOT JUST FROM REPUBLICANS BUT FROM BROADER SDLP NATIONALISTS.

5. (C) AS FOR NEXT STEPS, BASSETT SAID THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE GAMEPLAN AND CERTAINLY NO MEETING OF MINDS BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN AT THIS TIME. HE THOUGHT THE NEXT SIGNIFICANT DISCUSSIONS WOULD BY U.S. OFFICIALS WITH TRIMBLE, MANDELSON AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK. IN CONCLUSION, BASSETT NOTED HIS REGRET OVER THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE AS HE BELIEVED THE ELEMENTS OF A DECOMMISSIONING DEAL WERE FINALLY VISIBLE, I.E., IRA WEAPONS PUT "BEYOND USE" IN A MANNER THE COMMISSION CAN VERIFY TIED IMPLICITLY TO BRITISH STEPS ON
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 000885

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI

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SUBJECT: STILL NO COMMON IRISH-BRITISH VIEW ON MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD

DEMILITARIZATION (ESPECIALLY ON THE HIGH-VISIBILITY INSTALLATIONS IN SOUTH ARMAGH). THE PROBLEM NOW WAS FINDING A WAY TO GET THE DISCUSSION MOVING AGAIN WITHOUT A FULL SCALE REVIEW THAT RUN THE RISK OF REOPENING DECISIONS ON EVERYTHING FROM POLICING TO THE EQUALITY AGENDA.

6. (C) POLOFF HAD HEARD THE SAME VIEW ON THE ELEMENTS OF A DECOMMISSIONING DEAL FROM SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REP., RITA O'HARE, IN A DISCUSSION FEBRUARY 17. O'HARE HAD BEEN UPBEAT, SUGGESTING THAT "BEYOND-USE/DEMILITARIZATION" WAS THE PATH TO SUCCESS. BOTH O'HARE AND BASSETT SAID THAT BLAIR AND MANDELSON WERE PREPARED TO GO DOWN THAT ROAD, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY HANDLED SO AS NOT TO EQUATE "LEGITIMATE" BRITISH ARMY WEAPONS WITH THOSE OF THE IRA. THEY BOTH ALSO STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY AND MANDELSON HAVE DETERIORATED SHARPLY. BOTH USED THE SAME ANALOGY TO DESCRIBE CURRENT REPUBLIC FEELING, "THE UUP TAIL IS AGAIN WAGING THE BLAIR/MANDELSON DOG." (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THIS IS THE STANDARD SINN FEIN LINE, IT IS OF GREATER CONCERN THAT IT ALSO SEEMS TO REFLECT CURRENT GOI THINKING. END COMMENT.)

SCARLETT

TOR: 02/18/00 12:17:35

DIST: SIT: Blinken NSC Davidson Norland SUM2
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INFO: ////
SUBJ: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE PETER MANDELSON ON FEBRUARY 23
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 037356

E.O. 12958: DECL: DECL: 02/21/10
TAGS: PREL, EI
SUBJECT: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE PETER MANDELSON ON FEBRUARY 23

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY S/S; REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

2. (C) SUMMARY. NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON STAUNCHLY DEFENDED HIS FEBRUARY 11 SUSPENSION OF THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS AS NECESSARY TO KEEP DAVID TRIMBLE IN THE PROCESS AND LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF RESTORING THE INSTITUTIONS IN THE FUTURE. HE DESCRIBED THE IRA'S OFFER TO THE DECHASTELAIN COMMISSION AS A "GLIMMER" THAT CAME TOO LATE AND URGED THAT THE U.S. PRESS SEIN FINN HARD TO CLARIFY WHAT SORT OF STEPS WERE POSSIBLE ON DECOMMISSIONING.

3. (C) THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED USING THE SAME TACTICS THAT HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, SUCH AS REPACKAGING OFFERS, LOOKING FOR PARALLEL TRACKS, AND USING CRISES AS OPPORTUNITIES TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. SHE SUGGESTED SEEKING CLARIFICATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT THE IRA HAD ANNOUNCED IT WAS

PULLING ITS PROPOSALS OFF THE TABLE. SHE EXPLAINED THAT ONCE THERE WAS CLARIFICATION OF THE PROPOSALS, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO WORK WITH THEM, WHETHER OR NOT THAT MEANT A REPACKAGING OR REFORMULATION OF OPTIONS. MANDELSON AGREED, AND URGED THAT THE U.S. USE ITS LEVERAGE TO BRING SINN FEIN BACK TO THE TABLE, HAVE THE IRA CLARIFY ITS PROPOSALS, AND GET THE PEACE PROCESS BACK ON TRACK. END SUMMARY.

4. (U) PARTICIPANTS:

US SIDE	UK SIDE
THE SECRETARY	PETER MANDELSON, NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE
ELAINE SHOCAS, COS	
A/S JAMES RUBIN, PA	AMB. SIR CHRISTOPHER MEYER
DAS JAMES I. GADSDEN, EUR	WILLIAM JEFFRIES, NIO POLDIR

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KELLY DEGNAN, S STAFF
ANNA BORG, EUR/UBI
(NOTETAKER)

NICK PERRY, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MANDELSON
PETER REID, PRESS SECRETARY
MATTHEW RYCROFT, UK EMBASSY

5. (C) NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY PETER MANDELSON SAID HE WANTED TO RESUME THE DIALOGUE WHERE HE HAD LEFT IT LAST FALL WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT. HE RECALLED ASKING TALBOTT TO PUT PRESSURE ON SINN FEIN TO GET THE IRA TO DECOMMISSION OR IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN THE NEW NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS. HE RECOUNTED HIS EFFORTS TO ENGAGE SINN FEIN IN THE INTERVENING WEEKS AND THE EFFORTS HE HAD MADE TO GIVE THEM ADDITIONAL TIME TO MAKE A DECOMMISSIONING OFFER BEFORE RELUCTANTLY SUSPENDING THE INSTITUTIONS ON FEBRUARY 11. HE FELT THERE HAD BEEN NO ALTERNATIVE. NOT TO SUSPEND WOULD HAVE MEANT TRIMBLE'S RESIGNATION AND LOSS FROM THE PROCESS. BY SUSPENDING THE INSTITUTIONS, HE FELT HE KEPT ALIVE THE POSSIBILITY OF RESTORING THEM EXACTLY AS THEY HAD BEEN -- SAME MINISTERS, SAME SET-UP. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO SUSPENSION OF OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, SUCH AS POLICE REFORMS.

6. (C) MANDELSON SAID THAT PERHAPS HE SHOULD CONSIDER SUSPENDING PROGRESS ON BRITISH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT UNTIL SINN FEIN RESUMED CONTACT WITH THE DECHASTELAIN COMMISSION AND PUT SOMETHING BACK ON THE TABLE. HE EXPLAINED THAT RIGHT BEFORE THE MEETING HE'D BEEN

ON THE PHONE WITH SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINESS WHO HAD ONLY REITERATED HIS VIEWS THAT MANDELSON WAS REMISS IN SUSPENDING THE INSTITITIONS. ALL THE SAME OLD STUFF, HE SAID, WITH NO APPARENT INTEREST BY SINN FEIN IN FINDING A WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE. HE WARNED THAT THEY WOULD ONLY CONTINUE THEIR "PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN" AGAINST HIM.

7. (C) THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED DRAWING ON STRATEGIES THAT WORKED IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. CRISES WERE USED AS OPPORTUNITIES TO MAKE PROGRESS, OPTIONS WERE REPACKAGED, SCHEDULES REWORKED, AND NEGOTIATIONS PRODDED FORWARD. SHE ASKED WHETHER FORMER SENATOR MITCHELL NEEDED TO BE INVOLVED AGAIN TO RESUME THE TALKS. MANDELSON SAID HE HAD TALKED TO MITCHELL THE PREVIOUS DAY, WHO HAD REITERATED THAT HE HAD NO INTEREST IN RESUMING WORK ON THE PROCESS. MANDELSON OBSERVED THAT IT WOULD BE HARD FOR MITCHELL TO UNDERTAKE YET ANOTHER REVIEW AT THIS POINT, AND THAT THE PARTIES INVOLVED SHOULD BE THE ONES TO GET PROGRESS UNDERWAY.

8. (C) THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE PARALLEL TRACKS TO BE PURSUED. MANDELSON SAID THAT HE HAD OFFERED TO NEGOTIATE A TIMEFRAME FOR BRITISH TROOP REDUCTION IN NORTHERN IRELAND (DEMILITARIZATION) IN CONJUNCTION WITH PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE ADDED THAT AT THIS POINT ONE SHOULD PUT ASIDE THE ISSUE OF NEGOTIATING THAT WITH THE BRITISH MILITARY, A REFERENCE TO DEFENSE SECRETARY HOON'S REMARKS ON THIS PROPOSAL. BUT HE CAUTIONED THAT HE COULD NOT MOVE FORWARD ON DEMILITARIZATION ALONE BECAUSE OF SECURITY RISKS IN SUCH A MOVE, "I HAVE TO BE CAREFUL ABOUT TRADING WHEN PEOPLES' LIVES ARE AT STAKE".

9. (C) THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER HE COULD NOT POCKET THE IRA OFFER AND FIND WAYS TO RESTRUCTURE IT OR SUBDIVIDE IT INTO SMALLER, MORE MANAGEABLE PIECES. MANDELSON SAID IT

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WOULD HELP TO CLARIFY WHAT THE PROPOSAL HAD BEEN. HE SAID THAT SINN FEIN MIGHT BE ABLE TO TELL U.S. OFFICIALS "OUT OF THE LIMELIGHT" AND URGED THAT THE U.S. PRESS HARD FOR A CLARIFICATON OF THE IRA OFFER. HE ADDED THAT AT THIS POINT THE UNIONISTS AND OTHERS WERE UNABLE TO ASSESS IRA INTENTIONS -- WERE THEY SERIOUS AT ALL ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING? WHAT COULD THEY REALLY DO? HE SAID IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONSIDER WORKING WITH A DIFFERENT SCHEDULE OR OPTIONS, BUT NOT UNTIL PEOPLE WERE PERSUADED THAT THERE WAS SOME INTENTION BY THE IRA TO MOVE ON DECOMMISSIONING.

10. ~~(C)~~ OBSERVING THAT TIME IS NOT ON ANYONE'S SIDE, THE SECRETARY SAID THE IRA NEEDED TO CLARIFY ITS OFFER, AND THEN WE WOULD SEE WHAT COULD BE REPACKAGED OR PHASED IN ON A DIFFERENT SCHEDULE. MANDELSON SAID HE COULD HANDLE REPACKAGING, BUT THAT ULTIMATELY IT WAS THE UNIONISTS WHO HAD NO CONFIDENCE IN SINN FEIN'S ABILITY TO DELIVER.

11. ~~(C)~~ THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WE COULD BUILD ON EXISTING RELATIONSHIPS WITH TRIMBLE AND SINN FEIN LEADERS TO TRY TO MAKE PROGRESS. ST. PATRICK'S DAY WOULD BE THE NEXT MAJOR OPPORTUNITY TO ENGAGE HERE ON THESE ISSUES.
ALBRIGHT

TOR: 02/29/00 22:52:10

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE
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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 0000
SUBJ: UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING'S MEETING WITH SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINNESS

CLASSIFIED BY UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING. REASON 1.5 (B) (D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 046040

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/06/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, PGOV
SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING'S MEETING WITH SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINNESS

CLASSIFIED BY UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING. REASON 1.5 (B) (D)

1. (C) SUMMARY. IN A MEETING FEBRUARY 24 WITH SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND RITA O'HARE, UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING REITERATED THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND URGED THEM TO SHARE THE IRA'S LATEST PROPOSAL SO THE USG COULD HELP FORMULATE A WAY TO MOVE FORWARD. MCGUINNESS STRESSED THAT WHILE SINN FEIN HAD NO INTENTION OF GIVING UP ON THE PROCESS, THE INSTITUTIONS NEEDED TO BE PUT BACK UP AND GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN'S CREDIBILITY RESTORED OR THERE WOULD BE NO DECOMMISSIONING. MCGUINNESS SAID DECOMMISSIONING IS A "COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY" OF ALL PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) UNDER SECRETARY THOMAS PICKERING MET WITH SINN FEIN'S CHIEF NEGOTIATOR MARTIN MCGUINNESS AND THE PARTY'S REPRESENTATIVE FOR WASHINGTON, RITA O'HARE, FEBRUARY 24.

U/S PICKERING ASSURED MCGUINNESS THE USG WAS TOTALLY COMMITTED TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND WANTED ITS FULL IMPLEMENTATION TO GO AHEAD. HE NOTED THE USG UNDERSTOOD THE TURMOIL OF THE CURRENT SITUATION AND HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS. THE PRESS WAS REPORTING THE IRA HAD PROPOSED TO THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION THAT IT WOULD TAKE CERTAIN ACTIONS IN PARALLEL WITH A BRITISH COMMITMENT TO DEMILITARIZE, UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING SAID. HE NOTED THE PROPOSAL SEEMED REASONABLE AND THAT PRIME MINSTER BLAIR WOULD LIKELY TAKE A HARD LOOK AT IT. MCGUINNESS SAID WHILE THERE WAS NO LINKAGE BETWEEN DECOMMISSIONING AND DEMILITARIZATION, IT WOULD BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO CLOSE BORDER STATIONS AS THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL FOCUS ON THAT ISSUE.

3. (C) WHEN ASKED WHAT THE IRA HAD TOLD GENERAL DE

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CHASTELAIN'S COMMISSION, MCGUINNESS NEATLY DODGED THE QUESTION BY SAYING THE IRA HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID IT WOULD NEVER DECOMMISSION. SINN FEIN HAD TRIED TO FIND A WAY TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE IRA SO THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION COULD MAKE A POSITIVE REPORT. MCGUINNESS STRESSED THAT HE AND GERRY ADAMS HAD WORKED FOR WEEKS TO GET THE IRA TO THE POINT OF MAKING ITS PROPOSAL TO THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION FEBRUARY 11, BUT IT HAD BEEN REJECTED BY THE BRITISH AND UNIONISTS. THEN THE INSTITUTIONS WERE SUSPENDED. MCGUINNESS SAID THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND WERE DESPONDENT AS A RESULT.

4. (C) MCGUINNESS CONTENDED THAT SUSPENSION HAD UNDERMINED SINN FEIN'S POSITION, I.E., "LET'S MAKE POLITICS WORK." HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT UNIONISTS HAD CERTAIN TREPIDATION ABOUT SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT, BUT STRESSED THERE WAS A FLAW IN ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE'S POSITON (AND THAT OF SOME IN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT). IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE THE IMPASSE OVER DECOMMISIONING, HE SAID, UNLESS THE UUP DELIVERED ITS PART OF THE BARGAIN.

5. (C) UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING ASKED WHAT THE UUP WOULD HAVE TO DO -- FOR EXAMPLE, GET AGREEMENT ON DEMILITARIZATION? MCGUINNESS RESPONDED THAT THE BRITISH REPORT ON SECURITY (PUBLISHED BY NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY PETER MANDELSON IN DECEMBER 1999) WAS "DERISORY." WHILE SINN FEIN COULD NOT PROMISE THAT THE IRA WOULD DECOMMISSION, THEY HAD TRIED TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS THAT

WOULD MAKE IRA DECOMMISSIONING POSSIBLE. UNIONISTS CLAIM THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUALITY COMMISSIONS ARE UP AND RUNNING, MCGUINESS SAID, WHEN, IN FACT, THEY ARE NOT. EVEN ON THE PATTEN REPORT, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEND TO INTRODUCE IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION BEFORE NOVEMBER 2000. MCGUINNESS CONTINUED THAT THE BRITISH HAD ALSO LET TRIMBLE TAKE CHARGE OF DECOMMISSIONING, INSTEAD OF GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN, CHAIR OF THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION. MCGUINNESS STRESSED THE INSTITUTIONS NEEDED TO BE PUT BACK UP AND DE CHASTELAIN'S CREDIBILITY RESTORED. HE REITERATED THAT DE CHASTELAIN NEEDED TO RESUME HIS POSITION, AND, UNTIL THEN, THERE WOULD BE NO DECOMMISSIONING.

6. (C) UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING ASKED FOR MCGUINNESS' VIEWS ON DECOMMISSIONING. MCGUINNESS RESPONDED THAT UNTIL DE CHASTELAIN RESUMES POWER, WE WOULD NOT SEE ANYTHING "CREATIVE" FROM THE REPUBLICAN SIDE. REPUBLICANS LIKE DE CHASTELAIN, SINCE HE KNOWS THE POLITICS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND HAS AN OPEN MIND. POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO TAKE OVER THE DECOMMISSIONING PROCESS, MCGUINNESS SAID. THE COMMISSION HAD MADE CLEAR THAT DECOMMISSIONING HAD TO BE DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. FOR SINN FEIN, THE WAY FORWARD IS TO REINSTATE THE INSTITUTIONS. MCGUINNESS SAID THEY NEED EVIDENCE THAT THE BRITISH HAVE DAVID TRIMBLE "UNDER CONTROL." THERE SHOULD BE NO MORE "BLAME GAME." SINN FEIN HAS NO INTENTION OF GIVING UP ON THE PROCESS. UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING SAID IT WAS CLEAR THAT SINN FEIN DID NOT INTEND TO GIVE UP ON THE PROCESS. MCGUINNESS ADDED THAT THEY HAD COME TOO FAR -- IT WOULD BE A "CRIME" IF THE PROCESS DID NOT CONTINUE. SINN FEIN'S LEADERSHIP WOULD NO DOUBT COME UNDER CRITICISM FOR THE STATE OF THE PEACE PROCESS AT THE PARTY'S MEETING THE

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FOLLOWING SUNDAY IN DUBLIN.

7. (C) MCGUINNESS POINTED OUT THAT THE BBC HAD INVESTIGATED WHEN ON FEBRUARY 11 THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BECAME AWARE OF THE IRA'S LATEST PROPOSAL. BBC CONTENDED THAT MANDELSON NEEDED TO ACT EARLY IN THE EVENING IN ORDER TO MAKE THE 6:00 O'CLOCK NEWS. MCGUINNESS CLAIMED MANDELSON'S DECISION TO SUSPEND WAS "PRE-WIRED." WHILE SINN FEIN HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH PM BLAIR, HE SAID, RELATIONS WITH PETER MANDELSON WERE POOR. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ALSO WERE NOT

GOOD. MCGUINNESS CONTENDED THAT IF THE BRITISH HAD GONE ALONG WITH THE IRA PROPOSAL, IRA DECOMMISSIONING COULD HAVE MOVED FORWARD WITH DE CHASTELAIN. UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING ASKED WHAT THE IRA'S POSITION IS NOW. MCGUINNESS SAID THE SECOND REPORT BY THE DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION HAD SAID THE IRA PROPOSAL WAS "VALUABLE." HE CONTINUED, WE "COULDN'T HAVE GOTTEN BETTER THAN THAT." NONETHELESS, DAVID TRIMBLE HAD MADE CLEAR THAT WITHOUT A TIMETABLE, THERE HAD TO BE SUSPENSION.

8. (C) UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING POINTED OUT THAT THE USG NEEDED TO KNOW THE IRA'S BASELINE PROPOSAL SO IT COULD ANALYZE THE SITUATION. MCGUINNESS SAID THE BEST THEY COULD ACHIEVE WAS THE (SECOND) DE CHASTELAIN REPORT. DECOMMISSIONING IS A "COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY" WHICH ALL PARTIES WHO SIGNED THE AGREEMENT WERE TO TRY TO ACHIEVE BY MAY 2000. MCGUINNESS REITERATED THAT DECOMMISSIONING IS A "JOINT RESPONSIBILITY" -- DAVID TRIMBLE MUST PARTICIPATE IN CREATING A SENSE AMONG EVERYONE THAT THERE IS NOT ANY REASON FOR HAVING GUNS. THERE MUST BE AN END TO UNIONIST DOMINATION, MCGUINNESS ADVISED. UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING NOTED THAT MANY PEOPLE WERE HEARTENED BY THE FACT OF THE POWER-SHARING GOVERNMENT. MCGUINNESS AGREED THAT VIEW WAS WIDELY SHARED. HE STRESSED THAT THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE "WAR" IS OVER WOULD BE ANSWERED IN A SHORT TIME IF THE INSTITUTIONS WERE SEEN TO WORK. NATIONALISTS WILL NOT LET THE INSTITUTIONS FAIL IF THEY HAVE A STAKE IN THEM, MCGUINNESS SAID, BUT TRIMBLE HAD NOT FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT TO SUPPORT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

9. (C) UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING CLOSED THE MEETING BY SAYING HE BELIEVED THE PARTIES COULD STILL FIND A SOLUTION TO THE DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE. HE ADVISED MCGUINNESS TO LET THE USG KNOW THE DETAILS OF THE IRA PROPOSAL, TO HELP THEM FIND A WAY TO STRUCTURE A WAY OUT. MCGUINNESS AGREED THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT REMAINS THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION.
PICKERING

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SUBJ: SCENESETTER FOR THE SECRETARY' ST. PATRICK'S DAY BREAKFAST WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN

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

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 07 DUBLIN 001099

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/10
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP (AHERN, BERTIE), EI
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OVERVIEW
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1. (C) IRISH TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) BERTIE AHERN ARRIVES IN WASHINGTON THIS ST. PATRICK'S DAY IN AN ENVIABLE POLITICAL POSITION. DESPITE RECENT SETBACKS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS AND A SEEMINGLY ENDLESS STREAM OF POLITICAL PAYOFF SCANDALS FOCUSED ON PAST AND PRESENT MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY, FIANNA FAIL, AHERN CONTINUES TO COMMAND A 68 PERCENT PUBLIC APPROVAL RATING, UNPRECEDENTED FOR A TAOISEACH AT MID-TERM. THE IRISH PEOPLE SIMPLY LIKE BERTIE. AS ONE PUNDIT SUCCINCTLY PUT IT IN EXPLAINING AHERN'S UNIQUE APPEAL TO THE VOTERS, "BERTIE DOESN'T JUST UNDERSTAND THE IRISH PEOPLE, HE IS THE IRISH PEOPLE." ALTHOUGH AHERN'S FIANNA FAIL-PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRAT COALITION GOVERNMENT RELIES ON FOUR RATHER UNRULY INDEPENDENTS TO PROVIDE ITS MAJORITY IN THE DAIL (LOWER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT), NO ONE HERE SEES THE GOVERNMENT IN ANY NEAR TO MEDIUM-TERM TROUBLE. THE CONTINUED RAPID GROWTH OF IRELAND'S "CELTIC TIGER" ECONOMY ONLY SERVES TO REINFORCE AHERN'S STRENGTH.

2. (C) THE TAOISEACH WILL BE ACCOMPANIED THIS YEAR BY HIS NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, BRIAN COWEN, WHO REPLACED DAVID ANDREWS IN JANUARY 2000. COWEN IS AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT

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PERSONALITY THAN THE PATRICIAN ANDREWS. A TOUGH POLITICAL INFIGHTER, COWEN HAS BEEN THE MAN FIANNA FAIL TURNS TO WHEN IT'S BEEN TIME TO CLIMB INTO THE POLITICAL TRENCHES. COWEN IS BOTH FRANK AND ABRASIVE IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE, CHARACTERISTICS THAT SERVED HIM WELL AS HEALTH MINISTER SINCE 1997, BUT WHICH WILL NEED TO BE TONED DOWN ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE. NONETHELESS, COWEN IS BY ALL ACCOUNTS CLOSE TO THE TAOISEACH, INTELLIGENT AND CAPABLE, AND FAR MORE OF A PRAGMATIST THEN WAS THE IDEALISTIC ANDREWS. ACCORDINGLY, WE MAY LOOK FOR A LESS DIFFICULT APPROACH ON ISSUES SUCH AS THE "NEW AGENDA FOR DISARMAMENT" WHICH ANDREWS PURSUED AS A PERSONAL CRUSADE DURING HIS TENURE.

THE IRISH ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE: THE TIGER STILL ROARS
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3. (SBU) THOUGH THE PEACE PROCESS MAY BE LIMPING, PRIME MINISTER AHERN ARRIVES IN WASHINGTON STILL BASKING IN THE CONTINUED ROAR OF IRELAND'S "CELTIC TIGER" ECONOMY. IRISH GDP GREW NEARLY 9 PERCENT IN 1999, THE SIXTH CONSECUTIVE YEAR IRELAND HAS HAD THE FASTEST GROWING ECONOMY IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. IRISH UNEMPLOYMENT IS AT 5.1 PERCENT, DOWN FROM 15 PERCENT IN 1993, AND FAR BELOW THE EU AVERAGE OF 11 PERCENT. AVERAGE INDUSTRIAL WAGES GREW 6 PERCENT IN 1999, UP FROM AVERAGE GROWTH OF 2.6 PERCENT IN 1997, AND BY 1998 IRISH AVERAGE INCOME PER CAPITA HAD SURPASSED THAT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, RISING TO $20,581. (IRELAND IS EXPERIENCING OVER 4 PERCENT RATE OF INFLATION, ABOVE THE EU AVERAGE.) MOST MEANINGFUL OF ALL, PERHAPS, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH STATE, MORE IRISH CITIZENS ARE RETURNING TO IRELAND THAN EMIGRATING IN SEARCH OF EMPLOYMENT. THE TWIN CURSES OF IRISH LIFE OVER THE PAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS - UNEMPLOYMENT AND EMIGRATION - APPEAR TO BE NEARLY ERADICATED. PRIME MINISTER AHERN'S GOVERNMENT RIGHTFULLY DESERVES CREDIT FOR SKILLFULLY MANAGING THE ECONOMIC POLICIES -- TIGHT GOVERNMENT SPENDING, TRADING INCOME TAX CUTS FOR MODEST UNION WAGE DEMANDS, LOWERING CORPORATE TAXES TO ATTRACT FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT, AND PRIVATIZING KEY ECONOMIC SECTORS --THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS EXTRAORDINARY ECONOMIC GROWTH AND TRANSFORMATION OVER THE PAST DECADE. HOWEVER, IRELAND FACES SHORTAGE OF SKILLED WORKERS, ESPECIALLY IN THE HIGH-TECH FIELD, AND CONTEMPLATES OPENING ITS DOORS TO FOREIGN SKILLED WORKERS TO FILL THE GAP.

NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS: THE VIEW FROM DUBLIN
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4. (C) THE FEBRUARY 11 DECISION BY NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON TO SUSPEND THE DEVOLVED NORTHERN INSTITUTIONS BOTH SURPRISED AND ANGERED THE GOI AND LED TO A PERIOD OF MUTUAL RECRIMINATION BETWEEN DUBLIN AND LONDON THAT SERVED NO ONE'S INTERESTS. SPECIFICALLY, THE AHERN GOVERNMENT FELT THAT THE 11TH HOUR IRA OFFER TO "CONSIDER WAYS OF PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE" AND THE SECOND, POSITIVE REPORT FROM THE DE CHASTELAIN DECOMMISSIONING BODY WERE

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SUFFICIENT TO, AT A MINIMUM, POSTPONE A DECISION ON SUSPENSION. THE PROBLEM BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WAS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN PRIORITIES, I.E.: DUBLIN SAW SAVING THE INSTITUTIONS AS THE HIGHEST GOAL AND WAS PREPARED TO SEE DAVID TRIMBLE RESIGN IF NECESSARY; THE UK SAW SAVING TRIMBLE'S MODERATE LEADERSHIP AS ESSENTIAL AND BELIEVED IT COULD DEAL WITH THE AFTERMATH OF SUSPENSION. THE GOI, WHILE RECONCILED TO THE CURRENT DE FACTO SUSPENSION SITUATION, STILL ASSERTS THAT IT NEVER AGREED TO SUSPENSION AND QUESTIONS THE LEGALITY OF MANDELSON'S DECISION UNDER THE BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT WHICH INDICATES BOTH GOVERNMENTS MUST CONSENT.

5. (C) IN THE PAST WEEK, HOWEVER, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SEEMS TO HAVE PUT "THE BLAME GAME" BEHIND THEM. HELPED BY THE MARCH 7-8 VISIT OF DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR JIM STEINBERG TO BELFAST, THE GOVERNMENTS NOW SEEM RECOMMITTED TO GETTING THE PROCESS MOVING. ROUND TABLE MEETINGS HELD MARCH 8 WERE A GOOD INDICATION THAT THE PARTIES ARE AT LEAST WILLING TO TALK TO EACH OTHER, AND ALL ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS OF A ST. PATRICK'S DAY BREAKTHROUGH. THE PROBLEM REMAINS, HOWEVER, THAT NEITHER THE UK NOR IRELAND HAS A CLEAR OR AGREED STRATEGY AT THIS TIME FOR BREAKING THE IMPASSE ON PARA-MILITARY DECOMMISSIONING. IT IS INCREASINGLY THE VIEW OF THE AHERN GOVERNMENT THAT A NEW APPROACH HAS TO BE TAKEN IF THE ARMS ISSUE IS EVER TO BE RESOLVED. THE UNIONIST DEMAND FOR "PRODUCT" (WEAPONS TURNED OVER OR DESTROYED) IS SIMPLY NOT SOMETHING SINN FEIN OR THE IRA CAN DELIVER. DUBLIN BELIEVES THE CLEAR MESSAGE FROM THE ADAMS/MCGUINNESS LEADERSHIP THAT THE IRA GRASSROOTS WILL SIMPLY NOT SUPPORT THIS AND THAT ANY EFFORT BY THE IRA LEADERSHIP TO IMPOSE DECOMMISSIONING WOULD LEAD TO LARGE SCALE DEFECTIONS TO DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN GROUPS, SUCH AS THE REAL IRA, WHO ARE NOT COMMITTED TO A CEASEFIRE.

6. (C) IN LIGHT OF THIS ANALYSIS, DUBLIN IS NOW SEARCHING FOR A BROADER DEFINITION OF "DECOMMISSIONING" THAT WOULD ENCOMPASS THE "PUT BEYOND USE" FORMULA THE IRA SEEMED TO ACCEPT IN ITS FEB. 11 STATEMENT TO DE CHASTELAIN. THIS MIGHT ENTAIL, IN A FIRST STAGE, MOVING IRA WEAPONRY INTO ARMS DUMPS WITH SOME MEANS OF CREDIBLE INTERNATIONAL VERIFICATION THAT THIS HAS HAPPENED. WHILE THE IRA WOULD STILL CONTROL THE "DUMPS," IN A FIRST STAGE, THE ARMS WOULD AT LEAST BE PUT BEYOND IMMEDIATE USE, AND MORE INTRUSIVE VERIFICATION AND CONTROL METHODS COULD BE INTRODUCED AS SINN FEIN/IRA BECAME MORE CONFIDENT THAT THE POLITICAL PROCESS WOULD NOT BE REVERSED. COMBINED WITH THIS, HOWEVER, IN THE GOI'S MIND (AS IN SINN FEIN'S), THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE SOME RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE AND SECURITY "DEMILITARIZATION" OR "NORMALIZATION" OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. IN PARTICULAR, SOME STEPS TO LOWER THE VISIBILITY OF THE BRITISH ARMY PRESENCE AND INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE REPUBLICAN STRONGHOLD OF SOUTH ARMAGH WOULD BE NEEDED.

7. (C) AT FIANNA FAIL'S MARCH 4 PARTY CONFERENCE, TAOISEACH AHERN CLEARLY SIGNALED THIS NEW APPROACH WHEN HE

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SAID "IF DEMOCRACY IS TO FLOURISH, IF INCLUSIVE PARTNERSHIP GOVERNMENT IS TO BE SUSTAINED, THEN ALL THE ARMIES MUST BE STOOD DOWN." NEGATIVE REACTION TO THIS STATEMENT WAS IMMEDIATE FROM BRITISH OFFICIALS WHO ARGUED IT EQUATED THE TERRORIST IRA WITH THE LEGITIMATE BRITISH ARMY. AHERN HAD TO CLARIFY HIS REMARKS THE NEXT DAY TO STRESS THAT THIS WAS NOT HIS INTENT, BUT WE ANTICIPATE THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THIS APPROACH. WHILE EMBASSY UNDERSTANDS THE DIFFICULTY NEW THINKING ON DECOMMISSIONING PRESENTS TO UNIONISM, WE SHARE THE IRISH VIEW THAT THE TRADITIONAL DECOMMISSIONING APPROACH FOCUSED ON THE TURNOVER OR SELF-DESTRUCTION OF IRA "PRODUCT" IS NOT/NOT GOING TO OCCUR, AT LEAST IN ANY TIMEFRAME THAT COULD SAVE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. NEW THINKING IS NEEDED, AND WE BELIEVE THE GOI APPROACH MAY HAVE SOME CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

- YOU SHOULD SEEK AHERN'S VIEWS ON NEXT STEP TO REESTABLISH THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS AND MOVE PAST THE CURRENT DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE.

ISSUES WE SHOULD RAISE

STATUS OF IRISH INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY REFORM

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 07 DUBLIN 001099

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8. (SBU) THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL IN OUR BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IS SWIFT ENACTMENT OF CURRENTLY PENDING LEGISLATION TO REFORM IRELAND'S INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS REGIME. IRELAND'S PRESENT IPR LEGISLATION FAILS TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS SET FORTH IN THE "TRIPS" AGREEMENT, WHICH IRELAND, AS A WTO MEMBER, SIGNED UP TO IN 1995. USTR INITIATED A WTO DISPUTE PANEL AGAINST IRELAND IN 1998 OVER DUBLIN'S FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT TRIPS-COMPLIANT IPR LEGISLATION. FOLLOWING A GOI PLEDGE TO ENACT SUCH LEGISLATION BY JANUARY 1999, USTR STAYED ITS WTO PANEL ACTION. UNFORTUNATELY, THE LEGISLATION IS STILL NOT ENACTED, DESPITE WHAT WE BELIEVE IS A GOOD FAITH EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE GOI TO MEET THE COMMITMENT AHERN HIMSELF MADE TO YOU IN YOUR MARCH 1999 MEETING. IRISH OFFICIALS CONTACTED ME THIS WEEK TO SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT EXPECTS THE BILL TO FINALLY PASS WITHIN ONE OR TWO MONTHS. IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW, THAT IS A BEST CASE SCENARIO AND WOULD REQUIRE PERSONAL INTERVENTION FROM AHERN IN THE PROCESS. PARTS OF THE BILL HAVE GENERATED OPPOSITION FROM PUB OWNERS, A POTENT POLITICAL FORCE, THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHICH HAS SERVED TO SLOW ITS PROGRESS.

9. (SBU) AHERN IS AWARE THAT USTR IS IN THE MIDST OF THE "SECTION 301" IPR REVIEW PROCESS AND MAY DECIDE TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST IRELAND, INCLUDING THE RESTARTING OF THE

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WTO PANEL ACTION. OUR VIEW IS THAT THE GOI IS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH TO MOVE THE BILL THROUGH PARLIAMENT (THOUGH TACTICAL ERRORS IN ITS LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY HAVE SLOWED PASSAGE) AND THAT RESUMING THE WTO PANEL ACTION WILL ONLY SLOW DOWN DAIL ACTION. USTR IS OF SIMILAR VIEW AND, DEPENDING ON WHERE THE LEGISLATION IS BY EARLY-APRIL, WILL LIKELY PUT IRELAND ON A PRIORITY WATCH LIST AT MOST.

10. (SBU) YOUR MEETING IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO UNDERSCORE THE MESSAGE WE ARE DELIVERING HERE IN DUBLIN: THE U.S. IS VERY DISAPPOINTED AT THE SLOW PROGRESS OF THE IPR BILL; WE EXPECT THE GOI TO MEET ITS COMMITMENTS TO USTR AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. OUR FRUSTRATION STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT THE LEGISLATION, AS IT NOW STANDS, IS A MODEL FOR IPR PROTECTION AND ENFORCEMENT AROUND THE WORLD. WE UNDERSTAND THAT A BILL OF SUCH SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE DESERVES AND REQUIRES FULL PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE, BUT WE EXPECT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO HONOR ITS PLEDGES TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT -- AND TO OTHER EU NATIONS AS WELL, WHICH ARE PRESSING IRELAND FOR ACTION. AHERN MAY ASK WHAT POSITION THE DEPARTMENT WILL TAKE ON USTR SECTION 301 ACTION. AT THIS TIME, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT SHOULD DEPEND ON CONTINUING FOCUS OF ATTENTION ON MOVING THE BILL FORWARD AND THE STATUS OF THE LEGISLATION BY EARLY APRIL.

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE/ESDI
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11. (C) AFTER A LENGTHY DEBATE OVER THE IMPLICATIONS OF PFP MEMBERSHIP FOR IRISH NEUTRALITY, IRELAND FINALLY JOINED THE PARTNERSHIP IN DECEMBER 1999. AS WE HAD ANTICIPATED, THE PFP ISSUE DROPPED FROM PUBLIC DEBATE ABOUT FIVE MINUTES AFTER THE FINAL DECISION WAS TAKEN. IRELAND WILL RAMP UP ITS PFP PARTICIPATION SLOWLY OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS SO AS NOT TO RE-IGNITE PUBLIC CONCERN AND BECAUSE THE SMALL IRISH MILITARY IS ALREADY OVER-STRETCHED MEETING ITS INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS IN SOUTH LEBANON, THE BALKANS, EAST TIMOR AND ELSEWHERE. THE IRISH ARE HOPEFUL THAT A POSSIBLE WINDING DOWN OF THE UNIFIL OPERATION IN LEBANON, FOLLOWING AN ISRAELI MILITARY WITHDRAWAL THIS SUMMER, WILL PROVIDE MORE FLEXIBILITY FOR FUTURE PFP PARTICIPATION. YOU SHOULD WELCOME IRELAND'S DECISION TO JOIN PFP AND ENCOURAGE AS ACTIVE AN ENGAGEMENT AS IRISH RESOURCES WILL ALLOW. WE SEE A PARTICULAR ROLE FOR IRELAND IN SHARING ITS PEACEKEEPING EXPERTISE WITH OTHER PARTNERS.

- YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT WE LOOK FORWARD TO IRELAND'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE PARTNERSHIP REVIEW PROCESS (PARP) FOR DEFENSE PLANNING.

12. (C) THE MORE CONGENT ISSUE FOR THE IRISH OF LATE HAS BEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY WITHIN THE EU. ON ESDI/ESDP ISSUES THE IRISH ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE "NEUTRALITY" ISSUE AND HAVE FOUND, WITH THE OTHER EUROPEAN NEUTRALS, THAT THE BEST WAY TO PRESERVE THEIR OWN POSITION IS TO BE STRONGLY TRANSATLANTICIST IN THIS DEBATE, FOCUSING ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING NATO'S PRIMACY. SPECIFICALLY, IRELAND IS ABSOLUTELY OPPOSED TO ANY ARTICLE V TYPE COMMITMENTS IN THE EU CONTEXT AND IS HIGHLY SUSPICIOUS OF
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FRENCH MOTIVES IN THE ENTIRE ESDI/ESDP EXERCISE. DUBLIN REGULARLY PUTS DOWN STRONG MARKERS IN EU COUNCILS THAT THE EU "HEADLINE GOAL" FORCE SHOULD NOT AND CANNOT CONSTITUTE AN EMBRYONIC "EU ARMY." RATHER INCONGRUOUSLY FOR AN EU, NON-NATO MEMBER, THE IRISH ARE ADAMANT THAT ANY EU FORCE PLANNING TAKE PLACE SQUARELY IN NATO/PFP CHANNELS AND NOT IN THE NEW ESDP STRUCTURES. WHILE THE GOI DOES NOT SEE ANY IRISH STAKE IN THE STATUS OF NON-EU NATO ALLIES WITHIN ESDP, THEY UNDERSTAND OUR OBJECTIVE OF ENSURING THE NATO-6 ARE APPROPRIATELY PLUGGED INTO EU PLANNING AND DECISION SHAPING IN THIS FIELD. YOU SHOULD ENCOURAGE IRELAND'S OWN GOOD INSTINCTS ON ESDI, ESPECIALLY TO URGE THEM TO BE AN ACTIVE VOICE WITHIN THE EU FOR THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF NATO-EU LINKS. YOU CAN ANTICIPATE THE TAOISEACH AHERN WILL WANT YOUR ASSESSMENT OF FRENCH MOTIVES IN THE ESDI/ESDP PROCESS.

UN ARREARAGES AND SCALE REFORM
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13. (C) THE GOI IS NOT HAPPY IN PRINCIPLE WITH THE CONDITIONALITY ON SCALE REFORM CONTAINED IN U.S. LEGISLATION ON UN ARREARAGES, BUT HAS SLOWLY MOVED TO A MORE PRAGMATIC POSITION, RECOGNIZING THAT THE LONG-TERM HEALTH OF THE UN DEPENDS ON STRONG U.S. ENGAGEMENT. WE BELIEVE THAT IRELAND WOULD ACCEPT SCALE REFORM LINKED TO U.S. ARREARAGE PAYMENTS PROVIDED THE REDISTRIBUTED BURDEN DOES NOT FALL DISPROPORTIONATELY ON EU COUNTRIES. THAT SAID, THE IRISH INCLINATION ON THIS ISSUE WILL BE TO REMAIN RELATIVELY PASSIVE IN EU DEBATES AND TO FOLLOW THE EU CONSENSUS, WHATEVER IT MIGHT BE (AN IRISH TENDENCY NOT LIMITED TO THIS ISSUE).

- YOU SHOULD ENCOURAGE AHERN TO TAKE A MORE PROACTIVE ROLE ON THIS QUESTION, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE CENTRAL POSITION THE UN HOLDS IN IRISH FOREIGN POLICY.

- WHILE WE WILL NOT EXCHANGE SUPPORT FOR IRELAND'S SECURITY COUNCIL CANDIDACY FOR 2001-2002 FOR SUPPORT ON ARREARAGES, WE CAN NOTE THAT A SUPPORTIVE AND ACTIVE IRISH APPROACH ON SCALE REFORM WOULD DEMONSTRATE THE GOI'S BONA FIDES AS A SERIOUS AND FORWARD LOOKING COUNCIL CANDIDATE.

KOSOVO/STABILITY PACT
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14. (C) TAOISEACH AHERN, AT SOME POLITICAL RISK, WAS AMONG THE MOST VOCAL SUPPORTERS OUTSIDE OF NATO OF THE AIR CAMPAIGN IN KOSOVO (HE OFFERED IRELAND'S "UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT" FOR THE NATO MISSION). IRELAND HAS ALSO STEPPED UP ON THE GROUND PUTTING 100 TROOPS AND OVER 30 VEHICLES INTO KFOR. THE IRISH, WHILE SUPPORTIVE OF THE EU LIFTING OF THE FLIGHT BAN AND THE "ENERGY FOR DEMOCRACY" PROJECT, HAS BEEN RIGOROUS IN APPLYING SERBIAN SANCTIONS AND ESTABLISHING LEGAL AND CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR VIOLATORS, EVEN THOUGH THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN IRELAND AND SERBIA. UNFORTUNATELY, IRELAND WAS

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CONSTRAINED FROM MEETING INTERNATIONAL REQUESTS TO PROVIDE POLICE IN KOSOVO BY ITS SELF-IMPOSED POLICY OF NOT PROVIDING ARMED CIVILIAN POLICE ABROAD (CIVIL POLICE ARE UNARMED IN IRELAND). THIS CONDITION HAS BEEN AN IMPEDIMENT TO IRISH PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION. THE TAOISEACH WILL LIKELY SEEK AN UPDATE ON THE STATUS AND FUTURE OF THE KOSOVO MISSION. YOU SHOULD WELCOME IRELAND'S PARTICIPATION IN KFOR.

- GIVEN THE HIGH QUALITY OF IRISH CIVIL POLICING AND THE GROWING NEED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE PRESENCE IN AREAS OF CONFLICT, YOU MAY WANT TO THANK THE TAOISEACH FOR SENDING POLICE TO BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND URGE HIM TO REVIEW IRELAND'S POLICY OF NOT SENDING ARMED POLICE TO INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS.

15. (C) IRELAND IS FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE STABILITY PACT'S GOALS AND HAS PARTICIPATED IN ALL THE ROUNDTABLES AND WORKSHOPS. THE IRISH WILL NOT BALK AT SUPPORT TO STABILITY PACT ACTIVITIES THROUGH THE EU, BUT DO TEND TO SEE THIS AS AN EU, NOT A BILATERAL MATTER, ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF FUNDING. NONETHELESS, IF THERE ARE SPECIFIC, CONCRETE PROJECTS TO WHICH AN INJECTION OF A REASONABLE AMOUNT OF DIRECT IRISH ASSISTANCE WOULD BE MEANINGFUL, WE SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO RAISE THEM WITH THE TAOISEACH.

NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE
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16. (C) AS ONE OF THE ORIGINAL SPONSORS OF THE NPT TREATY,
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IRELAND FEELS A SENSE OF OWNERSHIP OF THE PROCESS. THE IRISH WILL BE STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF MOST U.S. NON-PROLIFERATION GOALS AT THE REVCON, BUT WILL ALSO BE AMONG THOSE MOST CRITICAL OF U.S.-RUSSIAN EFFORTS ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS. IN FACT, THE IRISH VIEW, TOGETHER WITH THOSE OF LIKE-MINDED STATES LIKE SWEDEN, THAT THE U.S., RUSSIA AND OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS WERE NOT DOING ENOUGH, LED DIRECTLY TO THE "NEW AGENDA FOR DISARMAMENT" PROPOSALS WITHIN THE UN. DOD PRINCIPAL DASD FRANK MILLER, WILL BE DISCUSSING NPT ISSUES WITH SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS IN DUBLIN MARCH 13. IT MAY BE USEFUL, HOWEVER, FOR THE TAOISEACH TO HEAR OUR BROAD GOALS FOR THE REVCON AND TO TAKE NOTE OF THE DRAMATIC REDUCTIONS CARRIED OUT BY BOTH U.S. AND RUSSIAN NUCLEAR FORCES OVER THE PAST@"URITY COUNCIL SEAT FOR 2001-2002 AND HAS MADE IT A TOP PRIORITY FOREIGN POLICY GOAL FOR THIS YEAR. WITHIN WEOG, THE IRISH ARE COMPETING AGAINST NORWAY AND ITALY FOR TWO SEATS. THEY WERE LAST ON THE COUNCIL IN 1981-82. FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREWS SPENT A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF THE PAST YEAR TRAVELING THE DEVELOPING WORLD TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR THE IRISH CANDIDACY. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT IRELAND WOULD BE A SOLID AND CONSCIENTIOUS UNSC MEMBER THAT WOULD WORK WELL WITH THE US DELEGATION AND ALL OF THE PERM-5. TAOISEACH AHERN

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MAY SEEK U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE IRISH CANDIDACY. (THE OTHER TWO CANDIDATES FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT ARE ITALY AND NORWAY. IRELAND HAS BEEN LOBBYING FOR THE SEAT AND RECENTLY SENT EMISSARIES TO THE OAU MEETING IN ADDIS ABABA. DUBLIN WILL LOBBY FURTHER AT THE EU-AFRICA MEETING IN CAIRO IN APRIL, AND THE TAOISEACH IS EXPECTED TO ATTEND OAU SUMMIT IN LOME IN JULY.)

- WITHOUT OFFERING ANY COMMITMENTS, YOU MAY WANT TO NOTE THAT WE WILL CERTAINLY BE LOOKING AT CANDIDATE COUNTRIES' POSITIONS ON ISSUES LIKE UN SCALE REFORM AS WE MAKE DECISIONS NEXT FALL.

EAST TIMOR
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19. (C) PRIME MINISTER AHERN IS COMING TO WASHINGTON DIRECTLY FROM AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO AUSTRALIA AND EAST TIMOR. HE WILL BE PREPARED TO GIVE YOU AN UPDATE ON THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND FOLLOWING HIS MEETINGS IN EAST TIMOR WITH UNTAET HEAD DE MELLO, PRESIDENT GUSMAO AND THE 40-PERSON STRONG IRISH RANGER BATTALION SERVING WITH INTERFET. WHILE THE IRISH TROOP CONTINGENT IS SMALL IN NUMBER, IT IS ON THE "HARD EDGE" OF THE MISSION WORKING IN DANGEROUS JUNGLE OPERATIONS. THE LEVEL OF IRISH DOMESTIC POLITICAL INTEREST IN EAST TIMOR IS SURPRISINGLY HIGH, AND DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE EMBASSY LAST YEAR CALLING FOR INTERNATIONAL (AND U.S.) INTERVENTION WERE THE LARGEST SEEN SINCE THE EARLY-1980'S WHEN U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA WAS THE ISSUE. MARKING THE IRISH INTEREST, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID ANDREWS SERVED AS THE EU'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON EAST TIMOR UNTIL LEAVING OFFICE IN JANUARY 2000. IRELAND HAS ALSO COMMITTED TO PROVIDING USD 1.3 MILLION IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PER YEAR, OVER AND ABOVE ITS CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH THE EU, FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS. AHERN WILL LIKELY SEEK AN UPDATE ON U.S. EFFORTS ON EAST TIMOR AND OUR THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE.

THE BORDER COUNTIES STILL NEED HELP
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20. (SBU) ONE CLOUD OVER THIS ROSY ECONOMIC PICTURE IS THAT THE BENEFITS OF THE GROWING ECONOMY HAVE NOT RAINED EVENLY OVER THE COUNTRY -- OVER TWO-THIRDS OF ALL THE JOBS CREATED IN THE 1990S WERE LOCATED IN DUBLIN, HOME TO JUST ONE-THIRD OF THE POPULATION. INCREASINGLY THE NORTHWEST REGION, AND THE COUNTIES THAT BORDER NORTHERN IRELAND, ARE AGITATING FOR MORE GOVERNMENT ACTION TO DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT TO THEIR REGIONS AND FOR GREATER GOVERNMENT SPENDING ON THEIR INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS. AHERN'S GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THESE REGIONS, AND THE BORDER COUNTIES IN PARTICULAR, WILL BE THE FOCUS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. THE GOI STILL FULLY SUPPORTS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S OWN FOCUS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CROSS-BORDER TRADE IN THE BORDER COUNTIES AND ARE SENSITIVE TO ANY SUGGESTION THAT IRELAND'S
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 06 OF 07 DUBLIN 001099

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/10
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP (AHERN, BERTIE), EI
SUBJECT: SCENESETTER FOR THE SECRETARY' ST. PATRICK'S DAY

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BREAKFAST WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN

ECONOMIC SUCCESS MEANS THERE IS NO FURTHER NEED FOR JIM LYONS, YOUR SPECIAL ADVISOR, THE U.S. COMMERCE DEPARTMENT, OR EMBASSY DUBLIN ITSELF TO FOCUS A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THEIR EFFORTS ON THE BORDER COUNTIES. IN FACT, THE BORDER COUNTIES REMAIN A FOCUS OF EMBASSY DUBLIN'S COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC WORK, AS WELL AS A PARTICULAR FOCUS OF MY OWN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY EFFORTS.

21. (SBU) THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN DEVELOPING THE BORDER REGION IS THE REASON WHY, AFTER SOME INITIAL HESITATION WITHIN THE IRISH EMPLOYMENT TRAINING AGENCY, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS EMBRACED THE "WALSH VISA" PROGRAM. THIS PROGRAM TARGETS LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES AND PROVIDES FOR EMPLOYMENT TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE IN THE U.S., AFTER WHICH THE PARTICIPANTS RETURN TO JOBS BACK IN THEIR LOCAL COMMUNITIES. THE FIRST PARTICIPANTS FROM THE BORDER COUNTIES WILL TRAVEL TO THE U.S. WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH OR SO. THE WALSH PROGRAM IS A MAJOR ALLOCATION OF EMBASSY DUBLIN RESOURCES, AS WELL AS THOSE OF EUR/UBI, AND REPRESENTS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS THROUGH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

- YOU CAN USEFULLY MAKE THIS POINT, IF THE PRIME MINISTER RAISES THE ISSUE OF U.S. COMMITMENT TO CROSS-BORDER DEVELOPMENT.

U.S.-EU TRADE DISPUTES

22. (SBU) IRELAND HAS ANXIOUSLY WATCHED AS THE RHETORIC AND RETALIATION SURROUNDING THE SEVERAL CURRENT U.S.-EU TRADE DISPUTES -- BANANAS, HUSHKITS, BEEF HORMONES -- HAS RISEN OVER THE PAST YEAR. THE RECENT WTO FINDING AGAINST THE U.S. IN THE "FSC" CASE, WHICH MAY AFFECT THE LARGE U.S. CORPORATE PRESENCE IN IRELAND, HAS ADDED TO DUBLIN'S CONCERNS. IN MANY WAYS, IRELAND'S TRADING INTERESTS IN THESE DISPUTES LIE MORE WITH THE U.S. THAN ITS EU PARTNERS. YET, DESPITE IRELAND'S OWN INTERESTS AND LACK OF REAL STAKE IN MOST OF THESE DISPUTES, DUBLIN HAS NOT BEEN AS HELPFUL WITHIN THE EU AS WE WOULD EXPECT. WE SHOULD USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS TO AHERN THAT THE U.S. LOOKS TO IRELAND TO PLAY A HELPFUL AND SUPPORTIVE ROLE IN RESOLVING THESE DISPUTES IN BRUSSELS, ESPECIALLY AS THE GROWING U.S.-IRISH TRADE RELATIONSHIP COULD SUFFER, SHOULD THEY NOT BE RESOLVED.

- IN PARTICULAR, WE WOULD HOPE IRELAND, WHICH BENEFITS SO GREATLY FROM U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT, COULD PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE WITHIN THE EU IN EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE FSC ISSUE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WTO RULING.

IRISH SUPPORT FOR BIOTECH

23. (SBU) YOUR MEETING IS ALSO AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRAISE THE AHERN GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO FOLLOW SOME OF ITS EU PARTNERS WHO HAVE BLOCKED GENETICALLY MODIFIED PRODUCTS FROM SUPERMARKET SHELVES. THE GOI ANNOUNCED JUST LAST MONTH A 25 MILLION IRISH POUND PROGRAM TO FUND BIOTECH RESEARCH CENTERS, AND BUSINESS INCUBATORS, AT LEADING IRISH UNIVERSITIES. AHERN'S MINISTER FOR THE ENVIRONMENT RELEASED A GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER LAST YEAR WHICH CALLED BIOTECHNOLOGY A KEY COMPONENT OF IRISH ECONOMIC GROWTH

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AND RECOMMENDED CONTINUING GM CROP TRIALS AND MARKETING OF GM-PRODUCTS IN IRELAND. A FINAL GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON GMO POLICY WILL BE RELEASED LATER THIS YEAR. AHERN DESERVES SOME CREDIT ON THE ISSUE. DUBLIN STILL WILL NOT BREAK WITH ITS EU PARTNERS OVER THE CURRENT FREEZE ON GM PRODUCT APPROVALS DESPITE THE NEGATIVE IMPACT THAT FREEZE IS HAVING ON BIOTECH DEVELOPMENT. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE GOI'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE BIOTECHNOLOGY, AND PERHAPS SALVE ANY LINGERING ILL-WILL FROM AHERN'S 1998 VISIT TO WASHINGTON, DURING WHICH WE PUSHED HARD FOR HIM TO ALLOW IRELAND TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF GMO-PRODUCTS THEN AWAITING EU APPROVAL. AHERN DID AGREE TO OUR REQUEST AND IRELAND DID CHANGE ITS VOTE, BUT NOT WITHOUT SOME POLITICAL FALLOUT.

IRISH COOPERATION ON TERRORISM
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24. YOU MAY RECALL SHORTLY PRIOR TO CHRISTMAS THE IRISH POLICE ARRESTED AND DETAINED FOR A SHORT TIME A GROUP OF ISLAMIC REFUGEE AND ASYLUM SEEKERS. THIS WAS A RESULT OF JOINT INTELLIGENCE EFFORTS AND WAS A SIGNIFICANT OPERATION AT A CRITICAL TIME IN THE CONTEST OF THE WORLDWIDE TERRORIST THREAT. YOUR MEETING WOULD PRESENT AN OPPORTUNITY TO (A) EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION FOR THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 07 OF 07 DUBLIN 001099

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/18/10
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP (AHERN, BERTIE), EI
SUBJECT: SCENESETTER FOR THE SECRETARY' ST. PATRICK'S DAY BREAKFAST WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER AHERN

EFFORTS OF THE GARDA (NATIONAL POLICE) AND THE MILITARY AND (B) TO INITIATE A DISCUSSION, WHICH THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IS IMPORTANT, REGARDING ENHANCEMENT OF LAWS RELATING TO DETENTION AND DEPORTATION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS WHO MAY PRESENT SECURITY RISKS. WE BELIEVE IRELAND, IF NOT CAREFUL, COULD RISK BECOMING A SAFE HAVEN FOR UNSAVORY SECURITY RISKS. THIS WOULD BE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN GIVEN THE LEVEL OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC AND CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN IRELAND. THE EMBASSY IF PREPARED TO COORDINATE AN EFFORT TO ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT IN HELPING BOTH POLITICIANS AND CITIZENS TO UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY OF THE POTENTIAL PROBLEM AND TO ASSIST IN HELPING ESTABLISH BEST PRACTICES FOR NEW LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES.

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SUBJ: ST PATRICK'S WEEK IN WASHINGTON: WHAT TO EXPECT FROM POLITICIANS AND THE GOVERNMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

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TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 001974

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND
S/P FOR O'BRIEN
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EXDIS

THIS IS A JOINT BELFAST-DUBLIN-LONDON MESSAGE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/13/10
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: ST PATRICK'S WEEK IN WASHINGTON: WHAT TO EXPECT FROM POLITICIANS AND THE GOVERNMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

(U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM GLYN DAVIES, FOR REASONS 1.5 (B,D).

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY
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1. (C) THE CRISIS TRIGGERED BY THE SUSPENSION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS ON FEBRUARY 11 HAS OVERSHADOWED THE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS MADE OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS IN ESTABLISHING THE CONDITIONS FOR PERMANENT PEACE, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE, AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICIANS WILL COME TO THE ST. PATRICK'S DAY EVENTS IN WASHINGTON DISCOURAGED AND WITH LOW EXPECTATIONS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. THERE IS A SENSE OF PESSIMISM AS THE PARTIES DIG INTO POLARIZED POSITIONS. SINN FEIN INSISTS THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL TAKE PLACE WHEN PEOPLE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN FULLY FUNCTIONING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND CRITICIZES THE BRITISH DECISION TO SUSPEND THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE. THE UNIONISTS ARE ADAMANT THAT THEY WILL NOT RETURN TO THE INSTITUTIONS WITHOUT TANGIBLE PROGRESS ON IRA DECOMMISSIONING.

2. (C) THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS ARE CO-SPONSORING ALL-PARTY TALKS, BUT THEY OFFER DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THE BEST WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE. THE IRISH BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REDEFINE THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE IN ORDER TO

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SET AN ACHIEVABLE GOAL (FOR EXAMPLE "PUTTING WEAPONS BEYOND USE" VERSUS "DELIVERING PRODUCT") FOR THE IRA. THE BRITISH SUGGEST THEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO ACCEPT A LESS RIGID DEFINITION OF DECOMMISSIONING AND HAVE SAID THEY ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER INITIATIVES (SUCH AS A RECONCILIATION DAY) THAT COULD GIVE THE IRA THE "POLITICAL COVER" IT NEEDS TO OFFER SOMETHING ON DECOMMISSIONING. WE BELIEVE THESE APPROACHES MIGHT BE RECONCILED INTO A STRATEGY FORWARD, BUT SUCCESS WILL DEPEND ON THE TWO GOVERNMENTS PUTTING THEIR DIFFERENCES BEHIND THEM, THE IRA OFFERING CLEAR ASSURANCES, AND THE UNIONISTS ACCEPTING WHAT THE IRA CAN GIVE AS ENOUGH.

3. (C) IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT SOON, THE IMPASSE COULD LAST FOR MONTHS OR EVEN YEARS. RECENT VIOLENCE BY DISSIDENT PARAMILITARIES THREATENS TO UNDERMINE THE FRAGILE PEACE THAT HAS EXISTED SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. SO FAR, BUSINESS LEADERS AND THE PUBLIC HAVE NOT FOUND THEIR VOICE -- A WAY TO INSIST THAT THE PARTIES DELIVER WHAT THEY WANT -- A RETURN TO DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. IF THERE IS PROTRACTED DELAY IN RESOLVING THE IMPASSE, THE LOSERS WILL BE THE MODERATE, CENTRIST PARTIES LEADERS AND THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

VIEW FROM BELFAST: THE PARTIES DIG IN

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4. (C) ONE OFFICIAL FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (NIO) OBSERVED IN LATE FEBRUARY, AFTER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND PETER MANDELSON SUSPENDED THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS, THAT THE REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS HAD ONCE AGAIN MANAGED TO BOX THEMSELVES INTO A SET OF "MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE PRE-CONDITIONS" TO PROGRESS. SINCE THEN, THE PARTIES HAVE BECOME MORE POLARIZED AND THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT HAS BECOME MORE CONTENTIOUS. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN AN INCREASE IN TERRORIST-TYPE INCIDENTS. THE PERCEPTION THAT POLITICS CANNOT DELIVER AND THE REALITY OF PARAMILITARIES ON THE PROWL THREATENS TO DESTABILIZE THE FRAGILE, PEACEFUL POLITICAL BALANCE DEVELOPED OVER THE TWO YEARS SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT.

SINN FEIN: IT WASN'T SUPPOSED TO BE LIKE THIS

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5. (C) SINN FEIN (SF) BLAMES SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND PETER MANDELSON, WHOM IT ACCUSES OF FOLLOWING THE UNIONIST AGENDA, FOR THE SUSPENSION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS. THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP INSISTS IT HAS ACTED IN GOOD FAITH IN ENCOURAGING PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND ARGUES THAT DECOMMISSIONING WILL OCCUR WHEN PEOPLE HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WILL WORK FOR THEM. SF INSISTS ON RESTORATION OF THE SUSPENDED INSTITUTIONS BEFORE THERE IS FURTHER DISCUSSION OF DECOMMISSIONING.

6. (C) GERRY ADAMS AND OTHER SINN FEIN LEADERS APPEAR TO HAVE MISCALCULATED. THEY APPARENTLY EITHER BELIEVED THAT SUPPORT FOR THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS WOULD KEEP THE UUP IN GOVERNMENT EVEN WITHOUT DECOMMISSIONING OR THOUGHT THEY COULD COAX ENOUGH MOVEMENT FROM THE IRA TO AVOID SUSPENSION. THE SUSPENSION CAUGHT THE SINN FEIN LEADERS OFF-GUARD AND THEY STRUCK OUT. IN ONE TELLING POST-SUSPENSION MOMENT, ADAMS SAID PUBLICLY HE REGARDED THE MITCHELL REVIEW AS A MISTAKE. SINN FEIN VEERED IN DIFFERENT TACTICAL DIRECTIONS

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FOLLOWING THE SUSPENSION (AT DIFFERENT TIMES CALLING FOR STREET PROTESTS, DEMANDING A NEW AGREEMENT, AND THREATENING TO RESIGN), BUT ITS LEADERS NOW APPEAR TO ACCEPT THERE WILL BE NO QUICK FIX AND TO BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS SPONSORED BY DUBLIN AND LONDON.

7. (C) SINN FEIN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IS FEELING PRESSURE FROM MORE MILITANT REPUBLICANS. EVIDENCE OF RENEWED DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY HAS CREATED CONCERN AMONG THE MEDIA AND SECURITY SERVICES. BRITISH SECURITY EXPERTS TELL US THE RADICAL SPLINTER PARAMILITARY REAL IRA IS GAINING STRENGTH AS IT BECOMES MORE ACTIVE IN FORMER STRONGHOLDS OF THE PROVISIONAL IRA. PERHAPS EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT, SOME HARD-LINE REPUBLICANS ARE ATTEMPTING TO ARTICULATE A POLITICAL PLATFORM OPPOSED TO SINN FEIN'S.

8. (C) "REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN," ESSENTIALLY THE POLITICAL WING OF THE REAL IRA, HAS ESTABLISHED AN OFFICE IN WEST BELFAST. ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS SHOULD BE ABLE TO WARD OFF ANY IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES TO THEIR MODERATE (IN THE REPUBLICAN CONTEXT) POLITICAL DIRECTION, ALTHOUGH IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH U.S. OFFICIALS IN DUBLIN THEY, FOR THE FIRST TIME, SEEMED GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT BOTH THEIR POLITICAL POSITION AND THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY. THESE PRESSURES WILL MAKE THEM LESS AMENABLE TO THE KINDS OF COMPROMISES NEEDED TO RESTART THE GOVERNING PROCESS. FURTHER, IT WILL INCREASE THE NEURALGIA ADAMS AND ASSOCIATES FEEL AT ANY NOTION OF ANOTHER REPUBLICAN SPLIT. UNDER PRESSURE, SINN FEIN LEADERS HAVE REACTED PREDICTABLY - IN PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC. WE WERE TOLD THAT, AT THE MARCH 8 BELFAST ROUNDTABLE CHAIRED BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS, SINN FEIN CONTINUED TO FIND FAULT WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR "UNILATERALLY AND UNFAIRLY" SUSPENDING THE EXECUTIVE AND ASSEMBLY.

UUP - STILL A STATUS-QUO PARTY
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9. (C) THE UUP INSISTS THAT UNIONISTS HAVE FULFILLED THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW AND THAT IT IS UP TO THE REPUBLICANS TO MAKE THE NEXT MOVE, I.E. DECOMMISSION. THE UNIONIST LEADERSHIP SAYS TANGIBLE PROGRESS TOWARD DECOMMISSIONING IS NECESSARY BEFORE THE UUP WILL REENTER GOVERNMENT.

10. (C) MANY RANK-AND-FILE UNIONISTS DO NOT LAMENT THE RETURN OF DIRECT RULE. MOST ARE RELIEVED THAT SF LEADER MARTIN MCGUINNESS IS NO LONGER EDUCATION MINISTER, AND THEY CONTINUE TO INSIST ON THE NEED TO DECOMMISSION. CONSEQUENTLY, THE UUP LEADERSHIP FEEL THEMSELVES UNDER LESS PRESSURE THAN SF. UUP LEADER AND NI FIRST SECRETARY DAVID TRIMBLE IS NEVERTHELESS ACUTELY CONSCIOUS OF ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES IN HIS PARTY, ESPECIALLY AS THE UUP ALSO PREPARES FOR ITS ANNUAL GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING MARCH 25, WHICH WILL ENDORSE (OR SELECT NEW) CANDIDATES FOR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. IF THEY FOLLOW THEIR PREVIOUS PATTERN, THE UUP HARD-LINERS ARE NOT EXPECTED TO INITIATE A COUP, BUT WOULD REVOLT IF TRIMBLE WERE TO SUGGEST GIVING WAY ON A REQUIREMENT FOR ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING.

11. (C) BUT TRIMBLE'S STAUNCH POSTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING SHOULD NOT BE SEEN MERELY AS A RESPONSE TO HARD-LINE PRESSURE. HE AND HIS SUPPORTERS APPEAR GENUINELY DISILLUSIONED WITH THE EVENTS OF EARLY FEBRUARY. IN THEIR MINDS, SINN FEIN BREACHED A FIRM UNDERSTANDING ON THE

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SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AGREED ON DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW AND THEREBY BROKE FAITH, DELIBERATELY DECEIVING THEM.

SDLP - CAUGHT IN MIDDLE AGAIN

12. (C) THE MODERATE NATIONALIST SDLP BELIEVES SUSPENSION WAS A MISTAKE AND IS SEEKING RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS, LARGELY ON THE BASIS OF THE SECOND REPORT OF THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING. SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME ARGUES THAT THE REPORT PROVIDED ADEQUATE CONFIRMATION THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT REMAINED ON TRACK TO KEEP THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE.

13. (C) THE SDLP DILEMMA AGAIN DEMONSTRATES HOW UNTENABLE THE MIDDLE GROUND CAN BE IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL SCENE. CAUGHT IN A CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO PRINCIPLES, INCLUSION AND DECOMMISSIONING, THE SDLP HAS TRIED TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN SINN FEIN AND THE UUP. INSTEAD, THE PARTY'S LEADERS HAVE DELIVERED MIXED MESSAGES. IN A SPEECH AT WESTMINSTER THE WEEK BEFORE SUSPENSION, DEPUTY SDLP LEADER SEAMUS MALLON CALLED FOR THE IRA TO ANSWER TWO SIMPLE QUESTIONS (WILL THE IRA DECOMMISSION? IF SO, WHEN?). HUME AND MALLON NEVERTHELESS CRITICIZED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO SUSPEND THE INSTITUTIONS EVEN THOUGH THOSE TWO QUESTIONS REMAINED UNANSWERED.

14. (C) AS THE PRINCIPLED MODERATES IN AN ARENA OF POLITICAL POLARIZATION, THE SDLP HAS SEEN SINN FEIN EAT AWAY AT ITS MAJORITY DURING RECENT YEARS. UNFORTUNATELY, SUSPENSION REINFORCES FOR MANY NATIONALISTS THE RADICAL MESSAGE THAT POLITICS WILL FAIL.

VIEW FROM DUBLIN: NEW THINKING IS NEEDED

15. (C) PETER MANDELSON'S DECISION TO SUSPEND THE DEVOLVED NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS BOTH SURPRISED AND ANGERED THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND AND LED TO A PERIOD OF MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS BETWEEN DUBLIN AND LONDON THAT SERVED NO ONE'S INTERESTS. THE AHERN GOVERNMENT THOUGHT THAT THE ELEVENTH-HOUR IRA OFFER TO "CONSIDER WAYS TO PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE" AND THE SECOND, MORE POSITIVE REPORT FROM THE DE CHASTELAIN DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION WERE SUFFICIENT TO, AT A MINIMUM, POSTPONE A DECISION ON SUSPENSION. THE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS REFLECTED A STARK DIFFERENCE IN PRIORITIES. DUBLIN PUT HIGHEST
PRIORITY ON SAVING THE INSTITUTIONS AND WAS WILLING TO SEE DAVID TRIMBLE RESIGN IF NECESSARY, WHILE LONDON SAW SAVING TRIMBLE'S MODERATE LEADERSHIP AS ESSENTIAL. THE BRITISH BELIEVED THEY COULD DEAL WITH THE AFTERMATH OF SUSPENSION. THE GOI CONTINUES TO ASSERT THAT IT NEVER AGREED TO SUSPENSION AND QUESTIONS THE LEGALITY OF MANDELSON'S DECISION UNDER THE TERMS OF THE BRITISH-IRISH AGREEMENT THAT REQUIRES BOTH GOVERNMENTS' CONSENT.

16. (C) A MONTH AFTER THE SUSPENSION, THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS SEEMED TO HAVE PUT THE BLAME GAME BEHIND THEM. HELPED BY THE MARCH 7-8 VISIT OF DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR JIM STEINBERG TO BELFAST, THE GOVERNMENTS SEEM COMMITTED TO GETTING THE PROCESS MOVING. THEY HOSTED ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS IN BELFAST THE SAME WEEK IN WHICH THE

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PARTIES INDICATED THAT THEY ARE AT LEAST WILLING TO TALK TO EACH OTHER. THE GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON, THOUGH THEY KNOW NOT TO EXPECT A ST PATRICK'S DAY BREAKTHROUGH.

17. (C) THE PROBLEM REMAINS THAT THE BRITISH AND THE IRISH DO NOT HAVE AN AGREED STRATEGY FOR BREAKING THE CURRENT IMPASSE. THE AHERN GOVERNMENT INCREASINGLY BELIEVES THAT A NEW APPROACH IS NEEDED IF THE ARMS ISSUE IS EVER GOING TO BE RESOLVED. DUBLIN NOW CLEARLY THINKS THAT THE HAND-OVER OR DESTRUCTION OF IRA WEAPONS, AS DEMANDED BY THE UNIONISTS, IS SIMPLY NOT GOING TO HAPPEN WITHIN ANY TIMEFRAME THAT WOULD SAVE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. DUBLIN BELIEVES THE CLEAR MESSAGE FROM THE ADAMS/MCGUINNESS LEADERSHIP IS THAT THE IRA GRASSROOTS WILL SIMPLY NOT SUPPORT THIS. ANY EFFORT BY THE IRA LEADERSHIP TO IMPOSE DECOMMISSIONING WOULD LEAD TO LARGE SCALE DEFECTIONS TO DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN GROUPS, SUCH AS THE REAL IRA, WHO ARE NOT COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING THE CEASEFIRE.

18. (C) BASED ON THIS ANALYSIS, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, FROM TAOISEACH ON DOWN, AND THE IRISH PRESS ARE PRESSING FOR SOME RELATIONSHIP -- THOUGH NOT ANY EXPLICIT LINKAGE -- BETWEEN THE IRA OFFER TO DE CHASTELAIN TO CONSIDER "PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE" AND BRITISH DEMILITARIZATION OR NORMALIZATION, ESPECIALLY IN THE KEY AREA OF SOUTH ARMAGH. AHERN HAS FLOATED THE NOTION OF AN IRA COMMITMENT TO "DISBAND" AND "DUMP ARMS," ONCE SUFFICIENT POLITICAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO DECOMMISSIONING. NO MATTER WHAT APPROACH IS TAKEN ON ARMS, HOWEVER, THE GOI ALSO ARGUES THAT POLICE REFORM AND THE "EQUALITY AGENDA" MUST GO FORWARD. GOI OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THEY HAVE GROWING CONCERNS THAT THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING WATERING DOWN THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS ON CHANGING THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC) NAME AND SYMBOLS. IF THIS WERE TO OCCUR, THE IRISH TELL US, THE GOOD FRIDAY PROCESS WOULD BE EFFECTIVELY DEAD FOR THE REPULICAN COMMUNITY AND FOR MANY NATIONALISTS.

19. (C) TAOISEACH AHERN SIGNALED THIS NEW APPROACH AT THE FIANNA FAIL'S MARCH 4 PARTY CONFERENCE WHEN HE SAID "IF DEMOCRACY IS TO FLOURISH, IF INCLUSIVE PARTNERSHIP GOVERNMENT IS TO BE SUSTAINED, THEN ALL THE ARMIES MUST BE STOOD DOWN." BRITISH OFFICIALS OBJECTED IMMEDIATELY TO THE STATEMENT, CLAIMING THAT IT EQUATED THE TERRORIST IRA WITH THE LEGITIMATE BRITISH ARMY. AHERN CLARIFIED HIS REMARKS THE NEXT DAY TO STRESS THAT THIS HAD NOT BEEN HIS INTENT, BUT THE TAOISEACH REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE GENERAL APPROACH.

20. (C) EMBASSY DUBLIN UNDERSTANDS THE DIFFICULTY NEW THINKING ON DECOMMISSIONING REPRESENTS TO UNIONISM. WE NEVERTHELESS SHARE THE IRISH VIEW THAT THE TRADITIONAL DECOMMISSIONING APPROACH FOCUSED ON THE TURNOVER OR SELF-DESTRUCTION OF IRA "PRODUCT' IS NOT GOING TO SUCCEED, AT LEAST IN ANY TIMEFRAME THAT COULD SAVE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. NEW THINKING IS NEEDED, AND WE BELIEVE THE GOI APPROACH MAY HAVE SOME CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

VIEW FROM LONDON: THE UK NEEDS SOMETHING FROM THE IRA

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21. (C) SECRETARY OF STATE PETER MANDELSON WAS TAKEN ABACK BY THE REPUBLICANS' AND GOI'S ANGRY REACTION TO HIS DECISION

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TO SUSPEND THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS. HE HAD REPEATEDLY WARNED BEFOREHAND THAT HE WOULD MOVE TO SUSPEND IF THERE WAS NO MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE DID NOT SEE HIMSELF AS SAVING DAVID TRIMBLE, BUT AS SAVING THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS. HE WAS SHAKEN WHEN BOTH THE REPUBLICANS AND DUBLIN REJECTED HIS ARGUMENTS, AND HAS SPENT MUCH TIME AND ENERGY SINCE FEBRUARY 11 DEFENDING HIMSELF. HE AND DOWNING STREET ARE NOW, HOWEVER, FINALLY FOCUSED ON FINDING A WAY OUT THE IMPASSE TRIGGERED BY THE SUSPENSION. THEY ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER NEW OPTIONS, BUT WILL CONTINUE TO OPERATE WITHIN CERTAIN PARAMETERS.

22. (C) THE NIO AND DOWNING STREET INSIST THAT THE REPUBLICANS DID NOT LIVE UP TO THEIR SIDE OF THE AGREEMENT AT THE END OF THE MITCHELL REVIEW. HMG'S POSITION -- WHICH IS NOT LIKELY TO CHANGE -- IS THAT IN ORDER FOR SUSPENSION TO BE LIFTED, THERE MUST BE ENOUGH MOVEMENT OR "CLARITY" REGARDING THE IRA'S INTENTIONS ON DECOMMISSIONING TO ALLOW THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION TO SAY THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THAT THE IRA IS VERY UNLIKELY TO SATISFY THE UNIONISTS DEMAND FOR REAL DECOMMISSIONING "PRODUCT." THEY COULD APPARENTLY BE SATISFIED WITH SOMETHING LESS, BUT THEY WOULD NEED TO HAVE CLARITY -- AND CONFIDENCE THE IRA WOULD ACTUALLY DELIVER -- BEFORE TAKING THE POLITICALLY RISKY STEPS TO SET THE STAGE. THEY WANT TO AVOID ANOTHER "MISUNDERSTANDING" LIKE THE ONE OVER WHAT THE REPUBLICANS AGREED TO DO ON DECOMMISSIONING DURING THE MITCHELL REVIEW.

23. (C) THE BRITISH HAVE HEARD SINN FEIN FINN LEADERS' ARGUMENTS THAT PROGRESS ON NORMALIZATION OF THE BRITISH SECURITY PRESENCE (INCLUDING POLICE, MILITARY AND SECURITY SERVICES) IN NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE A PREREQUISITE TO ANY MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. NIO POLITICAL DIRECTOR BILL JEFFREY TOLD US MARCH 2 THAT, DESPITE CRITICISM IN THE PRO-UNIONIST PRESS, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REMAINS WILLING IN THEORY TO CONSIDER "AN ACT OF RECONCILIATION" IF THAT WOULD HELP, I.E. "IF POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES MADE IT ADVANTAGEOUS TO DO IT." HE DISCOUNTED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NIO AND MOD ON THIS ISSUE, ADDING THAT BOTH WOULD BE WILLING TO DO IT BUT ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT IT WOULD BE "BLOODY DIFFICULT."

24. (C) THE NIO HAS ALSO TOLD US THAT, WHETHER OR NOT THERE CAN BE ANY RECONCILIATION GESTURE, THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO MOVING AHEAD WITH "NORMALIZATION" OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AS CIRCUMSTANCES ALLOW. THE PRIME MINISTER'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR JOHN SAWERS CONFIRMED TO THE DCM MARCH 13 THAT THE BRITISH ARE PREPARED TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE SAID THE TAOISEACH'S REMARKS TO THE FIANNA FAIL ON MARCH 4 (WHICH SUGGESTED EQUIVALENCY BETWEEN THE IRA AND BRITISH MILITARY) JUST MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO TAKE STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION. THE NIO TOLD US MARCH 15 THEY WILL INTRODUCE LEGISLATION TO IMPLEMENT POLICE REFORMS WITHIN WEEKS AND THAT THE BILL WILL INCLUDE PROVISIONS TO CHANGE BOTH THE RUC NAME (TO THE POLICE SERVICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND) AND ITS SYMBOL.

25. (C) SAWERS STRESSED TO THE DCM THAT NORMALIZATION DEPENDS ON THE SECURITY SITUATION ON THE GROUND. HE REFERRED TO THE INCREASE IN ACTIVITIES BY DISSIDENT PARAMILITARIES, ADDING THAT "THE FORCES MUST RESPOND." ACCORDING TO SAWERS, ADAMS IS CONVINCED THAT THE SUSPENSION OF THE INSTITUTIONS HAS COST THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP SUPPORT FROM THE RANK AND FILE. SAWERS CLAIMED THE SINN FEIN LEADER HAD TOLD AHERN THAT "THE IRA IS CONTEMPLATING

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GOING BACK TO WAR," ADDING THAT THE BRITISH CANNOT AFFORD TO DISMISS SUCH REPORTS.

26. (C) BRITISH SECURITY CONTACTS TELL US THEY ARE MOST CONCERNED ABOUT VIOLENCE BY DISSIDENT PARAMILITARIES. THEY SAY THAT INCREASED ACTIVITY BY THE PARAMILITARIES UNDERCUTS AND DESTABILIZES SINN FEIN AND THE IRA. BRITISH SECURITY OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THEY WOULD WELCOME U.S. HELP IN CUTTING OFF SUPPORT TO THE REAL IRA (WHICH THEY CALLED "THE REAL THREAT"). THE MESSAGE WAS THAT A CLEAR DISTINCTION -- WITH STICKS AND CARROTS ATTACHED -- BETWEEN THOSE GROUPS THAT CONTINUE WITH VIOLENCE AND THOSE THAT DO NOT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN ENCOURAGING THE IRA TO STICK TO ITS CEASE FIRE AND SINN FEIN TO STICK TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

27. (C) THE BRITISH UNDERSTAND THAT THEY AND DUBLIN MUST WORK TOGETHER. NUMBER TEN IS STRONGLY COMMITTED TO THE MANDELSON/COWEN-LED EFFORT TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER. SAWERS CONFIRMED THAT DEPUTY NSA STEINBERG'S VISIT TO BELFAST ON MARCH 7-8 WAS VERY HELPFUL TO THAT PROCESS.

28. (C) WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY DUBLIN THAT IT COULD BE USEFUL TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE UNIONIST VIEW OF DECOMMISSIONING AS "PRODUCT" TO SOMETHING MORE ACHIEVABLE. THE BRITISH ARE WILLING TO ADJUST THEIR THINKING, BUT THEIR ABILITY TO ACT IS LIKELY TO DEPEND ON THEIR HAVING A CLEAR IDEA WHAT THE IRA MIGHT BE PREPARED TO DO ON DECOMMISSIONING IF THE STAGE IS SET. THE BRITISH UNDERSTAND THEIR INITIATIVES WOULD BE FRAMED AS CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND NOT AS A QUID PRO QUO, BUT IT WOULD HELP THEM TO HAVE SOME ASSURANCES THAT: A) SUCH INITIATIVES WOULD LEAD TO SOMETHING, B) WHAT THAT SOMETHING MIGHT BE, AND C) WHEN IT MIGHT BECOME A REALITY. A FIRST STEP WOULD BE FOR THE IRA TO SEND THEIR REPRESENTATIVE BACK TO THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION, WHICH ALL PARTIES RECOGNIZE AS THE BODY TO WHICH SUCH ASSURANCES MUST BE GIVEN.

WHAT NEXT?

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29. (C) IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO RESTORE THE TRUST LOST AS A RESULT OF THE LACK OF MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING AND SUBSEQUENT SUSPENSION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND INSTITUTIONS. THE BREACH BETWEEN THE REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS WAS REINFORCED BY THE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS. THE GOVERNMENTS' SUCCESS IN BEGINNING A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE CAPITALS AND INCLUDING THE PARTIES IS A FIRST STEP. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO KEEP THE SPOTLIGHT ON THAT DIALOGUE AND MAKE CLEAR TO ALL PARTIES THAT WE EXPECT THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH A CLEAR PURPOSE, I.E. FINDING A WAY BACK TO THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS.

30. (C) WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS TO SEEK AGREEMENT ON WHAT THEY CAN AND SHOULD EXPECT FROM THE PARTIES AND TO DEVELOP A STRATEGY FOR GETTING THE PARTIES TO MEET THOSE EXPECTATIONS. THE IRA NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF PROVIDING TO THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION SOME CLARITY AND PRECISION ABOUT WHAT IT MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO WHEN CONDITIONS ARE IN PLACE. THE UNIONISTS NEED TO UNDERSTAND IT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE FOR THEM TO INSIST ON A PARTICULAR DEFINITION OF DECOMMISSIONING OR TO RESIST NORMALIZATION OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS -- INCLUDING POLICE REFORMS CALLED FOR IN THE PATTEN REPORT.

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31. (C) THERE IS CONCERN THAT, WITHOUT PROGRESS IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THE CURRENT IMPASSE COULD BECOME INSTITUTIONALIZED. WE SHOULD NEVERTHELESS DISCOURAGE DEADLINES, REMINDING ALL CONCERNED THAT THEY HAVE MORE OFTEN PRODUCED CRISES THAN PROGRESS. WE MIGHT WANT TO ASK THE GOVERNMENTS THEIR VIEWS ON USING PUBLIC OPINION -- WHICH POLLS INDICATE STRONGLY FAVORS A RETURN TO SELF GOVERNMENT -- TO MOTIVATE THE PARTIES. THE ST PATRICKS DAY EVENTS IN WASHINGTON PROVIDE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND EVERYONE THAT DURABLE DEVOLVED POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE WHAT THE PEOPLE EXPECT, AND THAT ACHIEVING THEM WILL DEPEND ON EVERYONE'S BEST EFFORTS AT MAKING ONE FURTHER ROUND OF COMPROMISES.
DAVIES

TOR: 03/15/00 08:25:48

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RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1118
RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: AHERN-BLAIR LISBON MEETINGS MOVE GOVERNMENTS CLOSER BUT NOT YET TOGETHER ON PEACE PROCESS STRATEGY

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

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 001235

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND/STEINBERG

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/24/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: AHERN-BLAIR LISBON MEETINGS MOVE GOVERNMENTS CLOSER BUT NOT YET TOGETHER ON PEACE PROCESS STRATEGY

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

1. ~~(C)~~ WE CONTACTED RAY BASSETT, DEPUTY HEAD OF THE ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MARCH 24 TO GET A READOUT ON TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN'S MEETINGS WITH UK PM BLAIR ON THE MARGINS OF THE MAY 23 EU COUNCIL IN LISBON. BASSETT TOLD US THAT THE TWO HAD MET THREE TIMES ON THE MARGINS OF THE COUNCIL TO ADDRESS NEXT STEPS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. WHILE THE ATMOSPHERE WAS "GOOD," AND LONDON AND DUBLIN WERE "CLOSER" TO AGREEING ON A STRATEGY, THEY WERE "NOT THERE YET." BASSETT SAID THAT WHAT IS BEING DISCUSSED IS AN IRISH GOVERNMENT PLAN TO SET DATES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL UNIMPLEMENTED SECTIONS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT (I.E., POLICE REFORM, THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUALITY AGENDA, CRIMINAL JUSTICE REVIEW, AND A BRITISH PLAN FOR SECURITY "NORMALIZATION") WHILE TAKING UP THE IRA'S FEBRUARY 11 OFFER TO "CONSIDER PUTTING GUNS BEYOND USE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT."

2. ~~(C)~~ BASSETT NOTED THAT THE UK WOULD STILL NEED SOME CONVINCING TO BE FULLY ONBOARD WITH THIS APPROACH WHICH BACK-LOADS DECOMMISSIONING EVEN IF DEFINED AS "PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE." CERTAINLY, BASSET SAID, ADDITIONAL "CLARITY" BY THE IRA ON THE MEANING OF "PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE" WOULD BE NEEDED. HE ADDED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS SIMPLY DID NOT KNOW, AT THIS POINT, WHETHER EITHER REPUBLICANS OR UNIONISTS WOULD BUY THIS APPROACH.

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THE CURRENT IRISH THINKING ON TIMING WOULD BE TO SET IMPLEMENTATION DATES BY EASTER (APRIL 23).

3. (C) POLOFF ASKED ABOUT DAVID TRIMBLE'S REMARKS IN WASHINGTON TO THE EFFECT THAT HE NO LONGER NEEDED "GUNS UP FRONT" TO GO BACK INTO AN EXECUTIVE. BASSETT CALLED IT A POSITIVE STEP BUT ONLY IF TRIMBLE IS NOT DEFEATED OR SIGNIFICANTLY WEAKENED BY THE LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE HE FACES THIS WEEKEND. THE GOI'S SOURCES SAY TRIMBLE WILL SURVIVE BUT THERE IS A LOT OF CONCERN ABOUT THE SIZE OF HIS WINNING MARGIN

4. (C) WE ASKED ABOUT THE TAOISEACH'S RECENT PUBLIC SUGGESTION THAT, RATHER THAN FOCUS ON DECOMMISSIONING, PERHAPS A COMMITMENT FROM THE IRA TO "DISBAND" IN THE CONTEXT OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT SHOULD BE SOUGHT. BASSETT REPLIED THAT THIS HAD BEEN A TRIAL BALLOON THAT HAD FALLEN "PRETTY FLAT" AND AN IDEA "THAT WASN'T GOING ANYWHERE." DISBANDMENT COULD ONLY COME AS A RESULT OF THE IRA HAVING PUT ALL WEAPONS BEYOND USE AT SOME DATE IN THE FUTURE, NOT AS AN "UP FRONT" COMMITMENT, BASSETT CONCLUDED.

5. (C) COMMENT: DESPITE POSITIVE GOI AND HMG SPIN FROM BOTH WASHINGTON AND LISBON, WE STILL BELIEVE THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE QUITE A BIT OF WORK TO DO TO GET BACK TO A COORDINATED NORTHERN IRELAND STRATEGY. THE RANCOROUS ATMOSPHERE OF THE IMMEDIATE POST-SUSPENSION PERIOD, HOWEVER, DOES FINALLY SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN DISPELLED FOLLOWING LAST WEEK'S ST. PATRICK'S DAY DISCUSSIONS/CELEBRATIONS IN WASHINGTON. END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

TOR: 03/24/00 12:49:32

DIST: SIT: Blinken NSC Davidson Norland SUM2
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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1520
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE FACING TWO-PRONGED
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 002298

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/23/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE FACING TWO-PRONGED CHALLENGE: TO HIS LEADERSHIP AND TO THE PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO THE GFA

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) UUP LEADER TRIMBLE IS EXPECTED TO SURVIVE MARTIN SMYTH'S CHALLENGE TO HIS PARTY LEADERSHIP IN TOMORROW'S MEETING OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL. HOWEVER, HIS POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT COULD BE FATALLY UNDERMINED BY A POLICY DIRECTIVE THAT WOULD FORBID THE UUP FROM REJOINING THE GOVERNMENT UNLESS THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE RETAINS THE NAME "ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY." TRIMBLE SUPPORTERS HAVE PREPARED AN AMENDMENT THAT WOULD RETAIN ITS RHETORICAL THRUST, BUT ALLOW TRIMBLE TO CONTINUE WORKING TO RE-ENTER GOVERNMENT. THOUGH TRIMBLE'S IMMEDIATE SURVIVAL IS ALL BUT ASSURED, THE CHALLENGE HAS PROMPTED THINKING ABOUT POSSIBLE FUTURE CHALLENGES. SOME BELIEVE THAT THE RUC INITIATIVE IS THE BRAINCHILD OF DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR, WHO, BY CRIPPLING TRIMBLE, COULD ASSUME THE LEADERSHIP HIMSELF IN A YEAR OR TWO. WITHOUT NEAR-TERM PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE GFA, TRIMBLE'S DEPARTURE WILL BECOME INCREASING LIKELY. END SUMMARY.

SURPRISE RIVAL FOR TRIMBLE'S JOB
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2. (C) THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL CONVENES ITS ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING MARCH 25 TO ELECT PARTY OFFICERS, INCLUDING THE POST OF LEADER, FOUR VICE PRESIDENTS AND EIGHT OTHER OFFICERS. ONE KEY POST, DEPUTY LEADER, IS APPOINTED BY THE

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LEADER. CONTESTS BETWEEN SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS OF THE AGREEMENT (AND, BY EXTENSION, TRIMBLE) ARE EXPECTED FOR MOST OF THE POSTS. THE UUC HAS 858 MEMBERS, 650 OF WHOM ARE LOCAL PARTY MEMBERS. THE SECOND LARGEST BLOC IS THE ORANGE ORDER, WITH 120 REPRESENTATIVES. THE REMAINDER ARE DRAWN FROM OTHER PARTY BODIES SUCH AS THE YOUNG UNIONISTS, THE UNIONIST WOMEN'S COUNCIL AS WELL AS UNIONISTS ELECTED TO WESTMINSTER AND TO THE ASSEMBLY. COMMENT: FAILURE TO REFORM THIS ARCHAIC ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, WHICH GIVES DISPROPORTIONATE WEIGHT TO CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PARTY, IS ARGUABLY TRIMBLE'S MOST SERIOUS FAILING DURING HIS FIVE-YEAR TENURE. END COMMENT.

3. (C) ON THURSDAY MORNING MP MARTIN SMYTH UNEXPECTEDLY ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL CHALLENGE TRIMBLE FOR THE LEADERSHIP, CLAIMING THAT TRIMBLE'S RECENT STATEMENTS IN WASHINGTON ON THE POSSIBILITY OF THE UUP RE-ENTERING THE EXECUTIVE WITHOUT PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING IS A SELL-OUT OF THE UUP'S NO-GUNS, NO-GOVERNMENT POLICY. SMYTH, A FORMER GRAND MASTER OF THE ORANGE ORDER, IS SEEN AS A THROW-BACK TO THE TRADITIONAL AND INFLEXIBLE UNIONISM OF THE MID-20TH CENTURY. EVEN ANTI-AGREEMENT ACTIVISTS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT HE IS NOT A CREDIBLE LEADER AND ONE NON-UNIONIST POLITICIAN QUIPPED THAT "IF HE HAD A BRAIN, HE'D BE DANGEROUS."

4. (C) RECOGNIZING THAT SMYTH'S CHALLENGE WILL NOT SUCCEED, THE PRO- AND ANTI-TRIMBLE CAMPS ARE SPINNING THE MEDIA TO DEFINE WHAT THRESHOLD SMYTH WOULD HAVE TO REACH TO INFLICT SERIOUS DAMAGE ON TRIMBLE'S CONTINUED VIABILITY. TRIMBLE'S ALLIES PRIVATELY BELIEVE SMYTH WILL NOT GAIN MORE THAN 30 PERCENT, THOUGH ARE SAYING PUBLICLY THAT ANY TOTAL BELOW 40 PERCENT WILL CONSTITUTE A SOLID MANDATE FOR TRIMBLE. THE ANTI-AGREEMENT GROUP, HOWEVER, WILL CLAIM TRIMBLE IS DAMAGED GOODS IF SMYTH OBTAINS MORE THAN 30 PERCENT. (NOTE: THE UUC IS FAMOUSLY UNPREDICTABLE AND TRIMBLE'S OWN ELECTION IN 1995 WAS A MAJOR SURPRISE.)

THE BURNSIDE MOTION
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5. (C) A MORE SERIOUS THREAT TO TRIMBLE IS THE "BURNSIDE MOTION" (NAMED FOR ITS AUTHOR, DAVID BURNSIDE, A FORMER TRIMBLE ALLY) ON THE RUC. THE MOTION WOULD FORBID THE UUP FROM REJOINING THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE UNLESS THE PLAN TO RENAME THE RUC (MANDATED BY THE PATTEN REPORT) IS REVERSED. ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS ADMIT THAT THE MOTION IS A CYNICAL DEVICE TO USE THE EMOTIVE ISSUE OF THE RUC NAME-CHANGE TO FREEZE ALL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT.

6. (C) TRIMBLE ADVISOR STEPHEN KING TOLD US THAT THE PRO-AGREEMENT FACTION WILL PROPOSE AN AMENDMENT TO THE MOTION THAT WILL CALL FOR THE PARTY TO SEEK POSTPONEMENT OF ELEMENTS OF PATTEN UNTIL DECOMMISSIONING BEGINS AND TO PUSH FOR MODIFICATIONS TO THE IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION IN PARLIAMENT. THE AMENDMENT WILL ALSO NOTE THAT THE FEBRUARY 12 UUC PASSED A MOTION OBLIGING TRIMBLE TO OBTAIN THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 002298

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/23/05

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TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE FACING TWO-PRONGED CHALLENGE: TO HIS LEADERSHIP AND TO THE PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO THE GFA

COUNCIL'S APPROVAL BEFORE REJOINING GOVERNMENT. KING SAID HE HOPED THAT A SOLID TRIMBLE WIN IN THE LEADERSHIP FIGHT WILL GIVE HIM THE BOOST NEEDED TO PREVAIL IN AMENDING THE BURNSIDE MOTION, THOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE VOTE IS GOING TO BE CLOSE.

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE . . .
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7. (C) WHILE NO ONE GIVES SMYTH'S CHALLENGE ANY HOPE OF SUCCESS, IT HAS JOLTED THE UUP AND PROMPTED DISCUSSIONS ABOUT OTHER SUCCESSION SCENARIOS. PETER KING, THE LEADER OF THE YOUNG UNIONISTS, TOLD US ON MARCH 23 THAT THE PARTY'S ANTI-AGREEMENT WING (OF WHICH HE IS A MEMBER) REGARDS THE BURNSIDE MOTION AS A WAY TO CRIPPLE TRIMBLE'S ABILITY TO LEAD AND FORCE DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE GFA PROCESS. HIS PROJECT IN TATTERS, TRIMBLE WOULD LEAVE THE SCENE WITHIN A FEW YEARS. KING BELIEVES THAT UUP DEPUTY LEADER, JOHN TAYLOR, IS TRYING TO ORCHESTRATE SUCH A SCENARIO AND WANTS TO TAKE OVER THE TOP JOB. KING NOTED THAT, IRONICALLY, AS LEADER TAYLOR WOULD PROBABLY SEEK TO REVIVE THE GFA, IN PART BECAUSE HE FANCIES THE JOB OF FIRST MINISTER. TAYLOR HAS ENDORSED BOTH TRIMBLE AND THE BURNSIDE MOTION. NATIONALIST LEADERS HAVE ALSO TOLD US TAYLOR IS HARBORING SUCH DESIGNS.

COMMENT
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8. (C) TRIMBLE IS LIKELY TO SURVIVE THESE TWIN CHALLENGES AS HE HAS WEATHERED THE UUC MEETINGS IN NOVEMBER AND FEBRUARY. BUT IN EACH CASE, THE ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES HAVE EXACTED THEIR POUND OF FLESH BY RESTRICTING TRIMBLE'S ROOM FOR MANEUVER WITHIN THE AGREEMENT. THE BURNSIDE MOTION, WHICH COULD EFFECTIVELY REMOVE THE UUP FROM THE GFA PROCESS, REPRESENTS THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION OF THAT STRATEGY. ASSUMING TRIMBLE SUCCEEDS IN PROTECTING HIS ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE EFFECTIVELY, THE FACT THAT THE KNIVES ARE OUT IN HIS PARTY REINFORCES THE FEELING HERE THAT TIME IS LIMITED FOR REINSTATING THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS.

9. (C) KEY NATIONALIST AND REPUBLICAN LEADERS HAVE FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED PROFOUND FRUSTRATION AT HAVING THE PROCESS SO FREQUENTLY DISTRACTED BY TRIMBLE'S TRAVAILS WITHIN HIS PARTY AND HINTED THAT IT MAY EVEN BE EASIER TO DEAL WITH SOMEONE MORE HARD-LINE (LIKE TAYLOR) WHO ENJOYS THE FULLER CONFIDENCE OF THE PARTY. THE TIME MAY NOT BE FAR OFF WHEN THIS WISH IS GRANTED.
DAVIES

TOR: 03/24/00 13:17:29

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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4319
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1525
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UK AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS STARTING TO PLAN NEXT STEPS

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 002328

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/26/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UK AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS STARTING TO PLAN NEXT STEPS

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) A TRUSTED NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE COUNTERPART TOLD US ON MARCH 27 THAT HMG AND THE ROI WILL RESUME HIGH-LEVEL TALKS IN BELFAST TOMORROW AIMED AT PRODUCING A COMMON GAME PLAN THAT WILL MANDATE STEPS BY THE PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS WHICH WILL LEAD TO THE REVIVAL OF THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS. THE MOST DIFFICULT INGREDIENT OF SUCH A PLAN WILL BE PERSUADING THE IRA TO MAKE CONCRETE COMMITMENTS ON DECOMMISSIONING AND TO PUT SOME PRODUCT UP FRONT. THE ROI, OUR SOURCE ADMITTED, IS A LONG WAY FROM AGREEING TO PUSH REPUBLICANS SO HARD AND NIO FEARS THE GAP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS MAY NOT BE BRIDGED BEFORE EASTER. END SUMMARY.

NEW GAME PLAN
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2. (C) IN A MEETING MARCH 27, A WELL-PLACED NIO OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WILL BEGIN TOMORROW TO FOLLOW UP ON LAST WEEK'S BLAIR-AHERN MEETINGS WITH THE GOAL OF AGREEING AN IMPLEMENTATION PLAN FOR RESTORING THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS. HE SAID THAT A CRITICAL PIECE OF ANY DRAFT PLAN WOULD BE AN IRA STATEMENT WHICH REPRODUCES THE FEBRUARY LANGUAGE IT SUBMITTED TO DE CHASTELAIN PLEDGING TO PUT ARMS "BEYOND USE" AND INCLUDES:

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--A STATEMENT AFFIRMING ADHERENCE TO EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL MEANS;
--A CONCRETE TIMETABLE FOR VERIFIABLY PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE;
--REAPPOINTMENT OF AN IICD INTERLOCUTOR; AND
--AN UP-FRONT GESTURE, PRESUMABLY OF "PRODUCT."

3. (C) THE IRISH, HE SAID, WILL BE LOOKING FOR THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE REVIEW (WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BE RELEASED ANY DAY) AND FOR PROGRESS IN SECURITY NORMALIZATION. THE LATTER WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ASSURE, HE NOTED. HE SAID THAT, WHILE BOTH GOVERNMENTS ARE RESOLVED TO WORK OUT A NEW PLAN, HMG WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY PERSUADING THE GOI TO MAKE SUCH DEMANDS ON THE IRA. THE IRISH, HE SAID, HAVE NOT SHOWN SIGNS THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO PLAY HARD-BALL WITH THE REPUBLICANS. THE GOVERNMENTS CONTINUE TO APPROACH THE ISSUE DIFFERENTLY: THE GOI TEND TO SEE IRA INTRANSIGENCE AS FIXED - AND THEREFORE A FACTOR TO FINESSE, WHILE UNIONIST INTRANSIGENCE IS SIMPLY "OBSTINACY," THAT MUST BE OVERCOME. THE BRITISH, HE SAID, WANT A BALANCED APPROACH THAT MAKES DEMANDS ON BOTH SIDES.

4. (C) THE JOINT TALKS ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE FOR SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE A PLAN IS READY TO BE PRESENTED TO THE PARTIES. HE ADMITTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS MAY NOT REACH AGREEMENT PRIOR TO EASTER OR EVEN MAY 22, THE GFA'S DECOMMISSIONING DEADLINE.

UUP FALLOUT
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5. (C) THE NIO SOURCE SAID THAT TRIMBLE'S APPROACH IS STILL NOT EVIDENT, I.E. WHETHER HE WILL ADOPT A HARD LINE IN RESPONSE TO THREATS TO HIS PARTY LEADERSHIP OR DAMN THE TORPEDOES AND MAKE A FINAL PUSH TO REVIVE THE INSTITUTIONS. IN EITHER CASE, THE UUP CLEARLY NEEDS SUBSTANTIAL MOVEMENT FROM REPUBLICANS IF UNIONISTS ARE TO REJOIN THE INSTITUTIONS. HE DOWNPLAYED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNIONIST COUNCIL MOTION ON THE RUC, NOTING THAT MOST UUP MEMBERS HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT ROLLING BACK PATTEN; THE MOTION MERELY AMPLIFIES THE PARTY'S DISSATISFACTION WHILE REINFORCING THAT THE COUNCIL MUST ASSENT TO ANY PLAN FOR REJOINING GOVERNMENT. (COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE MOTION HAS MORE SIGNIFICANCE IN THAT IT EFFECTIVELY RAISES THE BAR ON THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR THE UUP TO REJOIN GOVERNMENT. END COMMENT.)

6. (C) REFLECTING ON THE FUTURE, HE SAID THAT WHILE THERE IS MUCH GLOOM AND DOOM AT THE MOMENT, IT IS TOO EARLY TO GIVE UP ON THE GFA AS LONG AS EVEN A SLIM HOPE OF SUCCESS REMAINS. HE ALSO SOUGHT SOLACE IN THE FACT THAT THE PARTIES (AND GOVERNMENTS) TEND TO STAKE OUT HARD-LINE POSITIONS IN THE RUN-UP TO THESE KIND OF NEGOTIATIONS.

COMMENT
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7. (C) TIME IS WORKING AGAINST THE AGREEMENT, WITH THE RAPID APPROACH OF EASTER (MARKING THE GFA'S SECOND

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/26/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UK AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS
STARTING TO PLAN NEXT STEPS

BIRTHDAY) AND THE (THEORETICAL) MAY 22 DECOMMISSIONING END-
POINT BOTH REGARDED AS KEY PSYCHOLOGICAL MILESTONES.
UNFORTUNATELY, THE RUN-UP TO EASTER MAY SEE LITTLE MORE
THAN TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, WHICH REMAIN A
CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE APART -- AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE
GOVERNMENTS IS THE EASY PART.
DAVIES

TOR: 03/27/00 16:11:33

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY
YEE
PRT: SIT{C2}
SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY
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SUBJ: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH IRISH PM AHERN MARCH 17, 2000

CLASSIFIED BY THE SECRETARY. REASON: 1.5 (B) (D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 062760

NODIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/16/10
TAGS: PREL, ETRD, PARM, KIPR, EI, UK, RS, ID, KO, IZ, LE
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH IRISH PM AHERN MARCH 17, 2000

CLASSIFIED BY THE SECRETARY. REASON: 1.5 (B) (D)

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY. AT A BREAKFAST MEETING MARCH 17, THE SECRETARY AND IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN DISCUSSED THE STATUS OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS; THE NEED FOR IRISH-U.S. COOPERATION ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES; THE IMPORTANCE OF IMMEDIATE IRISH COPYRIGHT REFORM; DEVELOPMENTS IN CHECHNYA AND EAST TIMOR; AND THE NEED FOR IRISH COOPERATION IN U.S.-EU TRADE DISPUTES. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(C)~~ IN WASHINGTON FOR THE TRADITIONAL ST.PATRICK'S DAY PRESENTATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE, PRIME MINISTER AHERN MET WITH SECRETARY ALBRIGHT ON MARCH 17. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY HIS SENIOR ADVISOR MARTIN MANSERGH, FOREIGN MINISTER BRIAN COWEN, DFA MINISTER OF STATE LIZ O'DONNELL, AMBASSADOR SEAN O'HUIGINN, DFA SECOND SECRETARY DERMOTT GALLAGHER, DFA OFFICIAL RICHARD TOWNSEND, PRESS SECRETARY JOE LENNON AND IRISH EMBASSY DCM TOM RUSSELL. THE SECRETARY WAS JOINED BY UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING, COUNSELOR SHERMAN, AMBASSADOR

MICHAEL SULLIVAN, CHIEF OF STAFF ELAINE SHOCAS, SENIOR ADVISOR JAMES LYONGS, EUR/DAS JAMES GADSDEN, S SPECIAL ASSISTANT TODD ROBINSON AND IRELAND DESK OFFICER PATRICIA NELSON-DOUVELIS (NOTETAKER).

NORTHERN IRELAND

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3. (C) THE SECRETARY BEGAN BY ASKING THE TAOISEACH TO TELL HER ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. PM AHERN ADVISED THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES IN THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT THAT AFTER MANY MONTHS OF TRYING AND A 10-WEEK REVIEW CHAIRED BY GEORGE AITCHELL, THEY HAD MANAGED TO GET THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS UP AND RUNNING IN DECEMBER 1999. DESPITE THESE EFFORTS, HOWEVER, THE INSTITUTIONS HAD BEEN BROUGHT DOWN "IN HALF AN HOUR." AS ALWAYS IN IRELAND, AHERN SAID, AFTER NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY PETER MANDELSON SUSPENDED THE INSTITUTIONS, THERE FOLLOWED A PERIOD OF RECRIMINATIONS. THAT PERIOD WAS NOW OVER. PM AHERN THANKED THE SECRETARY FOR HER INTEREST AND THE ASSISTANCE OF THE USG IN THE PROCESS.

4. (C) AHERN CONTINUED THAT UNIONISTS WANTED THE IRA TO MAKE A GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING BEFORE THE INSTITUTIONS WERE REINSTATED. THE IRA HAD NOT MADE A GESTURE ON DECOMMISSIONING AND WERE UNLIKELY TO DO SO IF UNIONISTS WERE MAKING THE DEMAND. DECOMMISSIONING WAS NOT A PRECONDITION TO DEVOLUTION IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, AHERN POINTED OUT, SO THE IRA HAD DEMURRED ON THE ARMS ISSUE. SINN FEIN WAS ALSO HAVING DIFFICULTY WITH THE IRA, AHERN POSITED. HE NOTED THE IRISH GOVENRMENT BELIEVED THERE SHOULD HAVE BEEN ANOTHER REVIEW OF THE PROCESS WITHOUT SUSPENSION. THEY HAD DISAGREED WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, BUT WOULD MOVE ON NOW. THERE WOULD BE NO MORE "BLAME GAME" THE PM ADVISED. WHILE IT WAS WORKING, IT WAS "EXCELLENT" AHERN SAID. ALL PARTIES WERE WORKING HARD AND WORKING WELL TOGETHER. IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO KEEP THINGS WITHIN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, AHERN ADVISED.

5. (C) THE SECRETARY ASKED IF THERE WERE ANYTHING IN THE IRA'S LATEST OFFER THAT COULD BE CLARIFIED. THE TAOISEACH SAID IT WAS NOT JUST THE OFFER, BUT ALSO HOW GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN HAD CHARACTERIZED IT. HE HAD SAID THAT BASED ON THE IRA'S LATEST OFFER THE COMMISSION COULD FULFILL ITS MANDATE. "EVERYONE LIKED (DE CHASTELAIN'S NEGATIVE) FIRST REPORT," BUT NOT THE SECOND ONE. THEY CLAIMED THE GENERAL "WAS UNDER THE INFLUENCE" OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WHEN HE

WROTE THE SECOND REPORT, BUT NO ONE ALLEGED UNDUE INFLUENCE ON THE FIRST, AHERN OBSERVED.

6. (C) THE SECRETARY CONFIRMED THE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND NOTED HER RECENT PARTICIPATION IN HIS MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS. SHE REITERATED THE USG WANTED TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE, AND WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, BRIAN COWEN.

ARMS CONTROL
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7. (C) THE SECRETARY NOTED THE PRESIDENT'S INTENSE FOCUS ON THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT) AND NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE (NMD) AND THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY (ABM). SHE URGED AHERN NOT TO DOUBT THIS ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO ARMS CONTROL. SHE STRESSED THE USG HAD JUDGED THERE WAS A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES FROM IRAN AND NORTH KOREA. THE SECRETARY NOTED THE USG WAS LOOKING AT HOW TO PRESERVE THE ABM TREATY, WHICH SHE CHARACTERIZED AS THE BASIS OF EVERYTHING THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE ON DISARMAMENT. THE USG DID NOT EXPECT THAT IRELAND WOULD BE ON THE OTHER SIDE, SHE OBSERVED. THE USG HAD SUPPORTED CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT (CD) MEMBERSHIP FOR

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IRELAND AND WANTED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE GOI ON THESE ISSUES. SHE CONTINUED THAT WHATEVER THE INDIVIDUAL MERITS OF INDIVIDUAL ISSUES, IT SEEMED THE UNITED STATES WAS ALWAYS CRITICIZED FOR NOT DOING ENOUGH. SHE STRESSED THE USG WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN START II AND WORKING ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR START III.

8. (C) THE TAOISEACH ADVISED THAT DISARMAMENT WAS TRADITIONALLY A "BIG" ISSUE FOR IRELAND, BUT THE GOI DID NOT WANT TO FIND ITSELF IN CONFLICT WITH THE UNITED STATES. HE STRESSED HE WANTED TO STAFI| VISIT IRELAND TO EXPLAIN TO THE GOI WHAT THE USG WAS DOING ON ARMS CONTROL. SHE NOTED THE PRESIDENT HAD DONE MORE THAN ANYONE, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS AND TO ADDRESS CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS ABOUT "LOOSE NUKES AND LOOSE NUCLEAR SECRETS."

9. (C) THE SECRETARY RECOUNTED THAT BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE HAD TRADITIONALLY BEEN A SUBJECT OF PARTISAN

CONTENTION, BUT NOW THERE SEEMED TO BE A BIPARTISAN CONSENSUS THAT WE SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF DEFENSIVE TECHNOLOGY TO DEAL WITH EMERGING THREATS. SHE NOTED SHE WAS CONVINCED THERE WAS A THREAT FROM NORTH KOREA AND OTHERS. THE PRESIDENT WAS ASSESSING THE POSSIBILITY OF DEPLOYING NMD, SHE SAID, LOOKING AT THE THREAT AND COST OF THE SYSTEM.

IPR REFORM
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10. (C) IN RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S QUESTION ON WHY THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS ON COPYRIGHT REFORM LEGISLATION, AHERN SAID THE BILL BEFORE THE DAIL WAS THE MOST COMPLICATED IN IRISH HISTORY. THE GOI HAD A MARGIN OF ONLY ONE IN THE DAIL SO IT HAD TO BE VERY CAREFUL. THE BILL WAS IN THE SECOND STAGE IN COMMITTEE. THE TAOISEACH TOLD THE SECRETARY SHE COULD REST ASSURED THE GOVERNMENT WILL GET THE BILL THROUGH SOON. THEY WOULD TRY FOR EASTER TIME, AHERN SAID, AND NOTED INDUSTRY WAS VERY HAPPY WITH THE LEGISLATION. INDUSTRY, LIKE THE GOVERNMENT, JUST WANTED TO SEE THE PROCESS COMPLETED. THE SECRETARY ACKNOWLEDGED THE DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING LEGISLATION PASSED WHEN THE GOVERNING PARTY WAS IN THE MINORITY IN THE LEGISLATURE.

U.S.-EU RELATIONS
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11. (C) TRADE. THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED HER CONCERN THAT EVEN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WOULD SUFFER IF CONTENTIOUS TRADE ISSUES (LIKE BEEF HORMONES AND BANANAS) BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EU WERE NOT REMOVED FROM THE AGENDA. THE TAOISEACH RESPONDED THERE WAS NOTHING BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRELAND, THEY WERE JUST EU ISSUES. HE SAID IRELAND WAS DOING WELL ATTRACTING U.S.INVESTMENT. IT WOULD NOT WANT PROBLEMS WITH THE UNITED STATES. IRELAND WAS A SMALL COUNTRY THAT COULD NOT CARRY VOTES IN THE EU, AHERN ADVISED. THE SECRETARY STATED THAT THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO GET A NEW TRADE ROUND GOING. THE USG WAS FOCUSED ON CHINA'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE WTO, BUT THAT, LIKE THE NEW ROUND, WAS PART OF LARGER TRADE ISSUES SURROUNDING LABOR AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

12. (C) AHERN SAID IRELAND EXPORTS 80 PERCENT OF WHAT IT PRODUCES. THERE HAD BEEN A 60 PERCENT INCREASE IN EXPORTS IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. THEREFORE, FOR THE GOI, RESOLUTION

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OF THESE TRADE ISSUES IS VERY IMPORTANT. THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR IRELAND ARE BEEF AND MILK. IN EU TERMS, IRELAND'S SLICE OF THESE MARKETS IS SMALL. THE SECRETARY NOTED HER AWARENESS OF THE CONCERNS SURROUNDING BIOTECHNOLOGY. SHE ADVISED AHERN THE USG WAS TRYING TO DEVELOP A SCIENTIFICALLY BASED APPROACH TO THE ISSUE.

13. (C) ESDI. THE SECRETARY NOTED THE U.S.-EU SUMMIT HAD JUST ENDED AND ASSURED AHERN THE USG HAS NO PROBLEM WITH THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE INITIATIVE (ESDI). SHE SAID THE USG BELIEVED IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL TO ACT AS IF THERE WERE A MAJOR DIVISION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE EU ON THE ISSUE. THE ONLY PROBLEMATIC AREA WAS ON KOSOVO, RELATED TO FUNDING, POLICE, LEVEL OF FORCES AND SUPPORT FOR THE STABILITY PACT. THE USG HAD FOUND THAT THERE WERE TOO MANY LAYERS OF CONTROL. THE SECRETARY SAID THE PRESIDENT HAD SPOKEN WITH PM BLAIR AND FELT THAT EU COMMISSIONER CHRIS PATTEN AND HIGH REPRESENTATIVE SOLANA WOULD HAVE GREATER CONTROL ON KOSOVO POLICY. THE TAOISEACH AGREED. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN IN KOSOVO THE PREVIOUS YEAR AND FOUND THE STRUCTURE TOO BUREAUCRATIC. THE GOI WOULD SUPPORT MORE CONTROL FOR PATTEN AND SOLANA. ON POLICING, PM AHERN ADVISED HE DID NOT KNOW MUCH ABOUT IT, EXCEPT THAT THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH OF THEM. THE SECRETARY SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO GET AT THE NUMBERS.

14. (C) IN ADDITION, THE SECRETARY STATED THERE WERE DICUSSIONS IN CONGRESS ON FUNDING, BUT THE FEELING THERE WAS THE U.S. SHOULD NOT GIVE MORE UNLESS THE EUROPEANS GIVE MORE. THE SECRETARY ADVISED THE USG WAS ALSO TRYING TO GET UN REPRESENTATIVE KOUCHNER TO DEVELOP AN ACTION PLAN BY THE END OF THE YEAR. SHE ASKED AHERN TO DETERMINE WHAT MORE IRELAND MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO ON POLICE OR TROOP LEVELS. FONMIN COWEN INTERJECTED THAT IRELAND DOES NOT HAVE ARMED POLICE -- THE GOI WANTED TO HELP, BUT COULD NOT. THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO SHIFT OTHER COUNTRIES' POLICE AROUND TO ACCOMMODATE HAVING MEMBERS OF IRELAND'S UNARMED FORCE.

UN ISSUES
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15. (C) THE SECRETARY ADVISED THE PRIME MINSTER THAT THE USG HAD PAID USD 500 MILLION OF ITS ARREARS TO THE UN. SHE ASKED IRELAND'S HELP ON THE SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS AND SAID

SHE HOPED THE GOI WOULD SUPPORT SOME OF OUR POSITIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, AMBASSADOR HOLBROOKE BELIEVED CHINA NEEDS TO PAY MORE. AMBASSADOR O'HUIGINN SAID THE GOI WANTED THE U.S. TO CONTINUE PLAYING A LARGE ROLE AT THE UN. THE UN NEEDED STRONG U.S. PARTICIPATION. IRELAND FAVORS A COMPROMISE THAT WOULD HELP WITH CONGRESS, BUT NOT FALL ON EU SHOULDERS.

RUSSIA/CHECHNYA
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16. (C) FONMIN COWEN NOTED IRELAND HAD THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE (COE) PRESIDENCY AND WAS CONCERNED ABOUT RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN CHECHNYA. TO THE GOI, THE QUESTION OF INTEREST FOR THE COE WAS HAVING AN INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION PROCEDURE. COWEN CONTINUED THAT THERE ARE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CHECHNYA, BUT THE COE IS UNABLE TO GET THE RUSSIANS TO AGREE ON PROCEDURES THAT WOULD ALLOW

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INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION. THE SECRETARY STATED SHE HAS CONSISTENTLY RAISED CHECHNYA WITH FONMIN IVANOV AND PM PUTIN. THE RUSSIANS SAY THEY ALREADY HAVE A COE MISSION. THE USG AGREES THE COE NEEDS INDEPENDENT ACCESS, BUT IVANOV AND PUTIN DO NOT CARE WHAT THE USG THINKS OF CHECHNYA. FOR THEM, IT IS AN ISSUE OF SUPREME NATIONAL INTEREST. SHE SAID SHE WOULD RAISE THE ISSUE AGAIN WITH IVANOV WHEN HE VISITS WASHINGTON. FONMIN COWEN SAID IT WAS A GROWING PROBLEM. THE COE MAY WANT TO EXPEL RUSSIA. IF THE COE GETS RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BEFORE THAT, IT WOULD BE VERY GOOD. THE SECRETRAY REITERATED THAT THE USG WAS TRYING IN EVERY WAY IT COULD TO CONVINCE THE RUSSIANS TO RESOLVE CHECHNYA BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

IRAQ
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17. (C) FONMIN COWEN RAISED THE HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION RELATED TO IRAQ. HE ADVISED IRISH HUMANITARIAN WORKERS WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE DECLINING HEALTH SITUATION, PARTICULARLY OF THE CHILDREN. THEY BELIEVE THAT IF THERE WERE FEWER DELAYS IN THE UN'S DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN THE OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM IT COULD AMELIORATE THE SITUATION. THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT THE USG AUTHORED THE OIL-FOR-FOOD PROGRAM. THE IRAQIS HELD IT UP, SINCE THEY WANTED TO CONTROL DISTRIBUTION. THE SECRETARY SAID THE UN HAS WORKED OUT A BETTER SYSTEM NOW. INDEED, THE SECRETARY

NOTED UN SYG ANNAN HAD REPORTED RECENTLY THAT THE IRAQI CALORIC COUNT HAD RISEN AND THAT THE PEOPLE WERE BETTER OFF. SHE NOTED THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT HAS PLENTY OF MONEY FOR BUILDING PALACES. SHE ASSERTED AMERICANS TAKE BETTER CARE OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE THAN SADDAM. THE USG HAD MOVED THE CONTRACT PROCESS AS FAST AS POSSIBLE. THERE WAS A BACKLOG IN THE SYSTEM IN NEW YORK -- THE MORE OIL THEY CAN SELL, THE MORE CONTRACTS HAVE TO BE VETTED. THERE ARE DUAL-USE ISSUES AS WELL, THE SECRETARY NOTED. SHE ASSURED AHERN THE USG HAS THE GREATEST CONCERN FOR THE IRAQI PEOPLE. U/S PICKERING ADDED THE USG WOULD MOVE UP THE DISCUSSION AT THE UN, BUT CAUTIONED A LARGE SHARE OF THE CONTRACTS ARE TOO AMBIGUOUS TO KNOW WHAT IS ACTUALLY BEING BOUGHT AND SOLD.

EAST TIMOR
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18. (C) THE TAOISEACH SAID HE HAD MET WITH SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE DE MELLO DURING HIS RECENT TRIP TO EAST TIMOR, AS WELL AS XANANA GUSMAO AND THE IRISH RANGER BATTALION SERVING WITH UNTAET. EVERYONE WAS CONCERNED THAT ONCE ONE FORCE MOVED OUT AND THE NEXT MOVED IN, THE MILITIAS WOULD START UP. THE MILITIAS IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS WERE NEWLY RIGGED OUT -- NEWLY ARMED -- AND FAIRLY ACTIVE IN SMALL NUMBERS. AHERN STATED THE MILITIAS WERE ORGANIZED BY THE INDONESIANS, NOT IN JUST A LOOSE ARRANGEMENT. NEW ZEALAND THINKS THEY WILL START SHOOTING AT THE UN. WHILE EVERYONE BELIEVED GUSMAO IS A GOOD MAN, HE HAS NO INFLUENCE OUTSIDE JAKARTA. MILITARY PEOPLE BELIEVE THE MILITIA WILL BE IN ACTION SOON. UNDER SECRETARY PICKERING NOTED HE HAD MET WITH THE HEAD OF THE INDONESIAN MILITARY, AND TOLD HIM OF USG CONCERNS ABOUT THE MILITIAS IN WEST TIMOR AND THE NEED TO DISARM AND DISBAND THEM. THE INDONESIAN CLAIMED HE HAD REPLACED MANY MILITIA MEMBERS. U/S PICKERING SAID THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD MOVE REFUGEES WHO DO NOT WANT TO RETURN TO EAST

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TIMOR TO OTHER ISLANDS. HE ADVISED AHERN THE SITUATION WAS WORSE THAN THE USG HAD PREVIOUSLY THOUGHT, AND WAS AT THE TOP OF THE U.S. AGENDA.

UNIFIL
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19. (C) THE TAOISEACH EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOI WANTED TO PULL ITS PEACEKEEPERS OUT OF UNIFIL SO THEY COULD BE DEPLOYED TO KOSOVO AND OTHER PLACES. HE ACKNOWLEDGED GOI CONCERN THAT IF THE ISRAELIS PULL OUT OF LEBANON IT WILL CREATE A VERY BAD SITUATION ON THE GROUND. HE ASKED THE SECRETARY HOW THE PULL-OUT WOULD BE ORGANIZED. THE SECRETARY SAID SHE HAD TALKED TO UNSYG ANNAN ABOUT THE ISSUE AND AGREED IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PREPARE FOR THE PULL OUT IN A COORDINATED FASHION. MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ANY MOVEMENT ON THE ENTIRE PROCESS, SHE ADVISED.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT
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20. (C) FONMIN COWEN LIKENED IRELAND'S BID FOR A UN SECURITY COUCIL SEAT TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, AND ASKED FOR U.S. SUPPORT. HE NOTED IRELAND APPRECIATED U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND AND PRAISED THE EFFORTS OF SPECIAL ADVISOR JAMES LYONS AND AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN. THE SECRETARY SAID THE U.S. NEVER REVEALS ITS VOTE, BUT WOULD GIVE IRELAND'S CANDIDACY THE FULLEST CONSIDERATION.

INVITATION TO VISIT
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21. (C) THE TAOISEACH EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO THE SECRETARY TO VISIT WHEN SHE COULD. THE SECRETARY SAID SHE'D LOVE TO COME.
ALBRIGHT

TOR: 04/03/00 17:34:20

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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1546
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: A CRACK IN THE FACADE OF SINN FEIN UNITY

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 002655

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: A CRACK IN THE FACADE OF SINN FEIN UNITY

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) A LONG-TIME VETERAN OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT HAS TOLD US OF INCREASING DISILLUSIONMENT AMONG SINN FEIN MEMBERS ABOUT THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ADAMS/MCGUINNESS LEADERSHIP HANDLED THE MITCHELL REVIEW AND IS STIFLING DISSENT INSIDE THE PARTY. HOWEVER, OUR SOURCE STRESSED THAT THIS DYNAMIC WOULD RESULT IN ACTIVISTS DROPPING OUT OF POLITICS RATHER THAN MOUNTING AN INTERNAL CHALLENGE TO ADAMS OR RESORTING TO THE PARAMILITARY OPTION. END SUMMARY.

FRUSTRATION WITH ADAMS' LEADERSHIP
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2. (C) DURING THE COURSE OF A DISCUSSION ABOUT UNRELATED MATTERS ON APRIL 3, A LONG-TIME MEMBER OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT (WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE BORDER CAMPAIGN OF THE 1950'S AND IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE TROUBLES) WHO IS NOW ACTIVE IN SINN FEIN TALKED AT LENGTH ABOUT THE CURRENT CLIMATE WITHIN REPUBLICANISM

3. (C) DISCUSSING THE MITCHELL REVIEW, OUR INTERLOCUTOR EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS NOT IN THE INNER CIRCLE OF DECISION-

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MAKERS AND THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT PRECISELY WAS AGREED TO IN THE TALKS OTHER THAN WHAT IS ON THE RECORD. BUT, HE SAID, THE APPOINTMENT OF AN IRA INTERLOCUTOR TO THE IICD WAS A MAJOR MISTAKE, BECAUSE IT RAISED EXPECTATIONS AMONG UNIONISTS AND SUSPICIONS AMONG REPUBLICANS THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD OCCUR. (HE ADDED THAT THE INTERLOCUTOR HIMSELF WAS HIGHLY DISPLEASED TO HAVE BEEN DRAFTED INTO THE ROLE, DRANK HEAVILY DURING THAT TIME AND WAS RELUCTANT TO COOPERATE WITH THE IICD.) PARTY MEMBERS, HE SAID, HAD BEEN ASSURED BY THE LEADERSHIP THAT DECOMMISSIONING WOULD NOT BE ON THE TABLE UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. OUR SOURCE NOTED THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE INTELLECTUALLY HONEST - AND PERHAPS MORE EFFECTIVE - FOR ADAMS TO HAVE STATED OPENLY THAT DECOMMISSIONING WAS NOT POSSIBLE. HE OPINED THAT ADAMS HAD MISCALCULATED, BELIEVING THAT SUSPENSION WOULD NOT OCCUR AND THAT DOWN THE ROAD HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PERSUADE THE IRA TO DECOMMISSION SOME ARMS.

4. (C) HE THEN SAID THAT THE MITCHELL REVIEW WAS BUT ONE CASE IN WHICH HE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT HAVE GROWN FRUSTRATED WITH THE ADAMS/MCGUINNESS LEADERSHIP. THE PARTY, HE COMPLAINED, HAD LOST ITS DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER SINCE THE RUN-UP TO THE REFERENDUM, WHEN THERE HAD BEEN EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE RANK AND FILE. NOW, HE SAID, THE LEADERSHIP IS "STALINIST" AND THERE IS GROWING IRRITATION ABOUT A "THOUGHT-POLICE" THAT MONITORS THE STATEMENTS OF PARTY MEMBERS. HE STATED THAT HE HIMSELF HAD BEEN CHASTISED AND TOLD TO KEEP HIS MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE WALSH VISA PROGRAM TO HIMSELF LEST HE IRRITATE THE MOVEMENT'S AMERICAN FRIENDS. BY NOT TOLERATING DISSENT, HE COMPLAINED THAT ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS ARE DOING LONG-TERM DAMAGE TO THE PARTY, AS MANY ACTIVISTS ARE DROPPING OUT AND YOUNG PEOPLE WHO MIGHT WISH TO PARTICIPATE ARE TURNED OFF BY THE STIFLING ATMOSPHERE. HOWEVER, RATHER THAN MOUNT A INTERNAL CHALLENGE TO ADAMS, HE SAID THAT DISILLUSIONED REPUBLICANS ARE SIMPLY LEAVING POLITICS.

IRA WILL NOT INITIATE VIOLENCE
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5. (C) OUR SOURCE WAS EMPHATIC THAT THOSE WHO OPPOSE ADAMS DO NOT FAVOR A RETURN TO ARMED STRUGGLE. MOREOVER, HE SAID GRASSROOTS REPUBLICANS WOULD NOT ABET A GUERRILLA CAMPAIGN. VIOLENCE COULD ERUPT IF LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES AGAIN ATTACKED NATIONALISTS, RESULTING IN TIT-FOR-TAT KILLINGS. HE SAID THE DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARIES, THE CONTINUITY IRA AND THE REAL IRA, HAD VERY FEW ACTIVE MEMBERS (MAYBE 50 "FOOT SOLDIERS" AND 50 SUPPORTERS).

COMMENT
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6. (C) THE STATEMENTS ABOUT THE RIGIDITY OF SINN FEIN'S LEADERSHIP TRACK CLOSELY WITH COMMENTS WE HAVE HEARD FROM OBSERVERS IN THE MEDIA AND OTHER PARTIES, BUT THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THEY HAVE BEEN AIRED TO US DIRECTLY BY A PARTY MEMBER. THIS APPRAISAL SUGGESTS THAT, WHILE ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS ARE SECURE IN THEIR LEADERSHIP POSTS, THEY MAY NOT BE ABLE TO REPLICATE EVEN THE IRA ARMS OFFER THAT WAS

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: A CRACK IN THE FACADE OF SINN FEIN UNITY

ON THE TABLE WHEN SUSPENSION WAS IMPOSED. IRONICALLY, DESPITE DIVISIONS OVER DECOMMISSIONING, NO LARGE FACTION OF THE PARTY SEEMS TO BE CONTEMPLATING A RETURN TO VIOLENCE IN THE NEAR TERM.
DAVIES

TOR: 04/07/00 07:13:48

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: BASH BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SIT{C2} STEINBERG SUTPHEN
SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
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INFO: ////
SUBJ: NO IRELAND: UNIONISTS AND SINN FEIN SHOW LITTLE FLEXIBILITY; SMALLER PARTIES WANT TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE GLYN T. DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 002678

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

EXDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/17/00
TAGS: PGOV, EI, UK
SUBJECT: NO IRELAND: UNIONISTS AND SINN FEIN SHOW LITTLE FLEXIBILITY; SMALLER PARTIES WANT TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE GLYN T. DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY
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1. (C) LONDON POLOFF'S CONVERSATIONS WITH PARTY REPRESENTATIVES IN BELFAST ON MARCH 30-31 REINFORCE OUR IMPRESSION THAT HARD-LINE REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS ARE ALLOWING SINN FEIN AND PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS LITTLE ROOM TO NEGOTIATE A WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE. PRO-AGREEMENT LEADERS ON BOTH SIDES ARE LOOKING TO DUBLIN AND LONDON TO MAP A WAY FORWARD. GERRY ADAMS' AND DAVID TRIMBLE'S ABILITY TO FOLLOW ANY PLAN OFFERED WILL DEPEND ON THEIR OVERCOMING THE INCREASINGLY POLARIZED AND DUG-IN POSITIONS OF HARD-LINERS IN THEIR PARTIES. SMALLER, PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES -- INCLUDING ALLIANCE, WOMEN'S COALITION AND THE PUP -- ARE BEGINNING TO LOOK FOR WAYS THEY CAN MOBILIZE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORT. THEY REALIZE DUBLIN AND LONDON WILL LEAD THE EFFORT BUT HOPE WASHINGTON WILL SERVE AS CHEERLEADER. END SUMMARY.

SINN FEIN: OUR PEOPLE STILL DON'T TRUST THE POLITICAL SYSTEM
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2. (C) WEST BELFAST COUNCILLOR AND NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY MEMBER ALEX MASKEY INSISTED TO POLOFF THAT SINN FEIN'S CONSTITUENTS' CONTINUING DISTRUST OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS MEANS THE PARTY'S LEADERS HAVE ALMOST NO NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY. DURING A TOUR OF REPUBLICAN NEIGHBORHOODS AND LANDMARKS, MASKEY

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STRESSED THAT BELFAST REMAINS A DIVIDED AND STRATIFIED CITY. WHILE THE LINES HAVE SOFTENED, THERE ARE STILL SIGNIFICANT CLEARLY-UNDERSTOOD ZONES THAT CATHOLICS DO NOT ENTER AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WHICH THEY CAN NOT COMPETE. (NOTE: THERE ARE ALSO CATHOLIC ZONES INTO WHICH PROTESTANTS DO NOT VENTURE. END NOTE) MASKEY POINTED OUT PROTESTANT COUNCIL ESTATES WHICH HE SAID HAD EMPTY HOUSING UNITS ADJACENT TO OVERCROWDED CATHOLIC ESTATES. HE CLAIMED THAT MOST CATHOLICS CARED LITTLE IF THE HARLAND AND WOLFF SHIPYARD IS SAVED AS THEY HAD NEVER BEEN EMPLOYED THERE AND DID NOT EXPECT TO BE IN THE FUTURE./qkb$VER ON THE BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES THAT DIVIDE THE COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND. WHILE NO ONE IN SINN FEIN SUPPORTS VIOLENCE, THE PARTY'S LEADERS CANNOT SAY THE 'JUST WAR' IS OVER UNTIL THEY HAVE ACHIEVED A 'JUST PEACE'. THE FEBRUARY 11 SUSPENSION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE REINFORCED THE PERCEPTION THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT STILL ASSUMES IT CAN GIVE OR TAKE AT WILL. MASKEY INSISTED THAT, TO MOST REPUBLICANS, PETER MANDELSON PERSONIFIES THE OLD BRITISH COLONIAL MENTALITY/MODEL. ASKED IF THE ANTI-BRITISH/ANTI-MANDELSON POSTERS SINN FEIN IS DISTRIBUTING MIGHT BE CONTRIBUTING TO DISTRUST OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS, MASKEY RESPONDED THAT THE PARTY'S CONSTITUENCY DEMANDS THAT ITS LEADERS TAKE A TOUGH LINE.

UNIONISTS: NO MORE CONCESSIONS TO FORMER TERRORISTS. FULL STOP

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4. (C) TRIMBLE ADVISOR PAUL BEW INSISTED THAT THE UUP WILL NOT AGREE TO GO BACK INTO THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE WITHOUT IRONCLAD GUARANTEES ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE SAID IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO LIFT THE SUSPENSION WITHOUT PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING IF THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS WOULD JOINTLY PROMISE TO ABANDON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ALTOGETHER IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING WITHIN A CERTAIN PERIOD -- SAY A YEAR.

5. (C) BEW CLAIMED HE HAD ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED THE IDEA OF TRIMBLE OFFERING A POSTDATED RESIGNATION LETTER TO THE UNIONIST COUNCIL AS THE PRICE OF ITS AGREEING TO JOIN DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS BEFORE COMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE'S MISTAKE WAS NOT LINKING THE DATE OF THE LETTER TO THE DECOMMISSIONING DEADLINE SET IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT -- MAY 22. WHILE LONDON AND DUBLIN NOW HOLD THE KEYS TO GETTING THINGS BACK ON TRACK, BEW SAID HE DOUBTED IF LONDON AND DUBLIN COULD OVERCOME THE DISTANCE AND TENSIONS BETWEEN THEM. HE ARGUED THAT THE ONLY WAY THERE WOULD BE AGREEMENT WOULD BE "IF BLAIR GETS TOUGH WITH AHERN, LIKE HE DID JUST BEFORE THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT."

6. (C) BEW SAID TRIMBLE'S STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON ON ST PATRICK'S DAY HAD BEEN THE RESULT OF HIS "THINKING LIKE AN ACADEMIC RATHER THAN A POLITICIAN." TRIMBLE HAD BEEN BRIEFED NOT TO BREAK NEW GROUND WHILE IN WASHINGTON, BUT HE -- "NOT FOR THE FIRST TIME" -- GOT IN TROUBLE BY GIVING AN HONEST ANSWER TO A QUESTION. "HE'S NOT A GREAT TACTICIAN." HAVING PROVOKED ANTI-AGREEMENT FACTIONS IN THE UUC, TRIMBLE NOW UNDERSTANDS HE MUST REGAIN CONTROL OF HIS PARTY. THIS WILL BE DIFFICULT AS, BY SUCCEEDING IN GETTING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO BACK UP HIS THREAT TO RESIGN, "TRIMBLE HAS MADE HIMSELF IRRELEVANT." ADAMS NOW WILL NEGOTIATE ONLY DIRECTLY WITH PM BLAIR.

7. (C) BEW ARGUED THAT THE PATTEN REPORT HAD SERIOUSLY WOUNDED TRIMBLE AND ENDED PROSPECTS FOR UUP FLEXIBILITY. UNIONISTS BELIEVE PATTEN'S RECOMMENDATIONS VIOLATE A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THEY ACCEPTED THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE CONCESSIONS TO BRING REPUBLICANS INTO DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT, BUT THEY ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT FULL PARTICIPATION WOULD TAKE PLACE "WITHIN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH STATE." ACCORDING TO BEW,

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COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE CHANGE OF THE NAME AND SYMBOL REFLECT A DEEPER CONCERN THAT "PATTEN HAD CROSSED THE LINE" AND VIOLATED THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGNTY. TRIBLE'S ANGER OVER THE RECOMMENDATIONS REFLECTED HIS SENSE THAT PATTEN HAD BETRAYED THAT PRINCIPLE AND, AS A RESULT, UNDERMINED TRIMBLE'S ABILITY TO ARGUE FOR FLEXIBILITY ON OTHER ISSUES. BEW SAID DISCUSSIONS OF PATTEN AT THE MARCH 25 UUC MEETING HAD BECOME "VERY UGLY." HE CAUTIONED THAT "YOU CAN'T HAVE BOTH PATTEN (IMPLEMENTATION) AND (CONCESSIONS ON) DECOMMISSIONING."

8. (C) NOTE: BEW'S ASSERTIONS ABOUT HOW UNIONISTS SEE PATTEN ARE CONSISTENT WITH CRITICISMS OFFERED BY OTHER PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS, INCLUDING KEN MAGINNIS. ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS CONSIDER THE PATTEN REPORT AS SYMBOLIZING LONDON'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE REPUBLICANS' REJECTION OF ALL THINGS BRITISH. RUTH DUDLEY EDWARDS, WHO ALSO ADVISES TRIMBLE, CLAIMED TO POLOFF SEVERAL WEEKS AGO THAT THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF "CONCESSIONS" MADE OR TO BE MADE TO REPUBLICANS -- SHE CITED EARLY PRISON RELEASES, PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS, MARTIN MACGUINNESS AS MINISTER OF EDUCATION -- WERE DESTROYING CIVIL SOCIETY IN NORTHERN IRELAND RATHER THAN MAKING IT MORE INCLUSIVE. SHE STATED FLATLY THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MORE CONCESSIONS. END NOTE.

ALLIANCE PARTY'S NEESON: WE WANT TO HELP

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9. (C) ALLIANCE PARTY LEADER SEAN NEESON TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE TENSIONS THAT HAVE DEVELOPED SINCE THE SUSPENSION HAVE HARDENED POSITIONS ON BOTH SIDES AND CAUSED PEOPLE TO FORGET THAT THERE IS STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. HE STRESSED THAT THE EXECUTIVE HAD BEEN WORKING WELL AND NOTED THAT, IRONICALLY, "MCGUINNESS AND ROBINSON WERE THE MINISTERS WHO TURNED IN THE BEST PERFORMANCE."

10. (C) NEESON EXPRESSED STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE DUBLIN-LONDON EFFORT AND GAVE GERRY ADAMS AND DAVID TRIMBLE CREDIT FOR THEIR PERSONAL EFFORTS. BOTH, HOWEVER, ARE HOBBLED BY HARD-LINERS AND RECALCITRANTS IN THEIR PARTIES. NEESON ARGUED THAT GOVERNMENTS AND PRO-AGREEMENT LEADERS HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN NOT DOING MORE IN THE WEEKS AFTER DECEMBER 2 TO BUILD SUPPORT FOR THE NEXT STEPS IN IMPLEMENTATION. AS A RESULT, THE PROCESS WAS ALLOWED TO DRIFT AND HARD-LINE, ANTI-AGREEMENT FACTIONS WERE ABLE TO SEIZE THE AGENDA. NOW ADAMS AND ESPECIALLY TRIMBLE WILL NEED TO REBUILD THEIR BASE BEFORE MAKING ANY FURTHER MOVES. THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE CAN AND SHOULD BE PLAYING A ROLE BY BUILDING PUBLIC SUPPORT TO COUNTER THE EFFECTS OF THE ANTI-AGREEMENT FACTIONS. HE ARGUED THAT THE ALLIANCE PARTY HAS A SPECIAL ROLE TO PLAY.

11. (C) NEESON SAID HE THOUGHT PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND TAOISEACH AHERN SHOULD MEET WITH ALL THE PARTIES TOGETHER AS SOON AS THEY HAVE AN IDEA HOW THEY WANT TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD. A STATEMENT BY THE U.S., MAKING IT CLEAR THAT IT EXPECTS ALL PARTIES TO SUPPORT ACTIVELY THE LONDON-BELFAST PROCESS, WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL. IT WOULD ALSO ENCOURAGE GRASSROOTS EFFORTS AND HELP ENERGIZE THE PUBLIC, WHICH WANTS THE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTED BUT IS DISCOURAGED BY EVENTS SINCE DECEMBER.

12. (C) NEESON REPORTED THAT HE HAD MET WITH KEN WALLACH OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE MENTIONED THAT HE ALSO HAD TIES TO CANADIAN PM CHRETIEN AND HAD BEGUN DISCUSSIONS ON HOW THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA MIGHT ENCOURAGE PRO-AGREEMENT GRASSROOTS EFFORTS.

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WOMEN'S COALITION: WE WANT TO GET BACK TO WORK
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13. (C) WOMENS' COALITION LEADER MONICA MCWILLIAMS CLAIMED THAT ASSEMBLY MEMBERS AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES HAD BECOME ALMOST DESPONDENT AFTER THE SUSPENSION WHICH TOOK AWAY -- AGAIN -- PEOPLES' ABILITY TO TAKE CONTROL OF THEIR POLITICAL LIVES. SHE BLAMED THE SUSPENSION LARGELY ON UNIONISTS WHO, SHE SAID, UNDERSTAND SINN FEIN CAN'T DELIVER ON DECOMMISSIONING AT THIS STAGE AND DON'T REALLY WANT THEM TO. FOR MCWILLIAMS, THE STANDOFF IS ABOUT POWER, NOT PRINCIPLE. HER FRUSTRATION APPARENT, SHE ARGUED THAT "THE IRONY IS THAT, EVEN IF JEFFREY DONALDSON WERE TO DISPLACE TRIMBLE, IN FIVE YEARS HE WILL BE DOING EXACTLY THE SAME THING TRIMBLE IS DOING NOW." SHE SAID THAT THE CHALLENGE IS TO ENERGIZE THE PUBLIC IN ORDER TO SEND A CLEAR SIGNAL TO LEADERS THAT THERE IS SUPPORT FOR DOING WHAT IT TAKES TO GET THE PROCESS BACK ON TRACK.

PUP: WASHINGTON SHOULD BE CHEERLEADER
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14. (C) THE PUP'S DAVID ERVINE AND BILLY HUTCHINSON STRESSED TO POLOFF THEIR CONCERN THAT RECALCITRANT REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS NOW CONTROL THE AGENDA. THEY ASSERTED THAT CURRENT DISCUSSIONS, BY FOCUSING ON HARD-LINE CONSTITUENCIES AND SPECIFIC DEMANDS, HAVE LOST SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD SUPPORT THE COMPROMISES NECESSARY TO ALLOW FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE ATTENTION BEING PAID TO DETAILS DISTRACTS FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE -- WHICH IS HOLDING PEOPLE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR INTENTIONS AND EFFORTS TO MOVE THE PROCESS FORWARD.

15. (C) ERVINE SAID THAT EVERYONE RECOGNIZED THAT THE KEY TO GETTING THINGS BACK ON TRACK WAS FOR LONDON AND DUBLIN TO AGREE ON A PLAN FORWARD. BUT THE EFFORT HAS DEGENERATED INTO "A GERRY AND DAVID SHOW," WHICH JUST DOESN'T WORK. "WHEN ONE IS SAD, THE OTHER IS HAPPY AND VICE VERSA. THEY STILL HAVEN'T FIGURED OUT A WAY TO BE HAPPY TOGETHER." HE URGED THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY AN ACTIVE "CHEERLEADER" ROLE TO HELP THE PUBLIC AND PRO-AGREEMENT FACTIONS AND PARTIES OVERCOME THE SENSE OF FUTILITY THAT HAD SET IN SINCE THE SUSPENSION. CIVIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS WOULD REMIND THE PUBLIC THEY CAN AND SHOULD HOLD LEADERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE INTENT IMPLICIT IN THEIR STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS.

COMMENT
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16. (C) ADAM'S AND TRIMBLE'S ABILITY TO FOLLOW WHATEVER ROADMAP THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENT MAY BE ABLE TO AGREE ON WILL DEPEND ON THEIR OVERCOMING INCREASINGLY ASSERTIVE RESISTANCE FROM HARD-LINERS IN BOTH THEIR CONSTITUENTS. THE SECONDHAND ALLEGATIONS, OFFERED TO THE BLOODY SUNDAY INQUIRY ON APRIL 5 AND 6 -- THAT MARTIN MCGUINNESS FIRED THE SHOT THAT BEGAN THE VIOLENCE THAT DAY 28 YEARS AGO (SEPTEL) -- WILL REINFORCE HARD-LINE UNIONIST ATTITUDES AND INCREASE REPUBLICAN DISTRUST. THE HEATED PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON APRIL 6 ON THE PATTEN REPORT SUGGESTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S IMPLEMENTATION PLAN, DUE TO BE RELEASED BEFORE EASTER (SEPTEL), WILL FURTHER HARDEN THE UNIONIST POSITION. BOTH OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS WILL MAKE IT THAT MUCH HARDER FOR MODERATE REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR THE GOOD FAITH COMPROMISES ON WHICH ANY DUBLIN-LONDON PLAN WILL CERTAINLY DEPEND.

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17. (C) WHILE ADAMS AND TRIMBLE THEMSELVES, PERHAPS WITH THE SUPPORT OF DUBLIN AND LONDON, WILL HAVE TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO BRING THEIR PARTIES IN LINE, THE SMALLER, PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES ARE ANXIOUS TO PLAY A ROLE IN MOBILIZING PUBLIC SUPPORT IN FAVOR OF THE EFFORT. THEIR WORK TO FOCUS NORTHERN IRELAND PUBLIC OPINION COULD HELP COUNTER CLAIMS THAT IT IS TIME TO GIVE UP ON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. END COMMENT.

DAVIES

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RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1126
SUBJ: SINN FEIN'S ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS SEE "LAST CHANCE" FOR GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

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

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 001433

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND/STEINBERG

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/11/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN'S ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS SEE "LAST CHANCE" FOR GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

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

1. (C) SUMMARY: GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS TOLD THE AMBASSADOR APRIL 11 THAT THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WOULD REPRESENT "THE LAST CHANCE" TO SAVE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE SINN FEIN LEADERS INDICATED THAT THE IRA WAS PREPARED TO COMMIT TO PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE BUT WOULD NOT AGREE TO A TIMETABLE. THIS COULD ONLY BE DETERMINED IN THE CONTEXT OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING QUICK RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS. ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS EXPECTED PM'S BLAIR AND AHERN TO BE IN BELFAST NEXT WEEK FOR INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PARTIES TO IRON OUT AN AGREEMENT BEFORE EASTER (APRIL 23). ADAMS SAID THE RECENT SINN FEIN PARTY CONFERENCE HAD SHOWN THAT MOST PARTY MEMBERS ALREADY BELIEVED THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT WAS DEAD, BUT HE AND MCGUINNESS REITERATED THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAKE THE AGREEMENT WORK. END SUMMARY.

ONE LAST CHANCE
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2. (C) SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS AND CHIEF NEGOTIATOR MARTIN MCGUINNESS TOLD AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN APRIL 11 THAT THE NEXT TWO WEEKS WOULD COMPRISE "THE LAST CHANCE" TO SAVE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. OVER A WORKING BREAKFAST WITH AMB. AND POLOFF, THE TWO SINN FEIN LEADERS OBSERVED THAT THE SINN FEIN RANK AND FILE, AS SHOWN AT THE APRIL 8-9 PARTY CONFERENCE (BEING REPORTED SEPTEL), HAD

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ALREADY "GIVEN UP" ON THE AGREEMENT AND WERE THINKING AHEAD TO ELECTIONS OVER THE NEXT 18 MONTHS IN IRELAND AND THE UK. MCGUINNESS STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP WAS STILL COMMITTED TO MAKING THE AGREEMENT WORK.

3. (C) ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS TOLD US THEY HAD MET WITH IRISH TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN APRIL 10 AND NOW BELIEVED THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WERE WORKING ON A PROPOSAL TO BE READY LATER THIS WEEK FOR INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES IN BELFAST NEXT WEEK (WEEK OF APRIL 17 LEADING UP TO EASTER). ADAMS SAID THEY WOULD BE MEETING WITH GOI OFFICIALS AND JONATHAN POWELL FROM PM BLAIR'S OFFICE IN DUBLIN APRIL 12. ADAMS SAW, IN POWELL'S RETURN TO THE PROCESS, SIGNS THAT PM BLAIR WAS RECLAIMING THE BRITISH LEAD ALTHOUGH NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON WAS RELUCTANT TO YIELD. IT WAS ADAMS' UNDERSTANDING THAT BLAIR HAS CLEARED HIS CALENDAR FOR NEXT WEEK TO BE IN BELFAST FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PARTIES. MCGUINNESS ANTICIPATED THAT THE TAOISEACH WOULD DO THE SAME.

4. (C) ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE WAY FORWARD, ADAMS SAID HE HAD TAKEN THREE QUESTIONS TO THE IRA: IF THEY WOULD PUT ARMS BEYOND USE; WHEN THEY WOULD PUT ARMS BEYOND USE; AND HOW THEY WOULD PUT ARMS BEYOND USE. THE ANSWER TO THE "IF" QUESTIONS WAS "YES," THEY WOULD PUT ARMS BEYOND USE. ON WHEN, HE SAID THE IRA WOULD NOT AGREE TO A TIMETABLE, THIS COULD ONLY OCCUR IN THE CONTEXT OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT AND INSTITUTIONS UP AN RUNNING. ON HOW, ADAMS SAID IT WOULD BE "CONSISTENT WITH THE IRA'S OWN METHODS," BUT IT WOULD BE DONE IN WAY THAT WAS "VERIFIABLE." THERE WAS NO HARDLINE VIEW IN THE IRA, ADAMS INDICATED, ON WHO COULD PROVIDE VERIFICATION, BUT HE

DID NOTE THAT THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION MAY NOT BE THE BEST CHOICE AS ITS CREDIBILITY HAS BEEN ERODED. THIS, HE SAID, WAS AS FAR AS THE IRA WOULD OR COULD GO AND, AND A FINAL DECISION TO PUT "ARMS BEYOND USE IN A VERIFIABLE WAY" WOULD REQUIRE AN IRA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. WHILE IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT
, HE THOUGHT THE IRA LEADERSHIP
COULD WIN SUPPORT AT SOME FUTURE POINT IF POLITICS WERE WORKING AND "WERE SEEN TO BE WORKING." ADAMS CONCLUDED THAT, THIS TIME, ANY STATEMENTS ON ARMS WOULD HAVE TO COME DIRECTLY FROM THE IRA; SINN FEIN COULD NOT BE PLACED IN A POSITION WHERE IT WAS BEING HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR IRA POSITIONS.

TRIMBLE'S WEAKNESS OVERBLOWN?
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5. (C) TURNING TO UNIONISM, BOTH ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS FELT THAT DAVID TRIMBLE'S WEAKNESSES WERE BEING OVER-EMPHASIZED BY THE BRITISH. ADAMS CLAIMED THAT TRIMBLE HAS NEVER HAD MORE THAT 55-60& SUPPORT WITHIN THE UUP, AND THAT'S ABOUT WHAT HE POLLED AGAIN IN THE LATEST LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE. ADAMS ARGUED THAT IF TRIMBLE WOULD SHOW SOME LEADERSHIP AND ACTIVELY TRY TO SELL A WAY FORWARD, RATHER THAN GOING INTO EVERY ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING ON THE DEFENSE, HE MIGHT BE PLEASANTLY SURPRISED BY THE SUPPORT HE WOULD RECEIVE. IN MCGUINNESS' VIEW, ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS WILL NEVER BE CONVINCED TO SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT, SO THE UK AND TRIMBLE SHOULD WASTE NO MORE TIME TRYING TO APPEASE THEM.

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6. (C) THE AMBASSADOR ASKED ABOUT THE JUST FINISHED SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS AND ITS STRONG FOCUS ON ELECTORAL STRATEGY. ADAMS NOTED THE LACK OF INTEREST IN THE PEACE PROCESS AMONG THE DELEGATES. IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH, OBVIOUS APPLAUSE LINES ON THE PEACE PROCESS HAD FALLEN FLAT WHILE DECLARATIONS ON THE PARTY'S ELECTORAL SUCCESS WERE WARMLY APPLAUDED. ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS DISAGREED ON THE PARTY'S PROSPECTS IN THE NEXT IRISH ELECTIONS, WITH ADAMS OBSERVING THAT EXPECTATIONS OF THE PARTY TAKING 5-7 DAIL SEATS WERE LIKELY EXAGGERATED, WHILE MCGUINNESS WAS MARKEDLY MORE UPBEAT. BOTH NOTED EMBARRASSMENT THAT THE DELEGATES HAD FAILED TO ELECT ANY WOMEN TO THE PARTY'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, INCLUDING A FAILURE TO REELECT FORMER NORTHERN HEALTH MINISTER BAIRBRE DE BRUN.

THE DISSIDENT THREAT
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7. (C) POLOFF RAISED THE RECENT RISE IN REPUBLICAN DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES. ADAMS NOTED THAT THE DISSIDENTS HAVE HAD SOME SMALL SUCCESS IN DRAWING YOUNG PEOPLE INTO THEIR RANKS. HE THOUGHT THE IMMEDIATE SECURITY THREAT POSED WAS MORE TO MAINSTREAM REPUBLICANS, SUCH AS HIMSELF AND MCGUINNESS, THAN TO BRITISH INTERESTS. THE NEW RECRUITS, ADAMS INDICATED, HAVE BEEN INDOCTRINATED TO BELIEVE THAT THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP HAS BETRAYED THE REPUBLIC AND IS COLLABORATING WITH BRITISH RULE. ADAMS ALSO SHARPLY ATTACKED THE RUC FOR ALERTING 17 SINN FEIN COUNSELORS IN THE NORTH THAT THEY WERE BEING "ACTIVELY TARGETED BY LOYALISTS PARAMILITARY BUT REFUSING THE 17 SPECIAL PROTECTION.

8. (C) COMMENT: DESPITE THE VIEW OF THE SINN FEIN RANK AND FILE THAT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IS DEAD, WE BELIEVE ADAMS AND MCGUINNESS ARE SINCERE IN PRESSING FOR ONE LAST TRY, WITH IRA ARMS BEING ADDRESSED ALONG THE LINES OF THE SECOND DE CHASTELAIN REPORT FROM FEBRUARY 11. WHAT IS ALSO CLEAR IS THAT THE IRA WILL NOT AGREE TO AN ARMS TIMETABLE. WITH BRITISH EMBASSY SOURCES CONFIRMING TO US TODAY THAT UNIONISTS MUST HAVE A TIMETABLE ON IRA ARMS TO RETURN TO THE EXECUTIVE IT APPEARS THAT MUCH WORK REMAINS FOR THE TWO GOVERNMENTS IN THE RUN-UP TO EASTER. END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

TOR: 04/11/00 12:36:55

DIST: SIT: NSC

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LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA2892 1052044-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 142044Z APR 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
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DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4873
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1555
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: GLOOM IN BELFAST TWO YEARS AFTER GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

CLASSIFIED BY JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 002892

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: GLOOM IN BELFAST TWO YEARS AFTER GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

CLASSIFIED BY JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

REFS: A) DUBLIN 1433 B) LONDON 2328

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ WHILE THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS CONTINUE EFFORTS TO RESCUE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, THERE IS A SENSE AMONG THE PARTIES HERE THAT DIFFERENCES OVER DECOMMISSIONING WILL BLOCK A RESOLUTION. EVENTS SINCE THE FEBRUARY SUSPENSION MAKE A DEAL MORE DIFFICULT. THE BEST HOPE APPEARS TO BE A NEW PACKAGE INVOLVING A BRITISH COMMITMENT TO ACCELERATE SECURITY NORMALIZATION AND AN IRA STATEMENT THAT WILL ALLOW TRIMBLE TO UNDERTAKE WHAT COULD BE A KAMIKAZE MISSION TO CONVINCE HIS PARTY TO REJOIN THE EXECUTIVE. FAILURE TO REVIVE THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS WILL LIKELY PUT THE GFA INTO A DEEP FREEZE UNTIL AFTER THE UK AND IRISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, BOTH EXPECTED NEXT YEAR. END SUMMARY.

GOVERNMENTS' DELAY COSTLY
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2. ~~(C)~~ AS THE MARATHON NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS ENTERS WHAT IS EXPECTED TO BE ANOTHER PHASE OF INTENSE ACTIVITY PRIOR TO EASTER, POLITICAL LEADERS HERE SEEM FATIGUED AND ALL BUT RESIGNED TO FAILURE. REFLECTING THIS MOOD, SENIOR POLITICIANS FROM SINN FEIN AND THE UUP USED

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THE OCCASION OF A CG-HOSTED DINNER APRIL 12 TO REHASH GRIEVANCES OF THE LAST SIX MONTHS (AND 30 YEARS) RATHER THAN EXPLORE ANY COMMON GROUND.

3. (C) THE ISSUES REMAIN TIRESOMELY UNCHANGED: THE UNIONISTS WILL NOT COMMIT UNCONDITIONALLY TO THE POWER-SHARING DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CLEAR SIGNALS THAT THE IRA IS SERIOUS ABOUT DECOMMISSIONING, WHILE REPUBLICANS CONTEND THAT DECOMMISSIONING IS NOT A POSSIBILITY UNTIL THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS HAVE FUNCTIONED SUCCESSFULLY. HOPES THAT SUSPENSION WOULD BE BRIEF OR THAT MOMENTUM TOWARDS DECOMMISSIONING ACHIEVED IN EARLY FEBRUARY COULD BE SUSTAINED PROVED IN VAIN AS LONDON AND DUBLIN PUBLICLY DISAGREED ABOUT WHETHER SUSPENSION WAS NECESSARY AND FAILED SO FAR TO COME UP WITH A PLAN FOR NEXT STEPS. WHILE THE GOVERNMENTS HAVE MOVED SLOWLY TOWARDS A COMMON APPROACH, EVENTS ON THE GROUND HAVE TENDED TO ENTRENCH THE POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES, MAKING AGREEMENT MORE DIFFICULT.

SINN FEIN: NOT HOPEFUL
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4. (C) SF HAS INTERPRETED THE FEBRUARY SUSPENSION AS PROOF OF BRITISH PERFIDY (AND HEIGHTENED ITS OWN SENSE OF VICTIMHOOD). IN A DISCUSSION WITH US IN MID-MARCH, SF'S BAIRBRE DE BRUN DISMISSED ANY NEW FORMULA INVOLVING "JUMPING TOGETHER", SAYING THAT NOT EVEN SINN FEIN WOULD GO FOR SUCH A PLAN, LET ALONE THE IRA. THOUGH DE BRUN TENDS TO BE LESS COMPROMISING, HER ADAMANT TONE SUGGESTED SINN FEIN'S POSITION HAS HARDENED. ALEX MASKEY TOLD US ON APRIL 12 THAT MOST DELEGATES AT THE RECENT SF PARTY CONVENTION HAD ALREADY MENTALLY CONSIGNED THE GFA TO THE DUSTBIN, THOUGH THE LEADERSHIP STILL WANTS TO SALVAGE SOMETHING. CONVERSATIONS WITH YOUNGER SINN FEIN ACTIVISTS SUGGEST vNAY IT WLLBEDIFICULTFO TE RA EVE T APONT
AN INTERLOCUTOR TO THE IICD.

TRIMBLE: ONE MORE GO?
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5. (C) MEANWHILE, THE MODERATE UUP LEADERSHIP APPEARS INCREASINGLY BOXED IN FOLLOWING THE MARCH 25 UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING IN WHICH 43 PERCENT OF THE DELEGATES VOTED AGAINST TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP. THE MEETING ALSO PASSED AN IRRESPONSIBLE MOTION LINKING FUTURE UUP PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT TO RETAINING THE RUC'S OLD NAME. DESPITE HIS PREDICAMENT, TRIMBLE HAS BEEN AT PAINS TO APPEAR FLEXIBLE AND MAY CALCULATE THAT, PROVIDED SOMETHING IS ON OFFER FROM THE IRA, HE CAN PERSUADE THE UNIONIST COUNCIL TO GIVE DEVOLUTION ONE MORE CHANCE AND REJOIN THE GOVERNMENT AS FIRST MINISTER. THIS COULD TURN INTO A KAMIKAZE MISSION, RESULTING IN TRIMBLE'S DEMISE AS PARTY LEADER AND SENDING THE GFA INTO A DEEP FREEZE.

COMMENT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 002892

NSC FOR NORLAND
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TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: GLOOM IN BELFAST TWO YEARS AFTER GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

6. (C) DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NIO (REF B) SUGGEST THAT THE SUCCESS OF GOVERNMENTS' PLAN WILL HINGE ON ITS ABILITY TO COAX SUFFICIENT CLARITY FROM THE IRA TO PERSUADE TRIMBLE TO RISK HIS LEADERSHIP ONCE MORE. SINCE THE CARROTS ON OFFER BY THE GOVERNMENTS (REVIVAL OF THE INSTITUTIONS, MEASURED SECURITY NORMALIZATION) DO NOT APPEAR TO BE COMPELLING ENOUGH TO PERSUADE EITHER SF OR THE UUP, LONDON AND DUBLIN MAY NEED TO CONSIDER STICKS THAT WILL REINFORCE THE NOTION THAT THE GFA IS THE BEST ALTERNATIVE. UNFORTUNATELY, EACH SIDE MAY BE CALCULATING THAT POCKETING THEIR GAINS (OR CUTTING THEIR LOSSES) FROM THE AGREEMENT AND FOCUSING ON UK AND IRISH ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR NEXT YEAR IS THE BEST MEDIUM-TERM STRATEGY.
JOHNSON

TOR: 04/14/00 17:10:08

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INFO: ////
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE REFORM PLAN AND LEGISLATION MIRRORING PATTEN REPORT EXPECTED BY END OF APRIL

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE JUDITH R JOHNSON FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 002948

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/18/10
TAGS: PGOV, EI, UK
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE REFORM PLAN AND LEGISLATION MIRRORING PATTEN REPORT EXPECTED BY END OF APRIL

(U) CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE JUDITH R JOHNSON FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY
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1. (C) THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE REPORTS THAT IT EXPECTS TO RELEASE ITS COMPREHENSIVE PLAN, ACCOMPANIED BY DRAFT LEGISLATION, FOR REFORM OF POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE END OF APRIL AND PERHAPS BY EASTER. THE PLAN CLOSELY FOLLOWS THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS, AND MOST ELEMENTS WILL BE IMPLEMENTED BY THE FALL OF 2001 WHEN THE FIRST OFFICERS RECRUITED UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM ENTER THE FORCE. DEVIATIONS FROM THE PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS INCLUDE A BUILT-IN AN ADJUSTMENT PERIOD FOR INTRODUCING THE NEW NAME AND BADGE AND GIVING THE NEW DISTRICT PARTNERSHIPS PROJECT BUDGETS, AND A MODIFICATION OF THE RECRUITMENT FORMULA TO MEET EU HUMAN RIGHTS CRITERIA. THE POLICE OMBUDSMAN-DESIGNATE TELLS US SHE EXPECTS THE ROSEMARY NELSON CASE TO BE TRANSFERRED TO HER OFFICE. UNIONISTS CONTINUE TO OBJECT TO THE PLANS TO REPLACE THE RUC NAME AND BADGE AS A SIGNAL THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO CEDE SOVEREIGNTY OVER NORTHERN IRELAND. REPUBLICANS SAY THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ENCOURAGE CATHOLICS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEW SERVICE WILL DEPEND ON THE CHANGES THAT COME ABOUT AS A RESULT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN. THE NIO IS COMMITTED TO MOVING AHEAD WITH IMPLEMENTATION EVEN THOUGH UNIONISTS' DISCOMFORT ON THIS ISSUE REINFORCES THEIR RESISTANCE TO COMPROMISE ON OTHERS, INCLUDING DECOMMISSIONING. END SUMMARY

REFORM PLAN FOLLOWS PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS, WITH EXCEPTIONS

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2. (C) THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE TELLS US THAT THEY PLAN TO RELEASE THE GOVERNMENT'S OVERALL PLAN FOR POLICE REFORM IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE END OF APRIL -- AND POSSIBLY BY EASTER. THE PLAN WILL ADDRESS ALL 175 OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS AND FOLLOW MOST. CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE PLAN WILL REPRESENT VARIATIONS ON THEE PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS. SOME VARIATIONS ARE ALMOST COSMETIC, I.E., THE NEW NAME BEING THE POLICE SERVICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND (PSNI) RATHER THAN THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE (NIPS). OTHERS ARE MEANT TO ALLOW FOR AN ADAPTATION PERIOD, I.E., DELAYING THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW NAME/BADGE CHANGE UNTIL LATE IN 2001, WHEN THE FIRST OFFICERS RECRUITED UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM ENTER THE FORCE. THE NIO REPORTS THE PLAN TO RECRUIT A POOL OF QUALIFIED CANDIDATES FROM WHICH THEY WILL SELECT AN EQUAL NUMBER OF CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT OFFICERS WAS DESIGNED TO SATISFY EU HUMAN RIGHTS/EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS. NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON CONFIRMED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON APRIL 6 THAT HE WOULD NOT REQUIRE SERVING OFFICERS TO TAKE THE NEW OATH OF OFFICE. HE ALSO HINTED THAT THE NEW PSNI BADGE MIGHT INCORPORATE A REFERENCE TO THE CROWN, AND NIO CONTACTS TELL US THAT HE MAY CONSULT WITH THE NEW POLICING BOARD BEFORE MAKING A FINAL DECISION ON THE NEW BADGE.

3. (C) THE GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO PUT ONE PATTEN RECOMMENDATION ON HOLD FOR THE TIME BEING. ACCORDING TO THE NIO, THE NEW DISTRICT POLICING PARTNERSHIP BOARDS, WHICH WILL INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE DIFFERENT PARTIES, WILL NOT BE GIVEN EXPENDITURE POWERS (PROJECT BUDGETS) UNTIL THE PUBLIC HAS CONFIDENCE THAT THEY WILL BE GUIDED BY PROFESSIONAL POLICING STANDARDS RATHER THAN ANY POLITICAL AGENDA.

4. (C) THE PLAN WILL PROVIDE FOR DOWNSIZING THE POLICE FORCE AND NORMALIZING POLICING ARRANGEMENTS, WITH TIMING BASED ON THE CHIEF CONSTABLE'S JUDGMENT WHAT THE SECURITY THREAT ALLOWS. THE GOVERNMENT PLANS TO CLOSE THE LAST TWO SPECIAL "HOLDING CENTERS" IN NORTHERN IRELAND (GOUGH BARRACKS AND STRAND ROAD) AS SOON AS STANDARD "CUSTODY SUITES" ARE BUILT TO HANDLE TEMPORARY DETAINEES IN STANDARD POLICE STATIONS. MORE SUBTLE CHANGES, INCLUDING THE REPLACEMENT OF SOME OF THE HEAVILY ARMORED PATROL VEHICLES WITH MORE STANDARD MODELS AND REPAINTING OF THOSE IN USE FROM ARMY GREEN TO STANDARD POLICE WHITE, ARE ALREADY TAKING PLACE.

5. (C) ONE ELEMENT OF THE PLAN THAT MIGHT DRAW CRITICISM IS THE PLAN TO LIMIT THE AUTHORITY OF THE POLICE OMBUDSMAN TO FUTURE CASES OR THOSE PAST CASES WHERE THERE HAS NOT BEEN A PRIOR INVESTIGATION. THE NIO WANTS TO PROTECT THE OMBUDSMAN FROM BEING USED AS A VEHICLE FOR REHASHING PAST GRIEVANCES. ACCORDING TO THE OMBUDSMAN-DESIGNATE, NUALA O'LOANE, SOME UNRESOLVED ISSUES, INCLUDING ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE MISCONDUCT IN THE ROSEMARY NELSON MURDER, WILL BE TRANSFERRED TO THE OMBUDSMAN. THE NIO UNDERLINED THAT THE OMBUDSMAN WILL HAVE AUTHORITY ONLY FOR POLICE MATTERS. THIS EXCLUDES ANY INVESTIGATIONS OF ACTIONS BY THE MILITARY.

TIMETABLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION

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6. (C) THE NIO TELLS US THAT THEY HAVE HAD A CORE TEAM OF SIXTEEN STAFFERS WORKING FULL-TIME ON DEVELOPING THE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN AND ACCOMPANYING DRAFT LEGISLATION. BOTH PLAN AND ACCOMPANYING

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/18/10

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TAGS: PGOV, EI, UK
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE REFORM PLAN AND LEGISLATION MIRRORING PATTEN REPORT EXPECTED BY END OF APRIL

LEGISLATION SHOULD BE PUBLIC BY THE END OF APRIL, AND THE NIO EXPECTS THE LEGISLATION TO BECOME LAW BY SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER. THE PLAN WILL BE COMPREHENSIVE AND INCLUDE DETAILS ON THE STRUCTURE OF NEW ENTITIES, FINANCING, AND THE SEVERANCE PACKAGE TO EASE DOWNSIZING THE FORCE. THE POLICE REFORM LEGISLATION WILL BE COMPLEMENTED BY THE NEW TERRORISM LEGISLATION, WHICH CRIMINALIZES EQUALLY ALL FORMS OF TERRORISM AND THUS ELIMINATES THE EXCEPTIONAL LEGAL STATUS AND TREATMENT OF TERRORISM CASES RELATING TO NORTHERN IRELAND. IT WAS INTRODUCED EARLIER IN THE YEAR AND SHOULD BE SIGNED INTO LAW BY AUGUST.

7. (C) THE NIO IS REPORTEDLY CLOSE TO NAMING THE INTERNATIONAL FIGURE WHO WILL OVERSEE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN. WHILE UNDER STRICT INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO DISCUSS DETAILS OR NAMES, THE NIO DID TELL US THAT "THE COMMISSIONER WILL NOT COME FROM EITHER THE BRITISH OR IRISH STATES." HE OR SHE WILL BE REQUIRED TO SPEND A MINIMUM OF EIGHT WEEKS A YEAR IN RESIDENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE OR SHE WILL BE IN PLACE BEFORE THE NEW LEGISLATION REQUIRED BY THE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN IS SIGNED INTO LAW.

8. (C) IN THE MEANTIME, THE FIRST OFFICERS WHO WILL ENTER THE FORCE UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM WILL BE RECRUITED IN MAY AND JUNE OF THIS YEAR, BEGIN TRAINING THIS FALL, AND ENTER THE FORCE BY THE FALL OF 2001. THE POLICE BOARDS WILL BE ESTABLISHED BY THE END OF THE YEAR AND BE WORKING AS SHADOW ORGANIZATIONS BY JANUARY 2001. THEY WILL ASSUME AUTHORITY FOR FUNCTIONS OUTLINED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN BY THE END OF MARCH 2001.

UNIONISTS' OBJECTIONS TO PATTEN SPILL OVER TO OTHER ISSUES

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9. (C) PRO-AGREEMENT, MODERATE UNIONISTS CONTINUE TO OBJECT TO PLANS TO REPLACE THE NAME AND BADGE OF THE RUC. DURING A DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON APRIL 6, DAVID TRIMBLE REFERRED TO POLLING DATA TO CONTEST ASSERTIONS THAT THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD HAVE MORE CONFIDENCE IN OR BE MORE WILLING TO SUPPORT A POLICE SERVICE WITH A NEW NAME AND BADGE. (COMMENT: REPUBLICANS WOULD RESPOND THAT THE MESSAGE IS THAT A NAME/BADGE CHANGE ALONE IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO INCREASE CONFIDENCE IN THE ORGANIZATION, NOT THAT THE CHANGES ARE NOT NEEDED. END COMMENT) TRIMBLE ASSERTED THAT THE PLANNED CHANGES WOULD BE A "GRIEVOUS INSULT" TO RUC WIDOWS AND DISABLED OFFICERS IN RETURN FOR LITTLE BENEFIT.

10. (C) TRIMBLE TOLD THE COMMONS THAT WHILE THE GOVERNMENT DEFENDS THE NAME/BADGE CHANGES AS AN EFFORT TO TAKE POLITICS OUT OF POLICING, IT IS HIS VIEW THAT THEY ACTUALLY DO THE OPPOSITE. HE CLAIMED THE CHANGES VIOLATED THE PARTIES' PLEDGE IN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT TO RESPECT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND "WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM." HE ACCUSED PATTEN OF TRYING TO IMPOSE NEUTRALITY ON A SYSTEM WHICH THE PARTIES HAD AGREED WOULD EXIST WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY. TRIMBLE CONTRASTED THE PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS TO THOSE CONTAINED IN THE RECENT REVIEW OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (WHICH ALLOW FOR CONTINUED USE -- WITH MODIFICATIONS -- OF "ROYAL COURTS," THE ROYAL COAT OF ARMS, AND THE UNION FLAG). TO TRIMBLE AND OTHER PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS, THE PROPOSED CHANGES ARE NOT JUST ABOUT SYMBOLS. THEY SUGGEST THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS PREPARING TO CEDE SOVEREIGNTY OVER NORTHERN IRELAND.

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11. (C) HARD-LINE, ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS ARE USING UNIONIST DISCOMFORT OVER CERTAIN PATTEN PROPOSALS AS A VEHICLE FOR ATTACKING TRIMBLE AND BUILDING RESISTANCE TO COMPROMISE ON OTHER ISSUES, MOST PARTICULARLY DECOMMISSIONING. THEY ARGUE THAT THE PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS REFLECT THE INHERENT BIAS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ITSELF AND HOLD TRIMBLE ACCOUNTABLE FOR ITS CONTENT AND CONSEQUENCES. TRIMBLE ADVISOR PAUL BEW RECENTLY WARNED THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT IMPLEMENTS PATTEN, IT WILL MAKE IT VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO GET CONCESSIONS FROM UNIONISTS ON DECOMMISSIONING. 'THE DAILY TELEGRAPH' CLAIMED APRIL 16 THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO LEAVE THE CROWN AS PART OF THE NEW POLICE SERVICE BADGE IN ORDER TO BUY UNIONIST CONCESSIONS ON DECOMMISSIONING.

UNIONIST GREET GEORGE CROSS AWARD WITH SKEPTICISM
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12. (C) THE QUEEN'S AWARD OF THE GEORGE CROSS TO THE RUC ON APRIL 12 AT STORMONT WAS MEANT TO HELP CLOSE THE DOOR ON THE PAST AND CLEAR THE WAY FOR THE NEW POLICE SERVICE. IN PRESENTING THE AWARD, SHE THANKED THE RUC FOR ITS PAST SACRIFICES AND THEN ASKED ITS OFFICERS TO MAINTAIN "A SENSE OF DUTY AND DISCIPLINE AS THEY FACED THE PERIOD OF CHANGE THAT LIES AHEAD." PETER MANDELSON TRIED TO DEFLECT ATTENTION FROM SECTARIAN DIVISIONS. HE CREDITED THE RUC WITH BEING ON THE SIDE OF THOSE WHO CHOOSE THE BALLOT BOX OVER TERRORISM. ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS NEVERTHELESS CRITICIZED THE AWARD AS A PLOY (ONE USED THE TERM "SOP") TO REDUCE RESISTANCE TO RUC REFORM.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 002948

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/18/10
TAGS: PGOV, EI, UK
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE REFORM PLAN AND LEGISLATION MIRRORING PATTEN REPORT EXPECTED BY END OF APRIL

REPUBLICANS STILL NOT READY TO COMMIT TO NEW SERVICE
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13. (C) ON PATTEN AS ON OTHER ISSUES, REPUBLICANS ARE TAKING A WAIT AND SEE APPROACH. ASKED IF SINN FEIN WILL ENCOURAGE CATHOLICS TO COMPETE FOR PLACES IN THE NEW POLICE SERVICE, BELFAST COUNCILLOR AND NI ASSEMBLY MEMBER ALEX MASKEY RESPONDED THAT "IT WILL DEPEND ON HOW THE PLAN IS IMPLEMENTED." REPUBLICANS FLATLY REJECT UNIONISTS' RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE PATTEN RECOMMENDATIONS, AND THEY ACCUSE UNIONISTS OF TRYING TO PRESERVE A BIASED AND DISCREDITED ORGANIZATION. SINN FEIN'S BAIRBRE DE BRUN DESCRIBED THE AWARD OF THE GEORGE CROSS AS "GLOSSLY INSENSITIVE" TO THOSE WHO HAD BEEN KILLED OR INJURED BY THE RUC.

COMMENT
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14. (C) MOST OF THE POLICE REFORMS PROPOSED BY THE PATTEN COMMISSION ARE NON-CONTROVERSIAL AND ARE ACCEPTED AS SUPPORTIVE OF GOOD POLICING. THE FEW THAT ARE CONTROVERSIAL REVOLVE AROUND THE NATURE OF FUTURE POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND -- WHETHER IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE SEEN AS ESSENTIALLY A STATE (BRITISH) FUNCTION, ALBEIT MORE INCLUSIVE, OR WHETHER IT BECOMES A POLICE SERVICE MORE REFLECTIVE OF THE TWO PRINCIPAL COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

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ALL UNIONISTS FIND IT PAINFUL TO LET GO OF THE OLD SYSTEM, AND SOME WILL FIGHT BITTERLY TO HANG ON. UNIONISTS' HAVING TO LET GO OF THE OLD POLICING MODEL AT THIS TIME, WHEN THEY ARE ALSO BEING ASKED TO BE FLEXIBLE ON THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING, COMPLICATES BOTH ISSUES. TRIMBLE'S ADVISORS HAVE TOLD US THAT THE POLICE REFORM RECOMMENDATIONS WILL CREATE REAL DIFFICULTIES FOR HIM WITHIN THE UUP. MANDELSON IS TRYING TO GIVE TRIMBLE AND OTHER MORE FLEXIBLE UNIONISTS ENOUGH TO ALLOW THEM TO BRING THE RECALCITRANTS ALONG, BUT THE NIO HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT IS PREPARED TO MOVE FORWARD ON POLICE REFORMS REGARDLESS OF UNIONIST SENSITIVITIES. END COMMENT
JOHNSON

TOR: 04/18/00 07:04:42

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1571
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: YET ANOTHER "LAST CHANCE" TO SALVAGE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: YET ANOTHER "LAST CHANCE" TO SALVAGE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

CLASSIFIED BY JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) NIO AND POLITICAL SOURCES HAVE CONFIRMED THE SCENARIO FOR THE BELFAST TALKS: PRIME MINISTERS BLAIR AND AHERN WILL CHAIR AN INTENSIVE SET OF MEETINGS IN BELFAST MAY 4-5 TO TRY TO FIND A FORMULA, INCLUDING AN IRA STATEMENT, THAT WILL RESULT IN THE REESTABLISHMENT OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. CONSIDERABLE HURDLES REMAIN: THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOT DEFINITIVELY RESOLVED THEIR DIFFERENCES; THE IRA IS APPARENTLY RELUCTANT TO MAKE A POSITIVE STATEMENT; AND TRIMBLE WILL FACE GREAT DIFFICULTY GAINING SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FROM HIS OWN PARTY TO REJOIN GOVERNMENT. SHOULD THIS EFFORT FAIL, FEW HERE EXPECT THE PEACE/POLITICAL PROCESS COULD BE RE-ENERGIZED SOONER THAN SEPTEMBER. END SUMMARY.

WORKING OUT A NEW SEQUENCE
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2. (C) FOLLOWING SEVERAL WEEKS OF BRITISH-IRISH CONSULTATION AND MEETINGS WITH THE PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES, BLAIR AND AHERN ARRIVE IN BELFAST LATE MAY 4 FOR A SERIES OF TALKS WITH PARTIES, IN A MAJOR PUSH TO LIFT SUSPENSION NORTHERN IRELAND'S DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS. UNDER THE SEQUENCE BEING DISCUSSED, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WOULD ISSUE A JOINT STATEMENT PROVIDING AN "AUDIT" OF THE AGREEMENT'S

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IMPLEMENTATION ALONG WITH COMMITMENTS IN AREAS SUCH AS POLICE REFORM, SECURITY NORMALIZATION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE. THIS STATEMENT WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY AN IRA STATEMENT ASSUMING THE IRA STATEMENT IS SUFFICIENTLY FORWARD-LEANING, THE UUP LEADERSHIP WOULD THEN UNDERTAKE TO SECURE PARTY APPROVAL TO RETURN TO GOVERNMENT.

3. (C) WHILE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE AT TIMES APPEARED UNFOCUSSED OR EVEN AT ODDS DURING THE PAST THREE MONTHS, THEY NOW APPEAR TO HAVE ENOUGH OF A UNIFIED APPROACH TO NEGOTIATE JOINTLY WITH THE PARTIES. ASSUMING THEIR EFFORTS ARE SUCCESSFUL, THE GOVERNMENTS ARE EXPECTED TO ISSUE A JOINT STATEMENT THAT ASSESSES THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT THUS FAR AND POINTS THE WAY FORWARD.

THE PARTIES: STILL A WAY TO GO
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4. (C) A JOURNALIST WHO HAS CLOSE CONTACTS WITH REPUBLICANS TOLD US THAT THE IRA HAS SEVERAL CONDITIONS ON ARMS: THAT THEY WILL NOT BE DEALT WITH IN A "UNIONIST/BRITISH" WAY; THAT THERE WILL BE NO TIMETABLE; BUT THEY CAN BE DEALT WITH THROUGH A "POLITICAL CALENDAR" (PRESUMABLY LINKED WITH DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT, POLICE REFORM AND DEMILITARIZATION). REPUBLICANS ARE ALSO SEEKING A CAST-IRON GUARANTEE THAT THE INSTITUTIONS WOULD NOT BE UNILATERALLY SUSPENDED AGAIN.

5. (C) CHARACTERISTICALLY, THE REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN HARD-LINE IN PUBLIC -- AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, RELUCTANT TO REVEAL THEIR BOTTOM LINE IN PRIVATE. THERE IS NO EXPECTATION THAT THE IRA WILL COMMIT TO A TIMETABLE FOR DECOMMISSIONING - NOT EVEN TO AN UNAMBIGUOUS AFFIRMATION THAT THEY WILL DECOMMISSION. THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION THAT A "WAR IS OVER" STATEMENT MAY SERVE TO SHIFT THE SPOTLIGHT AWAY FROM DECOMMISSIONING AND PROVIDE THE UUP SUFFICIENT COVER TO REJOIN GOVERNMENT. UUP AND SDLP CONTACTS TELL US THAT EVEN M=; REPUBLICANS OFFER A S: RIGHT INGREDIENTS, TRIMBLE WOULD STILL NEED APPROVAL FROM THE UUP COUNCIL BEFORE REJOINING GOVERNMENT. HIS CLOSEST ASSOCIATES TOLD US MAY 4 THAT SINCE THEY HAVE YET TO SEE ANY REPUBLICAN LANGUAGE, THEY CANNOT BEGIN TO ASSESS PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS IN PERSUADING THE UUP ACCEPT LIFTING OF SUSPENSION. THE MANTRA FROM TRIMBLE'S ALLIES HAS BEEN THAT THEY WANT "CLARITY AND CERTAINTY" FROM THE IRA ON DECOMMISSIONING WHILE HIS ANTI-AGREEMENT OPPONENTS ARE DEMANDING "PRODUCT" UP FRONT. RESULTS AT RECENT LOCAL UNIONIST POLITICAL MEETINGS UNDERSCORED HOW PRECARIOUS TRIMBLE'S HOLD ON LEADERSHIP HAS BECOME.

COMMENT
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7. (C) THERE IS BROAD AGREEMENT THAT, GIVEN THE UPCOMING MAY 22 DECOMMISSIONING MILESTONE AND THE SUMMER MARCHING
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 003342

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/03/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: YET ANOTHER "LAST CHANCE" TO

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SALVAGE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

SEASON, THIS WILL BE THE LAST CHANCE BEFORE FALL -- AT THE EARLIEST -- TO LIFT SUSPENSION AND REENERGIZE THE PEACE PROCESS. OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT WILL CONTINUE, INCLUDING POLICE AND JUDICIAL REFORM AND POSSIBLY SOME FORMS OF NORTH-SOUTH ADMINISTRATION ON TECHNICAL MATTERS. ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, THE CENTERPIECE OF THE GFA, DEVOLUTION, APPEARS TO HANG ON WHETHER SINN FEIN/IRA CAN AT LEAST SYMBOLICALLY RENOUNCE VIOLENCE AS A MEANS OF PURSUING POLITICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
DAVIES

TOR: 05/04/00 15:44:21

DIST: SIT: Blinken NSC Norland SUM2
PRT: BASH BERGER BRADTKE Comm CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SIBERELL
SIT{C2} STEINBERG
SIT: COQ

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA3383 1290601-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 080601Z MAY 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5344
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1574
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONISTS EXPRESS GUARDED OPTIMISM ON IRA STATEMENT, BUT SEEK CLARIFICATIONS
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 003383

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.34)
KBH 9/9/2019

NSC FOR NORLAND
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/07/10
TAGS: PTER, PINS, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND UNIONISTS EXPRESS GUARDED OPTIMISM ON IRA STATEMENT, BUT SEEK CLARIFICATIONS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY BELFAST CG JANE FORT, REASONS 1.5(B,D).

2. (C) SUMMARY AND COMMENT. SENIOR ULSTER UNIONISTS HAVE REACTED POSITIVELY, BUT CAUTIONLY, TO THE MAY 6 IRA STATEMENT PROMISING TO PUT WEAPONS BEYOND USE. UUP CONTACTS TELL US THEY ARE "READING BETWEEN THE LINES" OF THE ACTUAL WORDS, TO BE SURE JUST WHAT THE IRA COMMITMENT MEANS, ESPECIALLY IN ITS REFERENCE TO "VERIFIABLE" ARMS DUMPS. UNIONISTS ALSO INDICATED PRIVATELY, THAT IN THE RUN-UP TO AN EXPECTED MAY 20 UUP COUNCIL MEETING ON RETURN TO DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT, THEY WILL KEEP PRESSING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR SOME MODIFICATIONS TO POLICE REFORM PLANS. IT WILL BE A POLITICALLY-CHARGED TWO WEEKS HERE, BUT INITIAL FAVORABLE PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THE UNEXPECTED BREAKTHROUGH MAY HELP SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM TOWARD RETURN TO DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

SPOTLIGHT SHIFTS TO TRIMBLE, UUP
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3. (C) THE IRA'S MAY 6 STATEMENT THAT IT WILL PUT ARMS "BEYOND USE" WAS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED BY A JOINT BRITISH-IRISH ANNOUNCEMENT THAT FINLAND'S MARTTI AHTISAAARI AND SOUTH AFRICA'S CYRIL RAMAPHOSA WILL SERVE AS INTERMEDIARIES BETWEEN THE IRA AND THE INTERNATIONAL INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING (IICD). AS A RESULT OF THE GOVERNMENTS' ACTIONS AND REPUBLICAN STATEMENT, ATTENTION NOW TURNS TO DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL, WHOM ALL OBSERVERS AGREE MUST RATIFY HIS REJOINING THE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. TRIMBLE ALLIES CONFIRMED TO US MEDIA SPECULATION THAT A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL COULD NOT LIKELY

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BE CONVENED BEFORE MAY 20 - ALLOWING AMPLE TIME FOR PRESSURE TO BUILD, AS NAYSAYERS PLAY THE PATTEN CARD.

4. (C) IN THEIR FIRST PRIVATE REACTIONS, TRIMBLE SUPPORTERS ECHOED WHAT TRIMBLE HIMSELF HAD SAID PUBLICLY MAY 6 - THAT THE IRA STATEMENT WAS SIGNIFICANT, BUT THAT UNIONISTS WOULD NEED CLARIFICATION OF HOW EXACTLY THE VERIFICATION PROCESS WILL WORK. ONE TRIMBLE ALLY ALSO CLAIMED THAT THERE ARE LEGAL QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESSED, SINCE THE PLAN ANNOUNCED IS NOT "DECOMMISSIONING" AS LAID OUT IN THE GFA AND IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION. THE GOVERNMENTS MUST FIGURE OUT HOW LEGALLY TO SANCTION THE IRA'S HOLDING ILLEGAL ARMS. UNIONISTS MADE CLEAR TO US THEY WANT TO READ AND DIGEST THE FINE PRINT IN THE GOVERNMENT AND IRA STATEMENTS, WHICH WERE ONLY RELEASED ON MAY 6, BEFORE ENDORSING THE APPROACH MORE FIRMLY. NEVERTHELESS, ONE SOURCE PRIVATELY CALLED THE IRA STATEMENT "GROUND-BREAKING."

5. (C) COMMENT. WHILE TYPICAL OF UNIONIST PENCHANT FOR DETAIL, THE SUBDUED RESPONSE MOSTLY REFLECTS MODERATE UNIONISTS' BELIEF THAT THEY WERE (AT BEST) MISLED BY REPUBLICANS IN THE MITCHELL REVIEW; THEY ARE DETERMINED NOT TO REPEAT THAT EXPERIENCE. END COMMENT.

6. (C) TRIMBLE HAS NOT FORMALLY ANNOUNCED HIS NEXT STEPS, BUT IS EXPECTED TO MEET WITH HIS PARTY'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, TO PREPARE FOR THE MAY 20 ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING. PREVIOUSLY, THE UUC DEMANDED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RETAIN "ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY" AS THE NAME OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE SERVICE, AS A PRECONDITION FOR REINSTATING THE INSTITUTIONS. TRIMBLE'S ALLIES HINTED TO US THAT THEY ARE ANGLING FOR SOME BRITISH CONCESSIONS ON POLICE REFORM IN ORDER TO HELP WIN COUNCIL APPROVAL FOR A UUP RETURN TO THE EXECUTIVE.

7. (C) SUCH APPROVAL IS NOT ASSURED. ONE (ADMITTEDLY ANTI-AGREEMENT) UNIONIST PREDICTED THAT TRIMBLE WILL HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY SELLING THIS DEAL TO THE COUNCIL SINCE THE IRA HAS NOT GIVEN UP ANY WEAPONS AND, UNDER THIS PLAN, IS NOT OBLIGATED TO DO SO. THIS NEXT SESSION OF AN UNREFORMED UUP COUNCIL - STILL WITH BLOC VOTING - COULD MAKE TRIMBLE'S TROUBLES AT THE MARCH COUNCIL MEETING LOOK LIKE A FRIENDLY GATHERING AMONG FRIENDS. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON HOW THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND LOCAL POLITICIANS MANAGE EVENTS AND EXPECTATIONS OVER THE NEXT TWO WEEKS.
DAVIES

TOR: 05/08/00 02:10:06

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

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DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.35)
KBH 9/9/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHDLA1683 1301605-CCCC--RHEHNSC.
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6830
INFO: RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1374
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1135
SUBJ: IRISH "CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC" ON UNIONIST ACCEPTANCE OF LATEST NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE DEAL

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

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 001683

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND/STEINBERG

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/10/10
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH "CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC" ON UNIONIST ACCEPTANCE OF LATEST NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE DEAL

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

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: DEPUTY DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF RAY BASSETT EXPRESSED "CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM" MAY 8 FOR ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL APPROVAL OF THE LATEST PEACE DEAL FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. BASSETT STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT EFFORTS TO PRESS THE IRA FOR DETAIL ON ITS "ARMS BEYOND USE" AND INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION OFFERS, AND UNIONIST ATTEMPTS TO "WATER-DOWN" THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS STILL HOLD THE POTENTIAL TO TORPEDO THE DEAL. WHILE DUBLIN IS NOT INALTERABLY OPPOSED TO ANY CHANGES IN PATTEN, IT IS OPPOSED TO CHANGES IN "SUBSTANCE," WHICH INCLUDE A NEW NAME, BADGE AND EMBLEM (PRECISELY THE AREAS IN WHICH TRIMBLE SEEKS CONCESSIONS). BASSETT NOTES THAT THE SDLP WILL BE AS ADAMAMT ON NO SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE TO PATTEN AS WILL SINN FEIN. ALTHOUGH NOT PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE, BASSETT TOLD US THAT THE UK PLANS TO DISMANTLE, ON A PRIORITY BASIS, FIVE SECURITY INSTALLATIONS FOLLOWING RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING TWO IN PSYCHOLOGICALLY IMPORTANT SOUTH ARMAGH. ANY WASHINGTON INFLUENCE WHICH CAN BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE UUP LEADERSHIP TO ACCEPT THE LATEST PEACE DEAL AS PRESENTED WOULD BE WELCOME. END SUMMARY.

"CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM" BUT A BUMPY ROAD TO MAY 22

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2. ~~(C)~~ POLOFF SPOKE WITH RAY BASSET, DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION OF THE IRISH DFA, MAY 5 CONCERNING THE BRITISH/IRISH PLAN TO REINSTATE THE NORTHERN

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INSTITUTIONS ON MAY 22 AND THE IRA'S STATEMENT THAT IT "WILL INITIATE A PROCESS THE WILL COMPLETELY AND VERIFIABLY PUT IRA ARMS BEYOND USE." BASSETT CREDITED MUCH OF THE "HISTORIC" MOVEMENT REFLECTED IN THE IRA STATEMENT TO THE WORK OF IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER BRIAN COWEN WHO HAS QUICKLY DEVELOPED AN EXCELLENT PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH SINN FEIN LEADERS GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS. BASSETT COMMENTED THAT COWEN'S "BLUNT" STYLE MAY HAVE PUT NIO OFFICIALS OFF IN BELFAST, BUT HAD PAID DIVIDENDS IN MAKING CLEAR TO SINN FEIN WHAT DUBLIN NEEDED AND EXPECTED FROM THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

3. ~~(C)~~ BASSETT NOTED THAT FRIDAY NIGHT'S HILLSBOROUGH ANNOUNCEMENT AND SATURDAY'S IRA STATEMENT CLEARLY CAUGHT ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS ON THE WRONG FOOT, ACCOUNTING FOR THE GENERALLY POSITIVE UNIONIST REACTION TO DATE. HE WAS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT THE TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL (UUC) MEETING WOULD SEE A CONCERTED EFFORT BY "NO" UNIONISTS, LED BY JEFFREY DONALDSON, TO DEFEAT THE DEAL. BASSETT TOOK SOME COMFORT IN THE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TO THE LATEST PLAN FROM UUP DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR, WHO WAS "INTIMATELY" ENGAGED IN THE HILLSBOROUGH TALKS. THE GOI, BASSETT SAID, IS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT TRIMBLE WILL "LOSE HIS NERVE" AND/OR TRY TO STICK ADDITIONAL CONDITIONS ON THE IRA "ARMS BEYOND USE" OFFER. THE GOI IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT "SIDE ASSURANCES" LONDON MAY BE TEMPTED TO OFFER TRIMBLE PRIOR TO MAY 20. IN SUM, BASSETT SAID "CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM" ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR UUC ACCEPTANCE WAS THE BEST THE GOI COULD MUSTER.

THE SUBSTANCE OF PATTEN MUST BE MAINTAINED
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4. ~~(C)~~ MORE SPECIFICALLY ON WHAT COULD JEOPARDIZE THE LATEST PLAN, BASSETT POINTED TO UNIONIST DEMANDS FOR ADDITIONAL DETAILS ON THE IRA OFFER AND EFFORTS TO WATER DOWN PATTEN. BASSETT EMPHASIZED THE THERE WERE NO/NO ADDITIONAL DETAILS TO BE PROVIDED ON THE IRA STATEMENT. THE
IRA CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE OF LETTING FORMER ANC SECRETARY-GENERAL RAMAPHOSA AND FORMER FINNISH PRESIDENT ATHISAARI INSPECT A NUMBER OF ARMS DUMPS, WAS SINCERE, BASSETT SAID. IF UNIONISTS PRESS FOR DETAILED INSPECTION PROCEDURES TO BE AGREED IN ADVANCE, HOWEVER, THE OFFER WOULD LIKELY BE WITHDAWN. (NOTE: BASSETT NOTED THAT ATHISAARI HAD ONLY BEEN ADDED AS AN INSPECTOR AFTER TRIMBLE OBJECTED TO RAMAPHOSA ALONE AS BEING TOO CLOSE TO SINN FEIN. END NOTE).

5. ~~(C)~~ ASIDE FROM UNIONISM PRESSING FOR TOO MUCH FROM THE IRA, BASSETT COMMENTED, THE PRINCIPAL THREAT TO THE PLAN WAS UNIONIST EFFORTS TO WATER DOWN THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORM OF THE RUC. BASSETT OBSERVED THAT TRIMBLE FEELS HE NEEDS SOME CONCESSION ON PATTEN TO CARRY THE UUC VOTE. IRELAND IS NOT INALTERABLY OPPOSED TO ANY AND ALL CHANGES TO PATTEN, BASSETT SAID, BUT THE "SUBSTANCE" HAD TO BE MAINTAINED. IN THE GOI'S VIEW THE "SUBSTANCE" IS THE CREATION A "NEW, NON-SECTARIAN" POLICE SERVICE THAT CAN ATTRACT PEOPLE FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES IN
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 001683

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND/STEINBERG

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/10/10

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: IRISH "CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC" ON UNIONIST ACCEPTANCE OF LATEST NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE DEAL

THE NORTH. THIS MEANS THAT THERE CAN BE NO GIVE ON THE NAME CHANGE, THE BADGE, OR THE EMBLEMS WHICH MUST BE NON-SECTARIAN. UNFORTUNATELY, BASSETT NOTED, WHAT TRIMBLE IS SEEKING IS EXACTLY A CHANGE TO RETAIN ONE OR MORE OF THESE SYMBOLS. ANY SUCH WATERING DOWN BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO IRELAND, SINN FEIN, AND (IMPORTANTLY) THE SDLP FOR WHICH POLICING IS THE CORE ISSUE.

6. (C) BASSETT TOLD US THAT PM BLAIR'S ADVISOR, JONATHAN POWELL, HAD BEEN IN DUBLIN MAY 8 TO SEEK IRISH VIEWS ON A PROPOSAL TO PUBLISH THE POLICE REFORM LEGISLATION THIS WEEK, LEAVING THE NAME OF THE NEW POLICE FORCE BLANK TO BE FILLED IN BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY LATER. THE GOI REJECTED THIS APPROACH AS "LUDICROUS," ARGUING NEITHER NATIONALISTS NOR UNIONISTS WOULD ACCEPT ANY SUCH COSMETIC ATTEMPT TO FINESSE THE SITUATION. BASSETT WAS CONCERNED THAT THE BRITISH ARE EAGER TO GIVE TRIMBLE A "CONCESSION" ON THE RUC, A CONCESSION THAT COULD TORPEDO THE WHOLE DEAL WITH NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS. BASSETT COMMENTED THAT TRIMBLE HAS ALSO CALLED FOR A NEW REGULATION REQUIRING THE FLYING OF THE UNION JACK OVER GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS ON CERTAIN DAYS. THIS PROPOSAL, BASSETT CONCLUDED, WOULD BE EQUALLY POISONOUS.

SECURITY INSTALLATIONS TO CLOSE
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7. (C) TURNING TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' PLAN FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, BASSETT AMPLIFIED ON THE TEXT CONCERNING BRITISH "SECURITY NORMALIZATION" IN THE NORTH. HE TOLD US THAT THE UK HAS AGREED TO RAPID DISMANTLEMENT OF A NUMBER OF SECURITY INSTALLATIONS FOLLOWING THE RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS. WHILE HE DID NOT HAVE THE COMPLETE LIST, HE SAID FIVE INSTALLATIONS WERE TARGETED INCLUDING ONE HILLTOP FACILITY IN SOUTH ARMAGH ON THE MAIN DUBLIN-BELFAST ROAD, ONE IN CROSSMAGLEN AND ONE AT COOKSTOWN. WHILE THE NAMES OF THESE INSTALLATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC, THEY ARE KNOWN TO THE SINN FEIN (AND WE PRESUME) IRA LEADERSHIPS.

8. (C) FOR THE NEXT TWO WEEKS, BASSETT SAID THE GOI WOULD MAINTAIN A RELATIVELY LOW PROFILE, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD VIGOROUSLY DEFEND ATTACKS ON THE "SUBSTANCE" OF PATTEN. SHOULD THE INSTITUTIONS BE RESTORED ON MAY 22, DUBLIN WILL SEEK A QUICK RAMPING BACK UP OF THE NORTH-SOUTH IMPLEMENTATION BODIES WHICH HAVE BEEN ON LIFE-SUPPORT SINCE THE FEBRUARY 11 SUSPENSION.

SINN FEIN FEARS BLAIR-TRIMBLE SIDE DEALS
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9. (C) POLOFF ALSO SPOKE BRIEFLY MAY 8 WITH SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REP. RITA O'HARE. O'HARE WAS VERY POSITIVE ABOUT THE IRA STATEMENT BUT CONCERNED THAT "UNIONISM" WOULD "NIT-PICK IT TO DEATH." SHE WAS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT "SIDE-LETTERS" OR ASQURANCES FROM THE UK TO TRIMBLE WHICH "GOT US INTO THIS WHOLE DECOMMISSIONING MESS IN THE FIRST PLACE." O'HARE TOLD US SHE WAS HOPING TO BRING MARTIN MCGUINNESS TO WASHINGTON ON MAY 20 SO HE WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE SINN FEIN'S PUBLIC AND

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PRIVATE REACTION TO THE OUTCOME OF THE UUC MEETING, WHATEVER THAT SHOULD BE.

COMMENT

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10. (C) WE BELIEVE THAT THE IRA MAY 6 STATEMENT IS A HISTORIC STEP FOR THE ORGANIZATION, ESPECIALLY WHEN COUPLED WITH ITS CONFIDENCE BUILDING OFFER TO OPEN A NUMBER OF IRA DUMPS TO INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION. AMCONSUL BELFAST IS BETTER POSITIONED TO ASSESS THE PROSPECTS FOR ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL ACCEPTANCE OF THE DEAL, BUT IT IS CLEAR TO US THAT UNIONIST ATTEMPTS TO WATER DOWN THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT WILL NOT ONLY ANGER REPUBLICANS BUT WILL ELICIT A STRONG REACTION FROM THE SDLP. WHILE THE SDLP WAS LARGELY PREPARED TO ACCEPT ANY SOLUTION ON DECOMMISSIONING THAT COULD SATISFY SINN FEIN AND THE UUP, IT WILL NOT BE SO SANGUINE ON POLICING, WHICH THE PARTY SEES AS AT THE CORE OF ITS AGENDA. FROM THE DUBLIN PERSPECTIVE, ANYTHING WASHINGTON OFFICIALS CAN DO IN CONTACTS WITH DAVID TRIMBLE AND OTHER SENIOR UUP OFFICIALS TO ENCOURAGE ACCEPTANCE OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' PLAN, PATTEN, AND THE IRA STATEMENT WITHOUT FURTHER MODIFICATION WOULD BE WELCOME.

SULLIVAN

TOR: 05/09/00 12:32:30

DIST: SIT: Blinken NSC Davidson Norland SUM2
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.36)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA3555 1331754-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5498
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1597
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: WEEK ENDS WITH RUC ISSUE THREATENING TO BLOCK RESTORATION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 003555

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
L/EUR DOROSIN
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/11/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: WEEK ENDS WITH RUC ISSUE THREATENING TO BLOCK RESTORATION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) THE PLEASANT SURPRISE OF THE MAY 6 IRA STATEMENT HAS GIVEN WAY TO INTENSE POLITICKING AND POSSIBLY FATAL BRINKSMANSHIP AS THE ULSTER UNIONISTS ARE REFUSING TO REENTER THE GOVERNMENT UNLESS HMG RETAINS SOME FORM OF THE RUC NAME FOR THE POLICE AND OFFERS SOME ASSURANCES ON FLAG DISPLAYS. REPUBLICANS ARE ADAMANT THAT THE RUC NAME MUST GO AND ACCUSE UNIONISTS OF AGAIN TRYING TO VETO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. BY CALLING A MEETING OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL (UUC) FOR MAY 20, TRIMBLE HAS INTENSIFIED PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENTS TO FIND A SOLUTION NEXT WEEK. WHILE THESE DEVELOPMENTS DAMAGE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS FOR DEVOLUTION, THE OVERRIDING CHALLENGE WILL BE TO LOCK IN THE GAINS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS REPRESENTED BY THE IRA STATEMENT. END SUMMARY.

IRA STATEMENT: THE WAR IS ALMOST OVER
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2. (C) THERE IS A CONSENSUS THAT THE MAY 6 IRA STATEMENT BROKE SIGNIFICANT NEW GROUND, BOTH BY INCHING TOWARDS A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE MODUS VIVENDI ON DUMPING ARMS AND MORE IMPORTANTLY BY MAKING CONCZpTHERN
IRELAND NOW BELIEVE "THE WAR IS OVER."

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3. (C) THE SECTION OF THE STATEMENT DEALING WITH WEAPONS IS NOTABLE BECAUSE THE IRA FOR THE FIRST TIME WILL ALLOW INDEPENDENT INSPECTORS ACCESS TO ITS STORAGE DUMPS AND EMPOWER THEM TO VERIFY THAT THE WEAPONS HAVE INDEED REMAINED OUT OF USE. SOME UNIONISTS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THIS IS MORE POSITIVE THAN A ONE-OFF DECOMMISSIONING GESTURE SINCE IT LOCKS THE IRA INTO A PROCESS IN WHICH ITS GUNS ARE REQUIRED TO REMAIN SILENT. BUT WHILE THE STATEMENT PROMISES THE IRA WILL PUT ARMS COMPLETELY AND VERIFIABLY BEYOND USE, IT DOES NOT PROMISE THAT ALL ITS ARMS CACHES WILL BE OPEN TO SCRUTINY.

4. (C) PERHAPS MORE STRIKING THAN PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE ARE THE STATEMENT'S PRONOUNCEMENTS ACKNOWLEDGING THAT POLITICS CAN WORK. IT STATES THAT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GFA WILL ALLOW REPUBLICANS AND UNIONISTS TO PURSUE THEIR RESPECTIVE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES PEACEFULLY AND ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY, A MONUMENTAL REVISION OF THE IRA'S TRADITIONAL RHETORIC IN WHICH IT WAS THE (SELF-APPOINTED) EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL THE IRISH PEOPLE.

5. (C) IN ADDITION TO CONSTITUTING A STRATEGIC SHIFT IN REPUBLICAN POLICY, THE STATEMENT IS ALSO TACTICALLY CLEVER - IT DEMONSTRATES A SINCERE COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT IS SUFFICIENTLY AMBIGUOUS TO ENSURE THAT UNIONISM WILL REMAIN DIVIDED OVER DECOMMISSIONING WHILE SHIFTING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESTORING THE GFA INSTITUTIONS SQUARELY ON THE UNIONISTS.

UUP: "WE WON'T BE DUPED"
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6. (C) IN REALITY, THE UUP IS ABLE TO TWIST ITSELF INTO KNOTS WITHOUT THE IRA'S HELP. TRIMBLE AND HIS DEPUTIES BEGAN THE WEEK CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE DEAL WHILE PRIVATELY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THEY EXPECTED A CONCESSION ON THE RUC NAME CHANGE. HIS AIDES TOLD US THEY EXPECTED A BLAIR-AHERN LETTER OUTLINING THE CONCESSION, AS WELL AS SOME ASSURANCES ON FLAG-FLYING ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS, TO BE DELIVERED ON TUESDAY. WITHOUT THE LETTER, TRIMBLE WAS LOATHE TO CALL THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL (UUC) MEETING FOR MAY 20.

7. (C) AS ONE CLOSE TRIMBLE ASSOCIATE EXPLAINED TO US, THE PLAN IS TO SELL THE IRA STATEMENT AND THE RUC CONCESSION AS A PACKAGE, TELLING THE UUC: "WE DON'T THINK THE IRA IS GOING FAR ENOUGH, BUT ACCEPTING THIS OFFER IS THE ONLY WAY TO SAVE THE RUC." HE ADDED THAT JOHN TAYLOR WILL NOT SUPPORT TRIMBLE WITHOUT SATISFACTION ON THE RUC AND BECAUSE TAYLOR CAN INFLUENCE 6-7 PERCENT OF THE UUC, HIS BACKING IS ESSENTIAL. MOREOVER, TRIMBLE'S CONVICTION THAT HMG IS RENEGING ON A DEAL MADE AT HILLSBOROUGH HAS TURNED THE MATTER INTO A "GRUDGE MATCH," ACCORDING TO ONE UUP OFFICIAL.

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

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
L/EUR DOROSIN
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/11/05

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: WEEK ENDS WITH RUC ISSUE
THREATENING TO BLOCK RESTORATION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

8. (C) COMMENT. POLLS SHOW THAT THE UUP RANK-AND-FILE SUPPORTS RETURNING TO GOVERNMENT AND DOES NOT REGARD THE RUC NAME AS A SHOW-STOPPER, BUT THE COUNCIL IS FAR MORE CONSERVATIVE AND WE BELIEVE TRIMBLE'S CALCULATION IS SOUND. END COMMENT.

9. IN MID-AFTERNOON MAY 12, TRIMBLE ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD CALL THE MEETING FOR MAY 20, BUT THAT HE IS RESERVING JUDGEMENT ON WHETHER TO RECOMMEND REJOINING GOVERNMENT. THIS WILL VIRTUALLY FORCE THE GOVERNMENTS TO FIND A SOLUTION IN THE NEXT SEVEN DAYS. ONE TRIMBLE AIDE TOLD US THAT "WE'VE BOUGHT SOME TIME, BUT THERE IS STILL LITTLE REASON TO BE OPTIMISTIC." HE ADDED THAT THEY EXPECT A FRESH OFFER FROM THE GOVERNMENTS EARLY IN THE WEEK OF MAY 15.

REPUBLICANS/NATIONALISTS HOLDING FIRM
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10. (C) SINN FEIN HAS TAKEN A TOUGH LINE AND ON MAY 12 GERRY KELLY INTIMATED THAT THE IRA STATEMENT HAS A LIMITED SHELF LIFE AND COULD BE WITHDRAWN IF THE RUC NAME IS RETAINED. THE SDLP IS ALSO HANGING TOUGH ON ON THE NAME CHANGE, INSISTING IT IS NEEDED TO ENCOURAGE NATIONALISTS TO JOIN THE FORCE. A SENIOR SDLP REPRESENTATIVE, HOWEVER, DENIED RUMORS THAT HIS PARTY IS BLOCKING A DEAL, SUGGESTING THAT IT WOULD BE AMENABLE TO A COMPROMISE. HE ADDED THAT SINN FEIN LEADERS REGARD THE ISSUE AS ANOTHER INSTANCE OF THE BRITISH CAVING IN TO THE "UNIONIST VETO" AND THEY OPPOSE ENTERING GOVERNMENT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES.

LOYALISTS: ANNOYED, BUT STILL PEACEFUL
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11. (C) THE POSITION OF THE "LOYALIST" PARAMILITARIES, WHO HAVE FEWER WEAPONS AND LESS DISCIPLINE, WAS NOT EXPLICITLY ADDRESSED IN THE WEEKEND DEAL. GARY MCMICHAEL, HEAD OF THE UDA-LINKED UDP, TOLD US HE WELCOMED THE POSITIVE LANGUAGE OF THE IRA STATEMENT, BUT IS CONCERNED THAT IT MAY PROVE UNSTABLE. THOUGH PUBLICLY SKEPTICAL OF THE DEAL, MCMICHAEL ASSURED US THAT HE SUPPORTS ITS THRUST AND DOES NOT FORESEE A RETURN TO VIOLENCE BY THE UDA. MCMICHAEL MADE PLAIN THAT HE REMAINS OPPOSED TO DECOMMISSIONING AND WAS UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN LOYALIST GROUPS AND THE IICD.

THE GOVERNMENTS: WORRIED ABOUT ROCKING THE BOAT
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12. (C) ALTHOUGH THE UUP HAS BEEN IN A RUNNING NEGOTIATION WITH THE NIO AND DOWNING STREET (AND DUBLIN) ALL WEEK, THE GOVERNMENT HAS SAID VIRTUALLY NOTHING IN PUBLIC. IN PRIVATE, NIO SAYS THAT BOTH SIDES ARE DIGGING IN AND THEY DON'T CURRENTLY SEE A WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE ON THE RUC OR THE FLAGS. FACED WITH THIS GROWING INTRANSIGENCE, BOTH GOVERNMENTS APPEAR WARY ABOUT DOING ANYTHING THAT COULD THROW THE PROCESS FURTHER OFF BALANCE.

COMMENT
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13. (C) THE QUESTION IN BELFAST AT THE END OF YET ANOTHER

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ROLLER-COASTER WEEK IS WHETHER THE SHADOW-DANCING OVER THE RUC IS LARGELY TACTICAL OR THE PARTIES ARE TRULY PREPARED TO SEE THE DEAL COLLAPSE OVER WHAT TO CALL THE POLICE. TRIMBLE'S GAMBLE TO CALL THE UUC WITHOUT A RESOLUTION WILL PUT THE HEAT ON THE GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES TO PRESERVE WHATEVER IS LEFT OF LAST WEEK'S POSITIVE MOMENTUM AND AVOID - FOR THE MOMENT - ANOTHER ROUND OF THE BLAME GAME. REGARDLESS OF HOW THIS IMMEDIATE SCENE PLAYS OUT, THE IRA STATEMENT HAS MARKED A HUGE STEP FORWARD IN THE PEACE PROCESS; WHETHER IT ENDURES AND PRODUCES PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. LADER

TOR: 05/12/00 15:03:49

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: STEINBERG

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M(1.37)
KBH 9/9/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 180626Z MAY 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5601
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1612
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP AND SDLP STILL DOWNBEAT ABOUT VIABILITY OF HILLSBOROUGH INITIATIVE

CLASSIFIED BY JANE FORT, CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D).

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 003663

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/16/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP AND SDLP STILL DOWNBEAT ABOUT VIABILITY OF HILLSBOROUGH INITIATIVE

CLASSIFIED BY JANE FORT, CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D).

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ THE MOOD IN THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY REMAINS GRIM AS ITS COUNCIL MEMBERS ARE VOICING SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE VALUE OF THE IRA WEAPONS OFFER. TRIMBLE WILL DECIDE MAY 18 WHAT RECOMMENDATION TO BRING TO THE MAY 20 COUNCIL MEETING (OR WHETHER TO CANCEL IT). THE SDLP DOES NOT INTEND TO HELP TRIMBLE AND ITS LEADERS TOLD US THEY "DON'T WANT TO JOIN THAT TRAIN-WRECK" BY MAKING A PRONOUNCEMENT ON THE RUC NAME. BELIEVING THAT THIS INITIATIVE IS FALTERING, AN SDLP OFFICIAL TRIED TO OFFER SOMETHING POSITIVE, NOTING THAT THE IRA STATEMENT PUT THE PROCESS IN BETTER SHAPE THAN IT WAS A FEW WEEKS AGO. END SUMMARY.

THE UUC ON THE SPOT AGAIN
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2. ~~(C)~~ A CLOSE TRIMBLE AIDE TOLD US MID-DAY ON MAY 17 THAT THE UUP LEADERSHIP IS CONTINUING TO TAKE SOUNDINGS ON THE MOOD AMONG ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEMBERS. HE REMARKED THAT THE LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN TAKEN ABACK BY THE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES OF CONSTITUENTS, WHO FEAR THAT THE IRA STATEMENT IS ALL THE UNIONISTS WILL EVER GET FROM REPUBLICANS AND THAT THE INSPECTION SCHEME IS A "SCAM" TO SUBSTITUTE FOR DECOMMISSIONING, WHICH THEY FEAR WILL NEVER HAPPEN. IN MAKING CALCULATIONS FOR A POSSIBLE VOTE AT THE SATURDAY

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MEETING, THE AIDE SAID THAT THE PROSPECTS DO NOT LOOK GOOD: MUCH OF THE NEGATIVE FEEDBACK IS COMING FROM "RELIABLE" PARTY MEMBERS WHO HAVE VOTED WITH TRIMBLE IN THE PAST, NOT JUST FROM THE ANTI-AGREEMENT CAMP.

3. (C) TRIMBLE PARTICIPATED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE ON POLICE REFORM TODAY AND WILL HOLD A MEETING OF UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBERS MAY 18, FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF THE UUP EXECUTIVE ON MAY 19. TRIMBLE WILL LIKELY DECIDE ABOUT GOING THROUGH WITH THE MAY 20 UUC ON MAY 18. (COMMENT: THE ASSEMBLY UUP MEMBERS ARE NORMALLY PRO-GFA STALWARTS, BUT ARE VERY EDGY ABOUT THIS INITIATIVE. END COMMENT.) THE AIDE CONFIRMED THAT THERE ARE FOUR POSSIBILITIES:

--POSTPONE THE MEETING;
--HOLD THE MEETING, BUT DEFER DECISIONS ON NEXT STEPS;
--RECOMMEND REJOINING THE GOVERNMENT AND WIN;
--RECOMMEND REJOINING THE GOVERNMENT AND LOSE.

4. (C) THE AIDE NOTED THAT OPTION TWO IS POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS SINCE AN OPEN AGENDA COULD GIVE RISE TO ANOTHER INITIATIVE ALONG THE LINES OF THE "BURNSIDE MOTION" WHICH FORCED THE PARTY TO FIGHT THE RUC NAME CHANGE. THE ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES APPEAR INCREASINGLY WELL ORGANIZED - THEY ARE NOW CIRCULATING (INCLUDING TO THE CONSULATE) A SLICK PAMPHLET CRITICIZING THE IRA STATEMENT AND RENEWING THE CALL FOR "ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING."

SDLP: WE CAN'T HELP
---

5. (C) DISCUSSIONS MAY 16 AND 17 INDICATE THAT THE SDLP LEADERSHIP DOES NOT BELIEVE IT CAN OR SHOULD DO ANYTHING TO TRY TO HELP THE UUP. ONE TOP OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT THE SDLP WARNED THE GOVERNMENTS DURING THE HILLSBOROUGH TALKS THAT THE FORMULA OF USING A SEQUENCE OF STATEMENTS WOULD BE LESS EFFECTIVE THAN HAVING ALL THE PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES SIGN ON TO A COMMON POSITION. "WE PREDICTED THAT THIS APPROACH WOULD LEAD TO TWO WEEKS OF POLITICS, TO SIDE LETTERS AND TO ATTEMPTS TO WATER DOWN PATTEN. UNFORTUNATELY, WE WERE RIGHT." BY CONDUCTING SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH JUST TWO PARTIES, THE GOVERNMENTS MISMANAGED THE PROCESS, RESULTING IN "TWO PARTIES GRANDSTANDING WHILE THE REST ARE BYSTANDING."

6. (C) ON THE ISSUE OF THE POLICE NAME, OUR INTERLOCUTOR WAS ADAMANT THAT THE SDLP HAS NO INTEREST IN OFFERING A CONCESSION AT THIS STAGE, PARTICULARLY SINCE MANDELSON HAS MADE CLEAR THAT THE NEW NAME WILL NOT INCLUDE THE "RUC" MONIKER. THERE IS NO REASON NOW TO SACRIFICE THE CHANCE FOR AN INCLUSIVE AND EFFECTIVE POLICE FORCE FOR WHAT NATIONALISTS SEE AS POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY. HE SAID THAT AT HILLSBOROUGH THE SDLP WAS PREPARED TO CONSIDER VARIOUS WAYS OF MQhXTHE DAYS AHEAD
IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO MANAGE THE RESULTING
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 003663

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/16/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP AND SDLP STILL DOWNBEAT ABOUT VIABILITY OF HILLSBOROUGH INITIATIVE

DISAPPOINTMENT AND RECRIMINATIONS SHOULD THE CURRENT INITIATIVE FALTER. HE POINTED OUT THAT EVEN IF THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT REESTABLISHED NOW, THE PROCESS IS IN BETTER CONDITION THAN A FEW WEEKS AGO. THE IRA HAS MADE A SIGNIFICANT GESTURE THAT CAN STILL BE BUILT UPON.

COMMENT
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8. (C) THERE IS MODEST HOPE THAT TRIMBLE AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE ACCENTUATING THE NEGATIVE CHIEFLY TO TRY TO WREST MORE CONCESSIONS FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. GIVEN PREVAILING HARD-LINE ATTITUDES IN THE UNIONIST COUNCIL, HOWEVER, TRIMBLE MUST NOW REGARD REJECTION OF THE DEAL AS PROBABLE. IF HE DECIDES TO GO FOR THE DEAL, HE MUST MOUNT AN 11TH-HOUR COMEBACK TO REVERSE THAT OUTCOME.
LADER

TOR: 05/18/00 11:14:44

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: SIT{C2} STEINBERG

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
LINE1: RAAEZYUW RUEHLOA3716 1401348-EEEE--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY EEEEE ZZH
LINE3: R 191348Z MAY 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 5651
INFO: ////
SUBJ: 2000 ANNUAL REPORT ON INTL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM - UK
TEXT: UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 003716

SENSITIVE

QQQQ
NOFORN

DEPT FOR DRL/CRA; DRL/BA; EUR/UBI

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, KIRF, UK
SUBJECT: 2000 ANNUAL REPORT ON INTL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM - UK

REF: SECSTATE 72764

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED. NOFORN.

1. (U) THIS IS THE FIRST DRAFT OF THE UK SECTION OF THE 2000 ANNUAL REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL, THE DRAFT IS IN THE FORM OF UPDATES KEYED TO SENTENCES AND PARAGRAPHS IN THE 1999 REPORT. POST GRATEFULLY ACCEPTS DRL'S OFFER TO INSERT SUBHEADINGS AT THE APPROPRIATE PLACES.

2. (SBU) INTRO AND OVERVIEW4*_"c@WHICH WILL ENTER INTO FORCE IN OCTOBER
2000, INCORPORATES THE PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM INTO LAW."

"THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF RESPECT FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM DURING THE PERIOD COVERED BY THIS REPORT."

"BOTH GOVERNMENT POLICY AND THE GENERALLY AMICABLE RELATIONSHIP AMONG RELIGIONS IN SOCIETY CONTRIBUTE TO THE FREE PRACTICE OF RELIGION."

"THE U.S. GOVERNMENT DISCUSSES RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ISSUES WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS OVERALL DIALOGUE AND POLICY OF PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS."

SECTION I. GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

INSERT THE FOLLOWING AT THE BEGINNING:

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"GOVERNMENTAL POLICY PROVIDES FOR FREEDOM OF RELIGION, AND THE GOVERNMENT RESPECTS THIS RIGHT IN PRACTICE. THE GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS GENERALLY PROTECTS THIS RIGHT IN FULL, AND DOES NOT TOLERATE ITS ABUSE, EITHER BY GOVERNMENTAL OR PRIVATE ACTORS."

CHANGE SENTENCE 2 TO:

"THE 1998 HUMAN RIGHTS ACT, WHICH WILL ENTER INTO FORCE IN OCTOBER 2000, PROVIDES FOR FREEDOM OF RELIGION, INCLUDING FREEDOM TO CHANGE ONE'S RELIGION OR BELIEF."

REPLACE THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 12 (THE PARAGRAPH BEGINNING "IN GENERAL, MEMBERSHIP IN A GIVEN RELIGIOUS GROUP DOES NOT CONFER.") WITH:

"IN JANUARY 2000, THE WAKEHAM REPORT ON THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS RECOMMENDED THAT OTHER CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS AND OTHER FAITHS SHOULD ALSO BE REPRESENTED IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS. THE REPORT RECOMMENDED THAT THERE BE 16 SEATS FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, FIVE SEATS FOR OTHER CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS, AND AT LEAST FIVE SEATS FOR NON-CHRISTIAN FAITHS. HOUSE OF LORDS REFORM IS STILL BEING VIGOROUSLY DEBATED IN THE U.K, AND NO FINAL DECISION HAS YET BEEN MADE."

INSERT AT END OF SECTION:

"THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF THE FORCED RELIGIOUS CONVERSION OF MINOR UNITED STATES CITIZENS WHO HAD BEEN ABDUCTED OR ILLEGALLY REMOVED FROM THE UNITED STATES, OR OF THE REFUSAL TO ALLOW SUCH CITIZENS TO BE RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES."

SECTION II. SOCIETAL ATTITUDES

REPLACE PARAGRAPHS TWO (BEGINNING "WHILE THE TROUBLES IN NORTHERN . . ." THROUGH NINE (BEGINNING "IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE DRUMCREE . . .") WITH THE FOLLOWING EIGHT PARAGRAPHS:

"WHILE THE TROUBLES IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE THE PRODUCT OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL FACTORS, CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY CENTURIES-OLD SECTARIAN DIVISIONS BETWEEN THE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC COMMUNITIES.

"THE MAJORITY OF CITIZENS IN NORTHERN IRELAND APPEAR DETERMINED TO DIMINISH SECTARIAN TENSIONS AND CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, WHICH AIMS TO CREATE LASTING SETTLEMENT TO THE CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND A SOCIETY BASED ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

"GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE REGION HAVE RESULTED IN A DECREASE IN THE OVERALL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (6.3%
UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 003716

SENSITIVE

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NOFORN

DEPT FOR DRL/CRA; DRL/BA; EUR/UBI

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, KIRF, UK
SUBJECTdceGo]QUOTED FIGURE, BASED ON 1991 DATA, THAT

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CATHOLIC MALE EMPLOYMENT IS TWICE THE RATE OF PROTESTANT MALE UNEMPLOYMENT, HAS NOT BEEN RELIABLY UPDATED.

"IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, THE GOVERNMENT IN AUGUST 1999 APPOINTED 20 MEMBERS TO THE BOARD OF THE EQUALITY COMMISSION, AN AMALGAMATION OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND FAIR EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION, THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION, THE COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, AND THE DISABILITY COUNCIL. THE COMMISSION ASSUMED ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN OCTOBER, 1999.

"ONE OF THE COMMISSION'S MANDATES IS TO HELP ENFORCE THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT AND TREATMENT ORDER OF 1998, WHICH INCORPORATES PREVIOUS EQUALITY LEGISLATION AND OUTLAWS DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RELIGION OR POLITICAL OPINION IN THE WORKPLACE, AND IN ACCESS TO GOODS, FACILITIES, SERVICES, AND PREMISES. UNDER THE ORDER, ALL PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYERS AND ALL PRIVATE FIRMS WITH MORE THAN 10 EMPLOYEES MUST REPORT ANNUALLY TO THE EQUALITY COMMISSION ON THE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF THEIR WORK FORCES AND MUST REVIEW THEIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AT LEAST ONCE EVERY THREE YEARS.

"IN ADDITION, SECTION 75 OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ACT (1998) STIPULATES THAT ALL PUBLIC AUTHORITIES (E.G., NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, DISTRICT COUNCILS, AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND TOURIST BOARD, AMONG OTHERS) MUST SHOW DUE REGARD TO THE NEED TO PROMOTE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, INCLUDING BETWEEN PERSONS OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. EACH PUBLIC AUTHORITY MUST SUBMIT A PLAN TO THE EQUALITY COMMISSION OUTLINING HOW IT WILL PROMOTE EQUALITY WITHIN ITS ORGANIZATION. THE EQUALITY COMMISSION WILL REVIEW SUCH PLANS EVERY FIVE YEARS.

"UNLIKE THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE (COMPRISING PROVINCE-WIDE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND CIVIL SERVICE) AND DISTRICT COUNCILS, THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC), NORTHERN IRELAND'S POLICE FORCE, IS NOT CURRENTLY REQUIRED TO CONFORM TO SECTION 75. ALTHOUGH CATHOLICS NOW MAKE UP LESS THAN 8% OF THE POLICE FORCE, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PATTEN COMMISSION REPORT ON POLICE REFORM, SCHEDULED FOR LATE 2000, WILL INITIATE MEASURES TO MAKE THE FORCE MORE BROADLY ACCEPTED IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THESE INCLUDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT RECRUITMENT AGENCY AND A RECRUITMENT POLICY MANDATING EQUAL INTAKE OF QUALIFIED CATHOLICS AND NON-CATHOLICS. THE PATTEN COMMISSION PROJECTED THAT, FOLLOWING IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE REFORMS, CATHOLICS WOULD MAKE UP 30% OF THE POLICE FORCE WITHIN 10 YEARS. REACHING THIS GOAL WILL IN PART DEPEND ON THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY ENCOURAGING ITS MEMBERS TO APPLY FOR THE POLICE FORCE.

"THE NIO REPORTED 80 ATTACKS AGAINST BOTH CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, AND MEETING HALLS FROM JANUARY 1999 THROUGH MID-MAY 2000 IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SUCH SECTARIAN VIOLENCE OFTEN COINCIDES WITH HEIGHTENED TENSIONS, ESPECIALLY IN SPRING AND SUMMER, SURROUNDING CERTAIN MARCHES BY THE "LOYAL INSTITUTIONS" (THE ROYAL BLACK PRECEPTORY, ORANGE ORDER, AND APPRENTICE BOYS), WHOSE MEMBERSHIP IS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY PROTESTANT."

INSERT BEFORE LAST PARAGRAPH IN SECTION:

"IN APRIL 2000, AN INTERIM REPORT ON RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION COMMISSIONED BY THE HOME OFFICE CLAIMED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CAUSES "RELIGIOUS DISADVANTAGE" TO OTHER FAITHS AND CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS. THE REPORT IS BEING CONSIDERED BY THE HOME OFFICE."

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REPLACE LAST PARAGRAPH WITH:

"ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNITY SECURITY TRUST, THE NUMBER OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS IN BRITAIN DURING 1999 WAS 412, COMPARED WITH 385 IN 1998. PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM ARE CONFINED LARGELY TO THE POLITICAL FRINGE, EITHER FAR RIGHT OR ISLAMIST."

SECTION III. U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICY

UPDATE THE END OF THE SECOND SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS:

". . . HAVE BEEN PART OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLE LARGELY BETWEEN PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC COMMUNITIES."

IN THE THIRD SENTENCE, REPLACE "HARMONY" WITH "DIALOGUE," SO IT READS ". . . PROMOTE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO LARGEST RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES."

INSERT AT END OF SECTION:
"THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF RELIGIOUS DETAINEES OR PRISONERS."
UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 003716

SENSITIVE

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NOFORN

DEPT FOR DRL/CRA; DRL/BA; EUR/UBI

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, KIRF, UK
SUBJECT: 2000 ANNUAL REPORT ON INTL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM - UK

LADER

TOR: 05/19/00 11:18:52

DIST: SIT: BABBITT BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON FELDMAN KASS MCLEAN MUNTER NAPLAN NORLAND PATTEN SCHWARTZ SMITHP VACCARO VONLIPSEY WILCOX YEE

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2015-0159-M(1.39)
KBH 9/9/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA3802 1441732-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 231732Z MAY 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5747
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1622
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE CAMPAIGNING FOR SUPPORT AT UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING ON MAY 27

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 003802

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/22/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE CAMPAIGNING FOR SUPPORT AT UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING ON MAY 27

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) TRIMBLE HAS RAISED HIS PUBLIC PROFILE IN RECENT DAYS WITH A SPIRITED DEFENSE OF THE HILLSBOROUGH DEAL, CALLING THE IRA STATEMENT "UNPRECEDENTED" AND WARNING THAT REJECTION WILL PUT UNIONISM IN THE WILDERNESS FOR YEARS. APART FROM TRIMBLE'S LOBBYING, THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEMBERS WHO WILL DECIDE THE ISSUE ARE LOOKING AT OTHER FACTORS: THE VIEWS OF DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR; THE RUC NAME AND FLAG CONTROVERSIES; TRIMBLE'S FUTURE AS LEADER; AND THE POSTURING OF SINN FEIN. REPUBLICANS HAVE REACTED ANGRILY TO TRIMBLE, WARNING THAT HE IS ATTEMPTING TO RENEGOTIATE THE DEAL. THOUGH BOTH TRIMBLE'S TEAM AND SINN FEIN WANT TO RETURN TO GOVERNMENT, THEY SEEM UNABLE TO REFRAIN FROM STATEMENTS THAT MAKE THAT GOAL MORE DIFFICULT. END SUMMARY.

TRIMBLE GOES ON OFFENSIVE -- FINALLY
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2. (C) OBSERVERS IN BELFAST BELIEVE TRIMBLE GAINED A PERCEPTIBLE BOUNCE FROM HIS WEEKEND EFFORTS TO SELL THE HILLSBOROUGH PACKAGE TO MEMBERS OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL, WHICH IS MEETING MAY 27. IN A SERIES OF NEWSPAPER

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COLUMNS AND TV INTERVIEWS, TRIMBLE IS MAKING THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

--UUP STEADFASTNESS HELPED BRING ABOUT THE IRA STATEMENT, WHICH REPRESENTS AN UNPRECEDENTED STEP BY REPUBLICANS ON "PUTTING ARMS BEYOND USE", WHICH TRIMBLE CONTENDS IS EQUIVALENT TO DECOMMISSIONING.

--THE IRA STATEMENT ALSO CONTAINS SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL CONCESSIONS, MOST NOTABLY THE RECOGNITION OF POLITICAL EQUALITY BETWEEN UNIONISM AND REPUBLICANISM AND A COMMITMENT TO PURSUE POLITICS PEACEFULLY.

--HE HAS ENSURING THAT THE UNION FLAG WILL BE DISPLAYED ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS ON HOLIDAYS AND HAS DELIVERED A STRONG UUP MESSAGE ON THE RUC NAME TO HMG.

--THE UUP WILL CONTINUALLY REVIEW THE TERMS OF ITS PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT, RESERVING THE OPTION OF WITHDRAWAL IF REPUBLICANS MAKE INSUFFICIENT PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING.

--REJECTION OF THE DEAL WOULD LEAD TO "GREEN-TINGED" DIRECT RULE THAT WOULD LEAVE UNIONISTS "IN THE WILDERNESS" FOR YEARS.

WHAT THE UNDECIDED UUC MEMBERS ARE THINKING ABOUT
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3. (C) IN MEETINGS ACROSS NORTHERN IRELAND THIS WEEK, TRIMBLE WILL TRY TO SPEAK WITH ALL 860 MEMBERS OF THE UUC. WHILE TRIMBLE'S RENEWED VIGOR IS REVIVING HIS STANDING IN THE MEDIA, OTHER FACTORS ARE LIKELY TO BE MORE IMPORTANT TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE UUC AS THEY CONSIDER THEIR VOTE. THE FOUR MAJOR CONSIDERATIONS ARE:

--THE VIEWS OF DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR, WHO IS SAID TO HAVE STRONG INFLUENCE OVER 3-6 PERCENT OF THE COUNCIL. A TRIMBLE AIDE TOLD US THAT, DURING LAST THURSDAY'S MEETING OF THE UUP'S ASSEMBLY MEMBERS, TAYLOR GAVE A SPIRITED DEFENSE OF TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP AND STATED THAT THE DEAL NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION IS AS GOOD AS IT GETS. THE AIDE NOTED THAT TAYLOR'S ROLE IS TO REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE SKEPTICS AND BRING THEM ALONG GRADUALLY. ON MONDAY, HOWEVER, TAYLOR WAS QUOTED AS SAYING HE WAS STILL NOT SATISFIED WITH THE DEAL AND WILL SEEK ADDITIONAL (UNSPECIFIED) CONCESSIONS FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE RUC REFORM PACKAGE. A TRIMBLE AIDE TOLD US THAT HE IS STILL HOPEFUL THAT TAYLOR, WHO IS IN JAPAN BUT IN CONTACT WITH TRIMBLE, WILL SUPPORT THE DEAL.

--PROGRESS (OR ITS LACK) ON THE RUC NAME. FOR SOME COUNCIL MEMBERS, THE RUC IS THEIR ALAMO AND WORTH FIGHTING FOR TO POLITICAL DEATH. ON THE RUC NAME, THOUGH TRIMBLE CAN SHOW THAT HE FORCED HMG TO DEFER THE FINAL DECISION FOR A FEW MONTHS, ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE NAME WILL BE DROPPED. TRIMBLE MAY SEEK SUPPORT FROM OF DAVID BURNSIDE, AUTHOR OF THE ORIGINAL MOTION BARRING THE UUP FROM REJOINING GOVERNMENT UNLESS THE NAME WAS RETAINED BURNSIDE COULD MOLLIFY SOME RUC DEFENDERS BY DECLARING HIMSELF SATISFIED

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/22/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE CAMPAIGNING FOR SUPPORT AT UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING ON MAY 27

WITH TRIMBLE'S EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE FORCE'S NAME, BUT HAS YET TO DECLARE HIS INTENTIONS.

--LEADERSHIP COHESION. DEFEATING THE INITIATIVE TO REJOIN GOVERNMENT WILL ESSENTIALLY GUARANTEE THE DISSOLUTION OF TRIMBLE'S ENTIRE LEADERSHIP TEAM (INCLUDING POPULAR OFFICERS REG EMPEY AND MICHAEL MCGIMPSEY). THIS REALIZATION COULD INFLUENCE SOME DELEGATES, WHO BELIEVE IT PROPER TO LOYALLY BACK THE PARTY LEADER EVEN IF THEY OPPOSE HIS CURRENT POLICY.

--REPUBLICAN POSTURING. SINN FEIN STATEMENTS ON THE RUC AND FLAGS COULD TURN SOME WAVERING UUC MEMBERS TO THE "NO" CAMP. FOR UNIONISTS, THE GFA GUARANTEES THE CONTINUATION OF THE QUEEN'S SOVEREIGNTY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. SINN FEIN DECLARATIONS THAT IT WILL NOT ALLOW THE UNION FLAG TO FLY AT SITES UNDER CONTROL OF ITS MINISTERS IS CERTAIN TO DISTURB MANY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF ANTI-AGREEMENT ACTIVISTS WHO ARGUE THAT THE GFA GIVES TOO MUCH AUTHORITY TO REPUBLICAN MINISTERS INTENT ON PUSHING THE UNITED-IRELAND AGENDA.

REPUBLICANS WARNING THEIR OFFER IS LIMITED
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4. (C) REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATIVES ARE ADAMANT THAT THEY SAW NO CHOICE BUT TO RESPOND TO TRIMBLE'S "NEGATIVE" CAMPAIGN AND REASSURE THEIR OWN SUPPORTERS THAT THE DEAL REACHED AT HILLSBOROUGH IS NOT BEING RENEGOTIATED. ONE TOP SINN FEIN OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT "WE DON'T WANT TO MAKE THINGS HARDER FOR TRIMBLE, BUT WE DON'T WANT TO BE ACCUSED OF RENEGING ON SOMETHING THAT WE DIDN'T AGREE TO." THE OFFICIAL ADDED THAT EFFORTS BY TRIMBLE TO SET NEW CONDITIONS OR TIMETABLES, AS HE DID THE LAST TIME HE ENTERED GOVERNMENT, WOULD LEAD TO A REPEAT OF THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE WAKE OF THE MITCHELL REVIEW.

5. (U) IN PUBLIC COMMENTS, GERRY ADAMS HAS SAID THAT THE IRA OFFER IS NOW "AT RISK" BECAUSE OF THE CONCESSIONS ON THE RUC AND FLAGS. HE SAID THERE IS DANGER OF A GRASS-ROOTS BACKLASH AGAINST THE HILLSBOROUGH DEAL.

COMMENT
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6. (C) AS THE POLITICAL PASSIONS INTENSIFY IN THE RUN-UP TO SATURDAY'S VOTE, THE MAIN ACTORS SEEM TO BE LAPSING INTO FAMILIAR CONFRONTATIONAL RHETORIC RATHER THAN WORKING TOGETHER TOWARD THE COMMON GOAL OF REESTABLISHING DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. THE WEEK IS STILL YOUNG, BUT IF THE CURRENT TRENDS CONTINUE, TRIMBLE WILL HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME GETTING A POSITIVE RESULT FROM HIS COUNCIL.
LADER

TOR: 05/23/00 13:55:40
DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER Norland SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: STEINBERG

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 261434Z MAY 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5823
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1637
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE MAY 27 ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL VOTE: WHAT IS AT STAKE?

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 003876

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON
S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/25/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE MAY 27 ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL VOTE: WHAT IS AT STAKE?

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) DAVID TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP, THE FATE OF "NEW UNIONISM" AND KEY ELEMENTS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT (GFA) MAY ALL BE AT STAKE AS THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETS ON MAY 27 TO CONSIDER TRIMBLE'S PROPOSAL TO REJOIN DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. REJECTION OF THE DEAL COULD MARK THE END OF TRIMBLE'S TENURE AS A LEADER WHO SUCCEEDED IN MODERNIZING PARTY POLICY BY REDEFINING UNIONISM AS A FORWARD-LOOKING PARTY COMFORTABLE SHARING POWER WITH NATIONALISTS. FOR HIS OPPONENTS, UNIONISM IS ABOUT PROTECTING THE STATUS QUO IN WHAT IS REGARDED AS A ZERO-SUM COMPETITION WITH NATIONALISM. WITHOUT A COOPERATIVE UUP, THE GFA'S PROVISIONS ON DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE SELF-GOVERNMENT WILL BE SUSPENDED, PERHAPS INDEFINITELY. THOUGH THE VIOLENT INSTABILITY OF THE "TROUBLES" IS UNLIKELY TO RETURN, WITHOUT DEVOLUTION, PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT AND ENDING PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY WOULD STALL. END SUMMARY.

ANOTHER CRITICAL MOMENT FOR UNIONISM, PEACE PROCESS

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2. (C) THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS FACES ANOTHER IN A LONG SERIES OF MAKE-OR-BREAK MOMENTS ON MAY 27 AS THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL GATHERS TO CONSIDER WHETHER TO ACCEPT DAVID TRIMBLE'S PROPOSAL TO REJOIN THE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. THE 860-MEMBER COUNCIL, WHICH HAS FINAL AUTHORITY ON ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY POLICY AND LEADERSHIP QUESTIONS, IS A BASTION OF "TRADITIONAL" UNIONISM; IT INCLUDES 650 GRASS-ROOTS ACTIVISTS PLUS REPRESENTATIVES OF NUMEROUS AUXILIARY BODIES SUCH AS UNIONIST STUDENTS, ULSTER UNIONIST WOMEN AND 120 MEMBERS OF THE ORANGE ORDER, A STAUNCHLY PRO-BRITISH ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO CELEBRATING THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE'S VICTORY AT THE 1690 BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

3. (C) IF TRIMBLE PREVAILS, THE UUP WILL CONTINUE ITS ENGAGEMENT WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, ALTHOUGH A LARGE MINORITY IN THE PARTY WILL CONTINUE LOBBYING ACTIVELY AGAINST THE AGREEMENT AND WILL SEEK TO PRESSURE THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY. BUT A WIN FOR TRIMBLE AT THIS STAGE WILL GIVE HIM THE LONG-COVETED CHANCE TO LEADING IN THE GOVERNANCE OF NORTHERN IRELAND - A CHANCE THAT WAS INTERRUPTED AFTER 72 DAYS LAST WINTER.

TRIMBLE'S ROLE - AND "NEW UNIONISM" - IN THE BALANCE
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4. (C) A TRIMBLE LOSS, HOWEVER, WOULD HAVE PROFOUND EFFECTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND FOR YEARS TO COME. THOUGH TRIMBLE HAS DEFLECTED QUESTIONS ABOUT HIS OWN POLITICAL FUTURE, MANY BELIEVE DEFEAT ON SATURDAY WOULD LEAD TO TRIMBLE'S RESIGNATION AS PARTY LEADER AND TO THE DEPARTURE OF HIS TEAM, WHICH INCLUDES A NEW GENERATION OF INTELLIGENT, MEDIA-SAVVY (BY UNIONIST STANDARDS) AND FUTURE-ORIENTED ASSEMBLY MEMBERS AND AIDES. DESPITE HIS FLAWS AS A LEADER, TRIMBLE HAS MANAGED - BARELY - TO KEEP HIS PARTY TOGETHER THROUGH YEARS OF BRUISING NEGOTIATIONS WITH REPUBLICANS AND THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS. THOUGH IT IS A CLICHE, TRIMBLE HAS BEEN INTEGRAL TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND FEW WANT TO CONTEMPLATE ITS FUTURE WITHOUT HIM.

5. (C) TRIMBLE'S DEPARTURE, IN TURN, WOULD PUT ON HOLD "NEW UNIONISM," A MODERNIZATION PROJECT PARTLY MODELED ON TONY BLAIR'S REMAKING OF THE LABOR PARTY. BUT WHILE BLAIR SUCCEEDED IN REFORMING HIS PARTY'S OUT-DATED INTERNAL STRUCTURES BEFORE TAKING POWER, TRIMBLE HAS FAILED TO CHANGE THE UUP'S RULING BODIES - NOTABLY THE CONSERVATIVE UUC THAT IS NOW THREATENING TO UNDO HIM. TRIMBLE'S TEAM VIEWS THE UUP AS A SELF-CONFIDENT PARTY NOT AFRAID OF CONTESTING FOR POWER IN DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND SHARING IT IN INCLUSIVE INSTITUTIONS. THIS OUTLOOK REPLACES THE STODGY IMAGE OF UNIONISM AS CONSERVATIVE AND DEFENSIVE, WHICH REGARDED DIRECT RULE FROM LONDON AS A TOLERABLE PRICE FOR PRESERVING THE UNION AND KEEPING NATIONALIST AND REPUBLICAN ASPIRATIONS AT BAY. THIS DICHOTOMY HAS BEEN VIVIDLY DISPLAYED THIS WEEK: TRIMBLE HAS WARNED THAT REJECTING THIS DEAL WOULD CAST UNIONISM INTO THE WILDERNESS FOR YEARS. SOME OLD DIE-HARDS RESPONDED THAT THEY'VE BEEN IN THE WILDERNESS FOR 30 YEARS AND THEY'RE HAPPY TO GO BACK

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

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TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: THE MAY 27 ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL VOTE: WHAT IS AT STAKE?

THERE. THE LOGIC OF HISTORY DEMANDS THAT SOME FORM OF NEW UNIONISM WOULD APPEAR AGAIN, BUT IT COULD TAKE YEARS BEFORE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES ARE FAVORABLE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE GFA-TYPE SETTLEMENT.

6. (C) A KEY ASSET OF TRIMBLE'S NEW UNIONISM HAS BEEN THE RESPECT AND CREDIBILITY IT HAS EARNED THROUGHOUT THE UK, IRELAND AND THE U.S. THE NOTION THAT A UUP LEADER WOULD SHARE A NOBEL PRIZE WITH JOHN HUME WOULD HAVE BEEN UNTHINKABLE PRIOR TO THE UUP'S MAKEOVER. A POST-TRIMBLE VERSION OF OLD UNIONISM UUP WOULD FIND IT EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT TO RECOVER THE REPUTATION BUILT UP BY THE PARTY UNDER ITS CURRENT LEADERSHIP.

GFA INSTITUTIONS, DISARMAMENT IN DANGER
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7. (C) FAILURE TO APPROVE THE HILLSBOROUGH PACKAGE WOULD INFLICT SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE HEART OF THE GFA, DEMOCRATIC, INCLUSIVE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES, IF THEY EXISTED AT ALL, WOULD LIMP ALONG WITH BRITISH MINISTERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS CALLING THE SHOTS FOR THE NORTH. THIS WOULD REMAIN TRUE AS LONG AS THE UUP, NORTHERN IRELAND'S LARGEST POLITICAL PARTY, BOYCOTTED THE PROCESS. WHILE THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT A POST-TRIMBLE LEADERSHIP WOULD EVENTUALLY NEGOTIATE A DEAL ON DEVOLUTION, IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT DO SO FOR AT LEAST A YEAR BECAUSE OF ELECTIONS IN 2001 IN BOTH IRELAND AND THE UK. BY THEN, THE GFA INSTITUTIONS MAY NO LONGER BE VIABLE, REQUIRING YET ANOTHER PROTRACTED NEGOTIATION.

8. (C) A TURN OF 180 OR EVEN 90 DEGREES BY THE UUP WOULD ALSO PRECIPITATE A REACTION IN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. IN THE SHORT TERM, SINN FEIN WOULD REAP PUBLIC-RELATIONS BENEFITS FROM HAVING TAKEN THE MORAL HIGH GROUND AND CONTINUE MAKING ELECTORAL GAINS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SDLP. IF AN EXTENDED POLITICAL VACUUM ENSUED, THE IRA WOULD LIKELY WITHDRAW ITS WEAPONS OFFER AND MAY EVENTUALLY REVIEW ITS APPROACH TO THE PEACE PROCESS. THOUGH IT SEEMS LIKE A DIFFERENT AGE, THE IRA BOMBING OF THE DOCKLANDS WAS ONLY FOUR YEARS AGO. THOUGH NO ONE REGARDS DESTABILIZING VIOLENCE AS EVEN A REMOTE POSSIBILITY IN THE NEAR TERM, A PROLONGED POLITICAL VACUUM COULD LEAD TO A RESUMPTION OF PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE. IT WOULD CERTAINLY STALL THE ASPIRATION OF THE GFA TO REMOVE WEAPONS FROM POLITICS.

COMMENT
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9. (C) THOUGH THE LATEST UNSCIENTIFIC SURVEYS OF THE UUC INDICATE THAT TRIMBLE WILL LIKELY WIN A NARROW ENDORSEMENT, THE COUNCIL IS NOTORIOUSLY UNPREDICTABLE AND MANY OF ITS MEMBERS REPORTED WILL NOT DECIDE HOW TO VOTE UNTIL THE DAY OF THE MEETING. PARADOXICALLY, TRIMBLE CAN APPEAL TO THIS BODY'S CONSERVATISM BY POINTING OUT THAT THE PEACE PROCESS - DESPITE ITS UPS AND DOWNS - IS NOW THE STATUS QUO AND CHANGING COURSE WOULD CARRY CONSIDERABLE COSTS.

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LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA3888 1471832-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1639
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: KEY UNIONIST COUNCIL VOTE ON REJOINING GOVERNMENT STILL TOO CLOSE TO CALL

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 003888

NSC FOR NORLAND
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S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/25/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: KEY UNIONIST COUNCIL VOTE ON REJOINING GOVERNMENT STILL TOO CLOSE TO CALL

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) AS OF 1900 LOCAL ON MAY 26, TRIMBLE'S ALLIES BELIEVE THEY HAVE THE VOTES IN THEIR RULING COUNCIL TO REJOIN THE POWER-SHARING NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT. TRIMBLE BACKERS ARE CAUTIOUSLY CONFIDENT JOHN TAYLOR WILL SUPPORT THE YES FORCES. BUT THERE IS CONCERN ABOUT THE EFFECT ON DELEGATES OF JEFFREY DONALDSON'S PROPOSED AMENDMENT, CALLING FOR A RESTORATION OF THE UUP'S "NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT" POLICY, WHICH COULD INFLUENCE WAVERING DELEGATES. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PRIVATELY SAID THERE WILL BE NO SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE RUC NAME. END SUMMARY.

TRIMBLE TEAM HOPEFUL
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2. (C) TRIMBLE'S ALLIES AND AIDES WERE CONFIDENT MAY 26 THAT THEIR LEADER HAD ACQUITTED HIMSELF WELL IN THE WEEK-LONG MEDIA AND LOBBYING CAMPAIGN TO PERSUADE A MAJORITY OF THE 860 MEMBERS OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL (UUC) TO BACK A MOTION ALLOWING THE RESTORATION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. TRIMBLE HAS BEEN ON THE AIRWAVES, IN THE NEWSPAPERS AND MEETING WITH CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WEEK AND EVEN HIS CRITICS ACKNOWLEDGE HE HAS

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PERFORMED WELL.

3. (C) TRIMBLE AIDES ARE ALSO INTIMATING THAT DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR, WHO IS ARRIVING FROM ASIA AFTER THE START OF THE MEETING, WILL SUPPORT TRIMBLE IN THE END. TAYLOR MAY BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE A FEW DELEGATES, BUT HIS UNWILLINGNESS TO DECLARE HIMSELF EARLIER WILL LIKELY REDUCE THE NUMBER OF VOTERS HE PERSUADES. NIO OFFICIALS CONFIRMED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF MAKING MORE STATEMENTS ON THE RUC NAME CONTROVERSY, AN ISSUE TAYLOR CLAIMED NEEDED RESOLUTION BEFORE HE COULD SUPPORT THE DEAL.

BUT DONALDSON HAS SCORED A HIT
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4. (C) SEASONED JOURNALISTS AND MEMBERS OF THE "NO" CAMP STILL BELIEVE THE RESULT IS TOO CLOSE TO CALL AS JEFFREY DONALDSON REVEALED THE CONTENTS OF HIS PROPOSED AMENDMENT TODAY. THE AMENDMENT CALLS FOR THE PARTY TO RESTORE ITS "NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT" POLICY, WHILE ALLOWING THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY TO ACT IN AN ADVISORY ROLE TO GOVERNMENT UNTIL DECOMMISSIONING HAS BEGUN. TRIMBLE HAS RESPONDED THAT THIS APPROACH HAS BEEN TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY IN THE PAST AND THAT THE HILLSBOROUGH PACKAGE IS THE BEST WAY TO MOVE FORWARD AND ACHIEVE DECOMMISSIONING. HE ALSO NOTED THAT DONALDSON'S INITIATIVE DIFFERS ONLY TACTICALLY FROM HIS OWN APPROACH AND THE PARTY SHOULD NOT SPLIT OVER TACTICS. IN PRIVATE, TRIMBLE ALLIES FRET THAT THE DONALDSON AMENDMENT IS PRECISELY DESIGNED TO APPEAL TO WAVERING DELEGATES AND IS INTENDED TO BRING DOWN TRIMBLE, NOT TO ADVANCE THE PROCESS. FOR THIS REASON, SOME ARE ADVOCATING TRIMBLE TAKE A MORE AGGRESSIVE LINE AGAINST DONALDSON. IN EITHER CASE, THEY HOPED THAT TRIMBLE WOULD BE ABLE TO NEUTRALIZE THE DONALDSON PROPOSAL IN THE PUBLIC MIND BEFORE THE END OF THE DAY.

5. (C) THE MEETING WILL BEGIN AT 10:00 LOCAL AND IS EXPECTED TO LAST ABOUT FOUR HOURS. IT IS EXPECTED THAT TRIMBLE'S MOTION WILL BE INTRODUCED AND THEN DONALDSON'S AMENDMENT, WHICH WILL NEED TO BE DEBATED AND VOTED ON FIRST. DONALDSON ALLIES POINT OUT THAT REJECTION OF THE AMENDMENT WILL BE TANTAMOUNT TO REJECTING THE PARTY'S DECLARED POLICY THAT DECOMMISSIONING MUST BEGIN BEFORE THE PARTY ENTERS GOVERNMENT.

COMMENT
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6. (C) DESPITE THE TRIMBLE CAMP'S HOPE ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY THAT THEY COULD TURN THE TIDE DECISIVELY IN THEIR FAVOR, THE RESULT IS TOO CLOSE TO CALL. DONALDSON'S AMENDMENT WAS INITIATED BECAUSE THE NO CAMP WAS VULNERABLE TO THE CHARGE THAT THEY HAD NO ALTERNATIVE. IT COULD IN THE END TIP THE SCALES AGAINST TRIMBLE. THOUGH DONALDSON'S PROPOSAL PURPORTS TO SUPPORT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT, ITS ADOPTION EFFECTIVELY PUT THE GFA DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS ON ICE, PERHAPS INDEFINITELY.
LADER

TOR: 05/26/00 14:58:17

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
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TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5838
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1640
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL ENDORSES RESUMPTION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 003889

NSC FOR NORLAND
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S/P FOR O'BRIEN

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/26/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL ENDORSES RESUMPTION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY ERIC GREEN, ACTING CG, BELFAST. REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) ON MAY 27, THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL APPROVED DAVID TRIMBLE'S PROPOSAL TO RESTORE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY A 53-47 PERCENT MARGIN. THOUGH TRIMBLE DID NOT ATTACH CONDITIONS TO REJOINING THE EXECUTIVE, HE WARNED THAT FOOT-DRAGGING BY THE IRA ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE WOULD HAVE CONSEQUENCES. TRIMBLE PROVOCATIVELY CHARACTERIZED SINN FEIN AS ARROGANT AND IN NEED OF HOUSE-TRAINING. FOR HIS TROUBLE, TRIMBLE REENTERS AN EXECUTIVE THAT WILL BE HIGHLY CHARGED ON SYMBOLIC ISSUES WHILE TRYING TO FIND A WAY TO UNITE HIS STILL-DIVIDED PARTY. END SUMMARY.

STRESSFUL WEEKS END WELL FOR TRIMBLE
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2. (C) IN A SUSPENSEFUL MEETING ON MAY 27, DAVID TRIMBLE PERSUADED THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL (UUC) TO SUPPORT HIS PROPOSAL TO REJOIN THE DEVOLVED EXECUTIVE ESTABLISHED UNDER THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE INITIATIVE DEVELOPED FROM THE EARLY-MAY HILLSBOROUGH TALKS WHICH RESULTED IN A PATH-BREAKING STATEMENT BY THE IRA IN WHICH IT AGREED TO ALLOW INSPECTIONS OF ITS WEAPONS DUMPS AS A CONFIDENCE-BUILDING

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MEASURE. PRIOR TO THE MEETING, TRIMBLE AND HIS RIVAL JEFFREY DONALDSON AGREED TO A STRAIGHT UP-OR-DOWN VOTE TO AVOID BOGGING THE MEETING DOWN IN COMPLICATED MOTIONS AND AMENDMENTS THAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN RECENT DAYS. AS A RESULT, THE VOTE BOILED DOWN TO TRIMBLE VS. DONALDSON; IF TRIMBLE HAD LOST HE WOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO RESIGN. AFTER A RANCOROUS DEBATE OF NEARLY THREE HOURS, THE VOTE WAS 459-403 IN TRIMBLE'S FAVOR. AS EXPECTED, DEPUTY LEADER JOHN TAYLOR ENDORSED TRIMBLE'S POSITION, PRESUMABLY HELPING SWING SOME UNDECIDED DELEGATES INTO THE YES COLUMN.

3. (U) IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE, TRIMBLE CAME OUT SWINGING, SAYING THAT HIS PARTY HAD STRETCHED ITSELF TO ITS LIMITS AND THAT "IT'S PERFECTLY CLEAR WE CAN GO NO FURTHER." HE CALLED ON THE IRA TO FULFILL ITS COMMITMENTS ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES QUICKLY AND TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF PUTTING ARMS "BEYOND USE." HE SAID THAT WHILE HIS PARTY WAS NOT PUTTING FORMAL CONDITIONS ON REJOINING GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT FOOT-DRAGGING BY THE IRA WOULD HAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE UUP'S CONTINUED PARTICIPATION.

4. (C) IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, TRIMBLE SLAMMED SINN FEIN, ACCUSING THE PARTY OF BEHAVING ARROGANTLY DURING THE 72 DAYS OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT AND OF LACKING THE "HOUSE-TRAINING" NEEDED FOR DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. HE ADDED THAT CHECKS AND BALANCES MUST BE INSTITUTED IN THE OPERATIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE TO "BRING THEM TO HEEL." (COMMENT: SINN FEIN COULD DEMONSTRATE ITS POLITICAL MATURITY BY REFRAINING FROM RECIPROCATING TRIMBLE'S PEJORATIVE REMARKS. END COMMENT.)

BALL BACK IN THE REPUBLICANS' COURT
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5. (C) FOLLOWING THE MEETING, A CLOSE TRIMBLE ALLY TOLD US HE WAS HAPPY THAT THE BALL IS NOW BACK IN THE IRA'S COURT, BUT NOTED THAT THIS IS THE LAST TIME TRIMBLE WOULD BE ABLE TO ESCAPE ALIVE FROM THE "NO" CAMP WITHOUT SOMETHING MORE FROM THE IRA ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE. "THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURE MUST BUILD CONFIDENCE," HE SAID. ASKED HOW LONG THE STATUS QUO CAN ENDURE BEFORE THE SKEPTICS CALL ANOTHER UUC, HE SAID HE HOPED TO AVOID ANOTHER MEETING UNTIL THE UUP CONVENTION IN OCTOBER. HE ADDED THAT IN THE MEANTIME THE TRIMBLE TEAM WILL TAKE ANOTHER RUN AT PARTY REFORM BY TRYING TO LESSEN THE INFLUENCE OF THE ORANGE ORDER ON THE UUC.

COMMENT
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6. (C) REJOINING GOVERNMENT NEXT WEEK, TRIMBLE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO PRESIDING OVER A BODY THAT WILL LIKELY BE INCREASINGLY DIVIDED OVER SYMBOLIC ISSUES, SUCH AS FLAG-FLYING AT PUBLIC BUILDINGS, THAT HAVE FEATURED PROMINENTLY IN THE DEBATE SINCE THE HILLSBOROUGH PACKAGE WAS ANNOUNCED THREE WEEKS AGO. FORTUNATELY, TRIMBLE AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON WILL NOW HAVE MORE TIME TO ESTABLISH COLLEGIAL PROCEDURES TO MINIMIZE FRICTION WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE. THE ISSUE OF WEAPONS DECOMMISSIONING, HOWEVER, IS LIKELY TO HAUNT - AND POSSIBLY STALL - THE PROCESS AGAIN GIVEN THE GULF BETWEEN THE UUP'S REQUIREMENTS AND THE IRA

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 003889

NSC FOR NORLAND
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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/26/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL ENDORSES RESUMPTION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

OFFERS.
LADER

TOR: 05/27/00 13:15:17

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: BASH BERGER BRADTKE CROCKER FUERTH POWELL RUDMAN SIBERELL SIT{C2} STEINBERG

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Cable

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015-0159-M [1.43]
KBH 9/9/2019

PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHLOA4343 1651448-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 131448Z JUN 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6297
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY 1671
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 1735
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: DUP'S TWO-STEP STRATEGY TO REPLACE THE UUP PUTS TRIMBLE AND GFA AT RISK

(U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM GLYN DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 004343

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/09/2010
TAGS: PGOV, IR, UK
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DUP'S TWO-STEP STRATEGY TO REPLACE THE UUP PUTS TRIMBLE AND GFA AT RISK

(U) CLASSIFIED BY DCM GLYN DAVIES FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D)

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ THE DUP HAS EMBARKED ON A TWO-STEP STRATEGY TO WOUND THE UUP AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS AND THEN, POST-PAISLEY, TO DISPLACE THE UUP AS THE LEADING UNIONIST PARTY. THIS STRATEGY IS BASED ON ACCUSING DAVID TRIMBLE OF KEEPING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ALIVE AT THE EXPENSE OF UNIONISTS' INTERESTS, AND IT EFFECTIVELY PRECLUDES DUP NI MINISTERS PETER ROBINSON OR NIGEL DODDS FROM WORKING CONSTRUCTIVELY IN THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. ANTI-AGREEMENT UUP MEMBERS -- INCLUDING JEFFREY DONALDSON -- ARE HELPING THE DUP BY ARGUING THAT THEIR CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR TRIMBLE DEPENDS ON REAL STEPS BEING TAKEN TOWARD ACTUAL IRA DECOMMISSIONING -- BEYOND THE INSPECTION OF ARMS DUMPS -- BY THIS FALL. TRIMBLE ADVISORS PAUL BEW AND KEN MAGINNIS ARE WORKING WITH TRIMBLE TO DEVISE A STRATEGY LEADING UP TO THE ELECTIONS. THEY ARE STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS' DELIVERING BENEFITS SOUGHT BY THEIR CONSTITUENTS, BUT THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT TRIMBLE MAY NOT INVEST THE NEEDED TIME OVER THE NEXT MONTHS IN CONSTITUENCY-BUILDING ACTIVITIES. TRIMBLE'S UPCOMING TRIP TO WASHINGTON PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW WITH HIM HIS LONG-RANGE PLANS AND WARN HIM OFF

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ANY SUGGESTION THAT DEPENDS ON ANOTHER SUSPENSION OF THE NI INSTITUTIONS. END SUMMARY

DUP SETS SIGHTS ON WOUNDING UUP IN GENERAL ELECTIONS

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2. ~~(C)~~ TRIMBLE ADVISORS KEN MAGINNIS AND PAUL BEW TELL US THE DUP'S RECENT OBSTRUCTIONISM HAS LESS TO DO WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT THAN WITH THE PARTY LEADERS' BELIEF THEY CAN GAIN GROUND AGAINST THE UUP AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION AND DISPLACE THE UUP AS THE LEADING UNIONIST PARTY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. REGARDLESS OF POSITIVE INITIATIVES BY THE IRA OR PROGRESS MADE BY THE NI EXECUTIVE, THE DUP'S TACTICS WILL CONTINUE AND LIKELY INTENSIFY RIGHT UP TO THE GENERAL (WESTMINSTER) ELECTIONS WHICH ARE EXPECTED BY MAY 2001.

3. ~~(C)~~ THE DUP WILL USE A LACK OF MOVEMENT ON IRA DECOMMISSIONING -- BEGINNING WITH BUT NOT LIMITED TO THE STEPS PROMISED BY THE IRA ON MAY 6 -- AS EVIDENCE THAT TRIMBLE IS WILLING TO BETRAY UNIONISTS' VALUES AND INTERESTS. TRIMBLE WILL BE IN TROUBLE IF THE PROMISED INSPECTIONS DO NOT BEGIN BY THE END OF JUNE AND IF THEY ARE NOT FOLLOWED BY FURTHER STEPS. BEW STRESSED THAT THE DUP TOOK NOTE OF STATEMENTS BY PM BLAIR, SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON AND DAVID TRIMBLE THAT THEY CONSIDER THE INSPECTIONS TO BE "A FIRST STEP." BEW OFFERED THAT HE HAD WARNED TRIMBLE TO AVOID THE "THIS IS JUST THE FIRST STEP ARGUMENT" AS IT WAS AN INVITATION TO THE ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES TO DEMAND MORE. TRIMBLE, HOWEVER, HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED BY THE PUBLIC REACTION TO THE MAY 6 IRA STATEMENT AND ENDED UP CONCLUDING HE COULD NOT GET AWAY WITH PROMISING SKEPTICAL UNIONISTS LESS THAN BLAIR AND MANDELSON HAD SUGGESTED WAS POSSIBLE. AS A RESULT, HE NOW FINDS HIMSELF WORKING AGAINST THE CLOCK.

ANY HOPE OF NEW DUP LEADERSHIP/STRATEGY MUST WAIT

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4. ~~(C)~~ THE DUP ELECTION STRATEGY IS TO USE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO ARGUE THAT TRIMBLE AND THE UUP HAVE BETRAYED UNIONISTS' INTERESTS. HOPE THAT PETER ROBINSON AND NIGEL DODDS MIGHT PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS FADED AFTER THE RECENT DUP PARTY MEETING, WHEN IAN PAISLEY SET THE INCREASINGLY CONFRONTATIONAL COURSE AND OTHER PARTY LEADERS FELL IN LINE. PETER ROBINSON'S SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS DURING THE JUNE 6 SECOND READING OF THE POLICE BILL PROVIDED A PREVIEW OF THE RHETORIC WE CAN EXPECT OVER THE COMING MONTHS. HE DREW A DIRECT LINE FROM THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT AND THE PATTEN REPORT TO THE POLICE BILL, WHICH HE CRITICIZED AS GIVING THE PROVISIONAL IRA A ROLE IN POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE STILL ACTIVE IN TERRORISM. HE AND DODDS' CONFRONTATIONAL APPROACH TO THE NI EXECUTIVE ARE ALSO INDICATIVE OF THEIR STRATEGY.

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/09/2010

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TAGS: PGOV, IR, UK
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DUP'S TWO-STEP STRATEGY TO REPLACE THE UUP PUTS TRIMBLE AND GFA AT RISK

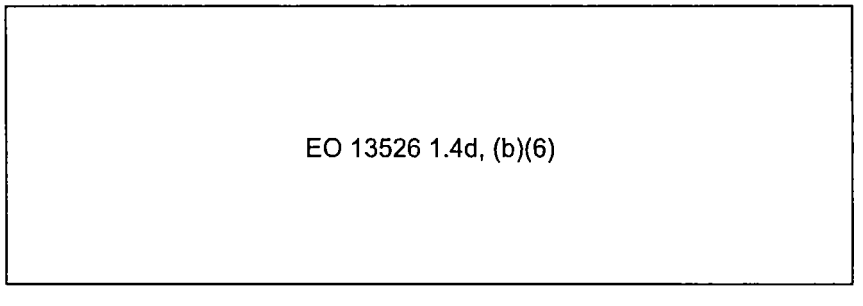
DONALDSON AND HARD-LINE UNIONISTS HELPING THE DUP

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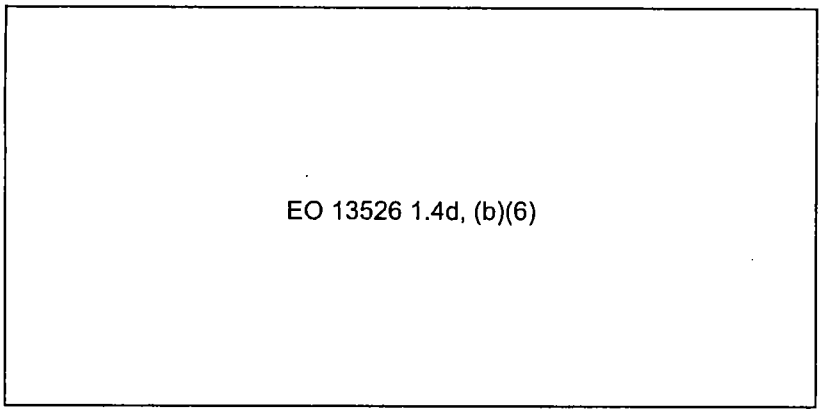
5. ~~(C)~~ ANTI-AGREEMENT UUP MP JEFFREY DONALDSON DESCRIBED TO POLOFF HIS VIEW OF THE DUP'S LONG-TERM TRAJECTORY. HE SAID THE FIRST STAGE IS THE EFFORT, ALREADY UNDERWAY, TO ENCOURAGE AND USE ANTI-GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT SENTIMENT WITHIN THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY TO WOUND THE UUP IN THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS. THE SECOND STAGE, WHICH DONALDSON STRESSED WILL HAVE TO WAIT FOR THE "POST-PAISLEY ERA," WILL BE FOR THE DUP TO MOVE TO THE CENTER TO CAPTURE THE UUP'S TRADITIONAL, MORE MODERATE CONSTITUENCY. DONALDSON BITTERLY BLAMED THE UUP'S VULNERABILITY TO THE DUP ON TRIMBLE, WHOM HE CLAIMED HAS MADE SO MANY CONCESSIONS TO THE REPUBLICANS THAT HE NO LONGER HAS THE CONFIDENCE OF THE UUP'S CONSTITUENTS. "TRIMBLE NOW LEADS TWO PARTIES -- NO, ACTUALLY HE LEADS A FACTION WITHIN THE PARTY. THIS CAN'T BE SUSTAINED."

6. ~~(C)~~ ACCORDING TO DONALDSON, THE ONLY WAY TO UNIFY THE PARTY IS FOR THE LEADERSHIP TO TAKE A TOUGHER LINE ON DECOMMISSIONING. HE STRESSED THAT "WHILE TRIMBLE MAY NOT HAVE SET CONDITIONS FOR THE UUP JOINING THE REDEVOLVED EXECUTIVE, THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL'S SUPPORT FOR TRIMBLE IS CONDITIONAL ON PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING." HE PREDICTED THAT TRIMBLE HAS "UNTIL AUTUMN" (PRESUMABLY WHEN THE UUP HOLDS ITS ANNUAL MEETING) TO DELIVER ON HIS MAY 27 ASSURANCES TO THE UUC THAT THE IRA CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE STEPS BEYOND OPENING THEIR ARMS DUMPS. HE STRESSED THAT, REGARDLESS OF HOW WELL THE EXECUTIVE IS PERFORMING, THE PARTY WOULD MOVE AGAINST TRIMBLE (AND PRESUMABLY WITHDRAW FROM THE ASSEMBLY) IF THE ASSURANCES "GIVEN BY BLAIR, GIVEN BY MANDELSON, AND GIVEN BY TRIMBLE" PROVE UNFOUNDED.

7. ~~(C)~~ DONALDSON TOOK EXCEPTION TO THE IDEA THAT, BY ATTACKING TRIMBLE, HE IS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DUP'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE UUP. HE SAID HE WOULD MAKE "NO APOLOGIES" FOR DEMANDING IRA DECOMMISSIONING PRIOR TO ANY FURTHER "CONCESSIONS" ON POLICING. HE INSISTED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE PROCESS TO COME TO A HALT IF THE ONLY WAY IT CAN MOVE FORWARD IS THROUGH MORE CONCESSIONS TO "UNAPOLOGETIC TERRORISTS." DONALDSON USED THE SECOND READING OF THE POLICE BILL ON JUNE 6 TO CRITICIZE BITTERLY THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT FOR IGNORING THE VIEWS OF THE "LAW-ABIDING, ORDINARY CITIZENS" WHO ARE HIS CONSTITUENTS.



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TRIMBLE ADVISORS' STRATEGY FOR KEEPING DUP AT BAY

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9. ~~(C)~~ MAGINNIS AND BEW ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE UUP MUST WORK HARD TO BUILD SUPPORT FOR ITS STRATEGIES IF IT IS TO FEND OFF THE DUP/HARD-LINE ATTACKS. THEY BOTH STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTY -- AND TRIMBLE SPECIFICALLY -- DOING A BETTER JOB OF GRASSROOTS CONSTITUENCY WORK. BEW SAID HE HAS STRESSED TO TRIMBLE THAT THE UUP LEADER CAN'T SIMPLY COUNT ON APPEALS TO UNIONISTS TO DO THE RIGHT THING. HE MUST INVEST TIME AND EFFORT REACHING OUT TO HIS CONSTITUENTS TO EXPLAIN THE BENEFITS OF WORKING THROUGH THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS TO RESOLVE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 004343

NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/09/2010
TAGS: PGOV, IR, UK
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DUP'S TWO-STEP STRATEGY TO REPLACE THE UUP PUTS TRIMBLE AND GFA AT RISK

OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND THE COSTS OF DEMANDING THAT ISSUES BE RESOLVED AS A PRECONDITION FOR WORKING WITH REPUBLICANS. MAGINNIS WRYLY OBSERVED THAT THE DUP SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN TAKING A FEW LESSONS FROM SINN FEIN, WHOM HE CALLED THE "MASTERS OF THE ART." MAGINNIS NOTED THAT, WHILE CAMPAIGNING IS NOT ONE OF TRIMBLE'S STRENGTHS, HE HAD PROVEN TO BE A SURPRISINGLY SUCCESSFUL "STREET FIGHTER" IN THE WEEK LEADING UP TO THE MAY 27 UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING.

10. ~~(C)~~ MAGINNIS SAID HE THOUGHT TRIMBLE WAS SAFE AS PARTY LEADER UNTIL THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN WORKING ON AN ELECTION GAME PLAN WITH TRIMBLE. THIS INCLUDES ENSURING THAT THERE ARE STRONG PRO-AGREEMENT CANDIDATES FROM THE UUP FOR OPEN MP SEATS -- INCLUDING THE UPCOMING BY-ELECTION TO FILL THE SOUTH ANTRIM SEAT VACATED BY THE DEATH OF UUP MP CLIFFORD FORSYTHE. MCGINNIS DOWNPLAYED RUMORS THAT TRIMBLE IS IN DANGER OF LOSING HIS OWN SEAT, BUT HE STRESSED THAT TRIMBLE WILL HAVE TO PICK HIS BATTLES WITH THE UNIONIST COUNCIL. THE OVERALL STRATEGY WILL BE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE VOTERS THEMSELVES THAT DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IS PAYING OFF, I.E., THAT THE PRICE OF WALKING AWAY WOULD BE HIGH. MAGINNIS NOTED TRIMBLE HAS ONLY SIX OR SEVEN MONTHS TO PROVE THE VALUE OF THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS, AS NOTHING WILL

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GET DONE DURING THE JULY -AUGUST SUMMER RECESS AND THE DECEMBER-JANUARY CHRISTMAS BREAK. TRIMBLE'S KILLER SCHEDULE -- JUGGLING HIS RESPONSIBILITIES AS FIRST MINISTER AND AS WESTMISTER MP -- CERTAINLY LEAVES LITTLE TIME FOR CAMPAIGN STRATEGIZING OR CAMPAIGNING.

COMMENT
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11. ~~(C)~~ TRIMBLE MAY HAVE PROVEN BY HIS PERFORMANCE DURING THE WEEK LEADING UP TO THE MAY 27 UUC CONFERENCE THAT HE IS A BETTER STREET FIGHTER THAN PEOPLE HAD GIVEN HIM CREDIT FOR, BUT HE WILL NEED MORE TO HOLD HIS AND THE UUP'S GROUND IN THE LEAD-UP TO NEXT YEAR'S WESTMINSTER ELECTIONS. HE MAY HAVE WON (JUST BARELY) EACH OF HIS BATTLES WITH THE ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES IN THE UUC AND THE DUP OVER THE LAST YEAR, BUT HE IS GIVING UP GROUND WITH EACH ENCOUNTER AND IS IN DANGER OF LOSING THE WAR. MOST WORRYING, BEW CLAIMED TO EMBOFF THAT TRIMBLE BELIEVES THE NI EXECUTIVE MAY HAVE TO BE SUSPENDED ONE MORE TIME IN ORDER TO GET SUFFICIENT CONCESSIONS FROM THE REPUBLICANS TO KEEP THE PROCESS MOVING FORWARD.

12. ~~(C)~~ TRIMBLE NEEDS A REAL, LONG-TERM STRATEGY TO COUNTER THE DUP AND HARD-LINE UUP ARGUMENT THAT HE IS ONLY KEEPING THE PROCESS MOVING FORWARD BY GIVING IN REPEATEDLY TO REPUBLICANS. AND HE NEEDS IT SOON. EVEN IF THE FIRST INSPECTIONS OF THE ARMS DUMPS DO TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE END OF JUNE, TRIMBLE MUST BE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH INEVITABLE DUP/HARD-LINE UUP CRITICISMS OF THE MODALITIES. EVEN IF THE INSPECTIONS LEAVE LITTLE ROOM FOR COMPLAINT, TRIMBLE MUST ALSO HAVE A STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE INEVITABLE QUESTION OF WHAT "NEXT STEPS" THE IRA IS WILLING TO TAKE. BLAIR, MANDELSON AND TRIMBLE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BACK DOWN FROM THEIR EARLIER INTIMATIONS THAT THEY TOO EXPECT FURTHER STEPS, BUT THEY MAY BE ABLE TO HELP ESTABLISH REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS REGARDING WHAT THOSE NEXT STEPS MIGHT BE. AT THE SAME TIME, TRIMBLE NEEDS TO INVEST TIME IN THE LONGER TERM UUP ELECTION STRATEGY.

13. ~~(C)~~ TRIMBLE'S UPCOMING TRIP TO WASHINGTON PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND HIM TO LOOK BEYOND THE NEXT BATTLE TO NEXT SPRING'S CAMPAIGN -- AND TO SUGGEST GENTLY THAT HE MIGHT CONSIDER WORKING WITH PROFESSIONAL CAMPAIGN STRATEGISTS. IT ALSO PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISABUSE HIM OF THE IDEA THAT HE SHOULD THINK OF ANOTHER SUSPENSION OF THE NI INSTITUTIONS AS A STRATEGY FOR GETTING WHAT HE WANTS FROM THE REPUBLICANS. END COMMENT.

LADER

TOR: 06/13/00 10:53:06

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE

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2015-0159-M (1.44)
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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA4933 1861438-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6866
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1706
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND BRACING FOR DISORDER ASSOCIATED WITH JULY 9 DRUMCREE PARADE

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 004933

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/11/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND BRACING FOR DISORDER ASSOCIATED WITH JULY 9 DRUMCREE PARADE

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) THE NORTHERN IRELAND MARCHING SEASON, IN WHICH THE PROTESTANT ORANGE ORDER COMMEMORATES THE 1690 BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, WILL PEAK THE WEEK BEGINNING JULY 9, WITH THE CONTROVERSIAL DRUMCREE PARADE IN PORTADOWN. PARADES THROUGH CATHOLIC NEIGHBORHOODS ARE OPPOSED BY "RESIDENTS GROUPS" WHICH ORGANIZE EFFECTIVE COUNTER-PROTESTS. THE PARADES COMMISSION WAS FORMED TO ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE, BUT EACH SIDE STILL REVERTS TO PUBLIC DISORDER WHENEVER A COMMISSION DECISION GOES AGAINST IT, LEAVING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE POLICE CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE. THOUGH THE PARADES COMMISSION AND THE SECURITY FORCES ARE WORKING TO REPLICATE LAST YEAR'S RELATIVELY CALM MARCHING SEASON, THERE IS SERIOUS CONCERN THAT LOYALIST FORCES MAY RESPOND VIOLENTLY AS THE DRUMCREE PARADE IS DENIED ACCESS TO THE GARVAGHY ROAD FOR THE THIRD YEAR RUNNING. DESPITE (OR PERHAPS BECAUSE OF) PROGRESS ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE PEACE PROCESS, HARD-LINERS ON BOTH SIDES HAVE ELEVATED THE PARADES ISSUE INTO A ZERO-SUM TEST OF WILLS.

2. (C) WHETHER OR NOT THIS YEAR'S MARCHES ARE VIOLENT AND DISRUPTIVE, NORTHERN IRELAND HAS LOST ANOTHER JULY: MANY MIDDLE CLASS AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE HAVE LEFT ON HOLIDAY AND TOURIST ARRIVALS HAVE SLOWED TO A TRICKLE - EXCEPT FOR THE MEDIA WHICH WILL BROADCAST THE SPECTACLE TO AN UNCOMPREHENDING WORLD. THIS UNDERSCORES THE PRESSURE ON

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THE PARADES COMMISSION AND THE GOVERNMENT TO FIND AN "EXIT STRATEGY" THAT DEFUSES THE MARCHING SEASON AS PART OF THE NORMALIZATION OF NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

BACKGROUND
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3. (U) JULY IS THE TRADITIONAL "MARCHING SEASON" FOR SEVERAL LOYALIST FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS, MOST PROMINENTLY THE ORANGE ORDER. ORDER DISTRICTS OR INDIVIDUAL LODGES STAGE PARADES IN TOWNS THROUGHOUT NORTHERN IRELAND, OFTEN ALONG HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT ROUTES. MANY PARADES OCCUR ON OR AROUND JULY 12, THE ANNIVERSARY OF KING WILLIAM III'S 1690 VICTORY AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE WHICH SECURED ENGLISH PROTESTANT RULE OVER CATHOLIC IRELAND. THE ORANGE ORDER CONTENDS THAT THE PARADES ARE A TESTIMONY OF THEIR PROTESTANT FAITH AND A CELEBRATION OF THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE. MANY NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS REJECT THIS EXPLANATION, MAINTAINING THAT THE PARADES, WHICH SOMETIMES PASS THROUGH CATHOLIC NEIGHBORHOODS, ARE ANTAGONISTIC AND "TRIUMPHALIST."

4. (U) AN ORANGE PARADE GENERALLY CONSISTS OF A PROCESSION TO AND FROM A CHURCH OR ORANGE LODGE. PARTICIPANTS IN THE PARADE WEAR ORANGE SASHES AND CARRY BANNERS PAINTED WITH HISTORICAL, BIBLICAL, OR LOCAL IMAGES; BANDS TYPICALLY ACCOMPANY THE PARADE. FAMILY AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS TURN OUT IN LARGE NUMBERS TO CHEER AND OCCASIONALLY PARTICIPATE IN THE PARADE.

POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS
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5. (C) DURING THE TROUBLES, THE PARADES BECAME MORE CONTENTIOUS. AS NEIGHBORHOODS ARE INCREASINGLY SEGREGATED, TRADITIONAL PARADE ROUTES NOW OFTEN TRAVERSE CATHOLIC NEIGHBORHOODS. SOMEWHAT IRONICALLY, CONFRONTATION OVER THE PARADES HAS WORSENED IN RECENT YEARS, NOTWITHSTANDING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. ACCORDING TO A POLICE FEDERATION MEMBER WHO FOLLOWS PARADES ISSUES, THIS IS BECAUSE THE PARADES ARE ONE OF THE REMAINING OUTLETS FOR HARD-LINE ELEMENTS ON BOTH SIDES TO EXPRESS THEIR MUTUAL HOSTILITY.

6. (C) ON THE GROUND, OPPOSITION TO THE PARADES IN NATIONALIST AND REPUBLICAN AREAS IS ORGANIZED BY "RESIDENTS GROUPS," WHICH ARE OFTEN CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH SINN FEIN AND/OR THE IRA. WHILE THERE IS NO DISPUTING THAT RESIDENTS OF THESE AREAS OBJECT TO ORANGE PARADES ON THEIR STREETS, THE VIRULENT AND OCCASIONALLY VIOLENT REACTION TO THE MARCHES IS USUALLY ORCHESTRATED BY LOCAL REPUBLICAN LEADERS. AS LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES OFTEN ALSO USE PARADING DISPUTES AS A PRETEXT FOR SECTARIAN ATTACKS, THE PARADES ISSUE IS SEEN AS A ZERO-SUM TEST OF WILLS IN WHICH EACH SIDE USES ALL AVAILABLE MEANS TO GAIN A FAVORABLE RULING (FOR ITS POSITION) FROM THE PARADES COMMISSION. IN THIS ENVIRONMENT, THERE IS LITTLE MIDDLE GROUND.

7. (U) AFTER A DECISION HAS BEEN REACHED BY THE COMMISSION, THE "LOSING" SIDE OCCASIONALLY RESPONDS WITH VIOLENCE, AS ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 LONDON 004933

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/11/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND BRACING FOR DISORDER ASSOCIATED WITH JULY 9 DRUMCREE PARADE

OCCURRED ON JUNE 17, WHEN AN ORANGE PARADE WAS PERMITTED IN THE TOWN OF LURGAN. PROTESTERS HURLED PETROL AND PAINT BOMBS, BOTTLES, STONES, AND GOLF BALLS AT SECURITY FORCES, WHO RESPONDED BY FIRING RUBBER BULLETS. THREE POLICE OFFICERS AND ONE SOLDIER WERE SLIGHTLY INJURED. AN ORANGE ORDER SPOKESMAN BLAMED NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS FOR THE DISRUPTION; SINN FEIN BLAMED THE PARADES COMMISSION FOR ALLOWING THE PARADE TO PROCEED THROUGH CATHOLIC NEIGHBORHOODS.

THE PARADES COMMISSION
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8. (U) THE PARADES COMMISSION WAS FORMED IN 1997 BY SPECIAL LEGISLATION. IT IS A WHOLLY INDEPENDENT, QUASI-JUDICIAL BODY INTENDED TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS BETWEEN DEMONSTRATORS' RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY AND RESIDENTS' DESIRE TO BE FREE OF INTIMIDATING LOYALIST DISPLAYS. THE COMMISSION HAS THE AUTHORITY TO REGULATE ALL PUBLIC PROCESSIONS. PARADE ORGANIZERS MUST APPLY TO THE POLICE FOR ALL PARADES; THE POLICE THEN REFER POTENTIALLY CONTENTIOUS APPLICATIONS TO THE COMMISSION. THE COMMISSION GATHERS INFORMATION AND EVIDENCE ON THE PROPOSED PARADE; IT ALSO SUPPORTS ALL ATTEMPTS AT MEDIATION BEFORE IT WILL ISSUE A DECISION OF ITS OWN. FINALLY, THE COMMISSION HAS THE AUTHORITY TO IMPOSE, BY MAJORITY VOTE, CONDITIONS ON PARADES TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION: THE POTENTIAL FOR PUBLIC DISORDER OR PROPERTY DAMAGE; POSSIBLE DISRUPTION TO COMMUNITY LIFE; IMPACT ON RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY; COMPLIANCE WITH THE COMMISSION'S CODE OF CONDUCT; AND THE DESIRABILITY OF A PARADE'S PASSING ALONG ITS TRADITIONAL ROUTE.

9. (U) THE COMMISSION ISSUES A CODE OF CONDUCT WHICH PROVIDES GUIDANCE FOR THOSE ORGANIZING PARADES AND PROTESTS AS WELL AS REGULATIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF PARTICIPANTS. THE CODE INCLUDES GUIDELINES CONCERNING A PARADE'S ROUTE AND TIMING, ITS USE OF BANDS, AND THE TRAINING OF STEWARDS TO CONTROL THE PARADE. THERE ARE SPECIAL GUIDELINES FOR PARADES THAT PASS THROUGH "SENSITIVE LOCATIONS," AS WELL AS FOR PARADE PROTESTERS.

10. (C) THE ORANGE ORDER HAS SO FAR REFUSED TO SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE PARADES COMMISSION, CONTENDING THAT IT IS AN UNDEMOCRATIC BODY USED BY REPUBLICANS TO POLITICIZE A CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS ISSUE. GARVAGHY ROAD RESIDENTS GROUPS, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVE COMMUNICATED EXTENSIVELY WITH THE COMMISSION. ACCORDING TO ONE LOCAL OFFICIAL, THE ORDER'S BOYCOTT HAS HARMED THEIR CAUSE AS THE COMMISSION EFFECTIVELY HAS BEEN ABLE TO HEAR (AND ISSUE DECISIONS BASED ON) ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE STORY. COMPLICATING MATTERS FURTHER, THE PORTADOWN LODGE HAS LATELY CONCLUDED THAT THE ORDER SHOULD ENGAGE WITH THE COMMISSION, BUT THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP VETOED THIS INITIATIVE.

DRUMCREE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE
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11. (U) THE JULY PARADE TO AND FROM DRUMCREE CHURCH IN PORTADOWN, WHERE THE ORANGE ORDER WAS FOUNDED IN 1795, IS

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THE MOST SIGNIFICANT LOYALIST PARADE - AND THE MOST TROUBLESOME. AT ISSUE IS THE RETURN LEG OF THE MARCH, WHICH SINCE 1986 HAS PROCEEDED ALONG THE PREDOMINANTLY REPUBLICAN GARVAGHY ROAD. FEARING A VIOLENT CLASH BETWEEN MARCHERS AND PROTESTERS, IN 1995 THE RUC BLOCKED THE MARCH, RESULTING IN LOYALIST-LED DISTURBANCES AND ROAD-BLOCKS THROUGHOUT NORTHERN IRELAND. IN 1996 AND 1997, THE PARADE WAS ALLOWED TO PROCEED, LEADING TO RIOTS AND VIOLENCE IN NATIONALIST AREAS. IN 1998, THE NEWLY-ESTABLISHED PARADES COMMISSION BARRED THE PARADE FROM THE GARVAGHY ROAD. AFTER MARCHING UP TO THE CHURCH AS USUAL, THE ORANGEMEN THEN REMAINED IN THE FIELDS NEAR THE CHURCH, AND VIOLENCE ERUPTED WITH PROTESTERS WHO HAD ASSEMBLED NEARBY. LAST YEAR, THE PARADES COMMISSION AGAIN DECIDED NOT TO ALLOW THE PARADE TO MARCH ALONG GARVAGHY ROAD, AND THE PARADE ENDED RELATIVELY PEACEFULLY, WITH PARADE PARTICIPANTS DISPERSING AFTER THE SERVICE AT DRUMCREE CHURCH.

12. (C) THIS YEAR, THE PORTADOWN ORANGEMEN APPLIED TO THE PARADES COMMISSION FOR PERMISSION TO MARCH ON JULY 2 AND 9 AND SEVERAL DATES IN BETWEEN. THE POSSIBILITY OF EARLIER PARADES LENGTHENS THE PERIOD BEFORE THE TWELFTH IN WHICH TENSION COULD BUILD. ON JUNE 26, THE PARADES COMMISSION ANNOUNCED ITS DECISION NOT TO ALLOW THE JULY 2 PARADE TO PROCEED DOWN GARVAGHY ROAD. ON THE 2ND, THE ORANGE ORDER MARCHED TO THE POLICE LINE AND HAROLD GRACEY, THE LOCAL ORANGE LEADER CALLED FOR MASSIVE PROTESTS AGAINST THE PARADES COMMISSION RULING, SAYING THAT IT IS TIME FOR THE PROTESTANT PEOPLE TO "GET OFF THEIR BELLIES BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE AND THEIR COUNTRY IS GONE." LATER THAT EVENING,
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 LONDON 004933

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/11/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND BRACING FOR DISORDER ASSOCIATED WITH JULY 9 DRUMCREE PARADE

LOYALISTS ATTACKED THE SECURITY FORCES WITH PETROL BOMBS AND SET A MILITARY VEHICLE ON FIRE. SEVEN POLICE OFFICERS WERE INJURED.

13. (C) ON JULY 3, THE PARADES COMMISSION ALSO DENIED PERMISSION FOR THE PARADE ON THE 9TH TO GO ON GARVAGHY ROAD. THE COMMISSION TRIED TO SOFTEN THE BLOW BY OFFERING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A PARADE COULD OCCUR WITHIN 3-8 MONTHS. FOR THIS TO HAPPEN, LOYALISTS WOULD NEED TO SUSPEND PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS AND ENGAGE WITH THE VARIOUS INTERMEDIARIES - INCLUDING THE PARADES COMMISSION - SEEKING TO RESOLVE THE DISPUTE. A PARADES COMMISSION OFFICIAL TOLD US IN JUNE THAT SECTARIAN ATTACKS (LARGELY PERPETRATED BY PARAMILITARIES) AGAINST RESIDENTS AND PROPERTY IN THE GARVAGHY ROAD AREA HAD CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE YEAR DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF THE COMMISSION AND COMMUNITY GROUPS TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE AREA. ORANGE LEADERS CLAIM THAT LAST YEAR PRIME MINISTER BLAIR PROMISED THAT GOOD BEHAVIOR AT LAST YEAR'S PARADE WOULD WIN CONCESSIONS THIS YEAR.

14. (C) SECURITY OFFICIALS AND LOCAL POLITICIANS ARE CONCERNED THAT LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES SYMPATHETIC TO THE

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ORANGE ORDER WILL REACT VIOLENTLY TO THE NEGATIVE DECISION. ONE SOURCE TOLD US ON JULY 3 THAT THE FEUDING LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES, WHO ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN DRUG TRAFFICKING AND RUN BY ERRATIC LEADERS, ARE PLANNING TO SET ASIDE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND ORGANIZE VIOLENT PROTEST ACTIONS THROUGHOUT NORTHERN IRELAND NEXT WEEKEND. CONTINUED DISUNITY IS ALSO DANGEROUS AS ONE GROUP MAY ATTEMPT TO PROVE ITS WORTH BY ATTACKING THE SECURITY FORCES OR THE NATIONALIST POPULATION.

15. (C) THE SECURITY FORCES ARE PREPARING ONCE AGAIN TO BUILD A MASSIVE WALL TO BLOCK THE GARVAGHY ROAD. THE NIO OFFICIAL QUIPPED THAT THE MILITARY ENGINEERS RELISH DRUMCREE BECAUSE IT ALLOWS THEM TO CONSTRUCT MASSIVE FORTIFICATIONS "NOT SEEN BY THE BRITISH ARMY SINCE YPRES AND THE SOMME."

AN "EXIT STRATEGY"?
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16. (U) OVER THE LAST SIX MONTHS, BOTH THE PORTADOWN ORANGEMEN AND REPRESENTATIVES OF GARVAGHY ROAD RESIDENTS HAVE HELD SECRET MEETINGS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN JUDGE BRIAN CURRIN, WHO HAS ACTED AS AN INDEPENDENT MEDIATOR. (CURRIN IS ALSO THE JOINT CHAIRMAN OF THE SENTENCE REVIEW COMMISSION, WHICH OVERSEES THE EARLY RELEASE OF TERRORIST PRISONERS.) HOWEVER, ON JUNE 20, CURRIN CONCEDED THAT TALKS WERE AT A STALEMATE WITH NO CHANCE THAT A RESOLUTION COULD BE REACHED BEFORE THIS YEAR'S PARADE. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER THE COMMISSION'S LATEST CARROT-AND-STICK APPROACH WILL WORK ANY BETTER THAN PREVIOUS INITIATIVES.

17. (C) BOTH SIDES' INTRANSIGENCE OVER DRUMCREE HAS CREATED AN ALMOST HOPELESS IMPASSE. AS A PARADES COMMISSION OFFICIAL TOLD US, "THE PARADES ISSUE WILL NEVER BE FULLY SOLVED UNTIL SOME SORT OF CONSENSUS IS REACHED ON DRUMCREE. BUT THE CONFLICT OVER DRUMCREE IS SO ENTRENCHED THAT IT COULD WELL TAKE AGREEMENT ON ALL THE OTHER PARADES IN NORTHERN IRELAND TO GET THOSE INVOLVED IN DRUMCREE TO BUDGE." HE ADDED THAT THE ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE PARADES ISSUE BY HIS COMMISSION, DOWNING STREET AND THE SECURITY FORCES ONLY EXAGGERATES THE SENSE OF SELF-IMPORTANCE OF THOSE INVOLVED, WHICH MAKES THEM EVEN LESS AMENABLE TO COMPROMISE. OR, AS ONE NATIONALIST POLITICIAN JOKED, "JUST BECAUSE THERE IS A PROBLEM DOESN'T MEAN THERE IS A SOLUTION."

COMMENT
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18. (C) THE BIGGEST DANGER POSED BY DRUMCREE THIS YEAR IS THAT LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES, EGGED ON BY HARD-LINE ELEMENTS OF THE ORANGE ORDER, WILL HYPE THE CONTROVERSY AS THE "LAST STAND" OF NORTHERN IRELAND PROTESTANTISM AND INCITE THEIR FOLLOWERS TO VIOLENT PROTEST. DESPITE THE POSSIBILITY OF WIDESPREAD DISORDER, THERE IS CONFIDENCE THAT THE SPILL-OVER INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS WILL BE MINIMAL. NO ONE IS PREDICTING THE MARCHING SEASON WILL BRING DOWN THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS. FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE, WHO FIVE YEARS AGO USED DRUMCREE AS A VEHICLE TO HELP GAIN LEADERSHIP OF THE UUP, HAS KEPT HIS DISTANCE FROM THE ISSUE.

19. (C) HOWEVER, THANKS TO CNN, DRUMCREE WILL AGAIN

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HIGHLIGHT FOR THE WORLD THE DISTANCE NORTHERN IRELAND STILL
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 LONDON 004933

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR NELSON

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND BRACING FOR DISORDER ASSOCIATED WITH JULY 9 DRUMCREE PARADE

NEEDS TO TRAVEL TO NORMALCY. DURING THE VERY WEEKS WHEN THE WEATHER HERE IS MOST PLEASANT, HUGE NUMBERS OF LOCALS ARE LEAVING FOR EUROPEAN OR AMERICAN HOLIDAYS WHILE INCOMING TOURISTS SHUN THE REGION BECAUSE OF THE INSTABILITY.
LADER

TOR: 07/04/00 10:49:15

DIST: SIT: BABBITT BANBURY BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON FELDMAN KASS MCLEAN MUNTER NAPLAN NORLAND PATTEN SCHWARTZ SMITHP SPENCE WILCOX YEE

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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1748
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT WORKING, BUT CHALLENGES LOOM IN THE AUTUMN

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 005593

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TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT WORKING, BUT CHALLENGES LOOM IN THE AUTUMN

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) AS NORTHERN IRELAND'S NEW GOVERNMENT ADJOURNS FOR THE SUMMER, THE LONG-TERM OUTLOOK FOR THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT (GFA) INSTITUTIONS IS GOOD, THOUGH WE EXPECT SIGNIFICANT HURDLES BEFORE YEAR'S END. DESPITE INTERNAL FRICTIONS AND DUP GRANDSTANDING, THE EXECUTIVE IS FUNCTIONING AND WILL HAVE A LARGER-THAN-EXPECTED BUDGET THANKS TO THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT'S LARGESS AS WELL AS EU FUNDING. DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT NOTWITHSTANDING, LARGE ELEMENTS OF UNIONISM REMAIN SKEPTICAL OF POWER-SHARING WITH SINN FEIN. THIS DISCONTENT, COUPLED WITH PROBLEMS OVER POLICE REFORM OR SLOW PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING, COULD TRIGGER FRESH CHALLENGES TO TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP AND, BY EXTENSION, THE GFA. END SUMMARY.

POWER-SHARING YES, FRIENDSHIP NO
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2. (C) THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE WRAPPED UP WORK THIS MONTH ON THE FIRST SESSION OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT SINCE 1972. BECAUSE WORK WAS INTERRUPTED BY THE FEBRUARY-MAY SUSPENSION OF THE INSTITUTIONS, THE EXECUTIVE DID NOT COMPLETE A PROGRAM FOR GOVERNMENT OR HAVE A CHANCE TO WORK OUT PRIORITIES FOR NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET. MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY A FORCED COALITION, REMAIN UNCOMFORTABLE WITH ONE ANOTHER, THOUGH MANY HAVE

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REMARKED THAT BEHIND CLOSED COMMITTEE DOORS ALL PARTIES HAVE BEEN WORKING WELL TOGETHER. DISAPPOINTINGLY, THE UUP AND SDLP GENERALLY, AND TRIMBLE AND MALLON PARTICULARLY, CONTINUE TO HAVE FROSTY RELATIONS DESPITE THE CLEAR MUTUAL BENEFIT OF HAVING THEIR PARTIES COOPERATE ON KEY ISSUES. ON THE BRIGHT SIDE, SINN FEIN MINISTERS HAVE REFRAINED FROM SOME OF THE PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS REGARDING FLAGS AND IRISH LANGUAGE THAT SOURED THE ATMOSPHERE DURING THE FIRST PHASE OF DEVOLUTION IN DECEMBER AND JANUARY.

3. (C) IN PUBLIC, IAN PAISLEY'S DUP CONTINUES TO CALL FOR DESTROYING THE GFA WHILE PRIVATELY ITS MINISTERS AND ASSEMBLY MEMBERS ARE PARTICIPATING ACTIVELY IN ALL OF THE INSTITUTIONS EXCEPT FOR SESSIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE WITH SINN FEIN MINISTERS PRESENT. THE TWO MINISTERS, PETER ROBINSON AND NIGEL DODDS, HAVE RUN THEIR DEPARTMENTS WELL BY ALL ACCOUNTS AND HAVE CLEARLY ENJOYED THE OPPORTUNITY FINALLY TO GOVERN AFTER YEARS OF DIRECT RULE FROM LONDON. ON JULY 27, THE TWO DUP MINISTERS RESIGNED FROM OFFICE AND WILL BE REPLACED BY FELLOW PARTY MEMBERS, WHO IN TURN WILL BE ROTATED AGAIN LATER IN THE YEAR. THIS PLOY, WHICH DUP CLAIMS WILL DISRUPT AND DESTROY THE INSTITUTIONS FROM WITHIN, APPARENTLY AROSE AS A RESULT OF SPLITS WITHIN THE PARTY BETWEEN ADVOCATES OF A TOTAL BOYCOTT AND THOSE FAVORING REMAINING IN GOVERNMENT. THE FACT THAT THE DUP REFRAINED FROM ACTIONS THAT WOULD HAVE FROZEN THE INSTITUTIONS SUGGESTS TO MANY THAT IT WANTS TO KEEP THE ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE AS LAUNCH PADS FOR ATTACKS ON THE UUP AND THE GFA.

4. (C) THE EXECUTIVE AND THE ASSEMBLY HAVE CONDUCTED DEBATES ON SOME HIGH-PROFILE ISSUES SUCH AS ABORTION, AGRICULTURE AND HEALTH CARE. MORE HIGHLY CHARGED POLITICKING IS EXPECTED IN THE FALL WHEN THE ASSEMBLY CONSIDERS CHANGING THE CONTROVERSIAL SELECTION SYSTEM IN EDUCATION WHICH CURRENTLY STREAMS CHILDREN INTO ACADEMIC OR VOCATIONAL TRACKS AT THE AGE OF ELEVEN. THERE IS ALSO LIKELY TO BE AN ALL-PARTY PUSH TO EXEMPT NORTHERN IRELAND FROM EU RESTRICTIONS ON UK BEEF EXPORTS BECAUSE OF BSE (MAD COW DISEASE). THE EXECUTIVE WILL ALSO HAVE THE PLEASANT TASK OF ALLOCATING AN ADDITIONAL USD 1.5 BILLION (ABOUT USD 1000 PER PERSON) THAT LONDON HAS GRANTED AS PART OF THE GOVERNMENT'S UK-WIDE INCREASE IN SOCIAL SPENDING. WHILE WELCOMING THE ADDITIONAL FUNDS, HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS HAVE GRUMBLED THAT OTHER UK REGIONS HAVE RECEIVED PROPORTIONATELY LARGER INCREASES FROM THE CENTRAL BUDGET THAN HAS NORTHERN IRELAND -- FIRST MINISTER DAVID TRIMBLE TOLD US THAT HE INTENDS TO SEEK MORE FROM THE EXCHEQUER. A FURTHER USD 650 MILLION HAS BEEN GRANTED BY THE EU TO SUPPORT PROJECTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

AUTUMN STORMS LIKELY
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5. (C) WHILE POLITICS ON DEVOLVED MATTERS SUCH AS HEALTH AND EDUCATION IS GOING AS SMOOTHLY AS ANYONE EXPECTED, OTHER LOOSE ENDS OF THE GFA COULD STILL TRIP UP THE PROCESS AS A WHOLE. TRIMBLE REMAINS IN A PRECARIOUS POSITION, DUE TO THE STRENGTH OF ANTI-AGREEMENT FORCES IN HIS OWN PARTY

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AND THE RELENTLESS ATTACKS BY THE DUP. TRIMBLE'S PARTY LEADERSHIP CAN BE CHALLENGED AT SHORT NOTICE BY THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL; IF IT OUSTED HIM, HE WOULD BE EXPECTED TO RESIGN AS FIRST MINISTER, WHICH COULD CAUSE THE COLLAPSE OF THE INSTITUTIONS.

6. (C) THERE ARE A NUMBER OF EVENTS THIS AUTUMN THAT WILL TEST TRIMBLE'S HOLD ON HIS PARTY. FIRST, THE BY-ELECTION IN SOUTH ANTRIM (A TRADITIONALLY SAFE UUP SEAT) WILL TAKE PLACE IN SEPTEMBER. A POOR UUP SHOWING OR A DEFEAT AT THE HANDS OF THE DUP WOULD STRENGTHEN THE ARGUMENTS OF UUP HARD-LINERS WHO BELIEVE THE UUP'S LONG-TERM INTEREST IS BETTER SERVED BY ABANDONING THE GFA OR INSISTING THAT IMPLEMENTION ASSURES DECOMMISSIONING OF PARAMILITARY WEAPONS.

THE USUAL SUSPECTS: DECOMMISSIONING AND POLICING
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7. (C) ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE, BY MID-AUTUMN, THE UNIONISTS WILL ALSO BE LOOKING FOR PROOF THAT THE IRA HAS ALLOWED THE SECOND INSPECTION OF SOME OF ITS ARMS DUMPS BY MARTI AHTISAARI AND CYRIL RAMAPHOSA. SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS HAS ALREADY INTIMATED THAT SUCH CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES ARE CONTINGENT ON ACTIONS BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, MOST NOTABLY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PATTEN REPORT ON POLICE REFORM. IF THIS LINKAGE OBTAINS, THE IRA MAY DELAY THE NEXT CBM UNTIL THE POLICE REFORM LEGISLATION IS PASSED, WHICH MAY NOT TAKE PLACE BEFORE NOVEMBER.

8. (C) THE PATTEN POLICING REFORM IMPASSE (SEE SEPTEL) ALSO POSES SEVERE RISKS AS THE UUP AND SDLP ARE ENTRENCHING THEMSELVES IN POSITIONS FROM WHICH IT WILL BE HARD TO FIND MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION. TRIMBLE SURVIVED HIS LAST LEADERSHIP SCARE THANKS IN PART TO BRITISH ASSURANCES THAT THE RUC NAME WILL BE RETAINED IN THE "TITLE DEEDS" OF THE NEW SERVICE. THE SDLP, MEANWHILE, INSISTS THAT THE CURRENT PROPOSED POLICING BILL FALLS SHORT OF PATTEN IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, INCLUDING THE NAME. ONE SDLP OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT, IF POLICE REFORM FAILS TO MEET WITH NATIONALISTS' APPROVAL, IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE POWER-SHARING GOVERNMENT COLLAPSES BECAUSE THE GFA'S PROMISE OF "A NEW BEGINNING IN POLICING" IS SO FUNDAMENTAL TO NATIONALISTS, LET ALONE REPUBLICANS.

COMMENT
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9. (C) THIS SPRING SAW THE GFA'S GREATEST SUCCESS, AS THE OPPOSED POLITICAL FORCES ARE NOW WORKING TOGETHER IN A GENUINE POWER-SHARING GOVERNMENT EXERCISING CONTROL OVER REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH AND OTHER MATTERS. BUT, AS HAS BEEN THE CASE THROUGHOUT THE LAST TWO YEARS, KEEPING THE PROCESS ON TRACK REQUIRES CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL FINESSE BY LONDON AND DUBLIN TO RESOLVE (OR AT LEAST PAPER OVER) DIFFERENCES ON ISSUES SUCH AS DECOMMISSIONING AND POLICING. UNTIL THESE QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN SETTLED AND THE PARTIES ON THE GROUND HAVE ACHIEVED A FAR HIGHER COMFORT LEVEL WORKING TOGETHER THAN THEY'VE

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DISPLAYED THUS FAR, CRISES SUCH AS THE ONES FORECAST FOR THIS AUTUMN WILL LIKELY BE A REGULAR FEATURE OF POLITICAL LIFE HERE.
DAVIES

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DIST: SIT: NSC Davidson Norland

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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1762
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST FEUDING LEADS TO DEATHS, RE-IMPRISONMENT OF JOHNNY ADAIR

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TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 006202

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST FEUDING LEADS TO DEATHS, RE-IMPRISONMENT OF JOHNNY ADAIR

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ THE LOYALIST-DOMINATED SHANKILL ROAD IN WEST BELFAST HAS BEEN IN TURMOIL THIS WEEK AS RIVAL LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES HAVE RESORTED TO VIOLENCE IN FEUDS OVER PERSONALITIES, POLITICS, RACKETEERING AND DRUGS. TWO MEN AFFILIATED WITH THE ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION (UDA) WERE KILLED ON MONDAY AND UFF/UDA LEADER JOHNNY ADAIR BECAME THE FIRST RELEASED PRISONER TO BE RETURNED TO CUSTODY FOR HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIOLENCE LEADING UP TO THE MURDERS. THOUGH THESE EVENTS DO NOT DIRECTLY THREATEN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT INSTITUTIONS, THEY HEIGHTEN THE DANGER OF RENEWED SECTARIAN VIOLENCE AND LAY BARE YET MORE FISSURES IN THE ALREADY DIVIDED PROTESTANT COMMUNITY. END SUMMARY.

LOYALIST WARFARE GOES LIVE
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2. ~~(C)~~ THE PROXIMATE CAUSE OF THIS WEEK'S VIOLENCE IN WEST BELFAST'S SHANKILL ROAD IS AN ESCALATING TURF WAR BETWEEN LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GANGS. THE ESTABLISHED GROUPING IN THE AREA WAS THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF), WHICH IS THE ARMED WING OF THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP), REPRESENTED IN THE ASSEMBLY BY DAVID ERVINE AND BILLY HUTCHISON. THE ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF) AND THE ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION (REPRESENTED POLITICALLY BY THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY) HAVE BEEN STEADILY ENCROACHING ON

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UVF TERRITORY, PARTICULARLY IN THE 11 MONTHS SINCE JOHNNY ADAIR WAS GRANTED EARLY RELEASE FROM PRISON UNDER THE GFA. THIS FEUD HAS SEVERAL ELEMENTS:

--PERSONALITIES: ADAIR REGARDS HIMSELF AS THE HEIR TO BILLY "KING RAT" WRIGHT, THE CHARISMATIC LEADER OF YET ANOTHER LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUP, THE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE, WHO WAS KILLED IN PRISON BY REPUBLICANS IN 1997. ADAIR'S HIGH PROFILE AND PRETENSION TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE BROADER LOYALIST COMMUNITY HAS RUFFLED FEATHERS IN COMPETING ORGANIZATIONS.

--TURF. ADAIR IS WIDELY REPUTED TO BE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN DRUG TRAFFICKING AND RACKETEERING. BY EXTENDING THE CONTROL OF THE UDA/UFF INTO NEW REGIONS, HE STOOD TO INCREASE HIS PROFITS. THE PROFUSION OF UFF AND UDA FLAGS IN NEIGHBORHOODS ACROSS THE PROVINCE IN THE RUN-UP TO ORANGEMEN'S DAY IN JULY WAS A SIGN THAT ADAIR'S GROUP WAS INTENT ON ENLARGING ITS TERRITORY AGGRESSIVELY.

--POLITICS. THOUGH THERE ARE PRO- AND ANTI-AGREEMENT ELEMENTS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE FEUD, THE UVF HAS GAINED MORE FROM THE GFA AS THE PUP (ITS POLITICAL PARTY) HAS TWO SEATS IN THE ASSEMBLY WHILE THE UDP DID NOT WIN ENOUGH VOTES TO PASS THE THRESHOLD. ON SUNDAY, GUSTY SPENCE, A RESPECTED LOYALIST ELDER WHO WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN SECURING THE 1994 CEASE-FIRE, WAS SHOT AT, PRESUMABLY BY FORCES ALIGNED WITH ADAIR. THIS LIKELY LED TO THE SHOOTING OF BOBBY MAHOOD AND JACKIE COULTER ON MONDAY.

TIT-FOR-TAT SPIRAL
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3. (C) THE TWO SIDES' FEUD TURNED VIOLENT ON AUGUST 19 DURING A UFF/UDA PARADE AND "FESTIVAL OF CULTURE" ON THE SHANKILL WHEN MARCHERS ATTACKED AND SHOT AT A BAR FREQUENTED BY UVF MEMBERS FOLLOWING A SCUFFLE ALONG THE PARADE ROUTE. THE FESTIVAL ALSO FEATURED A PARAMILITARY WEAPONS DISPLAY, AT WHICH ADAIR APPEARED ON STAGE. THE ATTACK ON SPENCE THEN APPARENTLY LED TO THE MONDAY MURDERS OF MAHOOD AND COULTER. MEANWHILE, HOUSES BELONGING TO PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE FEUD WERE ATTACKED WITH PAINT BOMBS, MOLOTOV COCKTAILS AND GUNFIRE. SOME SHANKILL RESIDENTS LAMENTED THAT THE INTRA-LOYALIST VIOLENCE MADE THE NEIGHBORHOOD MORE DANGEROUS THAN IT HAD BEEN DURING THE TROUBLES, WHEN THE AREA WAS TARGETED BY THE IRA.

4. (C) FOLLOWING MONDAY'S DEATHS, THE POLICE REQUESTED MILITARY BACK-UP AND ABOUT 100 SOLDIERS BEGAN PATROLLING THE STREETS, WHICH DRAMATICALLY REDUCED THE LEVEL OF VANDALISM AND THREAT OF FIRE FIGHTS. THERE WAS ALSO GROWING PRESSURE ON THE RUC AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT ADAIR, WHO IS REGARDED AS AN INSTIGATOR OF MUCH OF THE TROUBLE. ACCORDING TO A SENIOR NIO OFFICIAL, THE CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL PRESSURE TO DETAIN ADAIR WEIGHED ON THE DECISION, NOTWITHSTANDING THE RISK THAT HIS SUPPORTERS COULD REACT VIOLENTLY AND MAKE THE SITUATION WORSE. THE OFFICIAL ADDED THAT NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE (SOS) MANDELSON HAD ALMOST ORDERED
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 006202

NSC FOR NORLAND
DEPT FOR EUR/UBI

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/22/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: LOYALIST FEUDING LEADS TO DEATHS, RE-IMPRISONMENT OF JOHNNY ADAIR

ADAIR'S ARREST DURING THE DRUMCREE DISTURBANCES IN JULY.

5. (C) UNDER THE TERMS OF THE PRISONER RELEASE SCHEME, ADAIR'S FREEDOM WAS CONDITIONAL (SIMILAR TO BEING ON PAROLE) AND THE SOS HAS DISCRETION TO ORDER HIM BACK INTO PRISON. ADAIR'S APPEARANCE WITH ARMED PARAMILITARIES DISPLAYING AND FIRING THEIR WEAPONS WAS SUFFICIENT GROUNDS FOR ORDERING HIM BACK INTO PRISON. ASSUMING THE SENTENCING BOARD ACCEPTS THE SOS'S RECOMMENDATION, ADAIR WILL SERVE OUT THE REMAINING TWO YEARS OF HIS TERM. ADAIR HAS INDICATED HE WILL APPEAL THE DECISION. MANDELSON STATED THAT HIS ORDER TO ARREST ADAIR DID NOT CHANGE THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT THE PARAMILITARY GROUPS INVOLVED REMAIN ON CEASE-FIRE. ASSUMING THE UVF IS LINKED TO THE TWO MURDERS, THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE PUT IN AN AWKWARD POSITION REGARDING THE STATUS OF ITS CEASE-FIRE.

6. (C) WITH ADAIR OFF THE STREETS, THE NIO HOPES THAT CALMER HEADS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE FEUD WILL PREVAIL, ALLOWING TENSION TO DISSIPATE. BUT EVEN SOME OF THOSE WITHIN THE UDA/UFF WHO FAVOR DETENTE MAY STILL DEMAND REVENGE FOR THE TWO DEATHS EARLY THIS WEEK. THE MAHOOD FUNERAL WILL BE HELD THURSDAY, AND FRIDAY FIXED FOR COULTER'S, WHICH IS POTENTIALLY MORE EXPLOSIVE AS HE WAS MORE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE UFF.

COMMENT
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7. (C) LOW LEVEL LOYALIST VIOLENCE WITH OCCASIONAL ERUPTIONS INTO WIDER DISORDER LOOKS LIKELY TO CONTINUE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. BY PUTTING A RING-LEADER BACK IN CUSTODY, MANDELSON HAS SET A PRECEDENT THAT WILL HOPEFULLY DETER OTHER RELEASED PRISONERS FROM FOMENTING DISORDER. THE NIGHTMARE SCENARIO WOULD BE IF ONE OR MORE OF THE LOYALIST GROUPS, PERHAPS AT ADAIR'S BEHEST, BEGAN AN ALL-OUT ATTACK ON THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY. IN ANY CASE, THE WEEK'S EVENTS HIGHLIGHT STILL MORE FAULT LINES IN UNIONISM. THOUGH LOYALIST PARAMILITARY WARFARE WON'T BRING DOWN THE GFA INSTITUTIONS, THE IMAGE OF PROTESTANT GANGSTERS FREED UNDER THE GFA KILLING EACH OTHER WILL BE USED AS AMMUNITION BY THE DUP'S IAN PAISLEY IN HIS BATTLE AGAINST DAVID TRIMBLE AND THE GFA.
LOHMAN

TOR: 08/23/00 16:15:40
DIST: SIT: Blinken NSC Davidson Norland

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PREC: PRIORITY
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: PAACZYUW RUEHLOA6479 2491631-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: P 051631Z SEP 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8408
INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: MO MOWLEM TO LEAVE GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY POL COUNSELOR ALEX KARAGIANNIS. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 006479

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/05/2010
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, UK
SUBJECT: MO MOWLEM TO LEAVE GOVERNMENT

CLASSIFIED BY POL COUNSELOR ALEX KARAGIANNIS. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (SBU) SUMMARY: MINISTER FOR THE CABINET OFFICE MO MOWLEM ANNOUNCED ON SEPTEMBER 4 THAT SHE WOULD LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION. ONE OF THE MOST POPULAR MINISTERS IN TONY BLAIR'S ADMINISTRATION, THE UNCONVENTIONAL MOWLEM PLAYED A PROMINENT ROLE IN SECURING THE 1998 GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND, BUT WAS REPORTED TO BE LESS SATISFIED WITH HER CURRENT POST. MOWLEM, 50, SAID SHE REMAINED INTERESTED IN PURSUING HER INTERESTS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND POVERTY. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) MINISTER FOR THE CABINET OFFICE MO MOWLEM ANNOUNCED SEPTEMBER 4 THAT SHE WOULD NOT STAND FOR RE-ELECTION IN THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION (SHE RETAINS HER POSITION UNTIL THE ELECTION, EXPECTED IN 2001). FIRST ELECTED IN 1987, MOWLEM BECAME THE OPPOSITION SPOKESMAN ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN 1988. PRIME MINISTER BLAIR NAMED HER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND IN 1997, AND SHE PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT LED TO THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN 1998. IN OCTOBER 1999, SHE WAS MOVED TO HER CURRENT POST AND REPLACED AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND BY PETER MANDELSON. SHE HAD REPORTEDLY RESISTED THE MOVE, INCLUDING BY ANNOUNCING PUBLICLY IN JULY 1999 THAT SHE WAS NOT YET READY TO LEAVE THE NORTHERN IRELAND POST. UNIONISTS' COMPLAINTS THAT SHE FAVORED THE REPUBLICAN POSITION AND THEIR INSISTENCE THAT THEY THEREFOR TALK DIRECTLY TO BLAIR HIMSELF REPORTEDLY CAUSED THE PRIME MINISTER TO DECIDE TO MOVE MANDELSON INTO THE SLOT TO ALLOW THE PM TO STEP BACK.

3. (U) THE UNCONVENTIONAL MOWLAM ACHIEVED PROMINENCE IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND AMONG THE PUBLIC FOR HER COMMON SENSE POLITICAL SKILLS, PERSONAL TOUCH AND BLUNT LANGUAGE. CHANCELLOR GEOFFREY BROWN DEPUTIZED HER IN 1989 AS SHADOW

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MINISTER FOR LONDON CITY, BUT SHE DISAPPOINTED SOME BROWN SUPPORTERS BY COMING OUT IN SUPPORT OF TONY BLAIR AS PARTY LEADER UPON THE DEATH OF JOHN SMITH IN 1992. OPINION POLLS OFTEN IDENTIFIED MOWLAM AS THE MOST POPULAR OF BLAIR'S MINISTERS. HER GUTSY ROLE IN BROKERING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT -- EVEN AS SHE WAS RECOVERING FROM A 1997 OPERATION FOR A BENIGN BRAIN TUMOR -- RESULTED IN HER RECEIVING A SUSTAINED STANDING OVATION WHEN BLAIR MENTIONED HER DURING HIS SPEECH AT THE 1998 LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

4. (C) MOWLAM INSISTED THAT HER DECISION TO STEP DOWN WAS NOT PROMPTED BY HEALTH CONCERNS OR BY RUMORS OF A SO-CALLED "WHISPERING CAMPAIGN" BY DOWNING STREET INSIDERS -- REPORTEDLY INCLUDING MANDELSON AND ALISTAIR CAMPBELL -- AGAINST HER. EVEN HER SUPPORTERS CONCEDE THAT SHE SEEMED TO LACK ENTHUSIASM FOR HER CURRENT POST AND FAILED TO USE IT TO BUILD MOMENTUM FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF HER POLITICAL CAREER. THEY SAY THEY BELIEVE SHE HAS BEEN RESTLESS AND MAY SIMPLY BE HUNGRY FOR A NEW CHALLENGES ON THE SCALE OF THOSE SHE FACED IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF HAS CONSISTENTLY EXPRESSED FULL CONFIDENCE IN MOWLAM, THOUGH THERE ARE REPORTS THAT HE RECENTLY TOLD HER SHE NEEDED TO END THE SPECULATION ABOUT WHETHER SHE WAS STAYING OR LEAVING. MOWLAM HAS GONE OUT OF HER WAY TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT SHE DOES NOT BELIEVE THE PRIME MINISTER HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE HER.

5. (C) AS MINISTER FOR THE CABINET, A JOB WITH DIFFUSE AND OFTEN UNRELATED RESPONSIBILITIES FOR COORDINATING THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMS FOR POVERTY, DRUGS AND HOMELESSNESS, MOWLAM KEPT A RELATIVELY LOW PROFILE AND TIGHT LIP. AN IMMINENT BIOGRAPHY BY JULIA LANGDON, WITH WHOM MOWLAM REPORTEDLY COOPERATED AND WHICH REPORTEDLY POINTS THE FINGER AT MANDELSON AND OTHERS, IS LIKELY TO PROVIDE MORE INSIGHT INTO MOWLAM'S CAREER AND PERSONAL VIEWS AND TO FUEL THE REPORTS OF POLITICAL INTRIGUE WITHIN THE LABOUR PARTY. HER DEPARTURE, BY ITSELF, WILL NOT APPRECIABLY IMPACT LABOUR'S STANDING WITH THE ELECTORATE, BUT NEITHER IS IT A PROMISING SIGN THAT POWERFUL, UNCONVENTIONAL WOMEN HAVE SECURE ACCESS TO POWER IN BRITAIN'S POLITICAL PARTIES.
DAVIES

TOR: 09/05/00 12:34:14

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON GREENWOOD KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 YEE
PRT: SIT{C2}

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA6866 2631716-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8776
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1802
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: BY-ELECTION SHAPING UP AS "MINI-REFERENDUM" ON GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 006866

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR KERBER

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/18/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BY-ELECTION SHAPING UP AS "MINI-REFERENDUM" ON GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) A BY-ELECTION IN SOUTH ANTRIM ON SEPTEMBER 21 IS BEING TOUTED AS A MINI-REFERENDUM ON THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. A VICTORY BY THE DUP'S MCCREA OVER THE UUP'S CANDIDATE, DAVID BURNSIDE, COULD FORESHADOW ANOTHER CHALLENGE TO TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP THIS AUTUMN. BURNSIDE'S CAMPAIGN IS HANDICAPPED BY HIS AMBIVALENCE ABOUT THE AGREEMENT AND THE UUP' DEEP INTERNAL DIVISIONS. SMELLING BLOOD, PAISLEY'S DUP IS CAMPAIGNING AGGRESSIVELY AND CLAIMS TO HAVE A GOOD SHOT AT VICTORY. THE OUTCOME IS LIKELY TO HINGE ON WHETHER THE UUP CAN MOBILIZE A HIGH VOTER TURNOUT TO COMBAT THE PROTEST VOTES THAT WILL GO TO MCCREA. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) THE SEPTEMBER 21 SOUTH ANTRIM BY-ELECTION IS BEING CONDUCTED TO FILL THE SEAT HELD BY CLIFFORD FORSYTHE, WHO DIED EARLIER THIS YEAR. ALTHOUGH SIX CANDIDATES ARE RUNNING, IT IS A TWO-HORSE RACE BETWEEN DAVID BURNSIDE OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) AND WILLIE MCCREA OF THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY (DUP). UUP CONTACTS ARE GENUINELY WORRIED THAT A POOR SHOWING OR A DEFEAT TO THE DUP COULD TRIGGER ANOTHER LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE TO TRIMBLE. SEVERAL FACTORS ARE WORKING AGAINST THE UUP:

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--BURNSIDE'S AMBIVALENCE. A SUPPORTER OF THE AGREEMENT IN 1998, BURNSIDE NOW CONTENDS THAT HE WOULD OPPOSE IT IN LIGHT OF THE "ONE-WAY" CONCESSIONS IT HAS GIVEN TO NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS. (BURNSIDE HAS EVEN SUGGESTED THAT TRIMBLE PRIVATELY SHARES THIS VIEW.) THOUGH CLAIMING HE WANTS TO UNIFY THE PRO- AND ANTI-AGREEMENT CAMPS IN THE UUP, BURNSIDE'S HEDGING MAY ALIENATE BOTH SIDES, WITH THE PRO-AGREEMENT VOTERS STAYING HOME AND THE ANTI'S SUPPORTING THE DUP.

--ABSENCE OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP. THE UUP PARTY CHAIRMAN, JOSIAH CUNNINGHAM, WAS THE PARTY'S QUARTERBACK IN SOUTH ANTRIM BEFORE HIS DEATH IN AN AUGUST CAR ACCIDENT. CUNNINGHAM, WHO SHARED BURNSIDE'S RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE AGREEMENT, NEVERTHELESS WOULD HAVE APPEALED TO PARTY UNITY AND HELPED BRIDGE THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE TWO CAMPS.

--INTERNAL DIVISIONS. SOME IN THE ANTI-TRIMBLE WING OF THE UUP WOULD ACCEPT A BURNSIDE DEFEAT AS A NECESSARY EVIL TO ACCELERATE WHAT THEY REGARD AS THE INEVITABLE DEMISE OF TRIMBLE. ONE UNIONIST TOLD US THAT PEOPLE THEY WOULD HAVE EXPECTED TO CANVAS FOR THE PARTY HAVE NOT DONE SO AND THERE IS FEAR THAT MANY TRADITIONAL UUP VOTERS WILL FAIL TO TURN OUT. TRIMBLE HAS CAMPAIGNED, BUT HIS AIDES TOLD US THAT IT'S THROUGH GRITTED TEETH AS BURNSIDE, POSSIBLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH JOHN TAYLOR, IS SEEN AS A POSSIBLE CHALLENGER TO TRIMBLE DOWN THE LINE. TWO TORY MP'S NORMALLY ALIGNED WITH THE UUP HAVE UNDERSCORED UNIONIST DISARRAY BY PUBLICLY BACKING MCCREA.

3. (C) DESPITE THESE PROBLEMS, THE UUP HAS CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGES IN SOUTH ANTRIM, ONE OF THE PARTY'S SAFEST CONSTITUENCIES; FORSYTHE WON 57 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN A SIX-MAN RACE IN 1997, THOUGH THE DUP DID NOT FIELD A CANDIDATE. A DUP OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT HE REGARDS THE SEAT AS THE UUP'S TO LOSE, NOT THE DUP'S TO WIN. THE UUP IS HOPING THAT BURNSIDE WILL GARNER A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF VOTES FROM PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUPPORTED THE PARTY OUT OF HABIT OR TRADITION, NOTWITHSTANDING RESERVATIONS ABOUT CURRENT PARTY POLICY. BURNSIDE'S CAMPAIGN IS IN FACT PITCHED TO THIS GROUP - HIS MANIFESTO EMPHASIZES HIS DEVOTION TO THE PARTY AND HIS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE IN LONDON BUT OMITS ANY REFERENCE TO THE INTERNAL DEBATE RAGING OVER THE AGREEMENT.

DUP POISED FOR AN UPSET
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4. (C) THE DUP IS INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT THAT IT CAN WIN THE SEAT BY TAPPING INTO WIDESPREAD DISILLUSIONMENT OVER PRISONER RELEASES, SINN FEIN MINISTERS IN STORMONT, THE LACK OF DECOMMISSIONING, THE "LOSS" OF THE RUC AND PERCEIVED ASSAULTS ON BRITISH IDENTITY AND SOVEREIGNTY SANCTIONED BY THE GFA. ONE JOURNALIST NOTED TO US THAT "MCCREA HAS AN EASIER MESSAGE AND HAS RUN A BETTER CAMPAIGN THAN BURNSIDE." A TOP DUP OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT HIS PARTY IS FULLY MOBILIZED WITH IAN PAISLEY PERSONALLY CAMPAIGNING FIVE DAYS IN A ROW LAST WEEK. HE ADDED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD INADVERTENTLY BOOSTED THE DUP CAMPAIGN BY THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT MEMBERS OF THE ROI POLICE WILL BE ACCEPTED INTO THE PSNI AND BY THE LEAKED DOCUMENT

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/18/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: BY-ELECTION SHAPING UP AS "MINI-REFERENDUM" ON GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

SUGGESTING THAT SOME "ON-THE-RUN" IRA CONVICTS WILL NOT BE PROSECUTED SHOULD THEY REAPPEAR IN THE UK.

5. (C) THE FACT THAT THE SDLP AND SINN FEIN ARE IN COMPETITION WITH EACH OTHER TO PLACE FIRST AMONG CATHOLICS (THIRD OVERALL IN THIS CONSTITUENCY) PRECLUDES THEIR SUPPORTERS FROM CASTING TACTICAL VOTES FOR BURNSIDE SO AS TO HELP THE AGREEMENT. THE ALLIANCE PARTY, WHICH IS NOW FIGHTING FOR ITS VERY SURVIVAL, IS ALSO UNLIKELY TO CEDE WILLINGLY ANY GROUND FOR THE GREATER GOOD.

PREDICTIONS?
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6. (C) BECAUSE THE DUP HAS NOT CONTESTED THE SOUTH ANTRIM SEAT SINCE 1983, IT IS ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT TO PREDICT THE OUTCOME OF THIS CONTEST, PARTICULARLY SINCE THERE ARE NO RELIABLE POLLING DATA. BURNSIDE'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER TOLD US THAT HE EXPECTS A FAIRLY COMFORTABLE VICTORY SINCE HIS MAN REPRESENTS THE INCUMBENT PARTY AND THERE IS NO GROUNDSWELL OF DISCONTENT IN THE ELECTORATE. THE DUP OFFICIAL, HOWEVER, SAID THAT HIS INDICATIONS ARE SO POSITIVE THAT HE HAS NOT SHARED THEM WITH CAMPAIGN WORKERS FOR FEAR THEY WOULD BECOME COMPLACENT. NEUTRAL OBSERVERS ARE PREDICTING THAT THE UUP SHOULD WIN - BARELY - PROVIDED VOTER TURNOUT IS HIGH, I.E. THE MODERATE, COMFORTABLE UNIONISTS BESTIR THEMSELVES TO CAST BALLOTS.

RAMIFICATIONS?
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7. (C) ONE (LONDON-BASED) LABOR MP CLOSE TO THE PROCESS SUGGESTED THAT A UUP DEFEAT MIGHT PROVIDE A HELPFUL WAKE-UP CALL TO SHOW PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS THE COSTS OF APATHY WHICH WOULD BRING THEM OUT IN GREATER NUMBERS AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION. TRIMBLE SUPPORTERS VEHEMENTLY REJECT SUCH REASONING, NOTING THAT UUP SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT IS BECOMING SHALLOWER AND THINNER AS THE MONTHS PASS - THERE IS NO HARD-CORE PRO-AGREEMENT CONSTITUENCY THAT CAN DELIVER FOR TRIMBLE. THE MORE LIKELY SCENARIO, ACCORDING TO UUP ACTIVISTS, IS THAT A BURNSIDE DEFEAT WOULD EMBOLDEN TRIMBLE'S INTERNAL OPPONENTS TO CHALLENGE HIS LEADERSHIP. SUCH A CHALLENGE COULD OCCUR WITHIN A FEW WEEKS AS TRIMBLE'S FOES WOULD NEED TIME TO ORGANIZE A SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN TO FORCE A MEETING OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL. IN THE INTERIM, THE PARTY CONFERENCE IS SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 7, WHICH WILL GIVE EACH SIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TEST ITS STRENGTH WITHOUT ANY CONCLUSIVE ACTION.

8. (C) A WEAKENED TRIMBLE COULD HAVE MORE IMMEDIATE DISRUPTIVE EFFECTS ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS HE (AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT) WOULD RESIST MAKING ANY CHANGES TO THE POLICE BILL, PARTICULARLY ON THE NAME ISSUE, TO MOLLIFY THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY. IN TURN, NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS WOULD BRISTLE AT ANY MOVES IT PERCEIVES THE GOVERNMENT TAKES TO SHORE UP TRIMBLE. AGAIN, POLICING IS THE MOST OBVIOUS HOT-BUTTON ISSUE.

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COMMENT
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9. (S/) THE GROWING FRUSTRATION WITHIN UNIONISM WITH THE PERCEIVED ONE-SIDEDNESS OF THE GFA IS BOUND TO PRODUCE TURBULENCE FOR THE AGREEMENT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, WHETHER IN THIS ELECTION, WITHIN THE UUP THIS FALL OR IN A GENERAL ELECTION NEXT YEAR. THAT SAID, TRIMBLE HAS ALREADY SURVIVED NUMEROUS NEAR-DEATH EXPERIENCES AND INDICATIONS ARE THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT HARD TO REMAIN PARTY LEADER AND TO KEEP HIS POST AS FIRST MINISTER.
LADER

TOR: 09/19/00 14:06:44

DIST: SIT: ALMON Blinken BRIGGS NSC CLARKER CRESSEY Davidson FENZEL GORDON-HAGERTY GREEN KURTZ MCCARTHY MITCHELL Norland ORFINI OWENS SUM2 SMITHJ TELLEEN
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LINE1: OAACZYUW RUEHLOA6924 2661142-CCCC--RHEHAAX.
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8835
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1805
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: DUP BY-ELECTION WIN INCREASES PRESSURE ON TRIMBLE

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 006924

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR KERBER

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/21/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DUP BY-ELECTION WIN INCREASES PRESSURE ON TRIMBLE

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. THE DUP'S WILLIE MCCREA WON THE SEPTEMBER 21 SOUTH ANTRIM BY-ELECTION WITH A MARGIN OF 822 VOTES OVER THE UUP'S DAVID BURNSIDE. THE DUP, PREDICTABLY, IS TOUTING ITS VICTORY AS PROOF THAT A MAJORITY OF UNIONISTS NOW OPPOSE THE 1998 GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. TRIMBLE'S OPPONENTS WITHIN THE UUP ARE CALLING ON HIM TO RESIGN OR CHANGE COURSE. HE HAS REJECTED THIS ADVICE, BUT A LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE LATER THIS YEAR IS NOW LOOKS INEVITABLE. ACCORDING TO A CLOSE AIDE, TRIMBLE MAY NOW MAKE CONTINUED UUP PARTICIPATION IN GFA INSTITUTIONS EXPLICITLY CONDITIONAL ON OUTCOMES ON AS POLICE REFORM AND DECOMMISSIONING THAT MEET THE UUP'S DEMANDS. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(C)~~ RUNNING ON A SIMPLE PLATFORM OF OPPOSITION TO THE GFA ("YOUR CHANCE TO PUT THINGS RIGHT"), THE REV. WILLIE MCCREA OF PAISLEY'S DUP DEFEATED DAVID BURNSIDE OF THE UUP BY 822 VOTES IN THE BY ELECTION IN SOUTH ANTRIM, A HEAVILY PROTESTANT CONSTITUENCY NORTH OF BELFAST. THE UUP WAS HURT BY BURNSIDE'S CONFUSING MESSAGE: HE SUPPORTED THE AGREEMENT IN 1998, BUT SAYS HE WOULD OPPOSE IT NOW. BURNSIDE'S AMBIVALENCE (AND RAINY WEATHER) LIKELY DETERRED MANY MODERATE, PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS FROM VOTING. MANY OF THE ALLIANCE PARTY'S 2000-PLUS VOTES WOULD ALSO HAVE COME FROM

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MODERATE UNIONISTS, AT THE UUP'S EXPENSE. WHICH ALSO THE LOW TURNOUT (43 PERCENT) FAVORED THE DUP, WHOSE SUPPORTERS TEND TO BE MORE ZEALOUS AND DISCIPLINED.

3. (C) TRIMBLE ATTEMPTED TO PORTRAY THE RESULT AS A PROTEST AGAINST THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S TREATMENT OF THE RUC, IMPLYING THAT HE WILL TRY TO USE THE VOTE AS LEVERAGE IN THE CONTINUING DELIBERATIONS ON THE POLICE BILL. TRIMBLE IS UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED IN DEFLECTING CRITICISM AWAY FROM HIS OWN LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER. MARTIN SMYTH, WHO CHALLENGED TRIMBLE FOR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP SPOT IN MARCH, SAID THIS MORNING THAT TRIMBLE SHOULD EITHER RESIGN OR DRASTICALLY REVISE THE PARTY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE AGREEMENT. IN A RADIO INTERVIEW, TRIMBLE DISMISSED SUGGESTIONS THAT HE WOULD RESIGN "THIS IS A SET-BACK, BUT WE'RE NOT QUITTERS."

4. (C) THE DAY PRIOR TO THE ELECTION, A KEY TRIMBLE ALLY TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT A BURNSIDE DEFEAT WOULD PUT TRIMBLE IN "DEEP TROUBLE." HE SPECULATED THAT THE PREDOMINANTLY ANTI-GFA UUP WESTMINSTER MP'S WOULD LIKELY MASTERMIND THE ATTACK ON TRIMBLE, PERHAPS USING JEFFREY DONALDSON AS THEIR CANDIDATE. THE PARTY'S MP'S FEEL PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE BECAUSE MANY FEAR THAT THE MCCREA VICTORY FORESHADOWS FURTHER DUP GAINS AT THE NEXT WESTMINSTER ELECTIONS, EXPECTED NEXT MAY. TRIMBLE'S UUP COLLEAGUES IN THE ASSEMBLY DO NOT FACE THE ELECTORATE UNTIL 2003, BUT THE DUP SHOW OF STRENGTH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HARDEN THE POSITION OF SOME UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBERS ON ISSUES SUCH AS FLAGS AND SYMBOLS AND COULD EVEN CAUSE SOME TO BREAK FORMALLY WITH TRIMBLE. A MEMBER OF THE ANTI-TRIMBLE WING TOLD US HE UNDERSTANDS MEETINGS WILL TAKE PLACE NEXT WEEK TO PLOT STRATEGY, BUT THAT A FORMAL CHALLENGE IS "INEVITABLE" BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. THERE IS AN OUTSIDE CHANCE IT COULD COINCIDE WITH THE UUP CONFERENCE OCTOBER 7.

5. (C) A TOP TRIMBLE AIDE TOLD US SEPTEMBER 22 THAT TRIMBLE'S POSITION IS NOW SUCH THAT HE MAY NOW MAKE UUP PARTICIPATION IN THE INSTITUTIONS MORE EXPLICITLY CONDITIONAL ON SATISFACTORY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GFA ON ISSUES SUCH AS POLICING AND DECOMMISSIONING. "YOU CAN'T ASSUME HE'LL JUST SOLDIER ON," THIS OFFICIAL SAID. "HE NEEDS A WIN, BUT THERE IS NOTHING ON THE HORIZON." TRIMBLE IS MEETING SEPTEMBER 22 WITH TOP PARTY OFFICIALS AT A PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED RETREAT; THEY MAY BRAINSTORM SOME OF THESE IDEAS, BUT TRIMBLE IS NOT EXPECTED TO MAKE ANY DRAMATIC GESTURES TODAY, ACCORDING TO THIS OFFICIAL.

COMMENT
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6. (C) THE BY ELECTION RESULT INTENSIFIES THE STRESS ON TWO OF THE MOST BRITTLE ELEMENTS OF THE PEACE PROCESS: TRIMBLE'S VIABILITY AS UUP LEADER AND POLICE REFORM. THE MANTRA THAT BOTH ARE VITAL TO THE PROCESS WILL BE PUT TO THE TEST IN THE COMING WEEKS. MORE THAN ANYTHING, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL SEEK TO AVOID A SITUATION WHERE ONE OF THESE ELEMENTS NEEDS TO BE SACRIFICED TO SUPPORT THE OTHER.
LADER

TOR: 09/22/00 07:55:49

DIST: SIT: BABBITT BANBURY Blinken NSC Davidson MCLEAN NAPLAN Norland PATTEN SCHWARTZ SHEA SUM2 SMITHP WILCOX
PRT: SIT{C2}
SIT: SUM2
PRT: BASH BERGER BRADTKE FUERTH KERRICK MORAN POWELL RUDMAN SIBERELL

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SIT: SUM2
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2015-0159-M(1.54)
KBH 9/9/2019

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 291801Z SEP 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9112
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1816
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TV NEWS PROGRAM ON FLORIDA GUN-RUNNING FEATURES FBI, U.S. ATTORNEY

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 007116

NSC FOR BERGER/NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR KERBER
LONDON FOR LEGATT
STATE PASS FBI HQ

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/05
TAGS: ASEC, PTER, PGOV, PINS, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TV NEWS PROGRAM ON FLORIDA GUN-RUNNING FEATURES FBI, U.S. ATTORNEY

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ A LOCAL TV PROGRAM AIRED ON SEPTEMBER 28 SOUGHT TO SHOW THAT LAST YEAR'S FLORIDA GUN-RUNNING OPERATION WAS SANCTIONED BY THE UPPER REACHES OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT AND THAT FURTHER SMUGGLING OF SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS MAY BE TAKING PLACE. THE SHOW FEATURED VIDEO FOOTAGE USED IN THE PROSECUTION AND INTERVIEWS WITH A U.S. ATTORNEY AND AN FBI AGENT. BY ALLEGING THAT THE IRA, AND BY IMPLICATION SINN FEIN, CONDONED THE SMUGGLING, THE PROGRAM HAS AGGRAVATED UNIONIST SUSPICIONS OF REPUBLICANS AND PROMPTED RENEWED CALLS FOR DECOMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE'S OFFICE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR NSC EFFORTS TO PUT THE PROGRAM'S REFERENCES TO USG OFFICIALS IN CONTEXT. END SUMMARY.

REHASH OF FLORIDA GUN-RUNNING CASE
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2. ~~(C)~~ THE SEPTEMBER 28 ULSTER TELEVISION'S PUBLIC-AFFAIRS PROGRAM, "INSIGHT," AIRED A FEATURE ON THE FLORIDA GUN-RUNNING OPERATION THAT WAS UNCOVERED BY U.S. AUTHORITIES IN JULY 1999. FOLLOWING A TRIAL THIS SUMMER, CONOR CLAXTON AND TWO OTHERS WERE CONVICTED ON SEPTEMBER 27 OF GUN

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SMUGGLING AND SENTENCED TO 3-4 YEARS. THEY WERE ACQUITTED OF THE MORE SERIOUS CHARGE OF SENDING WEAPONS TO TERRORISTS AND CONSPIRACY TO MURDER.

3. (U) USING ACCOUNTS OF THE TRIAL AND INTERVIEWS, THE PROGRAM SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH:

--THE SMUGGLING WAS SANCTIONED BY THE TOP RANKS OF THE IRA; AND
--IT WAS PART OF A LARGER OPERATION WHICH IS STILL UNDER FEDERAL INVESTIGATION AND MAY STILL BE SHIPPING WEAPONS TO IRELAND.

4. (U) THE PROGRAM'S PRODUCERS CLAIMED THEY GAINED "EXCLUSIVE" ACCESS TO FBI FILES AND THE FOOTAGE INCLUDED EVIDENCE APPARENTLY PRESENTED AT THE TRIAL, INCLUDING PASSPORTS OF THE DEFENDANTS, THE PACKAGING USED TO CONCEAL THE CONTRABAND AND THE WEAPONS. A POSTAL SERVICE VIDEO SHOWING ONE OF THE DEFENDANTS MAILING THE PACKAGES WAS ALSO INCLUDED IN THE BROADCAST.

5. (U) THE FBI AGENT INTERVIEWED EXPLAINED THE METHODS USED TO SMUGGLE THE WEAPONS AND HOW THE FBI TRACED THE WEAPONS BACK TO THE DEFENDANTS USING DNA EVIDENCE. IN ANOTHER SEGMENT, THE U.S. ATTORNEY, RICHARD SCRUGGS, CITED A CLAXTON STATEMENT THAT THE SMUGGLING OPERATION WAS SANCTIONED BY THE IRA ARMY COUNCIL. SCRUGGS ALSO STATED THAT THE MONEY TRAIL OF THE SMUGGLING LED TO BELFAST BANK ACCOUNTS CONTROLLED BY MEMBERS OF THE IRA. HE ADDED THAT THE OPERATION WAS PART OF A BROADER NETWORK THAT IS STILL BEING INVESTIGATED.

6. (U) THE PROGRAM STATED THAT DURING HIS TIME IN THE U.S., CLAXTON HAD MET WITH ROBERT FLINT AND KIERAN HINES, BOTH ALLEGED TO BE INVOLVED IN EARLIER IRA WEAPONS-SMUGGLING OPERATIONS. THE PROGRAM ALSO REFERRED TO TWO TONS OF WEAPONS THAT THE IRA PROCURED FROM SOUTH AMERICA AND THAT MAY BE STORED IN THE U.S.

7. (U) THE PROGRAM TRIED TO SHOW THAT THE IRA THEN "SACRIFICED" CLAXTON BECAUSE ITS LEADERSHIP DID NOT WANT HIM ASSOCIATED WITH THE CAUSE. A MEMBER OF NORAID EXPLAINED THAT THE DEFENSE FUND FOR THE "FLORIDA FOUR" WAS SET UP AS AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE NORAID LEADERSHIP, PRESUMABLY IN IRELAND. A FLORIDA JOURNALIST INTERVIEWED SPECULATED THAT THE IRA LEADERSHIP CONTINUED THE SMUGGLING TO DEMONSTRATE TO U.S. BACKERS THAT THEY ARE STILL MILITANT, THEREBY PREVENTING U.S. SUPPORT FROM LEACHING TO DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS.

8. (U) LOCAL CONTENT IN THE SHOW INCLUDED AN INTERVIEW WITH GERRY ADAMS, WHO DENIED THAT SINN FEIN WAS INVOLVED IN GUN-RUNNING, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE ARE "DIFFICULTIES IN THE BROADER IRA CONSTITUENCY," AND DAVID TRIMBLE, WHO SAID THE REVELATIONS SEVERELY LIMIT HIS PARTY'S FLEXIBILITY ON DECOMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE CALLED ON THE IRA TO FULFILL ITS PROMISES. TRIMBLE'S UUP RIVAL JEFFREY DONALDSON SAID THE EVIDENCE SHOWS THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP IS COMPLICIT IN IMPORTING WEAPONS AND THAT THE UUP NEEDS URGENTLY TO RECONSIDER ITS POLICY OF SERVING IN A POWER-SHARING

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/05
TAGS: ASEC, PTER, PGOV, PINS, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TV NEWS PROGRAM ON FLORIDA GUN-RUNNING FEATURES FBI, U.S. ATTORNEY

GOVERNMENT.

9. (C) ACCORDING TO HIS AIDES, TRIMBLE WAS CONCERNED THAT USG OFFICIALS' APPEARANCE ON THE PROGRAM LENT CREDIBILITY TO IT AND FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE CASE'S IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. THEY SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THE PROMPT STATEMENTS FROM THE FBI AND THE WHITE HOUSE TO CLARIFY THAT THE INVESTIGATION OF THE SMUGGLING IS ON-GOING AND THAT THE IRA LEADERSHIP HAS NOT BEEN IMPLICATED. GERRY ADAMS CALLED CG SEPTEMBER 29 TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR THE FBI DIRECTOR'S AND WHITE HOUSE STATEMENTS CLARIFYING THE USG POSITION.

COMMENT
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10. (C) IRONICALLY, WE MANAGED TO MOLLIFY BOTH THE UUP AND SINN FEIN LEADERS SIMULTANEOUSLY - NEVER EASY - WITH REGARD TO THE U.S. ROLE. STILL, ALTHOUGH CONTAINED, THE PROGRAM CAME LATE IN A BAD WEEK FOR TRIMBLE, ADDING TO HIS SENSE OF SIEGE BY GFA OPPONENTS.
LADER

TOR: 09/29/00 14:05:23

DIST: SIT: BRIGGS NSC CLARKER CRESSEY Davidson FENZEL GORDON-HAGERTY GREEN KURTZ Norland ORFINI TELLEEN

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PREC: IMMEDIATE
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LINE3: O 291801Z SEP 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9110
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1814
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: CLOUDS GATHERING OVER TRIMBLE

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 007115

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR KERBER

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: CLOUDS GATHERING OVER TRIMBLE

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~. THE IMPACT OF THE UUP DEFEAT IN A BY-ELECTION ONE WEEK AGO HAS BEEN SWIFT AND EXTREMELY NEGATIVE FOR UUP LEADER DAVID TRIMBLE. INTERPRETING THE RESULT AS A PRELUDE TO WORSE ELECTORAL PERFORMANCES, MANY UNIONISTS ARE DEMANDING THE PARTY CONSIDER WITHDRAWING FROM THE EXECUTIVE UNLESS THE IRA BEGINS DECOMMISSIONING WEAPONS. UNIONIST CONCERN ABOUT ELEMENTS OF POLICE REFORM AND ANGST ABOUT LOSS OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S BRITISH "IDENTITY" REINFORCE THE GROWING ANTI-AGREEMENT MOOD IN ADVANCE OF THE OCTOBER 7 ANNUAL PARTY CONFERENCE. TRIMBLE OPPONENTS ARE EXPECTED TO FORCE A MEETING OF THE POLICY-MAKING ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL IS EXPECTED IN 3-5 WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

ANOTHER CRISIS FOR TRIMBLE
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2. ~~(C)~~ THERE IS WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT THAT THE FALLOUT FROM THE UUP DEFEAT IN A SEPTEMBER 21 BY-ELECTION IS PRODUCING A REAL CRISIS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS. TRIMBLE BLAMED THE DEFEAT ON UNIONIST FRUSTRATION OVER THE PATTEN REPORT. OTHERS INTERPRET THE RESULT AS A PROTEST VOTE AGAINST "IMBALANCES" IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT, I.E. PRISONERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED, SYMBOLS OF BRITISH IDENTITY ARE BEING REMOVED, BUT THE PARAMILITARIES HAVE NOT DISARMED.

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3. (C) WHATEVER THE CAUSE OF THE UUP DEFEAT, TRIMBLE'S INTERNAL OPPONENTS NOW BELIEVE THE TIME IS RIPE TO FORCE HIM OUT. THE CURRENT PLAN IS TO CALL A SESSION OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL, THE PARTY'S POLICY-MAKING BODY FOR LATE OCTOBER OR EARLY NOVEMBER. THE OCTOBER 7 PARTY CONFERENCE COULD ALSO PASS A RESOLUTION SEEKING TO WEAKEN TRIMBLE. ONE PRO-AGREEMENT UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBER TOLD US THAT TRIMBLE COULD ALSO USE THE CONFERENCE TO BOLSTER HIS POSITION BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE AGREEMENT IS THE BEST OPTION FOR UNIONISM.

4. (C) AT THE UUC, OPPONENTS WILL LIKELY PROPOSE A MOTION CALLING ON TRIMBLE AND OTHER UUP MINISTERS TO RESIGN THEIR POSITION IN THE EXECUTIVE WITHIN A SET PERIOD OF TIME (THREE MONTHS MAXIMUM) UNLESS THE IRA HAS BEGUN DECOMMISSIONING ITS WEAPONS. WHILE THERE IS CONSIDERABLE ANGST ABOUT PATTEN AND RULES ON FLYING THE BRITISH FLAG, THE UUC IS LIKELY TO USE DECOMMISSIONING, WHICH ENCAPSULATES UNIONISTS' FRUSTRATIONS ABOUT THE AGREEMENT, AS THE TEST FOR KEEPING THE PARTY IN THE EXECUTIVE. CONFRONTED WITH SUCH A MOTION, TRIMBLE WILL NEED TO DECIDE WHETHER TO STAND AND FIGHT AGAINST IT, EFFECTIVELY RISKING HIS LEADERSHIP AS HE DID LAST MAY, OR ACCEPT THE DEADLINE AND TRY TO MANEUVER A SOLUTION DURING THE TIME ALLOTTED.

PRO-AGREEMENT SUPPORT EVAPORATING
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5. (C) ACCORDING TO SOURCES CLOSE TO TRIMBLE, HE WAS STUNNED BY THE NEGATIVE TONE OF A SEPTEMBER 23 PARTY EXECUTIVE MEETING AT WHICH MANY OF HIS NORMALLY SUPPORTIVE ASSEMBLY COLLEAGUES INTIMATED THEY WOULD NOT OPPOSE EFFORTS TO OUST HIM. MANY PARTY ACTIVISTS WHO HOLD MINOR ELECTIVE OFFICE AT THE CITY OR DISTRICT COUNCIL LEVEL FEAR THAT UNLESS THE UUP CHANGES COURSE, THE DUP WILL REPLICATE ITS VICTORY IN SOUTH ANTRIM THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE IN LOCAL ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR MAY. A JOURNALIST WITH GOOD UUP

CONNECTIONS TOLD US SEPTEMBER 28 THAT, AT PRESENT, TRIMBLE COULD ONLY WIN SUPPORT OF ABOUT 30 PERCENT OF UUC DELEGATES. DURING THE MAY UUC SHOWDOWN OVER REJOINING GOVERNMENT, TRIMBLE BARELY SUCCEEDED, WITH 53 PERCENT SUPPORT.

6. (C) AN INVESTIGATIVE PROGRAM SHOWN ON UTV ON SEPTEMBER 28 (SEPTEL) HAS COMPOUNDED UNIONIST UNEASE. THE PROGRAM SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH THAT THE FLORIDA GUN-RUNNING OPERATION UNCOVERED LAST JULY WAS PART OF A LARGER WEAPONS-IMPORTING SCHEME AND WAS SANCTIONED BY THE IRA LEADERSHIP. THE REPORT RELIED HEAVILY ON MATERIAL USED BY FEDERAL PROSECUTORS AT THE GUN-RUNNERS' TRIAL. ACCORDING TO AIDES, TRIMBLE WAS BLINDSIDED BY THE TIMING OF THE REVELATIONS, WHICH CAME IN THE MIDST OF A TRYING WEEK. TRIMBLE APPEARED ON THE PROGRAM STATING THAT THE ALLEGATIONS CONSTRICT ANY UUP FLEXIBILITY REGARDING DECOMMISSIONING AND CALLED ON THE IRA TO LIVE UP TO ITS PROMISES. JEFFREY DONALDSON, A POTENTIAL RIVAL TO TRIMBLE FOR THE LEADERSHIP, REACTED CATEGORICALLY, SAYING THAT THE UUP SHOULD IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAW FROM THE EXECUTIVE AND RETURN TO ITS POLICY OF "NO
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 007115

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THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: CLOUDS GATHERING OVER TRIMBLE

GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT."

NATIONALISTS NOT RUSHING TO TRIMBLE'S RESCUE
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7. (C) WHILE REPUBLICAN AND NATIONALIST POLITICIANS ARE ACKNOWLEDGING THE DIRE NATURE OF TRIMBLE'S PREDICAMENT, THEY ARE SO FAR NOT EXHIBITING ANY FLEXIBILITY ON DECOMMISSIONING OR POLICING. SDLP DEPUTY LEADER SEAMUS MALLON'S RESPONSE TO QUERIES ABOUT TRIMBLE'S POLITICAL HEALTH HAS BEEN THAT THE GFA IS BIGGER THAN ANY SINGLE POLITICIAN AND THAT NO ONE IS INDISPENSABLE. AIDES TO TRIMBLE AND MALLON ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE FRICTION BETWEEN THEM HAS BEEN A MAJOR OBSTACLE IN MAKING THE EXECUTIVE RUN SMOOTHLY. WHILE THERE IS AN INTEREST ON BOTH SIDES TO IMPROVE COMMUNICATION AND COORDINATION, THE SDLP HAS SO FAR REJECTED OVERTURES FROM SOME IN THE UUP TO EXPLORE IDEAS FOR ACCOMMODATION ON THE FINAL VERSION OF THE POLICE BILL. SDLP OFFICIALS CONTEND THAT THEY NEED TO DEAL WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON POLICING.

COMMENT
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8. (C) A NEW UUP "DEADLINE" FOR DECOMMISSIONING WOULD PUT ALL PARTIES TO THE PROCESS IN AN AWKWARD POSITION. TRIMBLE'S LEADERSHIP WOULD BE ON THE LINE, THE REPUBLICANS WOULD BE FORCED AGAIN TO GRAPPLE WITH THE WEAPONS ISSUE IN THE CONTEXT OF UNIONIST PRESSURE; AND THE SDLP WOULD BE TORN BETWEEN UPHOLDING ITS DEFENSE OF PATTEN AND THE PRAGMATIC STEPS NEEDED TO SALVAGE THE PROCESS. FINDING A WAY TO AVERT THIS LOOMING DISASTER FALLS FIRST TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS, WHOSE RESPONSE TO THE LAST SUCH CRISIS IN FEBRUARY 2000 WAS UNCOORDINATED, LEADING TO SEVERAL WEEKS OF DELAY. WITH THAT LESSON LEARNED AND A GROWING APPRECIATION FOR THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM THIS TIME, IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL THAT LONDON AND DUBLIN ACT QUICKLY TO FIND A JOINT APPROACH AND THEN EXECUTE IT WITH DISCIPLINE. SUCH AN APPROACH WILL PROBABLY INVOLVE SOME SYMBOLIC MODIFICATIONS OR DELAYS OF PATTEN'S CHANGES AND MOVEMENT ON DEMILITARIZATION BY THE BRITISH. BUT THE NEGATIVE MOOD WITHIN UNIONISM SUGGESTS THAT MORE ON DECOMMISSIONING MAY BE NECESSARY TO SAFEGUARD CONTINUED UNIONIST PARTICIPATION. EVEN BEFORE THE ANTRIM DEFEAT, UUP MODERATES MADE CLEAR THEY EXPECTED A SECOND IRA CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURE THIS FALL.
LADER

TOR: 09/29/00 14:05:04
DIST: SIT: NSC Davidson Norland

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PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
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LINE3: R 171001Z OCT 00
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INFO: RUEAIIA/CIA WASHDC
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC
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RUEHC/DOL WASHDC
SUBJ: 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: UPDATE FOR IRELAND
TEXT: UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 06 DUBLIN 002848

DEPT FOR DRL/CRT, EUR/UBI AND EUR/ERA

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, ELAB, PREF, AIRF, EI
SUBJECT: 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: UPDATE FOR IRELAND

REF: STATE 156494

1. SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - NOFORN -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE FOLLOWING IS THE 2000 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR IRELAND.

3. BEGIN UPDATE:

INTRODUCTION

SECOND PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE:
REPLACE "MINISTER OF JUSTICE" WITH "MINISTER FOR JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND LAW REFORM".

SECOND PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
REPLACE "MINISTER OF DEFENSE" WITH "MINISTER FOR DEFENSE".

SECOND PARAGRAPH, FOURTH SENTENCE
THE BELFAST PEACE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED ON APRIL 10, 1998.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH: "OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES IT HAS BEEN A LARGE NET RECIPIENT OF FUNDS FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU), AND THIS HAS HELPED TO ADDRESS IMBALANCES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT. IT IS ENVISAGED THAT IRELAND WILL BECOME A NET CONTRIBUTOR TO THE EUROPEAN UNION'S BUDGET FROM 2006 ONWARDS."

THIRD PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE:
UNEMPLOYMENT IS NOW 4.4 PERCENT.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, FOURTH SENTENCE:

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REPLACE "10 PERCENT IN 1997, ACCORDING TO A LOCAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATION" WITH "8 PERCENT, ACCORDING TO THE IRISH BASED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE."

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE:
REPLACE "THE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED...CREATED IN NORTHERN IRELAND" WITH "THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN JULY, WHICH IS TO COOPERATE WITH A PARALLEL COMMISSION IN NORTHERN IRELAND."

INSERT ADDITIONAL (LAST) PARAGRAPH:
"THE BELFAST AGREEMENT ALSO MANDATES EQUIVALENCY WITH REGARDS TO PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. TO THIS END, THE GOVERNMENT IS CURRENTLY UNDERTAKING LEGISLATION WHICH WILL ALLOW FOR AN 'INTERPRETIVE INCORPORATION' OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTO IRISH LAW. THIS INCORPORATION WILL PERMIT IRISH CITIZENS TO ENFORCE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, SUCH AS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND RELIGION, THROUGH LEGAL ACTION IN IRISH AND EU COURTS."

SECTION 1A

SECOND PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE WITH: "DURING THE YEAR, THE GARDA IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND AND THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC) IN NORTHERN IRELAND COOPERATED TO QUESTION 87 PERSONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE AUGUST 1998 OMAGH BOMBING THAT KILLED 29 PEOPLE AND INJURED HUNDREDS. TO DATE, ONLY ONE PERSON, COLM MURPHY, HAS BEEN CHARGED IN CONNECTION WITH THE BOMBING. MURPHY, CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY TO CAUSE AN EXPLOSION, IS EXPECTED TO STAND TRIAL IN DUBLIN NEXT YEAR. IN OCTOBER, AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE INQUESTS OF 28 OF THE 29 VICTIMS, THE RUC ANNOUNCED THAT THEY KNEW OF 15 SUSPECTS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBING, BUT THEY LACKED THE SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE NEEDED IN ORDER TO CHARGE AND PROSECUTE THEM."

THIRD PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE:
INSERT "1999" AFTER "MAY".

THIRD PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE TO END:
REPLACE WITH "IN 1999, THE REMAINS OF THREE OF THE NINE VICTIMS WERE RECOVERED AND RETURNED TO THEIR FAMILIES. IN JANUARY, THE COMMISSION HALTED EXCAVATIONS UNTIL MAY, WHEN DIGGING RESUMED FOR ANOTHER THREE WEEKS FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF NEW INFORMATION FROM THE IRA. AT THE END OF MAY, THE COMMISSION AGAIN SUSPENDED THE SEARCH PENDING NEW INFORMATION FROM THE IRA."

SECTION 1C

SECOND PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE TO END:
DELETE.
UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 06 DUBLIN 002848

DEPT FOR DRL/CRT, EUR/UBI AND EUR/ERA

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, ELAB, PREF, AIRF, EI
SUBJECT: 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: UPDATE FOR IRELAND

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THIRD PARAGRAPH:
(THE 1998 GARDA SIOCHANA COMPLAINTS BOARD STATISTICS ARE THE MOST RECENT AVAILABLE.)

THIRD PARAGRAPH, FOURTH SENTENCE:
REPLACE "THROUGH" WITH "AFTER".

AFTER CURRENT THIRD PARAGRAPH (WHICH ENDS, "...NINE OF THESE COMPLAINTS."):
INSERT THE FOLLOWING NEW PARAGRAPH: "IN RESPONSE TO A PAN-EUROPEAN PROGRAM ' POLICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS 1997-2000' THE GARDA COMMISSIONER LAUNCHED THE GARDA SIOCHANA HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE FOR 1999-2000 IN ORDER TO FURTHER DEVELOP POLICING PRACTICES WHICH UPHOLD HUMAN RIGHTS. IN ADDITION TO THIS INITIATIVE, THE GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED THE RECORDING OF INTERVIEW WITH DETAINEES IN GARDA STATIONS DESIGNED TO FURTHER DETER ABUSE OR ILL-TREATMENT."

FOURTH PARAGRAPH (1999 REPORT - BEGINS, "IRELAND HAS A LOW..."):
REPLACE WITH "IRELAND HAS A LOW INCARCERATION RATE (80 INMATES PER 100,000 POPULATION), AND THE PRISON REGIME IS GENERALLY LIBERAL. THE PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF MANY PRISONS IS INADEQUATE. FOLLOWING CHARGES THAT PRISONS ARE OVERCROWDED AND LACK IN-CELL SANITATION FACILITIES SUCH AS TOILETS AND RUNNING WATER, MANY ARE UNDERGOING RENOVATION. IN ADDITION, PRISONS LACK SUFFICIENT HEALTH CARE FACILITIES AND SERVICES. CLOVERHILL REMAND PRISON AND MOUNTJOY WOMEN'S PRISON (THE DOCHAS CENTER), BOTH UNABLE TO ACCEPT INMATES AT THEIR INITIAL OPENINGS IN 1999, ARE NOW FULLY OPERATIONAL.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH (1999 REPORT - BEGINS, "PRISONERS WITH COMPLAINTS..."), FIRST SENTENCE:
AFTER "TO THE COURTS FOR REDRESS" ADD "AS WELL AS OTHER AVENUES SUCH AS THE PRISON STAFF, THE PRISON GOVERNOR, THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND LAW REFORM'S VISITING COMMITTEES (WHICH CARRY OUT SPRPRISE INSPECTIONS, USUALLY ON A MONTHLY BASIS), AND THE DEPARTMENT MINISTER."

FIFTH PARAGRAPH
(UPDATED STATISTICS OF POLICE MISTREATMENT PENDING FEEDBACK FROM THE PRISON AUTHORITY.)

FIFTH PARAGRAPH (1999 REPORT), THIRD SENTENCE:
REPLACE "GOVERNMENT" WITH "AUTHORITIES."

SIXTH PARAGRAPH (1999 REPORT - BEGINS, "DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL..."), LAST SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH: "IN DECEMBER 1999 THE GOVERNMENT RESPONDED TO THE CPT'S REPORT WITH PLANS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF A MULTIFACETED STRATEGY TO END OVERCROWDING IN THE PRISONS. THE STRATEGY PROVIDED FOR THE ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FOR THE REFURBISHMENT OF THE PRISONS AND GARDA STATION FACILITIES, THE HIRING OF MORE PSYCHIATRISTS, DOCTORS AND NURSES TO IMPROVE HEALTH SERVICES AND THE IMPLEMENTING OF MEASURES TO REDUCE AND PREVENT DRUG ADDICTION. IN MAY, THE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED A FOLLOW-UP REPORT AS REQUESTED BY THE CPT."

SECTION 1D

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FIRST PARAGRAPH, FOURTH SENTENCE:
REPLACE "ANOTHER EXTENSION" WITH "A SUSPENSION OF DETENTION."

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
REPLACE "CORROBORATION OF GUILT" WITH "CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE."

FIFTH PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH "THE ACCUSED PERSON'S FAILURE TO DEFEND AGAINST ACCUSATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP IN AN UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATION ALSO MAY BE USED AS CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE."

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH "LEADERSHIP (A LEADER BEING DEFINED AS 'A PERSON WHO DIRECTS, AT ANY LEVEL OF THE ORGANIZATION'S STRUCTURE') OF AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION CARRIES A POSSIBLE LIFE SENTENCE UNDER THE NEW AMENDMENT (ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE DEFINED BY THE 1939 OFFENSES AGAINST THE STATE ACT)."

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
REPLACE "CORROBORATION OF MEMBERSHIP" WITH "CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE OF MEMBERSHIP."

SIXTH PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE:
REPLACE "OR" WITH "AND/OR".
UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 06 DUBLIN 002848

DEPT FOR DRL/CRT, EUR/UBI AND EUR/ERA

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, ELAB, PREF, AIRF, EI
SUBJECT: 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: UPDATE FOR IRELAND

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE:
REPLACE "AND" WITH "AND/OR". AFTER "FINE" ADD "UNDER THE NEW LEGISLATION" TO THE END OF THE SENTENCE.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE TO END:
REPLACE WITH "THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED A COMMITTEE, CHAIRED BY A JUSTICE OF THE DISTRICT COURT, TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS THAT THE LEGISLATION VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHT CONVENTIONS. THE LEGISLATION, WHICH WAS SET TO EXPIRE IN JUNE, WAS EXTENDED FOR AN ADDITIONAL TWELVE MONTHS. THE COMMITTEE IS EXPECTED TO REPORT IT'S FINDINGS BY THE END OF THE YEAR."

NINTH PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE TO END:
REPLACE WITH "ON MAY 16, THE COURTS IMPLEMENTED THE ENTIRE BAIL ACT FOLLOWING A DELAY DUE TO A LACK OF PRISON ACCOMMODATIONS."

SECTION 1E

SECOND PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH "THE PRESIDENT APPOINTS JUDGES RECOMMENDED BY THE JUDICIAL APPOINTMENT BOARD ON THE ADVICE OF THE GOVERNMENT."

THIRD PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH "FOR INDIGENT DEFENDANTS, THE STATE ASSUMES THE COST OF COUNSEL UNDER THE CRIMINAL LEGAL AID SCHEME."

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FIFTH PARAGRAPH
(SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT STATISTICS WILL BE UPDATED UPON RECEIPT OF INFORMATION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND LAW REFORM.)

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH
(UPDATE OF PRISONER RELEASES IN IRELAND PENDING RECEIPT OF STATISTICS FROM THE PRISON AUTHORITY.)

SECTION 2A

SECOND PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
THERE ARE NOW 43 INDEPENDENT RADIO STATIONS.

SECOND PARAGRAPH:
AT END ADD, "FOLLOWING SINN FEIN'S AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS CHARGED BY SENATOR MITCHELL AND THE DECLARATION OF THE IRA CEASE-FIRE, SINN FEIN MEMBERS WERE RESTORED ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT AIRWAVES. THE ARTS MINISTER HAS ANNOUNCED SHE WILL SEEK GOVERNMENT APPROVAL TO REPEAL SECTION 31 OF THE BROADCASTING ACT, WHICH GRANTS THE MINISTER THE RIGHT TO BAN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS FROM THE AIRWAVES."

THIRD PARAGRAPH, FOURTH SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH "AS OF OCTOBER, NO THEATRICAL FILMS WERE BANNED DURING THE YEAR, BUT 125 VIDEOS WERE BANNED, MAINLY BECAUSE OF THEIR PORNOGRAPHIC OR VIOLENT CONTENT."

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, FIFTH SENTENCE TO END:
REPLACE WITH "AS OF OCTOBER, THE BOARD HAD NOT BANNED ANY BOOKS OR PERIODICALS. LAST YEAR THE BOARD BANNED THE MAINSTREAM "IN DUBLIN" MAGAZINE FOR CARRYING ADVERTISEMENTS FOR 'MASSAGE PARLORS,' WHICH WERE REGARDED BY THE BOARD AS SOLICITATIONS FOR PROSTITUTION. THE PUBLISHERS CHALLENGED THE BANNING IN COURT AND THE BOARD'S RULING WAS OVERTURNED ON THE CONDITION THAT THE MAGAZINE TOOK OUT THE ADVERTISEMENTS. IN 1999 THE BOARD DID NOT BAN ANY BOOKS, BUT BANNED EIGHT PERIODICALS, COMPARED WITH 15 BOOKS AND 10 PERIODICALS IN 1998."

FIFTH PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE WITH "IN JUNE 1996, VERONICA GUERIN, A JOURNALIST AND CRIME REPORTER WITH THE SUNDAY INDEPENDENT, WAS MURDERED. THE MURDER WAS SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT BY CRIMINAL ELEMENTS TO SILENCE PRESS COVERAGE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES. THE INCIDENT SHOCKED PUBLIC OPINION AND LED TO THE ADOPTION OF NEW LEGISLATION TO COMBAT NARCOTICS-RELATED CRIME. THE COURTS HAVE ALREADY CONVICTED TWO MEN, PAUL WARD (NOVEMBER 1998) AND BRIAN MEEHAN (JULY 1999), IN CONNECTION WITH THE MURDER AND SENTENCED THEM TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT. AS OF OCTOBER, A THIRD, JOHN GILLIGAN, EXTRADITED FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, WAS AWAITING TRIAL; THREE OTHER MEN HAVE BEEN SENTENCED ON LESSER CHARGES RELATED TO THE GUERIN CASE. THERE HAVE BEEN NO SUBSEQUENT INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE DIRECTED AGAINST JOURNALISTS REPORTED SINCE THE 1996 GUERIN MURDER."
UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 06 DUBLIN 002848

DEPT FOR DRL/CRT, EUR/UBI AND EUR/ERA

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, ELAB, PREF, AIRF, EI
SUBJECT: 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: UPDATE FOR

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IRELAND

SECTION 2B

FIRST PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE:
REPLACE "GOVERNMENT PROSECUTES AND INCARCERATES" WITH "LAW MANDATES PROSECUTION AND INCARCERATION OF"

SECTION 2D

THIRD PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE:
REPLACE "MINISTER OF JUSTICE" WITH "MINISTER FOR JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND LAW REFORM."

THIRD PARAGRAPH, FOURTH SENTENCE TO END:
REPLACE WITH "THE DRAMATIC INCREASE IN THE NUMBERS OF ASYLUM SEEKERS CONTINUED TO PRESENT PROBLEMS AS THE NUMBERS SEVERELY STRAINED THE RESOURCES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND LAW REFORM. IN 1999, 8,534 ASYLUM SEEKERS CAME TO IRELAND. AS OF JULY, OVER 5,000 NEW APPLICATIONS WERE FILED PUTTING THE NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS AWAITING PROCESSING AT OVER 12,000. THE EXPECTED TOTAL NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS FOR ASYLUM FOR THIS YEAR IS 15,000, WITH MOST APPLICANTS COMING FROM ROMANIA AND NIGERIA. THE MEASURES TAKEN TO SPEED UP THE LENGTHY PROCESSING TIME OF APPLICATIONS (CURRENTLY AN ASYLUM SEEKER WAITS APPROXIMATELY 18 MONTHS FOR PROCESSING OF HIS/HER APPLICATION), INCLUDING RECRUITMENT OF ADDITIONAL STAFF, HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT AS THE NUMBER OF REFUGEE APPLICATIONS PER MONTH CONTINUES TO REACH NEARLY 1,000. THE GOVERNMENT IS TAKING STEPS TO IMPROVE THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE ASYLUM SEEKERS AWAITING REVIEW OF THEIR APPLICATION BY ALLOWING ASYLUM SEEKERS WHO FLIED BEFORE JULY 26, 1999 AND HAVE BEEN WAITING OVER TWELVE MONTHS, TO WORK IN IRELAND. THE INCREASING INFLUX OF ASYLUM SEEKERS, AND THE LACK OF RESOURCES TO PROCESS APPLICATIONS IN A TIMELY MANNER, CONTINUED TO FUEL PUBLIC DEBATE ON IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND PROCEDURES. THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED A NEW GARDA (POLICE) NATIONAL IMMIGRATION BUREAU TO MONITOR AND TRACK NON-NATIONALS WHO ARE THE SUBJECT OF DEPORTATION ORDERS, COORDINATE ACTIVITIES LEADING TO DEPORTATION, COORDINATE OPERATIONAL STRATEGIES AND RESOURCES AT PORTS OF ENTRY, COORDINATE STRATEGIES TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING IN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS, STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL LIAISON ON IMMIGRATION ISSUES, ADMINISTER THE NON-NATIONAL REGISTRATION SERVICE, AND ENFORCE IMMIGRATION LAW GENERALLY.

THIRD PARAGRAPH:
(THE CURRENT NUMBER OF ASYLUM SEEKERS AND NUMBER OF FIRST ASYLUM CASES WILL BE UPDATE PENDING STATISTICS FROM THE ASYLUM DIVISION.)

SECTION 3

SECOND PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
22 OF THE 166 DEPUTIES IN THE DAIL AND THREE OF THE SEVENTEEN JUNIOR MINISTERS ARE WOMEN. TWO OF THE 26 JUDGES ON THE HIGH COURT AND TWO OF THE EIGHT SUPREME COURT JUDGES ARE WOMEN.

SECTION 4

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DELETE FROM THIRD SENTENCE THROUGH END.

SECTION 5

FIRST PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE:
DELETE ", AS AMENDED,"

FIRST PARAGRAPH, THIRD SENTENCE:
REPLACE "IN 1998 AN AMENDED EMPLOYMENT EQUALITY ACT WAS PASSED THAT", WITH "THE 1998 AMENDED EMPLOYMENT EQUALITY ACT WENT INTO EFFECT ON OCTOBER 18, 1999. IT".

FIRST PARAGRAPH:
ADD TO END OF PARAGRAPH: "THE 2000 EQUAL STATUS ACT, OUTLAWS DISCRIMINATION IN THE PROVISION OF GOODS, FACILITIES, AND SERVICES ON THE BASIS OF THE NINE GROUNDS LISTED ABOVE."

SUBSECTION ON WOMEN, FIRST PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE ENTIRE PARAGRAPH WITH: "IN RESPONSE TO WHAT IT SEES AS A "HIDDEN" AND "SEVERELY UNDER REPORTED" ISSUE, THE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (A MULTI-AGENCY GOVERNMENT BODY), BEGAN A PUBLIC OUTREACH CAMPAIGN IN DECEMBER 1999. THE CAMPAIGN AIMS TO FACILITATE
UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 06 DUBLIN 002848

DEPT FOR DRL/CRT, EUR/UBI AND EUR/ERA

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, ELAB, PREF, AIRF, EI
SUBJECT: 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: UPDATE FOR IRELAND

VICTIMS' REPORTING DOMESTIC AND OTHER TYPES OF VIOLENCE BY INFORMING WOMEN OF RESOURCES AT HAND AND RALLYING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR VICTIMS.

SUBSECTION ON WOMEN, SECOND PARAGRAPH:
THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD NOW READ: ACCORDING TO THE DUBLIN RAPE CRISIS CENTER, THE LEVEL OF REPORTED RAPES CONTINUES TO RISE. THE CENTER RECEIVED 7,243 CALLS BETWEEN JULY 1999 AND JUNE 2000. THIS NUMBER IS A DECREASE FROM THE 7,500 CALLS RECEIVED OVER THE SAME PERIOD IN THE PREVIOUS YEAR, BUT A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION LIES IN THE FACT THAT THE CENTER HAS GONE TO A TOLL-CALL SERVICE FROM 7PM TO 8AM TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF PRANK CALLS. FOR THE 1999-2000 PERIOD, THE CENTER ESTIMATED THAT 28 PERCENT OF RAPE AND CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE VICTIMS REPORTED THE CRIME TO POLICE AND THAT 10 PERCENT OF THESE CASES RESULTED IN CONVICTIONS, WITH 39 PERCENT OF CASES STILL PENDING. RECENT RAPE VICTIMS AND VICTIMS RAPED BY A STRANGER WERE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE REPORTED THE RAPE TO POLICE. A 1990 ACT CRIMINALIZED RAPE WITHIN MARRIAGE AND THE 1995 CIVIL LEGAL AID ACT PROVIDED THE RIGHT OF COMPLAINANTS TO FREE LEGAL ADVICE IN CASES OF SERIOUS SEXUAL ASSAULT. IN RAPE CASES, THE STATE BRINGS THE CASE AGAINST THE ACCUSED, WITH THE COMPLAINANT (VICTIM) ACTING AS A WITNESS. UNTIL THIS YEAR, AS A WITNESS, THE VICTIM WAS PROVIDED NO LEGAL REPRESENTATION. THE 2000 SEX OFFENDERS BILL 2000 MEANS THAT "SEPARATE LEGAL REPRESENTATION WILL BE PROVIDED TO COMPLAINANTS IN RAPE AND OTHER SERIOUS SEXUAL ASSAULT CASES WHERE APPLICATION IS MADE TO ADDUCE EVIDENCE OR TO CROSS-EXAMINE THE COMPLAINANT ABOUT HIS OR HER PAST SEXUAL EXPERIENCE." THERE ARE 24 WOMEN'S SHELTERS IN THE COUNTRY,

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FUNDED IN PART BY THE GOVERNMENT."

SUBSECTION ON WOMEN, THIRD PARAGRAPH:
(THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE RELEASED A REPORT ON OCTOBER 9, 2000 ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET. A COPY OF THE REPORT HAS BEEN REQUESTED AND THIS PARAGRAPH WILL BE UPDATED UPON RECEIPT.)

SUBSECTION ON WOMEN, FOURTH PARAGRAPH:
DELETE THE PARAGRAPH (A NEW STUDY FROM THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S COUNCI WAS INTRODUCED ON OCTOBER 16TH AND HAS BEEN REQUESTED. THIS PARAGRAPH WILL BE UPDATED UPON RECEIPT.)

SUBSECTION ON WOMEN, FIFTH PARAGRAPH, FIRST SENTENCE:
REPLACE "WORKING WOMEN OFTEN ARE" WITH "THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE IS STILL". INSERT FIRST SENTENCE: "TO ENCOURAGE THE PARTICIPATION OF PARENTS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, IN THE WORKFORCE, THE GOVERNMENT INCLUDED IN ITS 2000-2006 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN, AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES CHILDCARE PROGRAM, UNDER WHICH APPROXIMATELY 275 MILLION DOLLARS (250 MILLION IRISH POUNDS) WILL BE PROVIDED TO FUND MEASURES TO IMPROVE CHILDCARE AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY.

SUBSECTION ON CHILDREN, SECOND PARAGRAPH, SECOND SENTENCE:
REPLACE WITH THE FOLLOWING: "THE DUBLIN RAPE CRISIS CENTER REPORTED THAT 58 PERCENT OF CONTACTS WITH ITS CRISIS LINE INVOLVED CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND ONLY 13 PERCENT OF THE INCIDENTS HAD OCCURRED WITHIN ONE YEAR PRECEEDING THE CALL.

SUBSECTION ON CHILDREN, THIRD PARAGRAPH:
DELETE PARAGRAPH.

SUBSECTION ON PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES, FIRST PARAGRAPH:
DELETE FIRST SENTENCE. SECOND SENTENCE SHOULD BEGIN: "THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES ESTIMATED THAT..."

SUBSECTION ON PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES, FIRST PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE THE NEXT TO LAST SENTENCE WITH: "A NATIONAL DISABILITY AUTHORITY (NDA) BEGAN OPERATIONS IN NOVEMBER 1999."

SUBSECTION ON NATIONAL/RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES, THIRD PARAGRAPH:
(THE PROGRESS REPORT OF THE MONITORING COMMITTEE HAS BEEN REQUESTED. THIS PARAGRAPH WILL BE UPDATED UPON RECEIPT.)

SUBSECTION ON NATIONAL/RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES, FOURTH PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE THE LAST WORD, "YEAR", WITH "TWO YEARS."

SUBSECTION ON NATIONAL/RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES, FIFTH PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE WITH: "THE SPECTER OF GROWING RACISM HAS BEGUN TO HAUNT IRISH SOCIETY. THE NUMBERS OF ASYLUM SEEKERS, SOME OF WHOM WERE MIGRATING FOR ONLY ECONOMIC REASONS, CONTINUED TO INCREASE DRAMATICALLY. THE GROWING ECONOMY IS ATTRACTING, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF FOREIGN WORKERS. THESE DEVELOPMENTS SPARKED PUBLIC DEBATE OVER THE OPENNESS OF IRELAND TO NEW IMMIGRANTS AND HOW TO ADDRESS
UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 06 DUBLIN 002848

DEPT FOR DRL/CRT, EUR/UBI AND EUR/ERA

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREL, ELAB, PREF, AIRF, EI

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SUBJECT: 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT: UPDATE FOR IRELAND

OUTBREAKS OF XENOPHOBIC AND NEGROPHOBIC INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE. ALTHOUGH SOME ASYLUM SEEKERS WERE GRANTED THE RIGHT TO WORK IF THEIR CASE IS PENDING FOR OVER ONE YEAR, ACCORDING TO A STUDY COMMISSIONED BY THE IRISH REFUGEE COUNCIL, FOUR IN TEN CLAIMED TO HAVE EXPERIENCED RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION FROM RECRUITERS AND EMPLOYERS WHILE LOOKING FOR WORK. INCIDENTS OF RACIALLY MOTIVATED VIOLENCE CONTINUED TO OCCUR FREQUENTLY. THERE WERE A NUMBER OF REPORTED INCIDENTS OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION (TAKING THE FORM OF ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR BUSINESSES) AND VERBAL SLURS. IN ONE WIDELY COVERED STORY, A BRITISH CITIZEN VISITING DUBLIN WAS STABBED AND SERIOUSLY WOUNDED WHILE DEFENDING HIS BLACK WIFE AND SON FROM ATTACK. ANOTHER STORY WHICH RECEIVED BROAD MEDIA ATTENTION WAS THE CONVICTION AND FINING OF A DUBLIN BUS DRIVER UNDER THE PROHIBITION OF INCITEMENT TO HATRED ACT AS A RESULT OF A VERBAL EXCHANGE, INCLUDING RACIST SLURS, WITH A BLACK PASSENGER. THERE WERE ALSO REPORTS OF GROUPS OF YOUNG PEOPLE TARGETING (WHITE) FOREIGNERS FOR VERBAL HARRASSMENT AND VIOLENT ATTACKS.

SUBSECTION ON NATIONAL/RECIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES:
INSERT AS A SIXTH PARAGRAPH, "GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE BEGUN TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA AND IN JULY, RACISM WAS ONE OF TWO MAJOR TOPICS ADDRESSED AT THE GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED NGO FORUM ON HUMAN RIGHTS. IN ADDITION, THE GOVERNMENT INITIATED A PUBLIC OUTREACH CAMPAIGN WELCOMING IMMIGRANTS."

SECTION 6A

FIRST PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE END OF PARAGRAPH, FROM "IN OCTOBER 27,500..." WITH "THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF STRIKES, INCLUDING A NURSES STRIKE, A BUS DRIVERS STRIKE, AND A TRAIN ENGINEERS STRIKE OVER WAGES; AND A HAULIERS (TRUCK DRIVERS) 'GO-SLOW' OVER FUEL PRICES. ALL CONCLUDED PEACEFULLY AND WITH THE UNIONS INVOLVED ACHIEVING SOME, IF NOT ALL, OF THEIR GOALS."

SECTION 6B

SECOND PARAGRAPH:
DELETE LAST SENTENCE AND REPLACE WITH "THE LATEST VERSION OF THESE AGREEMENTS, THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PROSPERITY AND FAIRNESS, WAS SIGNED IN APRIL 2000."

SECTION 6E

FIRST PARAGRAPH:
REPLACE ENTIRE PARAGRAPH WITH: "A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE (4.84 DOLLARS -- 4.40 IRISH POUNDS -- PER HOUR) WENT INTO EFFECT ON APRIL 1, 2000. LOW-INCOME FAMILIES CONTINUE TO BE ENTITLED TO BENEFITS SUCH AS SUBSIDIZED HOUSING AND CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES.

SECTION 6F

REPLACE WITH: "THE 1998 CHILD TRAFFICKING AND PORNOGRAPHY

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ACT, WHICH CAME INTO LAW IN 1998, CREATED NEW OFFENSES OF TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN FOR THE PURPOSE OF THEIR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION, WITH PENALTIES OF UP TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT. THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS (TRAFFICKING) BILL WAS RECENTLY UPHELD AS CONSTITUTIONAL, BUT HAS NOT YET BEEN IMPLEMENTED. IT WILL CRIMINALIZE THE ACTIVITIES OF PERSONS TRAFFICKING IN ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS AND ASYLUM SEEKERS. THERE IS NO SPECIFIC LEGISLATION ADDRESSING THE TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN FOR SEXUAL CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES. ACCORDING TO A NON-GOVERNMENTL ORGANIZATION, TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN DOES NOT RECEIVE MUCH ATTENTION FROM ORGANIZATIONS OR THE GOVERNMENT."
SCARLETT

TOR: 10/17/00 07:17:48

DIST: SIT: BABBITT BANBURY NSC Davidson MCLEAN NAPLAN Norland PATTEN SCHWARTZ SHEA SMITHP WILCOX

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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1873
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: SDLP FIRM ON POLICE REFORM

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 007584

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR KERBER

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/05
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: SDLP FIRM ON POLICE REFORM

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL JANE BENTON FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ TWO KEY MALLON ADVISORS TOLD US OCTOBER 18 THAT THE SDLP IS HOLDING FIRM TO ITS REQUIREMENTS ON CHANGES TO THE POLICE BILL. THEY BELIEVE THE NIO IS BLOCKING PROGRESS ON STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND TRIMBLE IS THE MAIN OBSTACLE ON THE "CULTURAL" ISSUES (NAME, BADGE AND FLAG-FLYING). THEY INDICATED THAT SECURING AN ACCEPTABLE POLICE FORCE MAY BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN "RESCUING" TRIMBLE OR PRESERVING DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. THIS MAY MEAN THAT MOVEMENT ON SYMBOLS DEPENDS ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BEING MORE FORTHCOMING ON STRUCTURAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

PATTEN ESSENTIAL TO THE PROCESS
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2. ~~(C)~~ TWO SENIOR ADVISORS TO SEAMUS MALLON (WHO ACCURATELY REFLECT HIS VIEWS) REVIEWED THE STATUS OF THE POLICE BILL WITH US ON OCTOBER 18. THEY NOTED REPEATEDLY THAT THE SDLP REGARDS POLICE REFORM AS ONE OF THE LYNCHPINS OF THE GFA AND GETTING IT WRONG WOULD DOOM THE REST OF THE PROCESS. MALLON HAS BEEN WORKING ON THIS ISSUE FOR 30 YEARS AND IS NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT LAST-MINUTE CONCESSIONS THAT COULD RISK THE PROJECT. THEY ALSO STRESSED THAT THEIR COMMUNITY IS UNITED AND UNWILLING TO ACCEPT ANYTHING SHORT OF THE FULL PATTEN.

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3. (C) ON THE STRUCTURAL ISSUES, MAINLY REGARDING THE POWERS OF THE POLICE BOARD AND THE OVERSIGHT COMMISSIONER, THEY IDENTIFIED SECURITY OFFICIALS IN THE NIO AS THE KEY SOURCE OF RESISTANCE, NOT THE UUP. THEY SUGGESTED THAT SOME OF THE CONCERN OVER INCREASED ACCOUNTABILITY ARISES FROM FEAR THAT SOME PAST BRITISH ACTIVITIES DURING THE "DIRTY WAR" PHASE OF THE TROUBLES WOULD COME TO LIGHT. MALLON, THEY SAID, HAS VOICED HIS CONCERNS IN DETAIL TO BLAIR AND REPEATEDLY TO MANDELSON. THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED CHANGES, THEY SAID, ARE AT BEST COSMETIC, AN ASSESSMENT ECHOED BY INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS. THEY REITERATED THAT MALLON AND HIS TEAM REMAIN BITTER AT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OVER ITS MANAGEMENT OF THE PROCESS; AS A RESULT, THE SDLP WANTS ALL "ASSURANCES" CONTAINED IN THE BILL BECAUSE ITS CONSTITUENTS WILL INTERPRET ANY AMBIGUITY IN THE WORST POSSIBLE LIGHT.

4. (C) TRIMBLE'S PROBLEM, THEY ARGUED, IS NOT WITH POLICE REFORM, BUT WITH HIS ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO MANAGE HIS PARTY AND SELL THE AGREEMENT. THEY NOTED THAT THE SDLP HAS TRIED TO ASSIST HIM IN RECENT WEEKS ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES -- INCLUDING THE ALLOCATION OF THE BUDGET, A RESTRAINED APPROACH TO THE NORTH/SOUTH AGENDA AND TO THE BRITISH ANNOUNCEMENT ON FLAGS - BUT THE PARTY CANNOT AND WILL NOT "RESCUE" TRIMBLE ON THE RUC NAME. THE ISSUE IS TOO CENTRAL TO GAINING CATHOLIC ACCEPTANCE AND TRIMBLE'S TRUE PROBLEMS LIE ELSEWHERE.

COMMENT
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5. (C) GETTING EVERYTHING THE SDLP IS DEMANDING WOULD BE DIFFICULT CONSIDERING TRIMBLE'S PRESENT PERIL. THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT KNOWS IT HAS A TOUGH TASK AHEAD IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS; IT IS MARSHALLING LABOR PEERS, BUT THEY ARE A MINORITY IN THAT CHAMBER. BEYOND THAT, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAN DO MORE, BOTH IN OFFERING SUBSTANTIVE AMENDMENTS THAT WILL ADDRESS THE SDLP'S CONCERNS ABOUT ACCOUNTABILITY AND IN REPAIRING FEELINGS OF PERSON DISTRUST. SDLP LEADERS REGARD POLICE REFORM AS ONE OF THEIR GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS WHILE SOME BRITISH OFFICIALS HAVE OPENLY SAID THE POLICE BILL IS JUST ANOTHER SHORT-TERM CRISIS TO BE OVERCOME. IT MAY TAKE ACTION BY DOWNING STREET TO PRODUCE PROGRESS ON THESE FRONTS TO MAKE THE SYMBOLIC ISSUES SOMEWHAT EASIER TO ADDRESS.
LADER

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ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9587
INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1874
SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: REPUBLICAN MURDER HIGHLIGHTS FEARS OF UNABATED PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 007595

NSC FOR NORLAND
EUR/UBI FOR KERBER

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/28/05
TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PINS, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: REPUBLICAN MURDER HIGHLIGHTS FEARS OF UNABATED PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) THE MURDER OF A REPUBLICAN DISSIDENT ON OCTOBER 13 HAS REVEALED DIVISIONS BETWEEN THE MAINSTREAM PROVISIONAL IRA (PIRA) AND THE REJECTIONIST "REAL" IRA (RIRA). THERE IS A CONSENSUS AMONG NON-ALIGNED REPUBLICANS AND THE POLICE THAT PIRA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING, ITS DENIALS NOTWITHSTANDING. POLICE SOURCES STATED THEY WILL NOT GO PUBLIC WITH THEIR ASSESSMENT IN LIGHT OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STATUS OF THE CEASE-FIRE. THE PRESENCE OF 500 MOURNERS AT THE OCTOBER 18 FUNERAL (WHICH INCLUDED A GUN SALUTE) SUGGESTS THERE IS REAL OPPOSITION TO PIRA, EVEN IN THEIR WEST BELFAST HEARTLAND. VIOLENCE AMONG LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES HAS DIMINISHED IN RECENT WEEKS, THOUGH POLICE SOURCES STRESS THAT THEIR FEUDS REMAIN UNSETTLED. THE FLARE-UP IN REPUBLICAN VIOLENCE UNDERSCORES THE FACT THAT, WHILE THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT HAS REDUCED SECTARIAN KILLINGS, LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN REDUCING THE INFLUENCE OF PARAMILITARIES OVER MANY AREAS OF NORTHERN IRELAND, A HOT-BUTTON ISSUE FOR MANY MODERATE UNIONISTS. END SUMMARY.

RESTIVE REPUBLICANS
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2. (C) ON OCTOBER 13 A MEMBER OF THE REAL IRA, JOSEPH O'CONNOR WAS GUNNED DOWN BY TWO HOODED ASSASSINS IN WEST

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BELFAST. O'CONNOR WAS A RIRA ACTIVIST WHO, ACCORDING TO POLICE SOURCES AND NEWS REPORTS, WAS ACTIVE IN THE RIRA'S EFFORTS TO GAIN A POLITICAL FOOTHOLD IN BELFAST AND WAS ALSO SUSPECTED OF INVOLVEMENT IN TOBACCO SMUGGLING, PERHAPS IN COMPETITION WITH THE PROVISIONAL IRA. THE MURDER HAS EXPOSED THE DEEPENING FAULT LINES BETWEEN PIRA AND THE RIRA, WHICH HAS BEEN SPOTLIGHTED IN RECENT WEEKS BY NEWS COVERAGE ON THE STILL-UNSOLVED 1998 OMAGH BOMBING, FOR WHICH THE RIRA CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY. THE RIRA IMMEDIATELY BLAMED PIRA FOR KILLING O'CONNOR AND PROMISED RETALIATION AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE, THOUGH OBSERVERS NOTE THE RIRA WOULD BE UNDERSTANDABLE RELUCTANT TO PROVOKE A FULL-SCALE FEUD WITH THE BETTER-ARMED AND MORE NUMEROUS PROVISIONALS.

3. (C) SIGNIFICANTLY, OTHER PROMINENT REPUBLICANS CURRENTLY UNAFFILIATED WITH THE RIRA OR PIRA HAVE ALSO OPENLY ACCUSED PIRA OF THE CRIME. IN A REBUKE LADEN WITH REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC PUBLISHED IN THE "IRISH NEWS," TWO FORMER PRISONERS DESCRIBED THE MURDER AS AN ATTEMPT TO "KILL OFF ANY SEMBLANCE OF ALTERNATIVE REPUBLICANISM" THAT OPPOSES "THE STORMONT REGIME", IN WHICH SINN FEIN IS NOW PARTICIPATING. THIS LINE OF ATTACK CONTINUED AT O'CONNOR'S FUNERAL ON OCTOBER 18, WHEN ANOTHER PROMINENT DISSIDENT, MARION PRICE, CHARACTERIZED PIRA AS "AN ARMED MILITIA OF THE BRITISH STATE." O'CONNOR'S FUNERAL WAS ATTENDED BY ABOUT 500 PEOPLE, INCLUDING EIGHT RIRA VOLUNTEERS IN FULL COMBAT DRESS, ONE OF WHOM FIRED A VOLLEY OF SHOTS DURING THE CEREMONY.

A LATE DENIAL
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4. (C) IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING THE KILLING, GERRY ADAMS AND OTHER SINN FEIN LEADERS DISMISSED ACCUSATIONS OF PIRA INVOLVEMENT WITHOUT EXPLICITLY DENYING RESPONSIBILITY. FOUR DAYS AFTER THE MURDER, PIRA ISSUED A STATEMENT DENYING THE KILLING, CLAIMING THAT "MALICIOUS ACCUSATIONS SUGGESTING IRA INVOLVEMENT ARE DESIGNED TO HEIGHTEN TENSION AND PROMOTE THE AGENDA OF THOSE OPPOSED TO CURRENT IRA STRATEGY."

5. (C) A SENIOR RUC OFFICIAL TOLD US THE POLICE ARE QUITE SURE THAT THE O'CONNOR MURDER WAS THE WORK OF THE IRA, BUT THAT THE RUC WILL REMAIN VERY CIRCUMSPECT IN PUBLIC, SINCE ANY ASSIGNMENT OF BLAME COULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THE IRA CEASE-FIRE. THE RUC OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGED THAT CONCRETE EVIDENCE IMPLICATING PIRA WILL BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN SINCE THE WITNESSES WOULD BE LOATHE TO COOPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES. THE OFFICIAL ALSO NOTED THAT PIRA IS THE LEADING SUSPECT IN TWO OTHER RECENT MURDERS, IN DUNDONALD (SOUTH BELFAST) AND MAGHERAFELT. BOTH VICTIMS WERE UNDERSTOOD TO BE INVOLVED IN NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING.

ON THE SHANKILL
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6. (C) THE LOYALIST FEUD BETWEEN THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 007595

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: REPUBLICAN MURDER HIGHLIGHTS FEARS OF UNABATED PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY

(UVF) AND THE ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF), MEANWHILE, HAS CALMED IN RECENT WEEKS. THE RUC OFFICIAL SAID BOTH SIDES WERE OBSERVING A "NO FIRST STRIKE" POLICY, BUT THAT ONE HOT-HEAD (OF WHICH THERE IS AN ABUNDANCE) COULD DISRUPT THE SITUATION. THE POLICE AND MILITARY CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A HIGH-PROFILE PRESENCE IN THE SHANKILL AREA TO REINFORCE THE DE FACTO CEASE-FIRE. THE RUC OFFICIAL ALSO WARNED THAT THE UVF ALSO HAS SCORES TO SETTLE WITH THE PORTADOWN-BASED LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE AND VIOLENCE COULD ALSO ERUPT THERE UNPREDICTABLY.

7. (C) AT THE OCTOBER 14 ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY, THE POLITICAL ARM OF THE UVF, THERE WAS EVIDENCE OF A HIGH-LEVEL DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN SOME WHO ARE APPARENTLY CONTEMPLATING A FORMAL TRUCE WITH THE UFF AND ITS POLITICAL AFFILIATE, THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND OTHERS WHO REMAIN INTENT ON REVENGE FOR THE VIOLENCE OF AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER. BILLY HUTCHINSON, A PROMINENT PUP ASSEMBLYMAN WHOSE HOUSE WAS TARGETED DURING THE FEUD, HAS THREATENED TO QUIT THE PARTY IF IT ALIGNS WITH THE UDP, RAISING THE SPECTER OF YET MORE FRAGMENTATION AMONG UNIONISTS.

COMMENT
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8. (C) REFLECTING ON THE NEW REPUBLICAN VIOLENCE AND CONTINUING LOYALIST DIVISIONS, ONE SDLP ASSEMBLYMAN NOTED THAT "WE'RE ALL IN DENIAL ABOUT THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASE FIRES," BUT HE ADDED THAT THE CEASE-FIRES ARE GENERALLY WORKING IS PREFERABLE TO PUBLICLY ANNOUNCING IT HAS BEEN BROKEN. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT IS AVOIDING CALLS TO MAKE A DECLARATION ON THE CEASE-FIRES, THE UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE WILL INCREASE PRESSURE TO TAKE SOME KIND OF ACTION. A FEW WEEKS AGO, NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MANDELSON ANNOUNCED MEASURES TO ENHANCE INTER-AGENCY COORDINATION ON ORGANIZED CRIME, BUT THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY IS GROWING IMPATIENT FOR RESULTS.

9. (C) MANY IN DAVID TRIMBLE'S ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY TEND TO REGARD ANY FLARE-UP OF PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE AS AN INDICTMENT OF BRITISH POLICY, IF NOT OF THE AGREEMENT ITSELF. THEY ARGUE THAT THE NUMEROUS CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS SHOULD HAVE BEEN PUNISHED RESOLUTELY BY SUSPENDING PRISONER RELEASES OR FORCING PARTIES AFFILIATED WITH PARAMILITARIES TEMPORARILY OUT OF THE DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS. THE DELAYS IN A SECOND INSPECTION OF IRA WEAPONS IS YET ANOTHER SOURCE OF FRUSTRATION. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE FACTORS COULD ERODE SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT AMONG MANY MODERATE UNIONISTS WHO BELIEVED A KEY SELLING POINTS OF THE GFA WAS THAT IT WOULD HELP REDUCE AND EVENTUALLY ERADICATE PARAMILITARIES.
LADER

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RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: (C) DUBLIN MOOD GLOOMY ON POLICING AND TRIMBLE'S FUTURE

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN. REASON: 1.5 (B)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 002894

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/20/2010
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SUBJECT: (C) DUBLIN MOOD GLOOMY ON POLICING AND TRIMBLE'S FUTURE

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL SULLIVAN. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY
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1. (C) RECENT CONTACTS IN DUBLIN HAVE REVEALED A GROWING PESSIMISM REGARDING NEAR-TERM PROSPECTS FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. BOTH IRISH DFA AND SINN FEIN REPS. HAVE TOLD THAT THEY SEE SOME FORM OF SUSPENSION AND REVIEW IN PROSPECT FOR NOVEMBER AS RESULT OF THE CONTINUED FAILURE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE BILL TO MEET MINIMUM NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN REQUIREMENTS, AND THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL'S PUTTING DAVID TRIMBLE IN AN UNTENABLE POLITICAL SITUATION COME OCTOBER 28. WHILE SOME GOI OFFICIALS SEEM TO BE FOCUSED ON THE PROSPECT OF MOVING AHEAD WITH POLICE, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE REFORM UNDER A "SUSPENSION AND REVIEW" SCENARIO, WE ARE CONCERNED THE DIFFICULTIES OF RESTORING DEVOLVED INSTITUTIONS AT SOME LATER DATE ARE BEING UNDERESTIMATED. SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REP, RITA O'HARE, HAS ALSO REITERATED HER BELIEF THAT AN IRA CBM WILL TAKE PLACE SOON, LIKELY BEFORE THE UUC MEETING, BUT SEES REENGAGEMENT WITH THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION AT THIS TIME AS INCREASINGLY PROBLEMATIC FOR MAINSTREAM REPUBLICANS KEEPING A WARY EYE ON REPUBLICAN DISSIDENTS IN THE REAL IRA. END SUMMARY.

TRIMBLE - ALREADY GONE?
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2. (C) DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION DEPUTY, RAY BASSETT, TOLD

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POLOFF OCTOBER 19 THAT HIS PRO-AGREEMENT UUP CONTACTS WERE TELLING HIM TRIMBLE "COULD NOT WIN" AT THE UUC MEETING OCTOBER 28. HE DESCRIBED A "HUGE FALLOFF IN SUPPORT" AMONG RANK AND FILE UNIONISTS FOR TRIMBLE AND THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE TRIMBLE CAMP, ACCORDING TO BASSETT, IS ALREADY MAKING OVERTURES TO JEFFREY DONALDSON TO TRY TO REACH SOME TYPE OF COMPROMISE ON NEXT WEEK'S POLICY RESOLUTION TO MAKE IT LESS STARK THAN THE PURE "NO GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT." NONETHELESS, BASSET FULLY EXPECTS TRIMBLE TO BE PUT IN SOME TYPE OF POLICY STRAIGHTJACKET THAT WILL QUICKLY MAKE HIS POLITICAL POSITION UNTENABLE. IN BASSETT'S VIEW, TRIMBLE IS NOW "LIKELY TO RESIGN" AS UUP LEADER AND FIRST MINISTER SOONER OR LATER. HE NOTES THAT TRIMBLE'S RECENT PURCHASE OF A HOME IN LONDON INDICATES THAT HE IS PREPARING FOR LIFE AFTER LEADERSHIP. WHAT TRIMBLE AND PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONIST FORCES WILL HOPE FOR AS THE BEST POST-UUC OUTCOME WILL BE SOME FORM OF SUSPENSION AND REVIEW (ALTHOUGH THIS COULD BE A "DE FACTO" RATHER THAN FORMAL SUSPENSION) SO THAT TRIMBLE WILL NOT BE SADDLED WITH THE BLAME FOR BRINGING DOWN DEVOLUTION. BASSETT MUSED THAT DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON MIGHT EVEN BE THE FIRST TO GO, RESIGNING IF ACCEPTABLE POLICE REFORM IS NOT DELIVERED (WHICH MEANS THAT TRIMBLE WOULD BE OUT OF OFFICE AS WELL WITHIN SIX WEEKS).

3. (C) BASSETT ADDED THAT IT MIGHT ONLY BE WITH THE INSTITUTIONS SUSPENDED THAT THOROUGHGOING INSTITUTIONAL REFORM, NOT ONLY ON POLICING BUT ALSO ON JUSTICE AND EQUALITY ISSUES, COULD GO FORWARD. HE COMMENTED THAT AS LONG AS THE UUP WAS IN GOVERNMENT AND LONDON'S PRIORITY WAS KEEPING THEM IN GOVERNMENT, IT MAY BE IMPOSSIBLE TO INTRODUCE THE NECESSARY REFORMS. AS FOR THE EXISTING NORTHERN IRELAND

POLICE BILL, BASSETT SHARED WITH US A UK PAPER ON AMENDMENTS TO BE INTRODUCED IN THE LORDS. HE CALLED THEM LARGELY "TECHNICAL" IN NATURE, OFFERING NOTHING NEW TO NATIONALISTS ON THE KEY SYMBOLIC/CULTURAL POLICING ISSUES. THIS BILL STILL IS "NOT ENOUGH," BASSETT SAID, AND MORE WOULD BE REQUIRED ON SYMBOLS IF THE GOI WAS TO TRY TO "SELL" IT TO SEAMUS MALLON AND THE SDLP. DERMOT GALLAGHER, SECRETARY GENERAL IN THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE, REITERATED THIS TO THE DCM, SAYING THAT THE POLICE BILL "STILL HAD TO BE MADE RIGHT." HOWEVER, BASSETT CONCLUDED THAT THE UK SEEMED UNLIKELY TO MOVE FARTHER ON THE KEY SYMBOLIC ISSUES.

CBMS AND DISSIDENTS
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4. (C) GALLAGHER ALSO TOLD THE DCM DUBLIN IS CONTINUING TO PRESS SINN FEIN/IRA TO GO AHEAD WITH ANOTHER ARMS DUMP INSPECTION AND, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO REENGAGE WITH DE CHASTELAIN. GERRY ADAMS, GALLAGHER SAID, IS WORRIED GRASSROOTS REACTION, HOWEVER, AND DRIVING SOME "HARD MEN" INTO DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN RANKS. SINN FEIN WASHINGTON REP., RITA O'HARE, NONETHELESS TOLD POLOFF OCTOBER 20 THAT SHE REMAINED CONVINCED THAT ANOTHER INSPECTION WOULD BE FORTHCOMING "SOON" AND THAT SHE "WOULD BE SURPRISED" IF IT DIDN'T TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE UUC MEETING. SHE ALSO OFFERED THE NEW HYPOTHESIS THAT OTHER INSPECTIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONDUCTED BY ATHISAARI AND RAMAPHOSA BUT WERE NOT BEING REVEALED FOR THE IRA'S OWN REASONS. (COMMENT: IT IS HARD TO SEE WHAT THE IRA WOULD GAIN FROM THIS TACTIC, BUT O'HARE DOES HAVE UNIQUE INSIGHTS INTO THE GROUP'S PSYCHE THAT MAKES THIS WORTH CONSIDERING. END COMMENT.) REENGAGEMENT WITH DE CHASTELAIN, HOWEVER, WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT, SHE SAID, AS ANY SIGN THAT THE IRA WAS DISCUSSING ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING

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WITH DE CHASTELAIN WOULD BE A BOON TO DISSIDENT REPUBLICAN GROUPS AT THIS TIME.

5. (C) AS TO THE KILLING OF REAL IRA MEMBER JOSEPH O'CONNOR IN WEST BELFAST, O'HARE INDICATED THAT SHE ACCEPTED THE PIRA ASSURANCES THAT IT DID NOT CARRY OUT THE ATTACK, BUT SHE DID RULE OUT THAT IT COULD HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT BY PIRA MEMBERS AS PART OF A "LOCAL DISPUTE." IN ANY EVENT, SHE BELIEVED THE MURDER WAS A REAL NEGATIVE FOR PIRA AND SINN FEIN, AS IT GAVE THE REAL IRA AN OPPORTUNITY TO STAGE A HIGH VISIBILITY MILITARY FUNERAL WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN "ATTRACTIVE" TO SOME YOUNG REPUBLICANS. SHE DID NOT ANTICIPATE THAT THIS ATTACK PRESAGES A WIDER ROUND OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN PRO-AGREEMENT REPUBLICANS AND DISSIDENTS. O'HARE ALSO TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS SINN FEIN'S VIEW THAT ANY U.S. MOVE TO "DESIGNATE" THE REAL IRA WOULD LIKELY PROVE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, RAISING THE STATUS AND PROFILE OF THE GROUP. BASSETT'S VIEW FROM DFA WAS MORE CATEGORICAL IN IMPLICATING PIRA MEMBERS AS TO ONLY PEOPLE WHO COULD HAVE CARRIED OUT SUCH A BRAZEN ACT IN THE MIDDLE OF THIS SINN FEIN/IRA STRONGHOLD. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT IT MAY HAVE BEEN A LOCAL MATTER AND NOT A SANCTIONED ATTACK BY THE ARMY COUNCIL. BASSETT ALSO REFLECTED GOI VIEWS THAT THE DESIGNATION OF THE REAL IRA WOULD NOT BE A POSITIVE STEP AT THIS TIME.

COMMENT
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6. (C) IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE GOI NOW SHARES THE SDLP VIEW THAT GETTING POLICING RIGHT IS AS IMPORTANT IF NOT MORE IMPORTANT THAN MAINTAINING THE DEVOLVED POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND TRIMBLE'S UUP LEADERSHIP. PERHAPS OF MORE CONCERN IS AN INCREASING TREND IN GOI THINKING THAT IT MAY BE EASIER TO ACHIEVE COMPREHENSIVE POLICE, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE REFORM DURING A SECOND PERIOD OF "REVIEW" AND DIRECT RULE FROM LONDON, REACTIVATING THE ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE LATER WHEN REFORM IS A FAIT ACCOMPLI. THIS SEEM TO US TO UNDERESTIMATE SHARPLY THE DIFFICULTIES OF RESTORING A POWER-SHARING EXECUTIVE IN A POST-TRIMBLE ATMOSPHERE WITH A MUCH MORE HOSTILE UUP LEADERSHIP. WE ARE ARGUING, AS DOES PRESIDENT CLINTON'S OP-ED IN THE OCTOBER 20 "BELFAST TELEGRAPH," THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO WORK TO PRESERVE AND EXTEND THE SIGNIFICANT ROGRESS ALREADY MADE AND SAVE "PLAN B" FOR WHEN ND IFIF IT IS REALLY NEEDED.
SULLIVAN

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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL TO DEBATE WITHDRAWAL FROM EXECUTIVE

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TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 007741

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TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL TO DEBATE WITHDRAWAL FROM EXECUTIVE

CLASSIFIED BY CONSUL GENERAL FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) AT THE OCTOBER 28 ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING, TRIMBLE'S OPPONENTS WILL TRY TO PASS A BINDING MOTION THAT WOULD FORCE AN IMMEDIATE UUP WITHDRAWAL FROM NORTH-SOUTH INSTITUTIONS AND A NOVEMBER 30 DEADLINE FOR A PULLOUT FROM THE EXECUTIVE ABSENT SUBSTANTIAL DECOMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE AIDES BELIEVE IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND COMMON GROUND BASED ON THE OPPOSITION PROPOSAL AND ARE GIRDING FOR A VOTE. THE IRA CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURE (CBM) IS REGARDED BY MOST UNIONISTS AS TOO LITTLE TOO LATE TO HELP TRIMBLE AT THIS MEETING, BUT TRIMBLE IS PRIVATELY URGING THE DECOMMISSIONING BODY TO BE MORE PROACTIVE IN HIGHLIGHTING THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE DECOMMISSIONING PROCESS THUS FAR. END SUMMARY.

DONALDSON LEADING THE OPPOSITION AGAIN
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2. (C) DAVID TRIMBLE FACES ANOTHER PIVOTAL CONFRONTATION WITH HIS OPPONENTS WITHIN THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY AT ITS RULING COUNCIL MEETING OCTOBER 28. THE ANTI-AGREEMENT FACTION, LED BY WESTMINSTER MP JEFFREY DONALDSON, HAS BEEN REINFORCED IN RECENT WEEKS BY A GROWING NUMBER OF SKEPTICS WHO BELIEVE CONTINUING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT HAS FAVORED NATIONALISTS AND REPUBLICANS. DONALDSON IS SEEKING TO UNITE THE ANTI'S WITH THE SKEPTICS BEHIND A RETURN TO THE UUP'S "NO

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GUNS, NO GOVERNMENT" POLICY THAT DEMANDED IRA WEAPONS DECOMMISSIONING PRIOR TO ENTERING GOVERNMENT WITH SINN FEIN. THIS POLICY WAS IN EFFECT UNTIL LAST AUTUMN, WHEN TRIMBLE PERSUADED HIS PARTY TO JOIN A POWER-SHARING GOVERNMENT IN ADVANCE OF PROGRESS ON WEAPONS.

3. (C) THE KEY ELEMENTS OF DONALDSON'S DRAFT MOTION (FAXED TO EUR/UBI AND NSC) ARE:

--IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF UUP MINISTERS FROM THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL;

--A DEADLINE OF NOVEMBER 30 FOR "THE HAND OVER OR DESTRUCTION OF HUNDREDS OF ILLEGAL FIREARMS AND SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF EXPLOSIVES" AND A TIMETABLE FOR "COMPLETE DISARMAMENT." IF THESE CONDITIONS ARE UNMET, THE UUP WILL SEEK TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN FROM THE EXECUTIVE AND, IF THE MOTION FAILS, THE UUP MINISTERS WILL IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAW FROM THE EXECTUVIE.

--A MORATORIUM ON PATTEN WITH THE AIM OF PRESERVING THE RUC NAME, INSIGNIA AND THE FORCE'S "FULL OPERATIONAL CAPABILITY";

--A CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE REVIEW (BY THE GOVERNMENTS) OF GFA IMPLEMENTATION, WITH AN EMPHASIS ON DECOMMISSIONING AND POLICING.

TRIMBLE'S RESPONSE
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4. (C) WHILE THIS DRAFT IS AN OPENING POSITION, IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE IT BEING WATERED DOWN SUFFICIENTLY TO WIN TRIMBLE'S ASSENT. SHOULD HE DECIDE TO SEEK A CONSENSUS MOTION, HE MAY BE ABLE TO EXTEND THE DEADLINE FOR QUITTING GOVERNMENT AND REWORK SOME OF THE LANGUAGE ON THE RUC. BUT A MOTION WITH FIRM DEADLINES IS LIKELY TO PUT THE PROCESS IN A DEEPER CRISIS AS THE IRA IS ALL BUT CERTAIN NOT TO RESPOND TO DIRECT DEMANDS TO GIVE UP ITS WEAPONS. ALTERNATIVELY, TRIMBLE MAY DECIDE TO LEAVE THE MOTION AS IS AND PUT IT TO AN UP OR DOWN VOTE, IN WHICH HE COULD ACCUSE DONALDSON'S FACTION OF RECKLESSNESS AND DISLOYALTY TO THE PARTY LEADER.

5. (C) IN MID-WEEK DISCUSSIONS WITH US, TRIMBLE'S ADVISORS WERE UNIFORMLY DOWNBEAT. THEY NOTED THAT TRIMBLE FULLY UNDERSTANDS THE DANGERS OF SETTING DEADLINES FOR DECOMMISSIONING, BUT THEY FEARED THAT HIS NEAR-TERM SURVIVAL MAY REQUIRE ACCEPTANCE OF A TIMETABLE. THEY ALSO POINTED OUT THAT IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR TRIMBLE TO WALK BACK HARD-LINE LANGUAGE ON PATTEN, WHICH IS AN EMOTIONAL ISSUE FOR MANY OF THE UUC DELEGATES. A DONALDSON ALLY TOLD US OCTOBER 26 THAT HE UNDERSTOOD TRIMBLE'S TEAM WAS "FRANTIC" TO AVOID A VOTE AT THE MEETING, BUT A TRIMBLE AIDE TOLD US DONALDSON'S PROPOSAL WAS TOO EXTREME AND SAID TALKS TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES ARE UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED.

6. (C) IN THE EVENT OF A SHOWDOWN, TRIMBLE'S AIDES SAY HE WILL REPRISE THE THEMES OF HIS PARTY CONFERENCE SPEECH TWO WEEKS AGO, IN WHICH HE PLAYED UP THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND ADVANTAGES OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. HE CAN ALSO POINT TO SOME MODEST SUCCESS IN PRESERVING THE RUC NAME AND A COMMITMENT ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 007741

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/25/2010
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: UUP COUNCIL TO DEBATE WITHDRAWAL FROM EXECUTIVE

FROM HMG THAT THE UNION FLAG WILL FLY FROM KEY NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS ON UK "FLAG DAYS." HE WILL ALSO ARGUE THAT THE LATEST IRA CBM DEMONSTRATES THAT HIS APPROACH IS LEADING TO PROGRESS ON WEAPONS, ALBEIT SLOWER THAN DESIRABLE. PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, TRIMBLE IS REPORTEDLY LIVID THAT THE IRA WAITED UNTIL THE EVE OF HIS CONFERENCE TO ALLOW THE SECOND CBM, AS HIS OPPONENTS WILL PORTRAY IT AS A STUNT INTENDED TO PROP UP THE PROCESS.

IRA ENTERS THE DRAMA AGAIN
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7. (C) THE IRA STATEMENT AFFIRMS THAT A SECOND INSPECTION OF ITS ARMS BY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS WILL TAKE PLACE AND STATES THAT "IN MANY WAYS THIS RE-INSPECTION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE FIRST INSPECTION," INTIMATING THAT MORE DUMPS OR WEAPONS WILL BE INVOLVED. THE IRA ALSO ADMITS THAT IT HAS STALLED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE IICD BECAUSE "THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS YET TO HONOR ITS UNDERTAKINGS." THIS PRESUMABLY REFERS TO THE PACE OF REMOVING BRITISH MILITARY INSTALLATIONS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND AND INCOMPLETE RESOLUTION OF THE "ON-THE-RUN" ISSUE -- IRA SUSPECTS WITH OUTSTANDING ARREST WARRANTS IN THE UK. SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON WELCOMED THE IRA INITIATIVE BUT DISMISSED THE ACCUSATION THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS NOT LIVED UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS.

8. (C) TRIMBLE, ACCORDING TO HIS AIDES, WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING (IICD) WORK MORE PROACTIVELY TO PROD THE REPUBLICANS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING AND TO CALL ATTENTION -- PUBLICLY, IF APPROPRIATE -- TO SHORTCOMINGS IN THE PROCESS. THEY COMPLAINED THAT COMMISSION CHAIRMAN DE CHASTELAIN HAS BEEN FAR TOO PASSIVE AND IS LOSING CREDIBILITY AMONG THE UNIONIST LEADERSHIP. ONE APPROACH (WHICH HAS BEEN EXPLORED PREVIOUSLY) IS TO PERSUADE THE IRA TO DECOMMISSION SEMTEX EXPLOSIVES AS A DEMONSTRATION THAT THE DAYS OF TERRORIST BOMB CAMPAIGNS ARE OVER. THEY NOTED THAT STEPPING UP IICD ACTIVITY HAS BEEN RAISED WITH BLAIR, BUT THEY BELIEVED THAT DUBLIN WAS RESISTING THE INITIATIVE.

OTHER ALTERNATIVES?
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9. (C) THERE ARE ALSO RUMORS CIRCULATING THAT SOME PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS ARE WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES WITH DONALDSON TO FIND A WAY TO REUNITE THE PARTY. ONE SCENARIO WOULD SEE TRIMBLE BEING REPLACED BY ECONOMICS MINISTER SIR REG EMPEY, WHO SUPPORTS THE AGREEMENT BUT DOES NOT HAVE TRIMBLE'S LIABILITIES OF HAVING BEEN IN CHARGE DURING THE "DESTRUCTION" OF THE RUC AND THE REWRITING OF PARTY POLICY ON DECOMMISSIONING. ACCORDING TO ONE WELL CONNECTED JOURNALIST, DONALDSON WOULD THEN BECOME DEPUTY LEADER, WHICH WOULD TAKE ANOTHER WIDELY DISLIKED FIGURE, JOHN TAYLOR, OUT OF THE LEADERSHIP. WHILE THIS PLAN IS ONLY IN ITS FORMATIVE STAGES, IT MAY APPEAL TO PARTY ELDERS WHO, REGARDLESS OF THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE AGREEMENT, ARE FED UP WITH THE DEEPENING DIVISIONS IN THE PARTY, WHICH COULD HAVE CATASTROPHIC EFFECTS AT THE NEXT ELECTION.

COMMENT

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10. (C) WHILE MUCH CAN STILL HAPPEN BEFORE THE UUC DELEGATES CONVENE SATURDAY MORNING, IT NOW LOOKS AS THOUGH TRIMBLE WILL FACE ANOTHER CRITICAL VOTE ON PARTY POLICY WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR HIS FUTURE AS LEADER. TRIMBLE'S MAIN HOPE NOW APPEARS TO BE THAT HE CAN PORTRAY DONALDSON'S MOTION AS AN IRRATIONAL OVERREACTION, THOUGH HE MAY STILL NEED TO LAY DOWN SOME STRONG MARKERS, IF NOT FIRM DEADLINES, TO HOLD ONTO THOSE WHO ARE WAVERING IN THEIR WILLINGNESS FOR THE UUP TO STAY IN GOVERNMENT.

DAVIES

TOR: 10/27/00 02:40:18

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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE WINS NARROW PARTY VOTE, AT HIGH COST

CLASSIFIED BY CG JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 007785

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST
NSC FOR NORLAND
DEPT FOR EUR/UBI (KERBER)

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/25/2010
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE WINS NARROW PARTY VOTE, AT HIGH COST

CLASSIFIED BY CG JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) DAVID TRIMBLE SURVIVED THE LATEST CHALLENGE TO HIS POLICY IN A CLOSE VOTE AT THE OCTOBER 28 ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL MEETING, BUT WAS FORCED TO ADOPT HARD LINE POSITIONS THAT MAY IMMEDIATELY AFFECT THE GFA'S NORTH-SOUTH BODIES. HE ALSO PUT DOWN FIRM MARKERS DEMANDING ACTIVISM ON DECOMMISSIONING FROM THE IICD AND THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE VOTE PUTS TREMENDOUS PRESSURE ON THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO INTERVENE IN THE PROCESS AGAIN, BEFORE IT GOES FURTHER AWRY. END SUMMARY.

TRIMBLE MAKES CONCESSIONS TO ASSURE POSITIVE VOTE
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2. (C) AT THE CONCLUSION OF A FOUR-AND-A-HALF HOUR MEETING ON OCTOBER 28 IN BELFAST, DAVID TRIMBLE PERSUADED 54 PERCENT OF THE 800-PLUS DELEGATES TO ADOPT A SERIES OF ACTIONS DESIGNED TO PRESSURE THE IRA INTO MOVEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE'S RESOLUTION (COPIES FAXED TO EUR/UBI AND NSC) CALLS FOR:

--THE IMMEDIATE SUSPENSION OF SINN FEIN MINISTERS FROM THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL (NSMC) UNTIL THE IRA HAS MADE "SUBSTANTIAL ENGAGEMENT" WITH THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL DECOMMISSIONING COMMISSION. (THIS MAY AMOUNT TO A FULL

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SUSPENSION OF THE NSMC AS THE SDLP MAY DECIDE THIS IS PREFERABLE TO SELECTIVE EXCLUSION.)

--THE IICD TO BECOME PRO-ACTIVE IN FULFILLING ITS MANDATE BY MAKING MONTHLY REPORTS AND SETTING DEADLINES AND TIMETABLES FOR DECOMMISSIONING.

--CONSIDERATION OF FURTHER SANCTIONS ON THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES AS WELL AS THE BRITISH-IRISH COUNCIL.

--A FORMAL REVIEW OF GFA IMPLEMENTATION ABSENT PROGRESS ON WEAPONS.

--A FREEZE ON POLICE REFORM "UNTIL PEACE IS ASSURED."

3. (C) TRIMBLE ALLIES INSIST THAT THIS WAS THE BEST TRIMBLE COULD DO IN ORDER TO KEEP THE UUP IN GOVERNMENT. THE ALTERNATIVE, PROPOSED BY JEFFREY DONALDSON, CALLED FOR SUSPENDING ALL THE INSTITUTIONS IN DECEMBER UNLESS SUBSTANTIAL DECOMMISSIONING HAD OCCURRED. IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE, TRIMBLE CHARACTERIZED HIS DIFFERENCES WITH DONALDSON AS "TACTICAL," CONTENDING THAT BOTH WANT TO KEEP THE ASSEMBLY OPERATING. EXPLAINING THE RESOLUTION, TRIMBLE SAID HE WAS FORCED INTO THIS POSITION BECAUSE THE IRA HAS FAILED TO LIVE UP TO ITS MAY COMMITMENT TO MAKE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING. TRIMBLE ADDED THAT EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT PRESSURE IS THE ONLY WAY TO GET MOVEMENT FROM THE IRA. ECONOMICS MINISTER AND TRIMBLE ALLY SIR REG EMPEY ALSO ADDRESSED THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND ASSERTED THAT THE IRA'S STATEMENT THIS WEEK WALKED BACK FROM ITS MAY COMMITMENT TO ONGOING ENGAGEMENT WITH THE IICD AND REGULAR ARMS INSPECTIONS. THE UUP NEEDED TO RESPOND, HE SAID.

JUSTIFICATIONS AND REACTIONS
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4. (C) PRIVATELY, ONE UUP ASSEMBLY MEMBER ACCUSED THE IRA OF HUMILIATING THE UUP BY DELAYING THE SECOND INSPECTION OF ITS WEAPONS UNTIL LAST WEEK WHEN IT HAD BEEN EXPECTED IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. HE SAID THAT IICD CHIEF JOHN DE CHASTELAIN NEEDS TO "GET OUT OF SLEEPY HOLLOW" AND DO SOME WORK. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH COUNCIL'S WORK WILL ONLY BE AFFECTED FOR A MATTER OF WEEKS, THAT THE IRA WILL RESUME CONTACT WITH THE IICD QUICKLY.

5. (C) SINN FEIN HAS REACTED ANGRILY IN THE MEDIA, CLAIMING THAT TRIMBLE HAS ALL BUT ADOPTED AN ANTI-AGREEMENT LINE. THE SDLP HAS BEEN ALSO BEEN CRITICAL, BUT NOT INDICATED HOW DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON WILL RESPOND TO TRIMBLE'S MOVE TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN FROM THE CROSS-BORDER COUNCIL.

COMMENT
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6. (C) TRIMBLE HAS MADE HUGE CONCESSIONS TO HIS OPPONENTS WITHIN THE UUP BY TAKING STEPS TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN FROM GFA CROSS-BORDER BODIES. THE CLOSENESS OF THE VOTE SHOWS THAT HE HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO MAKE THESE CONCESSIONS OR BE FORCED TO ACCEPT THE NO CAMP'S DEADLINE ON SUSPENDING INSTITUTIONS.
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 007785

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST
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E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/25/2010
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: TRIMBLE WINS NARROW PARTY VOTE, AT HIGH COST

TRIMBLE ASSERTED PUBLICLY THAT HIS STANCE WILL PUT MORE PRESSURE ON THE IRA. IT MAY DO SO, BUT AT THE HIGH COST OF DESTROYING ANY MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS IN THE EXECUTIVE AND ASSEMBLY. GIVEN THE NEED FOR CROSS-PARTY COOPERATION IF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO FUNCTION, IT IS HARD TO READ TODAY'S RESULT VERY POSITIVELY. FURTHER, REPUBLICANS WILL INTERPRET IT AS INTRODUCING NEW CONDITIONS TO THE PROCESS.

7. (C) THIS VOTE MEANS THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS MUST REENAGE IMMEDIATELY TO DEFUSE A LOOMING CRISIS OVER THE PUTATIVE SINN FEIN 'SUSPENSION.' AT THE SAME TIME, LONDON AND DUBLIN WILL NEED TO FIND WAYS TO PERSUADE REPUBLICANS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE WEAPONS ISSUE IF UNIONISTS ARE TO BE KEPT WITHIN THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT FRAMEWORK.

DAVIES

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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: PARTIES REACT CALMLY TO UUP SANCTION ON SINN FEIN MINISTERS

CLASSIFIED BY CG JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 007880

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST
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DEPT FOR EUR/UBI (KERBER)

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/01/2010
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PARTIES REACT CALMLY TO UUP SANCTION ON SINN FEIN MINISTERS

CLASSIFIED BY CG JANE FORT, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

SUMMARY
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1. (C) IN OCTOBER 30-31 DISCUSSIONS WITH EUR PDAS RIES, NSC/EUR NORLAND AND CG, NORTHERN IRELAND PARTIES REACTED TO DAVID TRIMBLE'S OCTOBER 28 MOVE TO EXCLUDE SINN FEIN MINISTERS FROM NORTH-SOUTH MEETINGS. THE UUP JUSTIFIED THE ACTION AS NECESSARY FOR TRIMBLE'S POLITICAL SURVIVAL, BUT EASILY REVERSED IF THE IRA MAKES CONTACT WITH THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING (IICD). SINN FEIN QUESTIONED TRIMBLE'S COMMITMENT TO POWER-SHARING AND SAID THE IRA WAS UNWILLING TO ENGAGE IN THE PROCESS UNTIL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FULFILLED ITS COMMITMENTS ON PATTEN AND DEMILITARIZATION. SINN FEIN DID NOT SIGNAL ANY INTENT TO RETALIATE. THE SDLP ALSO ACCUSED TRIMBLE OF BAD FAITH, BUT ACCEPTED THAT THERE IS A NEED TO REVIVE THE DECOMMISSIONING PROCESS, PERHAPS BY SHAKING UP THE COMMISSION. BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON PUT THE BLAME ON REPUBLICANS FOR FAILING TO WORK WITH THE IICD AND ADAMANTLY DISMISSED SF'S CLAIMS THAT HMG IS NOT LIVING UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) DURING A VISIT TO BELFAST OCTOBER 30-31 EUR PDAS CHARLES RIES AND NSC DIRECTOR RICHARD NORLAND MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRO-AGREEMENT PARTIES, THE DUP, SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON, LOCAL BUSINESS LEADERS AND PROMINENT JOURNALISTS.

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UUP: WE HAD TO DO SOMETHING
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3. (C) HIGH-RANKING UUP REPRESENTATIVES MADE THREE MAIN POINTS ABOUT TRIMBLE'S MOVE TO EXCLUDE SF MINISTERS FROM THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL (NSMC):

--IT WAS NECESSARY. GIVEN THE LEVEL OF DISCONTENT IN THE PARTY OVER THE LACK OF DECOMMISSIONING, TRIMBLE RISKED LOSING CONTROL OF THE PARTY IF HE DIDN'T SANCTION SF. THE IRA HAD NOT FOLLOWED THROUGH ON ITS MAY COMMITMENTS TO ENGAGE WITH THE IICD ON PUTTING ARMS "BEYOND USE"; ITS CONTACT (FROM JUNE TO LATE OCTOBER) CONSISTED OF A SINGLE PHONE CALL TO THE IICD.

--IT WAS PROPORTIONATE. THE ACTION DOES NOT ENDANGER THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE GFA AND IS COMPLETELY WITHIN TRIMBLE'S AUTHORITY AS FIRST MINISTER. THE IRA'S LATEST STATEMENT HAD WALKED BACK ITS EARLIER COMMITMENTS AND THIS WAS AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

--IT IS EASILY REVERSIBLE. TRIMBLE WANTS THE INSTITUTIONS TO WORK AND WILL ACCEPT ANY REASONABLE INITIATIVE BY THE IRA AS GROUNDS TO LIFT THE SUSPENSION ON SF PARTICIPATION IN THE NSMC.

4. (C) ONE UUP OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TRIMBLE'S POSITION -- TO MAINTAIN THE POWER-SHARING EXECUTIVE -- IS BROADLY SUPPORTED IN OPINION SURVEYS, BUT THAT MANY MIDDLE-CLASS UNIONISTS WHO SUPPORT THE GFA "WON'T LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY CLUBS TO VOTE" AND ARE NOT ACTIVISTS, WHICH RESULTS IN OUTCOMES SUCH AS THE UUP DEFEAT IN THE SOUTH ANTRIM BY-ELECTION IN SEPTEMBER.

5. (C) UUP REPRESENTATIVES ALSO ACCUSED SINN FEIN OF WILLFULLY BRINGING ABOUT TRIMBLE'S ACTION. THEY RECOUNTED MEETINGS DURING THE SUMMER WHEN THEY WARNED SENIOR SF OFFICIALS OF THE NEED FOR ANOTHER CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE (CBM) AND FOR MEANINGFUL ENGAGEMENT WITH THE IICD. (MANDELSON SAID HE ALSO WROTE ADAMS IN JULY WARNING THAT PROGRESS WAS NEEDED TO AVERT A CRISIS IN THE AUTUMN.) IN RECENT WEEKS, HOWEVER, TRIMBLE ASKED SF (MARTIN MCGUINNESS) FOR THE CBM TO NOT TAKE PLACE IN THE DAYS LEADING UP THE COUNCIL MEETING, LEST IT APPEAR TO BE A STUNT STAGED TO HELP TRIMBLE. THE FACT THAT IT DID OCCUR THEN HAS RAISED SUSPICIONS AMONG MANY SENIOR UNIONISTS THAT SF ACTUALLY WANT TO WEAKEN TRIMBLE AND EVEN FORCE HIS REMOVAL.

SINN FEIN: ANGRY AT TEXT, SUBTEXT OF REMOVAL
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6. (C) SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES SAID THEY READ TRIMBLE'S STATEMENT THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIMSELF AND HIS UUP OPPONENT JEFFREY DONALDSON ARE "TACTICAL" TO MEAN THAT THE FIRST MINISTER IS NOW IN EFFECT JOINING THE ANTI-AGREEMENT CAMP. THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS ACTION, FREEZING SF MINISTERS OUT OF PART OF THE AGREEMENT, REINFORCES THE NOTION THAT HE'S TREATING US AS SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS, THEY SAID. ONE REPRESENTATIVE NOTED THAT TRIMBLE'S ACTION WAS ESPECIALLY GALLING AS IT CAME ON THE HEELS OF A HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL JOINT

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST
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TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: PARTIES REACT CALMLY TO UUP SANCTION ON SINN FEIN MINISTERS

EFFORT TO PUT TOGETHER A BUDGET AND PROGRAM FOR GOVERNMENT. (IRONICALLY, UUP MINISTERS ALSO PRAISED SF COLLEAGUES FOR THEIR PROFESSIONALISM DURING THIS EXERCISE.)

7. THE SF REPRESENTATIVES DID NOT SIGNAL WHETHER THEY WERE CONSIDERING RETALIATORY ACTIONS, THOUGH THEY DID SAY THEY WILL MOUNT A LEGAL CHALLENGE TO TRIMBLE'S MOVE AND WILL ATTEMPT TO CONDUCT NORTH-SOUTH BUSINESS DESPITE IT. THEY JUSTIFIED THE LACK OF IRA ENGAGEMENT WITH THE IICD AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S "DISMAL REFUSAL" TO LIVE UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS IN MAY ON PATTEN, "ON-THE-RUNS" AND DEMILITARIZATION. ONE SF OFFICIAL CLAIMED TO US THAT TONY BLAIR HAD TOLD SF DIRECTLY THAT HE NEEDED TO WALK BACK SOME OF THE COMMITMENTS. THEY ALSO ACCUSED MANDELSON OF ADOPTING THE "SECUROCRAT" VIEWS OF HIS NIO CIVIL SERVANTS TO BLOCK PROGRESS ON PATTEN AND DEMILITARIZATION. ON DECOMMISSIONING, THEY STRESSED THAT THE CBM'S WERE A HUGE STEP FOR THE IRA AND GOING BEYOND THEM WILL BE DIFFICULT, PARTICULARLY SINCE IRA MEMBERS NOW FEEL THE LATEST CBM WAS THROWN BACK IN THEIR FACE BY TRIMBLE'S ACTIONS AT HIS COUNCIL MEETING.

8. (C) OTHER RELIABLE OBSERVERS CONFIRMED THAT SINN FEIN IS UNDER GROWING PRESSURE FROM DISSIDENTS IN THE REAL IRA (RIRA). THE RECENT WEST BELFAST MURDER OF A SENIOR RIRA MEMBER, WHICH IS ALMOST UNIVERSALLY ATTRIBUTED TO PIRA, WAS CITED BY A WELL INFORMED JOURNALIST AS EVIDENCE OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE DISSIDENT CHALLENGE. HE ALSO NOTED THAT SINN FEIN'S OFFICES IN WEST BELFAST HAVE BEEN PAINTED WITH GRAFFITI ACCUSING SF OF SELLING OUT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT BY ENTERING GOVERNMENT. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE, SF FEARS THAT TRIMBLE'S MOVE AGAINST THEM WILL BE CITED AS PROOF THAT THE "UNIONIST VETO" IS STILL OPERATIVE AND IT WILL MAKE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING YET MORE DIFFICULT.

SDLP LOOKING FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WAY OUT
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9. (C) SDLP REPRESENTATIVES ALSO EXPRESSED DISMAY AT TRIMBLE'S UNILATERAL EXCLUSION OF SF MINISTERS FROM THE NSMC AND DISMISSED UUP SUGGESTIONS THAT SDLP MINISTERS WOULD FILL IN FOR THEIR SF COLLEAGUES, THOUGH THEY DID NOT INDICATE HOW THE DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER INTENDS TO RESPOND. ONE OF HIS COLLEAGUES TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT MALLON REGARDED TRIMBLE'S MOVE AS A PERSONAL AFFRONT AND WAS INCENSED WHEN HE LEARNED OF IT. SDLP OFFICIALS CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT THE CURRENT POLICE BILL FALLS UNACCEPTABLY SHORT OF PATTEN. THIS LATEST CRISIS, THEY SAID, UNDERSCORES THE NEED TO GET POLICING RIGHT, BOTH TO RESTORE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY THAT THE NEW INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT ARE INCLUSIVE AND FAIR, AS WELL AS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON DECOMMISSIONING, WHICH WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF PATTEN.

RETHINKING DECOMMISSIONING?
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10. (C) THE UNIONISTS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE BRITISH, NOT THE UUP, SHOULD BE THE ENFORCERS ON DECOMMISSIONING. BUT THEY CLAIMED THEY SAW LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO ACT BECAUSE THE

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ISSUE IS SO IMPORTANT TO UNIONIST VOTERS AND THE BRITISH AND THE IICD HAVE NOT MADE PROGRESS. AIDES TO TRIMBLE TOLD US RECENTLY THEY ARE LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF DE CHASTALAIN, HEAD OF THE IICD, TO ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING. THE SDLP LEADERSHIP REJECTED THE UUP'S UNILATERAL ACTION ON DECOMMISSIONING, BUT EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN "REINVIGORATING" THE IICD BY HAVING ITS "STOCKHOLDERS," INCLUDING THE U.S., REAFFIRMING THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE PROCESS. THEY NOTED THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTION HAS OFTEN BEEN HELPFUL IN MOVING THE PROCESS FORWARD AT DIFFICULT TIMES, PARTICULARLY ON WEAPONS ISSUES.

MANDELSON: WE'VE GONE FAR ENOUGH
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11. (C) SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED THE BRITISH ACTIONS IN RECENT MONTHS, NOTING THAT THE MAY PACKAGE WAS A WAY TO DEFUSE, BUT NOT REMOVE, THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE, WHICH IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE GFA. HE ACCUSED THE REPUBLICANS OF NEGOTIATING INCESSANTLY FOR "PERSONAL" THINGS SUCH AS "ON-THE-RUNS" WHILE LOSING SIGHT OF THE NEED TO LIVE UP TO THEIR END OF THE BARGAIN TO SAFEGUARD THE PROCESS. THE BRITISH RELUCTANCE TO DISMANTLE MORE MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IS JUSTIFIED, HE SAID, BY THE CONTINUING CAPABILITIES OF THE IRA AND THE GROWING ACTIVISM OF THE RIRA, WHICH POSSESSES WEAPONS, ENGINEERING KNOWLEDGE, AND BOLDNESS. HE SAID HE IS FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTING PATTEN, NOTWITHSTANDING CRITICISM IN LONDON THAT SUCH EXTENSIVE CHANGES COULD IMPAIR POLICING CAPABILITIES IN WHAT REMAINS A ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 007880

THIS MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST
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DIFFICULT THREAT ENVIRONMENT. MANDELSON WAS DISMISSIVE OF DUBLIN'S ROLE, SAYING THAT THE IRISH HAVE CONSISTENTLY BEEN UNWILLING TO GO BEYOND THE POSITION OF SF. THOUGH HE DIDN'T EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY, MANDELSON SAID THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS "ALMOST NOTHING" TO PROVIDE SF TO HELP GET THE IRA BACK IN CONTACT WITH THE IICD.

COMMENT
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12. (C) TRIMBLE'S MOVE TO EXCLUDE SF MINISTERS FROM NORTH-SOUTH ACTIVITIES HAS DEALT A BLOW TO THE CONFIDENCE THAT WAS STARTING DEVELOP IN THE EXECUTIVE FOLLOWING FIVE MONTHS OF UNINTERRUPTED OPERATION AND THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE PROGRAM FOR GOVERNMENT. THOUGH MOST AGREE THAT THIS IS NOT A FULL-BLOWN CRISIS ON THE SCALE OF LAST FEBRUARY'S SUSPENSION, THE SITUATION IS GRAVE ENOUGH TO REQUIRE CONCERTED EFFORTS BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO FORCE DIALOGUE AND TAKE ACTIONS THAT WILL ALLOW BOTH SIDES TO BACK AWAY FROM THEIR PRESENT POSITIONS.

13. (C) BEYOND THIS CRISIS, HOWEVER, LIES THE MORE PROFOUND DIFFICULTY OF EBBING UNIONIST SUPPORT FOR THE GFA. THIS NEGATIVE TREND IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE, WITHOUT CLEARER SIGNS -- IN WORD AND DEED -- FROM REPUBLICANS ON WEAPONS. AS

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LONG AS THIS ELEMENT IS ABSENT FROM THE EQUATION, PRO-AGREEMENT UNIONISM WILL FIND ITSELF ON THE DEFENSIVE, AND LIKELY TO LOSE TO ANTI-AGREEMENT UNIONISTS WHO POINT OUT THE INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND ARMED MILITIAS.

14. (C) FINALLY AND SADLY, WE HAVE A CLEAR SENSE THAT NONE OF THE PRO-AGREEMENT POLITICIANS -- NATIONALIST OR UNIONIST -- WANT TO WALK AWAY AND SEE THE AGREEMENT COLLAPSE. NONE, HOWEVER, HAS SUFFICIENT CONFIDENCE IN THE OTHER SIDE, NOR A CLEAR VISION OF HOW TO AVOID FURTHER EROSION. THE UK GOVERNMENT ALSO LACKS SEEMS AT A LOSS FOR A WAY TO REBUILD TRUST, BOTH AMONG THE PARTIES AND IN ITS OWN HANDLING OF SENSITIVE ISSUES, PARTICULARLY POLICING. EVEN IF THIS IMPASSE IS RESOLVED SOON, IT SHOWS EVERY SIGN OF REAPPEARING IN A MORE INTRACTABLE FORM IN JANUARY.
LADER

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INFO: RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE 1902
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SUBJ: NORTHERN IRELAND: RENEWED VIOLENCE CLOUDS EFFORTS TO RESOLVE POLITICAL IMPASSE

CLASSIFIED BY ACTING CG ERIC GREEN, REASON: 1.5 (B,D)

TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 007899

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SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: RENEWED VIOLENCE CLOUDS EFFORTS TO RESOLVE POLITICAL IMPASSE

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SUMMARY
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1. ~~(C)~~ RENEWED VIOLENCE IN THE LOYALIST FEUD HAS RESULTED IN FOUR MORE DEATHS IN BELFAST AS TENSION BETWEEN RIVAL GROUPS HAS ESCALATED. DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS ARE THE CHIEF SUSPECTS IN A BOMB ATTACK ON A POLICE STATION IN COUNTY DOWN THAT SERIOUSLY INJURED A POLICE OFFICER. WHILE THIS VIOLENCE DOESN'T DIRECTLY INVOLVE THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES, IT CASTS A SHADOW OVER EFFORTS TO QUICKLY RESOLVE THE LATEST DECOMMISSIONING IMPASSE. END SUMMARY.

LOYALIST FEUD SPREADS TO NORTH BELFAST
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2. ~~(C)~~ THE LOYALIST FEUD BETWEEN THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF, WHICH IS CONNECTED WITH THE PUP, PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY) AND THE ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION (UDA, AFFILIATED WITH THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY, UDP) HAS INTENSIFIED IN THE PAST FIVE DAYS AS FOUR MEN HAVE BEEN MURDERED IN TIT-FOR-TAT KILLINGS IN NORTH BELFAST. THE VICTIMS HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE PARAMILITARY GROUPS, BUT WERE CONSIDERED "SOFT" TARGETS, PRESUMABLY LACKING BODYGUARDS. THE HIGHEST PROFILE VICTIM IS TOMMY ENGLISH, A SENIOR UDP MEMBER WHO REPRESENTED THE PARTY AT THE 1998 ST. PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

3. ~~(C)~~ ACCORDING TO A POLICE SOURCE, THE VIOLENCE IS IN

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DEFIANCE OF ATTEMPTS BY THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF BOTH ORGANIZATIONS TO REACH A CEASE-FIRE AND TO PREVENT THE RIVALRY THAT LED TO KILLINGS IN THE SHANKILL REGION OF WEST BELFAST FROM SPILLING OVER INTO NORTH BELFAST. THE POLICE OFFICIAL EXPLAINED THAT "BUSINESS DISPUTES" OVER DRUGS AND RACKETEERING WERE BEHIND THE ATTACKS. TWO OF THE VICTIMS, HOWEVER, ARE CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE POLITICAL WINGS OF THE RIVAL GROUPS, SUGGESTING THAT POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES HAVE ALSO PLAYED A ROLE. THE POLICE OFFICIAL SAID THERE ARE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT THE LARGE-SCALE EVICTIONS THAT FORCED OVER 250 FAMILIES OUT OF HOMES IN THE SHANKILL WILL BE REPEATED IN NORTH BELFAST.

DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS LIKELY CULPRITS OF POLICE ATTACK
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4. (C) IN THE EARLY HOURS OF NOVEMBER 1, A BOMB EXPLODED OUTSIDE THE POLICE STATION IN CASTLEWELLAN, 20 MILES SOUTH OF BELFAST. THE DEVICE, WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN CONCEALED IN A TRAFFIC CONE, DETONATED AS TWO OFFICERS WERE ENTERING THE STATION AT THE CONCLUSION OF THEIR SHIFT. ONE OFFICER REMAINS IN SERIOUS CONDITION AND HAS HAD A LEG AND SEVERAL FINGERS AMPUTATED. THIS IS THE FIRST INSTANCE OF A DISSIDENT ATTACK CAUSING SERIOUS INJURY SINCE THE AUGUST 1998 OMAGH BOMBING.

5. (C) A HIGH-LEVEL POLICE CONTACT TOLD US THAT SUSPICION IS CENTERING ON THE REAL IRA AND THE CONTINUITY IRA, THOUGH IT'S "EARLY DAYS" TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS. HE NOTED THAT, WHILE THE TWO MAIN DISSIDENT FACTIONS RETAIN SEPARATE IDENTITIES, THERE IS EVIDENCE OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN THEM. HE SAID IT WAS MOST UNLIKELY THAT THE PROVISIONAL IRA WAS INVOLVED, THOUGH OBSERVED THAT THERE IS ALSO MOVEMENT FROM PIRA TO THE OTHER GROUPS AND "IT IS DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH WHEN A (PIRA) VOLUNTEER BECOMES AN EX-VOLUNTEER."

COMMENT
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6. (C) THE TENSION PRODUCED BY THIS VIOLENCE IS LIKELY TO COMPLICATE EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE IMPASSE CREATED BY DAVID TRIMBLE'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW SINN FEIN MINISTERS TO PARTICIPATE IN NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETINGS. UNIONISTS WILL REGARD IT AS FURTHER PROOF OF THE NEED FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT'S DECOMMISSIONING PROVISIONS WHILE IRA SPOKESMEN MAY ARGUE THEY THE NEED TO REMAIN ARMED AS A "DEFENSIVE MEASURE" SHOULD THE LOYALISTS TURN THEIR AGGRESSION AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNITY. THOUGH THE POLITICAL IMPASSE CAN BE RESOLVED BY POLITICIANS, THE STEPPED-UP PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY GIVES THEM LESS SPACE TO MANEUVER.
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TEXT: UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 01 OF 20 LONDON 007916

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1. (U) SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - NOFORN -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. (U) FOLLOWING IS THE 2000 COUNTRY HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.

3. (SBU) THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND IS A LONGSTANDING CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY WITH A DEMOCRATIC, PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. SOME FORMERLY NATIONAL POWERS HAVE BEEN DEVOLVED TO LOCALLY ELECTED OFFICIALS IN WALES, SCOTLAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND. THE LOWER CHAMBER OF THE UK-WIDE PARLIAMENT (THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, THE CENTER OF LEGISLATIVE POWER) IS ELECTED IN PERIODIC MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS. THE UPPER CHAMBER (THE HOUSE OF LORDS), WITH THE POWER TO REVISE AND DELAY IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS, IS MADE UP OF HEREDITARY AND APPOINTED LIFE PEERS AND SENIOR CLERGY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF ENGLAND. IN 1999, IN THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S REFORM PROGRAM, THE HOUSE OF LORDS AGREED TO REMOVE ALL BUT 92 OF ITS HEREDITARY PEERS, WHO, WITH APPROXIMATELY 500 LIFE PEERS AND 26 CLERGY, MAKE UP THE CURRENT HOUSE OF LORDS. POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL REFORMS ARE BEING DEBATED WHICH WOULD FURTHER REDUCE THE SIZE OF THE CHAMBER, DEMOCRATIZE SELECTION OF MEMBERS, AND ADD REPRESENTATIVES OF FAITHS OTHER THAN ANGLICANISM AS DE JURE MEMBERS. THE JUDICIARY IS INDEPENDENT, BUT PARLIAMENT MAY SUPERCEDE ITS DECISIONS THROUGH LEGISLATION.

THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, POLICE FORCES ARE 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, BUT INFORMATION COLLECTED BY THAT

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AGENCY IS NOT GENERALLY ADMISSIBLE AS EVIDENCE IN TRIALS.

A HIGHLY DEVELOPED, DIVERSIFIED, MARKET-BASED ECONOMY WITH EXTENSIVE GOVERNMENT-PROVIDED SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES PROVIDES MOST RESIDENTS WITH A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING. HIGHER THAN AVERAGE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES PREVAIL AMONG CERTAIN DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS, INCLUDING YOUTH AND RACIAL MINORITIES, AND IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AMONG CATHOLICS.

THE GOVERNMENT GENERALLY RESPECTED THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS, BUT THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN SOME AREAS, INCLUDING OCCASIONAL CASES WHERE POLICE ABUSE DETAINEES. PRISON CONDITIONS, INCLUDING THE NUMBER OF PRISON SUICIDES, ALSO REMAIN A PROBLEM. THERE ARE SOME LIMITS ON FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION RELATED TO THE SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WOMEN, NONWHITE MINORITIES, AND THE TRAVELLER (NOMADIC) COMMUNITY FACE DISCRIMINATION, AND THERE ARE CASES OF CHILD ABUSE AND OCCASIONAL SOCIETAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MINORITIES.

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES ARE VIGOROUSLY DEBATED AND A WIDE VARIETY OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS OPERATE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE GENERALLY COOPERATIVE AND RESPONSIVE TO THEIR VIEWS. IN OCTOBER, THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT CAME INTO EFFECT, ALLOWING FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF PROVISIONS OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN U.K. COURTS.

THE GOVERNMENT LIFTED THE SUSPENSION OF DEVOLVED POWER OVER LOCAL MATTERS TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE IN MAY, AFTER THE PROVISIONAL IRA PLEDGED TO PUT ITS WEAPONS COMPLETELY AND VERIFIABLY BEYOND USE. POWER HAD FIRST BEEN DEVOLVED IN DECEMBER 1999, UNDER THE TERMS OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, BUT THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY (UUP) THREATENED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE EXECUTIVE TO PROTEST THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON WEAPONS DECOMMISSIONING BY REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARY GROUPS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND HAD SUSPENDED THE INSTITUTIONS IN FEBRUARY 2000 IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE UUP WITHDRAWAL.

(END OF YEAR UPDATE)

THE NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION INITIATED A COMPREHENSIVE CONSULTATION PROCESS DESIGNED TO LEAD TO A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, AS MANDATED BY THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE COMMISSION IS ALSO PROVIDING LEGAL ASSISTANCE TO X CITIZENS INVOLVED IN COURT PROCEEDINGS. THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAS URGED THE GOVERNMENT TO GRANT THE COMMISSION ADDITIONAL FUNDING AND ENHANCED POWER. UNDER THE TERMS OF ITS CREATION, THE HRC WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE CASE FOR SUCH CHANGES IN A REPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT IN MARCH 2001.

THE POLICE FORCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS HAD A COMPLEX AND CONTROVERSIAL ROLE, AND UNDER SOME CIRCUMSTANCES CONTINUES TO RELY ON REINFORCING SUPPORT FROM ARMY UNITS. THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT MANDATED WIDE-RANGING REFORMS IN POLICING AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE WITH THE AIM OF DEVELOPING FAIR, EFFECTIVE
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LAW-ENFORCEMENT INSTITUTIONS THAT HAVE THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL PARTS OF THE COMMUNITY. IN X PARLIAMENT PASSED A NORTHERN IRELAND POLICE BILL BASED ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON POLICING IN NORTHERN IRELAND (COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE PATTEN COMMISSION). IN MARCH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE REVIEW PUBLICLY PROPOSED AS PART OF ITS FINDINGS REFORMS IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROSECUTION SYSTEM AND IN THE PROCEDURES FOR MAKING JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN IN 2001.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, THE GOVERNMENT COMPLETED THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS AFFILIATED WITH PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS THAT MAINTAIN A COMPLETE AND UNEQUIVOCAL CEASE-FIRE ALTHOUGH PUNISHMENT ATTACKS, CONTINUE IN AREAS UNDER THEIR INFLUENCE. SEVERAL PARAMILITARY DISSIDENT GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ENGAGED IN ACTS OF VIOLENCE AIMED AT DISRUPTING THE PEACE PROCESS. IN AUGUST, THE GOVERNMENT REVOKED THE LICENSE OF JOHNNY ADAIR, A LEADER OF THE LOYALIST UFF WHO HAD BENEFITED FROM EARLY RELEASE IN OCTOBER 1999, FOR HIS ROLE IN VIOLENT FEUDING AMONG LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES, WHICH ESCALATED SIGNIFICANTLY DURING THE SUMMER MONTHS. SUBJECT TO THE APPROVAL OF THE SENTENCING BOARD, THE GOVERNMENT IS RECOMMENDING THAT ADAIR SERVE THE DURATION OF HIS ORIGINAL PRISON TERM.

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 POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY (PCA), AN INDEPENDENT WATCHDOG ORGANIZATION, CONCLUDED ITS INQUIRY INTO THE POLICE INVESTIGATION OF THE DEATH OF ROGER SYLVESTER, WHO DIED IN 1999 AFTER BEING RESTRAINED BY POLICE OFFICERS. THE PCA CERTIFIED THE CIRCUMSTANCES HAD BEEN INVESTIGATED TO ITS SATISFACTION AND FORWARDED AN INVESTIGATION REPORT TO THE CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICES (CPS). SILVESTER'S FAMILY HAS CALLED FOR AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY.

NO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN THE CASE OF HENRY STANLEY, WHO WAS SHOT TO DEATH IN LONDON IN 1999 BY POLICE OFFICERS, OR IN THE CASE OF JAMES ASHLEY, WHO WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY POLICE DURING A RAID ON HIS HOME IN 1998.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY REPORTED THAT DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY INCREASED TO XX DURING THE 12 MONTHS ENDING IN MARCH 2000, COMPARED WITH 65 DURING THE SAME PERIOD THE PREVIOUS YEAR. THE REPORT STATES THAT XX OF THE DEATHS OCCURRED BECAUSE OF NATURAL CAUSES, XX WERE DUE TO ALCOHOL OR DRUGS, AND XX WERE SUICIDES. THE PCA SUPPORTS THE ABOLITION OF THE OFFENSE OF "BEING DRUNK AND INCAPABLE" AND RECOMMENDS THAT DRUNKS BE DEALT WITH BY NURSES AND PARAMEDICS RATHER THAN BY THE POLICE. ACCORDING TO THE HOME OFFICE, THE NUMBER OF DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY IN ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE CALENDAR YEAR WAS XX; IN SCOTLAND IT WAS X.

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A MAY REPORT COMMISSIONED BY THE HOME OFFICE RECOMMENDED THAT COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE POLICE BE HANDLED BY AN INDEPENDENT BODY, WHICH WOULD HAVE THE ABILITY TO INVESTIGATE THE MOST SERIOUS COMPLAINTS, INCLUDING DEATHS IN CUSTODY. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET ADOPTED THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE REPORT, IT HAS RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR REFORM AND GREATER OPENNESS.

THERE WERE A NUMBER OF DEATHS IN CUSTODY IN PRISON DUE TO SUICIDE AND NATURAL CAUSES (SEE SECTION 1.C.).

THE NORTHERN IRELAND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IS ASSISTING THE FAMILY OF JIM MCDONNELL IN PURSUING A FORMAL INQUEST INTO HIS DEATH IN 1996 IN NORTHERN IRELAND,S MAGHABERRY PRISON. FELLOW PRISONERS CHARGED THAT PRISON STAFF BEAT HIM.

IN APRIL THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARED ADMISSIBLE A SET OF COMPLAINTS BROUGHT IN FOUR CASES BY FAMILIES OF 12 INDIVIDUALS KILLED BY THE SECURITY FORCES (OR WITH ALLEGED SECURITY-FORCE COLLUSION) IN NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE 1980S AND 1990S. THE FAMILIES CONTENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT VIOLATED, INTER ALIA, ARTICLE 2 (THE RIGHT TO LIFE) OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, CHARGING THAT THE DECEASED WERE UNJUSTIFIABLY KILLED BY THE STATE OR ITS AGENTS THROUGH AN EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE AND THAT THE STATE FAILED TO COMPLY WITH ITS PROCEDURAL OBLIGATIONS BY NOT EFFECTIVELY INVESTIGATING THE DEATHS. ONE OF THE CASES HAD EARLIER BEEN INCLUDED IN AN INQUIRY ON THE USE OF LETHAL
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FORCE (INCLUDING ALLEGATIONS THAT THE AUTHORITIES SANCTIONED A SHOOT-TO-KILL POLICY) CONDUCTED IN 1984-87 BY JOHN STALKER.

IN 1998 THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED A NEW JUDICIAL INQUIRY, PRESIDED OVER BY A PANEL OF THREE PROMINENT JUDGES FROM THE UK AND OTHER COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES, TO ESTABLISH THE FACTS OF THE EVENTS OF JANUARY 30, 1972 IN NORTHERN IRELAND - "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 EVER HELD ACCOUNTABLE. THE INQUIRY SPENT TWO YEARS GATHERING TESTIMONY AND EVIDENCE FROM VICTIMS, JOURNALISTS, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. FORMAL HEARINGS BEGAN IN MARCH IN LONDONDERRY AS CHRISTOPHER CLARKE, COUNSEL FOR THE INQUIRY, GAVE AN OPENING STATEMENT SUMMARIZING THE EVIDENCE GATHERED BY THE INQUIRY TO DATE. FOLLOWING THE AUGUST RESIGNATION FROM THE PANEL OF SIR EDWARD SOMERS, THE GOVERNMENT APPOINTED JOHN TOOHEY, A FORMER JUDGE ON THE AUSTRALIAN HIGH COURT. THE DISRUPTION RESULTED IN A TWO-MONTH DELAY IN THE PROCEEDINGS, WHICH RESUMED IN NOVEMBER. THE INQUIRY WILL ALSO HEAR TESTIMONY FROM APPROXIMATELY 800-1000 WITNESSES AND IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE FOR A FURTHER 2-3 YEARS.

DAVID COPELAND WAS CONVICTED IN JUNE OF A SERIES OF BOMBINGS IN 1999 AND SENTENCED TO SIX LIFE SENTENCES. THE BOMBINGS, MOTIVATED BY RACISM AND HOMOPHOBIA, KILLED THREE PEOPLE.

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(TO BE UPDATED)UNDER THE CRITERIA OF THE 1998 NORTHERN IRELAND (SENTENCES) ACT, THE GOVERNMENT DETERMINED THAT THE MAIN PARAMILITARY GROUPS WERE ABIDING BY A CEASE-FIRE. THE MAJOR REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARY GROUPS OBSERVING A CEASE-FIRE ARE THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA), AND THE IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (INLA). ON THE LOYALIST SIDE, THE 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 MAINTAIN A CEASE-FIRE, KILLING AND WOUNDING BY BOTH REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUED. IN ADDITION, REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST SPLINTER GROUPS CONTINUED VIOLENT ACTIVITIES DURING THE YEAR.

THE PROVISIONAL IRA WAS WIDELY BLAMED FOR THE MAY MURDER OF EDMUND MCCOY, WHO WAS SHOT IN A BELFAST PUB. WHILE THE PROVISIONAL IRA DID NOT COMMENT ON THIS MURDER, MEDIA REPORTS AND THE POLICE ATTRIBUTED THE CRIME TO THE GROUP.

SEVERAL DEATHS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE ATTRIBUTED TO FEUDING AMONG LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUPS, PARTICULARLY THE ULSTER DEFENSE ASSOCIATION (UDA) WHICH INCLUDES ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF), THE ULTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF) AND THE LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE. THESE INCLUDE THE JANUARY MURDER OF UVF LEADER RICHARD JAMESON,

IN AUGUST, THE FEUD BETWEEN THE UFF/UDA AND THE UVF INTENSIFIED WHEN A DISPLAY OF STRENGTH BY THE UFF/UDA ON THE SHANKILL ROAD IN BELFAST LED TO GUN-FIRE AND ATTACKS ON HOUSES. IN THE FOLLOWING WEEK, BOBBY MAHOOD AND JACKIE COULTER (THE LATTER CONNECTED WITH THE UFF) WERE SHOT DEAD, AS WAS SAM ROCKET, A UVF SUPPORTER.

THOUGH A NUMBER OF SUSPECTS WERE QUESTIONED, NO ONE HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH THE MURDER OF LAWYER ROSEMARY NELSON, WHO DIED IN A CAR BOMB ATTACK IN 1999. THE RED HAND DEFENDERS, A LOYALIST SPLINTER GROUP, CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS CONTINUED TO EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT ALLEGED POLICE COLLUSION IN THE MURDER. NELSON, A LAWYER KNOWN FOR TAKING ON HIGH-PROFILE CIVIL RIGHTS CASES, HAD CLAIMED THAT AS EARLY AS 1997 THAT ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC) OFFICERS MADE DEATH THREATS AGAINST HER.

IN DECEMBER 1999, A COALITION OF SIX HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CONTENDED THAT NELSON,S DEATH CONSTITUTED A FAILURE BY THE GOVERNMENT TO MEET ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO ENSURE THAT LAWYERS ARE ABLE TO PERFORM THEIR JOBS WITHOUT FEARS FOR THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY. THESE ORGANIZATIONS ARE CALLING FOR A FULL PUBLIC INQUIRY INTO ALL OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO NELSON,S MURDER. IN HIS APRIL REPORT TO THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF JUDGES AND LAWYERS EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE EXTENT AND THOROUGHNESS OF THE INVESTIGATION INTO NELSON,S COMPLAINTS OF RUC THREATS.

COGNIZANT OF THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING NELSON,S CASE, IN 1999 THE RUC APPOINTED DEPUTY CHIEF CONSTABLE OF NORFOLK COLIN PORT TO TAKE OVER THE INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER. PORT,S 80-MEMBER INVESTIGATIVE TEAM HAS INTERVIEWED 7,000 POTENTIAL WITNESSES, AND IN AUGUST HE APPEARED ON ITV,S "BRITAIN'S MOST WANTED" TO APPEAL FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH INFORMATION RELATING TO THE MURDER TO COME FORWARD. IN
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MARCH, POLICE MADE THE FIRST ARREST OF THE CASE, QUESTIONING A MAN WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT AT THE TIME OF THE MURDER; HE WAS CHARGED WITH AN UNRELATED OFFENSE. IN MAY, THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION FOR POLICE COMPLAINTS (ICPC) RULED THAT THERE WAS "INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE" TO DISCIPLINE THE RUC OFFICERS ACCUSED OF THREATENING NELSON.

NO ONE HAS BEEN CHARGED IN THE UK FOR THE 1998 BOMBING IN OMAGH THAT KILLED 29 PERSONS. THE REAL IRA CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BOMBING. OVER 2000 PEOPLE HAVE ASSISTED THE POLICE INQUIRY, BUT SOME INFORMATION DERIVED FROM THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY CANNOT LEGALLY BE USED AS EVIDENCE AND SOME WITNESSES HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO COME FORWARD. WHILE SEVERAL SUSPECTS HAVE BEEN TEMPORARILY DETAINED, ONLY ONE INDIVIDUAL HAS BEEN CHARGED (FOR AIDING AND ABETTING THE CRIME) AND FACES TRIAL IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. FAMILY MEMBERS OF VICTIMS HAVE CRITICIZED SINN FEIN FOR REFUSING TO ASSIST IN THE INVESTIGATION.

IN SEPTEMBER, THE GREATER BELFAST CORONER CONDUCTED A PUBLIC INQUEST INTO THE BOMBING. UNLIKE INQUESTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, CORONER'S COURTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND DO NOT REACH VERDICTS APPORTIONING BLAME, BUT INSTEAD MAKE "FINDINGS", CONFINED SOLELY TO THE FACTS SURROUNDING VIOLENT, SUDDEN OR UNEXPLAINED DEATH. (UPDATE WITH RESULTS OF INQUEST). IN OCTOBER, NEWS ORGANIZATIONS IDENTIFIED THE PURPORTED PERPETRATORS, PROMPTING COMPLAINTS FROM VICTIMS' FAMILIES THAT A FUTURE TRIAL COULD BE JEOPARDIZED.

HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS CONTINUE TO CALL FOR AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO THE DECEMBER 1997 MURDER OF BILLY "KING RAT" WRIGHT, LEADER OF THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARY, THE LVF, IN THE HIGH SECURITY MAZE PRISON BY MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARY, THE INLA. THE FACTS OF THE MURDER CALL INTO QUESTION THE PRISON'S SECURITY STANDARDS: THE WATCHTOWER IN THE COURTYARD WHERE THE MURDER TOOK PLACE WAS ALLEGEDLY UNMANNED AT THE TIME OF THE MURDER, THE PERPETRATORS HAD WEAPONS SMUGGLED TO THEM AND APPARENTLY HAD KNOWLEDGE OF WRIGHT,S WHEREABOUTS. THE JURY AT THE CORONER,S INQUEST STATED THAT "PERSON OR PERSONS UNKNOWN AND UNDETECTED" WERE INVOLVED IN THE MURDER. IN JULY, THE GOVERNMENT REFUSED "ON SECURITY GROUNDS" TO ANSWER A PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION SEEKING TO IDENTIFY THE PRISON OFFICIAL IN CHARGE OF THE PRISON ON THE DAY OF WRIGHT,S MURDER.

IN JUNE, THE GREATER BELFAST CORONER ABANDONED PLANS FOR AN INQUEST INTO THE 1997 DEATH OF ROBERT HAMILL. HAMILL'S CASE RECEIVED WIDESPREAD ATTENTION BECAUSE FOUR RUC OFFICERS IN A NEARBY VEHICLE ALLEGEDLY DID NOT ACT WHILE HAMILL WAS BEATEN TO DEATH BY A MOB. THE CORONER SAID HE FEARED THAT KEY WITNESSES WOULD BE IN DANGER IF THEY WERE CALLED TO GIVE EVIDENCE. IN 1999, ONE OF THE SIX SUSPECTS ARRESTED FOR THE MURDER WAS ACQUITTED FOR THE KILLING BUT FOUND GUILTY OF A MINOR OFFENSE. THE TRIAL JUDGE EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT THE

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INACTION OF THE POLICE BUT CONCLUDED THAT THEIR EARLY INTERVENTION COULD NOT HAVE SAVED HAMILL. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ARGUE THAT THE RUC HAD INTERVENED SUCCESSFULLY IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE PAST. MOREOVER, THEY CHARGE THAT THE RUC,S FAILURE TO INTERVENE MADE IDENTIFICATION AND PROSECUTION OF THE MURDERERS MORE DIFFICULT. THE ICPC IS CONSIDERING DISCIPLINARY MEASURES AGAINST THE OFFICERS. IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN CALLED FOR AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC INQUIRY. THE FAMILY HAS PROVIDED THE GOVERNMENT WITH EVIDENCE THEY CONTEND MAKES A DEFINITIVE CASE FOR SUCH AN INQUIRY.

THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE 1989 MURDER OF DEFENSE ATTORNEY PATRICK FINUCANE CONTINUED. FINUCANE WAS KILLED IN FRONT OF HIS FAMILY BY MEMBERS OF THE UDA; HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE MADE ALLEGATIONS OF SECURITY FORCE COLLUSION IN THE MURDER. IN JULY, TWO RUC OFFICERS WERE ARRESTED AND QUESTIONED ABOUT THE MURDER, WHICH WAS BEING REVIEWED IN A THIRD ROUND OF INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATIONS BY THE COMMISSIONER OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE, SIR JOHN STEVENS. IN AUGUST, THE INQUIRY SEIZED DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE CASE FROM THE BRITISH ARMY. WILLIAM STOBIE WAS ARRESTED IN 1999 AND CHARGED WITH THE MURDER, THOUGH THE CHARGES WERE REDUCED TO AIDING AND ABETTING MURDER IN AUGUST. STOBIE HAS CLAIMED HE WAS AN RUC INFORMER AT THE TIME OF FINUCANE,S MURDER AND SAID HE WARNED POLICE OF A "HIT" BY THE UDA, THOUGH IT WAS UNCLEAR WHETHER HE KNEW FINUCANE WAS THE TARGET. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, THE UN SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF JUDGES AND LAWYERS, AND FINUCANE,S FAMILY CONTINUED TO PRESS THE GOVERNMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC INQUIRY INTO THE MURDER. THEY CITED THE POSSIBLE EXISTENCE OF NEW EVIDENCE THAT WOULD SUPPORT CHARGES OF COLLUSION IN FINUCANE,S MURDER BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUPS.

WHILE BRITISH ARMY REGULATIONS BAR FROM SERVICE THOSE WHO
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HAVE COMMITTED "SERIOUS CRIMES," SCOTS GUARDS JIM FISHER AND MARK WRIGHT CONTINUED TO SERVE IN THEIR REGIMENT, TO WHICH THEY WERE REINSTATED IN 1998 AFTER BEING CONVICTED OF AND SERVING TIME IN PRISON FOR THE 1992 MURDER OF PETER MCBRIDE. IN 1999 MCBRIDE,S FAMILY WON A JUDICIAL REVIEW AGAINST THE BRITISH ARMY BOARD THAT SANCTIONED THE SOLDIERS, REINSTATEMENT.

FORMER CHILEAN PRESIDENT AUGUSTO PINOCHET LEFT THE UK ON MARCH 2 AFTER HOME SECRETARY JACK STRAW ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD NOT EXTRADITE PINOCHET TO SPAIN FOR ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AS HE WAS TOO ILL TO STAND TRIAL.

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

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1999 FOR THE PURPOSE OF FACILITATING THE LOCATION OF REMAINS OF VICTIMS OF PARAMILITARY VIOLENCE. THE COMMISSION SUCCEEDED IN LOCATING THE REMAINS OF THREE PERSONS IN 1999, BUT HAS SUSPENDED ITS WORK PENDING THE RECEIPT OF MORE DETAILED INFORMATION FROM THE IRA.

C. TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT

THE LAW FORBIDS TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT; HOWEVER, THERE ARE CASES WHERE THE POLICE ARE ACCUSED OF ABUSING DETAINEES. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS MAINTAIN THAT SUCH ABUSE, WHILE NOT WIDESPREAD, IS A MATTER OF SERIOUS CONCERN. (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.

COMPLAINTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND SOME CRIMINAL CONDUCT WITHIN THE LONDON METROPOLITAN POLICE SERVICE CONTINUED. FEWER THAN XXX CASES ARE UNDER INVESTIGATION, AND POLICE OFFICIALS REMAIN COMMITTED TO ROOTING OUT ABUSIVE TREATMENT AND CORRUPTION.

TWO RUC OFFICERS, MICHAEL MAGOWAN AND DARREN JAMES NEILL, WERE CONVICTED AND IMPRISONED IN MAY FOR THE 1998 ASSAULT OF 18-YEAR-OLD BERNARD PATRICK GRIFFIN. GRIFFIN, A CATHOLIC, WAS ARRESTED, BEATEN, VERBALLY ABUSED AND THREATENED . GRIFFIN WAS THEN CHARGED WITH ASSAULT. THE TRUTH OF THE CASE CAME TO LIGHT WHEN A THIRD OFFICER PRESENT, ANDREW LEA, CONFESSED TO HIS SUPERIORS; LEA WAS FINED 1,000 POUNDS. MAGOWAN AND NEILL RECEIVED ONE- AND TWO-YEAR SENTENCES, RESPECTIVELY, AND NOW FACE RUC DISCIPLINARY CHARGES OF CRIMINAL CONDUCT, WHICH COULD RESULT IN DISMISSAL. (UPDATE AT YEAR-END)

ALTHOUGH ORIGINALLY INTENDED TO REPLACE THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION FOR POLICE COMPLAINTS AS EARLY AS 1998, THE POLICE OMBUDSMAN FOR NORTHERN IRELAND DID NOT BEGIN OPERATION UNTIL OCTOBER. THE OMBUDSMAN HAS EXTENSIVE POWERS TO INVESTIGATE COMPLAINTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND FILED AGAINST THE POLICE OR REFERRED BY THE RUC CHIEF CONSTABLE, THE POLICE AUTHORITY OF NORTHERN IRELAND, OR THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. THE OMBUDSMAN IS TO SUPERVISE AUTOMATICALLY CASES INVOLVING DEATH OR SERIOUS INJURY AND MAY INVESTIGATE OTHER CASES. THE OMBUSMAN CAN RECOMMEND TO THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS (DPP) THAT CHARGES BE BROUGHT AGAINST OFFICERS, THOUGH THE FINAL DECISION RESTS WITH THE DPP. THE OMBUDSMAN CAN DIRECT THE CHIEF CONSTABLE TO TAKE DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST POLICE OFFICERS. UNLIKE THE ICPC, WHICH MUST RELY ON THE COMPLAINTS AND DISCIPLINE BRANCH OF THE RUC TO PROVIDE INVESTIGATORS, THE OMBUDSMAN HAS AN INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATIVE STAFF.

THE ICPC REPORTED THAT IT RECEIVED 2,301 COMPLAINTS DURING THE YEAR. OF THE 2,774 CASES IT COMPLETED DURING THE YEAR, 6 PERCENT LED TO INFORMAL DISCIPLINARY ACTION OR FORMAL CRIMINAL CHARGES. (UPDATE AT END OF YEAR)

(PARAGRAPH ON FINAL OUTCOME OF POLICE BILL)

THE INDEPENDENT ASSESSOR OF MILITARY COMPLAINTS CONTINUED

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COORDINATING INVESTIGATIONS INTO COMPLAINTS OF ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE ARMY. DURING THE YEAR, 31 FORMAL AND 541 INFORMAL COMPLAINTS WERE RECEIVED, PRIMARILY FOR HARASSMENT OR ABUSE. (UPDATE)

THE POLICE AND MILITARY IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUED TO HAVE
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THE OPTION OF USING PLASTIC BULLETS (PLASTIC BATON ROUNDS) TO QUELL CIVIL DISTURBANCES. THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDED THE USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS "ONLY AS A LAST RESORT, SHORT OF THE USE OF FIREARMS" AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT CONDUCT RESEARCH TO FIND "AN ACCEPTABLE, EFFECTIVE AND LESS POTENTIALLY LETHAL ALTERNATIVE" TO PLASTIC BULLETS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THESE RECOMMENDATIONS. NEW GUIDELINES MANDATE THAT PLASTIC BULLETS ONLY BE USED TO AVERT THE RISK OF LOSS OF LIFE OR SERIOUS INJURY; FORMERLY, THEIR USE WAS SANCTIONED TO PROTECT PROPERTY OR TO PRESERVE THE PEACE. DURING DISTURBANCES IN JULY, THE POLICE RELIED ON WATER CANNON TO REPEL A DISORDERLY CROWD.

IN TOTAL THE SECURITY FORCES FIRED XXX PLASTIC BULLETS DURING THE YEAR, COMPARED WITH 111 IN 1999. 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 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, AND HUMAN RIGHTS NGO'S HAVE CALLED FOR A BAN ON THEIR USE.

THE PATTEN COMMISSION RECOMMENDED THE CLOSURE "FORTHWITH" OF NORTHERN IRELAND,S THREE HOLDING CENTERS USED TO DETAIN AND INTERROGATE INDIVIDUALS SUSPECTED OF TERRORIST OFFENCES. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE LONG CALLED FOR THEIR CLOSURE BECAUSE OF REPEATED COMPLAINTS OF MISTREATMENT DURING INTERROGATIONS. ONE FACILITY, AT CASTLEREAGH, WAS CLOSED IN 1999, AND A SECOND, STRAND ROAD, WAS CLOSED IN SEPTEMBER; THE RUC CONTENDS THAT IT CANNOT QUICKLY CLOSE THE THIRD CENTER, GOUGH, BECAUSE IT LACKS THE CAPACITY IN EXISTING POLICE STATIONS TO COPE WITH THE DEMANDS OF QUESTIONING APPROXIMATELY 400 TERRORIST SUSPECTS PER YEAR. WITH THE INSTITUTION OF AUDIO AND VIDEO RECORDING OF ALL INTERROGATIONS IN THE HOLDING CENTERS, THE NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE POLICE BY PERSONS ARRESTED UNDER EMERGENCY LEGISLATION HAS DIMINISHED SIGNIFICANTLY.

IN 1998, A BELFAST COURT AWARDED DAVID ADAMS $48,000 (30,000 POUNDS) FOR EXEMPLARY DAMAGES, STEMMING FROM INJURIES HE SUSTAINED DURING HIS ARREST AND INITIAL INCARCERATION IN 1994. ADAMS LATER WAS CONVICTED OF CONSPIRACY TO MURDER. FOLLOWING THIS COURT DECISION, AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO ADAMS'S TREATMENT WAS INITIATED BY THE ASSISTANT CHIEF

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CONSTABLE OF STRATHCLYDE. ON THE BASIS OF THIS REPORT, THE DPP DECLINED TO PURSUE CHARGES AGAINST ANY OF THE OFFICERS INVOLVED. AN APPLICATION BY ADAMS FOR JUDICIAL REVIEW OF THE DPP,S DECISION WAS DENIED IN JUNE.

POLICE OCCASIONALLY HARASSED TRAVELLERS AND MEMBERS OF OTHER MINORITIES. SEPARATE 1999 AND 2000 REPORTS POINTED OUT THAT MINORITIES ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE STOPPED AND SEARCHED THAN WHITES. IN 1999, THE HOME SECRETARY ORDERED THE POLICE TO RECRUIT 8,000 OFFICERS FROM ETHNIC MINORITIES WITHIN 10 YEARS. IN RESPONSE, THE LONDON METROPOLITAN POLICE INCREASED RECRUITMENT OF MINORITY OFFICERS, HIRING ADDITIONAL RECRUITS IN 1999, BRINGING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF MINORITY OFFICERS TO LESS THAN 4% OF THE FORCE. HOWEVER, ONE-THIRD OF POLICE FORCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM HAVE HAD NO INCREASE IN MINORITY RECRUITMENT.

THE ARMED FORCES HAS AN ESTABLISHED COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE THAT HANDLES CHARGES OF HARASSMENT, RACIAL AND OTHERWISE. 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. THROUGH XXX, THE ARMED FORCES REGISTERED A TOTAL OF XX INTERNAL HARASSMENT COMPLAINTS, INCLUDING XXX FOR SEXUAL HARASSMENT, X FOR RACIAL HARASSMENT, AND XX FOR BULLYING OR OTHER HARASSMENT. IN RESPONSE TO A DECISION BY THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE GOVERNMENT LIFTED ITS LONGSTANDING BAN ON HOMOSEXUALS SERVING IN THE ARMED FORCES IN JANUARY.

BOTH LOYALIST AND REPUBLICAN PARAMILITARY GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUED TO INTIMIDATE OR CARRY OUT "PUNISHMENT" ATTACKS ON VICTIMS WHO LIVE IN AREAS UNDER PARAMILITARY INFLUENCE. THE ATTACKS ARE OFTEN INTENDED TO MAINTAIN OR EXTEND THE CONTROL OF PARAMILITARY GROUPS IN A GIVEN REGION. TARGETS INCLUDE GROUP MEMBERS WHO HAVE BROKEN RANKS OR INDIVIDUALS ACCUSED OF "ANTI-SOCIAL" ACTIVITIES SUCH AS DRUG TRAFFICKING OR CARJACKING. PUNISHMENTS INCLUDE GUNSHOTS TO KNEES AND ANKLES AND BEATINGS WITH SPIKED CLUBS. (STATISTICS TO BE UPDATED) HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS SAY THAT AVAILABLE STATISTICS UNDERREPORT THE TRUE NUMBER OF CASUALTIES BECAUSE MANY OF THE VICTIMS FEEL TOO INTIMIDATED TO REPORT
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PARAMILITARY PUNISHMENT ATTACKS.

PRISON CONDITIONS GENERALLY MET MINIMUM INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS. THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF PRISONS' ANNUAL REPORT EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT PRISON MANAGEMENT HAD FAILED TO INDEPENDENTLY RECOGNIZE AND ELIMINATE PROBLEMS, OR TO FOLLOW UP ON NEGATIVE REPORTS IN PREVIOUS YEARS. THE INSPECTOR DESCRIBED THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AND THE CONDITIONS IN SEVERAL PRISONS AS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT NOTED SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN OTHER INSTITUTIONS. IN AUGUST, THE DEPUTY GOVERNOR AT FELTHAM, A JUVENILE PRISON, RESIGNED IN PROTEST OVER WHAT HE TERMED DANGEROUS AND ANTISOCIAL CONDITIONS. IN AUGUST, FOUR

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WARDERS AT THE PORTLAND YOUNG OFFENDERS INSTITUTE WERE SUSPENDED FROM THEIR DUTIES PENDING INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGATIONS OF ABUSE OVER A FOURTEEN YEAR PERIOD. THE PRISON POPULATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES AS OF THE END JUNE INCREASED BY 1 PERCENT OVER THE SAME TIME THE PREVIOUS YEAR. (UPDATED FIGURES TO BE PROVIDED).

ALTHOUGH THE PRISON SERVICE CONTINUED TO WORK TO DEVELOP PREVENTION STRATEGIES, PRISON SUICIDES INCREASED OVER THE LAST YEAR. THE PRISON SERVICE REPORTED XXX DEATHS OF PRISONERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE YEAR, COMPARED WITH XXX SUCH DEATHS IN 1999. OF THESE DEATHS, XX WERE SELF-INFLICTED (91 IN 1999) AND XX WERE DUE TO NATURAL CAUSES (57 IN 1999). THE SCOTTISH PRISON SERVICE REPORTED XX DEATHS IN CUSTODY IN 2000: XX SUICIDES AND X FROM NATURAL CAUSES.

HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF SPECIAL SECURITY UNITS (SSU,S), WHICH ARE USED TO HOLD PRISONERS DEEMED TO POSE AN EXCEPTIONAL RISK OF ESCAPE. CITING SMALL GROUP ISOLATION, THE LACK OF ADEQUATE EXERCISE, WORK, EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, AND NATURAL DAYLIGHT, AS WELL AS STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF NONCONTACT VISITS THROUGH A GLASS BARRIER, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS MAINTAIN SSU IMPRISONMENT AS VIOLATING INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS. AT YEAR,S END, XXX PRISONERS REMAINED IN SSU,S; NONE WAS IMPRISONED FOR NORTHERN IRELAND TERRORIST-RELATED CRIMES.

SEPARATE AND DISTINCT PRISON REGIMES EXIST FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND, ADMINISTERED THROUGH THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE AND THE SCOTTISH OFFICE.

THE NUMBER OF FEMALE PRISONERS CONTINUED TO RISE. ACCORDING TO A 1999 HOME OFFICE REPORT, WOMEN NOW COMMIT 20 PERCENT OF ALL CRIME, AND THE NUMBER OF WOMEN SENT TO PRISON DOUBLED IN THE PAST 6 YEARS. IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF A 1999 REPORT BY ITS WOMEN'S POLICY GROUP, THE PRISON SERVICE ADOPTED NEW PROCEDURES GOVERNING ADMISSION TO MOTHER AND BABY UNITS AND STANDARDS FOR THEIR MANAGEMENT. IN AUGUST, THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE PRISON SERVICE ANNOUNCED THAT PROPOSALS WERE BEING CONSIDERED TO EXPAND MOTHER AND BABY UNITS AND ALLOWING MORE WOMEN TO KEEP THEIR CHILDREN WITH THEM IN JAIL UP TO THE AGE OF FOUR.

FACED WITH A LARGE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF ASYLUM SEEKERS, THE GOVERNMENT HOUSED SOME IMMIGRATION DETAINEES IN REGULAR PRISONS, WHERE THEY NORMALLY ARE HELD SEPARATELY FROM CONVICTED PRISONERS AND PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL. 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, WHICH REGULARLY VISITS DETENTION CENTERS AND HAS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND DETENTION CENTER OFFICIALS, CONTINUES TO CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT'S "EXPECTATION OF NONCOMPLIANCE" BY ASYLUM SEEKERS. IN MARCH, THE GOVERNMENT OPENED A NEW CENTER TO HOUSE ASYLUM SEEKERS FOR SHORT PERIODS WHILE THEIR CASES ARE DECIDED.

(TO BE UPDATED). THE PRISON SERVICE STATED THAT THREE PRISONERS WERE CONVICTED 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 FOR THE EARLY RELEASE OF PRISONERS.

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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 IRELAND, WHEN THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE REASONABLE CAUSE TO SUSPECT WRONGDOING. THE 1994 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER ACT 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
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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." PROVISIONS FOR INDEFINITE INTERNMENT WITHOUT TRIAL WERE ELIMINATED IN THE 1998 REAUTHORIZATION OF THE EPA.

(SECTION IN BRACKETS BE REPLACED WITH DESCRIPTION OF NEW LAW: THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM (TEMPORARY PROVISIONS) ACT (PTA) ALLOWS THE POLICE TO ARREST WITHOUT A WARRANT ANYWHERE IN THE COUNTRY 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, BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. EXTENSIVE PTA DETENTION POWERS WERE HELD IN BREACH OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, 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. IT EXPIRES EVERY 2 YEARS AND, DUE TO THE CHANGING SECURITY SITUATION, IS AMENDED OR ALTERED TO ACCOUNT FOR THOSE CHANGES. NEVERTHELESS, CRITICS CONTINUE TO CHARGE THAT THE ANNUAL REVIEW IS SUPERFICIAL AND INSIST THAT THE PTA SHOULD BE REPEALED. IN NOVEMBER THE GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED A NEW PREVENTION OF TERRORISM BILL INTENDED TO REPLACE THE PTA AND NORTHERN IRELAND EMERGENCY LAWS. IT COVERS FOREIGN-BASED AS WELL AS DOMESTIC GROUPS AND INTRODUCES A NEW AND WIDER DEFINITION OF TERRORISM THAT WAS CRITICIZED BY SOME FOR BEING

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TOO BROAD. DEBATE ON THE BILL IS TO CONTINUE IN 2000.)

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 OR ARRESTED UNDER PTA PROVISIONS. 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 FLEE, 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. AT YEAR,S END, XXXXX DEFENDANTS WERE IN CUSTODY AWAITING TRIAL. OF THOSE IN CUSTODY, XXX HAD BEEN AWAITING TRIAL FOR LESS THAN 24 WEEKS, WHILE XXX HAD BEEN WAITING LONGER THAN 48 WEEKS. FEWER DEFENDANTS WERE AWAITING TRIAL AND FEWER OF THOSE WERE IN CUSTODY COMPARED WITH 1999; THE BREAKDOWN BY TIME AWAITING TRIAL WAS VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL. THE 1998 CRIME AND DISORDER ACT INCLUDES MEASURES TO REDUCE DELAYS IN CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS BY INTRODUCING PROCEDURAL REFORMS AND FURTHER 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, APPROXIMATELY 750 ASYLUM SEEKERS ARE DETAINED (LESS THAN 1 PERCENT OF ALL ASYLUM SEEKERS). THEY ARE DETAINED EITHER IN IMMIGRATION DETENTION CENTERS OR IN REGULAR PRISONS (WHERE THEY ARE NORMALLY HELD SEPARATELY FROM CONVICTED PRISONERS AND THOSE AWAITING TRIAL). OCCASIONALLY THEY ARE HELD IN POLICE CELLS, IF FOR NO MORE THAN 48 HOURS AND PENDING REMOVAL FROM THE COUNTRY OR TRANSFER TO ANOTHER ACCOMMODATION (SEE SECTION 1.C.). (END OF YEAR FIGURES TO BE PROVIDED)

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 UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 09 OF 20 LONDON 007916

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USED ONLY WHERE THERE ARE GOOD GROUNDS TO ANTICIPATE NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THE TERMS OF TEMPORARY ADMISSION AND THAT THE PRACTICE AFFECTS LESS THAN 1 PERCENT OF ASYLUM SEEKERS AT ANY GIVEN TIME.

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THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT USE EXILE (ALSO SEE SECTION 2.D.).

FEUDING AMONG LOYALIST PARAMILITARY GROUPS RESULTED IN THE EXPULSION OF OVER 200 FAMILIES FROM THEIR HOMES IN THE SHANKILL REGION OF WEST BELFAST AS EACH GROUP SOUGHT TO EXPEL FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILIES ALLEGEDLY SYMPATHETIC TO THEIR RIVALS. THIS SCALE OF VIOLENT EVICTION HAD NOT BEEN EXPERIENCED IN NORTHERN IRELAND SINCE 1972.

PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ALSO CONTINUED TO THREATEN INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES TO COMPEL THEM TO LEAVE THE PROVINCE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO GET AN ACCURATE COUNT OF THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT NORTHERN IRELAND UNDER THREAT FROM A PARAMILITARY GROUP. ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO FLED INTO EXILE SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN 1998 RANGE AS HIGH AS 800.

E. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

THE JUDICIARY IS INDEPENDENT AND PROVIDES CITIZENS WITH A GENERALLY FAIR AND EFFICIENT JUDICIAL PROCESS.

THERE ARE 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 IS 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 1998 HUMAN RIGHTS ACT TOOK EFFECT IN OCTOBER, BRINGING THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTO BRITISH LAW (SEE SECTION 4). UNDER THIS LAW ALL PUBLIC BODIES MUST ACT IN A MANNER COMPATIBLE WITH THE CONVENTION. THE LAW PROVIDES CITIZENS WITH THE RIGHT TO TAKE ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE CONVENTION INTO BRITISH COURTS. THE UNITED KINGDOM DEROGATED FROM ARTICLE 5(3) OF THE CONVENTION, DEALING WITH PROMPT RESOLUTION OF A CASE AFTER ARREST OR DETENTION. NGO'S CRITICIZE THE DEROGATION, WHICH ALSO APPLIES TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT.

(TO BE UPDATED: TO DATE NO ONE IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS BEEN ARRESTED OR DETAINED UNDER THE 1998 CRIMINAL JUSTICE (TERRORISM AND CONSPIRACY) ACT. UNDER THIS LEGISLATION, THE TESTIMONY OF A SENIOR POLICE OFFICER IS CONSIDERED PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE OF A SUSPECT'S MEMBERSHIP IN A PROSCRIBED TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. THE ACT ALSO CRIMINALIZES A CONSPIRACY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM TO COMMIT TERRORIST ACTS

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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 EXPRESS 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 1994 CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER ACT, 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 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 A 1996 EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS JUDGMENT, THE 1999 CRIMINAL EVIDENCE (NOTHERN IRELAND) ORDER CODIFIES GUIDELINES ISSUED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL THAT PROHIBITED THE DRAWING OF INFERENCE FROM SILENCE
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WHEN A SUSPECT IS QUESTIONED BEFORE BEING PERMITTED ACCESS TO 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 OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT, THE JUDGE MAY ORDER THE COURT CLOSED, BUT SENTENCING MUST BE PUBLIC.

(BRACKETED SECTION TO BE UPDATED ON PASSAGE OF NEW LEGISLATION: IN NORTHERN IRELAND, SPECIAL "EMERGENCY" RESTRICTIONS AFFECT DUE PROCESS. UNDER THE 1991 NORTHERN IRELAND EMERGENCY PROVISIONS ACT (EPA), TRIALS FOR CERTAIN TERRORIST-RELATED OFFENSES ARE TRIED AUTOMATICALLY IN "DIPLOCK COURTS" WITHOUT A JURY UNLESS THEY SPECIFICALLY ARE "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 . 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 MARCH XX PERSONS HAD BEEN TRIED IN DIPLOCK COURTS; XX PERSONS EITHER PLED OR WERE FOUND GUILTY. AN INTERNAL REVIEW OF THE DIPLOCK COURT SYSTEM WAS CONCLUDED IN JULY. IT CONCLUDED THAT, DUE TO THE RISK OF JUROR INTIMIDATION, &THE TIME IS NOT YET RIGHT8 TO ACHIEVE THE GOVERNMENT,S OBJECTIVE OF RESUMING JURY TRIALS FOR ALL OFFENSES. THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THIS CONCLUSION. THE DIPLOCK COURTS, AND THE GOVERNMENT,S LATEST DECISION TO RETAIN THEM, HAVE BEEN WIDELY CRITICIZED BY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS.

(THE 1998 EPA INCREASED THE NUMBER OF SCHEDULED OFFENSES THAT

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MAY BE ASSIGNED AT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S DISCRETION, FOR TRIAL BY JURY. THIS WAS EXPECTED TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF CASES CONSIDERED BY DIPLOCK COURTS, BUT GIVEN THE OVERALL DECREASE IN THE INCIDENCE OF OFFENSES, IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS THE IMPACT OF THIS CHANGE.

(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 THE 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 THE ABUSE OF DETAINEES MORE LIKELY. ACCORDING TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE, THROUGH SEPTEMBER, 270 REQUESTS FOR ACCESS TO LAWYERS WERE MADE, 19 OF WHICH WERE DELAYED.)

THE 1996 CRIMINAL PROCEDURES AND INVESTIGATIONS ACT 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, A LOCAL NGO, THIS PRACTICE MAY BE CONTRARY TO U.N. GUIDELINES ON THE ROLE OF PROSECUTORS.

IN LIGHT OF ALLEGATIONS OF SECURITY FORCE COLLUSION IN THE MURDERS OF PATRICK FINUCANE AND ROSEMARY NELSON (SEE SECTION 1.A), THERE IS CONTINUING CONCERN ABOUT HARASSMENT OF LAWYERS BY MEMBERS OF THE RUC. THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND THE LAW SOCIETY (THE SOLICITORS, PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION) RECEIVED COMPLAINTS FROM ATTORNEYS DURING THE YEAR AND ARE CONSIDERING CONDUCTING A STUDY TO ASSESS THE FULL EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM SINCE THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS IS UNDERREPORTED. THE RUC MAINTAINS THAT IT HAS ZERO TOLERANCE FOR MISBEHAVIOR TOWARDS ATTORNEYS AND HAS SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSED THE ISSUE IN ITS NEW CODE OF ETHICS.

IN MARCH, A NINE-MEMBER PANEL OF LEGAL PROFESSIONALS, DRAWN FROM THE CIVIL SERVICE AND PRIVATE PRACTICE, PUBLISHED THE NORTHERN IRELAND CRIMINAL JUSTICE REVIEW, WHICH HAD BEEN MANDATED BY THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT. THE REVIEW PRESENTS 294 RECOMMENDATIONS INTENDED TO IMPROVE THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM SO THAT IT WILL ENJOY THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL PARTS OF THE COMMUNITY WHILE DELIVERING JUSTICE EFFICIENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY. THE REPORT RECOMMENDS CREATING A SINGLE INDEPENDENT PROSECUTING AUTHORITY CALLED THE PUBLIC PROSECUTION SERVICE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND THAT WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL PROSECUTIONS, INCLUDING MINOR OFFENCES THAT ARE NOW PROSECUTED BY THE POLICE. THE REVIEW ALSO RECOMMENDS CREATION OF A NON-POLITICAL NORTHERN IRELAND ATTORNEY GENERAL TO OVERSEE THE PROSECUTION SERVICE. THE UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 11 OF 20 LONDON 007916

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REVIEW CALLS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SINGLE MINISTER-LEVEL DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ONCE RESPONSIBILITY FOR JUSTICE IS DEVOLVED TO NORTHERN IRELAND. TO ENSURE THAT JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS FAITHFULLY REFLECT THE COMPOSITION OF NORTHERN IRELAND SOCIETY, THE REVIEW RECOMMENDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS COMMISSION, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE INPUT FROM THE FIRST MINISTER AND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER, TO INTRODUCE LOCAL POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY INTO THE APPOINTMENTS PROCESS. THE REVIEW ALSO MADE RECOMMENDATIONS ON RESTORATIVE JUSTICE, JUVENILE JUSTICE, COMMUNITY SAFETY, VICTIMS AND WITNESSES AND SENTENCING AND PRISONS.

DURING A SIX-MONTH CONSULTATION PERIOD ENDING IN SEPTEMBER THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED COMMENTS ON THE REVIEW FROM INTERESTED PARTIES SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES. GOVERNMENT RESPONSE*DUE IN OCTOBER (TO BE UPDATED).

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT, THE GOVERNMENT CONCLUDED THE PROCESS OF RELEASING PRISONERS AFFILIATED WITH PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS MAINTAINING A CEASE-FIRE. AS OF SEPTEMBER, 292 PARAMILITARY PRISONERS, INCLUDING 149 REPUBLICANS AND 133 LOYALISTS (AND 10 "OTHERS") WERE RELEASED ON LICENSE UNDER THE 1998 NORTHERN IRELAND (SENTENCES) ACT, COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE EARLY RELEASE PROGRAM.

THERE WERE NO 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 THE 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 PERSONS WHOSE HOUSES OR PROPERTY HAVE BEEN DAMAGED DURING HOUSE SEARCHES.

IN JULY, THE REGULATION OF INVESTIGATING POWERS (RIP) ACT BECAME LAW. THE RIP ALLOWS THE GOVERNMENT TO MONITOR THE CONTENT OF PRIVATE ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS AFTER OBTAINING A WARRANT. IN ADDITION, LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES MAY REQUIRE INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESSES TO DISCLOSE ENCRYPTION KEYS UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES. IN OCTOBER, THE GOVERNMENT ENACTED REGULATIONS UNDER THE RIP ALLOWING BUSINESSES TO MONITOR THE ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATIONS OF EMPLOYEES. THE REGULATIONS ARE EXPECTED TO BE CHALLENGED UNDER THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT.

IN NORTHERN IRELAND, PARAMILITARY ATTACKS ON THE HOMES AND FAMILIES OF POLICE AND POLITICIANS HAVE DECREASED SIGNIFICANTLY, BUT THE SECURITY FORCES BELIEVE THAT SUCH GROUPS CONTINUE TO CONDUCT SURVEILLANCE AND RETAIN THE CAPABILITY TO TARGET POLICE AND POLITICIANS.

SECTION 2 RESPECT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING:

A. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

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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 (ALTHOUGH 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.

IN MAY, BARRY MICHAEL GEORGE WAS CHARGED WITH THE 1999 MURDER OF JILL DANDO, A LEADING TELEVISION PERSONALITY. GEORGE, CURRENTLY AWAITING TRIAL, WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN OBSESSED WITH DANDO.

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 1984 POLICE AND CRIMINAL EVIDENCE ACT 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
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INTEREST.

THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION BILL INTRODUCED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN 1999 IS STILL BEING DEBATED BY PARLIAMENT. THE BILL HAS BEEN CRITICIZED BY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS BECAUSE OF THE NUMBER OF BLANKET EXEMPTIONS TO THE RELEASE OF INFORMATION. (TO BE UPDATED AT YEAR'S END).

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IS RESPECTED.

B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

THE LAW PROVIDES FOR THE RIGHT OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY, BUT THAT RIGHT IS LIMITED ROUTINELY WHERE IT WOULD IMPOSE A COST ON PUBLIC CONVENIENCE.

IN NORTHERN IRELAND THE ANNUAL "MARCHING SEASON" POSED SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS FOR THE GOVERNMENT SINCE THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY CONFLICTED WITH THE CONCERNS OF LOCAL RESIDENTS IN SOME COMMUNITIES WHO PERCEIVED THE MARCHES AS THE CELEBRATION OF PROTESTANT "TRIUMPHS" IN HISTORICAL BATTLES. THE 1998 PUBLIC PROCESSIONS (NORTHERN IRELAND) ACT TRANSFERRED RESPONSIBILITY FOR RULING ON DISPUTED PARADES FROM THE RUC TO THE NEWLY ESTABLISHED PARADES COMMISSION. OF THE (#) PARADES HELD IN 2000, THE PARADES COMMISSION IMPOSED ROUTE RESTRICTIONS ON (#); (#) OF THOSE PARADES WERE IN THE RUN

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UP TO AND CELEBRATION OF ORANGEMEN,S DAY ON JULY 12.

IN RESPONSE TO THE PARADES COMMISSION,S DECISION NOT TO ALLOW THE ORANGE ORDER PARADE DOWN THE NATIONALIST GARVAGHY ROAD IN PORTADOWN, THE ORANGE ORDER CALLED FOR WIDESPREAD PROTESTS. LOYALIST PROTESTERS BLOCKED STREETS, AND SOME HIJACKED AND BURNED CARS; THE PROTESTS CAUSED WIDESPREAD DISRUPTION, AS BUSINESSES WERE FORCED TO CLOSE EARLY. THE TWO PARADES AT DRUMCREE ON JULY 2 AND 9 PASSED OFF RELATIVELY PEACEFULLY AMID A MASSIVE SECURITY PRESENCE, BUT ON SEVERAL INTERVENING EVENINGS LOYALIST PROTESTERS ON DRUMCREE HILL BECAME VIOLENT, ATTACKING POLICE AND ARMY SECURITY FORCES. THE PORTADOWN ORANGE LODGE CALLED FOR PEACEFUL PROTESTS BUT DID NOT CONDEMN THE VIOLENCE. THE APPRENTICE BOYS, SIEGE OF DERRY PARADE ON AUGUST 12 WAS LARGELY PEACEFUL.

THE LAW PROVIDES FOR FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, BUT THAT RIGHT IS SOMETIMES LIMITED. 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. IN MARCH THE GOVERNMENT BANNED TWO NORTHERN IRELAND PROTESTANT PARAMILITARY GROUPS, THE ORANGE VOLUNTEERS AND THE RED HAND DEFENDERS, FOR THEIR CONTINUING INVOLVEMENT IN SECTARIAN VIOLENCE. 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. ALTHOUGH SOME HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS DO NOT OBJECT TO THE LAW, OTHERS ARGUE THAT IT VIOLATES FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND EXPRESSION.

C. FREEDOM OF RELIGION

GOVERNMENTAL POLICY AND GENERAL PRACTICE ENSURE FREEDOM OF RELIGION FOR TRADITIONAL AND NONTRADITIONAL WORSHIPPERS. MEMBERS OF ALL FAITHS AND DENOMINATIONS ENJOY FREEDOM OF WORSHIP; THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND HAVE THE STATUS OF STATE RELITIONS, ALTHOUGH THIS PRACTICE HAS COME UNDER INCREASING SCRUTINY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT PROHIBITS DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RELIGION. THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THEIR FREEDOM TO WORSHIP HAS BEEN ABROGATED HAVE THE RIGHT TO APPEAL TO THE COURTS FOR RELIEF.

THE CHURCH OF SCIENTOLOGY ASSERTS THAT IT FACES DISCRIMINATION DUE TO THE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO TREAT SCIENTOLOGY AS A RELIGION. MINISTERS OF SCIENTOLOGY ARE NOT REGARDED AS MINISTERS OF RELIGION UNDER PRISON REGULATIONS OR FOR IMMIGRATION PURPOSES. IN 1999, THE INDEPENDENT CHARITY COMMISSION REJECTED A CHURCH OF SCIENTOLOGY APPLICATION FOR CHARITABLE STATUS, CONCLUDING THAT IT IS NOT A RELIGION FOR THE PURPOSES OF CHARITY LAW.

THE 1988 EDUCATION REFORM ACT 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
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HAVE CALLED FOR GOVERNMENT REVIEW OF THE ACT.

ALTHOUGH NOT ENFORCED, BLASPHEMY WITH RESPECT TO CHRISTIAN BELIEFS IS STILL TECHNICALLY ILLEGAL. SEVERAL RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, ARE ATTEMPTING TO EITHER ABOLISH THE LAW OR EXPAND IT TO PROTECT ALL FAITHS.

IN APRIL, AN INTERIM REPORT ON RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION COMMISSIONED BY THE HOME OFFICE CLAIMED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CAUSES "RELIGIOUS DISADVANTAGE" TO OTHER FAITHS AND CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS. THE REPORT IS BEING CONSIDERED BY THE HOME OFFICE.

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 OTHER 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. 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-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.).

FACED WITH GROWING NUMBERS OF ASYLUM APPLICANTS, THE GOVERNMENT PASSED LEGISLATION IN 1996 AND 1999 DESIGNED TO DETER ABUSIVE ASYLUM APPLICATIONS AND ILLEGAL ENTRANTS, STREAMLINE THE APPEALS PROCESS, AND RESTRICT BENEFITS PROVIDED TO ASYLUM SEEKERS. THE GOVERNMENT,S POLICY, AND THE IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM ACT 1999 IN PARTICULAR, HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED BY THE UNHCR AND NGO,S FOR BEING DETRIMENTAL TO REFUGEE RIGHTS. IN PARTICULAR, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN A SEPTEMBER REPORT CLAIMS THE GOVERNMENT,S PRACTICE OF DISPERSING ASYLUM SEEKERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY AND ISSUING THEM VOUCHERS FOR THE PURCHASE OF FOOD AND OTHER ITEMS STIGMATIZES ASYLUM SEEKERS AND DENIES THEM ACCESS TO COMMUNITY SERVICES.

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AS OF XXXX, THERE WERE XXX ASYLUM APPLICATIONS OUTSTANDING AT YEAR'S END, COMPARED WITH 102,870 OUTSTANDING A YEAR EARLIER. DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 2000, THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED ON XXX ASYLUM APPLICATIONS, GRANTING ASYLUM TO X PERCENT. OF THE REMAINDER WHO WERE REFUSED ASYLUM, X WERE GRANTED "EXCEPTIONAL LEAVE TO REMAIN" IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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 LEAST EVERY 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 COUNTRY, NORTHERN IRELAND HAS CITY AND DISTRICT COUNCILS, BUT WITH FEWER POWERS. ENGLAND AND WALES ALSO HAVE COUNTY COUNCILS. THE NORTHERN, IRELAND ASSEMBLY, THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT, AND THE WELSH ASSEMBLY HAVE CONTROL OVER MATTERS OF REGIONAL IMPORTANCE, SUCH AS EDUCATION, HEALTH AND SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE CONTINUE TO BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

DUE TO CONTINUING PROBLEMS WITH DECOMMISSIONING OF PARAMILITARY WEAPONS, THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE (ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE 1998 GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT) WERE SUSPENDED IN EARLY FEBRUARY. THE INSTITUTIONS WERE RESTORED IN MAY FOLLOWING INTENSIVE
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BRITISH-IRISH TALKS WITH THE PARTIES AND AN INITIATIVE ON WEAPONS BY THE IRA.

THE SMALL NUMBER OF UK OVERSEAS TERRITORIES HAS AN AGGREGATE POPULATION OF APPROXIMATELY 160,000. THEY ENJOY VARYING DEGREES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT ON THE BRITISH MODEL, WITH APPOINTED GOVERNORS.

WOMEN AND MINORITIES FACE NO LEGAL CONSTRAINTS ON VOTING OR HOLDING OFFICE, BUT WOMEN ARE UNDERREPRESENTED IN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: THEY CONSTITUTE 18 PERCENT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND APPROXIMATELY 16 PERCENT OF THOSE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS. A TOTAL OF 27 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT HAVE IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS MEMBERS OF MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS.

SECTION 4 GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NONGOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

A WIDE VARIETY OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS OPERATE WITHOUT

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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 COUNTRY. THE GOVERNMENT COOPERATES FULLY WITH INTERNATIONAL INQUIRIES INTO ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE 1998 HUMAN RIGHTS ACT, WHICH INCORPORATED THE PROVISIONS OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTO DOMESTIC LAW, TOOK EFFECT IN OCTOBER 2000 FOR THE ENTIRE UNITED KINGDOM. PROCEEDINGS UNDER THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT CAN BE BROUGHT ONLY BY VICTIMS OF A BREACH OF CONVENTION RIGHTS BY A PUBLIC AUTHORITY. THE HOME OFFICE HAS A HUMAN RIGHTS UNIT TO CARRY OUT HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND LEGISLATION. NGO,S HAVE CRITICIZED THE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS FAILURE TO CREATE A GOVERNMENT-WIDE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

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.

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. HOWEVER, SOME GROUPS CONTINUED TO EXPERIENCE OFFICIAL AND SOCIETAL DISCRIMINATION.

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION ON THE GROUNDS OF RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL OPINION WAS OUTLAWED SPECIFICALLY IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT ACT. THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT AND TREATMENT ORDER OF 1998, 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 ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS, WHICH CONCENTRATE ON EMPLOYMENT AND THE SUPPLY OF GOODS AND SERVICES.

THE NORTHERN IRELAND FAIR EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION, COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, AND DISABILITY COUNCIL WERE AMALGAMATED INTO THE EQUALITY COMMISSION IN OCTOBER. THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE APPOINTED 21 MEMBERS TO THE COMMISSION IN AUGUST.

IN MAY, A PRELIMINARY REPORT FOUND THAT STRONG EVIDENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL RACISM EXISTS IN THE CROWN PROSECUTION SERVICE (CPS). THE INDEPENDENT INQUIRY WAS COMMISSIONED BY THE CPS AND HEADED BY AN ACADEMIC LAWYER. THE FINAL REPORT WILL BE DELIVERED LATER IN THE YEAR (TO BE UPDATED).

WOMEN

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN CONTINUES TO BE A PROBLEM. IN 1999, A GOVERNMENT REPORT, "LIVING WITHOUT FEAR," INDICATED THAT ONE IN FOUR WOMEN EXPERIENCE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AT SOME STAGE IN THEIR LIVES, THAT REPORTED INCIDENTS OF RAPE HAVE MORE

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THAN TRIPLED OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS, THAT TWO WOMEN PER WEEK ARE KILLED BY THEIR CURRENT OR FORMER PARTNERS, AND THAT WOMEN FEAR PERSONAL ATTACK MORE THAN ANY OTHER CRIME. A FEBRUARY HOME OFFICE STUDY SAID THE 6000 RAPES AND 17,5000 INDECENT ASSAULTS REPORTED TO THE POLICE YEARLY ARE A VAST
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UNDERESTIMATE OF THE REAL SCALE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN. THE STUDY ESTIMATES THE TRUE NUMBER OF RAPES AND ASSAULTS AT BETWEEN 118,000 AND 295,000. THE RESEARCH WAS RELEASED AS PART OF A PACKAGE OF GOVERNMENT GRANTS AND PROJECTS AIMED AT IMPROVING THE CONVICTION RATE FOR RAPE AND PROVIDING WOMEN WITH BETTER PROTECTION AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. REPORTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE INCREASED.

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. THE 1997 PROTECTION FROM HARASSMENT ACT PROVIDES FOR PRISON SENTENCES OF UP TO 5 YEARS FOR CONVICTED STALKERS.

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 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 THE 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), SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN SINCE THE COMMISSION WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1975. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE IN 1999 WAS AN IMPORTANT CHANGE IN THE EFFORT TO EQUALIZE PAY. HOWEVER, A FEBRUARY REPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S WOMEN'S UNIT FOUND THAT WOMEN IN FULL-TIME WORK EARN ON AVERAGE 84 PERCENT OF MALE FULL-TIME WORKERS

TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN IS A GROWING PROBLEM. SEE SECTION 6.F.

WOMEN'S ISSUES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT ARE REPRESENTED AT THE CABINET LEVEL BY THE MINISTER FOR WOMEN, WHO HEADS UP THE WOMEN'S UNIT, WHICH ENGAGES IN DIALOG WITH WOMEN AND ADVISES

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THE GOVERNMENT BUT HAS NO AUTHORITY FOR DIRECT ACTION.

CHILDREN

THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO CHILDREN'S RIGHTS AND WELFARE THROUGH ITS SYSTEMS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND MEDICAL CARE. THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDES FREE, COMPULSORY EDUCATION TO AGE 16 AND FURTHER EDUCATION TO AGE 18 IF THE STUDENT SO DESIRES.

WHILE THERE IS NO SOCIETAL PATTERN OF ABUSE DIRECTED AGAINST CHILDREN, INDICATIONS ARE, DESPITE A LACK OF RELIABLE DATA, THAT CHILD ABUSE IS NEVERTHELESS A PROBLEM. SINCE THE PARAMILITARY CEASE-FIRES, REPORTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE INCREASED.

CONCERN AND PUBLICITY SURROUNDING PEDOPHILES IS GROWING. AS PART OF A GOVERNMENT DRIVE TO PROTECT THE YOUNG FROM CHILD ABUSERS, PREVIOUSLY SECRET REGISTERS OF PEDOPHILES ARE TO BE AVAILABLE TO ANY EMPLOYER WHO RUNS AN ORGANIZATION WHERE PERSONS UNDER AGE 18 COULD BE AT RISK (SCHOOLS, CHILDREN'S HOMES, OR VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS). IN ADDITION, SUSPECTED CHILD ABUSERS AND CONVICTED PEDOPHILES ARE BANNED FROM WORKING WITH CHILDREN. CHILDCARE ORGANIZATIONS MUST CONSULT A LIST BEFORE OFFERING ANYONE A JOB, PAID OR OTHERWISE, AND IT IS ILLEGAL FOR THEM 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 WAS ABUSE), AND IN GENERAL TO BE CONSULTED REGARDING THEIR DESIRES.

IN FEBRUARY, NEW RULES WERE INTRODUCED IN ENGLAND AND WALES TO REDUCE THE INTIMIDATION THAT YOUNG OFFENDERS FEEL WHEN CONFRONTED BY THE TRAPPINGS OF AN ADULT COURT. THE RULES INCLUDE A BAN ON ROBES AND WIGS AND ANY RECOGNIZABLE POLICE
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PRESENCE IN THE COURTROOM, AND AFFECT ALL DEFENDANTS UNDER AGE 18 WHO FACE SERIOUS CRIMINAL CHARGES IN CROWN COURTS. THE CHANGES WERE IN RESPONSE TO A 1999 EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS RULING THAT TWO YOUNG BOYS, RIGHTS WERE VIOLATED BY THE INTIMIDATING NATURE OF THEIR TRIAL.

UNDER THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT, THE POLICE CAN ARREST AND DETAIN CHILDREN AS YOUNG AS 10 YEARS OLD FOR UP TO 7 DAYS.

IN JANUARY, THE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED A CONSULTATION DOCUMENT PROPOSING THAT LAWS BE AMENDED TO MAKE IT ILLEGAL FOR PARENTS TO HIT THEIR CHILDREN WITH AN IMPLEMENT, OR HIT THEM ON THE HEAD OR FACE. IT DID NOT PROPOSE OUTLAWING COMPLETELY

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SPANKING OR HITTING. THE PROPOSALS ARE THE RESULT OF A EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS RULING IN 1998 THAT A 9-YEAR-OLD BOY'S RIGHTS WERE VIOLATED BY HIS STEPFATHER'S CANING. THE 1998 SCHOOL STANDARDS AND FRAMEWORK ACT EXTENDED THE BAN ON CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN STATE SCHOOLS TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND NURSERY SCHOOLS. CHILD WELFARE GROUPS HAVE CALLED FOR THE OUTLAWING OF ALL CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN.

FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION IS PRACTICED BY IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS FROM COUNTRIES IN WHICH THE PRACTICE IS COMMON, ALTHOUGH THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROCEDURE IS CARRIED OUT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IS UNKNOWN. THE PRACTICE IS WIDELY CONDEMNED BY INTERNATIONAL HEALTH EXPERTS AS DAMAGING TO BOTH PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HEALTH AND HAS BEEN ILLEGAL IN THE UNITED KINGDOM SINCE 1985. THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO WORK TO ERADICATE FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION.

PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

THE 1995 PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES DISCRIMINATION ACT OUTLAWS 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. IN ADDITION, ALL BUSINESSES ARE REQUIRED TO ACCOMMODATE DISABLED CUSTOMERS. ADAPTATIONS MUST BE "REASONABLE," BEARING IN MIND THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND SIZE OF THE BUSINESS.

THE 1993 EDUCATION ACT IMPOSES SPECIFIC DUTIES ON LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF DISABLED CHILDREN. IN APRIL, THE DISABILITY RIGHTS COMMISSION (DRC) WAS LAUNCHED. THE DRC PROVIDES A HELPLINE FOR DISABLED PEOPLE AND EMPLOYERS, LEGAL ADVICE AND SUPPORT FOR INDIVIDUALS, AND POLICY ADVICE TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE DRC ALSO HAS THE POWER TO CONDUCT FORMAL INVESTIGATIONS, ARRANGE CONCILIATION, AND BRING DISCRIMINATION CASES

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, ESPECIALLY OLDER BUILDINGS, INCLUDING TRANSPORTATION CENTERS, REMAINS INADEQUATE.

RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNITY SECURITY TRUST, THE NUMBER OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS IN BRITAIN DURING THE YEAR WAS XXX, COMPARED WITH 412 IN 1999. PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM ARE CONFINED LARGELY TO THE POLITICAL FRINGE, EITHER FAR RIGHT OR ISLAMIST. IN REACTION TO THE OCTOBER VIOLENCE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, A NUMBER OF SYNAGOGUES WERE ATTACKED BY PERSONS THROWING BRICKS OR OTHER OBJECTS THROUGH THE WINDOWS AND ANTI-SEMITIC LEAFLETS WERE POSTED IN MANCHESTER, BIRMINGHAM AND LONDON. A JEWISH MAN WAS STABBED IN LONDON IN AN APPARENT RACIST ATTACK.

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.

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THE 1989 FAIR EMPLOYMENT (NORTHERN IRELAND) ACT, AS AMENDED, AIMS TO END EVEN UNINTENTIONAL OR INDIRECT DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE, AND A PUBLIC TRIBUNAL ADJUDICATES COMPLAINTS. ALL PUBLIC-SECTOR EMPLOYERS AND ALL PRIVATE FIRMS WITH OVER 10 WORKERS MUST REPORT ANNUALLY TO THE EQUALITY 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 ASSERT THAT ITS TARGETS AND TIMETABLES ARE TOO IMPRECISE, MOST LEADERS OF
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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 RUC (CURRENTLY 92 PERCENT PROTESTANT) AND RELATED SECURITY JOBS IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE BEEN HAMPERED BY IRA KILLINGS AND INTIMIDATION, AS WELL AS BY WIDESPREAD ANTIPATHY IN THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY TO THE SECURITY FORCES. THE NEW POLICING BILL MANDATES A 50:50 RELIGIOUS BALANCE BE MAINTAINED IN NEW RECRUITMENT UNTIL THE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF THE POLICE REFLECTS THE MIX IN SOCIETY AT LARGE. CRITICS OF THIS APPROACH CONTEND THAT IT WILL VIOLATE THE UK,S COMMITMENTS UNDER THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

DURING THE SUMMER MARCHING SEASON, ARSONISTS ATTACKED SEVERAL ORANGE HALLS AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES AROUND THE PROVINCE.

NATIONAL/RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES

DESPITE LEGAL PROHIBITIONS AGAINST RACE DISCRIMINATION, PERSONS OF AFRICAN AND AFRO-CARIBBEAN, SOUTH ASIAN, OR MIDDLE EASTERN ORIGIN AND TRAVELLERS 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.

IN JUNE, DAVID COPELAND WAS CONVICTED OF A SERIES OF RACIALLY MOTIVATED BOMBINGS THAT KILLED THREE PEOPLE. (SEE SECTION 1.A.)

THE GOVERNMENT-APPOINTED BUT INDEPENDENT COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY 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

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MONITORS THE RESPONSE TO ITS NOTICE FOR 5 YEARS.

AS A RESULT OF THE 1999 STEPHEN LAWRENCE INQUIRY, THE POLICE INSTITUTED NEW TRAINING AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS AND PLEDGED TO IMPROVE OVERALL PUBLIC CONFIDENCE AND SERVICE. ACCORDING A FEBRUARY ANNOUNCEMENT BY SCOTLAND YARD, THE NUMBER OF BLACK AND ASIAN OFFICERS IN THE METROPOLITAN POLICE INCREASED BY 20 PERCENT SINCE THE RELEASE OF THE LAWRENCE REPORT. HOWEVER, MINORITY OFFICERS STILL REPRESENT ONLY ABOUT 4 PERCENT OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE. MORE THAN ONE THIRD OF POLICE FORCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM HAD NO INCREASE IN MINORITY RECRUITMENT, AND THE RATE OF RECRUITMENT IS SUBSTANTIALLY BELOW THE LEVEL REQUIRED TO MEET TARGETS SET BY THE HOME OFFICE.

A SERIES OF REPORTS IN 1999 AND 2000, BOTH INDEPENDENT AND COMMISSIONED BY POLICE, SHOWS THAT MINORITIES ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE STOPPED AND SEARCHED BY POLICE THAN WHITES. (SEE SECTION 1.C.)

IN MARCH, THE POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY ANNOUNCED IT WOULD CONDUCT A NEW INQUIRY INTO THE POLICE HANDLING OF THE DEATH OF RICKY REEL, A YOUNG ASIAN FOUND DROWNED IN THE THAMES RIVER IN 1997.

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. IN AUGUST 1997, THE GOVERNMENT PASSED THE RACE RELATIONS (NORTHERN IRELAND) ORDER, WHICH FOR THE FIRST TIME GAVE SPECIFIC LEGAL PROTECTION TO MINORITY ETHNIC GROUPS THERE, INCLUDING THE TRAVELLER COMMUNITY. IN JANUARY, A STUDY BY DUNDEE UNIVERSITY REVEALED INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM TOWARDS THE SCOTTISH TRAVELLER COMMUNITY. IN PARTICULAR, RACIST AND INTOLERANT ATTITUDES AMONG HEALTH PROFESSIONALS PREVENTED TRAVELLERS FROM RECEIVING PROPER MEDICAL CARE.

SECTION 6 WORKER RIGHTS

A. THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

WORKERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO FORM AND JOIN UNIONS, AND THE GOVERNMENT RESPECTS THIS RIGHT IN PRACTICE. THE JULY 1999 UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 18 OF 20 LONDON 007916

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EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS ACT ESTABLISHED THE COUNTRY,S FIRST PROCEDURES FOR STATUTORY, AS DISTINCT FROM VOLUNTARY, UNION RECOGNITION. THE DEPARTMENT OF TRADE & INDUSTRY BEGAN TO PROMULGATE IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS DURING THE SUMMER OF 2000. ADDITIONAL REGULATIONS ARE BEING ROLLED OUT AS THEY ARE COMPLETED. FOR EXAMPLE, FROM SEPTEMBER 4, 2000, WORKERS

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ARE ENTITLED TO BE ACCOMPANIED AT DISCIPLINARY AND GRIEVANCE HEARINGS BY A TRADE-UNION REPRESENTATIVE -- EVEN IF AN EMPLOYEE'S WORKPLACE IS NOT UNIONIZED.

UNIONS ARE FREE OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL. THE NEW EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS ACT AFFORDS SIGNIFICANT NEW PROTECTION TO UNION ORGANIZING EFFORTS AND, FOR THE FIRST TIME, CONFIRMS THE STATUTORY RIGHT TO STRIKE. THE ACT SETS MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN LABOR LAW.

UNIONS PARTICIPATE FREELY IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU), THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE (TUAC) TO THE OECD, AND THE WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVE ON THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE ILO ARE ALL FORMER BRITISH TRADE UNION LEADERS.

B. THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS LONGSTANDING AND WIDESPREAD, COVERING ABOUT 30 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE. UNIONIZATION IS HEAVIEST IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR. UNDER THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS ACT, LABOR-MANAGEMENT CONTRACTS ARE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN BRITISH HISTORY, LEGALLY ENFORCEABLE.

UNDER THE ACT, UNIONS CAN FILE A REQUEST FOR RECOGNITION, IDENTIFYING THE PROPOSED BARGAINING UNIT, TO THE CENTRAL ARBITRATION COMMITTEE (CAC). THE ACT COVERS EMPLOYERS WITH MORE THAN 20 WORKERS AND ENCOMPASSES AN ESTIMATED TWO-THIRDS OF ALL WORKPLACES.

ONCE THE CAC DETERMINES THE APPROPRIATE BARGAINING UNIT, IT ASSESSES 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 WIN RECOGNITION WHEN A MAJORITY OF THOSE VOTING AGREE, INCLUDING AT LEAST 40 PERCENT OF THOSE IN THE BARGAINING UNIT.

ALTHOUGH THE ACT ENCOURAGES VOLUNTARY AGREEMENTS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND UNIONS, THE CAC CAN, IF NECESSARY, IMPOSE A LEGALLY BINDING PROCEDURE FOR BARGAINING ABOUT PAY, HOURS, AND HOLIDAYS. TO DATE, NO UNION HAS FILED A CASE BEFORE THE CAC. THIS REFLECTS THE TRADES UNION COUNCIL'S (TUC) EXPLICIT PREFERENCE THAT ITS MEMBER UNIONS SHOULD SECURE WORKPLACE AGREEMENTS THROUGH NEGOTIATION RATHER THAN IN THE COURTS. THAT SAID, THE TUC HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE RIGHT TO TAKE A UNIONIZATION DISPUTE TO THE CAC HAS BOOSTED ITS ORGANIZING EFFORTS.

WORKERS ARE PROTECTED AGAINST DISMISSAL OR OTHER RETALIATION FOR CAMPAIGNING OR VOTING FOR OR AGAINST RECOGNITION. UNIONS NO LONGER ARE REQUIRED TO NAME MEMBERS WHEN INITIATING A STRIKE BALLOT, TO MINIMIZE OPPORTUNITIES FOR RETALIATION. THE ACT ALSO PROHIBITS THE COMPILATION OF LISTS OF UNION MEMBERS AND LABOR ACTIVISTS FOR USE BY EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES. THIS IS AIMED AT "BLACKLISTS," AS OPERATED IN THE PAST. DISMISSED STRIKERS ARE ABLE TO CLAIM UNFAIR DISMISSAL IF FIRED WITHIN 8 WEEKS OF WHEN AN EMPLOYEE FIRST UNDERTOOK A LEGAL STRIKE.

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UNION MEMBERS ARE 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 WAS LEGAL FOR EMPLOYERS TO WITHHOLD FRINGE BENEFITS OTHERWISE AVAILABLE TO NONUNION 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. THE 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.
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C. PROHIBITION OF FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOR

FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOR 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 UK RATIFIED ILO CONVENTION 182 ON MARCH 23, 2000 AND ILO CONVENTION 138 ON JUNE 7, 2000.

E. ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS OF WORK

THE COUNTRY,S FIRST MINIMUM WAGE WENT INTO EFFECT ON APRIL 1, 1999 AS 3.60 POUNDS FOR AN ADULT AND 3.00 POUNDS FOR YOUTH. AS OF OCTOBER 1, 2000, THE ADULT MINIMUM WAGE WAS RAISED TO 3.70 POUNDS ($5.50).. THE YOUTH WAGE WAS RAISED TO 3.20 POUNDS ($4.75) ON JUNE 1, 2000.

WHEN INTRODUCED IN 1999, THE NEW PAY THRESHOLDS WERE EXPECTED TO BENEFIT SOME 1.5 MILLION WORKERS DIRECTLY. ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT FIGURES RELEASED AT THE END OF OCTOBER 2000, NEARLY 300,000 WORKERS WERE STILL PAID LESS THAN THE MINIMUM WAGE A YEAR AFTER THE LAW'S INTRODUCTION. FOR THEIR PART, GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS ARE AGGRESSIVELY INSTRUCTING EMPLOYERS THAT THEY MUST BRING PAY PRACTICES INTO COMPLIANCE. THE BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE HAD EXAMINED 7,000 EMPLOYERS BY THE END OF OCTOBER 2000, AND HAD RECOVERED FOUR MILLION DOLLARS ON BEHALF OF UNDERPAID EMPLOYEES.

RECOGNIZING THAT A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE IS A FLEDGLING INSTITUTION, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED THE LOW PAY COMMISSION

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(INCORPORATING ACADEMICS, EMPLOYERS AND TRADE UNIONS), CREATED IN 1998, TO REVIEW THE STANDARD'S IMPLEMENTATION AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ACCORDINGLY BY JULY 2001.

CURRENTLY THE NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE, BY ITSELF, DOES NOT PROVIDE A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR MOST WORKERS WITH FAMILIES. BUT OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE BRITISH WELFARE STATE FILL THE GAP. OF NEARLY 28 MILLION WORKERS, SOME 6 MILLION (21 PERCENT) BENEFIT FROM SOME SOCIAL INSURANCE SCHEME OR ANOTHER. AND THIS DOES NOT INCLUDE FREE UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE.

THE WORKING FAMILIES, TAX CREDIT (WFTC) AND DISABLED PERSON'S TAX CREDIT (DPTC) -- BOTH IMPLEMENTED AS OF OCTOBER 5, 1999 -- ARE DESIGNED TO ENSURE A WORKING FAMILY A WEEKLY INCOME OF $320 (200 POUNDS), WHICH CONSTITUTES A LIVING WAGE.

AS OF APRIL 2000, THE GOVERNMENT ALSO INTRODUCED THE MINIMUM INCOME GUARANTEE (MIG) FOR LOW-INCOME PENSIONERS. THIS TOPS UP THE BASIC STATE PENSION THAT ALL RETIRED EMPLOYEES RECEIVE. AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT, AS OF APRIL 2001, THE ACCUMULATED-SAVINGS THRESHOLD WILL BE RAISED TO ALLOW MORE LOW-INCOME PENSIONERS TO AVAIL THEMSELVES OF THIS BENEFIT.

THE GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED A NEW WORKING TIME DIRECTIVE IN OCTOBER 1998 TO BRING DOMESTIC LEGISLATION INTO COMPLIANCE WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION'S 48-HOUR WORKWEEK. NEW LEGISLATION DRAMATICALLY RAISED THE MAXIMUM COMPENSATION LEVEL FOR UNFAIR DISMISSAL CLAIMS (FROM 12,000 POUNDS TO 50,000 POUNDS) AS OF OCTOBER 25, 1999. FROM DECEMBER 15, 1999, NEW REGULATIONS ENHANCED PARENTAL-LEAVE PROVISIONS FOR EMPLOYEES WITH MORE THAN A YEAR'S CONTINUOUS SERVICE. AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACT, WHICH CAME INTO FORCE ON OCTOBER 2, 2000, ADDED ADDITIONAL RIGHTS IN THE WORKPLACE.

THE HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK ACT OF 1974 STIPULATES THAT THE HEALTH AND SAFETY OF EMPLOYEES NOT BE PLACED AT RISK. IN PRACTICE THE ACT IS CONSTANTLY UPDATED. 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.

F. TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

NO LAWS SPECIFICALLY CRIMINALIZE TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS. THE POLICE HAVE HAD SUCCESS IN PROSECUTING TRAFFICKERS UNDER OTHER LAWS, SUCH AS THOSE AGAINST PIMPING AND LIVING OFF OF IMMORAL EARNINGS. UNDER THE 1999 IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM ACT, PERSONS FOUND IMPORTING ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS CAN BE FINED $3,600 (2,000 POUNDS).
UNCLAS E F T O SECTION 20 OF 20 LONDON 007916

QQQQ
NOFORN

DEPT FOR DRL/CRT, EUR/UBI

E.O. 12958: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, ELAB, KSEP, UK
SUBJECT: UK 2000 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT -- FIRST DRAFT

ON JUNE 21, 58 PEOPLE SUFFOCATED TO DEATH IN THE BACK OF A

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TRUCK WHILE ATTEMPTING TO ENTER THE UNITED KINGDOM ILLEGALLY. TWO PERSONS WERE ARRESTED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN CONNECTION WITH THE CASE.

A MAY HOME OFFICE REPORT ON TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN ESTIMATED THAT UP TO 1400 WOMEN WERE TRAFFICKED INTO THE UK IN 1998. THE REPORT HIGHLIGHTED THAT POLICE ARE LARGELY UNAWARE OF THE SCALE OF THE PROBLEM AND DO NOT TREAT IT AS A PRIORITY. THE GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS, INCLUDING CREATION OF A NEW CRIME CATEGORY OF "SEXUAL EXPLOITATION," ALLOWING TRAFFICKED WOMEN TO SUE THEIR EXPLOITERS, AND A GOVERNMENTAL FOCUS ON PREVENTION CAMPAIGNS IN HOST COUNTRIES.
LADER

TOR: 11/03/00 06:16:12

DIST: SIT: BABBITT BANBURY NSC MCLEAN NAPLAN PATTEN SCHWARTZ SHEA SMITHP WILCOX

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 070714Z DEC 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
OSRI: RUEHLO
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0723
INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
RUEHXP/ALL NATO POST COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: QUEEN'S SPEECH SETS SCENE FOR UK ELECTION
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LONDON 008665

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/06/2010
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EFIN, EAID, SOCI, SCUL, KCRM, UK
SUBJECT: QUEEN'S SPEECH SETS SCENE FOR UK ELECTION

REF: STATE 229034

CLASSIFIED BY POLMINCOUNS MORT DWORKEN. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (C) SUMMARY: QUEEN ELIZABETH II EMPHASIZED THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT'S SOCIAL SERVICES AGENDA FOR THE EXPECTED ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN 2001 IN HER DECEMBER 6 SPEECH. ON FOREIGN POLICY, THE QUEEN EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR NATO AS "THE FOUNDATION" OF UK SECURITY, AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF MORNING PRESS REPORTS ON SECDEF COHEN'S REMARKS AT NATO. THE SPEECH, WRITTEN BY THE GOVERNMENT, ALSO ANNOUNCED HMG'S INTENTION TO RATIFY THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT AND TO SUPPORT EU ENLARGEMENT AND THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

ANTI-CRIME, PRO-SERVICES
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2. (U) QUEEN ELIZABETH II OUTLINED HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S LEGISLATIVE AGENDA IN HER STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT SPEECH DECEMBER 6. READING FROM THE TEXT PREPARED BY THE LABOUR PARTY GOVERNMENT, THE QUEEN SAID HMG WILL INTRODUCE BILLS TO CURB MONEY LAUNDERING AND WELFARE BENEFIT FRAUD, TO ALLOW HMG TO SEIZE CRIMINAL ASSETS AND IMPOSE CURFEWS, TO REFORM THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, AND TO CRACK DOWN ON YOUTH VIOLENCE. OTHER BILLS WILL BE INTRODUCED TO ENHANCE SOCIAL SERVICES BY IMPROVING SPECIAL EDUCATION, PUBLIC TRANSPORT, LONG TERM HEALTH CARE AND NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE ADMINISTRATION. THE QUEEN ALSO ANNOUNCED BILLS TO SIMPLIFY HOME OWNERSHIP AND TO BAN FOX HUNTING AND TOBACCO ADVERTISING.

LESS EMPHASIS ON FOREIGN POLICY

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3. (C) THE QUEEN SAID NATO WILL REMAIN "THE FOUNDATION FOR UK DEFENSE AND SECURITY." (COMMENT: THE STATEMENT HAS PARTICULAR SALIENCE GIVEN TORY CHARGES THAT A PROPOSED EU FORCE WILL UNDERCUT NATO, AND AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF SECDEF COHEN'S 12/5 REMARKS TO THE NAC/D ABOUT PROPERLY STRUCTURING ESDP. END COMMENT.) THE QUEEN EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND SAID HMG REMAINS COMMITTED TO IMPLEMENTING THE GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE GOVERNMENT WILL INTRODUCE A BILL TO KEEP THE ARMED FORCES STRONG AND CIRCULATE DRAFT LEGISLATION ON ARMS EXPORT CONTROLS. HMG WILL WORK TO ENHANCE UN EFFECTIVENESS, PARTICULARLY IN PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS. A BILL WILL BE SUBMITTED TO RATIFY THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT. THE GOVERNMENT WILL SUBMIT A WHITE PAPER (ON DEC. 11) LAYING OUT POLICIES HMG WILL ADOPT TO ENSURE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES RECEIVE GREATER BENEFITS FROM GLOBALIZATION. THE QUEEN DID NOT SAY THAT HER GOVERNMENT WOULD ADOPT NEW LEGISLATION TO MODERNIZE THE UK'S ANTIQUATED ANTI-CORRUPTION AND ANTI-BRIBERY LAW (REFTEL), ALTHOUGH EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS ON THIS.

4. (C) AT WELL UNDER 10 MINUTES, THE QUEEN'S SPEECH WAS CONCISE AND SHORTER THAN USUAL. ROYAL PROTOCOL WAS FOLLOWED, WITH BLACK ROD KNOCKING ON THE DOOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND ENTERING TO SUMMON MPS INTO THE LORD'S CHAMBER. (LABOUR MP DENNIS SKINNER THEN INTERJECTED "TELL HER TO READ THE GUARDIAN," A REFERENCE TO TODAY'S FRONT PAGE STORY IN THE LEFT-LEANING DAILY RENEWING ITS CHALLENGE TO THE 300-YEAR-OLD LAW THAT BANS NON-PROTESTANTS AND OTHERS FROM SUCCESSION TO THE BRITISH THRONE.) THE AGENDA OF ABOUT 20 BILLS IS FAIRLY AMBITIOUS FOR A SESSION THAT IS EXPECTED TO BE CUT SHORT BY ELECTIONS IN MAY 2001, BUT IT IS DEVOID OF SUCH CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES AS GAY RIGHTS.

COMMENT
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5. (C) LABOUR'S PARLIAMENTARY AGENDA FOCUSES ON IMPROVED SOCIAL SERVICES IN AN EFFORT TO SET THE SCENE FOR ELECTIONS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS EXPECTED TO CALL FOR MAY 2001. THE TORIES ARGUE THAT THEY CAN DELIVER BETTER SERVICES AND STILL CUT TAXES. AT THE CENTER OF THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE CRITICISM OF LABOUR FOR ALLEGEDLY CEDING SOVEREIGNTY TO THE EU. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE CONSERVATIVES CAN BE EXPECTED TO REFER TO SECDEF'S COHEN'S 12/5 REMARKS AT NATO TO STOKE FEARS OF A WEAKENED LINK TO THE U.S., A LESS RELEVANT ALLIANCE, AND A BURGEONING EUROPEAN "SUPERSTATE."
LADER

TOR: 12/07/00 08:04:30

DIST: SIT: BINNENDIJK Blinken NSC Davidson GREENWOOD MILLER Norland YEE

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INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1006
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0072
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0012
RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS 1533
SUBJ: FORMER SENATOR MITCHELL BRIEFS VATICAN ON NORTHERN IRELAND
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 ROME 000438

DEPT FOR EUR/WE (YOUTH); EUR/UBI

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/ MESSAGE NO. 013/00

E.O. 12958:DECL: 01/24/10
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, EI, UK, VT
SUBJECT: FORMER SENATOR MITCHELL BRIEFS VATICAN ON NORTHERN IRELAND
1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR CORINNE C BOGGS. REASON 1.5(B) AND (D).

2. SUMMARY: FORMER SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL BRIEFED VATICAN FOREIGN MINISTER TAURAN ON NORTHERN IRELAND ON 20 JANUARY. TAURAN WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN DECOMMISSIONING AND ECONOMIC PROSPECTS. MITCHELL CITED AS "CRITICAL" THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY'S 12 FEBRUARY DEADLINE FOR WEAPONS TURN-IN. GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS KNOW THEY MUST "DELIVER SOMETHING CONCRETE" BY THAT DATE, OR FACE THE POSSIBILITY THE PEACE WILL COLLAPSE. LONDON, DUBLIN, THE EU AND THE USG UNDERSTAND THAT SUSTAINED ATTENTION AND RESOURCES MUST BE DEDICATED TO ENSURE CONTINUED ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) FORMER SENATOR AND ENVOY FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS GEORGE MITCHELL, ACCOMPANIED BY THE AMBASSADOR AND POLOFF (NOTETAKER), MET WITH VATICAN FOREIGN MINISTER JEAN-LOUIS TAURAN ON 20 JANUARY TO REVIEW THE STATE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. TAURAN OPENED BY ASKING ABOUT THE STATUS OF DECOMMISSIONING. MITCHELL REPLIED THAT ALTHOUGH THE IRA AND PARAMILITARY GROUPS NAMED REPRESENTATIVES TO THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING, UNFORTUNATELY, WEAPONS WERE NOT BEING TURNED IN. HE CITED THE 12 FEBRUARY ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY MEETING DEADLINE AS "CRITICAL" TO THE FUTURE OF THE PROCESS. SINN FEIN LEADER GERRY ADAMS, WHO MET RECENTLY WITH THE

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PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON, AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS UNDERSTAND THAT THEY MUST "DELIVER SOMETHING TANGIBLE" BY THAT DEADLINE OR FACE THE UNRAVELING OF THE PROCESS.

4. (C) MITCHELL SAID THAT "THE MOST POWERFUL FORCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AT PRESENT IS THE WILL OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF ITS INHABITANTS WHO ARE SICK OF CONFLICT." BECAUSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF THE CONFLICT, HE CONTINUED, IT OFTEN IS INCORRECTLY VIEWED AS A RELIGIOUS DISPUTE. INSTEAD, IT IS MORE A MATTER OF A DISPUTE OVER NATIONAL IDENTITY ISSUES. STILL, HE CAUTIONED, NEW EXTREMIST GROUPS COULD SPLINTER OFF FROM THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES TO THE PEACE PROCESS TO PURSUE VIOLENT AGENDAS. THE EVOLUTION AND MINIATURIZATION OF WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY MADE IT EASIER FOR NUMERICALLY SMALL FANATICS SEEKING TO DERAIL OR DESTROY THE PROCESS.

5. (C) TAURAN STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE TO THE VATICAN OF "INTEGRATED" SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE AND MITCHELL PRAISED THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE PLAYED BY CARDINAL BRADY.

6. (C) TURNING TO THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, MITCHELL SAID THAT THE ROBUSTNESS OF THE IRISH ECONOMY HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE "PEACE DIVIDEND". EU SUBSIDIES TO NORTHERN IRISH PROVINCES AND TO THE REPUBLIC HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT, BUT WILL ONLY DECREASE AS EU MONIES INCREASINGLY FLOW TOWARD SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE. ALTHOUGH IRELAND, NOT THE UK, HAS JOINED EUROLAND, IRISH AND BRITISH COOPERATION ON MANY ISSUES IN BRUSSELS CONTRIBUTED TO THE GREATER MUTUAL TRUST NECESSARY TO TACKLE NORTHERN IRELAND. SUSTAINING FAVORABLE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS THERE WILL REQUIRE EFFORT AND VIGILANCE. CITING PARALLELS BETWEEN HIGH RATES OF JOBLESSNESS AND HIGH CRIME RATES/DESPAIR IN SOME URBAN AREAS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND SIMILAR CONDITIONS IN SOME U.S. INNER CITIES, MITCHELL NOTED THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THOUSANDS OF BRITISH TROOPS, A SHARP REDUCTION IN POLICE RANKS, AND THE ANTICIPATED DECREASE IN SECURITY-RELATED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND'S PRIVATE SECTOR MUST BE OFFSET BY FINANCIAL INFLOW FROM OTHER SOURCES. THE BRITISH, IRISH, EU AND USG ARE DETERMINED TO DO THE NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE PROCESS, HE SAID.

FORTUITOUS MEETING BETWEEN MITCHELL AND MALLON
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7. (C) ON THE EVENING PRIOR TO THE TAURAN MEETING, THE AMBASSADOR HOSTED A DINNER IN SENATOR MITCHELL'S HONOR. NORTHERN IRELAND DEPUTY FIRST MINISTER SEAMUS MALLON -- COINCIDENTALLY IN ROME TO ATTEND A PAPAL CEREMONY -- JOINED VATICAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MIGLIORE (WHO ATTENDED IN FM TAURAN'S PLACE

DEPT FOR EUR/WE (YOUTH); EUR/UBI

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/ MESSAGE NO. 013/00

E.O. 12958:DECL: 01/24/10
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, EI, UK, VT

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SUBJECT: FORMER SENATOR MITCHELL BRIEFS VATICAN ON NORTHERN IRELAND

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR CORINNE C BOGGS. REASON 1.5(B) AND (D).

WHEN TAURAN DECLINED AT THE LAST MINUTE DUE TO A LATE INVITATION TO DINE WITH THE POPE), THE BRITISH AND IRISH AMBASSADORS TO THE HOLY SEE, IRISH BISHOP DIARMUID MARTIN OF THE PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE, AND OTHERS AT THE RESIDENCE. A MAJOR TOPIC OF DINNER CONVERSATION AMONG MITCHELL, MALLON AND MIGLIORE WAS EDUCATION; ALL AGREED THAT THE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS WAS OF PARAMOUNT INTEREST AND CONCERN. THE IRISH AND UK AMBASSADORS, AND THE RECTORS OF THE ROME-BASED IRISH AND ENGLISH SEMINARIES, SEATED AT THE SAME TABLE AS THE PRINCIPALS, ALSO WERE KEENLY INTERESTED IN THE EDUCATION ISSUE.

8. (C) COMMENT: TAURAN WAS CLEARLY WELL PREPARED FOR THE MEETING AND APPRECIATIVE OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH SENATOR MITCHELL. THE HOLY SEE CLOSELY FOLLOWS THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, BUT FOR OBVIOUS REASONS THE POPE AND SENIOR VATICAN OFFICIALS LIKE TAURAN TEND TO BE ESPECIALLY CAREFUL IN WORD AND DEED WHERE NORTHERN IRELAND IS CONCERNED. END COMMENT.

9. (C) SENATOR MITCHELL DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS MESSAGE BEFORE DEPARTING ROME. BOGGS

TOR: 01/24/00 09:13:29

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE
SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND VONLIPSEY YEE

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LINE2: ZNY CCCCC ZZH
LINE3: O 271644Z JAN 00
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
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ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6357
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST PRIORITY 1075
SUBJ: TAOISEACH AHERN NAMES HEALTH MINISTER BRIAN COWEN AS IRELAND'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 000564

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR STEINBERG/NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/27/10
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, EU, EI
SUBJECT: TAOISEACH AHERN NAMES HEALTH MINISTER BRIAN COWEN AS IRELAND'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER

REF: DUBLIN 419

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

1. (U) ON JANUARY 27, IRISH TAOISEACH (PRIME MINISTER) BERTIE AHERN NAMED HEALTH MINISTER BRIAN COWEN TO SUCCEED DAVID ANDREWS AS IRELAND'S FOREIGN MINISTER. ANDREWS RETIRED ON JANUARY 26TH. COWEN, FROM AHERN'S FIANNA FAIL PARTY, WILL ASSUME HIS NEW POSITION WITH EFFECT FROM 1600 LOCAL TIME FEBRUARY 27.

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
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2. (U) BRIAN COWEN IS 40 YEARS OLD (BORN IN JANUARY 1960). HE WAS FIRST ELECTED TO THE DAIL (LOWER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT) IN 1984 TO SUCCEED HIS FATHER, BERNARD COWEN, AND HAS SERVED SINCE REPRESENTING THE LAOIS-OFFALY ELECTION DISTRICT. BEFORE ASSUMING PUBLIC OFFICE, COWEN MAINTAINED HIS OWN LAW PRACTICE IN TULLAMORE, COUNTY OFFALY. COWEN WAS NAMED MINISTER FOR HEALTH AND CHILDREN IN JUNE 1997 FOLLOWING THAT MONTH'S ELECTION WHICH LED TO A FIANNA FAIL-PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC PARTY COALITION GOVERNMENT. IN PREVIOUS FIANNA-FAIL LED GOVERNMENTS, COWEN HAD SERVED AS MINISTER FOR LABOR (1992-93) AND MINISTER FOR TRANSPORTATION, ENERGY AND COMMUNICATIONS (1993-94). COWEN AND HIS WIFE MARY HAVE ONE DAUGHTER. HIS PERSONAL INTERESTS INCLUDE GAELIC GAMES AND HORSE RACING.

3. (C) BRIAN COWEN IS ONE OF THE BRIGHTEST STARS OF THE AHERN CABINET AND HIS ELEVATION TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY

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HAS BEEN RUMORED SINCE THE FIRST HINT LAST YEAR THAT DAVID ANDREWS WAS CONSIDERING STEPPING TOWN. COWEN HAS A REPUTATION FOR ASSERTIVENESS AND IS AN AGGRESSIVE DEBATER IN THE DAIL. WHEN FIANNA FAIL NEEDS A VERBAL BATTLER IT OFTEN TURNS TO COWEN WHO HAS EARNED THE NICKNAME "THE TYRANNOSAURUS REX OF TULLAMORE" (AN IMAGE AIDED BY HIS OFTEN DISHEVELED APPEARANCE). NONETHELESS, HE IS AN ARTICULATE, HARD WORKING POLITICIAN KNOWN FOR HIS WIT AND MIMICRY OF IRISH POLITICAL FIGURES. EVEN HIS OPPONENTS CONCEDE THAT HE IS "AN INTELLECTUAL AMONG A CABINET LACKING INTELLECT." COWEN IS BOTH PERSONALLY AND POLITICALLY CLOSE TO TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN.

4. (C) BY ALL ACCOUNTS, TAOISEACH AHERN WAS IMPRESSED WITH COWEN'S HANDLING OF THE DIFFICULT HEALTH PORTFOLIO WHERE HE HAS BEEN UNDER AN OFTEN INTENSE MEDIA SPOTLIGHT OVER ISSUE SUCH AS HOSPITAL UNDER-STAFFING AND LONG WAITING LISTS FOR CRITICAL MEDICAL TREATMENT. COWEN'S REPUTATION WAS ENHANCED IN RECENT MONTHS BY HIS DEFT HANDLING OF A NATIONAL NURSES STRIKE IN OCTOBER 1999 IN WHICH COWEN MANAGED TO SATISFY THE NURSES (WHO HAD BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THEIR DEMANDS) WITHOUT BREACHING THE GOVERNMENT PUBLIC SECTOR PAY PARAMETERS.

5. (C) GIVEN COWEN'S PREVIOUS PORTFOLIO, EMBASSY HAS NOT HAD A GREAT DEAL OF PERSONAL CONTACT WITH HIM. HOWEVER, OCCASIONAL CONTACTS BY THE AMBASSADOR AND OTHER EMBASSY OFFICIALS HAVE INDICATED THAT COWEN IS EXCEPTIONALLY BRIGHT AND PERSONALLY ENGAGING DESPITE HIS RATHER GRUFF PUBLIC PERSONA. OUR CONTACTS WITH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS STAFF INDICATE THAT THEY ARE GENERALLY PLEASED WITH BOTH COWEN'S APPOINTMENT AND ANDREWS' DEPARTURE. FROM THE U.S. PERSPECTIVE, WE MAY FIND COWEN TO BE MORE PRAGMATIC AND OPEN TO U.S. POINTS OF VIEW THAN WAS ANDREWS WHO CAME FROM A TRADITIONAL FIANNA FAIL BACKGROUND ROUTED IN NEUTRALITY POLICY AND IDENTIFICATION WITH DEVELOPING WORLD VIEWS THAT ARE NO LONGER REFLECTIVE OF MODERN, "CELTIC TIGER" IRELAND. WE HAVE ALREADY BEEN TOLD THAT WE ARE UNLIKELY TO SEE FROM COWEN THE PERSONAL ACTIVISM O
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ISSUES SUCH AS THE "NEW AGENDA FOR DISARMAMENT" WHICH WERE SO CLOSE TO FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREWS' HEART. WE ARE UNAWARE OF COWEN'S SPECIFIC VIEWS ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS (HE HAS NOT EXPRESSED THEM AS HEALTH MINISTER), BUT WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE ANY SIGNIFICANT DIVERGENCE FROM THOSE OF THE TAOISEACH.

6. (C) EMBASSY WILL BE BUILDING OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH FOREIGN MINISTER COWEN OVER THE COMING DAYS AND WEEKS AND WILL REPORT OUR FURTHER IMPRESSIONS AS THEY ARE DEVELOPED.

SULLIVAN

TOR: 01/27/00 12:40:26

DIST: SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: SIT{C2}
SIT: BLINKEN NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON KASS MUNTER NORLAND SUM2 VONLIPSEY YEE
PRT: SIT{C2}

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LINE3: R 281142Z JAN 00
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OSRI: RUEHSA
DTG:
ORIG: AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 9626
INFO: RUCNSAD/SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 0042
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0897
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0008
SUBJ: IRISH LOOK TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN MODEL

CLASSIFIED BY POLCOUNS MDRAGSDALE, REASONS 1.5(B) AND (D).
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 PRETORIA 000692

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/S

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/25/2005
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, SF
SUBJECT: IRISH LOOK TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN MODEL

CLASSIFIED BY POLCOUNS MDRAGSDALE, REASONS 1.5(B) AND (D).

1. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY. THE IRISH PRIME MINISTER BERTIE AHERN'S FOUR-DAY VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA WAS THE FIRST VISIT BY AN IRISH PRIME MINISTER TO THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. ALTHOUGH MUCH OF THE OFFICIAL VISIT WAS ROUTINE, AHERN'S EMOTIONAL REACTION TO HIV/AIDS ORPHANS COULD RESULT IN INCREASED IRISH AID TO SOUTH AFRICA. PRESIDENT MBEKI TOLD AHERN THAT ANGOLAN MPLA OFFICIALS WERE CONVINCED A MILITARY VICTORY WAS POSSIBLE IN ANGOLA. BOTH THE IRISH AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS USED AHERN'S VISIT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO LAUD SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, AND AHERN SAID IT WAS CONCEIVABLE THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD AGAIN BE ASKED TO ASSIST. END SUMMARY.

LAST MINUTE ARRANGEMENTS
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2. ~~(C)~~ ACCORDING TO IRISH EMBASSY FIRST SECRETARY BRIAN MULDOON, PRIME MINISTER AHERN ONLY DECIDED IN EARLY DECEMBER 1999 TO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA. BECAUSE OF THE HOLIDAY SEASON AND PRESIDENT MBEKI'S FULL SCHEDULE, BOTH THE EMBASSY AND THE SAG UNSUCCESSFULLY ATTEMPTED TO DISSUADE AHERN FROM VISITING. GRACIOUSLY, HOWEVER, WHEN FACED WITH AN INSISTENT IRISH GOVERNMENT, SOUTH AFRICA ACQUIESCED AND EVEN SUGGESTED THE VISIT BE UPGRADED FROM A WORKING ONE TO AN OFFICIAL ONE. MULDOON SAID AHERN INSISTED ON THE TRIP BECAUSE THE PRIME MINISTER FELT HE WAS OVERDUE A VISIT TO AFRICA AND WANTED TO COMBINE THIS WITH A WORKING TOUR OF AN IRISH AID PROGRAM. DURING THE JANUARY 11-14 FOUR-DAY VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA, THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTNER AND A 20-PERSON TRADE DELEGATION ACCOMPANIED HIM.

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TOUCHED BY AID
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3. (C) ACCORDING TO BOTH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR IRELAND, PIETER COETZEE, AND MULDOON, AHERN WAS UNEXPECTEDLY DEEPLY TOUCHED BY THE HIV/AIDS ORPHANS HE SAW AT THE NAZARETH HOUSE (A PROJECT WHICH IRELAND SUPPORTS) IN CAPE TOWN. COETZEE NOTED AHERN SPECIFICALLY TOLD THE SAG HE WOULD PERSONALLY INVESTIGATE HOW THE IRISH GOVERNMENT COULD FURTHER SUPPORT THE FIGHT AGAINST AIDS IN AFRICA. MULDOON HOPED THE PRIME MINISTER'S REACTION WOULD LEAD TO MORE GOVERNMENT SYMPATHY FOR OVERSEAS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND FURTHER DIRECT SUPPORT TO SOUTH AFRICA (THE CURRENT IRISH AID BUDGET IS APPROXIMATELY 20MILLION RAND PER YEAR). MULDOON STRESSED THAT AHERN WAS THE FIRST TAOISEACH (IRISH PRIME MINISTER) TO EVER VISIT AN IRISH AID PROJECT ABROAD.

OF COURSE TRADE
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4. (C) DURING THE BILATERAL MEETING BETWEEN AHERN AND PRESIDENT MBEKI, THE PRIME MINISTER SUPPORTED A RAPID CONCLUSION TO THE SOUTH AFRICA-EU TRADE AGREEMENT. ACCORDING TO MULDOON, AHERN TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT THAT IRELAND WAS KEEN TO INCREASE BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT. MULDOON ADDED THAT MBEKI ASKED SPECIFIC QUESTIONS REGARDING THE "CELTIC TIGER'S" RECENT ECONOMIC MIRACLE. COETZEE SAID THE SAG WAS IMPRESSED WITH IRELAND'S RAPID MOVEMENT INTO THE INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY FIELD. WITH NO FORMAL TRADE RELATIONS BEFORE 1990 (IN PROTEST TO SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SYSTEM), BOTH COETZEE AND MULDOON STRESSED THAT IRISH COMPANIES WERE KEEN TO ENGAGE WITH SOUTH AFRICAN COUNTERPARTS. TO THIS END, MULDOON SAID, THE 20-PERSON TRADE DELEGATION HELD A SERIES OF USEFUL MEETINGS.

AND NORTHERN IRELAND
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5. (C) BOTH MULDOON AND COETZEE HIGHLIGHTED THE PRIME MINISTER'S FOCUS ON SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. ACCORDING TO MULDOON, AHERN RAISED THE ISSUE WITH BOTH PRESIDENT MBEKI AND DEPUTY PRESIDENT ZUMA. AS COETZEE EXPLAINED, SOUTH AFRICA (NOTABLY FORMER PRESIDENT DE KLERK, CYRIL RAMAPHOSA, AND ROELF MEYER) WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING THE UNIONISTS AND SEIN FEIN TO THE SAME ROOM IN 1996 IN CAPE TOWN. USING THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE AS AN EXAMPLE, RAMAPHOSA AND MEYER WERE ABLE TO CONVINCE THE IRISH TO ENGAGE IN DISCUSSION DURING THEIR 3-DAY SOJOURN IN CAPE TOWN. ACCORDING TO COETZEE, THE PRIME MINISTER PLACED A GREAT DEAL OF EMPHASIS ON THIS FACILITATION DURING HIS VISIT AND SPOKE EXTENSIVELY ABOUT IT IN HIS SPEECH AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. ACCORDING TO MULDOON, MBEKI NOTED SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. COETZEE ALSO SAID AHERN HAD INDICATED THAT, WERE THE CURRENT PROCESS TO FALTER, IRELAND MIGHT REQUEST FUTURE SOUTH AFRICAN

DEPARTMENT FOR AF/S

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/25/2005
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, SF
SUBJECT: IRISH LOOK TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN MODEL

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INVOLVEMENT.

CONCERN WITH THE DROC AND ANGOLA

6. (C) ACCORDING TO MULDOON, THE PRIME MINISTER WAS SOMEWHAT SURPRISED WITH PRESIDENT MBEKI'S DETAILED DISCUSSION ON THE DROC AND ANGOLAN CONFLICTS. AS MULDOON EXPLAINED, MBEKI HAD STRESSED THE NEED FOR "OUTSIDE" COMMITMENT IN THE DROC, THE ABSENCE OF WHICH COULD LEAD TO A DEEPENING OF THE CONFLICT. MULDOON SAID MBEKI HAD STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO "PUT PRESSURE" ON THE LUSAKA PROCESS BECAUSE OF THE BELLIGERENTS' "DEEP-SEATED" ANTAGONISMS. TURNING TO ANGOLA, MULDOON SAID MBEKI CONFIRMED MEETING HIS MPLA COUNTERPARTS DURING THE ANC'S JANUARY 8 ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS, BUT THAT THE MPLA OFFICIALS HAD INSISTED THE ANGOLA COULD ACHIEVE A MILITARY VICTORY OVER UNITA. MBEKI TOLD AHERN THE SAG FELT THIS OPTIMISM WAS UNWARRANTED AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA DID NOT BELIEVE UNITA LEADER JONAS SAVIMBI'S TERRORIST CAPABILITIES HAD ERODED. ACCORDING TO MULDOON, MBEKI TOUCHED BRIEFLY ON THE SUDAN, ASCRIBING THE CONFLICT TO BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY.

COMMENT

7. (C) THE HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION PLACE ON AHERN'S VISIT (PRESIDENT MBEKI'S OFFICE GENERALLY HAS BEEN PASSING ON PRIME MINISTERIAL VISITS TO THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT'S OFFICE) INDICATES THAT SOUTH AFRICA DOES INDEED FEEL A CLOSENESS TO IRELAND THAT GOES BEYOND THE 60,000 IRISH RESIDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE POPULARITY IN IRELAND OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOLFING TOURS. OF COURSE, KEY ANC MEMBER KADER ASMAL'S 25 YEARS IN EXILE IN DUBLIN (WHERE HE WAS A LECTURER AT TRINITY COLLEGE) CONTRIBUTES TO THE SAG'S FONDNESS FOR IRELAND. WITH BOTH PARTIES DESCRIBING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AS EXCELLENT, CONTINUED AFFINITY IS CERTAINLY IN THE CARDS. LEWIS
LEWIS

TOR: 01/28/00 09:38:16

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INFO: ////
SUBJ: MICHAEL PORTILLO RETURNS TO OPPOSITION FRONT BENCH AS SHADOW CHANCELLOR; FRANCIS MAUDE MOVES TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 000847

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/02/10
TAGS: PGOV, UK
SUBJECT: MICHAEL PORTILLO RETURNS TO OPPOSITION FRONT BENCH AS SHADOW CHANCELLOR; FRANCIS MAUDE MOVES TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

REFS: A) 99 LONDON 9976, B) 99 LONDON 8728, C) LONDON 814

(U) CLASSIFIED BY POLITICAL MINISTER COUNSELOR JUDITH R. JOHNSON FOR REASONS 1.5 (B).

SUMMARY

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1. (U) MICHAEL PORTILLO, WHO RETURNED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN NOVEMBER TWO YEARS AFTER LOSING HIS SEAT AND HIS POSITION AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE, IS THE NEW SHADOW CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER. ON FEBRUARY 1, TORY LEADER WILLIAM HAGUE ANNOUNCED A SHADOW CABINET SHUFFLE THAT ALSO MOVED FRANCIS MAUDE, WHO HAD BEEN SHADOW CHANCELLOR TO SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY. THE SHUFFLE BROUGHT IN ARCHIE NORMAN, KNOWN MORE FOR HIS PRIVATE SECTOR MANAGEMENT EXPERIENCE THAN HIS POLITICAL SKILLS, AS SHADOW MINISTER FOR ENVIRONMENT AND TRANSPORT. JOHN MAPLES, WHO HAD BEEN SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY, AND JOHN REDWOOD, WHO HAD BEEN SHADOW ENVIRONMENT AND TRANSPORT MINISTER, LOST THEIR SEATS ON THE FRONT BENCH.

2. ~~(C)~~ PORTILLO'S MOVE TO THE FRONT BENCH WILL GIVE THE TORIES MORE FIREPOWER AND A STRONG EURO-SKEPTIC VOICE DURING UPCOMING BUDGET DEBATES. IT ALSO LINKS PORTILLO'S FUTURE TO HAGUE'S OWN, THOUGH MOST OBSERVERS PREDICT THAT PORTILLO WILL SKILLFULLY POSITION HIMSELF TO REPLACE HAGUE, PERHAPS AFTER THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTIONS WHICH NO ONE EXPECTS THE TORIES TO WIN. MAUDE'S MOVE TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS WILL STRENGTHEN THAT PORTFOLIO WHILE ALSO ALLOWING A MORE MODERATE EUROSKEPTIC TO SPEAK FOR THE PARTY ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUES. NORMAN'S APPOINTMENT AND REDWOOD'S DISMISSAL ARE MORE CONTROVERSIAL. NORMAN IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE ABLE TO BE AS EFFECTIVE AN OPPONENT FOR DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER JOHN PRESCOTT, AND SOME OBSERVERS PREDICT THAT REDWOOD COULD EMERGE AS A RALLYING POINT FOR THOSE DISSATISFIED WITH HAGUE'S OFTEN CLUMSY LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY

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PORTILLO RETURNS TO FRONT BENCH AND MOVES QUICKLY
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3. (C) MICHAEL PORTILLO, THATCHER DARLING, EUROSKEPTIC AND DEFENSE MINISTER UNDER JOHN MAJOR, HAS RETURNED TO THE TORY FRONT BENCH TWO YEARS AFTER LOSING HIS SEAT IN THE 1997 GENERAL ELECTIONS AND JUST OVER TWO MONTHS AFTER RETURNING TO PARLIAMENT BY WAY OF A BY-ELECTION (REF A). TORY LEADER WILLIAM HAGUE ANNOUNCED PORTILLO'S NEW PORTFOLIO IN A SHADOW CABINET SHUFFLE ON FEBRUARY 1. PORTILLO, WHO WAS KNOWN AS A RUTHLESS HARD-LINER DURING THE THATCHER AND MAJOR GOVERNMENTS, BRINGS FIREPOWER AND A STRONG EURO-SKEPTIC VOICE TO THE SHADOW CHANCELLOR POSITION. HE RESPONDED TO HAGUE'S ANNOUNCEMENT BY PLEDGING TO "WORK WITH WILLIAM TO BATTLE TO LOWER THE TAX BURDEN AND FIGHT FOR LESS INTERFERENCE WITH BUSINESS."

4. (C) A FISCAL CONSERVATIVE AND EURO-SKEPTIC, PORTILLO IS NEVERTHELESS CREDITED WITH HAVING USED HIS TWO YEARS OUT OF OFFICE TO ESTABLISH HIS "MORE THOUGHTFUL AND CARING SIDE." HIS SPEECH AT THE TORY PARTY CONFERENCE IN OCTOBER (REF A) AND SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS SUGGEST THAT HE IS LIKELY TO OFFER "SOCIALLY LIBERAL" INITIATIVES FOR ADDRESSING BRITAIN'S DOMESTIC CHALLENGES, INCLUDING HEALTH AND EDUCATION. HIS SURPRISE FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT, ONLY TWO DAYS AFTER TAKING OVER AS SHADOW CHANCELLOR, MAY HINT OF THINGS TO COME. HE PLEDGED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS THAT THE NEXT TORY GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT ACT AGAINST THE MINIMUM WAGE AND WOULD RESPECT AND PROTECT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

5. (C) DESPITE REPEATED OATHS OF LOYALTY TO HAGUE, PORTILLO IS GENERALLY SEEN AS THE MOST LIKELY NEXT PARTY LEADER. HE IS UNQUESTIONABLY ONE OF THE TORIES' TOUGHEST AND MOST SKILLFUL AND CHARISMATIC POLITICIANS. EVEN THOSE WHO HAD EARLIER SAID HIS PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIMENTATION WHEN A STUDENT WOULD RULE HIM OUT, NOW SEEM TO ACCEPT THAT HIS PERFORMANCE FROM HERE WILL BE THE DECIDING FACTOR. WHILE THERE IS SPECULATION THAT HAGUE SO QUICKLY BROUGHT PORTILLO BACK TO THE FRONT BENCH IN ORDER TO LINK THEIR DESTINIES, MOST COMMENTATORS ASSUME THAT THE NEW SHADOW CHANCELLOR IS SMART ENOUGH TO SERVE HAGUE LOYALLY WITHOUT HURTING HIS OWN CHANCES TO STEP IN WHEN HAGUE LOSES THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. THE BEST GUESS IS THAT WOULD BE AFTER THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION, WHICH ARE NOT EXPECTED TO GO WELL FOR THE TORIES. IN THE MEANTIME, THE FIRST MICHAEL PORTILLO-GORDON BROWN FACE-OFF IN COMMONS ON FEBRUARY 3 OFFERED A PREVIEW OF THE FIREWORKS WE ARE LIKELY TO SEE IN THE FUTURE.

MAUDE AS SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY
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6. (C) FRANCES MAUDE'S MOVE FROM SHADOW CHANCELLOR TO SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY IS A WIN-WIN DECISION. A LESS CHARISMATIC BUT NO LESS SMART EURO-SKEPTIC THAN PORTILLO, MAUDE WAS NOWHERE NEAR THE MATCH TO GORDON BROWN THAT PORTILLO WILL BE, BUT HE SHOULD BE AN EFFECTIVE TORY VOICE TO THE INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCE. HIS REMARKS ON BRITAIN'S FUTURE IN EUROPE TO A BRITISH THINK TANK ON JANUARY 25 (REF C) ECHOED THE ARGUMENTS THAT HAGUE HAD MADE DURING

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THIS KEYNOTE SPEECH AT THE TORY PARTY CONFERENCE IN OCTOBER (REF B). THEY SUGGEST THAT THE PARTY LEADERSHIP HAS COME TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE BEST WAY TO USE THE EUROPE ISSUE TO DO BATTLE WITH LABOUR IS TO AVOID EXTREMIST, ABSOLUTIST RHETORIC (AS IN "NO TO THE EURO FOREVER" OR "WE INTEND TO RENEGOTIATE THE TREATY OF ROME") AND INSTEAD OFFER MORE REASONED ARGUMENTS.

7. (C) MAUDE, WHO IS A FORMER BARRISTER AND MERCHANT BANKER, IS A FORMER MEMBER OF MARGARET THATCHER'S "NO TURNING BACK GROUP" OF FERVENT SUPPORTERS. HIS ECONOMIC AND FINANCE BACKGROUND IS COMPLEMENTED BY HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE EARLY 90'S AS AN FCO MINISTER OF STATE, WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR EC AFFAIRS, WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE, HONG KONG AND CHINA. HE WILL BE EFFECTIVE IN PART BECAUSE HE IS COMFORTABLE DEALING WITH HIS EUROPEAN COUNTERPARTS AND ALSO BECAUSE HE REFUSES TO BE DEFENSIVE ABOUT BRITAIN'S ROLE IN EUROPE. MAUDE ARGUES THAT BRITAIN'S POSITION ON THE EURO REFLECTS ITS ROLE AS LEADER RATHER THAN AS LAGGARD. MAUDE IS LESS CHARISMATIC AND LESS WELL KNOWN BUT NO LESS EXPERIENCED OR SMART THAN PORTILLO, WHO WAS HIS CONTEMPORARY AT CAMBRIDGE. TOGETHER, THEY WILL SIGNIFICANTLY STRENGTHEN THE TORY FRONT BENCH TEAM. THE DEPARTURE OF JOHN MAPLES, MAUDE'S PREDECESSOR, FROM THE FRONT BENCH BARELY MERITED COMMENT, EXCEPT THAT HE HAD BEEN SO INVISIBLE THAT HE WILL NOT BE MISSED.

MANAGER ARCHIE NORMAN TO BE PITTED AGAINST POLITICO PRESCOTT

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8. (C) ARCHIE NORMAN'S APPOINTMENT AS SHADOW MINISTER FOR ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND THE REGIONS IS SEEN AS LESS OF A PLUS FOR THE TORY FRONT BENCH. OBSERVERS ARE ASKING WHY, WHILE LABOUR SPOKESPERSONS ARE ENJOYING THE MOMENT. NORMAN IS AN EXPERIENCED PRIVATE SECTOR MANAGER, WHO REPORTEDLY SERVED AS HAGUE'S MENTOR WHEN THEY BOTH WORKED AT MCKINSEY CONSULTING AND LATER WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR RESCUING ASDA, ONE OF BRITAIN'S LARGE FOOD RETAILERS, BEFORE IT WAS BOUGHT OUT BY WALMART. HE REPORTEDLY RESIGNED HIS POSITION AS DIRECTOR AT RAILTRACK AS SOON AS HE WAS NOMINATED. NORMAN HAS A POOR ATTENDANCE RECORD AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AND HE FAILED TO SHOW UP FOR AN INTERVIEW ON BBC4 RADIO THE DAY AFTER BEING NAMED SHADOW MINISTER. JOHN PRESCOTT HECKLED HIM IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS LATER THE SAME DAY, ASKING IF HIS NO-SHOW WAS "BECAUSE HE IS TOO MODEST, HE IS AWARE THAT HE IS NOT PREPARED, OR HE IS TOO BUSY WITH HIS BUSINESS INTERESTS." QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED ABOUT NORMAN'S BUSINESS HOLDINGS AND CONNECTIONS REPRESENTING A POTENTIAL CONFLICT OF INTEREST. A CONTRACT WITH WALMART, WHICH MUST OVERCOME OPPOSITION IN SOME QUARTERS TO ITS PLANS TO BUILD SUPERSTORES OUTSIDE URBAN CENTERS, RUNS UNTIL JUNE OF THIS YEAR, BUT HE IS REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO "PUT THINGS IN ORDER" AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. INSIDERS SAY THAT HE HAS FEW FANS EVEN IN THE PARTY AND THEREFORE WILL HAVE FEW DEFENDERS IF HE GETS INTO TROUBLE.

PREDICTIONS DISPLACED REDWOOD MAY BE FOCUS OF DISSENT IN PARTY

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9. (C) THERE ARE A NUMBER OF EXPLANATIONS BEING OFFERED FOR HAGUE'S DECISION TO DUMP JOHN REDWOOD IN FAVOR OF NORMAN. REDWOOD FAILED TO WIN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IN 1995 (LOSING TO MAJOR) AND AGAIN IN 1997 (WHEN HAGUE TOOK OVER). HIS APPEARANCE AND COLD, SHARP STYLE LONG AGO EARNED HIM THE NICKNAME "THE VULCAN," AND HE IS IDENTIFIED BY MANY IN THE PRESS AND PUBLIC WITH THE STYLE PROBLEMS OF THE LAST TORY GOVERNMENTS. HE NEVERTHELESS HAS BEEN ONE OF HAGUE'S MOST ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION FRONTBENCHERS -- HIGHLIGHTING HOLES IN JOHN PRESCOTT'S TRANSPORT AND

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ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY INITIATIVES. THE LONDON PRESS SPECULATED THAT HAGUE MAY HAVE BEEN MOTIVATED MORE BY A DESIRE TO MAKE A PLACE FOR NORMAN THAN UNHAPPINESS WITH REDWOOD, BUT THEY ALSO PREDICTED THE TORY LEADER MAY END UP REGRETTING THE MOVE. PARTY HARDLINERS OBJECTED TO HIS FIRING, AND THE PRESS PREDICTED THAT REDWOOD MAY NOW SERVE AS A FOCAL POINT FOR RIGHTWING TORIES WHO ARE DISSATISFIED WITH HAGUE'S LEADERSHIP. REDWOOD SAID HAGUE'S ANNOUNCEMENT WAS "A GREAT SHOCK" BUT PLEDGED HIS SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY'S PROGRAM. FEW BELIEVE HE WILL QUIETLY DISAPPEAR FROM THE SCENE.

COMMENT
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10. (C) THE "BIG TORY SHUFFLE" DID NOT INVOLVE MANY CHANGES, BUT IT WAS BIG NEWS IN LONDON, LARGELY BECAUSE OF PORTILLO'S DRAMATIC RETURN TO THE FRONT BENCH. IF HAGUE HAD WANTED THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO BE THE HEADLINE STORY, HE WOULD HAVE CHOSEN ANOTHER MOMENT THAN THE DAY AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CONVICTION OF BRITAIN'S LARGEST SERIAL MURDERER AND THE DAY IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS WAS FACING A CRISIS. SOME POLITICAL COMMENTATORS ARGUED THAT HAGUE WANTED TO KEEP THE SPOTLIGHT OFF PORTILLO'S RETURN AND THEREFORE DELIBERATELY CHOSE A BUSY NEWS DAY. THEY ARGUE THAT WHILE HAGUE WELCOMES PORTILLO'S FIREPOWER, HE ALSO KNOWS THAT, AT SOME POINT, HE WILL BE COMPETING WITH PORTILLO FOR THE CHANCE TO BE BRITAIN'S NEXT TORY PRIME MINISTER. IN FACT, PORTILLO HAS NO NEED TO CHALLENGE HAGUE. ANOTHER CRUSHING DEFEAT FOR THE TORIES IN THE NEXT GENERAL
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 000847

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/02/10
TAGS: PGOV, UK
SUBJECT: MICHAEL PORTILLO RETURNS TO OPPOSITION FRONT BENCH AS SHADOW CHANCELLOR; FRANCIS MAUDE MOVES TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ELECTION -- EXPECTED IN 2001 -- WILL CERTAINLY END HAGUE'S TENURE AND CLEAR THE WAY FOR PORTILLO TO MAKE HIS MOVE. NO ONE DOUBTS THAT HE IS SMART ENOUGH TO PROTECT HIMSELF ENOUGH IN THE MEANTIME TO EMERGE FROM SUCH A DEFEAT ABLE TO ASSUME THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. LADER

TOR: 02/04/00 04:24:34

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RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 0001
SUBJ: OSCE/RUSSIANS REQUEST NORTHERN IRELAND BE PLACE ON PC AGENDA

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR DAVID T. JOHNSON FOR REASONS 1.5
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 USOSCE VIENNA 000326

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/31/2010
TAGS: PREL, UK, OSCE, EI, RU
SUBJECT: OSCE/RUSSIANS REQUEST NORTHERN IRELAND BE PLACE ON PC AGENDA

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR DAVID T. JOHNSON FOR REASONS 1.5 (B&D). THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE, SEE PARA 4.

SUMMARY
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1. (C) THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR AT THE OSCE REQUESTED FEBRUARY 15 THAT NORTHERN IRELAND BE ADDED TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL (PC) FEBRUARY 17 AGENDA. THE RUSSIAN MOVE IS A TRANSPARENT ATTEMPT TO DEFLECT ATTENTION FROM CHECHNYA. THE UK HAS REQUESTED INSTRUCTIONS TO RESPOND BY BRIEFING ON THE HISTORY OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ROLE, AS WELL AS THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE TALKS. MISSION REQUESTS INSTRUCTIONS TO SUPPORT THE UK AND POINT OUT THAT THE SITUATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND CHECHNYA ARE NOT COMPARABLE. SEE ACTION REQUEST, PARA 4. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) UK DELEGATION PROVIDED USOSCE WITH A COPY OF A FEBRUARY 14 LETTER FROM RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR BELOUS TO CIO REP STEFAN-BASTL (AUSTRIA) WHICH:

-- REQUESTS THAT THE PC AGENDA FOR FEBRUARY 17 INCLUDE THE ISSUE OF AN OSCE ROLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND;

-- NOTES POSSIBLE ROLES FOR THE OSCE REGARDING THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AS WELL AS IN COMBATING TERRORISM; AND

--SUGGESTS THE DEPLOYMENT OF A REACT TEAM TO NORTHERN IRELAND

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AS A POSSIBLE FUTURE STEP.

TEXT OF THE LETTER IS REPORTED AT PARA 5.

3. (C) UK AMBASSADOR DEFONBLANQUE TOLD AMBASSADOR JOHNSON THAT THE AUSTRIANS DO NOT PLAN TO PUT NORTHERN IRELAND ON THE PC AGENDA. NONETHELESS, HE RUSSIANS MAY RAISE THIS MATTER UNDER THE STANDARD AGENDA ITEM "CURRENT ISSUES." NOTE: THIS IS A TRANSPARENT ATTEMPT BY THE RUSSIANS TO DEFLECT ATTENTION FROM CHECHNYA. PC DISCUSSIONS OF CHECHNYA OFTEN TAKE PLACE UNDER THE "CURRENT ISSUES" AGENDA HEADING. END NOTE. DEFONBLANQUE INTENDS TO REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON TO RESPOND TO THE RUSSIANS ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: ACKNOWLEDGE SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE IN THE CURRENT PEACE PROCESS, PROVIDE A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EFFORTS OF SENATOR MITCHELL AND GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN; DESCRIBE THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE PEACE PROCESS, AND NOTE THAT THE PARTIES HAVE NOT REQUESTED FURTHER INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE.

4. (C) MISSION BELIEVES IT IS CLEAR THERE IS NO USEFUL OSCE ROLE IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. WE DEFER TO THE DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSIES LONDON AND DUBLIN REGARDING THE STATUS OF THE PEACE PROCESS. WE SUGGEST WE COORDINATE OUR RESPONSE CAREFULLY WITH THE UK, AND PROPOSE AN ASSERTIVE RESPONSE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

--HIGHLIGHT THE SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL ROLE IN THE NORTHERN IRISH PEACE PROCESS, INCLUDING THE KEY ROLE OF FORMER SENATOR MITCHELL.

--STRESS THE SIGNIFICANT STRIDES MADE BY THE PARTIES TO THAT PROCESS..

--POINT OUT THAT THE PROCESS IS NOW AT A VERY ADVANCED, AS WELL AS DELICATE STAGE.

--THE PARTIES HAVE NOT REQUESTED ANY FURTHER INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE, AND ATTEMPTING TO INSERT THE OSCE AT THIS LATE STAGE COULD DAMAGE, RATHER THAN ENHANCE, THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE.

--THE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL IS MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO DEFLECT THE ATTENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FROM CHECHNYA.

--SINCE THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AGREED TO THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE OSCE ADVISORY MISSION IN GEORGIA, AND ALSO AGREED IN ISTANBUL TO AN OSCE ROLE IN FACILITATING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT TO THE CHECHEN CONFLICT, OSCE ENGAGEMENT IS NOT ONLY APPROPRIATE BUT REQUIRED.

--OSCE ENGAGEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IN CONTRAST, MEETS NEITHER TEST.

ACTION REQUESTED: WE REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS TO RESPOND TO THE RUSSIANS AS OUTLINED ABOVE. END ACTION REQUEST.

5. (SBU) BEGIN TEXT.

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/31/2010

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TAGS: PREL, UK, OSCE, EI, RU
SUBJECT: OSCE/RUSSIANS REQUEST NORTHERN IRELAND BE PLACE ON PC AGENDA

DEAR MS. AMBASSADOR,

WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THE RESUMPTION OF TERRORIST ACTS, THE DEADLOCK IN HANDING OVER OF WEAPONS ONCE AGAIN HAVE CONSIDERABLY AGGRAVATED THE SITUATION IN THIS PROVINCE. IMPOSSIBILITY TO SET GOING THE WORK OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND ORGANS OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER AND AS A RESULT THE RETURN TO A DIRECT LONDON'S RULE IS BASICALLY A RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE WHOLE PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT HAS WITNESSED A SETBACK. THE CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR DECADES ALREADY. IN FACT IT CAN BE VIEWED UPON AS A "FROZEN" ONE - ALIKE ABKHAZIAN, TRANS-DNISTRIAN, NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICTS. WE REGARD WITH COMPREHENSION THE ACTIONS BY AUTHORITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN THE PREVAILING COMPLEX SITUATION, WE SUPPORT EFFORTS TO CEASE IT AND TO ATTAIN A LASTING POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. AT THE SAME TIME WE BELIEVE THAT THE OSCE AS WELL COULD OFFER AN EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE. OUR ORGANIZATION EXERCISES SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY AND CAPABILITIES TO EXERT NECESSARY PRESSURE TO PROMOTE DE-ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT, ASSIST EFFECTIVELY IN REDUCING THE EVER MOUNTING TENSION AND CREATE CONDITIONS FOR SEEKING THE WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. AT FIRST STAGE IT COULD BE SEEN ADVISABLE TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITHIN THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE THEN FOLLOWING A REPORT TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL, INCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS ON POSSIBLE OSCE MEASURES AND ACTIONS TO RENDER ASSISTANCE TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH AUTHORITIES, TAKING ACCOUNT, NATURALLY, OF THEIR RESPECTIVE WISHES. HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION, CONDITIONS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE, AS WELL AS THE ISSUE OF COMBATING TERRORISM DESERVE SPECIAL ATTENTION. THE DISPATCH TO NORTHERN IRELAND OF A REACT, ONCE IT BECOMES OPERATIONAL, COULD BE SEEN AS A FURTHER PRACTICAL STEP TO THIS EFFECT. WE STAND READY TO PROVIDE FOR THAT WORK RUSSIAN EXPERTS, EXPERIENCED IN CONFLICT SETTLEMENT AND FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM. WE URGE THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVES TO JOIN A REACT GROUP FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, IN CASE IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED, WITH DUE REGARD TO A CONSIDERABLE ROLE WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS UNTIL NOW DISPLAYED IN THIS CRISIS.

WE ALSO SUGGEST THAT THE CHAIRPERSON-IN-OFFICE SHOULD TAKE THIS MATTER UNDER PARTICULAR SUPERVISION. WE CONSIDER THIS WOULD COLLIDE WITH THE REMARK PUT FORWARD BY MR. SHUSSEL IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL ON 13 JANUARY 2000: "SINCE SECURITY AND STABILITY ARE INSEPARABLE, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT CONFLICTS BE GIVEN EQUAL ATTENTION AND TREATMENT, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION." WE EXPECT THE CIO TO COME FORWARD WITH SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON ACTIONS REGARDING THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE SHARE THE CHAIRMANSHIP'S POINT OF VIEW THAT "THE SUCCESS OF THE OSCE'S ACTIVITIES CAN BE MEASURED IN THE PRACTICAL AND OFTEN UNSPECTACULAR IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRIES."

HAVING IT ALL IN MIND WE WOULD REQUEST THE AUSTRIAN CHAIRMANSHIP TO PUT THE ISSUE ON THE SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND ON OSCE'S ROLE IN THE AGENDA OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL MEETING SCHEDULED FOR 17 FEBRUARY 2000.

YOURS SINCERELY,

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OLEG BELOUS
AMBASSADOR, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE

END TEXT.
JOHNSON

TOR: 02/14/00 13:51:36

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PRT: BRODY
SIT: BINNENDIJK BLACK BLINKEN BRZEZINSKI NSC CRAWFORD DAVIDSON ELKIND HINCKLEY KAIDANOW KASS MASSEY MEDISH MUNTER NORLAND SAPIRO TEDSTROM VONLIPSEY WEISS WITKOWSKY YEE
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RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1541
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST IMMEDIATE 1190
SUBJ: SIGNS OF FRAYING IN IRISH-BRITISH RELATIONS ON NORTHERN PEACE PROCESS

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 002650

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR DICK NORLAND

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/15/2010
TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SIGNS OF FRAYING IN IRISH-BRITISH RELATIONS ON NORTHERN PEACE PROCESS

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

SUMMARY
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1. (C) IRISH OFFICIALS ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT A DROP OFF IN UK CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOI ON NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES. IRISH DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ANGLO-IRISH CHIEF O'CEALLAIGH TOLD THE AMBASSADOR SEPTEMBER 13 THAT BRITISH FAILURE TO CONSULT THE GOI ON THE RECENT DRAFT FLAG REGULATION PUT BEFORE THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY WAS ONLY THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF A GROWING PATTERN OF "NON-CONSULTATION" EMERGING FROM THE NIO AND SECRETARY OF STATE MANDELSON. ON OTHER ISSUES, O'CEALLAIGH SAID HE THOUGHT THE IRA WOULD ALLOW ANOTHER CONFIDENCE BUILDING INSPECTION OF ARMS DUMPS BUT DID NOT OFFER A TIMEFRAME. HE NOTED THE POLICE REFORM BILL REMAINED INADEQUATE TO GAIN NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN SUPPORT AND SAW THE ISSUE OF REPUBLICAN "ON-THE-RUNS" (OTR'S) AS A CONTINUING PROBLEM. IN CONTRAST TO BRITISH-IRISH RELATIONS, O'CEALLAIGH OBSERVED THAT WORK IN THE NORTH-SOUTH BODIES WAS MAKING PROGRESS. (COMMENT: BRITISH-IRISH COOPERATION/ CONSULTATION IS CRITICAL TO THE PEACE PROCESS BUT NOW SEEMS UNDER STRAIN, A STRAIN FOR WHICH THE IRISH LARGELY BLAME PETER MANDELSON. RELATIONS REMAIN CLOSE, HOWEVER, BETWEEN TAOISEACH BERTIE AHERN AND PRIME MINISTER BLAIR AND THEIR OFFICES. THESE CONTACTS MAY HAVE TO BE THE CENTER OF AN ANGLO--IRISH EFFORT TO RESOLVE SUCCESSFULLY THE POLICING ISSUE. END COMMENT) END SUMMARY

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PROBLEMS IN "EAST-WEST" RELATIONS?
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2. (C) DAITHI O'CEALLAIGH (PRONOUNCED "DAW-HEE" O'KELLY), CHIEF OF THE DFA'S ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR SEPTEMBER 13 THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED ABOUT A DEEPENING DECLINE IN CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE UK AND GOI ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS. O'CEALLAIGH SAID THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF THIS WAS THE RECENT DRAFT REGULATION ON FLAG FLYING OVER NORTHERN IRELAND GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS INTRODUCED BY THE NIO INTO THE ASSEMBLY SEPTEMBER 8. THIS HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL DRAFT REGULATION WAS GIVEN TO THE GOI ONLY THE NIGHT BEFORE AND, THEN FOR INFORMATION ONLY. THE GOI WAS NOT OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE VIEWS NOR, O'CEALLAIGH INDICATED, WERE NORTHERN IRELAND FIRST AND DEPUTY MINISTERS TRIMBLE AND MALLON. O'CEALLAIGH STRESSED THAT A DISTURBING PATTERN OF "NO CONSULTATION" WAS EMERGING FROM THE NIO IN ITS DEALING WITH DUBLIN, AND THE GOI WAS SO CONCERNED BY THIS LATEST INCIDENT THAT IT PROVIDED A "PIECE OF PAPER" TO THE BRITISH FORMALLY STATING IRELAND'S CONCERN. (NOTE: O'CEALLAIGH ADDED THAT THE GOI WAS TAKING A VERY LOW KEY PUBLIC LINE ON THIS, HOWEVER, SO AS NOT THE EXACERBATE THE SITUATION.)

3. (C) O'CEALLAIGH'S COMMENTS ON THE WORSENING STATE OF "EAST-WEST" RELATIONS (IRELAND-UK RELATIONS IN THE DFA'S LEXICON) ARE NOT THE FIRST WE HAVE HEARD. SENIOR IRISH OFFICIALS FROM THE TAOISEACH'S OFFICE AND THE DFA VOICED SIMILAR CONCERNS TO POL/ECON CHIEF ON THE MARGINS OF THE SEPTEMBER 8-10 BRITISH-IRISH ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE IN OXFORD. NEITHER WERE THEY SHY ABOUT IDENTIFYING THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE UPTICK IN UK UNILATERALISM - NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY PETER MANDELSON. THEY CITED A STRING OF ISSUES FROM THE ASSEMBLY SUSPENSION, TO THE FIRST DRAFT OF THE POLICE BILL, TO THE DRAFT FLAG REGULATION, ON WHICH THE GOI HAS NOT BEEN CONSULTED. ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE FLAG REGULATION, GOI OFFICIALS WERE CLEAR IN STATING THAT THEIR ADVICE WOULD HAVE BEEN THAT THE REGULATIONS WAS DOOMED FROM THE START - SINN FEIN MINISTERS WOULD NEVER ORDER THE UNION FLAG FLOWN OVER THEIR DEPARTMENTS. DURING CONFERENCE EVENTS, HOWEVER, (EVEN UNDER CHATHAM HOUSE RULES) IRISH OFFICIALS WERE FAR MORE CIRCUMSPECT AND WOULD NOT BE DRAWN OUT ON ANY PROBLEMS IN THE DUBLIN-LONDON RELATIONSHIP.

4. (C) COMMENT: BRITISH/IRISH GOVERNMENT CONSULTATIONS AND COOPERATION ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PEACE PROCESS. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SINGING FROM THE SAME SHEET OF MUSIC IS CRITICAL TO COAXING THE RESPECTIVE UNIONIST AND NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN COMMUNITIES ALONG WHETHER THE ISSUE BE FLAGS, POLICING OR DECOMMISSIONING. RECENTLY, HOWEVER, THE NOTES SEEM INCREASINGLY DISSONANT. FROM EMBASSY DUBLIN'S VIEWPOINT, THE MAJOR FACTOR IN THIS DOES SEEM TO BE PETER MANDELSON. AS MUCH AS IRISH OFFICIALS LIKED AND RESPECTED MO MOWLAM, THEY DISLIKE AND INCREASINGLY DISRESPECT MANDELSON. NOT ONLY DO THEY NOT LIKE HIS STYLE, THEY FIND HIM IMPERIAL IN ATTITUDE, INCLINED TO DICTATE TO HIS CURRENT AND FORMER PROVINCIALS ON BOTH PARTS OF THIS ISLAND. RELATIONS BETWEEN MANDELSON AND FM COWEN ARE ALREADY SO STRAINED THAT OFFICIALS ARE LIMITING THEIR INTERACTION. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, HOWEVER, TAOISEACH AHERN MAINTAINS A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH

STATE FOR EUR/UBI, NSC FOR DICK NORLAND

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TAGS: PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SIGNS OF FRAYING IN IRISH-BRITISH RELATIONS ON NORTHERN PEACE PROCESS

PM BLAIR AS DOES AHERN'S KEY NORTHERN IRELAND ADVISOR, DERMOT GALLAGHER, WITH JONATHAN POWELL IN THE PM'S OFFICE. THESE RELATIONSHIPS COULD BE CRITICAL TO ACHIEVING AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME ON POLICING (FOR BOTH UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS) LATER THIS FALL. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MONITOR CLOSELY THE STATE OF IRISH-BRITISH RELATIONS AND WOULD WELCOME LONDON'S AND BELFAST'S PERSPECTIVES. END COMMENT.

FURTHER IRA CBM MAY BE UPCOMING, LIMITED PROGRESS ON OTR'S
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5. (C) O'CEALLAIGH TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE NOW THOUGHT THE IRA WOULD ALLOW ANOTHER INSPECTION OF ITS ARMS DUMPS BY ATHISARRI AND RAMAPHOSA AND A FURTHER MEETING OF THE IRA LIAISON WITH THE DE CHASTELAIN COMMISSION. GERRY ADAM'S, O'CEALLAIGH SAID, "WANTS THIS TO HAPPEN." THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT WE HAVE ALSO BEEN URGING SINN FEIN IN THIS DIRECTION BUT HAD NOT RECEIVED SUCH POSITIVE INDICATIONS. HE WELCOMED O'CEALLAIGH'S MORE UPBEAT REPORT. ON TIMING, O'CEALLAIGH DID NOT KNOW WHEN THE NEXT INSPECTION MIGHT TAKE PLACE, BUT SAID IT WOULD NOT/NOT BE BEFORE THE SOUTH ANTRIM BY-ELECTION.

6. (C) REPUBLICAN OTR'S (ON-THE-RUNS) REMAIN A DIFFICULT ISSUE, O'CEALLAIGH INDICATED. WHILE HE ANTICIPATED A POSITIVE STEP BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER - THE UK DROPPING EXTRADITION WARRANTS AGAINST REPUBLICAN OTR'S - THE CORE PROBLEM REMAINED THAT THE OTR'S COULD NOT RETURN TO NORTHERN IRELAND UNLESS THE CHARGES AGAINST THEM WERE ALSO DROPPED. O'CEALLAIGH'S DEPUTY, RAY BASSETT, TOLD POLOFF SEPTEMBER 7 THAT THE SINN FEIN LEADERSHIP BELIEVES PRIME MINISTER BLAIR HAS FAILED TO DELIVER ON PERSONAL COMMITMENTS HE MADE ON OTR'S AT HILLSBOROUGH IN MAY. IN THE PM'S DEFENSE, NIO OFFICIALS HAVE INDICATED THAT THIS PROCESS IS MORE LEGALLY COMPLICATED AND DRAWN OUT THAN THE PM HAD REALIZED AT THE TIME.

7. (C) ON OTHER ISSUES, O'CEALLAIGH TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE POLICE BILL REMAINED PROBLEMATIC. THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN GERRY ADAMS' AND SEAMUS MALLON'S POSITION THAT THE BILL, AS IT STANDS, IS INADEQUATE TO WIN NATIONALIST/REPUBLICAN SUPPORT. THE GOI WAS ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE DEMILITARIZATION PROCESS IN THE NORTH WAS BACKWARDS IN SOME RESPECTS AS BRITISH ARMY ACTIVITIES HAD ACTUALLY INCREASED IN SOUTH ARMAGH. GIVEN THE INCREASED THREAT FROM DISSIDENT REPUBLICANS AND THE ONGOING LOYALIST FEUD, THE GOI WAS NOT PRESSING THE UK ON THIS ISSUE RIGHT NOW, BUT O'CEALLAIGH DID NOTE THAT THERE WERE A NUMBER OF DISUSED BRITISH INSTALLATIONS IN THE SOUTH ARMAGH AREA THAT COULD BE DISMANTLED WITH VERY POSITIVE EFFECT. FINALLY, O'CEALLAIGH NOTED THAT, DESPITE ANY PROBLEMS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS WERE GOING REASONABLY WELL. NORTH-SOUTH BODIES WERE MEETING WITH AN ABSENCE OF IDEOLOGICAL DRUM-BEATING AND A REAL COMMITMENT TO MOVE AHEAD. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO THE NEXT MEETING OF THE NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL IN DUBLIN, SEPTEMBER 26.

SULLIVAN

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SUBJ: WHAT DO IRELAND'S BORDER COUNTIES NEED?
INFRASTRUCTURE AND MORE INFRASTRUCTURE

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL J SULLIVAN. REASONS 1.5 (B)
TEXT: ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 DUBLIN 003039

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DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR EUR/UBI.
NSC FOR NORLAND.
COMMERCE FOR 4212/ITA/OEURA/CDD/IRELAND DESK.

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/2010
TAGS: ECON, ETRD, EINV, EAIR, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: WHAT DO IRELAND'S BORDER COUNTIES NEED?
INFRASTRUCTURE AND MORE INFRASTRUCTURE

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

1. (C) SUMMARY. OFFICIALS AT THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY OF IRELAND (IDA) TOLD VISITING EUR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY CHARLES RIES AND NSC DIRECTOR RICHARD NORLAND THAT THE BIGGEST BARRIER TO ECONOMIC GROWTH IN IRELAND'S BORDER COUNTIES IS THE COUNTIES' INFRASTRUCTURE "DEFICIT" -- IN TRANSPORTATION, ENERGY, AND MANUFACTURING FACILITIES IN PARTICULAR. ALTHOUGH PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS TO CROSS-BORDER TRADE AMONG RESIDENTS IN THE BORDER REGION, AS WELL AS FEARS AMONG POTENTIAL FOREIGN INVESTORS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN THE NORTH, CONTINUE TO BE FACTORS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE BORDER COUNTIES, THE IDA OFFICIALS AGREED THAT THEY ARE DECLINING IN IMPORTANCE. THE IDA, RESPONSIBLE FOR ATTRACTING FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT TO IRELAND, IS "FOCUSING" ON THE BORDER COUNTIES AND, JOINED BY ITS NORTHERN COUNTERPART, HAS DEVELOPED A PILOT PROGRAM TO IMPROVE THE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT IN THE NORTHWEST BORDER REGION. MEETING THE BORDER COUNTIES' INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS REQUIRES CROSS-BORDER SOLUTIONS AND PLANNING. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN HELP BY "DELIVERING THE MESSAGE" TO GOVERNMENTS AND CROSS-BORDER BODIES ON THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING INFRASTRUCTURE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER. IDA OFFICIALS POINT TO IMPROVEMENTS IN THE FREQUENCY AND SCHEDULING OF FLIGHTS AT LONDONDERRY AIRPORT, ACHIEVED WITH THE TWO GOVERNMENTS' ASSISTANCE, AS THE KIND OF SMALL INFRASTRUCTURE CHANGE THAT PRODUCES A

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SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE BUSINESS CLIMATE IN THE BORDER REGION. END SUMMARY.

IDA: TURNING ITS FOCUS TO THE BORDER COUNTIES

2. (U) ON NOVEMBER 1, VISITING EUR DAS CHARLES RIES AND NSC DIRECTOR DICK NORLAND MET WITH RICHARD RYAN, DIRECTOR OF IDA PLANNING, AND DENIS MOLUMBY, MANAGER FOR INTERNATIONAL SERVICES AT THE IDA TO DISCUSS THE IDA'S EFFORTS TO ATTRACT U.S. BUSINESS AND INVESTMENT TO THE BORDER COUNTIES (EMBASSY NOTE. THE BORDER COUNTIES ARE THE SIX COUNTIES OF THE REPUBLIC WHICH BORDER NORTHERN IRELAND AND WHICH, AS A RESULT OF BEING CUTOFF FROM HISTORICAL TRADING PARTNERS IN THE NORTH AS WELL AS THE EFFECTS OF THIRTY YEARS OF VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH, HAVE ECONOMICALLY LAGGED BEHIND THE REST OF THE REPUBLIC. END NOTE). RIES ALSO USED THE MEETING TO UNDERSCORE THAT, WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE U.S. ELECTIONS, U.S. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE, INCLUDING OUR INTEREST IN HELPING TO FOSTER ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE BORDER COUNTIES AND THE NORTH. THE IDA OFFICIALS THANKED BOTH U.S. OFFICIALS FOR THE MESSAGE ON THE CONTINUITY OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO FOSTER ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THOSE PARTS OF THE ISLAND MOST AFFECTED BY THE VIOLENCE OF THE PAST THIRTY YEARS. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S WORK, ESPECIALLY THE EFFORTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL ADVISOR FOR ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN THE BORDER COUNTIES AND THE NORTH, HAD MADE A "VALUABLE" CONTRIBUTION TO THE BORDER COUNTIES AND THE IDA'S OWN EFFORTS.

3. (SBU) MOLUMBY TOLD RIES AND NORLAND THAT THE IDA ITSELF IS NOW "FOCUSED" ON THE BORDER COUNTIES. EIGHTY-FIVE PERCENT OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT (FDI) IN IRELAND OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS HAS BEEN IN DUBLIN, MOLUMBY NOTED, AND THERE ARE NOW RESOURCE, AS WELL AS POLITICAL, REASONS FOR DIRECTING FDI TO THE BORDER COUNTIES. ATTRACTING FDI TO THE BORDER COUNTIES IS A CHALLENGE, HOWEVER, AND MOLUMBY SINGLED OUT THREE KEY OBSTACLES: INFRASTRUCTURE DEFICITS, ESPECIALLY IN TRANSPORTATION AND ENERGY; THE SCATTERED POPULATION AND ABSENCE OF LARGE TOWNS THAT CAN SERVE AS A NUCLEUS FOR COMMERCE AND INVESTMENT; AND THE LACK OF A SUB-SUPPLY INFRASTRUCTURE FOR MANUFACTURING OPERATIONS, COMPOUNDED BY THE TRANSPORTATION BOTTLENECKS IN THE REGION. MOLUMBY ADDED THAT IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE IDA'S NORTHERN COUNTERPART, THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD (THE IDB), A SIMILAR PICTURE OF THE NORTH EMERGES: AN OVERWHELMING PROPORTION OF FDI LOCATES IN BELFAST, WHILE THE WESTERN REGIONS OF THE PROVINCE FALL BEHIND, LEFT TO FACE SIMILAR INFRASTRUCTURE AND POPULATION PROBLEMS AS THE BORDER COUNTIES.

4. (U) THE IDA RESPONSE IS TO IDENTIFY ASSETS IN A PARTICULAR BORDER COUNTY THAT PROVIDE SOME "LEVERAGE" TO OFFSETTING THESE PROBLEMS. IN THE UPPER NORTHWEST, FOR EXAMPLE, THE IDA IDENTIFIED THE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY IN LETTERKENNEY, COUNTY DONEGAL, AS A RESOURCE THAT IT COULD LEVERAGE BY WORKING WITH THE INSTITUTE TO DEVELOP A BUSINESS INCUBATOR FOR SMALL START-UPS AS WELL HAVING THE INSTITUTE OFFER PUBLIC/PRIVATE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES TO BUSINESSES LOCATING IN THE AREA. THE IDA ALSO HIGHLIGHTS THE INSTITUTE TO POTENTIAL INVESTORS IN THE COMPUTER/SOFTWARE SECTORS THAT ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 DUBLIN 003039

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/2010
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SUBJECT: WHAT DO IRELAND'S BORDER COUNTIES NEED?
INFRASTRUCTURE AND MORE INFRASTRUCTURE

ARE CONCERNED ABOUT LABOR SHORTAGES IN DUBLIN. IT IS THE TRAINED LABOR POOL OF INSTITUTE GRADUATES, MOLUMBY CLAIMED, AS WELL AS THE OPPORTUNITIES THE INSTITUTE PROVIDED FOR ACCESS TO RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES, THAT WERE THE PRIMARY REASONS THAT TWO U.S. FIRMS JUST LOCATED IN THE COUNTY OVER THE PAST TWENTY-FOUR MONTHS.

5. (SBU) ACCORDING TO MOLUMBY AND RYAN, THE IDA IS PARTICULARLY FOCUSED ON THE NORTHWEST BORDER COUNTIES AND IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE IDB ON CROSS-BORDER ON MAKING THE ENTIRE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE IRELAND ATTRACTIVE TO FDI. BUILDING ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE LETTERKENNEY INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, BOTH AGENCIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO "PACKAGE" MAGEE UNIVERSITY IN THE NORTH AND THE INSTITUTE AS TWO COMPLEMENTARY SOURCES OF TRAINED IT WORKERS, AT BOTH THE HIGH AND LOW SKILLS END OF THE SPECTRUM.

THE KEY NEED IN THE BORDER COUNTIES: BETTER INFRASTRUCTURE
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6. (SBU) MOLUMBY STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE KEY TO IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC CLIMATE IN THE BORDER COUNTIES, FOR BOTH LOCAL BUSINESS AND FDI, IS TACKLING THE INFRASTRUCTURE DEFICIT IN THE COUNTIES. IN THE NORTHWEST, ESPECIALLY, THE POOR QUALITY OF ROADS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER, AND MORE URGENTLY, THE LACK OF INTEGRATED ROAD ACCESS TO EITHER DUBLIN OR BELFAST, IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM. THE ROAD NETWORK THROUGHOUT THE NORTHWEST, AS WELL AS THE OTHER BORDER COUNTIES, CONTINUES TO SUFFER FROM LACK OF INTEGRATED CONNECTIONS ACROSS THE BORDER AND A GENERAL FAILURE TO UPGRADE EXISTING ROADS TO CONTINENTAL STANDARDS. SIMILARLY, AIR TRAVEL IN THE REGION IS HAMPERED BY A FAILURE TO IMPROVE AIRPORT FACILITIES IN THE REGION, THE INCONVENIENT SCHEDULING OF FLIGHTS BETWEEN REGIONAL AIRPORTS AND DUBLIN/BELFAST/LONDON, AND BY BAD ROAD CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE AIRPORTS AND THE NORTHWEST REGION'S LARGER CITIES.

7, (~~C~~) RELIABILITY OF ENERGY SUPPLIES IS ALSO AN INCREASING PROBLEM IN THE REGION. ELECTRICAL BROWNOUTS ARE NOT UNCOMMON ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER IN THE NORTHWEST AND, THOUGH THESE OCCURRENCES HAVE LITTLE IMPACT ON MOST RESIDENTIAL AND BUSINESS USERS IN THE REGION, FOR THE HIGH-TECH, COMPUTER-DRIVEN OPERATIONS THAT ARE THE IDA'S TARGETS OF INVESTMENT, EVEN A SHORT BROWNOUT CAN BE DISASTROUS. IN THE TELECOM SECTOR, HIGH-SPEED BROADBAND "PIPE" IS NOW AVAILABLE IN THE REGION'S LARGE CITIES, BUT, ON THE REPUBLIC SIDE OF THE BORDER, THERE REMAINS ONLY ONE TELECOM PROVIDER AND PRICES REMAIN MUCH HIGHER THAN OUTSIDE OF DUBLIN. WITHOUT A LARGE BASE OF USERS OF SUCH EQUIPMENT, USER COMPANIES IN THE NORTHWEST CANNOT "COST SHARE" THEIR USAGE OF BROADBAND WIRES AS THEY CAN DO IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. BREAKDOWNS IN TELECOM SERVICE, THOUGH INFREQUENT, CAN TAKE LONGER TO REPAIR THAN IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. THE BORDER COUNTIES, AND THE NORTHWEST AGAIN IN PARTICULAR, ALSO SUFFER AS WELL FROM A LACK OF "READY TO USE" INDUSTRIAL SITES THAT POTENTIAL INVESTORS CAN BE ASSURED THEY CAN MOVE INTO WITHIN A MATTER OF MONTHS.

8. (~~C~~) RYAN AND MOLUMBY DID NOT DENY THAT PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS TO CROSS-BORDER TRADE AMONG BUSINESS PEOPLE ON BOTH

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SIDES OF THE BORDER CONTINUE TO DEPRESS ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE BORDER COUNTIES. THEY ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT POTENTIAL FOREIGN INVESTORS REMAIN CONCERNED WHEN LOOKING AT THE BORDER COUNTIES AS AN INVESTMENT SITE ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR RENEWED POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN THE NORTH AND THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE. MOLUMBY POINTED OUT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT OFFICIALS AT ONE LARGE AMERICAN FIRM WHICH JUST OPENED A LARGE "BACK OFFICE" OPERATION IN COUNTY DONEGAL STILL HAS A POLICY IN PLACE OF PROHIBITING COMPANY OFFICIALS FROM FLYING INTO LONDONDERRY AIRPORT BECAUSE OF THE "POTENTIAL" FOR VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH, THEREBY REQUIRING COMPANY EXECUTIVES TO FLY INTO DUBLIN AND DRIVE FIVE HOURS BY CAR TO THE COMPANY'S OPERATIONS IN DONEGAL.

9. (C) IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW HOW LARGE A ROLE THESE KIND OF "POLITICAL" CONCERNS PLAY IN THE DECISIONS OF POTENTIAL INVESTORS TO LOCATE IN THE BORDER COUNTIES. MOLUMBY SAID THAT, IN THE IDA'S EXPERIENCE, INVESTORS VERY RARELY WILL ACKNOWLEDGE THESE FACTORS LIE BEHIND THEIR EVENTUAL DECISION ON WHERE TO LOCATE IN IRELAND. MOLUMBY DOES BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THESE KIND OF CONCERNS ARE FADING AS THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH REMAINS LOW AND THE PEACE PROCESS MOVES FORWARD. INCREASINGLY, ITS "FIBER OPTIC AVAILABILITY, NOT POLITICS AND FEAR OF VIOLENCE" THAT IS KEEPING FDI FROM THE BORDER COUNTIES.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 DUBLIN 003039

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SPECIAL ADVISOR JIM LYONS.
DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR EUR/UBI.
NSC FOR NORLAND.
COMMERCE FOR 4212/ITA/OEURA/CDD/IRELAND DESK.

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/2010
TAGS: ECON, ETRD, EINV, EAIR, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: WHAT DO IRELAND'S BORDER COUNTIES NEED?
INFRASTRUCTURE AND MORE INFRASTRUCTURE

NOT ALL BORDER COUNTIES ARE CREATED EQUAL
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10. (C) THE IDA OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGED VARIATIONS AMONG BORDER COUNTIES. IN PARTICULAR, COUNTY LOUTH, WHICH LIES JUST NORTH OF DUBLIN AND WHICH IS HOME TO THE REPUBLIC'S HALF OF THE "BELFAST-TO-DUBLIN CORRIDOR" HAS "EXCELLENT" INFRASTRUCTURE, THOUGH STILL MISSING WORLD CLASS BROADBAND CONNECTIONS. THIS AREA IS MUCH "LESS OF A CHALLENGE AND A FOCUS FOR IDA" MOLUMBY TOLD RIES AND NORLAND. THE INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE REGION IS ONE REASON THAT THE U.S. FIRM XEROX CHOSE IN 1998 TO SITE ITS FIVE HUNDRED MILLION USD MANUFACTURING PLANT IN DUNDALK. ALTHOUGH THE XEROX INVESTMENT IS NOT YET GENERATING INDIGENOUS SPIN-OFFS FOR THE LOCAL ECONOMY, MOLUMBY SAID THAT THE IDA EXPECTS IT TO PRODUCE "REAL BENEFITS TO LOCAL BUSINESS" ONCE THE XEROX PLANT FULLY "RAMPS UP" IN EARLY 2001.

11. (C) MOLUMBY ALSO CITED COUNTIES CAVAN AND MONAGHAN, GIVEN THEIR CLOSER LOCATION TO DUBLIN, AS HAVING A HIGHER STANDARD OF TRANSPORTATION AND ENERGY INFRASTRUCTURE THAN THEIR NEIGHBORING BORDER COUNTIES TO THE NORTHWEST. COUNTIES CAVAN AND MONAGHAN ALSO BENEFIT FROM GOOD "CROSS-BORDER" CONTACTS AND PROGRAMS, AND A RANGE OF BUSINESS INCUBATOR PROGRAMS FOR LOCAL ENTREPRENEURS AND BUSINESS PEOPLE. THE LACK OF A LARGER POPULATION CENTER IN EITHER COUNTY IS A PROBLEM, BUT INCREASINGLY, THE TWO COUNTIES ARE LOOKING TO ARMAGH IN THE NORTH AS THE "NUCLEUS" OF A CROSS-BORDER COMMERCIAL/TRADING

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CENTER. THE PROBLEM IN THESE TWO COUNTIES IS THE LACK OF READY-TO-USE INDUSTRIAL SITES FOR POTENTIAL FDI. FOREIGN INVESTORS, ESPECIALLY IN THE COMPUTER/SOFTWARE SECTORS, CANNOT WAIT THE EIGHTEEN TO TWENTY-FOUR MONTHS IT CAN TAKE IN THE BORDER COUNTIES TO OBTAIN PLANNING APPROVAL AND CONSTRUCT A FACTORY SITE WITH ALL NECESSARY INFRASTRUCTURE AMENITIES. FOR THIS REASON, THE IDA, WHICH HAD BEEN MOVING AWAY FROM DEVELOPING AND MANAGING ITS OWN INDUSTRIAL PARK SITES, IS ESTABLISHING IN THESE COUNTIES PRE-ZONED INDUSTRIAL SITES FOR POTENTIAL INVESTORS.

INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS REQUIRE A CROSS-BORDER APPROACH

12. (C) MOLUMBY STRESSED THAT THE INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS IN THE BORDER COUNTIES REQUIRE A CROSS-BORDER SOLUTION. IN THE NORTHWEST, FOR EXAMPLE, COUNTY DONEGAL'S ELECTRICAL POWER NEEDS COULD BE SUFFICIENTLY MET IF THE COUNTY WERE TIED INTO THE NORTH'S POWER GRID. FOR POLITICAL REASONS, HOWEVER, THE COUNTY CONTINUES TO DEPEND ON A "SPUR" CONNECTION TO THE REPUBLIC'S POWER GRID WHICH IS INCAPABLE OF HANDLING THE GROWING POWER NEEDS IN THE COUNTY. BUILDING AN INTEGRATED ROAD NETWORK THROUGHOUT THE BORDER COUNTIES REQUIRES CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND PLANNING AS WELL. MOLUMBY NOTED THAT, DESPITE LOBBYING FROM LOCAL INTERESTS IN THE NORTHWEST, THE RECENT NORTHERN IRELAND BUDGET CONTAINS NO NEW FUNDS TO BUILD ROAD LINKS IN THE NORTHWEST. ADDITIONAL FUNDING WENT TO IMPROVE ROADS AROUND BELFAST AND TO "MAINTAIN" CURRENT ROAD QUALITY IN THE PROVINCE.

13. (SBU) MOLUMBY SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN GOOD COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, NORTH AND SOUTH, ON IMPROVING THE LONDONDERRY AIRPORT AS THE NORTHWEST'S REGIONAL AVIATION HUB. THE ADDITION OF MORE FLIGHTS BETWEEN LONDONDERRY AND LONDON AND DUBLIN, ACHIEVED WITH THE INTERVENTION OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS, WAS A SMALL STEP THAT HAD A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE BUSINESS CLIMATE IN THE REGION. BUT EVEN IN THIS AREA MORE COULD BE DONE. MOLUMBY POINTED OUT THAT FLIGHTS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC AND LONDONDERRY AIRPORT ARE STILL TREATED AS "INTERNATIONAL FLIGHTS" BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS, WHICH IMPOSES ADDITIONAL TAX AND REGULATORY BURDENS ON AIRLINES WANTING TO ESTABLISH FEEDER CONNECTIONS TO DUBLIN, SHANNON, OR CORK AIRPORTS.

14. (SBU) THE MONEY IS AVAILABLE IN THE REPUBLIC, MOLUMBY POINTED OUT, TO ADDRESS THE INFRASTRUCTURE REQUIREMENTS. WHAT IS ABSENT IS THE EMPHASIS AT GOVERNMENTAL LEVELS TO WORK ON A CROSS-BORDER BASIS TO ADDRESS THE ISSUES, IN PART BECAUSE OF POLITICAL SENSITIVITIES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER. ASKED WHERE THE MONEY IS COMING FROM FOR INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT, MOLUMBY SAID THAT ONLY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF FUNDS NOW COMES FROM BRUSSELS AND THE EU. THIS MEANS THERE IS GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN HOW IT IS USED.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN BEST HELP BY USING ITS BULLY PULPIT

15. (C) ASKED HOW THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN HELP THE IDA'S EFFORTS IN THE BORDER COUNTIES, RYAN AND MOLUMBY RESPONDED THAT STRESSING TO THE GOVERNMENTS AND RELEVANT CROSS-BORDER BODIES THAT THESE INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDS "REALLY MATTER" IS THE ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 DUBLIN 003039

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SPECIAL ADVISOR JIM LYONS.
DEPARTMENT ALSO FOR EUR/UBI.
NSC FOR NORLAND.
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E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/10/2010
TAGS: ECON, ETRD, EINV, EAIR, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: WHAT DO IRELAND'S BORDER COUNTIES NEED?
INFRASTRUCTURE AND MORE INFRASTRUCTURE

MOST IMPORTANT ROLE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN PLAY. MOLUMBY IDENTIFIED THREE SPECIFIC AREAS IN WHICH A U.S. "BULLY PULPIT" WOULD BE HELPFUL: BETTER COORDINATION OF AIRLINE SCHEDULES AND FLIGHTS TO REGIONAL AIRPORTS; ROAD IMPROVEMENTS; AND JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL SITES AND PRE-ZONED LOCATIONS.

16. (U) RIES AND NORLAND CLOSED THE MEETING BY REITERATING THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO IMPROVING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AND BOLSTERING THE "CONSTITUENCY" FOR PEACE. THEY ENCOURAGED THE IDA OFFICIALS TO REMAIN IN CONTACT WITH THEM, THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AND THE EMBASSY IN DUBLIN ABOUT HELPFUL ACTIONS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MIGHT TAKE TO HELP THE IDA ACHIEVE ITS GOALS IN THE BORDER COUNTIES.

17. (U) DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIES AND NSC DIRECTOR NORLAND DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS CABLE BEFORE DEPARTING.
SULLIVAN

TOR: 11/14/00 12:19:37

DIST: SIT: Blinken BRUNS NSC Davidson DUNCAN Norland SAMANS

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MSMail

DATE-TIME 31 December 96 11:46

FROM Peters, Mary A.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT Northern Ireland Update ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Bass, Peter E.
Cicio, Kristen K.
Hall, Wilma G.
Veit, Katherine M.

CARBON_COPY Biernacki, Eileen V.
Friedrich, M. K.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kessinger, Jodi
Millison, Cathy L.
Vershbow, Alexander R.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.81)
KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT_BODY

To: Jim Steinberg

From: Mary Ann Peters

I appreciate your concern about the possibility of drift in our Northern Ireland policy; you are right that we need to stay visibly engaged and do what we can to fill the dangerous vacuum that is developing in the run-up to the British election. While we do not need to take immediate action, within the next week of so, we should be back in contact with our key interlocutors, including Gerry Adams and John Holmes at 10 Downing. It would be useful if Tony Lake would introduce you or SRB over the phone to Gerry and John and, if possible, to David Trimble and the loyalist leaders. Also, once the new contacts are in place, we should set up a meeting with the local Irish press representatives so they can get the word out about the new NI team at the the WH.

Below is an update on the NI situation from yesterday. I am also attaching an earlier memo for SRB that is still accurate, except for the continued fraying of the loyalist cease-fire and the fact that the Belfast talks adjourned for a month without the hoped-for breakthrough on decommissioning.
[[SRBNI.DOC : 2895 in SRBNI.DOC]]

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor; Soderberg, Nancy E.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: Northern Ireland Update ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Monday, December 30, 1996 04:32 PM

To: TL,SRB, NES
From: MAPeters

Over the weekend a second local-level Sinn Fein official, Liam Duffy, was targetted by a car bomb. This time the bomb did not go off, but was spotted by Duffy in his driveway, where it had presumably fallen off his car. Last weekend's target, Eddie Copeland, was not so lucky -- he is still

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hospitalized with injuries sustained when a bomb exploded under his car. Though no one has claimed responsibility, there is little doubt that loyalists were responsible for both attacks. Some loyalist politicians are saying the attacks could be the work of the IRA, reflecting dissent within the republican camp, but no one believes it.

The most disturbing development is the challenge Sinn Fein issued to NI Secretary Mayhew to admit that the loyalist cease-fire is over (which would result in the exclusion of the loyalist political parties from the Belfast talks.) So far Mayhew has insisted that it will be up to the participating parties to decide whether the loyalists can continue to participate -- I would expect a challenge from Paisley's DUP as soon as the talks reconvene next month.

Sinn Fein's request to have the loyalist cease-fire formally declared at an end reflects the IRA's obvious desire to provoke loyalist violence, rather than Sinn Fein's own interest, as a political party, in gaining access to the talks. If the loyalists are excluded from the Stormont talks, there will be a presumption among the remaining unionists that the experiment of leaving the door open to parties representing paramilitaries is at an end. It is also disturbing that Sinn Fein wants an open admission that there are no more cease-fires in effect just a few months before it will have to fight an election campaign. Conventional wisdom is that a Sinn Fein/SDLP electoral alliance is possible, but only if there is a cease-fire.

Meanwhile, as expected, the Sinn Fein leadership has denied the story in the "London Times" that Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness were recently elected to the IRA Army Council. If it were true, and there is no way of knowing, it would indicate a renewed determination on the part of the current generation of republican leaders to avoid a split in their movement. It might also signal a louder voice for the proponents of the political, as opposed to military, path.

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 16 December 96 10:14

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME SRBNI.DOC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 12/14/06

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 14, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Status of Northern Ireland Peace Process

IRA/Cease-fires

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On February 9, the IRA broke its 17-month cease-fire with a bomb in London's Canary Wharf district that killed two people. Since then there have been a number of actual or attempted attacks. The most serious were the bomb in the Manchester shopping area in June that injured scores of people and the bombing of the British Army barracks at Lisburn in October in which one soldier died. The Lisburn attack was the first incident in Northern Ireland itself in over two years.
The loyalist (militant unionist) cease-fire wobbled in the wake of Lisburn but it held, thanks to the firmness and courage of loyalist party leaders David Ervine and Gary McMichael.

Belfast Talks

The multiparty talks chaired by Senator Mitchell convened in June, following elections in Northern Ireland to select the parties that would be represented. Nine of the top ten vote-getting parties are participating in the talks. Sinn Fein got almost 15% of the vote, but cannot enter the talks absent an IRA cease-fire. Because the loyalist paramilitaries' cease-fire is intact, the loyalist political parties are at the table, the first time paramilitaries of any stripe have been included in talks in Northern Ireland.

The talks have proceeded at a snail's pace, taking months to reach agreement only on rules of procedure and the agenda. The main issue has been and remains how to handle the "decommissioning" of paramilitary weapons. This issue has dogged the peace process since the IRA cease-fire in August 1994. The issue now is whether the unionist parties will agree that decommissioning should proceed "in parallel" with substantive negotiations on the future of Northern Ireland, as Senator Mitchell and his colleagues recommended in a report last winter. Just this week we learned that the main unionist party, David Trimble's Ulster Unionist Party, may be ready to agree on a variant of this approach. The more extreme unionist parties, Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party and Bob McCartney's UK Unionists, are unlikely to budge from their insistence that at least some decommissioning actually take place before substantive negotiations get underway. The IRA will never agree to that -- it

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will have a hard time deciding to decommission even in parallel with
talks, should the process get that far.

British and Irish Positions

In the wake of the February bombing, both governments suspended ministerial-level contact with Sinn Fein. The British did not formally suspend lower-level contacts with Sinn Fein but have not held
any meetings since February; the Irish have continued to meet at the
official level.

Both governments continue to call on the IRA to declare a cease-fire
immediately. The Irish, however, have said publicly that Sinn Fein
should be able to join the talks early next year if the IRA declares
an unequivocal cease-fire. The British want to wait and see that the
cease-fire really is "unequivocal" before committing to let Sinn Fein into talks within a set period of time. The term "unequivocal"
has come to mean that the IRA would have to cease targeting, surveillance and weapons procurement, activities that were continued
during the 1994-6 cease-fire. We do not know whether the IRA would
be prepared to shut down these operations as part of a new cease-fire; that is something we will need to probe Gerry Adams about
soon.

Hume-Adams Initiative

Last spring Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams and SDLP Head John Hume
approached the British and indicated that Sinn Fein would be prepared
to seek an IRA cease-fire in return for a public statement from the
British containing reassurances about the peace process and Sinn Fein's participation. The first round of Hume's consultations with
London led to an editorial under Major's name that included many, but
not all, of the points Sinn Fein sought. The initiative was revived
this fall and Adams and 10 Downing exchanged several drafts of a British text, with first Hume and then the Irish Government as intermediaries. In the process, both sides added unnecessary conditions. Finally, Major's government lost patience with the process and, over our strenuous objections, published another statement on Thanksgiving Day that did not meet Sinn Fein's needs.

Recent U.S. Role

Last month Tony, Nancy and Val put together a scenario designed

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to
give both Sinn Fein and the British their minimum demands and achieve
the goal they have in common -- Sinn Fein participation in the talks
on the basis of a genuine cease-fire. It would require the British
to indicate publicly that if the IRA were to declare a cease-fire
before Christmas, Sinn Fein would be invited to join the talks in
late January, after a Christmas break and a period of bilateral
consultations.

The President wrote to Major urging him to agree to this scenario,
the Vice President raised it with him in Lisbon and Tony made a very
forceful approach to his counterpart, John Holmes. The British,
however, are convinced that it would be politically disastrous for
Major to take this step now. That is the backdrop for Tuesday's
meeting between the President and Prime Minister Bruton.

Attachment
A/S

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME	24 January 97 17:58
FROM	White House Situation Room
CLASSIFICATION	~~SECRET~~
SUBJECT	WHSR Evening Summary 24 January 1997 [~~SECRET~~]
TO	Andreasen, Steven P. Appel, Edward J. Armstrong, Fulton T. Baker, James E. Baldwin, Kenneth Bass, Peter E. Beers, Rand R. Behring, Deanna M. Bell, Robert G. Bendick, Gordon L. Benjamin, Daniel Black, Todd F. Blinken, Antony J. Boynton, Peter J. Brennan, Steven A. Brooks, Jennifer Brown, Dallas Brown, Nancy E. Bujold, Noelle D. Busick, Paul E. Clarke, Richard A. Danvers, William C. Davis, William K. Dobbins, James F. Dowling, J. Nicholas Elkind, Jonathan H. Epstein, Gerald L. Feeley, John F. Flessas, Dan Florio, Elaine Fried, Daniel Fuhrman, Thomas A. Gerstner, Christina L. Gladbach, Damon J. Glinski, David L. Grummon, Stephen R. Haines, Mary A. Hamel, Michael A. Hamilton, Roy A. Harmon, Joyce A. Harris, Elisa D. Harrison, Lyle M. Higgins, David B. Hofmann, Stephan D. Huggins, Peter Johnson, David T. Johnson, Natalie A. Jones, Kerri-Ann D. Jordan, Donald L.

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2015-0159-M [1.82]

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Kerrick, Donald L.
Koehler, Marc
Kreczko, Alan J.
Kristoff, Sandra J.
Kyle, Robert D.
Lawrence, Cynthia
LeBaron, Richard B.
Lee, Malcolm R.
Lindsay, James M.
Lorin, Matthew E.
MacDonald, Bruce W.
Martinez, Alejandro
Matera, Michael A.
McCarthy, Mary O.
McCormick, Shawn H.
Merchant, Brian
Moffett, Julia
Mueller, William (Doug) D.
Naplan, Steven J.
Norris, John J.
O'loughlin, Kathrine
Orfini, Michael H.
Orr, Robert C.
O'Shaughnessy, Patrick
Papadimitriou, Marianna
Parris, Mark R.
Pascual, Carlos E.
Peters, Mary A.
Piccone, Theodore J.
Pifer, Steven K.
Pritchard, Charles (Jack) L.
Pyatt, Geoffrey R.
Ragan, Richard F.
Rice, Susan E.
Rice, Sean P.
Robinson, Wylma
Rosa, Frederick M.
Rubin, Eric S.
Samore, Gary S.
Schifter, Richard
Schmidt, John R.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Seaton, James B.
Sestak, Joseph A.
Sheehan, Michael A.
Showalter, Victoria A.
Sigler, Ralph
Simonalle, Eugene A.
Simon, Steven N.
Sonenshine, Tara D.
Suettinger, Robert L.
Szasz, Nicholas J.
Tucker, Maureen E.
Uriu, Robert M.
Vershbow, Alexander R.
Verville, Elizabeth G.
Walsh, Helen C.
Weber, Paul A.
Wechsler, William F.
Whitworth, Frank D.

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Wise, William M.
Witkowsky, Anne A.
Wright, Jay

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

SITUATION ROOM EVENING SUMMARY January 24, 1997

~~SECRET~~

EUROPE/EURASIA

UK: NIO Director dismissed press reports Prime Minister Major preparing to suspend Stormont talks soon after they open next week, according to Embassy London...however, acknowledged multi-party talks will be Êtime-limitedË because of lack of progress on decommissioning and impending general election...termed it ÊunlikelyË talks would last until March. (~~C~~) London 0902

BOSNIA: Serb Presidency member Krajisnik told Special Envoy Pardew U.S. forces assisting return of refugees to Gajevi are acting like Êoccupation force,Ë according to Embassy Sarajevo...expressed worry over potential outcome of ÊexplosiveË situation...asserted ÊMuslims and Serbs must be separate for peace to continue.Ë (~~S~~) Sarajevo 0448

SERBIA: Radio and television officials in Kragujevac struck compromise with opposition leaders today over control of local media, according to press...agreement allows officials nominated by opposition to enter offices, limits radio broadcast to commercial and entertainment programs, and suspends all television and newspaper activities...agreement valid until higher court reaches verdict on 3 February. (U) Reuter a0671, a0702

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

PEACE PROCESS: Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu in interview with Arabic-language Israeli newspaper called on President Asad to Êsit together and renew the negotiations, for this is the only government capable of making peace.Ë Meanwhile, Israeli Defense Minister Mordechai yesterday said he expects Israelis and Syrians to revive peace talks in spring after U.S. administration is established, according to press. (U) Reuter a0752, a0375; UPI z0563

ASIA

HONG KONG: Chief Executive-designate Tung today named 15-member Executive Council...retained two members of outgoing government. Meanwhile, leader of British delegation to Sino-British Joint Liaison Group today told reporters he pressured Chinese counterpart to drop proposals diluting Hong KongÉs civil liberties, despite BeijingÉs warning yesterday to London Ênot to meddleË in Hong KongÉs affairs. (U) AP a0540; Reuter a0416; Dow/Japanese j0172

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~~SECRET~~
Derived from: Multiple Sources
Declassify on: X1

~~SECRET~~ 2

AFRICA

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: Rebels today signed agreement in Bangui formally ending three-month uprising. (U) Reuter a0682

EO 13526 1.4b, 1.4(c), 1.4(d)

NIGER: President Bare announced release of three jailed opposition leaders, including former President Ousmane, arrested 15 January...said release was effort to promote dialogue and reconciliation during Ramadan. (U) AP 0571

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

PERU: Red Cross suspended assistance to hostages in Japanese ambassadorÉs residence following violation of security rules in area by Peruvian police, according to Embassy Lima. Red Cross spokesperson said members will not return until Peruvian authorities guarantee their and hostagesÉ safety, according to press. ~~(C)~~ State Ops Telcon; FBIS F4242

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	09 May 97 17:29
FROM	White House Situation Room
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	WHSR Evening Summary 9 May 1997 [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO	Brown, Nancy E. Andreasen, Steven P. Antholis, William J. Appel, Edward J. Armstrong, Fulton T. Baker, James E. Baldwin, Kenneth Barks-Ruggles, Erica Bass, Peter E. Beers, Rand R. Behring, Deanna M. Bell, Robert G. Bendick, Gordon L. Benjamin, Daniel Black, Todd F. Blinken, Antony J. Bouchard, Joseph F. Boynton, Peter J. Brennan, Steven A. Brooks, Jennifer Bujold, Noelle D. Busick, Paul E. Caravelli, John M. Clarke, Richard A. Danvers, William C. Davis, William K. DeSouza, Patrick J. Dobbins, James F. Dowling, J. Nicholas Elkind, Jonathan H. Epstein, Gerald L. Feeley, John F. Florio, Elaine Fried, Daniel Fuhrman, Thomas A. Gibney, James S. Glinski, David L. Grummon, Stephen R. Haines, Mary A. Hamel, Michael A. Hamilton, Roy A. Harmon, Joyce Harris, Elisa D. Harrison, Lyle M. Heyl, Phillip J. Higgins, David B. Hofmann, Stephan D. Huggins, Peter Johnson, David T.

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Johnson, Natalie A.
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Kerrick, Donald L.
Koehler, Marc
Kreczko, Alan J.
Kristoff, Sandra J.
Kyle, Robert D.
LaFleur, Vinca A.
Lawrence, Cynthia
Leavy, David C.
LeBaron, Richard B.
Lee, Malcolm R.
Lindsay, James M.
Luzzatto, Anne R.
MacDonald, Bruce W.
Matera, Michael A.
McCarthy, Mary O.
McClellan, Christie
McCormick, Shawn H.
Merchant, Brian
Mueller, William (Doug) D.
Naplan, Steven J.
Norris, John J.
O'loughlin, Kathrine
Orfini, Michael H.
Orr, Robert C.
O'Shaughnessy, Patrick
Papadimitriou, Marianna
Pascual, Carlos E.
Perkins, David D.
Peters, Mary A.
Piccone, Theodore J.
Pifer, Steven K.
Prendergast, John P.
Pritchard, Charles (Jack) L.
Pyatt, Geoffrey R.
Ragan, Richard F.
Rice, Susan E.
Rice, Sean P.
Riedel, Bruce O.
Robinson, Wylma
Rosa, Frederick M.
Rubin, Eric S.
Samore, Gary S.
Schmidt, John R.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Seaton, James B.
Sheehan, Michael A.
Sigler, Ralph
Simonalle, Eugene A.
Simon, Steven N.
Smith, James
Sonenshine, Tara D.
Suettinger, Robert L.
Tucker, Maureen E.
Uriu, Robert M.
Vershbow, Alexander R.
Verville, Elizabeth G.
Wechsler, William F.

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Whitworth, Frank D.
Wise, William M.
Witkowsky, Anne A.
Wright, Jay

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

SITUATION ROOM EVENING SUMMARY May 9, 1997

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AFRICA

ZAIRE: Following meeting with rebel leader Kabila in Lumbumbashi today, South African Deputy President Mbeki told journalists Kabila "committed" to second meeting with President Mobutu Wednesday on South African ship'Mbeki in Libreville and will seek Mobutu's agreement in meeting Sunday. (U) State Afternoon Brief No. 5; FBIS F9235, F9269

EUROPE/EURASIA

RUSSIA: Deputy Security Council Secretary Berezovskiy announced Moscow maintains right to first use of nuclear weapons "if pushed into corner," according to Moscow Radio'noted approach in line with "conditions of today." (U) FBIS F9157

ALBANIA: OSCE envoy Vranitzky announced ten parties, including President Berisha's Democratic Party, signed "political contract" to hold elections by end of June'Embassy Tirana comments Vranitzky wrote contract in "vague terms" to make it "more palatable to all parties"'concerned there will be difficulties meeting election deadline. (C) Tirana 1070; Reuter a1219

UK: In meeting with Prime Minister Blair yesterday, Irish Prime Minister Bruton suggested IRA ceasefire declaration in next few days would give governments enough time to judge its credibility before resumption of Stormont talks 3 June, according to Embassy London'Blair responded he is not ready "to rush into anything"'reiterated IRA must demonstrate "credible and unequivocal" nature of ceasefire prior to Sinn Fein's entry into talks. (C) London 5441

ASIA

MALAYSIA: Prime Minister Mahathir will step down for two months effective 19 May, according to Embassy Kuala Lumpur'portrayed leave as long overdue rest'Deputy Prime Minister Ibrahim will assume duties. (C) Kuala Lumpur 1658

CHINA: President Jiang told CNN he will attend Hong Kong's hand-over ceremony 1 July'also said he hopes U.S. will be "cautious" on Taiwan issue'said U.S.-China relations will be affected if "not handled properly." (U) FBIS F9102, F9147; Reuter a0851

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

LIBYA: Qadhafi arrived in Nigeria after stop in Niamey, according to Embassy Lagos'
Embassy notes Niger visit covered live on Libyan television with statement

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bragging about breaking UN sanctions. (C) Lagos 4242

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Derived from: Multiple sources
Declassify on 5/9/07

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MSMail

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.85)
KBH 9/9/2019

DATE-TIME 20 May 97 15:00

FROM Vershbow, Alexander R.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT NI cable ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Helweg, M. Diana

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Note sure you received for JS:

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
DIST: PASSDOWN, PETERS, SUM, SUM2, VERSHBOW, NSC, SIT{C2}

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DTG:201814Z MAY 97

FM: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO:RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1469

RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 0423
RUEHLOB/AMCONSUL BELFAST 0233

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 002432

NSC FOR STEINBERG AND PETERS FROM AMBASSADOR SMITH

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR -- SENATOR MITCHELL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/15/07
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, UK, EI
SUBJECT: DUBLIN SEES POSSIBLE IRA CEASEFIRE IN JUNE

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

2. (C) SUMMARY: FOLLOWING HIS MAY 17 MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS, DFA ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION CHIEF SEAN O'HUIGINN BELIEVES AN IRA CEASEFIRE IN JUNE IS POSSIBLE. ADAMS REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IF SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS WERE GRANTED, THE IRA "WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO AGREE" TO A CEASEFIRE. O'HUIGINN WILL MEETWITH MARTIN MCGUINNESS MAY 20, PRIOR TO THE LATTR'S MEETING WITH BRITISH OFFICIALS. IN O'HUIGINNS VIEW, CREATIVE USE OF THE CURRENT "DE FACTO" CASEFIRE AND OF A POSSIBLE HIATUS FOLLOWING THE JUNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS MIGHT PRODUCE A WAITING PERIODTHAT IS SYMBOLICALLY ACCEPTABLE BOTH TO HMG AND SF. WHILE PLEASED WITH THE DYNAMISM OF THE NEW LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON NORTHERN IRELAND, DUBLIN IS NOT HAPPY ABOUT HMG'S "LACK OF CONSULTATION" PRIOR TO TONY BLAIR'S MAY 16 BELFAST SPEECH. O'HUIGINN HOPES WASHINGTON WILL USE THIS WEEK'S MEETINGS

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WITH MO MOWLAM TO REMIND LONDON OF THE IMPORTANCE OF WORKING TOGETHER WITH DUBLIN, IN ORDER TO SUCCESSULLY "SELL" THE UNION TO NATIONALISTS. END SUMMRY.

REACTIONS TO BLAIR SPEECH
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3. (C) WHILE GENUINELY WELCOMING THE ENERGY AND DYNAMISM OF BLAIR'S MAY 16 BELFAST SPEEH, O'HUIGINN EXPRESSED CONCERN ON TWO SERIOUS POINTS. FIRST, DUBLIN FELT IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN CONSULTED ON A SPEECH OF SUCH MAJOR PROPORTIONS. TRIMBLE WAS CONSULTED. IT APPEARED EVEN THE WHITE HOUSE HAD BEEN GIVEN AN ADVANCE COPY AND A U.S. STATEMENT PREPARED, BEFORE THE IRISH EVER SAW A COPY OF THE SPEECH. (O'HUIGINN ENDORSED THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT, BUT WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO PROVIDE COMMENT, AT LEAST ON THE PORTIONS OF BLAIR'S SPEECH THAT CONCERNED THE IRISH CONSTITUTION AND RELATED TOPICS.) HE SAID LONDON'S FAILURE TO CONSULT DUBLIN HAD LEFT A GENUINE SENSE OF HURT IN FM DICK SPRING.

4. (C) SECOND, O'HUIGINN FOUND "A BIT UNSETTLING" THE MANNER IN WHICH BLAIR'S SPEECH SOUGHT TO PROVIDE REASSURANCE TO UNIONISTS. WHILE THIS GOAL IN ITSELF WAS COMPLETELY UNDERSTANDABLE, THE WAY IT WAS DONE PLACED TOO MUCH FOCUS ON THE "UNION" VERSUS "UNITED IRELAND" DEBATE, WHICH THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT WAS DESIGNED TO OVERCOME. O'HUIGINN RECOGNIZED THAT ANY SETTLEMENT WOULD LEAVE NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE UNION FOR A LONG TIME. BUT, PSYCHOLOGICALLY, THERE WAS A NEED TO SHOW A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD BETWEEN THE TWO ASPIRATIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. BLAIR'S REFERENCE ONLY TO CHANGES IN THE IRISH CONSTITUTION, WHICH WAS "NOT CURRENTLY DELIVERABLE" AND "AT VARIANCE" WITH THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, HAD THE NET EFFECT OF APPEARING TO "BOX US IN RATHER THAN DEAL WITH US AS PARTNERS."

5. (C) O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF BALANCED "PACKAGING" AND RHETORIC IN PRODUCING "THE DEAL WE ALL KNOW WE WANT." THERE WAS A NEED TO PERSUADE NATIONALISTS THEY COULD GET A FAIR DEAL WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND. PROVIDING REASSURANCE TO UNIONISTS ON A "ONCE-OFF" BASIS MADE SOME SENSE, BUT IF BLAIR'S SPEECH SIGNALLED THAT THIS WOULD NOW BECOME THE CORE OF BRITISH STRATEGY, THEN "SERIOUS PROBLEMS" WOULD RESULT. THE REAL ISSUE REMAINED THE NEED TO SELL THE UNION TO NATIONALISTS.

GOI'S MAY 17 MEETING WITH SINN FEIN
/----------

6. (C) O'HUIGINN OBSERVED THAT THE GOI'S MAY 17 MEETING WITH SINN FEIN WAS NOT THE RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM FIANNA FAIL LEADER BERTIE AHERN, WHO RECENTLY RAISED THE MATTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IRISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN. AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED WITH THE BRITISH DURING THE MAY 8 SUMMIT IN LONDON THAT SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE USEFUL. O'HUIGINN, TAOISEACH'S DEPARTMENT SECRETARY PADDY TEAHON AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SECRETARY TIM DALTON MET WITH GERRY ADAMS, PAT DOHERTY, AIDEN MCATEER AND RITA O'HARE FOR TWO HOURS.

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7. (C) O'HUIGINN DESCRIBED IT AS A "GOOD MEETING." DESPITE ADAMS' CRITICISM OF THE BLAIR SPEECH (AND HIS URGING THAT DUBLIN MAKE A STRONGLY NATIONALIST STATEMENT IN RESPONSE), O'HUIGINN SAID HE TOOK ENCOURAGEMENT FROM WHAT HE SAW AS "GENUINE ANXIETY" ON THE PART OF SINN FEIN TO RESTORE THE IRA CEASEFIRE. ADAMS REFERRED TO THE USUAL FOUR KEY POINTS (CBM'S, NO PRE-CONDITIONS, A TIMEFRAME FOR TALKS, IMMEDIATE SF ENTRY INTO TALKS), WHICH WERE AGAIN ELABORATED IN A MAY 19 SINN FEIN DOCUMENT THAT WAS TO HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE MAY 20 "IRISH NEWS" -- (FAXED TO EUR/UBI, NSC, LONDON, BELFAST). ADAMS REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IF THESE POINTS WERE "GRANTED," HE WOULD GO TO "THE ARMY" AND "THEY WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO AGREE" TO A CEASEFIRE. ADAMS REPORTEDLY SAID TIME WAS OF THE ESSENCE, BUT WAS NOT MORE SPECIFIC. THE JUNE 6 IRISH ELECTIONS WERE REPORTEDLY "NOT A FACTOR," BUT O'HUIGINN VOICED SOME SKEPTICISM ON THIS SCORE, NOTING THAT ADAMS HAS FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES ENDORSED FIANNA FAIL.

TIMING OF SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO TALKS
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8. (C) IN SHORT, IT WAS O'HUIGINN'S SENSE THAT ADAMS THOUGHT A CEASEFIRE COULD BE ACHIEVED "ON A RELATIVELY SHORT HORIZON." ON CBM'S, SOME MOVEMENT APPEARED TO BE IN PROGRESS. A TIMEFRAME WAS EFFECTIVELY SPELLED OUT IN BRITISH LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE TALKS. ON PRIOR DECOMMISSIONING, THE GOI AND HMG HAD AGREED AT A MAY 16 LIAISON GROUP MEETING THAT THE GOI WOULD PRODUCE A NEW PAPER FOR A MEETING ON MAY 27. THE PAPER WOULD FOCUS ON THE MITCHELL REPORT, BUT ALSO URGE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENSURING THAT THE ISSUE WAS DEALT WITH TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE PARTIES.

9. (C) ON SINN FEIN'S ADMISSION TO THE TALKS, O'HUIGINN EMPHASIZED THAT THE PROBLEM IS ONE "OF PRESENTATION, NOT SUBSTANCE." ADMITTING HE HOLDS A "COMPLICATED" VIEW OF THE MATTER, HE SAID THAT IN VIEW OF THE LONG HISTORICAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEM, A FEW WEEKS EITHER WAY SHOULD NOT BE AN OBSTACLE TO A SOLUTION. THE KEY QUESTION IS, IF THE WILL FOR A SETTLEMENT IS THERE AND IF SYMBOLISM IS THE MAIN ISSUE, "CAN WE WORK IT OUT?"

10. (C) IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW THE IRISH ELECTIONS WILL AFFECT THE STORMONT TALKS THAT RESUME ON JUNE 3. ALTHOUGH THE CURRENT GOI WOULD REMAIN IN PLACE AT LEAST UNTIL THE DAIL RECONVENES ON JUNE 26, O'HUIGINN SAID IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT GOI PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS COULD BE SUSPENDED "FOR SOME WEEKS" PENDING FORMATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, REGARDLESS OF WHO WINS. O'HUIGINN SUGGESTED THAT THE CURRENT "DE FACTO CEASEFIRE," IF IT HELD THROUGH THE RESUMPTION OF TALKS ON JUNE 3, COULD BE FACTORED IN TO IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR SINN FEIN ENTRY INTO THE TALKS, WHEN ADDED TO WHATEVER HIATUS WAS CREATED BY THE IRISH ELECTIONS. A SYMBOLICALLY "CREATIVE" TIME PERIOD WAS REQUIRED -- SOMETHING BETWEEN SINN FEIN'S CALL FOR IMMEDIATE ADMISSION AND THE PREVIOUS BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE FOR A "DECONTAMINATION PERIOD."

11. (C) AT THE END OF THE MEETING WITH SINN FEIN, ADAMS

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REPORTEDLY TOLD O'HUIGINN THAT WHAT MATTERED MOST WAS THE "QUALITY OF THE BRITISH ENGAGEMENT" WITH SF. THE GOI HAS PASSED THIS ON TO HMG, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME TELLING THE SINN FEIN LEADERS THAT THEY MUST ADDRESS BRITISH CONCERNS. O'HUIGINN INDICATED HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINNESS THIS AFTERNOON (MAY 20), PRIOR TO MCGUINNESS' MEETING WITH HMG'S QUENTIN THOMAS ON MAY 21.

12. (C) SUMMING UP, O'HUIGINN SAID A CEASEFIRE IS UNLIKELY BEFORE THE JUNE 6 ELECTIONS, AS SINN FEIN IS "PLAYING FOOTSIE" WITH FIANNA FAIL -- ALTHOUGH HE WAS ENCOURAGED THAT ADAMS SAID THE ELECTIONS WERE NOT A FACTOR. A COUPLE OF WEEKS ARE STILL NEEDED "TO WORK OUT THE CHOREOGRAPHY," BUT IT STILL MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE A CEASEFIRE IN JUNE. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO ACHIEVE A FORMAL CEASEFIRE, AS OPPOSED TO A MERELY DE FACTO SITUATION, IN ORDER TO PREVENT RENEGING. (A DE FACTO CEASEFIRE WOULD ONLY APPLY TO A PORTION OF THE WAITING PERIOD, IN O'HUIGINN'S VIEW.) ASSUMING SOME ACCOMMODATION COULD BE FOUND ON SINN FEIN'S FOUR POINTS, IT WOULD BE "FAIRLY REASONABLE" TO HOPE THAT A CEASEFIRE COULD BE IN PLACE SHORTLY AFTER THE IRISH ELECTIONS ON JUNE 6.

MO MOWLAM IN WASHINGTON
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13. (C) REFERRING TO NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY MO MOWLAM'S UPCOMING VISIT TO WASHINGTON, O'HUIGINN URGED THAT HER U.S. INTERLOCUTORS EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR CLOSE ANGLO-IRISH COOPERATION ON A NORTHERN IRELAND SETTLEMENT. THERE IS A "VAST PRESUMPTION" IN HER FAVOR, BUT COSTLY MISTAKES CAN BE MADE, HE SAID, CITING HIS EARLIER COMMENTS (PARAS 3-5 ABOVE). THERE MUST BE A BALANCE OF RHETORIC AS WELL AS OF SUBSTANCE. A STRATEGY AIMED ONLY AT SELLING THE UNION TO UNIONISTS "WILL COME TO GRIEF." SMITH#

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MSMail

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.86)
KBH 9/9/2019

DATE-TIME	02 January 97 09:40
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	NI Transition Paper ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Vershbow, Alexander R.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	

For your comments/clearance.

I would not normally clear something like this with State. If SRB and JS want State's view, the best thing would be to commission a separate paper from them so the issues for decision stand out. Trying to come up with one cleared transition paper would obscure the real issues, I fear.[[TRANNI.DOC : 2316 in TRANNI.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	2 January 97 9:35
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	TRANNI.DOC

Transition Paper: Northern Ireland Peace Process

1. U.S. Goals and Interests

The conflict in Northern Ireland strains the military and financial resources of our closest ally, the UK. It has spawned terrorist violence that has claimed over 3000 lives in 25 years. To stamp out the terrorist threat, London has at times abridged traditional civil rights and resorted to questionable judicial practices. And the persistence of vicious sectarian strife in a NATO and EU member country casts doubt on prospects for resolving other ethnic/sectarian conflicts.

These factors would not be compelling enough to justify a costly U.S. military or financial commitment. However, we can make (and have made) a difference in Northern Ireland with a modest investment of diplomatic and financial resources. The Administration's interest, first demonstrated by the issuance of a visa to Gerry Adams in January 1994, was a key factor in the IRA's decision to declare its August 1994 cease-fire. Continued U.S. involvement will be necessary (though not sufficient) for a restoration of the cease-fire. The Irish American community is proud and supportive

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of
the White House-led policy of involvement in the peace process, which
they contrast with what they view as previous Administrations' and
State's pro-British attitudes.

2. Potential problems that could require immediate attention:

The IRA shows no signs of restoring its cease-fire; rather it appears intent on provoking loyalist retaliation. A return to full-scale violence is a particular danger now because further political progress is unlikely until after the British election.

When the Belfast talks reconvene January 13, unionist parties are likely to use the recent car bomb attacks to challenge the loyalist
parties' continued participation in the talks. Their expulsion would
remove the chief incentive for a continuation of the (tattered) loyalist cease-fire and reduce the prospect that Sinn Fein will eventually be able to join the talks.

3. Concrete opportunities and risks over near and mid-term:

It is possible that, as the election looms, Major will decide to risk losing the support of the nine unionist MPs and set a date for
Sinn Fein entry into the Belfast talks, contingent on an unequivocal
cease-fire. If he does, the British and the Irish will expect us to
help deliver an immediate restoration of the IRA cease-fire. We would also want to deflect any moves by the British to further define
what they mean by "unequivocal" and create in effect new hurdles to
Sinn Fein entry.

It is more likely that our risks and opportunities will come with the election of a Labour government sometime this spring. In that
case, the IRA might launch a bombing campaign designed to make the
Blair government anxious to get out of Northern Ireland (though it
would have the opposite effect). In opposition, the Tories may be
critical of Labour's Northern Ireland policy, even though Labour has
been supportive of theirs. In any event, Blair will be so focused on
EU issues that he will have less time than Major does to devote to
Northern Ireland. We will have to decide how much of a priority to
make Northern Ireland in our bilateral relationship and how hard to
push the new government on it.

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The Irish government must call an election by November but may well do so earlier, perhaps by June. The odds favor Fianna Fail leader Bertie Ahern to become the next prime minister, though it is too soon to write off John Bruton. Fianna Fail is traditionally more supportive of nationalist aspirations than Bruton's Fine Gael, which might mean the IRA would be more inclined to call a cease-fire if Ahern wins.

Over the next months, there is a risk that the Belfast talks could collapse for lack of momentum, especially if they go into recess for the election campaign with the decommissioning issue unresolved. The U.S. role in the peace process is symbolized by Senator Mitchell's position as chairman of the Belfast talks. If Mitchell decides to leave, we will have to identify and get the parties to agree on an American successor, or accept a diminished role in the peace process.

Next summer's "marching season" risks a repeat of last year's explosive sectarian clashes, unless agreed procedures are in place by May to govern loyalist marches through Catholic neighborhoods. The British need to insist that the special commission they set up last year produce more than just a report.

In the longer term, the likely inclusion of Ireland in the European Monetary Union while the UK stays out risks reinforcing the separateness between the two parts of Ireland. There may be economic initiatives we could support to counter this trend, if necessary.

4. Tough Questions/Hard Choices:

The hardest choices we will face concern relations with Sinn Fein if the IRA does not declare a cease-fire. The first tough issue is likely to be a renewed request from Gerry Adams for a visa to promote his new book in the U.S. If there is no prospect of a cease-fire, the decision will be simple, but if it appears that a visa might help to get the cease-fire restored, we should seriously consider taking another "risk for peace." In the absence of a cease-fire, at some point we will have to re-assess the value of continued contacts with Adams and Sinn Fein. If violence escalates, we may want to

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consider shutting down the local Sinn Fein office, though there are
legal constraints.

Since the early nineties, the immediate goal of the peace process has been to establish talks among all the parties in Northern Ireland, those representing the paramilitaries as well as the five
"constitutional" parties. If violence returns to earlier levels, we
and the British and Irish governments will have to consider whether
to leave the door open to Sinn Fein indefinitely or seek to marginalize the republicans and press for a negotiated agreement between moderate nationalists and unionists. Another alternative to
the present process would be a framework imposed on the parties by
the two governments and put to a referendum.

We also need to decide who will take Mr. Lake's place and stay in
regular touch with the two governments and party leaders, including
Adams. Our influence with all these players stems from the perception of the President's commitment to the peace process and our
ability to involve him with letters, phone calls or meetings as needed. This, and the strong preference of the Irish American community, argue for keeping the issue at the NSC.

5. Vision

Our ultimate goal for Northern Ireland is an end to violence and a
negotiated constitutional and political settlement acceptable to both
the nationalist and unionist communities. There is no intrinsic reason why this cannot be achieved in four years. While negotiations
are likely to be protracted, the outline of the settlement has already been set out by the two governments in the Joint Framework
Documents released in February 1995. It will include a legislative
body based on power-sharing, North-South bodies in some sectors (agriculture and fishing are often cited) and changes in such controversial institutions as the police.

The best means to this end is a substantive negotiating process that
includes Sinn Fein and the loyalist parties on the basis of sustained cease-fires. Thus the first benchmark is the restoration of
the IRA cease-fire. Many observers remain optimistic that the cease-fire will be restored, because the IRA's military campaign has
so clearly led to a stand-off -- the IRA has failed to evict the British from Northern Ireland and the British have failed to stamp

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out the IRA. The IRA, however, has not yet accepted this logic and appears to believe that its attacks have helped soften British positions.

If a cease-fire is declared, the next benchmark is the inclusion of Sinn Fein in the talks process. When Sinn Fein is invited to join the talks, even on the basis of a verifiable cease-fire, the unionist parties will likely walk out for some period, further delaying the start of real negotiations. A third benchmark, which could happen either before or after a new IRA cease-fire, would be the resolution of the current impasse over how to handle decommissioning. Even if all-party talks get underway, they are likely to stall again at some point over decommissioning. Thus, though the outline of the settlement is already clear, the path to it will be frustrating.

The key to eventual success in Northern Ireland will be sustained commitment, primarily by the British and Irish governments, with our unflagging support. That means nudging the two governments to keep the momentum going in the talks, rewarding party leaders who show flexibility with White House contacts and meetings and continuing to promote economic and business initiatives. It also means continuing to take a strong public stance against the use of violence for any ends and for the resolution of conflict by peaceful, political means.

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	02 January 97 12:55
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	[~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO	Vershbow, Alexander R.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	OK to take to Tara? [[TRANSNI.DOC : 3084 in TRANSNI.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	2 January 97 12:55
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	TRANSNI.DOC

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.87)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1/2/97
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on 1/2/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transition Paper: Northern Ireland Peace Process

1. U.S. Goals and Interests

U.S. goals for Northern Ireland are an end to the violence and a political process leading to a sustainable negotiated settlement.

The conflict in Northern Ireland strains the military and financial resources of our closest ally, the UK. It has spawned terrorist violence that has claimed over 3000 lives in 25 years. To stamp out the terrorist threat, London has at times abridged traditional civil rights and resorted to questionable judicial practices. And the persistence of vicious sectarian strife in a NATO and EU member country casts doubt on prospects for resolving other ethnic/sectarian conflicts.

These factors would not be compelling enough to justify a costly U.S. military or financial commitment. However, we can make (and have made) a difference in Northern Ireland with a modest investment of diplomatic and financial resources. The Administration's interest, first demonstrated by the issuance of a visa to Gerry Adams in January 1994, was a key factor in the IRA's decision to declare its August 1994 ceasefire. Our

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engagement also was key to achieving British-Irish agreement on arrangements for the multiparty talks that convened last year under the chairmanship of former Senator Mitchell. Continued U.S. involvement will be necessary (though not sufficient) for a restoration of the ceasefire and the entry of Sinn Fein into the talks. The Irish American community is proud and supportive of the White House-led policy of involvement in the peace process, which they contrast with what they view as previous Administrations' pro-British attitudes.

2. Potential problems that could require immediate attention:

The IRA shows no signs of restoring its ceasefire; rather it appears intent on provoking loyalist retaliation. A return to full-scale violence is a particular danger now because further political progress is unlikely until after the British election (which will probably take place in late April or early May).

When the Belfast talks reconvene January 13, unionist parties are likely to use the recent car bomb attacks to challenge the loyalist parties' continued participation in the talks. Their expulsion would remove the chief incentive for a continuation of the (tattered) loyalist ceasefire and reduce the prospect that Sinn Fein will eventually be able to join the talks.

3. Concrete opportunities and risks over near and medium term:

It is possible that, as the election looms, Major will decide to risk losing the support of the nine unionist MPs and set a date for Sinn Fein entry into the Belfast talks, contingent on an unequivocal ceasefire. If he does, the British and the Irish will expect us to help deliver an immediate restoration of the IRA ceasefire. We would also want to deflect any moves by the British to further define what they mean by "unequivocal" and create in effect new hurdles to Sinn Fein entry.

It is more likely that our risks and opportunities will come with the election of a Labour government this spring. In that case, the IRA might launch a bombing campaign designed to make the Blair government anxious to get out of Northern Ireland (though such a move would almost certainly have the opposite effect). In opposition, the Tories may be critical of Labour's Northern Ireland policy, even though Labour has been supportive of theirs. In any event, Blair will be so focused on EU issues that he will have less time than Major does to devote to Northern Ireland. We will have to decide how much of a priority to make Northern Ireland in

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our bilateral relationship and how hard to push the new government on it.

The Irish government must call an election by November but may well do so earlier, perhaps by June. The odds favor Fianna Fail leader Bertie Ahern to become the next prime minister, though it is too soon to write off John Bruton. Fianna Fail is traditionally more supportive of nationalist aspirations than Bruton's Fine Gael, which might mean the IRA would be more inclined to call a ceasefire if Ahern wins.

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If the IRA declares a ceasefire, we will have to decide how hard we should push with the British to ensure that Sinn Fein can join the talks within a reasonable period. We will also face choices about the level and scope of our involvement in the negotiating process.

The hardest choices we will face concern relations with Sinn Fein if the IRA does not declare a ceasefire. The first tough issue is likely to be a renewed request from Gerry Adams for a visa to promote his new book in the U.S. If there is no prospect of a ceasefire, the decision will be simple, but if it appears that a visa might help to get the ceasefire restored, we should seriously consider taking another "risk for peace." In the absence of a ceasefire, at some point we will have to reassess the value of continued contacts with Adams and Sinn Fein. If violence

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Since the early nineties, the immediate goal of the peace process has been to establish talks
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and unionists. Another alternative to the present process would be a framework imposed on the
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MSMail

DATE-TIME	02 January 97 12:59
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Biernacki, Eileen V. Friedrich, M. K. Hilliard, Brenda I. Joshi, M. Kay Kessinger, Jodi Millison, Cathy L.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	NES, this was only requested this week- due Thursday, so I sent it forward.[[TRANSNI.DOC : 3090 in TRANSNI.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	2 January 97 12:58
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	TRANSNI.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1/2/97 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5(d) Declassify on 1/2/11

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.88)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transition Paper: Northern Ireland Peace Process

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U.S. goals for Northern Ireland are an end to the violence and a political process leading to a sustainable negotiated settlement.

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Northern Ireland with a modest investment of diplomatic and financial resources. The Administration's interest, first demonstrated by the issuance of a visa to Gerry Adams in January 1994, was a key factor in the IRA's decision to declare its August 1994 ceasefire. Our engagement also was key to achieving British-Irish agreement on arrangements for the multiparty talks that convened last year under the chairmanship of former Senator Mitchell. Continued U.S. involvement will be necessary (though not sufficient) for a restoration of the ceasefire and the entry of Sinn Fein into the talks. The Irish American community is proud and supportive of the White House-led policy of involvement in the peace process, which they contrast with what they view as previous Administrations' pro-British attitudes.

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The IRA shows no signs of restoring its ceasefire; rather it appears intent on provoking loyalist retaliation. A return to full-scale violence is a particular danger now because further political progress is unlikely until after the British election (which will probably take place in late April or early May).

When the Belfast talks reconvene January 13, unionist parties are likely to use the recent car bomb attacks to challenge the loyalist parties' continued participation in the talks. Their expulsion would remove the chief incentive for a continuation of the (tattered) loyalist ceasefire and reduce the prospect that Sinn Fein will eventually be able to join the talks.

3. Concrete opportunities and risks over near and medium term:

It is possible that, as the election looms, Major will decide to risk losing the support of the nine unionist MPs and set a date for Sinn Fein entry into the Belfast talks, contingent on an unequivocal ceasefire. If he does, the British and the Irish will expect us to help deliver an immediate restoration of the IRA ceasefire. We would also want to deflect any moves by the British to further define what they mean by "unequivocal" and create in effect new hurdles to Sinn Fein entry.

It is more likely that our risks and opportunities will come with the election of a Labour government this spring. In that case, the IRA might launch a bombing campaign designed to make the Blair government anxious to get out of Northern Ireland (though such a move would almost certainly have the opposite effect). In opposition, the Tories may be critical of Labour's

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If a ceasefire is declared, the next benchmark is the inclusion of Sinn Fein in the talks process. When Sinn Fein is invited to join the talks, even on the basis of a verifiable ceasefire, the unionist parties will likely walk out for some period, further delaying the start of real negotiations. A third benchmark, which could happen either before or after a new IRA ceasefire, would be the resolution of the current impasse over how to handle decommissioning. Even if all-party talks get underway, they are likely to stall again at some point over decommissioning. In sum, even though the outline of the settlement is already clear, the path to it will be frustrating.

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	02 January 97 13:49
FROM	Vershbow, Alexander R.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	FW:NI paper [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~L]
TO	Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.89)
KBH 9/9/2019

Looks good -- A few format fixes in attached

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Vershbow, Alexander R.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
Date: Thursday, January 02, 1997 12:55 PM

[[TRANSNI.DOC : 3397 in TRANSNI.DOC]]

OK to take to Tara?

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	2 January 97 13:47
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	TRANSNI.DOC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1/2/97

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on 1/2/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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M S M a i l

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.90)
KBH 9/9/2019

DATE-TIME 06 January 97 19:25

FROM Vershbow, Alexander R.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT FW: NI Transition Paper ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Peters, Mary A.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Looks good. I've added a few other format fixes per Tara's latest guidance. Send to her in original plus 12 copies

---

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Vershbow, Alexander R.; Soderberg, Nancy E.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: NI Transition Paper~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Monday, January 06, 1997 07:14 PM

[[TRANSNI.DOC : 4896 in TRANSNI.DOC]]

Tara asked me to add a section on "current policy and evaluation" to match the other papers. Please see new para in italics. The other para in that section is drawn from other sections of the paper. Also see phrase in italics about possible Adams visa that reflects earlier NES comment.Waiting for SRB comments.

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 6 January 97 19:25

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME TRANSNI.DOC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1/6/97
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on 1/6/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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In the longer term, the likely inclusion of Ireland in the European Monetary Union while the UK stays out risks reinforcing the separateness between the two parts of Ireland. There may be economic initiatives we could support to counter this trend, if necessary.

4. Current Policy and Evaluation

The current policy of diplomatic engagement by the White House is welcomed by both the British and Irish governments because we have made clear that our role is to support their efforts. An attempt to play an independent role in brokering a settlement would be rejected by

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the British. Keeping our contacts high-level and low-key has allowed us to encourage the compromises needed for joint action by London and Dublin -- for instance, the twin-track approach agreed to shortly before the President's trip in November 1995, and the Februrary 1996 decision to set a date for talks. Continued U.S. involvement will be necessary (though not sufficient) for a restoration of the ceasefire and the entry of Sinn Fein into the talks.

Our influence with the governments and the Northern Ireland political leaders stems from the perception of the President's commitment to the peace process and our ability to involve him with letters, phone calls or meetings as needed. This, and the strong preference of the Irish American community, argue for maintaining a White House/NSC lead on the issue.

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We also need to decide who will take Tony Lake's place and stay in regular touch with the two governments and party leaders, including Adams.

6. Four-Year Vision

Our ultimate goal for Northern Ireland is an end to violence and a negotiated constitutional and political settlement acceptable to both the nationalist and unionist communities. There is no intrinsic reason why this cannot be achieved in four years. While negotiations are likely to be protracted, the outline of the settlement has already been set out by the two governments in the Joint Framework Documents released in February 1995. It will include a legislative body based on power-sharing, North-South bodies in some sectors (agriculture and fishing are often cited) and changes in such controversial institutions as the police.

The best means to this end is a substantive negotiating process that includes Sinn Fein and the loyalist parties on the basis of sustained ceasefires. Thus the first benchmark is the restoration of the IRA ceasefire. Many observers remain optimistic that the ceasefire will be restored, because the IRA's military campaign has so clearly led to a stand-off -- the IRA has failed to evict the British from Northern Ireland and the British have failed to stamp out the IRA. The IRA, however, has not yet accepted this logic and appears to believe that its attacks have helped soften British positions.

If a ceasefire is declared, the next benchmark is the inclusion of Sinn Fein in the talks process. When Sinn Fein is invited to join the talks, even on the basis of a verifiable ceasefire, the unionist parties will likely walk out for some period, further delaying the start of real negotiations. A third benchmark, which could happen either before or after a new IRA ceasefire, would be the resolution of the current impasse over how to handle decommissioning. Even if all-party talks get underway, they are likely to stall again at some point over decommissioning. In sum, even though the outline of the settlement is already clear, the path to it will be frustrating.

The key to eventual success in Northern Ireland will be sustained commitment, primarily by the British and Irish governments, with our unflagging support. That means nudging the two governments to keep the momentum going in the talks, rewarding party leaders who show flexibility with White House contacts and meetings, and continuing to promote economic and business initiatives. It also means continuing to take a strong

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public stance against the use of
violence for any ends and for the resolution of conflict by
peaceful, political means.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MSMail

DATE-TIME	08 January 97 20:16
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	TL Farewell Calls ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Biernacki, Eileen V. Friedrich, M. K. Hilliard, Brenda I. Joshi, M. Kay Kessinger, Jodi Millison, Cathy L. Vershbow, Alexander R.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015-0159-M [1.91]
KBH 9/9/2019

To: NES
From: MAP

Attached is a memo for TL's farewell calls to Adams, Hume, Trimble, Ervine and McMichael. Has he agreed to do them all?

Also, SRB has already spoken with John Holmes at least once, per Peter Bass. Do you think TL should call him too , just on Northern Ireland? [[NICALLS.DOC : 5126 in NICALLS.DOC]][[NITPS.DOC : 5127 in NITPS.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	8 January 97 19:32
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	NICALLS.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 1/8/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 8, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: "Slan": Farewell Round of Calls to Northern Ireland Leaders

We recommend you call the party leaders to urge them not to give up
in spite of this week's violence and to assure them that the

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

White
House will remain engaged in support of the Northern Ireland peace
process.

Recent Developments

The year began with the dismantling of a 1000-pound bomb near Stormont Castle that was abandoned by the IRA on New Year's Eve. On
Monday, a rocket was fired at the security hut outside the Belfast
court; happily the guard inside was only slightly injured. The attack has been universally condemned, including by us (State). It
appears that the rocket was intended to penetrate the hut and failed
to do so. This bolsters the RUC/British claim that recent IRA attacks have been intended to do serious damage and failed only through faulty weapons and good police work. The other, increasingly
unlikely, theory was that the IRA was leaving a series of calling cards intended to intimidate but not inflict harm. [FYI: I have

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.3(b)(1)

analysis of the IRA's current tactics and success rate compared with
past campaigns.]

The IRA claimed responsibility for the rocket attack and also used
codewords to claim they had planted bombs at four hotels, two bus stations and a train station that evening. No bombs were found but
life in the city was seriously disrupted. British Army patrols are
out again in force. Tuesday a police patrol in Derry was fired on
(again no injuries) and the IRA claimed responsibility.

The IRA has issued a New Year's statement insisting it is committed
to a just and lasting peace in Ireland. Gerry Adams said that "the
genie, in many ways, is back out of the bottle." Major said it is
going to be hard to see "how the IRA can persuade anyone that Sinn
Fein should re-enter (sic) the talks." Mayhew called the rocket a
"criminal gangster attack" but kept the door to Sinn Fein open a crack by saying, "If they want... from today, to say that's the end
of it and then demonstrate that they mean it -- well then, they're in
business." Hume criticized the attack in Derry but insisted that he
and Adams will continue to pursue the peace process, in spite of their inability to reach an electoral pact.

Meanwhile, the loyalist cease-fire is holding. David Ervine even

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told our vice-consul in Belfast that the loyalist threat to end the cease-fire if the IRA kills anyone is not true. David told Martha Pope that the loyalist leaders are making the argument that the cease-fire is obviously benefiting loyalists if the IRA wants to provoke them into ending it.

Next Steps for Us

Your round of calls will serve as evidence that the Administration intends to remain engaged for the long haul. We are also considering issuing a Presidential statement, perhaps to mark the reconvening of talks January 13. We recommend that you and Sandy Berger (or Jim Steinberg) talk with Mitchell before his return to Belfast to find out how long he intends to stay as chairman. When the talks adjourned for Christmas, there was a hint in the press that Mitchell would be prepared to use his (limited) powers as chairman to move the talks into the three strands in January; we need to know whether that is likely. (Mitchell is in Florida at 305 361-0802.)

Nancy and I will meet with Martha Pope January 9. I recommend that Nancy call Dermot to press him on what the Irish Government intends to do. The Irish DCM has already called me about scheduling Bruton's St. Patrick's Day visit.

Sinn Fein officials are talking about a new draft text to get the British to make a commitment about Sinn Fein entry into talks following a cease-fire (to be delivered by Hume). We heard this from Irish Americans as well as Embassy Dublin. It is hard to imagine that another textual negotiation will get anywhere, but once we get the new Sinn Fein draft we should compare it carefully with the October 10 Hume/Adams draft to see if it is worth pursuing.

There are a number of initiatives brewing in the Department of Commerce, including the possible creation of a Tripartite Business Council, that will demonstrate the value of our engagement, especially to unionists. Congress has appropriated $1 million through USIA to Boston College's Center for Irish Management -- we should try to shape their program to support the peace process as much as possible.

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

ATTACHMENT FILE

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DATE 8 January 97 20:12

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME NITPS.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 1/8/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE IN TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL LEADERS

Adams

- Deeply disappointed that my farewell call being made against backdrop of increasing violence in Northern Ireland.

- Chagrined that unprecedented opportunity of Mitchell role (which no one could have envisaged in 1994) is being squandered.

- Will only succeed in isolating Sinn Fein, pressure on us to cut off contact will mount.

- Violence also vindicates insistence on decommissioning and removes responsibility from unionists to seek negotiated settlement that includes constitutional issue.

- Understand frustrations during cease-fire; but what violence has done is postpone day when SF can sit at table. Has also made it very difficult for those of us who believe you should be at table to make that case.

- Heard you are drafting another text of words British could say to persuade IRA that cease-fire will lead to all-party talks this time. Hard to see HMG taking it seriously, but suggest you let us have copy.

- Campaign of violence will also make it difficult for a future Blair Government to invite Sinn Fein into talks following demonstrated cease-fire.

- We are not giving up; remain committed to peace process. Nancy will remain engaged; as will my successor Sandy Berger and his deputy Jim Steinberg, who used to work for Senator Kennedy.

- Goal remains inclusive talks leading to negotiated settlement, but must have cease-fire in order to help bring them about. Still think you can find a way to get cease-fire restored.

- Slan.

Hume

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

□ Want to let you know that White House will remain committed to Northern Ireland. Nancy will remain involved and my successor Sandy Berger and his deputy Jim Steinberg will as well. Jim at one
time worked for Senator Kennedy.

□ Administration will also stay involved in economic initiatives.

□ Deeply disturbed, as you are, by wave of violence. IRA must stop
or they risk boxing a new Labour government into corner.

□ Heard that Sinn Fein wants to try again to get British to commit to let Sinn Fein into talks on basis of cease-fire. Skeptical British will listen after recent attacks. What do you think?

□ Any prospect of progress in talks before election?

□ Have enjoyed privilege of working with you.

Trimble

□ Leave outraged at wave of IRA attacks, deeply disappointed that more progress has not been made.

□ White House will remain supportive of and engaged in peace process. Nancy Soderberg will stay involved and my successor Sandy
Berger and his deputy Jim Steinberg will be as well.

□ Number of economic initiatives pending in Commerce Department and
other agencies. See them as critical to long-term future of Northern Ireland.

□ If he asks for details: Commerce A/S Will Ginsberg will be in Northern Ireland next week about possible trade/investment mission, other ideas.

□ Proud of fact that I have had frank and open relationship with you
and other UUP leaders, that we have sought unionist viewpoint on every issue. Hope you will stay in touch with new team.

□ Talks remain best hope for future. Urge you to move rapidly into
substance, prove that political process works.

Ervine/McMichael

□ Will think of you as real heroes of peace process. Wish you continued success in keeping cease-fire intact.

□ You are making your voices heard. You have made clear your willingness to talk without compromising your own strongly held loyalist beliefs. Polls in Northern Ireland show that people there respect you for this, as do we.

□ President remains committed to Northern Ireland. Nancy will remain involved, as will my successor Sandy Berger and his

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deputy Jim Steinberg. You can always call them.

[] Will continue push for progress in talks, without waiting for Sinn Fein.

[] If raised: We still talk on phone with Sinn Fein without publicizing it. But IRA violence has and will continue to cost them in terms of access to U.S. and contacts here.

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MSMail

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2015-0159-M [1.93]

KBH 9/9/2019

DATE-TIME	09 January 97 10:18
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~SECRET~~
SUBJECT	New NI Memo [~~SECRET~~]
TO	Kessinger, Jodi
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	Thanks Jodi,[[NICALLS.DOC : 2596 in NICALLS.DOC]][[NITPS.DOC : 2597 in NITPS.DOC]] for substituting this for the earlier version.
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	9 January 97 10:9
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	NICALLS.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 1/8/07 ~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 8, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: "Slan": Farewell Round of Calls to Northern Ireland Leaders

We recommend you call the party leaders to urge them not to give up in spite of this week's violence and to assure them that the White House will remain engaged in support of the Northern Ireland peace process. With Adams we recommend that you tell him he needs to get the IRA to stop the violence (in effect, an unannounced tactical cease-fire) if the President is to be in a position to urge a (presumed) new Blair government to be flexible on Sinn Fein entry into talks after an unequivocal cease-fire.

Recent Developments

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The year began with the dismantling of a 1000-pound bomb near Stormont Castle that was abandoned by the IRA on New Year's Eve. On Monday, a rocket was fired at the security hut outside the Belfast court; happily the guard inside was only slightly injured. The attack has been universally condemned, including by us (State). It appears that the rocket was intended to penetrate the hut and failed to do so. This bolsters the RUC/British claim that recent IRA attacks have been intended to do serious damage and failed only through faulty weapons and good police work. The other, increasingly unlikely, theory was that the IRA was leaving a series of calling cards intended to intimidate but not inflict harm. [FYI: I have

EO 13526 1.4c, EO 13526 3.3(b)(1)

analysis of the IRA's current tactics and success rate compared with past campaigns.]

The IRA claimed responsibility for the rocket attack and also used codewords to claim they had planted bombs at four hotels, two bus stations and a train station that evening. No bombs were found but life in the city was seriously disrupted. British Army patrols are out again in force. Tuesday a police patrol in Derry was fired on (again no injuries) and the IRA claimed responsibility.

The IRA has issued a New Year's statement insisting it is committed to a just and lasting peace in Ireland. Gerry Adams said that "the genie, in many ways, is back out of the bottle." Major said it is going to be hard to see "how the IRA can persuade anyone that Sinn Fein should re-enter (sic) the talks." Mayhew called the rocket a "criminal gangster attack" but kept the door to Sinn Fein open a crack by saying, "If they want... from today, to say that's the end of it and then demonstrate that they mean it -- well then, they're in business." Hume criticized the attack in Derry but insisted that he and Adams will continue to pursue the peace process, in spite of their inability to reach an electoral pact.

Meanwhile, the loyalist cease-fire is holding. David Ervine even told our vice-consul in Belfast that the loyalist threat to end the cease-fire if the IRA kills anyone is not true. David told Martha Pope that the loyalist leaders are making the argument that the cease-fire is obviously benefiting loyalists if the IRA wants to provoke them into ending it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Next Steps for Us

Your round of calls will serve as evidence that the Administration intends to remain engaged for the long haul. The most important is to Adams, to make clear that continued violence will put at risk the President's ability to weigh in strongly with a new British government to get the peace process back in motion. Our best chance for a breakthrough will be to get the IRA to accept a statement from Blair on the conditions for Sinn Fein entry into talks that is only slightly different than the ones Major has made. In the meantime, possibly the best we can hope for is to prevent the situation from deteriorating so badly that Blair will not be able keep the door open to Sinn Fein participation at all. The idea of asking Gerry specifically for an unannounced tactical cease-fire as a condition for the President to weigh in when the time comes with Blair came from Bruce Morrison; I think it is our best hope.

Sinn Fein officials are talking about a new draft text to get the British to make a commitment about Sinn Fein entry into talks following a cease-fire (to be delivered by Hume). We heard this from Irish Americans as well as Embassy Dublin. It is hard to imagine that another textual negotiation will get anywhere with this government, but once we get the new Sinn Fein draft we should compare it carefully with the October 10 Hume/Adams draft to see if it is worth pursuing.

We are considering issuing a Presidential statement, perhaps to mark the reconvening of talks January 13. We recommend that you and Sandy Berger (or Jim Steinberg) talk with Mitchell before his return to Belfast to find out how long he intends to stay as chairman. When the talks adjourned for Christmas, there was a hint in the press that Mitchell would be prepared to use his (limited) powers as chairman to move the talks into the three strands in January; we need to know whether that is likely. (Mitchell is in Florida at 305 361-0802.)

Nancy and I will meet with Martha Pope January 9. I recommend that Nancy call Dermot to press him on what the Irish Government intends to do. The Irish DCM has already called me about scheduling Bruton's

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St. Patrick's Day visit.

There are a number of initiatives brewing in the Department of Commerce, including the possible creation of a Tripartite Business
Council, that will demonstrate the value of our engagement, especially to unionists. Congress has appropriated $1 million through
USIA to Boston College's Center for Irish Management -- we should try to shape their program to support the peace process as much as
possible.

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 9 January 97 10:17

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME NITPS.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 1/8/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Adams

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- Chagrined that unprecedented opportunity of Mitchell role (which no one could have envisaged in 1994) is being squandered.

- Will only succeed in isolating Sinn Fein, pressure on us to cut off contact will mount.

- Violence also vindicates insistence on decommissioning and removes
responsibility from unionists to seek negotiated settlement that includes constitutional issue.

- Understand frustrations during cease-fire; but what violence has done is postpone day when SF can sit at table. Has also made it very difficult for those of us who believe you should be at table to make that case.

- Heard you are drafting another text of words British could say to
persuade IRA that cease-fire will lead to all-party talks this time. Hard to see HMG taking it seriously, but suggest you let us
have copy.

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Most important, campaign of violence will also make it difficult for the President to encourage a future Blair Government to be flexible on inviting Sinn Fein into talks following demonstrated cease-fire.

President committed to this process, but our ability to keep Northern Ireland at top of President's agenda with British will be
lost if violence continues.

If declared cease-fire not possible, important that IRA at least stop its violent activities. Otherwise, it will take more than British election to get inclusive process back on track.

Nancy will remain engaged; as will my successor Sandy Berger and his deputy Jim Steinberg, who used to work for Senator Kennedy.

Goal remains inclusive talks leading to negotiated settlement, but
that depends critically on what happens in next few weeks and months. Still think you can find a way to get cease-fire restored.

Slan.

Hume

Want to let you know that White House will remain committed to Northern Ireland. Nancy will remain involved and my successor Sandy Berger and his deputy Jim Steinberg will as well. Jim at one
time worked for Senator Kennedy.

Administration will also stay involved in economic initiatives.

Deeply disturbed, as you are, by wave of violence. IRA must stop
or they risk boxing a new Labour government into corner.

Heard that Sinn Fein wants to try again to get British to commit to let Sinn Fein into talks on basis of cease-fire. Skeptical British will listen after recent attacks. What do you think?

Any prospect of progress in talks before election?

Have enjoyed privilege of working with you.

Trimble

Leave outraged at wave of IRA attacks, deeply disappointed that more progress has not been made.

White House will remain supportive of and engaged in peace process. Nancy Soderberg will stay involved and my successor Sandy
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Number of economic initiatives pending in Commerce Department

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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other agencies. See them as critical to long-term future of Northern Ireland.

If he asks for details: Commerce A/S Will Ginsberg will be in Northern Ireland next week about possible trade/investment mission, other ideas.

Proud of fact that I have had frank and open relationship with you
and other UUP leaders, that we have sought unionist viewpoint on every issue. Hope you will stay in touch with new team.

Talks remain best hope for future. Urge you to move rapidly into
substance, prove that political process works.

Ervine/McMichael

Will think of you as real heroes of peace process. Wish you continued success in keeping cease-fire intact.

You are making your voices heard. You have made clear your willingness to talk without compromising your own strongly held loyalist beliefs. Polls in Northern Ireland show that people there respect you for this, as do we.

President remains committed to Northern Ireland. Nancy will remain involved, as will my successor Sandy Berger and his deputy Jim Steinberg. You can always call them.

Will continue push for progress in talks, without waiting for Sinn Fein.

If raised: We still talk on phone with Sinn Fein without publicizing it. But IRA violence has and will continue to cost them in terms of access to U.S. and contacts here.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MSMail

DATE-TIME	12 February 97 19:53
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	Phone Calls to Loyalist Leaders ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Bass, Peter E. Cicio, Kristen K. Hall, Wilma G. Kale, Dora A. Kerrick, Donald L. Veit, Katherine M.
CARBON_COPY	Kessinger, Jodi Vershbow, Alexander R.
TEXT_BODY	To; Jim From: Mary Ann Attached are background and talking points for your calls tomorrow morning. I do not plan to be in at 6:00 so if you will be busy later, I recommend you go ahead and make the calls before I arrive (around 8). If you want me to be there or introduce you, please let me know when you plan to call. [[LOYAL.DOC : 4871 in LOYAL.DOC]][[LOYALMEM.DOC : 4872 in LOYALMEM.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	12 February 97 18:42
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	LOYAL.DOC

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.95)
KBH 9/9/2019

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH
DAVID ERVINE AND GARY MCMICHAEL

□ As you know, Sandy Berger and I will be working on Northern Ireland peace process, taking over from Tony Lake and Nancy Soderberg.

□ Had planned to call to introduce myself over phone; also want to talk about the murder of the British soldier yesterday.

□ President is issuing statement expressing outrage and sympathy. Statement includes praise for loyalist restraint.

□ Also Sandy Berger called John Holmes in London to extend condolences.

□ Is there any doubt IRA did it?

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□ Calling to ask whether the loyalists will be able to resist provocation, maintain their cease-fire. As you know, best revenge is to have killers caught and punished.

□ Is there anything we can do to help you hold the line? Do you want fact of this call to be made public?

□ One thing you should know is that White House Social Office will be sending out invitations to St. Patrick's Day event soon. You are on the list; hope you will be able to come.

□ Look forward to meeting you if you come; so does Sandy Berger.

□ Understand governments and parties working to recess talks in good order, to be resumed after election period. Seems like most sensible plan in light of difficulty of making progress at this point.

□ When do you think Major will call election?

If asked:

□ Cannot commit to separate meeting with President for you --last year we did not arrange separate meetings, but Northern Ireland leaders who came had chance to see President at reception.

□ If you come and cease-fire still holding, we will do our best to ensure you are well received.

□ Adams will not be invited without a cease-fire.

□ Adams has not applied for a visa, so we have not made a decision. If he does apply, we would make that decision based on whether a visit would contribute to peace process.

□ Would not make such a determination lightly. Well aware how important it is for loyalists that violence not be seen to be rewarded.

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 12 February 97 19:46

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME LOYALMEM.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 2/12/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 12, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Calls to Loyalist Leaders

You will be calling the leaders of the two loyalist parties. David Ervine heads the Progressive Unionist Party which "has close links to" the outlawed Ulster Volunteer Force. David did time for possession of explosives. Gary McMichael, who has no convictions, inherited the mantle of the Ulster Democratic Party from his father, who was murdered by the IRA. The UDA "has close links to" the Ulster Freedom Fighters/Ulster Defense Association.

Both the PUP and the UDA are in the talks and want to stay there.

They have survived two attempts by Paisley to have them thrown out following attacks on Sinn Fein officials attributed to (but no claimed by) loyalists. Sinn Fein has on occasion complained about a double standard benefitting the loyalists, and indeed all three governmetns are determined to give them the benefit of the doubt.

The Combined Loyalist Military Command has not ended the loyalist cease-fire, allowing the attacks to be pinned on "loyalist extremists" (a redundant phrase).

Nancy told me several weeks ago that Gary had called her. He apparently wants to come for the St. Patrick's Day party and is looking for a sponsor to pay his way. (Prominent Irish Americans like Bill Flynn have done this sort of thing in the past.) He would like a meeting with the President but I think a handshake/photo at the reception would serve his purpose.

He and David may urge that we respond to the killing of the soldier by punishing Sinn Fein in some way. You should respond by pointing out that we do differentiate -- for one thing, they will be invited to the White House in March and he will not be.

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MSMail

DATE-TIME	18 February 97 15:54
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	URGENT: SUGGESTED POINTS FOR ALBRIGHT ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Bass, Peter E. Cicio, Kristen K. Hall, Wilma G. Kale, Dora A. Kerrick, Donald L. Veit, Katherine M.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M(1.96)
KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT_BODY

Jim, Sandy Vershbow asked me for points he could suggest MKA use on NI in her meeting with Major/Mayhew and with the press. (I gather EUR was not tasked with points because MKA was to be in listening mode on NI, but she may need to make a couple of general points.) OK with you to fax these to SV?[[SVNI.DOC : 3853 in SVNI.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	18 February 97 15:50
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	SVNI.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 2/18/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 18, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Suggested Northern Ireland Points

For the meeting, suggest following points:

□ President committed to support for your efforts, those of Dublin,
to bring about negotiated settlement. Recognizes it will require sustained commitment.

□ In spite of slow progress, Belfast talks still offer best prospect
for achieving settlement. Understand plan is to recess them at

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appropriate time with firm intent to reconvene after election period. (Note: Talks are likely to recess sometime between end of February and beginning of British election campaign and reconvene around June 1, after British election and local NI election; later
if Irish election is called for June.)

□ Our position on Sinn Fein participation in talks same as yours and
Dublin's -- cannot happen without IRA cease-fire.

□ See inclusive talks (i.e., with Sinn Fein) as offering best prospect for sustainable settlement over long term, but IRA cannot
be allowed to hold the talks hostage.

□ If asked: Do not know what Senator Mitchell's plans are but hope
he will be able to stay until talks resume after recess.

□ If raised: Believe Mitchell has played valuable role; would be willing to consult with you and Dublin about possible American successor if Mitchell decides to leave.

Public Points

□ Pleased that Secretary Mayhew participated in meeting with Major.
Northern Ireland peace process remains high on our agenda; appreciated opportunity to hear from him about status.

□ Take this opportunity to dispel any misconceptions. This Administration has abiding commitment to support Northern Ireland peace process and British and Irish efforts to move it forward. There is only one American policy on NI and that is it. President
commited to it, I am commited to it.

□ Add my sympathy to that of President on murder of Bombardier Restorick last week. Condemn such cowardly crimes. Change can only come through political process, dialogue and reconcilation.

□ See Belfast talks process as historic opportunity -- progress has
been slow but by no means negligible, given deep-rooted nature of issues there. Proud Senator Mitchell has been able to play a valuable role. (NOTE: Mitchell chairs talks in independent capacity, at request of British and Irish governments.)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME	18 February 97 17:51
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIA~~L
SUBJECT	Points for Sandy Vershbow ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Black, Todd F. Brennan, Steven A. Brooks, Jennifer Flessas, Dan Florio, Elaine Gerstner, Christina L. Gladbach, Damon J. Glinski, David L. Hamilton, Roy A. Harmon, Joyce A. Harris, Karen Harrison, Lyle M. Higgins, David B. Hofmann, Stephan D. Huggins, Peter Johnson, Natalie A. Koehler, Marc Lawrence, Cynthia Martinez, Alejandro Mueller, William (Doug) D. O'loughlin, Kathrine O'Shaughnessy, Patrick Papadimitriou, Marianna Rice, Sean P. Robinson, Wylma Sigler, Ralph Simonalle, Eugene A. Weber, Paul A. Whitworth, Frank D. Wright, Jay
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	Can you get these points to Sandy Vershbow with Secretary Albright's party? Thanks[[SVNI.DOC : 4352 in SVNI.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	18 February 97 17:50
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	SVNI.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 2/18/07 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (1.97)
KBH 9/9/2019

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February 18, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Suggested Northern Ireland Points

For the meeting, suggest following points. Jim S. pointed out that
these points are rather cryptic and you may need to fill in background for the Secretary.

□ President committed to support for your efforts, those of Dublin,
to bring about negotiated settlement. Recognizes it will require sustained commitment.

□ In spite of slow progress, Belfast talks still offer best prospect
for achieving settlement. Understand plan is to recess them at appropriate time with firm intent to reconvene after election period. (Note: Talks are likely to recess sometime between end of February and beginning of British election campaign and reconvene around June 1, after British election and local NI election; later
if Irish election is called for June.)

□ Our position on Sinn Fein participation in talks same as yours and
Dublin's -- cannot happen without IRA cease-fire. (Note: If pressed to define, President has said "cease-fire in words and deeds." We have NOT used "unequivocal", the adjective used in the
British legislation authorizing the May 30 election last year.)

□ See inclusive talks (i.e., with Sinn Fein) as offering best prospect for sustainable settlement over long term, but IRA cannot
be allowed to hold the talks hostage.

□ If asked: Do not know what Senator Mitchell's plans are but hope
he will be able to stay until talks resume after recess.

□ If raised: Believe Mitchell has played valuable role; would be willing to consult with you and Dublin about possible American successor if Mitchell decides to leave.

Public Points

□ Pleased that Secretary Mayhew participated in meeting with Major.
Northern Ireland peace process remains high on our agenda; appreciated opportunity to hear from him about status.

□ President has abiding commitment to support Northern Ireland

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peace
process and British and Irish efforts to move it forward. There is only one American policy on NI; that is it and all of us work in support of it.

□ Add my sympathy to that of President on murder of Bombardier Restorick last week. Condemn such cowardly crimes. Change can only come through political process, dialogue and reconcilation.

□ See Belfast talks process as historic opportunity -- progress has
been slow but by no means negligible, given deep-rooted nature of issues there. Proud Senator Mitchell has been able to play a valuable role. (NOTE: Mitchell chairs talks in independent capacity, at request of British and Irish governments.)

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MSMail

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M(2.00)
KBH 9/9/2019

DATE-TIME 12 March 97 12:57

FROM Peters, Mary A.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT For Peter ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Bass, Peter E.
Cicio, Kristen K.
Hall, Wilma G.
Helweg, M. Diana
Kale, Dora A.
Kerrick, Donald L.
Millison, Cathy L.
Veit, Katherine M.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Peter, here is the memo for the meeting with Irish Americans Friday, which contains alot of info and points on various issues. Also the memo for tomorrow's meeting with Trimble and co. Still owe you the Hume memo and the ones I have done in recent weeks.[[1659SB.DOC : 3165 in 1659SB.DOC]][[1659PTS.DOC : 3166 in 1659PTS.DOC]][[TRIMBLE3.DOC : 3164 in TRIMBLE3.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 12 March 97 12:55

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME TRIMBLE3.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 3/12/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 12, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Ulster Unionist Party Leader David Trimble, March 13, 1997, 11:00 a.m.

Trimble will be accompanied by MP Ken Maginnis and by Jeffrey Donaldson, who is likely to be elected to Parliament in the

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coming
election. The local UUP representative, Anne Smith, will also attend.

Gift for the President? Trimble is probably going to bring a "St.
Patrick's flag" as a gift for the President. The Irish Embassy tells
us this is not a recognized symbol of both communities of Northern
Ireland, in spite of the name; it is actually part of the Union Jack.
Last year Trimble brought bathrobes for the President and First Lady (Northern Ireland is famous for linen/textiles) and we arranged
for Trimble to present them personally to the President in the receiving line at the reception. This year I have told the local UUP
rep that will not be possible (we do not want a picture of the President accepting a flag that may have sectarian connotations) and
that Trimble should give you the flag to be passed on to the President. This is what Hume and others do.

UUP Role. According to British and Irish officials, the UUP came close to agreement on breaking the stalemate over decommissioning in
the talks but shied away at the last minute. With the election looming, Trimble has become even less amenable to compromise. Right
now the UUP has 9 of Northern Ireland's 17 seats in Commons; Trimble
fears losing some of those to Paisley's harder- line DUP if the UUP
seems soft. At the same time he wants to be seen as fully engaged in
the peace process, because voters support it. Trimble is now saying
that he will not negotiate with Sinn Fein even if there is a cease-fire. This is at odds with the British (and Irish) position
that the talks are meant to be inclusive. Your main points to Trimble should on the need to leave open the option of inclusive talks
and to make real progress when the talks reconvene June 3, whether
or not there is an IRA cease-fire.

POINTS TO BE MADE

□ Pleased to meet you. Know you kept in touch with Tony and Nancy and have talked with Jim on phone.

□ President has made clear he remains committed to supporting and underpinning peace process. Will remain priority for me and my team.

□ If asked why no drop-by: President and Vice President out of town; any case, you will see them at reception. Busy time, leave for Helsinki Tuesday.

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□ If asked about State role: State will of course remain involved but because of President's personal interest, NSC will remain fully engaged.

□ Talks now is recess for three months. Some progress made since June but need to see more. Glad Mitchell will be there to re-open them.

□ Critical that talks move rapidly into substantive negotiations once they reconvene. Understand issue of how to handle decommissioning, but should be possible to resolve on basis of Mitchell report.

□ Credibility of talks requires early progress. Will be seen as test of peaceful and democratic means of reaching agreement.

□ Like British and Irish governments, not giving up on possibility of IRA cease-fire, leading to inclusive talks. That is how process designed to work.

□ Of course agree that an IRA cease-fire must be unequivocal; implemented in "words and deeds," as President has said.

□ Urge you not to exclude this outcome. At same time, progress in talks cannot await cease-fire; need to move forward June 3 whether there is one or not.

□ If there is time: How do you see election shaping up? What will it mean for peace process?

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 12 March 97 8:29

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME 1659SB.DOC
1659

March 12, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Irish American Leaders,
March 14, 1997, 11:00 a.m.

OPL has essentially invited the same Irish Americans who were invited to meet with Tony last September. The group includes representatives of Irish-American organizations like the Irish American Unity Conference, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the
Irish American Labor Coalition (list at Tab B). Some of these people
accompanied the President to Ireland in late 1995; many of them stayed abreast of policy on Northern Ireland throughout 1996 by means
of telephone briefings conducted by Tony or Nancy and talking points
drafted here and distributed through OPL.

Your goal is to make clear that the President remains committed to
supporting and underpinning the Northern Ireland peace process. You
should stress that there is little we can do to move the process forward without an IRA cease-fire and ask for continued support from
the Irish American community for the negotiating process.

You are likely to get questions on very specific issues of interest
to some Irish Americans; for instance on the Irish nationals facing
deportations and on the MacBride Principles. We have provided talking
points on these questions but we recommend that you answer these questions briefly and then bring the discussion back to the essentials of the peace process.

Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B List of Participants

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 12 March 97 11:2

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME 1659PTS.DOC
1659

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
IRISH AMERICAN LEADERS

Status of Peace Process

□ President committed to long-term support for Northern Ireland peace process; not going to give up on it, in spite of

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difficulties.

□ Convinced by visit to Northern Ireland in November 1995 that people want peace and political settlement.

□ 1996 did not give much cause for optimism. In February IRA ended
cease-fire, began series of attacks that have killed and wounded innocent people.

□ Summer of 1996 saw bitter marching season, rekindling of sectarian
passions on scale not seen in years.

□ Most positive development was opening of talks in Belfast on June
10 under Senator Mitchell's chairmanship. Talks represent historic opportunity and best hope in decades for achieving lasting
settlement.

□ Ten parties won representation at the talks in election held on May 30. Nine are participating in talks.

□ Tenth chair is for Sinn Fein. Hard to understand why IRA did not
declare cease-fire to allow Sinn Fein to participate in talks from
beginning.

□ Some progress made in talks, would like to have seen more. Have now recessed until June 3, after British and local elections.

□ On positive side, process now in place

-under American chairman;
-with involvement of Irish as well as British Government;
-with agreed rules of procedure that allow discussion of constitutional status of Northern Ireland; and
-with seat at table for Sinn Fein.

□ Three years ago, that would have seemed like dream scenario. But
cannot be basis for reaching lasting settlement without cease-fire.

□ Our view is still that talks have best chance of success if they include all elected parties, including Sinn Fein. That remains policy of British and Irish governments too.

□ As President said at meeting with Bruton in December, that in event of an IRA cease-fire in words and deeds, he believes Sinn Fein would be invited to participate in the talks. (If asked about
timeframe, President used phrase "fairly soon thereafter.")

U.S. Role

□ Our role is to support the efforts of Irish and British governments to bring about lasting, negotiated settlement.

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□ Do that in various ways. Jim and I remain in touch with parties and key Irish and British government officials as Tony and Nancy did. We encourage them to take the next risk for peace.

□ More important, issue on President's agenda, raises whenever his is in touch with Bruton or Major. Bruton of course will see President on Monday.

□ Jim and I are meeting most of party leaders in town for St. Patrick's Day. Saw John Hume yesterday and delegation from UUP led
by David Trimble; seeing loyalists, Alderdice Monday.

□ Also saw Fianna Fail (FEENA FOIL) leader Bertie Ahern yesterday.

Expect to see Minister for Northern Ireland Michael Ancram next week.

□ U.S. is only country with consulate in Belfast, which plays important role in keeping in touch with both communities. Embassies in Dublin and London also devote considerable time to contacts and reporting on peace process.

□ Also have made great strides in reaching out to unionist community. Important to hear their views, make clear U.S. not seeking solution that ignores them.

□ I know many Irish Americans have been far-sighted and generous in
supporting travel for unionists, giving them chance to tell their story here. Though attitudes change slowly, this is a real contribution to future of Northern Ireland.

Economic Support

□ Role in underpinning peace process with investment/business initiatives key to our credibility and commitment.

□ As you know, this was first Administration to request funding for
International Fund for Ireland (IFI) of about $20 million/year. IFI has twin goals of promoting economic regeneration and cross-community reconciliation.

□ White House Investment conference in May 1995 was big step in generating interest in Northern Ireland.

□ Followed up with trade and investment missions and then in October
last year with Pittsburgh investment conference.

□ Unfortunately, though conference deemed success, what many recall
is that IRA chose day of conference to bomb Lisburn barracks, wounding a soldier who later died.

□ Commerce (A/S Will Ginsberg) working on number of initiatives, including idea of Tripartite (U.S.-Ireland-Northern Ireland) Business Council to promote expended trade and investment in

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region.

Looking Forward

□ Not giving up on possibility of progress before British election (expected for May 1).

□ Recognize general view is that next window of opportunity more likely to be with new government, whether Labour or Tory. Hope IRA
will not wait. New government will take time to make decisions, policy departure unlikely.

□ Northern Ireland will be at top of Administration's bilateral agenda with new government.

□ Elections in Northern Ireland tend to be polarizing -- not only British election but local election to be held before talks resume
June 3. Vacuum of talks recess and lack of cease-fire dangerous.

□ Added to that is start of marching season Easter Monday. Using our meetings with leaders to urge compromise, flexibility on parades, point to danger for unionists of pyrrhic victories.

□ In spite of difficulties, remain optimistic. Continued violence makes no sense, nor is the status quo, desirable as it may seem to
some unionists, a real option for the long term.

□ Believe we will see negotiated settlement in next few years; will
do all we can to help it happen.

CONTINGENCY POINTS

If asked about "double standard" for loyalists; that is, willingness
to receive loyalist leaders even though there have been incidents of
loyalist violence:

□ Loyalists have shown restraint, not responded tit-for- tat to escalating IRA violence.

□ Evidence is that violent incidents work of extreme loyalists, perhaps associated with notorious Billy Wright (aka "King Rat") who
is clearly not under Combined Loyalist Military Command control, just as republican splinter groups not under IRA control.

□ Loyalist leaders have worked hard and courageously to try to keep
cease-fire intact, represent responsible voice in talks. Have earned benefit of doubt.

□ If pressed: Policy would change if full-scale loyalist violence resumed.

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If asked about seeing Sinn Fein party chairman Mitch McLaughlin, who
is in U.S.:

□ In keeping with policy set last year after end of cease-fire, not
going to invite Sinn Fein representatives to White House. Have not cut off official contacts, for instance through consulate in Belfast.

If asked about Ambassador Smith:

□ No truth to report Ambassador Smith is to be "recalled" because of
change of White House policy toward Northern Ireland or dissatisfaction with her performance. She has played invaluable role in supporting Northern Ireland peace process.

If asked about visa for Adams:

□ Gerry Adams has not applied for a visa. Since there is no application, Administration has made no decision.

□ If pressed: Would assess application on basis of contribution visit could make to peace process. More than year after end of cease-fire, would be very difficult to make this case.

If asked about contact with Adams:

□ Our policy is not to release details on who we are in touch with and when, but policy of staying in contact with all parties, including Sinn Fein, has not changed.

If asked about deportation proceedings against Irish nationals, including Brian Pearson, Matt Morrison:

□ Judicial matters; very limited ability legally to become involved.

□ Handled on case-by-case basis. Have been assured by Attorney General these cases being handled fairly.

□ Nancy Soderberg, our legal advisor Alan Kreczko and Mary Ann Peters have had number of meetings on this issue. Understand concerns, but come back to fact that Congress requires INS to focus
on deportations of people with past narcotics or terrorist associations

If asked about MacBride Principles of fair employment:

□ Last year, for unrelated reasons, President vetoed a bill (foreign

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affairs authorization) that contained language to apply fair employment principles to International Fund for Ireland.

□ To make clear his support for fair employment in Northern Ireland,
President wrote letter to AID Administrator Atwood and IFI Observer Lyons instructing them to discharge their duties consistent with vetoed language. In effect, they are doing their jobs as if vetoed language had become law.

If pressed about support for more far-reaching draft "MacBride" legislation:

□ Have not seen bills; would have to look closely at overall implications of any particular legislation.

□ Want to stress that Administration not only supports fair employment but has worked hard to create new employment opportunities. That is key to addressing problem of higher Catholic
unemployment.

If asked about British decision not to accept North Commission recommendation for independent body with power to adjudicate disputed
parades/marches:

□ British did welcome other aspects of North report, but decided to
consult with affected communities on recommendation that the commission have "teeth," that is, power to decide whether to allow
disputed parades.

□ Consultation period is for 8 weeks; British already working on setting up commission itself.

□ Have expressed U.S. view that commission should be up and running
in time to make a difference this summer. Also urging parties to be flexible this year.

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME	13 March 97 12:43
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	POTUS Briefer [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO	Showalter, Victoria A.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	You asked for a copy of this -- still uncleared.[[1578PRE.DOC : 3130 in 1578PRE.DOC]][[1578TPS.DOC : 3131 in 1578TPS.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	12 March 97 21:48
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	1578PRE.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1578 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 3/12/07 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (201)
KBH 9/9/2019

MEETING WITH
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON
DATE: March 17, 1997
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:15 a.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. KEY OBJECTIVES

□ To reaffirm U.S. support for the Northern Ireland peace process and explore prospects for an IRA cease-fie and for the multi-party talks;

□ To discuss ways the U.S. might be helpful.

II. BACKGROUND

You last saw Bruton when he was here for the Irish Presidency's U.S.-EU Summit in December. Little progress has been made on the peace process in the interim. The impasse over decommissioning continues to delay the beginning of substantive negotiations. With little prospect of a breakthrough before the coming British election, the British and Irish governments and Senator Mitchell decided to adjourn the talks on March 5, with a

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

firm commitment to reconvene them June 3. In the interim, the parties will meet bilaterally to try to reach an understanding on how to move forward. We issued a statement in your name underscoring the importance of moving rapidly into real negotiations when the talks reconvene. In response to our request, Mitchell has made a public commitment to be in the chair when the talks resume, which strengthens the impression that the talks have recessed rather than foundered.

The Northern Ireland parties are all focused on the British election, likely to be called for May 1. UUP leader David Trimble is even less inclined to compromise than usual because he fears losing seats in Parliament to Paisley's DUP. John Hume's SDLP has refused to enter an electoral pact with Sinn Fein as long as IRA violence continues, but that principled stance is going to cost the nationalists seats. Polls have continued to show widespread support for the peace process, but the election may well serve to bolster harder-line elements on both sides.

Hume continues to try to broker a statement from the British government that will reassure the IRA about British intentions and lead to a new cease-fire. The British are skeptical but are still working with Hume on this. We have heard (from Rep. Peter King) that the pro-peace wing of the IRA is on the ascendant. We are still pushing for a cease-fire before the election, which might allow Sinn Fein to join the talks in June. However, it appears more likely that the IRA will wait until there is a new British government before seriously considering a cease-fire.

The loyalist cease-fire frayed further recently with the discovery of a bomb near the Sinn Fein office in the town of Monaghan. The British and Irish Governments believe that the loyalists deserve the benefit of the doubt as long as they refrain from a full-scale return to violence (and as long as there are no casualties). If the governments declare that the loyalist cease-fire is over, the loyalist party leaders will be ejected from the talks and there will no incentive for their paramilitaries to continue to exercise restraint. Sinn Fein is critical of what they see as a double standard in the loyalists favor.

Bruton is expected to call the Irish election for either June or October. It is too soon to tell whether he will succeed in forming another coaliton; opposition leader Bertie Ahern has a good shot at becoming the next taoiseach.

III. PARTICIPANTS

NM Add from scenario

IV. PRESS PLAN

Press will cover shamrock ceremony.

V. SEQUENCE

Following your meeting you will proceed with Prime Minister Bruton to the Roosevelt Room for the shamrock ceremony and press

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avail.

Attachment
Tab [A] [Enter brief description of attachment]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 13 March 97 10:29

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME 1578TPS.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 3/14/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING
WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

□ Pleased to see both our friend Dermot Gallagher (GALLAHER), you r
current ambassador, the next ambassador, Sean o Hmmanext the curren leased P

□ As I said when we met in December, I remain committed to helping bring about progress in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

Cease-fire

□ Firmly on board with your position and that of British that Sinn Fein's participation in negotiations is best way to assure sustainable settlement.

□ But that can only occur once the IRA ends its campaign of terrorism. How do you see prospects for IRA cease-fire at this juncture?

□ What is your assessment of internal republican politics at present? Do you see consensus for peaceful strategy emerging?

□ In your governments contacts with British, do you think they are coming around to making conditional statement that in event of unequivocal cease-fire, they would expect Sinn Fein to join talks?

Talks

□ Support decision to recess talks March 5 rather than let them lose
credibility by dragging on without progress.

Very glad Seantor Mitchell has made clear he will be there when talks reconvene in June. Helps underscore continuity of talks process.

□ Once talks resume, will need to make rapid progress to remain credible. Is Trimble likely to be more flexible after British election, or does that depend on how the UUP fares?

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□ If there is cease-fire, may need to be flexible on timing of talks, since there will have to be some period of assessment between announement of cease-fire and Sinn Fein entry.

U.S. Role

□ As always, prepared to be helpful in whatever way possible. b

□ I am willing to work with new British government after election, whether led by Tony Blair or John Major, to move process forward.

But republicans should not count on significant change on British policyIf there is cease-fire,

Irish Contribution in Bosnia (if raised)if r, if boHumanitarian and
Peacekeeping Contributions

□ Appreciate Ireland's leadership in International Police Task Force
on Bosnia.

EU Developments Since Irish Presidency(TIme Permitting)

□ Concerned with current strains in EU-Turkey relations. Important
that EU and U.S. work together to firmly anchor Turkey in West.

□ Hope that EU will be able to move forward on releasing Customs Union funds and that way can be found to signal to Turkey that door
remains open for eventual EU membership.

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME	13 March 97 13:04
FROM	Maxfield, Nancy H.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	1578 ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	[[1578PRE.DOC : 3385 in 1578PRE.DOC]][[1578TPS.DOC : 3386 in 1578TPS.DOC]][[BRUTQSAS.DOC : 3387 in BRUTQSAS.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	13 March 97 12:57
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	1578PRE.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1578 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 3/12/07 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.02)
KBH 9/9/2019

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DATE: March 17, 1997
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:15 a.m.

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□ To reaffirm U.S. support for the Northern Ireland peace process and explore prospects for an IRA cease-fire and for the multi-party talks;

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II. CONTEXT OF MEETING

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firm commitment to reconvene them June 3. In the interim, the parties will meet bilaterally to try to reach an understanding on how to move forward. We issued a statement in your name underscoring the importance of moving rapidly into real negotiations when the talks reconvene. In response to our request, Mitchell has made a public commitment to be in the chair when the talks resume, which strengthens the impression that the talks have recessed rather than foundered.

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Bruton is expected to call the Irish election for either June or October. It is too soon to tell whether he will succeed in forming another coalition; opposition leader Bertie Ahern has a good shot at becoming the next Taoiseach.

President Mary Robinson announced recently that she has decided not to run for a second term and will step down in December. (She is talked about as a candidate for some UN posts.)

III. PARTICIPANTS

NM Add from scenario

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer/TV in Oval Office for brief photos before meeting. Press will cover shamrock ceremony.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

V. SEQUENCE

Following your meeting you will proceed with Prime Minister Bruton to the Roosevelt Room for the shamrock ceremony and press avail.
Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Memo from Secretary of State
Tab C Scenario
Tab D Background Papers
Tab E Bios
Tab F Questions and Answers

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 13 March 97 13:1

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME 1578TPS.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 3/14/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING
WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

□ Pleased to see both our friend Dermot Gallagher (GALLAHER), your current ambassador, and the next ambassador, Sean o' hUiginn (OHIGEEN).

□ We will formally grant agrement shortly.

Cease-fire

□ Firmly on board with your position and that of British that Sinn Fein's participation in negotiations is best way to assure sustainable settlement.

□ But that can only occur once the IRA ends its campaign of terrorism. How do you see prospects for IRA cease-fire at this juncture?

□ What is your assessment of internal republican politics at present? Do you see consensus for peaceful strategy emerging?

□ In your governments contacts with British, do you think they are coming around to making conditional statement that in event of unequivocal cease-fire, they would expect Sinn Fein to join talks?

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credibility by dragging on without progress.

Very glad Senator Mitchell has made clear he will be there when talks reconvene in June. Helps underscore continuity of talks

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

process.

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□ If there is cease-fire, may need to be flexible on timing of talks, since there will have to be some period of assessment between announcement of cease-fire and Sinn Fein entry.

U.S. Role

□ As I said when we met in December, I remain committed to helping bring about progress in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

□ As always, prepared to be helpful in whatever way possible. b

□ I am willing to work with new British government after election, whether led by Tony Blair or John Major, to move process forward.

But republicans should not count on significant change on British policy if there is cease-fire,

EU Developments Since Irish Presidency(Time Permitting)

□ Concerned with current strains in EU-Turkey relations. Important
that EU and U.S. work together to firmly anchor Turkey in West.

□ Hope that EU will be able to move forward on releasing Customs Union funds and that way can be found to signal to Turkey that door
remains open for eventual EU membership.

Irish Contribution in Bosnia (if raised)

□ Appreciate Ireland's leadership in International Police Task Force
on Bosnia.

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 13 March 97 12:44

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME BRUTQSAS.DOC

PRESS QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Is it true that Sinn Fein officials were not invited to the White House for St. Patrick's Day and are unwelcome in the United States?

□ We invited some political leaders from Northern Ireland to the White House reception, including leaders of the parties represented at the peace talks in Belfast. The list of invitees was very similar to last year's list.

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Was Gerry Adams warned not to apply for a visa?

□ Mr. Adams has not applied for a visa. If he were to do so, a decision would be made on the basis of the circumstances at that time and on whether it could contribute to the search for lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

What is your view of the IRA's actions over the past few months?

□ I am outraged by the resumption of IRA terrorism in Northern Ireland. Innocent people are dying, and these acts of violence are hindering the multi-party talks. I continue to support the peace process, and I urge the IRA to restore an immediate cease-fire.

Do you think Sinn Fein should have a place at the negotiating table?

□ Ideally, Sinn Fein should play a role. I would like to see that happen. However, as I have made clear many times, the U.S. endorses the position of the British and Irish governments that Sinn Fein cannot participate in the multi-party talks until there is a credible, lasting IRA cease-fire.

It has been reported that you are planning to recall Ambassador Jean
Kennedy Smith because of her support for the IRA? Is this true?

□ There has been no such decision. Ambassador Smith's efforts as part of my administration's team, both in support of the peace process and the advancement of friendship and cooperation with the Republic of Ireland, remain invaluable. As with every new administration, of course, all Ambassadorial assignments are under review.

Are you optimistic for progress in the peace talks?

□ I strongly support the peace process and share the view of the British and Irish governments that the multi-party talks represent the best hope for peace in Northern Ireland. We stand with the majority in Ireland, north and south, who have made it clear that they want the security and prosperity that can only come from a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Making this process succeed will require leadership, perseverance, and a spirit of compromise.

What are your plans for Senator George Mitchell? Will he remain your special envoy to the peace process?

□ Senator Mitchell is a highly skilled statesman and a sincere friend of Ireland; therefore, the British and Irish governments jointly invited him to serve as chairman of the multi-party talks, along with his Canadian and Finnish co-chairmen. I fully support Senator Mitchell's independent role in the talks. Whether or not he continues on in that capacity, however, will be his own personal decision.

Do you plan to return to Ireland to build on the success of your last visit and to play that promised round of golf?

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□ I have very fond memories of my 1995 trip and of the meetings I had with leaders of both communities. I would consider making another trip to Ireland at some point, if time and circumstances permit.

Over the last few years, the issue of deportation of Irish immigrants married to American citizens has caused great concern. What is your policy with regard to these cases?

□ The U.S. does not have a separate immigration policy concerning Irish nationals. Each case is determined on the basis of our immigration and nationality laws, which exclude individuals who have engaged in terrorism or committed felony crimes. The new antiterrorism law strengthens the ban on people who have belonged to terrorist organizations. Anyone in deportation hearings is afforded full due process.

What is your view of the human rights situation in Northern Ireland?

□ In preparing its annual report to Congress, the State Department makes every effort to look into allegations of human rights abuses in Northern Ireland, and will continue to do so in the future. Our Consulate General in Belfast and the Embassy in London undertake a conscientious effort to document problem areas.

□ Violence in Northern Ireland has resulted in the enactment of legislation by both the British and Irish governments to deal with the extraordinary threat to public order in the North and its spillover into the Republic. Most of this legislation, which places some constraints on civil liberties, would probably never have been enacted by either government had it not been for the terrorist violence. We all hope and expect that a renewal of the cease-fire and progress toward a negotiated settlement would bring about a reevaluation of the need for these special measures.

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MSMail

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.03)
KBH 9/9/2019

DATE-TIME 14 March 97 09:23

FROM Szasz, Nicholas J.

CLASSIFICATION ~~SECRET~~

SUBJECT FW: briefing package on Bruton ~~[SECRET]~~

TO Maxfield, Nancy H.

CARBON_COPY Babcock, Douglas W.
Boulton, Darrien D.
Fuerth, Leon S.
Wise, William M.

TEXT_BODY

Nancy, Thanks. Could you also please provide the attachments? You sent Tab A (Points to be made), but not Tabs B-E. Thank you.

From: Maxfield, Nancy H.
To: Szasz, Nicholas J.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: briefing package on Bruton~~[SECRET]~~
Date: Friday, March 14, 1997 09:11 AM

[[1578PRE.DOC : 2365 in 1578PRE.DOC]][[1578TPS.DOC : 2366 in 1578TPS.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 13 March 97 18:45

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME 1578PRE.DOC
~~SECRET~~ 1578
~~SECRET~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 3/13/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEETING WITH
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON
DATE: March 17, 1997
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:15 a.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. KEY OBJECTIVES

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□ To reaffirm U.S. support for the Northern Ireland peace process and explore prospects for an IRA cease-fire and for the multi-party talks;

□ To discuss ways the U.S. might be helpful.

II. CONTEXT OF MEETING

You last saw Bruton when he was here for the Irish Presidency's U.S.-EU Summit in December. Little progress has been made on the peace process in the interim. The impasse over decommissioning continues to delay the beginning of substantive negotiations. With little prospect of a breakthrough before the coming British election, the British and Irish governments and Senator Mitchell decided to adjourn the talks on March 5, with a firm commitment to reconvene them June 3. In the interim, the parties will meet bilaterally to try to reach an understanding on how to move forward. We issued a statement in your name underscoring the importance of moving rapidly into real negotiations when the talks reconvene. In response to our request, Mitchell has made a public commitment to be in the chair when the talks resume, which strengthens the impression that the talks have recessed rather than foundered.

The Northern Ireland parties are all focused on the British election, likely to be called for May 1. UUP leader David Trimble is even less inclined to compromise than usual because he fears losing seats in Parliament to Paisley's DUP. John Hume's SDLP has refused to enter an electoral pact with Sinn Fein as long as IRA violence continues, but that principled stance is going to cost the nationalists seats. Polls have continued to show widespread support for the peace process, but the election may well serve to bolster harder-line elements on both sides.

John Hume told me he is continuing to try to broker a statement from the British government that will reassure the IRA about British intentions and lead to a new cease-fire. The British are skeptical but are still working with Hume on this. We are not sure how much Dublin knows about this, so you should let Bruton bring it up. We are still pushing for a cease-fire before the election, which might allow Sinn Fein to join the talks in June. However, it appears more likely that the IRA will wait until there is a new British government before seriously considering a cease-fire.

The loyalist cease-fire frayed further recently with the discovery of a bomb near the Sinn Fein office in the town of Monaghan. The British and Irish Governments believe that the loyalists deserve the benefit of the doubt as long as they refrain from a full-scale return to violence (and as long as there are no casualties). If the governments declare that the loyalist cease-fire is over, the loyalist party leaders will be ejected from the talks and there will no incentive for their paramilitaries to continue to exercise restraint. Sinn Fein is critical of what they see as a double standard in the loyalist's favor.

Bruton is expected to call the Irish election for late May,

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early June or October. It is too soon to tell whether he will succeed in forming another coalition; opposition leader Bertie Ahern has a good shot at becoming the next Taoiseach.

President Mary Robinson announced recently that she has decided not to run for a second term and will step down in December. She is talked about as a candidate for some UN posts.

Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Memo from Secretary of State
Tab C Scenario
Tab D Bios
Tab E Questions and Answers

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 13 March 97 18:37

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME 1578TPS.DOC
~~SECRET~~ 1578
~~SECRET~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 3/13/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING
WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

□ Pleased to see both our old friend Dermot Gallagher (GAL-a-her), your current ambassador, and the next ambassador, Sean O'hUiginn (o-heh-GEEN).

□ We will formally grant agr,ment shortly.

Cease-fire

□ Firmly on board with your position and that of British that Sinn Fein's participation in negotiations is best way to assure sustainable settlement.

□ But that can only occur once the IRA ends its campaign of terrorism. How do you see prospects for IRA cease-fire at this juncture?

□ What is your assessment of internal republican politics at present? Do you see consensus for peaceful strategy emerging?

□ In your government's contacts with British, do you think they are
coming around to making conditional statement that in event of unequivocal cease-fire, they would expect Sinn Fein to join talks?

Talks

□ Support decision to recess talks March 5 rather than let them lose
credibility by dragging on without progress.

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□ Very glad Senator Mitchell has made clear he will be there when talks reconvene in June. Helps underscore continuity of talks process.

□ Once talks resume, will need to make rapid progress to remain credible. Is Trimble likely to be more flexible after British election, or does that depend on how the UUP fares?

□ If there is cease-fire, may need to be flexible on timing of talks, since there will have to be some period of assessment between announcement of cease-fire and Sinn Fein entry.

U.S. Role

□ As I said when we met in December, I remain committed to helping bring about progress in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	14 March 97 13:26
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	Please print for Jim - thanksH[~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO	Bass, Peter E. Cicio, Kristen K. Hall, Wilma G. Helweg, M. Diana Kale, Dora A. Kerrick, Donald L. Millison, Cathy L. Veit, Katherine M.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	[[KENNEDY.DOC : 3370 in KENNEDY.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	14 March 97 13:23
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	KENNEDY.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 3/13/97

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.04)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 13, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Options for Responding to Senator Kennedy's Speech

In accepting the Irish American of the Year Award March 14, Senator
Kennedy will deliver a speech suggesting a way out of the impasse in
the Northern Ireland peace process. He will urge Major and Blair both to make statements promising that if the "IRA restores its cease-fire, then Sinn Fein will be admitted to the peace talks on Northern Ireland when the talks resume on the date which is now scheduled -- the third of June, with no further preconditions." In

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response, the IRA would restore its cease- fire "unequivocally, immediately and unconditionally."

This the essence of the bargain as Sinn Fein understood it back in August 1994. It has the advantage of peeling away the haggling over confidence-building measures that has bogged down efforts to broker a cease-fire in the Hume-Adams channel. It has the potential disadvantage of forcing HMG's hand; we understand that London may again be considering internally whether some kind of statement along these lines is possible. Trina Vargo has kept former British Embassy counselor Peter Westmacott informed of Kennedy's intention, so that could blunt any negative reaction.

Options

1) We could simply endorse the proposal, but that would appear as a slap to the British -- we have not in the past criticized them publicly or called on them to do something we know they are not ready to do. Also, an unqualified endorsement might be seen as supporting the nationalist/republican view that the ball is in the British court; in other words, that the onus is not on the IRA to declare a cease-fire unless the British issue a promise that it will lead to entry into talks. While this is the objective reality, it might be unhelpful to say it. Major declined to respond to the President's and Vice President's urgings on this point several months ago; we do not yet have any firm indication that HMG is ready to move now. (This question should be the focus of your meeting with Minister for Northern Ireland Michael Ancram on Tuesday.)

2) We could issue nuanced press guidance, emphasizing our support for the idea of moving forward now, without endorsing the idea that the British necessarily have to go first. The speech will not make news until tomorrow; we would issue guidance Monday, along the following lines:

□ Senator Kennedy has issued a strong call to move forward with peace process now, on straightforward basis that unequivocal, immediate cease-fire will lead to Sinn Fein entry into talks. Continue to see that as basis for moving forward.

□ If asked: Cannot speak for British government; but know that it is their position, written into law, that unequivocal cease-fire will lead to Sinn Fein entry into talks.

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3) In conjunction with the nuanced guidance, as outlined above, or
separately, we could quietly tell the British we hope they will not
feel the need to reject Senator Kennedy's idea publicly or
definitively. We would press them to issue a nuanced reaction or not
to react publicly at all. There are several possible channels for
such an approach; e.g., SRB or JS to Ambassador Kerr or John Holmes,
or at the working level. If you agree to this idea, we would
recommend a call to Kerr.

We recommend options 2 and 3 as preserving the greatest flexibility
to work with the British behind the scenes on this.

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME	14 March 97 13:28
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	Attached [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO	Vershbow, Alexander R.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	Sandy, Jim was pressing for this so I just e-mailed it to him. [[KENNEDY.DOC : 3382 in KENNEDY.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	14 March 97 13:23
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	KENNEDY.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 3/13/97

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (205)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 13, 1997

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or at the working level. If you agree to this idea, we would
recommend a call to Kerr.

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flexibility
to work with the British behind the scenes on this.

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	17 March 97 15:10
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	Background on Tonight's Reception ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Boulton, Darrien D. Szasz, Nicholas J. Wise, William M.
CARBON_COPY	Vershbow, Alexander R.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-m (206)
KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT_BODY

I gather the WH has been holding a St. Patrick's Day event in honor of the Irish prime minister for many years, a tradition continued by the Administration. The vast majority have always been Americans, but in 1995 for the first time, political party leaders from Northern Ireland were invited as part of our policy of support for the Northern Ireland peace process. That year Gerry Adams was among the guests, because an IRA cease-fire was in effect. Last year the list of guests from Northern Ireland was expanded to include not just party leaders but Members of (the British) Parliament as well. Adams was not invited because the IRA cease-fire had been broken in February.

This year we have more acceptances from Northern IReland than previously, a total of about 20 NI political leaders. Many of the NI guests are unionists, because so many of the MPs are unionist. Expanding contact with the unionists has been a cornerstone of our Northern Ireland policy. David Trimble, the head of the Ulster Unionist Party, whom the Vice President has met on several occasions, will be there, as will his colleagues John Taylor, Ken Maginnis and Jeffrey Donaldson. The Vice President also knows John Hume, leader of the SDLP and a popular figure in Irish America. Lord John Alderdice, head of the non-sectarian Alliance Party has also met the Vice President. Other party leaders whom the VP has not previously met are also on the guest list..

The most controversial people there will be the loyalist leaders, Gary McMichael and David Ervine, and their colleagues, Hugh Smyth and John White. The loyalist parties represent the loyalist paramilitaries, whose cease-fire is still holding, though tenuously. Three of these loyalist leaders have been convicted of terrorist crimes, including one who served a sentence for murder. However, in our effort to support the loyalist cease-fire, we have maintained contact with the loyalist leaders, as have the British and Irish governments. (These same loyalists had lunch at the British Embassy today and arer invited to the Irish Embassy for later this evening.) All of the loyalists have been to a Presidential reception before (in May 1995) and also met the President in Belfast.

Finally, the Irish gadfly Conor Cruise O'Brien will be there -- not invited by us but coming as the guest of one of the unionists (Bob McCartney). O'Brien is critical of the whole peace process. Some Irish Americans have raised questions about why he is allowed to come, but since he is coming with an invited guest (i.e., instead of a spouse) it was felt that it would be difficult to block him at this point. If you can, suggest you avoid having the Vice President pause to talk with him in the receiving line

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beyond the usual introductions. He should be easy to spot -- he is 80 years old.

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	14 April 97 15:37
FROM	Millison, Cathy L.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Benjamin, Daniel Blinken, Antony J. Gibney, James S. Gray, Wendy LaFleur, Vinca A. Naplan, Steven J.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.07)
KBH 9/9/2019

Tony:

As requested and discussed.

[[2315PTS.DOC : 3895 in 2315PTS.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	12 April 97 12:49
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	2315PTS.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5 (b)(d) Declassify on: 04/11/07 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEGMENT I: EUROPE (6:30-7:30 P.M.)

EUROPEAN SECURITY/NATO ENLARGEMENT

□ NATO enlargement top priority for second term -- key test of American leadership. Requires Senate ratification, House support because of new security commitments.

□ European security vital U.S. interest; through NATO, NATO enlargement and NATO-Russia, have opportunity, for first time in history, to build secure, undivided, democratic Europe.

□ NATO enlargement will project stability and security into all of Europe; will strengthen and safeguard region's democratic and free-market transformation.

□ Prospect of NATO membership strengthening democratic forces in Eastern Europe, weakening nationalists, promoting resolution of regional disputes (e.g., Hungary-Romania).

□ Won't let Russian pressure spook us. Had we taken initial Russian "no" in 1989, Germany would not be reunited today. Won't bring Russia in by keeping other democracies out.

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□ Helsinki put NATO-Russia on track without sacrificing enlargement, which is moving forward on schedule.

□ NATO-Russia relationship -- via Charter, formal consultative mechanism -- can bring Russia into emerging security system.

Costs/Robust NATO Posture

□ Current threat low. Defense of new members possible through reinforcement and modernization of new members' forces.

□ Therefore, NATO concluded no need to permanently station substantial
NATO combat forces; no intention or need to deploy nuclear forces on
soil of new members.

□ U.S. costs affordable: $150-200M per year. Costs to new members also affordable -- as CEE governments already said.

□ New NATO members will be valuable, committed members. IFOR -- where
Poles, Czechs, others have combat troops; Hungary supplying bases --
shows CEE will make meaningful contribution.

Why not EU enlargement vice NATO? (if raised)

□ EU, NATO enlargement part of same historic process. Both important,
not mutually exclusive.

□ EU not equipped to be lead organization for European security and integration, as Bosnia demonstrated. Key to long-term European stability is U.S. engagement and leadership, which comes only through
NATO.

American people don't support (if raised)

□ Americans not isolationist: Majority (62%) support NATO enlargement
to Poland, Czech, Hungary; 68% would favor defending Poland with U.S. troops.

Why enlarge NATO absent a threat? (if raised)

□ Need NATO enlargement for same reason we need NATO: America's core
alliance in uncertain world. Cannot foresee all threats, but know preparedness deters them. Through enlargement can extend same stability to Central Europe that Western Europe enjoyed for 45 years.

□ Failure to enlarge NATO would betray our traditions and America's role throughout 20th century. Must not exclude countries that have demonstrated commitment to defend our common values and to share in common burdens.

RUSSIA

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□ Supporting development of democracy and market economy in Russia profoundly in America's interest -- one of my highest foreign policy
priorities.

□ Have historic opportunity to convert adversarial relationship into partnership for 21st century.

□ Yeltsin back in charge. New team has potential to take on economic
problems that overshadow everything else in Russia.

□ Yeltsin showed at Helsinki ready to tackle tough issues and make decisions. Summit reenergized U.S.-Russian relations.

□ Important progress on arms control: START, ABM/TMD.

□ Turned corner on NATO enlargement. Russia opposed, but ready to develop NATO-Russia relationship.

□ Defined path to stimulate trade and investment; will bolster reform in Russia and mean new jobs for Americans.

□ Russian reform -- and bilateral relations - likely be bumpy road, but overall direction positive.

□ Bipartisan support critical, especially for FY-98 Partnership for Freedom request. Funding for Russia, NIS will promote trade and investment, lock in reforms, expand people-to-people contacts that will forge important ties with tomorrow's leaders.

BOSNIA

□ Difficult challenge of building lasting peace in Bosnia continues.

Must not forget enormous progress made.

□ In summer of 1995, bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II raged. Few believed peace possible; many questioned NATO's role in post-Cold War era.

□ Since then, U.S. leadership produced Dayton Accords, and revitalized
NATO helped consolidate peace, providing environment for political reconciliation and economic reconstruction.

□ Efforts in Bosnia have exceeded expectations:

□ Implemented military aspects of Dayton with no combat casualties; held national elections in September; created joint national institutions; returned more than 200,000 refugees.

□ U.S.-led, Train-and-Equip program building stable military balance and facilitating formation of joint defense structures.

□ Making progress on economic reconstruction, especially in Bosniak-Croat Federation. Today, Sarajevo bustles with reconstruction; hundreds of cafes, shops, banks and other commercial endeavors open.

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□ Still have long way to go: must do more to rebuild economy, create
jobs, stimulate investment. Need greater cooperation from parties on freedom of movement and return of refugees.

□ Bosnian people, with help of international NGOs, must assume responsibility for building own future.

□ SFOR will provide stability and confidence for Bosnian people to continue toward these goals. Withdrawal of U.S. forces in mid-1998 should give sufficient time to ensure self-sustaining peace.

□ Early, unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops would endanger progress
made since Dayton. Could lead to resumption of war with resulting crisis in NATO; would erode U.S. credibility and leadership around world.

□ Strongly urge your support for our efforts in Bosnia. Stability in
Europe central to U.S. interests, as is preserving U.S. leadership of strong, effective NATO as it embarks on enlargement and new partnership with Russia.

SEGMENT II: Dinner and Discussion (8:00 - 8:45 p.m.)

150 RESOURCES

□ Foreign affairs programs small part of federal budget -- about 1% of
spending. But that 1% is perhaps most important parts of budget.

□ Helps us to avoid wars and save lives; stems inflow of illegal drugs; helps us in war on terrorism; promotes democracy and other American values; and stimulates American exports and jobs.

□ International affairs spending has fallen by roughly 20%, in real terms, over past four years. Steep decline has diminished ability to influence events overseas, raised serious questions about our willingness to remain engaged in international arena and cost us opportunities to promote American exports and jobs.

□ Some call for cutting spending even further. But truth is further reductions will only create bigger problems for us down road.

□ My budget calls for increasing international affairs spending by $1.4 billion. Funding increase will enable us to sustain American global leadership and continue existing programs such as trade promotion activities that generate $15 to $20 billion in exports each
year and support more than 300,000 jobs.

UN ARREARS

□ UN is important instrument of U.S. foreign policy. Serves American
interests in range of areas from refugee assistance, disease

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control
and air traffic control. Its peacekeepers promote American interests around globe.

□ Committed to American participation and leadership in reformed UN and to paying our financial obligations, but must insist on real reform.

□ UN and member states have heard our message. UN reform primary motivation for insisting on new UN leadership -- and they understand
we are committed to working with you to develop tough, but achievable, benchmarks that make UN more effective and accountable.

□ Pleased with initial steps of Kofi Annan. Believe stage set for improved relations between U.S. and UN.

□ Appreciate offer by Senator Lott to lead Task Force on UN Reform. Secretary Albright, OMB Director Raines and Ambassador Richardson have reported to me on progress of group.

□ My last budget request is straightforward:

□ UN commits to reduce future U.S. assessments to roughly amount Congress approved past two years, with no new arrears.

□ With your support, USG would offer advance appropriation to cover our arrears, but it would not be available until FY 99 and would be disbursed if agreed benchmarks met.

□ Your early consideration of proposal would give our diplomats leverage they need in difficult negotiations. Many nations at point
they do not believe American promises to repay arrears to UN. UN members need to see legitimate offer if they are to make the reforms
we demand.

□ Need to get this done within next weeks to have effect on budgetary
changes being considered for 1998 and 1999.

PARTNERSHIP FOR FREEDOM

□ Have historic opportunity to turn nascent NIS market economies into
competitive, open markets; benefits their citizens, Americans alike.

□ Assistance working: two-thirds NIS under democratically elected leaders in emerging market economies; U.S. assistance can make change
endure.

□ Priority one is to tackle barriers to investment, fight crime, lock
in economic reform, open region's vast resources to American business. Our efforts can leverage billions of dollars in trade

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and
investment, which means jobs for Americans at home.

□ Priority two is to bolster generational change, strengthen democracy; want to double people-to-people exchanges and support American foundations, volunteer groups to build civil society.

□ Convinced after Helsinki time is ripe; Yeltsin committed to bold reform agenda; leaders of Ukraine, Georgia, other NIS committed to make reform irreversible.

□ Entrenching democracy, market economies advances overarching national interest in seeing NIS develop as partners of America; $900
million under Partnership for Freedom real investment in peace and security that merits bipartisan support.

CWC

Why Support the Treaty?

□ Need your support for Chemical Weapons Convention.

□ Last Friday, had honor of hosting broad-based, bipartisan group of treaty supporters at White House: James Baker, Colin Powell, Paul Nitze and Ed Rowny as well as 100 other prominent, former government
officials, retired military officers, veterans, business leaders, religious leaders, scientists and arms control experts.

□ Prior to event received two important letters expressing strong support for ratification. First was from former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft and former Senators Kassebaum and Boren.

□ Second letter was from 17 retired flag officers, including three former Chairmen of the JCS (Powell, Vessey, Jones), five former Service Chiefs (McPeak, Mundy, Sullivan, Zumwalt and Dugan), Norman Schwarzkopf and 8 other Generals and Admirals.

□ Letters join previous letters/expressions of support from former President Bush, Larry Eagleburger, former Senator Sam Nunn and many other leading Republican and Democratic officials.

□ Would like to outline some reasons why all of these people believe CWC is in our national interest.

□ First, reduces chemical threat to our soldiers. Well before CWC concluded, Congress directed destruction of majority of our chemical
weapons stockpile. CWC requires others do same, under strict international supervision. That is why every Chairman of JCS since the Carter Administration -- General David Jones, General John Vessey, Admiral William Crowe, General Colin Powell and General Shali
-- as well as former Secretaries of Defense Melvin Laird, Harold Brown and William Perry support treaty.

□ Second, our participation is tangible demonstration of international
efforts against CW proliferation and other trasnational problems.

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That is why former President Bush and former Secretaries of State Baker and Eagleburger support treaty.

□ Third, treaty's declaration and inspection provisions will help Intelligence Community do better job of monitoring CW programs worldwide -- task they face with or without CWC. That is why former CIA Directors Gates, Woolsey and Deutch and Acting DCI Tenet support treaty.

□ Fourth, gives us new tools to deal with emerging threat of CW terrorism. By eliminating existing stockpiles and restricting flow of chemicals used to make chemical weapons, CWC makes it harder and more costly for terrorists to acquire or use chemical weapons. That is why Janet Reno, International Union of Police Associations, International Brotherhood of Police Officers and National Association of Police Organizations support treaty.

□ Fifth, provides level playing field for our chemical companies, our largest exporters, by requiring all parties to control trade with non-parties in dual-use chemicals that can be used to make chemical weapons. If we are not party, our chemical companies face CWC-mandated trade restrictions that could cost hundreds of millions of dollars a year in sales. That is why Chemical Manufacturers Association, Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association and Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America support treaty.

□ Finally, establishes global norm against possession of poison gas, thus making any attempts to develop or use it not only immoral but illegal. That is why Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith, U.S. Catholic Conference, Presbyterian Church, the Episcopal Church, United Methodist Church and so many other religious organizations support treaty.

□ Recognize CWC will not "solve" chemical weapons problem, but it is key element of any effective response.

Treaty Status in Senate

□ Since January, have negotiated in good faith with Majority Leader Lott and group he put together in effort to address concerns of some members of the Republican caucus about treaty.

□ During these discussions, Senator Helms has proposed about 30 conditions, and in nearly every case, we have either reached agreement on compromise or identified reasonable alternative, leaving it to Senate to decide between two.

□ Will work with Majority Leader and CWC task force to facilitate Senate vote by mid-April, so we can deposit our instrument of ratification prior to April 29, when treaty enters force.

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□ We have moved well beyond resolution of ratification on Senate calendar last September. Now time for Senate to vote.

Importance of April 29 Deadline

□ April 29 is real deadline with real consequences. If Congress fails
to act, Americans will be less secure. Will be denied access to CWC's tools against rogue states and terrorists who seek to acquire chemical weapons. Also denied ability to require other states to do
what we are already doing -- get out of chemical weapons business.

□ Without ratification, credibility of American leadership across range of transnational issues undermined.

□ The United States will also lose its seat on the governing body implementing the treaty. Americans will be ineligible to serve as inspectors.

□ American chemical companies will begin losing sales to overseas competitors, as mandatory trade sanctions against non-parties phase in. Industry estimates this could put at risk as much as $600 million in sales and many jobs.

FAST-TRACK

□ Will seek legislation from Congress to secure fast-track authority.
Every President since Ford has had fast-track authority for key periods with bipartisan Congressional support. Our choice is clear:
can either move to break down barriers to our exports -- or let other countries do that for their companies and workers while we sit
on sidelines.

□ Trade is Increasingly Important to the Future of Our Nation. Exports
have generated over one quarter of our strong economic growth over past four years. Exports support an estimated 11.3 million U.S. jobs. Over 95% of the world's consumers live outside the United States. No question our future lies with selling American products to rest of world.

□ Our economy is envy of world; have nothing to fear. Over past four
years, have created nearly 12 million new jobs, far more than other G-7 countries combined. We are once again world producer of autos, semiconductors. Once again largest exporter in world. Our competitors can't beat us, but we can lose if we sit on sidelines.

□ American barriers are negligible compared with barriers in foreign markets. After Uruguay Round phased in, our tariffs will average 2.8%. Other countries far higher: India (31%); Turkey and Thailand
(26%); Argentina, Chile and Brazil (10-11%). These are essentially one-way deals: we get more than we give up.

□ Need Fast-Track Authority to Respond to Global Challenges. We

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need
authority to conclude new trade agreements that open markets to our goods and services.

□ About More than Economics. Debate about more than economics. By expanding trade, we advance cause of freedom and democracy around world. There is no better example than Latin America where democracy and open markets are on march together.

SEGMENT III: ASIA (Korea, China, MFN) (8:45-9:15 p.m.)

KOREA

□ Security alliance with South Korea has sustained peace on Korean peninsula for forty years.

□ Strength of alliance enabled us to reach agreement with North Korea
on framework that freezes and eventually eliminates North Korea's nuclear program.

□ KEDO, an international consortium of contributors, oversees process.
Funding for KEDO and light water reactor project essential to achieving non-nuclear Korean peninsula. Look to Congress to supply funds to sustain U.S. participation in critical endeavor. (FYI: asking for $30 million in FY 98 budget.)

□ The North Koreans face severe food shortages; UN estimate shortfall
between 1-2 million tons. Responding to most recent international humanitarian appeal for assistance. Distribution of assistance monitored by World Food Program. Confident food aid is being delivered to those most in need, particularly children. Appreciate Congressional support for maintaining the U.S. tradition of not using food as a tool to advance a particular political agenda.

□ Because of structural problems in North Korea's economy, believe regime moving slowly toward acceptance of proposal for four-party peace talks I proposed with President Kim last April. Meeting North
Koreans next week for further discussion.

□ Nuclear freeze, peace talks, and our continued engagement offer best
prospect for reducing tension in last outpost of Cold War.

CHINA

□ China at critical turning point. Manner in which we engage China in months
ahead will determine whether China becomes destabilizing threat or constructive force in Asia and world.

□ Substantial U.S. interests at stake: need China's cooperation in curbing
proliferation of WMD, securing permanent peace on Korean peninsula. China

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will become world's largest economy within 15 years; want access to that
market for U.S. exports.

□ Each of these interests is best served by stable, open, prosperous China that
increasingly embraces international trade and nonproliferation rules.

□ Continuing to engage China on number of fronts: UN Human Rights Commission
resolution in Geneva, MFN renewal, and Hong Kong reversion. Working with
Congress we can manage our interests with China soberly and prudently.
Engagement does not mean endorsement.

□ Human Rights. Continue to support those in China who stand for freedom and human rights.

□ Hong Kong. Future of Hong Kong remains serious concern as we approach July 1. Working with allies to ensure China understands action that allows Hong Kong's political and economic way of life to continue.

□ Trade. Expect China to follow international trade rules and norms and live up to its commitments to us. Support WTO membership for China, but only on commercially meaningful terms.

□ Nonproliferation. Continue to elicit Chinese support in combating proliferation; pressing China to tighten export controls and cease cooperation with such states as Iran.

□ But must speak with one voice. Weakens our efforts to influence China's
behavior if signals we send appear confused and conflicting. Important
Congress avoid precipitous action that undermines our interests.

□ Failure to extend MFN would undermine all of our interests, and reverse thirty
years of bipartisan China policy. MFN revocation would curtail contacts with
Chinese people; prompt increased Chinese sales of destabilizing weapons; harm
Taiwan's economy; and slash Hong Kong's trade by over $30 billion.

□ Curbing our contact with China because of concerns about Hong Kong's future
eliminates an important access point to Beijing decision-makers.

□ Similarly staking all of our China policy solely on human rights makes human
rights bilateral issue, weakening our ability to keep international spotlight
on China's human rights record and keep faith with those in China who work to
promote universal rights and freedoms.

□ Our policy is working and urge you to help sustain it as you

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examine merits of
MFN, evaluate soundness of Hong Kong's future and communicate importance of
improving human rights.

MISCELLENAEOUS

MIDDLE EAST

Peace Process

□ At very serious moment in peace process. Working hard with parties
to come up with way to get them back to sustained negotiations.

□ Had number of conversations with leaders from region over last two months. Main objective is to restore calm and confidence so they can return to talks.

□ Arafat has to show 100% effort against terrorism. Both sides need to avoid actions that tend to preempt negotiating process.

□ Will stay involved, but it's parties themselves who will have to make hard choices to make it work.

Iraq

□ Would like to see Iraq reintegrated back into region and into international community -- ultimate objective.

□ However, time has not come since it is abundantly clear Saddam Hussein remains danger both to region and to Iraqi people.

□ Therefore, containing Saddam will remain strategic priority for Administration in second term.

□ Saddam must meet all of his UN obligations, including demonstrating
his peaceful intentions toward his neighbors and his people. Until then, sanctions must remain in place.

NORTHERN IRELAND

□ Committed to Northern Ireland peace process; never thought it would
be short or easy, given long history of conflict.

□ Have extraordinary alliance with UK and close friendship with Ireland; thus able to play helpful role in supporting British and Irish efforts to get negotiating process going.

□ Proud of role Senator Mitchell is playing; has won respect of all parties.

□ British parliamentary election scheduled for May 1 dominating political scene in Northern Ireland as well as rest of UK.

□ Little expectation of breakthrough before election; situation

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precarious with continued IRA violence putting pressure on fragile loyalist cease-fire.

□ If Blair elected, would not anticipate major change in British policy, though atmospherics could improve. Will work with him or new
Major government to get peace process moving again.

Sinn Fein (if asked)

□ Want to see Sinn Fein at table because inclusive talks have better chance of long-term success; but cannot happen without unequivocal cease-fire.

Loyalist cease-fire (if raised)

□ Some recent attacks widely attributed to loyalist paramilitaries but
loyalist command has not declared their cease-fire over, as IRA has.
Better for peace process if loyalist cease-fire remains in effect.

□ Belfast peace talks reconvene June 3. With election behind them, hope parties, willing to move to substantive negotiations.

Senator Mitchell (if asked)

□ Senator Mitchell has said he will be there to reconvene talks in June; do not know how long he will stay as chairman.

MEXICO

□ In May, will visit our closest southern neighbors as first trip of three to hemisphere. Chose Mexico, Costa Rica and Barbados to deal with issues that matter most to Americans -- economic growth, protecting environment, drugs, illegal immigration and crime.

□ The United States and Mexico face serious challenge in fighting drug
trafficking. Success in our efforts depends on deepened cooperation
with Mexico and support for President Zedillo's efforts to reform and strengthen law enforcement.

□ Intend to make improving counternarcotics cooperation top priority in my discussions with President Zedillo and other Latin American and Caribbean leaders.

□ All share same objective -- keep drugs out of our neighborhoods and
away from our children. Accomplishing goal requires that we work closely with other nations in hemisphere -- especially with country whose 2,000-mile border with us makes it target of traffickers seeking to smuggle contraband into United States.

□ Success also requires we all do more about turning our young people
away from drugs. America's drug habits are fueling trafficking and corruption in hemisphere. Hope Congress fully supports budget request for counternarcotics activities.

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□ Mexico undergoing profound transition, emerging from 67 years of one-party rule. Longstanding problems, like corruption, coming to light for first time. Important to support and encourage reforms that are driving change in Mexico and the reformers, like Zedillo.

ZAIRE

□ Situation in Zaire remains precarious. Deeply concerned about implications of ongoing fighting. Rebels have political and military
advantage. Despite our efforts to promote cease-fire, seem determined push Mobutu aside.

□ Pleased peace talks resumed in South Africa under UN Special Representative Sahnoun's auspices. Doing all we can to support Sahnoun and the South Africans.

□ For the sake of Zaire's future and stability, Mobutu must be persuaded to step aside gracefully in favor of inclusive, interim transitional government. That government should be mandated to organize elections with international help within a reasonable period
of time.

□ Such a measure would give maximum leverage to press regional states
to halt all support for further military action and enable us to work together to craft mutually acceptable interim transitional government.

□ Deeply concerned about plight of several hundred thousand refugees in Zaire. Worked hard to secure access to these people for international relief agencies; hope repatriation effort can begin shortly.

TERRORISM

□ Worked with Congress to add $1.1 billion to fight against terrorism.

□ Also worked with Congress to pass Antiterrorism and Effective Death
Penalty Act in 1996.

□ Still need to fill gaps in antiterrorism bill and maintain spending
for combatting terrorism.

□ Administration focused on apprehending and prosecuting terrorists, protecting our troops and diplomats overseas, and ensuring American cities can manage consequences of terrorist attack involving weapons
of mass destruction.

□ Need to continue to work together on these tasks.

ABM/TMD

□ President Yeltsin and I worked hard at Helsinki to come up with

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mutually acceptable solution to the issue of ABM/TMD demarcation.

□ Our joint statement on ABM Treaty records resolution of all outstanding demarcation issues, and commits us to explore cooperation on early warning support for TMDs, technology cooperation related to TMD, and expansion of ongoing program of cooperation in TMD exercises.

□ Helsinki agreement will in no way limit U.S. TMD programs, now or in future. Under this agreement, all six U.S. TMD programs will go forward as planned.

□ Moreover, by providing stable, predictable strategic environment, agreement should help facilitate Russian ratification of START II as well as further stabilizing reductions in strategic nuclear arms, such as those agreed to in the Helsinki Joint Statement on Future Reductions in Nuclear Forces.

□ Administration officials prepared to brief you in greater detail on agreements reached at Helsinki, both on missile defense and nuclear arms control. Believe you will find them to be overwhelmingly in our national security interests.

Elements of Helsinki agreement (if asked)

□ Basic elements include:

□ limit on velocity (five kilometers/second) and range (3,500 kilometers) of target missiles used in TMD testing;

□ ban on space-based TMD interceptors; and

□ information exchange on TMD programs,

□ Sides stated they have no plans to flight test "higher velocity" TMD systems through April 1999 or to develop TMD systems with speeds exceeding certain velocities.

Space-based TMD interceptors (if pressed)

□ Neither side has plans for space-based TMD interceptors. Banning space-based TMD interceptors is logical corollary to ABM Treaty's ban on space-based ABMs.

Interceptor Velocity of TMD systems (if pressed)

□ Neither side has plans for TMD interceptors with velocities greater than 5.5 km/sec for land-based and air-based TMD systems, or 4.5 km/sec for sea-based TMD systems.

PROLIFERATION ISSUES

□ Preventing the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons

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and missile deliver systems remains a vital objective.

□ Three central elements of our strategy.

□ First, we're working with international community to strengthen international treaty regimes, especially NPT, CWC and BWC.

NPT: In May, IAEA will approve new measures to strengthen nuclear safeguards.

CWC: Timely Senate ratification essential to allow U.S. participation to set up CWC inspection regime.

BWC: Tough negotiations ahead to meet our objective of establishing
legally binding compliance protocol by 1998.

□ Second, dealing with consequences and motivations for proliferation
in three regional "proliferation zones."

Korean peninsula: Our strategy succeeded so far. Want to keep North Korean nuclear program under control through Agreed Framework.

South Asia: No near-term solution to proliferation problem. Trying to convince India and Pakistan to maintain existing areas of restraint (e.g., no nuclear testing and missile deployment) and build closer relations with U.S. and between India and Pakistan to serve as basis for eventual solution.

Middle East: Again, no near-term political solution at hand. Making every effort to retain UN curbs on Iraq and limit programs by
Iran, Syria and Libya. Need cooperation from allies and others to prevent export of dangerous technologies to Middle East.

□ Third, concerted effort to work with countries that might be source
of material, equipment and technology for proliferation.

Russia: Many cooperative programs underway to strengthen security of nuclear materials, combat nuclear smuggling, re-employ weapons scientists. Much remains to be done; look to Congress to maintain funding for CTR and related programs.

China: Nonproliferation is central issue in bilateral relations. Making progress on nuclear issues; hope to be able to implement peaceful nuclear cooperation soon. Still problems on chemical and missile-related exports, especially to Iran and Pakistan. We'll be working with Chinese to strengthen controls.

Reorganization (If no decision reached)

□ Recognize there is great deal of speculation surrounding reorganization of foreign affairs organizations.

□ Know some Members believe there must be significant change in international affairs agencies.

□ As Secretary Albright has told Chairman Helms, we want to work

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with
you on improving the coherence and effectiveness of the international affairs agencies.

□ A high-level Administration working group is now concluding a careful examination of various proposals for improving the efficiency
and effectiveness of the international affairs agencies.

□ Working very hard developing a proposal on reorganization.

□ Will forward my own proposal shortly so that we can begin more detailed discussions with you.

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M S M a i l

DATE-TIME	18 April 97 15:45
FROM	Vershbow, Alexander R.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	FW: Options for May Trip ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.08)
KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT_BODY

Some edits. Where is new calendar? Don K hopes to get this tonight. Steve Pifer has problems.

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: @EUROPE - European Affairs; @CEE - Central/Eastern Europe; @RUSSIA - Russia/Ukraine; @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: Options for May Trip ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Friday, April 18, 1997 11:45 AM

[[TRIPOPTS.DOC : 3938 in TRIPOPTS.DOC]]

Would appreciate concurrence on attached asap pls.(Steve, it has changed since you last cleared it.) Thanks.

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	18 April 97 15:44
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	TRIPOPTS.DOC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 2560
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 4/9/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 14, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Options for POTUS Visit to Europe May 27-29

We understand the President cannot leave Washington before the evening of May 26 and must be back the evening of May 29; he could
leave later or return earlier if appropriate. According to the

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pre-advance, he should arrive in the Netherlands the evening of May 27 and leave after dinner May 28. That means he will have all day May 27 and the early part of May 29 for other stops.

Attached are two options for the President's trip schedule. Option A assumes that the NATO-Russia Charter and adaptation decisions can be completed in time to hold a Summit May 27 in Paris. Option B is the fallback in case that does not happen. There are several decisions that need to be made so that we can proceed with planning for both contingencies.

ISSUES FOR DECISION

1) Seeing New UK Prime Minister

The European Directorate recommends that the President meet with the newly elected Prime Minister during this trip. A short stop in London would have the most impact for the new PM and would send a visible signal of the President's continued commitment ot working with the British on the Northern Ireland peace process. The other option is to arrange a bilateral, either on the margins of the NATO-Russia Summit, if there is one, or the Marshall Plan commemoration, assuming we could persuade the new PM to attend. We like the idea of a stop in London, especially if Blair is elected and this will be their first official meeting.

STOP IN LONDON_____ BILATERAL IN PARIS OR THE HAGUE_____

2) Program if There is No NATO-Russia Summit

If there is no NATO-Russia Summit, the President could leave as scheduled, have downtime in the Netherlands May 27 and follow the draft program for May 28. The issues for decision on Option B are:

Whether to seek to include a NATO or CEE-related event in the schedule, primarily to reassure the CEEs that Madrid is still on track. We recommend such an event.

AGREE_____ DISAGREE_____

If you agree, the options for such an event are:

- meeting with CEE leaders on margins of Marshall Event;

- speech to North Atlantic Assembly (PFP-member parliamentarians group) which will be meeting in Luxembourg under Senator Roth's chairmanship; or

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- stop in CEE capital for meeting of regional leaders.

We recommend a meeting with CEE leaders (both prospective "ins" and "outs") on the margins of the Marshall Plan event. Senator Roth would like the President to go Luxembourg for the NAA, as would Ambassador Constantinou, but that would require another stop and another speech. We agree with Scheduling that a visit to a CEE country would be too time-consuming, with little additional benefit beyond what we would get from a meeting with the same leaders in The Hague.

CEE MEETING IN THE HAGUE_____

NAA IN LUXEMBOURG _____

MEETING IN CEE CAPITAL _____

The final issue is the timing of the CEE event. Either the NAA or CEE capital options would require either bumping the stop in London or filling what is now desirable downtime on the 27th. If you choose one of those options, we will get back to you with a new draft Option B schedule.

If the CEE the event is in The Hague, we recommend adding it to the schedule late in the afternoon of the May 28, just after the President's speech. He would still be free by about 7:00 p.m. that evening.

AGREE_____ DISAGREE_____

Concurrences: Steve Pifer, Tony Blinken, Dan Fried

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
OPTION A

May 26

Evening Depart Washington for Paris

May 27 Paris

Must-Do Events:

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NATO-Russia Summit and Charter-Signing
Bilateral with Yeltsin
Bilateral with Chirac
[Bilateral with Blair/Major if no stop in London]

Nice to Do:

Attend OECD Anniversary Reception Hosted by Chirac
(NOTE: Scheduling will probably recommend against doing this; no decision needed yet.)

Evening Depart for The Hague (Note: Due to lack of hotel space, overnight in Paris impractical.)

May 28 The Hague

Must-Do Events

A.M. Bilateral with Prime Minister Kok
U.S.-EU Summit
(No press conference after Summit)

P.M. Lunch Hosted by Queen for Visiting OSCE Leaders
Speech Commemorating 50th Anniversary of Marshall Plan

Optional/Recommended:

Evening OTR Visit to Rotterdam (rebuilt with Marshall Plan funds)

Proposed by Dutch But Not Recommended by NSC or Scheduling:

Press Conference after U.S-EU Summit (detracts from impact of speech)

Reception for Visiting Leaders (will have seen them at lunch)

Working Dinner with Kok and Santer (will have done needed business at U.S.-EU Summit

May 29

Optional/Recommended:

A.M. Stop in London for meeting with new British PM. (Gesture of visiting London would be well received, would establish close working relationship from start on Northern Ireland and other issues.) OR

Visit to Rotterdam with public event; e.g. unveiling of Marshall bust (if no OTR in Rotterdam May 28)

Proposed (by Embassies or others) but Not Recommended by NSC or Scheduling:

Luxembourg for visit to WWII cemetery (Patton's grave); an event with North Atlantic Assembly, which will be meeting in Luxembourg May 28-June 1. (Scheduling does not want to focus on WWII; also NAA event would mean another foreign policy speech.)

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Additional time in the Netherlands, including visit to grave of Black-American WWII Medal of Honor recipient or attendance at plenary session of Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

CEE stop for regional meeting (time-consuming; expect to do some CEE event in connection with July trip.)

OPTION B

If there is no NATO-Russia Summit, it will become more important to
include a NATO event in the schedule. We recommend either a speech
to the North Atlantic Assembly (which includes parliamentarians from
PFP countries) or a stop in CEE capital to meet with CEE leaders.

May 26 Depart Washington for London

May 27

A.M. London:

Meeting with New Prime Minister

P.M. Luxembourg:

North Atlantic Assembly Event
Meetings with Prime Minister Juncker, Grand Duke Jean

Evening Depart for The Hague

May 28 Same as above

May 29 Additional time in Netherlands OR
CEE stop for regional meeting
(NOTE: Scheduling would need more details before agreeing to any CEE stop.)

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MSMail

DATE-TIME 18 April 97 18:10

FROM Fried, Daniel

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT RE: POTUS Travel Memo ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~

TO Peters, Mary A.
Pifer, Steven K.

CARBON_COPY Fort, Jane B.
Schmidt, John R.
Vershbow, Alexander R.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.09)
KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT_BODY

Some thoughts on top of Steve's.

[[TRIPOPTS.DOC : 4669 in TRIPOPTS.DOC]]

From: Pifer, Steven K.
To: Peters, Mary A.
CC: /R, Record at A1; Fort, Jane B.; Fried, Daniel; Schmidt, John R.; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: POTUS Travel Memo ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
Date: Friday, April 18, 1997 06:01 PM

<<Attached File: TRIPOPTS.DOC>>

A few suggestions/questions, in blue. I don't have any brilliant ideas as to how to fix it, but I found it difficult to transition from the lay-out in the memo to the options. Maybe just give him the options, with some commentary?

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 18 April 97 18:9

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME TRIPOPTS.DOC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 2560
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 4/9/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 14, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Options for POTUS Visit to Europe May 27-29

We understand the President cannot leave Washington before the evening of May 26 and must be back the evening of May 29; he could leave later or return earlier if appropriate. According to the pre-advance, he should arrive in the Netherlands the evening of May 27 and leave after dinner May 28. ((leave? Both options have POTUS RON The Hague May 28.)) That means he will have all day May 27 and the early part of May 29 for other stops.

Attached are two options for the President's trip schedule. Option A assumes that the NATO-Russia Charter and adaptation decisions can be completed in time to hold a NATO-Russia Summit May 27 in Paris. Option B is the fallback in case that does not happen. There are several decisions that need to be made so that we can proceed with planning for both contingencies.

ISSUES FOR DECISION

1) Seeing New UK Prime Minister

The European Directorate recommends that the President meet with the newly elected Prime Minister during this trip. A short stop in London would have the most impact for the new PM and would send a visible signal of the President's continued commitment ot working with the British on the Northern Ireland peace process. The other option is to arrange a bilateral, either on the margins of the NATO-Russia Summit, if there is one, or the Marshall Plan commemoration, assuming we could persuade the new PM to attend. We like the idea of a stop in London, especially if Blair is elected and this will be their first official meeting.

STOP IN LONDON_____ BILATERAL IN PARIS OR THE HAGUE_____

2) Program if There is No NATO-Russia Summit

In that case, the President could leave as scheduled, have downtime in the Netherlands May 27 and follow the draft program for May 28. ((You might still want the stop in London on May 27 -- allows earlier return to the U.S.)) The issues for decision on Option B are:

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Whether to seek to include a NATO or CEE-related event in the schedule, primarily to reassure the CEEs that Madrid is still on track. We recommend such an event. ((What exactly is the CEE event?
I think it is manageable from a Russia perspective -- more so if it
happens on the heels of a NATO-Russia summit as opposed to Option B
-- but you will need to structure this carefully so as not to put POTUS in a room with a lot of wanna-bes, some of whom will not make
it. Could be a long and not especially pleasing meeting. An alterantive would be a couple of CEE bilats. DF's comment. Bilats
are even tougher, like, which ones. I think this can be done along
the old Christopher format: 60 minute event; all around a table, POTUS speaks; others get 2 minutes (they'll take five). I think they
will behave.))

AGREE_____ DISAGREE_____

((Fix format here)) If you agree, the options for such an event are:
--meeting with CEE leaders on margins of Marshall Event;
--speech to North Atlantic Assembly (PFP-member parliamentariams group) which will be meeting in Luxembourg under Senator Roth's chairmanship; or
--stop in CEE capital for meeting of regional leaders.
We recommend a meeting with CEE leaders (both prospective "ins" and
"outs") on the margins of the Marshall Plan event. Senator Roth would like the President to go Luxembourg for the NAA, as would Ambassador Constantinou, but that would require another stop and another speech. We agree with Scheduling that a visit to a CEE country would be too time-consuming, with little additional benefit
beyond what we would get from a meeting with the same leaders in The
Hague.

CEE MEETING IN THE HAGUE_____
NAA IN LUXEMBOURG _____
MEETING IN CEE CAPITAL _____

The final issue is the timing of the CEE event. Either the NAA or
CEE capital options would require either bumping the stop in London
or filling what is now desirable downtime on the 27th. If you choose
one of those options, we will get back to you with a new draft Option
B schedule.

If the CEE event is in The Hague, we recommend adding it to the schedule late in the afternoon of the May 28, just after the President's speech. He would still be free by about 7:00 p.m. that

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evening.

AGREE____ DISAGREE_____

Concurrences: Steve Pifer, Tony Blinken, Dan Fried

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OPTION A

May 26

Evening Depart Washington for Paris

May 27 Paris

Must-Do Events:

NATO-Russia Summit and Charter-Signing
Bilateral with Yeltsin
Bilateral with Chirac
[Bilateral with Blair/Major if no stop in London]

Nice to Do:

Attend OECD Anniversary Reception Hosted by Chirac
(NOTE: Scheduling will probably recommend against doing this; no decision needed yet.)

Evening Depart for The Hague (Note: Due to lack of hotel space, overnight in Paris impractical.)

May 28 The Hague

Must-Do Events

A.M. Bilateral with Prime Minister Kok
U.S.-EU Summit
(No press conference after Summit)

P.M. Lunch Hosted by Queen for Visiting OSCE Leaders
Speech Commemorating 50th Anniversary of Marshall Plan

Optional/Recommended:

Evening OTR Visit to Rotterdam (rebuilt with Marshall Plan funds)

Proposed by Dutch But Not Recommended by NSC or Scheduling:

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Press Conference after U.S-EU Summit (detracts from impact of speech)

Reception for Visiting Leaders (will have seen them at lunch)

Working Dinner with Kok and Santer (will have done needed business at U.S.-EU Summit

May 29

Optional/Recommended:

A.M. Stop in London for meeting with new British PM. (Gesture of visiting London would be well received, would establish close working relationship from start on Northern Ireland and other issues.) OR

Visit to Rotterdam with public event; e.g. unveiling of Marshall bust (if no OTR in Rotterdam May 28)

Proposed (by Embassies or others) but not Recommended by NSC or Scheduling:

Luxembourg for visit to WWII cemetery (Patton's grave); an event with North Atlantic Assembly, which will be meeting in Luxembourg May 28-June 1. (Scheduling does not want to focus on WWII; also NAA event would mean another foreign policy speech.)

Additional time in the Netherlands, including visit to grave of Black-American WWII Medal of Honor recipient or attendance at plenary session of Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

CEE stop for regional meeting (time-consuming; expect to do some CEE event in connection with July trip.)

OPTION B

If there is no NATO-Russia Summit, it will become more important to
include a NATO event in the schedule. We recommend either a speech
to the North Atlantic Assembly (which includes parliamentarians from
PFP countries) or a stop in CEE capital to meet with CEE leaders.

May 26 Depart Washington for London

May 27

A.M. London:

Meeting with New Prime Minister

P.M. Luxembourg:

North Atlantic Assembly Event
Meetings with Prime Minister Juncker, Grand Duke Jean

Evening Depart for The Hague

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May 28 Same as above

May 29 Additional time in Netherlands OR
CEE stop for regional meeting
(NOTE: Scheduling would need more details before agreeing to any CEE stop.)

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	18 April 97 19:30
FROM	Peters, Mary A.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	Trip Options ~~[CONFIDENTIAL]~~
TO	Brown, Nancy E. Davies, Glyn T. Dohse, Fred J. Friedrich, M. K. Harmon, Joyce Hilliard, Brenda I. Joshi, M. Kay Kerrick, Donald L. Millison, Cathy L. Poole, Jennifer C.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	Here is the memo (cleared by all except Tony B). Draft Schedules follow.[[TRIPOPTS.DOC : 4877 in TRIPOPTS.DOC]]
ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	18 April 97 19:29
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	TRIPOPTS.DOC ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 2560 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Reason: 1.5b Declassify On: 4/9/07

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.10)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 14, 1997

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Options for POTUS Visit to Europe May 27-29

Attached are two options for the President's trip schedule. Option A assumes that the NATO-Russia Charter and adaptation decisions can be completed in time to hold a Summit May 27 in Paris. Option B is the fallback in case that does not happen. There are several

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decisions
that you need to make so that we can proceed with planning for
both
contingencies. (A number of other proposals have been rejected
at
the working level -- those are noted in the draft schedule in
case
you want to overrule the decision to reject them.)

ISSUES FOR DECISION

1) Seeing New UK Prime Minister

The European Directorate recommends that the President meet with
the
newly elected Prime Minister during this trip. A short stop in
London would have the most impact for the new PM and would send a
visible signal of the President's continued commitment ot working
with the British on the Northern Ireland peace process. The
other
option is to arrange a bilateral, either on the margins of the
NATO-Russia Summit, if there is one, or the Marshall Plan
commemoration, assuming we could persuade the new PM to attend.
We
like the idea of a stop in London, especially if Blair is elected
and
this will be their first official meeting.

STOP IN LONDON_____ BILATERAL IN PARIS OR THE HAGUE_____

2) Meeting with CEE Leaders

The issue is whether to include a meeting with CEE leaders in the
schedule to "balance" the focus on Yeltsin in there is a Summit;
and
reassure them that Madrid is on track if there isn't. We
recommend a
60-minute roundtable meeting with CEE leaders (both prospective
"ins" and "outs") on the margins of the Marshall Plan event.

AGREE_____ DISAGREE_____

3) North Atlantic Assembly

Senator Roth would like the President to go Luxembourg for the
NAA
(members are PFP parliamentarians from PFP countries), which is
he
chairing May 29-June 1 in Luxembourg. We do not support this
because
it would involve an extra stop (with at least two bilateral
meetings) and an additional foreign policy speech, but we wanted
you
to know that the Senator has written asking the President to
participate.

POTUS SHOULD_____/SHOULD NOT_____ADDRESS NAA.

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Concurrences: Steve Pifer, Tony Blinken, Dan Fried

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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MSMail

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.11)
KBH 9/9/2019

DATE-TIME 23 April 97 09:56

FROM Vershbow, Alexander R.

CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT RE: Note for JS on Northern Ireland Peace Process [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]

TO Peters, Mary A.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY

Revise with my concern as caveat, but including your counterpoint -- present May 2 as an alternative time for JS call.

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Vershbow, Alexander R.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: RE: Note for JS on Northern Ireland Peace Process [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
Date: Wednesday, April 23, 1997 09:22 AM

I honestly don't think Adams would make the fact of the call public -- he never has and he knows the stakes are high. But if you think so, I willrevise the recommendation (sorry I didn't send it through you first .)-

---

From: Vershbow, Alexander R.
To: Peters, Mary A.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: RE: Note for JS on Northern Ireland Peace Process [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
Date: Wednesday, April 23, 1997 08:14 AM

Isn't there a risk that a JS call to Adams just before the election could be exploited by him to embarrass Major, make Blair look like Adams' "favorite," and hamper Blair Govt's ability to move after May 1? I'd wait till May 2 for this call, and instead convey a message through lower-level, indirect channels if some response to the Adams-Lyons message is needed.

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
CC: /R, Record at A1; Vershbow, Alexander R.
Subject: Note for JS on Northern Ireland Peace Process[~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
Date: Tuesday, April 22, 1997 07:23 PM

To: Jim
From: Mary Ann

Subj: Jim Lyons' Meeting with Gerry Adams

You will have seen the fax that Jim sent on his meeting with Adams in Ireland last week. While Jim is seeking to be helpful in conveying what Adams told him, I don't think it makes sense to use him as a channel of communication with Adams. Since he will want to know that he has gotten an authoritative response, I recommend that you call Jim and make the following points:

--Thank you for your fax on your meeting with Adams last week. Appreciate

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your willingness to convey the message from Adams on the elements of a package that would lead to a cease-fire.

--Familiar with the elements of the package as Adams outlined them to you. As you can imagine, there are differing views among political leaders and governments about the Sinn Fein proposal.

--NSC remains engaged in issue, believe Adams knows this. Willing to work with newly elected British government on Northern Ireland, as we have with Major government.

--NSC role has been to remain in contact with all Northern Ireland political leaders -- including Sinn Fein -- as well as with the two governments. Adams knows he can communicate with the Administration directly.

--Again, thanks for your help.

--By the way, I was pleased to hear that the investigative report for TV has been put on hold. (You recall that Jim was expecting "Dateline" or one of those shows to do a segment on the International Fund for Ireland.)

--IF RAISED: Senator Mitchell has not been in touch with Sinn Fein; nor do I think he would want to be, given the importance of his credibility with the unionists.

The question is what Adams is up to in engaging Jim in this process. My guess is that he wanted to let you know that he wants to talk about how to take the peace process forward after the British election. From the formulation of the package as reported by Jim, there may be some flexibility in the demands Sinn Fein will make of the new government. I think a call in the next week is a good idea. Your main message would be that the Administration remains committed to working with the new British government (and others) on the peace process but continuing violence is squandering the opportunity to move the process forward after the election. What do you think?

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	19 June 97 21:57
FROM	Vershbow, Alexander R.
CLASSIFICATION	~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT	Blair Bilat memo [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO	Peters, Mary A.
CARBON_COPY	Maxfield, Nancy H.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M(2.12)
KBH 9/9/2019

TEXT_BODY

Here's the current version. I don't think it needs much updating, but please add your revisions in blue (e.g. UK plans to publish non-paper on Saturday). Could use this by 1100-1200 your time.
[[BLAIRMT.DOC : 9 in BLAIRMT.DOC]][[BLAIRTP.DOC : 10 in BLAIRTP.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	20 June 97 0:14
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	BLAIRMT.DOC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 6/17/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR

KEY OBJECTIVES

□ Discuss strategy for moving Northern Ireland peace process forward.

□ Seek common approach to persuading allies to agree to a group of three for new NATO members together with strong "open door."

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Blair's office requested a bilateral meeting, probably to continue to build on the close relationship you established in London. As you know, Blair has been occupied with European issues. He appears to have succeeded in shaping the outcome of the EU's Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) along UK-preferred lines: only minimal changes to the practice of requiring consensus for decisions on Common Foreign and Security Policy; and no merger of the WEU and the EU. The UK insisted on and will get an "opt-out" from the incorporation of the Schengen Accords on common border policies into the EU. The

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result
is a good one for Blair's policy of improving the tone of British relations with the EU while making only minor concessions on substance.

AGENDA

Northern Ireland. The IRA's murder of two policemen June 16 has stunned Northern Ireland and greatly reduced the prospects that Sinn
Fein will enter the Belfast talks on the basis of the offer the British made to them June 13. The murders have made the unionists
even more intransigent on decommissioning, and Sinn Fein may seek to
use the absence of unionist agreement on a decommissioning strategy
as a pretext to reject the British offer. Following the murder, Blair understandably cancelled a meeting of HMG officials with Sinn
Fein planned for this week. The British have not closed the door definitively to Sinn Fein participation in the talks, nor have they
taken the June 13 offer (not yet public) off the table. There is an
internal debate going on in the British government over whether to
leave the offer as is, modify it, or withdraw it.

The June 13 offer responds to Sinn Fein's request for clarification
on four issues:

□ First, in response to Sinn Fein's request for a timeframe for the
conclusion of the negotiations, the British have said that the negotiations should conclude by May 1998, when a relevant piece of
British legislation expires.

□ Second, Sinn Fein had also demanded progress on confidence-building measures, particularly on prisoners. The British have already transferred two prisoners and granted bail to
one facing extradition; in the June 13 offer they list other areas
in which they have taken and plan to take additional CBMs.

On these first two points, Sinn Fein should not have serious objections to the British position.

□ The third issue is the period of time it would take for the British government to determine that a new ceasefire was unequivocal and to invite Sinn Fein into talks. Sinn Fein has demanded immediate entry on the basis of its new electoral "mandate." The Blair government has decided on a six-week period (though it never actually made an offer, the Major government was inclined to three months). The British have said that during those six weeks, they would allow ministerial-level meetings with Sinn Fein, and they have asked us to be ready to offer Adams a

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visa. It is possible that HMG will go back to a three-month period following the murders.

□ The final issue is decommissioning. The British and Irish have been working on a joint plan for moving the talks into substance that includes establishing the mechanisms for decommissioning to take place in parallel with progress in the talks (the Mitchell approach). We understand Trimble rejected this approach following the murders, though he probably would have rejected it anyway. The June 13 offer contains language promising that the talks will not be stuck on decommissioning, but Sinn Fein may ask for additional assurances. This is the one substantive point on which there is some logic to the republican position, since the talks have been stuck for over a year on the decommissioning question, and Sinn Fein isn't even at the table.

You should discuss with Blair the looming problem of the marching season, which will hit its climax with the planned Orange parade down the Garvaghy Road in Drumcree. The British have set up a parades commission but were unable to pass legislation granting it real authority in time for this year's marches. The Orangemen refuse to meet with the local residents association because it is headed by a man with a past terrorism conviction; the residents insist they will not tolerate even a modest parade. Two newspapers in Belfast have proposed a two-year compromise plan, which thousands have phoned in to support, but this is unlikely to sway extremists on both sides.

NATO Enlargement. The British are with us on the small group approach and are coming around on the need for very strong open-door language to make clear that the first new members will not be the last. The French, supported by the Italians and others, continue to insist that Romania and Slovenia be included. As he told you June 4, Kohl leans toward our position but he has not been willing either to break with the French publicly or to be seen in Europe as the lone voice against Romania. (At his joint press conference with Chirac after the Franco-German summit, Kohl supported Romanian and Slovenian membership aspirations but was careful to avoid endorsing them for the first group.) We will need to have both Blair and Kohl weigh in with Chirac to try to avoid a messy intra-Alliance wrangle before Madrid.

Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) Status for Argentina. As part of the

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internal deliberations regarding U.S. arms transfer policy to Latin America, and because of the likelihood Argentina will feel rebuffed over a decision that favors Chile, we have been considering President Menem's request to you for Major Non-NATO Ally status (MNNA). Menem highly values MNNA designation, more for its political symbolism than its concrete benefits (enhanced eligibility for excess defense articles and USG research and development projects). We have informed the new Blair government and requested comment, if any, by the end of June. Early indications suggest HMG probably won't like the idea but may accept it as a viable alternative to Argentina's acquiring advanced arms for which it evidences no desire or funding.
We may wish to go ahead with the designation even over British objections, as the alternative could be a serious setback in our relations with Argentina, our closest and most consistent hemispheric partner.

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 17 June 97 19:8

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME BLAIRTP.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIA~~L
~~CONFIDENTIA~~L
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 6/17/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING
WITH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BLAIR

Northern Ireland

□ Stunned by murder of policemen Monday. Hope you will catch killers quickly and put them away for very long time. Any leads?

□ Have my full support for your strategy of testing hwhether ceasefire is on offer and proceeding without Sinn Fein if it is not.

□ Certainly understand your decision not to have your officials meet with Sinn Fein as planned. Appears that Prime Minister-designate Ahern has also decided not to meet Adams this week.

□ We have said we will keep open channels of communication to parties as long as it serves peace process. Of course NSC officials are in contact by phone, not in person.

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□ Willing to keep telling Sinn Fein they must get ceasefire in near future or be left behind.

□ If asked: Working-level USG officials, for instance in Belfast, maintain contact with Sinn Fein, particularly elected officials, as necessary and appropriate.

□ Hope you will leave your June 13 offer to Sinn Fein on table. Believe we need to get their response in order to judge whether there is any chance of ceasefire.

□ If Blair suggests that six weeks would no longer be sufficient to assess ceasefire: Would not want peace process to founder on question of few weeks. If it appears that real ceasefire is imminent, hope you will not change time period.

□ One substantive issue that needs to be resolved is how decommissioning will be handled in talks.

□ Understand Trimble recently rejected an approach to decommissioning suggested by (Secretary of State for Northern Ireland) Mo Mowlam. If there is any prospect for ceasefire, Sinn Fein will surely seek assurances that Trimble not be able to keep talks from moving into negotiating phase. How would you respond?

□ Our early indications are that you will have support of new Irish government for proceeding without Sinn Fein, should it become necessary. Is that your impression from Ahern?

□ If we get to that point, will also need to bring Hume along -- he has invested so much in effort to get inclusive process.

□ What do you expect to happen at Drumcree July 6? Any prospect of brokered agreement between local residents and marchers?

NATO

□ Believe we agree first group invited to begin accession talks at Madrid should be limited to strongest candidates.

□ Will ensure we maintain credibility and effectiveness of Alliance as it enlarges.

□ Our view that Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary are strongest candidates.

□ Believe Romania and Slovenia have made impressive progress, but not quite ready.

□ Romania needs to consolidate reforms. Slovenia needs to improve military capabilities, become more outward-looking.

□ As you know, Jacques Chirac strongly committed to Romania, may want to carry fight all the way to Madrid.

□ This would not help Romania, and could damage Alliance in run-up to what should be historic summit.

□ We believe Romania and Slovenia would be strong candidates for

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second enlargement decision if they maintain current progress.

□ One reason why we support strong "open door" commitment at Madrid, including continuation of dialogue process on membership issues between NATO and aspiring members.

□ Also believe strong "open door" package vital to satisfying French concerns on Romania and forging strong Alliance consensus in run-up to Madrid.

□ Am trying to enlist support of Helmut Kohl in this effort, but Jacques will also want assurances from you that Britain can support robust "open door" approach.

□ Hope you will add your voice to ours on this critical issue as we move toward NATO Summit.

□ Also hope you can assure him -- as I will when we meet -- that we would still like to find way for France to rejoin NATO military structure.

MNNA for Argentina (if raised)

□ Argentina has worked closely with us on a range of important foreign policy issues and is a positive force in the region.

□ Menem does not want to increase Argentine defense spending and sees the symbolic recognition of Argentina's relations with USG as a means of reducing such pressures, which will build when Chile acquires new advanced fighters.

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MSMail

DATE-TIME	14 March 97 13:44
FROM	Szasz, Nicholas J.
CLASSIFICATION	~~SECRET~~
SUBJECT	FW: briefing package on Bruton [~~SECRET~~]
TO	Boulton, Darrien D.
CARBON_COPY	NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY	

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M(2.13)
KBH 9/9/2019

Pls convert for VP use!!!

From: Maxfield, Nancy H.
To: Szasz, Nicholas J.
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: briefing package on Bruton[~~SECRET~~]
Date: Friday, March 14, 1997 09:11 AM

[[1578PRE.DOC : 3334 in 1578PRE.DOC]][[1578TPS.DOC : 3335 in 1578TPS.DOC]]

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE	13 March 97 18:45
ATTACHMENT FILE NAME	1578PRE.DOC

~~SECRET~~ 1578
~~SECRET~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 3/13/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEETING WITH
IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON
DATE: March 17, 1997
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 11:15 a.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. KEY OBJECTIVES

□ To reaffirm U.S. support for the Northern Ireland peace process and explore prospects for an IRA cease-fire and for the multi-party talks;

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□ To discuss ways the U.S. might be helpful.

II. CONTEXT OF MEETING

You last saw Bruton when he was here for the Irish Presidency's U.S.-EU Summit in December. Little progress has been made on the peace process in the interim. The impasse over decommissioning continues to delay the beginning of substantive negotiations. With little prospect of a breakthrough before the coming British election, the British and Irish governments and Senator Mitchell decided to adjourn the talks on March 5, with a firm commitment to reconvene them June 3. In the interim, the parties will meet bilaterally to try to reach an understanding on how to move forward. We issued a statement in your name underscoring the importance of moving rapidly into real negotiations when the talks reconvene. In response to our request, Mitchell has made a public commitment to be in the chair when the talks resume, which strengthens the impression that the talks have recessed rather than foundered.

The Northern Ireland parties are all focused on the British election, likely to be called for May 1. UUP leader David Trimble is even less inclined to compromise than usual because he fears losing seats in Parliament to Paisley's DUP. John Hume's SDLP has refused to enter an electoral pact with Sinn Fein as long as IRA violence continues, but that principled stance is going to cost the nationalists seats. Polls have continued to show widespread support for the peace process, but the election may well serve to bolster harder-line elements on both sides.

John Hume told me he is continuing to try to broker a statement from the British government that will reassure the IRA about British intentions and lead to a new cease-fire. The British are skeptical but are still working with Hume on this. We are not sure how much Dublin knows about this, so you should let Bruton bring it up. We are still pushing for a cease-fire before the election, which might allow Sinn Fein to join the talks in June. However, it appears more likely that the IRA will wait until there is a new British government before seriously considering a cease-fire.

The loyalist cease-fire frayed further recently with the discovery of a bomb near the Sinn Fein office in the town of Monaghan. The British and Irish Governments believe that the loyalists deserve the benefit of the doubt as long as they refrain from a full-scale return to violence (and as long as there are no casualties). If the governments declare that the loyalist cease-fire is over, the loyalist party leaders will be ejected from the talks and there will no incentive for their paramilitaries to continue to exercise restraint. Sinn Fein is critical of what they see as a double standard in the loyalist's favor.

Bruton is expected to call the Irish election for late May, early June or October. It is too soon to tell whether he will succeed in forming another coalition; opposition leader Bertie Ahern has a good shot at becoming the next Taoiseach.

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President Mary Robinson announced recently that she has decided not to run for a second term and will step down in December. She is talked about as a candidate for some UN posts.

Attachments
Tab A Points to be Made
Tab B Memo from Secretary of State
Tab C Scenario
Tab D Bios
Tab E Questions and Answers

ATTACHMENT FILE DATE 13 March 97 18:37

ATTACHMENT FILE NAME 1578TPS.DOC

~~SECRET~~ 1578
~~SECRET~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 3/13/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING
WITH IRISH PRIME MINISTER BRUTON

□ Pleased to see both our old friend Dermot Gallagher (GAL-a-her), your current ambassador, and the next ambassador, Sean O'hUiginn (o-heh-GEEN).

□ We will formally grant agr,ment shortly.

Cease-fire

□ Firmly on board with your position and that of British that Sinn Fein's participation in negotiations is best way to assure sustainable settlement.

□ But that can only occur once the IRA ends its campaign of terrorism. How do you see prospects for IRA cease-fire at this juncture?

□ What is your assessment of internal republican politics at present? Do you see consensus for peaceful strategy emerging?

□ In your government's contacts with British, do you think they are
coming around to making conditional statement that in event of unequivocal cease-fire, they would expect Sinn Fein to join talks?

Talks

□ Support decision to recess talks March 5 rather than let them lose
credibility by dragging on without progress.

□ Very glad Senator Mitchell has made clear he will be there when talks reconvene in June. Helps underscore continuity of talks process.

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□ Once talks resume, will need to make rapid progress to remain credible. Is Trimble likely to be more flexible after British election, or does that depend on how the UUP fares?

□ If there is cease-fire, may need to be flexible on timing of talks, since there will have to be some period of assessment between announcement of cease-fire and Sinn Fein entry.

U.S. Role

□ As I said when we met in December, I remain committed to helping bring about progress in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

□ As always, prepared to be helpful in whatever way possible.

□ I am willing to work with new British government after election, whether led by Tony Blair or John Major, to move process forward.

But republicans should not count on significant change on British policy if there is cease-fire,

EU Developments Since Irish Presidency (Time Permitting)

□ Concerned with current strains in EU-Turkey relations. Important
that EU and U.S. work together to firmly anchor Turkey in West.

□ Hope that EU will be able to find way to release Customs Union funds and signal to Turkey that it is a legitimate candidate for EU
membership.

Irish Contribution in Bosnia (if raised)

□ Appreciate Ireland's leadership in International Police Task Force
on Bosnia.

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5683

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

August 26, 1997

ACTION

Shawn O'Quiginn
Dermott Callaghan
Patty Teann -
opposite ##

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Recommended Phone Call to John Holmes

You should call Holmes to let him know what we are doing to bolster Trimble's position to help him to participate in the September 9 and 15 plenary talks with Sinn Fein, assuming NIO Secretary Mowlam finds that the IRA ceasefire "unequivocal." He will also want an update on how Gerry Adams' upcoming visit is shaping up. Finally, you should tell him that we are seeking to respond quickly to the joint British and Irish request to second an American public servant to serve on the independent decommissioning body.

Trimble has been consulting with various constituencies in Northern Ireland, who we hope are telling him they want to see the UUP in talks. He has talked to the business community and has a session with the Catholic Church scheduled coming up. Prime Minister Blair told the President July 27 it would be useful if we could bolster Trimble's position publicly. We have been working with business leaders from Nashville (Belfast's sister city) on an invitation for Trimble to address a public policy forum and participate in a business roundtable. That invitation was to be conveyed on August 26.

Adams got his visa in Dublin August 21 and will arrive here September 2, presumably after Mo Mowlam certifies the ceasefire as "unequivocal." He is required to provide us with a detailed itinerary. He is planning two days in Washington, engaging in a round of media events, calls on the Hill and will meet with two Administration officials on September 3: Secretary Daley and you. He heads to New York September 4 for a fundraiser at the Waldorf Astoria, as well as other events, before leaving for Ireland September 7.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.14)
KBH 9/9/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
Declassify On: 8/26/07

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5683

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

August 26, 1997

Natl Sec Advisor has seen

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

NOTED

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5b
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The UK and Irish governments formally asked us to provide an official by September 8 to be one of the three members of the Independent Verification Commission. Canadian General de Chastelain is expected to be the chairman, though the Belfast press speculates that Dublin opposes this (not true based on my information -- Dublin opposes having him chair both Strand 2 and the Independent Commission). State Department is working at full speed to identify a suitable senior FSO by next week.

We had heard rumors that UK might be seeking to end-run our deportation pledge by instituting extradition proceedings against some of the deportees. This has proven unfounded. The one new extradition case, McNicholl, is reportedly being dropped by the UK after the DOJ convinced them they would not prevail in U.S. courts due to the weakness of the case. That person was linked to the INLA in any event. The UK has recently reconfirmed to DOJ its commitment to proceeding with its long-standing extradition request for three IRA members (Kevin Artt, et al.). As you know, we made no commitments to Sinn Fein concerning the extradition cases.

Concurrence: Alan Kreczko

RECOMMENDATION

That you call Holmes after you have spoken with Trimble.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 October 1997

Dear Bill,

I am pleased to say that in the past couple of weeks we have made progress in Northern Ireland. As you will have heard, Sinn Fein have joined the talks and sworn their commitment to the Mitchell principles; we have kept the Ulster Unionists in play – though only just; we succeeded in finding a procedural way through the decommissioning problem for now and ultimately got agreement to move, at last, into the substantive talks.

This is all good news. Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists and one of the other smaller Unionist parties have withdrawn from the discussions but otherwise the pieces are now in place for us to press on with the real negotiations. As always, part of the credit must go to George Mitchell and the other independent chairmen who have skilfully helped to guide the parties round the obstacles.

I also want you to know how grateful I am to you for providing Ambassador Donald Johnson as a member of the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning, which was formally established on 24 September, and to Ambassador Johnson for agreeing to take on this challenging role. The Commission is now ready to commence work on decommissioning alongside the substantive negotiations. It marks an important

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step in our objective to bring about an enduring political settlement in Northern Ireland by May next year. As before, we have found we can rely on you to give generous and speedy assistance. I am most grateful.

Both communities will need constant encouragement to make the most of the opportunity so painstakingly created. I know I can look to you for help over this. I look forward to staying in close touch.

yours ever

Tony

The President of the United States of America

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 4, 1997

Dear Bertie:

I was buoyed to read your letter on Americans involved in the peace process. Thank you for taking the time to let me know how Don Johnson, George Mitchell and Jim Lyons are assisting you. I have strong confidence in them and hope that you will thoroughly exploit their talents and services. I hear from every visitor from Ireland and the United Kingdom just how much George Mitchell is appreciated, and Jim Lyons' contributions to the economic aspects of the process will be of lasting importance.

I am looking forward to seeing you here December 15. That will give us the chance to review the talks process at the three-month mark, and I will want to hear from you how the European Council went over the preceding weekend.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

His Excellency Bertie Ahern
Taoiseach
Office of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Dublin 2
Ireland

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

239189

Oifig an Taoisigh
Office of the Taoiseach

8 October, 1997

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington DC

Dear President Clinton,

As I am also conveying to the Prime Ministers of Canada and Finland, I would like to express my gratitude to you for the nomination of Ambassador Donald Johnson for membership of the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning, which was formally established by the Irish and British Governments on 24 September, alongside the launch of substantive negotiations in the Northern Ireland All-Party Talks.

The Irish Government is very pleased to have been able to appoint, jointly with the British Government, Ambassador Johnson to the Commission. His expertise makes him eminently qualified to sit on the Commission.

I am extremely appreciative of the willingness of Ambassador Johnson to make himself available to join the Commission and to participate in its work, which the two Governments regard as most important.

I take this opportunity to say again how enormously I and my Government value the remarkable contribution made over the past 16 months by Senator George Mitchell in his capacity as Chairman. The consummate skill and passionate commitment he has shown have earned the respect of all involved. We are extremely pleased that he will now play the lead role in chairing the crucial Strand Two of the talks. I again thank you most warmly for nominating the Senator, for the designation of Jim Lyons as Special Economic Adviser and, indeed, for your unflagging and unprecedented interest in and dedication to resolving the age-old conflict in Ireland.

I want to say that I look forward with great pleasure to expressing my appreciation to you in person when we meet on 15 December next and may I conclude by expressing my great appreciation of your kind invitation.

Yours sincerely,

OCT 16 1997

Taoiseach

Oifig an Taoisigh, Tithe an Rialtais, Baile Átha Cliath 2.
Office of the Taoiseach, Government Buildings, Dublin 2.

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

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7/91

Nadine Agnew

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bertie:

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Sincerely,

His Excellency Bertie Ahern
Taoiseach
Office of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Dublin 2
Ireland

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3555

NSC
CFF

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 13, 1998

Mr. President:

Following your momentous visit to Africa, one of the most joyful tidings of this Eastertide has been the breakthrough for peace in Ireland, spearheaded by the goodwill of Your Excellency's Administration.

Along with all peace-loving people of the world, particularly in Africa, we applaud your pivotal presence in this process of removing deadlock and establishing a renewable framework of conciliation.

With sentiments of highest esteem, we congratulate you, Mr. President, for this another historic moment of your Presidency.

Cordially,

Charles Ghankay Taylor

MAY 15 15:54

Hie Excellency William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C.

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH NORTHERN IRISH LEADERS

DAVID TRIMBLE

- I recall you saying after the Referendum that if it had been a Westminster election, you would have lost in your district. Your 12,000 personal first preference votes dispelled convincingly that view. Your win was impressive, and got a second UUP candidate elected from your Upper Bann district.

- With the cross-community and PUP results, UUP scored a convincing victory and is set to lead Northern Ireland into the next century.

- Do you expect Alliance and the Women's Coalition to register as part of the Unionist group in the Assembly?

- We will encourage John Hume and Gerry Adams to cooperate with you as you begin the job of developing the Assembly and the Executive. Appreciate the issues you face within unionism regarding Sinn Fein, but it is important to demonstrate to unionists and nationalists that the Assembly can and not hold back any part of the accord.

- We will also remind them of the need for responsible leadership during the rest of the marching season -- stability and American investment depends on this. What is your expectation for Drumcree?

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JOHN HUME (in Dublin on Monday)

- SDLP's election results are astounding. The President is proud of your achievement on Thursday, as he was aware of your concerns about how well SDLP would do in an election. We never had any doubts that nationalists would acknowledge your personal role in bringing Northern Ireland so far into peace.

- Your efforts to bring prosperity to Derry continue to pay off; Secretary Daly was fulsome in his praise for your work.

- Nationalists are now poised to usher in a new era of respect for diversity and guarantee of equality for Northern Ireland, in active cooperation with unionists.

- You seem to be the leading candidate for Second Minister in the Executive; we wish you well on Wednesday. What is your expectation for Trimble's plans to move forward with naming the rest of the Ministers?

- Will he delay in an effort to link active decommissioning to Gerry Adams selection as a member of the executive?

- We are concerned about the prospects for the July 5 Drumcree Parade. Can you play a more direct role with Nationalists to help them help David Trimble avert a violent clash?

- You know better than any other the implications for trade and investment of CNN pictures of pitched battles between the RUC and rioters.

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JOHN ALDERDICE

- Congratulations on Alliance Party's strong showing; you seemed to have benefited from the transfers, securing the sixth seat very late in the counting.

- You have the future of Northern Ireland in your control now. You, David Trimble, John Hume and Gerry Adams lead the key pro-peace parties in the Assembly. You can count on U.S. support as you begin the work of developing the new institutions.

- Had heard that you said Alliance would not affiliate itself as either nationalist or unionist, given your cross-community philosophy.

- Not clear to us what the impact of having you and the Women's coalition in an "other" category. Would there be an advantage for you and the pro-accord parties given the relative strength of UUP in that grouping?

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GERRY ADAMS

- Sinn Fein's showing in the election was spectacular; Larry said you were expecting 16 seats, but hoping for 18, which you got.

- Puts Sinn Fein in a strong position to work confidently with the unionist parties and advance issues that affect your supporters' lives.

- We are still working on the questions you posed when you were here after the Referendum. I have also seen in the papers reference to both of the issues the President raised; we would like to be able to update him on developments, if you could have one of your staff contact Larry.

- We are in touch with David Trimble regarding supporting rapid work on the Assembly and the Executive. He is going to need cross-community cooperation for the new bodies to work effectively.

- One area the President is concerned about is the upcoming marches. He is counting on you and John Hume to ensure that nationalist behavior is civil and dignified, as befits a community that has brought the peace process to an point most people said was impossible.

- He would be very disappointed if malcontents felt compelled, and were allowed, to endanger civil order with Molotov cocktails attacks and destruction of property to make a point with security forces.

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1490

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

March 3, 1999

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER AND JAMES B. STEINBERG

THROUGH: ANTONY BLINKEN AJB

WWD – N[illegible] copy for the File

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER (LEB)

3/5 8:50am

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland Peace -- St. Patrick's Day Strategy

I. Objectives

- Tee up Trimble and Adams for Blair and Ahern to close a decommissioning-Executive deal the last week of March by:
  - Building Trimble's confidence about IRA decommissioning if he moves on the Executive, and
  - Moving Adams towards agreement that we help him with the choreography of decommissioning, offering assurances that he can take his seats first, and face no obstacles to full participation, provided the IRA delivers in a suitable timeframe.
- Avoid perception before and after St. Patrick's Day that we were engaged in hard negotiations.

II. Context

Trimble and Adams face the end of their political careers if the decommissioning-Executive end game is misplayed. Both have come too far to see the Good Friday Accord fail, and both badly want the political prize of a functioning, devolved government. To achieve this, the process must be driven against a deadline to create the dynamic for a resolution; Blair has chosen April 2. To help both NI leaders to a compromise, our theme must be "more for more" (going the extra mile) to make the Accord work. As Sandy told Mitchell, there is no point in allowing either Adams or Trimble to attempt to litigate the provisions of the Accord.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify On: 2/29/09

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PER E.O. 13526
2015-0159-M (2.21)
KBH 9/9/2019

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Trimble is dug in due to his demands for decommissioning prior to allowing Sinn Fein to take two seats in the executive; he must contend with the UUP's March 20 annual meeting that could either bless his plans or fire him. Thus we need him moving to get on board our plan when he leaves here. The IRA is equally entrenched with its three statements rejecting decommissioning. It had its General Army Convention December 5-6, ostensibly rejecting decommissioning, though there is uncertainty whether Adams was given flexibility to close a deal.

Ahern has joined Blair in signaling that, technicalities aside, the Executive will not work absent decommissioning. Ahern met with Trimble this week to finalize a deal on the cross-border bodies treaty language. This has strengthened Ahern's standing with Unionists and helped Trimble, whose personal ratings are strong while Unionist support for the Accord has fallen from 55 to 41%.

Mowlam has in place the legal pieces for the Executive and transfer power. She published the "Standing Orders" spelling out how the Executive seats will be allocated. When the Assembly next convenes after March 9, the first order of business will be the Presiding Officer inviting party leaders to name a person to one of ten portfolios. The ranking and number of party selections are linked to the numbers of Assembly members. As an example, Trimble will have five minutes (a device to keep "Paisleys" from blocking) to make the first pick, as UUP has the most members. If he, or any other party leader, declines to do so, the Presiding Officer moves to the next party. There is provision for a three hour delay, as well as the option for each party to request a reasonable pause for consultation. **Mowlam will not convene the Assembly unless she is sure Trimble is ready to go.**

III. Strategy

There is one credible scenario for cutting the Gordian knot - "**Proximate simultaneity.**" This is a bang-bang sequence of setting up the Executive and the IRA demonstrating compliance with decommissioning. This has a reasonable chance of success because both Trimble and Adams achieve their objectives without retreating; Adams gets his seat in the shadow Executive without prior decommissioning, and Trimble gets proof before devolution. An alternative - "delayed decommissioning" - would leave Trimble badly exposed in the run-up to the June European elections and the marching season.

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The elements of "proximate simultaneity," with notional dates are:

- Mowlam announces (March 30) as the date for the next Assembly session;
- IRA releases statement of commitment to Good Friday Accord, NLT (March 29); DeChastelain certifies same day IRA compliance with decommissioning;
- Lord Alderdice chairs Assembly session, initiates D'Hondt selections March 30;
- Afterwards, Trimble sets March 31 for first sitting of the Shadow Executive;
- Blair announces March 31 date for transfer of power (April 6);
- Shadow Executive meets on March 31;
- The IRA provides evidence of decommissioning (April 1);
- DeChastelain announces that he has this evidence (April 1);
- Devolution (April 6).

Sequencing.

Mowlam arrives the evening of March 15. I recommend bringing Mitchell and her in to see Sandy and Jim on March 16 for a run-through of this scenario with the latest information (an alternative would be to set up a briefing with the President on the evening of March 15 or following the Ahern bilateral for the same group).

Trimble will need very convincing assurances, including something he can show to party leaders, that an appropriate act of decommissioning will coincide with or shortly follow the start of the D'Hondt selection process and first sitting of the shadow executive. DeChastelain's certification of decommissioning qualifies, but will need to be backed up with proof very quickly. Separately, Trimble will need Mallon's private (to Trimble, Blair and POTUS) commitment to pull the plug on Sinn Fein if the IRA reneges.

- Sandy and Jim should meet with David on March 16 to clear the agenda for a detailed discussion with the President. The President meets Trimble (before Adams) in a very small group March 17 (we have to be careful about how small to avoid signaling deal-making to observers and making Trimble's life difficult at home), and take a few minutes one-on-one at the

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end to walk him through our scenario -- we will deliver only if he can.

Adams and McGuinness (Martin is in country and will come if we ask) are where the President has leverage and most in need of the armor to make a deal; Mitchell suggested appealing to Adams' ambitions to be the premier nationalist leader, and fact that Adams' only loses if Trimble is deposed and the Accord lapses -- the alternatives do not favor Sinn Fein or his people. I would add stressing that having come from pariah to celebrity, Adams must now invest more to get more from the process. The President then outlines an arrangement whereby we and Blair assure that, with DeChastelain's advance certification, Sinn Fein gets its seats and full participation in government is guaranteed. Adams is not going to accept this easily. Therefore, the President must convincingly sketch the downside of failure (one-on-one): failure to deal now, means the Executive will not operate and Sinn Fein will get the blame; if we deliver DeChastelain's statement and Trimble's seats, and the IRA reneges, Sinn Fein will be excluded from the Assembly and get the blame from us for collapse of the Accord.

- We should bring Gerry in to see Sandy and Jim on March 15 or 16 to clear the underbrush.

Options for IRA actions:

- Pre-D'Hondt decommissioning - the IRA secretly destroys hardware at a place and time of its choosing before the Assembly meets, creating evidence (video of guns being crushed or dumped at sea with the day's newspaper in the frame). Evidence of a "unilateral goodwill gesture" is provided to DeChastelain within a specified period after the Executive meets.
- Post-D'Hondt decommissioning - similar to above, with option for an observer to report to DeChastelain.
- Unambiguous IRA statement with commitment to be in compliance with the GFA, and indication "war" is over.

Mallon is also someone that the President has to see, if only for 15 minutes. While also the senior nationalist in the Assembly, he is essential to assuring Trimble that he will support expelling Adams if the deal goes wrong and the IRA is at fault.

DeChastelain, who will be here for St. Patrick's Day, will need urging to be prepared to certify the IRA as in compliance prior

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to having hard evidence. Unionists have said that his word is sufficient. This is risky because his certification will have to be unambiguous and will be henceforthe worthless if the IRA fails to deliver. The advantage, however, is that DeChastelain does not have to specify how much hardware was destroyed. This provides a firewall to Paisley and others who would exploit any amount as insufficient. But, we would have to get from DeChastelain an indication of what quantity or type would allow him to go forward.

- Mowlam and Jim work on him during St. Patrick's Day.

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