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A. THEMES TO HURT PIRA - BULL POINTS

PIRA - UNDEMOCRATIC, UNCONSTITUTIONAL, UNLAWFUL AND UNWANTED

- No electoral mandate - if a majority of the population wish for change along the lines PIRA proposes, it can be achieved through the ballot box.
- The Provisionals are criminals and terrorists, not freedom fighters.
- People in Northern Ireland are not deprived of human rights. Change can be brought about through non-violent means. Democratic routes exist.
- PIRA seeks to subvert the processes of Government and law and replace them with rule by intimidation, fear and terror.
- PIRA's terrorist campaign has been, and for as long as it lasts will continue to be, utterly self-defeating.

PIRA - INHUMANITY TO ALL

- PIRA puts ordinary people in fear. Houses are taken over to launch attacks against the security forces. Ordinary people are forced to let their homes be used for such purposes or to hide weapons.
- Schools and hospitals and leisure facilities are used to hide weapons and to conceal bombs.
- PIRA kills indiscriminately - pensioners, children, ordinary people going about their everyday lives.
- PIRA has callously used civilians as "human bombs" whilst families are held hostage.
- PIRA has killed more Catholics in the past 10 years than has any other single organisation.
- PIRA has total disrespect for human life and happiness - its day must not come.

PIRA - A PARASITIC ORGANISATION

- PIRA destroys jobs and feeds unemployment.
- PIRA sponges off the local community by extortion and protection rackets.
- PIRA takes money out of the economy to sustain itself, thus driving ordinary businesses to the wall.
- Impact of PIRA in every area is negative and destructive. Its activities destroy relations between the two communities, throughout the island of Ireland, Europe and the rest of the world.

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B. THEMES TO HIT HOME AGAINST THE PROVISIONALS

1. The Provisional Movement's declared aim is to "Get the British out of Ireland". That claim ignores the wishes of a million people - something acknowledged by the Government of the Republic of Ireland but not by them. It seeks to drive apart the two communities. After 20 years of violence the British Government's writ still runs in Northern Ireland and will continue to do so for as long as a majority wish it. The British Government has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland. Its role is not to occupy, oppress or exploit but to discharge its responsibilities, to help, enable and encourage and to ensure democratic debate and free democratic choice. If a majority of the population wish for change, it can be achieved through non-violent means. It is only a diminishing minority, whether in the Republic of Ireland or in Northern Ireland, who have deliberately chosen another path. It is their arrogant and wholly mistaken belief that unity can be achieved by violence that is still causing death, injury and destruction, not only in Northern Ireland, but also in Great Britain and Europe.

2. PIRA will never achieve its aim through violence. It has no mandate. The campaign is senseless, self-defeating and profoundly abhorrent to the great majority throughout Ireland. PIRA's activities are totally at variance with the Catholic Church's teaching on the sanctity of human life. It is profoundly undemocratic and shows total contempt for the rule of law. It seeks to substitute the rule of the gun for the rule of the ballot box because it has no electoral credibility: the claim to pursue the two approaches together is a mockery. It seeks to subvert the processes of Government and law and replace them with rule by fear and terror. It is dependent on outside help and on criminal activity to sustain itself.

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3. The Government does not do business with political representatives who support murder as a legitimate way of promoting a political goal. PIRA will not accept that a united Ireland can never be achieved by force or advanced by putting a union of territories before a union of hearts and minds. Continuing violence can only replenish old animosities and indefinitely postpone any real and lasting reconciliation between the traditions in Ireland in whatever context that may be achieved.

4. The Provisionals are completely out of touch with the modern world and with what ordinary people think and want. They want to put the political clock back to 1918 by wishing away much of what has happened since. They ignore realities, such as the fact that the overwhelming majority of nationalists on the island of Ireland vote for parties which acknowledge the Border as a fact of life, and condemn those who are prepared to kill to remove it. They do not represent the mainstream of Irish nationalism; they are an unrepresentative minority rooted in the past. PIRA ignores the fact that time has moved on and people are finding new ways of resolving former differences. The rigidity and backwardness of Provisional thought stands exposed in complete contrast with the openness, fluidity and change evident in Eastern Europe. Their heads in the sand approach will become increasingly irrelevant as barriers between states and peoples come down both before and after 1992. As Dr Cahal Daly said at his installation on 16 December 1990 as Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All-Ireland:-

"The peaceful revolution which transformed Eastern Europe was primarily a spiritual and a moral revolution and it achieved by peaceful means what armed uprising could never have achieved. The longer you (republican activists) continue with your campaign of violence, the more ignominious in the end will be the memory you will leave behind you and the further away from attainment will be any of your aims and objectives. If or when you call off your campaign, your aims and objectives become in principle attainable through the only means by which they ever could be attained, namely through peaceful political processes."

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5. PIRA puts ordinary Catholics in fear. Families, particularly in Catholic areas, have been held hostage in their own homes to serve the killing and maiming of soldiers and policemen, often with a total disregard for the fears and safety of the occupants. Young people have been lured into running errands for the IRA and are then entrapped into taking part in more serious deeds which leads to a frightened existence on the run or to ending up spending the best and most productive years of their lives in prison. Schools and hospitals and leisure facilities - places frequented by the public at large - are used to hide weapons, and to conceal bombs. Weapons have been hidden in the homes of the elderly and infirm. PIRA seeks to control nationalist areas by the fear of the kangaroo court and cold-blooded mutilation and maiming. This is its concept of justice; it is one based on intimidation and brutality.

6. PIRA kills indiscriminately. In the words of the "Economist", "it kills to exist and it exists to kill". It claims that there is nothing wrong in killing people it says are "legitimate targets" and apologises for those it kills by mistake - pensioners, children, ordinary people going about their everyday lives. It has callously used civilians as "human bombs" whilst families are held hostage. Religious persuasion is immaterial. PIRA has killed more Catholics in Northern Ireland in the past 10 years than has any other single organisation. It has no compunction about engaging in attacks which will inevitably result in death and injury to Catholic men, women and children. It has shown continued willingness to use mortars, rockets and bombs in built-up areas in the full knowledge of the indiscriminate nature of these forms of attack.

7. The PIRA way is to bring misery to West Belfast and those living in nationalist areas in general. There is no hope of bringing children up in a normal life in the PIRA world. Money which could have been spent on hospitals, schools and other facilities has instead to be diverted to security and compensation. Efforts by Government to bring better conditions to these areas are hampered. People living in areas which PIRA has sought to dominate suffer inconvenience as a result of house searches, border road closures and other security operations to protect ordinary people against the actions and intentions of this tiny minority.

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8. PIRA destroys jobs. For twenty years it has bombed factories, shops and public transport. And it has intimidated and killed employers and employees often just because the companies concerned were engaged in activities to which the Provisionals were opposed. In Belfast and surrounding areas, for example, in recent years massive investment has been undertaken by both the public and private sectors aimed at regenerating the city centre, providing new shopping centres and establishing jobs for the unemployed from both sides of the community. The response from the Provisionals has been to plant fire bombs in shops. In circumstances where the premises are completely destroyed people's jobs are immediately lost.

9. PIRA is a parasitic organisation. It claims to be the champion of working class nationalists. In fact it exploits the people of nationalist areas such as West Belfast. Through extortion and intimidation and protection rackets it takes money out of the economy to sustain itself, knowing full well that it could not hope to survive on the basis of voluntary payments. In so doing it drives ordinary businesses to the wall. Many of these activities are no longer undertaken in support of political ends: they have become ends in themselves.

10. PIRA is totally negative. The impact of PIRA in every single area of activity has been destructive. To the Protestant community, to the Catholic community, to relationships between the two communities, to the elderly who live in fear, to jobs, to young people, to political development, to relationships throughout the island of Ireland and with GB, Europe and the rest of the world. The Provisionals continue to pursue an agenda which has been rejected at the ballot box by the vast majority of people in the island of Ireland and by methods abhorred in civilised societies throughout the world. The days when such methods might have prevailed are long past. They offer no hope of any sort in any sphere - political, social or economic.

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11. All European countries have clearly demonstrated their total opposition to terrorism in any form and have shown their commitment to its eradication. The myth that the Provisionals are freedom fighters has been completely discredited in other European countries, in the USA, and in other parts of the world. Extremists in PIRA must eventually realise that they are isolated and politically irrelevant. PIRA shows a total disrespect for human life and happiness. The Provisionals have nothing positive to offer. They are killers. Their day must not come.

12. As John Hume, a former civil rights activist and now leader of the main nationalist party, the SDLP, said in November 1988:

"If I were to lead a civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland today, the major target of that campaign would be the IRA. It is they who carry out the greatest infringements of human and civil rights, whether it is their murders, their executions without trial, their kneecappings and punishment shootings, their bombings of jobs and people. The most fundamental human right is the right to life. Who in Northern Ireland takes the most human lives?"

and in November 1990:

"Their tools are death and destruction, their aim is conquest through fear and terror, their mindset is sectarian divisiveness. The "mistakes" which they admit are the murder of the innocent. Their doctrine is an eye for an eye and they are blind. By their own standards let them be judged."

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C. THEMES TO HURT SINN FEIN - BULL POINTS

- Sinn Fein has close links with the Provisional IRA and is widely regarded as its political wing.
- Sinn Fein members say they do not condone violence, yet they support the IRA's right to commit terrorist acts. This argument is inconsistent and hypocritical.
- Sinn Fein are effectively ensuring, by their own actions, that the views of those who vote for them are not heard where it matters most.
- Sinn Fein's political aspirations are not in themselves reprehensible, but they must be pursued by the path of constitutional politics, not by the threat or use of violence.
- If Sinn Fein were serious about participating in a peace process, they would call unambiguously on the IRA to end its terrorist campaign.
- Sinn Fein seek the support of the underprivileged yet refuse to condemn the IRA's destruction of lives and livelihoods, which sets back efforts to create opportunities and improve the quality of life for everyone.
- Sinn Fein lack realism and coherence- partition exists as an acknowledgement of a present day political reality, namely that a substantial majority of the population of Northern Ireland do not wish to be part of a unitary Irish state. The border cannot be wished away; nor can it be removed by violence.

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D. THEMES TO HURT SINN FEIN

- We all know that Sinn Fein has close links with the Provisional IRA. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that a PIRA spokesman gives a speech to each Sinn Fein Ard Fheis and that An Phoblacht/Republican News carries regular features justifying and supporting PIRA terrorist activity. Individual Sinn Fein members are systematically involved with the PIRA.
- Sinn Fein members say that they do not condone violence. Yet they do support the IRA's right to commit terrorist acts. This attempt to have it both ways does not stand up to scrutiny, defies logic and is incoherent. It is exemplified by Gerry Adams' approach to hospital policy. During the course of a single weekend he justified an IRA attack on Musgrave Park Hospital which caused loss of life, injury and severe destruction, while claiming separately that proposals for the Royal Victoria Hospital to opt for Trust status would have an adverse effect on patient care. This sort of hypocrisy cannot be taken seriously.
- Sinn Fein's political aspirations are not in themselves reprehensible. But they must be pursued by the path of constitutional politics, not by the threat of violence. The Party's support for the terrorist activities of PIRA ensures that Sinn Fein are excluded from the political process. An Irish republican party seen to have finally renounced violence would be able, like other parties, to seek a role in the peaceful political life of the community. Until this happens - and the remedy is in their own hands - Sinn Fein are effectively ensuring that the views of those who vote for them, or who might be tempted to do so, cannot be registered when Northern Ireland's political future is under discussion.

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- Sinn Fein claim to be ready to participate in a peace process capable of bring terrorism to an end. But if they were really serious about playing a constructive part in the political life of Northern Ireland they would call unambiguously on the IRA to end its terrorist campaign; they would also let their political manifesto stand on its own merits without having to be backed by the threat or the use of violence. On 30 October 1991 the leaders of the four main religious denominations in Northern Ireland - Catholic and Protestant - said that until Sinn Fein called for a cessation of violence its professed desire to bring the conflict to an end would lack credibility.
- Sinn Fein seeks the support of the underprivileged, and claims to work to bring prosperity to deprived areas in the Province. During a Sinn Fein recruitment drive in 1990 Martin McGuinness said that "joining Sinn Fein provides a unique opportunity to those concerned with political, social and economic injustice to make a real contribution to the work for peace and social justice and equality in Ireland". Yet they refuse to condemn the IRA's destruction of lives and livelihoods; for example attacks on commerce and industry put many jobs at risk, cause considerable inconvenience and hardship to the public at large and mean that valuable time, effort and money have to be diverted to rebuild the damage. This sets back all efforts to create opportunities and improve the quality of life for everyone in Northern Ireland.
- Sinn Fein cannot simply wish away the border. Partition, against which they campaign, is a fact of life and an acknowledgement of a present day as well as an historical reality. To pretend otherwise is irresponsible. The British Government has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland; its intention is to ensure democratic debate and free democratic choice. Sinn Fein lacks realism and coherence.

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- The question of proscribing Sinn Fein is kept under review. If the Government thought that the proscription of Sinn Fein, or any other organisation, was likely to materially assist in bringing terrorism to a permanent end it would not hesitate to take that step.

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E. THEMES TO HURT THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS

- Loyalist terrorists in Northern Ireland claim to respond to what they see as the threat to the Union posed by republican terrorism. In fact of course their actions lend credibility to the IRA claim to be defenders of the minority community and do nothing but damage to the cause they espouse.
- Loyalist terrorism since 1969 has usually taken the form of random shooting attacks on Roman Catholics either because the victims were believed to be connected with republican groups or simply on a sectarian basis. There have been some particularly horrific crimes such as the murder of two young girls and a young man at a mobile grocery shop in Craigavon by the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in March 1991.
- Loyalist terrorists are heavily involved in all areas of criminal activity: extortion, intimidation, protection rackets and other anti-social activities such as robbery and drug dealing, all to a considerable extent for personal gain.
- Loyalist terrorists are parasites on society. Their exploitation of protestant people takes money out of the economy to sustain their unlawful activities, and to feed the greed of those behind these criminal activities.
- Loyalist terrorist activity effectively hinders political progress, despite their avowed support for political development. Continuing violence and intimidation can only serve to prevent the establishment of democratically elected institutions involving representatives from both nationalist and loyalist communities.

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- Loyalist terrorists have the support of only a small minority of Protestant people. Their activities harm both the community they claim to protect and the cause they seek to defend.
- The question of proscribing* the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), or any other organisation, is kept under review. If the Government thought that the proscription of any organisation was likely to materially assist in bringing terrorism to a permanent end it would not hesitate to take that step.

*Loyalist organisations which are currently proscribed by virtue of Schedule 2 of the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1981 are:-

The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)

The Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF)

The Red Hand Commandos (RHC)

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F. KEY SECURITY MESSAGES

General

- The Government's aims are:-

- (a) to bring terrorism to an end - from whichever side of the community it comes;
- (b) to defend the democratically expressed wishes of the people of Northern Ireland against those who try to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence; and
- (c) to create in Northern Ireland the conditions for a just, peaceful and prosperous society in which local people can exercise greater control over their own affairs.

- The Army's operational role in Northern Ireland is to support the police in pursuit of the Government's primary aim where and when the security situation makes it necessary.

Reassurance

- Government is implementing effective measures in the political, social and economic fields in order to promote equality of treatment, economic well-being and stable democratic institutions. These supplement and reinforce the Government's security strategy.

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- The Government is committed to strengthening the Northern Ireland economy and improving the competitiveness of Northern Ireland industry. In so doing it will seek to promote equality of opportunity in employment for all.
- The Government has established the targeting of social need as a major public expenditure priority. This is intended to tackle social and economic differentials between the two sides of the community.
- The Government will continue to promote special initiatives for socially deprived areas of Belfast and Londonderry.
- The Government is addressing the causes of communal division by promoting greater cross-community contact and respect for cultural diversity. It is also committed to promoting equality of opportunity and esteem.
- The Government is in the process of developing structures to assist the self-help regeneration of the most deprived rural areas. It is also prepared to support projects or initiatives of a cross-border nature which are of benefit to the citizens of Northern Ireland.
- The IRA's attacks on so-called 'commercial targets' simply put at risk investment and jeopardise or destroy jobs. They also mean that money which might have been put to more productive use has to be diverted to repair the damage.
- Our goal is to restore normality, with the ultimate aim that all military support to the police should be removed when the security situation permits.
- There is no shoot to kill policy. The security forces are allowed only to use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances to prevent crime or make a lawful arrest. If members of the security forces break the law they, like all other citizens, will be liable to prosecution.

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- We call on all men and women of goodwill to co-operate with the security forces as they carry out their duty to protect the community. Necessary security operations may sometimes cause inconvenience to persons with no connection with terrorism. That is regretted, but the terrorists bear the ultimate responsibility for that inconvenience.
- The Government encourages anyone who believes they have a genuine complaint about the conduct of a police officer or member of the armed forces to use the procedures which exist for the investigation and remedy of such complaints.
- An Independent Assessor of Military Complaints procedures in Northern Ireland, established under the Emergency Provisions Act, will soon play an important role in independently examining the procedures for dealing with non-criminal complaints.
- The Independent Commission for Police Complaints maintains an oversight of complaints against police officers, and must supervise the most serious cases. Its supervision is no mere cipher - it can veto the appointment of an investigating officer; can send the report of the police investigation to the Director of Public Prosecutions and can direct disciplinary proceedings to be taken if appropriate.

Deterrence

- The first priority of the Government is to end terrorism in Northern Ireland - from whichever side of the community it comes. There is no acceptable level of violence. All violence will be met with by a firm and resolute response.
- The security forces do not simply react to violence when it occurs. A great deal of successful effort goes into deterring, preventing or cutting short terrorist activity, without which the situation would be very significantly worse. Much of this work necessarily goes unpublicised; but it should not be forgotten.

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- Emergency legislation, including in particular the Emergency Provisions (NI) Act 1991, is so framed to ensure that the police and armed forces have the legal means necessary to protect the community effectively and at the same time to provide appropriate safeguards for individuals. The need for further powers, and the possibility of allowing existing ones to lapse, is kept under constant review.
- Around one third of all crossing points along the border are closed. In the great majority of cases crossing on foot remains possible. The first duty of the Government must be to protect life, and provide as much protection as possible for the whole community.
- The Government will continue to ensure that the police and armed forces have the resources (including an appropriate legal framework) they need to undertake their difficult and dangerous work on behalf of all the people of Northern Ireland.
- The recent enactment of a new Emergency Provisions Act, containing significant new powers for the security forces and provisions designed to allow effective action to be taken against the financing of terrorism, is evidence of the Government's determination to ensure that those at the sharp end of the fight against terrorism have an appropriate legal framework within which to act.
- Terrorists will be dealt with through the energetic, but even-handed, enforcement of the criminal law.

DECEMBER 1991

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