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To day the organ I continued the discussion that followed the note I had received some days before and which I now have back in my possession. The first point we discussed was the position of the at the moment and the attitude of the common-law-ist people at the moment. He again told me that the best people to keep alive the present feeling of co-operation among the loyalists with their fellow-republican countrymen were the Hovos and that this could best be done by prolonging the truce. He also reiterated his earlier opinion "that Britain was about to leave the country and that she would not give two tuppence damn what happened to the ordinary hods". He also stated that there were people like Paisley, West, Taylor and Martin Smyth who would do there best to "stop the shit" should this happen. He told me that if Britain were to go in his and the N.I. Command Staff of the U.D.P.'s opinion this would not happen as long as any agreement would be on a six-county basis at least initially what would happen after this only time could decide. He stressed that he didn't totally reject a nine-county regional parliament. In his opinion this could only be done politically by example through first of all establishing an independent six county state. The view of ordinary protestants in his opinion was that they wouldn't object to seeing Britain go the only objection would be if they went as a direct result of visible Hovos pressure. The para-military groups would also take this view their position, with one exception, is that we all have a common denominator, we are all Westerners. A return to the old time ascendancy Stormont one-party government is no longer tenable. The what we have, we hold mentality

typified by Paisley and Co would find itself out on
a limb. In there was agreement on a Six-Co basis
he fully realises that this would mean some of our
Republican aspirations being put into cold storage
at least for a limited period of time. The first priority
must be to get rid of the British especially the
B.A. Certain politicians would like the price &
collapse. Centralised government was an undesirable
thing and he would of course be in favour of
our policy of de-centralisation. He would certainly
accept nationalisation of large industrial pieces of
work but was a bit confused on whether or not we
meant to take everything including as he put it the
corner shop. Ordinary Protestants do not see the war as
being directed against the Brits but rather against them.
He faces much the same organisational problems
as ourselves and this might hinder their progress at
the convention elections. I then spent two and a
half uninterrupted hours outlining and breaking down
our policy for which he said he was eternally grate-
ful. He then requested to meet Laver and this is
something I will try to arrange. Very disappointed with
the churchmen who went to Teate but this was not
because they went it was for an entirely different reason.
He has been at the N.I. Office five times this week and last
at their request. He also told me that Paisley had put forward
proposals to the Brit at the U.U.U.C meeting in Belfast
yesterday but that he wouldn't reveal them until he met Keats
May. He also said that the constitution of the 26 Cos was offensive
to most Prods at the minute but that if there was agreement
on a Six Co basis this would disappear. Even if the Truce were
to be broken he would consider it vital that we should secure
at least one Elected Rep at the Convention or other meeting like
this should take place in Public.

This is a transcript of a handwritten, two-page document from the 75 file.

See the important notes that follow the actual text.

Today, 7th Jan. (Tuesday 7th January 1975) I continued the discussion that followed the note I had received some days before and which I now have back in my possession.

The first point we discussed was the position of Glenn at the moment and the attitude of the common Loyalist people at the moment.

He again told me that the best people to keep alive the present feeling of co-operation among Loyalists with their fellow Republican countrymen, were the Provos and that this could best be done by prolonging the truce.

He also reiterated his earlier opinion, "Britain was about to leave this country and that she would not give two tuppenny damns what happened to the ordinary Protestants."

He also stated that there were people like Paisley, West, Taylor and Martin Smyth who would do their best to "stir the shit", should this happen.

He told me that if Britain were to go, in his and the N.I. command staff of the UDA's opinion, this would not happen so long as any agreement would be on a six-county basis, at least initially. What would happen after this, only time could decide.

He stressed that he didn't totally reject a nine-county regional parliament.

In his opinion, this could be done politically, through, first of all, establishing an Independent six-county state.

The view of ordinary Protestants, in his opinion, was that they wouldn't object to seeing Britain go. The only objection would be if they went as a direct result of visible Provo pressure.

The paramilitary groups would also take this view. Their position, with one exception, is that we all have a common denominator, we are all Ulstermen. A return to the old-time, ascendancy Stormont, one party government, is no longer tenable. The "what we have, we hold" mentality, typified by Paisley and co. would find itself out on a limb if there was agreement on a six-county basis.

He fully realises that this would mean some of our Republican aspirations being put into cold storage, at least for a limited period of time.

The first priority must be to get rid of the British, especially the B.A.

Certain politicians would like the truce to collapse.

Centralised government was an undesirable thing and he would, of course, be in favour of our policy of de-centralisation. He would certainly accept nationalisation of large industrial places of work, but was a bit confused on whether or not we meant to take everything, including, as he put it, "the corner shop."

Ordinary Protestants do not see the war as being directed against the Brits, but rather against them.

He faces much the same organisational problems as ourselves and this might hinder their progress at the Convention elections.

I then spent two and a half uninterrupted hours outlining and breaking down our policy, for which he said he was eternally grateful. He then requested a meeting with Ruairi and this is something I will try to arrange.

Very disappointed with the churchmen who went to Feakle, but this was not because they went, it was for an entirely different reason.

He has been at the N.I. office five times this week and last, at their request.

He also told me that Paisley had had whatever proposals the clergy put to the Brits at the UUUC meeting in Belfast yesterday (Monday 6th Jan. 75) but that he wouldn't reveal them until he met Rees today.

(Cain confirms that "representatives of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) held a meeting with Merlyn Rees, then Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. However, the meeting broke up over arguments about the contacts between government officials and the Irish Republican Army (IRA).")

He also said that the constitution of the 26 counties was offensive to most Prods at the minute, but that if there was agreement on a six-county basis, this would disappear. Even if the truce were to be broken, he would consider it vital that we should secure at least one elected rep. at the Convention so that meetings like this could take place in public.

BD says it is a report of a meeting between a Republican representative and a member of the UWC. EMD reckons the UUUC rather than the UWC, if there is any real difference.

EMD suspects that the people involved might be Noel Gallagher and Glenn Barr. Part of his evidence is that within this text, the Protestant rep. asks for a meeting with Ruairi.

In addition, BD's diary states the following corroborations:

1. Thurs. 29/5/75 and early Fri. 30/5/75

Gallagher had rung.

He rang again at 12 midnight.

He was with O'B., May Devlin in Bishop Peacock's Palace awaiting Glenn Barr.

2:30 am O'B. and co. arrived at my house.

Meeting with Barr good, steady, no real subjects discussed.

Gallagher to be only contact with Prod. Paramilitary.

Everyone left at 3:30am.

O'B. to phone me this morning, Fri. 30th about requests for "registers" for EEC vote.

Prod. Paramilitary will kill Rev. Ian Paisley when they feel the time is right. They hate him because he is pro-British.

2. Tues. 9/9/75

At 5pm, I travelled with Fr. Bradley to Ballyshannon to see Ruairi. I told him of the Hume development.

He agreed to go and see Glenn Barr and tell him the Provos didn't want war with the Loyalists etc., and he agreed to issue a statement to this effect.

A most important step forward towards a real peace in Ireland.

3. Thurs. 11/9/75

Came home. Saw Noel Gallagher and asked him to arrange a meeting with Glenn Barr. Noel agreed.

Ruairi phoned back at 11:45pm and Margo told him it was arranged.

So, the scene is set.

Either an agreement or a split province, Loyalists taking 3 ½ counties or a six county Independent state.

Peace or 500 deaths.

4. Tues. 14/10/75

O'Bradaigh rang today and asked me to contact Noel Gallagher about meeting Glenn Barr and a couple of Loyalist paramilitaries.

5. Wed. 15/10/75

O'Bradaigh phoned again. I told him PAC was off.

He was in a panic about meeting G. Barr.

6. Thurs. 16/10/75

Noel Gallagher phoned.

I said; arrange a meeting for Friday at 2:30pm with G. Barr and O'Bradaigh.

O'Bradaigh phoned. I said 2:30, tomorrow in Derry.

Balls! That doesn't suit Jimmy Drumm!

Anyway, O'Bradaigh arrived in Derry.

Jimmy Drumm arrived at 5:30.

Barr and Andy Robinson were furious.

Abortive meeting took place in Barr's car on Derry Quay.

No progress.

7. Mon. 20/10/75

We talked of O'Bradaigh et Drumm meeting with G. Barr et Noel Gallagher's anger at the mess they made of it.

Joe said that O'Bradaigh should have contacted him.

I said, next time "You go! Don't ask. Just take over."

Joe suggested seeing Billy Mc Kee.

At this moment, Mc Kee rang. - Just looking for "comfort."

How about a settlement with the Loyalists? I said, as we all hate the 26 Co. Government.

Why die for them?

Suddenly, after Joe and Bradley had added and refined the position, we had a new policy.

I went upstairs and got my Easter "74" document.

Joe had not read it, and if he did, he didn't understand it at the time.

Peace on a (an) "Northern Irish Context."

British out is our main aim, everything else is secondary.

We agreed.

But would the PAC buy it?

We would go to Billy Mc Kee and try and sell it to him. - A deal with Paisley!

Bradley said he would.

Could I persuade O'Bradaigh?

I said, YES.

We knew we were on to something.

I said, don't let it slip.

How about tonight?

To my surprise, all agreed.

Long Tower Parochial House at 10pm!

My mind was ablaze.

I am shaking with excitement.

I phoned D. Middleton and said, the PAC will come to an agreement with the UUUC manif..ter (?) if you get out! (i.e. You, the British get out of Ireland?)

He was speechless.

I repeated it again and again.

No power sharing.

Majority rule.

British out!

He got very excited.

Phone before noon.

I went to L.T.P.House. (Long Tower Parochial House)

Met Fr. Bradley et Joe. Told them of seeing DM.
 Joe was afraid I was high.
 High we are moving!

8. Tues. 21/10/75

Tuesday 12 noon.

DM will you please come to Belfast?

I arrived at 5pm. Left at 11pm.

Non-stop question and answer.

The Rep. Movement was not tied to power sharing, or any of the Sunningdale policies in return for a British withdrawal.

The Rep. Mov. would live in a Prod., Loyalist, majority state.

No problem!

DM et John Walker were visibly excited.

I was competent, good, because I believe that the Panther (Planter?) Loyalist is my Brother.

The date of the piece is simply 7th Jan.

EMD believes that it has to be 1975 for three reasons.

- A reference is made to Paisley meeting Rees "today" and this has been confirmed through CAIN.
- A reference is made to the Feakle talks between Protestant clergymen and the PIRA. This took place 10th December 1974. Therefore, the report is after this date.
- A reference is made to the forthcoming Convention elections. The Convention formed part of the Northern Ireland Act 1974 that went through the Commons on 17th July 1974. The elections were announced by Wilson on a visit to Stormont on 25th March 1975 and therefore the report must be before this date. The elections took place on 1st May 1975.

If the date is 7th Jan. 1975, then it is the same day that Michael Oatley met Seamus Twomey, Billy Mc Kee, Ruairi O'Bradaigh and Joe Mc Callion in Derry. c.f. P. Taylor pg 178.