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LEVEL 5 - 4 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 Newspaper Publishing PLC
The Independent

July 29, 1996, Monday

SECTION: NEWS; Page 6

LENGTH: 794 words

HEADLINE: Sectarian 'plague' revisits community; Gloom over peace talks: Today's negotiations must quell the hatred unleashed after Drumcree. Michael Streeter reports

BYLINE: Michael Streeter

BODY:

Like the return of a cyclical plague, the language and pursuit of sectarianism once again haunts Northern Ireland.

After 18 months of relative moderation, the bloody fiasco of Drumcree - when an Orange parade past a Catholic area provoked Nationalist fury and days of violence - have re-ignited hatreds which optimists hoped had gone for ever. Its re-emergence will be one of the main problems the all-party peace talks, due to start in Stormont today, must tackle.

This resurgent sectarianism has revealed itself in many forms: nationalist campaigns to boycott Protestant businesses; desecration of churches; the hounding of families, many of them Catholic, from their homes; daubing of sectarian slogans, and attacks on schools.

Phrases such "Fenian bastard" and "Fascist Orangemen" are back in currency. In a strange transference of language, a nationalist cry after the Drumcree seige was "let's burn the black bastards out" - a sentiment both sectarian and racist in tone.

The RUC were decried as "Fenians" by Orangemen during the Drumcree blockade, but after the parade the same officers were attacked as "Orange scum" by nationalists.

The outbreak of verbal hostilities may even have taken its cue from the highest level after Irish and British premiers John Bruton and John Major traded insults over the decision to let the parade go ahead.

Some people cannot remember such hostility in the air; but did this naked sectarianism ever really go away during the months of the ceasefire?

Dr Richard English, lecturer in politics at Queen's University, Belfast, thinks not: "The rising tension of the last few weeks has brought to the surface what has been latent throughout the ceasefire.

"What seemed to have gone - for example, the language of sectarianism - has boiled up again. People feel they can say what, privately, they were thinking



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all along.

"There has just been a masking of sectarianism in the last couple of years," he said. Those who thought it had disappeared had been naive, he added.

Church leaders are caught in the crossfire. In a recent statement, the Presbyterian church called for compromise on all sides but added that those who started actions which then led to violence could not shirk responsibility - a reference to the inflexible unionist stance at Drumcree. DUP MP Peter Robinson immediately attacked these words as "pathetic . . . an outrage and a disgrace."

Perhaps Mr Robinson should have read another part of the churchmen's statement. "The apostle James warned us that even a spark of an inappropriate word can set the whole place on fire, with fire from hell," it read.

The church's Moderator, Dr. Harry Allen conceals his dismay at Mr Robinson's remarks and told the Independent that he wants politicians on all sides to use the language of love.

"Even if people disagree, they have to be careful and temperate. The old saying 'careless words cost lives' still applies."

Bill Tosh, chairman of the CBI in Northern Ireland, admits he was "shocked" by the return of the violence and language which he thought a relic of the past. Such mindless sectarianism, he feels, which includes attacks on businesses, will cost the economy more than pounds 20m. "People still seem not to realise that they are shooting themselves in the foot."

One useful barometer of public mood can be found in the letters' pages of local newspapers. Billy Kennedy of the unionist Newsletter says the paper has extended its columns from three days a week to daily, and says correspondence is more strident than before. Tom Collins, editor of the nationalist Irish News says he cannot recall as strong a public reaction as he has seen over Drumcree.

SDLP vice-chairman, Joe Byrne, points a finger firmly at the events of Drumcree as the cause of unease and alienation now felt by nationalists. "This is almost a throwback to feelings they had 20 years ago."

Equally, he condemns boycotts of Protestant businesses. "That is a road back to the Dark Ages," he says, urging political leaders to send a positive message to all communities by making the Stormont talks work.

It is not all gloom, however. Father Brian Lennon, a respected commentator, wrote recently that it was "nonsense" to suggest the Province is slipping back to 1969. "It is time now for us to get things into perspective," he wrote in the Irish News. "In part, this means facing our own sectarianism."

One can only hope this positive mood is more telling than the fears of Ulster Unionist councillor Derek Hussey, whose constituents face an economic boycott in County Tyrone.

"Perhaps," he says of the violence at and after Drumcree, "these events reached deep into people's true feelings."



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LEVEL 5 - 5 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Irish Times
The Irish Times

July 20, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: NEWS FEATURES; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 2654 words

HEADLINE: Talking and compromise key to North peace

BYLINE: By ANDY POLLAK

BODY:

SHEILA CHILLINGWORTH, born in Dublin, formerly worked as a school psychologist in Catholic west Belfast. She is an active member of the Church of Ireland who since her retirement has run schemes for children with reading problems in Ballymurphy.

THE POLITICIANS all seem to have I been demented from Paddy Mayhew, who I always thought was a sensible man, downwards. Attempts at dialogue should have started a year ago after the last Drumcree clash. When they came, they came far too late the church leaders only had a day or a day and a half to find a solution when they became involved.

I don't blame Sir Hugh Annesley either. He was suddenly very human when he spoke about being sick of being caught between the two sides. One felt a terrible sympathy for him.

It didn't help either seeing the police acting as they did against the people sitting on Garvaghy Road. Their actions only heightened those people's perception that they were second class citizens, as indeed they are.

The politicians behaved just as one would have anticipated. That's the frightening thing they don't change. I was reading Nelson Mandela's autobiography recently and one phrase leapt out at me. He was looking at his jailers but every so often he saw a little glimpse of humanity in one of them, and that made all the difference.

That's the problem with our politicians. They look at the other side and they don't see human beings they just see the other side. They don't see what Mandela saw that basically everyone is human with different perceptions.

As far as I can see there is no trust at all among the politicians, but there is trust among the people.

When I came up here in 1949 I was a right bigot. My father was a rector who had seen his congregation shrinking because of Ne Temere and other things and I was genuinely frightened of Catholics. I was also afraid of Northern Protestants. I've since become very fond of both sides. I've changed totally and I see no reason why they shouldn't.



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The Irish Times, July 20, 1996

. MAY BLOOD is a community worker on Belfast's Shankill Road and a lifelong trade union activist. A Protestant and proud to be a Prod she was the election agent for the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition.

PROBABLY WE had deluded ourselves that peace was more permanent than it was. After 20 months of relative peace we thought all the bogey men had gone, but last week's events proved that to be false.

As a community worker I found that very depressing. It was almost as though we had climbed a mountain and at the then were knocked down to the bottom again. Now it's a question of whether we can climb it again.

The strong community relations between people who have built up a good relationship living side by side over the years won't be affected. That relationship helped community relations last week to survive under extreme and dangerous conditions.

A fortnight earlier the Whiterock Orange Parade which marches on to the Springfield Road on the last Saturday in June passed off without incident, although throughout the Troubles there has always been a history of violence at it.

This year, because of the good strong relationships built up since the 1995 parade, the people of the area were determined that it would not divide them, and came to an agreement.

I put that down to real community relations between people who realise there are two cultures in the area and both have to be addressed. For the past year people have tried to understand each other's culture, led by people like Sam Burch from the Cornerstone Community and Gerry Reynolds from the Clonard Monastery.

Political leadership during last week's crisis left a lot to be desired. The unionist leaders, in particular, should have thought a bit before issuing statements like Drumcree is unionism's last stand.

As for withdrawing from the Forum until Drumcree was over, I understood they were at the talks and in the Forum to solve, not make, problems.

. KATE KELLY is chairwoman of the Women's Information Group, which brings together women's groups, mainly in the greater Belfast area. She was formerly the leader of a Belfast Action Team co-ordinating community development in west Belfast, and an outreach worker with the Opsahl Commission. She comes from a Catholic background.

I WAS demented and despairing the media coverage of last week's events, listening to the politicians blaming everyone else and not taking any responsibility and then lecturing us, the public.

On the other hand, I felt some hope when I saw Aideen McGinley, chief executive of Fermanagh council, talking about the goodness of people in Enniskillen after the bomb there, and the positive ways in which people related.

When David Ervine speaks, he too seems to acknowledge that what he's saying is being listened to by people of very different views there's a real



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The Irish Times, July 20, 1996

sensitivity there. Similarly, when members of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition appear on radio and TV, they're at least constructive and inclusive. They don't exclude you in contrast, I don't even hear the mainstream politicians any more.

The politicians have to find a way to understand there is more in their lives in Northern Ireland which they share than which separates them. The Irish dimension is basically a distraction which isolates Protestants, making them fearful and feeling that they and their culture are not honoured. That's what I learned from the Opsahl Commission it allowed people to express their views and dignified them by listening courteously and taking them seriously.

By now we should have realised that violence is directly related to self confidence in socially deprived areas. If people haven't got a feeling of ownership over their lives, they will turn to violence. Similarly, Orangemen don't feel they have any ownership over their future. It should be a government priority to fund community initiatives in areas like Garvaghy Road and its Protestant equivalents.

. BARBARA LOMAS is head of politics at Belfast Royal Academy, a large north Belfast Protestant grammar school with some Catholic pupils. She is a practising member of the Church of Ireland.

WHEN TEACHING 16 and 17 year olds about the nature of politics, the first thing I say to them is there are different opinions and they have to listen to them all before they make up their minds where they stand. Over the past fortnight I have wished many times that somebody would get our politicians to do the same.

I think something is needed to force all sides to sit down and talk properly. I remember listening to a lecture by Padraig O'Malley (Massachusetts based author of several authoritative books on Northern Ireland) at Queen's University recently. He said no major disaster had occurred to force the sides in Northern Ireland to leave their trenches and meet in the middle.

After nearly two years of peace the politicians are still debating whether they should talk at all, who should chair those talks, and what preconditions they will lay down for talking. Any sense of urgency seems to be missing. Last week demands a little more listening and talking to rather than talking at in the future.

Meanwhile people in our divided society who have been trying to move into nicer houses in mixed areas over the past two years are again being subject to what the papers call 'ethnic cleansing', and being forced back into whatever houses can be offered to them in areas where they feel safe.

The unionist leadership has to look carefully at how it voices the fears of the community it represents and to remember that there has to be compromise if progress is to be made. Also I don't think the SDLP appreciates the alienation the Protestant community feels.

For example, if you listen to the Protestants in areas of Northern Ireland in which they are a minority, there is a sense that the Irish Government speaks for nationalists, the British government is neutral, but they have no one to rely on except themselves.

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The Irish Times, July 20, 1996

. HELENA SCHLINDWEIN is co-ordinator of the A Action for Locally Managing Stress centre in Derry, which helps stress sufferers, particularly from political violence. She was a candidate for the NIWC.

IN ONE sense, last week could wreck the peace process totally, yet in another it could be like the lancing of a boil which might allow healing to take place. In recent years sufficient people have risen above their tribal stances and see the humanity of the other side. Good work has been done by cross community workers who have developed great respect for each other.

I would hope that what happened in Portadown with the unionist leadership taking stances which seemed almost surreal wouldn't happen elsewhere. My experience of working with unionist people in Derry is that many want to dissociate themselves from what happened there.

It's vitally important that people in cross community work should maintain contact with each other. There is great isolation in this work, anyway, when you step out from your community and work on issues like rape and battered women which are deemed a distraction from the national question, and not men's business.

Events like Drumcree isolate you even more. You have to be either Protestant or Catholic and are not allowed to work between the trenches. Anything that is not to do with the constitutional question or the national question is seen as 'soft' politics. Women's and children's rights are not serious business but nationalist and unionist rights are.

Having said that, nationalists in Northern Ireland waited last week with bated breath for justice which did not happen. In Derry the local Sinn Fein politicians and the community groups have worked hard to channel people's anger constructively.

If that hadn't happened last weekend's riots could have been a lot worse. I hope that kind of leadership will continue and include discussions with others coming up to the Apprentice Boys march on 10th August.

. GEMMA BROLLY is manager of the Newry Volunteer Bureau, which has nearly 500 volunteers working in community projects in the south Down area. She has worked widely in community work in Newry, Armagh and Belfast.

LAST WEEK'S events have isolated band angered the nationalist community, including many moderates. The issue of second class citizenship has come back with a vengeance. I have met three people in the past week who are talking publicly about getting out of Northern Ireland. People fear what's ahead, asking if we are facing another 25 years of violence.

People are appalled at David Trimble for his selective support of the Mitchell principles. They are angry about the more than 6,000 plastic bullets fired last week, only a few hundred were fired at the Orangemen during the Drumcree standoff.

We run a reconciliation programme for young people. We had one sensible young Protestant woman on it from an outlying Protestant village Newry is perceived as a Catholic town. She was in the town when the Drumcree news came through. She



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The Irish Times, July 20, 1996

phoned home and was told to come home early.

She was due to come back the following day to finish her team project but was told by neighbours that if she did so, the house wouldn't be there when she got back.

After Drumcree there were burnings in Newry every night. One morning I was returning from a meeting in south Armagh down the Dublin road, through a middle class area, and there were two burning cars and young people stoned my car and tried to stop it. Camlough and Armagh were the same.

I was recently in St James's Palace in London for Prince Charles's Prince's Trust and last week I was at Hillsborough Castle with Lady Mayhew doing my best to use our situation to bring people together. After last week I started to think why would anyone bother taking all the flak for going to these places? I suppose you just have to keep doing it and trying to build it up again for the sake of peace.

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LEVEL 5 - 6 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Irish Times
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July 20, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: OPINION; POLITICS; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 1707 words

HEADLINE: Drumcree a sign of unionist weakness

BYLINE: By DICK WALSH

BODY:

TO MANY reasserting the primacy of politics threadbare platitude, the kind of ambition that politicians set for themselves when they have nothing more precise to say.

It's usually accompanied by the hope that, by the time the promise is due to be redeemed, the public wills have forgotten about it.

That isn't the case with the promise made by the Irish and British governments in London this week. Nor is there anything vague and ill defined about the obligation which their promise imposes on the North's parties and politicians.

There is a deadline for agreement on the right to march and the way in which it's to be exercised or limited in the interests of both communities and the future of Northern Ireland.

The date is August 10th when the Apprentice Boys are due to march in Derry. But, even before that deadline is reached, as the multi party discussions resume in Belfast next week, constitutional leaders will have to demonstrate their determination to make politics work.

And that means leading, not following at the pace of the slowest plainly acknowledging limitations, not pretending they don't exist selling the message that the best investment in the future is compromise.

Parties which demand all or nothing, whether their all is a united Ireland or a return to Stormont, will end up with nothing. Leaders who pretend otherwise will be swallowed by their supporters.

David Trimble risks this fate. When he returned from Drumcree last week, the smile was on the face of the Orange tiger he'd attempted to ride. He went there to repay the Orange investment in his leadership and ended up contributing to the pretence that a minor victory in a local skirmish amounted to significant success.

Drumcree was not a success for anyone not for the nationalists who were batoned off the road, or for the RUC whose batons may have ensured the alienation of yet another generation of nationalists and certainly not for the



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unionist parties and the Orange Order.

If the message that Mr Trimble meant to convey to his supporters was that all was well with the unionist family, in the sense that none of its old certainties was about to be disturbed, then he was fooling himself or trying to fool them.

Drumcree is more accurately described as a sign of weakness and lack of direction than as a confirmation of strength. A community that was sure of itself would not have needed to put on the display that Ian Paisley, Mr Trimble and their friends called for.

BUT the most severe criticism of the unionist leaders was not by John Bruton, who went straight for the British government it came from people who favour the union but not at any price, John Alderdice on one side and the loyalist paramilitaries on the other.

Mr Bruton said the British government had been partial and inconsistent. The paramilitaries, as reported by the Rev Roy Magee on UTV on Thursday night, said Mr Paisley and Mr Trimble were playing with people's lives.

But when Mr Trimble was found to have met a former UVF prisoner, Billy Wright, at the height of the trouble in Drumcree, both men insisted that all they'd talked about was the need to avoid violence.

Those who had criticised Mr Trimble for refusing to meet Portadown and Belfast delegations because they included former IRA prisoners were sceptical. They accused him of inconsistency.

Consistency, you've probably spotted, is not a notable feature of politics.

The right to march, now loudly proclaimed by the unionists and resisted by their opponents, was once among the demands of the civil rights movement. A right often officially denied by ministers of home affairs and unofficially by Mr Paisley's friends.

The right, and the political wisdom of insisting on it, was debated at length in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) and People's Democracy (PD) before the PD members set off on the march which came to grief at Burntollet.

The question was whether it was wise to walk through hostile territory, so risking, if not inviting, attack. The arguments of those who marched was that even if they were attacked, and they were, it would simply show up the nature of the opposition.

NATIONALISTS of all shades condemned the British government and the RUC Chief Constable for giving way to the biggest threat at Drumcree, though neither the politicians nor Cardinal Cahal Daly said what the police should or could have done.

Have they all forgotten the burning of British embassy offices in Dublin after Bloody Sunday? As the offices blazed of the cheers of tens of thousands of protesters, the gardai who were present stood by.

I'm not sure how many gardai were on duty that night certainly not thousands.



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The Irish Times, July 20, 1996

But as Ministers looked across Merrion Square when the fire eventually took hold, one suggested that maybe it was just as well.

If the embassy offices hadn't gone up, he muttered, as he wandered off through the corridors of Leinster House to his offices in Merrion Street, the crowd might have turned on something else.

But the burning of the embassy scarcely rated a mention, though several reports managed to compare Drumcree and its aftermath with the events of August 1969, when serious street fighting began in Belfast.

The comparison may have been made simply to spice up reports the effect was to heighten feelings of sectarian hostility by stirring confused memories of events which happened a generation ago.

There were some similarities between 1969 and 1996, but there were important differences, too, among them the fact that in 1969 no one imagined what lay ahead. There would be no excuse for failures of imagination now.

Much damage has already been done. The RUC has been accused, rightly it seems, of alienating a new generation of young Catholics. Solid members of the SDLP, Seamus Mallon and Joe Hendron in particular, have complained of great anger and bitterness among their constituents.

Independent observers report that SDLP supporters are being driven into the arms of Sinn Féin while republicans arguing for a political approach are overwhelmed by their militant colleagues.

Mr Bruton's BBC interview last weekend took Mr Major and his advisers by surprise. Sir Patrick Mayhew felt offended at the Taoiseach's tone of reproof and disbelief. But Mr Bruton's tone, more indignant than he has sounded for years, was a model of restraint by comparison with the fury of many political and journalistic observers in or from the Republic.

On RTE, Charlie Bird went one better than others who had evoked the spirit of 1969 and compared Drumcree with the Battle of the Somme, before becoming all but speechless with excitement.

As the Republic lurched into the greenery, Brenda reasonably of policemen hammering unarmed Catholics off the streets.

Then she went on to explain that this was done so that a gang of bigots with chamber pots on their heads and curtain pelmets around their necks could parade past (the Catholics') homes to celebrate another year of seeing the Croppies lie down".

And as if to confirm how little has changed on this side of the Border, there was Ulick O'Connor, apoplectic as ever, screeching at fellow guests on the Sunday Show to shut up, for Christ's sake, because he'd heard enough from them.

The motto proposed by Mitchel McLaughlin later in the week was negotiate, don't intimidate. It seemed a reasonable request to the organisers of potentially offensive parades. He'd win plaudits all round if only he could convince the Provisional IRA to adopt it.



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The Irish Times, July 20, 1996

But given the IRA's record, from Canary Wharf to Peckham by way of Adare and Laois and Osnabrtick, I don't imagine the IRA will.

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LEVEL 5 - 7 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Irish Times
The Irish Times

July 17, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 1267 words

HEADLINE: Questions on Trimble call for British response

BYLINE: By VINCENT BROWNE

BODY:

OF all the revelations concerning Mr David Trimble's conduct over these last 10 days, the revelation that he met the former UVF prisoner, Mr Billy Wright, at the height of the Drumcree crisis, is by far the most serious. This is an illustration of inconsistency in meeting members of one paramilitary organisation while refusing to meet mere associates (Sinn Fein) of another paramilitary organisation.

Mr Trimble claims the purpose of the Wright meeting was to urge the continuance of the loyalist ceasefire and that this was in line with his concern to ensure calm and restraint through the siege of Drumcree. That claim of concern for calm and restraint is questionable.

According to himself, David Trimble repeatedly warned Sir Hugh Annesley, the RUC chief constable, and others, that if the Drumcree Orange march were re routed to avoid the Garvaghy Road there would be a major confrontation with members of the Orange Order, leading, perhaps, to wide scale violence. As a concerned political leader and citizen, Mr Trimble believed it incumbent upon him to issue such warnings.

The decision having been taken to re-route the march, David Trimble might have been expected to deplore the decision, perhaps to advise a token protest at Drumcree and promise that he and his party vigorously would seek to secure through political means the civil and religious liberties which were stated to be at issue in Drumcree. He might also have been expected to call for a dispersal of the Orange marchers at Drumcree, lest any stand off there would lead to the conflagration that he had fearfully predicted.

WHAT he did was precisely the reverse. Believing that the decision was likely to cause a major confrontation, far from seeking to avert it he sought to hasten it by calling on members of the Orange Order throughout Northern Ireland to muster" at Drumcree. And, in language certain to inflame passions, he said Dublin are giving the orders" (about the re-routing of the march). In a few hours time, the rest of the province will show their support."

He then went on to identify himself with statements that could hardly have been more inflammatory.

Rev Martin Smyth MP, head of the Orange Order and his fellow Unionist MP,



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said it was sometimes necessary to break the law, indicating that it was then necessary to break the law. He said, "There can be no compromise," echoing what David Trimble proclaimed after an honourable compromise a year previously. Mr Harold Gracie, the District Orange Master, with whom David Trimble stood shoulder to shoulder throughout the siege, said Drumcree was "Ulster's Alamo". We will not be giving into John Bruton, Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness or any other spokesperson for Jesuit priests."

Mr Trimble evinced not a twitch of embarrassment.

Throughout the confrontation, as was the case the previous year, David Trimble acted in concert with Rev Ian Paisley. Mr Paisley said. "This is not just the siege of Drumcree, but the siege of the province and of the whole of the United Kingdom

We're fighting for the promise of the life to come and that's worth fighting for and 5 worth dying for."

David Trimble is the MP for the area where this "siege" took place. He was centrally involved in the confrontation that occurred the previous year. He therefore had a special responsibility especially as he had become leader of the main political party in Northern Ireland in the mean time of attempting to defuse any such conflict this year.

Mr Trimble claims that his self imposed ordinance against trucking with paramilitaries had to be suspended in the instance of his meeting with members of the UVF on Wednesday night last because of the "exceptional circumstances" then obtaining. This would be plausible and perhaps even laudable were it believable.

If the exceptional circumstances permitted his hour long meeting with Mr Wright and his cohorts, how is it that the same "exceptional circumstances" did not permit him to meet with another group (the Garvaghy Road Residents Association) of which only one member had any paramilitary connections and that in the past tense? This question is all the more pertinent given David Trimble's special responsibility in those circumstances.

QUESTIONS concerning David Trimble should now not be directed just at David Trimble but at John Major and Sir Patrick Mayhew as well. How is it that throughout the period when David Trimble was seen so brazenly to identify himself with the threat of the use of force they did not utter a single word of rebuke?

How is it that now David Trimble can participate in the multi party talks when participation in such talks is declared to be conditional on acceptance of the principle that all parties disavow the use of force or the threatened use of force? How is it that the British government does not even ask him to explain him sell?

There are two other points now to be made to the British government, quite aside from the issue of whether the capitulation to the Orange marchers was the lesser of two evils.

Why did both John Major and Sir Patrick Mayhew cut the ground from under the



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The Irish Times, July 17, 1996

feet of Sir Hugh Annesley by signalling at meetings with David Trimble and others early last week that the RUC chief constable's re-routing of the Orange march was negotiable this was the only inference from their calls for "compromise" and "dialogue"?

And finally, if the removal of the threat or possibility of violence is essential to equality within the multi party talks (the argument for IRA decommissioning) how can such talks ever be equal given that they themselves (Major and Mayhew) have acknowledged that loyalist violence and the threat of loyalist violence is the ultimate determinant of official policy?

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LEVEL 5 - 9 OF 30 STORIES

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July 15, 1996, Monday

SECTION: TITLE; Page 1

LENGTH: 849 words

HEADLINE: The dying embers of peace

BYLINE: JOHN RENTOUL MICHAEL STREETER JOJO MOYES and ALAN MURDOCH

BODY:

The Northern Ireland peace process was close to complete disintegration last night as positions hardened following the bomb explosion at Enniskillen early yesterday.

With the momentum of events building towards more conflict and bloodshed since the flashpoint at Drumcree last week, Sir Patrick Mayhew, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, is to make a statement in the Commons this afternoon.

The Irish Government requested an emergency meeting this week between the British and Irish prime ministers but, with John Major still irritated by John Bruton's outspoken criticism of the about-turn at Drumcree, the request met with a cool response in Downing Street.

The Killyhevlin hotel bomb, the first in Northern Ireland since the 1994 ceasefire, was condemned on almost all sides yesterday, amid fears of a violent backlash by loyalist para-military groups.

But hopes of peace still hung by a slender thread last night as it emerged that the bomb was probably the work of Republican Sinn Fein, a splinter group, rather than the IRA itself.

Sinn Fein's president, Gerry Adams, said he was greatly relieved no one had been seriously hurt in the attack, which injured 17 people, and said he was "immensely suspicious" as to who carried it out "at a point when the British Government and Unionist leaders are in the dock".

He said that, for them, "this comes at a very fortuitous time".

Mr Adams said that when the "real authors" of the bombing were identified "we will see there were dirty tricks involved".

As nationalist feelings ran high, Roman Catholic outrage over Drumcree was expressed in strong language by Cardinal Cahal Daly, Primate of All Ireland. "For 25 years I have condemned violence from all quarters, but I now feel betrayed - betrayed by the British Government," he told GMTV's Sunday programme



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Asked who was responsible for the breakdown of the peace process, he said: "Sadly, regrettably, I have to say that I lay the blame fairly and squarely on the British Government." But he appealed for calm, saying: "We must not allow this to happen; we must pull back from that awful brink."

Despite condemnations of the bomb, the recriminations over Drumcree also put severe strain on the all-party consensus at Westminster.

Marjorie Mowlam, Labour's spokeswoman, described the decision of the mainly Roman Catholic SDLP to pull out of the peace forum as "understandable".

She repeated her demand for an independent commission to look at parades and marches, and said it was "really serious" that the "rule of law has been brushed aside" by the decision to let the Orange march at Drumcree to go ahead.

Lord Holme, for the Liberal Democrats, accused British ministers of being implicated in the "disastrous" reversal of policy at Drumcree. He asked: "How could they not have planned ahead for the marches after Drumcree last year?"

Relations between London and Dublin have hit a new low, with Mr Major said to be still "incandescent" at Mr Bruton's criticisms of him over Drumcree and Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring admitting that "very wide gaps" had appeared between the two governments which would be "extremely difficult" to bridge.

A Downing Street spokeswoman had no comment on the Irish request for a summit, and said talks would be "at the level of Sir Patrick and Mr Spring" in the course of all-party talks starting tomorrow.

Yesterday Mr Spring maintained the blunt criticism of the about-turn over Drumcree, saying British decisions regarding one community had signally failed to judge the effect on the nationalist side, and had simply "revisited mistakes of the past".

He complained that effective security co-operation and consultation achieved between the two Governments in recent years had not been forthcoming in the past week.

This provoked a furious reaction from the arch-Unionist wing of the Conservative Party. David Wilshire, the Tory MP for Spelthorne, told the Independent: "The time has come to tear up the Anglo-Irish Agreement." He said the Irish Government was not "entitled to be consulted on policing decisions in a part of the United Kingdom". And he added that the British Government had to "square up to terrorists rather than appease them".

Meanwhile, Mr Adams, speaking on Irish radio, said the British Government had to be "straightened out" after Drumcree. "They have to have manners put on them" to enable meaningful all-party talks to become a possibility, he said.

On the other side of the sectarian trenches, Unionist politicians warned that the loyalist paramilitary ceasefire was close to breaking. David Ervine of the Progressive Unionist Party - aligned with the loyalist paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force - said the bomb had been the culmination of an absolutely tragic week.

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The Independent, July 15, 1996

He said he would continue to appeal to the loyalist paramilitary groups not to react. But he believed the bombing was "likely to get a response", adding: "Frankly my honeyed words of the benefits and merits of peace are wearing somewhat thin."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 16, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 10 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Irish Times
The Irish Times

July 15, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: HOME NEWS; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 1267 words

HEADLINE: Drumcree a setback for rule of law in short term, says Annesley
Sir Hugh Annesley has again defended his decision to allow Orangemen down
Garvaghy Road. Gerry Moriarty reports

BYLINE: By GERRY MORIARTY

BODY:

THE rule of law suffered a "set back" at Drumcree, the RUC Chief Constable, Sir Hugh Annesley, has stated. But he was not prepared to risk one life at Drumcree and Garvaghy, even if the alternative was the "potential overrun of law in the short term", he added yesterday in a BBC radio interview.

Sir Hugh again denied that there was any British government pressure on him to allow the Orange parade through Garvaghy Road on Thursday.

"The allegation that there was political interference is unadulterated rubbish," he stated.

He said the RUC was within a "whisker" of an accommodation at Drumcree and Garvaghy. He did not elaborate on what that accommodation might have been.

A sufficient number of people can overrun the police in the short term, and this has been evidenced previously in race riots in London, in the burning of the British embassy in Dublin and in farmer protests in France, he said.

"If there is a rule of law it must be accepted by the Orangemen as well as everybody else, otherwise there is no long term future for law and order in this province," he added.

"In any assessment of what may have been open to the Portadown Orange Lodge to express their protest about the (Drumcree) decision, nothing but nothing could justify bringing this province to a standstill, with the burning, the violence, the attacks on ordinary members of the public," the chief constable told BBC Radio Ulster.

"And their stance should have been condemned roundly by constitutional politicians, and the public, they should have obeyed the rule of law."

The Orange Order should have obeyed the public notice to march back from Drumcree by a non contentious route. "They talk frequently about being part of the United Kingdom, of fighting for the United Kingdom. If they want to do that they will have to take on board the cohesion and the support for law that exists everywhere else in the United Kingdom."



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The Irish Times, July 15, 1996

Sir Hugh said that there was "significant paramilitary involvement in the Ormeau Road and Garvaghy Road. The public order situation has been specifically manipulated by the Provisional IRA/Sinn Fein, and by loyalist paramilitaries.

"At the same time, I do not and would never suggest that the Garvaghy Road consists of people who are republicans and who are against the police and law and order. That is not so. There are very large numbers of decent people there who object to these marches.

"And I have to remind you of the scenes in the aftermath of an agreed solution last year. Let me stress again there was an agreed accommodation between the Orange Lodge and the Garvaghy Road residents. Each side stuck to it honestly and in accordance with that agreement.

"When that march finally got into Portadown there were scenes of Messrs Paisley and Trimble in circumstances which the Garvaghy Road and subsequently the Ormeau Road described as triumphalist.

"And that had a significant and deep bearing on the failure of the Garvaghy Road residents to move an inch throughout this entire year."

Sir Hugh said that the 3 000 RUC officers and British troops at Drumcree could not have contained the threat from the Orangemen and their supporters. "There was no issue of using live rounds. You simply do not contemplate using live rounds on a public order crowd in the United Kingdom.

"I would not have traded one life at the Garvaghy Road. If the rule of law had to be turned back in the short term, then so be it. That patch of road is not worth one human life."

A mechanism must now be put in place to avoid a Drumcree Mark III, he added. "I, and my officers, are sick to death of it. We cannot win. We are always blamed, and many of the people who could and should have done something to broker an agreement are sitting on the sidelines sniping at me. Well I reject it (the blame)."

Asked about nationalist perceptions that it was always easier for the police to confront "the Taigs, rather than the Prods", Sir Hugh said he could understand that the nationalist people felt unhappy with what had ensued.

"I feel unhappy about it. My force feels unhappy about it. What happened here was an outrageous attempt by one side to impose their will on the other by the sheer weight of force. And in the short term, the RUC failed to be able to deliver the alternative," he admitted.

"In seven years, I have never made a decision that was not based on impartiality. We have lost ground with the nationalist community. I bitterly regret that. I hope the people in the nationalist community will realise just how hard we tried to fairly deliver a situation."

He did not accept that greater police force had been directed against nationalist protesters than against Orangemen and loyalists. The RUC had



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The Irish Times, July 15, 1996

confronted Orangemen and loyalists "and determinedly and robustly faced them in accordance with the rule of law".

His officers were directed to ensure the march went down Garvaghy Road as "effectively and peacefully as possible". People must consider that as the march began to go down there many petrol bombs were already in place, ready to be fired at the RUC.

"We do not want confrontation. There are no winners in violence."

He would not consider bringing forward his resignation. "I do not regret the earlier decision, and I do not regret the second decision which I regard as one of the most difficult I have made. But I am glad it was made with courage, if I may say so myself, and with the support of those around me, and with the moral judgment that Garvaghy Road was not worth a life.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 15, 1996

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LEVEL 5 - 13 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Sunday Telegraph Limited
Sunday Telegraph

July 14, 1996, Sunday

SECTION: Pg. 18

LENGTH: 1298 words

HEADLINE: FOCUS: JUST A 15-MINUTE WALK How did a simple Orange march come to set Northern Ireland ablaze? Jenny McCartney explains

BYLINE: BY JENNY MCCARTNEY

BODY:

BURNED out cars lie at the side of pavements. The facades of torched shops are boarded up. Police and army vehicles circle the empty streets. "All this - because of a 15-minute walk" reads the graffito in Loyalist Belfast. It is a strange slogan, half-threat and half-regret. Yet it hints at what many people are wondering: how could a dispute over an Orange parade down a road in Portadown set Northern Ireland ablaze? Like the huge, teetering bonfires erected by Loyalists for the Twelfth of July, the confrontation had been building for a long time. Its foundations are in the centuries-old antagonisms of Irish history. But the spark was lit last year at Drumcree in Portadown - and last week, that spark became a conflagration. The Protestant Orangemen of the area have been marching for the past 189 years to a church service at Drumcree, and returning via the Garvaghy Road, one of the main thoroughfares into Portadown. In the Sixties, a number of housing estates were built along the Garvaghy Road, and Catholic families moved in. Now, Catholics are by far in the majority on the Garvaghy Road, although Portadown remains a predominantly Protestant town. In recent years, the Garvaghy Residents Coalition has become increasingly vocal, demanding that the Orange parade be routed away from Garvaghy Road. The Orangemen retorted that the right to march along their traditional route was vital to the expression of their civil and religious liberty. Furthermore, the Orangemen said that it was not ordinary Catholics but Republican activists who were seeking to restrict their march for political reasons. They pointed to the leader of the Garvaghy Residents, Brendan McKenna, a former IRA activist who was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment for helping to blow up a hall in Portadown belonging to the Royal British Legion. The Garvaghy Residents Coalition said that the Orangemen's march past a Nationalist area was triumphalist and offensive. If the Orangemen wouldn't stop it, then the British Government and the RUC should. And they themselves would come out to stage a protest against the march. Last year, fearing a violent confrontation between Orangemen and Garvaghy Road residents, the RUC tried to re-route the Orange march at the last minute. The result was a three-day stand-off between Orangemen and police. Finally a compromise was reached, and 800 Orangemen were allowed to march down the road in silence, without their bands. The march was silent, the aftermath was not. It was noisily hailed as a victory for the Orange Order by David Trimble, now leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, and Ian Paisley, leader of the Democratic Unionist Party. But the louder the Orange victory cries last year, the surer the confrontation this year. And so it came. Exactly the same argument, this time set against a background of growing tension - a peace



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1996 The Sunday Telegraph Limited, July 14, 1996

process that lay in the rubble of the IRA bombs in Docklands and Manchester; resentful, alienated Unionists; frustrated Nationalists. All this and more converged upon Drumcree. The RUC Chief Constable, Sir Hugh Annesley, announced on the Saturday before the Orange parade that the Orangemen would be banned from marching down Garvaghy Road on public-order grounds. He said that the decision was purely operational. The Orangemen, and Unionist leaders, said it was political, enacted at the behest of the Irish government. London and Dublin routinely confer on the routing of marches. The "15-minute walk" had become heavy with symbolism. Orangemen massed again at Drumcree. Loyalist fury, which had lain uneasily dormant, erupted across Northern Ireland. Youths rioted in Protestant areas with petrol bombs, cars were hijacked and burned, shops looted or burned down. Protests blocked roads and sealed off towns. For others there were memories of the Ulster Workers Strike in 1974, when Loyalists brought Northern Ireland to a standstill, and the power-sharing executive down, in protest at plans to create an all-Ireland Council of Ireland. By last Thursday more than 10,000 Orangemen assembled at Drumcree, determined to march. They were poised to swell to more than 50,000 by the following day - the Twelfth of July, when Orangemen commemorate the victory of King William at the Boyne in 1690. Opposite them were thousands of RUC men, backed by soldiers. Finally, the Chief Constable changed his decision, and allowed a procession of Orangemen to march silently down the Garvaghy Road. With the clatter of Army helicopters overhead, they walked down in their sashes, staring straight ahead, to the sound of one drum beating. RUC vehicles followed behind. On the embankment, Nationalist residents stood, protesting. One woman yelled "Up the IRA!" to cheers. "That's an awful long road boys - five days it took you to walk it," shouted a man. As the Orangemen passed down the road, residents vented their rage with the RUC. "The Chief Constable told us they weren't coming, and now he backtracks. The police sold us out," said one woman. Another asked angrily: "Where are Sinn Fein? Where are the IRA?" In private, some residents of Garvaghy Road said: "If they were going to let us down, they should have just let us down at the beginning, and not waited five days." Outside the harsher politics of the street had taken hold. With a slow inevitability, the rioting began. A van was overturned and set on fire in the middle of the road. Nationalist youths came out to throw petrol bombs and stones at RUC vehicles. RUC men fired back plastic bullets. One spectator said: "Forget about a few stones and petrol bombs. It's been levelled before, and it'll be levelled again." He was speaking about the town of Portadown, the centre of which was destroyed some years ago by a massive IRA bomb. The contagion of rage which had spread through Loyalist areas earlier in the week, when the Orange march was banned, had passed to Nationalist areas as soon as the march was permitted. Nationalist hopes that the RUC was going to face down the Orangemen had been allowed to build for five days. The dashing of those hopes was the worst of all scenarios. After the parade, the Orangemen quietly dispersed. There was none of the swagger which had characterised Drumcree last year. Around the bonfires in Belfast's Shankill Road that night, Protestant youths were also curiously subdued. What did they think of what had happened at Drumcree? One said wearily: "I'm glad the Orangemen got to walk through. They had to do it, it's in their hearts. But we have had our turn and now the Catholics are going to have theirs." With a sweep of his hand, he gestured towards the Falls Road. "We're so close to each other. And once they start, we'll have to do something back." He shook his head. "This country is a mess." Since then, night after night, in town after town, the street violence has escalated. On Friday night, in Londonderry alone, 1,000 petrol bombs were thrown. Elsewhere, RUC stations have come under gunfire attack, and police have returned fire. It seems likely that the IRA is planning a return to full-scale



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violence in Northern Ireland and if that happens it will be almost impossible for the Loyalist paramilitaries' ceasefire to continue. "Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold," wrote Yeats. His line describes Northern Ireland, as the violence escalates. Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein leader, has said that "the peace process lies in absolute ruins". Unionist and Nationalist leaders are pitted against one another, and there is acrimony between London and Dublin over the handling of Drumcree. All this - because of a 15-minute walk? No. These are the old divisions, cracks which were papered over by the disintegrating paramilitary ceasefires. Sadly for Northern Ireland, it was a walk just waiting to happen.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 14, 1996

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LEVEL 5 - 18 OF 30 STORIES

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The Herald (Glasgow)

July 11, 1996

SECTION: Pg. 10

LENGTH: 1467 words

HEADLINE: As the Drumcree stand-off continues, Herald writers analyse its implications for Ulster's future; Pouring fuel on the fire

BYLINE: From Russell Edmunds In Belfast;;

BODY:

ON the face of it, the Orangemen's protest at Drumcree is about the right to march down a mile-long stretch of road in County Armagh. Behind the new headlines from Ulster lie more far-reaching reasons for the violence.

It is now about two years since the IRA declared a ceasefire, followed six weeks later by a similar announcement from loyalist terror groups. The late summer and autumn of 1994 heralded a new era for Northern Ireland after 25 years of conflict but, from the outset, the Unionist majority in Ulster were far from convinced.

Why, they asked, had the IRA stopped? Was there a hidden agenda - a deal which might weaken the link with Britain and give Dublin or Nationalists in Ulster a greater say in the future of the province.

Despite assurances from London, the Unionist suspicions were fuelled by revelations that secret contacts had been established between British Government officials and the IRA as early as 1990.

No sooner was the IRA ceasefire in place than a new row developed over whether it was "permanent" or not. Unionists demanded that unless the peace was confirmed as permanent, the Government should not enter into talks with the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein.

Within months and without any such assurance, the Government accepted as "a working assumption" that the IRA ceasefire would not be reversed, which, of course, it was.

However, the issue which angered the Unionists even more was that of decommissioning of terrorist weapons.

Once again, the Unionists felt the Government was adopting an unduly soft approach to the IRA and Sinn Fein, whose leader Gerry Adams was welcomed in Dublin and Washington, while his political side-kicks engaged in ground-breaking talks with Government officials and Ministers at Stormont.

As the ceasefire held, the Government lifted closure orders on cross-border roads between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. Troops were withdrawn to



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barracks and their numbers substantially reduced. Remission rates for prisoners were increased to 50% of sentences enabling more terrorist convicts to be released early.

Perhaps the most annoying aspect of all for Unionists is the high-profile role played by the Irish Government and the perception, if not reality, that its Ministers and officials are in frequent and friendly contact with their British counterparts in London and Belfast on matters relating to Northern Ireland.

One of those matters has certainly been Orange parades. In the post-ceasefire era, a new phrase grew in Ulster's political vocabulary - "parity of esteem".

Nationalists argued that if the peace was to be preserved and built on, the old dominance of the Unionist majority could not revisit Ulster. In future, the British Unionist and Irish Nationalist traditions, the Orange and the Green could only exist side by side in harmony if both were given equal respect.

Against this background, Nationalists in Ulster have been demanding that their Irish Gaelic culture is just as deserving of a place in the sun as the Orange tradition and they have begun to challenge with a new confidence and strong support from the Irish Government, the manner in which Protestants organise around 3000 annual parades.

The origins of that challenge can be traced back to 1985 when a historic agreement was signed between the British and Irish Governments to give Dublin a limited say in Ulster's affairs.

A consequence of that pact was that Irish Ministers demanded a more even-handed approach to the control and policing of Protestant marches. Several Orange parades which passed near or through flashpoint Catholic neighbourhoods were reviewed and, mostly with the reluctant agreement of the Orange Order, have been re-routed in other directions in recent years.

"Enough is enough." These words have been heard time and again this week from protesters at Drumcree church confronting the police lines. To the Orangemen and to the Unionist majority, too many concessions are being made by London to appease nationalist feelings in Ulster and the demands of the Irish Government.

Although Secretary of State Sir Patrick Mayhew insists the RUC decision to re-route the Drumcree parade last Sunday was taken on purely "operational" grounds, few in the Unionist community believe him.

Instead they suspect the hand of Dublin and charge that the RUC chief constable is no longer his own man. In short, the re-routing is seen as a political decision and that serves to fuel the fires that are now burning so dangerously in Ulster this week.

To the Orangemen of Drumcree, the re-routing is only the latest in a long line of concessions at the behest of Dublin to appease the IRA and Sinn Fein. Shameful though this week's violence has been, it represents the lancing of a Unionist boil that has been festering for months if not years.



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The Herald (Glasgow), July 11, 1996

After watching the Sinn Fein leadership being heralded during the ceasefire period, the Unionists have put down a marker at Drumcree. Enough is enough, or as the old Orange slogan goes, "Not an inch and no surrender." The message coming out of the flames of Ulster this week is that the Unionists are in no mood to make further concessions.

For the so-called peace process, the omens are not good. Nationalists are demanding equality or parity of esteem. Unionists and Orangemen are saying they, too, have rights which must be recognised and, like their parade route from Drumcree church in County Armagh, preserved for another day, another July.

No-one wants to give way. As the Irish nationalist tradition asserts itself and demands parity of esteem, the British Unionists are saying: "What we have we hold." Drumcree means not an inch more.

LOAD-DATE: July 12, 1996

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LEVEL 5 - 19 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Daily Telegraph plc
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July 10, 1996, Wednesday

SECTION: Pg. 04

LENGTH: 647 words

HEADLINE: THE SIEGE OF DRUMCREE The Orangemen stand defiant on a diet of tea, soup and pop music

BYLINE: By Colin Randall in Drumcree

BODY:

FROM his makeshift studio in the parish hall at Drumcree, Co Armagh, Nigel Dawson's voice drifted over the heads of 1,000 loyalists assembled behind barbed wire separating them from a line of police Land Rovers. "You are listening to the Drumcree Roadshow and the wavelength is 1690," he said, keen not to miss a chance to refer to the year of King William of Orange's victory at the Battle of the Boyne. At the front-line barricade, competing with the disc jockey's diet of news, messages of encouragement and bursts of Eric Clapton, Tina Turner and the Four Seasons, the girls of the Portadown Star of David Accordion Band dipped into their repertoire. With the RUC ranks lined up ahead, their role was as much to signal the Orangemen's defiance as to entertain. It was day three of the Siege of Drumcree, or Seige according to the erratic spelling of badges designed to mark a similar stand-off last year which lasted until Orangemen were allowed to march their traditional pre-July 12th route through the nationalist Garvaghy Road. After earlier clashes with the police at Drumcree, and two nights of lawlessness by loyalist mobs throughout the province, the mood seemed friendlier yesterday. On the mainly Roman Catholic Ballyoran estate, children played noisily on the Saracen armoured cars of British soldiers as older residents rejected claims that their opposition to the march was Sinn Fein/IRA-inspired. Meanwhile, cardboard boxes packed with airline-style snacks were handed out to policemen and women. Beyond the barbed wire and up the hill, Protestant wives worked at the church hall, making piles of sandwiches and gallons of tea. Bowls of stew went for 50p each, rounds of sandwiches for pounds 1. Among the Ulster accents from the sash-wearing demonstrators, a few English voices could be detected. Mike Barrett, 30, a civil servant of Harlow, Essex, believed that up to 40 Orangemen from North Essex and London lodges would be in Drumcree by Friday, the all-important July 12th of Protestant Ulster's calendar. "Part of it is patriotism, a belief in the United Kingdom," said Mr Barrett, who has no family links with the province. "But there is also a wish to see people able to live as they wish, as opposed to being forced to live in a different way. "This is a dignified protest. The violence elsewhere has nothing to do with it." David Packer, 26, a printer, of Hounslow, west London, belongs to the 1689 Westminster lodge. He realises that many people in mainland Britain would regard the activities of Orangemen as absurd, but blames the media. "I joined 70,000 in Loughgall, the birthplace of the Orange Order, for a perfectly peaceful parade two years ago," he said. "When I got home, I asked my family 'did you see me on the telly?' and of course, because there had been no trouble, it hadn't even been mentioned." Both Mr Barrett and Mr Packer said they were prepared to remain



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as long as necessary at Drumcree as a gesture of solidarity with their "brethren" opposed to the RUC decision to ban them from marching from a church service along the route they have followed for 189 years. No one doubts that the impasse has the potential to end nastily. Many thousands more Orangemen and loyalists are likely to gather at Drumcree on Friday, and all sides fear there could be serious trouble if no compromise has been struck beforehand. A statement by the Portadown District Loyal Orange Lodge No 1 condemned "without equivocation" the violence that has gripped the province this week. But far from criticising the civil disobedience that has accompanied the trouble, Orangemen are co-ordinating the action. "People have been inconvenienced," said Jeffrey Donaldson, assistant Grand Master of the Orange Order. "That is unfortunate. But it is not the fault of the Orange Order. It is a result of the denial of civil rights of Orangemen at Drumcree."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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LEVEL 5 - 20 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Irish Times
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July 10, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: HOME MEWS; Pg. 7

LENGTH: 1080 words

HEADLINE: Dr Eames appeals to both sides to resist return to the past

BYLINE: By MARIE O'HALLORAN

DATELINE: PORTADOWN

BODY:

ARCHBISHOP ROBIN Eames appealed for no words, actions or plan which would bring the North back "to the nightmare which we suffered for 25 years" when he visited Drumcree yesterday.

The Presbyterian Moderator Dr Harry Allen, who also visited Drumcree yesterday, said that regardless of the decision taken by the RUC Chief Constable, it was inevitable that one section of the community would feel strongly aggrieved. He urged both sides to talk, "as there is no possibility of peace in confrontation".

The Church of Ireland primate said: "Above all we have got to resist anything that would bring this province to its knees in terms of its economic progress, its tourism, its business life and anything which would make it worse".

Dr Eames said there was no doubt the Orange Order "feels very much that they want to see this scene, this whole situation out. On the other hand there are feelings being expressed in Garvaghy Road, and that scene has to be taken on board also.

"What we have to see is the Drumcree incident, if we could call it that, not only as a part of a parade issue and a piece of road, but as something to do with the whole situation which people find themselves in".

The Orangemen in the Drumcree area were trying to express their feelings not just in relation to the march in Drumcree, but as part of a wider picture in which "they perceive that their rights and their ethos are being eroded".

They were dealing with human nature and "people who feel they are caught up in something which quite frankly they don't understand. They find it impossible to come to terms with. This march to Drumcree church has been part of their tradition".

The whole situation in that area had been altered, he said, and he could understand the fears expressed on both sides.

Dr Eames said they had got to come to some reasonable solution. "What I am



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The Irish Times, July 10, 1996

appealing for at the moment is reasonableness, and not just building a situation in which, year in and year out, we're going to face this sort of a crisis. We've got to try and reach some sort of agreement whereby the rights and privileges of two communities much wider than Drumcree are recognised and are seen to be treated fairly."

Dr Eames, speaking to reporters on his second visit in two days, said: "Protest on either side will be utterly diluted by the sort of behaviour we've seen trying to bring this province to its knees again by violence and by burnings and by evictions."

"We have got to find a way out of this impasse," he said. "There is no excuse and no provision whatsoever for the sort of nightmare that we have experienced in this province during the past night. And I simply have to say to you, this is a human problem as much as a political one and we have got to seek reassurance and confidence, calmness and reasonableness."

Dr Allen said that people had a right to protest but it must always be restrained and dignified. "Threats should never be the grounds on which serious decisions are reached. Acceptable agreements must be found so that those who wish to parade may do so in a manner and frequency that residents can accommodate."

Following his visit to Drumcree on Monday, Dr Eames said in a statement it was a time to measure every word and action carefully and seize every opportunity to reach agreement.

"Having talked and listened at great length to those involved in the current impasse at Drumcree I am fully aware of the depth of their feeling at this time," he said.

Expressing appreciation for efforts made to observe the sanctity of church property, Dr Eames said the protesters viewed their action "as part of a wider picture in which the perception is that their rights and their ethos have been eroded by events far removed from Drumcree."

He was also aware of the feelings currently being expressed by the Garvaghy Road Residents Association, he said. "I regret that so far no accommodation of these conflicting views has been possible, for I believe some way must be found in which the rights, ethos and privileges of both communities are treated equally and fairly if this province is to look forward to any degree of stability in the future."

Drumcree is part of a wider problem and it cannot be separated from it. The real question is how do we, as a community, reach a point in which there is a realistic recognition of the just rights to celebrate and observe religious and civic freedom on the part of both traditions."

At this time, Dr Eames said, "every word and action must be measured carefully and every opportunity seized to reach agreement which will allow the freedom of expression and parity of esteem we all seek to become a reality. I appeal to everyone to resist the temptation to fall into the trap of violent words or actions which will delete the legitimacy of protest on either side."

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LEVEL 5 - 21 OF 30 STORIES

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The Irish Times

July 10, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 1480 words

HEADLINE: Drumcree explodes myth that NI peace is at hand

BYLINE: By VINCENT BROWNE

BODY:

What is most depressing about the Drumcree stand-off is how a penny candle issue has been blown into an inferno.

Whichever perspective this issue is viewed from there is nothing fundamental at stake and yet the future of what is known as the peace process has been put at risk.

The 15-minute passage of the Orange parade through Garvaghy Road would not have inflicted any grave injustice or disrespect on the Catholic residents of that area - and it would have been just 15 minutes had the Garvaghy Road residents not made an issue of it.

Equally, no grave compromise of liberty is involved by the requirement of the Orange marchers to return from Drumcree church the way they came.

If compromise over such trivialities is elusive, how then will it be possible to reach compromise over the nature of the Northern Ireland state?

Indeed, it has been the scorn that the unionist leader, David Trimble, has shown for compromise that is at the heart of the impasse.

Last year, a compromise had been reached between the Garvaghy Road residents and the Orange marchers, which involved the marchers passing silently through silent lines of nationalist protesters. But in the immediate aftermath of that compromise, David Trimble danced down the centre of Portadown hand in hand with Ian Paisley and exulted: "There was no compromise. We have come down the traditional route in normal fashion with our flags flying ... We were glad to be down the traditional route and we expect to be again."

That spectacle and reaction has made compromise this time around far more difficult.

Any expectation that the responsibility of leadership of the Unionist Party would evoke a less reckless response from David Trimble has been disappointed.

It was he who called on Sunday for members of the Orange Order to "muster" in Portadown in solidarity with their Drumcree brethren and it has been this "mustering" that has led to the confrontation and the escalation of the conflict



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in several other parts of Northern Ireland.

Far from seeking de-escalation and compromise, the other unionist leader, Ian Paisley, has hyped the issue into apocryphal dimensions. On Sunday night, he said: "This is not just the siege of Drumcree, it is the siege of the whole province and the siege of the United Kingdom.

He said they should be prepared to "fight" for their religious faith which was "worth dying for". The implication was that the Protestant faith was at stake at Drumcree.

At the time of writing (Tuesday afternoon), it is difficult to see how this impasse can end without grave escalation, but whatever the outcome, it highlights the extent to which conflict resolution has not even begun in Northern Ireland.

It is astonishing that over the last year, responsible citizens in Portadown did not try to resolve the conflict over this annual Orange march. It seems some efforts were made by Garvaghy Road residents but the local Orange lodge did not respond to letters, partly on the grounds that they did not wish to deal with the spokesperson for the residents who has a conviction for a terrorist offence.

But was it sensible for either side to leave it at that?

Would it not have been possible for a public meeting to have been arranged in Portadown involving the residents of Garvaghy Road and members of the Drumcree Orange lodge at which the Orange lodge members would have explained why marching down this road was important to them and the residents would have explained why it was objectionable to them?

Would it not have been possible in the last year to have removed some of the nationalist incomprehension of the Orange Order's identification of a right to march with civil and religious liberties?

Would it not have been possible also to have removed some of the unionist incomprehension of nationalist objections to Orange marches?

Is it inconceivable that a compromise along the lines of last year's could have been arranged, perhaps on this occasion with the marchers walking silently through Garvaghy Road in the absence of any nationalist protest?

Had John Hume been the local MP, it is certain he would have attempted to resolve that impasse over the past year. Regrettably, the local MP is David Trimble who, as he proclaimed triumphally a year ago, is not interested in compromise.

But are there not others in Portadown who could have taken the initiative. What were the local clergy doing over the last year, what were the business associations and trade unions doing?

What was the local media doing to explain one side to the other?

WHETHER there are to be all-party talks or not, there is not now the basis for a settlement to the Northern Ireland problem and the stand-off at Drumcree illustrates that. Even if the politicians were themselves committed to the



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search for a settlement and Messrs Trimble, Paisley and McCartney are not - they would be unlikely to carry their parties with them in the absence of a culture of reconciliation and compromise generally.

It is almost a cliché to observe that a fundamental part of the Northern Ireland problem is the incomprehension by each of the communities of the other. Unionists do not begin to understand the genuine reasons for nationalist alienation from the Northern state. Nationalists do not begin to understand the genuine apprehensions that unionists have at the prospect of any drift towards a united Ireland.

One might have expected, for instance, one or both of the "public service" broadcasting stations on the island to have provided a means of bridging this mutual incomprehension. But in the absence of that, could not some other mechanism have been created that would have permitted the communities to talk to one another about their fears, grief, anger and aspirations?

In the absence of such, relatively minor issues such as Drumcree will continue to envelop Northern Ireland in widespread conflict.

Postscript.

I want to apologise for misunderstandings that have arisen from a comment I made in an article on June 28th about Veronica Guerin's murder. I wrote that it was probable her murder was unrelated to anything she had written or was about to write. I should have added that almost certainly her death was directly related to her work as a journalist.

I very much regret any ambiguity that may have arisen from what I wrote.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 11, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 22 OF 30 STORIES

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The Scotsman

July 10, 1996, Wednesday

SECTION: Pg. 1

LENGTH: 2294 words

HEADLINE: Unionists plan show of strength

BYLINE: Robert Wright And Ewen Macaskill

BODY:

BETWEEN 50,000 and 80,000 Loyalists will descend on Drumcree on Friday, the 12th of July, for potentially one of the most explosive confrontations in Northern Ireland's recent history, Ulster Unionists' leaders predicted yesterday.

The prediction came before the army announced that it is to send two extra battalions, about 1,000 men, into Northern Ireland.

Violence flared last night at the end of another day's stand-off at the church in Drumcree, near Portadown, where Orangemen are camped in protest at the ban on marching through a predominantly Roman Catholic area.

A huge march in support of the Portadown Lodge's right to march down Garghavy Road fanned out along barbed wire lines erected by police, who opened fire with rubber bullets.

Ambulances could be seen leaving with the injured.

The arrival of the extra soldiers means that, by Friday, in the province there will be 13 battalions, about 18,500 soldiers, the highest number since 1982.

Before the army's announcement, the three Unionist leaders - David Trimble, Ian Paisley and Robert McCartney - emerged from a meeting with John Major in the Commons having failed to win a compromise. The three wanted the Prime Minister to put pressure on the Royal Ulster Constabulary chief constable, Sir Hugh Annesley, to make the same compromise as last year, allowing a token group from the local Orange lodge to make the 15-20 minute march past nationalist areas.

But Mr Major, after going eyeball to eyeball with the Unionist leaders for more than an hour, refused to back down, saying it was an operational matter for the RUC and he could not intervene.

He appealed to the Unionists for "maximum restraint" and said there was no justification for the Loyalist violence and disorder.

The political stalemate came as trouble mounted throughout Northern Ireland, with some of the worst rioting for a decade.



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The Scotsman, July 10, 1996

In Belfast there was an air of menace. Loyalist barricades were set up, bonfires were lit and young men were out on the streets.

But, at the focus of the confrontation, Drumcree, the atmosphere at first was deceptively calm with men, women and children wandering around, resting on gravestones in the churchyard and chatting idly. Until the mood changed, it had felt more like a country fair.

In London, Mr Paisley, who has been involved in similar confrontations for more than 40 years, agreed with a journalist who described the Drumcree stand-off as a powder keg.

"Drumcree will be a focus on July 12 - when people finish their demonstrations elsewhere, whether they are invited or not, they will go fleet of foot to Drumcree. That is an undeniable fact," he said.

Mr McCartney said of what the Prime Minister had been told: "It was indicated there might be between 50,000-80,000 people there by the 11th and 12th and this problem will grow and grow." The Unionist leaders said that Mr Major could no longer count on their support in the Commons, making him vulnerable to a Labour ambush.

The Unionist leaders boycotted the multi-party talks in Belfast yesterday and said they would not return as long as the RUC block the Orangemen.

They ignored an appeal from Mr Major at Prime Minister's question time in the Commons that it was vital to maintain dialogue at this time.

Mr Paisley said: "The Prime Minister unfortunately believes that the chief constable did right and, until the Prime Minister changes that, I cannot see any resolution to what is going on. I am afraid to say that that is my view.

"The chief constable looked at it and said that if they go down the road there is going to be civil commotion. But he didn't look at the other side. He didn't look at the civil commotion that was going to take place if he did not allow them down the road."

Pearl Armstrong, one of the women helping to feed the thousands of Orangemen camped in Drumcree, explained her feelings about the stalemate. "The police are holding British people to ransom," she said. "These are people that went to a morning church service. All they wanted to do was walk to church."

Barbed wire and concrete blocks have been placed at the stream that marked the start of the area forbidden to the marchers.

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The Herald (Glasgow)

July 9, 1996

SECTION: Pg. 15

LENGTH: 1680 words

HEADLINE: Headingtowards disaster

BYLINE: Russell Edmunds

BODY:

As Ulster once more marches to the tune of confrontation and violence, Russell Edmunds explains why the province is being taken to the brink.

"It is the Siege of Ulster because if we fail in this you can rest assured we are finished."

WITH these words, County Armagh's Orange leader, Harold Gracey has set the scene for arguably the worst crisis between Ulster Protestants and the security forces since 1974. The re-routing of a small rural parade of Orangemen from Drumcree Parish Church away from a mainly Catholic neighbourhood has become an issue which threatens to embroil the whole province in new conflict and violence.

Drumcree church stands amid the fields and country lanes just outside Portadown. Tradition has it that on the first Sunday in July the local Orange lodges accompanied by their bands attend the church to remember and give thanks for the "glorious, pious, and immortal memory" of the Dutch King William, who defeated the Catholic King James at the Battle of the River Boyne in the same month, 306 years ago.

The Orangemen march from Portadown along an undisputed route to the church and then return to the mainly Protestant town, via Garvaghy Road, a broad arterial road, flanked by Catholic housing estates. Until the mid-1980s the Orangemen marched along another road which took them through a tough Catholic district of Portadown known as The Tunnel. When that became too hot for the security forces to handle, the new route along Garvaghy Road was an accepted compromise. Now, it, too, has become so Catholic that for the past two years, the Royal Ulster Constabulary have ordered a last-minute re-routing to avoid the risk of serious street disorder.

Last year, the police decision met with three days and nights of a stand-off confrontation in what became known as the Siege of Drumcree and eventually, in the face of thousands of Orange protesters, the police relented and allowed a small parade to pass along Garvaghy Road.

This year, the Siege of Drumcree has become, in Harold Gracey's words, the Siege of Ulster and events yesterday and last night suggested that might not be an overstatement. In Ballymena, a car showroom was counting the cost of a night



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of mayhem during which a mob burned out almost 50 vehicles and damaged as many more. In Portadown, troops were mobilised to help the police restore a semblance of order as Protestant mobs roamed the town centre, occasionally hijacking and using vehicles as burning barricades. The normally quiet district of Drumcree resounded to the harsh thud of police plastic bullets and the taunts of protesters encamped in the church grounds and its adjoining cemetery.

The family of 31-year-old Michael McGoldrick, a Catholic who graduated only last week from Queen's University, were mourning his murder in the County Armagh village of Aghalee. "Fire and brimstone speeches have featured too much in this situation," said a family statement, as speculation rose that the murder might spell the end of the loyalist's 22-month ceasefire. "Loose talk has cost this innocent young fellow his life," said Mr McGoldrick's family.

The murder, possibly at the hands of a renegade group of loyalist extremists, heightened tensions further across Ulster. With no resolution of the Drumcree stand-off in sight, and Orangemen threatening to intensify their protest, many people left central Belfast in a particular hurry last night, but some were still caught in road-blocks set up by Protestants on main routes out of the city. Throughout the day, the pattern of disruption had been building and experienced observers of Northern Ireland knew the situation was spiralling rapidly towards more disorder.

This is Northern Ireland's traditional Twelfth fortnight holiday period. With the schools closed for the summer and many major businesses and offices shut down for the fortnight, the potential for street protests and violence is increased. There have been problems before with Orange parades, but nothing to match the dangerous developments at Drumcree, where at least 1000 police supported by more troops on stand-by, appear determined to hold the line against any attempt by the Orangemen to march along Garvaghy Road. All day yesterday and into the night, the battle of wills between the two sides was played out, while elsewhere in Ulster the Orange Order called on its members to stage more marches.

The rumour machine was rife. People going on holiday worried that the ferry crossings to Scotland, such as that at Larne in County Antrim, which was sealed last July, would be blockaded again. There was concern, too, for the airports at Aldergrove and in east Belfast. In all, the mood of apprehension brought back memories for many of 1974 when Protestants staged a general strike across Northern Ireland and brought the province to a standstill.

The trouble at Drumcree has been brewing since last July. All police attempts to persuade either the Orange Order to re-route its parade voluntarily or the Catholic residents of Garvaghy Road to relent in their opposition have failed.

By last weekend the RUC knew it had only two options - to either re-route the parade on Sunday or to allow it to pass along Garvaghy Road in the certainty that Catholic residents would stage a sit-down protest. If the latter occurred it would send an unpalatable image to the rest of Ireland and abroad of the RUC, forcing an unwanted Protestant parade on a Catholic neighbourhood.

When RUC Chief Constable Sir Hugh Annesley announced the re-routing decision 24 hours before Sunday's gathering at Drumcree, he ordered a massive presence of



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his men in the area overnight and called for the back-up support of Army battalions.

So the battle lines were drawn on a dispute that has long been festering between the Orange Order and the authorities. To the Orangemen, it was time to draw a line in the sand and to call upon the old Protestant slogan: "Not an inch." Their leaders argued that police were bending to pressure from nationalists and from the British and Irish governments to deny them their "God-given rights" to march as they had always done on the highways and by -ways of Ulster.

Many Catholics, however, take a different view. They see the Orange marches as offensive, insensitive, and unwelcome in their areas and the struggle over access to Garvaghy Road in Portadown and another route in Belfast at Ormeau Road are the test cases.

By the extent of their presence in Portadown, the security forces, too, have drawn their line in the sand, but as the protests grew last night the question was whether it could be held and at what price. Already Northern Ireland has paid a high cost and looks set to pay an even higher one with the Orange Order determined to make a stand and calling more of its members on to the streets in protest.

Friday sees the Twelfth parades at 20 venues across Ulster, the biggest attracting more than 100,000 people in Belfast. Last year the Siege of Drumcree was resolved in time for this province-wide Protestant celebration to take place peacefully. Last night there was no such certainty. With more marches planned in support of Drumcree, the security forces were facing a challenge to their authority which looked like stretching them to the limit. After almost two years of peace, Northern Ireland stood again on a most dangerous precipice of fear and potential violence.

GRAPHIC: Fuelling the flames: the traditional marching season has seen determined stand-offs and violence across Northern Ireland.

LOAD-DATE: July 10, 1996



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The Independent

July 9, 1996, Tuesday

SECTION: TITLE; Page 1

LENGTH: 626 words

HEADLINE: Unionists threaten 'siege of Ulster'

BODY:

The multi-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland will resume today without the main Unionist parties.

The Ulster Unionists said last night that because of the stand-off between Orange Order supporters and the Royal Ulster Constabulary at Drumcree, near Portadown, Co Armagh, they would not be fielding a team at the Stormont talks.

The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, pledged: "We are not closing the doors by any means." His party colleague, the Rev Martin Smyth, a Grand Master of the Orange Order, added: "I don't believe we should be having the requiem mass for them the peace talks at this stage."

Democratic Unionist Party leader, Rev Ian Paisley, told crowds of protesters at Drumcree that he and Mr Trimble would meet the Prime Minister, John Major, tomorrow. A Downing Street spokesman said: "A request has been made to see the Prime Minister, which is under consideration."

The boycott of today's talks was announced after a day of ugly scenes as Orangemen stepped up their protest at not being allowed to march through a Catholic area in Drumcree.

Demonstrators closed the international airport at Aldergrove, just outside Belfast, by blocking its access roads.

Roads were also blocked at Bangor, Ballymena, Londonderry, Garvagh, Coleraine and throughout Belfast. The RUC was yesterday advising motorists not to travel unless the journey was absolutely necessary.

Last night, up to 2,000 police officers faced several thousand angry loyalists in Co Armagh.

By nightfall the arrest tally had reached 22, mainly for public order offences. A 19-year-old masked man was arrested on the outskirts of Portadown carrying a crossbow as he attempted to hijack a lorry. A crate of petrol bombs was found nearby.

Mr Trimble accused officers of "deliberate provocation" after they fired plastic bullets at loyalists as soldiers set up a concrete and barbed wire barricade on the Drumcree Road leading into the Catholic area of Garvagh Road.

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The Independent, July 9, 1996

Numerous parades across the province took place in sympathy with the Orangemen at Drumcree, including one, accompanied by bands, through the centre of Portadown.

Loyalists hope that at least 300,000 people will show their solidarity in a protest in Drumcree on 12 July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

Last night, the numbers of people at the site of the barred march at Drumcree swelled assympathisers flooded in from all over the province.

The district Orange leader, Harold Gracey, warned: "We have our contingency plans. I think the province is going to erupt," he added. "This is not just the siege of Drumcree but the siege of Ulster."

Within the 5,000-strong Catholic community, the feeling was of "resolute determination" not to allow the Orangemen have their way again.

Breandan MacCionnaith of the Garvaghy Road Residents Association said: "We have had two days of violence and there is no sign of the Unionist leaders trying to control their people."

Another Catholic leader warned that it seemed too late for any compromises to be made. "Things have gone too far," he said.

Last night the focal point of the stand-off was generally peaceful. Orange Order members who had been at the roadblock all day were replaced by members of lodges from different parts of the province as darkness fell. The demonstrators maintained a constant drumbeat.

The RUC said up to 70 roads in the province had been blocked by demonstrators.

Police said it was too early to link the murder of a Catholic man near Lurgan, a few miles from Portadown, with the sectarian disturbances in the town.

Part-time taxi-driver Michael McGoldrick, 31, from Lurgan, was found with head injuries yesterday morning.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 09, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 25 OF 30 STORIES

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July 9, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: HOME NEWS; THE DRUMCREE STAND-OFF; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 1520 words

HEADLINE: Brutal murder raises question of whether loyalist paramilitary ceasefire has any chance of holding

After the brutal murder of Michael McGoldrick near Lurgan, the question being asked was whether the loyalist paramilitary ceasefire has ended. The longer the Drumcree stand off lasts, the more difficult the continuation of the ceasefire becomes as loyalist paramilitary passions are stirred

BYLINE: By GERRY MORIARTY

BODY:

A MILITANT and maverick UVF commander in mid Ulster is being blamed for the murder of Catholic taxi driver, Mr Michael McGoldrick, near Lurgan, Co Armagh, sometime late on Sunday night or early yesterday morning.

The UVF leader, whom the central UVF leadership has had persistent difficulty in controlling, operates in the Portadown Lurgan area. This year and last, he was central in organising loyalist protests separate from the Orange protests.

The loyalist figure has either been directly responsible for, or orchestrated, several murders in the mid Ulster area over the period of the troubles. He has been a thorn in the side of the Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) which has been unable to bring him to book.

Whether this spells the end of the loyalist paramilitary ceasefire is still unclear. Up to late last night, no paramilitary organisation had admitted the killing although security sources, politicians and loyalist sources were in no doubt that loyalist paramilitaries were responsible.

A UDA source blamed the mid-Ulster commander for Mr McGoldrick's murder. "He has just been waiting for an excuse, and Drumcree has provided him with one. He did this for his own selfish reasons, not for loyalism," said the UDA source, who favours maintaining the ceasefire.

The Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), which has a direct line to the UVF, has admitted on a number of occasions that the loyalist ceasefire in mid Ulster is vulnerable. Since the collapse of the IRA ceasefire these mid-Ulster UVF elements, and other UVF members in the Belfast area, have been agitating for a return to loyalist violence.

In March, Sunday Life reported the emergence of a loyalist splinter group in mid-Ulster, which described the ceasefire as a farce, and threatened to kill Sinn Fein and IRA members. The paper featured a photograph of a hooded, armed paramilitary. It is believed that the UVF mid-Ulster commander was behind this



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purported splinter group, whose spokesman said was "neither UVF nor UDA".

Mr Billy Hutchinson of the PUP said he had been assured the UVF was not involved in the killing and was adhering to the CLMC ceasefire. If it was carried out by renegade loyalists, he was sure the UVF would investigate.

If the CLMC can blame dissident factions for the murder, or if it can be branded a "freelance" sectarian murder, then perhaps the loyalist ceasefire may hold. But there are so many other dangerous elements in the current political and paramilitary equation that the possibility of it holding is becoming more problematic.

The chief difficulty is that the CLMC does not exercise the same authority it had when it called the loyalist ceasefire 21 months ago.

The PUP has been stressing that no one should underestimate the volatility of the situation. The UVF has admitted difficulty in keeping its forces at heel. The Drumcree stand off, and the violence flaring throughout Northern Ireland, just adds to its control difficulties.

The UDA, which somewhat surprisingly has been able to maintain central discipline, equally is under pressure from within its ranks.

"UDA members particularly recent recruits, are not the most political of animals at the best of times. It's very difficult to predict what will happen in the coming days," the UDA source said.

He underlined the overall dangers by revealing that after the IRA Manchester bombing last month, the UVF requested a meeting of the UVF and UDA leadership under the aegis of the CLMC. "The UDA refused the meeting because it just could not believe what it was being told by the UVF. The UDA decided it would follow its own path," he said.

"The fact is the UVF has been unable to control some of its factions. Everything is now up in the air," the source added.

He was scathing of the mainstream unionist parties which he claimed were not interested in trying to reach political agreement at the Stormont talks. "Sometimes I think they are more comfortable with conflict," he said.

An additional element to the equation is how the IRA and the INLA will respond. While the IRA has been operating a de facto ceasefire in Northern Ireland, Mr McGoldrick's murder, and potential future loyalist violence, could present the upper hand to those in the IRA who favour a resumption of its violent campaign in the North.

One of the IRA's arguments for refusing to decommission is that it will not leave Catholic areas "undefended from loyalists". Equally, the INLA has warned in the past that it will strike against those who target Catholics.

The Sinn Fein president, Mr Gerry Adams, has appealed for calm in recent days. He said yesterday. "Those who have orchestrated the events at Drumcree and the campaign of protests across the North cannot wash their hands of responsibility for the threats and violence and the death which have occurred as a consequence.



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The Irish Times, July 9, 1996

He said dialogue was now urgently needed between nationalists and unionists. "Last year and again some months ago, I wrote to the Rev Martin Smyth (Orange Grand Master) suggesting that we meet. I would still like to arrange such a meeting because I believe that this issue can only be effectively tackled if an accommodation can be found which applies to every situation."

There seemed little likelihood of such a meeting last night. The Orange Order and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) and the DUP argue that elements within what they call "Sinn Fein/IRA" are involved in keeping the Garvaghy residents on the boil.

The Garvaghy Residents Association denies this. Their protest is simply a case of beleaguered nationalists demanding respite from Orange marches which are bitterly resented in their area, they state.

The UUP and DUP leaders, Mr David Trimble and the Rev Ian Paisley condemned Mr McGoldrick's murder. Mr Trimble did not accept that the accusations from Mr McGoldrick's family that "fire and brimstone" speeches from certain politicians contributed to Mr McGoldrick's death was an indictment of the mainstream unionist parties' role in the Drumcree standoff.

Mr Trimble said he had consistently urged loyalist paramilitaries not "to be provoked or manipulated into violence". He did not know who killed Mr McGoldrick, although he suspected loyalist paramilitaries were to blame.

The Drumcree stand off was not of the Orange Order's seeking, he said. The RUC Chief Constable, Sir Hugh Annesley, had made the wrong decision in re-routing the march. He said that "those handful of people who came to Drumcree looking for a fight" were not welcome among the Orange brethren at Drumcree.

Dr Paisley also said there was no linkage between Mr McGoldrick's killing and the Drumcree stand off. "I don't think the murder has anything to do with Drumcree whatsoever, and certainly not with those that are organising a legitimate, peaceful protest against a decision that should not have been taken," he added.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 9, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 26 OF 30 STORIES

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July 9, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: HOME NEWS; THE DRUMCREE STAND-OFF; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 1027 words

HEADLINE: Drumcree stand-off now likely to continue until marches on July 12th

BYLINE: By MARIE O'HALLORAN

DATELINE: PORTADOWN

BODY:

ALL the indications are that the stand-off at Drumcree in Portadown will continue at least until Friday's July 12th holiday, the most important day in the Orange calendar.

Across Northern Ireland the Orange Order, unionists and loyalists held protest marches and blocked roads. Violence erupted with lorries and cars hijacked and burnt out or moved in to block road in Portadown up to 10 roads were blocked off initially and five vehicles hijacked and set on fire.

At Drumcree, on the out skirts of the town, tension continued to mount during the afternoon when British army engineers moved in to place cement blocks and barbed wire down at the "front line" between marchers and police ranks.

On Sunday night, the engineers put in more barbed wire in the fields around the church and leading to the nearby Catholic housing estates. There had been sporadic fighting as well when police came under attack by the crowd and stones, bottles and firecrackers were thrown. The police responded by firing flares into the air and 17 plastic bullets, and moved in and pushed the crowd back.

Two people were injured. One of them was in intensive care in hospital and was describes "ill but stable".

When the situation wads ginning to get uglier the rector of Drumcree parish, the Rev John Pickering, appealed over the tannoy to people to stop throwing stones.

The DUP leader, the Rev Ian Paisley, called for calm. "This is a hard struggle and we will only come through by unity. We're not here to play a game but to save the country", he said.

He assured the crowd that "there will be peace and quiet tonight" and added that he and the Ulster Unionist Party leader, Mr David Trimble had been meeting and "we plan to work together in regard to the future".

He told them that they would find a lot of things happening later on yesterday. His prediction proved true as Orangemen and women blocked roads in



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towns across the North.

As the night progressed the crowd dwindled to about 300 and people wrapped themselves in sleeping bags and slept in the graveyard beside the Drumcree church.

At 11 a.m. yesterday there was a small crowd at the Drumcree stand off. Reports came in that two cement block lorries had been hijacked from a Catholic owned yard. One was used to block the Edenderry area of the town and another was burnt.

Protesters blocked roads into the town centre and petrol bombs were thrown at the British army and police who moved in to clear them. The police fired plastic bullets and there were angry scuffles but the police and army took control of the city centre again.

Shops in the town began to close at noon. Motorists found it difficult to get into the town because of roadblocks, some of which remained in place. At the Edenderry roundabout police rerouted cars where one of the cement brick lorries blocked the road.

Back at Drumcree the situation remained calm for much of the morning. Mr Trimble came down to the barbed wire in the field to talk to journalists. He appealed to loyalists not to allow themselves to be manipulated into violence, and said their ceasefire must hold "no matter what the difficulties".

He said the RUC Chief Constable's motives "must be questioned" in the decision he made to stop the parade going down the Garvaghy road. He added that the Orange Order had done its best maintain calm and restraint but it was more difficult "when the hours of darkness come".

Father Eamonn Stack of the Garvaghy Road Residents' Association said there were 50 big parades in Portadown every year and "in our area we just want a bit of space. I understand their traditions and traditions are hard to be broken. They have to grow with time and that's not what's happening".

Mr Trimble said, however, that this was the only parade that went through the area now, where before there had been seven.

Trouble flared again at 2.40 p.m. when British army engineers moved in with trucks to put cement blocks and barbed wire down at the front line. There were angry scenes when riot police pushed the protesters back from the graveyard, to prevent stone throwing while the army put the barricade in place.

Mr Pickering told them that the police were "reorganising" themselves and were not trying to push the "brethren" back up to the church. Mr Trimble stood on the front line and appealed for calm.

Eventually tensions eased and the scene became almost picnic like as protestors, police and media sat about in the fields waiting for what would happen next.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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LEVEL 5 - 27 OF 30 STORIES

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July 8, 1996, Monday

SECTION: Pg. 01

LENGTH: 904 words

HEADLINE: Loyalists threaten to halt Ulster over march ban

BYLINE: By Toby Harnden in Portadown

BODY:

MISSILES were thrown at riot police last night as they faced thousands of Orangemen in a tense confrontation at Portadown, where a march through a nationalist area has been blocked. Helicopters circled and five battalions of troops remained on stand-by, many of them at Mahon Barracks in the town. The skirmish coincided with a threat by Orange leaders that they planned to bring Ulster to "a standstill" and a warning that the loyalist ceasefire could be broken if the RUC continued to block the march. Police, who numbered more than 2,000, were earlier attacked with stones and bottles when a youth was arrested for poking a flag into an officer's face. Riot shields appeared and guns loaded with plastic bullets were brought forward and calm was quickly restored. At Newtownards, Co Down, more than 100 Orangemen blocked the main roads. They pledged to continue their action for as long as the Portadown Orangemen were barred from following their traditional route. There was a similar protest at Bangor, where the main Belfast to Dublin road was blocked. Smaller demonstrations in Dromore, Carrickfergus and Ballymena passed off without incident. In Portadown the Orangemen had tried to march down the nationalist Garvaghy Road after a church service at nearby Drumcree. Among them was David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist leader, who accused Sir Hugh Annesley, the RUC chief constable, of having "very foolishly gambled with the peace of Northern Ireland". Ian Paisley, the Democratic Unionist leader, harangued the police. He said: "We have all the might and all the power of the British Government against us, aided and abetted by the skunks of Dublin and the treacherous and villainous IRA." He added that Ulster was "worth fighting for and worth dying for". Thousands of loyalists, including dozens of families, thronged the town in support of the Orangemen. Also present were members of the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force, who said that they were prepared to end their ceasefire. There were reports that Orangemen would try to block airports, ports and roads to press the authorities into allowing the Drumcree march to go ahead. Three members of the Dublin parliament were among those gathered with nationalists on the other side of the police lines at Drumcree. Declan Bree, Sean Maloney and Joe Costello said that they had been invited to act as observers. The RUC decided to re-route the parade after protests from residents in housing estates off the Garvaghy Road that it would be "sectarian, triumphalist and provocative". Rioting erupted last year when about 700 Orangemen were prevented from walking down Garvaghy Road because a protest by nationalists posed a threat to public order. Some 15,000 Orangemen from all over the province descended on the area and remained there for three days. A compromise was eventually reached, with Orangemen marching down the road in silence. This year the police were well



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prepared and mounted the biggest security operation since the IRA ceasefire began in August 1994. Overnight the Army put up hundreds of yards of barbed wire fencing in fields alongside the route to hamper any attempt to outflank the RUC. Harold Gracey, the district master of the Orange Order in Portadown, said that Orangemen would remain at Drumcree for up to a week. Friday is the most important day of the Orange calendar when the Protestant victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 is commemorated. "Now it is a waiting game," Mr Gracey said. "If we can hold out for as long as possible, I can assure you that the rest of the province will be showing their strength too." Facing the police lines, he said: "We are staying here until such time as we get permission to walk our traditional route. It is a sad state of affairs when Her Majesty's forces stop Her Majesty's subjects from parading on Her Majesty's highway and I hope that you people blocking our way take that into account." There were cries of "no surrender" from Orangemen. After last year's stand-off, the Orange Order struck a "Siege of Drumcree" medal. Mr Gracey said: "This year there is a ring of steel around Portadown, so it's now the siege of Portadown. It's also the siege of Ulster, because if we fail in this we are finished and I think the Protestant people know this." The parade to the church service started at 10.25am outside the Portadown District Lodge in the town centre. Mr Trimble, wearing his Drumcree medal, was at its head. His display of unity with Mr Paisley at Drumcree last year was instrumental in his success in the contest for the leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party. Accordion bands played Nearer My God to Thee and There'll be no Dark Valley as the Orangemen processed solemnly through a loyalist area to the church on a hill overlooking Portadown. The bands were silent as they passed the Roman Catholic church of St John's. But some Orangemen made two-fingered gestures at the RUC and a few nationalists watching from behind the police. Several hundred Orangemen packed into the church for the service, which was relayed to their brethren in a hall next door. Others sat on tombstones smoking cigarettes and chatting. The Rev John Pickering, the rector, said in his sermon: "We live in a divided society, a picture of which you can see in the barbed wire across the fields today. We are anxious about how we will fare in the days ahead and must pray fervently to God for help."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 12, 1996

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LEVEL 5 - 28 OF 30 STORIES

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July 8, 1996, Monday

SECTION: Pg. 20

LENGTH: 1042 words

HEADLINE: The IRA trap that yawns in front of the fifes and drums As the RUC blocks an Orange march in Portadown, Ruth Dudley Edwards explains why the southern Irish do not understand that the marches are a vital safety valve for Protestants

BYLINE: By RUTH DUDLEY EDWARDS

BODY:

TO THE outside world, the insistence of Portadown Orangemen on parading down a traditional route, despite residents' objections, is irrational and provocative. To most Protestants throughout Northern Ireland, they are seen to have no choice: "If we give way," said a local Orangeman, "the Orange Order and the Protestant people are finished. Just because the IRA aren't shooting us at the moment doesn't mean the war is over." Frightened but resolute, the men of Portadown District Loyal Orange Lodge No 1 find themselves designated as champions of the Protestants of Ulster, charged with demonstrating that they will not give in to the IRA jackboot. Portadown is the Protestant Mecca - the site of the formation of the Orange Order. Since 1807, its LOL No 1 has held a July parade to and from Drumcree Parish Church. In 1987 - because of demographic changes - the RUC insisted they abandon their traditional route. The consequent anger took some years to evaporate, for since the secretly negotiated Anglo-Irish Agreement had been announced two years previously - precipitating widespread Loyalist violence - Ulster Protestants believed their culture, their values and their traditions to be under threat. Fears that a pan-nationalist consensus will triumph and the British will rat on the Union have added to their insecurity. Last year, when they emerged from their church, the lodge was informed by the RUC that despite earlier official authorisation, because of a nationalist sit-down protest on the Garvaghy Road, they would have to change their route. Smarting under the cumulative effect of widespread curbs and bans on marches and knowing that most of the Garvaghy Road was neutral territory, the men in the citadel of Orangism refused to budge: "The Prods could take no more," says the song that celebrates what became known as the siege of Drumcree. Local Orangemen were joined by 30,000 Protestants from all over the Province. David Trimble - the local MP but an ordinary Orange foot soldier - succeeded, with Harold Gracey, the District Grand Master, in stopping a riot by damping down violence behind the scenes while preserving Protestant self-respect; after a two-day stand-off, a silent parade of locals was permitted a symbolic walk down Garvaghy Road. Between Sinn Fein spin doctors and the Ulster Protestant genius for getting a bad press even when in the right, Drumcree was represented almost everywhere as proof that triumphalist Protestant bigotry was alive and well. But the event passed swiftly into Protestant mythology: the hot-headed element within the Order formed the Spirit of Drumcree pressure group. For the local lodge, the burden has been great, for they know that both Green and Orange



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trouble-makers are spoiling for a fight. The more paranoid believe in a Dublin-led conspiracy to break the spirit of the Portadown Orangemen and thus destroy the Orange Order and hence the Protestant people. They are wrong about Dublin but right about a conspiracy. When Dick Spring, the Irish Foreign Minister, explains that marches in Northern Ireland should not take place where they are not "welcome", he is guilty only of naivete: the southern Irish have not the faintest understanding that Orange marches are a vital safety valve for beleaguered and insecure Ulster Protestants. Wishful thinking prevents them grasping that Sinn Fein/IRA are blocking marches in the hope of goading Loyalists into ending their ceasefire and thus being blamed for the resumption of violence. Sinn Fein/IRA are the driving force behind groups which are springing up all over Northern Ireland bearing such names as the "Lower Ormeau Concerned Community" group (LOCC). A week ago Orangemen marching to a service commemorating the Battle of the Somme were stopped by the RUC from passing through the Ormeau Road, which makes them more determined than ever that there should be no capitulation at Drumcree: "Why should these bastards, who want the state overthrown, be supported by the Crown forces in blocking the free movement of people intensely loyal to their state?" a normally gentle Orangeman asked me. The RUC, of course, are in an impossible situation. They strive impartially to make decisions on routes in the interests of public order, while knowing, as one put it, that: "When we end up enforcing the democratic rights of Republicans, they give us no credit, continue to demonise us and will probably soon be murdering us again." The Ormeau Road ban raised the temperature at Drumcree. There, while many of the Garvaghy Road committee are innocent of involvement with Sinn Fein, others such as their smooth-tongued front man, Brendan McKenna, are long-standing Republican hardliners. Orangemen won't talk to him, but it would be pointless anyhow. Despite mediation attempts locally and nationally, residents' spokesmen explain that in no circumstances will they tolerate any parade. And to put further pressure on the RUC to take their side, a three-day Garvaghy Road festival was launched on Friday. What makes this confrontation delicious for Sinn Fein/IRA is that David Trimble, recently winning plaudits for constructive leadership, will return to the spotlight represented as an Orange bigot. The lodge has already reduced its bands and cut its parades down the road from seven to one: it asks only to be allowed to make the 15-minute walk in silence. Its members know that should the Protestants be faced down, the Sinn Fein strategists will pick on another route, another march and in due course will resist marches by the British Legion or the Girls' Brigade, or any other public events that can credibly be represented as "hurtful" to nationalist feelings. Someone has to lose the Drumcree confrontation. If the day is won by a tiny number of residents - some intimidated into protest by local thugs - augmented by busloads from Londonderry and the Falls Road and led by the nose by Sinn Fein activists, the resulting humiliation will almost certainly force the loyalist paramilitaries - already enraged by bombs in England - to fall into the IRA trap and fire the first shots. Ruth Dudley Edwards is the author, inter alia, of *Patrick Pearse: The Triumph of Failure and The Pursuit of Reason: The Economist 1843-1993*

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 12, 1996



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LEVEL 5 - 29 OF 30 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Irish Times
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July 8, 1996, CITY EDITION

SECTION: HOME NEWS; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 1600 words

HEADLINE: Deadlock as Orangemen have their Alamo at Drumcree

BYLINE: By MARIE O'HALLORAN

DATELINE: PORTADOWN

BODY:

LAST year it was called the siege of Drumcree. This year it's Ulster's Alamo, as the district Orange master, Mr Harold Gracey, described it.

The Rev Ian Paisley, however, warned that this year it was not just the siege of Drumcree but "the siege of the province, the siege of the whole of the United Kingdom".

Preparations all around were siege like for this Orange march and the route of its proposed return journey from the Church of the Ascension at Drumcree, on the outskirts, back down to the Carleton Orange Hall in the town centre.

Overnight on Saturday, British army engineers cordoned off the fields surrounding the church with barbed wire as some 2,000 RUC officers and scores of British soldiers were drafted into the Co Armagh town.

At 9.15 am. yesterday, the Orange Order held a press conference in the Carleton hall at which The district master, Mr Gracey, said of the RUC decision not to allow the parade down the Garvaghy Road. "We are of the opinion that this is a politically motivated decision taken to appease republicanism. It is a dangerous concession to those who threaten violence to achieve their ends.

"As an organisation we are committed to civil and religious liberty. Therefore, in all conscience, we cannot accept any rerouting and we demand the restoration of our rights. We are determined to stand fast for our faith and freedom." They would stand firm if it took a minute, a day, a week or a year.

The Ulster Unionist Party leader, Mr David Trimble, an Orangeman, said the RUC had fallen into a trap.

Shortly after 10 a.m. the 1,200 or so Orangemen set out, accompanied by three accordion hands. They walked along the road and up the hill for three miles to the church at Drumcree, as local people lined the streets and watched the parade pass by.

Shortly after 11.30 a.m. the church service, led by the Rev John Pickering, began. He said it was the help of Almighty God which brought an end to last



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year's problem. "The problem in Portadown affects the whole of Northern Ireland and the peace process."

Outside the church, a woman handed out Romewatch newsletters the lead story said a Catholic nun had been responsible for thousands of deaths in Rwanda.

After the service at about 12.20 pm. Mr Gracey said Drumcree had become "Ulster's Alamo". The world was watching. He hoped nobody would be injured during what happens in the next few hours we will stand firm and march our traditional route".

At 12.50 pm the Orange parade marched down the hill to the RUC men and women standing shoulder to shoulder in bullet proof vests blocking the road. Behind them were parked rows of police Land Rovers. In the fields lay more RUC officers with riot helmets and shields.

Orangemen and others stood in the graveyard overlooking the blockade, and hundreds more gathered beside the parade. An RUC officer told the crowd the parade was not allowed to go by that route "by order 4.1. of the Public Order Act Mr Gracey told the crowd and the police. "It is a sad state of affairs when her majesty's forces stop her majesty's subjects from marching on her majesty's highways and I hope that you people who are blocking our way take that into account".

He told the crowd. "If we hold out as long as possible, the rest of our Province in a few hours will show their stand too. The people around the Province are heading this way.

"There is a ring of steel around Portadown. It is a siege of Portadown and of Ulster. If we fail in this we are finished. Dick Spring is behind this through the Maryfield Secretariat."

After that the bands marched back up the hill with some of the Orangemen. Some members of the order stayed behind with the large crowd in front of the police. People strolled up and down the hill and waited.

At 2.40 p.m. the Rev Martyn Smyth, the Orange Order leader, addressed the crowd outside the church. Those who had asked for compromise over Garvaghy Road had only one view, he said. "It was their way or no other way."

Asking the crowd to be controlled, he said he knew some people "fly off the handle" sooner than others. "Contain yourselves and by what your marshalls.

At 2.50 pm. Mr Smyth, Mr Trimble and Mr Gracey gave a press conference in the nearby hall. Mr Smyth said there would be protest marches around the North during the week. All were non committal about reports that it would be like the loyalist strike of 1974.

Mr Trimble said. "There will be no violence in Drumcree. The Orange Order will ensure that its members behave responsibly."

He said through intermediaries they had been in touch with the residents on Garvaghy road but there would be no compromise at all.

At 3 p.m. the first reports came in of road blocks in Lisburn and Maghera.



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"If the security services can block the roads, so can we," said Mr Smyth.

Asked if he condoned the breaking of the law, he said that if it was breaking the law the people had no other way.

Afterwards the three men marched down to the blockade, again to loud cheers, and addressed the swelling numbers of people. After they left and went back up to the church, the crowd continued teasing the RUC trying to get a reaction. "You'd have to talk in Gaelic for them to understand" shouted an onlooker.

At 3.20 p.m. a young man began waving the Ulster flag and running it over the heads and faces of two RUC officers. A man who was drunk fell through the hedge on the side of the road. The crowd lunged, stones were thrown and within seconds the mood had turned ugly and the RUC had donned helmets and riot shields. They pulled the man with the flag through the crowd and arrested him for assaulting police officers.

Then Mr Gracey and Mr Trimble came through the crowd and talked to the man who had been arrested. Mr Trimble told the media he was "optimistic that it would be settled in a couple of days", and "of course" they would march down the Garvaghy Road.

"We're dealing with a very dangerous situation," the Ulster Unionist leader said. There were enough police resources on hand to have dealt with any problems on the Garvaghy road.

At 4 p.m. a huge cheer went up from the by now huge crowd as the Rev Ian Paisley came down the hill. In front of the RUC Land Rovers he said it was not just the siege of Drumcree, but the siege of the province and of the whole United Kingdom. "I am behind you every minute. I'm with you all the way. It is going to be a long, hard struggle."

With Mr Gracy and the Orange order chaplain, Rev Tom Taylor, they then walked through the police cordon to talk to the officers in charge.

Asked by reporters what they had discussed with the police Dr Paisley said, "that's our business. I don't think the media want to hear."

Mr Taylor said afterwards that "Mr Paisley thinks he's doing the right thing. He helped to resolve the situation last year".

His view of how long the stand off would continue. "I reckon they can hold out for a week."

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