

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Working File, August 1994

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Kathleen Stephens to Samuel Berger re: Northern Ireland: Irish Prime Minister Wants U.S. Visas... [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	08/25/1994	~~P1/b(1)~~ , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
002a. report	re: Joe Cahill (3 pages)	08/24/1994	P1/b(1)
002b. report	re: Taoiseach's Call to Prime Minister Major (1 page)	08/29/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	Roderic Lyne to Nancy Soderberg (2 pages)	08/30/1994	P1/b(1)
004a. note	Kathy Stephens to Nancy Soderberg re: Patrick Treanor (1 page)	08/29/1994	P3/b(3)
004b. report	re: Patrick Treanor Schedule (7 pages)	08/00/1994	P3/b(3)
004c. memo	From Diane Dillard re: Patrick Treanor (1 page)	08/24/1994	P3/b(3)
005. cable	From Ambassador Smith to Sandy Vershbow [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	08/26/1994	~~P1/b(1)~~ , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
006. cable	From Ambassador Smith to Sandy Vershbow [Immigration and Nationality Act] (1 page)	08/26/1994	~~P1/b(1)~~ , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
007. cable	From Ambassador Smith to Sandy Berger [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	08/28/1994	~~P1/b(1)~~ , P3/b(3) KBH 8/29/2023
~~008. cable~~	~~re: Security Situation Worsens as Rumors of an IRA Ceasefire Increase (3 pages)~~	~~08/02/1994~~	~~P1/b(1)~~ KBH 8/29/2023

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, August 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1700

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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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.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of an oversized document(s). Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such large documents. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Oversized documents have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the documents please contact or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

Document Title: **The British Military Garrison in Ireland [poster]**

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR Tony Lake
 Sandy Berger
 Sandy Vershbow
 Julien LeBourgeois

FROM Nancy Soderberg *JS*

There is a good chance the IRA will make a decision on a ceasefire in mid-August. As I will be on vacation at that time, I wanted to leave you my contacts in case you need to react.

My general guidance is that if there is no timetable in the cease fire the President should issue a statement quickly after consulting with the British and Irish. If the announcement is more qualified, we should take a bit more time in carefully working our response with the other governments.

Any announcement is likely to be followed up with a request for a visa waiver for several of Adams' entourage and possible Adams. The guidance I worked out with Peter Tarnoff and conveyed back to Adams is as follows:

- indicate the United States would welcome a permanent end to the violence and an abandonment of the use of violence as a means of advancing political goals. Any effort to limit the duration of such a step would be counterproductive;
- urge the IRA/Sinn Fein to enter into negotiations to resolve the conflict;
- regarding the visa, we should respond that, as before, if Adams takes the right step on violence and negotiations, we would be prepared to review any request. We would first have to resolve the issue of his statements on the questions of violence and review the purpose of any potential trips.

The key people to coordinate with are:

Roderic Lyne (Majors Office)
Amb. Dermot Gallagher (Irish Embassy)
Ambassador Crowe
Ambassador Smith
John Hume (011-44-504-265-321 or 011-353-77-8-2376) or his assistant Mark Durkan
(w-011-44-504-265-340, h-44-504-264-969)
Trina Vargo in Senator Kennedy's office also has good contacts.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *MS* NARA, Date *1/7/16*

2011-0355F

My contact to Adams is Neill O'Dowd who can be reached most easily through Trina. Other numbers are: New York (212-517-338), Ireland (011-353-1-66-55439)

It is also useful to keep people on the Hill informed (Foley, Dodd, Moynihan, Kennedy).

Good luck! I'll be thinking of you from the beach in southern Spain!

AUGUST 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: SENATOR
FR: TRINA
RE: NORTHERN IRELAND UPDATE

Niall O'Dowd, Bill Flynn, Chuck Feeney and Bruce Morrisison plan to go to Belfast on August 24th to meet with Sinn Fein. They will commit to create a campaign to do the following if the IRA agrees to stop the violence:

- support access (i.e. visas) to the US for Republicans with a role in the peace process;
- lobby to increase support for the nationalist agenda;
- support the achievement of democratic, social and cultural rights of all Irish people;
- work for parity of esteem and equal treatment for all;
- increase international investment in Northern Ireland to create jobs based on non-discrimination;
- to educate the media and influence public opinion and policy;
- to launch this campaign with a major public relations blitz and a support of a broad coalition of Americans.

Following the meeting, O'Dowd & Co. will hold a press conference and make public their proposal. O'Dowd says Sinn Fein wants to be seen as responding to Irish America. O'Dowd expects that shortly thereafter, the IRA will announce a cessation of violence of indeterminate duration.

cc: Amb. Smith, Nancy

Please

— 8-29-94

Pass

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

↓

To: Nancy Soderberg.

Nancy - Attached is info on
Joe Cahill from FBI, and a

British-Embassy-provided
summary of today's
Reynolds - Mayor conversation.

Kathy Stephens

x 69159

—

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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002a. report	re: Joe Cahill (3 pages)	08/24/1994	P1/b(1)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. report	re: Taoiseach's Call to Prime Minister Major (1 page)	08/29/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, August 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1700

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OFFICE OF THE STAFF DIRECTOR
National Security Council
456-9471

FAX TO: NANCY SODERBERG 011-507-268-771
FROM: BROOKE DARBY
DATE: 8/31

COMMENTS:

SOC's are classified so I'm
sending them separately

Pages (including cover): 13

Nancy - Max Robinson had already called
Andrew ^{last week} discuss moving the mtg from
the 30th. Ricki ~~he~~ said emphatically "No!";
she doesn't want to start the week w/
a difficult mtg. She said this timing had
been considered and rejected. Andrew didn't
raise Saturday w/ Ricki because Max
said we might not be back by then.

Do we need to raise Saturday w/ Ricki?
Pls. advise on how you want to proceed.
(Andrew is handling)
(Just a reminder I'm out of the office til
Tuesday and me over
weekend + Labor Day.)

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

source: FBIS

Subject : UK: Major Wants IRA 'To Make Clear' Cease-fire 'Permanent'

FBIS 111

UNCLAS 7E

JK: Major Wants IRA 'To Make Clear' Cease-Fire 'Permanent'

LD3108181494 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1713 GMT 31 Aug

94

[By PRESS ASSOCIATION political correspondent Sian Clare]

[Text] John Major tonight urged the IRA to make clear its ceasefire is permanent. Today's statement was "a very great chance for peace", he said. But "we need to be sure that the cessation of violence isn't temporary. It isn't for one week or one month, but it is a permanent cessation of violence".

The Prime Minister insisted: "I'm not hung up on a particular word. I am hung upon the concept of it being permanent. I don't mind how it is expressed. I don't mind if it is said that the armed conflict is over, that the days of violence are gone for good."

He told ITN [Independent Television News]: "I don't mind how it is expressed. But I do need to know that violence has ended for good and it isn't a temporary ceasefire."

Mr Major spelled out the process that would follow, as set out in last December's Downing Street declaration, if the ceasefire was for good.

"What we propose is that after there has been a permanent renunciation of violence and a period in which that has been shown to be true because there has been no violence, we can enter into talks about how to bring Sinn Fein into the democratic process.

"Now I cannot do that, no British Government can do that, under the possible duress of then returning to violence if they don't get their own way."

Mr Major described the declaration, agreed between London and Dublin, as "a route map" to end violence and bring Sinn Fein back into the democratic process.

He said of the IRA ceasefire: "It may be that their statement does mean it is permanent." But "what I am saying is that that isn't what they have actually said. I hope they will make it clear that it is permanent. I very much hope it is".

The Prime Minister added: "All I am saying is make that clear and the moment you make that clear, we can really move forward."

The Prime Minister, speaking from inside Downing Street, also made clear there had been no behind-the-scenes maneuvers to achieve the ceasefire. "There have been no secret deals, no secret understandings. The clamour that there has been about that has been total hogwash," he said, referring to fears stoked up by some Unionists.

Mr Major also denied there had been any sell-out by the Government to the bombers. "It's very unwise to raise those fears and quite unnecessary. The joint declaration sets out very clearly what the position is," he said.

He pledged: "Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. For so long as the people of Northern Ireland wish to remain part of the United Kingdom, they will do so with the full support of this Government and, I would hope, all future Governments."

Mr Major told BBC1's six o'clock news the clock would not actually start ticking on Sinn Fein's qualification for a political role until clarification on the word "permanent".

"The moment I am clear in my mind that this is a permanent end to violence, then the clock starts ticking."

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31 AUG 1840z sc

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PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 31, 1994

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I welcome today's watershed announcement by the IRA that it has decided to end the 25-year campaign of violence and pursue the path of peace. While much work remains to be done, the IRA's decision to join the political process can mark the beginning of a new era that holds the promise of peace for all the people of Northern Ireland.

I have just spoken with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland and Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom to congratulate them for their persistent efforts to bring this day about. Their joint resolve to end the violence and pursue a negotiated settlement has been crucial to the progress made to date. Their historic Joint Declaration last December, together with the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985, have built the foundation for the new hope we have today. I am pleased that the United States has been able to contribute to this process of reconciliation.

We join with the governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom in the hope and expectation that today's step will help bring a lasting and just peace to Northern Ireland. I urge the IRA and all who have supported it to fulfill the promise of today's announcement to end the use and support of violence, just as we continue to call on all parties who have sought to achieve political goals through violence to cease to do so. There must be a permanent end to the violence.

The United States continues to stand ready to assist in advancing the process of peace in Northern Ireland. We hope that both traditions -- Unionist and Nationalist -- will support the only real avenue to peace, that of a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

AMBASAID NA HEIREANN

(EO2) 462-3939



EMBASSY OF IRELAND

2234 MASSACHUSETTS AVE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT ON IRA CEASEFIRE

"The Government warmly welcome the decision of the IRA to end their 25 year campaign and to make a definitive commitment to the success of the democratic peace process. This momentous decision is in keeping with the overwhelming and heartfelt wish for peace of the vast majority of the Irish people over a long period, and will be greeted with enthusiasm by our friends and partners abroad.

The Government look forward to seeing the decision for peace being fully implemented on the ground, and to reciprocal action in good faith by all other groups engaged in paramilitary activity, as has been promised in the past. There is a heavy onus on all, on both Governments and all constitutional parties, to contribute actively to the consolidation of peace by a generous and flexible approach. The next step should lead to the negotiation on an all-round inclusive basis of a just and lasting political settlement between the people of Ireland North and South of all traditions.

There is now an historic opportunity to take the gun out of Irish politics forever, and to achieve a new and far-reaching political accommodation in Ireland in a transformed atmosphere. The aim of both Governments is an agreed Ireland, where the principle of self-determination is balanced by the requirement of consent.

We can also look forward to major economic benefits North and South from the establishment of peace, as well as material support for reconstruction in the North and the border regions from the US and EU.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

There is now a recognition that the democratic system provides the only way forward for all groups and communities in Ireland. Both Governments are committed to the Downing Street Declaration. It has been the major catalyst for peace, and makes democracy the cornerstone of all future political development. It provides guarantees against coercion to all sections of the community. Those who have felt themselves to be under attack or under threat, whether Unionists or Nationalists, will particularly benefit from the establishment of a comprehensive peace.

All of us deeply regret the tragic loss of life on all sides of the last 25 years. We will continue to sympathise with the surviving victims, and with all the relatives and friends of those who have died. We must salute the courage and the sacrifices of those on both sides of the border who have protected the community without fear or favour in accordance with their duty and the rule of law.

The Government hope that it will now soon be possible to close forever this long and violent chapter in our history and that it will never be repeated. We must put the past behind us. The main task ahead is to build a new trust and foster a spirit of reconciliation between all the people on this island."

* * * *

31 August 1994

AS REQUESTEDIRA STATEMENT

"Recognising the potential of the current situation and in order to enhance the democratic peace process and underline our definitive commitment to its success the leadership of Oglagh na hEireann have decided that as of midnight, Wednesday, August 31st, there will be a complete cessation of military operations.

All our units have been instructed accordingly.

At this historic cross-roads, the leadership of the IRA salutes and commends our volunteers, other activists, our supporters and the political prisoners who have sustained this struggle against all odds for the past 25 years.

Your courage, determination and sacrifices have demonstrated that the spirit of freedom and the desire for peace based on a just and lasting settlement cannot be crushed. We remember all those who have died for Irish freedom and we reiterate our Republican objectives.

Our struggle has seen many gains and advances made by nationalists and for the democratic position. We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has been created.

We are therefore entering into a new situation in a spirit of determination and confidence, determined that the injustices which created this conflict will be removed and confident in the strength and justice of our struggle to achieve this.

We note that the Downing Street Declaration is not a solution nor was it presented as such by its authors. A solution will only be found as a result of inclusive negotiations. Others, not least the British Government, have a duty to face up to their responsibilities.

It is our desire to significantly contribute to the creation of a climate which will encourage this. We urge everyone to approach this situation with energy, determination and patience."

END

31 August 1994

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION



10 DOWNING STREET

Press Notice**STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER**

The Downing Street declaration offered an opportunity for peace.

It calls for a permanent end to violence and offers a balanced opportunity for all to play a full part in the future political life of Northern Ireland.

The IRA have declared a complete cessation of violence. I am greatly encouraged by this, but we need to be clear that this is indeed intended to be a permanent renunciation of violence, that is to say, for good.

If it is, then many options are open. If they are genuinely and irrevocably committed to use only peaceful and democratic methods in the future, then we shall respond positively, as we said in the Joint Declaration. Let words now be reflected in deeds.

31 August 1994

Telephone 071-930 4433

END

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

31-AUG-1994 13:38

Subject : IRELAND'S DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO SEE CLINTON@

a1260LBY432reulb

u a BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING 08-31 0071

^BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING (REPEAT)@

^IRELAND'S DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TO SEE CLINTON@

EDGARTOWN, Mass, Aug 31 (Reuter) - Irish Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring will meet President Clinton on Friday on the resort island of Martha's Vineyard, where Clinton is vacationing, the White House announced Wednesday.

Spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said Spring, who is also the Irish foreign minister, will meet Clinton to talk about "the cessation of hostilities" and the "ongoing peace process" in Northern Ireland.

MORE

Reut14:03 08-31

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED NWSID: R1026278

SOURCE: REUTER

a1288LBY442reulb

u a BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING 08-31 0166

^BC-IRISH-CLINTON-SPRING -2 EDGARTOWN@

Myers, asked whether there would be a summit meeting soon between Clinton, British Prime Minister John Major and Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds, said "There are no plans for a summit. I wouldn't rule it out, but there are no plans at this time."

Reynolds had told Irish state radio earlier Wednesday that he could meet with Clinton and Major soon to underpin the peace process in **Ireland**. Earlier Wednesday, the Irish Republican Army declared a ceasefire in its campaign to end British rule of Northern **Ireland**.

Myers said that Clinton, in telephone calls to Major and Reynolds Wednesday, had "congratulated them for their courage and vision in pursuing peace in **Ireland**. They both thanked the president for his contributions."

Myers said the meeting with Spring would be "fairly informal," in keeping with the setting and the fact that the president was on vacation. She had no other details. "He's just confirmed he's able to come and we're working out the details."

REUTER

Reut14:16 08-31

DIST:

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Subject : ADAMS ASKS BRITAIN TO FREE PRISONERS, CUT TROOPS@

a0793LBY255reulb

u i BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND 08-31 0069

^BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND URGENT@

^ADAMS ASKS BRITAIN TO FREE PRISONERS, CUT TROOPS@

BELFAST, Aug 31 (Reuter) - Gerry Adams, leader of the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein, urged Britain on Wednesday to free Irish nationalist prisoners and withdraw troops from Northern Ireland in response to the IRA's truce announcement.

Addressing a Belfast crowd, he said Britain must take decisive steps. "This means demilitarisation of the situation, it means prisoners home from England," he said.

MORE

Reut10:01 08-31

Source: REUTER

Subject : BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND -2 BELFAST@

a0803LBY259reulb

u i BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND 08-31 0094

^BC-IRISH-ADAMS-DEMAND -2 BELFAST@

"Demilitarisation" is Sinn Fein's term for the withdrawal of British troops which were deployed on the streets of Northern Ireland 25 years ago.

Adams told the cheering nationalist crowd the IRA's announcement on Wednesday that from midnight (2300 GMT) it was ceasing its war against British rule was a "historic and bold and decisive initiative."

"The onus is now on (British Prime Minister John) Major to seize this moment," he said.

There are some 400 Irish republican prisoners in Northern Ireland who Adams said should also be released.

REUTER

Reut10:10 08-31

Subject : Ireland: Foreign Minister Welcomes IRA Cease-Fire Announcement

FBIS 045

UNCLAS 7F

Ireland: Foreign Minister Welcomes IRA Cease-Fire Announcement
LD3108112694 Dublin RTE Radio One Network in English 1030 GMT 31
Aug 94

[Interview with Dick Spring, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by unidentified program announcer; place not given -- live]

[Text] [Announcer] On the line now is the Tanaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dick Spring. Tanaiste, is this an historic day?

[Spring] Yes I certainly believe that it is. The announcement that there is a complete cessation of military operations and an end to violence in Northern Ireland I think is very significant for the people north and south.

[Announcer] And are you concerned, as has been pointed out or been suggested by (Fintón O'Toole) and, for example, also by Conor Cruise O'Brien, that the word permanent does not appear in the IRA statement, that they refer to a complete cessation of violence but not a permanent cessation of violence?

[Spring] The government are going to meet to consider that statement now, but as far as we're concerned I believe that it will meet the requirements of the government as a complete cessation of military operations, and they have given instructions accordingly. I believe that there is the opportunity to ensure that this is the permanent cessation of violence that we want on this island. It's unconditional, and I think that's extremely important.

[Announcer] What's the next step for the government?

[Spring] Well the government are going to meet to respond to this. I assume that the Dail will have to consider this in the course of the afternoon, obviously in consultation with the opposition parties. I would hope that what happens now is that this peace opportunity that exists will be availed of by all sides and that there will be a period of calm and reflection. After all we have been striving, indeed successive governments have been striving for many years to take the bomb and the bullet out of Irish politics. That opportunity is there now and I hope that we can succeed in what we set out to do.

[Announcer] Obviously republicans are going to want to see some movement, some political movement on demilitarization. And now clearly you can have no part in any, quote-unquote, demilitarization. But what about political movement? What about the forum for reconciliation and peace and Sinn Féin involvement in it?

[Spring] Obviously I think we now look at what was said in the Downing Street Declaration and everything is happening on the basis of the Downing Street Declaration, what was said in relation to the forum for peace and reconciliation. We obviously will have consultation with the opposition parties in relation to looking at the structures that are necessary. But I believe we have to move slowly and steadily in relation to what's happening. It is obvious that we want to have a period of calm and reflection, and we want to make sure that this opportunity that now exists to ensure that violence is not part of Irish politics is fully availed of. And there will be consultation between the parties here in Dail Éireann [House of Representatives] and I would hope that arising from that we can come to some agreements in relation to the forum.

[Announcer] Now in an interview with David Davenport, our northern editor, yesterday, Gerry Adams essentially threw down the gauntlet to the British Government. Will the Irish Government be moving to get the British Government to treat this sympathetically, to look at the issue of prisoners sympathetically, to look at the issue of -- quote-unquote -- demilitarization sympathetically?

[Spring] As I was saying, we have to look at all these issues in due course. I don't think it's a question of throwing down the

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quantities to the British Government. The British and Irish Governments have been working very steadfastly in relation to this matter, certainly since this government was formed and indeed prior to that by previous governments. We have the determination to work together to solve the problem on this island, and we will continue to do that. And that requires the cooperation of all the parties on this island and hopefully now we will have all those parties, one more party as a democratically mandated party on this island.

[Announcer] Now the Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds, wanted to achieve peace, wanted to achieve an IRA cease-fire before proceeding with the essentials of a political agreement in relation to Northern Ireland, sir. He would appear to have achieved that. But the frame of talks which have been going on, how long, or how close, rather, are the two governments to agreement on the four central areas of the negotiations -- the internal arrangements, the north-south arrangements, the Dublin-London arrangements and, particularly, the constitutional arrangements?

[Spring] Significant progress has been made in relation to the framework document. And also of course it has been the government's consistent view that the prospects for a successful conclusion of talks would indeed be greatly enhanced in an atmosphere of peace. Now that atmosphere is being created today. And we will continue to work on the framework document, and obviously hope that we can have the balanced accommodation which would be honorable to all sides. And I would hope that can be done as a matter of, with speed, and within a matter weeks?

[Announcer] And what about articles two and three? Are articles two and three being energetically discussed at the moment [words indistinct]?

[Spring] I think it is well understood that the constitutional issue, indeed the institutional issues and cross-border issues -- these are all on the table and these will be subject to discussion between both governments.

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^IRA CEASEFIRE WINS ACCLAIM, SUSPICION@

LONDON, Aug 31 (Reuter) - The Irish Republican Army, one of the most tenacious of Europe's guerrilla organisations, declared a ceasefire on Wednesday that prompted both acclaim and suspicion.

Northern Ireland's Protestant leaders said they feared Britain had struck a secret deal with the IRA behind their backs and stood ready to betray the majority community. London denied it.

Protestant death squads who kill Roman Catholics at random to terrorise the community from which the guerrillas draw support, gave no hint that they would match the IRA step.

On often-bombed Belfast streets, there was joy in Catholic ghettos and grim resignation in Protestant strongholds.

U.S. President Bill Clinton was unambiguous in his response, saying it marked a new era for Irish people.

In Dublin, Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds welcomed the move, the first fruit of a joint peace initiative he and British counterpart John Major launched last December.

The Anglo-Irish Downing Street Declaration offers Sinn Fein a seat at peace talks and an end to its isolation three months after Europe's most formidable guerrilla army silences its Kalashnikov rifles and home-made mortars.

A jubilant Reynolds promised in a triumphant speech to parliament that there was "no hidden agenda."

Major said he was encouraged by the ceasefire statement but needed to know it was for good if Sinn Fein, the IRA's political voice, wanted to join talks. He denied any secret deal.

"Once we have that I think we can move forward," Major said.

Privately, British officials acknowledged that if the IRA proved over the next three months or so that it could hold to a ceasefire, that would probably count as permanent.

Initial euphoria quickly gave way to political reality though as Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, demanded freedom for IRA prisoners and a withdrawal of British troops.

"Injustice must be ended, demilitarisation must begin immediately," he said. "All political prisoners must be released. The British government must immediately recognise Sinn Fein's democratic mandate."

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Hardline Protestants such as Ulster Unionist Party leader James Molyneaux grudgingly welcomed the ceasefire declaration but said it made no mention of the IRA handing over an estimated 300 tonnes of arms.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 31, 1994

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I welcome today's watershed announcement by the IRA that it has decided to end the 25-year campaign of violence and pursue the path of peace. While much work remains to be done, the IRA's decision to join the political process can mark the beginning of a new era that holds the promise of peace for all the people of Northern Ireland.

I have just spoken with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland and Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom to congratulate them for their persistent efforts to bring this day about. Their joint resolve to end the violence and pursue a negotiated settlement has been crucial to the progress made to date. Their historic Joint Declaration last December, together with the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985, have built the foundation for the new hope we have today. I am pleased that the United States has been able to contribute to this process of reconciliation.

We join with the governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom in the hope and expectation that today's step will help bring a lasting and just peace to Northern Ireland. I urge the IRA and all who have supported it to fulfill the promise of today's announcement to end the use and support of violence, just as we continue to call on all parties who have sought to achieve political goals through violence to cease to do so. There must be a permanent end to the violence.

The United States continues to stand ready to assist in advancing the process of peace in Northern Ireland. We hope that both traditions -- Unionist and Nationalist -- will support the only real avenue to peace, that of a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

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UNCLAS BELFAST 0412

E.O. 12356: N/A

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

SUBJECT: CEASEFIRE SPECULATION MOUNTS AFTER LATEST ADAMS
STATEMENT; LOYALISTS ISSUE GRIM WARNING

1. SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS ISSUED A STATEMENT LATE ON AUGUST 29 THAT SEEMS TO BE THE CLEAREST INDICATION YET THAT AN IRA CEASEFIRE IS IMMINENT. ADAMS SAID HE HAD INDICATED TO THE IRA LEADERSHIP THAT THE "CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE" PROVIDES THE "POTENTIAL TO ERADICATE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF CONFLICT." HE ADDED THAT HE HAD BEEN ASSURED THAT THE IRA WOULD RESPOND QUICKLY TO HIS ASSESSMENT. THIS LATEST STATEMENT, COMING AS IT DID JUST AFTER ADAMS JOINT STATEMENT WITH SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME, HAS CONVINCED MANY IN NORTHERN IRELAND THAT IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF IF, BUT RATHER WHEN, THE IRA WILL DECLARE A CEASEFIRE. ADAMS POINTED TO "DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE PAST FEW DAYS" AS THE CATALYST FOR HIS POSITIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION. AND, HE SAID, "MUCH COMMON GROUND HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED BETWEEN SINN FEIN, THE SDLP AND THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT WITH THE STRONG SUPPORT OF IRISH-AMERICAN OPINION. THE POTENTIAL NOW EXISTS TO MOVE THE SITUATION TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT." ADAMS SAID HE BELIEVED THAT THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY HAD THE CONFIDENCE, WEIGHT AND SUPPORT TO BRING ABOUT THE CHANGES NECESSARY FOR PEACE.

2. ADAMS STATEMENT WAS WELCOMED IN NATIONALIST QUARTERS BUT HAS INCREASED TENSION WITHIN THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY. THE EXTREME LOYALIST TERROR GROUP, THE ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF), WARNED THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO "COERCE AND PERSUADE" LOYALISTS INTO A UNITED IRELAND WOULD BE "A RECIPE FOR CIVIL WAR." (FULL TEXT OF STATEMENT VIA SEPTTEL.) SPEAKING ON LOCAL RADIO ON AUGUST 30, ULSTER UNIONIST M.P. JOHN TAYLOR SAID THAT NEWS OF AN END TO VIOLENCE WAS WELCOME, BECAUSE IT SIGNIFIED THAT THE IRA HAD BEEN DEFEATED. HOWEVER, HE DENOUNCED SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS AT THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE, WHO, HE SAID, WERE GUILTY OF ATTEMPTING TO "DO DEALS" WITH THE IRA. HE

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PAGE 02 OF 02

NAMED ONE SENIOR OFFICIAL. ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY LEADER JAMES MOLYNEAUX SAID ON AUGUST 30TH THAT HE HAD BEEN ASSURED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD NOT "SHIFTED ITS ATTITUDE" TOWARDS NORTHERN IRELAND. BOTH UNIONIST LEADERS HAVE CALLED FOR EARLY MEETINGS WITH BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR. THE CATHOLIC PRIMATE OF IRELAND, CARDINAL CATHAL DALY, HAD EARLIER STATED THAT HE BELIEVED THAT NORTHERN IRELAND "MAY BE ON THE BRINK OF THE BEST OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE THAT WE HAVE HAD FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY."

3. LOCAL PRESS OF AUGUST 30TH REFLECTED THE THOUGHTS OF BOTH COMMUNITIES. THE NATIONALIST "IRISH NEWS" CRITICIZED UNIONIST POLITICIANS FOR "INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE" AMID THE CEASEFIRE SPECULATION AND CONCLUDED, "UNIONISTS SEEM TO EQUATE A CEASEFIRE WITH VICTORY FOR THE IRA. IT IS NOTHING OF THE SORT. A CEASEFIRE WOULD BE... A VICTORY FOR EVERYONE IN NORTHERN IRELAND." THE UNIONIST "NEWSLETTER" DENOUNCED THE "COMBINED FORCES OF IRISH NATIONALISM", WHICH IT CLAIMED WERE "NOW IN THE ASCENDANCY TO FACE DOWN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OVER NORTHERN IRELAND." NONETHELESS, IT ADVISED UNIONISTS TO "KEEP CALM AND SPEAK WITH A UNITED VOICE."

MARTINEZ

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. cable	Roderic Lyne to Nancy Soderberg (2 pages)	08/30/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, August 1994

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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TO:RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8019

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UNCLAS BELFAST 0410

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PINS, PTER, PGOV, PHUM, ASEC, CASC, ALLOW, UK, EI

SUBJECT: PROVISIONAL IRA ATTACKS ON POLICE BASES; MORE
FIREBOMBS IN SOUTH BELFAST.

1. THE PROVISIONAL IRA LAUNCHED A NUMBER OF MORTAR AND GRENADE ATTACKS AGAINST SECURITY FORCE BASES IN NORTHERN IRELAND ON AUGUST 28/29. IN THE FIRST OF THESE ATTACKS, A MORTAR, INTENDED FOR DOWNPATRICK RUC STATION IN COUNTY DOWN, EXPLODED IN ITS LAUNCHER. A NEARBY BAR AND A NUMBER OF HOUSES IN THE VICINITY OF THE POLICE STATION WERE BADLY DAMAGED IN THE BLAST. FIFTEEN PEOPLE WERE SLIGHTLY WOUNDED. ELSEWHERE, IN COUNTY TYRONE, THE IRA LAUNCHED A MORTAR AT DONEMANA RUC BASE. THE MORTAR FAILED TO EXPLODE AND THERE WERE NO CASUALTIES OR INJURIES. IN COUNTY LONDONDERRY, A PROJECTED RECOILESS GRENADE WAS LAUNCHED AT TOOMEBRIDGE POLICE STATION. THE GRENADE EXPLODED AGAINST AN OUTSIDE WALL AND DAMAGE WAS SLIGHT. SECURITY FORCES BELIEVE THE IRA HAS STOCKPILED A NUMBER OF SIMILAR WEAPONS IN THE AREA AND A SEARCH IS BEING CARRIED OUT. IN COUNTY DOWN, A MORTAR WAS FIRED AT CLOGHOGE ARMY POST NEAR CULLYHANNA. THE POST WAS UNDAMAGED IN THE EXPLOSION AND THERE WERE NO CASUALTIES. MORTARS WERE ALSO FIRED AT BELLEEK RUC STATION IN COUNTY FERMANAGH, AND TENNENT STREET RUC STATION IN BELFAST. BOTH FAILED TO EXPLODE AND WERE DEFUSED. FINALLY, IN SOUTH BELFAST ON AUGUST 29, TWO STORES IN SOUTH BELFAST SUFFERED SLIGHT FIRE AND SMOKE DAMAGE WHEN THE PROVISIONAL IRA PLANTED A NUMBER OF FIREBOMBS.

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UNCLAS BELFAST 0411

E.O. 12356: N/A

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

SUBJECT: ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS WARN OF CIVIL WAR.

1. IN A STATEMENT ISSUED ON AUGUST 29, THE ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF) ISSUED A WARNING THAT THE LATEST PEACE MOVES IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE, "A RECIPE FOR CIVIL WAR." THE UFF SAID IT WOULD NOT RESPOND TO WHAT IT CALLED "SPECULATIVE CEASEFIRE TALK." THE UFF STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

"DO YOU, THE IRISH, SERIOUSLY BELIEVE WE WILL SIT BACK AND ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE COERCED AND PERSUADED INTO AN ALL-IRELAND? AS WE HAVE STATED BEFORE, THERE IS A PRICE TO BE PAID. YOU HAVE NOT YET PAID THAT PRICE, BUT YOU WILL. WE CARE LITTLE FOR YOUR SPECULATIVE CEASEFIRE TALK AND WILL NOT RESPOND TO IT. RATHER THAN BEING IN YOUR WORDS AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE ULSTER CONFLICT, IT IS A RECIPE FOR CIVIL WAR. AS LONG AS 100 MEMBERS OF THE UFF REMAINED ALIVE, THEY WOULD NEVER SUBMIT TO THE RULE OF THE IRISH. FOR IT IS NOT FOR GLORY THAT WE FIGHT, NOR FOR RICHES, NOR FOR HONOR, BUT FOR FREEDOM ALONE WHICH NO GOOD MAN LOSES BUT WITH HIS LIFE."

MARTINEZ

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004a. note	Kathy Stephens to Nancy Soderberg re: Patrick Treanor (1 page)	08/29/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, August 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1700

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]
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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]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004b. report	re: Patrick Treanor Schedule (7 pages)	08/00/1994	P3/b(3)

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004c. memo	From Diane Dillard re: Patrick Treanor (1 page)	08/24/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

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005. cable	From Ambassador Smith to Sandy Vershbow [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	08/26/1994	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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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]

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007. cable	From Ambassador Smith to Sandy Berger [Immigration and Nationality Act] (2 pages)	08/28/1994	P3/b(3)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Staff Director (Nancy Soderberg)
OA/Box Number: 1398

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, August 1994

2011-0355-F
rs1700

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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ROUTINE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: SODERBERG

SIT: LEBOURGEOIS NSC SUM2 VAX

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <DTG> 121200Z AUG 94

FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7994

INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7434

RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5301

RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 2897

UNCLAS BELFAST 0382

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS NSC - NANCY SODERBERG

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, ALOW, PINR, UK, EI

SUBJECT: 25 YEARS OF VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND;

SOME NUMBERS, SOME PERSPECTIVE.

1. SUMMARY: LATE EVENING; AUGUST 14, 1969. BELEAGUERED AND EXHAUSTED MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY FORM A FLYING WEDGE ON A SMALL SIDE STREET OF WEST BELFAST. BEHIND THEM ARE RIOTING PROTESTANTS FROM THE SHANKILL ROAD; THIS MOB HAS ALREADY BURNED OUT MANY CATHOLIC FAMILIES FROM THE NARROW STREETS THAT LINK THE CATHOLIC FALLS ROAD TO THE PROTESTANT SHANKILL. IN FRONT OF THE RUC ARE RIOTING CATHOLICS, INTENT ON A MIXTURE OF PROTEST, REVENGE AND SELF DEFENSE. EARLIER THAT DAY, THE BRITISH ARMY HAD MOVED INTO DERRY CITY, WHERE SIMILAR RIOTING WAS TAKING PLACE. THE RUC COLUMN MOVES TOWARD THE CATHOLIC MOB, HOPING TO DRIVE IT BACK TO THE FALLS ROAD. A MIDDLE-AGED MAN STEPS OUT OF THE CATHOLIC CROWD, WHICH IS SLOWLY RETREATING. HE CALMLY DROPS TO ONE KNEE, RAISES AN OLD RIFLE, AND FIRES A WILD SHOT AT THE ADVANCING POLICE. HE MISSES; THE CROWD DISPERSES. THIS WOBBLY BLAST FROM AN UNKNOWN GUNMAN MARKED THE FIRST SHOT FIRED BY THE IRA IN THE CURRENT ROUND OF "TROUBLES" IN NORTHERN IRELAND. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AND 3,167 DEATHS LATER, CONSULATE BELFAST PAUSES TO PUT THESE NUMBERS IN PERSPECTIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. NORTHERN IRELAND IS MARKING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE START OF "THE TROUBLES" WITH MUCH INTROSPECTION AND MEDIA ATTENTION. MOST OF THE SPOTLIGHT IS ON THE SEVERE RIOTING OF AUGUST 1969 THAT LED TO THE INTRODUCTION OF BRITISH ARMY TROOPS (AND THAT STARTED A CHAIN OF EVENTS THAT LED TO DIRECT RULE FROM WESTMINSTER IN 1972). TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IS A LONG, LONG STRETCH. FOR EXAMPLE, BRITISH TROOPS HIT THE STREETS OF BELFAST ON AUGUST 15, 1969, AT ALMOST THE EXACT MOMENT RICHIE HAVENS HIT THE STAGE AT WOODSTOCK. ON AUGUST 15, 1969, THE CHICAGO CUBS WERE STILL COMFORTABLY AHEAD OF THE "MIRACLE" NEW YORK METS. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IS A LONG STRETCH INDEED.

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3. MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE LENGTH OF THIS CONFLICT, HOWEVER, IS THE SCALE OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. QUITE SIMPLY, IN 1969 NO ONE COULD KNOW IT COULD GET SO BAD. WHEN THE 1969 IRA (THERE WAS STILL ONLY ONE IRA IN THE SUMMER OF 69) MADE AN EMERGENCY "ALL VOLUNTEERS" CALL TO "DEFEND" CATHOLIC NEIGHBORHOODS IN BELFAST THAT AUGUST, 13 MEN SHOWED UP, MOST OF THEM MIDDLE-AGED VETERANS OF THE LATE 1950S "BORDER WAR." THE "PRESENT ARMS" CALL THAT SAME AUGUST PRODUCED A GRAND TOTAL OF TWO THOMPSON SUB-MACHINE GUNS, ONE RUSTY LEE-ENFIELD RIFLE, ONE STEN GUN, AND NINE PISTOLS. IN POINT OF FACT, WHILE 1969 WAS AN EXTRAORDINARILY TUMULTUOUS YEAR IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IT WAS RELATIVELY FREE OF POLITICAL MURDER. THERE WERE ONLY SIX TERRORIST MURDERS IN 1969; AND BUT 20 IN 1970. THE NUMBERS SHOT UP IN THE EARLY 1970S, HOWEVER, RISING FROM 114 IN 1971 TO 360 IN 1972, AND SUBSIDING TO 210 IN 1973. (THE TERM "POLITICAL MURDER" REFERS TO VICTIMS OF REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST TERRORISTS.) THE NUMBERS HAVE SLOWLY FALLEN SINCE THOSE YEARS, AND NOW STAND AT ABOUT 90 KILLINGS A YEAR. THIS IS SOMEWHAT MORE THAN THE EARLY-TO-MID 1980S, BUT FAR LESS THAN THE VERY VIOLENT EARLY 1970S. AS OF AUGUST 12, 1994, THERE HAVE BEEN 3,167 DEATHS RELATED TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. (THIS TOTAL INCLUDES CIVILIANS, REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST TERRORISTS, AND MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.)

4. THIS NUMBER PALES AGAINST MANY OF THE OTHER CIVIL CONFLICTS OF THE LAST 25 YEARS. NEVERTHELESS, THE SCALE OF VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS SIGNIFICANT. WITH A POPULATION OF ONLY 1.6 MILLION PEOPLE, THE LAST 25 YEARS HAVE WITNESSED:

- 3,167 VIOLENT DEATHS.
- 36,603 INJURIES, FROM FLESH WOUNDS TO HORRIBLE MUTILATION.
- 9,983 EXPLOSIONS OF VARYING INTENSITY.
- 1,955 VICTIMS OF VIGILANTE "PUNISHMENT SHOOTINGS."
- 2,661 ATTACKS ON POLICE STATIONS.

IN ADDITION, THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN DISPLACED BY SECTARIAN VIOLENCE, EITHER BURNED OUT OF THEIR HOMES OR FORCED OUT BY INTIMIDATION (IN AUGUST 1969, IN BELFAST ALONE, SOME 1,500 CATHOLICS WERE BURNED OUT OR FORCED OUT OF THEIR HOMES; THE SAME FATE BEFELL 315 PROTESTANT HOUSEHOLDS. PROTESTANT FARMERS HAVE ALMOST COMPLETELY ABANDONED SOME BORDER AREAS BECAUSE OF FEAR OF THE IRA; CATHOLIC FAMILIES LONG AGO DESERTED THE TEEMING RATHCOOLE PUBLIC HOUSING ESTATE FOR FEAR OF LOYALIST GUNMEN.)

5. TO PUT THE NUMBERS IN PERSPECTIVE, TO GRASP THE RELATIVE SCALE OF VIOLENCE HERE, THE EQUIVALENT NUMBERS FOR A COUNTRY WITH THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE:

- 500,000 DEAD.
- 5.5 MILLION INJURED.

FURTHER, IN NORTHERN IRELAND, MOST OF THE DEATH AND DESTRUCTION HAS

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BEEN CENTERED ON RELATIVELY SMALL AREAS -- THE WORKING CLASS DISTRICTS OF BELFAST AND DERRY, AND SOME STRETCHES OF THE BORDER WITH THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. THERE ARE VAST SWATHES OF THE PROVINCE THAT HAVE NEVER KNOWN POLITICAL VIOLENCE, AND THERE ARE NUMEROUS NEIGHBORHOODS WHERE BOTH COMMUNITIES LIVE IN RELATIVE HARMONY. THE COUNTRYSIDE AND SUBURBS OFFER FAR MORE SOLACE THAN MENACE. STILL, IF ONE PLOTTED INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE WITH RED DOTS ON A LARGE MAP OF BELFAST, THE MAJOR ARTERIES OF WORKING CLASS WEST BELFAST -- THE FALLS ROAD, THE SHANKILL ROAD, THE CRUMLIN ROAD -- WOULD BE BLOOD RED. THESE NEIGHBORHOODS, CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, HAVE SUFFERED GREATLY. AND, OF COURSE, IT IS IN THESE AREAS THAT THE PROVISIONAL IRA, THE UFF AND THE UVF RECRUIT THE DISAFFECTED AND THE UNEMPLOYED, THE BITTER AND THE BROKE, TO CARRY OUT A VICIOUS WAR THAT HAS LASTED A GENERATION. NO ONE IN NORTHERN IRELAND SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT IT WILL ALL LAST ANOTHER 25 YEARS -- BUT NO ONE WANTS TO PREDICT A QUICK END TO IT ALL EITHER.

MARTINEZ

BT

#0382

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<MSGID> M1202148

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: SIT

SIT: BEERS DARRAGH KELLY NSC SUM SUM2 TENET VAX

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 030751Z AUG 94

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5868
INFO RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 2229
RUSNDNB/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ DUBLIN 004195
LONDON PLS PASS BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, UK, EI

SUBJECT: A POSSIBLE IRA CEASE-FIRE

REF: DUBLIN 04173

1. (U) THE AUGUST 1 "IRISH TIMES" CARRIED A FRONT-PAGE STORY BY JOURNALIST SUZANNE BREEN IN BELFAST ABOUT A POSSIBLE IRA CEASE-FIRE IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. ACCORDING TO BREEN, "REPUBLICAN SOURCES" THERE "STRONGLY INDICATED" ON THE EVENING OF JULY 31 THAT THE IRA WOULD DECLARE A 1-3 MONTH CEASE-FIRE NEXT MONTH. THESE SOURCES EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT "NOTHING IS GUARANTEED" AND THAT THE "PARTIES" INVOLVED HAD TO "CREATE THE RIGHT CONDITIONS FOR THIS TO TAKE PLACE."

2. (U) SINN FEIN OFFICIAL MARTIN MCGUINNESS, APPEARING ON RTE'S "SATURDAY VIEW" PROGRAM ON JULY 30, EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE A "COMPLETE DEMILITARIZATION" IN THE NORTH WITHIN A FEW WEEKS. CAUTIONING THAT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE THE BRITISH ARMY AND LOYALIST TERRORISTS AS WELL AS THE IRA, MCGUINNESS DENIED THAT THE LATTER HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BUT INTIMATED THAT CONTACT WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD OCCURRED. "IRISH TIMES" JOURNALIST BREEN QUOTED A "SENIOR REPUBLICAN" IN BELFAST AS SAYING THAT MCGUINNESS HAD SPOKEN FROM "AN INFORMED POSITION" AND THAT HIS OPTIMISM WAS "GENUINE" AND "WELL-FOUNDED." THIS INDIVIDUAL CONTINUED THAT "PROSPECTS (OF A DRAMATIC GESTURE FROM THE IRA) ARE GOOD."

3. (U) DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER/FOREIGN MINISTER DICK SPRING REPORTEDLY CONFIRMED ON JULY 31 THAT THE IRA HAD PLEDGED TO STATE ITS POSITION ON THE JOINT DECLARATION IN MID-AUGUST. IN THIS REGARD, HE STATED THAT A TEMPORARY IRA CEASE-FIRE WOULD BE "OF NO INTEREST" AND WOULD NOT LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH SINN FEIN OR FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO IT. "A CEASE-FIRE MEANS THAT THEY (THE IRA) WON'T KILL PEOPLE FOR A PERIOD OF MONTHS. WE ARE NOT NEGOTIATING WITH

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines,
September 11, 2006
NARA, Date 1/7/16
2011-03557

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ANYBODY UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES."

4. ~~(C)~~ DAVID DONOGHUE, DEPUTY HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' (DFA) ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION, REITERATED TO US (REFTEL) ON AUGUST 2 THAT DFA KNEW NOTHING ABOUT A RUMORED IRA CEASE-FIRE. HE SPECULATED THAT THE IRA COULD BE HINTING AT ONE IN AN ATTEMPT TO DISTRACT PUBLIC OPINION FROM THE MEDIA'S NEGATIVE TREATMENT OF SINN FEIN'S JULY 24 NATIONAL DELEGATE CONFERENCE.

COMMENT

5. ~~(C)~~ RUMORS OF ANOTHER IRA CEASE-FIRE HAVE BEEN CURRENT HERE FOR SOME WEEKS. DESPITE THE SKEPTICISM OF SOME, IT WOULD BE A LOGICAL NEXT STEP FOR THE ORGANIZATION FOLLOWING WHAT APPEARS TO BE THE DEFINITIVE END OF THE PROCESS OF "CLARIFICATION" OF THE JOINT DECLARATION. IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE ANYTHING ELSE WHICH WOULD ENABLE SINN FEIN/IRA TO REGAIN THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE. ANYTHING LESS THAN 6 MONTHS, THOUGH, WOULD PROBABLY BE DISMISSED OUT-OF-HAND BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. A 6-MONTH OR LONGER CEASE-FIRE, HOWEVER, COULD GENERATE CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS TO SINN FEIN.

SMITH

BT

#4195

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<MSGID> M1183800

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: LEBOURGEOIS NSC SUM SUM2 VAX VERSHBOW

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.13)
KBH 4/11/2013

<PREC> ROUTINE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 021542Z AUG 94

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 5780

INFO RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 1861

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 012148

MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PTER PGOV PREL PHUM ASEC UK EI

SUBJECT: SECURITY SITUATION WORSENS AS RUMORS OF AN IRA
CEASEFIRE INCREASE

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

2. RUMORS OF A PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY
(PIRA) CEASEFIRE, MOST LIKELY OF A FEW MONTHS' DURATION,
HAVE BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY AN UPTURN IN BOTH REPUBLICAN
AND LOYALIST VIOLENCE. PIRA MAY BE TRYING TO BOOST
MORALE IN ADVANCE OF A LULL, AND STRENGTHEN SINN FEIN'S
NEGOTIATING HAND. BUT BY KILLING PROMINENT LOYALISTS,
IT RISKS A BACKLASH THAT MAY MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO
SUSTAIN A CEASEFIRE. END SUMMARY.
BLASTS AND WHISPERS

3. NORTHERN IRELAND CONTINUES TO RATTLE UNDER
PERSISTENT PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (PIRA)
BOMB, MORTAR AND GUN ATTACKS, INTERSPERSED WITH
SHOOTINGS AND SOME BOMBINGS BY LOYALISTS. RECENT PIRA
ACTIVITY HAS FEATURED LARGE-SCALE MORTAR ATTACKS AND
PINPOINT ASSASSINATIONS OF LOYALIST GUNSELS.

4. AFTER THE BOTCHED OCTOBER SHANKILL ROAD BOMBING,
WHICH WAS INTENDED TO DECAPITATE THE ULSTER DEFENSE
ASSOCIATION (UDA) LEADERSHIP BUT INSTEAD KILLED NINE
INNOCENT CIVILIANS, PIRA CUT BACK SHARPLY ON ITS
ACTIVITIES, TARGETING ONLY MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES
AND ESCHEWING BOMBING OF COMMERCIAL TARGETS. IT RESUMED
ATTACKS ON LOYALISTS IN JUNE, AND SINCE THEN HAS KILLED
FIVE MAJOR FIGURES -- TWO ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF)
MEMBERS ON THE SHANKILL ROAD IN JUNE, A UDA POLITICIAN
IN LISBURN IN JULY, AND TWO ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTER (UFF)
MEMBERS ON THE ORMEAU ROAD JULY 31. IT HAS NOT YET
RESUMED COMMERCIAL BOMBINGS, BUT IN RECENT DAYS HAS
LAUNCHED A FLOOD OF FALSE ALARMS -- PHONING HOAX

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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WARNINGS AND LEAVING STOLEN CARS IN FRONT OF POLICE STATIONS.

5. FOR THEIR PART, THE UVF AND UFF CONTINUE TO KILL CATHOLICS MORE OR LESS AT RANDOM, AND HAVE EXPERIMENTED INCREASINGLY WITH EXPLOSIVES. LOYALIST ATTACKS HAVE BEEN MORE LETHAL (LARGELY BECAUSE THEY GO AFTER SOFTER TARGETS), BUT THE REPUBLICANS ARE STILL RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE VIOLENCE. IN JUNE, FOR EXAMPLE, POLICE REGISTERED 18 PIRA AND IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (INLA) ATTACKS, COMPARED TO 12 BY THE UVF AND UFF.

6. ALL THE WHILE, IN THE BACKGROUND THERE ARE FREQUENT HINTS AND RUMORS OF A PIRA CEASEFIRE. BOTH GERRY ADAMS AND MARTIN MCGUINNESS HAVE SPOKEN IN RECENT DAYS OF "DEMILITARIZING" THE SITUATION, ALTHOUGH WHAT THIS MIGHT MEAN IN PRACTICE HAS YET TO BE SPELLED OUT.

REPUBLICAN OPTIONS

-
7. PIRA HAS ROUGHLY FOUR OPTIONS TO CONSIDER:
- A COMPLETE AND PERMANENT CESSATION OF VIOLENCE. NO ONE THINKS THIS IS A REAL POSSIBILITY AT PRESENT.
 - A TEMPORARY CEASEFIRE, MOST LIKELY OF TWO OR THREE MONTHS.
 - AN OPEN-ENDED CEASEFIRE, BUT RETAINING THE OPTION TO RETALIATE AGAINST LOYALIST GROUPS IN THE EVENT OF FURTHER ATTACKS.
 - NO CEASEFIRE OR LETUP IN THE VIOLENCE.

8. POLITICALLY, THE SECOND AND THIRD OPTIONS ARE THE MOST DIFFICULT, FOR THEY INVOLVE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE BUT DO NOT MEET LONDON AND DUBLIN'S DEMAND THAT PIRA TOTALLY END VIOLENCE BEFORE SINN FEIN MAY JOIN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. SHOULD PIRA OPT FOR EITHER A TEMPORARY OR OPEN-ENDED CEASEFIRE, SINN FEIN WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY "SUPPORT" ITS MOVE WITHOUT ACTUALLY RENOUNCING VIOLENCE.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

9. IF PIRA IS INDEED PLANNING A CEASEFIRE, THE INCREASED SCOPE AND SCALE OF ITS ATTACKS ARE PROBABLY DESIGNED TO BOOST MORALE AND INCREASE SINN FEIN'S POLITICAL LEVERAGE DURING THE PAUSE. ITS ASSASSINATIONS OF LOYALISTS MAY ALSO BE INTENDED TO ELIMINATE THOSE WHO MIGHT POSE A THREAT TO REPUBLICAN ACTIVISTS IN THE EVENT OF A PIRA DRAWDOWN.

10. THE PROBLEM IS THAT AS THE PROVISIONALS ENJOY GREATER SUCCESS IN MURDERING LEADING LOYALIST GUNMEN, THE UFF AND THE UVF SEETHE AND PLOT REVENGE. LOYALIST RETALIATION, BRUTAL AND INDISCRIMINATE, IS ONE OF THE

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 012148
MESSAGE ORIGINATED IN BELFAST
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER PGOV PREL PHUM ASEC UK EI
SUBJECT: SECURITY SITUATION WORSENS AS RUMORS OF AN IRA
CEASEFIRE INCREASE

FEW CERTAINTIES IN THIS HIGHLY FLUID SITUATION. THERE
WAS NEVER ANY GUARANTEE THAT LOYALISTS WOULD EASE OFF
THEIR OWN MURDER CAMPAIGN IN RESPONSE TO A TEMPORARY
PIRA CEASEFIRE; THERE IS ALMOST NO CHANCE OF IT NOW. IF
A PIRA "TACTICAL" CEASEFIRE IS COMING, GRASSROOTS
REPUBLICAN ANGER OVER THE INEVITABLE LOYALIST REPRISALS
FOR RECENT ATTACKS WILL MAKE IT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR
PIRA TO SUSTAIN. CROWE

BT

#2148

NNNN

<MSGID> M1182600

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



10 DOWNING STREET

Press Notice

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER

The Downing Street declaration offered an opportunity for peace.

It calls for a permanent end to violence and offers a balanced opportunity for all to play a full part in the future political life of Northern Ireland.

The IRA have declared a complete cessation of violence. I am greatly encouraged by this, but we need to be clear that this is indeed intended to be a permanent renunciation of violence, that is to say, for good.

If it is, then many options are open. If they are genuinely and irrevocably committed to use only peaceful and democratic methods in the future, then we shall respond positively, as we said in the Joint Declaration. Let words now be reflected in deeds.

31 August 1994

Telephone 071-930 4433

END