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(研究ノート)

「国家アイデンティティ」を模索する現代イギリス社会

秋 田 茂*

はじめに

1995年の夏、ロンドンでは戦後50年を経過し、「戦勝国」イギリスを改めて印象づける記念式典が相次いで挙行された。5月6～8日の、ヨーロッパでの対独戦勝記念のためのVE-DAYと、8月19日～20日の、アジアでの対日戦勝記念のためのVJ-DAYである。⁽¹⁾ 特に前者は大規模なイベントで、ロンドン・ハイドパークの特設会場を中心に、ドイツのコール首相を含めたヨーロッパ首脳が一堂に会し、王室関係者も参加した式典、コンサートが挙行され、百万規模の群衆が溢れ、その模様はテレビで全国中継された。一般の人々がVE-DAYに酔いしれる姿は、イギリス人にとっての第二次世界大戦は1945年5月8日で終わった、という彼らの歴史認識を的確に表していた。

VE-DAY、VJ-DAYそのものは、低迷するメージャー保守党政権の人気回復のための一大政治ショーであり、「大国」イギリスとしての威信を再度認識させようとする政府の政治的意図が反映された公式行事であったが、同時に、前年(1994年)6月の、D-DAY50周年記念行事から続くイギリス流の、戦後50年を総括し、「国家アイデンティティ」を明確化しようとする試みでもあるといえる。

本稿では、1994年から95年にかけての主要なイギリスでの出来事を整理する形で、戦後50年を経て、「国家アイデンティティ」を模索する現代イギリス社会の

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姿を素描したいと思う。論点は、①「国内に取り込まれた植民地問題」としての北アイルランド和平問題の進展と連合王国の将来像をめぐる議論、②ヨーロッパ統合への姿勢をめぐるEU問題、③イギリスのグローバルな影響力をめぐる「世界の中でのイギリス」の地位に関する議論、以上三点に絞りたいと思う。

1 北アイルランド和平問題と連合王国

1996年2月9日の夕刻、ロンドンの新興ビジネス地区ドックランドで爆弾テロがあり、死者二名、負傷者百余名の被害を与え、テロの終結と「平和の配当」を享受していた内外の人々に大きな衝撃を与えた。続いて2月18日には、市内中心部に近いアルドリッジで路線バスが爆破され、死者一名、負傷者十数名の被害を出した。いずれも、カトリック系武装組織アイルランド共和国軍（IRA）の犯行であることが判明し、これによって、1994年9月1日から十七ヵ月にわたり続いてきた、北アイルランド紛争をめぐる「停戦」の継続には翳りが見えはじめ、その先行きは予断を許さぬ状況が続いている。⁽²⁾

IRAの停戦は、1992年以降断続的に行なわれてきた、北アイルランド紛争の政治的解決をめぐる交渉の産物であった。⁽³⁾ 1993年12月15日に、メージャー首相とレイノルズ・アイルランド共和国首相（当時）が発表した「共同和平宣言」に続いて、⁽⁴⁾ 1995年2月22日には、メージャー首相とブルートン・アイルランド共和国首相が、北アイルランドの将来像をめぐる議論の叩き台となる「枠組み文書」*Frameworks for the Future* を公表し、和平問題の話し合いによる解決に向けた動きが加速され、楽観ムードが広がっていただけに、IRAのテロ活動再開は、余計に衝動的であった。

ところで、95年2月の「枠組み文書」は、発表当時から、その具体的な包括的提案が高く評価されてきたが、⁽⁵⁾ 大きく分けて二部から構成されている。第一部“*A Framework for Accountable Government in Northern Ireland*”は、イギリス政府単独の提案文書であり、新たに北アイルランドに、民主主義的選挙手続きにより90名の代議員から成る、一院制の代議機関を創設すること、その代議機関に広範な事項にわたる立法および行政的権限を委譲することを提唱している。

第二部 “A New Framework for Agreement”は、「共同枠組み文書」The Joint Framework Documentとして知られるようになった、イギリス、アイルランド両国政府が共同で作成した文書で、アイルランド島内の諸関係および両国政府の関係をめぐる提案を行なっている。この第二部の方が、南北合同の政策調整機構や、イギリス・アイルランド共和国両政府間会議の設置を提起した点で、将来の北アイルランド和平問題を考える上で重要である（文書本文は、後掲の「付録資料」参照）。

この「枠組み文書」発表後、北アイルランド現地の治安状況は急速に好転し、95年3月には駐留イギリス軍の一部撤兵が実現した。さらに、5月10日には、イギリス政府とIRAの政治組織シンフェイン党との閣僚級予備協議が公式にもたれて、北アイルランドの全党派を集める円卓会議の開催と、IRAの武装解除を中心的議題にして、和平の永続化をめざした努力が積み重ねられた。こうした楽観的ムードの中で、北アイルランドを訪れる観光客は倍増し、アメリカや日本企業を含む海外からの直接投資も増えるなど、「平和の配当」がもたらされつつあった。しかし、イギリス政府がIRAの武装解除の先行実施を強硬に主張したために、交渉は暗礁に乗りあげた。この難局は、アメリカの圧力により解決に向かうかに見えた。すなわち、1995年11月末のクリントン米大統領のイギリス・アイルランド訪問直前の11月28日に、イギリス、アイルランド両国政府は、IRAの武装解除の手順を検討する国際委員会（通称ミッチャエル委員会）の設置と、北アイルランド全政治勢力による円卓会議の96年2月開催という「ツイン・トラック」方式で合意したのである。そして、1996年1月24日にミッチャエル委員会は、「IRAの武装解除を円卓会議の前提条件にするべきではない」との答申を発表した。しかし、メジャー首相は、アイルランド政府に全く相談することなくこの答申を即座に拒絶し、その頑なな姿勢が、今回のIRAによる停戦破棄につながったといえる。

以上のような北アイルランド和平問題の展開は、改めてイギリス国民に、北アイルランドの国制上の位置付けや、アイルランド共和国と連合王国との関係をはじめとする、連合王国の将来像を再考する機会を与えることになるであろう。イギリスの学界でも、こうした問題意識は共有されている。その典型は、1994年7月にロンドン大学歴史学研究所で開催された、第63回英米歴史家会議 (The 63rd

Anglo-American Conference of Historians 1994) における共通論題で、「連合王国の形成」(The Formation of the United Kingdom) が取り上げられた点に見られる。この会議は、①歴史的概念の変遷、②中世の諸基盤、③近世国家の形成、④ハノーヴァー王朝 1707-1832年、⑤帝国・多民族国家 1832-1922年、⑥均一性と異質性 1922-94年、以上六つのセッションから構成され、それぞれのセッションにおいて、国制と統治構造、法制と財政制度、経済発展の諸類型、政治的緊張と紛争、ナショナル・アイデンティティ、宗教的・文化的同化と文化的抵抗、などの諸テーマが議論された⁽⁶⁾。伝統ある英米歴史家会議で、こうしたイギリスの国家アイデンティティ、あるいは「イギリスらしさ」(Britishness) とは何かを改めて問う議論が展開されたこと自体、従来のイングランド中心主義、それにもとづくEnglishnessのみを問題とする姿勢の見直しとして注目に値する。北アイルランド問題をめぐる「枠組み文書」の議論が、今後本格的に展開されるにつれて、こうした連合王国の将来像をめぐる議論もさらに触発されるであろう。

2 EU問題とイギリス

イギリスの「国家アイデンティティ」をめぐる問題ですぐに問題になるのが、ヨーロッパ統合をめぐるイギリス政府の対応であろう。1994年から95年にかけては、特に保守党内部での党派抗争が激化したために、EU問題をめぐるイギリス政府の姿勢の揺れは一層顕著になった。

まず1994年春は、EU新委員長選任をめぐるイギリスの拒否権発動で揺れた。94年6月25日のギリシャ・コフで開催されたEUサミットで、メージャー首相は、ドロールの後任のEU委員長として独仏が強力に推したオランダ首相デハネの選任を、過度の統合推進論者であるとして拒絶した。イギリス世論は、サッチャー張りのこの姿勢を支持したが、⁽⁷⁾ 結局妥協策が模索された末に、ルクセンブルグ首相のサンテールがEU新委員長に選出されたのである。だが、メージャーが期待を寄せたサンテールも、すぐに前任者以上に統合推進路線を打ち出し、メージャーの妥協は完全に裏目に出た。EUでのイギリスの影響力を強化する絶好の機会を逸したといえよう。

現実には、1993年1月に発効した欧州市場統合は、イギリスから見る限り、順調に機能している。特に「モノ」のレヴェルでは、大陸から日常食料品を含めた安価な物資が流入し、豊かな消費生活の実現に大きく寄与している。だが、「ヒト」と「カネ」のレヴェルでの自由化に関しては、イギリスは消極的姿勢をとり続けている。例えば「ヒト」では、94年に大陸の一部加盟国で試行的に実施された国境管理 (Immigration Control) の自由化に対してもイギリスは、批判的姿勢を崩さず、EU委員会からの同調の呼び掛けを断固拒絶する態度を堅持した。さらに「カネ」のレヴェルでは、通貨統合に一貫して反対していることは周知の事実であろう。それに加えて、イギリス政府は、欧州統一の最低賃金制度等を規定したマーストリヒト条約の「社会労働憲章」も、産業の国際競争力が低下するとの理由で受入拒否 (Opting Out) を表明している。1996年春のEUサミットでは、マーストリヒト条約の見直しが議題になるはずであるが、1999年1月に延期された通貨統合の行方は、イギリスの一貫した消極姿勢によってさらに見通しが立てにくい状況にある。

こうした、イギリス政府のEU統合への消極的姿勢は、保守党の政治指導者に整合的で一貫した対EU戦略が欠如していることに起因するが、国民世論にも同様な傾向がある。サッチャーワークス路線を踏襲する、⁽⁸⁾ 保守党右派のマイケル・ポーティロ国防相に代表されるEU批判派 (Euro-Sceptics) の圧力を受けて、メージャーのEU政策とその発言は振幅が大きい。彼が政治指導力を賭けて、1995年7月に決行した保守党党首選では勝利を収めたものの、右派の動向に配慮せざるをえない状況は変わっていない。“Brussel, No!”を叫ぶだけで具体的なオルタナティブを提示できない、EU批判派の主張が大きな共感を呼ぶ事実には、政治指導層の無策と同時に、1973年のEC加盟以来さほど変わったとも思えない、ヨーロッパ大陸に対してアンヴィヴィアレントな感情を持つ、イギリス人独特の心情が反映されているのである。

3 世界の中のイギリス

イギリスの外交政策の基調は、現在でも地球的規模での影響力の行使をめざす

ことにある（Global Internationalism）。イギリス外務省の公式見解によると、イギリスは以下の諸点できわめてユニークな政治的強みを有している；①国連安全保障理事会の常任理事国、②ヨーロッパ連合（EU）の構成国、③北大西洋条約機構（NATO）の構成国、④コモンウェルスの構成国、⑤先進国首脳会議（G7）メンバー、⑥世界有数の外交ネットワーク、⑦有効な軍事力の保持、⑧ロンドンのシティと世界的な営業活動を展開する企業、⑨英語、⑩ブリティッシュ・カウンシル、および⑪BBCワールド・サービス。⁽⁹⁾

しかし、現実には、その国際的影響力は大幅に低下しているのが実情である。戦後50年を経た1995年3月29日に、ロンドンで、王立国際問題研究所（The Royal Institute of International Affairs）主催、外務省共催で「世界の中でのイギリス」の地位を問い合わせようとする試み（“Britain in the World” Conference）がなされたのは、イギリス政府のある種の危機感を反映していたとも言える。

この会議には、内外の著名な政治家、外交官、実業家、学者、ジャーナリスト等の有識者が招かれ、以下の四つのテーマをめぐって議論が展開された；①イギリスの外交および安全保障上の役割、②世界経済の中でのイギリスの位置、③民主主義と開発、④イギリスの価値観、教育、文化の投影。⁽¹⁰⁾ 本稿では、特に②に注目しながらその議論を紹介したい。

会議は、メジャー首相の開会演説で始まった。彼は、イギリスの特徴を、①国民国家、②グローバルな外交政策、③貿易国家、④主導的な自由市場・民主主義国家、⑤英語、および⑥保守性、以上の六点に要約し、イギリスが取り組むべき問題群として、①国連改革、②新たな大西洋コミュニティの形成、③EU、NATOの東方への拡大、④環境問題・テロ・麻薬密輸等の新たな形式の国際問題への柔軟な対応、⑤世界の貧困対策、および⑥コモンウェルスの将来像の提起、以上六点を列挙した上で、「我々は『小イギリス主義者』のメンタリティに留まる余裕はない」と述べて、グローバルパワーとしてのイギリスを強調した。⁽¹¹⁾ 次いで、三本の基調報告が行なわれたが、コンピュータ会社ICL会長のペーター・ボンフィールド氏は、イギリス実業界を代表して、グローバルな経済システムの形成とアジア太平洋地域の経済発展がもたらすビジネスチャンスに言及しつつ、

「我々はヨーロッパの一国家であり……ヨーロッパにおける我々の中心的役割を強化する必要がある」と発言し、EUの枠組みの中での発言力強化を主張した。次いでアメリカ合衆国の立場を代表して、元国務長官ヘンリー・キッシンジャー氏が演説した。彼は、冷戦崩壊後の新たな国際秩序の展開を前提に、将来何らかの均衡が必要であること、そのためには、アメリカとヨーロッパを統合する共通の枠組みとして、「北大西洋自由貿易地域あるいは北大西洋自由貿易協定」の構築が求められること、その過程で、第二次大戦後に展開してきた「英米特殊関係」をヨーロッパ・アメリカ関係のスケールで発展させるのが望ましく、その特殊関係を維持する上でイギリスの経験を活用することに期待を寄せたのである。⁽¹²⁾ キッシンジャー氏は、会議直後の『タイムズ』紙とのインタビューの中では、さらに一步踏み込んでイギリスの役割を論じ、戦後の英米特殊関係のもとでのイギリスは、ヨーロッパ諸国との「橋渡し」役を果たした点で評価できるが、EUに積極的に関与しないイギリスは、アメリカにとって全く魅力がなく利用価値もないと断言し、保守党政権のEUに対するアンヴィヴィアレントな姿勢を痛烈に批判したのである。⁽¹³⁾

「世界経済の中でのイギリスの地位」のセッションでも、前述の両者と同様な見解が相次いで表明された。イギリス産業連盟会長のハワード・ディヴィス氏、通商産業省政務次官イアン・テイラー氏はいずれも、EU内部でのイギリスの地位強化を訴えた。他方、日系企業を代表して日興ヨーロッパ副社長の福田はる子氏は、金融センターとしてのロンドンのシティの卓越した地位が多国籍企業にとって魅力的であるとし、EU市場を越えたボーダレスな経済発展がイギリスに絶好の機会を与えていた点を強調した。シティとサーヴィス部門の重要性と主導性については、近年のイギリス経済史・帝国主義研究でも強調されているが、その論点がビジネス関係者によっても再確認されたのである。⁽¹⁴⁾ 以上、概して政府の意図としては、グローバル・パワーとしてのイギリスの役割を強調しようとしたものの、提起された論点としては、EUの中での基盤固め・発言力強化の必要性が浮かび上がることになった。理念と現実とのギャップが明確になったといえる。

これ以外に「世界の中でのイギリス」をアピールする目立った動きとして、1994年5月の南アフリカのコモンウェルス復帰と、マンデラ政権の民主化の積極

的支援が挙げられる。民主主義の擁護者としてのイギリスの国際的役割を、コモンウェルスとの紐帶強化を通じて主張しようとする論調も目立った。その一環として1995年5月、エリザベス女王は南アフリカ共和国を公式訪問して、両国の緊密な関係を誇示したのである。⁽¹⁵⁾

むすびにかえて

以上、北アイルランド問題、EU問題、「世界の中でのイギリス」の役割をめぐる問題を論じてきた。筆者の僅か一年半の滞英経験に基づく本稿は、試論の域を出ず表面的な考察に過ぎないものであるが、その限界性を十分に認識した上でも、現代イギリス社会が、自己の「国家アイデンティティ」を求めて苦悶し、その答えを見つけあぐねている姿を垣間見ることはできるであろう。

戦後イギリスの国際的地位を支える三本の柱であった、英米特殊関係、EU(EC)、コモンウェルス、いずれもが問題を抱える中で、イギリスにとってのより現実的なオプションは、キッシンジャー氏も言うように、EU内部で強固な足場を築くことであろうが、EU統合推進に懐疑的なイギリス政府の姿勢は、長期的な外交戦略の実行を一層困難にしている。

おりしも、アジア太平洋地域では、ダイナミックな経済成長を背景にして、多国間外交の枠組み構築の摸索がなされているが、アジア太平洋経済協力会議(APEC)に対するイギリスの姿勢は明確でないし、⁽¹⁶⁾ 1996年3月初頭にバンコクで開催されたアジア欧州首脳会議(ASEM)での影も薄い。ASEMの第二回公式会議は、1998年にイギリスで開催することが決まった。その時点までに、イギリスの外交戦略、その基盤となる「国家アイデンティティ」の行方が定まるとは思えないが、ASEMの開催国になることは、内向きになりがちなイギリス国民の目を再び、グローバル・スケールの問題に向けさせる絶好の機会になるであろう。

(註)

(1) *The Official Government Programme to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the End of World War II*, (London, 1995)などを参照。

- (2) *The Economist*, February 17th-23rd 1996, 'Still hope for Ulster's peace'.
- (3) Cf. Chiharu Sakaida, 'The Quest for Anglo-Irish Rapprochement, 1992-95' (Unpublished Graduation thesis, Osaka University of Foreign Studies, 1996).
- (4) The Joint Declaration by the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. John Major, MP, and the Taoiseach, Mr Albert Reynolds, TD, on the 15th December 1993, cited in: David Bleakley, *Peace in Ireland: Two States, One People*, (London, 1995) ; John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, *Explaining Northern Ireland*, (Oxford, 1995).
- (5) 2月23日付けの*Times*, *Independent*, *Guardian*などの主要新聞参照。
- (6) 議論はすでに本にまとめられている。A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom? : The Making of British History* (London, 1995).
- (7) 労働党寄りの*Guardian*でさえも、メージャーの決定を肯定的に評価した点は興味深い。
- (8) 首相辞任後のサッチャーの見解は、例えば、Margaret Thatcher, *The Path to Power*, (London, 1995), Part Two: Chaps. XIII and XIV. を参照。
- (9) The Foreign & Commonwealth Office, *British Diplomacy in Action*, (London, 1995), 'Multilateral Diplomacy: Britain's voice in the international community,' pp.19-25
- (10) *Conference Proceedings*, 'Britain in the World: A one day conference organized by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in association with Her Majesty's Government', (Wednesday 29 March 1995, London: Queen Elizabeth II Conference Centre).
- (11) *Ibid.*, pp.11-16
- (12) *Ibid.*, pp.17-21
- (13) *Times*, 30th March 1995.
- (14) P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, Vol. II: *Crisis and Deconstruction 1914-1990*, (London, 1993), Chap. 11; Will Hutton, *The State We're In*, (London, 1995), Chap.5
- (15) コモンウェルスとイギリスとの関係強化の試みは、ロンドンのケンジントンにあるCommonwealth Instituteの諸展示の充実ぶりにも反映されている。1995年3月13日は、Commonwealth Dayであった。Foreign & Commonwealth Office, *Britain and the Commonwealth*, (London, 1994).
- (16) *The Economist*, November 19th-25th 1994, 'A dream of free trade'. *The Economist*, November 11th-17th 1995, 'Making APEC work'.

(付記)

筆者は、1994年3月～1995年8月までの約一年半、ロンドン大学東洋・アフリカ学院と歴史学研究所で在外研究を行なう機会を与えられた。お世話になった方々に、この場を借りて心よりお礼申し上げます。

(1996年3月5日成稿)

Searching for 'National Identities': Contemporary British Society, 1994-95

Shigeru AKITA

In the summer of 1995, the British government celebrated the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II through the great official ceremonies, such as VE-DAY and VJ-DAY. These events attracted huge audiences and stimulated a kind of patriotism throughout the whole country. It seemed an attempt to glorify the past and to convince British people of the Great Power status of the U.K.

This short paper tries to reveal some characters of contemporary British society, especially emphasizing the government's efforts of searching for 'national identities' at the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. I refer to the following three points: (1) the publication of 'The Joint Framework Document' about the future of Northern Ireland on 22nd February 1995, and its political and social implications upon the future image of the United Kingdom; (2) discussions and controversies over the accelerated integration of the European Union, and British ambivalent attitudes to Europe; (3) the arguments presented at "Britain in the World" Conference held by the Royal Institute of International Affairs on 29th March 1995, and its explicit message of seeking for British 'national identities' in the 21st century.

As an appendix of important historical document, I attach the whole text of 'A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT' (The Joint Framework Document) published by the British and Irish Governments on 22nd February 1995.

[付録資料]

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT

**A shared understanding between
the British and Irish Governments
to assist discussion and negotiation involving
the Northern Ireland parties**

1. The Joint Declaration acknowledges that the most urgent and important issue facing the people of Ireland, North and South, and the British and Irish Governments together, is to remove the causes of conflict, to overcome the legacy of history and to heal the divisions which have resulted.
2. Both Governments recognise that there is much for deep regret on all sides in the long and often tragic history of Anglo-Irish relations, and of relations in Ireland. They believe it is now time to lay aside, with dignity and forbearance, the mistakes of the past. A collective effort is needed to create, through agreement and reconciliation, a new beginning founded on consent, for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands. The Joint Declaration itself represents an important step towards this goal, offering the people of Ireland, North and South, whatever their tradition, the basis to agree that from now on their differences can be negotiated and resolved exclusively by peaceful political means.
3. The announcements made by the Irish Republican Army on 31 August 1994 and the Combined Loyalist Military Command on 13 October 1994 are a welcome response to the profound desire of people throughout these islands for a permanent end to the violence which caused such immense suffering and waste and served only to reinforce the barriers of fear and hatred, impeding

the search for agreement.

4. A climate of peace enables the process of healing to begin. It transforms the prospects for political progress, building on that already made in the Talks process. Everyone now has a role to play in moving irreversibly beyond the failures of the past and creating new relationships capable of perpetuating peace with freedom and justice.
5. In the Joint Declaration both Governments set themselves the aim of fostering agreement and reconciliation, leading to a new political framework founded on consent. A vital dimension of this three-stranded process is the search, through dialogue with the relevant Northern Ireland parties, for new institutions and structures to take account of the totality of relationships and to enable the people of Ireland to work together in all areas of common interest while fully respecting their diversity.
6. Both Governments are conscious of the widespread desire, throughout both islands and more widely, to see negotiations underway as soon as possible. They also acknowledge the many requests, from parties in Northern Ireland and elsewhere, for both Governments to set out their views on how agreement might be reached on relationships within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands.
7. In this Framework Document both Governments therefore describe a shared understanding reached between them on the parameters of a possible outcome to the Talks process, consistent with the Joint Declaration and the statement of 26 March 1991. Through this they hope to give impetus and direction to the process and to show that a fair and honourable accommodation can be envisaged across all the relationships, which would enable people to work constructively for their mutual benefit, without compromising the essential principles or the long-term aspirations or interests of either tradition or of either community.
8. Both Governments are aware that the approach in this document presents challenges to strongly-held positions on all sides.

However, a new beginning in relationships means addressing fundamental issues in a new way and inevitably requires significant movement from all sides. This document is not a rigid blueprint to be imposed but both Governments believe it sets out a realistic and balanced framework for agreement which could be achieved, with flexibility and goodwill on all sides, in comprehensive negotiations with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland. In this spirit, both Governments offer this document for consideration and accordingly strongly commend it to the parties, the people in the island of Ireland and more widely.

9. The primary objective of both Governments in their approach to Northern Ireland is to promote and establish agreement among the people of the island of Ireland, building on the Joint Declaration. To this end they will both deploy their political resources with the aim of securing a new and comprehensive agreement involving the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland and commanding the widest possible support.
10. They take as guiding principles for their co-operation in search of this agreement:
 - (i) the principle of self-determination, as set out in the Joint Declaration;
 - (ii) that the consent of the governed is an essential ingredient for stability in any political arrangement;
 - (iii) that agreement must be pursued and established by exclusively democratic, peaceful means, without resort to violence or coercion;
 - (iv) that any new political arrangements must be based on full respect for, and protection and expression of, the rights and identities of both traditions in Ireland and even-handedly afford both communities in Northern Ireland parity of esteem and treatment, including equality of opportunity and advantage.

11. They acknowledge that in Northern Ireland, unlike the situation which prevails elsewhere throughout both islands, there is a fundamental absence of consensus about constitutional issues. There are deep divisions between the members of the two main traditions living there over their respective senses of identity and allegiance, their views on the present status of Northern Ireland and their vision of future relationships in Ireland and between the two islands. However, the two Governments also recognise that the large majority of people, in both parts of Ireland, are at one in their commitment to the democratic process and in their desire to resolve political differences by peaceful means.
12. In their search for political agreement, based on consent, the two Governments are determined to address in a fresh way all of the relationships involved. Their aim is to overcome the legacy of division by reconciling the rights of both traditions in the fullest and most equitable manner. They will continue to work towards and encourage the achievement of agreement, so as to realise the goal set out in the statement of 26 March 1991 of "a new beginning for relationships within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands".
13. The two Governments will work together with the parties to achieve a comprehensive accommodation, the implementation of which would include interlocking and mutually supportive institutions across the three strands, including:
 - (a) structures within Northern Ireland (paragraphs 22 and 23)-to enable elected representatives in Northern Ireland to exercise shared administrative and legislative control over all those matters that can be agreed across both communities and which can most effectively and appropriately be dealt with at that level;
 - (b) North/South institutions (paragraphs 24-38)-with clear identity and purpose, to enable representatives of democratic institutions, North and South, to enter into new, co-operative and constructive relationships; to promote agreement among the people of the island of Ireland; to

carry out on a democratically accountable basis delegated executive, harmonising and consultative functions over a range of designated matters to be agreed; and to serve to acknowledge and reconcile the rights, identities and aspirations of the two major traditions;

(c) East-West structures (paragraphs 39-49) -to enhance the existing basis for co-operation between the two Governments, and to promote, support and underwrite the fair and effective operation of the new arrangements.

Constitutional Issues

14. Both Governments accept that agreement on an overall settlement requires, *inter alia*, a balanced accommodation of the differing views of the two main traditions on the constitutional issues in relation to the special position of Northern Ireland.

15. Given the absence of consensus and depth of divisions between the two main traditions in Northern Ireland, the two Governments agree that such an accommodation will involve an agreed new approach to the traditional constitutional doctrines on both sides. This would be aimed at enhancing and codifying the fullest attainable measure of consent across both traditions in Ireland and fostering the growth of consensus between them.

16. In their approach to Northern Ireland they will apply the principle of self-determination by the people of Ireland on the basis set out in the Joint Declaration: the British Government recognise that it is for the people of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish; the Irish Government accept that the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.

17. New arrangements should be in accordance with the commitments in the Anglo-Irish Agreement and in the Joint Declaration. They should acknowledge that it would be wrong to make any change in the status of Northern Ireland save with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. If in future a majority of the people there wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, the two Governments will introduce and support legislation to give effect to that wish.
18. Both Governments recognise that Northern Ireland's current constitutional status reflects and relies upon the present wish of a majority of its people. They also acknowledge that at present a substantial minority of its people wish for a united Ireland. Reaffirming the commitment to encourage, facilitate and enable the achievement of agreement over a period among all the people who inhabit the island, they acknowledge that the option of a sovereign united Ireland does not command the consent of the unionist tradition, nor does the existing status of Northern Ireland command the consent of the nationalist tradition. Against this background, they acknowledge the need for new arrangements and structures — to reflect the reality of diverse aspirations, to reconcile as fully as possible the rights of both traditions, and to promote co-operation between them, so as to foster the process of developing agreement and consensus between all the people of Ireland.
19. They agree that future arrangements relating to Northern Ireland, and Northern Ireland's wider relationships, should respect the full and equal legitimacy and worth of the identity, sense of allegiance, aspiration and ethos of both the unionist and nationalist communities there. Consequently, both Governments commit themselves to the principle that institutions and arrangements in Northern Ireland and North/South institutions should afford both communities secure and satisfactory political, administrative and symbolic expression and protection. In particular, they commit themselves to entrenched provisions guaranteeing equitable and effective participation for whichever community finds itself in a minority position by reference to the Northern Ireland framework, or the wider Irish framework, as the case may be,

consequent upon the operation of the principle of consent.

20. The British Government reaffirm that they will uphold the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland on the issue of whether they prefer to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland. On this basis, they reiterate that they have no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. For as long as the democratic wish of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change in its present status, the British Government pledge that their jurisdiction there will be exercised with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people of Northern Ireland in their diversity. It will be founded on the principles outlined in the previous paragraph with emphasis on full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights and freedom from discrimination for all citizens, on parity of esteem, and on just and equal treatment for the identity, ethos and aspirations of both communities. The British Government will discharge their responsibilities in a way which does not prejudice the freedom of the people of Northern Ireland to determine, by peaceful and democratic means, its future constitutional status, whether in remaining a part of the United Kingdom or in forming part of a united Ireland. They will be equally cognizant of either option and open to its democratic realisation, and will not impede the latter option, their primary interest being to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among the people who inhabit the island. This new approach for Northern Ireland, based on the continuing willingness to accept the will of a majority of the people there, will be enshrined in British constitutional legislation embodying the principles and commitments in the Joint Declaration and Framework Document, either by amendment of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 or by its replacement by appropriate new legislation, and appropriate new provisions entrenched by Agreement.
21. As part of an agreement confirming the foregoing understanding between the two Governments on constitutional issues, the Irish Government will introduce and support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution to implement the commitments in the Joint Declaration. These changes in the Irish Constitution will fully

reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland and demonstrably be such that no territorial claim of right to jurisdiction over Northern Ireland contrary to the will of a majority of its people is asserted, while maintaining the existing birthright of everyone born in either jurisdiction in Ireland to be part, as of right, of the Irish nation. They will enable a new Agreement to be ratified which will include, as part of a new and equitable dispensation for Northern Ireland embodying the principles and commitments in the Joint Declaration and this Framework Document, recognition by both Governments of the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its constitutional status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union or a sovereign united Ireland.

Structures in Northern Ireland

22. Both Governments recognise that new political structures within Northern Ireland must depend on the co-operation of elected representatives there. They confirm that cross-community agreement is an essential requirement for the establishment and operation of such structures. They strongly favour and will support provision for cross-community consensus in relation to decisions affecting the basic rights, concerns and fundamental interests of both communities, for example on the lines adumbrated in Strand 1 discussions in the 1992 round-table talks.
23. While the principles and overall context for such structures are a recognised concern of both Governments in the exercise of their respective responsibilities, they consider that the structures themselves would be most effectively negotiated, as part of a comprehensive three-stranded process, in direct dialogue involving the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland who would be called upon to operate them.

North/South Institutions

24. Both Governments consider that new institutions should be created

to cater adequately for present and future political, social and economic inter-connections on the island of Ireland, enabling representatives of the main traditions, North and South, to enter agreed dynamic, new, co-operative and constructive relationships.

25. Both Governments agree that these institutions should include a North/South body involving Heads of Department on both sides and duly established and maintained by legislation in both sovereign Parliaments. This body would bring together these Heads of Department representing the Irish Government and new democratic institutions in Northern Ireland, to discharge or oversee delegated executive, harmonising or consultative functions, as appropriate, over a range of matters which the two Governments designate in the first instance in agreement with the parties or which the two administrations, North and South, subsequently agree to designate. It is envisaged that, in determining functions to be discharged or overseen by the North/South body, whether by executive action, harmonisation or consultation, account will be taken of:

- (i) the common interest in a given matter on the part of both parts of the island; or
- (ii) the mutual advantage of addressing a matter together; or
- (iii) the mutual benefit which may derive from it being administered by the North/South body; or
- (iv) the achievement of economies of scale and the avoidance of unnecessary duplication of effort.

In relevant posts in each of the two administrations participation in the North/South body would be a duty of service. Both Governments believe that the legislation should provide for a clear institutional identity and purpose for the North/South body. It would also establish the body's terms of reference, legal status and arrangements for political, legal, administrative and financial accountability. The North/South body could operate through, or oversee, a range of functionally-related subsidiary bodies or other

entities established to administer designated functions on an all-island or cross-border basis.

26. Specific arrangements would need to be developed to apply to EU matters. Any EU matter relevant to the competence of either administration could be raised for consideration in the North/South body. Across all designated matters and in accordance with the delegated functions, both Governments agree that the body will have an important role, with their support and co-operation and in consultation with them, in developing on a continuing basis an agreed approach for the whole island in respect of the challenges and opportunities of the European Union. In respect of matters designated at the executive level, which would include all EC programmes and initiatives to be implemented on a cross-border or island-wide basis in Ireland, the body itself would be responsible, subject to the Treaty obligations of each Government, for the implementation and management of EC policies and programmes on a joint basis. This would include the preparation, in consultation with the two Governments, of joint submissions under EC programmes and initiatives and their joint monitoring and implementation, although individual projects could be implemented either jointly or separately.
27. Both Governments envisage regular and frequent meetings of the North/South body:
 - to discharge the functions agreed for it in relation to a range of matters designated for treatment on an all-Ireland or cross-border basis;
 - to oversee the work of subsidiary bodies.
28. The two Governments envisage that legislation in the sovereign Parliaments should designate those functions which should, from the outset, be discharged or overseen by the North/South body; and they will seek agreement on these, as on other features of North/South arrangements, in discussion with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland. It would also be open to the North/South body to recommend to the respective

administrations and legislatures for their consideration that new functions should be designated to be discharged or overseen by that body; and to recommend that matters already designated should be moved on the scale between consultation, harmonisation and executive action. Within those responsibilities transferred to new institutions in Northern Ireland, the British Government have no limits of their own to impose on the nature and extent of functions which could be agreed for designation at the outset or, subsequently, between the Irish Government and the Northern Ireland administration. Both Governments expect that significant responsibilities, including meaningful functions at executive level, will be a feature of such agreement. The British Government believe that, in principle, any function devolved to the institutions in Northern Ireland could be so designated, subject to any necessary savings in respect of the British Government's powers and duties, for example to ensure compliance with EU and international obligations. The Irish Government also expect to designate a comparable range of functions.

29. Although both Governments envisage that representatives of North and South in the body could raise for discussion any matter of interest to either side which falls within the competence of either administration, it is envisaged, as already mentioned, that its designated functions would fall into three broad categories:

consultative: the North/South body would be a forum where the two sides would consult on any aspect of designated matters on which either side wished to hold consultations. Both sides would share a duty to exchange information and to consult about existing and future policy, though there would be no formal requirement that agreement would be reached or that policy would be harmonised or implemented jointly, but the development of mutual understanding or common or agreed positions would be the general goal;

harmonising: in respect of these designated responsibilities there would be, in addition to the duty to exchange information and to consult on the formulation of policy, an obligation on both sides to use their best endeavours to reach agreement on a

common policy and to make determined efforts to overcome any obstacles in the way of that objective, even though its implementation might be undertaken by the two administrations separately;

executive: in the case of these designated responsibilities the North/South body would itself be directly responsible for the establishment of an agreed policy and for its implementation on a joint basis. It would however be open to the body, where appropriate, to agree that the implementation of the agreed policy would be undertaken either by existing bodies, acting in an agency capacity, whether jointly or separately, North and South, or by new bodies specifically created and mandated for this purpose.

30. In this light, both Governments are continuing to give consideration to the range of functions that might, with the agreement of the parties, be designated at the outset and accordingly they will be ready to make proposals in that regard in future discussions with the relevant Northern Ireland parties.
31. By way of illustration, it is intended that these proposals would include at the executive level a range of functions, clearly defined in scope, from within the following broad categories:
 - sectors involving a natural or physical all-Ireland framework;
 - EC programmes and initiatives;
 - marketing and promotion activities abroad; and
 - culture and heritage.
32. Again, by way of illustration, the Governments would make proposals at the harmonising level for a broader range of functions, clearly defined in scope (including, as appropriate, relevant EU aspects), from within the following categories:

aspects of-

agriculture and fisheries;
industrial development;
consumer affairs;
transport;
energy;
trade;
health;
social welfare;
education; and
economic policy.

33. By way of example, the category of agriculture and fisheries might include agricultural and fisheries research, training and advisory services, and animal welfare; health might include co-operative ventures in medical, paramedical and nursing training, cross-border provision of hospital services and major emergency/accident planning; and education might include mutual recognition of teacher qualifications, co-operative ventures in higher education, in teacher training, in education for mutual understanding and in education for specialised needs.
34. The Governments also expect that a wide range of functions would be designated at the consultative level.
35. Both Governments envisage that all decisions within the body would be by agreement between the two sides. The Heads of Department on each side would operate within the overall terms of reference mandated by legislation in the two sovereign Parliaments. They would exercise their powers in accordance with the rules for democratic authority and accountability for this

function in force in the Oireachtas and in new institutions in Northern Ireland. The operation of the North/South body's functions would be subject to regular scrutiny in agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland and the Oireachtas respectively.

36. Both Governments expect that there would be a Parliamentary Forum, with representatives from agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland and members of the Oireachtas, to consider a wide range of matters of mutual interest.
37. Both Governments envisage that the framework would include administrative support staffed jointly by members of the Northern Ireland Civil Service and the Irish Civil Service. They also envisage that both administrations will need to arrange finance for the North/South body and its agencies on the basis that these constitute a necessary public function.
38. Both Governments envisage that this new framework should serve to help heal the divisions among the communities on the island of Ireland; provide a forum for acknowledging the respective identities and requirements of the two major traditions; express and enlarge the mutual acceptance of the validity of those traditions; and promote understanding and agreement among the people and institutions in both parts of the island. The remit of the body should be dynamic, enabling progressive extension by agreement of its functions to new areas. Its role should develop to keep pace with the growth of harmonisation and with greater integration between the two economies.

East-West Structures

39. Both Governments envisage a new and more broadly-based Agreement, developing and extending their co-operation, reflecting the totality of relationships between the two islands, and dedicated to fostering co-operation, reconciliation and agreement in Ireland at all levels.
40. They intend that under such a new Agreement a standing

Intergovernmental Conference will be maintained, chaired by the designated Irish Minister and by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. It would be supported by a Permanent Secretariat of civil servants from both Governments.

41. The Conference will be a forum through which the two Governments will work together in pursuance of their joint objectives of securing agreement and reconciliation amongst the people of the island of Ireland and of laying the foundations for a peaceful and harmonious future based on mutual trust understanding between them.
42. The Conference will provide a continuing institutional expression for the Irish Government's recognised concern and role in relation to Northern Ireland. The Irish Government will put forward views and proposals on issues falling within the ambit of the new Conference or involving both Governments, and determined efforts will be made to resolve any differences between the two Governments. The Conference will be the principal instrument for an intensification of the co-operation and partnership between both Governments, with particular reference to the principles contained in the Joint Declaration, in this Framework Document and in the new Agreement, on a wide range of issues concerned with Northern Ireland and with the relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland. It will facilitate the promotion of lasting peace, stability, justice and reconciliation among the people of the island of Ireland and maintenance of effective security co-operation between the two Governments.
43. Both Governments believe that there should also be provision in the Agreement for developing co-operation between the two Governments and both islands on a range of "East-West" issues and bilateral matters of mutual interest not covered by other specific arrangements, either through the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council, the Conference or otherwise.
44. Both Governments accept that issues of law and order in Northern Ireland are closely intertwined with the issues of political consensus. For so long as these matters are not devolved, it will

be for the Governments to consider ways in which a climate of peace, new institutions and the growth of political agreement may offer new possibilities and opportunities for enhancing community identification with policing in Northern Ireland, while maintaining the most effective possible deployment of the resources of each Government in their common determination to combat crime and prevent any possible recourse to the use or threat of violence for political ends, from any source whatsoever.

45. The Governments envisage that matters for which responsibility is transferred to new political institutions in Northern Ireland will be excluded from consideration in the Conference, except to the extent that the continuing responsibilities of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland are relevant, or that cross-border aspects of transferred issues are not otherwise provided for, or in the circumstances described in the following paragraph.

46. The Intergovernmental Conference will be a forum for the two Governments jointly to keep under review the workings of the Agreement and to promote, support and underwrite the fair and effective operation of all its provisions and the new arrangements established under it. Where either Government considers that any institution, established as part of the overall accommodation, is not properly functioning within the Agreement or that a breach of the Agreement has otherwise occurred, the Conference shall consider the matter on the basis of a shared commitment to arrive at a common position or, where that is not possible, to agree a procedure to resolve the difference between them. If the two Governments conclude that a breach has occurred in any of the above circumstances, either Government may make proposals for remedy and adequate measures to redress the situation shall be taken. However, each Government will be responsible for the implementation of such measures of redress within its own jurisdiction. There would be no derogation from the sovereignty of either Government; each will retain responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction.

47. In the event that devolved institutions in Northern Ireland ceased to operate, and direct rule from Westminster was reintroduced,

the British Government agree that other arrangements would be made to implement the commitment to promote co-operation at all levels between the people, North and South, representing both traditions in Ireland, as agreed by the two Governments in Joint Declaration, and to ensure that the co-operation that had been developed through the North/South body be maintained.

48. Both Governments envisage that representatives of agreed political institutions in Northern Ireland may be formally associated with the work of the Conference, in a manner and to an extent to be agreed by both Governments after consultation with them. This might involve giving them advance notice of what is to be discussed in the Conference, enabling them to express views to either Government and inviting them to participate in various aspects of the work of the Conference. Other more structured arrangements could be devised by agreement.
49. The Conference will also be a framework for consultation and coordination between both Governments and the new North/South institutions, where the wider role of the two Governments is particularly relevant to the work of those institutions, for example in a co-ordinated approach on EU issues. It would be for consideration by both Governments, in consultation with the relevant parties in the North, or with the institutions after they have been established, whether to achieve this through formal or ad hoc arrangements.

Protection of Rights

50. There is a large body of support, transcending the political divide, for the comprehensive protection and guarantee of fundamental human rights. Acknowledging this, both Governments envisage that the arrangements set out in this Framework Document will be complemented and underpinned by an explicit undertaking in the Agreement on the part of each Government, equally, to ensure in its jurisdiction in the island of Ireland, in accordance with its constitutional arrangements, the systematic and effective protection of common specified civil, political, social and cultural

rights. They will discuss and seek agreement with the relevant political parties in Northern Ireland as to what rights should be so specified and how they might best be further protected, having regard to each Government's overall responsibilities including its international obligations. Each Government will introduce appropriate legislation in its jurisdiction to give effect to any such measure of agreement.

51. In addition, both Governments would encourage democratic representatives from both jurisdictions in Ireland to adopt a Charter or Covenant, which might reflect and endorse agreed measures for the protection of the fundamental rights of everyone living in Ireland. It could also pledge a commitment to mutual respect and to the civil rights and religious liberties of both communities, including:
 - the right of free political thought,
 - the right to freedom and expression of religion,
 - the right to pursue democratically national and political aspirations,
 - the right to seek constitutional change by peaceful and legitimate means,
 - the right to live wherever one chooses without hindrance,
 - the right to equal opportunity in all social and economic activity, regardless of class, creed, gender or colour.
52. This Charter or Covenant might also contain a commitment to the principle of consent in the relationships between the two traditions in Ireland. It could incorporate also an enduring commitment on behalf of all the people of the island to guarantee and protect the rights, interests, ethos and dignity of the unionist community in any all-Ireland framework that might be developed with consent in the future, to at least the same extent as provided for the nationalist community in the context of Northern Ireland

under the structures and provisions of the new Agreement.

53. The Covenant might also affirm on behalf of all traditions in Ireland a solemn commitment to the exclusively peaceful resolution of all differences between them including in relation to all issues of self-determination, and a solemn repudiation of all recourse to violence between them for any political end or purpose.

Conclusion

54. Both Governments agree that the issues set out in this Framework Document should be examined in the most comprehensive attainable negotiations with democratically mandated political parties in Northern Ireland which abide exclusively by peaceful means and wish to join in dialogue on the way ahead.
55. Both Governments intend that the outcome of these negotiations will be submitted for democratic ratification through referendums, North and South.
56. Both Governments believe that the present climate of peace, which owes much to the imagination, courage and steadfastness of all those who have suffered from violence, offers the best prospect for the Governments and the parties in Northern Ireland to work to secure agreement and consent to a new political accommodation. To accomplish that would be an inestimable prize for all, and especially for people living in Northern Ireland, who have so much to gain from such an accommodation, in which the divisions of the past are laid aside for ever and differences are resolved by exclusively political means. Both Governments believe that a new political dispensation, such as they set out in this Framework Document, achieved through agreement and reconciliation and founded on the principle of consent, would achieve that objective and transform relationships in Northern Ireland, in the island of Ireland and between both islands.
57. With agreement, co-operation to the mutual benefit of all living

in Ireland could develop without impediment, attaining its full potential for stimulating economic growth and prosperity. New arrangements could return power, authority and responsibility to locally-elected representatives in Northern Ireland on a basis acceptable to both sides of the community, enabling them to work together for the common welfare and interests of all the community. The diversity of identities and allegiances could be regarded by all as a source of mutual enrichment, rather than a threat to either side. The divisive issue of sovereignty might cease to be symbolic of the domination of one community over another. It would instead be for decision under agreed ground-rules, fair and balanced towards both aspirations, through a process of democratic persuasion governed by the principle of consent rather than by threat, fear or coercion. In such circumstances the Governments hope that the relationship between the traditions in Northern Ireland could become a positive bond of further understanding, co-operation and amity, rather than a source of contention, between the wider British and Irish democracies.

58. Accordingly, the British and Irish Governments offer for consideration and strongly commend these proposals, trusting that, with generosity and goodwill, the peoples of these islands will build on them a new and lasting agreement.