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Loyalist Paramilitaries and Politicians: Some Recent Developments

I met in Belfast on 17 June with the journalist with whom I have had previous discussions. As usual, readers of this report are reminded of the need to keep its contents absolutely confidential.

Loyalist protests to mark meeting of Conference

My contact has learned from his UDA sources that Paisley rang some senior UDA figures last Monday to request the latter's assistance in mounting a "major mobilisation" on Tuesday. Paisley also rang a number of the other organisations represented on the "86 Coordinating Committee" with the same request. The UDA turned down his request, arguing that, if Paisley was serious about a protest of this kind, he should have proposed it formally in the Committee through his representative there, Sammy Wilson. (Wilson has absented himself from recent meetings of the Committee, sending along in his place Frank Leslie, a DUP shop steward in Harland and Wolff - who, incidentially, is understood to have been behind the Committee's threat to the ICTU to cancel its forthcoming Belfast conference). The UDA, told Paisley that they would only cooperate with him if he joined the "86 Coordinating Committee" himself and submitted proposals for "democratic" consideration.

They also told the DUP leader that, if he were to call publicly for a "mobilisation" of Loyalists, he might have more success. Paisley did so but, while Downtown Radio carried some excerpts from his statement, the BBC refrained, provoking in consequence an outraged phone-call by the DUP leader to the BBC.

- 2 -My contact also understands that Paisley sought Molyneaux's support for his "mobilisation" idea but was turned down. Paisley, in the UDA's view, "came up with his brainwave" too late in the day, so it had no chance of success. A mere 500 marched to the City Hall on Tuesday - all workers from the harbour estate "on their lunch-break". Other protest plans My contact detects very little enthusiasm in the UDA at present for a major protest. There is talk at "middle level" in the DUP (Jim Allister and Jim Wells) about a possible all-out and indefinite strike, to be called later in the summer. Until he hears that Robinson is also thinking along these lines, however, my contact is not inclined to take this suggestion very seriously. Dunloy march (18 June) An Orange Order source told my contact earlier in the day that "Dunloy will be peaceful". Some weeks ago, the RUC told the Orange Order that there was no possibility of their being allowed to parade through the centre of Dunloy, a village which - by the source's own admission to my contact - has only one Protestant family. Having consulted with their HQ in Belfast, the local Orange Order reached a compromise with the RUC whereby they would be allowed to assemble at Station Road outside Dunloy (on the Ballymoney side) and march to an Orange hall along a route which effectively bypasses the village. background to this march is that, during a similar march last year, some fighting broke out and Loyalist marchers declared defiantly that they would be back again this year. ©NAI/DFA/2016/22/1935

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Other marches

My contact has heard that Loyalists will again try to march through Castlewellan this year, probably the weekend after next.

He has had some recent contact with the organisers of the forthcoming Orange marches through Portadown, who have indicated to him their determination to "get through the Tunnel" on all three occasions, Viz., Sunday 6 July, Saturday 12 July and Sunday 13 July. On the other hand, Michael McCoo, a local SDLP representative, commented to him that, if the Loyalists go through on any one of the days, "that's the end of the Anglo-Irish Agreement". (It will be recalled that McCoo, who is not greatly respected locally, made equally intemperate remarks about the events in Portadown over the Easter weekend). My contact was also put in touch (via the DUP) with a number of "disaffected" RUC men, who made clear to him their hostility to the Agreement and their belief that people should have the right to march "wherever they want". The RUC men were critical of Hermon and, while not openly mutinous, hinted that they were staying in the force only because of the lack of alternative employment at present. All locals, they also criticised the DMSU, saying that, if any trouble flared up between Loyalists and the police in Portadown, it would be entirely the fault of the DMSU. The latter go in for "strong-arm stuff" and, as outsiders, have less inhibitions about this than locals. It is the local police, however, who have to "pick up the pieces" afterwards. The RUC men also revealed to my contact that a small number of their colleagues, while off-duty, had participated in Paisley's illegal march past Garvaghy in the early hours of Easter Monday.

Political developments

According to my contact, Paisley approached Molyneaux and Powell some days ago to join him in a deputation to the Queen My contact understands from his OUP sources that the number of integrationists is growing steadily. Molyneaux, who has "a great capacity for self-delusion", believes that, if the Unionists manage to get, for example, a Select Committee for Northern Ireland and greater powers for local government, the Anglo-Irish Agreement will be in serious trouble. According to an NIO source with whom my contact spoke recently, the British Government's strategy is not to be dismissive of ideas such as a Select Committee but rather to hold them out as "bait" with which to entice the Unionist leaders into renewed dialogue - a dialogue which, the British hope, could in due course be steered back in the general direction of devolution. The same NIO source speculated, furthermore, that Paisley would support Molyneaux in talks with the British at present. While he is anything but an integrationist, he is believed to feel that the campaign of political resistance to the Agreement needs some fresh ideas and that, unless the politicians can offer "something" very shortly, the wilder element in his own party will move towards the Loyalist paramilitaries and chaos will ensue. In these circumstances, he may feel ready to back Molyneaux's ideas for limited integration as the better of two evils.

My contact's NIO source also told him that a paper has been circulated internally for comments which proposes the introduction of an anti-violence oath as a device to remove Sinn Fein from local government.

The overall picture which is emerging, according to this NIO source, is that there will be a package, probably in October

- 5 rather than September, which will balance a number of concessions to nationalists with elements to appease Unionists - such as (i) some reorganisation of NI business at Westminster (e.g. a Select Committee) and (ii) an oath to keep Sinn Fein out of the council chambers. David Donoghue 19 June 1986. c.c Secretary A-I Section A-I Secretariat Ambassador London Box 1255P ©NAI/DFA/2016/22/1935