

From: Rod Lyne
Date: 25 January 1994

cc: Alex Allan
Chris Meyer
Philippa Leslie-Jones.

PRIME MINISTER

MINISTERIAL MEETING ON NORTHERN IRELAND, 26 JANUARY

Points for discussion

A summary of the papers from NIO and elsewhere is below.

You might open by seeking agreement on the **broad strategy** set out in the Northern Ireland Secretary's paper "The Way Forward".

You could review the following subjects:

Selling the Joint Declaration/Keeping the Provisionals on the defensive

- How can we retain the initiative over the next month or so, and ensure that the Provisionals/Sinn Fein are seen as intransigent for failing to accept the Joint Declaration?
What more can we do to counter their demands for "**clarification**"?
Should we challenge Sinn Fein to specify which points need clarification?
Or is this too risky?
- Is there a case for a Prime Ministerial speech, to build on those of Sir Patrick Mayhew? *When? Where?*
- Pros and cons of giving radio or TV interviews.
- How can we get John Hume on side over clarification?

Talks Process

- Intensification of the talks process leading either to **early resumption of formal talks** or to **publication by Easter of our own proposals.**
- How is Michael Ancram getting on?
- Present attitudes of UUP/DUP/SDLP/Irish Government.
- Do we have a realistic prospect of getting them back into formal talks before Easter?
- If not, and we publish our own proposals, what consequences would this have for the future of the talks process?

Response to IRA rejection of the Joint Declaration

- We have rightly avoided setting a fixed deadline. In practice, how long do we wait before talking on the assumption that the JD is being rejected?
- Immediate action if there is a definitive rejection?
What general line would we take in public?
Would we arrange an early meeting with the Irish Government?
- ✓ - *Our reaction if the Irish propose a North/South referendum on the JD?*
- Use rejection to generate increased momentum in the talks process:
Any possibility of moving rapidly towards an Assembly?
- What other political and PR steps could be taken to maximise the IRA's isolation? Media blitz? Churches? Community relations?

Risk of a spectacular IRA attack

- JIC assessment of 19 January refers to this possibility.
- Do we treat a mainland "spectacular" (successful or intercepted) as proof that the IRA have rejected the Joint Declaration?

- Immediate reactions? Co-ordination with Irish Government? Public line?

Preparing for tighter security

- Increase cross border co-operation: note suggestions in paragraph 17 of Sir Patrick Mayhew's minute. (*at Flag A*)
- Measures within Northern Ireland, including possible changes to the law: note NIO paper of 29 December. (*at Flag C*)
- General acceptance that **internment** would not be the answer?
- would it be worth convening a separate meeting in February/March to review these security proposals (assuming the IRA had not accepted the Joint Declaration)? Could invite the Minister of State (Sir John Wheeler), the Chief Constable, GOC and Director of Intelligence.

Contacts with Irish Government

- Agreement on the Northern Ireland Secretary's approach to the 28 January IGC?
- Timing of next meeting with the Taoiseach? Keep open the possibility of an informal discussion when the Taoiseach comes over for the 19 February rugby match?

Rm/L

25 January 1994

fni.eam

Signed J.S.,
 Dtr. Ref.
 Why not? Balance point split;
 declare led by not
 - don't want division,

They're isolated,

now.

My purpose is peace.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Ref. Q. re... L. Majority. Isolate area of violence.

IRA claim to split P.
 - (let us hear the
 p. come.

to take the ~~new~~ ^{new} rails for the
 the side-liner + put it
 center stage.

There has been a long
 march of ~~winning~~ ^{winning} for Irish N.
 it's time to call a halt

Pivotal argument: States high-
 keep high. Peace is worth a risk.
 12 11 Take one - Take the

Here with me; +
 Irish N.

Our people are
 designed to do that

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BACKGROUND

The following papers are attached:

? Best R
on 'contingency' basis.

A Sir Patrick Mayhew's minute "The Way Forward"

Broad strategy paper (you have seen an earlier draft). Focus on paragraphs 14 to 17. Suggests that if/when the IRA reject the JD, we should:

(instead of a rock.)

- press for early resumption of formal 3-stranded talks;

+ referendum; (keep p.i.r.A isolated), - In light of dec -
- Shd. do that anyway. shd. it remain violence?

- failing that, publish our own proposals by Easter;

- 2/4: STP I of II / L.R.

- review possible changes in the law to improve medium-term security;

(+ debate)

- press the Irish for better cross-border co-operation.

B NIO letter, 25 January

Reply to our request for specific ideas. Tends to repeat the thrust of the strategy paper. Suggests unrelenting, hard-hitting PR. Against a referendum. Few expectations of the churches. Community relations initiative would require more resources. "Does not exclude" the summit meeting with the Taoiseach.

Tried

why?

In

- 2 -

- C NIO paper of 29 December on possible security measures
Describes initiatives already in hand (eg improvements in intelligence) and possible changes to the law (all raising difficulties). Against internment. Favours a "co-ordinated information strategy" (sounds grand, but what does this mean?) Press the Irish further on co-operation through the Chilcot/Dalton group.
- D Article and Broadcast by Lord Callaghan
Be prepared to answer questions from Sinn Fein (though not negotiate), perhaps through "the subterranean channels". Launch an immediate initiative if the JD is rejected: ^a ~~the~~ Legislative Assembly from which an Executive Council (elected by proportional representation) might be drawn. Through Executive Council, give responsibility for Northern Ireland Departments to Hume/Molyneux etc.
- E Early January intelligence report of Irish Government planning
The NIO papers say that the Irish "do not appear to have seriously considered the next steps". This report suggests otherwise. Floats idea of a "Boyne package", referendum North and South of the border and a low key security initiative if the Provisionals reject the JD. (John Hume also suggested a North/South referendum to you. Seen as gimmicky and risky by NIO.) *1 Really - if backed by Hume?*
- F JIC assessment of 19 January
Decision by Provisional Army Council that the Joint Declaration is insufficient for an early cessation of violence. Strategy of calling for clarification to try to wrong-foot HMG, and of increasing the level of violence (risk of mainland attacks) to try to secure further concessions.