This is the 11 parceraph doc. From S.F. Por35/277(2)

April 1993

- 1. We welcome this contact and hope it can help create a healing process which removes both the causes and the consequences of conflict. Everyone shares the responsibility to work to bring about a real and lasting peace in Ireland. Republicans are not reluctant to face up to our responsibility in this but the British Government clearly has the power and the major responsibility to initiate the necessary process.
- 2. Our longstanding position has been one of willingness to enter into dialogue with a view to resolving the conflict. In all of this we do not seek to impose pre-conditions nor should pre-conditions be imposed on us. This is not a position which we could easily recommend let alone successfully defend.

Dialogue and negotiations are necessary and inevitable if this conflict is to be resolved on a democratic basis. Pre-conditions represent obstacles to peace.

Moreover, after more than two decades of conflict and political impasse, we hold as self-evident the view that democratic, political and practical imperatives clearly require the open involvement and inclusion of all political views if a democratic resolution is to be sought and achieved. Democratic reasons clearly determine that Sinn Féin's right to represent its electorate and to promote its analysis should be accepted and acted upon. This is the basis upon which we enter into dialogue.

- 3. The route to peace in Ireland is to be found in the restoration to the Irish people of our right to national self-determination in the free exercise of this right without impediment of any kind.
- 4. British sovereignity over the six-counties, as with all of Ireland before partition, is the inherent cause of political instability and conflict. This must be addressed within the democratic context of the exercise of the right to national self-determination if the cause of instability and conflict is to be removed.
- 5. We seek to assist the establishment of, and to support, a process which, with due regard for the real difficulties involved, culminates in the exercise of that right and the end of your jurisdiction.

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- 6. We believe that the wish of the majority of the Irish people is for Irish unity. We believe that an adherence to democratic principles makes Irish unity inevitable. The emerging political and economic imperatives both within Ireland and within the broader context of greater European political union support the logic of Irish unity. It is our view therefore that the British Government should play a crucial and constructive role in persuading the unionist community to reach an accommodation with the rest of the Irish people.
- 7. Your disavowal of any prior objective is contradicted by your commitment to uphold the unionist veto. The consequence of upholding the veto is, in effect, to set as your objective the maintainance of partition and the sixcounty statelet. And, consequently, the maintainance of the primary source of the conflict.

Since its creation 72 years ago, the six-county statelet has been in constant crisis. Its survival has always been dependant on the existance and exercise of repressive legislation, coercion and discrimination. Its existance lies at the heart of the present conflict and divisions, both in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland.

8. We recognise that the concerns and perceived concerns of the unionist population about their position in an Irish national democracy must be addressed and resolved in the form of the greatest reassurance possible, including legislation for all measures agreed in the course of a process of negotiations. This process of national reconciliation must secure the political, religious and democratic rights of the northern unionist population.

That is not only the democratic norm but a practical necessity if we are to advance the cause of peace in Ireland and find a way out of the present impasse.

9. The most urgent issue facing the people of Ireland and Britain is the need for a genuine peace process which sets equality, justice, and political stability as its objectives and, has as its means, dialogue and all-embracing negotiations in the context of democratic principles. In attempting to progress towards that position we are prepared to be as reasonable and flexible as possible.

In this context, we are willing to seriously consider any proposal which genuinely aims to set such a process in train and to take the accompanying political risks involved.

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- 10. We accept, of course, that it is essential that both sides have a clear and realistic understanding of what it is possible to achieve. But we are sure you will agree that what is realistic is dependent upon the existing conditions at any given point and the political will to move the situation on. If the essential political will exists then the contruction, at this time, of a peace process is clearly feasible.
- 11. We found our preliminary meeting with your representative valuable. We believe that there exists a basis for progress which can be developed into a genuine realistic and democratic peace process. The potentially historic opportunity which this represents for the cause of peace in Ireland should not be lost. We have outlined our position. You have outlined yours. It is now time to move on. You should arrange for us to do so as speedily as possible.

April 93.

This is S.F. II paregraph regola to the B. Gov. 9 paregraph efter of 19/3/93.

· Date is confirmed by S.F. version pp31

· SF. are dead right about the omission of 1st line on paragraph II.

The ariginal + photocopy of original have the extra intro. to paragraph II.

- Emmet's typed version doesn't him hot?

- BD showed MC Emmet's version when he was asked for it and this is where s.F. noticed the omission from their own cripinal copy.

this piece because B.D. didn't actually veceive it until 17/7/93. (see pp 4 ef doc in 93 the dated by Emmet as June July 4 5th July 93 in red ink). The knows it was at least after 26/4/93-see 93 the cos at a meeting between S.F. + B. Gov., S.F. told them they voiled have a policy soon (see S.F. version pp 25).

Did B.D. pass this doc, on in July or had it already been passed from Mate B. Gov. some other way, is July is a bit late for the B. Gov. to have stay is a bit late for

S.F. version pp 31
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proposed by S.F. in its
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According to the (July 53 doe)

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