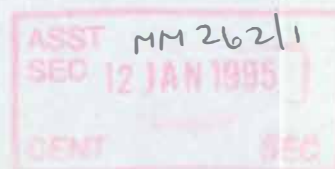
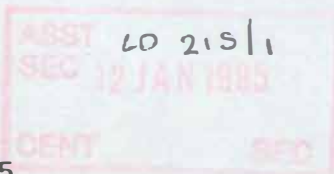


FROM : MR J A GIBBONS  
SIL DIVISION  
12 JANUARY 1995



cc Mr Margetts  
Mr Greer Cent Sec  
Mr Coleman

- B

MR BROOKER - B  
MR PERRY - B  
MR MACCABE - B  
MR MAXWELL - B  
MRS SEAR  
MR BEETON

*Mrs Kenny*  
*Mrs Doreen* 10/2/1

NORTHERN IRELAND : "BULL POINTS"

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

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

3. I should again be grateful if Mr Greer could co-ordinate NI Departments responses and I would appreciate any comments/amendments you might have on the attached by close of play Wednesday 1 February.

(SIGNED JG)

MR J A GIBBONS  
SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL DIVISION  
12 JANUARY 1995

*Mrs Murphy*

BM/SIL/24706

JOINT DECLARATION/EXPLORATORY DIALOGUE

- The Joint Declaration made by the Prime Minister and the then Irish Prime Minister Mr Reynolds is a statement of fundamental principle agreed between the British and Irish Government and has peace democracy and consent as its foundation; it is against violence and coercion. It charts the way forward for those democratically mandated organisations which are prepared to commit themselves exclusively to the democratic process and turn their backs on violence in line with the wishes of the vast majority of the people of Ireland North and South.
- The Government wants all the main constitutional parties to take part in the process which will lead to a future settlement in Northern Ireland, and wants Sinn Fein to be part of that process once it has demonstrated that it is committed exclusively to democratic methods.

Exploratory dialogue between Government officials and Sinn Fein commenced on 9 December, some 100 days after the IRA announced a complete cessation of military operations on 31 August.

- The purpose of the dialogue is as set out more than a year ago ie:-
  - i) to explore the basis upon which Sinn Fein would come to be admitted to an inclusive political talks process to which the British Government is committed but without anticipating negotiations within that process;
  - ii) to exchange views on how Sinn Fein would be able over a period to play the same part as the current constitutional parties in the public life of Northern Ireland;

iii) to examine the practical consequences of the ending of violence.

- The basis for the dialogue is that there must be a genuine commitment by Sinn Fein to use and support only peaceful methods in a democratic political arena. The Government will not be able to proceed if Sinn Fein's commitment is called into question. [If the Government can continue to reasonably assume that Sinn Fein is establishing a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods, if the IRA continues to show that it has ended terrorism, then the Government will be ready to convene exploratory talks before the year is out.]

- The dialogue is exploratory, we are prepared to set out and explain Government policy and listen to Sinn Fein's views. Officials will not negotiate. Cannot anticipate political negotiations in an inclusive Talks process on the future of Northern Ireland.

- The Government's comprehensive opening statement to Sinn Fein, made it clear that exploratory dialogue could start because of the IRA's ceasefire since 31 August. It is the next step on the path set out in the Downing Street Declaration.

- Continuation and completion of dialogue depends on the IRA's continued adherence to the ceasefire and on Sinn Fein demonstrating a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and the democratic process.

- The Government expects to examine at an early stage how all illegal arms will be removed and safely disposed. Retention of arms would call into question their commitment to the democratic process and constitute a significant barrier to joining with Sinn Fein in substantive political negotiations.



- Political progress cannot and will not wait for Sinn Fein. Officials from both British and Irish Governments are working on a framework document which when finalised will represent a shared understanding of both the British and Irish Governments of an outcome to political talks that might prove acceptable. We hope that it can be presented to the constitutional parties before too long.

- There have been no secret deals for peace. The criminal law will continue to be applied vigorously with the intention of bringing those responsible for terrorist crime before the Courts. Those convicted of crimes must expect to serve their sentences in accordance with the law.

#### LOYALIST CEASEFIRE

- The Government welcomes the loyalist ceasefire. There are no circumstances whatsoever that would justify a resumption of their violence. The route to democratic politics is open to all who renounce violence and the Government wants loyalists to be able to express their views democratically.

- The Prime Minister made it clear in a speech delivered in Belfast on 21 October that once they have sufficiently demonstrated their commitment to exclusively peaceful methods, they can take part in public life at the appropriate time. The Government will make contact with them. The Government will be looking for ways of taking their views into account in the talks process, we want to hear their concerns not least the social concerns of the communities from which they come.

- In a speech on 14 November, the Prime Minister confirmed that loyalists too, would be invited to exploratory talks with officials also before the year is out.

The first meeting took place on 15 December.

- Conditions for the talks are the same as those set for Sinn Fein. The commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and the intention to end violence for good must be demonstrated before the Government will enter dialogue. Commitment must continue to be demonstrated by all concerned.
- Purpose of exploratory dialogue with the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP) and the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) will be similar to that with Sinn Fein. That is to explore the ways in which they might come to play a full part in the normal political life of Northern Ireland and to explore the practical consequences of the end of violence.
- The PUP and UDP do not currently have a significant electoral mandate across Northern Ireland to give them access to formal participation in the Talks process.
- It is sensible to have some threshold of democratic support for entry to the Talks process; on the basis of its current electoral support, once Sinn Fein has demonstrated that it has abandoned violence permanently it will have a claim to be reckoned as one of the main parties. No other grouping can make a similar claim. However, we will be looking for ways of taking loyalists views into account in the Talks process.
- There have been no secret deals with anyone to secure the loyalist ceasefire.



## REFERENDUM IN NORTHERN IRELAND

- Everyone agreed Talks outcome must be acceptable to the people. To put this beyond doubt Prime Minister announced on 16 September that final outcome will be submitted to the electorate in Northern Ireland for widespread approval in a referendum.
- Reassures the people of Northern Ireland that outcome will not be imposed without their consent.
- Details of referendum (eg question, winning post etc) are for discussion with parties in Talks process.

## POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- HMG remains firmly committed to seeking a widely acceptable political accommodation which would take account of the three main relationships; those within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between the British and Irish Governments.
- HMG believes that the best way forward lies in the Talks process involving all the four main constitutional political parties in NI and the British and Irish Governments. This commitment to dialogue is shared by the Irish Government.
- Talks began in 1991 and ended in November 1992. Strand I involved discussion of the relationships within Northern Ireland. Strand II began in London on 6 July 1992 involving HMG, the four main NI constitutional parties (as in Strand I) and the Irish Government, under the independent chairmanship of Sir Ninian Stephen, a former Governor General of Australia.

Since September 1993 private bilateral discussions have been taking place with three of the four main constitutional parties to explore the basis upon which they might come together for further dialogue. (DUP have declined to participate.)

- The two Governments have also been engaged in intensive discussions on a Joint Framework document to carry the Talks process forward. The aim is to achieve a shared understanding of the elements of a settlement which, in the view of the two Governments, is likely to have the best prospect of attracting broad support right across the community.
- On 21 October, the Prime Minister announced that when the Joint Framework Document is finished, it will be published. This deals with relations between the two Governments and their views on the possible development of relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.
- Intention is that framework will facilitate the resumption of multilateral talks with a view to securing an overall settlement, addressing all the relevant relationships and agreed between the main Northern Ireland parties and the two Governments.
- Also on 21 October the Prime Minister announced that the Government would simultaneously with the Joint Framework Document publish details of a possible way forward within Northern Ireland.
- This will draw on the work done in the 1992 Talks and subsequent discussions with the Northern Ireland parties. It will represent the Government's understanding of the elements which would comprise new arrangements within Northern Ireland and which, as part of an overall settlement, we believe is likely to have the best prospect of attracting broad support right across the community in Northern Ireland.



This is primarily a matter for discussion between the British Government and the Northern Ireland Parties, and will, like the Joint Framework Document, be a guide for discussion and negotiation aimed at securing widespread acceptance of a political accommodation.

- Both Governments have made good progress on the Joint Framework Document, but important issues remain to be resolved. Both remain determined to conclude this exercise successfully and at the earliest possible time. The completion of this has clearly been affected by the current crisis in the Irish Government.
- There is no question of coercing the parties or imposing an outcome. HMG has no hidden agenda; ruled out no options or possibilities for a final outcome; there are two basic tests - would it be workable and crucially would it attract widespread support throughout the community.
- HMG has a rational hope that the Talks process will succeed. There is an unanimous acceptance that the status quo is not a viable option - everyone wants a settlement.

#### ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

- Good relations between UK and Republic of Ireland are in the interests of both sides. Agreement has provided valuable forum both to discuss co-operation and to resolve differences.
- Both countries threatened by violence. Must work together to ensure terrorism can never win. Could not have reached this present hopeful stage in Northern Ireland without unprecedented cooperation between the two Governments.



While the British and Irish Governments remain fully committed to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, they have made clear that they would be prepared to consider a new and more broadly based agreement or structure if this could be arrived at through direct discussion and negotiation between all of the parties concerned.

#### SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

- Government remains determined to secure a permanent end to terrorism.
- After 25 years of violence the Government - who are after all responsible for the security of the people of Northern Ireland - must remain cautious.
- Terrorism continues to be dealt with under the rule of law.
- The police (RUC) remain in the lead but continue to need support from the Army in parts of Northern Ireland.
- Building and maintaining the confidence of the community (both sides) in the effectiveness, integrity and impartiality of the security forces is a vital part of the Government's security policy. Both the RUC and Army fully endorse this principle.
- Security cannot be considered in isolation. Complementary political, social and economic measures continue to be pursued, to bring about the goal of a peaceful, prosperous and harmonious society.

## EMERGENCY LEGISLATION

- The need for the Emergency Provisions Act has always been kept under review and we have said that its provision will remain in force no longer than necessary. But it is obviously too soon to speculate about the future of the Act, which protects the law-abiding public from terrorists of all persuasion.

## BORDER ROADS AND SECURITY CO-OPERATION

- Cross border security co-operation with the Irish Government remains essential. Both Governments are determined to continue their close co-operation on security matters, to ensure that violence from whichever quarter it comes is brought to an end.

## BORDER ROADS

- The Secretary of State announced in October the lifting of all 88 remaining border road closure orders.
- No border crossing is now subject to a closure order, and a phased programme of reopenings has already begun; BCP 197, Dooard Bridge near garrison has already been reopened.. Because of the scale of the operation, this will take some time to implement. Roads will, however, be reopened as soon as possible.
- As in other parts of Northern Ireland, the RUC, supported as necessary by the Army, will continue to provide appropriate levels of security in border areas, to ensure the protection and reassurance of local communities. Patrolling will continue to be carried out from the existing network of Patrol Bases and from other security force locations.



- Should the security situation require at any stage the reclosure of any border crossing in order to protect life or property, this will be done without hesitation.

#### FORCE LEVELS

- HMG's desire is for RUC to be able to carry out their duties without the need for Army support.
- It is too early yet to consider whether any changes are necessary to the strength of the RUC or the Army. But, as the Chief Constable said, in the absence of terrorist violence from any quarter, the current high level of daily activity could be tactically reduced.

#### SECURITY FORCE RESPONSE

- Security forces have been able to take steps to reflect diminished terrorist threat following the IRA's announcement eg berets instead of helmets, no helicopter flying below 500'; no carrying of General Purpose Machine Guns (GPMG) by foot patrols; no deployment of SAXON except in ambulance role; general reduction in the numbers of army patrols; fewer police personnel wearing flak jackets. These and other changes do not constitute any change in security policy.
- Patrol bases remain a necessary part of our border security policy. Like other patrol bases in the border area, those close to Londonderry are still being used to mount patrols in the surrounding area. As with other Patrol Bases and Permanent Vehicle Checkpoints in the border areas, there are no longer any routine checks of vehicles.

## DEMILITARISATION

- Clearly decisions on operational deployments, and the nature and level of security force activity to prevent crime and protect the community, are influenced by the prevailing threat. The security forces will, under the Chief Constable's direction, continue to act against those responsible for crimes with full vigor, and with the Government's full support.
- Firm objective to return to exclusively civilian policing. Need for soldiers to patrol the streets will be reviewed as circumstances permit, but there will be a peace-time role for some members of the armed forces in Northern Ireland as in other parts of the United Kingdom.

## EXCLUSION ORDERS

- Home Secretary lifted the exclusion orders on Mr Adams and Mr McGuinness on 21 October 1994. The possibility of reviewing further individual orders exists but it is too early yet to embark on a general review of orders. The Government's hope remains that the day is coming when no orders will be needed.

## [Defensive]

### When will the Army leave Northern Ireland?

- There will continue to be a peacetime role for the army in Northern Ireland just as there is in other parts of the United Kingdom. We all - including the police and the army - want to reduce the security presence on the streets of Northern Ireland, but we will do so only when we judge its safe to do so based on the advice of the Chief Constable.



Will watchtowers and other fortifications be dismantled?

- The police and the army will continue to provide appropriate levels of security throughout Northern Ireland. Security force commanders continue to review the need for all security measures in particular areas and should the level of threat be judged to continue to diminish further measures will follow.

EXCLUSION ORDERS

- All exclusion orders are kept under review, and the Government hopes that the day is coming near when they will not be needed. For now, however, the order against Mr Adams will remain in place.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT

- Government is totally committed to the elimination of all forms of unlawful discrimination in employment in Northern Ireland. To this end it has introduced the Fair Employment (NI) Act 1989 which is the most radical piece of anti-discrimination legislation ever passed in the United Kingdom, and probably Europe.

Main features of the Act:

- 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, at least once every three years

- 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 £35,000 compensation for victims of discrimination
- Code of Practice on fair employment
- Continuous evaluation of the effectiveness of the Act and formal review to take place in 1995.

#### Progress

- Employers have responded well to the new duties placed upon them.
- Many larger firms are considering the introduction of affirmative action measures.
- There has been a small but significant increase in the proportion of Roman Catholics in monitored employment in the period 1990-93.
- The Fair Employment Tribunal offers real redress for victims of discrimination and has made a number of very substantial awards of compensation.

#### MACBRIDE

- Principles have been superseded 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 jobs and new investment.

### EDUCATION

- The Government believes that education has a role to play in the process of improving community relations among young people. To this end a number of measures, for which £2.8m has been allocated in the current financial year, are available.
- The Cross-Community Contact Scheme, introduced in October 1987, provides modest grant support to schools, colleges and youth clubs to develop joint, collaborative programmes involving young people from different backgrounds; some 500 schools (over one-third of NI schools) and some 300 youth clubs and other organisations are actively involved.
- The Cultural Traditions programme, introduced in May 1989, seeks to provide opportunities through which young people can explore both their shared cultural heritage and the rich diversity of cultural traditions.
- Support is provided to voluntary sector reconciliation organisations, museums, arts and cultural organisations and a range of other bodies for the development of programmes and projects designed to enhance and complement the opportunities provided through the formal education structures. EC funding, available from 1994, will provide further assistance in developing the range of youth and education community/reconciliation related projects.

Special curriculum projects developed by the Department, often in conjunction with other education authorities both in Northern Ireland and in other countries including the Irish Republic, seek to widen the horizons of young people and to bring them into contact with other cultures. Typical areas/issues studied include - the environment, history, geography, drama, contemporary European and world affairs.

- The Common Curriculum includes the 2 cross-curricular themes of Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) and Cultural Heritage and students in compulsory education at all schools must be afforded opportunities, through all programmes of study, to learn about themselves and others, to understand and respect differences, and to resolve conflict by peaceful means.
- When the 1989 Education Reform Order became law, there were just 10 integrated schools in NI, with a combined enrolment of 1,788 pupils. Today there are 23 Grant-Aided schools (including 6 secondary schools), widely distributed throughout the Province, with a total enrolment of over 4,700 (this is around 2% of total pupil numbers). Growth has been steady at the rate of 2 or 3 new schools a year - the current school year (1994-1995) saw the establishment of 2 new secondary schools, one in Newcastle, Co Down, and one in Enniskillen, Co Fermanagh.

## COMMUNITY RELATIONS

### Northern Ireland Community Relations Council

- Established in 1990 to promote community relations work in Northern Ireland;



Budget in 1994/95 is nearly £2.0m and the Council has its own grant making capacity;

It has 21 members who are representative of the community.

#### District Council Programme

- Government provides grant aid for programmes which command cross-political support and encourage cross-community contact, mutual understanding and awareness of cultural diversity;
- All 26 Councils are currently involved in the programme.

#### Community Reconciliation Bodies

- Funding is provided to support bodies which promote cross-community contact and the creation of a more tolerant and harmonious community;
- The work of such bodies is an important means of harnessing community energies and promoting a more tolerant society.

#### Cultural Traditions Programme

- Aims to encourage greater understanding about different cultural traditions in Northern Ireland;
- It includes support for the Irish Language.

#### Capital Programme

- Provides funding for community based facilities which are accessible to both sides of the community.
- Priority is given to small towns where there has been evidence of sectarian conflict.

## Research and Evaluation

- To maintain up-to-date information on the nature and effects of community division through research, evaluation, and statistical monitoring;
- To evaluate and assess the impact of the Government's policies;
- To evaluate the impact and effectiveness of funded projects and bodies.

## EQUALITY AND EQUITY

### Targeting Social Need (TSN)

- TSN was launched in 1991.
- Economic and social disadvantage persist on both sides of the Northern Ireland community. On all major indicators however, eg unemployment, income, health, overcrowding - Catholics generally do worse than Protestants.
- These differential experiences sustain feelings of discrimination and alienation which in turn influence attitudes to political and security issues.
- Through TSN, Government policies and programmes will be targeted more sharply at the areas and people in greatest need in order to reduce unfair social and economic differentials and promote equality and equity for all sections of the community. This in turn should contribute to healing community divisions.
- Priorities for action are employment and employability.



### Race Relations

- The Government accepts the principle that protection should be given to those who suffer from discrimination on the grounds of race.
- A public consultation process has been held to consider the needs of ethnic minorities and Irish Travelling people, and the scope for legislation to outlaw discrimination on grounds of race.
- The Government will shortly be considering firm recommendations on the way forward.

### Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment

- Revised Government Guidelines on Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment (PAFT) have been circulated to all Northern Ireland Departments, their Agencies and the Northern Ireland Office, and came into effect on 1 January 1994.
- The Guidelines aim to ensure that those responsible for the development of policy and delivery of services do not unfairly or unnecessarily discriminate against specified sections of the community.
- Groups which may be covered by the guidelines include people of different gender, age, ethnic group, religious belief or political opinion; married and unmarried people; disabled and non-disabled people; people with or without dependants and people of differing sexual orientation.
- Departments are now making arrangement to implement PAFT.

### Employment Equality Review

- During the passage through Parliament of the Fair Employment (NI) Bill, the Government undertook to carry out a comprehensive review of the legislation after 5 years.
- The purpose of the review is to assess the effectiveness of the Fair Employment (NI) Act 1989, and progress towards equality of opportunity and fair participation in employment.
- The independent Standing Advisory Commission for Human Rights (SACHR) has been asked to carry forward the review.
- A review report will be available by 1996.
- Will be completed in 1995 and the results will be published.

### General

- In 1986 almost half of the people in Northern Ireland felt that Community Relations were getting worse. By 1991 just over one in six held the same view. Moreover, in 1991 40% of Catholics and 29% of Protestants said they expected community relations to improve further in the future[only 4% of Catholics expected relations to get worse]: Source 1991 British Social Attitudes Survey.

### 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\$230m), the EC (ECU90m), Canada (up to C\$10m) and New Zealand (NZ\$900,000). Recently Australia indicated its intention to contribute A\$7m over 5 years. Further increases in contributions have been pledged by US and EU.
- Up to 30 September 1993 the Fund approved assistance of over £205m to some 3,000 projects and had contributed to the generation of approximately 18,000 full-time jobs - plus a considerable number of part-time and construction jobs.
- 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.