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24/10/2001			PM's Northern Ireland Statement - Speaking Note	U	
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24/10/2001	NIO	NIO	First Draft of Statement by Secretary of State	U	
24/10/2001		Ch.Staff	IICD Press Statement-"International Arms Inspectors Welcome IRA a	U	
24/10/2001	NIO	NIO	Statement:Second Draft For 11.30 Meeting	U	
24/10/2001	PM		Letter to Gerry Adams on Westminster Facilities	U	
24/10/2001	MOD	NIO	Northern Ireland:Devolution of Law and Order Functions	C	
25/10/2001	NIO	NIO	Irish Understandings with Sinn Fein	C	
25/10/2001	NIO	SS/NIO	Conversation with General De Chastelain	C	
26/10/2001	NIO	Ch.Staff	Undertakings to Sinn Fein	C	0
26/10/2001	PM		Letter to His Excellency Martti Oiva Kalevi Ahtisaari	U	0
26/10/2001	PM		Letter to Cyril Ramaphosa	U	0
26/10/2001	NIO	NIO	Prospects for Trimble's Re-election	R	
26/10/2001			PA Article: "General had verified weapons disposal - Unionists"	U	
26/10/2001	NIO	FA/APS	Draft letters of thanks for Ahtisaari and Ramaphosa	U	
29/10/2001	NIO	Ch.Staff	Tomorrows Implmentation Group Meeting	C	
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# New Dialogue News

*Working for permanent peace, democracy and good relations in these islands*  
**Presidents: Harry Barnes MP, Peter Bottomley MP, Simon Hughes MP and Lord Hylton**

**Vice-President: Calum MacDonald MP**

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## *A journey from hatred to hope*

**Rt Hon John Reid MP**

It's an honour for me to be asked to make the closing speech. In my head I've got the speech I would have liked to deliver today. It would have been a celebration of an unprecedented second term spiced with Scottish jokes and Prescottish jokes. Laced with accolades to those who contributed to that victory - to Margaret McDonagh, - didn't she make it all happen? to Neil Kinnock, - didn't he make it all possible? and to John Hume, for whom nothing was impossible. It would have looked back with a sense of pride to our achievements and looked forward with humility to what remained to be done. Of course we have had some opportunity to do all of these, both on conference floor and on the fringe. I'd like to be speaking about our domestic priorities. We know what they are. On the 7th June the British people gave us our marching orders "Improve Schools and Hospitals", they said. "Build a fairer country" We mustn't lose sight of that. We all have a role to play over the weeks and months to come to ensure the money this Labour government is investing is truly delivering the improved public services we promised. But that's not the speech for today.

Because we met here this week not in a celebration of past victories but in sombre awareness of what lies ahead. That full awareness only came to me when I opened a book of condolence in Belfast along with Richard Haass, President Bush's envoy for Northern Ireland and the Middle East, and other American friends. Rarely in the great history of the United States has that country needed to lean on others for comfort and support. Throughout the last century it was the reverse - we relied on help from across the Atlantic. But in the fight against terrorism no nation, however powerful, can prevail alone. So when we speak of standing shoulder to shoulder with the United States and other allies, we don't do so just as allies, or friends, or out of self interest - though there's all of those. We do it because, as Kofi Anan said on Monday, "Humanity must act as one against terrorism." - because, in order for evil to prevail, it is only necessary that good men and women do nothing.

We should embark on that campaign with no illusions. It will be long, and broad, and deep. Because the evil which confronts us is no conventional enemy. It can appear anywhere in any form. That is why those who equate our fight against terrorism as a fight against Islam are so profoundly wrong and so profoundly dangerous. Terrorism does not just appear in the desert carrying the Koran. It appears in the streets of Northern Ireland clasping the Bible. It has appeared on the back streets of Bologna preaching socialism and in Omagh or on the hills of Spain preaching nationalism. Terrorism is not characterised by any one religion or any one political creed. It is marked by the rejection of any means of available dialogue and an utter fanaticism bred by hatred. It will be a long journey from hatred to hope. There will be no quick fix, no easy victories, no glorious fanfares. It will have to be fought by every possible means including Diplomatic, Political, Legal, Economic, Intelligence and Humanitarian means. We can no more eradicate terrorism by deploying only one means of attack, than we can eradicate disease by using only one brand of pills.

*CONTENTS: A journey from hatred to hope by Rt Hon John Reid MP: Speech to Conservative Conference by David Trimble. Open Ulster to Labour. Reid declares loyalist cease-fires over by Rosie Cowan. Not the republic Barry fought and died for by Fergus Finlay. Ward's Words. Massive human tragedy - An Phoblacht editorial. The only difference, Gerry, is one of scale by Ruth Dudley Edwards. Gerry Adams column. Leading Irish American urges IRA to disarm. America will turn on IRA to support Britain by Conor Cruise O'Brien. Hard days ahead for Sinn Fein by Ruth Dudley Edwards. US ambassador in IRA hand-shake row by Toby Harnden. Adams issues warning to new police recruits by David Sharrock. Wasted lives, wasted years by Henry McDonald. Peace process - holding gun to media's head by Eoghan Harris. Abridged Presidential Address by Gerry Adams MP to the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis 2001. O'Sama bin Laden and Internment by Gary Kent. Tribute to Martin O'Hagan by Eddie Walsh.*

*Breaking news: As we go to print, there is intensive speculation that the Provisional IRA will decommission. This will be covered in next month's edition.*

That is precisely why we have acted in a deliberate and considered fashion. That is why Tony Blair has taken a political lead on the world stage in putting together not only the political coalition to bring those responsible to account, but also a humanitarian coalition to deal with Afghan refugees. It is why Jack Straw has followed that lead with a hectic round of diplomatic contact consulting both close allies and some less well known regimes to secure the widest possible coalition. That is why David Blunkett has announced new legal steps to combat terrorist operations. Laws to stop terrorist cash being laundered in unlicensed bureau de change, to stop terrorists abusing the asylum appeals procedure. And it is why this Labour government has given £68 million in aid for Afghanistan - more than any other European country. -and led the IMF to reduce the burden of debt for the world's poorest countries. Because if we are to fight a broad campaign against terrorism, then we need to conduct a broad campaign against starvation too.

We don't shrink from military means. But if we need iron fist against those who would inflict terrorism it will only be truly effective if we extend the helping hand of friendship towards those who suffer the ravages of natural or man-made disaster. And, in the coming years our resolution in defending our security will be matched by our willingness to respond in the search for political resolution wherever possible. That is what we are trying to do in the Middle East. It is what we are trying to do in Northern Ireland.

For almost thirty years there, those who sought to secure their political objectives through the bomb and the gun were matched by a military and security response. Those were decades of terrible pain and loss. They left three and a half thousand dead, the equivalent in British population terms of around forty times that number - 140,000. In comparable US terms - almost half a million dead. And yet in Northern Ireland we have begun a journey from hatred to hope. It was the recognition of the futility of violence by those engaged in terrorism which, for the most part, opened the door of opportunity for political dialogue. It is only a start. Sometimes faltering. But we have already shown that politics can work.

Under this Labour Government we have introduced legislation to protect Human Rights, establish equality, reform the police service and new, powerful, democratic institutions in

which both sides of the community can share government. We have worked closely with the Irish Government in achieving these advances. These are not concessions to one side or the other. Addressing perceived social injustices is the very basis of building a peaceful future. But it is still an imperfect peace. Hatred still lingers.

This summer in the Ardoyne we saw young children subjected to violence, intimidation and abuse as they started their new term at primary school. It was a disgusting spectacle which has tarnished the reputation of all in Northern Ireland. It is the right of every child to be educated free of intimidation and harassment and, whatever the cost this government will protect that right. If we are going to hate in Northern Ireland, let's hate those things we should hate poverty, unemployment, deprivation - and sectarianism not those people in the next street with a different religion. Those - on either side of the divide - who can't leave their hatred and bitterness behind can't be allowed to blight the life of others. That's why I am announcing today that we will legislate to criminalise those manifestations of hatred, whether based on racism or based on sectarianism.

We are also on a journey away from violence towards democracy. The Government remains committed to a process, enshrined in the Good Friday Agreement, where parity of esteem, equality of opportunity and the normalisation of Northern Ireland remains a goal for which we will steadfastly work with our partners in the Irish Government. But it has to be all of the Good Friday Agreement - the acceptance of the democratic will of the people of Northern Ireland as regards their constitutional status and a commitment by all to exclusively peaceful means. Because terrorism in Northern Ireland is ethically indefensible. And if terrorism is indefensible, then the apparatus of terrorism is indefensible.

A cease-fire is not enough - the weapons must be put beyond use. The apparatus must be dismantled. Violence must be brought to an end for good. For those who are making that change from violence to politics, including Republicans, we have shown patience. We don't underestimate how far they have come. We understand the historical and ideological enormity of that challenge. But ultimately we all face a stark choice. The ballot box, or the bomb and the bullet. There is no Mix'n'match Menu in a democracy. But there are those, still stuck in the

quagmire of violent confrontation. Tragically, we saw that only a few days ago with the savage gunning down of the journalist Martin O'Hagan. That was not only a desire to murder an innocent man, it was an attempt to murder a free press and democracy itself. Let me say to the cowardly thugs who did that. That wasn't loyalism, it was gangsterism. It had nothing to do with the good book - it had everything to do with your bank-books. And if you do still harbour any misconceived notion that this act had something to do with being loyal to Britain, let me tell you. No-one in Britain or Northern Ireland wants anything to do with your murderous ways. We will apply all of our energy, all of the forces at our disposal, every power available to us in a civilised society to ensure you do not succeed.

That's why I am working closely with David Blunkett on his package of measures to ensure that as many as possible can be used to good effect in bringing the residual terrorist violence we face in Northern Ireland to an end. We have the unique opportunity in Northern Ireland to show an example to the world. If we can succeed here, in the longest running political problem in British history, we can show that hatred can be turned into hope. But in Northern Ireland, as on a global scale, we are going to need to dig deep into our reserves of endurance over the coming months and years. History will judge us not by the extremity of our language, nor even by the nobility of our sentiments. We will be judged by the steadfastness of our actions over time.

Rarely has this generation been challenged by that prospect. We should have no illusions. All of us will have to find the reserves of endurance to call upon. As we leave conference, we will all do that in our own way. I have mine. My own father wasn't celebrated or famous. He wasn't a politician or a leader. But he did take a stand against what was then the most poisonous regime to emanate from the face of Europe. He volunteered. Along with his youngest and oldest brother, he spent six years of his youth at war. He sacrificed his youth, for the next generation of youth. And he sacrificed more. He came back without either of his brothers.

When I was a teenager, he gave me the inaugural address of John F. Kennedy. Today those words are perhaps more resonant than ever as we leave: "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support

any friend, oppose any foe, in order to ensure the survival and success of liberty." And we will so conduct ourselves in the fight against terrorism. Four days ago we started our conference with a short two minutes of silence. We now leave prepared for perhaps many long years of endurance. That is the responsibility of government. It is the burden of leadership. And it is a responsibility and burden which we willingly accept.

*Labour Party conference 3 October 2001*

## Speech to Conservative Conference By David Trimble

**May I thank you for the invitation to speak here today. I have always wanted to see Ulster Unionism closer to the heart of British politics.**

Today will mark a further step in that direction. I am also glad to see this invitation has been noticed elsewhere. I happened to be in Downing Street last week and someone said to me, "I see you're addressing the Tory Conference." I said that it was nothing odd, after all he had a guest at his. Indeed I remarked that his guest Gerhard Schroeder said he had come to the Labour conference as part of his quest to unite Europe. My object today, however, is much more modest.

Obviously we meet at a very special time. May I say how proud I am at the contribution Britain is making at the moment. The attack on the World Trade Centre was the greatest terrorist attack on the British people since the defeat of Hitler. It affected people from all parts of the British Isles - at least three of the dead came from Northern Ireland. We all know there may be greater challenges ahead for our armed forces and indeed for society here in Britain and our thoughts and prayers are with our servicemen and all those who protect us at home or abroad.

But the Government today is doing precisely what we would want and expect a British government to do and it will be supported. In a situation like this we know the need to act and act decisively even though, inescapably, one must act on imperfect information producing results that may fall short of the ideal. But if I can digress, Britain and America find it easier to act because they have governments capable of taking decisions. The hesitant and sometime uncertain

responses of our European partners are because in most cases they are governed by coalitions. Inevitably they are less capable of quick and resolute decision. And, of course, coalitions are the inevitable consequence of proportional representation. I have had experience of more than one form of proportional representation. But I must resist the temptation of telling you of the drawbacks of PR.

But if the response to Bin Laden and the Taleban is clear-cut, unfortunately at home in Northern Ireland, the position is not so clear. The problem is uncertainty and the Government's reluctance to grasp the nettle. I still think John Major was right when he began the process. Whatever one might think of the character of those involved in terrorism, if they were saying that they were prepared to turn their back on terrorism and embrace peace and democracy, then, if only for the sake of the people who identified with them politically, it was right to explore the chance of peaceful evolution. The problem is that the terrorists have tried to have it both ways - the ballot box and the armalite. They have delayed a clear and unequivocal commitment to peace.

We can all go back over the last few years and say we would have done this or that differently. But the point today is that I and my party are now bringing matters to a head in order to force Sinn Fein and the IRA to decide. We are not doing this cynically to exploit the mood after 11 September. We have been steadily, patiently, building the pressure since last October. On Monday we took the final steps, which will result, by about today week, in the resignation of the Unionist Ministers from the Northern Ireland Executive. This will be shortly followed by the removal therefrom of the Sinn Fein Ministers until they prove by decommissioning that they have left violence behind.

We have waited a long time - three and a half years since the Agreement - seventeen months since the IRA itself promised to put their weapons beyond use. If they are ever going to do it, it must be now. If they do, fine. Then the new institutions will bed down. If they do not it will be clear that we must change the institutions so they can survive Sinn Fein's failure. There may be reluctance to make those changes, but the need will be inescapable.

Either way I look forward to greater certainty and stability in Northern Ireland. But Northern Ireland does not exist in isolation. It is part of the United Kingdom. There is a wider

context, which we should consider. So it is natural to consider our relationship with national politics. Because I am here, some have speculated that I am going to talk about future links between Conservatives and Ulster Unionists. And of course there was for a long time a structural relationship between our parties and there is a strong continuing friendship. But this is too big an issue to be approached simply in a sectional way. I would prefer to reflect first more broadly.

There is a communal aspect to party structures in Ulster. This has some unfortunate consequences. Some who do not want a united Ireland will vote nationalist out of a perceived need for communal solidarity. On the other hand some opt out of politics completely because they dislike the communal background of most parties. Most Ulster Unionists would think of themselves as small "c" conservatives. But some would identify more with Labour and are Unionist for communal reasons. Once it was different. In the nineteenth century, both the Liberal and Conservative parties organised throughout Ireland. In the early twentieth century Labour too organised there. But in response to Irish nationalism those involved in those parties coalesced to form Ulster Unionism. It was understandable and for decades it gave us stability. But it has this disadvantage - politics in Northern Ireland are based on a nationalist framework of reference. Parties are based on the fundamental issue of whether they are for or against a united Ireland.

Compare Scotland. Parties there are based on a British framework of reference. The major British parties are there providing to the Scottish people the full range of British politics and then, alongside them there is a Scottish nationalist party. To a British person who wants to see and take part in British politics, the Scottish model is preferable to that which we have in Northern Ireland. To its credit the Conservative Party has recognised this. Moreover it is important that the decision in the late 80s to organise in Northern Ireland was taken in response to pressure from the grassroots of the party. They felt, rightly, that some of the party's policies on Northern Ireland were wrong, and they wanted to send a message of sympathy to the British people of Ulster.

But a move by Conservatives alone could not break the mould. If things are to change, if we are to move from an Irish nationalist to a British pluralist basis of politics, then we need



two things. First of all the national parties must move. I am sure that this party will do its bit. The problem is Labour. It too must be prepared to move. There is an element in Labour sympathetic to Irish nationalism who have resisted this. But they must realise that with the acceptance by the Irish government and by all the Irish nationalist parties of the consent principle, their attitudes must change. If Tony Blair was right when, on his first visit to Ulster as Prime Minister in May 1997, he said to some primary school children, that there would not be a United Ireland in their lifetime, then Labour has a duty to provide political opportunities for those children throughout their lives. And Labour members with Irish nationalist sympathies should remember the considerable contribution to the positive development of community relations in Scotland that resulted from Wheatley's decision to take the Irish nationalist organisation in Scotland into the Labour party there.

The second thing concerns the party politics in Northern Ireland. Clearly it will be radically affected. I know there will be many in all parties, my own included who will be cautious. And we will not want to give up our capacity to exercise our own judgement on local issues. Moreover it is not until there is a sense of stability, a sense that Ulster's place within the Union is secure, that the Assembly and the new arrangements have bedded - not until all that is settled will folk focus fully on these wider issues. But I am sure that they will want to address these wider issues. I am sure that the basic concepts of the Agreement are sound - the consent principle to settle the constitutional issue - a regional assembly to give democratic accountability on local issues - an Irish dimension to acknowledge the identity of nationalists.

But more is needed. The Assembly is limited. It has to operate within the context of the overall economic and social policy of the national government. If the Assembly is all there is the people will not feel that they are properly involved in politics. Taxation, expenditure, defence, foreign policy, are still determined in London. Unless there is a sense of involvement and accountability on those issues, the electorate in Northern Ireland will not be satisfied. This problem does not exist with regard to Scotland and Wales. There the people can vote for the national parties who decide these matters. I do not think we will have a healthy political system until the people of Northern Ireland have a similar opportunity to "turn the

rascals out". And it is in the interests of the people of Great Britain and in the interests of the people of the Republic of Ireland to encourage the development of healthier politics in Northern Ireland.

There is another aspect too. The present structures prevent a person in Northern Ireland participating in British national politics. The last two governments contained Ministers from Northern Ireland. But Sir Brian Mawhinney and Kate Hoey had to leave Northern Ireland in order to be able to participate. It reminds me of the comparison between Belfast and Bangkok. The question is what can you do in Bangkok that you cannot do in Belfast? The answer of course is join the Labour party. Northern Ireland is the only place on the globe where you cannot join Labour. It is a civil rights issue.

This is not something that is going to change overnight. It is not on the agenda today. But it is something we should think about. It will probably be on tomorrow's agenda. It is right that it should for in a sense, it is just filling in the British dimension to the Agreement. When the time comes I believe this party will be ready. I hope mine will be. Together I think we can meet the need. The real challenge, however, is for New Labour and Tony Blair. Mr. Blair made a good beginning on Northern Ireland. That May 1997 speech was sound on the basic principles. Without him there would not have been an Agreement in April 1998. But then came the implementation. Understandably he left much of that to others. To an extent he took his eye off the ball. Expediency slithered into appeasement. Confidence in the Agreement ebbed as people felt that the concessions were all one way.

But there is the chance now to recover - indeed to fulfil the original promise. The paramilitaries can be faced down - the Assembly stabilised. And by moving forward with this party he could offer a range of political alternatives to the people of Ulster. It is often said that we are the prisoners of history. But the key on the outside. Mr. Blair it is time to turn it. Time to treat the people of Northern Ireland as fully part of the United Kingdom.

10 October 2001

## Open Ulster to Labour

David Trimble is correct that Northern Ireland is the only place in the entire world where you can't be

a Labour Party member (Trimble calls for links with Tories, October 11). This membership ban is politically discriminatory. It denies people living in Northern Ireland the basic democratic right to join the party which forms their government, and that will continue to set their taxes, determine their pensions and take them to war, even in the context of devolution. We need an end to the membership ban so that Labour people in Northern Ireland, of whatever background, are able to participate politically in the Labour Party, which governs them.

Support for membership rights has been growing rapidly in the Labour Party. Well over 180 Labour parliamentarians now back party membership, and a number of major trade unions are in support. Opinion polls in Northern Ireland confirm that support for membership is cross-community with Catholics being at least as much in favour as Protestants. The campaigners have legal advice that the ban violates the Labour Party's own rules. It may also contravene the European Convention on Human Rights and the Human Rights Act in that it denies the right to freedom of association.

If the Labour Party allows Northern Ireland residents to join the Labour Party, this will bring it into line with the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats who currently allow membership. A distinctive Labour voice could do much to bring new faces and social forces into politics, and encourage the necessary realignment of politics in Northern Ireland along non-sectarian lines.

*Harry Barnes MP, Michael Connarty MP, Boyd Black Lini, Hon Gwyneth Dunwoody MP, Rt Hon Frank Field MP, Kate Hoey MP, John Edmonds, General Secretary, GMB, Roger Lyons, General Secretary, MSF dnini@btconnect.com This letter appeared in the Guardian on 13 October 2001*

## Reid declares loyalist cease-fires over By Rosie Cowan

The Northern Ireland secretary, John Reid, yesterday declared that the government no longer recognised the cease-fires of two Protestant paramilitary groups, after renewed violence by the Ulster

## Defence Association and indications of Loyalist Volunteer Force involvement in the murder of a journalist.

A fortnight ago he decided to give the UDA one last chance, despite security force intelligence that the UDA was orchestrating rioting in north Belfast, after he received information at the 11th hour that its leaders had called a halt to the trouble. He warned then that all the cease-fires were under scrutiny. The UDA/Ulster Freedom Fighters, the province's biggest loyalist group, and the hardline LVF have failed the test.

Mr Reid said the RUC chief constable, Sir Ronnie Flanagan, had given him clear evidence that the UDA/UFF orchestrated serious violence in the Shankill Road in Belfast on Thursday night, when a mob hurled petrol bombs and fireworks at police searching for drugs and weapons. He also had security information that the LVF was behind the murder of Martin O'Hagan, an investigative reporter with the Dublin-based Sunday World, who was shot dead in front of his wife in Lurgan, Co Armagh, two weeks ago just hours after Mr Reid postponed a decision on the cease-fires.

Mr Reid said he wanted to send a wake-up call to those who thought they could drag Northern Ireland back into chaos and sectarian hatred, and that people's patience was now at an end. "These organisations (UDA and LVF) are deaf to that call, blind to the misery they cause, and consumed by the power of their own corruption," he said. "They show contempt for democracy, for decency, for all that is good for Northern Ireland."

The nationalist SDLP and Sinn Fein welcomed yesterday's decision, although they said it was overdue. Gerry Kelly of Sinn Fein said it was a pity the government had only now accepted what victims of the UDA had been telling them for more than a year, after more than 200 pipe bomb attacks on Catholic homes. The UDA was engaged in a feud with the rival loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force last year, and security sources have implicated UDA/UFF and LVF in several murders.

Mr Reid's announcement will not bring any major new sanctions, as the government already had the option of bringing back to jail any paramilitary prisoners it felt were breaching the terms of their early release under the Good Friday agreement. But with Protestant confidence in the beleaguered peace process waning, and unionists set to quit the power-sharing Stormont government next

week due to lack of IRA decommissioning, there are fears that any up surge in loyalist paramilitary activity could destabilise the situation further.

While republicans had been lobbying for some time for the UDA cease-fire to be declared over, it may not help bring IRA disarmament any closer, particularly if loyalist violence gets worse. It is also difficult to predict how the UDA, an increasingly dislocated organisation under six local commanders, will react. Mr Reid admitted: "I cannot pretend to you that specifying these organisations will change their behaviour, or soften their vicious hatred, or change their warped view of reality."

John White, the chairman of the Ulster Democratic party, the UDA's political wing, warned that the announcement could trigger a backlash among grassroots loyalists and he called on Mr Reid to declare the IRA cease-fire over. "The UDA gets the blame for everything, yet the IRA's record leaves a lot to be desired as well," he said. "This will send a signal to the vast majority of UDA people who supported the peace process that their contribution is no longer recognised. That might give them a licence to go out and do things they normally wouldn't do because of the restraints placed on them by the cease-fire."

Security chiefs also fear trouble, but Mr Reid clearly felt he had no choice but to act. He said people longed to see an end to the "hoodlum sub-culture" on their streets and he had to send a clear message on behalf of society. "Terrorism belongs to the past," he said. "The people of Northern Ireland are saying to thugs, gangsters and self-appointed generals: We reject you. You do not speak for us. You represent nothing but darkness and hatred."

*The Guardian 13 October 2001*

## Not the republic Barry fought and died for By Fergus Finlay

**What would Kevin Barry think of the so-called Republic which is going to bury him and nine others with full military honours on Sunday? Assuming he was in a position to think about these things, would he regard us as a republic at all? Or would he, like his historical forebear Robert Emmet, want no man to write his epitaph, because this is no kind of a republic?**

Barry, as we were all raised to believe, gave his young life for the cause of liberty. So I suppose that makes him a republican, at least according to the song. Liberty, after all, is one of the central tenets of republicanism (equality and brotherhood being the others). Whether he was actually a republican is open to question. I'm indebted to the Taoiseach's website for the information that Barry may actually have been just a young lad, caught up in the excitement of the War of Independence. This is what the Government website says: "Kevin was a member of H Coy, 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade. He was captured after a raid on a military bread lorry at Monks Bakery, on the junction of Church Street and North King Street on September 20, 1920, in which three British Soldiers were killed. He was tried for murder and sentenced to death. His youth provoked a huge national outcry. Kevin was a first year student in UCD, studying medicine. He was born at 8 Fleet Street, Dublin, where his father had a dairy business and he spent most of his life on the family farm in Carlow. Kevin was the first person executed during the War of Independence."

So there may be a bit less to his legend than the song suggests. We're giving a state funeral to a young lad who really shouldn't have died, who probably shouldn't even have been involved in the raid in which three soldiers were murdered and whose mother would have been furious if she had known he was out. But I don't begrudge him his state funeral, nor the nine others who will be similarly honoured. If I had had a vote in the matter, I would have voted for some respectful, quiet and dignified reburial; and emphatically against a funeral involving military honours.

Shots will be fired over their coffins. And I can hardly think of a less appropriate way for this State, after all we have been through, to honour our dead. The whole occasion will be further marred by the cheap party politics involved. This is in good part a stunt, to enable the Fianna Fail faithful to show off their republicanism in the face of a possible electoral threat from Sinn Féin. Our ever-more pompous Minister for Justice can deny it all he wants, but Barry and the others are being used for party political purposes by the organisation that still calls itself (in very small print) the Republican Party.

But leave all that aside, and come back to the question I asked at the start. What kind of a republic is it that is supposed to "honour our Fenian

dead"? I ask because recently the Government of this republic decided that little girls who are raped or abused and who are threatening to kill themselves as a result, would have no recourse under Irish law. Yes, our republic is prepared to let them go off to the country that executed Barry to have an abortion. Thank God, says our republic, for England. As long as they're prepared to provide the abortion facilities for 6,000 Irish women annually, we can keep ourselves pure.

I ask this because this republic appears unwilling to save its national airline. Apparently, state aid to Aer Lingus might be a breach of competition law. The collapse of Aer Lingus, if it were to happen, would create a virtual monopoly for Michael O'Leary and Ryanair. But that, apparently, would be OK within European law. (Incidentally, I have very little doubt that Minister Mary O'Rourke is prepared to deploy her formidable negotiating and fighting skills to try to save Aer Lingus. She is unfortunately saddled with senior colleagues who are secretly hoping that she loses and O'Leary indirectly wins. That would save our republican exchequer a few

bob; for the moment at least. And the damage that would be done to our republic's integrity would be worth it, wouldn't it?)

But you'll have to forgive me for saddling up my hobby horse when I say that the biggest reason poor Kevin Barry might be turning in his grave would be if he heard a person who actually carries the title of Junior Minister in the Department of Equality for our republic. This normally anonymous person is called Mary Wallace and she was on radio on Thursday morning explaining why the Government had thrown out a Bill aimed at giving rights to people with a disability. I'm going to declare an interest. The Bill was moved in the Dail by Fine Gael, but was freely acknowledged to be the work of the National Parents and Siblings Alliance. The Alliance, as its title suggests, consists mainly of parents and it was parents who had watched their children suffer from State neglect for years and years, who had drafted the Bill. I was one of those parents. All of us were attacked by Wallace. For reasons that only she could know, she chose to completely misrepresent the Bill and to effectively sneer at the parents of people with a disability, accusing them of "wanting to go backwards" and of wanting to see their children segregated.

As I listened to her bleating about

how she was going to bring in a better Bill, I began to seriously question what kind of republic I was living in. Just to be certain, I read her speech to the Dail, where again she kept repeating that her Bill was better. But what will be in this better Bill? It will give people with disabilities e-access (whatever that is), and access to public buildings, buses, parks and museums. Hello? Since when does access to public buildings require legislation? Who owns public buildings? Who can decide all the issues of access at the stroke of a pen? The Government, that's who. No legislation is needed. If the Government is serious (and of course it isn't) Wallace was just trying to get through the interview and didn't care who she patronised) its "better Bill" will contain, at a minimum, three things: a statutory right to an assessment for everyone who has a disability; a guaranteed right to the services needed as a result of that assessment; and the means of enforcing and protecting those rights. If they're all in the "better Bill" our hypocritical and dishonest Government has promised before Christmas, then maybe, just maybe, Kevin Barry might rest easy. If I were in a position to give him advice, though, I'd be saying, don't hold your breath Kevin.

*Irish Examiner 13 October 2001*

## Ward's Words

**President Bush and Prime Minister Blair have said that they are declaring war on terrorism. At the same time they seek to assure Moslems that this is not a war on Islam. Such assurances will be worthless if it can be shown that they are not going to pursue Irish republican terrorists with equal vigour.**

The best one-liner I have come across on John Hume comes from a citizen of the Irish Republic, Robin Bury: "SF/IRA should have earned their place at the table, Hume made it possible for them to be the guests of honour."

Who said this: "Terrorism is ethically indefensible. Those responsible for the atrocities in the United States must be brought to justice. What happened in New York and Washington and Pennsylvania was, as the UN Human Rights Commissioner and former Irish President Mary Robinson said; "A crime against humanity." Progressive struggles throughout the world have been set back by the attacks in the

USA. There is no excuse, no justification for those type of actions." Good old Gerry Adams, the first aborigine himself in his Sinn Féin and Fheis speech

On Friday 12 October Gerry Adams was in Middlesbrough to give the Joan Maynard Memorial lecture. What has the late Joan Maynard got to do with Middlesbrough, I hear you cry? Nothing, actually. She was the MP for Thirsk a North Yorkshire town outside York. And what did Gerry Adams have to do with Joan Maynard? Nothing, actually. So why was Adams in Middlesbrough? Because the people of Thirsk were so outraged when it was proposed that he speak in their town that the organisers had to beat a rapid retreat and they found sympathisers who believe in "free speech" in the Middlesbrough trade union centre.

There was outrage here too. The leader of the council condemned it and demanded that it be cancelled. But the centre is not council property and Mr Bob Duffy the organiser in Middlesbrough believes in 'free speech' or so he said. The hall holds 120 and tickets were sold at £5 each. How and where, I know not. They certainly weren't advertised. The local paper reported that some of the audience came from London and Newcastle. One person who did not get in to practice 'free speech', was Mrs Coltman whose brother was murdered by the IRA with a remote controlled bomb. She was outside with other demonstrators.

The irony of Gerry Adams giving a lecture in a trade union centre as I pointed out in a letter published in the local paper, should not be lost on Tees-side trade unionists. It was January 1976 when the IRA stopped a bus at Kingsmill carrying ten Protestant workmen home and shot all ten. One survived his wounds. In January 1992 at Teebane crossroads the IRA detonated a 1,500lb bomb as a van carrying 8 Protestant workers passed, killing all eight. They were all trade union members.

In October 1990 a 42 year old Catholic father of three, Patsy Gillespie was ordered to drive a 1,000lb bomb into an army checkpoint while the IRA held his family hostage. They detonated the bomb by remote control killing Mr Gillespie and five soldiers. Mrs Jean McConville, a widow with 8 small children was dragged, screaming, from her home in Gerry's constituency in 1972 by men and women of the IRA and she has not been seen since.

So what do we make of this? "The deliberate killing of civilians is

always wrong, no matter whether it is governments, armed political groups or individuals who carry it out." AP/RN Editorial 13 September 2001

"Always"? And which "progressive struggle" has suffered a "setback" from the "ethically indefensible" terrorism in the USA. Are we to understand that the "ethically indefensible" terrorism in the USA has created problems for those practising the ethically defensible murders in Northern Ireland listed above. There's no justice in this world Gerry.

*Bert Ward*

## Massive human tragedy

**The appalling catastrophe in New York and Washington is above all a massive human tragedy. The full extent of the casualties is not yet known but they must run into thousands. The wave of shock, grief and mourning is only beginning to reach beyond the East Coast of the US. Many Irish families will be bereaved. The human consequences are as yet incalculable.**

This tragedy will have lasting political and economic consequences. Not since the American Civil War has the United States seen such a scale of violent death on its territory. Even during the Second World War, US citizens did not suffer the mass bombing of civilians from the air which caused such devastation in Europe and Asia. Such an unprecedented event must have a huge impact on US society and politics.

It is too early to assess who was responsible for this attack. No matter who was to blame, it was utterly reprehensible and must be condemned. The deliberate killing of civilians is always wrong, no matter whether it is governments, armed political groups or individuals who carry it out. There has already been a rush to blame particular groups. Little evidence has emerged to back these claims. There is a real danger now that the very diverse Muslim community worldwide will be scapegoated. No one should be made to suffer because of their religion or because of the region from which they come. There is an even greater danger that the US Government and military may now lash out and make innocent civilians in other countries pay for what it is describing as an act of war.

We know, only too well how in the Middle East and in Central America the pursuit of a militaristic and aggressive policy by US Governments

and by those governments it sponsored, led to the deaths of many thousands of innocent people. It will compound the tragedy of 11 September 2001 if that is repeated.

The perpetrators of the atrocities in Washington and New York may well have their origins in the political disaster area which is the Middle East. But it is a disaster area for which the 'West' and its client governments bear much responsibility. Lashing out in that direction at targets vaguely defined under the label 'International terrorism' will fulfil only the desire for revenge and ultimately inflame the region yet further.

Calm assessment may be impossible at the moment but it is vital in the days ahead if further conflagration is to be avoided.

*An Phoblacht editorial 13 September 2001*

**Comment by Bert Ward**

**"The deliberate killing of civilians is always wrong, no matter whether it is governments, armed political groups or individuals who carry it out." Are there no depths to Provo hypocrisy?**

## The only difference, Gerry, is one of scale By Ruth Dudley Edwards

Well, once again, for sheer effrontery, you have to hand it to the Shinners. "I don't think that there's a comparison to be made between the attacks (on the US) and the IRA," explained Danny Morrison to the BBC last week. Pointing out that it was a bit thick of the Provos to tell us that "killing civilians is always wrong", the interviewer elicited from him the admission that "there were civilians killed in the course of this last 30 years, but, by and large, the IRA made attempts to issue warnings before bomb attacks. That's the distinction between the people who carried out the attacks in America."

Gerry Adams was at it last week, too, stung by media "mischief-making" in suggesting republican messages of sympathy were hypocritical. "Given previous IRA actions," he said generously, "It is a legitimate question to ask from the point of view of victims of attacks here but it is not a legitimate position for the media who are about informing people about what is going on." What's more, said Gerry, there was a

"huge difference" between attacks on innocent civilians and those in the armed forces.

These condemnations of comparisons are rich indeed, coming as they do from people who have spent decades making preposterous and offensive comparisons between the Catholics of Northern Ireland, the blacks of Sixties Alabama, the blacks of South Africa under apartheid and any other oppressed people whose sufferings they can use for advantage. However, we must be charitable: Danny and Gerry are getting on a bit and their memories may be failing. It was, for instance, worrying that Gerry's amnesia recently led him to say that IRA guns had been silent for seven years, forgetting that there was no cease-fire between February 1996 and July 1997 and that, even now, the IRA are still gaily using guns to murder and maim people in their own community.

So here are a few comparisons between the IRA and those who bombed the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. Both targeted what Gerry described as "armed forces". Like the IRA, who as recently as June 1997 murdered two RUC men, those directing the US bombers will have been jubilant at killing military personnel in the Pentagon and police and fire officers in New York. Only difference one of scale. That so many of those of the NYPD and the NYFD who died were of Irish Catholic extraction adds to the similarities, since the majority of the security forces murdered by the Provos were fellow Irishmen. And, of course, they particularly targeted Catholics. Only difference one of scale.

Both targeted civilians. It may have escaped Gerry's memory, but in the last few decades the IRA have murdered more than 600 civilians and they're still at it. Just a few at random to jog his memory: Bloody Friday 1972 (nine civilians dead and more than 100 injured); La Mon House Hotel 1978 (12 dead and 23 injured); Mullaghmore 1979 (Lord Mountbatten, two children and an old woman); Enniskillen 1987 (11 dead including three married couples and 63 injured); Shankill Road fish shop 1993 (10 dead, 57 injured); Canary Wharf 1996 (two dead, 100 injured). Only difference one of scale.

(And as for Danny's point about the IRA attempting to give warnings yes, they often did, but in their zeal they usually made them misleading so that they could blow up security forces with secondary bombs.) Both used human beings as human bombs. In 1990, the IRA strapped three Catholic

men into cars loaded with explosives, sent them to different targets and detonated the bombs by remote control. Only difference one of scale.

Both targeted the centre of democratic states. The IRA tried to assassinate the British Prime Minister and cabinet in Brighton in 1984 (five dead, 30 injured) and Downing Street in 1991. Only difference one of scale.

Both targeted centres of commerce: the Baltic Exchange, 1992 (three dead, £800 million damage); Bishopsgate, 1993 (one dead, £1,000 million damage). Only difference one of scale.

Oh, yes, and both are involved in globalised terrorism: our lads are off in Libya, Iraq, Columbia, Turkey, Spain, Corsica, the Balkans and anywhere else promising. Here, there doesn't even seem to be a difference of scale. And as for the bombers being prepared to commit suicide. Are not Sinn Féin always demanding we honour Bobby Sands and all his colleagues who starved themselves to death for the cause?

However, Danny rightly points to a real difference: "The British government has recognised the political status and legitimacy of republicanism through releasing all of the prisoners and through entering into peace negotiations with Sinn Féin." This, I take it, means that everything the IRA did has been OKed by Tony Blair retrospectively. Goodness, I knew he was an arch-appeaser when it came to terrorism in his own backyard, but I hadn't realised he'd gone that far.

*This article first appeared in the Irish Sunday Independent 23 September 2001*

## Gerry Adams column

**This column has spent several hours each night since the bomb attacks last Tuesday trying to get through to friends in New York and Washington, to make sure you were safe, and to hear news of the extent of the tragedy.**

The enormity of this catastrophe for all of you is very personal. It is for me also and I extend my love and prayers and solidarity to all my many friends who I have not been able to talk to so far. God bless you all.

Two years ago I visited the north tower of the World Trade Center. Some Irish American friends who are also associated with Friends of Sinn Féin and who work at the World Trade Center, in the Mercantile Trade Center adjacent to it, had organized lunch in the Windows on the World restaurant.

The restaurant was at the top of the tower and gave a spectacular view of New York and New Jersey, of the Hudson River, of Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty. It was an impressive sight, and our friends were clearly enormously proud of this engineering marvel where each day 50,000 people worked.

Those we met there that day, from the security men and women, to the waiters, to the lift operators, to those who sat around the table with us, were warm, decent human beings. Sadly, tragically, one of those who organized our visit is now missing. I'm told by friends in New York that there is little hope of finding him alive. Others we met that day are almost certainly part of the casualty list. Among those who died is Fr. Mychal Judge, chaplain of the New York Fire Department. I met Fr. Mychal several times. He was a close companion of New York Police Officer Steven McDonald, a quadriplegic who was shot down in the line of duty and has devoted his life to the cause of peace.

Another New York friend - an ex-fireman - who has survived this tragedy is trying to come to terms with the fact that all of his friends, all of those he worked with as a fireman every day for many years, his whole station has been wiped out. No-one who watched the events unfold on television will ever forget the sights and sounds of the planes crashing into those buildings and the destruction that followed. Those are images that are scored on our memories forever. Many of us in the north of Ireland have also experienced the grief and hurt of loss during the years of our conflict.

We understand the personal trauma that is now touching thousands of American homes, and homes here in Ireland, in Britain and I'm sure elsewhere in the world. What makes New York stand out, what makes it unique is the tremendous variety of people who live and work in that city. People from every continent. Every language, every color, every race - and now almost inevitably all will be touched by this atrocity. Our thoughts and prayers are with you all at this terrible time, and I have sent my deepest condolences and sympathies to the people of the U.S., to President Bush, to Governor Pataki, to Mayor Giuliani and other representatives.

It is clear that this atrocity will have profound, far reaching and long term consequences, not just personally for the victims or for the U.S. but for the rest of the world. Humanity collectively, including those of us who live on this small island that is Ireland,

should be mindful of this in the time ahead. It is right that we express solidarity and sympathy with the people in the U.S., and that we articulate our repudiation of these atrocities as many, including this columnist, have done.

But we have to go further than these essential and necessary expressions of our sorrow, shock and denunciation. The best contribution the parties in Ireland, along with the governments, can make to world peace, to the cause of justice throughout the world, to the memory of those who have died in the US, in other conflicts around the world, including our own country, is to make our peace process work.

When viewed in the awful context of other conflicts, or difficulties in other regions of the world, or in the enormity of human suffering in New York and Washington, it is true to say that great progress has been made here. Is this to be squandered? We know the issues. They have been well rehearsed, and I am not challenging Unionists nor the British government alone by these remarks. There is a collective challenge for all of us. Sinn Féin is totally committed to the peace process. I rededicate myself and our party to do our very best to resolve the problems that confront us all.

The difficulties we share are real difficulties. I cannot and I do not underestimate that. Neither do I suggest that Republicans or Nationalists have a monopoly on grievance or problems. But let us realize that our duty is to make peace with each other. Our response to this awful atrocity is to build democracy here and to resist all the sectional or factional urges that serve to divide us.

We have still a long way to go to settle our difficulties and to deal with the problems that beset us. If we fail to do so then we will have failed our people. We will have failed ourselves, and as we absorb personally and politically what has happened in the U.S., we will have failed the challenge and spurned the opportunity, amid all the anger and chaos, suffering and sorrow, to make a difference and show that there is a better way.

On another note, John Hume has announced that he is standing down as party leader of the SDLP, a position he has held since 1979. John gave decades of public service to all the people of this island. He and his wife Pat have contributed enormously to the life of people here and elsewhere, not least in the US. John's finest hour was in the build-up to the peace process. When I went to him, with what later came to be known as the Hume/Adams initiative, he had the

courage and vision to see beyond factional or sectional interests and pressures and recognize the wider implications for peace and justice in Ireland. Those were dark days in so many ways. And John was vilified and his efforts undermined, including by some elements within in his own party. At a personal level, although we have differing analysis, our efforts together developed into a solid friendship. I am pleased to count John Hume as a friend.

*This article first appeared in the Irish Voice an American paper 22 September 2001*

## Leading Irish American urges IRA to disarm

**A leading Irish American businessman has called on the IRA to start decommissioning its weapons.**

The chairman of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, Bill Flynn, said for the first time Americans knew what it was like to be attacked by terrorist bombers. The committee meets on Monday to discuss the US response to the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The Northern Ireland peace process is also on the agenda. Mr Flynn said it was time to bring the peace process to a conclusion and that meant resolving the decommissioning issue.

"I encourage the Irish Republican Army now to move ahead to accelerate the process to put the proposal that was put through General John de Chastelain back on the table and to take further steps to assure the people of Northern Ireland that this is a genuine proposal, which I believe it is," he said. He said that a resolution to the arms issue could bring progress on other elements of the peace process. "There are a number of key issues in the north of Ireland, decommissioning is at the top of the list, so is policing," he said. "Demilitarisation follows. Structuring the institutions so that they cannot be brought down with the so-called 'unionist veto', a new criminal justice system. All of these are in the works but decommissioning is at the heart of it."

The leading businessman said that although the IRA should take the lead on the arms issue, loyalist paramilitaries had commitments to honour also. "We must now look at the leaders of the loyalist political

apparatus to come together with a proposal for decommissioning and an agreement on policing."

Mr Flynn said the situation regarding the suspected IRA members, currently held in a prison in Colombia on charges of training rebel guerrillas, was worrying. "The Colombia situation is the greatest puzzle that I have seen in the entire 10 or 15 years that I have been involved in the north of Ireland. I don't understand it. I disassociate myself from it. It frightens Americans of Irish heritage that there should be any connection." He added: "We resist it and we hope that the statement by the IRA that they have nothing whatever to do with it is correct. If otherwise were found, it would have a devastating effect on Irish Americans.

Commenting on the repercussions of the World Trade Center attack on the IRA, Mr Flynn said Irish Americans would not support terrorism in any form. "I think that what happened on 11 September changed the world," he said. "It brought home to us in a special way what the people of Northern Ireland and the people of Britain have been undergoing. There is no room in the world, if there ever was room, for terrorism. We can't support it, we fight it. The World Trade Center attack and the tragedy that has unfolded brings it home in a way that nothing else has brought it home to American people and it is particularly true for Americans of Irish heritage."

*BBC News 24 September 2001*

### Comment by Bert Ward

**I don't know where Mr Flynn has been this past 30 years but the Provisional IRA have murdered in Holland and murdered and bombed in Germany. They have trained in Libya and been armed by Libya. IRA members have sought, and been granted refuge in the USA. They have links with terrorist groups in other countries. And they receive large sums of money from the USA. They have murdered British MPs and Ministers and attempted to murder the Cabinet with bombs in Brighton and Downing Street. And it is only now that the penny drops?**

### America will turn on IRA to support Britain By Conor Cruise O'Brien

**Sinn Fein-IRA has changed its tune. Or rather the IRA has changed its tune and Sinn Fein, being no more**

**than the IRA's propaganda arm, must automatically also change its tune.**

In the immediate aftermath of the terror-bombing of New York and Washington, the editorial in *An Phoblacht/ Republican News* was strongly anti-American and failed to condemn the acts of terror. On Thursday, 15 September, just four days after the bombings the editorial in *An Phoblacht* carried the message: "We know only too well how in the Middle East and in Central America the pursuit of a militaristic and aggressive policy by US governments, and by those governments it sponsored, led to the deaths of many thousands of innocent people. It will compound the tragedy of 11 September 2001 if that is repeated." But that was then, and now is now. On Thursday of this week, the IRA made a statement strikingly at variance with *An Phoblacht's* editorial of the week before. The statement which *An Phoblacht* explained had been received by them "as we went to print", opened with the words: "First of all we wish to extend our sympathy to the people of the United States and especially to the families and friends of the victims of the deplorable attacks on New York, Washington and Pennsylvania." The statement announced that the IRA would re-engage its negotiations with the de Chastelain commission.

The statement contained nothing hostile to the United States. It did say that its Army Council had not sanctioned any visits to Colombia. It did not repeat the claim that the men arrested there had no connection with the IRA. The British and Irish Governments extended a kind of welcome to the IRA announcement, but the welcome was more cautious and reserved than had been the case with previous responses to IRA announcements of this kind. The Governments insisted that the IRA should now proceed with the actual decommissioning of weapons.

The American Government issued a rather frigid statement, formally approving the position taken by the British and Irish Governments. The American Government has adequate reasons for taking this position. The British Government is at present America's only fully-committed ally in Europe. And the Irish Government, it seems has agreed to provide staging facilities at Shannon Airport for American forces bound for the Middle East a remarkable commitment for a formally-neutral government.

These considerations necessarily outweigh any problems which America has with the IRA, and

consequently the United States will not risk a break with the British and Irish Governments over the IRA. None the less, after the Colombian revelations and some other indications the American Government would seem now to classify Sinn Fein-IRA as among the enemies of the United States and it will exercise pressure on Britain and America to suspend all dealings with Sinn Fein until the IRA has handed over all its weapons. As that condition is quite unlikely to be met in any real sense since the threat posed by those weapons has been the force which secured all the gains which Sinn Fein-IRA has made the pressure from the United States seems likely to be quietly but powerfully exerted. It seems that Bertie Ahern is expected by many in Ireland to exert a moderating influence on the United States, in his capacity as presiding officer of the UN Security Council. This expectation is quite unrealistic. The only important members of the Security Council are always the Five Permanent Members. The United States will try to get the other Four to agree to a position, and its efforts subject to minor changes of emphasis in wording and so on seem likely to be largely successful. When the Five are agreed, it is certain that a majority of the non-permanent members will agree to whatever the Five have decided.

In this situation Bertie Ahern, while presiding over the Council, will have no influence whatever over the Council's decisions. He may, if he wishes make a speech or two of a pacific tendency. But, if he chooses to make such speeches he will be encouraged by the delegation of the United States to keep his pacific-tendency utterances vague and cryptic. If he ignored the US advice which he is quite unlikely to do he would rapidly find his position, in presiding over the Council, becoming exceedingly uncomfortable. In the circumstances Bertie, to judge by his past form, will carefully tailor his speeches, making them sound as oecumenical as possible to the folks at home, while at the same time giving no offence to the delegation of the United States. The American press and people will probably pay no attention at all to his necessarily anodyne remarks, but that is desirable, from his point of view, since his speeches will be necessarily and primarily aimed at the folks at home. If they are quoted fully, and favourably received, at home, while being totally ignored abroad, Bertie will be quite happy. When Bertie retires from an instructive visit to the United Nations,

he will be more aware of two things than he ever was before. One of those things is the immense international clout of the Government of the United States. The other is the implacable hostility of the United States to Sinn Fein-IRA now regarded after the Colombian disclosures and despite the IRA's belated exercise in moderation as among the covert enemies of the United States.

Meanwhile the Government of the United Kingdom will be receiving a parallel message from American officials, from the President down. The British and Irish governments will be under discreet but formidable pressure to cut Sinn Fein out of the loop of the peace process, and to do so as speedily as possible. That Sinn Fein is not yet fully aware of the pressure they will be coming under, is suggested by Gerry Adams's reiteration this week of his intention to accept Castro's invitation to visit Cuba. In normal times, a visit to Cuba by Mr Adams might raise few eyebrows even in America. But these are far from being normal times. Especially as Sinn Fein's representative in Cuba has been detained by the Colombian Government along with two senior republicans. If Sinn Fein-IRA do begin to feel their isolation, and loss of capacity to influence events in the new situation, then they will certainly weigh the possibility of a return to military operations. But there too they would be isolated. There will be no return to the happy days of the Clinton White House. The British Government would have the full support of the United States in stamping out an IRA revolt. And against that formidable combination, the IRA revolt could not be long sustained. If they realise that, the IRA should have the sense to wait for better times. But they probably don't realise that, and may get themselves into a hopeless fight.

*This article first appeared in the Irish Independent 22 September 2001*

## **Hard days ahead for Sinn Fein**

**By Ruth Dudley Edwards**

**Recent republican indiscretions abroad brought back to me the story of an agitated Joe Cahill plunging into Sinn Fein HQ in Dublin in the early Eighties, waving his hand at photos of Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega and shouting: "The Yanks are coming. Take down those f\*\*\*ing posters**

**and put up Patrick Pearse. Those were the carefree pre-Internet days, when Sinn Féin could tailor its propaganda to its different constituencies and the IRA could train in Libya and the Lebanon without unhelpful publicity in the United States.**

What is bedevilling the poor old Shinners in recent weeks and is causing such grief at their ard fheis this weekend is that the horrors of September 11 require them to choose between adolescent and grown-up politics. Up till now, they've kidded themselves they could have it all. Gerry could star at a St Patrick's Day parade in New York organised by right-wing Catholic homophobes one minute; hug visiting leftwing freedom fighters visiting Belfast the next; and then relax in Dublin 4 with bourgeoisie radical chic types who like a bit of rough. While the party grew fat with loadsamoney contributed by right-wing Irish-American capitalists, the IRA non-judgementally swapped technology with anyone who was agin a government and the Sinn Fein international department organised love-ins with malcontents and trouble-makers from around the globe.

The discomfiture caused by Sinn Fein/IRA involvement in Columbia and the horror of September 11 have left the republican leadership reeling; the timing of their annual conference couldn't be worse. After a bruising meeting with Ambassador Richard Haass, they are faced with motions inter alia criticising US activities vis-a-vis Columbia, Cuba, Iraq and Puerto Rico and declaring solidarity with terrorist prisoners; they also have to welcome publicly a number of bloodstained visitors.

Their problems have been compounded by their complete lack of discrimination in choosing allies abroad. Whatever about the operational side of the IRA, who are for understandable reasons purely pragmatic, surely Sinn Fein/IRA politicians should have been more sophisticated than to encourage links with the Revolutionary Peoples Liberation Party/Front (DHKP-C), who are so close to the Real IRA that they recently held a fund-raising event in London with the 32 County Sovereignty Committee. It is DHKP-C members who make up the vast majority of those who are on hunger-strike in Turkey over prison accommodation, because they want to maintain the kind of control within prisons that has allowed 86 prisoners to be murdered by fellow-inmates over the past five years.

Post-Columbia, how could Sinn Fein have been so reckless as to let Councillor Dessie Ellis lead an anti-Turkish demonstration in Dublin alongside Bernadette McAliskey, who was calling for the removal from Ireland of the Turkish ambassador. And post-September 11, how could they have been crazy enough to allow Alex Maskey and his chums to go off to Turkey to meet supporters of Marxist-Leninist active terrorists.

At root is the failure of the republican leadership to grasp that Sinn Fein could not credibly participate in government in Northern Ireland or aspire to govern in the Republic without shedding inappropriate baggage: political maturity means you have to grow up, learn about realpolitik and stop behaving like a crowd of ignorant, irresponsible students who uncritically support any group that claim to represent the oppressed. The choices Sinn Fein face now are grim. How can you keep Irish-America, the Dublin government and middle-class Ireland on board much longer without decommissioning weapons, forswearing terrorism and cutting links with the enemies of Uncle Sam? But then how can you keep on board the youthful idealists who staff your advice centres and do the campaign legwork if you suddenly lurch to the right for reasons that are glaringly self-interested and cynical? Weasel words will not get them out of this.

*This article first appeared in the Irish Sunday Independent 30 September 2001*

## **US ambassador in IRA hand-shake row**

### **By Toby Harnden**

**The American ambassador to Dublin has been admonished by the Bush administration for attending Sinn Fein's annual conference and shaking hands with an IRA murderer convicted of running guns from Libya.**

Ambassador Richard Egan was photographed meeting Joe Cahill, the former head of the IRA's financial network, this month in a publicity coup for Sinn Fein at a time when the United States was launching a war on terrorism. Cahill, 77, was once sentenced to death for murdering a Roman Catholic policeman in Belfast in 1942. In 1973, he was jailed for transporting weapons for the IRA after a deal with Col Gaddafi, leader of Libya, which is still regarded as a

sponsor of terrorism by the United States. He was also implicated in IRA gun running activities in America two years ago. Siobhan Browne, convicted of her part in a Florida weapons conspiracy, said that Conor Claxton, leader of the IRA unit, had a 20-minute meeting with Cahill in Fort Lauderdale in March 1999. "What do you think Uncle Joe thought Claxton was doing over here?" said Miss Browne. "Seeing Mickey Mouse?" Claxton is currently in a Florida prison serving a sentence for gun running.

Although the visit to the Sinn Fein meeting was discussed with mid-level officials at the State Department, Mr Egan did not clear it with Richard Haass, the senior official with responsibility for Irish matters. Sinn Fein used the meetings with Gerry Adams and Cahill to claim that America was behind Sinn Fein's "peace strategy" and did not regard the IRA's activities as terrorist. The "Irish Voice", a Sinn Fein-supporting Irish-American paper, said that Mr Egan's presence "sent a reassuring signal that this White House is conducting its Irish policy on a patient and well calibrated basis".

Mr Haass, who said recently that Provisional IRA members had been involved in terrorist activities with Marxist Farc guerrillas in Colombia, was said to have been furious about the diplomatic blunder. The British government was displeased and has asked the Bush administration to correct the impression that Sinn Fein might have been let off the hook over the IRA's activities in Colombia. It is not known whether Mr Egan will face formal censure or a reprimand. For the time being, he has been told he should not have made the visit without seeking high-level authorisation.

A routine cable was sent to the State Department about the visit and desk officers there have been told that alarm bells should have rung. Sources have said Mr Egan was already viewed as a marginal figure who was struggling to find his feet in Dublin. A multi-millionaire businessman who was a major fundraiser for President Bush, Mr Egan's actions are being seen by the State Department as naive rather than a calculated snub to Mr Haass. Mr Egan appears to have realised his mistake during the conference. After being photographed with Mr Adams, he told an aide: "I want to get out of here."

The Bush administration has been losing patience with Sinn Fein since the arrests of three Provisionals in Colombia this summer and the IRA's continued refusal to decommission its weapons, many of which were

supplied by Libya. Since September 11, this frustration has spread throughout Irish America.

*Daily Telegraph 12 October 2001*

## **Adams issues warning to new police recruits**

### **By David Sharrock**

**Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, warned recruits to Northern Ireland's new police service yesterday that republicans would treat them as they treated members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.**

A total of 277 RUC officers have been murdered by the Provisional IRA. Policing has been a key issue to reaching a comprehensive deal between nationalists and Unionists over power-sharing. Both the main Unionist parties and the SDLP have accepted the Police Service of Northern Ireland and have appointed members to its police board. The board will decide issues such as the badge and uniform. But Sinn Fein has refused to nominate delegates to the board and is holding out for further concessions, among them a demand for convicted terrorists to serve in the new force.

Mr Adams, the West Belfast MP, was asked about his attitude to Catholic recruits to the PSNI, under whose terms 50 per cent must be Catholic. He said: "Anybody interested in a new beginning to policing should not act or be a part of this police service. I think they (officers drawn from the nationalist community) will be accorded exactly the same treatment the republican movement accorded to the RUC. No more. No less." In November last year the Provisional IRA co-operated with so-called dissident republican terrorists in the attempted murder of a Catholic senior RUC officer in County Fermanagh.

With the first batch of 308 recruits due to begin training soon, the Sinn Fein president was lambasted by Unionists and nationalists on the police board. Alex Attwood, one of the SDLP's nominees to the board, said: "They (Sinn Fein) need to confirm that any individual who wishes to go into the police service has the freedom so to do and will be free from harassment, abuse or threat." Ian Paisley Jr, of the Democratic Unionist Party, said: "I think these comments make Gerry Adams Northern Ireland's bin Laden and he is the pariah of any right-thinking



person. What he is saying is that, going by past record, new recruits are fair game to be shot, to be bombed, to be attacked and to be abused."

The comments were "downright disgraceful", said Lord Kilcooney, the Ulster Unionist peer.

*This article first appeared in the Daily Telegraph 22 September 2001*

## Wasted lives, wasted years

By Henry McDonald

Does the SDLP have a future? The answer is fundamentally important for the future not only of Northern Ireland but democracy on this island. Judging by the standard of debate, the turnout and the large number of people aged under 25 in the audience of an upstairs room in a Dublin pub last Thursday night, the response to that key question is 'well, maybe'. The topic debated at Doheney and Nesbitt's in Baggot Street was policing and the Patten Report - the issue which perhaps more than any other finally puts clear green water between the SDLP and Sinn Fein after the years of Hume/Adams and pan-nationalism. The former has decided to take its seats on the north's new policing board and will urge young Catholics to join the Police Service of Northern Ireland. The latter says it will 'actively discourage' nationalists from signing up to the PSNI.

Thus the battle lines are drawn in a struggle which will either save or see off the SDLP. Imagine six months from now when the drive is on to recruit young Catholics. During last Thursday's meeting, I described for the assembled SDLP, Labour and Fianna Fail members and supporters what this might entail. What happens, for instance, when PSNI recruitment officers want to talk to secondary school pupils in west Belfast? Alex Attwood will have to stand alone as the only Assembly member in the constituency who supports the new service's access to the area's Catholic schools. There will be pickets at schools and SDLP constituency surgeries, veiled and even explicit threats to staff and students. In short, it will be hell for those in the nationalist community who have embraced the new service.

Policing, or more importantly the freedom to join a new police service, will test the mettle of the new SDLP under Mark Durkan, and undoubtedly push the already strained relations between the two nationalist parties to

breaking point. During my speech I reminded the SDLP that every successful party needs a big idea, especially if it is to attract fresh blood. The Shinners' message is crude but incredibly effective. The party is 'making history'; it is 'greening the west' and re-drawing the border. To put it another way, it is on a historic mission.

The trouble of course with messianic notions such as national destiny is that ordinary people get crushed under history's wheels, which is exactly what happened for 30 wasted years in Northern Ireland. To counter the seductive historicism of Sinn Fein, the SDLP should promote two 'big ideas' of their own: freedom and, paradoxically, the battle of history. The freedom part is easy. Freedom to join the police service; freedom from paramilitary intimidation; freedom to think differently in communities where having the wrong political ideals means you don't get a job; freedom for sporting organisations like the GAA to allow police officers to play their games.

The battle of history is more problematic. This weekend Ireland will be subjected to a cynical circus of necrophilia (the Mountjoy 10's re-burial at Glasnevin) which could backfire on Bertie Ahern. I hope it doesn't, given Bertie's balanced and reasonable approach to northern policy. Yet I strongly suspect that the Taoiseach might end up like one of those British Egyptologists who opens the mummy's tomb and ends up living under a curse for the rest of his life. For there is one thing which the SDLP must have learnt by now regarding the republican movement - you can't out-Shinn the Shinners.

There is, however, one historical project that constitutional nationalism should pursue, and that is to consistently question the moral validity of the IRA's 30-year-old campaign. For at present there is a sinister rewriting of history taking place on the political, intellectual and cultural battlefields. You see it in Robert Ballagh's commemorative portrait of the 1981 hunger strike with its 10 white doves breaking free from a smashed H block. Now the hunger strikers have been many things to many people but they certainly were not doves, particularly the three INLA members who died and are now written out of this new narrative. Francis Hughes' bombs for example decapitated a nine-year-old girl, hardly the action of a dove. Hughes and his comrades did not die for the peace process, parity of esteem or power

sharing. They killed and were killed for nothing less than a united Ireland.

The SDLP has one terrible devastating argument that it fails to deploy during the years of the peace process. What the hell were the last three decades for then? That message - of wasted lives and futility - has to be transmitted to a new generation now being nurtured on falsehoods and lies. In essence, the SDLP's intellectual project post-Hume is to tell the truth about the Troubles.

*Observer 14 October 2001*

## Peace process - holding gun to media's head

By Eoghan Harris

**"Personally I'd whack the Concord with a Sam 7". Guess who said that? A member of Osama bin Laden's Al-Qa'ida terrorist group? No, Brendan "Bic" McFarlane of the Gerry Adams/Sinn Fein-IRA terrorist group in the course of a communique from the Maze prison in 1981.**

And it drives home the deadly truth that the Provos pioneered the use of mass terror tailored for the mass media. That is why Irish and American democrats were delighted by Toby Harnden's report in last Friday's Daily Telegraph. Harnden says that US special envoy Richard Haass was not happy with the American ambassador, who, at the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, shook hands with Joe Cahill who has a conviction for importing guns from Libya. The ambassador could also have shaken hands with McFarlane, who told the Ard-Fheis that the Ardoyne protests were "rank sectarianism". This was nothing more than nauseating hypocrisy given the huge contribution McFarlane made to stirring up sectarian hatred in Northern Ireland. Because McFarlane was a member of the IRA gang which bombed and machine-gunned the Bayard Bar in August 1975, killing four Protestants and injuring 60.

But the real problem about the Ard-Fheis was not the ambassador but the Irish media's failure to protest at the visit. This reluctance to challenge Sinn Fein is rooted in the peace process. In the past three weeks I can think of four incidents which illuminate an Irish media culture which is unable or unwilling to challenge the republican consensus but which gets angry at newspapers which do, namely the Sunday Independent and the Daily Telegraph. In the past two weeks I can think of four stories, inimical to Sinn

Fein interests, which the Irish media either ignored or which it reported incompletely, presumably in the interests of the so-called peace process: the Daily Telegraph poll on British attitudes to the Provisional IRA, the American ambassador's visit to the Ard-Fheis, the Dublin Sinn Fein march last Sunday, and Martin McGuinness's sinister attack on the Daily Telegraph. Let's take them in turn. A few weeks ago a Daily Telegraph poll found that 80 per cent of the British public wanted Tony Blair to treat the IRA no differently to bin Laden. But neither the Irish Times nor RTE breathed a word about the profound implications of such a poll for the peace process. In fact the only Irish commentator to find food for thought in the poll was Conor Cruise O'Brien. Since it was a good story, we must conclude that the Irish media suppressed it because it did not suit its political agenda.

Second, apart from the Sunday Independent, most of the Irish media made no comment on the American ambassador's visit to the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis. Apart from Conor Cruise O'Brien and myself, no commentator felt able to say publicly what many said privately that the ambassador's gaffe cut the ground from under American and Irish efforts to put all forms of terrorism outside the moral pale.

Third, there was the strange spin on the Sinn Fein march last Sunday. The Irish Times seem to see it as some kind of cheerful street carnival. "A good-natured reunion of republicans of various hues from all over Ireland and Britain along with assorted activists from an array of left-wing organisations." By contrast, some of the shopkeepers I spoke to found the spectacle of three, large, colour parties in paramilitary uniform downright disturbing on the streets of Dublin.

But the most disgusting reaction was the supine acceptance by the Irish media of Martin McGuinness's attack on the Daily Telegraph. And thereby hangs a tale. All the intelligent Irish nationalists I have known, the late Donal O Morain comes to mind, thought the Daily Telegraph one of the truly great newspapers of the world. And those who listen to the Last Word know that its editor, Charles Moore, a Catholic, takes a concerned interest in Irish affairs. By contrast The Irish Times and RTE seem stuffed with the kind of stupid people who think it politically incorrect to be found reading the Daily Telegraph or, indeed, the London Independent but who are happy to be seen reading a gruesome rag like the Guardian which

compared the murder of 7,000 innocent New Yorkers to a bully getting a bloody nose.

This antipathy has one advantage. It is a surefire sign of bad politics. To flush out a hush puppy journalist all you have to do is ask him or her what they thought of a story in the Telegraph. Recently an RTE researcher told me that total silence fell over an RTE canteen table after she remarked that the Telegraph's military correspondent, John Keegan, had been right about the Gulf War and that Robert Fisk had been wrong. The truth is that the Daily Telegraph is a thorn in the side of terrorists of all hues. Martin McGuinness and his mates know this and so they make every effort to erode its authority. Which was why McGuinness ascribed last weekend's stories about his possible promotion to a key Provisional post as arising "from (the) Daily Telegraph's connections with British military intelligence".

Decent journalists on the spot should have dealt with him on the spot. Given that the Daily Telegraph's Irish correspondent is the liberal and distinguished former Guardian journalist, David Sharrock; given the murder of Veronica Guerin, given the more recent murder of Martin O'Hagan, decent journalists should have shut their notebooks and turned off their cameras, made no excuse and left. McGuinness's attack is not only sinister, but it makes no sense for two reasons. First, anyone who knows anything about British politics knows that Tony Blair runs British Intelligence, which fully supports his softly, softly policy towards Sinn Fein. And the Daily Telegraph has been continually critical of what it sees as these policies of appeasement.

Second, all newspapers have links with security services. If they didn't they wouldn't be worth reading. If Veronica Guerin, like the security correspondents of The Irish Times and the Irish Independent, did not have such contacts, how would we know what the Gilligans, the bin Ladens and Brendan McFarlanes might be up to? Come to think of it, doesn't the Provisional IRA have contacts with all sorts of creepy people in British Intelligence? You couldn't open the Guardian around the time of the Good Friday Agreement without reading some old retired bat from MI5 burbling on about MI5's contacts with the PIRA leadership when probing for peace.

Let me make a prediction. Some day soon the files will start to surface. And you will find that the Provos had far better contacts, both voluntarily and

involuntarily, with British Intelligence than the Daily Telegraph did.

*Irish Sunday Independent 14 October 2001*

## **Abridged Presidential Address by Gerry Adams MP to the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis 2001**

**I want to begin my remarks by extending solidarity and condolences to the victims of the terrorist attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania. This Ard Fheis, the first of the 21st century, takes place in the shadow of these outrages.**

In the week or so after these attacks, like many other people on this island, I spent several hours each night on the phone trying to get through to friends in New York and Washington, including our representative in the US, Rita O'Hare, to make sure they were safe, and to hear news of the extent of the tragedy. The enormity of this catastrophe for them is very personal. It is for me also.

Two years ago I visited the north tower of the World Trade Centre. Some Irish/American friends who are associated with Friends of Sinn Féin and who work at the World Trade Centre and in the Mercantile Exchange adjacent to it, had organised lunch in the Windows on the World restaurant.

The restaurant was at the top of the tower and gave a spectacular view of New York and New Jersey, of the Hudson river, of Ellis island and the Statue of Liberty. It was an impressive sight and our friends were clearly enormously proud of this engineering marvel where each day 50,000 people worked.

Sadly, tragically, one of those who organised our visit is now dead. Others we met that day or on other occasions, are dead also.

Many of us in the north of Ireland and here in Dublin have experienced the grief and hurt of loss during the years of our conflict. We understand the personal trauma that is now touching thousands of American homes, and homes in Ireland, in Britain and elsewhere in the world.

Our thoughts and prayers are with them at this terrible time and I have sent deepest condolences and sympathies on my own behalf and on your behalf to the people of the United States. I welcome the US Ambassador Richard Egan to this Ard Fheis and I welcome the President of the Friends

of Sinn Féin in the USA, Mr. Larry Downes.

Of course seeing the Irish names on the list of the dead, particularly among the firefighters and the New York police reminds us of the close ties between us and America and of the millions of US citizens who proudly trace their roots to Ireland. The people of Ireland owe a huge debt of gratitude to the Irish American community, to Congress and to the US Administration who devoted time, energy and resources to help the peace process here.

Sinn Féin, in particular, has benefited from the generosity of Americans who want to bring about peace, justice, equality and a United Ireland. The support of Irish America has enabled us to bring about real change in Ireland. The back bone of our fund raising effort in the US is the construction industry and workers in New York. Many of them, who follow in the footsteps of 'the Irish who built America' have suffered grievously in these atrocities. That is why we have endorsed the Friends of Sinn Féin recommendation to dedicate the proceeds of the annual November fundraiser in New York to the families of the construction workers who lost their lives.

It is right that we express solidarity and sympathy with the people in the USA and that we repudiate these atrocities. But we have to go further than these expressions of our sorrow, shock and denunciation.

#### **Crisis in the Peace Process**

Our own peace process is in a mess and it must now be obvious to everyone that the political institutions established under the Good Friday Agreement are going to collapse unless the unionists lift their threats and work with Sinn Féin and the other parties, as they committed themselves to do under the Agreement.

The institutions will collapse because unionists are refusing to administer them except on their own terms. They have prevented the all-Ireland institutions, and ironically the British-Irish Council from functioning. They have vetoed the work of the Minister of Education and the Minister of Health and now they are moving a motion to exclude Sinn Féin from the Executive. In my view all of this has been greatly influenced by the manner in which the British government approaches the process. That approach has been characterised by making all other issues secondary to the issue of IRA arms.

In other words the issue of IRA weapons has been made a

precondition for progress on all other issues. This is in direct breach of the Good Friday Agreement. The British government may protest that this is not the case, or insofar as it is the case, that it arises from David Trimble's resignation and from the price which Mr. Trimble has put on the future stability of the political institutions. But this is not the whole truth. The whole truth is that resistance to change in the north of Ireland comes not only from those within unionism, but from within the British system also.

This goes back much further than the current crisis. Indeed, it has been an historic factor in every effort to deliver equality, justice, and peace.

In this phase, it goes back to the private assurances in the side-letter that Tony Blair gave to David Trimble hours after they had endorsed the Good Friday Agreement three and a half years ago. It is his government that is responsible for permitting a virus to enter and to remain at the heart of the Agreement.

The fault line in the Agreement, and of every crisis in it can be traced to that point. That letter showed willingness on the part of the British government to pander to unionism and to create the space for Mr. Trimble to commence his effort to hollow out the Agreement.

For my part, I believe that the issue of arms can be resolved. We in Sinn Féin have done our best and enormous progress has been made in the past 6 years, particularly in relation to IRA arms.

But, as I have said many times, I do not believe that the issue of arms, all arms held by all armed groups, including those held by the British state forces, will be resolved on British government or unionist terms, or on the basis of threat, veto or ultimatum.

Some accuse Sinn Féin of being opposed to the decommissioning of arms and of not doing enough to achieve this. This is untrue. In stark contrast to the continued use of loyalist and British weapons IRA guns are silent and the IRA cessations are now into their 8th year. The IRA has acknowledged that the issue of arms has to be dealt with as part of a conflict resolution process, and last year the IRA leadership set out a context in which it would put its weapons verifiably beyond use.

In addition, as a confidence building measure it took the unprecedented initiative of agreeing with the two governments the appointment of two International Inspectors and allowing them to

examine its arms dumps to verify that their weapons have not been used.

Last month in a historic breakthrough the IICD announced that it had agreed a scheme with the IRA to put arms completely and verifiably beyond use. And the IRA is presently engaged in ongoing discussions with the IICD.

These are not small, unimportant events. No one who lived through the 70s, or 80s, or most of the 90s, or who has even as a cursory understanding of republican history and theology would ever have considered any of these things possible. These are huge developments, which, in the proper context, point the way to a future free of IRA weapons.

The Sinn Féin leadership helped to create the conditions that made this possible. We did so because of our commitment to a lasting and just peace settlement on this island.

The UUP response to this progress has been to ignore Sinn Féin's democratic mandate, the mandate of the other parties, the referendum, the Good Friday Agreement itself and their responsibilities and obligations. The British government have not done much better.

Many republicans are angry at a Unionist leadership that frustrates, belittles and undermines this progress, while at the same time doing absolutely nothing to end the daily bomb and gun attacks by loyalists on catholic families.

They are angry at a British government which underpins the UUP position, in breach of the Agreement, and which has remilitarised nationalist and republican heartlands.

#### **Universal Rights**

This is a huge mistake. Republicans and nationalists want to be convinced that unionism is facing up to its responsibilities. They want to believe that a British government wants to right wrongs and usher in a new dispensation based upon equality.

For the unionists to reject the IICD determination as they did and for the British government to suspend the institutions, as it has done, not once, not twice, but three times, is hardly the stuff of peace making.

The democratic rights and entitlements of nationalists and republicans cannot be conditional.

These rights are universal rights. They effect all citizens.

In the Good Friday Agreement these matters, that is policing, the political institutions, demilitarisation, human rights, the justice system and the equality agenda,

are stand alone issues. These are issues to be resolved in their own right. They cannot be withheld or granted or subjected to a bartering process.

### The Only Direction is Forward

So what does Sinn Féin do about all of this? Do our heads go down in frustration because at every point when it appears that progress is possible the unionists do something to make the process more difficult?

Do we stand on our dignity and our record and put it up to others to fulfil their duties and responsibilities? Do we give way to righteous anger at the way a British government panders to a unionist veto? Or do we resolve, despite all of this, or perhaps because of all of this, that Sinn Féin is going to continue to try to resolve this issue. The choice is clear.

This Ard Fheis meets at a time that is deeply sombre, from any point of view. Whether you stand in Ardoyne, or America or Afghanistan reflecting on the peace process here or the massacre in Manhattan it is hard to avoid a foreboding about what lies ahead. Hope seems to sink and apprehension seems to grow, but we cannot afford to succumb to despair. For the true political activist the only choice is struggle not acquiescence. The only direction is forward.

We are a party that has learned through decades of struggle, to deal with the objective reality in which our struggle finds itself.

But there is no easy way to sort out these issues and for my part I want to reiterate my total commitment to playing a leadership role in bringing a permanent end to political conflict on our island, including the end of physical force republicanism. I say this conscious of the dangers, risks, and history of such departures.

I have no illusions about any of this and I know my commitment is shared by the Sinn Féin leadership. From within the broad republican constituency we are working for the day when all the armed groups, including the IRA, cease to be. But we will not be part of any effort to criminalise or to deem as terrorists those men and women who fought when they considered they had no other choice and who had the integrity courage and wisdom to support a peace process when they had that choice.

### Forgotten Ten

I want to welcome the steps being taken by the Irish government to reinter the ten IRA Volunteers buried in Mountjoy jail and to urge people to

attend their State funeral on October 14th in Dublin. Republicans have always remembered and commemorated with pride those who gave their lives so that future generations may live in better times.

Republicans continually look to the future and how best to achieve our goals but we also acknowledge that it was the sacrifice of previous generations that has brought us closer to the objectives of independence, justice and a lasting peace. The forgotten ten played their part and we will commemorate their lives with pride.

Súineas sioraí do Kevin Barry, Thomas Whelan, Patrick Moran, Thomas Bryan, Patrick Doyle, Frank Flood, Bernard Ryan, Thomas Traynor, Patrick Maher and Edward Foley. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh siad.

We know the difference between a freedom fighter and a terrorist. And that the second can be an agent of a government and a foreign one at that. There are elements on this island who say there should be a repudiation of those who used force to win freedom and that Ireland should apologise for our patriots.

I am sure that even at this serious juncture America is not going to apologise for George Washington, who would expect them to, neither should the Irish nation apologise for Wolfe Tone, or Padraig Pearse or James Connolly, or Maire Drumm, or Mairead Farrell or Bobby Sands or Kevin Barry. Building Political Strength

Many republicans and nationalists are disillusioned with the pace of progress and frustrated by the hypocrisy and cynicism of anti-Republican elements who have sought to use events of this summer to gang-up on Sinn Féin or to relaunch their anti-republican agenda. Following the arrest of three Irishmen in Columbia and the atrocities in the USA it was almost like the bad old days of vilification, demonisation and media disinformation once again. While loyalist paramilitaries threw over 250 bombs, while their murder campaign intensified on a daily basis, while young catholic school children were blockaded on their way to and from school, there was an unrelenting agenda to pressurise, marginalise and blame Sinn Féin for all of this. And the hypocrisy and opportunism wasn't limited to the usual anti-agreement elements in the British and unionist establishment. Others north and south clambered onto the anti-republican bandwagon. Why was this so?

Could it be that what all these elements have in common is a fear of the growing strength of Sinn Féin. Could it be that many of those who railed against us in the old days - who were against the Hume/Adams initiative, who were for censorship - or could it be that in June of this year they saw their worst nightmare starting to become a reality, and seized upon other events in an unprincipled and opportunistic attempt to batter us and to unnerve our support? This will not be successful. I spoke here in Dublin, in March, at a special conference held in place of our Ard Fheis which was cancelled because of the foot and mouth crisis. At that conference I predicted that Sinn Féin would win more votes than ever before in the elections in the north. I said and I quote: 'Despite the obvious intent by the SDLP of introducing Brid Rodgers as a spoiler into West Tyrone I am confident that when our Ard Fheis finally meets later this year it will be to welcome Pat Doherty as the MP for West Tyrone.' Failte Pat.

I want on to predict significant gains in North Belfast, Mid Ulster, Newry and Armagh, Foyle, and all other parts of the north.

I want to commend Comhairle na Se Chondae for the outstanding achievement of putting forward the biggest number ever of local government candidates and achieving significant breakthroughs everywhere. I want to commend them and the people for making Sinn Féin the largest nationalist party in the six counties.

In March I also pointed to the opportunities in the Nice Treaty referendum for Sinn Féin to mount vigorous opposition to that Treaty and to put forward our policy against an EU superstate and the loss of sovereignty. I want to commend all those who played such an important role in a vigorous public campaign to mobilise opinion for the defence in Europe of Irish democratic rights, not the erosion of them.

In the face of all elements of the Irish establishment, including the government itself and all the establishment parties, the people's voice was heard. When the votes were counted Sinn Féin's voice was with the majority for democracy, sovereignty and economic and social justice. The government and the establishment were defeated. The people won.

And finally, my friends in what was a deeply personal and emotional campaign for me we put it to the people of Fermanagh and south Tyrone that it would be a fitting tribute to Bobby Sands if they could elect

Michelle Gildernew, as their MP and the first woman Sinn Féin MP since Countess Markievez. And the people answered a resounding yes.

We will see this growth continue in the months ahead. And it is in this movement forward, it is in this strengthening of Sinn Féin's position that will bring about real and lasting change.

### All Ireland potential

Sinn Féin is the only meaningful and truly republican party on the island because we are the only party organised throughout the island which genuinely strives to give democratic voice to the sovereign people of the 32 counties.

- We are the only party that puts forward candidates in all elections held among the Irish people.
  - We are the only party that has representatives elected to Westminster, to the Assembly, to the Dail, and to local authorities, north and south, and which sits in all but the first of these - for obvious reasons.
  - We are the only party that nominates members of all-Ireland Implementation Bodies on both sides of the border.
  - We are the only party which has the potential to have members of the all-Ireland Ministerial Council from both parts of this island.
  - We are the only party which can influence membership from both Belfast and Dublin of the all-Ireland Joint Committee of the Human Rights Commissions.
  - We are the only party which will be able to make an input to northern and southern membership of the 32-county Consultative Forum of Civil Society.
  - We are the only party which will have participants from north and south in the Joint Parliamentary Forum.
  - We are also seeking representation for northern MPs in the Dáil and full membership as of right for nominees of northern political parties in the Seanad.
  - And we have campaigned for votes for citizens in the six counties in Presidential elections and relevant constitutional referenda.
- Sinn Féin is the only all-Ireland party. Not just geographically, not just politically, not just strategically but also because we have a vision of a new future - a united, independent Ireland.

### Ending inequality

The political landscape of Irish politics is changing and republicans in every corner of this island are at the forefront of that change. People are sickened by what they have seen from

the Beef tribunal, through to the McCracken, Lindsay, Moriarty, and Flood Tribunals. Many politicians here make a genuine contribution to public service we seem to have a prevailing political ethos which is all about legitimatising a two-tier society.

You walk through the streets of our towns and cities and you can see young men and women sleeping in doorways. There are others who are less unfortunate and conspicuous, but are still among the excluded and deprived.

21% of Irish workers live on low incomes. This is the second highest proportion in the EU. The 26 Counties also has the second largest gap between rich and poor in the EU. The income inequalities in the Six Counties are just as pronounced.

A recent border education study found that there are 1.1 million people on the island who can be categorised as education poor, in that they had little or no formal educational qualifications and that 24% of the adult population north and south had literacy difficulties.

In a world where literacy and education are the key to a better and more fulfilling standard of living this is a shocking indictment of the society that has been built in Ireland, north and south.

The last official assessment of poverty showed over a third of persons falling below the 60% relative income poverty line. In the midst of plenty, it would be easy for society to forget those who have been left behind. But, while Sinn Féin exists, they will not be forgotten and they will not be abandoned. We must ensure that, for everybody, Ireland is a place in which to live and not to leave.

In the months ahead, and before we convene as an Ard Fheis, there are certain issues that we have to particularly address, under the headings of: Health care and provision; Crime and drugs; Housing; • Childcare; Education; Transport and The environment - with particular reference to waste disposal and proposed incineration. We have developed policies on all of these and we must continue to carry them to the people.

We need a coalition of all of those seeking an end to poverty, and inequality. We need a coalition across sectarian and racial divisions. We need a coalition of those in urban and rural communities who have been shut out of the increased prosperity of recent years. We need a coalition between republicans in the broadest sense and all those campaigning for real and lasting change in our country,

including decent politicians from all parties.

### Making Politics Work

This is the first Ard Fheis attended by Bairbre de Brun as Minister of Health and Martin McGuinness as Minister for Education.

Sinn Féin is responsible for two of the most difficult Ministries in the Executive. And I want to commend Bairbre and Martin for the remarkable job they have done in conditions which no other Minister in these islands has had to endure.

Inside and outside their departments they have won the praise and admiration of many people, including some who are not Sinn Féin supporters.

As part of Sinn Féin's drive to provide a more effective patient centred Health Service Bairbre de Brun has taken a range of initiatives designed to:

Improve the standard and efficiency of health care service delivery; and

Develop a strategic direction for health, social services and public safety which will deliver modern, effective, accessible services and commend public confidence.

Bairbre's initiatives include:

- A review of acute hospital services
- Establishing a Social Care Council to improve protection of vulnerable patients and raise standards of practice
- The expansion of children and young people's services
- Placing the equality agenda at the heart of Health Care Service delivery
- Bringing forward strategies to reduced drug and alcohol related hardship and to reduce teenage pregnancies
- Increased the priority given to Health in the Executive's Programme for Government
- And she has led the debate for an all-Ireland health service

Martin as Minister for Education has made a real impact on the practice and development of Education in the north. This year alone we saw a massive 130 million investment in the schools infrastructure. That means 17 new schools for our children.

We also saw increased funding for a new trust fund to support Irish-medium education and he has initiated a fundamental review into the way schools are funded in order to ensure equality and fairness.

Martin has won the hearts and minds of large sections of the educational community by his straightforward, honest and thorough approach. Including many who would be our

most trenchant opponents. Wherever he goes he builds up a warm rapport with the pupils and teachers.

He has ensured that there is regular interaction between Na Ranna Oideachais, between Belfast and Dublin. Four Education Working Groups were set up dealing with: Special needs; Child protection; Exchange programmes; North-South teacher mobility to increase the mobility of teachers throughout the island of Ireland.

In the field of equality, like Bairbre, Martin has ensured that his department has an Equality Scheme and he has added an Equality Division to oversee the implementation of equality measures.

He has targeted social needs, aimed at distributing funds more fairly, and supported small rural primary schools. And he made clear his opposition to the 11+ and initiated a review of that unfair selection system.

I want to commend all our MLAs, those on Committees, as well as our Ministers. We have all been on a learning curve in terms of our input into the Executive, the Assembly and when they existed the all-Ireland institutions. I am satisfied thus far we have made a valuable and constructive contribution to decisions and developments at all levels. We have been extremely patient also in the face of provocation from unionism. Unionists

The cause of unionism is being disgraced daily on the Ardoyne Road, as it was previously at Harryville and Garvaghy Road. There is no excuse and no right to protest and blockade against children. The leaders of unionism need to make that clear. Sinn Féin has been working in North Belfast, not only to lower tensions but, while repudiating the protest, attempting also to deal with the fears of unionists in that part of Belfast city.

I want to assure unionists that we will have no truck with sectarianism of any kind whether or from any source. Irish republicanism is against sectarianism. Everyone should have the right to live, to shop, to work, to travel, to be educated, or entertained wherever they wish free from sectarian harassment of any kind.

We want to reach out to unionists. For republicans they are in the culture of everyday life, no less Irish than the rest of us. However if they or some of them, to one degree or another, do not choose to look at it in that way that is their entitlement.

They should not be compelled into acknowledging what

they do not want to, and we accept that narrow green conservatism has contributed at times to their sense of alienation from the community of Ireland which we desire them to embrace.

And we recognise that in looking to Britain some of unionist think, not so much of Empire, but the traditions of the Reformation and the democratic struggle in England against absolutist monarchy. Both of which should be accorded the deepest respects.

Unionism overall is locked into a leadership battle which is being fought out around the Good Friday Agreement and the changes which that Agreement involves. There is resistance to these changes and unionist no leadership has yet to emerge to actively and consistently promote an acceptance of them.

Despite this a lot of progress has been made and our difficulties and our differences in many ways have been put in context by what is happening in other parts of the world. And I am sure that our horror at recent events is shared by the unionist family.

Our collective responsibility at this time is to settle our differences and I appeal to the leaders of unionism to join with us in doing that so that all sections of our people can go forward on the basis of equality.

#### **John Hume and the SDLP**

I want to pay tribute to SDLP leader John Hume. His resignation as party leader and that of his Deputy Leader Seamus Mallon marks the end of an era. They and we have a different analysis and different objectives.

But it is to John Hume's credit that he responded to the invitation from Sinn Féin to dialogue with our party in the late 1980's and reached out to work with us in trying to find a peaceful resolution of the causes of conflict on this island and between Britain and Ireland.

He was vilified, of course, including by some within his own party. But in a short period the Hume/Adams dialogue, as it became known opened up the possibility of a new beginning. This gave all our people hope and led an agreement which was endorsed by rank and file unionists as well as nationalists and republicans.

That period of hope is often forgotten now as the peace process stumbles from one crisis to another. But that hope should be a lasting tribute to the finest hour of John Hume.

I extend to John and Pat and to Seamus Mallon and his wife

Gertrude my warmest best wishes for the future. I look forward to working with this new leadership of the SDLP. Sinn Féin and the SDLP represent a shared constituency which has come through too much and endured too many indignities to settle for anything less than equality and justice.

The new generation of leaders seeking to take up the mantle of John Hume have a choice to make as momentous as that made by John Hume when he joined with me in a search for genuine resolution of this conflict. The SDLP can play a vital role in delivering peace or it can retreat into 'post nationalist' fallacies and fantasies and a narrower, more negative agenda. The decision is for them to take but I have to say that their move, taken in the final days of John Hume's leadership, to endorse the revamped RUC which falls short of the basic Patten requirement, and does not augur well for the future.

To support a failed police force when our shared constituency cries out for a new policing service is to attempt to impose an inequitable solution on a people who demand equalit Let me make it clear that Sinn Féin will not acquiesce to or be neutral about the need for a new beginning to policing. We are committed to continue the work to bring this about and to reject anything less than what people are entitled to.

I appeal to the new leadership of the SDLP to join again with us and others who seek an end to the causes of conflict on these islands. This will require courage and it will require sacrifice but we owe this to our shared constituency and to the rest of the people of this island.

However, I am very conscious that there is a section of the SDLP which is virulently and obsessively opposed to us. The only thing that keeps it going is looking over its shoulder at Sinn Féin. The problem is that it does not therefore see the future coming and is likely to bump into it, with even more unpleasant electoral consequences in the time to come. So, whether John Hume's vision survives within his party depends on whether this tendency comes into the ascendancy in the party leadership in the time ahead. These are all issues for the SDLP to sort out for themselves but people in the six counties will watch that space to discover if the SDLP is more about initials than ideas. Whether the vision is limited by an artificial border or whether it can grow to meet the challenges of the future.

## International Situation

Before I deal with the international situation I want to call on all political parties in Ireland to sign an anti-racist pledge and make a commitment that they will not play party politics with the race issue and that they will not tolerate racism in any form in their party.

Furthermore we are calling for all of those asylum seekers who arrived in Ireland before January 1st 2001 to be granted an amnesty and for the government to take a more humane attitude to the issue of asylum seekers and refugees in general.

Sinn Féin has consistently argued that the United Nations is the international institution with the responsibility to prevent armed conflict and to protect civilians. While nations have an individual right to defend themselves and their citizens we agree with Kofi Annan UN Secretary General that only the United Nations can give global legitimacy to the struggle to eliminate terrorism.

**Terrorism is ethically indefensible. Those responsible for the atrocities in the United States must be brought to justice.**

What happened in New York and Washington and Pennsylvania was, as the UN Human Rights Commissioner and former Irish President Mary Robinson said; 'A crime against humanity.'

Progressive struggles throughout the world have been set back by the attacks in the USA. There is no excuse, no justification for those type of actions. But neither should anyone who is truly concerned with world peace be deflected from that task or be carried away by the notion of a clash between civilisations. The real challenge is for dialogue, not retribution. That is the lesson of the peace process on this island. That is what Sinn Féin is about. It is about standing up for your rights while recognising the rights of others. It is about dialogue. It is about being inclusive. It is about equality. It is about justice. It is about righting wrongs.

- It is wrong that anyone should have to suffer because of their nationality, their colour, or their creed.

- It is wrong that the third world should be crippled with debt while the first world is affluent.

- It is wrong that an elite group of less than a billion people control more than 80% of the world's wealth.

It is wrong that 1.2 billion of the world's people live on less than one dollar a day.

- It is wrong that armaments production and sales exceed by over 60 times the World Health Organisation's annual expenditure on the world's four main preventable diseases.

- It is wrong that 11 million children under 5 die each year from preventable causes. This is equivalent to 30,000 children a day

- It is wrong that at least one million civilians, half of them children have died in Iraq as a result of the embargo imposed by the US and Britain.

- It is wrong that the British government sells weapons to Israel.

- It is wrong that the middle east conflict has been allowed to endure for so long and that the people of Palestine have to endure illegal occupation by Israel.

- It is wrong that our environment and the protection of this planet, the protection of nature, has been destroyed at the whim of big business

- It is wrong that 5.3 million people in Afghanistan - that's the population of our island - are on the brink of starvation as the result of a three year drought, in what the UN has described as the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

- It is wrong that justice has not been brought to the various long standing conflicts that have troubled this planet for a very long time.

The Irish government takes responsibility for the Chair of the UN Security Council for a month. None of these great wrongs can be righted in that time, but we look to the Foreign Minister Brian Cowan to send a very clear message to the world, on behalf of the people of this island that now is the time to strengthen bonds between people. It is time to strengthen and extend democratic international institutions.

This year has been proclaimed by the General Assembly of the UN as the Year of Dialogue among Civilisations. It is of the utmost importance that this dialogue takes place and that those of us who live in the west come to learn that we are not the world - we are only a part of it.

We need to build peace, freedom, human rights, tolerance and promote the idea of a international society based upon the rule of law, on justice and equality - a truly united human family.

## The 1981 Hunger Strikes remembered

As you all know this year marks the 20th anniversary of the 1981 hunger strike. I want to commend everyone who established and participated in the

1981 committees, and who sought to celebrate the lives of the hunger strikers. A few months ago I had the opportunity to bring a small number of people, most of whom had played a part in that desperate struggle 20 years ago, to visit Long Kesh.

It was an emotional visit for all of us and it brought back to my mind my visit to the prison hospital on July 29th 1981 along with Owen Carron and Seamus Ruddy of the IRSP. By this time Bobby, Francie, Raymond, Patsy, Martin and Joe were dead. We met Thomas McElwee, Laurence McKeown, Matt Devlin, Pat McGeown, Paddy Quinn and Mickey Devine and Bik McFarlane in the prison hospital. They all looked rough, prison-pale skin stretched across young skull-like faces, legs and arms indescribably thin, eyes with that penetrating look that I had often noticed among fellow prisoners in the past, and that Bobby Sands had described as "that awful stare, of the pierced or glazed eyes, the tell-tale sign of the rigours of torture." As they smiled across the table at us, all my fears and apprehension vanished. Big Tom offered me a jug of water.

We were left alone and began to discuss the hunger strike, the campaign outside, the British government's position and the hunger strikers' personal attitudes to events.

We outlined the situation to them. The lads were fully aware of all developments, but we persisted in detailing in a factual and harsh manner everything that had happened over the past few weeks. They sat quietly, smoking or sipping water, listening intently to what we had to say.

They were all crystal clear in their attitudes. There was no basis for a settlement. The British government were still persisting in their refusal to move meaningfully on work, association, or segregation. Yes, they knew they could come off the hunger strike at any time. Yes, they knew that there would be no difficulties in explaining the end of the hunger strike. If there was an alternative to the strike, they told us they wouldn't be on it. Five years of protest was too much. A reasonable and common-sense approach by the British would end, permanently, all the prison protests.

They knew the score; they didn't want to die, but they needed a settlement of the issues that caused the hunger strike before they would end their fasts. No, they were not driven by a personal loyalty to each other.

Regardless of what the others chose to do, each was personally committed to the five demands and to the hunger

strike. They were not under any duress.

I painted the darkest and blackest picture possible: "You could all be dead," I said. "Everyone left in this room when we leave will be dead." "Sin é," said somebody. "They won't break us. If we don't get the five demands, then the rest of the boys and the women will."

"We're right," declared another. "The British government is wrong and if they think they can break us they're wrong twice. Lean ar aghaidh." Bik arranged for us to go and see Kieran Doherty. Doc was propped up on one elbow on his prison bed: his eyes, unseeing, scanned the cell as he heard us entering. "Mise atá ann," said Brendan McFarlane.

"Ahh Bik, cad é mar atá tú?" arsa Doc.

"Nilim romh dhona, agus tú féin?"

"Tá mé go hiontach, tá daoine eile anseo? Cé?"

"Tá Gerry Adams, Owen Carron agus Seamus Ruddy anseo. Teastaíonn uatha caint leat."

"Gerry A', fáilte." He greeted us all, his eyes following our voices. We crowded around the bed, the cell much too small for four visitors. I sat on the side of the bed. Doc, whom I hadn't seen in years, looked massive in his gauntness, as his eyes, fierce in their quiet defiance, scanned my face.

I spoke to him quietly and slowly, somewhat awed by the man's dignity and resolve and by the enormity of our mission. He responded to my probing with patience.

"You know the score yourself," he said. "I've a week in me yet. How is Kevin (Lynch) holding out?"

"You'll both be dead soon. I can go out now, Doc, and announce that it's over."

He paused momentarily and reflected, then: "We haven't got our five demands and that's the only way I'm coming off. Too much suffered for too long, too many good men dead. Thatcher can't break us. Lean ar aghaidh. I'm not a criminal."

I continued with my probing. Doc responded.

"For too long our people have been broken. The Free Staters, the church, the SDLP. We won't be broken. We'll get our five demands. If I'm dead well, the others will have them. I don't want to die, but that's up to the Brits. They think they can break us. Well they can't." He grinned self-consciously. "Tíocfaidh ár lá." ("Our day will come.")

"Thanks for coming in, I'm glad we had that wee yarn. Tell everyone, all the lads, all the women, I

was asking for them and " He gripped my hand.

"Don't worry, we'll get our five demands. We'll break Thatcher. Lean ar aghaidh."

Outside Doc's cell, the screw led us in to speak to Kieran's father, Alfie, and his brother, Michael, who had just arrived to relieve Kieran's mother. We spoke for about five minutes. I felt an immense solidarity with the Doherty family, broken-hearted, like all the families, as they watched Kieran die. Yet because they understood their son, they were prepared to accept his wishes and were completely committed to the five demands for which he was fasting.

Talking to Alfie, his eyes brimming with unshed tears, in the quiet cells in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, I felt a raw hatred for the injustice that created this crisis. I never saw Thomas McElwee, Mickey Devine, Kevin Lynch or Big Doc alive again.

How do you explain the Hunger strikes? How do you come to terms with what happened? It can be understood only if we appreciate the incorruptibility and unselfishness and generosity of the human spirit when that spirit is motivated by an ideal or an objective which is greater than itself. People are not born as heroes. The hunger strikers were ordinary people who in extraordinary circumstances brought our struggle to a moral platform which became a battle between them and the entire might of the British state.

One of the greatest achievements of the hunger strikers was that they set a moral standard for the conduct of struggle. I'm sure that this was not their intention but it is a fact. Their generosity commitment, idealism and unselfishness set an example for the rest of us to follow. We Irish, all 70 million of us across this globe are no petty people.

If our opponents, if our detractors, if our enemies want to understand us, if they want to understand our struggle, if they want to understand our commitment and our vision for the future, then let them come to understand the hunger strikers. For the rest of us there is peace to be made, elections to be fought and freedom to be won. As Brendan McFarlane sings in his song

*We're stronger now  
You showed us how  
Freedom's fight can be won  
If we all stand as one*

Comrades, let us stand together and move forward together as one. Ar aghaidh linn.

## "O'Sama" and Internment By Gary Kent

**Commuting to the Commons over the years, I often wondered about the possibility of a jet slamming into it. The unthinkable is now with us and this "asymmetrical" war moves us into dangerous and completely uncharted waters. The security manuals are being revised. Terrorism in these islands is also in the firing line and internment is no longer unthinkable.**

Ah, I hear you sigh, "Internment was a complete disaster thirty years ago." It certainly was. Britain's long-standing ignorance and massively outdated intelligence was dangerously combined with the desire for revenge by the Unionist State in its dying moments of supremacy. Few loyalists were picked up and, in the main, the wrong republicans were locked up. It was only imposed on one side of the border.

It was also brutal. I often meet a republican who was blindfolded and pushed out of an Army helicopter. It was only six feet up but he thought he would finish six feet under. Britain was found guilty of torturing internees.

Internment boosted the Provos who milked for all it was worth. Today's conventional wisdom is that internment failed then and would fail again. But the Irish Government seriously contemplated internment in 1983 but retreated under pressure from a "petrified" British Government.

This is an example of fighting the last war. Peter Taylor writes that internment was "devastatingly effective" when it was imposed by both states against the IRA's 1956-62 border campaign, which lacked public support. The failure of internment in 1971 was in its implementation and its context. 2001 presents completely different circumstances: mainstream Irish republicanism is seeking to run the State. Discrimination against Catholics is being eradicated and power-sharing is the basic norm of government. The people have sanctioned this. Direct rule may be re-imposed but the basic framework will remain, waiting for the right time.

I assume, after the Manhattan massacre, that the Provisional IRA and its mainstream loyalist equivalents will decommission or be sidelined, although gangsterism is deeply embedded and will require



other dedicated actions such as an Anti-Intimidation Unit.

There are conflicting signals about the Real IRA's intentions. They may again declare a fake cease-fire to escape public odium but, even in the face of a Bush Administration determined to tackle terrorism, the Real IRA and dissident loyalists may continue.

If so, internment should be directed at the Real IRA and various loyalist groups. My greatest fear is that, as the Provos did with rogue states like Libya, that the Real IRA and even loyalists might link up with Osama bin Laden's network.

There are sound civil liberties arguments against internment without trial and on the word of a handful of servants of the state - it ignores the principle that a person is innocent until found guilty by due process of law.

The Real IRA may be the bastard child of the Provisionals but it is not the increasingly sleek political animal that the Provos have become pre-Colombia. If they were, the civil liberties arguments against internment would be added to by more practical political considerations. It could, for instance, be plausibly argued that internment would be counter-productive and would make martyrs of them, thus increasing their wider and softer support base. It would be argued that it would be far more efficient to prove that politics rather than violence works.

But the die-hard militarists of the Real IRA or last-ditch loyalists seem immune to political blandishments and have no significant social base or international support to mobilise. Internment must remain a last resort. The legal action initiated by the relatives of the Omagh victims could do much to disrupt the Real IRA. Allowing wiretap evidence in courts would also help.

Some analysts deride the capacity of the Real IRA whilst others believe that they have recovered from their three main set-backs - public indignation over Omagh, private infiltration by various enemies and Provisional IRA threats and secret grassing them up. In any case, they now seem keen to demonstrate that they haven't gone away. It may only be a matter of time before they pull off a lethal spectacular.

Another difference between now and 1971 is, I hope, that the British and Irish intelligence services are on top of the situation. Debate about the timing and tactics of internment must focus on how many dissident paramilitaries would remain

at large. But it's surely better to prevent even a small proportion of these people carrying out assassinations and atrocities, given that all are bent on terror in any case.

Internment would require a well-understood public narrative in these islands and Irish-America that ultimately there was no judicial or political equivalent to internment. That is undoubtedly made easier by the backlash against terrorism. But Sinn Féin couldn't and wouldn't back it. So be it if there's a big enough popular consensus for such a harsh measure.

Democratic societies have to defend themselves, sometimes with illiberal measures. Unfortunately, one of Mo Mowlam's more foolish decisions was to withdraw internment from the State's legal armoury. It would have to be reinstated some time before any possible use, for otherwise its reinstatement would telegraph the punch. Selective internment along with other security measures should be debated seriously.

From the October 2001 edition of the Fortnight and at [www.sourceuk.net](http://www.sourceuk.net).

## Tribute to Martin O'Hagan By Eddie Walsh

I first met Martin O'Hagan in the summer of 1970. He was lodging in West Dublin in the home of a Republican who had participated in the border campaign of the late 1950s. Martin's family had sheltered this man when he was active in that ill-fated Northern struggle.

Although his uncle, J.B. O'Hagan was becoming prominent among the emerging Provos Martin himself joined the Official Republican Movement in Dublin. At 20 he was already a socialist. Not for him the sectarian and crude terror campaign that was to be the hallmark of the Provisionals.

Martin swore the oath of allegiance to the Official IRA in a borrowed student bed-sit within the grounds of Trinity College. He was later jailed in the North and also served a prison term in the South following an abortive free-lance robbery operation in Cork.

When he was working for the Sunday World in Belfast he suffered at the hands of the Proves after they abducted and interrogated him on a South Armagh farm less than a mile from the border. Apparently because his

telephone number was found in a notebook taken from the body of a murdered senior RUC man.

31 years ago one of Dublin's parks was under the control of the catholic archbishop of Dublin. This park was usually kept locked and keys were only available, to the affluent residents of the surrounding square. Martin and I were among a group of Republicans who decided to daub the wall surrounding the bishop's palace in Drumcondra.

"Free the park for the people" or some such slogan was painted on it. And rather than risk being caught by the Gardai with the offending paint brushes we chucked them over the wall afterwards. Martin was shocked at this and he was the only one who retained his. He had borrowed all the brushes earlier that day from Cathal Goulding's decorating business and was going to have to explain their loss.

Martin was shot in the back on September 28, 2001 as he walked home with his wife from a pub in Lurgan, Co. Armagh. Sadly our paths did not cross in recent years.

8 October 2001

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FROM: WILLIAM FITTALL  
Associate Political Director (L)  
31 October 2001

10/31/01  
**FAXED**

Secretary of State (L&B)

cc See Copy Distribution Below

## WHAT IF TRIMBLE FAILS?

Most of our discussions over the past 48 hours have been about increasing the chances of success on Friday. This note pulls together our thinking on what to do if the vote, expected at around 1.30pm, goes the wrong way.

### Is it the last word?

2. The immediate question, if the vote is lost, will be whether there is any prospect of retrieving the situation by holding a further vote later on Friday or on Saturday. Once the potential swing voters have publicly committed themselves Trimble may, of course, conclude that there is no prospect of shifting and that as a result the game is up.
3. But there could conceivably be one or two waverers who were prepared to miss the second vote – Trimble only needs the majority of the designated unionists **present and voting**. Alternatively, *in extremis*, Trimble might be prepared to accept the redesignation of one or more members of the Alliance.
4. At the point where it becomes clear that there is to be no further vote before midnight on Saturday the spotlight will turn on you to make clear whether you are going to:
  - **suspend for 24 hours to create a further six week breathing space;**
  - **suspend until further notice in order to hold a substantive review;**

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prolonged period of direct rule unavoidable thereafter. The counter-argument is that if the people of Northern Ireland are not prepared to elect an Assembly that can make the Agreement work we cannot forever shield them from the consequences of their wishes.

**Timing**

13. Bill sounded Brendan Scannell out on some of this this morning and he undertook to consult others within the Irish system, though the probability is that we will not get a straight answer out of Dublin until the situation arises. There is after all still a reasonable chance that Trimble will win. Cowen is returning to Ireland on Friday morning and will be available to talk to you if the vote goes wrong. We may indeed need to arrange an urgent meeting at Hillsborough with him later on Friday or on Saturday morning.

14. For the moment we need to keep all the options open. But it will do no harm for Robert Hannigan to be briefing about the gravity of the situation which we shall all face if the vote is lost on Friday. Without unequivocally ruling suspension out he might confirm that fresh elections, for all the risks which they would entail, are a distinct possibility.

**William Fittall**

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8. Crucially, the idea does not even begin to run unless the SDLP, Sinn Féin and the Irish Government were prepared to back it. It is just conceivable that the SDLP might, for fear of the alternative. But Sinn Féin would probably see it as a threat to their expectation of the DFM post once they became the larger nationalist party. Unless the Irish were willing to persuade them to take a different view the idea looks dead in the water.

**Election options**

9. Once we get to midnight on Saturday evening without an FM/DFM and without having suspended you come under a statutory duty to propose a date for elections. The choice will be between announcing unequivocally that they will proceed (whether or not you set the date immediately) and taking a more nuanced line. This might be something along the lines of: there is now a statutory obligation to propose a date for elections; this is a decision of fundamental importance for the Northern Ireland peace process and as a result you want to consult widely before reaching a decision; in the meantime the Assembly is still able to meet and, in principle, have a further attempt at electing a First and Deputy First Minister; you will reach a decision in the light of the consultations and of any further attempts in the Assembly to resolve the underlying problem.

10. The temporising option is likely to look weak and evasive, unless by Saturday evening there is a strong tide running in favour of creating a bit more space (without resort to suspension) so that things can come right at the 13<sup>th</sup> hour. By contrast, going unequivocally for elections has the merit of decisiveness. It recognises that the fundamental problem arises from the arithmetic within the Assembly (rather than, as previously, the lack of decommissioning). And it gives the people of Northern Ireland the opportunity to resolve the impasse.

11. The drawback is that might be the wrong thing to do. It would almost certainly produce a much more polarised Assembly. Even if he does not lose ground to the DUP, Trimble is unlikely to be able to prevent an increase in the number of anti-Agreement UUP candidates. Indeed there must be some risk that an election campaign following a failed vote on Friday would split the UUP apart. And Sinn Féin would have a good chance of overtaking the SDLP.

12. All of this may lead the Irish to conclude that we should somehow avoid fresh elections after all. Certainly there is a high probability that elections would simply entrench the deadlock and make a

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- **announce that you are consulting about fresh Assembly elections**, while at the same time making a final appeal to the Assembly to elect a First/Deputy First Minister next week; or
- **announce fresh Assembly elections unequivocally**, perhaps subject to further consultation over the exact date.

Suspension options

5. How would we justify a further suspension this side of decommissioning? There are three possible bases for a suspension:

- an open ended suspension so that a review could address the more fundamental lack of confidence blighting the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement;
- a 24 hour suspension in order to create more space in which deals can be done so that a First and Deputy First Minister ticket is elected; or
- a 24 hour suspension in order to create a six week gap in which we could rush through legislation to reduce the threshold for a successful FM/DFM election.

6. **None of these looks at all attractive this side of decommissioning.** An open ended suspension and review would almost certainly be even more anathema to the Irish than in August and September. You said in September that a third 24 hour suspension would lack credibility and, while the circumstances have changed, they have arguably made suspension even less credible.

7. The third option is Trimble's idea of replacing the parallel consent requirement (a majority of unionists and of nationalists present and voting) by a weighted majority cross-community vote (at least 40% of unionists and of nationalists present and voting and 60% overall of those present and voting) this would involve not only fresh legislation but a departure from the Good Friday Agreement itself. It would be a desperate remedy. It might not in any event work because Trimble's position might be further eroded within the UUP, since many would see this as a disreputable attempt to cling on to power.

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<sup>file</sup>  
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10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

30 October 2001

Dear Paul

**MEETING OF IMPLEMENTATION GROUP, 30 OCTOBER**

Jonathan Powell, Bill Jeffrey and I attended the first meeting of the Implementation Group this morning in the Irish Embassy. Michael Collins, Brendan Scannell, Martin Mansergh, Daithi O'Ceallaigh and Colm O'Floinn (Counsellor, Irish Embassy) were present on the Irish side. Martin McGuinness and Gerry Kelly represented Sinn Fein.

Jonathan Powell opened by saying that the British Government fully appreciated the significance of last week's act of decommissioning and paid tribute to those in Sinn Fein whose efforts had delivered this. We would now aim to implement as quickly as possible all those action points set out in the British Government's Statement of 23 October. The immediate priority was to get through Friday's vote on the FM/DFM ticket. We would pull out all the stops to secure a positive vote. Meanwhile, hardliners in the UUP had requisitioned a UUC meeting which would probably take place on 17 November (together with the AGM). We would need to bear in mind Unionist sensitivity about certain issues in the intervening period.

McGuinness said the Implementation Group was an important new format. The goal of all participants should be the full and faithful implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. The Implementation Group would help ensure that misunderstandings did not develop.

McGuinness said Sinn Fein had fulfilled all their GFA commitments. This had involved a great deal of pain, but they were determined to keep travelling down this road. Last week's move had required a superhuman effort on their part. The basic republican constituency supported what had happened, but it was very controversial in some of the heartlands and with the families of victims. McGuinness had personal experience of being being shunned by close friends in Derry. The issue was therefore a hugely sensitive one and Sinn Fein were risking a significant section of their movement peeling off. They had to contend

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with the widespread belief that Trimble had pressurised Sinn Fein into doing something which went beyond the GFA. This grated on republicans, all the more so given their view that Trimble and the British Government were not meeting their own GFA commitments. Managing the peace process would be extremely challenging. The implementation group would provide a mechanism to help it run smoothly.

Jonathan Powell asked whether there was an immediate problem of an imminent split within the movement. McGuinness said it was a constant challenge keeping the movement together (although the current incoherence of the dissidents helped a little). He did not expect any knee-jerk defections, but if over time there was no follow-up on implementing commitments, there would be a real risk of a split. In this context, problems such as the British Government's refusal to close down the loophole on the "All Ireland Ministerial Council" confirmed people's worst fears.

#### Demilitarisation

McGuinness said that rapid progress on demilitarisation would be critically important to the republican constituency. The immediate moves on the four installations were welcome, but were a minimalist step when set against the huge move made by the IRA. He would like to see the British Government ahead of the curve in taking demilitarisation forward, with Sinn Fein being in a position to give the Government credit rather than being forced to criticise. A decisive move on demilitarisation by the British Government would be a crushing blow to the dissidents. Jonathan Powell commented that the disturbances at the Glassdrummond Army observation tower did not make progress any easier. McGuinness said this was a demonstration borne out of frustration. Security sources had been talking about the dismantling of these installations taking up to a year to complete. Bill Jeffrey said that was not right. The two towers would be removed in a fortnight, troops would be out of Magherafelt in four weeks and the site would be handed over to contractors in about four months. McGuinness said these timings needed to be made public.

McGuinness said South Armagh was the key area for progress, but there were other places where demilitarisation would have a big impact - the Rosemount barracks in Derry, and surveillance cameras in West Belfast and on the west bank of the Foyle (Gerry Kelly also mentioned the Divis Flats). Sinn Fein wanted to be out defending the GFA, but they needed to have the arguments to deploy with their constituency.

Jonathan Powell said that, especially in South Armagh, progress on policing would help facilitate demilitarisation. McGuinness said he recognised the challenge on policing. It was a logical extension of Sinn Fein being on the Executive for them also to be on the Policing Board when circumstances allowed. Bill Jeffrey said one of the strongest arguments for maintaining the towers was the need for troops to provide support to the police in South Armagh. If that argument fell away, it would greatly strengthen the case for demilitarisation. McGuinness said he did not accept that argument. Bill Jeffrey said he was aware that McGuinness did not accept the premise, but he needed to recognise that this was a key consideration in internal discussions within the British Government. Jonathan Powell concluded that everyone accepted progress on policing was desirable in its own right, and that it could only improve the prospects for rapid progress on demilitarisation.

#### OTRs

Kelly said this issue could have a big psychological impact within the republican community. But progress was painfully slow and unclear. Trying to find out the real situation was like grasping smoke. A further breakdown clarifying the position would be extremely useful. Bill Jeffrey set out our latest assessment of the different categories and the numbers within each category. He was ready to provide Gerry Kelly with a written breakdown but this needed to be on a private basis and heavily caveated. In many cases the process was not complete and we did not wish to raise false expectations. Bill Jeffrey added that the commitment in the British Government's statement of last week stood in respect of those cases that could not be resolved through case-by-case consideration by the independent prosecuting authorities.

#### FM/DFM Vote

Jonathan Powell briefed on our understanding of the Assembly arithmetic on the Unionist side, drawing on the discussion yesterday with David Campbell. He added that we were not attracted to the Unionist preference for suspension and legislative amendment in the event of the vote not succeeding. Our preferred option, if possible, would be to try and buy a little extra time in which to try and improve the Assembly arithmetic. Much would depend on the extent of the setback.



McGuinness made it clear that Sinn Fein would be opposed to any form of suspension (Michael Collins added that the Irish were also unkeen). He assumed the prospect of elections in December was a remote one. Jonathan Powell said premature elections were extremely undesirable. Bill Jeffrey asked McGuinness what his preferred option would be if Friday's vote failed badly (McGuinness simply repeated Sinn Fein's opposition to suspension). Jonathan Powell concluded that we all hoped we would not have to face this problem. If the vote on Friday did not succeed, the best option (if circumstances allowed) would be to try and find space to have another go (although there would be limited time for this).

Jonathan Powell said he sensed that Trimble suspected Sinn Fein were secretly trying to engineer fresh elections. Sinn Fein's recent contacts with Trimble had been unusually constructive. It might be helpful if these channels could be used to reassure Trimble that Sinn Fein were not seeking elections. McGuinness said that Adams had seen Trimble yesterday, but he would be happy to have a further word with Sir Reg Empey in order to make this point.

#### North Belfast

McGuinness referred briefly to recent security incidents in Strabane and Fivemiletown. He referred to rumours that CIRA were responsible for the first of these and said if this was right, there would be "hell to pay".

McGuinness said North Belfast was turning into a horror story. The only way he could see of reversing the current downward trend would be for respected elements within the Unionist community to come out firmly against the demonstrations.

Kelly rehearsed his intensive efforts over the summer to try to resolve this dispute and claimed these had foundered on the inflexibility of the residents' representatives. The problem was serious. The UDA were a malign influence, but the hatred ran deep amongst the Glenbryn residents. Billy Hutchinson was relatively well disposed but his lead was simply not being followed. The objective should be to restart talks on the dispute. If this was not possible, then public pressure needed to be applied on the residents and the UDA. Well-known personalities (not necessarily just politicians) should escort the children to school. It would send a powerful signal if Jane Kennedy did so. O'Ceallaigh mentioned that the Conservative Shadow Northern Ireland spokesman, Quentin Davies, had

done this recently (although O'Ceallaigh conceded that no-one had recognised him!).

Michael Collins suggested that a revived Executive would be in a powerful position to energise efforts to resolve this problem. Kelly thought the Executive could usefully take medium-term steps to address interface issues, but there was a need for more immediate pressure. McGuinness said the aim should be to contrive a situation which got the Glenbryn residents off their current hook. If the problem persisted, it would become a world-wide civil liberties *cause celebre*. That was not something republicans wanted. The residents needed to become part of the solution, not further entrenched in their current position. A revived Executive would send a powerful message to the streets and might help hardliners come to terms with the situation. McGuinness mentioned that he had not himself escorted the children to school because of his concern that this would antagonise the Glenbryn residents and escalate tensions.

Kelly mentioned the attack on a female Catholic in Tiger's Bay and recent sectarian problems in Newington. He claimed the RUC had done little to prevent or respond to these attacks. Kelly voiced concern that the UDA, having been specified, were now trying to lure the IRA into violence. Jonathan Powell said we would look hard at what could be done to deal with these interface issues. He agreed with Michael Collins that it would send a very powerful signal if a revived Executive were to take the initiative in this area.

### NSMC

McGuinness emphasised the importance of getting this up and running as soon as possible in both full and sectoral formats. Jonathan Powell said it would be neat to hold a full NSMC and a BIC back to back in Dublin.

### Implementation Group

All participants agreed that, subject to checking diaries, the next Implementation Group meeting should be at 1000 on 30 November in Dublin. There was no discussion of the composition of respective delegations.

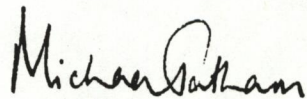
### Afghanistan

McGuinness (conceding that this did not fall within the remit of the Implementation Group) expressed his concern over coalition bombing of

Afghanistan. This was causing civilian casualties (comment: !). It was shaping up into a larger conflict between East and West. Jonathan Powell responded suitably robustly.

I am copying this letter to Sir Ivor Roberts (Dublin).

Yours ever

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael Tatham".

MICHAEL TATHAM

Paul Priestly  
NIO

*ru*



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

29 October 2001

**FAXED**

*NIO made  
30/10  
Jm*

*Jean Paul*

### MEETING WITH DAVID CAMPBELL

David Campbell came in to No.10 this evening for a meeting with Jonathan Powell and me.

#### Assembly Arithmetic

Campbell said it was very tight. Trimble was more confident than he was. At present, it looked as though Peter Weir and Pauline Armitage would both vote against. This would make things difficult. Peter Weir was insisting on a meeting with de Chastelain. This was tricky either way: it would be counter productive to obstruct this; but if the meeting went ahead Weir would most likely ask a series of questions to which he knew he would not get satisfactory answers.

Campbell thought Cedric Wilson and the NIUP were irredeemable. But it might be possible to make some headway with the UUAP trio of Watson, Douglas and Agnew. Of these, Douglas (a wealthy landowner) probably had least to lose by voting against. But there was room to work on the other two. He hoped the Prime Minister might help.

On a more positive note, it seemed as though Jane Morrice of the NIWC was willing to redesignate herself as a Unionist.

#### Suspension/legislative amendment

Campbell said if all this failed and the motion was defeated on Friday, he should look at a further temporary suspension, creating 6 weeks breathing space. The Government should then move to amend the Northern Ireland Act, reducing the threshold for the election of FM/DFM to 40%. This was worth doing anyway against the possibility of Sinn Fein becoming the largest Party after the next Assembly elections. Jonathan said we were ready to help as far as we

reasonably could in creating the most promising background for Friday's vote, but the option of suspension/legislative amendment was highly problematic for a number of reasons.

### UUC

Campbell said a UUC meeting had just been requisitioned. This would most likely take place on 17 November. The instigators appeared to be Peter Weir and the Young Unionists. Their motives were not yet clear - it was possible that they were trying to smoke out Donaldson.

This being the case, Campbell said it would be very difficult for Trimble if there were any bad news before the UUC. Specifically he hoped we could hold off on the publication of the Criminal Justice Review until after 17 November (unless we were ready to accept the UUP compromise on symbolic issues). Visible movement on OTRs would also go down badly with the UUP. Conversely, there were other areas (such as a Parades Commission Review) where progress before 17 November was highly desirable. Jonathan said we had some modest good news on the Human Rights Commission which we might be able to bring forward to before 17 November.

### David Montgomery

Campbell urged us to appoint Montgomery as Chair of the Parades Commission Review. Campbell maintained that he was respected across both communities (we made dubious noises). He was in charge of the Integrated Education Fund and got on well with McGuinness.

Campbell mentioned that Montgomery had established a trust called the Campaign for Democratic Reconstruction in Northern Ireland. There was potential for this to be used as a vehicle for raising funds on the mainland for the SDLP and UUP. It would be helpful if the Prime Minister could lend his support to the Trust.

### Dual Mandates

Campbell said he understood some thought had been given to legislation preventing dual mandates in the Scottish and Welsh Assemblies. If such a measure were introduced, and applied also to Northern Ireland, this would go a

long way to strengthening the two centre parties. Jonathan said there would be Scottish and Welsh implications of any such move. He would need to consult.

Comment

Not a very reassuring meeting: uncertainty on the Assembly arithmetic; unrealistic expectations for suspension/legislative amendment; and the familiar spectre of a UUC constraining rapid progress on follow-up to decommissioning.

*Yours ever*

*Michael*

**MICHAEL TATHAM**

Paul Priestly  
NIO

FROM: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
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Tel Belfast (028) 9052 0700

Michael Tatham Esq  
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 0AA

*recd ahead*  
29 October 2001

*Dear Michael*

The RUC becomes the Police Service for Northern Ireland on 4 November. It would help the Chief Constable in managing the transition, which will be a difficult one for a good many existing officers, if he had a letter from the Prime Minister noting the significance of 4 November. 4 November also marks the date of the commencement of the powers of the Policing Board and the arrival of the first 48 recruits selected on a 50:50 basis in training. Having a suitable Prime Ministerial letter, which would be circulated to officers, seems an appropriate way of marking the occasion.

Dr John Reid thinks this would be a good idea and a draft is, therefore, attached for the Prime Minister's consideration.

*Yours*

*Duncan*

**DUNCAN GILCHRIST**  
Private Secretary



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**DRAFT FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER**

Sir Ronnie Flanagan OBE MA  
Chief Constable  
RUC Headquarters  
Brooklyn  
65 Knock Road  
BELFAST  
BT5 6EL

October 2001

**POLICE SERVICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND**

I am writing to acknowledge and underline the fact that Sunday 4 November will be a momentous day for the Royal Ulster Constabulary. On that date not only will the Policing Board assume its powers, and the first new recruits, arrive for training, but the title of the service will also change.

I wanted to mark the occasion by thanking you, and your officers past and present, most sincerely for all that they have done to uphold law and order in Northern Ireland. I have said this many times, but it bears repeating: the courage, sacrifices and professionalism of the men and women in the RUC and the support staff, and their families, will not be forgotten. Indeed, these sacrifices and their service, which were rightly acknowledged through the award of the George Cross, have directly contributed to the circumstances in which we can all look forward to a more normal, peaceful society in Northern Ireland. All in Northern Ireland and many beyond have much to thank the RUC for.



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE





I also wanted to wish you and your officers well for the challenges of the future. The number and nature of changes you have already embraced, positively and constructively, is a major credit to the service. I have no doubt that you all stand ready to embrace the further changes that will come once the new Board assumes its powers.

I recognise that 4 November will be regarded as a sad day by some in the service. I understand that. I hope, however, that it will also be seen as a proud day. A day both to reflect on the achievements of the past, and to look to a new beginning to policing. To a service which is gaining the widespread community support and the further enhancement to its wider reputation that it undoubtedly deserves.

**RT HON TONY BLAIR MP  
PRIME MINISTER**



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Recd aheady

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HOUSE OF LORDS,  
LONDON SW1A 0PW

29 October 2001

Michael Tatham  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1A 2AA

MT

C: JB

CS

ARC

Dear *Mr Tatham,*

#### **BILL OF RIGHTS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND**

I am sorry to be late in following up John Ball's letter to you of 3 September about the draft proposals for a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.

The Lord Chancellor has now had a chance to study the Consultation Paper. He has asked me to underline the point made in John Ball's letter that some of these maximalist recommendations have serious implications for Great Britain, and could threaten the Human Rights Act settlement. The principles and the practical implications need to be looked at in detail. Much greater attention must be paid to the Human Rights Act, which is UK wide. The EU Charter of Rights is also relevant.

The Lord Chancellor has noted John Ball's point about handling but considers that we must not allow ourselves to be trapped in a position where we cannot resist effectively what is largely an NGO wish-list. We should also not lose sight of the read-across to the Irish Republic, whose approach to human rights has in some respects been less bold than the UK's.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of all members of Cabinet.

Yours sincerely

**SARAH ALBON**  
Principal Private Secretary



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**NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE**  
11 Millbank, London, SW1P 4QE  
Tel 0207 210-6469 Fax 0207 210 6479

MATRIX

Jonathan Powell  
No 10 Downing Street

29 October 2001

1/10

Dear Jonathan

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Dobbie Ake.

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**TOMORROW'S IMPLEMENTATION GROUP MEETING**

You and Bill Jeffrey are meeting McGuinness and Kelly with the Irish at 10.00am tomorrow at Sinn Fein's request. The Secretary of State is separately meeting Gerry Adams in Belfast at 4.30pm tomorrow. The "undertakings to Sinn Fein" note which I sent you on Friday is worth having to hand. I also attach the text which we agreed with Sinn Fein in January about the Implementation Group.

Subject to discussion with Dublin, Michael Tatham agreed a possible running order as follows:

- (i) **overall current situation** - the chance for McGuinness/Kelly to comment on the reaction to the IRA's act of decommissioning and for a general exchange on the prospects for Trimble's re-election. We may be pressed to guarantee that we won't suspend if Trimble fails to get elected. We should maintain uncertainty over what we would do. There would be no easy or attractive options.
- (ii) **OTRs** - Bill had a meeting with Kelly on Thursday and can report the outcome of that. He took Sinn Fein through where we stand on the 101 cases they have already given us (they now say a further list is on the way!). They may seek confirmation that legislation will be introduced by March. Our line should be that we stand by our commitment to take

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the necessary action by them, but are still looking at what that should be. Given how contentious legislation will be we are exploring all other options.

- (iii) **Normalisation** - the Newtownhamilton Super Sanger will be down in under a week, the two towers in a fortnight and troops will be out of Magherafelt in 4 weeks with the site handed over the contractors in about 4 months. Beyond that the elements of the rolling programme of troop reductions and removal of installations are still for decision. As are what will be needed by way of improvements in the security situation to unlock them. Containing the dissidents, securing a widespread acceptance of the new Policing Service and tangible signs that the IRA are moving into "honourable retirement" will all be part of the equation.
- (iv) **Westminster facilities** - the Prime Minister has made his position clear in a private letter to Gerry Adams. We will resolve this before Christmas. We shall probably want to move very quickly following Trimble's re-election, but the timing has yet to be agreed with the business managers and there needs to be a conversation with the Speaker before the motion is tabled. Radio silence from Sinn Fein in the meantime is crucial.
- (v) **Dublin issues** - Sinn Fein may not want these discussed in this forum but the Irish briefed us on the commitments Sinn Fein sought from them on **prisoner issues** and on **northern representation in the Irish Parliament** and it seems right at least to mention them, not least because of the possible handling read-across between the Westminster facilities and Irish Parliament issues. Can we be confident that the report of the Lennihan Committee will not be out before the debate on Westminster facilities?

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(vi) **Other items** - Sinn Fein may want to talk about **policing** and possibly the **collusion investigation**. On the first we remain committed to the review and to the legislative changes as set out in the implementation plan. On the collusion investigation we and the Irish are committed to pressing on as soon as we can identify a suitably qualified judge.

(vii) **Future of Group** - we committed ourselves in January to "meet fortnightly and more regularly as required." We also agreed that the Prime Minister and Taoiseach would get a report within 72 hours of each meeting. But we did not commit No 10 and the Taoiseach's Department to participate in each meeting. You might want a word with Bill before the meeting over how to handle this.

*(Signed)*

**William Fittall**

cc **Joe Pilling**  
**Bill Jeffrey**  
**David Watkins**  
**Paul Priestly**

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**IMPLEMENTATION GROUP**

Creation of an informal Implementation Group: to comprise senior officials from Irish Government and British Government.

Remit:

To meet privately to liaise and exchange information on an ongoing basis, and monitor the implementation of commitments made, including on policing, security normalisation, OTRs and the issue of arms.

To report progress and identify outstanding commitments.

To agree, where possible, actions and remedies to meet outstanding commitments and report differences to Ministers.

To meet fortnightly and more regularly as required.

To report to the British Prime Minister and An Taoiseach, not later than 72 hours after each meeting.

Representatives of Sinn Fein to be involved in meetings.

A dedicated representative from the two Governments and Sinn Fein to liaise and exchange information on an ongoing basis, between meetings.

f

MT  
cc: JPO  
Press



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Michael Tatham  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA

26 October 2001

*Jan Michael*

We agreed that it would be timely for the Prime Minister to send thank you letters to Martti Ahtisaari and Cyril Ramaphosa thanking them for their work as weapons inspectors. You said that it would be helpful to have drafts for the Prime Minister's weekend box so I am sending these to you direct.

*Yours*  
*William Fittall*

**WILLIAM FITTALL**  
Associate Political Director

**DRAFT LETTER FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER**

Cyril Ramaphosa

October 2001

This has been a big week in the history of Northern Ireland. You have made an absolutely invaluable contribution to what has been achieved. Please accept my warmest thanks for all the commitment and patience which you have shown.

The peace process is, of course, a process rather than an event and I am sure that we shall encounter further difficulties as time goes by. The need to build trust and confidence between the two parts of the community remains as great as ever. But, securing an act of IRA decommissioning has been an historic achievement, and I do not believe that it would have been possible without the work which you and Martti Ahtisaari have done as weapons inspectors. I am deeply grateful.

With warmest wishes.



**DRAFT LETTER FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER**

Marti Ahtisaari

October 2001

It was a huge relief to learn on Tuesday that an IRA act of decommissioning had at last occurred. I had always thought that we would get there, but the journey has been long, tortuous and at times immensely frustrating. I do not believe we would have got this far without your own unique contribution as one of the weapons inspectors.

There is now a real opportunity to stabilise the institutions of government in Northern Ireland and create fresh momentum in the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. Building confidence lies at the heart of the peace process and, in your unique way, you have helped to do that at an absolutely critical time.

I entirely understand why you and Cyril Ramaphosa concluded that this was the natural moment for the two of you to bow out. You do so with my warmest thanks and appreciation.

With all best wishes.

**FROM: WILLIAM FITTALL**  
**Associate Political Director (L)**  
**26 October 2001**

*JP*  
*cc: MT*  
*Press*

Secretary of State (L&B)

cc See Copy Distribution Below

### **PROSPECTS FOR TRIMBLE'S RE-ELECTION**

I spoke to David Campbell just before lunch. He sounded generally optimistic.

2. He said that the idea of reconvening the Assembly on Wednesday had foundered because Alderdice had objected. Campbell speculated that Alderdice's reluctance might be linked to Paisley's absence in the USA until Thursday. So, it was back to plan A, namely the Assembly meeting at 10.30 next Friday. There was no intention to suspend standing orders in order to secure re-designations. Trimble intended simply to put himself forward for re-election.

2. Campbell declared himself unfussed by the DUP's antics. They were looking dreadful hypocrites. UUP leadership was also buoyed up by considerable support from within the party even from those who had previously been sceptics. Trimble was not expecting a difficult time at the Executive tomorrow. He was determined to resist any amendments or conditions on re-entering government. He was expecting a clear decision from the Executive to instruct all its Assembly members to support their leader. This would put Weir on the spot. For personal reasons he might still insist on abstaining or voting against. But Campbell's private information was that even Donaldson was suggesting to Weir that now was the time to toe the party line. Interestingly, it is not expected that Donaldson will be back in time for the Executive.

3. This is a surprisingly upbeat assessment and contrasts with what Billy Armstrong MLA told Peter Waterworth earlier today before the Assembly party meeting. Perhaps it went much better than he had expected. Trimble is looking for a stoctaking discussion with the Secretary of State on

**RESTRICTED**

Monday (now set up for 4.00 pm). This seems sensible. Trimble is due to be in London on Tuesday and is exploring the possibility of a stocktaking discussion at No 10.

*William Fittall*

**WILLIAM FITTALL**

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Richard Olszewski

Jonathan Powell, No 10

**RESTRICTED**



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 October 2001

*Dear Martti,*

It was a huge relief to learn on Tuesday that an IRA act of decommissioning had at last occurred. I had always thought that we would get there, but the journey has been long, tortuous and at times immensely frustrating. I do not believe we would have got this far without your own unique contribution as one of the weapons inspectors.

There is now a real opportunity to stabilise the institutions of government in Northern Ireland and create fresh momentum in the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. Building confidence lies at the heart of the peace process and, in your unique way, you have helped to do that at an absolutely critical time.

I entirely understand why you and Cyril Ramaphosa concluded that this was the natural moment for the two of you to bow out. You do so with my warmest thanks and appreciation.

With all best wishes,

*Yours ever  
Tony*

His Excellency Martti Oiva Kalevi Ahtisaari

File  
CC OCO  
Inbox  
CC FCO  
NIO



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

File  
100  
inbox  
cc FLO  
NIO

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 October 2001

Dear Cyril,

This has been a big week in the history of Northern Ireland. You have made an absolutely invaluable contribution to what has been achieved. Please accept my warmest thanks for all the commitment and patience which you have shown.

The peace process is, of course, a process rather than an event and I am sure that we shall encounter further difficulties as time goes by. The need to build trust and confidence between the two parts of the community remains as great as ever. But securing an act of IRA decommissioning has been an historic achievement, and I do not believe that it would have been possible without the work which you and Martti Ahtisaari have done as weapons inspectors. I am deeply grateful.

With warmest wishes,

Yours ever  
Tony

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa



**NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE**

**11 Millbank, London, SW1P 4PN**

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**email: [william.fittall@nio.x.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:william.fittall@nio.x.gsi.gov.uk)**



*cc: MT  
Press.*

Jonathan Powell  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA

26 October 2001

**UNDERTAKINGS TO SINN FEIN**

I attach as requested a checklist. The Secretary of State has seen this and is content.

**WILLIAM FITTALL**  
**Associate Political Director**

cc **Joe Pilling**  
**Bill Jeffrey**  
**David Watkins**  
**Paul Priestly**

**CONFIDENTIAL & PERSONAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL****UNDERTAKINGS TO SINN FEIN**

The four installations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work now started on all four.</li> <li>• Supersangar to be removed in less than a week, two towers in a fortnight.</li> <li>• Troops to be out of Magherafelt in four weeks, and site handed over to contractors in about 4 months.</li> </ul>
A rolling programme of troop reductions and removal of installations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subject to security situation. Secretary of State intends to have private discussion soon with Chief Constable and GOC about the prospects.</li> </ul>
Policing – implementation of Patten, including review after 12 months and legislation “to reflect more fully the Patten recommendations”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No new commitment – the legislative commitments in the published implementation plan are on the SDLP points. Sinn Féin understand theirs can be addressed in the review. Expectation that their two points on DPPs (convictions, Belfast subgroups) would be met if they signed up for the Board.</li> </ul>
OTRs – such steps as are necessary to resolve the issue by March 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continuing case by case progress (Sinn Féin told on Thursday about 7 further cases now resolved). 30 of 101 cases now disposed of.</li> <li>• SoS to consider whether selective use of pre-prosecution pardon under Royal Prerogative could avoid legislation. But this is unlikely to work, and a Bill is being prepared. ?Keep profile low until FM/DFM reelected.</li> </ul>
Commons facilities – sort before the end of the year (private letter of assurance from PM now delivered to Sinn Féin)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ?Prime Minister to speak again to Speaker to see if willing to change ruling in light of recent developments.</li> <li>• Failing that to speak Robin Cook about bringing forward the necessary resolution to enable the Commons to debate the matter before Christmas. (A draft resolution was prepared some time ago.) Case for going public on this as soon as FM/DFM reelected.</li> </ul>
Collusion inquiry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commitment to SLDP rather than Sinn Féin, but worth mentioning for completeness. Lord Chancellor now actively seeking judge.</li> </ul>

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

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□□□□HSA9885 4 HHH 750 PA

Ulster Talks Substitute  
GENERAL HAD VERIFIED WEAPONS DISPOSAL - UNIONISTS<

By Dan McGinn, Ireland Political Editor PA News<  
General John de Chastelain and his decommissioning body colleagues handled and inspected the IRA's arms, ammunition and explosives before they were put beyond use, it emerged today.<

According to a transcript released by the Ulster Unionists of their meeting with the General on Tuesday just hours after the commission confirmed IRA disarmament had taken place, the General said he had verified that the weapons were genuine.<

He told the UUP a concrete cap was not placed over the weapons and he said he was anticipating another meeting with the Provisionals' representative soon.<

The General told Mr Trimble and three party colleagues: "We are not prepared to go into methodologies but it is not a cap. That would not meet the requirements.<

"The method used does meet the requirements.<

"The event is significant. Since I have been here I have seen wall murals many times which say 'Not a bullet. Not an ounce'.<

"I can assure you there is more than a bullet and an ounce but I cannot say how much. We can say, however, that we have taken inventories and it contains a range of materials."<

The transcript was released by the UUP after the Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists claimed after a meeting with the General in Belfast last night that there was not a shred of evidence to prove disarmament had actually happened.< Mr Paisley said the General was unable to tell them "where the act had taken place, how many weapons were involved and whether further disarmament would occur."<

DUP deputy leader Peter Robinson also claimed it was clear from their discussions that the General and his colleagues did not know where they were, that they were with people they did not know but assumed they were IRA members and all he could say was "unspecified material was put beyond use in an unspecified way."<

But in the UUP's transcript, the General and his two colleagues told Mr Trimble that while there was no photographic evidence of the event, an inventory had been taken and "we all handled the arms and weapons to check they were genuine, we counted them and the ammunition and we weighed the explosives."< Anticipating hardline unionist criticism over the lack of transparency during the process, the General also told the UUP the decommissioning body had told the IRA the secret nature of the task made it difficult to convince the unionists of the quantity and disposal of the arms because they could not reveal them and the issue had to be taken on trust. <

General de Chastelain said: "We made it clear to O'Neill (the codename for the IRA) that a lack of transparency makes things difficult but we want to get other events and don't want to create difficulties there.<

"We will continue our engagement with O'Neill and expect our next meeting to be soon."<

He also told the delegation if they believed it to be a "one-off event" by the IRA, the commissioners would have said so in the report.<

The commission, he said, was "given no such indication".<

Ulster Unionist chairman James Cooper today said they had decided to release extracts from their minutes of the meeting with the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning in the wake of the DUP's claims that the act of disarmament was dubious.<

"We have taken this step to place very clearly in the public domain some of our record of the discussion with the IICD," Mr Cooper said.<

"This will allow the public to judge for themselves the views of the commission.<

"We view the DUP's attack on the IICD as belated and totally predictable. It is a desperate attempt by the DUP to throw sand into the air to cover their tracks as they return to government."<

A UUP spokesman said the transcript had been released with the consent of the disarmament commission.<

This was confirmed to PA News by an IICD spokesman who would not comment further.<

Mr Cooper also claimed senior DUP figures were contradicting themselves on whether decommissioning had taken place.<

He continued: "If no decommissioning took place why have the DUP gone back into government?<

"The DUP is on record as having said decommissioning would never happen.<

"They do not have a policy to get decommissioning. It is no surprise, therefore, that Tuesday's news has thrown them into disarray.<

"The reality is that the DUP know that decommissioning has started but they don't know how to deal with it."<

mfl<

**FAKED**  
*Pike (by/ra)*

*On deat. Probly got away with it.*

*J.*



CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
25 October 2001  
BJ/MR/117

*LPA*  
*we have a worry about*  
*with De Chastelain. Perhaps*  
*you should speak to him to do*  
*that.*

*✓ JPO*  
*cc DM*  
*✓ MT*  
*ES/TU*

SECRETARY OF STATE(L&B)

cc Joe Pilling  
David Watkins  
Nick Alston  
William Fittall  
Margaret O'Mara  
Mary Madden  
Jonathan Powell No.10

*yes.*

*✓*

CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN

*1 spoke to General de Chastelain yesterday.*

- 2. He confirmed that, as we had picked up from other sources, it was the Commission rather than the IRA that had been unwilling to use the word "substantial" to describe the quantity of arms beyond use. They had described the event as significant not the quantity. He was surprised that others were reported as saying it was substantial. That was a matter for them, but they were in no position to know.
  
- 3. More generally, de Chastelain sounded more fed up than I had heard him for a while. He had obviously had a difficult time with the IRA representative for not much reward, and had been taken aback by the contrast between Trimble's aggressive performance in their meeting and his emollience in front of the cameras. People had been congratulating him, but he felt no sense of elation. He told me that he still plans to give us notice at the end of the month that he would like to pull out at the end of the year. This was mostly because he was concerned that Tuesday's act would become a one-off, the continuing discussions with the Commission would be used by the IRA as cover for what was an essentially tactical move, and it would become obvious that this was what was happening. When he saw Sinn Féin today, he would indicate to them that, in his view, his continued presence was at risk of being interpreted as allowing nothing more to happen. Unless there was a further IRA act within the next couple of months to indicate that Tuesday's was not a one-off, he had concluded he ought to

## CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

leave. He wasn't sure whether this would have any effect on Sinn Féin, but it seemed worth a try.

4. We agreed that we should meet next week, with Tim Dalton, to take stock. (It will probably be towards the end of the week because of diary problems.) I said that ~~de Chastelain might not welcome congratulations, but I thought he and his colleagues~~ had handled a difficult situation in the last few days with great skill. I still thought that it would be worth looking afresh at the Commission's operating style after the end of this year. If de Chastelain and Sens were willing to continue as Commissioners with the associated statutory powers, meeting local figures (including paramilitary representatives) from time to time, but primarily based in their own countries and able to return to witness acts of decommissioning at a moment's notice, we might have something that would meet everyone's requirements. De Chastelain confirmed that he would be interested in something on these lines. We should discuss when we meet.

5. De Chastelain also confirmed that, notwithstanding the IRA's act, the Finnish Commissioner, Brigadier Nieminen, still intended to step down at the end of the month i.e. the middle of next week. It would, I think, be a friendly gesture if the Secretary of State were able to have him and the other Commissioners in for drink (or even a meal) at some point during next week. I understand the Irish are arranging something in Dublin.

Comment

6. The fact that de Chastelain was out of sorts is not a great surprise. He is politically astute, and knows the game we are in, but in the end the practical soldier in him wants to see substantial decommissioning. The hassle to reward ratio must seem pretty high, and in recent months the pleasures of fly fishing in Canada have begun to feature more and more prominently in our conversations.

[Signed]

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
 Political Director  
 25 October 2001  
 BJ/MR/119

BY FAX

JLo  
 ✓  
 CDM  
 ✓  
 MT  
 GS/TM

WILLIAM FITTALL

cc Secretary of State(L&B)  
 Jane Kennedy(L&B)  
 Des Browne(L&B)  
 Joe Pilling  
 Nick Alston  
 Chris Maccabe  
 Anita Bharucha  
 Jonathan Powell No.10  
 Sir Ivor Roberts (D)

### IRISH UNDERSTANDINGS WITH SINN FÉIN

I ought to record some exchanges with the Irish about their negotiations with Sinn Féin .

2. When I called on Tim Dalton on Friday before the meeting with Mr Cowen, I asked him how this aspect was going. He said the best thing would be for him to give me the current versions of the texts – now attached. It later became obvious that he assumed Brendan Scannell had already given us both texts, whereas in fact he had only given you an earlier version of the draft letter. In the course of the meeting with Cowen, I raised the fact that the draft statement on publication of the All Party report appeared to envisage Westminster MPs from Northern Ireland taking part in debates in the Dail. The Secretary of State said that this would be “dynamite”, and made the connection with the understanding the Prime Minister has with Sinn Féin about House of Commons facilities. As I recorded at the time, the Irish side seemed taken aback that we knew about this, and gave no satisfactory response.

3. I later followed up with Scannell, to emphasise that the issue was one of some sensitivity for us. However limited the arrangement was in reality, the very idea of Sinn Féin MPs having any kind of speaking rights

CONFIDENTIAL

in the Dail would give a very difficult signal for unionists. Scannell said he had noted the Secretary of State's comments very carefully and reported them to the Taoiseach's Department. His own view was that none of this would come to anything, for want of all party support. None of the other parties would be willing to indulge Sinn Féin. It also depended on what the Committee recommended, which was not yet clear. I asked whether he was in effect saying that it was too late to change the text for Sinn Féin. He more or less admitted that it was.

4. I also pressed Scannell on the reference in the letter to passport issuing facilities. As far as I was aware there had been no recent discussions. This too was a raw nerve for unionists. If we were asked, we would have to say that there was no agreement on anything. Scannell agreed that that was the position. The idea of issue by post following applications through Post Offices seemed worth pursuing.

5. I later spoke to Dalton again. I apologised if I had dropped him in it, but I hadn't thought I had much choice when the issue was raised in the meeting with Cowen. He reacted quite cheerfully. DFA hadn't been too pleased, but the fact was that we ought to have been kept in the picture! I asked if there was any risk of the letter from the Taoiseach to Adams coming into the public domain. Dalton said he thought not. It was intended to be a private letter of comfort.

[Signed]

**BILL JEFFREY**  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

Revised Draft 18/10/2001 at 10.00

DRAFT

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

October, 2001

Mr Gerry Adams MP, MLA  
Sinn Féin

Dear Gerry

In relation to the question of Northern participation in the democratic life of the State, I again confirm my personal commitment to taking the steps set out in my letters of November 1999 and May 2000. It is my view that such measures could best be taken in the context of the full implementation of all aspects of the Good Friday Agreement.

As you know, the issue has been under examination by the All-Party Committee on the Constitution. I have been informed by the Chairman of the All-Party Committee that he will publish his report by the end of this year and I am anxious, of course, not to preempt its recommendations.

Subject to this, in relation to those aspects, such as arrangements for participation in specific Dáil debates, which would not require a constitutional amendment, I can confirm that the Government will indicate its support for the making of the necessary procedural arrangement by January, 2002 and will seek the support of other parties in the Dáil to bring this about by March 2002.

The introduction of any amendment to the Constitution such as in relation to the Senate, would, of course, be a more complex and time-consuming matter. It would best be carried forward on the basis of the maximum possible political consensus. Publication of the report of the All-Party Committee would offer the basis for the Government to take a positive stance on the matter. I confirm my personal commitment and the commitment of the Government to actively seek to secure agreement by March 2002 to have any referendum that might prove necessary put to the people as soon as possible in 2002.

I can confirm that discussions are ongoing with the British authorities and good progress is being made, in order to give effect to the intention to make Irish passport facilities available in Northern Ireland.

Yours sincerely

Taoiseach

18 October 2001 at 10.30

**Draft Only**

**Possible Statement by the Taoiseach on the publication of the Report of the All-Party Committee on the Constitution - Northern Representation Aspects**

In April 1998, I wrote to the All-Party Committee on the Constitution asking it to examine how people living in Northern Ireland might play a more active part in national political life, to the extent that they so desire and in a spirit consistent with the principles underlying the Good Friday Agreement. I am grateful to the Committee which agreed to undertake this review as part of its wider review of the institutions of the state, and I welcome the recommendations it has now made. In making these recommendations, the Committee had the benefit of receiving submissions from a number of organisations and individuals, including the SDLP and Sinn Féin.

I deeply appreciate the thoughtful manner in which the Committee has approached this sensitive matter. It has sought to ensure that nothing it proposed was at variance with the provisions of the Good Friday Agreement. I believe that its recommendations are fully consistent with that approach.

I share the Committee's view that it would be particularly valuable to have the expertise, experience and insight of politicians from northern Ireland in appropriate debates in the Oireachtas. The Government therefore supports the making of the necessary procedural arrangements to allow MPs elected for Northern Ireland constituencies to speak in periodic debates on Northern Ireland matters and on the operation of the Good Friday Agreement, as recommended by the Committee, and will seek the support of other parties in the Dáil to bring this about by March 2002.

The Committee rightly points to the valuable precedent established by the contributions of past and present Senators from the North in the Seanad. I fully agree that it would be valuable to extend and to formalise this existing practice. The Committee brings forward a range of options, some of which would require amendment of the Constitution. These deserve careful

consideration and we will be seeking to move forward on the basis of the maximum political consensus. The Government would hope, however, and will actively seek to secure agreement by March 2002 to have any constitutional amendment that might prove necessary put to the people as soon as possible in 2002.

Finally, the Committee states its belief that the establishment of a North/South Parliamentary Forum as proposed in the Agreement, to bring together representatives of the Oireachtas and of the Assembly, could make a major contribution to debate and mutual understanding between North and South. The Government fully supports this view.



file (in matrix)



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

24 October 2001

Dear Gerry,

In relation to the question of providing facilities at Westminster for Sinn Fein MPs I confirm my commitment on this matter as set out in my letters of 5 and 6 November 1999.

I can also confirm that we are now prepared, as soon as possible and in any event before the end of the year, to bring the necessary motion before the House of Commons and recommend that the House agree to provide facilities for the four Sinn Fein elected representatives.

Yours sincerely  
Tony

Mr Gerry Adams MP

JC



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

5 November 1999

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

*Dear Gerry,*

You raised certain matters with me last night. I understand the importance of them to you and I am prepared to do what I can. But I emphasise to you that movement on these and other issues will be much easier when the security situation is calm and there is genuine political progress.

I am prepared, as soon as practicable, to change the law so that there is no bar on simultaneous membership of the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Dail Eireann. We will need to act in consultation with the Irish Government, but I see no problem as long as they agree.

On the case of Rita O'Hare and others who are subject to extradition warrants, I entirely take the point that some of these people are active advocates of the peace process. The question of whether to pursue prosecutions is a matter for the Director of Public Prosecutions (Northern Ireland) and the Attorney General who, constitutionally, act independently of government. However, I understand that the Attorney General would wish to use the discretion he has to review, without commitment, whether the public interest continues to require a prosecution in these cases, against the background of a significantly changed situation in Northern Ireland, including implementation of the Good Friday Agreement.

Thirdly, I will raise with The Speaker, Betty Boothroyd, how you can gain access to Westminster and use the facilities there. If she sees difficulties, I will look at other ways of achieving the same end.

Finally, on security matters, it has always been my desire to get normalisation under way as soon as possible. The only brake on this is the security situation and the need to take effective measures to protect ordinary citizens from the threat of violence. In line with this policy, we will be announcing shortly the demolition of the army's six remaining towers along the Fermanagh border. Once the Mitchell Review has been concluded and progress has been made in implementing the outcome, we will announce the closure as soon as practicable of the holding centres at Castlereagh, Gough Barracks and Strand Road. We will also publish the security strategy paper in line with the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement as a whole.

In addition, I accept your point that there are several extensive and intrusive security installations in South Armagh. In the event of a successful outcome of the Mitchell Review, I would like to move on these, but I do stress to you that this is very dependent on the security situation there. My concern is that if we removed them and a substantial act of violence took place in that area, for example from a grouping opposed to the peace process, people would rightly feel very angry about it. What I can say is that I do genuinely desire to resolve this as soon as possible and I want to work with you to that end. I have asked Peter Mandelson to look at this issue in detail and will stay closely involved with it myself.

I hope this is of some help. I do stress, as I have always stressed, my desire for complete normalisation as soon as possible, for the establishment of the institutions, including the North-South bodies, so that they are up and running as soon as possible and that all reasonable effort should be made to acknowledge Republican aspirations. All the above measures must be seen in the context of the Mitchell Review having a successful outcome, leading to a climate of greater stability and the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement in all its aspects.

Yours ever  
Tony

Mr Gerry Adams MP



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

Handled by  
Papers also to be sent to  
Treasurer's Office

THE PRIME MINISTER

6 November 1999

**PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL**

Dear Gerry,

You asked for some clarifications on timetables on my letter of last night. I can give you these approximate times, but they are based on my understanding of a situation in which we are all moving forward.

On the question of individuals being able to sit in the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Dail Eireann, I can confirm that we would want the necessary steps to be taken by the end of December. I can also confirm that the legislation would allow members of the Westminster Parliament to sit in the Dail Eireann as well as members of the Northern Ireland Assembly.

On the review of extradition cases, I did stress that this is entirely a matter for the Attorney General. I would want to have the review done by Christmas, or at least very soon in the New Year.

On your and Martin McGuinness's ability to use the facilities at Westminster, I will talk to The Speaker next week and I shall certainly have this done by Christmas.

Finally, on security, I can give a commitment that Peter Mandelson will review straight away the requirement for extensive and intrusive security installations in South Armagh. As I said to you, I am anxious to make progress in this area, but it does crucially depend on stability in real and genuine cessations of armed activity. In these circumstances, I would hope that, by February, the process of normalisation there in respect of these installations should be underway, provided that there is a clear and continuing commitment on the IRA's part that the security situation will be settled and good. If that is so, I may add that we want to do this also in other areas such as Belfast and Derry/Londonderry.

I cannot stress to you enough that all this is utterly dependent on maintaining a genuine cessation of violence and implementing the progress we all want to see achieved in the political process.

*Yours ever  
Tony*

Mr Gerry Adams MP

FROM: **BILL JEFFREY**  
Political Director  
24 October 2001  
BJ/MR/115

✓ JP  
cc MT  
✓ P,SS

**PAUL PRIESTLY**

- cc **Jane Kennedy(L&B)**
- Des Browne(L&B)**
- Joe Pilling**
- David Watkins**
- William Fittall**
- Robert Hannigan**
- Stephen Leach**
- Chris Maccabe**
- Jonathan Stephens**
- Anita Bharucha**
- Mary Madden**
- Robin Masefield**
- Peter Waterworth**
- Alan Whysall**
- Jackie Sear**
- Jonathan Powell No.10**
- Karen Pierce FCO**
- Sir Ivor Roberts Dublin**
- Bob Pierce Washington**

**STATEMENT: SECOND DRAFT FOR 11.30 MEETING**

I attach a second draft taking account of a few comments from David Watkins. We could use this at the 11.30am meeting.

[Signed]

**BILL JEFFREY**  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

**DRAFT STATEMENT**

Mr Speaker, with permission, I will make a statement about developments in Northern Ireland.

2. Yesterday the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning reported that they had witnessed an event – which they regarded as significant – in which the IRA had put a quantity of arms beyond use.

3. The materiel in question had included arms, ammunition and explosives. The Commission were satisfied that the arms in question had been dealt with in accordance with the scheme and regulations, in other words that the IRA's act constituted an act of decommissioning under their statutory remit. They noted that they would continue their contact with the IRA representative in the pursuit of their mandate.

4. The word "historic" tends to be over-used about the Northern Ireland political process. There have been so many twists and turns, so many moments of optimism, so many setbacks along the way. But yesterday's move by the IRA is, in my view, unprecedented and genuinely historic. It takes the peace process on to a new political level.

5. It is the culmination of efforts by many people over many years. My rt hon Friend the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach Bertie Ahern have worked tirelessly with the parties to



implement all aspects of the Belfast Agreement, as have our friends in successive Administrations in the United States of America.

6. The republican leadership has shown itself to have the vision and confidence to bring an armed movement to the point of ceasefire and the pursuit of its objectives through democratic means. Of course views differ on this, but I know that their rule in achieving this has not been easy and I want to put that recognition on the record.

7. The hon Member for Foyle and the party he leads have contributed ideas and commitment to the process from the beginning. I pay tribute to them.

8. I pay tribute also to the rt hon Member for Upper Bann and his colleagues. Were it not for his persistence, willingness to take risks and sheer courage under attack, it is no exaggeration to say that yesterday's events are unlikely to have happened. It is a vivid illustration of the power of engagement, the powerlessness of detachment. It is those who have taken risks for peace who have achieved this progress, not those who have barracked from the sidelines.

9. I would like also to thank General John de Chastelain and his colleagues. They have undertaken a sometimes thankless task with patience and dignity. The credibility of yesterday's events owes much to the credibility of the three

Commissioners. It is only through the Commission that the putting of all paramilitary arms beyond use can be achieved.

10. Three things now need to happen.

11. First, all paramilitary groups should now play their part in building on yesterday's progress. The loyalist organisations, which have in the past been ready to support the process, should rediscover their commitment; ask themselves what they can do to contribute by responding in kind to the IRA's move; and above all abandon the mindless sectarian violence of recent weeks.

12. Second, the political institutions which are the democratic core of the Belfast Agreement – the Assembly, the Executive, the North South Ministerial Council and the British Irish Council – should now be restored to full operation as quickly as possible, and should operate in a stable and uninterrupted way.

13. I was heartened by the rt hon Member for Upper Bann's initial reaction yesterday evening. His party must decide on their way forward. It is entirely a matter for them. But it would be a tragedy if, after yesterday's events, the institutions were not quickly restored.

14. The people of Northern Ireland deserve no less. They yearn for stable devolved government – local politicians, with a local perspective, taking the day to day decisions that most

affect their lives. In conditions of great uncertainty, the devolved Executive has already made an impressive start. It will never be easy, with the legacy of mistrust and the genuine political divisions that exist in Northern Ireland, to make the accommodations – large and small – on which effective cross-community government depends. But I believe there is now a better chance than ever before that the project will succeed.

15. Third, we need to press on with the implementation of the Agreement in all its aspects. Yesterday evening, the Government published a response to the Decommissioning Commission's report, on which we renewed our commitment to full implementation, and undertook to follow through on some of the proposals which emerged from the Weston Park discussions in July.

16. We will, in particular, complete the implementation of the Patten report, including the review of the new arrangements to which we are already committed and the introduction of legislation to amend the Police Act 2000 to reflect more fully the Patten recommendations.

17. We will implement the Criminal Justice Review, to create an effective criminal justice system that has the confidence of all parts of the community. I intend to publish shortly an implementation plan for the review and draft legislation, and to introduce the legislation during the current session.

18. We will undertake a progressive rolling programme reducing levels of troops and installations in Northern Ireland, as the security situation improves. Our aim is to secure as early a return as possible to normal security arrangements.

19. I can announce a further step in that direction today. The IRA's action in putting weapons beyond use has wide political significance. It also, in itself, makes a contribution to the improvement we all want to see in the security situation.

20. Accordingly, the Chief Constable has reported to me that, following consultation with the GOC, he has concluded that, notwithstanding a significant continuing threat from the dissidents, yesterday's developments represent a real improvement in the security situation. He therefore intends, as soon as logistically possible, to have demolished:

- the supersangar at Newtownhamilton police station adjacent to the helicopter landing site
- the Magherafelt army base

Work on these two sites will begin tomorrow.

- the observation tower on Sturgan mountain in South Armagh

- one of the observation towers on Camlough mountain in South Armagh.

Work on these two sites will begin today.

21. After the Weston Park talks, my rt hon Friend the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach recognised that there was an issue to be addressed, with the completion of the early release scheme, about supporters of organisations now on ceasefire against whom there are outstanding prosecutions, and in some cases extradition proceedings, for offences committed before 10 April 1998, the date of the Good Friday Agreement. Such people would, if convicted, stand to benefit from the early release scheme.

22. The favourable treatment, under the early release scheme, of many of those who had committed the most serious offences was, I know, one of the most painful and contentious aspects of the Agreement. We and the Irish Government have, however, accepted that it would be a natural development if the scheme for such prosecutions not to be pursued in either jurisdiction, and have agreed to take such steps as are necessary to resolve the issue, as soon as possible and in any event by March 2002.

23. Mr Speaker, piece by piece the Belfast Agreement is taking shape.

24. The major constitutional changes, including the establishment of the principle of consent and the ending of Ireland's territorial claim to Northern Ireland, have been made.

25. The institutional architecture has been shown to work, and – as I have said – can and must be revived by yesterday's historic move. The Human Rights and Equality Commissions have been set up – and are hard at work.

26. After much debate, the Policing Board has been established, and plans to hold its first formal meeting on 7 November. The SDLP have had the courage to express their support for the new Police Service by taking their places on the Board. I hope Sinn Féin will follow them before long. There is, within our grasp, the new beginning in policing to which the Agreement looked forward.

27. As the Prime Minister said last night, we are a long way from completing our journey. It would not be Northern Ireland if it was all plain sailing. There will no doubt be obstacles ahead. Everyone will need to hold their nerve and hold to their commitments.

28. But at a time when the world is grappling with the effects of the most evil terrorism, when we see in the Middle East the awful consequences when political dialogue breaks down and opportunities are missed, I can tell the House the political process in Northern Ireland is alive and moving forward. To

sustain this will require hard work, steady nerves and the continued ability on all sides to reach out and make difficult compromises. The Government is ready and eager to play its part.

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
24 October 2001  
BJ/MR/114

PAUL PRIESTLY

cc Jane Kennedy(L&B)  
Des Browne(L&B)  
Joe Pilling  
David Watkins  
William Fittall  
Robert Hannigan  
Stephen Leach  
Chris Maccabe  
Margaret O'Mara  
Anita Bharucha  
Peter Waterworth  
Alan Whysall  
Jonathan Powell No.10  
Karen Pierce FCO  
Sir Ivor Roberts Dublin  
Bob Pierce Washington

~~cc: DJ~~  
~~AT~~  
AC  
RS/TK

**STATEMENT**

I attach a first draft of the statement for this afternoon. Supporting Q&A material will be submitted separately. There will no doubt be further versions. Detailed comments on this one should come to me and/or you.

**[Signed]**

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447



## DRAFT STATEMENT

Mr Speaker, with permission, I will make a statement about developments in Northern Ireland.

2. Yesterday the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning reported that they had witnessed an event – which they regarded as significant – in which the IRA had put a quantity of arms beyond use.

3. The materiel in question had included arms, ammunition and explosives. The Commission were satisfied that the arms in question had been dealt with in accordance with the scheme and regulations, in other words that the IRA's act constituted an act of decommissioning under their statutory remit. They noted that they would continue their contact with the IRA representative in the pursuit of their mandate.

4. The word "historic" tends to be over-used about the Northern Ireland political process. There have been so many twists and turns, so many moments of optimism, so many setbacks along the way. But yesterday's move by the IRA is, in my view, unprecedented and genuinely historic. It takes the peace process on to a new political level.

5. It is the culmination of efforts by many people over many years. My rt hon Friend the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach Bertie Ahern have worked tirelessly with the parties to implement

all aspects of the Belfast Agreement, as have our friends in successive Administrations in the United States of America.

6. The republican leadership has shown itself to have the vision and confidence to bring an armed movement to the point of ceasefire and the pursuit of its objectives through democratic means. I know that that has not been easy.

7. The hon Member for Foyle and the party he leads have contributed ideas and commitment to the process from the beginning. I pay tribute to them.

8. I pay tribute also to the rt hon Member for Upper Bann and his colleagues. Were it not for his persistence, willingness to take risks and sheer courage under attack, it is no exaggeration to say that yesterday's events are unlikely to have happened. It is a vivid illustration of the power of engagement, the powerlessness of detachment. It is those who have taken risks for peace who have achieved this progress, not those who have barracked from the sidelines.

9. I would like also to thank General John de Chastelain and his colleagues. They have undertaken a sometimes thankless task with patience and dignity. The credibility of yesterday's events owes much to the credibility of the three Commissioners. It is only through the Commission that the putting of all paramilitary arms beyond use can be achieved.

10. Three things now need to happen.

11. First, all paramilitary groups should now play their part in building on yesterday's progress. The loyalist organisations, which have in the past been ready to support the process, should rediscover their commitment; ask themselves what they can do to contribute by responding in kind to the IRA's move; and above all abandon the mindless sectarian violence of recent weeks.

12. Second, the political institutions which are the democratic core of the Belfast Agreement – the Assembly, the Executive, the North South Ministerial Council and the British Irish Council – should now be restored to full operation as quickly as possible, and should operate in a stable and uninterrupted way.

13. I was heartened by the rt hon Member for Upper Bann's initial reaction yesterday evening. His party must decide on their way forward. It is entirely a matter for them. But it would be a tragedy if, after yesterday's events, the institutions were not quickly restored.

14. The people of Northern Ireland deserve no less. They yearn for stable devolved government – local politicians, with a local perspective, taking the day to day decisions that most affect their lives. In conditions of great uncertainty, the devolved Executive has already made an impressive start. It will never be easy, with the legacy of mistrust and the genuine political divisions that exist in Northern Ireland, to make the accommodations – large and small – on which effective cross-community government depends.

But I believe there is now a better chance than ever before that the project will succeed.

15. Third, we need to press on with the implementation of the Agreement in all its aspects. Yesterday evening, the Government published a response to the Decommissioning Commission's report, on which we renewed our commitment to full implementation, and undertook to follow through on some of the proposals which emerged from the Weston Park discussions in July.

16. We will, in particular, complete the implementation of the Patten report, including the review of the new arrangements to which we are already committed and the introduction of legislation to amend the Police Act 2000 to reflect more fully the Patten recommendations.

17. We will implement the Criminal Justice Review, to create an effective criminal justice system that has the confidence of all parts of the community. I intend to publish shortly an implementation plan for the review and draft legislation, and to introduce the legislation during the current session.

18. We will undertake a progressive rolling programme reducing levels of troops and installations in Northern Ireland, as the security situation improves. Our aim is to secure as early a return as possible to normal security arrangements.

19. I can announce a further step in that direction today. The IRA's action in putting weapons beyond use has wide political significance. It also, in itself, makes a contribution to the improvement we all want to see in the security situation.

20. Accordingly, the Chief Constable has reported to me that, following consultation with the GOC, he has concluded that, notwithstanding a significant continuing threat from the dissidents, yesterday's developments represent a real improvement in the security situation. He therefore intends, as soon as logistically possible, to have demolished:

- the supersangar at Newtownhamilton police station adjacent to the helicopter landing site
- the Magherafelt army base

Work on these two sites will begin today.

- the observation tower on Sturgan mountain in South Armagh
- one of the observation towers on Camlough mountain in South Armagh.

Work on these two sites will begin tomorrow.

21. After the Weston Park talks, my rt hon Friend the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach recognised that there was an issue to be addressed, with the completion of the early release scheme, about supporters of organisations now on ceasefire against whom

there are outstanding prosecutions, and in some cases extradition proceedings, for offences committed before 10 April 1998, the date of the Good Friday Agreement. Such people would, if considered, stand to benefit from the early release scheme.

22. The favourable treatment, under the early release scheme, of many of those who had committed the most serious offences was, I know, one of the most painful and contentious aspects of the Agreement. We and the Irish Government have, however, accepted that it would be a natural development if the scheme for such prosecutions not to be pursued in either jurisdiction, and have agreed to take such steps as are necessary to resolve the issue, as soon as possible and in any event by March 2002.

23. Mr Speaker, piece by piece the Belfast Agreement is taking shape.

24. The major constitutional changes, including the establishment of the principle of consent and the ending of Ireland's territorial claim to Northern Ireland, have been made.

25. The institutional architecture has been shown to work, and – as I have said – can and must be revived by yesterday's historic move. The Human Rights and Equality Commissions have been set up – and are hard at work.

26. After much debate, the Policing Board has been established, and will have its first formal meeting on [...]. The SDLP have had the courage to express their support for the new Police Service by

taking their places on the Board. I hope Sinn Féin will follow them before long. There is, within our grasp, the new beginning in policing to which the Agreement looked forward.

27. As the Prime Minister said last night, we are a long way from completing our journey. It would not be Northern Ireland if it was all plain sailing. There will no doubt be obstacles ahead. Everyone will need to hold their nerve and hold to their commitments.

28. But at a time when the world is grappling with the effects of the most evil terrorism, when we see in the Middle East the awful consequences when political dialogue breaks down and opportunities are missed, I can tell the House the political process in Northern Ireland is alive and moving forward. To sustain this will require hard work, steady nerves and the continued ability on all sides to reach out and make difficult compromises. The Government is ready and eager to play its part.

Check against  
delivery

final-  
five

For 3½ years, since 10 April 1998 we have worked for this moment. This is a move of fundamental significance for Northern Ireland, for the relations between the communities in Northern Ireland but also for the world. Whatever the setbacks, whatever the impasses, whatever the strains and stress of constant negotiations, dialogue and bargaining, this is a peace process that, despite it all, is working.

People suffer almost from a fatigue of historic events or claims of them.

Yet think for a moment. Think of what has been achieved and ask if, 10 years ago, people would have thought it remotely possible. The Agreement of 10 April 1998 is gradually taking the shape intended.

- The principle of consent – that the future of Northern Ireland rests with the democratically expressed wishes of the people of Northern Ireland accepted and agreed.
- The Republic of Ireland yielding up their territorial claim to Northern Ireland and the nationalist community's aspiration to a united Ireland recognised, in bodies covering North and South.
- A directly elected Assembly producing the Government of Northern Ireland.
- That Government, that can now be re-established, representing unionist, nationalist and republican parties working together.
- A new start to policing and criminal justice capable of commanding support across community divides, underway.
- 70% of Northern Ireland with no troops stationed and a real process of normalisation in areas still marked by intrusive security measures now able to be achieved.
- The British and Irish Governments working together, getting on with each other not just in respect of Northern Ireland but in the EU and elsewhere, closer today than at any time in our history.



- Now, weapons being put beyond use in accordance with the Decommissioning Commission's remit, something thought utterly unthinkable a few years ago.

Politics is working.

I pay tribute to the Republican leadership, to Gerry Adams, to Martin McGuinness in particular for the boldness and courage of this move. It has been done not out of weakness but from the strength that comes from recognition that there is a new dispensation, that we can resolve differences politically and that the only aims that ever should or can succeed are those pursued by democratic debate.

Of course, there will still be difficulties and differences. It is a peace process not a single event. But the process can now move forward again.

All paramilitary organisations should follow suit. The loyalist organisations said they would wait for the IRA. They can and must now move on this issue. The killing and terrorising of the innocent must stop.

There will be dangers. From the wreckers, loyalist or splinter Republican groups, who do not want change, or prefer to take refuge in the past. They should realise they have absolutely no support in the wider community for their violence. But they will try to inflict terror to de-rail what has been achieved. Then there will be the cynics; the people who have offered no serious alternative to the 10 April Agreement, who refuse to recognise the magnitude of the changes it has brought about. It has taken real leadership to get here from nationalist leaders like John Hume and Seamus Mallon and from the Ulster Unionists, in particular from David Trimble, who has been attacked, often vilified but who has taken risks that had to be taken and stayed steadfast throughout. I say don't let the wreckers or the cynics win.

Of course this process isn't perfect. Of course it has its share of hard choices, tricky, even unpleasant compromises and inconsistencies.

Of course, if you are living in one of the communities like North Belfast mired still in conflict, the peace process seems hollow.

But for the majority of people in Northern Ireland life is better.

Yes the process isn't perfect. But it's a darn sight better than the alternative, which is no process.

In the Middle East, as we speak, we see what "no process" means. Bloodshed, grief, daily funerals, bitterness and hatred fuelling a cycle of attack and counter-attack. The only thing that is certain is that when the violence ends, though the dead bodies will be greater and the hatred more intense, the issues will remain the same and the only way of resolving them, namely through dialogue, will be the same.

So today, we can be forgiven for indulging in hope. It's in short enough supply in our world not to celebrate it when we have it.

Let us hope that for the people of Northern Ireland a new era is beckoning where people can live in mutual respect, tolerance and security. We should remember those who died in the troubles, Catholics and Protestants, activists and those with no political connection, RUC men and women, soldiers; people whose death through terrorism inspired us to try to create a better future.

We are a long way from finishing our journey; but a very significant milestone has this day been passed.

For 3½ years, since 10 April 1998 we have worked for this moment. This is a move of fundamental significance for Northern Ireland, for the relations between the communities in Northern Ireland but also for the world. Whatever the setbacks, whatever the impasses, whatever the strains and stress of constant negotiations, dialogue and bargaining, this is a peace process that, despite it all, is working.

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The truth is that a military solution on either side in this conflict was never going to work. We know that now which is why we helped engineer the peace process. The IRA know that now which is why they have helped it today.

Of course, there will still be difficulties and differences. It is a peace process not a single event. But the process can now move forward again.

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• The principle of consent - that the  
future of N.I. rests with the democratically  
expressed wishes of the people of N.I. - is

accepted & agreed.

- The Republic of Ireland yielded up their territorial claims <sup>to N.I.</sup> & the unionist community's aspiration ~~to~~ a united Ireland remained, in bodies covering North & South.

- A ~~relaxed~~ <sup>diminishing</sup> Assembly produced the form of N.I.

- That form represented unionist nationalism & republican parties working together

- a new start to politics & a revived justice capable of commanding support across community divides, underway.

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The British & Irish courts working together, getting on with each other not just in respect of N.I. but in the E.U. & elsewhere, does ~~to say~~ <sup>to say</sup> that at any time for almost 100 yrs

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In the middle East as we speak we  
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People in ~~Catholic~~ communities  
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There will be danger. From the wreckers,  
Cynical or splinter republican groups.

Who do not want change, or prefer to  
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leaders like Seamus Mallon & from the  
Ulster Unionists, in particular from ~~David~~

Trimble, who has been attacked <sup>after</sup>  
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throughout.

27 11 7838883

# CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

✓ Jla  
 cc MT  
 CS  
 Press

FL

## FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: JONATHAN POWELL	FROM CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
COMPANY:	DATE: October 24, 2001
FAX NUMBER: 0944 207 839 9044	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 2 PAGES
PHONE NUMBER:	SENDER'S REFERENCE NUMBER:
RE: PRESS STATEMENT	OUR REFERENCE NUMBER:
NOTES/COMMENTS:	

Please find attached herewith, Press Statement as discussed telephonically.

Regards.

Cyril Ramaphosa

27 11 7838883

**PRESS STATEMENT****INTERNATIONAL ARMS INSPECTORS WELCOME IRA AND  
DECOMMISSIONING BODY ANNOUNCEMENT**

President Martti Ahtisaari and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa announced today that they warmly welcomed yesterday's statement by the IRA and the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning (IICD) regarding the event in which the IRA has put a quantity of arms completely beyond use.

The Arms Inspectors said: "This event is a substantial and significant development in the peace process."

President Ahtisaari and Mr Ramaphosa said that they were appointed as Arms Inspectors at a time when the IRA and the IICD were not fully engaged and when it was essential to put in place confidence building measures.

"In the light of this event and the re-newed engagement between the IRA and the IICD, we are now pleased to announce that our task as Arms Inspectors has ended. We have advised the British and the Irish governments and other parties accordingly and informed them that we will be available in the future to assist in the peace process if needed", the Arms Inspectors concluded.

**ENDS**

**Date: 24 October 2001 Embargoed until 13h00 GMT**

**Issued in: Helsinki and Johannesburg**

**By: President Martti Ahtisaari and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa**

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Fax: 020 721 87140  
E-mail: sofs-registry1@mod.gsi.gov.uk

SECRETARY OF STATE

MO 19/3H

MATRIX  
24 October 2001

Dear Sarah,

✓

✓  
C: MT  
AMC

**NORTHERN IRELAND: DEVOLUTION OF LAW AND ORDER FUNCTIONS**

The Defence Secretary was grateful for a copy of Dr Reid's letter of 15 October to the Lord Chancellor on devolution of law and order functions in Northern Ireland. Mr Hoon agrees that it would be prudent to undertake some initial work on further devolution, even though, as Dr Reid says, stabilisation of the devolved institutions may be some way off.

The Defence Secretary is content with the issues it is proposed to address in the preparatory phase of the work. Clearly, the Ministry of Defence will have a particular interest in the question of relations between the Police and the Armed Forces and between HMG and the devolved administration in respect of continuing military support to the Police. We will let Joe Pilling's office have the name of a representative for his working group.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary and the Attorney General, and to Sir Richard Wilson, the Director General of the Security Service and 'C'.

Yours ever,  
David

D P WILLIAMS  
Private Secretary

Sarah Todd  
PS/Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

CONFIDENTIAL



Recycled Paper

# INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING

*General John de Chastelain*  
*Brigadier Tauno Nieminen* *Andrew D. Sens*

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## REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON DECOMMISSIONING

To:

The Rt. Hon. John Reid, MP  
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland  
Belfast


To:

Mr. John O'Donoghue, TD  
Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform  
Dublin

1. On August 6<sup>th</sup> 2001 the Commission reported that agreement had been reached with the IRA on a method to put IRA arms completely and verifiably beyond use. This would be done in such a way as to involve no risk to the public and avoid the possibility of misappropriation by others.
2. We have now witnessed an event -- which we regard as significant -- in which the IRA has put a quantity of arms completely beyond use. The materiel in question includes arms, ammunition and explosives.
3. We are satisfied that the arms in question have been dealt with in accordance with the scheme and regulations. We are also satisfied that it would not further the process of putting all arms beyond use were we to provide further details of this event.
4. We will continue our contact with the IRA representative in the pursuit of our mandate.

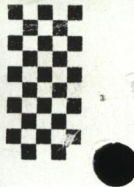
  
Tauno Nieminen

  
John de Chastelain

  
Andrew D. Sens

23 October 2001





cc: mt ✓  
 Confidential & Personal  
 ✓ 1/11/98 John Laid 22/1/01  
 no Rel Act  
 Rule 26(b)  
 (no further copies)  
 before you write  
 ✓

From: David Trimble  
 To: J. Powell

**1. Suspension**

I mentioned last Thursday the need to maintain the integrity of the administration in Northern Ireland. Since then I have seen a Civil Service memo in which it is claimed that NI Departments have the power to function in the absence of Ministers (relevant para. attached). This may seem like a constitutional monstrosity, but it is supported by the Northern Ireland Act 1998 which refers repeatedly to powers being exercisable by a "Minister or a Northern Ireland Department" (eg s.23(2)). I am seeking independent advice on this.

During the drafting of that Act, I pressed for powers to be vested collectively in the Assembly or the Executive, as in Wales. I never received a coherent reason why it could not be done. Now we know. Officials wanted to preserve their power. [Departments in NI have a legal status separate from that of the Minister and from each other.] Obviously there cannot be collective, accountable government until this is remedied. The remedy will require may legislation.

Incidentally, Seamus Mallon and I had asked Gerry Loughran to quietly prepare plans to strengthen collectivity in the administration before I resigned. His suggestions to date are modest, perhaps too modest.

This may seem to lessen the need to suspend. Administration will not collapse if the Departments can carry on with the Minister as surplus to requirements.

The impact on unionist opinion, however, of the sight of the administration sailing on as if unionist participation did not matter will be considerable. What price all our much vaunted checks and balances then! Would you for one minute contemplate this prospect if all the nationalists were out leaving only unionist Ministers?

Moreover, please bear in mind that we cannot be sure that nationalists will act with sensitivity in this situation. Sinn Fein, however, can be relied on to act with their usual triumphalism. If you are not careful this could provoke serious problems.

## **2. Being "optimistic"**

Immediately after an act of decommissioning I will take a group to see de Chastelain. It is vital he satisfies them that it actually is decommissioning. If he does I will declare my intention to reform the administration. We will then call an emergency party executive meeting. I need their endorsement to get all 27 UU Assembly members in line. I do not think I will ever get Weir's vote. Three clear days notice is required for the executive. So if decommissioning is on Monday, the executive will meet on Friday.

I will have to re-appoint the UUP Ministers before Thursday, (a) to avoid the need to re-run d'Hondt, and (b) so that Empey and Mallon can call for an Assembly meeting to elect FM/DFM. Two days notice is required for the latter. So the Assembly sitting to re-elect will probably be on 31 October. We think there is only one possible candidate for an abstention among the anti-agreement unionists, although we have not yet approached him. There is insufficient time for a redesignation of an "other" member as unionist, one or two "others" may be willing to redesignate.

So the chances of election at that sitting are slim and there will not be enough time for another sitting before the 6 week period runs out on 3 November. You will then have two days to decide between election or suspension. If decommissioning comes later than Monday the time is correspondingly reduced. How would you then justify suspension? You are in very serious danger of being manoeuvred by SF into an election. Or is that part of the deal, have you decided to sacrifice the SDLP in order to get decommissioning?

I now think I left the UUP Ministers' resignations too late and I know that Reid made a serious mistake in not suspending immediately afterwards, as he had earlier told me he was minded to do.

## **Impact on Departments operating without Ministers**

Departments act under the direction and control of their Ministers. Most statutory functions are, however, vested in departments, rather than their Ministers, and they can continue to exercise their functions regardless of the vacancy in the Ministerial office. They should nonetheless exercise caution in the making of decisions which would normally be put to Ministers. (The other departments remain under the direction and control of their Ministers.)

S TAPING EMBARGO. NOT, REPEAT NOT, FOR RELEASE BEFORE 5PM. TODAY,  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23.-

TODAY'S IRA STATEMENT-

This is today's IRA statement in full:-

The IRA is committed to our republican objectives and to the establishment of a united Ireland based on justice, equality and freedom.-

In August 1994, against a background of lengthy and intensive discussions involving the two governments and others, the leadership of the IRA called a complete cessation of military operations in order to create the dynamic for a peace process.-

'Decommissioning' was no part of that. There was no ambiguity about this. Unfortunately there are those within the British establishment and the leadership of unionism who are fundamentally opposed to change. At every opportunity they have used the issue of arms as an excuse to undermine and frustrate progress.-

It is for this reason that decommissioning was introduced to the process by the British Government. It has been used since to prevent the changes that a lasting peace requires.-

In order to overcome this and to encourage the changes necessary for a lasting peace, the leadership of Oglagh na hEireann (IRA) has taken a number of substantial initiatives.-

These include our engagement with the IICD (Independent International Commission on Decommissioning) and the inspection of a number of arms dumps by the two international inspectors, Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.-

No one should doubt the difficulties these initiatives cause for us, our volunteers and our supporters.-

The political process is now on the point of collapse. Such a collapse would certainly, and eventually, put the overall peace process in jeopardy.-

There is a responsibility upon everyone seriously committed to a just peace to do our best to avoid this.-

Therefore, in order to save the peace process, we have implemented the scheme agreed with the IICD in August.-

Our motivation is clear. This unprecedented move is to save the peace process and to persuade others of our genuine intentions.-

Signed: P O'Neill.-

end-

FAO ANN SHEVAS



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
11 MILLBANK  
LONDON  
SW1P 4PN

b7 fax.

Michael Tatham Esq  
PS/Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London  
SW1A 2AA

22 October 2001

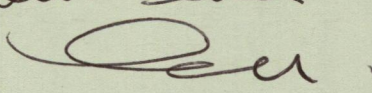
Dear Michael

We are making contingency arrangements for a suspension of devolution.

If suspension happens the Secretary of State believes he will need to make a formal statement in the Commons at a very early stage (the suspension order itself will be subject to debate, but not immediately). The timing is necessarily uncertain, and little notice may be possible, so we thought it might be useful to put you and colleagues formally on notice. We will circulate drafts when we can be more sure of the contents.

There will be a number of people who should be formally notified in advance of an announcement. Dr Reid envisages that, depending what dialogue there has been in advance, the Prime Minister may want to speak to the Taoiseach; he or you will probably also want to speak to the leaders of the Opposition, and of the Liberal Democrats.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Leaders of both Houses, to the Chief Whips, and to Sir Richard Wilson.

Yours ever  
  
for **KIRSTEN McFARLANE**



CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
22 October 2001  
BJ/MR/110

*Handwritten signature and initials*  
✓ JH  
cc: mt

PAUL PRIESTLY

cc Jane Kennedy(L&B)  
Des Browne(L&B)  
Joe Pilling  
David Watkins  
Nick Alston  
William Fittall  
Chris Maccabe  
Jonathan Stephens  
Margaret O'Mara  
Anita Bharucha  
Alan Whysall  
Jonathan Powell-No.10-Fax  
Karen Pierce FCO  
Sir Ivor Roberts HMA(D)

SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH BRIAN COWEN

The Secretary of State met Brian Cowen for about an hour on Friday morning. Cowen was accompanied by Liz O'Donnell and Brendan Scannell, the Secretary of State by Ivor Roberts and me.

2. After some discussion of the prospects for decommissioning, the Secretary of State said that he was being pressed by David Trimble to suspend the institutions. He had managed to persuade Trimble to allow a bit more time. In effect this had bought another week. But Trimble was very concerned about the logistics of getting the administration restored in good order, in the event that decommissioning did happen. If decommissioning occurred at any point during the seven days following unionist Ministerial resignations, the Ministers could resume their offices, but Sinn Féin had left things so late that the election of a new First and Deputy First Minister would be logistically very difficult. The Assembly was due to rise on 26 October for a week's recess. The Presiding Officer was unwilling to ask the Assembly Business Committee to cancel the

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recess on the off chance that IRA decommissioning happened. This meant there were only 7 working days until 3 November, when the Secretary of State would be under a duty to set a date for Assembly elections. Trimble was not saying the election of a First and Deputy First Minister was impossible in that period, but he regarded it as highly undesirable, and had asked the Secretary of State to suspend the institutions that day, which would have the effect of starting the clock again. The Secretary of State did not propose to accede to this request. He was minded to wait until after the weekend and take stock today, in the light of what he was being told about the prospects for decommissioning in the next few days. If he let decommissioning happen and then suspended, he would be accused of bad faith by Sinn Féin. On the other hand, Sinn Féin had been warned that they were at risk of leaving things too late.

3. Scannell asked whether we could not hold off for the 7 days during which unionist Ministers could be renominated. Cowen said that early suspension would, in his view, be a mistake. It would guarantee that decommissioning would not happen; but he was content to take stock after the weekend. Liz O'Donnell said that, if a satisfactory act of decommissioning occurred, people would not understand if the recovery of the institutions was held back by procedural difficulties.

4. There was some discussion of demands which Sinn Féin were making of the Irish Government. Cowen said that they would not move on "Castlereagh", by which we assumed he meant the early release of the killers of Garda McCabe. On representation in the Oireachtas, Sinn Féin were pressing for a more forward position. There were two aspects - representation of Northern Ireland in the Seanad, where the Taoiseach had discretion over a number of nominations, and the possibility of Northern Ireland political representatives being involved in debates in the Dail on North/South issues as could happen in the Assembly. Scannell added

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that, if the latter happened – and the whole thing was still in the hands of an All-Party Committee – it would be purely consultative. The Dail would form itself into a committee for the purpose. The Secretary of State said that he was more concerned about speaking rights in the Dail than about representation in the Seanad. It would depend a good deal on who had the speaking rights. I said that, having been taken through the issue by Tim Dalton earlier in the morning, it looked as though the All Party Committee was thinking in terms of Northern Ireland Westminster MPs rather than Northern Ireland Ministers as we had originally thought. The Secretary of State said that it would be possible to explain the involvement of Northern Ireland Ministers in informal debates, but any extent to which Westminster MPs, especially Sinn Féin MPs, appeared to have speaking rights in the Dail would be politically extremely difficult, particularly taken together with movement on House of Commons facilities for Sinn Féin MPs. Cowen and Scannell noted this, without really giving a satisfactory answer. It was by no means certain, or even likely, that the proposed changes would command the necessary all-party support.

5. In a discussion of policing, the Secretary of State explained the background to the recent appointments to the Policing Board. He would be putting the symbolic issues to the Board before long. There were discussions going on with the Chief Constable about the flying of flags. The Secretary of State's own instinct was that Remembrance Sunday, 11 November, should be the last day on which the Union Flag flew over police stations. The new badge and flag should be settled by December. The second batch of 50:50 recruitment had already begun. Cowen said the sooner the symbols could be settled the better. There was a huge job of change management. The Policing Board would require a chief executive of exceptional ability and stature, who would need to be carefully selected. The Secretary of State agreed. At some point next year a new Chief Constable was also likely to be required. The present



**CONFIDENTIAL**

incumbent had made a huge contribution. The investment of more money and more recruits in the new service was, in his view, an important element of bedding down the changes, which would be politically acceptable to both sides. He had persuaded the Chief Constable to increase recruitment from the 370 a year recommended by Patten to 550 a year.

**[Signed]**

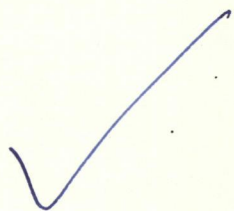
BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

FROM: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
11 MILLBANK  
LONDON  
SW1P 4PN

cc: JLB  
CS  
AMCG



Michael Tatham Esq  
PS/Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London  
SW1A 2AA

22 October 2001

*Dear Michael*

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I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Leaders of both Houses, to the Chief Whips, and to Sir Richard Wilson.

*Yours ever*  
*[Signature]*  
for **KIRSTEN MCFARLANE**



Four killed in road accidents overnight

IRA under pressure to save Executive

## Sinn Fein urges IRA to decommission weapons

For more Northern Ireland news visit [Path to Peace](#)

By Kilian Doyle

Last updated: 22-10-01, 17:11

The Sinn Féin president, Mr Gerry Adams, has urged the IRA to begin decommissioning its weapons to save the Northern Ireland peace process.

Speaking at a press conference in Belfast in the past few minutes, Mr Adams said both he and Mr Martin McGuinness had told the IRA that the crisis facing the North's political institutions would be resolved by a move on weapons.

"Martin McGuinness and I have held discussions with the IRA and we have put to the IRA the view that if it could make a groundbreaking move on the arms issue that this could save the peace process from collapse and transform the situation."

Mr Adams said the current crisis in the political process was a source of great "frustration and anger" to many and this announcement was a "defining moment" in the peace process.

He said the issue of IRA decommissioning was being used by Unionists to undermine the Belfast Agreement.

the issue of weapons must be resolved, "not just IRA weapons, but British ones as well." "Our commitment to the process is absolute," said Mr Adams.

Mr Adams said he expected the enemies of Irish republicans to disparage any move by the IRA.

He also predicted other people would claim the IRA had acted under pressure.

But the Sinn Féin leader added: "Everyone else knows that the IRA is not an organisation that bows to pressure or which moves on British or unionist terms."

"IRA volunteers have a view of themselves and a vision of the Ireland they want to be a part of. This is what will shape their attitude to this issue.

"Republicans in Ireland and elsewhere will have to strategically think this issue through."

The Sinn Féin president said republicans were now entering a "good but challenging" period.

He urged them to remain focused on building peace and to do their utmost to prevent the situation from sliding back into conflict.

Mr Adams paid tribute to the IRA, claiming its members had been "at the heartbeat of the struggle for justice and freedom".

In an appeal for unity, the West Belfast MP continued: "In my view the IRA is genuinely committed to building a peace process in which the objectives of Irish republicanism can be argued and advanced.

"The Army has repeatedly demonstrated leadership and patience and vision and I respect absolutely its right to make its own decision on this issue.

"I would appeal to republicans to stay united.

"I would particularly appeal to IRA volunteers and their families and to the IRA support base, to stay together in comradeship.

"This is the time for commitment to the republican cause.

"It is a time for clear heads and brave hearts. The IRA must stand out as an example of a people's Army, in touch with the people, responsive to their needs and enjoying their genuine allegiance and support."

The Sinn Féin leader stressed the importance of other participants in the peace process responding positively to any gesture by the IRA.

"Generosity and vision on all sides can turn these current difficulties around and transform a crisis riven process into an organic and a people-centred movement towards a democratic peace settlement," he argued.

Mr Adams said he would not lecture unionists on their responsibilities but there was a collective need for them to settle their differences this time and he urged them to join with Sinn Féin in doing so.

He said he firmly believed republicans would have to "listen and learn" from unionists how they view their relationship with others on the island of Ireland.



As far as the British Government was concerned, he said, Prime Minister Tony Blair had to "right the wrongs and be part of building a new future".

"In fairness to Mr Blair, he has spent a great deal of time on the issue of Ireland but in my view this British Government has been too tactical in its approach.

"It has pandered too much to conservative elements within its own system and here in the north.

"It has not driven the process with the vigour and assertiveness that is required."

#### **Additional reporting PA**

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#### **See Also**

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[22/10/2001: Colombia detainee was SF member - Adams](#)

[22/10/2001: Unionists hindering weapons move - SF](#)

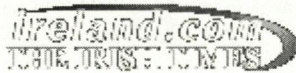
[22/10/2001: IRA under pressure to save Executive](#)

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Monday, October 22,

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**IRELAND**

Monday, October 22, 2001

# Hopes grow of IRA movement on arms issue

By **Mark Hennessy** Political Reporter

Hopes that the IRA is on the brink of decommissioning grew last night, following the decision of a leading Sinn Féin member, Mr Martin McGuinness, to travel to the United States to brief Irish-American opinion.

During two days, the Northern Ireland Education Minister will meet with leading Irish-American figures in New York before travelling to Washington the following day.

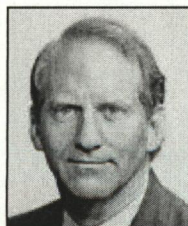
There, he will meet with the State Department's special envoy to Ireland, Mr Richard Haas, and members of the House of Representatives involved in the "Friends of Ireland" and the Ad-Hoc Committee on Ireland.

Key sources last night believed that he would also hold a number of meetings away from the public glare with Irish-Americans who may be concerned by any move on decommissioning by the IRA.

The Government believes that Sinn Féin is carefully orchestrating its actions in an attempt to ensure that all sides fully understand the "seismic" significance of decommissioning, should it happen.

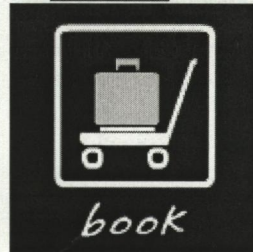
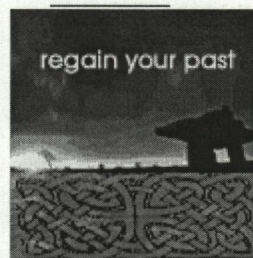


Mr McGuinness: will meet leading Irish-Americans



Mr Richard Haas: US envoy will

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meet Mr  
McGuinness



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[Paramilitaries must give up arms - Alliance leader](#)

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The Sinn Féin president, Mr Gerry Adams, made it clear yesterday that the Ulster Unionist leader, Mr David Trimble, must fully engage in the Northern Ireland Executive and the North/South bodies.

Mr Trimble must focus on "being the First Minister for all of the people of the Six Counties", not just on leading the Unionist community, Mr Adams told RTÉ radio's This Week.

Mr Adams emphasised repeatedly that Sinn Féin's contacts with the Irish and British governments, the Ulster Unionists and with the IRA "will continue until tomorrow evening".

But he rejected yesterday's comment by the Northern Ireland Secretary, Dr John Reid, that the Executive would collapse on Thursday if the Ulster Unionists and Democratic Unionists quit.

"For John Reid to say that time is running out is nonsense. You are dealing here with 800 years of history. When you are dealing with that amount of history there is no such thing as time running out."

Mr Adams's decision yesterday to emphasise the need for institutional stability, instead of demilitarisation and policing, is taken as indication that Sinn Féin will accept the proposals on offer from London.

In addition, the Government's refusal to consider an early release for the IRA men convicted of the manslaughter of Detective Garda Jerry McCabe has been tacitly, if reluctantly, accepted for now, sources say.

The chairman of the International Independent Body on Decommissioning, Gen John De Chastelain, will return to Belfast today, following a four-day visit to Canada.

Dr Reid said the Belfast Agreement has "a long way to go".

"It may take many years to get the full fruition of it, but an indispensable part of that is a further movement on the arms issue, and of course that applies to all paramilitaries."

The Taoiseach, Mr Ahern, had a telephone conversation with the British Prime Minister, Mr Tony Blair, following a brief discussion between the two on the margins of Friday's meeting of EU leaders in Ghent.

During a telephone call with the Prime Minister, Mr Adams told Mr Blair that he could "not be neutral", and that he had to move decisively to capitalise on any room for manoeuvre that may be created.

Mr McGuinness said he was working "flat out" to secure IRA decommissioning.

"We want to see a situation where these people who are within the political leadership of Unionism, who tell us that they are in favour of the Good Friday Agreement will, at long last, embrace that Agreement wholeheartedly," he said.

Essentially, Mr Trimble must show anti-Agreement colleagues, such as Mr Jeffrey Donaldson and Mr David Burnside, "that they are not going to succeed", Mr McGuinness said.

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
22 October 2001  
BJ/MR/109



SECRETARY OF STATE(L&amp;B)

cc Joe Pilling  
David Watkins  
Nick Alston  
William Fittall  
Jonathan Stephens  
Jonathan Powell No.10-Fax

*Joe  
Pilling*

## CONVERSATION WITH GERRY ADAMS

Gerry Adams rang me as I was leaving Dublin on Friday.

2. He said he was still working through things, and trying to combat difficulties. He raised the following points:

- there was some anxiety that, "if everything went as intended", d'Hondt shouldn't be triggered in such a way as to deprive Martin McGuinness and Bairbre de Brun of their Ministerial offices. I said that, if it happened in the 7 days after unionist Ministers resigned, which I assumed was the intention (Adams confirmed that it was) I thought it would simply be a question of Trimble and Paisley renominating Ministers to fill the vacancies. McGuinness and de Brun's positions would be unaffected. Adams said that was his view too, but would I check? (After confirming the position with Alan Whysall, I rang Adams back later.)
- The Prime Minister's suggested words on policing ("as we have set out") were no good at all. If that was the best we could do, it would be better to go back to the previous text.



**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

- Adams asked if we had accepted the words Gerry Kelly had put to me about the IICD being the only means by which decommissioning could be resolved. I said that we had. I had told McCauley, but would fax to him a version of the text including these words. (This was done later in the afternoon).
- Were we still committed to the monitoring committee? I said that if by that he meant the informal implementation group discussed at Weston Park the answer was that we were.
- He was running into great difficulties over our refusal to close the loophole on North/South nominations and unilateral suspension. He needed to talk this over again with Jonathan Powell and perhaps the Prime Minister. I said that I would speak to Jonathan, but the PM had made his position clear. There was no more we could do. (Jonathan subsequently had a similar conversation with Adams later in the afternoon.)
- Adams would welcome a word in person with you this morning about something which he could not discuss on the phone. (This has since been arranged.)

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

# Fax Transmission

Date: 22 Oct 01

To: Tony Blair

Fax Number: 0207 839 9044  
~~830 4433~~

From: Gerry Adams MP

Our Fax: 028 90 220045



No. of pages including cover page:

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MESSAGE:

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*please call if you experience any transmission problems.  
Go raibh míc maith agat.*

**Our focus in recent times has been on seeking a resolution to this crisis.**

028 90225553

**Our aim has been to save the Good Friday Agreement.**

**As you are all aware, your party leadership has been involved in intense negotiations with the Irish and British governments and with the leadership of the UUP.**

**I recently travelled to South Africa and spoke to former President Nelson Mandela and later to the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki and others, about this crisis. I have spoken to President Mbeki again today.**

**Martin McGuinness has also been in discussions with President Bush's Special Ambassador Richard Haas. Martin is today in the USA in dialogue with political representatives there and with Irish America.**

**From South Africa to North America there are commitments and promises to support our efforts. I welcome these commitments. Sinn Fein have worked hard to secure them but while we recognise that international goodwill is crucial, on its own it is no substitute for good will and good faith efforts here at home.**

#### Creating a New Context

**So our approach has been to create a context in which politics work, in which institutions are stable, inclusive and sustained, and in which the process towards equality and justice is underpinned.**

**In our view it is not only possible but imperative that everyone committed to a new future play their part fully in bringing about the achievement of a lasting peace in Ireland.**

**The Sinn Fein leadership has been seeking to create a context in which all of the key players in this crisis can share in the effort to end it, and share in the effort to build trust and confidence.**

**If all the pro-Agreement parties genuinely have a vision of a peaceful future built on justice, equality and a respect for our diversity, then we must look to each other to find ways of realising that vision.**

**Republicans and nationalists want to be convinced that unionism is facing up to its responsibilities.**

**Most fair minded people on this island want to believe that a British government is prepared to usher in a new dispensation based on equality.**

#### Negotiations

**But Sinn Fein is not naive. Our strategy is determined by objective realities. It is guided among other things by the fact that the democratic rights and entitlements of nationalists and republicans cannot be conditional. These rights are universal rights. They effect all citizens.**

**In the Good Friday Agreement matters such as policing, the political institutions, demilitarisation, human rights, the justice system and the equality agenda are stand alone issues. These are issues to be resolved in their own right.**

**We have put this to all of those we have been in negotiation with.**

**It is clear to the Sinn Fein leadership that the issue of IRA weapons has been used as an excuse to undermine the peace process as well as the Good Friday Agreement.**

028 90225553

But at the same time I do not underestimate the emotiveness and confusions which arise at different phases in struggle and in particular the effects of media and propaganda spins. This is particularly so on the weapons issue.

Many republicans are angry at the unrelenting focus on silent IRA weapons. This is in marked contrast to the attitude to loyalist weapons and bombs in daily use, and the remilitarisation by the British Army of republican heartlands in the north.

The issue of all arms must be resolved. But not just IRA weapons - British weapons as well.

This is a necessary part of any conflict resolution process.

#### Talking to the IRA

Martin McGuinness and I have also held discussions with the IRA and we have put to the IRA the view that if it could make a groundbreaking move on the arms issue that this could save the peace process from collapse and transform the situation.

However, I do not underestimate the difficulties this involves for the Army. Genuine republicans will have concerns about such a move. It is to them that I address this section of my remarks.

The naysayers, the armchair generals and the begrudgers, and the enemies of Irish republicanism and of the peace process, will present a positive IRA move in disparaging terms. That is only to be expected.

Others will say that the IRA has acted under pressure. But everyone else knows that the IRA is not an organisation that bows to pressure or which moves on British or unionist terms. IRA volunteers have a view of themselves and a vision of the Ireland they want to be part of. This is what will shape their attitude to this issue.

Republicans in Ireland and elsewhere will have to strategically think this issue through.

We have all been part of something very powerful. Each of us have struggled in difficult and hard times.

We are now in a good but challenging period for Irish republicanism. We have made significant advances this year. There is a continued need for all of us to stay connected and to keep fulfilling our roles. Our focus is on building the peace. Everyone of us have a role in that daunting task. We have to ensure that we have done our utmost to prevent the situation from slipping back into conflict.

Our activists have been the heart beat of the struggle for justice and freedom. It is the sum total of all our efforts that drives this process forward, that advances our struggle, and which builds the political strength to achieve our goals.

In my view the IRA is genuinely committed to building a peace process in which the objectives of Irish republicanism can be argued and advanced.

The Army has repeatedly demonstrated leadership and patience and vision and I respect absolutely its right to make its own decision on this issue.

I would appeal to republicans to stay united. I would particularly appeal to IRA Volunteers and their families, and to the IRA support base, to stay together in comradeship. This is the time for commitment to the republican cause. It is a time for clear heads and brave hearts.

The IRA must stand out as an example of a peoples army, in touch with the people, responsive to their needs and enjoying their genuine allegiance and support.

028 90225553

### Responding with generosity and vision

But building a genuine process of change is not only the responsibility of republicans. A positive IRA move must be responded to with generosity and vision. The Church of Ireland Archbishop Robin Eames made this point in a recent helpful intervention. Generosity and vision on all sides can turn these current difficulties around and transform a crisis riven process into an organic and a people centred movement towards a democratic peace settlement.

None of this will be easy. Those of us who want the most change, who seek the transformation of society, are called upon to stretch ourselves again and again. Those who are against change or for minimum movement see no reason to embrace the current process. But unionism has to come to terms with the new realities and progressive leaders must embrace and be part of the new dispensation.

I have no intention of lecturing unionists on their responsibilities. Our collective responsibility at this time is to settle our differences and I appeal to the leaders of unionism to join with us in doing that so that all sections of our people can go forward on the basis of equality. I firmly believe that republicans have to listen and learn about how unionism views its relationship with the rest of the people of this island. I reiterate our commitment as Irish republicans to uphold the rights and entitlements of all citizens to civil and religious liberties.

Sinn Fein's strategy commits and compels us to be part of the effort to establish a fair and just society for all the people of this island. Our effort is to replace conflict and strife with genuine partnership and equality.

Irish republicans hold that the British connection is the source of all our political ills. The British government has inflicted and continues to sustain historic wrongs upon the people of this island and even today there are elements within the British establishment which are against the peace process. There are elements which against the changes that are necessary if new relationships are to be built within Ireland and between Ireland and Britain.

There is a responsibility upon the British Prime Minister to right the wrongs and to be part of building a new future. In fairness to Mr Blair he has spent a great deal of time on the issue of Ireland but in my view this British government has been too tactical in its approach. It has pandered too much to conservative elements within its own system and here in the north. It has not driven the process with the vigour and assertiveness that is required.

The Good Friday Agreement is after all an agreement that the British government is part of.

The implementation of that agreement is not secondary to the issue of IRA weapons.

It has been the consistent view of Sinn Fein that the arms question can be resolved as part of a collective move forward in which the issue of weapons is completely removed as a precondition for progress on all the other issues

This how is the Good Friday Agreement deals with this matter. If the political process had developed as the Agreement demands much more progress would have been achieved on the arms issue and the peace process would have been consolidated by now.

So if the IRA takes yet another initiative on the arms issue then the British government needs to build upon the dynamic created by that. The British political leadership has to show by deeds, not just words, that they also want to take the gun out of Irish politics and that they accept the imperative of politics and the imperative of peace making.

028 90225553

**The Irish government too is a party to the Good Friday Agreement, and it has a particular mandate and a responsibility to promote and defend Irish national and democratic interests, and to uphold the rights of all citizens and the sovereignty of the nation. These fundamental positions are above and beyond party politics.**

**My appeal therefore at this crucial time, at this defining moment, is to all of the pro-Agreement parties and the two governments to work together to ensure that we put crisis politics behind us. It will not be easy but this is what has to be done.**

**It would be easier for all of us to dwell on the past but it is also futile. It is harder and more difficult to build a new future. But that is what we are collectively mandated to do.**

**We are in a time when world events are dominated by imagery and stories of conflict and violence and terror. At this time these events are replicated locally in provocative and deadly sectarian actions, both in the intimidation of little school girls and in bomb and gun attacks on nationalist families.**

**This then is the time for all of us do everything in our power to make our peace process a success, for the benefit of all our own people, for a decent and just and democratic future and as a beacon of hope for people everywhere.**



10 DOWNING STREET

PM

MI: Decommissioning

I attach a draft statement to Tom & the events we have agreed with SF.

The key points I would expect are:

- a) a tribute to David Trimble for sharing with it. He is right & Parly was wrong.
- b) a consensus reference to a middle point. Peace process was not of your process with the Gov.

✓

**Jonathan Powell**

---

**From:** Tom Kelly  
**Sent:** 22 October 2001 13:07  
**To:** Jonathan Powell  
**Subject:** Draft De-comm statement

Three years ago the people of Ireland, North and South, voted to put the past behind them, to end decades, and indeed centuries, of conflict.

Today sees a truly decisive step forward in implementing that mandate.

The report from the international Commission that the IRA has carried out a substantial act of de-commissioning is unprecedented and, as such, genuinely historic in the long sweep not just of Irish history, but of relations between Ireland and Britain. I warmly welcome it.

Because today's report means that every aspect of the Agreement the people voted for is now being implemented:

- The principle of consent established;
- The representative institutions set up;
- The reform of the police service begun;
- The human rights and equality commissions put in place;
- The process of security normalization underway;
- And de-commissioning begun: arms being put beyond use.

What the people voted for in May 1998 is happening. Northern Ireland is moving from conflict to peace. The vision so overwhelmingly supported then is being translated into reality now, despite all the difficulties and the legacy of suspicion and distrust left by 30 years of violence.

Today's announcement confirms the faith shown in Northern Ireland's politicians by those who had the courage to believe in a better future. The Good Friday Agreement is being implemented in full. The people's mandate will be delivered.



- We can, and should now, see the full and stable operation of the political institutions which are the democratic core of the Agreement;
- Paramilitary groups need to build on the progress reported by IICD today to honour the commitment of all the participants to the Agreement to the total disarmament of all paramilitary organisations.
- The government will continue to make further progress on human rights and equality issues, as well as implementing the Criminal Justice Review, and, more fully, the reform of the police service reviewing progress as we go,
- And we will continue with the process of security normalisation with a rolling programme of reductions in troops and installations as the level of threat continues to be reduced.

Northern Ireland is becoming the fair and normal society that those who voted for the Good Friday Agreement wanted. Its politicians can now focus on the issues that really concern their people – jobs, health, and education. And they can do so, not by pretending their historic differences do not exist, but rather by not allowing those differences to condemn their people to constant conflict.

They can show the courage of working together, despite the deep historic divide, rather than taking the easy route of deepening those differences even further no matter what the cost. The Troubles are coming to an end.

And no-one should under-estimate the courage and leadership that has involved.

Today's move by the IRA shows that. Its significance in republican history cannot and should not be under-estimated. And I pay full tribute to those who have brought it about. It has allowed the transition from conflict to peace to take a decisive step.

But the contribution of those democratic politicians who have had the courage to participate in that transition should also not be under-estimated.

It is always easier to say no, than yes. To block all change, rather than accept that it is necessary. To ask for absolute certainty from the other side, rather than being willing to put trust in each other's assurances.

Easier, but, ultimately self-defeating. Northern Ireland knows all too well the price of saying no and asking for absolute certainty.

The alternative is less easy, less certain, but ultimately more rewarding, as the way in which Northern Ireland has changed during the past three years has shown.

But it takes courage – the courage and confidence to engage in a process in which you have to give, as well as take. Many in Northern Ireland, on both sides, have shown that courage, but in particular I would like to acknowledge the role played by David Trimble, and express the hope that he will return to his role as First Minister alongside Seamus Mallon who too has shown real grit and determination to bring us to this point.

Because politics is about resolving differences through dialogue and the hard grind of finding agreement.

Northern Ireland today has shown, once again that that is possible, even in a society where the differences are not just deep, but have been the subject of a violent conflict that has seen many lives lost.

For centuries Ireland has been known as a land of violence and troubles – a place where the normal rules of politics did not apply. And for centuries many people believed that conflict was incapable of resolution. It was problem beyond solution. A cycle of violence that perpetuated itself from decade to decade. And those who spent their time and effort breaking that cycle were wasting their time.

But, slowly and surely during the past decade Northern Ireland has broken out of the cycle of despair. It has shown that there is nothing inevitable about conflict.

Politicians have had the courage to talk across the old divides. Paramilitaries the sense to end their activities.

Of course the process has neither been smooth, or perfect. But its direction has not faltered.

The people and politicians of Northern Ireland have shown that politics works. Not perfectly. Not instantly. But gradually, bit by bit they have brought violence to an end. They have, and are, realising their dream of a better life.

And this week we have taken another decisive step in that direction at a time when the world needs that example.

The knowledge that politics does work. That it can resolve even the deepest and most bitter conflicts between peoples and countries. That it can bring violence to an end.

Northern Ireland has lit a flame that will shine brightly throughout the world in these dark days – a light that carries the hope of better days to come.

FROM: PS/Secretary of State  
22 October 2001

✓ JPo  
cc. MT

cc: See Distribution List

Mr Fittall - O

### MEETING WITH GERRY ADAMS, 22 OCTOBER

The Secretary of State met with Gerry Adams this morning in Castle Buildings to discuss political developments. Bill Jeffrey and I were also present.

2. Adams said he intended to issue two statements in the course of the day. The first would be slightly embarrassing for Sinn Fein. On investigation, it had transpired that Niall Connolly was the Sinn Fein representative in Cuba. He therefore wanted to apologise for the misleading statement he had made at the time of Connolly's arrest. He had already told David Trimble and Mark Durkan about the second statement. It would be addressed to HMG, the Irish Government and the UUP - but also to republicans. He had put it to the IRA that the time had come for a ground-breaking move on decommissioning. He believed the IRA would respond favourably, but the response from others would be critical. This initiative was completely leadership-led and all sides needed to help to keep IRA volunteers on board. They would be destabilised by the wrong responses. He had also made it clear to the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach that all sides needed to deal with the weapons issue on a political basis. If not, it would only be a matter of time until we faced further difficulties. If the institutions were brought down again or there were more suspensions, he believed we would be back to conflict within a year. He was doing his best to avoid this.

3. In response, the Secretary of State said that he had made clear publicly that if the IRA moved on decommissioning they would not receive an ungenerous response from the two Governments, the US Administration or the international community. Nevertheless, he had a number of concerns. Some on the Unionist side would seek to undermine any move by the IRA. It was therefore important that the IRA should not "bowl the ball short" and provide them with ammunition. Adams acknowledged this point. The Secretary of State said all sides would have to work to get Trimble re-elected as First Minister. Our aim should then be to build a dynamic into the process to ensure continuing progress on normalisation and policing etc. It would be useful to have further discussions on this



issue. Adams expressed interest in further discussions on policing. However, he argued that we should not wait for Trimble's re-election to move forward on "demilitarisation". Nor should we surround any normalisation measures with comments from the Chief Constable about the security threat. We needed to see the issue from a republican perspective. He wanted to keep the IRA united, intact and on cessation. Republicans had a sense of pride and detested the term "paramilitary" being affixed to the IRA. A conditional approach on normalisation by HMG or comments from the Chief Constable about the security threat were unhelpful. It would be far better if we simply reported that the agreed structures were being dismantled. The Secretary of State undertook to look at how best to announce these measures.

4. There followed a lengthy discussion about OTRs. Adams emphasised that this remained a key issue for republicans and asked whether there had been any progress in the Secretary of State's discussions with the Attorney General. He also raised again the case of Rita O'Hare. In response, the Secretary of State briefed on the Attorney's response - including the position he had taken on the O'Hare case. Adams asked whether more creative thinking could be brought to bear on this issue. He said he had considered holding a press conference at Stormont with a number of the OTRs as a means of bringing the issue to a head. The issue was more important than criminal justice legislation or new policing legislation. It would become even more difficult in the run-up to Christmas. We needed to consider whether there were ways of helping the OTRs within the law, but without requiring them to "bend the knee".

5. The Secretary of State briefed on the current position on OTRs: 101 cases had been raised by Sinn Fein, of which 30 had been cleared to return to Northern Ireland. Of these, 20 had now returned; 3 had been informed that they were free to do so; and 7 were the subject of a further request for legal advice before a final decision on how they were to be allowed to return. In addition, 16 had been provisionally identified as not wanted and were the subject of final checks by the prosecuting authorities before a decision was made on whether to allow them to return. 25 had been provisionally identified as "wanted" and were the subject of further checks by the prosecuting authorities to establish whether there was still a requirement to prosecute. 12 were pre-conviction cases where the prosecuting authorities had definitely decided that there remained a need to prosecute. It would require legislation in order to change this. Finally, 18 could not be identified from the information supplied by Sinn Fein.



6. Adams reiterated that there was a need for progress on OTRs – especially in the run-up to Christmas. Could we not find a device which would satisfy our requirements while respecting the dignity and sensitivities of the OTRs? The Secretary of State mentioned the possibility of pre-conviction pardons. He also undertook to examine whether there were any more names on the Sinn Fein list on which we were now in a position to move. Adams agreed to liaise with Bill Jeffrey on this.

*Signed*

**P G PRIESTLY**

Principal Private Secretary

☎ (B) 28110

(L) 6462

cc: PS/Secretary of State (B&L) - O  
PS/Ms Kennedy (B&L) - O  
PS/Mr Browne (B&L) - O  
PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (B&L) - O  
Mr Jeffrey - O  
Mr Watkins - O  
Mr Alston - O  
Miss O'Mara - O  
Mr Stephens - O  
Mr Hannigan - O  
Ms Bharucha - O  
Mr Waterworth - O  
Mr Whysall - O  
Mr Olszewski - O  
Mr Powell, No 10 → faxed by Brent 22/10/01 AW.  
Sir Ivor Roberts, HMA Dublin - O



October 21 2001

IRELAND



## Real IRA offers peace in return for prisoners

*Liam Clarke and Chris Ryder*

 E-MAIL US


**Next: Ireland shatter England's grand dream**

THE Real IRA (RIRA) has made an approach to the Irish government suggesting it will end military operations in return for the release of its prisoners. Among the 30 RIRA suspects in Irish jail is Michael McKeivitt, its alleged leader. His incarceration is thought to have partly motivated the move to negotiate prison releases with the Irish government.

The request for a meeting was made through a priest in the past fortnight. At the same time stories were leaked to newspapers predicting that the RIRA might "call a ceasefire". It had called a ceasefire shortly after the Omagh bombing in 1998 when it murdered 29 people with a car bomb. This ceasefire has since been so flagrantly breached that it has now become meaningless.

The Irish government has so far rebuffed the RIRA's approach. It sees no need to deal with a group whose word cannot be trusted and which is falling apart after being infiltrated by informers.

Government officials said that it would be foolhardy to take the RIRA at its word. "The fear would be that they would return to violence once they got the prisoners out," said one official last week.

Morale has been low in the RIRA since McKeivitt's arrest. He is facing charges of membership of an illegal organisation and directing terrorism.

McKeivitt is remanded in custody in Portlaoise jail where, according to other inmates, he is finding prison life unbearable.

His wife Bernadette, the sister of Bobby Sands, an IRA prisoner who died on hunger strike in 1981, is said to have been behind the approach to the Irish government.

According to dissident republican sources, there have been periodic contacts between the RIRA and the Irish government for at least two years. The Continuity IRA was also approached some time ago by a priest suggesting that it attend a meeting with Martin Mansergh, the taoiseach's special adviser, but it declined.

The British government had contacts more than a year ago, but broke them off because, as one official put it, "they were too warlike and there was nothing to talk to them about and nothing to engage about politically".

The RIRA move is seen by other republicans as born of desperation. The group was duped by an MI6 sting

operation in Slovakia and has suffered many arrests.

The RIRA's problems leave it in a poor position to exploit any internal differences within the Provisionals following an act of decommissioning. Last July the IRA made a decision, in principle, that the army council could decommission weapons and it is now manoeuvring for the best possible moment to do so.

The IRA leadership can argue that little will be lost by decommissioning arms dumps inspected last year by Dr Martti Ahtisaari, the former Finnish president and Cyril Ramaphosa, the former African National Congress leader, because they are already compromised.

According to security sources in Britain and Ireland, garda officers acted as go-betweens and escorts in facilitating the inspection of the dumps.

The two inspectors were appointed by the British and Irish governments in May last year as a confidence-building measure. Soon after they visited the dumps, they released a statement saying that they contained "substantial" quantities of arms and munitions.

Ramaphosa is expected to return to Ireland to verify that the IRA has at last started to decommission its weapons. He has been on standby for more than a week, amid mounting expectation that the IRA is on the verge of filling at least two of its arms dumps with concrete.

A key condition is that David Trimble, the former first minister, must state that he is willing to operate the power-sharing executive and the cross-border institutions.

Last week Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein leader, said: "There is no possibility of the IRA doing anything unless, for example, David Trimble was prepared to commit himself to sustaining and working the institutions."

Yesterday Martin McGuinness, the Sinn Fein MP, continued to talk up the prospects of decommissioning. In a BBC interview, he spoke of working "flat out" to secure the full implementation of the Good Friday agreement, including IRA decommissioning.

McGuinness said he would continue to do so into this week - a broad hint that he thinks his efforts will bear fruit within days. He called on Trimble to match his efforts and "face down" the anti-agreement wing of his own party.

"We want to see a situation where these people who are within the political leadership of unionism, who tell us that they are in favour of the Good Friday agreement, will at long last embrace that agreement wholeheartedly," he said.

McGuinness's statement will have caught the ear of John Reid, the Northern Ireland secretary, who is expected to decide tomorrow whether to suspend the executive. Trimble wants a suspension to give him time to sell any decommissioning gesture to his Ulster Unionist party.

David Ford, the new leader of the Alliance party of Northern Ireland, added his voice to the calls for loyalist and republican terror groups to begin decommissioning. At Alliance's annual conference in Belfast yesterday, Ford said: "There is a clear need for both loyalists and republicans to deliver."

**Next page: Ireland shatter England's grand dream**

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Permanent Under-Secretary of State  
Sir Joseph Pilling KCB

3 4 5  
Record already file CC: MF  
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
CONFIDENTIAL - APPOINTMENTS CASTLE BUILDINGS  
STORMONT  
BELFAST BT4 3SG

Tel: 028 9052 8121  
Fax: 028 9052 8201

Jonathan Powell Esq  
Chief of Staff  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 1AA

19 October 2001

Dear Mr Powell,

#### **NIO MINISTERS UNDER DIRECT RULE**

I am writing with John Reid's agreement to set out our thinking about the size of the NIO Ministerial team in the event of direct rule.

In the only prolonged period of direct rule since devolution in December 1999 (February to May 2000), the existing team of Peter Mandelson, Adam Ingram and George Howarth held the fort. The first lesson from that was that a team of a Secretary of State plus two becomes rapidly exhausted and it is increasingly obvious to the media that Ministerial direction is partial. The second lesson was that increasing the Ministerial team after beginning without an increase is difficult; the obvious conclusion is that, after initial optimism about an early return to devolution, the Government is now settling for the long haul.

We propose that the Prime Minister appoints two further Ministers to the NIO as soon as possible after devolution. We see no reason to be coy about the

CONFIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS

CONFIDENTIAL - APPOINTMENTS

arguments in the previous paragraph and would use them to brief local politicians and journalists.

I recognise that the room for manoeuvre may be limited but one would prefer to return to the customary NIO structure under direct rule of two Ministers of State and two Parliamentary Under Secretaries of State. John will have a word with you separately about individuals.

One obvious downside is that, if all went well, the two new appointments might hold office for perhaps only a month. We have weighed that carefully; it seems to us to be overridden by the unattractiveness of making appointments in, say, a month if we begin to lose hope in an early act of decommissioning. The best approach seems to be to be completely straightforward with those who were being asked to help.

A copy goes to Richard Wilson.

Yours sincerely,  
*Trevor Daniel Hughes*

*JP* JOE PILLING

CONFIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

19 October 2001

Dear Nicki

**NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES IN THE LORDS**

I am sorry that our processing of Lord Williams' letter of 13 September has been slowed by the pressure of other events.

This is to confirm in writing what I think I have already conveyed orally. The Prime Minister is content that Lord Williams should take over responsibility for Northern Ireland issues in the Lords.

I am copying this letter to Paul Priestly (NIO) and Andrew Allberry (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

**MICHAEL TATHAM**

Nicki Daniels  
Private Secretary to the Leader of the House of Lords

**CONFIDENTIAL - PERSONAL**

**From: Jonathan Powell**  
**Date: 19 October 2001**

**PRIME MINISTER**

**cc: Michael Tatham**  
**Tom Kelly**

**NORTHERN IRELAND**

Gerry Adams called me this afternoon on three issues.

First, he wanted confirmation that we would still go ahead with our private implementation group containing us, the Irish Government and Sinn Fein. I confirmed this was still on.

Second, he wanted reassurance that we would not run D' Hondt again and Sinn Fein lose its existing ministerial slots. Bill Jeffrey has subsequently been able to give him this reassurance.

And, third, he said he would rather revert to the original text on Patten of "more fully" rather than your kind offer of "fully implement as we have set out". He confirmed they required no other changes to the text.

I said that you would probably be leaving the country on Tuesday evening and likely not to return till Thursday morning. You would like to be in a position to go out into Downing Street and welcome decommissioning as an historic event. That meant we would need to have an act of decommissioning before Tuesday evening. Adams said he could not comment on this but he took the point. He might want to speak to you tomorrow (Saturday) about timing.

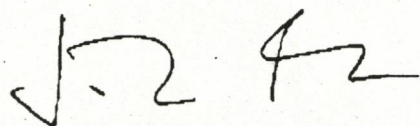
**CONFIDENTIAL - PERSONAL**

- 2 -

A combination of intelligence and Tim Dalton points to a South African team clandestinely arriving Monday evening and leaving Tuesday morning. General de Chastelain returns Monday morning. We therefore suspect decommissioning will take place overnight on Monday.

I assume you will want to make a major statement on decommissioning on Tuesday afternoon, assuming it happens. Tom Kelly has started work on a draft. As well as the obvious points you may want to emphasis the need now to get on with normal politics; the lessons for the wider world of persevering with the peace process rather than violence; and a tribute to David Trimble for sticking with it.

Michael Collins proposed to me that you and the Taoiseach go to Belfast later this week to give the process a new start. Assuming that Trimble goes along with this, and there are no last minute surprises from Sinn Fein, we might consider a visit on Friday 26 October.

**JONATHAN POWELL****CONFIDENTIAL - PERSONAL**

*LTP*

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**Date: 19 October 2001**

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**cc: Michael Tatham**  
**Tom Kelly**

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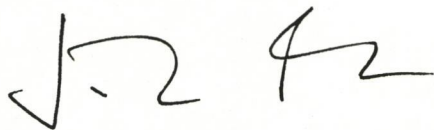
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'J.P.' followed by a stylized flourish.

**JONATHAN POWELL**

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
18 October 2001  
BJ/MR/102

**MATRIX**

*Bill PR  
2/10/01 NIS:hm 119*

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&B)

cc

Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Stephens  
Mr Hannigan  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

*amt*

RESPONSE TEXT: FINAL VERSION?

I **attach** a further version of the text, taking account of the two changes which the Prime Minister made overnight. Jonathan Powell tells me that these have been communicated to Gerry Adams as our last word.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447



**DRAFT**  
18 October

## **BRITISH GOVERNMENT LINES**

- The Government warmly welcomes today's report from the IICD verifying that the IRA has [reiterate words of IICD Report].
- This is an unprecedented and genuinely historic move, which greatly enhances the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland and for the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. In particular, the British Government believes that it is essential that there is the full, stable and uninterrupted operation of the political institutions – the Assembly, the Executive, the North South Ministerial Council and the British Irish Council – which are the democratic core of the Agreement.
- All participants in the Good Friday Agreement committed themselves to the total disarmament of all paramilitary organisations. The terms of the Agreement on the issue of decommissioning are clear, unambiguous and binding on all parties to it. Today's report reinforces and confirms the Government's view that it is only through the IICD that the putting of paramilitary arms beyond use can be achieved.
- The IRA's move represents by far the most significant progress in the resolution of the arms issue. All paramilitary groups need now to play their part to build on this progress.
- Together with the Irish Government and the parties, we will implement fully the Good Friday Agreement, including through the proposals which the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach made after the Weston Park discussions. This includes:

- further progress in implementing the Agreement's provisions on human rights and equality;
  - the implementation of the Patten report, including through a review of the new arrangements and the introduction of legislation to amend the Police Act 2000 to reflect fully the Patten recommendations as we have set out, and ensure the achievement of the new beginning in policing as set out in the Agreement;
  - the implementation of the Criminal Justice Review, so that the criminal justice system has the confidence of all parts of the community and delivers justice efficiently and effectively through a fair and impartial system which encourages community involvement where appropriate. The Government strongly endorses the recommendation in the Criminal Justice Review that a core objective throughout the criminal justice system should be to develop a workforce which is broadly reflective of the community in Northern Ireland;
  - a progressive rolling programme reducing levels of troops and installations, as the security situation improves;
  - such steps as are necessary as soon as possible and in any event by March 2002, to resolve the issue about supporters of organisations now on ceasefire against whom there are outstanding prosecutions, and in some cases extradition proceedings, for offences committed before 10 April 1998.
- We are grateful to the IICD for their patient work to discharge their important responsibilities under the terms of the Agreement and to secure the putting of all paramilitary arms beyond use.

RAFT LETTER FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER – as soon as an early IICD report on the lines discussed has been received

Gerry Adams MP  
President  
Sinn Féin  
1755 Falls Road  
DUBLIN  
DUBLIN 12 4PD

October 2001

In relation to the question of providing facilities at Westminster for Sinn Féin MPs I confirm my commitment on this matter as set out in my letters of 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> November 1999.

I can also confirm that we are now prepared, as soon as possible and in any event before the end of the year, to bring the necessary motion before the House of Commons and I recommend that the House agree to provide facilities for the four Sinn Féin elected representatives.

TONY BLAIR



Department of the Taoiseach  
Roinn an Taoisigh

Mr  
Tosha  
Bill [unclear] (red stamp)  
✓

To/ Chuig:

Mr Jonathan Powell

✓

From / Ó:

Mr Michael Collins  
Second Secretary General

Date/ Dáta:

18/10/01

Subject / Abháir:

U.U.P. Resignations

MAILED (red stamp)

Pages/ Líon iomlán na leathaneach/: 2, including this

Message / Teachtaireacht :

Mr Collins

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JPe  
cc: MT  
TK

### Statement by the Taoiseach on the resignation of UUP Ministers.

Although they have been anticipated for some time, today's resignations from the Executive comes as a disappointment. They are, undoubtedly, a setback in our efforts to achieve full implementation of the Agreement.

UUP Ministers have played a valuable and effective role, not only in the Institutions in Northern Ireland, but also in the work of the North-South Ministerial Council. The Institutions are, as we said at Weston Park, the democratic core of the Agreement. Their full functioning is an important sign that politics is working and that the parties can co-operate together effectively in the common interest. Today's resignation, however, need not be irrevocable. I firmly hope that the UUP Ministers will be able to resume their positions as quickly as possible.

The two Governments will continue to work together, and with the parties in the immediate period ahead. The Minister for Foreign Affairs is meeting the Secretary of State tomorrow morning. I am in close contact with the Prime Minister and we will meet at the EU Summit tomorrow. We remain steadfast in our goal - full implementation of all aspects of the Agreement as we set out at Weston Park. We will leave no stone unturned in our efforts to achieve it.

If we are to succeed, however, all concerned must play their full part also. We urgently need to make progress now.

18 October 2001

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
18 October 2001  
BJ/MR/106

SECRETARY OF STATE(L&B)

cc Ms Kennedy(L&B)  
Mr Browne(L&B)  
Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Stephens  
Mr Maccabe  
Ms Bharucha  
Mr Whysall  
Mr Powell No. 10-Fax  
Sir Ivor Roberts(D)

*ecmt*

**MEETING WITH BRIAN COWEN TOMORROW**

Your main objectives with Cowen tomorrow morning are:

- to reach a political understanding about the point next week at which – unless you are forced by events to act earlier – the two Governments' patience will run out and the Irish will, at least tacitly, support suspension;
- to agree, in broad terms, the line to be taken on suspension and the pattern of events thereafter;
- to flag up our interest in the discussions the Irish Government are having with Sinn Féin about representation in the Oireachtas.

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Update

2. You will probably want to start by comparing notes on recent events. We will need to bring this up to date in the morning, but you could say something on the following lines:

- We now feel we have signed off with Sinn Féin on what we would say if decommissioning happened. Adams has had two conversations with the Prime Ministers. **We have stuck to Weston Park, but the text is now as warm as we think we can reasonably make it. Adams is still not happy but I think he knows we will go no further.**
  
- **Understand Trimble has now signed off on a text with Adams, although we don't yet have details.**
  
- **Trimble seems to have handled the resignations as well as he could. The fact that he is making it clear that they can be reversed is helpful.**
  
- **When I met him on Wednesday, Trimble pressed me to suspend the institutions today. I said I would think about it, but wanted to talk to you before taking a final view. We need to discuss that today. Interestingly, part of Trimble's argument was that, if decommissioning does happen, it would be better to come after suspension, because suspension would have restarted the clock, and there would be enough time to get the First and Deputy First Ministers elected.**
  
- **We still have no real sense of whether the IRA will move and if so when. They may surprise us in the early part of next week. But tactically, they may well want to push us into suspension.**

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- **If they do do the deal, it is essential that they make it convincing. Trimble's critics are hovering, and will exploit any ambiguity.**
  
- **Would be interested to know how your own discussions with Sinn Féin are going.**

Representation in the Oireachtas

3. This part of the discussion will be the moment to raise the question of Northern Ireland representation in the Oireachtas. There are sensitivities here, because we know more from other sources than the Irish have so far told us. Brendan Scannell has given us the draft letter (copy attached – we believe there may be a later version) for the Taoiseach to send to Adams about the handling of the report of the All Party Dail Committee on the Constitution.

4. I asked Scannell this morning if he could tell me more about the likely recommendations of the All Party Committee. He confirmed that there were two significant issues:

- Northern Ireland Ministers might be invited, no more than a couple of times a year, to address the Dail, sitting as a Committee of the whole House, when matters of interest to them were being debated. They would have no voting rights or legal standing. The idea would only get off the ground if there was all-party agreement, which was extremely unlikely.
  
- The Taoiseach could already nominate 11 of the 60 members of the Seanad. He occasionally nominated people from Northern Ireland. There was a suggestion that this should be formalised, and that the "panels" from which nominations were



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drawn should be altered to allow more systematic representation from the North. But no Taoiseach was likely to risk losing control of the Seanad. The All-Party Committee was likely to draw attention to the fact that change on these lines would require a referendum, without necessarily recommending it.

5. I asked Scannell to confirm that he had said that NI Ministers would be the ones to participate in occasionally Dail Committee debates. I could see the logic of that (although the unionists might not), but for it to be anyone else (I mentioned Westminster MPs as a possibility) could be very difficult. Scannell said he would check, but he was pretty sure it was Northern Ireland Ministers that were being discussed. He emphasised that nothing was being contemplated that was outside the Good Friday Agreement.

6. I don't suggest you make a big issue of this, but if the opportunity arises, you could say:

- **grateful to officials for sharing text on Northern Ireland representation in the Oireachtas;**
- **largely your business, of course, but we have an interest, partly because anything in this area touches a raw nerve for unionists, who would be quick to draw us into the argument, but also because there are conceivable approaches which would raise genuine concerns for us;**
- **what do you think the All Party Committee is likely to recommend?**

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- **and what is the likely timing? (If decommissioning happens, we will have a difficult Commons debate within a month or so on Sinn Féin facilities at Westminster.)**

Suspension

7. The greatest risk we now face is that Sinn Féin will suck us further and further into not suspending, through a combination of half promises that decommissioning is just round the corner and threats that suspension will blow everything. Yesterday's Sinn Féin briefing is consistent with that. It needn't mean that the IRA is not going to decommission; but it could mean either that they will do so on their own terms after suspension, or that they will use suspension as an excuse for not doing so.
8. We cannot let the Irish dictate to us, but we will be in a very much stronger position if they feel that we've let things run as far as we reasonably could. Scannell told me this morning that the Irish are likely to argue that we should hold off for the whole of the week during which Trimble can renominate his Ministers before the Assembly moves to run d'Hondt, but he implied that they would understand if we pulled the plug at that point. Like us, he is aware that, because of the Assembly break at the end of the month, the actual date for running d'Hondt could be as late as 5 November. But he showed no appetite for arguing that we should let things run that long, nor for the Assembly elections which Sinn Féin may hope you could be persuaded to call when the six weeks expires on 2 November. I said there was no question of our being able to hold things together beyond the middle of next week.
9. Against that background, the basic trade you should be trying to achieve with Cowen is that we will take Trimble's wrath and hold the line until the middle of next week (say Wednesday), if when we reach that

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point the Irish back us in suspending, and if they agree to warn Sinn Féin privately that they have to get the IRA to act before then. You do, however, need to enter a caveat, because events could drive us to have to suspend earlier.

10. Your lines could be:

- as you know, Trimble wants me to suspend immediately;
- there are sound arguments for doing so. It would create the space to get things up and running again if the IRA do decommission. More important, Government can't continue for long without Ministers;
- In fairness, I have to warn you there are unforeseeable events that could drive us to resume direct rule powers at very short notice. I don't think it will happen, but if the absence of unionist Ministers led to widespread public disorder, or if there was an emergency that could not be dealt with without the exercise of political authority, I could not stand by. In the end, we are the responsible Government.
- But, barring that kind of emergency, I think we could just about hold the situation as it is until the middle of next week, provided we can be confident that we will have your support if we end up having to suspend. I know you cannot join with us because of your constitutional concerns, but I would like to feel that --publicly and privately -- your position would be sympathetic.
- It would also help if you could tell Sinn Féin privately that that is the understanding. We don't want to create a public

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**deadline. But equally they mustn't think they can spin things out indefinitely.**

After suspension

11. This won't be the occasion to settle the form of any review after suspension, but it would be worth taking Cowen's mind, since you may not see him again before the decision has to be taken.

12. We have been over this ground internally, and you are aware of the issues around the involvement of an outsider and the extent to which the review should be open to argument about aspects of the Agreement or should be confined to overcoming the problems which have arisen in its implementation. A good deal will depend on whether we think decommissioning is imminent (in which case the object will be to create some space in which it can happen), or so far off as to be irrelevant to the calculation. For tomorrow's purposes, you should, I think, aim to agree with Cowen that:

- **at the point of suspension, both Governments should indicate that a review will be necessary;**
- **neither should go into detail about how this is to be done:**
- **instead, the line should be that suspension is a very serious set back and the Governments will be considering urgently the shape and conduct of a review, with a view to restoring the situation as quickly as possible;**
- **there should then be an early summit, involving the Prime Minister, the Taoiseach, Cowen and yourself. (I checked this with Jonathan Powell this morning. Assuming it is a real crisis in the process, he thinks the PM would want to be involved,**

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**and agrees with me that the Taoiseach would insist on it anyway).**

Other issues

13. Cowen may ask where we stand on the appointment of a judge for the collusion inquiry. The answer, as you know, is that it is with the Lord Chancellor, although (not for disclosure to Cowen!) it is proving quite hard to get him started.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

From: PS/Secretary of State  
18 October 2001

cc: See Copy Distribution List

✓ JPS  
—  
YMT

Mr Fittall

**MEETING WITH DAVID TRIMBLE, 17 OCTOBER**

The Secretary of State met with David Trimble, who was accompanied by David Campbell, in his office in the Palace of Westminster yesterday afternoon for an update on developments in Northern Ireland. Bill Jeffrey was also present.

2. The Secretary of State and Trimble swapped notes on recent developments. The Secretary of State said there had been a continuing negotiation with Sinn Fein over texts and they had attempted to achieve concessions beyond the Weston Park package. HMG had refused to concede amending legislation to prevent Trimble from interfering in the operation of the NSMC and to remove our powers to suspend the institutions. Trimble made clear that if we conceded on these issues the UUP would not go back into the Executive. Sinn Fein were already telling Irish Americans that the IRA were going to decommission. He expected a "big meeting" – perhaps a GAC – at the weekend. He was aware that Adams was claiming that the remaining sticking points were being caused by HMG and the UUP. However, he believed decommissioning was coming and quickly.
  
3. The Secretary of State said Sinn Fein were also trying to move away from the idea of a process of decommissioning. He had made clear that a one off act would not be enough. The focus would inevitably shift to other paramilitary activities which would come under greater scrutiny. Sinn Fein had not reacted well to this – but he did not want to be accused of bad faith down the line. Trimble said he too was having problems with Sinn Fein on this issue. Adams was asking him to use language which implied that he would do nothing if there was no further progress on decommissioning. He could not agree to this. He was also uncomfortable with the warmth of the language Sinn Fein expected him to use. This would unsettle his party and he had therefore toned it down. He had told Adams in September 2000 that the UUP needed to see steady progress on decommissioning and had warned that the absence of progress would cause a problem.



4. Trimble said he had heard rumours from MOD/HQNI that a study was being undertaken about how the Army would operate in Northern Ireland without the South Armagh towers. This was unsettling his party. The Secretary of State said he was unaware of any such study, but it was possible that it referred to work which had been undertaken earlier in the year to develop a methodology for evaluating the security contribution of individual towers. We had not yet asked for the methodology to be run, but thought it prudent to have it in place. If we were able to get a dynamic into the peace process – with progress on decommissioning and the institutions operating on a stable basis – then we would be prepared to contemplate movement on the towers as the security situation improved. Trimble reiterated that the rumours about the towers were unsettling his colleagues.

5. Trimble said he intended to announce the resignation of the UUP Ministers the following day. HMG should avoid leaving a long interval before suspension, given the need for continuity and good government. His preference was for the UUP resignations to be followed quickly by suspension, then by decommissioning, following which the devolved institutions could be restored. This would have the advantage of resetting the clock on the 6 week period. HMG should suspend on Friday 19 October and allow decommissioning to follow. We should bear in mind that Sinn Fein were due to hold a fund raiser in New York on 1 November – the proceeds of which would go to the victims of 11 September. He believed the IRA would need to decommission before this event if Sinn Fein were to restore their credibility. In announcing the UUP resignations, he intended to make clear that the UUP would only participate in the Executive in the event of decommissioning. In response, the Secretary of State gave no commitment but undertook to consider these points. He pointed out that Sinn Fein would undoubtedly create a stink if HMG suspended the institutions immediately after the UUP resignations. It might therefore be preferable to hold back a few days. Bill Jeffrey added that in these circumstances Sinn Fein were likely to say decommissioning was no longer possible. Trimble took issue with this. Sinn Fein would complain, but decommissioning would happen. The Secretary of State said it would considerably strengthen our position if the Irish Government agreed to this approach. He was due to see Brian Cowen on 19 October and would raise the issue with him.

6. Trimble said the key argument in favour of early suspension was that Northern Ireland departments would be paralysed once UUP and DUP Ministers resigned. This was



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an issue of good government. The Secretary of State reiterated that he would talk to the Irish on 19 October. He could give no commitment at this stage. Trimble said he planned to see Adams at 11.00am the following day. He would then meet with Paisley to tell him about the resignations. He and Paisley would aim to see the Speaker during the early afternoon. This would enable him to capture the evening headlines. He intended to call on the Secretary of State to suspend immediately and would spell out the practical reasons why this was necessary.

**P G PRIESTLY**

**P G PRIESTLY**

PS/Secretary of State

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cc: PS/Secretary of State (L&B)  
PS/Ms Kennedy (L&B)  
PS/Mr Browne (L&B)  
PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (L&B)  
Mr Jeffrey  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Ms O'Mara  
Mr Maccabe  
Mr Hannigan  
Ms Bharucha  
Mr Whysall  
Mr Waterworth  
Mr Olszewski  
Mr Tatham, No 10  
Sir Ivor Roberts, HMA Dublin



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FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
18 October 2001  
BJ/MR/107

MR MACCABE

cc PS/Secretary of State(L&B)  
PS/Ms Kennedy(L&B)  
PS/Mr Browne(L&B)  
Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Hannigan  
Ms O'Mara  
Ms Bharucha  
Mr Perry  
Mr Waterworth  
Mr Tatham No.10-Fax  
Sir Ivor Roberts HMA(D)

#### LOYALIST COMMISSION

As we had discussed, I spoke to David McNarry earlier today. I said that we had not yet consulted Ministers, but that – in fairness to McNarry – I ought to tell him that you and I saw no way in which the Government could meet the request for funds for the Loyalist Commission in the terms in which he had put it to us. I appreciated that he had said that no funds would go anywhere near paramilitaries, but the Commission was dominated by members of the UDA and the UVF and I did not see how Ministers could defend supporting it directly. That was not to say that a way could not be found of helping those clergymen and others who were trying to get the project off the ground. Another possibility he might consider would be to seek assistance from a charitable foundation such as Rowntree.

2. McNarry noted this, and did not seem unduly surprised. There had been a meeting on Wednesday evening which had gone well, with a full turn-out of the eventual Commission, the paramilitary members of which had not met since the feud. The Commission had now effectively formed itself and started work. The timing of any public announcement would be decided over the weekend. The Commission was likely to have a “service team”, which would need to be constituted in some way. He

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would reflect further on the funding issue, and keep me posted. The charitable foundation idea had already occurred to him as a possibility.

**[Signed]**

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

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# Ulster Unionist Council

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Urgent

for the attention of

Jonathan Powell <sup>AMT</sup>

from

1. ~~File to John Law~~

re B.L. J.G.

2 Flk

David Trimble

✓

*Final 19 Oct*

## **UUP DECOMMISSIONING RESPONSE**

The UUP welcomes today's report from the IICD. We acknowledge its significance and importance.

In August we welcomed the agreement on the modalities of decommissioning between the IRA and the IICD

Today's announcement that '[quote IICD report]' means that the IICD is fulfilling its mandate. All aspects of the Belfast Agreement are now being implemented.

This is the clear evidence that we have been looking for of republican commitment to the full implementation of the Agreement and it will re-establish public confidence that our problems can be solved by political dialogue and working inclusively in the Institutions.

Under the Agreement the remit of the IICD is, with the co-operation of the parties, to preside over the decommissioning process. We should now leave it to General de Chastelain and his colleagues to get on with it.

[Ulster Unionist Ministers will remain in office.][We call on the Secretary of State to lift the suspension of the Assembly so that all Ministers can resume office and First and Deputy First Ministers can be elected.]

We remain committed to, and will play our full part in securing the full implementation of the Agreement and the full functioning of all the institutions, including NSMC and BIC. An agreed schedule of meetings can now proceed smoothly and normally.

Our commitments to establish a just and fair society for the benefit of all the people of Northern Ireland, outlined in the Programme for Government, can now be pursued with renewed vigour and hope.



020-7271 2460

The Rt Hon Dr John Reid MP,  
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland,  
Northern Ireland Office,  
11 Millbank,  
London,  
SW1P 4QE.

Lord Goldsmith QC

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cc Mr Powell No  
- and back to  
17<sup>th</sup> October 2001

- 1. cc PS/SofS (LTB)
- PS/Ms Kennedy (LTB)
- PS/Sir Joseph Pelling (LTB)
- Mr Jeffrey.
- Mr Watkins
- Mr Atball - advice, as necessary
- Ms Bhattacha
- Mr Osborne, FOLAB

Dear John

2. SofS - to see

I have taken the opportunity since our meeting on Thursday to look through the files we hold here on Marguerite O'Hare, OTRs and pre-conviction pardons and to consider the way in which my predecessors in office have dealt with the application of public interest considerations to the decision to prosecute.

It was helpful to meet with you and to hear from you of the difficult and complex task you face in attempting to take forward the peace process in Northern Ireland. I am very aware of the high stakes involved. I am anxious to give whatever assistance I properly can and so I have given the matters you raised very careful consideration to see whether it is possible to achieve the desired objective of an amnesty.

I have concluded, as did my predecessors, that a legislative amnesty does not raise legal problems. I have, as you will know, advised in detail on the compatibility of a statutory scheme developed by your office with ECHR. I concluded that the proposed scheme would be compatible.

I raised at the meeting the advice provided by Gareth Williams on pre-conviction pardons, which was a route proposed by the Irish Attorney General. Gareth's conclusion was that this was a possible solution although a very high-risk strategy. As you asked, I have reviewed that advice and set out my own assessment later in this letter.

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I have also considered again the possibility of achieving an amnesty by exercise of prosecutorial discretion and, as you asked, specifically reviewed the case of Marguerite O'Hare.

My conclusion is that there is insufficient material on which I could presently conclude that prosecutions could properly be discontinued on public interest grounds. Whilst I do not rule out the possibility that the potential benefit to the peace process might be sufficient to outweigh the presumption in favour of prosecution in respect of a particular individual, I would need to be persuaded that the benefit was identifiable, tangible and certain in its effect. I do not consider that I could take an inclusive approach, which would allow me to weigh the potential benefit of not proceeding against the group as a whole – I am required to assess the potential benefit to the peace process that each individual decision not to prosecute would bring. This is because I have to consider each case individually. It may be helpful if I set out my reasoning.

#### The decision to prosecute

The starting point is, as I know you recognise, that a decision to instruct the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland to discontinue proceedings is one that can only be taken by me. Such a decision would of course not, however, be an act of Government, but rather, would be one taken by me independently of Government. That distinction is vital. The integrity of the prosecution process requires that prosecution decisions are taken, and seen to be taken, in a quasi-judicial manner and free from political pressure. I am of course entitled to consult with colleagues in Government in order to inform myself of considerations affecting public policy which should be weighed in assessing whether or not in the public interest to continue with proceedings, but I have to be the sole judge of those considerations.

All modern consideration of the public interest is dominated by a statement made in the House in January 1951 by the then Attorney General, Sir Hartley Shawcross. The statement is reported in Hansard [Official Report, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1951; col 681] should you be interested in reading it but, essentially, Shawcross made it clear that there is a two-stage process to prosecution. The point so strongly made by him is that prosecution does not automatically follow in cases where there was sufficient evidence to prosecute as in each case it should first be considered, either by the Director of Public Prosecutions or the Attorney General, whether the public interest required prosecution. It is worth citing from the Shawcross statement:

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*"[I have been asked] how I direct myself in deciding whether or not to prosecute in a particular case. That is a very wide subject indeed, but there is only one consideration which is altogether excluded, and that is the repercussion of a given decision upon my personal or my Government's political fortunes: that is a consideration which never enters into account. Apart from that, the Attorney General may have regard to a variety of considerations, all of them leading to the final question – would a prosecution be in the public interest, including in that phrase of course, in the interests of justice."*

### **Decisions to be taken on an individual, case by case, basis**

In any case where there is sufficient evidence to afford a reasonable prospect of convicting a named person for a specified offence, the public interest would normally require prosecution. The interests of justice, including public confidence in the criminal justice system, require there to be a presumption that prosecution will follow. This is especially so when serious offences are at issue. However, the interests of justice also require that each case is considered individually and the public interest considered as it applies to that particular case.

Parliament, however detailed the legislation it passes, can never ensure that every possible nuance surrounding the circumstances of the commission of an offence will be covered: there will always be cases where the particular circumstances make a prosecution unfair or unjust or unnecessary, even though there is sufficient evidence to prosecute. The prosecution therefore has a discretion not to prosecute if it considers it is not in the wider public interest to do so. However, the prosecution cannot act to thwart the will of Parliament when it rendered a particular action unlawful, and therefore there is a strong presumption that where there is sufficient evidence, a prosecution will follow.

A blanket application of a particular public interest consideration would be to undermine the will of Parliament and is outside the scope of the proper exercise of the discretion allowed the prosecution and amounts to a trespass into areas of policy where it has no legitimacy. It would also be an unlawful fettering of my discretion if I were to conclude that all cases falling into a particular category should not be prosecuted and the decision would be susceptible to judicial review in the courts. It would amount to an amnesty, which it is perfectly legitimate for Parliament to decide but which is not something that I can provide by way of exercising prosecutorial discretion. It is for these reasons that I believe every case has to be considered individually and on its merits.

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### Public interest considerations

I left with you on Thursday a copy of the Code for Crown Prosecutors. That Code sets out some of the categories of factors that are weighed when considering the public interest but it is important to understand that the categories of public interest are not closed and so are not restricted to the examples that appear in the Code.

I consider that the fact that a particular prosecutorial decision may assist in the continuation of the peace process in Northern Ireland is capable of recognition as a public interest factor to be considered when weighing the public interest. It is important, however, to assess carefully what weight can be given to it. As my predecessors noted, one of the key questions is whether it can be demonstrated that a decision not to prosecute a particular individual, in the face of a sufficiency of evidence to prosecute, gives rise to a real assurance of a distinct, identifiable and tangible benefit. I would need to be persuaded so that I was sure of that benefit. This arose in consideration of the prosecution of Marguerite O'Hare and will arise in every case the Director and I consider. If, therefore, I am to weigh the possible effect on the peace process as a public interest consideration, I would need to know precisely how a decision in relation to a named individual would achieve that objective. I would also need to be satisfied that such a benefit was sufficiently certain in its effect.

### The role of Ministers in advising on the public interest

I turn now to the importance of views of Ministerial colleagues as to the public interest when reaching prosecutorial decisions. Sir Hartley Shawcross, in his statement to the House in 1951 put it in this way:

*"Prosecution may involve a question of public policy or national, or sometimes international, concern; but in case like that the Attorney General has to make up his mind not as a party politician; he must in a quasi-judicial way consider the effect of prosecution upon the administration of law and of government in the abstract rather than in any party sense. ... I think the true doctrine is that it is the duty of an Attorney General, in deciding whether or not to authorise the prosecution, to acquaint himself with all the relevant facts, including, for instance, the effect which the prosecution, successful or unsuccessful as the case may be, would have upon public morale and order, and with any other considerations affecting public policy.*

*In order so to inform himself, he may, although I do not think he is obliged to consult with any of his colleagues in the Government; and indeed, as Lord Simon*

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*once said, he would in some cases be a fool if he did not. On the other hand, the assistance of his colleagues is confined to informing him of particular considerations which might affect his own decision, and does not consist, and must not consist, in telling him what that decision ought to be. The responsibility for the eventual decision rests with the Attorney General, and he is not to be put under pressure by his colleagues in the matter.*

*Nor, of course, can the Attorney General shift his responsibility for making the decision on to the shoulders of his colleagues. If political considerations which, in the broad sense that I have indicated, affect government in the abstract arise, it is the Attorney General applying his judicial mind, who has to be the sole judge of those considerations. ... That is the traditional and undoubted position of the Attorney General in such matters."*

#### **The effect on the criminal justice system**

Finally, the Director and I must also take into consideration the overall effect decisions not to prosecute would have on the criminal justice system as a whole. In a divided society, respect for the prosecution process is not easily earned but is easily lost. I have no doubt that decisions not to prosecute those on the Sinn Fein list would be seen as unfairly beneficial to one faction of the community and based on political expediency. I am aware also that Ministers have, in the past, commented on the potential effect on morale of the RUC and armed services. I would also have to weigh the risk that the result of an amnesty achieved by the exercise of prosecutorial discretion would seriously damage the reputation and perceived integrity of the Department of the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland.

Taking all these considerations into account, leads me seriously to doubt that I will be persuaded that the material exists for a sufficient public interest to outweigh the public interest in favour of prosecution. In any event, I would have to consider each case individually.

I turn now to the letter from William Fittall of 15<sup>th</sup> December.

#### **Statement by the Prime Minister**

I am not sure it is for me to advise on any statement the Prime Minister could properly make. I can, however, reiterate the advice I gave when I met with you that the Government should not say anything which might be taken to be seeking to give instructions as to prosecutorial decisions. I fear that any statement as to public interest

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would be taken to be a signal to the DPP and me unless clearly placed in the context of future legislation or, possibly, pre-conviction pardons.

I am also asked what the impact of a statement from the Prime Minister may be. I have already indicated that the Prime Minister's views as to public interest considerations would be very important but I would prefer to be informed of those views in a private and candid manner through carrying out a Shawcross exercise.

If a statement were to be made publicly but prosecutions still followed, there is a possibility that the defendant may seek to put forward an abuse of process argument based on any expectation that arose as a result of the Prime Minister's statement. However I consider it unlikely that any court would seriously entertain such an argument as to do so would blur the constitutional boundaries that exist between Government and an independent prosecution authority.

But the real danger here is the serious risk is that such a statement would be perceived as being an attempt to influence the prosecution. Such attempts have been viewed very seriously in the past and I have no reason to think it would be treated differently today.

### **Pre-conviction pardons**

I turn now to the question of pre-conviction pardons. Gareth had access to a great deal of research material provided by the Attorney General for Ireland. He also had the benefit of advice from Treasury Counsel, Philip Sales. I have reviewed the papers. There are three principal considerations:

- (1) Gareth concluded, on balance, that the power to grant by prerogative a pardon pre-conviction probably still existed and was probably sufficiently wide to cover the present situation. I agree with that conclusion: the power undoubtedly existed and although not used recently I believe the better view (although not the only tenable view) is that it has not become extinct by mere disuse. The power would be exercisable by the Queen on the advice of the Secretary of State. In relation to Northern Ireland matters, that would be your view.
- (2) Gareth also concluded, and I agree, that the power, if it is exercisable in the circumstances under review, may be exercised by reference to political considerations. This immediately takes the power into a different category from prosecution decisions.

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- (3) However, he also advised on the risks of this strategy. The risks are, of course, both political and legal. I comment only on the latter. There is a substantial risk that a challenge will be brought in the courts and that it would succeed, although my view is that ultimately the challenge would not succeed. The political situation in Northern Ireland is such that the courts are often called to consider issues of a deeply political nature. I do not think, therefore, that any attempt to challenge will be met by any cautious reluctance by the courts. This is a very old power that has not been used for many years. It risks being seen as used in these circumstances for the purposes of political expediency against a background where the more obvious course by which to achieve the desired objective would be by legislation. I would therefore confirm Gareth's conclusion that the use of pre-conviction pardons would be a very high risk strategy.

#### **Marguerite O'Hare**

You have also asked me to look at the case of Marguerite O'Hare once again. I have reviewed the files and history with care.

As you know, the matter was first raised with John Morris in April 1999. John sought the views of Ministerial colleagues and had replies from Jack Straw and George Robertson which did not support discontinuance. He also consulted the Director of Public Prosecutions and the Director of the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland. Although, in the event, he was not required to reach a conclusion because negotiating events in Northern Ireland took a different turn, he indicated that on the then evidence he would be unable to take the decision suggested by Mo Mowlam.

Gareth Williams was invited in October 1999 to consider the matter again. Between then and October 2000 the issue was very carefully and fully considered by Gareth. There was a further round of Ministerial consultation and Gareth consulted with the Director of Prosecutions for Northern Ireland – as I can see from the files – very fully. I know that he very carefully considered detailed observations not only from Peter Mandelson but also from the Prime Minister.

Gareth's conclusion, expressed in letters from the 17<sup>th</sup> August and 23<sup>rd</sup> October 2000 was that he did not consider he could properly regard the case as one where public interest did not require prosecution. He added that he believed a decision to discontinue would be seen as both partial and political.

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Lord Goldsmith QC

CONFIDENTIAL

I have carefully reviewed this correspondence as well as the underlying facts relating to the offences, which as you will recall, includes the attempted murder of Warrant Officer Paton. Although I have not seen the affidavit itself, it is recorded that Ms O'Hare admitted in an affidavit in the Irish extradition proceedings her involvement.

My conclusion, having carefully reviewed this material, is that Gareth's decision was right at the time and on the material which he considered. On that material I would have reached the same conclusion.

I will, of course, reconsider the case in the light of any new developments. At present I am not aware of any other than the further passage of time but I would not regard the mere passage of a further 12 months as, in itself, a reason to reach a different decision. I would, of course, be very happy to consider any particular matters which point to a change of circumstances. Perhaps you would kindly inform me of any of which you are aware.

#### **Continuing work by the DPP**

Finally, the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland is continuing his review of the names on the Sinn Fein list. I have written to you several times on progress and hope to be in a position to inform you of further decisions very shortly. I am grateful to you for the appreciation you expressed on Thursday for the work being done by the Director and the RUC. The Director has given the work high priority and will continue to do so.

*Mean even  
law*

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CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
17 October 2001  
BJ/MR/101

*J.P.*  
*de:mt*

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&B)

cc Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Ms O'Mara  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

**CONVERSATIONS WITH GENERAL de CHASTELAIN**

I spoke to General de Chastelain late yesterday afternoon, after the Secretary of State's meeting with Sir Reg Empey. I told him that Empey had been troubled by the news that de Chastelain was planning to be out of the country from today. If unionist Ministers resigned today, his absence would be interpreted as meaning that there was no prospect of decommissioning happening over that period. I wondered how he had got on at the meeting with the IRA representative which he had mentioned when we last spoke.

2. De Chastelain said that the meeting had not yet taken place. He expected to be able to ring me this morning with more definite information about his plans. The arrangements to return to Canada were of long-standing - he was to receive an honorary degree in Vancouver and make a speech. Other things being equal, he would prefer to hold to them. But if he had any sense that decommissioning was about to happen, he would not hesitate to change them. He would probe this with the people he was meeting. He could also be back by the weekend if necessary.

3. De Chastelain rang this morning. He and his colleagues had met "O'Neill" last night. It had been a useful meeting. They had agreed to meet again very soon. He was now departing for Canada. He planned to be back on Monday, but could return earlier should the need arise. I asked whether this meant he was being told that nothing would happen before then. De Chastelain said he was not telling me this in terms, but I could infer from what he was saying that the Provisional leadership still had work to do. It was still possible that he would be called back urgently, but he had,

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

in effect, been told that the days he planned to be away were "not germane to the issue".

4. I said that one concern was that Sinn Féin would use his absence as an excuse for doing nothing. He said they knew he would not accept that. He had made it clear that, if necessary, he would cancel all his arrangements and return at a moment's notice.

5. I have discussed this with Jonathan Powell. It is, in some respects, at odds with what Adams told the Prime Minister yesterday evening. Jonathan will put this to Adams when he speaks to him later this morning. More generally, we need now to bring things to a head. If Adams is really saying that nothing can happen before, say, the middle of next week, we might as well suspend quickly. Unionists will certainly argue for that if news of de Chastelain's absence from Northern Ireland becomes widespread. Friday's meeting with Brian Cowen will be an opportunity to set the direction for the succeeding few days. We badly need to know where we stand with Sinn Féin before then.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
17 October 2001  
BJ/MR/104

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&B)

cc PS/Ms Kennedy(L&B)  
PS/Mr Browne(L&B)  
Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Maccabe  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

*JK*  
*d.m.T*

### TRIMBLE MEETING

I have now spoken to David Campbell. Although he asked that we look suitably surprised when Trimble breaks the news, he tells me that Trimble has decided not to pull his Ministers out until midnight tomorrow. There is a UUP Executive meeting on Friday, and he feels he cannot credibly go into that without the Ministers having resigned.

2. This neither calls in question the timing of the Cowen meeting, nor the line my brief of earlier today suggests on suspension – that the Secretary of State's thinking is inclining towards suspending early next week. It also makes it more difficult for Trimble to argue for suspension before the weekend.

**[Dictated by Mr Jeffrey &  
signed in his absence:  
Marie Rebello]**

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

CONFIDENTIAL

file (WCO - in matrix)

01



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

cc NIO  
DTI  
Co

17 October 2001

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Reg,

Thank you for writing to me again on this issue. I understand and share your concerns about the severe problems facing Shorts and the implications for Northern Ireland.

I am pleased that detailed discussions between the company and government officials have moved forward rapidly since its initial approach.

Patricia Hewitt and John Reid are taking a close interest in Bombardier's proposals and are in discussion with colleagues about them. There would be considerable cost implications for the Government, so Bombardier's proposals will require very careful consideration but I appreciate the timescales dictate an urgent decision on these issues.

Yours ever,  
Tony

Sir Reg Empey OBE

JL



Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment  
for Northern Ireland

From the Minister

Rt Hon Tony Blair MP  
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury and  
Minister for the Civil Service  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA

JPS  
cc JJH  
MT  
~~...~~  
DJ  
GN

3<sup>rd</sup> October 2001

*Dear Prime Minister*

I wrote to you on 26 September following the tragic events in the United States expressing my concerns about the announcement by Bombardier/Shorts of 2,092 job losses in Northern Ireland and the resultant adverse effects on the local aerospace sub-contact sector. Indeed the knock on effects of the crisis in the airline sector are already evident and my Department is dealing with an urgent request for help from a key subsidiary of BE Aerospace in the US which supplies a number of major US airlines and whose Northern Ireland operation is now threatened with closure and the loss of significant high quality jobs in an area of high unemployment. I have no doubt that as the ramifications unfold we will face similar problems from others in the industry.

I understand that following meetings last week between DTI officials, Bombardier/Shorts management and my officials, DTI officials in conjunction with the Export Credit and Guarantee Department are considering a request from the company in relation to aircraft financing arrangements which would enable customers to fulfil contract delivery obligations until the market recovers. I cannot impress enough upon Her Majesty's Government the importance of a positive response if there is to be any hope of averting at least some of the 2,092 job losses announced.

While the measures being considered will be crucial in limiting the damage in the short term, it is clear that the key to long term recovery in the airline industry is the re-establishment of confidence amongst the travelling businessman and public in order to re-stimulate market demand



in the sector. I would therefore urge Her Majesty's Government that in developing the international coalition against terrorism a key ingredient should be the simultaneous mounting of a major international effort to engender market confidence in the airline industry which is of such crucial importance in economic terms both for the UK and world wide. I can assure you that you will have the collective support of my colleagues in the Executive who had a full discussion about the situation when I made a statement at the Northern Ireland Assembly on Monday.

I am copying this letter to Rt Hon Patricia Hewitt MP, Rt Hon Dr John Reid MP, Henry McLeish MSP and Rhodri Morgan MP.

*Reg Empey*  
*Reg*

**SIR REG EMPEY MLA**  
**Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Investment**

Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment  
for Northern Ireland

*JRS*  
*A.M.T.*  
*JPH*

From the Minister

*M. Hill*  
*26/9*  
*Please get*  
*an update on*  
*from the*

Rt Hon Tony Blair MP  
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury and  
Minister for the Civil Service  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA

*26/9*  
*JRS*

26<sup>th</sup> September 2001

*Dear Prime Minister*

As part of its worldwide response to the downturn in the airline sector together with the recent events in the United States, Bombardier/Shorts today announced a major contraction in its business operation. The effect in Northern Ireland is a loss of 2092 jobs in Bombardier/Shorts with many more to come in the sub-contracting network.

Bombardier Aerospace (Shorts) is the largest industrial employer in Northern Ireland, employing 7800 in the design and manufacture of aerospace components. The main product lines are fuselages, nacelles and flight components for regional jet programmes. Salary levels are among the highest in the Province and the company over the last few years has expanded rapidly and put a considerable effort into training new recruits many of whom have come through the Bridge to Employment Scheme.

Just last year Bombardier announced a multi-million pound investment involving work on new aircraft, including the Continental business jet and the regional jet as well as additional workshare on existing programmes.

The company's success has had major benefits for the Northern Ireland and UK economy. In addition to the salaries and wages that go into the



local economy, the investment programme has enabled high value-added work previously done by subcontractors outside Northern Ireland to be repatriated. The company's local supplier development programme is worth £30m per year.

Today's announcement will impact severely not only on those directly affected in the Bombardier plants in the Greater Belfast area but also on those engineering companies across Northern Ireland who are suppliers to Bombardier. A number of these suppliers are located in areas of high unemployment and the loss of business from Bombardier will have serious consequences for the local areas. As well as the direct job losses it is estimated that there could be a further 800-1200 jobs lost in the economy because of the downward multiplier effects.

Clearly developments of this scale and nature will have a devastating effect on the people of Northern Ireland, both those directly affected by the loss of livelihood and those in the wider community. Having endured the pain and adverse economic consequences of local terrorism for more than 30 years it will be a real blow to sustain such a dire effect from global terrorism – perhaps the GB equivalent of up to 70,000 jobs lost. All the more so since it comes at a time when we have been working hard to build a platform which will provide political, social and economic stability.

I and my colleagues in the Executive will be working together to do all we can within our devolved responsibilities to mitigate the effects of this announcement. However, there are limits to what we can accomplish in isolation and I would urge Her Majesty's Government, perhaps necessarily working in conjunction with national leaders in other affected countries, to broaden the scope of your considerations of special interventions to include the aerospace industry in general. My officials have already been in touch with DTI colleagues to highlight this problem, but I am sure political input will be necessary if an appropriate response is to be found. It would be sad indeed if we were to allow the actions of terrorists to destroy one of the UK's most promising areas of industrial growth.

I readily acknowledge the very heavy burden you are carrying personally at this time of national crisis and the leadership you are showing and can assure you that I and my colleagues stand ready to work with you in the battle against terrorism.

I am meeting with representatives of the media later today and whilst I intend to refer to this letter I will not disclose its detailed content.

I am copying this letter to Ms Patricia Hewitt MP, Rt Hon Dr John Reid MP, Henry McLeish MSP and Rt Hon Rhodri Morgan MP.

*Reese ds*

*Reg,*

**SIR REG EMPEY, MLA**  
**Minister for Enterprise, Trade & Investment**



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comp

Jonathan Powell Esq  
Chief of Staff  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 1AA

17 October 2001

Dear Jonathan,

**NORTHERN IRELAND: INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGATIONS OF COLLUSION**

Since you wrote to me on 30 July, we have been preparing the ground for the investigation of allegations of collusion by security forces in several murders which was part of the package of proposals to emerge from Weston Park.

2. The Lord Chancellor is kindly putting in hand some soundings to identify a suitable judge to carry out the investigation. My Secretary of State thinks it will be important for the appointment to be agreed between the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach, and will report further when he has heard from the Lord Chancellor. We know that the Irish have been active in identifying possible judicial figures from overseas who would be congenial to them and it is important that we have some early ideas of our own for what will be an exceptionally difficult assignment.

3. Consistent with your letter, we have also been looking at ways in which the risk to essential security interests might be contained. There are three areas which might be addressed in further discussions with the Irish Government:





- Support arrangements. The appointed judge may well want his principal source of support to be someone from his or her own country; but beneath that level we should press for separate secretariats to deal with the British and Irish cases respectively.
- Publication of reports. The paper attached to your letter indicates that reports will be to the Prime Minister or the Taoiseach as appropriate and will be published. It was deliberately ambiguous about who would publish them. The Terms of Reference also do not address the question of sensitive material, either in the report or in relation to accompanying documents which the Judge might wish to see published. The Irish may be unwilling to go along with this, but it seems right to clear it up at the outset. We would be in a very difficult position if the judge's reports contained material damaging to national security. It may be necessary to protect the report in any case by publishing under Parliamentary privilege, which would require the Government rather than the Judge to publish, but it will also be vital to ensure that the Government can address, both during the process of the review and at the point of publication, the protection of material which could risk lives or compromise national security. Previous experience suggests that this is particularly likely to arise in connection with accompanying documents, rather than the report itself where sensitivities can usually be discussed with the reviewer in the process of the review.
- Handling of sensitive documents. The Security Service is drawing up a protocol to guide the judge on the handling of security sensitive documents.

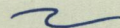




4. The Irish Government will be very reluctant to adjust the document which emerged from Weston Park. If the Prime Minister agrees, my Secretary of State therefore intends to send to Brian Cowen the enclosed supplementary procedural memorandum covering the first two of these points. He will also suggest a discussion with Cowen about the judge's work programme. This will depend on when he or she is appointed, but if it is significantly earlier than next April the chances are that the majority of the first batch of investigations will be into one of the Irish cases, since three of "ours" (Finucane, Hamill and Nelson) could yet lead to criminal proceedings. The one investigation into one of "our" cases that could begin immediately, without prejudice to criminal proceedings, would be that looking at the murder of Billy Wright.

5. I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord Chancellor, the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary, the Defence Secretary and the Attorney General, and to Sir Richard Wilson, Sir Stephen Lander and Juliet Wheldon.

*Yours wvr,*

*Paul*  


**PAUL PRIESTLY**  
Principal Private Secretary





DRAFT PROCEDURAL MEMORANDUM

Following the intensive discussions at Weston Park in July 2001, the two Governments agreed a package of proposals which was intended to help deliver the full and early implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. This included the proposal that the UK and Irish Governments would appoint a judge of international standing from outside both jurisdictions to undertake a thorough investigation of allegations of collusion by the security forces in a number of specific cases. Paragraph 19 of the paper outlining the package said that detailed terms of reference would be published in the future. These terms of reference were agreed by the two Governments on 25 July. In addition to these general principles, the Governments have now reached agreement on a number of more detailed points of procedure:

*Support*

The two Governments will undertake to ensure that the judge has sufficient support and resources to carry out the investigation. In order to ensure that the examination of each case can commence as early as possible (consistent with not prejudicing a forthcoming prosecution, as agreed by the Attorney General in the relevant jurisdiction) separate secretariats will be provided in each jurisdiction, staffed by individuals from the relevant jurisdiction. The two Governments will be ready to discuss with the judge whether, in addition, he wishes to be supported across the full range of his work by someone who may come from the judge's own jurisdiction.

Each secretariat will be provided with appropriate advice and facilities to ensure that material considered by the investigations is dealt with in a manner commensurate with the need to protect the privacy of individuals as well as the interests of national security. In particular, these arrangements will ensure that the right to life of any individual affected by the conduct and subject matter of the investigations, as guaranteed by Article 2 of the European Convention for the protection of Human Rights, is protected.

*Work programme*

The two Governments wish to see rapid progress in this important area. To this end, the appointed judge should be asked to initiate his or her inquiries in both jurisdictions as early as possible, consistent with not prejudicing a forthcoming prosecution (as agreed by the Attorney General in the relevant jurisdiction).

*Reporting arrangements*

The terms of reference commit the judge to submitting reports to the Prime Minister or the Taoiseach as appropriate. In addition, the appointed judge should keep the relevant Government informed of progress and make reports to the relevant Government on each case as the examination of each is concluded. All decisions made by the judge in preparing his final report will be taken in a manner commensurate with the need to ensure that the content will protect the privacy of individuals, ensure that the right to life of individuals is protected, and ensure that the relevant Government's obligations in relation to ensuring justice and protecting national security are maintained. Subject to the preceding sentence, all final reports from the appointed judge (*but not the documents on which the reports are based*) will be published by the relevant Government.



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*file*

From the Private Secretary

17 October 2001

Dear Paul

**FAXED**

*NIO London  
Brent  
Jm 18/10*

**TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH GERRY ADAMS**

The Prime Minister spoke to Gerry Adams at about 1900 today.

Adams opened by saying that, despite Jonathan Powell's positive spin, it was clear there was no movement on any of the issues which he had raised yesterday. The Prime Minister pointed out that we had moved a long way to get to where we were. Adams said the whole thing was on the verge of collapsing.

Adams said it was hard to interpret our refusal to close down the legislative loopholes as anything other than an indication of a deal with unionists. The Prime Minister said we were ready to make a strong political statement and to encourage Trimble to do the same, but we could not move beyond Weston Park. He could look again at the language. It might be possible to express the hope that [following an act of decommissioning] the institutions could function with the stability they needed and Ministers could resume their duties in the NSMC and carry on doing so. But we could not make legislative changes.

Adams raised the language on Patten implementation. Could we not include the word "full", caveated with a phrase such as "with the exception of the oath"? The Prime Minister said he was not attracted to singling out aspects of Patten in this way. There was also a wider point: we had already moved a long way on this language. Sinn Fein were in danger of confirming the perception, already widely held by other parties, that at the point when things were more or less tied down they would always insist on getting some more. Nevertheless, he would look again at this wording and see if a formula could be found which included the words "in full". It might be possible to develop a caveat along the lines of "with the exception of the matters already stated clearly...". But he had to be mindful of the other parties. He did not want to get into a position in which he could be accused of bad faith by the SDLP. He understood Adams political objective here, but as ever it was hard to move at all without tilting the seesaw.

Adams briefly mentioned demilitarisation. The idea of a monitoring group seemed to have slipped away. The Prime Minister said he did not see any big problems with this.

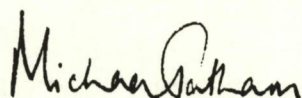
The Prime Minister said he or Jonathan would get back to Adams tomorrow morning to let him know what we could or could not do. But we could not keep negotiating endlessly round these points. There was a real worry over the timing.

The Prime Minister added that the key to maximising the impetus generated by any IRA move would lie in the language that accompanied it. Anything mealy-mouthed would detract hugely from the positive impact. Similarly, it would quickly become apparent if volunteers were being briefed that any movement had been token and was compensated for by new procurement. Adams took the point.

The Prime Minister said that in the right circumstances he would personally get out and highlight in a big way the significance of what had happened. Adams welcomed this. Securing any movement would be hard. There would be huge problems [within the IRA] if it happened. It might be useful for him to meet the Prime Minister in the immediate aftermath of a move to assess the situation.

The Prime Minister said that if decommissioning happened in the right way, he did not expect Trimble to cause problems except in one set of circumstances. Trimble would be in an extremely difficult position if the impression got out that there was some kind of implied permission for the IRA to carry on using violence for enforcement of community justice. Adams said he understood this. But we should also recognise the wider context. There had been another bomb attack today near a group of children. There had been two bomb attacks the night before. Meanwhile there was not a whimper of criticism from Unionists (the Prime Minister pointed out that Roy Beggs had condemned these incidents in the House today). If such things had happened to Protestant children in Adams' constituency, he would have accompanied them to school himself.

Yours ever



**MICHAEL TATHAM**

Paul Priestly  
NIO



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
11 MILLBANK  
LONDON  
SW1P 4PN

17/10

MT  
EJP  
TK  
KK

Michael Tatham Esq  
PS/Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON

16 October 2001

Dear Michael

My Secretary of State has been considering when the Prime Minister should meet Mark Durkan, John Hume's soon-to-be successor, in his capacity as the new leader of the SDLP. The best time looks to be early in the week beginning 12 November.

John Hume intends to remain leader of the SDLP until the party's annual conference closes on the afternoon of Sunday 11 November. Any earlier meeting could be taken as a slight by Hume and would hobble Durkan who would be limited to presenting himself as leader elect. A meeting in the week beginning 12 November would coincide with the SDLP's publicity push for its new leader and a visit to No.10 at that time would raise Durkan's profile in the early days of his leadership.

The SDLP conference will also determine who, from five candidates, will succeed Seamus Mallon as deputy leader. The Prime Minister may wish to invite Durkan to bring his new deputy along with him.

Yours ever

Kirsten McFarlane

**KIRSTEN McFARLANE**



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

CONFIDENTIAL - PERSONAL



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

16 October 2001

*Dear Paul*

### TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH GERRY ADAMS

The Prime Minister spoke to Gerry Adams at about 1930 this evening.

Adams said he wanted to give the Prime Minister a rundown on where things stood and on the need for further movement on one or two issues. His efforts were still meeting with resistance [from the IRA] but he would continue to work his way through the problems in order to get people on board. Some were opposed in principle to any movement. Others accepted the argument for movement, but needed reassurance that this would generate the right kind of response in return from the British Government and Trimble.

Adams said he would phone Trimble later today and hoped to see him tomorrow. In the last few days McGuinness had made good progress with Empey and the two had virtually signed off on an agreed text (though they had not actually done so). Trimble had then stepped in and removed some positive elements and introduced language that distorted the role of the IICD. Trimble needed to be got on board in as positive a way as possible. This would mean establishing a working relationship with him that would allow them to crunch these problems.

Adams then turned to the UK text. He had worked hard on this with the Secretary of State and their exchanges had been "productive enough". But there were remaining points of concern. On demilitarisation, Adams said he did not expect any more in the statement but the Prime Minister needed to know that he would have to move on this issue even if he was not saying so publicly. This was a big issue for republican activists. Ultimately it was in the Government's interests to keep the IRA united and on cessation.

Adams referred to the Government's refusal to renounce its powers to suspend the institutions (even though this was in breach of the GFA), or to close

CONFIDENTIAL - PERSONAL

the loophole on the NSMC which Trimble was exploiting. Adams said he was nevertheless "ready to swallow hard" if the necessary political commitment to the stability of the institutions was expressed by Trimble and the Government.

Adams said the Government's refusal to use the word "full" or "fully" in relation to Patten implementation was a big issue. It was all about packaging. The Government in London and the UUP leadership needed to show that they were prepared politically to approach these issues in a way which would create sufficient dynamic for the institutions to work properly.

Adams said he would continue to work away at all of this. He would be doing so "for a few days yet". He recognised there was not much time but equally there was no point putting anything to people until it was in a shape that stood a chance of being accepted. Adams mentioned that he had been working hard on preparing the ground in South Africa and the US so that there was as attractive an international context as possible for people to step into. The Prime Minister said this was helpful.

The Prime Minister said one of the problems was Trimble's need for reassurance that this time something was actually going to happen. Adams said he had been trying to develop a working relationship with Trimble. He had told Trimble privately that he was committed to "getting the army to do it" but his political response would have to be right. Trimble was still prone to saying stupid things (eg that an act of decommissioning indicated an admission of wrong). Adams had committed himself to being open with Trimble on whether and when decommissioning would happen. He was also ready to give Trimble a sense of what the IRA would say when the moment finally came. He recognised there was no point in doing something and then spoiling the effect with "bad wordsmanship".

Adams repeated that he was focused on sorting this out. McGuinness would be meeting again with Empey tomorrow. Once Sinn Fein had what it would take to pull it off, they would confront people and then come back to us.

The Prime Minister emphasised again that the timing was critical. Adams complained about Trimble clawing back the language agreed by McGuinness/Empey. There was no use Sinn Fein trying to do something with language that was insufficient. No-one should underestimate the pain of this for the IRA. They were being asked to become an army without weapons. As soon as he had satisfactory words, Adams would move to dealing formally with this.

The Prime Minister said he would reflect on Adams' points but could give an initial response. We would not reopen the legislative questions but we could give a strong expression of political commitment to the stability of the institutions. The Prime Minister said he would look again overnight at language on Patten implementation but he wanted to emphasise that this was very difficult and he was making no promises. On demilitarisation, the Prime Minister said if it was clear that the IRA were both decommissioning for real and stopping further procurement, he would be prepared to make significant moves. There was no point in having an intrusive military infrastructure simply for its own sake. (Adams responded to the point about procurement by saying that he had been told by people whom he trusted that all these allegations were untrue.)

The Prime Minister came back again to the timing of any move. The longer this was left, the harder it would be. Adams said he appreciated this. Delay did not suit Sinn Fein or the IRA either. The difficulty was that with the language he currently had, his guess was that he would lose it if he made a formal approach. He needed Trimble to shape up, as well as some sense of movement from the Government on the issues he had mentioned. The Prime Minister said he would reflect overnight and Jonathan Powell would get in touch tomorrow. We had gone a long way, including on OTRs and Westminster facilities. We would get into difficulty with other parties if we moved beyond Weston Park. The Prime Minister stressed the importance of the IRA move being a genuine one. It would be disastrous if there was any perception of sleight of hand. We needed to build this up so that it had the effect of putting the process on a new footing. Adams said he entirely agreed. It would not be worth doing if it was not packaged right.

The Prime Minister repeated yet again his concern about timing. Adams assured the Prime Minister that he understood this. He said that ideally decommissioning needed to happen before Trimble pulled his Ministers (comment: although the implication that something might happen tomorrow was at odds with the tone of everything said previously).

*Your ever*

*Michael*

MICHAEL TATHAM

Paul Priestly  
NIO





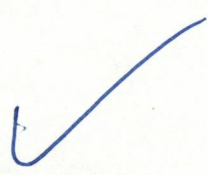
**NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE**

11 Millbank, London, SW1P 4PN

Tel 0171 210-6447

cc JUP ✓

POLITICAL DIRECTOR



CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

BY FAX

Jonathan Powell Esq.

10 Downing Street

ID.100

16 October 2001.

PHONE CALL FROM GERRY ADAMS

I attach a brief for the Prime Minister's call with Adams this evening. I have discussed it with my Secretary of State, who attaches importance to the last point – a warning that what is now on the table following Weston Park will not necessarily be there after suspension. In his view, Sinn Féin need to feel that they stand to lose something if they don't act quickly.

I am copying this to Paul Priestly and a handful of other colleagues here. I think you have our latest texts, but I can provide copies if required.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

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PHONE CALL FROM GERRY ADAMS: 7.30pm

Adams is likely to:

- argue again that our statement of response to an act of decommissioning should include a commitment to legislate to deprive the First and Deputy First Minister of their function of nominating Ministers to attend North/South meetings, and to repeal the suspension powers.

Your line should be:

- **The text already says that “we can and must now see the full, stable and uninterrupted operation of the political institutions”.**
- **I’m not willing to change the legislation. To do so would go beyond Weston Park, and wouldn’t prevent Trimble applying sanctions if he’s determined to do so. The problem is political and should be solved politically.**
- press for the text to say that our amending legislation will reflect the Patten recommendations “in full” and not “more fully” as it does now.

Your line should be:

- **“Reflect more fully” is the language used in the Weston Park proposals;**
- **It is also more accurate – we are implementing Patten wholeheartedly, but, because of issues like the taking of the oath by existing officers and the 3p in the £ for DPPs, we cannot accurately say that we are implementing it “in full”.**

- 1 -

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

BJ/MR/100a-16.10.2001

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- ask for more encouraging language or a more generous response on demilitarisation.

Your line should be:

**- I made it clear at Weston Park that four installations is as far as we can go – a deal's a deal.**

**- The text already commits us to a rolling programme reducing levels of troops and installations, as the security situation improves. We will honour that, and look for reductions where we can.**

2. More generally, this may be the moment to bring Adams up sharp on the consequences of continued prevarication on the Provisionals' part. We have now been discussing text with them for several weeks, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that they are spinning things out, to drive us against the buffers of suspension in the next few days. Your line could be:

**- Time is very short. If unionist Ministers resign tomorrow, we will be able to hold things together for at most a few days, after which suspension will be inevitable.**

**- We've already made a lot of changes to our text to meet your concerns – John Reid agreed one overnight.**

**- I hope you don't think that it's in your interest to push things beyond suspension. For better or worse, expectations have been raised. Suspension will surely make it more difficult for the IRA.**

**- The Weston park package assumed an early act of decommissioning. I cannot guarantee that everything on our side will still**

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

BJ/MR/100a-16.10.2001

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

**be on the table if we are driven to suspension by a collapse in the institutions. If there is significant slippage, we certainly could not meet the timescales we have discussed in areas like OTRs and Parliamentary facilities, where the political climate needs to be right before we take steps that are bound to be controversial.**

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BJ/MR/100a-16.10.2001

01232 526050

*HL*

CASTLE BUILDINGS  
STORMONT  
BT4 3SG  
Phone: (028) 9052 0099  
Fax: (028) 9052 0063

**MATT**  
**PATTEN ACTION TEAM**

*026 Press*

# Fax

To: MICHAEL TATHAM From: ROBIN MASEFIELD  
 Fax: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: 16/10  
 Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ Pages: 1 + 2  
 Re: \_\_\_\_\_ CC: \_\_\_\_\_

Urgent     For Review     Please Comment     Please Reply     Please Recycle

•Comments:  
 This was released at 5.30 pm.  
 As I reported, Mr Trimble had been  
 forewarned by Dr. Reid in a call last  
 Tuesday.  
*Robin Masefield*

01232 526050



## NORTHERN IRELAND INFORMATION SERVICE

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### REID CONFIRMS DATE OF RUC NAME CHANGE

16 October 2001

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Dr John Reid MP, today confirmed, as expected, that the name of the Royal Ulster Constabulary would change on Sunday 4 November when the powers of the new Policing Board are commenced.

Announcing the name change, Dr Reid said:

**"This is a significant moment for all who have served in, or been associated with, the RUC and for all of us who have benefited from their service. The Police Service of Northern Ireland will be a new service for a new era, it will be a service that grows out of the great contribution of the RUC.**

**"The transformation of policing is of huge magnitude, and it will obviously take considerable time for all the changes to work through. But this step represents a very important stage in that process.**

**"I have asked the Chief Constable to prepare for a name change on 4 November. This will mean that the Policing Board will, as the Police Act envisages, be the Board for the new service. It also meets the Government's commitment, made as long ago as 19 January 2000, to keep faith with the new recruits by bringing into force a new title when the recruits arrive in training. The recruits begin their training on 4 November."**

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01232 526050

**NOTES TO EDITORS**

- A Commencement Order under the Police (Northern Ireland) Act 2000 will commence the name change in section 1 of the Act and the powers of the Policing Board on Sunday 4 November.
- New recruits begin training on 4 November and the Board is expected to have its first formal meeting in the week commencing 5 November.
- As Patten recommended, police memorials should remain as they are and where they are.
- In addition to the reference to the new name incorporating the RUC in section 1(1) of the Act the Act also contains a provision for an RUC CC Foundation (section 70) to mark the sacrifices and honour the achievements of the RUC.
- It will take some time from 4 November to change all references to the name on stations, the 1,000 or so police forms and leaflets etc but work will be taken forward as quickly as possible.
- Regulations on the emblem and flag of the new police service will be put to the Board and other statutory consultees by the Secretary of State shortly.

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
16 October 2001  
BJ/MR/99

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&B)

cc Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Stephens  
Mr Hannigan

Mr Powell No.10-Fax *AMT*

**MORE SINN FÉIN CHISELLING**

Gerry Adams rang me yesterday evening. There were a few detailed points on our text which Gerry Kelly would pursue with me, none of which should cause us any problems. But he was running into difficulties on the bigger issues he had discussed with the Secretary of State and me. He accepted that we had taken things as far as we could, and therefore thought he had better speak to the Prime Minister.

2. I said that I didn't know whether the PM would be available for a word. Frankly, we had thought the discussions were over and things would be moving by now. But I would pass on his request to Jonathan Powell. Adams said he would ring No.10 later in the evening. He was also concerned about the UUP text. Trimble had clawed back some of what Martin McGuinness had agreed with Reg Empey. I asked if he had taken this up with Trimble, as we had discussed on Saturday. He was in the USA, but ought to be accessible. Adams said he had concluded it would be unwise to approach Trimble direct. McGuinness was in touch with Empey. I said that, if they could agree something, Empey might be able to persuade Trimble to accept it. There was not much time. Trimble was likely to pull his Ministers out when he returned on Wednesday.



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3. Later yesterday evening, Kelly phoned with the "points of detail".

They were:

- The insertion, after the first two sentences of the third indent, of a new sentence:  
"Today's report reinforces and confirms the Government's view that it is only through the IICD that the putting of paramilitary arms beyond use can be achieved."  
(This sentence is already in the Irish text.)
- an amendment to the policing paragraph, so that the reference to the new legislation would read "... the introduction of legislation to amend the Police Act 2000 to reflect the Patten recommendations in full..." instead of "to reflect more fully". (This too is in the Irish text.)
- some further substantive movement on security normalisation. The four installations were a minimal response. To reflect the significance of the move being considered by the IRA, we needed something more "in your face". It would, for example, send a powerful message if the Divis installation was taken down.

4. I said that I would report all three of these suggestions to Ministers. We might be able to do something about the first, but I would be misleading him if I suggested there was any prospect of movement on the second or the third. Ministers had consistently made it clear that, in substance, they could not go beyond what was on offer at Weston Park, including on security installations. The Secretary of State and I had had a long discussion with Adams and McGuinness about "in full". The fact

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

was that, although we would implement Patten wholeheartedly, it was not accurate to say that we were implementing it in full. That was why the Weston Park proposals had used the language in the current text – “to reflect more fully”.

5. If the Secretary of State agrees, I will tell Kelly that we definitely cannot accept either of his second or third suggestions. Adopting his first would make an already wordy text even more unwieldy, but it is not easy to object to it in principle. It is code for “leave it to de Chastelain”, which in turn is code for “don’t pursue decommissioning by messing with the institutions”; but it has the advantage of enhancing the Commission’s authority, and could be played back at Sinn Féin if, for example, there was any sign of the IRA wanting to operate only through Ramaphosa. Although it is tempting just to tell Kelly that the negotiation is over, if the Secretary of State agrees, I am inclined to accept the change, but on the basis that this really must be the end of the haggling.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
11 MILLBANK  
LONDON  
SW1P 4PN

SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR  
NORTHERN IRELAND

The Rt Hon the Lord Irvine of Lairg  
Lord Chancellor  
The House of Lords  
London  
SW1A 0PW

*JB*  
*et. JM*  
*MT*  
*AC*

15 October 2001

*Dear Deputy,*

**NORTHERN IRELAND: DEVOLUTION OF LAW AND ORDER FUNCTIONS**

Although we are still some way from stabilising the devolved institutions in Northern Ireland, and may yet fail, I am conscious that the question of further devolution could move rapidly up the agenda.

The desirability of adding responsibility for policing, criminal justice and prisons to the Assembly and Executive's existing portfolio of functions is one of the few things on which unionists and nationalists agree. David Trimble frequently reverts to the matter with the Prime Minister and me, arguing that it diminishes the authority of the new Executive to be evidently powerless to deal with residual paramilitary activity and the organised crime with which it is linked. We have assured him that our intention is to devolve these functions sooner rather than later, while preserving some flexibility about the timescale. Dublin has also begun to take an interest in when our involvement in running Northern Ireland might be further reduced.

In practice, I cannot see devolution being feasible until the institutions are more stable than they are now, the changes in policing following the Patten report are well advanced, and the justice legislation soon to be in Parliament



has been enacted. I would also want the security situation to be reasonably subdued before we transferred responsibility for policing, although there is bound to be a residual threat, if only from dissident groups, for some time to come.

A further tranche of devolution is therefore likely still to be some way off but, on a benign scenario, it is quite possible that the situation could settle, and we could come under renewed pressure in the course of next year to take the next steps. Even if we have a further period of suspension, the issue could still come to the fore; some at least of the local political leaders will want to agree a timetable for further devolution as part of taking back power. Since there is a good deal of necessary preparation before we reach that point and some implications that we have not thought through fully, I have asked Joe Pilling to convene a group of officials to oversee the preparatory phase, with representatives of your Department, the Home Office, the Cabinet Office, the Ministry of Defence, the Attorney General and the Security Service.

The issues which the group will need to address, either as a group or in more limited format, include:

- the statutory basis for devolution, to the extent that this is not already covered in the justice legislation;
- the implications for relations with home departments – ground which was well-trodden in relation to Scotland;
- the case for one final and complete stage of devolution and for two or more steps to complete it;



- the development of a critical path for the key stages leading to devolution of justice functions;
- Ministerial responsibility within devolved institutions – this is something in which the First and Deputy First Ministers themselves will have the principal interest and will need to be consulted, and there will be powerful political arguments for a measure of cross-community control; but we should also take the opportunity to address the question which you yourself have raised about whether it would be sensible to have a single Justice Department;
- the handling, after devolution, of functions currently carried out by the police in Northern Ireland with a “national” dimension;
- relations between the police and army and between us and the devolved administration in relation to any continuing support provided by the army (including ensuring that the roles and regulation of the police and armed forces remain separate).



I would be grateful to know if you are content with this approach. If you are, it would be helpful if Departments would pass to Joe Pilling's office the name of someone to join the group. I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, John Prescott, Jack Straw, David Blunkett, Geoff Hoon and Peter Goldsmith, and to Sir Richard Wilson, the Director General of the Security Service and 'C'.

*Yours ever*  
*John*  
**JOHN REID**

---



File

JB  
Crime  
JR  
OAR  
CS

Prime Minister

15 October 2001

**ORGANISED CRIME; AND THE SENTENCES ACT**

**After the meeting with David Trimble on 3 October, you asked for advice on tackling organised crime, and on the threshold for the recall of early release prisoners.**

**Organised crime**

2. Trimble sees merit in a study or a commission into paramilitary racketeering, to expose the extent and depth of involvement in organised crime. He will not of course be aware of the plan to strengthen the NCIS Economic Crime Unit or to have a Security Service-led strategic study on improving the usefulness of financial information.

3. Trimble has so far supported the Northern Ireland Organised Crime Task Force, established a year ago. The Task Force is a forum for ensuring the police and Customs work together effectively and is producing results. It has scoped out the scale of the organised crime problem in Northern Ireland and published a threat assessment in March. This identified that about half of the organised crime groups in Northern Ireland have links to paramilitary organisations: there is no reluctance



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE



to expose the extent of their involvement. As a direct result of Task Force activity, Customs and RUC liaison is at an all time high and increasingly sophisticated joint operations are underway.

4. Against that background, my preference would be to build on the work of the Task Force, and the very good levels of co-operation between the police and Customs. I am already looking into the possibility of providing some additional funding to assist the police with tackling organised crime. My aim would be to increase the RUC's investigative effectiveness in the area of interest to Trimble, namely paramilitary/organised crime finance. I will want a clear understanding with the RUC of the results to be achieved on the back of any additional funding.

5. I appreciate that a study or commission could have some attractions if we need to find new ways to help Trimble. But my assessment is that, a study or commission is unlikely to add value to the work which is already in hand. I am mindful of the need to continue to keep the work of the Task Force, and the agencies, in the public eye, and will be looking at additional ways to publicise our work on the back of David Blunkett's forthcoming announcements.

### **Sentences Act**

6. I have considered from all angles the possible changes which could be made to the Sentences Act to amend the threshold for recall of early release prisoners. A range of options were put to me and I have considered these in detail. Each of the options raised significant, and potentially dangerous, political handling issues with the parties here. Most of the options also raise very real legal problems, including Convention issues. I concluded that the balance lies against amending the

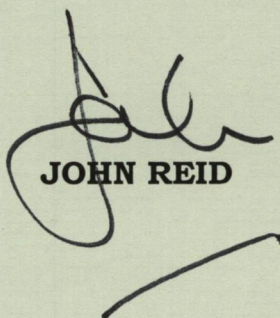






threshold for recall, but I have asked officials to continue to consider this and to put to me any new ideas which emerge.

7. At this time, I see more merit in focusing on the ways in which we will benefit from the legislative package being put together by David Blunkett. Some very useful amendments to the Terrorism Act finance provisions are planned and I am writing separately to David to offer my support on one or two other measures he is considering.



**JOHN REID**



FROM: PS/Secretary of State (B)  
15 October 2001

✓ No  
cc: MT  
DM

cc: See Distribution List

Mr Jeffrey - O

**SECRETARY OF STATE'S TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
GERRY ADAMS, SATURDAY 13 OCTOBER 2001**

The Secretary of State had a conference call with Gerry Adams and you on Saturday morning. The call was arranged at Adams' request and was (he said) to give the Secretary of State the "heads up" on where things stood with "words"; he also raised the "Westminster facilities" letter.

**Detail**

2. Adams, calling from Yorkshire, said he'd spoken with McGuinness and while there had been some good work done (on "words") with Sir Reg, who had seemed content, the text now coming back represented a claw back. Adams guessed Trimble had got involved. He said he would try to talk to Trimble soon - perhaps even see him - but he would, of course, tread very carefully. He then raised the "Westminster facilities" letter.

3. The Secretary of State said that as far as the text was concerned, the Government had been through it with care; it was now over to Trimble and Sir Reg. He added he'd now been briefed on the two points McGuinness had raised in respect of the letter. He was happy to accommodate the first, namely that the letter should refer to no context other than the Prime Minister's previous letters. McGuinness' second point had been to do with the Government implementing the GSA; the Secretary of State said he would take this on board also, if necessary, though he would want to include a reference to the parties. On that basis, Adams indicated he was content for you and McGuinness to continue to work to finalise things on the letter.



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4. You then alerted Adams to the fact that Trimble was planning to travel to the US and would not be back until Wednesday. We assumed – but couldn't be sure – he would make an announcement about Ministerial resignations on his return. Adams hadn't known Trimble planned to be out of the country; he said he might try to catch him before he leaves.

5. The Secretary of State said he would have to act within a few days of the resignations, so we needed a "result" as soon as possible. Adams said he would appreciate as much space as the Secretary of State could reasonably give. He planned to see McGuinness on Saturday evening and as far as the "words" were concerned, he would revert only if something of consequence arose. On the bigger picture, he'd stay in touch and give as much advanced notice as possible of significant developments.

Signed

**SARAH TODD**  
Private Secretary  
☎ 28111

cc: PS/Secretary of State (B&L) – O  
PS/Ms Kennedy (B&L) – O  
PS/Mr Browne (B&L) – O  
PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (B&L) –O  
Mr Watkins - O  
Mr Alston – O  
Mr Fittall – O  
Mr Stephens – O  
Mr Powell, No.10 – E



**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
15 October 2001  
BJ/MR/98

JP  
RL  
GCMT  
DM  
JK

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&amp;B)

cc Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Stephens  
Mr Hannigan  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

**TEXTS FOR SINN FÉIN**

This is to confirm that, after consulting the Secretary of State and Jonathan Powell, I spoke to Martin McGuinness on Saturday morning. I told him that:

- we could accept the deletion of the words "do all that we can to" in the main text, with the addition of a reference to the parties;
- we could accept his revised form of words for the first paragraph of the letter on Commons facilities, provided the beginning of the second paragraph was amended to read, "I can also confirm that we are now prepared ...", and on the understanding that the letter would not be signed until after the IICD report had been received.

I **attach** copies of both texts in what I hope is now their final form.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

DRAFT  
15 October

**BRITISH GOVERNMENT LINES**

- The Government warmly welcomes today's report from the IICD verifying that the IRA has [reiterate words of IICD Report].
- This is an unprecedented and genuinely historic move, which greatly enhances the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland and for the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. In particular, we can and must now see the full, stable and uninterrupted operation of the political institutions – the Assembly, the Executive, the North South Ministerial Council and the British Irish Council – which are the democratic core of the Agreement.
- All participants in the Good Friday Agreement committed themselves to the total disarmament of all paramilitary organisations. The terms of the Agreement on the issue of decommissioning are clear, unambiguous and binding on all parties to it. The IRA's move represents by far the most significant progress in the resolution of the arms issue. All paramilitary groups need now to play their part to build on this progress.
- Together with the Irish Government and the parties, we will implement fully the Good Friday Agreement, including through the proposals which the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach made after the Weston Park discussions. This includes:

further progress in implementing the Agreement's provisions on human rights and equality;

Today's report  
reinforces &  
confirms the  
Govt's view  
that it is  
only through  
the IICD  
that the  
putting of  
paramilitary arms  
beyond use can  
be achieved.

- the implementation of the Patten report, including through a review of the new arrangements and the introduction of legislation to amend the Police Act 2000 to reflect more fully the Patten recommendations and ensure the achievement of the new beginning in policing as set out in the Agreement;
  - the implementation of the Criminal Justice Review, so that the criminal justice system has the confidence of all parts of the community and delivers justice efficiently and effectively through a fair and impartial system which encourages community involvement where appropriate. The Government strongly endorses the recommendation in the Criminal Justice Review that a core objective throughout the criminal justice system should be to develop a workforce which is broadly reflective of the community in Northern Ireland;
  - a progressive rolling programme reducing levels of troops and installations, as the security situation improves;
  - such steps as are necessary as soon as possible and in any event by March 2002, to resolve the issue about supporters of organisations now on ceasefire against whom there are outstanding prosecutions, and in some cases extradition proceedings, for offences committed before 10 April 1998.
- We are grateful to the IICD for their patient work to discharge their important responsibilities under the terms of the Agreement and to secure the putting of all paramilitary arms beyond use.

DRAFT LETTER FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER – as soon as an early IICD Report on the lines discussed has been received

Gerry Adams MP  
President  
Sinn Féin  
51/55 Falls Road  
BELFAST  
BT12 4PD

ID.98b  
October 2001

In relation to the question of providing facilities at Westminster for Sinn Féin MPs I confirm my commitment on this matter as set out in my letters of 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> November 1999.

I can also confirm that we are now prepared, as soon as possible and in any event before the end of the year, to bring the necessary motion before the House of Commons and recommend that the House agree to provide facilities for the four Sinn Féin elected representatives.

TONY BLAIR

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
15 October 2001  
BJ/MR/97

✓ JPO  
cc DM  
MT  
TK

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&amp;B)

cc Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Stephens  
Ms Bharucha  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

### CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT AHTISAARI

I spoke to President Ahtisaari (who was in Belgrade) late on Friday afternoon. I rang on the pretext of bringing him up to date, but largely – as he must have guessed – to find out about his and Cyril Ramaphosa's dealings with the Provisionals.

2. I told him about the exchange of texts with Sinn Féin, and the likely timing of the resignation of unionist Ministers, after which we would be driven, within days, to suspend the institutions. From what Adams himself had told us, we thought he and McGuinness were in the process of consulting the IRA about an act of decommissioning. It was unclear whether this could happen quickly enough to save the day.

3. Ahtisaari volunteered that he and Ramaphosa had had a long meeting with Adams in Capetown. His sense from this was that Adams was mainly concerned about the institutions being constantly under threat. If we could persuade Trimble to hold them together, Sinn Féin recognised that their concerns on policing, demilitarisation etc. could be addressed in slower time. It was very important to have the institutions functioning, because it would provide a context in which Sinn Féin's remaining concerns could be addressed.



## CONFIDENTIAL

4. I said that our recent discussions with Sinn Féin had covered the question of the stability of the institutions after an act of decommissioning. Trimble had also exchanged texts with Adams. I hoped the words both we and Trimble had said we would be willing to use would reassure Sinn Féin. Adams had been arguing that we should deprive ourselves of the power ever to suspend the operation of the institutions, but we could not tie our hands to that extent, since ultimately the British Government was responsible for orderly government if cross-community government collapsed.
5. Ahtisaari said that he and Ramaphosa had offered this weekend as a possible date for a meeting with "the other guys" (by which I took him to mean the IRA), but it had been postponed. He was travelling for most of this week, but would be back in Europe on 22 October. I asked whether the suggestion was that he and Ramaphosa should be involved in witnessing any act of decommissioning. Ahtisaari replied that it would depend on what it involved. If it involved the dumps that he and Ramaphosa had already inspected, it might make sense for it to be "handled in the same spirit", but he and Ramaphosa had made it clear that if the IRA wanted to deal direct with the IICD, they would be the last to oppose it.
6. I said that our understanding was that the IRA had agreed with de Chastelain that the Commission would be present for any act. Was the suggestion that it would not take place until the week beginning 22 October when Ahtisaari and Ramaphosa would be available? Ahtisaari said that he had no details of what had been discussed with the IICD. The meeting to which he had referred earlier would be another brainstorming session, not "the thing itself". He did not know when that would take place. If it was earlier, good and well.

## CONFIDENTIAL

7. We exchanged mobile telephone numbers and agreed to keep in touch.

Comment

8. All very confusing. Ahtisaari's line of approach suggests that he and Ramaphosa had a good going over from Adams in Capetown about how disastrous it would be if the institutions were suspended. He reverted once or twice to the point and to the argument – as if it was a concession from Sinn Féin – that, with the institutions secure, their concerns about policing and demilitarisation could be pursued more slowly. Unless he has been sworn to secrecy and was being less than frank about his and Ramaphosa's next meeting with the IRA (which I doubt), his comments suggest that I at least have been misreading some recent intelligence, and that the situation is even more fluid than we had thought.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

206/15

14 October

~~Dear Michael,~~

I did not think I could very well reply directly to the Prime Minister for his most generous letter of 5 October, but I did want to let you know how very much it was appreciated.

The letter was quite unexpected. It arrived just before one of our weekly Team meetings, which unfortunately I could not attend. So it was circulated to all members of the Team there and then. I know it meant an awful lot both to them and to our families, especially having been written at what must be a terribly busy time for you. It also gives us great encouragement for the next stages – there is a good deal more to come on Northern Ireland policing issues, I fear!

If you ever have a chance to pass our sincere thanks for his thoughtfulness on to the Prime Minister, I would be most grateful.

Yours sincerely,

Robin Masefield

Robin Masefield

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If you ever have a chance to pass our sincere thanks for his thoughtfulness on to the Prime Minister, I would be most grateful.

Robin Masfield



**FACSIMILE FROM THE LONDON OFFICE OF  
BILL JEFFREY  
POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
11 MILLBANK  
LONDON SW1P 4QE**

TELEPHONE NO: 020 7210 - 6467 / 0849  
FAX NO: 020 7210 - 6479  
\* BRENT FAX NO: 020 7210 - 0843  
\* [Please phone first before sending Brent Fax]

*Pass*  
*To see. This*  
*would follow*  
*decanising - 2*  
*Feb 16 11 30 AM*

TO: Mr Powell  
FROM: Mr Jeffrey  
SUBJECT: Draft letter  
REFERENCE ID: \_\_\_\_\_  
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Fax sent on 12/10 at 17:00. By Manya

NUMBER OF PAGES

1 + 1

DRAFT LETTER FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER - as soon as an early IICD Report on the lines discussed has been received

Gerry Adams MP  
President  
Sinn Féin  
51-55 Falls Road  
BELFAST  
BT12 4PD

FAO Bill JERRARD

4-30  
JFM  
12/10/01

ID.96a  
October 2001

In relation to the question of providing facilities at Westminster ~~for~~ for Sinn Féin MPs I confirm my commitment on this matter as set out in my letters of 5/6 November 1999. ~~You asked whether, in the new context created by the IICD report that the IRA has funds from the IICD report, it would become possible for facilities to be provided at Westminster for Sinn Féin MPs.~~

I can confirm that, ~~in this context~~, we are prepared, as soon as possible and in any event before the end of the year, to bring the necessary motion before the House of Commons and recommend that the House agree to provide facilities for the four Sinn Féin elected representatives.

TONY BLAIR

cc PS/SJS  
Mr Fitzall  
Mr Powell NID (fax)

FAO for attention of Arden MacArthur  
01890-22043

ID.96a-12.10.2001

it and is private

This is Martin McManis' redraft. The letter of 5 November 1999 commits the PM only to raise the matter with the Speaker and - if she saw difficulties - to look at other ways of achieving the same end. I am trying to track down the letter of 6 November, but have a feeling it went further. Provided the letter goes after the IICD report I think we can meet the spirit of McManis' changes.  
Paul J. [Signature]  
12/10

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
12 October 2001  
BJ/MR/95

JPO  
✓  
cc: MM  
DM  
TK

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&B)

cc Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Ms O'Mara  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL DE CHASTELAIN

I touched based with General de Chastelain earlier today.

2. I told him where we had got to in our discussions with Sinn Féin, and in particular what Adams had said – such as it was – about timing. We had made it clear that, if the IRA wanted to decommission before suspension, they would need to do so before the end of next week.

3. De Chastelain said that he was due to have another meeting with the IRA representative before he left for Canada on Wednesday. As he had told William Fittall, the last meeting had left him with the impression that the IRA were going to decommission, but that they were not going to do so soon. That remained his view. The Irish had told him to expect Adams to be in touch earlier this week. This had not happened, he understood because Sinn Féin were still in discussion with us.

4. I said that Jonathan Powell and I had met Trimble this morning. He had been in reasonably good heart, and would want to be positive about any actual act of decommissioning. But he had been very concerned about the prospect that de Chastelain would be able to say nothing about the methodology. This would give his opponents a field day.

5. De Chastelain said that he was aware of the problem of lack of transparency from earlier discussions with Trimble. He had raised it with the IRA representative on the day after modalities had been agreed, but had been told unequivocally that the

IRA would have internal difficulties if the method was publicised. De Chastelain had, however, insisted on three things:

- the Commission had to see the deed done for themselves;
- they had to be able to take an inventory of the weapons put beyond use, which they would make available to the two Governments in due course;
- they had to be convinced that the action taken did indeed fall within their statutory remit, i.e. that it involved weapons being put beyond use by being made permanently inaccessible or permanently unusable.

As far as he was concerned, these three points would also feature in any report to the two Governments. The Commission would say something to the effect that they had personally witnessed an event in which a significant number of arms had been put beyond use in accordance with their statutory mandate, i.e. permanently unusable or permanently inaccessible, and had taken an inventory which they would make available to the two Governments.

6. I said that, if nothing could be said about the methodology, it would be very important that the language used to describe the types and quantity of arms put beyond use should be as impressive as possible. Otherwise it would not run with unionists. I had heard talk of a phrase such as "sufficient to sustain a one or two year terrorist campaign", which might do. This would, of course, depend on the quantities involved being genuinely significant and meeting the Commission's requirements. De Chastelain said that the IRA representative had assured him that the IRA would not go to the trouble of taking them to see something that did not meet their requirements. He took the point about language, without saying that he would necessarily be able to act on it.

7. De Chastelain is, for the moment, holding to his plan to travel on Wednesday. He is not due to return until 25 October, but could easily be back by Friday if required. I did not press him on these plans, because I am sure he will change them if



his next meeting with the IRA representative suggests that things are on the move. He will let me know how that meeting goes.

*[Bill Jeffrey]*

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

**CONFIDENTIAL**

FROM: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
CASTLE BUILDINGS  
BELFAST BT4 3SG

*Rec 15/10*

*file*

Michael Tatham Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 1AA

*14/10  
EST/K*

*Rec'd by Paul? Yes*

12 October 2001

*Dear Michael,*

**SPECIFICATION OF THE UDA AND LVF**

We spoke earlier today about the Secretary of State's decision to specify the UDA and LVF with effect from midnight tonight. The Secretary of State plans to announce the decision by means of a press conference in Hillsborough Castle at 5.00 pm this evening.

I enclose a copy of the Secretary of State's statement and the draft press release and supporting Q&A material.

Robert Hannigan is in touch separately with Tom Kelly about handling the announcement in the media.

*Yours ever,*

*Paul*

**PAUL PRIESTLY**  
Principal Private Secretary



Press Statement on Loyalist violence by the  
Secretary of State

Two weeks ago today I announced that the scale, level, pattern and nature of violence by the UDA and UFF had led me to conclude that their ceasefire was over and that they should be specified.

At the last minute I was told that a decision had been taken at the highest level of the UDA to call a halt to that violence.

As I said at the time, I was sceptical about that assurance but I was prepared to put the UDA's **actions** – not their words – to the test. I said that I would be watching them **every day and every night**; that I would not hesitate to go ahead with specification if I had evidence of any further UDA violence.

I – along with everyone in Northern Ireland – put the UDA to the test. **Last night they failed that test.**

The Chief Constable has given me clear evidence to show that the UDA have continued to plan and engage in acts of violence against individuals, families, and police officers. They have actively fomented sectarian hatred. Following an arrest last night there was serious violence - which was clearly orchestrated by the UDA and UFF - involving the use of pipe bombs and petrol bombs.

They have systematically breached their ceasefire and **the patience of the people of Northern Ireland has run out.**

As you will know, I keep all the paramilitary ceasefires under constant review. In recent months I have become increasingly concerned about the state of the LVF ceasefire.

The briefings I have received have convinced me that the level and nature of their violence has also reached a stage where they can no longer be said to be on ceasefire. Although I cannot comment on the details of an active police investigation, I have clear information indicating the involvement of the LVF in the despicable murder of Martin O'Hagan.

**I have therefore decided to specify the LVF today.**

Two weeks ago I said that I was sending a wake-up call to those who think they can drag Northern Ireland back into chaos, violence and sectarian hatred. These organisations are deaf to that call, blind to the misery they cause, and consumed by the power of their own corruption.

They show contempt for the people of all communities in Northern Ireland – people who want peace for their families. They show contempt for democracy, for decency, for all that is good in Northern Ireland.

**They seem determined to spurn the opportunity – given to them by the people – to make the transition from violence to democracy.**

I cannot pretend to you that specifying these organisations will change their behaviour, or soften their vicious hatred, or change their warped view of reality. They may lash out and flaunt their immorality and their contempt for the law. But there is a limit to society's tolerance and that limit has now been reached.

As I said two weeks ago, specification is not a magic formula. The struggle to rid Northern Ireland of terror and gangsterism will be a long one. It will involve every one of us – not just the security forces – in rooting out and isolating those who cling to violence.

But the people of Northern Ireland are equal to that task. **They long to see the end of the hoodlum sub-culture on their streets.** They will see a better society for their children, however long it takes. They voted for that future and for an end to violence in the referendum on the Good Friday Agreement.

So the action I am taking today sends a clear message from society: **terrorism belongs to the past.** The people of Northern Ireland are saying to the thugs, gangsters, and self-appointed generals:

**“We reject you - you do not speak for us; you represent nothing but darkness, and hatred.**

**“We have given you the opportunity to change. Take it and you can be part of the future; reject it and every element of this society, every power of government, will unite to consign you to the past”.**



**D R A F T**

**PREE RELEASE**

**GOVERNMENT SPECIFIES UDA, UFF AND LVF**

The Government has concluded, in the wake of recent attacks, that the UDA, UFF and LVF are no longer maintaining their ceasefires. They will therefore be specified from midnight tonight.

Announcing this decision, the Secretary of State, the Rt Hon Dr John Reid MP, said:

“The UDA and UFF have undoubtedly been responsible for recent attacks, notably in Belfast last night. I warned them in stringent terms on 28 September that any further violence would cause me to specify them without further warning.

“I have also assessed the actions of the LVF over the recent period, taking account of the murder of Marty O’Hagan two weeks ago, and have concluded that they are no longer maintaining a ceasefire.

“The attacks by these organisations are incompatible with any claims to be on ceasefire. Society cannot tolerate these actions. The result is that early released prisoners associated with the UDA, UFF and LVF can now have their licences suspended and be returned to jail if they are believed to continue to support their organisation; the provisions now embodied in the Terrorism Act 2000 relating to charges of membership introduced originally after the Omagh bombing in 1998 will also apply to all three organisations; and any UDA, UFF or LVF person found guilty of a scheduled offence that took place before the Good Friday Agreement cannot qualify for early release provisions.”



NOTE

The Real IRA, Continuity IRA, Red Hand Defenders and Orange Volunteers are already specified. There is no change in their position; nor in that of other proscribed organisations not already specified.

**Q & A ON SPECIFICATION FOR UDA/UFF AND LVF**

**Q. Why have you waited until now to specify the UDA/UFF and LVF?**

A. I am obliged, under the terms of the Northern Ireland Sentences Act, to keep the status of all paramilitary organisations under review and do so. I need to reach a judgement, taking account of the specific terms of the legislation and other relevant factors, as to the status of any organisation's ceasefire. Whatever the public belief about the status of the ceasefires, I need to be assured that any decision I take meets the criteria the courts would apply.

I warned the UDA/UFF two weeks ago that I would specify them without further warning in the event of further violence. The UDA/UFF were clearly involved in serious violence in Belfast last night. The LVF were involved in murdering Marty O'Hagan as well as other acts of terrorism. So I am acting now.

**Q. Aren't you just knee-jerking because of the clamour from nationalists and republicans to act against the UDA/UFF and LVF?**

A. No. I have taken advice from the Chief Constable and others and have come to this judgement based on an objective consideration of all the available information. I believe this is the right and proper action to take at this time.

**Q. What evidence have you been given by the Chief Constable concerning the UDA/UFF?**

A. I had asked the Chief Constable to keep this organisation under constant review. He has fully briefed me on its activities. I am not prepared to disclose the details of the information the Chief Constable has provided but I am fully satisfied that it is right to specify the organisation.

**Q. Is it right to tar the whole organisation with the same brush? Should you not only specify those elements responsible for violence?**

A. It is neither legally nor practically possible to be selective in terms of specifying any particular part of an organisation. Given the run of events in relation to the UDA/UFF there comes a point when a collective responsibility has to be borne by the whole organisation for the actions of many. In terms of the UDA/UFF that point has been reached.

**Q. Should you not have acted sooner/given the organisation more time to mend its ways?**

A. I have reached this judgement after the most careful consideration. It would have been wrong either to have taken any precipitate decision or to have prevaricated in light of the information available to me. Government has consistently let it be known that the status of ceasefires is kept under continuous review. In recent times that maxim has been very publicly and explicitly directed at the UDA/UFF. It was heeded initially but has, sadly, been disregarded subsequently.

**Q. If the Chief Constable has evidence why is he not making arrests?**

A. This is a matter for the Chief Constable.

**Q. What evidence have you against the LVF?**

A. They have been involved in a number of terrorist incidents in recent months, and especially in O'Hagan's murder.

**Q. But O'Hagan's murder was two weeks ago?**

A. I have to make a careful assessment of the activities of the organisation as a whole. But clearly O'Hagan's murder weighed heavily with me.

**Q. Surely the IRA [and UVF] were as involved in the recent violence as the UDA/UFF and LVF?**

A. I have taken into account the actions of the UDA/UFF and the LVF over many weeks, not just the last few days, and concluded that their scale, level and pattern are at a distinctly different level from other organisations.

**Q. What are the implications of this decision for the UDA/UFF and LVF?**

A. First and foremost the UDA/UFF leadership will need to consider very carefully what they are about and where they think they are going. The UDA/UFF seem to be organisations spinning out of control into a Mafia and sectarian sub-culture.

The LVF leadership similarly needs to think carefully about its activities.

Early released prisoners associated with the UDA/UFF and LVF can now be re-arrested if they support that organisation; the membership charge provisions introduced post-Omagh now apply to UDA/UFF and LVF personnel; and their members found guilty of a terrorist offence committed before 10 April 1998 cannot benefit from early release arrangements.

**Q. Won't this decision be counterproductive and simply further alienate the UDA/UFF and Loyalism in general?**

A. I do not think this is the case. There will always be a hard core element who will act negatively but I believe many will think carefully about their future action, the consequences of those actions for all, including themselves and their own communities, and will take stock.

**Q. What are the implications of specification for individual members of the UDA/UFF and LVF?**

A. There are potentially serious implications for the UDA and LVF membership, particularly those released under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement.

Of course any individual found in breach of the law will be subjected to the full rigour of the law but with particular reference to specification, those UDA/UFF and LVF prisoners released under the Good Friday Agreement could be liable to be returned to prison. Also liable to post-Omagh membership provisions and no early release if found guilty of pre-GFA offences.

**Q. Will prisoners released under the Good Friday Agreement simply be rounded up and returned to prison?**

A. There is no intention to "round up" released prisoners. Each and every case has to be considered on its merits. I believe that many of those individuals have mended their ways and disassociated themselves from the current acts of the UDA/UFF and LVF.

Where there is evidence of involvement by any individuals through continuing to support the organisation then, yes, they will be returned to serve any remaining sentence.

**Q. Now that the UDA/UFF and LVF have been specified can they be de-specified?**

A. Yes, that is possible. That can come about if the organisation clearly demonstrates by word and by deed that it is once again maintaining a complete and unequivocal ceasefire. It would be a matter for the organisation's leadership to make that demonstrably clear and I am not going to be prescriptive at this stage. The UDA/UFF have shown in recent weeks they can control the level of violence. A lasting and reliable cessation would be a development which would be welcomed by all.

**Q. What are the implications for other organisations on ceasefire?**

A. I have not looked at the UDA/UFF and LVF in isolation. I have undertaken a comprehensive review of all organisations currently on ceasefire but it is my judgement that only the UDA/UFF and LVF ceasefire has broken down.

**Q. Is there not prima facie evidence to suggest that the UVF and PIRA have returned to violence?**

A. I reiterate the point that the status of all ceasefires is kept under continuous review. I say it plainly and without equivocation and ask that all those other organisations and their political spokespeople take heed.

**Q. Surely the Colombian connection puts the seal on PIRA's continuing involvement in terrorism?**

A. The apparent Colombian connection is understandably a worrying development, as commentators across the world have recognised. But we need to await the full outworking of the judicial process in Colombia.

**Q. But the UVF have been revealed to be responsible for the Ballycastle device which could have killed large numbers?**

A. Appalling as that incident was, there is no indication it was authorised or in any way sanctioned by the leadership. It has been disavowed, including by the PUP leadership.

**Q. What are the implications for the Good Friday Agreement?**

A. The Good Friday Agreement is about the democratic process working for the benefit of all right-thinking people in Northern Ireland. It is not a safe haven for thugs and unreconstructed terrorists who have no rightful place in normal civil society.

**Q. If you're not specifying PIRA, how can Government claim to be part of international solidarity against terrorism?**

A. We act where we have firm enough grounds for doing so. Today's decision is evidence of our determination to bear down on terrorism, not the reverse.



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

12 October 2001

Dear Paul

### MEETING WITH UUP

David Trimble and David Campbell called on No 10 this morning for a meeting with Jonathan Powell, Bill Jeffrey and me.

Jonathan jokingly chided Trimble for his criticisms of the Prime Minister in his speech to the Conservative Party Conference. Trimble claimed the language about the Prime Minister taking his eye off the ball was a reference not to the present, but to 1998-99 when Mo Mowlam was Secretary of State.

The discussion moved on to decommissioning. Jonathan said we were more confident now that something would happen on this front. The question was whether this would be before or after suspension. In the meantime Sinn Fein were indulging in their habitual last-minute chiseling. We were offering them warm words but nothing beyond Weston Park in substance. Bill Jeffrey said Adams was being vague on timing (talking about the need to prepare the IRA membership and to sort out the logistics). We were telling Sinn Fein in terms that action was needed next week if they wanted to forestall suspension. Trimble said he would be back from Washington on Wednesday morning and, absent any move by the IRA, he intended to pull out his Ministers on Wednesday lunchtime. He hoped we would then suspend no later than Friday in order to minimise the period during which there were just nationalist politicians in the Executive. We indicated we might want to preserve a degree of flexibility about the timing of suspension.

Trimble said it was vital that any IICD statement provided an adequate explanation of the methodology of decommissioning. There would be plenty of people, notably Burnside, aiming to discount any move by the IRA. Bill Jeffrey said he expected an IICD statement to be clear that the statutory remit for decommissioning had been fulfilled; that the IICD had been present during the act; and that significant quantities of weapons had been put beyond use. But his



impression of de Chastelain's understanding with the IRA was that the statement would not go into much detail on how decommissioning had been carried out. Trimble said that the IRA were deliberately handling things in this way so as to damage the UUP. De Chastelain should not play along with this.

Trimble thought there was a good chance of securing FM/DFM reelection in the context of decommissioning (he also expected Durkan to replace Mallon, once formally elected as leader). On the unionist side, he could only count on 28 votes, possibly 29 but not 30. There was however a fair chance that not every anti vote would be cast. Some of the smaller loyalist parties would not be wanting to face fresh elections. If there was a problem with reelection, Trimble's preferred way round it was redesignation. There were two possible candidates for this (although only one might be needed). He implied that a further temporary suspension would be necessary to get round the 30 day notice requirement for redesignation. Bill Jeffrey said a further suspension would be extremely difficult. But the UUP and SDLP together could probably amend that section of the Assembly standing orders dealing with this point. Trimble acknowledged this might be an easier route.

Yours ever



MICHAEL TATHAM

Paul Priestly  
NIO

● Top papers with the  
Prime Minister

Date

15/10

Rep Empey

→ OCO 115

**Michael Tatham**

---

**From:** Hewitt MPST [MPST.Hewitt@dti.gsi.gov.uk]  
**Sent:** 11 October 2001 16:21  
**To:** 'mtatham@no10.x.gsi.gov.uk'  
**Subject:** Reply to Reg Empey - Shorts

Michael

Please find below our suggested response to the letters from Reg Empey regarding Shorts - cleared by Patricia.

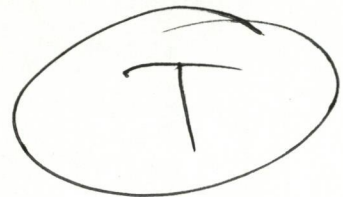
Patricia has also received a letter urging support from John Reid and is hoping to speak to him on this matter today.

She will be writing to the Chancellor later today requesting his approval for ECGD support under Account 3.

Susannah Johnson

---

**SUGGESTED RESPONSE FROM PRIME MINISTER  
TO SIR REG EMPEY'S LETTER DATED 3<sup>RD</sup> OCTOBER**



Thank you for writing to me again on this issue. I understand and share your concerns about the severe problems facing Shorts and the implications for Northern Ireland.

I am pleased that detailed discussions between the company and government officials have moved forward rapidly since its initial approach.

Patricia Hewitt and John Reid are taking a close interest in Bombardier's proposals and are in discussion with colleagues about them. There would be considerable cost implications for the Government, so Bombardier's proposals will require very careful consideration but I appreciate the timescales dictate an urgent decision on these issues.

RESTRICTED

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
11 October 2001  
BJ/MR/91

f  
MJ  
cc: JPB  
TK

MR MACCABE

cc PS/Secretary of State(L&B)  
PS/Ms Kennedy(L&B)  
PS/Mr Browne(L&B)  
Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Hannigan  
Ms O'Mara  
Ms Bharucha  
Mr Perry  
Mr Waterworth  
Mr Tatham No.10-Fax  
Sir Ivor Roberts HMA(D)

## LOYALIST COMMISSION

I met David McNarry yesterday, at his invitation, for the promised briefing about the Loyalist Commission. As I half-expected, it boiled down to a request for money!

2. McNarry said that preparations for the Commission were close to being concluded. Its core membership would be six members of the UDA and six from the UVF, plus a number of others, mainly churchmen. These others were currently forming a co-ordinating committee, under the chairmanship of Mervyn Gibson, supported by a co-ordinator, Will Murphy, who seemed to be the main moving spirit. (Others he mentioned were Ann Carr, Sammy Douglas from East Belfast, David Porter, Tom Hart(?) from the Crumlin area and the Methodist, David Cooper.) Gibson would, in due course, be the chairman of the Commission. McNarry had been much involved in the preliminary discussions, as David Trimble's representative. The main loyalist politicians (Ervine, McMichael, etc.) were aware of what was going on, but did not seem to be closely involved. The DUP were never mentioned. There had been some quite

## RESTRICTED

hair-raising meetings with the UDA and the UVF, but they now seemed to be on board. Trimble had started off sceptical, but now thought it could work.

3. On what "it" was, McNarry said the following. The aim would be to redefine loyalism, and rebuilt confidence in loyalist committees, which had lost respect, legitimacy and integrity. Part of it was about healing the UDA/UVF feud. In the end it was to take the paramilitaries back into their communities, give them a sense of worth and wean them away from violence. The two paramilitary groups had produced papers with lists of grievances and concerns - community alienation, education, housing, inequalities in the funding of projects, bias in parades determinations, etc. - which would form the starting point for discussions in the Commission. In due course other unionist and loyalist parties and the Loyal Orders would be invited to participate. The only real concern of the co-ordinators was the current state of the UDA.

4. Finally, McNarry came to the question of funding. Trimble had been anxious to arrange a meeting of the co-ordinators with the Secretary of State to explore the scope for financial support for the co-ordinators. We could be assured that no such money would get into the hands of paramilitaries. They were thinking of a total of £25-30,000, £10,000 to fund a couple of part-time administrators seconded from community groups, £10,000 to engage the services of a public relations company to launch the thing properly, and the rest for "bit and bobs". Premises had been identified in the Shankill Road (the former EPIC offices).

5. I said that, at the most general level, I thought our Ministers would want to welcome the development, assuming it had Trimble's support, on the basis that it was desirable to have a forum in which loyalist concerns could be discussed, and better to talk about these things than to engage in terrorism. I shared his concern about the UDA. The Secretary of State

## RESTRICTED

had come very close to specifying them a week or so ago, and it would not take much to tip the balance in favour of specification. It had to be understood that the Secretary of State would continue to judge these issues on their merits. (McNarry readily agreed.) If Trimble wanted a meeting, I thought one could be set up, but I would be happy to arrange for the funding issue to be considered within the NIO. Was there any possibility of the Executive finding at least some of the money? McNarry said that in Trimble's view it would be more appropriate for the NIO.

6. Without my necessarily accepting that, we left things on the basis that we would think further and get back to McNarry. I would be grateful if you could consider this, consulting OFM/DFM and others within the office. We would need to consult Ministers before going any further, and to have a much more detailed case than McNarry put to me. I told him that I would be asking you to carry this forward so he wouldn't be surprised to hear from you.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
11 October 2001  
BJ/MR/90

JPO  
cc: MT  
TK

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&amp;B)

cc Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Maccabe  
Mr Stephens  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

## MEETING WITH SIR REG EMPEY AND DAVID CAMPBELL

I met Reg Empey and David Campbell at Parliament Buildings yesterday afternoon. The points worth noting from a generally friendly conversation are:

- Empey gave me his draft of what Trimble might say in response to an act of decommissioning (already copied to you and a few recipients of this note), which he cleared with David Trimble and sent to Gerry Kelly while I was there. I said that it struck me as being on the right lines, but offered the thought that it could be more explicit on Trimble's intention in future to nominate the relevant Minister for North South meetings. Empey noted this, but said his text was in fact quite close to what Sinn Féin were asking for. Trimble would be reluctant to say anything that would leave the Executive unrepresented if the DUP continued their boycott. We agreed to wait and see how Sinn Féin reacted to the current text.
  
- I declined to return the favour, saying that our text was still work in progress, but I emphasised that we had conceded

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

nothing to Sinn Féin beyond Weston Park, and – as the Secretary of State had with Trimble on Tuesday evening – that we had explicitly rejected legislative demands on North South representation and powers of suspension. Empey was clearly quite suspicious of what we might be up to, and keen to see our text as soon as possible. I think I allayed his fears largely if not completely. He was clear that if we did go beyond Weston Park it would be a break point for him. In the present context, he thought the OTRs concession would be exceptionally difficult, and the UUP would denounce it. I said that sadly we didn't have that luxury, but we did feel committed by Weston Park on OTRs, and would follow through if the IRA did the business.

- Empey thought that, if the IRA did deliver, Trimble would be able to carry the day without a Council meeting. If they didn't, there would be no appetite for even trying, and he personally would be out of it.
  
- Trimble is planning to announce UUP Ministerial resignations next Wednesday. I said that we would expect to suspend the institutions quite soon after that. There might be a bit more wiggle room, because there was a week during which Ministers could be re-nominated before d'Hondt had to be run; but we had left Sinn Féin with the clear impression that, to get in before suspension, the IRA would need to act during the course of next week. Empey did not react as adversely to this as Trimble might have. But he did comment that there were good government considerations in favour of early suspension. There would be no Executive meeting this week. Collective decision-making had already effectively ended. Even before the exclusion motion failed, Mallon had become detached. I said



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that we completely agreed that the position was not sustainable for long.

- Campbell said that, if decommissioning did happen, Trimble would still have work to do, and needed something to even up the balance. Their proposal on Coats of Arms at courthouses was a reasonable compromise, which we should accept. Burnside had recently sent an 8 or 9-page paper on policing to every member of the UU Council.
- Trimble is going to Washington on Saturday, and will not be back for the best part of a week. Presumably he will announce the Ministerial resignations from there.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

**FROM: WILLIAM FITTALL**  
**Associate Political Director (L)**  
**11 October 2001**

✓ JPB  
—  
TLC  
TLC

PS/Secretary of State (L&B)

cc See Copy Distribution Below

**TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH DAVID TRIMBLE**

I attach, along the lines discussed, a possible script for the Secretary of State's planned telephone call with David Trimble this afternoon.

*William Fittall*

**WILLIAM FITTALL**  
**11 Millbank**  
**Ext 6469 (Fax: 6479)**  
**BRENT Fax 020 7210 0843**  
**email: [william.fittall@nio.x.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:william.fittall@nio.x.gsi.gov.uk)**

**Distribution List**

- PS/Ms Kennedy (L&B)
- PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (L&B)
- Mr Jeffrey
- Mr Watkins
- Miss O'Mara
- Mr Masefield
- Mr Powell, No 10

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**POINTS TO MAKE WITH DAVID TRIMBLE**

- Wanted to ring to **congratulate you on your Blackpool triumph**. High risk stuff upstaging party leaders on the day of their own speech – remember Mo!
- Bill has reported to me on the discussion he had with Reg Empey yesterday afternoon and he will be at the discussion which you and David Campbell are having with Jonathan Powell at No 10 tomorrow morning. It has been **hard pounding with Sinn Féin and it is still impossible to know where we are heading**. They are doing all the things you would expect to do if they were going to make a move, but they are also very good at stringing us along. What is your feel?
- We have been absolutely clear that we are going **up to Weston Park and no further**. We are prepared to stretch as far as we can over language but not over policy.
- On other fronts, plans are moving ahead for getting the Police Board up and running. Jane has met Rea and Bradley. Do not think it is in anyone's interest to hang around with this now that the three parties are ready to go, so I want the **Board to have its full range of powers by the start of November**. If we are into direct rule by then then I will simply re-appoint all the members.
- As we have said recently the **transition is inevitably going to be messy** given all the time that has been lost. We said in the implementation plan that "the new name will be introduced at the point when new recruits join the Police Service". That could be interpreted more than one way, but the natural meaning is when they arrive in early November. And the SDLP feel they will be too exposed if they are sitting on a Board which is supervising an organisation still called the RUC.
- So **I shall need to make the name change at the beginning of November**. But we shall make it clear that the practical transition thereafter will take some time. It would take many weeks to make all the changes required in forms, publications and around stations. There is car livery to be sorted out. Name plates on doors etc. And, crucially, existing officers will continue to wear **existing badges until the Board or I have resolved the new ones**. Absolutely no question of sending officers out on duty without proper badges.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

- I want to get on and make the **appointments to the Police Fund** soon as well. Not for passing on but I am hoping that **John Semple** (Former Head of the Northern Ireland Civil Service) will take on the chairmanship. We also intend to offer **Lord Rogan** a place on the Fund too.
- Discussions are continuing on the package for full time reserve. We are looking at some further enhancements around the re-training package. We are also going to fund the Police Rehabilitation and Re-training Trust to help provide advice, support and assistance to all FTR officers. The trainee regulations for the new recruits will include recognition of previous service in the full time reserve.
- I am still holding off on **the criminal justice review**, as you asked me to, even though this is causing increasing timetable problems for when we introduce the legislation. I accept that putting the draft bill and the plan out just at the moment might stir things up unhelpfully.
- Very grateful for the way you have given us a bit more time over the next few days. When are you due back from the USA? Let us stay in touch.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

FROM: BILL JEFFREY  
Political Director  
11 October 2001  
BJ/MR/92

*JP*  
*cc: MT*  
*TK.*

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE(L&amp;B)

cc Sir Joseph Pilling  
Mr Watkins  
Mr Alston  
Mr Fittall  
Mr Stephens  
Mr Powell No.10-Fax

## CALL FROM MARTIN McGUINNESS

McGuinness rang me this afternoon. He made four points:

- He wanted to confirm that the two changes to our text discussed at the last meeting (the deletion of "we have yet seen" and the amendment of the normalisation passage to read "as the security situation improves") were agreed by us. I confirmed that they were.
- He said that the issues of "the unionist veto and suspension" and the text on policing were not yet agreed and needed further work. I said that we had hoped that, after the hours of discussion in the last few days, the text was now effectively settled, even if Sinn Féin hadn't got all they wanted; but if he was telling me it wasn't, so be it.
- He suggested one further change – the deletion of "do all we can to" from the fourth paragraph, so that it would read "we will implement fully the Good Friday Agreement....". I took note of this, without commitment.

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**CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL**

- He reacted against the draft letter on Commons facilities. It was less forthcoming than earlier commitments from the Prime Minister, and needed to be rewritten. I said that the problem was that the commitment only stood if the IICD reported as we hoped they would, and did so soon. McGuinness said that it was understood on their side that everything depended on a positive IICD report. I asked whether, for present purposes, Sinn Féin would be content to receive a draft of the letter which the PM would send after the IICD had reported, which wouldn't need to be so circumscribed with conditions. McGuinness said he would be content with that. I promised to get something to him as soon as possible.

2. I attach a draft letter on the facilities point, which I will send to McGuinness if the Secretary of State and No.10 are content.

3. On McGuinness' drafting point, the problem is that full implementation is not just a matter for the Governments. We could get round this by amending the paragraph to read: "Together with the Irish Government and the parties, we will implement fully ....." If the Secretary of State agrees, I will give McGuinness this as well. I will do nothing to encourage him to expect further detailed discussions of the other stuff.

[Signed]

BILL JEFFREY  
11 Millbank ☎ 6447

**DRAFT LETTER FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER – as soon as an early IICD Report on the lines discussed has been received**

Gerry Adams MP  
President  
Sinn Féin  
51/55 Falls Road  
BELFAST  
BT12 4PD

ID.92a  
October 2001

You asked whether, in the new context created the IICD report that the IRA had [words from IICD report], it would become possible for facilities to be provided at Westminster for Sinn Féin MPs.

I can confirm that, in that context, we will, as soon as possible and in any event before the end of the year, bring the necessary motion before the House and recommend that it agree to provide facilities for the four Sinn Féin elected representatives.

**TONY BLAIR**

ID.92a

D. Dri

✓ James  
cheek!

Ex h Pen

See (hand) papers

**David Trimble: speech to Conservative Party Conference 10 October 2001**

May I thank you for the invitation to speak here today. I have always wanted to see Ulster Unionism closer to the heart of British politics. Today will mark a further step in that direction. I am also glad to see this invitation has been noticed elsewhere. I happened to be in Downing Street last week and someone said to me, "I see you're addressing the Tory Conference." I said that it was nothing odd, after all he had a guest at his. Indeed I remarked that his guest Gerhard Schroeder said he had come to the Labour conference as part of his quest to unite Europe. My object today, however, is much more modest.

"Obviously we meet at a very special time. May I say how proud I am at the contribution Britain is making at the moment. The attack on the World Trade Center was the greatest terrorist attack on the British people since the defeat of Hitler. It affected people from all parts of the British Isles - at least three of the dead came from Northern Ireland. We all know there may be greater challenges ahead for our armed forces and indeed for society here in Britain and our thoughts and prayers are with our servicemen and all those who protect us at home or abroad.

"But the Government today is doing precisely what we would want and expect a British government to do and it will be supported.

In a situation like this we know the need to act and act decisively even though, inescapably, one must act on imperfect information producing results that may fall short of the ideal.

"But if I can digress, Britain and America find it easier to act because they have governments capable of taking decisions. The hesitant and sometimes uncertain responses of our European partners are because in most cases they are governed by coalitions. Inevitably they are less capable of quick and resolute decision. And, of course, coalitions are the inevitable consequence of proportional representation. I have had experience of more than one form of proportional representation. But I must resist the temptation of telling you of the drawbacks of PR.

"But if the response to Bin Laden and the Taleban is clear-cut, unfortunately at home in Northern Ireland, the position is not so clear. The problem is uncertainty and the Government's reluctance to grasp the nettle.

"I still think John Major was right when he began the process. Whatever one might think of the character of those involved in terrorism, if they were saying that they were prepared to turn their back on terrorism and embrace peace and democracy, then, if only for the sake of the people who identified with them politically, it was right to explore the chance of peaceful evolution.



"The problem is that the terrorists have tried to have it both ways - the ballot box and the armalite. They have delayed a clear and unequivocal commitment to peace.

"We can all go back over the last few years and say we would have done this or that differently. But the point today is that I and my party are now bringing matters to a head in order to force Sinn Fein and the IRA to decide. We are not doing this cynically to exploit the mood after 11 September. We have been steadily, patiently, building the pressure since last October. On Monday we took the final steps, which will result, by about today week, in the resignation of the Unionist Ministers from the Northern Ireland Executive. This will be shortly followed by the removal therefrom of the Sinn Fein Ministers until they prove by decommissioning that they have left violence behind.

"We have waited a long time - three and a half years since the Agreement - seventeen months since the IRA itself promised to put their weapons beyond use. If they are ever going to do it, it must be now. If they do, fine. Then the new institutions will bed down. If they do not it will be clear that we must change the institutions so they can survive Sinn Fein's failure. There may be reluctance to make those changes, but the need will be inescapable.

"Either way I look forward to greater certainty and stability in Northern Ireland. But Northern Ireland does not exist in isolation. It is part of the United Kingdom. There is a wider context, which we should consider.

"So it is natural to consider our relationship with national politics. Because I am here, some have speculated that I am going to talk about future links between Conservatives and Ulster Unionists. And of course there was for a long time a structural relationship between our parties and there is a strong continuing friendship. But this is too big an issue to be approached simply in a sectional way. I would prefer to reflect first more broadly.

"There is a communal aspect to party structures in Ulster. This has some unfortunate consequences. Some who do not want a united Ireland will vote nationalist out of a perceived need for communal solidarity. On the other hand some opt out of politics completely because they dislike the communal background of most parties. Most Ulster Unionists would think of themselves as small "c" conservatives. But some would identify more with labour and are Unionist for communal reasons.

"Once it was different. In the nineteenth century, both the Liberal and Conservative parties organized throughout Ireland. In the early twentieth Labour too organized there. But in response to Irish nationalism those involved in those parties coalesced to form Ulster Unionism. It was understandable and for decades it gave us stability. But it has this disadvantage - politics in Northern Ireland are based on a nationalist

framework of reference. Parties are based on the fundamental issue of whether they are for or against a united Ireland.

"Compare Scotland. Parties there are based on a British framework of reference. The major British parties are there providing to the Scottish people the full range of British politics and then, alongside them there is a Scottish nationalist party. To a British person who wants to see and take part in British politics, the Scottish model is preferable to that we have in Northern Ireland.

"To its credit the Conservative Party has recognized this. Moreover it is important that the decision in the late 80s to organize in Northern Ireland was taken in response to pressure from the grassroots of the party. They felt, rightly, that some of the party's policies on Northern Ireland were wrong, and they wanted to send a message of sympathy to the British people of Ulster.

"But a move by Conservatives alone could not break the mold. If things are to change, if we are to move from a Irish nationalist to a British pluralist basis of politics, then we need two things.

"First all the national parties must move. I am sure that this party will do its bit. The problem is Labour. It too must be prepared to move. There is an element in Labour sympathetic to Irish nationalism who have resisted this. But they must realise that, with the acceptance by the Irish government and by all the Irish nationalist parties of the consent principle, their attitudes must change.

"If Tony Blair was right when, on his first visit to Ulster as Prime Minister in May 1997, he said to some primary school children, that there would not be a United Ireland in their lifetime, then Labour has a duty to provide political opportunities for those children throughout their lives. And Labour members with Irish nationalist sympathies should remember the considerable contribution to the positive development of community relations in Scotland that resulted from Wheatley's decision to take the Irish nationalist organization in Scotland into the Labour party there.

"The second thing concerns the party politics in Northern Ireland. Clearly it will be radically affected. I know there will be many in all parties, my own included who will be cautious. And we will not want to give up our capacity to exercise our own judgment on local issues. Moreover it is not until there is a sense of stability, a sense that Ulster's place within the Union is secure, that the Assembly and the new arrangements have bedded - not until all that is settled will folk focus fully on these wider issues.

"But I am sure that they will want to address these wider issues. I am sure that the basic concepts of the Agreement are sound - the consent principle to settle the

constitutional issue - a regional assembly to give democratic accountability on local issues - an Irish dimension to acknowledge the identity of nationalists.

"But more is needed. The Assembly is limited. It has to operate within the context of the overall economic and social policy of the national government. If the Assembly is all there is the people will not feel that they are properly involved in politics. Taxation, expenditure, defence, foreign policy, are still determined in London. Unless there is a sense of involvement and accountability on those issues, the electorate in Northern Ireland will not be satisfied.

"This problem does not exist with regard to Scotland and Wales. There the people can vote for the national parties who decide these matters. I do not think we will have a healthy political system until the people of Northern Ireland have a similar opportunity to "turn the rascals out". And it is in the interests of the people of Great Britain, and in the interests of the people of the Republic of Ireland to encourage the development of healthier politics in Northern Ireland.

"There is another aspect too. The present structures prevent a person in Northern Ireland participating in British national politics. The last two governments contained Ministers from Northern Ireland. But Sir Brian Mawhinney and Kate Hoey had to leave Northern Ireland in order to be able to participate.

"It reminds me of the comparison between Belfast and Bangkok. The question is what can you do in Bangkok that you cannot do in Belfast? The answer of course is join the Labour party. Northern Ireland is the only place on the globe where you cannot join Labour. It is a civil rights issue.

"This is not something that is going to change overnight. It is not on the agenda today. But it is something we should think about. It will probably be on tomorrow's agenda. It is right that it should for in a sense it is just filling in the British dimension to the Agreement. When the time comes I believe this party will be ready. I hope mine will be. Together I think we can meet the need. The real challenge, however, is for New Labour and Tony Blair.

"Mr. Blair made a good beginning on Northern Ireland. That May 1997 speech was sound on the basic principles. Without him there would not have been an Agreement in April 1998.

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✓ FAXED  
Fax to PM 10/10  
See MW papers

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2

“The problem is that the terrorists have tried to have it both ways – the ballot box and the armalite. They have delayed a clear and unequivocal commitment to peace.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

From: Sarah Todd  
10 October 2001

cc: See Copy Distribution List

Mr Bill Jeffrey - O

**SECRETARY OF STATE'S TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH BRIAN COWEN:  
10 OCTOBER 2001**

The Secretary of State spoke with Brian Cowen at Cowen's request around lunchtime today from his car phone. The reception was poor; at one point the line went dead and I had later to re-connect the call. This is what I noted of the conversation.

2. The Secretary of State gave an update following the latest of three meetings he'd had with Sinn Fein in the past 24 hours. This morning's meeting had ended amicably, though not quite conclusively as there remains some work to be done on 'words' - for example on demilitarisation - though he had made clear to Sinn Fein he was not in the business of renegotiating Weston Park nor of changing commitments already made.
3. He said Sinn Fein had also sought to amend the Assembly's constitution. This was a non starter; however, if the Republican movement delivers on decommissioning everything possible must be done to ensure the institutions remain stable and free from further interruption. The Secretary of State said that with this in mind, you planned to meet with Sir Reg Empey this afternoon: it was important, if PIRA delivered, that the unionist response provided the necessary assurances about the future running of the institutions and that everyone acknowledged that what we need, not least for the future stability of the economy, is a sustained period during which devolution is seen and felt to be working.
4. Sinn Fein had also sought to remove any idea of a process of putting arms beyond use. On this, the Secretary of State said the trick was to retain the commitment in the GFA, but at the same time to avoid decommissioning becoming

FACSIMILIE MESSAGE FROM  
SECRETARY OF STATE'S PRIVATE OFFICE  
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

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Upper Newtownards Road  
BELFAST  
BT4 3SG

Telephone: (028) 905 28104 Fax: (028) 905 28201

Classification: Restricted/Confidential/Secret/Unclassified

From: Ps/S.O.S.

To: Mr Powell, No. 10.

Date: 10/10/01.

Time:

Number of pages including cover-sheet: 3 .

Message:

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

such a token that it created further deadlines and crises. Also at the same time the current level of paramilitary activity on all sides must be declared as no longer sustainable and there must be perceptible movement (by all) of people moving into the political arena.

5. Cowen was grateful for the update. He had been concerned on two counts: to take decommissioning out of the equation to the extent that it no longer caused deadlines and crises; and to ensure that Trimble made the right kind of response to any move by PIRA. He was glad you were talking to Sir Reg (in whom he had greater confidence.)

*signed*

**SARAH TODD**

Private Secretary

☎ 28111

cc: PS/Secretary of State (B&L) - O  
PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (B&L) - O  
Mr Watkins - O  
Mr Fittall - O  
Mr Stephens - O  
Mr Alston - O  
Mr Powell, No 10

JPO  
CMT

FROM: PS/SECRETARY OF STATE  
10 OCTOBER 2001

*See distribution below*

Mr Fittall - O

**MEETING WITH SINN FEIN, 9 OCTOBER**

**Summary**

- **Four hours of negotiation with Adams and McGuinness on HMG's draft statement in response to an act of IRA decommissioning.**
- **Adams and McGuinness press hardest for legislation to remove Trimble's ability to interfere with nominations to the NSMC and HMG's power to suspend the devolved institutions.**
- **Some progress made on drafting of other parts of the statement.**

**Detail**

The Secretary of State met with Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and Richard McAuley in Hillsborough Castle yesterday evening to follow up the discussion earlier in the day with the Prime Minister about the Government's draft statement in response to an IRA act of decommissioning. Bill Jeffrey and I were also present. The meeting started at 6.00pm over dinner and, with a number of adjournments, lasted until shortly after 10.00pm.

2. The Secretary of State asked about the timescale Sinn Fein were working to. Adams said, provided he could settle matters with HMG and Trimble in the next day or two, the IRA would need time to prepare the rank and file - otherwise there was a risk of 'people' calling a General Army Convention which would put them in difficulty. This would take about a week. Thereafter, logistics would need to be agreed with the Decommissioning Commission. He wanted the act to happen before the suspension of devolution, but did not know whether this was achievable. The deal would stand or fall on what HMG and the UUP were prepared to do and say in response to any act.

3. The Secretary of State said his reading of Sinn Fein's proposed amendments to HMG's draft statement was that they wanted to get away from the idea of a process of

decommissioning. They could not expect HMG and the UUP to say this publicly, but in practice we could seek to shift the focus away from decommissioning. The quid pro quo was that other paramilitary activities – smuggling, beatings, robberies, murders – would come under closer scrutiny. We had turned a blind eye to these activities in the belief that the IRA was involved in a process of transition. Feigning exasperation, Adams said there was no evidence of IRA involvement in smuggling (sic). We had turned a blind eye to UDA pipe bomb attacks. We had not tackled Trimble about his NSMC sanction. How in these circumstances could we talk about closer scrutiny of the IRA? We needed to 'get real' about what was happening in Northern Ireland: were we involved in a conflict resolution process or not? The Secretary of State said he knew he was delivering a message Adams did not want to hear, but he was trying to be open and honest.

4. Adams said the Government was pursuing the wrong strategy. He was working to get the IRA to deal with decommissioning on a political basis. HMG needed to do the same on demilitarisation. A quid pro quo approach would not work. We should get the process working and ensure it moved forward without preconditions or obstacles. He needed to get the IRA across the rubicon on decommissioning by getting HMG and the UUP to respond generously. If this worked and the political process worked effectively, the IRA would 'go away'.

5. Adams said we needed to focus on the proposed text. We were within a very short period of achieving a huge breakthrough with the IRA, yet HMG was offering words which were unhelpful. He needed words which would get the IRA to deliver. The Secretary of State said he did not want to offer words on which we could not follow through. McGuinness said the Secretary of State had "scared" him: it was clear from what he had said that Sinn Fein would face further problems down the road. HMG needed to decide whether the Sinn Fein leadership were committed to a peaceful and democratic way forward. If so, then nothing should threaten their participation in the process.

6. At this point Adams took a call on his mobile and invited the Secretary of State to speak to Rita O'Hare, who was in Dublin. The Secretary of State chatted briefly to O'Hare.

7. Discussion then focused on HMG's draft statement. The Secretary of State reminded Adams that the Prime Minister had agreed to the proposed changes at 1, 2 and 5. We were not prepared to accept 3 and 4. On 6, we needed a reference which gave the sense of a process of decommissioning, and therefore proposed to retain the words 'so far'. On 7, we had a difficulty with a commitment to implementing Patten 'in full'. We could not accept

the proposed form of words on the Criminal Justice Review. We needed to include a reference to the security threat on the commitment to 'demilitarisation'. Finally, we believed the commitment on facilities at Westminster could best be covered in a private letter.

8. In response, Adams said we were giving him little which he could use in persuading the IRA. We were allowing the First Minister to retain the ability to take unlawful action in relation to the NSMC and HMG was retaining the ability to suspend the institutions. We had a problem in saying we were prepared to implement Patten in full; the paragraph on demilitarisation meant nothing; the date for legislation on OTRs had been put back; and facilities at Westminster should not have been taken away in the first place. How persuasive did we think this would be? He would be asked whether the Secretary of State could still suspend the institutions and whether Trimble could still act against the Sinn Fein Ministers attending the NSMC. These issues were having a corrosive effect on confidence in the institutions. Moreover, OTRs was a loose thread that needed to be sorted out. People like Rita O'Hare were in an absurd position. The Prime Minister had promised to deal with the issue and it needed to be sorted out. He had now heard from three Secretaries of State about the difficulties – but from the republican point of view, it was a minimal move on HMG's part. We needed also to take account of David Trimble's views. He had said the previous day that decommissioning would prove that those who had engaged in armed struggle were wrong. This was deeply unhelpful.

9. McGuinness entered the fray. Our approach on the NSMC sanction was "amazing". The courts had ruled against Trimble on two occasions. Republicans would not understand HMG's failure to legislate on this issue. Adams said he believed Trimble had been given an undertaking on the issue. There was no other logic to HMG's position. This was bad politics. Adams suggested incorporating in the text some of the language discussed at Weston Park about nominations to the NSMC being agreed six months in advance. McGuinness said the fundamental problem was that Trimble would retain the power to refuse to nominate. Adams said Trimble had told him privately that he would not use this tactic again. Adams said every party leader had the right to take his party out of the process. This should result in elections and the people having their say. But HMG was denying this possibility by allowing Trimble to retain his mechanism. Our strategy was predicated on keeping Trimble in the process – but for what purpose? Was he a champion of the GFA? Was he moving the process along? Did he say stupid things the previous day? HMG needed to act to remove his ability to exclude Sinn Fein Ministers. The Secretary of State said the problem was essentially a political one. The best we could hope for was a

statement from Trimble that he would not use the device again or a practical means which would prevent him from doing so, like agreeing nominations six months in advance.

10. Adams said we also needed to find new forms of words on Patten, criminal justice and demilitarisation. At this point, the meeting adjourned to enable the Government side to consider the points which had been made.

**Telephone conversation with Jonathan Powell**

11. The Secretary of State gave Jonathan Powell a readout of the discussion by telephone at 8.10 pm. He explained that Sinn Fein were pressing for amending legislation to remove Trimble's ability to refuse to nominate Sinn Fein Ministers to the NSMC and HMG's ability to suspend the institutions. Jonathan Powell said the Prime Minister had been clear during the meeting with Sinn Fein that morning that he did not intend to move on either issue.

12. Jonathan called back later to say that he had consulted the Prime Minister who had confirmed his position.

**Second session**

13. Sinn Fein were provided with a revised draft of the paper. Adams said it would be helpful to talk through the changes, then to adjourn to enable Sinn Fein to consider them.

14. The Secretary of State said the Prime Minister had been consulted on issues 3 and 4 and had confirmed the position he had taken with Sinn Fein that morning. We were not in a position to take these issues further. However, we would endeavour to get Trimble to use more helpful language making clear that he did not intend to use this device again. We had also added to HMG's text on these issues in ways which should be helpful to Sinn Fein. The other amendments to the text which had been agreed by the Prime Minister that morning had now been incorporated. Moreover, we had included new language on Patten, criminal justice, normalisation and OTRs. Office facilities would be covered in a separate private letter. The meeting then adjourned.



**Telephone conversation with David Trimble**

15. The Secretary of State spoke by telephone with David Trimble, who was in Blackpool, at 9.20 pm. He explained that Sinn Fein were pressing for amending legislation to close the loophole which enabled Trimble to refuse to nominate Sinn Fein Ministers to the NSMC and to remove HMG's powers to suspend the institutions. We had refused to move on either issue, but wanted to explore whether Trimble might be prepared to use a helpful form of words on the NSMC issue in his proposed statement in response to an act of IRA decommissioning.

16. In response, a heated Trimble said the Secretary of State should make no further concessions to Sinn Fein. It was not necessary to do so. He would consider what more he could say about the NSMC. Sir Reg Empey was redrafting his statement and it might be useful to make contact with him. However, Trimble emphasised that the statement was his and he would make the final judgement on what it should say.

**Session 3**

17. The Secretary of State said he had spoken to Trimble and asked him to strengthen the assurance on the future operation of the NSMC in his draft statement. He had agreed to consider what might be said, but without giving any commitment. Adams said issues 3 and 4 remained key difficulties for Sinn Fein. If Trimble used more positive language that might ease the problem on 3. On 4, it might help to get round the difficulty if we were prepared to refer to the "full, stable and uninterrupted operation of the institutions". The Secretary of State agreed to consider this.

18. On issue 6, Adams said the words "so far" were gratuitous. Omitting them would not remove the idea of a process of decommissioning. Bill Jeffrey suggested the phrase: "by far the most significant process we have seen". Adams agreed to consider this.

19. Adams said on issue 7, the Prime Minister had had no difficulty with Sinn Fein's language about implementing Patten "in full". The Secretary of State said there were a small number of Patten recommendations – including the oath and expenditure powers for DPPs – which we did not intend to implement. Adams said we needed to find some other way of addressing Sinn Fein's problem with the language in 7. He was trying to resolve the policing issue to enable Sinn Fein to support and participate in the new policing arrangements. The significance of policing was that it "tucked back" into decommissioning,

demilitarisation and the existence of the IRA. He therefore had a double-edged need to achieve progress on policing. In the short term, he wanted to get the IRA to move on decommissioning. In the longer term, he wanted Sinn Fein to be able to come on board with all that could flow from that. He therefore needed generous words. The Secretary of State said it was helpful to have this explanation. He undertook to look at 7 again and try to find a form of words which would help. Adams reiterated that he wanted the Government to give a commitment to the full implementation of Patten in generous language and to amending legislation which would achieve this. Sinn Fein wanted a review which would make recommendations which HMG was prepared to accept. Adams said he would consider the new language we had offered on demilitarisation and criminal justice. On demilitarisation, he said the conditionality of only moving on the basis of a threat assessment created a difficulty. The Secretary of State made clear that we could not remove this condition. Bill Jeffrey added that this was the weakest form of words we could manage. Adams said we needed to get real: if the IRA ceasefire continued for another 5 years, were we really saying that all the current security infrastructure would remain in place?

20. The meeting then adjourned with agreement to resume at 10.30 am the following day at Hillsborough.

Signed

**P G PRIESTLY**  
**Principal Private Secretary**

☎ (B) 28110  
(L) 6462

**Distribution:**

PS/Secretary of State (B&L) - O  
PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (B&L) - O  
Mr Jeffrey - O  
Mr Watkins - O  
Mr Stephens - O  
Mr Powell, No10 - E

FROM: PS/Secretary of State  
10 October 2001

✓ JTB  
DM  
MT  
TK

cc: See Distribution List

Mr Fittall - O

### FURTHER MEETING WITH SINN FEIN, 10 OCTOBER

The meeting with Adams, McGuinness and McAuley resumed at 11.00 am this morning.

2. Adams said he had been briefed that good work had been undertaken by Sir Reg Empey and Gerry Kelly on improving the text of Trimble's draft statement. He wanted to focus on achieving closure on HMG's draft text. The Secretary of State asked what sort of statement the IRA intended to make? Adams said he did not know but would ensure that Trimble and the Secretary of State were given advance notice of any act of IRA decommissioning. The Secretary of State said the IRA statement would be very important. It would be damaging if the statement sought to minimise the act of decommissioning.
3. Sinn Fein were given the attached revised text and the Secretary of State outlined the changes which had been made. We had included the word "uninterrupted" in the second bullet. We had removed the words "so far" from the third bullet and substituted instead the phrase: "by far the most significant progress we have yet seen in the resolution of the arms issue". We had reworded the section on policing in light of Sinn Fein's comments. Sinn Fein had undertaken to look overnight at the suggested changes to the text on criminal justice and normalisation.
4. In response, Adams said the inclusion of "uninterrupted" was helpful. However, it was not a substitute for amending legislation to remove Trimble's ability to interfere with the NSMC and HMG's power to suspend the institutions. He needed a clear signal that HMG and the UUP would make the institutions work. If this was not delivered, he and his colleagues might as well "piss in the wind". The Secretary of State said he could not dictate to Trimble but was trying to encourage him to make a more positive statement. Adams reiterated that he would be asked whether Trimble and the Government could act again on the NSMC and suspension, respectively. He had to be able to persuade people. He needed to avoid a split or a GAC being convened on these issues. Once again, McGuinness entered



the fray: the courts had found against Trimble on two occasions. If he retained the right to bring the NSMC to a halt, Sinn Fein would be in trouble with their constituency. The Secretary of State said he had taken this issue as far as he could. The Prime Minister did not intend to change the legislation. McGuinness and Adams returned to the charge: Sinn Fein Ministers could not accept the status which was being conferred on them. They were being victimised by the First Minister. HMG's refusal to take action was a "glaring admission" that we were not prepared to face up to Trimble.

5. Adams switched the discussion to the third bullet. We were digging a hole on the issue of a process of decommissioning. It was obvious that the arms issue could only be resolved through a process. Including the word "yet" in the text was gratuitous and begrudging. This was not what was required. The Secretary of State pointed out that the text exalted an IRA act of decommissioning. He found it difficult to understand the problem. Adams said there were people in the IRA who had no intention of decommissioning and who needed to be brought to acquiesce. This was his objective. We needed to appreciate the significance of decommissioning for the IRA. It would have a huge psychological effect on volunteers. The "army" would be giving up its arms. He had to persuade these people and any language which was begrudging did not help. McGuinness added that there were occasions when the Secretary of State needed to stand in Sinn Fein's shoes and appreciate the difficulties they would face in persuading IRA volunteers. The bottom line was that if Sinn Fein was to succeed in pulling off "the greatest coup since the ceasefire", HMG needed to find a way to overcome language which they believed was unhelpful. After further discussion, the Secretary of State agreed to omit the words "we have yet seen" from the third bullet.

6. Adams said he needed to study further the revised text on policing. He reiterated his twin objectives - to get the IRA to move on decommissioning; and to create space for Sinn Fein to come on board on policing. He asked how any review would be conducted and when the amending legislation would be introduced? The Secretary of State said the legislation would follow a review of the operation of the new arrangements after a year. We would therefore not be in a position to introduce legislation until the next Parliamentary session. The review also needed to be genuine. The UUP and DUP would be aiming to show that parts of the new arrangements were not working and needed to be changed. The review would be conducted by Tom Constantine. However, Constantine did not want to undertake an assessment of the effectiveness of the police service. This aspect would



therefore be undertaken by specialists. Beyond this, we did not have a fully worked out approach to the review.

7. Adams said the problem on policing was that HMG had opened Patten to a negotiation with the parties. We should have taken our own counsel. The Prime Minister had told him that he intended to implement Patten fully despite the security advice he was being given. Once again, we had reneged and this had caused huge problems within the republican constituency.

8. At this point the meeting adjourned. When Sinn Fein returned, Adams said he was anxious to achieve closure on HMG's text, but wanted to take the draft away and reflect on what we had said about Trimble's ability to interfere with the NSMC and HMG's power to suspend the institutions. He also needed to reflect further on policing. On OTRs, he was very frustrated. This was a huge issue within the republican community and we needed to make progress. The Secretary of State had hinted that the new Attorney General might be asked to look at the issue again to see whether it could be resolved without legislation. It would be very helpful if this could be achieved.

9. The Secretary of State reiterated the difficulties on OTRs. The Prime Minister had given his undertaking at a stage when we had not appreciated that there would be a need for legislation. We could seek to raise the issue with the Attorney General in the next couple of days. Adams said this would be helpful, if only to nail down the issue one way or another.

10. McGuinness said we needed to look again at the reference to the security threat in the text on demilitarisation. The use of the word "threat" was a problem. We needed to find a positive way of making the point. They were not asking for a rolling programme of normalisation which did not take account of circumstances. Bill Jeffrey suggested the phrase "as the security situation improves".

11. Adams said he would reflect on HMG's draft text and speak to Sir Reg Empey. He wanted to get the various texts settled as soon as possible. The Secretary of State said the Prime Minister had told him to ensure that Sinn Fein understood that we wanted the act of decommissioning this week. McGuinness commented that this was a tall order. Adams said he shared the desire to achieve the act as quickly as possible. He wanted to see it



done before suspension. How would Trimble play his position? The Secretary of State said the indications were that UUP Ministers would resign on Monday 15 October. They would then have a seven day period within which they could be invited to re-nominate. However, Trimble had made clear that he expected HMG to suspend the institutions within a matter of days of UUP resignations. This probably meant we had until the end of next week.

12. Adams said the act could not be achieved by the end of this week. This was logistically impossible even if he managed to get the IRA on board. The decision had not yet been taken and would depend on the quality of the draft statements by HMG and Trimble. He would stay closely in touch over the next few days and would let the Secretary of State know the IRA's decision. He would need to collude with the Secretary of State over what and when he should tell Trimble.

*Signed*

**P G PRIESTLY**

Principal Private Secretary

☐ (B) 28110

(L) 6462

cc: PS/Secretary of State (B&L) - O  
PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (B&L) - O  
Mr Jeffrey - O  
Mr Watkins - O  
Mr Stephens - O  
Mr Powell, No10 - E



**DRAFT 5****10 October****BRITISH GOVERNMENT LINES**

- The Government warmly welcomes today's report from the IICD verifying that the IRA has [reiterate words of IICD Report].
- This is an unprecedented and genuinely historic move, which greatly enhances the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland and for the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement. In particular, we can and must now see the full, stable and uninterrupted operation of the political institutions – the Assembly, the Executive, the North South Ministerial Council and the British Irish Council – which are the democratic core of the Agreement.
- All participants in the Good Friday Agreement committed themselves to the total disarmament of all paramilitary organisations. The terms of the Agreement on the issue of decommissioning are clear, unambiguous and binding on all parties to it. The IRA's move represents by far the most significant progress we have yet seen in the resolution of the arms issue. All paramilitary groups need now to play their part to build on this progress.
- Together with the Irish Government, we will do all that we can to implement fully the Good Friday Agreement, including through the proposals which the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach made after the Weston Park discussions. This includes:
  - further progress in implementing the Agreement's provisions on human rights and equality;

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- the implementation of the Patten report, including through a review of the new arrangements and the introduction of legislation to amend the Police Act 2000 to reflect more fully the Patten recommendations and ensure the achievement of the new beginning in policing as set out in the Agreement;
  - the implementation of the Criminal Justice Review, so that the criminal justice system has the confidence of all parts of the community and delivers justice efficiently and effectively through a fair and impartial system which encourages community involvement where appropriate. The Government strongly endorses the recommendation in the Criminal Justice Review that a core objective throughout the criminal justice system should be to develop a workforce which is broadly reflective of the community in Northern Ireland;
  - a progressive rolling programme reducing levels of troops and installations, as the security threat reduces;
  - such steps as are necessary as soon as possible and in any event by March 2002, to resolve the issue about supporters of organisations now on ceasefire against whom there are outstanding prosecutions, and in some cases extradition proceedings, for offences committed before 10 April 1998.
- We are grateful to the IICD for their patient work to discharge their important responsibilities under the terms of the Agreement and to secure the putting of all paramilitary arms beyond use.

**CONFIDENTIAL & PERSONAL**



01232 528471 **L & PERSONAL****DRAFT 5**

10 October

*JTB*  
*DM*  
*TK*

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01232 528471 **CONFIDENTIAL & PERSONAL**

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**CONFIDENTIAL & PERSONAL**

C: DM

**FROM: WILLIAM FITTALL**  
Associate Political Director (L)  
10 October 2001

*Handwritten initials/signature*

*PM (Gordon)*

*FG*

*cc MT*

*I have agreed  
to see the  
to SA in draft  
together with the  
current (the  
week)*

PS/Secretary of State (L&B)

cc See Copy Distribution Below

**WESTMINSTER FACILITIES**

It has been agreed that the issue of Westminster facilities should be dealt with by way of private letter from the Prime Minister rather than in any public announcement which we would make immediately upon decommissioning.

2. As discussed with Bill Jeffrey, I attach a draft. If the Secretary of State wants any changes to the text I suggest that you ring them through to No 10. As of yesterday our intention was to prepare the letter for sending once decommissioning had happened, but I understand that it is to issue now before we are sure that decommissioning will happen. I have drafted accordingly.

3. The starting point has to be the text of the private understanding with Sinn Féin reached at Weston Park which read "House of Commons: agreement to be reached, as soon as possible and in any event by the end of the year, to provide facilities at Westminster for Sinn Féin MPs".

*William Fittall*

**WILLIAM FITTALL**  
11 Millbank  
Ext 6469 (Fax: 6479)  
BRENT Fax 020 7210 0843  
email: [william.fittall@nio.x.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:william.fittall@nio.x.gsi.gov.uk)

*MATRIX* (with a large blue checkmark over it)

Distribution List

PS/Sir Joseph Pilling (L&B)  
Mr Jeffrey  
Mr Powell, No 10

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**DRAFT LETTER FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER**

Gerry Adams MP  
President  
Sinn Féin  
51/55 Falls Road  
BELFAST  
BT12 4PD

October 2001

You asked whether, in the new context created by an IRA act of decommissioning, it would become possible for facilities to be provided at Westminster for Sinn Féin MPs.

*As I have said to you before we are prepared*

I can confirm that, in that context, ~~I would discuss the matter with the Speaker to see whether he was prepared to reach a different view from that set out in his predecessor's ruling of May 1997. If not the Government would bring the necessary motion before the House and recommend that it agree to provide facilities for the four Sinn Féin elected representatives.~~

*in the circumstances where it's clear the process is able to move forward again,*  
When we discussed the matter at Weston Park in July I said that we would seek to resolve the issue as soon as possible and in any event by the end of the year. That remains my intention, provided decommissioning occurs at a very early date.

*which might mean beyond use and do.*