

# DERMOT

Graduates help  
lead the way  
to Peace

# WALSH

- **THE NORTH WILL NOT GO AWAY.**
- **IT WILL SAP OUR SELF-CONFIDENCE AND SELF-ESTEEM.**
- **IT WILL COMPROMISE OUR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.**
- **WE MUST FACE THE PROBLEM.**
- **WE MUST DIRECT OURSELVES POSITIVELY TO FINDING A WAY FORWARD.**
- **WE MUST SEEK FOR LASTING SOLUTIONS.**
- **WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES AS A PEOPLE, WE OWE IT TO FUTURE GENERATIONS.**
- **IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT I OFFER MYSELF.**
- **I AM PROPOSING JOINT SOVEREIGNTY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND.**

Joint Sovereignty would provide for Northern Ireland becoming an extension of the Republic of Ireland while remaining an integral part of the United Kingdom and an extension of Great Britain. Thus it would assume unique political status relating equally to both Sovereign States.

- **I NEED YOUR SUPPORT TO ADVANCE THIS IDEA IN SEANAD ÉIREANN.**
- **VOTE NO. 1 FOR DERMOT WALSH or give Walsh your highest preference.**

# DERMOT WALSH



**Dermot Walsh**

**B.A., M.B.A.,  
M.I.H.C.I.**

### **FAMILY**

Son of the late Dermot and Nina Walsh, Port-na-Blagh, Co. Donegal.

Married to Susan (née O'Sullivan) M.Soc.Sc., Dublin. Five Children.

### **EDUCATION**

Faugher, Port-na-Blagh and Cnoc an Stolaire, Gweedore, National Schools. Castleknock College, Dublin. University College Dublin, B.A. (Economics and Politics) 1964.

Hotel training—Gresham Hotel, Dublin and Bordeaux, France. M.B.A. Trinity College 1968.

### **PUBLIC AND BUSINESS**

#### **ACTIVITIES**

Vice-Chairman, Donegal Regional Development Organisation. President, Trans Ulster Tourist Association (cross-border). Chairman, Steering Committee, Donegal Archaeological Survey. Council Member, National Tourism Council of Ireland.

Director, Donegal, Leitrim, Sligo Tourism.

Member An Taisce. Donegal Historical Society. Irish Hotel and Catering Institute.

Currently—"Donegal Man of The Year".

The following as listed have made valuable contributions to the development of my proposal and are convinced of its merits, potential acceptability and likely feasibility. I wish to thank them for their assistance.

Fr. James McDyer, Glencolumbkille (Parish Priest).

Mr. Patrick Moriarty—Chief Executive, Electricity Supply Board, and Former Chairman R.T.E. Authority.

Rev. Professor F.X. Martin, History Department University College, Dublin.

Mr. Peter Carron, Insurance Broker, Dublin.

Dr. Donal O'Sullivan, Director of Radiology Richmond Hospital, Former Dean Faculty of Radiology, Royal College of Surgeons.

Mr. Tom Fanning, Department of Archaeology, University College Galway.

Mr. John McDaid, Accountant, Derry.

Dr. Frank Roche, Department of Business Administration, University College, Dublin.

Dear Fellow Graduate,

The Northern Ireland problem is a great human tragedy and there is no concerned Irishman who does not think from time to time about how he might contribute to its solution. I am a hotelier in Carrigart, Co. Donegal and have been closely involved in cross-border economic co-operation for many years. I have had close contact with people on both sides of the border, with people of varying backgrounds and political and religious persuasion. I have been long impressed by their basic decency, their concern for peace, their abhorrence of violence and their earnest wish for a peaceful solution which would ensure a better future for everyone in this island.

I have talked to many people about ways towards solving the problem and I believe that I have developed an idea which I consider to be worth debate and study. The trouble with the individual is that he or she has no forum for debate and it is for this reason that I am seeking your support for my candidacy for Seanad Éireann. I am convinced that the Seanad, not being preoccupied with party politics, is the ideal place for the study and debate of what I consider a serious, unique and highly possible alternative, to all the initiatives which have so far been taken, but have failed for one reason or another.

The proposal which I submit for your serious consideration, is one of **JOINT SOVEREIGNTY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND** (the six counties). I do not see it as a solution in itself, but as an approach to finding one. If elected to Seanad Éireann, I intend to highlight the need for such new initiatives in relation to Northern Ireland. I will contribute to the forging of a political will and resolution to find an acceptable way forward.

As a first step I will ask the Seanad to set up an all party committee to consider the proposal of Joint Sovereignty. Further work

groups might be set up to consider any other possible approaches and alternatives.

In the past University Senators have used their position to raise issues that would not otherwise be debated. I would propose to use my position as a University representative in the Seanad to raise particularly the issue of the North.

In addition, I intend to play a very active and positive role in the Seanad. I belong to the liberal democratic tradition and will support those policies I consider to be to the social, economic and cultural benefit of the people.

To do this, I need your support. On this basis, I ask you for your No. 1 vote, or if you are committed to another candidate for your highest preference.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*Dermot A. Walsh*

Dermot A. Walsh.

- **THE REPUBLIC HAS EMERGED AS A MODERN STATE.**
- **HOWEVER HISTORY HAS CAUGHT UP WITH US.**
- **NORTHERN IRELAND EFFECTS US ALL.**
- **IS THERE A WAY FORWARD?**
- **JOINT SOVEREIGNTY IS A MOVEMENT FORWARD—**
- **TO STABILITY—TO PEACE—TO A SECURE FUTURE.**
- **IT PROVIDES FOR THE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL.**
- **IT UPHOLDS THE DIGNITY OF BOTH SIDES.**

## **SUMMARY**

I propose for your consideration the concept of JOINT SOVEREIGNTY OF NORTHERN IRELAND BY GREAT BRITAIN AND THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. Let's develop it a little bit further and maybe I can convince you that this is an approach—a worthwhile and sensible approach—from which could evolve an ultimate solution. Various solutions have been proposed and promptly rejected. Why were they rejected? Because they were totally unacceptable to one or all of the parties to the conflict, I hope to persuade you that this initiative has elements within it which, for the first time would be acceptable to large numbers on both sides of the conflict and in addition, when in operation for a time, would progressively gain more and more acceptance. Rather than being seen as a solution in itself, this initiative should be viewed as an approach to a solution, which, by providing the conditions for normal and stable government, would allow for an evolution towards an ultimate solution, by means of further and as yet possibly unforeseen initiatives.

## WHAT HAS BEEN PROPAGATED SO FAR?

Various proposals have been put forward and rejected as being unacceptable to one or both sides in the conflict. They are four in number, any others being a variation or extension of one of the main four. They might be summarised as follows.

1. **Retention of Northern Ireland's Union with Britain**—Whether under direct rule, devolved government (power sharing or majority style) or total integration with Britain.
2. **A United Ireland**—Whether in the traditional sense of a 32 County Republic or on a North/South Federal basis, or a 9 County Ulster as part of a Four Province Federal type arrangement.
3. **An Independent Northern Ireland**—Presumably controlled by the Unionist majority.
4. **A re-partition of Northern Ireland**—Involving a reduction in the present six counties and a handing over of the predominantly Nationalist Border areas, and presumably accompanied by a swop or redistribution of the respective communities on both sides.

In the current situation none of the four constitute a peaceful solution. They represent victory or defeat to the interested parties. And so opinion has become polarised, politically and culturally. Unfortunately, given the interdependence of both, this in reality means Catholics/Nationalists and Protestants/Unionists in confrontation.

Meanwhile Britain and the Republic stand helplessly by, unable to come up with any meaningful political initiative which would lead to an ultimately peaceful solution. We must be prepared to match the commitment of the men of violence on both sides, if we are to find that peaceful solution.

## WHAT IS MEANT BY JOINT SOVEREIGNTY?

Great Britain comprises Scotland, England and Wales. It does not include Northern Ireland. The United Kingdom consists of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The initiative would provide for Northern Ireland continuing to remain an integral part of the United Kingdom. As such it would be an extension of Great Britain. It would equally become a part of *Ireland* and as such an extension of the Republic of Ireland. Northern Ireland would thus assume a unique political status in that it would relate equally to both sovereign states, namely Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland.

## ESTABLISHING CRITERIA TO PUT THE PROPOSAL TO THE TEST.

We have already referred to the Institutional proposals which have been put forward and rejected. While accepting the complexity of the Northern problem, and its tragic human consequences, it is necessary to formulate a set of criteria (in so far as such is possible), against which any proposal with a chance of success would have to be measured. This is done in the knowledge that some commentators would accuse us of reducing a complex human tragedy to the realms of analytical theory. Better to take such a risk, in an effort to be objective, rather than propound yet another emotive and generalised solution. The criteria which have been set are as follows.

1. Would the proposal bring about political stability and an end to the violence fairly quickly?
2. Would it allow for organic growth and would there be any chance of an ultimate solution evolving from it?
3. Would it bring about attitudinal change?
4. Would it uphold the dignity of both sides to the conflict and not be seen by either as defeat or victory?
5. Would it be capable of attracting International support?

Even a cursory measurement of the Joint Sovereignty proposal against the above criteria suggests that it has a good chance of success.

# KEY ELEMENTS IN THE JOINT SOVEREIGNTY CONCEPT

## 1. SECURITY

Security would be the responsibility of the sovereign Governments of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland. The security operation would be monitored by a joint British and Irish Army Force. The Command of such a Force to be by rotation (British—Irish) or under a permanent neutral United Nations Commander acceptable to both Governments.

The primary role of this Security force would be to uphold the institutions established under Joint Sovereignty and to ensure the stability necessary for the functioning of normal government.

## POLICE

The civil police force would be unarmed and would have no security function.

## 2. CITIZENSHIP

Residents of Northern Ireland would enjoy dual citizenship both de facto and de jure, of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland.

## 3. JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Given the necessary political will, a judicial system incorporating a Bill of Rights, would be constructed by the Governments of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland appropriate to the common good of the people of Northern Ireland, while reconciling the elements of law and order, and justice and opportunity.

## 4. DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT

Northern Ireland would have a devolved Parliament and majority based Government, both of which would be supervised by and ultimately accountable to the Parliaments of Westminster and Dublin.

This supervision would be exercised in the following manner. Parliament would have an equal number of full-time nominees appointed to it by the Westminster and Dublin Governments. These nominees would not have a right of veto. However they would have a right of veto. In order that the Democratic Parliamentary process would be allowed to function with something close to normality, such a right of veto would only be exercisable where two-thirds of the nominees were in agreement; otherwise the normal majority note of the Parliament would be decisive.

The Northern Ireland Government would have one nominee each appointed to it by the Westminster and Dublin Governments, who would act as Ministers without portfolio, without voting rights in Cabinet. Similarly the E.E.C. Commission would appoint one nominee to the Cabinet to represent the Commissions interests in Northern Ireland. These three Ministers without portfolio would exercise a veto over Government decisions, where two or more of them were in agreement. The Westminster and Dublin Governments and the European Commission would retain the right to replace any of their respective nominees.

Northern Ireland would not have any representation in the Westminster or Dublin Parliaments, but consideration should be given to increasing its representation in the European Parliament. Consideration should also be given to the appointment of an additional Commissioner by the E.E.C. This Commissioner would automatically be a resident of Northern Ireland and be appointed jointly by the British and Irish Governments.

The Northern Ireland Government would have control over all areas of social and economic activity, excepting security and foreign policy, which would remain the joint responsibility of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland.

## **5. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR NORTHERN IRELAND**

While Joint Sovereignty would ensure the conditions for normal and stable government, its success would be contingent upon the simultaneous introduction of a massive economic and social development programme for Northern Ireland. In order to achieve maximum short term impact the Governments of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland in conjunction with the E.E.C. should assemble a large scale international loan and incentive programme. The main subscribers to this programme would be the United States, the E.E.C., the International Monetary Fund, Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland. The key feature of the programme would be the immediate attraction of significant foreign investment in Northern Ireland.

The introduction of a stable political framework accompanied simultaneously by significant new investment and new jobs in Northern Ireland is the only way in which a meaningful impact can be made on its rapidly deteriorating unemployment situation, which many commentators view as being one of the root causes of the strife.

In addition, there should be a concerted, joint, and unselfish drive by both the Governments of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland to attract British and Irish firms to invest in Northern Ireland, whilst at the same time encouraging the further development of indigenous industry by means of similar investment programmes.

## **CONCLUSION**

It must be repeated at this stage, that this proposal of Joint Sovereignty of Northern Ireland is regarded as an approach to a solution and not a solution in itself. Central to its thinking must be an acceptance that institutional changes, in the right direction, will come about during the period of its operation, many of which will be unforeseen at the initial stages. These, hopefully, will evolve from changes in attitude, and the process should therefore develop its own momentum, towards an ultimate and peaceful solution based on new trust and understanding.

- **It is my claim that the above alternative has not yet been considered. Nothing like this has ever been laid before the people.**
- **It should be debated.**
- **It does offer a way forward.**
- **It can be further refined and amended.**
- **The essential concept can help to find a way to peace.**

## **VOTE NO. 1**

## **DERMOT WALSH**

**or give Walsh your highest preference.**

# WALSH DERMOT

**AREAS APART FROM  
NORTHERN IRELAND IN  
WHICH I WOULD TAKE A  
KEEN INTEREST IN THE  
SEANAD.**

- THIRD WORLD AID.
- CULTURAL HERITAGE.
- TOURISM.
- YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND  
RECREATIONAL AMENITIES.
- MARI-CULTURE (FISH FARMING)  
RESOURCES.
- MENTAL HEALTH.
- REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

# WALSH DERMOT