

FCO/NIO 002/31

TO NIO BELFAST

GRS 320  
RESTRICTED  
DESKBY 310900Z  
FM DUBLIN 301720Z MAY 83  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO DESKBY 310900Z  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 171 OF 30 MAY 1983  
INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST, PRIORITY WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK  
INFO SAVING EC POSTS AND UKREP BRUSSELS

NEW IRELAND FORUM

SUMMARY

1. THERE WERE NO SURPRISES IN THE FIRST SESSION. THE PUBLIC SPEECHES SHOWED A GULF IN ATTITUDES BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC'S TWO MAIN PARTIES. A GREAT DEAL IS LEFT FOR THE PRIVATE SESSIONS IF HOPES OF A CONSENSUS REPORT ARE TO BE REALIZED.

DETAIL

2. THE FORUM'S FIRST SITTING WAS HELD ON 30 MAY IN DUBLIN CASTLE. THE OPENING TELEVISED SESSION HAD SPEECHES FROM EACH OF THE FOUR PARTICIPATING POLITICAL PARTIES (TEXTS AND MEMBERS OF EACH DELEGATION BY BAG). KEY PASSAGES FROM EACH ARE IN MIFT, WITH BRIEF COMMENTS BELOW.

FINE GAEL

3. DR FITZGERALD'S WAS A WORTHY BUT UNINSPIRED REHASH OF SENTIMENTS FAMILIAR FROM HIS CONSTITUTIONAL CRUSADE. HIS TEAM IS ABLE AND INCLUDES IN JOHN KELLY A GIFTED CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER AND INDIVIDUALIST WHO HAS LITTLE TRUCK WITH CANT (OR ADMIRATION FOR BRITISH INSTITUTIONS).

FIANNA FAIL

4. MR HAUGHEY WRAPPED THE GREEN FLAG AROUND HIMSELF AND HIS PARTY. NO-ONE ON HIS TEAM IS LIKELY TO DEVIATE FROM THE LINE HE DECIDES TO TAKE ON ANY ASPECT OF THE FORUM'S WORK.

LABOUR

5. MR SPRING WAS, LIKE DR FITZGERALD, SHORT ON SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS BEYOND PUTTING DOWN A MARKER IN FAVOUR OF "ACTIVE NEUTRALITY" IN THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF A NEW IRELAND. HIS TEAM INCLUDES FRANK CLUSKEY WHO HAS LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR A UNITED IRELAND. (THE MORE NATIONALIST RUARI QUINN TOLD US THAT HE ASKED NOT TO BE A MEMBER BECAUSE OF OTHER COMMITMENTS).

SDLP

6. MR HUME'S WAS THE ONLY SPEECH DELIVERED WITH SPIRIT. HIS HOPE THAT PARTIES IN THE REPUBLIC WOULD MAKE SACRIFICES IN ORDER TO REACH A CONSENSUS SOUNDED FORLORN AFTER MR HAUGHEY'S UNYIELDING CONTRIBUTION.

FURTHER SESSIONS

7. THE OPEN SESSION WAS FOLLOWED BY A PRIVATE ONE OF WHICH WE HAVE NO DETAILS YET. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SECONDED TO THE FORUM SEEM NOT TO EXPECT THE CHAIRMAN, DR COLM O HEICHA, TO HAVE A SIGNIFICANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THE NEGOTIATING WHICH WILL BE NECESSARY AS THE FORUM PROGRESSES TOWARDS ITS INTENDED AGREED REPORT BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES

ORR

PRIVATE OFFICE  
PUS  
MR. BOURN  
MR. MERIFIELD  
MR. GILLILAND  
Sir EWART BELL  
MR. BUXTON  
MR. COULSON  
MR. REEVE  
LIAISON x 2  
RUC

31 MAY 1983  
Rec'd on.....



③ Pol

MR. BOURN  
 MR. KERFIELD  
 MR. GILLILAND  
 Sir EWART PELL  
 MR. BUXTON  
 MR. COULSON  
 MR. REEVE  
 LIAISON x 2  
 HUC



Rec'd on 31 MAY 1983.

00 NIO BELFAST

GRS 1140  
 UNCLASSIFIED  
 DESKBY 310900Z  
 FM DUBLIN 301755Z MAY 83  
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO DESKBY 310900Z  
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 172 OF 30 MAY 1983  
 INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST, PRIORITY WASHINGTON, LIS NEW YORK  
 INFO SAVING EC POSTS AND UKREP BRUSSELS

MIPT: NEW IRELAND FORUM

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES AT THE OPENING SESSION:

A. DR FITZGERALD, FINE GAEL

"TODAY WE BEGIN A UNIQUE ATTEMPT TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY TO THIS ISLAND BY FACING REALITY: THE REALITY OF THE TRAGIC AND FRIGHTENING CRISIS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. ...."

"WE CANNOT HOPE TO UNDERSTAND FULLY THE POSITION, OR THE PROBLEMS, OF THAT (UNIONIST) TRADITION UNLESS THAT POSITION AND THOSE PROBLEMS ARE PUT TO US DIRECTLY BY SOME OF THOSE CONCERNED. ...."

"LET THE MEN OF VIOLENCE TAKE NOTE OF THIS UNAMBIGUOUS MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONALIST PEOPLE OF IRELAND: THE FUTURE OF THE ISLAND WILL BE BUILT BY THE BALLOT BOX, AND BY THE BALLOT BOX ALONE. ...."

"....THIS FORUM CANNOT HOLD BACK FROM EXAMINING ANY STRUCTURES, ANY SOLUTIONS, THAT MIGHT MEET THE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT OF GIVING EXPRESSION TO, AND GUARANTEEING, THE TWO IRISH IDENTITIES:...."

"....THE EXISTING POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN NORTHERN IRELAND.... IGNORE COMPLETELY THE IDENTITY OF THE NATIONALIST MINORITY. ...."

B. MR HAUGHEY, FIANNA FAIL

"OUR PURPOSE IS TO CONSTRUCT A BASIC POSITION, WHICH CAN THEN BE PUT TO AN ALL-ROUND CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, CONVENED BY THE IRISH AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS AS A PRELUDE TO BRITISH WITHDRAWAL. ...."

"....PEACE AND STABILITY CANNOT BE SECURED WITHOUT A WITHDRAWAL OF THE BRITISH MILITARY AND POLITICAL PRESENCE FROM NORTHERN IRELAND AS THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS RECENTLY EMPHASISED. ...."

"THE PRESENT SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND IS NOT PRIMARILY THE FAULT OF ANYONE LIVING THERE. IT IS THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF BRITISH POLICY IN IRELAND OVER MANY HUNDREDS OF YEARS: A FACT WHICH ANY BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHICH WISHES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM MUST START BY RECOGNISING. ...."

"THE PRESENT NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY, A UNIONIST DOMINATED BODY, HAS BEEN EXPLICITLY STATED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND TO BE DESIGNED TO TIE NORTHERN IRELAND INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM FOREVER. ...."

"THE BELIEF HAS BEEN CANVASSED THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO JETTISON ALMOST THE ENTIRE ETHOS ON WHICH THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT WAS BUILT AND THAT THE IRISH IDENTITY HAS TO BE SACRIFICED TO FACILITATE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF IRISH UNITY. NOTHING COULD BE MORE ERRONEOUS OR DESTRUCTIVE. ...."

"EAMON DE VALERA'S OFFER IN 1938 WHICH WOULD HAVE ALLOWED FOR THE CONTINUATION OF A SUBSIDIARY PARLIAMENT, WAS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT SOVEREIGNTY WOULD BE TRANSFERRED FROM BRITAIN IRELAND, BUT THAT NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD CONTINUE TO ENJOY THE AUTONOMY IT POSSESSED AT THAT TIME. HOW RELEVANT THAT CONCEPT IS TODAY MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE AND IN PARTICULAR THE FACT THAT IN 1972 THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND WERE ABOLISHED, IN RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE STATE OF NORTHERN IRELAND COULD NO LONGER FUNCTION AS A POLITICAL ENTITY. ...."

"IN THIS FORUM WE SHALL ADVOCATE THE PRINCIPLE ALREADY STATED THAT IRELAND WOULD NEVER ALLOW HER TERRITORY TO BE USED AS A BASE FOR ATTACK ON BRITAIN AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO A TREATY ARRANGEMENT FOR THAT PURPOSE. ...."

"IT WAS HERE IN DUBLIN CASTLE, TWO AND A HALF YEARS AGO, THAT A BRITISH PRIME MINISTER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PROBLEM OF NORTHERN IRELAND COULD ONLY BE SOLVED BY THE JOINT ACTION OF THE TWO SOVREIGN GOVERNMENTS. IT IS WITH THAT TRUTH CLEARLY IN OUR MINDS THAT THIS FORUM TAKES THE FIRST STEPS ALONG THE ROAD TO A FINAL CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. ...."

#### C. MR SPRING, LABOUR

"WHAT IS SEEN BY SOME AS NECESSARY OR PROGRESSIVE WILL BE SEEN AS A MARK OF BETRAYAL BY OTHERS. THERE WILL NOT BE A UNIFORMITY OF RESPONSE ACROSS THE ISLAND AS A WHOLE TO NEW PROPOSITIONS RELATING TO ARTICLES 2 AND 3, CIVIL LIBERTIES, INCREASED PROHIBITIONS ON ABORTION, PROVISIONS RELATING TO MARRIAGE BREAKDOWN AND OTHERS, EITHER EMERGING IN THE FORUM OR FROM OTHER SOURCES. THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT IN THE REPUBLIC IS BY NO MEANS AN ARGUMENT AGAINST INTEREST GROUPS SPONSORING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. IT RATHER TELLS THAT WE AS POLITICIANS HAVE A LOT TO LEARN IF WE ARE TO FACE SUCCESSFULLY EVEN MORE COMPLEX AND CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES IN A NEW IRELAND FORUM. ...."

"....THE NEW IRELAND FORUM MUST ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE CRITICAL ISSUES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY. ...."

"....TERRITORIAL PRIORITIES AND THE COMPETITIVE DIMENSION, FOR EXAMPLE IN SEEKING TO ATTRACT FOREIGN INVESTMENT HAVE TENDED TO PUSH INTO THE BACKGROUND ANY CONTINUOUS THINKING AIMED AT MAJOR SCHEMES OR PROGRAMMES OF COLLABORATIVE ACTION. ...."

"WE IN THE LABOUR PARTY BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT NEUTRALITY SHOULD BE A FUNDAMENTAL PART OF IRISH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY. ...."

"....A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY FOR AN ACTIVE NEUTRALITY WHICH IMPLIES A TOTAL COMMITMENT TO PEACE, DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT, ...."

"....OUR SOCIETY, JUST AS MUCH AS NORTHERN IRELAND, WILL HAVE TO CHANGE IF WE ARE SERIOUS IN OUR ASPIRATION OF IRISH UNITY. ...."

#### D. MR HUME, SDLP

"THE HEART OF THIS CRISIS IN IRELAND IS THE CONVICTION - THE PROFOUND AND SEEMINGLY IRREDUCIBLE CONVICTION - OF THE MAJORITY OF PROTESTANTS IN THE NORTH THAT THEIR ETHOS SIMPLY WOULD NOT SURVIVE IN AN IRISH POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. ...."

"THE BRITISH FOR THEIR PART REMAIN, IF NOT FULLY CONVINCED BY THESE FEARS OF THE UNIONISTS, AT LEAST NOT PERSUADED BY OUR CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY. ...."

''THE PROTESTANT ETHOS....CONTAINS ALSO AND PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY A STRONG EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL ALLEGIENCE TO BRITAIN WHICH WE CANNOT IGNORE AND WHICH WE CANNOT WISH AWAY ANY MORE THAN UNIONISTS COULD WISH AWAY OUR DEEP COMMITMENT TO IRISH UNITY. ....''

''HOW DO WE ACCOMODATE IN A NEW DEFINITION OF IRISHNESS THESE UNCOMFORTABLE REALITIES? HOW WOULD WE PROPOSE TO GIVE TO UNIONISTS AN ADEQUATE SENSE OF SECURITY - PHYSICAL, RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SECURITY - IN A NEW IRELAND? ARE WE, THE NATIONALISTS OF IRELAND, PREPARED TO PAY THE PAINFUL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRICE THAT THIS WILL INVOLVE? DO WE HAVE ANY IDEA OF WHAT THAT PRICE WILL BE? I FEAR THAT MANY OF US EITHER DO NOT OR WOULD PREFER NOT TO. ....''

''THIS FORUM MUST PUT AN END....TO....HOPELESSNESS.

IT CAN ONLY DO SO BY ACHIEVING CONSENSUS. LET NO ONE UNDER-ESTIMATE THE POWER AND STRENGTH OF DEMOCRATIC CONSENSUS IN THIS FORUM. LET NO ONE DOUBT ITS IMPACT ON BRITISH AND INTERNATIONAL OPINION. THE PRICE THAT OUR DIFFERENT PARTIES MAY HAVE TO PAY FOR CONSENSUS WILL BE MINIMAL COMPARED TO THE REWARDS FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE OF A COMMON APPROACH TO OUR DEEPEST AND MOST INTRACTABLE PROBLEM. ....''

''LET ME SAY TO UNIONISTS: ''WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO TAKE YOU AND YOUR CONVICTIONS WITH DEEP SERIOUSNESS IN OUR EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND THE CRISIS THAT CONFRONTS US ALL, OUR AIM IS NEITHER CONQUEST OR COERCION, IT IS PRIMARILY TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER SO THAT WE CAN SOLVE THIS CRISIS WITH YOUR AGREEMENT AND YOUR SUPPORT.'' WE SEEK A SOLUTION. WE DO NOT SEEK VICTORY. ....''

''...''FORGET THE PAST, BUT TAKE THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE SERIOUSLY'': THAT MUST BE THE MESSAGE TO COME FROM THIS FORUM TO THE BRITISH. WE CALL ON BRITAIN TO GIVE THEIR ATTENTION AS FULLY AS WE NOW DO TO THIS AWFUL TRAGEDY AND TO LEARN WITH US AND FROM US AS WE TRY HONESTLY TO DEVISE A REALISTIC AND ADEQUATE SOLUTION. ....''

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

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SENT AT 0748Z AH

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