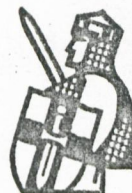


NORTHERN IRELAND

- You tell Unionists you will resolutely press ahead to implement agreement
- Mail says you are standing resolute; confident of isolating Tory rebels.
- Sun says the agreement will be challenged in the courts.
- Mirror says the deal with Ireland has been ludicrously "over-sold"; Keith Waterhouse says it seems a dreadful mistake to him to allow the flying of the Irish tricolour in Northern Ireland. As red rags are to bulls so are flags to the Irish.
- Express says Paisley brands you as "a wicked Jezebel" from his pulpit; a "perfidious woman". Asks congregation to pray for him in his clash with you today (Mail).
- Mail leader, headed "Now Dublin must deliver" says the threat by Loyalist leaders to reduce the administration to anarchy must delight the men of violence. You and Dr FitzGerald are surely prepared for this. Neither blarney nor money will shift the Loyalist leaders from outright confrontation towards sullen acquiescence, but in time improved security could.
- Telegraph leads with a tough line on Unionist defiance and paras on standby for violence. Fewer than 20 Tory MPs likely to support Ian Gow.
- Dr FitzGerald says the agreement could, in the short term, produce an upturn of violence.
- T.E. Utley, in Telegraph, thinks Ian Gow's resignation has done something to improve the moral health of public life. He is essentially right about the agreement - it will prolong the agony of Ulster; whole concept is little short of madness. But you are the best Prime Minister we are likely to get.
- Guardian says Tory whips predict minimal revolt against the agreement. Also reports split in Fianna Fail over the agreement; leader says the more drastic the Unionist threats the more they will alienate not only the nationalist minority but mainland Britain as well. If that happens, the IRA will take courage. The time has come when the Unionists have to be talked down - with every sympathy but with every firmness.
- Ian Aitken, in Guardian, finds something irresistably comic about Ian Gow's resignation, since he has given a degree of practical significance to the agreement. Dublin officials on hearing of it reached for champagne.
- Times says Cabinet is ready to defy Ulster threats.
- FT says the Anglo-Irish pact is expected to be endorsed quickly by Parliament.
- FT describes the Agreement as civilised, realistic, in many ways even modest. It would help if Haughey could bring himself to support the agreement and if the leaders of Ulster Unionists would grow up.



Maggie
branded
'wicked
Jezebel'
in new
Ulster
storm

By JOHN LEY
and JOHN WARDEN

THE Rev Ian Paisley took the Ulster peace pact row into the pulpit last night and branded Mrs Thatcher as "a wicked Jezebel."

He made his sensational attack on the Prime Minister hours after she had made it clear the Anglo-Irish agreement would go ahead.

Mr Paisley, addressing 2,000 people in his Martyr's Memorial Church in Belfast's Ravenhill Road, described her as "a perfidious woman."

The Loyalist leader told his hushed audience: "The only character in the Bible I can liken her to is Jezebel."

In a sermon entitled "Summits, somersaults and sell-outs" he accused her of "using the blood of Ulster's dead as a smokescreen to cover her terrible treason."

He claimed that after the signing of the agreement on Friday Mrs Thatcher said: "Do we not owe it to the gallant men who have died to go ahead and support this document?"

Blasphemy

"Tell me," said Mr Paisley, "what did these men die for? They died to keep us from under Dublin rule? They died in order that Dublin would have no say and no role in the government of Ulster."

Mr Paisley said the day the agreement was signed was a day of blasphemy.

He went on: "God never sent me as a preacher if this woman prospers. This woman Thatcher,

"I will tell you this woman will not prosper. You mark her career and I tell you before many days you will see what God will do to this lying woman who has betrayed this province.

"Only God knows the uncharted waters we will have to sail through and how many graves will be dug and how many Ulster homes will have vacant chairs.

"How many mothers hearts will be broken and how many bitter tears we will have to shed in the awful reaping of the treasonable act of this wicked Jezebel who came to our country to sell us down the river and tried to tell us as she did it, that she was doing a good turn and preserving our province."

Earlier the Ulster Secretary Tom King denied the pact

was paving the way for a united Ireland and added: "It is a clear acceptance by Dublin that Northern Ireland is not for sale."

The Government is ready to use force against the Ulster Loyalists.

Northern Ireland Minister Nicholas Scott said: "If anybody imagines that the Prime Minister, having put her signature to an agreement, is going to be bullied out of it by para-military activity or action in the streets they just don't understand Mrs Thatcher."

There will be lively scenes in the House of Commons today when the Prime Minister reports on the pact that will give the Irish Government in Dublin a say in running Northern Ireland.



Jezebel Thatcher—by Paisley

THE Rev Ian Paisley launched a bizarre attack on Mrs Thatcher during a sermon last night, predicting 'divine vengeance' on 'this Jezebel' for her 'base betrayal' of Ulster.

He called on the 1,000-strong congregation at evening service in his Belfast church to pray for the Prime Minister's downfall for defying the loyalist majority.

'The Lord never sent me as a preacher if this woman prospers,' he said. 'You

mark her career and I tell you, before many days, you will see what He will do to this lying woman who has betrayed this province.'

There were cries of 'hallelujah' and 'amen' as he compared Mrs Thatcher to Jezebel for betraying the memory of British soldiers who died in Northern Ireland.

The Democratic Unionist leader's most astonishing words came in a prayer shouted above the hushed benches of his Martyrs Memorial Free Presbyterian

church: 'We beseech tonight that Thou will deal with the Prime Minister of our country. In the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Ghost, we hand this woman Margaret Thatcher over to the devil that she might learn not to blaspheme. We pray that the world will learn a lesson through her fall and the ignominy to which she shall be brought.'

During the 1½ hour service Mr Paisley also asked the congregation to pray for him in his Commons clash with the Prime Minister today.

Maggie confident over crackdown

MRS Thatcher stood resolute on Ulster last night.

She will tell MPs today that neither threat nor violence will deflect her from the historic Anglo-Irish agreement.

She is confident of isolating the 20 or so Right-Wing Tory MPs who will rebel against the Government.

And she is certain of overwhelming support from Labour and Alliance MPs when the Commons votes on the deal.

The first meeting of the new

By ROBERT PORTER
Political Correspondent

Anglo-Irish conference, the joint body which has enraged Unionist leaders because Dublin is represented on it, is now likely before Christmas. Cross-border security is high on the agenda.

In her statement, the Prime Minister will stress that much closer co-operation over security will herald a tough, new crackdown on terrorists with security forces on both sides of the border benefiting.

She is not deterred by the

threatened resignation of all 15 Ulster Unionist MPs, nor is she willing to accede to their demands for an Ulster referendum.

Northern Ireland Secretary Tom King appealed to the Unionist MPs to stay until many existing 'misunderstandings' had been cleared up. 'If they then decide after that to resign that is a matter for them,' he said dismissively.

In fact several could lose their seats in by-elections. Enoch Powell holds South Down by 458 votes against the moderate Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party. Mid-Ulster MP William McCrea has a paper-

thin majority of 78 over Sinn Fein.

Last night Mr Powell compared the Anglo-Irish deal with the notorious Munich Agreement with Hitler in 1938. These were the only two events which had made him 'deeply ashamed' of his own country, he said.

He confirmed reports that unionist leaders would challenge the agreement's legality in the courts. 'I personally do not believe this can be done without Parliamentary authority,' he said.

Irish Premier Dr Garret FitzGerald stressed that unity could only come with the consent of the Ulster Unionist majority.



Now Dublin must deliver

A MINI-GENERAL ELECTION in Ulster is a menacing prospect. If 15 Loyalist MPs resign their seats to whip up Protestant feelings in the Province to fever pitch, what a bonus that will be for the IRA and its political front, Sinn Fein. The more lurid the scene in Northern Ireland, the more it suits their murderous activities.

The threat by Loyalist leaders to reduce administration there to anarchy must also delight the men of violence.

Both Margaret Thatcher and Dr Fitzgerald were surely prepared for this. No conceivable accord between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland could have been signed which did not make things worse in Northern Ireland before there was a chance that they would get better.

That is the manic-depressive rhythm of the place.

For 63 years the Protestant majority in the North have vetoed any role for the Dublin Government in helping to defuse the Ulster Catholics' sense of grievance.

They can be allowed to veto it no longer.

If any vote is needed on the present agreement between Ireland and the United Kingdom, it should be a referendum of all electors in the UK.

Can anything be done to assuage the mounting bitterness of the Loyalists?

It not only can, it must. All the energies, the resources, the doggedly husbanded good will between Dublin and London must initially be staked on achieving one end:

To step up cross-border security; to deny the IRA safe haven in the republic; to prove that two nations can do better than one in combating terror.

It would—to pick the most provocative example—be utterly disastrous for the Dublin Government now so much as to lay a consultative fingertip on the future role of the Ulster Defence Regiment BEFORE the politicians of the republic can deliver demonstrable results in helping to smash the IRA.

Neither blarney nor money will shift the Loyalist leaders from outright confrontation towards sullen acquiescence. But, in time, improved security could.

Daily Telegraph

No. 40563. LONDON, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1985

Printed in LONDON and MANCHESTER



COMMENTARY

T. E. Utley

I THINK it can be said (with no more pomposity than the occasion justifies) that Ian Gow's resignation has done something to improve the moral health of public life in Britain. It is, of course, not unprecedented for a junior Minister to resign on an issue which does not affect his Departmental responsibilities; but, under Mrs Thatcher, even the doctrine of collective *Cabinet* responsibility has been much eroded.

The normal procedure has been that dissident Ministers remain firmly in their offices, persistently leak their objections and cheek the Prime Minister at party conference fringe meetings. This goes on until Mrs Thatcher judges that the time to strike has come. They are then either summarily sacked or deported to Northern Ireland for a short period of corrective training.

Not so with Mr Gow. He is the most loyal man who ever lived; he has risked his own reputation by the fanaticism of his devotion to his leader, and the genuine affection with which they regard each other is palpable. Even now he warmly objects (as I do) to Mr Powell's accusation against her of treachery.

I think he is essentially right about the Anglo-Irish Agreement. That Agreement will, as he puts it, "prolong and not diminish the agony of Ulster". How can it be otherwise? Will it encourage reconciliation there to invite the Nationalist population to look to the Republic as their protector? It seems to me (and I can cite the Roman Catholic Nationalist Lord Fitt in support) that the whole concept is little short of madness.

But there are wider issues than Northern Ireland involved in Ian Gow's resignation. The Lord chasteneth those whom He loves; let Mrs Thatcher be no exception. She seems to me to have consistently undervalued the support she gets from those traditional, "high" Right-wing Tories like Mr Gow. Their principal preoccupations are national defence, the preservation of law and order and, in general, the maintenance of the nation. They believe in her free enterprise policies and broadly share her economic philosophy, but they think that public order, in the widest meaning of the words, comes first and they have the electorate on their side.

This, however, is not the way to her heart. What she really admires are converted Socialists, converted Marxists and unregenerate Gladstonian Liberals masquerading as Tories.

Yes, of course, there was the Falklands; but what alternative had she in view of the Labour party's sudden though fleeting conversion to British imperialism? She had, the guts to carry it through, but she has the guts to carry anything through.

On this kind of issue her heart is in the right place; but what really possesses her attention is an economic doctrine which the people find obscure, in spite of her homely attempts to expound it.

Ian Gow's resignation may send a chill down Mrs Thatcher's spine; that could do her no harm. I once said that she was my last bet for Britain; that was unpatriotic: my last bet for Britain is Britain itself; however, she is the best Prime Minister we are likely to get.

What it needs now is Unionist consent

In the wake of the Anglo-Irish agreement the Unionists can have one, and only one, legitimate fear. It is that the security situation will become worse and not better. Since the overriding purpose of the transaction was to restore peace that would be a deeply ironical outcome, but it is one which the Unionists themselves have it in their power to influence and even to decide. The more drastic their threats the more they will alienate not only the nationalist minority among them but the people of mainland Britain as well. If that happens the IRA will certainly take courage.

The overwhelming response to the agreement on this side of the water has been of approval and encouragement. That is not, as Unionists might maintain, because the mainland is unfamiliar with the difficulties of governing Northern Ireland but because it is all too familiar with them. It knows that the province cannot be governed without a degree of nationalist consent. One way to secure that consent would have been in a power-sharing government. That solution has been repeatedly blocked by Unionists — for understandable reasons, be it said. A system in which the electoral losers are guaranteed cabinet seats alongside the winners is so artificial as to be unworkable. Nevertheless there are expedients which the Unionists could have tried. Failing a local system of power-sharing the only recourse is to involve the Irish government as guarantor of the minority.

That has been done. It has been done at the expense, too high for the opposition in the Republic, of removing partition from the agenda for as long as the Unionist majority wishes. It is not surprising that so pragmatic a way of recognising both minority and majority claims at one stroke should be highly commended at Westminster. The only Unionist sacrifice is a feeling of supremacy. ("This is our country. It is not his," Mr Paisley said on Saturday of Mr Tom King.) That is the very characteristic which has exasperated the rest of the UK during that long period in which the other Ulster qualities have been not only admired but defended.

Of course the Unionists are correct in the long run to say that their consent is necessary, too. They therefore have to be persuaded of the benefits. Ireland has a key position here as well as all the major parties in Britain. Unfortunately Mr Haughey's role — and he did have a 19-point lead in the polls, of wholly different origin, before the Hillsborough agreement — has been to judge the agreement not by its likely effect on the peace of the North but by other criteria. He is a victim of what might be called the Begin syndrome: Mr Begin in Israel would have obstructed to the last the very agreement to make peace with Egypt and hand back the Sinai which he himself triumphantly delivered.

That is Dr FitzGerald's uncomfortable problem, one which so honest and far-sighted a man does not deserve. Mrs Thatcher's is slightly less formidable in that she will have almost universal support within Britain. The logic of Mr Molyneaux's and Mr Paisley's position is UDI — and then what? The time has come at last when the Unionists have to be talked down — with every sympathy, of course, but with every firmness.

Fianna Fail split over accord may surface in Dail

From Joe Joyce
in Dublin

Disagreements within the opposition Fianna Fail party over the Anglo-Irish agreement may surface in Dublin on Thursday, when the Prime Minister, Dr Garret FitzGerald, will insist on a formal vote in the Dail. A three-day debate opening tomorrow will precede formal ratification.

Some members of Fianna Fail are known to be upset by the outright rejection of the deal by their leader, Mr Charles Haughey.

Amid the euphoria among government supporters at the outcome of the talks, ministers are devoting most of their efforts to try to assuage Unionist fears and to challenging Mr Haughey's view that the agreement is a sell-out for Irish nationalism.

These two themes—along with the gains for northern nationalists—will be the government's main message in the Dail. Dr FitzGerald said that a joint-meeting of his Fine Gael party and the Labour Party decided on Saturday that they must avoid provocation and point-scoring and make every effort to persuade Unionists that the agreement was not a threat.

Mr Haughey has committed his party to rejecting the agreement, but some of his shadow cabinet members privately question his vehement tactics, while several backbenchers are more fundamentally opposed.

One said yesterday: "I feel this agreement is a step in the right direction and we

shouldn't take the line we're taking. The problem is that the personal animosity between Haughey and FitzGerald is clouding everything."

Fianna Fail is expected to debate the issue at a private meeting of its parliamentary party on Wednesday but there was no sign yesterday of an organised revolt.

Two former senior members of the party made no secret of their support for the agreement, Mr Jack Lynch, Mr Haughey's predecessor as leader and taoiseach said it deserved a positive and constructive response. Mr Desmond O'Malley, expelled from the party for his opposition to Mr Haughey, said he would support the agreement in the Dail.

Government supporters gleefully pointed out that the aspect of the agreement to which Mr Haughey objected most was taken verbatim from a communique which he and Mrs Thatcher issued after a meeting in 1980.

It says that "any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of people in Northern Ireland." Dr FitzGerald added that the wording had been lifted directly from Mr Haughey's document, including its split infinitive.

Mr Haughey insists that it is a recognition of Unionist rights and undermines the nationalist case for unity. He explained that the words used by him in 1980 meant that Unionists had a right to consent to constitutional arrangements for a united Ireland, not the right to consent to unity itself.

P M pledges to defy Loyalist challenge

From Paul Johnson
in Belfast
and John Carvel,
Political Correspondent

The Government said yesterday that it is determined to go to any lengths to see the Anglo-Irish agreement through, no matter how bellicose the Unionist threats to plunge Ulster into disorder and even anarchy.

Mrs Thatcher confirmed the impression she conveyed at the signing ceremony last week that the furious Loyalist reaction now emerging to the deal had been anticipated.

Speaking on the independent television programme, *Weekend World*, she said that the aim of her policy was to mobilise everyone against the men of violence.

"And we are trying to do it against a background which will reassure the people in Northern Ireland that they will stay a part of the United Kingdom, unless they vote otherwise. That is just a clear

Fianna Fail split, page 2;
Leader comment, page 12;
Ian Aitken, Unionists' options,
page 13.

example of policy we have thought through, we have announced and now we shall carry resolutely through," she said.

The Prime Minister knows she can count on overwhelming support from the House of Commons when she makes her statement on the agreement today.

Conservative Party managers believe that no more than 15 to 20 Tory backbenchers support the line expressed by Mr Ian Gow, the Treasury minis-



Tom King: to address backbenchers on accord

ter and former Thatcher aide who resigned his post on Friday night. Mr Gow said that "the involvement of a foreign power in a consultative role in the administration of Northern Ireland would merely prolong its agony."

The virulence of the Unionist MPs' attacks on Mrs Thatcher's "treachery" is likely to consolidate the Government's position, even in the minds of many Tory doubters. Labour, Liberal and SDP support is also guaranteed, in spite of the view of many of their MPs that the agreement does not go far enough.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr Tom King, is to address a meeting of the relevant Tory backbench committees immediately after Mrs Thatcher's statement to the House. But the Government is delaying a week before holding a two-day debate on the agreement next Monday and Tuesday.

The Unionist Camp was say-

ing yesterday that it is Mrs Thatcher who is challenging them by imposing the pact upon the province and that they are in a fight they did not initiate.

Mr King has been equally happy to personalise the issue, saying repeatedly that Mrs Thatcher, whom he described as a determined lady, would "see it through."

To threats from Mr Ian Paisley that the province would be made ungovernable, he said: "If it is suggested that the Government gives in to anarchy, there can be no question of that at all."

The Taoiseach, Dr Garret FitzGerald, yesterday reiterated his faith in the determination of the British Government. He said that the froth of opposition might die down once Unionists have absorbed the document, which gives Dublin a role in the affairs of the North for the first time.

In an implicit criticism of Mr Paisley, the Irish Prime Minister said in a radio interview: "I think the political leaders are out of touch with a significant part of Unionist opinion."

The Unionists are demanding a referendum within the province to decide whether the agreement should be accepted.

Since this has no chance of succeeding, they may attempt to resign all 15 Unionist seats at Westminster, possibly next week after the vote on the agreement.

The idea is to force 15 by-elections on the same day and then claim that the poll is the equivalent of a referendum. Armed with a mandate to fight the deal, they would then re-enter the House and step up opposition on the streets back in the province.

However, only two MPs can resign at one time by applying for the Chiltern Hundreds or the Manor or Northstead, technical offices of profit under the Crown.

Unionists believe that having taken those offices, MPs can resign a second time, enabling the next pair to follow. The aim would be to get all 15 MPs through the hoop and then have the by-election writs moved for the same day.

The Unionist leaderships have still, however, to convince at least two MPs to agree to the resignation tactic. It is thought that the combined Unionist front might lose up to four seats to nationalists in by-elections. One of these is Mr Enoch Powell's South Down seat, with a majority of only 548.

Unionists withdrew from all advisory boards in the province over the weekend, affecting health and education and official bodies such as the housing executive and the police authority.

But there will be no resignations from the Stormont Assembly because they believe it can be used as the main public platform for opposition inside the province.

Unionist leaders hope to retain the initiative throughout a long campaign and so keep out the paramilitaries. There is already talk in Ulster that the eventual aim will be to force a renegotiation of the province's position within the UK. But talk of a unilateral declaration of independence is regarded as extreme and ill-considered.

Downing Street sources yesterday denied that contingency plans had been put in train to cope with outbreaks of violence in Northern Ireland. The placing of two Spearhead battalions of the Parachute Regiment on stand-by was said to be a routine arrangement.



FINANCIAL TIMES

BRACKEN HOUSE, CANNON STREET, LONDON EC4P 4BY

Telegrams: Finantimo, London PS4. Telex: 8954871

Telephone: 01-248 8000

Monday November 18 1985

A civilised agreement

THE Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985 signed by the British and Irish Prime Ministers at the end of last week is precisely what it says it is: an agreement, not a settlement.

The only comparable pact in Anglo-Irish relations in recent history was the Sunningdale agreement of 1973. That foundered upon the vagaries of British politics: a miners' strike, a change of secretary of state in Northern Ireland, a premature British general election and — not least — the determined resistance of the Ulster Unionists which the British Government was too feeble to stand up to.

The Sunningdale agreement was more ambitious. It proposed the establishment of a Council of Ireland to be made up of representatives from north and south. It can be seen in retrospect that that was going too far, too fast, for the climate of the time, and would be probably going too far even now.

The agreement signed last week is realistic, in many ways even modest. It does not diminish either British sovereignty in Ulster or Irish sovereignty in the Republic. It is a civilised acknowledgement that the two governments most affected by the Irish troubles should work together to resolve a common problem.

There were two concessions: one British and one Irish. The British have accepted, in a way that Mrs Thatcher would not when first she became Prime Minister, that Dublin has a role to play — even if it is only an advisory and consultative role — in the affairs of the North. The Irish concession is to place on record that there can be no question of the unification of Ireland without the consent of the majority of the population in Ulster. To that end, there will have to be a reconciliation between the communities in the North before there can be any serious consideration of Irish unity.

Destructive

That is what the agreement is about: there must be peace and stability in Northern Ireland before there can be peace and stability in all Ireland. The present British and Irish Governments will work jointly to create the conditions. It would be exceedingly foolish of either of them to backtrack now: having put the Irish question at the top of the political agenda, they must ensure that it stays there until the agreement begins to turn into a settlement.

There are, however, two other prerequisites. It would help if Mr Charles Haughey, the leader of the opposition in the Irish parliament, could bring himself to support the agreement. He did, after all, put his name to the report of the New Ireland Forum last year which was an important factor in the accommodation now reached between London and Dublin. Mr Haughey is a clever man, but one capable of being devastatingly destructive in opposition. He needs to think very carefully about how far to oppose an agreement that is certainly the best, and perhaps the only one, to be got out of the British Government.

It would also help if the leaders of the Ulster Unionists could grow up. There have been calls over the weekend for a referendum before even the present modest proposals can be accepted by the people of Northern Ireland. It has been suggested that Unionist politicians should boycott British institutions in protest, and all the interests of keeping Ulster British.

Excessive

That is not so much a paradox as manifest nonsense. If there is to be a referendum — and there is absolutely no reason why there should be — it should include the people of Britain who might like to give their own view of what they think of Mr Ian Paisley and his colleagues. However Mr Paisley's behaviour may be described, it is not traditionally British. The British have a history, sometimes slow to emerge but usually there in the end, of tolerance for minorities. That cannot be said of the extreme Ulster Unionists and their attitude to the Catholic community in the North.

Some other questions might be asked in Britain: for instance, how long should the country tolerate an excessive level of public expenditure in Northern Ireland for no obvious benefit, and is a Unionist extremist who uses violence to frustrate the agreement by force really so different from a member of the Provisional IRA?

None of that questioning will be necessary if the majority of the people of Ireland dissociate themselves from extremist leaders and accept that the agreement is the best available. They should note that that is what the bulk of British politicians has already done. All British parties will be voting for reason, not violence.