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SIR R ARMSTRONG) CABINET OFFICE
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PS/No.10 DOWNING STREET (2)

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM DUBLIN 231129Z JULY 1982.
TO IMMEDIATE F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 216 OF 23 JULY.

IMMEDIATE

AND TO PRIORITY INFO N I O BELFAST

ADVANCE COPY

MY TELNO 208: ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS.

1. NELIGAN, THE HEAD OF THE ANGLO-IRISH DIVISION OF THE DFA, ASKED ME TO CALL THIS MORNING. HE SAID THAT MR COLLINS, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, HAD BEEN MOST CONCERNED BY THE WAY THE IRISH NEWSPAPERS, IN PARTICULAR THE IRISH PRESS, (MYTEL NO 198), HAD REPORTED HIS SPEECH IN THE ADJOURNMENT DEBATE IN THE DAIL. THE SUGGESTION THAT SECURITY COOPERATION MIGHT BE IN SOME WAY CONDITIONAL WAS QUITE WRONG AND UNSUPPORTED BY ANYTHING HE HAD SAID. NELIGAN ADDED THAT MR COLLINS WAS PARTICULARLY UPSET IN VIEW OF HIS CLOSE EXPERIENCE OF SECURITY MATTERS WHEN HE WAS MINISTER OF JUSTICE IN THE PREVIOUS FIANNA FAIL ADMINISTRATION. HE WANTED MR PRIOR TO KNOW THAT HE SHOULD HAVE NO WORRIES AT ALL ON THIS SCORE. I THANKED NELIGAN AND SAID I WOULD PASS ON BY TELEGRAM AT ONCE WHAT HE HAD SAID.

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~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

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FM DUBLIN 161120Z JULY 1982

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 199 OF 16 JULY

AND TO INFO IMMEDIATE N 10 (BELFAST), AND PRIORITY WASHINGTON.

F C O PASS SAYING TO BRUSSELS, UKREP BRUSSELS, PARIS, COPENHAGEN
THE HAGUE, LUXEMBOURG, BONN, ATHENS, ROME AND B I S NEW YORK

MY TWO I P T'S : ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS

1. MR COLLINS REMARKS IN THE ADJOURNMENT DEBATE (MAIN POINTS
IN MY TELNO. 197) WERE MOST UNHELPFUL. THEY WERE STRONGLY
ATTACKED BY MR BRUTON, WHO OPENED FOR FINE GAEL. HOWEVER,
THE MAIN FINE GAEL COMMENTS CAN BE EXPECTED WHEN DR FITZGERALD
SPEAKS IN THE DEBATE THIS AFTERNOON. THE SECRETARY OF THE D F A
TOLD ME LAST NIGHT THAT FIVE OUT OF 40 PAGES PREPARED FOR
MR HAUGHEY'S SPEECH THIS AFTERNOON ARE ON NORTHERN IRELAND.

2. THE U S EMBASSY HAVE TOLD US THEY WERE PARTICULARLY SURPRISED AT MR COLLINS'S SPEECH. WHEN THEIR AMBASSADOR MET MR COLLINS ON THE EVENING OF 14 JULY HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MR PRIOR'S PROPOSALS WERE WELL KNOWN AND HE DID NOT FEEL THERE WAS ANY NEED NOW FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO SAY MUCH MORE ABOUT IT. THE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT ONE FACTOR MAY BE THE GALWAY EAST BY-ELECTION ON 26 JULY (JUST AS THE DUBLIN WEST BY-ELECTION SEEMED TO BE A FACTOR IN IRELAND'S CHANGE OF POLICY OVER THE FALKLANDS). INCIDENTALLY, WASHINGTON WILL WISH TO KNOW THAT AMBASSADOR DAILEY IS RETURNING TODAY FOR CONSULTATIONS WHICH THE EMBASSY TOLD US WILL INCLUDE U S POLICY ON NORTHERN IRELAND.

3. THE BY-ELECTION MAY PARTLY EXPLAIN THE HOSTILITY TO MR PRIOR'S DEVOLUTION PLANS, HOPING TO BRING OUT SOME OF THE GREENER FIANNA FAIL SUPPORTERS IN GALWAY EAST. HOWEVER, WORSENING ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS DID NOT HELP FIANNA FAIL IN THE DUBLIN WEST BY-ELECTION. THE COMMENT IN TODAY'S IRISH INDEPENDENT (MY TELNO. 198 PARA. 3) IS CERTAINLY TYPICAL OF MOST INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION IN DUBLIN AND PROBABLY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

4. THE ADJOURNMENT DEBATE WAS EXPECTED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ECONOMY AND A BATTLE IN THE DAIL ABOUT ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS PROVIDES A DIVERSION FROM THE COUNTRY'S SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, THE SIMPLEST EXPLANATION FOR MR COLLINS' SPEECH IS PERHAPS THAT THE GOVERNMENT EXPECTED TO BE CRITICISED FOR DAMAGING ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS AND JUDGED IT BEST TO COUNTER-ATTACK, FOR EXAMPLE, BY POINTING TO THE COSTS TO THE REPUBLIC OF SECURITY COOPERATION AND TO THE ALLEGED LACK OF CONSULTATION ON NORTHERN IRELAND. THE D F A HAVE TOLD US THAT THE REFERENCE BY MR COLLINS TO A RECENT P Q ANSWERED BY MR PRIOR WAS TO THE WRITTEN ANSWER GIVEN TO MR PROCTOR ON 17 JUNE ABOUT WHETHER OFFICIALS OR MINISTERS HAD DISCUSSED THE WHITE PAPER WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC (VOL 25 NO. 134 COL 331).

5. I WILL COMMENT FURTHER AFTER WE HAVE HEARD MR HAUGHEY'S REMARKS THIS AFTERNOON.

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FM DUBLIN 160850Z JUL 82

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 198 OF 16 JULY 1982

REPEATED FOR INFO TO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST)

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO OTHER EC POSTS, WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK.

M.I.P.T.: ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS: PRESS COMMENT

1. MR COLLINS SPEECH IN THE ADJOURNMENT DEBATE (MAIN POINTS IN MIPT) PRODUCED HEADLINES IN TODAY'S PAPERS:

"ANGLO-IRISH RIFT GROWS AS COLLINS ATTACKS BRITAIN" (IRISH TIMES)

"COLLINS HINTS ON SECURITY" (IRISH PRESS)

"BLISTERING ATTACK ON BRITAIN" (IRISH INDEPENDENT).

2. IN EDITORIAL COMMENT THE IRISH PRESS CLAIMS THAT A "FIXATION WITH SECURITY" HAS DOMINATED THE BRITISH VIEW AND CONTINUES:

"NOW IT IS ONE THING TO PROVIDE THESE SECURITY MEASURES AS PART OF AN OVERALL PLAN LEADING, IT WOULD BE HOPED, TO A POLITICAL

SOLUTION WHICH WOULD MAKE SUCH MEASURES UNNECESSARY. IT IS QUITE ANOTHER MATTER TO BE ASKED TO SUSTAIN THESE MEASURES INDEFINITELY IN A POLITICAL VACUUM WHEN, AT THE SAME TIME, ALL OUR GOVERNMENT'S ADVICE IS IGNORED AND WE ARE SUBJECTED TO A BARRAGE OF ABUSE FOR NOT TOEING THE BRITISH LINE ON THE FALKLANDS.''

AFTER CLAIMING THAT MR PRIOR'S PLAN 'IGNORED THE ADVICE OF BOTH THE FIANNA FAIL GOVERNMENT AND THE COALITION GOVERNMENT' THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDES::

'IN OTHER WORDS WE ARE BEING TOLD ONCE AGAIN TO MIND OUR OWN BUSINESS. IT IS WELL TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO BRITAIN THAT IF THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH IS NOT OUR BUSINESS THEN THE SECURITY OF THE NORTH IS NOT OUR BUSINESS EITHER. IT IS MRS THATCHER, NOT MR HAUGHEY, WHO HAS MOST TO LOSE.'

3. BY CONTRAST THE IRISH INDEPENDENT, SAYING THAT THE SPEECH WAS 'UNTYPICAL OF THIS NORMALLY LEVEL-HEADED MINISTER', CONTINUES:

'IT'S ALL BRITAIN'S FAULT, THE MINISTER SEEMED TO BE SAYING, THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN ARE SO BAD. WHAT DID THE GOVERNMENT EXPECT TO HAPPEN AFTER AFTER IT HAD STOOD ON ITS HEAD OVER THE FALKLANDS ISSUE? DOES THE MINISTER REALLY EXPECT US TO BELIEVE THAT HIS TAOISEACH AND MRS THATCHER HAD, EVEN BEFORE THE FALKLANDS, A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP? MR PRIOR IS PLOUGHING A LONELY FURROW IN TRYING TO GIVE BACK TO THE NORTH SOME FORM OF DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT AND HE HAS HAD TO WARD OFF BOTH THE TORY RIGHT WING AND THE EFFORTS OF OUR PRESENT GOVERNMENT TO GET HIS MEASURE THROUGH. HE SHOULD HAVE HAD SUPPORT.

4. FOR COMMENT SEE M.I.F.T.

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FM DUBLIN 160800Z JUL 82

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 160930Z FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 197 OF 16 JULY 1982

AND REPEATED FOR INFO TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 160930Z NIO (BELFAST)

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BIS NEW YORK.

ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS: SPEECH BY IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. MR COLLINS OPENED THE ADJOURNMENT DEBATE IN THE DAIL YESTERDAY EVENING WITH A PREPARED SPEECH WHICH HAD A LONG SECTION ON ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS. AFTER SUMMARISING THE FIANNA FAIL VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE 1980 SUMMIT, THE MAIN POINTS WERE:

"I REGRET THAT IN RECENT MONTHS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN LESS THEN WHOLEHEARTED IN THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE APPROACH WHICH THEY HAD AGREED WITH US. EARLIER THIS YEAR THEY EMBARKED ON A MISGUIDED AND UNILATERAL INITIATIVE WHICH IN EFFECT IGNORES THE WIDER ANGLO-IRISH DEMENSION WITHIN WHICH THE TAOISEACH AND PRIME MINISTER HAD AGREED TO TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH - A

WIDER ANGLO-IRISH DIMENSION WITHIN WHICH THE TAOISEACH AND THE
MINISTER HAD AGREED TO TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH - A
PROBLEM WHICH AFFECTS BOTH OUR COUNTRIES SO MUCH. MR PRIOR'S
FAILURE TO PROPERLY CONSULT WITH THE GOVERNMENT HERE IN THE
ELABORATION OF HIS PROPOSALS HAS ALREADY BEEN PUT ON RECORD BY ME -
AND INDEED ADMITTED BY HIM IN A RECENT PARLIAMENTARY REPLY IN
WESTMINSTER - AND I WISH TO STATE MY VIEW THAT THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH ON THIS MATTER HAS BEEN CONTRARY NOT ONLY
TO THE SPIRIT BUT ALSO TO THE LETTER OF OUR NEW ARRANGEMENTS.
THE DEGREE OF REASONED OPPOSITION TO THE BRITISH PROPOSALS, AND
AS DEPUTIES ARE FULLY AWARE THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO
APPROVE OF THEM, OUGHT TO HAVE MADE MR PRIOR THINK AGAIN. INSTEAD
THEY HAVE NOW COMPLETED THEIR PAINFUL PASSAGE THROUGH THE HOUSE
OF COMMONS AND MR PRIOR SEEMS DETERMINED TO FORCE HIS SCHEME ON
NORTHERN IRELAND BY WHAT CAN ONLY BE DESCRIBED AS DESPERATE MEANS."

"THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY MADE CLEAR OUR FEAR AT THE
CONSEQUENCES WHICH MAY FOLLOW FROM YET ANOTHER FAILED BRITISH
GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE. WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE LAST FEW DAYS OF
VOTING IN THE AUTUMN FOR THE PROPOSED NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY,
OUR APPREHENSION GROWS GREATER. THIS INSTITUTION IS TO BE IN AND
FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ALONE, AND ITS INTENDED ROLE IS TO RESTORE A
DEVOLVED EXECUTIVE IN AND FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ALONE. FEW
DEPUTIES I BELIEVE WILL NOT SEE SUCH A CONCEPT AS RETROGRADE AND
INSUFFICIENT, AND FEW IN THIS HOUSE WILL LIKewise FAIL TO
DEPLORE THE RETREAT BY THE PRESENT BRITISH GOVERNMENT FROM THE
COMMITMENT TO PRESCRIBED POWERSHARING IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
THIS COMMITMENT HAS BEEN A CONSTANT IN THE POLICY OF VARIOUS
BRITISH GOVERNMENTS SINCE 1973. INSTEAD, THE EVOLUTION OF
AFFAIRS WITHIN THE NEW ASSEMBLY IS TO BE LEFT TO THE FREE PLAY
OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES. EVERYBODY KNOWS WHICH POLITICAL
TRADITION WILL DOMINATE IN SUCH A SITUATION, AND WE HEAR ALREADY
THAT DOMINANT UNIONIST INTEREST DECLARE ITS ATTITUDE - AN ATTITUDE
WHICH HAS NOT VARIED OVER SIXTY YEARS AND WHICH, NOT SURPRISINGLY,
IS MARKED BY CONTEMPTUOUS REJECTION OF THE PRESENT BRITISH PLAN.
IRISH NATIONALIST OPINION IS ALERT TO THE DANGERS AHEAD. THEY ARE
THE SAME DANGERS NATIONALISTS THOUGHT THEY HAD LEFT BEHIND THEM
QUITE A LITTLE TIME AGO."

"I REGRET THE PRESENT LINE OF POLICY OF BRITISH MINISTERS
BUT DESPITE THIS WE ARE DETERMINED TO USE AND TO PURSUE THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK ESTABLISHED BY THE TWO
GOVERNMENTS. IT IS STILL THERE AND IN FACT HAS BEEN FUNCTIONING
NORMALLY IN RECENT MONTHS WITH FIVE MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING SINCE
THIS GOVERNMENT CAME TO OFFICE."

"..... WE ANTICIPATE FUTURE MEETINGS OF THE ANGLO-IRISH
INTER GOVERNMENTAL COUNCIL IN THIS SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE CO-
OPERATION AS APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY, AND AT EVERY LEVEL. BUT
DEFINITION

INTER GOVERNMENTAL COUNCIL IN THIS SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE CO-OPERATION AS APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY, AND AT EVERY LEVEL. BUT LET ME MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT CO-OPERATION IS BY DEFINITION A TWO-WAY PROCESS. IN THE FIELDS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY CO-OPERATION THIS GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO PLAY ITS FULL PART IN BRINGING PEACE, STABILITY AND RECONCILIATION TO OUR PEOPLE. AND WE EXPECT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO DO THE SAME - WHATEVER OUR TEMPORARY DIFFERENCES WE IN THESE TWO ISLANDS HAVE SO MUCH IN COMMON THAT ANGLO-IRISH CO-OPERATION IS VITAL IN OUR JOINT INTEREST. BUT IT MUST BE FULL AND WHOLEHEARTED IN ITS INSPIRATION AND IN ITS WORKING. WE CANNOT ACCEPT A SELECTIVE OR INCONSISTENT APPROACH TO MUTUAL CO-OPERATION."

"..... WE HAVE MADE EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE UNDERSTANDING OF ALL OTHER CONCERNED GOVERNMENTS FOR OUR OBJECTIVES. THERE ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS THAT OUR POSITION IN GAINING UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS IN THE UNITED STATES....."

".... IN OUR CONTACTS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS TOO, PARTICULARLY AMONG OUR EUROPEAN PARTNERS, THERE IS INCREASING UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POLICIES ON NORTHERN IRELAND AND IN PARTICULAR A READY SUPPORT FOR A JOINT ANGLO-IRISH APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM."

2. SEE ALSO M.I.F.T.

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