

PRIME MINISTER

ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT: SPEECH IN THE DEBATE

I attach for our meeting on Sunday a revised draft for your speech in the Northern Ireland debate, taking account of points made in discussion this evening. It also incorporates some minor comments from the Northern Ireland Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

I also attach an alternative peroration by Michael Alison.

C.D.P.

CHARLES POWELL

22 November 1985

cc: Mr. Alison
Mr. Flesher ✓

AS AT 22 NOVEMBER 1985

DRAFT SPEECH FOR THE PRIME MINISTER
TO OPEN THE DEBATE
ON NORTHERN IRELAND

MR. SPEAKER, I BEG TO MOVE THAT THIS HOUSE APPROVES THE

ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT SIGNED ON 15 NOVEMBER

BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE TAOISEACH,

DR. GARRET FITZGERALD.

SINCE 1969, NEARLY 2,500 PEOPLE HAVE LOST

THEIR LIVES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AS A RESULT

OF TERRORISM , OVER 750 OF THEM MEMBERS OF

THE SECURITY FORCES.

*In the best of
the UK, affecting*

THAT IS THE STARK BACKGROUND TO TODAY'S

DEBATE.

*takes us immediately to the
historic divisions between the two communities in NI.*

WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES WHICH MAY EMERGE IN

OUR DEBATE, ^{I believe} WE SHALL ALL BE UNITED IN OUR

DETERMINATION TO END THE VIOLENCE AND TO

BRING TO JUSTICE THOSE WHO ARE GUILTY.

WE SHALL ALL BE UNITED IN OUR DEEP SYMPATHY

FOR THE THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES WHOSE LIVES
 HAVE BEEN DARKENED BY THE SHADOW OF THE
 GUNMAN *the bomber*

AND WE SHALL ALL BE UNITED IN OUR ADMIRATION

FOR THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE SECURITY FORCES *in NI and*
indeed from all parts of Great Britain,
 SO MANY OF WHOM HAVE PAID THE PRICE OF ~~our~~ *protecting us*
 FREEDOM WITH THEIR ^{own} LIVES.

BUT IT IS APPARENT THAT ANY INITIATIVE, HOWEVER MODEST,

TO BRING THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND

CLOSER TOGETHER TO BEAT THE TERRORISTS WOULD

RAISE ^{emotions} ALARMS AND FEARS ROOTED DEEP IN THE
 PAST.

I UNDERSTAND THESE ~~ALARMS AND~~ FEARS, ALTHOUGH

I DO NOT BELIEVE THEM TO BE JUSTIFIED.

FACED WITH ALL THAT WE HAVE SEEN IN THE LAST SIXTEEN YEARS, IT WAS NOT ENOUGH FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO RELY SOLELY UPON THE SECURITY FORCES, VALIANT THOUGH THEY ARE, TO CONTAIN AND RESIST THE TIDE OF VIOLENCE.

AND LET ME MAKE IT CLEAR, MR. SPEAKER, THERE CAN BE NO SUCH THING AS AN ACCEPTABLE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE, WHETHER IN NORTHERN IRELAND OR ELSEWHERE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

THE GOVERNMENT OWES A DUTY TO THE SECURITY FORCES AND TO ALL THE LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND, ^{Protestant & Catholic alike} TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER TO STAMP OUT TERRORISM.

NOT BY GIVING INTO THE TERRORIST, NOT BY
GIVING HIM A SINGLE INCH.

INDEED, THE FACT THE TERRORISTS HAVE
CONDEMNED THE AGREEMENT IS A DEMONSTRATION
THAT WE HAVE DONE NO SUCH THING.

THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM IS GREATLY WEAKENED IF THE
COMMUNITY IS DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF.
AND IT IS GREATLY STRENGTHENED IF ALL PEOPLE
COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW
CAN JOIN TOGETHER AGAINST THE MEN OF
VIOLENCE.

THAT, THE GOVERNMENT FELT, REQUIRED A FURTHER ATTEMPT
TO RECONCILE THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN
IRELAND.

THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY, FIRMLY LOYAL TO THE CROWN AND
TO THE UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTS A PROUD
TRADITION OF DEVOTION TO THE UNION WHICH
EVERYONE IN THESE ISLANDS SHOULD RESPECT -
AND WHICH THIS AGREEMENT DOES RESPECT.
THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO FEEL SECURE ABOUT
NORTHERN IRELAND'S POSITION AS PART OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM.
THIS AGREEMENT, BY REINFORCING THE PRINCIPLE
OF CONSENT, SHOULD MAKE THEM FEEL MORE
SECURE, NOT ONLY TODAY BUT IN THE FUTURE TOO.

Unionists
 THEY HAVE THE ASSURANCE THAT NEITHER A
 BRITISH GOVERNMENT NOR AN IRISH GOVERNMENT
 WILL TRY TO FORCE ^{them} ~~UNIONISTS~~ INTO NEW
 CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AGAINST THEIR
 WILL.

THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY THINK OF THEMSELVES AS IRISH
 IN TERMS OF THEIR IDENTITY, THEIR SOCIAL AND
 CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND THEIR POLITICAL
 ASPIRATIONS.

THIS HOUSE CAN RESPECT THEIR IDENTITY TOO -
 AND ^{acknowledge} ~~RECOGNISE~~ THEIR ASPIRATIONS, EVEN THOUGH
 WE MAY NOT SEE THE PROSPECT OF ~~THEIR BEING~~
 FULFILLED. *fulfilment* ☺

~~IT IS RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THESE TWO COMMUNITIES AS~~

THE ONLY LASTING WAY TO PUT AN END TO THE

VIOLENCE AND ACHIEVE THE PEACE AND STABILITY

IN NORTHERN IRELAND ~~THAT IS THE GOAL OF THIS~~

AGREEMENT *is rec. between these 2 comonits.*

That is the goal of this agreeet

WHAT THE AGREEMENT DOES

may I know

MR. SPEAKER, ~~I PROPOSE FIRST TO DRAW THE HOUSE'S~~

of the Ho.

the ATTENTION *to* WHAT I CONSIDER THE MOST

SIGNIFICANT POINTS OF THE AGREEMENT.

THE PREAMBLE SETS OUT THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED

KINGDOM AND THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO WORK FOR

RECONCILIATION; OUR UTTER AND TOTAL REJECTION

OF VIOLENCE; OUR RECOGNITION AND RESPECT FOR
THE SEPARATE IDENTITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND;
OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE RIGHT OF EACH TO PURSUE
ITS ASPIRATIONS BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

THESE PRINCIPLES REFLECT THE HOPES OF BOTH COMMUNITIES.

ARTICLE 1 OF THE AGREEMENT MAKES ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT
THERE IS NO THREAT WHATSOEVER TO UNIONISTS'
HEARTFELT DESIRE TO REMAIN PART OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM.

IT PROVIDES IN A FORMALLY BINDING
INTERNATIONAL ACCORD, A RECOGNITION BY THE
IRISH GOVERNMENT THAT THE STATUS OF NORTHERN
IRELAND WILL REMAIN UNCHANGED AS LONG AS THAT

IS THE WISH OF A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF
NORTHERN IRELAND.

IT ALSO RECOGNISES THAT THE PRESENT WISH OF A
MAJORITY IS FOR NO CHANGE IN THAT STATUS.

THERE CAN BE NO BETTER REPLY TO THE FEARS WHICH HAVE
BEEN EXPRESSED IN THIS HOUSE THAN THIS
EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMACY OF THE
UNIONIST POSITION.

ARTICLE 2 OF THE AGREEMENT ACKNOWLEDGES IN A PRACTICAL *and strictly*
defined ~~BUT LIMITED~~ WAY THE CONCERN WHICH THE IRISH
REPUBLIC HAS LONG HAD, ~~IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE~~
~~NORTH.~~ *with some matters relating to NI.*

FOR IN THE PAST THAT CONCERN HAS TOO OFTEN

BEEN EXPRESSED IN CRITICAL OR NEGATIVE TERMS
WHICH ~~CERTAINLY~~ DID NOT HELP THE CAUSE OF
HARMONY BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN
IRELAND.

ARTICLE 2, THEREFORE, ESTABLISHES AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL
CONFERENCE.

THIS WILL HAVE NO EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY, *either now or in the fut.*
IT WILL CONSIDER ON A REGULAR BASIS
POLITICAL, SECURITY AND LEGAL MATTERS,
INCLUDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, AS
WELL AS CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION *on secty, econ, soc, and
cull. matters*

THIS CO-OPERATION WILL ^{not one-way} BE A ~~TWO-WAY~~ STREET.

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO PUT ~~ITS~~ ^{forward} VIEWS AND PROPOSALS ON CERTAIN MATTERS AFFECTING NORTHERN IRELAND.

WE FOR OUR PART SHALL BE ABLE TO PURSUE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO ALL PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, NOTABLY CO-OPERATION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM.

^{within the scope of} THE MATTERS ~~OF CONCERN TO~~ THE CONFERENCE ARE SPELLED OUT IN GREATER DETAIL IN ARTICLES 4 TO 9 OF THE AGREEMENT.

I SHOULD LIKE TO DRAW THE HOUSE'S ATTENTION TO THREE PARTICULAR POINTS ABOUT THESE ARTICLES.

FIRST, THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE WILL CONCERN ITSELF WITH THE MATTERS SET OUT IN THE AGREEMENT AS LONG AS THERE IS NO RETURN TO DEVOLUTION IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

IF DEVOLUTION IS RESTORED THEN THOSE MATTERS THAT BECOME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT WILL NO LONGER BE WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE.

WE HOPE THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL ENCOURAGE THE CONSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH COMMUNITIES TO COME TOGETHER TO FORM A LOCAL ADMINISTRATION ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH.

THIS HOPE HAS BEEN SPECIFICALLY ENDORSED BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.

I WAS ENCOURAGED, TOO, BY THE REMARKS MADE IN THIS HOUSE ON 18 NOVEMBER BY THE HON. MEMBER FOR FOYLE.

MY RT. HON. FRIEND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WILL BE EXPLORING WITH THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTIES HOW BEST TO MAKE PROGRESS.

MEANTIME, THE ASSEMBLY ~~WILL, OF COURSE,~~ CONTINUES IN BEING, WITH ALL ITS STATUTORY FUNCTIONS AND POWERS.

SECONDLY, ARTICLE 8 WHICH DEALS WITH LEGAL MATTERS SAYS THAT CONSIDERATION WILL BE GIVEN TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING MIXED COURTS. LET ME SAY STRAIGHTAWAY THAT WE HAVE ABSOLUTE

CONFIDENCE IN THE JUDICIARY IN NORTHERN
IRELAND.

INDEED, THE INTEGRITY AND COURAGE WHICH THEY
HAVE SHOWN IN RECENT YEARS IN MAINTAINING
HIGH STANDARDS OF JUDICIAL IMPARTIALITY HAVE
BEEN OUTSTANDING.

MR. SPEAKER, WE KNOW THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH
WOULD BE INVOLVED IN MIXED COURTS BOTH IN THE
NORTH AND IN THE REPUBLIC.

WE RECOGNISE THE RESERVATIONS WHICH ARE HELD
BY THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

WE SEE NO EASY OR EARLY WAY THROUGH THESE
DIFFICULTIES.

Although
~~THAT IS WHY,~~ WHILE WE ARE PREPARED TO

CONSIDER IN GOOD FAITH THE POSSIBILITY OF

THEM AT SOME FUTURE TIME, WE HAVE ~~NOT GIVEN~~
made it clear that we are under
no
~~ANY~~ COMMITMENT TO INTRODUCE THEM.

THIRDLY, I DRAW THE HOUSE'S ATTENTION TO THE PROPOSALS
FOR IMPROVED SECURITY CO-OPERATION IN ARTICLE
9.

THIS PROVIDES FOR A PROGRAMME OF WORK TO BE
UNDERTAKEN BY THE CHIEF CONSTABLE OF THE RUC
AND THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GARDA TO IMPROVE
CO-OPERATION IN SUCH AREAS AS THREAT
ASSESSMENT, EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, LIAISON
STRUCTURES, TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION, TRAINING
OF PERSONNEL AND OPERATIONAL RESOURCES.

THE REALLY VITAL ELEMENT IN THIS PROGRAMME IS
FULLER AND FASTER EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION,

ESPECIALLY PRE-EMPTIVE INTELLIGENCE WHICH
HELPS TO PREVENT ACTS OF TERRORISM.

THESE, MR. SPEAKER, ARE SPECIFIC MEASURES WHICH I

BELIEVE WILL LEAD TO REAL IMPROVEMENTS -

IMPROVEMENTS WHICH WILL BE WELCOME ^{not least by} ~~ABOVE ALL~~

~~TO~~ THOSE MEN AND WOMEN WHO LIVE IN THE BORDER

AREAS AND WHO HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO SO MANY

MERCILESS ATTACKS DESIGNED TO DRIVE THEM FROM

THEIR HOMES AND FARMS.

THEY NOW HAVE THE PROSPECT OF A REAL AND

TANGIBLE IMPROVEMENT IN SECURITY.

THAT IMPROVEMENT SHOULD BE FURTHER REINFORCED BY THE

IRISH GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO ACCEDE TO THE
EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION OF
TERRORISM.

THE CONVENTION'S PURPOSE IS TO ENSURE THAT
THOSE WHO COMMIT TERRORIST OFFENCES SHOULD BE
BROUGHT TO JUSTICE ~~AND NOT ESCAPE BY CROSSING~~
~~NATIONAL FRONTIERS.~~

ARTICLE 1 OF THE CONVENTION REQUIRES

CONTRACTING STATES ^{that} ~~NOT TO CONSIDER AS~~

~~POLITICAL~~ OFFENCES INVOLVING THE USE OF

EXPLOSIVES OR FIREARMS. *shd. not be consid as pol.*

IRISH ACCESSION SHOULD GREATLY INCREASE OUR

PROSPECTS OF SECURING EXTRADITION FROM THE

REPUBLIC OF PERSONS ACCUSED OR CONVICTED OF

TERRORIST CRIMES.

THIS WILL BE A MAJOR AND WELCOME STEP FORWARD
IN THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM.

FINALLY, MR. SPEAKER, I WOULD DRAW THE HOUSE'S

ATTENTION TO THE REFERENCE IN ARTICLE 12 TO
THE POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ANGLO-IRISH

inter- PARLIAMENTARY BODY.

BOTH WE AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT FELT THAT

THIS WAS A MATTER FOR ^{our} PARLIAMENTS ^{themselves} ~~ITSELF AND~~

~~FOR THE DAIL~~ RATHER THAN FOR GOVERNMENTS TO

PURSUE.

I HOPE THAT CONTACTS WILL BE ESTABLISHED THROUGH THE USUAL CHANNELS TO CONSIDER HOW DISCUSSIONS ON A PARLIAMENTARY BODY CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY BE TAKEN FORWARD.

WHAT THE AGREEMENT DOES NOT DO

MR. SPEAKER, I HAVE TRIED TO EXPLAIN TO THE HOUSE THE

MOST SIGNIFICANT POINTS OF THE AGREEMENT.

IN VIEW OF SOME OF THE MISTAKEN CLAIMS ABOUT IT, I WANT ALSO TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT WHAT IS NOT IN THE AGREEMENT.

THE AGREEMENT DOES NOT AFFECT THE STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IT DOES NOT SET US ON SOME IMAGINED SLIPPERY

SLOPE TO IRISH UNITY.

AND IT IS NONSENSE TO CLAIM THAT IT MIGHT.

THE EFFECT OF ARTICLE 1 IS TO CONFIRM THE PROVISION IN

SECTION 1 OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND

CONSTITUTION ACT ^{of 1973} THAT NORTHERN IRELAND

REMAINS PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AS LONG AS

A MAJORITY THERE SO WISH.

THAT AGAIN IS A RECOGNITION OF REALITY.

THE GUARANTEE FOR THE MAJORITY LIES IN THE

FACT THAT THEY ARE A MAJORITY.

and that fundl. princ [is] reinforced by this Aspect...]
~~THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT MUST PREVAIL IN~~

~~NORTHERN IRELAND.~~

~~IT IS A PRINCIPLE THAT NEITHER I NOR ANY~~

~~GOVERNMENT LED BY ME WILL FORSAKE.~~

~~IT~~ IS REINFORCED BY THIS AGREEMENT.

THE SECOND THING I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR IS THAT THE

AGREEMENT DOES NOT DETRACT FROM BRITISH ~~OR~~

Sought in NI

~~FOR THAT MATTER IRISH - SOVEREIGNTY.~~

HOWEVER THIS AGREEMENT IS INTERPRETED, IT

CANNOT BE HELD TO UNDERMINE OUR SOVEREIGNTY.

WE, THE UNITED KINGDOM GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABLE

TO PARLIAMENT, REMAIN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE

GOVERNMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

YES, WE WILL LISTEN TO THE VIEWS OF THE IRISH

GOVERNMENT.

YES, WE WILL MAKE DETERMINED EFFORTS TO

ACCOMMODATE THOSE VIEWS.

BUT AT THE END OF THE DAY DECISIONS NORTH OF
THE BORDER WILL CONTINUE TO BE MADE BY US AND
SOUTH OF THE BORDER BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.
THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL POINT.
THERE CAN BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING.

THIRD, I WANT TO DISPEL THE ABSURD NOTION THAT THE
GOVERNMENT WILL LISTEN TO THE VIEWS OF THE
REPUBLIC ON NORTHERN IRELAND MATTERS, BUT NOT
TO THE VIEWS OF OUR OWN UNIONIST COMMUNITY.

THERE ARE ALREADY MANY WAYS IN WHICH THE MAJORITY
COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND CAN PUT THEIR
VIEWS TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THE RT. HON. AND HON. MEMBERS OF THIS HOUSE
WHO REPRESENT THE UNIONIST PARTIES ARE
THEMSELVES AN IMPORTANT CHANNEL.

ANOTHER IS THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY, AN
IMPORTANT AND EXPERIENCED BODY ~~WHOSE ROLE THE~~
~~GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO SEE DEVELOPED.~~

*which could
be used to
improve*

~~BUT WE ARE ALSO WILLING TO SEEK TO IMPROVE~~
~~THESE ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATION.~~

YESTERDAY I SAW A REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATION
FROM THE ASSEMBLY TO DISCUSS THIS.

AMONG THE SUGGESTIONS WHICH I MADE WAS THE
IDEA OF REGULAR MEETINGS TO BE HELD BY MY RT.
HON. FRIEND THE SECRETARY OF STATE, IN WHICH
HE WOULD INFORM AND CONSULT LEADING
POLITICIANS ABOUT CURRENT ISSUES IN NORTHERN

of course could come up
 IRELAND, INCLUDING MATTERS WHICH MAY ALSO BE
~~DISCUSSED~~ IN THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL
 CONFERENCE.

GENERAL POLICY

if is to bring about a real
 MR. SPEAKER, THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT CANNOT WORK
 improvement in relms.
 between the
 2 of us in
 NI then
~~MIRACLES. of itself solve all the problems.~~
~~I MAKE NO SUCH CLAIMS FOR IT.~~
~~NOR, I KNOW, DID THE TAOISEACH IN HIS SPEECH~~
~~BEFORE THE DAIL LAST WEEK.~~

matched
~~NO,~~ IT MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CONSIDERED, DETERMINED
 effort
 AND CO-ORDINATED DRIVE TO DEAL WITH THE OTHER
 ISSUES THAT FACE US IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

That effort must

~~AND THAT DRIVE MUST REST ON CLEAR AND~~

CONSISTENT PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE, EQUITY AND

FAIRNESS. ^{For} Democracy is the rule of the many. But the other side of the same coin is respect & fairness for the minorities.

IN ALL WE DO, WE MUST INSIST ON OBSERVANCE OF

THE RULE OF LAW, PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL

RIGHTS AND RESPECT FOR THE NEEDS OF THE TWO

COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

CERTAINLY THERE MUST BE NO SECOND CLASS

CITIZENS ANYWHERE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

SO, ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, WE MUST CONTINUE TO PAY

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO NORTHERN IRELAND'S

NEEDS.

DURING DIRECT RULE, SPENDING ON ECONOMIC AND

SOCIAL PROGRAMMES HAS RISEN SINCE 1972-3 BY

50 PER CENT IN REAL TERMS TO £3,600 MILLION
LAST YEAR.

THAT AMOUNTS TO NEARLY £2,500 A HEAD, FAR
MORE THAN IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM.

SPENDING ON THAT SCALE SHOWS THE HIGH
PRIORITY GIVEN BY SUCCESSIVE GOVERNMENTS TO
THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND ITS
PEOPLE.

OUR CONCERN WILL CONTINUE.

IN THE SECURITY FIELD OUR EFFORTS WILL ALSO CONTINUE.

THANKS TO THE MAGNIFICENT WORK OF OUR
POLICEMEN AND SOLDIERS, WE HAVE ALREADY MADE
GREAT STRIDES.

THOSE WHO GO TO NORTHERN IRELAND TODAY FIND
IT UNRECOGNISABLE FROM THE DARK DAYS OF THE
EARLY SEVENTIES.

THE SECURITY STATISTICS TELL THEIR OWN STORY.
BUT WE STILL HAVE MUCH TO DO, AND OUR
SECURITY FORCES CAN TAKE NEW HEART FROM THE
PROMISE OF GREATER SECURITY CO-OPERATION THAT
WILL FLOW FROM THE AGREEMENT.

WE SHALL ALSO CONTINUE THE EFFORTS OF THE PAST FIFTEEN
YEARS AIMED AT INTRODUCING GREATER FAIRNESS
IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
A GREAT DEAL HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE TO
ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION AND PROMOTE EQUALITY
OF OPPORTUNITY.

MY RT. HON. FRIEND THE NORTHERN IRELAND
SECRETARY WILL BE EXPLAINING THE POSSIBILITY
OF FURTHER ACTION ON THIS FRONT.

PERORATION

MR. SPEAKER, I SHOULD LIKE IN CLOSING TO MAKE THREE
REMARKS.

THE FIRST IS TO PAY TRIBUTE TO
DR. FITZGERALD, THE TAOISEACH, FOR THE GREAT
TENACITY, THE TRANSPARENT HONESTY AND THE
SINCERITY WITH WHICH HE HAS WORKED FOR AN
AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD BRING REASSURANCE TO
BOTH COMMUNITIES AND A REAL PROSPECT OF PEACE

AND STABILITY.

SECOND, I WOULD SAY TO THE MEMBERS OF BOTH COMMUNITIES

IN NORTHERN IRELAND THAT IF THIS HOUSE
APPROVES THE AGREEMENT, THIS GOVERNMENT
INTENDS STEADFASTLY TO IMPLEMENT IT.

WE SHALL LOOK TO THE CO-OPERATION OF ALL MEN
AND WOMEN OF GOODWILL WHO WANT A BETTER
FUTURE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND FOR THEIR
FAMILIES.

WE SHALL NOT GIVE WAY TO THREATS OR TO
VIOLENCE FROM ANY QUARTER.

NORTHERN IRELAND IS PART OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM, AND THIS HOUSE REPRESENTS ALL THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

*This Ho. rep.
all the people of the
UK, & it's deans
use binding on
through the UK
all of them*

THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND MUST ACCEPT
WHAT FLOWS FROM THAT.

THAT INCLUDES ACCEPTANCE OF THE POLICIES OF
FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM, ENDORSED BY PARLIAMENT.

FINALLY, I ADDRESS MYSELF ONCE MORE TO THOSE AMONG THE
UNIONIST COMMUNITY WHO HAVE OPENLY EXPRESSED
THEIR FEARS AND WORRIES ABOUT THIS AGREEMENT.

~~THIS AGREEMENT BRINGS SPECIFIC BENEFITS TO~~

~~THEM.~~

This Agreement,

FAR FROM REPRESENTING ANY THREAT TO THE
POSITION OF NORTHERN IRELAND WITHIN THE
UNITED KINGDOM, IT SHOULD GIVE THEM
REASSURANCE AND NEW STRENGTH.

dearly recognizes
 IT CONTAINS CLEAR RECOGNITION BY THE IRISH
 GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
 OF THE VALIDITY OF THEIR GREAT TRADITION.
 AND IT HOLDS OUT THE PROSPECT OF GREATER
 SUCCESS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SCOURGE
 OF TERRORISM FROM WHICH THEY HAVE SUFFERED SO
 MUCH.

IN THE RESPECT WHICH I FEEL FOR THE STAUNCH TRADITION
 OF UNIONISM, I CALL UPON UNIONISTS TO GIVE
 THIS AGREEMENT THE CHANCE WHICH IT DESERVES.

MR. SPEAKER, THE AGREEMENT OFFERS TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF
 NORTHERN IRELAND A REAL HOPE OF MAKING
 PROGRESS TOWARDS LASTING PEACE AND POLITICAL

*Mr. Speaker -
 As one who
 believes in the
 Union, I call
 upon Unionists
 to take the
 opportunity
 wh. the agreement
 offers.*

*As one who
 devoutly
 wishes for
 p & s in NI
 I appeal to
 both sides to*

*The way will
 not be easy*

*they have the
 right to expect a
 regime us to
 learn to live together*

*not prepared to either
 Court or Mrs
 locked into the*

*to build a more hopeful
 future.*

*persisting & perpetuating the
 antagonisms*

*antagonisms of the
 past. It is not enough for
 our children*

*time to open the
 doors on a better
 future where the
 young might build*

*recog. &
 support this
 Agreement, which
 is designed for
 no other purpose
 than to realize
 this ideal.*

STABILITY - IF MEN AND WOMEN OF GOODWILL TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF THE CHANCE IT OFFERS.

I BEG TO MOVE.