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Financing Civil Disobedience Campaign

It may be necessary to provide the Opposition Parliamentary group in the North with funds so as to enable them to carry the civil disobedience campaign to a successful conclusion. The case for doing so, if the money is needed, is that a successful campaign will provide the Government with a necessary card in future negotiations with London. Furthermore it would establish the Opposition Parliamentary group as a valid spokesman for the non-Unionist community as a whole in the same sense that the Unionist Party is a spokesman for the Unionist community as a whole even though, in both cases, neither group covers the full range of opinion in the respective communities.

It is clear, of course, that some of the activities encouraged by the Parliamentary Opposition group are likely to have illegal overtones although they are determined that all their activities will be non-violent. This inhibits detailed endorsement by the Government of everything they choose to do. In addition the open provision of governmental funds for their activities would be seen by London as a direct intervention by us in the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom. London undoubtedly would make whatever use of this against the non-Unionist community and the Dublin Government as recommended itself. There is no advantage in giving London this potential pressure point.

It is likely that the Parliamentary Opposition group, for their own reasons, might not wish to be seen to be financed by the Dublin Government. The attack on them from the Bernadette Devlin group and from the Republican Labour group (which is virtually the political cover in the North for part at least of the Provisional IRA) would be couched in terms of vilification in order to tear down what might be called the moderate centre. Furthermore, a main purpose of the group will be to put pressure on the British Labour Party. Their standing would certainly be reduced, if not completely damaged, by their being seen to accept funds from a "foreign government".

For these reasons it would seem that any governmental funds supplied should be supplied secretly and no public acknowledgements should be made at any time of the source of such funds. However, in the political confrontation now developing between Ireland and Britain, in which it is vital that we should use all non-violent means open to us to work a change in British policy, the case for secret activity of this kind seems ineluctable. Use of the Secret Service Vote is, therefore, recommended.

So far as the actual cost might go the following items of cost might be borne in mind:

- (1) as part of their attack on the present regime it may recommend itself to the Parliamentary Opposition group that they should dispense with their Stormont salary and allowances. The total of these in the case of an M.P. comes, as far as we know, to £2,250 per annum. There are six SDLP M.P.s and four Nationalist M.P.s involved in the Parliamentary Opposition group at this stage. They are likely to be joined by Tom Gormley, formerly Nationalist but now Independent. The maximum cost of absorbing the total of the salaries and expenses for all eleven M.P.s is about £25,000 per annum. In addition I am aware that to a considerable extent some of them rely on their mileage allowances, travelling to and from Stormont, to finance their private transport. This item could of course be dealt with under a miscellaneous heading;

- (ii) something may have to be done in relation to Senators who are prepared to be party to the Parliamentary Opposition group. There are potentially six such Senators, one of whom attended the recent meeting in Dublin with the Taoiseach, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Finance. They are paid on an attendance basis at Stormont and while they would expect to obtain nothing until the Senate reassembles in October thereafter they will feel that they are absorbing a personal loss because of the withdrawal from Stormont. Insofar as any of these is prepared to be fully active in the civil disobedience campaign consideration might be given to including a sum of compensation for them - say perhaps £100 per month each if they are willing to work but nothing otherwise;
- (iii) the group would obviously have to employ a number of people fulltime in the administration of their affairs. In this respect one considers the need for clerical staff to run a central office - perhaps three or four people at a cost of say about £500 per month in salary. However, the main expenditure would be for fulltime organisers of civil disobedience together with the employment of a fulltime information set up. We should need some information from the group itself as to how they see this developing and as to how much it would cost. Certainly there are ideas current about producing broadsheets and other forms of encouragements to the non-Unionist population to proceed with their efforts. This may involve radio work. It would seem sufficient in this connection to provide some basic maximum figure per month as a guarantee of continued activity but the balance to be collected from the public at large by the treasurer of the Parliamentary Opposition group (who, incidentally, is Mr. John Hume M.P.); say £3,000 p.m.;
- (iv) it would seem that the best method of dealing with the British Labour Party is to encourage the Parliamentary Opposition group themselves to take that job in hand. This would require frequent visits to London to keep them informed. Possibly something in the nature of £500 per month would help considerably for that purpose. Similarly, as part of the propaganda campaign there may need to be visits by the parliamentarians to other foreign centres than London e.g. the US, France etc. The amount involved here would depend on the extent and frequency of such visits; say, £500 per month;
- (v) there would be, of course, all kinds of miscellaneous expenses, from the hiring of meeting centres to the provision of telephone expenses and as indicated at (i) above the financing of private transport. It would be very difficult to put any sort of figure on this item without consultation with someone in the group as to their experiences in this regard up to the present.

On the whole, and subject to teasing this out more precisely with the Parliamentary Opposition group, it would seem that a guarantee of an order not exceeding £10000 per month would go a very long way to financing the kind of efforts listed above.

This note takes no account of major social welfare requirements if any.

J.S. 18-8-71

SECRET

financial
Quantification of possible demands by the group
Financing Passive Resistance Policy

A.	<u>Elected Representatives</u>			
	11 M.P.s @ £2,500 per annum; i.e. total £2,300 per month			
	6 Senators @ £600 per annum; i.e. total	600	"	"
B.	<u>Members of Public Bodies</u>			
	1 fulltime Chairman @ £5,000 p.a. i.e.	420	"	"
	60 part-time members @ 600 p.a. i.e.	3,000	"	"
C.	<u>Aid for internees' dependants:</u> approx.	5,000	"	"
D.	<u>General Expenses</u>			
	Travelling, office expenses, hall hire etc. approx.	3,680	"	"
		<u>15,000</u>	"	"