SECRET AND PERSONAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 November 1985

Dear Charles,

Anglo-Irish Summit

I enclose the following briefing material for use with the Taoiseach on Friday 15 November. There are sufficient copies for all the participants.

(a) Briefs:

i) General
ii) Internal Political Scene in the Republic
iii) Continental Shelf Delimitation
iv) The Irish Sea
v) European Community Intergovernmental Conference
vi) Birmingham Bombings 1974
vii) Cross Border Security: Special Irish Complaints
viii) Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council

(b) Copies of:

The Agreement
The Joint Communique
Press Release
Question and Answer Brief

(c) Personality Reports on:

i) Dr Garret FitzGerald
ii) Mr Dick Spring
iii) Mr Peter Barry
iv) Mr Dermot Nally
v) Mr Michael Lillis
vi) Mr Sean Donlon
vii) Mr Noel Dorr
viii) Mr Peter Prendergast
ix) Mr Declan Quigley
x) Mr Andy Ward

A copy of the Prime Minister's press statement will follow when it has been agreed.

I am copying this letter with enclosures to Jim Daniell in the Northern Ireland Office and to Michael Stark in the Cabinet Office.

Yours ever,
Len Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

SECRET AND PERSONAL

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13 November 1985

COPY NO 1

ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT
NOVEMBER 1985

GENERAL BRIEF

Introduction

The first of the current annual Summit meetings with the Irish was held in December 1980 when Mr Haughey was Taoiseach. This will be the 5th such Summit and the 4th with Dr FitzGerald as Taoiseach.

AIIC

2. At the Summit with Mr Haughey a series of five Anglo-Irish Joint Studies was commissioned. They considered citizenship rights; security matters; economic co-operation; and possible new institutional structures and measures to encourage mutual understanding. Discussion of these Joint Studies at the Summit in 1981 with the present Taoiseach resulted in the establishment of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council (AIIC) to provide a framework to facilitate more regular and frequent contacts between Ministers and officials. Although there was a hiatus for most of 1982 because of the Falklands conflict, there have been 61 meetings of British and Irish Ministers since then, 21 of them since the last Summit in November 1984 (in addition to those taking place in the margins of Community and other multilateral meetings). There was no Summit in 1982; this will be the third specifically in the AIIC framework. Further details of the work of the AIIC are provided in separate briefing.

3. The Communique issued after the November 1984 Summit at Chequers acknowledged that "the identities of both the majority and minority communities in Northern Ireland should be recognised and respected and reflected in the structures and processes of Northern Ireland in ways acceptable to both communities". It was agreed that there should be close and continuing discussion between the two governments to bring this about.

THE FORUM REPORT

4. In 1983 Dr Fitzgerald launched the New Ireland Forum designed to promote more realistic debate among the Irish political parties about the future of Ireland. With the exception of those advocating violence (who were not invited) all the main political parties in the Republic, together with the SDLP, took part. The Forum presented its Report in April 1984. Although none of the three illustrative options contained in it (unity, federation, joint authority) was acceptable to the United Kingdom, the Report contained a number of helpful elements including a clear condemnation of violence and a recognition of the rights of the Unionists in Northern Ireland. The Report has formed an important part of the background to the current Anglo-Irish negotiations on the Irish side and they will wish to present the Agreement as being, in part at least, a consequence of the Forum process.

THE AGREEMENT

5. At the final session before the Summit of the Armstrong/Nally talks, agreement was reached on the last details in the texts to be issued by the Summit, namely the Anglo-Irish Agreement itself, the Summit Communique and the Press Release summarising the Agreement. There appear to be no outstanding issues for the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach to resolve at the Summit. Suggestions of matters to raise, for instance concerning public presentation of the Agreement and the handling of the press conference following the Summit, will be submitted by Sir Robert Armstrong to the Prime Minister.

Cabinet Office
13 November 1985

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MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

11 November 1985

ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT

NOVEMBER 1985

INTERNAL POLITICAL SCENE IN THE REPUBLIC

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

1. Dr FitzGerald's Coalition Government badly needs a political success. After nearly three years in office it is trailing the opposition by some 15% in the polls. Following defections over family planning reform it no longer has an overall majority in the Dail, although in practice the defectors generally support Government policy.

2. The Coalition has held together well, despite tensions caused by its deteriorating position in the opinion polls, and in particular by the Labour Party's declining fortunes. Unpopular economic policies have been introduced and adhered to, but little has been achieved in the way of social reform

and disagreements between the parties have led to lengthy delays in introducing legislation.

ECONOMY

3. The long wet summer of 1985 contributed to a mood of gloom and despondency. Farmers, who suffered extensive crop losses are particularly angry at what they see as low levels of Government aid. Elsewhere there are positive trends in the economy: a three year economic plan introduced last year is fairly well on target, with inflation and interest rates both below UK levels. The 1985 trade balance is expected to be in surplus for the first time. But the Government still faces formidable problems. Unemployment has been contained at a painful 17%, but there is no sign that it can be brought lower than this. The current budget deficit will exceed 8% of GNP (the highest ever experienced), and cannot be reduced without increasing the already high level of personal taxation or further cutting public expenditure. Neither option is politically acceptable.

SOCIAL REFORMS

4. Dr FitzGerald's constitutional crusade ran into the sands early on with the 1984 Referendum on abortion (not an issue of his own choosing). New legislation earlier this year to increase the availability of family planning only just scraped through the Dail, and the Taoiseach is not anxious to repeat the experiment. His hand may, however, be forced on divorce. Dr FitzGerald believes that a referendum on the subject now would fail, and do more harm than good. But the Labour Party has decided to introduce a Bill this session to

give the Dail the right to legislate on divorce. An attempt by Labour to secure Cabinet endorsement of the Bill and to have it considered during a general debate on divorce due to begin on 14 November has been rejected, and it will have to wait its turn as a Private Members Bill. Although many in Fine Gael are unhappy at the Party's failure to live up to its promises in the field of social reforms, the Government believes that it is important to await a national consensus on the need for reform.

NORTHERN IRELAND

5. Whether as cause or effect of the Government's perceived failure to deliver on other fronts, the Anglo-Irish process has come to occupy a dominant place in Dr FitzGerald's priorities, and hence in his own standing in the country. A successful agreement will be presented as vindication of his efforts, and as a triumph of constitutional democratic methods over terrorism and subversion. The main impact of a successful agreement is likely to be in rallying his own troops around him, rather than in any immediate upsurge of public support in the Republic. But if the agreement is not generally seen as a success this would be the beginning of the end for the Taoiseach personally. Much will depend on the SDLP's position in the aftermath of an agreement.

FIANNA FAIL

6. Fianna Fail is playing a waiting game. Riding high in the polls it seems to have accepted that an early election is unlikely. Mr Haughey's policy now is to let the Government sink in its own unpopularity, keeping as quiet as possible

about his own future intentions. The rest of the Party toes the line. Mr Haughey's interventions on the Anglo-Irish process so far have been carefully worded. Whilst indicating his intention to stick firmly to traditional Fianna Fail aspirations and policy in a Dail debate on the agreement it looks as if he will stop short of threatening to repudiate the agreement if returned to office.

CONCLUSIONS

7. The political mood in Dublin is distinctly edgy. But there is no expectation of an early election. A Government reshuffle is expected later this year, and the successful conclusion of the uncomfortably prolonged Anglo-Irish talks should help calm the atmosphere. But there is no doubt in political circles that the Government's presentation of the Anglo-Irish agreement will be a testing time, on which its fate may ultimately turn.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

11 November 1985

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HMV(85)
11 November 1985

ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT
NOVEMBER 1985

CONTINENTAL SHELF DELIMITATION (Defensive)

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

OBJECTIVE

1. To encourage Irish to work with us in resisting Danish and Icelandic claims but without commitment at this stage as to our readiness to proceed to arbitration.

POINTS TO MAKE (if raised)

2. We share Irish wish to resolve differences over the continental shelf amicably so as not to disturb wider relations between out two governments and to facilitate work for offshore industries. Need to work together to resist claims made by Denmark and Iceland to Hatton Rockall plateau.

/BACKGROUND

BACKGROUND

3. Efforts to reach agreement by negotiation on delimitation of the continental shelf (SW approaches, West of Scotland, Irish Sea) broke down in 1976. It was subsequently agreed (and made public) that the issues would be submitted to some form of ad hoc arbitration subject to agreement on its nature and modalities.

4. Negotiations at official level regarding the modalities of the Arbitration and the establishment of the tribunal took place between 1979-1982. The Irish General Election in 1983 and subsequent Irish reluctance to resume discussions left matters in a state of limbo. (We also had our own reasons for going slow as we wanted to complete the Ninth Licensing Round before the conclusion of the draft Arbitration Agreement, which at present, once signed, would prevent the issue of new production licences in the relevant areas pending the Tribunal's decision. The Ninth Round is now complete).

5. Claims made earlier this year by Denmark and Iceland (which we and the Irish have both rejected) to the Hatton-Rockall area appear to have revived Irish interest in UK/Irish arbitration. We await Law Officers' Opinion as to the best tactics of how to react to action taken by Denmark and Iceland and whether it would still be to our advantage to press ahead first with arbitration with Irish. Ministers will then be invited to decide on future course of action.

/6.

6. The Irish recently protested that advice given officially to Enterprise Oil (a British company) had led them to refuse the Irish offer of two blocks in the Irish Third Round, one of which straddles the line claimed by the UK as the boundary in the earlier negotiations. We subsequently clarified the position with the Irish and at their request spoke to the company. In the event they decided not to take up the offer because of uncertainty.

7. The results of the Irish Third Round were announced on 22 October; one block which also straddles the UK claim line is included. A protest is called for but will be postponed so as not to affect wider Anglo/Irish relations at this delicate stage. In line with the Irish reaction to the UK's Ninth Licensing Round (which included two blocks straddling the line claimed by the Irish in the negotiations) we would propose to do so in a low key manner.

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ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT

NOVEMBER 1985

THE IRISH SEA

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

OBJECTIVE

1. To resist any Irish attempt to revert to their original idea of a major conference on the Irish Sea and to reassure them about radioactive discharges from Sellafield.

POINTS TO MAKE

2. Welcome Irish proposal for a bilateral meeting of officials to discuss co-operation and co-ordination in environment work on the Irish Sea.

3. Understand final text of an agreement (revised to take account of Irish comments) on the notification of radiological incidents which might affect the Republic will be available very shortly.

/BACKGROUND

BACKGROUND

Irish Sea Conference

4. The Irish Minister of Environment pressed earlier this year for an Anglo-Irish conference of experts in Dublin in 1986 under the patronage of both Governments but including other interested parties.

5. Mr Jenkins told him that other commitments prevented a conference before 1988. He suggested meanwhile continuing contact at official level. The Irish took up this suggestion proposing a bilateral meeting of officials this autumn. DOE officials are in touch with their Irish counterparts about dates for the meeting.

Sellafield

6. Radioactive discharges from Sellafield have to comply with conditions set by the Department of Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, under the Radioactive Substances Act 1960. The radiological impact of Sellafield in the immediate vicinity of the plant is within the limits recommended by the International Commission on Radiological Protection. Further afield, the impact is considerably less, and Irish research itself confirms that the radiological impact on the Irish population is negligible.

/7. New

8. New liaison arrangements between the UK authorising departments and the Irish Department of Energy were set up last year. Meetings take place approximately every six months ; next meeting will be in Dublin on 19 November. These contacts are working well and the Irish officials concerned seem satisfied with them.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

11 November 1985

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ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT

NOVEMBER 1985

INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE (IF RAISED)

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

OBJECTIVES

1. To reserve our position until a clear package is visible.

2. To elicit what the Irish will settle for.

POINTS TO MAKE

3. What shape of package do you expect to come before us for discussion at Luxembourg European Council?

4. Hope European Council will be in a position to take decisions. Conference must not drag on.

CONFIDENTIAL

5. Will take a view on basis of whatever precise proposals are put before European Council, not before.

6. Consider changes only if convinced they will lead to completing common market and faster and more effective decision taking.

[If necessary]

7. All of us will benefit from opening up of internal market. Regional and social policy already catered for by existing funds. Cohesion should be a question of convergence of economic policy.

BACKGROUND

8. The Presidency are starting to try to put together a package as a basis for agreement at European Council. The key issues are decision-making, the European Parliament, new articles on technology and environment, and cohesion. The Benelux and Italy are still hankering after maximalist positions. The French and Germans and ourselves have been taking a similar line on substance. They are likely to want to try to reach agreement on a limited package in December.

9. The Irish have not played a leading role. They can agree to a limited extension of majority voting, increased power for the Parliament, and new articles on technology and environment (provided unanimity is maintained for the latter). Their main interest is to promote a text on cohesion which would encourage new resource transfers to the poorer member states. This has been firmly resisted by the French, Germans and Dutch as well as by the Danes and ourselves.

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ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT
NOVEMBER 1985

THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBINGS 1974:
REPRESENTATIONS BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT
Brief by the Home Office

OBJECTIVE

1. To ensure, if the Irish raise the subject, that the Irish understand the nature of the Home Secretary 's powers in a case of this kind, and to reassure them that if the new material warrants it, he will not hesitate to refer it to the Court of Appeal.

POINTS TO MAKE

2. HMG has noted the Irish Government's concern. The Home Secretary has statutory power to refer a criminal case to the Court of Appeal. He is considering very carefully whether, on the basis of new material presented to him, it would be appropriate to refer the case of the Birmingham bombers to the Court of Appeal.

3. Cannot say when a decision will be reached. But if after examination evidence warrants, he will not hesitate to refer it.

BACKGROUND

4. In November 1974 two public houses in Birmingham were destroyed by PIRA bombs, 21 people killed and 162 injured. Six Irish men - Patrick Hill, John Walker, Richard McIlkenny, William Power, Hugh Callaghan and Gerrard Hunter - were subsequently convicted of murder (21 counts). Their convictions were upheld on appeal. The 6 have always protested their innocence and claimed that their confessions (2 did not make written statements) were obtained by violence and threats.

5. On 28 October 1985 the "World in Action" programme, "In the Interests of Justice", presented alleged new evidence relating to the forensic tests and the accuseds' confessions, which purported to cast doubt on the convictions. The papers relating to the material presented in the programme were sent to the Home Secretary by Sir John Farr, MP.

6. On 29 October the Irish Government expressed its concern to HMG and formally asked that the Home Secretary look carefully at the new evidence. HMG replied formally on 5 November, acknowledging that the Home Secretary had been presented with new material, and that he was considering very carefully whether it would be appropriate to refer the case to the Court of Appeal.

Home Office

11 November 1985

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11 November 1985

ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT

NOVEMBER 1985

CROSS BORDER SECURITY: SPECIAL IRISH COMPLAINTS

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

OBJECTIVE (if raised)

1. To avoid discussion of specific complaints.

POINT TO MAKE

2. These are the sort of matters which the new machinery (the Intergovernmental Conference) has been set up to deal with. Let us leave them for it.

BACKGROUND

3. The Irish Government make frequent complaints through HM Embassy in Dublin about specific incidents related to the operation of our Security Forces in the border areas of Northern Ireland.

4. These concern brief and mostly inadvertent incursions into the Republic, the closure of a number of cross-border roads and bridges (generally resented by the inhabitants of the border areas of the Republic) and alleged arbitrary searches and discourtesy by Security Forces personnel operating in the border areas of the North. (There have been several such complaints in recent months: most have been answered satisfactorily but some are still under investigation by the RUC.)

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14 November 1985

ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT

NOVEMBER 1985

ANGLO-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL COUNCIL (AIIC)

Brief by the Cabinet Office

Paragraph 10 of the Joint Communique refers to "the wide range of work being done under the auspices of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council". The attached Report of the Steering Committee of the AIIC (Sir Robert Armstrong and Mr Nally) to Heads of Government gives an account of that work.

2. It is not for publication.

Cabinet Office

14 November 1985

RESTRICTED

REPORT OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE ANGLO-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL COUNCIL (AIIC) ON ANGLO-IRISH CONTACTS AND CO-OPERATION: 1985

1. The present report covers the period since the Anglo-Irish Summit on 19 November 1984. The very wide range of cooperation and contact between the two countries continued to develop. The present report focusses on some notable examples which are divided into activities of a general nature and activities where the Coordinating Committee has, at some stage, played a direct role.

General

2. 21 formal Ministerial meetings have taken place since November 1984. A full list, stating the topics discussed, is annexed to this report.

3. The principal focus of discussion between the two Governments since 1984 has been the development of Anglo-Irish relations with particular reference to Northern Ireland.

4. The Electoral Amendment Act enacted by the Oireachtas in July 1985, granted inter alia voting rights at Dail elections to British citizens resident in the Republic. The extended voting register will be ready in April 1986.

5. The Committee noted that cooperation on security matters continues to be given a high priority.

6. Anglo-Irish Encounter held its second conference, on "promoting amongst the young a greater respect for religious and cultural diversity", in Dublin in November 1984. The third conference on "increasing the appreciation of our Cultural Heritage" was held in London in March 1985. Encounter funded an Irish Studies Conference in Oxford in September 1985. This resulted in the launching of a new academic society, the British Association for Irish Studies.

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The Coordinating Committee

7. Agreement was reached in the Working Group on Education on a curriculum development project in schools in Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic entitled "The European Studies (Ireland and Great Britain) Project". This will be concerned with the cultural and historical inter-relationships within and between the islands of Great Britain and Ireland. Over the period 1986-90 the project will involve at least 1600 pupils aged between 11 and 14 in 6 schools in Great Britain, 6 schools in Northern Ireland and 6 schools in the Republic. It will aim to encourage pupils to explore the common roots and rich diversity of their heritage. Initially the project will concentrate on history and geography and develop the skills of pupils by way of individual and group research. Total costs of about £1m will be shared equally by the three education authorities. The materials used by the project will later be made available to other schools.

8. It has been agreed that the series of teachers' conferences organised by the three Inspectorates of Schools on the teaching of Irish and British history which took place in the early to mid-1970s will be revived. Special attention will be paid to disseminating the conclusions reached at these seminars to a wider audience. The first conference will be held in Northern Ireland in 1986. Thereafter the conferences will take place every two years, the location rotating between Great Britain, the Republic and Northern Ireland.

9. The work on scholarships and academic links initiated by the Working Group on Cultural Exchanges in 1984 was also completed in the Working Group on Education. Two candidates each from the Republic and the United Kingdom have been selected under a new scientific scholarship scheme for postgraduates and have begun their studies. It is expected that the numbers under this scheme will increase in future years. In addition, the studies in the United Kingdom of 11 other Irish postgraduates will be funded from British official sources during the academic year 1985/86.

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10. Following the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding on exchanges of civil servants in October 1984, one Irish civil servant has been placed with the British Department of the Environment and arrangements are in hand for two to work in the Scottish Office, one in the Department of Health and Social Security and one with the Forestry Commission. It is expected that three UK civil servants - from the Scottish Office, the Department of Trade and Industry and the Department of Health and Social Security - will be placed in Irish Government Departments in the near future.

11. Discussions have taken place on the broadcast of RTE television into Northern Ireland, with useful work being done in refining and evaluating the technical aspects of the proposals. The discussions are continuing.

12. Agreement on the future funding of the Commissioners of Irish Lights was reached in principle between the Irish Departments of Communications and the British Department of Transport in March 1985. It will begin to be implemented in 1987 covering the 1986 Irish financial year and the 1986/87 British financial year.

14 November 1985

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NO.	DATE	PARTICIPANTS	SUBJECT	VENUE
41	28 November 1984	Under-Secretary of State, Northern Ireland Office and Minister for the Environment	Transport	Belfast
42	5 December 1984	Minister for Health & Social Affairs and Under-Secretary of State, Department of Health and Social Security	Social Affairs	Dublin
43	12 December 1984	Secretary of State for Transport and Minister of Communications	Transport	London
44	28 January 1985	Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries & Food and Minister for Agriculture	Fisheries	London
45	4 February 1985	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anglo-Irish Relations	London
46	28 February 1985	Secretary of State for Employment and Minister of Labour	Employment issues	London
47	15 March 1985	Under-Secretary of State, Northern Ireland Office and Minister of Agriculture	Agricultural cooperation	Belfast

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NO.	DATE	PARTICIPANTS	SUBJECT	VENUE
48	15 March 1985	Under-Secretary of State, Department of Environment and Minister of State, Department of the Environment	Environmental matters	London
49	22 March 1985	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anglo-Irish relations	Dublin
50	26 March 1985	Minister for Education and Under-Secretary of State, Northern Ireland Office	Education	Dublin
51	1 May 1985	Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Dept of Trade and Industry and Minister for Industry, Trade, Commerce and Tourism	Commerce	London
52	16 May 1985	Secretary of State for the Environment, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Environment and the Minister for the Environment	Environmental matters	London
53	23 May 1985	Minister of State for Trade & Industry and Minister for Industry, Trade, Commerce & Tourism	Industry	London

RIDAAW

NO.	DATE	PARTICIPANTS	SUBJECT	VENUE
54	30 May 1985	Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs and Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anglo-Irish relations	London
55	30 May 1985	Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anglo-Irish relations	London
56	4 July 1985	Minister for Labour and Minister of State for Employment	Employment issues	Dublin
57	7 August 1985	Minister for Health and Social Welfare, and Under Secretary of State, Northern Ireland Office	Health and Social Welfare	Dublin
58	11 September 1985	Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, Northern Ireland, and the Minister of Fisheries & Foresty	Fishery matters	Londonderry
59	17 September 1985	Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland	Introductory discussion on Anglo-Irish relations	Dublin

AAW

NO.	DATE	PARTICIPANTS	SUBJECT	VENUE
60	7 October 1985	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anglo-Irish relations	London
61	6 November 1985	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anglo-Irish relations	London

RIDAAW

ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT 1985

NOIABE

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the Republic of Ireland:

Wishing further to develop the unique relationship between their peoples and the close co-operation between their countries as friendly neighbours and as partners in the European Community;

Recognising the major interest of both their countries and, above all, of the people of Northern Ireland in diminishing the divisions there and achieving lasting peace and stability;

Recognising the need for continuing efforts to reconcile and to acknowledge the rights of the two major traditions that exist in Ireland, represented on the one hand by those who wish for no change in the present status of Northern Ireland and on the other hand by those who aspire to a sovereign united Ireland achieved by peaceful means and through agreement;

Reaffirming their total rejection of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and their determination to work together to ensure that those who adopt or support such methods do not succeed;

Recognising that a condition of genuine reconciliation and dialogue between unionists and nationalists is mutual recognition and acceptance of each other's rights;

Recognising and respecting the identities of the two communities in Northern Ireland, and the right of each to pursue its aspirations by peaceful and constitutional means;

Reaffirming their commitment to a society in Northern Ireland in which all may live in peace, free from discrimination and intolerance, and with the opportunity for both communities to participate fully in the structures and processes of government;

Have accordingly agreed as follows:

A

STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND

ARTICLE 1

The two Governments

(a) affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland;

(b) recognise that the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change in the status of Northern Ireland;

(c) declare that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they will introduce and support in the respective Parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish.

B

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE

ARTICLE 2

(a) There is hereby established, within the framework of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council set up after the meeting between the two Heads of Government on 6 November 1981, an Intergovernmental Conference (hereinafter referred to as "the Conference"), concerned with Northern Ireland and with relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland, to deal, as set out in this Agreement, on a regular basis with

(i) political matters;

(ii) security and related matters;

(iii) legal matters, including the administration of justice;

(iv) the promotion of cross-border co-operation.

(b) The United Kingdom Government accept that the Irish Government will put forward views and proposals on matters relating to Northern Ireland within the field of activity of the Conference in so far as those matters are not the responsibility of a devolved administration in Northern Ireland. In the interest of promoting peace and stability, determined efforts shall be made through the Conference to resolve any differences. The Conference will be mainly concerned with Northern Ireland; but some of the matters under consideration will involve co-operative action in both parts of the island of Ireland, and possibly also in Great Britain. Some of the proposals considered in respect of

Northern Ireland may also be found to have application by the Irish Government. There is no derogation from the sovereignty of either the United Kingdom Government or the Irish Government, and each retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 3

The Conference shall meet at Ministerial or official level, as required. The business of the Conference will thus receive attention at the highest level. Regular and frequent Ministerial meetings shall be held; and in particular special meetings shall be convened at the request of either side. Officials may meet in subordinate groups. Membership of the Conference and of sub-groups shall be small and flexible. When the Conference meets at Ministerial level the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and an Irish Minister designated as the Permanent Irish Ministerial Representative shall be joint Chairmen. Within the framework of the Conference other British and Irish Ministers may hold or attend meetings as appropriate: when legal matters are under consideration the Attorneys General may attend. Ministers may be accompanied by their officials and their professional advisers: for example, when questions of security policy or security co-operation are being discussed, they may be accompanied by the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Commissioner of the Garda Siochana; or when questions of economic or social policy or co-operation are being discussed, they may be accompanied by officials of the relevant Departments. A Secretariat shall be established by the two Governments to service the Conference on a continuing basis in the discharge of its functions as set out in this Agreement.

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ARTICLE 4

(a) In relation to matters coming within its field of activity, the Conference shall be a framework within which the United Kingdom Government and the Irish Government work together

(i) for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions which exist in Northern Ireland; and

(ii) for peace, stability and prosperity throughout the island of Ireland by promoting reconciliation, respect for human rights, co-operation against terrorism and the development of economic, social and cultural co-operation.

(b) It is the declared policy of the United Kingdom Government that responsibility in respect of certain matters within the powers of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland should be devolved within Northern Ireland on a basis which would secure widespread acceptance throughout the community. The Irish Government support that policy.

(c) Both Governments recognise that devolution can be achieved only with the co-operation of constitutional representatives within Northern Ireland of both traditions there. The Conference shall be a framework within which the Irish Government may put forward views and proposals on the modalities of bringing about devolution in Northern Ireland, in so far as they relate to the interests of the minority community.

C

POLITICAL MATTERS

ARTICLE 5

(a) The Conference shall concern itself with measures to recognise and accommodate the rights and identities of the two traditions in Northern Ireland, to protect human rights and to prevent discrimination. Matters to be considered in this area include measures to foster the cultural heritage of both traditions, changes in electoral arrangements, the use of flags and emblems, the avoidance of economic and social discrimination and the advantages and disadvantages of a Bill of Rights in some form in Northern Ireland.

(b) The discussion of these matters shall be mainly concerned with Northern Ireland, but the possible application of any measures pursuant to this Article by the Irish Government in their jurisdiction shall not be excluded.

(c) If it should prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution on a basis which secures widespread acceptance in Northern Ireland, the Conference shall be a framework within which the Irish Government may, where the interests of the minority community are significantly or especially affected, put forward views on proposals for major legislation and on major policy issues, which are within the purview of the Northern Ireland Departments and which remain the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

ARTICLE 6

The Conference shall be a framework within which the Irish Government may put forward views and proposals on the role and composition of bodies appointed by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland or by Departments subject to his direction and control including

the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights;

the Fair Employment Agency;

the Equal Opportunities Commission;

the Police Authority for Northern Ireland;

the Police Complaints Board.

D

SECURITY AND RELATED MATTERS

ARTICLE 7

(a) The Conference shall consider

(i) security policy;

(ii) relations between the security forces and the community;

(iii) prisons policy.

(b) The Conference shall consider the security situation at its regular meetings and thus provide an opportunity to address policy issues, serious incidents and forthcoming events.

(c) The two Governments agree that there is a need for a programme of special measures in Northern Ireland to improve relations between the security forces and the community, with the object in particular of making the security forces more readily accepted by the nationalist community. Such a programme shall be developed, for the Conference's consideration, and may include the establishment of local consultative machinery, training in community relations, crime prevention schemes involving the community, improvements in arrangements for handling complaints, and action to increase the proportion of members of the minority in the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Elements of the programme may be considered by the Irish Government suitable for application within their jurisdiction.

(d) The Conference may consider policy issues relating to prisons. Individual cases may be raised as appropriate, so that information can be provided or inquiries instituted.

E

LEGAL MATTERS, INCLUDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

ARTICLE 8

The Conference shall deal with issues of concern to both countries relating to the enforcement of the criminal law. In particular it shall consider whether there are areas of the criminal law applying in the North and in the South respectively which might with benefit be harmonised. The two Governments agree on the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice. The Conference shall seek, with the help of advice from experts as appropriate, measures which would give substantial expression to this aim, considering inter alia the possibility of mixed courts in both jurisdictions for the trial of certain offences. The Conference shall also be concerned with policy aspects of extradition and extra-territorial jurisdiction as between North and South.

F

CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION ON SECURITY, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MATTERS

ARTICLE 9

(a) With a view to enhancing cross-border co-operation on security matters, the Conference shall set in hand a programme of work to be undertaken by the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Commissioner of the Garda Siochana and, where appropriate, groups of officials, in such areas as threat assessments, exchange of information, liaison structures, technical co-operation, training of personnel, and operational resources.

(b) The Conference shall have no operational responsibilities; responsibility for police operations shall remain with the heads of the respective police forces, the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary maintaining his links with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Commissioner of the Garda Siochana his links with the Minister for Justice.

ARTICLE 10

(a) The two Governments shall co-operate to promote the economic and social development of those areas of both parts of Ireland which have suffered most severely from the consequences of the instability of recent years, and shall consider the possibility of securing international support for this work.

(b) If it should prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution on a basis which secures widespread acceptance in Northern Ireland, the Conference shall be a framework for the promotion of co-operation between the two parts of Ireland concerning cross-border aspects of economic, social and cultural matters in relation to which the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland continues to exercise authority.

(c) If responsibility is devolved in respect of certain matters in the economic, social or cultural areas currently within the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, machinery will need to be established by the responsible authorities in the North and South for practical co-operation in respect of cross-border aspects of these issues.

G

ARRANGEMENTS FOR REVIEW

ARTICLE 11

At the end of three years from signature of this Agreement, or earlier if requested by either Government, the working of the Conference shall be reviewed by the two Governments to see whether any changes in the scope and nature of its activities are desirable.

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INTERPARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS

ARTICLE 12

It will be for Parliamentary decision in Westminster and in Dublin whether to establish an Anglo-Irish Parliamentary body of the kind adumbrated in the Anglo-Irish Studies Report of November 1981. The two Governments agree that they would give support as appropriate to such a body, if it were to be established.

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FINAL CLAUSES

ARTICLE 13

This Agreement shall enter into force on the date on which the two Governments exchange notifications of their acceptance of this Agreement.

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In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement.

Done in two originals at on the day of November 1985

For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

For the Government of the Republic of Ireland

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Anglo-Irish Summit Meeting

Joint Communiqué

1. The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP, and the Taoiseach, Dr Garret FitzGerald TD, met at on . It was the third meeting of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council to be held at the level of Heads of Government.

2. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP, and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon Tom King MP. The Taoiseach was accompanied by the Tanaiste, Mr Dick Spring TD, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Peter Barry TD.

3. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach signed a formal and binding Agreement between their two Governments, which will enter into force as soon as each Government has notified the other of acceptance. The Agreement has the aims of promoting peace and stability in Northern Ireland; helping to reconcile the two major traditions in Ireland; creating a new climate of friendship and co-operation between the people of the two countries; and improving co-operation in combatting terrorism.

4. The Agreement deals in particular with the status of Northern Ireland and the establishment of an Intergovernmental Conference in which the Irish Government will put forward views and proposals concerning stated aspects of Northern Ireland affairs; in which the promotion of cross-border co-operation will be discussed; and in which determined efforts will be made to resolve any differences between the two Governments.

5. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach committed themselves to implementing and sustaining the measures set out in the Agreement

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with determination and imagination and undertook to encourage people of both the unionist and nationalist traditions in Ireland to make new efforts to understand and respect each other's concerns with a view to promoting reconciliation.

6. The exchange of notifications of acceptance will not be completed until the Agreement has been approved by the British Parliament and by Dail Eireann. The two Governments intend that action to implement the provisions of the Agreement should begin once the exchange of notifications has been completed. The first meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference will take place as soon as possible thereafter. The British side will be led by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Irish side by the Minister designated as the Permanent Irish Ministerial Representative.

7. The two Governments envisage that the meetings and agenda of the Conference will not normally be announced. But they wish it to be known that, at its first meeting, the Conference will consider its future programme of work in all the fields - political, security, legal, economic, social and cultural - assigned to it under the Agreement. It will concentrate at its initial meetings on:

- relations between the security forces and the minority community in Northern Ireland;

- ways of enhancing security co-operation between the two Governments; and

- seeking measures which would give substantial expression to the aim of underlining the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice.

In the interests of all the people of Northern Ireland the two sides are committed to work for early progress in these matters. Against this background, the Taoiseach said that it was the intention of his Government to accede as soon as possible to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism.

8. In addressing the improvement of relations between the security forces and the minority community, the Conference at its first meeting will consider:

a. the application of the principle that the Armed Forces (which include the Ulster Defence Regiment) operate only in support of the civil power, with the particular objective of ensuring as rapidly as possible that, save in the most exceptional circumstances, there is a police presence in all operations which involve direct contact with the community;

b. ways of underlining the policy of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and of the Armed Forces in Northern Ireland that they discharge their duties even-handedly and with equal respect for the unionist and nationalist identities and traditions.

9. In its discussion of the enhancement of cross-border co-operation on security, the first meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference will give particular attention to the importance of continuing and enhanced co-operation, as envisaged in Article 9(a) of the Agreement, in the policing of border areas.

10. In addition to concluding the new Agreement, the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach reviewed the wide range of work being done under the auspices of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council to develop further the unique relationship between the two countries. The fact that in the past year there have been more than twenty meetings between Ministers of the two

Governments demonstrates the closeness of co-operation. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach decided that this work should be actively continued, in the interests of friendship between all the people of both countries.

11. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach agreed to meet again at an appropriate time to take stock of the development of relations between the two countries and of the implementation of the Agreement which they have signed.

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Summary of the Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985

Joint Press Release

(Note: This summary has no legal status)

1. The Agreement begins with a preamble incorporating a joint statement of objectives.

The Status of Northern Ireland

2. The two Governments affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland; recognise that the present wish of a majority there is for no change in that status; and declare that, if in the future a majority there clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, the two Governments will introduce and support legislation in the respective Parliaments to give effect to this. (Article 1)

Framework and Objectives of the Intergovernmental Conference

3. The Agreement establishes, within the framework of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council, an Intergovernmental Conference concerned with Northern Ireland and with relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland which, subject to the terms of the Agreement, will deal on a regular basis with:

- political matters;

- security and related matters;

- legal matters, including the administration of justice;

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- the promotion of cross-border co-operation. (Article 2(a))

The Agreement provides for a review of the working of the Conference after three years, or earlier if either side desires. (Article 11)

4. The Conference will proceed on the basis that:

- the United Kingdom Government accept that the Irish Government will put forward within the Conference views and proposals on certain matters relating to Northern Ireland as provided for in the Agreement;

- in the interest of promoting peace and stability, determined efforts will be made in the Conference to resolve any differences;

- there will be no derogation from the sovereignty of either Government, and each retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction. (Article 2(b))

5. The Conference will be a framework within which the two Governments work together for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions in Northern Ireland and for peace, stability and prosperity throughout Ireland by promoting reconciliation, respect for human rights, co-operation against terrorism and the development of economic, social and cultural co-operation. (Article 4(a))

Procedures and Membership of the Intergovernmental Conference

6. There will be regular and frequent meetings of the Conference at Ministerial level as well as meetings at official level, and special meetings may be convened at the request of

either side. The joint Chairmen at Ministerial level will be on the Irish side a Minister designated as the Permanent Irish Ministerial Representative and on the United Kingdom side the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. Other Ministers and advisers will participate as appropriate. There will be a Secretariat to service the Conference on a continuing basis. (Article 3)

7. The Irish Government declare their support for the United Kingdom Government's policy of seeking devolution in Northern Ireland on a basis which would secure widespread acceptance throughout the community. (Article 4(b)). The Conference will be a framework in which the Irish Government can put forward views and proposals on the modalities of devolution, in so far as they relate to the interests of the minority community. (Article 4(c)). Should a devolved administration be established, the devolved matters would not be for consideration by the Conference. (Article 2)

Political Matters

8. The Conference will concern itself with measures to recognise and accommodate the rights and identities of both traditions in Northern Ireland in such areas as cultural heritage, electoral arrangements, use of flags and emblems, the avoidance of economic and social discrimination and the advantages and disadvantages of a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. (Article 5(a))

9. Should it prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution, proposals for major legislation and major policy issues where the interests of the minority community are significantly or especially affected and which come within the administrative responsibility of the Northern Ireland Departments will be for consideration by the Conference. (Article 5(c))

10. The Conference will be a framework within which the Irish Government may put forward views on the role and composition of bodies appointed by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland or his Departments. (Article 6)

Security and Related Matters within Northern Ireland

11. The Conference will consider security policy issues as well as serious incidents and forthcoming events. A programme of action will be developed with the particular object of improving the relations between the security forces and the nationalist community. Elements of the programme may be considered by the Irish Government for application in the South. The Conference may also consider policy issues relating to prisons, and individual cases may be raised. (Article 7)

Legal Matters including the Administration of Justice

12. Both Governments recognise the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice. The Conference will seek measures that would give substantial expression to this aim, considering among other things the possibility of mixed courts in both jurisdictions for the trial of certain offences. The Conference will also consider whether there are areas of the criminal law in both jurisdictions which might with benefit be harmonised and will be concerned with policy aspects of extradition and extra-territorial jurisdiction as between North and South.
(Article 8)

Cross-border Co-operation on Security, Economic, Social and Cultural Matters

13. The Conference will set in hand a programme of work to be undertaken by the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Commissioner of the Garda Siochana with a

view to enhancing co-operation between the security forces of the two Governments in such areas as threat assessments, exchange of information, liaison structures, technical co-operation, training of personnel and operational resources. The Conference will have no operational responsibilities. (Article 9)

14. The two Governments undertake to co-operate to promote the economic and social development of those areas in both parts of Ireland which have suffered most severely as a result of the instability of recent years. The two Governments will consider the possibility of securing international support for this work. (Article 10(a))

15. The Conference will, in the absence of devolution, be the framework for the promotion of cross-border economic, social and cultural co-operation. In the event of devolution, machinery would be needed to deal with co-operation in respect of cross-border aspects of devolved matters. (Article 10(b) and (c))

Interparliamentary Body

16. The two Governments agree that they would give appropriate support to any Anglo-Irish Interparliamentary body established by the two Parliaments. (Article 12)

PART I: THE MORE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER

1. By giving the Irish Government a role in relation to Northern Irish affairs, surely the agreement infringes sovereignty?

Answer No. There is no derogation from sovereignty and the agreement makes this clear.

2. (Also for the Taoiseach) So is the Irish role merely "consultative?"

Answer The Intergovernmental Conference will be a unique mechanism. There is no single word to describe its role. It will not have executive functions: Article 2(b) of the agreement makes clear that there will be no derogation from sovereignty and that each Government retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its jurisdiction.

But the Conference will be more than just consultative in that the Irish Government will put forward views and proposals on its own initiative (as well as being invited to do so); there is an obligation on both sides in the Conference to make determined efforts to resolve any differences; and one of the Conference's functions will be to promote cross-border co-operation between North and South in Ireland.

Note: It is accepted by both sides that the words "consultative" or "consultation" should not be used to describe the agreement.

3. So the Irish will after all share in decision-making ?

Answer As Article 2(b) of the agreement makes clear, each Government retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction. On matters covered by

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the agreement, however, the British Government in reaching its decisions will take full account of any views and proposals put forward by the Irish side, and also of the obligation on both sides to make determined efforts to resolve any differences.

4. (Also for the Taoiseach) What happens when differences cannot be resolved in the Intergovernmental Conference?

Answer Article 2(b) makes it clear that each Government retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction. But a key point of the agreement is that we are both committing ourselves to determined efforts to resolve differences. Moreover the agreement reflects the careful consideration that the two Governments have given to minimising differences: it envisages for example a variety of levels at which matters can be considered and also provides for the convening of special meetings up to Ministerial level when required by either side.

5. In November 1984 in the communiqué issued after their Summit the Prime Minister and Taoiseach agreed "that the identities of both the majority and minority communities in Northern Ireland should be recognised and respected, and reflected in the structures and processes of Northern Ireland in ways acceptable to both communities". How will the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach test the the acceptability of the agreement to unionist community?

Answer The identity of the majority community is already recognised and respected, in the way the majority desire, by virtue of Northern Ireland being and remaining part of the United Kingdom. Article 1 of the agreement confirms that position. This agreement also provides means for the expression of the

identity of the minority. The agreement thus furthers the aim of making the structures and processes in Northern Ireland acceptable to both communities.

The elected representatives of the people of the United Kingdom as a whole will have the opportunity to express their views when Parliament debates the agreement shortly.

6. Is the agreement not the first step on the slippery slope to Irish unity?

Answer No. The agreement commits the Irish Government to acknowledging the rights and identity of unionists. It commit the two Governments to the view that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would* only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland; and that the present wish of a majority is for no change. This is the most formal commitment to the principle of consent made by an Irish Government, and should provide reassurance to unionists.

[Note: *The agreement says "would" not "could".]

7. The agreement establishes special channels for conveying the nationalist minority's views to the British Government. Why i nothing comparable proposed for the unionist majority?

Answer The question is not comparing like with like. The unique arrangement we have made with the Irish Government reflects th position of a minority which looks to Dublin to express its aspirations. The unionists by definition identify with the United Kingdom; they have, and will continue to have, ready means of access to the British Government, including unionist Members of Parliament in Westminster; and the Government pays close attention to their views.

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8. Why has Her Majesty's Government failed to secure the abolition of Article 2 of the Irish Constitution?

Answer Questions about the Irish Constitution should be put to the Irish Government. The agreement is the outcome of a thorough process of negotiation in which each side to had to take account of the constraints on the other. What is significant is that Article 1 formally commits the Irish Government, like the British Government, to the position that the status of Northern Ireland will remain as it is so long as a majority there so wishes.

9. This agreement seems to have something for everybody in Ireland except Ulster Unionists. Are there any concessions at all to fundamental unionist concerns in this agreement?

Answer The agreement is designed to promote peace and stability, to the benefit of all of the people in North and South. There is also much in it which should be especial value to unionists. For instance, Article 1 confirming the status of Northern Ireland; the intensified security co-operation provided for in the agreement and already beginning to take place; and the Irish Government's acceptance of the validity of the unionist tradition in Ireland. [The Taoiseach has also stated his Government's intention to accede to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism].

10. Twelve years ago, the loyalists in Northern Ireland defeated a Anglo-Irish agreement based on power-sharing and a Council for Ireland. Won't they do the same this time?

Answer I believe that the great majority in Northern Ireland have a deep longing for peace. The Government have made a decision that action is necessary to support the democratic process in Northern Irealnd and that it would be damaging and even dangerous to do nothing. Indeed, the two major unionist

parties recognise in their policy documents that it is necessary to take action to accommodate the nationalist tradition. This agreement tries to accommodate both traditions. I am determined that it should work, and work to the benefit of all.

11. The clear implication of this agreement is that the RUC has failed to discharge its duties fairly and even-handedly in the past. Are you not, therefore, accepting nationalist criticisms as valid?

Answer We have always had full confidence in the RUC and all the security forces. I hope that following the agreement the minority community will increasingly share that confidence.

12. The UDR are a particular reassurance to unionists in a minority position in border areas. Will you guarantee that the role of the UDR as a bulwark against IRA assassins be maintained in these areas?

Answer The UDR will not be disbanded. They are brave and dedicated people who have a major role in providing security in Northern Ireland. I recognise that there are difficulties in the Regiment's relations with the minority the community. The Government keep the role of security forces including the UDR under review in the light of community relations as well as operational needs. Improvements will continue to be made.

13. What guarantees have you got from Dr FitzGerald that the South will cease to provide a haven for IRA fugitive terrorists?

Answer No doubt there are fugitive terrorists in the South, as in the North. On both sides of the border strenuous efforts are made to catch them. One of the main purposes of the agreement will be to enhance the co-operation against terrorism which already takes place between North and South. Article 8 of the

agreement foresees further consideration by the two Government in the Intergovernmental Conference of the question of fugitive offenders. [Moreover, the Taoiseach has announced his Government's intention to accede to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism.]

14. What proposals does the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland have for encouraging a return to devolved government in Northern Ireland?

Answer The Government remain committed to a return to devolved government in Northern Ireland as the best basis for political stability. We will do all we can to identify a scheme of administration acceptable to both sides of the community. We hope that the political parties in Northern Ireland will respond constructively to the opportunities this agreement offers, and will help to work out satisfactory proposals for a newly devolved administration.

15. Do you still reject the Forum Report?

Answer The British Government welcomed many positive elements in the Forum Report. We welcomed such principles as the clear acceptance that political change requires consent, the commitment to the politics of peaceful persuasion, and unqualified opposition to violence and those who support violence. We welcomed the recognition and respect which the Report gave, on the part of nationalists, to the distinctive identity of Northern Ireland unionists including their loyalty to the United Kingdom.

(If pressed again on the "three illustrative models"): I have already said that I welcome many of the innovative features of the Report. But I do not think anyone would expect the Britis Government to endorse it in its entirety.

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16. The agreement falls far short of the options in the New Ireland Forum Report

Answer Let us concentrate on what the two Governments have agreed. The agreement represents the outcome of prolonged and serious negotiations. The arrangements it embodies are unique, reflecting both the closeness of the Anglo-Irish relationship and the special problems of Northern Ireland. The New Ireland Forum's meetings and reports helped to create the climate in which these negotiations became possible. The new agreement accords with the spirit of conciliation which characterised much of the Forum Report.

PART II: Other Questions

1. Question to the Prime Minister — Is this agreement not meaningless?

Answer — No single agreement is going to resolve the problems of Northern Ireland. This one is a useful step forward. It promotes the development of closer and more systematic co-operation between the British and Irish Governments without affecting the position of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. The agreement is also a useful step on the road to reconciliation between the two communities in Northern Ireland.

The essence of the agreement is in two elements. It incorporates formal Irish recognition that the status of Northern Ireland will remain as it is so long as a majority of the people there so wish, and that the present wish of a majority is for no change. It also incorporates formal British recognition that the Irish Government may advance views and proposals on aspects of Northern Ireland affairs and commits both Governments to make determined efforts to resolve any differences between them.

2. Question to the Taoiseach — This is all promises. It is full of commitments "to study" and "to consider" etc but it is short of actual concrete measures to end alienation. After months of build-up to this Summit aren't the results really an anti-climax?

Answer — No. This agreement marks a new stage in the development of the Anglo-Irish dialogue, giving the Irish Government for the first time a formal role in relation to Northern Ireland, involving systematic arrangements for resolving

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differences on the problems of Northern Ireland and a new level of co-operation between North and South. It will make a real difference to nationalists in Northern Ireland by providing new means for the expression of their identity and giving new scope for the expression of their aspirations. It would be selfish and irresponsible of us to withhold the progress involved here for the minority in Northern Ireland, merely for the sake of ideological concerns.

As to alienation, the problems of nationalists in Northern Ireland have been focussed on politics, security, human rights and the law. All of these problem areas have been provided for in this agreement, and of course the very first meeting of the Conference will address all of these areas, notably the especially difficult area of relations between the minority community and the security forces, on which progress is already taking place.

Obviously this agreement cannot resolve all the problems of Northern Ireland. But the agreement is an important stage in the search for peace and stability. What it does is to provide within a new context the basic legal and institutional machinery through which the two Governments can fulfil their commitment of November 1984 to work together for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions in Northern Ireland. The new arrangements established today are, so far as I know, unique. This reflects the special nature of the Northern Ireland problem.

3. Question to the Taoiseach

<u>Can you really say that this agreement is based on the Forum Report? Does it not fall substantially short of joint authority, the least of the options proposed by the Forum</u>?

Answer

The Irish side throughout these negotiations based their approach on the Forum Report. The necessary elements for progress proposed in Chapter 5, paragraph 2 of the Forum Report are all accommodated in today's agreement. I believe above all that they are reflected in the commitment of the two Governments to work together for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions in Northern Ireland on the basis of the new arrangements and the shared priorities established by this agreement. You will recall, moreover, that the Forum Report indicated the openness of the participants to discuss all other views which would contribute to political development, ie views other than the three particular options set out in the Report. The purpose of any negotiation is to reach an accommodation of views and the British and Irish Governments have achieved that in this agreement.

4. Question to the Prime Minister

Is the Agreement not setting Northern Ireland apart from the rest of the United Kingdom by giving another country a part in government there?

Answer

There is a unique situation in Northern Ireland because of the division within the community. The agreement reaffirms the present status of Northern Ireland and makes clear that Her Majesty's Government remain responsible for the decisions and administration of government there.

5. Question to the Prime Minister

The agreement says in Article 2(b) that "Determined efforts shall be made through the Committee to resolve any differences". In the context, these are difference relating to views and proposals which the Irish Government have put forward on matters relating to Northern Ireland. What does this provision mean?

Answer

Let me start by emphasising the desire of both Governments to implement the agreement in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. That being so, we are not starting off in the belief that we shall continually confront differences; the whole point of meeting together will be to find common ground, bearing in mind that the sentence you quote speaks of serving "the interest of promoting peace and stability". But if there are differences, both sides will work hard to resolve them, recognising that each Government retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its jurisdiction.

6. Question to the Taoiseach

Will you now hold a referendum on Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution?

Answer

The changing of Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution is not a part of this arrangement. I would again draw your attention to Article 1 of this agreement. That provision involves a formal, solemn and joint reaffirmation by the two Governments of the principle of consent. It will be perfectly obvious that the overwhelming majority of Irish nationalists determinedly reject the use of force or threat of force in seeking to realise the aspiration of Irish unity. This was a basic principle of the Forum Report and a point strongly emphasised at the time. This agreement puts the principle of consent beyond question and therefore gives a clear reassurance to unionists.

7. Question to the Taoiseach

Is this agreement the first step on the road to British disengagement and a united Ireland?

Answer

Article 1 explains that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority in Northern Ireland. It also recognises

that consent does not at present exist. If in the future a majority wished for and formally consented to a united Ireland, the two Governments would introduce and support legislation in the respective Parliaments to give effect to this.

8. Question to the Taoiseach

Doesn't the agreement maintain all the ambiguities in the Irish nationalist approach to Northern Ireland. Haven't you and Mrs Thatcher simply agreed to differ on this point so that there is no real concession to unionist concerns?

Answer

This agreement involves a formal, solemn and joint reaffirmation by the two Governments of the principle of consent. That is something new - something special - and something which I am sure unionists will welcome. That principle is now clearly beyond question.

Furthermore the agreement makes clear the rejection by both Governments of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence: this is a concern basic to constitutional nationalism in Ireland and it was a concern highlighted in the Report of the New Ireland Forum.

What both sides must do, and this is also explicitly recognised in the agreement, is to continue their efforts to reconcile and to acknowledge the rights of the two major traditions that exist in Ireland. For our part we have made it clear that we have no designs on the rights of unionists. We accept and acknowledge their Britishness. While we shall by dialogue seek to persuade, we respect and will respect their reasons for opposing Irish unity.

Perhaps most important of all, this agreement offers both communities in Northern Ireland a new opportunity to rebuild society - free from the tensions, the turmoil and animosities of the past - and to participate fully in the structures of government. I believe that unionists, no less than nationalists, fervently seek in Northern Ireland just such an opportunity.

9. Question to the Prime Minister

Is the concession of a major role for Dublin not an admission of the failure of British and unionist policy in Northern Ireland over the past sixty years?

Answer

No. I am concerned with the future, not the past. The agreement shows that the two Governments are determined to work together in seeking peace and reconciliation in Ireland.

10. Question to the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister

The agreement represents a betrayal of the nationalist cause and the abandonment of the goal of unity.

Answer

This is more a question for the Irish Government. But as the agreement makes clear, if at any time in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland formally consent to unity, then the two Governments will take the necessary steps to bring it about.
[Additional points for the Taoiseach: This means that other considerations would not constitute obstacles to Irish unity if the principle of consent was satisfied. There is no abandonment of the aspiration to Irish unity, to be achieved peacefully and by democratic means.]

11. Question to the Taiseach — The Preamble speaks about diminishing the divisions in Northern Ireland? Isn't the real division the division of Ireland? What does this agreement do to end partition?

Answer — It is not the division of the territory of Ireland in my view which is the fundamental problem. Unity cannot be achieved and partition ended by erasing a line on a map. The basic division which we face is that arising from the competing identities and conflicting loyalties of nationalists and unionists in Ireland. That means that we can only proceed through persuasion and agreement as the Forum Report emphasises.

The immediate priority must be to improve conditions on the ground for the nationalist minority in Northern Ireland; this has been a fundamental concern of my Government and it is a concern which is overriding in this agreement.

It is very important to note that this is the first formal agreement in which the British Government commits itself to introduce and support legislation to give effect to their desire for Irish unity, if a majority of the people of Northern Ireland should formally consent to this.

12. Question to the Taoiseach — Is this not yet another effort to make Northern Ireland work on the basis of a purely internal solution?

Answer — No. This agreement gives the Irish Government for the first time an important role in relation to Northern Ireland. In the agreement, the British Government accepts that the Irish Government will put forward within the new Conference views and proposals on matters relating to Northern Ireland and, in the interest of

peace and stability, undertakes with us to make determined efforts to resolve differences. By providing these practical arrangements through which the two Governments can work together for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions, the agreement acknowledges the obvious reality that the Irish Government is involved in efforts to promote peace and stability in Northern Ireland.

13. Question to the Taoiseach — The Leader of the Opposition in Dublin has called Northern Ireland a failed political entity. Is this agreement not propping up this failed political entity?

Answer — So far as I am concerned we are talking about new political structures in Ireland; measures which accommodate the identity of Northern nationalists; measures which provide for the first time an important role for the Irish Government in the affairs of Northern Ireland; measures which put unionists and nationalists on an equal footing. I am interested in working for peace and stability. I am not interested in the question of whether Northern Ireland has or has not been a failure. So far as I am concerned these arrangements meet the requirement of the Forum. They transcend the context of Northern Ireland. They will benefit people in both North and South.

14. Question to the Taoiseach — Why should the rights of unionists be placed on a par with those of nationalists given that nationalists represent the overwhelming majority of the people of the island of Ireland?

Answer — My immediate concern is to ensure that the rights of the nationalist minority in Northern Ireland are respected; this is an essential feature of the agreement and of the Chequers Communiqué of last year. Article 1

reiterates the principle of consent in relation to unity. In this we have acknowledged a fundamental political reality; unity - true unity between all the people of Ireland - cannot be achieved by force, or coercion or subjection. Each of the two traditions must acknowledge and accommodate the concerns and the rights of the other; were the Irish nationalist tradition to seek supremacy or domination over unionists, the result would be even greater division and turmoil in Ireland.

15. Question to the Taoiseach — Some of the proposals under consideration by the Conference may have application in the Republic. What does this mean?

Answer — It simply means that certain measures taken in Northern Ireland - eg those designed to improve relations between local communities and the police force - may be found to have relevance and value outside the strict context of Northern Ireland. They might for example, be seen to be of value in the South and indeed in Britain and be applied, as the case may be, in either jurisdiction.

16. Question to the Prime Minister — How will the agreement improve the human rights situation in Northern Ireland?

Answer — The Government has introduced many major improvements in recent years to ensure that human rights in Northern Ireland are protected as effectively as possible. The answer to your question is in the agreement. Article 5 in particular provides that the Conference will discuss measures in this field.

17. Question to the Prime Minister — Do you now propose to introduce legislation:

a. giving the vote at local elections to Irish citizens resident in Northern Ireland;

b. permitting the use of Irish as an official language;

c. enabling the Irish tricolour to be flown from City Hall, Belfast and other public buildings in Northern Ireland?

Answer

All these matters are among those for consideration by the Conference. I should not anticipate that discussion.

18. Question to the Prime Minister

The agreement means that the Irish Government will be able to interfere with the work of the security forces in Northern Ireland. This will greatly undermine their morale and efficiency.

Answer

There is no question of interference, and the Intergovernmental Conference will have no operational responsibilities. It will be to everyone's advantage to establish a systematic means of taking account of the Irish Government's views about security matters. I very much hope that this will reassure the minority community. The co-operation foreseen in the agreement will not be all one way. The agreement will intensify security co-operation between the authorities in both parts of Ireland and this should be greatly welcomed by all who wish to defeat terrorism.

19. Question to the Prime Minister

Are you not in Article 6 giving Dublin a right of veto on matters fundamentally affecting the security and well-being of the people of Ulster?

Answer

No. As Article 6 makes clear, the Irish Government may put forward views and proposals on the role and composition of various bodies appointed by the Secretary

of State for Northern Ireland and his Departments. It does not give the Irish Government a veto but every effort will be made by both sides to resolve any differences which may emerge.

20. Question to the Taoiseach — What concrete commitments have you got in relation to changes in RUC policy, practice and structure? What concrete changes do you believe are necessary to ensure minority confidence in the RUC?

Answer — This agreement (Art 7) indicates that the Conference will address matters relating to RUC policy issues as well as serious security incidents and forthcoming events. This would include, for example, parades and processions.

The two Governments see the need for a programme of special measures to improve relations between the security forces and the nationalist people. The Conference will also consider the composition and role of the Police Authority. The first meeting of the Conference will consider measures which would underline respect for the rights and identity of nationalists as well as unionists on the part of the police.

21. Question to the Taoiseach — In the context of this agreement, would you be free to criticise the RUC as you have done in the past or would you not be obliged to bear some of the blame in the event of another tragedy?

Answer — The commitment of the Irish Government and of the British Government is to make this Agreement work in relation to all matters within its scope and that very much includes the police.

NIAAI

22. Question to the Prime Minister — Are the SDLP now expected to support the RUC and to encourage Catholics to join the force?

Answer — Everyone should support the security forces. It has long been the wish of HMG to see more members of the minority community joining the RUC. We hope, following the agreement, that this will happen more and that the SDLP will feel able to encourage Roman Catholics to join.

23. Question to the Taoiseach — What concrete commitments have you got on the disbandment of the UDR? Is the regiment going to be phased out?

Answer — The UDR is a major concern to us and to the nationalist community in Northern Ireland, who have often seen it more as a focus of division than of harmony between themselves and the unionists. At the same time, it has considerable importance to unionists, particularly in isolated rural areas. I recognise that there are many honourable men and women in the UDR and I condemn without reservation the campaign of murder against them. Changes have already begun in relation to the UDR's contact with the public, which is where the main problems have arisen. The first meeting of the Conference will review progress. In particular it will consider the application of the principle that the UDR operate only in support of the civil power, with the particular objective of ensuring as rapidly as possible that, save in the most exceptional circumstances, there is a police presence in all operations which involve direct contact with the community. The Conference will furthermore consider ways of underlining the policy that the UDR discharge their duties evenhandedly and with equal respect for the unionist and nationalist identities and traditions.

24. Question to the Prime Minister — Will you now move towards a general amnesty in Northern Ireland? Will prisoners with indeterminate sentences now be given a definite date for release?

Answer — Those possibilities do not arise from the agreement itself. Any question of speeding up release from indeterminate sentences, if the agreement led to a real reduction in violence, would be for the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

25. Question to the Prime Minister — Why are mixed courts highlighted in the agreement?

Answer — Other ideas, such as extradition and the harmonisation of the criminal law, are also mentioned in the same Article of the agreement.

26. Question to the Taoiseach — Do you contemplate new legislation to facilitate extradition of IRA offenders? Will you accede to the European Convention?

Answer — I have said that it is the Irish Government's intention to accede as soon as possible to the European Convention. The communiqué has committed the two sides to work for early progress in relations between the security forces and the minority community in Northern Ireland, ways of improving security co-operation between the two Governments and seeking measures which would give substantial expression to the aim of underlining the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice. It is against this background that the Irish Government has announced its intention to accede as soon as possible to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism.

NOIAAI

27. Question to the Prime Minister — Will the agreement not encourage the Provisional IRA in their murderous campaign?

Answer — One of the main effects of the agreement will be that the British and Irish Governments will strengthen their co-operation in the fight against the men of violence. [The Provisionals have already denounced the agreement, which hardly suggests that they feel encouraged by it.]

28. Question to the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach — Will you now accept that the electoral success of Sinn Fein and the PIRA's campaign of violence including attacks on British cities, have brought both of you together in this agreement today. Is this not confirmation of the success of the ballot box/armalite strategy?

Answer — Absolutely not. This agreement is a rejection of terrorism. We are seeking to build up hope for the future, where the IRA have sought only to destroy. We are seeking peace and reconciliation, where the IRA have brought only strife, turmoil and tragedy. This agreement will reinforce the position of all who seek peace and stability by constitutional means.

29, Question to the Prime Minister — Where will the Secretariat be located and how will it be staffed?

Answer — The Secretariat will be very small. Its function will be to service the Intergovernmental Conference which will [normally] meet in Belfast, and to act between meetings as a channel of communication. [The Secretariat will be located in Belfast.]

[Note: this answer is subject to the outcome of continuing negotiation with the Irish.]

NOIAA

30. Question to the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach — Will the permanent Irish Ministerial representative have direct contact with the nationalist community in Northern Ireland?

Answer — The role of the Permanent Irish Ministerial Representative will be to implement the agreement on behalf of the Irish Government, as joint chairman of the Conference. This will not alter the Irish Government's freedom to maintain contact with people in Northern Ireland.

31. Question to the Taoiseach — There are four vacancies still outstanding on the Police Authority? Are these to be your nominations? Is this marginal number of vacancies which has been set aside for your views an indication of what consultation will mean in practice?

Answer — The Irish Government will be putting forward views in relation to all present vacancies on the Police Authority for Northern Ireland as well as in relation t any vacancies which may arise in future. The precise number of vacancies which may happen to exist at the present time is less important than the Agreement's recognition that the Irish Government may put forward views and proposals on the role and composition of this body and that there is an obligation on the two sides t make determined efforts to resolve any differences in the interest of peace and stability.

32. Question to the Taoiseach — You have a say in appointments to a number of bodies in Northern Ireland. Are Northern nationalists now expected to co-operate with these bodies as they are currently structured and to accept their legitimacy?

Answer — In presenting views on appointments and other matters relating to these bodies, the Irish Government will

naturally be taking account of nationalist concerns and priorities. But my objective will be to ensure that all of these bodies adequately reflect the concerns of the entire community.

33. Question to the Prime Minister — Do you expect the SDLP to support this agreement and to participate more in the political life of Northern Ireland?

Answer — We hope that the nationalist community as a whole will see this agreement as evidence that progress can be made by constitutional means.

34. Question to the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach — Do you now expect the SDLP to enter the Assembly?

The agreement makes it clear that both Governments support a policy of devolution which would command widespread acceptance throughout Northern Ireland. The question of whether the SDLP should enter this or any future Assembly is a matter for that party to decide.

35. Question to the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach — The reports that the United States Government will offer a large sum for expenditure in Ireland suggest that Her Majesty's Government entered into the agreement in order to obtain US financial support.

Answer — The agreement has been concluded on its merits. We naturally hope that friendly states, including the United States, will welcome it.

[N.B. Article 10(a) says that the two Governments will consider the possibility of securing international support for the promotion of economic and social development in Ireland. It is preferable not to be drawn on the meaning of this until US offers of money have been made.]

36. Question to the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach — Is it part of the package that the Irish Republic will modify its policy of neutrality?

Answer — No.

NB: The next two questions would arise after a United States announcement

37. Question to the Taoiseach — Will contributions from America (and Europe) be matched by a contribution from the Dail?

Answer — Any funds made available by the United States and the member states of the European Community are intended to be specifically international expressions of support for the work of promoting reconstruction and reconciliation in Ireland. This is separate from the efforts of the Irish and British Governments, so that the question of my Government contributing to the Fund, as such, does not arise.

38. Question to the Prime Minister — Why is the British Government not contributing to the Fund when the United States Government is offering $.... million?

Answer — The British Government already makes a massive annual contribution to the Province which is now running at around £1.5 billion per annum.

39. Question to the Taoiseach — Since the review provision applies only to the operations of the Conference and not to the declaration on status, have we not recognised Northern Ireland without obtaining a corresponding guarantee that future British Governments will continue to accept that we have a policy role in Northern Ireland?

Answer

Article 1 of this agreement incorporates the principle of consent enshrined in the Report of the Forum and accepted in communiqués by successive Heads of Government in both countries. It also incorporates the agreement of the two Governments to support Irish unity in the event there is consent to that aim.

The two Governments have entered into this agreement determined to make it work, but experience may show that ajdustments are desirable to the role and nature of the Conference's activities. The Review Clause will enable the two Governments to make such adjustments.

40. Question to the Prime Minister: Is such an agreement possible without legislation?

Answer

Yes. The agreement is fully consistent with statute law relating to Northern Ireland.

[Note: This answer is subject to the further consideration being given by the Law Officers Departmen to the question whether the agreement could be subject to judicial review.]

FITZGERALD, DR GARRET MICHAEL DESMOND TD

An Taoiseach (elected 14 December 1982). Leader of Fine Gael.

Born: 6 February 1926 in Dublin. Education: Belvedere College, Dublin; University College Dublin (BA in History and French, PhD in Economics); King's Inns Dublin (called to bar in 1947 but never practised).

Worked 1947-58 for Aer Lingus, mainly as economic planner. Journalist from 1953 (has been Irish correspondent of the BBC, the Financial Times and the Economist). Lecturer in Economics, UCD, 1959-73. Managing Director, Economist Intelligence Unit of Ireland, 1961-72. Joined Fine Gael 1964; Fine Gael Senator 1965-69. Fine Gael Deputy for Dublin South-East since 1969; spokesman on Education 1969-72; Finance 1972-73. Minister for Foreign Affairs 1973-77; Leader of Fine Gael since 1977. Taoiseach June 1981 - March 1982.

Dr Garret FitzGerald's family background gives him a special interest in and insight into the conflicting traditions in Ireland. His parents took part in the 1916 Rising. His mother, Mabel McConville, was a Presbyterian from Belfast; his father, Desmond FitzGerald, was a Roman Catholic, born and brought up in London, who was Minister for External Affairs and then Defence in the 1922-32 Governments.

Dr FitzGerald contributed greatly to the policies which reshaped Fine Gael in the 1960s. In 1972 his book "Towards a New Ireland" argued that reconciliation required radical changes in the Republic as well as in Northern Ireland. These ideas were elaborated in his (uncompleted) "crusade", launched in 1981 during his first short spell as Taoiseach, to amend the Republic's Constitution in a non-confessional direction. His ideas were spelt out in his Dimbleby Lecture "Irish Identities" delivered on BBC TV in May 1982. He is committed publicly and personally to seeking agreement with HMG on Northern Ireland.

He was elected unopposed to lead Fine Gael following Mr Cosgrave's resignation in July 1977. Since then the party has benefitted electorally from the widespread popularity which he has enjoyed (in particular contrast to Mr Haughey) as an honest and unselfish politician ("Garret the Good"). He is also widely respected overseas and was an impressive Minister for Foreign Affairs during the Republic's first spell in the Presidency. He is a committed European.

He sees himself as a social democrat and his front-bench appointments in 1981 and again in 1982 have given the party a less conservative image than in the past. But his reforming instincts are subject to current financial constraints and the

/conservative

conservative instincts of some of his own party. In general he is happier adumbrating reforms than pushing them through. At times he will use Labour's weight in Coalition to offset his own right-wing. He is a devout Catholic but has clear views on the separation of Church and State and pushed through a liberalisation of the law governing access to contraceptives despite the opposition of the Hierarchy.

He is an intelligent and fluent speaker whose fluency sometimes leads him to get bogged down in detail. Personally easy and approachable, he is quick to respond and to engage in debate. He is most at home with journalists and with theologians and other academics. A degree of self-righteousness, reinforced by impetuosity and reliance on a coterie of advisers, can lead him into major errors of judgement. His intervention with HMG over the H-Block hunger strike in 1981; his tough but insensitive 1982 budget (which brought down his first Government) and his proposed all-Ireland courts and police force in the November 1982 campaign were all own goals. But his personal appeal, his intellect, energy and sense of mission make him a formidable, if unorthodox, political leader. There is talk of his resigning before the next election, perhaps to enter academic life. If an Anglo-Irish agreement were to go well he might feel he had done as much as he could for his country. But his party probably needs him if it is to have any chance of electoral success.

He is deeply devoted to his wife Joan (nee O'Farrell) who has a strong personality and exercises substantial influence on him. In recent years she has been crippled by severe disease. They have two sons and one daughter, who lives in England.

November 1985

SPRING, DICK TD

Tanaiste (Tawn-ish-ta) - Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Energy.

Leader of the Labour Party

Born 1950, Tralee, Co Kerry

Education: Christian Brothers Tralee, St Joseph's Roscrea, Trinity College Dublin; the King's Inns (called to the bar 1975). Played Gaelic football and hurling for Kerry and won three rugby caps for Ireland in 1979 (though he dropped the ball disastrously on one famous occasion). Elected to the Dail 1981 taking over his father's seat. Minister of State in the Department of Justice 1981-82. Elected Leader of the Labour Party on 1 November 1982 following the resignation of Michael O'Leary.

Mr Spring comes from a family notable in politics and sport. His election as leader of his party, when it was in disarray and only three weeks before a general election, helped it to maintain a reasonable level of success, but in the Coalition he has been unable to prevent Dr FitzGerald treating him as very much the junior partner, and keeping him for instance on the fringe of Anglo-Irish relations. His party lost all its seats in the 1984 European Parliament elections, but the consequent mutterings against the policy of coalition have not been directed against his leadership. It is occasionally rumoured that he may leave politics to practise law in the United States. But he is justifiably proud of what he has achieved in politics in a mere 35 years.

A strikingly handsome man, he moves with decision and energy, despite the pain he still suffers from a serious back injury. His serious manner is balanced by the twinkle often to be seen in his blue eyes.

His young and attractive wife Kristi (Hutcheson) is American: one son, one daughter.

November 1985

BARRY, PETER TD

Minister for Foreign Affairs since December 1982

Born 8 August 1928: Cork. Education: Christian Brothers School Cork. First elected to the Dail for Fine Gael in 1969 in Cork City South-East. Lord Mayor of Cork 1970-71. Opposition spokesman on Labour 1972-73; Minister for Transport and Power 1973-76; Minister for Education 1976-77. Fine Gael spokesman on Economic Affairs and the Public Service 1977 - January 1981. Minister for the Environment in the 1981-82 Coalition. Deputy Leader Fine Gael since 1977.

Peter Barry is a tea importer and wholesaler and is very much the successful businessman; straightforward, approachable, and likeable, he does not pull his punches. Has held a number of ministerial jobs competently, neither attracting nor inviting controversy. In opposition he was less impressive, possibly reflecting a temperamental preference for quiet constructive activity. Deeply opposed to violence in Northern Ireland, but more anxious to stress his nationalism both in public and in his confidential conduct of Anglo-Irish relations, he has been inclined to pursue with vigour the smallest of complaints against us, while maintaining good personal relations with British Ministers. He is regarded as the most nationalist of Fine Gael leaders.

He was nearly a candidate for the leadership when Liam Cosgrave resigned in 1977 but settled for the job of deputy to Dr Fitzgerald. He commands wide respect in the party and is replacing former Taoiseach Jack Lynch (Fianna Fail) as the dominant political figure in the Cork area. He will remain a major candidate for the succession should Dr FitzGerald go over the next few years. Meanwhile, he is active in liaison with the Labour Party to maintain the Coalition.

Married 1958 to a charming and distinguished woman (Margaret O'Mullane) who spends most of her time in Cork; four sons, two daughters.

November 1985

NALLY, DERMOT

Secretary to the Government. Born 1927

Dermot Nally was educated at Synge Street Schools, Dublin. He was awarded a scholarship in science by the National University of Ireland and a post-graduate studentship in modern languages at London University, from which he gained his MA.

After working for the Electricity Supply Board, Nally joined the civil service in 1947 as an Executive Officer in the Office of Public Works. Promoted to Administrative Officer in 1952, he transferred to the Department of Local Government where he worked on systems of local government and taxation. In 1960 he was promoted to Assistant Principal in the section dealing with national and local elections. In 1965 he became a Principal Officer with responsibility for housing. In 1973 he transferred to the Department of the Taoiseach with the rank of Assistant Secretary, becoming Deputy Secretary in June 1978. During this time, he reported directly to the Taoiseach on matters affecting the European Economic Community and Northern Ireland. He also kept an eye on foreign affairs in general and was involved in economic policy, both domestic and external. He was appointed to his present position on 2 July 1980 and has been closely involved in the AIIC and the Anglo-Irish negotiations.

Nally is an excellent civil servant, discreet, loyal and sensible. He is pleasant socially but is capable of taking a very robust line on instructions.

Nally is married with several children. His wife, who is from West Cork, is a native Irish speaker and teacher of the language. Mr Nally's interests are golf, reading and gardening.

November 1985

DONLON, SEAN

Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs

Born: 1940 in Co Meath

Educated at St Finian's College, Mullingar, and originally studied for the priesthood (with Mr John Hume) at Maynooth; thence to University College Dublin.

Mr Donlon started his career in the Department of Finance, entering Foreign Affairs in 1963. Bonn from 1964 to 1969, being promoted to First Secretary (Economic Affairs) in 1968. 1969 Consul-General, Boston, and member of the Delegation to UN General Assembly. 1971-78 Anglo-Irish Section, DFA, initially as Counsellor and later as Head. October 1978 - October 1981, Irish Ambassador to the USA (and Mexico).

Donlon made his name in the Anglo-Irish Section and travelled extensively in Northern Ireland. While in Washington, he was a helpful ally in opposing NORAID and other PIRA influences; although also effective in pursuing Irish interests. He formed a close relationship with the "Four Horsemen" (Kennedy, Moynihan, O'Neill and Carey), but his opposition to Congressman Biaggi caused him some difficulties. Mr Haughey wished to remove him in 1980, but Donlon rallied his American supporters and beat off the threat. He was recalled as Secretary by Dr FitzGerald's Government in 1981 and is said to have received an assurance that he would not be moved on if Fianna Fail returned to power. Despite this, it is difficult to see where his career goes from here. He is still only 45. It is not easy to imagine Mr Haughey enjoying working with him, or sending him as Ambassador to London, about the only job worth his mettle, after his spell in Washington. If Fianna Fail are returned to power, Donlon seems likely to get a job in the private sector.

As Secretary he has been frank and helpful in difficult times and in good. He is a very able operator, and his earlier combative approach to Britain has mellowed. He has found the administrative burden of his present job distasteful. A rival with Lillis for Dr FitzGerald's friendship and patronage, which he continues to enjoy. A keen poker-player, fond of night clubs, drink, and playing light music on the piano, he nevertheless keeps himself in good physical shape.

Married with two children.

November 1985

LILLIS, MICHAEL

Head of Anglo-Irish, Information, Political and Cultural Division in the Department of Foreign Affairs since March 1983.

Born about 1945. Michael Lillis claims to come from a fairly humble and traditionally Republican background. He was brought up for his first four years in West Cork, speaking Irish only. Educated at the Christian Brothers' School, Synge Street, Dublin, and UCD.

His appointments have been:

Third Secretary, Madrid

Consul, Irish Consulate-General, Boston, Mass.

First Secretary, later Counsellor (?), Washington

Counsellor, Political Division, DFA (handling US and UN matters)

1981: promoted Assistant Secretary and seconded to Taoiseach's Department as Foreign Affairs Adviser

1982: Seconded to Cabinet of EC Commissioner Dick Burke in Brussels

March 1983: Returned to DFA as Head of Anglo-Irish Division

Michael Lillis is of smallish build with a round, boyish face and spectacles; florid cheeks (especially after drink, for which he has a remarkable capacity). His manner is lively, friendly and agreeable, but he makes sure he gets his point of view across; and, on occasion, he can be sharply combative: he is also an attentive listener, generally very alert to sensitive points when he knows his subject well. His colleagues consider him a "workaholic" and he can often be found at his desk at weekends.

He is ambitious and successful in reaching his present position so young: and thus competitive. While in the Irish Embassy in Washington he had (and was proud of) a wide range of political contacts, but the use he made of them and his own views on Irish policy in the US sometimes clashed with his even more patently high-flying Ambassador, Sean Donlon. His promotion in 1981 was political and he was obliged to move to Brussels when Mr Haughey returned to power in 1982. He is regarded with some suspicion by other DFA officials as too highly politicised. In his present job he and Donlon are rivals both for Dr FitzGerald's attention and for that of Mr John Hume. But they seem to get on well both with their patrons and with one another.

/He

He is a strong nationalist who repudiates any use of violence and is concerned about the threat to the stability of the Republic posed by terrorism in Northern Ireland, and in particular by Sinn Fein. He speaks with authority, no doubt derived from his regular contacts with Dr FitzGerald, and is not afraid of bold moves or, sometimes, immoderate language. He does not entirely trust British intentions, but he clearly realises that, if he is to succeed in his present job, he has to convince British officials of his goodwill, and he is willing to go to considerable lengths to do so. He is inventive in his approach to Anglo-Irish relations. In the event of an Anglo-Irish agreement, he is expected to receive further promotion and to play a major role in implementing it.

His attractive wife was born in England of Irish parents. She has chosen to be Irish but some of her brothers and sisters have chosen to remain British. He claims his wife's English background helps him to understand British values and political attitudes. They have three young daughters.

November 1985

DORR, NOEL

Irish Ambassador in London

Born Limerick 1933

Education: St Nathy's College, Ballaghaderreen, Co Roscommon; University College Galway and Georgetown University, Washington DC.

Entered civil service as Assistant Inspector of Taxes 1958; Third Secretary DFA 1960; Third Secretary Brussels 1962; First Secretary Washington 1964; First Secretary then Counsellor (Press and Information) DFA 1970-74; Assistant Secretary and Political Director, then Deputy Secretary DFA 1974-80. Ambassador to the UN 1980-83. Ambassador in London since 1983.

Dorr is respected by his colleagues in the DFA and by politicians of all parties. Widely read and very intelligent, he is a very skilful draftsman and considerate chairman. His Security Council speeches during the Falklands War were determined by Mr Haughey's Government, but within that constraint he tried to minimise wider damage to Anglo-Irish relations. However, his attempts to be helpful were sometimes ill-judged, reflecting general Irish optimism about what can and should be achieved within the UN framework, and about Ireland's role as a mediator between the West and the Third World. He is working very hard and successfully in London, where his personality as a very serious, teetotal, hard-working public servant is in strong contrast to the unintellectual bonhomie of his predecessor.

Married 1982 to a charming woman (Catriona) who had to have a cancer operation in 1984, reported to be completely successful.

November 1985

PRENDERGAST, PETER

Government Press Secretary

Born 1939 Galway. Education: Clongowes Wood College; UCD.

His commerce degree at UCD was followed by two years management training in West Germany. Joined Unilever in 1965. Always interested in politics: joined Fine Gael in 1967, attracted by the "just society" group around Dr FitzGerald and Mr Declan Costello. 1969, Chairman Fine Gael National Council.

Responsible as General Secretary for the thorough reorganisation of the party after the 1977 debacle; retired in January 1982 (working as consultant for Stokes Kennedy Crowley Ltd) but returned for the February and November 1982 elections. Appointed Government Press Secretary 1982.

Extremely able with an easy charm and generally well-disposed. Sceptical about desirability of a united Ireland.

Married (Madeleine) with a boy and two girls. He is keen on golf and horse-racing and bred greyhounds in his youth. Close to Dr Fitzgerald.

November 1985

QUIGLEY, DECLAN

Legal adviser to the Irish delegation to the Anglo-Irish negotiations

About 66, Declan Quigley practised as a barrister on circuit for his first nine years or so after being called to the bar. He then joined the Attorney General's office and became his principal official in about 1970. He retired in 1983 or '84 and was re-employed specifically as legal adviser to the Irish delegation to the Anglo-Irish negotiations.

He suffers from high blood pressure and is a heavy smoker. Of a retiring disposition, he has not spoken up much in the presence of the British delegation.

November 1985

WARD, ANDREW

Secretary (PUS), Department of Justice

Born 1926

Educated St Colman's College, Cork and University College, Cork.

A career civil servant who joined the Department of Justice in 1950, becoming Secretary in 1971, Ward maintains a low public profile but has a reputation as an effective and fair-minded administrator and a man of unquestionable integrity. He is very courteous, considerate, and quiet, with a sense of humour. He has been a regular figure at the Anglo-Irish talks without saying very much.

Married to Beavon Quinlan, a talented amateur artist; three children.

November 1985

Anglo-Irish Summit Meeting

Joint Communiqué

1. The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP and the Taoiseach, Dr Garret FitzGerald TD, met at ..... on ..... It was the third meeting of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council to be held at the level of Heads of Government.

2. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP, and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon Tom King MP. The Taoiseach was accompanied by the Tanaiste, Mr Dick Spring TD, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Peter Barry TD.

3. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach signed a formal and binding Agreement between their two Governments, which will enter into force as soon as each Government has notified the other of acceptance. The Agreement has the aims of promoting peace and stability in Northern Ireland; helping to reconcile the two major traditions in Ireland; creating a new climate of friendship and co-operation between the people of the two countries; and improving co-operation in combating terrorism.

4. The Agreement deals in particular with the status of Northern Ireland and the establishment of an Intergovernmental Conference in which the Irish Government will put forward views and proposals concerning stated aspects of Northern Ireland affairs; in which the promotion of cross-border co-operation will be discussed; and in which determined efforts will be made to resolve any differences between the two Governments.

5. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach committed themselves to implementing and sustaining the measures set out in the Agreement

with determination and imagination and undertook to encourage people of both the unionist and nationalist traditions in Ireland to make new efforts to understand and respect each other's concerns with a view to promoting reconciliation.

6. The exchange of notifications of acceptance will not be completed until the Agreement has been approved by the British Parliament and by Dail Eireann. The two Governments intend that action to implement the provisions of the Agreement should begin once the exchange of notifications has been completed. The first meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference will take place as soon as possible thereafter. The British side will be led by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Irish side by the Minister designated as the Permanent Irish Ministerial Representative.

7. The two Governments envisage that the meetings and agenda of the Conference will not normally be announced. But they wish it to be known that, at its first meeting, the Conference will consider its future programme of work in all the fields - political, security, legal, economic, social and cultural - assigned to it under the Agreement. It will concentrate at its initial meetings on:

- relations between the security forces and the minority community in Northern Ireland;

- ways of enhancing security co-operation between the two Governments; and

- seeking measures which would give substantial expression to the aim of underlining the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice.

In the interests of all the people of Northern Ireland the two sides are committed to work for early progress in these matters. Against this background, the Taoiseach said that it was the intention of his Government to accede as soon as possible to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism.

8. In addressing the improvement of relations between the security forces and the minority community, the Conference at its first meeting will consider:

a. the application of the principle that the Armed Forces (which include the Ulster Defence Regiment) operate only in support of the civil power, with the particular objective of ensuring as rapidly as possible that, save in the most exceptional circumstances, there is a police presence in all operations which involve direct contact with the community;

b. ways of underlining the policy of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and of the Armed Forces in Northern Ireland that they discharge their duties even-handedly and with equal respect for the unionist and nationalist identities and traditions.

9. In its discussion of the enhancement of cross-border co-operation on security, the first meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference will give particular attention to the importance of continuing and enhanced co-operation, as envisaged in Article 9(a) of the Agreement, in the policing of border areas.

10. In addition to concluding the new Agreement, the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach reviewed the wide range of work being done under the auspices of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council to develop further the unique relationship between the two countries. The fact that in the past year there have been more than twenty meetings between Ministers of the two

Governments demonstrates the closeness of co-operation. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach decided that this work should be actively continued, in the interests of friendship between all the people of both countries.

11. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach agreed to meet again at an appropriate time to take stock of the development of relations between the two countries and of the implementation of the Agreement which they have signed.

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Summary of the Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985

Joint Press Release

(Note: This summary has no legal status)

1. The Agreement begins with a preamble incorporating a joint statement of objectives.

The Status of Northern Ireland

2. The two Governments affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland; recognise that the present wish of a majority there is for no change in that status; and declare that, if in the future a majority there clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, the two Governments will introduce and support legislation in the respective Parliaments to give effect to this. (Article 1)

Framework and Objectives of the Intergovernmental Conference

3. The Agreement establishes, within the framework of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council, an Intergovernmental Conference concerned with Northern Ireland and with relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland which, subject to the terms of the Agreement, will deal on a regular basis with:

- political matters;

- security and related matters;

- legal matters, including the administration of justice;

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- the promotion of cross-border co-operation. (Article 2(a))

The Agreement provides for a review of the working of the Conference after three years, or earlier if either side desires. (Article 11)

4. The Conference will proceed on the basis that:

- the United Kingdom Government accept that the Irish Government will put forward within the Conference views and proposals on certain matters relating to Northern Ireland as provided for in the Agreement;

- in the interest of promoting peace and stability, determined efforts will be made in the Conference to resolve any differences;

- there will be no derogation from the sovereignty of either Government, and each retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction. (Article 2(b))

5. The Conference will be a framework within which the two Governments work together for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions in Northern Ireland and for peace, stability and prosperity throughout Ireland by promoting reconciliation, respect for human rights, co-operation against terrorism and the development of economic, social and cultural co-operation. (Article 4(a))

Procedures and Membership of the Intergovernmental Conference

6. There will be regular and frequent meetings of the Conference at Ministerial level as well as meetings at official level, and special meetings may be convened at the request of

either side. The joint Chairmen at Ministerial level will be on the Irish side a Minister designated as the Permanent Irish Ministerial Representative and on the United Kingdom side the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. Other Ministers and advisers will participate as appropriate. There will be a Secretariat to service the Conference on a continuing basis. (Article 3)

7. The Irish Government declare their support for the United Kingdom Government's policy of seeking devolution in Northern Ireland on a basis which would secure widespread acceptance throughout the community. (Article 4(b)). The Conference will be a framework in which the Irish Government can put forward views and proposals on the modalities of devolution, in so far as they relate to the interests of the minority community. (Article 4(c)). Should a devolved administration be established, the devolved matters would not be for consideration by the Conference. (Article 2)

Political Matters

8. The Conference will concern itself with measures to recognise and accommodate the rights and identities of both traditions in Northern Ireland in such areas as cultural heritage, electoral arrangements, use of flags and emblems, the avoidance of economic and social discrimination and the advantages and disadvantages of a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland. (Article 5(a))

9. Should it prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution, proposals for major legislation and major policy issues where the interests of the minority community are significantly or especially affected and which come within the administrative responsibility of the Northern Ireland Departments will be for consideration by the Conference. (Article 5(c))

10. The Conference will be a framework within which the Irish Government may put forward views on the role and composition of bodies appointed by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland or his Departments. (Article 6)

Security and Related Matters within Northern Ireland

11. The Conference will consider security policy issues as well as serious incidents and forthcoming events. A programme of action will be developed with the particular object of improving the relations between the security forces and the nationalist community. Elements of the programme may be considered by the Irish Government for application in the South. The Conference may also consider policy issues relating to prisons, and individual cases may be raised. (Article 7)

Legal Matters including the Administration of Justice

12. Both Governments recognise the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice. The Conference will seek measures that would give substantial expression to this aim, considering among other things the possibility of mixed courts in both jurisdictions for the trial of certain offences. The Conference will also consider whether there are areas of the criminal law in both jurisdictions which might with benefit be harmonised and will be concerned with policy aspects of extradition and extra-territorial jurisdiction as between North and South.
(Article 8)

Cross-border Co-operation on Security, Economic, Social and Cultural Matters

13. The Conference will set in hand a programme of work to be undertaken by the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Commissioner of the Garda Siochana with a

view to enhancing co-operation between the security forces of the two Governments in such areas as threat assessments, exchange of information, liaison structures, technical co-operation, training of personnel and operational resources. The Conference will have no operational responsibilities. (Article 9)

14. The two Governments undertake to co-operate to promote the economic and social development of those areas in both parts of Ireland which have suffered most severely as a result of the instability of recent years. The two Governments will consider the possibility of securing international support for this work. (Article 10(a))

15. The Conference will, in the absence of devolution, be the framework for the promotion of cross-border economic, social and cultural co-operation. In the event of devolution, machinery would be needed to deal with co-operation in respect of cross-border aspects of devolved matters. (Article 10(b) and (c))

Interparliamentary Body

16. The two Governments agree that they would give appropriate support to any Anglo-Irish Interparliamentary body established by the two Parliaments. (Article 12)

Amended

SECRET AND PERSONAL

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ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT:

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

SECRET AND PERSONAL

SECRET AND PERSONAL

WITH PERMISSION, MR. SPEAKER, I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE A STATEMENT ABOUT THE MEETING WHICH I HAD WITH THE TAOISEACH ON [ ].

I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MY RT. HON. AND LEARNED FRIEND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS AND MY RT. HON. FRIEND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. DR. FITZGERALD WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MR. SPRING, THE TANAISTE, AND BY MR. BARRY, THE IRISH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE TAOISEACH AND I SIGNED AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS, WHICH HAS BEEN PUBLISHED IN A COMMAND PAPER.

THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE, ISSUED AFTER THE MEETING, IS ALSO INCLUDED IN THE COMMAND PAPER.

THE PURPOSE OF THE AGREEMENT IS TO PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND; TO ENCOURAGE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES THERE; TO CREATE AN IMPROVED CLIMATE OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND; AND TO STRENGTHEN CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN COMBATING TERRORISM.

THE AGREEMENT WILL NOT COME INTO FORCE UNTIL IT HAS

BEEN APPROVED BY PARLIAMENT AND BY THE IRISH DAIL.

THE HOUSE WILL HAVE AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY FOR A FULL DEBATE.

THE AGREEMENT HAS TWO PRINCIPAL FEATURES.

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A BINDING INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, HAS AFFIRMED THAT THE STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND WILL REMAIN UNCHANAGED SO LONG AS THAT IS THE WISH OF THE MAJORITY OF ITS PEOPLE.

IT HAS ALSO RECOGNISED THAT THE PRESENT WISH OF A MAJORITY IS TO REMAIN PART OF THE UNITED

KINGDOM.

THIS IS THE MOST FORMAL COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT MADE BY ANY IRISH GOVERNMENT.

THE SECOND PRINCIPAL FEATURE OF THE AGREEMENT IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING ANGLO-IRISH INTERGOVERNMENTAL COUNCIL.

IN THIS CONFERENCE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT MAY PUT FORWARD VIEWS AND PROPOSALS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS.

IF DEVOLUTION IS RESTORED - AND BOTH GOVERNMENTS ARE COMMITTED TO SUPPORT THIS - THEN THOSE MATTERS WHICH BECOME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT WILL NO LONGER BE CONSIDERED IN THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE.

THE CONFERENCE WILL ALSO DISCUSS CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION, INCLUDING IMPROVED SECURITY CO-OPERATION.

THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED TO MAKE DETERMINED EFFORTS TO RESOLVE ANY DIFFERENCES THAT MAY ARISE.

BUT THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT BE A DECISION-MAKING BODY:

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DECISIONS AND

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT REMAINS EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM GOVERNMENT NORTH OF THE BORDER AND WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT SOUTH OF THE BORDER.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE AGREEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE, AND WILL DISCUSS THE FUTURE PROGRAMME OF WORK IN ALL THE FIELDS WITH WHICH THE CONFERENCE WILL DEAL.

PARTICULAR SUBJECTS ON WHICH THE CONFERENCE WILL CONCENTRATE AT ITS INITIAL MEETINGS ARE:

- WAYS OF IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE MINORITY COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND:
- ACTION TO IMPROVE SECURTY CO-OPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS;
- AND WAYS TO HELP TO UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THE AGREEMENT RECOGNISES THAT IT WOULD BE FOR PARLIAMENTARY DECISION IN WESTMINSTER AND DUBLIN WHETHER TO ESTABLISH AN ANGLO-IRISH PARLIAMENTARY BODY OF THE KIND DESCRIBED IN THE ANGLO-IRISH STUDIES REPORT OF NOVEMBER

1981.

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED IN THE COMMUNIQUE ITS INTENTION TO ACCEDE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE EURUOPEAN CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION OF TERRORISM.

WE WELCOME THIS.

MR. SPEAKER, NO SINGLE AGREEMENT CAN RESOLVE THE DEEPROOTED AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND DELIVER THE PEACE FOR WHICH THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND LONG.

BUT I BELIEVE THE PRESENT AGREEMENT WILL MAKE

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION.

IT MAINTAINS AND CONFIRMS THE STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AS PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IT ACKNOWLEDGES THE INTEREST OF THE REPUBLIC IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE NORTH AND THROUGH THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE PROVIDES A SYSTEMATIC MEANS FOR IRISH VIEWS TO BE PUT FORWARD AND CONSIDERED.

IT STRENGTHENS THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AS A WHOLE AND THE REPUBLIC.

AND IT OFFERS HOPE AND ENCOURAGEMENT TO ALL THOSE IN BOTH COMMUNITIES WHO REJECT VIOLENCE

AND WANT TO WORK TOGETHER PEACEFULLY FOR A

BETTER FUTURE FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

I COMMEND IT TO THE HOUSE.

Possible Answers to Questions about the Status of Northern Ireland

1. Question to the Prime Minister

Article 1 is ambiguous/imprecise about the status of Northern Ireland, says less than the Chequers Communique, etc. What does it mean?

Answer

Of course the two Governments approach this aspect of the matter from differing historical perceptions and from within differing constitutional frameworks. The Agreement does not change that.

The position is clear. Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom.

What Article 1 does is to look to the future and set out - for the first time in a binding international agreement - what is common ground between us: that there will be no change in the present status of Northern Ireland without the freely given consent of the majority of its inhabitants; and that both Governments recognise that such consent does not at present exist.

2. Question to the Taoiseach

Do you agree with the Prime Minister?

Answer

As the Prime Minister has said, the two Governments approach this matter from differing historical perceptions and from within differing constitutional frameworks, and the Agreement does not change that.

It is of course a fact that Ireland is not united politically and that the British Government is responsible for the government of Northern Ireland.

What is important is what we have now agreed about the future.

12.11.85

9.05pm.

DRAFT SPEECH OF SIGNING OF ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

By the Taoiseach
at the Press Conference

Throughout these negotiations, the Irish Government approach has been to find solutions which would end the [alienation] of [Wont to be avoided] nationalists in Northern Ireland and recognise and respect the rights of unionists about whose anxieties we have been at all times deeply concerned.

A majority of ~~our~~ Irish people share the aspiration to ~~Irish~~ unity to be achieved peacefully and by agreement. That is the nationalist position. It is obvious that the British Prime Minister and I have come to these negotiations with different historical perspectives and, as it were, with different title deeds. But we have been able to agree about what would and what would not happen in the future.

The Agreement affirms clearly that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. The Agreement recognises that the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change. The Agreement goes on to say that if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the fulfilment of the nationalist aspiration, the two Governments will act to implement that wish.

/...

The Agreement thus makes provision for ~~the fulfilment of~~ the nationalist aspiration to unity in the only conditions in which constitutional nationalists seek, or would accept, its fulfilment - without violence and with the consent of a majority in Northern Ireland.

The corollary of this is that the Northern Unionist community has for the first time a commitment in the form of international agreement that a change in the status of Northern Ireland, such as would be involved in a move to Irish political unity, would not take place without the consent of a majority in Northern Ireland.

On the Irish side these negotiations were preceded by a process of consultation involving a review of traditional attitudes by the constitutional nationalist parties of the island, through the New Ireland Forum.

The Forum's Report provided the basis for the Irish Government's approach to this negotiation. The Agreement as it has now emerged is fully consistent ~~in all respects with the proposals for a Framework for a New Ireland within which to tackle this problem that are set out~~ with the principles proposed in Chapter 5 Paragraph 2 of that Report.

/...

Our purpose is to ~~create anew 65 years conditions in Northern Ireland that will~~ secure equal recognition and respect for the ~~Irish nationalist~~ identities in Northern Ireland ~~there~~. Nationalists can now raise their heads knowing their position is, and is seen to be, on an equal footing with that of members of the majority Community.

As a result we will be creating conditions in which the nationalist community in the North, can more readily identify with the structures of Northern Ireland in a way that will help peace and stability to emerge.

For the unionist community, who have suffered the most tragic and repulsive onslaught on their right to life and to well-being, this Agreement offers a way forward towards the restoration of normal ~~civilised~~ life without violence or fear.

This Agreement thus involves no abandonment of nationalist aspirations, nor any threat to unionist rights; but it does offer a prospect of progress towards peace and justice for Northern nationalists, and of peace and stability for Northern unionists.

There are no victors: nor any losers. But if what has been agreed is implemented in full good faith, as I believe it will be, all of the people of Northern Ireland will gain. So indeed will the peoples of the rest of Ireland and of Great Britain,

/...

both for many years have had to carry together a heavy burden of security costs, and ~~[in the case of my State]~~ have also ~~suffered~~ paid a severe economic ~~losses~~, price.

As a person with close family bonds on the unionist side and ~~by~~ close personal friendships on the nationalist side I want to address myself directly to the people of Northern Ireland.

To unionists and nationalists alike I appeal:

> Look at and evaluate this Agreement <u>for what it is</u> - not for what some people in both communities committed to maintaining divisions and hatreds, will attempt to portray it to be.

Draft Opening Statement for the Prime Minister at the Press Conference following an Anglo-Irish Summit

Dr FitzGerald and I have today signed an Agreement which marks a significant step forward in relations betwen our two countries and towards peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

2. The Agreement has three main elements:

- A Preamble in which various important principles, including our total rejection of violence and our recognition of the validity of both traditions in Northern Ireland, are set out.

- An Article in which the two Governments affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland; recognise that the present wish of a majority is for no change; and declare that, if in the future a majority formally consent to a united Ireland, the two Governments will support legislation accordingly.

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- Articles establishing, within the framework of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council, a new Intergovernmental Conference concerned both with Northern Ireland and with relations between the two parts of Ireland. The Irish Republic will be able to put forward views and proposals in the Conference on stated aspects of Northern Ireland affairs; and determined efforts will be made to resolve any differences. The Conference will also deal with cross-border co-operation on security, economic, social and cultural matters, including the enhancement of cross-border co-operation in combating terrorism. Full responsibility for the decisions and administration of government will remain with the United Kingdom north of the border and with the Republic south of the border.

3. We have also issued today a communiqué on our meeting, which says that the new Intergovernmental Conference will concentrate in its initial meetings on relations between the security forces and the minority community in Northern Ireland, on ways of improving security co-operation between the two

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Governments, and on seeking measures which would underline the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice.

4. I shall be making a statement to Parliament about the Agreement on Monday. A full debate will take place shortly afterwards. The Agreement will enter into force only after both Parliaments have approved it.

5. By promoting peace and stability and by enhancing our co-operation against terrorism, the Agreement will bring benefits to all the people of Northern Ireland. I hope that it will also open the way for moves towards devolution in Northern Ireland.

6. I believe that this Agreement represents a positive contribution to progress on this long-standing and difficult problem. The two Governments are committed to implementing it fully and effectively. We call on all people of goodwill to join us in promoting peace.

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