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NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

WHITEHALL
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PS/MOPS (L+B) M
PS/PUS (L+B) M
PS/MR FGL M
MR THOMPSON
MR LEDLIE M
MR BELL
MR AP WILSON M
MR AUSTON M
MR DSR M
MR COOKE
MR WOOD (L+B) M
MR MACILABE M
MR LEACH M

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PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH THE NI PARTY LEADERS

The Prime Minister is to see the four leaders of the Northern Ireland constitutional parties at No 10 at 3.45 pm on 11 February. Mr Brooke, Mr King together with Dr Mawhinney and the Permanent Secretary, John Chilcot, will be present.

I enclose a steering brief together with:

- a possible introductory speaking note (annex A)
- the Unionists' paper on security (annex B)
- background notes on security (annex C - to follow on Monday)
- the joint statement of 27 January (annex D)
- a possible joint statement for issue after Tuesday's meeting (annex E)
- a possible Government statement for issue after the meeting (annex F).

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I should emphasise that it has not been possible to show this material to Mr Brooke before it is despatched to you nor to clear the proposals with him. In particular he has yet to weigh the arguments for proscribing the UDA.

It might be appropriate, following the meeting, for the Prime Minister to transmit a message about its outcome to Mr Reynolds. We can consider the form of such a message nearer the time.

Copies go to Richard Gozney, Colin Walters and Jane Binstead and to Sonia Phippard.

Yours
W R Pittall

W R FITTALL

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PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH NI PARTY LEADERS: STEERING BRIEF

Objectives

A key objective of the meeting will, clearly, be to steady nerves in Northern Ireland in the wake of last weeks violence, which left twelve dead. It will therefore be important to manifest the Government's determination that the security situation is not, and will not be allowed to get, out of control. Our broad political objective is to emphasise to the party leaders their obligation to give an effective lead in the political sphere, but without exacerbating their own sensitivities (on display in the House on 6 February) about being blamed for the absence of political progress.

Our tactical political objective is to reaffirm/consolidate the agreement on inter-party talks reached on 27 January in a form which will permit talks to recommence after the election. (Despite higher expectations elsewhere - eg Mr McNamara's comments in the House yesterday - Mr Brooke believes that this is the most ambitious short-term objective which can be safely commended to the Prime Minister.)

Security: Party Approaches

The party leaders' views and objectives in relation to security policy differ widely. The DUP will undoubtedly press for a "hard" pro-active security line, of which internment, and an approach to the nationalist community which verges on collective punishment, are key elements. The DUP's detailed proposals are at Annex B. The UUP approach is more cautious and appreciative of the difficulties, but they too may see "selective" internment (of which their security spokesman, Mr Maginnis, is the chief proponent) and the "unleashing" of the security forces as key elements in a major reordering of security priorities. For both parties, border

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security may be an important theme, both in its own right and as an opportunity to snipe at the Government of the Republic for wider political reasons.

The SDLP's main objective, on the other hand, will be to avoid the introduction of measures, such as internment, which would be deeply resented in the nationalist community and which would simultaneously weaken the SDLP's position and build up extremists. It goes without saying that the "collective punishment" approach advocated by the DUP falls into this category. On the contrary, Mr Hume will probably wish to emphasise the need for any new measures to be directed at least as clearly against loyalist, as against republican, terrorists. He is in favour of proscribing the UDA. The Alliance party are conscious that there is no "quick fix". They are against internment and are unlikely to favour other drastic measures; but may welcome higher force levels. They would also welcome UDA proscription.

General Approach to Security Issues

Keynotes for this meeting are perhaps reassurance, realism, responsibility and, above all, confidence. We need to convey the constancy of our approach (itself a powerful weapon against terrorism) and to make clear that, whilst we are prepared to consider any measure which will work, the alternatives being put forward to present security policy are, in the Government's judgement, unlikely to meet that test.

On substance, it has been agreed that two additional battalions should be made available in Northern Ireland. 1 Royal Highland Fusiliers have been deployed to the Province since 18 January; 1 Queens' will complete deployment by the evening of Monday 10 February. The Prime Minister will be able to confirm on Tuesday that both battalions are deployed. [In addition, consideration is being given to the possibility of proscribing the UDA.]

Points to make in opening the meeting, on security and politics, are attached as Annex A; additional security points are in Annex C.

POLITICS

Mr Brooke and the four Northern Ireland party leaders accepted on 27 January that, in the absence of agreement on the ground rules for fresh talks, new talks could not begin this side of the general election. An impasse was reached over the extent to which the Unionists could be expected to give a commitment to continue the talks after the general election, in the event of a change of administration. They argued that, in the event of a change of administration they would need to consult the new Government to ensure that they would continue the talks on the same basis; the SDLP and Irish Government regarded such a pre-condition as unnecessary.

Although there was no agreement on a basis for fresh talks the party leaders had no wish for recrimination and were anxious to avoid a vacuum in the period up to the election. They therefore agreed that political dialogue would continue in the shape of discussions with the Secretary of State on matters of common concern, including economic issues, and that party delegations would attend factual briefings on the machinery of Government in Northern Ireland.

The tactical objective of the meeting is to secure a restatement of the party leaders' commitment to the political process, in the terms of the joint statement of 27 January attached as Annex D. At Questions on 6 February the Prime Minister emphasised the value of political dialogue and, in follow-up questions to Mr Brooke's statement, Mr McNamara called on the Prime Minister to use Tuesday's meeting to ask the party leaders to reconsider their positions on the political talks. Ministers can therefore expect follow-up questions, after Tuesday's meeting, to see whether new impetus will be given to the political talks.

There would be nothing to be gained, in our judgement, from pressing the leaders to reconsider starting new talks before the election. That issue was firmly disposed of at Mr Brooke's meeting on 27 January (Jonathan Margetts reported to you in his letter of 28 January).

An alternative would be to intensify the political dialogue which the party leaders have agreed to continue with Mr Brooke in the period up to the election (in the shape of discussions on matters of common concern and tutorials about the machinery of Government in Northern Ireland) but, objectively, this would be perceived as irrelevant to the central issue.

This suggests that the Prime Minister's approach should be to encourage the party leaders to reaffirm their commitment to the talks process, in the terms of the joint statement issued by them, and Mr Brooke, on 27 January. This would strike a positive note in Northern Ireland and demonstrate that the Prime Minister had helped to bind the leaders into the process. The draft statements at Annexes E & F draw on the language of the 27 January statement.

The party leaders (especially Mr Molyneaux and Dr Paisley) may react badly against any implication that the breakdown of the talks has contributed to the deterioration in the security situation or, conversely, that constructive political development could bring terrorism to an end. Our analysis is that in the medium to long term a resolution of the underlying political tensions would have a significant positive impact on the security situation. This is reflected in the introductory speaking note below.

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Regardless of the nature of the link between political development and security, the Prime Minister may wish to emphasise that Northern Ireland politicians' public positions on security matters can influence public confidence. It is legitimate to ask the Unionist leaders to weigh public statements carefully to ensure that they do not undermine efforts to maintain the confidence of the whole community in the effectiveness and the impartiality of the security forces and of the Government's security policies. Equally, it is legitimate to press Mr Hume to acknowledge, publicly, the considerable efforts which have been made in recent years to address issues which might have adversely affected minority attitudes to the administration of justice in Northern Ireland.

Against that background, points to make on politics are included in Annex A.

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ANNEX A

INTRODUCTORY SPEAKING NOTE

1. Most grateful to you for agreeing to discuss the Northern Ireland situation with me and Peter Brooke today. The immediate context of my invitation to you is of course the horrific terrorist attacks which have taken place since the start of this year. My visit to the Province on 20 January brought home to me not only the enormous resilience and courage of the Northern Ireland community whom you represent, but also the malignity of the shadow which the terrorists - a very small minority of the population - can still cast over the everyday lives of men and women in the North. I know of course that the level of violence has greatly reduced since the 1970s, but that can seem little consolation to those who have been bereaved or to elected representatives whose constituents are still suffering.
2. As Peter Brooke has said, the individual tragedies of Northern Ireland are part of a wider tragedy which the whole community shares. As Prime Minister, I want, and the Government wants, the same goal as the vast majority of the population - a stable and peaceful society. Terrorism is the greatest threat - though not the only obstacle - to that goal; and we are very far from viewing with complacency the ability of the terrorists to continue their vicious attacks despite the very many successes which the security forces have had - for example, the fact that 38 terrorists were charged with murder in 1991 as against 18 in 1990.
3. I am very willing to discuss specific ideas and proposals to improve the security situation in the course of this meeting, but I must make clear now that I believe that the broad lines of our present policy are correct and, in particular, that we will not abandon the underlying principle of that policy, which is a determination to deal with terrorism under the rule of law.

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4. But although that is the right strategy, I believe there is scope to make even more clear our determination to see off terrorism and to safeguard Northern Ireland's right to decide its own future. I therefore want to tell you of two steps the Government has taken to improve security in the Province further and to reassure the community of our absolute even handed determination to stay the course and defeat the men of violence.

First, it has always been true that adjustments to the levels and deployment of military support for the police are constantly made in order to counter the terrorist threat effectively. At the moment, two additional battalions of soldiers are operating in Northern Ireland - one on a short-term basis to help maintain the current high level of security force operations, and the other undertaking a special one-off task in the west of the Province - the refurbishment of a number of permanent vehicle check points on the Border. We have now decided that the short-term battalion will remain in the Province for as long as it is needed, and that in addition a further battalion will be posted to Northern Ireland to support the RUC in their unrelenting drive to bring terrorists to justice. There will therefore now be two extra battalions of soldiers in Northern Ireland dedicated to counter-terrorism, in addition to the ten which were in any case allocated to the Province and the one undertaking the special task in Fermanagh.

[If proscription of UDA is decided upon: Second, Peter Brooke has also reviewed whether, in the light of the particularly appalling attack which the UFF carried out in South Belfast last week, and the intimate association which exists between the UFF and the UDA, it is right that the UDA should remain a legal organisation. He has decided that the public interest now requires that membership of the UDA should be made illegal, and an order proscribing the organisation has been signed and will become effective from midnight.]

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5. [These are] [this is] not the only initiatives we have in train to improve security in Northern Ireland. The closest possible cross-border security co-operation is of the highest importance in defeating terrorism, and I discussed a number of security issues with Mr Haughey when I met him in Dublin last December. I look forward to reviewing progress on these issues when I meet his successor. In addition (and I should be grateful if you could treat this information as confidential) the Chief Constable has proposed, in the constant drive to make more effective use of our existing resources, a method of restructuring the senior management of the RUC in order to improve the leadership and co-ordination of the anti-terrorist effort, and this is in the final stages of necessary consideration. The security forces will also continue to undertake a range of targetted and pro-active measures to surprise and arrest the terrorists, and frustrate their plans.

6. I hope I have said enough to demonstrate that the Government is giving the highest priority to combating and defeating those in Northern Ireland who are enslaved by their own misguided obsessions into the service of evil. But the defeat of terrorist violence, central though it is, is not the only factor in the complex equation which I hope will bring peace and stability to the Province.

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Politics

- Regret that it did not prove possible to resolve the one significant remaining obstacle to launching fresh talks before the election.
- Share the view, which you all endorsed on 27 January that discussions over the past two years have produced a basis for political dialogue which retains great potential and has yet to be fully exploited.
- Continue to believe that the most productive way forward is to pursue the concept of a new and more broadly based structure or agreement based on a re-examination of the three levels of relationships.
- Government is determined to seek further substantive progress as soon as circumstances permit.
- Would be an encouragement to the people of Northern Ireland if you reaffirmed your commitment to the political process in the terms of the joint statement of 27 January.
- Mr Brooke also looks forward to continuing exchanges with the Northern Ireland parties on matters of common concern.

Link between Security and Political Development

I am glad to have this opportunity to exchange views with Northern Ireland's political leaders on matters of central concern to all the people of Northern Ireland. I hope this contact will continue and that Government policies will be responsive to the local needs which you articulate.

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It is vital that constitutional politicians give the right lead and continue to draw the vital distinction between constitutional politics - whatever the differences between the parties - and terrorism. Dialogue and agreement are the signposts to a better future, not bombs and bullets.

I have consistently supported the talks process in which you have all engaged. I share the hope you all expressed on 27 January that the talks should be resumed after the election so that their potential can be fully exploited.

I accept, as I believe you all recognised last June, that no political accommodation could influence a highly committed individual to abandon terrorism. But I am sure that a prosperous, stable community with vibrant and effective local political institutions might undermine the motivation of at least some terrorists and would make it harder for terrorists to obtain the practical and moral support they require.

I also agree that determined and effective security force action will be a central component in bringing terrorism to an end. But equally I am sure that law and order could more effectively be maintained in Northern Ireland if there were a greater basic political consensus leading to wider public support for and confidence in the security forces. That is why I believe the talks have an important part to play in tackling terrorism and why I hope you will today reaffirm your commitment to the talks process.

[Note: the underlined passages are drawn from a summary of the "common themes" which emerged from the talks which took place last Summer. Although not formally endorsed by the parties they were not challenged. The words may therefore strike a positive chord.]

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ANNEX B

SECURITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND

A DOCUMENT PRESENTED TO SECURITY MINISTER
DR. BRIAN MAWHINNEY BY THE ULSTER DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY

13 JANUARY, 1992

20 JAN '92 14:38

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CURITY

The recent terrorist upsurge has brought the IRA's rate of attrition to its highest for a decade. Changes in tactics will not defeat the IRA terror campaign. It is a complete root and branch change in security policy that is desperately needed. The death of civilians and members of the security forces, along with the recent increase in IRA attacks on economic targets and government buildings is evidence that the present security policy has drastically failed.

Terrorism has increased because the terrorists know that their methods have initiated political change. The former prime minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher, submitted to the men of violence and their fellow travellers when she signed the Anglo Irish Agreement. Concessions made as a consequence of violence encourage greater violence.

The destruction in our province is entirely the fault of the IRA encouraged by the surrenders of successive governments. That destruction must be brought to a halt, military might must be turned upon the men of violence and they must be stopped. Any attempt to accommodate the IRA and their political wing into talks will signal to the people of Ulster that the government is not interested in peace but rather has its sights set on surrender. If the government chooses to talk with Sinn Fein then they talk alone! The suggestion that if the IRA called a ceasefire it could be brought into the talks process is simply not acceptable.

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

PRONI CENT/1/24/23A y policy is reliant upon the government making available the finance and manpower
from of the environment delaying its response

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 government's 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 house 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.

I.D CARDS

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

thern 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 part 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.

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.

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.

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TELLIGENCE

The impossibility 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 barbarous 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 ineffective. 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

Immediate signal that the government means to stop its appeasement of terrorism would be the abandonment of the merger of the UDR with the RIR. The removal of the UDR in the PRONI CENT/1/24/23A must be stopped. The UDR have demonstrated their commitment to the peace of

JOINT STATEMENT

27 January 1992

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon Peter Brooke MP, accompanied by the Minister of State, Dr Brian Mawhinney MP, today met ANNEX D the leaders of the four main constitutional political parties in Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon James Molyneaux MP, Mr John Hume MP MEP, Dr Ian Paisley MP MEP, and Dr John Alderdice.

2. Together they reviewed the outcome of the round of discussions which have taken place since last September in the search for agreement on a basis for fresh political talks. They reasserted their support for a process of talks based on the statement of 26 March. However, they concluded with regret that it was not possible in present circumstances to proceed to launch fresh substantive talks on the lines envisaged.
3. They agreed that the various exchanges which had taken place over the past two years had been valuable in producing a basis for political dialogue which retained great potential and had yet to be fully exploited. They recalled the talks which took place between the parties in June and July last year and reaffirmed the view that these had produced genuine dialogue and provided a firm foundation for further substantive exchanges in due course. They expressed the hope that this would be taken further at the appropriate time.
4. The party leaders agreed that, in the meantime, at the invitation of the Secretary of State, they would meet to consider matters of common concern, including in the economic field, in the interests of all the people of Northern Ireland. They also agreed to respond to an invitation to field party teams to take part, for information, in intensive factual briefings, under the chairmanship of the Minister of State, on present financial and other administrative arrangements affecting the people of Northern Ireland.
5. The party leaders expressed the hope that by continuing to work together and by making representations together on matters of common concern they would contribute to the growth of mutual trust and confidence within the community in Northern Ireland, which would eventually aid the talks process.

JOINT STATEMENT

The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon John Major MP, and Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon Peter Brooke MP, this afternoon, at their invitation, met the leaders of the four main constitutional political parties in Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon James Molyneaux MP, Mr John Hume MP MEP, Dr Ian Paisley MP MEP, and Dr John Alderdice, in order to discuss the security situation in Northern Ireland.

Together, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the party leaders expressed their utter condemnation of continuing terrorist atrocities in Northern Ireland, and in particular of sectarian killings, which brought only tragedy and grief to the community. They reaffirmed their support for the democratic and constitutional political process, and their total rejection of the pursuit of political objectives through violence, threat, coercion or reprisal. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State confirmed to the party leaders that the Government would take all necessary and effective measures within the rule of law to bring terrorism to an end. Terrorism would continue to be met with a firm, resolute and proactive security policy. There was no acceptable level of violence.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State confirmed to the party leaders the importance which they attached to cross border security co-operation with the Republic of Ireland, and that the two Governments were constantly seeking to enhance co-operation at all levels.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State told the party leaders of their deep sympathy towards all those bereaved or injured as a result of terrorist violence, and paid tribute to the fortitude of the people of the Province. The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and the party leaders noted that the overwhelming majority of people in Northern Ireland deeply abhorred, and wanted no part of, the destruction perpetrated by a tiny terrorist minority, who were representative of no one but

themselves. They called on all sections of the community in Northern Ireland to continue to stand firm against terrorism, and to deny the terrorists all support.

The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and the party leaders praised the courage of the security forces in Northern Ireland. The Prime Minister confirmed to the party leaders that, since the Secretary of State's statement to Parliament on 6 February, military support for the police in Northern Ireland had been further substantially increased, and that these additional soldiers had already been deployed. They would enable the security forces to increase the pressure on terrorists from both sides of the community. Recruitment of the additional 441 police officers approved last November was proceeding rapidly. [The Prime Minister also confirmed that the Ulster Defence Association had been proscribed by order under the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1991].

The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the four party leaders recalled the talks which had taken place between the parties in June and July last year, and reaffirmed the view that these had produced genuine dialogue and provided a firm foundation for further substantive exchanges in due course. They reiterated their support for a process of political talks based on the statement of 26 March 1991. They recalled that in their joint statement on 27 January 1992, the party leaders had agreed that, at the invitation of the Secretary of State, they would meet to consider matters of common concern, including in the economic field, in the interest of all the people of Northern Ireland. They had also agreed to respond to an invitation to field party teams to take part, for information, in intensive factual briefings, under the chairmanship of the Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office, on present financial and other administrative arrangements affecting the people of Northern Ireland. The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the party leaders welcomed this activity, which had an important contribution to make to political dialogue. They reiterated their hope that further substantive political talks would be held at an appropriate time.

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... noted the joint statement made by the Secretary of State and four party leaders on 27 January 1992, which had reasserted support for a process of political talks based on the statement of 26 March 1991. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State recalled that in that statement the party leaders had expressed the hope that by continuing to work together and by making representations together on matters of common concern they would contribute to the growth of mutual trust and confidence within the community in Northern Ireland, which would eventually aid the political talks process. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State reaffirmed to the party leaders their readiness, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of Ireland, to do all they could to establish a basis for further substantive political talks at an appropriate time.

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WHITE STREET STATEMENT

The Prime Minister, the Rt Hon John Major MP, and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon Peter Brooke MP, this afternoon, at their invitation, met the leaders of the four main constitutional political parties in Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon James Molyneaux MP, Mr John Hume MP MEP, Dr Ian Paisley MP MEP, and Dr John Alderdice, in order to discuss the security situation in Northern Ireland.

The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland [and the four party leaders] expressed their utter condemnation of continuing terrorist atrocities in Northern Ireland and in particular of sectarian killings, which brought only tragedy and grief to the community. They confirmed to the party leaders that the Government would take all necessary and effective measures within the rule of law to bring terrorism to an end.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State said that terrorism could not and would not be tolerated and would continue to be met with a firm, resolute and pro-active security policy. There was no acceptable level of violence.

They told the party leaders of their deep sympathy towards all those bereaved or injured as a result of terrorist violence, and paid tribute to the fortitude of the people of the Province. They noted that the overwhelming majority of people in Northern Ireland deeply abhorred, and wanted no part of, the destruction perpetrated by a tiny terrorist minority. The Prime Minister, the Secretary of State [and the four party leaders] reiterated their total rejection of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence, threat, co-ercion or reprisal.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State praised the courage and professionalism of the security forces in Northern Ireland. They confirmed their determination to ensure that the police, supported by the armed forces, had the resources they needed to

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undertake their difficult and dangerous work on behalf of the whole community. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State recalled that last November the Secretary of State had approved in full the Chief Constable's request for an additional 441 police officers, and reported that their recruitment was proceeding rapidly. [They also noted that on 7 separate occasions in the last 15 months, extra soldiers had been deployed to Northern Ireland to undertake specific operations or to meet specific needs. They confirmed to the party leaders that, since the Secretary of State's statement to Parliament on 6 February, military support for the police in Northern Ireland had been further substantially increased, and that these additional soldiers had already been deployed. They would enable the security forces to increase the pressure on terrorists from both sides of the community.] [They also confirmed that the Ulster Defence Association had been proscribed by order under the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1991].

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State also reiterated the importance which they attached to ensuring that the security forces had the legal powers they needed in order to bring terrorism to an end within the rule of law. They noted that new safeguards and stronger powers to deal with terrorism had been introduced in the Emergency Provisions Act last year, including new powers against the financing of terrorism and a new offence of directing a terrorist organisation. The legal framework would continue to be kept under close review.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State confirmed to the party leaders the importance which they attached to cross border security co-operation with the Republic of Ireland, and that the two Governments were constantly seeking to enhance co-operation at all levels.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State reaffirmed the Government's determination to pursue an integrated set of policies in Northern Ireland which addressed political development and social and economic matters as well as the security situation.

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