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**NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE**

**CHRISTINE JUDE**

Our ref : RJ 56686

Your ref :

**ALBERT REYNOLDS**

Programme	: TALKBACK
Station	: SKY
Date	: 08/12/93
Time	: 2130
Duration	: 30 mins

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**ALBERT REYNOLDS**

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**ADAM BOULTON: Presenter**

Good evening and welcome to Dublin - I am Adam Boulton. And a very special welcome to the Taoiseach Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds who has kindly agreed to speak to Sky News at length, at this very delicate stage of the search for peace in Northern Ireland. In the morning Mr Reynolds and John Major both fly to Brussels for the European Council, where they plan to work further on a joint declaration which Mr Reynolds hopes could bring a permanent ceasefire from the IRA by Christmas. That of course remains uncertain, but already Mr Reynolds has the satisfaction of seeing Northern Ireland at the top of the political agenda in both countries - something he says that he has been working on since becoming Prime Minister.

Head of Fianna Fail Labour Party coalition since last autumn, Albert Reynolds has in fact been Irish Prime Minister since early 1992 when Charles Haughey resigned. The long-time rival of the boss, Mr Reynolds had already abandoned his post as Minister for Finance, but not before he struck up a friendship with his then British opposite number, John Major. Today as Prime Ministers of Ireland and the United Kingdom the two men hold the keys to the joint declaration which they hope could persuade the IRA to end its violence - violence this year including the Bishopsgate and Shankhill bombs and tit-for-tat sectarian killings such as Greysteel which have forced Northern Ireland back to the top of the political agenda. Following a meeting with Mr Major in Brussels at the end of October, Mr Reynolds said he was working for peace by Christmas. But things have got a bit more difficult since then. Within his own party, Fianna Fail - the Soldiers of Destiny - Mr Reynolds has faced criticism for joining Mr Major, rejecting the proposals brought forward by nationalist leaders in the North - John Hume of SDLP and Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein. These ideas have not been published, but are thought to centre on a timetable for British withdrawal from the North and a commitment by both governments to a United Ireland. On this, the Northern Ireland Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew has said Britain will not join the persuaders, while the Government has also balked



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good faith, the British want the Irish Republic to hold a referendum, to drop Articles 2 and 3 of its constitution which lay claim to the Six Counties in the North. So far, Mr Reynolds has said he will write in a referendum, but only once the peace process is agreed. That may be as far as he can go, given his Republican critics, but it is not enough for Britain.

Then there is the revelation of the British Government's own secret contacts with the IRA. The Irish Government was not told, and fiercely berated Mr Major at last week's Anglo-Irish Summit in Dublin. But at the end Mr Reynolds said the air had been cleared and the two Prime Ministers meet in Brussels tomorrow to try to complete by Christmas the joint declaration which is meant to end the fighting.

Albert Reynolds, at the weekend you said that you thought the draft declaration was half-completed, half agreed between the British and the Irish. Officials have been working since then, so is it now more than half agreed?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS: Irish Prime Minister**

Well, there are difficult problems. We had seven hours of talks, as you know, here in Dublin in Friday and there has been a long day with officials on both sides yesterday - and I think there is now a better understanding of the reasons that the difficulties have occurred in certain aspects of the text, and indeed, in the context in which certain things have been expressed. So those officials now are back at their own, in their own areas, to see what options they have for both Prime Ministers. And we will take the opportunity on Friday or Saturday in Brussels to review progress.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

So when you say 'half agreed' you mean in terms of verbiage, but perhaps not in terms of the main ... ?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

That's right. In terms of verbiage we have gone over half way in the text, but -



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**ADAM BOULTON:**

- But probably the worst problems are still to come.

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, we parked [sic] the more difficult ones, and those are the ones that have to come.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

- New problem reported on 'Today' is the difficulty over having an all-Ireland convention once the peace process gets underway.

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, as I think I have said on a number of occasions, I don't think it helps. I know you would like me to discuss all the details of every aspect of it, but I am not going to make any comment on speculation in relation to any aspect of it. That negotiation has to take place behind closed doors and it has a better chance of being successful if we keep it that way. And both Prime Ministers have committed themselves to doing just that.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But the general idea of a convention would be to try and get, once peace is there, to try and get everybody - Sinn Fein, Unionists, and the parties in the North and South - together?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, we have always said that the ideal situation is that we find, that we define a process that can take all of the parties around the table and all of them can spend their time, in the talks process - after a cessation of violence I am talking about: after a cessation of violence, when we get the talks process going, so everyone gets round the table, try and work out where the future lies. That is the ideal position.



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**ADAM BOULTON:**

With everybody, North and South - not parallel talks, as it were?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

- Not, you see ... at the moment there are proposals of three-stranded talks. There are the talks within the communities themselves in Northern Ireland, which are known as Strand One: there are talks of Strand Two, between North and South, and Strand Three between the Dublin and London governments. What we are talking here about here first of all is to try and get a cessation of violence that prepares the way for a better environment in which the talks process can start and hopefully succeed, in that type of environment.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Now what about the constitutional claims that the Dail Eireann makes on the Six Counties in the North? You said you would write that in. What do you mean? Write it in in the initial declaration or later on?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, I don't mind if it helps the situation if people want it in writing what the present position of the Irish Government is, and it is as follows: that in the event of an overall settlement of the Northern Ireland problem, within a balanced constitutional sense, that the Irish Government will be prepared to put to the Irish people the constitutional question for their view. Because in Ireland this is a constitutional matter. It is not a matter that can be resolved by the government: it has to be resolved by the people, and I have always said that I will do that on behalf of the Irish Government and if it helps some people that have fears or suspicions, then yes, I am prepared to put it in writing, either in the joint declaration -

**ADAM BOULTON:**

The preliminary declaration -



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**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

- in the joint declaration, or separately.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

You also told your party that you did not want them to be the prisoners of history. Why don't you simply, as a gesture of good faith to the people of the North say, well, we won't wait for the process, we are prepared, given the state of relations in the island of Ireland, to have a referendum right now?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

For the very good reason that I don't believe it would succeed. I don't believe that the Irish people will, would change the constitution in that regard unless we had an overall balanced settlement to put to them at the same time. And if that were to happen it would be a worse situation in my view, at the end, if the referendum was to fail: and in my best judgement I think it would fail. What would happen then is the paramilitaries of the Provisional IRA and Sinn Fein would be strengthened politically, because they would then be seen - and would claim - as the only people carrying the banner of nationalism in Ireland.

Consequently the party I lead, which is Fianna Fail, which is always been the party of the nationalist viewpoint - strong nationalist viewpoint in Ireland - and recognised as such: we indeed would be seen to have reneged on the whole aspiration of nationalism in Ireland. Consequently it would be a total setback and would not be a very nice situation.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

So what would you judge the Irish people would need before you could get a 'yes' in a referendum?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

It is not for me to say. This is a matter for the talks process - I am hoping that comes along, and



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all the parties to reach an agreement. And we have said, rising out of that agreement, whenever it is, if it is a balanced constitutional agreement: we will put it to the Irish people. So it is not really for me to define what the wording of that referendum should be. It has to remain until we see what kind of a balanced settlement comes out.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Would you also want that referendum to coincide with one in the North?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

We have always said that it can take place North and South - but I think ...

**ADAM BOULTON:**

It would not be a condition on the Irish side that you have to have simultaneous ones?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

A lot of people feel that that is the way it should be. What we are saying is that if there is a referendum North and South, that there has to be a majority in the North of Ireland before any change in the status of Northern Ireland can take place. I think there has been a lot of misunderstanding about this but that is the clear position. It is not a position where you count self-determination in an all-Ireland context as one unit. No: no change in the present constitutional status without a majority of the people of Northern Ireland so decided.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But the feeling of course of some people in the North is that if you had simultaneous referendums, and they expressed - even if the constitution was changed - a majority, a straight majority across the North and South, for a united Ireland, that that would be so politically powerful that it would really cancel out any process of assurances to the Unionists?



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**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, the present position of both governments is that if there is a majority in the North of Ireland at some time in the future that decide they want to change the status of Northern Ireland - in other words leave the UK and join in an agreed Ireland, or a united Ireland, or whatever, that both governments are committed to supporting that, legislating for it, and everything. So if you have a majority in Northern Ireland at some time in the future then that will change the status - but not until then.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But as far as you are concerned the notion of consent, the notion that there will be no change, irrespective of opinion in the South, until a majority vote for it democratically in the North, as stated in the Anglo-Irish Agreement: that stands?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

- That stands.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Albert Reynolds, we will take a pause there.

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

[Commercial Break]

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Welcome back. Talking to Albert Reynolds, the Irish Prime Minister. Mr Reynolds, you are one of the few people who have seen what Gerry Adams and John Hume have been talking about, but it is widely believed they want a timetable for British withdrawal, even if they wasn't a commitment, ultimately, for a united Ireland. Do you also want a commitment from Britain on a timetable?





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**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

No, what I have said is that there are people living in the North of Ireland who have democratic rights, and no-one has the rights to predetermine what political structures they may have to live under in the future, so it is a matter for them. In those circumstances it is not correct to try and predetermine or indeed to fix an artificial deadline on the consent that we have just spoken about. So quite clearly it has to be a matter of consent, of a majority in Northern Ireland, before anything takes place.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

And you would absolutely resist any timetable?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I don't believe that it is feasible to have a timetable. We are committed under an international agreement, on consent of a majority - and that position stands.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

How does your plan, your initiative, differ from Hume/Adams?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, as far as the Hume/Adams initiative is concerned, John Hume reported to me and the [one word unclear] of the Irish Government, and we evaluated that, and we are now ... the whole process has moved on from there, two governments are involved in the process, they were involved in discussing proposals, that, the basis of which I put to the British Government about six months ago.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

In substantive terms, Hume/Adams, you both rejected in Brussels, the last time you met - you and John Major.



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**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I said from the start that I didn't, I feel that it needed further input, and indeed we took up the suggestion of John Hume himself, when he called on both governments to take up an initiative and produce a framework for peace. That is exactly what we are trying to do, is to produce a joint declaration, and hopefully that the end of the day will command enough support from both communities and indeed, from the paramilitaries on both sides, because that is your only way to stop the killing of innocent people in the North of Ireland.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Do you think it would help if Hume/Adams was published now, so that at least people could say what the nationalist politicians in the North have been looking at?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I have never raised any objections to the publication of it. I have said that it was a matter for the two parties concerned as to whether they published their own documents or not. As far as I am concerned, I have always said from the very start that I would not be publishing the document and indeed I would not be passing it on the British government either. But as regards publication, I think it is a matter for the two people concerned.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

You don't think it would be helpful at this stage?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

That is not for me to comment on, and I will leave it at that.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

The truth of the matter, though, is that we have had that initiative and your initiative: and effectively, as far as the Unionists are concerned in the North, we are talking about a one-way



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street, aren't we? Its concessions in the direction of the Nationalists. What do the Unionists get out of it?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

What I am saying is that the proposals that I have put on behalf of the Irish Government to the British Government are balanced proposals. And I have never believed that it was possible to hope to even get a start on the solutions to the problems or the violence in Northern Ireland if one did not take an even-handed approach. Consequently, the proposals that are before the British Government are balanced and indeed we have taken on board the concerns of both communities, and the fears and ... fears for the future -

**ADAM BOULTON:**

One might say that the Unionists have their backs against the wall. But what are they going to get out of this process? Just the end of IRA violence? Is that it?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, I can tell you, I think, everybody in the North of Ireland would pay a good price, I think, for IRA [unclear] in the morning. But we are not asking them to pay a price: what we are saying is, we are not interfering with your future, the consent of the majority stands in relation to any changes in the future. What we want to do is to try and get a formula for stopping the violence and stopping the killing on both sides. And I believe that both communities would subscribe very strongly to that particular objective.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But if it is No Change, why would the IRA be tempted at all to give up?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

There is a strong mood in both communities, for peace, a very strong mood, a mood that has not



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been there. There is an opportunity now in my honest opinion that has not been there for about 25 years. We are coming to a situation where both communities are indeed, quite clearly have demonstrated over a period now, of their strong yearning for peace. That mood is there. It is up to both governments to respond to that mood. The two governments are joined in trying to get a joint statement that will indeed command support from, not alone the communities on both sides, but hopefully from the paramilitaries on both sides. And what we are saying to them in effect is this: 25 years of violence has not brought you one inch further down the road to attain your objectives on either side. The violence on the Loyalist side is reactive by and large to the violence coming from the Provisional IRA. If we can stop that violence on the IRA side, we believe that the Loyalist violence will also cease. Now that is the position. What we want to do is to try and convince them that there will be no military solution. No military victories on either side. So consequently the futile pursuit of violence for 25 years has brought them nowhere. It's the road to nowhere. We are saying, change your direction - this is a new beginning, a new start. Take up the opportunity of joining the political process to try and achieve the objectives you want to achieve.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

One thing violence has done is focus the attention of London politicians on this problem, and, arguably, make the British public more impatient about wanting to find a solution. So why should it be attractive for the Republican movement to abandon that violence, which in that sense has been effective, and to become just another political party - unless they are getting fairly major political concessions?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

This is the first time they have the opportunity of joining the political process, in a long, long time. What both governments have said, is, look, stop the violence and we will provide a seat at the conference tables for you at a very early date. They have, the mood has grown up from the ground within their own supporters, within their own communities. And indeed that move is on the Unionist side as well. So we are trying to capture that mood and produce a formula that hopefully



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will attract them away from violence, and back to the political process. It is an opportunity for them. I think there is a fair acceptance that there is going to be no military victory. So why continue on a futile path of violence when it is not going to lead you anywhere?

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Well, whether they go back to violence or not, the effect of the contact with the Republican movement by the British Government has given Sinn Fein a legitimacy it didn't have before.

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Yes, it has, I would have to say that and certainly the Irish Government were surprised at the extent of those contacts and the long periods over which they have taken place.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Do you think it was a mistake, at this stage?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

That is a matter for the British Government to judge. It is a matter for them. I won't comment on that.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Has it been helpful to your initiative?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

It has not been helpful to my initiative, no, but I think we got, we cleared the air last Friday at the start of talks. We spent the first part of those talks, in getting those issues out of the way, and in the interests of peace, both governments and both prime ministers have to just transcend those type of difficulties and get on with the peace initiative.



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**ADAM BOULTON:**

You have been talking about the mood in the North, the mood for peace, which you are suggesting is shared by the Republican movement too. But if that is the mood, is there any urgency to sort this out: I mean, if the IRA is a spent force?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:** we are to take the statements being made by the political leaders in the

I don't believe they are a spent force and I think anybody who would make that assessment ... that assessment was made so often in the past and proved wrong, that it doesn't take that large number of people, indeed, to continue with that type of violence that has been taking place. And I am certainly not making that assessment. What I am saying is this: that there is a mood among the people up there for it, and it is our, there is an opportunity there for both governments to respond to that. But I am certainly not saying that the only reason we can hope for peace is that they are a spent force. Far from it.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

When you talk about a mood of the people do you think that mood extends to the Unionists, to Protestants in the community?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Yes, that is the information I am getting. In fact quite a number of people from the Unionist side have come to talk to me over the last couple of months. I have contacts in many areas indeed that are giving me that impression - that very strong impression. And indeed I regret that the Unionist politicians are not coming to see me, because I would have an opportunity of discussing with them, and telling them that the fears they are expressing in public are not well-founded, that they do not have any fear from proposals that both governments are considering at the moment and I expect that the British Prime Minister John Major is making full use of his time in making sure that they are kept informed. But any opportunity I have got, I have taken, in relation to communication with what is in those proposals, and indeed that they have no fears from them.



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**ADAM BOULTON:**

So you appear confident that there wouldn't be a massive backlash? You are saying the violence is reactive? Surely -

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

There is no need for it. If we are to take the statements being made by the political leaders in the North as to the fears they have about the processes taking place - I know what is this process, I know what is in that document, and I know that there is no way that it interferes with the fears they are talking about. So consequently they should have nothing to fear.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

You are not saying that - you're saying that this isn't the thin end of the wedge, to move towards a united Ireland?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

The talks process has to start - hopefully after we get the killing stopped - the talks process is the area which all the complexities, and the future of the two communities, and how they can work out a better way of living: that is the process in which that takes place, this is the process to try and stop the killing of innocent people. One more life lost is one too many.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But ultimately the aim of this process from your point of view is presumably to deliver a united Ireland?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Long-term objective! But it is the talks process in which those things have to be discussed, not in this process. This is a process, purely, to stop violence, to stop innocent people being killed and to, indeed, bring it home to everybody that it is into the talks process that energies and attention



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should be directed, and not into violence.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

How long is long-term? Within your life time?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

It could take a generation and certainly with all the bitterness that has been engendered into both communities, and the divisions that have taken place, and they have been driven further apart, neighbours have been driven further apart. It would certainly take them most of a generation, I think, to heal all those bitteresses. But I think that can only be done by building confidence between the communities, by building, rebuilding trusts that used to exist thirty, forty years ago. And there is no reason why that can't start again. This is a new beginning, a new process and I believe the starting point should be peace.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But you would guess a united Ireland within a generation?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I am not saying when, I am not putting any deadlines on it, what I am saying is that there is so much bitterness there to be got out of the way that it is going to take most of a generation to get that there, and let the people themselves decide. Nobody should be trying to impose anything. It is not right to try and impose structures on people who don't want them. People should sit down and agree their own future. And that is the whole basis of the document that we are working on. It is grounded on agreement and it is grounded on consent, and that is the only way to approach the very complex problem that is Northern Ireland today.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

We see John Taylor yesterday. He looked at the history books, and he said when this happened



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last time the Protestant community was driven out. And he predicted that hundreds of Protestants would leave a united Ireland. What can you say to that?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I think the best answer he got to his speech was given by the Protestant Bishop himself, Bishop Walker, who told him quite clearly that that was not the case, indeed that he was born in the North of Ireland himself. And I know from my experiences - the best neighbours I have are members of the Church of Ireland. I have people working for me from the Church of Ireland, and the things that John Taylor will try to depict of the Republic of Ireland -

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But it is the case, isn't it, that large numbers of Protestants did leave ...

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, if you go out there and ask, try and get Protestant people to offer to volunteer to go back to the North of Ireland today, I think you will get your answer to that question.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

To a certain extent, when you talk about 'decent people in the Unionist community', you have now got a job - even if it is a generation away - of selling a united Ireland. What would everyone in this island gain from that?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, I tell you what they would gain straight away - first of all, I am selling peace, as the starting point. And after that, if you could get - we then build the economic bridges between North and South, and you feel that peace in the morning, a normal economic life returned to the island - what you will get is a lot more investment coming into Ireland, North and South. It's bigger... a larger and larger number of tourists from North and South. They are a trade between North and South.



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In fact the domestic market in the North can double immediately if you get normal trade taking place between North and South: and the domestic market in the South would increase by about 50 per cent. So you are talking about a totally new Ireland out ahead, a total transformation of the island of Ireland, of the economy of Ireland. That is what we are trying to build, but the starting price has to be peace.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

But they say that Dublin could never match the £4 billion a year paid by the British Treasury to Belfast?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

There is no question about it. If you were to have a united Ireland in the morning, I mean, there is about a £3.2 billion of a subvention and about £800 million of security costs that is coming in directly from the British tax payer, and indeed is costing the Republic's economy and tax payer quite a lot of money for security. But I have never, and nobody ever, even suggests for one moment that the subvention would not have to last for quite a number of years into the future. But there is also strong support available, and committed on many, many occasions of the past, from the United States, from, indeed, the European Community, from Australia and New Zealand. So there is a combination of supporting, err, package, around the world to be got - a very good start, to make a start, of sorting out the poverty.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

In crude terms, Britain would have to go on paying.

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

They would have to subvent it on a declining scale over a long period.



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TEL: 071-247 1166 FAX: 071-377 6103

**ALBERT REYNOLDS**

Programme : TALKBACK  
Station : SKY  
Date : 08/12/93  
Time : 2130

**ADAM BOULTON:**

And you don't anticipate that would be a problem for John Major?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, he is committed to paying for ... he doesn't see any end to it at the moment, and all we see is more people being killed and more destruction and more property being destroyed. That is not a future that any of us would like to look forward to, and if I may say so, the very first meeting that John Major and myself had, both of us committed ourselves, that during our periods as Prime Minister, that we would at least attempt to do one thing - and that is, not to consign the next generation in Northern Ireland to a further 25 years of violence.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

And you feel that that is what is motivating the IRA as well?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

That is what is motivating John Major, and that is what motivating me, at the moment. We want to try and produce a formula that will bring peace and stop the killing of innocent people in Northern Ireland.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

So in the meantime what institutions need to be worked on?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

The institutional framework is a matter for the talks process. We are not getting into institutional framework in the peace process.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

So where do you go from here? Is it a question of, you've got until Christmas to sort this out?



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**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I am not putting deadlines on it. But I would say, that looking forward to next year, we are into a European election campaign fairly early into next year. The momentum for peace won't last indefinitely, the opportunity is there, time is not on our side, and I believe the sooner we can put it together the better, and the sooner indeed will be ... the removal of the fears that we fear expressed by some Unionists politicians every day of the week.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

Christmas and the traditional Christmas ceasefire provides an opportunity perhaps to start this process?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

Well, it certainly provides the right time of the year to do it, to start this process, and let us hope that we can work towards that. But there are difficulties along the way, and I am not underestimating them, and I am not putting deadlines on them. But I can genuinely say the communities up there want us to continue and start up the clock.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

And your guess would be one further meeting after Brussels?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I don't know whether it is one, two or three. I mean, am not putting time limits on it. I think saving of life is more important than just putting an extra date on it.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

If it fails, if the IRA go on killing into next year, who, ultimately, will be to blame?

SECRET AND PERSONAL



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**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

It is not a question of blame. We are trying to do something to stop what has gone on for 25 years. I have said on a number of occasions that, as far as I was concerned, that it would much prefer to have tried and failed than not to have tried at all. I think it is an honourable thing to try in this situation, and let us hope that we are successful. I am not contemplating defeat, but nevertheless I hope that the mood that is generated by the two communities there would be strong enough to get the men of violence on both sides to stop their violence and chose a different path, the path to peace.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

You are not contemplating defeat, so your feeling is that the glass is more than half full?

**ALBERT REYNOLDS:**

I think it is slightly more than half full at this stage, but there is still difficulties to be overcome.

**ADAM BOULTON:**

- Albert Reynolds, thank you very much indeed.

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