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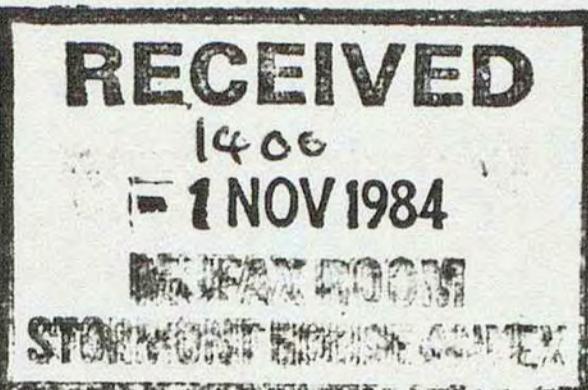
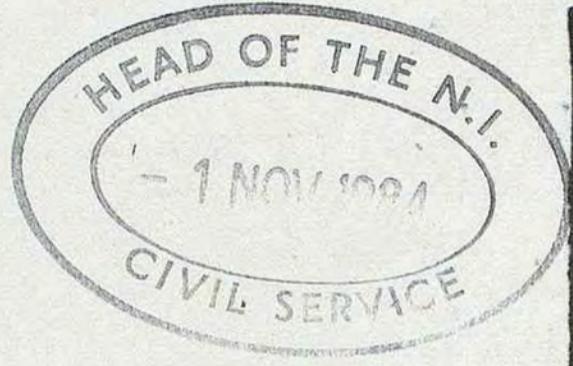
22/11

E.R.

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PS/SECRETARY OF STATE (L&B) - M

cc: PS/Ministers (L&B) -M
 PS/PUS (L&B) -M
PS/Sir E Bell -M
 Mr Brennan -M
 Mr Bourn -M
 Mr Burns -M
 Mr Merifield -M
 Mr Carvill -M
 Mr Gilliland -M
 Mr Reeve -M
 Mr Abbott -M
 Mr Bickham -M



WJD

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KILBRANDON INQUIRY

The Report of the independent inquiry chaired by Lord Kilbrandon is to be published today.

2. Mr Bickham is I understand preparing a summary and analysis of the Report, and this note is not intended to duplicate that. We need to consider immediately, however, how we, the FCO and No.10 should respond to press inquiries.

3. I suggest that the line might be:

(i) we welcome the publication of this Report;

(ii) it needs to be considered alongside the other documents which have been published in recent months, including those from the political parties in Northern Ireland;

(iii) as the Committee itself found, it is very difficult to reach agreement on some of the most central issues affecting Northern Ireland;

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(iv) the Government will be continuing its discussions with the Northern Ireland political parties and its regular contacts with the Government of the Irish Republic.

4. I attach a draft letter to No.10, together with a draft line to take.

J.M. Lyon

J M LYON

1 November 1984

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ADDRESSEE'S REFERENCE

To	Enclosures	Copies to be sent to
PS/PRIME MINISTER 10 DOWNING STREET		
(Full Postal Address)		(Full Address, if Necessary)

LETTER DRAFTED FOR SIGNATURE BY

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE
(Name of Signatory)NORTHERN IRELAND: REPORT OF AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY

Following the publication of the New Ireland Forum Report, the British/Irish Association established under Lord Kilbrandon an independent inquiry financed by the Rowntree Trust, to consider the Forum's proposals and make their own recommendations. The Report was published today. The membership of the inquiry was intended to reflect British opinion in the same sort of way that the Forum represented nationalist opinion. I attach a full list of the members. ^PThe Report itself shows signs of haste in its compilation. It is clearly intended to contribute to the discussion in advance of the Prime Minister's meeting with Dr Fitzgerald. The Report itself examines usefully and fairly critically the Forum Report's analysis. It notes that that Report's criticisms of the efforts of successive British governments has been unfair. It sets out its own realities and requirements. Some of these are helpful. They suggest that the fact that the majority do not want to leave the United Kingdom must be fully recognised; and that ultimate responsibility for security must

in present circumstances remain with the sovereign power.

Subsequent chapters also consider and dismiss the three Forum options of the unitary state, federation/confederation and joint authority. Proposals for an independent Northern Ireland, full integration with the UK or re-partition are also dismissed.

The overall ^{of} tenor of the Report, however, may be summed up in the following extract: "there can be no realistic prospect of peace and stability unless there is substantial political change within Northern Ireland." This lead the committee on to put forward two "models of co-operation." Here the committee split. The majority propose an elaborate form of co-operative devolution with the Republic which would involve a five member executive including the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Irish minister for Foreign Affairs, an Assembly largely responsible for local authority functions and a security authority on which would sit the minister of justice from the Republic. Those supporting this proposal consider there might be some right for the UK Government to maintain a veto on the decisions of these joint groups.

The minority of the inquiry propose a rather less radical form of functional co-operation with the Republic. The minority are not named, but we understand that they were Mr Howell, Mr Jenkins, Dr Peele and Dr Stewart. Their proposal is for a joint security consultative committee with no executive powers, a standing advisory committee on legal matters ^{and} a devolved administration in Northern Ireland responsible for local government functions with the majority having the main say.

The whole committee consider that the Republic should amend articles 2 and 3 of their constitution; that there should be a Bill of Rights for

Northern Ireland; that the RUC should remain and be considerably expanded to take over eventually the functions of the UDR; and that there should be more measures to recognise the minority identity in Northern Ireland, including citizenship rights and such symbols as the display of the tricolor.

It seems unlikely that the Report will make much impact. Nationalists are unlikely to see it going far enough to reflect their views. Unionist will be quick to point that, whatever the Report claims, some of its proposals go a long way to infringing British sovereignty. None of those involved will be in a central position to influence the views of the main political parties in Northern Ireland or in the Republic. It seems unlikely too that it will attract more than an initial interest in the British press.

We have considered how we might best respond to press inquiries. We think it is best seen as an interesting contribution which can helpfully be put alongside the many other documents which have been published in recent months. These include, as well as the Forum Report, the Reports from the three Political Parties in Northern Ireland (the UUP's The Way Forward; the DUP's Ulster: The Future Assured; and the Alliance Party's Proposals for Devolution); published papers by Professor Boyle and Dr Hadden; and the more recent paper by T E Utley and others "Ulster: Britain's Undefended Frontier". Accordingly, I attach a line to take which might be drawn on in dealing any immediate press inquiries.

I am copying this letter to the private secretaries to the Lord President the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, and Sir Robert Armstrong.

NORTHERN IRELAND: REPORT OF INDEPENDENT INQUIRYGovernment response

1. We have noted with interest publication of the report of an independent inquiry under Lord Kilbrandon on Northern Ireland. It is an interesting and useful analysis of some of the ideas which have come forward in recent months and follows on from a series of documents produced by political parties and others since the spring.
2. We welcome the inquiry's recognition of the reality that Northern Ireland will remain part of the United Kingdom with the consent of the majority of people there. We recognise too the inquiry's concern to take account of the identity and aspirations of the minority within Northern Ireland.
3. As the inquiry itself found, it is easier to identify the problem than it is to put forward practical and effective proposals that are likely to be acceptable to all those whose support is necessary to make them work. The Government will certainly give careful consideration to the Report's analysis and ideas as we continue our discussions with the political parties in Northern Ireland and as we continue the regular contacts we have with the Irish Republic.

THE MEMBERS OF THE INQUIRY

The Rt Hon Lord Kilbrandon - former Lord of Appeal in Ordinary and Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Constitution which reported in 1973.

Dr Anthony Kenny - Master of Balliol College, Oxford. [Deputy Chairman]

Paul Arthur - Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Ulster.

Alf Dubs MP - Labour; an Opposition Spokesman on Home Affairs.

Lady Ewart-Biggs - Life Peer.

The Rt Hon David Howell MP - Conservative; formerly Secretary of State for Energy and for Transport.

Simon Jenkins - Political Editor, The Economist.

Mrs Sara Morrison - director of GEC; non-executive director of Channel Four Television.

Dr Gillian Peele - Fellow and Tutor in Politics, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

John Roberts - solicitor; former Chairman of the Welsh Liberal Party.

Dr A T Q Stewart - Reader in History, The Queen's University, Belfast.

Lord Underhill - Deputy Leader of the Opposition, House of Lords

John Lyttle
[Secretary]
