

1. The fundamental obstacle is continuing disagreement, rooted in the history of Anglo-Irish relations, between the nationalist and unionist traditions in the island of Ireland on what the relationship between them should be.
2. This division is reflected within Northern Ireland, which is deeply polarised between two communities with different identities and allegiances.
3. The attempted settlement of the Government of Ireland Act did not resolve the problem. By creating an area specially dedicated to a unionist majority, it denied the Nationalist aspiration. It cut Northern nationalists off from the rest of Ireland and condemned them to permanent minority status in a state which largely denied their ethos and many of their rights.
4. The resulting violence and instability has been very costly in human and material terms both within Northern Ireland and in the rest of Ireland.
5. There is an absence of agreement on political institutions either within Northern Ireland or between North and South. Arrangements must be found, which both traditions can support, and which will give the nationalist community, as well as the unionist community, satisfactory, secure and durable political, administrative and symbolic expression and protection for their aspirations and identities
6. These institutions should be based on full respect for the fundamental rights of members of both traditions. They must enshrine equal respect for the legitimacy, ethos and aspirations of both.
7. They should also remove barriers and provide for close cooperation and the development of political agreement between both parts of Ireland. They should give practical expression to the aspirations of the nationalist community in both parts of Ireland and to the totality of relationships involved.