

PERSONAL

*Pl. file on papers about  
Mr. Abbott*



From: The Rt. Hon. J. ENOCH POWELL, M.B.E., M.P.,

IRELAND

House of Commons,  
London, S.W.1.

A09673

21st October 1982

*Dear Sir Robert,*

Thank you for your reply of 7th October. Our talk has now been arranged for 10.45 a.m. next Monday, 25th October.

Before we meet, I thought you would like to know that since last writing I have obtained photocopies of the notebook leaves on which Mr Sloan made his notes during the two interviews with Mr Abbott, in February and November 1981, of which you have his transcripts. These confirm beyond any rational doubt the veracity of the statements and of the crucial expressions attributed to Mr Abbott in the transcripts and reported by Mr Sloan, within a few hours of the interviews taking place, to Jim Molyneux (in the case of the first) and to myself (in the case of the second).

To illustrate this, I have underlined in red in the enclosed transcript of the first interview the words which appear in the notebook as written down at the time. (The questions, which were prepared beforehand, are of course verbatim.)

I should perhaps add that Jim Molyneux has physically inspected the notebooks and authenticated in writing the genuineness of the photocopies.

*Yours sincerely,*

Sir Robert Armstrong, KCB, CVO,  
10 Downing Street,  
London, S.W.1.

February 1981

Q1 What has been the influence of the AD Hoc Committee on Northern Ireland vis à vis the State Department's attitude to Northern Ireland?

A1 There are only 132 members of the committee. It is not an official Committee, tends to be dominated by the 'four horsemen' (Kennedy, Carey, Biaggio and Moynihan). Kennedy's attitude since the mid-seventies has [mellowed] considerably. It still has strong connections with Noraid and the Irish National Caucus, which is the leading propaganda organisation. The main figure is Father Sean McManus, brother of Frank McManus. Money is still flowing to the I R A via Noraid, but on a much reduced scale. It is possible to trace the amounts through the Foreign Charities Register at the State Department. Haughey went as far as far as to condemn this flow of money in a speech made on 27th July, 1980. There still exists in the United States a monumental ignorance about Northern Ireland. John Hume is in Washington at the minute. He will be giving a briefing at the Council of Foreign Relations, at which General Haig will be present.

"changed"

Q2 Is it true to say that between May and October 1979 there was consultation between the two governments on Northern Ireland and that after coming to power the Tory Party changed its policies on Northern Ireland?

A2 Before the Conservative Party came to power in 1979 it had promised that local government functions would be returned to local councils. [We had to tell them that it was just not on. In terms of the future government of Northern Ireland integration is a non-starter for two main reasons. First, we would automatically lose the co-operation we are getting from Haughey over border security. Secondly, we couldn't break certain undertakings we have given to the Irish government over the constitutional future of Northern Ireland.

"bla"

Q2a Is not the proposal to introduce a number of extra seats in Westminster for Northern Ireland a move towards integration?

A2a Firstly, the Unionists will not get all the five seats. We would see that this does not happen by gerrymandering the boundaries. I think one can say the SDLP will take at least three of the new seats. I look forward to seeing John Hume, who is a personal friend, establishing a power base in the House of Commons as well as in the European Parliament. For its part the United States government will not interfere in or attempt to prescribe any solution. As I have said before, a devolved government with power returning to local councils is not on. But an assembly which controlled such things as housing, through our already established quango, NIHE, given preliminary powers which would be extended progressively is a possibility. But any such developments would have to involve close consultation with the Irish government. Some of these proposals would be accepted by enlightened Unionists (like) Derek Trimble of Queen's University. He also is a personal friend, and has kept us well informed about what is going on inside Jim Molyneaux's party for a number of years. On the demand for integration, Molyneaux recently picked up on this [aspect] by putting forward a Scottish dimension.....

"point"

"2.9"

(Phone rings)

Q3 In a statement before the House of Representatives Sub-committee on Europe and the Middle East on 12th July, 1979 Mr George West stated: "the Irish discussion took place in the course of an afternoon when they started on Africa". Can one infer from this that the Northern Ireland conflict is seen as an international conflict similar to that of Rhodesia or South Africa, which demands co-operation and consultation between the two governments?

A3 Due to Carrington's attitude to Northern Ireland it has become swept up in the international problems. It has been suggested that Carrington should go to Northern Ireland. Abroad, Northern Ireland is the only part of the shoe which pinches. It causes us many problems at the U.N. However, under the Reagan administration, the influence of the Irish-American lobby will probably decline. Reagan's mother was an Ulster Protestant; Reagan himself has many of the Ulster Protestant virtues.

Q4 What evidence is there that there has occurred a revival of links between Senators and Congressmen and groups supporting the IRA that were established during the last campaign of 1956-63?

A4 The main link has been Congressman (Ester) Wolf who has recently been advocating official Senate hearings. Unfortunately at the end of the 1960s in the United States we were put on trial. Looking at the whole thing historically the 1921 treaty was a sound deal in which Northern Ireland should never have existed. The Boundary Commission of 1925, whose papers were not released until 1968 certainly confirms that proposition.

Q5 Have there been any incidents where disagreement between the two governments has arisen over Northern Ireland?

A5 Obviously incidents such as Bloody Sunday resulted in a certain amount of friction being generated. Generally there have been good relations between the two governments. When accusations have been made against R U C officers, this has resulted in us having to sit fast. In any final settlement we have to realise that the United States will be given a discreet role to play especially in the financial field. Generally the two bureaucratic machines of the State Department and the Foreign Office work close together.

Q6 There have recently been a number of statements coming from Unionist politicians accusing the Foreign Office of trying to undermine the Union. Why do you think they made these accusations?

A6 This type of statement has come mainly from Powell and is considered cranky by the Foreign Office. However, the Official Unionists have always homed in on the Foreign Office; luckily we have escaped most of their attentions. They have also failed to pick up on the fact that successive British governments were primarily responsible for the situation that came to a head in 1968, not the Stormont government. Powell also seems to be leading the official Unionists up a political cul-de-sac. We shall be watching very very closely the results of the May local elections and their outcome will

determine very much what we do. Although it can be said that Paisley has dropped a few catches recently. This policy of integration will only guarantee more violence here and in Northern Ireland. Roughly speaking, one bomb in the United Kingdom is worth 100 in Northern Ireland. We cannot allow further violence in the U.K. In the end I think that there will be a confederal Ireland, one could call it an honourable draw, in which a package would be put together whereby Protestant rights would be guaranteed. There would be some re-alignment with the Commonwealth and the Irish Republic and a defence agreement would also be made. There is less certainty than there has been in the past about the strategic irrelevance of Southern Ireland. You know that a submarine can be used for more functions than the launching of missiles! The Americans would sleep easier in their beds if the Irish Republic was a member of NATO. The Irish Republic will not enter into any defence agreement until the issue of partition is resolved. It is a very similar position to that which existed during the Second World War, though I doubt if the Unionist politicians would realise this, as they have no credible research departments in their party structures. It is also possible that a future left-wing Labour government would go for a confederal Ireland and it was one of the options put forward in a Labour party pamphlet published recently. As to what the phrase "the totality of the relationships between these islands" means, I just do not know what it means. It is something that Thatcher and Haughey cooked up together. Both Irish and British Civil Servants were left in the dark as to how exactly to interpret it.

"U.S."  
"in"  
"finished"

"no"

"meaning"

"don't know meaning"