

5
809

PREM 19/1293

598

PART 6

Confidential filing

Hunger Strike at the Maze
Prison.

The Dirty Protest

IRELAND

PE 1: Nov 79

PE 6: Sept 81

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
2.9.81							
3.9.81							
15.9.81							
23.9.81							
3.10.81							
5.10.81							
6.10.81							
30.10.81							
5.3.84							

PREM 19/1293

Foreign and Commonwealth Office document

Reference: Diplomatic Report No 200/81

Description: The Hunger Strike: View from the Irish Republic.
Her Majesty's Ambassador at Dublin to the Secretary of
State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

Date: 19 October 1981

The above FCO document, which was enclosed on this file has been removed and destroyed.

Such documents are the responsibility of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. When released they are available in the appropriate FCO CLASSES.

Signed

J. Gray

Date

26/6/2013

PREM Records Team



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 March 1984

POSSIBLE HUNGER STRIKE IN
BELFAST PRISON

The Prime Minister has noted
the contents of your letter of 2 March.

A. J. COLES

Derek Hill, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

0.10

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

WHITEHALL

LONDON SW1A 2AZ

John Coles Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

2 March 1984

Handwritten initials

Prime Minister.

A.C. 3/3

Dear John

POSSIBLE HUNGER STRIKE IN BELFAST PRISON

You asked for a report on the possibility that there will be a hunger strike in Belfast prison.

There have been a number of public references to the possibility of a hunger strike, the first of which came out at the end of January. Information from secret sources makes it clear that definite plans for a hunger strike are being made by remand prisoners in Belfast prison associated with INLA. The purpose would be to protest against the use of converted terrorists, and in particular to bring pressure to bear on Harry Kirkpatrick, on whose evidence those concerned have been charged. The present threat seems to be a serious one, although a similar plan in August last year was not put into effect.

Full details are not clear, although it appears the three prisoners would aim to start their fasts between the early part of this month and Easter. Experience has now shown that a hunger strike reaches a critical condition after between 50 and 60 days; people can go very near the brink indeed without suffering permanent damage to their health. The effect of this would be to bring things to a climax in the period leading up to the European elections and covering the time when President Reagan will be in Europe for the World Economic Summit and will be visiting the Republic.

Our information suggests that the prisoners have little support outside the prison, either in a popular sense or from some leaders of INLA/IRSP. Despite their common opposition to the use of converted terrorists the initial reaction of the PIRA has also been to discourage the hunger strike. In these circumstances it is difficult to judge how matters will develop or to be certain what would be the reaction of the organisations if the prisoners embarked on a serious fast. Sinn Fein, although it may want attention attracted from its campaign for the European election, might feel obliged to offer support if events

forced/...

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



forced the pace. The prisoners might hope that they could achieve their aim of forcing Kirkpatrick to retract without having to undertake a prolonged or fatal fast. Despite the significant uncertainties our assessment at the moment is that it is unlikely anything resembling the 1980/81 hunger strikes is in prospect. We are however monitoring the situation closely, and will keep you informed.

Yours ever

Dave

D A HILL

CONFIDENTIAL



2 - ^{سجل}
MID 1984



CONFIDENTIAL

34670 - 1

OO DUBLIN DESKBY 020900Z
GRS 396
CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 020900Z
FM FCO 301910Z OCT 81
TO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN
TELEGRAM NUMBER 166 OF 30 OCTOBER
INFO PRIORITY NIO BELFAST
MIPT : THE PRISON PROTEST AT MAZE : NEXT STEPS
TEXT BEGINS

- '1. THE SITUATION IN MAZE AND THE OTHER PRISONS CONTINUES TO BE QUIET. THE CHANGES ANNOUNCED ON 6 OCTOBER HAVE PROCEEDED SMOOTHLY. ALL BUT 3 OF THE PROTESTING PRISONERS IN MAZE HAVE RECEIVED THEIR OWN CLOTHES AND ARE WEARING THEM. ALL WHO HAVE THEIR CLOTHES ARE TAKING THEIR DAILY EXERCISE AND THEIR MEALS IN THE DINING ROOM.
2. THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE ITS POSITION ON ALL ASPECTS - CLOTHING, EXTENDED OPPORTUNITY FOR ASSOCIATION IN THE H-BLOCKS AND PARTIAL RESTORATION OF LOST REMISSION - ABSOLUTELY PLAIN IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS. THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR SUGGESTIONS THAT THE PRISONERS ARE UNCLEAR ON ANY POINT.
3. A CONSIDERABLY REDUCED SCALE OF PUNISHMENTS IS TO BE INTRODUCED ON MONDAY, 2 NOVEMBER, FOR PRISONERS WHO CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO MAKE THEMSELVES AVAILABLE FOR THE FULL RANGE OF PRISON WORK. IT WILL INVOLVE THE LOSS OF HALF OF THE NORMAL REMISSION AND ASSOCIATION AVAILABLE TO FULLY CONFORMING PRISONERS AND THE LOSS OF ONE VISIT IN FOUR.
4. THE GOVERNOR HAS TOLD PRISONERS THAT THE NORMAL ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES WHICH ARE OFFERED TO ALL PRISONERS ON COMMITTAL TO MAZE WILL BE OFFERED TO ALL PROTESTING PRISONERS BEGINNING ON TUESDAY, 3 NOVEMBER. PARTICIPATION BY PRISONERS IN THESE ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES IS VOLUNTARY AND IS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE THE INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR THE PURPOSES OF ASCERTAINING PRISONERS' NEEDS AND APTITUDES IN RELATION TO THE WIDE RANGE OF EDUCATIONAL, TINGING AND WORK FACILITIES AVAILABLE: AND IN DUE

/COURSE FOR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

34670 - 1

COURSE FOR THE PURPOSE OF ALLOCATING PRISONERS TO WORK.
5. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT THE RESULT WILL BE. THE PROTEST MIGHT
END. OR THE PRISONERS MIGHT FIND IT CONVENIENT TO REFUSE WORK
AND ACCEPT THE CONSEQUENT LOWER LEVEL OF PUNISHMENT, ON THE
BASIS THAT IT SAFEGUARDS THEIR PRINCIPLES TO CONTINUE TO
PROTEST IN THAT WAY. IF SO, THAT WOULD NOT CHALLENGE OUR
PRINCIPLES. OR, AS IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE, THEY MAY FIND A PRETEXT
FOR ESCALATING TENSION. FOR THAT REASON, AND BECAUSE WE DO NOT
WANT TO MAINTAIN INDEFINITELY THE PRESENT LEVEL OF PRESS INTEREST
IN DAY-TO-DAY EVENTS IN THE PRISON, THE ARRANGEMENTS DESCRIBED
ABOVE WILL NOT BE THE SUBJECT OF ANY PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. WE
WISH NONETHELESS THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD KNOW OF THEM
IN ADVANCE, ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS.'

TEXT ENDS

CARRINGTON

~~RESTRICTED~~ LIMITED

~~SECRET~~
RID
KAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
FUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/PUS
SIR A ACLAND
CHIEF CLERK
MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION ~~RESTRICTED~~

NORTHERN IRELAND

NORTHERN IRELAND PRISONSBackground Note

1. The following alterations are being made to the regime in Northern Ireland prisons:-

- (i) Clothing. All prisoners are being allowed to have sent in and wear at all times items of own clothing. Inter alia none of the permitted items of clothing will be allowed to resemble that worn by members of the prison staff, security forces or be of a paramilitary type. All laundering and dry cleaning is to be undertaken in the prison or under arrangements made by the prison authorities. About half of the prisoners already have items of their own clothing and further items, which prisoners' visitors have been able to bring in since 12 October, are in the process of being issued.
- (ii) Association. Prisoners are already able to associate with one another at meal times, work, exercise or during periods of association each evening and at weekends. However, because of the physical layout of the H Blocks at Maze prison, prisoners may presently only mix within their own wings during association periods. In future, during such periods, prisoners will have an opportunity to mix with others from the adjacent wing in recreation and exercise areas. This will, however, require the construction of new security grille gates, which are in the course of construction.

(iii) Remission. A scheme for the restoration of lost remission has been introduced with effect from 16 October for all prisoners who have lost remission other than as a result of violent acts against prison officers or other prisoners. Remission will be restored up to a maximum of 60% of that lost, but the scheme will not apply to loss of remission imposed for breaches of the Prison Rules committed after 1 November 1981.

2. A new booklet is in the course of preparation to take account of the announced changes to the Prison Regime. It is hoped the booklet will be available shortly.

GRS 300
RESTRICTED
FROM ROME 061615Z OCT 81
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 398 OF 06 OCT 81

RESTRICTED

M.

Ireland

INFO SAVING : BELFAST, DUBLIN, PARIS, BONN, WASHINGTON,
BIS NY, HOLY SEE (ACTIONED)

END OF IRA HUNGER STRIKES: ITALIAN PRESS REACTIONS

1. THE END OF THE HUNGER STRIKES IS SEEN AS A VICTORY FOR HMG'S POLICY. THE ITALIAN PRESS GENERALLY SAYS THAT THE HUNGER STRIKERS GAVE UP BECAUSE THEIR STRIKE WAS NOT ACHIEVING ANYTHING. ON THE OTHER HAND, LA STAMPA (CENTRE, FIAT-OWNED) SAYS THAT THE HUNGER STRIKE ACHIEVED CONSIDERABLE PROPAGANDA OVERSEAS AND GATHERED FUNDS, PARTICULARLY FROM THE US, WHICH WILL BE USED TO BUY MORE ARMS. MOST PAPERS RECOGNISE THAT THE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND REMAIN AS THEY WERE BEFORE THE HUNGER STRIKES AND IL MESSAGGERO (LEFT OF CENTRE) SAYS THERE MAY BE A NEW BRITISH INITIATIVE ANNOUNCED IN THE QUEEN'S SPEECH. LA REPUBBLICA (LEFTWING) GIVES CREDIT TO MR PRIOR FOR THE ENDING OF THE STRIKE. L'UNITA (COMMUNIST) SAYS THAT THE END OF THE HUNGER STRIKE IS A GESTURE OF PEACE BY THE STRIKERS.

2. MOST PAPERS RECOGNISE THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE FAMILIES OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS. ONE QUOTES A RADIO VATICAN INTERVIEW WITH MGR EDWARD DALY CALLING FOR MAGNANIMITY ON THE PART OF HMG, WHO SHOULD NOW IMPLEMENT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE IRISH COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE.

3. THE MOST DISAGREEABLE ARTICLE WAS BY CIANFANELLI OF CORRIERE DELLA SERA (CENTRE) HE QUOTES FROM AN ARTICLE BY MARY HOLLAND IN THE "NEW STATESMAN" AND REFERS WITHOUT QUALIFICATION TO THE "MILITARY OCCUPATION" OF NORTHERN IRELAND. THE TONE OF THIS ARTICLE, WHICH WILL BE WIDELY READ HERE, DEMONSTRATES AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF LONDON-BASED CORRESPONDENTS IN THE PROPAGANDA BATTLE ON NORTHERN IRELAND. WE SHALL SEND BY BAG A TRANSLATION OF CIANFANELLI'S ARTICLE, AND HOPE THAT THE DEPARTMENT WILL TAKE IT UP WITH HIM.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES
ARCULUS

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

LIMITED

RID
NAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
FUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/FUS
SIR A ACLAND
MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

The Prime Minister agrees that his statement
could be revised in this understanding that what
has been done about clothing was no more
than was already the practice in women's prisons
in GB & NI.

WM
Mo

Jim Prior's Statement on Northern Ireland Prisons

⁰⁸³⁰ I passed this message to the Duty Clerk at
Northern Ireland Prisons

AKU
6x81

1. Herewith telegram from Willie Rickett.
2. Willie Whitelaw has said that he could live - just - with these proposed changes so far as prisons in the remainder of the United Kingdom are concerned.
3. You will remember the advice which you received from a Privy Councillor (with which I am in strong agreement) that there should be a decent interval between our victory over the hunger strikers and what some will perceive to be their partial victory over "the ~~small~~ authorities". Jim Prior has in mind to make his statement on Tuesday 6 October. I think that it would be very much better if this statement could be delayed.
4. In paragraph 2., second sentence, line 3, I suggest that the words "to be reasonable and flexible and" should be deleted. In the last sentence of the second paragraph, I suggest that the words "I want to play my part in seeking reconciliation and an end to violence by introducing" should be deleted and that the words "I am able to announce" should be inserted.
5. I believe that the "more generous scheme for restoration of lost remission", announced in paragraph 6, is objectionable in principle. I fear that it is likely to make the task of the Prison Officers more difficult and will be widely misunderstood in the Province. If, as we all hope, the security situation in the Province improves, it would be possible, on some future date, to announce "a more generous scheme for restoration of lost remission". I believe that it would be a great mistake to make this announcement at this stage.

6. Paragraph 9 is a licence - it is true for 28 days only - to defy Prison Rules with impunity. Here again, I think that this unprecedented concession can only make the task of the Prison Officers more difficult and will be perceived as an unjustified concession.

7. It is clear that Jim's proposed Statement has been leaked already - herewith telegram from Ian Paisley. This may mean that whatever reservations you may have about Jim's Statement, it is too late to alter it, although I hope that this is not the case.

8. I remind you, again, of the advice of the Privy Councillor.

Ian Gow

6 October 1981

DESKBY 052300Z

Reed Del. Office
0935.

IMMEDIATE

Set Dist

cc Mr. Alexander

Mr. Fall

JM

6/10

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 052300Z

FM FCO 151809Z OCT 81

CONFIDENTIAL

TO IMMEDIATE UKDEL MELBOURNE

TELEGRAM NUMBER 208 OF 5 OCTOBER

INFO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS (FOR PS/LPS)

FOLLOWING FOR ALEXANDER, PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY AND FALL
FROM RICKETT, 10 DOWNING STREET.

MESSAGE BEGINS:

HUNGER STRIKE

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT WHICH MR PRIOR INTENDS
TO MAKE TOMORROW, 6 OCTOBER, SETTING OUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
NORTHERN IRELAND PRISON REGIME, AS FORESHADOWED IN PREVIOUS GOVER-
NMENT STATEMENTS. THESE CHANGES WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ATTACKED BY SOME
PROTESTANT POLITICIANS AS AN UNNECESSARY SURRENDER TO THE
PROVISIONALS. ON THE OTHER HAND, SOME CATHOLICS, ESPECIALLY THOSE
WHOM THE HUNGER STRIKERS HAVE BLAMED FOR LETTING THEM DOWN, WILL SAY
THAT THE CHANGES DO NOT GO FAR ENOUGH. THE NIO ARE CONFIDENT THAT
THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS ARE GLAD THAT THE
HUNGER STRIKE IS OVER AND WILL ACCEPT WHAT MR PRIOR IS DOING.

QUOTE

DRAFT STATEMENT ON PRISONS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN
IRELAND.

THE HUNGER STRIKE HAS ENDED, BY THE VOLUNTARY
ACTION OF THE PROTESTORS. IT IS TIME TO HEAL THE DEEP WOUNDS
AND FRESH DIVISIONS CAUSED BY THE STRIKE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE
THE PRISONS, AND HELP TO BRING TO AN END THE VIOLENCE WHICH FOR
SO LONG HAS PREVENTED THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOP-
MENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

2. ON 3 OCTOBER I SAID THAT I WOULD BE MAKING A STATEMENT ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRISON SYSTEM. BOTH MY PREDECESSOR AND I WERE ALWAYS DETERMINED (TO BE REASONABLE AND FLEXIBLE AND) TO SEEK IMPROVEMENTS WHERE THEY COULD BE MADE. WE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE WOULD NOT ACT UNDER DURESS. UNTIL NOW, THE HUNGER STRIKE MADE MOVEMENT IMPOSSIBLE. NOW IT IS OVER, (I WANT TO PLAY MY PART IN SEEKING RECONCILIATION AND AN END TO VIOLENCE BY INTRODUCING) ^{2 Am Able To Announce} CHANGES ALONG THE LINES SET OUT BY MY PREDECESSOR ON 30 JUNE AND 8 JULY.

3. I MUST MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR WHAT I AM NOT PREPARED TO DO. THE PROTESTORS' VIEWS ON WORK AND ASSOCIATION ARE NOT COMPATIBLE WITH A CIVIL PRISON SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY THE MODERN AND HUMANE SYSTEM WHICH MAKES THE PRINCIPAL JAILS OF THE PROVINCE AS ADVANCED AS ANY IN THE WORLD. THERE IS ROOM FOR DEVELOPMENT HERE AS ELSEWHERE. BUT THERE WILL BE NO QUESTION OF A POLITICAL OR MILITARY SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION OR ANY RETURN TO SPECIAL CATEGORY STATUS.

4. I HAVE DECIDED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING IMPORTANT CHANGES. THEY WILL APPLY TO ALL PRISONERS IN ALL PRISONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

5. CLOTHES

PRISONERS WILL IN FUTURE BE ABLE TO WEAR THEIR OWN CLOTHING AT ALL TIMES. TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDINGS, THE PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS CHANGE WILL BE SET OUT IN A LEAFLET WHICH LORD GOWRIE WILL ARRANGE TO HAVE CIRCULATED TO ALL PRISONERS TOMORROW.

THESE ARRANGEMENTS COVER FOR EXAMPLE THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT CLOTHING WORN BY PRISONERS DOES NOT RESEMBLE THAT OF PRISON OFFICERS, IS NOT TANTAMOUNT TO A UNIFORM, AND IS NOT OTHERWISE OFFENSIVE OR UNSUITABLE WE ALSO NEED TO SPECIFY THE QUANTITIES OF CLOTHING AND MAKE THE LAUNDRY ARRANGEMENTS.

THESE ARE PRACTICAL MATTERS AND NEED CAUSE NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS. THE CHANGE WILL TAKE PERHAPS TWO OR THREE WEEKS TO COMPLETE. FAMILIES MAY BRING CLOTHES TO THE PRISONS WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF THE DETAILS IN THE LEAFLETS. THOSE WHO PREFER TO CONTINUE TO WEAR THE PRISON ISSUE CIVILIAN-STYLE CLOTHING WILL OF COURSE BE ABLE TO DO SO.

6. REMISSION

AT PRESENT PRISONERS WHO HAVE LOST REMISSION AS A PENALTY FOR CERTAIN PROTEST ACTION MAY HAVE 20 PER CENT OF THAT LOST REMISSION RESTORED AFTER 3 MONTHS OF FULL CONFORMITY WITH PRISON'S RULES. A NUMBER OF PRISONERS HAVE ALREADY GAINED FROM THIS. I AM NOW INTRODUCING A MORE GENEROUS SCHEME FOR RESTORATION OF LOST REMISSION. LORD GOWRIE WILL MAKE FULL DETAILS KNOWN SHORTLY, BASED ON THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:-

- (I) THE NEW SCHEME WILL EXTEND TO ALL PRISONERS WHO HAVE LOST REMISSION OTHER THAN AS A RESULT OF VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST PRISON OFFICERS OR OTHER PRISONERS:
- (II) THE AMOUNT OF LOST REMISSION WHICH MAY BE RESTORED WILL BE INCREASED TO A MAXIMUM OF 50 PER CENT, IE. THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY QUALIFIED FOR THE EARLIER 20 PERCENT RESTORATION WILL GAIN A FURTHER 30 PERCENT, AND THOSE WHO NEWLY QUALIFY WILL GAIN THE FULL 50 PER CENT:
- (III) THE NEW SCHEME, WILL APPLY ONLY TO THOSE PRISONERS WHO HAVE EITHER ALREADY COMPLETED A PERIOD OF 3 MONTHS' CONFORMITY TO PRISON RULES OR WHO NOW DO SO.

THIS NEW SCHEME APPLIES TO PAST BEHAVIOUR. IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT PRISONERS WHO IN THE FUTURE LOSE REMISSION FOR BREACHES OF PRISON RULES WILL HAVE LOST REMISSION RESTORED.

7. ON THE ISSUE OF ASSOCIATION

CONFORMING PRISONERS ALREADY HAVE MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR MIXING WITH ONE ANOTHER AT MEALTIMES, WORK, EXERCISE, AND DURING THEIR PERIODS OF ASSOCIATION EACH EVENING AND AT WEEKENDS. THERE IS LITTLE IMMEDIATE SCOPE FOR EXPANSION HERE BUT I HAVE ACCEPTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME PROVISION FOR PRISONERS IN ADJACENT WINGS OF H-BLOCKS TO SHARE ASSOCIATION IN RECREATION ROOMS AND EXERCISE AREAS. BEFORE THIS CHANGE CAN BE IMPLEMENTED NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONTROL AND SUPERVISION OF SUCH MOVEMENT AND CERTAIN ADDITIONAL PHYSICAL CHANGES WILL BE REQUIRED. THESE WILL TAKE SOME WEEKS.

8. THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PRISON SYSTEM IS A CONTINUAL PROCESS: IN PARTICULAR THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF WIDENING THE SCOPE OF WORK IN THE PRISONS CAN BE EXAMINED BUT ONLY WITHIN CERTAIN WELL-DEFINED LIMITS. THERE ARE OBVIOUS PRACTICAL AND FINANCIAL LIMITATIONS ON WHAT CAN BE ARRANGED. HERE I SHOULD LIKE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO PRISON STAFF FOR SUCCESS-

... PROTEST. I AM VERY CONSCIOUS THAT MANY, INDEED MOST OF THE PRISONERS, ARE YOUNG MEN. EVEN IN THE CONTEXT OF DESERVEDLY LONG SENTENCES ON CONVICTION OF VIOLENT CRIMES MANY OF THEM WILL, IN THE NORMAL WAY, BE RELEASED DURING THEIR WORKING LIVES. I DO THEREFORE WANT TO ENCOURAGE A SYSTEM WHERE THE VERY ADVANCED TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AVAILABLE, WHICH HAVE MUCH IMPRESSED ME, MAY BE FREELY USED BY ALL PRISONERS. LORD GOWRIE WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP A CLOSE EYE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS FIELD AS THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS SETTLE DOWN.

9. THE CHANGES WHICH I AM ANNOUNCING WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO WORK THROUGH. I HOPE THAT AS THEY COME INTO EFFECT, PROTESTING PRISONERS WILL RECOGNISE THE BENEFITS OF CONFORMITY WITH THE RULES, AND THE PENALTIES WHICH EXIST FOR THOSE WHO BREAK THEM. IN ORDER TO CREATE A BREATHING-SPACE AND EASE THE CHANGE-OVER IN THE PRISON SYSTEM, FOR 28 DAYS FROM YESTERDAY NO LOSS OF REMISSION WILL BE IMPOSED AS A PENALTY FOR BREACHES OF PRISON RULES ARISING OUT OF THE REFUSAL TO WEAR CLOTHES.

10. I HOPE THAT THE END OF THE HUNGER STRIKE, TOGETHER WITH THE MEASURES I HAVE DESCRIBED ABOVE, WILL HELP END THE CONFRONTATION WHICH HAS CAUSED SO MUCH TRAGEDY AND SUFFERING INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PRISONS. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT WHILE 10 YOUNG MEN HAVE DIED TRAGICALLY IN THE MAZE, MANY MORE PEOPLE HAVE DIED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE STRIKE AS INNOCENT VICTIMS OF THE VIOLENCE OUTSIDE. OUR TASK IS TO STOP THE MEN WHO ARE CAUSING THAT VIOLENCE, AND TO TURN ALL OUR ENERGIES TOWARDS CREATING A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. I WANT TO GET ON WITH THIS TASK. IN THE SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION WITH WHICH I HAVE PUT FORWARD MY PRISON REFORMS, I LOOK FOR CO-OPERATION AND SUPPORT IN THIS WIDER PURPOSE FROM ALL THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNITY.

UNQUOTE.

MESSAGE ENDS

CARRINGTON

NNNN

GROUPS 180
UNCLASSIFIED
FROM DUBLIN 061450Z OCTOBER 1981
TO PRIORITY F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 347 OF 06 OCTOBER.
AND TO ROUTINE N I O BELFAST.

pm

MR PRIOR'S STATEMENT.

MR HAUGHEY HAS MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON THE CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MAZE PRISON.

" THERE ARE MANY THINGS THAT COULD BE SAID TODAY ABOUT THE TRAGIC EVENTS, THE DEATHS, THE SUFFERING AND THE LOST OPPORTUNITIES OF THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS. I THINK, HOWEVER, THAT THE WISEST THING NOW IS FOR US ALL TO WELCOME THIS MOVE BY MR PRIOR WITHOUT RESERVATION AND TO FERVENTLY HOPE THAT IT WILL USHER IN A NEW ERA IN THE MAZE PRISON.

ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1981 FOLLOWING MY INTERVIEW WITH OWEN CARRON, M.P., I SUGGESTED THAT A SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE FIVE DEMANDS PUT FORWARD BY THE PRISONERS SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED DIRECTLY BETWEEN THE PRISONERS AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

I THEREFORE WELCOME THESE NEW MEASURES AND IN PARTICULAR THE WORDS IN MR. PRIOR'S STATEMENT THAT "THE DEVELOPEMENT OF A PRISON SYSTEM IS A CONTINUAL PROCESS".

I WOULD URGE THAT THE MEASURES ANNOUNCED TODAY SHOULD BE FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED AND THE PRINCIPLE EXPRESSED IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT BE FOLLOWED THROUGH IN AN ENLIGHTENED, HUMANE AND SENSITIVE MANNER SO THAT WE WILL NEVER AGAIN SEE A REPETITION OF THE GREAT HUMAN TRAGEDY THAT H-BLOCKS HAS ~~KOME~~ TO REPRESENT."

FIGG

LIMITED

RID
KAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
PUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/PUS
SIR A ACLAND

MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

GR 450
UNCLASSIFIED
FM WASHINGTON 052225Z OCT 81
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 2972 OF 5 OCTOBER
INFO PRIORITY NIO LONDON, NIO BELFAST, DUBLIN

MB.

BIS TELEGRAM NO 26 OF 28 AUGUST.

NORTHERN IRELAND: CBS QUOTE 60 MINUTES UNQUOTE

1. AS FORESHADOWED IN BIS TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE, A SEGMENT OF CBS 60 MINUTES LAST NIGHT WILL HAVE CAUSED THE IRA AND NORAID CONSIDERABLE EMBARRASSMENT. THE ITEM DEMONSTRATED TELLINGLY THE IRAS LINKS WITH OTHER EUROPEAN, AND MIDDLE EAST TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS AS WELL AS ITS MARXIST AIMS.

2. INCORPORATING SOME SKILFULLY EDITED INTERVIEWS WITH, AMONG OTHERS, PETER MCMULLEN (AN EX-MEMBER OF THE IRA, CURRENTLY SEEKING ASYLUM IN THE USA), CLAIRE STERLING (AUTHOR OF THE TERROR NETWORK) AND PAUL WILKINSON, ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY, THE REPORT ARGUED THAT THE IRA HAS ANOTHER FACE NOT KNOWN TO IRISH-AMERICANS. THE MURDERER OF LORD MOUNTBATTEN WAS TRAINED BY SOVIET PERSONNEL IN LIBYA, THE REPORT STATED: QADHAFI SUPPORTS THE IRA; AND THE SOVIET UNION USES INTER-MEDIARIES TO FINANCE THE GROUP. CITING THESE AND OTHER INSTANCES OF THE IRAS LINKS WITH LEFT WING GROUPS, INCLUDING RED BRIGADE AND BAADERMEINHOF, IT WENT ON TO ASSERT THAT THE LONGTERM AIM OF THE IRA AND ITS SUPPORTERS WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MARXIST STATE. BOTH BERNADETTE MCALISKEY AND RORY OBRADY INDICATED, UNDER TOUGH QUESTIONING, THEIR SOCIALIST AIMS, AND MCALISKEY IN PARTICULAR WILL HAVE BEEN SEEN BY MANY IRISH-AMERICANS IN A VERY UNFLATTERING LIGHT. THE REPORT ALSO UNDERLINED THE LACK OF POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THE IRA BOTH IN THE REPUBLIC AND NORTHERN IRELAND.

3. IT IS DIFFICULT TO EXAGGERATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS THE LEAD SEGMENT, ON ONE OF AMERICAS TOP-RATED WEEKLY PROGRAMMES, WITH AN AVERAGE AUDIENCE A WEEK OF ABOUT FORTY MILLION. FOLLOWING THE GENERALLY FAVOURABLE TELEVISION, REPORTS OF THE END OF THE HUNGER-STRIKE, AND MR BUTLERS USEFUL INTERVIEW ON NBCS NATIONWIDE TODAY SHOW, THE 60 MINUTES ITEM WILL GIVE NORAID GROUNDS FOR CONSIDERABLE ANXIETY AT THE WAY IN WHICH THE IRA WAS PORTRAYED ON ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL MEDIA OUTLETS IN THE UNITED STATES.

/TRANSCRIPT

TRANSCRIPT AND VIDEOCASSETTE FOLLOW FROM BIS BY BAG TO INFORMATION DEPARTMENT. WE ARE SENDING CASSETTES TO CONSULS-GENERAL, AND ARE DRAWING THE PROGRAMME TO THE ATTENTION OF APPROPRIATE CONTACTS, INCLUDING THOSE ON THE HILL.

HENDERSON

LIMITED

RID
KAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
PUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR RIDLEY

PS/FUS
SIR A ACLAND

MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND



Ireland

10 DOWNING STREET

Willie ✓ MAP has told MIO to go ahead as x is the case & has continued with Melbourne.

Clive has ring in this morning ^{2M}
_{5/10}

concerning S/S N. Ireland statement.

The P.M. is content for the statement to be issued.

She has asked ~~if~~ ~~if~~ if the clothing concession is the same as that allowed at Armagh women Prison and women Prisons throughout the U.K.?

Can we confirm this point with N.I.O. and if this point is correct, go ahead and issue

If the consensus goes beyond
the women's consensus.
The P.M. will have to be
consulted again

Andy

File No. _____
Department _____
Drafted by
(Block Capitals) W.F.S. RICKETT
Tel. Extn. _____

OUTWARD
TELEGRAM

Security Classification
CONFIDENTIAL
Precedence
IMMEDIATE
DESKBY 2300 Z

FOR
COMMS. DEPT.
USE
Despatched (Date) _____ (Time) _____ Z
POSTBY _____ Z

PREAMBLE
(Time of Origin) _____ Z(G.M.T.) (Restrictive Prefix) _____
(Security Class.) _____ (Caveat/Privacy Marking) _____
(Codeword) _____ (Deskby) _____ Z
TO IMMEDIATE MELBOURNE Tel. No. _____ of _____
(precedence) (post)
AND TO (precedence/post) _____
AND SAVING TO _____
REPEATED TO (for info) _____
SAVING TO (for info) _____

Distribution:-

Copies to:-

[TEXT]
and Fall
FOLLOWING FOR ALEXANDER, PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY
FROM RICKETT, 10 DOWNING STREET.
Message begins:
HUNGER STRIKE
Following is the text of the statement which
Mr. Prior intends to make tomorrow, 6 October, setting
out developments in the Northern Ireland prison regime,
as foreshadowed in previous Government statements.
These changes will undoubtedly be attacked by some
Protestant politicians as an unnecessary surrender
to the Provisionals. On the other hand, some
Catholics, especially those whom the hunger strikers
have blamed for letting them down, will say that the
changes do not go far enough. The NIO are confident
that the great majority of Protestants and Catholics
are glad that the hunger strike is over and will
accept what Mr. Prior is doing.
/QUOTE

Despatch 15/20 5/10/57

06
From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

M Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

5 October 1981

Dear Mike

HUNGER STRIKE

As you know, the hunger strike in the Maze prison came to an end on the afternoon of Saturday 3 October. A statement issued in the name of the protesting prisoners that afternoon blamed the Catholic hierarchy, the SDLP and the political parties in the Republic for persuading the strikers' relations to sabotage the strike by authorising medical intervention, and for failing to put effective pressure on the Government to make concessions. The statement reaffirmed the protestors' commitment to achieve the five demands and said that they would not submit to what they described as a degrading regime.

The end of the hunger strike has been widely welcomed in the community. There have been the expected accusations of a sell-out from some Protestants, but they have been muted. The prison is quiet and the former hunger strikers are receiving treatment and taking nourishment. It is not yet clear what new form the prison protest might take. The next week or so will be very important if we are to defuse the protest and come to some sort of modus vivendi, however fragile and acrimonious with the prisoners.

... I enclose a copy of a statement which Mr Prior is making tomorrow which sets out developments in the Northern Ireland prison regime as foreshadowed in previous Government statements.

/...

These changes will undoubtedly be attacked by some Protestant politicians as an unnecessary surrender to the Provisionals. The statement tries to take account of their fears and Mr Prior thinks their reaction will be manageable. Some Catholics - especially those whom the hunger strikers have blamed for letting them down - will say that the changes do not go far enough. However, we are confident that the great majority of Protestants and Catholics are glad that the hunger strike is over and will accept what Mr Prior is doing.

I am copying this letter (and the enclosure) to John Halliday (Home Office), Francis Richards (FCO), David Omand (MOD), David Heyhoe (Privy Council Office) and Jim Nursaw (Attorney General's Office).

Yours sincerely
Mike Hopkins

M W HOPKINS

DRAFT STATEMENT ON PRISONS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
NORTHERN IRELAND

The hunger strike has ended by the voluntary action of the protestors. It is time to heal the deep wounds and fresh divisions caused by the strike both inside and outside the prisons, and help to bring to an end the violence which for so long had prevented the social, political and economic development of Northern Ireland.

2. On 3 October I said that I would be making a statement about the development of the prison system. Both my predecessor and I were always determined to be reasonable and flexible and to seek improvements where they could be made. We also made it clear that we would not act under duress. Until now, the hunger strike made movement impossible. Now it is over, I want to play my part in seeking reconciliation and an end to violence by introducing changes along the lines set out by my predecessor on 30 June and 8 July.

3. I must make it quite clear what I am not prepared to do. The protestors' views on work and association are not compatible with a civil prison system, especially the modern and humane system which makes the principal jails of the Province as advanced as any in the world. There is room for development here as elsewhere. But there will be no question of a political or military system of administration or any return to special category status.

/...

4. I have decided to make the following important changes. They will apply to all prisoners in all prisons in Northern Ireland.

5. Clothes

Prisoners will in future be able to wear their own clothing at all times. To avoid any misunderstandings, the practical arrangements for this change will be set out in a leaflet which Lord Gowrie will arrange to have circulated to all prisoners tomorrow. These arrangements cover for example the need to ensure that clothing worn by prisoners does not resemble that of prison officers, is not tantamount to a uniform, and is not otherwise offensive or unsuitable. We also need to specify the quantities of clothing and finalise laundry arrangements. These are practical matters and need cause no serious problems. The change will take perhaps two or three weeks to complete. Families may bring clothes to the prisons when they have been informed of the details in the leaflets. Of course, those who prefer to continue to wear the prison issue civilian-style clothing will be able to do so.

6. Remission

At present prisoners who have lost remission as a penalty for certain protest action may have 20% of that lost remission restored after three months of full conformity with Prison Rules. A number of prisoners have already gained from this. I am now introducing a more generous scheme for restoration of lost remission. Lord Gowrie will make full details known shortly, based on the following principles:-

- (i) the new scheme will extend to all prisoners who have lost remission other than as a result of violent acts against prison officers or other prisoners;
- (ii) the amount of lost remission which may be restored will be increased to a maximum of 50%, i.e. those who have already qualified for the earlier 20% restoration will gain a further 30%, and those who newly qualify will gain the full 50%;
- (iii) the new scheme will apply only to those prisoners who have either already completed a period of 3 months' conformity to Prison Rules or who now do so.

This new scheme applies to past behaviour. It does not mean that prisoners who in the future lose remission for breaches of Prison Rules will have lost remission restored.

7. Association

Conforming prisoners already have many opportunities for mixing with one another at mealtimes, work, exercise, and during their periods of association each evening and at weekends. There is little immediate scope for expansion here but I have accepted that there should be some provision for prisoners in adjacent wings of H-Blocks to share association in recreation rooms and exercise areas. Before this change can be implemented, new arrangements for the control and supervision of such movement and certain additional physical changes will be required. These will take some weeks.

8. The Government has made it clear that the development of a prison system is a continual process; in particular that the possibility of widening the scope of work in the prisons can be examined within certain well-defined limits. There are obvious practical and financial limitations on what can be arranged. Here I should like to pay tribute to prison staff for successfully maintaining an enlightened system for conforming prisoners while coping with the great stress and strain occasioned by the protest. I am very conscious that many, indeed most of the prisoners, are young men. Even in the context of deservedly long sentences on conviction of violent crimes many of them will, in the normal way, be released during their working lives. I do therefore want to encourage a system where the very advanced training and educational facilities available, which have much impressed me, may be freely used by all prisoners. Lord Gowrie will continue to keep a close eye on developments in this field as the new arrangements settle down.

9. The changes which I am announcing will take some time to work through. I hope that as they come into effect, protesting prisoners will recognise the benefits of conformity with the rules, and the penalties which exist for those who break them. In order to create a breathing-space and ease the change-over in the prison system, for 28 days from yesterday no loss of remission will be imposed as a penalty for breaches of prison rules arising out of the refusal to wear clothes.

10. I hope that the end of the hunger strike, together with the measures I have described above, will help end the confrontation which has caused so much tragedy and suffering inside and outside the prisons. We must never forget that while 10 young men have died tragically in the Maze, many more people have died during the period of the strike as innocent victims of the violence outside. Our task is to stop the men who are causing that violence, so that we can turn all our energies to creating a better future for all the people of Northern Ireland. I want to get on with this task and I have made it clear that my priority will be to tackle our economic difficulties. In the spirit of reconciliation with which I have put forward my prison reforms, I look for co-operation and support in this wider purpose from all the leaders of the community.

UNCLASSIFIED

FM DUBLIN 051055Z OCT 1981

PS TO PM. NO 10 DOWNING STREET.

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 346 OF 05 OCTOBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE N I O (BELFAST)

F C O PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON AND B I S NEW YORK

MY TELNO 345: END OF HUNGER STRIKE: IRISH MEDIA REACTIONS

1. THE END OF THE HUNGER STRIKE AND THE PROSPECTS FOR PRISON REFORMS ARE FRONT NEWS IN TODAY'S DUBLIN DAILIES, WHICH ALSO CONTAIN EDITORIAL COMMENT. THE GENERAL THEME OF THE REPORTING IS ONE OF RELIEF THAT AN UNHAPPY EPISODE HAS ENDED, AND HOPE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL NOW INTRODUCE REFORMS THAT WILL RESOLVE THE DISPUTE ONCE AND FOR ALL.
2. A FRONT PAGE REPORT IN THE IRISH TIMES CONCENTRATES ON THE POSSIBILITY THAT LORD GOWRIE WILL SHORTLY MEET THE PROTESTING PRISONERS, INCLUDING BRENDAN MCFARLANE, IN ORDER TO DISCUSS PRISON REFORMS. THE REPORT STRESSES THAT ANY SUCH MEETING WOULD BE REGARDED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS BEING WITH "INTERESTED INDIVIDUALS" RATHER THAN "REPRESENTATIVES", BUT SUGGESTS THAT LORD GOWRIE'S WILLINGNESS TO MEET MCFARLANE REPRESENTED "A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT" IN THE HANDLING OF THE PRISON CRISIS. INSIDE THE NEWSPAPER, TWO WHOLE PAGES ARE DEVOTED TO A CHRONOLOGY OF THE H-BLOCK PROTEST, TO THE FULL TEXT OF THE PRISONERS' WEEKEND STATEMENT, AND TO THE REACTIONS OF POLITICIANS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND H-BLOCK ACTIVISTS. GERRY ADAMS IS QUOTED AS HAVING TOLD THE IRISH TIMES: "A VERY REASONABLE AND COMMONSENSE MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE CONDITIONS OUTLINED BY THE PRISONERS ON JULY 4TH AND AUGUST 6TH ... WOULD PERMANENTLY END THE PRISON PROTEST ... " AN EDITORIAL COMMENTS APPROVINGLY ON THE FACT THAT MR PRIOR AND LORD GOWRIE RETURNED TO THEIR DESKS OVER THE WEEKEND AND URGES, "WHATEVER REMEDIAL PROPOSALS THEY HAVE IN MIND SHOULD BE QUICKLY PUT INTO ACTION."
3. UNDER THE HEADING "BLUEPRINT FOR PEACE IN MAZE," THE IRISH INDEPENDENT SUGGESTS THAT MR PRIOR WILL OUTLINE "RADICAL PRISON REFORM" LATER THIS WEEK WHICH WILL "ALMOST SATISFY THE FIVE DEMANDS." THE REPORT SUGGESTS THAT SOME OF THE NEW CONCESSIONS WOULD BE A "WINK AND NOD KIND OF AGREEMENT WHERE THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES ... WILL BEND THE RULES TO ENSURE THE REMOVAL OF ALL POTENTIAL CAUSES OF FRICTION WITHIN THE PRISON SYSTEM." IT GOES ON TO IMPLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WILLING TO IMPLEMENT CHANGES WITH REGARD TO CLOTHING, SEGREGATION, FREE ASSOCIATION, PRISON

/WORK

WORK, LETTERS AND PARCELS, AND THAT MR PRIOR WOULD GO AT LEAST SOME OF THE WAY TO MEETING THE DEMAND FOR THE LOSS OF FULL REMISSION. AN EDITORIAL SHARPLY ATTACKS THE PROVISIONAL I R A FOR THEIR DOUBLE STANDARDS, AND URGES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO INTRODUCE REFORMS NOW THAT THE STRIKE IS OVER.

4. AN ARTICLE ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE IRISH PRESS REPORTS THAT THERE IS A GENERAL EXPECTATION IN BELFAST THAT THE PROPOSED PRISON REFORMS "WOULD BE IN ACCORD WITH THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS WHICH THE IRISH COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE PRODUCED," I E OWN CLOTHES , ASSOCIATION WITHIN THE WINGS, A MORE LIBERAL DEFINITION OF PRISON WORK AND ONE FIFTH OF LOST REMISSION TO BE RESTORED. AN EDITORIAL SUGGESTS THAT THE SPEED WITH WHICH THE SECRETARY OF STATE RETURNED TO HIS DESK MAY INDICATE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS LEARNT FROM THE MISTAKES MADE WHEN THE PREVIOUS HUNGER STRIKE ENDED, AND THAT REFORMS WILL FOLLOW IN MATTER OF DAYS.

TATHAM

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

LIMITED

RID
KAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
FUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/FUS
SIR A ACLAND

MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHEWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

CONFIDENTIAL

30512 - 1

OO DUBLIN DESKBY 060630Z

GRS 1179

CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY DUBLIN 060630Z

DESKBY PARIS UKMIS GENEVA HOLY SEE 060900Z

DESKBY WASHINGTON BIS NEW YORK 052000Z

FM F C O 051825Z OCT 81

TO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN

TELEGRAM NUMBER 153 OF 5 OCTOBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE HOLY SEE

INFO : IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK, PARIS, UKMIS GENEVA.

NORTHERN IRELAND : END OF HUNGER STRIKE : STATEMENT BY NORTHERN
IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE : MIPT

TEXT BEGINS

'THE HUNGER STRIKE HAS ENDED, AS IT BEGAN, BY THE VOLUNTARY
ACTION OF THE PROTESTORS. IT IS TIME TO HEAL THE DEEP WOUNDS
AND FRESH DIVISIONS CAUSED BY THE STRIKE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE
THE PRISONS, AND HELP TO BRING TO AN END THE VIOLENCE WHICH FOR
SO LONG HAD PREVENTED THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOP-
MENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

2. ON OCTOBER 2 I SAID THAT I WOULD BE MAKING A STATEMENT
ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRISON SYSTEM. BOTH MY PREDECESSOR
AND I WERE ALWAYS DETERMINED TO BE REASONABLE AND FLEXIBLE AND
TO SEEK IMPROVEMENTS WHERE THEY COULD BE MADE. WE ALSO MADE IT
CLEAR THAT WE WOULD NOT ACT UNDER DURESS. UNTIL NOW, THE HUNGER
STRIKE MADE MOVEMENT IMPOSSIBLE. NOW IT IS OVER, I WANT TO PLAY
MY PART IN SEEKING RECONCILIATION AND AN END TO VIOLENCE BY
INTRODUCING CHANGES ALONG THE LINES SET OUT BY MY PREDECESSOR
ON 30 JUNE AND 8 JULY.

3. I MUST MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR WHAT I AM NOT PREPARED TO DO. THE
PROTESTORS' VIEWS ON WORK AND ASSOCIATION ARE NOT COMPATIBLE WITH

1

CONFIDENTIAL

A CIVIL PRISON SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY THE MODERN AND HUMANE SYSTEM WHICH MAKES THE PRINCIPAL JAILS OF THE PROVINCE AS ADVANCED AS ANY IN THE WORLD. THERE IS ROOM FOR DEVELOPMENT HERE AS ELSEWHERE. BUT THERE WILL BE NO QUESTION OF A POLITICAL OR MILITARY SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION OR ANY RETURN TO SPECIAL CATEGORY STATUS.

4. I HAVE DECIDED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING IMPORTANT CHANGES NOW. THEY WILL APPLY TO ALL PRISONERS IN ALL PRISONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

5. CLOTHES (UNDERLINED)

PRISONERS WILL IN FUTURE BE ABLE TO WEAR THEIR OWN CLOTHING AT ALL TIMES AS OF RIGHT. TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDINGS, THE PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS CHANGE WILL BE SET OUT IN A LEAFLET WHICH LORD GOWRIE WILL CIRCULATE TO PRISONERS TOMORROW. THESE ARRANGEMENTS COVER FOR EXAMPLE THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT CLOTHING WORN BY PRISONERS DOES NOT RESEMBLE THAT OF PRISON OFFICERS, IS NOT TANTAMOUNT TO A UNIFORM, AND IS NOT OFFENSIVE OR UNSUITABLE SO AS TO BE AN ABUSE OF THE PRIVILEGE. WE ALSO NEED TO SPECIFY THE QUANTITIES OF CLOTHING AND FINALISE LAUNDRY ARRANGEMENTS. THESE ARE PRACTICAL MATTERS AND NEED CAUSE NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS. THE CHANGE WILL TAKE PERHAPS TWO OR THREE WEEKS TO COMPLETE. FAMILIES MAY BRING CLOTHES TO THE PRISONS WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF THE DETAILS IN THE LEAFLETS. OF COURSE, THOSE WHO PREFER TO CONTINUE TO WEAR THE PRISON ISSUE CIVILIAN-STYLE CLOTHING WILL BE ABLE TO DO SO.

6. REMISSION (UNDERLINED)

AT PRESENT PRISONERS WHO HAVE LOST REMISSION AS A PENALTY FOR CERTAIN PROTEST ACTION MAY HAVE 20 PER CENT OF THAT LOST REMISSION RESTORED AFTER 3 MONTHS OF FULL CONFORMITY WITH PRISONS RULES. A NUMBER OF PRISONERS HAVE ALREADY GAINED FROM THIS. I AM NOW INTRODUCING A MORE GENEROUS SCHEME FOR RESTORATION OF LOST REMISSION. LORD GOWRIE WILL MAKE FULL DETAILS BE KNOWN SHORTLY, BASED ON THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:-

- (1) THE NEW SCHEME WILL EXTEND TO ALL PRISONERS WHO

CONFIDENTIAL

30512 - 1

HAVE LOST REMISSION OTHER THAN AS A RESULT OF VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST PRISON OFFICERS OR OTHER PRISONERS:

- (II) THE AMOUNT OF LOST REMISSION WHICH MAY BE RESTORED WILL BE INCREASED TO A MAXIMUM OF 50 PER CENT, IE. THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY QUALIFIED FOR THE EARLIER 20 PERCENT RESTORATION WILL GAIN A FURTHER 30 PERCENT, AND THOSE WHO NEWLY QUALIFY WILL GAIN THE FULL 50 PER CENT:
- (III) THE NEW SCHEME, LIKE THE PRESENT ONE, WILL APPLY ONLY AFTER A PERIOD OF 3 MONTHS' CONFORMITY WITH PRISON RULES. HOWEVER AS A GESTURE OF GOODWILL I AM PREPARED EXCEPTIONALLY, TO ENSURE THAT THE FIRST ELIGIBLE PRISONERS CAN BE HOME BY CHRISTMAS.

THE NEW SCHEME APPLIES TO PAST BEHAVIOUR. IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT PRISONERS WHO IN THE FUTURE LOSE REMISSION FOR BREACHES OF PRISON RULES WILL HAVE LOST REMISSION RESTORED.

7. ASSOCIATION (UNDERLINED)

CONFORMING PRISONERS ALREADY HAVE MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR MIXING WITH ONE ANOTHER AT MEALTIMES, WORK, EXERCISE, AND DURING THEIR PERIODS OF ASSOCIATION EACH EVENING AND AT WEEKENDS. THERE IS LITTLE IMMEDIATE SCOPE FOR EXPANSION HERE BUT I HAVE ACCEPTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME PROVISION FOR PRISONERS IN ADJACENT WINGS OF H-BLOCKS TO SHARE ASSOCIATION IN RECREATION ROOMS AND EXERCISE AREAS. BEFORE THIS CHANGE CAN BE IMPLEMENTED NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONTROL AND SUPERVISION OF SUCH MOVEMENT AND CERTAIN ADDITIONAL PHYSICAL CHANGES WILL BE REQUIRED. THESE WILL TAKE SOME WEEKS.

8. THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PRISON SYSTEM IS A CONTINUAL PROCESS: IN PARTICULAR THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF WIDENING THE SCOPE OF WORK IN THE PRISONS CAN BE EXAMINED WITHIN CERTAIN WELL-DEFINED LIMITS. THERE ARE OBVIOUS PRACTICAL AND FINANCIAL LIMITATIONS ON WHAT CAN BE ARRANGED. HERE I SHOULD LIKE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO PRISON OFFICIALS FOR SUCCESSFULLY MAINTAINING AN ENLIGHTENED SYSTEM FOR CONFORMING PRISONERS WHILE COPING WITH THE GREAT STRESS AND STRAIN OCCASIONED BY THE

CONFIDENTIAL

30512 - 1

PROTEST. I AM VERY CONSCIOUS THAT MANY, INDEED MOST OF THE PRISONERS, ARE YOUNG MEN. EVEN IN THE CONTEXT OF DESERVEDLY LONG SENTENCES ON CONVICTION OF VIOLENT CRIMES MANY OF THEM WILL, IN THE NORMAL WAY, BE RELEASED BEFORE THEY ARE MIDDLE AGED. I DO THEREFORE WANT TO ENCOURAGE A SYSTEM WHERE THE VERY ADVANCED TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AVAILABLE, WHICH HAVE MUCH IMPRESSED ME, MAY BE FREELY USED BY ALL PRISONERS. LORD GOWRIE WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP A CLOSE EYE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS FIELD AS THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS SETTLE DOWN.

9. THE CHANGES WHICH I AM ANNOUNCING WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO WORK THROUGH. I HOPE THAT AS THEY COME INTO EFFECT, PROTESTING PRISONERS WILL RECOGNISE THE BENEFITS OF CONFORMITY WITH THE RULES, AND THE PENALTIES WHICH EXIST FOR THOSE WHO BREAK THEM. IN ORDER TO CREATE A BREATHING-SPACE AND EASE THE CHANGE-OVER IN THE PRISON SYSTEM, FOR 28 DAYS FROM YESTERDAY NO LOSS OF REMISSION WILL BE IMPOSED AS A PENALTY FOR BREACHES OF PRISON RULES ARISING OUT OF THE REFUSAL TO WEAR CLOTHES.

10. I HOPE THAT THE END OF THE HUNGER STRIKE, TOGETHER WITH THE MEASURES I HAVE DESCRIBED ABOVE, WILL HELP END THE CONFRONTATION WHICH HAS CAUSED SO MUCH TRAGEDY AND SUFFERING INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PRISONS. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT WHILE 10 YOUNG MEN HAVE DIED TRAGICALLY IN THE MAZE, MANY MORE PEOPLE HAVE DIED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE STRIKE AS INNOCENT VICTIMS OF THE VIOLENCE OUTSIDE. OUR TASK IS TO STOP THE MEN WHO ARE CAUSING THAT VIOLENCE, SO THAT WE CAN TURN ALL OUR ENERGIES TO CREATING A BETTER FUTURE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. I WANT TO GET ON WITH THIS TASK AND I HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT MY PRIORITY WILL BE TO TACKLE OUR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. IN THE SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION WITH WHICH I HAVE PUT FORWARD MY PRISON REFORMS I LOOK FOR CO-OPERATION AND SUPPORT IN THIS WIDE PURPOSE FROM ALL THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNITY.'

TEXT ENDS

CARRINGTON

LIMITED

RID

KAD

INFO DEPT

WED

MAED

NEWS D

SECURITY D

PUSD

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIDLEY

PS/PUS

SIR A ACLAND

CHIEF CLERK

MR ADAMS

MR BULLARD

MR FERGUSSON

LORD N G LENNOX

MR BRAITHEWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

4

CONFIDENTIAL

GRPS 200

U N C L A S S I F I E D

FM DUBLIN 041430Z OCT 81

PS TO PM. NO 10 DOWNING STREET.

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY FCO 05:0800Z

TELEGRAM NUMBER 344 OF 04 OCTOBER 1981

AND TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY NIO(BELFAST) 05:0800Z

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

END OF HUNGER STRIKE: REACTIONS FROM POLITICIANS IN THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

1. THE ENDING OF THE HUNGER STRIKE IN THE MAZE PRISON ON 3 OCTOBER HAS BEEN GREETED BY POLITICIANS IN THE REPUBLIC WITH RELIEF.
2. THE TAOISEACH GAVE AN OFF THE CUFF INTERVIEW TO REPORTERS SOON AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE END OF THE HUNGER STRIKE WAS MADE. ACCORDING TO REPORTS IN TODAY'S NEWSPAPERS, DR FITZGERALD SAID THAT HE WAS "VERY PLEASED" THAT THE STRIKE HAD ENDED, AND THAT HE ADMIRERD THE COURAGE OF THE RELATIONS OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS WHO HAD HELPED BRING IT ABOUT. HE HOPED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD INTRODUCE CHANGES IN THE PRISON REGIME ALONG THE LINES RECOMMENDED BY THE IRISH COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE THAT WOULD NOT GIVE ANY EXCUSE FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE HUNGER STRIKE. IN HIS VIEW THE VISIT TO THE MAZE PRISON BY MR PRIOR "WAS A SIGNAL OF THE INTENTION TO IMPLEMENT CHANGES." HE THOUGHT THAT THE END OF THE HUNGER STRIKE WOULD LEAD TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN AND ADMITTED THAT HE WAS "UNHAPPY" WITH THE INFLEXIBILITY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE HUNGER STRIKE AS HE THOUGHT WERE THE IRISH PEOPLE. THE NEWS ALSO MEANT THAT HIS MEETING WITH MRS THATCHER WOULD NOT BE "OVERSHADOWED" BY THE CONTINUING HUNGER STRIKE.
3. THE TANAISTE, MR O'LEARY WELCOMED THE ENDING OF THE HUNGER STRIKE, BUT SAID: "IF THIS COULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CESSATION OF VIOLENCE BY THE PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS, A VAST STEP FORWARD COULD BE MADE IN REACHING A GENERAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND."
4. THE FIANNA FAIL LEADER, MR HAUGHEY IS REPORTED AS HAVING SAID: "THIS IS INDEED GREAT NEWS. THERE WILL BE RELIEF THROUGHOUT THIS ISLAND THAT THIS TRAGIC SITUATION HAS NOW COME TO AN END. IT IS TRAGIC THAT SO MANY DEATHS OCCURRED BUT IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT TODAY'S DEVELOPMENTS WILL USHER IN A NEW ERA OF PEACE."
5. SEE M.I.F.T. FOR MEDIA REACTIONS.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

TATHAM

LIMITED

RID
NAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
PUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/PUS
SIR A ACLAND
MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

[PASSED AS REQUESTED]

cyber

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND'S STATEMENT ON THE MAZE HUNGER STRIKE: SATURDAY, 3 OCTOBER, 1981: 1740 HOURS

I welcome today's news from the Maze Prison. The Government declared the principles by which it is guided in its administration of Northern Ireland prisons, and having done so, held to them. But it has been greatly saddened by the loss of life and injuries suffered in the community during recent months and by the pain that yet more families have had to bear. The community owes much to those - churchmen and laymen alike - who have spoken out against those who have sought to exploit the suffering of others.

The road to and the search for peace so clearly and tragically set back by the hunger strike can now be resumed. I and my predecessors have always made clear that further developments on the prison regime will be possible once duress is removed.

Lord Gowrie and I return to Belfast in the morning. I shall be making a statement in the course of next week.

Prime Minister 4
pa. 8/10

PS TO PM. NO 10 DOWNING STREET.

30229 - 1

GRS 701
UNCLASSIFIED
FM FCO 021630Z OCT 81
TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 138 OF 2 OCTOBER 1981.

NORTHERN IRELAND

1. IN RECENT INTERVIEWS IN THE CORK EXAMINER AND ON RTE RADIO, DR GARRET FITZGERALD, PRIME MINISTER OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC, SET OUT HIS VIEW THAT THE REPUBLIC'S CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE CHANGED TO CREATE A NON-SECTARIAN STATE. HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED ARTICLES 2 AND 3 WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN INTERPRETED AS CONSTITUTING A CLAIM TO TERRITORY WHICH WAS OFFENSIVE TO THE MAJORITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE DECLARED HIS BELIEF IN A NON-SECTARIAN UNITED IRELAND AND ARGUED THAT THE REPUBLIC HAD ADOPTED A PARTITIONIST ATTITUDE WITH A CONSTITUTION, LAWS AND PRACTICES WHICH WOULD NEVER BE ACCEPTABLE TO UNIONISTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. IF HOWEVER THESE WERE CHANGED RECONCILIATION WOULD BECOME POSSIBLE. DR FITZGERALD SAID THAT HE HOPED TO AROUSE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR HIS VIEWS AND TO HOLD A REFERENDUM (WHICH WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION) ONCE HE FELT THERE WAS SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR THE INITIATIVE.

2. ON 30 SEPTEMBER SENATOR DOOGE, FOREIGN MINISTER DESIGNATE OF THE REPUBLIC, IN A SPEECH TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLED FOR AN END TO THE HUNGER STRIKE WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS A WEAPON USED BY PEOPLE WHO HAD SHOWN THE MOST RUTHLESS LACK OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN SUFFERING. HE ALSO REPEATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S PREVIOUS CALLS FOR HMG TO INTRODUCE UNSPECIFIED CHANGES IN THE PRISON REGIME IN ORDER TO DEFUSE THE HUNGER STRIKE WITHOUT YIELDING THE PRINCIPLE OF POLITICAL STATUS.

LINE TO TAKE

3. DR FITZGERALD'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS ARE ESSENTIALLY A MATTER FOR THE IRISH REPUBLIC, WHERE THEY ARE A MATTER OF

/CONSIDERABLE

CONSIDERABLE PARTY POLITICAL CONTROVERSY. YOU SHOULD NOT THEREFORE VOLUNTEER COMMENT. IF ASKED YOU SHOULD POINT THIS OUT, ADDING THAT IN SO FAR AS THE PROPOSALS AFFECT NORTHERN IRELAND THEY ARE WELCOME IN THAT THEY INDICATE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S SENSITIVITY TO THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE WELCOME SENATOR DOOGE'S CONDEMNATION OF VIOLENCE AND OF THE HUNGER STRIKE AS A WEAPON.

BACKGROUND

4. THE IRISH OPPOSITION PARTY, FIANNA FAIL, HAVE REACTED ANGRILY TO DR FITZGERALD'S PROPOSAL AND HAVE REAFFIRMED THEIR DETERMINATION TO RESIST ANY EFFORTS TO CHANGE ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE CONSTITUTION. IN NORTHERN IRELAND THE INITIATIVE HAS BEEN WELCOMED BY SDLP AND THE ALLIANCE PARTY BUT 'LOYALIST' REACTIONS HAVE BEEN COOL AND GUARDED.
5. IN TV INTERVIEWS THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, MR PRIOR, POINTED OUT THAT THE PROPOSALS WERE PRIMARILY A MATTER FOR THE REPUBLIC BUT HE WELCOMED THEM INSOFAR AS THEY HAD ANY BEARING ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND SCENE.
6. THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS MAY BE OF INTEREST:
 - (I) HUNGER STRIKE: BERNARD FOX ENDED HIS HUNGER STRIKE ON 25 SEPTEMBER AFTER 33 DAYS ON BEING TOLD THAT WITHOUT URGENT TREATMENT HE MIGHT BE DEAD WITHIN A WEEK. LIAM MCCLOSKEY ENDED HIS STRIKE ON 26 SEPTEMBER AFTER 55 DAYS FOLLOWING A SIGNIFICANT DETERIORATION IN HIS CONDITION. BOTH PRISONERS WERE TRANSFERRED TO MUSGRAVE PARK HOSPITAL AND ARE EXPECTED TO MAKE A FULL RECOVERY. OF THE SIX REMAINING HUNGER STRIKERS, SHEEHAN (DAY 54) HAS WORSENERD SOMEWHAT AND IS SHOWING SIGNS OF JAUNDICE AND NAUSEA. THE CONDITION OF THE OTHERS GIVES NO CAUSE FOR CONCERN
 - (II) CONVICTION OF 'LA MON HOUSE' BOMBER: ON 28 SEPTEMBER A BELFAST MAN, ROBERT MURPHY, WAS GIVEN TWELVE LIFE SENTENCES FOR THE MANSLAUGHTER OF SEVEN WOMEN AND FIVE MEN WHO DIED WHEN A BLAST INCENDIARY

/BOMB WAS

BOMB WAS PLANTED BY THE PROVISIONAL IRA AT THE LA MON HOUSE RESTAURANT IN CO DOWN. THE BOMB EXPLODED WITHOUT WARNING BESIDE A WINDOW CAUSING THE INTERIOR IMMEDIATELY TO BECOME AN INFERNO. TWELVE PEOPLE DIED AND 23 WERE INJURED, THERE WERE OVER 300 PEOPLE IN THE BUILDING AT THE TIME. MURPHY PLEADED NOT GUILTY TO MURDER BUT GUILTY TO MANSLAUGHTER.

(III) RPG-7 ATTACK ON POLICE: AN RUC MOBILE PATROL WAS ATTACKED IN WEST BELFAST ON 28 SEPTEMBER BY PROVISIONAL IRA TERRORISTS USING AN RP7 (ROCKET-PROPELLED GRENADE) OF EASTERN EUROPEAN ORIGIN. ONE CONSTABLE WAS KILLED AND ANOTHER HAD BOTH ARMS BLOWN OFF AT THE ELBOW. THE ROCKET LAUCHER WAS RECOVERED, SEVEN PEOPLE WERE DETAINED.

CARRINGTON

BY TELEGRAPH

DUBLIN

BIS NEW YORK

WASHINGTON

[IMMEDIATE]

ATHENS

OSLO

HOLY SEE

BONN

PARIS

MADRID

BRUSSELS

UKDEL STRASBOURG

STOCKHOLM

COPENHAGEN

ROME

OTTAWA

THE HAGUE

BERNE

WELLINGTON

LISBON

UKMIS GENEVA

NEW DELHI

[PRIORITY]

UKDEL NATO BRUSSELS

RIO DE JANEIRO

CAIRO

UKMIS NEW YORK

HAVANA

CAPE TOWN

BRASILIA

MONTEVIDEO

PRETORIA

SAO PAULO

TEL AVIV

CG JOHANNESBURG

[ROUTINE]

AND SAVING TO CERTAIN OTHER POSTS

FCO/WHITEHALL
INFORMATION DEPT

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
GUIDANCE
NORTHERN IRELAND

GRPS 340

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

M.

FM DUBLIN 29:1240Z SEP 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 335 OF 29 SEPTEMBER 1981

AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST)

MY TELNO 332:

REVISION OF CONSTITUTION: REACTIONS FROM FIANNA FAIL.

1. THE TAOISEACH'S REMARKS ON 27 SEPTEMBER WERE ATTACKED BY THE FIANNA FAIL LEADER, MR HAUGHEY, ON 28 SEPTEMBER ON RTE RADIO.
2. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, MR HAUGHEY ACCUSED DR FITZGERALD OF UNDERMINING THE CONSTITUTION, ABANDONING THE ASPIRATION FOR NATIONAL UNITY AND OF PROVIDING THE ENEMIES OF UNITY WITH A PROPAGANDA WEAPON TO USE AGAINST THE REPUBLIC. HE DESCRIBED THE TAOISEACH'S BROADCAST AS AN "HYSTERICAL OUTBURST" AND SAID THAT NO MATTER WHAT CHANGES WERE INTRODUCED, NORTHERN UNIONISTS DID NOT WANT TO JOIN IN A UNITED IRELAND. IN HIS VIEW, THERE HAD BEEN TOO MUCH "WISHY-WASHY TALK OF APPEASING THE UNIONISTS." IT WAS IMPORTANT TO SAY THAT THE UNIONIST PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE POLITICIANS PARTICULARLY, HAD AVAILED OF THEIR STRONG POLITICAL POSITION IN THE BRITISH ESTABLISHMENT SET UP 60 YEARS AGO TO CARVE FOR THEMSELVES A STATE WHICH WOULD ASSURE THEIR SUPERIORITY, ECONOMICALLY, SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY. THEY HAD MAINTAINED THAT POSITION EVER SINCE SEMICOLON THEY RESTED FIRMLY ON A GUARANTEE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. AS LONG AS THAT GUARANTEE REMAINED, THE NORTHERN SITUATION WAS NOT GOING TO CHANGE. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT HE HAD DIRECTED HIS EFFORTS WHEN TAOISEACH TO RAISING THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH TO AN INTERNATIONAL PLANE, TO PERSUADE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO BRING FORWARD NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURES FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH WOULD ENABLE THEM ALL TO MAKE A FRESH START.
3. MR HAUGHEY DENIED THAT ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE CONSTITUTION COULD BE USED TO JUSTIFY VIOLENCE, AND DESCRIBED THEM AS A SIMPLE EXPRESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASPIRATION FOR UNITY. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S TACTICS WERE DESIGNED TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM THE ECONOMY. FIANNA FAIL WOULD NOT ACCEPT THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CLAIM TO NORTHERN IRELAND SHOULD BE REWORDED. FIANNA FAIL WAS COMMITTED TO THE NATIONAL ASPIRATION, AND MR HAUGHEY WAS NOT PREPARED, IN ADVANCE OF A MAJOR NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE FOR IRELAND AS A WHOLE TO CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION IN THAT RESPECT. MR HAUGHEY ALSO DEFENDED FIANNA FAIL AGAINST THE TAOISEACH'S CRITICISM THAT THE PARTY HAD CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED LEGISLATION BASED ON THE THEOLOGY OF ONE CHURCH (SEE THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE TAOISEACH'S BROADCAST.)

RESTRICTED

/4.

RESTRICTED

4. THIS IS THE STRONGEST ATTACK ON THE PROPOSED REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO COME FROM FIANNA FAIL SO FAR ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE ALREADY CRITICISED THE TAOISEACH'S CORK EXAMINER INTERVIEW (MY TELNO 328). ON 24 SEPTEMBER, THE FIANNA FAIL NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE UNDER MR HAUGHEY'S CHAIRMANSHIP PASSED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY "THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF FIANNA FAIL CATEGORICALLY REJECTS THE CONTENTION BY THE TAOISEACH, DR FITZGERALD, THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GROWTH OF PARTITIONISM AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC, AND REAFFIRMS ITS DETERMINATION TO DEFEAT ANY ATTEMPT TO MODIFY OR DELETE ARTICLES 2 AND 3 OF THE CONSTITUTION WHICH GIVE EXPRESSION TO THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATION OF THE IRISH PEOPLE TO THE UNITY OF IRELAND." THE FORMER MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR LENIHAN SPOKE ALONG THESE LINES ON 25 SEPTEMBER.

5. SEE ALSO M.I.F.T.

FIGG

LIMITED

RID
KAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
PUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/PUS
SIR A ACLAND
MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

2

RESTRICTED

MELBOURNE }
CANBERRA } VIA Fco
Fco }
DUBLIN }
DUTY CLERK NO. 10
FILE

B)/CAB001/03

FOLLOWING FOR THE CABINET OFFICE
FROM NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE BELFAST

F L A S H

SECRET

031534Z

NUMBER 523

BT

FOLLOWING FOR CABINET OFFICE DUTY OFFICER TO AWAIT COLLECTION
BY NIO.

PLEASE ALSO PASS A COPY TO THE PRIME MINISTER

A COPY OF THIS STATEMENT HAS ALSO BEEN PASSED TO FCO FOR H/RID
AND HMA DUBLIN NO 118.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PSF STATEMENT ISSUED AT 15.00 HOURS.

QUOTE

WE HAVE BEEN ASKED TO ISSUE THE FOLLOWING SUPPLIED STATEMENT TO
OUR OFFICE FROM THE H BLOCKS:-

''WE, THE PROTESTING POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE H-BLOCKS AND
THE MEN ON HUNGER STRIKE, HAVE RELUCTANTLY DECIDED IN THIS THE
SEVENTH MONTH OF THE HUNGER STRIKE TO END OUR FAST.

''WE HAVE BEEN ROBBED OF THE HUNGER STRIKE AS AN EFFECTIVE
PROTEST WEAPON PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE OF THE SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN WAGED
AGAINST OUR DISTRESSED RELATIVES BY THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY,
AIDED AND ABETTED BY THE IRISH ESTABLISHMENT (THE SDLP AND FREE
STATE POLITICAL PARTIES) WHICH TOOK NO EFFECTIVE
ACTION AGAINST THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND DID EVERYTHING TO
ENCOURAGE FEELINGS OF HOPELESSNESS AMONG OUR KITH AND KIN. THE
SUCCESS OF THIS CAMPAIGN MEANT THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD
REMAIN INTRANSIGENT AS THE CRUCIAL POLITICAL PRESSURE WHICH
FLOWS FROM THE THREAT OF DEATH OR ACTUAL DEATH OF HUNGER STRIKERS
WAS SUBSIDING NOT INCREASING.

''WE REAFFIRM OUR OPPOSITION TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S
POLICY OF CRIMINALISATION AND RECOGNISE THAT THEIR INTRANSIGENCE
AND THE COURAGEOUS SACRIFICES MADE BY BOBBY SANDS, FRANCIS HUGHES,
RAYMOND MC CREECH, PATSY O'HARA, JOE MC DONNELL, MARTIN HURSON,
KEVIN LYNCH, KIERAN DOHERTY, TOM MC ELWEE, MICKY DEVINE, HAVE
OVERTURNED THE OBJECTIVE OF THAT POLICY WHICH WERE MEANT TO
FORCE US INTO CONFORMITY AND DISCREDIT OUR CAUSE - IRISH FREEDOM -
THROUGH DENIGRATING US AS 'CRIMINALS'. FAR FROM DISCREDITING
OUR CAUSE BRITISH INTRANSIGENCE, WHICH CREATED THE HUNGER STRIKE,
HAS GIVEN US INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RECOGNITION AND HAS MADE
THE CAUSE OF IRISH FREEDOM AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE, HAS
INCREASED SUPPORT AT HOME AND ABROAD FOR IRISH RESISTANCE AND HAS
SHOWN THAT THE OPPRESSED NATIONALIST PEOPLE AND THE POLITICAL
PRISONERS ARE ONE.

''WE EXTEND OUR SOLIDARITY TO THE FAMILIES OF THE DEAD HUNGER
STRIKERS AND TO ALL OUR FAMILIES AND FRIENDS. WE ESPECIALLY THANK
THE NATIONAL H BLOCK/ARMAGH COMMITTEE AND ALL SUPPORT GROUPS
AND URGE THEM TO CONTINUE WITH THEIR TROJAN WORK IN SUPPORT OF
OUR FIVE DEMANDS. LASTLY, WE REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO THE
ACHIEVEMENT OF THE FIVE DEMANDS BY WHATEVER MEANS WE BELIEVE
NECESSARY AND EXPEDIENT. WE RULE NOTHING OUT. UNDER NO
CIRCUMSTANCES ARE WE GOING TO DEVALUE THE MEMORY OF OUR
DEAD COMRADES BY SUBMITTING OURSELVES TO A DEHUMANISING
AND DEGRADING REGIME.

UNQUOTE

BT

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 550
CONFIDENTIAL
FM UKMIS GENEVA 021713Z
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 324 OF 02 OCTOBER 1981

ml

AND TO IMMEDIATE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

MY TELNO 322 : ICRC AND NORTHERN IRELAND

1. SCHMIDT, DELEGATE GENERAL FOR EUROPE OF THE ICRC, CALLED ON ME ON 2 OCTOBER . HE HANDED OVER COPIES OF THE REPORT (WHICH HAS 85 PAGES) ON THEIR VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND. IT INCLUDES THE MEMORANDUM OF 30 JULY. HE ALSO HANDED OVER A COVERING LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE ICRC, ALEXANDRE HAY, TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND.
2. SCHMIDT WENT ON TO STRESS THAT THE ICRC DID NOT RECOMMEND PUBLICATION . THEY REGARDED THE REPORT AS CONFIDENTIAL. THEY WOULD LIMIT THEMSELVES STRICTLY TO CONFIRMING TO THE PRESS THAT IT HAD BEEN HANDED OVER. IF IN DUE COURSE WE DECIDED TO PUBLISH IT, THE ICRC WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HAVE AS MUCH NOTICE AS POSSIBLE , AND IN PARTICULAR TO RECEIVE FROM US A FULL COPY OF THE TEXT WE INTENDED TO PUBLISH. ON PAST EXPERIENCE THEY WOULD EXPECT TO BE ASKED BY THE PRESS TO CONFIRM THAT THE PUBLISHED TEXT DID IN FACT COINCIDE WITH THE TEXT THAT THEY HAD TRANSMITTED TO US. (AS YOU KNOW ICRC POLICY REQUIRES THAT IF A REPORT IS PUBLISHED AT ALL ITS FULL TEXT MUST BE PUBLISHED. IF A GOVERNEMENT WHICH HAS RECEIVED A REPORT PUBLISHES PART OF THE TEXT, THE ICRC ITSELF MUST THEN RELEASE THE FULL TEXT.)
3. I THANKED SCHMIDT FOR THE REPORT AND THE COVERING LETTER AND SAID THAT THEY WOULD BE TRANSMITTED FORTHWITH TO LONDON. COPIES HAVE ALREADY LEFT IN TODAY'S BAG. I ASKED SCHMIDT WHETHER THE COVERING LETTER WAS TO BE CONSIDERED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE REPORT AND THEREFORE TO BE PUBLISHED WITH IT. SCHMIDT REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT (NOT) AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE REPORT, THOUGH HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT WE MIGHT WISH TO PUBLISH IT WITH THE REPORT BECAUSE IT CLARIFIES THE ICRC'S STANDPOINT IN ADOPTING SOME OF THE POSITIONS SPELLED OUT IN THE REPORT. I HAVE MY DOUBTS ON THIS : SEE PARA 4 BELOW.
4. I SHOULD LIKE TO STUDY THE REPORT IN DETAIL BEFORE OFFERING FURTHER COMMENT ON ITS HANDLING. A QUICK READING OF THE COVERING LETTER AND THE REPORT, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH SCHMIDT'S ORAL COMMENTS, SUGGEST THAT THE ICRC HAVE FELT UNABLE TO GO VERY FAR IN RESPONSE TO OUR REPRESENTATIONS ABOUT THE MEMORANDUM. THE COVERING LETTER IS, HOWEVER , HELPFUL TO A CERTAIN EXTENT. I RECOMMEND STRONGLY , HOWEVER, THAT WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOW TO AVOID ANY HASTY COMMITMENT TO MAKE THE REPORT PUBLIC

CONFIDENTIAL

/ IN THE

CONFIDENTIAL

IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THERE WOULD ALSO BE MERIT IN KEEPING CONFIDENTIAL THE EXISTENCE OF THE COVERING LETTER, IN CASE WE DECIDE NOT TO PUBLISH IT WITH THE REPORT.

5. I ALSO RECOMMEND THAT A SHORT MESSAGE OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND THANKS SHOULD BE SENT FAIRLY QUICKLY FROM MR PRIOR TO MR HAY, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT IT IS SENT IN ADVANCE OF A DETAILED STUDY OF THE REPORT, WHICH MAY TAKE SOME TIME. THIS WOULD OBIVIATE ANY NEED TO SEND LATER A MORE DETAILED ACKNOWLEDGEMENT WHICH MIGHT WELL BE DIFFICULT TO COMPOSE.

MARSHALL

LIMITED

RID
KAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
PUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/PUS
SIR A ACLAND
CHIEF CLERK
MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

2
CONFIDENTIAL

CHURCH OF IRELAND PRESS OFFICER

Alan S. Johnston.

With Compliments

~~To Alexander Hunt~~

~~To my passage master~~

To Coleridge

Correspondence to: 4, Greenview Park, Belfast BT9 6TZ. Tel: 610444

Also: Church of Ireland House, Church Avenue, Rathmines, Dublin 6. Tel: 978122

CHURCH OF IRELAND

PRESS RELEASE

All correspondence to:
ALAN S. JOHNSTON, Press Officer, 4 Greenview Park, Belfast BT9 6TZ -- Telephone 610444

CONNOR DIOCESAN SYNOD

This will be held in St. Nicholas' Parish Hall, Belfast (junction of Lisburn Road and Cadogan Park) on Wednesday, 23rd September beginning at 2.15 p.m. after Holy Communion in the parish church.

Attached is extract from the Address by the Bishop, the Right Rev. Arthur Butler which is EMBARGOED until it is delivered. This will be the last synod for Bishop Butler before he retires on 30th September.

Your attendance at the Synod, including photographic coverage, would be greatly appreciated.

18th September, 1981.

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE PRESS OFFICER.

Embargoed till 3.30 p.m.

Extract from Presidential Speech of the Right Reverend A. H. Butler,
at the Connor Diocesan Synod on Wednesday 23rd September at 3.00 p.m.

- - - - -

X
Twelve years ago I was elected to be Bishop of Connor, and I regarded it then as a great privilege. It has remained a great privilege for me to try to serve our Church and the community all through those dark and difficult times. I retire with real regret but with a deep sense of gratitude to clergy and people throughout the community who have given me their friendship and help. In recent days there has been a series of cruel and callous murders which have shocked us all. These have happened presumably as retaliation for what has been occurring over H-Blocks and the hunger-strike, and as part of the continuing campaign of intimidation, bombing and murder. Recent propoganda on the part of those who support the hunger-strike has given the impression that the whole matter has become a vendetta between the strikers and Mrs. Thatcher, and that the rest of us in the Province have no part in it. This is not true. I believe that the protestant community and a large part of the Roman Catholic community is behind the Prime Minister's policy on this issue. Whether one supports her politically or not, we approve and support the stand which has been taken. It is important to say this for a deep moral principle is involved. The principle was stated clearly by the Pope when he said on his visit to Ireland "Murder is murder". Those who believe this to be true take their stand against special category status, prisoner of war status and all that is implied in the five demands. It would be disastrous if the impression should be gained by anyone inside or outside the Province that on this issue the Prime Minister was out on her own and just being inflexible and difficult.

The misery caused in many homes lately is acute and we extend our deepest sympathy to all who have suffered so much. In the face of such suffering the churches have not failed their people but have brought to many in their time of greatest need a renewal of healing and hope and faith.

Our communities are now in a more polarised situation than ever before, and the churches cannot claim much success in breaking down barriers, though I think some of them have attempted more than they have been given credit for. It remains a first duty for all who profess to follow Christ to keep on trying to be reconcilers. This includes such things as trying to understand points of view other than our own, and to agree to disagree on certain matters, yet to remain friends and to give a conscientious answer to the uncomfortable question - "Who is my neighbour?".



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 September 1981

kg
Smith

Dear Michael,

Northern Ireland: ICRC Report on Prisons

In your letter of 6 August to Mike Hopkins, Northern Ireland Office, you suggested that a diplomatic dialogue might be started with the ICRC, and asked for a progress report in due course.

In accordance with the Prime Minister's wishes, the UK Permanent Mission in Geneva raised with the ICRC the problems we saw with the Memorandum which they had prepared, following their visit to the prisons in Northern Ireland, to form part of their final report. The ICRC proved willing to discuss their report with us before it was finalised, and two representatives duly came to London and held useful discussions on 10 September with the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Northern Ireland Office. I understand that NIO have already sent you a copy of the record of that meeting.

Our Mission in Geneva have kept in touch with the ICRC. On 8 September the UK Permanent Representative went over the ground with the President of the ICRC. Mr Hay undertook to reflect on the outstanding issues between us, including in particular the reference in the Memorandum to 'minor differences' between HMG and the protesting prisoners on the Five Demands.

The ICRC will probably be handing over their report towards the end of the month. We shall of course keep you informed of significant developments.

/I am

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -



I am sending a copy of this letter to Mike Hopkins,
Northern Ireland Office.

Yours over,

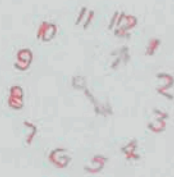
Francis Richards

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL

23 SEP 1951



CONFIDENTIAL

FM HAVANA 191650Z SEP 81

TO PRIORITY FCO

TEL NO 230 OF 19 SEPTEMBER

INFO TO NIO BELFAST AND DUBLIN

INFO SAVING TO WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

YOUR TEL NO 183: CASTRO AND NORTHERN IRELAND.

1. CASTRO DULY CAME TO MY RECEPTION LAST NIGHT AND, ACCOMPANIED BY VICE PRESIDENT CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ, STAYED FOR TWO AND A HALF HOURS OF PRIVATE CONVERSATION, ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE SUBJECT OF NORTHERN IRELAND, WITH THE LEADERS OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION (MESSRS PAGE AND JEFFREY THOMAS AND LORD HUGHES) TOGETHER WITH PERCEVAL AND MYSELF.

2. MR PAGE SPOKE MAINLY ABOUT THE UK'S RECORD AND POLICY ON HUMAN RIGHTS; MR JEFFREY THOMAS ADDRESSED LEGAL ISSUES; AND LORD HUGHES GAVE A COMPREHENSIVE EXPOSE OF THE PRISON REGIME IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE REASONS WHY THE HUNGER-STRIKERS' DEMANDS WERE UNACCEPTABLE. I SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED IN YOUR TUR, ADDING THAT CASTRO'S HUMANITARIAN CONCERN MIGHT HAVE HAD MORE POSITIVE IMPACT IF IT HAD BEEN EXPRESSED IN MORE TEMPERATE TERMS AND HAD EXTENDED TO THE IRA'S VICTIMS. AT THE END OF THE CONVERSATION HE AGREED TO MY REQUEST FOR ACCESS TO SENIOR CUBAN OFFICIALS TO EXPLAIN HMG'S POSITION MORE FULLY, ADDING THAT I WAS WELCOME TO SPEAK TO HIM TOO ON THE SUBJECT.

3. CASTRO WAS AT HIS MOST CHARMING, LISTENING WITH COURTESY AND APPARENT INTEREST AND IN TURN SPEAKING CALMLY AND WITH EVIDENT SINCERITY. BUT THERE WAS LITTLE MEETING OF MINDS AND THE CURRENT CUBAN CAMPAIGN ON THE SUBJECT IS UNLIKELY TO ABATE. (AT THE IPU CONFERENCE A DRAFT RESOLUTION CONDEMNING HMG'S VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS BEEN INTRODUCED BY THE EAST GERMAN DELEGATION IN RETALIATION FOR THE TABLING OF A WESTERN RESOLUTION ON AFGHANISTAN).

CONFIDENTIAL

/4. CASTRO

4. CASTRO EXPLAINED THAT THE COLOURFUL LANGUAGE OF HIS SPEECH HAD BEEN QUOTE LITERARY UNQUOTE: HE DID NOT REGARD HMG AS TYRANNICAL, WHICH WOULD BE ABSURD, BUT HAD USED THE WORD TO DESCRIBE ITS ATTITUDE ON THIS ONE ISSUE. THE EXAMPLE OF THE HUNGER-STRIKERS HAD MADE A PROFOUND IMPACT ON WORLD OPINION. HE WAS EXPRESSING THIS, WITHOUT SEEKING TO ENTER INTO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE COMPLEX PROBLEM OF NORTHERN IRELAND. HE ASKED WHETHER CONCESSIONS WOULD REALLY CAUSE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO CRUMBLE? HE PRAISED THE WISDOM AND FLEXIBILITY OF BRITAIN, THE POWER WHICH HAD BEST ACHIEVED DECOLONISATION.

5. CASTRO VOLUNTEERED THAT CUBA, WHICH WAS INVOLVED WITH MANY REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, HAD NO (REPEAT NO) CONTACT WITH THE IRA.

6. WE EXPLAINED THE CRIMINAL STATUS (AND ACTIONS) OF THE IRA PRISONERS, BUT CASTRO, HARKING BACK TO HIS OWN EXPERIENCE, AND CITING THE ORIGIN OF REVOLUTIONARY AND ANTI-COLONIAL MOVEMENTS GENERALLY, MAINTAINED THE VALIDITY OF THE CONCEPT OF 'POLITICAL PRISONER' AND THE NEED FOR VIOLENT ACTION IN CERTAIN SITUATIONS. THE EXISTENCE IN THE CASE OF NORTHERN IRELAND OF THE BALLOT BOX AS A MEANS TO PEACEFUL CHANGE PREDICTABLY MEANT LITTLE TO HIM.

7. AT THE MORNING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE, LORD HUGHES ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE ASKED FOR ACCESS TO CUBAN PRISONS TO MATCH THE OFFER MADE PREVIOUSLY BY MR PAGE TO HAVE CUBANS VISIT THE MAZE. THE CUBAN REACTION WAS TO AGREE PROMPTLY. LORD HUGHES DID NOT REVERT TO THE MATTER WITH CASTRO.

THOMAS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

LIMITED

RID
NAD
INFO DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS D
SECURITY D
PUSD
MCD
LND
PS/LAS
PS/MR HURD
PS/MR RIDLEY

PS/PUS
SIR A ACLAND
CHIEF CLERK
MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LORD N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

2

CONFIDENTIAL



Ireland

HC.

cc NIO

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

15 September 1981

Dear Mrs. McCloskey,

Thank you for your letter of 1 September.

I have indeed received it personally and read it, I hope, with true understanding. I do care very deeply about those to whom the hunger strike has brought pain and bereavement, as I do for all those in Northern Ireland who have suffered from violence in whatever form that has taken.

You ask if you can come and see me. I hope you will understand that I really do not mean to disappoint you and Mrs. Lynch, but I am afraid I do not see how such a meeting could help. I believe myself that the Government's position has already been set out very clearly. But my officials are, nevertheless, ready to explain it again carefully to anyone to whom that would be of value. That of course extends, before anyone else, to the families of the hunger strikers. If that would be of any help to you, then it can be done with all speed. But the fact is that the hunger strikers have no more to gain for themselves by carrying on. I think many people now do understand this. It is my hope that those whom the hunger strikers trust will say so to them and that my writing to you will help you to do so.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

Mrs. P. McCloskey

M O'D B Alexander Esq



CABINET OFFICE

With the compliments of
Sir Robert Armstrong KCB, CVO
Secretary of the Cabinet

Reference please
RA 29/9/81

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS
Telephone: 01-233 8319

CONFIDENTIAL



ks
Rms

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS Telephone 01-233 8319

From the Secretary of the Cabinet: Sir Robert Armstrong KCB, CVO

Ref. A05506

14 September 1981

You will remember that on Thursday we received a message about the visit that Mr Owen Carron MP and Sean Sands were paying to Paris.

When I saw Monsieur Beregovoy on the evening of 10 September, I referred to the reports of this visit in Le Monde, and expressed the hope that Carron would not see any members of the Government. Monsieur Beregovoy said that the six communist members of the Government would be at the Fete de l'Humanite which was an annual CPF gathering; but he said that he would speak to Monsieur Fiterman to ensure that none of the six met Mr Carron.

The following morning, on 11 September, there was a second message quoting from Liberation the fact that Carron and Sands would be meeting Jospin, the First Secretary of the French Socialist Party. Accordingly, I spoke again to Monsieur Beregovoy after the plenary session at 10 Downing Street. He took note of what I said, but expressed the view that it would be very difficult to stop Jospin seeing Carron and Sands; members of the Government was one thing, but the Secretary General of the Socialist Party was another. I said that I understood that, but that, if the visit took place, there would be some risk of misunderstanding in this country, in view of the close links between Monsieur Jospin and the President. We left it at that; but I was left with a clear feeling that Monsieur Beregovoy did not expect to be able to stop the meeting from taking place.

I am sending copies of this letter to Philip Woodfield (NIO) and Michael Alexander (No 10).

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

Sir Michael Palliser GCMG

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Covering **SECRET**



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

GREAT GEORGE STREET,

LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Michael Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

*Type for PM's signature:
submit with this letter attachment,*

14 September 1981 *Paul*

Dear Michael

below

You wrote to Stephen Boys Smith on 7 September enclosing a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister had received from Mrs McCloskey, the mother of one of the Maze hunger strikers. You asked for a reply by today and added that the idea of a meeting might be worthy of more serious consideration than might have been the case a month or two ago.

We have prepared a note on all three ladies which draws upon intelligence-based material. You may find it helpful to have this in your papers and I enclose a copy.

There are good arguments both for and against a meeting of this kind. If it took place, and went well, it would be a way of lending support to the families who in the recent past have been exerting a powerful influence that has been working in our interests and against those of the Provisionals. It would also be a way of showing that the Government means what it says in insisting that it will remain firm on principles but that it does care for those - and particularly the relatives - to whom the hunger strike has brought pain and bereavement. These are no doubt the points you very much had in mind.

Against that, it is questionable whether we ought to create, as Dr Fitzgerald did, a precedent for seeing relatives which we might subsequently have to breach: and we should in any case advise against seeing Mrs Hinphey who, whatever her credentials as a friend of the McCloskeys, is not, as an activist, someone whom the Prime Minister should be asked to see. Nor, though there is no reason to doubt Mrs McCloskey's assurance that the meeting would not be given publicity, can we rule out its becoming known.

/...

CONFIDENTIAL *Covering* **SECRET**

CONFIDENTIAL
Covering
SECRET

Mr Atkins feels that on balance the better course is for Mrs McCloskey's request not to be granted but that we should be ready, as we were with the Quinn family, for officials to see her if that is what she should wish. I attach a draft which, while turning down the request for a personal interview, is aimed at showing the Prime Minister's sympathetic understanding of the spirit in which the letter was written.

Yours sincerely
Mike Hopkins

M W HOPKINS

CONFIDENTIAL *Covering* SECRET



The National Archives

LETTERCODE/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i>	Date and sign
PIECE/ITEM <i>1293</i> (one piece/item number)	
Extract/Item details: <i>Attachment to Hopkins to Alexander dated 14 September 1981</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	<i>26/6/2023</i> <i>S. Gray</i>
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	
MISSING ON TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

Instructions for completion of Dummy Card

Use **Black Pen** to complete form

Use the card for one piece/item number only

Enter the Lettercode, Series and Piece/Item references clearly
e.g.

LETTERCODE/SERIESGRA 168.....
PIECE/ITEM49..... (ONE PIECE/ITEM NUMBER ONLY)

Please Sign and Date in the box adjacent to the description that applies to the document being replaced by the Dummy Card

If the document is Closed under a FOI exemption, enter the number of years closed. See the TNA guidance *Preparation of records for transfer to The National Archives*, section 18.2

The box described as 'Missing' is for TNA use only (it will apply to a document that is not in its proper place after it has been transferred to TNA)

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT LETTER

FILE NUMBER.....

ADDRESSEE'S REFERENCE.....

To	Enclosures	Copies to be sent to
Mrs P McCloskey		
<p>CLOSED UNDER THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT 2000</p>		
(Full Postal Address)		(Full Address, if Necessary)

LETTER DRAFTED FOR SIGNATURE BY PRIME MINISTER
(Name of Signatory)

Thank you for your letter of 1 September.

2. I have indeed received it personally and read it, I hope, with true understanding. I do care very deeply about those to whom the hunger strike has brought pain and bereavement, as I do for all those in Northern Ireland who have suffered from violence in whatever form that has taken.

3. You ask if you can come and see me. I hope you will understand that I really do not mean to disappoint you and Mrs Lynch, but I am afraid I do not see how such a meeting could help. I believe myself that the Government's position has already been set out very clearly. But my officials are, nevertheless, ready to explain it again carefully to anyone to whom that would be of value. That of course

/...

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

extends, before anyone else, to the families of the hunger strikers. If that would be of any help to you, then it can be done with all speed. But the fact is that the hunger strikers have no more to gain for themselves by carrying on. I think many people now do understand this. It is my hope that those whom the hunger strikers trust will say so to them and that my writing to you will help you to do so.

CONFIDENTIAL

Covering
From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Michael Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

*PA has seen reporting
telegram*

And

14 September 1981

Dear Michael

... You may be interested to see the attached note of a meeting last week between senior NIO officials and ICRC representatives. You will see that, although anxious to preserve their independence, the ICRC took note of our points and were generally sympathetic.

*Yours sincerely
Mike Hopkins*

M W HOPKINS

Covering

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

E.R. PUS/L/6489

NOTE OF A MEETING BETWEEN PUS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF THE RED CROSS HELD IN LONDON ON 10 SEPTEMBER 1981

Present: PUS M. Hocke
Mr Blelloch Dr Schmidt
Mr Eyers
Mr Daniell

RECEIVED BY

20 11 SEP 1981

PRIVATE OFFICE

1. PUS and Mr Blelloch summarised the current position in relation to the hunger strike. The regular succession of deaths, envisaged by the prisoners, had been interrupted, mainly because of the intervention of families who were authorising doctors to give treatment. It was probably three weeks before the next life would be in danger; and as the man concerned was a member of INLA, who were now less committed to the protest, there was a fair chance that his fast would be ended before he died, by his own decision or perhaps more likely his family's. So far, there were no signs of recriminations on the part of the Provisionals against those who came off the hunger strike or against their families. However, no lapsed hunger strikers had yet been returned to their cells and it was difficult to predict how they would be received by their fellow inmates. Two ex hunger strikers were now in the prison hospital and their progress was being carefully watched.
2. Although the hunger strike campaign had reached something of a low point the prisoners seemed determined to continue with their protest. It was significant that there had been some changes in the background of those joining the strike. For example, they tended now to come from West Belfast where pressures could more easily be brought to bear on families to prevent them from authorising medical intervention. It was undoubtedly the case that any decision to end the hunger strike would come from inside the prison and it was important to bear in mind that the prisoners had shown no interest in minor concessions. They had repeatedly stated that their five demands stood together; the gap between their demands and HMG's position remained large, there having been no shift of substance on either side since the ICRC's visit in July. No further attempt had

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

E.R. PUS/L/6489

been made to explain to the prisoners what was on offer in the event of the hunger strike coming to an end, as they had shown no interest in continuing clarifications. They were in any case in no real doubt about the Government's position.

3. Turning to the forthcoming ICRC report, PUS said that once submitted, HMG would be bound to reveal its contents; refusal to do so would inevitably lead to accusations that there was something to hide. Timing would be crucial. In present circumstances, publication would have little impact on the attitude of the prisoners; but if they were in a mood to bring the hunger strike to an end, it was possible that the contents of the report might help them in mounting a face-saving exercise. M. Hocke said that the ICRC could be flexible over when they made the report available to HMG; it would probably be possible to hold back its submission for up to one month. PUS felt that this might be helpful.

4. PUS said that there were three points of concern for HMG arising out of the ICRC's memorandum. The first concerned the suggestion that the ICRC had considered acting as intermediaries between the Government and the prisoners. The Secretary of State's statement of 15 July had made it clear that the Committee's role was confined to assessing and, if necessary, making recommendations on prison conditions in Northern Ireland; there was no suggestion that they might act as mediators. M. Hocke replied by reiterating the status of the visit. In coming to Northern Ireland, the ICRC were not invoking their role of visiting prisoners of war, and nor did they regard the hunger strikers as political detainees. Under the statutes of the ICRC, it was up to them to offer assistance for humanitarian reasons where there was a situation of crisis and growing tension - that was the basis of their offer of help in Northern Ireland. In this context, it had been regarded as helpful to report to HMG on what had been seen in the prisons and on the prisoners' reactions to the ICRC visit; the possibility of mediation had been considered in this context but the memorandum made it clear that none had taken place.

CONFIDENTIAL

E.R.

PUS/L/6489

5. The second point of concern was the suggestion contained in the memorandum that there were only minor differences between HMG and the prisoners. This might well encourage an erroneous belief that small concessions on the part of HMG could end the hunger strike. M. Hocke explained that the ICRC had examined the problem purely in the prisons context and had not considered the wider political implications; he accepted that any concessions on HMG's part would involve major points of principle on the political front. PUS explained that even from the point of view of prisons administration alone, the differences between the two sides were major ones in a number of respects. For example, the prisoners were seeking the restoration of all remission lost as a result of their protest; this was very different from the Government's position that only some remission would be restored. The protesting prisoners wanted full control over the allocation of work, which would in effect mean handing over to them the running of the prison; this was altogether different from the Government's approach of seeking to broaden the scope of available work, while retaining in the hands of the prison authorities the final decision on allocation. Similarly on association, the issue at stake was whether prisoners should have the run of their wings with all doors being left unlocked or whether association periods should be extended and prisoners given the choice of making use of the facilities in adjoining wings on a controlled basis.

6. The third point mentioned by PUS was the memorandum's recommendation that prisoners from different factions should be given the opportunity to be segregated from each other. PUS pointed out that given the number of paramilitary factions involved there would be serious practical problems in segregation by organisation. Moreover the conforming part of the prison was not segregated and did not suffer serious problems as a result. There were good social as well as practical arguments for our present policy of integration and it would be a great pity if the progress we had made on this was to be set back. Nevertheless, PUS said that if the hunger strike were to come to an end, great care would be taken in the placement of prisoners and integration

would of necessity be a gradual process. Dr. Schmidt said that the reference to segregation had been included in the memorandum owing to representations made to the ICRC by a number of prisoners who, they believed, were genuinely frightened at the prospect of being forced to associate with other prisoners from different organisations. The ICRC had come to their view on this purely as a result of a humanitarian concern for the anxieties of individuals; the wider political considerations had not been taken into account and he fully accepted that they had some force.

7. The ICRC representatives clearly understood the force of the arguments put to them on these points of concern. However they did not feel able to undertake to make any significant changes in the memorandum, which would form an integral part of the report. Rather, they would probably produce a covering note, qualifying some of the points in the memorandum to take into account the arguments which had been put to them at the meeting.

8. On specific issues relating to the five demands, PUS explained the objections HMG saw to stating publicly the exact extent of the changes that could be made if the hunger strike were to end. If such a statement were made and rejected, as would almost certainly happen at present, then the protesting prisoners would be left with no room for manoeuvre if in the future they wanted to find a way of ending the strike without complete loss of face; it might also give them an incentive to pocket what was offered and hang on for more. The prisoners undoubtedly had a good idea of what was on offer. M. Hocke felt that HMG might with advantage use certain channels of communication, such as the families or parish priests to get across to the prisoners the point that we wished to see an end to the strike and to ensure that they understood the likely government response in the event of the protest finishing. PUS said that such an initiative would probably be counter-productive; it would become public knowledge, thus provoking a hostile reaction in the loyalist community and any communications of this sort were liable to become distorted. Furthermore, any move from HMG now might reverse the increasing self-doubt which was at present in the minds of the prisoners. However, HMG remained ready to act if the time seemed right.

E.R.

PUS/L/6489

9. Dr Schmidt said that part of the report could include recommendations on the five points at issue. Such recommendations might well coincide to a great extent with the ICRC's understanding of the changes in prison regime which HMG would be prepared to make once the hunger strike had come to an end. This would have the advantage that the prisoners could publicly relate any decision to end the protest to the proposals of an independent international body, as opposed to that of HMG - possibly a crucial factor in a face saving exercise. PUS said that such an approach might be very useful, always provided that the prisoners themselves had reached the point when they wished to give up the hunger strike.

10. On four of the five demands, the ICRC seemed to have a reasonably clear understanding of the Government's position and any comments on them in the report can be expected to be helpful. In particular, they were sympathetic to our arguments on the question of association. However, on the questions of work and education, their views on what should be done did not completely accord with what HMG would feel able to offer. M. Hocke seemed to believe that a way out of the impasse would be through the provision of more educational facilities as opposed to prison work. Mr Belloch pointed out that there were already opportunities for remedial education, vocational training and further education for people of ability. More options could be made available. However, it would be wrong to see these facilities as the means of ending the hunger strike; in particular, we could not accept that prisoners of high intellect had a right to embark upon full time courses leaving all the less attractive work to be done by other prisoners. Nor could education for those not suitable for it be introduced as a covert substitute for routine work.

11. On closing the meeting, PUS said that it was important that the ICRC should keep in touch with HMG over the next few weeks. The Head of the UK Mission in Geneva would receive a copy of the note of the meeting and would be the first point of contact if the ICRC had any further points to make.

J.A.P.
J A P
PS/PUS

11 ⁸

er 1981

Distribution:-

PS/Secretary of State (I&B) - M
PS/Mr Alison (I&B) - M
PS/Mr Bell - M
Mr Marshall
Mr Blelloch - M
Mr Palmer - M
Mr Moriarty
Mr Wyatt - M
Mr Doyne-Ditmas - M
Mr Harrington
Mr Blatherwick - M
Mr Jackson - M

Mr Evers (with extra copy for
onward transmission to Head of
UK Mission in Geneva).

11 4 SEP 1981

11 12 1 2 3 4
8 7 6 5



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 September 1981

X ref. m

h.a. [Signature]

Dear Michael

IRA Propaganda Film

I wrote to you on 21 August about an allegedly pro-IRA propaganda film being made in Belgium and we have since spoken.

Since then a senior FCO official has summoned the Belgian Charge d'Affaires and our Embassy in Brussels have continued to pursue the matter with the Belgian MFA. You may have seen Brussels teleno 139 (attached). This records that the Belgian Government say that a subsidy was given by the 'Culture Francaise' (an offshoot of the Ministry for the French Community) but maintain that the scenario, submitted in advance, did not seem anti-British and that the local authorities in Northern Ireland had helped the film makers. It also seems that only minimal assistance was offered as regards filming the former Liege prison.

The Northern Ireland Office say that the team were in Londonderry for about two months up to mid-July. They liaised with the RUC, from whom they sought permission to film in the usual way. There was also some filming at a community workshop. Any official cooperation appears to have been routine and low-level.

The Belgians have fully registered our concern. Our aim now is to persuade them to vet the film before it issues. So far evidence of its pro-IRA nature has been based on press reports and indications of the French free-lance director's left wing views. Our Embassy are continuing to keep in close touch with the Belgian Foreign Ministry.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

[Handwritten signature]
 (F N Richards)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq

10 Downing St

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject filed on
France: Pt 3, Visits
of Mitterrand

Note of a discussion held in 10 Downing Street on Friday 11 September
1981 at 0945 hours

Present: Prime Minister
Mr. Whitmore

President Mitterrand
M. Vedrigne

Northern Ireland

The Prime Minister said that she wished to thank President Mitterrand for not raising the question of Northern Ireland with the British Government or taking any other action as a result of the representations which had been made to him. She would like to explain the Northern Ireland situation to him which she believed was not widely understood in France. Northern Ireland was a divided country. Two-thirds of the population were Protestant and gave their allegiance to the United Kingdom: they, the Unionists, wanted Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom. The minority were Roman Catholic and most, though not all, of them seemed to have some affinity with the Republic of Ireland. Both communities had para-military terrorist groups, the UDA and the IRA. Though the Protestant terrorists had committed terrible crimes in the past, at the moment they were quiescent. Terrorism in Northern Ireland at present was coming from the IRA. When terrorists were caught, they were treated like ordinary criminals and were tried and convicted in the courts of Northern Ireland. All the prisoners in the Maze, whether Catholic or Protestant, had been sentenced by courts of law: they were not interned without trial. The British Government saw them as ordinary criminals who had put innocent lives in danger in pursuit of their own interests.

/Both the majority

CONFIDENTIAL

Both the majority and minority communities in Northern Ireland were represented in the British Parliament, and in the most recent by-election in the Province a representative of the hunger strikers had won a seat in Parliament. The problem was that the majority wanted Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom, whereas the minority preferred to be united with the Republic. It was part of the law of the United Kingdom that there could be no change in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland except with the consent of the majority of the people of the Province. Opinion was tested from time to time by a Border poll. The last had been in 1973 and this had resulted in an overwhelming vote in favour of staying in the United Kingdom. The minority resented this situation, and such was the hostility between the two communities that rather than try to change opinion by persuasion, some members of the minority had resorted to the use of violence as the instrument of change. Successive British Governments had continually made efforts to reconcile the two communities. Various attempts had been made to restore to Northern Ireland responsibility for taking local decisions. But these had all been unsuccessful. The Protestants maintained that democracy meant majority rule and they could not accept that the minority should have any part in government. The minority, on the other hand, argued that since they could not become the majority in the foreseeable future, there should be some kind of arrangement for sharing power. The British Government's latest attempt to bring the two sides together had taken the form of proposing that there should be a council made up of representatives of all sections of the community in Northern Ireland whose role would be to advise the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, but it had proved impossible to obtain agreement even on this modest measure.

The Prime Minister went on to say that the Government would dearly like to see an end to the hunger strike. It was a complete waste of young lives. The Maze was a very modern prison. Conditions there were amongst the best and most liberal in the world: even so we were constantly trying to improve them. The demands of the

/ protesting prisoners

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

protesting prisoners amounted to a demand for prisoner of war status. But they were criminals and not prisoners of war. The Government and its representatives had to keep control of the prison and its régime, and it could therefore not grant the demands of the prisoners. There were signs that there might be a split in the IRA about the future of the hunger strike. Some of its members wanted to go on, while others appeared to want to see the hunger strike stopped. In the last week the families of the two hunger strikers closest to death had asked the authorities for medical help to save the lives of their relatives. The unwillingness of the families to see their husbands and sons die perhaps offered the best hope of bringing the hunger strike to an end.

British troops were in Northern Ireland to protect all members of the community from terrorism: indeed, they were first used on the streets of the Province to safeguard the minority community who undoubtedly at that time were not treated properly by the majority, though they now had equal rights. Nothing would please her more than to bring the two communities together, to restore normal life in Northern Ireland and to withdraw the British Army. But so far we had not found the way to do this. Recently we had tried to improve matters by practising greater practical cooperation across the Border between the Republic and Northern Ireland. The hope was that if the people of Northern Ireland and the people of the Republic lived more closely together, this might break down the hostility between the two communities within Northern Ireland. In the same context it was worth remarking that the British Government had had excellent cross-Border cooperation on security both from Mr. Haughey and now from Dr. Fitzgerald. The British Government continued to say constantly to the terrorists that the whole armoury of democracy was open to them in order to try to persuade the people of Northern Ireland that there should be a change in the constitutional status of the Province. But this approach had not been successful yet.

/ The Prime Minister

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

The Prime Minister repeated that she was very grateful to President Mitterrand for resisting the blandishments of those who wanted him to make representations about Northern Ireland. She hoped that her explanation had been of some help to him. The situation was very difficult, but the difficulties were not of the British Government's making.

President Mitterrand said that he was grateful to the Prime Minister for taking the initiative in raising the matter with him. He had had many petitions on the subject but he had never personally received any delegations making representations. The matter raised a great deal of emotion in various quarters in France, both popular and intellectual. But he had not raised the question of Northern Ireland with her before because he regarded it as a matter which related to British sovereignty. He had confidence in the leadership and the people of the United Kingdom and respected their decisions in this area. He would not like to see Anglo/French relations undermined by a French intervention in what he considered to be an internal problem of the United Kingdom. But it was difficult to avoid pressure from journalists, intellectuals and other people who formed public opinion in France. The fact that young people were dying by their own wish and were sacrificing themselves in prison added a new dimension to the problem. It exaggerated the issues and increased antagonism. The result was that the kind of arguments advanced by the Prime Minister were pushed on one side, and the fact of British sovereignty was lost in a cloud of emotional reaction. The matter then went beyond the frontiers of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and had an impact on the world in which we lived. He repeated that since this was a question of British sovereignty, it was the Prime Minister's judgement which mattered and he wanted to make it clear that he would not substitute himself in place of her judgement and the judgement of a neighbouring country and friend of France. Even so he would like to ask whether there were ways of softening the problem. Was the IRA's strategy evolving as one death succeeded

/ another?

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- 5 -

another? It was clearly desirable to try to stop the growth of international opinion on this matter, but he saw the difficulty of doing this since the problem was almost insoluble. The growth of feeling and passion escaped treatment by reason. He was grateful to the Prime Minister for talking to him about Northern Ireland. If the press asked whether he and the Prime Minister had discussed Northern Ireland, he thought that it would be good because of its effect on international opinion that they should say that they had talked about the matter but he would go on to say that the details of their discussion were confidential and he regarded the question as a matter of British sovereignty.

The Prime Minister said that this would be a very helpful response and she would add that she had taken the initiative and had explained the Northern Ireland situation to him.

SECRET

27058 - 1

OO UKMIS GENEVA DESKBY 120830Z

GRS 445

SECRET

FM FCO 111833Z SEPT 81

TO IMMEDIATE UKMIS GENEVA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 155 OF 11 SEPTEMBER

INFO : PRIORITY DUBLIN NIO BELFAST

YOUR TELEGRAMS NOS 291 AND 296 : ICRC AND NORTHERN IRELAND

1. THE ICRC REPRESENTATIVES, HOCKE AND SCHMIDT, ARRIVED AS PLANNED AND WERE RECEIVED BY THE PERMANENT UNDER-SECRETARY AT THE NIO. THE MEETING LASTED WITH LUNCH FROM 11.00 - 16.00 HRS. THE TONE WAS FRIENDLY. A FULL RECORD FOLLOWS BY THE BAG ARRIVING GENEVA 10.00 HRS, TUESDAY 16 SEPTEMBER.
2. IN THE COURSE OF THE MEETING THE ICRC REPRESENTATIVES INDICATED - TO OUR SURPRISE - THAT IN THE INTERESTS OF A REDUCTION OF TENSION IN NORTHERN IRELAND THEY WERE PREPARED TO ADJUST, WITHIN LIMITS, BOTH THE TIMING AND CONTENT OF THEIR REPORT AS A WHOLE (THOUGH THEY SEEMED VERY RELUCTANT TO CONTEMPLATE ANY CHANGE IN THE MEMORANDUM PUT TO HMG LAST MONTH). IN PARTICULAR, THEY ENVISAGED THE REPORT INCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE FIVE POINTS AT ISSUE. THEY SAID THAT THESE MIGHT WELL COINCIDE LARGELY WITH THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHANGES IN THE PRISON REGIME WHICH HMG WOULD AT THE END OF THE DAY BE PREPARED TO MAKE ONCE THE HUNGER STRIKE HAD COME TO AN END. THEY SUGGESTED THAT THIS COULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE THAT THE PRISONERS COULD PUBLICLY RELATE ANY DECISION TO END THE PROTEST TO THE PROPOSALS OF AN INTERNATIONAL BODY RATHER THAN TO HMG'S POSITION, AND THUS SAVE FACE.
3. WOODFIELD, SUPPORTED BY BLELLOCH, EXPLAINED THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON THE ISSUES IN QUESTION AND ALSO WENT OVER AT LENGTH THE DIFFICULTIES WE HAD WITH THE REFERENCES IN THE MEMORANDUM TO THE POSSIBILITY OF THE ICRC SERVING AS AN INTERMEDIARY, TO THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRISONERS AND HMG, AND TO SEGREGATION. IT WAS, HOWEVER, NOT AT ALL CLEAR JUST HOW FULLY THE ICRC TOOK ABOARD THIS EXPLANATION OR HOW IN THE LIGHT OF THE MEETING THEY

SECRET

SECRET

27058 - 1

PROPOSE TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUES IN THE FINAL VERSION OF THEIR REPORT.

4. WHAT THE ICRC HAVE SUGGESTED IS WELL MEANT, BUT WE SHALL HAVE TO CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS MOST CAREFULLY, AND OUR RESPONSE FOR THE MOMENT MUST BE VERY CAUTIOUS. WE WOULDIND IT HELPFUL IF, WHEN YOU HAVE THE FULL RECORD OF THE MEETING, YOU WOULD TAKE AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH THE ICRC HOW THEY SEE THINGS FOLLOWING WOODFIELD'S MEETING, AND IN PARTICULAR HOW THEY PROPOSE TO DEAL IN THEIR REPORT BOTH WITH OUR OBJECTIONS AND WITH THE AREAS FOR FUTURE IMPROVEMENT. WE WOULD WANT TO CONSIDER THEN WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS ANY FURTHER ADVICE WE COULD HELPFULLY GIVE THE COMMITTEE ABOUT THE TIMING AND CONTENT OF THEIR REPORT. THOUGH THE COMMITTEE ARE OF COURSE FULLY CAPABLE OF LOOKING AFTER THEMSELVES ONTHIS, WE HAVE IT VERY MUCH IN MIND THAT THEIR REPORT SHOULD NOT BEAR ANY OBVIOUS STAMP OF HMG APPROVAL.

CARRINGTON

NORTHERN IRELAND LIMITED

RID
NAD
INFORMATION DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS DEPT
SECURITY DEPT
PUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/PUS
SIR A ACLAND
CHIEF CLERK
MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGUSSON
LOED N G LENNOX
MR BRATHWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
NORTHERN IRELAND

19/9
Mrs. P. McCLOSKEY

SS

7 September 1981

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from Mrs. McCloskey, the mother of one of the Maze hunger strikers. I should be grateful if you could let me have a draft reply which the Prime Minister might send to Mrs. McCloskey. It would be helpful if your draft could reach me by Monday 14 September. You may think that, in present circumstances, the idea of a meeting between the Prime Minister and the mother of ~~the~~^a hunger striker is worthy of more serious consideration than might have been the case a month or two ago.

MA

Stephen Boys-Smith, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

SS

JS

7 September 1981

I am replying on the Prime Minister's behalf to your letter to her of 1 September. Your letter is receiving attention and a reply will be sent as soon as possible.

MA

Mrs. P. McCloskey

JS

GRFS 520
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BRUSSELS 041432Z SEPTEMBER 61
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 139 OF 04 SEPTEMBER
INFO SAVING PARIS

MY TELNO 134 : IRA PROPAGANDA FILM

1. DE SCHOUTHEETE (FOREIGN MINISTER'S CHEF DE CABINET) TELEPHONED ME THIS MORNING. HE APOLOGISED FOR THE LONG DELAY IN PRODUCING A REPLY TO OUR DEMARCHE. IT HAD TAKEN TIME TO ESTABLISH CLEARLY WHICH MINISTRY BORE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE MATTER. HE HAD NOW ELICITED THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE FROM THE CABINET OF M HANSENNE, THE MINISTER OF THE FRENCH COMMUNITY.

2. A SUBSIDY, HE SAID, HAD INDEED BEEN GIVEN BY THE QUOTE CULTURE FRANCAISE UNQUOTE TOWARDS MAKING THE FILM. M HANSENNE'S MINISTRY WAS, HOWEVER, SURPRISED THAT WE HAD TAKEN UP THE MATTER FOPMALLY SINCE:

A) THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT PART OF THE FILM HAD BEEN SHOT IN NORTHERN IRELAND WITH THE HELP OR AT LEAST CONNIVANCE OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES: AND

B) THE FILM SENARIO, WHICH HAD BEEN SUBMITTED TO THEM BEFOREHAND, HAD NOT SEEMED IN ANY WAY ANTI-BRITISH, EVEN THOUGH THEY RECOGNISED THAT IT WAS ALWAYS POSSIBLE SUBSEQUENTLY TO INTRODUCE DISTORTIONS DURING THE SHOOTING.

I ASKED WHETHER THE QUOTE CULTURE FRANCAISE UNQUOTE HAD SEEN THE COMPLETED FILM OR HAD PLANS TO DO SO. DE SCHOUTHEETE SAID THAT HE WAS NOT SURE: BUT HE THOUGHT IT PROBABLE THAT, IN VIEW OF OUR REPRESENTATIONS, THEY WOULD NOW ASK THE FILM MAKERS FOR A VIEWING. I SAID THAT I WOULD WELCOME CONFIRMATION OF THIS POINT.

3. OUR HONORARY CONSUL IN LIEGE HAS ALSO PRODUCED MORE INFORMATION. WHEN THE LIEGE PRISON CEASED TO BE USED ABOUT A YEAR AGO IT WAS HANDED OVER BY THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE TO THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS. IT WAS FROM THE LATTER MINISTRY THAT BELGIAN TELEVISION (RTBF), ACTING ON BEHALF OF THE FILM MAKER, RECEIVED PERMISSION TO USE THE BUILDING. WHETHER THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS WERE AWARE OF THE PROPOSED NATURE OF THE FILM IS NOT CLEAR, BUT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY. RTBF THEN APPROACHED THE TOWN AUTHORITIES WITH A REQUEST TO HAVE CERTAIN REPAIRS DONE TO THE PRISON AND SOME OF IT REDECORATED. THIS REQUEST WAS REFUSED, OSTENSIBLY ON THE GROUNDS OF LACK OF FUNDS, BUT IN FACT BECAUSE THE TOWN AUTHORITIES HAD BY SOME MEANS BECOME AWARE OF THE SUBJECT OF THE FILM AND FORESAW THE POSSIBLE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS IF THEY ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO BECOME INVOLVED. CLEARLY RTBF FOUND SOME WAY OF GETTING ROUND THIS OBSTACLE. BUT IT IS EVIDENT THAT AT LEAST SOME EFFORT WAS MADE BY THE TOWN AUTHORITIES TO DISCOURAGE RTBF FROM USING THE PRISON.

CONFIDENTIAL

h./ ON THE

CONFIDENTIAL

4. ON THE FACE OF IT THE MINISTRY OF THE FRENCH COMMUNITY AND THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS APPEAR TO HAVE ACTED SOMEWHAT THOUGHTLESSLY. BUT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THERE WAS ANY POLITICAL ANIMUS AND IT SEEMS MORE PROBABLE THAT THE WHOLE THING RESULTED FROM DECISIONS TAKEN AT RELATIVELY LOW LEVEL. I AM DOUBTFUL, THEREFORE, WHETHER WE WOULD BE ON STRONG GROUNDS IN TRYING TO MAKE MORE OF THE INCIDENT, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE CLAIM THAT PART OF THE FILM HAD BEEN MADE WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND AUTHORITIES (FOR WHICH I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR CONFIRMATION) AND THE FACT THAT WE HAVE NO FIRM EVIDENCE AS YET THAT THE FILM WILL TAKE A STRONGLY ANTI-BRITISH LINE. IT IS ALSO EVIDENT THAT THE BELGIANS HAVE REGISTERED THE POINT. I AM INCLINED THEREFORE TO THINK WE SHOULD LET THE MATTER REST, AT LEAST UNTIL WE ARE IN A POSITION TO JUDGE HOW DAMAGING TO OUR INTERESTS THE FILM IS REALLY LIKELY TO BE. WE SHALL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH RTBF IN ORDER TO TRY TO DISCOVER MORE ABOUT ITS CONTENT AND WHAT THE PLANS ARE FOR ITS DISTRIBUTION.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO PARIS

HARTLAND SWANN

NORTHERN IRELAND LIMITED

RID
NAD
INFORMATION DEPT
WED
MAED
NEWS DEPT
SECURITY DEPT
FUSD
PS
PS/LPS
PS/MR HURD

PS/MR RIDLEY
PS/FUS
SIR A ACLAND

MR ADAMS
MR BULLARD
MR FERGISSON
LOED N G LENNOX
MR BRAITHEWAITE

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION NORTHERN IRELAND

[PASSED AS REQUESTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

Personal and not
official.

67 Southway, N20 8DE
L.A. Andrews



4 - 9 - 81

Prime Minister

House of Lords - Westminster

No need to write again?

Andrew
7/9

Dear Maggie (if I may revert to personal times)

I have been moved by the full consideration and spirit of your letters. Thank you.

As I think you know, I am not concerned so much about the IRA prisoners (whose policy I oppose) as about the polarisation of opinion in Northern Ireland and the reactions abroad.

I have not given the correspondence to the Press because I don't want the Seven Feiners to use it for propaganda, but I did send copies of my original letter, with an indication of your rejection, to a few friends, including Michael Foot and Lord Carrington. I don't want to do anything without your knowledge.

I am still ready to do anything if it will be of use. "Anything" - not quite!

Sincerely,
Pinner/.

CF to note



AMO

B
Ireland

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

3 September 1981

Dear Lord Brodwin,

Thank you for your further letter of 22 August about the possibility of your visiting the hunger strikers in Maze prison.

I am sorry if you felt that in my letter of 17 August I had misunderstood the purpose of your request. The difficulty is that experience has shown that there is a very real risk of misunderstanding on the part of all concerned if third parties go into the prison and inter alia attempt to put the Government's stated position to the prisoners. For its part the Government has repeatedly made its stance plain, and as I said in my previous letter, we have offered many times to send in officials to elaborate on any points on which the hunger strikers may not be entirely clear. Those offers have come to nothing for the reasons which I explained.

Apart from the risk of misunderstanding I have no doubt that if you were to go into the prison with the Secretary of State's statements - and there is nothing which we can add at this stage to what has already been said - the prisoners' reaction would be to seek to start a process of negotiation on further changes, a process in which they want their spokesman to be involved. That, for the reasons set out in my earlier letter, is something the Government is not prepared to accept.

/ While I am

S

While I am grateful for your offer and acknowledge the sincerity with which it has been made, I hope that you will understand our reasons for concluding that it would not be appropriate in the current situation.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Dehler

The Lord Brockway

cf to note



DSG
a N10.

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

3 September 1981

Dear Miss McCloskey,

Thank you for your letter of 20 August about your brother.

I do entirely understand how worried you and the rest of the family must be about him. I want you to know that despite what is said and written by some people about my attitude to the hunger strike, I very much regret that young men have been prepared to throw away their lives for an objective which - as I have said on many occasions - no responsible Government anywhere could grant, since it could only aid and abet those who advocate and use violence to attain political ends.

I note that you say that you, your family, relatives and friends are all anxious that your brother should not sacrifice his life as ten other prisoners have now done. I can only urge you all to impress on him that the five demands of the prisoners amount to a prison regime which no Government could concede, for the reason I have given. It may be that if this is put to him by people he knows and trusts, he will decide to stop his fast and so save his life.

I hope you will see that it is this course which would be courageous and right - not for your brother to continue, and so produce another pointless death with all the consequent anguish to family and friends as well as further tension in the community and the risk of more deaths and injuries to people not directly involved.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

Miss Sharon McCloskey.

20

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Ireland



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

William Rickett Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

2 September 1981

Type for P.A.'s signature:

Dear Willie *submit with previous*
exchange of letters *Ant. 2/5*

Thank you for your letter of 24 August enclosing a further letter from Lord Brockway who feels that the Prime Minister misunderstood the proposals made in his letter of 7 August.

... As requested I enclose a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to Lord Brockway.

Yours sincerely
Mike Hopkins

M W HOPKINS

DRAFT LETTER

FILE NUMBER.....

ADDRESSEE'S REFERENCE.....

To	Enclosures	Copies to be sent to
<p>The Lord Brockway House of Lords LONDON SW1</p> <p>(Full Postal Address)</p>		<p>(Full Address, if Necessary)</p>

LETTER DRAFTED FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER
(Name of Signatory)

Thank you for your further letter of 22 August about the possibility of your visiting the hunger strikers in Maze prison.

I am sorry if you felt that in my letter of 17 August I had misunderstood the purpose of your request. The difficulty is that experience has shown that there is a very real risk of misunderstanding on the part of all concerned if third parties go into the prison and inter alia attempt to put the Government's stated position to the prisoners. For its part the Government has repeatedly made its stance plain, and as I said in my previous letter we have offered many times to send in officials to elaborate on any points on which the hunger strikers may not be entirely clear. Those offers have come to nothing for the reasons which I explained.

apart from the risk of misunderstanding I have no doubt that if you were to go into the prison with the Secretary of State's statements - and there is nothing which we can add at this stage to what has already been said - the prisoners' reaction would be to seek to start a process of negotiation on further changes, a process in which they want their spokesman to be involved. That, for the reasons ~~I tried to~~ set out ~~quite plainly~~ in my earlier letter, is something the Government is not prepared to accept.

While I am grateful for your offer and ^{acknowledge} ~~recognise~~ the sincerity with which it has been made, I hope that you will understand our reasons for concluding that it would not be appropriate in the current situation.

IMMEDIATE

NORTHERN IRELAND: ADVANCE COPIES 18

PS

N IRELAND OFFICE - PS TO SEC OF STATE
RM 66 A/2 GGS

PS/LPS

PS/PUS

N IRELAND OFFICE [4 copies]

MR BULLARD

MR FERGUSSON

MR WHITFIELD

HD/RID

MR MARSHALL

HD/PUSD (2)

MR MORIARTY

MR HARRINGTON

HD/IPD

CABINET OFFICE - SIR R ARMSTRONG
DIO

HD/NEWS DEPT

...

NO 10 DOWNING STREET

...

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

ADVANCE COPY

RESTRICTED

FM DUBLIN 021300Z SEPT 1981

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 317 OF 02 SEPTEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE N I O (BELFAST)

H BLOCKS : MEETING BETWEEN HAUGHEY AND CARRON.

1. THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION FIANNA FAIL PARTY, MR HAUGHEY HAD A MEETING LASTING AN HOUR WITH OWEN CARRON M P AT HIS HOME IN DUBLIN LAST NIGHT. AFTERWARDS, BOTH MEN GAVE SEPARATE PRESS CONFERENCES.

2. THERE IS NO TRANSCRIPT OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE PRESS REPORTS ARE SOMEWHAT AT VARIANCE WITH EACH OTHER. TONY FITZPATRICK, THE NEW FIANNA FAIL PRESS OFFICER CLAIMS THAT MR HAUGHEY BELIEVES THAT THE IRISH TIMES OFFERS THE BEST VERSION OF WHAT HAD BEEN SAID. HOWEVER THERE ARE TWO OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES

BELIEVES THAT THE IRISH TIMES OFFERS THE BEST VERSION OF WHAT HAD BEEN SAID. HOWEVER THERE ARE TWO OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES THE IRISH TIMES HEADLINE READS " HAUGHEY GIVES FIVE DEMANDS FIRM BACKING " YET THE OTHER PAPERS REPORT THAT CARRON ADMITTED THAT MR HAUGHEY'S STATEMENT DID NOT REPRESENT FULL SUPPORT FOR THE FIVE DEMANDS. EQUALLY THE IRISH TIMES STORY STARTS "MR HAUGHEY HARDENED FIANNA FAIL'S REPUBLICAN LINE YESTERDAY" ALTHOUGH THE OTHER PAPERS REPORT THAT MR HAUGHEY SPECIFICALLY DENIED THAT HIS APPROACH IN OPPOSITION DIFFERED IN ANY WAY FROM HIS POLICY IN GOVERNMENT. (THE EXPLANATION FOR THESE OMISSIONS MAY BE THAT THE TIMES ARTICLE IS BY NIAL KEILLY, WHO IS KNOWN TO HAVE STRONG REPUBLICAN VIEWS. EQUALLY MR HAUGHEY MAY BE HAPPY WITH IMPRESSION CONVEYED IN THE ARTICLE AND HEADLINE.

3. IT IS HOWEVER GENERALLY AGREED THAT MR HAUGHEY SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE FIVE DEMANDS SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED DIRECTLY BY THE PRISONERS AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. IN HIS VIEW, IT WAS QUITE UNACCEPTABLE FOR ANY MODERN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW PRISONERS TO DIE WITHOUT MAKING A SERIOUS EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM. NO CIVILISED SOCIETY COULD CONTEMPLATE THIS SITUATION CONTINUING. HE ADDED, "I AM AFRAID THE ONLY WAY A SOLUTION CAN COME ABOUT IS BY SUFFICIENT MORAL, DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURE BEING BROUGHT ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE A SOLUTION ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED" . HE ALSO SAID THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE PRISON WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF BRITAIN HAD ADHERED TO THE AGREEMENT MADE LAST DECEMBER. HE DECLINED TO BE DRAWN INTO CRITICISING THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF THE H BLOCK CRISIS, AND SAID THAT HE HAD DISAGREED WITH CARRON WHEN THE LATTER HAD URGED THAT HE SHOULD CALL FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE AMBASSADOR. IN MR HAUGHEY'S VIEW THIS WOULD NOT HELP BUT WOULD IN FACT BE COUNTER PRODUCTIVE: IN EFFECT IT WOULD MEAN BREAKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

TATHAM

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

William Rickett Esq
10 Downing Street
SW1

1 September 1981

Dear Willie

... I attach for the Prime Minister's consideration a draft reply to Miss Sharon McCloskey (whose letter you sent me with yours of 24 August). Her brother is on day 30 of his hunger strike.

Yours Sincerely
Mike Hopkins

M W HOPKINS

Pl. byre for Jm

ADDRESSEE'S REFERENCE.....

To	Enclosures	Copies to be sent to
Miss Sharon McCloskey CLOSED UNDER THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT 2000 (Full Postal Address)		 (Full Address, if Necessary)

LETTER DRAFTED FOR SIGNATURE BY THE PRIME MINISTER
(Name of Signatory)

Thank you for your letter of 20 August about your brother.

I do entirely understand how worried you and the rest of the family must be about him. I want you to know that despite what is said and written by some people about my attitude to the hunger strike, I very much regret that young men have been prepared to throw away their lives for an objective which - as I have said on many occasions - no responsible Government anywhere could grant, since it could only aid and abet those who advocate and use violence to attain political ends.

I note that you say that you, your family, relatives and friends are all anxious that your brother should not sacrifice his life as ten other prisoners have now done. I can only urge you all to impress on him that the five demands of the prisoners amount to a prison regime which no Government could concede, for the reason I have given. It may be that if this is put to him by people he knows and trusts, he will decide to stop his fast and so save his life.

I hope you will see that it is this course which would be courageous and right - not for your brother to continue, and so produce another pointless death with all the consequent anguish to family and friends as well as further tension in the community and the risk of more deaths and injuries to people not directly involved.

CLOSED UNDER THE
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
ACT 2000

1/9/81

Dear Prime Minister,

I hope that you will receive this letter personally as I write to you in despair and desperation.

I am the widowed mother of Liam McCloskey who, today, completes thirty days on hunger strike in the prison hospital of Long Kesh.

I would like to meet you and believe that such a meeting would perhaps give you a better understanding of my position.

If you will grant me an

interview I would like to be accompanied by Mrs B. Lynch, mother of dead hunger striker Kevin Lynch, also from Dungiven and by Mrs. M. Hinchey a close friend who has helped me a lot throughout the years of my son's imprisonment.

We want no publicity whatsoever either before or after this meeting, if you decide to see us.

We can travel to London on any day and at any time you may suggest.

I sincerely hope that you will meet us.

Yours faithfully,
Philomena McEloskey

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

William Rickett Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

K.S. Ash

| September 1981

Dear Willie

Following Miss Wright's summary of last Friday's meeting (dictated directly to No 10), I attach a copy of the full record of the discussion with Mr Carron.

Yours sincerely
Mike Hopkins

M W HOPKINS

RECEIVED BY

16 - 1 SEP 1981

PRIVATE OFFICE

PS/SOS (L & B) - M
 PS/Mr Alison (L) - M
 PS/PUS (L & B) - M
 PS/Mr Bell
 Mr Blelloch
 Mr Marshall OR
 Mr Wyatt
 Mr Moriarty - M
 Mr Doyne-Ditmas
 Mr Palmer
 Mr Gilliland
 Mr Corbett - M
 Mr Jackson
 Mr Blatherwick

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

MR ALISON'S MEETING WITH MR OWEN CARRON -
 FRIDAY 28 AUGUST 1981

Mr Carron came to see Mr Alison in Stormont Castle at 3 pm yesterday. Mr Alison was accompanied at the meeting by Mr Blelloch, Mr Palmer and Mr Gilliland. Mr Carron came alone (as had been agreed with him previously).

2. Mr Alison began by saying that he felt bound to ask at the outset - having read Mr Carron's election address - whether he intended to take his seat in the House of Commons and to take the Oath of Allegiance. Mr Carron replied that he could not consider going to Westminster while the hunger strike continued, and he had been elected on a non-attendance basis. He could not commit himself to what his position might be when the hunger strike ended. Mr Alison explained that, while he would do all he could to be helpful, this made it necessary for the Government to reserve its position a little in its dealings with him. It was necessary to bear in mind those of Mr Carron's constituents who would not in effect be represented.

3. Mr Carron accepted this, but did not wish to pursue the point further. He said that he had come to see the Minister in order to impress on him the urgency of a settlement of the hunger strike issue. He believed that a vast amount of support for and goodwill towards the prisoners existed in the community. There was also tremendous pressure on the Government to resolve the issue, internationally and from the broad stream of nationalist opinion in Northern Ireland. He believed that the prisoners were willing to be flexible and that there should be some movement on the part of the Government. Mr Alison assured Mr Carron that the Government fully understood the immense emotional feeling generated by the hunger strike and the last thing that he, or the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State, wanted was for the unnecessary deaths to continue. But the hunger strike was an extreme form of pressure. A democratic Government was not a free agent, but was answerable and responsive to the electorate and could not be 'hijacked' by this form of duress. Nevertheless, the gap between the respective positions of the Government and the hunger strikers did appear to be somewhat less than it had seemed at one time, now that the prisoners had claimed that they were not seeking a differentiated regime.

4. Mr Carron said that the protesting prisoners did see themselves as different from other criminals, because they had been convicted under special legislation and because of the motivation behind the deeds for which they had been convicted. The hunger strike was the culmination of the protest; they saw it as something to which they had been obliged to resort, rather than a means of exerting duress. However, they were prepared to see the regime which they were seeking extended to all prisoners.

5. Mr Alison explained the difficulties which arose over the prisoners' stated wish to do only work in their own H-blocks or wings. Cooking, for example, - which the prisoners had said they were willing to do - was done in central facilities outside the blocks. It would be far-fetched, even if it was considered desirable, to build separate kitchens in each block. Various other activities, such as laundry, vocational training and industrial work, took place outside the blocks. The protesting prisoners' claim that they wanted the same regime for all prisoners was not compatible with their desire to work only in their own blocks. The prison could not be run on such a basis, with no prisoner being required to go outside his own block.

6. Mr Carron wondered if this was then a purely practical problem and if the Government saw a special arrangement for some prisoners, to enable them to remain in their own blocks, as the answer. Mr Alison said that he acknowledged that Northern Ireland prisoners were of a different type to those in Great Britain or elsewhere in Europe because of the exceptionally high proportion of young prisoners serving very long sentences. He believed that this difference was already reflected in the Northern Ireland prison regime - with, for example, 50% remission and own clothes outside working hours. But there could be no differentiation for a particular group within the Northern Ireland regime itself. In any case, he understood that the prisoners were no longer seeking differentiation.

7. Mr Carron said that the prisoners saw segregation as the basic issue. They did not want to be desegregated as in the conforming blocks. In the compounds, the authorities were able to exercise control, and even so there was a better atmosphere there, and a system agreeable to everyone concerned - both prisoners and prison warders. There were statistics to show that prisoners who were released from the compounds were less likely to be convicted again than those emerging from the H-blocks. Mr Alison replied that integration was a policy which the Government believed was valid. It made good practical sense in terms of running prisons efficiently and economically and it was obviously valuable that prisoners should learn to live together. The Gardiner report had criticised the compound system as being a regime which did not allow for the proper exercise of the sentences imposed by the courts. Such a regime did not act as sufficient of a deterrent to those contemplating crime. The statistics on which Mr Carron based his proposition that prisoners leaving the compounds were less likely to re-engage in crime could not be regarded as over-riding.

8. Mr Carron asked if the Government could not state, even privately, what changes it was prepared to make in the prison regime. The H-block issue had to be grappled with; the Government had to agree that the campaign had alienated people from authority. The problem was that the Government would not be specific. Mr Alison replied that the Government had already set out its position publicly. Its position on remission, as he had told the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, was that there was already 20% restoration of lost remission for those who ceased protesting, and in an environment of conformity the possibility of further change was not ruled out. He did not believe that remission was a significant issue between the Government and the protesters. On clothes, the Government had already introduced civilian clothing and out of working hours own clothes were allowed. Further improvement could only mean one thing, but it could not be used to "buy off" the hunger strike. There was no reason to believe that it would do so. However, the important issues were really association and work. Here again, developments were not ruled out.

9. Mr Carron said that the prisoners saw work, association and segregation as intertwined and as the real problem. Why could the Government not spell out precisely what it would do? Mr Alison explained the impossibility of producing a detailed schedule of what work each prisoner could be expected to do. There was a wide range within each type of work; the ICJP had made some suggestions about other types of work, eg charitable work, and the Government had no objection in principle to this; indeed it was always seeking ways to extend the range of work available, but this did not alter the need for the Governor to retain the right to decide who should work where. Mr Carron thought that the prisoners were concerned about the principle of being able to choose, at least in the first instance, to do what they felt they were suited to. Mr Palmer pointed out that prisoners were asked to state their preferences, but this did not mean that they would necessarily be granted, because there was obviously the possibility of too many opting for a particular activity. Mr Alison emphasised that the system could not function if the Governor did not retain control over the disposition of prisoners. Nevertheless every effort was made to "fit round pegs into round holes". Given the endless permutations in the work regime, it was not possible, while the protesters were not prepared to work, for the Government to be specific about what it would do. Mr Carron felt that the Government, being in a position of strength as compared to the prisoners, could afford to show some generosity.

10. Turning to association, Mr Alison pointed out that although the term 'association' referred to specified periods of time when prisoners could mix with a relative degree of freedom, there was also association in practice at other times of day, during work, exercise etc. A prisoner ceasing to protest would find himself with a much greater degree of association than before. Mr Carron asked if the fact that the Government was considering allowing the mixing of prisoners

from the wings of a block did not invalidate the argument about loss of control. In a desegregated, conforming situation this sort of mixing could create control problems. Mr Alison replied that the question of control had been very carefully examined and it had been decided that, subject to some physical adjustments in the block, association between two wings would be acceptable in a conforming situation. Desegregated prisoners already mixed satisfactorily in the conforming blocks.

11. Mr Carron said that the hundreds of prisoners who did not accept segregation saw it as inseparable from the issues of work and association. The policy on segregation created an unnecessary problem in the prison system. Mr Alison repeated that it was a policy to which the Government adhered, and it was accepted by conforming prisoners. He pointed out that it was not in fact one of the 'five demands'. Even without the hunger strike, prisoners who were refusing to work and thus not conforming were in any case segregated. It was certainly not worth their dying over this issue.

12. Mr Carron repeated his request that the Government should spell out what would be allowed and what would not. He did not believe that the exercise of control by the authorities was really an issue. When Mr Alison reminded him of the incompatibility of the prisoners' claim that they were not pressing for a differentiated regime with their refusal to work outside their own blocks, Mr Carron suggested that the statement to the effect that differentiation was not being sought was made so that the Government would not make an issue of the request for a separate status.

13. The meeting, which was calm and friendly throughout, came to an end after about one hour. Mr Alison expressed the hope that a situation would arise when Mr Carron felt that he could attend the House of Commons.

Julie Wright
J H WRIGHT (MISS)
PS/Mr Alison

29 August 1981

-1 SEP 10 1904

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

PART 5 ends:-

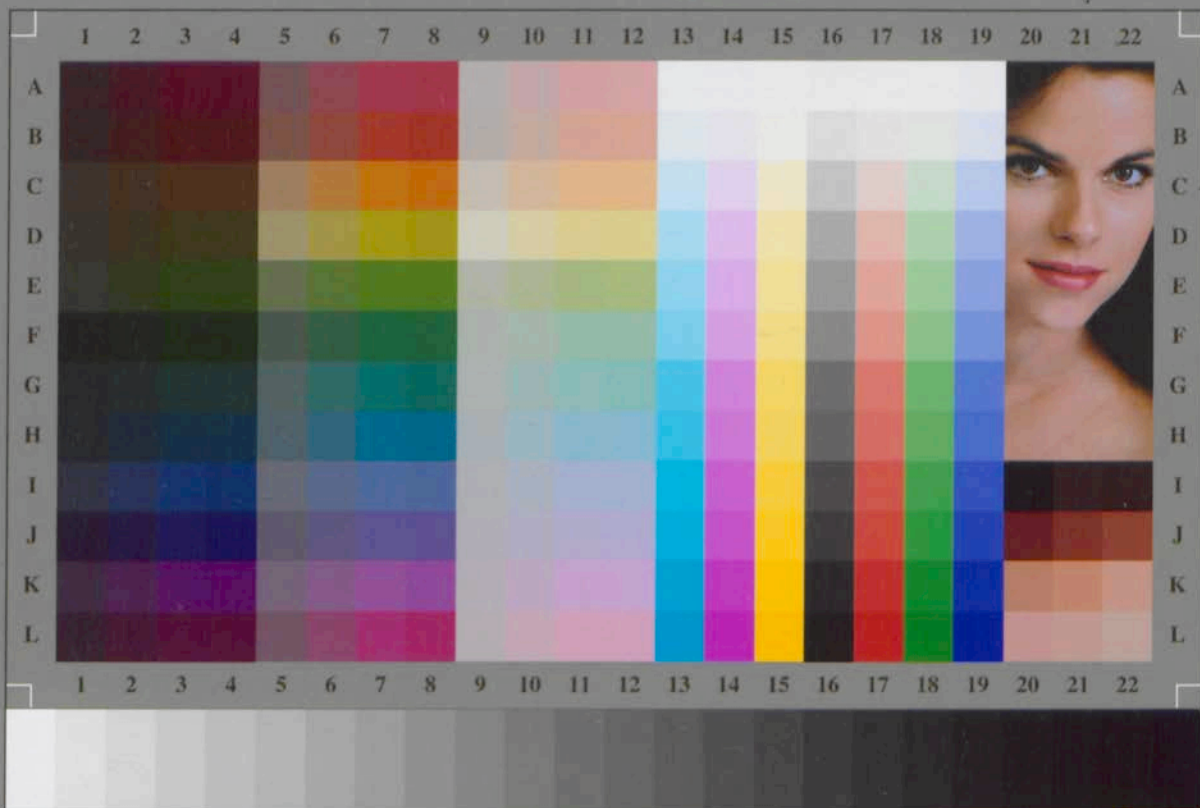
Note of a mtg Alisa / Caron
28/8

PART 6 begins:-

No to WR 1/9

KODAK Q-60 Color Input Target

C M Y



IT8.7/2-1993
2007:03

[FTP://FTP.KODAK.COM/GASTDS/Q60DATA](ftp://ftp.kodak.com/gastds/q60data)

Q-60R2 Target for
KODAK
Professional Papers

