



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

FROM CONFIDENTIAL FILING
(FAX NO. 071 839 3712)

TO Monica - for Prime Minister

DATE 12.12.93

NUMBER OF PAGES
TO FOLLOW: 7

119-g

SECRET AND PERSONAL

JD15B - 9 DECEMBER

JD15B

(JD 15 with British proposed amendments underlined with unbroken line and Irish proposed amendments underlined with broken line.)

1. The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister acknowledge that the most urgent and important issue facing the people of Ireland, North and South, and the British and Irish Governments together, is to remove the causes of conflict, to overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted, recognising that the absence of a lasting and satisfactory settlement of relationships between the peoples of both islands has contributed to continuing tragedy and suffering. They believe that the development of an agreed framework for peace, which has been discussed between them since early last year, and which is based on a number of key principles articulated by the two Governments over the past 20 years, together with the adaptation of other widely accepted principles, provides the starting point of a peace process designed to culminate in a political settlement.

Agreed

2. The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister are convinced of the inestimable value to both their peoples, and particularly for the next generation, of healing divisions in Ireland and of ending a conflict which has been so manifestly to the detriment of all. Both recognise that the ending of divisions can come about only through the agreement and co-operation of the people, North and South, representing both traditions in Ireland. They therefore make a solemn commitment to promote co-operation at all levels on the basis of the fundamental principles, undertakings, obligations under international agreements, to which they have jointly committed themselves, and the guarantees which each Government has given and

Agreed

(a) Irish request deletion of either "statutory" or "constitutional". Strongly opposed by UK, 10 Dec.

(b) Agreed 10 Dec.

(c) Irish amendments to UK sentence. Under UK reserve.

(d) John Hume / Irish proposal rejected by UK, 10 Dec.

(e) Deletion requested by UK (Molyneux). Strongly resisted by Ireland. Remains in square brackets.

(f) - Strong Irish resistance to deletion of "as of right"
- UK (Molyneux) strongly opposed to "agreed independent structures"
- Irish "compromise" offer - "including an independent Ireland by agreement?" UK reserve.

(a)
 now reaffirms, including Northern Ireland's [statutory][constitutional] guarantee, [delete: which the British Government hereby reaffirm]. It is their aim to foster agreement and reconciliation, leading to a new political framework founded on consent and encompassing arrangements within Northern Ireland, for the whole island, and between these islands.

3. They also consider that the development of Europe will, of itself, require new approaches to serve interests common to both parts of the island of ^(b) Ireland and to Ireland and the United Kingdom as partners in the European Union.

4. [delete: The Prime Minister reiterates on behalf of the British Government that they have no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. Their concern is to uphold the democratic wishes of its people.] The Prime Minister reaffirms, on behalf of the British Government, that they will uphold the democratic wishes [of

(c) of [the]^a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland ^{on the issue of} whether they prefer to ^{support} uphold the Union or [to support] a sovereign united Ireland. On this basis he reiterates that the British Government

(d) have no selfish [strategic or economic] ^[of any description] interest in Northern Ireland. Consistent with this, their primary interest is to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among all the people who inhabit the island, and they will work together with the Irish Government to achieve such an agreement, which will embrace the totality of relationships. The role of the British Government

(e) will be to encourage [delete: , assist] and enable the achievement of such agreement over a period through a process of dialogue and co-operation based on full respect for the rights and identities of both traditions in Ireland. They accept that such agreement may [as

(f) of right] take the form of agreed ^[independent] structures for the island as a whole, ^[alternatives, e.g. "including an independent Ireland by agreement"] [delete: including a sovereign united Ireland]. The British Government agree that it is for the people of the island of Ireland

(M)

new political framework founded on consent and encompassing arrangements within Northern Ireland, for the whole island, and between these islands.

(g) UK amendments. Irish reserve on "equality" = suspicious but likely to concede if overall balance O.K.

"So *determine" agreed in place of ["and ... consent"]

(c) of the greater number of the people of Northern Ireland who they prefer to remain in the United Kingdom. On this basis he reiterated that the British Government have no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. Consistent with this, their primary interest is to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among all the people who inhabit the island, and they will work together with the Irish Government to achieve such an agreement, which will embrace the totality of relationships. The role of the British Government will be to encourage and enable the achievement of such agreement over a period through a process of dialogue and co-operation based on full respect for the rights and identities of

(h) Benign Irish amendment (Father Magee) awaited

SECRET AND PERSONAL

SECRET AND PERSONAL

alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish. They reaffirm as a binding obligation that they will, for their part, introduce the necessary legislation to give effect to this, or [equally] to any measure of agreement on future relationships in Ireland which the people living in Ireland may themselves freely so determine without external impediment [~~delete:~~ and on a basis of concurrent North-South consent]. They believe that the people of Britain would wish, in friendship to all sides, to enable the people of Ireland to reach agreement on how they may live together in harmony and in partnership, with respect for their diverse traditions and with full recognition of the special links and the unique relationship which exist between the people of Britain and Ireland.

(9)

5. The Taoiseach, on behalf of the Irish Government, considers that the lessons of Irish history, and especially of Northern Ireland, show that stability and well-being will not be found under any political system which is refused allegiance or rejected on grounds of identity by a significant minority of those governed by it. For this reason, it would be wrong to attempt to impose a united Ireland, in the absence of the freely given consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. He accepts, on behalf of the Irish Government, that the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland and must, consistent with justice and equity, respect the democratic dignity and the civil rights and religious liberties of both communities. [These rights would include in particular [the "Magee list": to be provided on Monday].] These would be reflected in any future political and constitutional arrangements emerging from a new and more broadly based agreement.

A

(h) /

6. The Taoiseach however recognises the genuine difficulties and barriers to building relationships of trust either within or beyond Northern Ireland, from which both traditions suffer. He will work to create a new era of trust, in which suspicions of the motives or actions of others is removed on the part of either community. He considers that the future of the island depends on the nature of the relationship between the two main traditions that inhabit it. Every effort must be made to build a new sense of trust between those communities. In recognition of the fears of the Unionist community and as a token of his willingness to make a personal contribution to the building up of that necessary trust, the Taoiseach will examine with his colleagues any elements in the democratic life and organisation of the Irish State that can be represented to the Irish Government in the course of political dialogue as a real and substantial threat to their way of life and ethos, or that can be represented as not being fully consistent with a modern democratic and pluralist society, and undertakes to examine any possible ways of removing such obstacles. Such an examination would of course have due regard to the desire to preserve those inherited values that are largely shared throughout the island or that belong to the cultural and historical roots of the people of this island in all their diversity. The Taoiseach hopes that over time a meeting of hearts and minds will develop, which will bring all the people of Ireland together, and will work towards that objective, but he pledges in the meantime that as a result of the efforts that will be made to build mutual confidence no Northern unionist should ever have to fear in future that this ideal will be pursued either by threat or coercion.

Agreed

7. Both Governments accept that Irish unity would be achieved only by those who favour this outcome persuading those who do not, peacefully and without coercion or violence, and that, if in the

Agreed

future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland are so persuaded both Governments will support and give legislative effect to their wish. But notwithstanding the solemn affirmation by both Governments in the Anglo-Irish Agreement that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland, the Taoiseach also recognises the continuing uncertainties and misgivings which dominate so much of Northern Unionist attitudes towards the rest of Ireland. He believes that we stand at a stage of our history when the genuine feelings of all traditions in the North must be recognised and acknowledged. He appeals to both traditions at this time to grasp the opportunity for a fresh start and a new beginning, which could hold such promise for all our lives and the generations to come. He asks the people of Northern Ireland to look on the people of the Republic as friends, who share their grief and shame over all the suffering of the last quarter of a century, and who want to develop the best possible relationship with them, a relationship in which trust and new understanding can flourish and grow. The Taoiseach also acknowledges the presence in the Constitution of the Republic of elements which are deeply resented by Northern Unionists, but which at the same time reflect hopes and ideals which lie deep in the hearts of many Irish men and women North and South. But as we move towards a new era of understanding in which new relationships of trust may grow and bring peace to the island of Ireland, the Taoiseach believes that the time has come to consider together how best the hopes and identities of all can be expressed in more balanced ways, which no longer engender division and the lack of trust to which he has referred. He confirms that, in the event of an overall settlement, the Irish Government will, as part of a balanced constitutional accommodation, put forward and support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution which would fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland.

Agreed

... a majority of the people of Northern Ireland are so persuaded
both governments will support and give legislative effect to their
wish. The notwithstanding the solemn affirmation by both
governments in the Anglo-Irish agreement that any change in the
status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of
the majority of the people of Northern Ireland, the Taoiseach also
recognises the continuing uncertainties and misgivings which
dominate so much of Northern Ireland's attitudes towards the rest of
Ireland. He believes that we stand at a stage of our history when
the genuine feelings of all traditions in the North must be
recognised and acknowledged. He appeals to both traditions at this
time to grasp the opportunity for a fresh start and a new beginning,
which could hold such promise for all our lives and the generations
to come. He asks the people of Northern Ireland to look on the
people of the Republic as friends, who share their grief and share
over all the suffering of the last quarter of a century, and who
want to develop the best possible relationship with them, a
relationship in which trust and new understanding can flourish and
the Taoiseach also acknowledges the presence in the

(i) Taoiseach has not formally conceded deletion of old
para 10/11 (Irish Convention). Maintains that this
will be offset against satisfactory "balance" to para 4.

(j) Opposing British and Irish versions.
British compromise floated 10 Dec [ad referendum on both sides]
"The British and Irish Governments reiterate that all
those committed to the cause of peace have an absolute
responsibility to renounce permanently the use of,
and support for, paramilitary violence."

(k) Agreed, 10 Dec : "following a renunciation of violence, Sinn
Fein would be free"

f

SECRET AND PERSONAL

8. The Taoiseach recognises the need to engage in dialogue which would address with honesty and integrity the fears of all traditions. But that dialogue, both within the North and between the people and their representatives of both parts of Ireland, must be entered into with an acknowledgement that the future security and welfare of the people of the island will depend on an open, frank and balanced approach to all the problems which for too long have caused division.

Agreed

9. The British and Irish Governments will seek, along with the Northern Ireland constitutional parties through a process of political dialogue, to create institutions and structures which, while respecting the diversity of the people of Ireland, would enable them to work together in all areas of common interest. This will help over a period to build the trust necessary to end past divisions, leading to an agreed and peaceful future. Such structures would, of course, include institutional recognition of the special links that exist between the peoples of Britain and Ireland as part of the totality of relationships, while taking account of newly forged links with the rest of Europe.

Agreed

(i) *[Final Irish agreement to deletion of old paras. 10/11 awaited]*

(j) 10.*The British and Irish Governments reiterate that ~~[delete: all those claiming a commitment to the cause of peace have an absolute responsibility to renounce permanently the use of, and support for, paramilitary violence.]~~ true commitment to the cause of peace will be demonstrated on all sides by a complete and permanent cessation of violence. Once such a renunciation of violence had been made and sufficiently demonstrated, new doors would open and both Governments would respond imaginatively to the new situation which would arise. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach confirm that, ^{following a} ~~[delete: if the IRA were to end violence for good]~~ ^{renunciation of violence} Sinn Fein ~~[delete: could]~~ would be free to participate fully in democratic

(k)

(1) Irish resistance to deletion of "within". UK reserve.

(ii) 3 changes agreed.

(iii) Irish proposal to add: "including the possible establishment of a Forum for Peace and Reconciliation."
UK reserve

(o) Typo?

(p) UK proposal. Resisted. Irish reserve

(q) Typo?

(r) Agreed

(s) Compromise proposal, 10 Dec, ad referendum on both sides, in red.

9

SECRET AND PERSONAL

(L) politics and in due course join in dialogue between the Governments
 (M) and the other political parties on the way ahead. The British
 Government confirm that they would be prepared to enter preliminary
 (N) exploratory dialogue with Sinn Fein [~~delete: within~~] three months
 after a permanent cessation of [~~delete: IRA~~] violence had been
 announced and established. The Irish Government would also make
their own arrangements which would ~~permit~~ ^{enable} Sinn Fein to enter into
 political dialogue.

(O) 11. The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister are determined to build on
 (P) the ^{tervent} present wish of both their peoples to see old fears and
 (Q) animosities replaced by a climate of peace. They believe the
framework they have set out offers all the people of ^(born part of) Ireland
whatever their tradition, ^{the} (a) basis to agree that from now on their
differences can be negotiated and resolved exclusively by peaceful
political means. They appeal to all concerned to grasp the
opportunity for a new departure. That step would compromise no
position or principle nor prejudice the future for either
community. On the contrary, it would be an incomparable gain for
 (R) all. It would break decisively the cycle of violence and the
intolerable suffering it entails, ^{for the people of these islands} particularly for both communities
in Northern Ireland. It would allow the process of economic and
social co-operation on the island to realise its full potential for
prosperity and mutual understanding. [It would transform the
 (S) prospects for early negotiations in which all could participate to
shape new arrangements for the future.]

[It would transform the prospects for building on the progress already made in the Falks process, involving the two Governments and the constitutional partners in Northern Ireland through

NOTE: Paragraphs about the Irish Convention have been removed.

* Previously paragraph 12

intensified negotiations in which all could participate to shape new arrangements for the future.]