

SECRET

12(a-b)

POLITICAL MOVEMENT

What is end product?
- Pro. w/democr. - do!
('but don't
wreck it')

Wanted Ireland - to be done democratically
Points to Make

1. We both share an enormous interest in seeing the Provisional movement abandon their futile terrorist campaign. The whole range of our policies in Northern Ireland - economic, social and political, as well as on security matters - were designed to bring that about, as well as being promoted on merit.

2. We remain ready to consider carefully any proposal intended to advance the cause of peace. In that spirit we had, with the Irish side, looked carefully at drafts of a possible "Joint Declaration".

3. We need to proceed sceptically however. There is no question of HMG adopting the posture that it will work to bring about a united Ireland. Our position is that we would do nothing to impede those who work for this by democratic means. Likewise there is no question of our compromising our position that we will not negotiate with the Provisional movement unless and until they renounce violence.

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Safety Guards
They say: Review of our law.
We see value: not quickly
for IGC.

CONFIDENCE ISSUES - SECURITY: POINTS TO MAKE

Confidence in the security forces in the fight against terrorism must be won from both parts of the community.

Absence of Secretariat J. Michael O'Hanlon / Attorney.
N.I.O.

Fairness of treatment of individuals is vital; but equally, measures to defeat terrorism must be effective.

+ Escalation of Loyalists, 11 July.

Proscription of UDA has underlined Government's repugnance of terrorism, whatever its source.

Believe there is a high confidence (and ultimately political) dividend to be had from visible improvements in our joint strategy to defeat terrorism.

Safety Value

The tragic shooting in Belfast of Peter McBride could have had serious repercussions, but the very rapid charging of two soldiers for murder the following day demonstrated that the system worked and did much to avoid conflict.

The 1992 Marching Season (2,300 marches) went extremely well, (apart from the appalling behaviour by Loyalists outside the bookmakers shop in Ormeau Road - condemned by the Secretary of State as behaviour 'that would have disgraced

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a tribe of cannibals'). While still a concern, tensions were avoided at flashpoints by careful, sensitive, policing, involving much community liaison.

Bob
you taking you? a problem

*No - just thought
reference for
the document!*

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Robin!

Yvonne looking for it? A problem

No: just thought elsewhere for the moment!

Michael Dwyer and Patrick Flynn working together. At senior official level, John Chilcot (CIS, NIO) and [redacted] (Permanent Secretary, Irish Department of Justice) are continuing to work through an agenda of

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4. We gather that John Hume hopes to come forward, perhaps to you initially, with a new draft. If you judge it offers real prospects we shall of course want to give it serious considerations though without great hope.

5. In the meantime, we believe the overt political Talks process constitutes a powerful pressure on the Provisionals. We shall do all we can to sustain it. Equally we shall undertake nothing with respect to the Provisional movement which might compromise the political Talks process.

IRA lay down arms; end violence
before we talk.

No dialogue with IRA.

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SECURITY CO-OPERATION: POINTS TO MAKE

(Perry Ryan)

Better Ryan

Terrorism poses continuing challenge throughout these islands.

Co-op. v. good.

A great deal has been achieved to combat it through excellent work north and south of the Border.

Especially appreciative of the considerable resources the Irish authorities put into border security.

The Irish security forces' support for the PVCP construction programme in Counties Fermanagh and Londonderry (Op LOREN) was excellent: we are most grateful for this.

But while violence continues there is scope for additional measures to improve security co-operation. Recognise gratefully the highly beneficial influence of Mr Flynn.

Michael Mates and Padraig Flynn working together. At senior official level, John Chilcot (PUS, NIO) and Joe Brosnan (Permanent Secretary, Irish Department of Justice) are continuing to work through an agenda of

Oper. Pol.
Griffiths

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important initiatives which could lead to real improvements on ground.

Operational contact between the police forces is excellent, as are relationships - a very positive development.

Most grateful for the renewal of the IED [Improvised Explosive Device] Agreement, which provides for both overflights to observe actual or suspect devices on the border and for bomb disposal officers to cross into the ROI. They have an exceptionally dangerous and exposed task, and on specific occasions there might be need for greater flexibility [eg for more than currently permitted two officers to cross border]. Would much appreciate an understanding response from you on this.

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NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL TALKS: POINTS TO
MAKE

Next IGC

1. Welcome your agreement to a final extension of the gap until the next conference. Talks would, in our confident judgement, have ended by now had it been announced earlier this week, 'no extension'. We have suggested Friday 13 or Monday 16 November as firm dates and understand these would suit relevant diaries. Can we settle on one or other of those? (A week or two more would be better. Anything earlier won't give enough time NB previous public commitment was to no IGC 'before beginning 28 September: 6 weeks from that is week beginning 9 November.)
2. Realistic to ask everyone to work towards outline heads of agreement on this timetable. If achieved these may help talks move on after conference without breakdown.
3. We remain committed to 1985 Agreement, unless we both agree something better. We can address, eg security issues, in bilateral meetings before next conference.

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Progress so far

4. Significant progress already. Strand 1: Unionists committed to devolution, with executive powers allocated in proportion to party strengths and significant safeguards for minority.

5. Strand 2: good meeting in Dublin, most generously hosted. Courageous of Mr Molyneaux to attend despite Dr Paisley. Irish papers on terrorism and economic co-operation helped progress. Interesting UUP ideas on North/South structures.

6. Strand 3: good working relationship between two governments. Valuable discussions on constitutional issues.

Prospects for the future

7. Possible to reach outline heads of agreement in next 6-8 weeks. Six weeks irreducible minimum. Won't be easy. We shall need to work closely together and encourage flexibility. Must try to hold DUP in process. Better chance of full popular acceptance of outcome if we do.

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8. Outline agreement may require just one or two leaders from each delegation to put their heads together. Of course, what they agree must carry everyone else.

9. For our part we can see those heads of agreement including:

- New political institutions in Northern Ireland along lines already indicated in Strand 1.
- Permanent, statutorily-based North/South institutions. Perhaps capable of developing executive authority, with agreement of both sides.
- New agreement between two Governments building on 1985 Agreement. Retention of intergovernmental conference, with rights of consultation. But we need to take some account of Unionist concerns.
- Unambiguous consensus on constitutional issues.

Constitutional Issues

10. Understand the significance of this for you. Appreciate that if there is a referendum to

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change Articles 2 and 3, it must be a success. Right outcome from rest of talks will be essential to this.

11. Small step further might make all the difference. Realize you think Articles 2 and 3 blown up out of all proportion to true significance. But can you say you would seek changes to Articles 2 and 3, if the overall outcome to the talks were acceptable? Or that if those circumstances came about, then you cannot foresee any reason for not seeking such changes? A move now would not be seen as a reward for the DUP.

12. Nationalist concerns about constitutional issues must also be addressed. We have said that we have no selfish interest in Northern Ireland. If a majority in Northern Ireland want a united Ireland, we won't stand in their way - but we won't join the persuaders either. Ready to repeat this (eg speech by Secretary of State) if it would help.

Art. 2 or 3 need balancing.)

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Birmingham Summit

- Clearly many EC citizens are anxious about the way the Community is developing. Must address these anxieties.
- UK still committed to the Maastricht Treaty. But in the present climate we face real difficulties steering our ratification bill through Parliament. As I told the House yesterday, must await clarification of Danish way forward and progress on dealing with public concerns.

Future Financing

- Narrowness of French vote means we must take care in imposing new burdens on the Community's citizens. Future financing is a case in point.
- We are all committed to working for future financing agreement at Edinburgh and stand by our Maastricht commitments, including cohesion. Many Member States feel the Commission's proposals go way beyond what was agreed at Maastricht. Unless Ireland and others reduce their expectations, difficult to see how we can make real progress.

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- Discussions so far have staked out national positions. Hope we can move to negotiation phase after Special European Council.

1 The Taoiseach and Prime Minister met in London, on Friday, 27 September 1980. The Taoiseach was accompanied by the Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Connell, while the Prime Minister was accompanied by Mr. Charles Healey, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. Patrick Mayhew, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and Mr. Gerald Jones MP. They discussed a range of European Community matters, including a special meeting of the European Council in October, progress in the negotiations with Ireland, the Anglo-Irish Agreement and other matters. The meeting lasted about two hours.

2 There was a full exchange of views on the ratification of the Treaty on European Union and of continuing Community business in the context of the British Presidency. The Prime Minister said that the Community should also give priority to the completion of the negotiations on the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

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