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GROUPS 400
 UNCLASSIFIED
 FROM DUBLIN 131010Z AUGUST 1981
 TO IMMEDIATE F C O
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 292 OF 13 AUGUST.
 AND TO IMMEDIATE N I O BELFAST

ADVANCE COPY

IMMEDIATE

MAD 03/11/81

H BLOCKS:

STATEMENT BY ACTING MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A FURTHER STATEMENT ON H BLOCKS WHICH THE ACTING MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR JOHN KELLY, MADE ON 12 AUGUST (SEE MYTEL NO 290)

BEGINS

YESTERDAY IT WAS REPORTED THAT H BLOCK ACTIVISTS THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC WERE BEGINING A CAMPAIGN TO DEMAND THE EARLY RECALL OF THE DAIL "IN AN EFFORT TO FORCE A SOLUTION TO THE H BLOCK CRISIS".

JUST AS THE I.R.A.'S FRONT GROUPS TRY TO MOBILISE IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS THE AUTHORITY OF THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, YET IGNORE THAT GOVERNMENT'S LEADERSHIP WHEN IT DOES NOT SUIT THEM TO RESPECT IT, SO TOO THE DAIL ITSELF IS TREATED AS A PAWN IN THEIR SINISTER GAME.

THEY ARE PERFECTLY HAPPY TO CONCEDE PRESTIGE TO THE DAIL JUST SO LONG AS THEY CAN USURP ITS NATURAL PUBLICITY VALUE FOR SOME OF THEIR OWN OPERATIONS: BUT THEY SHOW, BY THEIR OTHER ACTIONS, THAT THEY

HOLD THE STATUS AND AUTHORITY OF THE IRISH NATION'S LEGISLATURE !
BRUTAL CONTEMPT.

THE VERY SAME DAIL, ABOUT THOSE RECALL THEY NOW SHOW SUCH PIOUS DILIGENCE, HAS, NOT ONCE BUT REPEATEDLY, AND WITHOUT A SINGLE DISSENTIENT VOICE, CONDEMNED VIOLENCE AS A MEANS TO IRISH UNITY ONLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY CONSENT.

THAT SAME DAIL UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED THE HISTORIC SUNNINGDALE ACCORDS OF 1973, AT WHICH FOR THE FIRST TIME THE LEADERS OF THE BULK OF UNIONISTS REACHED AGREEMENT, HOWEVER TENTATIVE, WITH THE LEADERS OF THIS STATE AND OF THE NORTHERN CATHOLIC MINORITY. THE STRUCTURES WHICH EMERGED FROM SUNNINGDALE COLLAPSED, IN THE END, THROUGH BRITISH WEAKNESS OF WILL IN CONFRONTING LOYALIST EXTREMISM. BUT THE I.R.A., TOO, PLAYED THEIR PART IN WRECKING THAT FRAGILE HARMONY BY INTENSIFYING RATHER THAN CALLING OFF THEIR CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE.

AGAIN - AND I MAKE NO APOLOGY FOR CITING THE LAW OF OUR CONSTITUTION TO PEOPLE WHO QUOTE ARTICLE 3 BUT NOTHING ELSE - THE DAIL IS DECLARED BY ARTICLE 28 TO BE THE SOLE AUTHORITY FOR THE DECLARATION OR WAGING OF WAR BY IRELAND. YET THE VERY PEOPLE WHO NOW PRETEND SUCH AN URGENT RESPECT FOR THE DAIL HAVE IGNORED ITS SOLE AUTHORITY BY THEIR BELLIGERENT ACTS OSTENSIBLY COMMITTED IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE WHO ELECT THE DAIL MEMBERS.

FINALLY, BY ARTICLE 15 THE SOLE RIGHT TO RAISE AND MAINTAIN AN ARMED FORCE IS VESTED IN THE OIREACHTAS, OF WHICH THE DAIL IS THE MOST IMPORTANT COMPONENT: AND THE ARTICLE STATES THAT "NO ARMED FORCE OTHER THAN ONE RAISED BY THE OIREACHTAS SHALL BE RAISED OR MAINTAINED FOR ANY PURPOSE WHATSOEVER". WHEN THE GROUPS NOW SANCTIMONIOUSLY DEMANDING AN EARLY DAIL RECALL SHOW WILLINGNESS TO RESPECT THIS CLEAR AND DEFINITE LAW, THEY MAY PERHAPS EXPECT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY; BUT NOT BEFORE.

ENDS.

FIGG.

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FM DUBLIN 121600Z AUG 1981

Prime Minister

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

MA 13/
1/11

TELEGRAM NUMBER 291 OF 12 AUGUST

AND TO IMMEDIATE N I O (BELFAST) AND PRIORITY WASHINGTON

MY TELNOS 288 AND 290 IRISH GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THE NORTH FROM TATHAM.

ms

1. AFTER MR O'LEARY'S UNHELPFUL STATEMENT OF 9 AUGUST AND MR JOHN KELLY'S STRONG CONDEMNATION OF THE I R A YESTERDAY, THE IRISH CABINET MET THIS MORNING TO CONSIDER POLICY TOWARDS THE NORTH. FROM WHAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DISCOVER (AND MANY OF OUR NORMAL SENIOR OFFICIAL CONTACTS ARE ON LEAVE), IT WAS DECIDED

(1) THAT ANY FUTURE STATEMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND BY GOVERNMENT MINISTERS WOULD BE CLEARED WITH THE TAOISEACH FIRST,

(11) A MEETING TO REVIEW POLICY ON NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD BE HELD ON 24 AND 25 AUGUST, AND OFFICIALS AND MINISTERS HAVE ALREADY BEEN TOLD TO RETURN FROM LEAVE.

2. THIS IS REASONABLY SATISFACTORY. IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE TAOISEACH TO SLAP DOWN HIS SENIOR COALITION PARTNERS PUBLICLY, BUT HE HAS AT LEAST RESTRAINED MR O'LEARY. MR KELLY'S ALLUSION ON THE B B C TODAY TO "THE POSSIBLY UNCONSIDERED REMARKS OF A MINISTER WHO DOES NOT HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NORTH" IS ALSO AN OBLIQUE DISAVOWAL. BUT WE CANNOT RULE OUT FURTHER LABOUR STATEMENTS: THE HUNGER STRIKE IS BECOMING THE MAIN POLITICAL ISSUE HERE AND THE PARTY WILL WISH TO PRONOUNCE ON IT, JUST AS, DURING THE LAST COALITION, CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN HELD FORTH ON NORTHERN ISSUES TO THE IRRITATION OF HIS FINE GAEL PARTNERS.

3. IT IS GOOD TOO THAT TALK OF THE "DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE", WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE ORIGINATED FROM MR O'LEARY'S STATEMENT (AND POSSIBLY HIS SUBSEQUENT BRIEFING TO THE IRISH PAPERS) HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN UP BY THE GOVERNMENT. THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAD NEVER RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO PURSUE THIS IDEA.

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4. THE MEETING ON 24 AND 25 AUGUST SHOULD IMPOSE SOME COHERENCE ON IRISH POLICY TOWARDS NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE HUNGER STRIKE. AS SEEN FROM HERE, THERE WOULD BE CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGE IN ARRANGING FULL AND FRANK BRIEFING PARTICULARLY ON THE HUNGER STRIKE JUST BEFORE THE IRISH MEET, SAY THE DAY AFTER THE FERMANAGH BY-ELECTION, I E FRIDAY 21 AUGUST. THIS COULD BEST BE DONE AT SENIOR OFFICIAL OR EVEN JUNIOR MINISTERIAL LEVEL, DEPENDING ON WHO IS AVAILABLE IN DUBLIN. ALTERNATIVELY, THE IRISH MIGHT BE INVITED TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO BELFAST FOR BRIEFING THERE.=

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 290 OF 12 AUGUST.
AND TO IMMEDIATE N I O BELFAST

PS TO THE PM.
NO10 DOWNING STREET.

Prime Minister

H BLOCKS:
STATEMENT BY ACTING MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT A FINE GAEL
PARTY FUNTION.

MP

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A STATEMENT MADE BY THE ACTING MINISTER
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR JOHN KELLY, ON 11 AUGUST.

me

BEGINS

A NEW FEATURE IN THE NORTHERN TROUBLES IS THAT THE DUBLIN
GOVERNMENT IS BEING CALLED ON DAILY, BY SOMEONE OR OTHER IN WHAT
MAY ROUGHLY BE CALLED THE I.R.A. CAMP, TO EXERT PRESSURE IN A
DIRECTION WHICH SUITS THAT CAMP'S PURPOSES.

IT IS TIME THAT A FEW PLAIN WORDS WERE SPOKEN ABOUT THIS
DEVELOPMENT, AND THAT ALL POSSIBILITY OF MISUNDERSTANDING WAS
REMOVED.

THE REASON WHY WE HAVE URGED UPON THE BRITISH THE NEED TO
SETTLE THE H BLOCK SITUATION QUICKLY IS THAT WE SEE IT AS
OBSTRUCTING AND DELAYING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT
AND RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH AND BETWEEN
THEM AND OURSELVES. WE HAVE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT OUR URGENT
WORDS TO LONDON HAVE NOT HAD A BETTER RESPONSE. BUT WHAT IS TO BE
SAID OF THE STANCE OF THE I.R.A.?

THEY AND THEIR SATELLITES TRY TO HARANGUE THIS GOVERNMENT
INTO ATTITUDES AND GESTURES WHICH THEY THINK WILL ADVANCE THEIR
AIMS. THE REASON THEY TAKE THIS TROUBLE WITH THE GOVERNMENT IS THAT
THEY KNOW IT IS RECOGNISED AND SEEN, IN THE OUTSIDE WORLD, AS THE
LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF THIS STATE, AND ITS TAOISEACH AS THE
GOVERNMENT'S LAWFUL LEADER. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY WISH TO EXPLOIT
FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES THE LEGITIMACY OF THE DUBLIN ADMINISTRATION,
WHOSE ACTS AND GESTURES WILL COMMAND ABROAD A RESPECT WHICH NO
OTHER BODY IN THE COUNTRY CAN COMMAND.

BUT WHEN THAT SAME GOVERNMENT CONDEMNS THEIR VIOLENCE, THEIR
CRUDE CONTEMPT FOR HUMAN LIFE, THEIR RUTHLESS INDIFERENCE TO THE
WISHES OF MOST IRISH PEOPLE, SUDDENLY THE GOVERNMENT'S LEGITIMACY
COUNTS FOR NOTHING, AND ITS AUTHORITY IS THE SUBJECT OF INSULT.

PEOPLE CANNOT HAVE THE AMENITIES OF CIVILISATION, OF WHICH
ORDERED GOVERNMENT IS THE GREATEST, ON TERMS LIKE THESE.

/THIS

NO. 10 THE T.M.
NO. 10 BOWING STREET

THIS GOVERNMENT SAYS TO THE I.R.A. CALL OFF YOUR CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE: CEASE THE SHOOTING AND THE BOMBING AND THE INTIMIDATION: HALT THE WICKED CRUELITIES THAT HAVE SHAMED AND DISGRACED THE NAME OF IRELAND AND ITS FLAG.

WHEN THAT CALL IS HEEDED, AT LEAST IT WILL BECOME LOGICAL TO INVOKE THE DIPLOMATIC AID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND IN PURSUIT OF A COMPASSIONATE END. BUT AS LONG AS IT GOES UNHEEDED, THE ATTEMPTED EXPLOITATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LEGITIMACY WILL REMAIN JUST ANOTHER PIECE OF HYPOCRISY.

ENDS.

FIGG.

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