

389/92

Mr. Williams

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FROM: M J WILLIAMS
US(POL)

27 August 1993

ASST SEC 193/8
31 AUG 1993
CENT MW SEC

UNDER SEC 739/8
27 AUG 1993
CENT SEC
Mrs Murphy
155/93

cc PS/Michael Ancram (L&B) - B
Mr Steele - B
Mr Watkins - B
Mr Wood - B
Mr May - B
(without enclosure)

PS/Sir John Wheeler (L&B) - B

INFORMATION STRATEGY: THEMES AND MESSAGES

I was sorry to discover when we talked today, that the Minister may not yet have seen a copy of the document which was put together by the Information Strategy Group, and amended in March 1993, on Themes and Messages to Hurt the Provisionals, Sinn Fein, the Loyalist Paramilitary Organisations and regarding security generally.

2. I now attach a copy of this document, which was approved by the Secretary of State. The Minister may find this a helpful quarry whenever he is called upon to comment on any terrorist incident.

[Signed MJW]

M J WILLIAMS
Ext 27084

*he has been 6/94
Possibly prompted by my
writing one to the Williams
Sir John's need
me to the
'Part'
public.
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ANNEX A

THEMES AND MESSAGES

- A. THEMES TO HURT THE PROVISIONALS - BULL POINTS.
- B. THEMES TO HIT HOME AGAINST THE PROVISIONALS.
- C. THEMES TO HURT SINN FEIN - BULL POINTS.
- D. THEMES TO HURT SINN FEIN.
- E. THEMES TO HURT THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS.
- F. KEY SECURITY MESSAGES.

THE PROVISIONALS - A PARASITIC ORGANISATION

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The Provisionals destroy jobs and feed unemployment - for 30 years shops, schools and public transport have been attacked. Employers and employees have been intimidated and killed.

The Provisionals are parasites - they sponge off the local community through extortion, intimidation and protection. They suck money out of the economy for their own destructive ends, making it more difficult for honest businesses to survive.

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

A. THEMES TO HURT THE PROVISIONALS - BULL POINTSTHE PROVISIONALS - UNDEMOCRATIC, UNCONSTITUTIONAL, UNLAWFUL AND UNWANTED

- Little popular support. If a majority of the population wish for change along the lines the Provisionals propose, it can be achieved through the ballot box. Democratic routes exist to bring about change through non-violent means. Support for Sinn Fein has steadily and consistently declined, and not all Sinn Fein voters support the Provisional IRA.
- The Provisionals seek to subvert the processes of Government and law and replace them with rule by intimidation, fear and terror. Executions, Kangaroo Courts, maimings and expulsions from the Province all suborn the rule of law.

The Provisionals are criminals and terrorists, not freedom fighters. Arms from Libya have provided weaponry for many attacks in recent years. Totally avoidable expenditure of public funds (taxpayers money) has been incurred as a result of terrorist attacks.

- The Provisionals' terrorist campaign has been, and for as long as it lasts will continue to be, discreditable. More than 20 years of terrorism have brought the aims of the Provisionals no nearer to fruition.

THE PROVISIONALS - INHUMANITY TO ALL

- The Provisionals put people in danger - houses are invaded to launch attacks on the security forces. People are pressurised into hiding and transporting weapons and explosives.
- The Provisionals put people in fear - people are afraid to speak their minds, families have been made prisoners in their own homes and forced against their will to become involved in activities which could put them in conflict with the law.
- The Provisionals kill - police and pensioners, soldiers and school children, workers and holiday-makers, and people going about their everyday lives. They arbitrarily appoint "legitimate targets" who are denied any right of appeal. They apologise for those they kill by mistake yet continue to use mortars, rockets and bombs with disregard for their indiscriminate effect.

THE PROVISIONALS - A PARASITIC ORGANISATION

- The Provisionals destroy jobs and feed unemployment - for 20 years shops, workplaces and public transport have been attacked. Employers and employees have been intimidated and killed.
- The Provisionals are parasites - they sponge off the local community through extortion, intimidation and protection. They suck money out of the economy for their own destructive ends, making it more difficult for honest businesses to survive.

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The Provisionals are a destructive rather than constructive force - they destroy individuals and families, damage each of the main communities in Northern Ireland, and are harmful to relationships between the two communities, to jobs, and to relationships throughout the island of Ireland and with Britain.

Note

[It is considered better to use the terms the Provisionals or the Provisional IRA rather than PIRA, which is seen as a British Army term or the Provos which, although widely used within the community, may be seen as rather familiar for the messages contained in this document.]

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B. THEMES TO HIT HOME AGAINST THE PROVISIONALS

1. The Provisional Movement's declared aim is to "Get the British out of Ireland". That claim ignores the wishes of a substantial majority of the people of Northern Ireland - something acknowledged by the Government of the Republic of Ireland but not by them. It drives apart the two communities. After 23 years of violence the Government's writ still runs implacably 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. It upholds the Union and will go on doing so since that is the wish of most people living 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 were to wish for change, it could be achieved through non-violent means. It is only a diminishing minority, whether in the Republic of Ireland or in Northern Ireland, who have deliberately chosen another path. It is their 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. The Provisional IRA will never achieve its aim through violence. It has little popular support. The campaign is profoundly abhorrent to the great majority throughout Ireland. It is utterly undemocratic and shows total contempt for the rule of law. The Criminal Justice system provides ways for mistakes to be corrected. The bullet offers no such opportunity. The Provisional IRA 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.

3. The Government does not do business with political representatives who support murder as a legitimate way of promoting a political goal. The Provisional IRA 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 deepen old animosities and indefinitely postpone

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any real and lasting reconciliation between the traditions in Ireland in whatever context that may be achieved. Libyan arms have furnished the Provisional IRA with the weaponry to murder and maim. The tragic results of international terrorism are there for all to see.

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 constitutional parties which acknowledge the Border as a fact of life, and condemn those who are prepared to kill to remove it. The Provisionals do not represent the mainstream of Irish nationalism; they are an unrepresentative minority rooted in the past. The Provisional IRA ignores the fact that time has moved on and people are finding new ways of resolving former differences.

5. The Provisional IRA puts ordinary Catholics in fear. Families, particularly in Catholic areas, have been held hostage in their own homes to facilitate 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, hospitals, cemeteries, church halls and leisure facilities - places frequented by the public at large - are used to hide weapons, and to conceal bombs. The elderly and the infirm have been pressurised into having weapons hidden in their homes, a crime for which they subsequently could be prosecuted. The Provisional IRA seeks to control nationalist areas by the fear of the kangaroo court and maimings. This is its concept of justice; it is one based on intimidation and brutality. Mr John Hume MP has said that more Catholics have been killed by the IRA than by any other body.

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6. The Provisional IRA 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, holidaymakers, ordinary people going about their everyday lives. In recent years the Provisional IRA has increasingly acknowledged its mistakes. This was exemplified on 21 August 1992 when shots were fired at the security forces killing instead Mrs Isabel Leyland, who lived in England but was visiting her family in the Ardoyne. The Provisional IRA hypocritically offered its sympathies to the dead woman's family. It has also 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. The religious persuasion of those in the vicinity is immaterial. The "Mark 15" mortar causes more damage of this character than any of its predecessors.

7. The Provisional IRA's 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 its world. Efforts by Government to bring better conditions to these areas are hampered. People living in areas which the Provisional IRA has sought to dominate suffer inconvenience as a result of house searches, border road closures and other security operations needed to protect ordinary people against the actions and intentions of this tiny minority.

8. The Provisional IRA destroys jobs. For more than twenty years it has bombed factories, shops and public transport. 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 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

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Provisionals has been to bomb those areas which are getting back on their feet.

9. The Provisional IRA is a parasitic organisation. It claims to be the champion of working class nationalists. In fact it exploits the people of nationalist areas such as West Belfast. Through extortion and intimidation and protection rackets, albeit increasingly curtailed by the enforcement of new legislation, 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. It makes it more difficult for honest business to survive. Many of these activities are no longer undertaken in support of political ends: they have become ends in themselves.

10. The Provisional IRA is totally negative. Its impact 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 the rest of the UK. 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.

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 the Provisional IRA must eventually realise that they are isolated and politically irrelevant. The Provisionals have nothing positive to offer and show a total disrespect for human life and happiness. They are killers. They will not achieve their ends in this way.

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12. As John Hume MP, leader of the main nationalist party, the SDLP, said in August 1992:

"Like all of their predecessors (the Provisional IRA) insist when questioned that their reason for the use of force is that Britain is in Ireland defending her interests by force. While that was true in the past it is clearly no longer true in today's Ireland and therefore if the Provisional IRA really want to solve the Irish problem they should respond to the new reality by laying down their arms.... Let us make the building of our country, let us make the spilling of our sweat and not our blood, the hallmark of our patriotism."

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If Sinn Fein were serious about participating in a peace process, they would call unambiguously on the IRA to end its terrorist campaign.

Sinn Fein claims to support the underprivileged yet refuses to condemn the IRA's killing and destruction of lives and livelihoods, which sets back efforts to create opportunities and improve the quality of life for everyone.

Sinn Fein lacks realism and coherence - its plans do nothing to accommodate the Unionist population, a reality which any resolution to Northern Ireland's problems must face.

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C THEMES TO HURT SINN FEIN - BULL POINTS

- Sinn Fein has very close links with the Provisional IRA and refuses to condemn its terrorist acts.
- Sinn Fein members support the IRA's right to commit terrorist acts, at the same time as claiming to regret the necessity for violence.
- Until Sinn Fein members reject violence their voice will carry no political weight; they know this and are therefore inviting their supporters to waste their votes.
- Sinn Fein's political aspirations must be pursued by the path of constitutional politics, not by the threat or use of violence.
- If Sinn Fein were serious about participating in a peace process, they would call unambiguously on the IRA to end its terrorist campaign.
- Sinn Fein claims to support the underprivileged yet refuses to condemn the IRA's killing, and destruction of lives and livelihoods, which sets back efforts to create opportunities and improve the quality of life for everyone.
- Sinn Fein lacks realism and coherence- its plans do nothing to accommodate the Unionist population, a reality which any resolution to Northern Ireland's problems must face.

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D THEMES TO HURT SINN FEIN

- It is beyond question that Sinn Fein has very close links with the Provisional IRA, even though it may not as an organisation be actively engaged in the commission of continual terrorist acts and thus be eligible for proscription. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the fact that a Provisional IRA spokesman has traditionally made a speech at Sinn Fein Ard Fheisanna and that An Phoblacht/Republican News carries regular features justifying and supporting Provisional IRA terrorist activity. Individual Sinn Fein members have often been involved with the Provisional IRA.
- Sinn Fein members support the IRA's right to commit terrorist acts, at the same time as claiming to regret the necessity for violence. (Their reasoning is based on the moral thesis that the end justifies the means, and places little value on the democratic process). This attempt to have it both ways does not stand up to scrutiny, defies logic, and is incoherent and hypocritical. It is exemplified by Gerry Adams' approach to hospital policy. During the course of a single weekend he justified an IRA attack on Musgrave Park Hospital which caused loss of life, injury and severe destruction, while claiming separately that proposals for the Royal Victoria Hospital to opt for Trust status would have an adverse effect on patient care.
- Sinn Fein's support for the terrorist activities of the Provisional IRA ensures that Sinn Fein are excluded from the political process. An Irish Republican party proclaiming itself, and seen, to have finally renounced violence would be able, like other parties, to seek a role in the peaceful political life of the community - but not before. Unless and until they do so Sinn Fein are effectively ensuring that the

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views of those who share their political aspirations cannot be expressed when Northern Ireland's political future is under discussion.

- Sinn Fein claim to be ready to participate in a peace process capable of bringing terrorism to an end. But if they were really serious about playing a constructive part in the political life of Northern Ireland they would call unambiguously on the IRA to end its terrorist campaign; they would also let their political manifesto stand on its own merits without having to be backed by the threat or the use of violence. On 30 October 1991 the leaders of the four main religious denominations in Northern Ireland - Catholic and Protestant - said that until Sinn Fein called for a cessation of violence its professed desire to bring the conflict to an end would lack credibility.

- Sinn Fein claims to support the underprivileged and to work to bring prosperity to deprived areas in the Province. During a Sinn Fein recruitment drive in 1990 Martin McGuinness said that "joining Sinn Fein provides a unique opportunity to those concerned with political, social and economic injustice to make a real contribution to the work for peace and social justice and equality in Ireland". Yet they refuse to condemn the IRA's destruction of lives and livelihoods; for example, attacks on commerce and industry put many jobs at risk, cause considerable inconvenience and hardship to the public at large, and mean that valuable time, effort and resources have to be concentrated into rebuilding the damage. This sets back all efforts to create better opportunities and improve the quality of life for everyone in Northern Ireland.

- Sinn Fein lacks realism and coherence. The British Government has stated that it has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland; its intention is to maintain the Union, since this is the will of the majority of people living

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in Northern Ireland, and to ensure democratic debate and free democratic choice. Sinn Fein's plans do nothing to accommodate the Unionist population, a reality which any resolution to Northern Ireland's problems must face.

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Protestant Paramilitary terrorists in Northern Ireland claim to respond to what they see as the threat to the Union posed by republican terrorism. There can be no excuse for terrorist acts no matter what the cause.

Protestant Paramilitary terrorism usually takes the form of indiscriminate attacks on targets whom they believe to be Catholics or republicans. Prolonged torture of victims has become a characteristic feature. There have been some particularly heinous crimes involving attacks upon people in churches and pubs and, in 1992, the murder of people in bookmakers shops.

Protestant Paramilitary terrorists are heavily involved in all areas of criminal activity: extortion, intimidation, protection rackets and other anti-social activities such as robbery and drug dealing, all to a considerable extent for personal gain.

Protestant Paramilitary terrorists parasitically exploit the local community by taking money out of the economy to sustain their unlawful activities, and to feed the greed of those behind these criminal activities.

Protestant Paramilitary terrorist activity effectively hinders political progress, despite their avowed support for political development. Continuing violence and intimidation can only serve to prevent the establishment of democratically elected institutions involving representatives from both nationalist and loyalist communities.

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E THEMES TO HURT THE LOYALIST PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS

- Protestant Paramilitary terrorists are no better than their republican counterparts.
- Protestant Paramilitary terrorists in Northern Ireland claim to respond to what they see as the threat to the Union posed by republican terrorism. There can be no excuse for terrorist acts no matter what the cause.
- Protestant Paramilitary terrorism usually takes the form of random shooting attacks on targets whom they believe to be Catholics or republicans. Prolonged torture of victims has also been a characteristic feature. There have been some particularly horrific crimes involving attacks upon people in churches and pubs and, in 1992, the murder of people in bookmakers shops.
- Protestant Paramilitary terrorists are heavily involved in all areas of criminal activity: extortion, intimidation, protection rackets and other anti-social activities such as robbery and drug dealing, all to a considerable extent for personal gain.
- Protestant Paramilitary terrorists parasitically exploit the local community by taking money out of the economy to sustain their unlawful activities, and to feed the greed of those behind these criminal activities.
- Protestant Paramilitary terrorist activity effectively hinders political progress, despite their avowed support for political development. Continuing violence and intimidation can only serve to prevent the establishment of democratically elected institutions involving representatives from both nationalist and loyalist communities.

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*Loyalist organisations which are currently proscribed by virtue of Schedule 2 of the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1991 are:-

- The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)
- The Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF)
- The Red Hand Commandos (RHC)
- The Ulster Defence Association (UDA)

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(a) to create in Northern Ireland the conditions for a just, peaceful and prosperous society in which local people can exercise greater control over their own affairs.

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

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

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F. KEY SECURITY MESSAGES

General

- The Government's aims are:-

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

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

Reassurance

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

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The Government is committed to strengthening the Northern Ireland economy and improving the competitiveness of Northern Ireland industry. In so doing it will seek to promote equality of opportunity in employment for all.

The Government has established the targeting of social need as a major public expenditure priority. This is intended to tackle social and economic differentials between the two sides of the community.

The Government will continue to promote special initiatives for socially deprived areas of Belfast and Londonderry.

The Government is addressing the causes of communal division by promoting greater cross-community contact and respect for cultural diversity. It is also committed to promoting equality of opportunity and esteem.

The Government is in the process of developing structures to assist the self-help regeneration of the most deprived rural areas. It is also prepared to support projects or initiatives of a cross-border nature which are of benefit to the citizens of Northern Ireland.

The IRA's attacks on so-called 'commercial targets' simply put at risk investment and jeopardise or destroy jobs.

Our goal is to restore normality, with the ultimate aim that all military support to the police should be removed when the security situation permits.

The security forces are allowed only to use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances to prevent crime or make a lawful arrest. If members of the security forces break the law they, like all other citizens, will be liable to prosecution. They have no privileges - only special duties, often very dangerous ones, which they must perform in conformity with the law.

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- We call on all men and women of goodwill to co-operate with the security forces as they carry out their duty to protect the community. Necessary security operations often cause inconvenience to persons with no connection with terrorism. We regret this and keep it to a minimum; but the terrorists bear the ultimate responsibility.

- The Government encourages anyone who believes they have a genuine complaint about the conduct of a police officer or member of the armed forces to use the procedures which exist for the investigation and remedy of such complaints.

- An Independent Assessor of Military Complaints Procedures in Northern Ireland, established under the Emergency Provisions Act, will play an important role in independently examining the procedures for dealing with non-criminal complaints.

- The Independent Commission for Police Complaints maintains an oversight of complaints against police officers, and must supervise the most serious cases. Its supervision is no mere cipher - it can veto the appointment of an investigating officer; can send the report of the police investigation to the Director of Public Prosecutions and can direct disciplinary proceedings to be taken if appropriate.

- An Independent Commissioner for the Holding Centres has been appointed, whose role is to observe, comment and report on the conditions under which suspects are detained in the Holding Centres and to provide an independent check that the statutory and administrative safeguards for the protection of suspects are fully implemented. He fulfills this remit by making regular and unannounced visits to the centres.

Deterrence

- The first priority of the Government is to end terrorism in Northern Ireland - from whichever side of the community it comes. There is no acceptable level of violence. All violence will be met with by a firm and resolute response.

Murphy

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- The security forces do not simply react to violence when it occurs. A great deal of successful effort goes into deterring, preventing or cutting short terrorist activity, without which the situation would be very significantly worse. Much of this work necessarily goes unpublicised; but it should not be forgotten.
- Emergency legislation, including in particular the Emergency Provisions (NI) Act 1991, is so framed to ensure that the police and armed forces have the legal means necessary to protect the community effectively and at the same time to provide appropriate safeguards for individuals. The need for further powers, and the possibility of allowing existing ones to lapse, is kept under constant review.
- Around one third of all crossing points along the border are closed. In the great majority of cases crossing on foot remains possible. The first duty of the Government must be to protect life, and provide as much protection as possible for the whole community.
- The Government will continue to ensure that the police and armed forces have the resources (including an appropriate legal framework) they need to undertake their difficult and dangerous work on behalf of all the people of Northern Ireland.
- The recent enactment of a new Emergency Provisions Act, containing significant new powers for the security forces and provisions designed to allow effective action to be taken against the financing of terrorism, is evidence of the Government's determination to ensure that those at the sharp end of the fight against terrorism have an appropriate legal framework within which to act.
- Terrorists will be dealt with through the energetic, but even-handed, enforcement of the criminal law.

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