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P. Kierulff

22/6/89

WITH COMPLIMENTS



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KILLINGS BY SECURITY FORCES IN WEST BELFAST

STATEMENT BY BISHOP CAHAL B. DALY
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17th January 1990, 10.00 a.m.

On last Saturday morning in West Belfast a shocked community were witness to a perilous blurring of the distinction between the methods used by security forces to uphold the law and the methods used by organised crime or by paramilitaries to break the law. An indispensable precondition for the establishment of peace in this society is the process of building community confidence in the security forces. This process was already bound to be slow and laborious and difficult, but it has received a cruel setback through the shooting dead of three men by British Army personnel on the Falls Road on last Saturday morning, and by the ferocity with which the shooting would seem to have been carried out.

The men were engaged in criminal activity. At least two of them were carrying replica guns, very closely resembling real and deadly weapons. They were wearing paramilitary-style balaclavas. They could have been mistaken for paramilitaries. Nevertheless, no attempt seems to have been made to apprehend them or even to challenge them. The driver of the getaway car was apparently unarmed, and yet seems to have been shot dead without challenge.

It is hard to see how the whole posture and activity of the military personnel involved in this incident can be reconciled with a policy of combatting paramilitary violence strictly within the rule of law and under the primacy of the police.

INDEPENDENT ENQUIRY

It is vital and it is urgent that a rigorous enquiry be conducted into the whole circumstances of this lamentable episode, and into the policy decisions which lie behind it and which made it possible. Given the huge credibility problem which already hangs over the security forces' in West Belfast, a merely internal investigation stands very little chance of carrying conviction. An independent public enquiry, under a respected and impartial chairman, would be in the interests of the community and even in the true interests of the security forces themselves.

The incident has aroused grave and widespread concern, and not just within the Catholic community. Among those who have expressed the greatest concern are people who have spoken the most consistently and worked the hardest against republican or loyalist paramilitary violence, but who now, with dismay, see their efforts sabotaged by this operation.

It is essential that it be established under what instructions the soldiers were operating, whether they used only reasonable force, and whether they acted in conformity with the official rules of engagement.

SECURITY POLICY

This however is not enough. Soldiers are presumed to be carrying out orders and following guidelines handed down by superior officers and indeed they are presumed to be implementing official Army policy. It is the Army authorities who, with the approval of the Government, draw up the orders and who formulate the policy and it is they who have to be challenged to state what that policy now is. It is their responsibility to ensure that the stated policy is in all cases strictly enforced. The British Government itself must be challenged to clarify its directives governing the relations between the RUC and the Army, and to state what is now the policy and what is the reality regarding the primacy of the police force in our present situation.

The present episode cannot be taken out of the context of a whole series of security force operations which strongly resemble last Saturday's events. The shooting of UVF man, Brian Robinson, on the Crumlin Road last September, equally aroused serious questions as to what precisely is the British Army's policy and what are the instructions given to undercover soldiers in situations of real or suspected paramilitary activity. On the occasion of that shooting, I deplored the victim's death and I said:

"While effective action by the security forces is imperative, it is no less necessary that this activity be always within the constraints of the law, and be strictly in accordance with the principle of minimum force. After twenty years of death and mutilation and destruction through violence, our society needs to recover its respect for the principle of the absolute sacredness of all human life. The security forces have a primary duty to respect this principle themselves and thus to give an example to the whole of society."

On last Saturday, members of the security forces gave society a flagrant counter-example to respect for the absolute sacredness of all human life.

SECURITY REVIEW

Good could come out of this tragic affair if it were to lead to a radical reappraisal of security policy as a whole. Security operations must unquestionably include a military aspect. Yet military measures alone will never bring an end to paramilitary violence. What look in the short term like military successes can in the longer term defeat their purposes and bring instead a positive gain to the paramilitaries.

The military aspect of security must always be evaluated in the light of the paramount objective of building up community confidence in the security forces. The deployment, the attitudes, gestures, language and behaviour of soldiers on the streets must be judged by these same standards, and not solely by the criterion of supposed military efficacy. Above all, the military aspect of security must be seen as only one segment of a comprehensive security policy. An integral security policy would be one which gives as much weight to social and economic and environmental and human and community factors as to military ones. It would be one which identifies the underlying causes of civil unrest and violence, namely alienation, deprivation, injustice and inequality, and systematically addresses these with as much vigour as it does the military factors.

SYMPATHY FOR RELATIVES

Eddie Hale, Peter Thompson and John McNeill were casualties of society and of a violent environment before becoming casualties of Army gunfire. Despite their faults, they had good and lovable qualities. They needed compassion and love and help which society often did not offer them. One of them had already, three years ago, been the victim of an IRA "punishment shooting" which sent bullets through each ankle, each knee and each elbow - a form of barbarism which could not but incite him to a still greater sense of rejection and alienation from society. May the Father who embraces the Prodigal Son show them a mercy and compassion which society refused them. I offer deep sympathy to their relatives and friends and pray that the Lord may comfort them.

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INTERVIEW WITH CARDINAL TOMAS O FIAICH
RADIO ULSTER, "SUNDAY NEWSBREAK"
21 JANUARY 1990

Interviewer: Since his surprise elevation to the See of Armagh in 1977 Cardinal O Fiaich, a native of Cullyhanna in South Armagh, has never striven to disguise his strong nationalist views. He forcefully criticized the Government's handling of the hunger strike at the start of the '80's and has, on a number of occasions, questioned the British presence in Northern Ireland in the long term, but, at the same time, he has repeatedly condemned violence. The former historian and President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth has also been an ardent humanist promoting closer contacts between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Cardinal O Fiaich came into our studios here in Broadcasting House for a wide-ranging interview, his first major broadcast interview for more than three years, in which he answered questions on many issues including the political future for Northern Ireland and the image he has in some Unionist quarters. I began, though, by asking the Cardinal for his response to the shooting dead of the three robbers in West Belfast last weekend.

Cardinal O Fiaich: Of course, when something like that happens we usually leave it to the local bishop, at least to make the first comment, because he is usually much more knowledgeable of the facts than an outsider. So for that reason I don't want to say much about it but I felt that what Bishop Cathal Daly requested was very, very logical and was a natural kind of request to come from him because I think he made the point that it was only an enquiry under an impartial and highly respected person that would have a chance at all of being accepted by many people in that area and I think that still holds. The actual circumstances of course of what happened I have got to go simply on what appeared in the media and so on and to me I felt Bishop Daly was justified in referring to the incident as having an awful lot of ferocity about it, that is assuming that the media were correct in stating that the driver of the car was unarmed and undisguised and he seems to have been the first person who was shot. Then the two other robbers, and of course one has to emphasise that they were taking part in what was a criminal offence, but the other two then (according again, as I say, simply to the media) had been seriously wounded at least and then one particular soldier seems to have come back and poured further bullets into the two men lying on the ground. Now again that emphasises I think the point made by Bishop Cathal Daly that there is a certain amount of blurring in that kind of thing

between what one would expect from security forces and what happens on the part of criminal gangs or paramilitaries and you know I wouldn't like to see what should be a very clear distinction ... I wouldn't like to see that blurred.

Interviewer: But, by calling into question the actions of the security forces it might demonstrate inability maybe to fully appreciate the conditions the security forces find themselves in in situations like that. Maybe another example of your perceived failure anyway to fully take on board the feelings of other people in this case, the views of the majority of people in Northern Ireland, I suppose might be your controversial remarks on Dublin Hospital Radio before Christmas when you said the British should say they are not going to stay here for all time. They should set a date. Now did you anticipate then the furroe those remarks was going to start.

Cardinal O Flaich: No, that was a great storm in a teacup really. In my view it was much ado about nothing. Can I say a word on the background to that programme. It was of course an internal house radio. I am sure there weren't more than 300 people listening, if that, maybe because it was made at night; probably some of the patients and some of the staff that would be all and of course when I accepted that I thought I was simply talking to a small group. It was a chit-chat kind of a show. It was light-hearted, a bit of music, mainly reminiscences, in fact nearly all of it football because the compere was the son of a famous Cavan footballer 40 or 50 years ago. And he threw an odd question about the Pope's visit and about my schooling long ago and you know travels abroad and he threw in one about Hong Kong and it was that one that led to the other question. I am not going to tell you just word for word what I said because I think what I said offended some people and I am not going to offend them today.

Interviewer: I suppose it follows on, though, from many remarks you have made over the years really concerning the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland - 'Brits out' to use the venacular - and of course you have espoused all things Irish from the language to Gaelic sports which you are very interested in as well. And some might say in some respects you are guilty by association with those who believe in exactly the same things that you believe in but are prepared to get them by means of force.

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well I have never used the phrase by the way 'Brits out'. Never in my life, because I look upon that as an aggressive phrase and a provocative phrase and I wouldn't use it. In fact as you know, on this occasion, I didn't use it even though some of the papers then used it as a heading. But, of course, I think nobody has been as forceful ... perhaps they have been in individual condemnations but as forceful year after year, year in year out in condemnation of violence as I have been and I don't see therefore how anyone could look upon my association with some of the things you mention as being in any way compromising me with regard to my attitude towards force.

Interviewer: In which case your remarks are misinterpreted across quite a broad spectrum. I mean for example Archbishop Eames, (he is your fellow primate in Armagh of course) he said that people in public positions should "be very careful about what they say" referring to that hospital radio interview. The Unionist MP John Taylor said you had moved closer to Sinn Fein than ever before and even the SDLP indicated in the Irish News that your comments were unhelpful. So how do you respond to that fact that everyone is misconstruing your remarks?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well, no, I don't say everyone ... But I think you see that a particular custom has come up in, let's call it the media in general, in recent times that somebody makes a statement or perhaps answers a question and I always try to answer a question without fudging the issue. I answer honestly if I am asked a question, I don't try to kick for touch or anything like that as you may have noticed; and for that reason if you, perhaps, give an answer it can be just a very off-hand kind of answer, two seconds on a programme running for half-an-hour or in that particular instance for an hour, but the custom which has come up, which I don't like, is that immediately this becomes known to some branch of the media they begin to ring around to people they know will be critical of it. And they say, if it happened myself the other way round, "what do you think of what the Cardinal said?" you know and you get instant comment and I don't really believe in instant comment. And then the following day the news as it breaks is not what the Cardinal says but is what other people have said about the Cardinal; so and so raps Cardinal; or so and so slams Cardinal and that is the news from that on. I think if one makes an honest comment that he should be allowed to have it published if it is going to be published and then get people to

comment on it if they wish to comment on it. But this thing of kind of trying to get an instant comment, it really is trying to create news instead of report news.

Interviewer: But on the other hand it can't be gainsaid that you do believe that the British should withdraw from Ireland.

Cardinal O Fiaich: Yes, I believe that one day and I think it will become more and more clear when we are together in a united Europe after 1992. I think one day North and South will realise that they have more in common for instance than they have with any other part of Europe outside this island and I will not see it but I think one day North and South and Protestants and Catholics will come together in some form or other. I am not saying it has to be, as it were, the incorporation of one part of Ireland and another. I don't see any reason why we couldn't have some kind of federal relationship between them. But I think one day that, by force of circumstances in Europe, they will be forced much closer to each other than they are today.

Interviewer: In believing that and yet having to distance yourself from those who believe the same things and want to bring them about by force would you go as far say as Bishop Edward Daly and his remarks after the bomb in Sion Mills when he branded the IRA and Sinn Fein as gangsters and said they sullied the noble ideal of Irish nationalism. How can you divide these two when you are really after the same thing?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well probably the majority of Irish people would like to see North and South linked together in some way. So that if I'm after the same things there are millions of others after the same things, you know.

Interviewer: Would you call the IRA gangsters?

Cardinal O Fiaich: I have already said that many of the outrages they have committed are gangster outrages. Yes, I have and of course I have said I have used the word "sully" on occasion in fact. I don't think that the Bishop used a single adjective in his very strong denunciation at the beginning of the week. I don't believe he used a single adjective like "cruel", "ruthless", "heartless" and so on that I haven't used myself on several occasions. One thing perhaps that mightn't be noticeable is I

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referred at the beginning to the fact that we usually leave it to the local bishop. Now it just so happens that in the last two years or so things have been reasonably quiet around Armagh and therefore probably I haven't been as much in the news with regard to denunciations of violence as I had been earlier. But go back in the files, say to the Darkley outrage or something like that, and you will find it very hard to get anything which was as strong a denunciation.

Interviewer: After the outrage of course there is this discussion always of who is to blame. Now you did make remarks in Duisburg in Germany in 1987 and I believe you repeated them again after the outrage at Enniskillen and to quote you said "most of the killings in the past few years have been carried out by the IRA and most of the victims were Ulster Protestants. These are the crimes in which we Catholics and the community from which they sprang must ask forgiveness from our Protestant brothers and sisters". But I think maybe some Catholics say really it is unfair to blame all Catholics for the IRA. Why should we take the blame? Well, should they?

Cardinal O Fiach: I think there is quite a distinction between taking the blame and asking forgiveness. I used that phrase for the first time in fact in Enniskillen after the terrible outrage there two years ago last November and at that time I used it, if you like, in a more exact context than in the talk in Duisburg because I said, of course, there is nothing as good for healing wounds as mutual forgiveness and since it is from the Catholic side of the fence that the outrage in Enniskillen has sprung then it is in fact the Catholics who must now ask for forgiveness for the terrible crime that has been committed and the hurt that has been inflicted on their Protestant brothers and sisters. I was thinking of that more, if you like, in the spiritual context. It was at a church ceremony and so on that I used those words and I was thinking of the tremendous opening that occurs when somebody asks forgiveness from somebody who has been grievously wronged. It is a most healing process and that is, as it were, the context in which I was referring.

Interviewer: Now we have been looking back quite a bit, Cardinal. Can we look forward maybe. We are in 1990, the beginning of the new decade, as we are reminded constantly, and recently we had a speech from the Secretary of State which seemed to hold out the possibility of some progress on the political front. How do you see things here after 4 years now after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. What is your prognosis for the '90's.

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Cardinal O Fiaich: Well I was glad to read the Secretary of State's speech at the time. I thought it offered at least a glimmer of hope for something taking place because obviously it is the type of speech that might give the first little push towards what will ultimately be a round table conference of some kind getting all the political parties together. Of course I would love to see this happening. I think that people should be talking rather than shouting at each other and obviously there will be difficulties and it will be hard, particularly for some political leaders, to say "well okay we are going to talk" but I believe that the capabilities of Ulster politicians are certainly able to find some means without loss of principle and without in any way let's say a surrender of what they believe in their hearts. I believe it certainly should be possible for them to devise a means of getting themselves together for at least talks. I don't know if those talks would produce anything. I wouldn't be so hopeful of them producing some kind of what you might call a scheme for the government of Northern Ireland but at least it is far better to get talking.

Interviewer: You talked about your own views being full blooded earlier on. There are plenty of full blooded unionists who still will have no truck with the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Do you think they will accept it in the long run?

Cardinal O Fiaich: No, I don't know that and I am not suggesting they will. But what I mean is that I think it is not beyond their ability and the ability of various political leaders on the nationalist side to devise a means whereby they can talk without any reference to the Anglo-Irish Agreement at all.

Interviewer: Now going through quite a few press cuttings before I spoke to you I noticed in the Belfast Telegraph shortly after your elevation to the Archbishop of Armagh in 1977 that you said then that in the long run it is the people of the North who will be in charge. It doesn't matter what London or Dublin say. Basically it has to be solved here. I wondered if that was still your position and if it was how does that square with your remarks down the years on British withdrawal.

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well really I don't see any contradiction between the two because I am an Ulster man and I may only be slightly inside the border with Co. Louth and Co. Monaghan but I still am very proud to be an Ulster man and a Co. Armagh man and, therefore, no matter what my long term viewpoint would

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be and, what I think will likely happen perhaps in the 21st century, I still of course believe that as far as we are concerned in this century and as far as its influence and what will happen later is concerned that it must be the people of the North who will finally have their say and decide what structure of government they are able to sell to a majority on both sides of the fence.

Interviewer: And in the long run a majority within Northern Ireland who would be able to decide for themselves what they want ...

Cardinal O Fiaich: Of course, yes of course.

Interviewer: Now something that is seen by many people rightly or wrongly as being extremely linked with politics is the policing of Northern Ireland and the administration of justice and we have got the Stalker affair back in the news, the Stevens leaks enquiry is continuing and a lot of pressure is building up for the release of the Birmingham Six after the release of the Guildford Four. Now, firstly, on the police, how do you assess the RUC's performance at the moment?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well their "acceptability", if I may use the word, in the nationalist community, - it goes up and down all during the period when I have been in Armagh. When I came up first of all my memory is that while they always were more acceptable than the UDR, if I may put it that way, that they hadn't the full acceptability of the people of that time which was a hangover from what had happened in the earlier 1970's. I came up here in 1977 and there was still of course the whole question ..., internment was in the background. There was still a number of incidents, that things that had happened during the 1970's. I think from the early 1980's on that their acceptability began to increase particularly my memory is that one thing that helped them very much at that time was the arrests and trials of the Shankill group of paramilitaries. But then as against that, from say 1982 was it?, they began to lose a little bit of that acceptability again, particularly, with regard to the allegations of a shoot-to-kill policy which concerned very much of course the Armagh area when six men were shot at that time. Now whether it was the police or a particular group of specially trained police or whether it was the SAS and so on never seemed to emerge very much but the police were certainly involved and as you remember one or two or perhaps more were placed on trial at one time. Then we have the Stalker Report and so on

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and the maze into which it seemed to get ultimately. It didn't improve the image of the police. But again I think from about 1985 perhaps on their very impartial policing of different July parades and so on ...

Interviewer: You are getting less complaints?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Oh far less. Oh far, far less from that on. Except that of course during the last few months with the emergence of this question of the leaks and so on I think their acceptability has taken a tumble again. I have to be honest and say that. But it has been constantly in a dip up and down and up and down in my dozen years here.

Interviewer: What about the judiciary? How are they acquitting themselves in your opinion?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well I don't know if I have been following various cases sufficiently closely but I am much more in touch with some of the cases in Britain in recent times. You mentioned the Guildford Four and I have had no doubt in my mind for the last ten years that the Guildford Four were innocent. Now I wasn't as au fait for many years with the Birmingham Six case as I was with the Guildford one but I am becoming more and more convinced now to be honest because of everything that has happened let us say in the last year or so. The fact that the Special Crimes Squad of the West Midlands Police has now been put under suspension, that it was disclosed only a week or so ago that one of them had been asked to leave the force away back three or four years ago and even last week a publican in the area came on the television and said that he was going to give evidence in favour of one of the Birmingham Six and then he was dissuaded from doing so by the police. All that kind of thing and I have visited, actually in prison, I have visited one of the Birmingham Six and I was impressed by our conversation. There is nothing completely convincing in what I have said but there is a little collection of things building up in one's mind and then I went over to the Old Bailey during their appeal two years ago, in November of '87, and I sat in on the court case for two days. I was convinced at that time that the forensic evidence was of little value. What really had to be overturned if you like by the defense counsel at that time was the question of whether or not they were forced to make and sign confessions and that of course is the thing that should be examined. Now I think they deserve a re-examination.

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Interviewer: Well what should the Government be doing, or indeed the judiciary be doing that they are not doing at the moment if you believe that these six men are still being locked up as innocents?

Cardinal O Fiaich: I think the easiest thing that the Government should do now is to extend the investigation which is already going on bringing you back to the 1980's that this should be extended back to the 1970's as well because there are at least 4, possibly 5, of those now being investigated for their actions in the 1980's who were already part of the investigation team for the Birmingham Six in the 1970's. I think certainly, in the case of those, investigation should go back to the 1970's.

Interviewer: Of course to use your proper title it is Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh and so as you are not maybe seen to be batting just for one side what about the Armagh or UDR Four? Have you any thoughts on their case?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Yes. I have met one of them. I have visited the prison in which he is. There is another of them who writes to me from time to time. In fact I have heard from him recently. I have tried to acquaint myself not only with the case but I have spoken to a lot of people around Armagh who knew them personally, some of their own clergy for instance and so on and I am wondering that, this is only thinking out loud as it were, I am wondering if perhaps some distinction shouldn't be made between what you might call the individual four members. What really I should say perhaps is if I am convinced of course at any time that these men, or one or two of them, is innocent then I will have no hesitation in supporting a re-examination of their case, just as I have supported quite openly the cause of the Guildford and the Birmingham Six. I don't want to see anyone spending a single day in prison who is innocent and I think I have probably shown sufficiently by my visits to every prison in the North and a number of prisons in the South and some of the prisons in Britain that I am genuinely interested in the cause of the prisoners. When the Pope was in Ireland in fact, one of the things he asked the Irish bishops to do especially was to give special attention to the care of prisoners and particularly special attention to their relatives and friends who were suffering and I think, to be quite honest, I have tried to do that in the succeeding 10 years.

Interviewer: Let us move along now to a completely different topic, education. Now there are big changes at the moment planned in the education

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system. Indeed, the Minister Dr. Mawhinney has gone ahead with the Bill which has become law and he has gone ahead really against the wishes of the Catholic Church as outlined in a recent interview by Bishop Daly. Now are you resigned to this situation in this new Education Bill especially the provision that doesn't give Catholic school trustees a veto over the transfer of the control of the school to local parents. That now is inscribed in law and there is nothing you can do about that?

Cardinal O Fiaich: I didn't hear the interview you refer to, but I could imagine what Bishop Daly would have said in it. By the way might I point out that this is the first measure as far as I know, certainly in recent years, going through the British Parliament. I know it is only an Order. It didn't go through as an Act but it was the first thing on which the British Parliament voted in which every single Northern MP whether nationalist, Official Unionist, Democratic Unionist or anything else all voted on the same side and they all voted among the "no's". I think that is worth pointing out. In fact if you had read Hansard on the occasion then at one stage Dr. Paisley said that "the Catholic Church and it is known that I am not a great admirer and so on, the Catholic Church has worked very hard for its schools" he said and I don't see why they should be discriminated about and I am very grateful to Dr. Paisley for saying that. In fact in that statement he seemed so much on the side of what the bishops were trying to achieve, was it David Alton I think it was in his reply coming immediately after Dr. Paisley, he said there seems to be new coalition emerging between the honourable gentleman and Cardinal O Fiaich.

Interviewer: But I suppose Dr. Mawhinney and indeed the supporters of integrated education would say there are extremists on both sides.

Cardinal O Fiaich: They probably would but at any rate when we issued our criticism we issued a number of documents and so on but the most recent one at the time that it was accepted by the British Parliament we concentrated mainly on two features. We pointed out that there were certain things there we liked in the Bill as for instance the inclusion of religious education as part of the programme. We pointed out that there were certain things we didn't like so much like open enrolment in all schools because we felt this might lead and was very likely to lead to some of the rather weaker schools going to the wall but we did concentrate on the one you mention and the other one, the one you mention being that according to the terms of the Order if a

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majority of parents with regard to a particular school, if they at any time wish to transfer the school from being a Catholic school to being a grant-maintained integrated school then they are entitled to do so because they are a majority but our point of course was they are a majority at a particular time, that without any reference to the parish community who built that school and probably built it at great sacrifices over a period of years through making the 50% contribution to it without any reference at all, let's say, to the situation of the school ...

Interviewer: I suppose your critics might assume it is just the Catholic Church in a rear guard action because it doesn't like seeing its power being chipped away. You don't see it like that?

Cardinal O Fiaich: No, I don't at all. As a matter of fact the two points we made were the one that we were discussing earlier in other words the transfer of a school like that without any reference either to the trustees or to the local Catholic community who have built it and so on without any reference to what the other parents who perhaps next year might have a majority without any way of transferring back again. It only provides for transfer in one direction. Without any reference to all those things that a transient group of parents have the power to opt out of being a Catholic school and into being an integrated school.

Interviewer: So you are fighting the legislation still then are you?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well we are unhappy about it. I am not saying what we are going to do next. We did get legal advice as appeared on the papers of course that this could prove to be unconstitutional and that it seemed to be discriminatory but I will keep my cards close to my chest today.

Interviewer: Now we are conducting this interview right in the middle of Church Unity week and indeed you have chosen this time to give this interview to the BBC. What is Church Unity week?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well it is an effort every year to pray and to, as it were, bring people together for the cause of ultimate unity between all the Christian churches and it has been going on for many years even before the Catholic Church began to take part in it. But for several years now in the

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North of Ireland we have used it for get-togethers, for discussions, for sermons, for exchange of pulpits and, for instance, already now last week it would be last Thursday when it began, it goes from 18th to 25th January.

Interviewer: I said it maybe in a slightly cynical way not wishing to undermine what is going on in Church Unity week but because we have so many theme weeks these days I wonder how you could mark this one out and indeed whether it had any relevance to what is going on at the coal face of life in Northern Ireland.

Cardinal O Fiaich: Yes. I accept that of course it will pass without being noticed by many people. I accept that. But it is an effort to bring church men particularly and church attenders closer together. As I just look back last Thursday I had all the clergy of Armagh who would accept invitations to come to my house and we had morning coffee and we talked over things and so on. Then on Friday we opened a new centre for inter-church temperance movements and set up a new one in an effort to combat abuse of alcohol in all the churches and we all have a problem in that, particularly with some of our young people.

Interviewer: What about the role of the various Christian churches in ending violence and breaking the political emasse in Northern Ireland. Should the churches be more or less political?

Cardinal O Fiaich: I think they should certainly not be more political. I believe that when any church and a political party become too closely associated then I think it is damaging to both sides. What I would like to say and I think the only roles of the churches in the whole matter of politics is to constantly emphasise what you might call the virtues that bring people together like charity and love and compassion and patience and so on and to constantly oppose things like anger and hatred and revenge. I think if the Church does that it is doing a good job.

Interviewer: You have another 9 years to run, I gather. 75 is the sort of age when the Pope consider retiring you. Have you any goals for the next 9 years?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well I think to come back to where we began I think my priority goal certainly still remains demonstration of peace in Northern

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Ireland. That is the one I want to see and I don't know whether I am entitled to appeal once more as I have appealed so often in the past to the IRA and to indeed to all paramilitary groups for God's sake to stop the violence because not only is it getting us nowhere it is sinful, it is wrong and from the point of view of the objective it is counter-productive, because you cannot unite people with bombs and bullets. All you do is separate them still further. If you are asking for, as it were, a list of ambitions and hopes and so on I would like, for instance, I would like to see the Pope returning to Ireland but this time coming to the North, well North and South.

Interviewer: Do you think he actually will come to Northern Ireland?

Cardinal O Fiaich: I think if we have a peaceful situation. I think he would love to come back to Ireland again. He got a great welcome the last time and I think he would get an equally great welcome in the North.

Interviewer: So you think that if the Pope is going to come to Northern Ireland there is a large burden of responsibility on the Provisional IRA maybe to make it possible for him to come here.

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well, I don't want to see them as it were stopping for that reason. I want to see them stopping because what they are doing is wrong. Then it would become a practical possibility after that.

Interviewer: Finally, Cardinal, and without wishing to appear too personal a question of deception of how you are seen by those who maybe aren't of your religion and don't support your political aims, now without wishing to sound unkind, through all the cuttings I have read there has been any number of phrases "turbulent priest", "Sinn Fein Cardinal", "The IRA Cardinal from Crossmaglen" and indeed I have noticed a quote in the 'Irish Times' it says "in the demonology of the extreme Protestant Unionist tradition the Cardinal comes pretty near the top". Why do they believe this?

Cardinal O Fiaich: Well I don't know to what extent many of them believe it at all. I think going back to a point I made earlier that when you are asked to make an instant comment on some one particular thing you will make a comment of that kind. I was also described as an "evil prelate" as an "ogre". I could give you a whole litany of them myself but you have been

- 14 -

very accurate in what you have quoted. Side by side with that I would claim that relationships between the clergy of the Catholic Church and the various Protestant churches have never been as close and as friendly as they are at the moment and I am not wishing to boast or anything like that but I would claim that I have helped those friendships along very much. I have helped to build them up. Our church leaders now meet very regularly, every month or two. We visit two or three of the largest cities and towns throughout the country in the year. We want to be seen together. We want to be seen able to work together and so on to give good example to our clergy and to the ordinary people.

Interviewer: How can you personally convince those Unionists say who do see you as the bogey man, the "Provo" Cardinal?

Cardinal O Flaich: Well, I think my record over the years should be sufficient for that. You know it is very easy to toss out a term of that kind and it really means nothing in practice. But, I have hundreds of friends among the Northern Protestants, I invite many of them to my house from time to time. We usually have little get-togethers of 30 or 40 Protestants, 30 or 40 Catholics and so on and I have never experienced anything except the highest courtesy.

Interviewer: I wondered maybe if it was because sometimes you expressed the personal feelings you hold as the "individual" Tomas O Flaich as opposed to those views which maybe you should keep to yourself if you are the Cardinal. Do you see any struggle there between the two?

Cardinal O Flaich: Well I have always made it clear of course anytime I expressed a view of that kind that this is simply my own personal view but it is not in any way a Church view. The Church has no views on all of those political questions. The Catholic Church in Ireland can live with a monarchy, with a republic with any kind or form of government, with a united Ireland or with a divided Ireland. The Catholic Church is not in any way involved in that and the same thing goes for all over the world. And one point perhaps that would be worth making is that many of my own people will disagree with my views on some questions like that. I know that I have, for instance in the Catholic Church in the North of Ireland, I have Catholics who are Unionists and we have to try to be answering for them as well for those

who might be republicans. You know I think the Church has to be a gatherer together rather than a scatterer and that somebody who is in a permanent position in the Church therefore has to be open to the views of all while, if he wishes, retaining his own personal views.

Mo 26

*Mr. Kelly
Thur
31. 1 90
m
31/1*

COMMUNICATIONS MESSAGE	
IMMEDIATE URGENT	
CONFIDENTIAL	
DATE 26/1/90	TIME 16:40
INITIALS <i>JK</i>	

C11
26.1.90
IMMEDIATE

*cc
Psw : AG
Mr Nelly : PCS
Mr McKeown : de Tawa
Counselor B1*

TO LONDON FROM HQ
FOR D DONOHUE FROM D GALLAGHER

/////
TY
/////
WTKY WAJDP
/////

I WAS ASTONISHED TO READ PARTS OF THE WILLIAM ODDIE ARTICLE IN TODAY'S TELEGRAPH. SOME OF THE CLAIMS (ESPECIALLY TOWARDS THE END) ARE NOT JUST MISCHIEVOUS BUT ARE ACTUALLY BORDERING ON THE INFLAMMATORY. WE HAVE NEVER HEARD OF WILLIAM ODDIE. IT WOULD BE APPRECIATED IF THE ARTICLE WERE TAKEN UP IMMEDIATELY WITH THE TELEGRAPH AND A FULL REPORT SENT BACK TO US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

/////
0500
/////

JANUARY 1990

IMMEDIATE

TO HQ FROM LONDON
FOR ASST. SEC GALLAGHER FROM D. DONOGHUE
/////

ARTICLE IN LAST THURSDAY'S TELEGRAPH

1. THE AUTHOR OF THE ABOVE ARTICLE, WILLIAM ODDIE, IS NOT A STAFF MEMBER BUT A FREELANCE CONTRIBUTOR TO THE TELEGRAPH. AN OXFORD ACADEMIC CLERIC, HE IS A THEOLOGIAN AND HISTORIAN OF PRONOUNCED RIGHT-WING VIEWS WHO WRITES OCCASIONAL ARTICLES FOR THE TELEGRAPH. (HE WAS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH ANOTHER RIGHT-WING ZEALOT, REVD GARETH BENNETT, WHO COMMITTED SUICIDE LAST YEAR AFTER VOICING OPPOSITION TO LIBERAL TENDENCIES IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH). ODDIE HAS NOT CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES ON NI FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS BUT, WHEN HE DID SO IN THE PAST, THEY EXHIBITED A STRONG ORANGE B BIAS.

2. I TOOK UP ODDIE'S ARTICLE WITH SOME TELEGRAPH CONTACTS LAST FRIDAY. I CRITICISED ITS GROSS DISTORTIONS, PREJUDICES AND FALSEHOODS, SINGLING OUT THE REMARKS MADE ABOUT THE TAOISEACH AND THE ALLEGATIONS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PROTESTANTS IN THE R REPUBLIC.

3. I MADE THE SAME POINTS AGAIN TODAY TO VERONICA WADLEY, THE PAPER'S COMMISSIONING EDITOR FOR THE FEATURES PAGE. I EMPHASISED THE RESENTMENT WHICH ODDIE'S CRUDE AND TOTALLY UNFOUNDED ASSERTIONS HAVE CAUSED IN IRELAND AND SUGGESTED THAT THE TELEGRAPH TAKE EARLY ACTION TO CORRECT THE UNFORTUNATE IMPRESSIONS CONVEYED BY THIS ARTICLE.

4. MS. WADLEY TOOK NOTE OF MY COMPLAINT. SHE MENTIONED THAT ONE OF THE TELEGRAPH'S OTHER REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS HAS ALREADY TAKEN ISSUE INTERNALLY WITH THE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT DISCRIMINATION

AGAINST PROTESTANTS AND THAT THE PAPER PLANS TO RETURN TO THIS ISSUE SHORTLY. (SHE INDICATED THAT THE WRITER IN QUESTION WILL DISPUTE ODDIE'S CONTENTION). SHE SAID THAT THE TELEGRAPH WOULD BE GLAD TO PUBLISH 'A GOOD, STRONG LETTER' OF COMPLAINT ABOUT THE ARTICLE.

5. I WOULD BE HAPPY TO DRAFT SUCH A LETTER. I FEEL, HOWEVER, THAT IT MAY BE SUFFICIENT FOR THE TIME BEING TO LET MATTERS REST WITH THE ORAL PROTEST WHICH I HAVE LODGED, PARTICULARLY IF THE TELEGRAPH IS CONSIDERING CORRECTIVE ACTION OF ITS OWN IN DUE COURSE.

/////

2625

Th
John W. McCormack
Institute of
Public Affairs

February 20, 1990

The Honorable Charles J. Haughey, T.D.
Taoiseach
Office of the Taoiseach
Government Buildings
Upper Merrion St.
Dublin 2, Ireland

Dear Taoiseach:

Enclosed is a copy of "Northern Ireland: Question of Nuance,"
a report I have prepared in the course of updating The Uncivil
Wars. I think it provides a "snapshot" of what people were
thinking at a point in time and I do hope you find it useful.

Sincerely,

Padraig O'Malley
Padraig O'Malley

iversity POM:mhp

Massachusetts

Boston

ton
ssachusetts
25-3393

7) 287-5550



Oifig an Taoisigh
Office of the Taoiseach

March 1990

Mr Padraig O'Malley
The John W McCormack
Institute of Public Affairs
University of Massachusetts at Boston
Boston
Massachusetts 02125-3393
U.S.A.

Taoiseach
Draft reply
approved
13/3

Dear Mr O'Malley

Many thanks for the copy of "Northern Ireland: Questions of Nuance" which you sent me.

I have read what you say with great interest and am impressed by the detail and perception of your analysis. I hope, with you, that in this time of change in Europe, peace can come again in the narrow ground and I and my colleagues will certainly continue to work to that end - helped by fact finding works like yours.

Yours sincerely

Taoiseach

Mr Padraig O'Malley
The John W McCormack
Institute of Public Affairs
University of Massachusetts at Boston
Boston
Massachusetts 02125-3393
U.S.A.



Oifig an Taoisigh
Office of the Taoiseach

March 1990

Mr Padraig O'Malley
The John W McCormack
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Yours sincerely

Taoiseach

17 June 1913
Wm W. Carrington
June 3, 90

Mr. Nally,
The Taoiseach, who has previously
encountered Mr O' Malley felt that
effusive encomiums in the direction
of someone who has been consistently
and strongly critical of him would be
inappropriate. This is not to deny that
Mr O' Malley's ink is interesting and well-
written.

Mr O' Malley also writes to me, and
I am replying to him, thanking him on
behalf of the Taoiseach, with some more
personal observations on his report.

Wm W. Carrington

15/3/90



IRISH EMBASSY, LONDON

SEEN BY
T. J. O'NEILL

*in 4' copy
23. 3. 90
B. Kerwin
2/3*

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

Confidential

*To see please
particularly for 2/3 cc Mr. Neill & PEP
C. Miller R/*

19 March 1990

Mr. Dermot Gallagher
Assistant Secretary
Anglo-Irish Division

NO26

Dear Assistant Secretary

Lunch with George Jones, Daily Telegraph

Jones is the Political Editor of the Daily Telegraph.

The following points of interest arose:

The Supreme Court decision

- In responding to a clearly planted PQ on this subject last Thursday, the Prime Minister was simply "doing her ritual bit". She has an automatic "reflex" whenever extradition comes up and, whether or not Peter Brooke had given the Government's position on the previous day, she was determined to place her own views on record.
- It was also obvious last Thursday that she was anxious to divert attention, however temporarily, from her own poll tax difficulties.
- Her pronouncements on extradition or terrorism, however, are no longer particularly newsworthy. The Telegraph's lobby team filed a story on her reply but the news editor dropped it, pointing out that the paper had already carried the initial Downing Street comment and Peter Brooke's statement. Only if an extradition request relates to an atrocity committed in mainland Britain, Jones suggested, does the British public take any real interest in it.
- I briefed Jones on the background to the Supreme Court decision, drawing particular attention to the Hutton judgement. I also contrasted the Prime Minister's intervention with the silence observed by the Irish Government on the recent Law Lords decision (despite the hostility which that decision aroused North and South).

Noting that the Irish Government had also refrained from criticising last Thursday's reply, I suggested that the Taoiseach was handling Anglo-Irish relations with far greater care than the Prime Minister. In reply, Jones asked sardonically when the Prime Minister had ever done anything to improve Anglo-Irish relations - "apart, that is, from signing the Anglo-Irish Agreement".

Political situation in NI

- Jones commented that the current political activity in NI is a difficult story for the media to follow. The NIO "whips us up" with hints about break-throughs and, a day or so later, Molyneaux and Paisley demonstrate that the Unionist position is completely unchanged. Many journalists, Jones indicated, are becoming extremely wary (not to say weary) and are keeping their distance from the story.
- I strongly supported the caution signalled by Jones, suggesting that the NIO may have considerably over-estimated the scope for political movement. The extent of the Unionist leaders' interest in talks, and of their readiness to circumvent the obstacles they themselves have placed in the way of talks, is far from clear. Jones shared these reservations fully.
- He sketched out a scenario in which the Unionist leaders would "play along" with Brooke for another couple of months until the marching season intervenes and the attempt to stimulate talks has to be abandoned. In the autumn, they would "sit back", looking ahead to the next election and the increased leverage which either of the likely outcomes (a reduced Tory majority or a Labour victory) will give them. Molyneaux will hope to trade the Unionist votes for major concessions and will tell his supporters, accordingly, that the best policy is to do nothing until the election comes.
- In relation to Chris Ryder, Jones said there is a view in the Telegraph that Ryder is being used by someone to float various kites. When I suggested the name Brian Mawhinney, he nodded in agreement. Ryder, he commented, is best on security stories and few trust him on political developments. The problem, however, is that, with an eye to the circulation war with other dailies, people at senior levels in the Telegraph all too often give the benefit of the doubt to what appears to be a Ryder "scoop".

Political situation in Britain

- The Prime Minister is at present under greater political pressure than at any previous time during her period in office. In contrast to the Westland crisis and the Lawson resignation, which generated a lot of heat in Westminster and Whitehall but had no lasting repercussions elsewhere, the poll tax affects everyone and she is personally blamed for it. "She is on a hook and will not be able to wriggle off it".

- There is also a growing view in the Conservative Party that she has been around for too long and that the party needs a change. "She herself has now become the issue".
- The rumour that she may step down on her 65th birthday, which falls during next October's party conference, is being put around by a number of senior Tory figures, who are anxious to "create the conditions" for an orderly handover to a successor.
- If she stepped down then, or at a later stage, Sir Geoffrey Howe would take over as caretaker Prime Minister for a couple of weeks. Current speculation is that, in the first round of the leadership election, there could be as many as seven or eight candidates, including Howe, Hurd, Patten, Major, Tebbit, Waddington and Heseltine. (Baker might also stand but his identification with the poll tax would count heavily against him). In the second round, a possible scenario would involve Patten and Major transferring their support to Hurd and Tebbit yielding to Waddington (as the right-wing torch-bearer). The enormous support commanded by Heseltine at constituency level, however, would then come into play. The expectation is that many MPs who might have personal reservations about Heseltine would come under substantial pressure from their constituencies to support him. (By the autumn of this year, Heseltine will have spoken in over half of all UK constituencies).
- As regards the outcome of the next election, the current speculation within Conservative circles is that, if Heseltine takes over, the Tories will come back with a comfortable majority, though below the current level. If the Prime Minister leads them into the election, however, they will at best scrape home, probably with a majority of less than thirty. There are also those who fear that, despite the improbable electoral arithmetic, Labour could win an overall majority.

Yours sincerely,

David Donoghue

David Donoghue
Press and Information Officer

22 March, 1990.

No 26

Mr. Ian Macpherson,
98 Cammo Grove,
Edinburgh EH4 8HD.

Dear Mr. Macpherson,

Thank you for your letter of 19/20th February 1990,
addressed to the Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D.,
enclosing a copy of your "Resolution".

The Taoiseach has noted your comments and has asked me to
pass your letter on to his colleague the Minister for
Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gerard Collins, T.D., for
consideration.

Yours sincerely,

!Private Secretary, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

!For attention, please.

!Brian McCarthy, for information.

Richard Holland

Private Secretary
to the Taoiseach.

!RH3,176/WP2

Mr Charles Haughey,
Irish Prime Minister,
Dublin

19/20th Feb. 1990

Dear Sir,

Midnight News

The mid night news just now, reported that the IRA were willing to enter into talks about laying down their arms with the British Government. How terrible to throw the example of the ANC in South Africa away, who have suffered so much more from brutality and suffering than those in N.I.

The British public are quite ignorant and are kept from the truth by Tatcher — and you Sir do not help — where is your Alliance Mopar?

I enclose my proposed "Resolution" — even Scottish Protestants support the IRA — but any advice you ^{officially} could offer would, ^{quite unofficially,} of course, be most welcome, before 5th March.

With the promise of "openness", truth, right, justice in South Africa — why not Northern Ireland?

Yours sincerely,

Ian Macpherson

I. J. L. Macpherson

Retired B.Sc., A.M.I. Chem. E.

i.e. Honest!

Part-time University lecturer — quite cheap!

RESOLUTION

Northern Ireland

This Branch is concerned that in Northern Ireland:-

- a. 130 people have been murdered every year for the past 20 years; and there is no apparent end to this.
- b. The RUC and the UDR, the official law enforcement bodies, are essentially Protestant, so inciting sectarian violence and attracting support from American Catholics and others incensed by the injustices there.
- c. The British Government : have achieved world-wide notoriety by the treatment of political prisoners, the use of the S.A.S. and the apparent shoot-to-kill policy, and secondly by the prolonged use of troops against their own civilians, unheard of in advanced countries.
- d. The number of diplomatic and political incentives, with the misguided intention of leaving injustices to fester, are countless and their repeated failures shows British incompetence.

We recommend the following actions to the Labour Party:-

1. All political parties should be allowed to operate without restriction so, for example, Sinn Fein members can be interviewed on TV and be able to contribute to peace.
2. The Royal Ulster Constabulary should be modified and renamed "The Northern Ireland Police Force" and perform duties (without arms) as elsewhere in the U.K.. The Police Force and the judiciary should be adjusted to reflect the sectarian divide as soon as practicable.
3. The Ulster Defence Regiment should be disbanded and the army used in armed incidents.
4. The (new) Community Relations Council, appointed by the Northern Ireland Office, should be upgraded to a Commission with wider terms of reference to both recommend changes to the law and also to speed-up future integration schemes in the fields of housing and education.
5. All marches should be banned unless approved in advance by the Secretary for Northern Ireland as they resurrect moments in history full of strife and emotion not conducive to peaceful integration, or even co-existence.
6. Proportional representation should be employed at all elections to deal with gerrymandering which has occurred in the past, to allow full community participation.

The suppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland is unique in the world and the proposed actions to alleviate this will most certainly be vigorously opposed by Protestant bigots who will try to inflame everyone and may need to be controlled by force. For justice to be seen to be done, all actions need the full participation of the world press.

NO26

General Political Overview Note prepared by Embassy London

1. The Taoiseach's visit to London comes two days after the end of the Easter Parliamentary recess and the launch of the Labour Party's campaign for the Local Government elections scheduled for 3 May. Conservative MPs reassemble on 18 April burdened with a mounting tide of political woes. Since Nigel Lawson's resignation last October there has been an almost continuous slide in the Government's fortunes. Each new opinion poll brings further evidence of potential electoral catastrophe. Labour's lead in the polls is the biggest ever achieved by that Party and in recent weeks the polls show Margaret Thatcher to be the most unpopular Prime Minister since polling began in Britain over fifty years ago.

2. The loss of the hitherto safe Tory seat of Mid-Staffordshire in the by-election on 22 March was a telling illustration of the Prime Minister's current political difficulties. This electoral set back is likely to be eclipsed, however, by the predicted loss by the Conservatives of up to a quarter of the seats they are defending in next months local elections. The vote on May 3 will be the biggest test of voter opinion since the 1987 General Election and it is expected to put Tory flagship local authorities like Westminster (Peter Brooke's Constituency) and Wandsworth in London, Derby in the Midlands and Bradford in the North of England at risk to a revitalised Labour Party. Labour are likely to present the Local Government elections as a referendum on the integrity of the Thatcher Government.

3. The main issue on which the Prime Minister faces growing discontent among the electorate and mounting disaffection among backbenchers is the continuing and increasingly bitter and divisive controversy over implementation of the Community charge - the so-called "Poll Tax" - the first

payment of which is due by end April. This is, however, only the most recent of a series of difficulties which have afflicted the Government over the past year or so. The Government's handling of the economy has been the subject of growing criticism, in particular, the upward spiral of interest rates and the consequent hardship for householders, many of whom were encouraged into the housing market for the first time in the earlier boom years of Thatcherism. Her deeply felt antipathy to greater European integration has also cost her a large measure of public support with the European election results and subsequent opinion polls demonstrating that British public opinion is more favourably inclined towards Europe than she is. Her reserve on the question of German reunification - another deeply held personal conviction - and her stance on South African sanctions are other foreign policy stances which have also cost her a measure of support.

4. The new Parliamentary term is unlikely to offer any short term respite to the Prime Minister as she forges ahead with her agenda of reforming legislation - against the wishes of many of her backbenchers who feel that the Government's legislative programme is overambitious as well as increasingly unpopular. In the coming session the Government is likely to face a hard passage on a number of issues viz. the issue of passports to Hong Kong residents, the proposed War Crimes legislation and reform of the NHS.
5. Apart from single issues such as the Poll Tax, most commentators recognise that the Government's future, and Mrs. Thatcher's continued hold on the leadership in particular, will be dictated in large measure by her ability to manage the economy. Recent indices on inflation, pay and productivity, however, provide little long term comfort for her on the economic front. In recent days, the Confederation of British Industry in its sternest criticism to date of the Government's handling of the economy has

called on the Chancellor to take urgent steps to cut business taxes or face the threat of an economic crisis sparked by a fall in investment. The inflation figure for April is likely to be around 9.5% and despite the Chancellor's assurances in his March budget that this would be no more than a "blip", financial analysts now predict that inflation could remain at this level, or more, until Autumn and possibly beyond. In this context Labour are striving, despite residual misgivings about their capacity as economic managers, to establish a new level of credibility for the party's economic policies. There is increasing evidence in recent weeks that voters and the financial markets in particular are now prepared to contemplate the prospect of a Labour Government with what the Prime Minister can only view as a disquieting degree of equanimity.

6. Despite the Prime Minister's repeated and robust assertions that she will lead the Conservatives to victory in the next election, there are some indications that the race for succession has already begun. It is now increasingly acknowledged at senior levels in the Conservative Party that it is imperative for the Government to start defining the agenda for post-Thatcherite policies even if Mrs. Thatcher remains for the moment formally in control. In the wake of the Mid-Staffordshire defeat and with an eye to an even more dismal result in the May Local Government elections, the various power blocks and ginger groups within the Conservative Party are beginning to manoeuvre in the struggle for influence and advancement in the succession stakes.
7. The personalities most often spoken of in this regard are Michael Heseltine, Kenneth Baker, Sir Geoffrey Howe, John Major and Douglas Hurd. Michael Heseltine is increasingly seen as the most likely challenger despite his repeated assurances that he expects to see Mrs Thatcher lead the

Conservatives to victory in the next General Election. Conventional wisdom in Westminster leans to the view that Heseltine could be the focus of an Autumn challenge. A former Defence Secretary who resigned from the Cabinet over the Westland affair, his place outside the Government leaves him untainted by the Government's recent troubles and he has in recent months assiduously built upon his reputation among the grass roots of the party constructing a policy portmanteau with a broadly based appeal although carefully avoiding any direct criticism of Mrs. Thatcher.

8. Despite the many set backs, however, strategists at Conservative Central Office insist that the current difficulties amount to no more than the usual mid-term trough which the Government will in due course pull out of and go on under Mrs. Thatcher's leadership to win the next election. The Government's poor performance in the polls, the by-election set back and the expected poor results at the Local Government elections are all seen as temporary and inevitable mid-term difficulties. Party activists recall that the Prime Minister has been through bad times before, for example the Westland Affair when the Government's rating and the Prime Minister's popularity plummeted to new lows. Nonetheless in the 1987 election she led the Government to its largest majority. MPs loyal to the Prime Minister argue that there is plenty of time before the next election for the Government to turn the corner on the economy, controlling inflation and lowering interest rates. Even in a worst case scenario they insist that Labour is unlikely to be in a position by the time of the next election to achieve the necessary target of winning almost 100 additional seats. They are equally dismissive of speculation regarding the Prime Minister's future insisting that she will choose her own time to go and that those who foresee her being the victim of an internal challenge or forced out by electoral defeat, completely underestimate her political skills and the widespread and deep seated loyalty to her within the party.

9. Others, however, are increasingly less certain. After ten years of strong leadership her image is now that of an obstinate, shrill and ageing woman, lacking in judgement and unable to get on with her colleagues in Government and increasingly alienated from her own backbenchers. Over the Easter Parliamentary recess Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Deputy Prime Minister urged Mrs Thatcher to adopt a softer approach to the task of winning her fourth general election and predicted a change of pace in the Government's commitment to its far reaching programme of reform. In essence his urgent message was that the Prime Minister should urgently concentrate on winning friends as well as arguments. There are many, not least in the Conservative Party, who argue that she is increasingly losing the ability to do either.

Embassy London

April 1990

W4483

ROINN AN TAOISIGH

Uimhir.....

To: Brian McCarthy

From: George Shaw

Dynamite,
Please P/A
a No 26

Please see the attached correspondence which was left on my desk in Dublin Castle during the European Summit last weekend.

Perhaps you would advise on an appropriate response in this case, please.

8

4, May, 1990.

**Irish
National
Congress**

P.O. Box No. 2814, Dublin 7



**Comhdháil
Náisiúnta
na hÉireann**

P.O. Box No. 2814, Dublin 7

TO OUR TAOISEACH AND PRESIDENT OF THE E.E.C.

Mr. C.J. Haughey, this delegation, on behalf of the Irish National Congress, Comhdháil Na h-Eireann, presents this Wreath made from wire used to divide our six northern counties from our twenty six counties. While we know it is highly commendable, but hypocritical, of you to have talks on the re-unification of Germany which has been divided for the last forty odd years, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that our own country has been divided for over seventy years against the wishes of the vast majority of the Irish people, and while it remains so we will never have peace. In view of this we ask you and feel it is your duty as leader of our Government and President of the E.E.C., to immediately start talks with the rest of Europe and stress on Britain to leave our country and let us live in peace with our fellow Irishmen and women.

TOM CULLEN: NORA COMISKEY,

Joint P.R.O., Comhdháil Na hEireann.

MR. C. J. Haughe,
President of E. E. C.
Dublin Bank

Receiving Message 21:51
Storing Message

93938 SER EI
915122 CONSEN G
1777 08-05-90 21:33

H. E. CHARLES HAUGHEY.

I WAS VERY SADDENED TO HEAR OF THE EARLY DEATH AT LOURDES OF TOMAS
O'FIAICH ARCHBISHOP OF ALL IRELAND, HE WROTE SUCH MOVING LETTERS IN
SUPPORT OF THOSE PERSONS WHO CHALLENGED THE WRONG DECISIONS OF THE
BRITISH COURTS, THIS COMING ON THE EVE OF THE VICTORY OVER THE NAZIS
AND THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP TOKES IN BUCHAREST.....GOD DOES
SOMETIMES WORK IN A MYSTERIOUS WAY. VALERIE STEVENS. 'CONSENSUS'

915122 CONSEN G
93938 SER EI

Call ended at: 08-May-90 21:52
End of Message 002

(NO 26)

Monahan
To you
files
11/3/90

Receiving Message 21:51
Storing Message

93938 SER EI
915122 CONSEN G
1777 08-05-90 21:33

H.E. CHARLES HAUGHEY.
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915122 CONSEN G
93938 SER EI

Call ended at: 08-May-90 21:52
End of Message 002



NO 26

9 May, 1990.

Mr. Raymond Cassidy,
19 Gregg Gardens,
Bellaghy,
Co. Derry.

Dear Mr. Cassidy,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th April, 1990 addressed to the Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., and for your comments which I will bring to the Taoiseach's attention as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE SHAW

Private Secretary
to the Taoiseach.

! BRIAN MCCARTHY

! TRANSMITTED FOR YOUR INFORMATION. I DON'T PROPOSE ANY
! FURTHER ACTION.

! GS3284/WP3

19 Gregg Gardens
Bellaghy
Co. Derry
N. Ireland
BTL 5854

Monday 30th April 1990

Dear Sir,

I am 14 and my name is Raymond Cassidy. As you can see from my address I am from the North. I don't fancy what the I.R.A. are doing anymore than you do, but I think that not extraditing them was the right thing to do.

If the English got them they might beat confessions out of them like in the Birmingham 6 (even when they're innocent).

No harm to Corrad Fitzgerald, but to me, signing the Anglo-Irish agreement was a big mistake. I think that put the I.R.A. in an even worse mood.

What do you think about the Walker affair? I think the English took him ~~to~~ out because he got too near the truth. Hopefully the Stevens Inquiry will bring out all the facts.

Yours faithfully
Raymond Cassidy (14)

Call ended at: 11-May-90 15:06

Receiving Message 22:41
Storing Message

93938 SER EI
915122 CONSEN G
1863 11-05-90 22:23

CHARLES HAUGHEY.
NICE MEETING TO DAY. LOOK FORWARD TO TALKS NEXT WEEK. RE. IRAN AND
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HAVE DETAILS OF MEETING RE. B'HAM SIX.
HAVE NEVER BEEN TO DUBLIN BEFORE AND HOPE THAT ALL GOES WELL WITH THE
'IRANIAN DELEGATION' GREETINGS.' 'CONSENSUS'
915122 CONSEN G
93938 SER EI

Call ended at: 11-May-90 22:42
End of Message 010

Receiving Message 12:58
Storing Message

93938 SER EI
915122 CONSEN G
1942 13-05-90 12:40

H.E. CHARLES HAUGHEY.
PRIME MINISTER FOR THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.
YOU HAVE TWO CLEAR STATED VIEWS OF YOUR SENIOR JUDICIARY AND CLEAR
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COUNTRY' WHICH WAS ONCE ASSUMED TO EXIST.
THE SIX COUNTIES PLAN, A DREAM OF WHAT MR. TEBBITT WOULD CALL A
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LONGER LEGAL OR NECESSARY.

I WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT THE 'OLD' EXTRADITION RULES MERELY NEED
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THE U.N. CHARTER ENVISAGED A CIVIL REGIME WITHIN EACH SOVEREIGN
STATE WITH 'DEFENCE' MERELY WHAT IT SAYS 'DEFENCE' NOT A STRANGE
AND OLD FASHIONED HIM AND HERS ARRANGEMENTS STRUNG OUT ACROSS THE
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I HOPE TO BE IN DUBLIN ON TUESDAY GOD WILLING, AER LINGUAS TOO,...
AND HOPE TO BE ABLE TO PAY MY RESPECTS TO TOMAS O'FIAICH AND CONTINU
AT LEAST A TINY AMOUNT OF HIS GOOD WORK TO FREE PEOPLE FROM BRITISH
PRISONS ONE WAY OR ANOTHER.

PEACE BE WITH YOU.
VALERIE STEVENS. MR. 'CONSENSUS'
HARROW MIDDLESEX. 081-426 8384.

9393
93938 SER EI
915122 CONSEN G

Call ended at: 13-May-90 13:02

No 26

Mr McCarty
by your files

15
190

Call ended at: 11-May-90 15:06

Receiving Message 22:41
Storing Message

93938 SER EI
915122 CONSEN G
1863 11-05-90 22:23

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93938 SER EI
915122 CONSEN G

Call ended at: 13-May-90 13:02
End of Message 011

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INDEXED

MASS FOR FUNERAL OF BRIAN McKIMM

In St. Vincent de Paul Church, Ligoniel

28th April, 1990, 10.00 am.

HOMILY BY BISHOP CAHAL B. DALY
of Down and Connor

We come together in this Mass first of all to commend to God's loving mercy the soul of Brian McKimm, the latest young victim of sectarian-motivated murder and the latest of a long series of similar murders in North Belfast. May Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, "bring him safely home to be at peace with God our Father, and may he be happy for ever with all the saints in the presence of the eternal King".

We gather here also to express our deep sympathy to his heartbroken young widow, Sarah Anne, now deprived of a devoted and home-loving husband and left to bring up alone their three small children, Carrie Anne (aged 3), Brian Joseph (aged 2) and Gareth (aged 1). Sarah Anne, we all join today in offering you our sympathy and in promising you the support of our love and our prayers. You are blessed in being surrounded by a loving family circle and by kind and caring neighbours in Hazelwood Drive, who welcomed you and Brian so warmly into their parish community here in Ligoniel when you came to live here a year ago, and who made you both feel so much at home here. Your own family and Brian's family and your friends and neighbours will continue now to be a comfort and strength and help to you and to your little ones.

SECTARIAN MURDER

We gather also around this Eucharistic table to join in an act of fervent intercession to God for an end to all these senseless acts of violence and for a future of peace for both Protestant and Catholic communities. Few murders more than Brian McKimm's bring home to us the wickedness and the utter senselessness of all killing. Brian was a Protestant, but murdered because he was walking home at night in a Catholic area and was therefore assumed to be a Catholic. In the perverted minds of the killers who lay in wait, the first person who walked past in Lime Hill Grove was presumed to be a Catholic and therefore a "legitimate target". By an accident of timing, Brian was that person, and that is why he is dead.

He was murdered by people who would profess to be Protestants, but whose so-called Protestantism is in total contradiction with true Protestant faith and witness. When Brian married a Catholic and came to live here, he was at once completely at home with his new Catholic neighbours and quickly became a popular member of the community. Sarah Anne knew that it would be his wish to be buried from St. Vincent de Paul Catholic church, and Brian's parents and family nobly concurred with that decision and were happy that that wish should be carried out. To Brian's father and mother and brother and family we say today: "We welcome you amongst us this morning as brothers and sisters in Christ; we share your grief and pain at the cruel slaying of a lovely and much-loved son and brother and we offer you our deep sympathy".

MURDERS IN NORTH BELFAST

Brian's is the 48th victim of sectarian murderers in this diocese in the space of the seven-and-a-half years in which I have been bishop; his is the 38th funeral of such a victim at which I have officiated. It is the third such funeral at which I have assisted here in this church, the 21st at which I have assisted in North Belfast. No other part of Belfast, or indeed of Northern Ireland, has seen so many murders in the twenty years of the troubles as has North Belfast. It has been calculated that, within a one mile radius here in North Belfast, 546 people have been killed throughout these twenty terrible years; that is 20% of all the victims of Northern violence.

FEAR IN THE LIGONIEL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

I welcome the outspoken condemnation of Brian's murder by local unionist politicians. I join in the plea that everyone should cooperate with the RUC in efforts to bring the murderers to justice and to eliminate the scourge of violence from which this community has suffered so grievously. The Catholics of Ligoniel live in fear. Few will venture out at night, particularly alone and on foot. If someone is later than expected in returning home at night, alarm and foreboding are aroused. When the shots which killed Brian McKimm rang out and when his body lay in a pool of blood on the ground, no one could be sure that it wasn't one of their own family or friends who was the target this time. Hardly a family has been left untouched by the violence. I think of the O'Neills and the McCallums, both visited by the horror of murder of a dear one, within a space of four months, in 1986, and these murders still leave unhealed scars.

This community has suffered too much. Special efforts must be made by the security forces to protect this community from the plague that prowls in the darkness. The people of Ligoniel do not deserve to go on suffering like this. Sectarian hatred and inter-community strife are not part of the true tradition and temperament of Ligoniel. Community relations here are good. The clergy in this neighbourhood, Catholic and Protestant, give the public a fine example of harmony and fellowship. Scores of messages from the Protestant community, here and elsewhere, have been reaching Father Kerr, expressing sympathy in this tragedy and condemnation of the killers. Loyalist murder gangs are no more representative or typical of the Protestant community than IRA murder gangs are typical or representative of the Catholic community.

KILKEEL MURDER

Yesterday, the IRA perpetrated a dastardly murder at the southern end of the diocese, in Kilkeel. The victim, Kenneth Graham, a Protestant, was respected by Catholics as much as by Protestants in Upper Mourne. He was a member of a family and a family firm which practised and promoted good inter-community relations in the area and which employed Catholics as well as Protestants without a trace of discrimination. The Catholic community in Kilkeel are shocked at this evil deed, as is the whole town of Kilkeel. The killers have recklessly exposed the whole Kilkeel community to the certainty of heightened community tension and to the risk of retaliatory violence. I offer my deep sympathy to Mr. Graham's widow and daughters and to all the members of the Graham family. By this despicable crime, the IRA have demonstrated once more that they have the same disregard for the feelings and the interests and the safety of the Catholic community as they have for the moral teaching of the Catholic Church about violence.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HOPE

The situation in which we find ourselves in this society is a challenge to Christian faith, a test of Christian hope. But our faith is faith in One who did not fail in his test in Gethsemane and on Calvary, and whose love was faithful unto death and lives beyond death. Our faith is in One who died but rose again from the dead, wresting victory from defeat, life from death, hope from failure. No power on earth, no experience of suffering or tragedy, can ever destroy a faith that is founded on the Passion and Death of our Lord, Jesus Christ. St. John says:

This is the victory that overcomes the world, our faith (*1 John 5: 4*).

No failure, no disappointment, no setback, no tragedy, can ever destroy a hope that is founded on the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. St. Paul says:

We were saved by this hope; and let us remember that hope always means waiting for something we do not yet see. Nobody keeps hoping for something we can already see. But if we hope for something we cannot see, then we settle down to wait for it with patience and endurance. ... If God is for us, who can be against us? He who did not grudge His own Son but gave him up for us all - can we not trust such a God to give us, with him, everything else we can ever need? (*Romans 8: 24-5, 31-2 - J. B. Phillips, The New Testament and Modern English*).

Christ's resurrection from death is the guarantee that Brian's body and the bodies of all who have believed in him will rise from the dead, their mortal bodies made like his own in glory. May Brian's wife, Sarah Anne, his father and mother and brother, uncles, aunts and friends, have their faith renewed, their hope strengthened, their love increased, by their sharing in Christ's passion through this terrible tragedy. May they be given the grace to lift up their hearts above the shock and grief of these dark days to Christ who lives and reigns on high. May they hear Christ's voice saying to them:

I will not leave you orphans,
I will come to you. (*John 14 : 18*)

I will see you again,
and your hearts will be full of joy,
and your joy no one will take from you. (*John 16 : 22*).

In the world you will have distress,
but have confidence,
I have overcome the world (*John 16 : 33*).

"I have overcome the world": but, to all appearances, it was the world which overcame him. Only the day after he spoke these words, Jesus was hanging on a shameful cross, defeated, dead. His mission had failed. His disciples had fled. Their spirit was broken. He who, they had hoped, would redeem Israel, had been discredited, disgraced, and was now dead, his task undone. It was the end. The disciples "rolled a large stone across the entrance of the tomb and went away". A hope, a promise and a dream had died.

But it was not the end. It was only the beginning. Women came to the tomb to anoint the dead body. It was not there. He had risen. Angels said:

"Why are you looking among the dead for someone who is alive? He is not here; he has risen" (*Matthew 24 : 5*).

Since that first Easter Day, the cry of Christian triumph has rung down the centuries: "Christ is risen. Christ is alive. Christ has conquered. Christ is with us". The Christian religion is forever a religion of resurrection, of undefeatable strength, of unshakeable hope. Christ has conquered death and the devil; he has overcome sin and hell. Those who love him can never give in to fear or despair or failure. They will grieve, because in the world they will have distress; but they do not grieve like people who have no hope (*cf. 1 Thessalonians 4' : 13*).

Christian hope means knowing that, in spite of everything, God is alive and God is close to us and God loves us. Hope is believing, against all earthly hope, because Christ, who is God, died for us and lives again. To be a Christian is to live with Christ, to get to know him as one knows a friend, and not to need anybody to tell us that we can trust him, because we know for ourselves that he is our God and our Saviour. Christian hope is to know him in whom we have put our trust, and to know that he will never fail us. To have lived with Christ is to have lived on his power and felt his presence and experienced his friendship and known his love. And that is all we need to know, whatever the future may bring, whatever suffering and tragedy might come our way. Where there is Christ, there is hope. Where there is Christ, there is life and there is love, life that nothing can destroy and love that no one can take from us.

Continued on

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Annex

PRESS CUTTINGS
TO BE HELD
WITH MAIN FILE

No. 26

NORTHERN IRELAND - GENERAL

[JAN '90 → MAY 1990

***Newspaper
article(s)/cutting(s)
have not been copied***

END of file