

S
808

PREM 19/1068

SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

IRELAND

Force LEVELS

PT 1: May 1949

PART 13.

PT 13: Nov 1982

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
17.11.82		21.4.83					
75.11.84		29.4.83					
24.11.82		3.5.83					
2.12.82		4.5.83					
6.12.82		9.5.83					
9.12.82		10.5.83					
15.12.83		17.83					
26.12.83		2.7.83					
1.1.83		14.7.83					
24.1.83		20.7.83					
27.1.83		25.7.83					
28.1.83		- Pt Ends -					
7.2.83							
24.2.83							
28.2.83							
4.3.83							
17.3.83							

PREM 19/1068

PART 13 ends:-

Alison to PM (M.A./E. Powell mtg Record - 22/7)

25/7

PART 14 begins:-

NIO to LPS' Office

1/8

P1. file

Prime Minister

THE RT HON J ENOCH POWELL MP

I saw Enoch Powell at his request in the House of Commons on Friday morning last, 22nd July.

First, he wanted me to remind you that, on 2nd February 1978, you voted (together with Geoffrey Howe, John Biffen and Willie Whitelaw) in favour of the principle of a uniform system of voting throughout the United Kingdom for the European Assembly Elections. The implication of his reminder was that, now that there will be no European uniformity of procedure for the 1984 elections, we were honour bound to consider, at least, allowing "first past the post" in Ulster for the forthcoming Euro-elections uniformly with the rest of the United Kingdom. He was at pains to point out that the effect of PR in Northern Ireland is to turn their elections into "one-man popularity stakes", in that Paisley, for example, can base a claim to be the natural leader on the large number of first preference votes he receives. Enoch Powell did not press the point especially vigorously, apart from pointing out that to allow non-uniform Euro-elections to go ahead in 1984, tends to erode your general position of hostility to PR. He said that he intended to write to the new Home Secretary about it, reminding him of Willie Whitelaw's earlier position in the matter. I attach a letter Willie wrote to Jim Molyneaux about the matter in May this year.

Secondly, and more delicately, Enoch reported an incident which I am to convey to you using the formula "should you be surprised to hear..."

The incident concerns an initiative taken by our Ambassador in Dublin, Mr A C Goodison.

On a recent routine visit to London, he took the initiative of asking Jim Molyneaux to receive him for a private talk. This Jim did, in his room at the House of Commons. The conversation largely turned on the general prospects for political (or any other) progress in Northern Ireland, with particular reference to the future of the Assembly. Allegedly, the Ambassador used the phrase, in the course of an exchange with Jim, "do you trust the Prime Minister?" Enoch reports that, in context, the question is no way implied disloyalty to yourself by the Ambassador; rather it raised the question of whether the Official Unionists believed - or did not believe - that in your meetings with successive Prime Ministers of the Irish Republic, you sought to pave the way towards the realisation of an all-Ireland federal state. In other words, the Ambassador was enquiring whether the Official Unionists felt that they were being, or had been, "double-crossed," both by the FCO and yourself.

It was a bit difficult to disentangle from all this exactly what Enoch was trying to convey, although he was certainly not trying to alert me to the disloyalty of our Ambassador.

I think that what he was trying to convey was that, whatever you yourself may have felt about the FCO's attitude towards Irish unity in the past, it was now clear to Enoch that the FCO had itself more or less abandoned any belief that there could be meaningful political progress in Northern Ireland, of the sort which might issue (eg through power-sharing) in Irish unity or an all-Irish Federal State. In consequence, they had now decided that, the Official Unionists having emerged as the largest and strongest group in the Province,

new bridges must be built with them, and their confidence won, since the FCO was reconciled to securing its own Foreign policy objectives, (eg. with our European partners and with NATO, etc) by making the best of the Official Unionists programme and philosophy. But Enoch speaks in increasingly Delphic and convoluted terms when he gets on to FCO machinations.

25.7.83

MICHAEL ALISON

CONFIDENTIAL



FILE

RW7

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 July, 1983

When your Secretary of State called on the Prime Minister this morning there was some discussion of the arrangements which should be made for official contact with Mr. Haagerup, the Rapporteur of the European Assembly, who is to produce a report on Northern Ireland.

Mr. Prior explained that Haagerup would be visiting Dublin where he would certainly be warmly received. Haagerup had informed Mr. Prior that he wished to visit Belfast. Mr. Prior had no intention of seeing him himself, but thought it important that Haagerup should understand our side of the story. In general, he seemed to be behaving responsibly. He would have no contact with Sinn Fein or Mr. Gerry Adams.

Following discussion, it was agreed that while officials could receive Mr. Haagerup in Belfast, Ministers should not do so. No Cabinet Minister should see Haagerup, but Mr. Scott would invite him to lunch, together with one or two members of the European Assembly, in London. The names of Lady Elles and Lord Harmor-Nicholls were mentioned as possibilities.

In agreeing to these arrangements, the Prime Minister said that we should not put ourselves in a position where we could not criticise the Rapporteur's report if we wished to.

I am sending copies of this letter to Brian Fall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

A. J. COLES

John Lyons, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB
Telephone 01-~~920 7022~~ 218 6169

D/S of S/PS/3

14th July 1983

Dear Derek,

N. B. P. R.

*MR 15.
7*

MINISTERIAL DEALINGS WITH GERRY ADAMS MP

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 28th June to David Heyhoe on the subject of Ministerial dealings with Mr Gerry Adams MP.

My Secretary of State agrees with the broad principles Mr Prior has suggested. Mr Adams should be treated formally and with a degree of reserve, though clearly not to the extent of frustrating him in his constituency work. In particular, Mr Heseltine takes the view that since Mr Adams chooses not to sit in the House (where his rights to examine and question the Government are well established), he cannot expect busy Ministers to find time outside the House to deal with just him. Thus we would not expect there to be any question of Mr Adams meeting a junior Minister in the Ministry of Defence.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Home Secretary and the Scottish Secretary.

*Yours sincerely,
Benny Neale*

(B P NEALE)
Private Secretary

Derek A Hill Esq

CONFIDENTIAL

Teland
Situatien
P#13

10.11.1901
P#13



2112

2113

2114

①

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

GREAT GEORGE STREET,

LONDON SW1P 3AJ



John Coles Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

8 July 1983

Prime Minister

Would you like any of these books
for the holiday? A.F.C. 5/7.

Dear John

When Mr Prior met the Prime Minister on
16 May he offered to send her a reading
list on Northern Ireland. I attach such
a reading list which we have had prepared
and which the Secretary of State believes
would be a useful list.

Yours ever

Dave

D A HILL

Enc

mf

July Dave

Pl. obtain the first book
on the list.

A.F.C. 1/2.

Requested from A.I.D.

② 11/7

KL

E.R.

SUGGESTED READING LIST

Ireland Since the Famine - F S L Lyons ✓

The most comprehensive book on modern Irish history. Reasonably well-balanced. Lengthy and turgid in places but useful for dipping into. Recommended passages, all of which are in Part III, are:-

Chapter 5 - for the campaign against the British which led to the 1921 treaty.

Chapter 6 - for the Irish Civil War following the treaty.

Section A2(iv) pages 554-558. For Irish neutrality in the Second World War.

Section B1(pages 695-705 and B5(pages 738-759) for Northern Ireland.

A Place Apart - Dervla Murphy

Have read - more than once.

A fairly recent (1978) impression of attitudes of both parts of the Northern Ireland community. Good insights, generally fair and well written.

A Short History of Ireland - J C Beckett

A short, sound traditional (primarily political) history by a Professor of History at Queens University, Belfast. The chapters on the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries give the essential background on that span of history.

Ulster since 1800 - Edited by T W Moody and J C Beckett

This is twelve talks broadcast in the Northern Ireland Home Service of the BBC in 1955 and contains excellent short pieces on a range of political, constitutional, economic and social issues.

The Constitution of Northern Ireland : Problems and Prospects -

Edited by David Watt

Proceedings of a seminar on Northern Ireland. Includes some very good contributions, and the work overall is an intelligent discussion of contemporary Northern Ireland questions.

GRS 350
RESTRICTED
FM DUBLIN 071545Z JUL 83
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 209 OF 7 JULY 1983
AND TO PRIORITY NIO (BELFAST)
INFO SAVING TO BIS NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON

RESTRICTED

MS

BOBBY SANDS RALLY AT MULLAGHMORE

1. THE MINISTER FOR JUSTICE, MICHAEL NOONAN, ISSUED A STATEMENT ON 6 JULY DESCRIBING THE CHOICE OF MULLAGHMORE (WHERE LORD MOUNTBATTEN WAS MURDERED IN 1979) AS THE VENUE FOR A RALLY ON 10 JULY TO COMMEMORATE THE DEATH OF BOBBY SANDS AS 'GROSSLY OFFENSIVE TO THE MEMORY OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE MURDERED THERE IN 1979.' THE STATEMENT WENT ON: 'IRISH PEOPLE NORTH AND SOUTH WILL RECOGNISE THAT THE CHOICE OF MULLAGHMORE FOR THE COMMEMORATION IS AT BEST INSENSITIVE AND, IF DELIBERATELY CHOSEN BECAUSE OF ITS ASSOCIATION WITH THE LATE LORD MOUNTBATTEN, IS AN OBSCENITY. ACCORDINGLY, THE GOVERNMENT ASKS THOSE WHO DO NOT WISH TO ADD FURTHER TO THE LEGACY OF BITTERNESS, AND HATRED, TO CHANGE THE VENUE OF THE COMMEMORATION. TO PROCEED AS PLANNED WILL BRING FURTHER DISGRACE ON THEMSELVES AND ON THEIR COUNTRY'.

2. A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT THE COMMEMORATION WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN BANNED BUT FOR LEGAL ADVICE TO THE CABINET. THE OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE ACT PROVIDES THAT A MEETING MAY BE BANNED IF IN THE OPINION OF A SENIOR GARDA OFFICER THE ORGANISERS WERE ACTING ON BEHALF OF AN ILLEGAL ORGANISATION. BUT THE COMMEMORATION WAS ORGANISED BY THE LOCAL H-BLOCK COMMITTEE (AN ORGANISATION WHICH LIKE ITS COUNTERPART NORTH OF THE BORDER, IS LEGAL.) NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE ORGANISERS HAVE SAID THAT THEY INTEND TO DISREGARD THE GOVERNMENT'S APPEAL FOR A CHANGE OF VENUE.

3. TODAY'S IRISH TIMES IS CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT: 'IT MIGHT BE BETTER IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT HAD TO COME OUT AND THEREBY INFLATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EVENT' AND NOTES THAT THE COMMEMORATION 'WILL BE TAKEN, IN SO MANY CIRCLES IN BRITAIN, AS DELIBERATELY PROVOCATIVE.'

RESTRICTED

LA

RESTRICTED

4. A DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE SPOKESMAN TOLD RTE YESTERDAY THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO PRESSURE FROM HMG TO HAVE THE MEETING BANNED. WE HAD CONSIDERED WHETHER ACTION BY THIS EMBASSY WAS DESIRABLE, BUT CONCLUDED THAT AN APPEAL FROM US WAS UNLIKELY TO BE DECISIVE AND THAT TO MAKE A PROTEST WOULD MERELY ADD TO THE PUBLICITY WHICH THIS EVENT IS RECEIVING. AS IT IS, THE COMMEMORATION IS LIKELY TO REBOUND AGAINST THE ORGANISERS GIVEN THE CRITICISM WHICH IT HAS AROUSED IN THE REPUBLIC.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES.

GOODISON

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED

NORTHERN IRELAND
LIMITED

RID
NAD
INFO D
WED
MAED
NEWS D
FUSD
PS
PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR WHITNEY
PS/FUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
LORD N GORDON LENNOX
MR GIFFARD
MR ADAMS
MR JAMES
MR URE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

²
RESTRICTED

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

7 July 1983

Dear DGlee,

A. J. C. 8/h

MINISTERIAL DEALINGS WITH MR GERRY ADAMS, M.P.

p.a.

I refer to your letter of 28 June to David Heyhoe.

The Home Secretary agrees with the approach your Secretary of State suggests for all Ministerial dealings with Mr Adams within Government, while he remains a member of an organisation publicly committed to the support of violence. He is certainly prepared to adopt the proposed line in relation to prison visits as one application of that approach.

I would be grateful to receive the guidance that is being prepared for the Private Secretaries to your Ministers.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, the Foreign & Commonwealth Secretary, the Secretary of State for Defence and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Yours sincerely
Hugh Taylor

D. A. Hill, Esq.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRELIMINARY : SITE : Pt 13



**With the Compliments
of the
Lord Privy Seal**



Privy Council Office
Whitehall
LONDON
SW1A 2AT

N. S. P. R.

APL 8/7

7 July 1983

New South.

MINISTERIAL DEALINGS WITH MR GERRY ADAMS MP

Thank you for your letter of 28 June in which you set out your Secretary of State's proposals on the handling of letters from Mr Adams and any approaches for meetings with Ministers.

The Lord Privy Seal has seen your letter and John Cole's note recording the Prime Minister's agreement to Mr Prior's proposals. Mr Biffen entirely agrees with your Secretary of State's views on this question and considers that it would be helpful for guidance on the lines proposed to be circulated to all Ministers in charge of Departments.

I am copying this letter to John Coles, Number 10, Bob Whalley, Lord President's Office, Roger Bone, FCO, Hugh Taylor, Home Office and Muir Russel, Scottish Office.

Yours ever
Nick Huxtable

N P M Huxtable
Private Secretary

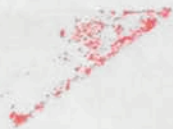
D A Hill Esq
Private Secretary
Northern Ireland Office
Great George Street
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

HERAND: Situation

Pt 13



68 JUL 1983





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 July 1983

N.B.P.R.

on 6/7.

Dear Derek,

Ministerial Dealings with Mr Gerry Adams MP

✓ Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 28 June to David Heyhoe. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary entirely agrees with the approach you suggest. I should be grateful to receive the guidance which is being prepared for the Private Secretaries to your Ministers.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, Secretary of State for Defence, the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Yours ever
John Holmes

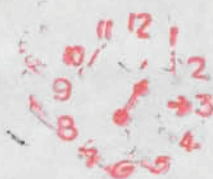
(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

D A Hill Esq
Northern Ireland Office
Great George Street
LONDON SW1

CONFIDENTIAL

Inland: Situation Pt 13

6 JUL 1983





SCOTTISH OFFICE
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AU

CONFIDENTIAL

D A Hill Esq
Private Secretary to Secretary of State
for Northern Ireland
Northern Ireland Office
Great George Street
LONDON
SW1P 3AJ

N. S. P. R.

AA $\frac{6}{8}$

5 July 1983

Dear Sir

MINISTERIAL DEALINGS WITH MR GERRY ADAMS MP

I refer to your letter of 28 June to David Heyhoe.

I can confirm that my Secretary of State will adopt the line Mr Prior has proposed with regard to visits to Scottish prisons by Mr Adams. As to Mr Prior's other proposals he will be happy to conform with the proposed guidance and I look forward to receiving it in its final form.

I am copying this letter to David Heyhoe and the other recipients of yours.

A Muir Russell

A MUIR RUSSELL
Private Secretary

IRELAND: Situation Pt 13

9 JUL 1968

12 1 2 3
4 5 6 7 8 9

1 July 1983

Ministerial Dealings with Mr. Gerry Adams M.P.

The Prime Minister has seen your letter of 28 June to David Heyhoe setting out Mr. Prior's views on how we should handle letters from Mr. Adams and any approaches he may make for meetings with Ministers.

Mrs. Thatcher agrees with Mr. Prior's proposals for handling these matters.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Secretary of State for Defence, the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland.

A J COLES

Derek Hill, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

NR

RESTRICTED

GRS 120
RESTRICTED
FM DUBLIN 301432Z JUN 83
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 203 OF 30 JUNE 1983
INFO PRIORITY NIO (BELFAST)
INFO SAVING TO WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

Mr. Blair attached.
Prey letter
Do we have a copy of
Mr. Prior's speech pl?
A.S.C. 1/2

MR PRIOR'S ASSEMBLY SPEECH: 28 JUNE: REACTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC

1. THE DFA HAVE TOLD US THEY VALUED MR PRIOR'S SPEECH AS A CLEAR STATEMENT OF HMG'S POSITION.
2. THE IRISH TIMES ON 29 JUNE CARRIED A FRONT-PAGE REPORT OF THE SPEECH. THIS EMPHASISED HIS COMMITMENT THAT DEVOLVED POWERS COULD ONLY BE RESTORED ON A BASIS OF "CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS CROSS-COMMUNITY SUPPORT".
3. IN INDIRECT EDITORIAL COMMENT ON 30 JUNE, THE IRISH TIMES SAYS MR PRIOR HAS "HELD TENACIOUSLY TO THE LINE THAT THE UNIONISTS WILL NOT HAVE IT ALL THEIR OWN WAY... THE MINORITY HAS TO BE RECOGNISED ... POLITICALLY". THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDES THAT THIS IS "SOMETHING TO BE GOING ON WITH" WHICH COULD NOT ALWAYS BE SAID ABOUT SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES.

GOODISON

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

NORTHERN IRELAND

LIMITED

RID
NAD
INFO D
WED
MAED
NEWS D
FUSD
PS
PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR WHITNEY
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
LORD N GORDON LENNOX
MR GIFFARD
MR ADAMS
MR JAMES
MR URE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

RESTRICTED

28 June 1983

Mr Speaker: I gather that the Broadcasting Committee meeting will be short in view of the circumstances.

GOVERNMENT'S NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY

Statement by Secretary of State

Mr Speaker: I now call on the Secretary of State, the Rt Hon James Prior MP, to make a statement on Her Majesty's Government's policy in Northern Ireland.

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Mr Prior): Mr Speaker and Members, I am very glad to accept your invitation to address the Assembly on Her Majesty's Government's policy towards Northern Ireland. Of course I have a deep interest in the development of the Assembly and take a keen interest in its growth. But this is not the Assembly of the United Kingdom Government nor is it the Assembly, as the Press sometimes irreverently say, of Jim Prior, nor is it, for that matter, solely your Assembly. It is the Assembly of all those elected by the people of Northern Ireland, some of whom are not here today. But all who believe in constitutional politics have a role to play in seeking a way forward for the whole community.

It should not pass without notice that this meeting of the Assembly gives you, and through you the people of the province, an opportunity to hear an account of the Government's policy directly from the Secretary of State, something which has not been available to my predecessors. This is my first chance to speak to you since the general election. It is an opportune time to take stock of the political outlook for the province.

The election results here in Northern Ireland have already had much attention in the media. Without commenting at length I would like to draw out two features. Firstly, there is the fact that the majority of the people in the province gave their support to a constitutional approach to our problems. They unequivocally rejected the argument that violence is an acceptable means of settling political differences. We all have a duty to respond to this view, expressed as it was from sections of our community. The challenge to us all is to reach agreement upon constitutional forms which will satisfy the hopes, and remove the fears, of all the people in the province. The second feature which emerged from the election was the increased size of the vote for Sinn Fein - a party which has made clear to all its support for violence. My rejection of that path is absolute.

Hon Members: Hear, hear.

Mr Prior: During the course of this speech I wish to talk about economic and social issues, and security. But I would like to comment first on the political framework.

The Government's view was firmly stated in the manifesto:

"The people of Northern Ireland will continue to be offered a framework for participation in local democracy and political progress through the Assembly. There will be no change in Northern Ireland's constitutional position in the United Kingdom without the consent of the majority of people there and no devolution of power without widespread support throughout the community".

This policy was firmly endorsed in the Queen's Speech at the opening of the new Session of Parliament.

28 June 1983

The machinery for giving effect to that policy was spelt out in detail in the 1982 Northern Ireland Act. Parliament approved the provisions of that Act, including the conditions on which further constitutional progress can be made. I must say to you today that I see no possibility of this new Parliament setting less exacting conditions than those which were approved just over a year ago.

I would like to spell out again the basis of our approach to the problems of this province.

Our first premise has been that Northern Ireland needs a system of devolved Government which encourages local, democratic participation. This does not in any way imply a lack of support from Her Majesty's Government for the Union. Unless it is the wish of a majority, there can be no change in the constitutional position of Northern Ireland and this has been recognised in Dublin, as well as in Westminster. I think though that it is generally acknowledged that there are, nonetheless, special Northern Ireland characteristics which can best be reflected by an administration here.

Secondly, the Government's approach must take account of the 2 distinctive identities within Northern Ireland. All of us must face the divisions in the community which are at the heart of the political problem here. To recognise and take account of these divisions implies no threat to the rights and interests of either side. Working together and reaching an accommodation on how responsibility should be exercised, does not imply a step towards a united Ireland without the consent of a majority. Working together can only enhance the stability of the province.

So, we should not overlook, indeed we cannot overlook, the fact that there are differences. But we must seek to accommodate them and the reality is that any proposals which come forward for the administration of Northern Ireland must have substantial support from both sides of the community. This is not a technical requirement; it is an essential pre-condition for devolved Government to operate effectively here. If the bulk of the majority community or the bulk of the minority is strongly hostile to particular proposals for devolution, they have no future.

This in turn implies that the Government will support a move to a devolved system of administration provided that the provisions of the 1982 Act, endorsed in our manifesto, are met. We must therefore, look for proposals that will be recognised as practical and will secure the support of both Houses of Parliament on the grounds that they command widespread acceptance throughout the community.

The third strand in our approach is that relations between the communities here both influence and are affected by the state of relations between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Those relations are important and will continue to improve in a spirit of close and practical co-operation. The most recent manifestation of this was the meeting at Stuttgart between the Prime Minister and Dr FitzGerald. Let me say clearly that good bi-lateral relations, coupled with an open and positive attempt to recognise the vital importance of understanding at all levels, are not inconsistent with the constitutional guarantee. But I do hope that they provide an encouraging atmosphere in which we may expect improved relations within and between the communities in Northern Ireland.

We have given, and will continue to give, a clear commitment to the right of both traditions to pursue their aspirations; to make progress in the field of Anglo-Irish relations and above all to support the Assembly as the best vehicle for political co-

28 June 1983

operation and for necessary dialogue and compromise. This is the substance of the Government's commitment to political development.

Since the beginning of the year the Assembly, in its plenary sessions, and through the less public work of its Departmental committees, and through its other committees has been having an increasing impact on Government decision making. The Assembly has produced over 20 reports in the past 3 or 4 months, and I understand that Members are actively completing another 10. I pay tribute now to those who have contributed to this work. In about half the cases the Assembly were responding to a request by Government for comment on proposed legislation or other new policy. The other reports relate to matters raised by the committees themselves. This is a good balance. It has led the Government to reconsider proposals for legislation on a number of occasions, and is influencing the thinking of Departments. I might add that in a number of cases the Assembly have pointed to the difficulty of considering proposals for Draft Orders within the time allowed for consultation. We recognise this, and in future we will aim to give the Assembly a longer period for consultation on such proposals.

Ministerial colleagues have attended both plenary and committee sessions. These demonstrate the real opportunity which the Assembly has provided to widen public debate, on an informed and structured basis on vital social and economic issues and problems. The presence of a locally elected body increases the extent to which Government decision makers are publicly accountable for their decisions; and I repeat my willingness to see that my Colleagues in Government, Ministers in the Northern Ireland Office, visit the Assembly to discuss and answer questions about major issues within their Departmental responsibilities.

I hope that the opportunities for the Assembly to contribute to policy formation will continue to grow and will have an increasing effect. Departmental Ministers remain ready to speak regularly in the Assembly, either to lead a discussion, to answer a debate or make a statement on a topic, followed by an opportunity for questions on that statement.

I turn now to security. Progress on the political and economic front will be affected by our success in dealing with the threat of terrorism and the racketeering it brings in its wake. This Government, like its predecessors, is implacably resolved to bring terrorism to an end by the impartial and effective enforcement of the law. The rule of law lies at the heart of our democratic processes, which in their turn are intended to promote the welfare of the whole community. Whatever the alleged motive, violence to overthrow these processes cannot be seen as anything other than simply criminal. This applies to terrorists of any persuasion - all must be defeated and their evil ways rejected absolutely.

The threat to the rule of law and our democratic traditions is not a simple one. The terrorists are trying to undermine our democratic values by provoking the community into taking vindictive counter measures. Not only would this be counter productive, in that such retaliation would generate support for the terrorists, but in the long run it would destroy our values just as surely as the acts of the terrorists themselves. I abhor, we all abhor, terrorism in any form. I am especially concerned that it is the strategy of many terrorists to destabilise our society. It is their intention to establish a Marxist-style state which is completely against the traditions of the United Kingdom. I believe too, that the establishment of such a state would be equally abhorrent to the parties in the Republic, and to all those who value democracy in Europe, in America and throughout the world. For these reasons the Government

28 June 1983

will continue to use every means and every power within the law to bring terrorist criminals to justice. To this end the Government is committed to giving the Chief Constable and the GOC all the resources they require. The security forces need and deserve the active support of the public and especially of public representatives, in their task. In particular, the public must demonstrate this support through the provision of information that may lead to crimes being prevented or criminals arrested.

I am also anxious to see a wider recognition of the impressive achievements of the security forces. The Chief Constable's Annual Report for 1982 sets out the facts of a continued steady abatement in the level of violence in the province. There have been tragedies and frustrations, but there have been significant successes as well in which security forces in the Republic have played their part. Dedicated police work did prevent many acts of violence planned during the recent election campaign, just as it has frustrated attempted armed robberies and other violent crime which is becoming an ugly extension of activity by terrorist gangs. It was the same skill and dedication which has enabled charges to be brought so quickly following some recent brutal killings. These may not hit the headlines in the same way as terrorist incidents do, but they are real successes and they are of fundamental importance. However, I will not be satisfied - I know none of us will be satisfied - until terrorist violence from all sides is stamped out.

I want to say a word, if I may, about prisons. Within the prisons, and particularly within the Maze, a number of Loyalist prisoners continue to refuse to conform fully with the prison regulations with the objective of forcing the Government to re-introduce a system of segregation of prisoners by paramilitary affiliation. Support has been given to this fundamental change of prisons policy but the people have sought to disguise the nature of the change by referring to "administrative separation" and "local discretion" exercised by the Governor. I have given this issue very serious consideration indeed, as have my colleagues, and I must tell you frankly that a segregated system would increase the ability of paramilitary organisations to exercise control within the prisons with a consequentially higher risk to the safety of prisoners and prison staff alike.

The security of the prisons is of the first importance. Prison Governors and their officers are fully aware of this, and every effort will continue to be made to ensure that Northern Ireland prisoners remain secure and under the proper control of the prison authorities. The Northern Ireland prison system is widely recognised as humane and fair in its treatment of prisoners, and I am determined that it should maintain that reputation.

Mr Speaker, I welcome the opportunity, also, of stressing my determination to play a full part in tackling Northern Ireland's economic problems. Despite some reports to the contrary, I am not ashamed to say that I intend to ensure that the province receives a share of public expenditure which recognises its special needs and circumstances.

Hon Members: Hear, hear.

Mr Prior: I thought that might get some response somewhere, even if some people suggested I should depart to the Falkland Islands as Governor there.

Of particular importance in this regard is bound to be the correct choice of public expenditure priorities, and wise and efficient employment of resources. The

28 June 1983

Government's order for public expenditure priorities here is first of all, law and order, then industrial development and support and housing. I very much appreciate the energy with which the whole Assembly, and its Finance and Personnel Committee in particular, have set about the task of considering the allocation of resources. In this highly important field I look forward to receiving your advice and assistance in tackling the key decisions about the ordering of public expenditure priorities for the future.

I should say at this stage how pleased I am at the recent announcement that the European Community have now confirmed their willingness to provide some £60 million for urban infrastructure projects in Belfast. I am very glad that our efforts have been rewarded in this way, and in saying "our" efforts I am not only talking about the very considerable work which has been done by the Government and particularly by officials, but also the invaluable work of the European Commission and the constant support of the Northern Ireland MEPs. In response to those who are anxious that Belfast should genuinely benefit from the Regulation I can confirm that money paid to the United Kingdom under the Regulation will indeed mean a genuine increase in expenditure here and I might say that has taken some getting as well.

In the industrial sphere the Government will continue their efforts to strengthen the economy, improve industrial competitiveness and expand the industrial base. In Northern Ireland the level of unemployment is appallingly high and affects all sectors of the community. The Government will continue to deploy a very wide range of measures to provide training and short-term employment and will also seek to stimulate the creation of new jobs. But vital though it remains to attract new industry and new inward investment, it is the creation of jobs within the indigenous economy of the province that we have to pursue and support with increasing vigour. I believe that is a very vital point.

The Industrial Development Board are now developing a new spirit of partnership with existing local industry. LEDU have had their most successful year ever, promoting more than 2,500 jobs last year and over the next couple of years the IDB themselves plan to gear up to reach a promotion target of 10,000 jobs a year. The problem of Northern Ireland's bad image with investors has been defined with a new clarity, and the plan to counter it with the most vigorous and professional means is already under way. I believe that the package of measures I announced in March should have done much to restore Northern Ireland's competitive edge. So I think the Assembly is helping to keep us on our toes, and that is one of the main benefits of the proper scrutiny of direct rule.

The extension of derating to 100 per cent has tackled one of the major costs for industry and a £60 million a year electricity subsidy currently helps to contain another. It is important however that we should seek to make advances on the energy front by means other than ever increasing cash subsidies and I know that the Assembly will consider carefully our energy discussion paper, which is to be published shortly.

Northern Ireland continues to have a great deal to offer those who seek the means of economic and industrial expansion. We have a splendid natural environment, first rate communications and an excellent record for enterprise, energy and good industrial relations. That is industry, but we must not forget agriculture, as if the Agriculture Committee of the Assembly would ever allow us to do so.

Rev Dr Paisley: Hear, hear.

28 June 1983

Mr Prior: Agriculture is a key sector of our economy, and one to which the Agriculture Committee have rightly devoted a lot of time. I am glad that the incomes of most farmers have now recovered from the very low levels of 1980, but I realise that the intensive livestock sector, particularly egg production, is in a difficult position at present because of the higher costs of feedings-stuffs and the relatively low market prices. I hope that this is a temporary phase and I wish to emphasise that the Government have done everything in their power to help to minimise the difficulties. We have had some successes, including the new arrangements for 50,000 tonnes of grain to come here through the intervention system, but, as Commissioner Dalsager indicated when he visited Northern Ireland recently, the problem, certainly in intensive production, is Europe-wide. But let us not forget that expenditure on Northern Ireland agriculture is very considerable: some £170 million from the Department of Agriculture for Northern Ireland, the Ministry of Agriculture, and EC funds, including the £30 million in special funding which is not available in Great Britain, plus the benefits of the cash spent by the intervention board in maintaining farm-gate prices.

I have tried to highlight some of the major issues facing Northern Ireland. I have outlined the Government's response and underlined the important contribution which the Assembly have made, are making, and, I earnestly hope, will continue to make, to the resolution of our difficulties. But I also recognise that resolution of these problems cannot be achieved without further political progress towards a stable system of government. This is not only my perception; it is one shared by investors in America, Europe, and London, whose commitment to our wider development we also need.

What more then is needed to encourage this process of political development? I believe that there must be a greater recognition by the majority that the cross-community support which underpins the 1982 Act is not easily achievable. It is something which needs to be worked for. It requires an open-minded and generous approach to the needs and aspirations and fears of the minority community. Government indeed have a role to play in this, but it is not a leading one. The elected representatives of the majority in this Assembly have a crucial role. They are the people who have much in common with the minority community. They share a common interest in economic and social development. They inhabit the same local areas, and they desire administration of their own affairs.

Of course the road to stability and progress calls for an equal commitment from the minority. Many in that community have taken a courageous stand against violence. But they need to go further. The minority community do not have a monopoly on distinctive needs, aspirations and fears. It is essential that they recognise this and that the best way forward is for those who believe in constitutional politics to participate in this Assembly. That would not require them to sacrifice their position nor deny their aspirations. This Government remains fully committed to the restoration of devolved powers only on a basis which has clear and unambiguous cross-community support - just as it remains committed also to the principle that constitutional change to the status of Northern Ireland come only by the consent of a majority. I believe the minority community have much to gain by working, within the framework of the 1982 Act, in order to achieve political progress. I hope that those already sitting in the Assembly will help to demonstrate that there is a worthwhile function for the minority here. There is now a crucial division in Northern Ireland between those who oppose violence and those who support it. If those opposed to violence fail to find ways to work together in the common interest the beneficiaries are likely to be the terrorists.

28 June 1983

Progress must be made on the principles which Parliament has outlined. I am always ready to listen to views as to how those principles can be best met. The impetus for a stable future must come from the Northern Ireland community itself.

At the start of a new Parliament I am deeply conscious of our responsibilities. I commit Her Majesty's Government and myself as Secretary of State to seeking ways towards peace and prosperity for all the people of the province and I thank the Members of the Assembly both for the manner in which they have listened to my statement this afternoon and for the work that they have been carrying out during the past few months in the interests of Northern Ireland as a whole. I believe that we have made some progress. Much remains to be done. I express my willingness to do all that I can. I hope that perhaps as time goes on we can make some further progress.

Mr Speaker: There will be approximately 25 minutes for questions so may I emphasise once again that the shorter the questions the more honourable Members will be called, it is completely in your hands.

3.07 pm

Mr Molyneaux: I am sure we will all respond to your request for brevity, but might I express appreciation of the Secretary of State's acceptance of our invitation to come to the Assembly so early in this new Parliament. We are approaching what might be regarded as the end of the first session of the Assembly without having made any real progress towards the objective of the Northern Ireland Act 1982, namely Stage II and the devolution of powers. How does the Secretary of State propose to overcome the sheer impossibility of obtaining the cross-community consent, as required in the Queen's Speech and reiterated by the Secretary of State today, when the other representatives who are not present have no intention of attending let alone of consenting?

Also could I ask if the Secretary of State agrees that the phrase in the manifesto from which he has quoted, "will continue to be offered a framework ... through the Assembly," is misleading when that offer itself is made on a condition which can never be met by this Assembly however hard we attending the Assembly may try. Will he come clean on what is meant precisely by "cross-community consent" in these circumstances, and particularly by that phrase "widespread support throughout the community", which appears to indicate or imply that that consent could be given elsewhere other than within the Assembly? In his final appeal to the majority he used words to the effect that the objectives were not easily attainable and I am sure he will come to recognise that that is an impossibility, particularly within the terms of the unamended 1982 Act.

Mr Prior: I think that it would be quite wrong if we believed that there was some dramatic solution which the Assembly could adopt and Parliament could accept in the space of a few months. Many of us thought that the Assembly would take some while to move, as the hon Gentleman has mentioned, from, as it were, Phase I to Phase II and in no way should one be down-hearted that, after the first session, more progress towards a devolved administration has not been made. I would have thought that it would have been extraordinary if, in the space of a few months, it had become possible to make that further progress. Of course I want to see, and I have made it perfectly clear, the SDLP, the constitutional party of the minority, playing a part in the Assembly. I have to make it clear that fundamental to my view of widespread acceptance and support, and to the Government's view, is that the minority has to be represented here and has to be seen to be playing a part before it would be possible to make any progress. I do not say that out of any doctrinal view. I say that because I simply do not believe that there can be a stable or satisfactory position unless that

28 June 1983

happens. That is, I think, how I would define proposals from both sides of the community. This does not mean that unanimity is required. It does mean that those advancing proposals must seek to secure genuine cross-community support for them. I do not think that we should for one moment give up the chance, the opportunity or the ideal that that implies, and I think it would be very pessimistic to use the word "never" in the way that the hon Gentleman has done this afternoon.

Rev Dr Paisley: Would the right hon Gentleman take it from me that the words that he has just used will give great encouragement to the SDLP, for he is putting into their hands a total veto of this Assembly? Would he take it from me this afternoon that we regret this statement that he has just made that except the bulk of the minority agree there can be no devolution? Forty-three per cent of the nationalist vote went to the gunmen at the last election. They are now a bulk of that particular minority. At the next election - and I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet - they will obtain over 50 per cent of the nationalist vote. They will be the majority of the minority. Is the right hon Gentleman telling us this afternoon that there can be no devolution until we make peace with the gunmen? The people I represent in this House will have no truck and no peace with these gunmen.

I would like to pass to the question of security. Could I remind the right hon Gentleman of the principle that he has outlined, which I welcome, that security must be top priority and that there can be no real progress constitutionally or economically until the terrorists are defeated? But is he aware that we have had a new departure by the terrorists over the last 24 hours and that threats on contractors and their workmen have now developed into attacks upon workmen? Is he aware that there has been an attempt to kill one and the cruel murder of another? In view of that will he now reverse the policy of running down the women police Reserve and the male police Reserve and the policy of closing up UDR depots across our province? If the House of Commons is going to pass a law bringing back the death penalty will the right hon Gentleman give us an assurance that he will move with speed to see that that law is implemented in this province?

Hon Members: Hear, hear.

Rev Dr Paisley: In regard to agriculture, could he explain to this House why £9 million was underspent? [Interruption]

It is not very often we have the Secretary of State - and by the way it was my party that originated the Motion to have him here, so we had better get that correct.

Last year £9 million became available because of underspending and was divided among other Departments. Why was that £9 million not given to the intensive sector to save at least the pig and poultry industries and the potato industry of our province?

Mr Prior: Of course the hon Gentleman is correct - and I share his view and that of the Assembly - to say that we will have no truck with gunmen: of course we will not. But what I am trying to suggest is that unless we seek to move forward with the support of the minority community there is no manner by which we can prevent the growth of Provisional Sinn Fein and their support for violence. I believe that that is part of the political basis on which the Government seek to make progress. I go further than that and say that no one party can have a veto. I have made it clear that political stability and progress can only be made in Northern Ireland if the proposals have the support and acceptance of both communities in the province. Obviously, therefore, when I talk about the view of the SDLP, it is crucial as it is the party that represents and articulates the views of the majority of the minority. So I have to say that and I think it perfectly right that I should do so.

28 June 1983

On the question of security, if there is a change in the policy of the gunman then, of course, this is a matter which I shall be discussing with, and no doubt have advice from, the Chief Constable and the GOC. But I do not believe that it calls for a change in the policy that we have adopted towards increasing the size of the police force of the RUC, both as far as the actual force itself is concerned and the Full-time Reserve. Of course one deeply regrets what has happened in the last 24 hours, and our sympathy goes out to the people who have suffered in this manner. Some weeks ago I did pass on the advice of one of the Members of this Assembly to the RUC, as I was requested to do and, therefore, I regret even more that there has been this very unfortunate attack on a contractor's man. As for the death penalty, I think it would be far better to wait until there has been a vote in the House of Commons before commenting further.

As for agriculture, I shall have to check with my hon Friend the exact underspend in the Department of Agriculture, because I know that in other areas of agriculture there was considerable overspend. All I can say is that had we directed any further cash towards either pigs or poultry, we should have been in contravention of the European Community, and we would also have got into a great deal more trouble with intensive producers on the other side of the channel. So to that extent, it would not have been possible to divert in extra resources to them.

3.18 pm

Mr Napier: Mr Speaker, first of all through you, may I thank the Secretary of State for coming here today and for the great frankness of the views which he has put forward in this Assembly. One matter I would like to pursue with the Secretary of State is the question of the devolution of power. The Secretary of State has made it quite clear that there will be no devolution of power without widespread support, and he has made it quite clear that that support must come from both sections of the divided community in Northern Ireland. I would ask the Secretary of State if he can state that it is not the Government's intention to devolve power back to Northern Ireland on the basis of majority community support, without the support and acceptance of a sizeable section of the minority community.

Secondly, I would ask the Secretary of State if he would confirm - what I and my party believe - that unless constitutional nationalists who deplore and condemn violence are brought within the administration of any new devolution of power in Northern Ireland, the only people who will gain will be the men of terror and the men of violence.

Mr Prior: As for the first question of the hon Member, I must say categorically that I do not believe that the Government or Parliament, and more importantly Parliament, would ever agree to devolve power to this Assembly on the basis of support from one section of the community only. I make that absolutely clear. I would be deluding everyone if I thought that there was any chance of any other arrangements being made. I have to go on from that to say that it was because I recognised, and the Government recognised, how difficult this was going to be that we thought that there was great merit in having these various phases in the Assembly. It has given the Assembly an opportunity to play a very important role even before it was possible to move on to devolved government.

Secondly, I should like to say equally strongly, that I believe it is vital that those who formed the constitutional majority on the Nationalist side should take their seats and play a part in constitutional politics, because unless they do, I believe that the sort of things which the hon Gentleman for Antrim was mentioning could come about, and

28 June 1983

so I believe that that is equally important. None of us underestimate the difficulties. If there were not great difficulties, as I have said on a number of occasions, there would not be a Secretary of State and there would not be direct rule. I believe that we have to accept and recognise these difficulties and seek, in every way we can, to overcome them.

Mr Speaker: I hope that each of the remaining questioners will put one question only to the Secretary of State, and put it succinctly.

May I add, as I hear concurrence from the DUP Benches, that they will be shorter than short in view of Dr Paisley's lengthy question.

Hon Members: Hear, hear.

3.21 pm

Rev Martin Smyth: I welcome the opportunity to discover that some of our public debate with the media is listened to. Whether it is headed is another matter.

There are many questions I would like to ask, but a specific one I will ask is about the economy. What representations are Her Majesty's Government making to the Government of the United States to see that Short Brothers and Harland get their fair crack of the whip in military orders, especially when we are members of NATO? There is at least some discussion that some military orders will be going to a country not within NATO. May I ask a subsidiary question? Will the Secretary of State recognise that we in Northern Ireland see a degree of hypocrisy, where we are told that his Ministers will not have truck with terrorists and yet they meet them?

Mr Prior: That is a very different question from the first part of the hon Gentleman's question and I will deal with that part. The answer is that we are putting all the pressure we can, and giving all the information that we can, to the American Government and to the American Congress, and the committees concerned, about the subject of Shorts. I am glad to say that the unions have joined in with their support on this matter. We have been very careful to see that the Americans have the true story about fair employment practices operating in Shorts and not the very warped view that they have been getting from the Irish caucus. We are doing all that we can, and have been over a period of time, and we will continue to do all we can to help secure this order for Short Brothers. In the meanwhile I think the fact that a number of American airlines are buying the 360 as well as the 330, and the fact that the Government of the Republic, through its airline, has bought 360s is itself an indication that a lot of the propaganda being put out by the Irish caucus is utterly untrue and has to be refuted in every way possible.

As for the hon Gentleman's other question, it is true that on one occasion, in a deputation, a Minister met one Member of the Assembly who has not taken his seat - a Member of Provisional Sinn Fein. I have made my views perfectly clear on this and it remains Her Majesty's Government's position.

3.24 pm

Rev Ivan Foster: I welcome, as I am sure every Member of the House welcomes, the Secretary of State's condemnation of the murder last evening in Omagh of a Protestant workman, and the attempted murder of another Protestant workman at Derrylin in County Fermanagh. I want to ask the Secretary of State about the

28 June 1983

attempted murder of the workman in Derrylin since it is related to a subject which I raised with him in a letter dated 8 March. Would the Secretary of State assure the House that every possible effort is being made to safeguard Protestant contractors and their workforces who successfully tender for public works contracts in Border areas, and furthermore will he assure the House that every precaution will be taken to stop a situation developing whereby IRA front organisations are permitted to operate as legitimate public works contractors and so finance their terror campaign from the public purse?

Mr Prior: As I have already stated, we were grateful to the hon Member for giving us the information about the risk. We passed this information to the RUC, who agreed to take appropriate action. It is impossible to provide 100 per cent, 24 hour cover, and it is deeply regretted that yesterday's tragedy took place and could not have been prevented. I will certainly see that there are further discussions on what the hon Gentleman has just said.

Mr Cook: I wonder if the right hon Gentleman is aware that the community have welcomed, in general terms, the European Community's Urban Renewal Regulation to which he referred in his statement earlier this afternoon. But is he also aware that Mr Butler, his deputy, issued a statement a week ago in which comments were made about it which were different from the comments made by Lord Mansfield in the City Hall on Friday evening and different from the comments made by Mr Christopher Patten on the radio, also on Friday, and that his own comments this afternoon are different again. He has referred to a genuine increase in expenditure here, and of course if that is the case, Members will welcome this, but there is confusion, perhaps because the specific question of additionality and the use of the word additionality has been avoided this afternoon. Will the right hon Gentleman accept that urgent clarification is needed on this and that a lead is required by Her Majesty's Government. Perhaps the best way of clarifying it would now or in the very near future be to name the specific schemes and projects which will now be brought into the Government's programme, in order to take advantage of the Urban Renewal Regulation.

Mr Prior: I will do my best to add a fourth view to the 3 views that have already been expressed. As I understand it, what we did this year was to include a figure of £16 million in public expenditure for this year, in anticipation that although the defunct Housing Regulation would not go through, there would be an Urban Renewal Regulation in place of it. That £16 million has now been translated into £19 million to take account of inflation, and I think some movement in the exchanges since that time. That £16 million which was in the public expenditure programme for this year would have had to have been withdrawn had we not received the additional money. The money is for urban renewal, which involves a whole range of activities; leisure, recreation and community facilities, tourist amenities, land reclamation, industrial zones, harbour facilities, public utility, infrastructures, transportation networks, urban drainage, et cetera, but of course does not exclude housing, although I have to make it perfectly clear that it is not specifically for housing. The additionality point is that in any refunds that Her Majesty's Government gets from the EC, the figure of £19 million will be in excess of that. That is for this year, we cannot yet state what will happen in years 2 and 3. But of that £19 million the British Government have already contributed about 21 per cent and so in fact the additional factor amounts to some 79 per cent. That is the extra money over and above what Northern Ireland would have been allowed for public expenditure this year, which is the contribution being made by the Community. I will see that a further statement is made. That, I think, is as far as I can go this afternoon. If it is not now sufficiently clear, I will see that a further statement is made.

28 June 1983

3.31 pm

Mr Maginnis: Would the Secretary of State accept that we would all like to accept what he says when he states that the Chief Constable and the GOC will be given all the resources they require to defeat terrorism? Does this then suggest to the House that these 2 gentlemen are content to play with manpower figures in the security services? When the Secretary of State came to this House to tell us that he was increasing the numbers in the RUC, he did not tell us that these numbers would be sufficient only to replace members of the Regular Army who were being withdrawn from the constituency I represent and other constituencies along the Frontier. Further more would the Secretary of State accept that it is now necessary to look carefully at the automatic 50 per cent remission which is given to prisoners in Northern Ireland, and that we should stop opening the doors and pouring unrepentant terrorists onto the streets, as we do week after week?

Mr Prior: I would like to start by congratulating the hon Member on his election to the House of Commons and tell him that I have dealt with a number of these matters before. We have looked at the 50 per cent remission and decided not to make changes, but this is something which, of course, I am prepared to discuss with him and his committee. The deployment of the RUC and the Army is a matter for professional judgment. It is true that we are trying to make certain changes in the deployment of the Army as we build up the strength of the RUC, in the belief that the RUC is more, capable and equipped to deal with the problems that we face. All the matters that he raised with me are matters which we can discuss at the appropriate time.

3.33 pm

Mr Kane: Does the Secretary of State agree that given the present financial stringencies affecting educational provision in the province, future public expenditure should be channelled towards existing educational institutions in Northern Ireland, with priority given to citizens of the United Kingdom? Would the Secretary of State reject the suggestion, made yesterday by the Select Committee Report, that a further and higher educational institution should be established in Londonderry, which should specifically and partly serve citizens of the Irish Republic?

Mr Prior: I think that it would be better if I gave a considered reply in due course to the Select Committee Report, rather than indulge in off the cuff remarks this afternoon.

Mr Speaker: We might be able to fit in 3 more hon Members if their questions last no more than 15 seconds, and I will call 3 hon Members on that basis.

3.34 pm

Mr Cushnahan: I listened with great interest to the Secretary of State's reaffirmation of the need to involve constitutional nationalists in a settlement. Bearing in mind the remarks of Members about giving the SDLP a veto by virtue of the fact it is not participating in this Assembly, would the Secretary of State agree that if people want to encourage the SDLP to participate, an offer of power-sharing would have that result, as Mr Hume himself indicated in his speech to the Irish Association? Consequent upon that, would the Secretary of State not agree that the growth of Sinn Fein is directly related to the continued refusal of Unionist politicians to make any concessions to constitutional nationalism? Would he also agree that the time has come for the British Government to grasp the nettle and decide whether they are prepared

28 June 1983

to let a very small minority of the population of the United Kingdom continue to stand in the way of political progress, specified by the sovereign Parliament in Westminster as being on a power-sharing basis?

Mr Prior: I cannot answer those questions in the space of 15 seconds. I think I have dealt with those questions reasonably in the statement that I have already made.

Mr Edgar Graham: The Secretary of State in his statement, and in answer to several questions like that raised by the hon Member for North Down (Mr Cushnahan), indicated that the Assembly cannot progress without the consent of the SDLP. Is the Secretary of State aware that the SDLP have continually said that Northern Ireland is an unworkable state and therefore they will not contribute to making Northern Ireland, or this Assembly, work, and if he is saying that he is signing the death knell for this Assembly.

Mr Prior: I emphatically reject that as a viewpoint that is acceptable. I have not by any means said that the SDLP is the only party which could have a veto. All parties have a veto over political progress if they wish to have it, but it is quite clear that since the SDLP represent the majority, of the minority without their presence in the Assembly and without their playing a part, there could be no progress towards devolved government. I make that absolutely clear. I would not want anyone in any part of this Assembly to be under any illusion about the manner and the way in which the Government have given this undertaking. It is written quite clearly in the Northern Ireland Act of 1982 and I see no way in which that is likely to be changed.

Mr Robinson: Will the Secretary of State take it from me that the reason why many so called Loyalist prisoners are refusing to leave their cells is because they are in danger of losing their lives if they go through the cell door? Will he tell this House what measures he and his Government are going to take to ensure the safety of prisoners when they are under his custody, and will he further tell this House if power sharing is the only way that we can move forward in Northern Ireland?

Mr Prior: I think we have to understand that the hon Gentleman's views on what is happening inside the prisons is over-simplified. There is evidence of a good deal of collusion between people on the Republican side and on the Loyalist side -

Rev Dr Paisley: Where is the evidence?

Mr Prior: - within the prisons to cause the sort of problems which we have faced. But generally speaking, I think that with one or two regrettable exceptions, the prison staff have been able to cope with threats of violence and with the problems in the prisons and will continue to do so. We are seeking in every way we can to act responsibly, and at the same time sympathetically, to some of the very serious problems which exist. A number of Members have visited the prisons and have seen for themselves the manner in which we are seeking to deal with it.

As for power sharing, I think I have made the views of the Government abundantly clear. I have thought that there were ways in which we could get over the problem of power sharing, but it does not alter the fact that there has to be a widespread acceptance of whatever devolved administration comes about. That need not be power sharing, but it has got to be widespread acceptance.

ACCESS FOR THE DISABLED:
ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE REPORT ON DoE CONSULTATIVE DOCUMENT

Statement by Environment Committee Chairman

3.39 pm

Mr Robinson: The Department of the Environment are considering a proposed Amendment to the Building Regulations (Northern Ireland) 1977 to cover access to

CONFIDENTIAL

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

①



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Prime Minister

subject to colleagues, agree
points 1 to 4 below:

A.J.C. 29/6.

David Heyhoe Esq
Private Secretary to
Lord Privy Seal
68 Whitehall
LONDON

SW1A 2AT

Yes

MF

28 June 1983

Dear David

MINISTERIAL DEALINGS WITH MR GERRY ADAMS MP

When the decision to revoke the exclusion order against Mr Gerry Adams MP was announced immediately after the election, Mr Prior was asked whether he would meet Mr Adams. He stated that he would not meet a Sinn Fein MP until Sinn Fein had clearly renounced violence. Although Mr Adams' main interest is directed to the Secretary for Northern Ireland, it is open to him to seek a meeting with any United Kingdom Minister. Sinn Fein's refusal to take seats at Westminster is unlikely to preclude Mr Adams engaging in correspondence with Ministers. There are obvious advantages in a common Ministerial line for handling letters from Mr Adams and any approaches he may make for meetings with Ministers.

There are arguments for treating a Sinn Fein MP exactly the same as other MPs. It is even possible to argue that any discriminatory practices should be exercised by the Northern Ireland Office alone while other Ministers treat Sinn Fein MPs in the ordinary way. Mr Prior believes, however, that Sinn Fein's public commitment to support of violence makes it both right and necessary to treat Mr Adams with more reserve than an ordinary MP. While replies to letters on behalf of constituents must deal adequately with the interest of the constituent, the Minister's reply should be brief and formal in style, avoiding any appearance of friendliness. Although the Secretary of State has not publicly ruled out any possibility of a Junior Minister meeting Mr Adams, perhaps as a member of a deputation, his strong disposition is to avoid such occasions and to insist that Mr Adams makes any points he wishes to put forward through correspondence.

Application of these broad principles will require vigilance in Private Offices. Guidance is being prepared for the Private Secretaries to Ministers in the Northern Ireland Departments. Mr Prior would be happy to make this available to colleagues and would, of course, be ready to advise on any particular approach which gave rise to difficulty.

CONFIDENTIAL

... /

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

- ③ The Secretary of State will allow Mr Adams to visit Northern Ireland prisons only to see a close relative. He does not believe that any further recognition of his election to Westminster is called for or appropriate. He hopes that Mr Brittan and Mr Younger will feel able to come to the same conclusion in respect of the prisons for which they are responsible, and officials here are ready to talk about this aspect if it would be helpful.
- ④

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister, the Lord President, Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Secretary of State for Defence, the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland and would be grateful for any comments by 6 July. If they agree, Mr Prior will offer guidance on the above lines to all Ministers in Charge of Departments.

Yours ever

Dave

D A HILL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

2 June 1983

Dear Colin,

Prevention of Terrorism : Exclusion of Members of Parliament

The Prime Minister has seen your letter of 31 May to me about the exclusion orders against Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and Daniel Morrison. The Prime Minister believes that it will be necessary to revoke the exclusion orders against any of these who are elected to the Westminster Parliament. In addition to the considerations mentioned by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, it will be necessary to take stock of the trend of the overall General Election results on 10 June. Although this contingency looks unlikely at present, if it appeared that the present Government were not likely to be returned, the Home Secretary might feel it appropriate to consult the Opposition before revoking the orders.

I am sending a copy of this letter to John Lyon (Northern Ireland Office).

Yours sincerely,

Robin Butler

C.J. Walters, Esq.,
Home Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Willie Rickett Esq
PS/Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

1 June 1983

Dear Willie

I am writing to confirm that on balance Mr Prior accepts the Home Secretary's intention expressed in Colin Walters' letter of 31 May to revoke the exclusion order against any elected MP.

Mr Prior considers, however, that while at present it seems right to revoke the order, it would be prudent to review the situation quickly in the light of the actual election results in Northern Ireland and to take account of any statements or actions on the part of Adams or others which might lead to a different conclusion. Mr Prior would, therefore, be grateful if the Home Secretary would consult him again before any exclusion order is revoked.

I am copying this letter to Colin Walters.

Yours ever

Dave Hill

D A HILL

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister
Agree to revoke, immediately the
Election results are known, any Order against a person
elected to the Westminster Government?

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

This looks OK to me except in the
(unlikely) circumstances in which
it appeared on 10 June that there
was going to be a change of Government:
in those circumstances, surely the Home
Secretary should consult the Opposition on 10 June
before lifting the Order.

31 May 1983

FERB

31-52

PREVENTION OF TERRORISM

EXCLUSION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

As you will recall, on 8 December 1982 the Home Secretary signed
exclusion orders against Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and
Daniel Morrison. At least two of them were intending to come
to London to see Mr Livingstone. All three are candidates for
election on 9 June. It is more than likely that Adams will be
elected (in West Belfast) possible that Morrison (Mid-Ulster)
will be elected but less likely that McGuinness (Foyle) will be
elected. Another Provisional Sinn Fein (PSF) candidate (Donaldson
in East Belfast) is the subject of an exclusion order but is unlikely
to be elected. We believe that, if one of them is elected, he
will seek to come immediately to Great Britain to try to obtain
a propaganda advantage from the exclusion order.

By the way the Northern Ireland court cases where he
should have some idea of how things are going
here. It
may be
necessary
to consult
as you
say just
not

The police case for an order against Adams (and the others)
remains as strong as it was six months ago but the Home Secretary
believes that it would be right to revoke an order in respect of
any person who is elected to Westminster, including Adams. If
this is to be done, it will be best to revoke the order immediately
the result is known, and the Home Secretary would therefore be grate-
ful if the Prime Minister could be forewarned of the possibility at
this stage. Counting in all the Northern Ireland seats will begin
at 9.00 am on 10 June and the results should be known about lunchtime.

Any PSF Members of Parliament are most unlikely to take up their
seats, but the Home Secretary believes that it would be hard to
defend using an executive order which could be represented as
discouraging them from pursuing peaceful politics and making it
difficult for them to pursue their constituents' interests
particularly on subjects reserved to London-based Ministers.
Whereas in December the Home Secretary judged that PIRA's morale
would be helped by the proposed visit to London, he believes that
in the new circumstances envisaged PIRA would be most encouraged
by the potential propaganda value of maintaining an order in force
against an elected MP. The Home Secretary has not discussed the
issue with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland but he
understands that Mr Prior supports this approach.

/The

Mr Prior's views are set out in
the attached letter. He is content, but
would like to be consulted before any
exclusion order is actually revoked.

Robin Butler, Esq

WR

010



If these people are
elected. I believe
we have to revoke
the order. But I
don't know what
I am entitled to
do it now.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Home Secretary would therefore be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister is content that, should the present Government be re-elected on 9 June, any exclusion orders in force against candidates successful in the general election should immediately be revoked.

I am copying this letter to John Lyon. (NIO).

Yours sincerely
C J Walters

C J WALTERS

CONFIDENTIAL

31 May 1965

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO



QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

19 May 1983

Dear Sir

Thank you for your letter of 20 April about the system of elections to the European Parliament in Northern Ireland.

Now that the Council of Ministers has decided it will not be possible to bring a uniform procedure into operation at the 1984 elections we shall indeed need to look again at the arrangements set up by the 1978 Act. We cannot let you know the outcome before the general election but will write again in due course.

James Molyneaux, Esq, JP



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 May 1983

*Dear John,*NORTHERN IRELAND

Your Secretary of State called on the Prime Minister this morning for a discussion about prospects for the future in Northern Ireland.

Mr. Prior said that he had two particular worries. The first was that Northern Ireland was a constant drain on the UK economy. The second was the growth of support for Provisional Sinn Fein. With regard to the latter point, he did not accept that all those who had voted for Provisional Sinn Fein candidates were necessarily in favour of violence. Nevertheless, it was a fact that the Catholic Church in Ireland had made plain its view that a vote for the Sinn Fein was a vote for violence and despite this the support for Sinn Fein had risen. The number of votes they had obtained was not as high as in 1955 but on this occasion there was a much closer association between Sinn Fein and violence.

The combination of these factors caused us international difficulties. Countries like the United States, Canada and France did not understand the Northern Ireland problem but tended to feel that we were not doing all we could to solve it. Then within the United Kingdom many people wondered why we should remain involved.

It was therefore desirable, now that the Government had been re-elected for five years, to consider what could be done in this period. In Dublin there was a Government which was about as stable as any we were likely to get. In Northern Ireland, following the election results, the Official Unionist Party, who had done well, would probably begin to argue that they must now be given real powers and that the Assembly in its present form was inadequate. The Democratic Unionist Party, who had done badly in the elections, would become more vociferous in their complaints about a lack of security. Mr. Paisley had been relatively quiet in recent months but this would change now. Unless some progress could be made with the Assembly in the next 6 to 9 months, there was a danger that it would break up.

All this suggested that the British Government should put pressure on the Irish Government to encourage the SDLP to take up seats in the Assembly. The Irish Government were deeply worried about the growth of Sinn Fein. Indeed, they were paranoid about it to the extent of having suggested to Mr. Prior that Britain was

/ giving

giving more help to Provisional Sinn Fein than the SDLP over, for example, housing facilities.

If the SDLP entered the Assembly, it would then be possible to devolve five departments, one each to the SDLP, the Alliance and the Democratic Unionists and two to the Official Unionists. The Official Unionists would probably find it hard to refuse this carrot. On the other hand, we should be able to say that this was not power-sharing because we retained responsibility for law and order and finance. Mr. Paisley would be opposed to devolution of this kind but his power-base was weaker than before the election. The SDLP would probably be difficult about the proposal but he thought it would be worth talking to John Hume again - though he doubted whether the latter would move unless he was pressurised by Dublin.

It was also necessary to envisage setting up the Anglo/Irish Parliamentary Body which had been referred to earlier. Dublin always said that there had to be an Anglo/Irish dimension.

The Prime Minister commented that to move towards setting up an Anglo/Irish Parliamentary Body would be the cause of considerable difficulty. This issue always sparked off anger in Official Unionist ranks. We had to remember the implications for Scotland. We had always said that the Parliamentary Body was a matter for the Northern Ireland Assembly, the British and Irish Parliaments. Mr. Prior said that he understood these difficulties but it was necessary to find something with an Irish flavour. We had to put some pressure on the Unionists or five years would pass by without progress. We could not ignore the fact that about 40 per cent of the vote in Northern Ireland in recent elections had been captured by Sinn Fein and SDLP. And the proportion was growing.

The Prime Minister asked which departments Mr. Prior had in mind to devolve. Mr. Prior said that he was thinking in terms of agriculture, commerce, social services, environment and education. It might be necessary to split housing away from the rest of the environment department.

The Prime Minister asked whether it was Mr. Prior's basic concern that because the supporters of violence were going to win, we should organise a tactical withdrawal. Mr. Prior said that this was not his view. He was not suggesting for one moment that we should withdraw troops from Northern Ireland. This would be utterly wrong. He was absolutely convinced that withdrawal would mean civil war. His main point was that he believed it would be a mistake to do nothing during the next five years.

The Prime Minister expressed doubt as to whether we could solve the Northern Ireland problem. This must be for the people of Northern Ireland to solve though we could perhaps act as a catalyst. Agreeing, Mr. Prior said that we could also provide a framework within which the people of Northern Ireland could try to solve their problems. But the key was to achieve relations with Dublin which were sufficiently good for Dublin to be persuaded to put pressure on the SDLP.

It was agreed to reflect on these ideas and that the Prime Minister and Mr. Prior would have another discussion, perhaps accompanied by some other Ministerial colleagues.

/ Mr. Prior

S E C R E T

- 3 -

Mr. Prior also kindly undertook to suggest some reading for the Prime Minister on the problems of Northern Ireland. I think it would be helpful if you could let us have any suggestions well before the end of July so that, if she has time during August, the Prime Minister can do some reading.

As this was an informal and preliminary discussison, I do not propose to copy this record anywhere else. I should be grateful if you could ensure that this letter is retained within the Private Office.

AGC

John Lyon Esq
Northern Ireland Office.

File

229

16 May 1983

NORTHERN IRELAND: THE PRESENT POSITION

Thank you for your letter of 11 May, the contents of which the Prime Minister has noted.

A. J. COLES

John Lyon, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

229

Ireland
6/7/83

CONFIDENTIAL
From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

(4)



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Prime Minister

You wanted to know how

Mr. Prior envisaged obtaining widespread

John Coles Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

community support for his suggestion
of devolving 4 departments.

11th May 1983

A. & C. 12/5

Dear John,

MR

NORTHERN IRELAND: THE PRESENT POSITION

Thank you for your letter of 4 May.

Mr Prior agrees that widespread community support remains the fundamental requirement without which devolution cannot be carried forward. In the past year the reluctance of Northern Ireland politicians to make the accommodations necessary to secure such support has been reinforced first by Mr Haughey's activities and subsequently by the prospect of elections in both the Republic and the United Kingdom. Once the Government is seen to be established for another full term and the Dublin Forum is seen to offer no way forward, there is hope of a less unfavourable political climate in Northern Ireland as the firmness of our commitment to our policies both on the 1982 Act and relations with the Republic is appreciated. Even so, the difficulties will remain formidable and the parties are unlikely to reach agreement without a strong lead from Government. Given the commitment of the minority to obtain power-sharing and the majority to refuse it, the option outlined at the end of the Secretary of State's minute has the advantage of giving real power and responsibility to the minority through the SDLP without creating a single power-sharing executive on the 1973 model. But the details of particular schemes for devolution are probably less important than the political climate in Northern Ireland.

Yours ever,

John Lyon

J M LYON

CONFIDENTIAL



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

TELEPHONE 01-218 9000
DIRECT DIALING 01-218 2111/3

MO 21/17

10th May 1983

See below

N. D. P. R.

AR 11/5

f-a.

CRIMINAL INJURIES COMPENSATION FOR SERVICEMEN'S WIDOWS

Thank you for your letter of 10th April.

In view of the practical difficulties which you described, I am content for the time being to follow the course of action you propose, that is that MOD should make ex gratia payments on the lines of the discretionary payments arrangements in the Northern Ireland scheme. However, I see from Jim Prior's letter of 29th April that a Committee is currently reviewing criminal injuries legislation in Northern Ireland. It seems to me that their findings may affect our consideration of the arrangements for G.B. and I should like to review the position again when the Committee has reported.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Geoffrey Howe, Jim Prior and George Younger.

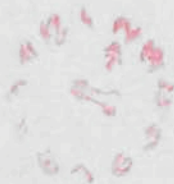
yes
uw

Michael Heseltine

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC MP

Iceland
Situation 1/13

71 MAY 1968



289

File



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 May 1983

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND NORTHERN IRELAND

The Prime Minister has seen your Secretary of State's minute of 4 May on this matter.

While Mrs. Thatcher agrees in general with the approach proposed by Mr. Prior, she is opposed to the idea of a meeting between the Parliament's rapporteur and Mr. Nicholas Scott. She considers that such a meeting would compromise our basic position and be likely to lead to yet more requests for assistance.

I am sending copies of this letter to Brian Fall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

A. J. COLES

John Lyon, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

ce

Michael Scholar N°10



We spoke. I hope this hearty
letter is clear.

With the Compliments

of

ADAM RIDLEY

Special Adviser

AR 5/5

Treasury Chambers,
Parliament Street,
S.W.1.



H M Treasury

Parliament Street London SW1P 3AG

Switchboard 01-233 3000
Direct Dialling 01-233 5618

D.15

A N Ridley
Special Adviser

5 May 1983

Caroline
Please speak.
MIS 5/5

The Rt Hon James Prior MP
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Great George Street
S W 1

PA

Dear Jim,

The Chancellor has asked me to write to you to follow up your discussion with him yesterday afternoon about a possible Manifesto passage on Northern Ireland. Annex A sets out the text which you and he agreed on yesterday afternoon. For the time being, the Chancellor would propose including in any Manifesto text paragraph 2B in preference to 2A, and a slightly modified version of the first sentence of paragraph 3. It was agreed that the best thing now would be for you and the Prime Minister to have a quick word shortly to make the final choice between paragraphs 2A and 2B, and I have already established with the private office at No 10 that such a discussion will be needed very shortly. Obviously the Chancellor will be grateful to know the outcome as soon as is convenient.

The resulting version is at Annex B

The PM

I am copying this to Ian Gow

agreed to this yesterday.

Yours sincerely

Alan Ridley

A N RIDLEY

*But when?
And what Ferdie/
Ian/David
know it?*

M

NORTHERN IRELAND

1. In Northern Ireland, building upon the courage, commitment and increasing success of our security forces will give the highest priority to upholding law and order. We will continue to give the support essential for the Province to overcome its economic difficulties.

- 2A. We shall maintain the union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in accordance with the wish of the majority in the Province. We have established a Northern Ireland Assembly. We will continue to seek ways of providing the people of Northern Ireland with more say in the conduct of their own affairs through their elected representatives.

OR

- 2B. The people of Northern Ireland will continue to be offered a framework for participation in local democracy and political progress through the Assembly. There will be no change in Northern Ireland's constitutional position in the United Kingdom without the consent of the majority of people there and no devolution of powers without widespread support throughout the community.

3. [Relations between the two sides of the Northern Ireland community inevitably influence, and are affected by, relations between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland.] We [therefore] believe that a close practical working relationship with the Government of the Republic can contribute to peace and stability in Northern Ireland without threatening in any way the position of the majority community in the Province.

NORTHERN IRELAND - NEW REVISE

1. In Northern Ireland, building upon the courage, commitment and increasing success of our security forces we will give the highest priority to upholding law and order. We will continue to give the support essential for the Province to overcome its economic difficulties.

2. The people of Northern Ireland will continue to be offered a framework for participation in local democracy and political progress through the Assembly. There will be no change in Northern Ireland's constitutional position in the United Kingdom without the consent of the majority of people there and no devolution of powers without widespread support throughout the community.

3. Relations between the two communities in Northern Ireland inevitably influence, and are affected by, relations between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. We therefore believe that a close practical working relationship with the Government of the Republic can contribute to peace and stability in Northern Ireland without threatening in any way the position of the majority community in the Province.

CONFIDENTIAL

2

A meeting with Mike Scott
would compromise our
basic position. 1
an absolutely ajunct
it's weakness
only writes 4/5
more requests
not

Prime Minister

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND NORTHERN IRELAND

You asked to be kept closely in touch with this matter.

2. We have established our view that the European Parliament has no business enquiring into the internal political affairs of Member States. We must hold firmly to that position. It is, however, clear that there is going to be a report. The European Democratic Group (EDG) attempted to persuade the Bureau of the European Parliament to stop it, but were voted down. The Political Affairs Committee of the Parliament appointed Neils Haagerup (an influential moderate Danish Liberal MEP) to prepare a report as the basis for future discussion. He has started work. Thanks to the work of the EDG and the firm reaction here to what was proposed, the Bureau and the Committee have both re-emphasised that the report should not trespass on constitutional matters. Haagerup himself has handled things in a helpful low-key way, ruling out public hearings and deferring plans to visit Dublin. Although Haagerup will have to take account of the views of his Committee, he is the most sympathetic rapporteur we could hope for and is open to influence. Since we cannot avoid a report altogether, it is worth trying to secure one which focuses primarily on economic and social matters which are the legitimate concern of the Community and as little as possible on political matters: and favourable or anodyne comment which strays across that border would be less awkward than critical comment.

3. Even in the interests of securing the more favourable report, I am not prepared to give the Committee any special facility of assistance which could compromise our basic position. They will get no more and no less than they would have received as individual MEPs who showed an interest in the affairs of Northern Ireland. The most effective direct influence we could have on Haagerup would be through an informal meeting. He is likely to respond well

CONFIDENTIAL

.../to

CONFIDENTIAL



to such informal notice and on past form will be completely discreet about it. He knows Nick Scott and has discussed Northern Ireland issues with him in the past, and may well suggest a meeting next time he is in London. If he does so I propose to allow it to go ahead; it would not be right to refuse him a meeting simply because he had been appointed rappporteur when in view of his influence in the Parliament and his long-standing interest in Northern Ireland such a meeting would not have been refused before. Nick Scott would take the opportunity inter alia to direct his attention to the social and economic problems of Northern Ireland, which are within the Parliament's competence, and would emphasise that a reference in a report to these matters does not raise the same difficulty about interference as does discussion of political affairs.

4. Beyond that we will continue to maintain close contact with the EDG at Ministerial and official level and I will use any opportunities which come my way to explain our policies to moderate MEPS and other influential Europeans. As part of our general briefing effort we will ensure that UKREP has up-to-date written material for use as appropriate.

5. I will report further once we have a clearer idea how the report will turn out. At the moment we understand that Haagerup proposes to draft it over the summer in time for preliminary discussion by the Committee in September with a view to a plenary debate in the Parliament by January 1984. He is very alert to the implications of a UK General Election and has indicated that he would see that there were no developments during an election campaign.

6. I am sending copies of this minute to Francis Pym and Sir Robert Armstrong.

J.P.

4 May 1983

CONFIDENTIAL



24 MAY 1983



COMMUNICATIONS

IMMEDIATE

PS	PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS	
PS/MR HURD	MR WOODFIELD)
PS/PUS	MR BRENNAN)
SIR J BULLARD	MR ANGEL) NIO
MR GOODISON	MR BOYS SMITH)
...	...	
...	...	
HD/RID	SIR R ARMSTRONG)
HD/PUSD (2)	DIO) CABINET OFFICE
HD/INFO D	...	
HD/NEWS D	...	
...	PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET)

RESIDENT CLERK

GRS 480
 CONFIDENTIAL
 FM DUBLIN 040855Z MAY 83
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 142 OF 4 MAY 1983
 AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO LONDON (FOR BOYS SMITH)



FOR EYERS, RID
 MY TELNO 138: MR PRIOR'S VISIT

1. YOU MAY FIND A NOTE ON THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PRESENT PREOCCUPATIONS USEFUL.

(A) NORTHERN IRELAND
 2. MR BARRY HAS SPOKEN FOR SOME TIME OF HIS WISH FOR A TETE A TETE WITH MR PRIOR AND WILL NO DOUBT TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN WHAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HOPES TO ACHIEVE IN THE FORUM, AND POSSIBLY TO JUSTIFY HIS LIMERICK SPEECH OF 11 MARCH, WHICH WAS VERY MUCH A PERSONAL CREDO. HE AND THE TAOISEACH WILL ALSO WANT TO ASK ABOUT THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE, THE GENERAL ELECTION, MR PRIOR'S OWN FUTURE AND PROSPECTS FOR THE ASSEMBLY. THE TANAISTE (MR DICK SPRING) WILL PROBABLY SIT IN AT THE MEETING WITH THE TAOISEACH.

(B) THE FORUM
 3. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORUM HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AMICABLY BETWEEN THE 4 PARTIES CONCERNED, AND THE FIRST MEETING WILL BE ON 30 MAY. THE IRISH ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT IT WILL SAVE THE SDLP BUT AT LEAST IT SHOULD DO THEM NO HARM AND WILL OFFER THEM A PLATFORM BEFORE A BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION. WHEN THE FORUM REPORTS, AS IT MUST BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, IT IS UNLIKELY TO PRODUCE AN AGREED DOCUMENT. DR FITZGERALD HOPES IT WILL SUBMIT 'MODELS', AND THESE COULD THEN BE SUBMITTED TO THE IRISH ELECTORATE IN A FRESH CONSTITUTIONAL CRUSADE. THE HUME AND HAUGHEY VIEW IS THAT THE FORUM WOULD PRODUCE THE TERMS TO BE OFFERED TO THE UNIONISTS, AND POLITICAL PRESSURE WOULD THEN BE APPLIED (BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS) TO OBTAIN THEIR CONSENT.

4. BUT THE FORUM HAS ATTRACTED RELATIVELY LITTLE INTEREST HERE BY COMPARISON WITH THE ECONOMY AND THE ANTI-ABORTION REFERENDUM.

(C) THE ECONOMY

5. ALTHOUGH THE UP-TURN IN THE WORLD ECONOMY OFFERS LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL, THE IRISH STILL HAVE VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOLLOWING MR DUKES' SEVERE BUDGET ON 15 MARCH, WHOSE EFFECTS ARE NOW BEING FELT IN PAY-PACKETS. THE UNIONS ARE PRESSING FOR STRONGER MEASURES AGAINST TAX EVASION (FOR THE TAX BURDEN LIES LIGHTLY ON FARMERS AND THE SELF-EMPLOYED). THERE IS A SPLUTTERING PROTEST AMONG COMPANIES IN WATERFORD WHOSE CLERKS ARE REFUSING TO DEDUCT TAX AND SOCIAL INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM WORKERS' PAY. MR DUKES HAS STIRRED UP THE CLERICAL UNIONS BY ASKING INSURANCE COMPANIES TO GO BACK ON A TOO GENEROUS PAY AWARD. AN ELECTRICITY SUPPLY STRIKE IS THREATENED FOR 18 MAY OVER A WAGE CLAIM.

(D) THE ANTI-ABORTION REFERENDUM

6. THE DAIL ACCEPTED FIANNA FAIL'S WORDING FOR THE REFERENDUM ON 27 APRIL, WHEN 7 OF THE TAOISEACH'S MORE CONSERVATIVE BACK-BENCHERS VOTED WITH THE OPPOSITION. THE SENATE IS DEBATING THE ISSUE TODAY. AT LEAST THE BURDEN IS NOW LIFTED FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S SHOULDERS: THE REFERENDUM WILL PROBABLY TAKE PLACE IN LATE JUNE AND FINE GAEL DEPUTIES WILL BE FREE TO CAMPAIGN AGAINST IT IF THEY WISH. BUT THE EPISODE HAS ONCE AGAIN REVEALED THE TAOISEACH'S LACK OF POLITICAL NOUS AND HAS COMPROMISED HIM IN THE EYES OF NORTHERN UNIONISTS, AND INDEED LIBERAL OPINION IN THE SOUTH.

(E) BY-ELECTION

7. THE DONEGAL SOUTH WEST BY ELECTION IS ON 13 MAY. MR BARRY WILL SPEND THE PRECEDING WEEK IN THE CONSTITUENCY CAMPAIGNING. BUT FIANNA FAIL WILL CERTAINLY HOLD THE SEAT.

TATHAM

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 May 1983

Northern Ireland: The Present Position

The Prime Minister read with interest your Secretary of State's minute of 28 April on this subject. She would be grateful for clarification of one point. Mr. Prior suggests that one option which may present itself in the future is that of devolving four Departments. The Prime Minister recalls that we stated earlier that we should not carry forward such devolution without widespread Community support and would accordingly be grateful to know how your Secretary of State would envisage that support being obtained.

I am copying this letter to John Holmes (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

A. J. COLES

John Lyon, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

NORTHERN IRELAND: THE PRESENT POSITION

You saw Mr. Prior's minute (attached) over the weekend, and minuted that you thought we had said previously that we would not devolve any responsibilities in Northern Ireland without cross-Party agreement. The NIO tell me that our commitment was not to carry forward such devolution "without widespread community support".

It is not clear to me how the Northern Ireland Secretary envisages obtaining such support for these proposals - if you agree, I will include a cautionary word on this point in my letter noting the contents of his minute.

Yes please

not

A.S.C.

3 May 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

File

3 May 1983

ARMS FROM THE US FOR THE RUC

Thank you for your letter of 28 April. The Prime Minister has noted that you have authorised the RUC to purchase further US-manufactured Ruger revolvers.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Brian Fall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

A. J. COLES

Derek Hill, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

File

285

3 May 1983

NORTHERN IRELAND: OVERSEAS INFORMATION EFFORT

The Prime Minister has noted the contents of Mr. Scott's minuee of 29 April.

A. J. COLES

Miss Claire Marson,
Office of the Parliamentary Under Secretary
of State (Mr. Nicholas Scott, MBE, MP),
Northern Ireland Office.



CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister

mt

To note.

A.J.C. ²⁹/₄

Prime Minister

✓ Mr. Spelman.

NORTHERN IRELAND: OVERSEAS INFORMATION EFFORT

See pt 11

I last minuted you about this on 11 March 1982. Now, a year later and after the events of St Patrick's Day 1983 in the USA, Jim Prior, FCO colleagues and I feel that you would find helpful a brief report on the presentation of Northern Ireland issues overseas. I am principally concerned with the United States of America, though many of the lessons learned here apply elsewhere.

Background

1982 and the early part of 1983 saw a relatively low level of interest in Northern Ireland's affairs in the USA and the period was in general a quiet one for us with few major problems. The White Report, commissioned during the hunger-strike period of 1981 to examine our overseas information effort, stressed the need to maintain the background briefing of leading opinion formers during quiet periods; we therefore concentrated our efforts on the small group of US opinion-formers (Congress, the Administration, and the serious media) who have a continuing interest in Northern Ireland affairs. These are the people whom we would need to carry with us in any future period of difficulty or heightened interest, and whose general understanding of Northern Ireland we would at all times like to increase.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

Themes

The proposals set out in the White Paper of April 1982, provided the prime information theme for the year and gave us a positive message which we were able to use to good effect. The Administration was in private supportive and the Congressional Friends of Ireland, who could normally have been expected to follow Mr John Hume of the SDLP in condemnation, remained publicly silent and privately prepared to wait and see how the Assembly developed. However we cannot be complacent about the extent or permanence of our success particularly given the unrealistic expectations of quick progress held by some in the US. The welcome accorded to the Irish Government's "Forum for a New Ireland" by some in the USA also reinforces the need for us to continue to present our position. Nonetheless I believe we have created a reservoir of knowledge and understanding which should stand us in good stead in the future.

Media

It will never be possible to achieve the totally favourable coverage of Northern Ireland issues in the USA which we would like, and media coverage in 1982 was mixed. Interest in the Falklands crisis obviously overshadowed both the publication of the White Paper in April and the Bill while a second high point of media interest around the Assembly elections in October focussed misleadingly upon the "success" of Sinn Fein. Interest around St Patrick's Day 1983, centred on the election of Michael Flannery as Grand Marshal of the New York St Patrick's Day Parade, gave wide publicity to NORAIID's aims but produced a gratifyingly unanimous editorial condemnation of NORAIID and of Flannery's election.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

As an indication of the overall balance of US media reporting on Northern Ireland, British Information Services in New York report that of the 106 television programmes on Northern Ireland which they monitored during 1982, 34 were favourable to HMG, 59 were neutral and only 13 were unfavourable. I believe this is quite an achievement in a predominantly Irish-American area, and one for which Information Staff in US posts deserve great credit.

Events

The early part of 1982 saw an intensive lobbying exercise by our Embassy in Washington aimed principally at achieving a favourable St Patrick's Day statement from the Administration. In the event the 1982 statement proved a most helpful one, condemning violence and American support therefor, re-asserting US non-involvement and calling for US investment. It provided the basis for the equally helpful 1983 statement.

With encouragement and, where appropriate, financial support from the Northern Ireland Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office a number of Northern Ireland visitors went to the USA throughout 1982 into 1983. The five NIO Ministerial visits, including two by Jim Prior on which his Private Secretary has separately reported, were concentrated in the latter half of the year; Grey Gowrie, Adam Butler, and myself all participated; between us we covered most of the major Irish-American areas. Two useful visits were made, just before St Patrick's Day in both years, by Harold McCusker under our sponsorship. Austin Currie (Moderate SDLP, and also sponsored by us), Professor Paul Wilkinson, and (pitched at a rather different audience) the "Widows Mite" group of victims of terrorism all made worthwhile visits. There have been others and I feel that taken together these provided a most valuable supplement to the continuing work of Information Staff on the ground and cumulatively made a considerable impact upon the target group.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

The COI film 'Northern Ireland Chronicle' was widely distributed during 1982 and received a lot of favourable comment. We are working on an updated version at the moment.

St Patrick's Day 1983 and NORAIID

The publicity surrounding the election of the Director of NORAIID, Michael Flannery, as Grand Marshal of the St Patrick's Day Parade in New York was on balance helpful to us, Flannery's election being condemned by the Irish Government and leading Irish-American politicians, with the US media mainly concentrating on NORAIID's support for violence in Ireland. NORAIID continue, in defiance of recent US court decisions, to refuse to supply financial returns to the US Department of Justice (further court action is pending) but it may be some time before we have any indication of the impact of the controversy on NORAIID fund raising. Our preliminary assessment is that it has caused many previously unthinking NORAIID supporters to question their position.

St Patrick's Day also saw the tabling of less than helpful resolutions in Congress by the Friends of Ireland. Their powerful condemnations of violence will inevitably, for domestic political reasons, be balanced by statements favouring the principle of Irish unity or attacking specific aspects of HMG's policies in Northern Ireland. But such attacks are rarely pressed home (I understand that the Friends of Ireland do not intend to put their Resolutions to a vote).

Summary and Foward Look for 1983

We have exploited the quiet period of 1982 and early 1983 with a careful programme of background briefing and personal contacts designed to provide us with a solid reservoir of informed opinion which, while its instinctive bias (at least outside the Administration) will be towards Irish unity, can nonetheless be

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



relied on to back us rather than PIRA or NORAIID in a crisis. This provides a surer foundation for promoting greater understanding of our policies and of the actual situation in Northern Ireland, about which there is much ignorance in the USA.

We now intend to consolidate these gains, I also hope to introduce into the thinking of US opinion-formers a more subtle understanding of the politics of Northern Ireland, especially the strength and depth of Unionist feeling against a united Ireland and the importance of the minority community playing a part in the political life of the Province. It will also be necessary to make it clear to the US audience, particularly the US Administration, that we are prepared to see a steady normalisation of our relations with the Irish Republic.

We feel that the existing level of activity on our part is about right for this objective. The programme of Ministerial visits will be maintained, with due regard to the need to co-ordinate such visits with those by other spokesmen from Northern Ireland so that we achieve an appropriate spread of visitors (both geographically and in time). We will continue to prepare and distribute background briefs on topical issues; to brief US (and other overseas) journalists in London and Belfast; and to encourage people from Northern Ireland to put their own points of view across to relevant people in the USA, with our support. We must, of course, deny NORAIID the opportunity to shift the ground of the debate from issues to tactics, and this means resisting the temptation to over-react to minor NORAIID propaganda. I shall continue our efforts to re-assure back-benchers of the importance we attach to this work, for example by continuing to place representative selections of US press cuttings in the Commons' Library.

The Industrial Development Board for Northern Ireland is particularly concerned that Northern Ireland's bad "image" overseas has inhibited investment. They have a number of

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

interesting ideas for correcting this and presenting the essential normality of daily life in Northern Ireland and I shall ensure that their efforts are consistent with our overall information policy.

Other Countries

The hostile interest shown by groups in other countries around the world during the hunger-strike has virtually disappeared. We have coped easily with a very much diminished problem.

I am sending copies of this minute to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary; to the Lord President, because of his responsibility for the co-ordination of government information; to the Chief Whip, in view of the large number of backbenchers who on his initiative have taken up our standing offer of briefing before departing on visits to the US; and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

MS.

NICHOLAS SCOTT

29 April 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IRELAND: Situation
Pt 13.



209 APR 1983





cc RJ

NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR
NORTHERN IRELAND

The Rt Hon William Whitelaw CH MC
DL MP
Home Office
50 Queen Anne's Gate
LONDON SW1

29 April 1983

W. Whitelaw

A.S.C. 29/4

p.a.

CRIMINAL INJURIES COMPENSATION

I have seen your letter of 10 April to Michael Heseltine in which you suggest that discretionary payments under Northern Ireland Criminal Compensation law were introduced as a sort of substitute for solatium or loss of society awards payable under Scottish law; and in which you ask whether we could justify both discretionary and bereavement awards in Northern Ireland.

I am not sure that your view of discretionary payments is entirely accurate. They were introduced in 1977 to meet strong public criticism, notably in the national press, about widows of servicemen receiving little or no compensation because of the statutory requirement to deduct in full certain collateral benefits. In February 1977 the then Minister of State did refer in the Northern Ireland Committee to the provision in Scottish law for solatium awards but that was by way of comparison; he did not directly equate the discretionary payment to a bereavement award. However, at a later date - 2 March 1977 - he made his position clear to the Committee when he said that the aim was to mitigate the effect of the deduction of pensions, as an expression of sympathy.

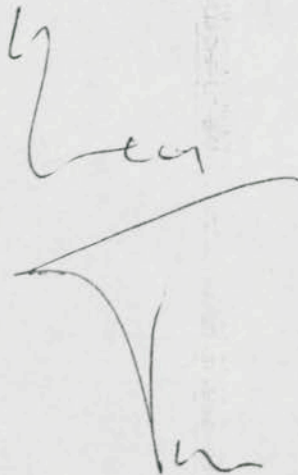
Had the discretionary payment been intended as a sort of bereavement award it would have applied to all widows whether or not their compensation had been reduced by the deduction of collateral benefits. It should also be noted that the deduction of collateral benefits in Northern Ireland is more rigorous than under the equivalent scheme administered by the Compensation Board in Great Britain. In Northern Ireland such benefits are deducted in full, after taking account of income tax liability, whereas under the Board's scheme where occupational pensions are taxable, only one-half of their value is deducted.

/...

The review of criminal injuries legislation in Northern Ireland has recently begun and it is too soon to expect a reasoned recommendation on this issue. Even though it is early days yet, it seems likely that we shall follow the civil law example and bring in a bereavement award. In that case, I shall naturally expect a recommendation on how this might fit in with the existing discretionary award which I do not expect to be abolished. I do not wish to anticipate the Review Committee's findings but it is unlikely that it will recommend a combination of both discretionary payment and bereavement award at the maximum level of each.

I think I should also mention that we foresee, in any event, some reduction in the amount of discretionary payment actually paid to servicemen's widows. This is because of recent judgements in the Northern Ireland Courts which have accepted as admissible heads of compensation certain elements which apply mainly to servicemen, such as subsidised accommodation and boarding school fees. Thus the discretionary payment is likely to have less significance in future Army claims.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Geoffrey Howe, Michael Heseltine and George Younger.



Iceland
Situation. 1713

29 FEB 1968
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

010
CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister

(2)

A.J.C. 29.
4



Prime Minister

NORTHERN IRELAND : THE PRESENT POSITION

This note assesses the current political situation in Northern Ireland and our prospects for the future.

I start from the conviction that real progress can only come from within Northern Ireland; but we have the responsibility to provide a framework. To this end, we have succeeded in establishing the Assembly in Northern Ireland following our White Paper last April and the Northern Ireland Act 1982. We have shown that there is useful work for an Assembly and particularly its committees to do under Direct Rule. We have also established with the Assembly a framework for further political progress. The Democratic Unionist Party under Mr Paisley and the Alliance Party under Mr Napier are fully committed to making the Assembly work. The Official Unionist Party under Mr Molyneaux is less committed, but a substantial number of Official Unionists in Northern Ireland want the Assembly and up to now they have carried the day. All three parties have shown surprising flexibility in their alliances and attitudes, although both Unionist Parties remain firmly opposed to power sharing.

We have not so far succeeded in getting the Social Democratic and Labour Party under Mr Hume to join the Assembly. They have got themselves firmly on the abstentionist hook. They are looking to the Forum for a New Ireland - the Dublin-based initiative - to provide them with some political impetus for the rest of this year. Meanwhile Sinn Fein are working hard to consolidate their political support in Northern Ireland by a careful amalgamation of controlled terrorism and pavement politics. They represent as great a threat to the Irish Government as to the SDLP.

Subject to the security situation, there is unlikely to be much scope for movement before the General Election. We will see manoeuvring for position rather than major change. The Assembly will

CONFIDENTIAL

.../

remain in being. The SDLP will continue to pin their hopes to the Forum. The Irish Government will do what they can to help the SDLP against Sinn Fein, but they will also want to develop cordial relations with the United Kingdom Government. These are also in our interests, both within Northern Ireland and in presenting our policies abroad.

Our main objective must be to put ourselves in the best position to make progress after the Election through continuing to look for effective ways of encouraging peace, stability and economic development in Northern Ireland. It is essential that we act positively on all these fronts. To fail to do so would have repercussions for the reputation of our Government both at home and abroad, and the consequences could not be contained within Northern Ireland.

Once the Election is out of the way there will be a period of re-assessment in the light of electoral strengths. But with our new Government and the FitzGerald Government continuing in the Republic, we should be able to build on the work of the Government over the last two years. We may have to wait for the Forum to be completed. But the likelihood is that little will come of that, except to reveal the unreality of a United Ireland and the differences among the participants. The SDLP and the Irish Government will then be looking round for another way forward. The United States and other Governments will also want to see progress.

Our aim should be to develop our policies, and not to promise any new and dramatic initiatives. To do so would only raise false expectations which are bound to be disappointed to our discredit. We have a good foundation in the Assembly and the 1982 Act. A number of options may present themselves. One that I believe holds some chance of success is to devolve four Departments (for example Social Services, Environment, Agriculture and Economic Development), one to each of the main parties. This would leave the Secretary of State and say one Minister with a considerable degree of control particularly over finance, but it would begin to give the Assembly real power and some legislative responsibility. It would avoid some of the difficulties of collective power sharing, and if

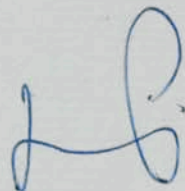
*I thought?
we said
we would
NOT devolve
without
X-party agreement?*

CONFIDENTIAL

accepted, would meet the criteria of widespread acceptance. It is a possibility which could be looked at alongside the slow but steady development of the Anglo-Irish Inter-Governmental Council. Much will depend on the line up of the Northern Ireland parties after a General Election, but this scenario is a possibility which holds more hope than any others at this moment; although we should continue to keep others in mind.

Although there are no easy answers, we have made some progress and should be guided by these considerations over the next few months.

I am copying this minute to Francis Pym.



J P

28 April 1983



28 APR 1983



CONFIDENTIAL
From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

28 April 1983

Time limited

To note.

A. J. C. 27/4

Dear John

ARMS FROM THE US FOR THE RUC

You will recall that a year ago we told the Royal Ulster Constabulary that their future requirements for personal protection weapons might be better met by a British magnum revolver under development by Sterling Armament than by the purchase of further US-manufactured Rugers, for which the US Government have not been willing to issue licences since 1979 (Mike Hopkins' letter of 12 May 1982 refers).

The RUC already have 6,000 Ruger revolvers, and now require a further 2,500 weapons to enable all uniformed Regular and Full-Time Reserve members to be equipped. They have been co-operating with Sterling for more than two years on the development of their magnum revolver. This has gone less well than we hoped. It is clear that serious design faults will need at least a year more to iron out, possibly three. This is longer than the RUC can afford to wait. It is a disappointing outcome.

We are therefore authorising the RUC to purchase Rugers instead. Experience has shown that the weapons can be obtained legally and discreetly from the US through UK agents. The FCO have consulted the British Embassy in Washington, and while the advice is against making a further demarche to the US Administration, they do not object to the RUC's obtaining more Rugers, provided this is done in such a way as to minimise the risk of attracting public attention. They can be obtained through the UK suppliers over a period of months. If questions are raised about the US Government's review, we shall maintain the line that the Police Authority for Northern Ireland purchase weapons for the RUC through legitimate dealers in the UK.

Although Sterling may be disappointed at the outcome, they have had no commitment from the RUC and must appreciate the overriding operational need. There is also a significant cost benefit in purchasing Rugers.

I am copying this letter to Brian Fall in the FCO.

Yours ever

Derek Hill

D A HILL

CONFIDENTIAL

KW

Ireland,
Situation, #13

11/12 12
3 4 5 6
7 8 9

14 APR 1963

11/12 1
2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9

11 APR 1963

Belfast

CONFIDENTIAL

MT

GPS 350
CONFIDENTIAL
FM UKMIS GENEVA 210816Z APR 83
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 165 OF 21 APRIL 1983

ICRC VISIT TO N. IRELAND PRISONS

1. AS CONFIRMED BY TELEPHONE TO HILL (NIO), KYLES CALLED ON 19 APRIL ON GERMOND (ICRC) TO HAND OVER THE DRAFT PROGRAMME ENCLOSED WITH HOGARD'S LETTER OF 14 APRIL. HE AGREED WITH ALL OUR ARRANGEMENTS AND CONDITIONS.
2. THE PARTY WILL LEAVE GENEVA AT 07.40Z ON SUNDAY 24 APRIL AND FLY TO HEATHROW, WHERE THEY WILL CATCH THE 11.30Z SHUTTLE TO BELFAST. GERMOND GRATEFULLY ACCEPTED OUR OFFER OF A CAR TO TAKE THE PARTY TO THE STOREMONT HOTEL, WHICH YOU HAVE BOOKED, AND WILL MEET NIO OFFICIALS AT 1430Z AT THE HOTEL, AS PLANNED. HE HOPED THE BRIEFING WOULD COVER THE EVENTS SINCE ICRC'S PREVIOUS VISIT, THE GENERAL SITUATION NOW, THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED, AND THE NUMBERS AT PRESENT IN EACH PRISON. GERMOND CONFIRMED THAT ICRC WOULD PAY ALL FLIGHT AND HOTEL BILLS
3. THE SWISS DOCTOR ACCOMPANYING THE PARTY WILL NOW BE DR URSULA ACKERMANN, WHO HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN SIMILAR ICRC VISITS TO CENTRAL AMERICA (COPY OF ICRC NOTE FOLLOWS BY BAG).
4. IN DISCUSSING THE PROGRAMME, GERMOND REFERRED TO THE ALLOCATION OF ONLY ONE DAY TO THE MAZE VISIT. AS INSTRUCTED, KYLES POINTED OUT THAT THE PROGRAMME WAS FLEXIBLE. IF THE PARTY CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY TO DEVOTE MORE TIME TO THE MAZE, THIS COULD BE ARRANGED.
5. GERMOND IMMEDIATELY ACCEPTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO ADVANCE PUBLICITY AND THAT IF APPROACHED BY THE PRESS DURING THE WEEK, AT THE HOTEL, THEY WOULD SIMPLY CONFIRM THAT ICRC WAS CARRYING OUT A ROUTINE VISIT.
6. IT WAS MADE CLEAR TO GERMOND THAT PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE, AS ELSEWHERE IN THE UK, CONVICTED CRIMINALS. IT WOULD BE QUITE WRONG TO REFER TO THEM AS POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE PARTY SHOULD BEAR THIS POINT FIRMLY IN MIND DURING THE VISIT. GERMOND TOOK THE POINT AND SAID THAT IT WAS ICRC POLICY TO USE THE FORM OF WORDS ADOPTED BY THE VISITED GOVERNMENT. HE REFERRED TO A PREVIOUS REPORT WHICH HAD USED THE PHRASE QUOTE COMMON LAW PRISONERS UNQUOTE. YOU MAY WISH TO RUB IN THE POINT TO THE PARTY NEXT SUNDAY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

7. GERMOND HAS SINCE TOLD US THAT HE HAS INFORMED ELLIOTT (BRITISH RED CROSS) ABOUT THE VISIT EMPHASISING THAT IT WAS FOR HIS OWN INFORMATION ONLY. THE PARTY ,HOWEVER DO NOT PLAN TO CONTACT THE BRITISH RED CROSS DURING THEIR VISIT.

8. FCO: PLEASE PASS (PRIORITY) TO NIO.

MARSHALL

**THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED**

NORTHERN IRELAND

LIMITED

RID	PS/MR RIFKIND
NAD	PS/MR ONSLOW
INFO D	PS/PUS
WED	SIR J BULLARD
MAED	MR WRIGHT
NEWS D	LORD N GORDON LENNOX
UND	MR GIFFARD
FUSD	MR ADAMS
PS	MR GOODISON
PS/MR HURD	MR URE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

2
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



jo k

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

Northern Ireland: The Provisionals
and the General Election

The Prime Minister has noted the contents
of your minute of 12 April 1983.

AJC

13 April 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

R

Ref. A083/1050

PRIME MINISTERNorthern Ireland: The Provisionals and the General Election

--- I attach your copy of JIC(83)(N) 61, a note on the above subject which was approved by the JIC on 7 April 1983.

2. The note assesses the intentions and preparations of the Provisional IRA through their political wing, Sinn Fein, for the next British General Election.
3. Sinn Fein will contest as many of the 17 Northern Ireland seats as possible and their own expectation of winning one seat (Gerry Adams in West Belfast), and possibly a second (Owen Carron in Fermanagh and S. Tyrone), is realistic. There has been a drive to recruit new party members and workers; and priority has been given to the registration of new Nationalist voters. Sinn Fein, who will certainly exploit electoral malpractices to the full, are likely to receive sufficient votes to be able to claim electoral success, but are unlikely to overhaul the SDLP in terms of seats or total votes. The Sinn Fein (Republican) and SDLP (Nationalist) votes stem from largely distinct traditions in Northern Ireland.
4. If elected, Sinn Fein MPs would not take up their seats (like Owen Carron who is currently MP on an H Block/Armagh Committee label); but by achieving representation at Westminster the Provisionals would hope to gain a gloss of respectability for their activities in the eyes of the world, make difficulties for the British Government and increase instability in the Province by seeking to supplant the SDLP as the representative party of the minority.
5. Terrorism (initiated by either the Provisional IRA or INLA) can be expected to continue though, where such violence could conflict with their other interests, the Provisionals are likely to apply their own constraints in an attempt to balance terrorism with increasing political activity. They will still retain the capability to mount terrorist attacks in Great Britain and on the continent and such attacks cannot be ruled out.



6. I am copying this minute to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

12 April 1983

conqueror



QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SW1H 9AT

10 April 1983

Dear Michael

18
13/4

Thank you for your letter of 8 February about the difference between the Northern Ireland and Great Britain criminal injuries compensation schemes over the awards made to servicemen's widows.

I do appreciate your concern over possible criticism of the solution suggested in Patrick Mayhew's letter of 4 January. The solution you favour - that of bringing the Great Britain scheme into line with that of Northern Ireland - in my view, however, presents very real difficulties.

Our common starting point is that we all want to do as much as we can for the widows and families of servicemen murdered in terrorist bomb attacks, whether here or in Northern Ireland. However, we should remember that the reason why servicemen's widows do not receive large awards from the Great Britain Criminal Injuries Compensation Board is that generous pensions will be paid by your Department. Hence, it is not that servicemen's dependants receive less compensation than others, but that the compensation comes from a different source. The dependants of policemen and others with generous pension provisions are in the same position. I think this is in principle entirely defensible. The real difficulty lies in the special arrangements in Northern Ireland which might be said to be quite exceptionally generous.

These have been justified in Northern Ireland because of the exceptional law and order situation there and the extra continuing risk this entailed for servicemen and for other public servants. Even in the light of recent events, it cannot yet be said that the same situation exists on the mainland Britain.

I take your point that the suggestion in Patrick Mayhew's letter might appear also to create anomalies. But I think MOD could quite properly argue that in providing ex gratia payments it was quite properly recognising the fact that on the mainland servicemen are demonstrably at greater risk than other categories of public servants. Against that background it would, I would have thought, be quite defensible for MOD to act to remove anomalies between the people for whom it is responsible.

The alternative raises difficulties which I would not want to underestimate. I attach great importance - as I am sure does George Younger who shares with me joint responsibility for the Scheme - to the fundamental principle that compensation should be assessed on the same basis as damages awards in the civil courts. Exceptions can be justified either to avoid duplication of compensation (particularly from public funds) or because it is appropriate to limit the liability to expenditure from public funds (the State cannot accept the full liability of the perpetrator of a crime). Thus the Scheme departs from civil law practice only for the purpose of restricting payment from public funds,

/never in

The Rt Hon Michael Heseltine, MP

never in order to be more generous than the civil courts. To depart from this principle would lay us open to all sorts of pressures to act more generously - quite apart from the terrorist situation - and this would put the Board in great difficulties, as would the not inconsiderable financial implications.


This brings me to the main practical difficulties of introducing discretionary payments. The Great Britain Scheme is proving very expensive; it has cost over £29 million in compensation in 1982-83 alone. We have only recently had to take urgent, unprecedented and not very popular steps to restrict the cost of the Scheme, which has risen sharply in the past year. Against this background I could not see how we could introduce a change, not directly required by a change in civil law, which would increase expenditure.

You also suggest that discretionary payments could be introduced retrospectively from July 1982. The CICS, however, covers all classes of victim of criminal injury, not just servicemen. There would be no logical justification for timing the change so obviously to catch the victims of the Regent's Park and Hyde Park bombings. This would be rightly open to criticism by widows of other victims killed before that date who could just as reasonably expect the change to apply from the date of their tragedy. The only logical date that I can see for retrospection would be 1 October 1979 when the revised Scheme (requiring pensions to be taken into account) came into effect.

Perhaps I could also comment on the third paragraph of Jim Prior's letter of 22 February. It is clear from statements by the NIO minister in the Northern Ireland Committee in 1977 that discretionary payments were introduced as an expression of sympathy in the absence of provision for the sort of solatium or loss of society awards payable in Scottish fatal cases in accordance with Scots law. Although the means chosen to give monetary expression to that sympathy is linked with the assessment of financial loss, discretionary payments certainly cannot be said to relate directly to financial loss. This is because social security benefits and generous pensions supplemented, where necessary, by State compensation, ensure that widows suffer no such financial loss. I hope therefore, that the forthcoming review of criminal injuries compensation law in Northern Ireland will take due account of these factors, especially in the light of the introduction of bereavement awards into the civil law of Northern Ireland. I recognise that it may not be possible to discontinue discretionary payments. But could we justify both discretionary awards and bereavement awards in Northern Ireland?

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Geoffrey Howe, Jim Prior and George Younger.

*For the
Willie*



Ireland, A12
Situation, A12

APR 1963

11 12 1 2 3 4
5 6 7 8 9 10

Northern Ireland (Economic Initiative)

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Mr. James Prior): I will with permission, Mr. Speaker, make a statement on the Government's new economic initiative for Northern Ireland.

The House will need no reminding of the unique combination of severe economic and social problems in Northern Ireland. In recognition of those exceptional circumstances, the Government have decided to introduce several new measures to stimulate industrial growth and to assist viable industrial employment in Northern Ireland.

First and foremost, the Government have decided to introduce a new grant that will reimburse new and expanding industries up to 80 per cent. of the corporation tax paid on profits generated by approved projects. That grant will form part of the selective financial assistance packages administered by the industrial development board and by the local enterprise development unit.

A measure of that sort has been widely urged upon us by the Select Committee on Trade and Industry, by the Northern Ireland assembly—which yesterday endorsed a constructive report on industrial incentives—by the industrial development board and by many others. It will be a major new attraction to potential investors.

Secondly, and again in recognition of Northern Ireland's unique economic problems, the existing 75 per cent. derating of industrial premises will be increased to a full 100 per cent. That will both help new investors and bring valuable immediate relief to existing enterprises. Parliament will shortly be asked to approve an order giving effect to that derating from the beginning of the next financial year.

Thirdly, an energy conservation scheme will be introduced to encourage industry to increase efficiency and competitiveness. Grants at the rate of 30 per cent. will be offered on a selective basis towards the cost of approved energy conservation projects.

Finally, the Government intend to introduce two further schemes designed to improve competitive strength and efficiency. There will be a management incentives scheme, which will provide grant aid in appropriate cases to companies to help them recruit good quality management, and an advisory service to industry will be established to help Northern Ireland companies to improve their production methods and processes.

Those measures reflect the advice the Government have received, especially from the industrial development board. I am confident that they will assist the board in its vital task of helping to conserve and create employment. A vital contribution is also being made by the local enterprise development unit, whose new plan for the creation and development of small businesses I approved last year.

Those specific Northern Ireland measures will reinforce the Government's more general steps to assist industry and the economy. Reducing interest rates and the successive reductions in national insurance surcharge will have as valuable an impact in Northern Ireland as in the remainder of the country.

During the last few years the Government have accorded first priority to programmes designed to assist industry in Northern Ireland. As we have shown in these allocations, and further demonstrated with the measures announced today, the Government will play their part in

supporting and promoting the economy of the Province. But a heavy responsibility lies on the people themselves, on their industrial, commercial and labour leaders, and on their public representatives, to bring home just how exaggerated and distorted is the impression which so many outsiders have of the Province. We look to them to demonstrate to the industrialists of the world that Northern Ireland is worthy of their confidence and their investment.

Mr. J. D. Concannon (Mansfield): Is the Secretary of State aware that unemployment in Northern Ireland stands at almost 21 per cent.? Therefore, the initiatives—albeit minor—are obviously welcome. Indeed, they are long overdue. Does the right hon. Gentleman realise that the one thing of which I could never accuse the Government is shutting the stable door after the horse had bolted? The Government burned down the stable many months ago in Northern Ireland.

Is not the first half of the last paragraph of the right hon. Gentleman's statement an insult to the people of Northern Ireland? Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Government monetarist policies are mainly to blame—not the people of Northern Ireland? The Opposition took action when unemployment stood at 10 per cent. in Northern Ireland, which I found highly unacceptable. Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that at that time there were more people employed in Northern Ireland than ever before?

Have not the Opposition been calling for urgent action on the economy for many months—as have the trade unions in Northern Ireland? Does the right hon. Gentleman realise that Northern Ireland has become a country of ghost towns? In Carrickfergus and Strabane unemployment stands at more than 50 per cent. Are not those towns tragic examples?

The Opposition hope that the measures announced will do something to arrest the decline of the economy of Northern Ireland and bring hope to a population afflicted by the twin evils of unemployment and poverty. But is the right hon. Gentleman aware that much more will be required if the economy is ever to recover fully?

In the short term, could not a great deal more be done to boost the construction industry? Will the right hon. Gentleman say something about energy conservation? Grants of 30 per cent. will be offered on a selective basis to approved energy conservation projects. How does he envisage an expanding coal market in Northern Ireland, and how will that benefit from the proposed measures?

Will not those who benefit most from the measures be not the people of Northern Ireland—or of Ireland as a whole—but the entrepreneurs who, as I have found, have played the north against the south in the search for higher grants and greater incentives? Do not the Government now realise that the competition between the two halves of Ireland for inward investment benefits neither? A job created in the south is a job opportunity lost in the north, and vice versa. Do the Government agree that economic co-operation between the north and the south is common sense?

Would not a joint working party established by the Northern Ireland industrial development board and the Republic's industrial development agency help to ensure that a job created in Ireland was a job for Ireland? I urge the Government to follow those steps and examine the possibilities for greater co-operation with Dublin. Do the Government appreciate that never were jobs more vital to

[Mr. J. D. Concannon]

any part of this country or Ireland than they are in Northern Ireland—not only for the jobs themselves, but for the political atmosphere?

Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there is 13 per cent. unemployment in my area? I thought that I would never see that day in my lifetime again. However, it must be viewed in the Northern Ireland context of towns with more than 50 per cent. unemployed. I cannot jib at these extras for Northern Ireland, but I wish that four years ago the Government had carried on the policies of the Labour Administration. If they had, Carrickfergus and Strabane would not have found themselves in the mess that they are in today.

Mr. Prior: I thought that that was rather grudging support from the right hon. Gentleman. Had we continued with the Labour policies, Carrickfergus would have suffered exactly the same problems. The House may wish to be reminded that the percentage of unemployed doubled while the right hon. Gentleman was responsible for Northern Ireland, and was increasing at the end of his period of office.

Simply pouring money into rather dubious projects will not solve the problems of Northern Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman asked me specifically about the energy conservation projects. I am placing fuller details of those schemes in the Library. They are designed to help industry to conserve energy in an area in which energy costs are at the top of the scale compared with the rest of the United Kingdom.

I am all in favour of economic co-operation with the south, but one of the purposes of the package is to make it clear to industrialists in Great Britain that there are ample opportunities and advantages in investing in the north of Ireland as opposed to the south, where there has been greater investment from Great Britain in the past few years.

Mr. J. Enoch Powell (Down, South): With reference to the concluding part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement and to the injudicious remarks of the right hon. Member for Mansfield (Mr. Concannon), is the right hon. Gentleman aware that no economic initiative will be of lasting value in Northern Ireland unless the Government desist from the series of political initiatives that have occupied the lifetime of this Parliament, which are in contravention of the election undertakings of the Conservative party, and of which the consequence is all too clearly seen by the people in Northern Ireland to be the opposite of that which they intended?

Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that he has done well to avoid the trap of a variation in tax levels between one part of the United Kingdom and another and to seek to achieve his purpose by means of a grant rather than by variation in tax? Furthermore, is he aware that the total industrial derating will assuage the grievance that was felt by firms which were on the boundary of the new enterprise zone but not within it?

Mr. Prior: I am grateful for the latter part of the right hon. Gentleman's question, but in relation to the first part of his question I urge him, as a man who could have considerable influence in Northern Ireland, to use his influence more constructively than he has done in recent years. The right hon. Gentleman's views are not on the

whole supported by the people of Northern Ireland and his continued expression of them does no good either to Northern Ireland or to his reputation.

Mr. John Page (Harrow, West): Does my right hon. Friend agree that the remarks of the right hon. Member for Mansfield (Mr. Concannon) were 50 per cent. De Lorean and 50 per cent. Mitterrand, and that that mixture is a cocktail for disaster? Would my right hon. Friend also accept that the measures that he has outlined today should be successful, if the security situation improves?

Mr. Prior: Clearly, the political and security situation has been one very important reason for the lack of industrial inward investment over the past few years, but I believe that there are, and have been, great advantages in inward investment in Northern Ireland, particularly in view of the very good industrial relations there and the excellent productivity of Northern Ireland workers. I therefore hope that these measures will have a major impact.

Mr. Stephen Ross (Isle of Wight): This is a generous package which is worthy of a positive response. I echo the right hon. Gentleman's call to local leaders in industry and politics in Northern Ireland to take the initiative. It would be a good idea to give greater emphasis to the creation of worker co-operatives in the areas of highest unemployment, such as those referred to by the right hon. Member for Mansfield (Mr. Concannon). What is the likely response, and what is the estimated cost of the measures?

Mr. Prior: The estimated cost of the two measures—the energy conservation scheme and the 100 per cent. industrial derating—is about £9 million to £10 million. It is impossible to say what the cost of the corporation tax relief grant will be, but it will certainly not cost very much in the early years and it is specifically related to increased employment. A company that wished to take advantage of it would have to show not only that it was increasing employment but that it was engaged in an arm's-length operation, away from any of its other operations in Great Britain or other parts of the world.

We would support the creation of local co-operatives, and they could be supported through the local enterprise development unit. I have no political hangups about giving support to co-operatives, if they come forward.

Mr. A. E. P. Duffy (Sheffield, Attercliffe): The Secretary of State said that he was all for economic co-operation. [HON. MEMBERS: "Reading."] If I cannot read my notes of the statement, how can I make my points to the Secretary of State? does the Secretary of State agree that the incentives for new projects and the advisory service to industry could only benefit from co-operation with the Dublin Government who have had such demonstrable success in respect of the former and far more success than we have had in this country? Has the right hon. Gentleman also assessed the employment impact of his measures in the areas of highest unemployment?

Mr. Prior: No, it is impossible to assess the employment contribution that the measures will make, but it will be considerable. I accept the point about competition between north and south. One of the reasons why we have introduced the measures is to bring company taxation far more into line with what is on offer for inward investment in the Republic of Ireland without damaging the integrity of the United Kingdom tax system.

Mr. Nicholas Winterton (Macclesfield): I warmly welcome the constructive package announced by my right hon. Friend, especially the energy assistance and the industrial derating. Will he assure the House that never again will large sums of taxpayers' money be given to companies, especially those with proprietors from overseas, without adequate security for the taxpayer? In that connection, does my right hon. Friend agree that the remarks of the right hon. Member for Mansfield (Mr. Concannon) were ill judged, bearing in mind that the British taxpayer lost a huge amount of money as a result of the Labour Government jumping into bed with a man who could not be trusted and should never have been trusted?

Mr. Prior: I generally find the remarks of the right hon. Member for Mansfield (Mr. Concannon) well judged, but I thought that they were ill judged today. One of the advantages of the corporation tax relief grant is that a company must be making profits before it can take advantage of it. That is entirely in tune with our philosophy and may avoid some of the problems experienced in past years through supporting companies of rather dubious profitability. I hope that a combination of the new industrial development board and the work done by the assembly will ensure that money spent in Northern Ireland is spent to good effect.

Mr. Reginald Freeson (Brent, East): The Secretary of State referred to great opportunities being created for inward investment by the private sector. Is he aware that there are great opportunities for inward investment by the Government? Does he agree that the biggest single economic generator is the construction industry and that the way to get things moving in Northern Ireland, as elsewhere in the United Kingdom, is through a massive injection of investment into the construction, beginning with a major housing programme to include construction of new houses and improvement and rehabilitation of older houses? What steps are proposed to achieve that?

Mr. Prior: I do not know when the right hon. Member for Brent, East (Mr. Freeson) was last in Northern Ireland. There is a massive housing campaign now with about £400 million for new and improved housing. That is far more than in any other part of the United Kingdom, so we are giving a great deal of help to the construction industry in Northern Ireland.

Nevertheless, simply pouring in more and more Government money will not solve the problems of Northern Ireland. It already receives a far higher proportion of aid—between £1,000 million and £1,200 million—than any part of the United Kingdom. The proportion of gross domestic product supplied, as it were, by the Government is far greater than elsewhere. Northern Ireland now requires the development of good, sound manufacturing investment which can support a highly skilled work force and is privately oriented and not dependent on Government support.

Mr. R. C. Mitchell (Southampton, Itchen): Although one welcomes the proposals, will the Secretary of State explain why they were not introduced at least two years ago? How do the proposals compare with the equivalent incentives provided in the Republic?

Mr. Prior: It is always possible to argue that these measures should have been introduced in the past but the

fact is that they are being introduced now. I believe that they will be generally welcomed. They follow very much the advice that has been given to us by the new industrial development board which has been set up for only about six months. These measures, taken with the other measures which are available to assist industry in Northern Ireland now make Northern Ireland the most attractive place for investment in the whole community and possibly in the whole of the Western world.

Sir Kenneth Lewis (Rutland and Stamford): May I congratulate my right hon. Friend on the undoubted influence that he now has in the Treasury? I take it that a certain amount of dampness is creeping in there at this late stage. Having expressed pleasure for what has been done for Northern Ireland, may I ask him to use his influence on behalf of many places on the mainland where we could do with some derating of industry because industry has been caned by some of the high rates on this side of the water?

Mr. Prior: I am grateful to my hon. Friend for what he has said but even he will accept that, great though the demands may be on this side of the water, the problems of Northern Ireland are unique and have to be treated in a unique manner.

Mr. Arthur Lewis (Newham, North-West): Further to the Secretary of State's reply to the hon. Member for Macclesfield (Mr. Winterton), the right hon. Gentleman will know that, with regard to profits, accountants are very good at producing anything one wants. What action will be taken to ensure that the initiative is properly monitored and that we do not have more De Loreals? Will the House check it from day to day? Will the Government require Northern Ireland Members to check it or will they leave it to people in the Northern Ireland Office who appear not to do their job properly and allow such things to go on?

Mr. Prior: It is De Lorean, not L'Oreal, which, as the hon. Gentleman will know, is a cosmetics firm.

Mr. Nicholas Winterton: So was De Lorean—cosmetic.

Mr. Prior: The hon. Member for Newham, North-West is on to a perfectly serious and important point. It is important that checking should be adequate to ensure that there is no room for abuse. We shall have to draw up tight arrangements. They must not be so tight as to put people off using them, but the hon. Gentleman is on to a serious point. I have already consulted the Inland Revenue, and we will be setting up a special monitoring organisation.

Several Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I propose to allow questions until 4 pm when I shall call Front Bench spokesmen, but whether everyone is called will depend on the length of questions.

Sir John Biggs-Davison (Epping Forest): When there are such difficulties and when such efforts are being made by my right hon. Friend, the IDB and private enterprise, might one not expect the British Broadcasting Corporation to have shown, itself if not helpful, at least objective in its "Panorama" programme insultingly called "Britain's Wasteland"? Has my right hon. Friend had any conversation with the governors of the BBC about the programme, which was so unbalanced and distorted and dwelt so much on the negative, and not on the positive?

Mr. Prior: I agree very much with what my hon. Friend has said. I am taking an early opportunity to talk to the BBC about it.

Mr. Robert Parry (Liverpool, Scotland Exchange): what discussions has the right hon. Gentleman had with the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and when does he expect next to meet the committee? Does he not agree that any economic proposals must be discussed with and supported by the committee? As the Member responsible for the Transport and General Workers Union membership in Northern Ireland, I fully support the view taken by my right hon. Friend the Member for Brent, East (Mr. Freeson) concerning a massive programme of reconstruction in the building industry.

Mr. Prior: I shall be seeing the committee early next week.

Mr. Bob Cryer (Keighley): But would not the Secretary of State accept that the Government's initiative amount to intervening in the market place and that market forces are not providing jobs in Northern Ireland? Perhaps he could draw it to the attention of the Secretaries of State for Industry and Employment that market forces are not working in the rest of the United Kingdom either.

Will he spell out what type of projects will receive the 80 per cent. corporation tax allowance? Will they include those projects which already receive 100 per cent. corporation tax allowance plus grant aid? What sort of grant aid is to be given to recruit managers? Should this not be carefully scrutinised? The Opposition wish to see jobs created everywhere, but we do not wish to see money given needlessly. Would not Mr. De Lorean have qualified for grant aid to recruit managers?

Mr. Prior: Mr. De Lorean certainly would not have qualified for aid for making profits. To that extent, this corporation tax relief grant is specially designed to encourage profitable companies, and not the reverse. As for the aid for managers, it has proved difficult in a Northern Ireland context to attract managers of the right quality. We believe that we can help individual companies, as part of a package of aid, to subsidise certain managerial posts to attract them to Northern Ireland. Anything that we can do to make Northern Ireland more attractive will be of aid to industry there.

Mr. Leslie Spriggs (St. Helens): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that unemployment anywhere is a recipe for disaster? As the Government can govern neither their own country nor Northern Ireland, is he prepared to propose to the Northern Ireland people that they take over the autonomous government of their own country, or to ask all of the people of Ireland whether they are prepared to take over their own country and run the economy of Ireland as one country?

Mr. Prior: No, Sir.

Mr. D. N. Campbell-Savours (Workington): In what sense are the "severe economic and social problems", which the right hon. Gentleman described as being of an

exceptional nature, any worse than those in other parts of the United Kingdom such as the northern region, where unemployment is higher?

Mr. Prior: There may be pockets of unemployment in Great Britain which are as high as the average in Northern Ireland, but there are pockets in Northern Ireland which are considerably higher than anywhere else. They are also accompanied by a degree of violence, which, thank heavens, is not present in Great Britain. There are exceptional circumstances and conditions in Northern Ireland which should make the House sympathetic to the special treatment that we are seeking to accord.

Mr. Dennis Skinner (Bolsover): How has this post-Livingstone initiative managed to get past the Milton Friedman litmus test that is operated by the Government? If there is sufficient money available, will the Government bear it in mind that it would be a good idea to get hold of that bloke MacGregor and send him across to Northern Ireland to run the scheme?

Mr. Prior: On the latter point, I can only say that I was extremely grateful to Mr. MacGregor for placing an order with Harland and Wolff for a large ship for the British Steel Corporation. I should like very much for him to come back to Northern Ireland to place a few more orders. If the hon. Member for Bolsover (Mr. Skinner) does not know a good man when he sees one, I do.

Mr. Concannon: Is the Secretary of State aware that I said that the unemployment rate in Northern Ireland under the Labour Government was unacceptable? At the same time, if the Secretary of State has not been advised, he should be advised that there were more people in Northern Ireland at work during that period than ever before. It was found that with the hope of Government trying to do something to provide jobs, more people were registering for work than ever before. I am sometimes amazed by the stance of the right hon. Member for Down, South (Mr. Powell) who says one thing in this House but whose actions back in his constituency are exactly the opposite. I never found that he complained about public money going into his constituency to create jobs for his people. If the Opposition can be pilloried for anything, it is that they paid money for people to work and not for people to languish in the dole queue and for unemployment benefits. Will the Secretary of State answer the main question? What type of jobs and how many jobs will the package attract to Northern Ireland?

Mr. Prior: I cannot answer that question because I simply do not know the answer. The result will depend entirely on inward investment. I do not know what attitude others will take to inward investment but I suspect that the absence of local taxes and the equivalent of 10 per cent. corporation tax for companies making a profit will be pretty attractive to incoming investment. To that extent, I believe that the scheme will have a marked effect on unemployment levels. Much will depend on the attitude of employers, inward investors and the people of Northern Ireland themselves. I am satisfied that the people of Northern Ireland deserve this break and I think that they will take full advantage of it.

CONFIDENTIAL

NBPM MCS 22/3



JF3067

PS/ Secretary of State for Industry

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
ASHDOWN HOUSE
123 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1E 6RB
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 3301
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

22 March 1983

W Rickett Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

Dear Willie

NORTHERN IRELAND - NEW ECONOMIC INITIATIVE

My Secretary of State has seen the draft statement attached to Derek Hill's letter of 21 March. He believes the statement would be strengthened in keeping with discussions in E Committee if the opportunity of the announcement were taken to stress again the role of wage restraint in improving cost competitiveness in Northern Ireland. He believes this is a key point in attracting international investment.

2 The point could conveniently be introduced into the final paragraph of the present draft, perhaps in the following manner:

11. Through these and other measures the Government will continue to play its part in supporting and promoting the economy of Northern Ireland. But a heavy responsibility in the battle for international investment lies on the people of Northern Ireland to keep costs competitive by doing all they can to improve productivity and exercise wage restraint; and on the people, their industrial, commercial and labour leaders, and on their public representatives to bring home just how exaggerated and distorted is the impression which so many outside have of the Province: we look to them to demonstrate to the industrialists of the world that Northern Ireland is worthy of their confidence and their investment.



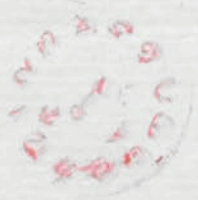
CONFIDENTIAL

3 I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President; to Members of E Committee; to Lord Ferrers and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever
Steve Nicklen

STEPHEN NICKLEN
Private Secretary

Ireland
Situation
A/B



72 MAR 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

cc Press
SAP



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Prime Minister

W Rickett Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Agree this statement?

21 March 1983

Yes not

MCS 22/3

Dear Willie

NORTHERN IRELAND - NEW ECONOMIC INITIATIVE

Following the decisions taken at E Committee last week, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland proposes to make a statement to the House of Commons on Wednesday 23 March, and that statement should be repeated in the House of Lords. It will also be read out in the Northern Ireland Assembly.

I enclose a draft of the statement which has been approved by Mr Prior, and which seeks to reflect the points which Ministers made at E Committee. We have sought to emphasise, and will repeat in answer to questions, that it is the specific and unique circumstances of Northern Ireland that justify the decisions being announced, so as to prevent any presumption that the decisions will be extended to other parts of the country. We have also brought into the statement some of the other measures currently being introduced in Northern Ireland to improve industrial competitiveness and managerial quality - E Committee asked that some of these additional measures should be mentioned as part of the context of the other decisions.

Officials have discussed our proposals informally with the European Commission who, recognising the special circumstances of Northern Ireland, say they are prepared to accept the introduction of Corporation Tax Relief Grant and the other measures.

I am sending copies of this letter and the draft statement to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President; to Members of E Committee; to Lord Ferrers and to Sir Robert Armstrong. I would be grateful if any comments on the draft could reach me before close of play on Tuesday 22 March.

Yours ever

Derek Hill

D A HILL

KL

CONFIDENTIAL

1. Mr Speaker, this House will need no reminding of the unique combination of severe economic and social problems in Northern Ireland. In recognition of these exceptional circumstances the Government has decided to introduce several new measures to stimulate industrial growth, and to maintain viable industrial employment in Northern Ireland.
2. First and foremost the Government has decided to introduce a new grant to reimburse new and expanding industries 80% of the Corporation Tax paid on profits generated by approved projects. This grant will form part of the selective financial assistance packages administered by the Industrial Development Board and by the Local Enterprise Development Unit.
3. Such a step has been widely urged upon us by the Select Committee on Trade and Industry, by political parties in Northern Ireland, by the new Industrial Development Board and by many others. It will be a major new attraction to potential investors.
4. Second, and again in recognition of Northern Ireland's unique economic problems the existing 75% industrial de-rating will be increased to a full 100%. This will both help new investors and bring valuable immediate relief to existing enterprises. The House will shortly be asked to approve an Order giving effect to this de-rating from the beginning of the next financial year.
5. Third, I intend to encourage industry to increase efficiency and competitiveness through an energy conservation scheme. Grants

CONFIDENTIAL

at the rate of 30% will be offered on a selective basis towards the cost of approved energy conservation projects.

6. Finally, I intend to introduce two further schemes designed to improve competitive strength and efficiency. There will be a Management Incentives Scheme which will provide grant aid in appropriate cases to companies to help them recruit good quality management. And an Advisory Service to Industry will be established to help Northern Ireland companies to improve their production methods and processes.

8. These measures reflect the advice the Government has received from the new Industrial Development Board, and I am confident they will help the Board in its vital task of conserving and creating employment.

9. A vital contribution is also being made by the Local Enterprise Development Unit, whose new plan for the creation and development of small businesses I approved last year.

10. Mr Speaker, these specific Northern Ireland measures will reinforce the Government's more general steps to assist industry and the economy. Reducing interest rates and the successive reductions in National Insurance Surcharge, for instance, will have as valuable an impact in Northern Ireland as in the rest of the country.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

11. Through these and other measures the Government will continue to play its part in supporting and promoting the economy of Northern Ireland. But a heavy responsibility lies on the people of Northern Ireland themselves, on their industrial, commercial and labour leaders, and on their public representatives to bring home just how exaggerated and distorted is the impression which so many outside have of the Province: we look to them to demonstrate to the industrialists of the world that Northern Ireland is worthy of their confidence and their investment.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



H Steel CMG OBE
XXXXXXXXXXXX
LEGAL SECRETARY.

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

17 March 1983

G L Angel Esq
Northern Ireland Office
Great George Street
LONDON S W 1

N.B. P.D.

AM 18/3

Dear General,

EXTRADITION FROM THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

I am writing to report the outcome of the meeting which the Attorney General had with his Irish opposite number, Mr Sutherland, on Tuesday morning. Mr Sutherland was accompanied at the meeting by Mr Quigley and our own Attorney General was supported by David Haggan and myself.

The Attorney General opened by giving Mr Sutherland a brief account of the various cases which seemed to us to offer possibilities for putting McGlinchey to the test. These are the ones summarised in David Haggan's minute of 10 March, a copy of which I enclose. It was common ground that our aim should be to proceed first with a case whose facts were such that it fell easily and relatively uncontroversially within the principles enunciated in the Chief Justice's judgment in McGlinchey and which therefore gave the Irish courts the chance to reaffirm those principles and consolidate them by a decision which clearly relied on them. After some discussion of the relative pros and cons of the various cases, it was agreed that the most suitable for the purpose which I have just described was Shannon since, even on the most restrictive interpretation of McGlinchey, it would be difficult for the defence to argue that Sir Norman Stronge and his son were legitimate targets and that the murder was therefore (in the words of the Chief Justice) "what reasonable, civilised people would regard as political activity".

The two Attorneys General agreed that the next step (assuming, of course, that the Shannon case fulfilled our expectations) should be to proceed with another case which would put McGlinchey to the real test, ie a case in which we should seek the return of persons accused of attacks on security forces. This would reveal whether the Irish courts would follow the hint given by the Chief Justice in McGlinchey ("It should not be deduced that if the victim were someone other than a civilian who was killed or injured as a result of violent criminal conduct chosen in lieu of

/what

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



H Steel CMG OBE
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
LEGAL SECRETARY.

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

what would fall directly or indirectly within the ordinary scope of political activity, the offence would necessarily be classified as a political offence or an offence connected with a political offence") or whether they would fall back on a distinction - which we should regard as very unsatisfactory - between cases where the victims were "innocent" and those where the victims were "legitimate targets". It was noticeable that Mr Sutherland seemed far from confident that the Irish courts would, when it came to the crunch, press the Chief Justice's line of thought to its logical conclusion.

In the light of these considerations it was agreed that Burns would be an ideal case for the purpose of putting McGlinchey to the full test but it was common ground that it would be bad tactics to let the difficulties of Burns spoil our chances of getting a favourable decision in Shannon and that we should therefore hold Burns back until there was no risk of the court deciding to take the two cases together. Mr Sutherland's first suggestion was that we should not start the proceedings in Burns until Shannon had been finally disposed of. But when he revealed that he did not expect that to be for at least 12 months, we persuaded him that it would be safe to go ahead with Burns once Shannon had got passed the High Court, ie without waiting for the appeal to the Supreme Court. I should add that Mr Sutherland promised to do his best to expedite the proceedings in Shannon, in which he said he would probably conduct the Government's case himself, and he said that he was confident that the courts would cooperate.

We did not press to a conclusion the question of when we could start proceedings in the other cases listed in David Haggan's minute or in cases where the fugitives were wanted by the English police - indeed, we did not even mention to Mr Sutherland that there were such cases in the offing - but I think that we are free to consider moving in those cases more or less simultaneously with Burns, though we should not spring them on Mr Sutherland without warning. However, we can look at this again when the time comes: it is obviously going to be several months before Shannon is sufficiently far down the track to make it safe to contemplate activating other cases. As regards Gilmore, it was agreed that the fact that one of the offences for which he was sentenced was membership of the IRA (a political offence if ever there was one) made his an unsuitable case to put to the Irish courts while we were still trying to build on McGlinchey and get it accepted. It was therefore agreed that unless

/matters

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



H Steel CMG OBE
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
LEGAL SECRETARY.

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

matters had proceeded too far (which did not seem likely), the RUC should be asked to withdraw their warrant in Gilmore's case and instead, and simultaneously, to invite the authorities of the Republic to proceed against Gilmore under their extra-territorial legislation for the offence of escaping from custody. Mr Sutherland promised that he would do his best to facilitate this operation so far as the Irish side is concerned and would also try to hold up any action on the warrant in the meantime. David Haggan has already had an informal word with the Chief Constable of the RUC and we hope that it will be possible for the Attorney General and the Chief Constable to have a more considered discussion early next week (when the Chief Constable is over here on other business) at which they can also discuss what needs to be done to get Shannon moving.

Finally, there was a brief discussion of the Castleblaney case. The Attorney General made it clear that there was no question of our attempting to avoid our obligation to have the warrant for the return of the four Constables backed and executed. He did suggest to Mr Sutherland that the charge of possession with intent to endanger life was perhaps excessive on the facts as we believed them to be but Mr Sutherland in turn indicated that the Irish authorities were less inclined than we were to assume an innocent explanation for the incident - they obviously suspect an attempt at a "snatch" operation - and he therefore felt unable to intervene. He gave what I took to be a hint that if the four defendants were prepared to plead to the charge of possessing firearms "in such circumstances as to give rise to a reasonable inference that they had not got them in their possession for a lawful purpose", that might be an acceptable way of disposing of the case. But he was pretty unspecific about this and the Attorney General made it clear in any event that any plea-bargaining would have to be conducted with the defendants and their legal adviser and that we could not get involved in any way. More, I think, to tease us than for any serious purpose, Mr Sutherland floated the idea that we might deal with the four Constables ourselves under our own extra-territorial legislation but the Attorney General made it clear that, though the thought had also occurred to us, we had firmly ruled it out.

We agreed a defensive press line with Mr Sutherland (which was passed to your Office by telephone) but we have had no press enquiries and, rather to our surprise, it seems that his presence in London went unnoticed.

/I

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



H Steel CMG OBE

XXXXXXXXXXXX

LEGAL SECRETARY.

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

I am copying this letter and its enclosure to Patrick Eyers (FCO), David Goodall (Cabinet Office) and John Coles (No 10). I am also sending a copy to Ken Dowling (DPP) with a copy of my letter to John Coles of 9 March which explains the background to Mr Sutherland's visit. I am sorry not to have kept him in touch at an earlier stage, especially since the result of the discussions is, as I have explained above, that he will have to ask the Metropolitan Police to hold off even longer on the cases about which he wrote to me on 19 January. I hope that this will not be embarrassing or inconvenient.

I am also sending a copy of this letter, without enclosures, to Barry Shaw though I hope to have the opportunity to put him in the picture orally when he comes to see the Attorney General later today.

*Yours ever,
Henry*

CONFIDENTIAL

ATTORNEY GENERAL

LEGAL SECRETARY

EXTRADITION

The cases thought suitable to test "McGlinchey" and discussed at our meeting with the Director on 4 March are -

- (1) SHANNON Shannon, who is known to be in the Republic of Ireland, is wanted primarily for the murder of Sir Norman and Mr James Stronge at Tynan Abbey on 21 January 1981. At the scene the four occupants of a Lada car fired a number of shots at the police. Spent cases found at this scene matched a spent case found in the library of the Abbey where the Stronges were shot, and Shannon's fingerprints were found on the inside of the Lada car. A copy of the Director's papers is attached flagged A.
- (2) BURNS Burns has been described as the most dangerous and activist terrorist in South Armagh. He is presently living in Dundalk.

He is wanted in connection with three incidents, to which he can be connected by fingerprint evidence -

1. an explosion at Warrenpoint RUC station on 19 April 1981
2. an explosion which caused the death of 5 soldiers at Newry on 19 May 1981
3. an explosion at Crossmaglen on 2 October 1982

Please see the papers flagged B.

As police and soldiers are involved it was thought that the question of testing "McGlinchey" in this case should be discussed with the Attorney General (RI).

- (3) GILMORE Gilmore was sentenced in June 1979 to a total of 12 years imprisonment on a large number of charges, and subsequently escaped to the Republic. He has been located and warrants were sent to the Garda on 12 February 1983.

One of the offences was membership of a proscribed organisation (the IRA) and to this Gilmore pleaded guilty and was sentenced to a term of 5 years imprisonment concurrent. See the papers flagged C.

- (4) O'HARE and McNAMEE Terrorists exchanged shots with a military patrol in Keady, County Armagh and later, after escaping in a lorry, were involved in an exchange of shots with Desmond Gibson, a Prison Officer, who fired at them with a lawfully held shotgun. Later the same day O'Hare and McNamee were admitted to Monaghan Hospital suffering from gunshot wounds. They arrived in a vehicle containing the body of one Peadar McElvenna who had died from gunshot wounds prior to his arrival at hospital.
Please see the paper flagged D.
- (5) DARCY The Darcy brothers are wanted on a charge of possession of firearms in suspicious circumstances. They "jumped bail" and are in the Republic. Both Darcys verbally admitted involvement in the removal of 2 guns after the arrest of a suspect.
Please see the paper flagged E.
- (6) McSHANE McShane is wanted for a number of serious charges - armed robbery, possession of a handgun in suspicious circumstances, conspiracy to murder security forces, conspiracy to cause an explosion, possession of explosive with intent, possession of a handgun with intent, possession of firearms in suspicious circumstances. McShane made a number of written statements of admission. On the trial date McShane failed to answer his bail.
Please see the papers flagged F.

D.A.H.

D A Haggan
10 March 1983



11 12 1
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10

17 MAR 1988

[TYPISTS]

NORTHERN IRELAND : ADVANCE COPIES

22



PS
PS/MR HURD
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR GOODISON
Mr Hanney

PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS
SIR P WOODFIELD
MR BRENNAN
MR ANGEL
MR BOYS SMITH
Mr Hill, NIO (London)

Hd of ECD (1)
HD/RID
HD/PUSD (2)
HD INFO D
HD/NEWS D
.....
.....
~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

.....
SIR R ARMSTRONG)
DIO) CABINET OFFICE
Mr Hancock
.....
PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

RESTRICTED
DESKBY 15/1530Z
FM UKREP BRUSSELS 151428Z MAR 83
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1119 OF 15 MAR
INFO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN NIO BELFAST

ms

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND NORTHERN IRELAND

1. HAAGERUP (DANISH LIBERAL MEP) WAS THIS MORNING APPOINTED RAPPORTEUR FOR THE REPORT ON NORTHERN IRELAND.
2. TALKING TO THE PRESS AFTERWARDS, HAAGERUP SPOKE TO A PIECE OF PAPER ENTITLED THE ROLE OF THE RAPPORTEUR (TEXT IN MIFT).
3. HE REALISED THAT HIS REPORT COULD NOT DRASTICALLY CHANGE THE SITUATION BUT HE HOPED IT COULD INCREASE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE REAL SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE WOULD BE VISITING LONDON AND DUBLIN IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF OTHER BUSINESS, AND WOULD HOPE TO COMBINE HIS NEW ROLE OF RAPPORTEUR WITH THOSE VISITS. HE HAD NO IMMEDIATE PLANS TO VISIT NORTHERN IRELAND BUT HE HAD RECENTLY VISITED BELFAST AND KNEW THE SITUATION.
4. HE ADDED THAT HIS PRESENT PLAN WAS TO PRODUCE A REPORT BY THE END OF THE YEAR. HE HAD GIVEN NO PRIVATE ASSURANCES TO HMG, NOR HAD HE APPROACHED HMG FOR COOPERATION, BUT HE HAD BENEFITTED FROM THEIR COOPERATION IN THE PAST.

5. ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD MEET SINN FEIN REPRESENTATIVES, HE DID NOT REPLY DIRECTLY BUT STRESSED THE PARLIAMENT'S JUNE 1981 CONDEMNATION OF VIOLENCE AND SAID HE WOULD THEREFORE BE RELUCTANT TO TALK TO THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR VIOLENCE.

6. COPIES OF HIS CURRICULUM VITAE BY BAG TO RID/ECD(1).

FCO ADVANCE TO:-

FCO - HANNAY SPRECKLEY HALLETT EYERS(RID)

CAB - HANCOCK

NIO - (LONDON) HILL

BUTLER

NNNN

GRS 1200
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON 150115Z MAR 83

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 630 OF 14 MARCH

INFO DUBLIN, NIO BELFAST, NIO LONDON, CG NEW YORK, BIS NEW YORK.

NORTHERN IRELAND: ST PATRICK'S DAY

1. THE DECISION OF IRISH AMERICAN ORGANISATIONS TO ELECT NORAID LEADER MICHAEL FLANNERY AS GRAND MARSHAL OF THIS YEAR'S NEW YORK PARADE, HAS GIVEN ST PATRICK'S DAY MORE THAN USUAL PUBLIC PROMINENCE. IN A MAJOR SETBACK FOR THE ORGANISERS OF THE PARADE, THE DECISION BY SENATOR MOYNIHAN AND FORMER GOVERNOR CAREY (BOTH MEMBERS OF THE FOUR HORSEMEN GROUP) NOT TO TAKE PART IN THIS YEAR'S PARADE HAS NOW BEEN ENDORSED BY SENATOR KENNEDY AND SPEAKER O'NEILL. THE IRISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON AND THE IRISH CONSULATE GENERAL IN NEW YORK HAD EARLIER DISASSOCIATED THEMSELVES FROM THE PARADE. MAYOR KOCH, NEW YORK'S NEW GOVERNOR CUOMO AND THE STATE'S OTHER SENATOR (D'AMATO) STILL INTEND TO TAKE PART (THE LAST TWO ARE KNOWN FOR THEIR EXTREME VIEWS ON NORTHERN IRELAND). CARDINAL COOKE'S POSITION REMAINS EQUIVOCAL (NEW YORK TELNO 20) THOUGH TODAY'S PRESS REPORTY THAT HE HAS AGREED TO A DECISION BY THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK TO FORBID FOUR CATHOLIC SCHOOL BANDS FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE PARADE. THE CARDINAL'S EQUIVOCATION PROMPTED COMMENT AT THE WEEKEND IN AN ARTICLE BY THE WASHINGTON POST COLUMNIST MARY MCGRORY WHO ASKED WHETHER THE CARDINAL, AS HONORARY GRAND MARSHAL OF THE PARADE WOULD GREET FLANNERY ON THE STEPS OF ST PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL AND QUOTE GIVE NORAID WHAT IT WANTS MOST, A PICTURE OF A PRINCE OF THE CHURCH ENDORSING AN ADVOCATE OF TERRORISM? UNQUOTE.

2. PRESS COMMENT ON THE DECISION TO ELECT FLANNERY HAS BEEN ALMOST UNIVERSALLY CRITICAL. TODAY'S WASHINGTON POST CONTAINS ONE OF THE PAPER'S STRONGEST EVER CRITICISMS OF THE IRA QUOTE THE IRA IS A MOTLEY COLLECTION OF THOROUGHLY RADICAL GROUPS EXPLOITING LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND SO AS TO GAIN POWER AND TO BRING AS MUCH RUIN TO IRELAND AS ANY ENGLISHMAN EVER ENVISAGED.... IT IS TRYING TO STICK IRELAND WITH MARXISM, A THOROUGHLY FOREIGN IDEOLOGY WHICH WOULD DESTROY THE IRISH WAY OF LIFE, ITS CHURCH, THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND IN THE SOUTH, AND THOSE FEW BIDS OF PROSPERITY THAT HAVE COME WITH FREEDOM.... IT MURDERS INNOCENT IRISHMEN, PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLIC ALIKE, AND KILLS BRITISH SOLDIERS WHO PERHAPS FOR THE FIRST TIME ARE ATTEMPTING TO HAVE A BENIGN INFLUENCE IN IRELAND. THE TERRORISTS FOR THEIR PART BOAST OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE PLO. THEY HAVE NO AFFECTION FOR AMERICA: IDEOLOGICALLY THEY VIEW US WITH REPUGNANCE. UNQUOTE

3. THE EFFECT OF ALL THIS PUBLICITY HAS BEEN TO FOCUS ATTENTION, MORE CLEARLY THAN EVER BEFORE, ON NORAID'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PROVISIONAL IRA. IT HAS ALSO LED THE FOUR HORSEMEN TO TAKE A FIRM STAND AGAINST NORAID IN PARTICULAR RATHER THAN, AS IN THE PAST,

CONFIDENTIAL

/AGAINST

AGAINST QUOTE THE MEN OF VIOLENCE UNQUOTE IN GENERAL. HOWEVER, THE FOUR HORSEMEN HAVE TAKEN A GOOD DEAL OF CRITICISM FOR THIS STAND FROM GROUPS LIKE THE ANCIENT ORDER OF THE HIBERNIANS WHO ELECTED FLANNERY AND ARE, WE GATHER, HOPING TO RE-ESTABLISH THEIR NORTHERN IRELAND CREDENTIALS BY INCLUDING SOME CRITICISM OF BRITAIN IN THEIR ANNUAL ST PATRICK'S DAY STATEMENT. IN PARTICULAR, WE HAVE LEARNED FROM CONGRESSMAN FOLEY'S OFFICE THAT THEY PLAN TO INCLUDE SPECIFIC CRITICISM OF THE USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS. WE HAVE TOLD FOLEY'S OFFICE THAT FOR BRITAIN TO BE SINGLED OUT IN THIS WAY IN A STATEMENT THAT INCLUDED NO SPECIFIC ALLUSION TO THE PROVISIONAL IRA WOULD BE WHOLLY INDEFENSIBLE GIVEN OUR OWN RECORD ON PLASTIC BULLETS (ONLY FOUR FIRED THIS YEAR) AND THE HORRENDOUS RECORD OF THE PROVISIONALS. WE HAVE SAID THAT THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND WHO HAVE SUFFERED THE BALLYKELLY BOMBING AND OTHER OUTRAGES, AND PEOPLE IN BRITAIN WITH FRESH MEMORIES OF THE LONDON BOMBINGS, WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND HAD DECIDED TO PLACE POLITICS OVER PRINCIPLE. FOLEY'S OFFICE, BY WHOM THIS POINT IS WELL TAKEN, HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO TRY TO AMEND THE DRAFT.

4. THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND ARE ALSO COOKING UP A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION TO BE INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE ON ST PATRICK'S DAY WHICH WOULD CONDEMN VIOLENCE BUT WHICH WOULD GO ON TO QUOTE URGE THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO SEEK AN EARLY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WITH THE CONSENT OF ALL INVOLVED, THAT PROMOTES RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO TRADITIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND BETWEEN BRITAIN AND IRELAND, THAT SECURES FULL RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE TWO SIDES OF THE COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND ENDS THE DIVISION OF THE IRISH PEOPLE AND ACHIEVES THE GOAL OF IRISH UNITY UNQUOTE. CONGRESSMAN FOLEY'S OFFICE CONSULTED US ABOUT THIS DRAFT, WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN CONSIDERABLY WATERED DOWN FROM THE ORIGINAL. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT PREJUDGES IN AN UNACCEPTABLE WAY ISSUES WHICH ARE FOR THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT TO DECIDE. IN SUBSTANCE, HOWEVER, IT GOES NO FURTHER THAN PREVIOUS POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND. THE RESOLUTION, WHICH WOULD CALL ON THE PRESIDENT TO DRAW ITS TERMS TO THE ATTENTION OF HMG, WOULD BE NON-BINDING. FOLEY BELIEVES THERE IS A FAIR CHANCE THAT, ONCE INTRODUCED, NO FURTHER ACTION WILL BE TAKEN IE. THAT IT WILL NOT ACTUALLY BE BROUGHT TO VOTE.

5. THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON ST PATRICK'S DAY. STATE DEPARTMENT AND WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS HAD HOPED TO STAND PAT ON LAST YEAR'S STATEMENT WHICH WAS ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS INCREASINGLY LIKELY THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO SAY SOMETHING AND A DRAFT, ON SIMILAR LINES TO LAST YEAR'S, HAS BEEN PREPARED. IT MAY BE POSITIVELY HELPFUL IF THE PRESIDENT DOES ISSUE A STATEMENT. HE IS TO LUNCH WITH SPEAKER O'NEILL AND OTHER IRISH AMERICAN LEADERS, IN COMPANY WITH THE IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER, ON CAPITAL HILL ON ST PATRICK'S DAY AND WILL LATER ATTEND A RECEPTION AT THE IRISH EMBASSY.

CONFIDENTIAL

6. WE ARE TAKING SEPARATE ACTION ON THE QUESTION OF A FORUM FOR A NEW IRELAND (YOUR TELNO 426). INITIAL REACTION IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT SUGGESTS THAT THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF THE DANGERS OF APPEARING TO ENDORSE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S INITIATIVE AND THAT THEY REALISE THAT, ONCE AGAIN, AN IRISH GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ST PATRICK'S DAY TO DRAW THE US GOVERNMENT INTO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUE.

7. IN SHORT, THE IRISH ACTIVISTS HERE HAVE DONE THEMSELVES NOTHING BUT HARM BY THE SELECTION OF FLANNERY TO LEAD THE ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE. THE SITUATION, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN COMPLICATED BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL, WHICH WILL APPEAL TO A CERTAIN SECTION OF OPINION HERE.

WRIGHT

NORTHERN IRELAND

LIMITED

RID	PS/MR RIFKIND
NAD	PS/MR ONSLOW
INFO D	PS/PUS
WED	SIR J BULLARD
MAED	MR WRIGHT
NEWS D	LORD N GORDON LENNOX
SEC D	MR GIFFARD
PUSD	MR ADAMS
PS	MR GOODISON
PS/MR HURD	MR URE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

3
CONFIDENTIAL

NORTHERN IRELAND : ADVANCE COPIES 20

PS

PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS

PS/MR HURD

SIR P WOODFIELD)

PS/PUS

MR BRENNAN)

SIR J BULLARD

MR ANGEL)

) NIO

MR GOODISON

MR BOYS SMITH)

...

...

...

...

HD/RID

SIR R ARMSTRONG)

) CABINET OFFICE

HD/PUSD (2)

DIO)

HD INFO D

...

HD/NEWS D

...

...

PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

...

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

GRS 250

CONFIDENTIAL

ADVANCE COPY

FM DUBLIN 121337Z MAR 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 83 OF 12 MARCH 1983

AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST)

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

INFO SAVING TO EC POSTS UKREP BRUSSELS AND UKDEL STRASBOURG

MIPT: FORUM FOR A NEW IRELAND

1. I MET THE SECRETARY OF THE DFA LAST NIGHT AT A DINNER AND HE TOLD ME THAT MR BARRY WOULD BE MAKING THE SPEECH SUMMARISED IN MIPT. DONLON SAID THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S INITIATIVE WAS TO DO SOMETHING TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE SDLP. THEY WERE DESPERATELY WORRIED ABOUT THE POLITICAL GROUND BEING WON BY THE PSF AND HAD DECIDED THAT A STRONG MESSAGE TO THE NATIONALIST MINORITY WAS NECESSARY TO SHOW THEM THAT THEY COULD TRUST THE SDLP AND THROUGH THEM THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD THEIR INTERESTS.

~~AND THROUGH THEM THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD THEIR INTERESTS.~~
THERE WAS NO DISPOSITION ON THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PART TO APPEAR
TO BE 'BRIT BASHING' OR IN ANY WAY TO ADOPT MR HAUGHEY'S
CRITICISM OF NORTHERN IRELAND AS A 'FAILED POLITICAL ENTITY'.
THEY HAD HAD INDEED GREAT DIFFICULTY IN GETTING HIM TO ACCEPT THE
GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT (MY TELNO 80) AND TODAY HE HAS ISSUED HIS OWN
STATEMENT SAYING THAT 'AS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE CONSULTATIONS
REFERRED TO IN THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY IS IN ACCORDANCE
WITH OUR POLICIES FOR NORTHERN IRELAND I WILL BE GLAD TO PARTICI-
PATE'. HAVING MADE THAT LINK, THE REST OF HIS STATEMENT SIMPLY
REITERATES THE STRONGLY NATIONALIST LINE OF HIS ARD FHEIS SPEECH.
SO HIS SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S FORUM LOOKS A BIT ARTIFICIAL.

2. DONLON ALSO GAVE ME TO UNDERSTAND THAT NOW THAT THE FORUM WAS
LAUNCHED THEY WOULD NOT BE LOOKING TO US TO DO ANYTHING PARTICULAR
AND THAT ANYWAY THEY WOULD NOT EXPECT ANYTHING BEFORE A GENERAL
ELECTION. HE LED ME TO BELIEVE THAT THEY ACCEPTED THE NORTHERN
IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND DID NOT WISH TO CRITICISE IT OR COMPLAIN ABOUT
IT.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

FIGG

NNNN

SENT/RECD AT 121358Z CDC/MAD

NORTHERN IRELAND : ADVANCE COPIES 20

PS

PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS

PS/MR HURD

SIR P WOODFIELD)

PS/PUS

MR BRENNAN)

SIR J BULLARD

MR ANGEL)

MR GOODISON

MR BOYS SMITH)

NIO

...

...

...

...

HD/RID

SIR R ARMSTRONG)

CABINET OFFICE

HD/PUSD (2)

DIO)

HD INFO D

...

HD/NEWS D

...

...

PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

...

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

GRS 800

UNCLASSIFIED

ADVANCE COPY

FM DUBLIN 121230Z MAR 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 82 OF 12 MARCH 1983

INFO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST)

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

INFO SAVING TO UKREP BRUSSELS BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE

LUXEMBOURG PARIS BONN ATHENS ROME AND UKDEL STRASBOURG

MY TELNO 80: FORUM FOR A NEW IRELAND: SPEECH BY IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. FOLLOWING THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE, MR BARRY MADE A MAJOR SPEECH IN LIMERICK ON 11 MARCH. HE SAID HIS AIMS WERE TO PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY IN IRELAND AND TO BRING ABOUT 'A FRIENDLY, CONSTRUCTIVE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF IRELAND AND BRITAIN'. WITHIN THESE AIMS HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WERE WORKING FOR FIVE OBJECTIVES:

~~THESE AIMS HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WERE WORKING FOR FIVE OBJECTIVES:~~

A. RESTORING THE ECONOMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

B. TRYING TO WIN THE CONFIDENCE OF UNIONISTS: THE FORUM WAS OPEN TO ALL IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY WHO REJECTED VIOLENCE AND SHARED THE OBJECTIVE OF LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY.

C. DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE MINORITY: 'IN PARTICULAR... SUPPORTING THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MINORITY WHO REJECT VIOLENCE AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING POLITICAL PROGRESS'.

D. GOOD RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN: 'WE HAVE MANY COMMON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS. OUR MAJOR OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCE IS ON NORTHERN IRELAND. WE MUST SEEK TO RESOLVE IT FOR OUR MUTUAL BENEFIT'.

E. WHILE THE PROBLEM WAS PRIMARILY FOR BRITAIN AND IRELAND, HE SOUGHT TO HARNESS GOODWILL IN THE US AND THE EC.

2. HE SAID HIS POSITION WAS THAT OF AN IRISH NATIONALIST WHO SAW THE LONG-TERM BRITISH PRESENCE AS AN OBSTACLE TO THE RECONCILIATION OF THE TWO IRISH TRADITIONS, ONLY ONE SIDE OF WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY BRITISH POLICY.

'IS IT UNREASONABLE TO ASK THAT BRITISH POLICY SHOULD REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM? HOW LONG MORE WILL ONE MILLION PEOPLE BE ALLOWED TO IMPEDE NOT ONLY THE RECONCILIATION OF FIVE MILLION PEOPLE ON THIS ISLAND BUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE 58 MILLIONS WHO LIVE ON BOTH THESE ISLANDS?'

LATER IN THE SPEECH HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP AND THE REAL DIFFICULTIES OF REACHING ANY 'NEW IRELAND':

'I WANT TO SEE AN EVENTUAL FADING OUT OF THE BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH AFFAIRS, NOT BECAUSE OF ANY PRIMITIVE, ANTI-BRITISH SENTIMENT OR FEELING BUT BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT A TOTALLY INDEPENDENT IRELAND WOULD HAVE A FAR BETTER RELATIONSHIP WITH BRITAIN THAN ANYTHING WHICH IS POSSIBLE UNDER THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS. TO PRETEND HOWEVER, THAT WHAT I OR ANY IRISH NATIONALIST WANTS CAN BE ACHIEVED OVERNIGHT OR WITHOUT ENORMOUS DIFFICULTY AND SACRIFICE WOULD BE DISHONEST.

WE MUST RECOGNISE THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS, NATIONALIST, UNIONIST AND BRITISH, TO BE ACCOMMODATED IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY.'

IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY."

3. THE CENTRAL PART OF THE SPEECH EMPHASISED THAT VIOLENCE WAS NOW AN ACTIVE THREAT TO CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALISM IN THE NORTH AND TO THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC:

"DIALOGUE BETWEEN UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS IS VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. NOR IS THERE ANY SIGNIFICANT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SDLP AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE, WHILE THE SDLP HAVE, AGAINST ALL THE ODDS, HELD THEIR GROUND, THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE SUPPORT FOR THE IRA. ONE OUT OF THE THREE NATIONALISTS WHO VOTED AT THE NI ASSEMBLY ELECTION LAST OCTOBER SUPPORTED IRA CANDIDATES. THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY CONTINUES TO BE BATTERED FROM ALL SIDES. THERE IS A TENDENCY IN SOME QUARTERS IN BRITAIN AND INDEED ALSO HERE IN THE REPUBLIC TO THROW HANDS UP IN THE AIR AND EXPRESS HELPLESSNESS AND FRUSTRATION AT THE HOPELESSNESS OF THE SITUATION. MY MESSAGE TO YOU HERE THIS EVENING IS THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL NOT DESPAIR... WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BE INACTIVE. OPEN SQUARE BRACKETS EACH "OUR" IN FOLLOWING SENTENCES UNDERLINED IN TEXT CLOSE SQUARE BRACKETS. THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY IS NEVER FAR REMOVED FROM OUR INSTITUTIONS FOR WHICH OUR PREDECESSORS MADE SUCH HEROIC SACRIFICES. OUR BANKS AND POST OFFICES ARE BEING ROBBED, OUR SECURITY FORCES ARE DIRECTLY ATTACKED, OUR PRISONS ARE OVERFLOWING, OUR COURTS ARE JAMMED, OUR TAXES ARE GOING INTO THE BOTTOMLESS PIT, WHICH IS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TERRORISM. NONE OF THESE THINGS CAN BE DEALT WITH IN ISOLATION FROM THE POLITICAL PROBLEM OF NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH IS THEIR COMMON ROOT."

4. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE FORUM WAS ONE PART OF HIS APPROACH: THE OTHER WAS TO PERSUADE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE THAT "THEIR ROLE IS NOT SIMPLY TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE ONE MILLION UNIONISTS":

"I WANT BRITAIN TO JOIN THE RANKS OF THOSE IRISH PEOPLE AND OF THOSE FRIENDS OF BRITAIN AND OF IRELAND ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO LOOK TO A POSITIVE IRISH FUTURE RATHER THAN THOSE WHO TAKE THEIR INSPIRATION FROM THE NEGATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PAST. LET US COMBINE THE GREATNESS OF BRITAIN AND THE CREATIVE IMAGINATION OF IRELAND TO ACHIEVE NEW ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WILL SERVE IRELAND, BRITAIN AND THE PRINCIPLES OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY TO WHICH BOTH OUR PEOPLES ARE SO DEEPLY COMMITTED."

5. SEE MIFT.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

5. SEE MIFT.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

FIGG

NNNN

SENT/RECD AT 121344Z CDC/MAD

no faxed n/13 - Ireland

PRIME MINISTER

Statement by Irish Government

The Irish chargé d'affaires rang this afternoon to give John Coles 30 minutes notice of a statement which the Irish Government have now issued. Its text is attached. Essentially, the proposal is for a forum for consultations on the manner in which "lasting peace and stability can be achieved in a new Ireland through the democratic process". You will wish to read the statement in full.

The background is that the statement is the outcome of a visit by John Hume to Dublin today but is a very much watered down version of a proposal which he made to the Taoiseach. One of the Taoiseach's motives is to give some support to the SDLP (you will recall your talk with Don Concannon). It may be that the proposal will not get off the ground since Mr. Haughey is unlikely to have anything to do with it.

I have put out the following press line after consultation between John Coles, the FCO and the Northern Ireland Office:

"It is of course open to the Government and political parties in the Republic of Ireland to discuss what arrangements would in their view be appropriate if what the statement describes as a "new Ireland" were to come about. It is for the people of Northern Ireland to decide whether they wish to participate in such discussions. But these discussions cannot affect the fundamental position that Northern Ireland is and will remain a part of the United Kingdom while the majority of its people so wish. That is formally set out in the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973 and the Government of the Republic are also committed to that principle".

BERNARD INGHAM

11 March 1983

The following statement is being issued at 5 p.m. today on behalf of the Irish Government:

The Government propose to arrange, in agreement with the political parties concerned, for the establishment of a forum for consultations on the manner in which lasting peace and stability can be achieved in a new Ireland through the democratic process.

Participation will be open to all democratic parties which reject violence, and which have members elected or appointed to the Oireachtas or the Northern Ireland Assembly.

The views of other people of all traditions who agree with the purpose of these consultations and who reject violence will also be sought by the forum.

It would be the intention that the forum will report before the end of the year on possible new structures and processes through which its objective might be achieved.

The Taoiseach will arrange a meeting of the leaders of all the parties who wish to participate at an early date to discuss the arrangements involved.

11 March, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

BPP



file

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 March 1983

Extradition from the Republic of Ireland

The Prime Minister has noted the contents of your letter to me of 9 March in which you report that the Attorney General of the Republic of Ireland will visit London on 15 March to discuss with the Attorney General certain cases in which we might seek the extradition from the Republic of persons who are wanted, either in Northern Ireland or here, on terrorist charges.

I am copying this letter to John Lyon (Northern Ireland Office), Brian Fall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Tony Rawsthorne (Home Office) and David Goodall (Cabinet Office).

A. J. COLES

Henry Steel, Esq., C.M.G., O.B.E.,
Law Officers' Department

CONFIDENTIAL

Hansard

10 . 3 . 83

management possible for the N.C.B.

^{10.3.83}
Mr. Stoddart: Has the right hon. Lady considered this morning what *The Guardian* today described as a stinging rebuff to her by the European assembly in deciding to confirm that it will go ahead with an investigation of affairs in Northern Ireland? Does she realise the implication of what this mischievous and insolent assembly is doing for the future? For example, when Spain comes into the Common Market—[HON. MEMBERS: Speech.]—Just be quiet. When Spain comes into the

482

10 MARCH 1983

Oral Answers

954

Common Market, will the assembly interfere in affairs between Britain and Spain over Gibraltar? Does she not realise that the warnings we have given from the Labour side of the House to the effect that this assembly would seek to extend its powers at the expense of this Parliament and, indeed, the British Government, were well justified?

The Prime Minister: We have already made our view clear, which is that the European assembly has no business discussing the internal political affairs of a member state. I believe that the decision to produce a report on Northern Ireland will be widely resented throughout the United Kingdom. May I make clear that all six Conservative members of the political committee voted solidly against that proposal. I believe that one Labour member voted for it. We are absolutely against it. I make that clear.

CONFIDENTIAL

2



H Steel CMG OBE
LEGAL SECRETARY.

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

Prime Minister
You will wish to be
aware of the contact between
the two Attorneys-General.

9 March 1983

A J Coles Esq
Prime Minister's Office
10 Downing Street
LONDON S W 1

A.J.C. 9/13.

mt

Sir John,

EXTRADITION FROM THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

I think that I should report to you that, at his own request, the Attorney General of the Republic of Ireland (Mr Peter Sutherland) is coming over here on Tuesday next, 15 March, to discuss with our own Attorney General certain cases in which we might seek the extradition from the Republic of persons who are wanted, either in Northern Ireland or here, on terrorist charges.

The background is this. As you may know, the Irish Supreme Court delivered a judgment towards the end of last year (in the McGlinchey case) in which they appeared to reverse their previous view that fugitive terrorists were protected from extradition by the "political offence" exception. The exact scope and implications of the McGlinchey judgment were far from clear and what was said in it about this aspect of the matter was, in any event, strictly obiter. We are therefore by no means certain that it does involve the major break-through in our efforts to get the Irish to extradite terrorists that some people have taken it to be. Nevertheless, following inter-departmental discussions it was agreed that we ought to select some suitable cases which would put it and the Irish authorities to the test. However, before we could complete action on that, I was telephoned personally by Mr Sutherland - our own Attorney General then being abroad - who said that he himself wanted to discuss with us a suitable case which would build on the McGlinchey foundations. What had apparently prompted him to raise the matter was that he had been asked to consider proceeding under the Irish extra-territorial jurisdiction legislation against a man who was accused of complicity in the murder of Sir Norman Strong and his son. So far as he (Mr Sutherland) could see, this would make an ideal case in which to rely on the McGlinchey judgment. When I told him that I had not heard of these particular proceedings but that I did know that we were looking at the corresponding problem in relation to other cases, he said that he thought it essential that he and

/Sir

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
LEGAL SECRETARY.

LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE
LONDON, WC2A 2LL

Sir Michael Havers should discuss all the possibilities before we took any formal step. I therefore undertook to put a brake on all current activities on this front until our Attorney General returned, when he would at once get in touch with Mr Sutherland personally. This is what has now happened and next Tuesday's meeting is the result of that discussion.

At next Tuesday's meeting it is our Attorney General's intention to confine himself to a purely technical examination of the possible cases in which we might proceed, so as to identify in collaboration with Mr Sutherland those which would provide the best hope of reaffirming and consolidating the Supreme Court's reasoning in the McGlinchey case. In addition, the Attorney General may wish to explore with Mr Sutherland whether there is anything that can be done to avoid or mitigate the potential embarrassment to us of the request which the Irish have made for the return, to face trial in the Republic, of four members of the RUC who went into the Republic some months ago, got themselves into a fracas in a pub, drew their weapons and were eventually rescued and arrested by the Garda. Though they were then allowed to return to Northern Ireland, they have been charged with being in possession of firearms with intent to endanger life and a warrant for their arrest and return has been sent to the RUC. I doubt if there is much that the two Attorneys General can now do about this but it certainly seems worth exploring. Apart from this, the Attorney General has no intention of broadening the discussion himself and will certainly do his best to prevent Mr Sutherland from broadening it - not that he now seems likely to want to do that. I understand that the Attorney General and Mr Prior have had a word about this and that Mr Prior impressed on him the importance of avoiding getting drawn into any wider discussion which could be represented (or misrepresented) as being a resumption of the inter-governmental dialogue.

I am copying this letter to John Lyon (NIO), Brian Fall (FCO) and Tony Rawsthorne (HO). I am also sending a copy to David Goodall whom I have already put in the picture.

Yours ever,
Henry [Signature]

CONFIDENTIAL

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.



RECEIVED
MAY 15 1964

The enclosed contains a copy of the report of the
Attorney General's Commission on the Administration
of the Federal Courts, dated and captioned as above.
The report is being furnished to you for your
information and for the information of the
President and the Vice President.

The report is being furnished to you for your
information and for the information of the
President and the Vice President. The report
contains a copy of the report of the
Attorney General's Commission on the
Administration of the Federal Courts,
dated and captioned as above. The
report is being furnished to you for
your information and for the
information of the President and
the Vice President.

I am enclosing this report for the
President and the Vice President.
Very truly yours,
The Attorney General

Inland
Top Copy on
European Policy
Budget, Pt 20

Ref. A083/0708

PRIME MINISTER

Cabinet: Community Affairs

A The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will want to report on the outcome of today's consideration by the bureau of the European Parliament of the Paisley/Taylor resolution that the Parliament has no competence to enquire into Northern Ireland's constitutional and political affairs. It is expected that the bureau will decide to refer the resolution to the Parliament's Legal Affairs Committee and that any further action will have to await that Committee's report. The effect would be to delay the enquiry at least for several months. You will have noted the advice on the legal position enclosed with Mr Bone's letter to Mr Coles of 3 March, which offers little hope of our being able to institute successful proceedings against the European Parliament in the European Court or to obtain an order from the Court which would prevent the Parliament's Political Affairs Committee from going ahead with the study. It is, however, now clear that the Committee will not hold any public hearings and that the European Parliament still considers itself bound by its 1981 resolution not to interfere in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland.

2. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will also wish to report that Commissioner Dalsager announced to the European Parliament on 8 March that the Commission is to resume subsidised exports of surplus butter to the Soviet Union. Although the United Kingdom has made clear its opposition to such a move, once the formal go ahead has been given by the appropriate Management Committee there is little more we can do to prevent the implementation of the Commission's decision. It should however clear the way to the full implementation of the 1983 New Zealand butter quota, which has been held up by France and the Republic of Ireland pending the renewal of butter sales to Russia.

Friday

3. The Secretary of State for Trade will want to report the conclusion of the further negotiations with Spain on duty quotas for car imports from the Community. These have produced an improvement in the proposed quota on mid-range cars, which will now cover 5,000 cars at a tariff of 19 per cent. This represents an increase of 1,000 cars and a further 1 per cent tariff reduction and means that the new tariff will be virtually half the present rate of 35 per cent. The duty quota on upper-range cars remains 10,000 at a reduced tariff of 25 per cent. These quotas will be available to the Spanish subsidiaries of Community manufacturers or to the manufacturers' main distributors in Spain. The Spaniards also expressed the "firm hope" that they would introduce draft legislation on VAT this year so that its introduction could take place in 1984. They further expressed their intention of removing the discrimination on the maturing period for imported and domestic whiskies. The agreement records British Leyland's intention of opening talks on industrial collaboration with their Spanish associate Santana, the fact that the United Kingdom Government will engage its goodwill to minimise interference with the supply of Spanish cars to the British market, and that, barring unexpected developments, the British Government "should not intend to introduce further claims" about the operation of the 1970 EC/Spain Agreement. The Spaniards will be informing the Commission and other member states of their intentions before the Foreign Affairs Council on 14/15 March.

4. The two Council meetings during the past seven days do not require a report to Cabinet: the informal meeting of Development Ministers on 3 March had a preliminary discussion of the impact of falling oil prices on the Community's development policies, the Commission's preparation for the next Lomé Convention, and the reform of food aid; and the special meeting of the Agriculture Council on 8/9 March had a further discussion on the reform of the Mediterranean acquis.

5. During the next seven days, the Foreign Affairs and Agriculture Councils will meet on 14/15 March. The Foreign Affairs Council will prepare for the European Council meeting on 21/22 March, while the Agriculture Council will continue its consideration of the 1983 CAP price fixing. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will meet Commissioner Tugendhat on 10 March to impress upon him the need to work within the Commission for rapid progress on both the long-term and the interim solutions to the United Kingdom's budget problem so that firm decisions can be taken by the time of the June European Council.



ROBERT ARMSTRONG

9 March 1983



CONFIDENTIAL

P.0981

PRIME MINISTER

Northern Ireland: a new economic initiative

(E(83)6)

BACKGROUND

On 8 September 1982 the Committee considered a proposal by Mr Prior that there should be a new economic initiative in Northern Ireland (E(82)20th Meeting). Ministers were sympathetic to the Secretary of State's wish to announce new measures to assist the Northern Irish economy, but rejected one of his main proposals - a lower National Insurance Surcharge in Northern Ireland - and saw major difficulties in the other - a Corporation Tax Relief Grant. The Committee invited the Secretary of State to consider ways of increasing the assistance to Irish industry and commerce which would be less likely to provoke demands for similar treatment in Great Britain; and endorsed his efforts to hold down wages in Northern Ireland, relative to Great Britain, wherever possible.

2. In E(83)6, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland:
 - a. argues that, on economic, political and security grounds, there remains a powerful case for new measures to assist Northern Ireland;
 - b. reports action in hand on a number of subsidiary proposals to strengthen the Northern Ireland economy, and in reducing relative wage levels;
 - c. proposes again that the Government should introduce a Corporation Tax Relief Grant, a detailed scheme for which officials have now worked out;
 - d. proposes that industrial property should be completely derated in Northern Ireland and that an energy conservation scheme should be introduced; but that some of the other measures suggested in discussion last September (for example a transport subsidy) should not be further pursued.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

MAIN ISSUES

3. The Committee is asked to approve the following three main proposals:
- i. the introduction of a Corporation Tax Relief Grant in Northern Ireland;
 - ii. an increase in the derating of industrial property in Northern Ireland from 75 per cent to 100 per cent;
 - iii. the introduction of an energy conservation scheme in Northern Ireland.

You may also want the Committee to look again at the scope for reducing relative wage levels in Northern Ireland.

Corporation Tax Relief Grant (CTRG)

4. Mr Prior proposes that grant should be payable to reimburse up to 80 per cent of the corporation tax paid on profits arising in Northern Ireland. It would however be given only as a discretionary element in a selective financial assistance package, agreed between the Industrial Development Board or the Local Enterprise Development Unit and a potential investor. The amount of grant would depend on companies' success in meeting agreed job targets.

5. The Committee will need to be satisfied that the objections which it saw to this proposal last September have been met, ie:

i. that it amounts to having different tax rates in different parts of the United Kingdom;

(the reply is that the highly selective and discretionary nature of the grant avoids this difficulty; and that the Inland Revenue sees no operational problem)

ii. that it would provoke demands for similar arrangements in other parts of the United Kingdom;

(the reply is that specially generous incentives in Northern Ireland are

already accepted as justified; but the Secretaries of State for Scotland and Wales in particular will need to confirm that they see no difficulty)

iii. that it would require elaborate policing to prevent profit-shunting; (the reply is that satisfactory measures have now been worked out, although past experience suggests that Northern Irish departments and agencies tend not to have a strong enough bargaining position with potential investors or enough skill to impose and enforce tough conditions)

iv. that an incentive linked to profits would have a random effect; (the reply is that the grant is to be linked to achievement of job targets as well as profits; and that it is desirable to attract investors who are confident of their future profitability).

6. If the Committee accept that there are no serious objections to the proposal, they will finally need to satisfy themselves that Mr Prior is right in his belief that the new grant will be an attractive addition to Northern Ireland's shop window for potential investors.

Industrial derating

7. Industrial property is already 75 per cent derated in Northern Ireland, as compared with 50 per cent in Scotland, and no derating in England and Wales since 1963. The Committee saw no difficulty last September in an extension of industrial derating in Northern Ireland. They will however need to confirm that they do not think that 100 per cent industrial derating in Northern Ireland will make it difficult to resist pressure for some concession on industrial rates in Great Britain. Last September the Committee also encouraged Mr Prior to consider commercial derating in Northern Ireland but he has rejected it on cost grounds (even 25 per cent commercial derating, compared with none at present, would cost £16.6 million a year and the employment benefits are doubtful).

Energy conservation

8. Mr Prior proposes that grants should be paid, at a rate of 25 or 30 per cent



CONFIDENTIAL

of net cost, towards approved energy conservation schemes; and that the grant rate for converting oil fired boilers to coal should be increased to 50 per cent in Northern Ireland. (There is already a 25 per cent coal firing grant available throughout the United Kingdom; the Secretary of State for Industry has recently proposed that the closing date for applications should be extended from 31 March 1983 to 31 July 1983.) It is argued that, as well as generating employment in the construction industry, such a scheme would be consistent with national energy policy. However, as the Secretary of State for Energy may point out, the Government's general policy is that it is neither necessary nor desirable to subsidise profitable energy conservation projects; Mr Prior concedes that the scheme is a makeweight measure. The cost is estimated at around £4 million a year.

Public expenditure

9. Mr Prior proposes that he would meet the cost of industrial derating and energy conservation (about £10 million in a full year) from within the Northern Irish public expenditure block. He argues that the CTRG scheme should not lead to significant costs within the public expenditure planning period, and has undertaken that any additional expenditure generated by the CTRG in later years would be contained within the Northern Irish public expenditure block. We understand that Treasury Ministers are content with this assessment and will not oppose the Secretary of State's proposals on public expenditure grounds.

European Community

10. The proposed schemes would need to be notified to the European Commission. The Commission have hitherto been sympathetic to the problems of Northern Ireland, and it seems unlikely that they would raise serious difficulties; so far as CTRG is concerned they would no doubt bear in mind the favourable tax regime for manufacturing companies already in existence in the Irish Republic. Nevertheless, if the Committee supports the Northern Ireland Secretary's proposals it would be appropriate for officials to be instructed urgently to consider how the proposals should be cleared with the Commission. The need for notification would also have to be taken into account in any early announcement.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

(We understand that Mr Prior wishes to make an announcement within the next two or three weeks, although legislation would be necessary before industrial derating or a new energy conservation scheme could be introduced, and to ensure that a CTRG was not itself taxable.)

Relative wage levels in Northern Ireland

11. Last September Mr Prior undertook to do what he could to reduce wage levels in Northern Ireland relative to those elsewhere in the United Kingdom, for example by the measures discussed in the officials' report. These included directing assistance only to private sector firms which restrained wages, and trying more directly to break the link between Northern Irish and mainland wage rates in the public sector.

12. In paragraph 5 of E(85)6 Mr Prior reports that at Harland and Wolff the unions have agreed to accept "minimal wage increases" in the context of the Blue Star order. We understand that this refers to a future rather than an actual settlement and it would be useful to have Mr Prior's assessment of what the outcome is likely to be. The Committee may wish to explore whether there is more that could usefully be done about Northern Irish wage rates.

HANDLING

13. The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland will wish to introduce his proposals. You will want to invite comments from the Chief Secretary, Treasury, the Secretaries of State for Scotland, Wales and Industry (because of their regional policy responsibilities), and Mr Sparrow. The Secretary of State for Trade may wish to comment on the proposed Corporation Tax Relief Grant; the Secretary of State for the Environment on the proposal for industrial derating; and the Secretary of State for Energy on the proposed energy conservation scheme. The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, or his representative, may wish to mention the European Community implications of Mr Prior's proposals.

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

CONCLUSIONS

14. You will want the Committee to reach conclusions on:

i. whether a Corporation Tax Relief Grant should be introduced in Northern Ireland on the lines of the scheme in Annex C;

ii. whether industrial derating in Northern Ireland should be increased from 75 per cent to 100 per cent;

iii. whether an energy conservation scheme should be introduced in Northern Ireland on the lines proposed in paragraph 12 of Annex E.

Pg
CONFIDENTIAL
P L GREGSON

9 March 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

for E folder

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister
8 March 1983

MR. SCHOLAR

NORTHERN IRELAND: A NEW ECONOMIC INITIATIVE

The Secretary of State's proposal is to introduce (a) a Corporation Tax Relief Grant; (b) industrial de-rating to 100%; and (c) some energy conservation scheme. By these measures he hopes that unemployment will fall. The proposals may have some small effect in increasing employment in Northern Ireland. However, this will be mainly at the expense of the rest of the United Kingdom. CTRG is a way of subsidising capital in Ireland and one would expect that it would attract capital intensive rather than labour intensive industry. Indeed, on present evidence I cannot reject the hypothesis that it will in fact reduce employment in the United Kingdom as a whole and perhaps even in the Province! It would provide additional impetus for a substitution of cheap capital for expensive labour.

The Secretary of State rejects any attempt to depress wage levels in Northern Ireland which he describes as not a realistic option. This is a pity because the evidence suggests that in crucial industries the wages in Northern Ireland are considerably higher than those in the rest of the United Kingdom. For example, in textiles where traditionally Northern Ireland has had an advantage, the earnings for adult males at £125 per week exceeds that of all the regions of England and Scotland. On the average it is 10% more than the English earnings of £112.7 and almost 18% more than the Scottish level of earnings.

Similarly, in vehicles the average Northern Ireland earnings are £144.22 which is equalled only by Greater London, all the other regions have considerably less. In the North for example the earnings of £110.70 is far below the Northern Ireland level they have a premium over the North of more than 30%.

In chemicals and allied industries, the average earnings for Northern Ireland, ie £158.64, exceed all other regions including Greater London and often by a substantial margin. (All earnings figures are for October 1982 from the Earnings Survey.)

Because of the conditions in Northern Ireland it is very likely that productivity is not sustained at levels above that of the rest of the United Kingdom. Thus wage costs per unit of output must be extraordinarily high. And we must expect no substantial reduction
/in unemployment

CONFIDENTIAL

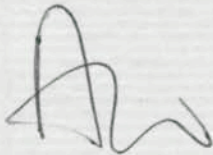
CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

unemployment until wage costs fall so that they are competitive with the rest of the United Kingdom and Europe.

Conclusions

It would be unwise to accept the proposals of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. They are wasteful and inefficient ways of trying to increase employment in the Province. We should ask the Secretary of State to bring forward measures such as were used on the proposed Blue Star order (you will recall that it was only on a suggestion from Number Ten that the Secretary of State introduced a wage constraint quid pro quo in the negotiations about the subsidy). Much more should be done along those lines. The Secretary of State, however, is not suggesting that CTRG is associated with a deal by the unions on wage constraint.



ALAN WALTERS

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 March 1983

European Parliament and Northern Ireland

The Prime Minister has noted the contents of your letter of 4 March in which you describe your Secretary of State's views on the initiative taken by the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord Chancellor, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Attorney General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

ALL COPIES

Derek Hill, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office

GRS 300A

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM COPENHAGEN 071810Z OF MARCH 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 63 OF 7 MARCH

INFO PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS ROUTINE OTHER EC POSTS AND UKDEL
STRASBOURG

YOUR TELNO 60 TO ROME: EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND NORTHERN IRELAND

1. I SPOKE ON 6 MARCH WITH HAAGERUP, VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKING GROUP CONCERNED WITH NORTHERN IRELAND. IN THE LATTER CAPACITY HE HAS VISITED NORTHERN IRELAND TWO OR THREE TIMES RECENTLY. AS BACKGROUND, HE EMPHASISED HIS EFFORTS OVER SEVERAL YEARS TO CONTAIN AND TO MODERATE PRESSURES FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT TO TAKE AN ACTIVIST ROLE. HE HAD DRAFTED THE PARLIAMENT'S 1981 RESOLUTION WHICH KNOCKED OUT MORE RADICAL DRAFTS AND WHICH SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES FROM THE PARLIAMENT'S SCRUTINY: HE STOOD BY THIS. HAAGERUP HOWEVER, SAW NO CHANCE OF REVERSING THE DECISION TO REPORT (WHICH HE HAD NOT HIMSELF SUPPORTED). INDEED, HE FEARED THAT THE PARLIAMENT'S ACTIVITIES COULD TAKE A MORE DAMAGING PATH IF THEY WERE CHOKED BACK NOW. THE THREE MOTIONS IN QUESTION (IT HAS NOT YET DECIDED HOW HOW TO HANDLE THE FOURTH) HAD SUCCESSFULLY BEEN KEPT OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE MORE ACTIVIST LEGAL COMMITTEE, WHERE THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE BEEN RAISED. HAAGERUP SEES A REPORT AS REGRETTABLE BUT INEVITABLE, IF HE WERE TO WRITE IT, (AS IN HIS 1982 REPORT ON SECURITY) HE WOULD COVER SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ONLY IN THE BACKGROUND, CONFINING HIS RECOMMENDATIONS TO GENERAL PRINCIPLES EG NON-VIOLENCE. HE WOULD ENVISAGE THE REPORT APPEARING IN NOVEMBER/DECEMBER (HOPING IT WOULD NOT BECOME AN ELECTORAL ISSUE).

2. HAAGERUP HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO YEILD TO PRESSURES FROM HIS OWN LIBERALS AND OTHER GROUPS TO BECOME RAPPORTEUR AND WILL PROBABLY NOT DO SO FOR A COUPLE OF WEEKS. HE SEEMED YESTERDAY TO BE IN TWO MINDS. HE LOOKS ON IT ALMOST AS A DUTY TO CONTINUE HIS WORK FOR MODERATION. BUT HE WILL LEAVE THE EP NEXT YEAR AND CLEARLY WONDERS WHETHER HE SHOULD NOW TAKE ON THIS DIFFICULT TASK. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT DO SO UNLESS HE FELT HE COULD STRENGTHEN THE CAUSE OF NON-VIOLENCE AND WAS ASSURED THAT HMG WOULD GIVE HIM SOME CO-OPERATION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WITHOUT GOING SO FAR AS TO LABEL HIM THEIR TOOL.

CONFIDENTIAL

13.

CONFIDENTIAL

3. I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TODAY TO SPEAK TO THE DANISH POLITICAL DIRECTOR (DYVIG) ABOUT OUR WISH THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO REPORT AND TO ASK HIM TO USE HIS INFLUENCE IN THAT DIRECTION. HE THOUGHT A REPORT UNAVOIDABLE AND TOOK THE VIEW THAT WE WOULD DO WELL IF HAAGERUP TOOK IT ON. MY OWN VIEW OF HAAGERUP (WHICH HIS COLLEAGUES AT THE RISS MIGHT CONFIRM) IS THAT, IF THERE MUST BE A REPORT, WE WOULD HAVE TO LOOK A LONG WAY TO FIND SOMEONE MORE ANXIOUS TO SOUND THE RIGHT NOTE AND BETTER EQUIPPED TO DO SO.

WARBURTON

LIMITED

ECD(1)

RID

LEGAL ADVISER

PS

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR ONSLOW

PS/PUS

SIR J BULLARD

MR EVANS

MR GOODISON

MR HANNAY

COPIES TO
MR BOYS SMITH SIL NIO
MR HANCOCK CABINET OFFICE

COPIES SENT TO
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

2

CONFIDENTIAL

Island

DISTRIBUTION
11/11/83

GRS 500

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM ROME 041235Z MAR 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NO. 120 OF 04 MAR 83
INFO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS AND ROUTINE PRIORITY OTHER EC POSTS

YOUR TELNO 059: EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND NORTHERN IRELAND

1. RUMOR WAS LEAVING FOR HIS CONSTITUENCY AND COULD ONLY OFFER AN APPOINTMENT AT 10.00 HRS THIS MORNING. GIVEN HIS POSITION AS A FORMER PRIME MINISTER (FIVE TIMES), I DID NOT THINK IT WOULD BE RIGHT FOR ME TO CALL ON HIM BEFORE PRESENTING MY LETTERS WITHOUT CLEARING THIS WITH THE HEAD OF PROTOCOL (WHO IN TURN WOULD PROBABLY HAVE WISHED TO CONSULT THE FOREIGN MINISTER). THERE WAS SIMPLY NO TIME TO DO THIS AFTER YOUR TUR ARRIVED THIS MORNING AND I THEREFORE ASKED THE MINISTER TO MAKE THE CALL ON RUMOR. ORLEBAR EXPLAINED THE POSITION TO HIM AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS SPEAKING ON MY BEHALF.
2. ORLEBAR TOOK RUMOR THROUGH ALL THE POINTS IN YOUR ORAL MESSAGE. HE ADDED ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT, HOWEVER WELL-INTENTIONED MIGHT BE THE ATTITUDE OF SOME OF THOSE WHO HAD VOTED IN FAVOUR OF A REPORT, ON PAST EXPERIENCE THE END RESULT COULD NOT POSSIBLY HELP TOWARDS A SOLUTION OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S PROBLEMS. NOR WAS IT EASY TO SEE HOW A PRECEDENT OF THIS SORT COULD BE WELCOME TO FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY, PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH THEIR OWN MINORITY PROBLEMS.
3. RUMOR PROVED TO BE FULLY ALIVE TO THE SENSITIVITIES AND DISPOSED TO BE AS HELPFUL AS HE COULD. HE REQUESTED THAT OUR APPROACH SHOULD BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL, IMPLYING THAT HE WOULD BE EMBARRASSED SHOULD IT BECOME KNOWN AND MIGHT BE FORCED TO TAKE UP A SOMEWHAT LESS HELPFUL POSITION IN PUBLIC. I HOPE WE CAN KEEP IT SO.
4. RUMOR REGRETTED THAT, WITH THE BEST WILL IN THE WORLD, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE CHAIRMAN OF THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE TO IGNORE ITS DECISION ON THE THREE RESOLUTIONS. BUT HIS ADVICE WAS TO PLAY THIS COOL AND LONG. NOTHING WOULD HAPPEN IN THE COMMITTEE UNTIL THE BUREAU OF THE PARLIAMENT HAD DECIDED WHETHER THE FOURTH (PAISLEY/TAYLOR) RESOLUTION SHOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE LEGAL COMMITTEE (WHICH HANDLES HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS AND HAS DEALT WITH EARLIER NORTHERN IRELAND RESOLUTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT) OR, LIKE THE OTHER THREE, TO THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. HE SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE TO OUR ADVANTAGE IF IT CAME TO THE LATTER COMMITTEE, WHERE IT WOULD BE LOGICAL TO GIVE IT PRECEDENCE OVER THE OTHER THREE RESOLUTIONS.

1 (THIS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

(THIS INGENIOUS PROCEDURAL SUGGESTION MAY BE WORTH PURSUING).
5. RUMOR SAID THAT THE COMMITTEE'S POINT OF REFERENCE WOULD BE THE RESOLUTION OF MAY 1981, AND HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT IT WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO PRONOUNCE ON CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS. IN STRASBOURG HE WOULD DISCUSS THE POSITION IN CONFIDENCE WITH LORD O'HAGAN, LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE GROUP ON THE COMMITTEE AND STILL (HE THOUGHT) CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF GROUP LEADERS WHICH WOULD APPOINT THE RAPPOREUR. THIS FACT SHOULD HELP ENSURE A SENSIBLE APPOINTMENT, SUCH AS HAGGERUP (UKREP BRUSSELS TELNO 785).

BRIDGES

LIMITED
ECD (1)
RID
PS
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR ONSLOW
PS/PUS
LEGAL ADV
SIR J BULLARD
MR EVANS
MR GOODISON
MR HANNAY

COPIES TO:
MR BOYS SMITH
SIL NIO
MR HANCOCK,
CABINET OFFICE

COPIES SENT TO
NO. 10 DOWNING STREET



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

John Coles Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Prime Minister

4 March 1983

A.J.C. 4/3

Dear John

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has seen a copy of Roger Bone's letter of 2 March about the resolutions of the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament on Northern Ireland.

Mr Prior was glad to note the outcome of the conversations Mr Hurd had in Bonn and of Mr Onslow's meeting with Lady Elles. He is sure it is right, as UKREP advise, not to make a formal approach to Mr Rumor, but he is very happy that Sir Michael Butler should convey a personal message.

The Political Affairs Committee's initiative is unwarranted and unwelcome, and it is essential that the Government maintains the position it has adopted, which Mr Prior set out in the House last week. It is probable that the issue will be a matter of continuing legitimate public concern. The future course of events is not certain at the moment. We have already been told by Mr Rumor that the Committee will not hold public hearings. And it has been confirmed that the Parliament still considers itself bound by the 1981 resolution not to interfere in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland. We do not want to excite the Parliament to do things which it would not otherwise do and we must not overlook the fact that if they do produce a report, however much we regret it, it is in our interest that it should be as little unhelpful as possible. Whatever the Parliament's lack of competence the report will be thought by some to carry a certain weight. So far, with the help of members of the EDG, we have managed fairly successfully to contain the European Parliament's interest in Northern Ireland affairs, and we do not want to weaken the long-term position of those who will continue to support our position. We should certainly consider any approach to member states or other action against that background.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord Chancellor, the Foreign Secretary, the Attorney-General and Sir Robert Armstrong.

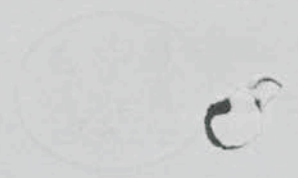
Yours ever

Derek A Hill

D A HILL

KW

Ireland. Situation. A-13



14 MAR 1963



CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

4 March, 1983.

European Parliament and Northern Ireland

The Prime Minister has seen your letter of 24 February containing preliminary legal advice with regard to the decision of the Political Affairs Committee of the European Assembly to make a report on Northern Ireland, Roger Bone's letter of 2 March containing advice on the political steps which we might take, and his further letter of 3 March containing considered views on the legal position.

The Prime Minister has noted the legal position as described in those papers. She has also noted that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will convey a message privately to the Chairman of the Political Committee asking that the Committee desist from their unwelcome initiative.

B/P/1
Mrs. Thatcher will be grateful to be informed of Mr. Rumor's response, and in general, would like to be kept closely in touch with this matter as it develops.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney General, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and Sir Robert Armstrong.

A. J. COLES

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

In the light of the legal
 advice, and the attached political
 advice which you saw last night,
 do you still want to have a
meeting on this subject next week?

3 March 1983

A.F.C. 3/3.

No

Yes John,

European Parliament and Northern Ireland

I wrote to you on 2 March about political steps to put a stop to the proposed report on Northern Ireland by the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament. I now attach a note on the legal position, with which the Attorney General concurs.

The advice offers little hope of our being able in the foreseeable future to institute successful proceedings against the European Parliament in the European Court of Justice. Nor do our Legal Advisers think it would be possible to obtain an order from the Court which would prevent or delay the Political Affairs Committee from proceeding with the decision of 23 February.

I am copying this letter to Jim Nursaw (Attorney General's Office) and John Lyon (Northern Ireland Office).

Yes sir,
 R B Bone

(R B Bone)
 Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
 10 Downing Street



THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: NORTHERN IRELAND

1. It appears that the decision adopted by the Political Affairs committee of the European Parliament may not be contained in any formal text. On the basis of the evidence available the committee seems to have recommended or decided that a report should be prepared on the situation in Northern Ireland. If this report were confined to those activities in Northern Ireland which fall within the scope of one of the Community treaties there would be no ground upon which to challenge its legal propriety. On the other hand if it were to deal with the internal political situation in Northern Ireland, going beyond the ambit of any of those treaties, it could fairly be said to fall outside the Parliament's powers. The object of this note is to consider whether, on the assumption that the Parliament has acted, or intends to act, ultra vires, it would be open to the United Kingdom to challenge the Parliament's action by instituting proceedings in the European Court of Justice.

2. It would not be open to the United Kingdom to bring an action against the European Parliament under Article 173 of the EEC Treaty or Article 146 of the Euratom Treaty, because those articles only allow the legality of acts of the Council or Commission to be reviewed by the Court. Nor could a direct
/action



action be brought under Article 177 EEC or Article 150 Euratom or Article 41 ECSC because those articles only allow references to the European Court to be made by national courts during the course of proceedings in the latter. There are no other articles in the EEC or Euratom Treaties which would give the European Court jurisdiction.

3. Under Article 38 of the ECSC Treaty the European Court may, on the application of a Member State, declare an act of the Assembly to be void. In so far as the European Parliament were acting as the Assembly of the ECSC its acts could therefore be challenged before the Court. If the action were successful the act would be declared void for the purposes of that treaty.

4. An application to the Court under Article 38 ECSC could only be made in order to challenge an "act" of the ^{Assembly?} Parliament. The European Court has not defined that term for the purposes of that Article, but it is reasonable to assume that it would attribute the same meaning to it as it bears in Articles 173 and 177 EEC. In connection with the EEC Treaty the European Court described "acts" as "all measures intended to have legal effects" in the AETR case, [1971] ECR 263 at page 276.

5. The action so far taken by the committee of the European Parliament is in no sense legislative in nature, and its

/decision



decision or recommendation that a report should be prepared
does not purport to create any legal rights or obligations.
It appears to envisage no more in the first instance than
the preparation of a discussion document. If at a later date
the European Parliament adopted some agreed conclusions
about the situation in Northern Ireland it might do so in the
form of a document called a "resolution", or it might give
the document some other title. Whatever the title, the
question would still be whether the document amounted to an
"act" for the purposes of Article 38 ECSC, and this would again
depend upon whether it was a measure intended to have legal
effects. Its exact terms would have to be considered before
any decision could be taken as to whether an action could be
instituted by the United Kingdom in the European Court.

F. Burrows

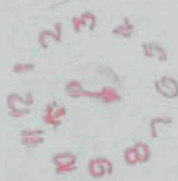
F Burrows
Legal Counsellor

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

3 March 1983



3 - MAR 1983





10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Prior says that
Mr. Concannon, having seen
Dr. FitzGerald in Dublin,
would like to come and have
a talk with you.

I know no more than this.
May we arrange?

Yes
A. & C.

3 March 1983



Prime Minister

The "legal" paper is still being considered by the Attorney's office. I have insisted that it must reach us without fail by Thursday night.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 March 1983

A.S.C. 2/3.

MS

John T. ...

European Parliament and Northern Ireland

John Holmes wrote to you on 24 February setting out the FCO's preliminary views on the legal position concerning the Political Committee of the European Parliament's decision to produce a report on the political situation in Northern Ireland and on action which the UK might take to prevent this.

We are pursuing the legal questions with the NIO and the Attorney General, as agreed in Cabinet on 24 February. This letter suggests what action we should now take at political level, on which we have consulted Mr Pym in the US.

First, Mr Hurd raised the question in the margins of the Political Co-operation Ministerial Meeting in Bonn on 1 March. He explained the strong resentment here. He asked his colleagues to use their influence to head off their MEPs. They took the point, though obviously we cannot expect much from the Irish. M. Thorn spoke very firmly indeed against the Committee's initiative. He said he had just endured the most uncomfortable press conference of his life in Dublin.

Second, Mr Onslow yesterday discussed with Lady Elles what we could best do with the Parliament itself to head this off. (She of course, like other EDG members, voted against the EP initiative.) Her clear advice is that, in seeking to head off this initiative, we need to avoid playing into the hands of those in the Parliament who are hoping to make public capital out of the issue. This, in turn, will be damaging to Northern Ireland. Mr Pym is sure that the right approach is to avoid dignifying the Political Committee action by giving it more weight than it deserves.

/What



What Mr Pym intends to do, therefore, as a first step, is to convey a message privately to the Chairman of the Political Committee, Mr Rumor, who has himself taken a rather helpful line, setting out very clearly our views, and asking the Committee to desist from this unwelcome initiative.

If the Committee nevertheless decides to go ahead, Mr Pym thinks that either he or the Prime Minister will have to write to colleagues in member states. But he thinks that we should recognise that most of them are in no position to exert the necessary control over their MEPs even if they wanted to do so. If we can stop the European Parliament's initiative by acting directly on Mr Rumor, that would therefore be a preferable way of proceeding.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Sir R Armstrong.

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12

2-11111 1923

The P.N. now does not want a meeting. M $\frac{4}{3}$.

(1)

PRIME MINISTER

European Parliament and Northern Ireland

You said today that you might want to have a meeting on this subject.

On 24 February Cabinet invited the Foreign Secretary "to consider urgently, in conjunction with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Attorney General, whether the European Parliament had power to undertake a Study of political and economic affairs in Northern Ireland and what the UK could do to prevent such a Study, and to report his conclusions as soon as possible".

I understand that Mr. Pym is being consulted overnight and that you should receive a paper tomorrow which takes matters further than the preliminary legal advice which you have already received.

The Foreign Secretary will not be back until next week. Would you like to wait until then or should we try to arrange a meeting this week?

Which of the following would you like to attend?

- An FCO Minister ✓
- Northern Ireland Secretary
- Home Secretary
- Attorney General ✓
- Lord Chancellor ✓

A.J.C.

1 March 1983

Ireland

PS
PS/MR HURD
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR GOODISON
... ..
... ..

PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS
SIR P WOODFIELD)
MR BRENNAN)
MR ANGEL) NIO
MR BOYS SMITH)
... ..
... ..

HD/RID
HD/PUSD (2)
HD INFO D
HD/NEWS D
... ..
... ..

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
DIO) CABINET OFFICE
... ..
... ..

PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

UNCLASSIFIED
FM DUBLIN 281001Z FEB 83
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 65 OF 28 FEBRUARY 1983
INFO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST)
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK
INFO SAVING TO EC POSTS

mf

NORTHERN IRELAND: SPEECH BY MR HAUGHEY

1. THERE WAS A LONG SECTION ON NORTHERN IRELAND IN MR HAUGHEY'S PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ON 26 FEBRUARY TO THE FIANNA FAIL ARD FHEIS. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS OF THE MAIN POINTS:

BEGINS

THE IRISH PEOPLE HAVE CERTAIN RIGHTS, THAT BELONG TO ALL NATIONS, IN PARTICULAR THE RIGHT TO THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF OUR COUNTRY, AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION. THIS IS A RIGHT THAT IS POSSESSED AND SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN COMMON BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND....

PEOPLE OF IRELAND....

THERE IS ALSO THE THEORY OF SOME BRITISH POLITICIANS THAT THE ONUS IS ON THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO WORK OUT THEIR OWN SOLUTION. THIS IS THE CONCEPT WHICH WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESENT ASSEMBLY, THE COMPLETE FAILURE OF WHICH IS NOW FULLY ACKNOWLEDGED. WHAT THIS THEORY IGNORES, HOWEVER, IS THAT UNIONISTS, SO LONG AS THEY ENJOY THE UNCONDITIONAL BRITISH MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GUARANTEE, HAVE NO INCENTIVE OR DESIRE TO REACH ANY ACCOMMODATION WITH ANYBODY OR PARTICIPATE IN ANY SOLUTION....

WHAT OUGHT TO HAPPEN NOW, AND IT CANNOT BE MUCH LONGER DELAYED, IS THAT THE TWO SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD COME TOGETHER AND CREATE A FRAMEWORK FOR A NEW POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

THE STARTING POINT FOR SUCH A NEW POLITICAL SETTLEMENT MUST BE AN ALL-ROUND CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO BE CONVENED ON THE BASIS THAT IT WOULD BE A PRELUDE TO A FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF BRITAIN FROM IRELAND WITHIN A STIPULATED PERIOD OF TIME, ENABLING THE IRISH PEOPLE NORTH AND SOUTH TO COME TOGETHER AND FREELY DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE. SUCH A MULTI-REPRESENTATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, WOULD WORK OUT THE CONDITIONS FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURES FOR THE WHOLE ISLAND....

IN FIANNA FAIL WE HAVE REPEATEDLY BY WORD AND DEED CONDEMNED VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AS HORRIBLE IN ITSELF AND UNACCEPTABLE AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING POLITICAL ENDS. WE ABHOR AS EVIL TERRORIST ATTACKS ON INNOCENT MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY, SECTARIAN ASSASSINATIONS, AND EXECUTIONS WITHOUT TRIAL. ALL THESE ARE MANIFESTATIONS OF A BREAK-DOWN OF THE NORMAL STANDARDS OF A POLITICALLY VIABLE STATE....

WE WOULD SUPPORT AS A VALUABLE FIRST STEP IN PREPARATION FOR THE FINAL CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT THE SDLP PROPOSAL FOR A COUNCIL FOR A NEW IRELAND. SUCH A COUNCIL COULD IN ADVANCE PREPARE AN OUTLINE PLAN WHICH WOULD COMMAND THE SUPPORT OF ALL SHADES OF NATIONALIST OPINION AND COULD THEN BE PUT BEFORE THE ALL-ROUND CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.

WHAT OF THE RIGHTS OF 900,000 NORTHERN UNIONISTS? THEIR RIGHTS ARE, AS THEY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN, THE SAME, NO MORE, NO LESS, THAN THE RIGHTS OF EVERYONE ELSE WHO LIVES ON THIS ISLAND. THEY HAVE AN INALIENABLE RIGHT TO HAVE THEIR INTERESTS AND THEIR VALUES GUARANTEED AND SAFEGUARDED. THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS WILL

TEED AND SAFEGUARDED. THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE VITAL.....

THE UNIONISTS OF THE NORTH ARE DEEPLY ATTACHED TO THIS COUNTRY WHERE THEY HAVE SUNK THEIR ROOTS, EVEN THOUGH IN SOME CASES THEIR PRIDE OF PLACE MAY BE CONFINED TO THEIR OWN PART OF IRELAND. IT SHOULD BE RECOGNISED THAT THEY AND THEIR ANCESTORS HAVE DONE MUCH TO BUILD UP THE NORTHERN PART OF OUR ISLAND, AND THAT THEIR RIGHTS ARE BASED NOT ON ANCIENT CHARTERS OF CONQUEST BUT ON CHARACTER AND PERSONAL EFFORT.....

ENDS

2. COMMENTS IN MIFT.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO EC POSTS.

FIGG

NNNN

SENT/RECD AT 281114Z CDC/BW

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM DUBLIN 251555Z FEB 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 64 OF 25 FEBRUARY 1983

PS TO PM. NO 10. DOWNING ST.

INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST, PRIORITY UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL STRASBOURG

WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK

INFO SAVING OTHER EC POSTS

UKREP BRUSSELS TELNO 785 TO YOU:

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND NORTHERN IRELAND:

REACTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

1. TODAY'S IRISH TIMES REPORTS THAT MR BARRY SAID LAST NIGHT THAT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S DECISION WAS IN LINE WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND THE ROLE OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS. HOWEVER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER IS ALSO REPORTED AS EMPHASISING THAT THESE WERE PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS. NO STATEMENT HAS BEEN ISSUED AND THE GOVERNMENT PRESS SECRETARY (PRENDERGAST) TOLD US TODAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE VERY HESITANT ABOUT MAKING SUBSTANTIAL COMMENTS AT THIS STAGE. THE GOVERNMENT CERTAINLY BELIEVED EUROPE SHOULD TAKE A HELPFUL INTEREST IN NORTHERN IRELAND (AS INDICATED IN DR FITZGERALD'S SPEECH IN BELFAST ON 27 JANUARY): BUT THIS PROPOSAL WAS STILL 'FAR FROM REAL'. IT WAS UNCLEAR WHAT MIGHT EMERGE FROM THE PROCEDURAL HOOPS IT HAD STILL TO GO THROUGH. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT WAS CAUTIOUS ABOUT BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AFFAIRS OF 'ANOTHER PARLIAMENT'. HE LEFT NO DOUBT THAT HOWEVER LAUDABLY 'EUROPEAN' IN IRISH EYES, THIS PROPOSAL COULD BECOME DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO HANDLE.

2. FIANNA FAIL'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN HAS WELCOMED THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S INITIATIVE AND SOME FURTHER OPPOSITION COMMENTS ON IT ARE LIKELY AT THE PARTY'S CONFERENCE THIS WEEKEND.

3. IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS PLAYING THIS CAUTIOUSLY. HOWEVER, THEY MAY WELL COME UNDER PRESSURE FROM FIANNA FAIL AND FROM THE SDLP. IN ANY MOVES WE TAKE IN RESPONSE TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S PROPOSAL, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO AVOID IF WE CAN ANY WHICH RISK EXPOSING INDEPENDENT DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH TO EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS BETWEEN US AND THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES.

FIGG

NORTHERN IRELAND

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

LIMITED

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

RID	PS/MR RIFKIND
NAD	PS/MR ONSLOW
INFO D	PS/PUS
WED	SIR J BULLARD
MAED	MR WRIGHT
NEWS D	LORD N GORDON LENNOX
SEC D	MR GIFFARD
FUSD	MR ADAMS
PS	MR GOODISON
PS/MR HURD	MR URE

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

EURO ASSEMBLY AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Although the early reportage of the Euro Assembly's plans for hearings has been acceptable I fear it will not be in later news bulletins and in the press tomorrow. A great deal of wedge driving is in train.

The problem, as you know, arises from the fact that Mr Prior did not stick to the statement issued to the press and left out the sentence: "Against this background the Government will give no (formal) assistance to the Committee in drawing up its report."

At the Lobby I was questioned, as was the Lord President before me, about this in view of the line I put out at the morning Lobby.

I said I could not explain why Mr Prior had not been as categorical as I said the Government was on not assisting the Committee. But there was no doubt about the Government's attitude. It was as follows:

"The Assembly has no right to discuss the internal political affairs of a member state.

The Assembly has itself recognised that it has no competence to make proposals to changes in the Constitution of Northern Ireland. Any conclusions the Committee may reach can have no practical effect.

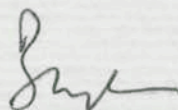
We will not provide any assistance to the Committee in drawing up its report.

We make every effort to ensure that Government policy on Northern Ireland is understood by our partners and in the Assembly."

On the last point I made it clear we would take every opportunity generally to get over our policies and position to MEPs. But there was no question of co-operation or assistance in an exercise which was beyond the Assembly's competence. There were many people who felt it was very important that the Assembly should be put in its constitutional place; some felt it was getting too big for its boots.

Under questioning two main points arose:

- why did I refuse to call the Assembly a Parliament when Mr Prior made a point in the House/^{of} calling it a Parliament? - Because some did not recognise it as a Parliament;
- surely the Assembly had competence to discuss economic issues? - Yes, we might be prepared to talk to them about shovelling money over for Belfast housing but that is not what they intend to talk about; I subsequently sent over to the Lobby the terms of the 3 Assembly resolutions.



B. INGHAM

24 February 1983

010

2

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

Preliminary advice. War

is continuing.

24 February 1983

A.J.C. 25/2

John

I have passed this comment on by phone

Dear John,

European Parliament and Northern Ireland

You asked for advice on two questions:

- i) What legal basis have we for saying that the European Parliament has no right to discuss the internal political affairs of a Member State; and
- ii) What action can the United Kingdom take to stop the Parliament doing this.

I enclose a note giving a short legal answer to these two questions. Its contents have been discussed at official level with the Law Officers' Department, the Treasury Solicitors and the Northern Ireland Office, but should not be taken as a definitive expression of their views. There may be a case for a fully-considered paper on the complex legal issues raised by this case.

The Political Affairs Committee of the Parliament have so far decided to make a report: we do not know yet how they will set about it. When the rapporteur appointed by the Committee produces his report, it will have to be discussed by the Committee. Only when the Committee has reached agreement will a draft Resolution be put to the Parliament as a whole. So it could in fact be some time before we know whether we are likely to be faced with a formal European Parliament Resolution on this question, and there will be a number of intermediate stages at which we will have opportunities to influence developments.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Sir R Armstrong.

Your ever

John Holmes

(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

1. (i) The European Parliament, as an institution of the Community, is required under Article 4 of the Treaty of Rome to act within the limits of the powers conferred on it by the Treaty. These powers consist of certain advisory and supervisory powers which are specified in the Treaty. They clearly do not extend to making a report on the internal political situation in the territory of a Member State.
- (ii) The answer to the second question is more difficult and must be subject to the views of the Law Officers. Under Article 38 of the ECSC Treaty, the European Court has power, on application by a Member State, to declare an act of the European Parliament to be void. In the present case, however, the action of the European Parliament of which we are complaining, consists of a decision of the Political Affairs Committee to make a report on the situation in Northern Ireland. Such a decision, which is essentially one internal to the Parliament, would not constitute an 'act' of a Community institution in the sense of the term used elsewhere in the Treaties and which has been held by the European Court as meaning an act which produces legal effects. Indeed, it is difficult to see how any decision of the European Parliament on this matter, which at worst would be likely to take the form of some kind of resolution, could constitute an 'act' and thus be capable of adjudication before the European Court. One must, therefore, advise that any action which the United Kingdom might bring against the European Parliament before the Court on the basis of Article 38 of the ECSC would almost certainly fail on this preliminary point.

2. Given that the European Parliament in preparing a report on the situation in Northern Ireland would, in our view, be acting ultra vires, it would be perfectly proper for the United Kingdom to refuse to cooperate with the European Parliament, eg by declining to provide written evidence or for officials to give evidence. Urgent consideration will need to be given as to whether there are any other steps which the United Kingdom could lawfully take to frustrate the work of the Parliament in this matter.

24 February 1983

MR JAMES MOLYNEAUX (Antrim South): To ask the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, if he will make a statement on the constitutional implications of the EEC's decision to interfere in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland.

MR PRIOR

The Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament decided yesterday to make a report on the situation in Northern Ireland on the basis of 3 motions for resolutions before it. No decision was taken on a fourth resolution, in the name inter alia of the hon Member for Antrim North.

The Government's view on this matter is clear. My hon friend the Member for Pentlands stated it in the House on Monday. The European Parliament has no business to discuss the internal political affairs of a member state. These resolutions, insofar as they cover such affairs, are therefore in our view not within the competence of the Parliament.

Moreover, any conclusion the Committee may reach can have no practical effect. Against this background the Government will give no [formal] assistance to the Committee in drawing up its report.

The decision of the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliament can have no constitutional implication for the United Kingdom. The Government was not in a position to prevent yesterday's decision, which we regret. It believes that neither its position nor that of this House is affected.

If those outside our control see fit to undertake enquiries, however misguided their decision may be, it does not follow that the formal position has been changed. It remains the Government's wish to promote the greatest possible understanding of its policy in Northern Ireland amongst our partners in the European Community in the Parliament and elsewhere, but this decision will do nothing to advance such understanding.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

24 February 1983

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 4 February 1983 with which you enclosed a copy of your Committee's publication "The Trade Union Alternative". You asked for a meeting with the Prime Minister.

I am afraid that Mrs. Thatcher's diary is already so committed that she is not able to meet your request. She understands that you have asked for a meeting with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to discuss your document.

The Prime Minister fully shares your concern at the high levels of unemployment in Northern Ireland and has asked me to assure you that the Government will continue to do all it can to alleviate the social and economic problems which exist in the Province.

A. J. COLES

T. Gillen, Esq.

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

John Coles Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

23 February 1983

Dear John

Type letter pl.

A.S.C. 24/2.

NORTHERN IRELAND COMMITTEE: IRISH CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

Thank you for your letter of 7[✓] February with which you enclosed a letter from Mr Tom Gillen, the Assistant to the Northern Ireland Officer of this Committee, requesting a meeting with the Prime Minister to discuss their views on economic policy as set out in their recent publication, "The Trade Union Alternative."

The Northern Ireland Committee of ICTU have also sought a meeting with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and his colleagues to discuss their proposals and Mr Prior has agreed to meet them within the next few weeks.

In the circumstances we would recommend that the Prime Minister decline the request for a similar meeting, and I attach a draft letter along the lines of which you may care to write to Mr Gillen.

Yours ever

Derek Hill

D A HILL

Encl

22 FEB 1963

121 NM 4
100 1 60

DRAFT LETTER FROM PS/PRIME MINISTER TO:

T Gillen Esq
Irish Congress of Trade Unions
Northern Ireland Committee
11a Castle Arcade
BELFAST
BT1 5DG

February 1983

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 4 February, 1983 with which you enclosed a copy of your Committee's publication 'The Trade Union Alternative'. *You asked for a meeting with the Prime Minister.*

I am afraid that

diary is already so committed

Mrs Thatcher's ~~engagements for the foreseeable future~~ mean that *is not your request.* she would ~~not be~~ able to meet you to ~~discuss the social and economic strategy for Northern Ireland which your Committee sets out in the publication.~~

She understands that you have ~~now~~ asked for a meeting

~~The Prime Minister feels that your document would best be discussed with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland with whom I understand you have already sought a meeting.~~ *to discuss your document.*

The Prime Minister fully shares your concern at the high levels of unemployment in Northern Ireland and *has asked me* ~~is anxious~~ to assure you that the Government will continue to do all it can to alleviate the social and economic problems which exist in the Province.

AS $\frac{24.}{2}$



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR
NORTHERN IRELAND

22 February, 1983

The Home Secretary
Home Office
Queen Anne's Gate
London
SW1E 9AT

*Await Home
Secretary's
response*

Dear Sir

*18
22/2*

CRIMINAL INJURIES COMPENSATION FOR SERVICEMEN'S WIDOWS

I have noted with interest the recent correspondence about the absence in the Criminal Injuries Compensation scheme in Great Britain of a provision we have in Northern Ireland to make a discretionary payment to widows and children in fatal criminal injuries cases. This is undoubtedly a source of potential embarrassment in Great Britain and I can see merit in correcting the anomaly. But I agree with Michael Heseltine that it would be difficult to justify special arrangements which only benefit the families of servicemen.

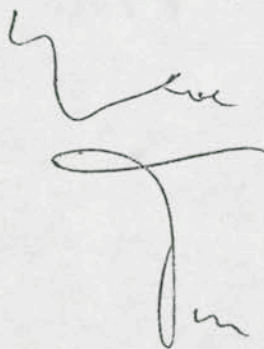
With the notable exception of the discretionary payment, both the Northern Ireland and the Great Britain schemes are broadly comparable in scope and terms of compensation and there is therefore considerable merit in moving towards harmonisation of the schemes. But it would not be acceptable for this to be achieved by dropping the discretionary payment provision in Northern Ireland compensation law. Discretionary payments were introduced in Northern Ireland in 1977 because of circumstances which were then unique to the Province but which now unfortunately have a parallel in Great Britain, albeit on a much smaller scale. At that time there was considerable disquiet at the principle of deducting from compensation any social security benefits or pensions which became payable due to the victim's death. The discretionary payment, which is payable to widows of servicemen and civilians alike, was designed to mitigate the "harshness" of the statutory deduction of collateral benefits. This payment may be said to constitute an element of double payment from public funds but is in line with actions for damages brought privately both in Northern Ireland and in Great Britain where the courts take no account of State pensions or benefits a widow may receive in deciding compensation awards.

I would add to what Michael Heseltine says in his letter of 8 February about bereavement and discretionary awards that in my view these awards should be regarded as quite distinct. Discretionary payments are directly associated with the assessment of

/... a widow's

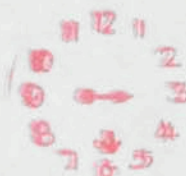
a widow's financial loss due to her husband's death whereas a bereavement award is an entirely distinct payment, unconnected with pecuniary loss, which is intended to compensate the next of kin for their grief. Indeed a review of criminal injuries compensation law in Northern Ireland is shortly to be undertaken, during which the question of whether provision should be made for bereavement awards will be examined. If however it is decided to include bereavement awards in the compensation scheme, it does not naturally follow that provision for discretionary payments will be dropped.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Geoffrey Howe and Michael Heseltine.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. Howe', written in a cursive style. The signature is located in the center of the page, below the typed text.

Island : Schmal 14 B

2 FEB 1983



GRS 250

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON 172319Z FEB 83

TO PRIORITY F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 386 OF 17 FEBRUARY

INFO PRIORITY NIO BELFAST, NIO LONDON, ROUTINE CG NEW YORK,
BIS NEW YORK, DUBLIN

MY TELNO 338: NORTHERN IRELAND: ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE

1. SENATOR MOYNIHAN, THE SENIOR SENATOR FROM NEW YORK, HAS TODAY
ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON THIS YEAR'S ST PATRICK'S DAY
PARADE:

QUOTE WITH SORROW, BUT WITHOUT REGRET, I WILL NOT MARCH IN THIS
YEAR'S ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE. THE PARADE'S GRAND MARSHAL HAS
SAID THAT THIS WILL BE A PRO-I R A PARADE. AS I REJECT WITHOUT
QUALIFICATION THE VIOLENCE OF THE PROVISIONAL I R A WHICH DOES SUCH
GREAT DISSERVICE TO THE CAUSE OF IRISH UNITY, I CANNOT
PARTICIPATE. I BELIEVE IRELAND SHOULD AND SHALL BE UNITED BY
PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC MEANS. I URGE CONCERNED AMERICANS TO JOIN IN
SUPPORTING CONSTITUTIONAL EFFORTS TO EASE TENSION IN NORTHERN
IRELAND AND END THE DIVISION OF THE IRISH PEOPLE. UNQUOTE

2. MOYNIHAN'S OFFICE HAVE TOLD US IN CONFIDENCE THAT THEY HAVE
BEEN IN TOUCH WITH CARDINAL COOK (THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF NEW
YORK) TO TRY TO PERSUADE HIM NOT TO TAKE PART IN THE PARADE.
MOYNIHAN'S OFFICE SAY THAT, WHILE THE CARDINAL'S HEART IS IN THE
RIGHT PLACE, THEY ARE NOT ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENT THAT THE CARDINAL
HAS TAKEN A FIRM DECISION TO DISSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM THE PARADE.
WHILE ANY OVERT INTERVENTION BY US WOULD BE VERY UNLIKELY TO HAVE
THE DESIRED EFFECT, IT OCCURS TO US THAT A MESSAGE FROM EG.
BISHOP CAHAL DALY TO CARDINAL COOK EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH WILL NOT BE ASSOCIATED WITH THIS YEAR'S PARADE
MIGHT HELP CARDINAL COOK TO COME TO THE RIGHT DECISION.

WRIGHT

**NORTHERN IRELAND
LIMITED**

RID
HAD
INFO D
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SEC D
PUSD
PS
PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/MR ONSLOW
PS/FUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
LORD N GORDON LENNOX
MR GIFFARD
MR ADAMS
MR GOODISON
MR URE

**ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND**

**THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED**

CONFIDENTIAL

GPS 450
RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

FM CONSUL GENERAL NEW YORK 152200Z FEB 83
TO PRIORITY FCO
TEL NO 12 OF 15 FEBRUARY 1983
AND TO PRIORITY NIO BELFAST NIO LONDON
INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON
AND INFO SAVING TO DUBLIN CG ATLANTA CG BOSTON CG CHICAGO
CG CLEVELAND CG DALLAS CG DETROIT CG HOUSTON CG LOS ANGELES
CG SAN FRISCO CG SEATTLE

NORTHERN IRELAND: GUN RUNNING TRIALS

THE TRIAL OF MEGAHEY, DUGGAN AND THE MEEHAN BROTHERS ON CHARGES OF SHIPPING WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION TO IRELAND SCHEDULED TO START ON 14 FEBRUARY IS NOW EXPECTED TO OPEN IN NEW YORK TOMORROW OR THE NEXT DAY.

2. THE DEFENDANTS APPEAR TO HAVE FAILED IN VARIOUS ATTEMPTS TO PUT OFF THE TRIAL. THE JUDGE HAD ALREADY LAST MONTH REFUSED TO ALLOW A PLEA THAT THE COURT SHOULD INVESTIGATE A CLAIM THAT THE MEEHANS WERE NOT GUILTY BY REASON OF THEIR MENTAL CONDITION FOLLOWING ALLEGED TORTURE DURING INTERNMENT IN LONG KESH PRISON. THE DEFENCE EVIDENTLY EXPECTED THAT THE JUDGE WOULD GRANT AN INDEFINITE POSTPONEMENT FOLLOWING THE SURRENDER AT THE WEEKEND OF MCPARLAND, A FIFTH ALLEGED CONSPIRATOR, WHO IS NOW IN NEW YORK. JUDGE SIFTON HAS RULED THAT MCPARLAND SHOULD BE TRIED SEPARATELY.

3. THERE IS ALREADY CONSIDERABLE MEDIA INTEREST IN THE TRIAL WHICH IS EXPECTED TO LAST AT LEAST A MONTH AND POSSIBLY AS LONG AS THREE MONTHS. THE DEFENDANTS ARE REGARDED AS BEING IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE JRA HIERARCHY AND THE TRIAL IS SEEN HERE AS A TEST CASE BOTH BY NORAIID AND THE FBI FOLLOWING THE SURPRISING ACQUITTAL OF THE DIRECTOR OF NORAIID, MICHAEL FLANNERY, AND HIS CO-DEFENDANTS LAST NOVEMBER. IN THIS PRESENT CASE THE DEFENCE IS LIKELY TO DEPLOY THE ARGUMENT WHICH PROVED SUCCESSFUL FOR FLANNERY THAT THE DEFENDANTS DID NO WRONG BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THEY HAD TACIT CIA ACQUIESCENCE IN THEIR ACTIVITIES.

4. THERE IS A LINK BETWEEN THE PRESENT TRIAL AND THE CONVICTION IN DUBLIN ON 27 JANUARY OF PATRICK MCVEIGH OF BELFAST AND JOHN MOLONEY OF NEW YORK AND LIMERICK TO SEVEN AND THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT RESPECTIVELY FOR THEIR PART IN THE CONSPIRACY TO RECEIVE THE SAME ARMS SHIPMENT. MOLONEYS BROTHER, FATHER PATRICK MOLONEY, ARRESTED WITH THE OTHERS, WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED WITHOUT CHARGE. HE HAS SINCE BEEN ACTIVE IN FUND-RAISING AND PICKETING OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH CONSULATES GENERAL IN NEW YORK UNDER NORAIID AUSPICES.

RESTRICTED

15. DUGGAN

RESTRICTED

5. DUGGAN, THE ONLY US CITIZEN ON TRIAL, IS A MEMBER OF OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 14, PART OF THE POWERFUL GROUP OF CONSTRUCTION UNIONS. HE IS A PERSONAL FRIEND OF SEAN CRONIN, THE WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT OF THE IRISH TIMES. HE HAS BEEN ELECTED DEPUTY GRAND MARSHALL OF THE NEW YORK ST PATRICKS DAY PARADE, A MOVE NO DOUBT DELIBERATELY INTENDED TO INCREASE POLITICAL DEBATE ABOUT BOTH THE TRIAL AND THE PARADE IN THE LIGHT OF PUBLICITY GIVEN TO FLANNERY'S ELECTION AS GRAND MARSHALL (WASHINGTON TELEGRAM NO 338).

C IN ADDRESS SHUD READ CG SAN FRANCISCO
C WA 4. THEIR

FCO PASS SAVING TO DUBLIN

OVERTON

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

NORTHERN IRELAND
LIMITED

RID
HAD
INFO D
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SEC D
FUSD
PS
PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/MR ONSLOW
PS/FUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
LOED N GORDON LENNOX
MR GIFFARD
MR ADAMS
MR GOODISON
MR URE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

2

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

dc RS AP

- 4 pps.
refs attached



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

TELEPHONE 01-218 9000
DIRECT DIALLING 01-218 2111/3

MO 21/17

8th February 1983

must have Secretary's
response

blf

TF
9/2

De Witte

CRIMINAL INJURIES COMPENSATION FOR SERVICEMEN'S WIDOWS

As you may be aware, there has been an exchange of correspondence between Jerry Wiggin and Patrick Mayhew about a difference between the criminal injuries compensation arrangements for Northern Ireland and those for Great Britain which is likely to be unfavourably highlighted by the Hyde Park and Regent's Park bombings in July last year. In his letter of 29th October 1982 Jerry Wiggin explained his own and my predecessor's concern at the possibility of the widows of the Servicemen killed in those incidents receiving no compensation or considerably less compensation than they would have received if the incidents had occurred in Northern Ireland. He proposed a limited extension of the Great Britain arrangements to cater for this problem in order to forestall the inevitable outcry. In his reply of 4th January 1983 Patrick Mayhew explained why he was unable to countenance this proposal and suggested an alternative solution: that the Ministry of Defence should make discretionary ex gratia payments as necessary to the widows concerned on the same basis as under the Northern Ireland scheme. In his letter of 7th January 1983 Leon Brittan said that such a solution would be acceptable to the Treasury. While I accept that we may be driven to take this course as a last resort, I have considerable misgivings about it in view of the wider implications. I therefore feel that we need to give this matter further thought, perhaps



collectively, before we can conclude whether it is the least objectionable solution.

My concern stems mainly from the partial nature of the proposed expedient: while it may cater for our immediate problem, it does so in a way which could expose us to future presentational and political problems and criticism. While Servicemen may be more exposed than other members of the community to the risk of terrorist incidents in this country, one cannot exclude the possibility of incidents involving the death of civil servants, policemen, firemen, bomb disposal men or ordinary civilians. In that event how could we justify making discretionary payments on Northern Ireland lines only to the widows of Servicemen but for none of these other groups? I cannot see that this could be convincingly explained in a way likely to satisfy public opinion. In making provision only for Servicemen's widows we would simply be creating further anomalies. Moreover, since it would be seen as recognition of an inadequacy in the existing Great Britain arrangements, it lays us open to the charge of failing to rectify that in full.

Clearly these objections can only be met by aligning the arrangements for Northern Ireland and Great Britain. It seems to me that the suggestion in Patrick Mayhew's letter that the Northern Ireland arrangements should be rationalised and discretionary payments replaced by bereavement awards is not at present a practical means of achieving this objective. Bereavement awards have been set initially at £3,500 for Great Britain, whereas the amount which can be paid under the discretionary arrangements for Northern Ireland has only recently been increased to £10,000. If the discretionary payments were to be replaced by bereavement awards, they would presumably need to be set at £10,000 for Northern Ireland and the disparity of treatment would remain. It seems to me that the most proper and satisfactory course would be to recognise that the circumstances which gave rise to the introduction of discretionary payments are not - unfortunately - special or peculiar to Northern



Ireland; that there is no good reason why the widows of those killed by criminal acts in Northern Ireland should enjoy preferential treatment; and to improve the Great Britain scheme so as to ensure comparable treatment in comparable circumstances.

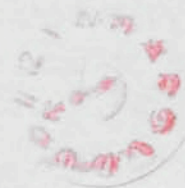
It appears from the figures quoted in Patrick Mayhew's letter that the annual extra cost of such a general extension of the Great Britain scheme is not a significant drawback. And I am not clear why it should be necessary to make such an extension retrospective to 1979, with the extra cost and administrative problems which that would entail. We hope that it would be possible to make it retrospective to July 1982 so as to cater for the incident which gave rise to this review of the arrangements. But is it necessary to go beyond that? Moreover, I cannot see much force in the objections on grounds of principle which have been raised. The arrangements for both Great Britain and Northern Ireland already involve some departure from the practice of the courts in civil cases. Since this has already been sanctioned and since there appears to be no technical difficulty about modifying what are essentially administrative arrangements, there should surely be no insuperable objection to the course which I am advocating here. Could I therefore ask you to reconsider this matter in the light of the points made in this letter? I very much hope that you could accept that the advantages of applying the Northern Ireland discretionary arrangements outweigh the disadvantages.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, Geoffrey Howe and James Prior.

Yes

Michael Heseltine

18 FEB 1960





hues

R07
Ireland

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 February, 1983

NORTHERN IRELAND COMMITTEE: IRISH

CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from Mr Tom Gillen of the above Committee. You will see that he requests a meeting with the Prime Minister to discuss 'The Trade Union Alternative', a publication just launched by the Committee (I enclose a copy).

You will recall (my letter of 6 September to Mike Hopkins) that the Committee requested a meeting with the Prime Minister earlier. On that occasion the Prime Minister accepted your advice that she should decline.

I should be grateful for advice and a draft reply which I can send to Mr Gillen on behalf of the Prime Minister.

A. J. COLES

John Lyon, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office



Shue

KW

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 February, 1983

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 4 February. Your letter is receiving attention and a reply will be sent to you as soon as possible.

A. J. COLES

T. Gillen, Esq.,

**IRISH CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS
NORTHERN IRELAND COMMITTEE**

4 February 1983

1/9 Castle Arcade Belfast BT1 5DG. Tel: 0232-241452

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. M. Thatcher MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
10 Downing Street
London W.C. 1

Dear Prime Minister

THE TRADE UNION ALTERNATIVE

DF 12
You will be aware that the Northern Ireland Committee ICTU requested a meeting with you some time ago, to discuss the economic situation in the Province.

Unfortunately, your office indicated that you could not agree at that time to a meeting. The NIC.ICTU did, however, write to say that it would be renewing that request.

You will see that I have enclosed a number of copies of the Committee's publication (launched yesterday) 'The Trade Union Alternative' which outlines proposals for job creation in Northern Ireland as well as ways which could be used to help alleviate some of our more acute social problems.

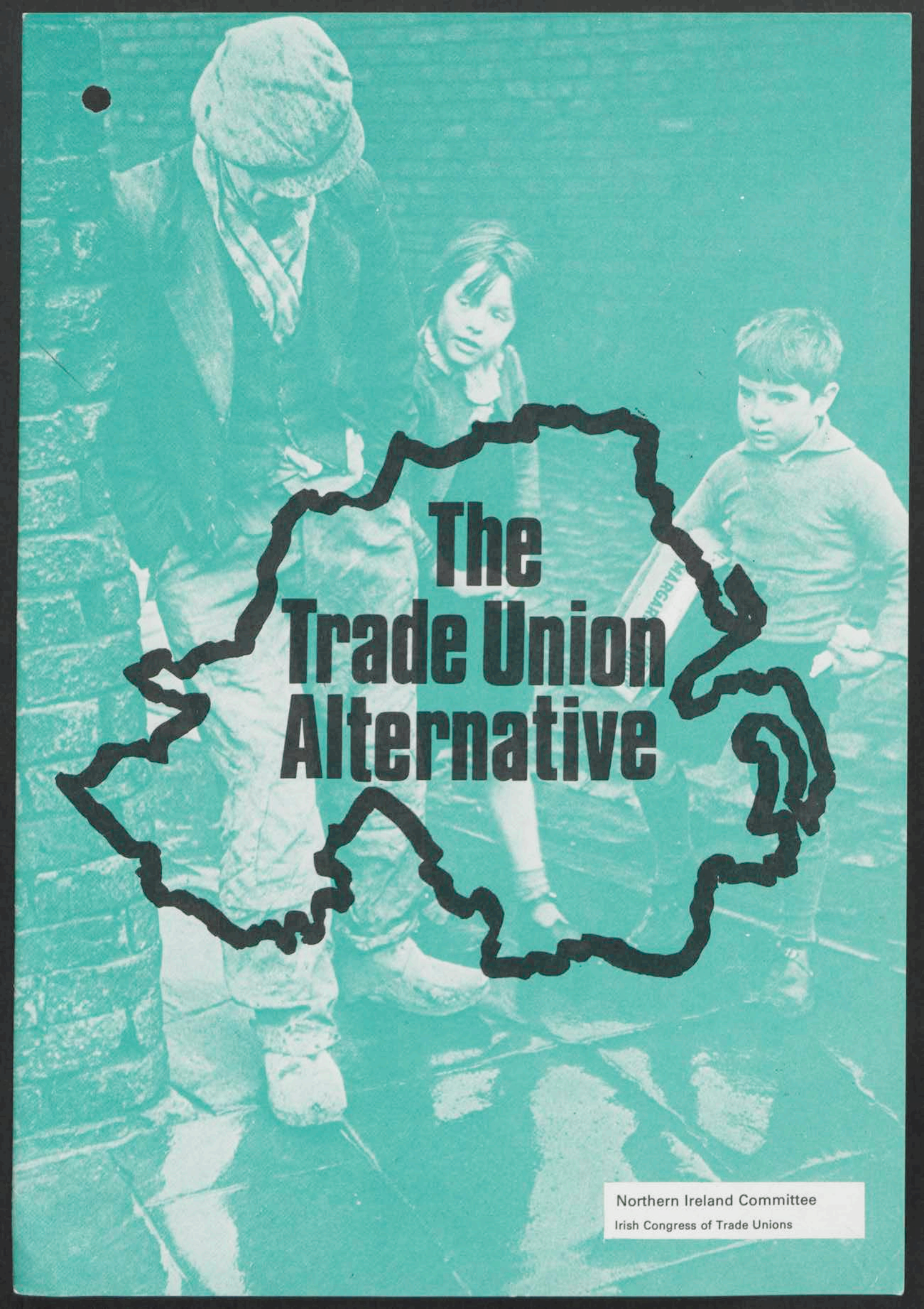
The Northern Ireland Committee ICTU would now wish to formally request a meeting with you to discuss the document in detail.

I hope you will agree to our request this time as the background on which it is being made is one of ever-increasing unemployment and social deprivation in Northern Ireland.

Yours faithfully

Tom Gilen

T. GILLEN
ASSISTANT TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICER



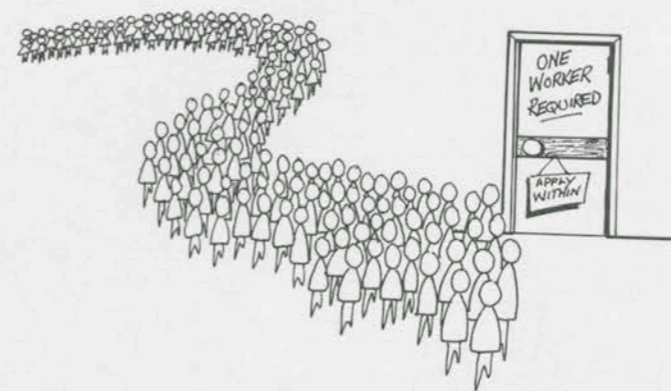
The Trade Union Alternative

Northern Ireland Committee
Irish Congress of Trade Unions

Introduction

1.1 When the Conservative Government was elected at Westminster, the Northern Ireland Committee predicted that the application of monetarist policies to Northern Ireland would produce disastrous consequences. When it met the Prime Minister in August 1980, the Committee reiterated that view, and described the then level of unemployment as a "crisis of unemployment... far in excess of the problem in other areas of the United Kingdom".

1.2 In retrospect, the predictions which were made then were under-estimated. No matter how much the Government attempts to bluff the figures by introducing worthless schemes, or changing the basis of the statistics, the harsh reality is that nearly 200,000 people, one-third of our total workforce, are being denied full-time work. Nearly half of those who are unemployed in Northern Ireland have been so for more than a year. On the basis of the Government's own, reduced, figures of the registered unemployed, there are 140 unemployed people for every registered job vacancy. Of the registered unemployed, nearly 20,000 are under the age of 19. No other region of the UK has an unemployment problem with this scope or this intensity.



1.3 Associated with the rapid increase in unemployment has been an unprecedented rate of industrial decline. The index of output for all industries is now 15 points lower than it was in 1975, with half of that decline occurring in the twelve months up to the third quarter of 1982. During the same period, output in textiles has declined by a quarter and in engineering, by 10%. Our industrial decline is dramatically illustrated by the fact that there are now 30,000 more people on the dole than at work in manufacturing industry. It may well be that the industrial base of Northern Ireland has moved to a point beyond which recovery is impossible.

1.4 Consequent upon these other changes, the levels of poverty in Northern Ireland have significantly increased. Policies to limit public expenditure have reduced the spending power of social benefits and, in a region where retail prices are disproportionately high, the effect has been to create a dramatic fall in living standards. Public expenditure cuts have further reduced the capacity of social agencies to deal with major social problems. School inspectors fear a sharp drop in educational attainment, and schools are experiencing shortages in essential supplies such as books and equipment.

The school meals service has been severely hit by the cuts, thus creating further problems for parents, teachers and children alike. The failure to invest properly in education means that even in the 1980's, half of Belfast's primary schools were built before the start of this century. The Housing programme, which is required to deal with the levels of unfit housing, has not yet materialised from the Housing Executive or the Department of the Environment. Even the sale of public sector dwellings has still not produced the resources that would be required to overhaul our antiquated housing stock and the Housing Executive have recently announced a reduction in its building targets for 1983. In the area of health care, there has been a visible increase in infectious diseases which the National Health Service had all but wiped out. The NHS has consistently failed to pay decent wages to the people on whom we all depend for providing good health care. All in all, the situation is bleak and the population of Northern Ireland is in danger of falling into despair.

1.5 For this reason, the Northern Ireland Committee has felt it necessary to produce a social and economic strategy. We believe it imperative that the people of Northern Ireland are shown that there is an alternative to the monetarist experiment which is destroying their lives. The choice is stark. Government either accepts a programme such as ours to halt the rapid decline in the economy, or else it spells out to the people of the Province that there is no hope of recovery during the rest of the decade, or even longer.

1.6 The core of this programme is an industrial strategy. With the devastation of the manufacturing sector of the economy referred to earlier, there is clearly a major need to restructure the entire industrial base. However, we do not limit ourselves exclusively to an industrial strategy, but also propose a social programme. Our proposals attempt to resolve the crisis by dealing with the social problems which it generates. The Government proceeds in vain hope that if the social cost of the crisis is allowed to escalate, then conditions for profitable investment will be recreated. The CBI hold the view that the channelling of social welfare expenditure to industrial development purposes offers the best prospect for recovery. We decisively reject both stand-points. Only by tackling **both** unemployment **and** poverty and by ensuring a major public investment in industrial development, can we simultaneously move the economy from the depths of recession and alleviate some of the social problems. Whilst this document refers only to proposals for Northern Ireland, we regard them as being the application of the TUC's Alternative Economic Strategy to the social and economic problems of the Province.

1.7 Some of the items in this Programme require immediate action and are capable of being implemented at an early date. Others such as the review of benefits referred to in Chapter 2, will have permanent effects as long as retail prices in the Province continue at a higher level than in Britain. On the other hand, the Planning Framework outlined later in the report, could be established now, but it

would almost certainly require adaption and development over a period of years.

1.8 As for the cost of the Programme, it has not been possible to calculate it in detail due to factors such as the influence of the number of people claiming social security benefits at any given time. We admit that the cost would seem to be substantial but compared with one billion pounds already committed for the Social Security Programme this year, our proposals are relatively modest.

We believe the money is available, irrespective of Government claims to the contrary.

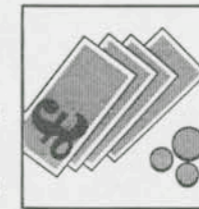
The current and additional commitment by Government to the people of the Falklands are now believed to be costing £1½ million per person! The bill for purchasing nuclear weapons from abroad would pay for this Programme many times over, and would radically change the present economic situation throughout the UK if spent on other programmes instead.

The issue therefore is one of priorities, and our priority is to bring some relief and some hope to the people of Northern Ireland, so that all can enjoy a reasonable standard of living and have reasonable prospects of finding employment.

2 An Interim Programme

2.1 Combat Poverty Programme

2.1.1 There is a recognition by the EEC that Northern Ireland is one of the most deprived regions of the European Community, and for this reason, it is prepared to make available funds which positively discriminate towards the Province to help compensate for its disproportionately high levels of social and economic deprivation. It officially has the status of a region of highest priority for assistance under the Regional and Social Funds. It is now time that the same level of recognition was accorded within the UK's own funding, and this should be in the form of a **Combat Poverty Programme specially designed to meet the needs of the people of Northern Ireland.**



2.1.2 The rate of benefits for the unemployed clearly illustrate the problem. The unemployed are discriminated against, since they receive only the lower, short-term rate of benefit which can mean a difference of £25 per week for a family of four. Since Northern Ireland has more unemployed and more lasting unemployment, the total effect of the different rates is very considerable, as is the extra poverty which results from this discrimination against the unemployed.

2.1.3 The level of social security benefit in Northern Ireland does not take any account of the higher cost of retail prices in the Province. Hence, the benefits are inadequate and many people find themselves faced with ever-increasing debts. The level at which benefits are paid must be raised so that parity of living standards with the rest of the UK can be achieved. Thousands who have found themselves without a job are forced to live below the poverty level and so one of the most important demands would be the immediate extension of the long-term rate of benefit to all claimants.

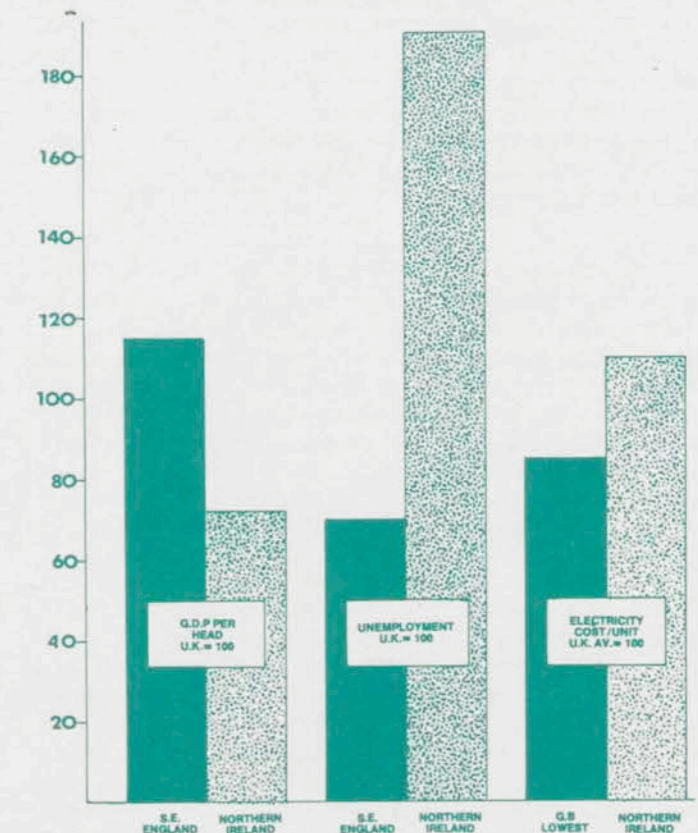
The problem with social security benefits is not solely identified with the inadequate rates, but also with the manner in which these are administered. The stigmatising and discretionary nature of the system has led to a lower take-up of benefits in Northern Ireland, and it is time that this problem was tackled with real determination rather than half-hearted P.R. stunts. Due to the complexity of the Social Security system, many people do not know what their entitlements are. This has been confirmed by projects which have been carried out in Belfast by Welfare Advice workers which have proved that for an initial minimum outlay of money, a large sum has been returned in the form of better take-up amongst claimants.

There is a great need for improvement within the Social Security offices themselves, with the establishment of special sections committed to helping claimants get their full entitlement to benefits. These should be manned by experienced and trained officials.

These are just some of the examples of administrative improvements which could be made immediately. In the longer-term, the whole system needs to be overhauled, given the fact that we are now reaching the stage that for a large number of the population of the Province, social security has become an inevitable and key feature in their lives.

2.1.4 One of the largest problems which has received scant attention and needs to be dealt with immediately in a Combat Poverty Programme, is the problem of fuel poverty in Northern Ireland due to the higher cost of fuel which people in the Province have to pay. For example, over half the householders in the Province rely on electricity for cooking and four out of every ten use electricity in some form of heating. The present subsidy arrangement only guarantees to keep electricity prices in line with the **highest** prices in Britain.

Effectively, Northern Ireland is top of the league for fuel prices and bottom of the league for family income. Poverty and debt are the inevitable consequences.



For a brief period under the last Labour Government, the special problems of hardship caused by fuel prices were recognised by the payment to Supplementary Benefit claimants of a higher rate of fuel allowances in Northern Ireland as compared with the rest of the UK. The present Government lost no time in stopping this special allowance to the deprived in our community. **Subsidies must therefore be given to bring fuel costs into line with average prices in the rest of the UK.**

Two special needs groups require extra fuel and should not find themselves living below the poverty

line as a result. Consequently, free units of electricity for instance could be given to the elderly and to Social Security claimants with small children. Again, the problem does not just lie with the need to increase subsidies, but equally with the manner in which the system is administered. A reassessment of the Code of Practice on electricity and gas disconnections is urgently required.

2.1.5 Another major problem in Northern Ireland is the crisis within the housing market. The sale of public sector houses has meant that many estates have become segregated between the better-off and worse-off tenants. Far from segregating public sector tenants in this manner, a policy of integration throughout the public sector is essential to combat poverty. For that reason, public sector sales must be stopped and an immediate programme of new starts established by the NIHE directed towards achieving a target of 10,000 new homes each year. In order to give some hope to the 32,000 on the waiting list, the Belfast Area Needs Project should be expanded throughout the rural areas. Equally, it must be recognised that the blight in Belfast has as much to do with urban renewal and urban repair as it has to do with the troubles. Those areas which have been designated as redevelopment areas many years ago, and for which nothing has been done since, now deserve to be included in the special needs category. Special housing projects could also be included in a Combat Poverty Programme, particularly for groups with extra needs such as single parents, the elderly and the handicapped.

2.1.6 The lack of any statutory day care facilities must be tackled as a matter of high priority. Two-thirds of single parent families are forced to live on social security due to the lack of these facilities. By the time they pay for child-minding costs and for transport out of their low wages, the incentive to go to work in the first place has been removed. Day care is an essential service and if the Government is not prepared to provide these facilities, then at least they should be prepared to meet the child-minding costs.

2.1.7 This programme has outlined some of the ways in which statutory funding could help those in need. It should be pointed out however that voluntary organisations should also receive an increase in resources, since they are at the firing line of many of the problems already mentioned, and for some, an immediate response is often demanded. Both the statutory and the voluntary sector organisations have an important role to play in developing a full-scale well-coordinated Combat Poverty Programme, with the objective of eradicating this scourge from our community.

2.2 Urgent public sector investment is required in a number of areas such as:

Housing; Energy; Transport; Education; Manpower Services; Health and Social Services; Environmental Services.

Our proposals for some aspects of an interim programme are outlined in the remaining paragraphs of this section.

2.3 Housing

2.3.1 The present housing programme is inadequate and will remain so, even if the long-talked of EEC subvention ever actually materialises. The three main areas of concern are:

- (i) inner-city renewal;
- (ii) post-war estate improvements especially in Belfast;
- (iii) inadequate rural housing.

2.3.2 The NIC has long advocated that the target for new starts should be 10,000 per annum. The dramatic slump in new starts in the last few years makes the target even more necessary now than when we first formulated the target. The Chairman of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive has warned that whilst some improvements were recorded in the ratio of fit/unfit houses during the 1970's, cut-backs in the housing programmes of more recent years have meant that these small gains will be wiped out unless housing programmes are sustained and improved.

2.3.3 We recommend the allocation of an extra £150m to the housing programme. This would be spent primarily on the development of a nationalised Housing Corporation. The tradition of private contracting for public house building has not resulted in any significant improvement in the condition of the Northern Ireland housing stock.

2.3.4 We envisage the Housing Corporation as having responsibility for all public sector house-building and it would have a role to play in other aspects of house-building and maintenance wherever private contractors fail. It would be a fully-fledged Corporation, adequately resourced, and operating within the framework of legislation designed to facilitate its tasks. Thus, the Community Land Act would be rigorously applied to ensure the availability of land space.

2.3.5 The Corporation would act as a major back-up to the work of the Housing Executive by providing land and undertaking building programmes for the Executive. We remain firmly committed to the principle of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive as the central housing authority for the Province. It should retain its current responsibilities as the central housing management organisation such as ensuring adequate standards in construction, repair and maintenance, and housing allocation.

2.3.6 We believe that 10,000 new public sector houses are required each year and suggest that only an adequately financed Housing Corporation, working in conjunction with the Housing Executive, would have the capacity to provide these.



2.4 Energy

2.4.1 Northern Ireland's industrial fuel costs have been reckoned by the National Economic Development Working Party to be some 7% higher than in Britain. While Government has recognised the problem to some extent in establishing a relationship between domestic electricity prices and those of the highest GB region, this is insufficient. To be able to say to an investor that "It has been worse in the past and we took some action" is a very weak reply to his more immediate concern that "Northern Ireland's energy prices are the most expensive in the UK".

2.4.2 Consideration needs to be given to the best use of our existing capacity and among the matters which should receive attention are the efficiency of our existing stations, the timescale and nature of replacements, the fuel-mix taking into account the various possibilities such as oil/coal dual firing, lignite in Antrim, tidal power from Strangford, and hydro schemes on the Bann.

2.4.3 We urge Government to adopt a positive policy towards the gas industry in the Province, and to fully exploit the opportunities presented by the availability to the Province of natural gas from Kinsale to revitalise the industry and make this fuel available to people at a much reduced price. A Northern Ireland Gas Authority should be established as a matter of urgency, and it should be charged with expediting the supply and distribution of natural gas to the Province.

2.4.4 With the recent reports of large deposits of lignite in the Province, particularly in Co. Antrim, there should be a detailed investigation of the possibilities of this fuel making a major contribution to the energy needs of Northern Ireland. This investigation should include a full review of the job creation possibilities in processing the lignite as briquettes for domestic and industrial consumption, as well as the contribution that such fuel could make to our power stations in order to reduce our dependency on oil.

2.4.5 A new energy programme should be established on (a) equalising fuel prices in Northern Ireland to the average of the rest of the UK; (b) ensuring the most efficient use of existing generating plant; and (c) designing the system best suited to Northern Ireland. We recommend that an additional £150m be allocated for the programme.

2.5 Education

2.5.1 Education provision has suffered to some extent from changes in population movements which have created surplus capacities in some areas and shortages in others. Crude statistics on teacher/pupil ratio disguise these problems and do not make adequate allowances for deficiencies in specialist areas for which extra provision is required.



2.5.2 There are two areas which, in our view, require additional capital expenditure urgently. These are:

- (i) provision for the under-5's which is well below the GB average;
- (ii) Further Education Colleges to accommodate existing needs and new demands arising from YTP projections.

Un-met existing demands are especially evident in Belfast where the Education and Library Board has been seeking to establish another Further Education College for some time, and in North Down, where provision of suitable permanent accommodation has not kept pace with the growth of student numbers resulting from the very significant increases in the population of that area over recent years.

2.5.3 We recommend that major educational issues, so far ignored in Northern Ireland, be seriously evaluated. A new approach to education must be based on a comprehensive system of education at secondary level. Furthermore, the priority given, in educational terms, to disadvantaged schools, is completely inadequate.

There is a clear need for adopting a policy of positive discrimination towards schools in deprived areas, based on the concept of educational priority areas which, while not perfect, nevertheless provides a basis for allocating additional resources. We also believe that the educational input to all new training and manpower programmes should be directly linked to the process of job creation.

2.5.4 The concept promoted by this Government that ancillary services in education can be cut back without harming the standards of education is absolute nonsense. Children cannot reasonably be expected nowadays to undertake their education in half-cleaned, poorly maintained and ill-equipped schools. We demand a restoration of all the services in education which have been cut such as equipment budgets, the school meals service, classroom assistants and maintenance programmes.

2.5.5 We recommend an additional allocation of about £15m in this sector to tackle the immediate issues outlined above, and a firm commitment to tackle the fundamental structural re-organisation of education.

2.6 Health and Social Services

2.6.1 Numerous reports have demonstrated that the health care problems of the Northern Ireland population are disproportionately greater than those in the rest of the UK. For example, the Baird Report showed a serious problem of infant mortality and other hazards to the life of children under one year. Other health indicators demonstrate that Northern Ireland has critical problems of health care. Although more per head is already spent in Northern Ireland on health care, a much greater effort is needed to up-grade the health standards of our population to normal levels. We oppose the run-down of existing hospitals, and demand a new capital investment programme in



health. We further recommend that additional resources be allocated to preventative health care problems.

2.6.2 The programme should include a major expansion of the network of health centres which should not be regarded merely as "doctors' surgeries" but should provide a reasonable range of health care such as routine ante- and post-natal clinics, health education etc.

2.6.3 Furthermore, the home-help service should be treated for what it is — an essential service to assist people such as the elderly in being able to remain in their own homes at a reasonable standard. For many of those who receive assistance from home-helps, there is only one other option open, namely to place them in hospital or old people's homes. The cuts in the service must be restored.

2.6.4 We recommend an additional £10m be allocated for these aspects of the Health and Social Services programme.

2.6.5 One major project which has been postponed is the Antrim Area Hospital. The current estimates of the first phase, together with the residential and support centre, is roughly £30m. We recommend that the project be brought forward for an immediate start.

2.7 Enterprise Ulster

2.7.1 Enterprise Ulster has a limited legal life-span which has been renewed until March 1986. Whilst this extension is welcome, the legislation providing for the organisation should be amended to provide it with a five-year rolling life-span.



2.7.2 Enterprise Ulster is a well-established organisation and should receive priority for allocation of resources in preference to ad hoc employment schemes.

2.7.3 To restore Enterprise Ulster's finances to their 1979/80 value they would require to be brought up to £18m approximately, and at the estimated man-year costs, this would increase the present number of places from 1500 to 3000.

2.8 Industrial Development

2.8.1 The Industrial Development Board will have oversight of £90m approximately in this financial year. If the Board does no more than make minor adjustments to the previous work of NIDA and the Department of Commerce, we can expect returns of a similar order — minor improvements in the job creation effort!



2.8.2 If we are to make dramatic improvements in the job creation effort, we must be equipped with major additional resources within which the Board can decide its own priorities.

2.8.3 We would recommend that priority be given in an expanded budget to:

- (i) maintenance of employment in, and development of, existing companies;
- (ii) development of trade support services such as marketing, financial and other advisory services;
- (iii) development of sectoral programmes; and
- (iv) the attraction of complete enterprises as opposed to mere assembly or manufacturing branch plants.

2.8.4 We recommend doubling the present budget with a clear target for the Board of at least double the existing job creation targets. We do not conceive a successful industrial development strategy without the extensive creation of new public firms. A market intelligence unit could provide information on what projects might sell in what markets. These can be produced even if under licence by new public firms. Public sector enterprises should not be regarded as a last resort as in the current legislation, and the IDB guidelines. If we can identify projects which would be useful to establish in the Province, we should get on with the job as quickly as possible. If, in the course of that, the public purse stands most or all of the risk, then it is only but right that the public purse should also stand to gain the benefits when they accrue. The development of industry, whether public or private, should be a major feature of the planning process outlined in Part Three of this document.

2.8.5 The additional resources required would be about £90m.

2.9 Rail Transport

2.9.1 Our proposals in this field relate mainly to capital development in the railway network. The programme should provide for linking the system in Belfast by completion of the cross-city line; electrification of the Belfast commuter lines, and modernisation of the rolling stock. We believe that the provision of new capital investment in transport should go hand-in-hand with the extension of public control. This could be achieved either by a national transport organisation, having shares in the holding companies for transport, or by fully nationalising the transportation network.



2.9.2 We recommend the allocation of £20m to this programme.

2.10 Roads

2.10.1 There are certain key routes which must be improved if the infrastructure of the Province is going to allow development of areas outside Greater Belfast.



2.10.2 There have been two recent announcements on main route improvements, namely, part of the Antrim/Ballymena road to dual carriageway (no starting date — cost £8m) and Tinkers Hill on the Belfast/Newry Road (cost £1.5m, start 1984/85). Both of these projects,

together with the completion of the second carriageway on the Banbridge By-pass, should be brought forward to start as soon as possible.

2.10.3 Three other main schemes deserve attention, all of which are important for the development of the West of the Province.

2.10.4 The main Belfast/Londonderry route (A6) requires up-grading between the end of the M22 and the Roundabout west of Castledawson, and in the environs of Dungiven. In both cases, high standard, single carriageway roads similar to the improved sections, would seem appropriate.

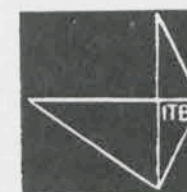
2.10.5 The main road to Enniskillen needs improvement on a number of stretches from Ballygawley to Enniskillen.

2.10.6 We recommend the commencement at an early date of the Strabane By-pass.

2.10.7 We also recommend the allocation of £40m for these routes which are each of strategic importance in the infrastructure of the Province.

2.11 Industrial Training

2.11.1 Government has decided to press ahead with the Youth Training Programme in Northern Ireland a year ahead of Britain, and the NIC has decided to give the scheme qualified co-operation. If the Province is a suitable location for experimenting with such a scheme, it should also be considered for much more radical training and re-training programmes designed to equip all young people, adult workers and the adult unemployed with knowledge and skills for future as well as existing industries.

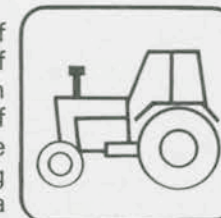


2.11.2 We recommend that Government initiate a major development in industrial training programmes to bring them up to the standards of the very best in Europe such as Germany or Scandinavia. We believe that the Industrial Training programme should be integrated with a structured plan for the development of the whole economy. Industrial training would then not simply be a device for concealing levels of unemployment, but a programme designed to optimise manpower inputs into the process of economic development.

2.11.3 This would entail both capital and revenue expenditures of the order of £100m and would give the Province a well-trained workforce capable of adapting quickly to the technological-based industries of the future.

2.12 Agriculture

2.12.1 The Quigley Report of 1976 foreshadowed the loss of many thousands of jobs in agriculture. Regrettably, many of those job losses seem to have taken place in the intervening years. Nevertheless, it remains a vitally important industry employing approximately 15% of the workforce directly and indirectly, and has the added attraction of being based on utilising our own natural resources.



2.12.2 There are a number of immediate issues which should be undertaken such as the extension of the Less Favoured areas scheme with an increase in the funds for the scheme. Consideration should also be given to building an EEC grain intervention store in the Province so that our intensive sectors of pig and poultry production could benefit from reduced transport costs which currently impose a major burden on these sectors. By making it an EEC intervention store supplying the whole of Europe, jobs in other industries such as haulage and shipping could be protected.

2.12.3 The real potential for developments, however, lie in increased processing with additional added value in various parts of the food industry. While some studies have been undertaken in the past on meat processing, dairy products and horticulture, we are not convinced that these studies have been pursued with sufficient vigour by the Department and the centralised agencies on the one hand, or on the other, by the agricultural industry itself. Neither are we convinced that the marketing effort was sufficient to exploit the opportunities which have existed.

2.12.4 We recommend that an urgent examination of the previous study be undertaken with a view to drawing up an "action-checklist" pinpointing areas of further research and development which are required, and setting out proposals to remove any stumbling blocks such as deficiencies in marketing, problems in the structure of the industry etc.

3 A Framework for Planning Economic Development in Northern Ireland

3.1 The primary economic aim of Government policy in Northern Ireland should be the creation of the maximum volume of employment in Northern Ireland in the private and public sectors of the economy. Such an objective will require the establishment of an improved planning framework, based on a five-year rolling economic plan. Each year the Government should publish an economic assessment containing the targets for increasing net employment in the following 5 years by:—

- (a) the Industrial Development Board (IDB), covering the private sector and the nationalised industries, but excluding public services;
- (b) the Local Enterprise Development Unit (LEDU), covering the small business sector; and
- (c) the public services.

3.2 As the job targets should be set in net terms, the assessment must provide estimates of the number of job losses anticipated in the following 5 years. Furthermore, allowance must be made for the shortfall between the number of jobs promoted and the number of jobs actually created.

3.3 The target should be more sophisticated than a single figure for each year. For IDB and LEDU, the target should indicate which types of manufacturing or service activity or occupations are considered to be especially desirable and for which areas of the Province higher levels of incentives are to be provided.

3.4 The targets should be fixed after the Government has consulted with relevant organisations. The assessment should detail the funds that the Government will make available for achieving the targets, but the Government should also be committed to finding additional funds if it is possible to exceed the employment targets in any one year. If the IDB, LEDU or the Economic Council have reservations about the job targets or financial provisions determined by the Government, they should be published in the economic assessment.

3.5 The assessment should also contain an analysis of the extent to which targets fixed in earlier years have been achieved. This section of the assessment should include explanations from the IDB and LEDU, explaining why they have been able, or not been able, as the case may be, to achieve their targets and their recommendations for improved performance in the future, if appropriate.

3.6 While the emphasis in this section is largely on manufacturing and private services, we believe that there is a responsibility on Government to develop and formulate its plans for the public sector in the same way. It should set employment targets for the various public services and public corporations.

3.7 The incentives available for new businesses in manufacturing and private services or the expansion or re-equipment of existing businesses should be restructured so that they are more closely related to the aim of creating the maximum number of man-years of employment. To this end, there should be a move away from subsidies for plant, equipment and buildings towards employment grants based on the net effect that a project will have on employment in Northern Ireland.

3.8 It is now widely accepted that because of the particular circumstances that have prevailed in Northern Ireland over the last few years and the changes in the world economy, efforts which are directed chiefly at attracting national and multi-national companies to establish plants here are unlikely to make a significant in-road on our unemployment problem. A further point which must be borne in mind is the fact that overseas projects are much more costly to public funds than indigenous projects. This means that our efforts in other directions must be intensified by the IDB. To be successful, the IDB must adopt a more affirmative role in identifying marketing opportunities for new products or services which would preserve or expand employment opportunities here.

3.9 With regard to new products and services, the IDB should encompass the "listening station" for new developments proposed in the Economic Council's report on "Advanced Technology". A new product or service is, of course, of no assistance unless it is marketable. The IDB would therefore need to ensure that it develops a high level of marketing expertise, not only to assist the IDB in determining whether there is likely to be a market for new products or services identified by the "listening station", but also to spot new marketing opportunities for Northern Ireland establishments which already have the necessary expertise. In the latter connection, the practice of manufacturing the products of companies outside Northern Ireland under licence should be more vigorously explored.

3.10 In seeking the means to exploit the opportunities presented by new products or services or new marketing opportunities, the IDB should avail itself of the full range of its powers, including enterprises jointly sponsored by the IDB itself and existing Northern Ireland establishments and enterprises wholly owned by the IDB. In order to ensure proper accountability for taxpayers' money, and in order not to burden a new project in its early stages with large sums of interest, the IDB should take an equity interest in new ventures and insist on having its nominees on the Board of Directors, where appropriate. As projects change and develop, the nature of the IDB's involvement should be reviewed to ensure that its involvement is the most appropriate to up-to-date circumstances. In certain cases, however, the level of assistance provided by the IDB will be a high proportion of the total investment in the

ject. In these cases, the degree of involvement of public money would justify the IDB taking a permanent equity interest.

3.11 If a new direction is to be given to the drive for economic development, a case exists for reviewing the existing arrangements for attracting overseas projects. In particular, the effectiveness of working through diplomatic channels should be re-examined. Consideration should also be given to developing trade support organisations such as a marketing board and a more attractive export credit guarantee scheme. The development of support systems for existing industry should, in our view, have received a higher priority than the expansion of the inward investment drive announced shortly after the IDB was formed.

3.12 In deciding what levels of assistance to offer for a new project or an expansion, the primary criteria should be:—

- (a) the net increase in man-years of employment;
- (b) the area of the Province in which the project is to be located; and
- (c) the extent to which it would strengthen the base of the Northern Ireland economy.

3.13 With regard to the criterion of the net increase in man-years of employment, obviously the most important factor is the viability of the project. This should be assessed after taking into account the

saving to the public purse of the reduction in social security payments and the increase in revenue from income and other taxes and national insurance contributions. A project should be judged to be viable if after the initial injection of assistance it is likely to be able to at least "wash its face".

3.14 The areas of the Province for which higher levels of assistance are to be available should be published and should be shown to be justified against a set of indicators of the degree of deprivation. For this purpose, it may be possible to develop the factors used by the EEC to decide on which areas should be especially favoured.

3.15 A measure of the extent to which a project will help to broaden the base of our economy will be the degree to which it will generate additional indirect jobs over and above those normally generated by a new project. If the prospect of additional indirect jobs is uncertain, this criterion should only be given weight if the expertise to be developed as a consequence of the project is highly desirable.

3.16 In rescue cases the IDB has authority to act within specified financial limits. If in the view of the IDB, these limits should be exceeded, a recommendation can be made to the Minister whose decision should take into account the full social and political implications. A separate budget should be maintained for these cases.

4 Conclusions

4.1 We referred earlier to the cost of the Programme. Government's immediate response will inevitably be to claim that we cannot afford to spend more money. In our view, the Programme could be partly financed by re-ordering some economic activities, both locally and nationally.

4.2 The financial institutions in Northern Ireland still enjoy a healthy financial surplus and a greater proportion than has previously been the case should be re-invested in the Province.

4.3 At national level, steps must be taken to stem the massive outflow of capital currently going for investment abroad.

4.4 Furthermore, there is a need to reverse the recent distortion in the priorities in public expenditure which has seen an increasing proportion of the country's wealth being committed to the defence programme including nuclear weapons.

4.5 Most economic commentators have recently expressed the view that Government is currently considering substantial tax cuts. It is clear, however, that the motivation stems more from the desire to make popular early preparations for the next General Election than from any assessment of the need to get the economy moving. Whilst there are times when tax cuts can be used beneficially to help stimulate the economy, they cannot be expected to make the same impact in the depths of the recession as would a direct employment-generating stimulus to the economy. If the Chancellor is deciding to give a stimulus to the economy, he should bear in mind whether or not cutting taxes is the most effective way of doing so.

4.6 Government must realise that the threat to existing jobs continues to loom large. To expect the remaining textile, clothing and footwear industries to continue to survive without further protection in the form of tighter import controls, is unrealistic. Wherever competition is as clearly unfair as it is in

those sectors, then we have a right to take action to protect our remaining companies.

4.7 The criteria against which a set of proposals, such as those contained in this document should be judged, can be summarised in two simple questions:

- How will the proposals help?
- Will they improve the quality of life for the people of Northern Ireland?

In our view, they will have a number of immediate benefits:—

- ★ They would create 40,000 jobs in a relatively short period. This, in itself, would immediately reduce the cost of the programme by about £150m in terms of Social Security benefits saved and National Insurance and tax revenue generated.
- ★ They would represent the first concerted attack on the twin evils of unemployment and poverty in this Province.
- ★ They would generate hope in a community battered and bruised by violence and deprivation.
- ★ They would create a climate in which the Province would be a better location for investment by:—
 - breaking the downward spiral of decline and despair;
 - tackling the problem of high energy costs;
 - gearing up the infrastructure of the Province for an uptake in the economy;
 - improving the planning framework for economic and industrial development.

4.8 If a programme such as this is not adopted, the present decline of the economy will accelerate to a condition which the Quigley Report rejected in 1976 viz a deprived area with a low standard of living, low economic activity and high levels of emigration.

4.9 In other words, the alternative is to accept that the only future condition for the Province is a dead and decaying economic wasteland. Our people deserve better than that!

NOTES

published by the

**Northern Ireland Committee
Irish Congress of Trade Unions**

January 1983

Ireland

PS 8	PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS	
PS/MR HURD	MR WOODFIELD)
PS/PUS	MR BRENNAN)
SIR J BULLARD	MR ANGEL)
MR GOODISON	MR BOYS SMITH)
...	...	
...	...	
HD/RID	SIR R ARMSTRONG)
HD/PUSD (2)	DIO)
HD/INFO D	...	
HD/NEWS D	...	
...	PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (2)	
...		
RESIDENT CLERK		

NIO



CABINET OFFICE

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

MS

GRS 510
 UNCLASSIFIED
 FM DUBLIN 281625Z JAN 83
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 39 OF 28 JANUARY 1983
 AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO (LONDON) AND NIO (BELFAST)
 INFO SAVING TO WASHINGTON BIS NEW YORK AND UKREP BRUSSELS

NORTHERN IRELAND: SPEECH BY TAOISEACH

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY DR FITZGERALD AT QUB, BELFAST, ON 27 JANUARY:-

" BELFAST HAS BEEN DEFINED AS ONE OF THE FIRST TWO AREAS IN THE COMMUNITY FOR AN INTEGRATED OPERATION BUT THE ADVANCEMENT OF THIS IS VERY SLOW. THE CONTROVERSY REGARDING THE POUNDS STERLING 16 MILLION SET ASIDE FOR AN APPROVED HOUSING PROGRAMME IN BELFAST MUST BE RESOLVED URGENTLY. OUR GOVERNMENT HAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN PUTTING FORWARD THIS PROPOSAL AND I BELIEVE THAT OUR EFFORTS CONTRIBUTED TO THE DECISION OF AT LEAST ONE KEY MEMBER STATE TO REVERSE ITS INITIAL OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSAL..... TONIGHT ALL OF US, FROM BOTH PARTS OF IRELAND AND FROM BRITAIN, CALL ON THE OTHER MEMBER STATES AND ON THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY TO APPLY ALL EXISTING RESOURCES - AND TO DEVELOP NEW RESOURCES IF NECESSARY - TO HELP THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS. I COMMIT THE RESOURCES OF MY OWN GOVERNMENT TO THIS CONTINUING ENDEAVOUR.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SHOULD "INTERFERE" IN NORTHERN IRELAND OR SEEK TO DICTATE SOLUTIONS TO THE VERY COMPLEX CRISIS IN THIS COMMUNITY. WHAT IT (NEXT WORD UNDERLINED) DOES MEAN IS A CONCRETE, MASSIVE COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS AND CONSENSUS. THERE IS AN ABSOLUTE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT FOR SOME SOLUTION THAT WILL DISSOLVE THE IMPASSE THAT THREATENS THE VERY SURVIVAL OF THIS SOCIETY.

THE IMPASSE THAT THREATENS THE VERY SURVIVAL OF THIS SOCIETY.

SECOND, THIS MEANS THE UNITED AND UNMISTAKABLE OPPOSITION OF THE COMMUNITY TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE. THE UNANIMOUS MESSAGE OF EUROPE TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS: MURDER IS MURDER, IT HAS NO MORAL OR POLITICAL JUSTIFICATION AND WILL ENJOY NO TOLERATION. MY GOVERNMENT AND THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE IRISH STATE ARE TOTALLY COMMITTED TO THIS PRINCIPLE.

THIRD, THIS MEANS AN UNDILUTABLE COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. THE CITIZENS OF NORTHERN IRELAND ARE CITIZENS OF EUROPE. THEY ARE ENTITLED TO ALL THE RIGHTS ENSHRINED IN THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH REPRESENTS A COLLECTIVE GUARANTEE AT EUROPEAN LEVEL OF A NUMBER OF PRINCIPLES SET OUT IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

FINALLY, THIS EUROPEAN COMMITMENT MEANS ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR THE POLITICAL PROCESS, HOWEVER UNPROMISING, FRUSTRATING AND UNREWARDING SO FAR. IT MEANS THAT WE MUST DEMONSTRATE TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND THAT THE WESTERN SYSTEM OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND OF THE RULE OF LAW IS CAPABLE OF CREATING, EVEN UNDER UNFAVOURABLE CONDITIONS, A TOLERANT, COMPASSIONATE, JUST SOCIETY, TO WHICH PEOPLE OF BOTH TRADITIONS CAN GIVE THEIR FULL CONSENT AND SUPPORT, NOTWITHSTANDING THE DESPERATE AND MURDEROUS OPPOSITION OF RUTHLESS AND EVIL MEN.

MY GOVERNMENT WISHES TO DEVELOP A NEW AND DYNAMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND WITH OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS TO WORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH A SOCIETY ON THIS ISLAND. THIS IS NOT MERELY A DREAM; IT HAS BECOME AN URGENT NECESSITY IF WE ARE TO HALT THE DRIFT TOWARDS GREATER POLARISATION AND SUFFERING IN THIS PART OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.''

2. COPIES OF THE FULL TEXT GO BY BAG TO ALL ADDRESSEES.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

FIGG

NNNN

SENT/RECD AT 281728Z CDC/MH

CONFIDENTIAL

48517 - 1

OO DUBLIN DESKBY 201700Z

GRS 524

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 201700Z

FM FCO 201500Z JAN 83

TO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN

TELEGRAM NUMBER 7 OF 20 JANUARY

INFO PRIORITY NIO BELFAST

DR FITZGERALD'S ATTENDANCE AT EC DINNER *in BELFAST!*

1. AS YOU KNOW THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE IN BELFAST HAS ARRANGED A DINNER ON 28 JANUARY, DURING MR TUGENDHAT'S VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND, TO MARK THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ACCESSION TO THE COMMUNITY OF THE UK, IRELAND AND DENMARK. MARTIN HAS INVITED AMONG OTHERS THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, THE TAOISEACH AND WE BELIEVE MR HAGERUP TO REPRESENT DENMARK. MR PRIOR HAS TOLD MARTIN AND MR TUGENDHAT THAT HE CANNOT ATTEND SINCE HE HAS A LONG STANDING ENGAGEMENT, BUT THE TAOISEACH HAS INDICATED THAT HE WILL ATTEND.
2. ALTHOUGH THE IRISH WILL KNOW THAT MR PRIOR WILL NOT BE THERE (PUS NIO HAS SPOKEN TO DR KENNEDY) WE HAVE HAD NO INDICATION THAT THE TAOISEACH IS RECONSIDERING HIS DECISION. WE BELIEVE THAT EVEN A PRIVATE VISIT OF THIS NATURE BY THE TAOISEACH TO BELFAST JUST NOW MIGHT BE USED TO CREATE A FURORE WHICH COULD CAST AN UNWELCOME SHADOW ON MR PRIOR'S MEETING WITH MR BARRY THREE DAYS LATER. GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD THEREFORE RAISE THIS QUESTION WITH THE IRISH IN LOW KEY AT WHATEVER LEVEL YOU THINK APPROPRIATE (WE SHOULD OF COURSE MUCH PREFER THAT YOUR INTERVENTION SHOULD NOT GET BACK TO MARTIN OR BECOME PUBLIC) DRAWING AS NECESSARY ON THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENTS.
3. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT SHARE OUR VIEW THAT IMPROVED RELATIONS CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED BY MOVING AT A DELIBERATE PACE. THE MINISTERIAL CONTACTS WHICH HAVE BEEN AGREED REFLECT THIS. WE WANT THEM TO GO AHEAD IN AN UNTRoubLED ATMOSPHERE. A VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND BY A SERVING TAOISEACH EVEN IN A PRIVATE CAPACITY COULD EXCITE EMOTIONS IN AN UNWELCOME

Mt
Agreed
Prime Minister
I hope we succeed in preventing this.
A.J.C. 21/1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

48517 - 1

WAY AND AFFECT THE ATMOSPHERE. IF DR FITZGERALD'S ATTENDANCE WERE KNOWN IN ADVANCE SECURITY PROBLEMS WOULD BE INTENSIFIED AND SPECULATION BUILD UP (FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION WE BELIEVE MR EDWARD HEATH HAS ALSO AGREED TO ATTEND AND MEMORIES OF SUNNINGDALE COULD WELL BE EVOKED). THERE MIGHT EVEN BE DEMONSTRATIONS. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER MARTIN HAS INVITED THE NORTHERN IRISH MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BUT THIS SEEMS LIKELY. IF SO, MR PAISLEY AND MR TAYLOR MIGHT WELL SEEK TO MAKE POLITICAL CAPITAL BY WALKING OUT OR MAKING SCENES AT THE DINNER.

4. WE SHOULD LIKE TO MOVE TOWARDS A SITUATION IN WHICH VISITS BY IRISH MINISTERS TO THE NORTH OR NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTERS TO THE SOUTH WERE REGARDED AS NATURAL AND PERHAPS EVEN ROUTINE BUT WE ARE NOT YET IN THAT POSITION.

5. MR MARTIN'S EC FUNCTION MEANS THAT HE ACTS QUITE INDEPENDENTLY OF HMG AND THE DECISION TO INVITE GUESTS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL TO A DINNER IN BELFAST WAS NOT PROMPTED OR ORGANISED BY HMG. IT IS OF COURSE ENTIRELY A MATTER FOR THE TAOISEACH TO DECIDE WHETHER TO MAKE A PRIVATE VISIT BUT WE SHOULD NOT WISH HIM TO BE UNDER ANY MISAPPREHENSION ABOUT THE BACKGROUND TO THIS PARTICULAR INVITATION.

6. IF ASKED YOU CAN SAY THAT OUR CONCERN RELATES ONLY TO A VISIT BY THE TAOISEACH: WE DOUBT IF THE PRESENCE OF A JUNIOR MINISTER WOULD GIVE RISE TO ANYTHING LIKE THE SAME PROBLEMS. YOU MAY ALSO SAY THAT MR PRIOR EXPECTS TO BE REPRESENTED BY MR NICHOLAS SCOTT.

PYM

NORTHERN IRELAND

LIMITED

215
EOD (1)

NAD

INFO D

WED

MAED

NEWS D

SEC D

PUSD

PS

PS/MR HURD

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/MR ONSLOW

PS/PUS

SIR J BULLARD

MR WRIGHT

LORD N GORDON LENNOX

MR GIFFARD

MR ADAMS

MR GOODISON

MR URE

2

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

Ireland

(2)



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR
NORTHERN IRELAND

Prime Minister

To note.

Handwritten blue scribble

Rt Hon Michael Heseltine MP
Secretary of State for Defence
Ministry of Defence
Main Building
Whitehall
LONDON SW1

A.J.C. $\frac{14}{1}$

14 January 1983

Handwritten signature: Michael Heseltine

ARMY FORCE LEVELS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

John Nott wrote to me on 22 December. As he said in his letter, I have discussed the question of a further reduction of one major unit in Northern Ireland with the GOC and Chief Constable; most recently at the Security Policy meeting in Northern Ireland on 13 December. I fully supported the proposal which meets my policy of ensuring that the RUC continue to take a more prominent role, with the Army ready to give support when required; it was helpful to have John's explanation of the consequential changes.

I am content now therefore formally to approve a force reduction in Northern Ireland which will be effected by not replacing the 3rd Battalion, The Light Infantry when it ends its emergency tour in February 1983.

I very much hope we can ensure that this reduction and consequential redeployments do not become public knowledge in advance, but I understand that our officials are now discussing the terms of a defensive press brief in case the plans become known.

I am copying this letter to the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Handwritten signature: John Nott

SECRET

IRELAND: SITUATION IN N.I., FORCE LEVELS: PT 13.

14 JAN 1983

12 1 2 3
4
5
6
7
8
9
0

7266.

10 JAN 1983



Copy Duty Clerk No 10 —

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

Jerry Wiggins Esq MP
Parliamentary Under Secretary
of State for the Armed Forces
Ministry of Defence
Main Building
Whitehall
London SW1A 2HB

7 January 1983

Dear Parliamentary Under Secretary

I am grateful to you and Patrick Mayhew for copying to me your correspondence about extra compensation for the widows of servicemen killed in July 1982.

I do, of course, very much appreciate the point you make about the potential public reaction to compensation payable to the families of these servicemen killed by the terrorists last year. On the other hand, as you yourself remark in your letter of 29 October, the kind of provision you want in the Criminal Injuries Compensation Scheme would be relatively expensive. And Patrick Mayhew makes some telling points about the difficulty of containing the costs of criminal injury compensation generally, as well as the identifying some objections in principle, with which I agree.

I see that Patrick suggests that you should consider these individual cases on merit, for ex-gratia awards. Even that, I may say, is not without problems - so far as the adequacy of the pension etc arrangements for the HM Forces is concerned - but I should be ready to go along with that in these exceptional circumstances. I hope you can agree. No doubt officials can get together to settle any technical points.

I am copying this letter to Patrick Mayhew and Gray Gowrie.

Yours sincerely

J. Grieve

J. LEON BRITTAN

(Approved by the Chief Secretary)



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

Copy Duty Clerk No 10

4 JAN 1983

Mr. Jones

I am sorry not to have replied earlier to your letter of 29th October to Rodney Elton about compensation for the widows of servicemen killed in the Hyde Park and Regent's Park bombings on 20th July.

You suggested that we take steps to extend the Criminal Injuries Compensation Scheme for Great Britain, to provide for discretionary payments of the sort payable under the Northern Ireland arrangements, and that the change should be made retrospective so as to benefit the widows of the servicemen who died as a result of the July bombings.

I understand that, although eight of the eleven servicemen who died from injuries received in those incidents were married, the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board have so far received applications from only three of the widows. The Board have not yet finally settled any of the applications received, but it is, as you say, unlikely that they will be able to make any large awards of compensation in these cases. This is because paragraphs 19 and 20 of the Scheme require compensation to the widows to be reduced to take account of the value of any pension and social security benefits payable, and the generous army pensions will probably exceed the amounts of compensation payable.

At the time when discretionary payments were introduced in Northern Ireland in 1977, the full value of pensions was not deducted from compensation payable under the Great Britain Scheme as was the case under the Northern Ireland legislation. The situation therefore did not arise in Great Britain of servicemen's widows' pensions and benefits cancelling out the whole or most of the compensation payable.

With the revision of the Scheme in October 1979, however, pensions did become deductible in full (50% if taxable), because there was considered to be no strong case for permitting a State scheme which compensates for loss of earnings or dependency to provide an income for the applicant which was in effect higher than the applicant enjoyed before the injury.

/The

The possibility of introducing compensation for bereavement and grief in English cases, similar to solatium or loss of society in Scottish cases, was considered; it was decided, however, to await any change in the civil law which might result from the deliberations of the Pearson Commission. Pearson recommended the introduction of such awards, and now that there is provision for them in civil law under the Administration of Justice Act 1982, they will be payable by the C.I.C.B. from 1st January 1983.

If discretionary payments were to be introduced into the C.I.C.B., and made retrospective so as to apply to the widows of servicemen killed in the July bombings, this could not be justified without applying retrospection to all cases since 1st October 1979 - widows of policemen and civilians as well as those servicemen - where deduction of pensions and other benefits has reduced compensation for financial loss to less than £5,000. A limited application of discretionary payments to particular types of applicant (e.g. servicemen's widows) or to particular types of cases (e.g. death caused by victims of terrorist organisations) would hardly be acceptable in view of the lack of such limitations in Northern Ireland.

Reviewing all fatal cases over the past three years would be a very considerable task for the C.I.C.B. The administrative effort involved, in addition to the undoubtedly considerable supplementary expenditure on compensation, would make this quite unacceptable at a time when we are having to take unprecedented steps to reduce C.I.C.B. expenditure in the light of the Government's public expenditure policy. (It is impossible to estimate accurately what it would cost the C.I.C.B. to make those extra payments, but on the basis of past experience we think at least an extra £0.25 million would be required to meet the costs of retrospection to 1979, and there would be an on-going annual cost of about £170,000.)

Similar considerations would apply to giving retrospective effect to the introduction of bereavement awards. Quite apart from these practical objections, I cannot agree that we would be justified in principle in introducing into the C.I.C.B. at this time discretionary payments of the sort payable under the Northern Ireland Order. When discretionary payments were discussed in Parliament in 1977, it was made clear that they were a reflection of sympathy for widows and children in the special circumstances of Northern Ireland, and were similar to the awards of solatium available under Scots law. Now that bereavement awards will be available under the law of England and Wales, and the law of Northern Ireland, from 1st January 1983, and will accordingly be payable by the C.I.C.B., there is no valid argument for the introduction of discretionary payments into the Great Britain Scheme. Indeed there would appear to be a case for rationalising the Northern Ireland arrangements, and replacing discretionary payments by bereavement awards, now that there is a civil law basis for such awards. (Presumably it is not intended that bereavement awards will be payable under the Northern Ireland arrangements in addition to discretionary awards.)

We think it important that the Great Britain Scheme should continue to adhere to the sound principles of compensation for personal injury and death established in civil law subject to certain limitations appropriate to a State compensation scheme, and we see no justification for the scheme to provide compensation on a more generous basis than the civil law. The generosity of discretionary payments under the Northern Ireland arrangements, which undoubtedly do constitute duplication of compensation, derive only from the exceptional law and order situation in the province.

I appreciate, of course, the force of what you say about the scope for public criticism of the disparity between the schemes. But there appears to be a possible remedy which would restrict any special treatment to the context of Northern Ireland terrorism and to service personnel, without disturbing the principles on which the Great Britain scheme operates.

This is for the Ministry of Defence to make appropriate ex gratia payments equivalent to the discretionary payments in Northern Ireland to servicemen's widows, where the death has occurred outside Northern Ireland as the result of the action of terrorist organisations.

This proposal would no doubt have unwelcome resource implications for the M.O.D., but these would almost certainly be less than for the C.I.C.B. and are less open to the objections of principle to which I refer above. I suggest, therefore, that it offers a more realistic and acceptable alternative.

I am copying this letter to Leon Brittan and Gray Gowrie, and also to No. 10.

Jan 21
Pat

(PATRICK MAYHEW)

GRS 796

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

FM FCO 311545Z DEC 82

TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 240 OF 31 DECEMBER 1982

NORTHERN IRELAND: SHOOTINGS INVOLVING THE SECURITY FORCES

1. AFTER FIVE RECENT SHOOTINGS BY POLICE AND ARMY IN NORTHERN IRELAND IT HAS BEEN ALLEGED THAT THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE ADOPTED A 'SHOOT TO KILL' POLICY.

2. LINE TO TAKE

THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN RUC AND ARMY POLICY OR OPERATIONAL INSTRUCTIONS. THE SECURITY FORCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND REMAIN AT ALL TIMES SUBJECT TO THE LAW. THESE SHOOTINGS WILL BE FULLY

INVESTIGATED AND REPORTS SUBMITTED TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS WHO WILL DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT PROSECUTIONS SHOULD BE INSTITUTED. CORONERS' INQUESTS WILL IN DUE COURSE BE HELD, TO DETERMINE THE CAUSE OF DEATH. IT WOULD BE WRONG TO COMMENT FURTHER WHILE INQUIRIES ARE PROCEEDING.

YOU MAY DRAW ON PARAS 3-11 WITH TRUSTED CONTACTS AND POINT OUT THAT IN AT LEAST TWO OF THESE CASES THE DEAD WERE MEMBERS OF TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS.

BACKGROUND

3. INCIDENT ON 11 NOVEMBER 1982

ON 11 NOVEMBER UNIFORMED POLICE WERE OPERATING A ROAD CHECKPOINT OUTSIDE LURGAN, CO ARMAGH. A CAR SIGNALLED TO STOP DID SO BUT, AS A POLICE OFFICER APPROACHED, IT DROVE AT THE OFFICER, INJURING HIM. OTHER POLICE OPENED FIRE ON THE ESCAPING VEHICLE WHICH CAREERED OFF THE ROAD: SUBSEQUENTLY IT WAS FOUND THAT THE THREE OCCUPANTS HAD SUSTAINED GUNSHOT WOUNDS AND WERE DEAD.

4. THE THREE MEN WHO DIED WERE:

JAMES JERVAISE MCKERR, AGED 31, OF LURGAN, SUSPECTED OF BEING A MEMBER OF THE PROVISIONAL IRA:

EUGENE TOMAN, AGED 21, OF LURGAN, WANTED FOR QUESTIONING FOR ATTEMPTED MURDER AND POSSESSION OF FIREARMS. IN MARCH 1982 HE WAS CONVICTED OF HI-JACKING AND RECEIVED TWO YEARS' SUSPENDED SENTENCE:

SEAN FREDERICK BURNS, AGED 21, OF LURGAN, WANTED BY POLICE FOR ATTEMPTED MURDER AND POSSESSION OF FIREARMS. IN MARCH 1982 HE WAS CONVICTED OF MAKING PETROL BOMBS AND RECEIVED TWO YEARS' SUSPENDED SENTENCE.

5. INCIDENT ON 24 NOVEMBER 1982

ON 24 NOVEMBER A POLICE MOBILE PATROL OUTSIDE LURGAN NOTICED SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY NEAR A SHED. THE POLICE WERE CONFRONTED BY TWO MEN ARMED WITH RIFLES. THEY OPENED FIRE AND THE TWO GUNMEN WERE HIT. MICHAEL TIGHE, AGED 20, DIED AT ONCE: MARTIN MCCAULEY WAS SERIOUSLY INJURED AND WAS TAKEN TO HOSPITAL. THREE RIFLES

RESTRICTED

/ WERE

RESTRICTED

44804 - 1

WERE RECOVERED AT THE SCENE. MCCAULEY WAS SUBSEQUENTLY CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY TO MURDER AND POSSESSION OF FIREARMS. LATER THE SECURITY FORCES FOUND EXPLOSIVES AND OTHER BOMB-MAKING EQUIPMENT NEARBY.

6. INCIDENT ON 12 DECEMBER 1982

ON 12 DECEMBER, ON THE ARMAGH-KEADY ROAD, A CAR IGNORED A SIGNAL TO STOP BY UNIFORMED POLICE AT A ROADCHECK. IT KNOCKED DOWN AND INJURED A POLICE OFFICER. A POLICE VEHICLE CHASED THE ESCAPING CAR, BY THEM IDENTIFIED AS BELONGING TO A KNOWN TERRORIST, BUT WHEN FORCED TO STOP IT REVERSED AT SPEED FROM THE UNIFORMED POLICE OFFICERS WHO HAD DISMOUNTED FROM THEIR VEHICLE: THE DRIVER JUMPED OUT AND THE POLICE BELIEVING THEY WERE ABOUT TO BE FIRED ON, THEMSELVES OPENED FIRE, KILLING THE TWO OCCUPANTS.

7. THE TWO MEN WHO DIED WERE:

PETER JAMES MARTIN (SEAMUS) GREW, AGED 31, OF ARMAGH, KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN A TERRORIST FOR ELEVEN YEARS AS A MEMBER OF THE IRA, THE PROVISIONALS AND LATTERLY INLA. IN 1975 HE WAS SENTENCED TO 14 YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR THE ATTEMPTED MURDER OF A POLICE CONSTABLE AND RELEASED FROM PRISON IN APRIL 1982. GREW WAS KNOWN BY POLICE TO HAVE BEEN A LEADING INLA GUNMAN IN THE ARMAGH AREA AND WAS SUSPECTED OF HAVING COMMITTED A NUMBER OF MURDERS:

RODERICK MARTIN CARROLL, AGED 22, OF ARMAGH. KNOWN BY POLICE TO HAVE BEEN A LEADING MEMBER OF THE INLA IN THE ARMAGH AREA AND TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN SEVERAL MURDERS AND ATTEMPTED MURDER.

8. INCIDENT ON 27 DECEMBER 1982

ON 27 DECEMBER AN ARMY PATROL SURPRISED 2 MASKED MEN, ONE OF WHOM APPEARED TO BE ARMED, LEAVING A SHOP IN WEST BELFAST, THE MEN, WHO HAD JUST CARRIED OUT A ROBBERY IGNORED THE PATROLS CHALLENGE AND RAN TOWARDS A CAR (HIJACKED EARLIER) LEFT OUTSIDE THE SHOP WITH ITS ENGINE RUNNING. THE PATROL OPENED FIRE AND ONE MAN WAS KILLED. THE OTHER MAN ESCAPED.

9. THE MAN WHO DIES WAS:

PATRICK ELLIOTT, WHO HAD A LONG CRIMINAL RECORD AND WAS ONLY RECENTLY RELEASED FROM PRISON. HE WAS WANTED FOR ROBBERY AND THE ATTEMPTED MURDER OF A POLICEMAN IN WEST BELFAST ON 3 DECEMBER.

10. INCIDENT ON 29 DECEMBER 1982

2
RESTRICTED

/ON

RESTRICTED

44804 - 1

ON 29 DECEMBER AN ARMY PATROL FOUND A COMMAND WIRE BY THE DONAGH-BALLAGH MAIN ROAD. A MAN SEEN ACTING SUSPICIOUSLY WAS CHALLENGED: HE RAN OFF, AND AFTER A FURTHER CHALLENGE, THE PATROL OPENED FIRE AND WOUNDED HIM. IT WAS LATER FOUND THE WIRE HAD BEEN CONNECTED TO EXPLOSIVES AND THE MAN'S KNAPSACK CONTAINED BINOCULARS, A BELL AND A BATTERY.

11. THE MAN INJURED WAS:

KIERAN FERGAL LEONARD, AGED 25, OF MAGHERAVEELY, WHO IS BELIEVED TO BE A MEMBER OF THE PROVISIONAL IRA.

PYM

BY TELEGRAPH:

PARIS
DUBLIN

NEW YORK (BIS)
WASHINGTON

[IMMEDIATE]

BONN
BRUSSELS
ROME

HONG KONG
OTTAWA
CANBERRA

WELLINGTON

[PRIORITY]

ANKARA
ATHENS
BRUSSELS (UKREP EEC)
BRUSSELS (UKDEL NATO)
COPENHAGEN
THE HAGUE
LISBON
LUXEMBOURG

OSLO
BERNE
GENEVA (UKMIS)
HELSINKI
MADRID
MADRID (UKDEL)
STOCKHOLM

VIENNA
NEW YORK (UKMIS)
BRASILIA
CAPE TOWN
PRETORIA
JOHANNESBURG (CA)
TOKYO

[ROUTINE]

AND SAVING TO CERTAIN OTHER POSTS.

FCO | WHITEHALL
INFORMATION |

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
GUIDANCE.

3

RESTRICTED

SECRET



5 2
Pine Minister

JH

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB

TELEPHONE 01-218 9000
DIRECT DIALLING 01-218 2111/3

30/12

MO 19/3

22nd December 1982

Dear Jim

I understand that at your meeting with the Chief Constable and the Commander Northern Ireland on 13th December, you discussed a further reduction of one major unit in the Northern Ireland force level. I am writing now to let you know that this proposal has my full support and to seek your formal agreement that we should go ahead with its implementation. The intention is to make the reduction by not replacing the 3rd Battalion, The Light Infantry when it ends its emergency tour in February 1983.

Although this battalion is currently responsible for the Fermanagh/South Tyrone area, the effect of the force reduction will be spread throughout the Province by redeployments from elsewhere. Furthermore, two relatively recent force adjustments have ensured that the overall effect in terms of the reduction of troops available for operational duties will be much less than it might otherwise have been. First, augmentation of the Maze Prison Guard Force - to enable it to assume the Crumlin Road Prison guarding commitment - has released men from the resident battalion at Aldergrove for more directly operational duties; second, the resident unit in Omagh, which has hitherto been an armoured reconnaissance regiment, has in the past month been replaced by, and will in future be provided by, an infantry battalion which is some 200 men stronger. This means that, after the withdrawal of

1

The Rt Hon James Prior MP

SECRET



3LI, the troops available for operational duties will only be about 350 fewer in total than in late November 82 and the number of infantry units serving in the Province will be the same as the number in October this year (eight). Commander Northern Ireland is considering a redeployment of the UDR to take account of the present operational requirement which will further mitigate the effects of this reduction in Regular manpower.

Although there will be no closures of barracks or bases, existing facilities being used by those troops redeployed into the area (so that there will be no civilian redundancies), the reduction will clearly need delicate handling from the point of view of public perception - not least because of the new Assembly's preoccupations with security matters. We shall do our best to ensure that the reduction and consequential redeployments do not become public knowledge until they have been accomplished, although previous experience has shown that this can by no means be guaranteed. Once you have indicated your formal agreement to this proposal, my officials will discuss with yours the detailed planning of the reduction and the preparation of a defensive press brief for use in the event that the plan becomes public.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

*Yours ever
John*

John Nott



file

157

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 December, 1982

This is just to record that the Prime Minister has seen and noted your letter of 14 December reporting on your Secretary of State's visit to the United States.

(Timothy Flesher)

D.A. Hill, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office

285



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Robin Butler Esq
PS/Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

14 December 1982

1) Mr G. ✓ 11/12
2) Prime Minister

Dear Robin

MB

VJ
15/12

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND'S VISIT TO THE USA,
14-22 NOVEMBER 1982

In accordance with the procedure set out in Willie Rickett's letter of 17 February to Private Secretaries, Mr Prior has asked me to let you have an account of his recent visit to the USA.

Mr Prior was in the USA from 14 to 22 November 1982, visiting New York, Washington, and Minneapolis/St Paul, with additional calls at Columbia and on the Hyster Company at Portland, Oregon. As in his last visit to the USA in July, he sought to explain to US opinion formers the significance of recent political developments in Northern Ireland and to discourage the American public from contributing to the Provisional IRA or its agents. Although the visit had been in preparation for some months, the acquittal in New York on 5 November of five men implicated in the smuggling of arms to Ireland - generally reported as a propaganda victory for the IRA - made counter-action all the more important.

New York

Mr Prior fulfilled media engagements and addressed, over lunch, the Council on Foreign Relations. Press coverage of his visit was limited by the coincidence of the death of President Brezhnev, which drove all other issues from the headlines; but he had extremely useful interviews with the editorial boards of "Time" magazine and the "New York Times". These have already paid off in terms of favourable editorial comment on Northern Ireland issues in these two publications.

Washington

In Washington on 15, 16 and 17 November (amongst other media engagements) Mr Prior explained the Government's Northern Ireland policies to very large audiences on NBC's "Good Morning America" (6.5 million), CBS morning news (3.5 million), the Cable News

/...

CONFIDENTIAL

Network (15 million maximum) and National Public Radio as well as to the editorial board of the "Washington Post". He also addressed the Heritage Foundation, a "think tank" close to the Reagan Administration. Besides a number of meetings with Congressional and State Department advisors, he met Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam and Congressman Jim Shannon, a leading figure in the moderate Congressional Friends of Ireland. (Since the new Congress does not reassemble until January most Congressional leaders were unavailable). Mr Prior also briefed information staff from our posts all across the USA, as well as others in the Washington Embassy particularly associated with Northern Ireland work.

Minneapolis/St Paul, Columbia and Portland

My Secretary of State gave press and television interviews as well as addressing audiences of influential businessmen and others at a dinner organised by the Hubert H Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs and at the "Minnesota Meeting", a new but prestigious forum. His visit to Columbia was essentially a private one, but he nonetheless took on a number of media, and one minor speaking, engagements. Mr Prior made an additional visit at short notice to the Hyster Company in Portland, Oregon, in an effort to encourage the Company to maintain and, if possible, extend their operations at Irvine in Scotland and in Northern Ireland. We expect to know of their decision shortly.

In all his engagements Mr Prior emphasised that Americans who wished to help in Northern Ireland should do so by sending donations to responsible charities and not to organisations such as NORAIID which supported terrorism. He explained progress on the implementation of the Northern Ireland Act 1982, stressing that time, patience, and understanding were necessary if progress towards political stability, and so toward improvements in the security situation, was to be maintained. He interpreted the Assembly election results for American audiences, putting the Sinn Fein vote in context and explaining the position of the SDLP.

Assessment

These messages were generally well received. In his meetings with Congressman Shannon and Deputy Secretary Dam both emphasised the importance from the US point of view of good Anglo-Irish relations, both for their own sake and because they eased the task of moderate Irish-Americans in persuading their compatriots not to contribute to NORAIID. Mr Prior was careful not to express a preference for either side in the Irish election, but expressed his own hope that closer Anglo-Irish relations would follow in the wake of the election. He was assured that in recent political discussions with the Irish, US officials had been privately extremely helpful, urging the Irish Government to take a less dismissive attitude to the Assembly in Northern Ireland. Mr Prior also raised with Mr Dam the question of arms smuggling from the USA to Northern Ireland, and received renewed assurances of US determination to prevent gun-running. The State Department issued a statement along these lines after the meeting, of which I attach the text.

...

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Prior considers that this visit, taken together with earlier visits by himself and other NIO Ministers, made an important contribution to our continuing effort to dissuade uncommitted Irish-Americans from offering their support, through ignorance, to terrorism in Northern Ireland. There are also considerable benefits in explaining political developments to an American audience and in providing high level support for our efforts to attract inward investment. Mr Prior considers that background briefing of the leaders of American opinion by UK Ministers and, if possible, people from Northern Ireland, is a cost-effective, if indirect, way of reaching Irish-American opinion and a valuable supplement to the continuing hard work of our Information staff in the USA in putting across HMG's view of the Northern Ireland situation. He intends to keep up this pressure and since his visit another Northern Ireland Minister, Mr Nicholas Scott, has paid a visit to the West Coast and New York with similar objectives.

Telegram Nos 3729 and 3730 were issued from Washington and No 15 from New York reporting on Mr Prior's visit.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretary to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and to HM Ambassador in Washington, to whom, and to whose staff, Mr Prior has asked me to convey particular thanks for the hard work involved in organising the visit.

Yours sincerely

DA Hill

D A HILL

KW

CONFIDENTIAL



TEXT OF STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT ON GUN-RUNNING ISSUED
AFTER MR PRIOR'S MEETING WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE DAM
ON 16 NOVEMBER:

"On November 16 Deputy Secretary of State, Kenneth Dam, met with the United Kingdom's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, James Prior, who is visiting the United States for regular consultations on questions of mutual concern.

During the course of their discussions, Mr Dam assured Mr Prior that the US will continue to enforce the US Arms Export Control Act and the International Traffic in Arms Regulations and will prosecute vigorously those individuals engaged in illegal arms trafficking to Northern Ireland."



4 DEC 1982



agrees with me that the standard of living for all classes has slightly increased. I agree with him that it would be most desirable to lighten the burden of taxation in any way that we can.

Long-term Economic Indicators

11. **Mr. Dormand** asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer which long-term indicators suggest that the economy is improving.

Mr. Brittan: Evidence of an improvement in the underlying potential of the economy may be seen in the reduction in inflation, greater realism in wage bargaining and lower interest rates than a year ago. Further evidence is provided by continuing high levels of productivity growth.

Mr. Dormand: Does the Chief Secretary recall the forecast made a year ago by the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and himself about the upturn in the economy? Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman now come clean and admit that this was so much moonshine? Will he say what is the difference between those indicators and the ones that he has now presented to the House? Does he not agree that the time has now arrived for a fundamental change in policies and that, despite what has been stated from the Government Dispatch Box today, two essential ingredients in a new policy must be a big increase in public expenditure and a complete re-examination of the value of the pound?

Mr. Brittan: I do not agree with either of the hon. Gentleman's conclusions. I believe that an increase in public spending would inevitably have damaging rather than beneficial consequences. I am proud of the fact that this Government have succeeded, for the first time since 1977, in controlling public expenditure by not increasing it during the course of the review. Next year, it will be going down in real terms. I disagree entirely with the policy of devaluation tendered by the hon. Gentleman. The consequence would be to give another twist to the inflationary spiral and damage the improvement to the underlying potential of the economy.

Mr. Madel: As a profitable motor industry is essential to long-term economic improvement, will my right hon. and learned Friend consider the removal of the unfair 10 per cent. special car tax in the next Budget, which would further help the industry? Is he aware that any loss of revenue will be more than met and made up by increased sales and increased VAT receipts?

Mr. Brittan: Assistance has been given to the motor industry by the removal of hire purchase controls. This has been beneficial. Representations for the further change suggested by my hon. Friend have been made by others. They will be considered carefully.

Mr. Shore: The House has heard a succession of the most contorted, if not "riddle" figures, during today's exchanges. Will the Chief Secretary, in addressing himself to forecasts or indicators concerning the future of the economy, reflect upon his statement a few minutes ago that there had been an improvement in competitiveness of about 20 per cent. since, I think, February 1981? Will he not agree that the improvement that has taken place—it has to be set against the background of an earlier deterioration

of about 50 per cent.—has been entirely associated with a downward movement of the exchange rate from the absurd height that it had reached?

Mr. Brittan: No. I do not accept that. The vast majority of the percentage increase in competitiveness occurred before there had been any change in the exchange rate. I welcome the opportunity to point out that the right hon. Member for Stepney and Poplar (Mr. Short) frequently talks about competitiveness but does not tell the House, as I did earlier this afternoon, that, in the period between the fourth quarter of 1976, when his Government were in power and the time when we came to power, there was a fall in competitiveness of 28 per cent. compared with a fall of 18 per cent. since then.

Value Added Tax

12. **Mr. Pavitt** asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will take steps to exempt charities from value added tax in respect of those services which are provided through them by local authorities.

Mr. Bruce-Gardyne: The services provided by charities to local authorities are already generally exempt or outside the scope of the tax.

Mr. Pavitt: How can the Minister justify the fact that the Royal National Institute for the Deaf pays £20,000 VAT on residential accommodation for the deaf and for the psychiatrically disturbed? How does he reconcile what has been put to him by the Spastics Society with statements by his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Social Services to the effect that he wants greater co-operation between the voluntary bodies and the social services? If his right hon. and learned Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer intends to take action in the Budget, will he make any proposals retrospective, so that all charities that have been clobbered for VAT on residential accommodation get their money back?

Mr. Bruce-Gardyne: I assure the hon. Gentleman and the House that my right hon. and learned Friend and all Ministers are deeply indebted to the charities for the services that they provide, especially the sort of services to which the hon. Gentleman has referred. It is a fact that charities have always paid indirect tax. They paid purchase tax in the old days. They also paid petrol tax. We have looked at the matter carefully and continue to examine it. It is extremely difficult to find any satisfactory way of giving exemption from a particular form of indirect taxation. It is something that successive Governments have always found it impossible to offer.

PRIME MINISTER

Engagements

Q1. **Mr. Silvester** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for 9 December.

The Prime Minister (Mrs. Margaret Thatcher): This morning I presided at a meeting of the Cabinet, and had meetings with ministerial colleagues and others. In addition to my duties in the House, I shall be having further meetings later today, including one with Lord Shackleton on his Falklands report.

Mr. Silvester: Will my right hon. Friend join in the call to all those who are preparing to celebrate a Christian

House and told us that nearly £50 million was to be spent in the Falklands. That will have serious revenue implications for those 1,500 people. Why cannot the rest of Great Britain be treated in the same way? The money would then be spent and the unemployment figures would go down.

Mr. Ridley: The hon. Gentleman is wrong on two counts. First, the revenue implications of increased capital investment by local authorities are taken into account—

Mr. Skinner: No, they are not.

Mr. Ridley:—in setting their targets. Secondly, local authorities have received about £1½ billion during the current financial year from the sale of council houses. That money is available without any servicing costs at all.

Mr. John Townend: Can my hon. Friend understand the surprise of Humberside ratepayers where the Labour council, having spent money like water, increased the rates by 60 per cent. and spent all its capital allocation and receipts, is now being asked by the Government to put forward applications for further allocations? Can he understand why the ratepayers feel that it is a prize for a profligate spender?

Mr. Ridley: I cannot answer for any local authority which has overspent its revenue account and robbed its capital account to do so. I cannot comment on Humberside.

Mr. Cook: Is it not pure effrontery to lecture local authorities on failing to invest, after three years during which they and nationalised industries have seen their cash limits screwed down? Is the Minister aware that the combined figure for central and local government investment is half the 1979 level? Those cuts have crippled industries such as construction, which depend on public sector investment. Would he care to comment on the speech made last week by Mr. Chetwood, Wimpey's chief executive when he predicted that it would take the construction industry the next 10 years to recover from the past three years of Conservative Government?

Mr. Ridley: The hon. Gentleman must particularise. There are two ways in which capital expenditure takes place. First, there are those grants made by Government to local authorities and nationalised industries. Secondly, there is what those bodies spend. If the hon. Gentleman looks at the figures of what they spend, he will find that his figure is not correct. It is perfectly correct for the Government to draw attention to the shortfall in capital spending by those bodies, since the criticism by my hon. Friend the Member for Bridlington (Mr. Townend), which has great validity, is that they have not spent what they could.

Family Income

10. **Mr. Winnick** asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how far a married man with two children on average and less than average income has benefited from changes in the levels of income tax and national insurance contributions under the present Administration.

Mr. Ridley: The burden of income tax for those on average earnings has reduced since the Government took office. National insurance contributions are higher, because they have had to finance increased benefits. After

taking account of increases in child benefit, most married families at all income levels with two children are now better off in real terms than in 1978-79.

Mr. Winnick: Is it a fact that in written parliamentary answers information has been given that shows that the vast majority of people are now paying considerably more in taxes and national insurance contributions than when the Government took office? Only those people earning five times the national average and above have benefited. As the Government were elected on a promise of tax cuts, is it not obvious that they were elected on a plain lie?

Mr. Ridley: The hon. Gentleman's question asked how people had benefited. I shall therefore give him answers relating to real after-tax incomes, which for people—whether they be on half average earnings, average earnings or twice average earnings—have increased between 1-5 per cent. in all cases. That assumes that they have had the average rise in earnings.

Mr. Forman: While the figures that my hon. Friend has given the House represent a step in the right direction, does he agree that a great deal more progress is needed to raise the tax thresholds of those on low incomes?

Mr. Ridley: I have every sympathy with my hon. Friend's point of view. I hope that the House will cooperate to help the Government to reduce the level of public spending so that that desirable objective can be brought to fruition.

Mr. Straw: Is the Minister aware that he is wilfully misleading the House in the figures that he has just given, when he failed to answer the original question? Is he aware that in an answer he gave me some months ago, the Government's figures showed that the burden of income tax and national insurance contributions had risen by £7 in real terms above the level obtaining under the Labour Government 1978-79? Does he want the figures? Here they are. Why is the Minister seeking to mislead the House? We all know that the burden of taxation upon those with average incomes and below has risen and risen again under the Government. How does that square with the direct pledges to reduce taxation for all levels of income given by every Minister at the general election?

Mr. Ridley: The hon. Gentleman knows fully well that I do not mislead the House, wilfully or otherwise. He does not distinguish between the question I was asked by his hon. Friend the Member for Walsall, North (Mr. Winnick) and the questions the hon. Gentleman has asked me previously. The question asked how much certain people have benefited from changes in the level of income tax. The percentage of income tax they pay is quite different. The hon. Gentleman never takes into account the fact that people have had a few wage increases since we came to power.

Mr. Ralph Howell: Will my hon. Friend face reality and recognise that the tax burden has increased and that it is absolutely vital that the Government take that message on board in order to restore incentives to work? Is he aware that the most important thing the Government should do in the forthcoming Budget is to raise tax thresholds above the supplementary benefit and family income supplement levels?

Mr. Ridley: I always face reality. I agree with my hon. Friend that the tax burden has increased. I hope that he

festival to urge those who have any knowledge or information about terrorists to put their loyalty to their faith above other loyalties and to help the security forces purge us of this evil?

The Prime Minister: I agree with my hon. Friend, although he and I would also say that we do not need Christmas to remind us that terrorism is one of the evils of our age, that it may happen at any time and any day, and that we owe it to everyone to fight terrorism unremittingly every day. We shall continue to do so.

Mr. Foot: I join with the right hon. Lady in saying that the whole House and, I believe, the overwhelming majority of the people of this country, are determined to stamp out the terrorism that constitutes such a great threat to our country. I wish to refer specifically to the exclusion orders that the Home Secretary has imposed. I regret deeply that it appears not to have been possible to deal with the matter in the way that my right hon. Friend the Member for Mansfield (Mr. Concannon) recommended to the House on Tuesday. I had thought that the whole House recognised the wisdom of the approach that he suggested at that time.

However in the aftermath of the hideous events at Ballykelly, I can also understand that no one, including the Home Secretary, could be sure that lives might not be at risk if the visit went ahead. I fully understand, therefore, the reasons why the Home Secretary made the recommendation. That is also the case that I put most forcibly—[*Interruption.*] If the House will permit me half a minute, I will come to the question—and directly to Mr. Livingstone [HON. MEMBERS: "Oh"]. Yes, because I believed that the paramount necessity was to try to get the invitation called off, particularly after the events that had occurred at Ballykelly. I believe that that was the right approach from the point of view of the whole country.

I wish to put to the right hon. Lady this question. I understand the reasons why the Home Secretary has acted in the way that he has done today, but considerable anomalies are left. There are now different laws applying to different people—[HON. MEMBERS: "Speech"]. Will the right hon. Lady consider how we are to deal with this situation? Does not she agree that the application of different laws in different situations causes a great sense of grievance in Northern Ireland and throughout the country as a whole? Will not she examine the whole situation.

The Prime Minister: No. I do not agree with what I think the right hon. Gentleman is saying. Parliament gave the Home Secretary very clear powers under the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1976. Those powers enable the Home Secretary to exclude certain people from Great Britain and for the Secretary of State to exclude certain people from Northern Ireland. The powers have been used many times. Exclusion orders made by Home Secretaries under that Act and the previous Act amount to 289. Of those, 37 involved the exclusion from the United Kingdom of Irish citizens. The remainder involved exclusions from Great Britain. Since 1976, 24 exclusion orders have been made by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, of which seven involved exclusions from Northern Ireland of citizens of the United Kingdom. The remainder were excluded from the United Kingdom.

The powers that the Act gives are clear, and it is under that Act that my right hon. Friend has rightly operated. The powers are:

"If the Secretary of State is satisfied that any person— . . . is or has been concerned whether in Great Britain or elsewhere in the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism . . . the Secretary of State may make an order against that person prohibiting him from being in, or entering, Great Britain."

The Metropolitan Police applied for orders on the basis of intelligence about the men's involvement in terrorist activity. The Home Secretary was satisfied about their past involvement, and rightly and responsibly, made these orders.

Mr. Foot: I do not question the nature of the Act, because we know its nature. Indeed, I specifically said that I believed that in the circumstances, after the events of Tuesday, it was natural that the Home Secretary should act in this way. However, it leaves considerable anomalies. I am sure that the right hon. Lady will understand this. If she reads the reports and comments that have come from Northern Ireland on the matter—not only from the mainland—I believe that she will understand that we still need to look at the legislation and see how it is applied, and see whether we shall have the same laws applying to the same people in the whole of the United Kingdom.

The Prime Minister: I do not understand what anomalies the right hon. Gentleman is referring to under this Act. The Act is perfectly clear. What anomalies is the right hon. Gentleman referring to?

Mr. Foot: The anomaly is—[*Interruption.*] The right hon. Lady asked me a question. The anomaly is—

Mr. Grieve: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Is it in order for the Leader of the Opposition to usurp question time to make a series of statements, however incomprehensible they may be?

Mr. Speaker: Order. That point of order was legitimate earlier, but the Leader of the Opposition was asked a question, and I thought that he should give the answer before he moved on.

Mr. Foot: The anomaly is that under this legislation some people are free to walk about in Belfast but not in London. Surely that is an anomaly. [*Interruption.*] I ask the right hon. Lady to say that the House of Commons should debate the matter afresh, in view of the circumstances that have arisen.

The Prime Minister: That is not an anomaly. It is inherent in the Act, which the right hon. Gentleman's Government passed.

Mr. Edward Gardner: Does my right hon. Friend agree that in the face of the clear and grave warning by the Metropolitan Police of the consequences of a visit to London by the representatives of Sinn Féin, my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary had no safe choice other than to ban the visit and to put an end to a deliberate attempt by the leader of the Greater London Council to raise a whirlwind of trouble for London?

The Prime Minister: I am grateful to my hon. and learned Friend. My right hon. Friend the Home Secretary acted under the clear provisions of this Act, which give the power of exclusion from Great Britain. It also gives powers of exclusion from Northern Ireland, and sometimes those orders could operate so that the person is

returned to Britain. It is not an anomaly. It is a clearly thought-out Act, and it has been operated correctly over the years. It was operated correctly and responsibly in this case.

Mr. Roy Jenkins rose—

Mr. Skinner: Here is the author.

Mr. Jenkins: As the sponsor of the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1974—

Mr. Skinner: It was a temporary Act.

Mr. Jenkins:—renewed in 1977, with the full support of the Cabinet, including the right hon. Member for Ebbw Vale (Mr. Foot), may I say that in my view the Home Secretary was clearly justified in making such an order under the Act, and that on balance he was right so to do? However, may we know whether he was primarily concerned with the prevention of terrorist acts in this country or the preservation of public order, if these two representatives of terrorism were to visit London at this time?

The Prime Minister: My right hon. Friend was concerned to act under the powers of the Act which I read out, which is related to acts of terrorism.

Q2. **Mr. Tom Clarke** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for Thursday 9 December.

The Prime Minister: I refer the hon. Gentleman to the reply that I gave some moments ago.

Mr. Clarke: Is the Prime Minister aware of yesterday's publication in "Social Trends", showing that youth unemployment in this country has reached the staggering figure of 25 per cent? Does she recall that during the Falklands exercise she promised to pursue her views at all costs? Will she apply the same principles, dedication and resources to removing this blight from our society?

The Prime Minister: As the hon. Gentleman will be aware, there is a big new scheme for youth training, beginning in September of next year. We also have a number of centres up and down the country. Within a year's time there will be 150 such centres for training young people in computer skills and in the skills of information technology. In that sphere, there is a growth rate of 8 per cent. a year. There are jobs to be had, and we must make certain that those jobs are found in this country and not overseas.

Mr. Heddle: Will my right hon. Friend take time today to read *The Observer* of 21 November 1976, where she will see a report of a Labour Party committee that considered unemployment—whose membership included the right hon. Member for Leeds, East (Mr. Healey) and the right hon. Member for Crosby (Mrs. Williams)—which predicted that unemployment would rise by 100 per cent. to 2.5 million by early 1980? Does my right hon. Friend agree that it is politically immoral for the Opposition parties to pretend to make political capital out of a situation which they knew would happen and which their policies helped to create?

The Prime Minister: I am grateful to my hon. Friend. Unemployment has risen under both Governments. Under both Governments, because of demographic factors, we have had a large number of school leavers over a period

of six years. Between 1978 and 1985 there were an extra 1½ million people of working age in this country. So, without a world recession, we should have had to provide many more jobs to keep those people occupied. That is an extra factor, in addition to world recession. Perhaps it is that known factor that gave rise to some of the predictions that my hon. Friend so aptly mentioned.

Mr. Ashton: Will the right hon. Lady find time today to visit Smithfield market? Is she aware that the most profitable industry in Britain today is agriculture, with profits increased by 20 per cent? Is that not due to compulsory planning agreements, such as those of the Egg Marketing Board and the Potato Marketing Board? Why does not she attach the same principles to controlling imports of steel as she attaches to imports of food to support the Tory farmers, and thus make the rest of industry just as profitable?

The Prime Minister: I regret that I cannot go to Smithfield, particularly as some of my family are involved in farming. Every country has its own measures for agriculture. We operate under the common agriculture policy for agriculture. We operate under a Community system for steel, under which there are considerable restrictions on steel imports to the Common Market. The same is true of agriculture.

Q3. **Mr. Cyril D. Townsend** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for Thursday 9 December.

The Prime Minister: I refer my hon. Friend to the reply that I gave some moments ago.

Mr. Townsend: Has my right hon. Friend had time to read the transcript of the Labour Party's last and most misleading party political broadcast on nuclear weapons? Is she aware that the Labour Party is now committed to reducing Britain's defence expenditure in line with that of our European NATO allies, which would mean severe cutbacks in Britain's conventional forces? Does my right hon. Friend appreciate that such cutbacks could lead to NATO commanders resorting to tactical nuclear weapons at an earlier stage?

The Prime Minister: I am aware of the Opposition's defence policy, which is just not a credible policy. It seems that the answer to the nuclear threat is not unilateralism, which Mr. Andropov called naive, but an intense effort to secure multilateral disarmament.

Mr. William Hamilton: When?

The Prime Minister: Regularly, and now in Geneva, if people will come to the negotiating table. If Opposition Members would direct some of their efforts towards influencing the Soviet Union to negotiate, it would be better. I am aware of what my hon. Friend said. It is the Labour Party's policy to reduce the proportion of our gross national product that is spent on defence from the present 5 per cent. down to the European average, which is about 3.5 per cent. That would mean a drop in defence expenditure of £4½ billion, the equivalent to abolishing the Royal Navy.

Mr. Robert Hughes: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. May I seek your guidance, Mr. Speaker, about the trend that is taking place in Prime Minister's Question Time? At least two questions today were about the policies of the Labour Party. However, a number of hon. Members

IRELAND



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

MEETINGS BETWEEN NORTHERN IRELAND MINISTERS
AND MEMBERS OF SINN FEIN

July 1972

Mr Whitelaw met Mr Gerry Adams and others.

August 1981

Mr Alison met Mr Owen Carron MP to discuss
prison matters.

May 1982

Lord Gowrie met Mr Owen Carron MP and Mr Malloy
to discuss a prison matter.

June 1982

Mr Butler met Mr Owen Carron MP to discuss the
Beleek Pottery.

November 1982

Mr Gerry Adams was one member of an all-party
delegation meeting Mr Mitchell to discuss
housing in Belfast.

Is it not, an attempt to stifle ^{the} political process!

No. Sinn Fein cannot expect to be treated like other political groups until and unless it unequivocally repudiates terrorism.

My Right Hon Friend the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has made it clear that elected representatives from Sinn Fein can raise constituency matters with him and his Ministers.

IMMEDIATE

IRELAND

PS

PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS

PS/MR HURD

MR WOODFIELD)

PS/PUS

MR BRENNAN)

SIR J BULLARD

MR ANGEL)

NIO

MR GOODISON

MR BOYS SMITH)

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

HD/RID

SIR R ARMSTRONG)

HD/PUSD (2)

DIO)

CABINET OFFICE

HD/INFO D

... ..

HD/NEWS D

... ..

... ..

PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (2)

... ..

RESIDENT CLERK



GRPS 200

R E S T R I C T E D

FM DUBLIN 081615Z DEC 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 355 OF 8 DECEMBER 1982

REPEATED FOR INFO TO IMMEDIATE NIO(B) AND NIO(L)

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK AND PARIS

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND: EXTRADITION TO NORTHERN IRELAND FROM TATHAM

SUMMARY

1. A JUDGEMENT BY THE IRISH SUPREME COURT YESTERDAY PROVIDES FOR THE EXTRADITION OF AN IRA MAN TO NORTHERN IRELAND TO FACE A MURDER CHARGE. THE CASE APPEARS TO BREAK NEW GROUND AND COULD BE AN ENCOURAGING PRECEDENT.

DETAILS

2. IN A RESERVED JUDGEMENT DELIVERED BY THE SUPREME COURT ON 7 DECEMBER AN ORDER TO EXTRADITE DOMINIC MCGLINCHEY TO NORTHERN IRELAND WAS AFFIRMED. MCGLINCHEY IS WANTED IN NORTHERN IRELAND FOR THE MURDER OF AN ELDERLY GRANDMOTHER, MRS HESTER MCMULLAN ON 28 MARCH 1977. MCGLINCHEY'S EXTRADITION HAD BEEN ORDERED EARLIER BY THE DISTRICT AND HIGH COURTS BUT HE HAD APPEALED TO THE SUPREME COURT. IN THE HIGH COURT HE HAD CLAIMED THAT THE MURDER WAS A POLITICAL OFFENCE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT

ms

SUPREME COURT. IN THE HIGH COURT HE HAD CLAIMED THAT THE MURDER WAS A POLITICAL OFFENCE ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT HAD BEEN CLAIMED BY THE PROVISIONAL IRA, AN ORGANISATION IN WHICH MCLINCHEY WAS ACTIVE. IN THE SUPREME COURT HE DROPPED THIS CLAIM BUT SUGGESTED THAT EXTRADITION WOULD LEAD TO OTHER POLITICAL CHARGES BEING MADE AGAINST HIM, NAMELY THAT HE HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE MURDER OF MR DAVID MCQUILLAN AND THE UNLAWFUL POSSESSION OF A MACHINE GUN AND THREE RIFLES. THE COURT RULED THAT MCGLINCHEY HAD NOT PRODUCED EVIDENCE TO SATISFY THEM THAT THESE OFFENCES WERE POLITICAL OR IN ANY WAY CONNECTED WITH POLITICAL OFFENCES.

3. THE CHIEF JUSTICE'S COMMENTS ARE REPORTED AT SOME LENGTH IN TODAY'S IRISH TIMES (CUTTING BY BAG). HE HAS MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT EACH CASE IS TO BE JUDGED ON ITS MERITS AND THERE IS TO BE NO WIDESPREAD ASSUMPTION THAT ANY CHARGE ASSOCIATED WITH TERRORIST ACTIVITY SHOULD BE REGARDED AS A POLITICAL OFFENCE. HE ADDED THAT IF A VICTIM WERE 'SOMEONE OTHER THAN A CIVILIAN' IT SHOULD NOT (NOT) BE DEDUCED THAT AN OFFENCE WOULD NECESSARILY BE CLASSIFIED AS POLITICAL.

4. WE SHALL NEED TO STUDY THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS JUDGEMENT, BUT AT FIRST SIGHT IT IS VERY ENCOURAGING. IF THE TALKS BETWEEN ATTORNEYS GENERAL (WHICH WERE SUSPENDED DURING THE FIANNA FAIL ADMINISTRATION) ARE RESUMED WHEN DR FITZGERALD BECOMES TAOISEACH, IT WILL PROVIDE A HELPFUL POINT OF DEPARTURE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK AND PARIS

FIGG

NNNN

SENT AFT 08:1700Z CB



IRELAND. VS
bc WFSR

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

bcf

7 December 1982

Compensation for Victims of Terrorism

The Prime Minister had a brief meeting with your Secretary of State, the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in her room in the House of Commons after Questions today.

Mrs Thatcher said that she expected renewed Parliamentary interest in the question of compensation for those who suffered from terrorist attacks. Mr. Nott said that he expected to see an internal paper on some aspects of this question shortly. The Home Secretary said that there were some particular problems affecting the police which he would be discussing separately with Mr. Nott.

The Prime Minister would be grateful for a clear, factual paper distinguishing between the legislative provisions covering compensation for soldiers and civilians who have suffered from acts of terrorism in Northern Ireland, soldiers and civilians who have been similarly affected on the mainland and any special provisions affecting the police. It would also be helpful if the same paper could, for comparative purposes, describe the provision for compensating those who suffered loss or injury in the Falklands campaign.

I am aware that briefing on some of the elements listed above has been provided for the Prime Minister before. But it would be a great help if all the necessary information could be brought together in one short paper. Since these matters could be raised at Prime Minister's Question time on Thursday, I should be most grateful if you, in consultation with the Home Office and, as necessary, the Northern Ireland Office, could let us have such a paper by close of play on 8 December.

I am copying this letter to John Halliday (Home Office) and John Lyon (Northern Ireland Office).

A. J. COLES

Richard Mottram, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence.

Gentleman by saying, first, that those over the age of 16 in full-time education are increasing, which must be good, and, secondly, that the costs are very high.

Mr. Whitehead: Is the Minister aware that in his usual innumerate way, he even got wrong the number and name of the Labour Party's policy document? Is he aware that in the document "Learning for Life—16 to 19 Education", the Opposition are pledged to introduce educational maintenance allowances and that they will so do? Will he further tell the House, with 3½ million unemployed and with over 600,000 young people under 20 unemployed, if he cannot accept the case for EMAs now, at what level of unemployment will he do so?

Mr. Shelton: The cost would be about £400 million. If we had an additional £400 million to put into education today, we should find other priorities on which to spend it.

Disabled Students (Allowance)

16. **Mr. Hooley** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will introduce a mandatory disabled students' allowance of £275.

Mr. Waldegrave: My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State has no plans to change the basis of the additional allowance payable to disabled students under the Education (Mandatory Awards) Regulations.

Mr. Hooley: Is the Minister aware that that is a mean reply? Surely he accepts that disabled students must have additional money in order to enable them to follow through a course in higher education to their full benefit? Will he give the matter further thought?

Mr. Waldegrave: The hon. Gentleman must be unaware that we have doubled the sum available under discretionary awards for disabled students from £250 to £500, and that has been generally welcomed.

Church Schools

17. **Mr. Hannam** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he plans to issue the regulations relating to the changes in the composition of the governing bodies of Church schools which results from the Education Act 1980; and if he will make a statement.

20. **Mr. Brinton** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what progress is being made with the appointment of new governing bodies to denominational schools.

Dr. Boyson: Following the recent agreement with the Church of England at national level on an appropriate model document and procedures, and in the light of the necessary informal preparatory work at local level, we are now able to press ahead with formal action on requests received for new-style instruments of government for their schools. The only regulations involved are those made last year under section 4 of the Education Act 1980 which remove the need for certain common-form provisions in individual instruments.

Mr. Hannam: Will my hon. Friend accept that his announcement that progress is at last being made with the implementation of the Act will be welcome throughout Britain? Will he confirm that it is being carried out on a kind of ecclesiastical area-by-area basis? Will he say where Exeter stands in the list?

Dr. Boyson: I am delighted to do so. Exeter is coming to the top of the list, and it will receive its offer early next year.

Mr. Brinton: In view of the delay, will my hon. Friend consider allowing the new governing bodies an extended period of office?

Dr. Boyson: I shall consider my hon. Friend's request. I can also tell him that Rochester's articles will be going out before Christmas.

PRIME MINISTER

Engagements

Q1. **Mr. Foulkes** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for Tuesday 7 December.

The Prime Minister (Mrs. Margaret Thatcher): This morning I had meetings with ministerial colleagues and others. In addition to my duties in the House I shall be having further meetings later today. This evening I hope to have an audience of Her Majesty the Queen.

Mr. Foulkes: Has the Prime Minister seen today the unanimous report of the Select Committee on Scottish Affairs which says that to close Ravenscraig would devastate the west of Scotland? If the Secretary of State for Scotland can openly oppose that closure, why cannot the Prime Minister stop making cryptic comments and openly oppose what would be a disastrous closure?

The Prime Minister: My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Industry will be making a statement about all five major steel plants before the House rises for the Christmas Recess.

Mr. Cormack: Will my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister take time today to express the absolute abhorrence of people throughout Britain at the appalling attitude of Mr. Ken Livingstone who has invited front men from the IRA to Britain? Will she also comment on Mr. Livingstone's refusal to comment on the outrage that was perpetrated last night?

The Prime Minister: May I take the last point first? I believe that the whole House will join in sending its deepest sympathy to those who were bereaved and injured in Northern Ireland last evening. This is one of the most horrifying crimes in Ulster's tragic history. The slaughter of innocent people is the product of evil and depraved minds, and the act of callous and brutal men. No words can express our absolute revulsion and complete condemnation.

However, nothing will deflect the Government from their resolve to free Ulster of terrorism and to restore peace to Northern Ireland. We should pay tribute to the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the security services, whose selfless service we admire. We shall not rest until the merciless killers are brought to justice.

Even before yesterday, most right hon. and hon. Members were astounded that the invitation to which my hon. Friend referred was ever issued. I believe that the nation would now find it intolerable if it were not withdrawn.

Mr. Foot rose—

Mr. Wellbeloved: Repudiate Livingstone.

Mr. Foot: First, may I say on behalf of all Labour Members how strongly we condemn this wanton act of mass murder? We have always condemned those methods and we shall continue to condemn them. We will do everything in our power to ensure that such methods will not succeed. Anybody who doubts our determination in that respect has not followed these events over many years. My right hon. Friend the Member for Mansfield (Mr. Concannon), our spokesman on Northern Ireland affairs, has reiterated that on many occasions. We will do everything in our power to stamp out and defeat those who conduct such campaigns of mass murder.

Now may I turn to the other question because we must proceed with them as well? Who is in charge of the steel industry?

Hon. Members: No. Livingstone.

Mr. Speaker: Order. The House must listen to the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. Foot: May I ask the right hon. Lady about the steel industry?

Hon. Members: Livingstone.

Mr. Foot: Our views on the bombings have been known and they remain the same. If anybody—

Mr. Wellbeloved: Repudiate Livingstone.

Mr. Speaker: Order. I do not know what shouts are emanating from below the Gangway—

Mr. Cryer: It was the hon. Member for Erith and Crayford (Mr. Wellbeloved).

Mr. Speaker: Order. I know who but not what. On a day like this, I suggest that the House should settle down and proceed.

Mr. Foot: I hope that nobody in the House will try to use the bombings for political purposes.

Mr. Dixon: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I cannot hear what the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition are saying. It is this crowd here—not my hon. Friends on the Front Bench below the Gangway, but these Social Democrats in front of me. Will you please tell them to shut up until they are called, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. Speaker: Order. I welcome such support. We do our name and reputation no good by trying to shout down hon. Members when the House wants to get on with serious business.

Mr. Foot: I return to the steel industry. Nothing will dissuade us from protecting the jobs and livelihoods of people in the steel industry. They are matters of major importance to the House and the country. Who is responsible in the Government for the steel industry? Is it the Secretary of State for Industry, the right hon. Lady or the Cabinet, because it is several weeks since the Secretary of State for Industry said that he was taking responsibility? Since then, every week, more steel workers have lost their jobs. How soon will the Government make a statement on the subject? Is it not a fact that the Government have taken responsibility for the steel industry and must answer to the House and the country?

The Prime Minister: My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Industry has already told the House, as I have on a number of occasions, that there will be a

political decision on the future of the five major steel plants. The Secretary of State for Industry is considering the British Steel Corporation's corporate plan for next year. He will be able to make a statement to the House before the House rises for the Christmas Recess.

Mr. Foot: It is not just the five major plants, but the thousands of workers who are losing their jobs in other plants. When will the Government make a statement about their jobs?

The Prime Minister: Last week we had a major debate on the steel industry when the facts and figures were given and comprehensively debated.

Mr. Wilkinson: Will my right hon. Friend find time today to ask the Leader of the Opposition to join her in seeking the withdrawal of the invitation to the political apologists of murder and mutilation who have been invited by Mr. Ken Livingstone? It is an affront to the people of London.

The Prime Minister: My hon. Friend has already heard that I think that it would be intolerable and insensitive if that invitation were not withdrawn. Those people who have suffered and been bereaved would feel it deeply. What the Leader of the Opposition says is a matter for him.

"The Falklands War at Sea"

Q2. **Mr. Dalyell** asked the Prime Minister whether, pursuant to her answer to the hon. Member for Ogmire (Mr. Powell) on 23 November, Her Majesty's Government will acquire a copy of "The Falklands War at Sea" by Max Hastings and Simon Jenkins for the library of No. 10 Downing Street.

The Prime Minister: No, Sir. I understand that this book will not be published until next year.

Mr. Dalyell: Hastings and Jenkins have asserted in print that the Prime Minister and Lord Carrington despatched three submarines to the South Atlantic on Monday 29 March, two days before the Wednesday when the crisis came to the Prime Minister's knowledge out of the blue. Is that true or untrue?

The Prime Minister: All those matters are being considered by the Franks committee. The hon. Gentleman must await its report. There is nothing that I can usefully add until the report is published when we shall debate it.

Mr. Stokes: Is my right hon. Friend aware that when the history books are written they will look upon her conduct in the Falklands conflict with pride, unlike the hon. Member for West Lothian (Mr. Dalyell) whose contribution will be lucky to have even an unfavourable footnote?

Engagements

Q3. **Mr. Chapman** asked the Prime Minister if she will list her official engagements for Tuesday 7 December.

The Prime Minister: I refer my hon. Friend to the reply that I gave some moments ago.

Mr. Chapman: I recognise that my right hon. Friend was one of only 13 Prime Ministers, or the equivalent, who attended the United Nations second special session on

STATEMENT.

[The Prime Minister]

addition, certain bureaucratic measures are operated that make it even more difficult for our exports to get into its market. There can be no question of Spain becoming a full member of the EC unless the Spanish side of the border with Gibraltar is fully and properly opened.

Bombing Incident (Ballykelly)

4.3 pm

The Under-Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Mr. John Patten): With permission, Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a statement on yesterday's bombing at Ballykelly, County Londonderry. Before I begin my statement, I wish to tell the House that my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State deeply regrets being unable to address the House because of bad weather conditions on the return journey by air from Northern Ireland. This morning my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State visited the headquarters of the 1st Battalion the Cheshire Regiment at Shackleton barracks, Ballykelly. He visited those being treated in Altnagelvin hospital near Londonderry. He also met the chairman and members of Limavady district council.

At a quarter past 11 yesterday evening a bomb exploded in the Dropping Well Inn at Ballykelly, County Londonderry. No warning was given and the inn was crowded at the time with soldiers from the nearby army camp and civilians from the locality. The walls of the building were badly damaged and the roof collapsed. So far 16 people have died, 11 of them soldiers and five civilians. Four of the civilians were women. In addition, 66 people have been injured. Forty of the injured are now being treated in hospitals in the immediate area and in Belfast. The Irish National Liberation Army has claimed responsibility.

I know that the whole House will join me in condemning this merciless massacre and in expressing our sympathy to the injured and to the relatives of all those who have been killed or hurt. Let nobody pretend that this is anything other than ruthless mass murder. May this atrocity bring home to people, wherever they may be, and if they need any reminder, the true consequences of offering support of any kind to terrorists. Support for terrorists inevitably and invariably means support for what they do.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary will pursue relentlessly its search for the criminals responsible. In this task it will have the unreserved backing of the Government and the House.

Mr. J. D. Concannon (Mansfield): I make no complaint about the Secretary of State not being present to make the statement. I know full well the vagaries of the weather, especially in December, across the stretch of water from Britain to Northern Ireland.

My right hon. and hon. Friends on the Opposition Benches and the whole, I think, of the Labour Party offer our deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of those killed and injured in this barbaric act. May I join in the tribute to all our security forces in carrying out their day-by-day grind in Northern Ireland? They warrant a salute from the House. They have told me that they have tended to be something of a forgotten force of late. I trust that the families and the injured receive the same treatment and consideration as that received by all those who have been killed or injured in our service.

Since Sunday, with the agreement of my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition, I have been asking those responsible for the invitation to the Sinn Féin representatives to withdraw it, and I repeat that request today. I suggest to the Secretary of State—I hope that this

brave people in Afghanistan against Russian aggression rather than merely sitting back and wringing our hands, which seems to be the policy of the European Community so far?

The Prime Minister: We were particularly careful to make it clear that the plight of the peoples in Afghanistan is not forgotten. We look to the new Russian leadership to see what its policy will be towards Afghanistan. Those who are fighting the Soviet Union in Afghanistan seem to be receiving sufficient weapons to enable them to carry out their task of throwing back the occupying forces. I can assure my hon. Friend that no one around that table has forgotten the plight of the peoples in occupied Afghanistan.

Mr. T. W. Urwin (Houghton-le-Spring): As more than three months have elapsed since the Reagan peace initiative on the Middle East was promulgated, since when important proposals have been issued from the Fez summit, does the Prime Minister agree that there should be more positive developments towards securing peace in the Middle East? During the summit, was common agreement reached about the necessity to recognise the right of the PLO to be drawn into negotiations on any matter that affects the future of the Palestinian people?

The Prime Minister: The President's summing-up pointed out:

"The European Council expressed its disappointment at the delay in grasping the political opportunity created by the initiative contained in President Reagan's speech on September 1, 1982, and the will to peace expressed in the declaration of Arab Heads of State meeting at Fez on September 9, 1982." The right hon. Gentleman will be aware of the difficulty of carrying out negotiations to secure the withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of Lebanon. We support Mr. Habib's efforts to attempt to secure that withdrawal. The European policy towards the PLO is as stated in the Venice declaration, which said that the PLO would have to be associated with any settlement.

Mr. David Crouch (Canterbury): Will my right hon. Friend say something more about the consideration by the Council of youth training? Was there any consideration in the Council this time of the German practice of providing full training of three years or more for young people? Does my right hon. Friend agree that that practice is worthy of consideration in Britain?

The Prime Minister: We each have our own scheme of youth training. The German scheme has been different from ours for a long time. It is tied in to a different wage level for young people when they go from school to training in industry, where they have particular apprenticeships. Wages for young people are often very much lower than wages under wages council directions in Britain. We pointed out that we are introducing a scheme in September 1983. The other factor which makes Britain different from many other countries is that most of those countries have conscription for young people, which takes from the unemployment list a whole year's worth of young people who are called up for service in their Armed Forces. We do not have compulsory conscription and we have no intention of introducing it.

Mr. A. J. Beith (Berwick-upon-Tweed): Is the Prime Minister aware of reports that the number of inspectors to be appointed at European level to police the common fisheries policy may be drastically reduced? Since that was

part and parcel of the agreement to the revised common fisheries package, should that not be brought out and debated in the House?

The Prime Minister: The number which has now been agreed—I believe it is 13—is thought to be the appropriate number for monitoring the common fisheries policy.

Mr. Jonathan Aitken (Thanet, East): Will my right hon. Friend shed further light on the apparent new disunity in the EC over the Middle East? Has there been criticism of the fact that Britain alone has refused to receive the delegation of Middle East leaders led by King Hassan of Morocco? In that context, will the Prime Minister explain why her Ministers are able to meet PLO spokesmen but her Government are not?

The Prime Minister: There was no criticism whatsoever in the European Council of Britain's position—none at all. No member of the British Cabinet has ever officially met a representative of the PLO. Contacts are made through officials. My right hon. Friend the Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, met an Arab League delegation some time ago, which included a member of the PLO.

Mr. James Johnson (Kingston upon Hull, West): What special evidence does the Prime Minister possess that made her state a short time ago that she believes that the Danes will settle on 21 December?

The Prime Minister: There was no attempt to gain further concessions on the existing package because we had consistently made it perfectly clear that the negotiating process was at an end. I had made the British position clear when the Danish Prime Minister came to Britain. A meeting of the Common Fisheries Council took place on the Monday before the European Council meeting, at which all the Nine made it quite clear that negotiations were at an end.

It seems to us that that presents Denmark with a new position which it has not faced before. Negotiations are at an end and it either has to agree—it is accepted that the difference between it and the other member States is very small—or it has to face the Nine taking national measures, which would be distasteful for everyone. I cannot give any particular evidence but I still believe that Denmark will agree to the common fisheries policy by the end of the year. The policy is enforced not by the 13 inspectors but by the adjacent coastal States.

Mr. Anthony Beaumont-Dark (Birmingham, Selly Oak): Will my right hon. Friend accept how pleased we were in the Midlands to hear her usual robust comments on the problems that we are having with Japan and Spain over unfair imports? Will she instil into some of her appropriate Ministers the same Gaullist approach in trying to ensure that this untenable situation is changed? I hope that she will accept that some of us feel that the footbridge between Gibraltar and Spain may be bought at the expense of an unfair practice that may bankrupt much of the British motor industry.

The Prime Minister: I spoke strongly about the difficulty with the 1970 agreement between the Community and Spain, by which we are bound by virtue of our accession. We are bound to observe the tariff barriers, which are very disparate. Spain can get into our market, which has a 4 per cent. tariff barrier, and shelter in its own market behind a 37 per cent. tariff barrier. In



Northern Ireland Office

Great George Street, London, SW1P 3AJ

Telephone 01-233-3346/3766/8844/4419

Fed 2505

*With the Compliments
of the
Parliamentary Clerk*

7 December 1982

BOMBING AT BALLYKELLY, CO LONDONDERRY, 6 DECEMBER 1982

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

With permission, Mr Speaker, I should like to make a statement on yesterday's bombing at Ballykelly, Co Londonderry.

2. At a quarter past eleven yesterday evening a bomb exploded in the Dropping Well Inn at Ballykelly. No warning was given and the Inn was crowded at the time with soldiers from the nearby Army camp and civilians from the locality. The walls of the building were badly damaged and the roof collapsed. So far [16] people have died [11] of them soldiers, *and* ⁵ civilians; [4] of the civilians were women. In addition [66] people have been injured.

40 of the injured are now being treated in hospitals in the immediate area and in Belfast. The Irish National Liberation Army has claimed responsibility

3. I know the whole House will join me in condemning this appalling atrocity and in expressing our sympathy to the injured and to the relatives of all those who have been killed or hurt. Let nobody pretend that this is anything other than ruthless mass murder. May this atrocity bring home to people, wherever they may be, and *if* they need any reminder, the true consequences of offering support of any kind to the terrorists. Support for terrorists inevitably and necessarily means support for what they do.

Ireland

Copy to Bi, RC
 & Press Officers
 + John ~~C. S.~~ ~~AR~~ $\frac{6}{12}$
 JK 6/12

KEN LIVINGSTONE'S INVITATION TO MORRISON AND ADAMS

'Red Ken' Livingstone, leader of the GLC and 26 Labour GLC councillors have invited Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison to visit London on 14 December. They have made it clear that the invitation was made privately ie it is not an official invitation by the GLC itself. During the visit Morrison and Adams plan to meet Labour MPs as well as GLC councillors and address a public meeting in Islington Town Hall.

Morrison is quoted today as saying "We want to explain what exactly is going on that all the British myths have been shattered by the Sinn Fein victory in the recent elections and that the Republican movement and the Liberation struggle in Northern Ireland have public support".

Reaction among Labour MPs is mixed - Merlyn Rees has condemned the invitation and visit while Clive Soley has given it a guarded welcome. Conservatives and Unionists are united in condemning it.

Line to take

The Northern Ireland Office and Ministers have no comment to make on the invitation, and you should turn down interview bids on the subject.

The Home Office is the lead department. They are saying:

1. Ken Livingstone's views are a matter for Ken Livingstone.
2. British citizens are free to move about Britain as they wish.
3. If asked, they are outlining the terms of the Prevention of Terrorism Act viz any police force may detain for 48 hours (extendable to 5 days) any persons suspected of involvement in terrorist activities; alternatively any force may apply to the Home Secretary for an Exclusion Order preventing such persons from visiting a particular area. The Home Office are being very careful to emphasise that these powers apply only to persons suspected of being involved in terrorist activities.

The invitation was actually issued by Stephen Bundred, GLC Labour councillor for Islington North; he was interviewed on TV last night (Sunday) and made the following remarks:

"You can't have it both ways; you can't encourage people to take part in the democratic process then refuse to deal with them when they get elected as Jim Prior has done."

If asked about this, you should refer to our existing line on dealing with Sinn Fein Assemblymen:

"There is a major difference between groups who use the democratic process solely and those who use the democratic process in

/...

conjunction with supporting or endorsing violence to achieve their political ends. They are the ones who are trying to have it both ways. Because of that, NIO officials and junior Ministers will deal with Sinn Fein Assemblymen on constituency matters only."

LIZ DRUMMOND
Press Office

6 December 1982

Sources:- Home Office Press
Office
John Lyon

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
SAVING TELEGRAM

BY BAG

FM WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

TO FCO SAVING TEL NO: 27 OF 2 DECEMBER 1982

FOR INFO NIO (LONDON) AND NIO (BELFAST)

MR PRIOR'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

1. Following is the record, agreed with PS/Mr Prior, of Mr Prior's meeting in Washington with the Deputy Secretary of State, Mr Kenneth Dam, at 1700 hours on 16 November: _____

Present:

The Hon Kenneth Dam (Deputy
Secretary of State)

The Rt Hon James Prior MP

Sir Oliver Wright (HM Ambassador)

Mr Richard Burt (Assistant
Secretary of State for
European Affairs)

Mr David Gilliland (Director

of Information,

Mr Keith Smith, Northern

Northern Ireland Office)

European Bureau, State

Mr John Lyon, Principal

Department

Private Secretary to

Mr Steven Geis, Northern

Mr Prior

European Bureau, State

Mr J S Wall, HM Embassy

Department

Mr Dam said that he had spent a lot of time in Britain, particularly when he was researching a book, since published, about the development of North Sea oil licensing. His only acquaintance with Ireland was with Shannon airport. He had read about Northern Ireland and had of course been briefed in the State Department. He wished he understood it better.

Mr Prior said that he thought that the British Government had been right to take its initiative on establishing the Assembly, although there were still certain difficulties. But it was not by any means proved that it could not be made to work

CONFIDENTIAL

A. J. C. 8/12
/ CERTAIN

Certain difficulties had to be overcome notably getting the minority community to play a part. With a little more help from the south, it was possible that the SDLP might have tried to make things work. It would now take a while before they could be wooed. It was pointless to try just at present. It was ^a hopeful sign that the Unionists had not wrecked the Assembly (although some of them had initially tried but ^{they} had been thwarted by others who were determined to give things a try). The members of the Assembly had now got their feet under the table. They could not of course have real power transferred to them until the SDLP were also present and until agreement could be reached which would command widespread support throughout the Northern Ireland community.

2. Mr Dam asked whether this meant that things were now in a holding pattern and whether this could be sustained. Mr Prior replied that there was something of a holding pattern at present but such patterns never lasted long in Northern Ireland. Much would depend on whether the newer generation of members of the Official Unionist Party saw it as in their long term interests to make concessions which would enable the SDLP to play their part and whether the SDLP could avoid looking over their shoulder to the greener elements within their own party. A lot would also depend upon Anglo-Irish relations. The difficulty was to make progress which would bring the SDLP in but without driving the Unionists out.

3. Mr Burt asked what kind of dialogue Mr Prior was

CONFIDENTIAL

/currently

CONFIDENTIAL

currently having with the SDLP. During his own recent discussions with the Irish, the Irish Government had suggested that there might be ^{an} advantage in a rather more informal set of talks with the SDLP. Mr Prior replied that he had seen the SDLP ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~previous~~ ^{previous} ~~week~~. He had expressed disappointment at their decision not to take their seats in the Assembly. ^{They were} /elected representatives and would be treated as such with access to Ministers, etc.. He had suggested that the SDLP might appoint people to shadow the Committees in the Assembly and to feed in their views, ie. to try to establish a pattern of cooperation even though the SDLP had not taken their seats. There was no point in trying to isolate the SDLP. The Government would try to cooperate with them. But it would be damaging to think that there was some easy way of persuading the SDLP to take their seats and matters would have to rest for a bit. It was somewhat encouraging that the Unionist members of the Assembly had, almost as their first act, sent a message to the SDLP elected members asking ^{them} /to take their seats.

4. Mr Burt commented that the success of Provisional Sinn Fein in taking 10% of the votes in the recent Assembly elections was a disturbing phenomenon. Mr Prior said that Provisional Sinn Fein had won more seats than had been expected, ^{but} /even in ^{the} / 1981 local elections, which were not in themselves particularly significant, they had obtained 7% of the vote.

CONFIDENTIAL

5. Mr Dam asked what effect the general election in the Republic of Ireland was likely to have on Anglo-Irish relations. Mr Prior commented that almost the only plank in Mr Haughey's election platform was to accuse Garret Fitzgerald of being a 'Brit lover'. This might compel Dr Fitzgerald to take a harder line towards Britain than he would wish in order to live down that image. Whatever the outcome of the Irish election therefore things would not be easy. It was certainly true that Mr Haughey had made his life very difficult. When the British Government was preparing its new policy in January/February the Republic were holding elections and paid virtually no attention to what was going on. Mr Prior himself had had to get on with his plans because of the Parliamentary timetable, ^{and} because the closer things got to a British general election the more difficult it would be to make progress. What he had not appreciated was what turned out to be the enormous difference between Dr Fitzgerald and Mr Haughey. Garret Fitzgerald had been in favour of an Assembly whereas Mr Haughey had been totally opposed to it. Mr Burt asked about the so-called Irish dimension. Mr Prior said that it was possible to have an Irish dimension but it would take some time. Conspiracy theories abounded among the Unionists and one unhelpful outcome of the recent NORAID trial was that it would confirm Enoch Powell and others in their view that the US in general, and the CIA in particular, were part of a conspiracy to undermine the Unionist position.

6. Mr Dam asked how stable things would be if policy was

CONFIDENTIAL

/a matter

CONFIDENTIAL

a matter of maintaining the status quo. Mr Prior replied that we had a better grip of the security situation than for some years. ^{The} presence of the army had been lessened. Our information on what was going on was much better than before. Until the sectarian killings following the Assembly elections, 1982 had been the best year in security terms since the troubles began. Things could turn very nasty if these assassinations were extended eg to members of the Assembly /in 1981, during the hunger strikes, the ^{community in} majority Northern Ireland had come close to boiling over but had not actually done so.

7. Mr Burt asked how long the British Government could keep the Assembly going if the SDLP did not take their seats. Mr Prior said that he thought that the Assembly would carry on beyond the date of the next general election in Great Britain. The Unionists would wish to keep things going in the hope either of a large Conservative majority which would encourage them to ask for straight forward majority rule (not that there was any remote possibility that they would get it) or in the hope that there would be a hung Parliament in which they could play one side off against the other. For their part, the SDLP might hope either to see a Labour Government or a hung Parliament following the next general election in the hope that things might swing more to their point of view.

8. Mr Prior said that the hardest question which he had had to answer during the Parliamentary debate on

his proposals was whether what he had put forward gave both communities in Northern Ireland the ability to prevent progress. The answer was that his proposals did give both sides that blocking power, but this was inevitable.

9. Mr Dam said that the US wished to see reconciliation.

It also hoped to see better Anglo-Irish relations at Governmental level. For its part, the US would continue rigorously to enforce the statutes and regulations governing the export of arms.

He agreed ^{that} Mr Prior could refer publicly to this undertaking.

10. Mr Prior said that ^{the more} the US could do behind the scenes to get those who had been democratically elected to the new Assembly to play their part the better. They could lose so much by not taking part while progress could be made if they did so. Mr Burt commented that it was sometimes better to stay quiet than to speak up. However, during his recent talks with the Irish Government, he had told them that they should give Mr Prior's plan a chance to work. In other words, the US had been very supportive in private. Mr Prior said that, for his part, he would do all he could to try to get relations with Dublin on a better footing. He had already made it clear publicly that the British Government would not go back on agreements already reached. We had however lost ground over Mr Haughey's determination to knock Britain around during the Falklands dispute. Mr Prior described ^{how} his attempts to arrange a meeting with Mr Haughey in the summer had come to nothing. It remained the case that he could not really make progress unless Anglo-Irish relations were on an even keel. ~~///~~ The meeting ended at 1745 hours. WRIGHT

LIMITED
RID
NAD
INFO D
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SEC D
PUSD
PS
PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/MR ONSLOW
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
LORD N GORDON LENNOX
MR GIFFARD
MR ADAMS
MR GOODISON
MR URE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED

SECRET



10 DOWNING STREET

Included
File AA
4
cc NIO
Ian Gow

From the Principal Private Secretary

ca

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

DISCUSSION BETWEEN
MR GEOFFREY SLOAN AND MR CLIVE ABBOTT

Thank you for your minute of 29 November (A082/0313), which I have shown to the Prime Minister.

On the two outstanding points, the Prime Minister would be content to omit paragraph 10 of the draft letter, since the reassertion of the constitutional guarantee is not in issue in this correspondence. On the latter part of paragraph 7, the Prime Minister would prefer to confine the statement to verifiable facts. The existence or otherwise of agreements is verifiable: that of "understandings" is not. With this in mind, she has suggested that the words "or understandings" should be deleted from the first sentence of paragraph 7 and that the second sentence of paragraph 7 should read:-

"Ministers have not entered into any such agreements nor have officials of the Northern Ireland Office".

I am copying this minute to the recipients of yours.

F.R.B.

2 December 1982

SECRET

Please see further amendments



There are two remaining issues:-

1. Do you agree with Mr. Prior that para. 10 of the draft letter should be deleted?

2. You were previously worried about the expression of confidence in the latter part of the last sentence of para. 7. Are you prepared to agree to it in the light of what Mr. Prior and Sir R. Armstrong say? The alternatives suggested by Sir R. Armstrong seem to me worse, but the expression of confidence could be attributed to the Secretary of State alone.

Ref. AO82/0313

MR BUTLER

Discussions between Mr Geoffrey Sloan and Mr Clive Abbott

Thank you for your minute of 17th November.

FERB. 1.12.

2. I have written to Mr Powell, to offer him the opportunity of seeing the record of the meeting which Mr Gow and I had with him on 1st November. He has accepted the offer, and I have sent him the record, under cover of a letter seeking his help in elucidating the point referred to in the third paragraph of your minute.

3. As to the second letter to Mr Powell, I have amended the draft to take account of the Prime Minister's suggestions on paragraphs 8 and 9, and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland's suggestions on paragraph 9. I attach a revised draft accordingly. There remain two points outstanding:

i. The Secretary of State has questioned whether paragraph 10 (the reassertion of the constitutional guarantee) is necessary in the letter to Mr Powell. It clearly is not necessary; it seemed to me that it might be helpful to end the letter with such a reassertion, but I am of course perfectly content to omit the paragraph, if the Prime Minister agrees that I should do so.

The point is not an issue in this correspondence. No. I am content to omit it!

ii. You said that the Prime Minister would prefer to delete the expression of opinion in the latter part of the last sentence of paragraph 7. You will have seen the Secretary of State's views on this, as contained in paragraph 4 of

Attached at flag A -> Mr Lyon's minute of 24th November. I think that this sentence goes to the heart of Mr Powell's allegations that Northern Ireland Office officials have been conspiring with Irish Government officials to reach agreements without telling their Ministers. I should very much prefer to



retain the sentence, which (like Mr Prior) I believe to be true.

I deliberately phrased that part of the sentence as an expression of Ministerial confidence in the integrity of officials. The point could of course be expressed differently: for example:

open or secret -

Ministers have not entered into any such agreements ~~(or understandings)~~. Nor have officials of the Northern Ireland Office ~~or officers of any other Department of Her Majesty's Government~~ sought or made any such agreements or understandings with officials of the ~~Irish Government~~.

These flat factual assertions are even more dangerous than the expression of opinion, in my view.

or: Neither Ministers nor officials of the Northern Ireland Office or of any other Department of Her Majesty's Government have sought or made any such agreements or understandings with Ministers or officials of the Irish Government.

I should still prefer the original formulation, with its expression of Ministerial confidence, to either of the alternatives. Of the two alternatives I slightly prefer the first to the second.

4. I am sending copies of this minute and the revised draft to Mr Lyon and to Mr Gow.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

29th November 1982

I have this difficulty -

while the existence or otherwise of an agreement can be ascertained - I do not see how you can make a dispute an

SECRET

understanding. I am anxious in this letter to stick to verifiable facts. (as we not therefore shorten it or close (see para 4))

DRAFT LETTER FROM SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG TO
THE RT HON J ENOCH POWELL MBE MP, HOUSE OF
COMMONS

I have been reflecting on our conversation on 1 November.

2. On the particular matter of Mr Sloan's conversations with Mr Abbott, I gave you an account of the inquiries which I had made. You were able to add to my knowledge in two respects:

- (1) The manuscript notes, photocopies of which Mr Molyneaux sent to Mr Gow, were not (as Mr Gow and I both understood them to be) the notes which Mr Sloan made during his interviews, but they were an intermediate stage between the notes made at the time of the interviews and the typescripts which Mr Molyneaux sent to Mr Gow on 29 June and 18 August 1982. You told me that you had copies of Mr Sloan's original notes - indeed you showed me a copy of one page from them - and you said that you had worked from those notes in producing the copy of the typescript with red underlinings which you sent to Mr Gow and to me on 21 October.

(2) Mr Sloan had given an oral account of his interview with Mr Abbott on 26 January 1981 to Mr Molyneaux on the evening of that same day, and an account of his interview on 17 November 1981 to you on or very shortly after that day. I told you that this had not emerged from Mr Sloan's discussion with Mr Payne, in which Mr Sloan indicated that he did not give Mr Molyneaux the typescript notes until May 1982, but said nothing about oral briefings immediately after the interviews. Indeed in the discussion Mr Sloan told Mr Payne that he had met you only once, and then only socially on an occasion when he was seeing Mr Molyneaux and you came into the room.

3. As I told you, as a result of my inquiries I was faced with a clear conflict as between on the one hand Mr Sloan's notes of his interviews with Mr Abbott, and Mr Sloan's assertions as to their accuracy as a record of what Mr Abbott said, and on the other hand Mr Abbott's assertions, which I myself tested in two long discussions with him, that Mr Sloan's notes are so inaccurate, incomplete, misleading and distorted as

to bear little relation to what he actually said. They could not both be right; there was of course no verbatim record of either of the interviews; and I could see no way of resolving this conflict with certainty. I hope that I was able to say enough to make clear to you why, given other circumstances, including the way in which Mr Sloan's notes came to be made, the failure to check them with Mr Abbott at the time, and the long delay before they were produced, I had reported to the Prime Minister as my conclusion that those notes could not be relied upon as an account of what Mr Abbott said, or as satisfactory evidence upon which to call in question Mr Abbott's integrity and the veracity of his rebuttals of Mr Sloan's account of his answers to Mr Sloan's questions.

4. You explained to me that you had regarded Mr Abbott's answers to Mr Sloan's questions, as reported by Mr Sloan, not so much as significant in themselves as illustrative (if not probative) in a more general context of what you saw as a persistent determination - one might

even say a conspiracy - on the part of Northern Ireland Office officials over a long period of years but particularly since May 1979 to bring into being the institutions of a devolved and at least potentially "power-sharing" government in Northern Ireland, against the wishes of many people in Northern Ireland, in pursuance of agreements or understandings reached between them and by officials of the Irish Government in Dublin wholly or partly without the authority or knowledge of British Ministers. You drew attention in this context to changes in the policy of members of the present Government as between the statements made by the Conservative Party on Northern Ireland before the Election in May 1979 and the policies they followed and the statements they made after they took office; and you attributed those changes of policies, which you thought mistaken, to the advice which Ministers had received from Northern Ireland Office officials, and specifically to what you described as a lack of candour on the part of those officials in the advice which they gave to Ministers in the British Government and in particular in the information which they gave to Ministers about the

contents of their contacts with officials of the Irish Government in Dublin. You believed that Northern Ireland Office officials had been determined to work for the establishment of an assembly in Northern Ireland, in order that such an assembly might provide a Northern Ireland component for the so-called "parliamentary tier" of Anglo-Irish relations which successive Taoiseachs in Dublin had been known to favour. (In that connection you reminded me that in a speech which you made on 25 September you had said that in his interview with Mr Sloan on 26 January 1981 Mr Abbott had made observations which could not have been made without foreknowledge of the Bill which Mr Prior (not then yet Secretary of State for Northern Ireland) was subsequently to introduce; I told you that Mr Abbott had said that the observations which he had made - which were not as reported by Mr Sloan - had not been based on a foreknowledge of Mr Prior's Bill, which was not at that time under consideration and of which he had no such

foreknowledge, but were related to proposals for "rolling devolution" which had been advanced some months earlier by Dr Brian Mawhinney and were in the public domain and on the table at Mr Atkins's conference which ended in the autumn of 1980.)

5. These are of course serious charges, and I accept that, if well founded, they would constitute a serious reflection on the professional integrity of the civil servants concerned and as such would be of much concern to me, as the Joint Head of the Civil Service, as well as to the Prime Minister and to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

6. It is for the Secretary of State to answer for the policies and management of his Department and the conduct of his officials; but I have discussed the matter with him, as I told you I would, and with the Prime Minister. What follows is written on their authority and with their agreement.

7. At no time have Ministers of Her Majesty's Government taken the view or been advised by officials that their freedom of action with regard to constitutional arrangements for Northern Ireland is limited by agreements ~~or~~ ~~understandings~~, open or secret, with the Irish Government. Ministers have not entered into any such agreements ~~or understandings~~, ^{nor have} and ~~they have every confidence that~~ officials of the Northern Ireland Office, ~~and of other Departments~~

~~of Her Majesty's Government have not sought
or made any such agreements or understandings
with officials of the Irish Government.~~

8. There have of course been over the years many contacts at many levels and in many Departments between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Republic, which have had the objective either of improving co-operation between the two Governments on matters where such co-operation was or could be of common interest (notably on the question of cross-border security and on economic links of various kinds), or more generally (and particularly between December 1980 and November 1981) of improving relations between the two Governments and between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. In the course of such contacts both Ministers and officials of the British Government have on occasion informed representatives of the Irish Government about political developments and prospects in Northern Ireland, and those representatives have expressed their views on those matters. It does not follow, nor is it the case, that Her Majesty's Government, or officials of that Government, are in some sense dancing to the tune of the Irish Government.

9. Her Majesty's Government's objectives and intentions in proposing the establishment of an assembly in Northern Ireland were explained by the Secretary of State and his colleagues in the Parliamentary proceedings on the Bill to give effect to that proposal. So far as any Anglo-Irish body at Parliamentary level is concerned, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State have made clear that it will be up to the two Parliaments concerned to decide about this; and it will be a matter to be decided in agreement with the two Parliaments to what extent members of the Assembly should participate.

10. It is the fixed policy of Her Majesty's Government, and of Parliament, as enshrined in the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973, that there can and shall be no change in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom except by the agreement of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland. At all times this fact has informed and continues to inform the conduct of policy in the Northern Ireland Office and Her Majesty's Government's dealings with the Government of the Republic of Ireland.

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



Ireland
NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

GREAT GEORGE STREET,

LONDON SW1P 3AJ

D T Piper Esq
Private Secretary to the
Secretary of State
Ministry of Defence
Main Building
Whitehall
LONDON SW1

Mr Ricketts *mm* *27/11*

26 November 1982

Dear Piper

will request reply via

Thank you for your letter of 15 November about correspondence with Members of the Northern Ireland Assembly.

So far as letters from Assembly Members to NIO Ministers are concerned, our Ministers propose, as a general rule, to reply personally, provided the subject matter falls within their responsibilities. This approach reflects the importance which we attach to the Assembly and its pre-devolution role of scrutinising direct rule. The Secretary of State does not recommend that Ministers in other Government Departments should reply personally, unless the Assembly Member qualifies for a Ministerial reply in any case because he is an MP or an MEP, but suggests that a reply from the Private Secretary would be appropriate.

We are not encouraging Assembly Members to correspond with Government Departments other than the Northern Ireland Office. Their responsibilities are primarily directed to matters administered by the Northern Ireland Departments. Their views on such issues as defence policy have no particular standing. There are however topics, such as recruitment to the UDR, where there is genuinely a special Northern Ireland interest. Rather than attempt to define topics in theory in advance, it would seem best to adopt a general practice of a Private Secretary reply which will provide a means of keeping an eye on the demands which Assembly Members are making and ensure, within Departments, some consistency of practice. This seems to us especially desirable during the Assembly's early life.

We well understand the risks of trespassing on the territory of MPs, but a Private Secretary reply would also show a courtesy to Assembly Members which would in our view, be consistent with the Government's wish to see the Assembly develop and take on greater responsibilities in due course.

/.....

It may well be that a reply to an Assembly Member can be substantially shorter than that normally given to an MP. Departments will have to make their own judgment on this according to the circumstances, and the degree of legitimate "Northern Ireland interest."

If Departments receive letters which seek to make a policy point, eg, from Sinn Fein, particular care will be needed and in cases of doubt we shall be very happy to offer advice on the best approach.

In NIO we do not propose to copy letters from Assembly Members to the appropriate MP, and, while recognising the sensitivities here, we do not suggest that other Departments should do so.

If our Ministers receive letters outside their responsibilities, a Private Secretary acknowledgement will be sent to the Assembly Member informing him that the correspondence has been passed to the appropriate Department.

I attach for your information a list of those elected on 20 October to the Northern Ireland Assembly.

Finally, we should be glad to be kept informed of any difficulties which you or other Departments may have in your dealings with the Assembly so that we can, if necessary, send out further advice.

I am copying this letter to Tim Flesher (No 10) and to the Private Secretaries to Ministers in charge of Government Departments.

*Yours sincerely
Derek Hill*

D A HILL

Encls

P.S. I have just taken over from Mike Hopkins

MEMBERS OF NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY 1982

Mr G ADAMS 183 Whiterock Road Belfast 12	Belfast West	Sinn Fein
Councillor Fraser AGNEW 1 Knockview Crescent Newtownabbey BT36 6UD	South Antrim Member Northern H&SS Board Newtownabbey Borough Councillor	Official Unionist
Mr John Alexander ALLEN "Avonmore" Clooney Park East Londonderry	Londonderry	Official Unionist
Mr James Hugh ALLISTER 50 Brigadie Gardens Ballymena	North Antrim	DUP
Councillor John William BEATTIE 65 Carricknadarriff Road Hillsborough Co Down	South Antrim Lisburn Borough Councillor	DUP
Councillor John Robert BEGGS 9 Carnduff Road Ballyvenmstown Larne	North Antrim Member North Eastern Education & Library Board Mayor Larne Borough Council	Official Unionist
Councillor William Bradshaw BELL 17 Ashton Park Finaghy Belfast 10	South Antrim Belfast City Councillor	Official Unionist
Councillor William George BLEAKES 8 Drumbeg Road Ballyvaughlis Lisburn	North Down Member Eastern H&SS Board Member Central Services Agency for H&SS Lisburn Borough Councillor	Official Unionist

Councillor William BROWN 16 Edendarriff Road Ballynahinch	South Down Down District Councillor	Official Unionist
Councillor David Jeremy Michael BURCHILL 37 Edgumbe Gardens Belfast BT4 2EG	Belfast East Member Eastern H&SS Board Belfast City Councillor	Official Unionist
Councillor David Norman CALVERT 10 Corby Drive Lurgan Co Armagh	Armagh Craigavon Borough Councillor	DUP
Councillor Gregory Lloyd CAMPBELL 10 Melrose Terrace Waterside Londonderry	Londonderry Londonderry City Councillor	DUP
Mr Owen Gerard CARRON MP Drumbrochas Macken Enniskillen Co Fermanagh	Fermanagh/South Tyrone	Sinn Fein
Councillor John CARSON 20 Cardy Road Greyabbey Newtownards Co Down	Belfast North Belfast City Councillor	Official Unionist
Councillor Seamus Anthony CLOSE 49 Saintfield Road Lisburn	South Antrim Lisburn Borough Councillor	Alliance
Councillor David Somerville COOK 31 Rugby Road Belfast 7	Belfast South Belfast City Councillor	Alliance

DENOTES COUNCILLOR

Councillor Cecil James COUSLEY
The ...s
139 Bann Road
Ballymoney

North Antrim
Ballymoney Borough
Councillor

DUP

Mr Joseph Austin CURRIE
35 Tullycullion Road
Tullydraw
Donaghmore

Fermanagh/South Tyrone

SDLP

Councillor John Walls CUSHNAHAN
681 Antrim Road
Belfast
BT15 4EG

North Down
Belfast City Councillor

Alliance

Councillor Ivan DAVIS
29 Roseville Park
Lisburn
Co Antrim
BT27 4XT

South Antrim
Lisburn Borough
Councillor

DUP

Mr William Albert Boyd DOUGLAS
281 Drumrane Road
Ardinariff
Dungiven
Co Londonderry

Londonderry

Official Unionist

Lord Charles Edward Henry
John DUNLEATE
Ballywalter Park
Newtownards
Co Down
BT22 2PP

North Down

Alliance

Councillor Mrs Dorothy DUNLOP
9 Knockdene Park
Belfast
BT5 7AA

Belfast East
Belfast City Councillor

Official Unionist

Mr Sean Nial FARREN
30 Station Road
Portstewart

North Antrim

SDLP

* DENOTES COUNCILLOR

Mr. FEELY 26 Curative Crescent Newry	South Down	SDLP
Councillor Raymond FERGUSON Killyvilly Enniskillen	Fermanagh/South Tyrone Chairman Fermanagh District Council	Official Unionist
Councillor Clifford FORSYTHE 15 Ballyclare Road Templepatrick Ballyclare	South Antrim Mayor, Newtownabbey Borough Council	Official Unionist
Rev Ivan FOSTER 51 Old Junction Road Kilskeery Trillick Co Tyrone	Fermanagh/South Tyrone Omagh District Councillor	DUP
Councillor Joseph Alexander GASTON 99 Killagan Road Clarryford Ballymena	North Antrim Member North Eastern Education & Library Board Ballymoney Borough Councillor	Official Unionist
Councillor Hugh John Simpson GIBSON 9 Slieve Bearnagh Park Newtownards	North Down Ards Borough Councillor	DUP
Councillor Will GLENDENNING 2 Prince Edward Park Belfast	Belfast West Belfast City Councillor	Alliance
Mr Edgar Samuel David GRAHAM 16 Katrine Park Belfast	Belfast South	Official Unionist
Councillor George GRAHAM 48 Rooney Park Kilkeel Co Down	South Down Chairman Newry & Mourne District Council	DUP

<p>Mr Dick Dennis HAUGHEY 56 Fairhill Road Cookstown Co Tyrone</p>	<p>Mid Ulster</p>	<p>SDLP</p>
<p>Dr Joseph Gerard HENDRON 40 Bristow Park Belfast</p>	<p>Belfast West Member Eastern H&SS Board Belfast City Councillor</p>	<p>SDLP</p>
<p>Mr John HUME MEP 6 West End Park Londonderry</p>	<p>Londonderry</p>	<p>SDLP</p>
<p>Councillor Alan James KANE 47 Morgan's Hill Road Cookstown</p>	<p>Mid Ulster Cookstown District Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Mr James Alexander KILFEDDER MP 'Eastonville' Donaghadee Road Millisle</p>	<p>North Down</p>	<p>UPUP</p>
<p>Mr Thomas James KIRKPATRICK 68 Harberton Park Malone Road Belfast BT9 6TT</p>	<p>Belfast South</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Mr Hugh LOGUE Tannagh Lodge Claudy Co Londonderry</p>	<p>Londonderry</p>	<p>SDLP</p>
<p>Councillor Ken MAGENNIS 10 Springfield Lane Gullaghmore Dungannon</p>	<p>Fermanagh/South Tyrone Dungannon District Councillor</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Mr Paul MAGUIRE 1 Woodgrange Road Downpatrick BT30 8JH</p>	<p>Belfast North</p>	<p>Alliance</p>

DENOTES COUNCILLOR

<p> Councillor for Seamus MALLON 5 Castleview Markethill Armagh </p>	<p> Armagh Member Southern Education & Library Board Armagh District Councillor </p>	<p>SDLP</p>
<p> Mr Gordon MAWHENNEY 506 Doagh Road Newtownabbey BT36 6UF </p>	<p>South Antrim</p>	<p>Alliance</p>
<p> Councillor Frank MILLAR 50 Northwood Drive Belfast BT15 3QP </p>	<p> Belfast North Belfast City Councillor </p>	<p>Unionist</p>
<p> Mr James Henry MOLYNEAUX MP 41 Ballynadrentagh Road Aldergrove, Crumlin Co Antrim </p>	<p>South Antrim</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p> Mr Daniel Gerard MORRISON 51 Falls Road Belfast </p>	<p>Mid Ulster</p>	<p>Sinn Fein</p>
<p> Councillor Adam James MORROW 38 Ballyhanwood Road Belfast BT5 7SN </p>	<p> Belfast East Castlereagh Borough Councillor </p>	<p>Alliance</p>
<p> Mr James McALLISTER 33 St Patrick's Park Cullyhanna Newry </p>	<p>Armagh</p>	<p>Sinn Fein</p>
<p> Mr Robert Law McCARTNEY 2 Circular Road East Cultra Holywood </p>	<p>North Down</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p> Cllr William McCLURE 4 Kenbane Avenue Coleraine </p>	<p> Londonderry Deputy Mayor, Coleraine Borough Council </p>	<p>DUP</p>

<p>44 Councillor Raymond Stuart McCREA 44 Eaig Park Belfast BT6 8NR</p>	<p>Belfast South Belfast City Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Rev Robert Thomas William McCREA The Manse 10 Highfield Road Magherafelt</p>	<p>Mid Ulster Member Northern E&SS Board Magherafelt District Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Councillor Raymond McCULLOUGH 19 Tierkelly Hill Road Ballyronee, Banbridge</p>	<p>South Down Vice Chairman, Banbridge District Council</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Mr James Harold McCUSKER MP 33 Seagoe Road Portadown, Craigavon BT63 5ZM</p>	<p>Armagh</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Mr Jim McDONALD 6 Moytown Road Aghagallon Lurgan</p>	<p>South Antrim</p>	<p>SDLP</p>
<p>Councillor Edward K McGrADY Saul Brae Downpatrick, Co Down</p>	<p>South Down Down District Councillor</p>	<p>Alliance</p>
<p>Mr James Martin McGuINNESS 1 Glendara Londonderry</p>	<p>Londonderry</p>	<p>Sinn Fein</p>
<p>Councillor Jack McKEE 88 Shanlea Drive Craigyhill, Larne</p>	<p>North Antrim Larne Borough Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Councillor Mrs Mary Kathleen McSORLEY 65 Derrynoid Road Draperstown Magherafelt</p>	<p>Mid Ulster Magherafelt District Councillor</p>	<p>SDLP</p>

DENOTES COUNCILLOR

Mr Oliver John NAPIER
63 Victoria Road
Holywood
Co Down

Belfast East
Belfast City Councillor

Alliance

Councillor Sean NEESON
44 Milebush Park
Carrickfergus

North Antrim
Carrickfergus Borough
Councillor

Alliance

Councillor Hugh NEWS
St Johns Wood
10 Woodville Avenue
Lurgan

Armagh
Craigavon Borough
Councillor

SDLP

Councillor James NICHOLSON
147 Keady Road
Ballyards
Armagh

Armagh
Member Southern H & SS
Board
Armagh District Councillor

Official Unionist

Councillor Paddy O'DONOGHUE
8 Park Lane
Newcastle
Co Down

South Down
Member South Eastern
Education & Library Board
Down District Councillor

SDLP

Councillor Paschal Joseph O'HARE
587 Antrim Road
Belfast
BT15 4DX

Belfast North
Belfast City Councillor

SDLP

Rev Ian Richard Kyle PAISLEY MP.MEP.North Antrim
The Parsonage
17 Cyprus Avenue
BELFAST

DUP

Mr Thomas PASSMORE
21 West Circular Crescent
Belfast
BT13 3QP

Belfast West

Official Unionist

Mr John Wesley PENNELLAND
8 Dinchley Gardens
Belfast
BT4 2JB

North Down

DUP

<p>Councillor Peter ROBINSON MP 16 Creggan Way Creggan Belfast BT6 OEE</p>	<p>Belfast East Castlereagh Borough Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Councillor George SEAWRIGHT 20G Forthriver Road Belfast 13</p>	<p>Belfast North Belfast City Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Councillor Mrs Mary SIMPSON 60 Killycomain Road Portadown Craigavon BT63 5JH</p>	<p>Armagh Member Southern Education & Library Board Craigavon Borough Councillor</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Rev William Martin SMYTH MP 6 Mornington Annadale Avenue Belfast BT7 3JS</p>	<p>Belfast South</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Mr John David TAYLOR MEP Mullinure Armagh BT61 9EL</p>	<p>North Down</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Councillor Roy Thompson 21 Greenhill Road Ballyutoag Belfast BT14 8SH</p>	<p>South Antrim Antrim Borough Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Councillor William John THOMPSON 156 Donaghane Road Beragh</p>	<p>Mid-Ulster Member Western H & SS Board Omagh District Councillor</p>	<p>Official Unionist</p>
<p>Councillor Denny Vitty 22 Tudor Oaks Holywood</p>	<p>Belfast East Castlereagh Borough Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>
<p>Councillor James Henry WELLS Legmore House 41 Old Kilmore Road Moir Co Down</p>	<p>South Down Member South Eastern Education & Library Board Lisburn Borough Councillor</p>	<p>DUP</p>

20 NOV 1989

12345
6789



10 DOWNING STREET

C.F.

I now await re-submission
of the papers from Sir Robert
Armstrong - pl. see penultimate
para. of my minute of 17
November.

Pl. will you ~~enquire of~~ ^{make sure that}
Sir R. Armstrong's office knows
that this is the next step.

PERB

25.11

In Code AR 1/11
 Col send to Lynch video recordings of Panorama
 & certain parts for men to use at their discretion
 This recording was sent only to Dublin, Washington & New York
 RID have understood sent instructions about its use - or non-use
 except for internal purposes. Col saw that as its
 only brief use

RESTRICTED

GRS 120

RESTRICTED

FM DUBLIN 241525Z NOV 82

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 335 OF 24 NOVEMBER 1982

AND TO PRIORITY NIO (BELFAST)

INFO WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK

Mr. [Signature]
 Would it be possible to find out
 why Col are distributing this?
 Was the programme remotely helpful
 from H.R.G.'s point of view?
 It should not be used at all
 in non-official circles.

A.S.C. 25

PANORAMA: GERRY ADAMS

- X
1. I SEE THAT A VIDEO CASSETTE OF THE PANORAMA PROGRAMME ON GERRY ADAMS (22 NOVEMBER) IS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY COL (RETRACT 05323).
 2. THE IRISH TIMES TODAY COMMENTED ON QUOTE THE SUPERB MILEAGE WHICH GERRY ADAMS GOT WHEN HE DANCED RINGS AROUND FRED EMERY AND SECURED WHAT MUST BE THE MOST IMPRESSIVE PIECE OF TELEVISION EXPOSURE HE OR THE POLITICAL WING OF THE PIRA HAVE EVER HAD UNQUOTE. SEVERAL OTHER PEOPLE HERE HAVE COMMENTED THAT EMERY WAS SIMPLY NOT BRIEFED FOR THE TASK AND THE PROGRAMME WILL HAVE DONE DAMAGE BOTH IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REPUBLIC.
 3. FOR THESE REASONS, I THINK THE CASSETTE SHOULD BE USED SPARINGLY, IF AT ALL IN NON-OFFICIAL CIRCLES.

FIGG

[THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED]

NORTHERN IRELAND
 LIMITED

RID
 NAD
 INFO D
 WED
 MAED
 NEWS D
 SEC D
 FUSD
 PS
 PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIFKIND
 PS/MR ONSLOW
 PS/FUS
 SIR J BULLARD
 MR WRIGHT
 LORD N GORDON LENNOX
 MR GIFFARD
 MR ADAMS
 MR GOODISON
 MR URE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
 NORTHERN IRELAND

RESTRICTED

Ireland
2A

Sir Robert Armstrong

DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN MR GEOFFREY SLOAN AND MR CLIVE ABBOTT

p612

1. My Secretary of State saw your minute of ~~14~~ 11 November just before his departure for the US and has considered it carefully on his return. He has also considered the Prime Minister's comments as recorded in Robin Butler's minute to you of ~~17~~ 17 November.

2. On the substantive draft letter to Mr Powell, Mr Prior agrees with the Prime Minister's preference for the deletion of the last complete sentence on page 8 ending with the words "relevant considerations". He also shares Mr Gow's view that the middle sentence in paragraph 9 is not quite right and agrees in the main with the proposed amendment, though he thinks that the latter part of it should be amended so that the revised passage reads:-

"So far as any Anglo-Irish body at Parliamentary level is concerned, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State have made clear that it will be up to the two Parliaments concerned to decide about this; and it will be a matter to be decided in agreement with the two Parliaments to what extent members of the Assembly should participate."

3. Mr Prior has also questioned whether paragraph 10 is necessary in the context of the reply to Mr Powell.

4. More importantly, he would be disturbed if, as suggested in Robin Butler's letter the latter part of paragraph 7 were omitted. Indeed he thinks that if this cannot be said there is little point in writing to Mr Powell. It is the gravamen of his charge that officials have entered into agreements with

officials of the Irish Government. To remain silent on this point will be taken either as confirmation of the charge or an indicating that Ministers do not know whether it is true or not. If there is any doubt in the minds of Ministers they would be open to criticism if they did not cause the most rigorous enquiries to be put in hand. Mr Prior, for his part, is wholly confident that the passage in paragraph 7 can and should stand. He also suggests that the disclaimer in the first part of paragraph 5 should be omitted so that it reads:-

"5. These are, of course, serious charges and I accept that, if well-founded, they would constitute a serious reflection on the professional integrity of the Civil Servants concerned and as such would be of much concern to me as the Joint Head of the Civil Service as well as to the Prime Minister and to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland".

5. I am sending a copy of this minute to Robin Butler at No 10.

J. M. Lyon

J M LYON

Private Secretary to the
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

24 November 1982

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
8 9 0
11 12

24 NOV 1982

PS	PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS	
PS/MR HURD	MR WOODFIELD)
)
PS/PUS	MR BRENNAN)
)
SIR J BULLARD	MR ANGEL)
)
MR GOODISON	MR BOYS SMITH)
...	...)
...	...)
HD/RID	SIR R ARMSTRONG)
)
HD/PUSD (2)	DIO)
)
HD/INFO D	...)
	...)
HD/NEWS D	...)
...	...)
	PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (2)	

NIO

CABINET OFFICE

GRS 420
 UNCLASSIFIED
 DESKBY FCO 171500Z
 FM DUBLIN 171250Z NOV 82
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 322 OF 17 NOVEMBER 1982
 AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST) AND WASHINGTON
 AND TO PRIORITY BIS NEW YORK

IMMEDIATE

ADVANCE COPY

DESKBY

MY TELNO 317: IRISH GENERAL ELECTION: COMMENTS BY MR PRIOR

1. THE SECOND ITEM ON THE 9 AM RTE RADIO NEWS TODAY WAS A REPORT THAT MR PRIOR HAD TOLD JOURNALISTS IN WASHINGTON THAT HE EXPECTED DR FITZGERALD TO PROPOSE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ALL-IRELAND COURT AND AN ALL-IRELAND POLICE FORCE. THE NEWS WAS ALSO MENTIONED IN TODAY'S IRISH INDEPENDENT. AN ARTICLE IN TODAY'S IRISH TIMES CLAIMS MR PRIOR SAID THAT 'DR FITZGERALD SUPPORTED THE ASSEMBLY. UNFORTUNATELY, MR HAUGHEY TOOK ANOTHER VIEW.'

2. THESE REPORTS LED DR FITZGERALD TO ISSUE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT THIS MORNING:

IN ANSWERING A QUESTION FROM A JOURNALIST, MR PRIOR IS REPORTED AS SPECULATING THAT I WOULD BE PROPOSING AN ALL-IRELAND COURT AND AN ALL-IRELAND POLICE FORCE.

I AM GLAD THAT MR PRIOR HAS 'TAKEN THIS ON BOARD'. IT IS

I AM GLAD THAT MR PRIOR HAS 'TAKEN THIS ON BOARD'. IT IS PRECISELY THE PROPOSAL I MADE BEFORE AN AUDIENCE OF SOME MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHEN I GAVE THE DIMBLEBY LECTURE LAST MAY, SUBSEQUENTLY RE-BROADCAST HERE BY RTE. MR PRIOR WAS IN THE STUDIO AUDIENCE ON THAT OCCASION. MR PRIOR HAS RIGHTLY GUESSED THAT I AM STANDING BY THIS SUGGESTION AS PART OF THE LONG-TERM PROCESS OF BRINGING PEACE TO NORTHERN IRELAND.

3. THE TAOISEACH ALSO ISSUED A STATEMENT. HE SAID:

THE FACT THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND KNEW IN ADVANCE WHAT DR FITZGERALD WOULD SAY IN A SPEECH ON NORTHERN IRELAND REVEALS NOW THE DEGREE OF COLLUSION THAT EXISTS BETWEEN THE LEADER OF THE FINE GAEL PARTY AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

WE HAVE KNOWN FOR SOME TIME THAT DR FITZGERALD HAD SECRETLY COLLABORATED WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN SUPPORTING AND PROMOTING THE DISASTROUS NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY PROPOSAL BUT HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO SECURE EITHER A CONFIRMATION OR DENIAL FROM DR FITZGERALD.

A FEATURE OF THIS ELECTION COMPAGN HAS BEEN THE SUPPORT EMANATING FROM BRITISH GOVERNMENT CIRCLES, RADIO AND TELEVISION NETWORKS AND LEADING NEWSPAPERS FOR DR FITZGERALD AND THE FINE GAEL PARTY.

IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THIS SUPPORT HAS BEEN COMING FROM BRITAIN IN RETURN FOR DR FITZGERALD'S SUPPORT FOR BRITISH POLICY IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

I BELIEVE THE SITUATION WHICH HAS NOW BEEN REVEALED REPRESENTS ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS THREATS TO OUR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE SINCE THE LAST WAR.

ONCE AGAIN I DEMAND THAT BRITAIN STAY OUT OF OUR GENERAL ELECTION. THE IRISH PEOPLE ARE FULLY CAPABLE OF RUNING THEIR OWN AFFAIRS IN THEIR OWN WAY AND OF SELECTING THE GOVERNMENT THEY WANT.

I KNOW THEY WILL RESENT DEEPLY THIS GROSS INTERFERENCE BY BRITAIN IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN THIS COUNTRY.

4. IN A CHATSHOW ON RTE RADIO, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MR COLLINS, ACCUSED DR FITZGERALD OF 'SECRET COLLUSION' WITH BRITAIN AND AGAIN REFERRED TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK'S REMARKS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

5. SEE MIFT FOR COMMENT.

FIGG

PS	PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS	
PS/MR HURD	MR WOODFIELD)
PS/PUS	MR BRENNAN)
SIR J BULLARD	MR ANGEL) NIO
MR GOODISON	MR BOYS SMITH)
...	...)
...	...)
HD/RID	SIR R ARMSTRONG)
HD/PUSD (2)	DIO) CABINET OFFICE
HD/INFO D	...)
HD/NEWS D	...)
HD/NAD		

~~PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (2)~~

GRS 410
 UNCLASSIFIED
 DESKBY FCO 171600Z
 DESKBY DUBLIN 171600Z
 FM WASHINGTON 171504Z NOV 82
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 3718 OF 17 NOVEMBER
 AND TO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN
 INFO IMMEDIATE NIO LONDON, NIO BELFAST AND BIS NEW YORK

IMMEDIATE
ADVANCE COPY
 DECKBY

VISIT OF MR PRIOR: NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE IRISH GENERAL ELECTION.

AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE ON 16 NOVEMBER MR PRIOR WAS ASKED BY SEAM CRONIN (IRISH TIMES) ABOUT THE ALLEGED VIEW OF NORTHERN IRELAND NATIONALISTS THAT THE ASSEMBLY WAS A FAILURE AND ABOUT PROPOSALS BY DR FITZGERALD FOR A TRIPARTITE COUNCIL AND AN ALL-IRELAND COURT. MR PRIOR REPLIED:

QUOTE

WELL, I THINK THAT IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY THAT MOST OF THE NATIONALISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND THINK THE ASSEMBLY IS A FAILURE. THE RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLL WHICH WAS TAKEN JUST BEFORE THE ELECTION, (I DON'T THINK IN A NORTHERN IRELAND CONTEXT ONE WANTS TO PLACE TOO MUCH FAITH ON PUBLIC OPINION POLLS), THE RECENT ONE THAT WAS TAKEN SHOWED THAT THE MAJORITY OF CATHOLICS WANTED TO GIVE THE ASSEMBLY A CHANCE, AND WERE DISSAPPOINTED THAT THE SDLP WERE NOT GOING TO

MAJORITY OF CATHOLICS WANTED TO GIVE THE ASSEMBLY
A CHANCE, AND WERE DISSAPPOINTED THAT THE SDLP WERE NOT GOING TO
TAKE THEIR PLACES IN THE ASSEMBLY. SO, I DON'T THINK THAT ONE OUGHT
TO WRITE OFF THE ASSEMBLY IN THAT WAY, CERTAINLY NOT UNTIL IT HAS
HAD A MUCH GREATER OPPORTUNITY THAN HAS BEEN POSSIBLE UP TO NOW.
GARRET FITZGERALD HAS PUT FORWARD THE IDEA OF AN ALL IRELAND COURT
ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS BUT I DON'T THINK THAT HE HAS ADVOCATED IT SO
MUCH RECENTLY. AND I THINK THAT HE IS LIKELY TO CHANGE HIS
STANCE A LITTLE BIT ON THAT TO SOME OTHER FORM OF ARRANGEMENT
WHICH WOULD ENABLE PERHAPS JURISDICTION TO BE MORE WIDELY SHARED
IN THE WHOLE OF IRELAND. BUT I THINK WE HAD BETTER WAIT UNTIL HE HAS
MADE ANOTHER SPEECH ON THAT WHICH I UNDERSTAND HE IS LIKELY TO MAKE
SOON. I THINK THE MAIN DIFFERENCE AND THE MAIN DIFFICULTY HAS BEEN
THAT GARRET FITZGERALD DID SUPPORT AN ASSEMBLY FOR NORTHERN IRELAND.
HE RECOGNISED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO HAVE SOME MEANS OF REPRESENT-
ING THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND IN ANY TRIPARTITE ARRANGEMENT THAT
WAS MADE FOR WESTMINSTER AND THE DAIL AND UNFORTUNATELY CHARLIE
HUAGHEY TOOK A DIFFERENT VIEW ABOUT ANY INDEPENDENT ORGANISATION IN
THE NORTH. BUT I THINK WE HAD BETTER WAIT AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS
IN THESE ELECTIONS AND ALL WE CAN SAY AT THE MOMENT IS THAT WHOEVER
IS ELECTED WE WILL CERTAINLY WISH TO WORK WITH THEM AND WE WISH TO
SEE AN IMPROVEMENT AND A RESTORATION OF ANGLO/IRISH RELATIONS TO
WHERE THEY WERE BEFORE THE PROBLEMS OF LAST FEBRUARY/MARCH.

WRIGHT

NNNN

SECRET



10 DOWNING STREET

File A21 2
✓ CC N10
✓ Hidden - Ian Gow

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN
MR GEOFFREY SLOAN AND MR CLIVE ABBOTT

10/12 I have shown the Prime Minister your minute of 11 November (A082/0077), and Mr Gow has also let me have his comments on it.

The Prime Minister would be content that you should write to Mr Enoch Powell in the terms of the short draft attached to your minute offering to send him the note of the meeting, on a Privy Counsellor basis, but proposing that it should be shown to Mr Molyneux only.

As regards the note of the meeting itself, the Prime Minister has queried Mr Powell's reference to the communique of a meeting held on 7 October 1979. There was a meeting held on 5 October 1979 between British Ministers and Ministers of the Irish Republic, but it did not contain a paragraph 8 or the words which Mr Powell is recorded as quoting from it. Mr Gow's recollection is that Mr Powell was not purporting to quote verbatim from the communique at his meeting with you.

On the second letter to Mr Powell attached to your minute, the Prime Minister has commented that she would be content to stick to the factual statement at the beginning of the last sentence of paragraph 7 that "Ministers have not entered into any such agreements or understandings", but would prefer to delete the expression of opinion in the latter part of that sentence. The latter part of the sentence of course goes to the heart of Mr Powell's allegations, and you will no doubt want to consider this point further.

In paragraph 8 of the draft letter, the Prime Minister would prefer that the last complete sentence on page 8, ending with the words

"relevant considerations"

should be deleted.

SECRET

ADK

SECRET

- 2 -

In paragraph nine, Mr Gow has commented that the middle sentence - "The proposal was not made for the purpose of providing a Northern Ireland component for some Anglo-Irish inter-Parliamentary body" is a dangerous one, since Mr Powell may be able to refer to statements that this was at least one of the Assembly's advantages. Mr Gow has suggested deleting the last two sentences of that paragraph and substituting

"So far as any Anglo-Irish body at Parliamentary level is concerned, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State have made clear that it will be up to the two Parliaments concerned to decide about this; and if such a body is set up, the Assembly itself will have to decide (in agreement with the two Parliaments) to what extent it wishes to participate".

I understand that the Northern Ireland Office will also be letting you have some comments. When you have been able to consider these, I suggest that you might let me have again the note for the record and the second draft letter to Mr Powell, with any revisions and any points you want to make in response to the Prime Minister's comments.

I am copying this minute to John Lyon (Northern Ireland Office).

F.R.B.

17 November 1982

SECRET

Robin Butler

MR ENOCH POWELL - NORTHERN IRELAND

1. I have now had an opportunity of considering carefully Sir Robert Armstrong's Minute dated 11th November 1982, addressed to you, which you submitted to the Prime Minister on the following date.
2. I have no comments to make on the shorter of the two draft letters which Sir Robert proposes to send to Mr Powell.
3. I have the following comments on the "Draft Note for the Record":-
 - (a) Page 3, Paragraph 1
 - (i) The meeting to which reference is made took place on 5th October 1979 (not 7th October 1979).
 - (ii) This meeting was attended by the then Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the then ^{IRISH} ~~representative~~ Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Justice, the Chief Constable of the RUC, and the Commissioner of the Garda.
 - (iii) The final sentence of paragraph 5 (not 8) of the Communique is as follows:-

"The Irish Ministers emphasised the importance of an early initiative leading

(2)

to acceptable political institutions which both sections of the Community in Northern Ireland could support and sustain".

My own recollection is that Mr Powell did not purport to quote verbatim from the Communique, of which I attach a copy.

(b) Page 5

I agree that the word "component" should be added after the word "Ireland" in the 7th line of Paragraph 7.

4. I have the following comments on the longer of the two draft letters which Sir Robert proposes to send to Mr Powell:-

(a) Page 7, Paragraph 7

I note the words which the Prime Minister suggests should be deleted from this paragraph. Nevertheless, these words are crucial to the argument, and are central to the allegations made by Mr Powell. If these words should be deleted, their omission will certainly be noted by Mr Powell, and I would expect him to refer to the omission in his reply to Sir Robert's letter.

(b) Page 8

I certainly agree that the words suggested by the Prime Minister should be deleted.

(c) Page 9, Paragraph 9

(i) The sentence:-

"The proposal" (ie. for an Assembly in Northern Ireland) "was not made for the purpose of providing a Northern Ireland component for some Anglo-Irish inter-Parliamentary body." is dangerous and should be deleted.

(ii) Paragraph 8 of the Communique issued following the meeting between the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach agreed that it would be for the Parliaments concerned to consider at the appropriate time whether there should be an Anglo-Irish body at Parliamentary level comprising members to be drawn from the British and Irish Parliaments, the European Parliament, and any elected Assembly that may be established for Northern Ireland".

(iii) Paragraph 23 of the Secretary of State's White Paper presented to Parliament in April 1982 (Command 8541) contains the following sentence:-

"It is now for the Parliaments concerned to consider whether Governmental meetings of the Council should be complemented by an Anglo-Irish body at Parliamentary level in which members of the Parliaments of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland could take part. The Government would expect the arrangements to enable members of the Northern Ireland Assembly to participate if they so wished."


(4)

(iv) More recently, Lord Gowrie has referred to the virtue of the Northern Ireland Act 1982, in that it will enable a Northern Ireland input into the proposed "Anglo-Irish body at Parliamentary level".

(d) I would expect the Secretary of State to suggest the deletion of this sentence. I suggest that if that sentence is deleted, the final sentence of that paragraph should read:-

"So far as any Anglo-Irish body at Parliamentary level is concerned, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State have made clear that it will be ~~put~~ to the two Parliaments concerned to decide about this; and if such a body is set up, the Assembly itself will have to decide (in agreement with the two Parliaments) to what extent it wishes to participate."

16.11.82


IAN GOW



VERBATIM SERVICE 063/79

FRIDAY

Verbatim
Service
5 OCTOBER 1979

MEETING BETWEEN BRITISH MINISTERS AND MINISTERS OF THE IRISH
REPUBLIC

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF A JOINT COMMUNIQUE, ISSUED FOLLOWING THE MEETING IN LONDON ON FRIDAY 5 OCTOBER 1979 BETWEEN UK AND IRISH REPUBLIC MINISTERS. TEXT FOLLOWS:

1. THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, THE RIGHT HON HUMPHREY ATKINS, MP, TODAY MET THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC, MR MICHAEL O'KENNEDY, TD, AND THE MINISTER FOR JUSTICE, MR GERARD COLLINS, TD. THE CHIEF CONSTABLE OF THE RUC, SIR KENNETH NEWMAN, AND THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GARDA SIOCHANA, MR PATRICK MCLAUGHLIN, WERE ALSO PRESENT. THE SECURITY SITUATION AND THE GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE DISCUSSED. IN RELATION TO SECURITY MINISTERS REVIEWED PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROPOSALS, DISCUSSED ON 5 SEPTEMBER BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE TAOISEACH, FOR A SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE JOINT EFFORTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES TO STAMP OUT TERRORISM.
2. ON SECURITY COOPERATION BOTH SIDES REAFFIRMED THEIR COMMON COMMITMENT TO THE ERADICATION OF VIOLENCE. THEY AGREED ON A SERIES OF MEASURES WHICH THEY WERE SATISFIED WOULD ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR COMMON CAMPAIGN AGAINST VIOLENCE AND THEIR ALREADY EXTENSIVE COOPERATION. THE NEW MEASURES ARE DESIGNED TO INHIBIT THE MOVEMENT OF TERRORISTS ON EITHER SIDE OF THE BORDER AND THEIR ABILITY TO EXPLOIT THAT BORDER, WHETHER TO COMMIT CRIMINAL ACTS OR TO EVADE ARREST. THEY INCLUDE MEASURES IN RELATION TO MORE INTENSIVE PATROLLING ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AND IMPROVED COORDINATION AND COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THEIR SECURITY FORCES. IT WAS AGREED THAT AN URGENT STUDY WOULD BE CARRIED OUT JOINTLY BY THE HEADS OF THE POLICE FORCES TO DEVELOP GREATER COOPERATION AND EXPERTISE IN A NUMBER OF AREAS OF POLICE OPERATIONS. IN THE INTEREST OF MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS IT WAS DECIDED THAT OPERATIONAL DETAILS OF THE MEASURES WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AND AGREED WOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC.
3. THE MINISTERS STRESSED THAT THEIR COMMON INTEREST IN COUNTERING TERRORISM WAS NOT LIMITED TO THE BORDER AREA, AND INFORMED EACH OTHER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE JURISDICTIONS. MINISTERS ALSO WELCOMED THE DECISIONS OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO INCREASE THE STRENGTH OF THEIR RESPECTIVE POLICE FORCES.
4. THE MINISTERS AGREED THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO MAKE FULLER USE OF THE 1976 EXTRA-TERRITORIAL LEGISLATION WHICH ALLOWS TERRORIST SUSPECTS TO BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL IN ONE JURISDICTION FOR OFFENCES COMMITTED IN THE OTHER. THEY RECOGNISE THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF EVIDENCE IN SECURING CONVICTIONS AND EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE GENERAL PUBLIC ON EACH SIDE OF THE BORDER WOULD GIVE ALL AID AND ASSISTANCE TO THE GARDA AND THE RUC IN THEIR COMMON TASK OF PROTECTING THE COMMUNITY.
5. THE MINISTERS ALSO DISCUSSED THE PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL PROGRESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. THEY NOTED THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE WAS ENGAGED IN CONTINUING PRIVATE TALKS WITH POLITICAL LEADERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THESE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HOPED BEFORE LONG TO BE IN A POSITION TO PUT FORWARD POSITIVE

PROPOSALS FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. THE IRISH MINISTERS EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF AN EARLY INITIATIVE LEADING TO ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH BOTH SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND COULD SUPPORT AND SUSTAIN.

6. MINISTERS REVIEWED THE PROGRESS ON CROSS-BORDER ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND EXPRESSED THEIR JOINT DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE TO COOPERATE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE OF THE BORDER REGIONS.

7. IT WAS AGREED THAT MINISTERS WOULD CONTINUE TO MEET FROM TIME TO TIME TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ALL OF THESE AREAS.

ENDS VS063/79...LPS.

PART 12 ends:-

Wash Tel 3676 12.11.82

PART 13 begins:-

1. goes to FERB 16.11.82 |

