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G HARRISON  
CPL DIVISION  
9 NOVEMBER 1993

AC &

ASST./  
SEC

11 NOV 1993

C.C.R.U.

580/95

cc: PS/Michael Ancram (L,B&DENI) -B/M  
PS/PUS (L&B) -B  
PS/Mr Fell -B  
Mr Thomas -B  
Mr Watkins -B  
Mr Williams -B  
Mr Dodds -B  
Mr Perry, SPOB1 10NOV1993 -B  
Mr Maccabe -B  
Mr Maxwell -B  
Mrs Kenny -B  
Mr McVeigh -B

UNDERLYING

397/11

ETC

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1. MR BROOKER (signed DB 9/11)
2. PS/SECRETARY OF STATE (L&B)

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH CARDINAL DALY: 11 NOVEMBER 1993

I attach a draft letter to Roderick Lyne, by way of briefing for the Prime Minister's meeting on Thursday with Cardinal Daly.

"u/u  
MS/MH"

In Cap " "  
I'm surprised the  
issue + clerkback  
on adv. cap.  
grants isn't covered,  
two' Mr will be  
listening + the Cardinal  
is unlikely to make  
a meal of it.  
And Richard Tuveson  
is there.

DR

10.11

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CONFIDENTIAL LETTER

Foderick Lyne Esq  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA

November 1993

FOR SIGNATURE BY PS/SECRETARY OF STATE

NORTHERN IRELAND - PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH CARDINAL DALY:

11 NOVEMBER

The Prime Minister accompanied by Michael Ancram, is meeting Cardinal Daly at 3.00 pm on Thursday 11 November. The Cardinal was unable to meet the Prime Minister with the other Church leaders when the Prime Minister visited Northern Ireland earlier this year, because he was recovering from a car accident. The Cardinal subsequently wrote on 19 July and requested a meeting with the Prime Minister.

Purpose of the Meeting

The Cardinal has indicated that he wishes to report to the Prime Minister on his perception of the feeling within the Catholic community on a range of issues - the continuing violence, republican and loyalist; relations with the security forces; the prospect of resumed political talks; the perception of Government action in a

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number of stated policy aims, such as: Making Belfast Work; Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment, Targeting Social Need and education in the context of these policy aims.

The Prime Minister previously met Cardinal Daly in May 1992 when he formed part of a delegation of Northern Ireland Church leaders. He is a deeply caring man, who has been outstandingly outspoken against violence.

In his Lenten homily of 26 March 1992 Cardinal Daly condemned in forthright terms the political violence of recent years when he said - "The recourse to violence for political ends in Ireland in the past 23 years has been evil and its works have been evil and it has borne appallingly evil fruits. Some people talk of violence as if it were noble, liberating, purifying. Instead it is decadent and corrupting". Speaking directly to republican groups he said - "to plan continuance of the armed struggle is monstrously irrelevant to any rational nationalist agenda in the north. It is a betrayal of the best republican tradition".

On the need for political dialogue Cardinal Daly said that what was required was laws, institutions and structures embodying justice and penalising injustice. "The present hour calls urgently for politicians to deploy their utmost energies and skills in finding solutions to our critical community problems in Northern Ireland. Their contribution now could be a nobler act of patriotism than any that marks the pages of past history in Ireland".

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In a statement issued on 9 July, he said, "Nothing must be allowed to obscure the clarity or the firmness with which we declare that violence from any quarter in Northern Ireland is absolutely without either moral justification or political excusation".

He works closely with Archbishop Eames and is aware of the concerns of the Protestant community. He is supportive of the Talks process and is less overtly nationalist than his predecessor, Cardinal O'Fiaich.

Handling

This meeting is essentially a listening exercise for the Prime Minister and it will provide with an excellent opportunity to hear at first hand about the perceptions of the Catholic community of various Government policies from one of Northern Ireland's leading churchmen.

In response, the Prime Minister may wish to reaffirm the Government's commitment to the search for widely acceptable political settlement through the talks process, the determination to pursue a firm security policy while dealing with terrorism within the law, and to pursue social and economic policies designed to ensure that everyone enjoys full equality of opportunity and meet needs wherever they arise.

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It would not be sensible to provide detailed briefing on such a wide range of subjects but I attach a personality note on Cardinal Daly together with bullet points covering security, political development, Hume/Adams, social and economic policies and education.

Michael Ancram, who will also be attending will be able to pick up any detailed points.

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~~PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH CARDINAL DALY~~

SPEAKING NOTE

Introduction

- Very glad to see you.
- Sorry I was unable to see you before, when I was in Northern Ireland.
- Very grateful for your outspoken and unequivocal condemnation of violence and appreciative of your support for the Talks process.
- I know that you are close to your community
- I am taking a close personal interest in Northern Ireland and I am very interested to learn at first hand the feelings of the Catholic community about Government policies.

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CARDINAL CAHAL DALY

ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND

Background

Born in 1917 in Loughguile, Co Antrim, he was educated at St Malachy's College Belfast and Queen's University Belfast (where he read classics), St Patrick's Maynooth, and at the Institute Catholique in Paris. Ordained in 1941, he served as a lecturer in Scholastic Philosophy at Queen's University from 1947 until his appointment as Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise in 1967. He remained there until he became Bishop of Down and Connor in 1972. He became Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland in December 1990. He was elected to the Sacred College of Cardinals in July 1991. Widely regarded as a caretaker appointment at the time of his election, he was required, under Canon Law, to submit his resignation on his 75th birthday last October, however, the Vatican indicated that he should remain. Despite occasional press speculation, there is no indication that he will step down for the foreseeable future while his health permits him to continue to carry out his duties. He suffered from a broken collarbone and other minor injuries which he sustained in a car crash, in July this year, from which he took some time to make a complete recovery.

Personality and Political Views

Cardinal Daly has been an important influence in the RC hierarchy's view of the North. It is suggested that he had an important role in drafting the Pope's speeches in Ireland and that Cardinal Hume relies on Cardinal Daly's views in forming his approach to Irish affairs. Politically, he has consistently urged a peaceful and practicable settlement to the NI problem. He has urged the British and Irish Governments to give priority to NI's problems. In 1981 he called for a new political approach to the NI problem - one which

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recognised the "coequal legitimacy and loyalty of both traditions" and which created political institutions "which give condign political expression to both". In March 1992 he said that what was required were laws, institutions and structures embodying justice and penalising injustice. "The present hour calls urgently for politicians to deploy their utmost energies and skills in finding solutions to our critical community problems in Northern Ireland. Their contribution now could be a nobler act of patriotism than any that marks the pages of past history in Ireland". He speaks frequently and strongly against IRA violence and has referred to the IRA as a movement "alien to Irish traditions and Irish values". In his Lenten Homily in March 1992 he condemned in forthright terms the political violence of recent years: "The recourse to violence for political ends in Ireland in the past 23 years has been evil and its works have been evil and it has borne appallingly evil fruits. Some people talk of violence as if it were noble, liberating, purifying. Instead it is decadent and corrupting."

He is a kindly man, but has a strong commitment to traditional Roman Catholic values which has led him to oppose integrated schooling in NI. Notwithstanding this, he has a reputation as an ecumenist and he has a close working relationship with Archbishop Eames. He has described the Northern Protestants as not a "petty people" and also said "as a Catholic I have felt enriched by my contact with your tradition". Jim Molyneaux, leader of the UUP, sent him a message of good wishes on the announcement of his appointment to Armagh. He has a reputation for energy (though he does not enjoy the best of health), thoughtfulness and social awareness.

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~~SECURITY~~ UPDATE - AS AT 9 NOVEMBER 1993

The security situation in recent weeks has been characterised by the atrocities on the Shankill Road (which resulted in the greatest numbers of dead in a single incident since the Enniskillen explosion in 1987) and at Greysteel; and by the fact that, consequently, in the relatively short period of time, since 1 October, 28 people have died as a result of terrorist activity in the Province.

2. These attacks have been widely condemned across the political spectrum and the Chief Constable has emphasised, both on 26 and 31 October, that the situation is not out of control, though it is very serious. Ministerial public statements have, in addition to condemning the atrocities, sought to reassure the community that terrorism will not prevail and that those responsible will be brought to justice. A note on confidence issues, including lines to take, is attached at Annex B.

DEATHS

3. Since 1 October, PIRA has killed a total of 12 people - 11 civilians (including one of its own members) and one RUC officer. Loyalist terrorists have murdered the remaining 16 - all civilians, including one Protestant ex UDR soldier (at Greysteel).

4. 10 of these deaths resulted from the PIRA-perpetrated bombing on the Shankill Road on 23 October; and a further 7 from the UFF shooting attack in "The Rising Sun" bar in Greysteel one week later. The latter was the latest in a series of retaliatory attacks carried out in fulfillment of the loyalist threat that a "heavy price" would be paid by the nationalist community following the Shankill bombing. Other such attacks carried out by the UFF/UVF in the previous week included the murders of two Roman Catholic council workmen at their Kennedy Way Depot on 26 October; and of brothers, Rory and Gerard Cairns, in their home, and in front of their 11 year old sister, on 28 October.

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SNIPE ATTACKS

5. The most recent death was that of Reserve Constable Brian Woods who died on 2 November as a result of injuries received on 31 October, when he was shot in the neck by a PIRA sniper while manning a static VCP in Corry Square, Newry. He was the fifth member of the security forces to die in a sniping attack this year.

OTHER SERIOUS SHOOTING ATTACKS

6. The period has also seen numerous shooting attacks which, although not fatal, have resulted in the victims being very seriously injured. Examples include [REDACTED] who was shot and critically wounded by PIRA (17 October) while visiting his mother in Walmer Street in the Sunnyside area of Belfast; and [REDACTED] - shot and seriously wounded (18 October) at the Crest Forte hotel in Dunmurry where he works as a Security Guard.

7. Attacks on taxis continue. One woman received serious facial injuries in a loyalist attack on a taxi at Millfield in Belfast (13 October); and taxi driver, [REDACTED], was shot twice in the back of the head in Glengormley on 22 October.

BOMBINGS

8. Apart from the Shankill Road atrocity, significant recent bombing attacks included the attack on Kilkeel Security Force Base on 9 October, when 10 MK15 mortars (each containing 58-85 kg HME) were launched at the Base. Three exploded, causing extensive damage.

9. The most recent major bombing incident was the MK15 mortar attack on RUC Caledon on 7 November. The device, which was launched from an Isuzu Trooper, which had pulled up at the front gate of the RUC Station, contained 80kg of HME, and landed in the grounds of Caledon Presbyterian Church. The explosion caused extensive glass

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damage to the church and other buildings up to 150m away. These latest mortar attacks on security force bases highlight the constant threat under which the security forces labour, particularly in border areas.

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CIVILIANS INJURED BY THE SECURITY FORCES

10. There have been two recent incidents in which civilians have been shot and injured by soldiers. The first of these occurred on 26 October 1993 as a joint patrol passed mourners outside the home of Thomas Begley (the PIRA bomber who died in the Shankill explosion). A top cover sentry fired 3 bursts of automatic gunfire from his SA80 inflicting serious gunshot wounds on Eddie Copeland (a leading PIRA member). The soldier has subsequently been charged with attempted murder.

11. The second incident occurred on 7 November. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was seriously injured when a soldier attached to 4 Royal Irish discharged 2 rounds from his General Purpose Machine Gun at a VCP near Loughmacrory. The incident appears to have been an unfortunate accident - the soldier was attempting to move into a field to provide cover for the VCP when he stumbled and fell as he was climbing over a fence, accidentally discharging the 2 rounds. An RUC investigation is underway.

SUCCESSES

12. In spite of the background of increasing violence, the security forces have had significant recent successes. Finds of arms and explosives continue, the most recent notable example being the recovery of a primed radio-controlled IED, containing 225kg ANS, from an Austin Maestro van inside a garage on Essex Street, in the Markets area of Belfast on 9 November.

13. To 7 November this year, 322 people had been charged with terrorist-related offences, including nearly 50 with murder or attempted murder. On 5 October, following the shooting of a man in Antrim, two men were charged with attempted murder and possession of firearms. On 12 October a man was charged with the murder of Jason McFarlane at the Derby House Restaurant. Also on 12 October, 5 people were charged with possession of explosives, and one of a firearm following arrests at Dill House/Artillery Flats. On

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14 October 7 men were convicted of serious charges, 4 with the murder of a former soldier and 3 with conspiracy to murder; and on 19 and 23 October gunmen were intercepted in Belfast and 4 men have subsequently been charged.

14. One man remains under police guard in hospital in connection with the Shankill bombing and four people have so far been charged with murder in connection with the Greysteel incident and one with withholding information.

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SECURITY POLICY - LINES TO TAKE

Security Policy has failed?

- Not at all. The Government's security policy is absolutely clear: terrorism will be met with stern and unyielding opposition. The security forces will continue to receive all the support they require from the Government. The police and Army, acting always within law, conduct operations designed both to prevent terrorist attacks, and where crimes have been committed, to track the perpetrators down in their hideouts, arrest them and bring them before the Courts.
- It would be quite wrong not to give the security forces full credit for the very significant successes they have achieved in recent weeks, in terms of intercepting bombs and armed terrorists, and finding arms and explosives. Their efforts have been reinforced by important arrests and finds in Britain and the Irish Republic.
- Clearly we keep the detail of the policy under review: security force operations and resources, and the legislative framework, are adjusted where necessary to take account of the changing threat. The policy itself, however, I believe is right - bringing terrorism to an end by the even-handed and energetic enforcement of the criminal law.

Security situation out of control?

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- [Surely the terrorists are winning?] No political objective will be advanced by a single inch in this democracy by the use of violence.
- [What about Internment?] Internment is an option which the Government believes it must retain while the terrorist threat remains active, and the possibility of reintroducing it is kept under review. Obviously it would be a very serious and difficult step, to be taken only after very careful consideration and in particular circumstances. I am not prepared to discuss what these might be.
- [What is the Government going to do?] The security forces are working tirelessly to protect the community from terrorist attack. They are adopting a high profile across Belfast and elsewhere to deter and prevent further crimes, and to reassure the community. The Chief Constable has referred to a number of specific measures that have been taken - additional police mobile support units have been brought into the city; there are high levels of Special Branch and CID activity: the police are working 12-hour shifts; additional military manpower has been deployed. High levels of operations are being conducted across the Province, concentrated particularly in areas of high risk.
- [Defensive] There is no question of the security forces 'losing control' of the situation.
- [Inability to prevent attacks] In a democratic society it is simply not possible for the police to be present on every street corner all the time. But they are conducting, day in and day out, well targeted operations, some necessarily unpublicised. These are not simply reactive, but are designed to preempt terrorist operations. Their aim is to deter as well as detect.

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[Force levels] The Government will continue to devote all resources necessary to enable the police and Army to carry out their task. Obviously we keep force levels under careful review. I am not prepared to speculate about future changes.

- [Untie the security forces' hands?] There are no political constraints upon the operational freedom of the security forces under the law.

CHANGES TO THE LAW?

- The suggestions made by the Chief Constable are receiving the fullest consideration by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. There is, however, always a careful and sensitive balance to be struck between measures intended to secure the conviction of the guilty and measures which in practice may increase the likelihood of innocent people being convicted.
- The consequences for the character and reputation of the criminal justice system in Northern Ireland must also be considered at a time when the support of sensible and decent people is as important as the duty to support the RUC, assisted by the Army, in eradicating terrorism by bringing terrorists to justice.

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CONFIDENCE ISSUES: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE  
COMMUNITY

Background

The question of confidence in the security forces among the community, and particularly the nationalist community, has long been treated with extreme seriousness. It is accepted that the effectiveness of the security forces, including their capacity to apprehend and prevent crime, depends on gaining the confidence of the nationalist community across the whole range of criminal activity. There are those who would seek to vilify the security forces, and to exploit every possible chance to undermine their standing, particularly with the nationalist community, in order to sway certain sections of that community in favour of the terrorist campaign. On the other hand, there are those, like Cardinal Daly, who can see quite clearly how such a scenario can be exploited, and who would seek at all times to remind the Government that the security forces should operate in such a way as to seek to eliminate any feeling of alienation on the part of members of the public, particularly from the minority community.

2. This does not mean, however, that security policy is built solely on an appreciation of that policy's effect on the community. The first priority of the Government in Northern Ireland is to defeat terrorism through the even-handed and energetic enforcement of the criminal law. This objective inevitably involves an interface with both communities - between the security forces and the public, and between the legal framework in which the security forces work and the community in Northern Ireland. Such contact can and does lead to friction. However, the Government and the security forces are determined that the objective basis for any such friction will be the minimum compatible with the circumstances; this informs the whole operational approach, and the context in which the legal framework is drawn up.

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CONFIDENCE ISSUES: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE  
COMMUNITY

Line to take

- Relations between the security forces and all sections of the community in Northern Ireland are of major importance to the Government.
- Both the RUC and the Army have long since fully agreed that the maintenance, development and encouragement of good relations with all the law abiding people of Northern Ireland is an essential ingredient in their ability to combat the violence of the terrorist organisations.
- Successive Governments have, over many years, taken a number of major initiatives to remove perceived sources of friction in relations between the security forces and the nationalist community, and to improve safeguards.
- The RUC and Army are committed to maintaining confidence in their integrity and professionalism, as well as in their operational effectiveness.
- There is no sanction for any member of the RUC or any individual soldier to behave in an unprofessional manner. The security forces treat with all seriousness every complaint which is made against an individual member.

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NORTHERN IRELAND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Lines to take

PM Meeting with Taoiseach

The Joint Statement by the Prime Minister and Taoiseach in Brussels on 29 October made clear that the two Governments must continue to work together in their own terms on a framework for peace, stability and reconciliation, consistent with their international obligations and their wider responsibilities to both communities.

Talks Process

- HMG remains firmly committed to seeking a widely acceptable political accommodation which would take account of all three main sets of relationships: those within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and those between the British and Irish Governments.
- HMG remains determined to promote further political dialogue towards a comprehensive settlement. The British Government looks in particular to the Talks process as the best way forward. Both the Taoiseach and I agreed that the two Governments will continue their discussions to provide a framework to carry the process forward.
- We have a rational hope that the talks process will succeed. There is a unanimous acceptance that the status quo is not a viable option.
- The Government has been engaged in a round of private discussions with 3 of the 4 constitutional parties to explore the basis on which they might come together for further dialogue. The aim is to establish areas of common agreement;

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explore areas of continued apprehension or disagreement and to try and identify the degree of flexibility which may be needed on all sides to resolve them.

- I have made clear our ultimate aim is to bring the two Governments and the main constitutional parties back round the table.
- The British and Irish Governments have been sharing ideas, particularly on the constitutional and other issues which arise in Strand 3. Mr Molyneaux in particular has urged the two Governments to carry this forward. The Irish Government has made clear that in any new Talks it might wish to table proposals.
- The Government will now intensify its efforts to find a basis for the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland to carry forward the Talks process.
- I met Mr Hume and Dr Alderdice last week and saw Dr Paisley and Mr Molyneaux on Tuesday [9 November]. These meetings explored the basis for a way forward, building on earlier bilateral meetings held by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and his colleague, Michael Ancram.
- The Secretary of State and Michael Ancram met the Tanaiste and other Ministers last Wednesday. They agreed that the two Governments must continue to work together in their own terms on a framework for peace, stability and reconciliation and expressed their determination to pursue the objectives of the political talks process to seek a comprehensive political settlement addressing all three main relationships.

Format for Talks

- Any further dialogue need not be in the same format. Talks are a means to an end, not an end in themselves.

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- HMG hopes that all the previous participants would take part in any future talks. HMG were glad to receive the UDUP paper "Breaking the Log-jam" as we welcome any constructive effort to make progress. The document was recently discussed between the UDUP and Michael Ancram and I discussed it with Dr Paisley when I saw him on Tuesday.

Government Proposals

- The Government does not have a blueprint for a final outcome of discussions. There are many different and valid views on how these issues should be addressed.
- The British Government is in a position to offer a judgement on where convergence amongst the parties might be found. In that context, the Government would be willing, if others would find it helpful, to bring forward proposals to provide focus and direction for new Talks once they begin.
- HMG has no hidden agenda, we have ruled out no options or possibilities for a final outcome. The two basic tests - are they workable and crucially can they attract widespread support throughout the community.
- HMG holds that any new arrangements must have the consent of the community, including the consent of the elected leaders of the constitutional parties.

Imposed Solution?

I said on 1 November:

"We should continue discussions to find the maximum amount of agreement that exists between the constitutional parties, and then focus on the areas of disagreement and see how we can eliminate them."

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"Understandings" with the UUP

There is no deal with the UUP. I have made it clear that nothing was asked for, nothing was offered and nothing was given.

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Hume/Adams

Lines to take

Why has HMG rejected Hume/Adams proposals?

- I told the House on 1 November that the Taoiseach gave me an assessment of the report he had had from John Hume, and we agreed that it was not the right way to proceed.
- I judged, from what I was told, that the Hume/Adams proposals would not get the consent of the people of Northern Ireland.

John Hume

- Both I and Sir Patrick Mayhew have praised the courage and integrity of John Hume in his search for a peaceful solution to the problems of Northern Ireland.
- I met Mr Hume last week to discuss the present opportunities for political progress in Northern Ireland].

John Hume has said that there could be "peace within the week" if the Prime Minister agreed with him. Will the Prime Minister reconsider the Hume/Adams plan?

I explained to John Hume why there could be no question of the British Government adopting or endorsing the outcome of the Hume/Adams dialogue.

This was made clear in the joint statement of 29 October. The Government will not bargain for a cessation of violence. Any process which fails to address the concerns of both communities in Northern Ireland will not lead to a lasting settlement. That is why the Government must lead the political process, as it is doing.

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Did the Prime Minister discuss "detailed plans" with John Hume?

John Hume gave a general description of his reasons for believing that there is a real opportunity for peace in Northern Ireland. I praised the courage which John Hume has shown. I hope that the men of violence will now give up violence for ever. I stressed to John Hume that this could not be a matter for negotiation, and that the central element in the Government's policy was the drive to resume the talks process involving all constitutional parties.

Did the Prime Minister pass any messages through Mr Hume?

No. I restated the position which I set out in Parliament and in the joint statement of 29 October. The Government's attitude to organisations which use or support violence has been set out clearly and publicly. It is that they must show that they have renounced violence before new doors open. I told Mr hume that I stood by that position.

Has the Prime Minister invited Mr Hume to report back to him after further contacts with Adams?

No. As was made clear in the joint statement, the Government is not adopting the Hume/Adams dialogue. Mr Hume's contacts are a matter for Mr Hume alone. I told him, as I told the leaders of the other constitutional parties, that my door remains open to him.

Adams says he is interested in a genuine peace process?

What Mr Adams should do is tell the Provisionals to stop all violence immediately.

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Is Mr Adams sincere?

I agree entirely with Dick Spring. He said "If he is serious in what he has been saying in recent weeks, I believe he should acknowledge the horror of what happened [the Shankill Road bomb], he should condemn it outright without reservation or without any conditions, and he should call for and establish immediately a cessation of violence."

Hume/Adams

Background Note

In April Hume and Adams made a joint statement confirming that they were seeking agreement on the exercise of self-determination and the means of achieving it. On 25 September Hume and Adams issued another statement announcing that they had made considerable progress and had agreed to forward a report to the Irish Government, and that they were suspending their discussions while the broad principles involved were given "wider consideration between the two Governments".

Public speculation about the content of the report to Dublin centred on the idea of a deal involving a statement by HMG on self-determination and a ceasefire by PIRA. Mr Hume briefed Mr Reynolds and Mr Spring on 7 October. The Taoiseach and Tanaiste said they would evaluate the position before deciding how best to continue their efforts "in their discussions with the British Government for the achievement of the objective of peace on this island".

On Wednesday 27 October Mr Spring enumerated six principles to the Dail which appeared to move the position of the Irish Government forward the necessity both for consent from the people of Northern Ireland to any change in its constitutional status, and for amendment of Articles 2 and 3 to be addressed as part of any settlement. On 29 October the Prime Minister saw the Taoiseach at

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the European Council for a discussion on Northern Ireland. The Taoiseach passed on his assessment of the Hume/Adams report, and following the meeting a Joint Statement was issued containing an agreed set of principles stressing the need for freely given consent for any settlement, and for a renunciation of the use of or support for violence by anyone claiming an interest in advancing the cause of peace. On 1 November the Prime Minister made a Statement to the House about his meeting with the Taoiseach and said that he did not believe Hume/Adams was the right way to proceed.

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~~RTION~~ N IRELAND - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES

1. MAKING BELFAST WORK

- The Making Belfast Work (MBW) programme was launched in July 1988 to reinforce efforts in tackling the economic, educational, social and environmental problems of the most disadvantaged areas of Belfast. The main aims of the programme are to:
  - increase employment opportunities and develop new businesses;
  - improve people's ability to compete for jobs;
  - improve the environment and living conditions, with assistance being targeted at the most vulnerable groups in society; and
  - involve the community, voluntary and private sectors in partnership with Government.
- £124m has been allocated in the period 1988/89 to 1993/94 in addition to the extensive resources already allocated to Government's mainstream programmes in these areas.
- The 1993/94 MBW budget is £24m.
- There have been encouraging signs of success arising from the MBW programme. For example, in the four year period 1989/90 to 1992/93:

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IDB promoted, renewed or maintained over 4,000 jobs in or adjacent to MBW areas.

- LEDU promoted over 3,000 jobs in MBW areas.
- Over 12,000 people were placed in jobs or training by 2 Training and Employment Agency offices, 8 Jobclubs and 2 Community Employment Agencies in the areas.
- Over 6,000 students enrolled on over 300 different courses in Further Education Centres in Whiterock, Shankill and Lower Falls each year.
- Each year around 2,000 people undertook Open Learning training and over 40,000 have used the facilities.
- A similar initiative - Making Londonderry Work - is also underway in Londonderry. Some £3m per annum is allocated to this programme which is aimed at creating more employment opportunities and improving the employability of people in the most disadvantaged areas of the city.

**Future of MBW**

- The future of MBW was considered in the context of a policy review of MBW. The Secretary of State considered the outcome of the policy review and is fully content with its recommendations which include the continuation of MBW, on an adjusted basis, and a further comprehensive review of the initiative by April 1997.

**Springvale**

- The University of Ulster proposes to establish a campus on the Springvale site in West Belfast. This proposal is in its very

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ly stages. The proposed campus will straddle the dividing line in West Belfast providing access from both communities and helping the local economy.

- The University Council has yet to carry out a feasibility study on this proposal. Assuming that this is positive there are still major stages in the development of the proposal to be undertaken including economic appraisal, planning considerations and examination of the implications within the broader parameters of future higher education provision in Northern Ireland.
- It will also be important to ensure cross community support for, and access to, any new educational facility.

2. POLICY APPRAISAL AND FAIR TREATMENT (PAFT)

- The Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment (PAFT) initiative, involves the development of guidance designed to ensure that considerations of equality, equity and non-discrimination, in relation to selected groups, are built into the preparation of policy proposals, including legislation, other initiatives and strategic plans for the implementation of policy and the delivery of services.

3. TARGETING SOCIAL NEED (TSN)

- Targeting Social Need (TSN) established as a third NI public spending priority. The initiative aims to reduce unfair social and economic disadvantage by focusing resources more precisely on the most disadvantaged areas and people.

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present, on all major social and economic indicators - unemployment, employment, income levels, educational qualifications, skills and housing - Catholics in Northern Ireland experience greater levels of disadvantage than Protestants and these differential experiences sustain feelings of discrimination and alienation which in turn influence attitudes to political and security issues.

- Greater equality can be achieved by assessing the extent to which Government policies have a differential impact on each community; and by initiating policies and programmes and allocating resources to improve the social and economic conditions of the most disadvantaged areas and people, and thereby remove unfair differentials and contribute to healing community divisions.

4. EDUCATION

- Education in Northern Ireland, other than university education, is administered centrally by the Department of Education and locally by 5 Education and Library Boards which are broadly equivalent to local education authorities in England and Wales.
- Whilst education provision in Northern Ireland is organised on similar lines to that in England and Wales, there are some significant structural differences. Secondary education retains largely a selective system with pupils going to grammar schools or secondary intermediate schools according to academic ability.
- There is also a very large voluntary school sector, consisting of voluntary grammar schools, some of which are under Catholic management and Catholic "maintained" schools where a majority of the Board of Governors are appointed by Catholic Church Trustees. The different types of schools in Northern Ireland are:

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Controlled or  
State Schools:

"controlled or state schools.  
These are funded 100% for capital  
and recurrent expenditure by the  
five Education and Library Boards;

b. Voluntary:  
(maintained)

provided on the initiative of the  
Catholic Church and other  
organisations and funded 100% for  
capital and recurrent expenditure by  
the Department of Education (NI);

c. Voluntary:  
(non-maintained)

mainly voluntary grammar schools  
which may be Protestant or Catholic  
funded 100% for recurrent and (for  
most) 85% of capital expenditure;

d. Integrated:

there is a small number of  
integrated schools (both controlled  
integrated which are maintained by  
the Education and Library Boards and  
grant-maintained integrated  
maintained by the Department).

There are over 2,800 children  
enrolled at integrated schools, less  
than 1% of the NI total. Integrated  
schools have the whole of their  
capital expenditure funded by the  
Department of Education (NI).

- Teacher Training Colleges aside, third level education in Northern Ireland operates on an integrated basis. There are 2 Universities which cater for around 26,500 full-time and part-time students. There is also a well-developed network of Colleges of Further Education. Northern Ireland also constitutes a Region of the Open University.

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- Surveys of school leavers consistently show that Northern Ireland pupils obtain better GCSE and A level examination results than pupils in England and Wales, but a higher proportion (10%) of pupils in Northern Ireland leave school with no qualifications whatsoever than in England (8%), although the proportion is smaller than in Wales (13%).
- The proportion of school leavers going on to higher education (on an age participation rate basis) has increased from 20% in 1986/87 to 34% in 1992/93, which compares with 28% in England for the latter year.

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