POINTS TO MAKE

Political

- 1. The two Governments were right to test the Joint Declaration idea. You have taken the strain. Very grateful for that.
- 2. You have now tested the text on Archbishop Eames. Still judge that, after the Hume/Adams statement of 25 September, result would be loyalist backlash which would undermine any PIRA cessation.
- 3. Shankill, and revulsion at Adams carrying IRA bomber's coffin, reinforce this judgement. Grateful for your, and Dick Spring's, public comments, and your sensitivity in offering to postpone the IGC. I cannot do anything which might undermine steps we are taking to minimise loyalist revenge attacks, and damp down retaliatory cycle of violence.
- 4. As Sir Robin Butler said, none of this means we have lost interest in encouraging the Provisionals to give up violence. Ready to continue the dialogue with you on the means of doing so. We have stated a number of key principles in public eg in Patrick Mayhew's Coleraine speech last December. Six principles in Dick Spring's speech on 27 October also provide welcome food for further thought between two Governments.
- 5. We need to decouple this from the Hume/Adams dialogue. Damaging that elements of the JD were speculated about in that context, and that JD would have been seen, however wrongly, to spring from that.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

- 6. Must be no daylight, still less recriminations, between the two Governments over Hume/Adams. Need to sustain John Hume's position as leader of Northern Ireland constitutional nationalism. Patrick Mayhew threw him a lifeline in the Commons on Monday by saluting his courage.
- 7. You said on 27 October that there could be no question of our jointly adopting or endorsing the report of the Hume/Adams dialogue. I agree. We need to draw a line under Hume/Adams, while giving credit where it is due, re-affirming our principles, and giving a strong, positive lead.
- 8. Need as part of this to renew impetus of Talks process.
 Being strongly urged at Westminster. Provides a possible soft
 landing for Hume. Can encompass continuing work between the two
 Governments on the right framework, as well as dialogue with a
 view to multilateral negotiations with the parties. Grateful for
 your Bodenstown speech of 17 October, which included your
 description of Talks process as "vital".
- 9. [Defensive: was Molyneaux briefed about the JD?] My reaction to the JD was our own assessment of the consequences of it for the situation. It took account of likely reactions of Unionist politicians but was not determined by them.
- 10. [Defensive NI Select Committee] A matter initially for the Commons Procedure Committee, and subsequently the House. Not fruit of deal there was no deal. Strong case in favour on merits. Would not pre-empt, because separate from, any Talks settlement. Would not give one section of the community an advantage over the other.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

11. [Defensive - jointly endorse Spring's six principles?]
Principles are positive and welcome. Some of the language not quite right for us. They deal very well with NI consent, but one and six too forward for today. Happy for them to be discussed further between two Governments.

Security

- 12. Chief Constable has increased RUC deployments, and moved to 12 hour shifts, post Shankill. Two arrests made in connection with loyalist attack on Kennedy Way (Council depot, Belfast two Catholics murdered).
- 13. Practical RUC/Garda co-operation excellent. But need, post-Shankill, to show that our security co-operation is not only good but capable of development.
- 14. In June we commissioned a report on current security co-operation issues from the Chilcot/Dalton Group. Look forward to discussing this with you at our next full bilateral.