

Royal Dublin Hotel  
O'Connell Street,  
Dublin 1.

*Sponsored by: The Glencree Centre for Reconciliation*

*Further information:*  
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# THE HILLSBOROUGH ACCORD A REVIEW

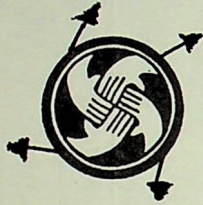
**A series of four public meetings**

**Dates:** Tuesdays, May 31st – June 7th, 14th, 21st 1988

**Venue:** Royal Dublin Hotel  
O'Connell Street,  
Dublin 1.

**Time:** 8.00 p.m.

*Sponsored by: The Glencree Centre for Reconciliation*



Glencree centre for Reconciliation was founded in 1974 as a response to violent conflict in Ireland. The Centre works to promote the conditions for a just and peaceful society.

In the Autumn of 1988 there will be an Inter-Governmental review of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In response to this, Glencree, as a centre for reconciliation considers it essential that a platform for information, discussion and access to representation of all view points be available to the general public.

The Glencree Centre presents an open forum of four public meetings on a review of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The format allows for participation by the audience following contributions from the guest speakers

We urge you to attend.

## PROGRAMME

### THE HILLSBOROUGH ACCORD: A REVIEW

Opening Address: Lady Wicklow,  
President of Glencree Centre

Tuesday  
31st May

#### Identifying the Issues

John Cooney, (Journalist)  
Paul Arthur, (University of Ulster)  
Edmund Curran, (Journalist)  
Prof. Cornelius O'Leary, (Queen's University)  
Chris Ryder, (Journalist)

Chair: Dr. Patrick Keatinge, (Trinity College)

Tuesday  
7th June

#### Northern Protestant Views

Councillor Ken Maginnis M.P. (U.U.P.)  
Councillor Sammy Wilson, (D.U.P.)  
Dr. John Alderdice, (leader, Alliance Party)  
Rev. John Bach, (Broadcaster, Journalist)

Chair: Rodney Rice, (Presenter, R.T.E.)

Tuesday  
14th June

#### Irish Nationalists Respond

Dennis Haughey, (S.D.L.P.)  
Danny Morrison, (Sinn Fein)  
Rev. Dennis Faul  
Senator John A. Murphy, (Professor, U.C.C.)

Chair: Brian Black, (Presenter, Ulster Television)

Tuesday  
21st June

#### Inter-Governmental Issues

Peter Barry, T.D., (Fine Gael)  
Dick Roche T.D., (Fianna Fail)  
British Labour Party Representative *Kevin Mayhew*  
British Conservative Party Representative

Chair: Pat Kenny, (Presenter, R.T.E.)



## Glencree Centre for Reconciliation

4th May, 1988

GLENCREE  
BRAY  
CO. WICKLOW

TEL: 860962/3

Dr. John Alderdice,  
Alliance Party Headquarters,  
88, University Street,  
Belfast,  
Northern Ireland.

Dear Dr. Alderdice,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the second of four evenings on a Review of the Anglo Irish Agreement. The series is called 'The Hillsborough Accord - A Review'. The title of the evening of the evening is 'Northern Protestant Views'. This meeting will be held on Tuesday, 7th June.

Other speakers invited to this platform are Mr. Sammy Wilson D.U.P. Mr. Ken Maginnis and the Rev. John Bach. The chairperson has yet to be confirmed.

Speakers are asked to limit their talk to a maximum of fifteen minutes. This allows for a greater length of time for audience participation in the form of questions and answers.

The venue for these evenings is the Royal Dublin Hotel, O'Connell Street. Speakers are asked to be available by 7.30 p.m. The evening will commence at 8.00 p.m.

All costs incurred by you in connection with travel and accommodation at the Royal Dublin Hotel will be covered by the Glencree Centre.

I would appreciate your forwarding a copy of your intended speech at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

*Deirdre Mc Cartie*

Ms. Deirdre McCartie.



## Glencree Centre for Reconciliation

GLENCREE  
BRAY  
CO. WICKLOW

TEL: 860962/3

Dr. John Alderdice  
Alliance Party Headquarters  
88 University Street  
Belfast

Dear Dr. Alderdice,

On behalf of the Glencree Centre, I wish to thank you for your contribution to the recent series of public evenings on a review of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. We are grateful for your willingness to be involved in discussions around this crucial issue.

In reviewing the series, we feel that the courtesy extended by the speakers both to each other and to the audience contributed to both a high level of audience participation and cross panel debate. We would welcome any comments with regard to content and structure plus any suggestions you may like to make for further work in this area.

Once again, thank you for your co-operation with and interest in the work of Glencree Centre.

Yours Sincerely,

Deirdre Mc Cartie

# *NEWS RELEASE*

Alliance Leader Dr. John Alderdice will participate at a Public Meeting tonight, Tuesday 7th June 1988 at the Royal Dublin Hotel, O'Connell Street, Dublin. The Meeting is organised by the Glencree Centre for Reconciliation and the subject of the meeting is 'The Hillsborough Accord - A Review'.

The following is part of the text of Dr. Alderdice's speech:

"Shortly after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in November 1985 an acquaintance of mine who is vastly experienced in the politics of Northern Ireland said to me 'Unionists have just two choices now, either they accept the agreement or they polish their guns'. The man who said that was neither an extremist nor was he at all happy about the Anglo-Irish Agreement, but there was within what he said an important recognition that whatever else had or had not changed with the signing of the Hillsborough Accord, questions were posed to the Unionist people of Northern Ireland, to which they have yet to find a ready answer.

From the mid-1960's there was a recognition amongst liberal unionists, including the then Prime Minister Captain Terence O'Neill, that behind the peaceful and increasingly prosperous face of Northern Ireland was an unjust and potentially de-stabilising factor. Discrimination against Catholics in housing and employment and of course in the governing of Northern Ireland was taking the Province further and further away from the mainstream of British society where this kind of religious and political discrimination was a thing of the past. It was further realised that the rising generation of increasingly well educated and assertive Roman Catholics would be less likely to accept the status quo with the grumbling boycott

which had characterised the previous sixty years. When moves were made to address these major issues the forces of reaction rose with vengeance claiming as their birthright a kind of Britishness which already no longer existed in the minds of the vast majority of British people. Over the succeeding fifteen years the unacceptability of this anachronistic understanding of Britishness became more and more apparent. In terms of decibels and media time it was these more strident and rebellious tones which were heard and which caused the hearts and minds of British people to turn away from their kindred in Northern Ireland. The former warmth and sympathy turned to dismay, misunderstanding, frustration and finally antipathy and a wish to be rid of the problem. The actions of these representatives of Northern Unionism were not recognised or accepted in the latter part of the 20th Century as being any longer an authentic representation of what it is to be British. These actions and the reactions which they created in the people of Britain led first to the proroguing of Stormont and then in 1985 to the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

For fifteen years I and my predecessors in the Alliance Party, the only Party in Northern Ireland which brings Protestants and Catholics together under the same banner, have been emphasising and trying to impress upon Unionist Leaders the inevitable damage to the Union which would accrue from their confrontative and intransigent postures. Even during the summer of 1985 when we had been warning of the imminence of some kind of Anglo-Irish Agreement we were answered with an irrational pseudo-confidence that our message of impending doom was foolish nonsense. But it was not nonsense. It was the truth. For fifteen years we had known that something of this

kind would eventually happen but when it did there was a sense of anger and shock even within the Alliance Party at how the new political development came about.

It was not just the fact that there had been no consultation with the majority community in Northern Ireland or with ourselves in the Alliance Party but that there had been consistent consultation and discussion with the S.D.L.P. through the Dublin Government. It was as though in one fell stroke the discrimination against one section of the community had been turned on its head. Now the Unionists were about to experience the exclusion, the alienation, the powerlessness which Nationalists had faced for sixty years. It was wrong and there is no point in saying that if there had been consultation the Unionists would have simply been destructive. No one can believe that if the Alliance Party had been involved in talks before such an agreement that we would have been destructive. We have an unimpeachable record of constructive dialogue, but we too were excluded. This was wrong and whatever the preceding wrongs and prejudices may have been, two wrongs do not make a right. That is why the review process outlined in Article 11 of the Agreement is of such importance. There is no point in Unionists spending their energies trying to get rid of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. It is not the Agreement itself which is a problem for them. It is the underlying changes in attitudes of which the Anglo-Irish Agreement is merely a symptom. If, as they hope, the McGimpsey Case removes the Agreement in some transient fashion it will merely be replaced by the same thing again or even, and this is a very real possibility, by something that is even less acceptable to Northern Unionists. I say that this is a real possibility because the history of the last twenty years

demonstrates that when Unionists have remained intransigent in the face of political developments and have succeeded in destroying a political initiative embarked upon by the British Government, it has antagonised the British Government and the British people to the extent that the next political initiative is even less sympathetic to the Unionist position than before.

I have made it clear since becoming Leader of the Alliance Party in October 1987 that I regard the review process as the most challenging opportunity available to us for political progress if it is approached by all who are involved in a flexible and constructive fashion. Unfortunately to date there is little that one could point to as solid evidence that any of the actors in the drama see flexibility, constructiveness and an open-minded approach to the review process as part of their script. During the last few months we have heard the interesting use of a few well chosen words. These have quickly been picked up by political correspondents starved of anything useful to report for such a long time. There is, sadly, relatively little solid evidence to date of any positive action and certainly no one is making any offers that are not eminently refusable. The review process is now only a few months away and there appears to be a real possibility that this window of opportunity may be allowed to pass by without any of the possible benefits being exploited for the benefit of all of the people of Northern Ireland.

It must be clear that if this or any other opportunity for political progress is to have any possibility of success there must be an openness of mind, a determination of will and a commitment to positive thinking of a



kind which has manifestly not characterised the politics of Northern Ireland until now. Whether or not the time of review is approached with a positive commitment to political progress, it is clear that there will be a review procedure, and I would like to make reference now to two aspects of this review.

Firstly the form of the review, and secondly its content.

I am firmly convinced that potentially the most productive aspect of the review is its actual process. Without doubt the most offensive feature of the 1985 Accord was the fact that there was no consultation with either Unionist or Alliance politicians prior to its implementation. Such an objectionable and repugnant procedure cannot be repeated and it is therefore crucial that the parties to the review process, that is to say the British Government and the Government of the Republic of Ireland, give clear and open opportunities for consultation prior to November of this year. The Government of the Republic of Ireland clearly sees itself, and is regarded within the Agreement, as being the legitimate representative for the S.D.L.P. Unionists do not now regard the British Government as adequately representing their views, but since the British Government is the only other partner to the Agreement and at this stage the only other constituent of any discussions, an open opportunity should be extended, in a formal fashion, to all constitutional parties in Northern Ireland to make their representations prior to, and as part of, the review process. There is even a case for an initial exploration with the parties of the form that such a consultation might take, in order to best accommodate their requirements.

If such an offer of consultation is refused then claims of lack of consultation are much less legitimate. If the opportunity for consultation is taken up it will be a crucial evidence of good faith that the Government takes account of the proposals put forward and incorporates them in the review. It is clear that a review is necessary, not just because Article 11 of the Agreement calls for it, but because no one who has lived through the last six months can doubt that the Anglo-Irish process would benefit from a review. It has not been working satisfactorily and indeed some aspects of the Anglo-Irish process, in particular the creation of a devolved government in Northern Ireland, has seen no real movement towards implementation.

With regard to the content of the review process there are a number of points to be made. The Alliance Party has from the beginning condemned the secrecy in which the Agreement was formed and the lack of openness in which the Anglo-Irish Conference has been conducted. At our request the Secretary of State has made available personal post-conference briefings and both I and my predecessor have availed ourselves of this opportunity. It is not however a satisfactory substitute for thorough openness and involvement on the part of the people of Northern Ireland, in what is after all the Government of their Province. The most satisfactory resolution of this problem would be the creation of a parliamentary tier as foreseen in the Agreement but involving representatives from Westminster and the Dail and also representatives from a devolved administration in Northern Ireland. In the absence of devolution however, there are other mechanisms which need to be invoked to ensure that decisions about the Province are not taken an arm's length by those who do not have a mandate from the

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people of the Province. In this regard an open agenda (open but with due regard to the requirement of security matters) and formal pre-conference consultations with all those constitutional parties who are prepared to attend, would certainly go some way to helping to democratisise the workings of the Anglo-Irish Conference.

At the end of the day, however, the most fundamental problem in the Government of Northern Ireland is the lack of a devolved administration. I must say in this regard that it is particularly disappointing to hear some nationalists who proclaim themselves to be supporters of the Anglo-Irish Agreement say that they have no real commitment to devolution.

Discussions on fair employment, security, the administration of justice and economic aid for various parts of the province are part of the purpose of the Anglo-Irish Conference, but devolution is also clearly an integral part of the Anglo-Irish process and to have no commitment to it and yet to proclaim support for the Agreement is to pick and choose in a way that is quite unacceptable and quite unjustifiable.

The structure of Government within Northern Ireland is based on a model which includes a devolved administration and its absence leaves us with the so called 'McCrory Gap'. The Anglo-Irish Agreement is also functioning with a kind of McCrory Gap and the result of this is that the majority of people in Northern Ireland have neither power nor responsibility in the Government of their own Province. The S.D.L.P. through their representation by the Government of the Republic of Ireland have power but are without real responsibility. Those who do not have responsibility can be tempted to behave without responsibility and given time will even find

themselves shying away from responsibility when it is offered to them. It is the task of politicians who wish to make political progress to shoulder the responsibility for the Government of Northern Ireland. That is difficult but it is undoubtedly what the people are really want.

In the run-up to the Review of the Agreement it remains to be seen whether there is the maturity and political realism in the body politic of Northern Ireland to grasp the opportunity with both hands or whether it will be let slip into history as so many opportunities have done in the past.

SECRET