

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

[Ireland]-Working File, May 1996

Staff Office-Individual:

Staff Director-Soderberg, Nancy

Original OA/ID Number:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. telecon	re: Soderberg Phone Call with Gerry Adams (2 pages)	06/29/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
002. email	Mary Peters to Anthony Lake re: Your Meeting with Holmes (1 page)	06/28/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
003. memo	Mary Ann Peters to Anthony Lake re: Update on Northern Ireland for the President's Meeting with Prime Minister Major (3 pages)	06/26/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
004. memo	Anthony Lake to POTUS re: Update on Northern Ireland Peace Process in Wake of Manchester Bombing (2 pages)	06/00/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
005. memo	From White House Situation Room re: Bomb Explosion in Manchester, England (1 page)	06/15/1996	P1/b(1)
006. cable	re: Northern Ireland: Decommission, Mitchell (4 pages)	06/03/1996	P1/b(1) KBH 8/29/2023
007. memo	re: Alleged IRA Ties (1 page)	05/16/1996	P1/b(1)
008. report	re: PIRA Capabilities (8 pages)	05/03/1996	P1/b(1)
009. telecon	re: Memorandum of Conversation Soderberg/Adams (4 pages)	04/19/1996	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, May 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1709

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]
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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]



THE FLAX TRUST

Brookfield Business Centre
333 Crumlin Road
Belfast BT14 7EA
Northern Ireland

Telephone (0232) 745241 (5 lines)
Fax (0232) 748025

6 June 1996

Mr William J Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500-000

Dear Mr President, Prime Minister, Taoiseach, Tanaiste and Secretary of State,

RE: PEACE PROCESS

1. To admit Sinn Fien to talks is to criminalise the IRA.
 2. To exclude Sinn Fein with its almost 15% mandate is to justify the existence of the IRA.
 3. Sinn Fein present at talks renders the IRA irrelevant and progressively redundant.
-
1. To decommission weapons is to suggest that these weapons are being legally held, ie at some time and in their present state commissioned.
 2. All unlicensed weapons are illegal and therefore in breach of criminal law. Anyone in possession of such weapons is in breach of law.
 3. The pursuit of criminals and the removal of illegal weaponry is the responsibility of the legitimate forces of law and order both sides of the Border and in Great Britain.
-
1. For Sinn Fein to walk out of talks is for them to reject their own mandate. Such a rejection of their own mandate would destroy their present base.
 2. A declared ceasefire would be of advantage to Sinn Fein in the context of talks.
 3. To allow an undeclared ceasefire to undermine the talks would be of advantage only to those with an investment in violence.

Thank you for taking the time to read this. God bless the work.

Yours sincerely


Myles Kavanagh CP
Chairman
Flax Trust

END

FACSIMILE COMMUNICATION

FLAX TRUST

Brookfield Business Centre
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Tel: (01232) 745241 Fax: (01232) 748025

TRANSMIT TO FAX NO: 001 202 456 6279

TO: Jack Quinn

FROM: FR Myles Kavanagh

TOTAL NO. OF PAGES
(including this sheet) 2.DATE: 6th June 96

MESSAGE

URGENT ATTENTION

Jack - FR Myles asked me
to send you the attached.
Will stay in touch - Thanks
for all your help. Sr Mary.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.77)
KBM 4/11/2023

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

SODERBERG PHONE CALL WITH GERRY ADAMS
JUNE 29, 1996 1:20 p.m.

Adams: I just wanted to touch base after the bomb in Germany. I feel peeved and let down. I presume that Tony is still following up with the initiatives we discussed?

NES: Yes, he's had some good conversations with the British along the lines we discussed, but now things are more difficult. Has anyone claimed responsibility for the bomb in Germany?

Adams: No, but I presume the IRA.

NES: What are the reactions in Northern Ireland?

Adams: There are large headlines everywhere. (He then read me a few headlines from the paper.) The fact that no one was hurt or killed muted the reactions, but it will be especially difficult if there continue to be deaths.

NES: How are the Loyalists reacting?

Adams: There are concerns about the Loyalist faction being drawn in, but the situation is stable right now. In Ireland the climate is still the same -- it is a beautiful day, nothing has happened in two years, and people are relaxed. The upcoming marches will create some tension. Ian Malley, a journalist here, is writing that it's the first time his family lived free from concerns of violence for 2 years.

NES: What about the arrest of Gerry Kelly? Is it becoming a problem?

Adams: No, it's actually becoming a bit of a funny story here that he was arrested [as part of a protest march] and then escaped. He was handcuffed and beaten up and managed to escape. Actually, he probably has a stronger case against them [the government], than they do against him. I've actually made a T-shirt with his picture on it and a caption that reads, "Escaped again." There's a certain novelty about the whole issue. I was with him the other day, both of us were stopped by the authorities and detained for 1/2 hour. He's an elected leader in his community, though, so it isn't an issue here.

NES: Thank you for the call. We'll continue to follow up. I will say, though, that the window is narrowing. Not just because

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of Germany, but you can imagine some of the reactions after Saudi Arabia.

Adams: I know, I am very aware of that.

NES: There are already those who are criticizing our involvement in the Irish issue, and I expect the attacks to get tougher if things continue to go in this direction.

Adams: I understand, although no one can credibly criticize you for having gotten involved in Ireland.

NES: We have no trouble defending it and strongly believe it was the right thing. 3-400 people are alive because of the cease-fire. Where is John on his meeting? Is it set for Monday?

Adams: His meeting is set with Major for Tuesday at 5 o'clock.

NES: Is it public?

Adams: No, and it's important to keep it quiet.

NES: I understand. Thanks again for the call; it's important to keep us posted. Good-bye.

Adams: Slang.

w/ Ireland

6/17

→ McMichael →

Finding things becoming very difficult.

Strategic situation
worse than after Canary Wharf

going fully but not going to come
into process

UFF - they believe imminent
return of IRA violence.

Taking more stern position.

Made it clear they are prepared
to resist return to violence.

⇒ Recognition of restraint by loyalists

Leadership → ~~to~~ David Ervine
Richard McMichael

W. 01232-522-146

Wetzel, M. Jeanne

From: Peters, Mary A.
To: Lake, Anthony in France
Cc: /R, Record at A1; Soderberg, Nancy E.
Subject: Your Meeting with Holmes [CONFIDENTIAL]
Date: Friday, June 28, 1996 12:17PM
Priority: High

WJ

A checklist for your next meeting with Holmes:

1. Take the letter from Adams that Hume wants to give to Major Monday seriously.
2. Treat the initiative confidentially.
3. You have not ruled out low-level official contacts with SF, though none have taken place since 2/9. Major has said specifically that HMG will keep its options open. Now may be time to use that option .
4. Adams does not appear to be seeking separate negotiating channel -- rather assurances of what has already been agreed.
5. We (you) are willing to pass messages though not to negotiate for anyone.
6. Urge flexibility -- HMG will not be accused of selling out to terrorists if the cease fire is restored.

TL-- The point Gerry made that Hume did not, which could be a problem, is the request for confidence-building measures. Gerry put this as one of the three points in place of the timeframe point that Hume made. Could be a screwup, or could indicate some flexibility.

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PER E.O. 13526
2011-0355-F (4.78)
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2011-0355-F (4.11)

KRM 4/11/2023

June 26, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NANCY SODERBERG
ALEXANDER VERSHBOW

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Update on Northern Ireland for the President's
Meeting with Prime Minister Major

BACKGROUND

Nancy spoke with John Hume this evening. He said that Adams had gone to the IRA as promised and gotten from them a commitment to restore the cease-fire if Prime Minister Major will make three commitments. They are:

- that the talks will be serious, comprehensive and inclusive;
- that they will be concluded within some kind of time-frame; and,
- decommissioning will be dealt with in the course of the talks, not as a precondition.

Hume and Nancy agreed that these should all be do-able. Hume said that Adams agrees with him that is it not practical to expect a defined time-frame. Hume believes that conveying a sense of urgency would be sufficient, for instance by expressing the commitment of the two governments to get an agreement as soon as possible.

Hume is seeking a private meeting with Major on Monday to lay this out. He said he has not told anyone in Dublin or the SDLP about this initiative, for the obvious reason, and had told London he would not be telling anyone. Nancy suggested that it would be helpful for us to push Major on this; Hume agreed. Hume also emphasized that the problem is the IRA's deep distrust of the British, which is why they are seeking these further assurances.

In response to Nancy's question, Hume said the talks in Belfast are going very slowly, with the unionists arguing about the ground rules and agenda and trying to reduce Mitchell's active role. The two governments and the other parties are resisting the unionist efforts. With all the wrangling it looks as if the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 6/26/06

talks could adjourn in mid-July for the marching season without having gotten down to business. While the negotiations are still in the "talks about talks" phase, there is less incentive for the IRA to make an early decision to renew the cease-fire.

We have left a message for Adams to call either you or Nancy to confirm what Hume said. However, it does track with what Adams said when you talked to him last week.

We recommend against discussing this in the President's meeting with Prime Minister Major unless the meeting can be reduced to three-on-three. In any case, we recommend that you seek to meet separately with Major and/or Holmes.

POINTS TO BE MADE TO MAJOR

- Manchester bombing terrible blow. Not only immoral, no apparent logic to it. Also finding of "bomb factory" in Ireland has had sobering impact.
- Appreciate your and John Bruton's determination to continue with the talks that began June 10 whether or not Sinn Fein can eventually participate. We agree strongly that democratic parties must go on with process.
- Senator Mitchell and his colleagues appear to be doing good work, though progress appears slow. Opening day ruckus over Mitchell's role was difficult. George is a patient man.
- Still see bringing Sinn Fein into tent as offering best chance for durable settlement. If they stay out, must try to reach broadly acceptable agreement, hope extremes will get on board.
- [If raised]: Tony pressed Adams privately to condemn bombing, but we are not convinced that a permanent split in IRA leaving militant wing to pursue its campaign would serve peace process.
- Believe cease-fire still possible. Agree it would have to be unequivocal.
- Understand Hume wants to meet with you next week. He was optimistic that cease-fire is within reach when NSC staff last spoke to him. No one in his party or SDLP aware of this.
- What they say they want to hear again is: that the talks will be serious, comprehensive and inclusive; that the talks will be concluded within some kind of timeframe; and that decommissioning will be dealt with in the course of the talks, not as a precondition.

- Our sense is Adams is indeed arguing for cease-fire and seeking practical way to get one. Have also heard from several sources that this time IRA leadership is determined to bring rank-and-file along in any decision.
- Hope you will consider proposal Hume will put to you if, as we understand, it does not involve substantive concessions.
- Stand ready to support your efforts, pass messages if needed.

If Major raises extradition of Jimmy Smyth:

- Supreme Court declined to take Smyth case, meaning decision of Circuit Court that he is extraditable stands. However, understand Smyth's attorney may plan further legal action, which would delay sending of warrants to Secretary of State for signature.

UNCLASSIFIED

wp

PREC: RUSH

CATEGORY: INTERNATIONAL

NWSID: F0201099

SOURCE: FBIS

F0059
FBIS S 059JUN20
UNCLAS 7E

UNITED KINGDOM: **Adams** Statement on Peace Process (Take 1 of 2) MS2006074196
Dublin THE IRISH TIMES in English 20 Jun 96

Article by Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams: "**Adams** Insists SF Does Not Advocate Armed Struggle"; received via Internet]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The following is the full text of the statement issued to The Irish Times last night by the Sinn Fein President, Mr Gerry Adams:

The bomb attack in Manchester last Saturday and the killing eight days earlier of Garda Jerry McCabe have clearly caused personal anguish to the family and friends of Garda McCabe and to those injured in Manchester, as well as grave political difficulties.

Sinn Fein has made its position absolutely clear on both these incidents.

Obviously, these difficulties need to be addressed and overcome. This requires an even greater urgency and application to the task of restoring the peace process. They cannot become a cause of paralysis or worse still return us to the old and failed agenda of sustained exclusion.

The road to peace was always going to be difficult. What we are attempting to do is very ambitious, as well as risky and dangerous. We are seeking for the first time in Irish history and in the relationship between Ireland and Britain, to successfully resolve the deep-rooted issues which lie at the heart of the conflict.

Of course, that was never going to be easy but Sinn Fein's priority and the solemn promise which our party made to the electorate in the North two weeks ago is to do all we can; to leave no avenue unexplored; to raise no obstacles to dialogue and to pursue vigorously and with determination the restoration of the peace process, an agreed peace settlement and a permanent end to all armed actions.

We do not yet have an end to conflict but Sinn Fein's contribution to the efforts to bring about a peace settlement has been significant, consistent and central to creating the opportunity which I firmly believe still exists. I am determined that Sinn Fein's focus will not be deflected from our endeavours nor will we allow the commitment which we have brought to the search for a lasting peace be devalued or discarded.

I am asked if Sinn Fein support the armed struggle of the IRA. I want to see an end to all armed actions. Some members of Sinn Fein, like those in other parties, may have a different view, but Sinn Fein policy on the conflict is contained in our peace strategy.

Sinn Fein is not the IRA. Sinn Fein is not involved in armed struggle. Sinn Fein does not advocate armed struggle. We are totally and absolutely committed to democratic and peaceful methods of resolving political problems.

The core element in our peace strategy is establishing a way to do this. Sinn Fein has, since 1987, pursued that strategy which was a key element in the creation of the Irish peace initiative and the eventual development of the Irish peace process.

Those who put together the peace process in 1994 did so in very difficult circumstances and against a backdrop of substantially

greater conflict. Our collective efforts at that time brought about the political conditions which resulted in the IRA deciding to enhance the opportunity for peace by calling a complete cessation of military operations.

For 18 months the IRA cessation held, creating an unprecedented opportunity for real and meaningful negotiations. Yet despite all the promises and commitments publicly given there was not one word of negotiation during that 18-month period. The British government erected one obstacle after another. These difficulties, too, must now be overcome.

Confidence must be created.

The gulf of distrust which now exists must be bridged.

In all of this Sinn Fein is seeking no special favours. We are imposing no preconditions. We seek only the opportunity to engage on the same basis as everyone else in a process of democratic negotiations.

more)

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CATEGORY: INTERNATIONAL

NWSID: F0201142

SOURCE: FBIS

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UNITED KINGDOM: **Adams** Statement on **Peace** Process (Take 2 of 2-- 059JUN20)
MS2006075196

//of democratic negotiations.

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The right of voters to elect representatives of their choice is a fundamental democratic principle which cannot be set aside because governments don't like the outcome of an elective process which the British government imposed.

The **Irish** government has a responsibility to defend the principle of equality and to uphold the rights of all voters on this island. Political isolation does not work. Exclusion does not work. These are failed policies. They can make no constructive contribution to the development of a real process of negotiation. It is illogical to believe that **peace** can be built on a policy which deliberately ignores the voice of a significant section of people on this island.

Dialogue provides the only real hope for progress in the present difficult circumstances.

Restoring the **peace** process therefore is not just our responsibility. Everyone has a role to play and especially the two governments. In recent months I have remained in contact with John Hume and with the White House. There has also been an intense and substantive dialogue between Sinn Fein representatives and with the **Irish** Government.

During its recent review of its contact with Sinn Fein the Government asked had I gone to the IRA "to ask for a ceasefire, and if not, why not?". The Government knows that I have been in regular contact with representatives of the IRA leadership in an effort to restore the **peace** process. I was not acting as a conduit between the IRA and the **Irish** Government so although I understand the difficulties facing the Government I was surprised by their question and by the way it was put. Perhaps they thought there wasn't enough progress or, in the wake of the killing of Garda McCabe, that they could do no more at that time. But all of Sinn Fein's efforts and the efforts of everyone we were in contact with was with the clear aim of rebuilding the collapsed **peace** process.

Up until the tragic killing of Garda McCabe the engagement with the **Irish** Government was particularly constructive. We were making

progress. It is also my view that the Government was much more focused recently than at other times, especially in their negotiations with the British leading up to the agreement of June 6th.

From my contact with the IRA representatives it is clear that they view the British government's stance as the biggest obstacle to any effort to bring about a restoration of their cessation. The British government's bad faith so evident during the 18-month cessation is at the core of all of this. Their refusal to have any contact with republicans exacerbates this difficulty for those of us who want to play a constructive role in resolving these difficulties.

In the present circumstances it is a matter of even greater urgency that these difficulties are resolved. That needs to be our primary focus at this time.

This is an enormous task. It is a difficult task. However, I am convinced that working together we can achieve what previous generations failed to win -- a permanent **peace** built on a solid foundation of agreement, justice and democracy.

endall)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONINFORMATION**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526**

2011-0355-F (4.80)

KBH 4/11/2023

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT: Update on Northern Ireland Peace Process in Wake
of Manchester Bombing

While no one was killed in Saturday's bomb in a Manchester shopping center, it has dealt a serious blow to the peace process. The bomb explosion was preceded by a warning to police using an IRA codeword; on June 19, the IRA formally claimed responsibility for the attack.

Virtually everyone except Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams has reacted with a strong condemnation of the bomb. Your statement calling it a "brutal and cowardly act of terrorism" has been widely quoted here and in the UK and Ireland. Prime Minister Bruton said he felt "betrayed" and devoted this week's Cabinet meeting to a re-examination of Irish Government policy vis-à-vis Sinn Fein. Bruton's government decided to maintain contact with Sinn Fein at sub-ministerial level on substantive issues (restoring the cease-fire) but to keep that policy under review. Bruton publicly posed to Sinn Fein two questions Adams has not been able to answer satisfactorily so far: "Have you gone to the IRA to request a cease-fire?" and "Do you continue to support the armed struggle?"

Major and Labour leader Blair sought to outdo each other in Commons in their condemnation of the bombing, with Blair saying "the United States and others abroad may have been given a telling lesson in the realities of the IRA." Blair's office has explained that this remark was directed at IRA sympathizers like NORAIID, not the USG. Major has resisted pressure to take tough measures like formally cutting off contact with Sinn Fein or reinstating "internment" (jailing suspected IRA members without trial). The British have not actually had any official meetings with Sinn Fein since the Canary Wharf bomb in February but they want to keep their options open. They also believe it is useful for us to maintain contact with Sinn Fein to press for the cease-fire, which I have done in strong terms with Adams.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 6/19/06

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

The blast has done serious damage to the peace process; it has hardened unionist attitudes and raised doubts about the likelihood of a new cease-fire. Even if a new cease-fire is announced, Major's government will want to be sure it is "unequivocal" before agreeing to let Sinn Fein into the Belfast talks. That could take a matter of weeks, whereas before Manchester it was assumed that Sinn Fein could take its seat within hours of a restored cease-fire.

On the positive side, the loyalist cease-fire is still holding and sectarian violence has not erupted in Northern Ireland itself. After the initial flare-up over Senator Mitchell's chairmanship, the talks in Belfast are continuing, albeit with much wrangling over procedural and agenda issues. Prime Ministers Major and Bruton have both made clear their strong support for continuing the talks process with or without Sinn Fein's eventual participation.

We discount talk of a split within republican ranks over whether to accept the political process or return to a full-scale "armed struggle," but there has certainly been a vehement internal debate. The key question is whether the Manchester attack signaled that the militant faction has definitively won the debate or whether the IRA bombed Manchester because there has as yet been no decision to restore the cease-fire and they want more assurances from the British on the nature of the talks. We, like the British and the Irish, are proceeding on the assumption that a cease-fire is still possible. We are considering whether there are further steps we can take, beyond our contacts with Adams and the Irish-American community, to help tip the balance. We have said publicly that we will maintain contact with all parties as long as that can be helpful to the peace process.

Our strategy over the next few weeks will be to pressure Adams to do all he can to restore the cease-fire and underscore that the current talks, with Mitchell in the chair, are an extraordinary opportunity. We are reviewing whether we can help get assurances reiterated from the British regarding the talks to help Adams make the case to the IRA.

AFP-ri Britain-blast-chrono
Story: e0244
Time: 15 1420 GMT 06 96
Ref:

IRA attacks in Britain since ceasefire breakdown

LONDON, June 15 (AFP) - Saturday's explosion in Manchester which injured 69 people is the seventh in Britain since the Irish Republican Army (IRA) ended its 17-month ceasefire on February 9.

Three people have been killed in the resumed campaign -- but until Saturday, all the attacks had been in London. Here is when they happened:

February 9: In a message to Irish state broadcaster RTE, the IRA said it was ending its ceasefire. An hour later, plastic explosives rocked the Canary Wharf financial district, killing two people and injuring over 100.

February 15: A bomb, assembled with plastic explosives, was defused in a London city-centre telephone booth after the IRA telephoned a warning to the police.

February 18: A bomb goes off aboard a late evening bus travelling through London's city centre, killing Eddie O'Brien, the IRA member who was transporting it, and wounding eight other passengers.

March 9: A crude device exploded in a litter bin near a cemetery in the Earl's Court district of west London. Police described the device as "improvised." There were no casualties.

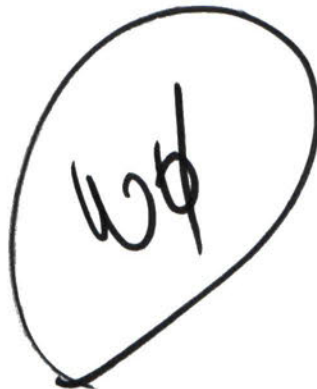
April 18: Bomb exploded in west London after a telephoned warning by a caller using a recognized IRA code word. There were no casualties.

April 24: A 13-kilogram (28.6-pound) bomb placed under the busy Hammersmith bridge in west London fails to detonate properly. There were no injuries or damage.

The IRA claimed responsibility for all six attacks.

la-pjl/db/rom

AFP



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. memo	From White House Situation Room re: Bomb Explosion in Manchester, England (1 page)	06/15/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, May 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1709

RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 15, 1996

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am deeply outraged by the bomb explosion today at a shopping center in Manchester, England which injured scores of innocent people, some very seriously. I join Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton in utterly condemning this brutal and cowardly act of terrorism. Such viciousness deserves universal condemnation. I wish the British Government every success in finding and bringing to justice those responsible.

On behalf of the American people, Hillary and I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims and their families. Our prayers are with them. We have known the shock and pain of terrorism in our country, the horror of the sudden shattering of daily life. The bombing today underscores the need for all of us to join together to fight terrorism and violence in all parts of the world.

Last week, historic talks aimed at finding a lasting settlement to the conflict in Northern Ireland began in Belfast. The people of Northern Ireland voted to send their representatives to those talks, expressing their deep desire for peace and their commitment to democratic means of resolving their differences. The men of violence have once again tried to dash their hopes. I want the people, who have so much at stake in those talks, to know that the United States will stand with them in their continuing search for peace.

ON BEHALF OF	THAT CEANN
Department of the Taoiseach, Dublin 2. Tel. (01) 668 9333	Roinn an Taoiseach, Baile Átha Cliath 2. Tel. (01) 668 9333

Statement by the Taoiseach, John Bruton TD.

This admission by the IRA that their members were involved the murder of Detective Garda Jerry McCabe and the wounding of Detective Garda Ben O Sullivan, confirms what was already known, and does nothing to remove the loss, sorrow and grief of their families.

Nor will it assuage the anger and revulsion of the people of Ireland over what happened.

The cynical exercise of attempting to obscure this admission of guilt with another bomb attack in Britain will simply reinforce the Irish people's utter rejection of the IRA.

Brutal, murderous acts of this kind are appalling and cannot be excused or explained away by any form of so-called 'sanction'.

Whether or not the IRA in its own terms 'authorised' the savage attack in Adare, IRA arms were used for the cold-blooded killing of Garda McCabe, just as IRA explosives would appear now to have been used for a bloody bombing in Manchester.

Sinn Féin has agreed in principle with the Mitchell Report that these arms should be taken out of Irish politics forever.

The pain and suffering of Garda McCabe's and Garda O Sullivan's families, as well as that of the victims of the Manchester attack, cry out for an honest, not a cynical and hypocritical response from the Republican movement.

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

DUTY CLERKS' OFFICE
FAX NO 0171- 839- 9044

FAX TO: *Nancy Soderberg*
NSC

FROM : *Edward Oakden*

TO :

DATE OF DOC : 15/6

TITLE : *Statement on PIRA Bombing*

CLASS : ~~Confidential~~ / ~~Restricted~~ / U/C

DATE FAXED : 15/6

TIME :

NO of PAGES : *Ths* + 1

MESSAGE :

MANCHESTER EXPLOSION: PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT

This was a dreadful act. I condemn utterly those responsible. My first thoughts are with the injured and their families.

This explosion looks like the work of the IRA. It is the work of a few fanatics and, as John Bruton has already made clear, causes absolute revulsion in Ireland, as it does here. This callous act of terrorism while the Queen was reviewing the colour of the Irish Guards is an insult to both nations.

Sinn Féin have been clamouring to attend the Northern Ireland peace talks which began last week. If they are really serious about wanting peace, they must condemn this act and demand an unequivocal IRA ceasefire now.

We shall spare no effort to bring those responsible to justice.

15 June 1996

TALKING POINT
NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS
JUNE 10, 1996

Start of Negotiations

- Today the long awaited talks on the future of Northern Ireland began in Belfast. Arrangements and chairmanships of elements of talks process agreed between London and Dublin June 6.
- Sinn Fein was not allowed to participate because the cease-fire had not been restored. General agreement in Ireland, among constitutional parties, that cease-fire must be restored for Sinn Fein to take its place.
- As Cardinal Daly said, that is not a "precondition" but a "presupposition of democratic dialogue."
- Has been true throughout "Troubles" that other parties would not welcome Sinn Fein or loyalists while violence continued.
- No question that Sinn Fein should be at the table for talks to have chance of success. That is way it is so important for IRA to renew cease-fire.
- That is unequivocal message we have been sending; vitally important that all of you in your contacts make the same point.

Mitchell's Role

- Talks adjourned today after some unionists objected to Mitchell's role; Paisley questioned Mitchell's impartiality.
- Mitchell is acting in personal capacity without official or political interference or direction.
- Parties are going to hold bilateral talks with the British and Irish Governments about Mitchell's role. Hope this issue can be resolved quickly in order to put Mitchell's wisdom and experience to work.
- Mitchell has been asked by two governments to chair the plenary session of the talks and the decommissioning subcommittee.

- Canadian General John de Chastelain will chair Strand 2, the negotiations on relations between North and South. In his capacity as chairman of the plenary, Mitchell has a role in building confidence in the all the elements of the talks process, including Strand 2.
- Believe Mitchell can play important, positive role again as he did in chairing International Body.

Decommissioning

- British and Irish governments have agreed that all participating parties will have to make a clear commitment to the Mitchell Principles of democracy and non-violence.
- Decommissioning will also be addressed in context of the Mitchell Report, which suggested that decommissioning take place during talks as a compromise between former British insistence on prior decommissioning and Sinn Fein position that it should be addressed after settlement reached.
- The chairman of the talks (Mitchell) will be asked to satisfy himself that there are clear indications the participants intend to work constructively and in good faith to implement all aspects of the Mitchell Report (including its suggestion on decommissioning) in the context of progress on other issues.
- A subcommittee will be established to work on decommissioning while work in the political strands begins.
- Another plenary session of the talks will be held in late September to assess progress in the talks and the work of the subcommittee.
- President has always maintained that decommissioning is an essential element of the peace process. Angle-Irish agreement on how to handle decommissioning takes account of importance of issue without allowing it to block progress of negotiations.

Confidence-Building

- Process of confidence building has been going on. May 30 election was seen as confidence-building for unionists, though nationalists ended up doing well.

Ulster Unionist Party (led by Trimble) got largest number of votes and seats in forum. Paisley's DU was second in number of seats and third in popular vote. John Hume's SDLP was second in popular vote, third in number of seats.

- First meeting of forum will be June 14. Sinn Fein will not participate; SDLP will participate but not if forum seeks to interfere in the negotiations.
- Sinn Fein got over 15% of vote -- clear that those votes were for Adams and the political strategy he has outlined publicly, not for IRA violence.
- Important that two loyalists parties, led by David Ervine and Gary McMichael, will be represented in the talks. Have been voices for moderation; helped keep loyalist cease-fire intact when IRA broke its cease-fire.
- In recent weeks British returned ill IRA prisoner Paddy Kelly to Ireland, authorized funding for Irish language school.
- Bruton gave a speech at Finglas in which he made a number of specific commitments about the talks process.
- Major wrote article in "Irish Times" committing to serious, comprehensive talks, stating that decommissioning would not be allowed to block political progress.
- Major's article was sharply criticized in British press, including papers that back Tories.
- Adams made a contribution to confidence by saying that if others accept Mitchell Principles of non-violence, Sinn Fein would too.

Dudley

/ /

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ACTION: NONE INFO: FILE, AFSMETS, CIRAS, DCI/SRP, DONOVA, EUR/BCI, EUR/CA, EUR/RIG, EUR/RR, FBIS6, FBIS/NFS, IRL, MDSX, NHTC/EUR, NPCEDC, ODPD, ODPS, OPCTR/EURA, ORMS/EUR, PWSTAFF/JR, SA/DCIFIR, STATDICT (22/W)

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NSC FOR SODERBERG AND PETERS

STATE ALSO FOR S/IR

E.O. 12958: DECL: 6/2/06
TAGS: PREL PGOV UK EI
COMBINE: COMPLETE

SUBJECT: NORTHERN IRELAND: DECOMMISSIONING, MITCHELL

1. CLASSIFIED BY GEOFFREY W. CHAPMAN, ACTING POLITICAL
MINISTER-COUNSELOR. REASON: 1.5(B).

2. (e) WITH THE NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTION OVER, THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS TURNING ITS FULL ATTENTION TO
PREPARATIONS FOR THE JUNE 10 OPENING SESSION OF THE
ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS. NIO ASSISTANT SECRETARY
JONATHAN STEPHENS TOLD US JUNE 3 THAT THE ANGLO-IRISH
LIAISON GROUP MEETING LAST WEEK PRODUCED A "GOOD DEAL OF
AGREEMENT" AND NARROWED DIFFERENCES ON ISSUES WHERE GAPS
STILL EXIST. STEPHENS SAID THE JUNE 4 BREAKFAST MEETING
BETWEEN MAYHEW AND SPRING WILL CONCENTRATE ON FOUR KEY
UNRESOLVED POINTS: HANDLING DECOMMISSIONING,

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IDENTIFYING THE CHAIRMANSHIP ROLES, AGREEING ON A NEGOTIATING AGENDA AND SETTLING FINAL PROCEDURAL DETAILS. CLEARLY THE FIRST TWO ARE MORE CRUCIAL THAN THE LATTER ONES, WHICH COULD BE HANDLED EVEN AFTER JUNE 10 IF NECESSARY.

3. (e) STEPHENS SAID THERE IS NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT THE TALKS WILL OPEN WITHOUT DELAY ON JUNE 10, WITH OR WITHOUT SINN FEIN. USING THE AUTHORITY VESTED BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTIONS ACT, MAYHEW TODAY WILL ISSUE LETTERS OF INVITATION TO THE PARTIES WHICH RECEIVED AN ELECTORAL MANDATE. THE ACT BARS MAYHEW FROM INVITING SINN FEIN UNLESS THERE IS A RESTORATION OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE, SO THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY THAT HMG COULD BACK AWAY FROM THAT PRINCIPLE EVEN IF IT WANTED TO -- WHICH IT DOES NOT. STEPHENS SAID BOTH GOVERNMENTS REMAIN ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT A CEASEFIRE IS REQUIRED BEFORE SINN FEIN CAN PARTICIPATE.

DECOMMISSIONING

4. (e) OFFICIALS AT THE LIAISON GROUP MEETING WORKED ON DECOMMISSIONING LANGUAGE BUT FAILED TO COME UP WITH AN AGREED TEXT. MAYHEW AND SPRING HOPE TO AGREE ON A FORMULA. STEPHENS SAID BOTH GOVERNMENTS AGREE ON WHERE THEY WANT TO BE: THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST CREATE A POLITICAL DYNAMIC WHICH BUILDS SUFFICIENT CONFIDENCE SO THAT A START TO DECOMMISSIONING CAN TAKE PLACE WHICH, IN TURN, FURTHERS PROGRESS IN THE POLITICAL ARENA WHICH THEN LEADS TO MORE DECOMMISSIONING. THE QUESTION IS HOW TO GET THERE.

5. (e) STEPHENS SAID THE MITCHELL REPORT IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE DECOMMISSIONING ISSUE AND BOTH GOVERNMENTS BASE THEIR APPROACH ON THAT REPORT. BOTH GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT ALL PARTIES WILL BE REQUIRED AT THE PLENARY SESSION TO "ADDRESS" DECOMMISSIONING BY MAKING CLEAR THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES. THIS WOULD INCLUDE A CLEAR INDICATION OF

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INTENT TO IMPLEMENT THEM.

6. (e) THE BRITISH VIEW IS THAT IMPLEMENTATION INCLUDES THE MITCHELL REPORT'S RECOMMENDATION ON PARALLEL DECOMMISSIONING. HMG WOULD PREFER A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO PARAGRAPHS 34 AND 35 ON PARALLEL DECOMMISSIONING, WHILE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT PREFERS A MORE GENERAL REFERENCE TO MITCHELL'S RECOMMENDATIONS. STEPHENS SAID THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT INSIST THAT PARTIES AGREE TO A SPECIFIC TIMETABLE FOR DECOMMISSIONING. RATHER, AFTER PARTIES GIVE A COMMITMENT TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES, A SUBCOMMITTEE ON DECOMMISSIONING WOULD WORK ON THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION ALONGSIDE THE POLITICAL TALKS. THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S TERMS OF REFERENCE WOULD INCLUDE IDENTIFYING THE MODALITIES OF DECOMMISSIONING AND ADVISING GOVERNMENTS ON NECESSARY LEGISLATION.

7. (e) THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S WORK COULD BE REVIEWED AT A PLENARY MEETING AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER. STEPHENS SAID THIS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY REQUIRE ACTUAL DECOMMISSIONING AT THAT TIME BUT, DEPENDING ON PROGRESS IN THE POLITICAL STRANDS, COULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES.

SENATOR MITCHELL

8. (e) STEPHENS SAID BOTH GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT SENATOR MITCHELL SHOULD CHAIR THE PLENARY SESSIONS. HE THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT MAJOR AND BRUTON JOINTLY WOULD OPEN THE JUNE 10 SESSION BEFORE TURNING OVER THE GAVEL TO MITCHELL. AS CHAIR OF THE PLENARY, MITCHELL WOULD RETAIN SIGNIFICANT OVERSIGHT OF THE WORK DONE IN THE SEPARATE COMMITTEES AND THE DECOMMISSIONING SUBCOMMITTEE. THIS AUTHORITY WOULD BE ENHANCED BY RECONVENING THE PLENARY IN SEPTEMBER. STEPHENS SPECULATED THAT THAT SESSION COULD BE THE ONE WHERE THE "DEALS COULD GET DONE." STEPHENS CONFIRMED THAT THE MAY 31 OFFICIALS MEETING DID NOT RESOLVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS ON HOW TO ALLOCATE THE

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RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE OTHER CHAIRMANSIPS,
PARTICULARLY THE STRAND TWO CHAIRMANSIP. THE IRISH
GOVERNMENT STRONGLY WANTS MITCHELL TO CHAIR STRAND TWO;
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS FIRMLY AGAINST. MAYHEW AND
SPRING WILL WORK FURTHER ON THIS AT THEIR JUNE 4 MEETING.

NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTION

7. (S) STEPHENS THOUGHT THE NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTION
"PRETTY MUCH RAN TRUE TO FORM." (VOTING RESULTS IN PARA
8 BELOW.) NO PARTY CAN BE TOO HAPPY OR TOO DISAPPOINTED
WITH THE RESULT. HMG IS PLEASED THAT THE VOTER TURN OUT
WAS GOOD (JUST BELOW 65 PERCENT) AND RELIEVED THAT THE
SMALL LOYALIST PARTIES WON ENOUGH VOTES TO BE INCLUDED.
BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT FACT, ACCORDING TO STEPHENS, IS
THAT IT IS OVER AND FULL ATTENTION NOW CAN BE TURNED TO
NEGOTIATIONS.

8. (U) MAY 30 NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTION

RESULTS FOR TOP TEN PARTIES

PARTY	SEATS	PERCENT	TOTAL VOTES
-----	-----	-----	-----
UUP	30	24.2	181,829
DUP	24	18.8	141,413
SDLP	21	21.4	160,786
SINN FEIN	17	15.5	115,377
ALLIANCE	7	6.5	49,176
UK UNIONIST	3	3.7	27,774
PUP	2	3.5	26,082
UDP	2	2.2	16,715
WOMENS	2	1.0	7,731
LABOUR	2	.8	6,425

DEAL

END OF MESSAGE

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

3880

June 4, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS, ACTING *VP*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Representative Richie Neal and
Colleagues, June 5, 1996

?

You will have seen the message from Will Davis listing the members who have been invited to participate and what they are interested in. Your main message should be on the status of the peace process and the need to send Sinn Fein an unambiguous message on the importance of a renewed cease-fire. You may also get questions on the MacBride principles and the Irish deportees.

TALKING POINTS

Cease-Fire

- Peace process at its most critical point since IRA cease-fire was declared in August 1994. Talks start June 10; will start without Sinn Fein if there is no cease-fire.
- Sinn Fein will seek admittance to talks on basis of its electoral mandate. But neither Dublin nor London will waiver in making cease-fire condition for participation. Nor can we.
- Throughout entire period of "Troubles," Sinn Fein excluded from talks because of IRA violence. None of the other parties will now be willing to sit down with Sinn Fein while threat of IRA violence present.
- No question that Sinn Fein should be at the table. That is why it is so important for IRA to renew cease-fire. That is unequivocal message we have been sending; vitally important that all of you in your contacts make the same point.
- Latest public indications are not encouraging; IRA spokesman called prospect of cease-fire before June 10 remote. Impossible to know whether that is final word or tactical maneuver; our policy is to assume that restoration of cease-fire is possible and to work to help bring it about.

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 6/4/06

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E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By *N* NARA, Date *4/11/16*

2011-0355-P

U.S. Role

- President remains actively involved. Discussed Northern Ireland with Foreign Secretary Rifkind last week, will be in touch with Major and Bruton this week.
- Nancy and I are in touch with all the parties as well as the two governments.
- Our policy is to encourage active engagement and progress. Urge restoration of cease-fire but also urge parties and governments to be flexible and keep their eyes on the prize of a settlement.

Confidence-Building

- Process of confidence building has been going on. May 30 election was seen as confidence-building for unionists, though nationalists ended up doing well.
- Sinn Fein got over 15% of vote -- clear to me that those votes were for Adams and the political strategy he has outlined publicly, not for IRA violence.
- In recent weeks British returned ill IRA prisoner Paddy Kelly to Ireland, authorized funding for Irish language school.
- Bruton gave a speech at Finglas in which he made a number of specific commitments about the talks process.
- Major wrote article in "Irish Times" committing to serious, comprehensive talks, stating that decommissioning would not be allowed to block political progress.
- Adams welcomed Bruton's speech and aspects of Major's article as well, though he criticized Major's article as lacking in specifics.
- Major's article was sharply criticized in British press, including papers that back Tories.
- Adams made a contribution to confidence by saying that if others accept Mitchell Principles of non-violence, Sinn Fein would too.

- Important to show to nationalists in particular that the talks will be serious, with a comprehensive agenda and that the outcome is not predetermined.

May 30 Election

- Was a one-of-a-kind election designed to get to talks. One British official commented that the most important thing about it is that it is over.
- Actually, important to keep in mind that unionists now have a mandate to talk about future of Northern Ireland, including with Sinn Fein if the cease-fire is restored.
- Nationalists did well. SDLP lost a bit but the total nationalist vote was about 39%. Sinn Fein did very well. I see the votes for Sinn Fein as votes for Adams and his political strategy, not for the IRA. (Adams published article on May 23 that made clear Sinn Fein endorses political strategy.)
- Also important that more moderate UUP held on to number one spot. DUP did well but not as well as many predicted.
- Also good that loyalist parties won places. And would expect the new Women's Coalition to be a voice for peace and reconciliation as well.
- Turnout of 65%, in the rain, showed strong voter interest.

Decommissioning

- One of outstanding issues as far as talks go is how to handle decommissioning issue.
- Basis for handling issue is Mitchell Report, which suggested that decommissioning take place during talks as a compromise between former British insistence on prior decommissioning and Sinn Fein position that it should be addressed after settlement reached.
- Question is what kind of commitment you seek on parallel decommissioning in opening phase of talks. British and Irish governments still working to find formula that would be acceptable to Sinn Fein without having unionists walk out.

- Have seen many public statements on this issue, most of them not helpful. Meeting yesterday between Mayhew and Trimble.
- We have always acknowledged that decommissioning is an essential element of the peace process, but not taken a position on when or how it should take place. As practical matter, cannot see talks reaching agreement on settlement without some progress on decommissioning.

Role for Mitchell

- Enjoys widespread respect, can play important role again as he did in chairing International Body.
- No offer made yet; if one is, Senator Mitchell will have to decide whether to accept it.
- If role is agreed on by Irish and British Governments and Mitchell himself, will be another major confidence-building measure.

Concurrence by: Will Davis N/A

Attachment

Tab A Contingency Questions and Answers

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 a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **TAB A**

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON NORTHERN IRELAND
FOR JUNE 5 MEETING WITH
REPRESENTATIVE NEAL AND COLLEAGUES

Q: Sinn Fein got over 15% of the vote on May 30. They are not the IRA. Why shouldn't they be allowed to participate in the June 10 talks?

A: When they decided to push ahead with peace process in the wake of the London bombings, London and Dublin agreed that a renewed cease-fire or a denunciation of the violence would be a requirement for Sinn Fein participation in the talks. That has been our position too. It reflects a genuine belief in both countries that it is not right to negotiate with those who espouse or justify violence.

This is not a new "precondition" of some sort. For the past 25 years, it has been a "given" that Sinn Fein would only be welcome by the other parties if the IRA stopped the violence.

The fact that Sinn Fein did well on May 30 ought to demonstrate to the IRA the power of the political system and reinforce the arguments for a cease-fire.

Q: Isn't it true that Major is holding the peace process hostage to Trimble out of fear of losing his governing majority?

A: Major's Conservatives still have a majority of one vote in the House of Commons. No doubt they would like the support of Trimble and his 8 UUP colleagues if that should change, but I see no evidence that Major is letting Trimble call the tune. In fact, Major has done a number of things to advance the peace process that have been unpopular with the UUP and with his own backbenchers, including his "Irish Times" article and the repatriation of Kelly.

A just and lasting settlement can only be achieved with the active engagement of Northern Ireland's unionist community and particularly the UUP. It is not surprising that the British Government is making every effort to see that the process is fundamentally acceptable to Trimble, just as Dublin seeks to make it acceptable to the nationalists.

Q: Why did you oppose the language on the MacBride Principles in the authorization bill?

A: The President vetoed the authorization bill for reasons that had nothing to do with the language on the principles of economic justice, which he has always supported. That language would have applied the MacBride Principles to the International Fund for Ireland. The IFI pays close attention to fair employment considerations; however we are consulting with the IFI to make sure that everything possible is being done in this regard.

We are willing to work with Congress on acceptable language on the MacBride Principles.

Q: Why is the INS trying to deport people like Matt Morrison, who have American wives and children and have been living productive lives here?

A: There are a number of deportation cases pending against people who entered this country illegally and who have IRA connections. One reason INS pursues these cases, I believe, is that Congress has given enforcement priority to deportable aliens with terrorist or serious criminal backgrounds.

We see no scope in the law for taking action on these Irish cases and not on cases involving other classes of people. That would be discriminatory. Therefore all the Irish cases will have to be resolved on a case-by-case basis.

Frankly, it was easier to make the argument for a distinct solution for these people during the cease-fire. Without one, the foreign policy case for approaching these cases differently just isn't compelling.

Q: What about the Irish prisoners serving time here? Why not transfer them to Ireland under the relevant international agreement?

A: Again, the end of the cease-fire has reduced our flexibility and our willingness to be flexible on this. It is always necessary to make a strong case for a prisoner transfer; the case is simply less compelling without a cease-fire. One prisoner was transferred just before the cease-fire broke down.

Q: Shouldn't George Mitchell be given the chairmanship of Strand 2, the negotiations on future relations between North

and South? Why should we allow the British to relegate him to the decommissioning issue?

A: There is agreement that if Mitchell is to play a role it should be a significant one. He has been talked of to chair the plenary session of the talks, which could be the key job depending on other decisions about the opening phase of the talks. There have also been suggestions that his former colleagues on the International Body could serve as his deputies for various elements of the talks. Any of these mandates could take advantage of Mitchell's talents, depending on how the talks are structured.

If the two governments and Senator Mitchell himself agree on a role for him, we will not oppose it because it may not include a particular task. The important thing is to take full advantage of the respect and trust that Senator Mitchell enjoys.

Q: Will the parties have to sign up to the whole Mitchell Report at the beginning of the talks, including parallel decommissioning and the 6 principles?

A: They will certainly have to accept the principles. How they establish a commitment to parallel decommissioning is still under negotiation.

June 5, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE
NANCY SODERBERG ✓

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS

SUBJECT: Additional Material for Your Meeting with
Representative Richie Neal

Attached are:

- The MacBride Principles
- The letter from you to Father McManus on MacBride
- The Mitchell Principles
- NI Election Results

Attachments
As stated

APPENDIX A

THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

"In light of decreasing employment opportunities in Northern Ireland and on a global scale, and in order to guarantee equal access to regional employment the undersigned propose the following equal opportunity/affirmative action principles:

- Increasing the representation of individuals from underrepresented religious groups in the workforce including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
- Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the workplace and while travelling to and from work.
- The banning of provocative religious or political emblems from the workplace.
- All job openings should be publicly advertised and special recruitment efforts should be made to attract applicants from underrepresented religious groups.
- Layoff, recall, and termination procedures should not in practice favor particular religious groupings.
- The abolition of job reservations, apprenticeship restrictions, and differential employment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religion or ethnic origin.
- The development of training programs that will prepare substantial numbers of current minority employees for skilled jobs, including the expansion of existing programs and the creation of new programs to train, upgrade, and improve the skills of minority employees.
- The establishment of procedures to assess, identify, and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.
- The appointment of a senior management staff member to oversee the company's affirmative action efforts and the setting up of timetables to carry out affirmative action principles."

Sean MacBride -- Dublin, Ireland

Dr. John Robb -- Ballymoney, Northern Ireland

Inez McCormack -- Belfast, Northern Ireland

Fr. Brian Brady -- Belfast, Northern Ireland

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Father McManus:

Thank you for your recent letter about the legislation linking the MacBride Principles of fair employment to funding for the International Fund for Ireland.

As you know, the Administration supports the goals of fair employment which the MacBride Principles embody. The Administration also actively supports efforts to promote trade and investment in Northern Ireland and the border counties as the best way to underpin a lasting peace. The President does not believe it would be useful to place conditions on the funding we provide to the International Fund for Ireland, which has an excellent record of attention to and effectiveness on fair employment issues. U.S. companies, with considerable experience in equal opportunity employment, are among the best employers in Northern Ireland in terms of meeting the goals of fair employment.

The setting of the June 10 date for the beginning of comprehensive negotiations on the future of Northern Ireland marks a watershed in the peace process. In this critical period, the Administration will continue to work with the two governments and the parties to help them achieve a just and lasting settlement in Northern Ireland. I appreciate your support for our efforts.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Reverend Sean McManus
President
Irish National Caucus, Inc.
413 East Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003-3610

INTERNATIONAL

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: PETERS, SUM2, VERSHBOW, SODERBERG, NODIST

PREC: RUSH CLASS: INTERNATIONAL DTG:

FM: Reuter

TO:

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^BC-IRISH-MITCHELL

 ^The six Mitchell principles on Northern Ireland
 DUBLIN, Ireland (Reuter) - Former U.S. Senate Majority
Leader George Mitchell was drafted into the Northern Ireland
peace proces by Britain and Ireland because of a deadlock over
the disarming of IRA and Protestant Loyalist guerrillas.

 He published guidelines in January which he said should help
 ``reach an agreed political settlement and take the gun out of
Irish politics."

 These have been accepted by all parties after Sinn Fein, the
IRA's political wing, endorsed them publicly Monday.

 They say parties to the June 10 talks must ``affirm their
total and absolute commitment:

 -- To democratic and exclusively peaceful means of resolving
political issues

 -- to total disarmament of all paramilitary organizations

 -- to agree that such disarmament must be verifiable to the
satisfaction of an independent commission

 -- to renounce for themsleves, and to oppose any effort by
others, to use force, or threaten to use force, to influence the
course or outcome of all-party negotiations

 -- to agree to abide by the terms of any agreement reached
in all-party negotiations and to resort to democratic and
exclusively peaceful methods in trying to alter any aspect of
that outcome with which they may disagree and:

 -- to urge that ``punishment" killings and beatings stop
and to take effective steps to prevent such actions."

 ^REUTER

RB-- 05/21/96 11:47:00

FROM:
SITREPRT

INTERNATIONAL

N.I. Elections
Results (14.00 EST)

	% Vote	Seats
Ulster Unionist Party	24.2%	28
SDLP	21.4 %	19
Democratic Unionist Party	18.8%	22
Sinn Féin	15.5%	15
Alliance	6.5%	5
UK Unionist Party	3.7%	1
Total		90

Each of the above 6 parties will be allocated an additional two seats reserved for the "top ten" parties on a region wide basis. In addition, the following groups came within the "top ten" parties and will, therefore, be allocated 2 seats each:

- Progressive Unionist Party
- Ulster Democratic Party
- Womens Coalition
- Labour Party

Embassy of Ireland

31 May, 1996

Northern Ireland Elections

Summary

- High participation throughout Northern Ireland, with a particularly high turnout in the West;
- Significant Sinn Féin gains, won four seats in West Belfast;
- Nationalist vote up;
- Significant DUP gains;
- UDP and PUP to gain top up seats by being in top ten, unlikely to win any constituency seats;
- Womens Coalition and possibly Labour to take the ninth and tenth places in the regional list election;

Constit.	UUP	SID.P	DUP	SF	ALL	OTHERS
F. Belfast	2		2		1	
N. Belfast	1	1	2	1		
S. Belfast	2	1	1		1	
W. Belfast		1		4		
E. Antrim	2		2		1	
E. Derry	2	1	2			
*Fer/S.Ty	2	1	1	1		
Foyle		3		2		
Lagan	3		2			
Mid Uls	1	1	1	2		
New/Arm	1	2		2		
N. Antrim	2	1	2			
N. Down	2		1		1	1 (UKU)
S. Antrim	2	1	2			
S. Down	1	3		1		
Strangford	2		2		1	
*UpBann	2	1	1	1		
*W Tyr	1	2	1	1		
TOTAL	28	19	22	15	5	1

* Subject to confirmation

Election Results 1982 -

Statistics taken from Flackes, W. and Elliott, S. (revised edn. 1994) "Northern Ireland: A Political Directory 1968-1993".

General Elections

<u>Party</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1992</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>(Turnout</i>	73.3	67.4	69.7)
<i>UUP</i>	34.0	37.8	34.5
<i>SDLP</i>	17.9	21.1	23.5
<i>DUP</i>	20.0	11.7	13.1
<i>SF</i>	13.4	11.4	10.0
<i>ALL</i>	8.0	10.0	8.7
<i>*UPUP</i>	3.0	2.5	2.5
<i>WP</i>	1.9	2.6	0.6
<i>Ind</i>	1.3	2.0	0.8
<i>Others</i>	0.3	0.9	0.6
<i>Cons.</i>	-	-	5.7

European Elections

<u>Party</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1994</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>(Turnout</i>	65.4	48.3	50.0)
<i>UUP</i>	21.5	22.2	23.8
<i>SDLP</i>	22.1	25.5	28.9
<i>DI/P</i>	33.6	29.9	29.1
<i>SF</i>	13.3	9.1	9.8
<i>ALL</i>	5.0	5.2	4.1
<i>WP</i>	1.3	1.0	0.5
<i>Cons</i>	-	4.8	1.0
<i>Others</i>	0.3	2.1	2.3

Local Elections

<u>Party</u>	<u>1985</u> %	<u>1989</u> %	<u>1993</u> %
(Turnout	60.1	56.1	56.6)
UUP	29.5	31.3	29.4
SDLP	17.8	21.0	22.0
DUP	24.3	17.7	17.3
SF	11.8	11.2	12.4
ALL	7.1	6.9	7.6
Ind/Ind Un.	3.1	4.6	2.1
UDP	-	-	0.3
PUP	-	-	0.3
WP	1.6	2.1	0.8
DI.	-	-	0.4
Ind. Nat.	1.3	0.1	0.3
Lab	0.6	0.3	
Con	-	1.0	1.5
Others	2.9	3.8	5.6

1982 NI Assembly Election

(Turnout 63.5)

<u>Party</u>	<u>% Vote</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
UUP	29.7	WP	2.7
SDLP	18.8	UPUP	2.3
DUP	23.0	**UUUP	1.8
SF	10.1	Other Unionists	1.6
ALL	9.3	Others	0.7

* Kilfedder Unionists

** The United Ulster Unionist Party largely consisted of former Vanguard members. Having performed badly in the 1982 Assembly election, the party did not contest the 1983 Westminster election and subsequently ceased to exist.

FAX COVER SHEET

FOR UNCLASSIFIED MESSAGES ONLY



British Embassy
Washington

3100 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008-3600

To Nancy Soderberg
At NSC
Fax 456 9460

From Peter Westmacott
Telephone _____
Date 6 June Time 11:35 am
Reference _____ Number of pages 11
(including cover)

FACSIMILE NUMBER FOR REPLY

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	ACCOUNTS	(202) 789 7958
	TECHNICAL WORKS GROUP	(202) 371 6819

MESSAGE:

Our / Irish letter to
Mitchell, as promised.

Peter.

cc PS
Minister
Mr. McDonald
Mr. Bean
Mr. Alexander
+ 6/16

The Hon George J Mitchell
Special Representative of the President of the United States
US Department of State
Room 709
2201 C Street NW
Washington DC 20520

for
6/16
(copy
also
to
NSC)

June 1996

Dear Senator Mitchell,

Our two Governments have worked to secure the launch of comprehensive negotiations to achieve a new beginning for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands, and to agree new institutions and structures to take account of the totality of relationships. We believe the negotiations which start on 10 June offer the best opportunity for many years to secure this goal.

On behalf of our two Governments, we invite you to chair a group of distinguished individuals to play a role in chairing the various aspects of the negotiations which require independent chairmanship.

The two Governments have agreed to invite you, as chairman of this group, to chair the Plenary sessions, to which the various strands and any sub-committees which the Plenary may establish will report and which will periodically review progress across the entire spectrum of the negotiations. We also invite you, with the help of your colleagues, to assist our two Governments in giving effect to our joint commitment under paragraph 15 of the Ground Rules for the negotiations, a copy of which is enclosed.

PERSONAL

1
("determination
to overcome
obstacles", etc)

6. Jun. 1996 15:36

IPL NIO LONDON

PERSONAL

No. 2797 P. 3

The other members of the group invited by the two Governments are your former colleagues on the International Body, General de Chastelain and Mr Holkeri. The roles envisaged for the other members of the group are set out in paragraph 4 of the "Scenario for the Opening Plenary Session", a copy of which is enclosed.

As that paragraph also makes clear, both Governments are agreed that it will be open to the group to propose alternative options in the light of the requirements of the negotiations or as circumstances warrant.

The negotiations will be launched at 2.00 pm on Monday 10 June at Castle Buildings, Belfast, by the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister, after which they would hand over to you as Chairman of the opening plenary. The arrangements envisaged for this opening session are set out in the "Scenario for the Opening Plenary Session",

Some other key documents which provide guidance on the negotiations and the role of the chairmen are also enclosed.

Representatives of the following parties have been invited to nominate their negotiating teams:

Alliance Party

Democratic Unionist - DUP

Labour

Northern Ireland Women's Coalition

Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)

Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)

UK Unionist Party (Robert McCartney)

PERSONAL

6 Jun 1996 15:37

IPL NIC LONDON

PERSONAL

No. 2797 P. 4

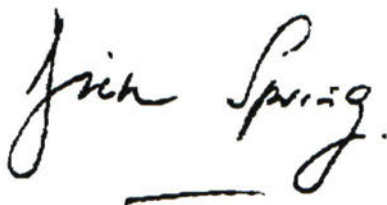
Ulster Democratic Party (UDP)

Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)

? The above list does not include Sinn Féin, in line with the policy set out by the Prime Minister and Taoiseach when they met on 28 February. Sinn Féin's participation in the negotiations requires the (unequivocal) restoration of the IRA ceasefire of August 1994. We very much hope that Sinn Féin can take their place in the negotiations, but this will not be possible unless and until there is an unequivocal restoration of the ceasefire.

We remain profoundly grateful for the distinguished service in the cause of peace offered by you and your colleagues on the International Body. We very much hope you will feel able to accept our invitation to play a key role in these negotiations also. Naturally, we stand ready to answer any questions, and to follow up with all haste in providing you with such other guidance as you may require.

Yours sincerely,



Dick Spring TD
Tánaiste and Minister for
Foreign Affairs



The Rt Hon Sir Patrick Mayhew QC MP
Secretary of State for
Northern Ireland

PERSONAL

6. Jun. 1996 15:37

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No. 2797 P. 5

SUBSTANTIVE ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS

6 June 1996

SCENARIO FOR THE OPENING PLENARY SESSION

PAPER BY THE UK AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS

Introduction

1. The communiqué issued by both Governments on 28 February agreed that an elective process "would lead immediately and without further preconditions to the convening of all-party negotiations with a comprehensive agenda". The two Governments agreed that, following consultations, substantive all-party talks would be convened on Monday 10 June.

2. The Ground Rules paper published in April set out the two Governments' intention that the all-party negotiations should start with an opening plenary session. The Governments are agreed that at this session the requirements of paragraph 12 of the 28 February Communiqué must be fulfilled - that is:

- all participants would need to make clear at the beginning of the discussions their total and absolute commitment to the principles of democracy and non-violence set out in the report of the International Body;
- they would also need to address, at that stage, its proposals on decommissioning;
- confidence building would also require that the parties have reassurance that a meaningful and inclusive process of negotiations is genuinely being offered to address the legitimate concerns of their traditions and the need for new political arrangements with which all can identify.

6. Jun. 1996 15:37

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No. 2797 P. 6

3. In accordance with these undertakings, this paper sets out in more detail the scenario the two Governments propose for the opening plenary session.

Chairman and Procedures

4. The British Government will chair Strand One of the negotiations and the British and Irish Governments will jointly chair Strand Three. The two Governments have decided to invite a group consisting of Senator George Mitchell, General John de Chastelain and Mr Harri Holkeri to play a role in chairing various aspects of the negotiations which require independent chairmanship. They have agreed to invite the chairman of the group, Senator Mitchell, to chair the plenary sessions, to which the various strands and any sub-committees which the plenary may establish will report, and which will periodically review progress across the entire spectrum of the negotiations. The two Governments will also invite Senator Mitchell, with the help of his colleagues, to assist them in giving effect to their joint commitment under paragraph 15 of the Ground Rules. They have also agreed to invite General de Chastelain to provide the independent chairmanship in Strand Two. He would also chair the Business Committee, unless the participants in the negotiations, in accordance with the Ground Rules, were to decide otherwise. They have agreed to invite Mr Holkeri to act as alternate Chairman in any of the independent chairmanship roles. They agree that it will be open to the group to propose alternative options to the two Governments in the light of the requirements of the negotiations or as circumstances warrant.

5. The opening plenary session will be conducted by the Independent Chairman in accordance with rules of procedure drawn up by the two Governments for adoption in plenary. The rules drawn up by the Governments will operate unless and until amended by the participants, on the recommendation of the Business Committee.

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Business of the Opening Plenary

6. The proposed agenda for the opening plenary session is attached at Annex A. At the start of the session, the leader of each of the negotiating teams will be asked to make a formal declaration making clear their party's total and absolute commitment to the principles of democracy and non-violence set out in the report of the International Body. The commitments will then be confirmed in a public statement on behalf of all the participants. In the event of any participant failing to make this clear commitment, the Independent Chairman will report this to the two Governments for their consideration and, after consultation with the other participants, any appropriate action.

7. The plenary session will then move to the appointment of a Business Committee. As envisaged in the Ground Rules paper, the Business Committee would be composed of representatives of the two Governments and of the political parties, chaired by the Independent Chairman of Strand Two or, otherwise, by any person agreed by the participants. Its purpose would be to coordinate the progress and procedures of the negotiations. The Business Committee would not deal with the substance of the negotiations but would address unresolved procedural issues. It would therefore be available to meet during the opening session to provide advice on any such unresolved issues to the plenary. It could also determine the modalities for dealing with any issue which does not fall exclusively within any of the three strands. (It will be open to the parties to agree that certain over-arching issues - for example, human rights - could usefully be addressed in plenary format.)

8. There will then be a round of statements which, as the Ground Rules envisage, will give each delegation the opportunity to set out its approach to the negotiations and its position on key issues.

9. As set out in the agenda for the opening plenary, it will subsequently, if necessary after consideration by the Business Committee, adopt, and commit the parties to negotiate, a

6. Jun. 1996 15:38

IPL NIC LONDON

No. 2797 P. 8

comprehensive agenda for the negotiations. A separate consultation paper is being issued to take the views of parties on the elements of this agenda. The Independent Chairman shall satisfy himself that the agenda provides all the participants with reassurance that a meaningful and inclusive process of negotiations is genuinely being offered to address the legitimate concerns of their traditions and the need for new political arrangements with which all can identify.

10. The opening plenary will also address the International Body's proposals on decommissioning. In this context, both Governments confirm their commitment to all aspects of the report of the International Body including their support for the compromise approach to decommissioning set out in paragraphs 34 and 35 which state:

"The parties should consider an approach under which some decommissioning would take place during the process of all-party negotiations, rather than before or after as the parties now urge. Such an approach represents a compromise. If the peace process is to move forward, the current impasse must be overcome. While both sides have been adamant in their positions, both have repeatedly expressed the desire to move forward. This approach provides them that opportunity.

In addition, it offers the parties an opportunity to use the process of decommissioning to build confidence one step at a time during negotiations. As progress is made on political issues, even modest mutual steps on decommissioning could help create the atmosphere needed for further steps in a progressive pattern of mounting trust and confidence."

Both Governments agree with the International Body that this approach provides the opportunity to move forward, and that it is on the basis of working constructively to implement this and all other aspects of the Report that the negotiations should be advanced. They will therefore work with all the participants to implement all aspects of the Report.

6. Jul. 1996 15:38

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11. The two Governments have accordingly agreed to invite the Independent Chairman, after open discussion in the plenary, to satisfy himself that there are clear indications of good intent on the part of all the participants to work constructively and in good faith to secure the implementation of all aspects of the Report in the context of an inclusive and dynamic process which builds trust and confidence as progress is made on the issues.

12. Once the Independent Chairman has reported that he is so satisfied, the two Governments will propose that a sub-committee of the plenary, representing all the participants and chaired by the Independent Chairman of the plenary, be established with the attached terms of reference.

13. Once the decommissioning issue has been addressed in this way, the Independent Chairman will make a concluding statement and the opening plenary session will come to an end. The negotiations on the issues in the three strands and the sub-committee will then proceed alongside each other. The Independent Chairman may periodically brief the plenary on the progress made in the sub-committee.

14. The two Governments will also propose that a meeting of the plenary should be held at a suitable date, about the end of September, to take stock of progress in the negotiations as a whole, including the work of the sub-committee. At this meeting, all participants will review the position, and the progress which has been made across the entire spectrum of the negotiations.

Attachments

Annex A. Agenda for opening plenary.

Annex B. Terms of reference for proposed sub-committee on decommissioning.

6. Jun. 1996 15:38

UIC 210 6/86 => BRITISH EMBASSY; #10

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No. 2797 P. 10

Annex A**Opening Plenary Session
Agenda**

1. Formal opening by two Governments and hand-over to Independent Chairman.
2. Introductory remarks by Chairman.
3. Participants to make formal declaration making clear their total and absolute commitment to International Body's principles of democracy and non-violence.
4. Public statement on behalf of all participants recording total and absolute commitment to principles.
5. Appointment of Business Committee.
6. Opening statements by the participants.
7. Discussion of comprehensive agenda for negotiations.
8. Discussion of International Body's proposals on decommissioning.
9. Adoption of comprehensive agenda for negotiations and procedural rules.
10. Report of the Chairman for the purpose set out in paragraph 12 of "Scenario for the Opening Plenary Session"; Governments' proposal to establish a sub-committee on decommissioning.
11. Concluding statement by the Independent Chairman.

6. Jun. 1996 15:39

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Annex B**Proposed Sub-committee on Decommissioning
Terms of Reference**

To secure implementation of all aspects of the report of the International Body, including:

- (a) agreement on the modalities of decommissioning on the basis of the guidelines contained in paragraphs 36 to 50 of the Report of the International Body;
- (b) advice to both Governments, in the light of those discussions, on the legislative and practical implications of the course which is recommended; and
- (c) agreement on any other arrangements necessary for implementation of the Report.

10 DOWNING STREET
SW1A 2AA

FAXD CY 10:

MARY ANN PETERS

DUTY CLERKS' OFFICE

FAX NO : 839 - 9044

up

TO: TONY LAKE
in Washington

FROM: John Holmes

~~TO:~~

DATE OF DOC: 2 May 1996

~~TITLE:~~

CLASS : Secret / Confidential / Restricted (U/C)

DATE FAXED : 2.5.96

TIME : 21:40 WS

NO OF PAGES : 12005 + 1

MESSAGE :



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 May 1996

Dear Tony,

You may be interested to see the text of what the Prime Minister said in the House of Commons earlier today in response to a question about the Northern Ireland elections and negotiations, and the need for the IRA to abandon violence. He replied as follows:

"I agree entirely with my Honourable Friend. There is absolutely no credible reason whatsoever for the IRA not to stop their violence immediately. All-party negotiations will be serious and all-party negotiations will start on the 10th of June. Sinn Fein can play a part in those if there is an unequivocal IRA ceasefire. In that case they find themselves in the same position as other political parties. As I have said many times, the choice is for them to make and I hope they will make it. They will certainly gain nothing by waiting, still less by more violence which can only call even further into question their readiness to adopt peaceful methods. But whether there is a ceasefire or not, the talks will go ahead."

Yours ever
John

JOHN HOLMES

Professor Anthony Lake

by immediate fax

15 May 1996

The Hon Nancy Soderberg
NSC



British Embassy
Washington

3100 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington D.C. 20008-3600

Telephone: (202)
Facsimile: (202)

wp

Dear Nancy,

It was good to see you yesterday - thanks for making the time to see Colin Budd.

You asked me to let you have a copy of the article by the Prime Minister which the Irish Times is publishing tomorrow. The final text has just arrived. Here it is. It is being held very close, to avoid leaks, so I should be grateful if you would keep it to yourselves for the time being.

As we discussed, it would clearly be helpful if you were able to make supporting noises after publication.

*Best wishes,
Peter.*

Peter Westmacott

PRESS ARTICLE

I want to see peace in Northern Ireland - soon. So do the people of Northern Ireland. The road to an agreed and lasting settlement has been, and will continue to be, long and painstaking.

The last few months have seen encouraging progress. The all-party talks starting on 10 June are the first substantive negotiations since 1992. Meanwhile all the major parties, and many smaller ones, will take part in the elections in Northern Ireland on 30 May. The elections will prepare the way for the talks through the mandate to negotiate they give to the elected representatives. Each successful party will choose its negotiating team from among its representatives. All the elected representatives will also be eligible to sit in a Forum designed to promote dialogue and mutual understanding. The Forum cannot determine the course of the negotiations but can make an important contribution in promoting dialogue between the parties and stimulating wider public involvement.

These new moves reflect the overwhelming desire for peace of all the people of Northern Ireland, and their determination to preserve the new quality of life they have enjoyed since August 1994, when the IRA declared their ceasefire. They want to build on the huge progress made in Northern Ireland in recent years: higher economic and social standards, new investment and jobs, fairer treatment in the workplace and elsewhere.

These elections give the people of Northern Ireland a unique chance to vote for peace and make sure their views are known. I hope that as many as possible, from all sides of the community, will take this chance. It is an opportunity to embrace negotiation and reject violence once and for all. Much has been made of the apparent complexity of the electoral system. But each voter only has to

- 2 -

place one cross against the party of his choice. Nothing could be easier or simpler in practice. It will be a vote for democracy and negotiation.

Once the elections are over, the route to the negotiations is clear, direct and automatic. And let me be absolutely clear about the British Government's intention to ensure that these negotiations will be a genuine and serious effort to reach a comprehensive settlement, covering all the issues of concern and acceptable to all concerned. The purpose of the negotiations is arrangements for the future government of Northern Ireland, within a framework of stable relationships within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands, which can command the widest possible acceptability, accommodate diversity and provide for the necessary mutual reconciliation. For our part, the British Government is committed to putting into effect whatever is agreed at the negotiations, provided it is endorsed by the people of Northern Ireland by way of a referendum.

What are the prospects for these negotiations? The British Government will work unrelentingly to make a success of them. But much depends on the parties themselves. No party can dictate what a settlement will look like. No party can expect to get all it wants. All parties need to be committed to making a success of the negotiations and to persisting with them even when the going gets tough. Readiness to compromise will be essential on the part of all concerned.

If the negotiations are approached in this spirit, as they will be by us, I am confident about the prospects for success. It is clear that, whatever the differences between the two political traditions in Northern Ireland, the gap is by no means unbridgeable. The shape of an eventual settlement can occasionally be glimpsed behind the sound and fury of the parties. The task is

- 3 -

to turn this glimpse into reality.

But there is a huge shadow over this prospect - the shadow of paramilitary violence, and in particular the shadow of the breakdown of the IRA ceasefire, and the violence since then.

The British and Irish Governments have made absolutely clear that they want all the parties in Northern Ireland to be at the negotiations. But they have made it just as clear that, without an unequivocal restoration of the IRA ceasefire, Sinn Fein cannot take their place in the negotiations. The point is simple. All the participants in the negotiations must be able to show their commitment to exclusively peaceful means and to the democratic process. Sinn Fein cannot do so with any credibility if the organisation with which they are linked is continuing violence.

John Bruton's speech in Finglas a couple of weeks ago spelled out how the two Governments have worked to ensure a genuine process of negotiation, and set out the reasons for Sinn Fein and the IRA to follow peaceful, democratic means.

I endorse in particular the call he made in that speech for a renewed ceasefire. I want Sinn Fein to be part of the negotiations. They have an important contribution to make. But they cannot make it while there is no IRA ceasefire in place. The talks will in any event go ahead. And it must be in the interests of all parties, and the voters they represent, to make their own case.

I said that I was confident that the negotiations could succeed. But confidence is an ingredient sadly lacking between the parties themselves. On the Nationalist side, confidence is needed that a meaningful and inclusive process of

- 4 -

negotiations is on offer. The British Government have sought to build that confidence. The agenda is open. All parties will be treated equally in the negotiations. No-one can be forced to agree against their will. No outcome to the talks is pre-determined. No-one wants to drag out the process.

But confidence is also needed that the paramilitaries will not seek to use or threaten force if they cannot get their way at the negotiating table. The Unionists in particular need to have this confidence. That is why the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons, as called for by the Mitchell Report, remains so important. The British and Irish Governments have agreed that all the participants in the negotiations will have to make clear at the beginning of the talks their total and absolute commitment to the principles of democracy and non-violence set out in the Mitchell Report. Decommissioning will also need to be addressed at the beginning of the talks and agreement reached on how Mitchell's recommendations on decommissioning can be taken forward, without blocking the negotiations.

This is a formidable challenge among many other formidable challenges. But, like the others, I believe it can be met. The objective is a negotiated settlement. We have taken risks before in search of this objective. We shall do so again. Let no-one doubt our continuing commitment. But we also need a willingness among all the Northern Ireland parties to engage in genuine, open dialogue with each other, and readiness to reach the compromises that will be necessary to move forward.

Both British and Irish Governments have a vital role to play in making peace and a negotiated settlement in Northern Ireland possible. That we share so much in common culturally and politically, not least our fundamental commitment to democracy and its values, makes the task easier. The prize is

- 5 -

great: a prosperous and peaceful future for the people of Northern Ireland, and
for all the people of these islands. We must not let the opportunity slip now.



Ulster Unionist Council

3 Glengall Street, Belfast BT12 5AE

Telephone: 01232 - 324601

Fax No: 01232 - 246738

E-mail: uup@uup.org

8 May 1996

The Hon. William J Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
WASHINGTON DC 20500

Dear Mr President

Thank you for your generous hospitality to myself and the Friends of the Ulster Unionist Party at the St. Patrick's Day reception in the White House

Prior to the commencement of the forthcoming elections on May 30 and subsequent negotiations on June 10, I wish to express my gratitude to your administration for the increasingly balanced, even-handed and constructive support given to the efforts to achieve a political agreement and a lasting peace in Northern Ireland. Your personal commitment in this respect is deeply appreciated by people of all traditions in Northern Ireland and this feeling was enhanced by your visit last fall.

We would also wish to record our appreciation for your efforts to assist with economic development in Northern Ireland. The work of the late Ron Brown and Chuck Meissner will long be remembered and it was with great sadness that I and my colleagues attended the interdenominational memorial service held in Belfast last month to honour their contribution toward peace and prosperity in Ulster.

The support given to the political process in Northern Ireland by your administration will however only continue to be beneficial if it is seen very clearly to be even-handed and balanced. Therefore, I wish to share with you the concerns of my Party and of the greater number in Northern Ireland whom we represent regarding a role for Senator George Mitchell in the forthcoming talks.

We have a very high personal regard for Senator Mitchell and as you know we have indicated our support for the Report of the International Body on decommissioning, chaired by him. At the beginning of the talks the parties will be required to give their total and absolute commitment to the principles of democracy and non violence contained in that Report and to address at that stage its proposals for the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons. It has been suggested that an independent chairman might assist in dealing with these issues. As we expect that Senator George Mitchell would uphold the principles of his Report, with the consequent exclusion from the process of any party which fails to honour those principles, before during and after the talks, we could see certain advantages in continuity, if we could be

Leader of the Party: DAVID TRIMBLE, MP
Patron: COLONEL JAMES G CUNNINGHAM, OBE DL
President: JOSIAS CUNNINGHAM, MA, DL General Secretary: JIM WILSON

assured that the Senator would also remain committed to the suggestion in the Report of decommissioning parallel to the talks, which we consider should in fact begin within a short time frame.

It is also our strongly held view that the person chosen to chair such proceedings should be clearly seen to be totally independent and free from any internal or external pressure or interference. Senator Mitchell is closely associated with your administration and in this Presidential election year we are very concerned that pressures may be brought to bear on him by certain elements within the Irish American community in return for promises of electoral support for your Presidency as happened during the election campaign in 1992.

If we could be assured that your administration would take steps to ensure that Senator Mitchell would be free at all times from such interference or pressure and that the negotiations would remain solely a matter for the Northern Ireland Parties and the British and Irish governments, then we would support his appointment to a role in the talks.

I would be grateful to receive your assurances on these important matters.

With every good wish to the First Lady and you for continued success.

Yours sincerely



David Trimble MP
LEADER

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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007. memo	re:Alleged IRA Ties (1 page)	05/16/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

[Ireland]-Working File, May 1996

2011-0355-F
rs1709

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]
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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. report	re: PIRA Capabilities (8 pages)	05/03/1996	P1/b(1)

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Ulster Unionist Council

3 Glengall Street, Belfast BT12 5AE
Telephone: 01232 - 324601
Fax No: 01232 - 246738
E-mail: uup@uup.org

8 May 1996

The Hon. William J Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
WASHINGTON DC 20500

*TO MAP
Can you call
Jeffrey & figure out
what they are looking
for re response?*

Dear Mr President

Thank you for your generous hospitality to myself and the Friends of the Ulster Unionist Party at the St. Patrick's Day reception in the White House.

Prior to the commencement of the forthcoming elections on May 30 and subsequent negotiations on June 10, I wish to express my gratitude to your administration for the increasingly balanced, even-handed and constructive support given to the efforts to achieve a political agreement and a lasting peace in Northern Ireland. Your personal commitment in this respect is deeply appreciated by people of all traditions in Northern Ireland and this feeling was enhanced by your visit last fall.

We would also wish to record our appreciation for your efforts to assist with economic development in Northern Ireland. The work of the late Ron Brown and Chuck Meissner will long be remembered and it was with great sadness that I and my colleagues attended the interdenominational memorial service held in Belfast last month to honour their contribution toward peace and prosperity in Ulster.

The support given to the political process in Northern Ireland by your administration will however only continue to be beneficial if it is seen very clearly to be even-handed and balanced. Therefore, I wish to share with you the concerns of my Party and of the greater number in Northern Ireland whom we represent regarding a role for Senator George Mitchell in the forthcoming talks.

We have a very high personal regard for Senator Mitchell and as you know we have indicated our support for the Report of the International Body on decommissioning, chaired by him. At the beginning of the talks the parties will be required to give their total and absolute commitment to the principles of democracy and non violence contained in that Report and to address at that stage its proposals for the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons. It has been suggested that an independent chairman might assist in dealing with these issues. As we expect that Senator George Mitchell would uphold the principles of his Report, with the consequent exclusion from the process of any party which fails to honour those principles, before during and after the talks, we could see certain advantages in continuity, if we could be

Leader of the Party: DAVID TRIMBLE, MP
Patron: COLONEL JAMES G CUNNINGHAM, OBE, DL
President: JOSIAS CUNNINGHAM, MA, DL General Secretary: JIM WILSON

assured that the Senator would also remain committed to the suggestion in the Report of decommissioning parallel to the talks, which we consider should in fact begin within a short time frame.

It is also our strongly held view that the person chosen to chair such proceedings should be clearly seen to be totally independent and free from any internal or external pressure or interference. Senator Mitchell is closely associated with your administration and in this Presidential election year we are very concerned that pressures may be brought to bear on him by certain elements within the Irish American community in return for promises of electoral support for your Presidency as happened during the election campaign in 1992.

If we could be assured that your administration would take steps to ensure that Senator Mitchell would be free at all times from such interference or pressure and that the negotiations would remain solely a matter for the Northern Ireland Parties and the British and Irish governments, then we would support his appointment to a role in the talks.

I would be grateful to receive your assurances on these important matters.

With every good wish to the First Lady and you for continued success.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "David Trimble". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

David Trimble MP
LEADER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
SODERBERG/ADAMS

APRIL 19, 1996

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2011-0355-F (4.83)
KBH 4/11/2023

Adams: Hello Nancy, how are you?

Ms. Soderberg: It's been a difficult week with the whole world blowing up: Lebanon, Ireland, Egypt, Liberia and now the Central African Republic. Tony and Sandy Berger are away and it seems everything is falling apart.

Adams: And how are you faring after Ron Brown's death?

Ms. Soderberg: Awful, we are devastated. You just assume you are ok on a military flight; all of us have taken them. And so many people died.

Adams: You may have heard this many times but there was an actual sense of personal loss here, perhaps because we met with them during such an uplifting phase of the process. When I saw the first reports of a possible crash, with a picture of Ron Brown, I saw Chuck in the background and realized that if there had been a crash, he would have been killed as well.

Ms. Soderberg: There were so many young people aboard too. I know it has been a rough period for you too.

Adams: I tried to talk to Tony this week but he was away.

Ms. Soderberg: He tried to reach you over the weekend before he left. It is hard from Asia with the time difference. He says hello.

Adams: John is going to be over on your side soon. He is going via London, Nice, Strasbourg; then to New York, Boston and Washington. He and I have been having intensive discussions. He will be telling you about them at your end. Next week I will be in Dublin for a series of meetings; Sinn Fein will be putting forward a series of propositions. At my request, John will be talking with the British. We have a sense of what sort of package is required. I would like to make another call mid-week on another phone to talk about the same thing as before.

Ms. Soderberg: Would it be helpful for us to do something like that?

Adams: That is the role we would envisage if you think it is feasible. I want to be restrained on this phone. What we have sorted out, and we don't know whether it's doable, are the elements we think could be met with some positive response. John Hume will convey a sense of it to you and run it by the British - in fact he has already done so. I am thinking about two options: I can phone mid-week or some can go there to talk with yourselves. I just thought of that second point on the way back tonight. Howell has been away.

Ms. Soderberg: Better to phone and talk to us directly rather than have someone have to carry our comments back to you.

Adams: I would do that anyway; I'd send a third person to fill you in on the details and talk to Mairead.

Ms. Soderberg: We were deeply concerned about that bomb in London. The sooner we have an end to that, the better. I noticed reports of statements you have made that sounded negative on the election and the forum; we can talk more later, but statements like that make it harder and harder to move the process forward.

Adams: Our view is that the election is a nonsense and the forum is a distraction. But we will fight the election. That is what the SDLP will do. In the meantime the best thing is to point out the need for entry into all-party talks. I pointed out to the media that there is apathy about the election and senior members of the SDLP have criticized the forum. Tactically and strategically, I said, it would be good if Sinn Fein and SDLP were to boycott the election and the forum and force the two governments to come up with a sensible plan.

Ms. Soderberg: If that is the case, the unionists will have an excuse for walking out of the talks without even having been cornered.

Adams: But the realpolitik is that I am not going to succeed in doing what I'd like to. We'll contest the election; once the bill is past Parliament, once that hurdle is overcome, then we will start campaigning. In fact we already are.

Ms. Soderberg: What is your sense of the bill?

Adams: The whole thing is a distraction. That is a widespread view. And there are comparisons to where we were in August or September 1994.

Ms. Soderberg: And the negotiations paper?

Adams: The ground rules paper. Notwithstanding its narrowness and the fact that there is no detail about a timeframe, I think it is quite good. I haven't said that publicly and I may never do so...

Ms. Soderberg: That is the most important piece.

Adams: There are good bits in the Framework Document, the Declaration and even the Anglo-Irish Agreement but it all comes down to political will. The British have yet to show the will to match the potential that is there. I am concerned when Paddy Mayhew gets up in Parliament and says decommissioning will be addressed as the first item of business, when the paper only says "address."

Ms. Soderberg: What do you think of the idea of a "fourth strand?"

Adams: It is a useful way of making sure there is no stalling. An independent chairman is also a good idea.

Ms. Soderberg: Do you have sense of where the discussion is on how to handle decommissioning?

Adams: There is no real discussion. Let me read to you what is in the press, "The unionists say the restoration of the IRA cease-fire is not enough; decommissioning has to be added. David Trimble is critical of the elective process. Paisley and Trimble say the forum has to have a part in the talks."

Ms. Soderberg: It's a little confusing -- Trimble against an elective process?

Adams: He says it is too complicated with too many parties participating. Democracy is terrible. There is no progress on the decommissioning issue. There has been no focus from us of the SDLP. Of course the Irish Government is trying to work on it.

Ms. Soderberg: How important is the issue of the 75% majority?

Adams: A big issue. It would give the unionist the ability to run it. One SDLP guy asked me whether it is 75% of those elected or those in attendance. The unionists will use the forum to make endless speeches. Last time the RUC had to drag them out because they stayed for days making speeches to each other. You should watch the video. I can send it if you would like.

Ms. Soderberg: No thanks.

Adams: It is vexed and a problem.

Ms. Soderberg: Keeping an eye on the ball means to make sure negotiations start. If you clear away the smoke all indication are that we can figure out decommissioning and Strand Two, we have a good shot.

Adams: We see two big problems: the widespread distrust in the republican community after 18 months and even wider feeling, including some in Fine Gael, that the Taoiseach is not right, and that with John Major as a lame duck, that is a problem.

Ms. Soderberg: We are still willing to be helpful.

Adams: That is crucial. We need that kind of assistance.

Ms Soderberg: Another bomb would make it more difficult.

Adams: That was the first, I think, since John and I met with a group of them.

Ms Soderberg: Three weeks ago?

Adams: Longer.

Peters: Six weeks.

Adams: Since we met them we had not produced anything, though we were trying. Now we have something and are in the process of putting it together.

Ms. Soderberg: All the more reason to restore the cease-fire; then these other issues get easier.

Adams: I'll talk to Mairead on Sunday and then firm up plans to talk to you and Tony. I'm going to open a bottle of wine now.

Ms. Soderberg: It will be another six hours before I get to that point, but I'll think about you when I do. Take care.

Adams: Slan.