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1. As a general strategy it is suggested that the Taoiseach should concentrate on the remedying of the political situation which permits the present injustices in the Six Counties and not be deflected into details about discrimination in housing and jobs which is made possible by the political set-up. Furthermore, it is preferable that the Taoiseach should urge Mr. Wilson to permit the expression of political opinion within the United Kingdom which would bring pressure for a change rather than that the Taoiseach should urge Mr. Wilson to bring direct financial or other pressures on Captain O'Neill.

2. In pursuance of the foregoing strategy it would seem that the greatest single step capable of early implementation would be the dropping of the Convention in the Westminster Parliament that they do not discuss the affairs of Northern Ireland. This Convention has no statutory or legal basis. To drop this Convention would open up discussion in the Westminster Parliament about the injustices in the North and would enable the pressure for reform to be kept up continuously until the situation is remedied. It must be remembered that in international law vis-a-vis the Commission of Human Rights etc. it is London, and not Belfast, that bears the responsibility. We understand that there was a Convention in Westminster about Rhodesian affairs similar to that in respect of Northern Ireland but that it has lately been disregarded.

- 2 -

3. The matters most urgently requiring reform in the Six Counties are

- (a) the Local Government franchise (see brief prepared for Taoiseach for his first meeting with Mr. Wilson)
- (b) the gerrymandering in places such as Derry.

It is these political evils which permit the discrimination in housing and jobs. The Taoiseach's aim should be to have the underlying disease cured rather than to have some of the symptoms relieved. It will be noted that from a policy speech by Mr. Roy Bradford, Unionist Chief Whip, on Saturday (see "Irish Times" cutting attached) his Government seems to be seeking to present the recent Derry troubles as a social rather than a political problem and he even quotes Cardinal Conway in support of this. A crash programme in housing therefore might be the answer from the Unionist point of view rather than a remedying of the underlying political injustices which enable them to perpetuate their power.

4. As long as an unfair franchise and gerrymandering exist, the people of Derry understandably can be driven to a feeling of hopelessness of securing redress within the "existing rules of the game" as they are not permitted a fair democratic use of the vote to enable them to effect a change. Those who deny them this must bear the responsibility if despair should drive them to violence.

5. If Mr. Wilson should have any idea of setting up a Royal Commission to examine the situation in the Six Counties, the Taoiseach should, for the reasons outlined above, urge that the Commission be directed towards the undemocratic nature of the franchise and gerrymandering rather than to the details of the consequences in

- 3 -

discrimination in the matter of housing and jobs.

6. Mr. Wilson should be urged
  - (a) to drop the convention in Westminster which precludes discussion of Northern Ireland affairs;
  - (b) to ensure the reform of the undemocratic franchise, and
  - (c) to establish a Royal Commission to re-draw the boundaries of the Northern Ireland Local Government, Stormont and Westminster constituencies on a just and equitable basis.
  
7. A summary of the position in relation to the Westminster convention, as set out in "Constitutional Law in Northern Ireland" by Harry Calvert, LL.M., Senior Lecturer in Law, Queen's University, Belfast, 1968, is attached. It will be seen from this that the Speaker in the House of Commons has a wide measure of discretion in implementing the Convention. Rather than challenge the Chair by a vote of censure, a more appropriate method might be for Mr. Wilson to take the initiative by way of a motion in the House or otherwise as may be thought appropriate to drop the Convention. He could justify this freedom of debate on gerrymandering and discrimination because of the responsibility of the British Government for the just implementation of the Government of Ireland Act and for compliance with the European Charter of Human Rights. These are constitutional responsibilities which the British Government cannot escape as long as Northern Ireland remains part of the United Kingdom and they are and will be held responsible by world opinion therefor.

- 4 -

8. At a suitable point in the discussion the Taoiseach might remind Mr. Wilson that since he became Prime Minister the North must have cost the British Exchequer a half a billion pounds.