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Mr Keene

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PAB/6825/JB/RN

FROM: JACQUELINE BLACK, PAB
DATE: 21 JANUARY 1991

Mr Alston - B

(Handwritten mark)

- cc Mr Steele - B
- Mr Hamilton - B
- Mr Wood - B
- Mr Bell - B
- Mr Jardine, PPRU
- Mr Cooke - B
- Mr Petch - B
- Mr McNeill - B
- Mr Percival - B
- Mr Templeton - B
- Mr Marsh - B
- Brig Venn, HQNI
- Lt Col Sylvester, HQNI
- Mr Bojdys, HQNI
- Mr McGookin, RUCHQ
- Chief Supt Howe, RUCHQ

ISG(O): THEMES TO HURT PIRA

I attach a final draft version of the "Themes to hurt PIRA" documents, which incorporate further comments received following my minute of 7 January.

Any further comments should reach me before Monday 28 January please.

[Signed JB]

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RESTRICTED

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 futile and 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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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. 95% of Nationalists within the island of Ireland have chosen to assert their nationalism by casting their first preference votes for constitutional parties. 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, utterly futile, 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.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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."

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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 area 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.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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 February 1989:

"If I were to lead a civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland today, the main target would be the IRA. It is they who carry out the greatest infringements of human and civil rights, with their murders and bombings, their executions without trial, their kneecappings and punishment shootings. 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."

JANUARY 1991

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