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MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS' MEMORANDUM FOR THE
GOVERNMENT ENTITLED "POLICY OPTIONS AND ACTIONS
WITH REGARD TO NORTHERN IRELAND". DATED15th July, 1974.

Rúnaí Cúnta

1. This Memo. suggests, inter alia, that the Government's Northern Ireland policy up to summer 1975 should be based on the primary objective of ensuring an acceptable outcome from the proposed constitutional convention and securing a recognition of the All-Ireland dimension compatible with this primary objective. It does not put forward a definite view on which of the possible outcomes it considers should be regarded as the most favourable from our point of view. In my view, we must adhere to the view that the option discussed in paragraph 7 of the Memo, viz. power-sharing within the U.K. on a broader basis than Sunningdale remains the most preferable outcome, if it can be reached. It is improbable, however, that the IRA will desist from its campaign to take part in the consultation process and it must be recognised that any such arrangement will be subject to strain from violence. The prospects of reaching and maintaining a broader based consensus will be enhanced by greater success on the security front.

2. In considering the possible course of developments, the Memo states that the Unionist political groups feel that they can bring about a situation where total integration of the North within the U.K. would be acceptable in Britain. One would like to see this elaborated, if possible, to indicate the lines of thinking on this more fully. *[You will recall Mr Meath's interjection on this at Baldannel last September.]*

3. The Memo sets out, in paragraph 4, six possible outcomes to the situation. I would add a seventh which emerged at Oxford, as having some support among some intellectuals in the North viz. autonomy within the U.K. somewhat on the lines of the Isle of Man on the Channel Islands. This may have no political support at present but if publicised more, may attract support. In relation to the possible outcomes considered, the Memo sets out three recommendations in paragraph 20. These are acceptable.

4. Paragraphs 12-19 of the Memo considers various aspects of the Irish dimension. Consideration of contacts with the majority in the North leads to recommendation (iv) in paragraph 20 which deserves full support. In my view, such contacts are valuable in preventing the solidification of the Protestant population behind the U.U.U.C. leadership. The potential in this respect was shown by the results of the discussions with Mr. Harry Murray at Oxford. I would go beyond the Memo and suggest that we should actively explore the possibility of extending contacts among community and tenant groups

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on a purely social basis and in relation to such matters as urban planning and renewal.

5. Recommendation (v) in paragraph 20, on the security aspect of the Irish dimension should be supported. I took away from Oxford the strong impression that our efforts and successes in this area are still not getting across in the North. I think co-operation has to be more overt and that the proposed meeting will help here. In addition, we need to intensify our going publicity in the Northern media and by direct contact in the North on our security effort.

6. On (a) in paragraph 17, the last meeting of the All-Party Committee reached deadlock on this matter - see attached copy of draft minutes. I would suggest that an attempt should be made with the leader of the Opposition to reach some agreement outside the forum of the Committee, at least on the 1967 Committee's formula on Articles 2 and 3. I would place a high value on bipartisanship in this area. In this connection, you may wish to repeat your suggestion that Discussion Paper No. 2 might be given to the Mr. Lynch. I think that there is a lot to be said for the Taoiseach meeting him in the new future. Mr. Lynch should certainly be told, for instance, that it is considered that the possibility of getting a UN force for the North, is remote, even if the request had British support.

7. Items (b), (c) and (d) in paragraph 17 of the Memo. are also worthy of examination. There is a draft Memo for the Government on (d) in the Department of the Public Service.

8. There is one area not mentioned in the Memo which requires consideration. This is cross-border economic co-operation. In this connection, the question of the proposed E.E.C. study of the North-West arises for consideration. Also, within the last week, Mr. Sean Mac Loinsigh of the Secretariat of the Central Development Committee sought guidance on whether its cross-border co-operation sub-committee should continue its suspension of cross-border contacts. In the time available before this morning's meeting of the Government, I have not had time to consider this matter ^{fully} finally. I will confine myself to suggesting that this is another area requiring consideration at the present time.

L. K. ...

16 Iúil, 1974.