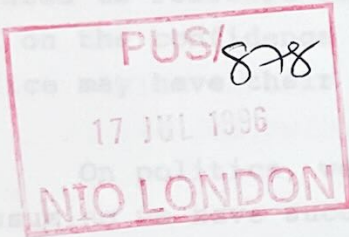


F. D. D. C. D.
Track

FROM: Q J THOMAS
DUS (L)
17 JULY 1996



cc: PS/Secretary of State (L&B) -B
PS/Michael Ancram (L&B) -B
PS/PUS (L&B) -B
PS/Sir David Fell -B
Mr Thomas (L) -B
Mr Leach -B
Mr Bell -B
Mr Watkins -B
Mr Wood (L&B) -B
Mr Steele -B
Mr Cornick -B
Mr Stephens -B
Mr Maccabe -B
Mr Perry -B
Mr Beeton -B
Mr Currie -B
Mr Lavery -B
Ms Harrison/Mr Whysall -B
Ms Mapstone/Ms Checksfield -B
Mr Webb -B
Mr Campbell-Bannerman -B
Mr Lamont, RID -B
HMA Dublin -B
Ms Collins, Cabinet Office -B

Mr Hill

REASSURING UNIONISTS : PERHAPS WE DON'T NEED TO PULL OUR PUNCHES
Thank you for your minute of 16 July, on which PUS has separately commented. As you know I agree that an "end of term" speech by the Secretary of State would be a good idea.

2. As you know, our initial thinking was that this should essentially be a speech about the political process and should, as we have done in some earlier years, attempt to tidy the issue away leaving HMG's position clearly on the public record during the summer break.

3. In my view, recent events have done nothing to diminish the case for this. There may indeed be a market for more than one speech. However I think recent events suggest that we might

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envisage a broader presentation of the full range of the Government forces: our old friend the comprehensive or holistic strategy. We do need to reassert our position, it seems to me, on security policy and on the confidence issues agenda. But the security side of the office may have their own views on that.

4. On politics, we clearly need to talk up the talks process (assuming we have succeeded in keeping it in being and, we hope, logging some achievements before the summer break). I agree with your analysis that it is worth trying once more to express in simple (non-frameworks) language our view (and as it happens the Irish Government's view) of the outlines of the anticipated outcome. Most of this is we think reassuring to Unionists. They, we believe, have with unconscious perversity read the frameworks structure as confirming their worst fears. For example they see the reference to dynamic North/South borders as involving a pre-destined road to a united Ireland. We emphasise the small print which makes clear that any change to the functions of a North/South body would come about only with the agreement of the administration in Northern Ireland and will therefore be subject, in effect, to Unionist control.

5. At the same time I fear the speech, including the passage on political development, will need to work hard to reassure nationalists (not closing the door to republican interests, provided they are advanced by peaceful means). This suggests that we need to spell out that the deal, as we see it, involves (again in non-frameworks language) justice and fairness to the nationalist community within Northern Ireland, while that remains within the UK as we believe in practice that it will, and more developed relationships, agreed by consent, with the Irish Republic, as well as a continuing close relationship between London and Dublin.

6. Since this could be a speech (or conceivably a series of speeches) of some importance, I wonder if it is worth our while producing an outline in the first instance to see if Ministers agree with the ground it is envisaged that it should cover. I know that

Mr Webb is already turning his mind to this and I suggest he might aim in the first instance to offer Ministers an outline of the elements of the speech. *partnership with the Irish Government.*

7. To assist in this process may I suggest that we might think of covering the following elements:

8. **Elements of a Speech**

1. Reference to recent events: Northern Ireland's black week.
2. Underlying analysis: in a divided society everything is built on brittle foundations until there is a political accommodation.
3. Therefore the Talks process: explanation of its rationale, structure and importance (open agenda; agreement and consent); end of term report - the move from procedure to substance.
4. The possible outcome and how this meets: unionist and nationalist concerns.
5. Security policy: Fair and effective, within the law. Appreciation for security force efforts. The terrorist challenge.
6. The Confidence Agenda: Parades review
Plastic baton review
Police complaints etc
Policing reform (an issue for the Talks).

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7. Economic and social matters.

8. Cooperation and partnership with the Irish Government.

(signed)

Q J THOMAS
DUS (L)

The Rt Hon Sir Patrick Mayhew QC MP
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

We write to you in accordance with the provisions of the proposed rule of procedure which, as drafted by the two Governments, obliges the Independent Chairmen to "refer ... to the two Governments for their consideration and, having done so, to the views of the participants, appropriate action ... If, during the negotiations, a formal representation is made that a participant is no longer entitled to participate in the negotiations on the grounds that they have demonstrably dishonoured the principles of democracy and non violence."

During the course of bilateral meetings we conducted with the parties on July 16, three such representations were made. The SDLP and the Alliance Party contended that the UUP and the DUP violated the principles set forth above. The UUP contends that the SDLP violated the principles. A newspaper clipping that the UUP submitted to support its contention is enclosed.

We informed each of the parties that made the representations that we would take the course outlined in paragraph one of this letter.

Sincerely,

John de Chastelain

George J. Mitchell

Harry Holkeri

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General John de Chastelain

Senator George J. Mitchell

Prime Minister David Hooper