



An Chartlann Náisiúnta
National Archives

Reference Code: 2021/95/29

Creator(s): Department of the Taoiseach

Accession Conditions: Open

Copyright: National Archives, Ireland.
May only be reproduced with
the written permission of the
Director of the National
Archives.

Security Situation

Speaking Points

- I attach great importance to this item. It is right, in view of recent atrocities and the continuing paramilitary threat, that the security situation is item number one on our agenda and that it is being considered in plenary formation and not confined to restricted session. A very deliberate message must go out from this meeting:

- that message, I believe, should embrace the following elements:
 - That the work of this Conference, and the Agreement which underpins it, is based on a continuing reaffirmation of our total rejection of any attempt to promote objectives by violence or the threat of violence and that we are determined to ensure that those who adopt or support such measures do not succeed;

 - This statement of intent applies equally to Republican and to Loyalist paramilitaries;

 - Everyone in Northern Ireland is entitled to live his or her life in peace, free from the threat of murder, maiming or intimidation by paramilitaries;

 - At this time of fear, mistrust and uncertainty it is incumbent on all sides of the community to display and counsel maximum restraint;

 - I think it is also vital that we reaffirm that all sections of the community are entitled to receive full and equal protection from the perpetrators of paramilitary violence;

- I would be interested in the Chief Constable's assessment of the current situation;
- The security situation is manifestly deeply troubling and delicately poised. As a priority, I hope that all measures within the law will be deployed vigorously against both sets of paramilitaries. I feel it necessary to recall to ourselves that the primary source of paramilitary violence at present comes from the Loyalist side.

Protection for SDLP members

- I also wish to refer to the question of protection of SDLP representatives and party members. These people, who have chosen the path of constitutional politics, are being threatened and indeed targeted by the UDA. We understand that the RUC told Margaret Walsh of Barrack Street on Friday last that she and her husband were at risk and advised them to move. This was apparently after a hooded man was seen prowling outside the house.
- While I understand the logistical and resource challenges that you face, I hope that you will be able to agree that effective security measures should be fully implemented as soon as possible for political representatives at risk. I have to say that, in current circumstances, this seems to include practically every SDLP Councillor in Northern Ireland;

Behaviour of British Army

- Finally, I found it unfortunate that, in an already fraught situation, a member of the British Army shot a local man in Ardoyne outside the home of the dead IRA Shankhill bomber. It has been helpful that Trooper Clarke has been charged with attempted murder. It is obviously a priority of common sense, as well as principle, that the security forces act with restraint

Summary of Situation

and impartiality in times of such stress. We have also brought to the attention of your side through the Secretariat reports of misbehaviour by members of the security forces outside the home of one of the victims murdered at Kennedy Way.

A1226

3. In the past year 73 persons have died as a result of paramilitary violence. 47 (65%) of the deaths are attributable to sectarian killings by loyalist paramilitaries. The remaining 26 people have been killed by the IRA (19) and the UDA (7). The heavy concentration of sectarian deaths occurred January-September, when 28 people had died - one of the weeks totals in recent years.

Loyalist Violence

The following highlights an increasing trend during the last spring and summer months up to June the fact that the level of paramilitary activity, particularly on the part of Loyalist groups, has been further heightened this year. The intensity of Loyalist paramilitary activity increased from 1980 to 1981, however, early October was marked by a decline of Loyalist paramilitary activity in which three sectarian victims were killed. In the week of the Shamrock Road Bomb, Loyalists were involved in Catholic areas of Londonderry in the past year and the majority of Catholics, 50% during the 1980-81 period. The IRA claim that there were 40 to 50 paramilitary attacks in Londonderry during the year ending 31 October. The majority of Loyalist paramilitary activity is perhaps evidenced by the fact that, as of last Friday (19 October), 185 Loyalists have been charged with 1000 various offences, compared to 111 Republicans.

Republican Violence

4. The military operations of the IRA have amounted to 1000 since 1978 and the Republicans have suffered 12 deaths, with 1000 a year attack on 1000 civilians in Londonderry in 1980.

Security Situation

Background Note

1. With the seven deaths at Greysteel the total number killed in Northern Ireland as a result of paramilitary violence during October was 27 (of whom 23 were killed in the period since 23 October). This was the highest death toll in a single month since October 1976.
2. So far this year 73 persons have died as a result of paramilitary violence. 43 (or 59%) of the deaths are attributable to sectarian killings by Loyalist paramilitaries. The remaining 30 people have been killed by the IRA (28) and the INLA (2). The heavy casualties in October follow a period, January-September, when 46 people had died - one of the lowest totals in recent years.

Loyalist Violence

3. The relative lightness of casualty figures during the late Spring and Summer should not obscure the fact that the level of paramilitary activity, particularly on the part of Loyalist groups, has been intense throughout the year. The intensity of Loyalist murder attempts increased even further from September onwards. Early October was marked by a series of Loyalist sectarian attacks in which three Catholic civilians were killed. In the wake of the Shankhill Road bomb, Loyalists have murdered 13 Catholics, seven of them in the most recent UDA atrocity at Greysteel, Co. Derry, on 30 October. The RUC claim that there were up to 50 paramilitary attacks in Belfast within the two weeks up to 28 October. The upsurge in Loyalist paramilitary activity is perhaps evidenced by the fact that, as of last Friday (29 October), 189 Loyalists have been charged this year with serious offences, compared to 121 Republicans.

Republican Violence

4. The military approach of the IRA (who appear not to have been active since the Shankhill Road murders of 23 October, apart from a gun attack on an RUC officer in Newry on 31 October)

has been marked by concentration on military and "economic" targets. They have in addition murdered individuals whom they suspect of working for the security forces. The IRA have sought to draw a distinction in their own formulations between "going down the cul-de-sac of sectarian warfare", which they claim they will not do; and supposedly precisely targetted attacks on Loyalist paramilitaries, which they prefigured in a statement of IRA military strategy by a senior IRA source in early October. The recent bomb attack on UDA premises on the Shankhill Road, which clearly went disastrously wrong, followed closely on this IRA strategy statement which indicated the IRA's intention of taking action against UDA figures and in particular the best known UDA commander in West Belfast (Johnny Adair).

5. We are aware from our own local contacts that the Provisional IRA have targeted Adair on a number of occasions in recent months. In at least one recent case, a carload of Provisional would-be assassins were arrested in the Ardoyne, apparently en route to attack Adair. Other leading UDA figures have also been targeted. In one recent case a Protestant in South Belfast, mistaken for a prominent UDA commander (Bratty) was shot and injured.

Current situation

6. The current atmosphere throughout Northern Ireland is extremely tense. In the aftermath of the Shankhill Road murders, the UDA announced their intention to "exact a heavy price" (a phrase which mirrors IRA terminology) from the nationalist community. It is clear from UDA statements and their actions that an intensification of shootings of Catholics at random is central to this intention. In these circumstances, Nationalist anxieties about the commitment of the security forces to respond as robustly to the threat posed by Loyalist groups as they do to the IRA are never far from the surface. Fr. Denis Faul has been particularly vocal on this point.

7. The RUC publicly responded to the increased threat of revenge attacks in Belfast by drafting in extra RUC and military personnel to the Belfast area. The British side have indicated that they are alive to the concerns which we have conveyed about the vulnerability to revenge attacks of nationalists, particularly those in the mixed but predominantly Loyalist outer suburbs of Lisburn, Glengormley and Dunmurry. We also remain in touch with the overall situation on the ground through our own local contacts.

8. It is clear that the Loyalist threat to the Nationalist community in general is at a very high level as is demonstrated by the tactics of the UDA and UVF, who have been able rapidly to switched attention from Belfast to rural areas. It should however be noted that the recent Lurgan and Greysteel murders have been in areas where known groups of Loyalist paramilitaries have previously been active. (The mid-Ulster branch of the UVF, relatively quiet since early this year, are believed to be responsible for the Lurgan murders. A branch of the UDA, suspected of involvement in the Castlerock murders of March this year, are linked with the Greysteel killings). Moreover, as with Belfast, the identities of the leading Loyalist paramilitary players are doubtless well known to the RUC. The RUC's record in deterring Loyalist attacks and apprehending perpetrators should therefore merit continuing careful and critical examination on our part. Any perception of slackness or bias on the part of the security forces in dealing with the predominant Loyalist threat will heighten anxieties in the Nationalist community and will encourage Sinn Fein/IRA charges of collusion.

Threats to SDLP Councillors

9. There have been a number of UDA bomb attacks against SDLP elected representatives in the course of the year, most recently in late September. A theme of the UDA statements following these attacks has been denunciation of the so-

called "pan-nationalist front". The September attacks were also linked by the UDA (opportunistically in the views of informed observers) to the Hume/Adams dialogue. We have been active through the Secretariat in support of requests to ensure adequate physical security (e.g. reinforced doors and windows) for SDLP representatives. After delays, a number of Councillors in vulnerable areas have been told that they will receive such measures but the work appears not to have been completed. The most recent upsurge in Loyalist activity, however, raises questions about the safety of all SDLP Councillors and known SDLP activists in Northern Ireland. Several SDLP members in Belfast have left their houses (Jonathan Stephenson, Peter Prendiville and Margaret Walsh). In the case of Prendiville and Walsh, they were advised to do so by the RUC. Walsh's case is particularly disturbing as it seems that a Loyalist assassin had planned one abortive attempt to murder her husband - this occurred on 28 October. We took the case up through the Secretariat - see attached fax).

Behaviour of Security Forces

10. A regrettable development was the shooting by a British soldier, on 26 October, of a well-known local Provo in the Ardoyne. This has added to local distrust of the security forces. We have taken this matter up through the Secretariat. A soldier has been charged with attempted murder. In addition, there were reports of Army harassment of mourners at the house of one of the victims of the Kennedy Way murders. We have also taken this up with the British side.

Anglo-Irish Division

1 November 1993

A1212

DEATHS IN NORTHERN IRELAND OCTOBER 1993

No	Date	Name (Age)	Religion /Group	Location	Means	Agency Responsible
1	06/10	Jason McFarlane (20)	RC	W Belfast	Shot	UFF
2	12/10	Joseph Reynolds (40)	RC	E Belfast	Shot	UVF
3	15/10	Patrick Mc Mahon (23)	RC	N Belfast	Shot	UFF
4	21/10	John Gibson (5*)	P	N Belfast	Shot	IRA
5	23/10	Michael D Morrison (27)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
6	23/10	Evelyn Baird (27)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
7	23/10	Michelle Baird (7)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
8	23/10	Leanne Murray (13)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
9	23/10	John D Frizzell (63)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
10	23/10	Sharon Janet McBride(29)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
11	23/10	George Williamson (63)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
12	23/10	Gillian Williamson (49)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
13	23/10	Thomas Ptk Begley (23)	IRA	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
14	24/10	Wilma McKee (38)	P	Shankill	Bomb	IRA
15	25/10	Martin Edward Moran (22)	RC	W Belfast	Shot	LOY
16	25/10	Sean Fox (72)	RC	N Belfast	Shot	UFF
17	26/10	Mark Rodgers (28)	RC	W Belfast	Shot	UFF
18	26/10	Jimmy Cameron (54)	RC	W Belfast	Shot	UFF
19	28/10	Rory Cairns (22)	RC	Lurgan	Shot	UVF
20	28/10	Gerard Cairns (18)	RC	Lurgan	Shot	UVF
21	30/10	James Moore (81)	RC	Greysteel	Shot	UFF
22	30/10	Karen Thompson (19)	RC	Greysteel	Shot	UFF
23	30/10	Steven Mullan (20)	RC	Greysteel	Shot	UFF
24	30/10	John Burns (54)	P	Greysteel	Shot	UFF
25	30/10	John Moyne (50)	RC	Greysteel	Shot	UFF
26	30/10	Maira Duddy (59)	RC	Greysteel	Shot	UFF
27	30/10	Joe McDermott (60)	RC	Greysteel	Shot	UFF

Number of deaths caused by:

UFF	12
IRA	11
UVF	3
Unclaimed Loyalist	1

Anglo-Irish Division
2 November 1993

MONTHLY FATALITY FIGURES
JANUARY 1972 - OCTOBER 1993¹

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOTAL
1972	26	22	39	22	40	35	95	55	40	39	20	34	467
1973	17	37	30	16	30	30	17	21	10	8	20	14	250
1974	19	15	26	14	25	14	12	14	12	19	35	11	216
1975	8	19	13	36	11	21	15	29	23	31	24	17	247
1976	48	27	17	20	26	37	28	20	12	28	23	11	297
1977	13	13	14	17	13	9	10	7	3	6	4	3	112
1978	2	21	7	4	2	13	5	6	7	4	5	3	81
1979	2	6	2	16	7	11	7	25	6	11	9	11	113
1980	15	8	4	9	4	4	4	11	3	3	5	6	76
1981	7	5	4	9	22	5	11	5	11	8	14	0	101
1982	8	1	8	11	4	4	2	3	9	12	13	22	97
1983	6	5	5	5	5	3	9	5	4	8	14	8	77
1984	8	4	6	7	9	5	5	4	3	5	2	6	64
1985	1	20	3	4	6	3	0	5	3	1	6	2	54
1986	4	5	3	4	10	1	12	5	6	6	2	3	61
1987	2	4	13	14	14	9	6	4	6	5	13	3	93
1988	6	6	9	3	5	9	11	26	4	9	4	2	94
1989	4	10	13	5	3	4	4	2	3	5	9	2	64
1990	8	0	6	9	1	5	8	1	6	19	9	4	76
1991	3	2	11	7	9	8	4	11	8	8	17	6	95
1992	14	18	5	7	2	0	6	6	8	5	10	4	85
1993	8	7	10	2	3	6	1	3	6	27			73

Anglo Irish Division

2 November 1993

¹. Source: Northern Ireland, A Political Directory 1968-1988, by W. D. Flackes, and Section Records.