



**An Chartlann Náisiúnta**  
**National Archives**

<b>Reference Code:</b>	2021/94/40
<b>Creator(s):</b>	Department of the Taoiseach
<b>Accession Conditions:</b>	Open
<b>Copyright:</b>	National Archives, Ireland. May only be reproduced with the written permission of the Director of the National Archives.

Alliance statement 6 July 1992 (John Alderdice).

Summary.

- There are four fundamental principles. First, the people of NI are a coherent and distinctive community and have the right to determine their own future. A regional Govt is necessary to provide a common focus of loyalty. Second, the community is characterised by differences and the primary objective must be the protection and valuing of minorities. Third, recent history of NI ensures special attention must be paid to the requirement that those who take positions of responsibility must have and exercise confidence in the law and those who administer it. Fourth, there is a contribution to be made not only by people in NI but those who live in the UK, the rest of Ireland and further afield.

- The past seven years have left the Anglo-Irish Agreement, in its present form, no more attractive than ever.

- There is a profound romantic appeal to the proposition of an independent island state. The truth is that it is not possible to define what a nation is. Most states are not in any real sense national entities. If you see these Talks as some kind of back-door to a united Ireland, you are dreaming dreams which can make a real relationship difficult if not impossible.

- If these are underlying realities, what are common interests? There are already many social and cultural realms where cooperation throughout the island is considerable. There is a wealth of opportunity to learn more from each other in the economic field. Alliance would like to explore the possibility of establishing joint North-South Commissions to develop cooperation in these broader areas.

- For broader and more divisive questions of identity, allegiance, security cooperation, Alliance looks forward to the establishment of a Tri-Partite Council, bringing together representatives of all three jurisdictions.

- Creation of a Human Rights framework for the islands would be a most useful issue for such a Tri-Partite structure.

SDLP statement of 6 July (John Hume)

Summary.

- Lasting solution must involve accommodation of both identities. Widespread acceptance that conflict can only be resolved in totality of Anglo-Irish relations at heart of which are the three central relationships.
- The (North-South) relationship being discussed in Strand Two goes most centrally to the heart of the overall problem. A major factor for failure in arrangements to date among the two traditions has been Unionist distrust of the rest of the people of the island. That was why they rejected Home Rule, Sunningdale and the Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- Until that relationship is settled there can be no progress towards a satisfactory resolution of the conflict. We need a new level of political consensus which allows positive interaction of the Unionist and nationalist viewpoints. Political consensus should also allow us develop major economic consensus as well. Lack of political consensus has been a major factor in serious economic problems.
- Any new relationship agreed should have institutional expression including a capacity to promote and achieve harmonious action between institutions and agencies in both parts of Ireland.
- Any new Agreement should be submitted to a Referendum in both parts of Ireland and require a positive vote from each.

Summary

- Acceptance by UK Government of Sub-Committee report of 10 June (on outline of possible new institutions) cleared the way for Strand Two.
- Successive Irish Governments refused to recognise the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, but "launched themselves in a determined campaign to undo it". Articles two and three must be amended without pre-condition. Change may also be necessary in the Preamble and to Articles 1, 2, 3, 6 and 9.
- Any changes to the Constitution must (a) eliminate the Republic's claim to Northern Ireland; (b) obtain recognition by the Republic of the "people of Northern Ireland"; (c) obtain recognition of N.I. right to self-determination; and (d) formalise Republic's acknowledgement of the two traditions on the island.
- As shown in Garret FitzGerald's biography, Anglo-Irish Agreement was an attempt to buttress up the SDLP and buy off Sinn Fein.
- Irish Government has failed to grasp extradition issue (several specific cases detailed). This shows the "absolute failure" by Dublin to keep faith with claims of wanting to be good neighbours.
- Unsubstantiated claims by Government and SDLP regarding N.I. history; campaign of vilification against UDR and attitude to the Crown flags and emblems display the apparent antagonism against everything British.
- There must be a "new beginning" to develop as good neighbours with neither part of Ireland threatening the other.

UK Government statement 6 July 1992 (Sir Patrick Mayhew).

Summary.

- A range of possible outcomes in Strand Two would be acceptable to UK Govt but only if acceptable to the participants.
- UK Govt has a view on what, in broad outline, such an outcome might look like. It would involve returning significant political power and authority to locally accountable institutions in NI and in a way that attracted widespread support across the community in NI.
- UK would have continuing responsibility and obligations in respect of NI as part of the UK. It would be necessary to ensure that whatever is agreed is in accord with UK international obligations, including responsibility for representation of the UK as a whole. This is not to pre-judge what arrangements are appropriate between NI and the Republic. For example, it must make sense to optimise the benefits from the EC framework where the interests of the two parts of the island converge.
- UK will also want close bilateral relations with the Irish Govt to continue. UK is committed to Anglo-Irish Agreement but the two Governments have undertaken as part of the Talks process to be ready to consider a new and more broadly based Agreement if it can be agreed between all the parties.
- Agenda for Strand Two already agreed. It is inescapable that constitutional issues have implications for the relationships being discussed in Strand Two. UK Govt will seek as a product of the Talks process as a whole an unambiguously expressed consensus on the constitutional issues. UK Govt believes that such an outcome should enable all participants to acknowledge Northern Ireland's present status as a part of the UK and to recognise that there will be no change in that status without the consent of a majority of the people living there. In so far as there are implications for Articles 2 and 3, he has already welcomed the Taoiseach's public assurance that they are among the constitutional issues which Irish Govt envisages would be "on the conference table" during the talks.
- Repeat of Strand One comments in relation to the Sub-Committees's report on possible institutional arrangements.

Summary

- Relationships between Belfast and Dublin have historically been poor. Historic breakdown in relationships can best be overcome by establishing a modus vivendi for the future that would anticipate mutually beneficial contact.
- For Unionists, primary objective is maintenance of Union. Article Two and Three "territorial claim" embodied "irredentist attitudes implicit in Irish Nationalism".
- Any new arrangement must a) further the cause of peace; b) be sustainable on the basis of mutual trust and respect and c) fall within accepted international norms. Anglo-Irish Agreement must be replaced by a treaty which addresses totality of relationships within islands. Breakdown in North-South relations can best be addressed through a) a benevolent and pluralistic democracy in Northern Ireland and b) an Inter-Irish Relations Committee.
- Enduring wrong created by 1937 Constitution must be made right. Supreme Court judgements on Articles Two and Three mean that none of the Multi-national Agreements to which Republic is a party concerning international frontiers can, in domestic law, override the provisions of Articles Two and Three. UUP will not enter into any arrangements while the territorial claim is contact.
- Bulk of PIRA supplies have been "imported" through the Republic. UUP accept Gardai are "fully committed" to enforcing rule of law but more can be achieved.
- UUP recognise Ireland is an economically deprived region on periphery of mainstream E.C. activity and close North-South cooperation is not only desirable but may be crucial. UUP will through discussions seek define a mechanism which will facilitate permanent dialogue and permit the devolved administration in Belfast and Dublin Government a constant method of doing business together.