

Jenny,

P/A: Culture + Identity speech
+ cc Security Forces + the Community

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917

Kat 27/11
310/11

FROM: PS/Secretary of State (B)
20 January 1993

cc PS/SofS (B&L) - B
PS/Mr Mates (B&L) - B
PS/PUS (B&L) - B
Mr Ledlie - B
Mr Steele - B
Mr Maccabe - B
Mr Marsh - B
Mr Brooker, SIL - B
Mr McCusker 2/11

PS/Mr Mates
Mr Mates
Mr Steele
Mr Maccabe
Mr Marsh
Mr Brooker
Mr McCusker

774/11

Mr Leach - B

Mr McCusker
Mr Leach

Mr Watkins
you will wish to see
7/11/11

SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH THE GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND
- MONDAY 18 JANUARY 1993

The Secretary of State was grateful for the briefing provided by Seth Spiers through you for the meeting with the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. The delegation consisted of the Reverend Martin Smyth MP, who was the main contributor, Mr John McCrea (Belfast), Reverend Dr Warren Porter (Londonderry), Mr Tom Reid (Tyrone), Mr Roy Kells (Antrim) and Mr George Patton (Executive Officer). The Secretary of State was accompanied by Mr Mates, Mr Ledlie, Mr Maccabe, Mr McCusker, Mrs Collins and myself. The meeting lasted from 11.05 until 12.15 pm and the exchanges, though forthright, were good natured throughout.

Lower Ormeau Situation

2. Mr McCrea referred to the Secretary of State's comments about some of the Orange marchers in the lower Ormeau area last summer and said that his reference to 'cannibals' had been felt very sorely, particularly by those trying to control the situation at the time. The Secretary of State said that there had been enormous offence given by a few of the marchers and he was horrified when he had seen a video of their actions on passing the bookmaker's shop. He stood by his comment that 'a very few people behaved in a way that would have disgraced cannibals'. People in Northern Ireland spoke their mind and he intended to do likewise.

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Culture and Identity Speech

3. Responding to Reverend Martin Smyth, who said that the Coleraine speech had caused a deep reaction among people he represented, the Secretary of State said he had seen a number of comments about what people thought he had said. He pointed out that this was a long speech which had been copied to party leaders but perhaps should have been given wider circulation. People were therefore relying on press extracts of it and some of these had referred to it in terms of his making concessions to the IRA. The Secretary of State said this was blatantly untrue, that there were no concessions to the IRA and indeed he had warmly, solemnly and steadfastly endorsed the constitutional guarantee. The policy of the Government was clear and unambiguous in that there would be no change in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland while a majority of people wished it to remain with the United Kingdom.

4. The Reverend Martin Smyth said that more and more people believed the Government had a hidden agenda. They did not trust those advising the Prime Minister in 1985 and still did not trust the Foreign Office or the DFA in Dublin. He now detected a change in attitude by the Loyalist community whereby people on the ground were slower to condemn atrocities by UFF/UVF.

5. The Secretary of State sought to assure Mr Smyth that Government policy was made by Government Ministers and that the present Government was committed to the union. He pointed out that, far from making concessions to PIRA/Sinn Fein, he had been accused in An Phoblacht of blocking the path to peace. He undertook to give the delegation a copy of both the Coleraine and the Rotary Club speeches. He also referred to his recent comments about Articles 2 & 3 and said that when he referred to them as unhelpful he had then been upbraided by people like Mr McNamara.

6. The Secretary of State asked if it was sensible for the community to go on without taking note of what was happening in PIRA/Sinn Fein, where some were clearly having second thoughts about their lack of progress. The alternative was to continue with violence for another twenty years. The Secretary of State said that

there was nothing inherently wrong in people pursuing the goal of a united Ireland so long as they did it in a democratic way, but he was firm that they would not be spoken to if they still espoused violence. There was some reason to believe that his Coleraine speech had caused a certain amount of turmoil within the Republican movement.

Security Situation

7. Turning to the security situation, the Secretary of State said that the Government was totally resolute in its commitment to the RUC and the Army. He had recently asked the police if there was any measure of support that ought to be forthcoming from Government for them and was told that there was not. The anti-terror campaign also had to be part of an overall approach to deeper social and economic problems in those areas which still maintained a toleration for violence. In response to a question from the Secretary of State about specific measures which might be taken to deal more effectively with terrorism, Mr Smyth mentioned internment but said it would not work unless the Republic of Ireland introduced it as well. He also thought that sentences often did not fit the crime.

8. Mr Smyth commented that the finding of the jury in the recent inquest in Fermanagh was very unhelpful. The Secretary of State pointed out that in the Coroner's Court juries were selected by the police at random from the electoral list and there was no provision for challenge. Questions of culpability were not for such a jury and they should stick strictly to fact. Continuing Mr Smyth said that there had been many instances where police and army personnel had not been properly protected by defence counsel in courts. The Secretary of State said that while he agreed crown servants should be properly treated and defended, they also had to be subject to the law.

9. Mr Kells then suggested that the SAS should be used more frequently and said that in his experience of twenty years in the UDR the flow of intelligence and information was vital. However people in rural areas were in many cases afraid to pass on

information. The Secretary of State said people should be encouraged to come forward with information and undertook to raise the question of information from rural areas with the Chief Constable.

10. Mr Reid highlighted a problem caused by a lack of continuity of RUC personnel on the ground and thus a loss of local knowledge. He cited the success of police patrols operating in the Greencastle area of Co Tyrone which he said had retained some of the same personnel for five years. He had mentioned this to ACC Maurice Johnston but was concerned that the impact of this particular type of operation could be reduced because of this lack of continuity. The Secretary of State said he understood the need for good local knowledge and was sure the Chief Constable did also. On morale of the RUC, the now famous torch in the Lagan incident was recounted and the Secretary of State said that while 12 hour shifts were difficult to sustain over a long period, the effort had effectively denied PIRA of a large city centre incident.

11. The reduction in the part-time elements of the RUC(R) and RIR, the difficulties of reporting to a central base (RIR) and travelling to areas for patrol purposes and the lengthy (2 weeks) training away from home for RIR were all mentioned, as was the failure to have a pension scheme for the RUC(R) (full time). The Secretary of State said there was no policy of reducing the part-time element of either force but numbers were subject to fluctuation. Mr Mates said the training difficulties were recognised by the Government and the army but there was a balance to be struck and good training was essential to the success of the Regiment.

Attacks on Orange Halls

12. Mr McCrea said there were 26 attacks on Orange Halls in the past two years and seven total losses. This was affecting insurance premiums, though he manfully admitted a personal interest as he was involved in the insurance broking business.

Conclusion

13. The Secretary of State thanked the delegation for putting their views in a constructive way and looked forward to other occasions when he could meet them.

Signed

W K LINDSAY
Private Secretary

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Pat
Who see?
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Pat *Thompson*
all
ASST/ SEC
18 JAN 1993
C.C.R.U.

FROM: SETH SPEIRS
SECURITY POLICY AND OPERATIONS DIVISION 1
15 JANUARY 1993

- cc PS/Secretary of State (L) - B
- PS/Mr Mates (B&L) - B
- PS/PUS (B&L) - B
- Mr Ledlie - B
- Mr Steele - B
- Mr Leach
- Mr Marsh
- Mr Maccabe - B
- Mr Brooker - B
- Mr McCusker, CCRU - T

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*P/A: Security Forces
& the Community
23/92*

1. Mr Leach [Some amendments. SJL 15/1/93]
2. PS/Secretary of State (B) - B

SECRETARY OF STATE MEETING WITH THE GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND - MONDAY 18 JANUARY 1993, 11.00 UNTIL 12.00 PM

The Secretary of State has agreed to a request to meet with a delegation from the Grand Orange Lodge to discuss the security situation in Northern Ireland. Their delegation will consist of Rev W Martin Smyth BA BD MP (Delegation Leader), Mr John McCrea JP, Rev Dr Warren Porter, Mr Thomas Reid, Mr Roy Kells and Mr J W George Patton BA. Mr Smyth is Grand Master of Ireland, Mr McCrea is Grand Master in Belfast whilst Mr Patton is the Executive Officer. These 3 were present at the previous Secretary of State's meeting with the Lodge in November 1991. The Secretary of State will be accompanied by Mr Mates, while Mrs Collins (SPOB) and Mr Maccabe (PAB) will also be on hand.

THE ORANGE ORDER'S VIEWS

2. The Orange Order is an influential organisation, whose membership encompasses a wide social spectrum, especially outside Belfast. The upper echelons are pillars of society, and not overtly political. The Order at its half-yearly meeting, held on 9 December 1992, strongly criticised Government Policy. On traditional lines there w calls for an end to the "policies of containment", and for the security forces to go on the offensive against the terrorists. It is

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likely that such issues as aggressive actions by the security forces, internment, the 'ring of steel' around town centres and the border will be raised. In addition there are a number of other issues which may be raised, such as attacks on Orange Halls, the merger of the RI Regiment, the Secretary of State's Coleraine speech and possibly parades.

3. The goal of the meeting is, while maintaining relations with the organisation, to increase their understanding of government security policy and of the realities of the security situation. The Secretary of State will want to adopt a firm but understanding attitude. He will want to stress the Government's commitment to the defeat of terrorism within the law. In addition he will wish to stress that draconian measures will only alienate sections of the community, and further embed the problem. However at the same time, he will wish to listen to their views on security policy and invite them to comment on how their ideas would operate in practice.

LINES TO TAKE

4. Briefing on the issues thought most likely to arise is therefore attached below.

(a) General Security Issues

The delegates will probably suggest that the Government should adopt a more aggressive policy towards the terrorists. The Secretary of State should take a firm line on any suggestion that the Government is soft on terrorism. He should also emphasise the importance of acting effectively and flexibly within the law, while acknowledging that it is impossible to provide complete security for everyone. If individual cases are mentioned, as they were at the last meeting with the Lodge in 1991 (copy minutes attached), he should stress that specific operational matters are under the control of the Chief Constable.

The following statistics could be deployed. In 1992, 404 persons were charged with terrorist offences, including nearly 100 with murder or attempted murder. In addition a large number of possible attacks are being prevented, and significant finds are being made by the security forces. In 1992, 244 weapons and 2,167 kgs of explosives were found.

(b) "Untie the Security Force's hands"

If this matter is raised, the Secretary of State should stress that there are no political ties on the security forces. The only constraint is the rule of law. He may also wish to ask what exactly is meant by untying the security force's hands.

(c) 'Ring of Steel'

The 'ring of steel' around Belfast and other city centres was widely criticised by the Orange Order at their half-yearly meeting. It is seen to discriminate against law abiding citizens, whilst allowing terrorists free rein. The Secretary of State may wish to mention that the policy deployed before Christmas was largely successful in protecting the city centre, and was only one of a range of measures and that as part of his constant review of security arrangements, the Chief Constable has now put somewhat modified arrangements in place.

(d) Target Nationalist Areas/Internment

The Orange Order also suggested at their meeting that a 'ring of steel' be put around areas from which terrorists are known to operate, and that selective internment be re-introduced. The Secretary of State may wish to state that the Government would not hesitate to use any measures which would be effective and internment is a power on the statute book. However, oppressive measures

run the risk of further alienation of the sections of the community whose support is essential in ultimately defeating terrorism.

(e) More 'Special Forces' activity

The Order have called for more 'covert' activity against the terrorist. However the Secretary of State can stress that the deployment of special forces is always carefully considered. It would be simplistic to assume that the use of special forces by themselves would defeat terrorism. They are an asset whose deployment is part of the wider security effort against terrorism: they too must operate within the law.

(f) Border/Anglo-Irish Co-operation

The delegation may express concern that the border is being exploited by terrorists and that border communities are at risk. In response, the Secretary of State can report that the security forces and the Government are working closely with the Garda and the Republic's Government on cross-border security. The Garda have made a number of finds recently and have also supported the security forces, for example, whilst the refurbishment of PVCs/Patrol Bases was carried out, and there was co-operation after the Mullan Bridge incident. However both Governments recognise that closer and better co-operation is needed.

(g) Merger of RIR

The delegation may be concerned that the merger of regiments (eg 6 and 3 R Irish on 15 January) will affect the security force's ability to defeat terrorism. The Secretary of State should first indicate that the policy is primarily for the MOD but that the changes in deployments will give greater flexibility and put more men on the ground. There is no "hidden agenda".

(h) Orange Halls

Although there have not been any major incidents involving Orange Halls recently, the delegation may express concern about possible sectarian attacks, especially in Down and Armagh. The Secretary of State will want to express his concern, but say that it is an operational matter for the Chief Constable.

(i) 'Coleraine' Speech

The delegation may make reference to the Secretary of State's 'Coleraine' speech. At the time the speech was criticised by many unionist politicians as concentrating on the Nationalist agenda, which was leading to feelings of betrayal in the Loyalist community. The Secretary of State may like to state that the Government and the security forces continue to take seriously the threat from both sides of the community. The speech merely re-iterated what has long been Government policy. Sinn Fein may be invited to talk, when it is clear that they have indisputably renounced violence. The speech will only be regarded as concentrating on a Nationalist agenda by those who have not read it or chose to interpret everything in this manner. The fact is that Government policy can only succeed if it has the confidence of both sides of the community.

(j) Parades

The Secretary of State, may be questioned on his views concerning marches, and comments he made at the time of the Lower Ormeau Road marches in July. The Secretary of State will want to handle this issue carefully, while making clear that provocative or offensive behaviour by marchers will not be tolerated. The present system of local level liaison

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between the police, marchers and the public, with the aim of reducing sources of confrontation seems to be working well. In 1992 there were only a handful of problems in around 2,300 parades.

CONCLUSION

5. This will be a wide-ranging discussion of the Government's security policy. The Grand Orange Lodge's underlying view will be that something more needs to be done; though it is unlikely they will suggest anything new. The Secretary of State will want to listen sympathetically while leaving the delegation in no doubt of his, and the security force's determination to bring terrorism to an end by using measures within the law, and pursuing in parallel political, social and economic progress.

[Signed]

SETH SPEIRS
SHA Ext 2720

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