

UW  
CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

MR KINNOCK'S LETTER

WE HAVE NOW RECEIVED A DRAFT REPLY TO MR KINNOCK'S LETTER TO YOU ABOUT EVENTS IN BELFAST.

THE TEXT OF MR KINNOCK'S LETTER WAS AS FOLLOWS:

I HAVE DELIBERATELY DELAYED MAKING ANY PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE EVENTS IN WEST BELFAST ON SUNDAY BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT, IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WAS ADVISABLE TO OBTAIN WHATEVER DETAILS OF THE INCIDENT WERE AVAILABLE BEFORE SEEKING ACTION FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT.

HAVING NOW HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER THE MATTER, I MUST ASK YOU TO IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO THE DECISION TO BAN MARTIN GALVIN FROM NORTHERN IRELAND AND INTO THE INCIDENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE FOLLOWING HIS APPEARANCE IN BELFAST.

IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THESE TWO RELATED ASPECTS OF THE EVENTS RECEIVE THOROUGH ATTENTION.

THE DECISION TO BAN GALVIN WAS MADE, IT IS REPORTED, BY THE HOME SECRETARY ACTING ON THE ADVICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND. AN ASSESSMENT MUST CLEARLY BE MADE OF THE WISDOM AND THE PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR JUDGEMENT AND IT WILL ALSO BE NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH WHETHER THEIR DECISION WAS MADE WITH OR WITHOUT THE ADVICE OF THE RUC. FURTHER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO OBTAIN AN EXPLANATION OF THE RUC'S OPERATIONAL STRATEGY FOR THAT DAY AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO ESTABLISH WHETHER THE DECISION TO ARREST GALVIN BY ADVANCING THROUGH THE CROWD WAS MADE BEFOREHAND OR WHETHER POLICE COMMANDERS AT THE SCENE MADE AN UNPREPARED RESPONSE OR WHETHER THEY SIMPLY PERMITTED SUCH A RESPONSE TO BE MADE BY LOWER RANKS. I BELIEVE THAT YOU WILL SHARE MY VIEW THAT THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY WAS A RADICAL DEPARTURE FROM THEIR NORMAL PRACTICE IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES OR EVEN IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE PROVOCATION OR THREATS OF ATTACK ON THE POLICE HAVE BEEN MUCH GREATER. IT RESULTED IN THE USE OF AN UNACCEPTABLE LEVEL OF FORCE WHICH CAUSED A DEATH AND SEVERE PHYSICAL INJURIES AND IT ALSO GAVE PROPAGANDA MATERIAL TO THOSE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND ELSEWHERE WHO SUPPORT AND SPONSOR VIOLENCE AND TERROR IN PURSUIT OF THEIR POLITICAL AIMS. THE APPARENT CHANGE IN POLICING METHODS AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT CHANGE CLEARLY REQUIRE INVESTIGATION AND IT WILL ALSO BE IMPORTANT TO ESTABLISH WHETHER THE RULES ABOUT THE USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS WERE ADHERED TO BY THE RUC.

UNDERSTAND FROM A TELEVISION INTERVIEW GIVEN BY THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND TODAY  
THAT HE DOES NOT RULE OUT AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY.  
IN VIEW OF THE DAMAGE WHICH HAS CLEARLY BEEN DONE AS  
A RESULT OF THE INCIDENT TO RELATIONS BETWEEN THE  
MINORITY COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE RUC  
AND TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT  
AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC, I URGE YOU  
TO DEMONSTRATE THE SERIOUSNESS OF YOUR CONCERN ABOUT  
THESE MATTERS BY ESTABLISHING THE APPROPRIATE INQUIRY  
WITHOUT DELAY.

I AM RELEASING THIS LETTER TO THE PRESS.

THE PROPOSED DRAFT REPLY WHICH HAS BEEN CLEARED WITH THE HOME SECRETARY AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY IS AS FOLLOWS:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ~~PUBLIC~~ LETTER ABOUT THE VIOLENCE WHICH ATTENDED MR GALVIN'S RECENT APPEARANCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

~~I FEEL COMPELLED FIRST TO EXPRESS SADNESS AT FURTHER DEATHS AND INJURY IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WHATEVER THE CIRCUMSTANCES SEMI COLON SECOND <sup>and I should like to</sup> TO EXPRESS AGAIN MY SUPPORT FOR THE RUC (TWO OF WHOSE OFFICERS DIED FROM TERRORIST MURDER ON 12 AUGUST) IN THEIR DIFFICULT TASK. SEMI COLON AND THIRDLY TO EXPRESS CONTEMPT FOR THE WAY IN WHICH THE IRA AND THEIR SUPPORTERS ORGANISE AND MANIPULATE PERSONAL TRAGEDY FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES.~~

MAY I SAY HOW VERY SAD WE ALL ARE

MR GALVIN IS PUBLICITY DIRECTOR OF NORAID, WHICH HAS RIGHTLY BEEN DESCRIBED BY AN AMERICAN COURT AS AN AGENT OF THE IRA. IN HIS LAST VISIT TO NORTHERN IRELAND, IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR, MR GALVIN MADE A PUBLIC SPEECH IN WHICH HE SAID HE WAS 'ENCOURAGED' BY THE IRA'S MURDER OF A BRITISH SOLDIER WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE THE PREVIOUS EVENING. ON LEARNING THAT MR GALVIN INTENDED TO LEAD A NORAID GROUP TO NORTHERN IRELAND LAST WEEK, THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ASKED THE HOME SECRETARY TO CONSIDER EXERCISING HIS POWER UNDER THE IMMIGRATION ACT 1971 5= TO PROHIBIT THE ENTRY OF A PERSON WHOSE EXCLUSION IS, IN THE WORDS OF THE ACT, 'CONDUCTIVE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD'. AFTER CONSIDERING THE VIEWS OF HIS COLLEAGUES, THE HOME SECRETARY DECIDED THAT IT WAS APPROPRIATE FOR HIM TO MAKE AN ORDER SO DIRECTING MR GALVIN'S EXCLUSION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND MR GALVIN WAS INFORMED THAT THE ORDER HAD BEEN MADE.

I SEE NO PURPOSE IN AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO THE DECISION TO EXCLUDE MR GALVIN FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM. THE FACTS ARE ALREADY PUBLICLY AVAILABLE. WHETHER PEOPLE SHOULD BE FREE TO COME HERE FROM ABROAD TO ENCOURAGE THE MURDER OF BRITISH SOLDIERS AND OTHER CITIZENS MAY BE A MATTER FOR ARGUMENT BUT WILL NOT BE RESOLVED BY AN INQUIRY. THOSE WHO WISH TO CRITICISE THE DECISION ARE FREE TO DO SO, MAKING FULL USE OF HINDSIGHT.

YOU ALSO SUGGEST AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO THE POLICE ACTION ON 12 AUGUST. THE POLICE HAVE A DUTY TO INVESTIGATE THE DEATH OF MR DOWNES AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT TO THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS, WHO WILL DECIDE WHETHER CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS ARE APPROPRIATE. OTHER ALLEGATIONS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS, IF SUBSTANTIATED, MUST BE SIMILARLY INVESTIGATED. THE CHIEF CONSTABLE OF THE RUC HAS APPOINTED THE DEPUTY CHIEF CONSTABLE WITH A TEAM OF OFFICERS TO CONDUCT AN INQUIRY INTO THESE MATTERS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE POLICE OPERATION ON 12 AUGUST. YOU MAY HAVE NOTICED FROM THE PRESS THAT A PRELIMINARY REPORT HAS ALREADY BEEN RECEIVED AND THAT THE CHIEF CONSTABLE IS IN TOUCH WITH HM INSPECTORATE OF CONSTABULARY WHO WILL ADVISE ON AND MONITOR THE PROGRESS OF THE INQUIRY.

SINCE YOU RELEASED YOUR LETTER TO THE PRESS, I AM ALSO PUBLISHING THIS REPLY.

COMMENT

THE KEY POINT IS IN THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT REPLY, WHICH REFERS TO THE INSPECTORATE 'ADVISING AND MONITORING' ON THE PROGRESS OF THE INQUIRY. THE CHIEF CONSTABLE HAS ISSUED A STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT TODAY (FRIDAY) UNDER STRONG PRESSURE FROM MR PRIOR. HIS DEPARTMENT IS TAKING STEPS TO BRING HOME ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO THE PRESS.

-THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE THINK THAT IF THE CHIEF CONSTABLE'S STATEMENT SUCCEEDS IN DAMPENING DEMANDS FOR AN INDEPENDENT INQUIRY, THERE IS AN ARGUMENT FOR DELAYING YOUR REPLY UNTIL ABOUT MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK. BUT I AM NOT SO SURE. IT COULD EQUALLY BE RIGHT TO REPLY QUICKLY - SAY ON MONDAY - RATHER THAN RISK REVIVING THE STORY AT A LATER DATE. IN EITHER EVENT, I WILL ENSURE THAT MR KINNOCK IS AWARE OF THE TERMS OF YOUR REPLY BEFORE IT IS PUBLISHED.

PERHAPS YOU COULD LET JEAN OR DEBBIE KNOW WHETHER YOU ARE CONTENT WITH THE PROPOSED REPLY, AND WHETHER YOU WOULD PREFER IT TO ISSUE ON MONDAY OR IN THE MIDDLE OF THE WEEK. I SHALL BE AVAILABLE THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS IT.