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From: John Holmes

Date: 9 June 1996

PRIME MINISTER

NORTHERN IRELAND TALKS

I think you have seen the text of the Taoiseach's speech. Two things stand out. First, it is much longer than yours. Second, it goes more into the substance than you do. I have talked to Paddy Teahon about this. He has said that they will take out a significant amount of the Taoiseach's draft, with the aim of reducing it to 15 minutes. On the substance, he takes the point, but says that it is more difficult for Bruton to leave the substance of the Irish position to Spring than it is for you to leave it to Paddy Mayhew, because of the usual coalition complications in Dublin. But he has said he will try to cut this down too, and in particular say rather less about Sinn Fein.

I think we need to move towards Bruton in terms of length at least. I have therefore had a hasty go at padding out the existing draft. The result is attached.

On a more substantive point, Paddy Mayhew rang me again late this evening. He had tried to speak to Trimble but had effectively been rebuffed. He remains very worried about the situation. He has therefore asked whether you could come over to Belfast rather earlier than planned. This would both give you more time with him and Michael Ancram to go through the problems, and possibly allow time for a meeting between you and Trimble. The prospect of a meeting with Trimble is not pleasant, but I think Paddy has a point. If we left Downing Street at 0930, this would give us an extra hour in Belfast. **Are you happy to do this?**

I will be in the office around 0730, and we can have a word then.

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NORTHERN IRELAND TALKS

Prime Minister's Opening Address

May I first of all extend a warm welcome to all of you this afternoon. I welcome first of all the representatives of the parties who were successful in the elections ten days ago and who have demonstrated their commitment to exclusively peaceful means.

I will not mention you all by name. But your presence today, whether from the Nationalist or the Unionist tradition, or neither, is vital. You have demonstrated through your success at the ballot box your right to be here, and to participate in what I believe may turn out to be an historic new start.

I also extend a warm welcome to the Taoiseach and his colleagues from the Irish Government. John Bruton has played a huge role in moving forward efforts to reach a settlement. We have not always seen eye to eye. But we have always worked together well. And we have been able to find ways through our difficulties without sacrifice of basic principle on either side and without bringing the process to a halt. This kind of cooperation is indispensable to eventual success in this kind of venture.

May I finally welcome the readiness to participate in these negotiations of Senator George Mitchell, General John de Chastelain and former Prime Minister Harri Holkeri. In response to our invitation, they have kindly indicated their willingness to help in those parts of the negotiations where

independent chairmanship is needed. I thank their Governments for their willingness to let these distinguished international figures play a role, which will naturally be wholly independent of the views of these Governments.

It is a privilege to launch this new opportunity to reach lasting peace in Northern Ireland. I hope these negotiations will prove the turning point for the better in the recent history of Northern Ireland. I believe they can give a fresh start to relations between the communities here and more widely.

It is time to put history behind us, however difficult that may be. That history has involved many victims on all sides. Too much blood has been spilt. Violence has become part of the political background. It has almost begun to be taken for granted.

It is time to put a stop to this once and for all. Differences can be resolved around the negotiating table. That is the only place they will be resolved in the end. The table is now there.

The road to this table has been long and difficult. I have no illusions that the road ahead will be any easier. But we have overcome together so many obstacles in the past. I am confident that the challenges which lie ahead can also be successfully tackled.

You, the representatives of the parties here, are at the negotiating table through a democratic election in which you were given a mandate to represent your voters in negotiations. That is a heavy responsibility. The hopes and expectations of the people of Northern Ireland rest on your shoulders. And there is no doubt what the people of Northern Ireland want above all.

They want to be able to live their lives normally, free from violence and the threat of violence. They want jobs and prosperity. They want to be able to educate their children without fear. They want to live their lives without restrictions, whether in shop, cinema or pub. They want to live with their neighbours peacefully and without hatred, and to be respected whatever their beliefs or views. That is not too much to ask. But it has been denied them for too long.

These negotiations, if successful, can restore to the people of Northern Ireland this freedom and this respect. But this depends on the skill of the negotiators, their willingness to engage in open dialogue, and their readiness to compromise where necessary to reach agreement. In other words, it depends on you.

I have no doubt too that the people of the Irish Republic share the desire for prosperity, normality and peace. I believe they too are ready to put history behind them and look forward to a new beginning based on mutual respect and accommodation.

Last but not least, the people of the rest of Britain are anxious to see an end to this conflict, as long as it is based on democracy, peaceful negotiation and respect for the principle of consent. They will be following your efforts in these negotiations with close attention, and much goodwill. They want them to succeed, and expect the negotiators to do all in their power to make them succeed.

It has taken us a long time to get to the beginning of these negotiations. Some of you may feel that it took too long. It was indeed a frustrating process. But there was no point launching talks when it was clear that the basis of confidence, and the prospect of broad participation, simply did not exist. A

huge amount of preparatory work had to be done. The right formulas had to be found.

This was not exactly straightforward. But I believe we now do have a basis on which we can build successfully. And I hope we can now move forward with all possible speed. I hope in particular that we can at last move beyond procedural arguments to tackle the underlying issues. Procedure is, of course, important. We need to be clear about how the issues are to be tackled. But this is not the heart of the matter. Flexibility now can build trust and confidence, and enable us to get to the centre of the problems and deal with them. That is what we must do.

I am given confidence that we can do so because of the commitment of parties and their leaders to this process over this long period of preparation. Against a background of distrust and division, that has not been easy. I pay tribute to those concerned. I trust that this commitment can be maintained now, when it is needed more than ever.

Our aim was all-party negotiations. We have not entirely achieved that. One party which achieved success in the elections is absent through its own choice. I hope that wisdom will soon prevail, and that we will see an unequivocal restoration of the IRA ceasefire.

Sinn Fein cannot be present at these talks without such a ceasefire. The British and Irish Governments are entirely at one on this. I also believe that we have the support of our two peoples and of the international community for this position. It will not change.

The absence of such a ceasefire, and the continuing willingness to rely on

violence which it shows, is in stark contrast to the commitment to democracy and peace shown by those here today. You represent the vast majority of the Northern Ireland electorate, and I believe that the negotiations can and must be taken forward by you, whether or not others choose to join in.

I mentioned at the beginning Senator George Mitchell, General John de Chastelain and Mr. Harri Holkeri. I am grateful to them for their willingness to let us use their talents and experience. They bring not only these but also previous knowledge of Northern Ireland through their experience in the International Body on decommissioning. They are also all known for their absolute integrity and impartiality. I am confident they can work with objectivity and understanding. I look forward personally to working with them.

The report for which they were collectively responsible has been of immense value in helping us to reach today's negotiations. The first act of the parties, once these opening ceremonies are over, will be to make clear their total and absolute commitment to the six principles of democracy and non violence set out in the report. This is not an act of token symbolism, but of profound importance. It demonstrates above all that these negotiations will be conducted on the basis of commitment to peaceful methods of resolving disputes. Negotiations inhibited by violence or the threat of violence cannot be free and fair. The bomb and the gun must be removed once and for all from the politics of Northern Ireland. The so-called Mitchell principles provide a way forward for all of us.

The Mitchell Report also proposed an approach to the difficult but vital issue of the decommissioning of paramilitary arms. We, along with the Irish Government, have fully endorsed this approach and believe it offers the way forward. The two Governments have made proposals on this basis. I trust that

all the parties will be able to accept them to enable the process of decommissioning and the negotiations to proceed in parallel.

Once confidence can be established in this and other ways spelled out in the Mitchell report, the negotiations will essentially be concerned with overcoming political and other divisions, most of all between the two communities in Northern Ireland. Democracy means a willingness to respect and cater for all parts of the population, and a readiness to work together. We need a settlement which not only accommodates the differences in culture, identity and opinion in Northern Ireland, but positively celebrates them. Diversity need not mean division. It can mean a new richness. I have no doubt that, despite history, there is much more in common between the communities than the things which currently divide them.

Let us also recognise the huge variety of opinion on both sides of the Nationalist/Unionist divide. A complex, long-standing dispute of this kind cannot be reduced to slogans or a set of simple demands by one side or the other, tempting though this may be. We must take full account of the middle ground. We must allow all shades of opinion to speak. We will fail in our efforts if we do not.

But fine words will bring neither a settlement nor a true and lasting peace. That can only come about through hard work, a readiness to listen, and a willingness to find an accommodation. I have no illusions that progress on the many thorny issues will be instant. What I do hope is that the process of discussion itself will begin to produce its own dynamic and its own goodwill. That is the way to eventual success.

We have seen this in other disputes and other negotiations, some of them just as

long standing and intractable as this one. No two disputes are ever the same. I am certainly not going to make comparisons. But recent international history gives us several examples of the successful resolution of bitterly opposed positions, and subsequent reconciliation. Is this really beyond us in the United Kingdom, a country which has always prided itself on pragmatism and common sense? I do not believe it is.

The British Government, for its part, will do all it can to help the process of genuine negotiation. But we cannot impose anything on any of you, even if we wanted to. We can only try to persuade, just as you can only try to persuade. The ultimate say in the negotiations belongs to you. Only you can resolve the issues. Only you can agree an outcome.

That will not of course be the end of the process either. The outcome must be endorsed by a referendum of the people of Northern Ireland and by the British Parliament. Democratic agreement, freely arrived at, will be required at all three stages. No-one need fear that their views will be ignored or over-ridden. All will be treated equally.

Meanwhile the eyes of the world are on us. Hopes and expectations are running high. Immense goodwill is behind the talks. But there will be corresponding disappointment if we fail. The responsibility for failure would be an awesome one. For myself, I do not contemplate failure. I am confident that, having come so far, we can go the extra mile to a settlement from which all communities and all people will benefit equally.

And let us remind ourselves finally of the prize: a peaceful and prosperous Northern Ireland, and removal of the shadow this dispute has cast over the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic. The potential for development in

Northern Ireland is enormous. The period of the latest ceasefire, before it was so unnecessarily broken, was tragically brief. But it was long enough to demonstrate the potential for inward investment, tourism and new jobs, and to reveal a potential quality of life which is the envy of many in other parts of Britain and elsewhere. The chance of a dynamic, modern society is there to be grasped. It must not be spurned.

We have had talks in Northern Ireland before. There have been many attempts to make progress towards an agreed settlement. Hopes have been dashed on many occasions. But I believe the talks beginning today represent the best opportunity for peace in the last 25 years. I urge you all to take this opportunity with both hands. History will not forgive us if we do not.

I will now ask the Taoiseach to say a few words.

[After Bruton's conclusions] Thank you very much. I now propose a short adjournment, for 15 minutes or so, during which the Taoiseach and I will leave. Thereafter I will ask Sir Patrick Mayhew and Mr. Spring to resume this opening session on our behalf, with Sir Patrick Mayhew in the chair.