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The present impasse between the British Government and Sinn Fein was wholly predictable but not completely avoidable. The sacking of the advisory team in November 1993 removed a valuable tool of interpretation. The members of this team have spent the previous twenty years in working with and understanding the British Government position, this was wrongly but understandably interpreted as a pro-British position, which is very sad indeed. This historically mistaken interpretation should be recognised for what it is and left in the past to enable the work to continue.

The following is an analysis of the current position and is offered with integrity.

There would appear to be three main options open to the Republican Movement.

- 1) Go Back to war.
- 2) Hang in there and depend on Bruton and America to put pressure on the British.
- 3) Hold the present position but with an independent Republican strategy not depending on Britain or America.

Option 1 Return To War

The advantages

It must be clearly understood that the British Government, John Major, Michael Ancram and the cabinet office totally detest the Republican Movement. They are devoid of sympathy and understanding irrespective of personal interpretations to the contrary but they respect power. The Return To War alters the British Government's need to be understanding.

A climate would be created in which the democracies throughout Europe and the USA would work frantically to renew the peace, the British Government may be forced to negotiate on more realistic terms.

A period of war leading up to the next general election in England and ending immediately on a Labour victory may make the new British Government more willing to negotiate realistically.

A Return To War and the weakening drip-drip strategy of the present British Government. It is high risk but the British Government would be forced into a different position.

The disadvantages

Better known to the Republican Movement, but include a very hostile Bruton, draconian laws north and south, the British Propaganda machine in full flight and the possibility of all the advantages being turned on their heads, a concerted European and American effort to crush the leadership and the supply lines. A very difficult period of time.

Option 2

advantages

European American and Irish good will. A torturous but maybe acceptable long journey, exposing the British Government from the moral high ground. Irish public opinion remaining firmly in the Nationalist camp and the knowledge that the British will not risk pushing the drip-drip to breaking point.

Disadvantages

The disintegration of the Republican Movement. The British Government constantly working to its own agenda. The Republican Movement getting entrapped like Gulliver by the weak. Frantic diplomatic efforts being made by Hume the cardinal and members of Dail Eireann for the British to do something, all ending in failure or part failure and a disempowered Republican Movement waiting on the outcome of both the British and Free State General Elections.

Option 3

Advantages

Peace process holds limited risk to the Republican Movement a clear option into strategy no. 1. The removal of tactical control of the Peace Process from the British Government.

Disadvantages

Prolonging the peace process leading to the disintegration of the ability to fight. Being out manoeuvred by the British Government, Bruton and the US. Difficulty in getting the strategy across to

members of the Republican Movement and at the same time withholding the strategy from the British Government. Being trapped by time.

Strategies 1 and 2 are self explanatory, strategy 3 requires further exploration. The experience gained by the team over twenty years makes it very difficult for the British to move. We here place in front of you a document delivered on November 14, 1994, which clearly indicates the position which now exists. It has to be recognised that continually looking at the peace process through Irish eyes is unhelpful. A keener understanding of how the British think and work would indicate a different scenario.

The British hate the republican movement and everyone connected with it. they separate this from the peace process and this is the source of many of the current obstacles which the British Government have placed in the path of the peace process. Present British Government strategy is to arrive at a peace process solution in NI with the help of their friends in the Republic with Sinn Fein getting less than 5% of the vote in the North and nothing in the South and a disempowered army. The BG are quite convinced that they can achieve this. Whilst the writer cannot speak with authority on the south it would be a reasonable assumption that this would be an acceptable result to the present coalition government.

If this thesis is accepted then it is easy to place everything which is happening between these twin railway tracks and it will get worse. But with understanding of each hour of these strategies it is possible to outflank them. An example of this is happening at the present in the delegations withdrawal from the Ancram talks. We are certain that this has greatly troubled the BG. The recent rioting with the release of Clegg has had the same effect. Daly's recent condemnation on Clegg (Broadcast in Ireland but not in Britain) has been most unhelpful to the British and one could easily imagine Bruton advising the Cardinal to go a little easier as he would be getting an assurance on prisoners from John Major. The British Strategy is to cocoon the victim (RM) with the ultimate object to destroy it. The RM strategy should be to retain a separate platform. This will mean the leadership having to take difficult decisions of separateness it may mean prominent members of the leadership making themselves less available. It is the writers belief that America is firstly an ally of the British and extreme caution should be exercised. The same applies to Europe Bruton and there is a grave danger that Hume may not retain the leadership of SDLP for the indefinite future. The arms issue has been badly handled by RM e.g. any nationalist in the country clearly understands the RM position. On the other hand the British see it totally differently. Placed in open forum i.e. US Congress, European Parliament and Dail Eireann would go against the RM. The British have chosen their ground carefully, but in a communication by the same team prior November 1993 it was pointed out that the arms issue would be raised and a strategy should have been devised to outflank it. All the arguments which point out that if you give the British 100 weapons and 100lbs of semtex that they would simply come back and up the ante are all fully correct but this is not the point. The BG have a propaganda advantage and a method must be found to side-track it.

To end, if one adapts the third strategy then it would be absolutely essential that the key people throughout the country are brought along and understand what is happening. The Litmus test for the new strategy to work is for the BG and its agencies should not be able to guarantee peace in Ireland irrespective of current British Government decisions. Changes in strategy may be necessary every three days to succeed.