



political education to reproductions of the Will Dyson cartoon in the old Daily Herald of 1919. Hon. Members opposite will know it, too. The statesmen at Versailles, the child tragically labelled "class of 1940" - "curious, I seem to hear a child weeping." We are Versailles 50 years later. That is Belfast and Derry today, and we have to pause in our conflicts and ponder what it means. That child crying today, wears the sign of the class of the guerillas, the gunman - or the vigilante - the class of 1980, the class of 1990, the class of all the years there are to come.

We cannot approach the principles which must govern a political solution, unless these questions - and whatever answers we give to them - are kept in the forefront of our minds. I repeat, time is not on our side, nor on that of anyone.

I submit these principles to the House before I come to what that solution might be.

The Principles

First, the political solution must not be brought about by violence. Nor, in constructing such a solution, can we be allowed to take into consideration the demands of the men of violence. The violence must be rooted out before any new proposals can be put into effect.



25

Second, this means a security solution, the assertion of effective law and order, in that the men of violence must be either destroyed or compelled to retire.

Third, it follows that British troops must remain as long as they are required to maintain public order, the supremacy of law and the safeguarding of human life. There can be no withdrawal.

Fourth, equally it must be recognised that no solution depending solely on the preservation of law and order by the forces of law and order can hope to succeed, still less persist, without progress to a far-reaching political solution.

Fifth, the constitutional position must continue to be governed by the Attlee undertaking of 1949, re-affirmed in the Downing Street Declaration of 19th August, 1969, namely that ".... Northern Ireland should not cease to be a part of the United Kingdom without the consent of the people of Northern Ireland ^{or} from the provision in Section 1 of the Ireland Act, 1949, that in no event will Northern Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland ... "



Sixth, it follows that the border cannot be changed by violence. Any political solution must be directed to winning the hearts and minds of the Northern Ireland population, Protestant and Catholic, to the proposition that no violent solution, no matter whence it derives, can ever be accepted, that the task of achieving reconciliation and free agreement is of such a dimension that ^{it means} recognising that a political solution capable of sufficing for a short duration must rapidly prove out-dated and inadequate, ^{it means recognising} ~~and~~ that a comprehensive, more fundamental approach is required.

Now, seventh, I have reiterated the Downing Street Declaration re-affirming the Attlee pledge, and insisted yet again that any settlement must be by agreement. But I believe that the situation has now gone so far that it is impossible to conceive of an effective long-term solution in which the agenda does not include consideration of, which is not in some way directed to finding a means of achieving, the aspiration envisaged half a century ago, of progress towards a united Ireland, to which statesmen of all views in Northern Ireland have expressed their support, in the right conditions and on the right terms, within the parameters of the Attlee declaration. At Guildhall, ten days ago, the Prime Minister himself said:-



"Many Catholics in Northern Ireland would like to see Northern Ireland unified with the South. That is understandable. It is legitimate that they should seek to further that aim by democratic and constitutional means. If at some future date the majority of ^{the} people in Northern Ireland want unification and express that desire in the appropriate constitutional manner, I do not believe any British Government would stand in the way." *But that is not what the majority want today.*

A substantial term of years will be required before ^{unification} this could become a reality, but the dream must be there.

If men of moderation have nothing to hope for, men of violence will have something to shoot for.

Eighth, in the short-term, as equally in the long-term, the governance of Northern Ireland must be at all times directed to the human rights provisions of the Downing Street Declaration, namely "... in all legislation and executive decisions of Government, every citizen of Northern Ireland is entitled to the same equality of treatment and freedom from discrimination as obtains in the rest of the United Kingdom irrespective of political views or religion..."



Ninth, in the short-term, equally with the long-term, the minority should participate at all levels in Parliament and Government, independently of what their long-term views may be, provided that they undertake loyally to accept the interim system of Government in Northern Ireland.

Tenth, as part of the task of reconciliation, of the removal of bitterness from Northern Ireland politics and institutions, Her Majesty's Government, with its responsibility to this House, should take over ministerial responsibility for all aspects of security, providing in police matters the maximum ^{local} devolution to the Ulster Police Authority.

X X X X X

From these principles, Mr. Speaker, it would follow that such proposed solutions as the suspension of the Stormont Parliament and Government and its supersession either by a commission of politicians, or a commission divorced from politics and politicians should, in my view, fall.

The same applies to the imposition, as an act of policy, of direct rule.



My view, which I expressed in April and September in our debates, and in speeches outside the House, and everything I have seen and heard confirms me in this view, is that direct rule cannot be ruled out, as a last resort, a counsel of despair, when the existing processes of law and order and civil government are deemed by the Westminster Parliament, and this House, to have failed.

But as an act of policy, as something to be worked for, it must, I submit, be totally rejected.

Equally, I totally reject proposals for the withdrawal of British troops, hard though their task must be.

In the present situation of communal hostility in the province, this House must not rule out, in the absence of British troops, the possibility of civil war and massacre, which could make the eve of St. Bartholomew an event of minor proportions.

So finally I come to an outline of the proposals which we - and all others concerned in Northern and Southern Ireland - should consider carefully and in a



spirit of reconciliation.

The Proposals.

1. First, violence must cease, and be seen to have ceased.

2. I would suggest that there should be inter-party talks here, and with the principal parties in Northern Ireland. These should then lead to discussions between the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland, directed to the establishment of a Constitutional Commission representing the major parties of the three Parliaments, including of course adequate representation of the Government parties and Governments themselves. The terms of reference of this Commission should ~~be~~ ^{include any proposals, from H.M.G., or from any other quarter; it should also include} the examination of what would be involved in agreeing on the constitution of a United Ireland, to be reached by agreement and requiring ratification by all the three Parliaments, and with enforceable safeguards for the minorities, to come into effect 15 years from the date agreement is reached, provided that violence as a political weapon



comes to an end. It would be a subject for consideration whether the date of Union should be further deferred by, say, one month, beyond the 15 years, for every act of violence committed in the name of Union, after the signature and ratification of the Agreement. Such a proviso could have the effect of minimising support, or tacit approval, by non-violent members of the minority for those who seek a solution by violence, for, with such a provision, acts of violence would seem by all, whether their views today, to be not advancing but actually retarding the unity of Ireland.

3. Internment would cease as soon as the necessary conditions exist for an improvement in confidence, it being understood that all against whom criminal charges were to be preferred would be subject to normal criminal procedure. I heard criticisms that internment was introduced, by a stroke of the pen, without any constitutional procedures. If all concerned, in both countries, agree that Special Powers in some form cannot be repealed in the special conditions of Northern Ireland, - as they exist today in Southern Ireland - and this might be especially so in



the strains of transition to a new constitution, I believe that any decision to invoke them - and then only in conditions of dire emergency - must require, as is indeed provided in our own legislation, a Declaration of Emergency, ratified by a decision of this House, and lapsing automatically unless renewed, 30 days by 30 days, by this House. No deprivation of personal liberty, in a situation where we may not be able immediately to move to the absolute rule of law, should be in the hands of any individual. It should be under the total control of this House, which alone must be able to lay down the conditions in which it is exercised, the rules to be followed, interrogation procedure, everything. One condition must be that such powers are conferred only when the ordinary processes of law have broken down, and are seen to have broken down. Another must be that every individual must be informed of the charge he has to meet, and be given the opportunity to meet it, with proper legal support. An internee I met in Long Kesh told me he had no idea of the charge against him. Hon. Members will have seen the article in Tuesday's Times, recording that internment powers in India, in Kenya, in Malaya, in Singapore, in Nkrumah's



Ghana, and - of importance to this House in wartime
Britain required the nature of the charge to be
notified to the detainee. Just as the internment
power, even in Rhodesia, requires Parliamentary
approval of a declaration of a State of Emergency,
this House certainly cannot insist on less.

4. Any Constitutional Agreement submitted for
ratification by the three Parliaments must include full
legal and other safeguards for the rights of minorities,
be those minorities in North or South. Examination should
be given to alternative forms of a Federal constitution,
be that based on a dual system, or on the four historic
Irish provinces, or to a system of meaningful devolution.
It should be devised in such a manner as to encourage
the best of the Northern Irish political leaders of all
parties, who, I believe, need not fear comparison south
of the border or elsewhere, to seek to exercise their
political abilities on an all-Ireland stage. The
Agreement would have to provide, whether by a blocking-
vote mechanism or other means, constitutional guarantees



to ensure protection for minorities against any change in the entrenched clauses dealing with the basic constitutional issues, without their agreement.

5. The Agreement should be further enshrined in an international Convention entered into by the two sovereign powers concerned, Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Irish Republic, with provision for binding arbitration by the International Court, or other agreed, appropriate tribunal.



- 20 -

6. I feel that the Irish Republic should further undertake to seek, as a Republic, membership of the Commonwealth, recognising Her Majesty the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. It has long been my view that had the Indian formula, providing for a sovereign republic to be a member of the Commonwealth been devised, in time to affect the Irish settlement, Ireland could well have remained within the Commonwealth. I recognise the great difficulty this would present to Irish leaders, having regard to history; but more than at any time in Irish history, we have to regard the struggle of the past as an inspiration for the future, not an impediment to securing a peaceful future so different from that past.

7. For a long period of years, to be specified in the constitutional settlement, any oath of allegiance for those who so chose, could be in the form of allegiance to the Constitution of the new Ireland, and to the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth.

8. From the moment of Agreement on the Irish settlement, the Government of the Irish Republic would give a solemn undertaking, incorporated in the Agreement, to use all appropriate powers, and all the energy, forces and means at its command to pursue and extirpate terrorist organisations, operating from, located in, or supported from Irish soil. It would further undertake, jointly with the British armed forces, and other security services, to engage, as the situation required, in all necessary operations of border patrols and other means of border control to prevent



terrorist infiltration into the North.

9, Her Majesty's Government should give a binding undertaking to maintain, for the whole 15-year period of transition, and thereafter if the sovereign power so agreed, sufficient military forces to safeguard law and order and eliminate violence. I would see no reason why they should not remain, if the Government of a united Ireland saw fit, for a further 5 or 10 years, that is for up to a quarter of a century from the date of the signature of the Agreement. To emphasise Britain's determination in this regard, new buildings and facilities of a permanent character should be constructed, not so much a garrison as a military town, including married quarters and training facilities, so that there would be a large force of troops both for training and available for operations. The idea would be a peacetime establishment similar to Aldershot or Catterick, so as to avoid the drama and sensation of the entry of troops for riot or subversive situations: the building and maintenance would provide much-needed employment.

10. During the transitional period Her Majesty's Government should assume full ministerial responsibility for all aspects of security, military and police, with the maximum devolution I have suggested to the Police Authority. Arrangements would be made for reports to be made by United Kingdom ministers ~~to Parliament~~ to the Parliament at Stormont, whether through a Standing Committee or direct to Parliament itself.



11. In the interim period the Stormont Government should include representatives of minority views, provided that each such minister made clear his loyal acceptance of the interim Constitution, in addition to his acceptance of the long-term settlement set out in the Agreement.



12. The Constitution of the new Ireland would include the Human Rights provision of the Downing Street Declaration, together with adequate machinery for its enforcement.

13. It would further provide for changes in the 1937 Irish Constitution necessary to give assurance that there would be no constitutional impediment to the creation of a National Health Service on the British model; to a social security system not less eligible than that now enjoyed by the citizens of Northern Ireland; that all censorship or prohibition of books or the importation of newspapers would be removed; that the right would be asserted to legislate in the field of personal liberties, for example in family planning, abortion and other matters in accordance with British practices, and provision made to place legislation ^{on all these matters,} on the British model, on the statute book during the transitional period.

14. It should also provide for a dual and equal system of education on the lines of the English and Scottish models, with such limited changes as are required for the needs of a united Ireland.

15. And finally, social service provision should be progressively assimilated to the British system, in order to guarantee to Northern Ireland citizens the rights they have enjoyed within the United Kingdom. The task of harmonising the Irish system of social security with the British should begin with the signature of the Constitutional Agreement, having regard to wage levels and other matters affecting the standard of living



in both countries. Five years after signature of the Agreement, the first of 10 annual increments in Irish social benefits would begin, assisted by an injection of British financial aid, total harmonisation being effective simultaneously with the entry into force of the long-term constitutional provisions of the Agreement and Treaty, and the achievement of a united Ireland.



I hope the Prime Minister and the Government will give careful consideration to these proposals, and be ready to agree to ^{my suggestion of} the inter-Party talks in this House as a preliminary to similar talks between all the main parties in Westminster and Stormont, leading, if agreement can be reached, to consideration of the wider proposals I have outlined, or of any other alternative proposals the Government, or anyone else, may table. No one under-rates the immensity of the task of reconciliation - ^{still less will anyone} ~~the only~~ ^{under-rates the} ~~alternative to~~ ^{revolution in terms of} bitterness and violence. No one here under-rates the primary duty, for Northern Ireland's Protestants, for Northern Ireland's Catholics, of helping them, together, to find security for each, and so to provide the certainty, and the hope, so tragically lacking today, which will enable each family, of whatever faith, to plan and ^{to} ~~live~~ ^{live} its own life in the way it has the right to choose.