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David Search
to see please — there is much information in this report.
6/7/94 (27)
Meeting with Paddy McGrory, solicitor, 29 June

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I met Paddy McGrory in Belfast on 29 June. Our previous meeting was on 27 May. The following points of interest arose:

- He met Gerry Adams three weeks ago on legal matters. Adams was preoccupied and spoke of the "frightening decisions" that faced him. McGrory remains of the view that Adams wants to make progress. According to McGrory, Adams is of the view that changes of Government in Britain or Ireland would be negative developments in the context of the Sinn Fein peace initiative and appears not to share views that had been expressed within the Republican Movement that a long waiting process would be appropriate;
- Information is being kept very tightly controlled within the Sinn Fein leadership. McGrory has formed no clear idea of where the internal strategy stands. There is a quickening of momentum in the internal consultation process. Adams and some others have been busily visiting Sinn Fein members in all parts of the island. McGrory expects some kind of Sinn Fein response reasonably early in July, and said that something could happen by the 12th;
- He was a little uneasy at several of Adams's comments during their recent meeting. Adams, for example, dwelt on the fact that Sinn Fein had got the British to move (the clarifications) and, even though he knows McGrory well, proceeded to speak in lapidary terms of Sinn Fein now moving to "a new phase". McGrory's point is that Adams, faced with his dilemmas within the Movement, may be tempted to try and get the British to move again before an end to violence. McGrory strongly doubts the wisdom of such a tactic;

- The media have irritated Sinn Fein with speculation about cease-fires and quotations from rejectionists. (The "Suzanne Breen" piece of last month in the Irish Times was a notable example. McGrory said that Breen's source was Alex Maskey. Note: I had also heard this from another source, Brian Feeney, some weeks ago);
- A friend of Adams is cultivating and working on the IRA's Belfast OC. (Note: I have reported in previous meetings with McGrory that Belfast Brigade has been seen as a problem in the context of possible moves towards an end to violence). McGrory also suspects that moves may be under consideration to move and secure arms dumps;
- He has heard nothing about a temporary cease-fire and doubts if such an eventuality will occur. The key point is that a temporary cease-fire will be seen internally as weakening the capacity of the IRA;
- The core issue for Adams remains the point of consent and self-determination;
- In an interesting development, Adams and McGrory discussed the notion of having Sinn Fein engage a legal/academic adviser on constitutional issues. Adams is angling for McGrory to assume this rôle. McGrory does not want to do so, he tells me, and suggests that Adams look abroad, possibly to Netherlands or Belgium, for example (McGrory had no specific persons in mind. He is interested in the Belgian model as a possible example in the constitutional area). In any event, Adams prevailed on McGrory to draw up two short papers - the first on the British Constitution and the second on the Northern Ireland constitution. McGrory concludes that Adams and his inner core are readying themselves for eventual talks on constitutional matters and that they are considering "packaging" the issues for their membership. (He did not, however, rule out the possibility that Adams may be

researching for a further statement of position to the British side on the "clarification" issue.) He said that he had urged Adams, who has a strong sense of history, to avoid what he described as de Valera's tendency to become embroiled in academic distinctions;

- He is to contact Siobhán (O' Hanlon - Gerry Adams's secretary) about a meeting with Adams on the papers he has drawn up. He suspects that he may be asked to do further work in this area. He emphasised again his lack of enthusiasm for taking an active rôle in this area;
- His reticence at taking an active role may stem in part from remarks recently made to him by a close ally of Adams who appeared, to McGrory's surprise, to be aware of the papers McGrory privately sent to Adams before the Ard-Fheis. (Note: it will be recalled that McGrory also handed me a copy in strict confidence, with Adams's foreknowledge). McGrory's fear is of being seen as a "peacemonger" and guru to Adams by some in the Belfast IRA;
- Adams expressed concern to McGrory about John Hume's mood swings and is worried at the possibility of Hume leaving the scene through health reasons. Recently, Hume visited Martin McGuinness to share some of his concerns and, according to Adams, literally cried on McGuinness's shoulder;
- Adams and Sinn Fein are not happy at the intergovernmental talks. The fear on this point is of being excluded from a possible deal;
- In conclusion, McGrory offered his view that an end to violence could come about later this year. (He sees a particular problem in due course in how to deal with "senior" IRA figures who have had a substantial stake in the IRA's military and political campaigns over tyhe years. He sees a role for them in local community

activities e. g. controlling the drugs problem in West
Belfast.

Declan Kelleher

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4 July 1994