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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 March 1982

*Dear John,*

Anglo-Irish Relations: Possible Meeting of the  
Prime Minister with Mr Haughey in Brussels on  
29/30 March 1982

The Minister at the Irish Embassy proposed on 25 March a meeting between the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach in the margins of the European Council on 29/30 March. Dempsey said that his instructions referred to a discussion of bilateral issues but were not more specific. But there can be no doubt that the Taoiseach wishes to discuss Northern Ireland.

Lord Carrington believes that, unless the Prime Minister feels that her existing commitments do not allow it, there would on balance be advantage in her agreeing to such a meeting. It is true that since returning to office the Taoiseach has made statements which are unhelpful and unwelcome, rehearsing as they do arguments which are unacceptable to us (Dublin telno 67 of 10 March and 75 of 23 March and Washington telno 899 of 17 March). But unhelpful as these statements are, they do not go very much beyond what he has said in the past. It seems likely that it might be possible for the Prime Minister to discourage Mr Haughey from support for an SDLP boycott of the Assembly elections or other action likely to obstruct the Northern Ireland initiative. It would, moreover, be consistent with the improved Anglo-Irish relationship which it is in our interests to foster.

But if the Prime Minister feels unable to take on this added commitment, the Foreign Secretary believes that it would be valuable, in turning down the proposal for substantive discussions, to refer to the possibility of an occasion for a few words in the margins of the Council.

The Irish press have already referred to the likelihood of a meeting and an express rejection of the possibility might in those circumstances be counter-productive. At the same time there would be advantage in referring to the fact that Mr Prior is proposing to meet the Irish Foreign Minister very shortly.

/(I understand

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(I understand that Mr Prior has in mind a meeting in London timed to make it apparent that the Irish are being informed and not consulted).

*Yours ever*

(J E Holmes)  
Private Secretary

*John Holmes*

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

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GRS 350

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FM DUBLIN 101310Z MAR 1982

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 67 OF 10 MAR

AND TO INFO IMMEDIATE N I O (BELFAST) , WASHINGTON, B I S NEW YORK.

F C O PLEASE PASS SAYING TO UKREP BRUSSELS AND OTHER E C POSTS.

NEW IRISH GOVERNMENT : COMMENTS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

1. MR HAUGHEY'S FIRST SPEECH TO THE NEW DAIL ON 9 MARCH INCLUDED THIS SECTION ON NORTHERN IRELAND:

BEGINS

THE FIRST POLITICAL PRIORITY OF THIS GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE QUEST FOR A SOLUTION TO THE TRAGIC PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. IT IS THE GRAVEST OF ALL OUR PROBLEMS, WHICH FOR TOO LONG HAS DISTORTED RELATIONS BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN, BEEN A SEVERE DRAIN ON OUR RESOURCES, AND CONTINUES TO ENDANGER IRISH LIVES AND LIVELIHOODS. NO OPPORTUNITY CAN BE LOST WHICH OFFERS ANY PROSPECT OF FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION.

IT IS MY HOPE THAT PROGRESS WILL BE RESUMED ON THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE BEGUN BY THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER AND MYSELF IN DUBLIN CASTLE IN DECEMBER 1980. WHILE I WOULD WELCOME ANY POLITICAL PROGRESS THAT MIGHT BE MADE BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, OVERALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR SATISFACTORILY RESOLVING THE PROBLEM LIES WITH THE TWO SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND MUST BE EXERCISED BY THEM.

I ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLO-IRISH COUNCIL STRUCTURE AND TO THE INCORPORATION OF AN EFFECTIVE PARLIAMENTARY TIER TO THE COUNCIL STRUCTURE AND IN THIS CONNECTION AND I LOOK FORWARD TO CONSULTATIONS ON ANY NEW INITIATIVE BROUGHT FORWARD BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WHICH IS OF A MORE ACUTE AND DEEP-SEATED NATURE THAN THE DIFFICULTIES WE ARE SUFFERING HERE, MAKES IT ESSENTIAL THAT POLITICAL STABILITY BE RESTORED AND THAT CLOSER ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF IRELAND BE ESTABLISHED.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO, AND WILL ACTIVELY SEEK TO BRING CLOSER THE

/DAY



DAY WHEN THE RIGHTS OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND WILL AGAIN BE EXERCISED IN COMMON, AND WHEN THE FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE BRITISH MILITARY AND POLITICAL PRESENCE TAKES PLACE. WE SHALL SEEK THE ACTIVE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL BACKING AND SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS TO BRING ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED AROUND THE CONFERENCE TABLE WHERE WE WILL BE PREPARED TO GO TO VERY GREAT LENGTHS INDEED TO MEET AND ACCOMMODATE THE INTERESTS, IDENTITY AND ASPIRATIONS OF ALL THE TRADITIONS ON THIS ISLAND.

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2. FOR COMMENTS SEE M I F T

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TO IMMEDIATE F C O  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 899 OF 17 MARCH  
INFO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN N I O LONDON N I O BELFAST  
ROUTINE B I S NEW YORK  
INFO SAVING ALL CONSUL GENERALS IN THE U S A

MY TELNO 895: NORTHERN IRELAND

1. FOLLOWING IS THE SUBSTANTIVE PART OF THE SPEECH GIVEN BY THE IRISH PRIME MINISTER AT THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY.  
MR HAUGHEY ALSO GAVE THE PRESIDENT AN ENGLISH 16TH CENTURY MAP SHOWING THE TERRITORY OF THE O'REGANS. MR HAUGHEY SAID THAT THE FACT THAT THE O'REGANS HAD BEEN LISTED AS AMONG THE MOST REDOUBTABLE IRISH CHIEFTAINS WAS A GREAT COMPLIMENT PAID BY THE ENGLISH QUOTE AT ONE STAGE OF THEIR LONG AND UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO CONQUER OUR COUNTRY UNQUOTE.

2. TEXT BEGINS.

THE GREATER PART OF THE ISLAND OF IRELAND TODAY HAS BECOME A MODERN STATE WHERE ALL ARE FREE AND EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW: WHERE BIGOTRY AND DISCRIMINATION HAVE FADED AWAY AND SECTARIANISM HOLDS NO PLACE IN OUR LAWS, OUR CONSTITUTION OR OUR DAILY LIVES ..... BUT THERE IS ONE THING WE IRISH HAVE NOT ACHIEVED: AND OF WHICH WE ARE CONSTANTLY REMINDED EVERYWHERE WE GO IN THIS GREAT CAPITAL CITY WHERE THE MEMORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS STRUGGLE TO SAVE THE AMERICAN UNION AND TO AVOID THE PARTITION OF HIS COUNTRY ARE SO BEAUTIFULLY AND SPLENDIDLY COMMEMORATED.

WHEREAS LINCOLN SOUGHT TO PREVENT THE PARTITION OF HIS COUNTRY, WE ARE SEEKING TO BRING AN END TO THE PARTITION OF OURS.

THE OBSTACLES TO THAT GOAL ARE IN PART THE AGE-OLD ONES WHICH ALSO NEARLY SUNDERED THE YOUNG UNITED STATES: MISUNDERSTANDING, IGNORANCE, PREJUDICE, SUSPICION AND FEAR.

WE HAVE PLEDGED OURSELVES TO OVERCOMING THOSE OBSTACLES, TO FURTHER THE RECONCILEMENT OF THE TWO GREAT TRADITIONS OF OUR ISLAND: TO GIVING, TO THAT END, ANY PLEDGE THAT MAY BE SOUGHT, ANY GUARANTEE THAT MAY BE THOUGHT NECESSARY AND TO MAKING UNASSAILABLE

CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THOSE IN THE NORTHERN PART OF IRELAND AND WHO MAY FEEL A SPECIAL NEED FOR SUCH PROVISIONS.

IRISH PEOPLE EVERYWHERE YEARN FOR THAT DAY WHEN THEIR COUNTRY WILL FINALLY FIND PEACE AND JUSTICE IN UNITY AND THEY IN THEIR TURN IN THEIR LAND WILL CREATE QUOTE A SHINING CITY ON A HILL UNQUOTE.

WITH THE GOODWILL OF THAT WORLD-WIDE IRISH SPIRITUAL EMPIRE WHICH IS STRONGER HERE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THAN ANYWHERE ELSE,

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO ALL WE CAN THROUGH THE ANGLO-IRISH PROCESS OR ANY OTHER FORUM TO ACHIEVE THAT HISTORIC PURPOSE.

/ IN THE



IN THE NOBLE WORDS OF LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, INSCRIBED ON THE WALLS OF HIS BEAUTIFUL MEMORIAL IN THIS CITY THE WORK WE ARE ENGAGED UPON IS: QUOTE TO BIND UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS UNQUOTE. COUNTLESS MILLIONS OF ORDINARY IRISH MEN AND WOMEN HAVE BY THEIR LABOUR AND THEIR SACRIFICE CONTRIBUTED TO THE POWER AND STATURE OF THIS GREAT AMERICAN REPUBLIC AND IN THEIR NAME I LOOK CONFIDENTLY FOR SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR OUR ENDEAVOURS IN IRELAND TODAY. IRELAND HOLDS A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE AFFECTIONS OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT THAT FEELING WILL INFORM AMERICAN POLICY AND ACTIONS AND ENSURE THAT THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF IRISH UNITY RANKS HIGH AMONG HER INTERNATIONAL OBJECTIVES. THERE IS MUCH TO BE DONE: AND THE FIRST THING IS THAT BRITAIN BE ENCOURAGED TO SEEK MORE POSITIVELY AND PERSUADE MORE ACTIVELY A CHANGE IN ATTITUDES AND OUTLOOKS WHICH WOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR UNITY AND SO ENABLE HER FINAL WITHDRAWAL FROM IRELAND TO TAKE PLACE WITH HONOUR AND DIGNITY.  
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FM DUBLIN 231530Z MAR 1982

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 75 OF 23 MARCH

AND TO IMMEDIATE INFO N I O (B)

F C O PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON

NORTHERN IRELAND : TAOISEACH'S MEETING WITH HUME

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED ON 22 MARCH AFTER THE MEETING BETWEEN THE TAOISEACH AND JOHN HUME.

BEGINS

THE TAOISEACH, MR CHARLES J HAUGHEY , T D , ACCOMPANIED BY THE MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE, MR BRIAN LENIHAN T D AND MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT AND POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS , MR JOHN WILSON, T D, MET A DELEGATION FROM THE S D L P IN GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS TODAY. THE DELEGATES CONSISTED OF MR JOHN HUME, M E P, LEADER OF THE PARTY , MR SEAMUS MALLON, DEPUTY LEADER, MR EDDIE MCGRADY SPOKESMAN ON THE ENVIRONMENT AND DR JOE HENDRON, CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES.

THE MEETING CONSIDERED THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IN PARTICULAR THE PROPOSALS BEING DEVELOPED BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR A FORM OF ADMINISTRATION THERE.

BOTH SIDES CONSIDERED THAT THE PROPOSALS AS THEY WERE EMERGING WERE UNWORKABLE. THEY FOUND THEM DEFICIENT IN THAT THEY CONCENTRATED ON THE DETAILS OF AN ADMINISTRATION FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, WITHOUT DUE REGARD FOR THE BROADER DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM.

/ BOTH



BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT ANOTHER FAILED INITIATIVE IN NORTHERN IRELAND COULD ONLY LEAD TO FURTHER FRUSTRATION THERE AND LESSEN THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS BY DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL MEANS. THEY SHARED THE CONVICTION THAT SUCH PROGRESS SHOULD BE PURSUED IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THROUGH THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLO-IRISH PROCESS INITIATED BETWEEN THE TAOISEACH AND THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER AT THEIR MEETING IN DECEMBER, 1980..

THE MEETING ALSO NOTED THAT THE MAIN UNIONIST PARTIES HAD ALREADY REJECTED THE PROPOSALS AS UNACCEPTABLE.

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2. SEE M I F T FOR COMMENTS.

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