

An Chartlann Náisiúnta
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[Draft] Programme for Independent Inspectors

Monday, 15 May 2000

London

08.00	Breakfast meeting between Inspectors and Prime Minister at No. 10

Belfast

10.00	*Meeting of Irish and British officials with IICD*
11.00	Meeting in Stormont House with Minister for Foreign Affairs, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Irish and British officials
12.15	Lunch with IICD and Irish and British officials
13.15	Meeting with IICD continues - officials depart
14.30	Possible Bilateral between inspectors and [SF/UUP]
15.00	Possible Bilateral between inspectors and [SF/UUP]

The final two items on the schedule are subject to further discussion.

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- VISITS

Time	President Ahtisaari	Mr Ramaphosa
S0815		arrives on BA flight from Jo'burg with aide, Donnay Cooney. To be met by representative of Government hospitality Lindsay Stent contact number 07831 615 102. Car from LHR to Barclay hotel, Knightsbridge (tel 0207 236 6000)
S1600	lands at Luton Airport in private jet from Istanbul, (operating company Skyline) accompanied by Ms Minna Jarvenpaa	to be greeted by representative from Government Hospitality (contact number as above) and taken by car to Barclay Hotel, Knightsbridge (tel no above)
S1850	Mr Kalliokoski arrives from Helsinki on scheduled flight – car to Barclay hotel	

M0715	Car takes President Ahtisaari and Mr Ramaphosa from hotel to Number 10
M0800	Breakfast meeting in Number 10 with PM
M0830	car from hotel to Northolt with aides
M0845 /0900	car from No 10 to Northolt
M0930	clipper from Northolt to Belfast City
M1045	clipper lands on Shorts side of airport, met by SJL (and poss SW) with 2 cars to Stormont House
M1100	meeting in Stormont House conference room with Secretary of State and Irish Foreign Minister Cowen, aides, and British and Irish officials
M1200	Inspectors, aides and British and Irish officials depart for Rosepark
M1200 -1215	photocall, 2 Inspectors and Gen de Chastelain – statement issued to press but no press conference
M1215	light lunch & meeting between Inspectors, aides, Commission, British and Irish officials
M1315 - 1400	officials depart – meeting continues between Commission, Inspectors and aides
M1430 -1530	meeting with UUP
M1545	cars from Rosepark to Belfast City Clipper on standby from 1600 – will be waiting at Aldegrove. Need to ring in advance to come to City – contact number of pilot Sqd Ldr McKenzie is 0370 586 696
M1600	clipper from Belfast City to Northolt,
M1715	Mr Ramaphosa and Ms Cooney to be met by Government Hospitality representative Diana Fitch (contact number 07771 541 658) and taken

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IF[illegible] - VISITS

	by car to LHR
M1800	Clipper departs Northolt for Vantaa with President Ahtisaari and aides (meal served, local ETA 2315).
M2100	Mr Ramaphosa and Ms Cooney depart LHR on BA flignt to Jo'burg

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Meeting with Inspectors and Secretary of State, Belfast, 15 May 2000

Steering Note

1. This meeting will provide an opportunity to brief President Ahtisaari and Mr Ramaphosa on their inspection role. In discussions at official level, Ahtisaari has enquired about the degree of agreement between the two Governments about the inspectors' functions and he may require reassurance on this point.

2. The inspectors' mandate, as understood by the IRA, was set out in their statement of 6 May and has been confirmed in contacts with Sinn Féin since then. It is as follows:
   - the inspectors will inspect the contents of a number of arms dumps;
   - having done so, they will report **[on]** this to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning; and
   - they will re-inspect these dumps regularly to ensure that the weapons have remained secure.

   [note: the word 'on' was inserted at a later stage at the request of the British side; a Sinn Féin interlocutor signaled acceptance of this addition.]

3. Our key concern about the inspection process is that neither Government should become involved, or seek to become involved, in working out the detailed aspects and modalities of the inspection process. Rather, this should be left to the inspectors themselves to work out with their contacts on the Republican side.

4. The inspectors will not be working for the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning [IICD] but rather will be independent actors. Their sole function in relation to the Commission will be to report to it on their work, although they may consult with the Decommissioning Body, if they so wish. However, for certain legal reasons relating to immunity, they will be considered as 'agents' of the Commission but this designation is for internal purposes only, has no operational significance and they shall not be so described in public. Again, the inspectors may need reassurances on their exact relationship to the IICD.

5. The inspectors' contacts with the media will need to be handled in an extremely sensitive manner. It is advisable that they do not discuss detail with the media at this stage. [A draft statement to be issued by the inspectors has been prepared].

Anglo-Irish Division
12 May 2000

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Possible Speaking Points

- **I would like to express my personal appreciation to you for agreeing to this task.**

- **I want you to know that you have the full and wholehearted support of both Governments.**

- **We are are in complete agreement on your role and functions. I know that this is an important concern for you both. It is also essential to the credibility of the inspection process itself.**

- **In our view, the IRA statement of 6 May sets out the mandate of the inspectors, that is:**
  - **to inspect the contents of a number of IRA arms dumps;**
  - **having done so, to report [on] this to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning; and**
  - **to re-inspect these dumps regularly to ensure that the weapons have remained secure**

- **We will not seek to revise these terms. Nor will we seek to become involved in fleshing out the details of your mandate. That is solely a matter for you to agree with the other party engaged in this inspection process. Likewise, the timetable for meetings and inspections are matters to be agreed between you and your contacts**

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- **The two Governments will not try to 'micro-manage' the inspection process once it gets underway. Even if we wanted to, we would not be in a position to do so. The manner in which you perform your functions and fulfill your mandate is a matter for you alone.**

- **Relations with the media will obviously need to be handled in a very careful manner, given the sensitivities surrounding this issue - especially at this time when the key political players are finalising their position on the proposals put forward by the two Governments.**

- **In this context, it would be important not to discuss the details of your mandate with the media.**

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Possible Q&A for Minister's meeting with President Ahtisaari and Mr Ramaphosa

Belfast, Monday 15 May 2000

Q. What is the purpose of this inspection process ?

A. As you are aware, the disarmament or 'decommissioning' issue has greatly retarded progress on the political front in Northern Ireland and has, on occasion, even threatened to derail the entire peace process. The confidence-building measure outlined in the recent IRA statement is designed to break this log-jam and allow the political process to move forward once again, particularly with regard to the re-establishment of the Institutions.

Your mandate is to inspect the contents of a number of IRA arms dumps and, having done so, report this to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning. It arises in the context of the IRA agreeing to put in place a confidence-building measure to confirm, as they put it in their statement, that their weapons remain secure. The very fact that clearly independent and internationally-respected third parties are undertaking this mission will engender public confidence in this exercise.

Q. In the view of the two Governments, what is our specific role in this process ?

A. Simply put, your role is to inspect a number of IRA arms dumps and report back to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning. The terms of the IRA statement makes clear that this will not be a one-off event but rather that the dumps will be re-inspected on a regular basis to ensure that the arms contained therein have remained secure.

The actual modalities and details of this inspection process remain to be worked out between yourselves and the party in possession of these arms dumps. Obviously, the first point of contact will be arranged through Sinn Féin personnel.

Q. What is our relationship with the IICD ?

A. Obviously, the extensive knowledge and experience of the Decommissioning Body will be extremely useful to you as you prepare to undertake your mission and your consultations with members of the Commission today will be an important first step in that regard.

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However, it needs to be stressed that you will not be working for the Commission nor will you be considered in any way as members of the Commission; rather, you are independent third parties. The manner in which you perform your functions is entirely a matter for you. Your only formal connection with the IICD will be to report to it. For technical legal reasons relating primarily to immunity from prosecution, you will be considered as agents of the Commission. However, this designation is strictly for internal 'house-keeping' purposes. It would have no operational significance and it should not be made public.

Q. **Are the two Governments in agreement as to the purpose and outcomes of this inspection process and, in particular, our role as independent inspectors ?**

A. The two Governments have worked extremely closely on this matter, both in the recent negotiations which led to last Saturday's announcements and during previous efforts to resolve the difficulties surrounding the arms issue.

We are agreed that the details of the inspection process should be worked out between the inspectors and the other party. We are aware that this is an extremely sensitive exercise. It is not one which should be 'micro-managed' by the Governments. Indeed, the Governments would not be in a position to do so.

Furthermore, the inspection process should not be undermined by unnecessary and unhelpful outside pressures - such as unrealistic expectations regarding time-tabling. The two Governments are agreed that this is a process which should be allowed to develop strictly along the lines set out in the IRA statement of 6 May and on the terms agreed between yourselves and your contacts from that organisation.

Q. **In what manner can the inspectors engender public confidence in the inspection process ?**

A. We believe that the very fact that clearly independent and internationally-respected third parties are undertaking this mission is of paramount importance in engendering the necessary public confidence in this exercise.

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Q. What about contacts with the media ?

A. The sensitivity of this issue cannot be overemphasised, particularly in the current period when key parties to the Agreement are considering their position in relation to the proposals put forward by the two Governments at Hillsborough on 5 May. In this climate, it is of the utmost importance that the details of the inspection process, particularly those agreed between yourselves and the other party, are not discussed with the media or enter the public domain.

Anglo-Irish Division
12 May 2000

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Draft statement by President Martii Ahtisaari and Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa

We are very pleased to be here today.

We are well aware of the crucially important nature of the responsibilities which have been entrusted to us.

Our mandate is to inspect the contents of a number of IRA arms dumps and, having done so, to report on this to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning. We will regularly reinspect these dumps to ensure that the weapons have remained secure.

Our visit here today represents a first step towards fulfilling that mandate. We are having a range of discussions to help us and we are grateful for the co-operation being shown to us.

We do not underestimate the profound importance or the unprecedented nature of the task which we have been asked to undertake.

People will understand why it would not be helpful or appropriate at this stage for us to make any further public comment about our task.

We look forward to making our reports to the International Commission on Decommissioning and hope that our efforts will prove of enduring benefit to all of the people here.

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Meeting with President Ahtisaari, Paris, 10 May 2000

1. President Ahtisaari was accompanied by his personal assistant and a researcher, both from his Helsinki office. Stephen Leach, NIO represented the British side. Martin Mansergh, Ken O'Leary and Gary Ansbro attended on the Irish side.

1. Mansergh opened the meeting with a brief exposé on the issue of arms in Irish history. Arms had never been surrendered after campaigns. The current difficulty in relation to decommissioning had to be viewed in this light. Thirty years of recent violence had ended in stalemate with victory for neither the British army nor the IRA. All sides now wished to make progress through the political process but progress was bedevilled by the issue of disarmament. George Mitchell's review had resulted in the establishment of the Institutions but only temporarily. The urgent task now was to get a settlement enabling the Institutions to be revived before May 22 this year. Otherwise the No camp would consider the Agreement dead.

2. The confidence building measure outlined in the recent IRA statement, whose purpose is to confirm that their weapons remain secure, was crucial to breaking the log-jam. It was a unique concession on the part of the IRA. It had huge symbolic importance in terms of generating confidence in the IRA's commitment to lasting peace. Officials had met with Sinn Féin on Tuesday and it was clear that the modalities of inspection had still to be worked out. They were anxious to talk to Ahtisaari. They would not respond to artificial deadlines or to pressure for "clear-cut" detail. They need to feel that they remain in control of the process.

3 Ahtisaari opened by saying that "reading between the lines" (of briefing he had already received) he was to be of help to both parties i.e Sinn Féin and the Unionists. Martin McGuinness had already telephoned and made it plain that the inspectors would not be working for the IICD. Ahtisaari wanted to be absolutely clear that Blair was of the same point of view.

4. Ahtisaari asked by what means the inspectors could engender confidence in the public. On what details would they report and what guarantees would there be that arms would remain secure between inspections.? Would they be given statistical information on the volume of arms inspected and its relationship to the total? Would they have assistance in their task ? What was to be the relationship with the IICD? Would the inspectors report directly to the Governments? How was their activity to be made credible to the media?

5. Both the Irish and British sides indicated that the fact of undertaking the mission was, at this juncture, of paramount importance in engendering confidence. The detail would have to be worked out with Sinn Féin. The Irish side said that it was important that other parties should not be seen to set the agenda. Neither would it be wise to rush into finalising detail next week given the impending UUC meeting.

6. The IICD could, of course, be consulted. However, the inspectors' sole function in relation to the IICD was to report to it. The IICD would, in turn, report to the Governments. Leach explained that, for legal reasons relating to immunity, the Inspectors

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would be classed (privately) as agents of the Commission. This would amount to a legal technicality with no operational significance.

7. Both the British and Irish sides stressed that it would be important not to discuss detail with the media given the sensitivity of the issue particularly next week. Both sides undertook to draft a brief statement which might be issued by the Inspectors on Monday next when they visit Belfast.

8. There was some discussion on the issue of a private meeting between the Inspectors and Sinn Féin prior to the Inspectors' visit to Belfast. Ahtisaari said he was flexible and could make it to London (from Istanbul), by Saturday if necessary. He would prefer to meet Sinn Féin in the company of Ramaphosa. However, he needed firm and similar advice from both Governments on the issue. (Both sides agreed shortly after the meeting on the usefulness of a prior meeting with Sinn Féin and this was conveyed to Ahtisaari's aides). Ahtisaari also agreed that modalities should be worked out directly with Sinn Féin.

9. Meetings with both Sinn Féin and with the UUP are pencilled into the draft programme for Monday's visit to Belfast. (See draft programme attached).

10. In relation to possible dates for inspections, Ahtisaari would be in Scotland from 6-9 June and October would suit him well (following knee operations this Summer) for a second inspection.

11. At the end of the meeting Ahtisaari asked how long the inspectors' role would be expected to last. Mansergh explained that a very sensitive process was about to be initiated and that the speed of the process would be dictated by "what the market can bear".

Gary Ansbro
Anglo-Irish Division
11 May 2000

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