

START of file

Minister for
Foreign Affairs.

SECRET

ANGLO-IRISH SECTION

WEEKLY BRIEF

WEEK ENDING 4th MAY 1990

AN ROINN GNÓTHAÍ EACHTRACHA
Department of Foreign Affairs



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TO : HQ FROM : Belfast

2 May 1990

FOR : A/Sec. Gallagher FROM : P. Collins
Pls. Copy Joint Secretary

I reminded the British side today, in the context of media reports that the Secretary of State had written to the Unionist leadership seeking a meeting, of our insistence (having cancelled a meeting with the SDLP) that we be given adequate notice of a date for a meeting with the Unionists. The British side told me that the Secretary of State has agreed that we will be informed immediately a date is set.

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SECURE FAX 049

30 April 1990

For: A/Sec Gallagher
2 May 1990

From: Padraic Collins

The British side have given me copies of the Secretary of State's letters to Messrs. Paisley and Molyneaux (copies attached).
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... for formal political
... should be on the
... definitive response of the
... such dialogue would
... and I think it would
... I am asking you
... the necessary



49/3

Northern Ireland Office
Stormont Castle
Belfast BT4 3ST

The Rev Dr I R K Paisley, MP MEP
Ulster Democratic Unionist Party
256 Ravenhill Road
BELFAST
BT6 8GJ

[Handwritten signature]
20 April 1990

Dear Ian

At our last meeting on 15 March, we agreed that I should get in touch with you and Jim again if I felt that another meeting would be useful in clarifying the possibilities for formal political dialogue. You asked that any further meeting should be on the basis of my being able to give you a definitive response on the conditions you consider necessary before such dialogue could begin. We have now reached that position and I think it would therefore be timely to have a further meeting. I am asking my office to get in touch with yours to make the necessary arrangements.

I am writing in similar terms to Jim Molyneux.

[Handwritten signature]
Yours sincerely
Peter Brooke

PB

CYCY ##
80-05-02 11:11

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2 MAY 1990
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Northern Ireland Office
Stormont Castle
Belfast BT4 3ST

The Rt Hon J H Molyneaux JP, MP
Ulster Unionist Party
3 Glengall Street
Belfast
BT12 5AE

30 April 1990

Dear Jim

At our last meeting on 15 March, we agreed that I should get in touch with you and Ian again if I felt that another meeting would be useful in clarifying the possibilities for formal political dialogue. You asked that any further meeting should be on the basis of my being able to give you a definitive response on the conditions you consider necessary before such dialogue could begin. We have now reached that position and I think it would therefore be timely to have a further meeting. I am asking my office to get in touch with yours to make the necessary arrangements.

I am writing in similar terms to Ian Paisley.

James Evans
PM

Conversation with Eugene Grant

27 April 1990

Although a Catholic, Eugene Grant has a substantial practice representing loyalists before the Diplock Courts. Among the points he made during our recent conversation were the following;

- He is greatly perturbed by the situation on the Crumlin Road which he visits frequently. He concurs with the widely held view that the Governor of the prison has had a part to play in raising the tension level and that some of his decisions are petty and unnecessarily repressive. It is also not a coincidence that the upsurge of tension has coincided with the presence in the jail of Danny Morrison and Tommy Lyttle.

- He thinks that the limited if non-existent availability of bail to those members of the UDA/UFF who have been arrested as a result of the Stevens Inquiry is a significant contributor to tensions on the loyalist side. He is not of the view that their alleged crimes are sufficient to justify their detention pending trial.

- He made a general comment that bail is less available now in NI than at any time in the past. If these loyalist prisoners are kept in jail through the summer months he was in no doubt that there will be further serious trouble in the prison.

- The tension is also exacerbated by the fear of what Brian Nelson will say. Grant had no doubt that Nelson will eventually act as a loyalist supergrass in future trials and that they are all running scared of this possibility.

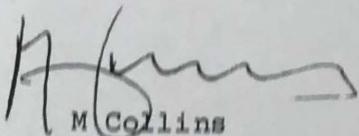
- He is also of the view that the authorities are keen to keep up the tension levels among the UDA/UFF at the prison in the belief that sooner or later some of them might crack and reveal RUC sources for the documents which have found their way into loyalist hands. This, he believes, is their real goal.

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- His own view, however, is that the British are overdoing it and that they are likely to bring more trouble than less upon themselves by the way they are handling the situation.
- He also concurs with the concern frequently expressed that with so many of the UDA/UFF upper ranks locked in Crumlin Road there is very little effective control of UDA/UFF elements on the outside.
- He felt that the House of Lords decision in the Mc Kerr case was a humiliation for the Northern Ireland judiciary and particularly for the Lord Chief Justice HUTTON. He felt that the former Lord Chief Justice Lowry would have been far more canny and would not have left himself so exposed for such a reversal by the House of Lords.
- Grant met Colville with Seamus Mallon and others including Rory Mc Shane to discuss the Emergency legislation. He himself did not foresee any major changes in the system after 1992 but he presented Colville with a paper on some practical problems that arise with the operation of the emergency laws from a lawyers point of view and has promised to let us have a copy of this.



M Collins

30 April 1990

cc A/Sec Gallagher, Counsellors AI, Box

Conversation with Mr Michael Lavery QC

2 May 1990

I met Mr Michael Lavery QC in Belfast on 2 May 1990. The following points arose in our conversation:

- Lavery mentioned that Paddy Mc Grory had asked his advice on the Gibraltar case following the action taken by the British Government under the Crown Proceedings Act. He also said that the AG's Office had asked him for a view on this matter. Lavery is clearly sympathetic to the family's claim for compensation. He had not yet written an opinion but hoped to do so shortly. His preliminary assessment was that while judicial review of the British Government move was possible - it could, for example, be maintained that the Secretary of State had acted in 'bad faith' - he was not very optimistic that it would succeed. There is at least one precedent about two years ago where the use of the Crown Proceedings Act was unsuccessfully challenged in Britain. The use of the Act in that case arose out of an action taken against the British forces in Germany. Lavery said that he would speak to the Attorney, whom he expected to meet shortly, regarding Mc Grory's request.

- Lavery is acting for the Catholic Church's in their legal action in respect of the NI Education Reform Bill. He said that while the action is going ahead, there are varying degrees of enthusiasm within the Church regarding the case. He mentioned in particular that the Cardinal was slower than might have been generally expected in lending his support for the legal action. We already know that Bishop Edward Daly of Derry hold the view that the Church could have spent its money and energies more wisely.

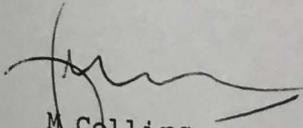
- Lavery mentioned that he is acting for Private Eye in yet another libel case being taken by Robert Mc Cartney. Mc Cartney

is alleging that Private Eye libelled him in an article last November relating to the Kincora scandal. The thrust of the Eye article was that some of the victims of the abuse at Kincora had on the advice of Mc Cartney settled for less compensation than they should have - they received about 20,000 pounds.

- He mentioned that the AG's recent visit to Belfast for a Bencher's dinner had gone very well and he was clearly quite pleased with the occasion.

- While financially very well off, Lavery openly worries about maintaining his level of income for the future. He is 55 years of age, and apart from the fact that there are no current vacancies, he feels himself to be too old for a move to the Bench. While the retirement age is 75 full pension is now available only after 20 years on the Bench instead of 15 years as it used to be. The net result of the increase in the time needed for full pension will probable mean the appointment of slightly younger men than heretofore.

- Lavery mentioned that Lord Chief Justice Hutton was using Turlough O Donnell, who is retired, on a 'locum' basis from time to time. He expressed some passing criticisms of Hutton denouncing, in particular, his tendency to adopt 'the narrow view'.


M Collins

4 May 1990

cc: A/Sec Gallagher
Counsellors AI
Box

Conversation with Paddy McGrory, 26 April, 1990

Gibraltar:

He had still not formulated a precise strategy in relation to the Certificate issued by the Foreign Secretary under Section 40 of the Crown Proceedings Act. [The Certificate denies any alleged liability on the part of the United Kingdom Government in either Northern Ireland or Britain.] The effect of this certificate is to choke off further proceedings in the Courts of Northern Ireland or Britain in relation to the civil case by the families of the Gibraltar Three against the Ministry of Defence. His Q.C. in the case (Terry Mooney) is away on holidays and he has now asked Michael Lavery Q.C. to become involved. While it is his intention to seek a judicial review of the Certificate (if this is possible), he was undecided whether this would be done before the Courts in Northern Ireland or Britain. If such a Judicial Review is not possible, then it may be the case that he will need to pursue the case through the Gibraltar Courts in order to exhaust domestic legal remedies - the requirement before taking the case to Strasbourg. I got the distinct impression that he will pursue the case through the Gibraltar Courts if this should prove necessary, notwithstanding the fact that legal aid is unlikely to be available for such an action in Gibraltar.

Andersonstown Three:

There is considerable anger about the recent life sentences imposed by Justice Carsewell on three men from Andersonstown in relation to the killing of the two British Army corporals in Andersonstown two years ago. None of the three (Patrick Kane, Sean Kelly, Michael Timmons) are believed to have been involved with the IRA or with the killing itself. Their involvement was essentially peripheral and, if convicted, were expected to receive relatively light sentences - on the charge of grievous bodily harm. In fact all three were out on bail prior to their trial - in the case of Kane, the bail had been set at only £750. McGrory was very critical of Carsewell who, he felt, had taken a very literal interpretation of the law and had made no allowance for the circumstances surrounding the incident. He told me that Dessie Boal Q.C., who acted for one of the defendants, had been "in a black rage" over the judgement and had been unapproachable for the subsequent fortnight.

Comment:

The cases will now go to appeal. If unsuccessful, it is fair to anticipate that a campaign may develop in relation to this case. [There has already been some publicity locally in the Andersonstown News.]

Judiciary:

The shortage of Judges continues to be a growing problem with an escalating backlog in civil cases. The Lord Chancellor is continuing to have difficulty in persuading senior members of the Bar to accept places on the Bench. The most recent appointment to the County Court (Smith, a Junior Counsel, though relatively senior in the pecking order), while a popular choice, was only arrived at after an extensive canvass of members of the Bar. Meanwhile McGrory understands that the Lord Chancellor is continuing to drop hints to Solicitors like Kerr, presently a Deputy County Court Judge, as to the possibilities of becoming County Court Judges (heretofore the preserve of barristers). McGrory also reported rumours that Turlough O' Donnell, who recently retired from the Northern Ireland Court of Appeal, has been less than successful in returning to private practice. He had hoped to obtain relatively lucrative arbitration work but, to date, had been unsuccessful in penetrating this sector of the market. This is fuelling rumours that Lord Justice Hutton is anxious to entice O' Donnell back to the Bench, though how this could be done and in what capacity he might return is unclear at present.

Hanna Trial:

The trial of Hanna, a former prison officer charged with involvement in the murder of a colleague by the IRA, is set to resume. That trial had involved some startling and bizarre revelations (my report of 4 April) many of which centred around an actress (Rosena Brown) named in the trial as a senior intelligence officer in the Provisional IRA, and depicted in some media reports as a latter-day Mata Hari. McGrory told me that at the time of Hanna's arrest, Brown had been taken to Castlereagh, but had refused to say anything for the 7 day period of her detention. McGrory had represented her and had been highly amused to hear that her most recent professional acting role had been in a crime prevention video commissioned by the RUC.

B y c y 5

Brendan McMahon
Anglo/Irish Division
1 May 1990

cc A/Sec Gallagher
Counsellors A. I.
Secretariat
Box

Meeting with the United Campaign against Plastic Bullets
(UCAPB) Belfast, 26 April 1990

I had an informal meeting with Mrs Clara Reilly of the UCAPB on 26 April. Clara Reilly is a former activist with the now largely moribund Association for Legal Justice (ALJ) which was closely associated with Frs Fall, Murray and Brady in the 1970's. With Mrs Reilly were two other leading members of the UCAPB - Mrs Emma Groves (Blinded by a plastic bullet some years ago) and Ms Paddy Kelly (a Solicitor no longer practicing and now working for Oxfam in Belfast).

They made a predictably strong case for the banning of plastic bullets referring to the history of deaths and serious injuries which they have caused and the lack of accountability on the part of the security forces - a factor which they felt was yet again evident in the investigation into the killing of Seamus Duffy last August. Their argumentation largely followed the lines of the recent pamphlet on plastic bullets issued by the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) - a document which reflected detailed submissions on the issue from the UCAPB.

They have requested a meeting with the Taoiseach and/or Minister as soon as possible to discuss the issue. They appreciate that EEC Presidency commitments preclude such a meeting until after 30 June but they are anxious for a meeting at the earliest possible date thereafter - and particularly before the annual commemoration of internment in August which has historically proved to be the time when the most serious plastic bullet incidents occur. [note: Of the 17 deaths to date resulting from either rubber or plastic bullets, 8 of them have occurred during the months of July and August.]

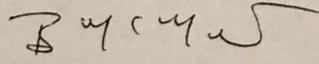
They are preparing a brief for that meeting and for this purpose, have enlisted the support of Belfast Barrister, Seamus Treacy. The immediate objective is to request the Government to initiate an inter-state against Britain in relation to the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland.

Whether or not the Government agree to this request, I gathered that it is their intention of the UCAPB to take as comprehensive a case as possible to Strasbourg. For this purpose, they are compiling a detailed dossier which will draw on a number of past cases involving death and serious injury resulting from the use of plastic bullets. They appeared to be confident of the possibilities for success in such a case, notwithstanding the fact that a case brought by the mother of a plastic bullet victim, Brian Stewart, failed in Strasbourg in 1984.

They are of the view that an inter-state case would short-circuit the requirement of the exhaustion of domestic remedies (something which is by no means certain). If an inter-state case is not possible and domestic remedies have to be exhausted, it is their intention to institute one or more private criminal prosecutions in relation to some past cases. [In this regard they were fully aware that, in order to avoid malicious or spurious private prosecutions, existing legislation allows the DPP to take over a private criminal prosecution and to terminate such cases.]

However, they see this as the only road open to them. In the past, plastic bullet victims have instituted civil proceedings which were invariably settled before coming to Court in deals which allowed the RUC/Army to deny any liability. They commented that most victims were from poor backgrounds and were invariably tempted to settle for significant compensation rather than taking the case the full way through the Courts.

Overall, the focus of their future activity will be on preparations for a Strasbourg case. At the same time they propose to internationalise the issue to the maximum extent possible. They were strongly of the view that protests within Northern Ireland had little effect and that only international pressure would have an effect on British policy.


Brendan McMahon
Anglo/Irish Division
1 May 1990

cc A/Sec Gallagher
Counsellors A. I.
Secretariat
Box

Clare Hanratty

The following is based on a conversation with Fr Bennett, the National Archives Act, 1986, Regulations, 1988

ABSTRACTION OF PART(S) OF A RECORD PURSUANT TO REGULATION 8

Form to be completed and inserted in the original record in place of each part abstracted

(i) Reference number of the separate cover under which the abstracted part has been filed: 840/3865

(ii) How many documents have been abstracted: Part of 1 document

(iii) The date of each such document: 01/05/1990

(iv) The description of each document: Confidential report relating to individual prisoners

(v) Reason(s) why the part has been abstracted for retention: Section 8 (4) (b) and (c)

Clare Hanratty

Name: Clare Hanratty

Grade: CO

Department: Foreign Affairs

Date: 02/12/2020

Current Problems

Problems in the prison started last year with the arrival of the new Governor, John Sangle, in place of the former Governor, Bill O'Loughlin. Coincidentally, the changeover took place at the same time as the attempted breakout on 2 October. In the aftermath of the attempted break-out, there was a tightening of security in the prison, which appears to have been reinforced by a very confrontational approach on the part of the new Governor. Fr Bennett outlined a number of incidents - viz.

Crumlin Road Prison

The following is based on a conversation with Fr Bennett, the Catholic Chaplain on 26 April.

Background:

Crumlin Road Prison, which houses remand prisoners, has four wings, each of which has three stories. Two of the wings house essentially paramilitary prisoners (A and C wings) while the other two (B and D wings) are largely used to house ordinary prisoners. In addition, there is a small assessment unit in the Prison. The breakdown as at 23 April was as follows:-

	<u>Catholics</u>	<u>Protestants</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>A Wing</u> (paramilitary)	89	71	160
<u>B Wing</u> (Ordinary Prisoners)	44	67	111
<u>C Wing</u> (paramilitary)	52	51	103
<u>D Wing</u> (Ordinary Prisoners)	41	69	110
<u>Assessment Unit</u>	8	12	20
<u>Total Number</u> <u>of Prisoners</u>	234	270	504

Traditionally there has been a self-imposed segregation regime in the prison. What this means in practice is that the republicans and loyalists have an understanding that each will have use of the facilities (exercise yard, dining hall etc) on alternate occasions - for instance - when the loyalists have use of the dining hall, the republicans take their food to their cells.

Current Problems:

Problems in the prison started last year with the arrival of the new Governor, John Semple, in place of the former Governor, Bill O' Loughlin. Coincidentally, the changeover took place at the same time as the attempted breakout on 8 October. In the aftermath of the attempted break-out, there was a tightening of security in the prison, which appears to have been reinforced by a very confrontational approach on the part of the new Governor. Fr Bennett outlined a number of incidents -viz-

Hair-cuts: Traditionally, republican prisoners have refused to allow prison staff to cut their hair and assign this task to one of their members. This was forbidden by the Governor which led other prisoners to shave their heads in protest.

Riot Squads: For the past two weeks, the prison riot squad has been on permanent stand-by in the prison. When two republicans refused to move to another cell on the grounds that it had been soiled by its previous occupants, the riot squad were called in to move them by force.

Pressure in the prison resulted in a riot on Easter Monday (16 April) in the dining hall. Apparently, in order to obstruct his view, those instigating the riot threw porridge at the glass screen separating the supervising prison officer from the dining hall. They then proceeded to wreck the dining hall. Subsequently, notwithstanding the fact that prison officers were not in a position to witness who actually caused the damage, those prisoners who happened to have been in the hall at the time have been brought up on charges.

While most of the trouble has come from the republican side, there have also been protests from loyalists who refused to go to the dining hall for their food.

At this stage, all those on charges, have been moved to one wing of the prison and Fr Bennett told me that the current situation is that the entire population of C Wing of the prison are now facing charges.

On 24 April, one prisoner successfully applied for a judicial review of the Governor's decision in relation to the punishment of prisoners as a consequence of the riot. I understand from solicitor, that there are a large number of prisoners who will similarly be seeking judicial review of their individual cases.

Conclusion:

In Fr Bennett's view, current problems in Crumlin Road can be laid largely at the door of the new Governor (John Semple) who has adopted a confrontational approach to problems in the prison. He was also deeply critical of two of the Assistant Governors (Lorrimer and Pepper) who have apparently adopted a similar petty approach to problems of discipline in the prison. Fr Bennet was convinced that the republicans were not looking for segregation and that this demand was confined to the loyalists in the prison. The traditional system of self-imposed segregation had worked without problem under the previous Governor (O' Loughlin) and he felt that the republicans would be happy enough with a restoration of the previous regime - in other words, a sensitivity in the handling of discipline in what is, after all, a prison housing those who have not been convicted and are being held on remand. [It is of interest that when I spoke later with Paddy McGrory, he was of the same view as to republican demands in relation to Crumlin Road.]

Fr Bennett, who has been Chaplain for the past 2/3 years, did not feel that the fact that some senior figures from both sides were currently in the Crumlin Road (Danny Morrison, Tommy Lyttle etc) had had any appreciable effect on the problem. He was unequivocal in laying the blame for current problems on the confrontational attitude of Semple.

B 475

Brendan McMahon
Anglo/Irish Division
1 May 1990

cc A/Sec Gallagher
Counsellors A. I.
Secretariat
Box

Meeting with Councillor Alasdair McDonnell (SDLP),
Belfast, 26/27 April, 1990.

1. Alasdair McDonnell is a GP with a medical practice in West Belfast. He is prominently involved in the Phoenix Trust (a cross-community group involved in the economic/social regeneration of West Belfast) and has been a notable critic of the British Government's "Making Belfast Work" initiative. McDonnell publicly clashed with Minister Needham last November when he made a robust criticism of the IDB's lack of commitment to the development of West Belfast.

Recent efforts by IDB

2. McDonnell feels that the IDB are now making a real effort to do something about West Belfast. Whereas in the past the IDB were very reluctant to engage in any form of dialogue with the Phoenix Trust, there have recently been a number of constructive meetings between the two organisations. The IDB gave Phoenix advance notice of the recently announced two advance factories for West Belfast (one in the nationalist Glen Road and the other in the Shankill Road area) which form part of 1990/91 Making Belfast Work Action Programme. Other indications of the IDB's new found responsiveness in regard to West Belfast included a lunch held on 23 April to bring together the overseas representatives of the IDB and local community leaders and a local Sourcing Exhibition which was organised by the IDB in Andersonstown the previous week.
3. While McDonnell was hopeful that these gestures represented the beginning of an ongoing process of engagement by the IDB in West Belfast, he privately wondered what was the underlying motivation for the recent efforts; were they a reflection of a new genuine commitment by the Board to tackle the economic problems of the area or instead merely a limited and tactical response to cloak the Government's abysmal record on the attraction of inward investment into West Belfast? For the moment he was prepared to accept their bona fides and to cooperate with the IDB in trying to

create employment in the area. He was slightly concerned, however, that the IDB, in their newly acquired haste to do something about West Belfast, might dissipate their energies and resources on schemes of dubious value. The Phoenix Trust maintain that, in order to create a significant number of lasting jobs in the area, the IDB must adopt a planned medium and long-term strategy for West Belfast. The imperative of "quick results" carries the risk of leading to unsound projects followed by the inevitable commercial failure, job losses and an exacerbation of the low morale of the local labour force.

4. McDonnell had reservations about the location of the recently announced advance factory on the IDB Glen Road estate. This estate, according to McDonnell, is not marketable to the outside investor due to the poor surrounding environment (overlooked by a quarry and close to a large and squalid travellers' encampment) and the narrow roads leading to the estate. The Phoenix Trust maintain that the IDB Spring Bank estate in Poleglass offers the best potential for an advance factory in West Belfast; it is a landscaped estate in a relatively "safe" and attractive area, and has good access routes to the city and the airport.

Springvale Project

5. McDonnell had publicly welcomed the Springvale initiative (involving the development of over 50 hectares of land in the Springfield Road area which will become available as a result of the planned relocation of the Mackies plant to Woodvale) when it was announced by Minister Needham on 4 April, 1990. He said, however, that there was now a great deal of uncertainty and suspicion in regard to the project among both communities in the area. The lack of specificity in the development plans and the recent announcement by Mackies of a planned 150 redundancies as part of the

relocation package had caused considerable local disquiet.

6. This unease was reflected in a meeting of the Phoenix Trust on 25 April when Jackie Redpath and others involved in the Shankill Development Agency had raised their concern in a very forthright manner. Phoenix has now established a sub-group to examine and research the entire initiative and report back to the Trust within a month. They will then hold meetings with the affected local communities after which they intend to present a formal submission to Minister Needham as part of the official consultative process.

Making Belfast Work (MBW)

7. As the Phoenix Trust had been closely consulted by us in preparing our paper on the "Economic Regeneration of West Belfast" (which was submitted to the British side in the Secretariat on 28 March, 1990), he was interested in hearing what kind of follow-up discussion had taken place. McDonnell mentioned that the paper, in at least one particular respect, had elicited a positive response from the Northern side. He had recently been visited by Nigel Hamilton, a senior official involved in MBW, who told him that the Irish side were pressing for the appointment of a GP to the Whiterock Health Centre and that there would be some positive action taken on this question in the near future. This, according to McDonnell, was indicative of the very positive effect the Irish Government has in influencing the Northern authorities to adopt a more proactive role in the regeneration of West Belfast and he urged us to maintain and develop our efforts in this area.

Shankill Development Agency

8. A number of people from the Shankill Development Agency have for some time been involved in the Phoenix Trust in an individual capacity (the most prominent being Jackie Redpath). McDonnell said that the Agency has now as a

corporate body formally affiliated to Phoenix and that this was evidence of the growing acceptance of the Trust as a truly cross-community organisation which is committed, in a non-political way, to the economic development of West Belfast.

Adrian O'Neill

Adrian O'Neill

4 May, 1990.

cc Mr. Gallagher
Counsellors
Secretariat
Section
Mr. McMahon
Box

H0276

Visit to the United States by the Chairman of the International Fund for Ireland, 23-26 April, 1990

1. In the course of a four-day visit to Washington and New York last week, the Chairman of the International Fund for Ireland, Mr. John B. McGuckian, had a series of meetings with U.S. Administration representatives, key figures on Capital Hill, U.S. media representatives and the Irish Community. The Chairman set out the achievements of the Fund to date with considerable enthusiasm and conviction and he provided a comprehensive and persuasive rebuttal of recent criticism. Throughout the visit, as well as detailing the real intrinsic merits of a wide range of Fund projects, the Chairman stressed repeatedly the profound political significance of U.S. support for the Fund and, by extension, for the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The visit was by all accounts extremely useful and was seen as particularly helpful to the key supporters of the Fund on the Hill.

2. Arrangements for the visit were made by the Irish and British Embassies in Washington and by the two Consulates in New York. The principal features are summarised below under the main headings involved, viz. U.S. Administration, the Hill, Media and Irish Community, as well as a particularly helpful meeting with Cardinal O'Connor in New York. The British Ambassador hosted a lunch and the Irish Ambassador gave a reception in honour of the Chairman. In addition, Mr. Scannell in Washington and Consul General O Ceallaigh in New York hosted working buffet suppers. As indicated, the visit had assumed added point and importance in the context of U.S. press coverage during the preceding month, much of it critical of the Fund and of the Friends of Ireland, as well as a negative ABC television news report which was especially damaging. Although recognised as being largely Noraid/AOH-inspired, the spate of criticism called for an authoritative and effective response.

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U. S. Administration

3. There were meetings with U. S. AID (the official watchdog for U. S. overseas assistance) and with the U. S. State Department.

- The focus of the meeting with U. S. AID saw Dr. Carol Adelman, Assistant Administrator for Asia and the Near East, formally hand over to the Chairman last year's contribution of \$10 million. U. S. AID's most recent review of the Fund, published last month, states that "the Fund's programs are effectively addressing the needs of both communities in Northern Ireland" and the Presidential Certification refers to the Fund's "notable achievements". In reviewing the recent criticisms of the Fund, Dr. Adelman remarked that this is "usually a sign that something's going right".

The main operational issues raised by U. S. AID were

- a) The perceived need for more details of Fund projects and achievements in all areas of activity e. g. in terms of job creation, resultant economic and commercial growth, reconciliation etc. The Fund Secretariat will examine a detailed discussion document submitted by U. S. AID and
- b) How the additionally restrictive language which was (surprisingly) included in this year's \$20 million appropriation legislation (that money "be expended at the minimum rate necessary to make timely payment") can be interpreted so as to avoid delay or any implied insecurity in respect of disbursement of this year's appropriation to the Fund.

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- Mr. Ralph Johnson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State at the State Department, while personally quite sympathetic to the work of the Fund e.g. reconciliation, pointed to the new demands emerging in recent times calling for U. S. assistance in Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and Panama. (The State Department has not supported further IFI funding beyond the initial three years.)

The Hill

4. On the Hill, the Chairman meet with Congressmen Donnelly, McHugh, Kennedy, Gilman, Ackermann, Engel and Manton and senior Congressional staff members.

Congressman Brian Donnelly, Chairman of the Friends of Ireland, said that the best defence of the Fund comes from the actual beneficiaries on the ground. They should bring the IFI message to the Irish groups in New York and Boston. The Annual Report should include a defence of potentially controversial projects. In that regard, he welcomed the Chairman's visit and Bishop Cahal Daly's personal support for the Fund. Overall, he urged a much more "offensive" PR approach, coupled with early and accurate rebuttal of criticism. He also referred to the broader implications of the Fund in the context of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. People should take advantage of the Fund, not set out to destroy it - if it goes, there's nothing to replace it.

Congressman Donnelly said that we should keep working on Australia ("It's not the money, it's the perception") and asked for any news of progress on Japan. He will meet shortly with Speaker Foley to discuss Fund strategy on the Hill and will contact the two Embassies.

- Congressman Matt McHugh, the Speaker's personal link-man on the Foreign Operations Appropriations Committee, said that the merits of the Fund are undisputed among the Friends who are "unflagging" in their support. Each year is "frankly a struggle", however, and the difficulty is increasing not least in the light of the new demands. The Senate side had been very difficult to deal with last year and the Administration had not helped. It was thus most important to enjoy the stalwart support of the Speaker, weighing in at critical moments. It was essential to have a point-by-point rebuttal of the charges made against the Fund.

Congressman McHugh also referred to the proposal to establish a \$100 million endowment for the Fund, based on matching funding from other sources. The proposal has not yet been introduced but the Speaker was "open" to the idea. The attraction is that it would not imply some indefinite entitlement which is one underlying criticism of current procedures. This needs to be decided fairly soon, in consultation with the two Embassies and contacts on the Hill. (Both Congressman Donnelly and the Speaker's Office questioned the political attractiveness and feasibility of the proposal.)

- The meeting with the Europe and Middle East Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee was attended by Congressman Ackermann, Engel, Gilman and Manton all critics of the Fund. Interestingly, all four voiced support for the Fund to varying degrees but questioned the Chairman closely on a range of projects, the rate of disbursement, job creation, West Belfast projects and the "internationality" of the Fund. Both Engel and Manton were particularly concerned about the Fund's

non-support of Conway St. Mill. Engel also mentioned rejected projects from Mary McNellis in Derry and from the Bogside Community Centre he worried about a pattern of non-support for Sinn Féin projects emerging. The Chairman explained the Conway St. Mill - a unique exception - and stressed the need to reach out to young people in disadvantaged areas like West Belfast. All were agreed on the merits of projects like Townsend St. and the appointment of the Development Consultants. They congratulated the Chairman on the "awesome challenge" he had undertaken.

- Congressman Joe Kennedy said he had been very concerned about the Fund in the past but that nobody wanted criticism of particular projects to kill the Fund or to cause American assistance to dry up. He questioned the Chairman closely on the job figures and was particularly concerned to have a detailed breakdown of the jobs created in Catholic areas. The Chairman outlined the disadvantaged areas initiative, the appointment of the team of Development Consultants, the introduction of CRISP, the emphasis on reconciliation and the need for overall balance. He also stressed the fundamental importance of U.S. involvement. Congressman Kennedy offered to help in any way he could with contacts etc. (He mentioned that Fr. Myles Kavanagh and Fr. Matt Wallace - both active in West Belfast - had been very supportive of the Fund.)

- In Speaker Foley's absence on business on the West Coast, the Chairman met with his Chief of Staff, Werner Brandt who confirmed the Speaker's continued strong support for the Fund. He explained that other issues had either missed activists completely (e.g. the Birmingham Six, Immigration) or had lost their head of steam (e.g. Doherty, McBride Principles). They

were now trying to make the Fund an issue. However, Brandt saw no alternative to or substitute for the Fund and he stressed the need to keep things in perspective. He saw the Fund as being "in solid shape" and said we must continue to emphasise the good performance to date and the Fund's future promise and plans.

- In Senator Kennedy's absence (speaking in the Senate), Carey Parker, Senator Kennedy's Chief of Staff, told the Chairman that it would be more difficult to maintain the U.S. contribution in the next fiscal year.
- He described it as 50-50. If the criticism is met with good rebuttals, however, he was reasonably confident that Speaker Foley and Senator Kennedy would be able to hold the \$20 million appropriation next year.
- Gerry Christianson, Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also stressed the importance of a written point-by-point rebuttal. He felt there was "a very persuasive case" and that the Chairman should write to Senators Pell and Leahy in particular, detailing the real achievements of the Fund and replying in turn to each criticism.

Media

5. The Chairman held two very well-attended media events arranged by the respective Press Officers - a breakfast in Washington and a media lunch in New York. He also conducted a telephone interview with Sean Cronin (Irish Times) in Washington and had individual meetings with the editors of the Irish Voice and Irish Echo and a radio interview on the Adrian Flannelly Show. In each case, the Chairman responded with vigour to the allegations made

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against Fund projects and presented a compelling overview of the Fund's positive achievements to date. The U.S. media representatives appeared to be strongly impressed, both with regard to the overall significance of the Fund and to individual projects. The editor of the Irish Voice, Niall O' Dowd, who is supportive of the Fund, questioned the Chairman on a series of individual projects - in particular, the joint tourism PR campaign in the United States. At the end of a detailed question-and-answer session, Claire Grimes, owner of the Irish Echo, wished the Chairman well and declared her support for the continuance of the important work of the Fund.

Irish Community

6. The Chairman also hosted a reception for about 60 leading representatives active in the Irish Community in the New York area. Arrangements for the reception were made by the Irish Consulate. The Chairman provided a detailed presentation of the Fund and gave spirited responses to a wide range of questions from the floor. The main questions related to the AOH material circulated and to the negative ABC television news report, with an emphasis on Fund activities in the disadvantaged areas in general and in West Belfast in particular. As elsewhere, the Fund's non-support for Conway St. Mill was a particular source of concern and the Chairman responded strongly to some intimidatory questioning on the issue. A number of questions were also posed on the Fund's general operating procedures, on accounting and auditing controls, the Fund's "internationality", job creation achievements, community involvement and on the prospects for further funding. In each case, the Chairman responded fully and effectively. Towards the end of proceedings, Mons. Jim Murray, Director of New York Catholic Charities, read from a letter from Bishop Cahal Daly to Speaker Foley, strongly supportive of the work of the Fund (copy attached).

Cardinal O' Connor

7. In the course of an hour-long meeting, Cardinal O' Connor assured the Chairman of his full support for the work of the Fund. The Cardinal read an extract from the letter he had received recently from Bishop Daly and said that it would be "disastrous" if funding were to be withheld. Reacting strongly to news of the criticisms given wide circulation by Michael Cummings, National Public Relations Officer of the AOH, he asked to see a copy, remarking that these "stupid allegations" must be countered. He said that he wanted to meet with the National Board of the AOH to clarify the matter and that he would have no hesitation in severing all personal association with the AOH and writing to Congress and to the White House in defence of the Fund.

Donal Hamill

April, 1990

W4525



LISBREEN
SOMERTON ROAD
BELFAST BT15 4DE
telephone 776185

From the Bishop of Down + Connor

24th. April 1990

Mr. T. Foley,
Speaker of the House,
Room H - 204,
The Capitol,
WASHINGTON DC 20515,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Foley,

I learn that a Budget allocation of money for the International Fund for Ireland is soon to be put to a vote of the House. I am writing to convey my deep gratitude to you for your firm support of this Fund in the past and to express my hope that you may feel able to lend your support on this occasion again.

As Pastor of the Catholic people of West Belfast and other deprived and disadvantaged areas, I assure you that the International Fund for Ireland has been a major factor in bringing new hope to a people so long condemned to unemployment, alienation and hopelessness. The Fund is one of the best initiatives taken by your great country so far as Ireland is concerned. I have personal and recent experience of several of the projects in West Belfast which have benefitted from the Fund. I can assure you that any true friend of Ireland would be proud of what the Fund is doing for so many of our fine young men and women who have found work and, with work, dignity and a sense of purpose and hope, thanks to initial funding from the IFI.

One of the strengths of the Fund is that it has maintained a high level of leverage of funding from other sources, including the European Regional Development Fund, statutory bodies and the private sector, which, without initial "pump-priming" from the IFI, would have been difficult, if not impossible to secure.

Critics of the Fund point to some projects aided by the Fund in its first year of operation, which were of questionable relevance to the stated aims of the Fund. I and others expressed criticism of these allocations at the time. The criticisms were taken on board and the Fund has since been targetting the areas of greatest need, particularly in the unemployment blackspots in West Belfast and West of the Bann, which are in fact predominantly nationalist areas. The outreach of the Fund is now deliberately geared towards employment-generating and economically viable enterprises in deprived areas. Catholic areas have benefitted directly and very significantly from the operation of the Fund. Several thousand young Catholic men and women are now in gainful and productive employment as a direct or indirect result of the Fund.

Additionally, wherever possible, projects aided by the Fund are of a cross-community character, employing, in accordance with strict fair-employment practices, Catholics and Protestants side by side. This is an obviously important contribution to reconciliation and peace in our community.

It is simply not true, as some critics allege, that Catholics are being offered low-pay unskilled jobs, while high-skill and hi-tech projects are being reserved for Protestants. The emphasis of the Enterprise Boards in West Belfast, assisted by the IFI, has been precisely on skilled jobs and advanced technology, and the Catholic population are for the first time being empowered to compete with the best achievers anywhere. The benefit to the morale and self-confidence of people in Catholic areas is becoming more manifest year by year.

Many Enterprise Boards in West Belfast, Derry and other nationalist areas - composed of business people working in a voluntary capacity and on a non-profit-making basis for the economic rehabilitation of deprived sectors - have been given immense encouragement and support by the International Fund. They and the people who look to their efforts for the hope of jobs and a decent future would be devastated if the Fund were discontinued or cut back at this time. The hopes of peace and justice in Ireland, a country very dear to many Americans, would be cruelly set back by an adverse vote for this Fund.

I renew my very sincere thanks for your past support and my earnest plea for your continued support for the International Fund for Ireland.

With kind personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

+ Cahal B. Daly

FOR : Asst. Sec. Gallagher FROM : O' Ceallaigh

CC: Mr. Scannell, Embassy, D.C.

Subject : Fund for Ireland (IFI)

John McGuckian, Chairman of the IFI last night briefed about 60 people mainly activists in the Irish American community in New York.

He spoke forcefully and with commitment for a period of almost two hours answering a wide range of questions. He said the IFI is an important sign of American support for the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Among the areas he was questioned on were the ABC TV Evening News Broadcast on the Fund, the Fund support for West Belfast and the disadvantaged areas, auditing of the Fund by U.S. Government Agencies, and what was termed misuse of IFI monies in supporting dubious projects (many of which were ennumerated in an Ed Moloney article, parts of which were read out by a member of the audience, and some were included in the recent Michael Cummings letter).

In his opening address and in his response to questions McGuckian listed and stressed the achievements of the Fund. He referred to 8,000 jobs achieved, to the increased investment from non-Fund sources obtained on foot of Fund investment and to resultant hope and revitalisation. He spent some time detailing the assistance made available to the disadvantaged areas.

McGuckian was closely questioned on the refusal of the Fund to support activities in the Conway Street Mill. He said there was only one instance - and that predated his time as Chairman - where the IFI which is otherwise independent had been directed not to provide support and that related to the Conway Street Mill where the IFI was informed that to do so would be contrary to the economic and social policy of the British Government. In response to questions he said that he believed the Irish Government supported this position, and that if the British and Irish Governments take a position of this kind he is not prepared to argue. He would be concerned if similar constraints were imposed on a few occasions. He was closely questioned on the views of the Irish Government on this matter.

In taking the questions McGuckian answered the charges made by Noraid and by those who have been influenced by the criticisms of the Fund being orchestrated by Noraid. He also answered the charges being made in the US media.

McGuckian was upbeat on the achievements of the Fund and on what the IFI intends to achieve in the future. In my estimation he successfully conveyed his message and he had some effect on his audience. All admired his courage and his sincerity. Of those present who were open to influence some may have changed their views as a result of his arguments and some of the Irish American Unity Conference people present said to Ms Barrington afterwards that their sole remaining objection to the Fund related to the treatment of the Conway Street Mill. At a minimum all of those present left with a greater knowledge of the Fund, its achievements and how it works.

In an intervention at the end of the evening Msgr Murray of New York Catholic charities said it is rare for Americans to have the opportunity to question a person (like McGuckian) who spends US taxpayers money. He spoke of the "pittance" given by the US Government to the IFI. He had welcomed its establishment in 1986, had become worried about it since and is now satisfied that sufficient charges have been made to enable him to again support the Fund. He quoted from both the recent Irish voice editorial and from a letter supporting speaker Foley written by Bishop Cahal Daly.

April 26, 1990

W4527

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Northern Ireland Security Situation April, 1990.

Fatalities: There were 9 security related fatalities during the month of April bringing the total for the year so far to 23, compared with 32 at the end of April last year.

The IRA was responsible for 6 deaths in the month, bringing its total for 1990 to 12, or 52% of all deaths this year. Four UDR soldiers were killed in a landmine explosion outside Downpatrick, Co. Down and Eoin Morley, a member of the IPLO, was shot in Newry for allegedly passing information to the security forces, a claim which his family denies. (Note: Morley's father was IRA "O/C" in the Maze for a period during the 1970s, where he had a close relationship with Newry and Mourne Sinn Fein Councillor and Westminster candidate, Brendan Curran. However, Curran publicly defended the IRA's action despite his friendship with Morley's father.) The IRA also murdered Kenneth Graham, a Protestant building contractor from Kilkeel, because his firm allegedly supplied the security forces.

It is perhaps worth noting that all the fatalities caused by the IRA this month took place in the South Down area.

Roger Bradley, a Catholic construction worker who had severed his paramilitary links, was shot dead by loyalist paramilitaries in the Rathcoole estate in North Belfast, where another Catholic building worker, Malachy Trainor, was murdered in almost identical circumstances in 1989. Brian McKimm, a Protestant, was murdered by loyalist gunmen in a random sectarian attack in Ligoniel, North Belfast.

The British Army shot dead IPLO member, Martin Corrigan, in an incident at Kinnego, Co. Armagh. The RUC said that soldiers encountered a number of masked gunmen near the home of a police reservist and that Corrigan was killed in the shooting which followed.

Other Violent Incidents

The use of large fertilizer based bombs continues to be a feature of current IRA activity, and apart from the 1,000 lb. bomb used in the Downpatrick attack, the IRA unsuccessfully attempted to use large bombs in four other cases this month viz. - Fort George Army Barracks, Derry, (500 lb bomb defused); Musgrave Park RUC Station, Belfast (1,000 lb. bomb defused); Creggan Estate, Derry (1,000 lb. landmine defused) and Fairmount Estate Dungannon (900 lb. bomb defused).

Following an RUC warning of a threat of increased IRA violence on 26 April, there was a spate of nine violent incidents over the next few days including the premature explosion of IRA mortar bombs in the Brook Meadow estate, Portadown; a mortar attack on the "Camel's Hump" checkpoint outside Strabane and an explosion in a litter bin in Lisburn after which secondary booby trap devices were discovered nearby.

Security Force Successes

The making and transportation of large explosive devices carries a considerable risk of detection and the security forces have again had successes in making large seizures of explosives and bomb making materials this month, notably in Newry where about a half tonne of explosive materials and ancilliary equipment was seized in a raid on a house in the Derrybeg estate. In West Belfast, bomb making equipment and 1,400 lbs of fertilizer were seized in a house search and two men were later charged with explosives offences.

In other incidents, a van containing an 80lb. bomb was intercepted near Grosvenor Road RUC station and a 17 year old girl from West Belfast was charged with explosives offences after a semtex bomb was reportedly discovered concealed on her person during a search of passengers on the Belfast Airport bus shuttle. A booby trap bomb found under a van in Fintona Co. Tyrone was defused.

Two Ardoyne men were charged with firearms offences after a planned search of a house in the Ligoniel area of North Belfast, where a large arms dump was discovered which included an improvised grenade launcher, 6 mortar tubes, a submachinegun, a shotgun, a silencer, over 1,000 rounds of ammunition, rifle magazines, 3 mercury tilt switches and other bomb making equipment.

"Punishment" Shootings

There were four punishment shootings reported in the press during the month, compared with nine during the month of March.

Disturbances at Crumlin Road Prison

Republican prisoners were involved in disturbances on Easter Monday, continuing their agitation against the policy of integrating prisoners. A republican prisoner, Eugene McKee, was granted leave to apply for judicial review of the integration policy by the High Court, and in a further legal action another republican prisoner, Albert Weir, was given leave to apply for judicial review of the punishments imposed by the Prison Governor on those involved in the Easter Monday disturbances. The punishments have been suspended pending the outcome of the case.

Towards the end of the month there were attacks on the homes of prison officers by loyalist elements who are equally unhappy with the policies being pursued by the prison administration.

Cross-Border Roads

Groups of locals in the North Monaghan/ South Tyrone/ East Fermanagh area continue to re-open closed roads each weekend. This activity is invariably followed by the security forces moving in to re-close the opened roads. During a re-opening attempt on Good Friday, there was a clash between local people and the security forces at the Aghafinn crossing on the Roslea-Clones road during which a man from Co. Tyrone was arrested and

there were allegations that plastic bullets were used by the Northern security forces. However, the Gardai, who were present at the scene, reported that there was no evidence to support the claims that plastic bullets were fired.

Dublin-Belfast Railway Line

Only one hoax call was received in connection with the line during the month and there was no disruption.

Anglo-Irish Section
4 May, 1990.

CC Mr. Gallagher, Counsellors AI, Secretariat, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Brosnan, (D/ Justice), Embassies: Canberra, London, Washington; Box.

		2	11	59		174
		24	17	146		428
		8	13	79		290
		3	13	50		218
		6	11	31		247
		15	23	52		297
		14	14	43		115
		10	14	62		213
		8	9	25		78
		13	21	44		101
		7	12	40		97
		10	18	33		77
		10	9	28		64
		4	23	29		84
		8	12	24		61
		8	16	27		83
		12	6	40		94
		2	9	23		54
		6	2	8		22
Total		423	186	268	877(316)	2789
		(196)	(6.54)	(9.54)		

... of ... and Section records.

... This column includes 26 prison officers.

... killed by British security forces in Gibraltar on 6 ...

... killed by the IRA in the Netherlands on 1 May. 1 British ...

... on 1 August and 1 British soldier killed by the ...

... killed in FMO on 3 July 1989. wife of British ...

... 11 British soldiers killed as a result of ...

... on 22 September, RAF corporal and his six-month-old ...

... FMO on 28 October.

TABLE 1

Fatalities in Northern Ireland 1969- end April 1990¹

	Civilians ² (ie non-security forces)	Army	UDR	RUC	Total Security Forces Fatalities	Total Fatalities
1969	12	-	-	1	1	13
1970	23	-	-	2	2	25
1971	115	43	5	11	59	174
1972	322	103	26	17	146	468
1973	171	58	8	13	79	250
1974	166	28	7	15	50	216
1975	216	14	6	11	31	247
1976	245	14	15	23	52	297
1977	69	15	14	14	43	112
1978	50	14	7	10	31	81
1979	51	38	10	14	62	113
1980	50	8	8	9	25	75
1981	57	10	13	21	44	101
1982	57	21	7	12	40	97
1983	44	5	10	18	33	77
1984	36	9	10	9	28	64
1985	25	2	4	23	29	54
1986	37	4	8	12	24	61
1987	66	3	8	16	27	93
1988	54	22	12	6	40	94 ³
1989	41	12	2	9	23	64 ⁴
1990	15		6	2	8	23
Total	1922(69%)	423 (15%)	186 (6.5%)	268 (9.5%)	877(31%)	2799

¹Source: Westminster PQ replies and Section records.

²For breakdown see Table 2. This column includes 26 prison officers.

³In addition, 3 IRA members killed by British security forces in Gibraltar on 6 March, 3 British soldiers killed by the IRA in the Netherlands on 1 May, 1 British soldier killed by the IRA in London on 1 August and 1 British soldier killed by the IRA in Belgium on 12 August 1988.

⁴In addition, 1 British soldier killed in FRG on 2 July 1989, wife of British soldier killed in FRG on 7 September, 11 British soldiers killed as a result of explosion in Deal Barracks, Kent on 22 September, RAF corporal and his six-month-old daughter killed at Wildenrath, FRG on 28 October.

TABLE 2

Breakdown of Civilian (i. e. non-security forces) fatalities
1969-end April 1990¹

	Prov. IRA	INLA/ IPLO	Off. IRA	UDA/ UFF	UVF/ PAF	U. R. ²	Non- Paramdl.	TOTAL
1969	0	0	1	0	0	0	13	14
1970	5	0	0	0	0	0	18	23
1971	16	0	2	0	0	0	96	114
1972	58	0	8	8	2	0	251	327
1973	28	0	4	6	2	0	133	173
1974	14	0	3	2	2	0	147	168
1975	9	1	7	7	11	0	179	214
1976	14	0	0	4	1	0	224	243
1977	5	1	0	4	2	0	58	70
1978	6	2	0	0	0	0	37	45
1979	4	0	0	0	0	0	45	49
1980	3	1	0	1	0	0	44	49
1981	11	5	0	3	0	0	47	66
1982	7	2	0	2	2	0	42	55
1983	2	4	1	1	1	0	35	44
1984	11	1	0	1	0	0	21	34
1985	5	0	0	0	0	0	19	24
1986	5	0	0	0	1	0	33	39
1987	14	9	0	3	1	0	39	66
1988	9	1	0	2	2	0	40	54
1989	4	0	0	0	5	2	30	41
1990	1	2		3			9	15

Total: 231(12%) 29(1.5%) 26(1.5%) 47(2.5%) 32(1.5%) 2(0.01%) 1560(81%) 1925

¹Statistics 1969-1986: Irish Information Partnership
1986-date: Section records
(Note: Because of some differences in the way they compile their statistics, there are slight disparities between the figures produced by the RUC and the IIP; hence the totals above do not tally fully with Table 1 preceding.)

²Ulster Resistance

TABLE 3

Breakdown of all fatalities by Agency Responsible,
1969-end April 1990*

	RUC	British Army	UDR	Prov. IRA	INLA	Off. IRA	Other Nationst.	UDA/UFF	UVF/PAF	Non-spec. Loyalist
1969	7	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2
1970	0	5	0	6	0	0	12	0	0	2
1971	1	40	0	57	0	3	33	0	0	21
1972	6	69	1	208	1	5	42	3	1	98
1973	1	29	2	111	0	1	17	14	1	66
1974	2	15	0	81	0	3	15	5	3	86
1975	0	7	0	51	3	2	45	8	17	91
1976	3	13	0	81	1	0	62	5	2	106
1977	2	7	0	47	0	0	23	3	2	20
1978	0	11	0	38	0	0	17	0	0	7
1979	0	1	0	50	2	0	38	1	0	12
1980	2	7	0	36	2	0	12	3	0	10
1981	6	11	1	46	11	1	20	3	1	7
1982	7	4	0	40	30	0	3	0	1	10
1983	6	5	1	41	6	0	3	0	1	9
1984	2	8	0	37	3	0	2	2	1	5
1985	1	3	2	43	2	0	0	1	1	0
1986	2	4	0	37	2	0	2	5	3	8
1987	0	9	0	54	10	0	1	3	1	10
1988	2	5	0	61	1	0	2	6	8	9
1989	2	2	0	38	0	0	4	4	9	5
1990		4		12			1	1	2	2
Total	52	261	7	1175	74	15	358	67	54	586
(2658)	(2%)	(10%)	(0.25%)	(44%)	(3%)	(0.5%)	(13.5%)	(2.5%)	(2%)	(22.5%)

* Source: Statistics 1969-1986, Irish Information Partnership
Statistics 1987-date, Section records.

The footnote to Table 2 also applies to this Table

It should be noted that in addition to the above, there were about 100 fatalities for which the agency responsible is unknown.

TABLE 4

Agency responsible for fatalities 1969- end April 1990:
Breakdown by category of victim¹

<u>Category of Victim</u>	<u>Agency Responsible</u>		
	<u>Security Forces</u>	<u>Nationalist Paramilitaries</u>	<u>Loyalist Paramilitaries</u>
Security Forces	16	848	10
Nationalist Para.	117	141	20
Loyalist Para.	13	18	39
Civilians	174	589	637
Prison Officers	0	26	2
TOTAL	320	1622	708
As % of Total	(12)	(61)	(27)

¹Source: Statistics 1969-1986: Irish Information Partnership;
 Statistics 1986-date: Section records.

It should be noted that in addition to the above, there were about 160 fatalities for which the agency responsible is unknown.

Breakdown of Catholic fatalities in Northern Ireland
by Agency Responsible

TABLE 5

(a) 1969 - end April 1990¹

Agency Responsible	No. killed	% of total
Nationalist paramilitaries	449	37%
Loyalist paramilitaries	568	46%
Security forces	211	17%
TOTAL	1228	

(b) 1978 - end April 1990

Agency Responsible	No. killed	% of total
Nationalist paramilitaries	123	36.5%
Loyalist paramilitaries	123	36.5%
Security forces	93	27 %
TOTAL	339	

¹Primary source: Irish Information Partnership. For further background on the breakdown of the statistics on the period 1969 - date, see Table 6 following.

TABLE 6

Breakdown of Catholic fatalities in
Northern Ireland by category of victim 1969 - end April 1990¹

<u>Category of Victim</u>	<u>No. Killed</u>	<u>approx. % of Total</u>
Civilians killed by security forces	94	8%
Civilians killed by Nationalist paramilitaries in "mistake" operations	123	10%
Catholics killed by loyalist paramilitaries	568	46%
Nationalist paramilitaries killed in "own goal" operations	109	9%
Nationalist paramilitaries killed by security forces	117	10%
Catholics killed by Nationalist paramilitaries in "punishment/discipline" operations (alleged informers etc.)	176	14%
Catholic members of security forces killed by Nationalist paramilitaries	41	3%
TOTAL	1228	100%

¹Source: Irish Information Partnership and Section records.

Fatalities arising from incidents in border areas¹

TABLE 7

Fatality	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1986</u>
RUC	2	5	3	3	10
UDR	1	1	4	1	4
Army	-	9	2	1	3
IRA	-	1	2	4	3
INLA/IPLO	1	-	1	4	-
Civilian(cath.)	1	4	3	2	2
Civilian(prot.)	-	-	6	7	3
Total	5	20 ²	21	22	25

Fatalities in border areas: Breakdown by County

County	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1986</u>
Down	1	4	1	5	5
Armagh	2	6	10	7	9
Tyrone	1	3	4	-	4
Fermanagh		2	5	2	5
Derry	1	5	1	8	2
Total	5	20 ²	21	22	25

¹Border areas are defined as areas lying within a 10 mile radius of the border and include, therefore, the urban areas of Derry, Strabane, Armagh and Newry. The above tables are based on statistics which the Section has been compiling since 1986.

²This does not include the Protestant ex-RUC man shot dead by the IRA at Ballintra, Co. Donegal, on 15 January.



IRISH EMBASSY, LONDON.
Confidential

P. the Times

17 Grosvenor Place,
London SW1X 7HR.

cc PST; PSY
Mr. Nally; AB
Mr. Mullen; M
Cullin/A1
[Signature]

3 May, 1990.

Mr. Dermot Gallagher,
Assistant Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
Dublin.

Conversation with Andrew MacKay MP

Dear Assistant Secretary,

I had lunch on 1 May with Andrew MacKay, Parliamentary Private Secretary to Tom King. Apart from his continuing interest in Northern Ireland, his links with the Northern Ireland Backbench Committee and his important position as King's long serving trusted lieutenant, MacKay is also prominent in the party's key 1922 Committee.

Acquittal of the Winchester Three

Describing his boss's reaction to the Appeal Court ruling, MacKay told me that in his four years service with him he had "never seen Tom so upset". MacKay rehearsed in detail the circumstances in which Tom King's original remarks on the right to silence had been made. What hurt King most, according to MacKay, was the suggestion implicit in the judgement that he would abuse his position to make remarks intended to influence the outcome of a court case in which his family was involved. Lord Denning's public criticism of the judgement and the "Times" leader in the 30 April edition had reassured him however as had the many expressions of support which he had received from colleagues - "not least the Prime Minister".

According to MacKay our refusal to comment on the outcome had been widely noted and appreciated.

MacKay went on to tell me that at the time of the original court hearing "Tom and others" had felt that the sentence handed out to the three had been disproportionate to the evidence. He recalled that the feeling in the NIO and the Home Office supported, he said, by intelligence material was that the three had been engaged in basic reconnaissance which would eventually have found its way to the IRA for use in a possible future attack. This "arms length" distance from the mainstream organisation enabled the IRA to insist that the three were not members. The view at the time had been that the Court sentencing the three had taken insufficient cognisance of their relatively lowly role in the overall conspiracy.

He was highly critical of public comments made by the three after their release and which were widely reported here. Having got off on what many would see as a legal technicality they should, he said, have avoided any public comment. MacKay contended that their "crude triumphalism" fuelled a paradoxical situation where Irish misgivings about British justice were mirrored by a growing public perception among British public opinion to the effect that the judicial system was prepared to lean over backwards to facilitate high profile Irish prisoners. The immediate losers in such a situation, he concluded, would be the Birmingham Six. In response to my strong rebuttal of this mistaken, damaging and prejudiced view he said that he was simply reflecting a widely held perspective which had been put to him as recently as the previous evening by an "influential junior Minister".

Conservatives in Northern Ireland

He told me that he had raised the matter of John Taylor's letter to MPs (my report of 24 April refers) at the end of the previous week's meeting of the 1922 Committee. He had made the point that no Conservative MP should lend their support to any Unionist motion at a time when the Conservatives were about to contest their first by-election in Northern Ireland. Bill Benyon's signature of Taylor's motion he dismissed as "a temporary lapse of good taste and good sense". He felt they would do better than expected in the by-election and certainly better than the Unionists were predicting. They had a good candidate. She was, he continued, a supporter of the Agreement but that point "wouldn't be laboured on the doorsteps"! Instead he told me the strategy would be to try and focus the electorate on the Tory .v. Labour divide, reminding voters discreetly of the left-wing leanings of Harold McCusker.

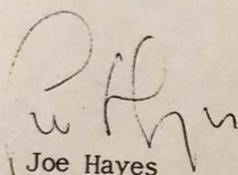
Ian Gow had committed himself to spending a lot of time there and Richard Needham - who holds the office of President of the Upper Bann Constituency Association would be an active canvasser. Peter Bottomley and Brian Mawhinney were also eager to help. MacKay, who is a firm supporter of organising in Northern Ireland had hoped to travel over but his diary commitments are now unlikely to allow for this.

The ANC and the IRA

He drew my attention to a piece in the current edition of "Private Eye" - copy attached - which purports to explain the background to the repeated attempts by Andrew Hunter - the hard right-wing MP for Basingstoke - to raise in the House an alleged connection between the ANC and the IRA, including the claim that the ANC had been with the IRA in Downpatrick shortly before the recent murder of the four UDR men. According to MacKay, Hunter had apparently recruited a number of Unionist MPs into the British-Bophuthatswana Parliamentary Association of which he is the Chairman. MacKay specifically mentioned John Taylor, Roy Beggs and Cecil Walker. All three, he said, had been on trips to Bophuthatswana organised by Hunter and in the course of a recent visit had been furnished by the South Africans with "evidence" of ANC involvement with the IRA.

The Unionists, according to MacKay, had been smart enough to refuse to have anything to do with this crude attempt to discredit the ANC but Hunter had touted his story around Whitehall and had even been received at Downing Street where, according to MacKay, there were hopes that "two distinctly disagreeable birds might be killed with one stone". Hunter's information had, however, been quickly discredited and no more would be heard of the matter.

Yours sincerely,


Joe Hayes
Counsellor

[Faint, mostly illegible text from the reverse side of the page, appearing as bleed-through. It seems to discuss political events, possibly related to the ANC and the IRA, mentioning names like Margaret Thatcher and Mandela.]

ANC

HOW DID Andrew Hunter, Tory MP for Basingstoke, come to claim that two leading members of the African National Congress had travelled to Northern Ireland for secret meetings with the IRA?

Hunter, on the party's cuddly Rottweiler wing, used parliamentary privilege to allege that the ANC men had been entertained by four IRA officers in Downpatrick earlier this month shortly before the IRA murdered four members of the UDR there. This is not the first time Hunter has made similar claims, together with suggestions that the Provos have supplied the ANC with money.

On this occasion Hunter says his information, which provided Margaret Thatcher with another excuse to denounce the ANC in the aftermath of the Nelson Mandela concert, came from three unsolicited phone calls from Ulster residents whom he will not identify. After a similar outburst last year, the ANC in Dublin denied Hunter's claims; this time the ANC's London office "utterly and unequivocally" refuted them. Embarrassed spokesmen at the Republican Press Centre, who would dearly love to claim support from the ANC or any other mass movement, also testified to the ridiculousness of Hunter's "information". But the question remains: why would three Ulster people contact the obscure MP for Basingstoke with such serious allegations?

One small possibility is that they were inspired by Hunter's membership of the Parliamentary British-Bophuthatswana Group, the front organisation which arranges "facility trips" to the racist puppet state. Still, the ANC shouldn't take Hunter too seriously — their chances in any forthcoming election are a lot brighter than his.



IRISH EMBASSY, LONDON.

17 Grosvenor Place,
London SW1X 7HR.

Confidential

30 April, 1990.

*cc 224 : AG
H. Kelly : P/S
H. Kelly : P/S
Cassidy : P/S
JSD.*

Mr. Dermot Gallagher,
Assistant Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
Dublin.

Conversation with Juliette Wheldon
Principal Legal Assistant to the Attorney General

Dear Assistant Secretary,

I had lunch on 23 April with Juliette Wheldon.

Gibraltar Three - Action under the Crown Proceedings Act

That day's papers reported on the Foreign Secretary's move under the 1947 Crown proceedings Act to block the action by the relatives of the Gibraltar Three. It appears that the Attorney's office was closely involved in the decision to issue certificates under the Act. Miss Wheldon contended that recourse to the 1947 legislation in no way implied a judgement on the merits of the case but was simply a procedural move rectifying what she sought to portray as an error by the relatives' solicitor in wrongly identifying the Crown and its agents as the party against whom the action should be directed. She insisted that while recourse to the Act was not frequent, the legislation was availed of from time to time. I asked her for a recent example of its use. She confined herself to the one example referred to in press reports where in 1984 Sir Geoffrey Howe had blocked an action by a number of residents of West Berlin seeking relief in the British courts in respect of a nuisance caused by RAF jets at the Gatow airbase in the city. A subsequent appeal against Sir Geoffrey's action failed in February 1986.

Miss Wheldon agreed that on balance an appeal by the relatives in this case was also unlikely to succeed. If, however they were serious in their intention, as reported by the media, to take the case to Strasbourg, they would, she said, probably feel it necessary to exhaust all domestic legal remedies. They might also, she surmised, consider an action in the Gibraltar courts which she argued was the jurisdiction in which the action should have commenced.

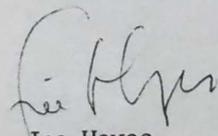
Extradition

She had read with interest of the decision to set up a working group of officials to review extradition arrangements. She wondered if this would include representatives of the two Attorneys' offices. On the British side, she said that they had reassessed our legislation in the light of the recent decisions. While recognising that the 1987 Act had yet to be tested in the Courts, she personally was "far from convinced" that applications under the 1987 Act would turn out any differently from those under the 1965 legislation. She criticized the 1987 Act on two main grounds - the limited listing of specific offences and what she argued was the excessive scope for the application by the judges of subjective criteria.

When I first met Miss Wheldon in October last she had only recently taken over from her predecessor, Michael Saunders and had just returned from a successful and pleasant visit to Dublin with the Attorney. On that occasion she echoed fulsomely the positive views of her boss on the visit to Dublin and on the high level of cooperation and understanding that existed between the two offices. She also voiced the hope that with the Ryan affair in the past all would henceforward proceed smoothly on the extradition front.

Our conversation on this occasion took a decidedly different turn. Her criticism of the recent Supreme Court decisions was trenchant and detailed and she went on to pick holes in the 1987 Act. I also detected behind this critical legal appraisal a strong sense of personal annoyance with recent events and a determination to give me a hard time.

Yours sincerely,


Joe Hayes
Counsellor



IRISH EMBASSY, LONDON.

17 Grosvenor Place,
London SW1X 7HR.

Confidential

1 May, 1990.

Mr. Dermot Gallagher,
Assistant Secretary,
Department of Foreign Affairs,
Dublin.

Conversation with Clive Soley MP
Shadow Spokesman for Local Government and Housing

Dear Assistant Secretary,

I had lunch on 24 April with Clive Soley, Labour MP for Hammersmith and Shadow Spokesman for Local Government and Housing. He served as Northern Ireland spokesman from 1982 to 1984 and his name continues to be mentioned by many in the party as a future Secretary of State. Soley is a well respected, articulate and capable centre-left crusader for civil liberties, prison reform and childrens' welfare. He has also taken a high profile on the Prevention of Terrorism Act, resigning his position as Northern Ireland spokesman for a period in 1982, following his vote against renewal in defiance of the Party Whip.

Among those who tend to the view that Neil Kinnock, despite his personal loyalty to Kevin McNamara, will look elsewhere for his Northern Ireland Secretary of State if Labour make it at the next election there are several who argue that Soley is the obvious choice for the job. As against this it must also be said that there are an equal number who dismiss the idea, among them Mo Mowlam, who has expressed to me in colourful terms her impatience with Soley's solemn and fervent earnestness.

Soley was keen to stress his continuing interest in Irish issues. His constituency contains a relatively large Irish population, many of whom he told me had little time for his involvement in Northern Ireland pressing him at constituency clinics during his time as Northern Ireland spokesman to focus instead on the many practical problems facing low income families residing in this difficult inner city West London borough. He told me in some detail of the circumstances which led him to seek a move from the Northern Ireland portfolio. These, he said, were two fold: his wish to broaden his political horizons and his concern to avoid a brief which he felt at the time exposed his wife and young family to an unacceptable measure of personal risk. He had assured Kinnock however that he remained ready to return to the job at any time in the future.

*re reply: Soley
Carrillo A I
D.G.*

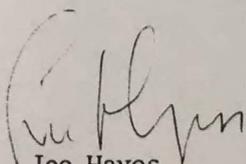
When McNamara had, in due course, taken over from Stuart Bell, Soley's views had been canvassed by Kinnock. He had, he said, "been more than happy" to give his "full endorsement" to Kevin McNamara, who he continued, had an instinctive feel for the job and "a high degree of personal commitment." He nonetheless went on to echo the view frequently articulated by many of McNamara's detractors to the effect that McNamara's Liverpool Irish, strongly Catholic background might ultimately disqualify him from retaining the job if Labour came to power. Soley implied that in such a scenario he would be happy if asked to shoulder the responsibility.

He asked me in some detail about the recent controversy on the extradition front. He displayed a great deal of understanding for our overall position and remarked, in particular, on his disappointment that the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act was not availed of by the British side as a more effective and appropriate instrument against fugitive offenders.

He spoke of the campaign for Labour representation in Northern Ireland, noting that although it was unlikely to make any headway in the foreseeable future, Kate Hoey's involvement was a powerful shot in the arm which over a period might, he felt, dent the leadership's opposition to the idea. He was personally opposed to Labour organising in Northern but he felt that there was a tendency to underestimate the sympathy which the campaign evoked among those who were not close to the detail of Northern Ireland.

Looking to the next election, he urged us to intensify our contacts with the party hierarchy, especially with the Shadow Cabinet and the National Executive Council. As we drew closer to the next election the strategists would, he said, begin to focus on how policy objectives including those on Northern Ireland would, in practice, be implemented in Government. In this regard we should also, he advised, look to key figures in the Trade Union movement, parts of which he contended could still, as had been so well demonstrated in the past, constitute the Achilles heel of a future Labour Government which sought to implement any radical initiative in Northern Ireland. He told me how in his early days as Northern Ireland spokesman, Peter Robinson had casually boasted to him that if it proved necessary he could mobilize the Trade Unions to see to it that Soley's aircraft remained unserved indefinitely after it landed at Aldergrove.

Yours sincerely,


Joe Hayes
Counsellor

AMBASÁID NA HÉIREANN, LONDAIN



IRISH EMBASSY, LONDON

Re interview with

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*cc PJF; PJW
de Nelly; PJS
A Rees Murphy / Rapach
Oakley PJ
[Signature]*

1 May 1990

Mr. Dermot Gallagher
Assistant Secretary
Anglo-Irish Division

Dear Assistant Secretary

Lunch with Robin Oakley. The Times

Oakley is the Political Editor of the Times.

The following points of interest arose:

Special European Council

- The special European Council hosted by the Taoiseach was clearly "a great success". As far as Oakley could judge, the atmosphere was relaxed and good-humoured, despite the scope for conflict offered by the political union discussion. The various parties to this discussion were able to take some satisfaction from it and to claim afterwards that their viewpoint had prevailed. A potentially acrimonious meeting was avoided and the Taoiseach and the Irish Presidency deserved full credit for this.
- Oakley added that the Taoiseach's unprecedented decision to allow Chancellor Kohl to "share the limelight" with him during the Presidency briefing after the meeting was the subject of some favourable comment. The view taken by a number of Oakley's media colleagues was that this was an unusually generous gesture on the part of a President of the European Council.
- The Taoiseach, Oakley observed, is "in fine form" and obviously well up to the demands made of him at the present time. As President of the European Council, he has a relaxed and self-assured air about him and he comes across as well-briefed on the various issues and tactically astute.

- In the course of a discussion on the substance of the Dublin meeting, Oakley suggested (with reference to the Taoiseach's view that security cooperation could be developed in the CSCE framework) that the Prime Minister might not be averse to this approach. As she indicated at her press conference, she has difficulty in imagining how a common security policy could be elaborated within the EC. On the other hand, she disapproves of the proliferation of international bodies and has a natural preference to use existing mechanisms rather than create new ones. (One recent example of this was her positive reaction to the Baker proposal to expand the political powers of NATO). From a conversation he had recently with a senior Thatcher adviser, Oakley judges that the Prime Minister might well be "quite sympathetic" to a proposal to make more use of the CSCE framework for security cooperation.

Hurd's speech

- Oakley is firmly convinced that it was not Hurd's intention to criticise the Irish Presidency as such in his speech last Friday. The advance briefing which Oakley obtained from the Foreign Office made no reference to the Irish Presidency. Rather, the signal he received was that Hurd wished to highlight what Britain sees as "foot-dragging" by the Community as a whole in relation to the preparations for 1992. Had he wished to criticise the Irish Presidency specifically, Oakley believes that the FCO's advance briefing would have flagged this.
- It is clear to Oakley that, if there has been any significant delay in agreeing the remaining directives, this is because the most difficult directives have been left over to the final stages. No individual Presidency can force agreements - it is up to the partners. Supporting this point, I also drew Oakley's attention to the European Council's explicit indication last Saturday of its satisfaction with progress to date in this area.
- Hurd's speech, Oakley commented, would have served two purposes. Externally, Hurd was trying to relieve some of the pressure which had been building up on Britain in advance of the Dublin summit. Internally, he would have been demonstrating to the Prime Minister a readiness to criticise EC partners as much as to conciliate them. The success of his relationship with Mrs Thatcher, Oakley commented, depends on showing her that he can be tough on Europe, or in any other field of foreign policy, and that she does not have to "do the dirty work" entirely by herself.

Douglas Hurd

- More generally, Oakley commented on the considerable influence which Hurd now exercises on the conduct of British foreign policy. In contrast to Sir Geoffrey Howe, whom the Prime Minister considered to be fundamentally disloyal to her, Hurd has given not the slightest

indication that he aspires to the leadership. In addition, he is an extremely able and self-confident Foreign Secretary who is "a natural" for the job. Finally, Ministers have told Oakley that, in Cabinet, the Prime Minister allows Hurd to hold forth without interruption (unlike Howe) and accepts virtually every recommendation he makes. This is partly because, in contrast to his more long-winded predecessor, Hurd has "a clear and crisp style" which the Prime Minister likes.

The Prime Minister's position

- Oakley commented that the prospects for the Prime Minister are now "extremely bleak". (Note: This conclusion is of some interest as Oakley is a noted Thatcher loyalist who might be expected to be dismissive of current speculation).
- A combination of the poll-tax dispute and a deteriorating economy could well bring about her departure in July or August. Because of the poll-tax issue, a disastrous performance by the Tories in this week's local elections is likely. (The Prime Minister's PPS, Mark Lennox-Boyd, committed a serious blunder last week by revealing to Tory MPs that a fundamental review of the poll tax is underway and that emergency legislation is being considered). On top of this, inflation is likely to reach 10% within the next month or two.
- Oakley foresees two scenarios. Under the "bold" scenario, the party would not wait for a leadership challenge in the autumn but would approach the Prime Minister in July or August. A group of senior Tories (Whitelaw, possibly Carrington, Cranley Onslow) would go to her and urge her, possibly with Denis Thatcher's assistance, to retire. "Everything would depend on the degree of her loyalty to the party". Under another scenario, however, the Prime Minister would somehow survive the summer; the party would conclude that there was insufficient time before the next election for a successor (even Heseltine) to establish himself with the electorate; and it would be decided, therefore, that the Tories' interests would be best served by not "changing horses" at this stage.

Yours sincerely

David Donoghue

David Donoghue
Press and Information Officer



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Telephone: 01-235 2171
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Confidential

3 May 1990

Mr. Dermot Gallagher
Assistant Secretary
Anglo-Irish Division

*psf; plew
M. Wally; All
C. J. A. I.
J. R. A.*

Dear Assistant Secretary

Lunch with Ian Aitken, The Guardian

Aitken is the Political Editor of the Guardian and a shrewd connoisseur of Westminster affairs.

The following points of interest arose:

The Dublin summit

- Echoing the view of a number of senior British journalists with whom I have spoken this week, Aitken remarked that last Saturday's special European Council seemed one of the more successful in recent times. It marked clear advances for the Community in relation to both German unification and political union, two potentially very divisive items on its agenda. In addition, all the feedback Aitken had from Dublin in relation to the organisational aspects of the meeting was positive.

Mrs Thatcher's position

- As the Government's unpopularity deepens steadily, the expectation is that senior Tories will go to the Prime Minister in the summer and urge her to retire in the interests of the party.
- The Heseltine factor, however, may frustrate this move. A Thatcher resignation this year followed by a leadership election is the scenario which would suit Heseltine best and nobody is more aware of this than the Prime Minister. She is determined not to be replaced by a man who is likely to undo much of what she has carried out over the past decade.
- Mrs Thatcher and her Cabinet, Aitken remarked, are "scared stiff" of Heseltine, much more so than may be obvious in public. Armed ("like a British Ted Kennedy") with a large staff of privately-funded

researchers, Heseltine is in a position to come up with a whole range of carefully-researched alternatives to Government policies. One Minister told Aitken the other day that matters have now reached the point where every major decision which the Cabinet has to take is discussed in terms of how Heseltine might respond to it and of what alternative he might propose.

- A weakness in Heseltine's campaign, however, is that he has no senior allies to support him in Parliament. His chief lieutenants are Keith Hampson and Michael Mates, neither of whom commands much respect within the party. While more will undoubtedly flock to Heseltine as Mrs Thatcher's authority begins to slip, it remains a problem for him nevertheless that he does not have higher-profile supporters at present.
- As against that, he enjoys an astonishing degree of support in the constituencies and pressure from the latter on MPs may well be Heseltine's most potent weapon. A number of right-wing Tory MPs told Aitken recently that "we could live with virtually everything Michael wants to do" and that "even partial Thatcherism is better than none at all" (i.e., a Labour victory). Some of them also indulged in wishful thinking, speculating that Heseltine, once in office, would revert to traditional Conservative values and, in particular, would call a halt to the "sell-out to Europe".
- As regards the challenger's style, there is a view that the somewhat artificial camaraderie which Heseltine has developed in recent years (in an effort to broaden his appeal) will be dispensed with if he becomes Prime Minister. He is basically a loner and the speculation is that his autocratic tendencies, suppressed for some years, will return. A couple of years ago, when it was put to him that he should be seen more often in the Commons tea-room if he had ambitions to become Prime Minister, Heseltine replied sarcastically: "Oh yes - like Ted Heath and Margaret Thatcher?"
- Should Mrs Thatcher refuse to resign, a formal challenge to her leadership next November would be the next step. The scenario of a "stalking horse" candidacy to enable a second-round entry by Heseltine is still the subject of speculation, heightened recently by the news that Sir Ian Gilmour (a possibility in this connection) has postponed his retirement from Parliament.
- There is also, finally, increasing speculation that, in an effort to avoid the divisive effects of a Heseltine candidacy, the party would turn to Douglas Hurd as a compromise candidate.

Yours sincerely

David Donoghue

David Donoghue
Press and Information Officer

END of file