

**DERMOT NALLY PAPERS – DOWNING STREET DECLARATION**

**P254**



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## **CONTENTS**

### **CONTEXT**

Biographical History	<b>iv</b>
Archival History	<b>vii</b>

### **CONTENT AND STRUCTURE**

Scope and Content	<b>viii</b>
System of Arrangement	<b>viii</b>

### **CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE**

Access	<b>viii</b>
Language	<b>viii</b>
Finding Aid	<b>viii</b>

### **DESCRIPTION CONTROL**

Archivist's Note	<b>ix</b>
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## CONTEXT

### Biographical history

Nally, Dermot (1927–2009), civil servant, was born in Dublin on 10 December 1927, son of W. F. Nally, a civil servant who retired as secretary of the Department of Lands; he had at least one brother and one sister. Educated in Dublin at CBS Synge Street and Belvedere College, he won a science scholarship to UCD, but his scientific career was curtailed after he was severely injured in a hiking accident. He subsequently graduated BA from the University of London with first-class honours in English language and literature, winning a studentship in modern languages, which enabled him to proceed to an MA from the same institution. These linguistic skills underlay his later reputation as a great legislative draughtsman with a flair for precision and conciseness. Nally took on an ESB clerical job in 1947, but joined the Office of Public Works later that year. In 1952 he joined the Department of Local Government, eventually rising to the rank of principal officer. Rapidly recognised as a departmental high-flier, he served on a commission to reform Seanad Éireann electoral law in 1958–9, and drafted almost single-handedly the highly complex Housing Act, 1966; in the early 1970s he regularly delivered wide-ranging talks on the shape of government housing policy. Nally was a director of the planning agency An Foras Forbartha (1972–4) and a member of the executive board of the Institute of Public Administration (IPA), which developed his contacts with leading government advisers outside his own department.

On 15 January 1973, on the recommendation of Minister for Local Government Robert Molloy, Nally was transferred to the Department of the Taoiseach as assistant secretary (reporting directly to Taoiseach Jack Lynch (qv)); he was appointed deputy secretary to the department in 1978. Over the remainder of his career he worked with ten governments, reporting directly to five Taoisigh, whose beliefs, personalities and styles of government were often in sharp contrast: Lynch, Liam Cosgrave (b. 1920), Charles Haughey (qv), Garret FitzGerald (qv) and Albert Reynolds (qv). He reported directly to the Taoiseach of the day on a wide range of matters, notably Northern Ireland, the state of the economy, and European affairs. (Nally was profoundly enthusiastic about European unity, and attended all but one of the European summits held during his twenty years' service in the department.) He also served on the cabinet's highly confidential security committee, and was note-taker at all meetings between Taoisigh and other heads of government, becoming a familiar figure to his counterparts at such international meetings. From its establishment by John Boland (qv) in 1984, Nally also chaired the Top-Level Appointments Committee with conspicuous integrity.

Whoever his political masters might be, he saw it as his duty to give dispassionate advice, keep their confidences and avoid betraying personal reactions. (There were occasional exceptions to this; observers noted his shock when Lynch was indiscreet at a 1979 press conference, or when FitzGerald harangued Margaret Thatcher on UK responsibility for the plight of Northern Ireland nationalists. When in 1992 UK negotiators proposed to discard several months' work and start again with a new document, Nally privately raged to Albert Reynolds that Reynolds was being treated as if he were the leader of a developing country.)

Several profilers described Nally as 'the perfect civil servant' (e.g., *Ir. Times*, 19 December 1992): quiet, guarded, well organised and hardworking. Given his deep and prolonged involvement in sensitive negotiations relying on the utmost confidentiality, he was a strong advocate of cabinet confidentiality and staunchly defended the controversial 1992 supreme court ruling in connection with the beef tribunal (at which he was called to give evidence), which established that ministers could not be asked to testify about cabinet proceedings; he believed that breaching confidentiality would make the state ungovernable, and held strong opinions about the need for Taoiseach's prerogative as a means of securing decisive and effective government. (Some newspaper stories about Nally's retirement claim that he kept a diary; it is not clear whether this was in fact the case or when, if ever, it may become available to researchers.) He did, however, give interviews to academic researchers during his retirement.

As both Cosgrave and Lynch had relied heavily on Nally, Haughey regarded him with considerable suspicion at first, while Nally recalled Haughey's initial attitude to Northern Ireland as being in many respects naïve, both in the intensity of its republicanism and his failure to recognise how others might react to his words and actions. He thought that Haughey had required significant re-education by his civil servants. In 1980, on the retirement of the outgoing secretary of the Department of the Taoiseach, Haughey split the job in two, appointing Nally as secretary to the government (he also became a civil service commissioner) and Noel Whelan as secretary of the department; this unusual decision apparently reflected Haughey's residual suspicion of Nally. Nally's duties included drawing up the cabinet's agenda, recording its decisions, and accompanying the Taoiseach to meetings with foreign heads of government. He built up a respectful relationship with Margaret Thatcher, who saw him as the constant figure in her negotiations with successive Taoisigh, although in a 1984 meeting with FitzGerald she accused Nally (who was present) of smuggling the term 'totality of relationships between these islands' into the communiqué issued after the Haughey-Thatcher Dublin Castle summit of May 1980. This was allowed to pass by the Irish negotiators, who wished to conceal from Thatcher the extent to which they had developed a shared agenda with their UK civil service counterparts. Nally, however, thought Edward Heath was the most able of Prime Ministers whom he had encountered.

Although Haughey's attitude softened as he grew more aware of Nally's qualities, Nally had much more scope under FitzGerald, with whom he had established a rapport when FitzGerald was Cosgrave's foreign minister (1973–7). FitzGerald took the unusual step of praising Nally by name in his memoirs, breaking the convention that cabinet ministers writing their memoirs do not discuss the role of named civil servants in decision formation. While respecting FitzGerald personally, however, Nally privately thought that he undermined the effectiveness of his cabinets by the rambling, unfocused and unprioritised manner in which he conducted their discussions; this contrasted sharply with Haughey's clear and decisive handling of his ministers (private information).

Despite his wide-ranging responsibilities, Nally is particularly remembered for his role in Anglo-Irish dealings with Northern Ireland. In 1973–4 he took a prominent role in the negotiations leading to the abortive Sunningdale agreement, and warned against over-expansive implementation of the proposed Council of Ireland. During the negotiations, Nally first developed the personal relationships with his UK civil service counterparts that were to be crucial for subsequent negotiations. After the collapse of Sunningdale,

Nally advised the Irish government to continue to pursue the long-term objective of securing power-sharing government in Northern Ireland. In a 1975 memorandum (responding to suggestions by FitzGerald that contingency plans should be made to negotiate for power-sharing in an independent Northern Ireland in the event of unilateral UK withdrawal), Nally advised that the utmost care should be taken to avoid anything that might possibly encourage repartition or UK withdrawal, since this would inevitably lead to immense suffering and the emergence of an independent, unionist-dominated enclave. (Nally believed eventual unification inevitable and wished for it, but thought as a pragmatist that it would be economically and politically unfeasible for the foreseeable future. Although he was a practising catholic, Nally also believed the influence of the catholic church in the Republic would have to be reduced before unification could become acceptable to Northern protestants.) He was believed by some to have been involved in the appointment of Sean Donlon as ambassador to the USA, which considerably advanced Irish government influence over Irish-American circles. In 1980 he played a major role in the preparation and execution of the Haughey–Thatcher summit at Dublin Castle and the subsequent development of study parties of UK and Irish civil servants to explore Anglo–Irish relations.

In November 1981, a meeting between FitzGerald and Thatcher led to the creation of a steering committee on Anglo–Irish relations, chaired jointly by Nally and his counterpart, Robert Armstrong, the UK cabinet secretary; the two had already achieved a long-standing rapport based on mutual respect. In 1984–5 they headed civil service teams that, during frequent meetings over a period of eighteen months, worked out the details of what became the Anglo–Irish agreement of November 1985. (For years afterwards, both teams met annually for a commemorative dinner, wearing ties marked 'N/A' (Nally/Armstrong).) Nally is believed to have drafted clause 1(a) of the agreement, which guaranteed that Northern Ireland would only join the Irish Republic with the consent of a majority of its inhabitants, the first time an Irish government had accepted this position. After the conclusion of the agreement, the Nally–Armstrong channel continued to operate to secure the smooth working of the institutions. Nally regarded the 1985 agreement as his greatest achievement and key to the subsequent development of the peace process, although he saw it more in terms of better administration than the grandiose constitutional concepts advanced by FitzGerald.

Nally was deeply involved in 1991–2 in confidential discussions between Haughey and Prime Minister John Major about the possibility of a joint Anglo–Irish declaration that might help to secure a paramilitary ceasefire and advance a peace process. When Albert Reynolds became Taoiseach in February 1992, Nally was asked to delay his retirement and participate in the ongoing negotiations. After his official retirement late in 1992, Nally was retained on a consultancy basis by Reynolds to advise on the negotiations leading to the Downing Street declaration (November 1993); Nally was one of four principal drafters of the document. Thereafter, he served as president of the IPA, and worked on a range of special investigative bodies, including the steering group on Garda efficiency (1996–7) set up in response to the murder of [Veronica Guerin](#) (qv); a study group on public prosecutions (1998); and an inquiry (2002) into allegations that the Gardaí had failed to notify the RUC of information which could have prevented the 1998 Omagh bombing.

Nally underwent heart surgery in 2002. He died suddenly in St Vincent's University Hospital, Dublin, on 30 December 2009, after a fall. A keen golfer with a love for

gardening, reading and music, he was survived by his wife Joan, four daughters and one son. Nally was one of the interviewees in the RTE documentary series *Haughey* (2005). In the RTE drama miniseries *Charlie* (2015), Nally was played by Risteard Cooper; this character should, however, be seen as a generic civil servant rather than a direct portrait of Nally, who was much more talented and generally formidable.

## **PUBLISHING INFORMATION**

### **DICTIONARY OF IRISH BIOGRAPHY**

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Originally published June 2016 as part of the Dictionary of Irish Biography

Last revised June 2016

## **Archival history**

These bulk of the papers were deposited by the family of Dermot Nally in 2012 with further smaller deposits in 2017 and 2022.

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## **CONTENT AND STRUCTURE**

### **Scope and Content**

1 Box.

Downing Street Declaration papers are a series of papers within the Dermot Nally Collection, relating to talks between the UK and Irish Governments that culminated in the Downing Street Declaration (Joint Declaration) issued on 15 December 1993 by John Major, Prime Minister, and Albert Reynolds, Taoiseach, at Major's office in 10 Downing Street.

Papers include multiple draft declarations; notes of meetings between Reynolds and Major; notes of meetings between UK and Irish officials (the Nally-Butler Group); briefing documents for Reynolds and Irish negotiating team; and correspondence between Reynolds and Major

There are numerous references in the documents to meetings “tête-à-tête” between the two leaders. This phrase is used in government documents specifically to describe private meetings between the Taoiseach and Prime Minister of the day. Another term used in the documents is a “Diner” meeting. This term would appear to originate with Nicholas Scott, Conservative politician who hosted “Nick's Diner”, the dining club where Conservative MPs met to openly discuss their party and leader.

### **System of arrangement**

<b>1 Downing Street Declaration (Joint Declaration)</b>	<b>1</b>
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## **CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE**

### **Access**

Available by appointment to holders of a UCDA reader's ticket. Produced for consultation in digital format.

### **Language**

English.



## **Finding Aid**

Descriptive catalogue.

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## **DESCRIPTION CONTROL**

### **Archivist's Note**

This descriptive catalogue was prepared by Niamh Collins in July 2023

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## **1 Downing Street Declaration (Joint Declaration)**

**P254/1** 15 December 1990-5 December 1991

44pp

### **Meetings with John Major – 1990-1991**

Photocopied notes and reports by Dermot Nally of meetings taking place between Charles Haughey, Taoiseach, and John Major, Prime Minister, discussing Northern Ireland and the European Community. Many of the reports are marked “secret” and “confidential” and some are marked “subject to verification”.

Meetings include:

- Haughey’s meeting (tête-à-tête) with Major, Government Buildings, Dublin. Reynolds suggests a joint statement from the two Governments to exercise pressure on the IRA and Major urging caution agrees to “look at it most confidentially” (3 December 1991);
- Plenary meeting between Haughey and Major, Government Buildings, Dublin, discussing the European Community and Economic Monetary Union, and security for Northern Ireland (4 December 1991);
- Meeting between Haughey and Major, Luxembourg Summit (28-29 June 1991);
- Meeting between Haughey and Major, London. Haughey suggests setting up meetings of the Nally/Butler group to examine strategies for the future and any way in which Sinn Féin could be brought into the process (21 June 1991);
- Meeting between Haughey and Major, Luxembourg (April 1991);
- Meeting between Haughey and Major, European Council Rome (15 December 1990).

Further includes photocopied statement from Peter Brooke, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, on political development in Northern Ireland (26 March 1991).

**P254/2** 12 February 1993

2pp

### **Arrangements for Dinner for Dermot Nally**

Photocopied letter from the office of Robin Butler, Secretary of the Cabinet, outlining arrangements for a dinner in honour of Nally.

**P254/3** 10 March 1993

5pp

**Note on possible institutional arrangements between North and South**

Photocopied note by Nally, prepared at the request of Albert Reynolds, Taoiseach, on possible institutional arrangements between North and South. Nally proposes two alternatives: “(1) to conceive of an organisation to carry out agreed functions on an all-Ireland basis; or (2) to push ahead with the development, as far as possible, of the Anglo-Irish Inter-Governmental Conference.” Nally states that he favours option two but that either option should involve a constitutional referendum.

**P254/4** 29 March 1993

4pp

**Joint Declaration, early draft**

Photocopied early draft of the Downing Street Declaration with handwritten annotation by Nally.

**P254/5** 17-20 April 1993

47pp

**A new approach to the Northern Ireland problem?**

Photocopied long and short versions of a confidential paper titled ‘A new approach to the Northern Ireland problem?’. The paper was written by “N.D.” [Department of Foreign Affairs?]. The paper argues for “a joint initiative by the two Governments which will set the basic framework for a settlement and yet allow scope for negotiation by all the constitutional parties on structures to be established”, and a new, agreed status for Northern Ireland establishing an agreed “Constitution of Northern Ireland”.

**P254/6** 22 April 1993

8pp

**Rough outline draft for a possible Agreement**

Photocopied rough outline draft for a possible Agreement. The draft includes a declaration by the Irish Government; a declaration by the UK Government; a declaration by all parties to the negotiations including the four democratic political parties in Northern Ireland; constitutional status; institutional arrangements; ratification and entry into effect. The origin/author(s) of this draft agreement is not specified.

**P254/7** 8 June 1993

2pp

**Renewal of the EPA Debate**

Photocopied extract of the principal interventions in the House of Commons debate on the Order to renew the Emergency and Prevention of Terrorism Provisions.

**P254/8** 16-19 June [1993]

3pp

**President Mary Robinson's visit to Northern Ireland**

Photocopied note from [David Blatherwick] UK Ambassador to Ireland reporting the UK Government's serious concern at the proposed meeting between Mary Robinson, President of Ireland, and members of Sinn Féin, during the Robinson's visit to Northern Ireland.

**P254/9** 8-9 June 1993

13pp

**"Diner" Meeting**

Photocopied brief by Sean O hUiginn, Assistant Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, and report by Frank Murray, Secretary to the Irish Government, of the "Diner" between Irish and UK officials, including Butler, discussing Northern Ireland and the forthcoming European Council meeting in Copenhagen. The Irish delegation took the opportunity to "convey at the highest level our sense of disenchantment at the current state of play".

**P254/10** 15 June 1993

10pp

**Meeting of the Nally-Butler Group – 13 June 1993**

Photocopied note by Nally of his meeting with Butler on 13 June 1993. The report is addressed to Reynolds and marked "secret and personal". The meeting was held in advance the meeting between Reynolds and Major on 16 June and discussed support for continuing talks between the two Governments and the wording of the Sinn Féin document (a document given to Major by Sinn Féin). Further includes Nally's handwritten notes on the meeting.

- P254/11** 14 June 1993
- 3pp
- Programme for Reynolds's meeting with Major**  
Photocopied programme for Reynolds's meeting (tête-à-tête) with Major on 16 June 1993.
- P254/12** 16 June 1993
- 4pp
- Steering and Speaking notes for Reynolds's meeting with Major**  
Photocopied speaking notes and steering notes for Reynolds ahead of his meeting (tête-à-tête) with Major on 16 June 1993.
- P254/13** 16 June 1993
- 55pp
- Briefing Pack for Reynolds's meeting with Major**  
Photocopied briefing pack for Reynolds and Irish delegation for the meeting (tête-à-tête) with Major on 16 June 1993. Includes the programme; steering note; background note on security and confidence issue; E. C. issues; international political issues; UK political overview; biographical note on Major; possible draft communique.
- P254/14** 17 June 1993
- 6pp
- Note of Reynolds's meeting with Major**  
Photocopied note by Nally of meeting (tête-à-tête) between Reynolds and Major on 16 June 1996 discussing continuing talks between the two Governments; the wording of the Sinn Féin text (a document given to Major by Sinn Féin). Further includes Nally's handwritten notes on the meeting
- P254/15** June 1993
- 5pp
- Communique**

Draft and final communique issued by the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs following the meeting (tête-à-tête) of 16 June 1993 between Reynolds and Major.

**P254/16** Not dated [June 1993]

3pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Draft declaration, not dated but grouped with other material from June 1993.

**P254/17** 23 June-21 September 1993

1p

**Consultancy Role for Nally**

Handwritten letter from Nally to Mary Doyle regarding his role as a consultant in the Northern Irish discussions, and letter from Doyle to Nally confirming his engagement as a consultant on Northern Ireland and EC affairs.

**P254/18** 20 June 1993

8pp

**Address by Martin McGuinness at Bodinstown**

Photocopied address by Martin McGuinness, Sinn Féin, at the annual commemoration at the grave of Theobald Wolfe Tone at Bodinstown.

**P254/19** Not dated [June-July 1993?]

3pp

**UK Government's 10 Principles**

Photocopied document titled '10 Principles' outlining the ten principles of the UK Government's position on Northern.

**P254/20** Not dated [June-July 1993?]

5pp

**Northern Ireland Structures**

Photocopied note marked 'for information only' outlining the Irish Government's proposals for administrative and parliamentary structures for Northern Ireland in the longer term and short to medium term. Included are details of steps envisaged and possible timeline. Further includes a list of changes "Slippage from the 19 April Text" (not dated).

**P254/21** 29 June 1995

5pp

**Briefing Points on the Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied briefing points marked "secret" on the draft joint Declaration. The brief examines the text and broader political considerations. The author is not identified [possibly Nally or the Department of Foreign Affairs?].

**P254/22** 8 July 1993

5pp

**Aide-Memoir**

Photocopied aide-memoir for Reynolds for discussion of a draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major. The draft declaration proposed by the Irish Government was drawn up in consultation with John Hume, Leader of the SDLP. Reynolds suggests Major study the text and decide later a basis on which to proceed.

**P254/23** 8 July 1993

3pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major. The draft declaration proposed by the Irish Government containing eight paragraphs was drawn up in consultation with Hume and contains some handwritten annotation by Nally.

**P254/24** Not dated [c. July 1993]

3pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major. The draft declaration proposed by the Irish Government containing eight

paragraphs was drawn up in consultation with Hume and contains some handwritten annotation by Nally.

**P254/25** Not dated [c. July 1993]

8pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major. The draft declaration proposed by the Irish Government contains twelve paragraphs.

**P254/26** 14 July 1993

22pp

**Meeting of the Nally-Butler Group – 14 July 1993**

Photocopied note by Nally of his meeting with Butler on 14 July 1993. Also present at the meeting were O hUiginn, and John Chilcot, Under-Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. The note is addressed to Reynolds and marked “secret and personal”. The draft Joint Declaration is discussed. Further includes Nally’s handwritten notes on the meeting and a report by O hUiginn of the same meeting.

**P254/27** 23 July 1993

2pp

**Note on Recent Meeting**

Photocopied note [author unknown, possibly Department of Foreign Affairs?] on the draft Joint Declaration and negotiations with the UK Government. The note outlines the key concepts as: collective self-determination; consent of a majority in Northern Ireland; agreed Ireland as the goal.

**P254/28** 30 July 1993

3pp

**Sean O hUiginn dinner with John Chilcott**

Photocopied note by O hUiginn, of his dinner with Chilcott, discussing the importance and continuation of the Nally-Butler meetings/Nally-Butler process; the Talks process; proposed House of Commons Select Committee; and meetings at political level.



**P254/29** 5 August 1993

13pp

**Meeting of the Nally-Butler Group – 4 August 1993**

Photocopied note by Nally of his meeting with Butler, on 4 August 1993. Also present at the meeting were O hUiginn, and Chilcot. The note is addressed to Reynolds and marked “secret and personal”. Items discussed include the “deal” with Unionists; proposed House of Commons Select Committee; draft Joint Declaration. Further includes Nally’s handwritten notes on the meeting and a report by O hUiginn of the same meeting.

**P254/30** 2 September 1993

7pp

**Nally-Butler Process: Meeting with Quentin Thomas**

Photocopied note by O hUiginn, of his meeting with Quentin Thomas, Northern Ireland Office, in London on 1 September 1993, discussing proposed cessation of violence by the Provisional IRA in return for “a change in the terms of the UK involvement”; possible approaches by the UK Government; the text of the draft Joint Declaration; and the text of a confidential twelve-point UK Government document regarding constitutional balance.

Further includes the confidential twelve-point UK Government document.

**P254/31** 7 September 1993

2pp

**Letter from Reynolds to Major**

Photocopied letter from Reynolds to Major, marked “personal and secret”. Reynolds emphasises that the draft joint declaration and proposals “have my own personal backing and inputs”. He states that “What we are all hoping to achieve is not necessarily Irish unity...within any limited timescale, but a period of stability, without violence or threat of violence...”, and urges Major to continue to give the process his backing.

**P254/32** 7 September 1993

2pp

**Reynolds’s meeting with UK Ambassador – 6 September 1993**

Photocopied note by Murray, on Reynolds's meeting with Blatherwick, on 6 September 1993, discussing the resumption of talks between the two Governments; the question of a U.S. "Special Envoy"; and recent upsurge in Loyalist violence. Further includes cover note from Murray addressed to O hUiginn.

**P254/33** 13 September 1993

3pp

**British-Irish Association Conference Cambridge – Private Meeting**

Photocopied note by Martin Mansergh, Irish Government Special Advisor on Northern Ireland, of his private meetings with Patrick Mayhew, Attorney General for Northern Ireland, and Chilcot, at the British-Irish Association Conference in Cambridge. They discussed the issue of a public statement and the Unionist position.

**P254/34** 10 September 1993

3pp

**British-Irish Association Conference Cambridge**

Photocopied summary note on the British-Irish Association Conference Cambridge on 10 September 1993 under the headings political and other matters.

**P254/35** 10 September 1993

8pp

**Meeting of the Nally-Butler Group – 10 September 1993**

Photocopied note by Nally of his meeting with Butler, on 10 September 1993. Also present at the meeting were O hUiginn, and Chilcot. The note is addressed to Reynolds and marked "secret and personal". Items discussed include the wording of the draft Joint Declaration; the nature of a referendum to follow the outcome of the present process; and a Liaison Group to be mandated to draw up a paper on the position of the two Governments. Further includes a report by O hUiginn of the same meeting.

**P254/36** 15-17 September 1993

7pp

**Reflections on possible Constitutional Change**

Photocopied note by MM (Mansergh), to the Attorney General enclosing his paper reflecting on possible changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.

**P254/37** 24 September 1993

6pp

**Reports of meetings with John Hume**

Photocopied notes by O hUiginn, of his meetings with Hume (22-23 September 1993) and a meeting between John Hume and Major (16 September 1993) discussing the Hume-Adams talks.

**P254/38** 24 September 1993

2pp

**Letter from Major to Reynolds**

Photocopied letter from Major to Reynolds responding to Reynolds's letter of 7 September 1993. Major states he is happy for the Nally-Butler meetings to continue and for the Liaison Group to work on a Joint Declaration.

**P254/39** 29 September 1993

2pp

**Meeting between Mansergh and Reverend Roy Magee**

Photocopied note by Mansergh, of his meeting with Reverend Roy Magee, Presbyterian Minister, discussing Magee's involvement in dialogue between the UDA and IRA and concluding with a plea that the "Irish Government in its public statements pay more attention to the Unionist consensus...".

**P254/40** 24 September 1993

10pp

**Nally-Butler Process: Meeting with Quentin Thomas**

Photocopied note by O hUiginn, of his meeting with Thomas, in London on 24 September 1993, discussing in detail the text of a recent draft Joint Declaration. Included is a suggested amendment by Thomas for the revised Paragraph 4.

- P254/41** 24 September 1993  
4pp  
**Draft Joint Declaration**  
Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eight paragraphs.
- P254/42** 24 September 1993  
9pp  
**Joint Framework Document**  
Photocopied Joint Framework document representing the outcome of discussions within the Liaison Group of UK and Irish officials. The joint working paper sets out general principles of a proposed new agreement and examines the issues of devolution; North/South Institutions; Intergovernmental relations; constitutional issues; endorsement.
- P254/43** 30 September 1993  
1p  
**Dermot Nally Note**  
Short handwritten note by Dermot Nally with four points on the negotiation process.
- P254/44** 5-7 October 1993  
2pp  
**Irish Government line after meeting Hume**  
Two photocopied documents, draft and final, titled “Government line after meeting John Hume”, with handwritten comments by Nally. The document details the meeting held between Reynolds, Dick Spring, Tánaiste, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Hume.
- P254/45** 6 October 1993  
25pp  
**Meeting of the Nally-Butler Group – 6 October 1993**  
Photocopied note by Nally of his meeting with Butler, on 6 October 1993. Also present at the meeting were O hUiginn, Chilcot, and Thomas. The note is addressed to Reynolds and marked “secret and

personal". Items discussed include the "Hume-Adams initiative"; request from the UK Government assurances of open communications with the Irish Government and no "side agreements"; potential cessation of IRA violence and admitting Sinn Fein to political dialogue; changes to the text of the draft Joint Declaration. Further includes Nally's handwritten notes on the meeting and a report by O hUiginn of the same meeting.

**P254/46** 6 October 1993

4pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eight paragraphs and including Nally's handwritten comments and annotation.

**P254/47** 6 October 1993

4pp

**Draft Joint Declaration (Re-draft after meeting on 6 October 1993)**

Photocopied re-draft by Mansergh of draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eight paragraphs and including Mansergh's handwritten comments and annotation.

**P254/48** 7 October 1993

8pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Two copies of photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eight paragraphs and including Nally's handwritten comments and annotation. A handwritten note at the top of the first page states "Amendments shown were agreed ad referendum in London yesterday. DN 7.10/93".

**P254/49** 7 October 1993

4pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eight paragraphs. A handwritten note at the top of the first

page states “Retyped text incorporating changed agreed ad referendum in London on 6/10/93. DN 7.10/93”.

**P254/50** 27 October 1993

6pp

**Speech by the Dick Spring in the Dáil Debate on Northern Ireland**

Photocopied speech by Dick Spring, Tánaiste, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the Dáil Debate on Northern Ireland on 27 October 1993.

**P254/51** 29 October 1993

2pp

**Joint Statement by Reynolds and Major, Brussels – 29 October 1993**

Photocopied joint Statement by Reynolds and Major in Brussels on 29 October 1993 discussing a range of matters of common interest, with particular focus on Northern Ireland.

**P254/52** Not dated [c. October 1993]

5pp

**Reaction of Northern Ireland Parties to Six Principles and Brussels Joint Statement.**

Photocopied document summarising the reaction of Northern Ireland Parties to the Six Principles and Brussels Joint Statement.

**P254/53** October 1993

53pp

**House of Commons Debates on contact between the UK Government and the IRA**

Photocopied texts of House of Commons Debates on contact between the UK Government and the IRA from March-October 1993.

**P254/54** 2 November 1993

6pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eleven paragraphs. A handwritten note on the first page states “2/11/93 Eames” (Archbishop Robin Eames contributed to the text).

**P254/55** 9 November 1993

6pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eleven paragraphs.

**P254/56** 9-10 November 1993

24pp

**Meeting of the Nally-Butler Group – 10 November 1993**

Photocopied note by Nally of his meeting with Butler, on 10 November 1993. Also present at the meeting were O hUiginn, Chilcot, and Thomas. The note is addressed to Reynolds and marked “secret and personal”. Items discussed include the “Hume-Adams effect on Unionist opinion”; the “green language” of the draft Joint Declaration. Further includes briefing points for the meeting; Nally’s handwritten notes on the meeting and a report by O hUiginn of the same meeting.

**P254/57** 11 November 1993

1p

**Letter from Reynolds to Major**

Photocopied letter from Reynolds to Major, marked “personal and confidential”. Reynolds expresses his disappointment that “you find yourself unable to proceed any further with our proposed initiative” and urges Major to reconsider before their December meeting.

**P254/58** 12 November 1993

8pp

**Letter from Major to Reynolds**

Photocopied letter from Major to Reynolds responding to Reynolds’s letter of 11 November 1993. Major expresses his concern “at the suggestion that there is some kind of emerging rift between our two Governments” and states “we could not proceed on the basis of the Hume/Adams dialogue”. He emphasises that he has been “intensely

active” and “the best hope for peace in Northern Ireland lies in our two Governments working together”. Included is a covering note from O hUiginn, to Reynolds, explaining some of the language used.

**P254/59** 15 November 1993

2pp

**Letter from Reynolds to Major**

Photocopied letter from Reynolds to Major, responding to Major’s letter of 12 November 1993. Reynolds outlines the background to the Irish Government proposals and urges Major to “consider that a formula of words could save many lives over the next few years”.

**P254/60** 15 November 1993

3pp

**Meeting with Rod Lyne, Private Secretary to Major, 12 November 1993**

Photocopied note of a meeting between Reynolds, O hUiginn, Nally, and Roderic Lyne, Private Secretary to Major, and Blatherwick, on 12 November 1993, to discuss a perceived misunderstanding between the two Governments

**P254/61** 14 November 1993

3pp

**Meeting with the SDLP, 14 November 1993**

Photocopied note of a meeting between Reynolds, Spring, O hUiginn, and an SDLP delegation led by Hume, on 14 November 1993. Items discussed include the UK and Unionist position on the draft declaration with the Tánaiste stating that “Adams was anathema, and that the UK feared a Unionist backlash” and Reynolds stating that “the UK would probably never slam the door. Their main interest was to push the talks process”.

**P254/62** 16 November 1993

2pp

**Phone conversation with Butler**

Photocopied note by Nally of a phone conversation with Butler, on 15 November 1993, where Butler states “although their position was not



changed...we were still very much in business". Attached is a handwritten note.

**P254/63** 15-16 November 1993

7pp

**Correspondence between Mansergh and Lyne**

Photocopied correspondence between Lyne and Mansergh. Lyne encloses a copy statement on Northern Ireland, to be delivered by Major at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, London.

**P254/64** 23 November 1993

1p

**Conversation with Archbishop Eames**

Photocopied unsigned note of conversation with Archbishop Eames in which Eames discusses his meeting with Major and states that "he had fully backed Reynolds's initiative".

**P254/65** 23 November-3 December 1993

7pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eleven paragraphs, with extensive handwritten comments by Nally dated 3 December 1993. Further includes a typescript paragraph dated 3 December 1993 with a note stating that is it a substitute for paragraphs 10 and 11 of the 23 November 1993 draft.

**P254/66** 25 November 1993

2pp

**Letter from Major to Reynolds**

Photocopied letter from Major to Reynolds on 25 November 1993. Major expresses discouragement at the leak of information and the Hume/Adams statement and states that Butler will be putting forward a proposal from the UK Government.

**P254/67** 25-26 November 1993

10pp

**Draft Declaration (UK Version 25 November 1993)**

Photocopied draft declaration put forward by the UK government on 25 November 1993. The wording of the draft is substantially different to all preceding drafts. Included are two pages of comments by [Nally?] outlining the shortcomings of the draft.

**P254/68** 26-29 November 1993

10pp

**Meeting in Reynolds's Office, 26 November 1993**

Photocopied note by O hUiginn, of a meeting in Reynolds's office on 26 November 1993, between Reynolds, Mansergh, and O hUiginn, on the Irish side and Butler and Blatherwick, on the UK side. Items discussed include communications between the UK government and the IRA; the Molyneaux and the Unionist position; the UK version of the draft declaration 25 November 1993; the upcoming summit; and questions about the role of UK security services.

**P254/69** 29 November 1993

2pp

**Letter from Reynolds to Major**

Photocopied letter from Reynolds responding to Major's letter of 25 November 1993 and discussing the UK draft declaration of 25 November.

**P254/70** 29 November 1983

2pp

**Meeting with John Hume**

Photocopied note of by O hUiginn, of his meeting with Hume. Hume states his approval for the Irish government's handling of the peace process, gives his reaction to the UK draft declaration of 25 November and discusses writing a letter to Major.

**P254/71** 1 December 1993

2pp

**Announcement by Reynolds**

Photocopied announcement by Reynolds on a series of meetings with Major in December. Included is a handwritten note by Nally

**P254/72** 2 December 1993

11pp

**Cross-Border Security Cooperation**

Photocopied report to Major and Reynolds from the Northern Ireland Office/Justice Top Level Group (Chilcot/Dalton Group) on cross border security.

**P254/73** 3 December 1993

8pp

**Programme for meeting between Reynolds and Major, 3 December 1993**

Programme and delegate list for meeting between Reynolds and Major, 3 December 1993, at the Dublin Castle.

**P254/74** 3 December 1993

34pp

**Dublin Castle Summit**

Photocopied minutes and notes on the meeting between Reynolds and Major at Dublin Castle Summit on 3 December 1993 as part of the Downing Street Declaration negotiations. Included are Nally's handwritten notes.

**P254/75** 3 December 1993

6pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eleven paragraphs and marked 1A.

**P254/76** 3 December 1993

9pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eleven paragraphs with a new paragraph 10, marked Rod Lyne draft.

**P254/77** 3 December 1993

10pp

**Martin McGuinness Statement**

Photocopied statement by McGuinness on communication with the UK government.

**P254/78** 7 December 1993

7pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, containing eleven paragraphs, marked "Draft considered at talks in Dublin Castle on 3 December 1993. UK amendments, as proposed, are in square brackets and underlined".

**P254/79** 7 December 1993

8pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, marked "J.D. 14 showing additions and omissions proposed in Dublin on 3 December", containing eleven paragraphs, with handwritten comments and notes by Nally.

**P254/80** 7 December 1993

7pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, marked J.D. 15, containing twelve paragraphs, with handwritten comments and notes by Nally.

**P254/81** 7 December 1993

7pp

**Draft Joint Declaration**

Photocopied draft Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, marked J.D. 15, containing twelve paragraphs, with handwritten comments and notes by Nally.

**P254/82** 7 December 1993

2pp

**Meeting of the Nally-Butler Group – 7 December 1993**

Handwritten note by Nally of his meeting with Butler, at the London Cabinet Office on 7 December 1993. Also present at the meeting were Blatherwick, Chilcot, and Thomas. Items discussed include the text of the draft Joint Declaration.

**P254/83** 6 December 1993

10pp

**Irish delegation discussion on the Joint Draft Declaration**

Photocopied report by Mansergh, of his discussion with O hUiginn, and Nally on the Joint Draft Declaration.

**P254/84** 10 December 1993

13pp

**UK Press briefing notes**

Photocopied draft press briefing notes from the Northern Ireland Office.

**P254/85** 13 December 1993

5pp

**Draft Joint Declaration – paragraphs 10-12**

Photocopied proposed paragraphs 10-12 for Joint Declaration by Reynolds and Major, with handwritten comments and notes by Nally. Included are notes by Nally outlining discussions with Butler, on the wording.

**P254/86** 14 December 1993

2pp

**Final negotiations on Downing Street Declaration**

Two versions of photocopied paragraphs 10-12 of Joint Declaration marked “6.15 14/12/93” and “6.30pm 14/12/93”.

**P254/87** 6 January 1994

5pp

**Discussion between Cardinal Cathal Daly and Irish Ambassador to Britain**

Photocopied note by Joseph Small, Irish Ambassador to Britain, on his conversation with Cardinal Cathal Daly on the Joint Declaration.

**P254/88** 28 January 1994

13pp

**Response to points raised in connection with the Joint Declaration**

Photocopied document, author unknown [Nally?] titled “Response to points raised in connection with the Joint Declaration”, marked “secret”.

**P254/89** 15 April 1994

11pp

**Elements of a shared understanding**

Photocopied document, author unknown, titled “Elements of a shared understanding”, marked “confidential”, with handwritten comments by Nally.

**P254/90** 13 May 1994

18pp

**Possible approach by UK Government**

Photocopied document, author unknown, titled “Possible approach UK Government might take in reply to queries”, marked “confidential”.

**P254/91** 30 June 1994

10pp

**Meeting in Government Buildings on Constitutional issues**

Photocopied note by O hUiginn, of a meeting on 30 June 1994 with Mansergh, Chilcot, and Thomas, discussing constitutional issues.

**P254/92** 11 July 1994

8pp

**Sinn Fein Policy Documents**

Photocopied Sinn Fein policy documents from the party's strategy seminar 1994.

**P254/93** 13 July 1994

2pp

**Telephone conversation with John Hume**

Photocopied note by O hUiginn, of a telephone conversation with John Hume regarding Hume's private meeting with Major.

**P254/94** 29 August 1994

10pp

**Ceasefire: Implications for Security Policy**

Photocopied note by P. Hennessy titled "Ceasefire: Implications for Security Policy".

**P254/95** 30 August 1994

3pp

**Visas for IRA members to the United States**

Photocopied fax from the Irish Embassy to the United States outlining the White House position on visas for IRA members.

**P254/96** 31 August 1994

18pp

**Irish Government statement on IRA Ceasefire**

Photocopied Irish Government statement on IRA Ceasefire, with attached letter from Nally to Butler, expressing relief, thanks, and congratulations.

**P254/97** 4 December 1993-20 January 1994

48pp

**Interviews and Speeches**

Photocopied speeches and interviews on the Downing Street Declaration.

Includes:

- Speech by Dick Spring to the Annual General Meeting of the Labour Women's National Council (4 December 1993);
- BBC Breakfast with Frost Interview: James Molyneaux (5 December 1993);
- RTE Radio 1 This Week: Interview with Reynolds (5 December 1993);
- Radio Ulster: Interview with Rev Martin Smyth (6 December 1993);
- Address by Reynolds to the Irish Association, Dublin Castle (10 January 1994);
- Speech by Reynolds at UCD Law Society's Cearbhail O Dálaigh Memorial Graduate Law Dinner (20 January 1994).

**P254/98** 29 May 1993-2 October 1996

13pp

**Press cuttings**

Press cuttings relating to the Downing Street Declaration and IRA ceasefire.

**P254/99** 1980-1996

c. 150pp

**Nally Notes on Northern Ireland**

Notes and research by Nally on the Northern Ireland Peace Process.

Includes:

- "Declaration of UK Interest in eventual Irish Unity" by D. M. Neligan (May 1980);
- Timeline of events leading to Downing Street Declaration;
- Northern Ireland: Notes on Developments 1985-1993;
- Briefing Note on Peace Process (7 September 1995);
- "A New Framework for Agreement";
- Northern Ireland Talks Process (21 November 1997);
- "A Balanced Constitutional Accommodation: the Options" by Martin Mansergh (November 1997);



- “Shape of a Northern Ireland Settlement: a Possible Outline Summary of Papers Prepared in Anglo-Irish Division” (22 December 1997);
- “North/South Council – Matters and Powers” (19 December 1997);

**P254/100** 27 March-30 April 2001

24pp

**Eamonn O’Kane – Paper on Downing Street Declaration**

Draft paper by Eamonn O’Kane on the Downing Street Declaration.