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10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1

7<sup>th</sup> April 1986

Prime Minister  
The Lord President &  
Northern Ireland Secretary  
will also be present for  
this meeting.

Dear Charles,

Thank you for your letter of 21 March, requesting briefing for Lord Brookeborough's and Lord Moyola's call on the Prime Minister on Wednesday 9 April to discuss the current political scene in Northern Ireland and in particular the Anglo-Irish Agreement and devolution.

copy 4.

I attach a short brief at Annex A and personality notes on Lords Brookeborough and Moyola at Annex B.

I am copying this letter to Joan MacNaughton.

Yours Sincerely  
Neil Ward.

N D WARD



MEETING WITH LORDS BROOKEBOROUGH AND MOYOLA ON 9 APRIL

Objectives

The Prime Minister may wish to use the meeting to:

- (a) convince the two Lords that neither the Anglo-Irish Agreement nor meetings of the Intergovernmental Conference can be suspended;
- (b) persuade them to use their influence to get the Unionists to resume their dialogue with the Government about devolution, improved arrangements for Unionists to put forward views and proposals to Ministers and the handling of Northern Ireland business in Parliament;
- (c) listen to their concerns.

Background

Lord Moyola is a former Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and Lord Brookeborough a former Stormont Minister. Both are traditional 'moderate' Unionists (although Brookeborough injected a particularly sour note in the Lords debate on the Statement following the Day of Action suggesting the violence was the predictable consequence of the Agreement). Neither has a great public following but they can be regarded as elder statesmen. Both are anxious that a way should be found out of the present impasse between Government and the Unionists. Indeed, both spoke on this theme during the recent Lords debate on the Northern Ireland Appropriation Order:

Lord Brookeborough (H of L 20/4 Col 1072)

"I beg the Government that, having misjudged the reaction of the Unionists - and my right honourable friend the Prime Minister said that they had misjudged the reaction - they must do all that they can to help the Unionists back



to the table. They must be magnanimous. I also appeal to the Ulster Unionist Party to find a formula which leads back to Downing Street. To fail to talk will lead to bloodshed and independence."

Lord Moyola (H of L 20/4 Col 1077):

"I think it should be borne in mind when entering into the talks that a lot of people have got themselves into positions which they cannot get out of at the moment without drastic loss of face. Great efforts to try to resolve this particular difficulty must be made on both sides. I say "both sides" because I honestly suspect that Her Majesty's Government had no realisation at all of what a storm this agreement was going to create."

It is likely that the two Lords will seek some concession from Government such as the suspension of meetings of the Intergovernmental Conference to enable the dialogue to resume.

It is possible that the meeting may take on more than usual significance because the reply from Mr Molyneux and Dr Paisley to the Prime Minister's letter of 21 March is likely to have been made public. It rejected the Prime Minister's offers in her letter, on the grounds that it did not offer enough flexibility. In her letter the Prime Minister had made it clear that the Agreement could not be suspended but that the Government was prepared to take part in a Round Table Conference (suggested by Mr Molyneux and Dr Paisley) and that the Government's offer of dialogue on improved methods of hearing Unionist views and of handling of Northern Ireland Parliamentary business remained on the table.

Suggested Points to Make:

- (a) agree with Lord Brookeborough's remarks in the House of Lords that the Government should do all it can to help the Unionists back to the table. My letter of 21 March was intended to do that. There is much in the Government's offers that should attract them.



- (b) The Government would like to take part in a Round Table Conference on devolution. If there was agreement on devolution, under the terms of the Agreement the subjects devolved would no longer be within the scope of the Intergovernmental Conference. We should in these circumstances need to review the implications of any devolution proposals for the working of the Intergovernmental Conference.
- (c) We have also offered to discuss improved arrangements for Unionists to put forward views and proposals to Ministers and for the handling of Northern Ireland business in Parliament.
- (d) I would hope you could use your influence to think further about the offers. I am disappointed by Jim Molyneaux's and Ian Paisley's response. But the offers remain open. We want to work with them.
- (e) The alternative of confrontation would be disastrous for Northern Ireland. The Province's image would be damaged further along with existing and possible future employment. The people in Great Britain may lose patience with the Union.
- (f) The Government remains committed to implementing the Agreement. We will do so sensitively and in the best interests of the people of Northern Ireland. But we cannot give up an Agreement overwhelmingly approved by Parliament, which offers benefits to all the people of Northern Ireland. It has put the principle of consent to any change in Northern Ireland's status in a binding international agreement. That should be of immense value to those who cherish the Union. It provides a basis for us to get the security co-ordination with the Republic we need. It reassures the minority and, we hope, will get them to accept the institutions of Northern Ireland. And it is not joint authority - we continue to take the decisions.



VISCOUNT BROOKEBOROUGH

Independent Unionist (formerly UPNI)

Background

Born in Brookeborough in Co Fermanagh in 1922, John Brooks was the second son of the first Lord Brookeborough, third Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1943-63. He was educated at Eton, served in the 10th Royal Hussars during World War II and was aide-de-camp to Field Marshal Alexander in Italy and later to the Viceroy of India, Field Marshal Lord Wavell. He returned to NI in 1947 and was elected to Fermanagh County Council on which he served until reorganisation in 1973. In 1968 he succeeded his father at the Stormont Parliament as Unionist member for Lisnaskea. He held various posts rising to Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance and Government Chief Whip from 1971-72. In 1973 his constituency party decided to run only anti-White Paper candidates in the Assembly election, and he did not seek nomination in Fermanagh. Instead he became the successful pro-Assembly Unionist candidate for North Down, coming second to Kilfedder. He was not given office in the power-sharing Executive but represented the now defunct UPNI in the 1975 Constitutional Convention as Member for North Down, on this occasion only just scraping in. When his father died in 1973, he succeeded to the title (his elder brother having been killed in the war).

While describing himself as a Conservative he was the UPNI spokesman on Northern Ireland matters, especially security, in the House of Lords until that Party's demise in October 1981. In June 1976 he unsuccessfully introduced a Bill designed to provide for the better protection of witnesses.

He is married with 5 children, and his wife (Rosemary) was a strong advocate of the formation of the Royal Ulster Constabulary Women's Reserve, of which she and her daughter are now members. The family's 2 sons have both served in the Army and one is in the part-time UDR. He takes a close personal interest in the running of his estate and various other business interests.

Personality and political views

An energetic and forceful man, Lord Brookeborough was a reluctant politician at the outset of his career, but nevertheless felt himself obliged to continue the family tradition in politics. A Unionist of fairly moderate hue, he followed Faulkner when he founded UPNI and supported the 1974 powersharing experiment. Living not too far from the border with the Irish Republic his major concern is security. He believes in sterner anti-terrorist measures and has in the past called for the reinstatement of the B-Specials. On constitutional issues he is believed to favour some form of integration.



LORD MOYOLA (MAJOR JAMES CHICHESTER-CLARK)

Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1969- 1971

Background:

Born on 12 February 1923, to a famous NI political family, he was educated at Eton, and served with the Irish Guards from 1942-1960, attained the rank of Major and served a period at the Army's Staff College. He resigned from the Army to stand for Stormont and was elected unopposed in June 1960 to the NI Parliament as Unionist member for South Derry, a seat previously held by his grandmother, Dame Debra Parker (NI's only female minister), and by his father. In 1963, he was appointed by Terence O'Neill, his cousin and fellow old-Etonian, to be Chief Whip, a post he retained until 1967. In 1966-67 he was also appointed Leader of the House of Commons, and in 1967 he was appointed to the Agriculture post. When O'Neill resigned in 1969 Chichester-Clark was selected Prime Minister beating his only opponent Brian Faulkner by one vote; O'Neill used his vote to support his cousin.

Major Chichester-Clark's 22 months of office (1 May 1969 - 23 March 1971) were aggravated by major security problems - civil rights demonstrations, street riots and the slow revival of terrorist activity, and characterised by the increasing intervention of HMG into NI affairs. His was the time of the Cameron Report, the Hunt Report, the disbandment of the Ulster Special Constabulary, the 'B' Specials, the appointment of an Ombudsman, and creation of the Ministry of Community Relations and of the Housing Executive. Security was the major issue and Major Chichester-Clark was constantly under attack in the NI Parliament for his apparent failure to persuade the British Government to take firm steps to deal with the crisis. On 16 March 1971 Major Chichester-Clark flew to London for a meeting with the British Cabinet, when he demanded positive action by the British Government and threatened to resign if this was not forthcoming; he resigned on 23 March 1971 and Brian Faulkner took over the premiership.

On his retirement, he was created a life peer (Lord Moyola) and has since concentrated on the running of his farm at Castledawson in Co Derry. He is married (1959 to Moyra) with 2 daughters and one stepson (by his wife's first marriage). He is deaf in the right ear.

Personality and Political Views:

Quiet, courteous and affable, he has been described as a big man with a big heart. He was somewhat of a reluctant politician and in other circumstances, would probably never have entered politics. As a Prime Minister at a time of crisis and of considerable political disturbance he is generally considered to have been an ineffectual leader (although he weathered many storms). During his premiership he even had to suffer the embarrassment of being removed from the Vice-Chairmanship of his local constituency association. His attempts at reform under pressure from the British Government came in for considerable popular criticism. Nevertheless, when he beat Brian Faulkner for the Leadership, it was said that the Party had chosen "a decent man you could trust rather than a clever man you couldn't", and certainly his sincerity and desire to do his duty was as widely acknowledged as his unsuitability for the position. Although he no longer takes an active part in politics apart from a few appearances in the Lords, Moyola is to some extent representative of the views of upper-class moderate unionists, although he is still perhaps slightly tainted by his past. He is no friend of Paisley, having suffered from a "Chi Chi must go" campaign inspired by the DUP leader.



In recent years he has remained largely politically inactive, though contributes to Northern Ireland debates in the Lords and has attended occasional meetings with Secretaries of State for Northern Ireland.

SKW

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21 March 1986

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The Prime Minister has agreed to see Lord Brookeborough and Lord Moyola at the request of the Lord President on 9 April. I should be grateful for briefing by Friday, 4 April.

I am copying this letter to Joan MacNaughton (Lord President's Office).

(C. D. POWELL)

Neil Ward, Esq.,  
Northern Ireland Office.

VC



PRIME MINISTER

Cardize  
C.D. you please arrange  
this for some time  
after Easter - CDP

14/3

The Lord President has recently seen Lord Brookeborough and Lord Moyola about the situation in Northern Ireland. He feels that it would be useful if he could bring them to see you, perhaps after Easter.

Agree to see them?

y  
as not

CDP

CDP

C D POWELL  
13 March 1986

Wednesday  
9 April  
1600 - 1700.  
H.A. 10.  
CR 14/3.

CDP  
CONFIRMED.

CR  
21/3