



An Chartlann Náisiúnta National Archives

Reference Code: 2021/100/20

Creator(s): Department of the Taoiseach

Accession Conditions: Open

Copyright: National Archives, Ireland. May only be reproduced with the written permission of the Director of the National Archives.

RECEIVED - 7 DEC 1998

Copy

25a

AN ROINN GNÓTHAÍ EACHTRACHA

TELEPHONE (01) 4082261
TELEFAX (01) 4757822



DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION
IVEAGH HOUSE
80 ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN
DUBLIN 2

Secure Fax

RECEIVED - 8 DEC 1998 TB

To: Mr. Paddy Teahon
From: Secretary Dermot Gallagher
Date: 7 December 1998
Pages: 7

For research
While this is in part- over-ruled by events on which you have been or will be briefed today, you may still wish to see, as some of the analysis

Following the events of the past week in Stormont, we have been reflecting here on how we might take matters forward.

has continuing validity. W.A.S. 8-12-98

Firstly, a brief look back at what happened. Rory Montgomery has put together a note on the sequence of papers on the North/South issues, and on where we believe we now stand on the different proposals.

What is clear is that Trimble's internal difficulties within the party have again proved a major stumbling block. The role of John Taylor has also been a crucial factor.

At the same time - and despite the very real difficulties which exist - some progress has been made.

The deal worked out with the British Prime Minister on Wednesday night - agreement that there will be 10 Northern Ireland Departments, that one of these will be Finance, agreement on a Trade and Business Development Body, and near agreement on an EU Programmes Body - remains in place and within reach.

Secondly, John Taylor now appears to be getting involved in a more substantive way.

While that can be a double-edged sword, the reality is that without him Trimble seems

unable to move. His role last week contained traces of the usual Taylor unpredictability (as one member of Trimble's team remarked to us privately: "Taylor has done the usual 180 degree turn that is necessary if we are to move forward"!)). Having insisted, for instance, right up to Wednesday night that there was no way that the UUP would agree to any kind of Trade Body, he was able at Thursday's press conference to say dismissively that he had no difficulty with such a Body, because that was simply putting a structure on something that was already happening anyway!

Next Steps

The issue now, therefore, is how we take matters forward.

The potentially most difficult of the obstacles to be overcome is the introduction (late on Wednesday night) by Taylor of the condition that there could be only six Implementation Bodies (this after Trimble had told the Taoiseach on 20 November that they had no difficulty with more). He also said that they could agree to only one of these being from outside the Strand Two Annex in the Agreement. Taylor's strategy is clear. He is effectively seeking to force ourselves, the SDLP and Sinn Féin to choose between the Trade Body and the Irish Language Body. The UUP must be forced down by the British on this latter issue.

The position in regard to Sinn Féin is also worrying. The events of the week will have further fuelled their scepticism about the UUP's seriousness of intent and certainly will not have made progress on decommissioning any easier. The new danger to the Irish Language Body is also a significant additional worry.

We need also to work closely with the British. It will be essential to ensure that a joint approach is maintained. Accordingly, we are proposing to have dinner with the British side tonight in the Secretariat. This will provide an opportunity to take stock, and to plan on how we take matters forward. I will also have the opportunity for some decent

*This
/ too
please
and I
was
there*

discussions with Bill Jeffrey in Washington. We can feed these into your own overview of things with John Holmes.

We understand that the British have been working on drafts which seek to marry our drafts of 23 November on the various Bodies, and the UUP proposals of 20 November. Our paper of 23 November was in response to the UUP draft given to the Taoiseach on 20 November and, in effect, a compromise on our original proposals of 10 November. We would be very wary, therefore, of any further watering down of our paper in that context and we will be making that clear to the British tonight. A better sense of the bigger picture would also be necessary before proceeding down that route. I do not have a difficulty *per se* with the British feeding in further papers as long as the context is understood and that they have effectively cleared the drafts with us in advance. — Moreover, it will also be essential that we should be centrally involved in the subsequent discussion of these texts with the parties, including the UUP.

Conveyed
wrongly
to British

We will, of course, continue to stay in close touch with Séamus Mallon and Sinn Féin.

Looking forward to the return of Trimble next week, and if agreement is not reached via Taylor and Mallon in the meantime, we need to consider how the process might be brought to closure. My own view is that this will require the joint efforts of the Taoiseach and the British Prime Minister, including a joint visit to Belfast.

As I mentioned on the phone, the Minister for Foreign Affairs will be meeting the Secretary of State over dinner on Thursday to take stock of developments at that time.

Media Approach

In the meantime, it would seem advisable that a calm profile be kept in media terms over the coming week. While there have been a number of provocative statements by the UUP side, it would be counter-productive to get into a slanging match about the events of the

week (besides, the reality is that public-opinion is making very clear how it views what happened). It would seem preferable, therefore, to keep to a holding line that it is disappointing that difficulties have arisen, but that progress has been made and that we must now press on quickly with the work of completing agreement on the Bodies and the areas for -co-operation.

cc: PSM; PSMS; Mr. Dalton; Dr. Mansergh
Counsellors A-1

State of Play on Proposals for North/South Bodies

A: Chronology

- September/October:** Exploratory discussions (a) between Government and NIO/Northern Ireland Civil Service (b) between SDLP and UUP (UUP propose 7 bodies, including in regard to policing of inward investment).
- 30 October:** Agreement on round-table format for discussions, in absence of Shadow North/South Ministerial Council. Government submit "Work in Progress" paper to UUP, proposing bodies in following areas: (a) Tourism; (b) EU Programmes; (c) Trade Promotion, Business Development and Inward Investment; (d) Training and Employment; (e) Strategic Transport Planning; (f) Arts, Culture and Irish Language; (g) Inland Waterways and Inland Fisheries (7 in all).
- 2 November:** Round-table, and bilateral with UUP.
- 6 November,** Meetings at official level with UUP. More detailed version of 30
17 November: October paper handed over on **10 November**.
- 20 November:** Meeting Taoiseach/Mr Trimble. UUP table paper proposing bodies in following areas: Waterways; Irish Language; Tourism; Transport; Lough Foyle; Carlingford Lough; Irish Lights and "up to three bodies" in following areas - Veterinary Research; Environmental Research; Food Safety Laboratory (ie on one reading up to 10 bodies in all).
- 24 November:** Meeting at official level meeting with UUP. Government paper of **23 November** handed over. It proposes: Trade Promotion, Business Development and Inward Investment (unchanged from 10 November paper); Tourism (modified); EU Programmes (modified); Strategic Transport Planning (modified); Inland Waterways (modified, and

Inland Fisheries element dropped); Food Safety (new); under heading of *Language*. Irish Language (Arts/Culture element dropped) and Ulster Scots (new); under heading of *Aquaculture and Marine Matters*. Carlingford Lough/Lough Foyle (new) and Irish Lights (new) (total of 10 bodies, under 8 headings).

UUP officials, in meetings with Government officials on both 24 and 25 November, indicate general satisfaction with overall direction of paper, while signalling major difficulties with two Bodies - Trade Promotion, Business Development and Inward Investment and, to a lesser degree, EU Programmes. Nor does UUP subsequently indicate any other difficulties with 23 November paper.

26/27 November: British Government (in agreement with Government) produces revised proposals in regard to (a) Trade Promotion, Business Development and Inward Investment and (b) Special EU Programmes.

2/3 December: Agreement brokered by British Prime Minister between UUP and SDLP on further British draft of Trade and Business Development paper. EU Programmes paper not fully agreed.

3 December: UUP pull back from agreement and, to the great surprise of the two Governments and the SDLP, state that the papers they submitted to the Taoiseach on 20 November are still on the table.

B: Texts on Table

BRITISH COMPROMISE PAPERS

1. **Trade and Business Development:** agreed.
2. **Special EU Programmes:** not yet fully agreed (square brackets remain).

AREAS BOTH IN GOVERNMENT PAPER OF 23 NOVEMBER AND UUP PAPER OF 20 NOVEMBER

3. **Tourism** (substantial differences)
4. **Strategic Transport Planning** (minor differences)
5. **Inland Waterways** (minor differences - question of phasing)
6. **Irish Language** (minor differences)
7. **Food Safety** (minor differences - laboratory only, or also public awareness role?)
8. **Lough Foyle/Carlingford Lough** (minor differences - one body or two?)
9. **Irish Lights** (minor differences)

AREA ONLY IN GOVERNMENT PAPER OF 23 NOVEMBER

(FOLLOWING MEETING OF 20 NOVEMBER BETWEEN THE TAOISEACH AND MR. TRIMBLE)

10. **Ulster Scots**

AREAS ONLY IN UUP PAPER OF 20 NOVEMBER

11. **Veterinary Research**
12. **Environmental Research**

4 December 1998