Transcript by JAMES LEE of: INTERVIEW WITH THE SECRETARY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, MR. JAMES PRIOR, ON WEDNESDAY, 2 MAY 1984 INTERVIEWER (NAME NOT GIVEN ON TAPE. POOR QUALITY) Mr. Prior, following the publication of the Forum Report this afternoon, Mr. Haughey made it quite clear at a press conference in Dublin that the only solution was the establishment of a unitary state. Are you prepared to respond to the Forum Report on that basis? MR. PRIOR That is not what is in the Forum Report. It is one of the ways which is suggested in the Forum Report and the Forum Report makes clear that it is open to other discussions and other suggestions anyhow as to being the way forward, and so that is what attitude the British Government will take. We shall have to consider both what is in the document and what is said and give our views in good time. INTERVIEWER In response to a question, Mr. Haughey said: No, the unitary state was......Forum Report - the other two options, that is federation and some form of ..... control, were given careful consideration and other views were considered, but the core of it was, the way forward, the recommendation that is here in the Forum Report.

-2-MR. PRIOR Let me just preface that by saying that it is equally clear in the Forum Report that there can be no change in the constitution of Northern Ireland without the agreement of the people of Northern Ireland and that comes clearly through in a number of passages during the Report. It is quite clear and quite obvious that there can be, certainly within the foreseeable future, no agreement to a change in the constitution and therefore, really, it is far better that we should be seeking to find ways and means within Northern Ireland to improve the identity and the traditional views of the Irish Nationalists and to try to find a peaceful solution within Northern Ireland. That is what we shall be seeking to do and basing it on the openness which the Forum Report has said that it is willing to give to other views. INTERVIEWER But that suggests, Mr. Prior, that you are writing off the Forum concept, because they are talking about a framework which includes Belfast, Dublin and London. You are saying the solution still lies within Northern Ireland. In that sense, you are putting the Forum Report aside. MR. PRIOR No I am not. I have read the Forum Report very carefully indeed and it makes quite clear that the people of Northern Ireland would have to agree to any change which came about and it is equally clear that, for the moment, that agreement would not be forthcoming. That is, I think, a legitimate criticism of the Report, which goes on in a number of different ways to recognize the Britishness of the Unionists, to be very condemnatory of violence and at the same time to reaffirm the fact that consent is necessary. So there are parts of the Report which I can welcome as well as there are parts of the Report which I find in some degree disappointing.

# INTERVIEWER

On the basis of the Report, are you prepared to recommend and advise some form of conference between Dublin, London and Belfast?

### MR. PRIOR

I think that it is too early a few minutes or hours after getting hold of the Report, to be committed to give answers to that sort of question. What I have promised and what the British Government will do is to study the Forum Report very carefully, to recognize that it is the view of the Nationalist Parties in the island of Ireland; to recognize that they have found a unity in their approach which is something that we must take into consideration; but also to recognize — and for them to recognize — that we cannot move without the comment of the people of Northern Ireland, and from my experience of the past three years, and I think other peoples' experience over a number of years, the way forward must be by agreement, and we know that

agreement at the moment would not be forthcoming.

# INTERVIEWER

......you are saying that nothing can happen to the Forum Report. There can be no further consideration or debate on it. ....you say "We want nothing to do with it!"

# MR. PRIOR

No, I have not said any of those things and you must not try and put words in my mouth which I have not said. I have made it abundantly clear that we are seeking a way forward, but we know perfectly well that that way forward can only come about by agreement. If you try and force people against their will, it will simply come unstuck. So, given that we are trying to seek peace and prosperity for all the people of Northern Ireland, that the Nationalists have recognized for the first time the Britishness of the Unionists, and we recognize fully the Irishness of the Nationalists, we have to find a way within the context of Northern Ireland of trying to find a solution to our problems. That is going to be hard and difficult. If it were easy, it would have been found a long time ago, and therefore, we need to have a period of quiet discussion amongst ourselves and then we will be putting forward our views in consultation with others when the time is ripe.

# MR. PRIOR

No. I am doing no more at this stage than reiterating what is contained in the Report itself and that is that there can be no change without the agreement of the people of the North of Ireland, and that is absolutely fundamental to what is in the Report and fundamental to the British Government's position.

Having said that, we are prepared to discuss and look at any means whereby we can make some progress towards greater peace and prosperity in Northern Ireland. No-one doubts, looking at this programme, that is very much in my mind and very much my determination, but I have to be realistic about this, and I do recognize the enormous efforts that have been made by the Nationalist Parties, and that is why I am not prepared to dismiss what they have said, except insofar as I think I do have a tinge of disappointment that they have concentrated so much on the unitary state and have not recognized, I think, as fully as they should have done, what they have also said in their Report, and that is that there has to be agreement.

# INTERVIEWER

The final question, Mr. Prior. Would you in any way seek to persuade the Unionists to have a long hard look at the Forum Report with the idea in your mind that they might be prepared to move even a quarter of an inch?

# MR. PRIOR

I think, if you are fair to the Unionists, particularly to the official Unionist Party and the document they published last week, they are for the first time recognizing an Irish dimension, and it is a conciliatory document and one which I hope will be studied by everyone as a genuine attempt at least to move an inch forward.

It obviously seems to me that we have to build on that just as we have to build on the Forum Report, and that is why it is very important that there should be goodwill on both sides, and that is why it is equally important that there should not be condemnation by Britain of the Report of the Forum, and nor that the Forum should try to re-state views on an individual basis which are not really contained in the Forum Report itself.

Transcript by JAMES LEE of:

INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN
IRELAND, MR. JAMES PRIOR, ON WEDNESDAY, 2 MAY 1984

(<u>Note</u>: Name of Interviewer not mentioned on tape. Quality very poor. James Lee)

## INTERVIEWER

Mr. Prior, is this Report a constructive one or is it a missed opportunity?

# MR. PRIOR

I think it is an important document and I think that we have to study it very carefully. In some ways, I am a little disappointed with it.

# INTERVIEWER

Why?

# MR. PRIOR

I am disappointed because I hoped that it would be more forthcoming about the problems of Northern Ireland and how we deal with those problems in the short-term. It concentrates upon the Nationalist ideal - and it is a Nationalist document-of a united Ireland, but it goes on to say that that could only come about by the consent of the people of Northern Ireland, and

which we can agree and on which I hope we can, as it were, begin discussions in an open and frank manner.

# INTERVIEWER

Which direction do you want those discussions to take so that you can move forward?

## MR. PRIOR

I think they must start from the recognition in the document first of all that there can be no change without the agreement of the people of Northern Ireland and secondly, that they must recognize that the Unionists do regard themselves as being British and I think that we must then go on to say that we recognize - as we have done over the past 15 years - the fact that the Nationalists are Irish and wish to give credibility to their Irish identity, and the fact that they cannot be ignored, being 40% of the population of Northern Ireland.

# INTERVIEWER

But is there any serious prospect of progress, given the opposition from the Protestants?

# MR. PRIOR

I think that there is always room for progress, given the great difficulties that Northern Ireland has passed through over the past 15 years and whilst I do not think there can be any dramatic initiative, I think we have to go on seeking peace and seeking agreement between the Nationalists and the Unionists to find a way forward.

### INTERVIEWER

You do not accept that you continue, really, to have a stalemate situation?

## MR. PRIOR

I think there should be a period of quiet reflection and that we intend to give to the document. I think it is an
important document and one worthy of consideration and deep
concentration, and then I think that we shall be
obviously letting our views be known to the Irish Government
and we shall be letting our views be known to Parliament
and the people here; and then we shall hope, perhaps, to carry
the thing forward.

# INTERVIEWER

Do you think you will have the full support of Mrs. Thatcher in carrying it forward?

# MR. PRIOR

Oh yes. I have no doubt in my own mind that we are all seeing absolutely the same on this particular issue and I think that is an important factor for the government in the South of Ireland to recognize - or the parties in the South of Ireland to recognize - just as much as the parties in the North.

Transcript by JAMES LEE of:

INTERVIEW WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, MR. JAMES PRIOR, ON WEDNESDAY, 2 MAY 1984

# INTERVIEWER (Name not given)

Mr. Prior, to what extent is this Report of the New Ireland Forum useful in your view?

# MR. PRIOR

I think it is important insofar as all the Nationalist Parties of the island of Ireland, that is to say both the South and North, but only of course the Nationalist Parties, have come together and made an agreed report. It is also important that they have condemned violence in the most forthright terms; that they have said much more about the Britishness of the Unionists than ever before; and, of course, they have said that any change in the constitution of Northern Ireland could only come about after agreement.

I think all that is very important and of course we shall study all that and everything else very carefully indeed before jumping to any conclusions about this Report.

Where I have to say that I am a little bit disappointed is that we all know that for the foreseeable future there will be no agreement to a change in the constitution and here I think we need to make what progress we can towards a peaceful solution of the problems of Northern Ireland - and Heaven alone

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## INTERVIEWER

So where do we go from here?

# MR. PRIOR

Well, I think we just think about it; we recognize that this is an important document to be taken very seriously, and so we shall need to discuss it amongst ourselves, and then in due course I think there will be discussions between ourselves and the Irish parties or the Irish Government, remembering that this is a report of the Irish Nationalist Parties, not necessarily the Irish Government.

#### INTERVIEWER

What form do you see those talks taking and what would be the subject of them?

# MR. PRIOR

I think the subject of those talks would be not only the views put forward within the Forum Report, but also what they say in the Forum Report - that is that they are prepared to discuss other views and they are open to other suggestions that may be put forward. So I would think that all that would be properly discussed and I would have thought that it would either be at perhaps my level or between the Prime Ministers of the two countries.

# INTERVIEWER

Do you accept that to some extent the political parties in Dublin have seized the political initiative and that you

have to respond in some way to this initiative, otherwise you are seen to be left behind, shall we say?

# MR. PRIOR

I am not really concerned with that, because I desperately want to see a solution to the problems of Northern Ireland. I think the people there have suffered enormously in the past few years and they deserve a better future, a peaceful future, and that goes for Catholics and Protestants, Nationalists and Unionists alike, and so it is not a question of losing an initiative so much as trying to find a reasonable way forward. I want to try and build on any initiative ..... and what we have to do is see over the next few weeks whether we can find parts of this Forum Report on which we can find common ground. There is so much at stake. There is such an immense need to try to come together to solve these problems that one should never dismiss anything, whether it be an initiative of one's own or someone else's.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. PRIOR, NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY, ON WEDNESDAY, 2 MAY 1984

# MR. PRIOR

I think one has to understand that this is a document prepared by the Nationalist Parties of Ireland, that is, the main parties of the south of Ireland together with the Nationalist Party of the north. It does not include, of course, the views of the Unionist Parties of the North of Ireland and therefore it is not, as it were, a document prepared by all the political parties in the island of Ireland.

So, getting that into the right context, I think there are a number of points in the new Forum Report which we can welcome. There is the condemnation of violence, which is very important. There is the fact that you can only make change in the constitution of Northern Ireland by the consent of the people of Northern Ireland; and there is a recognition that the Unionists are basically British and wish to remain British.

Now, where I think I find the Report disappointing is that although it recognizes that there has to be consent before there can be a change, it then goes on to make suggestions which would, as it were, limit the consent and which could happen if there were not consent, and yet we all

considerable achievement and it is certainly one that we should in no way belittle.

Having said that, I am disappointed - as someone who wishes above all to make progress and is very open to suggestions and ways forward which will create progress and peace in Northern Ireland - I am a little bit disappointed that there seems to be so little recognition that it is not just to the form of Irish unity, but to the whole principle of Irish unity, that a quarter of the population of the island of Ireland objects, and that quarter, of course, is the Unionists.

# INTERVIEWER

The fact that all the four Nationalist Parties, as you have said, reached a consensus on the findings is quite a significant feature. Will this make it easier, do you think, for the Government to provide a sensible reply?

#### MR. PRIOR

I think it is significant that all the four parties have reached agreement on this, although of course one has to accept that all four parties have always been in favour of a united Ireland. They have perhaps differed in their approach to a united Ireland, but basically, that is what they have always wanted, unity of the island.

As far as our position is concerned, we welcome the fact - as I have said - that there has been a recognition of

the problems and, of course, we are prepared and always open to discuss these things with the government of the Republic of Ireland, but at the same time, I think that the Nationalists, in their united form, have a duty as well to try to show to the Unionists what they really mean by some of the things, some of the recognition they have given to the Unionist position in this Report.

# INTERVIEWER

Following on from what you have just said, will the Government be making any efforts towards, perhaps, a bilateral meeting to discuss the findings?

# MR. PRIOR

I have no doubt that bilateral meetings will take place and no dates of course have yet been fixed. We only got the Forum Report today. But there is an enormous willingness on the part of Britain and I think a growing willingness on the part of the Unionists, to try to come to terms with the aspirations and the feelings that the Nationalists in the north have of wishing to identify with the Nationalist Irish generally, but we have to recognize that the problems are very deep-seated and will not be easily solved.

# INTERVIEWER

In the wider context of Anglo-Irish relations in general, to what extent will this perhaps bring the two countries closer together and maybe improve the dialogue on a matter which is, of course, of great importance to both countries?

# MR. PRIOR

I always hope that this can be the case. Relationships between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland have improved dramatically in the last two years, and I believe there is a unique relationship between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland; we share a common language; we share in many ways a common heritage; we have much in common. It is certainly time that we found a way of solving our problems and, again, I welcome the recognition that there can be no change in the constitution of Northern Ireland without the consent of the people of the North. The difficulty comes in finding an acceptable means of getting agreement which recognizes that the million Protestants in the North do not wish to join the South.

#### INTERVIEWER

Looking towards American reaction to this new Ireland Forum Report, how do you think should American listeners to this interpret the Government's position on the Report?

# MR. PRIOR

I think they should interpret it as one of great understanding of the position of the Nationalist Parties; some sense of shared disappointment with Britain that the thinking about how to attract Unionists has not been carried further; and some understanding that this is a very old and difficult problem, which Britain has been seeking to resolve and working

hard to resolve over the past few years, but a recognition that without the consent and agreement of the people of the North, it really is not possible to push people against their will, and self-expression and self-determination are at the very heart of democracy and democratic principles throughout the world, and that is something that we in Britain have to respect and something which is recognized as well by the Republic of Ireland, who desperately want to see a united Ireland, but have to recognize what the facts are and those facts are that there a million who do not wish it.

## INTERVIEWER

Finally, Secretary of State, what is the next step for the Government after this initial reaction?

# MR. PRIOR

I think to consider carefully, to look constructively and reasonably at the Report; to take soundings from other people, to test the reaction; and then I hope perhaps to come out with a more considered view and in time perhaps to consider - along with other things - discussions which can help to improve the situation, because one of the points brought out in the Forum Report was that although they make certain suggestions about the way forward, they are in fact open to other suggestions, and I think we shall wish to pursue that as well.

# INTERVIEWER

Secretary of State, thank you very much indeed. This is James Lock at the Northern Ireland Office in London.

Transcript by JAMES LEE of:

INTERVIEW WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR

NORTHERN IRELAND, MR. JAMES PRIOR, ON

WEDNESDAY, 2 MAY 1984

INTERVIEWER (Name not given, quality very bad)

What is the Government's reaction to the Report of the New Ireland Forum?

# MR. PRIOR

I think one that we shall give it a good deal of consideration before jumping to conclusions about it. I think one of welcoming the fact that there is an utter condemnation of violence; that the whole principle of the consent and agreement of the people of Northern Ireland to any change would have to be forthcoming and, of course, also they do recognize - and this is very important from the Nationalist viewpoint - the Britishness of the Unionists and therefore their desire to remain part of Britain.

All that, I think, can be given a warm welcome and we shall hope to try and build on that and their openness to engage in discussions generally about the problems of Northern Ireland.

Where I think that I am disappointed is that having recognized that there could be no change in the constitution of Northern Ireland without the agreement of the people of

-3-MR. PRIOR I think that in terms of greater understanding that one must not forget that it is a preparedness to accommodate Northern Ireland within a united Ireland which of course has always been their aim. I think perhaps where they do not quite grasp the picture is when they concentrate on the sort of form of a united Ireland, as if that was the problem for the Unionists. It is not the form of a united Ireland that I think Unionists are worried about - it is much more an objection in principle to a united Ireland. INTERVIEWER Have not the Forum all the same seized the political initiative internationally by what they say? It will look very good, won't it? MR. PRIOR I think one has to view this not so much in who wrests the initiative and so on, so much as what is it likely to lead to. Is it going to lead to greater peace and prosperity in Northern Ireland? Is it going to help the British Government which is trying desperately hard over the past few years to Northern Ireland? Is it going to help bring peace to towards that end? If it is an initiative which is designed to help us and the people of Northern Ireland together with the people of the Republic to come to a situation where there is greater peace, then one welcomes it and one does not mind a bit who takes the initiative. But if it is merely a further attempt to get a united Ireland without the agreement of the

-4people of Northern Ireland, then I am afraid it is not going to help. INTERVIEWER The policy which you are pursuing has come in for immense criticism in the Report. "The inability and short-term focus of British policy" they say, "the fact that it has been confined to crisis management and does not take account of the fundamental causes is making an already dangerous situation worse." What is your reply to that? MR. PRIOR I think I must say that I resent quite a bit of the criticism which is contained in the first part of the Report. I think it is unfair; I think it is unjust. I do not think it deals with the enormous sacrifices and efforts which ..... have made in the past few years to seek to achieve some form of peace and prosperity in the province, but I think that it would be wrong if we allowed our views on that particular part of the Report to cloud the need to try to find some way forward, always recognizing that if you try to find that way forward without the agreement of the people of Northern Ireland, that it is bound to come unstuck. INTERVIEWER I think you have made it clear that the common way forward which they prefer is not acceptable to the British Government.

## MR. PRIOR

It is not a question of it being acceptable to the British Government. Itrwould be perfectly acceptable to the British Government if it was acceptable to the people of Northern Ireland. If it is not acceptable to the people of Northern Ireland, then of course it simply will not work, and it is on that basis that we have to try to find any way that we can to bring about peace that must recognize the identity and aspirations of the Nationalist Irish community.

# INTERVIEWER

But what do you say to the Report where it says that that attitude, as embodied in the guarantees of 1973 which the Unionists have, has been an obstacle to progress. It has inhibited dialogue and removed incentive to work for a political solution?

#### MR. PRIOR

I do not agree with that, because I do not believe that it is the veto or what is contained in the 1973 Act about no change in the constitution without the consent of the people is important in itself, although we have no intention of changing that particular part of the Act, because I think what really matters is whether you can get agreement or not. If you can get agreement, then you can go forward. If the agreement is not there, then it simply will not work. I have to say that at the moment, try as I do to find an acceptable way forward which recognizes a good deal of what the Forum Report is saying and yet at the same time is bound to be influenced by the facts of life in Northern Ireland, I simply do not see the basis for

-6agreement to a change in the constitution. INTERVIEWER So where do we go? Dr. FitzGerald says there is the blueprint of an agenda. Can there be a conference between you in the near future with any of this on the agenda? MR. PRIOR Yes, I think there can be. I welcome that remark and I welcome Dr. FitzGerald's attitude towards the Forum Report and all that he has said, and I think that we must seek to build on that agenda and after a period of quiet reflection, to begin discussions to see whether we can find a way forward, as long as - and I am sorry to keep reiterating this but it is absolutely vital - so long as there is agreement, because to try to do it without agreement simply will not work. INTERVIEWER Will you try to get the Unionists to go to any talks that take place with you? MR. PRIOR I think there is a greater willingness on the part of the Unionists to understand the Nationalist Irish point of view, just as that is reciprocated in the Forum Report by the Nationalist understanding of the Unionist point of view. This is all moving along. If we can get it to move along a bit faster with a greater degree of understanding between the Nationalists and

the Unionists, then of course, the British Government will do everything they can to encourage it.