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FROM: MISS G HARRISON  
CPL DIVISION  
4 OCTOBER 1993

- 1. Mr Brooker
- 2. Mrs McNally, SIL

*Handwritten initials and date: 4/10*

**NORTHERN IRELAND: FCO "BULL POINTS"**

As requested in your note of 28 September, I attach revised "Bull Points" on political development. for use by FCO.

*Gillian Harrison*

G HARRISON  
CPL DIVISION

CPL1/16395

29 SEP 1993

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28 SEP 1993

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FROM : MRS DIANE MCNALLY  
SIL DIVISION  
28 SEPTEMBER 1993

cc Mr Margetts - B  
Mr McIntyre, Cent Sec -B  
Mrs Tinman, DENI - F  
Mr Taggart, DED - F  
Mr Todd, IFI - F

MR BROOKER - B  
MR LEACH - B  
MR MACCABE - B  
MR MAXWELL - B  
MS LODGE - B

*Att  
indeed  
JD*

**NORTHERN IRELAND : "BULL POINTS"**

I attach a copy of the Northern Ireland section of the FCO's last "Bull Points" document for updating.

The FCO circulate this document to posts abroad; its main purpose is to supply Information Officers with up-to-date quarry for speeches and answers to letters on which they can draw.

I should be grateful if Mr McIntyre would co-ordinate NI Departments responses and I would appreciate any comments/amendments you might have on the attached by close of play 5 October 1993.

(signed)

MRS DIANE MCNALLY  
SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL DIVISION  
28 SEPTEMBER 1993

B/TYP/3302

**POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

- Strand 2 of the talks began in London on 6 July involving HMG, the four main NI constitutional parties (as per Strand 1) and the Irish Government, under the chairmanship of Sir Ninian Stephen, a former Governor General of Australia.
- Historic occasion: first time since the 1920s that the two governments and representatives of all the major constitutional parties of NI have sat together to discuss the political future of NI. They met in Dublin on 21-23 September, although the DUP did not attend there.
- The Talks continued through July in Parliament Buildings, Belfast, went into recess during August and resumed on 2 September.
- When the Talks ended in November 1992, the participants agreed that, 'While at this time there is no basis to agree a settlement, they have identified and discussed most, if not all the elements which would comprise an eventual settlement; they developed a clear understanding of each other's positions; and established a constructive dialogue on ways in which an accommodation might be reached on some of the key issues which divide them'. They went on to agree that further dialogue was not only desirable but necessary.
- The British Government continue to attach great importance to a political development process which addresses the key relationships.
- It also makes clear that if in the future a majority in NI clearly wished for and formally consented to the establishment of a United Ireland the British and Irish Governments would support the necessary legislation.

SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

- Government is determined to bring terrorism to an end; there is no acceptable level of violence.
- Terrorism is dealt with under the rule of law by prosecuting those who carry out murders, shootings and bombings for the crimes they commit.
- The police (RUC) are in the lead against the terrorists but because of the high threat against them they need the support of the Army in parts of Northern Ireland.
- The security forces must operate within the law; where individuals fail to do so they are liable to prosecution and/or disciplinary charges.
- Where force is used by the security forces (for example in shooting incidents), the circumstances are fully investigated.
- The security forces treat loyalist and republican terrorism equally seriously.
- The Government will not condone any wrong doing by members of the security forces. Procedures exist for the investigation of complaints involving the police and Army. These have been supplemented by the appointment of an Independent Commissioner for the Holding Centres and an Independent Assessor of military complaints.
- Increasing the confidence of the community (both sides) in the effectiveness, integrity and impartiality for the security forces is a vital part of the Government's security policy.

- Cross border security co-operation with the Irish Government is essential and there have been considerable improvements since the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement: but more remains to be done.
- Security cannot be considered in isolation. Complementary political, social and economic measures are pursued, to bring about the goal of a peaceful, prosperous and harmonious society.

#### 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' 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.

**THEMES TO HURT THE PROVISIONALS - BULL POINTS**

**THE 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 Provisions 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 business 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 of 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].

- The Fund gives high priority to the areas of greatest need and operates a Disadvantaged Areas Initiative designed specifically to channel its resources into these areas. As a result of this initiative over 70% of the money committed in Northern Ireland has gone to the most disadvantaged areas.

For example:-

- Some £15m to projects in West and North Belfast including support to 3 major community sponsored initiatives involving a town centre development at Poleglass and retail/industrial developments at Howard Street Mill, Falls Road and New Lodge Road.
- Over £9m to a series of projects in Londonderry including major community-led economic regeneration projects in the Shantallow and Creggan estates, substantial assistance has also been given towards the establishment of an enterprise centre, the development of Eglinton Airport and the Derry/Galway/Boston trade initiative.



- Some £16m committed under the Fund's Community Regeneration and Improvement Special Programme (CRISP) to 23 major economic regeneration projects in the smaller towns and villages including Coalisland, Castledearg, Keady, Carrickmore, Newtownhamilton etc. This includes also three special cross-border projects at Belleek, Belcoo/Blacklion and Pettigo/Tullyhommon. A significant number of similar community drive projects are at an advanced stage of development.

### FAIR EMPLOYMENT

- Government is totally committed to the elimination of all forms of unlawful discrimination in employment in Northern Ireland. The Fair Employment (NI) Act 1989 is the most radical piece of anti-discrimination legislation ever passed in the United Kingdom.

#### Main features:

- Establishment of Fair Employment Commission and Fair Employment Tribunal
- Compulsory registration of employers with the Commission
- Compulsory monitoring of work-forces and applicants
- Compulsory reviews of recruitment, training and promotion practices, mandatory affirmative action, goals and timetables
- Outlawing of indirect discrimination
- Criminal penalties and economic sanctions to punish bad practice including loss of government grants and contracts

- Up to £30,000 compensation for victims of discrimination
- Code of Practice on fair employment.

### MACBRIDE

- The MacBride Principles are little more than a set of superficial slogans and have done nothing to address fair employment problems in Northern Ireland.
- Principles have been superceded by the much more precise and stringent requirements of the Fair Employment (NI) Act 1989.
- The overall effect of the MacBride Campaign has been to discourage new job-creating investment in Northern Ireland.
- The MacBride Campaign has not created a single job in Northern Ireland.
- The NI fair employment laws are working well: what Northern Ireland needs is more job and new investment.
- The only political party in Northern Ireland to support the campaign is Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Provisional IRA.

### **EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS**

The government believes that young people of either community should come to understand and value the heritage and legitimacy of both traditions in NI:

#### (b) Cultural Traditions Programmes

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- Education reforms introduced in 1990 give parents the opportunity of sending children to integrated schools rather than schools which are predominantly Catholic or Protestant. At September 1992 there were 18 integrated schools with total enrolment of 3,400 pupils, around 1% of all pupils in NI. The main factor is parent demand.
- The new statutory curriculum, affecting all school children in NI, requires schools to teach the themes of education for mutual understanding and the features of their cultural heritage through the compulsory subjects of the curriculum.
- The Department of Education operates support arrangements, currently worth over £2.5 million, which are aimed at encouraging increased cross-community contact between young people attending schools which have a different religious tradition, to help them to become aware of each other, to develop in them mutual understanding and respect.

The main thrust is through:

(a) Cross-community Contact Scheme

- provides modest grants to schools and youth clubs which develop joint work programmes among young people of different religious traditions;
- involves one in three schools in the Province and many youth clubs;

(b) Cultural Traditions Programme

- through a variety of approaches aims to encourage the exploration of our shared cultural heritage as well as respecting diversity in cultural traditions;

- has enabled many thousands of young people to meet with others they would not normally come into contact with because of differences in religious belief, school attended, or the area in which they live.

(c) Support to Voluntary Bodies

- provides aid to a range of voluntary groups whose objectives are to encourage peace and reconciliation;

(d) Special Curriculum Projects

- through a variety of curriculum areas (such as history, geography and environmental studies) developed by the Department of Education for NI (usually in conjunction with the Education and Library Boards in the Province and sometimes with Education Departments in Dublin, London and other countries), provide closely structured curriculum-based approaches through which young people can meet and study together both across the community and with peers in other countries.

- The Youth Service curriculum seeks to achieve similar objectives with young people, outside the formal education system.

Community Relations

The government also sponsors a growing programme of community relations activities designed to develop mutual understanding, respect and harmony between the two traditions. Government spending on community relations has increased from £1.2 million in 1988-89 to £7 million in 1992-93.

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INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND (IFI)

- The International Fund was established in 1986 by the British and Irish Governments in the wake of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. It is administered by an independent Board, comprising a Chairman and 6 other Members, jointly appointed by the 2 Governments.
- The Fund's geographical remit covers the 6 counties of Northern Ireland and the 6 Southern border counties of Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, Sligo, Leitrim and Louth. The Fund is required to spend approximately 75% of its resources in Northern Ireland.
- In its administration of the Fund the Board is supported by a Secretariat staffed by officials seconded by the two Governments and headed by Joint Directors General based in Belfast and Dublin respectively. In addition Government Departments and public agencies, North and South, acting on behalf of the Fund assist with the day to day administration of the Fund's main programme of work.
- To date the donors to the Fund include the US (US\$210m), the EC (ECU75m), Canada (up to C\$10m) and New Zealand (NZ\$600,000). In addition the US Administration has proposed a further contribution of \$20m for 1994 and the EC has promised a further contribution of ECU15m for 1994.
- Up to 30 September 1992 the Fund approved assistance of some £200m to almost 3,000 projects and had contributed to the generation of approximately 18,000 full-time jobs - over 3,000 in the last year - plus a considerable number of part-time and construction jobs.

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- The Fund has a particular interest in supporting projects with a cross-border dimension and has had a catalytic role in helping to develop a substantial number of major initiatives. These include a marketing initiative with the two Tourist Boards jointly to market Ireland as a tourist destination overseas and a joint initiative sponsored by the CBI and CCI to develop increased cross-border trade links and business opportunities.
- The Fund has also supported three major flagship projects because of the impact they will have on the economic regeneration of their region and the special significances they have for Ireland, North and South. These are the construction of the Erne-Shannon link canal, the development of the Navan Fort research educational and visitor centre, and the economic regeneration of the Strabane/Lifford area.
- The Fund has been very successful in leveraging public and private sector investments. This is particularly true in the Urban Development and Tourism Programmes where the overall leverage factor averages 1:3. The Tourism Programme has played a key role in stimulating very substantial private investment in some of the most disadvantaged areas, North and South, where the tourism industry offers the greatest potential for economic activity and job creation. It is estimated that to date this Programme has helped to generate over 2,500 direct jobs.