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PRIME MINISTER

(Meeting with Cardinal Hume on Northern Ireland) (May 1979)

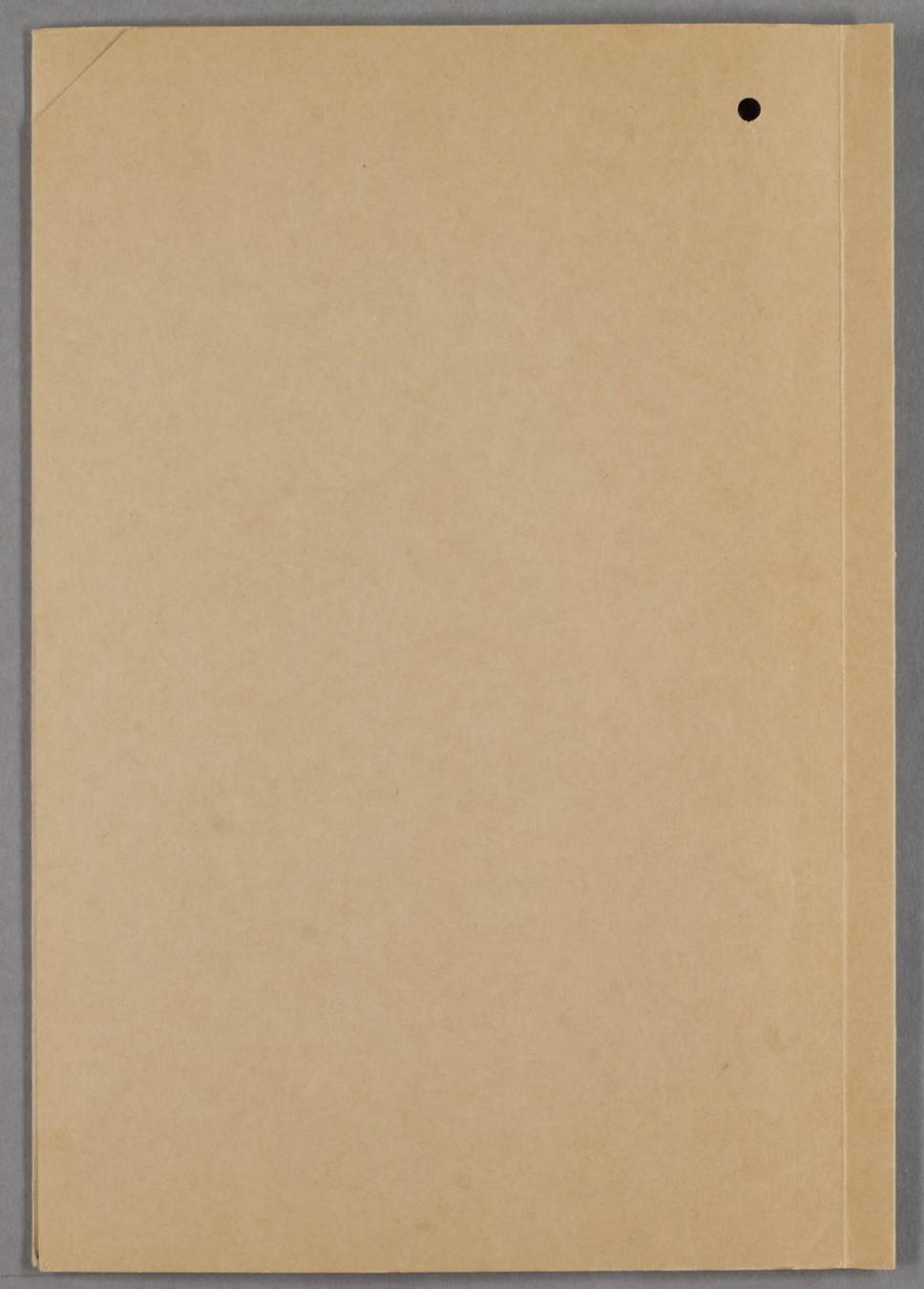
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Meeting with Cardinal Hume to discuss Ireland. Correspondence between the PM and Cardinal Hume about Ireland.

PRIME MINISTER

May 1979

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CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

Prime mouster. ec 40 FCO Cab. Off. N Weland (Sarah)
May 1979.

29 May 1979

Visit by Cardinal Hume

Cardinal Hume called on the Prime Minister on Friday afternoon for a personal and informal talk. The Prime Minister would like your Secretary of State to be aware of the main points that arose from the conversation.

Cardinal Hume referred initially to the request which Archbishop O'Fiaich had asked him to make for an interview with the former Prime Minister, Mr. Callaghan. He said he had then advised Archbishop O'Fiaich that any such meeting would be inappropriate during the election period, and that even if it were desirable afterwards, it could only be on the basis that the Archbishop had something specific to say or discuss and that the Prime Minister was given advance warning of it. The Cardinal asked whether Mrs. Thatcher would agree to see Archbisop O'Fiaich on this basis if he renewed his request. The Prime Minister agreed that it was pointless his seeking a meeting without being specific as to its purpose and said that, of course, she could not commit herself until she knew what that purpose was. She wholly agreed however that Cardinal Hume should repeat to Archbishop O'Fiaich what he had already said to him on this matter about the basis of any approach.

Cardinal Hume then referred to his general concern over the Northern Ireland problem, with particular reference to his own involvement with all sorts of people who were interested in Northern Ireland and, in particular, with the large Irish community in London. He expressed particular anxiety on three aspects:

- he echoed the worry that had already been expressed about the policy vacuum that had been created by a General Election which had been imminent for so long;
- he was concerned about the impact on moderate opinion of reports like the Bennett Report because they seemed to give ground for disquiet among moderate opinion because of alleged (and he emphasised that it was only alleged) ill-treatment and misdemeanour; and

CONFIDENTIAL and PERSONAL

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c. he was personally worried in his conscience about certain persons now convicted and in jail because he had doubts about their guilt.

He referred in particular to four IRA prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs who told him that two of their compatriots who were allegedly involved in United Kingdom bombings were, in fact, innocent. His own concern in these cases was that the United Kingdom Government could get into a false position with regard to its policy on human rights if these allegations were true. He had in mind one man in particular who now had T.B., and with a 12-year sentence before him would certainly die in prison, although the Cardinal was morally satisfied of his innocence. The Cardinal emphasised that he was not attacking the Judiciary, nor seeking to "unpick" the Court's verdict, but he thought that a Royal Pardon might be appropriate in such a case. He suggested that he ought to take these matters up again with the Home Secretary.

The Prime Minister said that the Cardinal should certainly take up these cases with Mr. Whitelaw. What the Cardinal said had bothered her but she wondered whether it really was possible to find out the truth in these cases; one guilty man might well plead guilty to other crimes in order to secure an escape for one of his partners. Cardinal Hume emphasised that on all these matters he was only expressing a widespread anxiety: he fully accepted that one could not tamper with the Judiciary, and all that he was saying was that one case led him to be very uneasy.

On Northern Ireland policy generally, the Prime Minister said that it was certainly the Government's intention to make constructive proposals but she was very well aware of all the obstacles that lay before them. She emphasised that it had been necessary to create a new structure of local government in the hope that this would use some of the political energy of the various political groups in Ulster, but it had not worked out that way. It was a problem of will: there were plenty of solutions to all the problems but there was no will, so there was no solution. The Prime Minister reiterated that if Archbishop O'Fiaich wished to come across and talk to her about these matters she would see him either alone or with the Bishop of Derry. The Prime Minister's final comment on the general situation was that if there were no move to a political solution, her fear was that the Province would explode in violence, but it might be that only such an explosion would in fact secure a solution. Cardinal Hume responded by saying that tough measures might be necessary to change the situation but the IRA were very clever at exploiting a situation which they did not wish to see changed.

After the meeting with Cardinal Hume the Prime Minister said that she was concerned that the Cardinal seemed to have been impressed by the line that had been put to him by the IRA prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs about the innocence of their compatriots. She hoped that the Home Secretary would see the Cardinal in response to any approach he made, rather than write to him, and she suggested that it might well be desirable to let the Cardinal see the transcript of evidence on which the persons about whom he was concerned (whom he did not name) had been convicted.

/As regards

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- 3 -

As regards an approach from Archbishop O'Fiaich, the ball now lies in Cardinal Hume's court. If an approach is made, the Prime Minister will, of course, want your Secretary of State's advice on how it should be dealt with.

I am copying this letter to John Chilcot (Home Office), George Walden (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and to Sir John Hunt.

4128

Joe Pilling, Esq., Northern Ireland Office.

Wine Minstel PRIME MINISTER Meeting with Cardinal Hume In this folder are: Flag A - Cardinal Hume's letter to you which prompted the meeting. Flag B - A letter from the Northern Ireland Office covering three speaking notes dealing with -The political situation The Bennett Report (copy of the Report also within the folder) Conditions at the Maze Prison. Flag C - A Home Office note on Irish prisoners, with particular reference to the case of Patrick Joseph Conlon, in which the Cardinal is interested. letured - Flag D - A note from me about Cardinal Hume and a Life Peerage. I suggest that you will want to begin by thanking Cardinal Hume for his quick response to your letter about Hugh Rossi. This will lead naturally into a discussion about Northern Ireland, on which the Cardinal indicated he has something he wants to say to you. It would be sensible to let him get this out first before embarking on any of the material covered in the briefs. Finally, you may want to canvass with him, in both a Northern Ireland and a general context, the question of a Life Peerage. KK.5. 24 May 1979



HOME OFFICE QUEEN ANNE'S GATE LONDON SWIH 9AT

23 May 1979

Dear Mike,

You asked for some briefing for the Prime Minister when she meets Cardinal Hume later this week. I enclose a general note on Irish prisoners, a topic Cardinal Hume may mention, and a note on the case of Patrick Joseph Conlon, which the Cardinal took up with the former Home Secretary.

Yours,

(A COGBILL)

M A Pattison Esq



8781 YAM 4 S

E.R.

BRIEF FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH CARDINAL HUME ON FRIDAY 25 MAY 1979

IRISH PRISONERS

The following information relates only to those Irish prisoners who have been convicted of offences connected with the situation in Northern Ireland.

NUMBERS

1. Of the 97 Trish prisoners in the system who have been convicted of offences connected with the situation in Northern Ireland, 80 (including 5 women) are held in security Category 'A' (the highest security category reserved for those whose escape from custody would be considered highly dangerous to the police, the public or the security of the State). Of these 80,

73 are connected with the IRA 7 are connected with the UDA.

Of the IRA prisoners, 5 are judged to pose a particularly high escape risk and are therefore allocated to Special Security Wings at Parkhurst and Leicester. (The Wing at Leicester is currently out of commission and the two IRA inmates from there are being held temporarily in local prisons.)

TREATMENT

2. Certain of these terrorist prisoners claim that they are "political" prisoners but the Government recognises no such category. All have been convicted of crimes by the Courts and are treated in precisely the same way as other men in the same security category and subject to similar security precautions.

VISITING ARRANGEMENTS

3. Visits to certain prisoners are considered to present possible threats to the security of the prisons in which they are held. For this reason, these visits are held under more secure conditions than others: for instance supervision is closer and visits are held in separate rooms; visitors are given a "rub-down" search and prisoners are searched and given changes of clothing; a visits appointment system is used.

4. The Irish terrorists have claimed that these arrangements are reserved specifically for them. This is not the case. All immates in Special Security Wings, for example, are treated in this way regardless of the offences for which they were convicted. But the majority of those to whom the arrangements apply are Irish terrorists. The list of prisoners subject to these arrangements is regularly reviewed and no prisoner remains subject to them for any longer than is considered necessary, because, apart from other considerations, the special arrangements use disproportionate staff resources.

APPROVED VISITORS

5. Under prison regulations, prisoners may normally be visited only by relatives and friends who knew them before they came into custody. These regulations have particular force for Category 'A' prisoners. Visitors have to be approved under a special scheme requiring them to supply photographs which are authenticated by the police. It is only in very exceptional circumstances, for example where a prisoner has no visitors at all, that an exception to these rules may be made and then only when there are no security objections.

CORRESPONDENCE

6. Under present arrangements, Category 'A' prisoners may not correspond with people not previously known to them before coming into custody.

TRANSFERS TO NORTHERN IRELAND

- 7. Many requests are received from Irish terrorist prisoners for either permanent or temporary transfer to Northern Ireland to serve their sentences or to receive visits from relatives who find the journey to this country difficult or impossible.
- 8. Mainly because of the security situation there, it is not the Department's current policy to transfer prisoners convicted of terrorist offences to Northern Ireland prisons either permanently or temporarily. (However, in December 1974 and April 1975 four members of the "Winchester Nine" group (the Price sisters, Kelly and Feeney) who had been convicted for bomb offences at the Central Criminal Court and Great Scotland Yard, were exceptionally transferred to Belfast. Since then, the only other terrorist to be transferred was a UDA man, Archibald Brown, who was sent to Scotland in 1977. Different considerations apply to transfers to Scotland.)

9. These restrictions do not affect requests for transfer by Irish prisoners who are not in Category 'A' and who have not been convicted of terrorist-connected offences.

PROTESTS

10. A number of prisoners are "on the blanket" (ie refusing to wear prison clothes) by way of protest. Three at Albany are conducting a long-term protest about the visiting arrangements at Albany (see 3 and 4 above) which they consider are too restrictive. Another prisoner at Wormwood Scrubs is protesting about the conditions of imprisonment in Northern Ireland.

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P3 Division

E.R.

PATRICK JOSEPH CONLON

Conlon was convicted (with others) at the Central Criminal Court, on 12 March 1976, of possessing an explosive substance and was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. He had been associated with a group who ran a bomb factory in London and serviced IRA terrorists operating in England, including his son.

- 2. Conlon is seriously ill with tuberculosis from which he has suffered since 1964, and in April Cardinal Hume asked Mr Rees to release him on compassionate grounds. He thought that this would be well received by the Catholic community in Northern Ireland.
- 3. Comon's case was carefully considered but in accordance with the approach adopted by successive Home Secretaries, Mr Rees concluded that he would not be justified in interfering with the decision of the judiciary by recommending the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy to secure Conlon's early release.

 At the same time arrangements were made to keep the case under continuous review.

 Mr Rees conveyed his decision to Cardinal Hume in a letter of 24 April.
- 4. There has been no deterioration in Conlon's condition since April and there are no grounds for reversing the decision already made. The case will continue to be reviewed, but for the present the Prime Minister can only note what Cardinal Hume may have to say and promise to convey his concern to the Home Secretary, who has the responsibility for advising The Queen on the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy.

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From : THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE GREAT GEORGE STREET, LONDON SWIP 3AJ



Bryan Cartledge Esq Private Secretary 10 Downing Street London SW1

23 May 1979

Dear Bryan

Following my letter to Ken Stowe of 11 May, I attach briefing for the Prime Minister's meeting on 25 May with Cardinal Hume.

We have had some informal contact with the Cardinal's Office (where we have good relations with Monsignor Leonard) and the briefing therefore reflects our understanding of the points which the Cardinal is likely to raise. These are:

- (i) concern that there have been so few signs of any political progress in Northern Ireland in recent years. He may refer to the sterility of the political situation and seek reassurance that the new Government intends to try to create some acceptable political structures there;
- (ii) concern about allegations of police brutality during the interrogation of terrorist suspects; and he will enquire what the Government is doing to follow up the conclusions and recommendations of the Bennett Report on police interrogation procedures (published on 16 March);
- (iii) the position of a number of Irish Catholics in English jails. He may mention in particular a man named Patrick Conlon who was one of those charged after the Guildford pub bombings. In his case, and in some others which may also be mentioned, the Cardinal is said to be concerned not so much about prison treatment as about the "rightness" of conviction. He is said to be convinced that Patrick Conlon, for example, is completely innocent of the crimes with which he was charged. (This is a matter for the Home Office from whom you are, I understand, getting separate briefing.)

It is unlikely that the Cardinal will raise the position of the protesting prisoners in the H-Blocks in The Maze. By and large he accepts the Government's case on this, and in any case he regards it as primarily a matter for Archbishop O'Fiaich, the Primate of all-Ireland.

CONFIDENTIAL

Finally, he may raise the question of a meeting at some future date between Archbishop O'Fiaich and Bishop Edward Daley of Derry and because of the Election. On the basis that they will both wish to resident in Northern Ireland, we suggest it might be more appropriate for their approach to be made to the Secretary of State, rather than to the Prime Minister; and if the question does come up we suggest

- (b) a draft Speaking Note and a Background Note about the Bennett Report:
- (c) a draft Speaking Note and a Background Note about The Protest at The Maze.

Your succeedy hube Dophins

M W HOPKIN



CONFIDENTIAL

MEETING BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER AND CARDINAL HUME

Political Situation: Speaking Note

The Government understands the concern felt by many people about the lack of political progress in Northern Ireland. We recognise the need for, and we want to see, some form of political movement. But there is no quick and easy way of making progress. In this situation, we must above all behave responsibly. Indeed, there is a very real danger that precipitate action by the Government would lead to a hardening of attitudes and make a settlement even more difficult to achieve.



The essential elements of the Government's attitude are

- (i) a recognition that there can be no change in Northern
- Ireland's constitutional status without the consent of the majority of the people there;
- (ii) a desire to give the people of Northern Ireland a substantial measure of self-government, and
- (iii) an insistence that any new political structures must be in a form that can <u>be accepted as fair</u> by people in <u>both</u> parts of community.



Humphrey Atkins is currently meeting the leaders of the main political parties in Northern Ireland to sound out their opinions and assess the prospects for progress. I can assure you that both he and I consider the problems of Northern Ireland to be among the most pressing of all those with which we are now confronted.

F.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

BENNETT REPORT: SPEAKING NOTE

The Government attach considerable importance - in the words of the Bennett Committee itself - "to ensuring as far as possible that ill-treatment of prisoners cannot take place". It is equally important to protect the police - so far as this can be done - from false allegations of ill-treatment. The Bennett Committee found that there is a co-ordinated and extensive campaign to discredit the RUC, and that normal methods of crime detection are not always available to the RUC in dealing with a violent terrorist campaign.

The Committee also noted that measures to supervise interviews already go further in the RUC than in any force in the UK.

Nevertheless they made a number of detailed recommendations to improve things further. These are now being discussed with those who would have to put them into effect - notably the Chief Constable. Both the Government and the Chief Constable want to ensure that injuries cannot be caused in police custody without the offence being detected and the culprit punished. A full statement on the action to be taken will be made in due course.

A false impression has been growing that the Committee found evidence of widespread ill-treatment. This not so: the Committee found there were a small number of cases which needed explaining. Steps have now been taken to supply the Director of Public Prosecutions with the medical evidence put to Bennett, so that the DPP can look further into those cases to see if the evidence justifies the bringing of charges. None of us should prejudge the outcome of that.

E.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

BENNETT REPORT: BACKGROUND NOTE

- 1. The Bennett Committee was set up following the report of an Amnesty International mission which alleged that there had been ill-treatment of persons in RUC custody. The Bennett Committee was appointed to report on police procedures and practice relating to interrogation.
- 2. The Committee found that there is a co-ordinated and extensive campaign to discredit the RUC; that no other police force in the United Kingdom is called upon to deal with so much violent crime in such unpromising circumstances; and that the normal methods of crime detection are hampered by special difficulties. The Committee concluded that although measures to control the movements of prisoners and supervise interviews go further in the RUC than in any other UK police force, there was still scope for improvement. They recommended a series of measures designed to protect both suspects from ill-treatment and policemen from false allegations; and they proposed certain procedural changes in the arrangements for handling complaints against the police.
- 3. The then Government accepted the Report's broad conclusions and endorsed the Committee's approach; and Mr Atkins will confirm at Questions on 24 May that the present Government takes the same view. They specifically accept the two principal recommendations in favour of closed-circuit television in interview rooms, and access to solicitors by terrorist suspects after 48 hours in custody. Discussions with the interested parties the Chief Constable, DPP, Police Authority etc on the detailed recommendations are continuing.

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- 4. Although the Committee were not asked to consider whether illtreatment had occurred, they found during their examination a
 number of cases in which injuries, whatever their precise cause,
 were not self-inflicted and were sustained in police custody.
 The Government has now arranged for the material considered by
 the Committee to be forwarded to the Director of Public Prosecutions,
 and he will decide whether the evidence justifies the bringing of
 charges.
- 5. The position of HMG and the Chief Constable remains clear; ill-treatment of suspects is neither authorised nor condoned, and any such activity will be dealt with strictly in accordance with the law.

F.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONDITIONS AT MAZE PRISON

SPEAKING NOTE (for use only if this issue is raised)

I understand the humanitarian causes for concern at the conditions created by a number of Republican prisoners for themselves at the Maze. The so called "Dirty Protest" naturally arouses emotion. But the situation is not of the Government's making; and while Humphrey Atkins will be looking closely at the problem, it is extremely difficult to see what the Government can do to alleviate it.

The fact is that these prisoners - who are a minority of those in the new cell blocks at the Maze - are determined to use any necessary means to keep their demand for political status before the public eye. The Government cannot concede this; it would be taken as a sure sign that eventually the Government would give "political" prisoners an amnesty. That in turn would encourage terrorists still free to go out and kill with relative impunity. So, much as we should like to see these prisoners getting the exercise they at present refuse, back in clean clothes, etc, it is clear that they will pocket any concessions they safely can, spurn the rest, and maintain the protest so long as they see any mileage in it.

It is encouraging that a large number of prisoners, having joined the protest, have later given it up. No doubt intimidation plays a part in its maintenance. If, like the Government, you regard this protest as misguided, I am sure that you and your colleagues in the Church will want to do all you can to persuade the protesters of the futility of their action.

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BACKGROUND NOTE

Cardinal Hume is known to be concerned about the condition of the protesters, and has certainly had the opinion of Cardinal O'Fiaich of Armagh, who spoke emotively against Government policy after a visit to the Maze last Summer.

Only about half (some 360) of the Republican prisoners in the new cell blocks are on the protest, and they are only a third of the total number in the blocks. Well over 100 have given up the protest.

The characteristics of the protest are refusal to work and to wear prison clothes; and, since March 1978, the dirtying of of cells. Its chief consequences - the result/punishments for breaking prison rules - are loss of remission and of a number of privileges relating to visits, mail, etc. The prisoners effectively deny themselves exercise.

The protest campaign is an embarrassment to the government since (although it has not attracted much support beyond IRA circles in Northern Ireland or the Republic) it has provided a ready weapon for IRA sympathisers in the United States to use in mobilising opposition to British Government policy in the Irish American community. Apart from encouraging support in terms of money and arms, this puts pressure on the more responsible Irish American leaders, such as Speaker O'Neill and Senator Kennedy, to press publicly for unrealistically rapid political progress in Northern Ireland.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

14 May 1979

Ken Stowe passed to me a letter you had written regarding the possibility of Cardinal Hume having a private talk with the Prime Minister.

I have set this up for 1430 on Friday, 25 May and I would be grateful if you could provide a brief as suggested in the final paragraph of your letter.

CS

M. W. Hopkins, Esq., Northern Ireland Office.



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE GREAT GEORGE STREET, LONDON SWIP 3AJ

K Stowe Esq CB Principal Private Secretary 10 Downing Street London SW1

11 May 1979

Dear Ken, "It Rocers. KRS

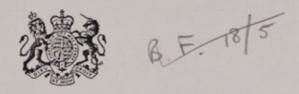
You wrote to Joe Pilling on 8 May about the request from Cardinal Hume for a private talk with the Prime Minister about Northern Ireland. The Secretary of State sees no reason to postpone this and indeed it would be as well to know what the Cardinal wishes to say. The Secretary of State suggests therefore that the meeting should be arranged to suit the Prime Minister's convenience.

The Secretary of State would himself like to talk with the Cardinal before long and perhaps the Prime Minister might mention this when she sees him.

When the meeting is arranged we will be happy to provide a brief although we assume that the Prime Minister will be concerned primarily to listen.

Mihe Hophus





10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

8 May 1979

Cardinal Hume has written to the Prime Minister (who had previously written to him in connection with Mr. Rossi's appointment) and suggested to her that it might be helpful if he were to see her privately to talk about Northern Ireland. The Prime Minister has told Cardinal Hume that she would welcome such a talk at a farrly early date. She will be grateful for your Secretary of State's advice on when it would be timely to do this.

K.R.S.

Joe Pilling, Esq., Northern Ireland Office.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

8 May 1979

The Prime Minister was pleased and reassured to have your letter today and is grateful to you for the trouble you have taken.

She appreciates too the kind words you wrote and thanks you most warmly for them. She has asked me to say that she herself would welcome an opportunity to talk to you about Northern Ireland and she will look forward to this. As you may imagine, she is immensely busy just now but I shall be coming back to you fairly soon to suggest a date for a meeting.

K R STOWE

His Eminence The Cardinal Archbiship of Westminster

M

8 May 79

Dear Prime Minister

Thank you for telling me about the appointment of Hugh Rossi. I am in touch with him and will do what I can to encomage him.

This letter gives me the opportunity to congratulate you on becoming our Prime Minister and to assume you that you will be in my prayers.

I shall, puhaps, be bold one day and ask you to one briefly. I would like to speak to you about Northur Ireland. There is little that you will not know aheady - but There

was a delicate hagoliation going on, in which I was a marginally-involved. It can wait; and in any case you will have more than enough on your plate in the naxt few months.

I do hope that all will go well for you

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10 DOWNING STREET

Pm has Signed

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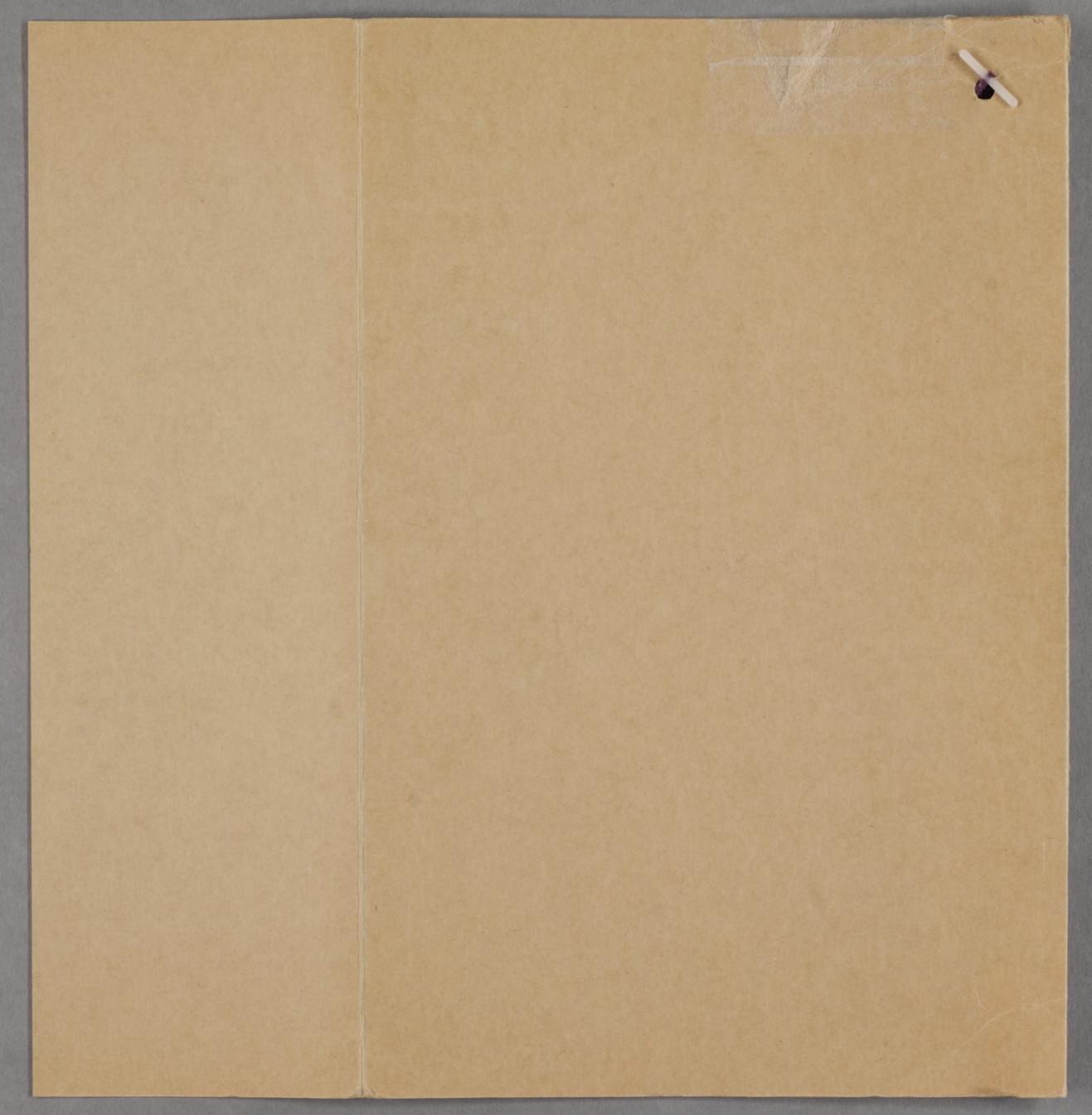
THE PRIME MINISTER

As you know, I am today completing the formation of the new Government and I have given deep and careful thought to the composition of our new team to look after the affairs of Northern Ireland.

I have been encouraged by the welcome which has been given by both communities in Northern Ireland to the appointment of the new Secretary of State, Humphrey Atkins, and I know that he will justify in full measure their expectations and their trust. However, it is my special concern that the Secretary of State's team of junior Ministers should both reflect, and be clearly seen to reflect, the Government's determination to pursue policies which will be to the benefit and safeguard the interests of <u>all</u> the people of Northern Ireland. With this in mind, I have asked Hugh Rossi to accept one of the two posts as Minister of State in the Northern Ireland Office, and this will be announced on Monday evening.

When I asked Hugh to take on this post, he was, initially, reluctant but, as you would expect, his strong sense of duty as a Roman Catholic led him to accept it. I am glad and relieved that he did so, but I am anxious that he should receive all possible encouragement in his new task. I am writing to ask if you would be so kind as to get in touch with him. I am sure that your advice would be of great help to him in this very difficult task. His address is: 24 Wilton Place, London, S.W.1.







END

Filmed at the National Archives (TNA) in London February 2010