

GM

FROM: D BROOKER
 CPL DIVISION
 14 JANUARY 1994

DESK IMMEDIATE

cc PS/Michael Ancram(L,B+DENI) -B&M
 PS/Sir John Wheeler (L,B&DFP) -B&M
 PS/PUS(L+B) -B
 PS/Mr Fell -B
 Mr Legge -B
 Mr Thomas -B
 Mr Bell -B
 Mr Watkins -B
 Mr Williams -B
 Mr Wood(L+B) -B
 Mr Daniell -B
 Mr Maccabe -B
 Mr Brearley -B
 Mr Caine -B
 HMA Dublin -B
 Mr Archer, RID -B

PS/Secretary of State(L+B) -B

(Signed)

PRIVATE MEMBERS MOTION: 21 JANUARY 1994

I attach a first shot at an outline speech for the Secretary of State for next Friday's debate. It is closer to a "mini-speech" than an outline.

2. It centres, as you would expect, on the Joint Declaration and the political talks. It does not, as it stands, contain any references on security although these could easily be woven in nearer the day in the light of the most up-to-date developments. Nor does it include anything on economic and social issues, which do not seem of immediate relevance.

3. The overall political tone is essentially neutral. Again, specific weightings could be built in nearer the time if we wished to send messages to particular audiences but as things stand at present I would have thought that our overall posture should be to let the Joint Declaration and the value of the Talks process speak for themselves. I have not therefore included elements such as the Prime Minister's recital of points which the Declaration does

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not contain, nor have I got into the speculative area of what happens after we get a response. The main purpose of this speech, as I see it, is to re-state for the Northern Ireland community at large, and for the Irish Government, the same messages that surrounded the launch of the Joint Declaration. Although only a month ago that was last year and there needs to be a restatement of the verities for the immediate period ahead. The watch-word, when drafting, is, of course, to avoid any twist or turn that would take the pressure off Sinn Fein.

4. I understand from Mr Brearley that a Minister will also be required to wind up the debate. We will produce some draft speech material early next week.

(Signed)

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PRIVATE MEMBERS MOTION: 21 JANUARY 1994 - JAMES COUCHMAN MP

Outline Speech for Secretary of State

Introduction

Welcome this opportunity for an extended debate. Comes at an opportune time, early in the new Term, and glad of this opportunity to put our Northern Ireland policies on the record. Highly topical subject for debate.

Joint Declaration

2. The draft resolution invites the House to welcome and support "the insistent demand of the people of all traditions in Northern Ireland for peace, properly attained, and asserts its abhorrence and objection of all violence, from whatever quarter, used in place of democratic persuasion".

3. We are having this debate at a time when the Northern Ireland people, the people of Great Britain and the Republic, are waiting - with increasing impatience - for Sinn Fein's response to the Joint Declaration. What we, and they are waiting for, is a clear message that they have renounced violence for good, that the days of the bomb and bullet are gone forever; if Sinn Fein were listening to the voices of the public at their answer would not be delayed.

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4. Remind the House what the Joint Declaration -
- Achieves a balanced statement of the constitutional principles and political realities which safeguard the vital interests of all sections of the community in Northern Ireland -
 - Contains an explicit reaffirmation of this Government's commitment to abide by the democratic wishes of the people of Northern Ireland - set alongside an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of nationalist aspirations to a united Ireland
 - Is not a political settlement in itself. It compliments and underpins the Talks process. That process is continuing and is being intensified; I want to see it go all the way to a successful conclusion. On 10 July the Taoiseach called for "an early re-start to the wider Talks process, in order to pursue agreement". I wholeheartedly concur.
 - Opens the door to Sinn Fein to join the democratic process. Talks are only open to democratically mandated parties committed exclusively to peaceful methods. Sinn Fein can join the dialogue if the violence is stopped for good. There can be exploratory discussions after 3

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months. Once they have demonstrated that they have permanently renounced violence we will talk to them about how they can come to play a full part in the democratic life of Northern Ireland. The way would be open to their involvement in the Talks process.

- Nothing to be gained by setting out artificial deadlines for a response. We are prepared to wait a reasonable period but not to allow foot-dragging. The community will interpret unwarranted delay as rejection.

- Neither Government is in the business of re-negotiating the Declaration. It tells Sinn Fein all they need to know. They can end the violence now and should do so. The place for argumentation about the Declaration is in proper constitutional dialogue; it is within Sinn Fein's gift to join that dialogue if they shun the way of violence.

Reactions to the Joint Declaration

5. Conflicting statements from Sinn Fein. No excuse not to stop the violence now. Agree with John Hume that the arguments traditionally used to justify republican violence no longer apply.

6. Welcome the international support for the Declaration shown by many countries. The common theme is that people all want the opportunity for peace to be grasped. [Insert quotations]

Relationship between Declaration and Talks

7. Emphasise that the Joint Declaration creates a pathway for Sinn Fein back into the proper political process. In the terms of today's resolution it invites them to take up the course of "democratic persuasion" instead of violence.

8. The Declaration compliments and supports the Talks process; the substance and purposes of the Declaration go hand in hand with the objectives of the Talks process. The Prime Minister has made it clear that Northern Ireland is head of the Government's priorities and that our objectives are to secure peace - not peace at any price but peace properly attained - and an agreed political settlement.

9. The Declaration puts on the public record a clear and unequivocal statement of the agreed position of the two Governments on constitutional issues. No paramilitary grouping can now claim that they are uncertain about the intentions of either Government. The Prime Minister would not have made it if it had not explicitly re-affirmed the Government's commitment to abide by the democratic wishes of the Northern Ireland people; that constitutional guarantee remains, is unaltered and will continue to be the guiding principle

for Government policy. Equally, the Taoiseach would not have made the Declaration if it had not acknowledged the legitimacy of nationalist aspirations to a united Ireland.

Political Talks

10. The Declaration opens a door to peace. But if there is to be long-term peace and stability in Northern Ireland there must be not only an end to violence but also an end to the political divisions which nurture and sustain violence.

11. The task which the two Governments and four main Northern Ireland parties set themselves in March 1991 was to "achieve a new beginning for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands". This always was an ambitious target; none of the participants has deceived themselves that a successful outcome is guaranteed.

12. But a lot, has been achieved in the Talks process over the past 3 years. The Talks participants themselves said in November 1992, at the conclusion of the last round table Talks, that "while at this time there is no basis to agree a settlement, they have identified and discussed, most, if not all the elements which would comprise an eventual settlement; they developed a clear understanding of each other's position; and established a constructive dialogue on ways in which an accommodation might be

reached on some of the key issues which divide them". They went on to agree that further dialogue was not only desirable but necessary. The Independent Chairman concluded that the objectives of the Talks process remained valid and achievable.

13. It was never expected that a comprehensive agreement would be easily achieved. Any process involving six different interests, coming from different positions and with different objectives, is bound to be complicated, and, to some extent, cumbersome. But if there is to be an overall agreement which accommodates all the relevant interests then common sense and logic inevitably bring us back to same conclusion that the basis for agreement must emerge from the two Governments and the Northern Ireland parties.

14. The Government therefore remains firmly committed to political dialogue, based on the three stranded analysis. Since the last round table Talks ended we have maintained constructive dialogue with the Northern Ireland parties, and the Irish Government. Since the autumn Michael Ancram has been engaged in exploratory, private bilaterals with the Northern Ireland parties to build on what was learned during the earlier Talks, identify common ground, clarify areas of disagreement and develop a relief map for the way forward.

15. The process is being carried forward and intensified. The bilateral discussions are continuing. Pay a tribute to the work of the Northern Ireland parties. The Alliance party, SDLP and UUP have

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had a serious engagement with Michael Ancram over recent months; all have applied themselves energetically to progress in political dialogue. The UUP have put forward specific proposals in their paper the Blueprint for Stability. I regret that the DUP declined to engage in exploratory discussions but I am glad that they have made a positive contribution to the overall debate through their proposals in "Breaking the Log-jam".

16. The process is therefore pressing forward. No question of allowing the momentum to drop. The door is open to Sinn Fein but it is up to them to decide whether or when to walk through it. The talks process continues in the meantime. The case for returning greater power, authority and responsibility to the Northern Ireland people becomes ever more urgent. New arrangements, which increased accountability to the local people and offered them greater opportunity for involvement in political structures could only enhance the political life of the Province and contribute to greater stability.

17. Worth repeating that the guiding principles for the Government in the political Talks are our unerring commitment to abide by the democratic wishes of the Northern Ireland people and the need for consent. The constitutional guarantee is there and in the Joint Declaration. [Some people characterise the guarantee as a veto designed to favour one part of the community. A more accurate, less cynical description in my view is that it is formal recognition of a

formal guarantee in joint dec.

Some people characterise it as a veto

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*or less of the spirit of the
- perhaps - democratic consent
but common ground would be acceptable*

principle which is fundamental in any democracy, that the democratic wishes of the greater number must be respected.] We have no particular pre-conception as to what an eventual outcome from the Talks might look like. Our only broad criteria is that any new arrangements should be workable, likely to prove stable and durable, must command widespread support and provide an appropriate and fair role for both sides of the community. They must also take proper account of Northern Ireland's wider relationships with the rest of the UK and the Republic of Ireland.

18. Any accommodation should therefore reach beyond the physical limits of Northern Ireland. It should maximise the scope for co-operation between political institutions in the two parts of Ireland, in areas where their interests coincide. We would also expect it to contain an agreed understanding of the constitutional issues.

19. New arrangements, if they are to be successful, should recognise the nature of the divisions which persist in Northern Ireland. They should reflect the character, aspirations and expectations of the two principle traditions. Each part of the community should be prepared to recognise the other, accord it parity of esteem, recognise its validity.

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PERORATION

20. Warmly endorse this motion, which calls on the men of violence to end their acts of terrorism, gives fresh encouragement to constitutional politics and reminds both Governments and the Northern Ireland parties of the urgent need to achieve a comprehensive and widely acceptable political settlement. When that happens - and I say 'when' not 'if' because there will one day be a resolution to these problems - the people of Northern Ireland will be able to look forward with a new sense of optimism. They deserve to be given that opportunity without delay.

2. James Coughman MP has tabled the following motion (with the agreement of the Secretary of State):

"That this House welcomes and supports the insistent demand of the people of all traditions in Northern Ireland for peace, properly attained, and asserts its abhorrence and rejection of all violence, from whatever quarter, used in the place of democratic persuasion".

3. The debate will run from approximately 9.30 am to 2.30 pm and will take place the day after KIO is TOPs for oral questions and the Northern Ireland Committee considers Health and Social Services in Northern Ireland. It provides an opportunity for a big political debate on Northern Ireland and the Secretary of State plans to make a major speech.

4. We expect the debate to focus on political issues including the Joint Declaration (Mr. Daniels) but also to touch on security issues, such as recent calls by Mr. Mulcahy for a security clampdown on the