

FROM: JACQUELINE BLACK
POLITICAL AFFAIRS DIVISION
DATE: 19 MARCH 1992

ISG(O) MEMBERS

QUOTATIONS

Attached is an initial list of useful quotations, which have now been categorised by speaker and by subject matter, as agreed at the last meeting of ISG(O).

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QUOTATIONS

PART A (BY ORIGIN)

A GOVERNMENT/OPPPOSITION

B REPUBLIC OF IRELAND SPOKESPERSONS

C USA SPOKESPERSONS

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E UNIONISTS

F CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALISTS

G EDITORIAL COMMENTS

H REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

PART B (BY SUBJECT MATTER)

I POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

J REACTIONS TO VIOLENCE

K PIRA

L CEASEFIRE/POSITION OF SINN FEIN

A GOVERNMENT/OPPOSITION

October 1991: Peter Brooke (Secretary of State for NI)

"No Government would dream of allowing the future of any part of this island to be determined on the basis of an agenda set by men of violence"

17 January 1992: John Major (Prime Minister)

"A policy of bombing is odious, contemptible, and cowardly and will never change the government's policy in Northern Ireland.

17 January 1992: Neil Kinnock (Leader of the Opposition)

"For these murderers, slaughtering their fellow men and women is as easy as it is vicious. They put themselves beyond anyone's forgiveness."

11 February 1992: John Major (Prime Minister), after his meeting with the leaders of the four main political parties in Northern Ireland, Jim Molyneux (UUP), Ian Paisley (DUP), John Hume (SDLP) and John Alderdice (Alliance).

"Everyone present was unanimous in condemning terrorist attacks, whatever their source may be. Terrorists who claim to be acting on behalf of one community or the other were in fact acting against the interests of all the people in Northern Ireland. That was the unanimous view of everyone attending this meeting. Everyone at the meeting gave their support to the security forces in bringing those responsible for terrorist atrocities to justice."

B REPUBLIC OF IRELAND SPOKESPERSONS

6 February 1992: Albert Reynolds (Taoiseach)

"I will take whatever initiative I can on Northern Ireland. We have to look at the reasons why terrorists are sheltered and try to build from there. Solving the problem of Northern Ireland is about reconciliation of the minds of the people and finding new structures through political means."

12 February 1992: David Andrews (ROI Minister for Foreign Affairs)

"... the new Taoiseach, Mr Reynolds, indicated that within the sense of global talks that of course Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution would be open for discussion, in other words they would be on the table at all times."

13 February 1992: David Andrews (ROI Minister for Foreign Affairs)

Commenting that he was available at all times to talk to the unionists...

"It is important that the political process be seen to take over from the violent process and from the terror and the depredation caused by the men of violence."

16 February 1992: Albert Reynolds (Taoiseach)

"I have done business with the unionists in the past. I can do business with them anytime, I know how they feel."

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"I do not think there is any question that the majority of Irish people reject that the IRA act in their name".

C USA SPOKESPERSONS

July 1990: Tom Foley (Speaker of the US House of Representatives)

"The IRA's guns and bombs have not brought independence to Northern Ireland, nor will they. They haven't brought jobs nor the elimination of sectarian discrimination, nor will they."

February 1991: Tom Foley

Writing to John Major following the IRA's mortar attack on Number 10 Downing Street:

"I must express to you my absolute condemnation at this barbarous, desperate act. The consolation I and so many take from this near tragedy is that the IRA has not in this or in its other grim assaults on human decency gained, but rather lost, support for its bloody aims. We thank you and your Government for your resoluteness in defeating terrorism by refusing to allow it to rend the fabric of democratic government."

D CHURCHMEN

October 1990: Dr Edward Daly (RC Bishop of Derry and Raphoe)

Dr Daly described the Provisional IRA and its supporters as "followers of Satan. Jesus Christ said 'By their fruit shall you know them', and the fruits of the IRA are strewn all over Europe from a murdered infant in West Germany to murdered Australian tourists in Holland to murdered pensioners in Enniskillen to murdered good samaritans in our own cityThese are the fruits of the Provisional IRA - by their fruits you shall know them".

December 1990: Cardinal Cahal Daly (RC)

"The peaceful revolution which transformed Eastern Europe was primarily a spiritual and a moral revolution and it achieved by peaceful means what armed uprising could never have achieved. The longer you (republican activists) continue with your campaign of violence, the more ignominious in the end will be the memory you will leave behind you and the further away from attainment will be any of your aims and objectives. If or when you call off your campaign, your aims and objectives become in principle attainable through the only means by which they ever could be attained, namely through peaceful political processes."

26 September 1991: Pope John Paul II

"The Church continues to condemn all acts of violence and intimidation, from whatever source they originate. Peace cannot come from injustice and violence; it can only be built on respect for the rights of individuals and peoples, and on a shared sense of responsibility for the well-being of the entire population."

17 January 1992: Archbishop Robin Eames (Church of Ireland)

"... the terrorists and those who support them have nothing to offer the people of Northern Ireland but loss, misery and death."

14 February 1992: Archbishop Robin Eames

"Let no-one have any doubt - sectarian murder is the ultimate blasphemy. No excuse, no explanation, no so-called justification can do anything to change that fact."

E UNIONISTS UNIONAL NATIONALISTS

November 1988: John Hume MP, MEP (SDLP Leader and a former civil rights activist)
11 February 1992: John Taylor MP (UUP) (activist)

"... nationalist and unionist politicians must agree a form of devolved administration for Northern Ireland in which both Catholic and Protestant politicians are involved. Finally, Dublin must drop its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland and both Belfast and Dublin must agree to enter into a new era of co-operation for the island through new institutions - all the more relevant in the context of a developing European Community."

August 1990: John Hume

"Is there a single injustice in Northern Ireland today that justifies the taking of a single life."

August 1990: John Hume

"If the peoples of western Europe, who for centuries slaughtered one another and their legacy of history, far more bitter than ours, can build common institutions which preserve their differences, which allow them to work their common economic ground together and to grow together at their own speed towards a unity whose form is agreed by all and whose essence is the acceptance of diversity, can we not do the same on this small island? Indeed could someone please tell me if there is any other way?"

November 1990: John Hume

"[The] tools [of PIRA] are death and destruction, their aim is conquest through fear and terror, their mindset is sectarian divisiveness. The "mistakes" which they admit are the murder of the innocent. Their doctrine is an eye for an eye and they are blind. By their own standards let them be judged."

6 March 1992: John Hume

"In urging the IRA to lay down its arms: "Revenge isn't the solution to the problem in a divided society".

F CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALISTS

November 1988: John Hume MP, MEP (SDLP Leader and a former civil rights activist)

"If I were to lead a civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland today, the major target of that campaign would be the IRA. It is they who carry out the greatest infringements of human and civil rights, whether it is their murders, their executions without trial, their kneecappings and punishment shootings, their bombings of jobs and people. The most fundamental human right is the right to life. Who in Northern Ireland takes the most human lives?"

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G EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Economist:

"PIRA kills to exist and it exists to kill."

May 1990: Evening Standard editorial comment on an IRA "Apology"

"Nothing represents the arrogance and callousness of the IRA better than its condolences. The Provisionals' humanity is selective. Their apology is based on the premise that there is a legitimate target for the murderous attacks, namely British soldiers. They have apologised for an operational blunder, not for their inhumanity in presuming the right to take lives".

Protestant community will be totally unacceptable to Republicans."

H REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

February 1992: Gerry Adams

August 1990: John Hume (MP, MEP (SDLP Leader))

"I would like to warn any group contemplating retaliatory action that such actions have no part in any struggle which claims to be republican. I repeat my firm conviction that attacks on Protestants are wrong for exactly the same reasons that attacks on Catholics are wrong."

February 1992: Martin McGuinness

"There exists a very real probability that a group of people who emanate from the nationalist community intend carrying out a retaliatory strike in response to last week's murders. I must warn this group that any action which targets the Protestant community will be totally unacceptable to Republicans." "Whatever initiative I can on Northern Ireland. We have to look at the reasons why terrorists are sheltered and try to build from there. Solving the problem of Northern Ireland is about reconciliation of the minds of the people and finding new structures through political means."

11 February 1992: John Taylor MP (DUP)

"... nationalist and unionist politicians must agree a form of devolved administration for Northern Ireland in which both Catholic and Protestant politicians are involved. Finally, Dublin must drop its constitutional claim to Northern Ireland and both Belfast and Dublin must agree to enter into a new era of co-operation for the island through new institutions - all the more relevant in the context of a developing European Community."

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L CEASEFIRE/POSITION OF SINN FEIN

1 January 1992: Gerry Adams (Sinn Fein)

"The exclusion of Sinn Fein democratically elected representatives of the nationalist people, seriously undermines the ability of any talks process to reach a comprehensive settlement and, therefore, to deliver a real peace to the people of this island."

1 January 1992: Cardinal Cahal Daly (RC)

"No government, Irish or British, could be expected to agree to political dialogue with Sinn Fein on the basis that it was a party backed by a campaign of terrorist violence. However, if that violence ceases then Sinn Fein, on the basis that it is representative of an aspect of the republican tradition in Ireland, is entitled to expect a place in the subsequent discussions about the future of this island. If the violence was called off there is a clear responsibility of both governments to find some means whereby the Sinn Fein tradition of republicanism could be fully represented at the conference table."

5 January 1992: Archbishop Robin Eames (Church of Ireland)

"If you are involved in violence, if you are a supporter of violence, I cannot see that you have a contribution to make to the future of Northern Ireland or to the future of Ireland as a whole ... It would be naive to believe that the rejection of violence can be judged in an instant. Proof positive would be required that the rejection of violence was totally without reservation and this could only be tested through time."

7 January 1992: Martin McGuinness (Sinn Fein)

"We think there is an onus of responsibility on us, but also on the British Government to engage in discussions recognising each other's position and at the end of the day seeing if there can be a solution worked out to this problem. ... From the republican point of view, Sinn Fein would make it as easy as it could."

9 January 1992: Peter Brooke (Secretary of State for NI)

"If there were a cessation of violence - I mean violence ceasing, I do not mean temporary ceasefires - if violence ceased then Sinn Fein would be back in the business of being a constitutional party and the present obstacle for the British Government to talk to them would, of course, disappear."

24 January 1992: Bishop James Mehaffey (Church of Ireland)

"When it comes to working out a political framework for this country, I find it incredible that someone involved in violence today should, sooner or later, be at the Conference table engaged in political dialogue, with constitutional politicians, trying to work out a future for this country. I believe that the IRA and the other paramilitaries have destroyed any credibility they might possible have had once and I believe the entire community - Roman Catholic and Protestant - see it like that. It would be quite unacceptable to think that people like this should be involved in working out the future of this country politically."

6 February 1992: Albert Reynolds (Taoiseach)

"Only if they lay down their arms and give up their campaign of violence. Only on that basis should their participation be considered."

18 February 1992: Martin McGuinness (Sinn Fein)

"Sinn Fein is a legitimate political party that does not endorse or advocate the use of violence. But we understand the reasons why violence takes place"

18 February 1992: Gerry Adams (Sinn Fein)

"Sinn Fein does not support terrorism"

"There is a need to end all acts of violence"