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From: A J Whysall
Constitutional and Political Division
Phone: (0171 210) 0234
Fax: (0171 210) 0229
Talks: phone 01232 522287; fax 01232 522285

Date: 12 June, 1996

Senator Mitchell
General de Chastelain
Mr Holkeri

British Government Team

Secretary of State
Michael Ancram
Sir David Fell

Allison Party

Dr Alfordice
Mr Clowe
Mr Hanson

NI Women's Coalition

Ms McWilliams
Ms Sagar

SDLP

Mr Hume
Mr Mallon
Mr McGrady

UDUP (for part of meeting)

Dr Paisley
Mr Robinson

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

PLENARY, 1220 AM, 12 JUNE: INT/3

1. Trimble I attach the internal record of this morning's session.

Mr Taylor
Mr Empey

(Signed)

1. The meeting began at 12.20 am

A J Whysall

cc PS/Secretary of State (B&L)
PS/Sir John Wheeler (B,L+DFP)
PS/Michael Ancram (B,L+DENI)
PS/Baroness Denton (B,DOE+DANI)
PS/Mr Moss (B,DHSS+DOE)
PS/PUS (B&L)
PS/Sir David Fell
Mr Legge
Mr Thomas (B&L)
Mr Bell
Mr Leach (B&L)
Mr Steele
Mr Watkins
Mr Wood (B&L)
Mr Beeton
Mr Hill (B&L)
Mr Lavery
Mr Maccabe
Mr Perry
Mr Stephens
Mr Currie
Ms Checksfield
Ms Harrison (B&L)
Ms Mapstone
Mrs McNally (B&L)
HMA Dublin
Ms Collins, Cab Off (via IPL)
Mr Lamont RID, FCO
Mr Westmacott, (via RID)
Mr Campbell Bannerman

Dr O'Brien
Mr Wilson

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POLDEVT/137

RECORD OF PLENARY SESSION, CASTLE BUILDINGS, 12 JUNE

Independent Chairmen (after adjournment)

Senator Mitchell
General de Chastelain
Mr Holkeri

British Government Team

Secretary of State
Michael Ancram
Sir David Fell

Irish Government Team

Tanaiste
Mrs Owen
Mr de Rossa

Alliance Party

Dr Alderdice
Mr Close
Mr Neeson

Labour

Malachi Curran

NI Women's Coalition

Ms McWilliams
Ms Sagar

PUP

Mr Smyth
Mr Ervine

SDLP

Mr Hume
Mr Mallon
Mr McGrady

UDP

Mr McMichael
Mr White

UDUP (for part of meeting)

Dr Paisley
Mr Robinson
Rev McCrea

UK Unionist (for part of meeting)

Mr McCartney
Dr O'Brien
Mr Wilson

UUP

Mr Trimble
Mr Taylor
Mr Empey

1. The meeting began at 12.20 am.

2. The hostility towards the UUP of the DUP - who had a little earlier made a loud entry into the Private Office, complaining of the delay, denouncing 'toadying to republicans' and threatening 'real trouble' - and UKUP was evident as delegates came into room: Mr McCartney exhorted Mr Trimble to 'hang his head in shame' and Mr Wilson advised him to 'remember Brian Faulkner'.

3. Before everyone had assembled, Dr Paisley began to speak. He cited passages from the Prime Minister's opening statement, where he had said (around page 11) that the British Government could impose nothing on the negotiators, and that the ultimate say in the negotiations belonged to them; and from paragraph 3 of the paper circulated the previous morning under the title 'A possible approach to resolving political difficulties' 11 June draft, where it was made clear that agreement in the negotiations was a matter for participants. These undertakings, Dr Paisley asserted, were falsified by the intention of the Dublin and British Governments to force chairmen on the negotiations.

4. It was suggested by another participant that the meeting had not yet opened; and the Secretary of State confirmed it had not.

5. When other delegates had arrived, the Secretary of State opened the meeting. The day had seen a long and useful period of deliberation, which had led the two Governments to put forward a paper which they believed offered a way forward [A possible approach to resolving procedural difficulties, 00.01am draft, annexed at A]. On the basis of this, in particular paragraph 4.1, he invited Senator Mitchell to take over, following a five minute adjournment. Dr Paisley shouted 'No, no, no'; and the rest of his delegation, and the UKUP's, left, with disparaging comments about 'British democracy'; Mr Wilson (UKUP) moved to take over one of the Independent Chairmen's chairs.

6. As proceedings were about to resume after the adjournment, Dr Paisley addressed Senator Mitchell. He said he did not accept him in the chair: his name had not been put to the meeting, and he objected

in the strongest manner to the intrusion. He repeated his points about undertakings that proposals put forward would have to be to the satisfaction of participants, undertakings which had not been met. The Secretary of State had not given an opportunity to discuss it. His lackey had seen to it that he had not visited the DUP room. [I was the lackey who had visited delegations to tell them a paper, then a meeting, were imminent, if that is what was referred to: there was no-one in the DUP office, and Dr Paisley was already in the Private Office].

7. Dr Paisley then left the room, shouting that he did not wish to sit with a member of the Irish Government who threatened that there would be bodies in the street, a remark ascribed to the 'man with the beard' [presumably Mr de Rossa. It had been reported around the building that he had made such a prediction, in the event that Senator Mitchell was not appointed and the process broke down].

8. Senator Mitchell then made his formal introductory statement, the full text of which is at B. He, General de Chastelain and Mr Holkeri were honoured by the invitation to participate in the negotiations. They commended the two Prime Ministers, the Secretary of State, the Tánaiste and the others who had contributed to the process. They would do what they could to be of assistance, but it was the participants who must make the decisions on which the proceedings would advance. Senator Mitchell said his experience in encouraging trade and investment left him convinced of the importance of peace for growth and jobs, and of the enormous potential of Northern Ireland for growth and prosperity.

9. Senator Mitchell announced that pursuant to the 12 June paper, it was now for participants to make a clear declaration to the International Body's principles of democracy and non-violence. Copies of a draft joint statement (Annex C) were passed round the delegates, which, following affirmation by all participants, would be distributed publicly. He read out the principles. The statement distributed represented "compliance to affirmation" of them by all participants.

10. Declarations were then made on behalf of each delegation, clockwise round the table as follows: the Secretary of State; the Tánaiste; Dr Alderdice for Alliance, who welcomed the Senator; Mr Curran of Labour, who did the same; Mrs McWilliams of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition; Mr Smyth for the PUP, who delivered a long statement (to be circulated later to those likely to be interested - copies on request from the Political Development Team) demonstrating how his party had long been working toward the same goals; Mr Hume for the SDLP, who briefly outlined his party's commitment to non-violent methods and to dialogue, and thanked the Senator; and Mr McMichael for the UDP.

11. Senator Mitchell then called in turn on the DUP and UKUP. He received no answer, no members of either delegation being present. He instructed that the record should reflect that there had been no response.

12. For the UUP, Mr Trimble said he had on behalf of his party already stated his commitment to the principles. He found more felicitous the language the Senator had used in seeking the declarations, where he spoke of 'compliance' rather than 'commitment' [this may have been a mishearing, affected or otherwise: I recorded the Senator as speaking of 'compliance to affirmation']. Mr Trimble urged that immediately after settling procedures, the participants should address decommissioning. He much regretted that despite their statements the two Governments had not yet taken steps to establish an appropriate legal regime, or an international verification commission. The Irish Government in particular would recall representations by the UUP on 11 March, and the assurances given then, which had not been fulfilled. Convincing action was needed.

13. Senator Mitchell said that the draft statement on the six principles should be amended to reflect the absences; but it should be clear that the omission of those parties' names from the document

did not reflect any refusal to make an affirmation. He fervently hoped the parties concerned would return at least to express their affirmation: it was important the people of Northern Ireland should know of the near-universal acceptance of the principles.

20. The meeting closed at approximately 1.15pm.

14. Senator Mitchell proposed that the plenary should be adjourned until noon on Wednesday 19 July, in accordance with paragraph 5 of the 12 June document, and the Chairman, the two Governments and the parties should meet at 11am for the discussion of procedure and agenda contemplated there. Mr Mallon asked, in the interests of those living outside Belfast, for a 1pm start; Mr Trimble demurred on grounds that he had to leave at 2pm, and suggested that it was not necessary for everyone to meet together in the first instance. Mr Mallon withdrew his proposal.

15. Senator Mitchell invited the parties to consider the manner in which they wanted to proceed. Each participant should nominate one or more people to the paragraph 5 group; each person so nominated should be prepared to devote as much time as possible to it before Wednesday 19 June.

16. Mr Trimble alluded to the difficulties caused by the absence of some parties. Senator Mitchell said he hoped as many as possible would participate but (after a hesitation) noted that they would have to make the affirmation in respect of the principles first. At Mr Trimble's prompting, he said he would facilitate them in doing so: an affirmation would have to be in 'an appropriate form'.

17. He read out a draft press statement, annexed at D, and asked if there were any objections. None were offered.

18. Dr Alderdice asked about the meeting of the forum envisaged for this Friday: would it take place? The Secretary of State said it was his intention to convene such a meeting.

19. Senator Mitchell asked if there were other comments. None were offered. He said he looked forward to working with participants, and declared the plenary adjourned.

20. The meeting closed at approximately 1.15am.

A J WHYSALL
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT TEAM
EXT CB 22287

1. While a number of parties indicated at the 12 June session that they were content with the proposals for the conduct of business set out in the 4 June papers "Agenda for the opening plenary session", "Procedural Guidelines" and "Draft Agenda", others expressed reservations. These concerns focused in particular on the procedures which would be followed during the negotiations, but also covered the appointment of chairs and the agenda for the opening plenary session.

2. It is believed that, for the orderly transaction of business, it would be beneficial to appoint Independent Chairmen as soon as possible. These appointments having been made, points of concern about the procedural guidelines would then be fully explored, as set out in paragraph 5, and the agenda for the opening plenary session would also be fully considered, and pending resolution of these issues the opening plenary would not move beyond item 4 on the proposed agenda tabled on 6 June.

3. This proposal is put forward in order to underline that the procedural and other arrangements for the opening plenary must be to the satisfaction of the participants. The proposed Independent Chairmen have also authorised the Governments to make clear that they recognise that ultimately agreement in these and all other matters in these negotiations is a matter for the participants.

4. It is therefore proposed that the 12 June meeting should consider the following proposal for the day's business:

1. Appointment to chairmanships of Senator Mitchell (Plenary), General (Burma) and Business Committee and Sir Holkeri (Alternate Chairman) and the handover of the Plenary to the Chairman.

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12 JUNE 1996
(00.01PM)

A POSSIBLE APPROACH TO RESOLVING PROCEDURAL DIFFICULTIES

1. While a number of parties indicated at the 10 June session that they were content with the proposals for the management of business set out in the 6 June papers "Scenario for the opening plenary session", "Procedural Guidelines" and "Draft Agenda", others expressed reservations. These concerns focussed (in particular) on the "Guidelines" paper setting out the procedures which would be operated by the chair during the negotiations, but also covered the appointment of chairmen and the agenda for the opening plenary session.
2. It is believed that, for the orderly transaction of business, it would be beneficial to appoint Independent Chairmen as soon as possible. These appointments having been made, points of concern about the procedural guidelines would then be fully explored, as set out in paragraph 5, and the agenda for the opening plenary session would also be fully considered, and pending resolution of these issues the opening plenary would not move beyond item 4 on the proposed agenda tabled on 6 June.
3. This proposal is put forward in order to underline that the procedural and other arrangements for the opening plenary must be to the satisfaction of the participants. The proposed Independent Chairmen have also authorised the Governments to make clear that they recognise that ultimately agreement in these and all other matters in these negotiations is a matter for the participants.
4. It is therefore proposed that the 12 June meeting should consider the following proposal for the day's business:
 1. Appointment to chairmanships of Senator Mitchell (Plenary), General de Chastelain (Strand 2 and Business Committee) and Mr Holkeri (Alternate Chairman) and the handover of the Plenary to the Chairman.

2. Introductory remarks by Chairman.

3. Participants to make formal declaration making clear their total and absolute commitment to International Body's principles of democracy and non-violence.

4. Public statement on behalf of all participants recording total and absolute commitment to principles.

5. At this point the Chairmen, the two Governments and the parties will confer on the points of concern referred to in paragraph 2 on the proposed Procedural Guidelines and on the agenda for the opening plenary set out in the "Scenario" paper. (That agenda in any case envisaged items on the agenda and procedural rules.) It is acknowledged that each of the participants will wish to argue their own point of view and that on this, as on other issues, the negotiations will need to proceed by agreement.

6. The Chairmen will report back to the Plenary on the outcome of the consultations by lunchtime on Wednesday 19 June and the Plenary will then agree on the procedural guidelines, the rest of the agenda for the opening Plenary session, and any other outstanding points.

We recognise that it is you who must make the decisions on which these proceedings will advance. We will do all we appropriately can to be of assistance. But ultimately agreement in these negotiations is a matter for the participants. That is why the success of these proceedings rests on your shoulders and in your hearts.

That is an immense responsibility.

Statement by Senator George J Mitchell
Castle Buildings, Belfast, Northern Ireland
June 12, 1996

As we said in the report we submitted to the governments on January 24, the words we believe are even more relevant today: "The risk may seem high but the reward is great: a future of peace, equality and prosperity for all the people of Northern Ireland".

We are honoured by the invitation to participate in these historic proceedings. We commend Prime Ministers Major and Bruton, Secretary of State Mayhew and Minister for Foreign Affairs Spring, those of you here today, and the many others across Northern Ireland who have contributed to this process. Our prior participation in this process has brought us into extensive contact with the people of Northern Ireland. We have come to know and admire them. The importance of peace to economic growth and the creation of jobs. It

has also left me with the conviction that there is enormous potential in Northern Ireland for economic growth and broadly-based prosperity. We assure you that we are motivated solely by a desire to be of help to you and to them. We will meet our responsibilities in a totally fair and impartial manner.

We have no interest - no interest whatsoever - other than to help make possible that promising future for Northern Ireland. We pledge our total commitment to that effort. We recognise that it is you who must make the decisions on which these proceedings will advance. We will do all we appropriately can to be of assistance. But ultimately agreement in these negotiations is a matter for the participants. That is why the success of these proceedings rests on your shoulders and in your hearts.

That is an immense responsibility.

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It is also a great and noble challenge. I hope that everyone involved can rise to meet that challenge.

As we said in the report we submitted to the governments on January 24, in words we believe are even more relevant today: "The risk may seem high but the reward is great: a future of peace, equality and prosperity for all the people of Northern Ireland".

I have devoted much of my time and effort over the past year and a half to encouraging trade with and investment in Northern Ireland. I have met with many of you, some many times, and many others all across Northern Ireland.

That experience has provided me with first hand knowledge of the importance of peace to economic growth and the creation of jobs. It has also left me with the conviction that there is enormous potential in Northern Ireland for economic growth and broadly-shared prosperity.

We have no interest - no interest whatsoever - other than to help make possible that promising future for Northern Ireland. We pledge our total commitment to that effort.

The statement is made by the following:

The British and Irish Governments, the Alliance Party, Labour, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, the Progressive Unionist Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Ulster Democratic Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Ulster Unionist Party and the Unionist Party.

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(draft as circulated at plenary, 12/6)

PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND NON-VIOLENCE

[Joint Statement by the participants]

The participants in the all-party negotiations aimed at securing a comprehensive negotiated settlement, confirm their total and absolute commitment specifically to the principles of democracy and non-violence as expressly set out in paragraph 20 of the Report of the International Body:

- to democratic and exclusively peaceful means of resolving political issues;
- to the total disarmament of all paramilitary organisations;
- to agree that such disarmament must be verifiable to the satisfaction of an independent commission;
- to renounce for themselves, and to oppose any effort by others, to use force, or threaten to use force, to influence the course or the outcome of all-party negotiations;
- to agree to abide by the terms of any agreement reached in all-party negotiations and to resort to democratic and exclusively peaceful methods in trying to alter any aspects of that outcome with which they may disagree; and
- to urge that "punishment" killings and beatings stop and to take effective steps to prevent such actions.

The statement is made by the following:

The British and Irish Governments, the Alliance Party, Labour, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, the Progressive Unionist Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Ulster Democratic Party, the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party, the Ulster Unionist Party and the UK Unionist Party.

NORTHERN IRELAND: MULTI-PARTY TALKS

12 JUNE

Press Statement

The participants in the talks engaged in a round of intensive bilateral exchanges during the day.

In a plenary meeting they agreed the approach to resolving procedural difficulties set out in the attached paper.

At the invitation of the two Governments, Senator Mitchell assumed the chair of the opening plenary session. General de Chastelain and Mr Holkeri were appointed as chairman of Strand 2 and the Business Committee and alternate chairman respectively.

The British and Irish Governments, the Alliance Party, Labour, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, the Progressive Unionist Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Ulster Democratic Party and the Ulster Unionist Party all confirmed their total and absolute commitment specifically to the principles of democracy and non-violence as set out in paragraph 20 of the report of the International Body.

The participants will meet again this morning to confer on the issues mentioned in paragraph 5 of the attached paper.

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