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Proposals of the Democratic Unionist Party for a settlement in Northern Ireland (as reported in the Irish Times on 26th October 1972).

The policy document presented to the Prime Minister begins with the "proviso" that "these proposals are put forward in the belief that the solemn pledge of the present Government and previous Governments, both Labour and Conservative - that Northern Ireland shall remain part and parcel of the United Kingdom as long as the majority of its people so desire - will be strictly honoured".

Role of South

Any proposals concerning the peace and good government of Northern Ireland must be founded on two vital conditions:

1. That Northern Ireland is an integral part of the United Kingdom and no settlement which does not recognise and fully endorse this can hope to succeed. There can be no negotiation on this point and any attempt to involve the Republic of Ireland in talks which directly or indirectly involve our constitutional link will pull around the United Kingdom Government the furies of an enraged loyalist community. Such a course would be a sure recipe for civil war.
2. That any government and administration in Northern Ireland which could hope to succeed must be absolutely and totally democratic, accepted by and acceptable to the vast majority of the Northern Ireland people. Any attempt to dilute the democratic system as practised in the rest of the United Kingdom will fail.

It is therefore within the framework of these two conditions that the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party puts forward its proposals.

REFERENDUM FIRST: Because the people of Northern Ireland now can see more than ever before that their ultimate destiny as United Kingdom citizens is at risk, the referendum must take place forthwith and certainly before any local government elections. Meaningful local elections cannot be held otherwise. The promised referendum must come early on the Government's timetable, second only to urgent innovations to improve security.

SHORT-TERM PROPOSALS: The British Government has got to get its priorities right, and its first tasks is to defeat the IRA terrorists, stop the escalation of violence, and restore law and order to every part of our province. Normal political life and thought is distorted by violence, and it is therefore blinking reality for Britain to believe that in this atmosphere any political formula can be devised which will have a meaningful measure of success. Northern Ireland is at war with the I.R.A., yet the I.R.A. is not even proscribed in the rest of the United Kingdom. That simple fact alone leads the Ulsterman to assume that the United Kingdom Government is either not fully aware of the situation or else is not absolutely determined to destroy the I.R.A. The fact that the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland negotiated with the I.R.A. still lingers bitterly in Ulster memories.

Our first proposal is that:

THE WAR SHOULD BE WON: This means that every method must be employed to rout out and destroy the terrorists. The country must be organised to this end. Immediately action should be taken to:

1. RECRUIT AND TRAIN A HOME GUARD: The present security forces, the Army and UDR, the police and police reserve, simply cannot succeed under the present circumstances. All their sacrifices are going to be in vain except the stern facts of the worsening situation are faced.

Local men alone can defend their own locality. The criticism that such a local force would be a resurrection of the B. Specials must be resisted. The B. Specials saved Northern Ireland in the past from subversives, our enemies themselves being our best witnesses, and only a similar force operating locally and helping the civil power, i.e. the police, can effectually crush the terrorists. The bombings and killings will continue except such a force is recruited. The war will have to be Ulsterised, and the Army more and more disengaged from what are really special police duties.

Emergency Powers

2. PROMULGATE SPECIAL EMERGENCY LEGISLATION: We believe that the British criminal law is appropriate to deal with ordinary crime in a stable society. But where, as in Northern Ireland, society is far from stable and when the crime is not just ordinary crime but crime organised in a massive scale for the purpose of destroying the State, then there is a state of emergency which cannot be adequately dealt with by the common law. Our remedy is emergency legislation (involving both substantive and procedural novelties) for the period of such emergency in which emphasis is placed less on the protection of the criminal than on the protection of the community.

• Such legislation would be applicable to the whole of the community and should be hedged about by as many constitutional and political safeguards as one considers desirable.

The suggestion of the setting up of a special court consisting of three judges and no jury to hear charges against a specific number of criminals does not begin to meet the needs of the community, and indeed is in itself quite objectionable. Firstly, it suggests that the jury is the weak component of the common law system. This is just not so, since juries as a whole have stood up remarkably well to the burdens put upon them. Secondly, it ignores the procedural weaknesses which, as we have said, tend to protect the criminal rather than the public. Thirdly, it discriminates against a certain number of citizens and that, too, quite arbitrarily. Our suggested emergency legislation would have none of these defects.

The setting up of these special courts would enable those at present interned to be charged and the due processes of the law to take effect.

Action on South

3. TAKE ACTION AGAINST I.R.A. TERRORIST NESTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND:

There is no doubt that the South of Ireland has become both the base and sanctuary of the IRA terrorist murder gangs. Mr. Lynch has failed to take adequate steps to deal effectively with these groups. Therefore, in order to save lives and bring the terrorist campaign from across the Border to a conclusion political and economic sanctions must be applied resolutely, indeed ruthlessly, to the Irish Republic. This the United Kingdom Government can do. Failure on the part of the United Kingdom Government in this field leads the Northern Ireland people to the conclusion that the United Kingdom Government, perhaps because of the Common Market issue, is not prepared to take the necessary steps. This again adds to their lack of confidence and will inevitably lead to loyalist groups taking the law into their own hands and the dangerous consequences ensuing.

4. MAKE THE BORDER AN INTERNATIONAL BORDER IN THE TRUE SENSE: Freedom of access into Northern Ireland from the South has largely given success to the IRA terrorists. Passports must be necessary for the Republic's citizens or the citizens of any other foreign country to obtain entry into Northern Ireland. The 300-miles-long Border lies almost wide open at the present time and until something effectual is done about it the IRA will continue its murder campaign.

successfully. Perhaps such a requirement would not be dramatically successful, but so harassed are the citizens of this country that every improvement, no matter how minimal, would appear a boon to them.

Identity Cards

5. ISSUE IDENTITY CARDS TO ALL CITIZENS OF NORTHERN IRELAND: If this had been adopted some time ago prominent I.R.A. leaders would have been long since apprehended by the security forces. The matter of identity is of the utmost importance and every effort must be made to make the security net as tight as possible. Let it not be said that this will cause practical difficulties and inconveniences. Such carping would have appeared ridiculously inappropriate if urged against wartime restrictions that were designed for public security. The British Government has got to understand that the people of Northern Ireland are living in a state of war.

6. INSTITUTE 24-HOUR CURFEWS IN AREAS WHERE THE I.R.A. OPERATES: When the IRA operate in a district, then that district should be sealed off by a 24-hour curfew. The effect of such a system of curfews would effectively stop the terrorists both because of the likelihood of their apprehension and the consequent anger of residents subjected to such inconvenience because of IRA activity. Those who wittingly or unwittingly harbour terrorists must be taught that it does not pay to do so.

Future Status

LONG-TERM PROPOSALS: Only after the security situation is settled can there be anything like free and meaningful consultation and discussion on the machinery of government and administration. We believe that the future of Northern Ireland must lie within the United Kingdom and that for far too long Northern Ireland has been looked upon as not really part of the United Kingdom: this has led to Northern Ireland not taking its rightful place in the United Kingdom. Parochialism has been one of Northern Ireland's worst ills; in the greater setting of the United Kingdom proper we believe this ill can be effectively cured.

We propose therefore that the province should be totally integrated into the United Kingdom and that the legislative union should be absolutely complete.

PARITY OF REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER: Ulster must have her full quota of members of Parliament at Westminster. Many of the present Northern Ireland constituencies, compared with the average in the rest of the United Kingdom, are too large. This has led to the under-representation of the province at Westminster. Its remoteness should also be a factor in deciding the number of M.P.s Ulster should have - it certainly should not be fewer than 20.

Those laws relating specially to Northern Ireland must be subject to full parliamentary debate and a parliamentary committee consisting of all members from Northern Ireland, as well as others, should have the opportunity to consider such legislation before it comes to the House. This would save the time of the House and give opportunity for local interests to be adequately represented and protected.

We believe that all legislative power for Northern Ireland should be vested in the Parliament of the United Kingdom and that Northern Ireland should be seen to take its rightful place as a full partner in the nation. The objection that such an arrangement would be resisted by the Roman Catholic population we do not for one moment

accept. We believe that this fear has been greatly over-emphasised. There are many in the minority whose avowed political objective is the obtaining of British standards. These would be ensured. Many others, whether wrongly or not, genuinely believe that they as Roman Catholics suffer from certain public and private disabilities, but they have seen the source of their disadvantage at Stormont. The removal of Stormont and the subsequent merger into Westminster would mollify such fears. In short we feel that complete integration would receive far more support from Roman Catholics than would at first appear. As for Unionists they will, in time, see that integration is the apotheosis of Union.

Administration

GREATER ULSTER COUNCIL: While all legislative powers should be vested in Westminster all administrative powers should be vested in a Greater Ulster Council. This council should be elected by the direct voting system. The new Parliamentary divisions should be divided equally into three according to their population and each one of these new areas should return one member of council. With 20 Parliamentary divisions this would make a membership of 60 in the council.

The council should then set up within itself a series of committees to administer the departments which at Stormont were headed up by the Cabinet Ministers. These committees would be responsible to the council as a whole and their chairmen would have no special powers.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND; The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland would be supreme co-ordinator between the Council and Government and Parliament.

Police Powers

SECURITY: The Army and U.D.R. would, as part of the Ministry of Defence, still be administered from Westminster but the police and police Reserve should be administered in Ulster.

We propose the abolition of the Police Authority and the setting up of a watch committee as one of the committees of the Greater Ulster Council. This committee, subject to the council and finally to the Secretary of State, would administer all police affairs. Political decisions affecting the police would finally have to be decided by the Secretary of State.

Finally we would emphasise that this is but an outline of some of our thoughts. These proposals will be fully explained and expanded upon in a booklet shortly to be published by our party and this document will also contain our proposals for what then should follow - the commercial and social regeneration of this province.