

criment of all. Both recognise that the ending of divisions can come about only through the agreement 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 guarantees which each Government has given, [including Northern Ireland's statutory -- constitutional guarantee, which the British Government hereby reaffirm.] It is their aim to foster agreement and reconciliation, leading to a new political framework founded consent and encompassing on 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 Ireland and to Ireland and the United Kingdom as partners in the European Union.

Amended at British suggestion to reflect constitutional guarantee.

Last words amended at Molyneaux's instigation to make less all-Irish, and to use 'Talks language'.

A reference to the European dimension, and perhaps originally inspired by Hume.



The Prime Minister [on behalf of British Government, reaffirms the Ireland's statutory Northern constitutional quarantee. At the same time, he] 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. Consistent with this, their primary interest is to see peace, and reconciliation stability established by agreement among all the people who inhabit the island, and they will work together with the Irish such an achieve Government to embrace the agreement, which will The role totality of relationships. of the British Government will be to encourage, 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 of right, take the form of agreed structures for the island as a whole, including a sovereign united Ireland. The British Government agree that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively, to exercise their right The only explicit reference to the UK in the Declaration.

This paragraph is crucial. It is designed to be a statement of sensitivity to the Nationalist viewpoint, while being consistent with existing principles and policies.

The 'no selfish interest' formula is taken from a November 1990 speech known to have reverberated with Republicans.

'Their concern ...' is a variation on a point suggested by Molyneaux.

The paragraph as a whole was drafted by the Irish Government, but has been subject to many revisions to take account of British responses.



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 to any measure of agreement on future relationships in Ireland which the people living in Ireland themselves freely determine without external impediment 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.

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 The crucial self-determination sentence.



eland, in the absence of the freely a majority of the given consent of Northern Ireland. people of behalf of the Irish on accepts, 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 consistent with justice and equity, respect the democratic dignity and the civil rights and religious liberties of both communities. any future would be reflected in constitutional and political arrangements emerging from a new and more broadly based agreement.

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 response to British pressure.

A Molyneaux suggestion.

A muted reference to constitutional change - put more strongly at the end of paragraph 7.

The first of three paragraphs written by Archbishop Eames to make the Declaration more acceptable to Unionists.

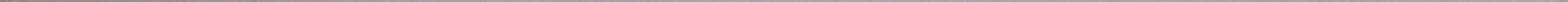


rsonal contribution to the building up of that necessary trust, to Taoiseach will examine with his colleagues any elements in the democratic life and organisation of the Irish State that can represented to the Irish Government in the course of political dialogue as a real and substantial threat to their 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 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 hope that over time a meeting of hearts and minds will develop, which will bring all the people of Ireland together, and will work towards the 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.

7. Both Governments accept that Irish unity would be achieved only by those who favour this outcome



rsuading those who do not, peacefully and without coercion Violence, and that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland persuaded both are SO Governments will give and support 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 continuing uncertainties misgivings which dominate so much of Northern Unionist attitudes 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





poblems which for too long have caused division.

9. The British and Irish Government 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 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.

[10. In the light of their joint commitment to promote the foregoing objectives, the Taoiseach has indicated to the Prime Minister his intention of establishing an Irish Convention to consult and advise, as long as is necessary, on the steps required to remove the barriers of distrust which at present divide the people of Ireland and which also stand in the way of the exercise in common by them of self-determination on a basis of equality. It will be open to the Convention to make recommendations

Originally an Irish first sentence amended at Molyneaux instigation to make explicit the role of NI Parties and compatability with talks process.



- ways in which agreement, in the New spirit of the Report of the New Ireland Forum, and respect for the rights and identities of traditions in Ireland, can be promoted and established. The Convention will operate with full respect for the authority of the institutions established by law in the State. It will be a fundamental guiding principle of the Convention that all differences between the Irish people relating to the exercise in common of the right to self-determination will be resolved exclusively by peaceful, political means.
 - 11. The Convention will be open to democratically mandated political parties in Ireland which abide exclusively by the democratic process and wish to share in dialogue about Ireland's political future and the welfare of all its people. The Irish Government will approach the Convention in a true spirit of openness and magnanimity.]
 - 12. The British and Irish Government reiterate that 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. Once such a renunciation of violence had been made and sufficiently demonstrated, new doors would open and both

vernments would respond imaginatively situation the to new which would arise. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach confirm that, on this basis, if the IRA were to end violence for Sinn good Fein could participate fully democratic in politics and in due join course dialogue between the Governments and the other political parties on the way ahead. The British Government confirm that they would be prepared to enter preliminary exploratory dialogue with Sinn Fein within three months after a permanent cessation of violence IRA had been announced established. and The Irish Government would also make arrangements which would permit Sinn Fein to enter into political dialogue.

This amendment and the amendment to this sentence of paragraph 4 are alternatives.

See footnote to paragraph 2.