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ASST SEC - 6 NOV 1996  
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FROM: J R FISHER  
ANGLO-IRISH SECRETARIAT  
5 NOVEMBER 1996

*1. Mrs Hyde 8/11  
2. Mr Devlin 10/11*

- CC PS/SECRETARY OF STATE (B&L) - B
- PS/MICHAEL ANCRAM (B&L) - B
- PS/SIR JOHN WHEELER (B&L) - B
- PS/PUS (B&L) - B
- PS/SIR DAVID FELL - B
- MR THOMAS - B
- MR STEELE - B
- MR BELL - B
- MR LEACH - B
- MR STEPHENS - B
- MR WATKINS - B
- MR WOOD - B
- MR MACCABE - B
- MR LAVERY - B
- MR HILL - B
- MRS COLLINS - B
- MR PERRY - B
- MRS BROWN - B
- MR BEETON - B
- MR CANAVAN - B
- MISS BHARUCHA - B
- MS MAPSTONE - B
- HMA, DUBLIN - B
- MR LAMONT, RID - B

C

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

LUNCH WITH MODERATOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH: 1 NOVEMBER

THE MODERATOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, DR HARRY ALLEN WAS INVITED TO LUNCH AT STORMONT HOUSE ON 1 NOVEMBER. THE MODERATOR WAS JOINTED BY THE REV SAMUEL HUTCHINSON, CLERK OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND GENERAL SECRETARY, AND THE REV IVOR SMITH. MR DONOGHUE (IRISH JOINT SECRETARY) AND MR DOWLING FROM THE IRISH SIDE OF THE SECRETARIAT AND MR BELL (BRITISH JOINT SECRETARY) AND MR FISHER WERE PRESENT. THE LUNCH WAS HOSTED AT STORMONT HOUSE IN LINE WITH PAST PRECEDENT, AND TO MEET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MISGIVINGS (HOPEFULLY NOW DISPELLED) ABOUT ATTENDING FUNCTIONS AT MARYFIELD.

SUMMARY

2. AN INTERESTING, AUTHORITATIVE AND COHERENT ACCOUNT OF THE VIEWS OF MUCH 'GRASS-ROOTS UNIONISM'. THE MODERATOR SPOKE DIRECTLY,

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REFLECTING CONCERNS ON THE EXTENT OF IRISH GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN NI. IN DOING SO HE WAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTED BY HIS COLLEAGUES WHO CHALLENGED THE ROLE THEY PERCEIVED THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAD PLAYED IN THE EVENTS OF DRUMCREE AND IN MANY OTHER MATTERS INCLUDING THE PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS PROCESS IN NI. SPECIAL PLEA WAS MADE FOR INFLUENCE TO BE BROUGHT TO BEAR TO END THE PRESENT BOYCOTT OF TRADERS IN THE WEST OF THE PROVINCE; ALSO THE NEED TO AVOID FUTURE PARADES CONFRONTATION AND FOR "REPENTANCE" BY SINN FEIN AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THEIR ADMISSION TO THE TALKS PROCESS. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT, SECOND TIME ROUND, TO ACCEPT THEIR ASSURANCES AS TO FUTURE IRA GOOD BEHAVIOUR. FULL BUT CONCILIATORY DEFENCE OF THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT AND IRISH GOVERNMENT INTENTIONS MADE BY THE IRISH SIDE; EQUALLY FULL EXPLANATION OF THE ROLE OF MARYFIELD MADE BY THE BRITISH JOINT SECRETARY. END EMPHASIS LAID BY THE MODERATOR (WHO WAS QUIETLY IMPRESSIVE THROUGHOUT) ON THE NEED "TO SHARE THE TRUTH".

#### DETAIL

3. THE USUAL EXCHANGE OF PLEASANTRIES (AND EXPRESSIONS OF SYMPATHY OVER THE PREVIOUS EVENING'S BURNING OF NEWTOWNABBEY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH) WERE NEEDLESSLY PROTRACTED BECAUSE OF THE LATE ARRIVAL OF THE IRISH JOINT SECRETARY. WITH PRAYERS OVER AND BREAD BROKEN (BUT STILL NO IRISH JOINT SECRETARY), MR BELL EXPLAINED THE ROLE OF MARYFIELD AND ITS MANY FUNCTIONS WHICH WENT BEYOND SIMPLY PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCES. HE WAS ABLE TO DISPEL SUCH FALSE IMAGES AS IT WAS APPARENT THE MODERATOR HAD WHEN HE ASKED "WHO CONTROLS MARYFIELD?". THESE, AND OTHER COMMENTS, MIMICRED THOSE BY THE FORMER MODERATOR, DR DUNLOP (WHEN HE VISITED THE SECRETARIAT FOR THE RECENT ST PATRICK'S DAY RECEPTION) WHO BELIEVED THAT MARYFIELD WAS AN ALL IRISH AFFAIR WITH NO BRITISH PRESENCE. THAT EXPLAINED, THE REV SMITH (CO TYRONE MAN, WHOSE CONGREGATION IS IN COOKSTOWN) MADE CLEAR HIS OWN AND HIS CONGREGATION'S ANTI-PATHY TOWARDS THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IN NI. RECENT AWARENESS OF THAT ROLE IN RELATION TO PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS CAME IN FOR PARTICULAR AND REPEATED CRITICISM AS DID, GENERALLY, ANY PRONOUNCEMENTS FROM DUBLIN ON NORTHERN IRISH AFFAIRS. HE WAS SUPPORTED BY THE REV HUTCHINSON WHO SAID THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT



WERE INVOLVED IN MATTERS WHICH THEY SHOULD NOT BE; STATEMENTS MADE BY THE TAOISEACH AND BY THE TANAISTE REPORTED ON RTE AT THE TIME OF DRUMCREE WERE SINGULAR EXAMPLES. TAKING UP THE THEME OF DRUMCREE (AND WITH REFERENCE MADE TO HIS OWN ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL 4.00 AM) DR ALAN VOICED HIS OWN BUT (BEFITTING HIS TITLE) LESS STRIDENT VIEWS, ALTHOUGH THESE WERE NO LESS ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSED.

EXPLANATION AND DEFENCE OF THE VIRTUES OF THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT AND THE ROLE OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT BY MR DOWLING WAS REINFORCED BY THE TIMELY ARRIVAL OF MR DONOGHUE WHO IN CLEAR, CONCISE BUT CONCILIATORY FASHION SOUGHT TO REASSURE THE MODERATOR OF THE BENEVOLENT INTENTIONS OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, AND THE CONTRIBUTION IT WAS FELT IT COULD MAKE TO RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF NI. ALTHOUGH THIS ABLE DISSERTATION DID NOT WIN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THOSE AROUND THE TABLE, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT MR DONOGHUE SHOULD SAY WHAT HE DID AND IT SERVED TO MOVE DISCUSSION ON FROM THE GENERAL TO THE PARTICULAR.

4. RETURNING TO DRUMCREE, THE MODERATOR MADE CLEAR HIS OWN VIEWS THAT IT WAS THE UNWILLINGNESS OF BONA FIDE GARVAGHY ROAD RESIDENTS TO COME FORWARD (AND THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THOSE WHO DID COME FORWARD TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION OR MAKE GESTURES OF GOODWILL) WHICH HAD LED TO THE IMPASSE. THERE WAS ONLY A LIMITED NUMBER OF ROUTES TO DRUMCREE CHURCH AND THESE WERE BEING PROGRESSIVELY CLOSED OFF. A PORTADOWN MAN BUT "NOT IN THE ORANGE", HE UNDERSTOOD THE SENSE OF DESPERATION FELT BY MANY IN THE ORANGE ORDER THAT CONCESSIONS MADE BY THEM HAD NOT BEEN RECIPROCATED. THIS WAS NOT ONLY AT DRUMCREE (WHERE THE GARVAGHY ROAD NEGOTIATING TEAM HAD RENEGED EVEN ON AGREEMENT REACHED ON THE COMPOSITION OF THEIR TEAM) BUT THE SAME WAS TO BE SEEN IN LONDONDERRY WHERE THE BOGSIDE RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION HAD CONTINUALLY "MOVED THE GOALPOSTS" WHEN IN NEGOTIATION WITH THE APPRENTICE BOYS ASSOCIATION. THERE WAS, HOWEVER, A STRONGLY HELD FEELING IN THE ORANGE ORDER OF THE NEED TO AVOID ANOTHER CONFRONTATION OF THE KIND WHICH HAD OCCURRED AT DRUMCREE. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH HAD PRESENTED THEIR EVIDENCE TO THE NORTH REVIEW IN PERSON. THEY SAW THE NEED FOR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TO HAVE A GREATER ROLE. JOHN HUME HAD PLAYED SUCH A ROLE IN LONDONDERRY BUT IN DISCUSSION WITH MR DONOGHUE, IT WAS LESS OBVIOUS WHO MIGHT PERFORM THAT ROLE WHEN IT



CAME TO THE GARVAGHY AND LOWER ORMEAU ROAD ORANGE ORDER PARADES. MR TRIMBLE WAS UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO FULFIL THE ROLE BUT THE MODERATOR FELT THAT THERE WERE OTHER LOCALLY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES SUCH AS BRIEGE RODGERS AND ALASDAIR McDONNELL WHO COULD DO SO. AND, THE REV HUTCHINSON DRAWING ON HIS EXPERIENCES FROM THE MILLS IN LIFFORD, FELT CONCILIATORS HAD AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY WHEN, AS HE SAW IT, THE SUPERVISOR HAD TO BE CALLED IN TO DEAL WITH TWISTED YARN.

5. BUT OF ALL THE ISSUES, THE MODERATOR MADE A SPECIAL PLEA IN RELATION TO THE PRESENT BOYCOTT OF BUSINESSES IN PREDOMINANTLY NATIONALIST AREAS IN THE WEST OF THE PROVINCE. GRAPHIC EXAMPLES OF INTIMIDATION AND HARDSHIP IN BELLAGHY, CASTLEDEG, COOKSTOWN, POMEROY AND OTHER PLACES WERE GIVEN. THE BOYCOTT HAD ITS ORIGINS IN DRUMCREE BUT IT WAS PERNICIOUS, "ESCALATING" AND POTENTIALLY "DEEPLY DIVISIVE". LIKE A RIPPLE IN A POND (MORE POIGNANT IMAGERY), IT WOULD INEVITABLY SPREAD TO AFFECT ALL THOSE IN BOTH COMMUNITIES. THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO SPEAK OUT CONDEMNING THE BOYCOTT. THE MODERATOR ASKED MR DONOGHUE THAT THE IRISH BRING ALL THEIR INFLUENCE TO BEAR. RESPONDING, MR DONOGHUE ALSO CONDEMNED THE BOYCOTT BUT EXPRESSED UNCERTAINTY OVER THE IMPACT A PUBLIC STATEMENT MIGHT HAVE AND WHETHER THE BOYCOTT MIGHT DRAW STRENGTH FROM SUCH A CONDEMNATION. HE WENT ON TO REFER TO CONCERNS IN THE SOUTH OVER THE THREATENED BOYCOTT BY NORTHERN BUSINESSMEN OF SOUTHERN GOODS.

6. FINALLY, MR BELL GUIDED THE MEETING TOWARDS THE TALKS PROCESS AND INVITED THE MODERATOR'S VIEWS. THE MODERATOR SAID HE WAS HOPEFUL. BUT, IN CHARACTER WITH EARLIER COMMENTS, HE SAID THAT THE PERCEPTION WAS THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WERE PREPARED TO DO ANYTHING TO GET SINN FEIN TO THE TABLE AND THAT WHEREAS SINN FEIN WOULD BE "SCALDED" FOR THEIR MISDEEDS, THE PREVAILING VIEW WAS THAT THEY WOULD ALWAYS BE FORGIVEN. MOREOVER THAT WAS ALSO LIKELY TO BE THE VIEW WITHIN SINN FEIN. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS FOR SINN FEIN TO SIGN UP TO THE MITCHELL PRINCIPLES EVEN PRIOR TO A CEASEFIRE BEING DECLARED AND FOR THERE TO BE A "LEVEL PLAYING FIELD". THERE WAS A NEED TO SHOW "REPENTANCE" BUT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT SECOND TIME ROUND TO ACCEPT ASSURANCES (EVEN FROM THE NEW ARCHBISHOP, LET ALONE THOSE OF MR HUME) THAT THE CEASEFIRE WOULD BE A PERMANENT AND



LASTING ONE. GERRY ADAMS WAS INTENT ON 'TAKING OVER THE CONTROLS' ONCE ADMITTED TO THE TALKS. THERE WAS A NEED TO MOVE "SLOWLY BUT SAFELY" AND (AFTER ADDED THOUGHT) "WHERE ANGELS FEAR TO TREAD". AS FOR THE SDLP, THEY WERE NOW FACING EVIDENT DANGER AT THE NEXT ELECTIONS.

7. AS TO OTHER MATTERS, THE MODERATOR EXPRESSED THE HOPE BASED ON SUCH CONTACTS AS HE HAD HAD THAT THE LOYALIST CEASEFIRE WOULD HOLD; HE ADDED THAT HE HAD NO MORE LOVE FOR LOYALIST AS HE DID FOR NATIONALIST PARAMILITARIES. AND, CURIOUSLY, ALTHOUGH NOT SAYING THAT WE SHOULD BRING BACK THE "B" SPECIALS, HE SAID THE ONE THING HE REGRETTED WAS THAT ITS UDR SUCCESSOR HAD NOT UTILISED TO BEST EFFECT THE LOCAL KNOWLEDGE BUILT UP BY THE SPECIALS.

#### CONCLUSION

8. DISCUSSIONS OVER THE LUNCH WERE OF A SOBER, FORTHRIGHT NATURE AND CLEARLY ANTI-PATHETIC TO THE VIEWS OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT SAVE FOR AGREEMENT ON THE ONE ISSUE OF RETAINING THE PRESENT NUMBER OF AREA EDUCATION BOARDS. HOWEVER THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY THE MODERATOR AND HIS MINISTERS WERE NOT AGGRESSIVE IN TONE (AND MORE OFTEN THAN NOT MEEKLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE SUPPORTERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AS A WHOLE). BUT THEY WERE WELL DELIVERED AND WILL HAVE REVEALED TO THE IRISH SIDE A DEPTH OF FEELING THEY MIGHT PREFER NOT TO ACKNOWLEDGE. NEEDLESS TO SAY, OUR GUESTS NAMES WILL BE ADDED TO THE INVITATION LIST FOR THE 9 DECEMBER MARYFIELD CHRISTMAS RECEPTION, WHICH COPY RECIPIENTS ARE ALSO INVITED TO NOTE.

[SIGNED]

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