



# An Chartlann Náisiúnta National Archives

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AN ROINN GNÓTHAI EACHTRACHA  
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH 2  
DUBLIN 2

*Mr. Gillin  
S.H.*

27

SEEN BY  
TAOISEACH

17 January, 1995.

**SECRET**

Mr. Frank Murray,  
Secretary to the Government,  
Government Buildings,  
Merrion Street,  
Dublin 2.

*Taoiseach  
You raised this topic at the  
last meeting of the Cabinet-committee  
on Northern Ireland.*

*Mr. 18/1/95*

Dear Frank,

**Contacts with the unionist community**

*Seen  
B 22/1/95*

The Taoiseach enquired about contacts between the Department and the unionist community.

The patterns of contact are essentially threefold:

- Officers in the Department cultivate direct personal contact on an on-going basis with a cross-section of the unionist community, both the political representatives of that community and "small u" members who play prominent roles in the business, professional, administrative and religious life of Northern Ireland.
- A major new dimension in recent years has been the greatly expanded role of the Anglo-Irish Secretariat in Belfast in facilitating contact with the Unionist community.
- The Embassy in London has also built up contact with the unionist MPs and members of the wider unionist community.

The work of the IFI also involves officers of the Department in a range of useful contacts, including with hard-line unionists. However, these are not used for any overtly political purpose.

The programme of structured contact work which is undertaken by officers of the Department includes the following broad categories within the unionist community:

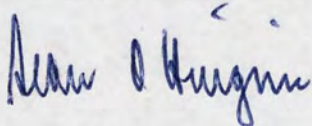
- Political representatives
- Religious leaders
- Business leaders
- Judiciary
- Community leaders
- Academics

A list of personalities who are seen regularly in each of these categories is attached as Annex 1.

A new development of major significance over the past three to four years has been the success of the Anglo-Irish Secretariat in developing lines of communication to the unionist community. A separate note (Annex 2) describes this in greater detail and attaches, by way of illustration, a list of personalities from the Northern "establishment" or the unionist community who have attended one or more functions in the Secretariat.

A further importance resource for the development of contact with unionists is the Embassy in London. The Ambassador, Political Counsellor and other staff have been making efforts in recent years to build up their contacts with unionist MEPs (some of whom consider the London Embassy the doctrinally correct point of contact for them).

Yours sincerely,



Sean O hUiginn  
Second Secretary

Annex 1

DEPARTMENTAL CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF THE UNIONIST COMMUNITY

(1) Political representatives

UUP

MPs:

Ken Maginnis  
Martin Smyth  
David Trimble  
John Taylor

Councillors:

Reg Empey  
Chris McGimpsey  
Michael McGimpsey  
Drew Nelson  
John Carson  
Ray Ferguson  
Ronnie Ferguson

Members of Young UUP

DUP

Councillors:

Sammy Wilson  
Gregory Campbell  
Sinclair McCalister

Ian Paisley Jr.

Members of Young DUP

(2) Religious leaders

CHURCH OF IRELAND

Robin Eames  
Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland

James Mehaffey  
Bishop of Derry and Raphoe

Gordon McMullan  
Bishop of Down and Dromore

Bishop Poyntz of Conor

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Dr. David McGaughey  
Current Moderator

Dr. Jack Weir, former Moderator

Rev. John Dunlop  
Former Moderator

Dr. Roy Magee, Dundonald

Dr. Gordon Gray, Lisburn

Rev. John Davey (Corrymeela)

Rev. D. Johnson

Rev. Jack Harvey

Mr. David Hewitt

METHODIST CHURCH

Rev. Edmund Mawhinney  
Current President

Rev. Sydney Callaghan  
Former President

QUAKERS

Alan and Janet Quilley  
Shelagh Livingstone  
Marty Rafferty

(3) Business community

Sir George Quigley  
Sir Charles Brett  
Prof. Desmond Rea  
Elizabeth Downes [NI Business Forum]

(4) Legal/Policing

Mr. Pat Coghlin QC  
Judge P. Gibson QC  
Eddie Simpson  
David Lavery  
Mrs. Denise Kennedy  
Mr. J. Stewart

(5) Community leaders

Mr. Jackie Redpath  
Director  
Greater Shankill Development Agency

Mr. David McCullough  
Springboard Community Initiative  
(Shankill and Falls)

Ms. Colleen McCullough  
Manager  
Towns Enterprise Park  
(Interface of Shankill and Falls)

Mr. Sammy Douglas  
Director  
East Belfast Development Agency

Mr. Glen Barr  
Maydown-Ebrington Enterprises  
Waterside  
Derry

(6) Academic/culture

Graham Gudgin  
Dennis Kennedy  
Arthur Aughey  
Paul Bew  
John Darby  
Norman Gibson  
Brian Walker  
John Simpson  
ATQ Stewart  
Will Glendinning  
Dorothea Melvin  
John Gray (Linenhall)  
Jack Hassett  
Brice Dickson  
Stephen Livingstone  
Robert Gavin  
Tom Hadden

(7) Local government

Chief Executives of District and Borough Councils:

Sam Magee [Antrim]  
David Fallows [Ards]  
M. J. McGuckin [Cookstown]  
John Keanie [Derry]  
Owen O' Connor [Down]  
William Beattie [Dungannon]  
Gerry Burns [Fermanagh]  
John McKinney [Omagh]  
Victor Eakin [Strabane]

A6048

13 January 1995

**Confidential**

Mr Sean O hUiginn  
Second Secretary  
Anglo-Irish Division  
Department of Foreign Affairs

Dear Second Secretary,

**Secretariat Contacts**

You mentioned that the Taoiseach was interested to know the extent of the Department's contacts with unionists and you asked for a report on the Secretariat's role.

I have had a list drawn up and attached. It may also be useful to give some background for the Taoiseach.

When it was established in late 1985, the Anglo-Irish Secretariat was not intended to have a general representational function. It was expected to service the Anglo-Irish Conference under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, to provide a constant means of communication between the two Governments, to try to resolve problems and to provide joint advice. We saw the Secretariat as a powerful agency for intergovernmental action but it became clear early on that the British did not intend to invest the same energy and commitment. Moreover, they were concerned to restrict our side to contacts within the Joint Secretariat, to official briefers as they would choose and to occasional other contacts with the security forces. Invitations to the Secretariat were controlled by the British side and, indeed, issued by them on our behalf.

That position has changed radically in recent years.

An effort was needed to develop outside contacts to inform ourselves and put ourselves in a better position to deal with the British side which too often provided official responses that were meagre or misleading. The method of contact is normally by briefings but we also entertain frequently to lunch or dinner at Maryfield and outside. These days, we are also invited out to some business and official functions as well as to private affairs.

The original role of the Secretariat continues, but we now maintain regular contact across the entire range of Northern Ireland's Government and official agencies, ie, with Ministers and all levels of the NIO and Northern Departments, with senior and middle levels of the security forces, with members of the judiciary and with members and officials of the more important agencies such as the Standing Advisory Commission for Human Rights, the Fair Employment Commission, the Police Authority, the Independent Police Complaints Commission, the Northern Ireland Economic Council and the Northern Ireland Economic Research Council.

We invite in the four church leaders and other personalities in the churches; we have reported on lunch meetings with the three Protestant leaders in recent months; Cardinal Daly will be here this month. We also invite in to receptions and to occasional lunches or dinners, members of the professions, business, the trade unions, the arts and non-political groups promoting political progress and peace in Ireland; of course, we do not see large numbers in all these categories but I think we see a reasonable range.

Most of these contacts are "establishment" and therefore tend to be unionist. Generally speaking, we have not been in a position to cultivate Unionist politicians because of their continuing opposition to the Agreement, although the emotion in that opposition has declined considerably. However, we have taken opportunities outside the Secretariat to talk to such as Chris McGimpsey, Ken Maginnis, Ian Paisley jnr and Roy Bradford. McGimpsey attended a reception here last year and Bradford has been keen to keep contact, as has another former Stormont Minister, Roy Bailie.

Our contacts enable us to explain the Government's position and to discuss unionist criticisms of it. In some cases, the discussion will have been the first such experience for those we talk to. We think we have made an impression, at least to judge from feedback and repeat contacts, and from the numbers who attend the large general receptions we give at Christmas and St. Patrick's Day (the attendance is about 240 which is the maximum we can take; receptions on this scale were not possible, even if they had been thinkable, in the early bleak environment of Maryfield; we persuaded the British to extend and refurbish the reception area in 1991).

We believe the contacts have helped to consolidate the Irish Government's role in Northern Ireland and to make it less objectionable to "small u" members of the majority.

I have omitted the most substantial part of our list which is Government including the judiciary and the security forces, but have included members of agencies.

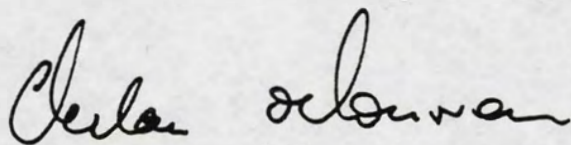
Lastly, judgements of who is unionist, nationalist, protestant, or catholic can be arbitrary and difficult. We have not included prominent people who are catholic or believed to be of catholic birth whether or not they would be regarded as sympathetic to the union, for example Sir George



Quigley, Maurice Hayes, Senator Eddie Haughey and Mr Justice Nicholson, all of whom are well known to us. But we have included some people of non-Christian background such as Mervyn Solomon (Jewish). There is a significant category of people who may be Protestant by background in whole or in part but who would not tend to be identified in the public mind with the Unionist or Alliance parties, for example, Terry Carlin and Inez McCormack, the trade unionists, and Michael Fenton of the Phoenix Trust.

Belfast and its environs are our main catchment area, which is reflected in the list.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Declan O'Donovan'.

Declan O'Donovan  
Joint Secretary

13.1.95

Confidential

SELECTION OF SECRETARIAT CONTACTS

BANKS / FINANCIAL / BUSINESS

**Algeo, Henry,** Stockbroker

**Brooke, The Hon. Christopher & Amanda Brooke,** Galgorm  
Castle conference centre,  
Ballymena; grandson of Lord  
Brookeborough

**Brown, Georgina and Ronnie,** Outfitters, Newtownards

**Cavan, Peter,** MD, Whittaker and Company

**Chambers, Victor & Rosemary,** former Chief Exec. Ulster Bank

**Doonan, Ken,** General Manager, Banking, Northern Bank  
of Seaford, Co Down

**Forde, Patrick,**

**Haselden, Simon and Claire** (Mr Haselden is Chairman and  
principal Shareholder of William Ross  
and Co., Linen Manufacturers, Clonard  
Mills, Odessa Street)

**Hopkins, Anthony,** Managing Director, Touche Ross

**Kells, Ronnie D.,** Chief Executive, Ulster Bank

**King, Mr James,** Landowner (forestry), Co Down

**Mackie, Leslie and Anne,** financial contributor to UUP, former  
Chairman and owner of Mackie's  
Engineering, now runs a specialist  
company providing electrical  
equipment for industry, world-wide.)

**Mahood, David and Anne,** financier

**Moore, Robbie,** Regional General Manager, Stock  
Exchange

**McKay, George,** Managing Director, Laganside  
Corporation

**McPherson, Ian,** General Manager (Management Services)  
Northern Bank

Riley, Doug, Chief Exec. BT Northern Ireland  
 Shimmons, Harry, Deputy Director, NI Chamber of  
 Commerce  
 Simpson, John, Economic commentator, lecturer  
 Taylor John H&J Martin, 163 Ormeau Road, Belfast  
 Smyth, Nigel Director, CBI  
 Solomon, Mervyn & Anne, Businessman, Chairman Ulster Museum  
 Stewart, Alan Assistant Director, Ulster Investment  
 Bank Ltd  
 Stringer, John Director, NI Chamber of Commerce  
 Webb, Ian, Chairman and Chief Executive,  
 Linfield Group  
 Wilson Dr Ben Senior Partner, KMPG

LEGAL (non-judicial)

Bryson, Suzanne, Deputy Secretary, Law Society  
 Carnson, Andrew, retiring President of the Law Society  
 Coghlin, Pat, QC,  
 Creaney, John, QC  
 Cross, Patrick & Patricia, solicitor  
 Glass, Basil & Mary (Clarke-Glass)  
 Davey, Michael, Secretary, Law Society  
 Dinsmore, Margaret-Anne, barrister, and Dr. Wallace  
 Stewart, John, barrister  
 Weir, Reg Q.C.

POLICE AUTHORITY

Armstrong, Reid, Secretary  
 Cook, David, Chairman

PROBATION BOARD

McGimpsey, Chris, Vice Chairman

NI ELECTRICITY

Jeffries, Mr Desmond, Chairman

NI TOURIST BOARD

Henderson, Ian, Chief Executive  
 Elliott, Sandra, Director of Sales  
 O'Neill, Hugh, Chairman  
 Darcy, Jackie, Director of Communications  
 Nelson, Billy, Head of Development

NI TRANSPORT

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Irvine, Jim     | Chief Executive, NI Transport Holding<br>Co. |
| Price, Don,     | Managing Director, NI Railways               |
| Smyth, William, | Chairman, NI Railways                        |

Fair Employment Commission

Cooper, Bob, Chairman  
 Goodman, Harry, Chief Executive

ARTS COUNCIL

Welch, Bob,

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD

Beattie, Howard  
 Duncan, David,  
 McVeigh, Desmond, Chief Executive, retiring

LOCAL ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT UNIT

Buckland, Chris Chief Executive,  
 McWilliams, Paul, Chairman,

NORTHERN IRELAND ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Gorecki, Dr Paul, Director  
 Moss, Peter, Secretary  
 Jordan, Bob,

NORTHERN IRELAND ECONOMIC RESEARCH CENTRE

Scott, Ronnie - Senior Research Officer  
 Gudgin, Graham - Director

STANDING ADVISORY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Carson, Denis, Secretary,  
 Harbison, Joan, Deputy Chairman  
 Mackle, Al, trade unionist

HEALTH & SOCIAL SERVICES BOARDS

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Thompson, J. Daniel, | Chairman, Eastern Health & Social<br>Services Board  |
| Hanna, Robert,       | Chairman, Northern Health & Social<br>Services Board |
| Gillespie, William,  | Chairman, Southern Health & Social<br>Services Board |
| Toland, Robert,      | Chairman, Western Health & Social<br>Services Board  |

EDUCATION & LIBRARY BOARDS

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Montgomery, John, | Chief Librarian, Belfast Central<br>Libraries Board           |
| Moag, Gerald,     | Chief Executive, Belfast Education &<br>Library Board         |
| Topping, Gordon,  | Chief Executive, North Eastern<br>Education and Library Board |

**SOCIAL SECURITY AGENCY**

Wylie, Alec, Chief Executive,  
Ferguson, David  
Buchanan, Richard,

**NI YOUTH COUNCIL**

Campbell, Jack, Chairman

**ULSTER FARMER'S UNION**

McLoughlin, Alistair, Director General

**NORTHERN IRELAND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION**

Mitchell, Wilfred, Chairman

**HOUSING EXECUTIVE**

McDowell, Mr. Sydney, Vice-Chairman

**COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL**

Crozier, Dr. Maurna, Cultural Traditions Group,  
Hawthorne, Dr. James, Chairman

**OTHER BODIES**

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Blom-Cooper, Sir Louis, | Commissioner for Holding Centres                           |
| Hewitt, David,          | Military Complaints Assessor                               |
| McClelland, Brian,      | Secretary, Independent Commission<br>for Police Complaints |

**McIvor, Jill**

Northern Ireland Parliamentary  
Commissioner for  
Administration and Commissioner  
for Complaints

**Norris, Bill,  
Oliver, Quintin**

Assistant to Louis-Blom Cooper  
Northern Ireland Council for  
Voluntary Action

### ACADEMIC

**Beveridge, Sir Gordon**

Vice Chancellor, QUB

**Borooah, Dr. Vanny,**

University of Ulster, Jordanstown

**Dixon, Prof. Bryce,**

School of Public Policy, Economics &  
Law, University of Ulster, Jordanstown

**Ewart, Professor Wallace,**

Dean of Faculty of Business &  
Management, University of Ulster,  
Jordanstown

**Hadden, Tom,**

Law Lecturer QUB

**Rea, Professor Desmond,**

University of Ulster at Jordanstown  
(Faculty of Business and Management)

**Smith, Prof. Trevor**

Vice Chancellor, University of Ulster,  
Coleraine

### RELIGIOUS

**Cooper, Rev. David,**

Convenor of Methodist Council on  
Social Welfare

**Dunlop, Rev John,**

Former Moderator, Presbyterian  
Church

**Eames, The Most. Rev. Robin,**

Church of Ireland

**Mawhinney, Edmund, Rev. .**

President, Methodist Council

**McGaughey, David, Rev**

Presbyterian Moderator

**McMullan, Rt. Rev. Gordon,**

Bishop of Down & Dromore

**Porter, David**

Evangelical Christians of  
Northern Ireland

**Poyntz, Rt. Rev Samuel,**

Bishop of Connor

SOCIAL/NOT OTHERWISE CATEGORISED

Bloomfield, Sir Kenneth and Elizabeth, former head, civil service  
 Bailie, Robin, former Stormont Minister  
 Ballard, Brian (artist)  
 Bell, Daphne, Principal, Ulster College of Music  
 Blackshaw, Basil, artist  
 Bradford, Roy  
 Chick, David W., Chairman, Glentoran Football Club  
 Gray, Mr. John, Linen Hall Library  
 Henderson, Dr Brum, Vice-President, Cooperation North  
 Hermon, Sir John and Sylvia, former Chief Constable  
 Hodges, William, retired Permanent Secretary,  
 Hunter, Doreen, Principal, Hunter House School  
 Kennedy, Denis  
 Longley, Michael & Edna, writers  
 Malcolmson, Dr. Anthony, historian, head of Public Record Office  
 Millar, Anne, Ulster Museum, Art Dept  
 Montgomery, Bill & Daphne, Grey Abbey, Co Down  
 Morrice, Jane                         European Commission Office (Belfast-born)  
 Redpath, Jackie,                         Shankill  
 Walker, Brian,                             Community Relations Unit, Institute for  
    Irish Studies, QUB  
 Wilson, Robin,                             Opsahl Commission  
 Wright, Alan,                             former Head of Police Federation