

NORTHERN IRELAND : ADVANCE COPIES 20

PS

PS/S of S Rm 66 A/2 GOGGS

PS/MR HURD

SIR P WOODFIELD)

PS/PUS

MR BRENNAN)

SIR J BULLARD

MR ANGEL)

) NIO

MR GOODISON

MR BOYS SMITH)

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HD/RID

SIR R ARMSTRONG)

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RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

GRS 250

CONFIDENTIAL

ADVANCE COPY

FM DUBLIN 121337Z MAR 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 83 OF 12 MARCH 1983

AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST)

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

INFO SAVING TO EC POSTS UKREP BRUSSELS AND UKDEL STRASBOURG

MIPT: FORUM FOR A NEW IRELAND

1. I MET THE SECRETARY OF THE DFA LAST NIGHT AT A DINNER AND HE TOLD ME THAT MR BARRY WOULD BE MAKING THE SPEECH SUMMARISED IN MIPT. DONLON SAID THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S INITIATIVE WAS TO DO SOMETHING TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE SDLP. THEY WERE DESPERATELY WORRIED ABOUT THE POLITICAL GROUND BEING WON BY THE PSF AND HAD DECIDED THAT A STRONG MESSAGE TO THE NATIONALIST MINORITY WAS NECESSARY TO SHOW THEM THAT THEY COULD TRUST THE SDLP AND THROUGH THEM THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD THEIR INTERESTS.

~~AND THROUGH THEM THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD THEIR INTERESTS.~~
THERE WAS NO DISPOSITION ON THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S PART TO APPEAR
TO BE 'BRIT BASHING' OR IN ANY WAY TO ADOPT MR HAUGHEY'S
CRITICISM OF NORTHERN IRELAND AS A 'FAILED POLITICAL ENTITY'.
THEY HAD HAD INDEED GREAT DIFFICULTY IN GETTING HIM TO ACCEPT THE
GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT (MY TELNO 80) AND TODAY HE HAS ISSUED HIS OWN
STATEMENT SAYING THAT 'AS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE CONSULTATIONS
REFERRED TO IN THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY IS IN ACCORDANCE
WITH OUR POLICIES FOR NORTHERN IRELAND I WILL BE GLAD TO PARTICI-
PATE'. HAVING MADE THAT LINK, THE REST OF HIS STATEMENT SIMPLY
REITERATES THE STRONGLY NATIONALIST LINE OF HIS ARD FHEIS SPEECH.
SO HIS SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S FORUM LOOKS A BIT ARTIFICIAL.

2. DONLON ALSO GAVE ME TO UNDERSTAND THAT NOW THAT THE FORUM WAS
LAUNCHED THEY WOULD NOT BE LOOKING TO US TO DO ANYTHING PARTICULAR
AND THAT ANYWAY THEY WOULD NOT EXPECT ANYTHING BEFORE A GENERAL
ELECTION. HE LED ME TO BELIEVE THAT THEY ACCEPTED THE NORTHERN
IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND DID NOT WISH TO CRITICISE IT OR COMPLAIN ABOUT
IT.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

FIGG

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SENT/RECD AT 121358Z CDC/MAD

NORTHERN IRELAND : ADVANCE COPIES 20

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RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

GRS 800

UNCLASSIFIED

ADVANCE COPY

FM DUBLIN 121230Z MAR 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 82 OF 12 MARCH 1983

INFO IMMEDIATE NIO (BELFAST)

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON AND BIS NEW YORK

INFO SAVING TO UKREP BRUSSELS BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE

LUXEMBOURG PARIS BONN ATHENS ROME AND UKDEL STRASBOURG

MY TELNO 80: FORUM FOR A NEW IRELAND: SPEECH BY IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. FOLLOWING THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE, MR BARRY MADE A MAJOR SPEECH IN LIMERICK ON 11 MARCH. HE SAID HIS AIMS WERE TO PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY IN IRELAND AND TO BRING ABOUT 'A FRIENDLY, CONSTRUCTIVE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF IRELAND AND BRITAIN'. WITHIN THESE AIMS HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WERE WORKING FOR FIVE OBJECTIVES:

~~THESE AIMS HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WERE WORKING FOR FIVE OBJECTIVES:~~

A. RESTORING THE ECONOMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

B. TRYING TO WIN THE CONFIDENCE OF UNIONISTS: THE FORUM WAS OPEN TO ALL IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY WHO REJECTED VIOLENCE AND SHARED THE OBJECTIVE OF LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY.

C. DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE MINORITY: 'IN PARTICULAR... SUPPORTING THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MINORITY WHO REJECT VIOLENCE AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING POLITICAL PROGRESS'.

D. GOOD RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN: 'WE HAVE MANY COMMON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS. OUR MAJOR OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCE IS ON NORTHERN IRELAND. WE MUST SEEK TO RESOLVE IT FOR OUR MUTUAL BENEFIT'.

E. WHILE THE PROBLEM WAS PRIMARILY FOR BRITAIN AND IRELAND, HE SOUGHT TO HARNESS GOODWILL IN THE US AND THE EC.

2. HE SAID HIS POSITION WAS THAT OF AN IRISH NATIONALIST WHO SAW THE LONG-TERM BRITISH PRESENCE AS AN OBSTACLE TO THE RECONCILIATION OF THE TWO IRISH TRADITIONS, ONLY ONE SIDE OF WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY BRITISH POLICY.

'IS IT UNREASONABLE TO ASK THAT BRITISH POLICY SHOULD REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM? HOW LONG MORE WILL ONE MILLION PEOPLE BE ALLOWED TO IMPEDE NOT ONLY THE RECONCILIATION OF FIVE MILLION PEOPLE ON THIS ISLAND BUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE 58 MILLIONS WHO LIVE ON BOTH THESE ISLANDS?'

LATER IN THE SPEECH HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP AND THE REAL DIFFICULTIES OF REACHING ANY 'NEW IRELAND':

'I WANT TO SEE AN EVENTUAL FADING OUT OF THE BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH AFFAIRS, NOT BECAUSE OF ANY PRIMITIVE, ANTI-BRITISH SENTIMENT OR FEELING BUT BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT A TOTALLY INDEPENDENT IRELAND WOULD HAVE A FAR BETTER RELATIONSHIP WITH BRITAIN THAN ANYTHING WHICH IS POSSIBLE UNDER THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS. TO PRETEND HOWEVER, THAT WHAT I OR ANY IRISH NATIONALIST WANTS CAN BE ACHIEVED OVERNIGHT OR WITHOUT ENORMOUS DIFFICULTY AND SACRIFICE WOULD BE DISHONEST.

WE MUST RECOGNISE THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS, NATIONALIST, UNIONIST AND BRITISH, TO BE ACCOMMODATED IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY.'

IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE LASTING PEACE AND STABILITY."

3. THE CENTRAL PART OF THE SPEECH EMPHASISED THAT VIOLENCE WAS NOW AN ACTIVE THREAT TO CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALISM IN THE NORTH AND TO THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC:

"DIALOGUE BETWEEN UNIONISTS AND NATIONALISTS IS VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT. NOR IS THERE ANY SIGNIFICANT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SDLP AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE, WHILE THE SDLP HAVE, AGAINST ALL THE ODDS, HELD THEIR GROUND, THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE SUPPORT FOR THE IRA. ONE OUT OF THE THREE NATIONALISTS WHO VOTED AT THE NI ASSEMBLY ELECTION LAST OCTOBER SUPPORTED IRA CANDIDATES. THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY CONTINUES TO BE BATTERED FROM ALL SIDES. THERE IS A TENDENCY IN SOME QUARTERS IN BRITAIN AND INDEED ALSO HERE IN THE REPUBLIC TO THROW HANDS UP IN THE AIR AND EXPRESS HELPLESSNESS AND FRUSTRATION AT THE HOPELESSNESS OF THE SITUATION. MY MESSAGE TO YOU HERE THIS EVENING IS THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL NOT DESPAIR... WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BE INACTIVE. OPEN SQUARE BRACKETS EACH "OUR" IN FOLLOWING SENTENCES UNDERLINED IN TEXT CLOSE SQUARE BRACKETS. THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY IS NEVER FAR REMOVED FROM OUR INSTITUTIONS FOR WHICH OUR PREDECESSORS MADE SUCH HEROIC SACRIFICES. OUR BANKS AND POST OFFICES ARE BEING ROBBED, OUR SECURITY FORCES ARE DIRECTLY ATTACKED, OUR PRISONS ARE OVERFLOWING, OUR COURTS ARE JAMMED, OUR TAXES ARE GOING INTO THE BOTTOMLESS PIT, WHICH IS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TERRORISM. NONE OF THESE THINGS CAN BE DEALT WITH IN ISOLATION FROM THE POLITICAL PROBLEM OF NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH IS THEIR COMMON ROOT."

4. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE FORUM WAS ONE PART OF HIS APPROACH: THE OTHER WAS TO PERSUADE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE THAT "THEIR ROLE IS NOT SIMPLY TO SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE ONE MILLION UNIONISTS":

"I WANT BRITAIN TO JOIN THE RANKS OF THOSE IRISH PEOPLE AND OF THOSE FRIENDS OF BRITAIN AND OF IRELAND ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO LOOK TO A POSITIVE IRISH FUTURE RATHER THAN THOSE WHO TAKE THEIR INSPIRATION FROM THE NEGATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PAST. LET US COMBINE THE GREATNESS OF BRITAIN AND THE CREATIVE IMAGINATION OF IRELAND TO ACHIEVE NEW ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WILL SERVE IRELAND, BRITAIN AND THE PRINCIPLES OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY TO WHICH BOTH OUR PEOPLES ARE SO DEEPLY COMMITTED."

5. SEE MIFT.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

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FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

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SENT/RECD AT 121344Z CDC/MAD

no faxed n/13 - Ireland

PRIME MINISTER

Statement by Irish Government

The Irish chargé d'affaires rang this afternoon to give John Coles 30 minutes notice of a statement which the Irish Government have now issued. Its text is attached. Essentially, the proposal is for a forum for consultations on the manner in which "lasting peace and stability can be achieved in a new Ireland through the democratic process". You will wish to read the statement in full.

The background is that the statement is the outcome of a visit by John Hume to Dublin today but is a very much watered down version of a proposal which he made to the Taoiseach. One of the Taoiseach's motives is to give some support to the SDLP (you will recall your talk with Don Concannon). It may be that the proposal will not get off the ground since Mr. Haughey is unlikely to have anything to do with it.

I have put out the following press line after consultation between John Coles, the FCO and the Northern Ireland Office:

"It is of course open to the Government and political parties in the Republic of Ireland to discuss what arrangements would in their view be appropriate if what the statement describes as a "new Ireland" were to come about. It is for the people of Northern Ireland to decide whether they wish to participate in such discussions. But these discussions cannot affect the fundamental position that Northern Ireland is and will remain a part of the United Kingdom while the majority of its people so wish. That is formally set out in the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973 and the Government of the Republic are also committed to that principle".

BERNARD INGHAM

11 March 1983

The following statement is being issued at 5 p.m. today on behalf of the Irish Government:

The Government propose to arrange, in agreement with the political parties concerned, for the establishment of a forum for consultations on the manner in which lasting peace and stability can be achieved in a new Ireland through the democratic process.

Participation will be open to all democratic parties which reject violence, and which have members elected or appointed to the Oireachtas or the Northern Ireland Assembly.

The views of other people of all traditions who agree with the purpose of these consultations and who reject violence will also be sought by the forum.

It would be the intention that the forum will report before the end of the year on possible new structures and processes through which its objective might be achieved.

The Taoiseach will arrange a meeting of the leaders of all the parties who wish to participate at an early date to discuss the arrangements involved.

11 March, 1983