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No one can dispute that there has been in Northern Ireland, even since its creation as a separate political entity from the rest of Ireland by an Act of the British Parliament in 1920, a deliberate policy of denial of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of a substantial minority of the population there.

I can do little better to describe only some of the extent of these denials than to quote the words used in the Declaration issued in London on 19th August, 1969 by the United Kingdom Government and the Government of Northern Ireland which says as follows:

"The United Kingdom Government have welcomed the decisions of the Northern Ireland Government relating to local government franchise, the revision of local government areas, the allocation of houses, the creation of a Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration in Northern Ireland and machinery to consider citizens' grievances against other public authorities".

This is followed by the assertion, necessary to be stated after almost 50 years of autonomy, that these decisions demonstrate "the determination of the Northern Ireland Government that there shall be full equality of treatment and freedom for all citizens".

What can this mean except that full equality did not previously exist?

Furthermore both Governments reaffirmed "that in all legislation and executive decisions of Government every citizen of Northern Ireland is entitled to the same equality

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of treatment and freedom from discrimination as obtains in the rest of the United Kingdom, irrespective of political views or religion".

What can this mean except that existing legislation and executive decisions of Government in the area did not previously entitle all citizens to the same equality of treatment and freedom from discrimination?

The Declaration goes on to say that "in their further meetings the two Governments will be guided by these mutually accepted principles".

It is to be devoutly hoped that the Government in Northern Ireland will be guided by these principles in much more than its meetings with the United Kingdom Government.

But a history of 50 years of refusal to observe any such principles is not the best guarantee that they will be observed now. The statements of spokesmen for the Northern Ireland Government, even since August 19th, give room to believe that their conversion to the idea of reform is neither as deep nor as extensive as the principles enumerated in their joint declaration with the United Kingdom Government of that date.

It is necessary to go one step further in describing the valuable efforts, however tardy, of the United Kingdom Government to demonstrate to their subordinate Government in Northern Ireland the need for reform and the principle kinds of reform to be undertaken immediately. These are contained in a joint communiqué by the British Home Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan and the Northern Ireland Cabinet issued on 29th August, 1969 following Mr. Callaghan's three-day visit to the

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North. They agreed that effective action in the following field was fundamental to the creation of confidence:

- (i) Equality of opportunity for all in public employment, without regard to religious or political considerations.
- (ii) Protection against the incitement of hatred against any citizens on the grounds of religious belief.
- (iii) Guaranteed fairness in the allocation of public authority housing, with need, assessed by objective criteria, as the only relevant yardstick.
- (iv) Effective means not only for the investigation of grievances against public bodies, but for their ultimate redress if conciliation and other procedures are ineffective.
- (v) Proper representation of minorities, to be assured at the elected levels of government by completely fair electoral laws, practices and boundaries, and at nominated or appointed levels by a recognition that such minorities have a right to an effective voice in affairs.

Furthermore, the joint communiqué states that the Government of Northern Ireland have accordingly sought the co-operation of the Home Secretary in setting up joint working parties of officials of the two Governments to examine the extent to which the Government of Northern Ireland's present practice or pledged commitments adequately ensure:

- (i) The fair allocation of houses by public Authorities;

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- (ii) The avoidance of any discrimination in any form of public employment;
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- (iii) The promotion of good community relations by methods including the prohibition of incitement to religious hatred.

On the following day the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland promised that there would be no delay and no drawing back on these things promised in the joint communiqué.

Yet, since then there has been considerable evidence from the statements of members of the Stormont Government of precisely a drawing back from the promises made by them.

For example, the Prime Minister, Major Chichester Clark, in a television broadcast on 9th September listed the reforms to be done significantly differently from those agreed earlier in the Callaghan package:

"Guidance has already been given to all local authorities to ensure that they let their houses to those who most need them. This is in operation now. There is a Parliamentary Commissioner in post, to whom any citizen with a grievance against central government may refer his complaint through his own or any other member of Parliament.

Very soon, we will be bringing before Stormont legislation to establish the Commissioner for Complaints who will deal with grievances against local government and other public bodies. We are getting ready legislation to set up a Community Relations Board and I propose shortly to nominate a Minister responsible for promoting good community relations.

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Another Bill to be introduced without delay will provide that all future elections to local authorities will be held on the basis of 'one-man one-vote'.

We intend to put all these measures on the statute book as soon as humanly possible, and certainly not later than Christmas.

Nor is this all. Joint working parties are this very week considering most urgently whether anything further needs to be done to demonstrate that houses are allocated fairly, that there is no possibility of discrimination in public employment and that there are no unnecessary obstacles in the way of harmony in this community".

Having listed these as the reforms in being or about to be done, the Prime Minister insisted that "legitimate demands are being met". However his list leaves out or glosses over reforms promised only twelve day earlier. There is no clear assurance for example of "protection against the incitement of hatred against any citizens on the grounds of religious belief". I may say that the evidence of 50 years of mis-rule has illustrated again and again that it is precisely by permitting such incitement to hatred on religious grounds that the Stormont Government survives and hopes to continue to survive. The omission of this particularly vital reform persuades my Government that the Stormont Government may hope to continue to rule unjustly behind the barricade of bigotry which have served them so well for far too long.

Major Chichester Clark's promises that all future elections to local authorities will be held on the basis of 'one-man one-vote'. He omitted to say, as the Callaghan package does, that effective action will be taken to ensure the proper

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representation of the minority at the elected levels of Government by completely fair electoral laws, practices and boundaries. Representation of the minority has been reduced far below what it should reasonably be by a system of gerrymandering ever since the Northern Ireland Government was created. This cannot be cured by merely granting one-man one-vote. My Government considers that the omission of the full intent of the Callaghan package is further evidence that real reform continues to be resisted at the highest level of Government in Northern Ireland.

Major Chichester Clark referred in the same broadcast to "demands that we should disband the forces of law and order". No responsible voice has called for the disbandment of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. As this armed police force has been consistently used by the Stormont Government against the minority when they attempted to manifest peacefully for their civil rights, responsible voices have demanded its reorganisation. Constant attacks by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, without any excuse or provocation, on people in their homes particularly in the city of Derry on October 5th, 1968, January 4th, 1969, April 20th, 1969, and July 4th, 1969 justify these demands for reform of the Constabulary but, as I have said earlier, no one has demanded its disbandment.

No doubt Major Chichester Clark is referring in fact to the Ulster Special Constabulary better known as the B Specials. This is a heavily armed, badly trained and ill-disciplined partisan force. It seems to number somewhere between 8,000 and 11,000 men but not even the Northern Ireland Government can give a firm figure of its total strength or say clearly and quickly who its members are as they have no central register of

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this force. It is not surprising that an armed force whose own Government does not know exactly its strength and composition should descend on all suitable occasions to violence and even thuggery; and given its partisan complexion it is not surprising that it should exercise its considerable talents in these regards exclusively on the minority; nor would it be difficult to comprehend that that is its entire purpose and intention. Calls for the disbandment of the B Specials are fully justified by its behavior.

The point I wish to make is that, by deliberately confusing these two forces and the very different demands made in respect of them, Major Chichester Clark shows once again either his inability to understand the nature of his own regime or his determination to use every means, including falsehood, to sustain it.

I would also draw to attention a statement made by Mr. Brian Faulkner, Minister of Development in the Northern Ireland Government, who was a party to the joint declaration issued in London on 19th August, 1969 and yet could say, on September 6th, 1969, that "cases of real grievance have been rare". It would be astonishing if the United Kingdom Government should find it necessary to insist on extensive reform in Northern Ireland in relation to local government franchise, the revision of local government areas, the allocation of houses, the creation of a Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration in the area and in relation to machinery to consider citizens grievances against other public authorities - if cases of real grievance were rare. It would also astonish me that the two Governments should find it necessary to state the determination of the Northern Ireland Government that there shall be full equality of treatment for all citizens - if cases of real grievance

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were rare; and it would further astonish me that the two Governments find it necessary to reaffirm that in all legislation and in executive decisions of Government every citizen of Northern Ireland is entitled to the same equality and treatment and freedom from discrimination as obtains in the rest of the United Kingdom, irrespective of political views or religion - if cases of real grievance were rare. As Mr. Faulkner is a senior Minister of the Northern Ireland Government and was personally party to the London declaration of 19th August, 1969, we can only consider that his declaration of 6th September, 1969, is a remarkable discovery.

I would also point out that at its meeting on the 2nd September, 1969, the Unionist Parliamentary Party and Executive Committee declined to endorse the reform package agreed by the Northern Ireland Cabinet with the British Home Secretary a few days earlier.

Consequently you will understand the considerable scepticism with which my Government must necessarily view the present promises of reform made by the Northern Ireland Government. It is not merely that for 50 years they have elevated discrimination against a substantial minority to the dignity of conscious governmental policy but that even now their words today do not match their words of yesterday - and rarely have they matched their words to deeds.

J.S. 12/9