

**John Whyte Oral Archive of
British-Irish and Northern Irish Negotiations 1972–2006.
Breaking the Patterns of Conflict Interview Transcripts.**

P171

Descriptive Catalogue



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CONTEXT

Administrative history

The *John Whyte Oral Archive of British-Irish and Northern Irish Negotiations 1972–2006* is a collection of recorded and transcribed interviews with elites and witness seminars dealing with the process of British-Irish and Northern Irish negotiations from 1973–2006. It was created by researchers at the Institute for British Irish Studies (IBIS), University College Dublin. The archive is named to honour the role of the late Professor John Whyte as a pioneering analyst of Northern Ireland.

The archive was developed in two phases. The first, in 1998–2001, led by Jennifer Todd, recorded the recollections, perceptions and insights of key participants in the talks process that led ultimately to the Good Friday Agreement. This initiative was made possible by generous financial assistance from the John Whyte Trust Fund and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust.

The second, led by John Coakley and Jennifer Todd, and conducted between 2007–2011, is a much more extensive collection of interviews and witness seminars, primarily with British and Irish politicians and officials who had participated in British-Irish negotiations from 1973–2006. This project, entitled *Breaking Patterns of Conflict: The Irish State, the British Dimension and the Northern Ireland Conflict*, was funded by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (see www.ucd.ie/ibis/research/previousresearch/bps/). It focussed on British-Irish negotiations and on the senior politicians and officials who conducted them. It involved recording the reflections on the process of British-Irish negotiations of those involved in defining moments of those negotiations from the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 to the St Andrews Agreement of 2006. Research fellows and interviewers, together with Coakley and Todd, included Christopher Farrington, Michael Anderson, Susan McDermott and Robert Mauro, who with Dara Gannon, Ricki Schoen, and others helped in the task of editing transcripts and ensuring they were approved by the participants.

The resulting collection of transcriptions is distinctive in its focus on the negotiations that reshaped the British-Irish relationship and underlie the Northern Ireland peace process. It thus complements other important initiatives, which have focussed for example on negotiations with republicans (the Brendan Duddy archive at NUIG). From the beginning the project directors decided not to focus on security matters.

The *Breaking Patterns of Conflict* project ended in 2011, having fully met its objectives of documenting the perspectives and perceptions of those who engaged in the major British-Irish negotiations from 1973–2006. The final editing of transcripts and participants' approval was completed and agreed by 2018.

Archival history

The transcripts of thirty-four interviews from Phase 2 of the project were deposited in UCD Archives in 2018 by Professor Jennifer Todd and Professor John Coakley, UCD School of Politics and International Relations. Administrative assistance was provided by Ms Ricki Schoen, UCD Humanities Institute.

CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

Scope and content

The transcripts record the memories of thirty-four of the central participants in the various rounds of negotiations, their recollections of events, and their interpretations of motivations in the run-up to the Good Friday Agreement (1998). The project leaders note that 'It is now clear to us that the archive provides a benchmark of the evolving aims, principles and *foci* of disagreement between 1973–2006, of particular value to present and future researchers when the trajectory of British-Irish and Northern Irish relations appears less positive. It shows how elites in past decades framed their strategies and assumptions, and shows what did and didn't work in the past'.

Topics covered include: Sunningdale Agreement (1973), Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985); Good Friday Agreement (1998); St Andrews Agreement (2006), the negotiations leading up to them and their effects; New Ireland Forum (1983–84); Downing Street Declaration (1993); British and Unionist reaction to the Anglo-Irish Agreement; impact of Anglo-Irish Agreement on IRA; post-Good Friday Agreement social and political climate in Northern-Ireland; the Northern Ireland Office; Irish civil service/Northern Irish Office relations; Northern Ireland Office relations with Unionists; Conservative/Unionist relations; the role of the Irish Foreign Minister in Northern Ireland; Belfast/London political relations over time; changing British/Irish relations; Fine Gael/Fianna Fáil relations with regard to Northern Ireland; political dynamics within coalition governments; differing roles and approaches of British Prime Ministers in Northern Ireland; Conservative and UK Labour Party internal divisions; the role of the EEC/EU; European Convention on Human Rights and its relationship with domestic policy in the Sunningdale negotiations; Northern Irish education system; perspectives on the British Army; prison policy; equality and human rights agenda; origins of the Troubles; extradition in the early 1970s; student politics and the civil rights movement; relationship between socialist politics and the SDLP; Alliance Party and its position in Northern Irish politics in the 1970s; Sinn Féin and IRA's relationship with civil rights movement; Bloody Sunday; splits in the IRA (Provision/Official); hunger strikes; Wilson's 'Notorious Sponger's' speech (broadcast 25 May 1974); comparing RUC and Gardaí; cross-border economic co-operation; relations with Ian Paisley and other members of the DUP; direct rule and its impact; NORaid; Irish-American Lobby and tensions within it; Clinton administration and US involvement; Adams/Hume talks; role of Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in fostering communication between groups; trust-building between Unionists/Nationalist in Northern Ireland; Anglo-Irish Secretariat; relationship between Irish state and northern nationalists/unionists; evolution of security in Northern Ireland (army/police relations, reform of police force); parades/Parades Commission.

System of arrangement

The transcripts are arranged in alphabetical order by name of interviewee.

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CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE

Access:	Available by appointment to holders of a UCD Archives reader's ticket. Produced for consultation in digital format. Copying is prohibited.
Language:	English
Finding aid:	Descriptive catalogue

DESCRIPTION CONTROL

Archivist's note

Descriptive catalogue prepared by Kate Manning, May 2018.

ALLIED MATERIALS

Allied collections in UCDA

P215 Papers of Garret FitzGerald
P205 Papers of Dr P.J. Hillery
P175 Papers of T.K. Whitaker
P270 Papers of Professor James Dooge

Publication note

Coakley, J. and Todd, J. (eds.). *Breaking Patterns of Conflict in Northern Ireland: Britain, Ireland and the Northern Ireland Question* (Routledge, 2014)

Seven international journal articles and several book chapters using material from the project have been published individually by Coakley and by Todd, for example in *West European Politics*, 2011, *Parliamentary Affairs* 2011, *Political Studies*, 2014; 2 articles in *Irish Political Studies* 2014; *Parliamentary Affairs* 2017; *Irish Studies Review* 2017, and *inter alia* in Manchester University Press books edited by Aughey and Gormley Heenan (2011) and McCann and McGrattan (2017).

Interview Transcripts

The date given is the date of the interview, location is where the interview took place and the number of pages is the length of the transcript. Of the thirty-five transcripts included, the majority are based on interviews which took place from 2007–2011. The only exception is that of Declan O'Donovan, whose initial interview took place in 2015, with supplementary questions and answers in 2018.

- P171/1** 12 June 2009
- 17pp
- Interviewee: **David Andrews** (b.1935)
Position: Fianna Fáil TD (1977–2002); Minister for Foreign Affairs (1997–2000); Negotiator with Bertie Ahern.
Interviewer: Michael Anderson
Location: University College Dublin
Key themes: Good Friday negotiations; Northern Ireland Office; role of Irish Foreign Minister in Northern Ireland; East Timor; current political climate in the North.
- P171/2** 1 January 2007
- 26pp
- Interviewee: **Peter Barry** (1928–2016)
Position: Fine Gael TD (1969–97); Minister for Foreign Affairs (1982–87).
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington and Susan McDermott
Location: Cork
Key themes: New Ireland Forum; Anglo-Irish Agreement; Fine Gael/Fianna Fáil relations with regard to Northern Ireland; EEC/EU; changing British/Irish relations.
- P171/3** 20 April 2010
- 48pp
- Interviewee: **Sir Ken Bloomfield KCB** (b.1931)
Position: Head of the Northern Ireland Civil Service (1984–91), Permanent Secretary to Northern Ireland.
Interviewer: Michael Anderson and Robert Mauro
Location: Hollywood, Co. Down
Key themes: Life and political career; Belfast/London political relations over time; Ireland in WWII; differing roles and approaches of British Prime Ministers in Northern Ireland (Wilson, Heath, Thatcher); British Army; Sunningdale; Irish civil service/Northern Irish Office relations; British reaction to Anglo-Irish Agreement;

- P171/3 cont'd** Northern Irish education system (academic selection debate).
- P171/4** 1 July 2011
31pp
Interviewee: **Desmond Henry Browne**, Baron Browne of Ladyton (b.1952)
Position: Labour MP for Kilmarnock and Loudoun (1997–2010); Parliamentary under-Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (2001–2003); member of the Northern Ireland Affairs Select Committee (1997–98).
Interviewer: Jennifer Todd
Location: University College Dublin
Key themes: Prison investigation and review; Northern Ireland justice review; Conservative and Labour Party internal divisions; British policies on Unionism; economics of policy reform and the creation of new institutions; civic forum; 2002 suspension; equality and human rights agenda; post-agreement social and political climate in Northern-Ireland.
- P171/5** 23 January 2008
21pp
Interviewee: **Patrick Cooney** (b.1931)
Position: Gael TD (1970–77, 1981–89); Minister for Justice (1973–77)
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington
Location: University College Dublin
Key themes: Origins of the Troubles; Sunningdale; policing; Department of Foreign Affairs during office; influence of extremes within different factions; addressing insecurities in the North and spill-over insecurities in the South; political dynamics within coalition government; Fianna Fail/Fine Gael political tensions on the issue of Northern Ireland; Anglo-Irish Agreement; changes in Irish/British relations between periods of Sunningdale and Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- P171/6** 1 November 2007
19pp
Interviewee: **Justice Declan Costello** (1926–2011)
Position: Fine Gael TD (1951–69, 73–77); Attorney General

P171/6 cont'd (1973–77).
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington and Susan McDermott
Location: Home of Justice Costello
Key themes: European Convention on Human Rights and its relationship with domestic policy in the Sunningdale negotiations; extradition in the early 1970s; legalities within Sunningdale; law enforcement commission; impact of the Irish written constitution on the Sunningdale Agreement; Boland challenge; Council of Ireland; Irish government relationship with the SDLP; Irish Government/Irish civil service relations in relation to Northern Ireland; Strasbourg case.

P171/7 12 February 2009

60pp

Interviewee: **John Cushnahan** (b.1948)
Position: Member of the Northern Ireland Assembly (1982–1986); Leader of the Alliance Party (1984–1987).
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington and Susan McDermott
Location: University College Dublin
Key themes: Student politics and the civil rights movement; relationship between socialist politics and the SDLP; Alliance Party and its position in Northern Irish politics in the 1970s; British policy in the 1970s and 1980s; power sharing executive (Sunningdale); Alliance Party policies; Alliance Party relationship with different factions; impact of Alliance party on Unionist parties; New Ulster Movement; Anglo-Irish Agreement; Fine Gael position on Northern Ireland in 1990s; European Parliament; changing attitudes towards Northern Ireland in the Republic.

P171/8 16 July 2010

19pp

Interviewee: **Proinsias De Rossa** (b.1940)
Position: Workers' Party/Democratic Left/Labour Party TD (1982–2002); MEP (1989–92, 1999–2012)
Interviewer: Michael Anderson and Susan McDermott
Location: Liberty Hall, Dublin
Key themes: Housing Action campaign; Sinn Féin and IRA's relationship with civil rights movement; Bloody Sunday; splits in the IRA (Provision/Official); Irish Republican Socialist Party; Sunningdale; Ulster Worker's strike; Worker's Party; Anglo-Irish Agreement; British understandings of the Troubles in the 1980s; Hunger Strikes; 1994 ceasefire and the negotiations that led to

- P171/8 cont'd** it; Northern Ireland Committee.
- P171/9** 8 July 2010
28pp
Interviewee: **Bernard Donoghue**, Baron Donoghue of Ashton (b.1934)
Position: Head of the number 10 Policy Unit (1974–79), Life Peer in the House of Lords
Interviewer: Michael Anderson
Location: House of Lords
Key themes: Irish membership in the British Labour Party; root causes of conflict; Sunningdale; Northern Ireland Office; Whitehall's reaction to the Protestant Worker's strike'; Wilson's 'Notorious Sponger's' Speech; perspectives on British Army; perspectives on IRA; Good Friday negotiations; Magee meeting.
- P171/10** 17 June 2010
20pp
Interviewee: **Alan Dukes**
Position: Fine Gael TD (1981–2002); Minister for Finance (1982–86); Minister for Justice (1986–97); Leader of Fine Gael (1987–90)
Interviewer: Susan McDermott
Location: University College Dublin
Key themes: Personal pathway to politics; All Ireland Forum; Anglo-Irish Agreement; relationship with Sinn Féin; comparing RUC and Gardaí; Republic's political attitudes to Northern Irish tensions; local public attitudes in the Republic towards Northern Irish tensions; cross-border economic cooperation.
- P171/11** 5 May 2009
23pp
Interviewee: **Garret FitzGerald** (1926–2011)
Position: Fine Gael TD (1969–92); Minister for Foreign Affairs (1973–77); Leader of Fine Gael (1977–87); Taoiseach (1982–87).
Interviewer: Susan McDermott
Location: Ranelagh, Dublin
Key themes: Fine Gael policy in Northern Ireland over time; Fine Gael and the Ireland Act; British level of knowledge of

P171/11 cont'd

the situation in Northern Ireland; differences between Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael in the 1970s and 1980s; hunger strikes; Irish/SDLP relations; Fine Gael relations with the Unionists in the 1970s; New Ireland Forum; cross-border policing; personal stance on violence for political gain in Northern Ireland.

P171/12 5 May 2009

25pp

Interviewee: **Peter Hain**, Baron Hain (b.1950)
Position: Labour Party MP (1991–2015); Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (2005–2007)
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington
Location: Constituency Office, Neath, Wales
Key themes: Northern Ireland Office; mood in Whitehall regarding the Northern Ireland situation in 2004/2005; relations with Ian Paisley and other members of the DUP; direct rule and its impact; public opinion towards Stormont in 2006; elections 2007; Orders in Council on elimination of 11+ and ban on discrimination on sexuality for goods and services; Conservative/DUP relations; Ian Paisley Junior; decommissioning negotiations; Independent Monitoring Commission; Árd Fheis on policing; St Andrew's Agreement; role of the Irish Government; role of Jonathon Powell.

P171/13 17 January 2008

24pp

Interviewee: **Paddy Harte** OBE (1931–2018)
Position: Fine Gael TD (1961–97)
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington and Susan McDermott
Location: Dublin
Key themes: Origins of the conflict; British Army in Northern Ireland; tensions between Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael in Donegal constituency; role of Garret Fitzgerald and John Hume; Sunningdale; Anglo-Irish Agreement; prospects of a United Ireland; British/Irish relations; identity politics
Note: Mr Harte died on 9 January 2018. He was unable to review this transcript but his daughter, Mary Harte, did so before his death. She asked that it be noted that the early stages of his illness might be apparent in the interview.

P171/14 26 May 2010

22pp

Interviewee: **Geoffrey Howe**, Baron Howe of Aberavon (1926–2015)
Position: Conservative MP (1964–66, 1970–92); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1979–83); Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (1983–89); Leader of the House of Commons/Lord President of the Council/ Deputy Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1989–90).
Interviewer: Michael Anderson and Robert Mauro
Location: House of Lords
Key themes: Impact of joining the EC on changing diplomatic relations between UK and Ireland; Foreign Office involvement in Northern Ireland situation; Northern Ireland Office relations with Unionists; Conservative/Unionist relations; issues of sovereignty; Unionist reaction to the Anglo-Irish Agreement; changing electoral power of Sinn Féin post-hunger strikes; NORAIID; role of differing personalities in Good Friday negotiations.

P171/15 10 October, 2010

25pp

Interviewee: **Peter King** (b.1944)
Position: Republican Member of the House of Representatives (1993–2013)
Interviewer: Robert Mauro
Location: Telephone interview
Key themes: Personal involvement in Northern Ireland; Irish-American lobby and tensions within it (Ad Hoc Committee versus Friends of Ireland); British attitudes towards involvement of Congress; supergrass system; relations with Loyalists; Loyalist grievances; Changing relations with British embassy; relationship with Irish government; relationship with Adams; British reaction to Adams' visa; 1985 Irish government boycott of St Patrick's day parade; John Major in the US; Adams/Mayhew talks; US/Unionist relations; British interpretation of American-Irish groups; Good Friday Agreement (particularly regarding the issue of policing); role of US envoys (Haas, Reiss); Clinton's involvement/interest in the Northern Irish situation.

P171/16 27 October 2008

19pp

Interviewee: **Tom King**, Baron King of Bridgwater, CH, PC
Position: Conservative MP (1970–2001); Secretary of State for

- P171/16 cont'd** Northern Ireland (1985–89)
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington
Location: London
Key themes: Anglo-Irish Agreement; comparing the role of the Foreign Office/Cabinet/Northern Ireland Office; Intergovernmental Committee meetings; British establishment's understandings of situation in Northern Ireland; Unionist reaction to the Anglo-Irish Agreement; impact of Anglo-Irish Agreement on IRA; closed-door meetings (Irish Government/Sinn Féin, SDLP/Sinn Féin); British-Irish Parliamentary Body.
- P171/17** 1 July 2011
33pp
Interviewee: **Sir Roderic Lyne, KBE**, CMG (b.1948)
Position: Private Secretary to the John Major (1993–97) and advisor on Foreign Affairs and Northern Ireland.
Interviewer: Jennifer Todd
Location: Irish Embassy, London
Key themes: IRA message to British government February 1993 and its impact; Adams/Hume talks; negotiations that lead to the Downing Street Declaration; impact of Anglo-Irish agreement; John Major's approach to the talks; impressions of Northern Ireland office from different factions; Irish reactions to British/IRA communications; 1994 ceasefire; negotiating with the Irish government; framework document; US involvement.
- P171/18** 9 June 2010
23pp
Interviewee: **Patrick Mayhew**, Baron Mayhew of Twysden, PC, QC, DL (1929–2016)
Position: Conservative MP (1974–97); Attorney General for Northern Ireland (1987–92) Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (1992–97).
Interviewer: Michael Anderson and Robert Mauro.
Location: House of Lords
Key themes: Sunningdale Agreement (reasons for collapse); Anglo/Irish Agreement; Good Friday Agreement; relationship with Dick Spring; role of John Major; role of John Hume; decommissioning; impact of informal meetings/relations; power sharing; relations with key political parties/players in Northern Ireland (SDLP, Unionists, the DUP, Adams, McGuinness, Sinn Féin, Paisley); role of Secretary of State in fostering

communication between groups; British/Irish government relations (1987–97).

P171/19 21 May 2010

24pp

Interviewee: **David McClarty** (1951–2014).
Position: Ulster Unionist Party/Independent Unionist MLA (1998–2014); Deputy Speaker (2007–2011).
Interviewer: Robert Mauro
Location: East Londonderry Constituency Office, Coleraine, Northern Ireland
Key themes: Good Friday Agreement (its success/limitations in the years 1998–2010); Unionist perspectives on Good Friday Agreement; Policing in Northern Ireland; Sinn Féin; Sunningdale Agreement; trust-building between Unionists/Nationalists in Northern Ireland; political accountability in Northern Ireland; role of the British and Irish governments in peace process; British-Irish Parliamentary Assembly; EU role in the peace process; Northern Irish Political parties; Unionism; parades; involvement of the US in peace process.

P171/20 25 May 2010

23pp

Interviewee: Edward (Eddie) McGrady (1935–2013).
Position: SDLP MP (1987–2010; SDLP MLA (1998–2003)
Interviewer: Robert Mauro and Cillian McGrattan
Location: Downpatrick
Key themes: Republicanism; Good Friday Agreement; stance on violence for political gain in Northern Ireland; civil rights, justice and reforms (reform of education, employment, housing sectors etc.) in Northern Ireland; social democracy; Sinn Féin; Hume; North-South bodies; Stormont; Northern Ireland Office; political parties in the South and potential mergers.

P171/21 18 October 2007

18pp

Interviewee: **Liz McManus** (b.1947).
Position: Democratic Left/Labour TD (1992–2011); Deputy Leader of the Labour Party (2002–2007).

Interviewer: Christopher Farrington and Susan McDermott
Location: Dublin
Key themes: Root sources of the conflict; Good Friday Agreement; negotiations; Labour Party policy towards Northern Ireland; Celtic Tiger and its impact; Irish/British relations over time; North/South party relations post Good Friday Agreement; cross-border peacebuilding initiatives.

P171/22 28 May 2009

23pp

Interviewee: **Leslie Morrell** (b.1931).
Position: Unionist Party; Northern Ireland Executive Minister (1974); Deputy Leader of the UPNI (1974–78); Deputy Leader of negotiating team for Sunningdale.
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington
Location: Belfast
Key themes: Sunningdale; expectations/hopes for Sunningdale; decision to negotiate at Sunningdale; SDLP; personal relationships with key nationalist figures (Hume, Currie, Devlin, Fitt, Cooper, McGrady); Council of Ireland; Northern Ireland Executive; power-sharing; Ulster Unionist Council; collapse of Sunningdale; Unionist Party.

P171/23 7 July 2010

22pp

Interviewee: **Richard Needham**, 6th Earl of Kilmorey, PC (b.1942). (Sir Richard Needham)
Position: Conservative MP (1979–97); Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (1983–84); Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (1985–92).
Interviewer: Michael Anderson
Location: London
Key themes: Sunningdale Agreement; Anglo Irish Agreement (and reaction of Unionist Party); power sharing; Northern Ireland Office; importance of social and economic reforms in Northern Ireland; Northern Ireland Civil Service; Hume; United States involvement/impact in Northern Ireland; British involvement/impact; North/South relations; importance of outcome of 1992 elections for Sinn Féin/Gerry Adams; democracy in Northern Ireland; future of Northern Ireland.

P171/24 14 May 2015, 17 April 2018

36pp

Interviewee: **Declan O'Donovan**
Position: First Secretary (1983–85), Counsellor Anglo-Irish Division (1985–89), Assistant Secretary Department of Foreign Affairs/Joint Secretary of the Anglo-Irish Secretariat, Maryfield, Belfast (1990–95).
Interviewer: Jennifer Todd and Roland Gijoni
Location: University College Dublin
Key themes: Political background; Anglo-Irish relations 1970s–80s and early to mid-1990s; contact between the Irish and British governments; political division and Anglo-Irish division, Department of Foreign Affairs; Sunningdale; Hunger strikes; Anglo-Irish Agreement; Anglo-Irish secretariat, Maryfield, Belfast; Good Friday Agreement.

P171/25 23 July 2010

24pp

Interviewee: **Niall O'Dowd** (b.1953).
Position: Editor of *Irish Voice*
Interviewer: Robert Mauro
Location: *Irish Voice*, Head Office, Manhattan, New York
Key themes: Political background; role for the United States in Northern Ireland; relations with Republicans/Unionists; 1981 hunger strikes; weaknesses of Sunningdale/Anglo-Irish Agreement; Sinn Féin; political future of SDLP; shifts in government in Ireland/Britain/US that were central to peace process; decommissioning; Adams visa; Truth and Reconciliation committee; power-sharing; impact of geo-political processes on Northern Ireland; Friends of Ireland and the Ad Hoc Committee; Northern Irish process as a model for conflict resolution elsewhere.

P171/26 24 October 2007

18pp

Interviewee: **Rory O'Hanlon** (b.1934).
Position: Fianna Fáil TD (1977–2011).
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington
Location: Dublin
Key themes: Source(s) of conflict; discrimination and civil rights; IRA; republicanism; united Ireland; Good Friday Agreement; key turning points in the conflict; John Hume; Anglo Irish Agreement; New Ireland Forum;

revision of Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution; differences in Fianna Fáil/Fine Gael policy in Northern Ireland; Fianna Fáil-SDLP relations; Sinn Féin-British Irish relations from 1970s onward; British Irish Inter-parliamentary body; impact of EU on Northern Ireland; relationship between economic development and the Northern Ireland peace process.

P171/27 4 March 2011

26pp

Interviewee: **Sir George Quigley** (1929–2013).
Position: Civil Servant (lead the industrial training effort within the Stormont Administration up to 1988; was permanent secretary in several departments including manpower, commerce and finance); Chairperson of Cooperation North/Cooperation Ireland, Ulster Bank and Bombardier Aerospace; he also acted as an independent witness to weapons' decommissioning by the Ulster Defence Association in 2010.
Interviewer: Jennifer Todd
Location: Belfast
Key themes: Motivations for involvement in cross border and/or peace activity; North/South relations and increasing economic links; obstacles to the normalisation of North/South relations (especially Unionist objections to relations); cross border activity; role of civil society in conflict resolution; recommendations on the Parades Commission; relations with Loyalists.

P171/28 7 August 2008

17pp

Interviewee: **Ruairi Quinn** (b.1946).
Position: Labour Party TD (1977–2016); Labour Party Leader (1997–2002).
Interviewer: Christopher Farrington and Susan McDermott
Location: Dublin
Key themes: Source(s) of the conflict; Good Friday Agreement; North/south cooperation and the importance of North/South bodies and institutions (British Irish Inter-parliamentary Body); united Ireland; Labour Party's position on Northern Ireland; Labour position in relation to that of Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil; Labour support for SDLP; relationship between Irish state and northern nationalists/unionists; British attitude towards Northern Ireland (and how it has shifted since the start of the Troubles).

P171/29 15 December 2009

19pp

Interviewee: **Richard Ryan**
Position: Political officer, Irish Embassy in London (commencing 1983).
Interviewer: Michael Anderson
Location: Pembroke Park, Ballsbridge
Key themes: British-Irish relations 1980–late 1990s; Thatcher’s government; engaging Thatcher’s government (British MPs) on the issues in Northern Ireland; Anglo-Irish Agreement (negotiations, lead-up to the Agreement, British parliament attitude towards the Agreement); Unionist reaction to Anglo-Irish Agreement; effect of changes in Irish administration on British-Irish relations.

P171/30 16 August 2010

41pp

Interviewee: **Chris Ryder**
Position: Author/Journalist
Interviewer: Robert Mauro
Location: Belfast
Key themes: British ‘retreat’ out of Northern Ireland; secret strategies of the British government for a solution in Northern Ireland; British-Irish government communication in the years 1969–76; key turning points in the conflict; the future of the SDLP; the DUP and problems in the governance of Northern Ireland; Irish involvement in the North; relations (British and Irish governments) with the Loyalist community in Northern Ireland; evolution of security in Northern Ireland (army/police relations, reform of police force); parades/Parades Commission.

P171/31 12 May 2010

36pp

Interviewee: **Peter Sheridan**
Position: CEO, Corporation Ireland from (2008 onwards); various high-level positions) in Royal Ulster Constabulary and PSNI (1978–2003, including Sergeant, Superintendent and Chief Constable).
Interviewer: Michael Anderson and Robert Mauro
Location: Dublin 2
Key themes: Police force in Northern Ireland (and its role) from 1978 onwards, impact of legislation (Patton Commission and

P171/31 cont'd

Human Rights Act) on policing in Northern Ireland, sectarianism in Northern Ireland, relations between ordinary citizens in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, role of government and third sector in peace-building/sharing throughout Ireland, Loyalist communities in Northern Ireland.

P171/32 21 September 2010

36pp

Interviewee: **Sir Quentin Thomas** (b.1944).

Position: Civil servant; served in Northern Ireland Office (1988–98). He led the team which first met Sinn Féin following the 1994 ceasefire. He led the team supporting Ministers in the 1996–98 roundtable talks, chaired by United States Senator George Mitchell, which culminated in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.

Interviewer: Jennifer Todd

Location: London

Key themes: Northern Ireland Office and its role/position in the conflict between the years of 1998–98; Anglo-Irish Agreement; British-Unionist relations post Anglo-Irish Agreement; relations between Northern Ireland office and Unionists/Republicans; lead up to 1994 ceasefire; decommissioning; Unionists/Republicans in peace talks (demands, marginalisation); consent principle; Good Friday Agreement; constitutional talks (and lead-up) 1996/7; British policy/political changes; United States involvement/impact; implementation and aftermath of Good Friday Agreement (1998–present).

P171/33 2 September 2010

20pp

Interviewee: **Trina Vargo**

Position: Foreign Policy advisor to Senator Edward Kennedy (1987–1998); Obama campaign advisor on Irish issues; Founder and President of US-Ireland Alliance.

Interviewer: Robert Mauro

Location: US-Ireland Alliance Head Office, West Arlington, VA

Key themes: Irish-American lobby; Adams' visa; role of United States in Northern Ireland peace process; Kennedy's role; British/Irish government reaction to Adams' visa; impact of bringing Adams into process; US government contact with the Loyalists or Unionists; Niall O'Dowd (his actions, impact and role); State Department; Irish government actions; US Policy on Ireland; lessons learned from Northern Irish peace process; post-1998 period (St Andrews and Hillsborough agreements).

P171/34 22 July 2010

22pp

Interviewee: **James T. Walsh** (b.1947)
Position: Republican Member of the House of Representatives (1989–2009); member of Clinton Delegation to Northern Ireland.
Interviewer: Robert M. Mauro
Location: K & L Gates, Washington, DC
Key themes: Evolution of the conflict in Northern Ireland; role/impact of the United States in Northern Ireland; role of Congress in Northern Ireland; impact of Adams' visa decision; root causes of the conflict; US-British relations (British reaction to Adams' visa); Congress-State Department relations; Irish-American lobby, role of Women's Party in resolution of Northern Ireland conflict.