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From: Robert Crawford  
Political Affairs Division  
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See distribution list attached

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Mrs Brown  
Mr Perry

### **DRUMCREE: INDIRECT CONTACT TALKS**

This minute summarises the position on the indirect contact talks at the end of Saturday's meetings. It suggests a possible way forward and provides a draft agreed statement, based on the alternate statements prepared by the Orange Order and Residents delegation.

#### Current Position

2. Saturday's talks saw some movement from the Orange Order on some issues, but little from the Residents. The Orange Order delegation has now accepted the idea of a Forum with representatives of the Order and Residents (the latter including Breandan MacCoinnaith). There will in practice be two Forums, one specifically to discuss the parades and related issues, the second to deal with economic, social and cultural matters. The Orange Order have accepted this on the basis that all contributions must be made through the Chair, following the model agreed by the Apprentice Boys and Orange Order in Londonderry. The main points at issue remain whether or not there should be a parade this year, and when the Orange Order protest should be called off.

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The Orange Order want a parade to take place before the new structures take effect, the Residents' position is that they are open to persuasion on allowing an Orange presence but only after new structures have created a climate which is conducive to this. The Order do not wish to end the protest until a parade has taken place, and the residents want it to be ended immediately. Although both sides seemed almost to harden their positions towards the end of the day, the decision to resume the talks suggests that both want to reach agreement. The final three hours were taken up with exchanges of texts with some but not much common ground, and in two alternate texts on the table.

### Ending the Protest

3. Ideally, the Orange Order should end its protest as soon as agreement has been reached (and ratified by the Garvaghy road community and the Portadown District). This may, however, not be achievable in which case we might present the following choreography. Before any parade takes place the Orange Order will have to file a further application and the Parades Commission will have to take a decision regarding this. The Orange Order could make an application for a parade at a future date, (for example, Remembrance Sunday, see below) and agree to end their protest as soon as the Parades Commission makes a determination that the march should proceed. Some of the Orange delegation might attempt to argue that this would be insufficient on the grounds that it would not constitute the completion of this year's parade, but such an argument could be contested on the ground that they submitted a second application on 11 July for a parade on 12 July]. To satisfy the Residents, there will need to be some time between the application/Parades Commission decision and the march itself to

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allow the new Civic Forum machinery etc to be seen to work. A November date might be sufficient to achieve this.

4. Either the Orange Order application (preferable) or the Parades Commission's decision should include reference to the agreement reached between the Order and the residents to import this into the Commission's decision and give it legal force. There is some risk that the Orange Order would attempt to avoid operating the Forum machinery once they have gained agreement on a parade; building the Forum elements into an Agreement in the Parades Commission decision would make the parade legally conditional on their honouring every element of the agreement. [Successful resolution of the issue on this basis would, additionally, enhance the standing of the Parades Commission.]

Achieving a resolution

5. The objective of Saturday was to obtain agreement on a text which the residents would be prepared to take back to their community. This text would include the statement that the parade would take place this year. This remains our goal. To achieve it will mean dealing with the issue of the ending of the Orange Order protest to the satisfaction of the residents and persuading them that the agreement reflects requirements of their 5 point plan. Therefore need to find a mechanism for the ending of the Orange Order protest, agree proposals on a parade this year, including whatever conditions might be imposed to help satisfy the residents, and build this into a text written to give the best possible chance of it being accepted by the Garvaghy Road residents in public meeting.

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An agreed parade

6. On Tuesday night we will need to explore with the Orange Order what will be acceptable to them. We will need to get across to them that they will have to work with us if they have any chance of achieving a parade of any description this year. There is some sign that they are (painfully slowly) coming to realise this. On 11 July the Orange Order were still talking of a limited parade as being 300-400 of Portadown District Lodges. The residents concept of a limited parade is more in the order of 6 individuals.

7. One option might be to link the parade to Remembrance Day. It could then be sold by the Residents delegation to their community as a Remembrance Day parade rather than the Drumcree church parade. We are separately arranging special events this year (including, we hope) joint activity by the Queen and the Irish President to commemorate this year as 80th anniversary of the ending of World War I. Additionally, the Wood Green estate on the Garvaghy Road was originally built as a combination for veterans and the fathers of some of the Garvaghy Road residents served in the British Army in World War II. Linkage of the parade to this anniversary would help not only its saleability to the Residents, but also to the Orange Order. A perfect solution might be agreement on this date and that the march should be undertaken by the British Legion Lodge, reputed to have only some 23 members. Unfortunately, we suspect this will be too much a reduction for the Portadown Orangemen to accept.

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Synthesis text

8. Also attached is a first draft of what might serve as the common text. This is an attempted synthesis of the various text produced during the last few hours of Saturday's talks, basically retaining the essential and omitting unnecessary verbage (usually gratuitously offensive) inserted by both delegations. Our strategy at the end of Saturday was to attempt to reach a position where there was agreement on common text with the exception of one square bracketed section regarding a parade this year. Both sides would take this back to their respective constituencies and it was hoped that there would be sufficient gain for the Garvaghy Road community that they would agree that a parade could be permitted this year. Eamon McKee, presumably reflecting an Irish Government position, was reasonably confident that this could be achieved by active campaigning by Brid Rodgers, the Irish, and others. To achieve this, the text would need to be as favourable to the residents as possible, certainly indicating clearly that the Orange Order protest will end in the immediate future.

9. If we continue with this approach, we should probably first approach the Orange Order with the text and push hard for them to accept it without further additions, in particular the reference to the ending of the protest. We should make it clear that we are not submitting the text for amendment or addition, but instead ask both sides (beginning with the Orange Order) whether there are any elements in it that they cannot accept. We do not want further substantial amendements (although we will listen to drafting improvements,) but only a clear indication whether the points of agreement are acceptable and whether there are any additional points

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which are considered essential to seek agreement. It is a matter of judgement at what stage we would feed in this text.

10. The text would need to be sold to the Residents with as much assistance from the Irish and others as possible. One useful angle might be to refer to the handling of the Ormeau Road march, which has attracted much favourable comment on the nationalist community, as a possible 'model', including any protest thought necessary. I have attempted to keep the synthesised draft as close as possible to language used by the Residents (while omitting anything clearly offensive to the Order) to make this task easier.

*Robert Crawford*

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cc PS/PUS (B&L)  
Mr Steele  
Mr Watkins o/r  
Mr Leach o/r  
Mr McCusker o/r  
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**DRUMCREE: ELEMENTS OF A SOLUTION**

All sides acknowledge that there is a shared responsibility on everyone to create a climate of mutual respect and trust. Everyone must be committed to help create this climate.

A Civic Forum will be established in Portadown on an all-inclusive basis involving all interested parties to discuss and seek an agreed resolution of problems.

Both sides agree to participate in a structure to discuss parades and related issues.

Discussion in this structure will be on the basis that all contributions must be made through the chair.

The Orange Order agrees to call off its protests.

The Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition (GRRC) will not object to a parade along the Garvaghy Road this year.

In the context of this agreement, the British Government is committed to play its full part in the implementation and funding of the social, economic and cultural programmes designed to resolve the underlying problems affecting Portadown. The Government undertakes to continue dialogue with the relevant parties to agree and finalise the nature of these social, economic and cultural programmes.

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The Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition (GRRC) propose the following to the Orange Order and the British Government

1. The GRRC acknowledge the Orange Order acceptance that there is a shared responsibility on everyone to create a climate of mutual respect and trust. As proof of their commitment to resolve this matter through dialogue the Orange Order should publicly call off all protests in relation to Drumcree.

2. The GRRC welcome the Orange Order participation in the Civic Forum. However, the British Government must ensure that the forum continues irrespective of whether one or more groups fail to participate .

3. The GRRC agree to talks to continue through a chairperson, however, the preferred option is direct dialogue.

4. The GRRC is prepared to discuss all issues, in relation to marches but the Orange Order should not seek a pre-determined outcome. The GRRC want the remit of the proposed structure to discuss parades widened to include all issues affecting Portadown, including nationalist alienation.

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hated,

The Residents' Coalition is still open to persuasion by the Orange Order on a march in the foreseeable future within a climate of mutual respect and trust. The Orange Order is willing to build a climate of mutual respect and trust through an effective form of dialogue.

As for future years, once an agreed forum has been established and is seen to be working effectively, the Residents' Coalition will be willing to agree to an annual march subject to considerations of size and format. The Orange Order will agree to the establishment of a Portadown Forum to ensure marches in future years.

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## ELEMENTS OF THE SHARED CITY FORUM

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### History

The Shared City Forum will have its first formal meeting next week. A number of preliminary meetings have been held at which all participants were present. These preliminary meetings were chaired by Martin Bradley, originally as mayor of Derry City Council, but later in a personal capacity after the ending of his year of office. The Forum was not formally initiated by Derry City Council, but by Bradley with the support of the Council. Discussion at the preliminary meetings have so far centred on the scope of the Forum and groundrules for its operation.

### Membership

The Forum is intended to be as inclusive as possible, and will have representatives of the Orange Order, Apprentice Boys of Derry, Community Groups (including the Bogside Residents Group), churches and business representatives (to date provided through the Chamber of Commerce). Representatives of the two major shopping centres, The Richmond Centre and Foyleside, have also been invited. All members of the City Council are invited to the meetings. Political parties are not represented as separate organisations. Representatives of other organisations will be invited to particular meetings as appropriate (transport companies are invited to next week's meeting).

Each group or organisation invited has been asked to send one representative, but there is no restriction on this. Some organisations sent two or three representatives to the preliminary meetings.

### Scope and Remit

The Forum has a very wide remit, being able to address all issues affecting the City, including parades. It was originally set up to look at the parades issue alone, however, during the preliminary meetings, it was agreed that the Forum's remit should be extended to include all issues affecting the City, including protestant alienation. This has now been developed to include a heading of celebration of the cultural diversity within the City (particularly issues such as the intimidation of and discrimination against Protestants living on the city side of the Foyle).



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Chairmanship

Martin Bradley will chair the meetings and all contributions must be directed through the Chair. Several groundrules, including this requirement have been drawn up and agreed (copy attached).

Any decision must not anticipate that the Forum will take decisions by vote, hence the flexibility regarding membership. The intention is to reach decision by consensus, on the grounds that only decisions reached in this way are likely to be effective.