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Loyalist Ceasefire

The announcement by the Combined Loyalist Military Command that it would "universally cease all operational hostilities" from midnight, 13 October was predicated on:

- : confirmation and guarantees in relation to the Northern Ireland's constitutional position
- : "other assurances"
- : the belief that the democratically expressed wishes of the greater number of people in NI would be respected and upheld

- The key elements in providing reassurance were
 - position taken by Major, in particular commitment to a referendum during his visit on 16 October
 - sanction given by the NIO for UDA/UFF and UVF representatives to meet with prisoners at the Maze on 11 October. We had previously been aware of significant differences within the UDA between remand and sentenced prisoners, with Johnny Adair actively opposing a cessation of the campaign.

The Ulster Democratic Party spokesman Gary McMichael agreed that the correspondence between himself and the Taoiseach had played "some part in arriving at this decision", although he "would have to say that it was a minimum part".

It seems clear that there were also extensive behind the scenes contacts between Loyalists and the British Government. McMichael referred to exploring "many avenues in order to be completely secure of the future of Northern Ireland".

- In response to a question on the Framework Document at the CLMC press conference he said "we have a good indication of what is contained in the Framework Document". He added that they were quite happy that the outcome of any future inter-Party talks would be put to the people for ratification.
- It was also revealed that the UUP leader James Molyneaux provided the Loyalist groups with an assessment of the political situation.
- The CLMC felt in a position to conclude, following these consultations, that "the Union is safe".

Other Aspects of the Statement

- The statement was on behalf of all members of the CLMC, namely UDA/UFF, UVF and Red Hand Commandos. There were reports up to a very late stage that the UDA, with a younger more mercurial membership, were resistant to the ceasefire initiative.
- Contrary to reports the ceasefire was not geographically limited: there was no provision for continuing the campaign in the Republic.
- The permanence of the ceasefire was made "completely dependent" on continued cessation "of all nationalist/republican violence". This would leave open the possibility of a resumption of Loyalist violence in the event of attacks by, say, the INLA, Republican Sinn Fein or other dissident elements.
- The valedictory tone of the statement and subsequent comment by Loyalist spokesmen ("the beginning of a new dawn", D. Irvine), suggest however that it is expected that they believe the peace will be permanent, and that they will act on that basis.

- The expression of "abject and true remorse" from the loss of innocent victims has been much commented on, and widely welcomed including by Church leaders. It has been contrasted with its omission from the Provisional IRA statement of 31 August.

- Common to both statements were expressions of appreciation to dead colleagues, volunteers and supporters, (providing further internal evidence, to those familiar with the vernacular, that both sides have ended their campaigns for good).

- The pledge of continued practical support to wounded members and their families suggests inter alia that the Loyalist groups expect to be in positions to engender significant funds well into the future.

- Prisoners are assured that "no stone will be left unturned to secure their freedom". This issue clearly remains central for both sets of paramilitaries. The bi-partisan nature of the issue gives the British side increased room for manoeuvre, if they care to exploit it.

- There is a lack of clarity as to whether the ceasefire covers punishment beatings (there were 2 Loyalist punishment shootings in the hours immediately prior to the ceasefire coming into effect). In a radio interview this morning McMichael "hoped" there would be no recurrence. [John Taylor MP claimed that the ending of all attacks differentiated the Loyalist from the IRA statement: the reference in the statement to "operational hostilities" suggests at best some ambiguity on the point.]

CLMC Statement. 8 September

- In terms of the conditions for a ceasefire in the CLMC six point statement of 8 September, it has been suggested

by some commentators that those in relation to the INLA and the Framework Document have been overlooked.

- In fact, as indicated above, the INLA are part of the equation, with the Loyalist ceasefire dependent on the cessation of all republican violence. McMichael's reference to having a "good indication" of the contents of the Framework Document is also relevant.

Response to Loyalist Ceasefire

- Taoiseach said that it signifies the end of 25 years of violence. He added that "since I have always regarded the IRA ceasefire as permanent, I regard the Loyalist ceasefire as permanent also".
- He welcomed recognition in the CLMC statement that the future must be settled within the democratic framework, as provided for in the Downing Street Declaration.
- He expressed appreciation from the element of contrition in the statement. A recognition of past wrongs on all sides would be an element in healing and reconciliation.
- He paid tribute to those who had helped bring the ceasefire about, especially Rev. Roy Magee and Archbishop Eames. He said, that both the Tánaiste and himself continue to maintain contacts in the Loyalist community.
- The Government will continue to pay close attention to the concerns of that community.
- Issues such as law enforcement, policing, prisoners and arms stocks affect both communities and will need to be addressed.
- We will seek political progress with all possible speed, through the Forum and the early completion of the

Framework Document leading to a resumption of Talks.

- Church leaders will be contacted regarding a National Day of Thanksgiving for Peace.
- The Tánaiste saw it as a significant contribution to the creation of a lasting peace. It is important that the overwhelming consensus for peace be respected by all groups and individuals.
- There is a responsibility on political leaders to seize this opportunity and build a lasting accommodation based on equal respect for both traditions.
- For the first time in many decades politicians can address this task free from the threat of political violence.
- The Government is determined to maintain the present momentum for progress: over the coming weeks it will be working closely with the British Government to reach agreement on the Framework Document, to be followed by talks involving all the parties.
- We will work closely with our friends in the US and Europe to address economic difficulties facing both communities in NI and the border regions.

Opposition Parties

- The reaction of Opposition Leaders was generally encouraging, although John Bruton had reservations regarding the absence of an explicit commitment to permanence, the disposal of arms and the problem of punishment shootings and racketeering.
- Deputy De Rossa took a similar line.

- The PD leader Mary Harney struck a more positive note, and expressed personal congratulations to the Taoiseach and Tánaiste.
- In responding to the Dáil statements the Tánaiste said the Government's views on punishment shootings had been made known very clearly to those concerned.

Northern Ireland Parties

- The ceasefire was generally welcomed by the UUP, Alliance and the SDLP. The more interesting reaction was that of the DUP which, while agreeing that violence should be ended, disagreed with the claim that the Union was "safe" - a view it attributed to all the other Unionist parties.
- There is growing interest in the possibility that the smaller parties will challenge the DUP for support in Loyalist working class areas in the period ahead.

British Reaction

- The British Government response was positive, if couched in unspecific and cautious terms. Operating from Bournemouth the Prime Minister Major was clearly torn between claiming credit for a much needed "success", and sticking to his line of measured response.
- Having described the ceasefire as "unalloyed good news", he said "another very important part of the jigsaw has fallen into place".
- While the PM's comments on permanence did not advance the issue (unlikely in any event in a Tory Conference setting), Michael Ancram was quoted as stating that the British Government was "getting close" to forming a working assumption on IRA intentions.

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- Speaking in the NI debate SOS Mayhew emphasised that no price had been paid for either the Loyalist or the Republican ceasefire. The latest ceasefire was significant, but would be treated with equal caution.
 - If the Loyalist ceasefire proves permanent, "we will explore with them the ways that the peace process can be strengthened and their views taken into account".
 - The Labour Leader Tony Blair said it constituted a "significant stride" and stated there was now a real opportunity to advance the peace process. In subsequent media interviews he reiterated his support for the line being taken by the Government.

International Reaction

- President Clinton significantly chose to issue a personal statement which
 - : described the IRA and Loyalist ceasefires as the best hope for peace in a generation
 - : called for negotiations leading to a lasting settlement
 - : praised the Taoiseach and PM for their "leadership and persistence"
 - : looked forward to the next steps in the process
 - : noted the US contribution to the peace process, and emphasised its continued readiness to assist in achieving a negotiated settlement
- Commission President Delors welcomed the announcement which, he said, will add impetus to the work of the Task Force looking into the provision of practical assistance


by the EU. The statement coincided with a meeting between Delors and the three NI MEPs.

Next Steps

- As in the case of the Provisional IRA cessation a number of issues will arise in the period ahead. These include
 - disposal of Loyalist arms supplies
 - treatment of Loyalist prisoners
- Comments by Loyalist spokesmen indicate that they have a realistic appreciation that any moves by the IRA in relation to arms will have to be matched on their side.
- The Loyalist parties association with the CLMC - the Progressive Unionist Party and the Ulster Democratic Party - are also clearly increasingly interested in participation in the political process.
- They are also prepared to envisage direct dialogue with Sinn Fein in due course
- They accept the idea of a dual referendum
- They are open to "cross-border institutions which encompass mutual benefit and on a range of many, many subjects, but importantly the decisions that are taken by institutions set up for that mutual benefit must be ratifiable in a Stormont Parliament and Dail Eireann".

Forum for Peace and Reconciliation

- The Taoiseach has indicated that invitations to attend the Forum will issue to "some of the elected people who speak on behalf of the Loyalist paramilitaries".


P. Hennessy

14 October, 1994

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ANNEX 1

The Loyalist Paramilitary Campaign since 1969

- Loyalist paramilitaries are believed responsible for at least 885 fatalities since 1969, including the deaths of over 800 civilians.

- According to section statistics, Loyalist paramilitaries were responsible for 29.3% of the fatalities which have resulted from the Northern Ireland conflict since 1969.

- 725 Catholics are believed to have been killed by Loyalist paramilitaries. This represents just over 50% of Catholic fatalities during the conflict, with Republican paramilitaries accounting for 33% and security forces for the remaining 17%.

- The overall progression of the Loyalist campaign saw it start slowly in 1969-70 when paramilitaries claimed responsibility for 4 deaths. The campaign increased in intensity through the early and mid-1970s, reflected by a steady rise in the death toll reaching a peak in 1975-76, when the loyalists claimed responsibility for 229 deaths. The death toll tapered off sharply after 1976, averaging 12 fatalities annually between 1977 and 1984 and bottoming out in 1985 when there were 2 fatalities claimed by loyalists.

- The arrival of a younger and more aggressive loyalist paramilitary leadership led to the re-invigoration of the UDA and UVF and a consequent upsurge in the activity of both groups. This was reflected in the annual death toll which rose steadily in the late 1980s and more sharply from 1991. Since 1992, Loyalist paramilitaries have been responsible for more deaths than Republicans, peaking with a total of 48 fatalities in 1993 and continuing to kill at approximately the same rate until the announcement of the IRA cessation from 1 September.

- Since the beginning of 1994, loyalist groups have been responsible for 36 deaths. The UVF have claimed responsibility for the deaths of 22 people, with the UDA killing 11, and the 3 remaining deaths attributable to other loyalist groups.

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CLMC Statement (from AERTEL)

After a widespread consultative process initiated by representations from the Ulster Democratic and Progressive Unionist parties, and after having received confirmation and guarantees in relation to Northern Ireland's constitutional position within the United Kingdom, as well as other assurances, and, in the belief that the democratically expressed wishes of the greater number of people in Northern Ireland will be respected and upheld, the CLMC will universally cease all operational hostilities as from 12 midnight on Thursday October 13 1994.

The permanence of our ceasefire will be completely dependent upon the continued cessation of all nationalist/republican violence, the sole responsibility for a return to war lies with them.

In the genuine hope that this peace will be permanent we take the opportunity to pay homage to all our fighters, commandoes and volunteers who have paid the supreme sacrifice. They did not die in vain. The Union is safe.

To our physically and mentally wounded who have served Ulster so unselfishly, we wish a speedy recovery and to the relatives of these men and women we pledge our continued moral and practical support.

To our prisoners who have undergone so much deprivation and degradation with great courage and forbearance, we solemnly promise to leave no stone unturned to secure their freedom.

To our serving officers, NCOs and personnel, we extend our eternal gratitude for their obedience to orders, for their ingenuity, resilience and good humour in the most trying of circumstances, and, we commend them for their courageous fortitude and unshakable faith over the long years of armed confrontation.

In all sincerity, we offer to the loved ones of all innocent victims over the past 25 years, abject and true remorse. No words of ours will compensate for the intolerable suffering they have undergone during the conflict.

Let us firmly resolve to respect our differing views of freedom, culture and aspiration and never again permit our political circumstances to degenerate into bloody warfare.

We are on the threshold of a new and exciting beginning with our battles in future being political battles, fought on the side of honesty, decency and democracy against the negativity of mistrust, misunderstanding and malevolence so that together we can bring forth a wholesome society in which our children and their children will know the meaning of true peace.