



**An Chartlann Náisiúnta**  
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*Mr. Coakley*

*Discovered  
In see please let sh Diggins  
note of recent contacts with  
Mr T Dalton  
cc Mr F Murray  
Or N Hume  
Mr T Dalton  
Hume's rights  
SDLP  
29/11*

● Confidential

1. I had a meeting with Mr. Seamus Mallon in Newry on the 27th of July.

(27)

2. I found Mallon extremely critical of Hume's continued over-reliance, as he saw it, on the peace process. He reiterated his settled conviction that the IRA would not cease violence. There might be elements in Derry who were prepared to do so, but he knew the "hard men" in his area and he entertained no hope of them agreeing to a cessation of violence. He saw Hume's confidence in Adams as misplaced. He said the SDLP would not tolerate the present stance much longer.

3. I said that we were not staking any heavy political bets on the success of the process, but, on the other hand, it was perhaps a little soon to bet against it. I had a clear sense from the Taoiseach and Tánaiste that they were prepared to wait out the holiday period reasonably patiently. If, however, the Republican movement was still in the twilight zone at the resumption of the political season in September, the Government would I felt sure draw their own conclusions. I felt that the situation would in any case be clarified comfortably in advance of their next SDLP annual conference in November, and suggested that patience over the next five or six weeks had a double value: It would enable us to check out whether there was any substance in the hints about change which still came from Republican sources. If these proved to be unfounded, then their record of patience would add to the moral authority of the Government in shifting gear in autumn.

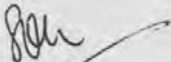
4. I also urged a degree of caution on the question of publication of the Hume/Adams document. This was not of itself a matter of concern for the Government. However it could bring the focus in an unproductive way the rather difficult circumstances of last autumn when, as he knew, some aspects of

John Hume's decisions could become a focus of controversy. In terms of the Republican movement, publication at present would be a complicating factor which was best left in abeyance until we were certain that the possibilities of the process were indeed exhausted.

5. I discussed in general terms with Mr. Mallon the broad approach we were pursuing in the framework document. He expressed himself quite strongly, as he had done earlier to Dr. Mansergh, on the need to keep Article 2 of the Constitution intact.

6. I was in contact also with Dr. Joe Hendron recently. He was critical of the Taoiseach's Minnesota speech, on the grounds that it was unsettling to unionists at a sensitive time. He also pleaded for the Government to avoid any statements which lent credibility to Sinn Féin. He said he could witness the latter's thuggery and intimidation at first hand in his constituency. They should no longer be allowed to be the beneficiaries of a process which they were cynically exploiting.

7. I sent him the full text of the Taoiseach's speech, which he had not seen, and urged him to look at it in its proper overall context. I thought that any gains made by Sinn Féin were, in fact, highly conditional, and whoever was responsible for Sinn Féin's P.R. in the wake of the Letterkenny meeting could hardly have been happy. Sinn Féin were already getting a foretaste of the anger and contempt they would experience if they refused the opportunity offered by the Declaration. I assured him also that the Government's timetable was not totally open-ended. If, at the resumption of the political season in September, we found Sinn Féin still bogged down in prevarication I felt sure that the Taoiseach and Tánaiste would quite briskly draw their own conclusions.



Seán O'Nuiginn  
Assistant Secretary, Anglo-Irish Division