

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

19 November 1985

ANGLO/IRISH AGREEMENT: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE

I enclose a copy of the current draft of the Prime Minister's speech opening the Debate on the Anglo/Irish Agreement next week. I am about to begin on further revision taking account of the Prime Minister's comments.

I should be grateful for any further comments which you, or Christopher Mallaby, to whom I am copying this letter and enclosure, have at this stage.

I should also welcome your advice on the following points:-

- I The Prime Minister would like some good quotes from both the "Way Ahead" and the "New Irish Forum Report" on the rejection of violence and the need to take account of the hopes and fears of other communities.
- II The Prime Minister recalls some document or study group report in which Peter Utley played a prominent part. I am afraid that I cannot identify it more specifically. But I daresay that it will ring a bell with someone. Could you please let me have a copy.
- III The Prime Minister is considering citing examples of what we hope to achieve from improved security co-operation. It may be that we cannot go beyond Article 9a of the Agreement. But if it were possible to say more it would be helpful to have some suggested lines.
- IV The Prime Minister is considering saying rather more than in the present draft about the Government's record in getting rid of discrimination and observing a fair balance between the communities in the appointments to public bodies. Could you provide me with a short paragraph on this please?

/I am not

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- 2 -

I am not sure how you will wish to divide these tasks between yourself and the Cabinet Office. Could I please leave it to you to discuss with Christopher Mallaby? As always, I have to say that we need the material in rather a hurry in the hope of being able to put a new version of the speech to the Prime Minister on Thursday night.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Christopher Mallaby (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

Jim Daniell, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

DRAFT SPEECH FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

SP1AEZ

TO OPEN THE DEBATE ON NORTHERN IRELAND

MR. SPEAKER, AS I INFORMED THE HOUSE LAST WEEK,

DR. GARRET FITZGERALD, THE TAOISEACH, AND I

MET IN NORTHERN IRELAND ON 15 NOVEMBER TO

SIGN AN ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT.

I TOLD THE HOUSE THEN OF MY HOPE THAT BY GIVING THE

UNIONIST POSITION A WIDER AND FIRMER

RECOGNITION THAN EVER BEFORE AND BY ENABLING

THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY TO FEEL THAT THEIR

CONCERNS WOULD BE FULLY HEEDDED, THE AGREEMENT

WOULD HELP TOWARDS RECONCILIATION, STABILITY

AND PEACE.

MR. SPEAKER, I WANT FIRST TO DESCRIBE WHAT THE

AGREEMENT DOES.

THEN, IN VIEW OF SOME OF THE WILDER CLAIMS

THAT WE HAVE HEARD - MANY OF THEM MADE BEFORE

THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WERE KNOWN - I

SHALL MAKE CLEAR WHAT IT DOES NOT DO.

FIRST, THE AGREEMENT INCORPORATES 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.

ALSO FOR THE FIRST TIME, IT INCORPORATES

FORMAL IRISH RECOGNITION THAT THE PRESENT

WISH OF A MAJORITY IS FOR NO CHANGE IN THAT
STATUS.

THE AGREEMENT ALSO ACKNOWLEDGES THE INTEREST OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE NORTH.

THAT INTEREST IS NOT NEW.

THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND
AND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL ELECTED
REPRESENTATIVES HAVE LONG LOOKED TO DUBLIN TO
LEND SUPPORT TO THEIR VIEWS.

THAT IS A REALITY.

IT IS NOT GOING TO CHANGE AND WE CANNOT
PRETEND IT DOES NOT EXIST.

IN THIS AGREEMENT WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT
REALITY.

AND WE SEEK TO CHANNEL IT IN A WAY THAT WILL
HELP BOTH OUR COUNTRIES.

FOR IN THE PAST THE IRISH INTEREST HAS OFTEN
BEEN EXPRESSED IN CRITICAL OR NEGATIVE TERMS.

THAT DOES NOT HELP US.

IT DOES NOT HELP OUR RELATIONS WITH THE IRISH
GOVERNMENT.

IT CERTAINLY DOES NOT HELP HARMONY BETWEEN
THE COMMUNITIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

SO THE AGREEMENT PROVIDES MACHINERY FOR THE IRISH
GOVERNMENT TO ADVANCE VIEWS AND PROPOSALS ON
MATTERS RELATING TO NORTHERN IRELAND
CONSTRUCTIVELY AND METHODICALLY.
AND IT COMMITS BOTH GOVERNMENTS WHEN

DIFFERENCES DO ARISE TO MAKE DETERMINED
EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THEM.

FINALLY, IT ALSO COMMITS OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS
TO WORK CLOSER TOGETHER ON A WIDE RANGE OF
SECURITY, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MATTERS.

I SHALL LOOK AT THE AGREEMENT IN MORE DETAIL IN A
MOMENT.

BUT FIRST I MUST SAY SOMETHING ABOUT WHAT IS
NOT IN THE AGREEMENT.

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

THE AGREEMENT DOES NOT SET US ON SOME
IMAGINED SLIPPERY SLOPE TO IRISH UNITY.

I REGARD IT AS ABSOLUTE NONSENSE TO CLAIM

THAT IT DOES.

ARTICLE 1 ECHOES THE PROVISION IN SECTION 1
OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND CONSTITUTION ACT -
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 THT THEY ARE A MAJORITY.

THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT MUST PREVAIL IN
NORTHERN IRELAND.

IT IS A PRINCIPLE THAT NEITHER I NOR ANY
GOVERNMENT LED BY ME WILL FORSAKE.

THE SECOND THING I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR IS THAT THE

AGREEMENT DOES NOT DETRACT FROM BRITISH - OR
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.

INDEED WE WELCOME IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS
PARTICULARLY FROM A COUNTRY WITH WHICH WE
HAVE UNIQUELY CLOSE RELATIONS.

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.
SOVEREIGNTY IS FULLY PRESERVED.

THIS AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ONLY AFTER LONG AND CAREFUL
CONSIDERATION OF HOW TO MOVE FORWARD IN
NORTHERN IRELAND, WHERE FOR TOO MANY YEARS WE
HAVE FAILED TO LIGHT THE BEACON OF HOPE FOR
THE FUTURE.

AT THE HEART OF THAT FAILURE HAS BEEN A
FAILURE TO RECONCILE THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN
NORTHERN IRELAND.

ON THE ONE HAND THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY, FIRMLY LOYAL
BOTH TO THE CROWN AND TO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

THEY REPRESENT 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 OUR SUPPORT.

THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO BE SECURE IN THE
KNOWLEDGE THAT WE WILL NOT TRY TO FORCE THEM
INTO NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AGAINST
THEIR WILL.

THE AGREEMENT CONFIRMS THAT SECURITY.

ON THE OTHER HAND IS THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY, WHO

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 THEIR ASPIRATIONS, EVEN THOUGH WE MAY NOT
SEE THE PROSPECT OF THEIR BEING FULFILLED.

IT IS RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THESE TWO COMMUNITIES AND
THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF THE TWO
MAJOR TRADITIONS THAT IS THE GOAL OF THIS
AGREEMENT.

AND IT IS A GOAL THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM AND THE IRISH REPUBLIC - WHO
HAVE TOGETHER WATCHED WITH SORROW AND HORROR
THE AGONIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND OVER THE PAST
ONE-AND-A-HALF DECADES - WILL, I AM SURE,
WHOLE-HEARTEDLY SUPPORT.

THE AGREEMENT

MR. SPEAKER, MUCH OF WHAT I HAVE JUST SAID IS SUMMED UP

IN THE PREAMBLE TO THE AGREEMENT.

IT 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.

ARTICLE 1 OF THE AGREEMENT MAKES IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR

THAT THIS AGREEMENT PRESENTS NO THREAT

WHATSOEVER TO UNIONISTS' HEARTFELT DESIRE TO

REMAIN PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, FOR THE

REASONS I HAVE EXPLAINED.

ARTICLE 2 BUILDS UPON THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ANGLO-IRISH

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COUNCIL THAT WAS SET UP

AFTER MY SUMMIT IN NOVEMBER 1981 WITH

MR. HAUGHEY AND HAS BEEN DEVELOPED SINCE

DR. FITZGERALD BECAME TAOISEACH.

IT ESTABLISHES AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL

CONFERENCE CONCERNED WITH ASPECTS OF NORTHERN

IRELAND AFFAIRS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CROSS-

BORDER CO-OPERATION.

THIS CONFERENCE WILL CONSIDER ON A REGULAR

BASIS POLITICAL, SECURITY AND LEGAL MATTERS,

INCLUDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

SECURITY MATTERS WILL BE CONSIDERED TOGETHER

WITH CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION.

THE MATTERS OF CONCERN TO THE CONFERENCE .ARE

SPELT OUT IN ARTICLES 4 TO 10.

THIS HOUSE, MR. SPEAKER, IS SUFFICIENTLY AWARE OF THE

METTLE OF THIS GOVERNMENT TO KNOW THAT WE

WOULD NOT HAVE CONSENTED TO ANY ARRANGEMENT

THAT WOULD GIVE ANOTHER COUNTRY AUTHORITY

OVER ANY PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DECISIONS AND

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO

REST WITH HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT WHO WILL

REMAIN ACCOUNTABLE TO PARLIAMENT.

THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL POINT.

THERE CAN BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING.

MOREOVER CO-OPERATION IN THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL

CONFERENCE WILL BE A TWO-WAY STREET.

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO PUT ITS

VIEWS AND PROPOSALS ON MATTERS AFFECTING

NORTHERN IRELAND.

WE FOR OUR PART SHALL BE ABLE TO PURSUE

ISSUES OF CONCERN TO NORTHERN IRELAND,

NOTABLY CO-OPERATION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST

TERRORISM.

ONE POINT IN THE AGREEMENT IS WORTH A SPECIAL MENTION.

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 - AND IN THE

AGREEMENT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS OUR

COMMITMENT TO SEEK AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF

DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT - THEN THOSE MATTERS THAT

BECOME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEVOLVED

GOVERNMENT WILL NO LONGER BE CONSIDERED IN

THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE.

WE HOPE THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL ENCOURAGE THE

ELECTED 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.

AND BEFORE I LEAVE THE AGREEMENT I SHOULD DRAW THE

PARTICULAR ATTENTION OF THE HOUSE TO ARTICLES

9 AND 10 WHICH PROMOTE CROSS-BORDER

CO-OPERATION.

NO-ONE IN THIS HOUSE WILL, I BELIEVE,

QUESTION THE DESIRABILITY OF EXPLORING WAYS

OF IMPROVING CO-OPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO

GOVERNMENTS - PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF

SECURITY - OR THE PRIORITY WHICH WILL BE

GIVEN TO THIS ASPECT OF THE WORK OF THE

CONFERENCE.

FINALLY, ARTICLE 10 RECORDS OUR INTENTION TO CO-OPERATE

ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IT ALSO REFERS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF SECURING

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THIS WORK.

THE BENEFITS

MR. SPEAKER, I BELIEVE THAT THIS AGREEMENT HOLDS OUT

TWO MAIN BENEFITS.

BOTH ARE VALUABLE.

THE FIRST OF THE BENEFITS IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REPUBLIC.

I HAVE ALREADY REFERRED TO THAT.

THE PROCESS BEGUN IN 1981 HAS BEEN

SIGNIFICANTLY EXTENDED.

BOTH OUR COUNTRIES WILL BENEFIT.

BUT ALSO THERE IS THE BENEFIT FOR THE TWO COMMUNITIES

IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

I BELIEVE THAT ANY OBJECTIVE OBSERVER WILL
COME TO SEE THE AGREEMENT NOT AS FAVOURING
ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER, BUT AS BENEFITING
NORTHERN IRELAND AS A WHOLE - AND THEREFORE
ALL THE PEOPLE OF THESE ISLANDS.

IT CONFIRMS AND CLARIFIES THE ATTITUDE OF BOTH

GOVERNMENTS TO NORTHERN IRELAND'S PRESENT
STATUS.

THERE CAN BE NO GROUNDS FOR UNCERTAINTY NOW.

THAT MUST BE IN THE INTERESTS OF STABILITY.

IT PROMISES CLOSER CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO

GOVERNMENTS.

THAT MUST BE HELPFUL.

IN THE SECURITY FIELD, ENHANCED CO-OPERATION
CAN HELP US TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN
RIDDING NORTHERN IRELAND OF THE MENACE OF
TERRORISM.

IT ENSURES THAT IRISH VIEWS CAN BE PUT TO US IN A
CONSTRUCTIVE, ORDERLY WAY, AVOIDING WHAT HAS
SOMETIMES HAPPENED IN THE PAST, NAMELY
CRITICAL RESPONSES TO EVENTS WITH NEITHER
SIDE PROPERLY UNDERSTANDING THE POSITION OF
THE OTHER.
THAT CAN ONLY BE AN IMPROVEMENT.

IT RECOGNISES THE IDENTITY, RIGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS OF
BOTH COMMUNITIES.

IT ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THERE CAN BE DIFFERENCES
IN WHAT EACH COMMUNITY WANTS IN THE LONG
TERM.

AND IT COMMITS US TO SEEKING AN APPROACH THAT
ACCOMMODATES THOSE DIFFERENCES, RATHER THAN
ATTEMPTING TO STEAMROLLER ONE SIDE INTO
ACCEPTANCE OF THE OTHER'S VIEW.

CAN ANYONE FIND FAULT IN THAT?

FINALLY, THE AGREEMENT OFFERS A GUARANTEE TO THE
MINORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND THAT THEIR VIEWS
WILL BE HEARD, THEIR RIGHTS WILL BE RESPECTED
AND THAT THEY HAVE A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY.

I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS THE WAY TO ASSURE THE
NATIONALIST COMMUNITY THAT GOVERNMENT
DESERVES THEIR SUPPORT, TO BRING THEM TO PLAY
THEIR PART IN CONFRONTING AND DEALING WITH
THE HOST OF DIFFICULT ISSUES THAT EXIST IN
NORTHERN IRELAND.

AND IF WE SUCCEED IN THAT AIM, IT IS NOT JUST
THE MINORITY WHO BENEFIT.

ALL IN NORTHERN IRELAND BENEFIT FROM THE
SEA-CHANGE THAT WILL OCCUR IN INTER-COMMUNAL
RELATIONS AS THE TWO COMMUNITIES WORK
TOGETHER FOR A MORE STABLE, PEACEFUL AND
PROSPEROUS SOCIETY.

IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, THAT IS THE GREATEST
PRIZE TO BE WON.

GENERAL POLICY

BUT, MR. SPEAKER, AS I SAID EARLIER, THIS AGREEMENT
CANNOT WORK MIRACLES.

IT IS NOT ON ITS OWN GOING TO BE ENOUGH.

I MAKE NO SUCH CLAIMS FOR IT.

NOR, I KNOW, WOULD THE TAOISEACH.

NO, IT MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CONSIDERED, DETERMINED
AND CO-ORDINATED DRIVE TO DEAL WITH THE OTHER
ISSUES THAT FACE US IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
AND THAT DRIVE MUST REST ON CLEAR AND
CONSISTENT PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE, EQUITY AND
FAIRNESS.

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 FROM £590 MILLION
IN 1972-73 TO £3,600 MILLION LAST YEAR - AN
INCREASE OF OVER 50 PER CENT IN REAL TERMS.

THESE RESOURCES HAVE BEEN USED TO SECURE MUCH
NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS IN INFRASTRUCTURE,
SERVICES AND THE FABRIC OF SOCIETY IN

NORTHERN IRELAND.

THERE COULD BE NO MORE EFFECTIVE WAY OF
GIVING THE LIE TO THOSE WHO SAY THAT HER
MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CARE ABOUT THE
PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND ITS PEOPLE.
OUR CONCERN WILL CONTINUE.

IN THE SECURITY FIELD OUR EFFORTS WILL ALSO CONTINUE.

AND HERE, OF COURSE, WE EXPECT THE NEW
AGREEMENT TO BEAR FRUIT.

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.

WE STILL HAVE MUCH TO DO.

WE CANNOT REST UNTIL TERRORISM IS ELIMINATED

FROM NORTHERN IRELAND.

BUT OUR SECURITY FORCES CAN TAKE NEW HEART

FROM THE PROMISE OF A GREATER SECURITY

CO-OPERATION THAT WILL FLOW FROM THE

AGREEMENT.

AS FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND,

THAT IS WHERE WE HAVE LITTLE TO SHOW.

THIS GOVERNMENT, LIKE ITS PREDECESSORS, SEEKS

A RETURN TO DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IN A FORM

THAT IS BROADLY ACCEPTABLE ACROSS THE TWO

COMMUNITIES.

THAT PRINCIPLE OF ACCEPTABILITY IS

INESCAPABLE IF ANY NEW SYSTEM OF DEVOLVED

GOVERNMENT IS TO BE WORKABLE.

AND IT IS ENDORSED IN THE AGREEMENT.

WE ARE THEREFORE EVEN MORE FIRMLY COMMITTED

TO THAT PATH AND WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK A WAY

OF BRINGING THE PARTIES TOGETHER SO THAT

PROGRESS CAN BE MADE.

WE HOPE THAT ALL THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTIES

IN NORTHERN IRELAND WILL JOIN US IN THIS

ENDEAVOUR.

PERORATION

I HAVE EXPLAINED, MR. SPEAKER, THE REASONS WHY WE HAVE

ENTERED UPON THIS ENTERPRISE, AND THE
BENEFITS THAT I BELIEVE IT CAN BRING.

I HOPE THAT THE MEMBERS OF BOTH COMMUNITIES
IN NORTHERN IRELAND WILL COME TO SHARE MY
VIEW OF THOSE BENEFITS.

OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE IS PEACE AND PROGRESS IN
NORTHERN IRELAND.

I HAVE HEARD STATEMENTS MADE BY SOME PEOPLE ABOUT THIS
AGREEMENT WHICH BEAR NO RELATION TO WHAT IS
IN IT.

I BELIEVE THAT THOSE STATEMENTS WERE MADE
BECAUSE THOSE CONCERNED HAD DECIDED TO FIND
FAULT WITH THE AGREEMENT REGARDLESS OF WHAT
WAS IN IT.

SO NOW, EVEN THOUGH THEY MAY HAVE FOUND THAT
IT DID NOT MATCH THEIR OWN ADVANCE
SCARE-STORIES OR LIVE UP TO THEIR CHERISHED
MYTHS, THEY FIND THEMSELVES LOCKED INTO
OPPOSITION IRRESPECTIVE OF THE AGREEMENT'S
MERITS.

I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THEY WILL RECONSIDER,
NOW THAT THEY KNOW THE REALITY OF THE
SITUATION.

I HAVE ALSO HEARD THE DEMANDS THAT WE SHOULD SUBMIT

THIS INTERGOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT TO SOME TEST
OF ACCEPTABILITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

MR. SPEAKER, RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVEREIGN
STATES ARE A MATTER FOR THE GOVERNMENTS OF

THOSE STATES, ACCOUNTABLE TO THEIR
PARLIAMENTS.

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

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, IN RESPECT
OF RELATIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS -
INCLUDING THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

MR. SPEAKER, THE AGREEMENT OFFERS TO THE PEOPLE OF
NORTHERN IRELAND A REAL HOPE OF MAKING

PROGRESS TOWARDS LASTING PEACE AND POLITICAL
STABILITY - IF MEN AND WOMEN OF GOODWILL TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF THE CHANCE IT OFFERS.

I BEG TO MOVE.