

NORTHERN IRELAND

PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/PUS
MR GOODALL

PS/ S of S
PS/MR R ANDREW, OAB 1/56
MR BRENNAN
MR BURNS
MR J LYON

NIO

HD/RID
Dep. HD/PUSD (2)
HD/INFO DEPT
HD/NEWS DEPT
RESIDENT CLERK

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
DIO } CABINET OFFICE
PS/ NO 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

14.11.84

*Anglo Irish
Notes*

IMMEDIATE

ADVANCE COPY

GRS 1140
UNCLASSIFIED
DESKBY FCO 010900Z DEC 84
FM DUBLIN 301955Z NOV 84
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 714 OF 30 NOV 84

*2258
A move in
the wrong direction
— G02*

FOR RESIDENT CLERK
SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY
WILL BE IN DUBLIN ON MONDAY FOR THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, WE ARE
TRANSMITTING THE FOLLOWING ADVANCE TEXT OF A SPEECH TO BE
DELIVERED THIS EVENING BY THE IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER, MR PETER BARRY.
ITS THEME IS ALIENATION.

2. TEXT BEGINS:

'A WEEK AGO I ASKED THE IRISH PEOPLE TO REFLECT CAREFULLY
ON THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT AND NOT TO
SURRENDER TO THE WELTER OF NEGATIVISM THAT FOR SEVERAL DAYS SEEMED
TO DROWN OUT THE REAL PROGRESS WHICH THE BRITISH AND THE IRISH
GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE TOGETHER AT THEIR MEETING. IT IS HEARTENING TO
BE ABLE TO SAY THAT THE PEOPLE DID HOLD THEIR NERVE, THEY DID SEE
THAT, BEHIND THE UNFORTUNATE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF MR HURD,
THERE WAS MOVEMENT ON THE BRITISH SIDE SEMI-COLON CLEARLY NOT ENOUGH
BUT NONETHELESS REAL AND UNPRECEDENTED MOVEMENT. NO SINGLE GROUP
IN THIS ISLAND WAS PLACED UNDER AS MUCH PRESSURE BY THE EVENTS OF
LAST WEEK AS THE NORTHERN NATIONALISTS. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS,
THEY MAINTAINED A COURAGEOUS EQUANIMITY WHICH PUT MANY IN THE SOUTH
TO SHAME. THE NATIONALISTS OF THE NORTH ARE AFTER ALL THE
PRINCIPAL AND CONTINUING VICTIMS OF THE WHOLE TRAGEDY. YET THEY
HELD THEIR NERVE DESPITE MRS THATCHER'S AND MR HURD'S DISMISSAL OF
THE REALITY OF THEIR OWN LIVING EXPERIENCE. AND THEY CONTINUED
TO HOLD THEIR NERVE IN THE FACE OF THE UGLY TRIUMPHALISM AND
BIGOTRY OF ALL THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE UNIONIST TRADITION
EXCEPT FOR A FEW HONOURABLE EXCEPTIONS. AND THEY WERE NOT UNNERVED,
PERHAPS ALAS THEY WERE NOT SURPRISED, AT THE HEARTLESS FAILURE OF
LONDON HITHERTO TO RESPOND PUBLICLY AND DIRECTLY TO THIS REVIVAL
OF LOYALIST RACIST POSTURING, RECENTLY REINFORCED BY A REVIVAL
OF LOYALIST SECTARIAN ASSASSINATION. OVER 400 INNOCENT CATHOLICS
HAVE BEEN KILLED SINCE THE EARLY SEVENTIES FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN
THAT THEY WERE CATHOLICS SEMI-COLON THE RECENT RESUMPTION OF THIS
CAMPAIGN IS THE MOST HORRIFYING DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND
IN MANY MONTHS. ORDINARY INNOCENT PEOPLE YET AGAIN LIVE IN FEAR OF
SECTARIAN ATTACKS ON THEIR FAMILIES AND ON THEIR HOMES. NOR DID
THE NORTHERN NATIONALISTS...

SECTARIAN ATTACKS ON THEIR FAMILIES AND ON THEIR HOMES. NOR DID THE NORTHERN NATIONALISTS ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE PROVOKED BY THE USUAL BRIEFING BY THE USUAL "SENIOR SOURCES" THAT THE RUC HAD NOT NOTICED ANY APPRECIABLE RISE IN ALIENATION AMONG NATIONALISTS. MOST IMPRESSIVELY OF ALL, IN MY VIEW, THEY HELD STEADY IN SPITE OF THE NATIVE HYSTERIA OF SOME AND THE IRRESPONSIBLE MANIPULATIVE OPPORTUNISM OF OTHERS HERE IN THE SOUTH.

IT IS TO THIS FINE PEOPLE THAT I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS A FEW WORDS ON BEHALF OF ALL OF US THIS EVENING.

IT IS FIRST AND FOREMOST TO THE NORTHERN NATIONALISTS THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT MUST BE AND ARE MOST STRONGLY AND IMMEDIATELY COMMITTED. OUR COMMITMENT IS, AS I HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID, TO END THEIR NIGHTMARE AND TO END IT FORTHWITH.

TO END ALIENATION.

LIKE MILLIONS OF OTHERS IN IRELAND, IN BRITAIN AND AROUND THE WORLD, THEY MUST BE PUZZLED AT THE RESISTANCE OF BRITISH MINISTERS TO THIS WORD "ALIENATION". WE ARE TOLD THAT IT HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE BELIEF THAT THE WORD IS A TERM OF THE MARXIST VOCABULARY. THE REALITY IT DESCRIBES IN THE IRISH EXPERIENCE PRE-DATE

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MARX BY MANY HUNDREDS OF YEARS. THE ALIENATION OF NATIONALISTS TODAY IS THE ALIENATION WHICH EXISTED THROUGHOUT IRELAND A CENTURY AGO OR INDEED THREE OR SIX CENTURIES AGO. FUNDAMENTALLY IT IS THE ALIENATION EXPERIENCED BY MY OWN FATHER AND BY HIS FATHER. THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT TODAY IT IS CONFINED CLAUSTROPHOBICALLY AND INTENSIVELY TO ONE CORNER OF IRELAND AND CONFRONTED, NOT ALONE BY THE PERENNIAL DISTASTE AND CONFUSION OF LONDON, BUT BY THE SEEMINGLY IRRECONCILABLE MORAL REALITY OF ONE MILLION UNIONISTS.

WE IN IRELAND ARE ACCUSED OF CREATING ALIENATION BY SUGGESTING TO NORTHERN IRELAND THAT THEY ARE ALIENATED AS IF THEY HAD NO IDEA THAT THEY WERE. I THINK THAT ONE MUST SAY TO OUR FRIENDS IN LONDON THAT THE SUREST WAY OF REINFORCING THE FEELING OF ALIENATION IS FOR BRITISH MINISTERS TO ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE THE NORTHERN NATIONALISTS THAT THEY ARE NOT ALIENATED.

WHAT IT COMES DOWN TO NOW IS THAT, EVERY TIME A BRITISH MINISTER, HOWEVER WELL-INTENTIONED, SAYS "YOU ARE NOT ALIENATED" TO THE NATIONALISTS, THE IMPACT IS VERY SIMPLY THE SAME AS SAYING "YOU ARE NOT IRISH".

THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND FOR NATIONALISTS—THEIR EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE—IS THAT THE STATE IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS BRITISH AND IN MOST WAYS UNIONIST AND THUS, AS AT PRESENT STRUCTURED, FUNDAMENTALLY UNSYMPATHETIC TO IRISH NATIONALIST ASPIRATIONS AND THE IRISH NATIONALIST IDENTITY. AS THINGS STAND IT IS POINTLESS TO PRETEND OTHERWISE. IT IS AS POINTLESS FOR BRITISH MINISTERS TODAY AS IT WAS FOR THEIR PREDECESSOR

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IN THE 15TH, 16TH, 17TH, 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES—AND THEY TRIED HARD AND DISASTROUSLY IN EACH CENTURY—TO PERFORM SOME SORT OF TRIBAL LOBOTOMY ON A WHOLE PEOPLE BY TELLING THEM THAT THEY WERE NOT ALIENATED, THEREFORE NOT IRISH, AND THAT THEY SHOULD NOT MAKE THEMSELVES MISERABLE BY LISTENING TO PETER BARRY TO TELL THE NATIONALISTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND WHO AND WHAT THEY ARE OR WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE MADE TO FEEL AT HOME IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

IT IS A CURIOUS FACT THAT THE DISLIKE OF MARXISM, WHICH I STRONGLY SHARE, DOES NOT INHIBIT OUR BRITISH FRIENDS FROM WARNING US THAT WE IN OUR TURN MUST BEWARE OF "ALIENATING" THE UNIONIST PEOPLE. WE AGREE WITH THEIR WARNING AND WE ACCEPT THEIR TERMINOLOGY. IN FACT WE HAVE ENSHRINED THAT VERY CONVICTION AS A PRINCIPLE IN THE FORUM REPORT. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO THIS BECAUSE THE FORUM FACED UP

WE HAVE ENSHRINED THAT VERY CONVICTION AS A PRINCIPLE IN THE FORUM REPORT. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO THIS BECAUSE THE FORUM FACED UP TO THE MORAL REALITY OF ONE MILLION UNIONISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE RECOGNISED THEIR BRITISHNESS AND THEIR SENSE OF A SEPARATE AND THREATENED ETHOS AND WE ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR RIGHT TO STRUCTURES WHICH WOULD ACCOMMODATE THEIR IDENTITY AND THAT RIGHT IN AN EQUAL FOOTING.

THE REALITY HITHERO HAS BEEN THAT THE IDENTITY AND THE RIGHTS OF NATIONALISTS HAVE SIMPLY NOT BEEN ACKNOWLEDGED, FAR LESS ACCOMMODATED

THE CHEQUERS COMMUNIQUE TOOK A VERY IMPORTANT POSITIVE STEP IN ACKNOWLEDGING AS A SHARED COMMITMENT THE CONVICTION OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THAT THE IDENTITY AND THE RIGHTS OF BOTH TRADITIONS SHOULD BE RECOGNISED AND REFLECTED IN THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT.

IT IS BECAUSE THE NORTHERN NATIONALISTS HAVE DAY IN DAY OUT LIVED WITH, AND BECAUSE THEY CONTINUE TO LIVE WITH, THE DENIAL OF THEIR OWN IDENTITY AND THE DENIAL OF THEIR RIGHTS, THAT THEY HAVE IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHEQUERS COMMUNIQUE FOR THE MOST PART REACTED WITHOUT DISMAY OR HYSTERIA OR PUBLIC BITTERNESS TO RECENT EVENTS. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN DEFLECTED BY UNSETTLING PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM BRITISH MINISTERS, BY THE UGLY BUT I THINK FOOLISH TRIUMPHALISM OF UNIONISTS NOR BY THE UNEDIFYING EXPLOITATION OF THE SITUATION BY SOME POLITICIANS IN DUBLIN. THEY FEEL THAT NO OPPORTUNITY SHOULD BE NEGLECTED, LET ALONE DELIBERATELY UNDERMINED, WHEREBY THEIR RIGHTS AND THEIR IDENTITY MIGHT BE FULLY ACCEPTED AND ADEQUATELY ACCOMMODATED.

FOR MY PART AND ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT I SAY TO THOSE LONG-SUFFERING PEOPLE: NOTHING, NO POLITICAL RISK NO DEGREE OF UNPOPULARITY, NO INTERNATIONAL OR INTERNAL INTEREST, WILL PREVENT US FROM SEEKING TO DELIVER OUR SOLEMN COMMITMENT TO YOU. YOUR CALM STEADY, CLEAR-SIGHTED AND PLUCKY REACTION TO THE TURMOIL OF THE LAST WEEK GIVES US IN THE SOUTH ADDED COURAGE AND RENEWED COMMITMENT.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR ALL OF US IN THE SOUTH TO STAND SOLIDLY WITH THE NATIONALIST PEOPLE OF THE NORTH AND RECALL THE POET'S ADMONITION FROM MUCH DARKER DAYS:

"MUSCAIL DO MHSNEACH, A BHANBA."
(TAKE COURAGE, IRELAND)

GOODISON

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