

START of file

19030

BASÁID NA HÉIREANN, LONDAIN



IRISH EMBASSY, LONDON

SEEN BY
TAOISEACH

17, GROSVENOR PLACE,
SW1X 7HR
Telephone: 01-235 2171
TELEX: 916104

Put over to
17/11/90
16/11
cc
16.11.90
PST: PSC
Handy: PSC
Chubb AS
ROX
14/11

Confidential

12 November 1990

Mr. Dermot Gallagher
Assistant Secretary
Anglo-Irish Division

Conversation with James Molyneux

Dear Dermot

I bumped into Jim Molyneux at the annual diplomatic reception in the Palace on 8 November. At my only previous meeting with him at a Monday Club reception at the 1989 Conservative Party Conference he had been taciturn and reserved confining himself to polite banalities. On this occasion however in a different setting he was in high good humour and well disposed to converse at some length. I felt it best to set out in a personal letter to you those points of interest which arose, as follows:

The Irish correspondents in London

He spoke of the efforts of Ella Shanahan and Mike Burns to elicit comments from him. On a personal level he rather liked both and was always ready to respond where he could. He felt, however, that neither were well-informed on NI issues or sufficiently sensitive to the constraints under which he had to operate. Ella, for example, had phoned him earlier that evening and sought to draw a comment from him on the probable outcome of the Presidential election. As a basic principle she should have known that he was not going to comment on an election before the result was even declared.

He praised, however, the NI coverage of the "Irish Times". Increasingly he found himself turning to it as the paper of record. Its coverage of the OUP annual conference, for example, had been very good. He has no time for the "Belfast Telegraph" and in terms of straight news coverage there is little to choose between the "Newsletter" and the "Irish News".

The OUP annual conference

He felt it had been a good conference. What did we think of his speech? I made three comments which I stressed were entirely personal to the effect that his speech seemed to offer little hope for the talks process; that his interpretation of the historical and cultural links between Ireland and Britain was selective and unlikely to find any resonance among those with a different historical perspective and that the party's persistent harping on Arts 2 and 3 was getting nowhere. My impression from the Conference was that it had endorsed for the most part hardline attitudes.

He told me I'd missed the point. Of course there were things that had to be said as part of the political ritual on such occasions. He would readily admit for example that some of what he had said about Irish nationalism was "a bit of mischief". This was, however, only "icing" and peripheral to the central points.

One of these, he said, was his emphasis on the totality of relations and the need to construct a basis for mutual respect and cooperation. He hoped that this was the point which caught our attention in Dublin. In particular, he hoped we had noted his positive endorsement of what the Taoiseach had to say in 1980. Not so very long ago it would have been unthinkable for a Unionist leader to publicly endorse on a Unionist platform the views of an Irish Taoiseach. He hoped the Taoiseach appreciated this point.

The Select Committee

He made no direct reference to the talks process. He spoke however about aspects of his agenda at Westminster, in particular his commitment to the establishment of a select committee and the abolition of the Order in Council. He did so in the overall context of what he termed "to get away from the high wire act" sought by the two Governments. In summary his point, which he illustrated by several historical references to previous efforts to get dialogue started, was that the constitutional parties among themselves have several areas of common ground but attempts to crystallise agreement has always been blighted by attempts "to move everything to the constitutional high wire".

The Select Committee is still very much on the agenda. The key he told me is Brooke's letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Procedure and Privileges since it asks only that consideration of the matter be put on hold pending the outcome of the talks.

The principal value of a select committee would be the measure of control which it would enable the political parties to exercise over the NIO. A further important practical political advantage lay in the scrutiny it would provide over British expenditure on NI. Politically it would give valuable ammunition for reply to those British MPs, especially Tories representing disadvantaged areas of the UK, who were always ready to attack on this difficult and sensitive point.

In the short term, however, he felt the best chance of progress lay in the abolition of the Order in Council system. The SDLP could well be with them on this. For example, if there had been a proper debate on Mawhinney's education proposals the Catholic hierarchy would not now be obliged to take the matter through the Courts to make points which would have been better made by politicians in a parliamentary debate.

Willie Ross

I told him I had heard Willie Ross address the Friends of the Union meeting on the fringe of the Conservative party conference in Bournemouth. I said that I found his speech, even allowing for the platform from which it was delivered, to be particularly negative in tone and substance.

Molyneaux's response was illuminating in the light of those reports which stress his alleged closeness and reliance on Willie Ross. He recounted a lengthy anecdote, the gist of which involved Ross dragging Molyneaux out of an important meeting at Westminster in order to tell him about a trivial incident in his constituency in which the RUC had captured some IRA men, on the grounds that this was something the leader should know about. The image of Ross implicit in Molyneaux's story was of a deeply loyal man whom Molyneaux regards with affection but one who is also stupid, over the top of many issues, parochial in his concerns and a trial to a leader burdened with the broader issues.

Conservatives in NI

He spoke about the Conservatives in NI. He was withering in his remarks especially about their high profile presence in Bournemouth - "their little holiday by the seaside". The Tory hierarchy he claimed did not know what to do with them. The Conservatives had been steam-rolled into granting affiliation and now were stuck with the Ulster Tories. The embarrassment of senior Conservatives was plainly evident at the Upper Bann by-election. They would never get anywhere in NI because the only issue they could fight on was the constitutional one and Conservative policies on other issues would never win an NI election.

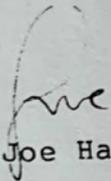
Molyneaux and Westminster

He told me something of his life at Westminster emphasising the relatively generous facilities which he enjoys as a party leader. It struck me from what he said and from his remarks about the need to abolish the Order in Council and establish the Select Committee that Molyneaux, on a personal level, relishes deeply the Westminster scene. For him a select committee and proper Parliamentary oversight of NI legislation mean working to the full a system he understands, respects and feels very much part of.

He concluded by telling me that he was always ready to have an informal chat especially if we ever needed to know what was on his mind. This I took to be a reference to his speech to the party conference. I told him I enjoyed our conversation but reminded him that policy was made in Dublin and that you, in particular, are the man to get in touch with for any substantive conversation.

With best regards

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Joe Hayes".

Joe Hayes

With the Compliments of
The Ulster Unionist Information Institute

M. McKeating

*Wilson
McKeating
P. J.*

19030

UNIONIST INFORMATION

GALL STREET
BT12 5AE

(0232) 324601
(0232) 246738

WINTER 1990

OF BETRAYAL

19030
19030



JIM WILSON

Ulster Unionist Council
5 Glengall Street, Belfast BT12 5AE
Telephone: 0232 - 324601
Fax No: 0232 - 246738

morning, after sleeping on the...
the cabinet that she would probably be beaten by Michael Heseltine on the second ballot for the leadership of the Conservative Party and knowing that nominations for that ballot would close at 12 noon that day, she made her announcement so that other candidates with a better chance of beating Heseltine could come forward.

It being a Thursday, Prime Minister's questions would proceed as normal at 3.15 p.m. that afternoon. As normal some 200 MPs had put their name in for the ballot for questions. The draw had already been made so that Martin Smyth, Ulster Unionist MP for South Belfast, knew that he would be the first member called on to speak and so he used the words in our headline, but not in an unkind manner for he assured Mrs Thatcher that unionists would feel an empathy for her now she too had been betrayed by the Conservative Party. He added that she would find support among unionists for her views on Europe, views which had triggered off the revolt against her.

This theme was taken up by James Molyneux, the Ulster Unionist leader first in the Newsletter that Friday and then at questions the following Tuesday. In the Newsletter he said:

"Like all determined people, Mrs Thatcher had made mistakes and enemies, but she deserved better than despicable betrayal by colleagues who were elected on her ticket and owe their positions to her. The whole sordid episode has permanently damaged the reputation of the Mother of Parliaments and Britain's standing at international level.

Mrs Thatcher had come to realise that she had been bulldozed into the Anglo-Irish agreement and had not fully realised its implications. Northern Ireland was the one place she did not succeed in imposing her will. To an extent the Northern Ireland

ber at her last question time he asked:
recall an important debate in November
een us were a little strained? Does she
thus:

Millions of our fellow British citizens throughout this nation feel that the Prime Minister has a lasting contribution to make to the destiny of the nation

Is the Prime Minister now aware that the vast majority of those people wish that contribution to continue." At that moment the campaign on the second ballot had not concluded and Messrs. Heseltine, Hurd and Major were still seeking support. Two of those candidates were also seeking to avoid accusations arising from their Heathite past, which suggested that they would abandon the gains of Thatcherism and return to the failed interventionist, corporatist policies of Edward Heath. Heseltine was insisting that he was also a Tory radical and Hurd who had been Heath's PPS was insisting that he had learned the lessons of the failure of Heath's policies.

If only it were true! Economic Heathism may be gone but here in Ulster Heathism still rules. It was Edward Heath who in 1972 decided to abolish democracy in Ulster, replace it by direct rule, which excludes the representatives of the Ulster people from effective participation in politics and try to create an unnatural rigged form of government with an enforced, unequal relationship with a hostile, foreign country as a prelude to absorption by that country. The determined resistance of the Ulster British people has frustrated that evil design. But it still remains as the fundamental basis of the Government's policy!

Unionists hope that under new leadership the government will be prepared to examine their policy critically. That they will realise that the political failures of last 20 years are attributable to the false basis established by Heath and that it is time that this last survival of Heathism to be abandoned.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PROTESTANTS IN SOUTHERN HEALTH BOARD

Danny Kennedy Ulster Unionist Councillor in Newry & Mourne District

The religious make-up of the Southern Health & Social Services Board clearly shows that Protestants are being discriminated against, particularly in the Newry & Mourne Unit of Management area.

The figures, released in an internal study by the Board, show that Protestants account for 43.5% of the total workforce in the Board area as a whole, compared to 48.8% Roman Catholic. In

the Newry & Mourne Unit of Management, however, the figures show only 16.1% of the workforce are Protestants, compared to 74.5% Roman Catholic.

Councillor Kennedy has called for a top level investigation into the report by the Fair Employment Commission. He would also be demanding an explanation for the imbalance at the next meeting of the Southern Board. The discrimination was blatant,



ULSTER UNIONIST INFORMATION

3 GLENGALL STREET
BELFAST BT12 5AE

TELEPHONE: (0232) 324601
FAX: (0232) 246738

ISSUE NUMBER 7

WINTER 1990

1/10/91

19030
19030

WE UNIONISTS KNOW THE MEANING OF BETRAYAL

These were the first words spoken in Parliament to Margaret Thatcher on Thursday 22 November 1990, the day on which she had announced her intention to resign as Prime Minister. That morning, after sleeping on the advice given to her by almost all the cabinet that she would probably be beaten by Michael Heseltine on the second ballot for the leadership of the Conservative Party and knowing that nominations for that ballot would close at 12 noon that day, she made her announcement so that other candidates with a better chance of beating Heseltine could come forward.

It being a Thursday, Prime Minister's questions would proceed as normal at 3.15 p.m. that afternoon. As normal some 200 MPs had put their name in for the ballot for questions. The draw had already been made so that Martin Smyth, Ulster Unionist MP for South Belfast, knew that he would be the first member called on to speak and so he used the words in our headline, but not in an unkind manner for he assured Mrs Thatcher that unionists would feel an empathy for her now she too had been betrayed by the Conservative Party. He added that she would find support among unionists for her views on Europe, views which had triggered off the revolt against her.

This theme was taken up by James Molyneux, the Ulster Unionist leader first in the Newsletter that Friday and then at questions the following Tuesday. In the Newsletter he said:

"Like all determined people, Mrs Thatcher had made mistakes and enemies, but she deserved better than despicable betrayal by colleagues who were elected on her ticket and owe their positions to her. The whole sordid episode has permanently damaged the reputation of the Mother of Parliaments and Britain's standing at international level.

Mrs Thatcher had come to realise that she had been bulldozed into the Anglo-Irish agreement and had not fully realised its implications. Northern Ireland was the one place she did not succeed in imposing her will. To an extent the Northern Ireland

Office defied Thatcherism."

On Tuesday, 27 November at her last question time he asked: "Does the Prime Minister recall an important debate in November 1985, when relations between us were a little strained? Does she recall my addressing her thus:

Millions of our fellow British citizens throughout this nation feel that the Prime Minister has a lasting contribution to make to the destiny of the nation

Is the Prime Minister now aware that the vast majority of those people wish that contribution to continue." At that moment the campaign on the second ballot had not concluded and Messrs. Heseltine, Hurd and Major were still seeking support. Two of those candidates were also seeking to avoid accusations arising from their Heathite past, which suggested that they would abandon the gains of Thatcherism and return to the failed interventionist, corporatist policies of Edward Heath. Heseltine was insisting that he was also a Tory radical and Hurd who had been Heath's PPS was insisting that he had learned the lessons of the failure of Heath's policies.

If only it were true! Economic Heathism may be gone but here in Ulster Heathism still rules. It was Edward Heath who in 1972 decided to abolish democracy in Ulster, replace it by direct rule, which excludes the representatives of the Ulster people from effective participation in politics and try to create an unnatural rigged form of government with an enforced, unequal relationship with a hostile, foreign country as a prelude to absorption by that country. The determined resistance of the Ulster British people has frustrated that evil design. But it still remains as the fundamental basis of the Government's policy!

Unionists hope that under new leadership the government will be prepared to examine their policy critically. That they will realise that the political failures of last 20 years are attributable to the false basis established by Heath and that it is time that this last survival of Heathism to be abandoned.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PROTESTANTS IN SOUTHERN HEALTH BOARD

Danny Kennedy Ulster Unionist Councillor in Newry & Mourne District

The religious make-up of the Southern Health & Social Services Board clearly shows that Protestants are being discriminated against, particularly in the Newry & Mourne Unit of Management area.

The figures, released in an internal study by the Board, show that Protestants account for 43.5% of the total workforce in the Board area as a whole, compared to 48.8% Roman Catholic. In

the Newry & Mourne Unit of Management, however, the figures show only 16.1% of the workforce are Protestants, compared to 74.5% Roman Catholic.

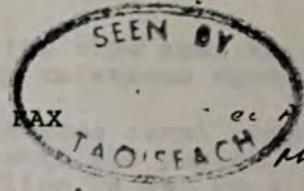
Councillor Kennedy has called for a top level investigation into the report by the Fair Employment Commission. He would also be demanding an explanation for the imbalance at the next meeting of the Southern Board. The discrimination was blatant,

***Only the first page of
this booklet has been
copied***

28 June 1990

Feeney's letter is "replied" to the "reactions" of the "parade"

M. Collins
P.A. S19030
pl. cc A/sec Gallagher
+ PA on Parades.
BY: TW 20/6



CONFIDENTIAL FAX

*cc A/sec; M. Collins; PAF
M. Mitchell; M. O'Sullivan
Gordon A1
RST*

To Belfast

For Joint Secretary

*T. O'Sullivan
this is old trouble
flaring again
2/7*

From HQ

From M. Collins

Parades, your Fax 154 of 26/6/90 refers

*M. Collins
10/7*

The following relates to the Duncairn Gardens Parade and is based of feed-back which we have received from Brian Feeney. Material in relation to Newtownbutler will be forwarded seperately.

Brian Feeney, along with Paddy Hunter had been present in the area throughout the parade. He can only be described as "venomous" in his reaction to the event.

The march was 40 minutes long and concluded at 8.45 p.m. As usual, the entire lower Antrim Road was sealed off with black taxis coming from town stuck; people going out on the Friday night were sealed into their ghettos; the more wealthy people up the Antrim Road going into town were stuck; people coming from the Novena at Holy Family Church in Newington were forced to wait for half an hour on Atlantic Avenue - in other words, according to Feeney the nationalist people of the area were subjected to the usual restrictions in order to allow the orange-men march through this section of nationalist north Belfast. Nor (for good reason) were the nationalist people allowed to witness the event - the route was cleared of people who were kept behind the screens which were in place for the occasion.

There were no major incidents during the march, nor did the police misbehave. In that context, Feeney's presence may have been helpful, though he apparently "took a lot of stick" from the locals about the march.

Feeney received a hand delivered letter from McAtamney on the morning of the march, which attempted to answer some of the points which Feeney has been making about this march. Feeney considers the letter to be totally unsatisfactory and he has replied to it in very strong terms in a letter which he sent yesterday to Annesley. Feeney in his letter makes all the usual points and in addition, says that the decision to allow the parade demonstrates that Annesley has no concern in improving community relations in North Belfast nor in improving relations between the police and the nationalist community in the area. He

asserts that the local police are of the view that this decision is a major set-back to their community relations work in the area.

[In that context, Feeney had persuaded some local people from the New Lodge to attend a recent meeting with the police. That meeting had been an attempt by the police to set up a liaison committee and had been attended by people from both sides of the divide in the area. Feeney has told Annesley in his letter that he will be unable to arrange for nationalist attendance at future meetings of the group.]

Feeney is sending us a copy of this letter and it will be forwarded to you by fax upon receipt.

Comment:

It is clear from Mr Collins report of the meeting on parades of 21 June, "that the RUC take the view that they will only reroute a march if they are convinced that there is a serious risk of public disorder". In our view, there are dangers in this approach, which could be seen as implying that the only way in which the people in the Duncairn area can prevent this march in future is by rioting, and that representations by local constitutional nationalists carry little or no weight in the face of an assumed violent reaction from loyalists to any attempt to deny them the "right" to march through a nationalist area.

We face the same problem in relation to the parade along the Garvaghy Road in Portadown. You will have noted from our fax 108 of 19 June that Fr Lennon was infuriated that the RUC were adopting the same approach in relation to that parade. It would be useful if you could avail of a suitable opportunity to make it clear to the British side our profound objection to this approach by the RUC to the problem. As indicated in our fax 108, our approach continues to be the same as that enunciated by the Secretary of State in June 1986 -viz- that parades should not take place in an area or along a route where they are not welcome. We have received no explanation as to why the RUC are now articulating a policy which is substantially at variance with the 1986 approach.

Mr. Nally.
For your information.

26/9/90

titule

P.A. 519030

ARTY

DISCRIMINATION

on by a Sinn Fein
declared illegal, the
in given in a case in
ireland's Lord Chief



Ulster Unionist Council
3 Glengall Street, Belfast BT12 5AE
Telephone: 0232 - 324601
Fax No: 0232 - 246738

ms of Sinn Fein are
one hand and an
port to the "armed

...supremism used by Sinn Fein to describe terrorist murders and other violent crimes committed by the Provisional IRA, and that when the elected representatives of Sinn Fein take part in the normal work of an elected council this is just one plank of their policy, the other plank being the unambivalent support of murder and other acts of terrorist violence committed to overthrow democratic government in Northern Ireland."

Mr. Justice Carswell then referred to an interesting comment by the then Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lowry in a case in 1986 when the latter said, "I do not subscribe to the view that Sinn Fein has to be regarded as a lawful organisation or by implication as a "legitimate political party" just because it has been allowed since 1975 to operate as a political party without being proscribed." Lord Lowry's comments remind one that Sinn Fein could be regarded, under common law on sedition, as an unlawful organisation. Then dealing with the broadcasting ban Carswell said,

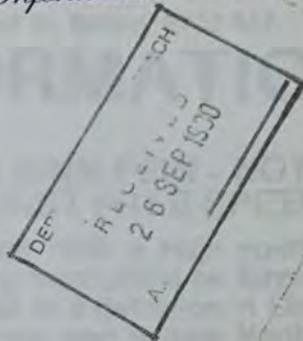
"The relevant characteristic of Sinn Fein, as in the case of the other organisations specified in the directives, is its support for violence, which cannot be classed as a legitimate political opinion. That support is an intrinsic part of the policy of Sinn Fein. The ban does not operate upon the broadcaster because he is a member of Sinn Fein. Indeed, it applies equally to persons who are not members of Sinn Fein, if the words which they say support or solicit or invite support for Sinn Fein. It is not aimed at the opinions of the broadcaster, but at his representation of Sinn Fein or his support for it."

The judge also dismissed the argument that Sinn Fein has some legitimate political objects apart from its support of terrorism which could not be expressed because of the ban and that this was political discrimination, saying "I am satisfied on the evidence, however, that in issuing his directives the Home Secretary was aiming squarely at terrorism. If ... the effect of the directives is to hinder members of Sinn Fein in carrying out legitimate political activities, that does not make the actions of the Home Secretary unlawful as discriminating against those members on the ground of political opinion. His object was to reduce the support for terrorism afforded by the participation of Sinn Fein representatives in television and radio broadcasts. It is perfectly clear that the support of terrorist violence is an intrinsic part of Sinn Fein policy. I accept the Home Secretary's contention that in issuing the directives he was attempting to take steps to reduce the publicity given to such support. In my opinion this is not discrimination against the members or supporters of Sinn Fein on the ground of any legitimate political opinions which they may hold. The Home Secretary issued the directives on the ground of the support for terrorism which is an integral part of that party's policy."

*With the Compliments of
The Ulster Unionist Information Institute*

P.A. 519030

ARTY



JIM WILSON



Ulster Unionist Council
3 Glengall Street, Belfast BT12 5AE
Telephone: 0232 - 324601
Fax No: 0232 - 246738

DISCRIMINATION

on by a Sinn Fein
declared illegal, the
n given in a case in
Ireland's Lord Chief

ns of Sinn Fein are
one hand and an
support to the "armed

the euphemism used by Sinn Fein to describe terrorist murders and other violent crimes committed by the Provisional IRA, and that when the elected representatives of Sinn Fein take part in the normal work of an elected council this is just one plank of their policy, the other plank being the unambivalent support of murder and other acts of terrorist violence committed to overthrow democratic government in Northern Ireland."

Mr. Justice Carswell then referred to an interesting comment by the then Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lowry in a case in 1986 when the latter said, "I do not subscribe to the view that Sinn Fein has to be regarded as a lawful organisation or by implication as a "legitimate political party" just because it has been allowed since 1975 to operate as a political party without being proscribed." Lord Lowry's comments remind one that Sinn Fein could be regarded, under common law on sedition, as an unlawful organisation. Then dealing with the broadcasting ban Carswell said,

"The relevant characteristic of Sinn Fein, as in the case of the other organisations specified in the directives, is its support for violence, which cannot be classed as a legitimate political opinion. That support is an intrinsic part of the policy of Sinn Fein. The ban does not operate upon the broadcaster because he is a member of Sinn Fein. Indeed, it applies equally to persons who are not members of Sinn Fein, if the words which they say support or solicit or invite support for Sinn Fein. It is not aimed at the opinions of the broadcaster, but at his representation of Sinn Fein or his support for it."

The judge also dismissed the argument that Sinn Fein has some legitimate political objects apart from its support of terrorism which could not be expressed because of the ban and that this was political discrimination, saying "I am satisfied on the evidence, however, that in issuing his directives the Home Secretary was aiming squarely at terrorism. If ... the effect of the directives is to hinder members of Sinn Fein in carrying out legitimate political activities, that does not make the actions of the Home Secretary unlawful as discriminating against those members on the ground of political opinion. His object was to reduce the support for terrorism afforded by the participation of Sinn Fein representatives in television and radio broadcasts. It is perfectly clear that the support of terrorist violence is an intrinsic part of Sinn Fein policy. I accept the Home Secretary's contention that in issuing the directives he was attempting to take steps to reduce the publicity given to such support. In my opinion this is not discrimination against the members or supporters of Sinn Fein on the ground of any legitimate political opinions which they may hold. The Home Secretary issued the directives on the ground of the support for terrorism which is an integral part of that party's policy."

ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY

3 Glengall St, Belfast, BT12 5AE

INFORMATION

BROADCASTING BAN ON SINN FEIN - NOT DISCRIMINATION NOT AGAINST FREE SPEECH

In rejecting on 7 September 1990 a High court action by a Sinn Fein councillor to have the broadcasting restrictions on Sinn Fein declared illegal, the judge, Mr Justice Carswell referred to a definition of Sinn Fein given in a case in 1985 by the then Mr. Justice Hutton who is now Northern Ireland's Lord Chief Justice. Hutton said,

"I take judicial notice of the facts that the policy and aims of Sinn Fein are to take power in Northern Ireland with a ballot paper in one hand and an Armalite in the other, that Sinn Fein gives unambivalent support to the "armed struggle", which is the euphemism used by Sinn Fein to describe terrorist murders and other violent crimes committed by the Provisional IRA, and that when the elected representatives of Sinn Fein take part in the normal work of an elected council this is just one plank of their policy, the other plank being the unambivalent support of murder and other acts of terrorist violence committed to overthrow democratic government in Northern Ireland."

Mr. Justice Carswell then referred to an interesting comment by the then Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lowry in a case in 1986 when the latter said, "I do not subscribe to the view that Sinn Fein has to be regarded as a lawful organisation or by implication as a "legitimate political party" just because it has been allowed since 1975 to operate as a political party without being proscribed." Lord Lowry's comments remind one that Sinn Fein could be regarded, under common law on sedition, as an unlawful organisation. Then dealing with the broadcasting ban Carswell said,

"The relevant characteristic of Sinn Fein, as in the case of the other organisations specified in the directives, is its support for violence, which cannot be classed as a legitimate political opinion. That support is an intrinsic part of the policy of Sinn Fein. The ban does not operate upon the broadcaster because he is a member of Sinn Fein. Indeed, it applies equally to persons who are not members of Sinn Fein, if the words which they say support or solicit or invite support for Sinn Fein. It is not aimed at the opinions of the broadcaster, but at his representation of Sinn Fein or his support for it."

The judge also dismissed the argument that Sinn Fein has some legitimate political objects apart from its support of terrorism which could not be expressed because of the ban and that this was political discrimination, saying "I am satisfied on the evidence, however, that in issuing his directives the Home Secretary was aiming squarely at terrorism. If ... the effect of the directives is to hinder members of Sinn Fein in carrying out legitimate political activities, that does not make the actions of the Home Secretary unlawful as discriminating against those members on the ground of political opinion. His object was to reduce the support for terrorism afforded by the participation of Sinn Fein representatives in television and radio broadcasts. It is perfectly clear that the support of terrorist violence is an intrinsic part of Sinn Fein policy. I accept the Home Secretary's contention that in issuing the directives he was attempting to take steps to reduce the publicity given to such support. In my opinion this is not discrimination against the members or supporters of Sinn Fein on the ground of any legitimate political opinions which they may hold. The Home Secretary issued the directives on the ground of the support for terrorism which is an integral part of that party's policy."



Ulster Unionist Party

3 Glengall Street, Belfast BT12 5AE
Telephone: 0232 - 324601
Fax: 0232 - 246738

INFORMATION

PATRICK MacGILL SUMMER SCHOOL

(KEN MAGINNIS ... 15TH AUGUST 1990)

IRELAND NORTH, SOUTH, BRITAIN AND EUROPE

It is generally recognised that we have reached a moment in history when the two political entities which make up the island of Ireland should be concentrating on how they can best adapt to those changes which are currently taking place in Europe. Forty-five years after World War Two, it appears, at least on the surface that we are at last part of a Europe where the prospect of war has receded and that we can now live free from fear and at peace with our neighbours.

Yet reality for many of us is that such an expectation is but a pipe-dream and that, for the foreseeable future, there are circumstances which will preclude us from realising the full potential of a single Europe, as it is intended it should develop.

Some of you may recall that when I last spoke to this assembly in the wake of the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement I referred to the difficulties which I believed would inevitably arise during the following months and years. It is little consolation to me that I have been proved to be right. Not only are peace, stability and reconciliation not yet with us ... their realisation seems to have become of secondary importance as the two signatories are pre-occupied with the struggle merely to justify the Agreement itself.

Despite the patronising way in which some republican politicians dismissed Unionists objections and forecast that we would soon weary of our opposition to the Diktat, I knew exactly how I felt, both about the conspiracy which had deprived me of my democratic rights and expectations and about those who had perpetrated that deceit. I predicted what would happen and I advised then that the entire Unionist people was at one on the issue.

In the light of how we felt and ... need I add ... how we still feel, does anyone really think that Northern Ireland has been offered a viable opportunity for progress within these islands or in Europe as we move towards 1992? I regret that I have to further warn that the prospect for any formal political break-through is in danger of becoming even more remote than I had, hopefully, believed it to be 5 years ago. I say this, not with any sense of defiance and certainly with no sense of satisfaction. In fact, the opposite is the case.

But at least I have been consistent. As I have advocated the concept of some sort of responsibility-sharing arrangement within Northern Ireland and as I recognised the need for some type of North/South liaison, in that I again and again clearly indicated that such developments will not be possible unless and until there is established some reasonable basis for trust, both within Northern Ireland and on the whole island.

***Only the first page of
this booklet has been
copied***

...iticians here
...which have
...trade. Equally
...Roman
...where
...take



ULSTER UNIONIST INFORMATION

3 GLENGALL STREET
BELFAST BT12 5AE

TELEPHONE: (0232) 324601
FAX: (0232) 246738

ISSUE NUMBER 6

AUTUMN 1990

THE LEADER'S MESSAGE

When Mr Brooke launched the present initiative in his January speech in Bangor, the Northern Ireland Office would not have foreseen the pitfalls ahead. The first was the Dublin Supreme Court finding that "...the re-integration of the national territory is a constitutional imperative". That gave added force to the requirement contained in the Anglo-Irish Agreement to "make determined efforts to reach agreement" on any Dublin stipulations. The penalty for disregard of that provision was imposed by Mr Collins on 5th July when he refused to allow Mr Brooke to reveal to the House of Commons his plan for discussions and negotiations. Hence the very limited answer of 26th July, when he said:

After the holiday period, when all the main potential participants should again be available, I intend to resume my efforts to resolve the outstanding issues. For that purpose I plan to hold further meetings with the political parties and with representatives of the Irish Government in September.

Mr Brooke, it appears, intends to resume as if nothing had happened, but he must realise that after the demarche of 5th July we cannot resume discussions in September as if nothing had happened.

I take the view that time should not be wasted. I suggest that the two Governments take a cool look at the Anglo-Irish Agreement which constitutes a massive road block - even to good relationships between London and Dublin. If Eastern Europe can dismantle its diktats without loss of face why can Britain and the Republic not be equally generous and humane.

I entreat every member of the Ulster Unionist Council to enlist the support of all those citizens who simply wish to remain within the United Kingdom in persuading the two Governments to concentrate on the eradication of terrorism and then to design, with our assistance, a vastly superior arrangement for co-existence as two separate national entities.

The Ulster Unionist party today is in a state of readiness to assist Her Majesty's Government in bringing forward a plan for the good governance of this part of the United Kingdom and all its people free from interference by those who lay claim to our Province and free from the shackles of the Anglo-Irish Agreement which is a massive road block in the path to peace, stability and prosperity.

JAMES H. MOLYNEAUX
MP for Lagan Valley
August 1990.

MARTIN SMYTH ON THE IRAQ CRISIS

in the House of Commons emergency debate on 6th September 1990.

May I be allowed, first to join the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and Mr Speaker in paying tribute to colleagues who are now deceased? I sympathise with their parties and families on behalf of my hon. Friends and, as I believe everyone will understand, particularly on behalf of the people of Northern Ireland in respect of Ian Gow, who showed himself a solid Unionist, determined to maintain his position against all terror. It is apt that on a day when we are dealing with one who, by terror and destruction, would seek to impose his mind and will on a region of the world, we should pay tribute to one who resisted terror in our own nation.

I have been a little happier with some of the more recent speeches than with some that took place in the middle of the debate. I welcomed the general unanimity on the front benches

as right hon. and hon. Members tackled the issue.

I noticed some confusion during the debate and among the advice given, and was reminded of the old statement to the effect "I do not know what you are doing to the enemy, but you are certainly scaring me". In my judgement, some of the contributions gave more succour to President Hussein than they did to either the hostages or the men and women stationed in the Gulf at the present at the request of our and other Governments. During this debate, we have a responsibility to give them succour. I know that in these hours of uncertainty and torment we dare not forget the welfare of those Britons and other nationals who are trapped in Iraq and occupied Kuwait. I am sure that all my colleagues will agree that their safety is paramount amid all the talk of hostilities.

***Only the first page of
this booklet has been
copied***

M. McG...
12/17

cc PS of
Mr. Nelligan; P...
Mr. Nathan; id...
519030
005 P1
INDEXED
200/2

SECURE FAX

10 July 1990

For: James Farrell

From: Michael Gaffey

MARCHING SEASON: POTENTIAL PROBLEM AREAS

The following is a general outline of the NIO's view of potential problem areas over the Twelfth, in response to the paper handed over by the Irish side at the meeting on this year's Orange marches which was held in the Secretariat on 21 June. We had a further meeting with Peter Bell, of the NIO, today, on which Mr. O'Donovan has reported to Assistant Secretary Gallagher (Secure Fax 199, 10.7.90). This Fax should, of course, be read in conjunction with that report.

Belfast

Duncairn Gardens: The initial assessment of the NIO and the RUC was that the march on 22 June was handled successfully, with no public disorder. Mr. Bell stated, however, that the NIO had been particularly struck by the strength of Cllr. Feeney's letter to the Chief Constable and that it would have an effect on their planning for next year's march. [The letter was handed by us to the British side in the Secretariat with a request that it be brought to the personal attention of the Secretary of State].

Lower Ormeau Road: The British side stated that the RUC regard this as one of the more difficult potential trouble-spots each year. They feel that the main potential for trouble is when bands are returning from the field on the evening of the Twelfth. Following detailed consideration of the situation in the area this year, they have decided that, on balance, fewer problems would be caused by increased policing than by a decision to ban or re-route the march. They state that they will be taking appropriate policing measures to prevent trouble, both during the main march and when bands are returning home.

Portadown

The British side stated that this year's Church Parade on 8 July passed off quietly and that fewer police were required than last year. Their assessment is that the parade on the morning of the Twelfth to the railway station, at 7.30 a.m., will pass off without incident and will consist of bands and lodge members, with no "camp followers" who might be likely to cause trouble. They stated that, from a policing point of view, no problems were anticipated this year with the Garvaghy Road route. Following a lengthy discussion (reported on separately) of the principles involved in allowing the parade

200/3

to pass through an area in which it was not welcome, when a more direct route to the railway station was available, Mr. Bell stated that the British side would wish to stress the commitment of the NIO and the RUC to the avoidance of disorder and violence and their determination "to go to great lengths to prevent it".

Lurgan

The NIO and the RUC are confident that there will be no particular problems in Lurgan this year.

Kilkeel

They accept that there are special difficulties in Kilkeel because of the 50-50 nationalist/unionist split in the town. The RUC are aware of the problems caused by lambege drum "practice sessions" on the night before the parade and have come to an agreement with the Orange Order that the 11th night drumming will stop at 1.30 a.m.

East Derry and West Antrim

Rasharkin: No problems are anticipated this year.

Cullybackey: No problems are anticipated this year.

Garvagh: There have been problems in the past with bands regrouping informally late at night after band practice sessions. In recent years a number of Catholic housing estates have been attacked by such groups. The British side stated that the RUC had held meetings with Orange Order organisers to discuss the problem and are confident that, as a result, order will be maintained this year. They say that they agree that this is a potential trouble-spot and that policing requirements have been examined very closely in order to prevent any possible violence.

Agivey: The NIO have considered the problem of provocative bunting at the Lovell and Christmas Bacon Factory and are seeking ways of persuading those involved at local level to avoid provocative displays.

Derry

The NIO do not expect any problems this year. They accept that there has been very heavy, intensive policing throughout the city on the Twelfth in recent years but state that the RUC believe this is necessary to prevent the IRA from using the occasion to mount attacks.

Limavady

The main Co. Derry parade will take place in Limavady this year

200/4

and the RUC believe that the numbers involved could rival those taking part in the Belfast parade. We had raised this parade specifically in the Secretariat on a number of occasions, referring in particular to the 11th night parade, which has been the cause of serious trouble in the past. A major concern expressed by local nationalists has been that the parade would pass through Irishgreen Street, where the house of the local priest, Fr. Donnelly, and the Catholic church are located.

The British side stated that the RUC have preparing for the Limavady parade for some time, confirming what Fr. Donnelly has told the Department. They stated that Irishgreen Street is on the traditional route for Limavady parades to the field on the Twelfth and that this has not been the cause of any trouble in the past. However, trouble has broken out when uncontrolled, "spontaneous" parades took place through the street on the night before the main parade. Last year, the RUC agreed with the Orange Order that if they took over the organisation of the 11th night parade, avoided Irishgreen Street and ensured that there was no trouble, they would be allowed down the Street in 1990. The Order took control of the event for the first time, on these conditions, and it passed off without incident. The police believe that, in these circumstances and in the interests of public order, they have no option but to allow the marchers down the street on the 11th this year. They stress that they are confident they have taken sufficient measures to ensure that there will be no trouble, either on the 11th or during the major parade on the 12th.

Magherafelt

The RUC do not anticipate any trouble in the town involving bands attending the Limavady parade. The British side stated that in recent years the AOH and the Orange Order have reached a "modus vivendi" in the town and, in general, avoid provocative displays by bands at sensitive locations

Newtownhamilton

The main Armagh parade will take place in Newtownhamilton this year. The RUC describe the town as 70% Catholic but the actual route of the parade as 60% Protestant. They anticipate no particular policing problems and are not aware of any potential difficulties.

END of file