

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	xi
Main Parties that Had to Be Reconciled	xiii
Key Negotiators	xv
Acronyms and Special Terms Used in the Documents	xvii
Acknowledgements	xxiii
Foreword	xxv
 I	
Introduction	I
 2	
Government Discussions on Devolution in Northern Ireland	17
Document	
1 Governing Northern Ireland: An Integrated Approach, May 1997	17
2 Letter from Gerry Adams to Tony Blair, 2 May 1997	45
3 Letter from Tony Blair to Gerry Adams, 2 May 1997	46
4 The Secretary of State Has Written to Sinn Fein, no date	48
5 Ulster Democratic Party, 2 May 1997	49
6 The Taoiseach to Call on the Prime Minister, 5 May 1997	50
7 Statement by the Taoiseach, Mr John Bruton, 5 May 1997	51
8 Meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister, no date	54
9 Meeting with Trimble, 7 May 1997	55

10	Meeting with Dr I R K Paisley, 7 May 1997	56
11	Speaking Note: Dr Paisley, 7 May 1997	59
12	Dinner with the Tanaiste, 7 May 1997	61
13	Address by the Taoiseach: Mr John Bruton TD to the Oxford Union, 7 May 1997	65
14	Meeting between the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, 7 May 1997	84
15	Call by the UUP, 7 May 1997	86
16	Northern Ireland: Implementing the North Report, 7 May 1997	88
17	Meeting with Bruton, 7 May 1997	89
18	Letter from Gary McMichael, Leader of the Ulster Democratic Party, to the Prime Minister, 8 May 1997	92
19	Call by the Taoiseach, 8 May 1997	93
20	On Bruton Visit, 8 May 1997	100
21	Visit of the Taoiseach, 8 May: East/West Issues, 9 May 1997	102
22	Contact with Sinn Fein, 9 May 1997	103
23	Message from the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to Sinn Fein, 9 May 1997	104
24	Northern Ireland: Meetings with Party Leaders, 9 May 1997	105
25	Northern Ireland Bills, 10 May 1997	106
26	Call by UUP, 12 May 1997	107
27	Northern Ireland: Meetings with Party Leaders, 12 May 1997	112
28	A Response from Sinn Fein, 12 May 1997	130
29	Call by the DUP, 12 May 1997	131
30	Sinn Fein in Westminster, 13 May 1997	134
31	Northern Ireland Bills, 13 May 1997	135
32	Northern Ireland Bills, 13 May 1997	136
33	Emergency Provisions Bill, 13 May 1997	137
34	Public Order (Northern Ireland) Bill, no date	139
35	Draft Letter for PS/Prime Minister, no date	141
36	The Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign, 13 May 1997	142
37	Northern Ireland Bills, 14 May 1997	143
38	Northern Ireland Bills, 14 May 1997	145

39	Further Contact with Sinn Fein, 15 May 1997	146
40	Call by Senator Mitchell, 15 May 1997	147
41	Irish Contacts with Sinn Fein, 15 May 1997	148
42	Sinn Fein Meetings with Officials, 16 May 1997	149
43	Letter to Ahern, 16 May 1997	155
44	Northern Ireland, 16 May 1997	156
45	Dunloy: Apprentice Boys of Derry, 16 May 1997	158
46	Request for Meeting by Bloody Sunday Families, 16 May 1997	160
47	Further Contact with Sinn Fein, 16 May 1997	161
48	Liaison Group with the Irish on 16 May 1997	162
49	Northern Ireland Speech: Irish Reactions, 18 May 1997	163
50	Northern Ireland Speech, 18 May 1997	164
51	Contacts with Sinn Fein, 18 May 1997	167
52	Call by Lord Alderdice, 19 May 1997	169
53	Reactions to Blair Speech, 19 May 1997	172
54	Discussions with Paddy Teahon, 19 May 1997	173
55	Letter to Ahern, 19 May 1997	174
56	International Fund for Ireland: Proposed EU Regulation, 19 May 1997	175
57	Call by Robert McCartney MP, 19 May 1997	177
58	Northern Ireland: Meetings with Mr Robert McCartney QC, MP and Lord Alderdice, no date	180
59	UKUP Leader and MP for North Down, Robert McCartney MP, no date	185
60	Alliance Party, no date	187
61	Lord Alderdice of Knock, Alliance Party Leader and Member of Belfast City Council, no date	188
62	Meeting of Liaison Group, 19 May 1997	189
63	Visit to Northern Ireland, 19 May 1997	192
64	Liam McCotter and Gilbert (Danny) McNamee, 19 May 1997	193
65	Meeting between Officials and Sinn Fein, 20 May 1997	196
66	Meeting with Sinn Fein, 20 May 1997	200
67	Sinn Fein, 20 May 1997	201
68	Meeting with Sinn Fein, 21 May 1997	202

69	Meeting between Sinn Fein and No 10 Officials – Wednesday 21 May 1997	203
70	International Fund for Ireland: Proposed EU Regulation, 21 May 1997	210
71	International Fund for Ireland: Proposed EU Regulation, 21 May 1997	210
72	Request for Meeting by “Bloody Sunday” Families, 22 May 1997	211
73	Cooperation between the Irish and British Governments, 22 May 1997	212
74	Great Irish Famine Event: Request for Prime Ministerial Video, 22 May 1997	213
75	Meeting with the Taoiseach, 23 May 1997	215
76	Ulster Democratic Party, no date	219
77	Draft Letter for Signature by PS/Prime Minister, no date	220
78	The Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign, 23 May 1997	220
79	Sinn Fein: A Possible Text, 23 May 1997	221
80	Meeting with Sinn Fein, no date	223
81	British Government Policy on the Northern Irish Talks, 25 May 1997	229
82	The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to Meet the Bloody Sunday Relatives, 27 May 1997	234
83	Liaison Group Meeting, 29 May 1997	234
84	Meeting between Sinn Fein and NIO Officials – Wednesday 28 May 1997	243
85	Dealings with Sinn Fein, 28 May 1997	251
86	Dealings with Sinn Fein, 29 May 1997	253
87	Visit of President Clinton, 29 May: Northern Ireland, 29 May 1997	255
88	Great Irish Famine Event: Message from Prime Minister, 30 May 1997	258
89	Draft Message from Prime Minister on Occasion of the Great Irish Famine Event: 31 May-1 June 1997	259
90	Northern Ireland: Moving the Process Forward, 30 May 1997	260

91	Call by Senator Mitchell: 30 May 1997	267
92	Call by George Mitchell, 30 May 1997	272
93	Messages to David Trimble, 30 May 1997	273
94	Northern Ireland, 30 May 1997	274
95	The Great Irish Famine Event, no date	277
96	President Clinton's Speech re: The Candlelighting Ceremony, 30 May 1997	278
3		
	Towards the Northern Ireland Act	295
4		
	Documents 97 and 98: Report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning & The Belfast Agreement	299
	Document	
97	Report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning, 22 January 1996	299
98	The Belfast Agreement	311
5		
	The Northern Ireland Act 1998	353
	Document	
99	Northern Ireland Act 1998	353
	Bibliography and Index	515
	Select Bibliography	517
	Index of Names	519
	By the Same Author	525