

Mr. Hopper
Miss Soret
Mr. Daly
Mr. Cairncross
Mr. North ✓
Mr. McCaffrey
Mr. Faulkner
Mr. Lloyd Jones
(Cabinet Office)

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SECRETNorthern Ireland

At 11.45 on Wednesday 20th August the Home Secretary discussed the steps to be taken in the next few days to deal with the situation in Northern Ireland. Lord Stonham, Sir Burke Trend, Sir Philip Allen, Mr. Cairncross, Mr. North, Mr. Faulkner, Mr. McCaffrey and Mr. Angel were present for all or part of the discussion.

2. The Home Secretary said that it would be necessary to obtain an assessment from Mr. McKay of what further help he would need, now that the G.O.C. had taken over the responsibilities for security and public order previously exercised by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Special Constabulary.

Sir Burke Trend said that the Ministry of Defence will be asked to publish the instructions to the G.O.C. on his new responsibilities for security. The instructions were for the Ministry of Defence to draft but the Home Office would need to approve them. Consultations were in hand.

3. The Home Secretary agreed that the officer appointed to the Northern Ireland Cabinet Office should be Mr. Oliver Wright and the officer appointed to the Ministry of Home Affairs should be Mr. A. S. Baker. It would be necessary to draft directions for the two officers. The Prime Minister was interested in the way in which their names were to be announced. Mr. Wright's function would be to supply ideas for initiatives by the Stormont Government to heal divisions in the community; to warn that Government if they proposed action which the United Kingdom Government would not approve and to inform the United Kingdom Government. His position was based on the proposition that the problems of security for which the United Kingdom Government had taken special responsibilities by providing military assistance could not be isolated from the social policies of the Northern Ireland Government. Lord Stonham suggested that he should look at the possibility of treating the activities of the Paisleyites as subversive. The

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Home Secretary agreed that this might be drawn to Mr. Wright's attention although it should not be particularly mentioned in any directions given to him.

4. Mr. Mark and Mr. Osmond were doubtful about their future role. When the enquiry into the R.U.C. and the U.S.C. had started and the G.O.C. was responsible for security it was not easy to see their precise function. Nevertheless, their presence had symbolic value and there should be no question of immediate withdrawal. If Mr. Peacock resigned there would be a strong argument for an English chief constable taking over on a temporary basis. The principle that the most suitable man for the job should be recommended was reaffirmed. It was agreed Sir Derick Capper seemed the most suitable appointment.

5. With regard to the enquiry into the police a three-man team seemed appropriate. Mr. Porter had suggested the Chief Constable of Glasgow. The Home Secretary considered that Mr. Mark should be the other police representative. After some discussion Sir Richard Way was thought to be a suitable chairman. (After consultation with the Prime Minister it was subsequently agreed that the chairman should be Lord Hunt of Everest).

6. The Home Secretary asked whether the Cameron Report should be published. It was discovered that the Northern Ireland Government intended to publish the Report as soon as it could be printed. They expected printing to take 2½-3 weeks.

7. The Home Secretary stressed that although the G.O.C. had taken control of the police in Northern Ireland it was essential that these responsibilities should not be treated merely as a military operation. The Home Office had a prime interest in what is essentially a policing function. It was agreed that Sir Philip Allen should call an early meeting of the Permanent Secretaries Committee, under his chairmanship, to make it clear that policy should not be settled at lower levels or by the Ministry of Defence. It was appropriate that there should be an executive committee for day-to-day operational matters on which the Home Office should be represented but on which the Ministry of Defence might be expected to have the major role. It was also appropriate now that the immediate crisis seemed past for the Home Office operations room to be merged with the Ministry

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of Defence operations room which had better facilities. The Home Office interest in the Operations Room could be maintained by some representation in the Ministry of Defence operations room.

8. It was agreed that the Home Secretary's visit might be from Wednesday 27th August to Friday evening 29th August, with the possibility of staying on until Saturday morning, if necessary. The Home Secretary would probably appear on television and give a press conference. He might also make a speech, though this was not essential. He would meet the Northern Ireland Cabinet, possibly both at the beginning and at the end of his visit. He would visit Londonderry as well as Belfast. He would visit the Governor and would also visit the army and confer with General Freeland.

9. A number of ideas which might be worked up into proposals for the Home Secretary to put forward when he went to Belfast were discussed.

- (i) There might be a Minister of Community Relations supported by a mixed commission.
- (ii) There should be reform of civil service and local government appointments. The Civil Service Department should be asked to help in preparing ideas on this subject.
- (iii) The Home Secretary should be able to speak about his philosophy of policing, with particular emphasis on working with the community rather than operating as a para-military force.
- (iv) There might be a central allocation committee for housing. The population of Northern Ireland, at 1½m., was similar to that of Birmingham although it was more dispersed. It might be possible to remove functions on the allocation of council houses from the local authorities to the National Housing Trust. It was agreed that an official of the Ministry of Housing should be asked to prepare ideas.
- (v) It was difficult to see a way forward with regard to education. The essential problem was the refusal of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy to allow Catholics to be educated in non-Catholic schools. The Northern Ireland Government already gave grants to Catholic schools. The Department of Education and Science should be asked to study the position and to make suggestions.

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- (vi) It would be helpful if the Home Secretary could announce in Belfast that the United Kingdom Government would make some funds available for the relief of distress caused by the riots. A figure of £½m. was mentioned. The Secretary of the Treasury had indicated that such a request was half expected. Lord Stonham suggested that the funds might be better channelled through a voluntary organisation than through the Northern Ireland Government. This would provide an opportunity for participation in public life by members of the community normally excluded. A fund sponsored by church leaders might be a suitable arrangement. Lord Stonham was asked to explore this possibility further with officials and with the Treasury.
- (vii) Proposals for increased employment in the Provinces could make a great impact. No suggestions were immediately forthcoming on this difficult topic but the position would have to be looked at afresh in the light of the recent crisis to see whether any further help could be given by the United Kingdom Government.
- (viii.) The Home Secretary said that he had asked Mr. Gwyn Morgan of Transport House to get together a group of interested Members of the Labour Party to consider ideas which might be added to those listed above or to produce their own variants of them. He had asked Mr. Elystan Morgan to join this group. It would work independently of the official studies being made and he would consider its ideas, together with those produced by the official studies, a day or two before his departure to Belfast.

9. The party to go to Belfast should consist of:-

The Home Secretary
 Lord Stonham
 Mr. Roland Moyle
 Mr. Cairncross
 Mr. McCaffrey
 Mr. Faulkner
 Mr. Angel
 Mr. Hopper
 Shorthand typists
 Detectives.

C. L. ANGEL