



RESTRICTED - POLICY

HCS/35/96

FROM: PS/SIR DAVID FELL
15 JANUARY 1996

cc PS/Sir John Wheeler (DFP,B&L)
PS/Michael Ancram (DENI,B&L)
PS/PUS (B&L)
Mr Legge
Mr Thomas
Mr Steele
Mr Leach
Mr Brooke
Mr Watkins
Mr Bell
Mr Maccabe
Mr Hill
Mrs Brown
Mr Bramley
Mr Canavan 16.1
Mrs Collins
Mr Perry
Mr Stephens

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE (L&B)

PARADES: REVIEW OF THE 1995 MARCHING SEASON

1. Your minute of 15 December 1995 gave notice of the postponement to 22 January of the resumed VCR meeting on parades. The papers which the Secretary of State will need for the meeting have almost all been previously widely circulated to participants. The following checklist may be helpful:

- Mr Perry's factual over-view of the 1995 marching season, 10 October 1995;
- Mr Steele's advice to the Secretary of State on options of 23 October 1995;

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- PS/Sir John Wheeler's commentary on the above submissions of 24 October 1995;
- PS/Secretary of State's note of 14 November 1995, recording the previous day's VCR discussion;
- Sir David Fell's submission of 21 November 1995;
- comments on Sir David's submission from PS/Michael Ancram (22 November), PUS (22 November) and DPS/Sir John Wheeler (23 November); and
- PS/Sir John Wheeler's note of 19 December 1995 on a meeting with the Londonderry SDLP delegation on the handling of the Apprentice Boys parade.

2. I am also enclosing an extract from a public opinion survey carried out by Ulster Marketing Surveys Limited in August 1995. Three of the questions posed in the survey are relevant, as they deal with views on the rights of Loyalist and Republican organisations to march through areas where they might not be welcomed and with attitudes to the way the RUC handled parades. The survey data is analysed in the attached tables by community background and party political affiliation.

CP Salters

CLARE P SALTERS

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8. **SHOULD LOYALIST ORGANISATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO MARCH THROUGH NATIONALIST AREAS?**

Over recent months, there has been much controversy over "marching rights" and all respondents were asked if they thought that Loyalist organisations had the right to march through Nationalist areas.

Overall, there was no clear majority one way or the other, although those who felt that Loyalist organisations did not have such a right, at 47%, narrowly out-numbered those taking the opposite view (42%).

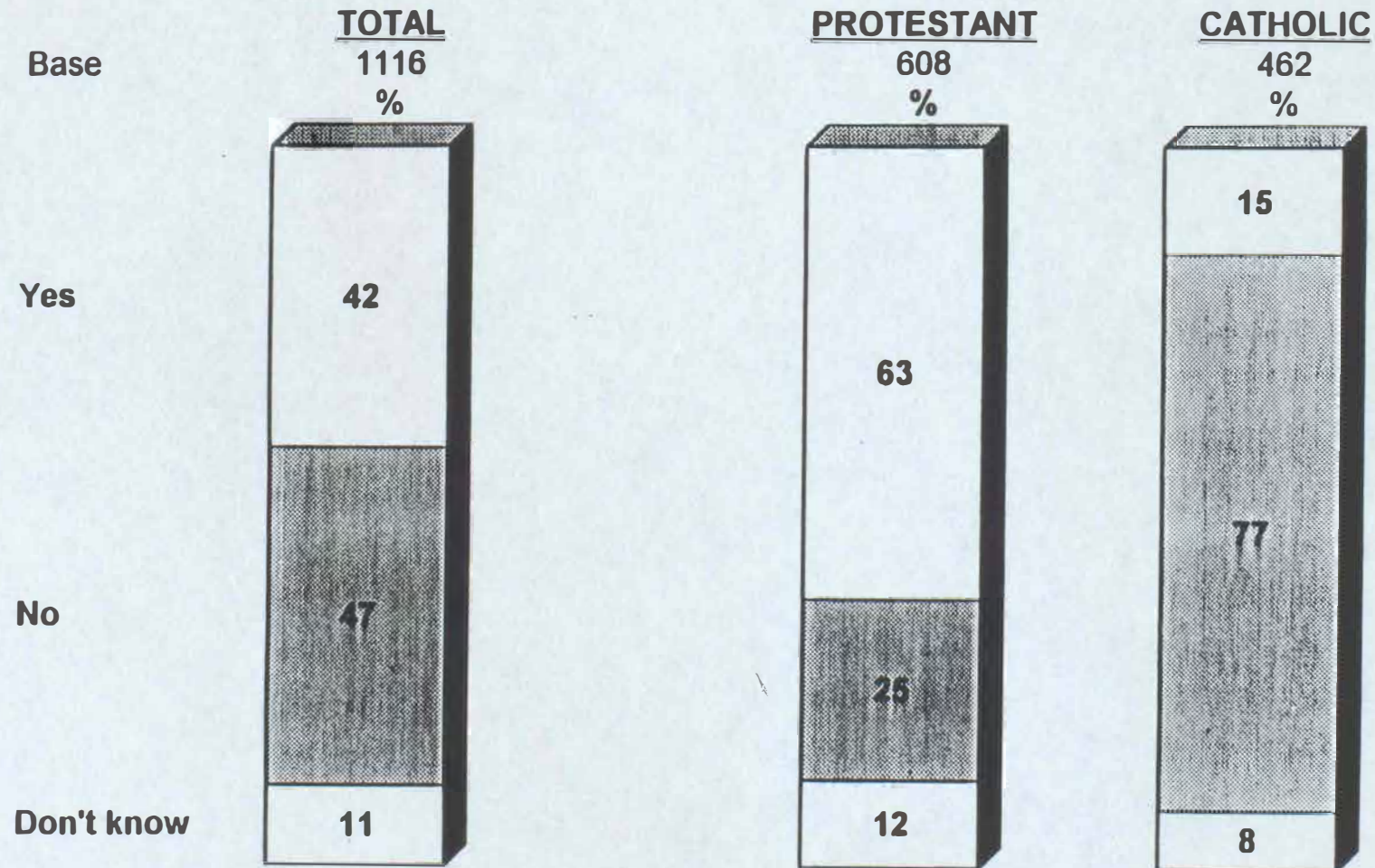
Amongst Protestants, 25% felt that Loyalist organisations did not have this right, as compared to the 77% rejection amongst Catholics.

TABLE REF: 8

SHOULD LOYALIST ORGANISATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO MARCH THROUGH NATIONALIST AREAS

UMS

[Base: All Respondents]



OPINION POLL

Q.6 SHOULD LOYALIST ORGANISATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO MARCH THROUGH NATIONALIST AREAS

BASE : All Respondents

	TOTAL	PARTY MOST INCLINED TO VOTE FOR								
		NO RKERS PARTY	ALL IANCE	DUP	CO NSERV ATIVE	SINN FEIN	DEMOC RATIC LEFT	UUP	SDLP	OTHER
TOTAL	1116 100%	23 100%	101 100%	106 100%	56 100%	109 100%	2 100%	291 100%	237 100%	20 100%
Yes	466 42%	7 30%	28 28%	88 83%	27 48%	6 6%	2 100%	187 64%	43 18%	7 35%
No	530 47%	12 52%	64 63%	14 13%	26 46%	100 92%	0 -	60 21%	175 74%	7 35%
Don't know/No reply	120 11%	4 17%	9 9%	4 4%	3 5%	3 3%	0 -	44 15%	19 8%	6 30%

9. SHOULD REPUBLICAN ORGANISATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO MARCH THROUGH UNIONIST AREAS

Similarly, all respondents were invited to state their view of Republican organisations marching through Unionist areas.

Again, the overall view was opposed to this idea, 57% indicating that Republican organisations had no such right, compared to 31% who said they had.

Again, Catholic opinion tended to deny the right of Republican organisations to march through Unionist areas, and it was intriguing to note that Protestants were somewhat divided on this issue. 46% were against Republican organisations marching, but 41% accepted their right on this issue.

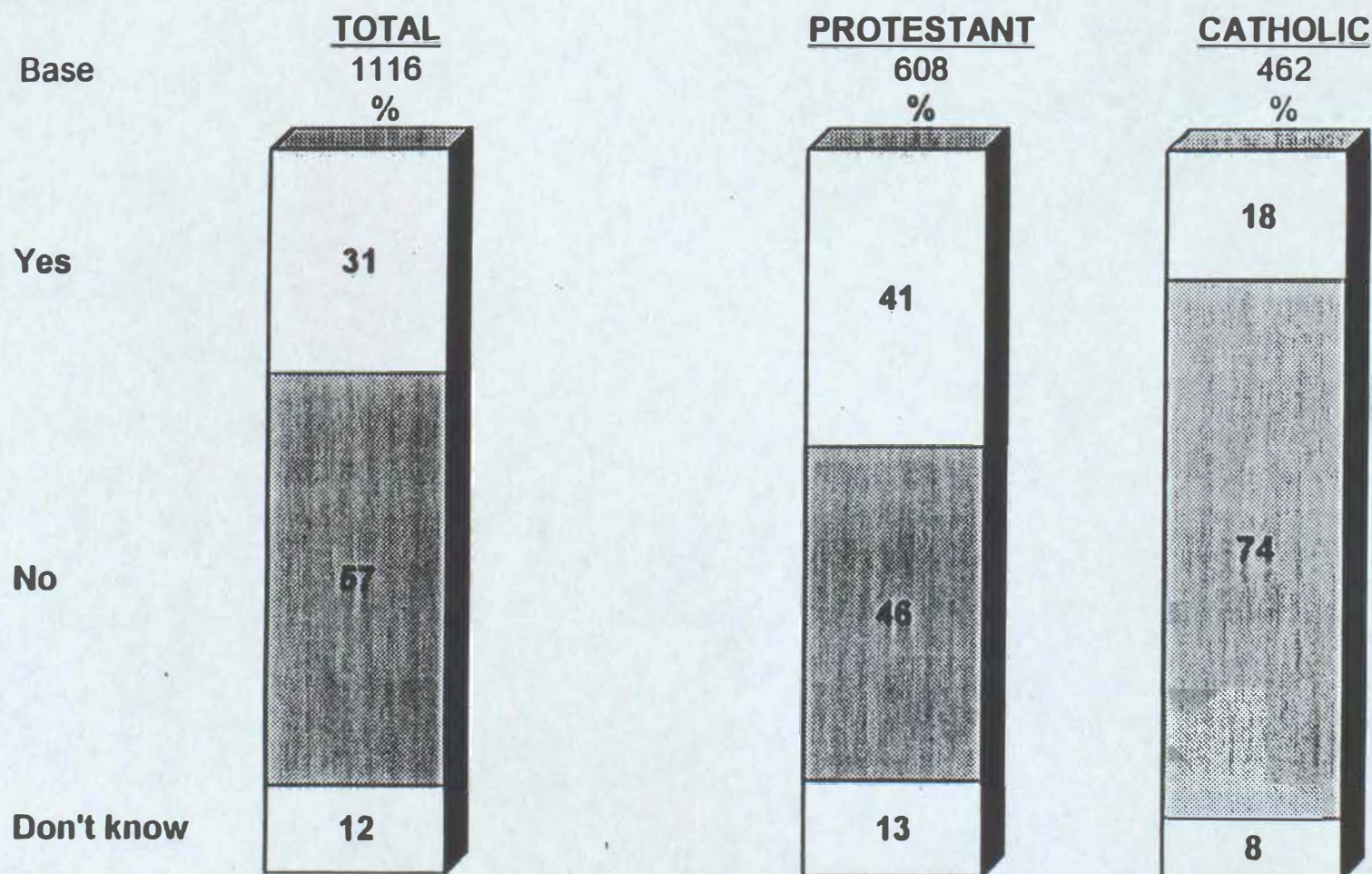
As an overview, it seems that Catholics are more likely to be opposed to organisations marching through areas of opposing political opinion than are Protestants.

TABLE REF: 9

SHOULD REPUBLICAN ORGANISATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO MARCH THROUGH UNIONIST AREAS

UMS

[Base: All Respondents]



OPINION POLL

Q.7 SHOULD REPUBLICAN ORGANISATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO MARCH THROUGH UNIONIST AREAS

BASE : All Respondents

	TOTAL	PARTY MOST INCLINED TO VOTE FOR								
		WO RKERS PARTY	ALL IANCE	DUP	CO NSERV ATIVE	SINN FEIN	DEMOC RATIC LEFT	UUP	SDLP	OTHER
TOTAL	1116 100%	23 100%	101 100%	106 100%	56 100%	109 100%	2 100%	291 100%	237 100%	20 100%
Yes	348 31%	7 30%	26 26%	43 41%	21 38%	15 14%	1 50%	127 44%	45 19%	5 25%
No	637 57%	12 52%	68 67%	58 55%	32 57%	90 83%	1 50%	114 39%	171 72%	11 55%
Don't know/No reply	131 12%	4 17%	7 7%	5 5%	3 5%	4 4%	0 -	50 17%	21 9%	4 20%

10. ATTITUDES TO THE WAY THE RUC HAVE HANDLED RECENT PARADES

In the context of the parades and marches over the summer, all respondents were invited to state their attitude towards the RUC's handling of these events.

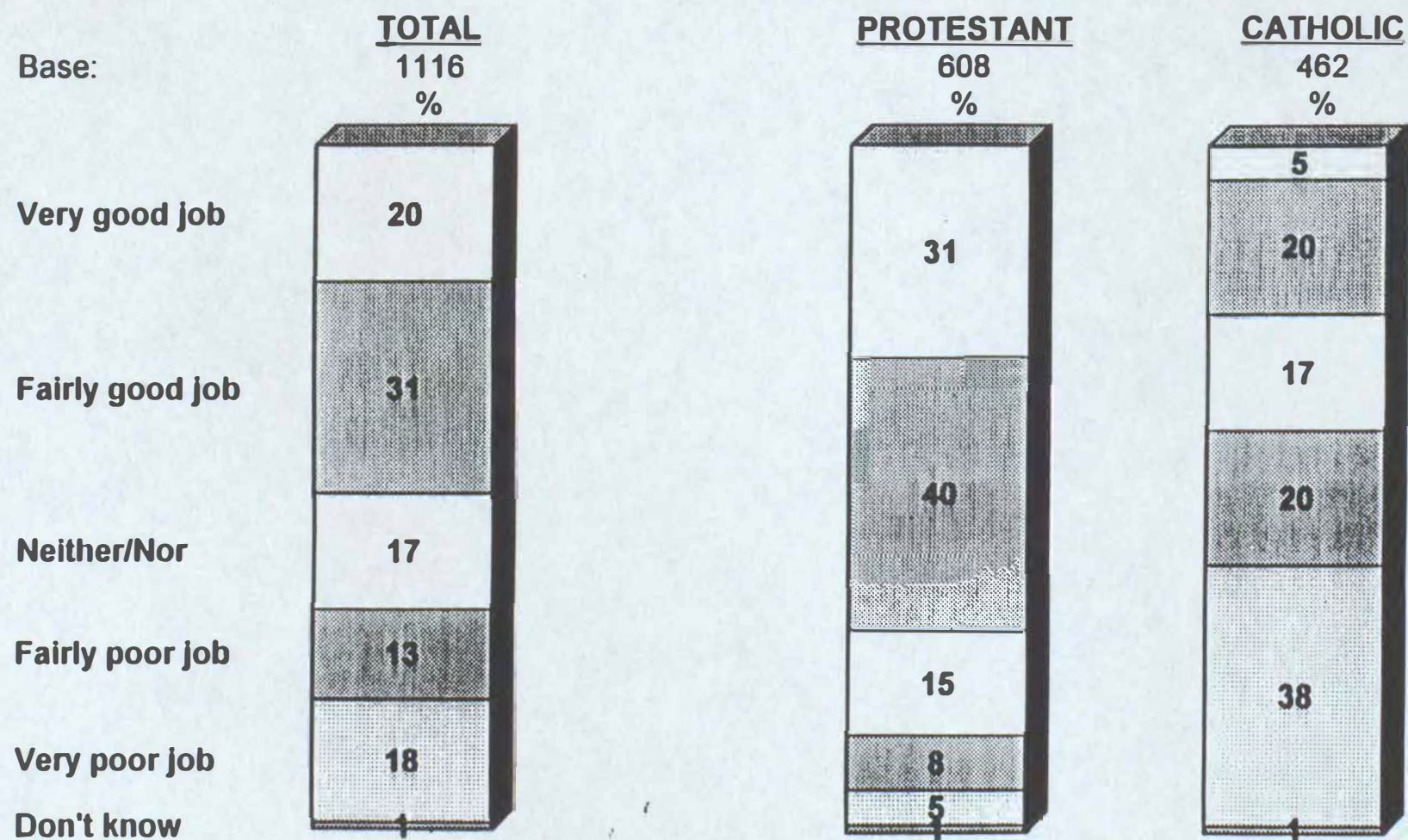
Generally speaking, opinions did not appear to be particularly strongly expressed, and 51% felt they had done a good job, compared to 31% who felt they had done a poor job.

The Protestant view was decidedly more favourable however, 71% expressing approbation of the RUC performance. In comparison, 58% of Catholics felt that a poor job had been carried out, compared to 25% who felt the handling had been good.

TABLE REF: 10

ATTITUDES TO THE WAY RUC HAVE HANDLED RECENT PARADES UMS

[Base: All Respondents]



OPINION POLL

Q.8 RATING OF THE WAY THE RUC HAVE HANDLED RECENT PARADES

BASE : All Respondents

		PARTY MOST INCLINED TO VOTE FOR									
		TOTAL	NO RKERS PARTY	ALL IANCE	DUP	CO NSERV ATIVE	SINN FEIN	DEMOC RATIC LEFT	UUP	SDLP	OTHER
TOTAL		1116 100%	23 100%	101 100%	106 100%	56 100%	109 100%	2 100%	291 100%	237 100%	20 100%
Very good job	(5)	228 20%	4 17%	25 25%	32 30%	18 32%	0 -	0 -	107 37%	10 4%	1 5%
Fairly good job	(4)	347 31%	4 17%	46 46%	41 39%	27 48%	6 6%	2 100%	120 41%	48 20%	4 20%
Neither good nor poor job	(3)	186 17%	4 17%	18 18%	10 9%	7 13%	9 8%	0 -	39 13%	47 20%	10 50%
Fairly poor job	(2)	144 13%	5 22%	9 9%	8 8%	3 5%	19 17%	0 -	21 7%	56 24%	3 15%
Very poor job	(1)	204 18%	6 26%	2 2%	15 14%	1 2%	75 69%	0 -	4 1%	74 31%	2 10%
Don't know/no reply		7 1%	0 -	1 1%	0 -	0 -	0 -	0 -	0 -	2 1%	0 -
Mean Score		3.23	2.78	3.83	3.63	4.04	1.50	4.00	4.05	2.42	2.95
Std Deviation		1.40	1.48	.97	1.36	.91	.87	.00	.96	1.24	1.00
Std Error		.042	.308	.097	.132	.122	.083	.000	.056	.081	.223