

FROM:

J M RODELL
SIL DIVISION
18 JANUARY 1994

310/93

- cc PS/SofS (B&L) - B
- PS/Michael Ancram (B&L) - B
- PS/PUS (B&L) - B
- PS/Mr Fell - B
- Mr Legge - B
- Mr Thomas - B
- Mr Bell - B
- Mr Watkins - B
- Mr Williams - B
- Mr Wood (B&L) - B
- Mr Brooker - B
- Mr Daniell
- Mr Leach - B
- Mr Maccabe - B
- Mr Maxwell - B
- Mr Quinn - B
- HMA Dublin - B
- Mr Archer, RID, FCO - B
- Mr Caine - B

MISS DULLAGHAN - B

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN: LONDON DINING CLUB ANNUAL LECTURE

Thank you for your note of yesterday and for the attached copy of the lecture, as amended by the Secretary of State.

2. I have also received a few comments and minor corrections from colleagues. Attached to this note is a draft which takes account of them and the Secretary of State's revisions. It is clearly not yet a final text but it at least puts everyone on the same starting line for the next round of revisions.

(signed)

J M RODELL
SIL
EXT 6506
18 JANUARY 1994

*Mrs Kennedy
Thank you.
Mrs Kennedy
19/1 I don't think
that he has yet
taken on board
our amendments*

Mr Maxwell

*He has taken the
LODU point. His
revision of the IDB
revision of the IDB*

*While I don't
agree with the
phrase "has now
begun to", he does
state that this
started in 1992
a few lines later.*

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*I'm not sure it's
worth pursuing
Dm 19/1*

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SECRETARY OF STATE'S SPEECH TO TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN DINING CLUB. LONDON 20 JANUARY 1994

Can any institution have made a more positive and substantial contribution to the educational, cultural, political and social life of Ireland over the last four hundred and two years than TCD?

A list of alumni would read like a Who's Who of Irish history - Dean Swift, Edmund Burke, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Thomas Emmett, Sir Edward Carson, Dr Douglas Hyde, the first President of Ireland, and, of course, the current most distinguished holder of that office.

That turbulent history has been reflected in Trinity's own development over the last 400 years. In its bloodstream history has conspired to fuse Irishness and Britishness in a unique and creative way. Founded by former Cambridge graduates, based on the model of the two English Universities of the day, Trinity's British pedigree is unchallengable. Yet what could be more quintessentially Irish than TCD? And now the opportunities offered by the College, once the preserve of the privileged, are now enjoyed by men and women, Protestant and Catholic, southerner and northerner, and people from all round the world as well.

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It seems to me most appropriate, therefore, that, at a time when relations between the different traditions in Ireland, and relations between Britain and Ireland, undergoing such rapid development and are being set within a wholly new framework, I should set out something of my own understanding of those changes to an audience of Trinity men and women.

The Joint Declaration made by the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach on 15 December has attracted warm support and praise from around the world: from the United States and Canada, from our European partners, from Australasia and from countries of goodwill, like India and Japan. It has been seen, and rightly, as marking an historic new beginning.

But it didn't come out of the blue. It is simply the latest step in the development of a particularly close working relationship between the two Governments. And no-one should really be surprised at British and Irish Governments working closely together. The people of Britain and Ireland have, great diversities, certainly, but also a great deal in common. Their history, cultures and populations have been intertwined for many centuries. The examples are countless but suffice it for me to remind you that St Patrick was in fact a Welshman and that that paragon of Britishness, the Duke of Wellington, was born in Dublin.

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Today, the links between our two countries are innumerable. We are partners, of course, in Europe. And there is a firmly established habit of consultation and cooperation between our two Governments on a bilateral basis as well. British Ministers regularly visit Dublin and frequently receive their Irish counterparts in London. That close working relationship extends to the highest political level, with the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister meeting formally at least twice a year and often in contact in between times.

For the last four years, a British-Irish Parliamentary Body has provided an opportunity for Parliamentarians, who operate within broadly similar parliamentary traditions, to get to know each other and work together in examining areas of common concern.

And, of course, the strongest tie between our two countries must be the fact that more than two million people of immediate Irish descent, taking full advantage of the Common Travel Area arrangements that have existed between us since long before the European Community was a glimmer in anyone's eye, have chosen to live and work in the United Kingdom, making a full, lively and valued contribution to society here.

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The British are not present in the Republic on anything like the same scale, but British companies play an important part in the Irish economy; you are the sixth most important market for British exports, many Britons visit Ireland as tourists, 1.7 million last year I understand, and many homes across the Republic tune into television and radio programmes broadcast from the United Kingdom - even in our despair at the endless repeats we are as one.

The bonds between us are innumerable, strong, deeply rooted and constantly developing.

Let us not pretend there are no difficulties in the relationship. No doubt precisely because so much of our history has been intertwined, our perception of each other has often focussed on caricatures of what is different rather than what we hold in common. Our history proves a rich quarry for distrust, assiduously mined to this day by collectors. But I am glad to say that their numbers continue to diminish - only last year, while on one of her welcome visits to the United Kingdom, President Robinson became the first ever President of Ireland to meet the reigning Monarch of the United Kingdom. It was a most powerful symbol of the fact that we are turning our backs on the unhappiness of the past, and coming together to face common challenges.

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surely that is most vividly to be seen when we turn to Northern Ireland. Its very status, its divided society and the social and political blemishes deriving from it. Its endemic violence. All these have over the last 70 years been a source of often bitter conflict between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom. Yet in recent years, Northern Ireland, has become the focus of some of the most determined and imaginative co-operation between us. Between Governments, of course, but also between business and community groups as well.

The most basic challenge facing Ireland, north and south, is one of geography. Lying on the north west fringe of Europe, its future prosperity depends on the ability of its business communities to trade successfully in the European and world markets. That instantly creates a common interest, North and South, in bringing down barriers to trade - both regulatory, through the single European market and GATT, and physical, through the development of modern transport infrastructures that will link us speedily, efficiently and cheaply to the markets for our goods.

The challenge is immediate and severe. Unemployment plagues us. In Northern Ireland it is currently running at 13.6%, in the Republic it is, I believe, something like

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17.8%. The statistics are chilling. But anyone who travels around Ireland, north or south, knows that there are plenty of grounds for hope - thriving companies, dynamic entrepreneurship, excellent labour relations, continuing inward investment - and cross-border cooperation has developed rapidly to exploit those advantages.

Northern Ireland's Industrial Development Board and the Irish Trade Board have now begun to mount joint promotions of goods produced north and south of the border. The first was held here in London in 1992, at Liberty's. Another, attended jointly by Lord Arran, the then Minister for Agriculture in Northern Ireland and Charlie McCreevy, the Irish Minister for Tourism and Trade, was held in Chicago last summer. It proved highly successful.

The Irish Trade Board and LEDU, Northern Ireland's small business agency, are also cooperating in a joint marketing initiative for the Irish film industry, Ireland on Screen. Originally sponsored by the International Fund for Ireland, it provides a platform to sell Irish films and television programmes overseas.

And in the all-important field of research and technology, collaboration is making possible projects that neither the Republic or Northern Ireland could probably sustain on

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their own. The Institute of Advanced Microelectronics is just one example, linking the Queen's University of Belfast and Trinity College Dublin. Queen's is also involved in work on micro-electronics in conjunction with University College Cork; and the University of Ulster in a research and development project with three Irish universities and another with the Irish science and technology agency, EOLAS.

Cross-border trade is also growing. It used to be claimed, I don't know how accurately, that more people crossed the border to attend a single rugby international than crossed it in a whole year for business. Now exports to the Republic account for 5% of Northern Ireland's GDP and exports to Northern Ireland for 3% of the Republic's. Of course, that still leaves a long way to go. A survey by the CBI in Northern Ireland and the Confederation of Irish Industries estimated that the potential for manufacturers north and south to increase business was perhaps worth as much as £3 billion and 75,000 jobs. Again that is an estimate which is not incontestable but it is clear that the potential is considerable and that both Governments, and both business communities, are faced by the challenge of bringing the potential to fruition.

Improved transport infrastructures will certainly help. We have already reached agreement on the upgrading of the

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Belfast-Dublin rail link and most of the road north of Newry has been, or is planned to be, upgraded to dual carriageway status. But not all the obstacles to increase trade have been physical by any means. There have also been many misconceived or exaggerated perceptions about the difficulties of doing business on the other side of the border - problems of recovering debts, dealing with currency, different rates of VAT and different legislation. Once again business groups and public bodies have been working together to address the problems.

Local businesses, developing and growing both through increased trade overseas and across the border, are unlikely, however, to overcome the structural weaknesses of Ireland's economies - we need also inward investment, and both parts of Ireland have been extremely successful at attracting it, from North America, from the Far East, from Germany and France. Low labour costs, a skilled workforce, good infrastructure and a very high quality of life are a winning combination. To some extent, of course, north and south are in competition, often we are chasing the same individual investors, but in as much as we are both competing against regions more centrally placed in the European Community, or in central or eastern Europe, we have come to recognise a common interest in promoting the benefits of the island of Ireland, whether north or south.

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The challenge of terrorism has also been bringing us closer together.

Last year alone 84 people were killed in Northern Ireland as a result of the continuing campaigns of violence perpetrated by Republican and Loyalist gangs. Hundreds of homes were damaged, countless shops and factories, schools and churches. Many, many lives were caught up in the misery. Its tentacles have stretched to Great Britain. And there was, and is, a constant threat that Loyalists will bring the same grief to communities in the Republic.

There is no doubt that the border continues to provide the terrorists with an invaluable asset, both when launching their murderous assaults and when evading justice afterwards.

In the second half of last year alone there were at least five bomb attacks in Northern Ireland using vehicles stolen in the Republic. Last January, an army unit at Mullan Bridge came under fire from across the border, in October soldiers in Middletown suffered a similar attack.

Bringing this evil violence to an end is one of the most pressing priorities facing both Governments. It has produced an unprecedented level of cross-border security co-operation and a determination to ensure that, faced by

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a criminal conspiracy of the technical sophistication and inhuman savagery that we are, we are ever more imaginative and flexible in our working together to respond effectively.

We are extremely grateful for the continuing high level of cooperation which exists between the Garda Siochana and the RUC. Working relationships have never been better. When I am visiting RUC stations in the border areas, I am always told, and always pleased to hear, about the invaluable assistance which the Garda are providing.

Finds such as that made at Ballybofey Co Donegal on 4 August, when 1,500lb of home-made explosives were recovered, or that at Omeath on 29 September when a number of firearms were uncovered at what appears to have been a training camp, have saved lives. It is as basic and as simple as that.

And, of course, we have been co-operating in the political field.

For the British Government, the central and key question is how might Northern Ireland be governed, so as to provide stability and fairness, in a way that commands the support of people on both sides of the community?

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For twenty years or so now my predecessors and I have governed Northern Ireland through the instruments of Direct Rule. We have tried to provide good, sound, impartial Government for all the people of Northern Ireland. And I believe that, given all the circumstances, our efforts have by and large been creditable. But it has not been a system of Government which has involved the people of Northern Ireland themselves, or their elected representatives, at the heart of its decision-making.

The search for political structures that allow all the people of Northern Ireland to have a fair and appropriate voice in the government of the province, and enable and require their elected representatives to take on the responsibilities of Government, is a democratic imperative.

It is more than two years ago now that the four main constitutional political parties in Northern Ireland and the British and Irish Governments reached agreements on a three stranded basis for talks. Believing that the most promising prospect of achieving workable democratic structures lay in a process of political discussions that addressed all relevant relationships. Not only relationships within Northern Ireland, including the relationship between any new institutions there and the Westminster Parliament, but also relationships between the two parts of Ireland and between Ireland and the United

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Kingdom as a whole. The triple strands also recognize the potential for a valuable interplay between the discussions on these three separate relationships in the formula 'nothing is agreed until everything is agreed'.

Two extremely useful rounds of intensive multi-lateral discussions have been held already within the framework of this formula. All the participants have been drawn into a constructive process of focussing, analysing, articulating and defending their positions. Irish Ministers sat down opposite Dr Paisley and Jim Molyneux in London and Stormont, put their case - and heard what the Unionists thought of it! The Ulster Unionists, for their part, travelled down to Dublin - to go through the same experience. Much ground was broken, much progress was made.

I do not doubt that this continues to be the most promising way forward.

My colleague Michael Ancram, the Prime Minister and I, have all been involved in a lengthy series of bilaterals with the political parties aimed at clarifying positions and identifying areas where work is necessary. We believe that this painstaking work is laying the foundations for solid progress to be made in further multi-lateral discussions at the appropriate time.

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That time may be very near. The Taoiseach has already publicly expressed the wish that there should be an early resumption of the talks. If the exploratory exchanges currently taking place with the constitutional parties show that we have indeed reached that stage, events could move very quickly.

Developing co-operation in all these areas - economic, counter-terrorist and political - has, then, provided the background that made the Joint Declaration possible and paved the way for this new framework of shared understanding.

It's a framework which reflects the long held beliefs of both Governments without compromise or fudge. Its strength is that it rests on a solid bedrock of constitutional principles and political realities which guarantee the vital interests of both sides of the community in Northern Ireland.

It is I believe an unquestionably fair and balanced statement.

To those who aspire to a sovereign and united Ireland, the Declaration has this to say:

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- The political reality is this; the British Government have no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. Our primary interest is to see peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among all the people who inhabit the island.

- We are working, and will continue to work, with constitutional politicians of all shades and with the Irish Government to achieve an agreement that commands widespread support and embraces the totality of relationships. We will do everything in our power to encourage, facilitate and enable the achievement of such agreement through dialogue and co-operation based on full respect for the rights and identities of both traditions in Ireland. The last 70 years!

- If that agreement involves agreed structures for the island as a whole, so be it. In Ireland and Great Britain, the Joint Declaration says this:

- If it is, or ever shall be, the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland that there be a united Ireland, that is a matter for them and for the people of the Republic to determine without external impediment. For our part, we have already given a binding undertaking that we would introduce and support in Parliament the legislation necessary to give effect to that wish.

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- There is no earthly reason why Sinn Fein should not be part of the political process. Only its continuing support for violent coercion excludes it from the dialogue. If that violence is brought to a permanent end, the way becomes clear for Sinn Fein to enter legitimate politics and we will begin exploratory talks with them within three months.

That then is the Declaration's message to the Nationalist community. The Taoiseach has generously said that he does not know of any fairer statement that has or could be made by the British Government with regard to Nationalist ideals. John Hume has described the Declaration as one of the most comprehensive that has been made about British-Irish relations in the last 70 years!

At the same time, to those who support the continuation of the current Union between Northern Ireland and Great Britain, the Joint Declaration says this:

- The political reality is this: the Irish Government accept that it would be wrong to attempt to impose a united Ireland in the absence of the freely given consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.

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- They have confirmed that, in the event of an overall settlement, they will, as part of a balanced constitutional accommodation, put forward and support proposals for change in the Irish Constitution which would fully reflect the principle of consent in Northern Ireland.

- They have offered to examine any elements in the democratic life and organisation of the Irish State which can be represented to them, in the course of political dialogue, as posing a real and substantial threat to the Unionist community's way of life and ethos.

That is what the Declaration says. It does not lay down a solution to Northern Ireland's problems, it draws together various elements that will shape and support the search for agreement. It does not prejudge the outcome of the political dialogue which remains burningly necessary, nor the timetable for it. It provides, instead, for the people of Northern Ireland to determine their own future.

There is much interest in Sinn Fein's reaction to the Joint Declaration, and so there should be. The Declaration makes transparent what has been obvious for a long time - there is no justification whatsoever for terrorist violence. It is not only evil, it is futile.

If Sinn Fein grasp this opportunity, if the violence ends, the situation will undoubtedly be transformed:

- the ending of the emergency paves the way for a reconsideration of the security measures it has necessitated;
- the ending of the bombings and incendiaryism removes a wholly unnecessary cause of job losses and unemployment;
- the ending of the murders and bloodshed removes one of the greatest disincentives to inward investment;
- the ending of intimidation would allow the two sides of the community to edge towards reconciliation and agreement.

Yes, it is right that we should look with keen interest for Sinn Fein's response to the Joint Declaration. Never before can they have been presented with such an opportunity to make a constructive contribution to ending divisions in Ireland.

But while we all yearn for peace, whatever Sinn Fein's response, business goes on. The realities which the

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Declaration reaffirms are realities whether Sinn Fein is prepared to accept them or not. And they are, inescapably, the framework within which a political agreement will be found. Indeed, the trends which I mentioned earlier in this lecture are drawing all of us on these islands closer together in co-operation and reconciliation. They will continue and deepen. They cannot be reversed by violence.

Whatever Sinn Fein's response proves to be, the work of strengthening Northern Ireland's economy will continue. The Industrial Development Board will continue to seek out inward investors and to work closely with existing companies. The two Governments, and business organisations north and south of the border, will continue to deepen their co-operation and to develop both cross border and international trade links. Successful companies - like Shorts, Moy Park, Mivan - will continue to improve their productivity and competitiveness. Unemployment, down again this month, to below 100,000 for the first time in 2½ years, will continue to be tackled vigorously.

The invitation to Sinn Fein, to contribute to all of this, is on the table. But no-one has a veto on jobs and prosperity.

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As I've pointed out already, if the violence ends, the security arrangements that it has necessitated will, by definition, become unnecessary. But if the violence continues the work of ensuring that the law is strong enough to counter these criminal conspiracies, that the police have the necessary resources - in terms of manpower, equipment and military support - and that co-operation between the two jurisdictions is flexible, creative and pro-active will continue, and continue with the renewed vigour of a fresh moral mandate.

Sinn Fein have been given an opportunity to bring peace to Ireland, but neither they nor anyone else has a veto over the security and safety of the people of Northern Ireland.

Nor do they have a veto on political progress. The three stranded talks process continues, providing a vehicle for building a broad agreement that addresses all the relevant relationships - within Northern Ireland, North/South and East/West. Within the last few days my colleague Michael Ancram has again been edging forward with the constitutional parties, narrowing the ground between the various viewpoints, identifying areas of potential convergence. At the same time officials of the two Governments have been addressing the complex issues of strand three.

The work is painstakingly slow but no-one should under-estimate how far we have come in the last two and a half, nearly three, years. There is a momentum for agreement, a hunger for the dignity and responsibility of deciding and governing local affairs, a determination to work together. Sinn Fein can join in, but they can't stop it.

We await Sinn Fein's response to the Joint Declaration but the Joint Declaration isn't about Sinn Fein, its about political realities, and chiefly the political reality that it is for the people of Northern Ireland to decide their own future free from coercion. In the talks process they are deciding, together, by agreement. And to the keen observer of Northern Ireland affairs I would suggest that that is the ball to watch.