

SECRET AND PERSONAL

ANNEX B

THE TEXT

Background

It is necessary to settle the text, if possible, at this meeting.

2. We have given the Irish side notice of some proposed amendments. On their side they have volunteered to produce a concluding paragraph by way of peroration.

3. Attached are:

(i) JD.15: that is the text which emerged from the meeting of the Butler/Nally group with provisionally agreed amendments underlined.

(ii) JD.15B which marks both current British proposed additions and deletions (including those from Mr Molyneaux) and Irish proposed amendments. (The text also reflects the decision to have the constitutional guarantee in paragraph 2 and not in paragraph 4).

POINTS TO MAKE

British proposed amendments

4. Perhaps I could take my proposed amendments, of which you have had advance notice, in turn.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

5. The amendment we propose in paragraph 2 is intended to clarify and strengthen the drafting. The wording officials canvassed appeared to detach the statutory constitutional guarantee from the other guarantees which each Government has given. I do not think we need do this.

6. The additional words proposed in paragraph 3, which I believe have been accepted on your side, reflect the fact that Ireland is used in the same sentence as both a geographical and a political entity. The addition of the words "the island of" should make things clear.

7. I know you want to take the constitutional guarantee out of paragraph 4 and put it in paragraph 2. But in this case, I believe we need to balance the opening. The wording we have proposed preserves the "no selfish interest" formula in its simple form, as you wanted. But I think it is right, and important, to make clear at the beginning our positive commitment to uphold the democratic wishes of the people of Northern Ireland, but in doing so to make it clear that this applies whether they wish to stay in the union or support a sovereign united Ireland. I believe this formulation in fact prepares the ground for, and strengthens, the next sentence with its assertion that we have no selfish strategic or economic interest. [Note: The words "greater number" are included at Mr Molyneaux's suggestion. He also suggested the deletion of "assist" in the middle of the page.]

8. Our proposals to remove from the middle of the paragraph the words "including a sovereign united Ireland" is in a sense consequential. If you agree to open the paragraph as

SECRET AND PERSONAL

We suggest then we have already clearly mentioned our commitment to a sovereign united Ireland if that is what people want. In any event the next sentence, concerning self-determination, repeats the point again. [Note: As expected, Mr Molyneaux strongly supports this amendment.]

9. The addition of the word "equally" in the penultimate sentence is intended to clarify the meaning and to strengthen our readiness to underline any measure of agreement, without particular preferences.

10. We propose to delete the last words of that sentence and to replace them with the word "so". This is partly for more economical drafting. It also means that we co-opt into this sentence a carefully balanced formulation of the one proceeding. We do not want to have to repeat all those qualifications and explanatory phrases; but equally we do not want by using a slightly different formulation, to imply that there is a different test in this sentence from that in the previous one. I cannot see that this should give you any difficulty.

11. We propose to remove "within" from the penultimate sentence of paragraph 10 (previously 12). It implies an early meeting. We should also like to add the words "their own" to the final sentence of the Declaration. This is merely to clarify and emphasise that the Convention, when you come to announce it, is an arrangement all for your own. I believe it should be straightforward.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Irish proposed amendments

12. The proposed addition to paragraph 5 depends on the content of the 'Magee list', which we have not seen. It is surprising that such a potentially significant list of extra principles is proposed so late. It means we cannot agree a text until Monday. We want to agree it now. Is this addition necessary?

13. Paragraph 10 was agreed on Tuesday on the basis of an Irish draft. Your further changes now retreat from language we both agreed in Brussels [copy attached at Annex C]. What we want is an announced end to violence and a renunciation of support for it. Only then, will people believe it is for real. We prefer to stick to our opening sentence which quotes the Brussels statement. Other changes to paragraph 10 are acceptable.

14. Your suggested paragraph 11 is broadly acceptable. But it talks exclusively about the people of Ireland. The concluding paragraph needs to be more balanced, so we suggest:

- (line 4) "offers the people of both parts of Ireland";
- (line 12) "entails for the people of Ireland and the United Kingdom, particularly both communities"

SECRET AND PERSONAL

15. As you know, we want to end on a clear reaffirmation of the Talks process. This is the way forward, whether violence comes to an end or not. Using Brussels language, the final sentence might read:

"It would transform the prospects for the Talks process, involving dialogue between the two Governments and the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland, which both Governments will work actively to revitalize and whose objectives remain valid and achievable."