

NORTHERN IRELAND

PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/PUS
~~MR GODDARD~~ *Mr Jenkins*

PS/ S of S
PS/MR R ANDREW, OAB 1/56
MR BRENNAN
MR BURNS
MR J LYON

17
NIO

HD/RID
Dep. HD/PUSD (2)
HD/INFO DEPT
HD/NEWS DEPT

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
DIO) CABINET OFFICE

~~PS/ NO 10 DOWNING STREET (3)~~

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

14.11.84

IMMEDIATE
ADVANCE COPY

mf

SECRET

DESKBY 291230Z
FROM DUBLIN 291100Z NOV 84
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 705 OF 29 NOVEMBER
INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON PARIS BORN (ALL PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADORS)

FOLLOWING FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY.

MY TELNO 682: ANGLO/IRISH RELATIONS AND IRISH POLITICS

1. IN VIEW OF THE IMMINENT EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN DUBLIN THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL WISH TO HAVE MY VIEWS ON THE CURRENT STATE OF ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS AFTER THE SUMMIT. SINCE THESE MUST INVOLVE COMMENT ON PERSONALITIES AS WELL AS POLICIES I ADDRESS THEM DIRECT TO YOU, BUT I HOPE YOU WILL SHOW A COPY TO THE HEAD OF RID.
2. IN MY TELNO 635 I SAID THE SUMMIT WOULD BE CRUCIAL FOR DR FITZGERALD. IT HAS PROVED TO BE SO. HIS STANDING IN HIS PARTY AND WITH THE PUBLIC IS NOW VERY LOW. HE IS NOT LIKELY TO BE FORCED OUT OF OFFICE SOON, BUT AT A MEETING OF KEY PEOPLE IN FINE GAEL HE IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT HE WAS FINISHED AS A CONVINCING LEADER OF THE PARTY. OF THE FINE GAEL MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, ONLY MR MOONAN AND MR BARRY ARE SAID TO BE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING HIM. THOUGH THE CHIEF WHIP IS ALSO STILL ON DR FITZGERALD'S SIDE, MOST OF THE PARTY SEEM TO THINK AT PRESENT THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO DITCH HIM BEFORE THE NEXT ELECTION. BECAUSE HE IS WIDELY SEEN AS HAVING BEEN HUMILIATED BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND BECAUSE HIS OWN PRESS CONFERENCE WAS A FAILURE, HE IS THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN SERVILE AND INEFFECTIVE IN DEFENDING IRISH INTERESTS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, HE HAS FAILED TO ACHIEVE HIS OWN DECLARED AIM OF BUILDING ON THE BASIS OF THE NEW IRELAND FORUM REPORT ON THIS OCCASION TO SECURE A VOICE FOR THE IRISH NATIONALIST TRADITION IN DECISION MAKING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE HAD BEEN REGARDED BY MANY HERE AS THE BEST HOPE OF BRINGING BRITISH INTERESTS INTO

OF BUILDING ON THE BASIS OF THE NEW IRELAND FORUM REPORT ON THIS OCCASION TO SECURE A VOICE FOR THE IRISH NATIONALIST TRADITION IN DECISION MAKING IN NORTHERN IRELAND. HE HAD BEEN REGARDED BY MANY HERE AS THE BEST HOPE OF PERSUADING BRITISH MINISTERS INTO A NEW DEAL FOR THE NATIONALISTS. THIS CLAIM TO PUBLIC SUPPORT HAS DISAPPEARED, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING.

3. APART FROM THIS, THINGS ARE NOT GOING WELL FOR DR FITZGERALD ON THE OTHER FRONTS. THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL COULD ADD TO HIS DIFFICULTIES. AS FOR DOMESTIC ISSUES, INTEREST RATES ARE LIKELY TO RISE THIS WEEKEND, WHICH WILL DAMAGE THE ECONOMIC PROGRAMME RECENTLY UNVEILED. HE IS UNDER PRESSURE TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION ON CONTRACEPTION SOON, WHEN SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS WILL CERTAINLY OPPOSE IT ON GROUNDS OF CONSCIENCE. TROUBLE OVER CIVIL SERVANTS' PAY IS LIKELY DURING THE WINTER. ALL THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN WEATHERED IF HE HAD BEEN SEEN TO BRING SOMETHING HOME FROM THE SUMMIT. I AM LESS CERTAIN NOW THAT HIS TROOPS WILL SUPPORT DR FITZGERALD, THOUGH THEY DO NOT WANT A NEW ELECTIONS.

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4. ON ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS, THE TAOISEACH HAS NOT GIVEN UP HOPE. I GATHER THAT HE WAS NOT ENTIRELY TAKEN ABACK BY THE LINE WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER TOOK WITH HIM, THOUGH HE IDENTIFIED SOME OF HER VOCABULARY AND HER ANALOGIES AS DERIVED FROM MR ENOCH POWELL. NOR DOES HE BELIEVE THAT SHE HAD ANY INTENTION AT HER PRESS CONFERENCE OF CAUSING THE REACTION WHICH AROSE IN DUBLIN. IRISH OFFICIALS ARE TAKING A STRONGER LINE AGAINST MR HURD, WHOM THEY ACCUSE OF A DELIBERATE AND DAMAGING BREACH OF CONFIDENCE DESIGNED TO PLEASE THE UNIONISTS. ALTHOUGH I HAVE ARGUED STRONGLY AGAINST THE FUTILITY OF TRYING TO DRIVE WEDGES OF THIS KIND BETWEEN BRITISH MINISTERS, I HAVE BEEN TOLD MR HURD WOULD NOT BE WELCOME IN DUBLIN, THOUGH THERE IS NO CRITICISM OF SIR G HOWE. THE IRISH OFFICIALS CONCERNED APPEAR WILLING TO HAVE CONVERSATIONS BUT ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT WHAT EITHER SIDE WOULD BE ABLE TO SAY. MR SPRING HAS STATED PUBLICLY THAT THE DIALOGUE WITH US SHOULD BE MAINTAINED.

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5. THE TAOISEACH, SO FAR AS I CAN JUDGE (AND I DO NOT KNOW WHAT MR DARRY MAY HAVE SAID TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR LILLIS TO SIR R ARMSTRONG THIS WEEK) REGARDS THE PRIME MINISTER AS THE ONLY PERSON WHO CAN RESCUE HIM AND ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS. CERTAINLY THE FUTURE OF BOTH THESE ARE INTERTWINED. IF DR FITZGERALD CANNOT MAINTAIN HIS AUTHORITY THEN IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HIS PARTY WILL CHOOSE AN ANTI-BRITISH LINE IN AN EFFORT TO DEFEAT THE ATTACKS OF FIANNA FAIL ON THEM. THIS COULD DAMAGE OUR SECURITY INTERESTS.

6. HE WOULD BE MUCH HELPED IF THE PRIME MINISTER FELT ABLE TO MAKE A STATEMENT OR TO PUBLISH A LETTER TO HIM WHICH ALLEVIATED THE IMPRESSION LEFT BY HER PRESS CONFERENCE. IT MIGHT SAY THAT THOUGH THE THREE OPTIONS WERE NOT FEASIBLE THERE WAS MUCH ELSE IN THE FORUM REPORT WHICH WAS CONSTRUCTIVE AND USEFUL AND THAT THOUGH SHE DID NOT CARE FOR THE WORD ALIENATION IT WAS TRUE THAT TOO MANY NORTHERN NATIONALISTS FELT A SEVERE SENSE OF GRIEVANCE AND THAT SINN FEIN HAD SUCCEEDED IN EXPLOITING THIS AND THAT THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE OUGHT TO HAVE SOME VOICE IN THE AFFAIRS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD RESOLVE THE CRISIS QUICKLY. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD SAY ANYTHING IN PRAISE OF DR FITZGERALD, SINCE THIS WOULD CONFIRM IRISH SUSPICIONS THAT HE IS HER POODLE.

7. THE IRISH ARE OF COURSE BEING VERY EMOTIONAL ABOUT THIS. BUT THIS EMOTION IS A CONSTANT FACTOR IN ANGLO-IRISH REALTIONS WITH WHICH WE HAVE TO DEAL.

GOODISON

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SENT /RECEIVED 291135Z LVB/ JAL