

Representations

made by

For R. K. Pandey

To The Prime Minister

SECURITY FAILURE

The spiral of appalling killing which are getting more and more horrendous as 1992 advances demonstrates beyond doubt that the government's security policy is not working. In the last 41 days 27 people have been killed due to the rampant terrorist situation which has been permitted to develop.

A total of 2969 people have died in Ulster since the current violence began in 1969. 1992 is already breaking records in terms of violence inflicted on the Province in a short period of time.

In the dying months of 1991 the IRA's strategy had revolted back to the incessant bombing of economic, government and military targets in an attempt to weaken the resolve of our army and destroy the resolve of the civilian population. A total of 86 people were slain in 1991 when the total army presence stood at 11,000.

Not content with the bombing of such targets the terrorists have demonstrated their desire to murder civilians and security personnel in order to bring about their hideous objectives.

The 27 civilians murdered so far this year include:

3 JANUARY:	A Catholic man shot dead by Loyalists in Moy.
9 JANUARY:	A Catholic man shot dead by Loyalists in Moira.
11 JANUARY:	A Protestant murdered after his car was stoned by Republicans in Belfast.
13 JANUARY:	A Catholic man killed by a car bomb in Coalisland. He was murdered by the IRA who later claimed it was a mistake.
14 JANUARY:	A Protestant man killed by Loyalists in Belfast.
17 JANUARY:	Eight Protestant workmen slaughtered by the IRA in Teebane.
26 JANUARY:	A Catholic man stabbed to death in Belfast.
30 JANUARY:	A Catholic man shot dead by Loyalists.
2 FEBRUARY:	A Catholic man shot dead by Loyalists.
3 FEBRUARY:	A Protestant man shot dead by the IRA in Dungannon.
4 FEBRUARY:	Three men shot dead at SF Advice Centre by an off duty police officer who later committed suicide.
5 FEBRUARY:	A terrorist shot dead by a UDR soldier after attacking him.
5 FEBRUARY:	Five men killed in a Bookmakers shop in Belfast by Loyalists.

Such a litany of killing and mayhem is evidence of the government's failure to deal with the terrorists. The IRA's rate of attrition has been brought to its highest for a decade. On 13 January, 1992 my DUP parliamentary colleagues presented the Secretary of State and the Minister for Security in Northern Ireland with a security document outlining certain measures which ought to be implemented immediately to abate the present terrorist campaign. This document was also presented to the Prime Minister after the Teebane massacre. Between the 13 January and 11 February the government has failed to initiate even one measure we suggested. It is time the government took the suggestions made by the elected representatives of

shoulders. It is now about time the government took seriously their responsibility of securing the Province in order to make political progress possible. Finding a solution to the political problems cannot be achieved without first addressing the security issue. To suggest that politicians talking in Northern Ireland will miraculously stop the sectarian killings is ludicrous.

SECURITY - WHERE NEXT

The government must demonstrate for the first time since direct rule that it is determined to stop the violence. This can only be achieved with the complete root and branch change in the security policy - from a reactive one to a pro-active one. This would be first positive step forward. Effective waging a war against the IRA will demonstrate the determination of the government to defeat the terrorists. Terrorism is increasing because the terrorist knows their means achieve their goals. The British government submitted to the men of violence when it signed the Anglo Irish Agreement. Concessions made as a consequence of violence encourage greater violence. Northern Ireland is currently reaping the whirlwind of the governments concessions to violence.

The prerequisite to the defeat of terrorism is the possession and demonstration by the authorities of the will to win. Without the political will to win there can never be success. This is so because terrorism survives only where the terrorist possesses hope of victory. Extinguish that hope and the first step has been taken to extinguish terrorism. The primary reason why Ulster has suffered so many years of unabated terrorism is simply that the British government has demonstrated it has no will to win the war but on the contrary has shown its willingness to acquiesce in the achievement by the IRA of its goal for a United Ireland. The fact that the government has told the world through the Anglo Irish Agreement, that a nationalist majority (even of one) will be aided to bring about a United Ireland. While under the Agreement a Unionist majority has no rights whatsoever. By refusing to deal effectively with the IRA and Sinn Fein the government signal its desire to accommodate not eradicate the IRA.

BORDER SECURITY

Any reappraisal of the security situation must deal with the security of the border between this part of the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic. The open border has become the lifeline of the terrorists campaign. It is used as a conduit to deliver arms and explosives to the IRA in the province. The Republic has proved itself to be the safe haven of the IRA. Recent changes to the extradition procedure are ineffective and have done nothing of significance to deter the IRA from using the Republic as its headquarters. The government of the Republic of Ireland has left the IRA unmolested there to work for the destruction of our land. In order to dry up the IRA supply of arms and its use of the open border as a lifeline the government must act either unilaterally or with cooperation, by effectively sealing the land frontier. Extensive manning of the border and requiring the use only of limited official crossings must be a priority on this front. To attempt to deal with the IRA without addressing this problem is to act in vain. The border can be sealed!

INTERIOR SECURITY

Any effective security policy is reliant upon the government making available the finance and manpower to ensure they are doing all, that can be done. The recent fiasco of the government delaying its response to the RUC Chief Constable's request for an additional 400 new recruits and making him wait a year before giving approval has been a costly error. It demonstrates the governments inept approach to the security problem. There must be an even greater increase in the security personnel and that increase ought to be made now.

The chief concerns of the RUC should be counter insurgency, intelligence gathering, the protection of civil life and property, and the prosecution of terrorists. The present security policy demonstrates that the security forces are deployed only in reaction to IRA activities and the pursuit of a policy of containment based on achieving 'an acceptable level of violence.' The public's primary concern is that the police and the other security services should be put on the offensive against the IRA. Any new security policy must give expression to a pro active approach to the policing of our land. For too long the security services have been left to chase shadows and defend an area after the IRA has been successful in attacking. A policy that permits such an approach will continue to fail and must cease.

THE USE OF CIVILIANS

Civilians should be recruited into a part time back up force which could mobilise upwards of 50,000 men at a time of emergency. It would be broadly speaking equivalent to the old 'C' class special constabulary and should not be confused with the RUCR which would remain the main reserve of manpower for the RUC.

THE RING OF STEEL

Undoubtedly the presence of security checks in Belfast and the restrictions on parking play a part in the prevention of terrorism. But it would be more prudent to augment, if not replace these operations by sealing off all areas known by the security forces to be the haunts of the terrorists and by searching cars and individuals as they leave these areas rather than when they enter the cities and towns. Targets are many terrorists are comparatively few - sufficient reason therefore to concentrate on terrorists not targets. The police and army would be better deployed preventing the movement of arms and explosives from source rather than reacting to an explosion. Placing a ring of steel around the law abiding community will only prevent the minimum of devices entering those areas. Stopping the devices at source will achieve more than stopping them during transport.

SEARCH AND SEIZURE OPERATIONS

An obvious example of this principle would entail the unexpected closing and sealing of known terrorist sanctuaries and searching in a most thorough manner for wanted terrorists and their weapons. This would place the terrorists in unparalleled insecurity as they would no longer be sure they had safe houses and areas from which to operate. We would like

to see a decisive increase in this type of operation. Recent 'finds' have proved the wisdom of this approach.

ID CARDS

Identity cards should be issued for the entire community , down to the age of 14 with a computer back up system. The security forces checking of suspicious or unknown persons would be greatly aided.

INTELLIGENCE

The importance of good intelligence as a counter measure to terrorism cannot be over estimated. The impossibility of guarding all vulnerable points and people makes it essential to know what the aims and intentions of the terrorist are.

PROSCRIPTION OF SINN FEIN

"There cannot be any reason or indeed possible doubt that Sinn Fein is not only a political wing but also a complete accomplice and partner of the PIRA, that both intend to continue using violence, and that the identity of the murderers and the other perpetrators of grave crimes are according to police statements, widely known." This is not only our view but the conclusion drawn by the government's own security expert in the Baker Report.

The primary civil right basic to every individual is the right to live. If that is denied then no other right is of any use. The IRA and Sinn Fein have consistently denied to the people the right to live in a state of peace. The IRA & Sinn Fein must be viewed as one and be totally alienated from the political process. The government must ban these organisations and prosecute the godfathers who sustain them.

Proscription is an expression of the outrage of the ordinary citizen, who comprise the overwhelming majority, at the barbaourous acts of these organisations , and at the revolting glee with which they claim responsibility for their outrages. If Sinn Fein is a mere front organisation for the IRA there would be sufficient grounds to proscribe it. The authorities have evidence that it is much more than that. The present electoral law on running for election to public office is totally inadequate and inafective. The government must not pass the responsibility to others they must prosecute.

Our law makes the encouragement of acts of terrorism illegal. Adams and his cohorts are permitted to engage in flagrant breaches of the law without consequence. The republican leaders have by their words demonstrated that they disregard the law and have brought it into wholesale disrepute. The government must prosecute the republican leaders as the godfathers of the crime and make laws that will enable them to do so.

CURFEW

From time to time terrorist violence occurs in republican areas which is deliberately orchestration to attract security personnel into a trap. The

government should use the power to impose a curfew on those areas where this illegal and disruptive activity takes place. A curfew would serve the dual purpose of hampering the terrorists from moving their explosives to their intended target during the hours of darkness. It would serve to keep these hostile areas scrutinised by the security services. The curfew would have the added bonus of forcing the civilian population in the area concerned to press on the IRA to stop their campaign because of the inconvenience such a curfew would bring.

THE UDR

An immediate signal that the government means to stop its appeasement of terrorism would be the announcing of the abandonment of the merger of the UDR with the RIR. The removal of the UDR in the midst of the crisis must be stopped. The UDR have demonstrated their commitment to the peace of Northern Ireland their sacrifice should not be challenged in this despicable way. Since their inception over 200 UDR members have been killed by terrorists. In addition 44 former members have been murdered by the IRA and 377 members have been seriously wounded. The UDR provides value for money for example the UDR cost £1.5m per week to operate while the RUC costs £1.5m per day! No other aspect of the security forces is so cost effective. The UDR are responsible for only 0.28% of deaths in Northern Ireland contrary to black propaganda spread by the regiments enemies. Twice in the last three months the Chief Constable has had to call up part time members to full time duties in order to relieve the security situation. Ulster has found itself saying 'Thank God for the UDR'. For their sacrifice the government wish to remove the UDR via the back door of a merger. It is now time for the government to give tribute where tribute is due?

MONITORING OF KNOWN SUSPECTS

Security chiefs and government sources suggest there are only a small of hardened terrorists in the community. They have gone so far as to put an estimate of 400 known terrorists. The security forces comprise a total of 30,000 members some of whom should be deployed monitoring the movements of these suspects and using that information to follow up with charges. It would be more profitable to mark the terrorists than guess and guard their targets.

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

Executive detention must be available if all else fails it should be considered as part of the counter terrorist strategy.

SENTENCING

The full security picture will never be complete until there is proper sentencing to fit the crime. We contend that the government should legislate and introduce mandatory minimum sentences for those found guilty of terrorist offences. The level of remission for terrorist offences must be reviewed. The DUP hold to the view that capital punishment would serve as the greatest deterrent of all for capital crime.

FEB-11-'92 TUE 12:53 ID:DUP EURO OFFICE

TEL NO: 0232 457783

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PROPAGANDA WAR

The government should significantly step up its propaganda against terrorism with extensive use of the media. This propaganda campaign must be extended overseas.

No one single measure will defeat the IRA, but a collective security initiative embracing all the above and other strands must be initiated.

These measures are a few of the changes that would be necessary to take the battle to and defeat terrorism. At the heart of any counter terrorist strategy must be a resolute determination to defeat the enemy. The will to win must be the core of the government's policy and should not be limited or circumscribed by a concern of how other countries or the terrorist's supporters might react. We urge the government to act and act now.

CONSTITUTIONAL EFFRONTERY

The election of a new Prime Minister in the Irish Republic is no encouragement to the people of Northern Ireland. Mr. Reynolds government support the illegal, immortal and obnoxious claims of Articles Two and Three of the Irish Constitution. Such a document which by its existence refuses to give credence to the democratic process is an effrontery to democracy.

Successive Dublin administrations have deliberately sustained a campaign of hatred against British Ulster. Doing nothing about the constitutional claims has given the IRA the green light to sustain their campaign of cross border genocide.

The Irish President took an oath at her inauguration to uphold the legitimacy of these offending Articles which are an embarrassment to Europe. Mr. Reynolds will himself be supporting these illegal claims. There can be no goodwill between Northern Ireland and the Republic until the Republic recognises the right of the majority of Northern Ireland to self-determination and abandon Articles Two and Three without preconditions.

Mr Reynolds has foolishly tried to explain away Unionist objections to Articles Two and Three by suggesting that there is a parallel between it and Nationalist objections to the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. There is absolutely no comparison. Any one who holds onto illegal claims is a thief and a trickster. The Dublin, Belfast and British Parliaments all ratified the border of Northern Ireland and registered their international agreement with the then League of Nations. Later, DeValera became President of that league. There is nothing that Unionists are prepared to negotiate away to have Articles Two and Three removed. These Articles are a great stumbling block to peace on this island. It is the Berlin Wall of Dublin's own making. The British Prime Minister must make a priority a termination to seek the immediate removal of this illegal territorial claim to Her Majesty's domain.

The following statistics demonstrate how the Anglo Irish Agreement has acted as a watershed in the history of IRA violence. From 1976-85 there was

a decisive drop in deaths caused by terrorism. In that period a Northern Ireland Assembly was established. It was the unilateral prorogement of that democratic forum and the imposition of the Anglo Irish Agreement which has led to a dramatic increase in violence from 1985 to now. Such a development is set to continue until the government restores democracy to Northern Ireland.

On 5 February, 1992 the IRA attempted to kill an off duty member of the UDR. The soldier was able to return fire and kill one of his assailants. The Irish police arrested the others who fled across the border. These men must be immediately extradited, the weapons recovered by the Garda handed over to the RUC for ballistic testing and evidence gathering purposes. The fact that the roads in this area had been sealed demonstrates the necessity of securing the border.

On the same day the UFF murdered five Roman Catholics in a Bookmakers shop in Belfast. Later at the scene of the crime the Chief Constable claimed all resources were available to the police. I am informed that one hour later the Chief Constable cut all RUC Special Branch overtime. If so, this demonstrates how police resources have been undercut by financial considerations.

EB-11-'92 TUE 12:54 ID:DUP EURO OFFICE

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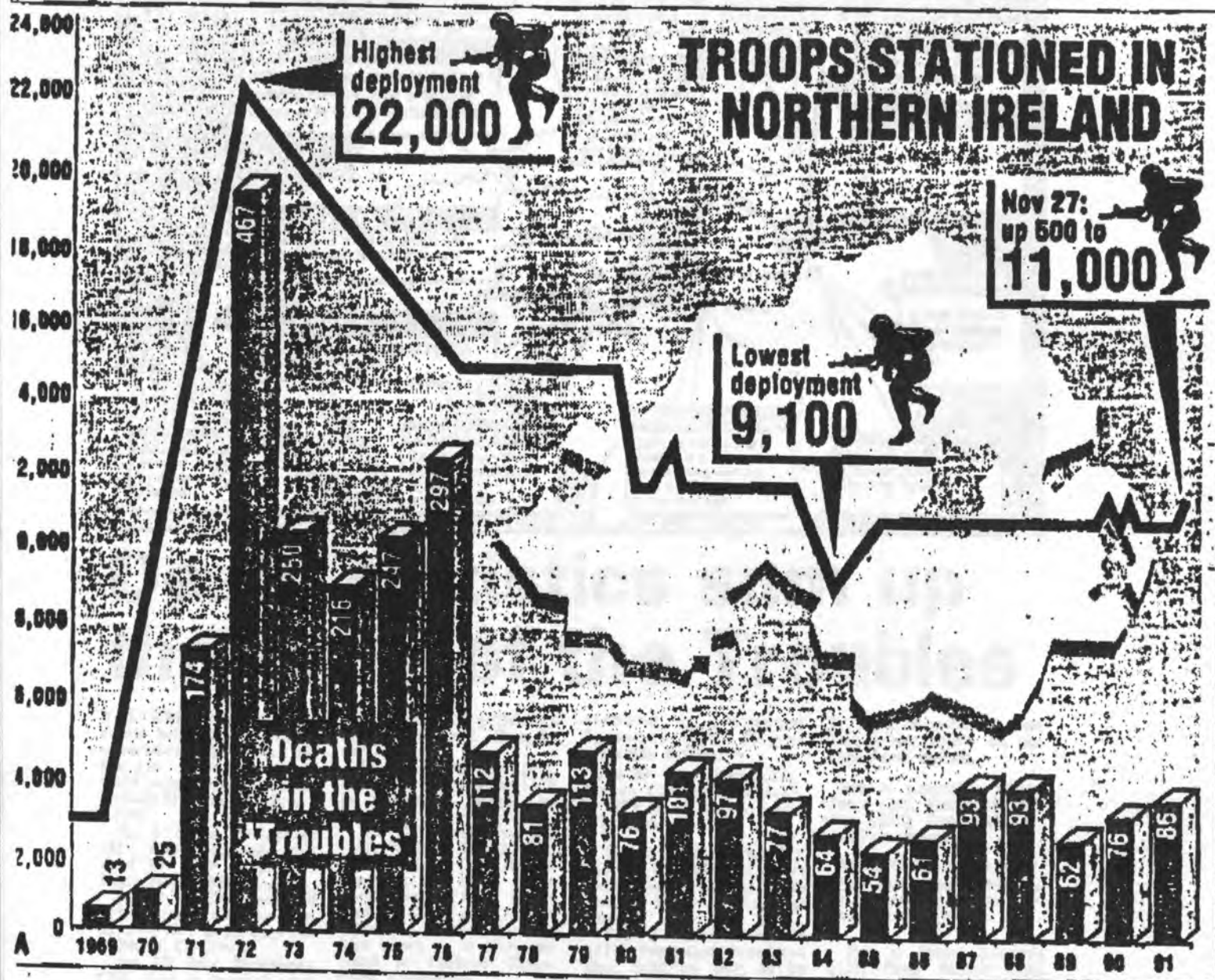
LIST OF DOCUMENTS

1. Troops stationed in province and death totals.
2. Map of those killed in 1992.
3. Where I.R.A.'s money comes from.
4. U.D.R. The Facts.
5. Map listing murders of civilian workmen.
6. News Letter article on Brooke Says No.
7. Why we reject Anglo Irish Agreement.
8. Deaths in Northern Ireland.
9. Memo on Extradition
10. Memo on failed Irish Police Officer

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FEB-11-'92 TUE 12:58 ID:DUP EURO OFFICE

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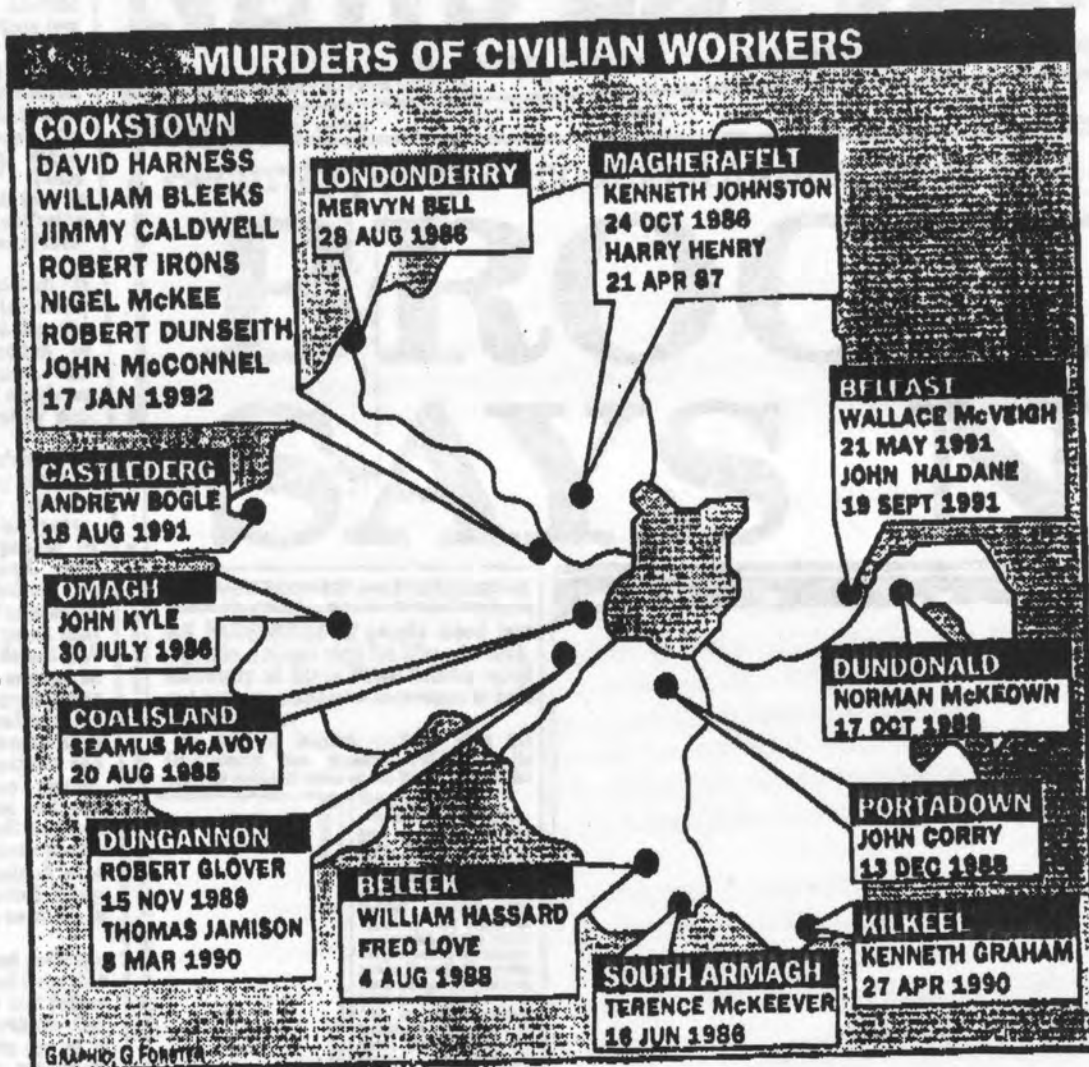
THE UDR THE FACTS

- 200 UDR MEN HAVE BEEN KILLED BY TERRORISTS.
- 44 ADDITIONAL FORMER MEMBERS HAVE BEEN MURDERED BY THE IRA.
- 377 HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY WOUNDED.
- UDR IS VALUE FOR MONEY EG: UDR COSTS £1.5 MILLION PER WEEK WHILE THE RUC COSTS £1.5 MILLION PER DAY.
- NO OTHER ASPECT OF THE SECURITY FORCES IS SO COST EFFECTIVE.
- IN 20 YEARS THE UDR HAVE TRAINED 40,000 MEMBERS. OUT OF THIS 17 HAVE BEEN CONVICTED OF MURDER.
- UDR ARE ONLY RESPONSIBLE FOR 0.28% OF DEATHS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.
- REPUBLICAN TERRORISTS HAVE KILLED 250 TIMES AS MANY PEOPLE AS THE UDR!

11-'92 TUE 12:59 ID:DUP EURO OFFICE

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FEB-11-92 TUE 13:02 ID:DUP EURO OFFICE

TEL NO:0232 457783

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Our aim is the replacement of the Anglo Irish Agreement with a process which reflects the self-determination of the people of Northern Ireland.

The Replacement of and alternative to the Agreement must take on board the hopes, designs and wishes of the people of Northern Ireland. We must be consulted about our future.

In order to get to a point where the Agreement can be replaced we seek the suspension of the Accord and the cessation of the work of the Maryfield Secretariat which services the Conference. Thus no one would be bargaining under duress.

The talks about talks process was an effort embarked upon by Mr. James Moyniaux MP and myself with the Secretary of State to create the necessary conditions for talks about an alternative to and a replacement of the Accord to begin.

The talks process that eventually came about in May of this year could have been successful if the rules were adhered to. The fact that any hope of success was frustrated, not by the Unionists, but by the London and Dublin Governments who insisted upon the reimposition of the Anglo Irish Conference meetings.

History will record what should have been their priorities.

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Standing back and looking at the effects the Agreement has had on Northern Ireland over the past six years the legacy is derisory and sad. Ulster has lost out in terms of peace and stability. The security situation has considerably worsened.

There has been an escalation in terrorism and sectarian violence since 1985. From 1981-84 deaths as a result of the security situation had decreased considerably yet in the immediate aftermath of the Agreement violence and deaths rose to equal some of the worst years of the 1970s.

Not only has the Agreement cost lives and destroyed property but it has been responsible for the senseless squandering of millions of pounds of tax payers money.

The expenditure involved in operating the Agreement runs at approximately £1 million per year. Meeting of the Conference cost almost £1 million to set up, furnish and run. This money is wasted on a process that has failed and is unwanted.

The facts are the Agreement cannot be a solution to Northern Ireland's problems so long as it ignores the wishes of the people of Northern Ireland.

The Agreement does not guarantee Northern Ireland's place in the UK nor does it give support to democratically devolved government in Northern Ireland.

#310 P19

MEMO RE EXTRADITION

Since the Anglo Irish Agreement was signed the Dublin Government has made extradition from the Irish Republic to the United Kingdom more difficult. This is despite the explicit pledge made by the then Irish Prime Minister, Garret Fitzgerald, when the Anglo Irish Agreement was signed. They have introduced so called "safeguards" which in reality constitute extra obstacles which have to be overcome for an extradition application to succeed. One of the main innovations is the requirement that the Irish Attorney-General must be satisfied on the basis of the evidence presented to him by the British authorities that there is a prima facie case for the accused to answer. Another major defect is that certain categories of serious terrorist crimes are not covered (eg possession of particular types of firearms). This provides a loophole in the law.

Out of 32 extradition demands to the Irish Republic made since the signing of the Agreement in 1985 only 4 have been successful. 5 were refused by the Republic's courts, some of them on the grounds that the offences concerned (all terrorist) were political in nature. In other unsuccessful cases warrants were returned or withdrawn. In the case of the priest, Patrick Ryan, the Irish Attorney-General stopped the extradition on the grounds that he believed Ryan would not receive a fair trial in Britain.

The 4 successful cases were :

Gerard Harte - charged with possession of firearms and arson;	
John Fletcher - charged with theft of ammunition and possession of firearms;	
Robert Russell - charged with escape from prison and attempted murder;	
Paul Kane - charged with escape from prison.	

There are two other instances of the Irish courts granting extradition but in both cases the accused are on the run. These are Joseph Campbell - charged with murder and attempted murder and Paul Patrick Magee - charged with the same offences.

Wedding took place the day after Mr. Dodds

love costs £54,000

Legal Correspondent

Justice Pughas sitting with Mr Justice Douglas Brown said the Lovelays married in 1958 and had four children, all now grown up.

They divorced in 1987 on the uncontented ground that the marriage had irretrievably broken down because Mr Lovelady had behaved in such a way that she could no longer be expected to live with him.

After that year, Mrs Lovelady, in a sworn statement supporting her claim for post-divorce support, said she had no plans to re-marry or live with another man.

Lord Justice Pughas said he believed Mrs Lovelady had been associating with Dr Long since May, 1987.

He found she deliberately concealed her 1989 marriage to Dr Long from her ex-husband, the courts said, and had not disclosed the removal of £25,000 from a trust fund set up for her children.

Mrs Lovelady had shown a "lamentable lack of respect, civility and co-operation," said the judge.

Police officer who spied for IRA is jailed

By Chris Ryder
Irish Correspondent

AN IRISH police officer was jailed for five years in Dublin yesterday after detectives told him false information about his role in an IRA arms sweep.

He passed to the IRA, Denis Kelly, 35 of Malton, Co Cork, who has been in the Garda Síochána for nine years, was seen taking notes from a bogus fax message sent from Dublin to Limerick, ordering him to take an IRA arms sweep.

The officer, who worked in the Communications Central in the Garda station at Mount Merrion, Limerick, then made two telephone calls from the station to people the police regard as IRA activists.

Kelly, who pleaded guilty, was charged under the Official Secrets Act for illegally having possession of a document containing information about police operations.

Kelly, who would not disclose names of IRA contacts, claimed he had hoped to trade the information for details about drugs in Limerick.

Att: vic

By K

A BURLINGAME man have drunk to shell of a per nearly battie sent to a payc for testy reate Bailey judge.

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AA £112,000

Sat 1st Feb

Daily Telegraph

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