

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-IRA Ceasefire, March/April 1994

Staff Office-Individual:

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Original OA/ID Number:

1397

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49	1	3	1	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Gerry Adams on Downing Street Declaration and Possibilities of Peace (3 pages)	03/16/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 6/14/2023
002. cable	re: Northern Ireland and an Easter Breakthrough? (2 pages)	03/30/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 6/14/2023
003. cable	re: Yeltsin Letter on COCOM Successor (3 pages)	03/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1397

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-IRA Ceasefire, March/April 1994

2011-0355-F

rs1666

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Text of letter from Gerry Adams to President Clinton (dated March 31):

I trust this letter finds you well.

By now you will have learned of the initiative taken by the IRA. I have welcomed this as a positive and significant indication of goodwill and flexibility aimed at providing space for the British government to end the current deadlock. I hope the British government will seize that opportunity.

For some time now the British government has rejected the reasonable request by Sinn Fein for clarification of the Downing St. Declaration. The provision of such would of course allow Sinn Fein to conclude our assessment of the Declaration's potential to move the situation in the direction of a lasting peace based on democratic principles and to speedily come to a definitive position.

Given that the British government had been involved in protracted contact and dialogue with Sinn Fein when it did not claim to have a basis for a settlement it is illogical that they now refuse any contact or dialogue when they claim to have such a basis.

On the other hand the Dublin government has, from its perspective, provided the necessary clarification as a means to assisting the process. This is of course most welcome and helpful.

I therefore trust that the opportunity now provided is taken up by the British government and that the friends of the Irish and British peoples in the international community will encourage them to do so.

The provision of the necessary clarification in a manner which respects the legitimacy and democratic integrity of the Sinn Fein electorate and our rights as a political party would certainly assist progress.

I know that this is a serious and genuine initiative by those concerned. It must be built upon. If it fails to create the necessary momentum especially because of the British reluctance to meaningfully engage with Sinn Fein or to recognize the rights of our electorate we must then seek other ways to move forward.

We must exhaust all possibilities to advance the peace process.

I am fully committed to doing so.

You have shown your willingness in the past to assist the peace process. The decision to grant me a 48 hour visa to enter the U.S.A. was a positive contribution to this.

I hope that you will find it possible to use your good offices again to move the whole situation on. Many thanks.

Is mise le meas,

G. Adams
President of Sinn Fein

**Edward M. Kennedy**

U.S. Senator for Massachusetts

315 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

202/224-4543

202/224-2417 FAX

FAX TRANSMISSION**DATE/TIME:** _____**TO:** Nancy**RECEIVING FAX#:** _____**FROM:** Trina Varro/ Foreign Policy 224-2638**NUMBER OF PAGES**
INCLUDING COVER: 4**COMMENTS:**

486-2560

MAR-31-94 THU 4:24

P. 84

30/03 '94 21:10 0232 231723

S.F. PRESS CENTRE

0002

03/30/94 21:10

0232 231723

S.F. PRESS CENTRE

P. 81



PRESS RELEASE

"Sinn Féin has no greater concern to be engaged in bi-lateral discussions on constitutional matters with the London government. I have publicly outlined my position in this regard on a number of occasions. This is, properly, the business of future talks involving the two governments and representatives of all the Irish people, including Sinn Féin.

"This, however, is not the point of our reasonable calls for clarification. Clarification is clearly in not negotiation. Clarification is required so that Sinn Féin, and everyone else, can properly and fully explore how the peace process can be moved forward at this time and, specifically, how the Downing Street Declaration fits into this.

"I understand that Mr. Major faces many difficulties. Tonight's announcement clearly raises some of these. It should be built upon. The search for peace requires imagination and determination".

ENDS

Sinn Féin Press Centre
51/55 Falls Road, Belfast
PHONE: 230261 FAX: 231723

03-30-94 04:51PM P004 #12

MAR-31-94 THU 4:22

P. 02

**GERRY ADAMS**

President of Sinn Féin

61/63 Bóthar na bhFéil, Béal Feirste BT12 4PD

President William J. Clinton,
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW,
Washington, DC 20500,
U.S.A.

31 March, 1994.

Dear President Clinton,

I trust this letter finds you well.

By now you will have learned of the initiative taken by the IRs. I have welcomed this as a positive and significant indication of goodwill and flexibility aimed at providing space for the British government to end the current deadlock. I hope the British government will seize that opportunity.

For some time now the British government has rejected the reasonable request by Sinn Féin for clarification of the Downing St. Declaration. The provision of such would of course allow Sinn Féin to conclude our assessment of the Declaration's potential to move the situation in the direction of a lasting peace based on democratic principles and to speedily come to a definitive position.

Given that the British government had been involved in protracted contact and dialogue with Sinn Féin when it did not claim to have a basis for a settlement it is illogical that they now refuse any contact or dialogue when they claim to have such a basis.

On the other hand the Dublin government has, from its perspective, provided the necessary clarification as a means to expediting the process. This is of course most welcome and helpful.

I therefore trust that the opportunity now provided is taken up by the British government and that the friends of the Irish and British peoples in the international community will encourage them to do so.

- 1 -

03-30-84 04:51PM P002 #12

MAR-31-94 THU 4:42

P. 05

The provision of the necessary clarification in a manner which respects the legitimacy and democratic integrity of the Sinn Féin electorate and our rights as a political party would certainly assist progress.

I know that this is a serious and genuine initiative by those concerned. It must be built upon. If it fails to create the necessary momentum especially because of the British reluctance to meaningfully engage with Sinn Féin or to recognise the rights of our electorate we must then seek other ways to move forward.

We must exhaust all possibilities to advance the peace process.

I am fully committed to doing so.

You have shown your willingness in the past to assist the peace process. The decision to grant me a 48 hour visa to enter the U.S.A. was a positive contribution to this.

I hope that you will find it possible to use your good offices again to move the whole situation on. Many thanks.

Is mise le meas,

G. Adams

G. Adams.

President of Sinn Féin.



Edward M. Kennedy

U.S. Senator for Massachusetts

315 Russell Senate Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20510

202/224-4543

202/224-2417 FAX

FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE/TIME: 1/28/94 1:00 p.m.

TO: Nancy

RECEIVING FAX#: _____

FROM: Irina Vargu/ Foreign Policy 224-2638

NUMBER OF PAGES
INCLUDING COVER: 456-2560

COMMENTS:

New
This is not the Adams stated which I'm
still waiting for. The ABC news
in. Robert for an interview with
his interview with
Good stuff!
Tim
Eric

26-JAN-94 WED 21:06 BELFAST REPUBLICAN PRESS P.01

**GERRY ADAMS**

President of Sinn Féin

51/55 Bóthar na bhFáil, Béal Feirste BT12 4PD

PRESS RELEASE**FROM GERRY ADAMS****DATE 28 January 1994**

Responding to media inquiries about his interview with a United States official today, on the issue of his visa application to visit the US, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said:

"As the New York Times editorial has stated today, at the core of all of this is the issue of freedom of speech and freedom of information and what part the Clinton administration wishes to play in the peace process. It is my view that the US government can play a significant and positive role in encouraging the peace process by helping to create a climate which moves the situation on.

Sinn Féin has played a central and pivotal role in moving the situation from an apparently intractable conflict to one where there is now a focus on resolving the issues involved and building a lasting peace. I welcome the substantial and significant support which has been generated on these matters in the past several weeks in the United States. This is a concrete contribution to the search for peace from concerned individuals and organisations there.

Whatever the outcome of the current request for a waiver of my visa, it is clear that this issue will be won sooner or later. It is also clear that the British government have used all their influence, as in the past, to impede any progress on this or in any matter which could influence or inform perceptions about the current situation in Ireland and the British government's responsibility for the present intolerable stand-off.

Notwithstanding this, let me reaffirm my commitment to move this situation on. The prize of peace for the Irish people, and the British people, is too important and the opportunity for peace cannot be squandered. Republicans will seek, therefore, to overcome any obstacles and to be resourceful and imaginative in how we encourage and develop the peace process.

for
IRA
conspiration

As to the specific focus of my interview today, the Sinn Fein position and my personal position on these matters is well known.

I want to see an end to all violence and an end to this conflict. I don't advocate violence. It is my personal and political priority to see an end to the IRA and an end to all other organisations involved in armed actions. This means an end to the British army presence and the disbandment of the IRA. It means an end to the loyalist death squads. In other words, a demilitarisation of the situation.

I am willing to seek to persuade the IRA to make definitive decisions on the conduct of its campaign. I have stated on a number of occasions my willingness to go to the IRA with a proposition when such a proposition is forthcoming from the peace process.

Not only that, but Sinn Fein is actively engaged in developing unarmed strategies for republican struggle. This should be encouraged not discouraged. Indeed, despite all the difficulties Sinn Fein has now moved to a position where our main function as a political party is to build a peace process. The development of the peace process, including the Downing Street Declaration, is a response to the Sinn Fein peace strategy and to the peace initiative undertaken by myself and SDLP leader John Hume.

The Joint Declaration is described by the authors as "the first step" towards a peace settlement. Sinn Fein is committed to such a settlement and I am concerned, I am indeed anxious to be persuaded that the Downing Street Declaration can provide the basis for this. And even if this is not the case, if there is a gap between what is required and what is on offer, then we should all move to bridge that gap. I am prepared to go the extra mile.

My interview today was a useful and informative exchange and I appreciate the effort that has been made by the Clinton administration to deepen its knowledge of the situation. The US government now more clearly understands the importance of the visa issue, and how it can play a positive role in creating a better climate in which the resolution of our current difficulties can be agreed. My sole purpose in coming to the US is to advance the cause of peace and to move the process forward. The National Committee invitation presents a unique opportunity for this to be accomplished. It is not only an opportunity for me to advance my view on how peace can be created. It also, and just as importantly, presents an opportunity for others to engage with me on how best the peace process can be moved on."

CRIUCH



Edward M. Kennedy

U.S. Senator for Massachusetts

315 Russell Senate Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20510

202/224-4543

202/224-2417 FAX

FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE/TIME:

4/7/94

TO:

Nancy

RECEIVING FAX#:

FROM: Irina Varso/ Foreign Policy 224-2638

NUMBER OF PAGES
INCLUDING COVER:

3

COMMENTS:

456-2560



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Prime Secretary

7 April 1994

Dear Mr. Adams,

The Prime Minister has asked me to reply to your letters of 30 March and 6 April.

You ask for direct dialogue in which there would be clarification and discussion on how to move matters forward. You also see this as a means of demonstrating recognition of Sinn Féin's position as a political party with a valid electoral mandate.

The issues which you raise were fully addressed in the Joint Declaration, which states clearly:

"... democratically mandated parties which establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and which have shown that they abide by the democratic process, are free to participate fully in democratic politics and to join in dialogue in due course between the Governments and the political parties on the way ahead."

Many other passages in the Joint Declaration are also directly relevant to issues which you have raised. For example, paragraph 4 can leave the reader in no doubt over the Government's future intentions towards Northern Ireland.

You are wrong to say the Government have caused a stalemate. Any pause in the movement towards peace is because of the continuing violence, and Sinn Féin's failure unequivocally to renounce violence as a means of achieving political ends. It is Sinn Féin that excludes itself from playing a full part in the political process.

The Prime Minister, in addressing the House of Commons on 15 December, said that if there was a permanent end to violence, and if Sinn Féin committed itself to the democratic process, then the Government would be ready to enter into preliminary exploratory dialogue with it within three months.

- 2 -

This dialogue would have the following purposes:

- (i) to explore the basis upon which Sinn Fein would come to be admitted to an inclusive political talks process to which the British Government is committed but without anticipating the negotiations within that process;
- (ii) to exchange views on how Sinn Fein would be able over a period to play the same part as the current constitutional parties in the public life of Northern Ireland;
- (iii) to examine the practical consequences of the ending of violence.

We await a positive response. The people of the island of Ireland, north and south, and from both traditions, want violence to stop now, not temporarily but for good. So do their governments.

The Joint Declaration offers the way forward. Sinn Fein can take it. Or reject it. But if violence continues, it will only be because Sinn Fein have spurned the opportunity to enter the democratic process.

In view of the importance of these issues to the people of these islands, the Prime Minister has decided to make this letter publicly available.

Yours sincerely,

Roderic Lyne

RODERIC LYNE

Gerry Adams Esq



Edward M. Kennedy

U.S. Senator for Massachusetts

315 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

202/224-4543

202/224-2417 FAX

FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE/TIME:

3/30

TO:

NANCY

RECEIVING FAX#:

FROM: Trina Varso/ Foreign Policy 224-2638

NUMBER OF PAGES

INCLUDING COVER:

2

COMMENTS:

456 2560

EASTER STATEMENT FROM THE IRA LEADERSHIP

An Phoblacht/Republican News
March 31, 1994

Easter message from the leadership of Oglagh na hÉireann (IRA)
'Call on Britain to Use Opportunity'

The 1994 message from the Irish Republican Army Leadership reiterates republican commitment to Irish freedom and national self-determination and announces a three day suspension of offensive military operations next week. The IRA says it hopes the British government will use this opportunity to the advantage of both the Irish and British people.

"The Leadership of Oglagh na hÉireann extends seasonal and fraternal greetings to all its friends, activists and supporters both at home and further afield.

Easter for republicans, marks a time for reflection and rededication. As we gather in groups large and small we call to mind all those who have died in the cause of Irish freedom. We especially call to mind those who have died over the past year. We extend sympathy and solidarity to all their families particularly those of Volunteers Jimmy Kelly and Thomas Begley.

Our struggle is a long, a proud and a resilient one. At this juncture as we celebrate and commemorate the 78th anniversary of the Easter Rising of 1916 we renew our republican faith and rededicate ourselves to the cause of Irish freedom.

Our objectives, which include the recognition and the exercise of the Irish people's right to national self-determination are well known. Our commitment and our unity of purpose remain steadfast.

Our commitment to peace is also a matter of public record. This is evidenced in the welcome we gave in October 1993 to the Irish Peace Initiative, its underlying principles and dynamic which emerged publicly from the Hume/Adams talks. It remains our view that this could provide the basis for peace.

Recently we reiterated the abiding and enduring nature of our commitment to the development of a genuine peace process. We stated our view that all involved should leave no stone unturned. We recognize that this commitment is shared by others but from our perspective there is little evidence that this includes the British government.

Last year in an effort to enhance the success of proposed meetings between Sinn Féin and the British government we agreed to a British government proposal to suspend operations for two weeks. In the event the British government rejected this and in so doing

closed down the potential opportunity for progress which this represented.

Our statement of March 13th reiterates our continued willingness to be positive and flexible in exploring the potential for moving the situation forward.

As further evidence of that we will unilaterally suspend offensive military actions for 72 hours from midnight Tuesday, April 5th, until midnight Friday, April 8th.

There are no conditions attached to this unilateral initiative but we hope that the British government will accept this further opportunity in the spirit in which it is offered and utilize it to the best advantage of the British and Irish people.

Making peace is a difficult business for all involved but the difficulties must be overcome. That is the responsibility of all involved but particularly the British government. We hope that the further opportunity here provided is used to that purpose and effect.

In conclusion we republicans, as we celebrate and commemorate Easter, will draw strength and inspiration from our fallen dead and will face the tasks, challenges and opportunities of the coming year with commitment and unity of purpose. Beirígh bua."



Edward M. Kennedy

U.S. Senator for Massachusetts

315 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

202/224-4543

202/224-2417 FAX

FAX TRANSMISSION

DATE/TIME: _____

TO: Nancy

RECEIVING FAX#: _____

FROM: Trina Varro/ Foreign Policy 224-2638

NUMBER OF PAGES
INCLUDING COVER: _____

COMMENTS:

456 2560

from the office of

*Senator Edward M. Kennedy
of Massachusetts*

**STATEMENT OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
ON THE IRA ANNOUNCEMENT
OF A THREE-DAY CEASE-FIRE IN NORTHERN IRELAND**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
March 30, 1994

CONTACT: Pamela Hughes
Jim Manley
202-224-2633

The cease-fire is a hopeful step in the right direction toward peace in Northern Ireland, but I am concerned that it is not yet a genuine commitment to end the violence permanently. I continue to support the Joint Declaration as the best chance to achieve a lasting peace, and I hope that all sides will redouble their efforts to make it work.

###

UNCLASSIFIED

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE: **IMMEDIATE**
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: Murphy

DTG: 212224Z MAR 94

UNCLASSIFIED

MESSAGE NO. 27 CLASSIFICATION _____ PAGES 2
FROM WHER (202)-395-6313
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION BELFAST 0130

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>MIAMI, FL</u>	<u>Ms. Soderberg</u>		

REMARKS:

UNCLASSIFIED

IMMEDIATE

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: BEERS BURGOS FILE HOLL LEBOURGEOIS SUM2 VAX WALKER

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 211300Z MAR 94

FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7757

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7196

RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5105

RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 2718

UNCLAS BELFAST 0130

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PREL, PINS, UK, EI, UK

SUBJECT: PIRA MORTAR BRINGS DOWN ARMY HELICOPTER

1. ON MARCH 19, A MORTAR ATTACK BY THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA) BROUGHT DOWN AND DESTROYED A BRITISH ARMY HELICOPTER AS IT HOVERED OVER A COMBINED POLICE AND ARMY BASE IN CROSSMAGLEN, COUNTY ARMAGH. AN OFFICER OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY (RUC) WHO WAS A PASSENGER IN THE HELICOPTER WAS HOSPITALIZED FOR INJURIES RECEIVED IN THE ATTACK. END SUMMARY.

2. AT AROUND 2030 LOCAL TIME ON MARCH 19, THE PIRA FIRED A MARK 15 "BARRACK-BUSTER" HEAVY MORTAR, TIMING THE ATTACK TO TAKE PLACE AS A BRITISH ARMY LYNX HELICOPTER DESCENDED FOR A LANDING AT ITS BASE IN CROSSMAGLEN. THE PROJECTILE SHATTERED THE TAIL SECTION OF THE HELICOPTER AS IT HOVERED ABOUT ONE HUNDRED FEET UP. THE PILOT CRASH LANDED THE HELICOPTER INSIDE THE BASE WHERE IT BURST INTO FLAMES. LOCAL TELEVISION NEWS PRAISED THE HEROISM OF THE THREE BRITISH ARMY CREWMAN OF THE HELICOPTER WHO, IN SPITE OF BEING INJURED THEMSELVES, DRAGGED THEIR MORE SERIOUSLY INJURED RUC COLLEAGUE FROM THE CRASH. THE ARMY CONDUCTED A CONTROLLED EXPLOSION OF THE TRACTOR BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE FIRING POINT FOR THE ATTACK. THE VILLAGE WAS SEALED AND A LARGE SECURITY OPERATION LAUNCHED BUT THE ATTACKERS WERE NOT FOUND.

3. LOCAL MP, SEAMUS MALLON, OF THE NATIONALIST SDLP, WAS QUOTED IN THE IRISH TIMES AND SHOWN ON LOCAL TV NEWS AS DECRYING THE RECKLESSNESS OF THE PIRA IN LAUNCHING SUCH AN ATTACK OVER RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL SECTIONS OF THE TOWN WHERE THE RISK OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES WOULD BE VERY HIGH. HE WAS QUOTED IN THE IRISH TIMES AS SAYING THAT PEOPLE IN THE AREA WERE REVOLTED BY THE "SYNDROME WHERE SINN FEIN SPOKESMEN TALKED PEACE IN THE MORNING AND THE IRA CARRIED OUT MURDEROUS ATTACKS IN THE EVENING."

MARTINEZ

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

#0130

NNNN

<MSGID> M0946448

UNCLASSIFIED

Source: REUTER

Subject : MAJOR MAKES SURPRISE VISIT TO N.IRELAND@

all41LBY175reulb

u i BC-IRISH-MAJOR 03-30 0084

^BC-IRISH-MAJOR URGENT@

^MAJOR MAKES SURPRISE VISIT TO N.IRELAND@

BELFAST, March 30 (Reuter) - British Prime Minister John Major made a surprise visit to Northern Ireland on Wednesday amid mounting speculation the IRA was about to call a temporary halt to its campaign of violence.

Major flew to the province to deliver a speech to business executives. His arrival, reported by Britain's Press Association news agency, coincided with reports the Irish Republican Army was poised to call a three-day truce in its battle against British rule in Northern Ireland.

MORE

Reut13:12 03-30

Source: REUTER

Subject : IRA MAY CALL THREE-DAY CEASEFIRE--TV REPORT@

a0758LBY042reulb

u i BC-IRISH-CEASEFIRE 03-30 0067

^BC-IRISH-CEASEFIRE@

^IRA MAY CALL THREE-DAY CEASEFIRE--TV REPORT@

LONDON, March 30 (Reuter) - The IRA may call a three-day ceasefire next week, paving a way for direct talks with the Irish and British governments on bringing peace to Northern Ireland, Sky Television News reported on Wednesday.

Quoting an unidentified Dublin newspaper report, Sky said an announcement from Sinn Fein, political wing of the IRA, could be made later on Wednesday at 1900 GMT.

MORE

Reut10:17 03-30

Source: REUTER

Subject : BC-IRISH-TRUCE -2 DUBLIN@

a0806LBY062reulb

u i BC-IRISH-TRUCE 03-30 0124

^BC-IRISH-TRUCE -2 DUBLIN@

The paper said the ceasefire announcement by Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, might be made on Wednesday evening, earlier than planned, but the truce would only begin next week.

It quoted Irish government sources as saying they were ``delighted'' with the news, which marks the first major development over Northern Ireland since the joint Anglo-Irish Downing Street Declaration in December.

``This is great news. This is what we have been working at since Downing Street,'' one source said.

The Anglo-Irish declaration offered Sinn Fein a place at peace talks on Northern Ireland's future once the IRA, fighting to end British rule in the province, put down its arms permanently, not just temporarily.

REUTER

Reut10:44 03-30

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED NWSID: R0745943

SOURCE: REUTER

a0994LBY060reulb

r i BC-IRISH 03-17 0568

^BC-IRISH (SCHEDULED)@

^IRA WANTS N. IRELAND PEACE - SINN FEIN@

By Andrew Hill

BELFAST, March 17 (Reuter) - The leader of the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein said on Thursday the republican guerrillas genuinely wanted peace, despite its mortar attacks on London's Heathrow airport.

"I remain convinced that the IRA is willing to deal positively with any new eventuality. It is crystal clear that the IRA are interested in developing a peace process," **Gerry Adams** said in a St Patrick's day message.

It was his most detailed assessment of an Anglo-Irish peace process since the Irish Republican Army (IRA), fighting to end British rule in Northern Ireland, fired three salvoes of mortars at London's Heathrow airport to demonstrate its continued potential to hit prestige British targets.

Adams was addressing party faithful in Belfast hours before Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds was to meet U.S. President Bill Clinton to reaffirm support for the Downing Street peace initiative which London and Dublin launched last year.

Adams, the Sinn Fein president, said it was "illogical" that Britain refused his request for clarification of the Anglo-Irish plan after having held secret contacts with Sinn Fein and the IRA for more than two years.

"Despite the hard-line posturing from British politicians, realism and accommodation are not impossible," he said of London's refusal to talk to Sinn Fein until it gets the IRA to lay down its arms and itself renounces violence.

"Their (Britain's) current stance of refusing to provide clarification of the Downing Street Declaration, set against the background of three years of private contacts with Sinn Fein is illogical," he declared.

He said he was certain Sinn Fein would again be in contact with the British government, despite Prime Minister John Major's adamant refusal to talk to the party.

"As far as such talks are concerned, I have no doubt that Sinn Fein and the British government will be involved in dialogue. The British have conceded this in principle. Unfortunately they have stalled on the conditions."

Britain was forced to admit last November that it had held contacts with Sinn Fein and the IRA through intermediaries but

Unionist culture

says the doors to further links are now shut until Sinn Fein accepts the Downing Street peace framework.

Adams said Sinn Fein favoured an earlier blueprint drawn up by himself and John Hume, head of the Social Democratic and Labour party, but was ``morally bound" to discuss the Downing Street initiative with the British government.

He said Britain had so far failed to take ``the measures that would transform an understandable desire for peace into a genuine peace process."

He urged London to show the same courage in handling Northern Ireland as it had in Zimbabwe, when it forced white minority prime minister Ian Smith to cede to majority rule.

Referring to British assurances to the Protestant Unionist majority in Northern Ireland that they could veto any moves to change its British status, **Adams** said:

``Irish history has been scarred and mutilated by the support which the British government gives to unionism and the consequential inability of unionists to come to a democratic accomodation with the rest of the Irish people," he said.

He repeated Sinn Fein's calls for Britain to become ``persuaders" and to use its power to encourage Protestants to accept the eventual re-unification of Ireland.

REEUTER

Reut11:49 03-17

DIST:

<^DIST>

SIT: NODIST

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: Murphy
DTG: 2122Z 52 MAR 94

MESSAGE NO. 28 CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PAGES 3
FROM NHBR (202)-395-6313
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION DUBLIN 001610

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>MIAMI, FL</u>	<u>Ms. SODERBERG</u>		

REMARKS: P.M. Book

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: W Date: 1/4/16
201-355-12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BLEICKEN BURGOS CANAS CLARKER FILE HOLL LEBOURGEOIS SUM2 VAX WALKER

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 211616Z MAR 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4863
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1925
RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 001610
LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING SAYS NO NEGOTIATIONS
WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS
RENOUNCED VIOLENCE

REF: (A) DUBLIN 01516

(B) LONDON 04534

1. (U) SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING HAS REITERATED THAT THERE WILL BE NO/NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE. SPRING HAS ALSO NOTED THAT "IT WOULD BE INCORRECT" TO ASSUME THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WOULD SIT DOWN WITH SINN FEIN IN THE EVENT OF A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE. REPUBLICAN "SOURCES" HAVE REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE "MOVEMENT" WOULD CONSIDER SPRING'S COMMENTS IN THIS REGARD AS THEY APPEARED IN A MARCH 20 "OBSERVER" ARTICLE. END SUMMARY.
2. (U) IRISH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER/FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING IS QUOTED IN THE MARCH 21 PRESS AS REITERATING THAT THERE WILL BE NO/NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE. "IF THEY WANT TO ENTER INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS, THAT MEANS THERE HAS TO BE A PERMANENT CESSATION OF VIOLENCE AND THAT THEY MAKE A VERY FIRM DECLARATION TO THAT EFFECT," SPRING SAID.
3. (U) A MARCH 20 "OBSERVER" ARTICLE EVIDENTLY OCCASIONED SPRING'S COMMENTS. THIS ARTICLE QUOTED FROM A YET-TO-BE-PUBLISHED INTERVIEW OF SPRING IN WHAT IS DESCRIBED AS THE NEW LEFTIST QUARTERLY "NEW CENTURY" IN WHICH SPRING REPORTEDLY SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE IRA WAS "INCHING TOWARDS PEACE" AND MIGHT POSSIBLY OFFER A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO SIT DOWN WITH THE OTHER NATIONALIST PARTIES. "THEY HAVEN'T DONE THAT YET, EITHER PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY, BUT IT SEEMS THAT'S THE WAY THEIR STRATEGY IS WORKING....IT DOESN'T LOOK AS THOUGH SINN FEIN IRA ARE PREPARED TO MAKE THE ULTIMATE DECISION TO GIVE UP VIOLENCE....IT LOOKS LIKE THEY ARE INCHING AWAY FROM

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

By AN NARA, Date 1/4/16
20160355-F

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

VIOLENCE IN CERTAIN RESPECTS AND THAT THEY MAY WELL BE DOING THAT OVER A PERIOD OF MONTHS....I SEE VIOLENCE WITHERING AWAY RATHER THAN BEING GUILLOTINED....IF THEY OFFER A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE, WE WILL WANT TO FIN - 2-6 9! 778)\$8,& 9, 5#-5 285#975 .-(8,& -,6 :9,:389, 59 5#3.."

4. (U) SPRING, HOWEVER, HAS REPORTEDLY TOLD DUBLIN JOURNALISTS IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE "NEW CENTURY" ARTICLE THAT IT "WAS NOT A CORRECT CONCLUSION" TO ASSUME THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO SIT DOWN WITH SINN FEIN IN THE EVENT OF A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE.

5. (U) SPRING ALSO OBSERVED THAT THE MORTAR ATTACK ON A BRITISH ARMY HELICOPTER IN CROSSMAGLEN ON MARCH 19 DID NOT HELP THE PEACE PROCESS AND THAT THE HEATHROW MORTAR ATTACKS AND IT WERE DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WITH SINN FEIN/IRA'S PEACE RHETORIC.

6. (U) THE MARCH 21 "IRISH TIMES" QUOTES REPUBLICAN "SOURCES" AS SAYING THAT SPRING'S SUGGESTION IN THE "NEW CENTURY" INTERVIEW THAT THE IRA WOULD BE WILLING TO OFFER A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE IN ORDER TO JOIN NEW TALKS WAS "NEW SPECULATION THAT HAD NOT BEEN TOUCHED ON BEFORE." A "SENIOR SOURCE" SAID THAT RECENT REPORTS THAT THE IRA WAS ABOUT TO CALL A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE WERE "NONSENSE" BUT THAT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT WOULD STUDY SPRING'S COMMENTS IRRESPECTIVE OF HIS LATER CORRECTION OF THEM.

7. (U) SPRING, MEANWHILE, MET WITH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY DOUGLAS HURD IN DUBLIN ON MARCH 21. HURD WAS PARTICIPATING IN AN INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS SEMINAR ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF BRITISH EU POLICY FOR IRELAND. "SOURCES" SAID THAT THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD DISCUSS NORTHERN IRELAND AS PART OF THE POLICY OF HOLDING AS MANY HIGH-LEVEL INTER-GOVERNMENTAL MINISTERIAL CONTACTS AS POSSIBLE.

COMMENT

8. (C) SPRING'S "NEW CENTURY" INTERVIEW MAY HAVE BEEN A TRIAL BALLOON BY AN IRISH GOVERNMENT INCREASINGLY ANXIOUS TO DO SOMETHING TO FILL THE POLITICAL VACUUM CREATED BY

SINN FEIN/IRA'S DILATORINESS IN RESPONDING TO THE JOINT DECLARATION AND BY THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY'S REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN NEW 3-STRAND TALKS ON NORTHERN IRELAND. WE

WILL ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY THIS POINT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IF SPRING'S COMMENTS DURING THE INTERVIEW WERE QUOTED CORRECTLY BY THE "OBSERVER," THE LINKAGE HE MADE BETWEEN A TEMPORARY IRA CEASE-FIRE AND SINN FEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN TALKS WITH "OTHER NATIONALIST PARTIES" COULD REFER TO THE "FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION" WHICH PRIME MINISTER

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

REYNOLDS WANTS TO BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IF SO, SPRING MAY HAVE BEEN MAKING AN IMPLICIT DISTINCTION BETWEEN "TALKS" AT THE FORUM AND ALL-PARTY "NEGOTIATIONS" ON NORTHERN IRELAND, WHICH WOULD OCCUR ONLY AFTER AN UNCONDITIONAL CESSATION OF VIOLENCE. IN THAT CASE, OF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 001610

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, EI, UK, US

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SPRING SAYS NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SINN FEIN UNTIL AFTER THE IRA HAS RENOUNCED VIOLENCE

COURSE, MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON HOW THE TWO GOVERNMENTS CHOSE TO DEFINE SUCH A THING. SANDBERG

BT

#1610

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return c

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

3/22

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: BLEICKEN FILE HOLL LEBOURGEOIS SUM2 VAX WALKER

*To Neal -
Make sure to
see before
dash meeting
on Wed.*

<PREC> PRIORITY <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 162129Z MAR 94

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

no

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8955

INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1501

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 004554

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: GERRY ADAMS ON DOWNING
STREET DECLARATION AND POSSIBILITIES OF PEACE

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

REF: BELFAST 112

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN (PSF) PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS' INTERVIEW (REFTEL) IN THE MARCH 8 "BELFAST TELEGRAPH" (A MODERATE UNIONIST AFTERNOON DAILY WITH THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE PROVINCE) IS INTERESTING IN A NUMBER OF WAYS. LARGELY AN EFFORT TO RECAST THE GENERALLY NEGATIVE TONE OF HIS SPEECH AT THE PARTY'S "ARD FHEIS" (CONFERENCE), IT CONTAINS SIGNIFICANT LANGUAGE ON POSSIBLE SEPARATE POLITICAL STRUCTURES FOR PROTESTANTS IN A UNITED IRELAND (AN APPARENT REVERSION TO AN OLD SINN FEIN POLICY ADAMS HAD OVERTURNED) AND ATTEMPTS TO RECONCILE THE NEED FOR PROTESTANT "ALLEGIANCE" TO A NEW IRELAND WITH REJECTION OF A "UNIONIST VETO" ON UNIFICATION. THE RHETORIC CAN BE FUDGED, BUT NOT THE MECHANICS; AND THAT IS THE STICKING POINT. END SUMMARY. SPIN CONTROL

3. IN THE INTERVIEW, ADAMS APPEARS TO BE TRYING TO SOFTEN THE GENERALLY NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE PSF ARD FHEIS FROM LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL MEDIA, CLAIMING IT AS HMG'S BAD BEHAVIOR, NOT PSF INTRANSIGENCE, THAT LED TO INTERPRETATION OF HIS "CRITICAL REVIEW" OF THE PAST YEAR AS A "NEGATIVE MESSAGE."
SEPARATE INSTITUTIONS?

4. ADAMS' STATEMENT THAT UNIONISTS MIGHT HAVE "SOME FORM OF SEPARATE INSTITUTIONS" TO PROTECT THEIR IDENTITY IN A UNITED IRELAND, AND THAT "ALL MODELS FOR A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM" WOULD BE ON THE TABLE AFTER A BRITISH

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2011-0355-F (1.50)
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 03

WITHDRAWAL, ARE POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT COMMENTS. IF INTENDED SERIOUSLY, THEY REPRESENT A CURIOUS REGRESSION TO THE PRE-1981 PSF POLICY OF "EIRE NUA," IN WHICH FOUR REGIONAL PARLIAMENTS WERE ENVISIONED FOR THE FOUR TRADITIONAL PROVINCES OF IRELAND.

5. THE EIRE NUA POLICY WAS LARGELY THE AFFLATUS OF THE 1970'S PROVISIONAL MOVEMENT LED BY RUAIRI O BRADAIGH AND DAITHI O CONAILL (NOW BOTH WITH THE SPLINTER REPUBLICAN SINN FEIN). IT WAS DESIGNED TO EASE UNIONIST FEARS OF A UNITED CATHOLIC CONFESSIONAL STATE AND TO BOLSTER THE PROVISIONAL MOVEMENT'S CLAIMS TO BE NON-SECTARIAN. EIRE NUA WAS FORMALLY SCRAPPED BY THE PSF AT THE 1982 ARD FHEIS -- AT THE INSISTENCE OF ITS THEN VICE PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS -- AS PART OF A LARGER INTERNAL FIGHT WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT THAT ADAMS AND THE "NORTHERNERS" WON. IT IS IRONIC THAT, AS ADAMS NOW SEES THE NEED AT LEAST TO ADDRESS UNIONIST CONCERNS, HE HAS RETURNED TO IDEAS HE SCOTCHED OVER A DECADE AGO.
HOW MUCH CONSENT?

6. THE INTERVIEW HIGHLIGHTS THE IMPORTANCE OF APPARENTLY SUBTLE NUANCES IN POLITICAL RHETORIC IN ADAMS' TORTUOUS ATTEMPT TO RECONCILE THE NEED FOR "ALLEGIANCE AND AGREEMENT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE" AND HIS REJECTION OF ANY "UNIONIST VETO" OVER CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. ADAMS CLAIMS THAT THE HUME-ADAMS "DOCUMENT" CONTAINED THE IRA'S TERMS FOR ENDING VIOLENCE, AND THAT THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION FELL SHORT OF THIS -- THUS THE NEED FOR "CLARIFICATION." ADAMS AND HUME HAVE SAID THAT ANY FUTURE SOLUTION REQUIRED THE "ALLEGIANCE AND AGREEMENT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE." ADAMS REPEATED THAT PHRASE IN THIS INTERVIEW, BUT ALSO REITERATED THAT HMG HAD TO END THE "UNIONIST VETO" OVER CONSTITUTIONAL HANGE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

7. IN OTHER WORDS, ADAMS IS WILLING TO CONCEDE THAT ANY "END PRODUCT" OF IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION WOULD REQUIRE THE CONSENT OF THE UNIONISTS (AS PART OF THE "IRISH PEOPLE"), BUT HE REJECTS THEIR RIGHT TO EXERCISE SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE SIX COUNTIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND. THIS IS WHY PSF CANNOT ACCEPT THE KEY SENTENCE IN ARTICLE FOUR OF THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION: "THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AGREE THAT IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND OF IRELAND ALONE, BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS RESPECTIVELY, TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION ON THE BASIS OF CONSENT, FREELY AND CONCURRENTLY GIVEN, NORTH AND SOUTH, TO BEING ABOUT A UNITED IRELAND."

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 03 OF 03

8. ADAMS KNOWS THAT HMG HAS MADE A CONCESSION IN TALKING ABOUT "THE PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND OF IRELAND ALONE," SINCE THIS PHRASE REFLECTS A CORE DOGMA OF REPUBLICAN THEOLOGY -- THAT IRISH MEN AND WOMEN ALONE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 004554

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: GERRY ADAMS ON DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AND POSSIBILITIES OF PEACE MUST DECIDE IRISH DESTINY. BUT PSF BALKS AT THE REST OF THE SENTENCE BECAUSE THE MECHANISM OF SELF-DETERMINATION IS SPLIT INTO "TWO PARTS RESPECTIVELY" AND "CONCURRENT" MEANS THAT UNIONIST "AGREEMENT" IS TO BE MEASURED VIA THE ARITHMETIC OF SIX COUNTIES, NOT THIRTY-TWO. FOR PSF THIS IS A "VETO" -- AND MUST BE "CLARIFIED" OUT OF EXISTENCE BY HMG.
LIMITS TO FUDGE

9. DEFINITIONS CAN BE PUSHED AND STRETCHED;
"ALLEGIANCE AND AGREEMENT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE" CAN MEAN ALMOST ANYTHING, INCLUDING A NEW PSF TWIST HEARD IN BELFAST LATELY -- "MAXIMUM CONSENT POSSIBLE."
MECHANICS, HOWEVER, ARE A DIFFERENT MATTER; IN THE END, THERE IS NO REAL WAY TO FUDGE HOW PREFERENCES ARE TO BE EXPRESSED -- EITHER ISLAND-WIDE OR SPLIT BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, "RESPECTIVE" AND "CONCURRENT."

10. ADAMS AND HIS PARTY WANT THE MECHANICS ALTERED. THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS THUS ARE WHETHER HMG WOULD EVER AGREE TO DO SO, OR ALTERNATIVELY WHETHER THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT CAN BE PERSUADED TO ACCEPT THE DOWNING STREET DECLARATION AS IT STANDS. SEITZ

BT

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

Put in R's
read book

PAGE 01

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

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<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 301934Z MAR 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4975

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1962

RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 001837

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: IRA TO CALL 3-DAY CEASEFIRE STARTING APRIL 6

REF: DUBLIN 01836

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DAVID DONOGHUE, DEPUTY HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' (DFA) ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, CALLED US ON MARCH 30 TO INFORM US THAT HE HAD JUST HEARD FROM PRIME MINISTER REYNOLDS' OFFICE THAT THE IRA WOULD CALL A 3-DAY CEASEFIRE TO BEGIN ON WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6. DONOGHUE ADDED THAT IT WAS "CURIOUS" THAT THE IRA HAD DECIDED TO CALL A CEASEFIRE THREE DAYS AFTER EASTER RATHER THAN ON EASTER SUNDAY OR MONDAY, THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1916 UPRISING AGAINST THE BRITISH. HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT/NOT YET KNOW WHAT, IF ANYTHING, THE IRA WOULD PEG THE CEASEFIRE TO. DONOGHUE CONCLUDED THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WOULD TRY TO FIND AN APPROPRIATE WAY TO RESPOND TO THE IRA'S ACTION DESPITE THAT THE CEASEFIRE WOULD OSTENSIBLY LAST FOR ONLY THREE DAYS. SMITH

BT

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<MSGID> M0965392

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By MJ NARA, Date 1/4/16

2011-0355-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

TOR: 301910Z
TOD:

URGENT

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: PhyA

DTG: 301855Z

MESSAGE NO. 66

CLASSIFICATION SECRET

PAGES 13

FROM NANCY SODERBERG

(NAME)

(PHONE NUMBER)

(ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

TO (AGENCY) NSA

DELIVER TO Tony LACS

DEPT/ROOM NO. _____

PHONE NUMBER _____

SAN DIEGO

REMARKS:

Mrs. DeWier (IMMEDIATELY)

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: M Date: 1/4/16

201-0385-F

March 30, 1994

MEMO TO: Tony
FROM: Nancy
RE: Misc. items

COCOM

Attached are materials provided by Dan P. on what Rubin will say at his lunch. I asked him to flag the sensitive areas you should avoid.

Middle East

Martin was at lunch but I spoke to David. He says the parties are talking and it is certainly fine to characterize the situation as "moderately encouraging."

Ireland

I just got word that Major flew to Northern Ireland today -- no details yet. I'll pass them on as soon as we have them.

I haven't seen the Adams statement yet and will get you a copy once it arrives. Attached are the press stories on the wires -- basically saying Adams is expected to announce a three day Easter ceasefire. The question is whether it is enough for the British and Irish to talk to Sinn Fein and recognize it as a political party. Initial indications are that the Irish will express disappointment that the ceasefire was not permanent but express hope that this is a first step toward peace and underscore the importance of the joint declaration. I don't think they are prepared at this point to discuss even the Forum talks (the ones in the Joint Declaration). Hume may take some steps (publicizing the Hume-Adams documents, pushing Reynolds to accept the Forum, etc.). We won't know for a bit.

Hume is AWOL, we've all got calls out to him. Rod is also out but I've spoken to his office to let them know we want to coordinate any comments. They're trying to find the right person to get back to me.

If you are asked, I'd recommend you say the following:

--We welcome any cessation of the violence in Northern Ireland.

--However, we have repeatedly called on the IRA to end violence once and for all. The time has come for an end to efforts to advance political goals by violence.

--We reiterate our call on Adams, Sinn Fein and the IRA to renounce violence and accept the Joint Declaration.

--The US remains ready to assist in any appropriate way.

RE: TALKS:

-- We continue to hope that the parties will accept the Joint Declaration.

Source: REUTER

Subject : MAJOR MAKES SURPRISE VISIT TO N.IRELAND@

a1141LBY175reulb

u i BC-IRISH-MAJOR 03-30 0084

^BC-IRISH-MAJOR URGENT@

^MAJOR MAKES SURPRISE VISIT TO N.IRELAND@

BELFAST, March 30 (Reuters) - British Prime Minister John Major made a surprise visit to Northern Ireland on Wednesday amid mounting speculation the IRA was about to call a temporary halt to its campaign of violence.

Major flew to the province to deliver a speech to business executives. His arrival, reported by Britain's Press Association news agency, coincided with reports the Irish Republican Army was poised to call a three-day truce in its battle against British rule in Northern Ireland.

MORE

Reut13:12 03-30

Source: REUTER

Subject : IRA MAY CALL THREE-DAY CEASEFIRE--TV REPORT@

a0758LBY042reulb

u i BC-IRISH-CEASEFIRE 03-30 0067

^BC-IRISH-CEASEFIRE@

^IRA MAY CALL THREE-DAY CEASEFIRE--TV REPORT@

LONDON, March 30 (Reuters) - The IRA may call a three-day ceasefire next week, paving a way for direct talks with the Irish and British governments on bringing peace to Northern Ireland, Sky Television News reported on Wednesday.

Quoting an unidentified Dublin newspaper report, Sky said an announcement from Sinn Fein, political wing of the IRA, could be made later on Wednesday at 1900 GMT.

MORE

Reut10:17 03-30

Source: REUTER

Subject : BC-IRISH-TRUCE -2 DUBLIN@

a0806LBY062reulb

u i BC-IRISH-TRUCE 03-30 0124

^BC-IRISH-TRUCE -2 DUBLIN@

The paper said the ceasefire announcement by Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, might be made on Wednesday evening, earlier than planned, but the truce would only begin next week.

It quoted Irish government sources as saying they were "delighted" with the news, which marks the first major development over Northern Ireland since the joint Anglo-Irish Downing Street Declaration in December.

"This is great news. This is what we have been working at since Downing Street," one source said.

The Anglo-Irish declaration offered Sinn Fein a place at peace talks on Northern Ireland's future once the IRA, fighting to end British rule in the province, put down its arms permanently, not just temporarily.

REUTER

Reut10:44 03-30

IMMEDIATE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4974
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 1961
RUSNSTB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DUBLIN 001836

LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, EI, UK

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND AND AN EASTER BREAKTHROUGH?

REF: (A) LONDON 05410

(B) DUBLIN 01660

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DAVID DONOGHUE, DEPUTY HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' (DFA) ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, COMMENTED TO US ON MARCH 30 THAT DFA WAS UNAWARE OF ANY SINN FEIN/IRA PLANS FOR AN EASTER SUNDAY OR MONDAY (ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1916 UPRISING) PRONOUNCEMENT OR OTHER "BREAKTHROUGH" (REF. A). ALTHOUGH HE SAID SPECULATION ABOUT THAT POSSIBILITY WAS NATURAL, HE ATTRIBUTED THE PLETHORA OF RUMORS TO THAT EFFECT TO JOHN HUME'S STATEMENT TO THE MEDIA (BELOW) AND TO EASTER MONDAY'S STATUS AS THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1916 UPRISING AGAINST THE BRITISH.

3. SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME WAS QUOTED IN THE MARCH 26-27 MEDIA AS SAYING THAT HIS "PERSONAL DEADLINE" FOR A SINN FEIN/IRA RESPONSE TO THE JOINT DECLARATION WAS APRIL 3, EASTER SUNDAY. WHEN ASKED WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IN THE EVENT OF SINN FEIN/IRA'S FAILURE TO RESPOND, HUME REPORTEDLY REPLIED THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD THEN GO AHEAD WITH NEW TALKS ON NORTHERN IRELAND WITH THE NORTHERN CONSTITUTIONAL PARTIES. DFA'S DONOGHUE, HOWEVER, SAID THAT

HUME HAD BEEN MISQUOTED AND THAT HE HAD SAID ONLY THAT HE "HOPED" THAT THERE WOULD BE A SINN FEIN/IRA RESPONSE AT EASTER.

4. LOCAL RUMOR HAS IT THAT HUME IS ALSO CONSIDERING PUBLICATION OF CERTAIN DOCUMENTS, POSSIBLY CONNECTED TO THE HUME-ADAMS INITIATIVE, IF THERE IS NO RESPONSE FROM SINN FEIN/IRA BY EASTER.

COMMENT

5. (C) IN THE EVENT OF A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE (REFTELS), THE IRISH GOVERNMENT MIGHT DECIDE TO USE IT AS A PRETEXT

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2011-0355-F (2.51)
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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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FOR AN INVITATION TO SINN FEIN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE "FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION" MENTIONED IN THE JOINT DECLARATION. IF SO, THE IRISH WOULD BE CAREFUL TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN A DISCUSSION AMONG NATIONALISTS AND NEW ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS AND WOULD PROBABLY INTERPRET THE PROCLAMATION OF A TEMPORARY CEASE-FIRE AS ANOTHER SMALL STEP TOWARDS AN ULTIMATE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, STRESSING THAT THE PROCESS WILL BE LONG AND DIFFICULT, FULL OF UPS-AND-DOWNS. THE IRISH BELIEVE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO RESPOND IN A POSITIVE MANNER TO MEANINGFUL GESTURES BY SINN FEIN/IRA AND TO HELP FILL THE POLITICAL VACUUM IN REGARD TO NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH APPEARS LIKELY TO PERSIST FOR THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. SMITH

BT

#1836

NNNN

<MSGID> M0964966

~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

~~SECRET~~

3/30/94

Tony:

Here are background materials for your use. We are also getting interagency clearance on a White House press statement which could be posted later today.

The meetings have just concluded in the Hague, and we do not have a full read-out. Preliminary reporting suggested the meeting was not too dramatic. COCOM will, in fact, expire March 31. The partners agreed to continue to meet with the objective of establishing a new regime -- we were pressing for a deadline later this year but not clear whether we got it. Meanwhile, the partners agreed to retain their national controls.

The President received a blast from Yeltsin because we blocked Russia's participation in this meeting (in light of their refusal to provide any assurances on Iran arms sales); Lynn said she had not read the message but from what she heard she had expected worse. A copy is attached.

Rubin is speaking at 1:15pm our time. We may arrange a backgrounder later today. Hill notifications have been triggered.

Dan

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E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By MT NARA, Date 1/4/16

201-0355-F

~~SECRET~~

INTERAGENCY-CLEARED
FACT SHEET - RELEASE

March 30, 1994

INFORMATION SHEET

EXPORT CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS PURSUANT PHASING OUT OF COCOM AND WORK TO CREATE A NEW REGIME

SUMMARY

- o The international security environment has changed in the past few years. As a result, the United States and our COCOM partners are revamping approaches to export controls to deal with the new challenges of the post-Cold War era.
- o Members of COCOM, the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls, have agreed to end the Cold War regime effective March 31, 1994 and work together to establish a new arrangement aimed at enhancing transparency and restraint in arms sales and transfers of sensitive technology.
- o COCOM members have agreed to maintain the existing lists as the basis for national export controls after March 31.
- o The Department of Commerce will publish a Federal Register notice outlining U.S. licensing procedures.

CHANGING SECURITY ENVIRONMENT FOR EXPORT CONTROLS

In the past, we and our allies have had a clear understanding of the need for export controls. The Warsaw Pact countries, as well as other Communist countries, posed a serious and clearly defined threat to the United States, and to the the West generally. With the establishment of COCOM in 1949, we jointly undertook to deny the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact countries, China, and eventually Viet Nam access to weapons, dual-use items and technologies. The COCOM member countries are NATO countries (except Ireland), Japan and Australia. COCOM operated on a rule of unanimity so any member could veto a proposed export of items agreed to be controlled.

The end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, deep cuts in the strategic arsenals of both sides, and the goal of assisting economic and political reform in Russia and the newly independent states led us and our allies to the view that COCOM's strategic rationale was no longer tenable. Over the past year, we and our COCOM partners have substantially liberalized controls on exports to COCOM-proscribed countries. Last fall we announced a series of licensing reforms, liberalizing licensing requirements on billions of dollars of goods.

Today we confront very different threats to peace, and they exist in regions outside Europe -- the Korean peninsula, the Persian Gulf, and in South Asia -- where no multilateral controls exist outside the nonproliferation regimes and UN embargoes. These threats are made more dangerous by the spread of weapons of mass destruction and the behavior of such countries as Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea. Therefore, 1993 to work together toward a new, more broadly-based arrangement designed to enhance transparency and restraint in conventional weapons and sophisticated technologies to countries whose behavior is cause for serious concern and to regions of potential instability.

The new arrangement will thus have a completely different purpose from COCOM. It will seek to put in place multilateral approaches to controls aimed at new threats. While the specific procedures of the new regime are still being developed, COCOM member governments agree to maintain the capability to control on a national basis to any destination items previously contained on the COCOM lists (industrial, military, and atomic energy lists) while new control lists and arrangements are being finalized.

NEW LICENSING ARRANGEMENTS

In keeping with these understandings, the Department of Commerce will publish a Federal Register notice outlining procedures for licensing during the transitional period. The procedures include provisions for liberalized licensing procedures on the least sophisticated items on the lists (primarily those covered by Administration Exception Notes in the regular COCOM review process before January 1, 1994). A new general license GLX will be available for exports to civil users and civil uses in country groups Q, W, and Y (the former Soviet bloc) and China. This new licensing procedure will expedite exports to countries such as Russia and China.

Nothing will change with respect to exports to North Korea, to the military in Russia and China, or to items controlled for nonproliferation reasons or to terrorist states. Strict licensing policy will be continued for national security reasons on very sensitive items such as chemical weapons precursors, supercomputers, and sensitive electronic equipment with significant military applications.

RUSSIA AND PHASING OUT OF COCOM

Question:

What role will Russia play in the new regime? Will Russia be a founding member?

Answer:

-- With the end of the Cold War, the United States and our allies are working to assist Russia and the newly independent states in economic and political reform.

-- The phasing out of COCOM reflects the end of the Cold War and our new objective to put in place multilateral arrangements to deal with the new challenges to global peace and security.

-- Russian experts have met with us and other Western countries for informal consultations on the details of the new regime.

-- We are continuing discussions with Russia about its participation in the the new arrangement.

-- It is our hope that Russia will be able to join in all aspects of the new multilateral arrangement. Our discussions with Russia are designed to realize this objective.

TALKING POINTS ON COCOM AND EXPORT CONTROL REFORM

FOR BOB RUBIN

- The expansion of exports and the liberalization of world trade is a central component of our economic strategy.
- That's because export-related jobs pay on average 17% more than other jobs, and every \$1 billion in exports support approximately 20,000 jobs.
- This Administration has repeatedly demonstrated its commitment to help competitive U.S. exporters succeed in the global marketplace.
- NAFTA created the largest free-trade area in the world, with 370 million consumers. When faced with the choice to compete or retreat -- we chose to compete.
- By completing the Uruguay Round, we achieved the most significant liberalization of world trade in history. When fully implemented, the Uruguay Round agreement will contribute \$100-200 billion each year to U.S. GDP.
- Through APEC, we have demonstrated our commitment to develop close relations with the fastest-growing economies in the world.
- And, in the U.S.-Japan Framework, we continue to seek agreements that will achieve tangible progress towards opening one of our most important foreign markets.
- One of the greatest obstacles you face is government bureaucracy and regulation that adds costs to your exports. We are committed to reinventing government, including in the area of export promotion.
- Last fall, in the context of the Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee report, we announced the establishment of four pilot one-stop shops where exporters can access information on all government export promotion programs.
- In addition, we announced a series of export control reforms which lifted expensive licensing requirements from \$37 billion of computer and telecommunications exports.
- We have submitted to Congress an Export Administration Act that protects both economic interests and nonproliferation objectives.
- In that same spirit, I have an important announcement to make. As representatives of our exporting community, you are the first to be told:
 - As you know the members of COCOM have agreed to end the Cold War regime effective tomorrow. The end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, deep cuts in the strategic arsenals of both sides, and the

cuts in the strategic arsenals of both sides, and the goal of assisting economic and political reform in Russia and the newly independent states led us and our allies to the view that COCOM's strategic rationale was no longer tenable.

- However, at the meeting that just concluded in The Hague, the COCOM members agreed to work together toward a new, more broadly-based arrangement designed to enhance transparency and restraint in conventional weapons and sophisticated technologies to countries whose behavior is cause for serious concern and to regions of potential instability.
- In light of ^{individual} these changes, the President has decided to streamline our current controls on ^{nearly} low-level commodities. Accordingly, the Commerce Department will remove licensing requirements for ~~virtually~~ all civilian telecommunications equipment and computers that operate up to 1000 MTOPS (million theoretical operations per second) to all civilian end-users in all current COCOM-controlled countries except North Korea.
- In addition, licensing requirements will be liberalized on all items to civilian end-users that could be exported without prior approval from COCOM.
- These reforms complement our national security and nonproliferation objectives.
 - In the post-Cold War world, we face new threats of proliferation and must be vigilant to restrict access to very sensitive technologies to countries of concern like Iran.
 - Most of the items currently controlled by the United States will remain subject to licensing requirements.
 - These include items such as chemical weapons precursors, human viruses, supercomputers and sensitive electronic equipment with significant military utility.
 - We are retaining our strict controls on items that could assist in the development of weapons of mass destruction or ballistic missiles.
 - Finally, we are not changing in any way our controls on exports to terrorist countries.
- As we move forward with the Export Administration Act, we hope to build on actions like these which demonstrate our commitment to reform the export control system in a manner that takes into consideration all of our national interests.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. cable	re: Yeltsin Letter on COCOM Successor (3 pages)	03/30/1994	P1/b(1)

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