

CONFIDENTIAL
FM DUBLIN
TO DESKBY 061230Z FCO
TELNO 443
OF 061133Z DECEMBER 93
INFO DESKBY 061100Z NIO(L), NIO(B)

FCO PLEASE ADVANCE TO PS/NO 10.

MY 3IPT: **ANGLO-IRISH NON-SUMMIT, 3 DECEMBER: DECLARATION**

SUMMARY

1. IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION.

DETAIL

2. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE IRISH THAT WE ARE NEGOTIATING THE DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WOULD STOP VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. I BELIEVE THAT SECURING AN END TO VIOLENCE IS THE TAOISEACH'S (AND THE TANAISTE'S) OVERRIDING GOAL. BUT THEY AND OTHERS IN THE IRISH SYSTEM MAY HOPE THAT THE FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED THE MORE DIFFICULT IT WILL BE FOR US (AND THEM) TO WITHDRAW, AND THAT EVEN IF THE EXERCISE DOES NOT RESULT IN A DRAFT WHICH WOULD RESULT IN A CESSATION OF VIOLENCE, HMG WILL FIND THEMSELVES COMMITTED TO A TEXT WHICH TAKES THE NATIONALIST TRICK ON THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

3. WHATEVER THE CAVEATS ON UNIONIST CONSENT, THIS WOULD SHIFT THE CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT OF THE IRISH QUESTION. SINCE 1972 HMG HAVE SOUGHT TO SETTLE IT IN THE CONTEXT OF A UNITED KINGDOM IN WHICH NORTHERN IRELAND NATIONALISTS' LINKS WITH THE REPUBLIC ARE ACKNOWLEDGED. THE NEW CONTEXT WOULD BE A NATION COMPRISING THE POPULATION OF THE WHOLE ISLAND, PRESUMABLY WITH UNIONIST LINKS TO BRITAIN. THE IRISH WOULD REGARD BRITISH ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THIS AS A MAJOR ADVANCE FOR THE NATIONALIST CAUSE AND AN ELEMENT OF THE /CONSTITUTIONAL BALANCE/ FOR CHANGES TO ARTICLES 2 AND 3 WHICH THEY HAVE HITHERTO SOUGHT IN THE THREE-STRANDED TALKS. IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION, DESPITE THE MAJOR CAVEAT OF CONSENT, HAS MUCH THE SAME POLITICAL IMPORT

AS ARTICLES 2 AND 3, THOUGH RELATING TO PEOPLE RATHER THAN TERRITORY. THIS IS PROBABLY

WHY THE IRISH ARE SEEKING TO DECOUPLE THE TWO ISSUES, PREVARICATE OVER THE THREE-STRANDED TALKS AND TAKE SELF-DETERMINATION FIRST.

4. IN SUM, IN DEALING WITH LANGUAGE ON SELF-DETERMINATION WE SHOULD BE VERY CLEAR ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ISSUE FOR THE IRISH.

BLATHERWICK

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

15

ADVANCE

15

.NORTHERN IRELAND
PS
PS/PUS
RID//HD
INFO D//HD
NEWS D//HD
PS/NO.10
CAOFF//PS/SEC OF THE CABINET

CAOFF//MISS NEVILLE-JONES
NIO(L)//MR CHILCOT
NIO(L)//PS/S OF S
NIO(L)//PS/LORD ARRAN
NIO(L)//MR THOMAS
NIO(L)//MR BELL
NIO(L)//MR COOKE SIL

NNNN