

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: NIO Official (4 pages)	03/30/1995	P1/b(1)
002. cable	re: Assessment of Sinn Fein (3 pages)	04/01/1995	P1/b(1)
003. cable	re: Irish Government Moves (2 pages)	04/07/1995	P1/b(1)
004. cable	re: Tanaiste and Taoiseach on Northern Ireland (3 pages)	04/07/1995	P1/b(1)
005. cable	re: Prison Conditions (8 pages)	04/13/1995	P1/b(1)
006. cable	re: Update on Northern Ireland Peace Process (4 pages)	04/13/1995	P1/b(1)
007. cable	re: Sinn Fein Strategy Document Appears (4 pages)	04/18/1995	P1/b(1)
008. cable	re: Sean O'Huiginn on Recent Developments (4 pages)	05/05/1995	P1/b(1)
009. cable	re: Sinn Fein on Meeting with British Minister (2 pages)	05/10/1995	P1/b(1)
010. cable	re: First Sinn Fein/HMG Ministerial (2 pages)	05/11/1995	P1/b(1)
011. cable	re: Mainstream Unionist Reaction (2 pages)	05/11/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Cables
 Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
 OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F

vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED

LINE1: OAAUZYUW RUEHBLA0157 0811551-UUUU--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH

LINE3: O 221552Z MAR 95

LINE4: FM AMCONSUL BELFAST

OSRI: RUEHBL

DTG: 221552Z MAR 95

ORIG: AMCONSUL BELFAST

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8357

INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7813

RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5623

RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 3117

SUBJ: GOVERNMENT MINISTER MEETS LOYALIST
REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:

UNCLAS BELFAST 0157

NSC FOR SODERBERG

DEPT. FOR EUR/UBI

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK, EI

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT MINISTER MEETS LOYALIST
REPRESENTATIVES

REF: LONDON 4245

1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT MINISTER MICHAEL ANCRAM MET REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY (PUP) AND THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP) AT STORMONT ON MARCH 22. BOTH PARTIES HAVE LINKS TO LOYALIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST GROUPS HAVE MET HMG OFFICIALS SEVERAL TIMES SINCE DECEMBER, BUT HMG HAS INSISTED THAT PROGRESS ON THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS HAD TO BE MADE BEFORE MINISTERS COULD GET INVOLVED IN DISCUSSIONS. A STATEMENT FROM THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE CONFIRMED THAT HMG WAS SATISFIED THAT SUCH PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE. IT SAID, "THE PUP AND UDP HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THEY WILL ENGAGE IN CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE KEY ISSUES, INCLUDING THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS, AND WILL JOIN IN AN EXPLORATION OF THE WAYS BY WHICH THIS CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY BE ACHIEVED." BILLY HUTCHINSON OF THE PUP COMMENTED, "IT'S A HISTORIC DAY FOR LOYALISTS."

MARTINEZ

BT

#0157

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0157

TOR: 950322110800 M1578222

DIST:

PRT: SIT SODERBERG

SIT: NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

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Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
LINE1: OAAUZYUW RUEHBLA0159 0821200-UUUU--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH
LINE3: O 231200Z MAR 95
LINE4: FM AMCONSUL BELFAST
OSRI: RUEHBL
DTG: 231200Z MAR 95
ORIG: AMCONSUL BELFAST
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8363
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7819
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5629
RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 3118
SUBJ: SINN FEIN HINTS AT EARLY TALKS WITH HMG
TEXT:
UNCLAS BELFAST 0159

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, UK, EI
SUBJECT: SINN FEIN HINTS AT EARLY TALKS WITH HMG

REF: BELFAST 0157

1. SINN FEIN'S MARTIN MCGUINNESS GAVE A STRONG INDICATION ON MARCH 22 THAT TALKS WITH BRITISH GOVERNMENT MINISTERS MIGHT START WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS - POSSIBLY AS EARLY AS MARCH 24. MCGUINNESS WAS SPEAKING AFTER THE DISCUSSIONS HELD AT STORMONT BETWEEN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT MINISTER MICHAEL ANCRAM AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LOYALIST COMMUNITY. WELCOMING THE LOYALISTS/HMG TALKS AS "AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT," MCGUINNESS SAID THAT HMG NOW NEEDED TO MOVE QUICKLY TO TALKS WITH SINN FEIN. HE SAID, "SINN FEIN IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS ANYTHING - INCLUDING THE DECOMMISSIONING OF WEAPONS." HE SAID HE HAD RESPONDED TO AN HMG REQUEST FOR ASSURANCES AND WAS AWAITING A REPLY. HIS PARTY COLLEAGUE, MITCHEL MCLAUGHLIN, SAID THAT HMG HAD TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF CONSISTENCY. MCLAUGHLIN POINTED OUT THAT, "SINN FEIN WILL NOT BE BRIBING THEIR WAY INTO THOSE TALKS...WE HAVE A RIGHT TO BE THERE. IT IS NOT A MATTER OF CONCESSIONS."

2. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ON WHETHER SINN FEIN WAS CLOSE TO HAVING TALKS WITH HIM, MINISTER ANCRAM SAID, "SINN FEIN ARE FULLY AWARE OF WHAT CLEAR ASSURANCES ARE REQUIRED IF WE ARE TO INVOLVE A MINISTER IN TALKS WITH THEM. THEY ARE NOT GIVING US THOSE CLEAR ASSURANCES AS OF THIS MOMENT. WE AWAIT TO HEAR FROM THEM WHETHER THEY WILL DO SO." A STATEMENT FROM THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE SAID HMG WAS WILLING TO BE FLEXIBLE ABOUT THE

MECHANICS OF DECOMMISSIONING.

3. THE DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY (DUP) DESCRIBED THE LOYALISTS/HMG MEETING AS A SMOKE SCREEN DESIGNED TO COVER HMG'S INTENTION OF STARTING TALKS WITH THE IRA BEFORE ANY TERRORIST WEAPONS HAVE BEEN HANDED OVER. A STATEMENT COMMENTED, "THE GOVERNMENT HAS CALCULATED THAT BY SWEETENING UNIONIST OPINION, IT WILL MAKE THE UNPALATABLE SURRENDER TO THE IRA MUCH MORE ACCEPTABLE."

MARTINEZ

BT

#0159

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0159

TOR: 950323071429 M1580162

DIST:

PRT: BERGER DAILY DOHSE FUERTH LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: DAILY LAKEA NSC SUM SUM2

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Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
LINE1: RAAUZYUW RUEHDLA1487 0870651-UUUU--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH
LINE3: R 280651Z MAR 95
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 280651Z MAR 95
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7506
INFO: RUEHBL/AMCONSUL BELFAST 3420
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2831
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
SUBJ: UUP MEMBER/M.E.P. JOHN TAYLOR'S ADDRESS TO TH
IRISH ASSOCIATION

TEXT:
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 DUBLIN 001487

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, UK, EI, US
SUBJECT: UUP MEMBER/M.E.P. JOHN TAYLOR'S ADDRESS TO TH
IRISH ASSOCIATION

REF: DUBLIN 01331

1. ON MARCH 27, ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY M.P. JOHN TAYLOR
ADDRESSED THE IRISH ASSOCIATION ON THE TOPIC, "AFTER THE
FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT: TRUST AND MISTRUST," IN DUBLIN'S
MANSION HOUSE AND TOOK QUESTIONS AFTERWARDS. (WE WILL FAX
COPIES OF TAYLOR'S ADDRESS TO EUR/UBI, EMBASSY LONDON AND
CONGEN BELFAST.)

2. IN HIS ADDRESS AND IN THE QUESTION PERIOD, TAYLOR
STATED, INTER ALIA, THAT:

-- THERE IS A NEED FOR DIALOGUE.

-- EVERYONE'S CONCENTRATION HAS PREVIOUSLY FOCUSED ON
CONSTITUTIONAL/SECURITY ISSUES. BUT, THE TIME HAS COME TO
FOCUS ON THE NEED FOR NEW INSTITUTIONS OF COOPERATION
BETWEEN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC.

-- THE IRA MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO ACHIEVE THROUGH DIALOGUE
WHAT IT HAS FAILED TO ACHIEVE BY FORCE. MANY IN NORTHERN
IRELAND FEAR THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL YIELD TO THE
IRA OWING TO ITS RETENTION OF ITS WEAPONS.

-- THE IRA'S CEASEFIRE IS STILL "CONDITIONAL." AFTER IT
HAS DECOMMISSIONED ITS ARMS, IT WILL EVENTUALLY BE POSSIBLE
FOR IT TO ENTER INTO DIALOGUE WITH THE OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL
PARTIES.

-- ALL-PARTY TALKS ARE STILL A CHIMERA; IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR IAN PAISLEY AND GERRY ADAMS TO SIT DOWN TOGETHER.

-- RATHER, THE BRITISH AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD CONDUCT BILATERAL DIALOGUES WITH THE NORTHERN INSTITUTIONAL PARTIES TO DETERMINE "COMMON STRANDS" OF AGREEMENT AMONG THEM AND THEN HOLD A PLEBISCITE ON THEM.

-- EVENTUALLY, UNIONISTS MUST TALK WITH DUBLIN; THEY MUST ACCEPT THE "IRISH DIMENSION."

-- THE IRISH MINORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND MUST BE INVOLVED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE IF IT IS EVER TO FEEL LOYAL TO IT. THE "STRASBOURG" EXAMPLE COULD BE FOLLOWED. REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTIES COULD SIT ON COMMITTEES ON A PROPORTIONAL BASIS AND ROTATE THEIR CHAIRMANSHIPS.

-- IT WOULD BE BEST TO WORK FROM THE BOTTOM UP. A UNIONIST/NATIONALIST DIALOGUE IS THE ONLY WAY TO A LASTING PEACE.

-- THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, NEGOTIATED IN PART BY ENGLISH CIVIL SERVANTS WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND UNIONISTS, CONSTITUTE "COVER" FOR MOVEMENT TOWARDS A UNITED IRELAND, TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM.

-- THE ONLY CROSS-BORDER BODIES ACCEPTABLE TO UNIONISTS ARE THOSE DERIVING THEIR AUTHORITY FROM, AND ANSWERING TO, BELFAST AND DUBLIN.

-- THE CURRENT IMPASSE MAY LAST UNTIL ANOTHER BRITISH GOVERNMENT, WHOSE "FINGERPRINTS" ARE NOT ON THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, IS ELECTED. A NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT MAY THEREFORE BE DESIRABLE. AS IN THE CASE OF THE SUNNINGDALE AGREEMENT, LABOR MIGHT CHANGE ITS POLICY AFTER WINNING AN ELECTION.

-- THE UUP'S VICTORY IN THE BANGOR BY-ELECTION LAST WEEK PROVES THAT THOSE WHO SAID THAT THE UUP LEADERSHIP WAS OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE GRASSROOTS WERE WRONG.

-- THE REPUBLIC IS INCREASINGLY PROGRESSIVE AND NO LONGER A THEOCRACY, ALTHOUGH MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HIERARCHY HAS ABUSED THE TRUST OF THE FAITHFUL BUT IS CAPABLE OF REFORMING ITSELF.

-- HE (TAYLOR) RECOGNIZED THE DISMAY OF MANY IN THE REPUBLIC OVER THE UNIONISTS' REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION.

-- ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE IRISH CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE CHANGED. JOHN BRUTON ADVOCATED THEIR UNILATERAL AMENDMENT IN 1990. THE IRISH SUPREME COURT HAS DETERMINED THAT ARTICLE 2 CONSTITUTES A CONSTITUTIONAL IMPERATIVE FOR UNITY.

-- JOB CREATION SHOULD BE PRIORITY NUMBER ONE IN NORTHERN

IRELAND. IT IS NECESSARY TO UNDO THE DAMAGE WROUGHT BY "QUANGOS." THERE IS NO LONGER ANY DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING ALLOCATION AND VERY LITTLE IN EMPLOYMENT. ANY ALLEGATIONS OF THE LATTER ARE PROMPTLY INVESTIGATED.

-- THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE UUP AND THE DUP IS THAT THE UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 DUBLIN 001487

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PHUM, UK, EI, US
SUBJECT: UUP MEMBER/M.E.P. JOHN TAYLOR'S ADDRESS TO TH
IRISH ASSOCIATION

FORMER REJECTS THE USE OF RELIGION AS A POLITICAL PLATFORM AND WANTS TO ENSURE CATHOLIC PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS. A QUARTER OF THE CATHOLIC VOTE GOES TO UNIONIST PARTIES. THE UUP SAYS "NO" TO SECTARIAN POLITICS.

-- THE FORUM IS THE EQUIVALENT OF "ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS" FOR SINN FEIN, WHICH MUST BE WEANED AWAY FROM VIOLENCE. ITS PURPOSE IS TO DEMONSTRATE TO SINN FEIN HOW FAR IT HAD STRAYED FROM THE NATIONALIST CONSENSUS. THE FORUM HAS ENJOYED CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS IN COUNSELING SINN FEIN.

-- ONCE THIS EDUCATIONAL PROCESS HAS BEEN COMPLETED, SINN FEIN WILL BE READY TO PARTICIPATE IN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

-- THE AMERICANS WERE MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR FUNDING IRA VIOLENCE DURING THE PAST 25 YEARS.

-- NORTHERN IRELAND WILL REMAIN PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IRELAND WILL REMAIN AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATE. IRISH NATIONALISM IS TOO STRONG FOR IRELAND EVER TO AGREE TO JOIN A TRULY FEDERAL EUROPE.

-- HE (TAYLOR) IS NOT AN IRISHMAN BUT AN ULSTERMAN; HE IS BRITISH. SMITH
BT
#1487

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02
SSN: 1487
<^SSN>1487
TOR: 950328070149 M1588034
<^TOR>950328070250 M1588035
DIST: SIT: NSC

11

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	re: NIO Official (4 pages)	03/30/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F
vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F

vz1639

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Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
LINE1: RAAUZYUW RUEHBLA0188 0961313-UUUU--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH
LINE3: R 061313Z APR 95
LINE4: FM AMCONSUL BELFAST
OSRI: RUEHBL
DTG: 061313Z APR 95
ORIG: AMCONSUL BELFAST
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8392
INFO: RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 7850
RUEHDL/AMEMBASSY DUBLIN 5657
RUEHED/AMCONSUL EDINBURGH 3131
SUBJ: LOYALISTS EXPRESS CONCERN OVER CAPTURE OF INLA
WEAPONS; MAY DELAY PROGRESS IN DECOMMISSIONING OF LOYALIST
ARMS

TEXT:
UNCLAS BELFAST 0188

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PTER, ASEC, UK, EI
SUBJECT: LOYALISTS EXPRESS CONCERN OVER CAPTURE OF INLA
WEAPONS; MAY DELAY PROGRESS IN DECOMMISSIONING OF LOYALIST
ARMS

REF: DUBLIN 01666

1. LOYALIST PARAMILITARIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND MAY DELAY THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS AFTER THE ARREST OF FOUR PROMINENT IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (INLA) MEMBERS IN BALBRIGGAN IN THE IRISH REPUBLIC ON APRIL 4. DURING THE OPERATION TO ARREST THE MEN, THE IRISH POLICE SEIZED A SUBSTANTIAL HAUL OF WEAPONS. IRISH SECURITY CHIEFS BELIEVE THE WEAPONS WERE DESTINED FOR AN ATTACK ON THE SECURITY FORCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND. REPORTEDLY, HIGH LEVEL SECURITY SOURCES BELIEVE THE INLA MAY HAVE SUCCESSFULLY SMUGGLED A LARGE QUANTITY OF WEAPONS ACROSS THE BORDER INTO NORTHERN IRELAND IN RECENT MONTHS. THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECURITY MINISTER, SIR JOHN WHEELER, CONGRATULATED THE IRISH POLICE ON THE OPERATION.

2. GARY MCMICHAEL OF THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (UDP), SAID IT WOULD BE "GROSSLY UNREALISTIC" TO EXPECT LOYALISTS TO ENGAGE IN DECOMMISSIONING WEAPONS WHEN THEY MIGHT BE NEEDED FOR "DEFENCE AGAINST REPUBLICAN ATTACK." "THE IRA MAY BE PREPARING TO USE THE INLA AS A DAGGER TO THE THROAT OF THE PEACE PROCESS," MCMICHAEL SAID. HE SAID THE ARRESTS AND SEIZURE OF WEAPONS REINFORCED UNEASE WITHIN THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY. "THE INLA HAS NOT ADDED ITS SUPPORT TO THE CEASEFIRE. THEY HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN TARGETTING

LOYALISTS SINCE THE CEASEFIRE AND THIS ARMS HAUL IS A CLEAR INDICATION OF THEIR INTENTIONS," HE SAID. PROGRESSIVE UNIONIST PARTY LEADER DAVID ERVINE AGREED WITH MCMICHAEL AND SAID THE INCIDENT WOULD MAKE THE LOYALISTS LESS WILLING TO DECOMMISSION THEIR WEAPONS. SINCE THE CEASEFIRES OF LAST FALL, THE INLA HAS NOT ENGAGED IN ANY ATTACKS. SOURCES HERE BELIEVE THE IRA HAS WARNED THE SMALLER REPUBLICAN GROUP NOT TO DO ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER THE CEASEFIRE.

MARTINEZ

BT

#0188

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 01

SSN: 0188

TOR: 950406103500 M1605526

DIST:

PRT: DAILY SIT SODERBERG WOLIN

SIT: DAILY NSC STEPHENS SUM SUM2 VERSHBOW

<^DIST>

SIT: SCHMIDT

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[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. cable	re: Prison Conditions (8 pages)	04/13/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F
vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. cable	re: Update on Northern Ireland Peace Process (4 pages)	04/13/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F
vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. cable	re: Sinn Fein Strategy Document Appears (4 pages)	04/18/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F
vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. cable	re: Sean O'Huiginn on Recent Developments (4 pages)	05/05/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F
vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. cable	re: Sinn Fein on Meeting with British Minister (2 pages)	05/10/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F
vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
LINE1: RAAUZYUW RUEHDLA2268 1301609-UUUU--RHEHAAX.
LINE2: ZNR UUUUU ZZH
LINE3: R 101609Z MAY 95
LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 101609Z MAY 95
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7826
INFO: RUEHBL/AMCONSUL BELFAST 3496
RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHXQ/ALLEU COLLECTIVE
SUBJ: IRISH VIEWS ON THE SCHENGEN FREE TRAVEL AREA
TEXT:
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 002268

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, ECIN, EUN, EI, UK
SUBJECT: IRISH VIEWS ON THE SCHENGEN FREE TRAVEL AREA

REF: DUBLIN 525

1. SUMMARY. THE IRISH JUSTICE MINISTER CONFIRMED LAST WEEK THAT IRELAND HAD NO PLANS TO ACCEDE TO THE SCHENGEN AGREEMENT FOR FEAR OF JEOPARDIZING ITS LONG-STANDING AND HIGHLY-VALUED COMMON TRAVEL ARRANGEMENT WITH THE UK. CURRENTLY, THERE ARE NO PASSPORT OR IMMIGRATION CONTROLS ON THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES; THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ESTIMATES THAT 70 PERCENT OF THE DEPARTURES FROM IRELAND ARE TO BRITAIN/NORTHERN IRELAND. IN VIEW OF THE NASCENT NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WANTS TO PRECLUDE ANY POSSIBILITY OF CONTROLS BEING RE-ESTABLISHED ALONG THE BORDER WITH NORTHERN IRELAND. SCHENGEN'S PROVISIONS FOR "HOT PURSUIT" ALSO MAKE DUBLIN UNEASY, AS IT RAISES THE SPECTER OF ARMED BRITISH SECURITY FORCES COMING ACROSS THE BORDER WITHOUT NOTICE. WHILE MOST IRISH PARLIAMENTARIANS AND OFFICIALS ACCEPT THE REALITY THAT THE UK FREE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENT MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE, THERE IS FRUSTRATION THAT EVEN AFTER 20 YEARS OF EU MEMBERSHIP, IRELAND'S FREEDOM OF MANEUVER ON THIS AND OTHER ISSUES IS LIMITED BY ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TIES TO BRITAIN. END SUMMARY.

SUPPORTS SCHENGEN OBJECTIVE, BUT HAS NO PLANS TO JOIN

2. ACKNOWLEDGING THE STRONG TIES THAT CONTINUE TO BIND IRELAND AND THE UK, JUSTICE MINISTER NORA OWEN ON MAY 5 SAID THAT IRELAND HAD NO PLANS TO JOIN THE SCHENGEN FREE TRAVEL AREA, TO WHICH A MAJORITY OF EU MEMBERS NOW BELONG.

IN A PREPARED STATEMENT, SHE TOLD THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS THAT WHILE IRELAND "FULLY SUBSCRIBE(S) TO THE OBJECTIVE OF THE ELIMINATION OF BORDER CHECKS ON PEOPLE MOVING BETWEEN MEMBER STATES," THE GOVERNMENT HAD TO HAVE "REGARD TO THE REALITIES OF OUR SITUATION."

FIRST PRIORITY: FREE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENT WITH UK

3. THE MAIN "REALITY" FOR IRELAND, OF COURSE, IS ITS HIGHLY-VALUED COMMON TRAVEL ARRANGEMENT WITH THE UK. UNDER THIS ARRANGEMENT, THERE ARE NO PASSPORT OR IMMIGRATION CONTROLS ON PEOPLE MOVING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES

BRITISH NATIONALS ARE EXEMPT FROM ALL THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE ALIEN LAWS IN IRELAND, AND IRISH CITIZENS ARE SIMILARLY EXEMPT IN THE UK. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ESTIMATES THAT SEVEN OUT OF EVERY TEN PERSONS LEAVING IRELAND TRAVEL TO BRITAIN/NORTHERN IRELAND. IT IS EASY TO SEE, THEREFORE, WHY THE IRISH DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CONCLUDES THAT "IT WOULD NOT APPEAR TO BE IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST TO DO ANYTHING THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE COMMON TRAVEL AREA ARRANGEMENTS."

4. IRELAND'S JOINING SCHENGEN WOULD JEOPARDIZE THIS ARRANGEMENT BECAUSE THE UK HAS NO INTENTION OF FOLLOWING SUIT. AS HAS BEEN WELL REPORTED, THE UK HAS TAKEN A HARD LINE ON MAINTAINING ITS PASSPORT AND IMMIGRATION CONTROLS AT PORTS OF ENTRY. MOST EU MEMBER STATES (INCLUDING IRELAND) INTERPRET ARTICLE 13 OF THE 1985 SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT (SEA) AS REQUIRING THE ABOLITION OF INTERNAL BORDER CONTROLS FOR ALL PERSONS LEGALLY PRESENT IN THE UNION, REGARDLESS OF NATIONALITY. BUT BRITAIN INTERPRETS FREE MOVEMENT AS APPLYING TO EU CITIZENS ONLY.

5. IF IRELAND ACCEDED TO SCHENGEN, THE UK COULD BE EXPECTED TO IMPOSE CONTROLS ON ALL PASSENGER TRAVEL BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN/NORTHERN IRELAND. BY THE SAME TOKEN, IRELAND WOULD BE OBLIGATED UNDER THE SCHENGEN AGREEMENT TO IMPOSE SIMILAR IMMIGRATION CONTROLS ON PEOPLE TRAVELLING FROM THE UK. AT A TIME IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS WHEN DUBLIN IS TRYING TO
BREAK DOWN OLD BARRIERS
BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, THE ERECTION OF NEW BARRIERS CLEARLY WOULD NOT BE WELCOME. THIS IS ANALOGOUS TO THE ARGUMENT THAT IRELAND CANNOT CONTEMPLATE JOINING EUROPEAN MONETARY UNION WITHOUT THE UK (REFTEL).

IRELAND SYMPATHETIC TO BRITISH VIEW OF CONTROLS

6. WHILE IRELAND CLAIMS TO SHARE CONTINENTAL EUROPE'S INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLE 13 OF THE SEA, IT IS CLEARLY SYMPATHETIC TO BRITAIN'S POSITION. IN A BRIEFING PAPER FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE POINTS OUT THAT A "KEY FEATURE" OF COUNTRIES CURRENTLY PARTY TO SCHENGEN IS THAT THEY TEND TO SHARE A COMMON LAND

BORDER WITH ANOTHER MEMBER STATE. BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTY OF POLICING LONG LAND BORDERS, THESE COUNTRIES RELY ON "ELABORATE" INTERNAL CONTROLS SUCH AS RANDOM CHECKS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY DOCUMENTS. "THIS SYSTEM OF RANDOM CHECKS HAS NEVER BEEN A FEATURE OF OUR ARRANGEMENTS. IRISH PEOPLE ARE NOT REQUIRED TO CARRY NATIONAL IDENTITY CARDS UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 DUBLIN 002268

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, ECIN, EUN, EI, UK
SUBJECT: IRISH VIEWS ON THE SCHENGEN FREE TRAVEL AREA

AND WE DO NOT OPERATE A SYSTEM OF ROUTINELY AND SYSTEMATICALLY ASKING FOREIGNERS TO PRODUCE THEIR DOCUMENTS. WE HAVE -- LIKE BRITAIN -- TRADITIONALLY PUT A LOT OF WEIGHT ON CONTROL AT THE POINT OF ENTRY TO THE STATE, WHICH IS SEEN AS COMPATIBLE WITH OUR GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION."

IRELAND'S OTHER DIFFICULTIES WITH SCHENGEN

7. IN HER PREPARED STATEMENT TO THE COMMITTEE, OWEN ALSO RAISED OTHER POTENTIAL PROBLEMS WITH JOINING SCHENGEN:

-- SANCTIONS ON AIRLINES. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO INTRODUCE PENALTIES ON AIRLINES THAT BRING THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS TO IRELAND WITHOUT PROPER DOCUMENTATION.

-- HOT PURSUIT. SCHENGEN PROVIDES FOR THE POLICE FORCES OF A MEMBER STATE TO CROSS INTO ANOTHER MEMBER STATE WITHOUT PRIOR AUTHORIZATION IF THEY ARE IN "HOT PURSUIT" OF AN INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS COMMITTED A SERIOUS OFFENSE OR WHO HAS ESCAPED CUSTODY. OWEN SAID THAT "DEPUTIES WILL RECOGNIZE THAT IN THE NORTH/SOUTH CONTEXT, THIS COULD GIVE RISE TO ISSUES OF CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY ON WHICH THE MOST CAREFUL THOUGHT WOULD BE REQUIRED."

-- VISA POLICY. SCHENGEN WOULD REQUIRE IRELAND TO ALIGN ITS VISA POLICIES WITH OTHER MEMBER STATES.

-- EXTRADITION POLICY. IRELAND WOULD HAVE TO AMEND ITS EXTRADITION LAWS SO THAT SOMEBODY IDENTIFIED BY THE COMPUTERIZED SCHENGEN INFORMATION SYSTEM AS BEING WANTED FOR EXTRADITION COULD BE HELD IN CUSTODY PENDING RECEIPT OF FORMAL DOCUMENTATION.

CURRENT IRISH IMMIGRATION REGIME

8. THE CURRENT REGIME FOR EU CITIZENS TRAVELLING TO IRELAND, THEREFORE, LOOKS AS IF IT WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT INDEFINITELY. SINCE MARCH 1993, IRELAND HAS HAD A SPECIAL "BLUE" CHANNEL AT PORTS AND AIRPORTS FOR EU CITIZENS ARRIVING IN IRELAND FROM OTHER MEMBER STATES. WHILE THERE IS NO SYSTEMATIC CHECK ON EU CITIZENS WHO USE THIS CHANNEL, THEY MUST DISPLAY THEIR PASSPORTS TO IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS AS THEY WALK THROUGH TO SHOW THAT THEY ARE ENTITLED TO USE

THE SPECIAL CHANNEL. EU CITIZENS TRAVELLING TO IRELAND FROM OUTSIDE THE EU, HOWEVER, ARE SUBJECT TO THE SAME IMMIGRATION CONTROLS AS ALL OTHER THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS.

CHAFING AT CONTINUED DEPENDENCE ON BRITAIN

9. PARLIAMENTARY REACTION TO OWEN'S STATEMENT WAS GENERALLY POSITIVE, ALTHOUGH SOME DEPUTIES OBVIOUSLY CHAFED AT THE FACT THAT IRELAND'S FREEDOM OF MANEUVER ON THIS ISSUE -- LIKE ON SO MANY OTHERS -- IS LIMITED BY ITS CLOSE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TIES TO THE UK. FORMER PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRAT LEADER DES O'MALLEY, A LONG-STANDING FIXTURE OF IRISH POLITICS, RAILED AGAINST OWEN'S ARGUMENT THAT IRELAND SHOULD CONTINUE TO FOLLOW BRITAIN'S EXAMPLE IN MAINTAINING CONTROL AT PORTS OF ENTRY, RATHER THAN INTRODUCING A SYSTEM OF RANDOM CHECKS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY CARDS. HE CRITICIZED "THE SLAVISH MENTALITY WE HAVE TOWARD THE BRITISH" AND THE "COLONIAL ATTITUDE" THAT "IF THE BRITISH DO IT, IT MUST BE RIGHT." HE SAID THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD REALIZE THAT "THE BRITISH ARE OUT OF STEP WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD" ON THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CARDS. HE SAID IF IRELAND INTRODUCED A NATIONAL IDENTITY CARD, IT WOULD BE OF "ENORMOUS BENEFIT FOR TRAVELLING WITHIN THE EU."

10. ONE OF IRELAND'S HOPES WHEN IT FOLLOWED THE UK INTO THE EC IN 1973 WAS THAT EC MEMBERSHIP WOULD REDUCE ITS HISTORIC ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON THE UK. TO A LARGE EXTENT, THAT HAS OCCURRED. IN 1973, FOR EXAMPLE, IRELAND RELIED ON ACCESS TO THE BRITISH MARKET FOR SELLING TWO-THIRDS OF ITS EXPORTS; TODAY, IRELAND SENDS LESS THAN A THIRD OF ITS EXPORTS TO THE UK. BUT THE UK REMAINS AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF JOBS FOR TENS OF THOUSANDS OF UNEMPLOYED IRISH WORKERS, AND TRAVEL BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN/NORTHERN IRELAND IS INCREASING RATHER THAN DECREASING.

11. DESPITE A STRONG DESIRE TO BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, AND TO FOLLOW AN INDEPENDENT LINE FROM THE BRITISH, THE IRISH GOVERNMENT FEELS IT HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO GIVE PRIORITY TO THE BRITISH FREE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENT. MEANWHILE, DUBLIN WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY TO SEE IF DENMARK, WHICH IS IN AN ANALOGOUS SITUATION, IS ABLE TO RECONCILE SCHENGEN MEMBERSHIP WITH ITS LONG-STANDING PARTICIPATION IN THE NORDIC PASSPORT UNION (WHICH INCLUDES NON-EU MEMBERS NORWAY AND ICELAND). DENMARK REPORTEDLY
UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 DUBLIN 002268

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, ECIN, EUN, EI, UK

SUBJECT: IRISH VIEWS ON THE SCHENGEN FREE TRAVEL AREA

REQUESTED OBSERVER STATUS IN SCHENGEN LAST YEAR WITH A VIEW TOWARD JOINING IN THE FUTURE.

SMITH

BT

#2268

NNNN

SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03
<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

SSN: 2268
<^SSN>2268
<^SSN>2268

TOR: 950510121825 M1660743
<^TOR>950510121926 M1660744
<^TOR>950510121927 M1660745

DIST: SIT: NSC
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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. cable	re: First Sinn Fein/HMG Ministerial (2 pages)	05/11/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F
vz1639

RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
011. cable	re: Mainstream Unionist Reaction (2 pages)	05/11/1995	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Cables
Jan 1995-Dec 1996 ([Peace Process, Irish, Ireland, Stormont])
OA/Box Number: 510000

FOLDER TITLE:

[03/22/1995-05/15/1995]

2006-1990-F

vz1639

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Cable

PREC: ROUTINE
CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED
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LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
OSRI: RUEHDL
DTG: 150830Z MAY 95
ORIG: AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 7845
INFO: RUSNNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUEHBS/USEU BRUSSELS
RUEHBL/AMCONSUL BELFAST 3503
RUEHSM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 0091
RUEHHE/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 0393
RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 3724
RUEHLO/AMEMBASSY LONDON 3003
SUBJ: THE IRISH GREENS: CAN THEY TRANSFORM THEMSELVES
INTO A PARTY OF GOVERNMENT?

TEXT:
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 DUBLIN 002316

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, EUN, EI, UK
SUBJECT: THE IRISH GREENS: CAN THEY TRANSFORM THEMSELVES
INTO A PARTY OF GOVERNMENT?

1. SUMMARY. AT THE GREEN PARTY'S FIRST CONFERENCE SINCE ITS STRONG SHOWING IN LAST YEAR'S EUROPEAN ELECTIONS, DUBLIN LORD MAJOR JOHN GORMLEY EXHORTED HIS FELLOW PARTY MEMBERS TO CAPITALIZE ON THE THEIR NEW-FOUND POPULARITY, AND CHANGE THE GREENS FROM A PARTY OF PROTEST TO A PARTY OF GOVERNMENT. FOR A PARTY THAT HAS BEEN LITTLE MORE THAN A LOOSE CONFEDERATION OF ECOLOGICAL ACTIVISTS SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT 14 YEARS AGO, THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO A RADICAL CHANGE IN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND PHILOSOPHY. GORMLEY ALSO ARGUED THAT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ELECTORAL SUCCESS, THE GREENS WOULD HAVE TO KEEP FROM BEING TAGGED AS A ONE-ISSUE PARTY. ONE OF THE NON-ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES THAT IS LIKELY TO FIGURE STRONGLY ON THE GREENS' AGENDA IS PRESERVATION OF IRISH NEUTRALITY. THE GREENS' TOP VOTE-GETTER, MEP PATRICIA MCKENNA, HAS MADE OPPOSITION TO AN EU DEFENSE IDENTITY ONE OF HER MAIN PREOCCUPATIONS. THE GREEN PARTY'S CHANCES FOR ELECTORAL SUCCESS IN THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION REST ON ITS ABILITY TO EXPLOIT THE DISILLUSIONMENT OF LEFT-LEANING VOTERS WHO NORMALLY SUPPORT THE LABOUR PARTY AND DEMOCRATIC LEFT. END SUMMARY.
FIRST MEETING SINCE LAST YEAR'S SUCCESS

2. THE GREEN PARTY HELD ITS ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON MAY 6-7, ITS FIRST GENERAL MEETING SINCE ITS SURPRISING BREAKTHROUGH IN LAST YEAR'S EUROPEAN ELECTIONS, WHEN IT WON ALMOST 8 PERCENT OF THE VOTE NATIONALLY AND CAPTURED TWO OF THE 15 IRISH SEATS IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. DUBLIN LORD MAYOR JOHN GORMLEY, WHO IS ONE OF THE GREEN PARTY'S MOST PROMINENT MEMBERS, TOLD THE 200 CONFERENCE DELEGATES THAT THE PARTY HAD AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD UPON ITS NEW-FOUND POPULARITY, AND TO CAPTURE UP TO NINE SEATS IN THE DAIL (LOWER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT) AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION. (CURRENTLY, THERE IS JUST ONE GREEN PARTY MEMBER IN THE 166-SEAT DAIL -- TREVOR SARGENT FROM DUBLIN NORTH, WHO WAS FIRST ELECTED IN 1992.)

"WE DON'T NEED LEADERS"

3. SINCE ITS INCEPTION IN 1981 AS THE ECOLOGY PARTY OF IRELAND, THE GREEN PARTY HAS BEEN A VERY LOOSE-KNIT GROUP OF ECOLOGICAL ACTIVISTS WHO HAVE FOCUSSED THEIR EFFORTS ON PROTESTING ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES, RATHER THAN ON WINNING ELECTIVE OFFICE. THE PARTY IS SO WEDDED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DECENTRALIZATION AND CONSENSUS THAT THERE IS NO PARTY LEADERSHIP PER SE. (A PARTY HAND-OUT BOASTS: "WE HAVE NO LEADERS AS EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN US WE DON'T NEED THEM> THERE IS NO LEADERSHIP TELLING THE MEMBERS WHAT TO THINK.") IN THE ABSENCE OF A PARTY LEADER OR GENERAL SECRETARY, THE PARTY'S FLAT HIERARCHY IS HEADED BY AN UNPAID, VOLUNTEER "COORDINATOR." THE ONLY PAID POSITION IN THE PARTY IS A PART-TIME OFFICE ASSISTANT.

4. TO AVOID POLITICAL CAREERISM OR THE CREATION OF A "PERSONALITY CULT," CURRENT PARTY RULES PROHIBIT MEMBERS ELECTED TO THE DAIL FROM SERVING MORE THAN 8 YEARS. RULES ALSO PROHIBIT MEMBERS FROM SERVING SIMULTANEOUSLY IN THE DAIL AND ON A TOWN OR COUNTY COUNCIL. THIS PUTS A GREEN PARTY DEPUTY AT A REAL DISADVANTAGE VIS-A-VIS HIS PEERS; MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF CURRENT DAIL MEMBERS SERVE ON A LOCAL AUTHORITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL IN A POLITICAL SYSTEM WHERE LOCAL POLITICS AND CONSTITUENT SERVICE PREDOMINATE.

GORMLEY'S REFORMS

5. GORMLEY ARGUED THAT IN ORDER FOR THE PARTY TO TRANSLATE ITS GRASSROOT SUPPORT INTO PARLIAMENTARY SEATS AT THE NEXT ELECTION, THE GREENS HAD TO TRANSFORM ITSELF FROM A PARTY OF PROTEST INTO A PARTY OF GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD REQUIRE, HE SAID, TWO FULL-TIME PARTY OFFICERS TO ORGANIZE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS AND DRAFT POLICIES. IT WOULD ALSO REQUIRE A NEW CONSTITUTION DRAFTED BY LEGAL EXPERTS AND DRAWN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE GREENS IN GERMANY, SWEDEN AND FINLAND. ASSUMING THE PARTY WON SEVERAL SEATS IN THE NEXT ELECTION, THE NEW CONSTITUTION HAD TO ANSWER QUESTIONS LIKE: WHO WOULD NEGOTIATE COALITION TERMS ON BEHALF OF THE GREEN PARTY? HOW WOULD THE LEADER OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY BE CHOSEN? IF A COALITION DEAL WAS DONE, HOW WOULD IT BE

RATIFIED? NONE OF THESE ISSUES IS ADDRESSED IN THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION. SAID GORMLEY: "THE GREENS ARE ON AN UPWARD CURVE AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO BUILD AND PROGRESS IF WE CAN MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF OUR LATEST SUCCESSES AND IF WE ARE WILLING TO FACE UP TO THE CHALLENGES WHICH NOW FACE US."

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6. FOR A PARTY THAT HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN SO CONSENSUS-ORIENTED, GORMLEY'S PROPOSALS WERE QUITE CONTROVERSIAL. SOME DELEGATES WERE OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT SUCH CHANGES WOULD UNDERMINE THE PARTY'S DISTINCT IDENTITY AS A GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATION. THERE WAS ALSO RESENTMENT THAT GORMLEY, WHO CLEARLY WANTS TO BE AMONG THE GREEN CANDIDATES ELECTED TO THE DAIL AT THE NEXT ELECTION, HAD SPRUNG THESE IDEAS ON THE CONFERENCE WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION. NO FORMAL ACTION WAS TAKEN ON GORMLEY'S PROPOSALS, BUT THEY CERTAINLY WILL BE A MAJOR TOPIC OF CONVERSATION WITHIN THE PARTY OVER THE NEXT YEAR.

NOT JUST AN ENVIRONMENTAL PARTY

7. DURING HIS SPEECH TO THE CONFERENCE, GORMLEY ALSO ARGUED THAT, TO ACHIEVE ELECTORAL SUCCESS, THE GREENS HAD TO AVOID BEING IDENTIFIED AS A ONE-ISSUE PARTY. GORMLEY

NOTED THAT ASIDE FROM ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, THE PARTY HAD A NUMBER OF POLICY INTERESTS. SOME OF THOSE MENTIONED IN PARTY DOCUMENTS, AND BY GORMLEY AND OTHERS INCLUDE:

-- INTRODUCTION OF A GUARANTEED BASIC INCOME. A PARTY DOCUMENT ARGUES THAT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, A GUARANTEED BASIC INCOME WOULD "REMOVE THE POVERTY TRAP WHEREBY PEOPLE CAN BECOME POORER BY TAKING UP WORK" AND WOULD "RELIEVE THE PRESSURE FOR HARMFUL FORMS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION TO CREATE JOBS." GORMLEY NOTED THAT IRELAND'S MAIN ECONOMIC THINK-TANK -- THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE -- AND THE CONFERENCE OF RELIGIOUS SUPERIORS IN IRELAND HAVE ENDORSED THE IDEA OF A GUARANTEED BASIC INCOME SCHEME.

-- PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONAL IRISH NEUTRALITY. THIS IS A SPECIAL HOBBYHORSE OF GREEN MEP PATRICIA MCKENNA, WHO BEGAN HER POLITICAL CAREER AS A "NO" CAMPAIGNER IN IRELAND'S PUBLIC REFERENDUM ON THE 1985 SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT (SEA). MCKENNA, WHO TOPPED THE POLL IN DUBLIN IN LAST YEAR'S EUROPEAN ELECTIONS WITH 14.5 PERCENT OF THE VOTE, OPPOSED THE SEA BECAUSE SHE BELIEVED THAT ITS PROVISIONS FOR INSTITUTIONALIZING FOREIGN POLICY COORDINATION AMONG MEMBERS STATES WOULD COMPROMISE IRISH NEUTRALITY. AT THE CONFERENCE, MCKENNA, WHO ALSO CAMPAIGNED AGAINST THE MAASTRICHT TREATY, RECEIVED AN ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE WHEN

SHE EXHORTED CONFERENCE DELEGATES TO JOIN HER IN OPPOSING ANY EFFORTS AT THE 1996 IGU TO MOVE TOWARD A COMMON EU DEFENSE POLICY.

-- A THIRD WAY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. THE PARTY "TOTALLY REJECTS" COERCING NORTHERN UNIONISTS INTO A UNITED IRELAND, AND SIMILARLY OPPOSES COERCING NORTHERN NATIONALISTS INTO THE UK. AS A GREEN PARTY MEMBER EXPLAINED AT A RECENT SESSION OF THE FORUM FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION, "THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH OPTIONS" SHOULD BE CONSIDERED, SUCH AS THE CANTON SYSTEM IN BELGIUM AND SWITZERLAND, WHICH WOULD ALLOW EACH COMMUNITY IN THE NORTH TO HAVE SECURITY AND AUTONOMY.

-- REJECTION OF TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC THINKING. THE GREENS CRITICIZE THE MAINSTREAM PARTIES FOR THEIR ALLEGEDLY SINGLE-MINDED EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AS THE PANACEA

FOR ALL PROBLEMS. ONE OF THE MAIN SPEAKERS AT THE CONFERENCE WAS THE AUTHOR OF A BOOK ENTITLED "THE GROWTH ILLUSION," WHO ARGUED THAT THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL "PEASANT CULTURE" WAS THE HIGHEST FORM OF SOCIETAL ORGANIZATION BECAUSE OF ITS EMPHASIS ON FAMILY, COMMUNITY, AND THE LAND.

-- OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR POWER. IRELAND'S OTHER GREEN MEP, NUALA AHERN, USED HER SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE TO CALL ON THE GOVERNMENT TO OPPOSE OFFICIALLY THE EXPANSION OF NUCLEAR POWER. SHE ACCUSED THE GOVERNMENT OF "SITTING ON THE FENCE" AND REFUSING TO TAKE A STANCE AGAINST THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY THE SELLAFIELD AND THORP NUCLEAR FACILITIES ACROSS THE IRISH SEA IN BRITAIN. SHE COMPLAINED THAT IRISH TAXPAYERS' MONEY WAS PAYING FOR NUCLEAR PROJECTS IN EASTERN EUROPE THROUGH THE EUROPEAN BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT.

CAN THEY DO IT?

8. IT IS STILL AN OPEN QUESTION WHETHER THE GREENS WILL BE ABLE TO REPLICATE THEIR EUROPEAN SUCCESS AT THE NEXT
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GENERAL ELECTION, WHICH MUST BE HELD NO LATER THAN NOVEMBER 1997. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT MUCH OF THE GREENS' SUPPORT IN THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS CAME, NOT FROM NEW CONVERTS TO THEIR CAUSE, BUT FROM VOTERS WHO SIMPLY WANTED TO REGISTER THEIR UNHAPPINESS WITH THE POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT. THESE VOTERS MAY BE UNWILLING TO "WASTE" A VOTE FOR THE GREENS IN A NATIONAL ELECTION. RECENT POLLS, WHICH HAVE SHOWN THE GREENS STUCK AT ONLY 3 PERCENT SUPPORT FOR THE PAST SIX MONTHS, SEEM TO SUPPORT THIS VIEW.

9. WHAT MAY WORK IN THE GREEN PARTY'S FAVOR, HOWEVER, IS THE FACT THAT THEIR NATURAL IDEOLOGICAL RIVALS -- THE LABOUR PARTY AND DEMOCRATIC LEFT -- ARE PART OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT COALITION LED BY CONSERVATIVE FINE GAEL. AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION, THIS MAY ALLOW THE GREENS TO WIN OVER LEFT-LEANING VOTERS DISILLUSIONED WITH THE INEVITABLE COMPROMISES THAT LABOUR AND DEMOCRATIC LEFT WILL HAVE TO MAKE IN GOVERNMENT. WHETHER THE GREENS CAN CAPITALIZE ON THIS OPPORTUNITY, HOWEVER, MAY DEPEND ON WHETHER THE PARTY CAN MAKE SOME OF THE KEY ORGANIZATIONAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL CHANGES ADVOCATED BY GORMLEY. SMITH
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