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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

21 Novmeber 1985

Dear Jim.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH IN THE DEBATE ON THE
ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

I enclose a further revise of the Prime Minister's speech in the Debate on the Anglo-Irish Agreement next week. Further revision will be needed to take account of discussion at Cabinet this morning and at the subsequent informal meeting of Ministers. It would be helpful to have comments and contributions by lunch-time on Saturday.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to Len Appleyard.

Yours sincerely
C.D. Powell

(C.D. Powell)

Jim Daniell, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

SP1AFD

DRAFT SPEECH FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO OPEN THE DEBATE

ON NORTHERN IRELAND

MR. SPEAKER, SINCE 1969, [] PEOPLE HAVE LOST THEIR

LIVES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AS A RESULT OF
TERRORISM, [] OF THEM MEMBERS OF THE
SECURITY FORCES.

THAT IS THE STARK BACKGROUND TO TODAY'S
DEBATE.

WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES WHICH MAY EMERGE IN
OUR DEBATE WE SHALL ALL BE UNITED IN OUR
HORROR AT THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND OUR
DETESTATION OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE.

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.

AND WE SHALL ALL BE UNITED IN OUR ADMIRATION

FOR THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE SECURITY FORCES
SO MANY OF WHOM HAVE PAID THE PRICE OF
FREEDOM WITH THEIR LIVES.

ON ALL THIS WE SHALL BE UNITED.

BUT IT HAS BEEN APPARENT IN RECENT WEEKS THAT
ANY INITIATIVE, HOWEVER MODEST, TO BRING THE
PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND CLOSER TOGETHER
WOULD RAISE ALARMS AND FEARS ROOTED DEEP IN
ITS TROUBLED 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.

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 THE LAW ABIDING PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND
TO DO EVERYTHING WITHIN ITS POWER TO STAMP
OUT TERRORISM.

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

THE REACTION OF THE TERRORISTS TO THE

AGREEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN REACHED IS THE
CLEAREST POSSIBLE 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.

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 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 FEEL SECURE ABOUT

NORTHERN IRELAND'S POSITION IN 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.

THEY HAVE THE ASSURANCE THAT NEITHER A

BRITISH GOVERNMENT NOR AN IRISH GOVERNMENT
WILL TRY TO FORCE UNIONISTS INTO NEW
CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AGAINST THEIR
WILL.

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 AS
THE ONLY LASTING WAY TO PUT AN END TO THE

VIOLENCE THAT IS THE GOAL OF THIS AGREEMENT.

WHAT THE AGREEMENT DOES

MR. SPEAKER, I PROPOSE FIRST TO DRAW THE HOUSE'S
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 ARE TO BE FOUND BOTH IN THE UNIONIST
DOCUMENT "THE WAY FORWARD" AND IN THE NEW
IRELAND FORUM REPORT.

THEY 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.

THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND ARE THUS ASSURED THAT
THEIR PLACE AS FULL CITIZENS OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM IS SECURE, SO LONG AS THAT IS WHAT A
MAJORITY OF THEM WISH.

ARTICLE 2 OF THE AGREEMENT ACKNOWLEDGES IN A PRACTICAL

WAY THE INTEREST WHICH THE IRISH REPUBLIC

HAS LONG HAD IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE NORTH.

THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND

AND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL ELECTED

RESPRESENTATIVES HAVE CONSISTENTLY 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 TOO

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 IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

SO ARTICLE 2 PROVIDES MACHINERY FOR THE IRISH

GOVERNMENT TO ADVANCE VIEWS AND PROPOSALS ON
CERTAIN MATTERS RELATING TO NORTHERN IRELAND
CONSTRUCTIVELY AND METHODICALLY.

IT ESTABLISHES AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL
CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER ON A REGULAR BASIS
POLITICAL, SECURITY AND LEGAL MATTERS,

INCLUDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, AS
WELL AS CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION.

THIS COOPERATION WILL BE A TWO-WAY STREET.

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO PUT ITS
VIEWS AND PROPOSALS ON CERTAIN MATTERS
AFFECTING NORTHERN IRELAND.

WE FOR OUR PART SHALL BE ABLE TO PURSUE
ISSUES OF CONCERN TO NORTHERN IRELAND,
NOTABLY COOPERATION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST
TERRORISM.

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 FOUR 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 CONTINUE
IN BEING.

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 THE
HIGHEST STANDARDS OF JUDICIAL IMPARTIALITY
HAVE BEEN BEYOND PRAISE.

IN THE FACE OF VIOLENCE, THREATS AND
INTIMIDATION, THEY HAVE STUCK TO THEIR TASK
AND ENSURED THAT JUSTICE HAS BEEN DONE.

MR. SPEAKER, WE KNOW FROM EXPERIENCE 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 ON BOTH SIDES OF THE
BORDER.

WE SEE NO EASY OR EARLY WAY THROUGH THESE
DIFFICULTIES.

THAT IS WHY, WHILE WE ARE PREPARED TO
CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF THEM AT SOME
FUTURE TIME, WE HAVE NOT GIVEN ANY COMMITMENT
TO INTRODUCE THEM.

THIRDLY, I DRAW THE HOUSE'S ATTENTION TO THE PROPOSALS
FOR IMPROVED SECURITY COOPERATION 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 GARDAI TO IMPROVE
COOPERATION IN SUCH AREAS AS THREAT
ASSESSMENT, EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, LIAISON
STRUCTURES, TECHNICAL COOPERATION, TRAINING
OF PERSONNEL AND OPERATIONAL RESOURCES.

THESE MR. SPEAKER ARE SPECIFIC MEASURES WHICH
I BELIEVE WILL LEAD TO REAL IMPROVEMENTS -
IMPROVEMENTS WHICH WILL BE WELCOME 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 COVENTION 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 NOT TO CONSIDER AS
OFFENCES INVOLVING THE USE OF EXPLOSIVES OR
FIREARMS AS POLITICAL OFFENCES.

IRISH ACCESSION SHOULD GREATLY INCREASE OUR
PROSPECTS OF SECURITY EXTRADITION FROM THE
REPUBLIC OF PERSONS ACCUSED OR CONVICTED OF

TERRORIST CRIMES.

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

FOURTH, I DRAW THE HOUSE'S ATTENTION TO ARTICLE 10
WHICH RECORDS OUR INTENTION TO COOPERATION ON
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND REFERS TO
THE POSSIBILITY OF SECURING INTERNATIONAL
SUPPORT FOR THIS.

MEMBERS WILL HAVE NOTED THE REFERENCE BY THE
SPEAKER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE TO THE
POSSIBILITY OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO BOTH
NORTHERN IRELAND AND REPUBLIC.

WE SHALL BE EXPLORING THE SCOPE FOR THIS WITH
THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION IN THE

COMING WEEKS.

FINALLY, MR. SPEAKER, I WOULD REMIND THE HOUSE OF THE
REFERENCE IN ARTICLE 12 TO THE POSSIBLE
ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ANGLO IRISH PARLIAMENTARY
BODY.

BOTH WE AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT FELT THAT
THIS WAS A MATTER FOR PARLIAMENT ITSELF AND
FOR THE DAIL RATHER THAN FOR GOVERNMENTS TO
PURSUE.

I HOPE THAT CONTACTS WILL BE ESTABLISHED
THROUGH THE NORMAL 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.

INDEED I REGARD IT AS ABSOLUTE NONSENSE TO
CLAIM THAT IT MIGHT.

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 THAT 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.

IT IS REINFORCED BY THIS AGREEMENT.

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.

THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL POINT.

THERE CAN BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING.

GENERAL POLICY

BUT, MR. SPEAKER, 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 COORDINATED 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.

THANKS TO THE MAGNIFICENT WORK OF OUR
POLICEMEN AND SOLIDERS, 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 COOPERATION 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

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

THE FIRST IS TO PAY TRIBUTE TO DR. FITZGERALD, THE TAOISEACH, FOR THE TRANSPARENT HONESTY AND 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 COOPERATION 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.

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 THE UNIONIST
COMMUNITY WHO HAVE OPENLY EXPRESSED THEIR
FEARS AND WORRIES ABOUT THIS AGREEMENT.
THIS AGREEMENT BRINGS SPECIFIC BENEFITS TO

YOU.

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

IT CONTAINS CLEAR RECOGNITION BY THE IRISH
GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
OF THE VALIDITY OF YOUR GREAT TRADITION.

AND IT HOLDS OUT THE PROSPECT OF GREATER
SUCCESS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SCOURGE
OF TERRORISM FROM WHICH YOU 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
STABILITY - IF MEN AND WOMEN OF GOODWILL TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF THE CHANCE IT OFFERS.

I BEG TO MOVE.