

Dermot Nally Papers

UCDA P254/56

Discussion with Taoiseach.

* - Mayhew: Brussels

J.M. (not... but...)
parliamentary

* - J.H. → doc. Briefing Points

- June doc:

- dynamic.

General

* - J.H.: we had peace & justice

* - even the most
Mallon's 'ardent' (hetting).

- broadly acceptable?

- doc: Br./Ir prepared to go
ahead with.

- There is an enormous desire for peace North and South. We must identify whether opportunity actually exists or not. The will for peace must be tested. This can only be done by adopting a position of the utmost reasonableness, which could be seen as such.

SN

9/10/93

- David Lloyd J.H.: Too big a fig: impossible

- PIRA will not unconditionally surrender or unilaterally lay down their arms for a long time, however much one might wish them to do so. There has to be a formula. We have to explore, through opening provided by John Hume, whether real will for peace now exists. We accept that the evidence is conflicting.
- Nothing would be more disastrous than a myth to grow up of a lost opportunity for peace, because of an alleged lack of will by the two Governments, or because the British Government actively set out to kill it.
- This opening can only be held for another month. Taoiseach was deadly serious about this. It was not just party conference rhetoric. Hume and Adams will almost certainly go public after 3 December deadline.
- Taoiseach has taken serious political risks, and was under significant pressure at the Ard-Fheis. He has gone out on a limb, and will have to retreat to safer ground, if initiative fails.
- We are prepared to co-operate with the talks process but talks process on its own has ceased to provide a credible policy, in the light of Unionists' unwillingness to return to the table. But we must have co-operation on this, as promised by John Major in Brussels, who described it as 'a very good

document' and who expressed willingness to work towards a possible move at the Summit in Dublin on 2 December. It is in any case to the advantage of the talks process, if the possibilities for a peace process are clearly tested, and a conclusion reached one way or the other, rather than to have lingering doubts distracting people's minds.

- As Taoiseach made clear in Ard-Fheis Speech, we are prepared to make public stand against SF, if they refuse this framework and insist on time-frame for withdrawal, or if they equivocate about consent as defined in the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Our view will be that nothing in this document as compared with the original document could possibly justify continuation of campaign of violence.
- As regards passage in Brussels communiqué about 'no secret deals', that means simply that any framework for peace will, when decided upon, be set out in public in full.
- With regard to Unionists, we have already made very clear our willingness to alter the Constitution in the balanced context of an overall settlement. We obviously cannot deal with the type of objection by Willie Ross MP that even 'the desire for a united Ireland' represents coercion.

On Text

- In general terms, the document is already considerably altered vis á vis the original proposal, which could lead to charges that the dynamic is missing. It is important that we keep as closely as possible to the original text, where there are no strong substantive reasons for departing from it. We do not believe it should be diluted further. Agreement virtually reached a few weeks ago. Concentrate on proposed additions.
- The only significant changes have been incorporated at the behest of a leading figure from the Unionist community, who has been taken into our confidence. Last sentence in para. 1 incorporates clear assertion of ownership of this initiative by the Prime Ministers (important for its reception).
- New paras 6, 7, 8 relating to the Taoiseach all incorporate substantial new material directed towards Unionists, which have been suggested by leading member of Unionist community, and which he believes would render the document tolerable from the point of view of moderate Unionists. Alliance Party leader has already declared support for Taoiseach's approach.
- There are minor changes in the final paras, with only one reference to the Forum instead of two, and a final addition at the end.