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~~NO 10~~ DOWNING STREET

CONFIDENTIAL

FM DUBLIN 271650Z MAY 1982

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 164 OF 27 MAY

AND TO INFO IMMEDIATE N I O (B) , UKMIS NEW YORK AND
PRIORITY INFO WASHINGTON.

YOUR TELNO 74 (NOT TO ALL): MEETING WITH TAOISEACH

1. I AM GRATEFUL FOR THESE INSTRUCTIONS. I SAW THE TAOISEACH
AT THREE O'CLOCK THIS AFTERNOON AND THE CONVERSATION WAS ALMOST
ENTIRELY ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE FALKLANDS CRISIS.

NORTHERN IRELAND

2. THE TAOISEACH MADE THE USUAL NOISES ABOUT THE FAILED POLITICAL
ENTITY. SECONDLY, HE SAID THAT THE SPIRIT OF THE ANGLO-IRISH
INITIATIVE WHICH HE HAD LAUNCHED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WAS NOW
QUITE DEAD BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE TO CONSULT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT
BEFORE PUTTING FORWARD DEVOLUTION PROPOSALS. HE WENT ON TO SAY
THAT THE PREVIOUS COALITION GOVERNMENT HAD ALSO WARNED US

BEFORE PUTTING FORWARD DEVOLUTION PROPOSALS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE PREVIOUS COALITION GOVERNMENT HAD ALSO WARNED US THAT OUR PROPOSALS WOULD BE UNWORKABLE. I WAS ABLE TO DEAL WITH THIS POINT QUICKLY BY POINTING OUT THAT PROFESSOR DOOGE'S LETTER WAS BASED ON THE WRONG ASSUMPTION THAT OUR PROPOSALS WOULD BE IN SOME WAY SIMILAR TO THE CONVENTION REPORT OF 1975. I WENT ON TO TELL MR HAUGHEY THAT I HAD SEEN PROFESSOR DOOGE ONLY TWO DAYS BEFORE WHO HAD CONFIRMED THIS. WHILE ACCEPTING THIS, HE CRITICISED THE PROPOSALS FOR HAVING NOTHING IN THEM OF AN IRISH DIMENSION. I SAID HE REALLY MUST STOP CRITICISING IN THIS WAY AND SEE THE MATTER MORE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, WHO HAD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT DIRECT RULE COULD NOT CONTINUE INDEFINITELY AND WHAT THE PROVINCE WAS SUFFERING FROM WAS LACK OF ANY POLITICAL LIFE WORTH HAVING. THE PROPOSALS, WHICH HAVE YET TO PASS THROUGH PARLIAMENT, PROVIDE COPPER-BOTTOMED GUARANTEES FOR THE MINORITY COMMUNITY THAT IF THERE WERE NOT PROPER CROSS-COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS THEN THEY WOULD NOT HAPPEN. I ALSO MADE THE POINT IN PARAGRAPH FIVE OF T U R ABOUT THE PARLIAMENTARY TIER BUT HE MADE NO ATTEMPT TO SUGGEST THAT THIS MIGHT BE AN ALTERNATIVE. I ADDED THAT WITHOUT AN ASSEMBLY THERE WOULD NEVER BE ANY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TO TAKE PART IN ANYTHING. THIS PART OF THE CONVERSATION WAS CONCLUDED BY HIS SAYING THAT WE MUST AGREE TO DIFFER.

FALKLAND ISLANDS

3. I SAID THAT THE TABLING BY THE IRISH REPRESENTATIVE OF A RESOLUTION WHICH THE IRISH KNEW WE COULD NOT ACCEPT, FOLLOWING ON HIS RADIO INTERVIEW ON SUNDAY CRITICISING IN SUCH EXTREME TERMS THE DEVOLUTION PROPOSALS, HAD MEANT OUR RELATIONS HAD TAKEN A CONSIDERABLE TURN FOR THE WORSE. THIS NETTLED HIM AND HE SAID THAT ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS WERE OFTEN TAKING CONSIDERABLE TURNS FOR THE WORSE. HOWEVER, THEIR ACTIONS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WERE CONCERNED TO PREVENT A MORE UNWELCOME PANAMANIAN RESOLUTION. HE THREW IN THE OLD POINT ABOUT IRELAND BEING A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT COUNTRY NOT BOUND TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD. I SAID THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF OUR EVER CONTESTING IRELAND'S TAKING AN INDEPENDENT LINE, BUT IT WAS A PECULIAR SITUATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHEN 3 AFRICAN NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS HAD TO AMEND AN IRISH DRAFT RESOLUTION TO MAKE IT ACCEPTABLE TO US. FURTHERMORE, NO ONE COULD SUGGEST THAT UGANDA OR OTHER MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN OR CARIBBEAN COMMONWEALTH WERE IN ANY SENSE NOT INDEPENDENT. IF THE IRISH HAD THOUGHT THEY WERE BEING HELPFUL, WHY DID THEY NOT ASK US FIRST? THIS LED TO SOME RATHER INCONCLUSIVE TALK ABOUT THE DEGREE OF THE COLLABORATION BETWEEN OUR TWO MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. I DID NOT EXPECT TO GET ANYWHERE ON THIS TOPIC, BUT AT LEAST I WAS ABLE TO

... WITH US A RATIONAL AND COHERENT CONVERSATION.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN OUR TWO MISSIONS IN NEW YORK. I DID NOT EXPECT TO GET ANYWHERE ON THIS TOPIC, BUT AT LEAST I WAS ABLE TO MAKE THE POINTS IN WHAT WAS A RATIONAL AND COHERENT CONVERSATION.

4. WE ENDED OUR TALK BY AGREEING ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUSHING FORWARD WITH OUR VARIOUS CROSS-BORDER AND EAST-WEST PROJECTS AND CONTACTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE AIIC. I AM GLAD TO SAY THAT CROSS-BORDER SECURITY COOPERATION WAS NOT MENTIONED NOR WERE ANY COMMUNITY ISSUES.

5. I SAID THAT I WAS GOING TO ENGLAND TOMORROW AND WOULD PROBABLY BE HAVING TALKS AT THE OFFICIAL LEVEL EARLY NEXT WEEK. HE THANKED ME FOR KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH HIM AND HOPED I WOULD COME AND SEE HIM ON MY RETURN.

6. COMMENT. OUR CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE JUST AS EARLY INDICATIONS WERE COMING IN THAT THE OPPOSITION LOOKED LIKELY TO RETAIN THEIR SEAT IN THE DUBLIN WEST BY-ELECTION. CONSIDERING THE ENORMOUS EFFORT MR HAUGHEY HAS PUT IN TO THE CAMPAIGN, THE NEWS MUST COME AS A CONSIDERABLE DISAPPOINTMENT. BUT HE DID NOT LET THIS SHOW, NOR DID HE MENTION IT. I AM NOT SURE WHAT IMPRESSION I MADE AND ANY EFFECT CAN ONLY BE SEEN IN WHAT HE DOES IN THE NEAR FUTURE AS REGARDS OUR AFFAIRS. AT THE LEAST I THINK HE KNOWS THAT OUR RELATIONS WILL NEED TIME AND EFFORT TO PUT RIGHT. IF SO, I SHOULD LIKE TO THINK HE WILL DO NOTHING TO MAKE THEM EVEN WORSE.

FIGG.

NNNN

SENT/RECD AT 261720Z HMT/DAB