

GRS 880

UNCLASSIFIED

FM DUBLIN

TO DESKBY 221130Z FCOLN

TELNO 808

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INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK, NIO (B)

MY TELNO 804: ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT : DAIL DEBATE: MR BARRY'S SPEECH

1. WINDING UP FOR THE GOVERNMENT , MR BARRY PAID TRIBUTE TO THE QUALITY OF THE DEBATE, TO THE TAOISEACH, AND MR HAUGHEY 'FOR THE CONCILIATORY TONE OF HIS REMARKS, EVEN IF WE FIND OURSELVES IN DISAGREEMENT WITH MUCH OF WHAT HE SAID IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE'.

2. THE DEBATE HAD SHOWN HIM THAT THE COMPLEXITY OF WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED ('OF A HIGH ORDER OF INGENUITY') WAS SUCH THAT THE AGREEMENT COULD BE MISCONSTRUED OR 'AS HAS HAPPENED PARTICULARLY IN THE NORTH, EXTENSIVELY MISREPRESENTED'. A NUMBER OF 'ASSURANCES AND CLARIFICATIONS' TO BOTH NATIONALIST AND UNIONIST CONCERNS WERE IN ORDER.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF ARTICLE 1

3. 'THE AGREEMENT IS ... TOTALLY CONSISTENT WITH THE CONSTITUTION ... OUR CONVICTION IS BASED ON THE MOST DETAILED CONSIDERATION BY THOSE AUTHORISED TO ADVISE US AND WE ARE CONFIDENT OF OUR POSITION'. FOR THE OPPOSITION TO CRITICISE THE AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT AND NOT TO EXERCISE THEIR LEGAL PREROGATIVE IN THE MATTER DID NOT SEEM 'LOGICAL ... MATURE OR RESPONSIBLE'. ARTICLE 1 PROVIDED 'A SOUND SET OF GUARANTEES BOTH TO NATIONALISTS AND TO UNIONISTS, BASED RIGOROUSLY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENT'. UNIONIST FEARS THAT IRISH UNITY WOULD BE IMPOSED AGAINST THE WISHES OF A MAJORITY HAD LED TO 'DISCRIMINATION , DOMINATION , POLITICAL EXCLUSION AND THE DENIAL OF THE IDENTITY' OF NATIONALISTS. BRITISH ATTEMPTS TO REASSURE UNIONISTS HAD REINFORCED DIVISIONS: 'LONDON FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THAT MEASURES SUCH AS BORDER POLLS, WHICH WERE INTENDED TO COMFORT UNIONISTS ALONE, ONLY CREATED GREATER UNCERTAINTY THAN EVER'. ARTICLE 1 WAS A PRODUCT OF THE SHARED DESIRE OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO MEET THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF UNCERTAINTY OVER THE FUTURE, WITH NATIONALISTS FEARING NO CHANGE AND UNIONISTS FEARING CHANGE: 'FAR FROM BEING A BETRAYAL OF NATIONALISTS OR OF UNIONISTS, ARTICLE 1 IS IN FACT AN EXERCISE IN INGENIOUS AND BENIGN DRAFTSMANSHIP, WHICH BETRAYS NO-ONE AND GUARANTEES FOR THE FIRST TIME BOTH SETS OF CONCERNS.

DEVOLUTION

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4. REFERRING TO OPPOSITION CONCERN THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF DEVOLUTION MIGHT CUT OUT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S ROLE POINTED THAT , IN SUCH A CASE THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MATTERS WITH WHICH THE CONFERENCE WOULD SEASE TO DEAL 'WOULD BE DEALT WITH ... BY A DEVOLVED ADMINISTRATION INVOLVING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES'. IF THAT DEVOLUTION BROK DOWN, THE CONFERENCE 'WOULD ONCE AGAIN HAVE A ROLE ON THE ISSUES...'

ROLE OF THE CONFERENCE

5. MR BARRY REPLIED TO CONCERN EXPRESSED ABOUT THE ABSENCE OF THE WORD 'CONSULTATION' BY SAYING 'CANDIDLY THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WERE NOT ABLE, EITHER SEPARATELY OR JOINTLY, TO FIND A SINGLE WORD WHICH WOULD ADEQUATELY DESCRIBE THE PROCESSES OF THE CONFERENCE.' IN DEALING WITH MATTERS ARISING IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE CONFERENCE WOULD WORK AT THREE LEVELS. THE FIRST WAS 'CONSULTATIVE' -IE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD UNDERTAKEN AN OBLIGATION TO CONSULT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ON A RANGE OF MATTERS (ARTICLES 5(A) AND (C) : ARTICLES 6,7 AND 8). THE SECOND LEVEL WENT 'BEYOND WHAT WE NORMALLY UNDERSTAND BY THE WORD 'CONSULTATION' BY GRANTING A FORMAL RIGHT TO PUT FORWARD VIEWS AND PROPOSALS (ARTICLE 2(B)). THE THIRD LEVEL, 'WHICH GOVERNS THE FIRST TWO', WAS THE COMMITMENT TO MAKE 'DETERMINED EFFORTS ... THROUGH THE CONFERENCE TO RESOLVE ANY DIFFERENCES'. IN THE AREA OF CROSS-BORDEG COOPERATION, THE TWO SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS WOULD SEEK TO MAKE JOINT DECISIONS IN THE COMMON INTEREST: 'AGAIN THE WORD 'CONSULTATION' DOES NOT APPLY'.

6. MR BARRY MADE TWO FUTHER POINTS ON THE ROLE OF THE CONFERENCE FIRST, THE AGREEMENT MADE IT CLEAR (A.2(B)) THAT THERE WAS NO DEROGATION FROM THE SOVEREIGNTY OF EITHER STATE, AND IT DID 'NOT CONFER A FORMAL ROLE OF EXECUTIVE DECISION MAKING ON THE IRISH GOVERNMENT. BUT SEVOND, THE AGREEMENT DID CREATE 'A SUBSTANTIAL ROLE' FOR THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, CREATING 'A SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT SITUATION FROM 1969 AND 1972 WHEN OUR RIGHT T EVEN TO 'CONSULTATION' WAS FORMALLY DENIED ... REPEATED WITH EMPHASIS .. ON 30 JULY 1982' BY MRS THATCHER.O

7. BOTH GOVERNMENTS WERE COMMITTED TO MAKING THE AGREEMENT WORK: 'WE WILL EXPECT THE BRITISH TO BE UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POSITION AS WE WILL HAVE TO BE OF THEIRS. BOTH GOVERNMENTS - NOT JUST THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, NOT JUST THE IRISH GOVERNMENT - MUST MAKE DETERMINED EFFORTS TO RESOLVE ANY DIFFERENCES'. BUT 'THERE WILL BE NO QUESTION OF EITHER GOVERNMENT HIDING BEHIND THE CONFERENCE TO EVADE DIFFICULTIES, WHETHER IN THE FIELDS OF SECURITY, WHETHER THOSE DIFFICULTIES ARISE IN THE NATIONALIST OR UNIONIST SIDES OR IN THE FIELD OF COOPERATION'. HE WOULD NOT LESSEN HIS EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY BUT HE WAS 'DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THERE EXISITS A MECHANISM FOR MAKING REAL PROGRESS, PROGRESS WHICH WILL PRODUCE FAR MORE SATISFACTORY RESULTS THAN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PROTESTS'.

8. MR BARRY POINTED TO THE CONDITIONAL NATURE OF REFERENCES TO THE RECIPROCAL APPLICATION OF MEASURES IN THE REPUBLIC, AND SAID: 'THERE IS OF COURSE NO OBLIGATION ON US TO DO ANYTHING, BUT IT WOULD BE NOTHING SHORT OF A SHEER INSULT TO GO INTO THIS ENTERPRISE AS THOUGH WE HAD NOTHING TO LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE'. HE ADDED: 'SURELY BOTH SIDES OF THIS HOUSE SHARE THE DESIRE TO SEE, WHEREVER APPROPRIATE THE SAME POLICIES BEING APPLIED IN THE TWO PARTS OF IRELAND, ESPECIALLY IF WE HAVE AN INPUT INTO THOSE BEING APPLIED IN THE NORTH'.

SDLP AND FIANNA FAIL

9. MR BARRY DENIED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD AT ANY POINT SOUGHT TO PUT ANY PRESSURE ON THE SDLP, EITHER ABOUT THE AGREEMENT OR ABOUT THEIR ROLE IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. TURNING TO FIANNA FAIL HE SAID: 'WE SHOULD ALL ADMIT THAT NO PARTY ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE HAS A MONOPOLY ON REPROLICANISM ... THE PEOPLE ARE THE MORAL FORCE OF THIS LAND'.

UNIONISTS

10. MR BARRY SAID HE WAS VERY CONCERNED TO SEE THAT MANY IN THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY 'ARE NOW REACTING PRIMARILY IN EMOTIONAL TERMS'. HE ADDED: 'LET ME SAY THIS CLEARLY. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS NO DESIRE TO HAVE DOMINION OVER THE UNIONIST PEOPLE. THIS AGREEMENT DOES NOT CONFER SUCH A POWER ON US, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. WE RECOGNISE THE IDENTITY OF THE UNIONISTS: THEIR BRITISHNESS, THEIR ETHICS, THEIR SENSE OF BEING THREATENED BY IRISH UNITY'. IN THEIR HEARTS, UNIONISTS 'MUST KNOW THAT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE THAT THINGS SHOULD STAY THE SAME: THEY MUST KNOW THAT 'NO CHANGE' WOULD ONLY MEAN 'MORE OF THE SAME'. THE AGREEMENT ATTEMPTED TO PROVIDE A SYSTEM 'WITH WHICH BOTH SIDES CAN IDENTIFY'. HE APPEALED TO MR MOLYNEAUX AND MR PAISLEY 'TO ACCEPT THAT DUBLIN HAS NO DESIRE WHATEVER TO UNDERMINE THEIR RIGHTS ON THEIR POSITION'. THE IRISH INPUT INTO THE PROCESSES OF GOVERNMENT WAS INTENDED 'ONLY TO EASE THE DIVISIONS IN THE COMMUNITY IN THE NORTH ... TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY'.

ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS

11. MR BARRY PAID TRIBUTE TO 'THE COURAGE, DETERMINATION AND IMAGINATION SHOWN ON THIS OCCASION BY MRS THATCHER, SIR G. HOWE, TOM KING AND HIS PREDECESSOR DOUGLAS HURD'. HE HAD COME 'TO KNOW TOM KING AND TO APPRECIATE HIS QUALITIES IN RECENT MONTHS. HE IS A STRAIGHT-TALKING, SENSIBLE MAN'. MR BARRY HOPED THAT 'IN THE IRISH PERMANENT MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIVE' HE WOULD FIND ANOTHER, AND THAT THEIR WORK TOGETHER WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO 'PEACE AND STABILITY ... TO RECONCILIATION, ... TO PROSPERITY AND TO THE GREATER FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH PEOPLES'.

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NORTHERN IRELAND
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PS
PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR EGGAR
PS/PUS
MR DEREK THOMAS
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