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This weekend Mrs. Thatcher is on the receiving end of two scathing attacks from the North. The SDLP leader John Hume has described Mrs. Thatcher's dismissal of the Forum options as real a violence to the political process as the bombs and bullets of the paramilitaries and in a speech delivered in London yesterday the Bishop of Down and Conor Dr. Cathal Daly warned of a serious deterioration in the already dangerous situation in the North and called the Summit a humiliating setback for constitutional nationalism. On circuit from London this morning he has been telling us why he thinks this is so.

Dr. Daly: Well all the efforts, resources and hopes of Irish nationalists for more than 12 months have been put into the work that is summarised in the New Ireland Forum and there have been intensive discussions going on one understood for months past at high level, intergovernmental level between the Irish and the British Governments based partly on the findings of the Summit but partly also of course obviously on the British point of view and there were expectations that there had been some progress at least in understanding but I am afraid the Summit communique gives very very little hope and in fact I must say that I have not experienced such a wave of anger right across the whole nationalist community in Ireland, North and South not for many, many years as there has been over the past few days. It's not just the dismissal of everything that the Summit proposed but the refusal to come up with any alternative that could possibly be acceptable to the Irish nationalist case. The Irish nationalist case does not seem even to have been understood and I am afraid that indicates a total incomprehension on certain politicians here an utter incomprehension of the Irish nationalist mentality and principles and outlook which is quite baffling and I should even say frightening as between two neighbouring islands.

Interviewer: Mrs. Thatcher in her press conference after the Summit was almost scornful in the way she dismissed the concept of alienation of the minority, was that something that particularly alarmed you?

Dr. Daly: That is to my mind it almost baffles comprehension. I am living right in the midst of nationalist alienation. I am experiencing it every day. I must say with great seriousness that it is deeper than it has been for years and that it has been greatly deepened and heightened over the past 12 months. There is a real danger of a total alienation of the entire nationalist community right across the political spectrum from the whole political process because until now it has not been proved capable of meeting any Irish nationalist, I don't see only hopes but also fundamental basic political rights.

Interviewer: Couldn't the British Government look at the evidence of the European elections when John Hume polled so strongly against the Sinn Fein candidate Danny Morrison and say that the Sinn Fein political bubble has burst, that the alienation, the drift away from SDLP towards Sinn Fein in fact is over?

Dr. Daly:

If that were so the Prime Minister would be grievously misreading the situation. It is false to interpret the Sinn Fein vote as the only vote that is registering alienation. Many of those who resolutely and courageously have refused to vote Sinn Fein and to go the way of violence who have courageously, persistently and patiently gone forward on the way of political progress hoping that this would be made possible by the British Government hoping that some possibility of movement on the part of the British Government and the Unionist parties in the North would be made possible. They have resolutely refused to vote Sinn Fein but they are still registering dissatisfaction and frustration with the existing constitutional systems and arrangements in Northern Ireland. Might I say that it is really deeply disturbing to read a prominent Unionist spokesman as saying over the weekend "no framework for Northern Ireland's future could contain those who wanted to remain in the United Kingdom and those whose short, medium and long term determination was to end the province's United Kingdom status". Now if that be so and if that be seriously meant it implies that there is no place in Northern Ireland for 600,000 of its citizens. Now I ask you how can any reasonable person bring himself to say that Because to have a short, medium or a long term determination, to work peacefully, constitutionally through a political process for the ultimate reunification of Ireland is the very definition of being a nationalist and therefore there are 600,000 people in Northern Ireland who have that determination conviction, the aspiration whatever you like to call it and we are now been told there is no place for them in their own country, there is no place for them in Northern Ireland because Northern Ireland is not, just not a unionist community, its a mixed community, more than one third of its citizens - 600,000 of its people are not unionist and yet they are expected to live within a constitutional framework which is unequivocally and uniquely unionist and that is being imposed on our community of nearly 600,000. Now the whole problem in Ireland is that the Unionist minority is too large in the island as a whole to be governed peacefully within a united Ireland that is conceived as a unitary nationalist state against their consent, but it also must be remembered that within Northern Ireland itself the nationalist minority is too large to be governed peacefully without its consent in a Northern Ireland which is conceived as a unitary Unionist state. There must be adjustments to correspond to the realities of an internal Northern Ireland situation. People talk of an internal solution but part of the internal reality of Northern Ireland is that much more than one third of its people are not Unionist and yet they are living within a constitution which binds them irrevocably finally to the union and that is the very definition of being a

Unionist. The constitutional arrangements that we now have are Unionist through and through and through and they make no constitutional concessions whatsoever to more than half a million of its people. Now we are talking about basic political rights. The outlook is extremely gloomy, the situation is deteriorating rapidly unless there is some movement, unless there is a real commitment to undertake a process that will lead to the constitutional changes which are necessary if the nationalists are going to be allowed, going to have any possibility or hope of identifying with the constitutional and political structures then the future is quite frightening.

Interviewer: Well isn't it clear from what Mrs. Thatcher and Douglas Hurd have been saying this week that there isn't going to be any movement like that, that whatever change there is going to be will be in the terms of internal solution and that direct rule is here to stay for the time being at least.

Dr. Daly: Have they analysed the meaning of an internal Northern Ireland solution. Have they realised that there is a logical contradiction involved in saying that the problems of Northern Ireland can be solved within Northern Ireland itself. No. 1 - the only governmental response, the sole and exclusive and entire governmental responsibility for Northern Ireland does not rest within Northern Ireland, it rests as now with Westminster. No. 2 - the internal reality of Northern Ireland is that it is a mixed community, a politically and nationally polarized community.

Interviewer: Two thirds

Dr. Daly: Yes something approaching two thirds are Unionists. They have their rights, the Forum report has underlined their rights. We assert and will support their rights because they are matters of plain justice. One million people have political ^{rights} and have rights in justice that cannot be denied and will not be denied in any possible future for Northern Ireland or for Ireland as a whole but there are also going on 600,000 nationalists and the very same principles of political justice which require recognition of the British identity and Unionist ethos of the Unionist population equally require the constitutional ~~recognition~~ recognition and the full legitimate expression of the Irish nationalist identity which is defined by the aspiration towards a union not with Britain but with Ireland. Now that's internal to Northern Ireland. The nationalist people are internal to Northern Ireland, the Irish dimension is internal to Northern Ireland. Justice requires that the internal solution for Northern Ireland involves the Irish dimension in all of the meaning of that term and we are not talking

just about what is politically expedient, we are talking about what plain political justice and democracy require.

Interviewer: Bishop Daly you have been following events in Northern Ireland for many years for long before you moved up to Belfast, how much damage do you believe Mrs. Thatcher and her approach is doing to Northern Ireland?

Dr. Daly: Very serious damage has been done over the past few days, over the past week. I said I can't remember for a very long time such a mood of disappointment is putting it too mildly, dissolutionment, despair, anger over the whole nationalist population North and South. Now that's no joy to me to say. It is a matter of deep disappointment to myself to have to say that. I am weighing my words. I have to speak responsibly because I am very conscious of my responsibilities and my responsibilities are for justice, justice for the Unionists but justice also for the nationalist community. I am deeply committed to a peaceful solution of our problems, to the restoration of stable, a stable situation in Northern Ireland for the good of all our people, because our people are suffering grievously from the violence. We don't want the extremists to win but they are winning as a result of what has happened last week, temporarily at least but what we need now is not recrimination, we must have a dignified restraint, we must have unity and clear headiness, we must still give the political process its chance and it still does have a chance, lessons can be learned from what happened last week.

Interviewer: If the Anglo Irish dialogue does fail, what are the consequences for constitutional nationalists in the North, what do you think will happen say in the local elections next May?

Dr. Daly: I refuse to think about what might happen if the Anglo Irish political dialogue were to fail. I can't conceive of responsible British leaders allowing it to fail. The consequences would be too calamitous to contemplate. I don't believe it possible that the dialogue will fail but there must be a real change of heart and on our side there must be a stubborn determination to continue to believe that democratic persuasion is still possible because if it isn't then the future is very grim indeed for both of these islands.

Interviewer: Surely all the evidence is that for as long as Mrs. Thatcher is Prime Minister the chances of change are very very slim indeed.

Dr. Daly: I should like to qualify that by adding that Mrs. Thatcher has shown a degree of determination and a degree of courage in her attitude to other problems which would give hope that if she really put her mind

to the Anglo Irish problem and really determined that she would come to grips with it that she more than any other leader would be able to succeed in a determined objective of giving just rights to both communities in Northern Ireland.

Interviewer:

But does she have Northern Ireland very high on her priorities or is it the case that she gives very little time and very little of her energies to the problems in the North?

Dr. Daly:

I am afraid that it is very remote indeed from the centre of the preoccupations of the British Government and that is extremely sad and extremely dangerous. I don't think that it really is appreciated in Whitehall just how potentially serious the situation is. There is another Summit meeting to come. There is still hope. We shall continue to hope and we shall continue to declare that violence is not but not the way that violence is simply complicating the problem, that violence is an obstacle to political progress but we continue to believe and I think that the nationalist community throughout the whole island of Ireland continues to believe in its immense majority in the possibility of democracy producing justice. We must hope and we will pray that there will be those possibilities. It must be demonstrated to the world that if the Anglo Irish political dialogue fails, if it fails irretrievably then the fault will not rest with the Irish.