

NORTHERN IRELAND: ADVANCE COPIES

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DIO

NO 10 DOWNING STREET

CONFIDENTIAL

FM DUBLIN 111220Z SEPTEMBER 79  
TO PRIORITY FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 280 OF 11 SEPTEMBER  
AND TO PRIORITY NIO BELFAST  
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

*Prime Minister*

*W.*

*Ant. 11/5*

MY TELNO 275 : SILE DE VALERA'S SPEECH

1. SPECULATION ABOUT THE REASONS FOR AND TIMING OF THE SPEECH CONTINUES IN THE MEDIA AND AMONG THE PUBLIC. THERE ARE ALSO QUESTIONS ABOUT WHO MAY HAVE BEEN BEHIND IT, AND THERE IS MUCH TALK ABOUT MR CHARLIE HAUGHEY HAVING HAD A HAND IN IT. CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN TOLD ME TODAY THAT "NO-ONE" BELIEVED MS DE VALERA HAD WRITTEN THE SPEECH AND HE, PERSONALLY, THOUGHT THAT HAUGHEY WAS BEHIND IT - "PART OF HIS CAMPAIGN TO SUCCEED JACK LYNCH". A SPEECH OF THIS KIND BY ANY FIANNA FAIL TD WOULD HAVE BEEN NEWS BUT FOR EAMON DE VALERA'S GRANDDAUGHTER TO HAVE MADE IT HAS REALLY PUT THE CAT AMONG THE PIGEONS. HOW SERIOUSLY, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MR LYNCH'S POSITION, THE GOVERNMENT AND FIANNA FAIL IT IS TOO SOON TO JUDGE. AS MR O'KENNEDY SAID TO ME LAST NIGHT, IN THE UNDERSTATEMENT OF THE WEEK, "IT HASN'T MADE THINGS EASIER FOR ANY OF US".

2. IN MY DESPATCH OF 10 AUGUST, I WROTE ABOUT SENSITIVITY THAT FIANNA FAIL WAS RETREATING FROM ITS TRADITIONAL REPUBLICANISM. MS DE VALERA'S OUTBURST IS A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF THAT FEELING AMONG SOME OF THE FAITHFUL AND AMONG THE EXTREMISTS. AGAIN, IT MAY, IN PART, BE A REACTION TO THE FACT THAT THE DOWNING STREET MEETING, ON 5 SEPTEMBER, CONCENTRATED ON SECURITY AND THAT MR LYNCH WAS BELIEVED, ONCE AGAIN, NOT TO HAVE GOT ANYTHING OUT OF THE

MEETING, ON 5 SEPTEMBER, CONCENTRATED ON SECURITY AND THAT MR LYNCH WAS BELIEVED, ONCE AGAIN, NOT TO HAVE GOT ANYTHING OUT OF THE TALKS SO FAR AS THE POLITICAL DIMENSION IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS CONCERNED. MR O'KENNEDY HINTED AS MUCH TO ME LAST NIGHT.

3. THERE IS NOW SPECULATION ABOUT HOW MUCH SUPPORT MS DE VALERA WILL RECEIVE FROM MINISTERS, BACKBENCHERS AND IN THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE. TODAY'S DUBLIN PAPERS NAME FOUR FIANNA FAIL TDS AS EXPRESSING OPEN SUPPORT FOR HER, AND ESTIMATE THAT IN ALL 20 MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY FEEL THE SAME WAY. IF SHE GETS A LOT OF SUPPORT, THAT COULD CAUSE REAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE PARTY, AND IT HAS CERTAINLY BEEN A BLOW TO MR LYNCH, ESPECIALLY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND THAT HE DID NOT COME WELL OUT OF THE EVENTS OF 27 AUGUST. HE WAS CRITICISED FOR NOT RETURNING EARLIER TO DUBLIN AND THEN WAS MADE TO LOOK SILLY WHEN, ON THE BASIS OF ONE PRESS ARTICLE, HE ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT HE WAS NOT BEING "SUMMONED" BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO LONDON. THOSE ARE BUT THE MOST RECENT SIGNS OF DISCONTENT IN THIS COUNTRY. IF YOU ADD TO THEM, UNEASE ABOUT THE HANDLING OF THE ECONOMY, STRIKES, TAXATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND SO ON, MR LYNCH'S POSITION AND THE REPUTATION OF HIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN DAMAGED. HOWEVER, HIS FOLLOWING IS TREMENDOUS AND MS DE VALERA, DESPITE HER NAME, IS A YOUNG WOMAN OF NO GREAT EXPERIENCE.

4. SO FAR AS OUR IMMEDIATE AIMS ARE CONCERNED, IT WILL NOT MAKE THINGS EASIER FOR HIM TO IMPLEMENT THE IMPROVEMENTS IN SECURITY WHICH WE ARE PRESSING FOR NOR FOR HIM TO ACCEPT THAT THE NEXT MEETING OF MINISTERS WILL AGAIN BE CONCERNED WITH SECURITY. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE WILL BE HELPED IN THIS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT BY THE RECENT RTE POLL ON SECURITY MATTERS (COPY SENT BY BAG): THIS SHOWED SOME SIGNS OF MORE POSITIVE THINKING AMONG THOSE POLLED ON INCREASING GARDA POWERS TO DEAL WITH SUSPECTED TERRORISTS AND ON ARMY-TO-ARMY COMMUNICATIONS. THE SAME POLL SHOWED A FAIRLY EVEN SPLIT ON EXTRADITION OF TERRORISTS TO THE NORTH AND ON JOINT BORDER PATROLS. BUT A MAJORITY WAS AGAINST RUC PARTICIPATION IN POLICE INTERROGATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC.

5. IF MR LYNCH HAS THE NECESSARY QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP AND, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, OF DETERMINATION, HE CAN OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES. I AM NOT SURE THAT HE HAS BUT I AM CERTAIN THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO PUT ON THE PRESSURE TO SECURE OUR AIMS AND THE MINISTERIAL MEETING.

HAYDON

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RESIDENT CLERK

UNCLASSIFIED  
FM DUBLIN 101540Z SEPTEMBER  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 275 OF 10 SEPTEMBER 1979  
INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK, MODUK

*Prime Minister*  
*Mr Lynch's reaction to Miss de*  
*Valera lacks vigour but is*  
*broadly in line with the understanding*  
*reached with you last week*  
*Paul*

SPEECH BY SILE DE VALERA

1. YESTERDAY IN FERMOY, AT THE ANNUAL COMMEMORATION OF GENERAL LIAM LYNCH (CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE OLD IRA WHO DIED IN THE CIVIL WAR), MISS SILE DE VALERA MADE A HARD LINE REPUBLICAN SPEECH REITERATING THE TRADITIONAL FIANNA FAIL IDEAL OF IRISH UNITY. (MISS DE VALERA IS THE YOUNGEST FIANNA FAIL DEPUTY AND GRAND-DAUGHTER OF EAMON DE VALERA. SHE WAS ELECTED TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN JUNE.) SHE SAID THAT THE BRITISH DENIED THE IRISH PEOPLE THE RIGHT QUOTE TO HAVE A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN SOLE AND EXCLUSIVE CONTROL OF THE AFFAIRS OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION UNQUOTE. QUOTE OUR LEADERS MUST NOW ONCE AGAIN PUT OUR CASE TO BRITAIN AND TO THE WORLD, WE MUST AT ALL TIMES BE READY TO COUNTER THE SKILLFUL BRITISH PROPAGANDA WHICH IS SADLY USED TO EFFECT EVEN IN THIS PART OF THE ISLAND. AT NO TIME MUST WE ALLOW OUR LEADERS TO SUCCUMB TO BRITISH PRESSURES WHICH SERVE ONLY TO FURTHER DIVIDE OUR PEOPLE. BECAUSE OF BRITISH PROPAGANDA SOME IRISH PEOPLE ARE NOW AFRAID TO EVEN USE THE WORDS, REPUBLICANISM, PATRIOTISM, IDEALISM, NATIONALISM..... IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WE SHOULD AT ALL TIMES STATE CLEARLY WHERE WE STAND. WE SEEK OUR NATIONAL FREEDOM ..... MANY SO-CALLED SOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED UNDER SUCH NAMES AS A COUNCIL OF IRELAND OR

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WE SHOULD AT ALL TIMES STATE CLEARLY WHERE WE STAND. WE SEEK OUR NATIONAL FREEDOM ..... MANY SO-CALLED SOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED UNDER SUCH NAMES AS A COUNCIL OF IRELAND OR DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT IN THE NORTH. AS THESE ARE ONLY HALF MEASURES THEY CAN ONLY SERVE TO EXACERBATE AND FESTER THE PROBLEM ..... A TRUE AND LASTING SOLUTION CAN ONLY BE FOUND IN AN ALL-IRELAND CONTEXT WITH ONE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE THE AFFAIRS OF THE WHOLE NATION, ANY TRANSITIONARY STEPS THAT DO NOT INCLUDE THIS PRINCIPLE BETRAY THE BELIEFS AND HOPES OF ALL THOSE PATRIOTS WHO DIED FOR THAT CAUSE ..... ~~PATRIOTISM~~ <sup>PARTITION</sup> IS AT THE ROOTS OF THE PRESENT TROUBLES IN THE NORTH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT NOW FIND THEMSELVES IN A POSITION WHERE THEY CAN NO LONGER CONTAIN THE VIOLENCE IN THE SIX COUNTY AREA. NOW AS THEY BEGIN TO REALISE THIS, THEY HAVE THE EFFRONTERY TO SEEK OUR COOPERATION IN HOT PURSUIT AS IT HAS NOW BECOME KNOWN. THEY HAVE THE EFFRONTERY TO ASK OUR PERMISSION FOR THEIR ARMY TO OPERATE A MILE OR SO OVER THE BORDER. IT MUST BE POINTED OUT TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT THEY WERE THE CAUSE OF PARTITION AND THAT WE AT NO TIME WOULD WISH TO COOPERATE IN ANY SCHEME OF THEIRS WHICH WOULD ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE BORDER IN EXISTENCE. IN THE LAST WEEK, MR ATKINS HAD ALSO BEEN LOOKING FOR PERMISSION FROM THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW MEMBERS OF THE RUC TO BE PRESENT AT INTERROGATION IN DUBLIN. THIS PERMISSION MUST BE FLATLY REFUSED. THE RUC HAVE NO RIGHT WHATSOEVER TO BE PRESENT IN ANY CAPACITY WITHIN THE 26-COUNTY AREA. .... BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE STILL APPLYING PRESSURE ON OUR GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO EXTRADITION. CAN THE BRITISH HONESTLY BELIEVE THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXTRADITE PEOPLE TO THE NORTH WITH THE NOW PROVEN ACTS OF BRUTALITY AND INJUSTICE THAT TAKE PLACE THERE. IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO GUARANTEE OF JUST TREATMENT FOR THESE PEOPLE AS ONE IS EXTRADITED NOT AS A RESULT OF EVIDENCE OF CRIME BUT MERELY SUSPICION UNQUOTE. SHE ENDED BY SUGGESTING THAT IF LEGITIMATE POLITICIANS WERE NOT SEEN TO BE FURTHERING REPUBLICAN ASPIRATIONS THROUGH CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS, YOUNG PEOPLE WOULD TURN TO VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE THEIR AIMS.

2. THIS PROMPTED AN IMMEDIATE REACTION FROM MR LYNCH. IN AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT HE SAID THAT MUCH OF WHAT MISS DE VALERA HAD SAID WAS OBVIOUSLY MOTIVATED BY HER UNDERSTANDABLE REACTION TO BRITISH POPULAR PRESS PROPAGANDA IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS. IN CONTRAST TO MISS DE VALERA HE SAID QUOTE AS A PRIORITY WE WANT TO SEE RECONCILIATION/ AND PEACE BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES IN THE NORTH. WE SUPPORT THE SETTING UP OF A FORM OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH BOTH COMMUNITIES CAN GIVE THEIR SUPPORT AND CONSENT UNQUOTE. HE WENT ON TO REJECT ANY IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROVISIONALS WITH THE MEN OF 68 YEARS AGO " WHO GENUINELY FOUGHT FOR OUR FREEDOMS, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC" AND POINTED OUT THAT

PROVISIONALS WITH THE MEN OF 60 YEARS AGO " WHO GENUINELY FOUGHT FOR OUR FREEDOMS, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC", AND POINTED OUT THAT EAMON DE VALERA, AS TAOISEACH, HAD TAKEN STRONG ACTION TO COMBAT THE ACTIVITIES AND ATROCITIES OF THE IRA WHO THEN AS NOW ATTACKED, MAIMED AND MURDERED MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES OF THIS STATE. HE SAID THAT SUCCESSIVE IRISH GOVERNMENTS WERE, AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT ARE DETERMINED TO END THESE ACTIVITIES BY EVERY LAWFUL MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL. TO THIS END THE SECURITY FORCES FULLY COOPERATED WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN THE NORTH AND ELSEWHERE. AS AGREED IN LONDON LAST WEDNESDAY, THIS COOPERATION WOULD BE IMPROVED WHERE POSSIBLE AND TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE WITHIN THE LAW. HE ENDED BY POINTING OUT THAT MISS DE VALERA HAD NOT HITHERTO EXPRESSED DISAGREEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT POLICY AND SAID QUOTE I REGRET THE TONE AND TENOR OF DEPUTY DE VALERA'S REMARKS ESPECIALLY AT THIS TIME UNQUOTE. IN AN RTE INTERVIEW MISS DE VALERA TRIED TO DENY THAT HER SPEECH REPRESENTED CRITICISM OF MR LYNCH'S LEADERSHIP OF FIANNA FAIL.

3. PRESS REACTIONS TO MISS DE VALERA'S SPEECH ARE REMARKABLY CONSISTENT. THE HEADLINES INDICATE THE DEGREE OF CONCERN WHICH THE SPEECH HAD AROUSED: QUOTE STORM OVER NORTH CALL UNQUOTE (IRISH PRESS), QUOTE WHO IS BEHIND HARDLINE SILE? UNQUOTE (IRISH INDEPENDENT) AND QUOTE PROMPT LYNCH REPLY SHOWS CONCERN AT DE VALERA SPEECH UNQUOTE (IRISH TIMES). THE REPORTS BY THE IRISH PRESS AND IRISH TIMES POLITICAL CORRESPONDENTS TALK OF QUOTE A SHARP DIVISION WITHIN FIANNA FAIL ON NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY UNQUOTE AND A CHALLENGE TO MR LYNCH TO DEMONSTRATE HIS REPUBLICANISM QUOTE BY AIMING FOR UNITY INSTEAD OF SUCH HALF MEASURES AS DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT AS A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND UNQUOTE. THE INDEPENDENT CLAIMS THAT QUOTE THE TAOISEACH WAS OBVIOUSLY SEETHING WITH ANGER BECAUSE OF THE EFFECTS HER SPEECH WILL HAVE ON OPINION IN BOTH BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ON THE POLICIES BEING ADOPTED BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO SECURITY AND OTHER MATTERS.

4. ALL THREE DAILIES OFFER EDITORIAL COMMENT WHICH IS CRITICAL OF MISS DE VALERA. THE IRISH INDEPENDENT SAYS QUOTE A GREAT MANY PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY ARE BECOMING WEARY OF BELIGERENT SPEECHES ABOUT OUR POLITICAL DESTINY UNQUOTE AND STATES THAT QUOTE DEPUTY DE VALERA'S EXTRAORDINARY SPEECH CLEARLY SUGGESTS THAT MR LYNCH'S BACK SHOULD BE STIFFENED ON THE POLICY OF REPUBLICANISM UNQUOTE. IT ENDS WITH THE QUESTION QUOTE ARE WE IN FOR ANOTHER SERIES OF CARPETING? UNQUOTE. THE IRISH TIMES SAYS THAT MISS DE VALERA'S SPEECH, COMING AT A TIME WHEN PEOPLE ARE DIVIDED AND CONFUSED AND DESPERATELY LOOKING FOR LEADERSHIP, QUOTE WILL ONLY SERVE TO ADD TO THE GENERAL BEWILDERMENT AND ANXIETY UNQUOTE. THE EDITORIAL CLAIMS

DESPERATELY LOOKING FOR LEADERSHIP, QUOTE WILL ONLY SERVE TO ADD TO THE GENERAL BEWILDERMENT AND ANXIETY UNQUOTE. THE EDITORIAL CLAIMS THAT HER UNDERSTANDING OF NORTHERN IRELAND AFFAIRS ' ' APPEARS WOEFULLY INADEQUATE' '. IT SUGGESTS THAT HER SPEECH WAS ' 'A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO MR LYNCH AND HIS POLICY ON THE NORTH, WHATEVER THAT MAY BE ' '. THE IRISH TIMES REGRETS THAT MR LYNCH IN HIS REPLY TO MISS DE VALERA ' 'PERFORMED A SOFTSHOE SHUFFLE' ' RATHER THAN ASSERTING HIS AUTHORITY. EVEN THE IRISH PRESS, OWNED BY MISS DE VALERA'S UNCLE, COMPLAINS ABOUT THE TIMING OF HER SPEECH, CLAIMING THAT IT WILL QUOTE HAND A FLAIL TO THOSE ELEMENTS IN FLEET STREET, BRITISH POLITICS AND THE NORTH WHICH HAVE BEEN TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE EVENTS OF ONE OF THE BLOODIEST WEEKS IN IRISH HISTORY TO PILLORY THE GOVERNMENT FORMED BY THE PARTY TO WHICH MISS DE VALERA BELONGS UNQUOTE. IT ALSO SUGGESTS THAT QUOTE THE DISSENSIONS OF 1970 ARE CERTAIN TO BE RE-ACTIVATED UNQUOTE (A REFERENCE TO THE ARMS TRAIL SCANDAL). THE IRISH PRESS POINTS OUT THAT QUOTE THE UNITY OF THE COUNTRY WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED BY ANY EFFORTS, IN THE WAKE OF MISS DE VALERA'S SPEECH TO CREATE DISUNITY IN THE RANKS OF THE LARGEST PARTY IN THIS COUNTRY ..... IT IS A TIME FOR HOLDING THE CENTRE NOT SUNDERING IT UNQUOTE.

#9

CORRECTIONS: PARA 1 LINE 27

WHO DIED FOR THAT CAUSE ..... PARTITION IS AT THE ROOTS OF ETC

HAYDON

NNNN

SENT AT 10/1740Z JH

RECD AT 10/1740Z JW