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PA
CONFIDENTIAL

cc: Mr Watkins
Mr Maccabe
Mr Jordan
Mr McWhinney
Mr Corbett

From: Mr J A Canavan
CCRU

15 August 1994

To: PS/Michael Ancram (DENI, B&L)

MEETING WITH PEACE TRAIN ORGANISATION

1. Michael Ancram has agreed to meet representatives of the Peace Train Organisation (PTO). The meeting is on Tuesday 16 August at 10.30 a.m. in Rathgael House. PTO has suggested an agenda based on the theme of sectarian tension and Protestant alienation. It is attached with background notes and lines to take at Annex 1.

2. The PTO delegation will be:

Mr Sam McAughtry, Northern Chairman
Mr Chris Hudson, Southern Chairman
(possibly) Mr Paddy Devlin, Northern President
Reverend Roy Magee

Personality notes on Messrs McAughtry and Devlin and Reverend Magee are attached at Annex 2. I attach a background note on PTO at Annex 3.

4. Mr Maccabe and I will be in attendance at the meeting.

Anthony Canavan

J A CANAVAN

PEACE TRAIN ORGANISATION - MEETING OF 16 AUGUST 1994

AGENDA

General topic: increasing sectarian tension.

Specific topic: Protestant alienation.

Suggested lines of approach

1. Ministers to be seen addressing community problems in Protestant areas, e.g. more frequent visits.
2. Protestants to be encouraged to make more submissions in community matters to Government.
3. Realisation by Ministers that Protestants have less expertise in putting their case, compared to Catholics/Nationalists.
4. Neglect of rural Protestant areas by Government.
5. The Government should assist in encouraging the active participation of young people in developing ideas for creative activity, thus reducing the possibility of paramilitary involvement.
6. Ministers should consider the effect of public official announcements, couched in language which suggests that the United Ireland/Agreed Ireland solution is preferred if not favoured.

PTO AGENDA - BACKGROUND AND LINES TO TAKE

- Item 1 - Ministers to be seen addressing community problems in Protestant areas, e.g. more frequent visits.
- Item 2 - Protestants to be encouraged to make more submissions in community matters to Government.
- Item 3 - Realisation by Ministers that Protestants have less expertise in putting their case, compared to Catholics/Nationalists.

BACKGROUND NOTE

1. These agenda items (together with item 4) reflect views often articulated by Protestant working class community activists, behind which lie the belief that:
 - the Government is more interested in addressing social problems in Catholic areas, either because of a political bias towards the SDLP/Irish Government analysis, or to undermine support for Sinn Fein/IRA (ie 'rewarding violence');
 - TSN is an initiative specifically geared towards Catholic deprivation;
 - Catholic communities are better equipped to organise for community action and access Government funds because of - the powerful position of the Church; greater sense of solidarity between Catholic middle and working classes; and a tradition of communal self-help;
 - Protestant community activity is hindered by - a culture which emphasises the individual rather than the group; divisions between denominations; middle class detachment; communal demoralisation.

2. Such views, taken with general Unionist political disenchantment, allegedly generate the phenomenon of 'Protestant alienation'. The more extreme proponents of this analysis (eg UCAN - Ulster Community Action Network) claim that Government is diverting money to Catholic areas which should rightfully go to working class Protestants. The PTO delegation (certainly Devlin and McAughtry) will scarcely share this extreme viewpoint. Rather, true to their Old Left background, they are likely to argue for increased Government spending in Protestant areas, in addition to that in Catholic areas.
3. The Minister may have to defend both an overall policy of financial restraint (Devlin and McAughtry will share few of Government's economic assumptions) and the targeting of resources on the most severe disadvantage, identified by objective criteria of need. TSN and MBW are not for the exclusive benefit of Catholics. A new system of deprivation indices will be more sensitive to pockets of disadvantage in generally prosperous wards, a phenomenon often found in Protestant areas.
4. Though the overall financial outlook for Government assistance to community development is not promising, the recently adopted EC Structural Funds Programme contains several sub programmes which should give encouragement to local activists - Community Infrastructure, TSN and Rural Development.

LINE TO TAKE

1. Ministers welcome invitations and submissions from Protestant community groups - all will be considered on their merits.

2. Government addresses disadvantage on basis of objective criteria of need. Targeting essential to maximise the impact of expenditure in a period of financial stringency.
3. No doubt that in general Catholics are statistically worse off than Protestants but this does not mean we are oblivious to Protestant deprivation. New system of deprivation indices will be more sensitive to pockets of disadvantage, characteristic of Protestant areas.
4. Hope that groups in Protestant areas will apply to the relevant sub-programmes in the new EC Structural Funds package.
5. Government supports principle of community development. Would encourage Protestant groups to copy 'best practice' from each other and from Catholic experience (some evidence that this has been happening eg credit unions).

Item 4 - Neglect of rural Protestant areas by Government.

BACKGROUND NOTE

1. Government's Northern Ireland Rural Development Programme is administered by the Department of Agriculture for Northern Ireland and is in its fourth year. It aims to regenerate the most disadvantaged rural areas of Northern Ireland.
2. The structures which are in place to deliver this programme are as follows:
 - * an independent Rural Development Council, funded by Government;
 - * DANI's Rural Development policy Division;
 - * DANI's 3 Rural Area Co-ordinators based in Newry, Ballymena and Enniskillen;
 - * an inter-Departmental Rural Development Steering Group.
3. Funding for the Programme comes from Government, the EU (through the LEADER and INTERREG initiatives), the International Fund for Ireland, and the local communities.
4. The Programme employs the "bottom-up" approach - i.e. providing a response to the ideas and aspirations of local communities as voiced by representative community organisations.
5. To date 10 major rural projects have been launched representing a total funding commitment of some £11.6m. There are also a number of smaller projects being funded under the Programme, mainly through the Rural Development Council.

6. The Rural Development Council has a community animation role - i.e. encouraging local communities to come together to develop ideas to revitalize their areas. The Council assists the setting up of representative community organisations through providing both advice and seed funding.
7. DANI's Rural Area Co-ordinators provide a one-stop shop facility for established groups developing projects. They liaise with other departments and Agencies in the provision of integrated public sector support and put together funding packages to implement community-based plans.
8. DANI's Rural Development Division has been formulating a strategy for the period 1994-99 which will be announced shortly by Baroness Denton. This strategy will seek to expand the Programme and introduce area-based plans which will take a more strategic regeneration approach to larger areas encompassing a number of rural communities.

Line To Take

1. Strongly deny that Government neglects Rural Protestant areas.
2. Emphasise that the agricultural support and grant system is available to all eligible farmers.
3. Note that the Rural Development Programme is based on the "bottom-up" approach - it provides a statutory response to proposals put forward by representative community organisations in the most deprived rural areas of Northern Ireland.

4. Acknowledge that rural areas designated (through the application of objective criteria) as most disadvantaged are predominantly Catholic.
5. Point out, however, that the Rural Development Programme explicitly encourages proposals from isolated areas of disadvantage, many of which are Protestant.
6. Confirm that the Rural Development Programme is actively working with predominantly Protestant groups in such areas as Portavogie, Kilkeel, Annalong, Bessbrooke, Coagh, Tobermore, Upperlands, Lisbellaw, Markethill, Forkhill, and with the River Valley Development Association near Kilkeel.
7. Emphasise that rural community organisations are representative of their areas, but groups are encouraged (and strive) to have cross-community representation.
8. Note that many groups are very well balanced representing the good cross-community relations in the area - e.g. Kilrea, Bushmills, Moneymore and Bellaghy.
9. Encourage rural Protestant communities to become involved in the rural development process and confirm support from the Rural Development programme.

Item 5 - The Government should assist in encouraging the active participation of young people in developing ideas for creative activity, thus reducing the possibility of paramilitary involvement.

LINE TO TAKE

Government is currently putting in some £15m to the Youth Service through the Education and Library Boards and the Youth Council.

The mission statement for the Youth Service, as set out in the Department's Strategic Analysis document, is "to support and encourage young people to mature as individuals and as responsible citizens through social, physical, cultural and leadership development programmes".

About 168,000 young people, or 30% of the target age range (5-25), are members of registered youth groups.

One of the strengths of the Youth Service is that there is a strong tradition of cross-community activity. This is supported through the the Department's Community Relations Youth Service Support Scheme which is administered by the ELBs and Youth Council; finance available in 1994/95 is £359,000 and this is additional to the £15m quoted above for general Youth Service activity.

We recognise that many more young people would benefit from involvement in the Youth Service, especially those in socially deprived areas and this is noted as a priority area for examination in the Department's Strategic Analysis document.

DENI is chairing an inter-departmental working group set up to consider how best to address the problems of marginalised youth. The Group should report to Ministers by next Spring.

Government also is supporting a Conference, to be held in October 1994, which is being organised by Youthnet, a representative voluntary youth body, to discuss the problems of marginalised youth and how best to address them.

In 1993 the Sports Council for Northern Ireland launched a Strategy for School-Age Sport which recognises the value of encouraging participation in sport as a means of channelling the energies of young people. Implementation is proceeding through the development of partnerships between the main statutory and voluntary providers: district councils, education and library boards and sports governing bodies.

The Arts Council for Northern Ireland has issued a consultation document 'To the Millennium - A Draft Strategy for the Arts in Northern Ireland Arts', one of the aims of which is to increase young peoples' participation in arts activities.

- Item 6 - Ministers should consider the effect of public official announcements, couched in language which suggests that the United Ireland/Agreed Ireland solution is preferred if not favoured.

The Peace Train Organisation recommend that Ministers should consider the effect of public official announcements which foster the impression that unification of Ireland is HMG's preferred option.

It is not clear whether the PTO has in mind any specific examples (perhaps the Secretary of State's Culture and Identity speech from early 1993?); or whether it is the failure of Ministers to denounce in forthright terms speeches by Dublin politicians which indicate that unification is their preferred (although long-term) answer (eg the Reynolds response to the Ulster Democratic Party in June this year.)

The Minister in rebutting these allegations may find it helpful to draw on the following:-

- . Public official announcements do not use language suggesting unification of Ireland is HMG's preferred solution: keynote has been scrupulous neutrality and observance of principles of democracy
- . HMG's position on political development is set out in statement of 26 March 91 - ie all relationships to be considered, and final outcome to be widely acceptable
- . This re-iterated in Joint Declaration: HMG "will uphold the democratic wish of a greater number of the people of Northern Ireland, on the issue of whether they prefer to support the Union or a sovereign United Ireland."
- . Certain key principles guide political policies of HMG -
 - (i) we will abide by democratic wishes of people of Northern Ireland;

- (ii) new constitutional arrangements must be produced only with agreement and consent;
 - (iii) those arrangements must be capable of accommodating political needs and aspirations of both sides of community
-
- . Formal discussions between two Governments on joint framework document will be guided by above principles
 - . But this does not mean that HMG is antipathetic towards the Union - some adherence to democratic principles apply

SAM MCAUGHTRY

MEMBER OF PEACE TRAIN ORGANISATION

A former Civil Servant (a Deputy Principal in DANI) who took early retirement in order to concentrate on writing and broadcasting.

With working class Protestant origins in the Tiger Bay area of Belfast, McAughtry's political viewpoint is also strongly influenced by his trade union involvement. This has produced a particular synthesis in his writings whereby NI Protestants are encouraged to see themselves as Irish people with British citizenship; and where Catholics are exhorted to facilitate that process by condemning such features as the GAA ban on the security forces, and the hijacking by politicians and the IRA of the Irish language, for purposes of purveying a purely Catholic view of Irish nationalism.

A submission covering this ground was made by McAughtry to the Opsahl Commission in 1993.

AUGUST 1994

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PADDY DEVLIN

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER OF THE PEACE TRAIN ORGANISATION

Born in Belfast in 1925, he left school early, joined the IRA in his mid-teens and 'went on the run'. He was interned from 1942-45. In prison he learned Gaelic, studied economics and politics and began to develop his interest in trade unionism. He later went on to study law and economics at Belfast College of Technology, and has a diploma in management studies from Queen's University. He worked as an apprentice butcher; a milk roundsman; in an animal feed firm as a foreman; and in a flour mill before becoming a journalist and later a full-time politician. In 1950 he joined the Irish Labour Party but then changed to the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP) in 1958 and was its Chairman from 1967-68. Founder member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in 1967. Member of the Stormont Parliament for Falls 1969-72. In 1970 he became a founder member of the SDLP. Elected for West Belfast to the 1973-74 Assembly (and was head of the Department of Health and Social Services in the power-sharing Executive) and to the 1975-76 Convention. In 1977 he was expelled from the SDLP after continually publicly criticising the party's emphasis on the Irish dimension and complaining that it was reducing the socialist content of its policy. In 1978 he was among a small group who launched the United Labour Party (ULP), and stood unsuccessfully as the party's candidate in the 1979 European Election. In 1987 he was first Vice-Chairman of Labour '87, which brought together the ULP, NILP, LPNI and Newtownabbey Labour Party.

Member of Belfast Corporation 1956-58 and its successor, Belfast City Council, 1973-85. Member of the Housing Executive 1983-86. Executive Committee Member of the Peace Train Organisation.

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CHRIS HUDSON

SOUTHERN CHAIRMAN, PEACE TRAIN ORGANISATION

The Embassy advises that Hudson's background is in ROI trade union (postal workers) organisation. Politically he would incline towards Democratic Left but is not thought to be a member. Was a member of New Consensus until recently but left after a disagreement. Has good links with moderate Unionists.

Hudson and his wife have been involved in most of the recent peace movements in ROI and he recently participated in a picket of a Gerry Adams speech at the Mansion House.

He gives the impression of being intense, but articulate, and can talk at length.

AUGUST 1994

MAGEE, DR ROY

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MINISTER

Roy (Robert James) Magee was born in 1930. Following Trinity College, Dublin, where he obtained a MA degree, he studied for his Bachelor of Theology at the American Bible College. Further study added a Bachelor of Religious Education and Doctorate of Ministry to his list of educational credentials.

Ordained to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland ministry in 1958, he spent two years as Assistant Minister in Mersey Street Presbyterian Church in East Belfast before becoming Minister of Donacloney, Co Down. After six years he returned to Belfast as Minister of Sinclair Seamen's Mission in the Docks area, from 1966-1970, where he formed many links and made connections with people and organisations from the (Loyalist) Shankill Road area. He again moved to a Co Down church spending five years in Saintfield before his present position as Minister of Dundonald Presbyterian Church since 1975. Andy Tyrrie, former leader of the UDA who was ousted in 1988, is one of his congregation.

Dr Magee is married with grown-up children.

In the past 2-3 years he has been prominent through his close association with Loyalist paramilitaries, seeking at every turn an end to violence. He was also involved in the first meeting between Presbyterian clergy and Sinn Fein in April/May 1992, but did not continue the meetings because it would have resulted in a loss of contact with the Loyalists who now clearly trust him.

Dr Magee is chairman of Farset Youth and Community Development Ltd on the Springfield Road and has earned the respect of many on both sides of the divide for his work in this area.

APRIL 1994

PEACE TRAIN ORGANISATION - BACKGROUND

1. The Peace Train organisation was launched in the Autumn of 1989 to organise a "peace train" venture as a protest against the repeated bombings of the main Belfast to Dublin railway line. Committees, drawing members from all walks of life, were founded in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.
2. The organisation's mission statement is to enable people on the island of Ireland to live their day to day lives free from political violence by highlighting single issues that transcend party, political and ideological structures.
3. The PTO essentially provides opportunities for people from both sides of the community to express their disapproval of the continuing violence in Northern Ireland. The group runs regular "peace trains" (Belfast-Londonderry, Belfast-London, Dublin-Belfast) and has initiated several projects, protesting against political violence such as the project to collect a "Million Signatures for Peace".
4. In the 1994/95 financial year the NI Community Relations Council, which assumed full policy responsibility for the core funding of community relations bodies from April 1994, will provide grant support of £25,000 towards salaries and programme costs.
5. There has been some indication that PTO is seeking a wider role. A plan to organise a 'peace plane' to the US has been mooted but seems to have come to naught. A rather unfocused submission was made to the

International Fund for Ireland earlier this year for help with this and other proposals, some of which duplicated work done by existing organisations. The application was unsuccessful but NICRC is working with PTO to develop a more coherent forward strategy which exploits its assets - a high media profile and a relatively favourable opinion among local constitutional politicians.