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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

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INFO NIO(L) NIO(B)

ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT



PRIVATE OFFICE

PUS

MR BOURN

MR MERIFIELD

MR GILLILAND

SIR EWART BELL

MR BUXTON

MR COULSON

MR REEVE

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2. A13 26 NOV 1984
RECEIVED.....

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED BY PETER BARRY ON 23 NOVEMBER AT THE LAUNCH OF COLONMEL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE "START-YOUR-OWN BUSINESS" COMPETITION - FRIDAY 23 NOVEMBER 1984. TEXT SUBJECT TO CHANGES MADE ON DELIVERYM

ON SUNDAY AND MONDAY LAST A SUMMIT MEETING TOOK PLACE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS. IT WAS THE FULLEST, THE FRANKEST AND THE MOST REALISTIC SUMMIT THAT MRS THATCHER HAD EVER HAD WITH AN IRISH LEADER. THOSE ARE HER WORDS - OTHER IRISH POLITICIANS WHO HAVE MADE LOUD AND PORTENTOUS NOISES AFTER MEETING THE LADY SHOULD HAVE PONDERED THEM VERY CAREFULLY BEFORE RUSHING OUT THEIR CONDEMNATIONS. I WOULD ADD THAT IT WAS AN EXTREMELY DIRECT AND OFTEN DIFFICULT MEETING. THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS GOT DOWN TO BUSINESS IN A WAY THAT WE HAD NOT DONE FOR TEN YEARS AT LEAST. WE AGREED ABOUT SEVERAL IMPORTANT ISSUES. THE RESULTS OF OUR EXCHANGES WERE SET OUT IN A COMMUNIQUE WHICH EMBODIES TO A SIGNIFICANT EXTENT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS - THE (FOLLOWING WORD UNDERLINED) PROPOSALS, NOT THE (FOLLOWING WORD UNDERLINED) OPTIONS - OF THE FORUM REPORT. WE AGREED TO CONTINUE OUR TALKS AND TO MEET AGAIN AT AN EARLY DATE TO REVIEW FURTHER PROGRESS.

FOUR DAYS LATER, THE SUMMIT IS DESCRIBED AS A FIASCO, A DISASTER, A BETRAYAL, AND IN THE WORDS OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, AS SETTING THE SITUATION BACK BY FIFTY YEARS.

IT IS TRUE THAT TWO STATEMENTS IN MRS THATCHER'S PRESS CONFERENCE CAUSED SERIOUS OFFENCE TO IRISH NATIONALISTS AND THAT MR HURD MADE A SERIES OF UNHELPFUL AND UNACCEPTABLE STATEMENTS. THESE ARE ALMIGHTY EVENTS AND I PERSONALLY SHARED IN THE STRONG FEELINGS THEY AROUSED. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN MADE FULLY AWARE OF THE REACTION OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR PEOPLE.

NOW, FOUR DAYS AFTER THE SUMMIT, FOUR DAYS CONFUSED BY EMOTION AND MANIPULATIVE OPPORTUNISM, I LOOK BACK IN ANGER, ANGER NOT JUST WITH BRITISH INSENSITIVITY, BUT MUCH MORE WITH THE ATTEMPTS WHICH WE HAVE SEEN HERE AT HOME TO DESTROY THE REAL PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE AND TO DESTROY THE HOPES FOR PEACE AND STABILITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

WE THE IRISH PEOPLE, MUST ASK OURSELVES A DIFFICULT QUESTION: WHAT DO WE REALLY WANT IN ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS? DO WE WANT EMOTIONAL GRATIFICATION OR DO WE WANT REAL PROGRESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND? IT MUST BE ONE OR THE OTHER: WE CANNOT HAVE BOTH. WE CANNOT GIVE OURSELVES WHATEVER SATISFACTION CAN BE DERIVED FROM VILIFYING THE BRITISH AND AT THE SAME TIME HOPE TO CHANGE THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH. I UNDERSTAND AND I FEEL AS DEEPLY AS ANY NATIONALIST ON THIS ISLAND THE EMOTION BEQUEATHED TO US BY A LONG HISTORY OF TYRANNICAL AND STUPID OPPRESSION AND THE YET STRONGER OUTRAGE WE FEEL AT THE PLIGHT OF A WHOLE COMMUNITY IN THE NORTH TODAY. THAT CHOICE MUST BE MADE, HOWEVER. THE TAOISEACH AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CLEARLY CHOSEN THE DIFFICULT ROAD OF PROGRESS AND SO TOO, DESPITE THE SHOCKING ANTICS OF SOME POLITICIANS AND THE MEDIA IN THESE PAST FEW DAYS, HAVE THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE. WE ARE GOING TO STICK TO OUR CHOICE BECAUSE THAT IS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN HOPE TO CHANGE THE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE ONLY WAY WE CAN TRULY EARN THE RIGHT TO BE PROUD OF OUR EFFORTS, OF OUR ACHIEVEMENTS AND OF OURSELVES.

THE THREE MODELS IN THE FORUM REPORT WERE (FOLLOWING WORD UNDERLINED) OPTIONS NOT, AS MRS THATCHER MISTAKENLY SAID IN THE COMMONS, (FOLLOWING WORD UNDERLINED) PROPOSALS, AND INDEED THE FORUM ITSELF STATED THAT OTHER POSSIBILITIES COULD BE CONSIDERED. ONLY ONCE DID THE FORUM USE THE WORD "PROPOSES". IN CHAPTER 5 THE FORUM PROPOSED TEN REQUIREMENTS "AS NECESSARY ELEMENTS OF A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH A NEW IRELAND COULD EMERGE". MRS THATCHER IN THE COMMUNIQUE, IN HER PRESS CONFERENCE AND IN HER REMARKS IN THE COMMONS SUSCRIBED TO A SIGNIFICANT EXTENT TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THOSE PROPOSALS. I AM TODAY RELEASING A SHORT PAPER WHICH DEMONSTRATES THE HARMONY AND THE LARGE MEASURE OF IDENTITY ACHIEVED BETWEEN THE PROPOSALS IN THE FORUM REPORT AND THE PUBLIC APPROACH OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AS OURLINED AFTER THE SUMMIT..

IRISH LEADERS HAVE IN THE RECENT PAST MADE LUDICROUSLY INFLATED CLAIMS FOR THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THEIR MEETINGS WITH THE BRITISH WITH RESULTS WHICH HAVE SET BACK THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE, RECONCILIATION AND STABILITY, THROUGH DAMAGING THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT. THE TAOISEACH, THE TANAISTE AND I HAVE, CONSIDIOUS OF CHILDISH AND DAMAGING IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THIS APPROACH AND CONCERNED TO ACHIEVE REAL PROGRESS RATHER THAN MER POLITICAL ADVANTAGE IN THIS STATE, REFRAINED VERY CAREFULLY - IN HINDSIGHT, PERHAPS A LITTLE TOO CAREFULLY - FROM PRESENTING OUR MEETING AT CHEQUERS AS INVOLVING AN "HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH" OR ANY OF THE OTHER TRIUMPHALIST RAIMEIS WE WERE BOMBARDED WITH A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO. I CANNOT, HOWEVER, AGREE THAT THEFACT THAT MRS THATCHER HAS TO A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE NOW GONE ALONG WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRINCIPAL PROPOSALS OF THE FOURM REPORT AS THE BASIS OF A COMMON APPROACH BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAS SET THE SITUATION BACK ALL OF FIFTY YEARSM

I AM SADDENED, INDEED ANGERED, AT THE WAY IN WHICH SOME OF OUR OPPONENTS IN THE DAIL AND SOME OTHER COMMENTATORS HAVE SOUGHT TO CREATE HYSTERIA IN PUBLIC OPINION HERE DURING THESE PAST FOUR DAYS. WE WERE IN A WAY PREPARED FOR SOMETHING OF THIS SORT BY MR HAUGHEYS DISMISSAL OF THE SUMMIT EVEN BEFORE WE LEFT FOR CHEQUERS AND BY HIS INSTANT SAVAGING OF ITS RESULTS WITHIN MINUTES OF THE COMMUNIQUE BEING PUBLISHED. OUR OBJECTIVES WERE AND REMAIN CRYSTAL CLEAR: TO END THE NIGHTMARE OF THE NORTHERN NATIONALISTS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO CREATE LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY THROUGHOUT IRELAND. WE HAVE NOT BEEN HELPED IN THIS COMMON GOAL BY THE DISTORTIONS, PERSONAL ATTACKS AND APPEALS TO A PRESUMED NATIONALIST XENOPHOBIA AND A PRESUMED NATIONAL INFERIORITY COMPLEX OF THE PAST DAYS. TO THOSE WHO HAVE INDULGED IN THIS PATHETIC ACTIVITY I SAY TWO THINGS: . FIRST, I AM SORRY THAT YOU ARE SO FIERCELY DRIVEN BY POLITICAL AMBITION THAT YOU HAVE, FAR MORE VICIOUSLY THAN ANYTHING DONE BY OUR BRITISH INTERLOCUTERS, CHOSEN TO KNIFE, KNIFE AND KNIFE AGAIN THE GOVERNMENT OF THIS COUNTRY AS WE WORK TO TRY TO FIND A COMMON APPROACH WITH THE BRITISH AND, SECOND, YOU'RE WASTING YOUR TIME BECAUSE THE IRISH PEOPLE HAVE TOO MUCH MATURITY AND TOO MUCH REAL PRIDE IN THEMSELVES TO FALL FOR THIS PANDERING. AND I ADD FOR MR HAUGHEY'S OWN BENEFIT THAT, IF HE CANNOT BRING HIMSELF TO BACK THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS COUNTRY IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE AND STABILITY, HE SHOULD IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST TAKE HIS OWN ADVICE AND DEPART THE NATIONAL STAGE ONCE AND FOR ALL.

IN OUR DIFFICULT TASK WE HAVE BEEN POWERFULLY SUSTAINED BY THE REMARKABLE EVIDENCE OF SOPHISTICATION AND STEADY MATURITY SHOWN BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE. A MAJOR OPINION POLL PUBLISHED LAST WEEK SHOWED THAT THE OPEN APPROACH BY THE GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE FORUM REPORT IN ITS ENTIRETY HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE. THE POLL ALSO PROVES THAT THOSE WHO TAKE A NARROW AND ABSOLUTIST VIEW ARE SUPPORTED ON THIS ISSUE ONLY BY A TINY PROPORTION OF IRISH MEN AND WOMEN EITHER YOUNG OR OLD THIS IS A CAUSE FOR REAL PRIDE IN THE JUDGEMENT OF OUR PEOPLE AND SHOWS FOR ONCE AND FOR ALL THAT THE DAYS OF NATIONAL INFERIORITY COMPLEXES ARE WELL AND TRULY BEHIND US.

WE ARE NOW IN BUSINESS WITH THE BRITISH. WE CANNOT MAKE PROMISES OF SUCCESS. WE CAN ONLY PROMISE THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL SPARE NO EFFORT IN OUR ATTEMPT TO FIND ENOUGH COMMON GROUND TO ENABLE A VIABLE INITIATIVE TO BE ATTEMPTED. THE GOING WILL NOT BE EASY. IT WASN'T EASY AT CHEQUERS BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT I HAVE NEVER BEEN MORE CONFIDENT OR PROUD OF OUR TAOISEACH AS WHEN, DURING THOSE DIFFICULT EXCHANGES, HE TIME AND TIME AGAIN BROUGHT MRS THATCHER TO FACE THE FULL DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM OF NORTHERN IRELAND. AS WE PROCEED THERE WILL PROBABLY BE MOMENTS OF SERIOUS DIFFERENCE, SERIOUS MISUNDERSTANDING AND PERHAPS EVEN OF PANIC ON THE PART OF SOME. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE UNNERVED OR DETERRED BY THESE DIFFICULTIES.

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, IN THIS DIFFICULT SEARCH FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION, WE MUST STAND STEADILY TOGETHER AND WORK FOR REAL PROGRESS, NOT EPHEMERAL EMOTIONAL HYPES. I AM ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENT THAT WE HAVE THE SELF-RESPECT, THE SELF-

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, IN THIS DIFFICULT SEARCH FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION, WE MUST STAND STEADILY TOGETHER AND WORK FOR REAL PROGRESS, NOT EPHEMERAL EMOTIONAL HYPES. I AM ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENT THAT WE HAVE THE SELF-RESPECT, THE SELF-CONFIDENCE, THE MATURITY AND THE COURAGE TO DO THIS.

2. SEE MIFT.